PROCEEDINGS OF THE
FIRST INTERNATIONAL
SANSKRIT CONFERENCE

Volume Two, Part One

EDITED BY

PROF. V. RAGHAVAN

Chairman, Academic Sub-Committee

सत्यमेव जयते

Ministry of Education and Social Welfare,
Government of India, New Delhi, India.

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PAPERS OF SECTION TWO, PART - 1

Sanskrit and other Languages and Literatures of India
and the World and their Thought and Culture

The Heritage of different branches of Sanskrit Literature
and their National and International Significance

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Rs. 20

PREFACE

The First World Sanskrit Conference was held under the authority and auspices of the Government of India from 26th to 31st March 1972, in the Vijnan Bhavan, New Delhi. I had the honur, as Chairman of the Academic Sub-Committee, of organising the academic work of the Conference. In view of the character and purpose of the Conference, its wide perspective and specific focus, the subjects were framed in four Sections and contributions invited from scholars and participants from all over India and the world; Schedules of subjects were drawn for the four main Sections and invitations issued to chosen scholars who had made significant contributions in those subjects. Because of the enthusiasm that the Conference evoked in the country, it became necessary to accept papers from numerous scholars who sent their voluntary contributions and add a fifth Section of miscellaneous papers on diverse topics of research and also hold a Session devoted solely to Pandits and their Sanskrit papers.

The Sections and the subjects dealt with at the Conference were :—

I.   Contribution of different Areas and Countries to Sanskrit Development of Sanskrit Studies in Different Areas and Countries.

II. Sanskrit and Other Languages and Literatures of India and the World and their Thought and Culture.

The Heritage of Different Branches of Sanskrit Literature and their National and International Significance.

III. Sanskrit and Archaeology, Arts and Education — Sanskrit and Science and Technology — Sanskrit and World Languages, Literatures, Thoughts and Culture — Sanskrit and Man, Universalism and Peace — Sanskrit and Western Literature and Criticism — Sanskrit in the Modern World.

IV. Papers on diverse topics of Sanskrit Language, Literature, Thought and Culture.

Books of Summaries of the papers of the Sections were prepared in advance and placed in the hands of the participants. It was one of the largest of scholarly Conferences and about 600 papers were presented.

The arrangements for the printing of the Proceedings and the Papers of the Conference could be made only in 1973. Owing to the paucity of Presses who could handle Sanskrit and Indological research material, diacritical marks, Devanagari matter etc. and the difficult labour situation in the Presses, the printing could not be speeded up. Printing was arranged concurrently in two different places, Madras and Delhi, and in three different Presses.

Volume II of the Papers was taken up by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan of the Ministry for printing in Delhi. In view of the large number of papers of this Section, it was decided to issue this volume in two parts and Part I is now brought out.

I must express my thanks to Dr. R. K. Sharma and Sri P. C. Sharma, the former and present Directors of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan. I must thank Dr. J. Ganguly, Deputy Director (Academic), Dr. Madhusudan Mishra, Asstt. Director (CC), Pt. Surya Narayan Jha, Miss Manisha Chaudhury and Dr. Miss Amita Gupta of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan for looking after the Press work in Delhi. I must also mention Dr. S. S. Janaki who has been assisting me here, in Madras, in the work of this Conference.

V. RAGHAVAN
Chairman, Academic Sub-Committee

CONTENTS

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE LANGUAGES OF SOUTH INDIA IN GENERAL AND ON TELUGU (ANDHRA) IN PARTICULAR

PROF. G. J. SOMAYAJI,

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and Technical Terminology.*

All the modern languages of India can roughly be divided into two groups (1) North Indian and (2) South Indian. The North Indian languages are mainly derived directly from Sanskrit, Prakrits and Apabhraṁśas. These are known to the linguists as Modern Indo-Aryan. Their verbal bases, vocabulary, primary and secondary derivative suffixes are, broadly speaking, derived from the same or related sources.

Those in the South form a separate group as their nature, basic linguistic content, such as numerals, pronominal bases, verbal roots and suffixes, can be traced to one common source called 'the primitive Dravidian'. These languages are led by Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam which alone have a total of 87·5 millions of speakers, in addition to a number of other dialects, which are not so highly developed, cultivated or widely spoken. The above four languages have different scripts today like those of modern Indo-Aryan, but it will be interesting to note that all these scripts are derived from one common source, namely, the Brāhmī script. Tamil alone seems to have had a separate 'vaṭṭeḷuttu' script which has also contributed to the evolution of its modern form.

Sanskrit, the classical language of India, which has the record of the Vedas, the Upaniṣads, the Darśanas, the Purāṇas, the Kāvyas, and other secular sciences extending through a period of three to four thousand years, has had its influence on all the above languages.

In this paper it is proposed to indicate how far the above four South Indian languages have generally been influenced by

Sanskrit with a more detailed account of the same influence on Telugu. These four languages must have originally been dialects of the same ancient language which later on got differentiated by regional variations in vocables and scripts. It is reasonable to suppose that all these existed originally in the spoken form and were later recorded in stone and copper plate inscriptions and then in manuscripts and finally brought into printed books, in poetry and prose.

Of them, Tamil seems to be the earliest as its literature can be dated to a period as far early as *cir*. 1000 B.C. Its extant earliest grammatical treatise 'Tolkāppiyam' is assigned to *cir*. 7th cent. B.C. by some scholars.

Like all Ancient Indian Literature, the ancient works of Tamil are also shrouded in legendary accounts. A few of them like 'Pattuppāṭṭu', 'Padineṇ kīz kaṇakku', 'Tirukkural', 'Cilappadikaram' etc., are all highly revered classics of which any race can be proud.

The earliest extant Kannada work 'Kavirāja-mārga' by King Amoghavarṣa 814-877 A D. is a grammatical and critical treatise like Tolkāppiyam. Before this work appeared there must have been a long literary tradition which is confirmed by some evidences.

The earliest extant literary work in Telugu dates from the 11th cent. A.D.; it is a translation of the *Mahābhārata*.

Malayalam, another South Indian language spoken along the West coast, in the area called Kerala, has its two earliest works in the *Rāmakathā Pāṭṭu* and *Rāmacarita*, both assigned to the 10th cent. A.D. All these four languages, although they present us with extant works of different periods of time, are today treasure-troves of vast literatures, both ancient and modern. They have, in their modern phase, sought inspiration not only from Indian sources but also from foreign lands.

We shall now see the extent of Sanskrit influence on these Dravidian languages and their literatures.

How can one language influence another ? (1) By lending vocabulary; (2) by influencing syntax and grammatical structure; and (3) by supplying originals for literary works in form and content or as source-material. The South Indian languages are indebted to Sanskrit to a large extent in all the three above ways.

The vast vocabulary of Sanskrit, which can be used to express scientific ideas, abstract conceptions of speculation and the needs of daily life with regional peculiarities, were always borrowed by the above languages both as *Tatsamas* and *Tadbhavas*. That the structure of these languages is agglutinative, did not prove a hind-

rance for absorbing a lot from Sanskrit which is highly inflectional. Sanskrit literature has been largely incorporated into these languages as translation or adaptation or as source material for original drama, poetry and prose-fiction.

The earliest Tamil grammarian Tolkāppiyanār has accepted that the Northern vocabulary (*vaḍasol*) can be borrowed into Tamil as 'Tatsamas' or Tadbhavas' so long as it does not interfere with the genius of that language. Agastyar, the great sage, is said to have written a grammar for the Tamil language called *Pērgattiyam* which used the words 'Ilakkiyam' and 'Ilakkaṇam', both Tadbhavas of 'Lakṣya' and 'Lakṣaṇa' of Sanskrit. *Rāmāyaṇa, Naiṣadha, Bhārata* and many other Sanskrit works have appeared in Tamil as adaptations from Sanskrit.

In Kannaḍa language the first extant work *Kavirājamārga* is mostly Sanskrit-ridden, as the name itself indicates. A good lot of vocabulary and material has been taken from Sanskrit. In the 10th century, a great poet called Pampa wrote a *Campū kāvya* called *Vikramārjunavijaya* with *Bhārata* as source for the story. Another poet Ranna wrote the famous kāvya *Gadāyuddha* and Ponna, the *Śāntipurāṇa*. All these are in Sanskrit metres with long Sanskrit compounds and the Sanskrit vocabulary has been used here with Dravidian suffixes.

Malayalam has also followed the same principle and it has a large percentage of Sanskrit vocabulary in it. All the Sanskrit dramas, prose and poetic compositions from Sanskrit have been translated into it.

Some of the earliest grammars of Kannaḍa, Malayalam and Telugu have been written in Sanskrit *sūtras*, with commentaries in the same language and modelled on the Pāṇinian system.

Now a detailed account of Sanskrit influence on Telugu with specific examples is given.

One of the standard dictionaries of Modern Telugu language contains about 40,000 entries, and this figure seems to be an average for many other modern Indian languages as well. Out of these about 20 to 25 thousand are Sanskrit loans in different forms. The remaining are derived from Dravidian stems, or are borrowed from other sources. Telugu must have existed in a spoken form in the region from Tirupati to Berhampore in Orissa, all along the coastal line, and extending further into the interior. The early inscriptions in the region are in Prakrit and Sanskrit showing that the cultural and court languages were Prakrit or Sanskrit at different periods. The first Telugu inscriptions available from the 4th century onwards, though fragmentary in form, show Sanskrit influence. As has been already said, Sanskrit names, compounds

and verbal bases are used by suffixing indigenous material to indicate the number, gender or case of the word. 'Bhramarāyamāṇa', 'Mahārāju', 'Nirvahaṇodyogamu' are a few examples from the hundreds that are found in these documents. Some of these inscriptions are entirely in Sanskrit, with just the names of human beings and places given in the regional language (and not in Sanskrit translation) for fear of being misunderstood or misinterpreted.

Śrī niravadyuṇḍu, cittajātasamuṇḍu, śivaparavarasevituṇḍu, akhiluṇḍu, ātataripubaluṇḍu.

The above words are from an inscription in verse belonging to the 8th century. The final 'ṇḍu', a suffix indicating masculine gender, is the only Telugu element, the rest being Sanskrit words.

In the 11th century King Rājarāja asked his court poet Nannayya to translate the *Mahābhārata* from Sanskrit into Telugu.

Rājakulaikabhūṣaṇuḍu anyarājatejojayaśatiśauryuḍu, Rājamahendruḍu uddhatin.

The above are samples from that work indicating the influence of Sanskrit, Also Sanskrit metres like 'Mattebha' and 'Śārdūla' were borrowed by Telugu.

With Nannayya began an era in Telugu language and literature when writers delved deep into the vast mines of Sanskrit and this is evident in their expressions and ideas. The *Campū* became the standard type of literature. The style of Bāṇa and Daṇḍin became the model for prose till the end of the 19th and even the early 20th century. The following is an excellent example :

Puṇḍarīkaṣaṇḍambulaku Caṇḍabhānuṇḍunum bole śakunta santānambulaku nāgāntakuṇḍu prabhuṇḍu. Ataṇḍu nijapakṣa vikṣepajāta-vātoddhūta kāṇḍa kāṇḍa caṇḍa baluṇḍu.

All the 18 *Mahāpurāṇās*, the *Upapurāṇas*, the *Kāvyas* and *Nāṭakas* of Kālidāsa, the treatises on *Alaṅkāra Śāstra* by Daṇḍin, Vidyānātha, Viśvanātha, Mammaṭa, Ānandavardhana, Rājaśekhara, Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha and many others have all been translated into Telugu. *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha and Harṣa's *Naiṣadha* and almost all the Sanskrit Kāvya literature have been brought into Telugu. A few works relating to the Darśanas like the Pūrva and the Uttara Mīmaṃsās have also been translated into Telugu.

A few examples of translations from Sanskrit into Telugu are given below. A translation of Harṣa's *Naiṣadha* has been done by Śrīnātha and he claims that his translation or free rendering of the original is even better than the original. The original reads :

Sarasīḥ pariśīlituṃ mayā gamikarṇīkṛtanaikanīvṛiā.

Atithitvamanāyi sā dṛśoḥ sadasatsaṃśayagocarodarī.

Rendering in Telugu :

Kamalendīvaraṣaṇḍamaṇḍitalasatkāsārasevāratin gamikarṇī-kṛtanaikanīvṛtuḍanai kaṇṭin Vidarbhambuman ramaṇin pallavapāṇi-padmanayanau rākendubimbananan samapīnastaninastināstivi-cikitsā hetuśātodarin.

An original poem by Pingali Sūrana which describes *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* as the jingle of the anklets of Sarasvatī as she steps down from the heavens to save the mortals. He eulogises Vālmīki and Vyāsa in his introduction to *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya*, a 'dva-yarthikāvya' in Telugu.

Lokātraṇaratin dadādimamahīlokapravesotka bhāṣā klptapra-thama-dvitīyapadaguñjanmanjumañjīra garjākalpāmala rāmabhārata kathāsargambulan mineu Vālmīkivyāsula golcedan tadubhayasleṣ-ārtha saṃsiddhikin.

In the above two ślokas, the first is in the 'Mattebha metre' and the second in the 'Śārdūlavikrīḍita', both borrowed from Sanskrit Chandas.

The first Telugu grammar was written in Sanskrit in the 11th century. Additions to it on the lines of Vararuci (Vārttikakāra) in Sanskrit have been supplied by Adharvana in the 12th century. In the 17th century a highly learned commentary on both these in Sanskrit on the lines of the *Mahābhāsya* of Patañjali was written by Ahobalapati. Everywhere Sanskrit became the model. When any Sanskrit work was translated, the vocabulary in the original was retained to a great extent and only Telugu endings were added. The essence of scholarship in Telugu meant a knowledge of Sanskrit literature and Śāstras.

The same could be said of Kannada and Malayalam. These three languages proceeded on parallel lines and scholars of these languages were obliged to acquire a perfect mastery over Sanskrit to earn the title of Pundits.

But Tamil had a somewhat different history. To enrich its literature, a section of writers of the later period wrote Sanskrit-ridden Tamil and they adopted the 'Grantha script', complete in form to write out Sanskrit vocables with scriptograms which the indigenous script lacked. But there has always been a reaction against the influence of Sanskrit on the pure Tamil (CENDAMIL). Inspite of it, the process of Sanskritization went on even there.

One point to be remembered in this connection is that language is only a means of expression. For expression one should have ideas. Wherefrom can ideas come ? They cannot come up suddenly for any or every individual nor are there such great geniuses spread

in the whole country to revolutionise each literature and language. Only Vālmīki could create a great *Rāmāyaṇa*, the others had to copy it to this day. People have necessarily to resort to and use the great traditional treasures, which were ever increasing by the contributions of the master-minds in Sanskrit in all regions of the country. The regional languages had to borrow both the expression and the content of Sanskrit.

The Grammar and structure of the Dravidian languages had to follow the Sanskrit model. There was only one grammar, and that was written in Sanskrit, for the Sanskrit language. The regional languages differ in structure from Sanskrit but scholars had to adopt only the Sanskrit pattern. The Sanskrit technical terms, phonetics and grammatical theories have all got into Telugu, Kannaḍa and Malayalam, even in cases where the recipient languages could not easily adopt or assimilate them, in the same way as we have been obliged to use the English language today. The passive voice, the relative construction, the division into tenses and moods, the sentence dominated by the finite verb, the compounds and in short everything of grammar has been imported from Sanskrit into these languages and new constructional types have got permanently entrenched into the literary form of language.

To this day, India has one language, the Sanskrit, one culture Sanskritic, one tradition, the Puranic, the Vedic, and the Dārśanic, and all this re-appeared in different forms in the different regional languages.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON TELUGU
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

SRI VEDAM VENKATARAYA SASTRY M. A.
Madras

The influence of Sanskrit on all the regional languages of India has been conspicuous and it is much more so in the case of Telugu. Though Telugu is a Dravidian language in its origin, the influence of Sanskrit on it began quite early in its formative period and grew stronger with the passage of time. This process through the ages is, in a way, comparable to the influence of Greek and Latin on all the European languages and their literatures. But the common culture for which Sanskrit stood remained as a unifying factor, stronger than Greek or Latin in Europe. This may be due to historical and geographical reasons. Rich in its vocabulary, wide in the range of its literature, Sanskrit was a mine of information on all subjects and a perennial source of information for every Indian. Besides the Purāṇas and Itihāsas (the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*), Nāṭakas and the Kāvyas, every subject was dealt with in Sanskrit, more in verse than in prose, for study and easy memorisation. Even long after Sanskrit lost ground as the official language artisans and artists studied their subjects in Sanskrit the verses of rules and code words, which teachers explained through the regional languages.

Being placed midway between the North and the South, Telugu developed into a fine blend of the best elements of the Northern and the Southern languages and culture. It has, at once, the soft melody of the Dravidian languages and the vigour of expression of Sanskrit. In its vocabulary Telugu has words that could easily be traced back to either to proto-Dravidian or Prākṛt and Sanskrit. While Prākṛt influenced Telugu long before it took any shape, Sanskrit influence started when Telugu is seen as a distinct language. Hence, without in any way touching the main structure of the language, Sanskrit enriched Telugu in its vocabulary and literary thought. While one cannot see a clear cut line of

influence of Prākṛt on Telugu as there are many common features between the Prākṛts and the Dravidian group of languages, one can clearly mark the Sanskrit element in Telugu. Sometimes these non-Sanskritic features are called *Deśī* or regional and Telugu has many such.

Telugu has two names 'Āndhra' and 'Telugu' probably indicative of this amalgamation of the two cultures. It is noteworthy that the term 'Āndhra' or 'Andhra' goes far back to the age of the Upaniṣads while the word 'Telugu' as applied to the people and the language from about the tenth century A. D. in different forms like Telugu, Tenugu, Telinga, Tiling and Tilu. The Āndhra Śātavāhanas ruled in Deccan from about the middle of the 3rd century B.C., to about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. Their language appears to have been a kind of Prākṛt as found in their records, coins, and the poetical collection called the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. The Paiśācī *Bṛhatkathā*, besides being lost, it is of doubtful value for indicating the language of the Āndhras. After the Śātavāhanas, Prākṛit continued and usually 350 A.D. is taken as the end of the period of Prākṛt records when Samudragupta invaded the Deccan. Early samples of Telugu words are found in the records of the Sālankāyanas and clearly in the Pallava records of Mahendravarman (A.D. 600-630). The records of the contemporary Renāḍu Telugu Choḷas definitely are found in Telugu and from that time Telugu shows a continuity of development. It is curious to note that the early Telugu records are found only in the Southern Āndhra and later ones, further up and in a more developed form. This makes it clear that with the upward spread of the southern culture from the south and the descent of the northern culture southwards there was a fusion and the result was the growth of Telugu with a good admixture of Sanskrit giving two names to the language and the people—Āndhra and Telugu

It is also from this period that we find Sanskrit words used in Telugu records along with the Dravidian forms of Telugu. Place-names contain the Tamil ḻ and Mulakanāḍu in Cuddapah district, adjacent to Renāḍu was known as Muḷakanāḍu. The Muḷakas were a northern people known in Buddhist books along with Assakas (or Aśmakes) on the banks of the Godāvarī and probably formed a section of the Āndhras who entered the Deccan. (आन्ध्राश्च बहवः) Telugu words like *palli, kunṛu, koṇṛa, ūru,* are all found along with such Sanskrit words like *samvatsara, sāmanta, uttaradiśā, pātaka,* and *gotra.* But the usage marks the Dravīdian feature; e. g., *samvaśtara,* and *nāga* are used as *samvatsarambu, nāgambu,* the Telugu nominative singular being added and making it into *tatsama.* The Sanskrit rule is not followed and the Telugu rule that *tiryak* and *jaḍa vācakas* become *amahad-vācakas* or neuter is followed.

Telugu grammarians divided the language into *tatsama, tadbhava, deśya* and *grāmya*. *Tatsama* words are Samskrita-sama and Prākṛta-sama i. e. equal to them with slight change. Tadbhava words get much altered and are derived from the above two languages. Deśya is pure Telugu and *grāmya*, colloquial. From the seventh century onwards we see a progressive increase in the admixture of Sanskrit words and by the eighth century, they are largely found. The 'ḷ' disappeared but the other Dravidian characteristics remained. For instance, the Sanskrit dual form, the *dvivacana*, is conspicuous by its absence in Telugu as in other Dravidian languages. But it is curious to note that the *dvivacana* is not found in the Prākṛts also and the Telugu *ālankārika* and *lākṣaṇika* of the 15th century Vinnakota Peddana points out that Telugu is like Prākṛt as it has no *dvivacana*.

One peculiarity has been noticed in the formative period of Telugu prose. In the early Telugu inscriptions of the 7th century the verb is placed after the subject and before the predicate, making the sentence look like a verse, whereas from the sequence it is clear that no verse is intended. From the 8th century onwards we find this method dropped and the modern way of putting the verb after the subject or predicate gained ground. The style and sentence-formation approximate to that of Nannaya and Sanskrit *samāsas* enter as *tatsamas*. Here also the Telugu poets took care not to mix up Sanskrit and Telugu words as it would become a *duṣṭa-samāsa* or *ari-samāsa* as it is called in Kannada. For instance, it is wrong to form a compound like Vijayawāḍa, Vijaya being a Sanskrit word and Wāḍa a Telugu. It is right to say Vijayu plus Wāḍa and all old inscriptions have this form only.

Telugu prosody is distinctly non-Sanskritic in origin and has much in common with Tamil than Kannada, though later verses are all modelled after the Sanskrit *vṛttas*, with alterations to suit Telugu rules of prosody. *Yati* and *Prāsa* are the two distinct features of Telugu versification. Telugu *Yati*, though corresponding to the Sanskrit *viśrāmasthāna*, is different from it. In Sanskrit it it is a mere break but in Telugu it is a break with the first letter of the line corresponding with the first letter after break and belonging to the same group of letters. It is what is called 'Akṣaramaitrī.' *Prāsa* is not found in Sanskrit. It is the name given to the second letter of every line being in the same letter-group, either the same letter or the same letter with vowel-combinations, all the four lines agreeing in this respect. The Tamil verses contain both the features, the *Prāsa* being called *yadugai* and the *yati* called the *Monai*. In Kannada the rhyming of the second letter, *Prāsa*, is found but there is no *yati* as in Telugu. Hence, this shows that while the Kanna-

da poets, retaining the Dravidian practice of keeping the *yadugai* or *prāsa*, adapted the Sanskrit practice of having no *yati* being nearer to the North, the Telugu poets composed in the Sanskrit *vrttas* introducing the Dravidian *Yati* and *Prāsa.* The dominant metres until the time of Nannayabhatta of the 11th century were all *Desī* or Telugu without any Sanskrit prosodial influence. An attempt appears to have been made in the 8th century to compose in the *Campakamālā vrtta*, in the records of Gunaga Vijayāditya. It is a *slōka* but with *Prāsa* and no *yati*, like a Kannada Padya. This definitely shows the Kannada influence and the fact that the *vrttas* came into Telugu through Kannada sources. Many Telugu poets of the 10th century also are seen migrating to the Karnātaka to find patronage under Kannada rulers.

Definite Sanskrit influence is to be seen from the ninth century onwards. The Telugu people came into contact with the Karnātakas ever since the Chalukyan conquest of Vengi in the 7th century. Though there was poetical faculty and Telugu metres named *taruvoja, sīsa, and gīta* were in vogue, Kannada contact made the Telugu poets adapt the Kannada *Desī* metre called *akkara* along with the Sanskrit *vrttas.* The Kannada poets were some centuries ahead of the Telugu people in poetical writings using freely Sanskrit words, compounds and metres without using the *yati* but keeping the *Prāsa.* As the Telugu kings do not appear to have encouraged poetry it is likely that able poets left the Āndhra for Karnātaka Courts. There is also no *Kāvya* in Telugu until the time of Nannayabhatta (1050 A D.). Even Nannaya is known to have been assisted by his friend Nārāyanbhatta, a Kannada poet. Just a century prior to Nannaya, Ponnamayya, a poet of Vengi, migrated to Karnātaka and wrote the *Sāntipurāna* under the patronage of the Rāshtrakūta king Krishna III. Similarly Pampa, whose ancestors migrated to Vemulawāda, the capital of Arikesarin II, the Kannada ruler, wrote the *Vikramārjunavijaya,* popularly called the *Pampa Bhāratam* (956 A. D.). His brother Jinavallabha has, beside Kannada, many Telugu verses to his credit, some with and some without *yati.*

With Nannayabhatta Telugu literature reaches a definite stage and his translation of the *Mahābhārata* marks not only the beginning of an epoch but the very beginning of literature in Telugu. He is acclaimed as the first poet or *Ādikavi* and *vāg-anusāsana.* The period of unsettlement or wavering about prosodial conventions or grammar comes to an end. Every poet after Nannaya took him for his model. Even though he is credited by later writers of the 16th or 17th centuries with the composition of a grammar for Telugu in Sanskrit called the *Āndhra-sabda-cintāmani* there is no

contemporary evidence and no poet mentions it until we reach the 16th century. Much against it, poet Ketana (1260) who wrote a small Telugu grammar in verse, more to help translators, takes pride for his being the first grammarian for Telugu as none attempted a grammar before him. He also makes it clear that Telugu being the language of the land, it has to be learnt from the cultured as there are different usages just like different routes to Benaras. From Nannaya onwards it was a period of translation from Sanskrit and the book of Ketana called the *Āndhrabhāṣā-bhūṣaṇa* (itself a Sanskrit name) makes it clear that the author intended his book as a guide to those translators rather than to original writers and the translator into Telugu was looming largely in his mind.

The reforms introduced by Nannaya are not far to seek. Besides taking largely the Sanskrit *vṛttas*, he took the Kannada *akkara* metre under Kannada influence. Just like a Kannada writer, he used long Sanskrit compounds and many of his *padyas* look like Sanskrit *ślōkas* except for the Telugu endings. He also introduced the Campū method of interspersing prose also between verses as is found in Kannada and in inscriptions. The Campū type is seen only later, in Sanskrit. The Campū had its start in the Deccan before the Sanskrit authors took to it. As Nannaya used both *yati* and *Prāsa*, none after him deviated from this practice.

It is curious to note that Nannaya should have thought of translating a Sanskrit work, and that too the *Mahābhārata*. He could have taken a Telugu theme and shown the way. The reason is quite clear. Sanskrit was in the atmosphere and the land was fully influenced by it. No Telugu author of the early centuries ever thought of writing anything original with a local theme or background. The *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* became popular from about the seventh century and the inscriptions are full of references to these epics. The *Bhāgvata* influence comes much later. The ruling royal families began to trace their ancestory to the Sun, the Moon and Agni. The Chalukyas felt that they were the descendents of the Pāṇḍvas and the Cholas of Śrī Rāma, while the other families from the sacrificial fire of Vasiṣṭha. The kings were named after the Pāṇḍava heroes as Bhīma and Rājarāja, i. e. Duryodhana and poetic fancy compared the kings to those heroes.

दण्डेन भीमेन युधि प्रवीणो यद्राजराजो निहतो मदाख्यः ।
तद्द्रीमनामानमरन्ध मन्ध हन्मीति दण्डेन जघान तं सः ॥ (Inscription)

The Kannaḍa *Bhārata* of pampa (956 A. D.), though a Jaina version, compares king Arikesarin, the patron, to Arjuna of *Bhārata* and the poem is called *Vikramārjunavijaya*. Ranna wrote his

Gadāyuddha to praise his patron Satyāśraya (A. D. 997-1007) comparing to him to Bhīma, naming his poem as *Sāhasabhīma-vijaya*. Even in Kannaḍa, local colouring, except in the dedicatory preamble, is conspicuous by its absence. This is in striking contrast with Tamil literature where the local colouring is dominating, for early Sangam literature has themes relating to Tamilnad, mentioning local kings and places.

Nannayabhaṭṭa expressly states that he translated the *Mahā-bhārata* at the instance of his patron, Rājarājanarendra, king of Vengi in Āndhra (1019-1061 A. D.). Priding himself as one descended from the moon the king felt it his duty to get the story of the Pāṇḍavas, his ancestors, popularised among the Āndhras. He was a great Sanskrit scholar having read the Purāṇas, the Arthaśāstra texts, Kāvyas and Nāṭakas and was also a great devotee of Śiva and proficient in the Śaiva āgamas. His liking for the *Mahābhārata* being strong he requested his court-poet and hereditory purohit Nannayabhaṭṭa to render that into Telugu for him. Nannaya took up the work with pleasure to please his patron.

Unfortunately Nannayabhaṭṭa could not complete his work during his life-time and left it in the middle of the third Canto, in the Vanaparva. The life of the Rājarājanarēndra was full of trouble and probably this has to be ascribed to political reasons. For nearly two centuries no other poet came forward to complete the work and the descendants of Rājarāja became rulers of Tamilnad and their ancestral territory of Vengi dwindled into secondary importance. Rājarāja's son Rājēndra even patronised Tamil poets but no Telugu poet is seen in his court. The incomplete work of Nannaya left a legacy of debt that had to be discharged by later poets and it was in the middle of the 13th century that Tikkana Sōmayājin, the chief minister of Manumasiddhi of Nellore, himself a great poet in both Sanskrit and Telugu (Ubhayakavi-mitra) undertook to complete the work. Even he being superstitious, leaving out the Vanaparva, started from Virāṭaparva and translated all the rest at a stretch. Another poet Errana, known as Errapreggada as he belonged to a Brahmin family of Ministers, completed in the middle of the 14th century the translation by filling up the gap. Even he being caught by the same superstition filled the gap in Vanaparva in the name of the original poet Nannaya himself, as a proxy, for fear of some evil consequences if the work was done in his own name. Thus it took three centuries for the Telugu people to have a fully translated text of the *Mahābhārata* and the three poets, called the 'Kavitraya' by later poets, became at once a model posterity.

The style of Nannaya underwent some change in the hands of later poets. His Sanskritised Telugu is in sriking contrast to Tikkana's pure Telugu. Tikkana used Telugu words largely and is homely in many places. Some of his regional expressions are now obsolete and only people in the interior of his native district, Nellore, are now in a position to understand at least some of them. Errana revived Nannaya's style as he had to complete the Vanaparva almost in Nannaya's style A close imitation to Nannaya's style was felt necessary and long Sanskrit compounds again became the fashion. But he overdid Nannaya and became the model for Srīnātha of the next century to make wholesale importation of Sanskrit *samāsas* into Telugu.

It was not *Bhārata* alone but the *Rāmāyaṇa* also caught the imagination of the people and, like the *Āndhra Mahā-bhārata*, was done by several poets during different periods. One Bhāskara is said to have been the first poet in this direction and if his identification with Bhāskara, the grandfather of Tikkana were to be correct, he becomes a contemporary of his Tamil counterpart, the great Kamban. The last poet who completed this book known as *Bhāskara Rāmāyaṇa* appears to have lived in the 15th century. Even Errana claims authorship of one *Rāmāyaṇa* in his translation of *Harivaṁśa*. Tikkana of the previous century wrote, prior to his *Mahābhārata*, *Uttara-Rāmāyaṇam* and as it is expected that one would think of taking up writing on the later fortunes of Rāma only after completing the earlier, it is believed that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was rendered into Telugu and Bhāskara, his grandfather, could easily have been its author.

The end of the period of the *Kavitraya* is a land-mark in the history of Telugu literature. Nay, even from the time of Tikkana, many changes began to appear along with political changes in the land. The *Kavitraya* were rather not close translators. They did not go verse by verse but rendered the sense of the original into powerful Telugu. Their aim was to bring the spirit of the original to the local audience Hence we find in their works whole chapters reduced to a few verses and a fine idea developed into a descriptive story. The religious or dhārmic aspect also was given greater attention; for instance, Tikkana Somayājin has just four or five verses for the entire *Bhagvadgītā*, as he probably felt that the great Sacred Song would get abused or go cheap, if rendered into a regional language and it was best read in the original for religious merit. Thus we find certain standards being maintained, as for instance the *Rāmāyaṇa* has to be read for *pārāyaṇa* (i.e. religious merit) only in the original as it has the *Gāyatrī*-letters and reading a translation is useless for the purpose. Telugu poets were "Ubhaya-

Kavis" i.e. poets in both Sanskrit and Telugu and considered them-
selves as the very descendants of the ancient Ṛṣis. Tikkana
Somayājin was a pious Brahmin as his name indicates and is praised
as a Sanskrit poet by the poetess Gaṅgādevī of the early Vijaya-
nagara period (1370 A.D.) in her Sanskrit poem *Madhurāvijaya*

तिक्कयज्वकवे: सूक्ति: कौमुदीव कलानिधे: ।
सतृष्णै: कविभि: स्वैरं चकोरैरिव सेव्यते ॥

The Āndhras encouraged Sanskrit studies and great cities like
Warangal, Kondavidu, Rajamundry, Nellore and Vijayanagara were
centres of Sanskrit learning. Great Sanskrit authors who were
Andhras by birth flourished in these cities. For instance, Vidyānātha
was the court-poet of Pratāparudra of Warangal and after its fall,
Vijayanagara attracted the Court-poets of Pratāparudra. For
Gaṅgādevī, mentioned above, was the Queen of Kamparāya, son of
Bukka 1 and was the disciple of poet Viśvanātha, a nephew (sister's
son) of Agastya (Vidyānātha ?) These poets were moving from court
to court, though attached permanently to one place, displaying their
talents. Vāmana Bhaṭṭabāṇa flourished at Koṇḍavīdu and Vijaya-
nagara. Śrīnātha visited almost all courts and defeated in argumen-
tation one Gauḍa Diṇḍimabhaṭṭa at the Vijayanagara Court. For
this he was bathed in gold and called *Kavisārvabhauma*. This he
mentions in his translation of *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* :

कर्णाटक्षितिपालमौक्तिक सभागारान्तराकलिपत—
स्वर्णस्नान जगत्प्रसिद्धकविराट् संस्तुत्यचारित्र—

We find also other great Sanskrit authors in Āndhra like Mallinātha
at the court of Sarvajña Siṅgabhūpāla of Rāchakoṇḍa. Mallinātha's
commentaries on the *Kāvyas* of Kālidāsa and other poets are acclaimed
to be the best in the field. Many of the Reddi kings like Kāṭayavema
and Pedakamaṭi Vema were great Sanskrit writers. Every great
Kāvya or *Nāṭaka* produced in the North found its way to these
southern court and was studied with great avidity. This we see in
the minor *Kāvyas* in Telugu.

Soon after Tikkana, a poet Manchana of Velanāḍu corres-
ponding to the Tenali and Repalli taluks of the modern Guntur
district took the story of Rājaśekhara's *Viddhasālabhañjikā* and inter-
spersing moral stories from *Pañchatantra*, *Hitopadeśa*, and *Bṛha-
tkatha*, composed a Rājanīti-Kāvya called *Keyura-bāhu-caritra*.
Kālidāsa's *Abhijñāna-Sākuntala Nāṭaka* formed partly the theme
for poet Pina Virabhadra of the Vijayanagara Court for his *Śṛngāra-
Śākuntalam*. The Telugu poets, from the very early period, some-
how, avoided the drama, and even dramatic pieces were written as
narrative *Kāvyas*. Even prose works like *Daśakumāra Carita* were

made into Kāvyas. The reason for this is not clear and it cannot be said that they were averse to dramatic art. In fact many of the Āndhras wrote dramas in Sanskrit and got them enacted. There are references to stage, curtain, actors. dramatic halls and performances. Whether these were dramas of the Sanskrit type or local dance-dramas, the earlier forms of the *Yakshagānas*, it is not clear. No doubt there was some indegenous dramatic entertainment but the Telugu poets believed that the *Kāvya* was a child (*santāna*) of the author and its dedication to a deserving patron gave religious merit to the author.

This idea that *Kavitā* is a damsel who would voluntarily go and marry an accomplished poet and their children are the *Kāvyas* grew.

The idea developed in Telugu and a *sapta santāna* theory was evolved. A *putra* i.e. son *Vana* or garden, for public utility, an *agrahāra* given to brahmins, *nidhi* or find, a temple for any deity, a tank or water reservoir and, finally a *kṛti* or poem were the seven santānas.

Of these a poem is said to have been the best *santāna* as it would last longer than the rest. Besides it is said to be a *strī-santāna* or a girl that could be offered to any deserving patron as one would offer his daughter in marriage to a bridegroom. The *kāvya* is also said to possess an additional quality of gaining wide publicity and travelling all over the world while the other *santānas* being permanent fixtures cannot move from their places. Thus it became a practice with poets in Andhra to compose poems and dedicate for money, for money was also one of the *kāvya prayojanas* (काव्यं यशसे अर्थंकृते व्यवहार विदे शिवेतरक्षतये कान्तासम्मिततया उपदेशयुजे—) and in many case the man *prayojana*.

After translating the epics the Telugu poets took up *purāṇas* and rendered them also as Kāvyas. Keeping the main theme as in the originals they began to develop the descriptive portions in the *kāvya* manner. Mārana, a disciple of Tikkana, took the *Mārkaṇḍeya purāṇa* and made it a Kāvya. Nācana Soma's *Uttara-Harivaṁśa* (1340 A. D.) and *Nṛsiṁhapurāṇa* of Errana (1360), one of the *Kavitraya*, are in the descriptive style. This was much developed after Śrīnātha (1360—1440) the 'Kavisārvabhauma' whose translation of Śrī Harṣa's *Naiṣadhīya-Carita* with the title *Śṛṅgāranaiṣadha*, became the model for later writers. From this period narrative purāṇic type of versification already verging on the descriptive style became popular. Though there was the tendency to give a descrip-tive, polishing, explanatory touch to the originals from the time of Nannya, it gradually expanded as the Kāvya style gained ground. This is largely due to the influence of Śrīnātha.

The distinguishing feature of the age of Śrīnāth is the introduction of the *aṣṭādaśa varṇanas* or the eighteen kinds of descriptions as mentioned by Daṇḍin and other *alaṅkāra* writers. This was due to the above-mentioned *Śṛṅgāranaiṣadha*. Poets from the time of Pālkuriki Somanātha (C. 1320) mention the *Kāvyalakṣaṇas* in their introductions and Vinnakota Peddana, a contemporary of Śrīnātha, but living at the court of the Chaḷukyas of Visakhapattana, wrote the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-Cūḍāmaṇi* (1404 A. D.). This work is based completely on Sanskrit *alaṅkāra* literature. Hence Śrīnātha appears to have supplied a model *Kāvya* by translating Śrī Harṣa's *Naiṣadha*, true to the original. In this verse-translation Śrīnātha has retained many of the fine expressions of the original with only slight verbal changes to suit Telugu metre. His *Haravilāsa*, *Kāśīkhaṇḍa* and *Bhīmeśvara purāṇa* are more free and *Haravilāsa* looks like an original piece though his indebtedness to Kālidāsa and others is apparent.

It was during the age of Śrīnātha that the great God-inspired poet Potana flourished. His verse-translation of the *Bhāgavata* is in a sweet blend of Telugu and Sanskrit words; his work soon became the Bible of the Andhras. He introduced the *Kāvya* element where ever an opportunity presented itself to display his poetic faculties. He developed the *bhakti* or devotional element and excelled therein. With Potana we can say the period of regular translations came to an end, as with his great book all the great voluminous Sanskrit works had been rendered into Telugu.

Besides completely imitating these literary forms of Sanskrit the Telugu authors felt, along with their patrons, as already mentioned, that they were the very descendants of the great Sanskrit authors but were writing in a different language. In all their translations they started the 'Pūrva-Kavi-stuti' in their introductions with Vālmīki and Vyāsa, mentioned all poets from Kālidāsa upto Nannayabhaṭṭa and then mentioned other poets of Andhra. Nannayabhaṭṭa, himself mentioned Vālmīki and Vyāsa. Śrīnātha gives a long list of Sanskrit and Telugu poets, including Bhāsa, Saumillaka, Bilhaṇa, and others. This explains the love of the Telugu poets for Sanskrit.

In all these poems one clearly sees the absence of local themes. Folk lore or *janapada* literature took up Telugu themes, and *Palanāṭi Vīra Charitram* attributed to Śrīnātha marks a departure. Being composed in the *deśi dvipada* metre, not much liked by *Kāvya* writers, it found favour with masses.

From the beginning of the sixteenth century there was a tendency among Telugu poets to discontinue translations as such

but rewrite Sanskrit stories, developing them into Kāvyas like *Naiṣadha*. These were called *prabhandhas* in Telugu and herein the Telugu poets employed not only the eighteen *varṇanas* but added some more, making them twenty-two. They took all the Sanskrit *alaṅkāras*, *artha* and *śabda*, all the Sanskrit conventions i.e. 'Kavi-samayas', special importance to *dohadakriyās* and to a large extent developed the element of love or *śṛṅgāra*, thereby contributing much to the 'Nāyikā-Nāyaka, literature. It looked as though Telugu literature of this period was nothing but a logical development and continuation of Sanskrit literary thought in a different language. Allasāni Peddana, the poet laureate of the Court of Śrīkṛshṇadeva Rāya (1509-1529 A.D.), was the pioneer in this type of composition and his *Manucaritra* is the story of Svārociṣa Manu, developed into a fine *Kāvya* wherein the poet took full freedom to display his poetical talents. The style and imagery struck a new departure in the field of Telugu literature and though the language is not Sanskrit it looks like the work of one deeply read in Sanskrit lore. Other poets of the period called the *aṣṭadiggajas* followed his example and the next great poet is Rāmarājabhūṣaṇa whose *Vasucaritra* became the hall mark for this type of composition. It was not only imitated by many whose works were called smaller *Vasucaritra* or 'Pilla Vasucharitralu', but translated into Sanskrit also at an early age.

It was during the time of Kṛishṇadeva-rāya that the *Yakṣagāna* took a shape and though a *deśi* or regional dance-drama catering to the masses, it borrowed much from the Sanskrit *Bharata Nāṭya* Śāstra. While Śaiva temples were more interested in maintaining *devadāsīs* or dedicated girls for the form of worship represented by Bharata Nāṭya and called the Nāṭya-sevā or Nṛtya-sevā, the *Bhāgavatas* or worshippers of Viṣṇu took to the *Yakṣagāna* and popularised Kṛṣṇa-stories. Music of the Sanskrit school called *Mārga* along with the regional called *Deśī* played a prominent part in these representations.

In the field of arts and crafts, the artisans had no text-books in Telugu and got by rote all their rules from Sanskrit texts as all the technical words are found in Sanskrit. Though here and there, there were translations of books on arithmetic and geometry, astrology and astronomy much remained in Sanskrit and its study was unavoidable. Even in wrestling the term Jyeṣṭhika for a wrestler became *Jetti* in Telugu and their *śāstra* is also in Sanskrit. It is too well known that books on *Dhanurveda*, *Āyurveda* and the like are still in Sanskrit. Not only professionals but even Kings and Queens were proficient in Sanskrit and contributed much to Sanskrit Literature.

After the fall of the Vijayanagra Telugu was encouraged by

the rulers of Tanjore, Madura, Pudukkottai and other places in Tamilnad besides many Zamindari areas of Andhra. In the Telugu endings from all these, the Sanskrit touch persisted. Even Telugu Grammar was fashioned after Sanskrit grammar and the *Āndhra Śabda.cintāmaṇi* became popular from the seventeenth century. The Muslim rulers of Golkonda encouraged Sanskrit pundits and the Telugu *Śṛngāramañjarī* of Bade Akbarshah translated into Sanskrit, probably by himself, excellently edited by Dr. V. Raghavan, stands as a monumental example of the hold of Sanskrit on Telugu authors.

Coming to the modern period we find a large number of Sanskrit works being translated into Telugu, but the view of the translators has changed. The renderings are verse to verse, line to line to the original without avoiding even a 'tu' or a 'ca' bringing out the beauties based on puns on 'linga' and 'vacana'. The Sanskrit dramas especially have been translated into Telugu so closely that with their help one can easily study the originals as if through a guide.

Sanskrit has so influenced Andhra that it has even affected the Telugu pronunciation. The Telugu author to this day is unable to shake himself off from the age-long Sanskrit influence and feels that there are still many Sanskrit works awaiting translation. Indeed much remains to be done in this line.

संस्कृतान्ध्रकविसम्बन्धः

THE RELATION OF ĀNDHRA POETS
TO SANSKRIT POETS

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आन्ध्रभाषायाः संस्कृतभाषया सह वर्तमानः सम्बन्धः अविनाभावसम्बन्धसदृश इति वक्तुं शक्यते । आन्ध्रभाषायां तत्समानि, तद्भवानि, देश्यानीति त्रिविधानि पदानि सन्ति । संस्कृत-प्राकृत-प्रातिपदिकैः आन्ध्रभाषाप्रत्ययानां संयोजनेन निष्पन्नानि पदानि तत्समानि । तत्र प्रातिपदिकेषु वर्णविकारव्यत्ययादिभिर्निष्पन्नानि पदानि तद्भवानि । आन्ध्रप्रदेशे आन्ध्रप्रजाभिः प्राचीन-कालात् प्रभृति व्यवह्रियमाणानि देश्यानि । एवं च तत्समरूपेण तद्भवरूपेण चानेके संस्कृतशब्दाः आधुनिकान्ध्र भाषायांसम्मिलिताः सन्तीति स्पष्टमेतत् । तत्र देश्यपदानि कानि ? तत्समतद्भवपदानि कानि ? इत्येतत् तद्विषयकप्रत्येकशास्त्रपरिज्ञानवद्भिरेव ज्ञातुं शक्यते, न तु आन्ध्रभाषाव्यवहर्तृभिः सर्वैरपीति वस्तुस्थितिः । तादृशं च तेषां सम्मेलनमिति यावत् ।

आन्ध्रभाषायां वाङ्मयसमुदयात् प्राग् आन्ध्रदेशे संस्कृतग्रन्था अनेकशः पठनपाठनयोर्विद्यन्तेस्म । वैदिककर्मादीनां निर्वाहः सदा संस्कृतभाषयैव प्रचलति । आन्ध्रभाषायाः राजकीयभाषाप्रतिपत्ति कल्पितवद्भिः श्वालुक्यवंशीयैरान्ध्रदेशे राज्य-स्थापनात् पूर्वं शासनप्रकटनादिराजकीयव्यवहाराः संस्कृतभाषायामेव निरुह्यन्ते स्म । तदात्वे संस्कृतविद्यावन्त एव विद्वांसः पण्डिता इति च प्रथां लभन्ते स्म । तदनुसारेणैव दानीं पण्डितविद्वच्छब्दाः संस्कृतभाषाभिज्ञेषु रूढा दृश्यन्ते । आन्ध्रभाषा तु चिरा त्प्रभृत्यान्ध्रदेशे जनतायाः दैनंदिनव्यवहारे उपयुक्ता आसीत् । तदात्वे शिष्टानां सुपरिचितानि, सर्वविधभावप्रकटनसमर्थानि च संस्कृतपदानि शिष्टजन दैनंदिन व्यवहारे यदृच्छया आन्ध्र भाषया सम्मिलन्ति स्मेत्यभ्यूहितुं शक्यते । एवं च संस्कृत-पदानि व्यावहारिकदशाया अति प्राचीनकाल एवान्ध्रभाषया सम्मिलितानि भवेयु-रिति चाभ्यूहितुं शक्यते । संस्कृतभवशब्दप्रयोगोऽप्यमुमेवांशं विशदीकरोति । शिष्टजनैर्यदृच्छाया व्यवहृतान् शब्दान् श्रुत्वा तादृशवर्णघटितशब्दोच्चारणे अपरिचितस्य जनसामान्यस्य तेषामुच्चारणे वर्णविकार-व्यत्ययादिकं सम्भवेत् । तथा चे चन संस्कृतभवशब्दा निष्पन्ना भवेयुः । किञ्चादौ संस्कृतसमशब्दा यथातथ-

मुपयुक्ता भूत्वा मानवस्य सुखाभिलाषनैंजतया तदनुगुणं विपरिणता भवेयुः । केचन संस्कृतभवशब्दा एवं निष्पन्ना भवेयुः । एवं च आन्ध्रभाषायां संस्कृतसमशब्द व्यवहारसमनन्तरमेव संस्कृतभवशब्दा व्यवहृता भवेयुरिति च स्पष्टं भाति । आन्ध्रभाषायां च संस्कृतभवशब्दा आन्ध्रवाङ्मयारम्भकालात् प्राक्कालिकेषु शासनेष्वपि दृश्यन्ते । एतेनापि केवल व्यावहारिकदशायाः प्राचीनकाले एवान्ध्रभाषायां संस्कृतपदानि तत्समरूपेण सम्मिलितानि भवेयुरिति वक्तुं शक्यते । अद्यत्वे तथा संस्कृतशब्दसम्मिलितैवान्ध्रभाषा जनताभाषेति वक्तव्या भवति । संस्कृतभाषा संसर्ग रहिता त्वान्ध्रभाषा जनसामान्यं प्रति अस्वाभाविकीत्येवावभासते । देश्यपद प्रचुराणां प्राचीनान्ध्रभाषाशासनानां पठितुं सामान्यबुद्धेरगोचरत्वैव तत्र निदर्शनं भवति ।

क्रीस्तोरनन्तरं ६, ७-शताब्द्योरान्ध्रप्रदेशस्थं तदात्वे रेनाडिति व्यवह्रियमाणं देशं पालितवतां चोडवंशीयानां शासनं प्रथमान्ध्रभाषाशासनमिति कथ्यते । तदनुसारेण चालुक्यवंशीया आन्ध्रदेशपालका अपि कानिचन शासनान्यान्ध्रभाषायां प्रकटितवन्तः । तेषु प्राक्कालिकानि गद्यमयानि । तदनन्तर शासनेषु पद्यमयानि दृश्यन्ते । तदैव आन्ध्रभाषायां काव्यरचनाया अङ्कुरारोपणमभूदिति विमर्शकैर्भाव्यते । क्रमशः नन्नयभट्टारक कवि काले आन्ध्रभाषायां काव्यरचना परिणतिं गता । उपलभ्यमाने-ष्वान्ध्रभाषाग्रन्थेषु ११—शताब्द्यां नन्नयकविना विरचितं आन्ध्र महाभारताख्यो ग्रन्थ-एव प्रथमः । तस्मिन् देश्यशब्देभ्यस्त्रिगुणाः संस्कृतशब्दाः प्रयुक्ता इति विमर्शकाणा-माशयः । वस्तुसमृद्धं महाभारतमान्ध्रीकर्तुं तावत्पर्यन्तमान्ध्रभाषायां व्यवहृतानां पदाना-मपर्याप्तत्वात्, यदृच्छया संस्कृतसमशब्दप्रयोगपद्धतिं च विलोक्य तद्वीत्यान्यान्यपि संस्कृतसमपदानि स्वीकर्तुं निश्चित्य तदनुगुणं नन्नयकविरान्ध्रभाषानुशासनं चक्रे । तथैव संस्कृत वृत्तान्यपि यथावकाशं स्वीयकार । आन्ध्रमहाभारत रचनातः पूर्व मेव यथेच्छं संस्कृतसमशब्दप्रयोगः, संस्कृतवृत्तोपयोगश्च कर्णाटिकभाषाकविभिरवा-लम्ब्यतेति ज्ञात्वा तद्भाषाभिज्ञस्य नारायणभट्टाख्यमित्रस्य सहकारेण नन्नयमहाकवि-स्तन्मार्गे आन्ध्रमहाभारतरचनां कृत्वा कृतकृत्यो बभूव । प्रथमान्ध्रग्रन्थस्य तस्य प्रथमान्ध्रपद्यपरिशीलनेन संस्कृतान्ध्रभाषयोस्तात्कालिकोऽनुबन्धः प्रकटीभवति । यथा—

राजकुलैकभूषणुडु राजमनोहरुडन्यराजते—
जो जयशालिशौर्युंडु बिशुद्ध यश: शरदिन्दुचन्द्रिका—
राजित सर्वंलोकुडपराजित भूरिभुजा कृपाणधा—
राजल शान्तशात्रव परागुडु राजमहेन्द्रुडुन्नतिन् ।।

अनन्तरकाले "केवलान्ध्रकाव्यानि" कानिचिद् विरचितानि । संस्कृतसमेतरा भाषा 'आच्छिक' भाषा इत्यान्ध्रवैयाकरणानां निर्वचनम् । आन्ध्रवाङ्मयस्थ केवला-न्ध्रकाव्यानि तादृशाच्छिकभाषया निर्मितान्येब । तथा च तत्रापि संस्कृतभवसंसर्गः अवश्यम्भावी । संस्कृतवृत्तानुसरणमपि न परिहृतम् । "संस्कृतसमशब्दान् विना ग्रन्थान् विरचयेम" इति नियमानुसरणेन चावश्यकस्थलेषु व्यवहाराप्रसिद्धाः केचन संस्कृतभवशब्दा अपूर्वः सृष्टाः । वस्मादेव तानि पण्डितलोक एव स्थिरीभूतानि । सहृदयहृदयरञ्जकानि भवितुं नाशक्नुवन् । कवीनां व्युत्पत्तिविशेषप्रदर्शनायोद्दिष्टानि

तानि । बन्धकवित्वादीनां वाङ्मये यादृशी स्थितिर्विद्यते तेषामपि तादृश्येव स्थितिरिति तेनापि श्रान्ध्रभाषायाः संस्कृतभाषया सहानुबन्ध विशेषः विशदीक्रियत एव । संस्कृत-काव्यशास्त्रज्ञैः काव्याङ्गत्वेन निरूपितानि गुणालङ्कारादीन्येवान्ध्रकाव्यानामपि प्रधानाङ्गत्वेन स्वीकृत्य श्रान्ध्रकाव्यानि विरचितानि । श्रान्ध्रकवयः संस्कृत भाषां मातृभाषेति सम्भावितवन्तः । कविसार्वभौम इति प्रथितः श्रीनाथः "जननि समस्त भाषक्लकु संस्कृतमु" (जननी समस्तभाषाणां संस्कृतम्) इति उद्घाटितवान् । यद्यपि भाषाशास्त्रदृष्टौ श्रान्ध्रसंस्कृतयोर्जन्यजनकभावस्य वस्तुत श्रभावेऽपि श्रान्ध्र-भाषापोषकत्वेन संस्कृतभाषायाः जननीत्ववचनं समर्थनीयं भवति ।

संस्कृतग्रन्थानामनुवादरूपेणान्ध्रभाषायां ग्रन्थरचनोपक्रान्ता । क्रमशः भारत-भागवतरामायणादीनि काव्यनाटकादीनि चान्यानि श्रान्ध्रभाषायामनूदितानि । तेषु यथामातृकानुवादाः केचन, स्वेच्छानुवादाः केचन चेति तत्तत्कवीनां प्रतिभाविशेषेण, विवक्षया च श्रनुवादसरण्यां वैविध्यं दृश्यते । यद्यपि केचिदपूर्वंग्रन्था श्रप्यार्विभूता-स्तत्रापि भावेषु, वर्णनेषु, वस्तुनिर्वहृणेषु च संस्कृतकवीनां प्रभावः श्रधिकं दृश्यते एव ।

संस्कृतसाहित्यव्याकरणशास्त्रसम्प्रदायानुसारेणैवान्ध्रसाहित्यव्याकरणशास्त्रग्रन्था श्रप्यार्विभूता: । एवं संस्कृतान्ध्रयोरनुबन्धः सर्वथाऽपि सुदृढ इति प्रतिपद्यते ।

संस्कृतभाषासाहचर्येणान्ध्रभाषायाः महानुपकारः संजातः । उदात्तरसभाव-समन्वितकाव्यादीनां, विज्ञानप्रदानां शास्त्राणां च संस्कृतभाषा निधिरेव । संस्कृत भाषागता उत्तमग्रन्था श्रान्ध्रभाषाकविभिरनूदिता: तेनान्ध्रभाषावाङ्मयस्य पुष्टिः सञ्जाता । एतादृशायां वस्तुस्थित्या संस्कृतकविप्रभाव श्रान्ध्रभाषाकविषु वर्तत इति निस्संशयोऽभिप्रायः । श्रतएवानेके श्रान्ध्रकवयः संस्कृतकविविषयकं स्वप्रतिपत्ति विशेषं प्रदर्शयितुं स्वग्रन्थेषु तत्तत्संस्कृतकवीन् स्मरन्तिस्म । तेनान्ध्रकवीनां संस्कृतान्ध्रभाषा-पाण्डित्यं, कवित्वाशयः, कवितारीतयः चविशदीभवन्ति । तत्तदान्ध्रकविभिः स्वीय-ग्रन्थेषु संस्मृताः संस्कृतकवय स्तदान्ध्रकवीनां मार्गदर्शका श्रभवन्निति भावयितुं शक्यते ।

श्रान्ध्रकविभिः संस्मृताः संस्कृतकवयः के ? तेषां स्मर्तारः के ? इत्ययमंशः स्मतृं कालप्रदर्शनसहितमन्ते विशदीक्रियते श्रनुबन्धतया ।

संस्कृतकवीन् स्वग्रन्थारम्भेषु स्मृतवन्तः सर्वेऽपि प्रायशःव्यासवाल्मीकिकालि-दासान् स्मृत्वैवान्यकविस्मरणे प्रवृत्ताः । केचन कवयः केवलं व्यासवाल्मीकिकालि-दासानां स्मतारोऽपि सन्ति । श्रान्ध्रकविभिः स्वीकृतानां काव्यवस्तूनां बीजानि बहुशो भारत रामायणान्तर्गतान्येव ।

व्यासवाल्मीक्योरनन्तरं तादृश विख्यातिं गतः, काव्यनिर्मातृणामग्रगण्यः महाकविः कालिदासः । व्यासवाल्मीकिभ्यां समं कालिदासोऽप्यान्ध्र कविभिः स्मृतः । एतेन कालिदासविषयक श्रान्ध्रकवीनां प्रतिपत्तिविशेषः प्रकटीक्रियते । प्राक्तनकाले श्रान्ध्रकवयः सर्वेऽपि संस्कृतविद्याभ्यासपूर्वकमेवान्ध्रभाषाकवित्वाभ्यासं कुर्वन्तिस्म । सुप्रसिद्धा श्रान्ध्रकवयः सर्वेऽपि संस्कृतभाषाभिज्ञा एवेति निर्विवादोऽयमंशः । प्राक्तन काले विद्याभ्यासो नाम संस्कृतविद्याभ्यास एव । विद्वांसाम संस्कृत विद्यावानेव । संस्कृतसाहित्यविद्याभ्यासः कालिदासकाव्यपठनेनैव प्रारम्यते स्म ।

तस्मात् कालिदासग्रन्थपरिचयविहीनः, तत्प्रभावरहितो वाऽऽन्ध्रकविदुर्लभएवेति स्थिरं
वचः ।

व्यासवाल्मीकिकालिदासेभ्यः परमधिकसंख्याकैरान्ध्रकविभिः संस्मृतो मयूर-
कविः । अनन्तरं बाणमाघभारवयः । ततो भवभूतिः । ततश्च दण्डीत्येवं क्रमो
दृश्यते । अधिकसंख्याकानां संस्कृतकवीनां स्मर्ता श्रान्ध्रकविर्जक्कनः । सः स्वीये
'विक्रमार्क चरित्र' नामके ग्रन्थे एकत्रिशत्संख्याकान् संस्कृतकवीन् ससार ।

उपर्युक्तांशानां परिशीलनेन संस्कृतभाषासंप्रदायजिज्ञासुःसंस्कृतविद्याभ्यास-
चिकीर्षुश्च कालिदास ग्रन्थानारभ्य तदनन्तरं मयूरबाणमाघभारविभवभूतीनां
ग्रन्थानपि यथावकाशं पठतिस्मेति, संस्कृतसाहित्ये विशेषतः कृषिचिकीर्षुः यथोप-
लंभमन्येषामपि कवीनां ग्रन्थान् पठतिस्मेति च श्रम्यूहितुं शक्यते ।

तत्तदान्ध्रकवीनां वाल्मीकिव्यासकालिदासविषयकसम्भावनाप्रकारप्रतिपत्तये तेषां
वचनानि सन्निहितं यथा तथा संस्कृतीकृत्य किञ्चिदिवोदाह्रियते ।

तत्रादौ वाल्मीकि प्रति केषांचिदभिप्रायाः विशदीक्रियन्ते ।

नन्नयकवेः—वाल्मीकिः गुरुपद्यविद्याया श्राद्यः काव्यजगतः श्रम्बुरुह्गर्भनिभः
(ब्रह्मदेवतुल्यः) ।

ऐट्ँनकवेः—चतुरोद्यन्मतिः वातपोतकमहासांयात्रिकः सन् चतुराग्नाय-
पयोधिषु चरित्वा भास्वद्रत्नानि रामसन्नुतिरूपेण संकल्य विश्वं भूषितवान् धन्यः ।
श्रोत्रपेयं विचित्रं काव्यरसमास्वाद्य मानवकोटिः यथा पशुसमानता मुत्सृजति तथा
कृतवान् ।

नन्नेचोडकवेः—कवितामृतोदयाम्बुधिः । वस्तुकाव्याब्जरविः ।

रामराजभूषणकवेः—भुवि कविताकन्याया जनकः ।

तेनालिरामकृष्णकवेः—वल्मीकाज्जननसमये समवेतेन स्निग्धमधुरतन्मधुसंसर्गेणे-
वामृतं स्रावयिता ।

शङ्कुरकवेः—तारानाथमरीचिकाचयकृतोद्यन्नूतनरंगतपयः पारावारविनिर्मलोर्मि-
पटलीपर्यायवाङ्निर्मितश्रीरामायणकाव्यसृष्टिकवितासिद्धान्तशुद्धान्तविद्याराशिः ।

अत्र 'कविसम्राट्,'—पद्मभूषण—कलाप्रपूर्णं—बिरुदाञ्चितानां ज्ञानपीठबहुमति-
ग्रहीतृणां वर्तमानान्ध्रप्रदेशप्रभुत्वास्थानकविवराणां ज्ञानपीठबहुमतेर्विपयीभूते रामायण-
कल्पवृक्षाख्ये प्रबन्धे सूचिता श्रभिप्रायाः श्रपि विंत्रियन्ते । यथा—

"परममौनिना वाल्मीकिना कृतरामसत्कथासुधारसमास्वाद्य श्रमराणाममृत-
घनायत नाहमसूये ॥ यस्य मुनेर्वदन सीम्नः सर्वकाव्यवाचः श्रजायन्त, यः सर्व-
विघक्काव्यशिल्पभूमिः, सर्वलक्षणलक्ष्यनवविधातुभूतः नाकुजातं तं वन्दे ॥ काकु-
त्स्थस्य स्वामिनः गाथासम्पदः भक्त्या विवरणं विनान्यथा संसारोऽयं कथं मौनि-
वाल्मीकिभाषा संक्रान्तऋणं मपनयते, कथं वा सत्काव्यनिर्माणरेखासामग्रीऋणं-

मपनयते ।। वाल्मीकिमेकं विना कोऽन्यः सुकविशब्दवाच्यो भवितुमर्हति ? तादृशमुने-
र्ऋणाद् विमुक्तिं प्राप्तुमेव मयेदं काव्यं विरच्यते ।।''

अथ वेदव्यासं प्रति केषांचिदभिप्रायाः विव्रियन्ते । यथा—

नन्नयकवेः—भारतभारतीशुभगभस्तिचर्यैर्धॉरसंसारविकारसन्तमसजालविसृम्भ-
मपनीयसूरिचेतोरुचिराब्जबोधनरतः ।

तिक्कनकवेः—विद्वत्संस्तवनीयभव्यकवितावेशः । विज्ञानसम्पद्विख्यातः । संयमि
प्रकट सम्भाव्यानुभावः ।

मारनकवेः—विविधाम्नायलतालवालम् । धिषणाविख्यातविज्ञानदीप विभालो-
कितलोकवर्तनः ।

एर्टनकवेः—क्लृप्ताखिलच्छन्दो बृन्दविभागः ।

नन्नेचोडकवेः—वेदान्तभारतपुराणादीनां निर्माणादपि तस्योत्कृष्टं कर्म तु
अजस्याप्यशक्यं वेदविभागकरणम् भवति ।

अथ कालिदासं प्रति केषां चिदभिप्राया विव्रियन्ते

नन्नेचोडकवेः—वाल्मीकिव्यासयोरनन्तरं वरकवितासिंहासनमारूह्य कवीन्द्राणां
पालकः ।

श्रीनाथकवेः—रसभावभावनामहनीयकवितासमुल्लासः ।

अनन्तामात्यकवेः—उपमाकवित्वसत्प्रवणता धुरंधरः ।

रामराजभूषणकवेः—यं काली देवी 'त्वमेवाहं' मित्युवाच ।

पिल्ललमर्रिपिनवीरभद्रकवेः—स्वीयवचोविशालताप्रौढिम्ना विक्रमादित्यविभो-
श्चरितं प्रकटितवान् ।

शंकरकवेः—सुधाधारा पाणिधम कवितार्चनावासः ।

रघुनाथनायककवेः—कालिकामुखवीटिका सौरभोर्मिककवितारसोल्लासः ।

समुखंवेङ्कटकृष्णप्यनायककवेः—नव रसवर्षणानन्दहेतुः ।

इत्येवमनेके कवयः बहुविधानभिप्रायान् प्रकटीकृत्य तत्तत्संस्कृतकविगतं
स्वीयप्रतिपत्तिविशेषं प्रकटितवन्तः । प्रायः सर्वेऽपि आन्ध्रकवयः संस्कृतभाषायाः
संस्कृतकवीनां च प्रभावपरिपूर्णा एव । भाषाकवीनां संस्कृतानुसरणं सर्वं भारत
संस्कृतेरैक्यनिरूपकं तत्साधकं च भूयात् ।।

"इति शम्"

अनुबन्धः

आन्ध्रकविभिः संस्मृताः संस्कृतकवयः	स्मर्तार आन्ध्रकवयः, तेषां कालश्च (शताब्दीषु)
१. उद्भटः	१. नन्नेचोडः (१२ शताब्दी) २. माङ्य्यकविः (१५. श.)
२. कविराक्षसः	जक्कनः (१४)
३. कात्यायनः	काकमानि-मूर्तिकविः (१६).
४. कामन्दकः	जक्कनः (१४)
५. कालिदासः	(प्रायशः संस्कृत-कवि-स्मर्तार आन्ध्रकवयः) सर्वेऽपि
६. क्षेमेन्द्रः	१. श्रीनाथः (१५) २ तुरगा-राजकविः, अय्यंकि-बाल-सरस्वति-कविश्चेति कवि-युगलम् (१६)
७. चित्रपकविः	श्रीनाथः (१५)
८. चिन्मयः	तुरगा-राजकविः, अय्यंकि-बाल-सरस्वतिश्चेति कवियुगलम् (१६)
९. चोरः	१. जक्कनः (१४) २. श्रीनाथः (१५) ३. पिल्ललमर्रि-पिन-वीरभद्रः (१५) ४. माङ्य्यकविः (१५) ५. अल्लसानि-पेद्दनकविः (१६) ६. अय्यल-राजु-रामभद्रकविः (१६) ७. प्रौढकविमल्लनः (१६) ८. रामराजभूषणः (१६) ९. काकमानि-मूर्तिकविः (१६) १०. चदलु-वाड-मल्लन्नः (१६) ११. तुरगा-राजाय्यंकि-बाल-सरस्वतिकवियुगलम् (१६) १२. अप्पकविः (१७) १३. कनुपर्ति-अब्बयामात्यः (१८) १४. पिण्डिप्रोलु-लक्ष्मणकविः (१८) १५. अल्लमःराजु-राम-कृष्णकविः (१८) १६. अय्यल-राजु-नारायणामात्यः (१८)
१०. जयदेवः	१. जक्कनः (१४) २. चिन्तल-पूडि-एल्लनार्यः (१६) ३. प्रौढ-कविमल्लनः (१६) ४. तुरगा-राजाय्यङ्कि-बाल-सरस्वतिकवि-युगलम् (१६) ५. अप्पकविः (१७)
११. दण्डी	१. जक्कनः (१४) २. श्रीनाथः (१५) ३. अनन्तामात्यः (१५) ४. पिल्ललमर्रि-पिन-वीरभद्रः (१५) ५. दग्गुपल्ली-दुग्गनः (१५) ६. माड्य्य-कविः (१५) ७. अल्लसानि-पेद्दनकविः (१६) ८. अय्यल-राजु-रामभद्रकविः (१६) ९. रामराज-भूषणः १०. चदलुवाड-मल्लनः (१६) ११. एडपाटि-एर्रनः (१६) १२. तुरगा-राजाय्यङ्कि-बालसरस्वतिकवियुगलम् (१६) १३. अप्प-कविः (१७) १४. दामेर्ल-वेँगलनायकः (१७) १५. कनुपर्ति-अब्बयामात्यः (१८) १६. अय्यल-राजु-नारायणामात्यः (१८) १७. चन्द्रकविः (१८).
१२. धनञ्जयः	१. तुरगा-राजाय्यङ्कि-बाल-सरस्वति-कवियुगलम् (१६) २. दामेर्ल-वेँगल-नायकः (१७)

१३. पाणिनिः १. काकमानि-मूर्तिकविः (१६)

१४. प्रवरसेनः १. जक्कनः (१४) २. श्रीनाथः (१५) ३. दग्गुपल्लि-दुग्गनः (१५) ४. माद्ययकविः (१५) ५. प्रौढकवि-मल्लनः (१६) ६. तुरगा-राजाय्यंङ्कि-कवियुगलम् (१६)

१५. बाणः १. नन्ने-चोडः (१२) २. मडिकि-सिगनः (१४) ३. गौरनः (१५) ४. पोतनः (१५) ५. नन्दि-मल्लयः, घण्ट-सिगनश्चेति कवियुगलम् (१५) ६. दूबगुण्ट-नारायणकविः (१५) ७. पिल्लल-मर्रि-पिन-वीरभद्रः (१५) ८. मोल्लकवयित्री (१६) ९. अल्लसानि-पेद्दनः (१६) १०. भानुकविः (१६) ११. अय्यल-राजु-रामभद्रः (१६) १२. शङ्करकविः (१६) १३. रामराज-भूषणः (१६) १४. काकमानि-मूर्तिकविः (१६) १५. चदलुवाड-मल्लनः (१६) १६. तुरगाय्यंकि-कवियुगलम् (१६) १७. गट्टु-प्रभुः (१६) १८. रघुनाथ-नायकः (१७) १९. दामेर्लें-वेंगल-नायकः (१७) २०. कनुपर्ति-अब्बयामात्यः (१८) २१. पिण्डि-प्रोलु-लक्ष्मण-कविः (१८) २२. अय्यल-राजु-नारायणा-मात्यः (१८) २३. आलूरु-कुप्पन-कविः (१८) २४. अल्लम-राजु-सुब्रह्मण्यकविः (१८) २५. चन्द्रकविः (१८)

१६. बिल्हणः १. जक्कनः (१४) २. पिल्लल-मर्रि-पिनवीरभद्रः (१५) ३. दग्गुपल्लि-दुग्गनः (१५) ४. अल्लसानि-पेद्दनः (१६) ५. अय्यल-राजु-रामभद्रः (१६) ६. तुरगाय्यंङ्कि-कवियुगलम् (१६) ७. गट्टु-प्रभुः (१६) ८. श्रीनाथः (१५) ९. अय्यलराजु-सुब्रह्माण्यकविः (१८)

१७ बोधायनः १. दग्गुपल्लि-दुग्गनः (१५)

१८. भट्टगोपालः १. जक्कनः (१४)

१९. भट्टारकः १. पिल्लल-मर्रि-पिन-वीरभद्रः (१५) दग्गुपल्लि-दुग्गनः (१५)

२०. भट्टनारायणः १. चिम्पपूडि-अमरेश्वरः (१३) २. जक्कनः (१४)

२१. भट्टबाणः (ट्प्यनामु परि बाणः) १. श्रीनाथः (१५) २. माद्ययकविः (१५) ३. प्रौढकवि-मल्लनः (१६) ४. गट्टुप्रभुः (१६) ५. एडपाटि-एर्रनः (१६) ६. अप्पकविः (१७)

२२. भट्टिः १. श्रीनाथः (१५)

२३. भद्रः १. जक्कनः (१४)

२४. भवदूरः १. तुरगाय्यंकि-कवियुगलम्

२५. भवभूतिः १. जक्कनः (१४) २. मल्लय-सिगन-कवियुगलम् (१५) ३. दूबगुण्ट-नारायणकविः (१५) ४. पिल्लल-मर्रि-पिन-वीर

भद्रः (१५) ५. दग्गुपल्लि-दुग्गनः (१५) ६. माडत्य-कविः (१५) ७. मोल्ल-कवयित्री (१६) ८. अल्लसानि-पेद्दन-कविः (१६) ९. अय्यल-राजु-रामभद्रः (१६) १०. प्रौढकवि-मल्लनः (१६) ११. रामराजभूषणः (१६) १२. काकमानि-मूर्तिकविः (१६) १३. चदलु-वाड-मल्लनः (१६) १४. तुर्गा-य्यङ्कि-कवियुगलम् (१६) १५. गट्टु-प्रभुः (१६) १६. रघुनाथ-नायकः (१७) १७. अप्पकविः (१७) १८. दामेर्ल-वेंगल-नायकः (१७) १९. कनुपर्ति-अब्बयामात्यः (१८) २०. अय्यल-राजु-नारायणामात्यः (१८) २१. रत्नाकर-अप्पय्यकविः (१८) २२. अय्यल-राजुसुब्रह्मण्यकविः (१८) २३. चन्द्रकविः (१८)

२६. भल्लटः	१. श्रीनाथः (१५)
२७. भर्तृहरिः	१. प्रौढ-कवि-मल्लनः (१६)
२८. भानुः	१. पिल्लल-मर्रि-पिन-वीरभद्रः (१५)
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३० भारविः	१. नन्ने-चोडः (१२) २. जक्कनः (१४) ३. श्रीनाथः (१५) ४. अनन्तामात्यः (१५) ५. पोतनः (१५) ६. मल्लय-सिंगन कवियुगलम् (१५) ७. दूबगुण्ट-नारायणकविः (१५) ८. पिल्लल-मर्रि-पिन-वीरभद्रः (१५) ९. दग्गुपल्लि-दुग्गनः (१५) १०. माडत्यकविः (१५) ११. मोल्लकवयित्री (१६) १२. अल्लसानिपेद्दन-कविः (१६) १३. अय्यल-राजु-रामभद्रः (१६) १४. शंकर-कविः (१६) १५. रामराज-भूषणः (१६) १६. चदलु-वाड-मल्लनः (१६) १७. ककमानि-मूर्तिकविः (१६) १८. तुर्गाय्यङ्कि-कवियुगलम् (१६) १९. गट्टु-प्रभुः (१६) २०. अप्पकविः (१७) २१. कनुपर्ति-अब्बयामात्यः (१८) २२. अय्यल-राजु नारायणामात्यः (१८) २३. अय्यलराजु-सुब्रह्मण्यकवि (१८) २४. चन्द्रकविः (१८)
३१. भासः	१. जक्कनः (१४) २. श्रीनाथः ३. दग्गुपल्लि-दुग्गनः (१५) ४. अल्लसानि-पेद्दनकविः (१६) ५. अय्यलराजु-रामभद्रकविः (१६) ६. काक-मानि-मूर्तिकविः (१६) ७. तुर्गाय्यङ्कि-कवियुगलम् (१६) ८. रघुनाथ-नायकः (१७) ९. चेङ्गलव-काककविः (१७) १०. पिण्डि-प्रोलु-लक्ष्मणकविः (१८) ११. अय्यल-राजु-सुब्रह्मण्यकविः (१८)
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३३. मयरः	१. जक्कनः (१४) २. श्रीनाथः (१५) ३. पोतनः (१५)

४. मल्लय-सिंगन-कवियुगलम् (१५). ५. दूबगुण्ट-नारायण-कविः (१५) ६. पिल्लल-मर्रि-पिन-वीरभद्रः (१५) ७. दग्गुपल्लि-दुग्गनः (१५) ८. माडय्य-कविः (१५) ९. अल्लसानि-पेद्दनकविः (१६) १०. भानु-कविः (१६) ११. चिन्तल-पूडि-एल्लनार्यः (१६) १२. अय्यल-राजु-राम-भद्रः (१६) १३. प्रौढकविः-मल्लनः (१६) १४. शंकरकविः (१६) १५. राम-राज-भूषणः (१६) १६. काकमानि-मूर्तिकविः (१६) १७. चदलु-वाड-मल्लनः (१६) १८. एडपाटि-एर्टनः (१६) १९. तुरगाय्यञ्कि-कवियुगलम् (१६) २०. अप्पकविः (१७) २१. दामेलं-वेंगल-नायकः (१७) २२. कनुपर्ति-अब्बयामात्यः (१८) २३. अय्यल-राजु नारायणामात्यः (१८) २४. अय्यल-राजु रामकृष्णकविः (१८) २५. अल्लम-राजु-सुब्रह्मण्यकविः (१८) २६. चन्द्रकविः (१८) २७. पिण्डि-प्रोलु-लक्ष्मण-कविः (१८)

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१. जक्कनः (१४) २. श्रीनाथः (१५) ३. पिल्लल-मर्रि-पिन-वीरभद्रः (१५) ४. अल्लसानि-पेद्दनकविः (१६) ५. अय्याल-राजु-रामभद्रकविः (१६) ६. प्रौढकवि-मल्लनः (१६) ७. चदलु-वाड-मल्लनः (१६) ८. तुरगाय्यंकि-कवियुगलम् (१६) ९. गट्टु-प्रभुः (१६) १०. अप्पकविः (१७)

३५. माघः

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६२. हेमचन्द्रः १. जक्कनः (१४)

६३. हीरः १. अप्पकविः (१७)

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON
ASSAMESE LITERATURE

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Assamese is the direct descendant of Eastern Māgadhī Apabhraṃśa. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji observes : "Bengali, Oriya and Assamese, as sister languages coming from the same Eastern Māgadhī-Apabhraṃśa of about 1200 to 1500 years ago have very great resemblance with each other, and no wonder their literature would also show the same family-resemblance." It is, therefore, quite obvious that Sanskrit has direct and all pervading influence on Assamese language and literature.

Though Assamese comes from the Eastern Māgadhī-Apabhraṃśa and inherits some of its characteristics, it does not follow the rules of Apabhraṃśa grammar in respect of *Natva* and *Ṣatva, Kāraka* and *Vibhaktis*. Rather Assamese retains certain characteristics of Classical Sanskrit. Assamese follows the rules of Sanskrit grammar in respect of *Sandhi, Natva* and *Ṣatva*, Kāraka and Samāsa, prefixes and suffixes. Therefore single and compound Sanskrit words are used in Assamese as they are used in Classical Sanskrit.

Assamese possesses certain phrases and expressions of common use which are found in Vedic Sanskrit. *E.g.* "ūrjaṃ Vahantī" is used to described anger.

Early Assamese Literature :

Subject-matter :

Early Assamese literature is translation of epics and purāṇas in their entirety or in part or is adaptation from certain chapters. Along with the theme, plot and character, the treatment of the theme in Sanskrit entered into Assamese, in this the Assamese authors followed the original and used almost the same or similar technique.

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"Early literature in modern Indian languages was either lyrical or narrative. The first dealt naturally with love and other sentiments or religious devotion subjectively ; and second treated objectively, mythological tales and themes from the Sanskrit epics and purāṇas."

Saṅkara Deva (1449-1568 A. D.), the great vaiṣṇava religious reformer and poet, inaugurated the *bhakti*-movement in Assam, and the early Assamese literature saw a great output and a new era ushered in. In fact this vaiṣṇava bhakti-movement was a modified provincial form of Pan-Indian Vaiṣṇava movement.

Along with the spread of Vaiṣṇavism more and more literature in Assamese was produced which was mainly translations into Assamese from the epics and purāṇas and other classics either in their entirety or of selected episodes there-from. Since this neo-Vaiṣṇava movement embraced the masses the translated literature was also meant for the masses. Literacy was not high and therefore, these versions were read and recited by one to a group of people. For this purpose two method were adopted : (i) Difficult passages are made intelligible to the common people by way of interpretation and (ii) the texts were so composed that they could be recied and sung.

Dr. S. K. Bhuyan says : "The Assamese translation of the Sanskrit classics is of interpretative character. The translatior took up the essence of the original Sanskrit passage and explained it in pure literary Assamese, simplifying those phrases and expressions the ideas of which did not come within the ken of the ordinary Assamese reader."

Both Śāstras and Kāvyas in Sanskrit were translated into Assamese. The method adopted for translating Śāstras was not rigidly followed in translating a Kāvya. For instance, Saṅkara Deva translated the first book of *Rāmāyaṇa* and here he introduced some elements. As the Rāmāyaṇa is a Kāvya and not Śāstra, greater latitude was taken to embelish the poem with the free use of invented materials and opportunity was often taken for descriptions.

His predecessor, "the unerring poet", Mādhava Kandalī who translated the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Assamese verse, followed the original faithfully. His poetic diction is elegant and refined and difficult Sanskrit words were changed by him into mellifluous Assamese. He introduced some new elements in the depiction of characters.

In describing *nagara* and *upavana*, he follows the poetic conventions, showing the dominating influence of Sanskrit.

Comparatively, the Śakta literature in Assamese was far less than the Vaiṣṇava, and thoughts and ideas of Śakta literature in Sanskrit did not reach the common men.

Rendering of the *Bhāgavata* ushered a new era of renaissance in Assamese poetry. The literary influence it had on Vaiṣṇava literature is manifold and immense. As a matter of fact, Śaṅkara Deva and a host of his followers not only borrowed the Kṛṣṇite legends and myths from the *Bhāgavata* but had taken its literary form, expression and tradition. How he rendered it into Assamese idom, the quotation given below will illustrate :

Evaṃ sa bhagavān kṛṣṇo vṛndāvanacaraḥ kvacit /
Yayau rāmamṛte rājan kālindīṃ sakhibhir vṛtaḥ //
Atha gāvaśca gopāśca nidāgha-tāpa-pīḍitāḥ /
Duṣṭaṃ jalaṃ papustasyāstṛṣārtā viṣadūṣitam //
Dineka Govinda deva Baloka lagata nalai āppuni melila save gāi /
Gopaśiśu savasame yamunāra tīre tīre dheṇugana phuranta carāi //
Jyeṣṭha māsara ghora roudre pīdileka āti eko āra tṛsāta najāni /
Kālira hradata nāmi nirantare garugopa pāraimane pile biṣapāni //

Here the translation is literal, but the poet introduces a homely scene and an expression of common knowledge. For the words sakhibhir vṛtah' he gives 'gopaśiśusava same' meaning 'along with the cowherd boy's ; and the words 'nidāgha-tāpa-pīḍitāḥ', he renders into 'jyeṣṭhamāsara ghora raudre pīḍilika āti'. It is not known whether the incident of Kāliyadamana took place in the month of Jaiṣṭha or Āṣāḍha, but the poet describes the sweltering heat of Jyeṣṭha. Jyeṣṭha is the hottest month in Assam and there is no rain for days together during that period which is known as drought period.

The *Bhāgavata* was the inexhaustible source for the Vaiṣṇava poets ; the stories of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa from it were also utilised for some independent works.

Śaṅkara Deva's *Kīrttana,* a collection of number of verses, depicts some aspects of Kṛṣṇa's life-story. These poems are romantic and didaction literature as well. Here the Kāvya style of Sanskrit literature is not followed ; neither a complete theme is developed nor any sentiment or sentiments are given full play. Here in the treatment of the theme, in style and diction, the poet's ingenuity is remarkable ; influence of Sanskrit is on the theme alone.

Kāvya :

In early Assamese literature there are several long narratives, and each poem describes a complete episode. These works do not conform to the Sanskrit Kāvya form of literature. However, there are kāvyas which have some characteristics of Sanskrit Kāvya. Uṣā *pariṇaya* of Pītāmbara is a Kāvya on the love between Uṣā and Aniruddha. The work is neither composed to glorify the character of Kṛṣṇa nor to propagate the bhakti-cult. It is, to a great extent, non-spiritual. Of course the theme was taken from the *Bhāgavata* and *Harivamśa*, but there is no all-pervading atmosphere of bhakti. The poet follows carefully the Kāvya style. The description of city and park, forest and hills, hero and heroine, love and pang of separation : all are conventional.

Early Assamese literature has two types of Kāvyas : Vadha Kāvya (killing of a demon) and Haraṇa Kāvya (elopement of a princess). These two types are typical of Assamese and show the ingenuity of Assamese poets. These works do not follow the norms of Sanskrit Kāvya. Nevertheless, influence of Sanskrit cannot be ruled out. *Rukmiṇīharaṇa* (elopement of Rukmiṇī) is one such work in Kāvya style, a charming idyll. The materials of this work are drawn from the *Bhāgavata* and *Harivamśa* as the poet states in the beginning that he mixes materials collected from both the works as one mixes milk with the honey to make it more tasty.

Although the theme is pauraṇic, the poet has also added some scores of common domestic experience. However, the theme was developed in Kāvya style. The description of physical charm of the hero and heroine, courtship (*purva-rāga*) separation (*viraha*), sending of messenger, preparation for war, the battle scene, description of city and forest—all these *kāvya*-elements were introduced. The author following the poetic convention and the tradition of Sanskrit Kāvya describes Rukmiṇī's longing for Kṛṣṇa first.

Love, the dominating sentiment of the work (Śṛṅgāra) is supported and developed by heroism. The work has an all-pervading overtone of bhakti or devotion. Kṛṣṇa's love for Rukmiṇī and his fight with Rukma is but a manifestation of His līlā.

This Vaiṣṇava literature is a peg to hang the *bhakti* cult. Bopadeva in his *Muktāphala* establishes *bhakti* as one of the sentiments (Rasas) in Kāvya and according to that theory the works of Vaiṣṇava poets have *bhakti* as the principal sentiment.

Devajit by Hema Sarasvatī and *Hariścandra Upākhyāna* by Śaṅkara Deva and a few others are also treated as Kāvyas, but they are more or less long narratives and have little kāvya embellishment.

Khaṇḍa Kāvya : As already mentioned certain episodes from the life story of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣna are taken and narrated in Kāvya. In such narratives also, the Sanskrit Kāvya tradition is retained, for instance, *Haramohana*, the enchantment of Hara by Mohinī, the enchantress.

A passage may be cited to show the Kāvyas and the Sanskrit influence :

Tapta suvaraṇra sama jvale dehā nirupama lalita valita hāta
pāva /

Cakṣu Kamalara pāsi mukhe manohara hāsi saghare darśāya
Kāma bhāva //

Urddhaka kṣepante bhaṇṭā Karanta katakṣa chatā līlāgati
dekhāya phure paka //

Soloke ucchal khopā khase pārijāta thopā vāma hāte
sambaranta tāk //

Drama : Śaṅkara Deva introduced a new type of drama into Assamese literature. This pattern was followed by his disciple Mādhava Deva and others. These dramas are known as Aṅkīyā nāṭa or one-act plays. They have retained the following characteristics of Sanskrit Drama.

    (i) *Nāndī* : Nāndī or benedictory verses are in Sanskrit. They have 8 caraṇas.

    (ii) *The Prastāvanā* or prologue, where the Sūtradhāra carries on a dialogue with his saṅgī (colleague) and Naṭī (mistress).

    (iii) *The Bharata Vākya* : To fit in with the dominant trend of the nāṭaka it is termed as Muktimaṅgala.

The aṅka-division, soliloquy, the five junctures etc. are however omitted.

The language of aṅkīyā nāṭas is Brajabuli, that is Maithili, mixed with Assamese. Brajabuli had lesser use of compound consonants, a preponderance of vowel, and alliterative expression all of which made this language eminently suitable for rnythmic prose.

"The prose of these plays reveals such rhetorical figures of speech as consonance and alliteration which are generally considered to be traits of verse. These poetic embellishments are not sparingly used. On the contrary, a whole sentence resounds with poetical. vocabulary" —B. K. Barua.

"Jagataka parama guru parama puruṣa
puruṣottama-sanātana Brahma—
Maheśa-sevita-caraṇa-paṅkaja-Nārāyaṇa
Śrī Kṛṣṇa/Sohi Daśaratha-rājakumāra
Koṭikandarpa-darpa-dalana Śrī Rāmacandra/"

The characters are typical Assamese based on, mythological image. The description of beauty and feminine charm is after the Sanskrit Kāvya.

Ki kahaba rūpa kumārika Rāma /
Kanaka putalī tula tanu anupama //
Ratana tilaka lole alaka kapola /
Heriye bhrūbhaṅga tribhuvan bhola //
Dekhiyā badana cānda bheli lāja /
Nayana nirikṣi Kamala jal mājha //

× × × ×

Banduli nindi adhara karu kānti /
Dādimba nibira bīja danta pānti //
Iṣata hasita madana moha jāl /
Nāsā tila phula kamalinīmāi //
Nava yauvana tana badarī pramāṇa /
Uru Karikara kaṭi dambarnka thāna //

Prose : Besides the prose of *Aṅkīyā nāṭa* another specimen of early Assamese prose is the prose rendering of the *Bhāgavata, Bhagavad Gītā* of 16th century. These are remarkable psoductions. The language is simple, couched in homely Assamese expression with Sanskrit words. The composition follows a particular order of placement of subject, object and verb which is not a regular feature in Sanskrit prose.

Another specimen of prose is the Buranji literature. The prose of Buranji, meaning history, was influenced by the Sino-Tibetan speech. This came from the Buranjis written by the Ahom people in Thai language. Gradually the Thais became Assamese speakers and introduced the style and expression in Buranjis written in Assamese. In their form, style and subject matter the Assamese Buranjis are unique in Indian literature.

Another specimen of prose is the *carita pūthīs* or the biographical books. These are on the great Vaiṣṇava saints. In style and form they follow the prose of *Buranjis* and not the Sanskrit prose.

Mantras are composed in prose. This is again a new form of literature in Assamese. "The prose of these writings is irregular and cryptic. The sentences have disjointed structure of grammar. They lack the essential characteristics of prose style and are but a conglomeration of unintelligible and mystic expression and phrases without grammatical verbs and proper syntactical form." (B. K. Barua).

Literature on mundane subjects :

A mass of technical literature was produced from the 16th century onwards on astrology and astronomy, veterinary science, music, dancing etc. These were in prose and verse. They show the influence of Sanskrit.

In the 18th century a few *Kāvyas*, rather narratives, were composed ; the themes of these were taken from Persian folktales or literature. *Mṛgāvatī Carita, Cahāpari upākhyāna* are a few of them. These works in their form and style are quite new and not at all influenced by Sanskrit.

Songs : Songs composed by Śaṅkara Deva are known as *Baragīta.* These compositions were not couched in homely Assamese. The speech used for songs and drama is an artificial one, Brajabuli a mixture of Maithilī and Assamese.

In style and expression these songs follow the high tradition of Sanskrit. The rāgas used in these songs are mainly classical. In a few songs Deśī rāgas are also used. Mādhava Deva, the disciple of Śaṅkara Deva, in his *Baragītas* describes mainly the boy Kṛṣṇa's childish pranks and as such in subject-matter and treatment they are greatly influenced by Sanskrit.

Metre and Simile :

Sansksit metres are divided into Vṛtta and Jāti on the basis of number of syllables and mātrās. .

In Assamese Vṛtta is used alongwith the alliteration of the last syllables of each or each alternate line. Sanskrit Śabdālaṅkāra, except Anuprāsa, is rarely used in Assamese literature. Among the Arthālaṅkāras simile is used. Other figures based on upamā are also used. It is interesting to note that there is use of Vyañjana, in a broad sense, in many Assamese words.

Modern Assamese Literature

The beginning of the new era in Assamese literature dates from the 3rd decade of the 19th century. Modern Assamese literature took its shape and continued to flourish from the last quarter of the 19th century.

Dr. William Carey, a Baptist Missionary at Serampore, West Bengal, with the help of an Assamese pundit brought out an Assamese translation of the New Testament in 1817 and the Old testament which was completed in 1833. "The language of this version was full of Bengalism and had too many learned Sanskrit words."

After a few years another Baptist Missionary Rev. N. Brown brought out another Assamese version of Testament from Sibsagar, Assam. The style of this version was colloquial Assamese and free from Sanskrit. While the former version betrays great Sanskrit influence, the latter one shows a new style.

The Missionaries, by writing and publishing grammar and dictionary, tried to give a new shape to the language and a new style in composition. New words and new expressions found place. As a result, from 1838 A. D. onward, with the translation of Christian literature into Assamese, the language was set up for modern requirements. New direction in thought and expression and a new style in composition was clearly visible. This style was somewhat followed by other immediate writers and Hemchandra Barua introduced a new style.

The Baptist Missionaries used words as spoken by the common people of upper Assam. They tried to avoid even common Sanskrit words. But still the language was under the influence of Sanskrit. I quote here two lines from their writing and give word-for-word Sanskrit translation :

Kono ejan mānuhara dutā putek āchila /
Tāre sarutoe bāpekak kale - he pitṛ,
Sampattira yi bhāga mota pare, tāka moka diyā /
Tāte teon apona sampatti sibilākaka bāti dile //
Kasyacit mānavasya dvau puttrau āstām /
Tayoḥ kaniṣṭhaḥ pitaramvadat/sampatteḥ
Yo bhāgaḥ mayi vartate tad mahyaṃ dehi.
Tataḥ sa svīya-sampattiṃ tebhyo vibhajy prādāt //

Young men from Assam came down to Calcutta for higher education from the latter half of the 19th century. They studied English language and literature and imbibed is spirit and "Bengali, which they could not help knowing since a large mass of reading material was available in it also influenced them. They tried to introduce the new tone in Assamese and to improve it. As a result a new romanticism, new imageries and a new style came to Assamese. Sanskrit yielded ground to the Western influence.

The influence of Sanskrit on early 20th century modern Assamese literature came through the Vaiṣṇava literature particularly through the writings of Śaṅkara Deva and Mādhava Deva. Lakminath Bezbarooah (1869—1938 A. D.) a versatile genius used a good number of figures of speech and other expressions in his works drawn from Vaiṣṇava literature which in their turn were taken from Sanskrit. Particular episodes described in the Vaiṣṇava literature were used in his works conveniently and intelligently. "Aśvathāmā hata iti gajaḥ" "Grāhagajendara yuddha" (battle of graha and gajendra) and hundreds of such idioms which became part of Assamese speech are found in the writings of standard Assamese writers. Such idioms and figures of speech are not used as foreign elements but have been completely assimilated into Assamese. They invigorated and enriched the Assamese.

After the spread of English education new ideas and expressions came.

The short story, novel and poetry in modern Assamese literature do not betray any influence of Sanskrit in form, style and thought. The full-length drama, here and there, has some aspect of the technique of Sanskrit drama. The literary criticism in modern Assamese is based half on Sanskrit alaṃkāra śāstra and half on English criticism. The essays are usually full of technical terms and expression used in the Sanskrit alaṃkāra śāstra. In construction of sentences and expression these essays are just some sort of re-oriented Sanskrit.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THOUGHT
AND CULTURE OF ASSAM

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Assam which till the recent times comprised not only of the present State of Assam, but also the small States of Meghālaya, Nāgāland and Mizo land, is the easternmost part of the Union of India. As the State of Assam now covers only the plain districts of the Brahmaputrā valley, we shall confine our discussion to the impact of Sanskrit on the thought and culture of the present political boundary of the State. Moreover the hill areas which have been recently separated from Assam and formed into separate States have been very little influenced by Sanskrit or Sanskrit culture. For the convenience of our discussion it would be better to deal with the topic under four separate headings, viz. (i) language, (ii) literature (iii) religion and (iv) social rites and observances.

(i) Language

Assamese is derived from the eastern Apabhraṁśa of Māgadhi Prākṛt. It stands in a sisterly relation to Bengali, Oriya and Maithili and occupies the status of a grand-daughter of Sanskrit. Sanskrit contributes the major share to the stock of Assamese vocabulary. *Tatsama* and *tadbhava* words constitute about eighty percent of the vocabulary usually used in Assamese language and literature and it is still the main source from which new words are daily imported to meet the growing demand of a developing language. The scientific and technical terminology that have been coined recently is also mainly Sanskrit-based.

(ii) Literature

The history of early Assamese literature which dates back to the early centuries of the first millenium A.D. is nothing but the history of the Assamese renderings of the epics and the *Purāṇas* into popular verse and some times into prose. The Neo-

Vaiṣṇavite movement initiated by Śaṅkaradeva, a man of un-
common genius, ushered in a cultural renaissance in Assam.
Śaṅkaradeva was not only a religious saint, but was also a poet,
musician, painter and social reformer—all in one. But even before
Śaṅkaradeva undertook the task of translating the Vaiṣṇavite
scriptures into Assamese. His predecessors of the thirteenth and
fourteenth centuries rendered some parts of the *Mahābhārata* and
the entire *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Vālmīki* into lucid Assamese verse.
Mādhava Kandali, the court-poet of Mahāmāṇikya, a tribal king
of the fourteenth century, successfully translated the entire
Rāmāyaṇa into Assamese verse without marring the literary
beauty of the original version. During the period of the Vaiṣṇavite
revival of the succeeding centuries the entire *Bhāgavata purāṇa,*
the *Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa*. parts of the *Padma-purāṇa* and *Viṣṇu-*
purāṇa were translated into Assamese. Besides these, the *Brahma-*
vaivarta-purāṇa, Nāradīya purāṇa. Dharma-purāṇa. Kalki purāṇa were
also translated into Assamese in the eighteenth century. The
major part of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* which is considered by the
Vaiṣṇavas of Assam as their supreme religious work was translated
by Śaṅkaradeva himself and his followers completed the work by
rendering the remaining parts. The chief translator of the
Mahābhārata is Rāma Sarasvatī who undertook the stupendous
task of translating the great epic under patronage of king Naranā-
rāyaṇa. Besides Mādhava Kandali's version of the *Rāmāyaṇa,*
we have a few more local versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* of which
Durgāvara's lyrical rendering and Ananta Dasa's *Rāmāyaṇa-kīrtana*
and Raghunātha Mahanta's prose rendering in the eighteenth
century deserve special mention. We have several Assamese
renderings of the *Gītā* including a prose one and two important
renderings of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Caṇḍī*. All these were written
between the 16th and 18th centuries of the Christian era. Some
of the Kāvyas mainly intended for the enjoyment of the *rasikas*
written during this period are based on well-known Sanskrit
works. Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* were
adapted in Assamese verse with certain modifications. One of
the important branch of the early Assamese literature is the
authology of devotional verses gleaned from different purāṇas.
Besides the famous *Bhakti-ratnāvali* of Viṣṇupuri, the *Bhakti-ratnā-*
kara of Śaṅkaradeva and the *Bhakti viveka* of Bhaṭṭadeva are
noteworthy devotional compendia of early Assamese Literature.

Besides the works briefly noted above there are many other
works, too numerous to mention, which owe their existence to
the vast store-house of Sanskrit language. The influence of
Sanskrit literature in recent times is too broad a subject to be dealt

in a single paper. Suffice it to say that Sanskrit literature, both religious and secular, is serving as the principal fountain-head of the current Assamese literature.

We have so far discussed the Assamese versions of Sanskrit works, but besides Assamese works a large number of works in Sanskrit itself on different branches of knowledge were written in Assam during the medieval times. Scholars are of opinion that *Kālikā purāṇa, Yoginī-tantra* and *Dharma-purāṇa* (not Bṛhaddharma) were composed in ancient Assam, because these two works contain many geographical or topographical references in respect of Assam. A number of *Smṛti-nibandhas,* generally referred to the Kāmarūpa school of *Smṛti-nibandhas,* were written between 13th and 16th centuries A.D. Rājguru Dāmodara Miśra, Nilāmbarācārya and Pītāmbara Siddhānta-vagīśa were well-known Nibandhakāras of medieval Assam. The last one is reported to have written 18 Smṛti-nibandhas (digests) known as Kaumudīs, *Dayā Kaumudī, Daṇḍa-Kaumudī, Śrāddha-kaumudī, Preta-kaumudī, Tithi-kaumudī. Udvāha kaumudī* and so on. Most of them are still available and religious rites and rituals in Kāmarūpa are still performed according their prescription. Two more branches of study received special attention from the Sanskrit scholars of Assam. They are Jyotiṣa and Āyurveda. Well known works of all-India vogue on Astrology, Astronomy and Āyurveda were assudiously copied and preserved and also new works in these branches were written in Assam. *Vaidya-sāroddhāra* by Brajanātha Śarmā, *Vaidya-kalpataru* by Anaṅga Kavirāja, *Dravya-guṇa* by Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, and *Rasendra-kalpadruma* by Rāma Bhaṭṭa, for instance, are Āyurvedic works based on the traditional medical system. Astronomical calculations are found to have been based on what is called *khaṇḍasādhya* calculation, drawn from an early work on the subject known as the *Kāmarūpa Nibandhanīya khaṇḍa-sādhaya,* supposed have been written in the 7 century A.D. In the sphere of dance and drama, the influence of Sanskrit dramaturgy on the technique of the medieval devotional plays of Assam (*Aṅkīya-naṭa*) is very patent. The Assamese rendering of Śubhaṅ· kara's *Śrīhastamukatāvali* may also be noted.

In this connection, special mention may be made of the role of the kings of Assam (Kāmarūpa) who played a conspicuous part in the diffusion of Sanskrit culture in ancient and medieval Assam. They not only encouraged the Aryan migration into Assam but also encouraged the Brahmins to settle in various parts of the country by granting them lands generously. The language of the landgrants written on copper plates was invariably Sanskrit and many such copper plates have recently been recovered. Some of

the early kings of Assam were poets and scholars in Sanskrit.
The Gauhati grant of king Indrapāla of the 10th century A.D.
credits Purandrapāla with the epithet *Sukavi.* King Harṣapāla
of the same dynasty is credited with the composition of Sanskrit
verse. King Dharmapāla of the 11th century is described in his
Puṣpabhadrā grant as *Kavicūḍāmaṇi.* Prince Śukladhvaja of the
Koch dynasty is credited with the authorship of a learned
commentary on the *Gītagovinda.* Besides their personal achieve-
ment in the field of art and letters, many kings of ancient and
medieval Assam encouraged and patronised Sanskrit learning in
Assam. This considerably contributed towards transforming a
dominently non-Aryan region into a land of Aryan culture.

(iii) Religion

During the pre-historic times, Assam being a habitation of
non-Aryan tribes. was animistic in religious beliefs. But gradually
with the spread of the Aryan language and culture the Hindu
religious ideas and beliefs supplemented the premitive ideas and
beliefs. The Brahmins who migrated to Assam were mainly
instrumental in spreading the Aryan culture and Sanskrit learning
in Assam. Śaivism, Śāktism and Vaiṣṇavism are the three main
channels through which the Hindu religious ideas, philosophies,
beliefs and customs percolated to the Assamese society. It should
be remembered in this connection that most of the principal
scriptures of the above religious faiths are in Sanskrit and although
the laity were not conversant with Sanskrit, yet they were made
familiar with the fundamental ideas and beliefs by the priestly
class to a considerable extent. Śaivism appears to be the earliest
Hindu religion in Assam, for the kings of ancient Assam from the
4th century A.D. till the first millenium A.D. are known to have
professed Śaivism. Many Śaiva temples, still in existence, testify
to the existence of the Śaiva cult in Assam from early times. At
present, however, the influence of this sect is mainly confined to
the temples and its sphere of influence. The next important
sect prevalent from early times is Śāktism with its radiating
centre on the Nīlācala hill where the temple of Goddess Kāmākhyā
is situated. Śāktism in Assam has always been associated with
tāntricism and the Kāmākhyā temple has been famous from early
times as the centre of tāntric rites and practices. The *Kālikā-
purāṇa, Yoginī tantra, Hara-gaurī-Saṁvāda* and *Kāmākhyā tantra,*
all written in Assam, have elaborately dealt with various rites,
practices and beliefs of the Śākta and tāntrika cult in Assam. All
the works mentioned above are in Sanskrit language. The *Kālikā-
purāṇa* further gives a detailed account of all the holy places of
Assam, including those sacred to Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. The

most important sect of Assam, having a large following, is Vaiṣṇavism. Even before the advent of the Neo-Vaiṣṇavite movement in the 15th century, a thin current of Vaiṣṇavism was flowing in Assam. This older current was later submerged by the tide of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism of the 15th and 16th century A.D. We have already referred to this movement which paved the way for the rendering of almost all the Vaiṣṇavite *Purāṇas* into Assamese. The *Bhāgvata purāṇa* played the dominant role in this tremendous movement. As a result, hundreds of Vaiṣṇavite centres, known as *Sattras*, were established in different parts of the country and these became so many centres of religious propagation as well as centres of mass education in ancient lores. Every *Sattra* became in course of time a repository of religious scriptures and centre of religious discussions. Sanskrit as well as Assamese religious books were carefully preserved and worn out copies were replaced by new ones. Thus the *Sattras* served as the institution for diffusing Sanskrit learning and culture.

The prevalence and propagation of the above three principal religious faiths are also responsible for moulding the ideas, thoughts and beliefs of the people. Unity of Godhead, transmigration of soul, incarnation of God, pantheistic belief, emanation of God, belief in the theory of rebirth, efficacy of love aud devotion and such other pan-Indian traditional ideas and beliefs are also part and parcel of Assamese Hindu social life. These are the legacies of the Sanskrit culture which has permeated the society in all its facets.

(iii) Observances

So far as social observances, rites and habits are concerned, they may be classified into two categories, religious and non-religious. The Sanskrit influence appears to be more marked in case of the religious observances. Religious rites, observances and Festivals of all-India character like *Janmāṣṭamī, Phalgūtsava, Durgā-pūjā, Śivarātri, Rāsapūrṇimā* etc. are observed according to the pan-Indian *pūjāpaddhati*, i. e., according to prescriptions laid down in the Sanskrit manuals. The *pūja* and the *śāstraic* rites are performed by reciting Sanskrit *mantras* or hymns. Even some of the non-Aryan deities which found a place in the Hindu pantheon much later, are worshipped according to newly introduced *pūjā-vidhi* with Sanskrit hymns and incantation. The worship of the snake-goddess Manasā may be cited as an instance. Her worship as obtaining today is a mixture of Hindu (Sanskrit) and tribal rites. Sanskrit *mantras* are also recited while observing religious fasts and taking ablution in sacred water. In some of

the popular Vaiṣṇavite rites and festivals, songs and verses composed in Assamese are also sung, over and above the scriptural rites performed by Brahmin priests in accordance with the prescription laid down in *Dhramaśāstras* and *Pūjā*-manuals. The verses in Assamese recited on such occasion are mostly translations from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* or similar Sanskrit work. The Hindus of the upper strata of society perform the important *Saṁskāras* in accordance with prescriptions laid down in *Dharma-śāstras*. Local customs and usages, no doubt, play some part, but Sanskrit rites play the dominant role.

The impact of Sanskrit on the thought and culture of Assam is deep and abiding, though, it must be admitted, the study of Sanskrit as a language has considerably gone down during recent years.

SANSKRIT IN BENGAL AND BENGALI

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The history of the written speech in Bengal (undivided) starts with a small, mutilated inscription written in the Brāhmī script of the 3rd cent. B.C. It is a stone plaque discovered in Central Bengal (old Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti). The language is early Prākṛt (MIA) and is akin to the language of the Eastern Pillar edicts of Aśoka. This is the only MIA epigraph found as yet in Bengal.

The Prākṛt was replaced by Sanskrit in Northern India from the beginning of the Christian era. The process was no doubt gradual but as there is a blank of several centuries between the Prākṛt inscription mentioned above and the next, a short Sanskrit inscription written in the fourth century Brāhmī script, there is no means of knowing how and when Sanskrit was used here for public announcements in written speech. This oldest inscription in Sanskrit in Bengal (West) tells us of the dedication of a cave as a sanctum of Viṣṇu, the Wielder of the Disc. The style of the script suggests that the inscription was contemporaneous with that of Samudragupta.

From the fifth century onwards Sanskrit inscriptions have been found in increasing numbers and their style is progressively ornate. A high literary quality in the epigraphical records (generally copperplate land grants) in Bengal (undivided) was achieved before the end of the eighth century as evidenced by the Khalimpur Grant of Dharmapāla. A mature or ornate prose style, later known as "Gauḍī Rīti" appears less than a century earlier, in the Nidhan-pur-grant of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. I suspect some hand of Bāṇa in the composition.

We do not know when the Indo-Aryan speakers had first settled in the part of Eastern India which came to be known as Bengal from the days of Pathan rule in Bengal. The accepted

stand of historians and antiquarians is that Bengal was Aryanized at a comparative late period.

But linguistic evidence on the contrary points out that Indo-Aryan in Eastern India appears to have a longer history there than elsewhere in Northern India. To give an instance : The loss of intervocalic consonants does not appear before the beginning of the Christian era, while in the eastern dialect of the piller edicts and cave inscriptions of Asoka we find sporadic loss of intervocalic-t- and even a step beyond the contraction of the *udvṛtta* vowel with the preceding, which is a still later feature. We have for *cātudasa* (<OIA *cāturdaśa*) *cāvudasa* (Delhi-Topra) and for *catudasa* (<OIA *caturdaśa*) *codasa* (Nāgārjunī Cave). *cāvudasa* may be explained away as a scribal error but *codasa* cannot be so dismissed. I am inclined to think that Old Indo-Aryan was introduced in Eastern India not at a post-Vedic but at a pre-Vedic or early Vedic stage and that the *Asuras*, the elder brothers of the *Devas*, that were pushed away to the East, as in the stories in the *Brāhmaṇas*, are reminiscent of the pre-Vedic or early Vedic Aryan settlers in the East which was considered as outside Brahmanical Aryandom..

So far as evidence goes Buddhism and Jainism were both as much popular in Bengal (undivided) as Brahminism. If we are to believe Hiuen Tsang, Aśoka had built several *stūpas* in the different regions of Western and Central Bengal and in some localities in Eastern Bengal. If the reading *savagiyal* in the early Prākṛt inscription referred to earlier stands for Sanskrit *sadvargīyānām*, existence of a Buddhistic monastery in Central Bengal in the third century B. C. is proved. The existence of Jainism is proved by a land grant copperplate inscription discovered at Paharpur in Central Bengal which records the offering of some land to the maintenance of a Jaina monastery (*vihāra*) by a Brahman Nātha-śarman and his wife Rāmī. The date of the inscription is 159 Gupta era (=479 A. D.). Worship of Viṣṇu in different names and forms are recorded in inscriptions dating from the fourth century A. D. and from all ports of the country.

As regards literary and cultural activities in Bengal the Buddhists were by far the leading community. When Fa-hsien visited Northern India (beginning of the 5th cent.) he found in Tāmralipti (south-westesn Bengal) the best and most learned centres of learning. About a century and a half later Hiuen-tsang found great Buddhistic monasteries dispersing learning and piety in all the provinces of Bengal except Kāmarūpa where Brahmanism reigned supreme. By the middle of the 7th cent. Bengal had developed its own school of Sanskrit grammar. Candragomin was an

acknowledged master of this school who however followed Pāṇini but not blindly. (Candragomin was not merely a grammarian, he was a notable scholar and poet as well. For his outstanding scholarship and piety he was held in great esteem by Buddhists in Bengal and elsewhere. He was still living when I-tsing visited Eastern India (673 — 86). To quote I-tsing : "In Eastern India there lived a great man (Mahāsattva) named Candra (lit. 'Moon-official', it may be 'Candradāsa') being like a Bodhisattva, endowed with great talent. This man was still alive when I, I-tsing, visited that country." (Takakusu P. 183). Earlier I-tsing mentions Candra's activity as a poet : "Mahāsattva Candra (lit. 'Moon official'. probably Candradāsa), a learned man in Eastern India, composed a poetical song about the prince Viśvāntara, hitherto known as Sudāna, and people all sing and dance to it throughout the five countries of India." (Ibid. p. 164), I-tsing's translation of the full name of Candra indicates that it was Candra-gomin or Candra-gomika and not "Candradāsa" as he thought. *Gomin* or *Gomika* means the master or possessor of cattle, and *gomika* meaning a superintendent of a king's cattle occurs in the list of officials given in many of copper-plate inscriptions from Bengal).

It was however not Buddhistic Sanskrit that was cultivated by the Buddists and others in Bengal. It was classical Sanskrit with some alternative and special forms in grammar and with some vocables of its own.

The study of Candra's grammar was vigorously pursued in Bengal. Even as late as the tenth century scholastic monasteries devoted entirely to the grammar of Candragomin was established and endowed in Samataṭa. Śrīcandra the king of Vaṅga and Samataṭa established nine scholastic *maṭhas* and for the maintenance he endowed Chandrapurī-*viṣaya*, a fertile area of some 1000 square miles, as recorded in a recently discovered copper-plate grant from a village in South Sylhet named, Paścimbhāg.[1] Four *maṭhas* are mentioned as "foreign" (*deśāntarīya-maṭha-catuṣṭaya*) and another four as "Bengal" or "native" (*vaṅgāla-maṭha-catuṣṭaya*). At each of these eight *maṭhas* the four Vedas were taught and eight professors (*Upādhyāya*) were appointed to supervise study. The remaining *maṭha* which is mentioned first in the document was devoted to the study of Candra's grammar and a professor was appointed at the head of the institution who received, as the other eight professors did, the income of ten

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1. Published with translation and annotations by Sri Kamala-kanta Gupta in his *Copperplate Grants of Sylhet* Vol I. Rasheedistan, Sylhet, 1967.

pāṭakas of land (each *pāṭaka*, being of ten *droṇa* measurement) :
etanmaṭhapratibaddhacandravyākhyānopādhyāyasya   daśudroṇikadaśa-pāṭakāḥ.

There was provision for ten students who together enjoyed income from ten *pāṭakas*, and for other functionaries such as a superintending Brahmin, an astronomer, an accountant (*kāyastha*), suppliers of flowers, oil and pottery, two conch blowers, various drummers, servants, shoemakers, a dancer, two carpenters, two masons, two ironsmiths and eight hired labourers. The document reads like the charter of establishment of a University.

Literary activity in Bengal apart from Buddhistic texts and commentaries and epigraphical records seems to have flowered from the 7th cent. A. D. Bengal did not always follow the set patterns or vogues of the established or classical literature. Bengali poets generally preferred to write stray (*prakīrṇa*) verses on various topics not excluding the life around them. It is no wonder that the two oldest and best anthologies of Sanskrit stray verses were compiled in Bengal before the advent of the Muslim and disappearance of good Sanskrit poetry.

The literary spirit in Bengal from the early times seems to have had a bias for the realistic and the practical. Unfettered by too much of the *Śāstras* and *Purāṇas* a Bengali poet naturally, preferred the myths and traditions that grew up in his own linguistic and cultural area. And so he could not have remained unmindful of the vernacular. Before 800 A. D. the spoken tongue in Bengal was a late form of the New Indo-Aryan speech which was cultivated in popular and folk poetry as well had an extra territorial currency which had helped it to grow up into a literary *lingua franca* of a sort. It was, however, the heretic and ascetic scholars, mainly tantric Buddhists, Jain yogis and the like, that occasionally wrote aphoristic and didactic couplets and short songs in this late NIA literary speech which came to be known as *Apabhraṣṭa* (*Avihaṭṭha, Avahaṭṭha*) by the end of the twelfth century. The literary Prākṛts which were much more artificial than Sanskit do not seem to have been any preference in Bengal. The dissatisfaction against the *Apabhraṣṭa* verse written in Bengal in preference to Prākṛts is expressed in a Sanskrit *śloka* attributed to Rājaśekhara.

> *rājan vijñāpayāmi tvām parihāsajihīrṣayā |*
> *gauḍas tyajatu vā gāthām anyā vāstu sarasvatī ||*

'O king, I tell you seriously : let the poet from Bengal give up, writing Gāthās or let there be another form of speech (for him)'.

Before the end of the 9th cent. the vernacular (or spoken IA)

in Bengal had already started showing its characteristics of the third (New or Modern) stage of Indo-Aryan. In the tenth and the following two or three subsequent centuries the Buddhist tantric and Jaina Yogi writers were writing esoteric songs in the emergent NIA speech. Some of them wrote also in *Avahaṭṭha* and almost all of them also in polished Sanskrit. This trilingual activity in Bengal was one of the most happy factors in the development of the language and literature in Bengal.

How Sanskrit and Vernacular (Avahattha and Bengali) spontaneously helped one another is indicated by the songs of *Gītagovinda* which form the last great contribution to poetry in Sanskrit and which was the first of really significant poetry in the vernacular. The songs of Jayadeva are couched in Sanskrit, but their cadence is of *Avahatta* and their spirit is of Bengali.

From the very beginning Bengali poetry was cultivated by persons who had a good knowledge of Sanskrit. This is true for all the subsequent centuries. From the end of the 13th cent. Bengali language began to be handled by Persian speakers also. In the early days of the Muslim rule down to the middle of the sixteenth century the administration was carried on by the Bengali speaking Hindus and Muslims and the language was mainly Bengali. The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw the development of the *Payār* metre in Bengali. *Payār* in Bengali, like *Anuṣṭubh* in Sanskrit, was a very pliable medium which served all purposes which delayed the emergence of a literary prose style. Sanskrit largely and Persian to some extent supplied the required material—words and expressions—of the fast growing language. At the same time Bengali (*i.e.* the *tadbhava* and *ardhatatsama* elements) contributed literally to the lexical stock of Sanskrit. Apart from the two oldest anthologies of stray poetry (*Subhāṣitaratnakośa* and *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*) the main contribution of Bengal to Sanskrit language is a host of important lexical works beginning with *Ṭīkāsarvasa* of Vandyaghatīya Sarvānanda (12th cent.) and ending with *Śabdaratnāvalī* of Mathureśa (17th cent.).

By the end of the 16th century Bengali culture in its two levels, high and folk (or low), had become so much saturated with the Puranic lore that a Puranic text containing mythological stories was not entirely unintelligible to the common people who had no knowledge of Sanskrit. This was achieved by the spread of Caitanya's faith throughout the country and beyond. Sanskrit was studied by the members of staunch Vaiṣṇava families, including the ladies, both Brahmins and non-Brahmins. By the

end of the 17th cent. an elementary course in Sanskrit was taken up not only by the young learners of the Brahmin caste but also by youngman from other castes who would go in for farming, commerce or service. Persian however was by no means neglected, specially by those who went in for service under Zamindars and official revenue collectors. The simple course in Sanskrit consisted of some sections of *Amarakośa*, eight representative declensions (*aṣṭaśabdī*) and eight typical conjugations (*aṣṭadhātu*). I have not come across any manuscript of the first book of reading to Sanskrit nor have I noticed any reference about the existence of any such work during the period of Muslim rule. But such a work existed in the seventh and subsequent centuries. I'-tsing mentions its name *Siddhirastu* and gives an idea of its contents (v. Takakuru p.p. 170-71). The Siddhācārya Saraha in one of his Avahṭṭha couplet mentions such a work : (*siddhiratthu mir paḍhame paḍhiau*) A Brahmin student pursued a higher course consisting of as much of *Saṁkṣiptasāra* (or any other grammar current in the locality) as he could, some portions of *Prākṛtapiṅgala* and some cantos of *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. This was considered enough for a Brahmin youngman who would not proceed further for a scholastic career.

Scholars who wrote Sanskrit or/and Bengali did not look upon the vernacular as a language entirely different from Sanskrit. They considered it to be only a current local form (*Gauḍiya Calit Bhāṣā*) of Sanskrit which was the high language (*Sādhu Bhāṣā*). They wrote Bengali full of Sanskrit words and long compounds and they called this style *Gauḍiya Sādhu Bhāṣā* (Bengali High Language). Naturally native scholars did not feel any necessity for writing a grammar of Bengali. It was the Europeans who did not know Sanskrit and who were not born to the language that wrote the first two or three grammars of Bengali. Native scholars took to writing Bengali grammar only when there was a demand for it in the new system of education introduced towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

Bengali had cast off practically all the older inflexional trappings before its emergence as a NIA speech. From the 16th cent. it had become almost an isolating language. There is therefore very little of a formal grammar in Bengali; the "grammar" of the language has been replaced by idioms. An isolating language can be easily understood, to a large extent, from its vocabulary. The vocabulary of Bengali has always depended largely on Sanskrit. It has been drawing on Sanskrit lexical stock uninhibitedly and very largely from the beginning of its literary career. It may appear that Bengali has not yet weaned from her grandmother.

SANSKRIT THOUGHT AND CULTURE AS REPRESENTED IN BENGALI LITERATURE

PROF. KALIDAS BHATTACHARYA

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The culture of a people at a particular epoch is its total enlightened life diversified into aspects like literature, fine arts, society, polity, economy and technology. These aspects of life incorporate certain basic ideas and principles which, though *lived* in that life, are formulable in *intellectual* studies like philosophy, aesthetics, sociology, politics, economics and physical sciences. Intellectual study is autonomous and refuses to remain confined to the limits of the actual life lived. It examines the underlying ideas and principles and, in course of intellectual reassessment, inevitably suggests their modification and expansion. In the period following, these modifications and expansions are again incorporated in actual life, and so on. [The logic of the relation between life and intellectual study requires some close examination.]

Till practically the end of the eighteenth century Bengali Literature, as one aspect of the total Bengali life, was very largely in the traditional Indian line, the basic ideas and principles of which were studied in the traditional Indian *Śāstras*, written mostly in Sanskrit. In other words, till then Bengali literature was steeped in Sanskrit, and this is true not only with regard to thought and culture, but even regarding the structure of the language, except, of course, for what was distinctive of the people and language of Bengal, as distinct from other groups and languages of India. [Muslim influence, e.g., was more pronounced here than elsewhere.]

The situation began to change rapidly from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The new influential factor was English education with absolutely new basic ideas and principles. The whole cultural face and even the use of words and the structure of language began to change appreciably. There was a definite trend toward Westernization. Fortunately, there was revivalism

also—a great urge for the rediscovery of *ancient* India. The idea behind this revivalism was that the *true Indian* culture could not be against the good points of Western culture . This explained. Naturally, the situation turned healthily toward some sort of synthetic culture. This had its influence on Bengali literature and language. Some illustrations.

But unfortunately the over-all stress in Bengal's cultural life grew more and more Western, and this began to develop rapidly in the fourth decade of the twentieth century. Till the last days of Rabindranath there was living continuity with the old tradition and, therefore, kinship with Sanskrit, in spite of many drastic changes that had occurred in the meantime. But that continuity and kinship came soon to be almost snapped, and not merely the ways of life and thinking, but also use of words and the structure of Bengali language changed almost basically. This illustrated. Exceptions, of course, are there. But this is the present-day trend in Bengal.

One chief reason for this change-over to Westernism is the elite Bengal's preference for the *Upaniṣads* during the days of revivalism, rather than to the ancient Paurāṇic culture. Not that some of the important revivalists did not opt for the latter. But, because of the fact that the Upaniṣadic culture appeared nearer to the present-day Westein Culture, the lessons they taught came soon to be forgotten. This illustrated.

The way out is to popularize Sanskrit and introduce large doses of the *integral* ancient Indian culture in all popular media of communication including literature.

THE IMPACT OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE ON RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Dr. Sukumari Bhattacharji

Rabindranath Tagore imbibed the influence of Sanskrit from the following sources : (i) his early training at home where he learned the language the hard way, with grammar and dictionaries; (ii) the general cultural milieu where Sanskrit was one of the chief formative factors in a cultured family and (iii) his own later reading —sometimes desultory and sometimes systematic, as well as from discussions with scholars. Autobiographical works like *Chelebelā*, *Jīvanasmṛti*, his letters and biographical sketches written by others bear testimony to this.

His early training gave him sufficient grounding in the language to enable him to follow the drift of any non-technical passage of moderate difficulty even when the exact meaning of certain words escaped him. As a poet he had the imaginative resources to fill the lacuna of unfamiliar vocabulary or construction.[1]

In the early nineteenth century Bengal, at the time of the breaking up of the feudal relationships and of the forging of new ones of a comprador culture, when sections of the landed gentry were vying with each other in becoming westernized at a very fast pace, the Tagore family rather stood out in their attempt at re-discovering and retaining the best of our ancient heritage and in transforming it according to the needs of the day. When waves of Western values were sweeping over the educated sections of Bengal it is to the credit of the poet's father and brothers (along with a few other landlords) that they examined their own ancient cultural legacy to find what it had to offer to satisfy the spiritual needs of the generation. Tagore grew up in an atmosphere of this respectful search and he, too, rescued some treasures from neglect, oblivion and destruction. He emulated what he found and created others in their likeness.

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1. He says so in the *Jīvanasmṛti*.

The impact of Sanskrit on him was varied — beginning from the more obvious, formal aspects like vocabulary, rhetoric, prosody, and themes, to the subtler and more complex aspects of ideas, *Weltanschauung*, and values. What he found in Sanskrit literature affected him in various ways on different levels at different times as is bound to happen when the recipient is too spiritually static. Yet in spite of the dynamism and mobility of his mind — in spite of growth, development and change — there were certain things which left a lasting impression and which remained as the firm mooring when the diverse currents of the age were trying to sweep him off. These values and attitudes may be said to constitute the abiding impact of Sanskrit literature on him. Any fair assessment of the flowering forth of his poetic genius, however, must neccesarily take into account the impact of Western culture on him. A comparison of the immaturity of the poetic experience and emotion of *Banaphul*[2], *Kavikāhinī*[3] and *Śaiśava saṅgīta*[4], all composed before his first trip to England at the age of seventeen (1879-80) and the very next significant works *Sandhyāsaṅgīta* (1881) and *Prabhāta-saṅgīta* (1883) bear out this truth. While in the early poems and verse-plays the poet has vague emotions and suffers from the inability to articulate his experiences, in the last two books the articulation is more complete and the poet can communicate his experience more adequately. Later he himself wrote a preface to the *Sandhyāsaṅgīta* in which he said : "The *Sandhyās* appeared as the first work which crossed the threshold of the age of copy-book writing (i.e. apprenticeship). I shall not compare it to the mango-blossom but with the first fruit-bud i.e. it has just made its appearance in its individual shape in green. It has not yet filled with juice, and so is yet of little value. But these poems gave me joy showing me for the first time their own individual shape. Therefore the *Sandhyā* is the first introduction to my poetry. It is not good, but it is distinctly my own. It had on its individual attire as distinct from the rest of the poetry of that age; this attire was not in vogue in the market then"[5]. At a distance of a few decades the poet had attained a degree of objectivity and could see that these poems for the first time bear his individual stamp and these were composed immediately after his return from England. The young impressionable mind had responded to a set of fresh and unfamiliar stimuli and the poetic verve became different —

2. Composed in 1875-76.
3. Composed in 1877.
4. Composed in 1877-80.
5. Introduction to the *Sandhyāsaṅgīta* in the third volume of the Centenary edn.

richer, more complex, and released from a maze of unformulated, shapeless emotions. *Sandhyā* reflects discontent with his involvement with emotions which lead nowhere; he is restless and feels suffocated with them. *Prabhātasaṅgīta* — 'Songs of the Morn' as it is aptly called — reflects a release from these utterly personal emotions — so close and so stifling. The famous poem 'Nirjharer Svapnabhaṅga' (The Water-fall Waking from its Dream) where the stagnant pool of water held in a cave is suddenly touched by a ray of the sun and the song of birds from the outside world and it rushes forth joyfully from the dark mountain fastness to the bigger and brighter world, is significant because it is symbolic and bears testimony to the poet's sudden vision of life outside his own private world of emotions. The next poem *Prabhāta-Utsava* (The Morning Festival), too, carries on this joy of release into a bigger and more meaningful world.

The poet visited Europe the second time at the age of twenty-nine in 1891 and returned in 1893. The next book of verses is *Sonār Tarī*, the first really mature book of poems. The tone of bantering, mockery and cynicism mingled with innate romanticism is already evident in the last poems of *Mānasī* (1890) but the maturity of attitude and expression is clearly more evident in *Sonār Tarī* in which the romantic poet has attained a poetic richness never found in the earlier poems.

In all these poems the poetry is the product of a conflict or to be more precise, of many conflicts. The impact of the West came to a mind already enriched by the literature of several centuries. The continuous attempt at assessment of Sanskrit literature by standards set by the Western poets went on in the poet's sub-conscious mind and yielded a rich harvest in poetry, the first fruits of which appear in the *Sonār Tarī*, in which he has found his own distinctive poetic idiom for the first time.

II

First let us take up the more obvious aspect of the influence of Sanskrit literature on the poet — vocabulary and prosody. When Tagore wrote his early poems, the literary (esp. poetic) heritage consisted of translations of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, the medieval *Maṅgalakāvyas* the Vaiṣṇava lyrics and the poetry of Madhusudan Datta, Biharilal Chakravarti and a few others — all of which was steeped in the Sanskrit lore. This poetic repertoire was part of the milieu of the educated Bengali of his time, so in a sense Tagore had absorbed the Sanskrit tradition even before he had learned the language. Kaliprasanna Sinha's translation of the

Mahabharata acquainted the Bengali reader with hundreds of difficult and unfamiliar Sanskrit words; to the educated Bengali its language was fully intelligible because his education was Sanskrit-based. So through hearing it recited much of the obsolete vocabulary became familiar to the boy because he found them in their poetic context. Then as his own acquaintance with Sanskrit literature grew he came across words whose poetic potentiality had not been exploited by Bengali authors hitherto; because their needs were different i.e. because they were in the habit of borrowing words physically whereas Tagore modified them according to his own poetic need. This need was different because his poetic verve was of a different order. While every significant poet before him tried his hand at an epic, Tagore was the first poet who contented himself with lyrics, for he was aware that his genius was pre-eminently lyrical. His romantic mind groped for words which a medieval mind like Bhāratchandra or an essentially classical mind like Madhusudana would never need.

From my study of Tagore I came to the conclusion that in this effort to coin words from Sanskrit he would turn to the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and to Kālidāsa's and Bāṇabhaṭṭa's works. So when in 1964 I could persuade members of the library staff at Viśvabhāratī to show me copies of these works used by the poet, I was thrilled to find my guess borne out by facts. The copious marginal notes show the various stages of word-formation from the Sanskrit. They are not total physical loans or neologisms but adaptation and modification of Sanskrit words to suit the needs of a heavily charged emotive language. In the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa we read Revāṃ drakṣyasyupalaviṣame vindhyapāde viśīrṇām, "you shall see the thin stream of the Revā at the pebbly foothills of the Vindhya range." In Tagore's *Meghadūta* we have[6] : 'the lean and clear stream of the Reba *pained* at every step by the pebbles at the foot of the Vindhya'. The emotive overtone is all his own. In Bāṇa we read : "in the world deafened on account of the unceasing cooing of the sad doves".[7] Tagore has 'the sad dove *moans* in her nest.[8] The borrowing is clear but the evocative beauty is his own contribution. One also thinks of the image in Mayūra's *Sūryaśataka* where "the chariot of the Sungod cruelly crushes the stars into smithereens under its wheels while it moves forward heedlessly.[9] In the late novel *Sesher Kavitā* the poet has : "Do you

6. Vimala viśīṇa ieva vindhyapādamūle upalavyathitagati,
7. Kātarakapotakūjitānubandhavadhiritaviśve   Navavarṣa. *Kṣaṇikā.*
8. Kulāye kandiche kātara kapota.
9. Kṣodo nakṣatrarāśeradayarayamilaccakrapiṣṭasya dhūliḥi Stanza 69.

hear the noise of moving time ? Its chariot moves on for ever sending pulsation through the firmament, the cry of the stars rising out of the crushed heart of darkness."[10] The key image-making word 'cakrapiṣṭa' is common to both poems but the emotive element is distinctly more pronounced in Tagore where the cry rises from the rent hearts of the stars in the midst of the apparently indifferent dark nocturnal sky. The Sanskrit poet merely creates a cosmic image; the lyric poet makes it vibrate with the pain of broken hearts. Words which evoke emotive associations and suggest deeper connotations are more suitable for lyrics than mere connotative terms.

In later life when the poet was running a school and also a University he wrote books on popular science ⌐and for technical and purely denotative terms he turned to similar works in Sanskrit and made extremely suitable innovations.

III

Tagore did not borrow many metres from Sanskrit prosody directly but modified well-known metres to satisfy the Bengali ear so accustomed to many variations of Apabhraṃśa metres through works of Jayadeva and others. Many scholars have written on this aspect of Tagore; so I shall confine this discussion to a few analyses only. Jayadeva writes "Vadasi yadi kiñcidapi dantarucikaumudī/harati daratimiramatighoram." Tagore has[11] the position of two syllables shifted from that of the Sanskrit original; or (in *Madanbhasmer Pūrve*)[12] approximately the same quantitatively, but somewhat jarring on the Bengali ear which is not used to stretching the final vowel length to cover the expected length of the line. Its effect is tortuous because the vowels have to be artificially lengthened to fulfil the prosodic requirement. Then came the next poem *Madanbhasmer Pare* where a few more syllables are added to obviate the difficulty and we have the perfectly satisfying metre.[13] Even in a mature work like the

10. Kāler yātrār dhvani śunite ki pāo ?
         tāri ratha nitya i udhāo
    Jāgāiche antarīkṣhe hṛdaya-spandana.
    cakrapiṣṭa āndhārer vakṣaphāṭā tārār krandana/
    The last poem in the *Śesher Kavitā*
11. Ekadā prāte kuñjatale andhabālikā/patrapuṭe āniyā dilo puṣpamālikā
12. Ekadā tumi aṅgadhari phirite nava bhuvane/mari mari anaṅgadevatā.
13. Pañcaśare dagdha kore koreche eki sanyāsī, viśvamaya diyecho tāre chaḍāye

Sesher Kavitā he has made a significant experiment with rhythm.[14] Here the even lines slightly stretch the final vowels but the odd lines do so considerably. The result is a kind of supplicatory effect bordering on music in which the quantitative lack is filled with the resonance of a longing appeal. Such experiments with metrical effect can only be carried on by a poet who knows the exact weight of each rhythmic structure and can make effective alterations to suit the emotional need of the theme. Metre thus became another medium for communicating the experience, it adds an extra dimension to the total poetic experience. The chief obstacle to imitating Sanskrit metres in Bengali, however, is the expectation for end-rhymes, a direct legacy from Apabhraṃśa end-rhyme as found in Jayadeva. Classical Sanskrit poetry, except in a very few cases, does not know end—rhymes. Tagore uses it extremely judiciously. Sometimes he avoids the apparently inevitable cheapness of effect by introducing conjunct syllables;[15] at others he lengthens and alternates the rhyming lines so that they stand at some distance from each other.[16] Or again he made the rhyming lines of unequal lengths so that the rhyme-effect is subdued in a subtle and complex sound-structure.[17] With an infinitely vaster range than Jayadeva or any of his predecessors he borrows with extreme care from Jayadeva and the doxologies which use rhyme for an incantatory effect, but also from the non-rhyming sonorous classical metres where the effect is due to the judicious arrangement of the vocables. Towards the end he reverted to the stark unrhymed glory of the Ṛgvedic verses. All effort at embellishing his poetry with artfice was abandoned; he relied on the innate grandeur of the experience itself and we have the hard gem-like structure of poetry after the *Pūrabī*.

Considerable influence of Sanskrit poetry can be traced in Tagore's diction, arrangement of vocables to produce lilt, inner rhythmic structure and assonance. Certain passages read very much like Sanskrit because without repeating the Sanskrit construction or metres the poet makes deft and effective use of both. Some-

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14. Sundarī tumi śukatārā/sudūra śaila-śikharānte/śarvarī jabe habe sārā/darśana diyo dikbhrānte/

15. Jedina himādriśṛṅge nāmi āse āsanna āṣāḍha/Mahānada brahmaputra akasmāt dūrdāma dūrvāra/duḥsaha antaravege tirataru kariyā unmūla/mātiyā khūnjiyā phire āpanāra kūla-upakūla/Bhāṣā O Chanda

16. Duḥkha peyechi dainya ghireche aślīla dinerāte/dekhechi kuśritāre ;/mānuṣera prāṇe viṣa miśāyeche mānuṣa āpana hāte/ghoṭeche tā bārebāre Patrottara. *SENJUTI.*

17. Ghūma bhāṅgāniyā jyochanā/kothā theke jeno ākāśe ke bale ekatuku kāche bosonā —Aspaṣṭta, *Navajātaka.*

times entire passages echo similar passages from Sanskrit, at others they are so much in the Sanskrit convention that one wonders if they occurred somewhere in Sanskrit poetry.[18]

The alliteration is of the best kind recommended in Sanskrit poetics. We have still closer juxtaposition of the alliterating consonants in Tagore but the unfailing artistry saves them from the cloying effect so common in decadent Sanskrit poetry.[19] His predilection for metres roughly divisible into feet of five or six syllables is also derived from many Sanskrit metres.[20]

IV

In rhetoric, Tagore's poetry is marked more by departure than by adherence to the Sanskrit model. While the basic stock

18. e.g. Snigdhasajala meghakajjala divase/vivaśa prahara acala alasa āveśe/śaśitārāhīnā andhatāmasī yāminī/kothā torā pūrakāminī ?" Kothā torā ayi taruṇī pathikalalanā/ janapadavadhū taḍitcakitanayanā ?/mālatīmālinī kothā priyaparicārikā/kothā torā abhisārikā/ghanavanatale eso ghananīlavasanā/lalitanṛtye bājuka svarṇaraśanā.

Or   —Varṣāmaṅgala, *Kalpanā*
  Ayi bhuvanamanomohinī/ayi nirmala sūryakarojvala dharaṇī/ janakajananījananī/nīlasindhujala dhautacaraṇa-tala/anilakampita śyāmala añcala/amlaracumbita bhāla himācala śubhratuṣārakirrtīnī.   Bhāratalakṣmī, Kalpanā

19. Ghora ghananīlagunṭhana tava/calacapalar cakita camake koricho caraṇavicaraṇa/kotha campaka ābharaṇa ? phālgune āmi phulavane vase gethechinu jato phula-hāra.   Āvirbhāva, *Kṣaṇikā*

Or   Vātāyane bośi—-vihvalavīṇa vijane bājāī hāśiyā.
  Antaratama, *Kṣaṇikā*

20. And even from the prose construction of Bāṇa's passages like Jalāvagāhanāgatajayakuñjarakumbhasindūrasa-ndhyā mānasalīlayonmādakalahaṃsakulakolāhala-mukharīkṛtakulayā vetravatyā..... (*Kādambarī*). Metres like Upendravajrā with feet of 5 and 6 are very common in Sanskrit. Ākhyānakī 5/6, Rathoddhatā 6/5, Bhujaṅga-prayāta 6/6; Drutavilambita 6/6—7/5, Hariṇīplutā 6/6—6/5, Vaṃśasthavila 5/6—6/7, Indravaṃśā 5/7 and Śikhariṇī 6/6/5—6/6/4 are the shorter metres more frequently used in the major Sanskrit Kāvyas. The basic structure is a variation of five, six or seven syllable foot with the caesura changing place and determining the nature of the cadence and lilt of the rhythm. Tagore made frequent experiments with their potentialities but his experiments were always determined and conditioned by the existing rhythmic patterns of Bengali metres.

of the major figures (simile, metaphor, alliteration, allusion, pathetic fallacy) is common to all literatures, Tagore makes free use of them. The more complicated and artificial figures are avoided except when he ridicules them. Thus in the play *Phālgunī* the hypocritical pundit Śrutibhūṣaṇa says to the king : 'My wife wishes to hear His Majesty's fame resounded in each of her limbs' (meaning, she would like the king to give her ornaments for every part of her body). This artificial image is directly borrowed from the decadent Sanskrit tradition of hyperboles, but is put to banal use intentionally. As a romantic poet he has a healthy instinctive aversion for the baroque-type super-abundance of rhetoric so common in post-Kālidāsa literature. For him Kālidāsa remains the model for the essential balance in content and form and for the artist's taste that prefers the simple and elegant figures of speech which embellish without excess. Tagore's rejection of the decadent exuberance of rhetoric is a proof of innate good taste. As a poet who fared on the 19th century English romantic poetry he was repelled by excessively heavy and complicated rhetoric. His great contribution is the shifting of his legacy and the sense of inherent balance between form and content—a sense conspicuously lacking in post-Kālidāsa Sanskrit poetry.

Another contribution is the extension of the field of image-making. While the classical Sanskrit poet was progressively restricting the field from which similes and metaphors could be drawn because the artificial poetic conventions[21] were multiplying, genuine inspired poetry was moving more towards the dialects after the 10th. C. Besides, works of poetics were slowly but surely acting as a stranglehold to poetry so that Sanskrit poetry was fast becoming an excuse for grammatical and rhetorical exercises—a pleasure of the blasé elite and a luxury of the courts and coteries. The vast and bulky literature of this period is marked by increasing ardity and to compensate for the lack of inspiration poets take to verbal gymnastics or burden their verses with piles of tired and hackneyed images. The freshness of Tagore's imagery after this long period of barren ornate poetry is due to many factors, one of which is the expansion of the field from which he drew his images and this is mainly due to the impact of European romanticism.

V

The subject of imagery brings us to Tagore's use of mythology which can be roughly classified under three heads :—
(i) simple allusions (ii) use in imagery (iii) symbolic interpretation and extension into neo-Purāṇic myths. Allusion is used

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21. Kaviprauḍhoktisiddhi.

for illustration by reference to the stock of traditional myths, a storehouse which all poets before and after Tagore have drawn upon. Myths are also used in imagery where the Purāṇic conduct of the gods is brought in to illustrate the subject in hand. Then again, existing myths are given symbolic interpretation.[22] But the best and most creative use of myths is in images in which the conduct of gods and godesses are quite in character and where they serve to confirm or esṛablish a statement of the poet (E. g. in the play 'The Card-land' the race of cardmen, weary and inert are said to have been born out of the gaping mouth of old Brahmā when he yawned wearily at the end of a busy day of creation. Here the aged god busy with the task of unceasing creation is drawn from existing mythology; the inert race of spiritually dead card-men being created from his yawn is the poet's own. And it is quite in tune with many Brāhmaṇical and Purāṇic myths of creation where the character of the creature depends on the mood and condition of the creator at the moment of creation.[23] It is in such passages that we are suddenly made aware of the depth and thoroughness of his acquaintance with ancient mythology.

Tagore's imagery frequently reflects a world of vanished glory, a world which may never have been a historical reality but which Sanskrit literature has made more than real to its readers. The poet's images are drawn from an imaginary world where princes and princesses dream of and languish for each other, where woman walk stealthily in the darkness of the night to meet their lovers at rendezvous, where love-lorn maidens teach their pet parrots love-songs or play plaintive tunes on their lyers and sigh and shed silent tears when they string flowers for their absent lovers. It is a world of lotuses, lyres, sandalwood, rich jewellery and colourful costumes—of bowers, music, moonshine and love. It is this dream-world of a by-gone age that most of his images are drawn from, images which so enrich his poetry. The colour and music of the sensuous images—created by an exceptionally refined sensibility—render them so haunting that quite frequently they seem to have a life of their own. This happens because they are reverberations of an age which is so very real to the poet's imagination that he feels nostalgic about it.[24]

Many of Tagore's themes are taken from Sanskrit literature—from the Upaniṣads, the epics, Buddhist Sanskrit literature and

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22. As the Rāmāyaṇa-story is symbolically interpreted in the preface of the Raktakarabī (the Red Oleanders) or in his article on Indian History in Bhāratbarsher Itihāsa.

23. Cf. the myth of Andhakāsura.

24. Cf. Sekāl and Svapna.

the Purāṇas.[25] In *Kāhinī* we have tales from Sanskrit literature made into poems enriched with the poet's own interpretation.[26] In the poem Premer Amarāvatī (Citrā) there is a passage[27] which recreates the romantic age very vividly but at the same time it is essentially Tagore's own because he creates it out of the many-splendoured bits of description from different Sanskrit poets of vastly different ages. It describes Damayantī, Śakuntalā, Mahāśvetā Subhadrā and Pārvatī—figures which lend themselves very easily to tiansformation into heroines of romantic poetry. Around each the poet weaves a thin but splendid haze of indistinct yet charming colour and leaves it there. Suggestion takes over where description leaves off and the pictures become immortal.

This world was not a historical reality, it is essentially a new myth, entirely the product of glimpses of the past derived from heightened descriptions, recreated by a poet whose mind had early imbibed the impact of the 19th C. English romantic poets—and

25. Poems like *Gāndhārīr Āvedana. Karṇakuntīsaṁvāda, Meghadūta, Puraskāra, Narakadarśana,* and *Sekāl* are directly drawn from Sanskrit. Plays like *Citrāṅgadā, Kālamṛgayā* and *Vālmīkipratibhā* are based on the epics; *Śyāmā, Cāṇḍālikā, Arūparatana* (or Rājā) and *Śāpamocana* as well as numerous poems derive their themes from Buddhist Sanskrit literature. From the *Avadānaśataka* he took the plots of *Śreṣṭhabhikṣā, Pūjāriṇī, Mūlyaprāpti (Kathā O Kāhinī)*; from the *Chāndogyaopaniṣad* that of *Brāhmana* (ibid); from the *Mahāvastu Mastakavikraya* and *Pariśodha;* from the *Bodhisattvādānakalpalatā, Abhisāra;* from the *Divyāvadāna, Sāmānyakṣati* and from the *Kadpadrumāvadāna—Nagaralakṣmī.*

26. In *Kalpanā* the poem *Caurapañcāśikā* is a romantic transmutation of Bilhaṇa's poem; *madanbhasmer Pūrve* and *Madanbhasmer Pare* are directly based on *Kumārasambhava* Cantos III and IV, and *Tapobhaṅga* in *Pūrabī* has echoes from Cantos II and III. In *Mānasī* while *Rāhur Prema, Meghadūta* and *Ahalyār Prati* are direct extensions of epic-Purāṇic myths, *Rājār Chele, Rājār Meye, Nidritā, Suptotthitā, Manasasundarī* and *Kalpanā* in *Sonār Tarī* are the actual imaginative recreation of the past with rich romantic overtones; the themes are the poet's own but as a romantic he explores the remote past to find a suitable myth to communicate his experience adequately. The poem *Vasundharā* in *Sonar Tari* recalls the Bhūmi-sūkta (*A.V. Bk* XII).

27. Beginning with Premer amarāvatī yethā.

who was quite at home in the atmosphere of European art, music and literature.

As early as at seventeen the poet went to England and received impressions at first hand. Endowed with an innate refined sensibility he reacted in a creative way as is very clear from a comparison of his poems before and after his trip to England. Western culture was a living reality to him, a positive and formative force which modified and coloured his response to life. Much of his great creation is a direct product of the powerful tension between acceptance and rejection of his own past heritage. The urge to reject it partially came upon him when even at seventeen he saw European life at first hand and wrote articles from England for the journal *Bhāratī*, revaluing accepted Indian values. Later he revisited Europe and came in closer contact with the Western civilization through his reading and through contact with European friends. He absorbed the influence of Western literature, esp. the 19th C. English romantic literature and the Indian tradition appeared to him as vastly different from how it had appeared to the medieval Bhāratchandra or the classicist Madhusūdana. A proof of this change of attitude is revealed in his symbolic and suggestive plays.[28] He could see why so much of the Indian reality had become static and dead. He ridiculed it in veiled or overt manner pointing out how and why the dynamism of social life had come to a stand-still. As a fair judge he was not blind to the evils and excesses of the highly mechanized existence in an industrial age and wrote a caustic commentary on it in the *Raktakarabī* (Red Oleanders) as well as in *Muktadhārā* (The Released Stream). Significantly enough for both types of deadness he finds salvation coming through youth.

The rejection of the dead and decadent values also permeated his poetry as imagery; for winter symbolized this deadness while spring stood for love, joy and life.

Ūrbaśī in *Citrā* takes the theme from the Indian epic-Purāṇic picture of a nymph, but the treatment clearly bears the mark of acquaintance with Shelley's 'Hymn to Intellectual Beauty'. The poem Vijayinī (Citrā) is based on the Mahāśvetā-episode in the *Kādambarī*, but the treatment, the universalization of her grief as the eternal lover's portion is essentially romantic.

More directly connected with the traditional past are some poems in *Chaitāli*.[29] These are poeticallay inferior except in

28. Like *Tāsher Desh*, *Acalāyatana (Guru)*, *Muktadhārā*, *Kāler Yātra*, *Rather Rashi* and many other compositions.
29. Like *Vane O Rājye*, *Tapovana*, *Prācīna Bhārata*, *Meghadutā*, *Ṛtusamhāra*, *Milanadṛśya Kumārasambhava gāna and Kālidāser Prati*.

patches. In them he recreates the past simply as it appears to him and ends nostalgically on a note traditionally associated with the themes, sometimes with minor variations. The poems of *Kṣaṇikā* betray a satirical note, a sense of slight revulsion at the cloying image of the past. In them he humorously debunks the romantic past. Inherent in some of them is a rejection of and triumph over the vision of this past which was but an illusion and the poet as a champion of the present glorifies present reality and is not any the less happy. In *Sekāl* he boasts that Kālidāsa living in the remote past missed the glory and romance of the present, while he is both an heir to the past and is blessed with the attractions of the present. As we all know the *Kṣaṇikā* poems were composed after a period of bitter disillusionment, after the failure of various political and social ventures. Part of the process of spiritual recuperation was through self-mockery. The sarcastic smile still lingered when he composed these very fresh and very charming poems. The anti-romantic veneer is very thin, but it adds a new beauty to the themes and treatment.

Still later Tagore's poetry draws heavily upon Kālidāsa's *Rtusaṁhāra* and other celebrated descriptions of nature.[30] Unlike the monotonous Shepherd's Calender type long poems, most of them concentrate on the advent and departure of either spring or the rainy season. *Naṭarāja* and *Rturaṅgaśālā* deal with the six seasons in an interpretative way and the interpretation is Tagore's very own.

Tagore's nature poetry is quite frequently symbolic. We have already noted the symbolic significance of winter and spring. The obvious symbolism is present in many poets but in Tagore it becomes an extension of the myth of the *Kumārasambhava* where in Canto III the destructive forces win and in Canto V love and life triumph. The poet gives away the secret of the symbolism in the poem *Tapobhaṅga* which thus becomes an expanded metaphor : Winter is Śiva practising penance in the cold Himalayas or appearing before Pārvatī disguised as a mendicant.[31] The whole drama was acted futilely with Pārvatī displaying her physical charm premature spring intruding on the scene of stillness and asceticism. Such fickle love is doomed to frustration; Śiva spurns Pārvatī's love, consumes Madana with the fire of his third eye;

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30. The recitative-like pieces, *Naṭarāja, Rturaṅgaśālā, Navīna, Śeṣavarṣaṇa, Śrāvaṇagathā* echo many passages of the poetry of the seasons in Sanskrit.

31. Viveśa kaścijjaṭilastapovanaṁ śarīrabaddhaḥ prathamā-śramo yathā /

Vasanta flees and the drama ends in tragedy. In the next (IVth) Canto Rati laments for the dead Madana – like Isis mourning for Osiris—while in the background Pārvatī purifies her love through penance. Then in Canto V Śiva disguised as a hermit appears to Pārvatī and provokes her against her lover. She affirms her unflinching love, he reveals his identity and they are united.

To Tagore's mind this disguise motif is symbolic of the eternal drama in nature. Winter is nature's temporary disguise to conceal the approaching spring. This theme is repeated *ad infinitum*.[32] The symbolic play *Phālgunī* has this theme and many passages strewn in poems, songs, novels, essays, letters and dramas repeat this idea. Similarly the theme of penance purifying fickle physical love which runs through many of his works derives directly from Kālidāsa whose three dramas may be regarded as trilogies constructed on three aspects of this theme and whose *Kumāra-sambhava, Ṛtusaṁhāra* and *Meghadūta* are constructed on the opening bar of this theme. The disguise motif supplies a key theme to Tagore who sees the seasons revolving around it. His concept of summer[33] is of a harsh mendicant (the Śiva of Canto I); the rainy season symbolizes separation (Canto IV) as well as fulfilment (Canto (VI). Śarat is the bride. To Kālidāsa, the bride is Śarat[34] and Śarat is a bride.[35] Autumn is the fulfilled matron. Winter the disguised lover and spring the bridegroom (Canto VII). One hears echoes from the *Kumārasambhava* and *Ṛtusaṁhāra* all through Tagore's poetry.

VI

In his criticism of Sanskrit literature Tagore merely interprets the literary legacy and finds an inner conceptual pattern in the significant literature of the past. In the articles on *Śakuntala, Rāmāyaṇa, Kādambarī* and *Kāvyer Upekṣitā* he finds echoes of his own ideas. Or, conversely, it is perhaps safer to say that both belong to a common tradition and the later artist merely takes upon himself to reinterpret the aesthetically valid sections of the older ones. One misses maturity and complexity in the criteria which he brings to bear upon his subject. Criticism according to him is an appreciative appraisal which will induce others to read the works under consideration. Here, too, one traces the standards of Sanskrit literary criticism which at its most barren

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32. *Cf.* Songs Nos. 183-87, 190, 208, 238.........and many others in the *Gītavitāna.*
33. Or Vaiśākha as in numerous poems and songs.
34. *Kumāra.* Canto, VII.
35. *Ṛtu* : Śarat : I.

level is an examination of conformity with the poetic norms.[36] If the poet conforms he is good, if not he is bad. At its highest, Sanskrit poetics judges a literary work by the best of criteria viz. that of *rasa*, poetic sentiment. Tagore, too, adheres to this principle and takes up time-honoured works of art pointing out how and where they have succeeded in producing the poetic sentiment, *rasa*.

<p style="text-align:center">VII</p>

The field where the impact of the ancient past is most subtle, pervasive and significant is that of ideas. The tension between the urges to accept and reject is at the root of much powerful creation the best of which is the novel *Gorā* where the issue is treated directly through dialogues and indirectly through symbolic action. The poet's nostalgia for the distant past is at once a living and deadening force. He frequently says that the abiding ethos of a nation cannot reject its past outright. The pivotal point, then, is the criterion for selection and rejection, the degree in which the past should be allowed to condition the present and the future. Tagore's patriotism prompted him to shift the legacy, to critically evaluate the past, to select and reject. Thus in the field of ideas acceptance and rejection alternated periodically. His essays on Indian history reveal a sharp change in his attitude. While in the earlier essays he idealizes India's past and reinterprets its cultural heritage as one worthy of total emulation, in his later articles he is more cautious, critical and discriminating. Analysing some of the poems of *Naivedya* we find that the poet is disappointed with the state of affairs because he believes that much of misery and evil of modern India is due to deviation from the norm set up by ancient India. Needless to say he is rather uncritical and unhistorical in his conclusions because the values postulated by individual seers were ideals and not necessarily the actual social realities. The noble realization of the ancient Aryans that there is one immanent spirit in fire, air, water and trees[37] does not tell us anything about the world of men and the poet's assumption that men were united by the bond of universal brotherhood, is merely romantic. Hence his lamentation over the departure from the noble ideal and his conclusion that the wretched condition of the twentieth century India is due to that departure is not tenable historically. He compares the present and the past and

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36. As laid down in works of poetics these norms are fairly exhaustive and most often quite mechanical.

37. *Cf.* poems nos. 57, 58 ; *Naivedya*.

says, "Where are we, in what distant, dark and dilapidated city of despondence."[38] Then quoting the well-known Ṛgvedic stanza he says, "O dead India, that alone is the way, there is no other way."[39] In his view the present is dreary and dismal because we have forgotten the Ṛgvedic message of joy. Salvation then lies in reviving the past. At the turn of the century in 1900 he was still harping on the "message" of the ancient Aryans.

But this revivalism was not his permanent attitude. He developed and grew and changed positions several times. What is important is the inner dynamism.

In poetry there is a direct attempt at reassessment of ancient values.[40] An element of healthy cynicism is noticeable in his new attitude to the past. In *Gorā* his most significant work, he lays his cards on the table and through long, threadbare discussions weighs the traditional values against those of the Westernized sections. But even here Gorā's values are not strictly traditional, for in him tradition confronts Western culture and the modified, refined and sifted tradition is Gorā's own. The novel contains a phase of the poet's spiritual autobiography, his journey to and from the Indian past, and the 19th C. educated man's ideas in their unmodified forms. The poet-thinker traverses vast distances between the extremes of the traditional and the modern, and crosses all degrees and shades of modification conceptually. Almost each of the characters is a hypostasis of a particular conceptual position. He pauses before each and seeks to evolve a set of values valid for the spiritual needs of the age. An innate idealism, however, coloured all his concepts.

In the *Yogāyoga, Chār Adhyāya, Ghare Baire* and *Caturaṅga* the same painful exploration is apparent. Like a true poet he can not choose a final position; his sensitive and mobile soul wavers between the various positions and much true art is born of this creative tension.

One example of how he sought to translate ancient Indian tradition in terms of modern life is his protest against the eduction system introduced by the British rulers so that he set up an old-world hermitagetype university at Viśvabhāratī. A study of the

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38. *Cf.* poem no. 60.
39. Poem no. 64 echoes nānyaḥ panthā vidyate' yanāya; also, poems 64-71.
40. *Cf.* poems like *Māyāvāda (Sonār Tarī), Mukti, Khelā, Bandhana, Gati, Akṣama, Ātmasamarpaṇa Vairāgya (Chaitāli), Puṇyer Hishāb, Devatār Vidāya, Tattva-jñānahīna* and *Karmaphala (Kṣaṇikā).*

history of Śāntiniketan gives us a glimpse into the troubled mind of the poet swinging like a pendulum between the east and west, between past and present. True, there were certain basic values from which he never swerved, but the process and modes of translating these concepts into every-day practice changed frequently according to his attitude to the past. The model hermitage (*tapovana*) is a reconstruction from references in different literary works.

The series of essays known as *Śāntiniketana* as well as the spiritual autobiography *Ātmaparicaya*, his credo *Mānusher Dharma* and his last testament *Sabhyatār Itihāsa* contain records of his oscillation and search for a balanced and valid ethos. His quest for values lends itself to interesting and significant periodization. There are periods when he turns to the West and others when he veers more to the ancient Indian tradition but throughout his entire spiritual career there are some beliefs and values which acted as sheet-anchor. Vedic, epic, Upaniṣadic and Buddhist literature offered him something of abiding value and left an undying impression in his thought, work and art. Of these the contribution of the Upaniṣads is the most obvious and has been studied most exhaustively by many very competent scholars, although the impact of the fresh, vivid and moving imagery of the Upaniṣads on such an impressionable mind has not been adequately explored. From Buddhist Sanskrit literature he borrowed numerous themes and a general attitude that finds effective expression in *Rājarṣi, Mukuṭa* and many other poems and stories.[41]

VIII

To me the most significant impact on Tagore was that of the *Ṛgveda.* He came to inherit a tradition which had for many centuries been conditioned to regard renunciation as the supreme value. The basic tenets of the Upaniṣads as interpreted by Śaṅkarācārya and the doctrines of the Vedānta philosophy posit that life is illusory ; only *Brahman* is real ; creatures are in essence nothing but *Brahman.*[42] Appearance is *Māyā.* The only right endeavour is for emancipation through the realization of the equation : *Jīva,* the individual self, is equal to Brahman the absolute principle. Man must discern the futility and illusory character of life itself and seek to disengage himself from all pursuits prompted

41. cf. Ebār Chalinu Tabe, which recalls the Buddha's renunciation.
42. Ślokārdhena pravakṣyāmi yaduktaṃ granthakoṭibhiḥ/ Brahma satyaṃ jaganmithyā jīvo brahmaiva nāparaḥ//

by *Māyā*. This prevalent attitude coloured the *Weltanschauung* and literature for more than a millennium before Tagore appeared on the scene ; it was the basic assumption of all poets and philosophers before him.

This attitude generates a negative view of life, for it regards the joys of earthly life as evil. A distinctly different note is struck in poem no. 30 in *Naivedya* which enunciates Tagore's belief in unambiguous language. It says "Release through the practice of renunciation is not for me. I desire to taste release fraught with great joy in the midst of innumerable attachments". This is a reply to the millennia-old attitude of self-abnegation, privation and turning away from the world of sensuous joys. Tagore repudiates this attitude in unequivocal terms. The true poet in him revolted at the idea of the barren existence which is advocated by the preachers of self-denial. In hundreds of poems he has stated his position : he loves life in all its myriad manifestations, in nature and man. Nothing human and nothing in nature is alien to him. He is proud of the privilege to be born in this world, even the minutest detail has a rich significance to him. Life has spread a feast for the senses, it is wrong and unnatural not to enjoy the delights offered by life. The sky, sun and moon and stars, light and darkness, trees and rivers, birds and beasts, joys and sorrows, hopes, dreams and even frustrations,—all this constitutes life. This rich experience comes only once and it is sinful to spurn it.[43]

Tagore's predecessors had for many centuries been steeped in Vedānta and the doctrine of *Māyā*. This doctrine is absolutely untenable for a poet to whom life is real, rich and significant. But the current attitudes had permeated the emotional and philosophical atmosphere of the country for too long and the basic assumption was that life is illusory, and therefore an evil which deludes man into unending misery.

He struck an entirely new note : Life is glorious for its own sake ; man is blessed with his span on this earth and should enjoy it gratefully and proudly, bearing in mind its fleeting nature. Life is hallowed by the splendour of nature and the richness of human emotions and relations. The same sense of glory and wonder in human existence is seen in the *RV*. There we have frequent references to the joy of life itself. Prayers for long life are common.[44] Life *on this earth* is desirable.[45] We desire to live and

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43. Tagore never used the words *Maya* (illusion), *mukti* or *mokṣa* (liberation) except derisively.

44. *Śatam jīvantu śaradaḥ purūcirantarmr̥tyu dadhatām parvatena* (*RV X : 18 : 4*).

45. *Jīvam vrātam sacemahi RVS : X 58 : 5.*

dwell here i.e. on this earth[46] is the refrain of hymn X : 58. Death is sought to be warded off for as long as possible, man is not eager to escape life into a condition of eternal spiritual bliss, for that bliss is now and here. Soma and other gods are supplicated so that the devotee can see the rising sun for long years.[47] To those ancient Aryans the rising sun was a symbol, the privilege of witnessing it was precious to them for it symbolized life.[48] Life, not death is to be coveted.[49] The famous prayer to Soma for immortality is a keynote to many *RV* prayers. "Put me in the region where there is resplendence, where the sun is placed, where there is no death or decay, where Vivasvat's son is king, where men enter the sun and where wide rivers flow, make me immortal there."[50] The desire for earthly joys and for the fulfilment of the eternal craving for happiness find eloquent expression in that hymn.[51]

People should rejoice in life and live in a full way, the simple delights are not to be spurned ; sense-organs need satisfaction and long life is to be enjoyed *in this body*. The famous hymn in the first book reiterates this attitude.[52] Nowhere is there a craving for an early quietus before one's time, and the normal span of life to the Vedic Aryans is a hundred years.[53] The famous *Madhusūkta* is a hymn in praise of the humble items which make life what it is, it blesses the air, water, wind, trees, rivers, cows, day and night. This

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46. *Tatta ā vartayamasīhakṣayāya jīvase.*
47. Mo ṣu naḥ soma mṛtyave parā dāḥ *paśyema nu sūryamuccarantam,* Dyubhirhito jarimā suno astu parātaram su nirṛtir jihītam, X : 59 : 4.
48. Ā ta etu manaḥ punaḥ *kratvāya dakṣāya jīvase, jyok sūryam dṛśe,* X : 58 : 4. *Jyok paśyema sūryamuccarantamanumate* mṛlaya naḥ svasti X : 59 : 6.
49. Eṣa dādhāra te mano *jīvātave na mṛtyave' tha ariṣṭatātaye* X : 60 : 8.
50. Yatra jyotirajasram yasminlloke sahitam. Tasmin mām dhehi pavamanāmṛte loke akṣit indrayendo pari srava. Yatra rājā vaivasvato yatrāvarodhanaṃ divaḥ. Yatrabhurjahvatīrāpastatra māmamṛtam Kṛdhi ... X : 113 : 7, 8.
51. Yatrānandāśca modāśca pramuda āsate Kāmasya yatraptāh Kāmāstatra māmṛtam kṛdhi. *ibid* verse 11.
52. *Bhadram Karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāmo devā bhadraṃ paśyemākṣabhiryayatrāḥ. Sthirairaṅgaistuṣṭuvāṁsastanūbhirvyaśema devahitam yadāyuḥ.* I . 90 : 8.
53. *RV* Khila I : 50 :3c ; *Paśyema śaradaḥ śatam jīvema śaradaḥ śatam sukhinaḥ syāma śaradaḥ śatam ; RV* VII : 66 : 16c.

indicates a definite predilection for life as we know it on the earth ; it glorifies life and is a hymn to *joie de vivre.*

This note was struck on the Indian soil after two millennia throughout which period life was tacitly regarded as a necessary evil by the unenlightened and as an illusion by the metaphysicians. Tagore upset this idea : "I do not wish to die on this beautiful earth", he said "I wish to live among men".[54] He fought a life-long crusade against the dry, sterile and negative attitude ; he ridiculed renunciation, questioned the theory of *Māyā.* 'If the universe is dreaming, then of what can the dream be'.[55] The refrain of this poem in *Kari O Komal* is "will that be in this lifeless loveless blind darkness". This is how he sums up the Vedāntic position which dismisses as illusion all that makes life meaningful. In the famous poem *Āmi* (i.e. I) in *Śyāmalī* he repudiates this negative attitude as untenable because it contradicts the basic scheme of the universe, of existence itself.

In song no. 77 in the *Gītavitāna* the poet says that long ages ago he was invited in the bright heaven of the stars ; but it gave him no pleasure, so he came away to this earth. Numerous songs of his reflect his deep love and ever fresh joy in life on earth. No prospect of a happier existence in the next life in heaven or in a union with the Supreme Being could tempt him ; he never grows weary of life, for life with all its conflicting experience was to him a blessing, to be alive was the supreme privilege.

Except metaphorically Tagore never speaks of transmigration, or life after death. Here, too, we have the influence of the *ŖV* which, except in the latest book is never preoccupied with death or heaven and hell. It has a fresh and vigorous zest for life and healthy appreciation of the many-splendoured glass.

It is a sin to lose faith in man—this was his very last credo.[57]

Throughout the middle phase—creatively the most prolific phase of his literary career he had leaned more on the Upaniṣads. Vaiṣṇava poetry and the medieval devotional poetry, however counterbalanced what might otherwise lead to a negative attitude of barrenness and renunciation. But as he grew really old and matured in his *Weltanschauung* he steadily came closer to the Rgvedic attitude of thankfully accepting life and singing hymns to its glory. His last four books *Rogasayyāy : Ārogya, Janmadine* and

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54.   Marite cāhinā āmi sundara bhuvane/mānavera majhe āmi bancivāre cahi   The first poem in *Kari O Komal.*

55.   Viśva yadi śvapna dekhe śe svapan kāhār svapan ? *Ciradina : Kari O Komal.*

56.   cf. *Sabhyatār Saṅkaṭa.*

57.   Mānuṣer opare viśvāsa hārāno pāpa. Sabhyatār Saṅkaṭa

Seṣalekhā are a glorious manifesto to his faith in life. And it is not accidental that sometimes one hears clear echoes from the *RV* in them.[58]

The first poem of the next book *Ārogya* begins with an echo of the *Madhu* hymn of the *RV*. Poem 3 of that book speaks of the sun in exactly the same way as the *RV* does. It also says. "I have thought to myself that if I had the message of the Vedic hymns of the ancient age then my own chants would also mingle in this flood of transparent light. But alas : I do not have that language". Poem 5 is also a very clear echo of many *RV*-verses. In poem 13 of *Janmadine* he uses the *RV*-language[59] and says that he remembers the words of Vedic sages (15). Poem 23 echoes a Vedic hymn directly in the last five lines. In poem 25 he yearns for an echo of the ancient Sāman hymns. Even in his very last poem in *Seṣalekhā* he is an ardent believer in the triumph of life. Even the language becomes redolent with the fresh aroma of Ṛgvedic poetry.

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58. cf. the last few lines of poem no. 15 *Rogaśayyāy*. In many poems in this book we find the poet's joy at the rising sun which here becomes the symbol of the victory of life over disease and death just as it was to the ancient Aryans. The entire book is a record of the battle between darkness and light symbolizing the struggle between death and life. Cf. poem nos. 4, 5, 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 24, 27, 28 and 32. Poem 36 reaches its climax in the last two lines where the poet quotes from the Upaniṣads. *Ko 'hyevanyāt kaḥ prāmyāt yadeṣa ākāśā ānando na syāt.* "Who would live, who would breathe if this sky itself were not pure joy ?"

59. Tamasār parapāre. : *cf. tamasaḥ parastāt.*

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON GUJARATI
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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I Influence on the Language

The middle Indo-Aryan stage was on a point to be developed into Neo-Indo-Aryan dialects at the beginning of the 11th century A.D. Thus the Apabhraṁśa with its dialects in Western India was in an evolving stage with some peculiar and new changes. The first authentic Apabhraṁśa grammar given by the famous Hemacandra at the end of his *Siddha-Hema Vyākaraṇa* was a landmark for the development of dialects of Western India. The remark at the end of his grammar is noteworthy. Concluding the treatment of the Apabhraṁśa he said : शेषं संस्कृतवत् सिद्धम्— Whatever you cannot find in the grammar about Apabhraṁśa is the same as what is seen in Sanskrit. And we can see that some pure Sanskrit words and forms were gradually getting prominence. The use of an extinct vowel ऋ (r̥) draws our attention in words like तृणु—सकृदु (329), गृह्हइ (336-1), गृहन्ति (341-2), कृदन्तहो (370-4), घृण (350-2), गृण्हेप्पिणु (394) तृणाइं (422-15), The consonant र (r) as a second member in conjunction is peculiar to Sanskrit, and this is abundantly found in words like अन्ति (360-1), ब्रुव-षोप्प (391-1), व्रतु (394-1), ध्रुवु (418-3), द्रवक्क (422-4), द्रमु (422-4), प्रमाणु (438-3), भ्रन्तडी (414-2), प्रज्ञणि (360-1), प्रज्ञणइ (420-2), प्रद्यावदि (404-1), प्रस्सदि (393-0), प्रवांणिग्रउ (422-1), प्राउ-प्राइव-प्राइम्व (417),

There is no doubt that in the 11th and 12th cent. A.D., not only in the present land of Gujarat, even in the vast tract of the present Rajasthan and Western Madhya Pradesh including the land of old Nimād, the common language of the people was rather the Gaurjara Apabhraṁśa. There might be occasional dialectical trends in the speech, yet we have little evidence to find out the difference. The works already found are from Gujarat, excepting

one inscription from Dhar in M.P. near Indore. The *Prithvīrāja-Rāso* and *Viśāladeva-Rāso* are later works, *Khumāṇa-Rāso*, being of a very late date. According to Dr. Dhirendra Verma the language of the Paheliyā of Amir Khushio represents a stage of a very late period. Jain Bhaṇḍāras of North Gujarat and Western Rajasthan possess very important Mss. of the old period, majority of them being works of Jain authors. And we know well that in the histories of the Hindi Literatute, the works found in these Bhaṇḍāras have been considered as representing the old form of Hindi Language. This has no logical or historical basis. Rajasthani dialects, at present, are considered as dialects of the Hindi Language, but they have no family-relation with Modern Hindi. Their family relation is only with Gujarati. We know that the late Dr. Tessitori chose a common name of this language-stage as the Old Western Rajasthani. The reason is quite clear. We are not in a position to differentiate older forms of Marwadi, Jaipuri-Dhūḍhāḍī, Mewati Hadauti, Mālavi and Nimādī of the medieval period. All these old dialects were being separated in the 15th cent. A. D. as seen in contemporary Mss. material. We get pure Gujarati language in that century, in mss. found mostly in Gujarat and Western Rajasthan. In the period beginning from the time of Hemacandra, i.e. the latter half of the 12th cent. A. D. to the former half of the 15th cent. A. D. Sanskrit words *made their way* into the literature in their original form and/or in a corrupted form which was quite an independent non-prakritic mode. I shall give here a prose passage found in a ms. dated V. S. 1330 (1274 A. D.) written at Āśāpalli (which was in southern suburbs of modern Ahmedabad) :

"पंच परमेष्ठिनमस्कारु जिनशासनि सारु चतुर्दंशपूर्वंसमुद्धारु, संपादितसकल कल्याणसंभारुविहितदुरितापहारु श्रुद्रोपद्रवपर्वंतवज्रप्रहारु लीलादलितसंसारु सु तुम्हि अनुसरहु, जिणि कारणि चतुर्दंशपूर्वंधर चतुर्दंश पूर्वंसंसधिउ ध्यानु परित्यजउ ।"

[*Āpaṇā Kavio*—Pt.I , p. 254]

One thing is to be known that in poetry Jain authors were still using old forms of Apabhraṁśa, but the prose was highly influenced by Sanskrit loans. Within a period of 29 years the second version of the above prose writing is found representing the old Gujarati stage. It is be noted that it is a pure old Gujarati version devoid of any trace of the allied dialects or languages. Vast literature of the succeeding period is available in ms. form, some of which have been already published. Even some prose works have been published. Scores of such prose works are lying unpubished in Bhaṇḍāras and Mss. libraries.

Though the roots are as old as the time of Ācārya Hemacandra, i. e. 12th cent. A. D. the pure Gujarati stage paved its way

in the early decade of the 14th century A. D. *Balāvabodha*, a running
illustrative commentary by Taruṇaprabha composed in 1355 A. D.
is a fine model of the old Gujarati stage. The influence of Sanskrit
language is clear as for example in the following extract.

"सम्यक्त्व गुण-रहइं म्राविभविकु श्रीनरवर्मं महाराज कथानकु लिखियइ ।
इह्नी जि जंबूद्वीप माहि भरत क्षेत्र माहि मगध नाम जनपदु छइ । तिहां विजयवती
नामि नगरी, तिहां नरवर्मु नामि राजा, रतिसुंदरी नामि पट्टमहादेवी हूंती, हरिदत्तु
नामि वुत्तु हूंतउ, मतिसागरादिक म्रनेकि महामात्य हूंता ।"   [*Ibid*, p. 351]

Within fifty years, the prose develops and attains a recognisa-
ble form. A passage from a *Balāvabodha* of Somasundarasūri :—

"कादंबरी म्रटवीइं वटवृक्ष २ सूडा सगा भाइ हूता । एक सूडम्रो भीलें
लीधम्रो । पर्वत पालि माहि बाधिम्रो तेह मणी गिरि–शुक कही वराइं । बीजम्रो
सूडम्रो तापसे भीधम्रो तेह्ना तपोवन मांहि बाधिम्रो तेह्भणी ते पुष्प–शुक कहीइं ।"
[*Ibid*, p. 367]

Though not found abundantly, a rhythmic style was also
developed. For example a passage from *Pṛthvī-candracarita*
by Māṇikyacandrasūri of this period may be given :

"तिसिहु म्राविउ वसंत, हुउ शीत तणउ म्रंत । दक्षिणदिसि तणउ शीतल वाउ
वाइं, विह्सइं वणराइ ।······मउरिया सहकार, चंपक उदार, वेउल सफुले भ्रमरकुल
सकुल, कलरव करइं कोकिल तणा कुले' etc.
[*Ibid*, p. 372]

Works of authors other than Jains are seldom available in that
early period. Only two poetical works, Asāita Nāyaka's *Haṁsāuli*
(1371 A. D.) and Bhīma's *Sadayavatsa-kathā* (1404 A.D.) have come
to light so far. A prose work named *Gaṇita-sāra* (1393 A. D.) is
also available in print. In these works also Sanskrit loan words
are in abundunee.

In this century, the language is mostly free from traces of
contemporary dialects of the border-lands. In its early phase
the Gujarati Language, was called 'Gujara-bhakhā by a prominent
poet, Bhālaṇa of the first half of the 16th cent. A. D., who contri-
buted a few hundred lyrical and narrative songs. Some fifty years
earlier, the language was fortunate to have a great devotee and a
poet, Narasiṁha Mehta, who contributed hundreds of lyrical and
narrative songs. He is the first poet of the Modern Gujarati
Language. He was much influenced by the popular Sanskrit
lyrical poem, the *Gīta-Govinda* of Jayadeva and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*
and the famous Marathi saint-poet Nāmadeva. Narasiṁha's
famous Jhūlanā Metre is a copy of Nāmadeva's Abhaṅgas. From this
time onwards the works of non-Jain authors come to the forefront.
Hundreds of mss. of the works upto the middle of the nineteenth

cent. A. D. are known ; much of these have been prin:ed separately and in collections.

It is note-worthy that the famous Prakrit Grammarian Mārkaṇḍeya of the 15th cent. A. D., differentiating peculiarities of Apabhraṁśa dialects, mentions that the Gaurjarī dialect was full of Sanskrit loan words : संस्कृताढ्या च गौर्जरी । We have seen above, how richly the Sanskrit vocabulary influenced the language. Here I shall quote only prose works, because generally they only represent the clear development of the language. A quotation from a heroic poem *kānhaḍade—Prabandha* of Padmanābha—a Nagar brahman of Gujarat, who composed it in the year 1456 A. D. at Jalor near Jodhpur (Rajasthan), runs as it follows :

"श्रीनगर जालह्दुर नणी रचना । गढ मढ मंदिर पोलि पगार । अट्टालियां मालीयां टोडडे त्रिकलसां गगनचुंबित कोसीसां । सातषणां धवलगृहां ग्म्य प्रवेश सूकडिय गवाक्ष । मलयगिरी जालि । कृष्णागिरी थांभली । मणिबद्ध काचवद्ध भूमि'

—and so on

[K. B. Vyāsa's Edn., p. 157]

And a passage from the prose work *Pañcākhyāna-bālāvabodha* (p. 3) of Yaśodhīra, a Jain author :

"दक्षण देश मढ़े महिलारोप्य एह्नि नामि नगर छि तिहां सकल शास्त्रनो कल्पवृक्ष मोटा जे राजा सेणि नमस्करणीय"— and so on

As I said before, Jain authors were utilising Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa word-forms relatively in a greater measure, while authors other than Jains are found leaning more towards Sanskrit.

The language of Gujarat in its present form is found in Mss. mostly from the 17th cent, A. D. Jain and non-Jain authors freely used Sanskrit loans. The next stage could be seen in the beginning of the 19th cent. A. D. The famous Vaishnava saint Sahajānanda-svāmī gave his preaching in a running Gujarati prose. The last representative poet of the old Gujarati Language, Dayārāma, composes hundreds of lyrical songs as also some prose works. A passage from one of his prose works may be seen :

"तुंने श्रीगुरुदेव्यें आत्मसात करीनें श्रीहस्तकमल तथा युगल चरणकमल तारे मस्तकें मूकीनें, सकळ अपराध माफ कर्या छे; सकल पाप ताहारां भस्मीभूत थै गया; श्रीमुख्यें कह्युं छे जे 'ताहारा दृदेमां अखंड श्री जी विराजो, अने हावां पुनहां जन्म नयी"—and so on

[*Anubhava mañjarī,* p. 187]

Upto the middle of the 19th century, under the rule of ᴣhe British regular schools were opened and prose text books ᴇame into being. Two phases of modern Gujarati were prevalent

simultaneously : 1. corrupted form and 2. of a rather pure form. In the latter the purity of the spelling was noteworthy. It has been found that the purity of spelling started in Bombay and came to Gujarat in the sixties of that century after the establishment of the University of Bombay in 1857 A. D. Hope Reading Series laid a foundation stone in that direction and ultra-modern Gujarati came in existance. As the university education was increasing day by day students had chances to be familiar with the different branches of sciences. There was then the usage of various technical terms. Most of these words were coined from Sanskrit, while some were directly taken from ancient scientific writings in Sanskrit.

Apart from this, there developed defferent forms of literature. Journalism had its own importance. To enrich the language the main source was and is Sanskrit. A common man now has no distinction in his mind, whether the words he or she uses in his or her daily usage are pure Gujarati words or Sanskrit loans.

II. Influence on Literature
(1) Classical Metres ·

It is to be particularly noted that the variety of Sanskrit literary forms was not adopted even in the Prakrit stage, nor in the Apabhraṁśa stage. This was the case even when our modern Indo-Aryan languages were emerging slowly. As mentioned above, the Apabhraṁśa grammar portion of the *Siddha Hema* Vyākaraṇa of Hemacandra was a land-mark for the literature of Gujarat. The majority of verses quoted by Hemacandra here are of folk type, orally current all over Western Rajasthan including Gujarat, Saurashtra and Kacch. The first noteworthy poem so far known is a *Rāsa-Kāvya*—the *Bharateśvara-Bāhubali Rāsa* of Śālibhadrasūri composed in 1185 A.D. This form, an off-shoot of a Saṁdhi-Kāvya form of Apabhraṁśa language was unknown to Sanskrit. But the poetic form is quite like that of Sanskrit. Narration, figuers of speech, sentiments and other poetic elements are of the same nature. though not reaching to the richness of Sanskrit. The Rāsa and other literary forms, developed chiefly in the stage of the later Apabhraṁśa, which may be termed as Uttara-Gaurjara Apabhraṁśa, were devoid of classical Sanskrit metres with the exception of some later Phāgu poems of the early Gujarati period. Local musical non-Sanskritic metres developed in the Prakrit stage and were noted in Bharataś *Nāṭyaśāstra* as Dhruvās, which were found utilised in the 4th Act of *Vikramorvaśīya* of Kālidāsa, considered as later interpolations. In the 12th cent. A.D. we have the lyrical poem *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva which contains 24 songs. The language is Sanskrit but the metres utilised in all the songs are

purely non-Sanskritic. At that stage *Dūhās, Copāis. Savaiyās, Harigītas, Jhūlanās* and such other rythmic metres became common. The last eight hundred years have given such local melodious musical metres continuously upto the present time. For a period of seven hundred years upto the last century, we come across a few works where the classical Sanskrit metres have been used. Such works known so far are *Arbudācala-vī-natī* of Jayaśekharasūri (15th cent. A.D.)—only nine *Druta-vilambita* verses, and a few *upajāti* verses, the *Tribhuvana-dīpaka Prabandha*, Virāta parvan of Śālisūri (15th cent., A.D.) using Svāgatā, Upajāti, Mālinī, Vasantatilakā and Drutavilambita metres; some Phāgus such as *Suraṅgā-bhidha Nemi Phāga* of Dhanadevagaṇi (1446 A.D.), *Caturmukha Ādinātha Phāga* of an unknown author (about 1501 A.D.) *Raṅgasāgara Neminātha Phāgu* (about 1400 A.D.)—all these Phāgus with stray Śārdūla vikrīḍita verses; and two non-Jain works—*Rūpasundarakathā* (1650 A.D) of Mādhava and *Bhāṣā-Vicitra* of Gapāla Bhatta (of the same century) are also noteworthy. The narrative style of a majority of these poets have the same touch as the classical Sanskrit style, e.g.

तारुण्यार्क शिशुत्व—नीर सुकवे ए भेद दीधो हृदे—
नाडा नेत्र कुरंग कोतर मणी, मन्दत्व आप्युं पदे—
निःश्रेणि त्रिवली स्मरे धरी हवे मध्ये जशे, शुं थयुं ?
आशाने तनु, विश्वनापि, चरणाम्भोजे तमो भागवुं—२७

[*Gujarati Sahityaāū Rekhadarśana, p. 204.*]

The above is from *Rūpasundarakathā*; the following is from *Bhāṣāvicitra :*

कुचविमर्दन वेणिलता ग्रही, अर्घरचुम्बन सीत्कृति ते सही,
उर नखक्षत कोय लवे थशे. चतुर जे नरनार भलां हशे—३४
सकल भूषण कज्जलं संग जे, तिलक अंजन षीटक रंग जे
नयन बाण निरीक्षण शोभशे, चतुर जे नरनार भलां हशे—३५

[*Ibid*, p. 203]

Three plays of the classical Sanskrit type, ascribed to the famous Gujarati poet Premānanda of the second half of the 17th cent. A.D. were published in the fourth quarter of the 18th cent. A.D. These plays have been, however, considered apocriphal and belong actually to a later period.

As I have mentiond above the modern Gujarati begins after the establishment of the University of Bombay. New literary forms were adopted and a new era started even in the case of poetry. Dalpatram and Narmadashankar are the known poets of that period. Both these poets used classical metres abundantly in

their vast contributions. Both of them gave works on poetics and metres in which definitions as well as illustrations were given in Gujarati. Then a large number of educated poets came forward and some of them imitating foreign forms, used mostly classical Sanskrit metres. Narsimharao Divatia, Govardhanram M. Tripathi, Manilal Nabhu bhai, Ramanbhai Nilkanth and such prominent poets upto the present day used and the living ones do use classical metres in their poems, some of them have introduced new varieties in those classical metres also.

(2) Themes

From the beginning of the earliest phase of the modern Gujarati language, the themes were of Sanskrit origin. The *Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa,*most of the Purāṇas, later Sanskrit Story Literature like *Kathā-saritsāgara,* stories about Vikramāditya and such other legendary figures in Sanskrit were the source books. Most of the non-Jain authors and some Jain ones from the second half of the 14th cent. A. D. to the end of the middle half of the 19th cent. A. D. took their stories from the above-mentioned works. There arose a few philosophical poems also, based on works like the *Bhagavad-gītā and Yoga-vāsiṣṭha Rāmāyaṇa.* Narasiṁha Mehta had also sung some philosophical songs. Most prominent were Akho and Dayārām, Akho being conversant in the Advaita Philosophy of Śaṁkara and Dayārām in the Śuddhādvaita Philosophy of Vallabhācāryajī. It can not be ascertained whether both of them were scholars of Sanskrit ; however they were able to get proficiency enough through their teachers.

Narasiṁha Mehta translated some Sanskrit verses from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* independently in his *Rāsa-sahasrapadī* and imitated Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govinda* in his Cātūrīs. After him several authors contributed their vast musical literature taking stories and incidents from Sanskrit Purāṇa literature. Vīrasiṁha Karmaṇa, Maṇḍana, Bhīma, Bhālaṇa, Śrīdhara, Nākara, Kāśī-sutā, Haridāsa Viṣṇudāsa. Śivadāsa, Avicaladāsa Vaikuṇṭha, Bhāu, Premānanda, Ratneśvara and others were fully indebted to Sanskrit Purāṇa literature. Most of their poems—all narratives, i.e., Ākhyānas established a new form in the medieval period. Amongst these, Bhālaṇa of the first half of the 16th cent. A. D. and Ratneśvara of the later half of the 17th century A. D. were translaters also. Bhālaṇa translated *Durgā-saptaśatī* verbatim and *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa Bhatta in an abridged form. Ratneśvara translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and *Jaiminīya Aśvamedha Parvan* verbatim.

Original writers are also in abundance during these centuries, utilising the matter from Purāṇas mostly. On the Lyrical side'

Narasimha Mehta, Bhālaṇa, Mira, Gopāla, Akho, Raje, Ranchod, Raghunātha, Bāpu, Dhīro, Muktānanda Brahmānanda, Niṣkulā-nanda, Premānanda Premasakhī, Śivananda and Dayārāma are also noteworthy for their following the theory of sentiments (Rasa-Siddhānta) in a general way. Most of them were under the influence of the songs of Kabir and Aṣṭachāpa Vrajabhāṣā poets.

Even modern authors are highly indebted to the Purāṇa literature. Authors like late K. M. Munshi went even to the Vedic legends.

With the ever increasing college education new forms of literature appeared in Gujarati as in other New Indo-Aryan languages. The novelwriting as well as story-writing is an imitation of the western literature. Though foreign, the style of narration was and is of a Sanskritic nature. Karaṇa-ghelo of Nandshankar Mehta, Sadhara Jesing of Mahipatram Nilkanth Rānakdevi of Anantprasad Shri-Vaishnav—are all of such a mixed, nature. Discriptions of different situations generally follow the Sanskrit model. In several other contributions even themes are purāṇic.

In the field of Dramas, the beginning was from Dalapatram and Narmadashankar. Both of them adopted foreign trends, even Navalram gave 'Vīramatī' is in the same line. Ranchhabhai Udiram wrote a number of plays in the classical Sanskrit style leaning to-wards western trends, giving verses mostly in classical metres. In last hundred years hundreds of stageable plays were written and were being performed on a grand scale, but a few have been published. The opening of all these plays was marked for their Introduction in the classical style, a feature not found in the western stage. The number of Acts was limited to three generally but each and every Act was divided in western style, into several scenes. The notable thing is that several plays had their themes from pauranic sources. Such is the case of the works in the poetic field also.

In conclusion I must say that the modern trend is leaning towards westernism, and the different forms of western literature are predominant, yet the language is becoming enriched by using easy Sanskrit loan words. The majority of the technical terms, old as well as newly formed, are Sanskrit. The Gujarati Language has one noticeable peculiarity. In its long course it adopted words from all the languages with which it came into contact, yet the words so taken as loans became quite common and intelligible whether they are in their pure form i.e. 'tatsama' or slightly altered so as to be suitable to the Gujarati tongue. No bombastic words, whether they are from Arabic, Persian, Portuguese, French, English

or from any other modern Indian languages have been and are being honoured. Generally simple words are being taken as loans from all these languages, giving preference to Sanskrit and used as if they are of this region. The peculiarity of Gujarat people is in their adaptibility and simplicity in each and every mode of life. The soil of t his region has no fanatism of any sort. It is a fact that modern poets, play-wrights, novelists, short-story-writers, authors of papers and articles, critics, even journalists and others have adopted ʰhe mode and style from the vast English literature and other allied sources and devoloped it to a large extent, yet when we hear and read their writings, we feel as if they are written in the Sanskritic atmosphere, because of the richness of the language and its natural heredity.

SANSKRIT AND HARYANVI

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Haryanvi, a dialect of Hindi, belongs to the Indo-Aryan Branch of Indo-European family of languages. It is spoken in the State of Haryana and the rural areas of Delhi Administration. Its speakers approximately number seven to eight millions. We are not sure of any literary activity at any particular period of the history of the dialect. But there is always a possibility of unearthing some old literature, as some religious sects would prefer to record their tenets in local idiom. However, folk-literature of present day is available in plenty. It is composed chiefly in verse and printed in Devanāgarī script.

The present day Haryanvi has evolved from the ancient dialect of Vedic Sanskrit spoken in this region. The process of evolution is spread over several millenia. In the absence of records representing various stages of its development, to reconstruct the history of the dialect is well-nigh impossible. All that we have are the two extreme of a long revolutionary process : the Vedic literature on the one end and the spoken dialect of today on the other. And to what extent does the language of the recorded documents of the intervening period reflect the every day speech of the people is difficult to say. In fact the claim that the literary idiom mirrors contemporary colloquial speech does not appear to be justified in the first flush. The literary Hindi of today for instance, would be a poor source for reconstructing the history of Haryanvi, say, after five hundred years later from now, since Hindi as a medium of literature is employed over a vast area where dialects of diveise structures such as Bangru, Rajasthani, Bundeli, Avdhi, etc., are spoken. Naturally it could not be related *genetically* to all *of* them simultaneously, in fact to none of them for that reason.

However, the story of the literary vehicle through the ages will certainly give us an idea of the general tendencies of phonological,

grammatical and semantic developments in related dialects. The observations made here thus are not in the nature of systematic chronological treatment of an evolutionary process. These are based simply on the comparison of two extremes of a long historical process and should be taken only in this sense. The purpose of this study is very limited, namely, to show that the present day Haryaṇvi has its source in the ancient Sanskrit speech, that it has inherited in the normal course of its development a good deal, that it has preserved some distinctive features of its parent language and that it has continued to be influenced by it through out the ages to the present day.

We should not however lose sight of the fact that in the course of its long history, Haryanvi came into direct or indirect contact with various other languages, Indian and foreign. Long contacts with them have influenced it and some of the features borrowed from them are well established in it now. Influence of Perso-Arabic, and English particularly, is visible in its vocabulary. The core, nevertheless, remains Sanskritic. With the neighbouring Indo-Aryan dialects, namely, Rajasthani, Punjabi, Khari Boli and Braj it shares besides vocables, some grammatical features also.

We may now present here a synoptic statement of comparison of their sound system, grammar and vocabulary.

Sound System :

Vowels :

Haryaṇvi has a system of *twelve* vowels, namely, /i I ɪ e æ u u̱ o ɔ ə a/ while Sanskrit has the simple vowels /i ī u ū a ā/, the dipthongs /ai āi au āu/ and the vocalic liquids /ṛ r̄ ḷ ḻ /, totalling up *fourteen* in all. However in Sanskrit /ḷ ḻ/ are of rare occurrence and /r̄/ is very infrequent. The diphthongs /ai au/ were reduced to monophthongs / e o / respectively long ago. (Henceforth the diphthongs / āi āu / will be represented as /ai au /.)

The Sanskrit diphthongs in Haryaṇvi are reduced to monophthongs and /ṛ/ is generally resolved into /rɪ/. Haryaṇvi has developed two centralized front and back short vowels /ɪ/ and /u̱/, which normally correspond historically to Sanskrit /i/ and /u/ respectively. A few examples to illustrate these correspondences may be given here

ṛ > rɪ

ṛg-veda	rɪgbed	"Rig Ved"
ṛṇa	rɪṇ	"debt"
ṛṣi	rɪsi	"seer"
kṛpā	kɪrpa	"compassion"

krṣṇa	kɪrsən	"krṣṇa"
ghṛṇā	ghɪrṇa	"hatred"
tṛpti	tɪrəpti	"satiation"
tṛṇaka	tɪṇka	"a blade of grass"
dṛṣti	dɪrəṣti	"sight"
dṛṣṭānta	dɪrəṣṭant	"parable"
pṛthvī	pɪrthwi	"earth"
mṛtyu	mɪrtu	"death"
vṛtti	bɪrti	"inclination, disposition"
hṛdaya	hɪrdæ	"heart"
sṛṅkhāṇikā	sɪṇək	"mucus"
šṛṅgāra	sɪ̌gar	"make-up ; adornment"

r > ɪ

indra	ɪndər	"God Indra"
kiraṇa	kɪrəṇ	"a ray"
pitā	pɪta	"father"
nindā	nɪnda	"censure"
šilā	sɪla	"a stone"
vighna	bɪghən	"obstruction"
likh	lɪkh	"write"
miṣa	mɪs	"a pretext"
nirādara	nɪradər	"disrespect"
hita	hɪt	"good, interest"

u > ṳ

utpāta	ṳtpā	"calamity"
utsāha	ṳtsah	"encouragement"
kurājya	kṳraj	"anarchy"
kuṇḍala	kunḍəl	"an ear-ring"
kṣudhā	khṳdhya	"hunger"
purāṇa	pṳraṇ	"the scriptures purāṇa"
durgā	dṳrga	"goddess Durgā"
yudh	jṳdh	"war"
suta	sṳt	"a son"

āi > æ

vāira	bær	"enmity"
kāilāsa	kælas	"the name of a mountain"
vāišya	bæs	"one of the four castes"

vāidya	bæd	"a medical man"
vāidyaka	bædək	"science of medicine"
vaidika dharmī	bædək dhərmi	"a follower of vedic religion"
bhāirava	bhærŏ	"the god bhairava"
vāiṣṇava	bæsṇu	"relating to viṣṇu"
cāitra	cæt	"the month of cāitra"
vāiśākh	bæsakh	"the month of vaiśākha"
	bəsakh	

āu > ɔ

āuṣadha	ɔkhədy	"medicine"
kāurava	kɔru	"the sons of Kuru"
gāurī	gɔri	"Goddess Gauri"
māuna	mɔn	"silence"
bhāuma	bhɔ (bhai)	"relating to earth"
pāuṇḍra	bɔḍa	"the sugarcane"
gāutama	gɔtəm	"the sage Gautam"

III.   In Sanskrit according to Indian grammarians the simple vowels (excluding a) have two more grades, namely guṇa and vṛddhi.   These grades of vowels however should not be confused with short and long or laghu (light) and guru (heavy) varities of vowels.   Thus in Sanskrit we have

Simple	guṇa	vṛddhi
i	e	ai
u	o	au
ṛ	ar	ār
ḷ	al	āl

These   are illustrated   in   the   following   formations :
ji-ta "conquered" ; je-tum "to conquer" ; ajaiṣam "I conquered" ;
śru-ta "heard" ; śro-tum "to hear" ; a-śrau-ṣam "I heard" ;
kṛ-ta "done" ; kar-tum "to do" ; a-kār-ṣam "I did" ;
kḷpti "formation" ; kalpanā "imagination" ; kālpanika "imaginary".

/a/ and /ā/ are designated guṇa and vṛddhi vowels respectively by Indian grammarians.   The corresponding simple grade is interpreted to be zero : These are illustrated in the inflection of the nominal stem rājan "king" : rājan-i "loc.sg." : rājān-am "acc-sg" : rajñ-as "gen.sg.".

In Haryaṇvi, on the other hand, the following ablaut pattern is available :

$$a \quad > \quad ə$$
$$i \, e \, æ \quad > \quad ɪ$$
$$u \, o \, ɔ \quad > \quad \underline{u}$$

Examples are :

kaṭ	"cut"	:	kəṭ-a	"cause to cut"
pis	"grind"	:	pɪs-a	"cause to grind"
meṭ	"erase"	:	mɪṭ-a	"cause to erase"
bæṭh	"sit"	:	bɪṭh-a	"cause to sit"
kuṭ	"pulverize"	:	kuṭ-wa	"cause to pulverize"
khod	"dig"	:	khud-a	"cause to dig"
bɔhṛ	"return"	:	buhṛ-a	"cause to return"

However, in a few cases three grades are also retained; nevertheless these are not the same as found in Sanskrit. e.g. toṛ "break" ; tuṭ "be broken" ; tuṛ-wa "cause to break" ; dekh 'see", dikh "be seen" ; dikh-a "show".

It may also be pointed out in passing that while Sanskrit does not tolerate any vowel sequences Haryaṇvi has occurrence of all sorts of such sequences. Examples are : /aŭ/ "may I come", /aie/ "please come in"; /koe/ "some one", /dhuaie/ "have it washed", etc.

Consonantal System :

The consonantal system of both the languages share the stops (k kh g gh ṅ c ch j jh ñ ṭ ṭh ḍ ḍh ṇ t th d dh n p ph b bh m), the semivowels (y r l v) and the fricatives (s h). Sanskrit has additional fricatives /š ṣ/ while Haryaṇvi has the flaps /ṛ ḷ/. The consonant clusters occurring in Sanskrit are res olved variously. In case of individual consonants there is not much variation. /š/ gives place to /s/ while /ṣ/ goes to /s/, /kh/ and /ch/ in different environments; initial /y/ and /v/ change to /j/ and /b/ respectively. Lexical frequency of retroflex stops and flaps has quite considerably increased in Haryaṇvi. Examples given further under 30 illustrate these observations.

Grammatical System ɪ

In grammar Haryaṇvi, like any other modern Indian speech, shows marked divergence. There are in Haryaṇvi, for instance, *two genders*—masculine and feminine; *two numbers*—singular and plural and *two vibhaktis*— direct and oblique besides vocative.

e is reassignment of gender in the inherited vocables. Almost ruters in Sanskrit are masculine in Haryaṇvi. Some masculine ; like mɪrtu (< mṛtyu) become feminine. Distinction of er in pronominal forms of "this" and "that" is preserved in :t singular yah (iyam) "she", yɔh (ayam) "he" and vah (sā) " and ɔh (saḥ) "he" only.

; System :

The various case (kāraka) relations in Haryaṇvi are expressed neans of post-positions, a small class of words, used after :cted nominal forms. For instance, in the sentence /ram næ h piya/ "Ram drank milk", the post-position /næ/ expresses the ɪt, while in /ram næ bula lya/ "Call Ram" it denotes the :ct (karma) and in /ram næ de de/ "give (it) to Ram", dative, .pradāna. Similarly /ram tæ̌/ "by Ram", /ram mæ̌/ "in Ram" n pæ/ "on Ram", etc. denote instrumental, locative, etc.

However, certain nominals largely expressive of place and e take a locative suffix, e.g. /barṇ-æ/ "out of doors", /ag-æ/ "in nt", /pach-æ/ "in the rear", /kandh-æ/ "on the shoulder", r-æ/ "in the village common", /dhor-æ/"in the vicinity", /mhar-æ/ . our's", /tɔṛk-æ/ "in the morning, i.e. tomorrow", /bəkht-æ~ :ht-e/ "in time, i.e. before time, early", /agl-æ(sal)/ "in the lowing (year)", /pʊrar k-æ/ "in the year before last", /pʊrk-æ/ ɪ the last year". In the utterance /kis-æ k-æ bhəros-æ na rəhie/)o not act on the reliance of others", the pronominal form /kɪs/, ɔ post position /k⌂---/ and the noun /bhərosa/ admit the locative ffix /æ/. Haryaṇvi thus has retained locative in certain cases ly, otherwise the inflectional system of Sanskrit has given way reduction of inflection and use of postpositions.

ːrbal System :

Sanskrit and Haryaṇvi show still wider deviation in their ːrbal systems. The distinction of ātmane and parasmai padas herited in Sanskrit from the Indo-European is lost in Haryaṇvi. or instance, the situation described in Sanskrit by /devadattaḥ aṭam karoti/ "Devadatta makes a mat for another" and ievadattaḥ kaṭam kurute/ "Devadatta makes a mat for himself" ɪ taken care of in Haryaṇvi syntactically. /devdət cəṭai bəṇawæ æ/simply means : "Devdatta makes a mat". It does not specify if he mat is being made for his personal use or for someone else. If he former need be specified the phrase /apṇi khatəry/ "for one's)wn sake" has to be inserted in the above sentence to make it read : devdət apṇi khatəry cəṭai bəṇawæ sæ/ "Devdatt makes a mat for ɪimself". Alternately the use of /le/ "take" and /de/ "give" with

the main verb in the verbal phrase also express the same distinction; e.g., /pədhy lyŭ ga/ "I shall read it for myself" while, /pədhy dyŭ ga/ "I shall read it for you".

The tense and modal system in Haryaṇvi is largely syntactic rather than inflectional. The verbal phrase is pretty complex in formation and several types of distinctions are packed in it. For instance, the phrase /kaṭya ja səkæ sæ/ "can be possible cut" expresses the distinction of passive, capability and possibility besides present tense.

Inflectional suffixes in Sanskrit fall into two groups :

(i) those which are employed for tenses and moods other than perfect and

(ii) those for perfect tense. The former are further distinguished as primary and secondary. These primarily denote person and number. The distinctions of various tenses and moods are expressed by means of formation of special stems, may be in certain cases in conjunction with inflectional suffixes. For instance, compare a-bhū-t and a-bhava-t ; bhava-ti and bhaviṣya-ti ; a-bhava-t and a-bhaviṣya-t, etc.

The set of suffixes for parasmai-pada for the sake of illustration are reproduced below :

	Primary			*Secondary*		
I	mi	vas	mas	am	va	ma
II	si	thas	tha	s	tam	ta
III	ti	tas	anti	t	tām	an,ur

	Perfect		
	a	va	ma
	tha	athus	a
	a	atus	ur

Haryaṇvi has just one type of inflectional suffixes. As stated above the distinction of ātmanepada is not expressed morphologically. Here we have only two sets, one definitively for second person singular and plural *imperative* and one for *optative* (which expresses present tense also with some verbal stems). The suffixes along with the forms of kaṭ "cut" are given below :—

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
(a) I	ŭ	ă	kaṭ-ŭ	kaṭ-ă
II	æ	ə̆	kaṭ-æ	kaṭ-ə̆

| III | æ | æ | kaṭ-æ | kaṭ-æ |
| (b) II | y | ɔ | kaṭ-y | kaṭ-ɔ |

Further two more modal distinctions are expressed by verbal forms, namely, distinctions of *polite imperitive* and *potential*. These are denoted by special stem formation as in Sanskrit. In case of polite imperative the stem forming suffix /i/ is added directly to the verbal stem, primary or derivative. To the stem thus formed the second person suffixes from set (a) above are added. It may be pointed out that /æ/ after /i/ is realized as /e/. The forms made from /kaṭ/ are /kaṭ-i-e/ and /kat-i-ɔ/. The second person pronominal forms indicating respect are used with these forms. Examples : /tɔ̄ jərur aie/ "Please do come" ; /əccha bətaie.../ "Please just tell (me)...", etc.

The distinction of potential mood is denoted only by a single root, namely, /cah/ "desire" in Haryaṇvi. (This is true of Hindi also). To the root is added the suffix /i/. The stem /cah-i/ admits suffixes of set (a). The auxiliaries are also used with it to specify time reference.

I	cah-i-ŭ	cah-i-ă
II	cah-i-e	cah-i-ɔ
III	cah-i-e	cah-i-ĕ

A few examples to illustrate its use are : /mənnæ ek kɪtab cahie/ "I should have a book". /des næ tæ ham cahiă să/ : "The country needs us," /təm næ meri bat sʊṇni cahie/ "you should listen to me."

Haryaṇvi has also retained the distinctions of *karma-kartari* and passive. The stem for *karma-kartari* is formed from most of the transitive roots by ablaut change. The general pattern of ablaut change is the same as described above. The stem from /kaṭ/ is /keṭ/. It takes suffixes of both the sets. Further polite imperative stem may be formed from this. To denote tense use of auxiliaries is made. A few examples of its use are : /peḍ kəṭṭæ sæ/ "The tree is being cut" ; /tɔ̄ kəṭ-y/ "you allow yourself to be cut" ; /us tæ məty pɪt-i-e/ "Please do not allow yourself to be beaten by him. *i. e.* do not let him beat you."

Passive stem is formed from all roots, transitive or intransitive by the suffix /i/ (which incidentally is homophonous with the potential and polite imperative). The stem from kaṭ is kaṭ-i. This admits suffixes of set (a). The inflected forms thus obtained obligatorily take auxiliaries. The paradigm of /kaṭ/ in passive is as follows :

kaṭ-i-ŭ   kaṭ-i-ă
kaṭ-i-e   kaṭ-i-ǫ
kaṭ-i-e   kaṭ-i-e

A few examples of its use are : /ped kat-i-ĕ sæ̆/ "The trees are being cut" ; /təm piṭ-i-ɔ ge/ "you will be beaten" ; /həm juṛ-i-ă ge/ "we will be bound down".

Passive is expressed by phrasal structure also where the stem /ja/ "go" occurs after the main verb (transitive and intransitive) to which is added the suffix /y/, e. g. /peḍ kaṭyaja// "let the tree be cut" ; /ib soya ja/ "let it be slept now *i. e.* let us go to bed now".

Haryaṇvi like Hindi and other Indo-Aryan speeches has two stems in causal formed by suffixes /a/ and /wa/ respectively. Before these suffixes the vowel in the root is reduced to the weak grade while in Sanskrit on the other hand the causal stem has vṛddhi. Compare for instance,

pāc-aya-	:	pək-wa	"cause to cook"
šoṣ-aya-	:	sṅkh-a	"cause to dry"
sec-aya-	:	sĭc-wa	"cause to water"

There are three kṛt suffixes extensively employed in Haryaṇvi. These are added directly to the verb stems to express distinctions of various tenses, modes and aspects. Forms made with /y∼φ/, /d∼nd/ and /əṇ∼ṇ/ may be respectively called *perfect*, *imperfect* and *obligative* participles. These take gender and number suffixes. The forms from kaṭ in masculine singular will be : kaṭ-y-a, kaṭ-d-a and kaṭ-ṇ-a.

These participales in Haryaṇvi appear to be reflexes of the past passive (kta), present (šatṛ) and potential (anīya) participles. The present participle (šatṛ) survives in another form, namely, /ət/in such usages as/rəṭət bịdya, pəcət kheti/ "By committing to memory one acquires knowledge and by working hard one suceedes in raising crops". /ət/ appears to be the archaic form preserved in folklore only. The extended perfect and imperfect participial forms with the suffix/ĕ/ illustrate the use of *locative absolute*; /kaṭ-y-ĕ/ "on cutting, *i.e.*, when the action of cutting has been completed", /kaṭ-d-ĕ/ "immediately on cutting".

The obligative participle in/əṇ/is used either by itself or with the tense auxiliaries. The former usage denotes a sort of future imperative or request; *e.g.* /yah cịtthi pəḍh-ṇ-a ræ/ "Please read this letter (for me)". With the auxiliaries it conveys the sense of "ought to, must, etc." For instance /ram næ pothi pəḍh-ṇ-i sæ/"Ram has to read the book"; /ham næ bəṭeu jịma-ṇ-e the/ "We had

to serve meals to the guests"; /təm næ hom kərṇa hoga/" you must perform the sacrifice".

The suffix /əṇ <ana/ added to verbal stems to form nouns is very common in Haryaṇvi; *e.g*, /kərəṇ/ "doing" /mərəṇ/ "dying"; /pəddh-əṇ/ "reading", etc. Similarly the suffix /u<u/ is added to all verbal roots in the sense of "desirous of …", "anxious to" *e.g*. /kər-u/ "anxious to do"; /ja-u/ "desirous of going", /pəddh-u/ "desirous of reading", etc.

Summing up, in grammatical structure Haryaṇvi has preserved only a few features such as *locative, locative absolute passive*, šatṛ, *potential* and *obligative* besides a few derivative suffixes.

Vocabulary :

Stems in Sanskrit may be classified into two or four classes, namely nominals (nāma) and verbals (ākhyāta, or into nominals, verbals, verbal prefixes (upasarga) and particles (nipāta). From the point of view of their internal structure these are derived or underived. The former are built around a nuclear element to which affixes are added. Or there are compound stems where two or more constituents are involved. In Haryaṇvi stems may be classified into nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, post-positions, connectives, particles and interjection. Compounds and derivatives here too have the same type of morphological structure. /ən-ho-ṇ-i/, a nominal meaning "something which is unlikely to happen" is made on the verbal stem /ho/ "be, became" with nominalizing suffix /əṇ/, the feminine gender suffix /i/ and /an/ the prefix of negation.

As regard to the sources of vocabulary in Haryaṇvi, the larger part has been inherited form Sanskrit. It has preserved items typically reminiscent of rural and ashrama base of Sanskrit culture. We shall like to illustrate here such items which are close cognates.

> həḷ "plough"<hala
> hələsy "the pole of a plough<haleṣā-halīṣā
> sɪməly "the pin of a yoke" <šamyā
> badhi "a leather strap" <badhrī
> meḍhi "a pillar in the middle of the threshing floor to which oxen are tied <methi
> syuasəṇy "of marriageable age (of a girl)" <suvāsinī
> neta "the string by wich a churning stick is whirled around" <netra
> dheṇu "milk cow" <dhenu
> buḷhəd "bullocks" <balīvarda

nath "the string passed through the hole bored in the septum of the nose; the golden nose ring" <nasta

ūkhəl "a wooden mortar" <ulūkhala

musəl "a wooden pestle" <muṣala

ḍoi "a wooden ladle" <darvī

taku "a spindle" <tarku

dat "a chopper" <dātra "a sort of crooked knife"

dati "a sickle" <dātra

saṇ "a whet-stone" <šāṇa

cakh-ṛa "a wooden ring on the top of the churning pot through which the churning-stick is passed "<caṣāla" a wooden ring on the top of the sacrificial pot."

sərai̯ "a shallow dish" <šarāva

basəṇ "utencil"   <vāsana "a receptacle for water"
     from Hindustani <Bengali <Portuguese

bhanḍa "utencil"   <bhāṇḍa

khur "hoof"   <kṣura ; khura

kərua "a water jug with a spout usually made of earth" <karaka

kadəm "uproard" (figurative use) <kardama "mud"

athəmṇa "west" <astamayana

chɩ̆ka "a basket suspended with a rope, etc." <šikya

əsṭa "difficult" <aṣṭi "the stone of a fruit"?

nyar "fodder" <nikāra

samək "a particular grass <šyāmaka.

mŭj "a particular grass" <muňja

bəṇəsti "the cotton plant" <vana-yaṣṭi

kəpas "cotton" <karpāsa

asamedh "pregnancy" <ašvamedha

bəkkəl "the bark of a tree" <valkala

arṇa "dry cow-dung" <āraṇyaka

syār "a die" <šāra

guṇy "a sack" <goṇī

pɪresy "the village assembly hall" <pariṣad

dhura "shaft of a carriage" <dhur

musa "a rat" <mūṣa

mɩ̆ḍha "a ram" <meṇdha-ka

kəreṅg "a skeleton" <karaṅka

ghɪloṭhy "the edible bulb of a creeper"<gilodyà

jhāṛ "a bush"<jhāṭa

jhāma "a burnt brick" jhāmaka

Quite a large number of verbal stems in Haryanvi are from Sanskrit. Some of these have suffered very little phonetic change. As would be clear from the examples given below. Some of these are derived from simple roots, some from causals, some from past passive stems, while some from ātmanepada forms and so on. Examples :

bəh	"flow"	<vah
səh	"bear"	<sah
dəh	"burn"	<dah
tɪr	"swim"	<tr̄
duh	"milk"	<duh
nəs	"run away"	<naš
kɪr	"drop"	<kr̄
ja	"deliver"	<jan, jāyate
jaṇ	"generate"	<jan
sū	"give birth"	<su
pis	"grind"	<piṣ
pel	"urge, push"	<pel, "go"
cus	"such"	<cūṣ
moh	"entice"	<muh ; mohaya-(causal)
mɪṇ	"measure"	<mi, mināti
map	"measure"	<mā, māpaya-(causal)
jhuṛ	"grow old"	<jūr, jhṛ
bəs	"live"	<vas
nəm	"bend"	<nam
pəc	"digest"	<pəc
mɪma	"bleat"	<mā, mimāti
sukh	"dry up"	<šuṣ
bərəs	"rain"	<varṣ
bər	"choose"	<vṛ
kər	"do"	<kṛ
dhəm	"carry out enthusiastically"	<dham "blow"
æ̈ṭh	"show resistence"	<eṭh

ăk	"evaluate"	<aṅk
gah	"trample"	<gāh
cu	"trickle"	<cyu
ched	"bore a hole"	<chid ; chedaya- (causal)
bhər	"fill"	<bhṛ
pur	"cover"	<pūr
paṛ	"split"	<paṭ ; pāṭaya (causal) "split open"
dhụṇ	"card"	<dhū "shake"
piṛ	"squeeze"	<pīḍ
puch	"ask"	<pṛch
bujh	"enquire"	<budh ; budhya-
bhəkh	"devour"	<bhakṣ
məth	"churn"	<manth
man	"agree"	<man, mānaya- (causal)
ja	"go"	<yā
rəm	"enjoy"	<ram
lip	"besmear"	<limp
rus	"he angry"	<ruṣ
rɪs	"ooz"	<riš "tear, injure"
rụdh	"obstruct"	<rudh, ruṇaddhi
rop	"plant"	<ropaya (causal)
bĭdh	"pierce"	<vyadh, vidhyati
bədh	"grow"	<vṛdh, "grow"
bədh	"declare"	<vṛdh "speak", vardhate vardhayati
bərəj	"direct not to proceed"	<vṛj, varjayati
sək	"be able"	<šak
măj	"cleanse"	<mṛj ; mārjaya (causal)
sụṇ	"hear"	<šru ; šṛṇoti
kəh	"speak"	<kath
sadh	"accomplish"	<sidh, sādhaya (causal)
se	"propitiate (a spirit, etc.) stop ; support"	<sev
mos	"twist"	<mus khaṇḍane, "break, divide"
lɪkh	"write"	<likh
băc	"read"	<vac, vācaya (causal) "read"

ləkha	"look at"	<lakṣ
dekh	"see"	<dṛš, drakṣyati
ghəṛ	"shape"	<ghaṭ
tak	"observe, look it"	<tark
phuṛ	"flash"	<sphur
kăp~kăb	"shake"	<kamp
kəs	"tighten ; reprimand"	<kaš "punish" cf kaš-a "whip"
khčs	"rub"	<kaṣ "scratch"
khăs	"cough"	<kās
kud	"jump"	<kūrd
khuṛ	"corrode"	<khur "cut" kṣur "scratch"
khij	"be annoyed"	<khid, khidyate
gɪṇ	"count"	<gaṇ
guṇ	"contemplate"	<guṇ
gŭth	"string together"	<gumph
găṭh	"stitch"	<granth
tol	"weigh"	<tul ; tolaya
cet	"be aware"	<cit
cakh	"taste"	<caṣ
cit	"paint"	<citr
cha	"cover"	<chad ; chādaya (causal)
jəp	"mutter"	<jap
jag	"keep awake"	<jāgṛ
ji	"be alive"	<jīv
jit	"conquer"	<ji ; jita
sumər	"remember"	<smṛ

We may also give a few examples of verbal stems in Haryaṇvi which have developed from verbal roots preceded by *Upasargas* in Sanskrit.

nɪtar	"strain, cleanse"	<ni-tṝ (causal)
nɪgəl	"devour"	<ni-gal
nɪkhar	"make clean"	<ni-kṣal/kṣar
nɪstər	"stoop down"	<nis-tṝ
bəkher	"scatter"	<vi-kṝ
byāp	"pervade, cover"	<vi-āp
səmā	"contain"	<sam-mā
byāh	"get married"	<vi-vāh, vi-vāhaya (causal)

byā	"deliver"	<vi-jan, vi-jāyate
bɪsrah	"disapprove"	<vi-šlāgh
bɪgāɽ	"upset"	<vi-kɽ, vi-kāraya (causal)
ʋdhən	"throw up and down"	<ud-han
ʋghāɽ	"open, divulge"	<ud-ghaṭ. (causal)
utər	"cross"	<ud-tɽ̄
ʋjaḷ	"make visible"	<ud-jval (causal) "cause to shine
pŭch—pŭjh	"wipe out"	<pra-uñch
ʋkheɽ	"uproot, pull out"	<ut-khid (causal) draw out, extract
ʋpəj	"be produced"	<ut-pad, ut-padyate
nɪpəj	"be produced"	<ni-pad
upəɽ	"be visible, come on the surface,"	<ut-paṭ <uṭ-paṭ
ʋcər	"speak, utter"	<ut-car
ʋchaḷ	"throw up"	<ut-cal (causal)
ʋsar	"raise up"	<ut-sɽ (causal)
bɪswas	"test, to find if one is trustworthy"	<vi-švas (causal)

Through out the ages Sanskrit has been the language of religion and culture in this region. Thus there have been countless centres of learning here. The very fact that the river Sarasvati came to be deified as "Goddess of learning" speaks of the literary activities carried on along its banks. We can visualize a time when the banks of the river Sarasvati were dotted with ashramas, the ancient seats of learning, resounding with the recitation of vedic hymns and columns of smoke spiraling up through the dense forest trees. Thus Sanskrit continued to exercise its influence on the local speech. As a consequence of this we find numerous pairs of words attesting borrowing from Sanskrit at various stages of its evolution. We have thus :

karma	>	kam	"work"
		kərəm	"actions that count towards future recompense; fate."
dharma	>	dham, e.g. kam-dham "work, etc."
		dhərem	"religion, religious virtue"

kārya	>	kaj	"a public feast given in honour of one's dead ancestor"
		karəj	"work, purpose"
cakra	>	cak	"earthen wheel"
		cəkker	"circle, perambulation"
pakva	>	paka	"ripe"
		pəkka	"hard, baked"
lakṣmī	>	ləkhmi	"usually proper name of a male"
		līchmi	"Goddess of wealth; name of a female"
lakṣaṇa	>	ləkkhəṇ	"sign, traits"
		lɪchəṇ	"symptom, traits"
kṣatriya	>	khətri	"a sub caste"
		chətri	"the warrior class"
sandhyā	>-	sājh	"evening"
		səndhya	"prayer"
mala	>	maḷ	"the string around the wheel of the spinning-wheel"
		maḷa	"garland, rosary"
lakṣmaṇa	>	ram-ləkhəṇ	"Ram and Lakṣamaṇa"
		lɪchman	"proper name"
dakṣiṇā	>	dɪchṇā	"offering"
		dəkesṇā	"offering to one's teacher"
bhikṣā	>	bhikh	"alms"
		bhɪcha	"alms"
sādhu	>	sadh	<"an ordinary mendicant"
		sadhu (məhatma	"a respectable renunciate"
strī	>	tɪrīa	"woman (derogatory sense)"
		ɪstri	"woman"
paṇḍita	>	paṇḍa	"a brahman guide at religious places"
		pəṇḍet	"a learned brahman"
āchārya	>-	carəj	"a mendicant brahman"
		əcarɪa	"a teacher in a gurukul"
śreṣṭha	>	seṭh	"a rich man"
		səreseṭh	"worthy, excellent"
chandra	>	cǎd	"moon"

ram cənd "Ram Chand"
ram cəndər "Ram Chandra (the hero of the
Rāmāyaṇa)"

In recent times the socio-cultural movement of the Ārya-samāj tended to revive the Vedic culture. It gave a great fillip to Sanskrit studies in the region. Gurukuls and Pathshalas for boys and girls were started in various places to impart education in Sanskrit. In quite a few of them Sanskrit was adopted as the sole medium of instruction. Moreover temples were established in urban and rural areas where weekly meetings were scheduled to recite Vedic hymns. Religious preachers moved about from village to village propagating the message of the Vedas. Lively discussions and debates were organised. Such extensive use of Sanskrit language and religious literature is responsible for diffusion of Sanskrit vocables which were commonly used by the learned on such occasions. Thus we have səndhya<sandhyā "prayers ; həwən <havana "sacrifice,,, həwən məntəra<havana-mantrāḥ "a book containing the Vedic hymns recited in performing a sacrifice ; suami <svāmī "a religious renunciate,, ; gərukul<gurukula "seat of learn-ing,., paṭhsala<pāṭha-šālā "a school" ; bedi<vedi "alter" ; məndhep <mandapa "canopy" ; asrəm<āšrama "the four stages of life" ; bɪrhəmcari<brahmacārī "an unmarried student', ; bɪrhəmcarṇi <brahmacāriṇī "a female unmarried student" ; ghɪrsthi<grhastha "a house holder" ; banpərəsthi<vānaprastha "hermit" ; sənnyasi <saṃnyāsī "a religious mendicant" ; məhatma<mahātmā "a highly respected religious man" ; bhəjən<bhajana "religious songs" : sastrarəth<šāstrārtha "polemics to settle the import of šāstras" ; arye səmaj<ārya-samāja "the association of the aryas, a socio-religious reformative movement" ; sɪksa<šikṣā "education" ; kənya pathsala<kanyā pāṭhšāla "girl school" ; pədet<pandita "a scholar"; gɪrənth<grantha "a book of scriptures" ; sətyarəth-pərkas<satyā-rthaprakaša "a book of this name written by Swami Dayānanda ; acmən<ācamana "sipping water for purification ; ətyacar<atyācāra "committing excesses ; dəkṣṇa "offerings to a teacher ; nəməste <namaste "the exclamation 'namaste' to wish another ; mhasæ <mahašaya "gentleman, used as mode of address ; sɪriman šrɪmān "mode of address ; pətibhərta<pativratā "chaste and virtuous wife ; updes<upadeša "religious sermon ; suraj<svarājya "ones own government", etc. etc.

Hindi in its highly Sanskritized form has been accepted as the official language in the State of Haryana. It is taught in the schools and is increasingly employed in the administration. Thus more and more Sanskrit words through literary Hindi are being picked up by the native speakers of Haryaṇvi. Coupled with this,

the policy of the Union Government of India to borrow technical and scientific terminology from Sanskrit is responsible for introducing such words as məntri < məntrī "minister"; pərdhanməntri < pradha-namantrī "prime minister"; mukhy məntrī "the chief minister"; lok səbhā < loka-sabhā "parliament"; bīdhan səbha < vidhāna-sabhā "the state assembly" məndəl < mandala "circle", etc. etc.

The influence of Sanskrit is equally pronounced on folk-lore. Stories from Epics, Purāṇas, Upaniṣads are quite common. Also stories of bīr Bɩkarmājīt (< vīra vīkramāditya), Rājā Bhoj, Harīschandar (< Harischandra), Dharū Bhagat (< Dhruva Bhakta) Mahāde.Pārbatī (> < Mahādeva-Pārvatī) are household. Motifs and themes of folk-drama and songs are largely drawn from Sanskrit literature. Quite a few of these are available in printed form also.

Sanskrit scholarship continued to flourish in this region, through out the ages. Teaching was organised in a temple or at the residence of an individual scholar who would attract advanced students in his field of specialization. Students repaired to Kaśi ji, the renowned centre of Sanskrit students in India, for advanced study. Such scholars were held in high esteem for their learning. Most of the centres whether based in an individual or located in a temple were financed by the local chieftains or philanthropists. The river Sarasvatī—the perennial source of learning, never dried up in Haryana. It continued to flow from ancient times to this day. Thus original works in Sanskrit and commentaries in Sanskrit on ancient literature were produced from time to time. A survey of such literature in modern times is attempted by Satya Vrata Shastri and is published in Halvāsiyā commemoration volume (Hindi), 1971, Halvāsiya Trust, Calcutta.

SANSKRIT IN KARNĀTAKA LIFE, THOUGHT
AND CULTURE

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The Karnataka country was known as Punnaṭa, Kuntala, Mahiṣamaṇḍala etc. from the days of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The Nandas ruled some portions of Kuntala right upto Banavāsi. The Mauryan kingdom later inherited it. Aśoka sent his missionaries, Rakkita and Mahādeva, upto the Chitradurga district in the modern Mysore State. His edicts are formed at Siddapur, Jaṭinga Ramesvara and Brahmagiri; at Koppḷa and Māski. About the 2nd Century B.C. a Jaina saint Bhadrabāhu came down from Bihar with among others, a disciple of the Royal Mauryan line, Samprati Chandragupta by name. He remained with the Master while a section of the Guru's followers went further south to Punnāṭa and to the Tamil regions. The Tamilnad has some literature connected with Buddhism. Kannada does not have any such. But from the time the Jains settled down in Śravaṇa Belgola, the Jaina doctrine was spread among the people; and their learned men wrote in Samskṛt and in Ardhamāgadhi, even as they wrote in Kannda. The earliest rulers known to the Kannada country are the Sātavāhanas (C. 250 to 550 A.D.) who trace their names from Mothers than from Fathers. Their patronage for Samskṛt was firm and continuous. Practically all the rulers of the Kannada country trace their descent from the Ṛṣis, from the Solar and the Lunar families or from the Yādavas, Their titles and *Praśastis* liken them to the famous names in the Vedic or the Epic periods. The Vedic *Dharma* along with the performance of *Yāgas* and *Yajñas* is common and social life was organised on the *Varṇāśrama-dharma* pattern. What elements there were of a southern Dravidian influence, were gradually assimilated into the Aryan pattern, at least among the middle and upper classes, and this process was complete by the 6th century A.D. The earliest inscription in Kannada, that of Halmiḍi (C. 450 A.D.) is only partly in Kannada; the opening part is in Sanskrit :

Jayati Śriparisvaṅga śānnga (myānati)r Acyutaḥ

Dānavākṣṇoryugāntāgniḥ (śiṣṭānāntu) sudarśanaḥ

The Kannada portion is itself not easy flowing or idiomatic and the words are in early old Kannda. But by the time of the first great and extant work in Kannada, *Kavirājamārga* (C. 850), the language has become capable and sophisticated. The *Kavirājamārga* is a work on Poetics and mentions many earlier writers in Kannada Prose and Verse, while it owes its own substantive content to Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin. It intends to instruct poets on Language, Grammar, Metre and the principles of Composition, Guṇa, Doṣa and Alaṁkāras and on the cultivation of style and taste. The poetic style is that of 6th and 7th centuries and many beautiful stanzas in Varṇa Vṛttas are seen. There are other stanzas of native modes like Tripadī, Kaṇḍa and Gītikā which get a recognition from the learned.

The Sanskrit Epics were very well known to the Kannada people by then. Possibly the *Bṛhatkathā* had been familiar, directly or indirectly. The religion and philosophy born and bred under the Vedic and the heretical Buddhist and Jaina systems had exerted full influence on the life and thought of the Kannada people. Along with the Vedic Gods Agni, Varuṇa and Indra came those of the later pantheon, principally Viṣṇu and Śiva. The Pāśūpata and the Pāñcarātra sects developed centres and strongholds of influence. And among all the kings of Karṇāṭaka (the Sātavāhana, the Kadamba, the Gaṅga, the Cālukya, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa, the Hoysala, the Kalacūrya and the Vijayanagar Kingdoms and later the Odeyors) there was much tolerance and patronage of all religions. The popular Samskṛt Śloka "Yaṁ Śaivās samupāsate Śiva iti" etc. inscribed on the walls of the temples at Belūr reveals the tolerance of the great Hoysala kings.

In social relationships as well there was much free mingling. The supreme feature of Karṇāṭaka tradition and culture, habits and ideals of living, have made for a reconciliation of conflicts in gods, religions, philosophical doctrine and even in linguistic tendencies. In the North of the Karṇāṭaka country, i.e. Mahārāṣṭra to the North-west and Andhra to the East North and North-east came much more under the influence of Samskṛt, there was in the Karṇāṭaka country a balanced and healthy influence of Sanskrit. Without losing its native idiom, Kannada accepted and developed the Samskṛt models. This more or less built a bridge between the Northern and Southern factors.

The Kannada country has many associations with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Many kings claim descent from

the Yādavas. Kiṣkindhā of the *Rāmāyana* gives Hanumān to India and to Indian Culture ; Gokaraṇa is a place associated with Rāvaṇa, who being unable to carry the Śivalinga for his moᴛher further South, seems to have set it down there as Mahābaleśvara. The Mahiṣamaṇḍala became a seat for Durgā. Banavāsi as Vaijayanti-pura is connected with the *Mahābhārata.* Kings and heroes, donors and leaders were proud to compare themselves with Śibi and Bhagīratha, Arjuna, Viṣṇu, Śiva and Paraśurāma. The Ādivarāha and Narasiṁha Avatāras and the Mahiṣamardinī are favourites as much as Gaṇeśa and Hanumān.

Learning meant Samskṛt learning and it was rarely neglected. The most intellectual section of the community essentially cultivated it and expressed itself in iᴛ and carried on discussions and works of many classes in it. Powerful Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava sects built up institutions and centres of learning in the Kannada country. To old Śaiva schools of Lakulīśa, Pāśupata and Kālamukha, Karṇāṭaka contributed something new. A new vital Vīraśaiva movement from the 12th centuɪy onwards arose from Kalyāṇa, and it was democratic and reformative, taking in Śaiva influence from the Vedas and Āgamas and assimilating the forces coming from Kashmir and Gujarat and drinking deep the Śaiva Siddhānta on the one side, the Nāyanmārs and the *Periyapurāṇam* of the Tamils on the other.

The Vaiṣṇava sect developed two systems, the Śɪīvaiṣṇavism which got into Karṇāṭaka from Kāñcī and Śrīranga under Śri Rāmānujācārya, introducing the Prapatti school of Bhakti into our life, and the oᴛher wholly native to Karṇāṭaka, that of Śiɪ Ānanda Tīrtha, known otherwise as Śrī Madhva. Both the Vaiṣṇava schools were monotheistic, whereas the Vedantic system propogated by Śrī Śankarācārya was Monism, Advaita. Śankara set-up his Pīṭha at Śṛṅgeri ; Madhva at Uḍupi in South Kanara and Rāmānuja, at Melukote. Philosophically and from the point of view of worship, there were differences in doctɪine and message, but the *Smṛtis* held sway over the people in matters of conduct and law ; for the ethical and social system derived from them. Only the Śrīvaiṣṇava faith made social conditions more flexible. The Mādhva influence inspired a special spiritual type of *Bhakti* in Orissa and Bengal which lead to the Caitanya and the Goswāmis of Mathurā and Vṛndāvan. The Vīraśaiva movement threwoff what were deemed the inequalities of the caste system, and enfranchised women and those called the castes outside the Varṇa-pale. The Bhakti doctrine of Rāmānuja threw open the temples of Viṣṇu-worship to these. The Āzwārs being recognised as equal to the Bhaktas of the Epic and the Puraṇic period likᴇ Prahlāda, Dhruva,

Bali, Vībhīṣaṇa, Nārada, and Bhīṣma. Saṃskṛt came to be the instrument of all this dynamism for the extension of this new influence which pervaded the whole of Karṇāṭaka.

Along with the Vedic and the Epic influence came the Āgamas and along with Saṃskṛt, the Prākrit, both in Pāli and Ardhāmāgadhī. The stories of Udayana and *Daśakumāracarita,* Pañcatantra etc. were directly and/or indirectly a source of affection for our people. Along with literature, secular, religious and philosophic, the study of Language, Prosody, Poetics etc. established themselves in the writings and curriculum of studies of scholars. The authority of Kauṭilya and Bṛhaspati was felt in the organisation of political and economic life and Vātsyāyana was studied. *Mānasollāsa,* an early work, spoke of many aspects of life and thought and art. Vijñāneśvara added a commentary *Mitākṣarā,* to the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti.* Manu was still accepted as the great Law-giver. Kings and chieftains declared themselves as protectors of the Varṇāśrama Dharma, which was nothing but the 'Śrauta-Smārta,' which came to be known in later days as Hinduism. Not only Pāṇini and Patañjali were studied, but a Kannada Sātavāhana ruler was the patron of a Śarvavarman, who gave the Kātantra school which sought to simplify the Pāṇinīan system. Jainendra and Śākaṭāyana systems also were studied. There were great grammarians in the Kannada country. Two of our grammarians wrote their Kannada Grammars in Saṃskṛt *Sūtras.* Grammar and Logic were particularly dear to the Madhva system. Prosody was as much a field of study and practically all the Kananda writers who came after Nṛpatuṅga were conversant with the principles enunciated in Piṅgala and the other writers on Metres. Indeed they revelled in exhibiting their skill in the many forms of *Vṛtta,* in the Kannada *Campū* which arose almost simultaneously with the *Nala Campū* in Sanskrit by Trivikrama in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Court. In the handling of the *Vṛttas,* the Kannada poets made the four-line structure more flexible and integral; introduced a *prāsa*-pattern at the second letter in each line and added an *Arthayati* in addition to or supersession of what was a necessary *Yati* in lines beyond the Triṣṭubh lines. The Karṇāṭaka people were familiar with the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* All the speculations of the masters of Poetics and all works on Poetics in Karṇāṭaka closely follow or are based on the Masters of Saṃskṛt Poetics.

To Music, Drama and Dance, *Nāṭyaśāstra* was a never-failing source of reference and inspiration. High was the prestige of Saṃskṛt and of the Masters who weilded the Saṃskṛt language, in interpretation and disputation to win prestige and distinction in courts and learned *sabhās.* Many of our poets and writers were

well versed in these technical subjects wanted to distinguish them-
selves as at least equals to the Sanskrit writers in those branches.
In a beautiful stanza Ravikīrti of the Aihole (C. 600 A.D.) inscrip-
tion mentions Kālidāsa and Bhāravi which indirectly helps to fix a
date limit for Kālidāsa. One of our writers speaks of his being
greater four-fold than Kālidāsa himself ! A Karṇāṭaka poetess by
name Vijjikā, is so self-conscious as to say that if only Daṇḍin had
seen her, he would not have described Sarasvatī as 'Sarva-Śuklā'
and she goes one step further :

> Eko' bhūn nalināt parastu pulinād anyastu valmīkataḥ/
> te sarve kavayo bhavanti tebhyonamaḥ kurmahe/
> Arvāñco yadi gadyapadya-racanais cetaś camatkurvate
> teṣām mūrdhni dadāmi vāmacaraṇaṁ *Karṇāṭarājapriyā*//

Some of the Karṇāṭaka poets speak of themselves as being masters
of three or four languages. Their knowledge of Jaina Literature
made them use the *Kaḍavaka* metrical patterns in what they wrote
as *Ragales* which only Halāyudha mentions as '*Raghaṭā Bandham*',
and which Jayakīrti — possibly a Kannada Jain writer — defines
as Kannada part of metric form in the 7th Chapter of his
Chandonuśāsanam.

Kannada language uses all the alphabets of the Samskṛt
language, dropping ṛ and ḷ, adds a shorter form each of e and o
and two essentially Dravidian letters ṟ and ḻ and so Kannada
language can use all the letters of the Samskṛt language in its
choice of words and in composition and is fitted to articulate
clearly and distinctly any and every sound of an Indian language.
The practice of young people was to get by heart the three *Kāṇḍas*
of *Amarakośa* in the olden days and that enabled youngsters to
master not only words, parts of speech, mythology and varieties of
meanings and grammatical structure in Samskṛt but enabled perfect
pronunciation. It built up memory and helped them in later years
to understand even the most recondite writings in Samskṛt and to
express themselves through śleṣas and other clever and learned
forms of composition.

Except when a show off is intended Kannada writers simpli-
fied Samskṛt forms and used what are called *Tatsama* and *Tadbhava*
words freely in addition to the *Deśi* words. Writers who have
desired pride of place among learned men have affected the *Mārgi*
style but quite a number of them have rebelled against the use of
too much Samskṛt. One or two go to the extent of saying he is
writing pure Kannada. Generally a fine balance of Samskṛt and
Kannada has been the feature of many of the best writers of the
country. The *Tadbhavas* are formed directly from Samskṛt or

adopted through intermediate or Prākṛt forms. Even when the language and the metres used are *Deśī*, like *Ragale*, *Ṣaṭpadī* and the *Sāṅgatya*, the conventions and technique of the *Mārga* literature are usually accepted and followed.

Among the activities of the Kannada people, I have mentioned the patronage extended to Samskṛt by the Kings as noteworthy. Learning Samskṛt was rarely neglected. Under such patronage works like Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* were composed. Bhāravi is known to have been a guest in the court of the Ganga king Durvinīta ; the king, in addition to writing a few good works in Samskṛt himself, seems to have written a commentary on the XV Canto of the *Kirātārjunīya*. A Vijayanagar Queen Gaṅgādevī wrote the *Vīrakamparāyacarita* on the conquests by her husband in the South. Scholarship in disciplines ancillary to literature and to the *Vedānta* and in the studies of the Jaina religion, in the *Tantra* and *Śakti* cults found many followers and propagators. In the Vedāṅgas, both for the exposition and clarification, much work was done here. The studies in Nāṭya, Śilpa and Citra based on *Nāṭya Śāstra*, *Abhinayadarpaṇa*, *Daśarūpaka*, *Bhāvaprakāśana* etc. have yielded special forms to sculpture, architecture, painting and dancing. [*Saṅgītaratnākara* by] Śārṅgadeva, Somanātha, Kallinātha, Vidyāraṇya and Mādhava, Puṇḍarīka, Viṭṭhala, Nijaguṇa Śivayogi and Purandaradāsa established what is called the Southern or Karnāṭaka School of Indian Music.

When North India could barely defend itself for the daily tasks of life, the best part of the conservation of the Veda, Śāstra and Literature, Cultural institutions, modalities and practice were all preserved here.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION OF KARṆĀṬAK

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Karṇāṭaka Philosophy as all Indian Philosophy goes hand in hand with religion. It will be difficult to stamp doctrines enunciated by Karṇāṭaka thinkers exclusively as philosophical or as religious. Philosophical doctrines are coloured with religious fervour and religious practices embody philosophical truths.

In Karṇāṭaka philosophy and religion, we find two types of writers, those writing in Sanskrit and those writing in Kannada. The philosophical and religious ideas found in Kannada literature are deeply influenced by Sanskrit which is veritably the watershed of all philosophies and religions developed in different languages in India. Ideas inherited from ancient Sanskrit literature are so much in the air that we do not realise what influence they wield on us. The wisdom that has come down from Sanskrit thinkers has become a part of our being. We do dot know the great debt we owe to Sanskrit tradition ; for, it is impossible for us to separate ourselves from it. So too our customs, traditions, outlook on life, ideals, the individual and social systems of behaviour are so much rooted in Sanskrit that Sanskrit has ' ecome the very sap of our life. We are so wrapped up by ideas coming from Sanskrit that it is difficult to talk of mere influence of Sanskrit ; Sanskrit is the elan-cum-ethos of the whole of Indian Culture.

Sanskrit lore is a significant ingredient in our intellectual life the development of which cannot be appreciated apart from that background. A study of Sanskrit literature is a precondition of the understanding of thought in the regional languages.

Sanskrit writers touched all aspects of life, theoretical and practical, and discussed them with equal acuteness and thoroughness. They had known different theories of knowledge like realism,

idealism and criticism ; formulated various metaphysical doctrines like absolutism, dualism, theism, pantheism, monism or pluralism ; examined the status of the world and the individual in relation to the ultimate reality ; discussed the divergent ethical theories of hedonism and asseticism reconciling them in eudaemonism; analysed threadbare the religious pursuits of man and determined the place of Jñāna, Karma, Bhakti and Dhyāna in attaining to the highest ideal.

If we study the history of Karṇāṭaka philosophy and religion, we note that there are two strands in its development, viz., one of the *Ācāryas* who wrote scholarly Sanskrit commentaries on the scriptures, and the other of poets writing in Kannada. The influence of Sanskrit on the *Ācāryas* need not be reiterated as it is too obvious from the fact that they have commented on scriptures in Sanskrit itself. The poet-saints of Karṇāṭaka have taken many a doctrine from Sanskrit though they have written in Kannada. In some of them we find an exposition of the traditional doctrines while in others there is a good deal of contribution from personal experience. Phraseological and methodological impact makes its appearance everywhere. These writers have also borrowed profusely from Sanskrit philosophical and religious vocabulary.

Even a glance at Kannada literature in general will make clear the impact of Sanskrit on it. Kannada works of the *Mahākāvya*-type are the direct descendents from Sanskrit. Kumāravyāsa's *Bhārata* and *Torave's Rāmāyaṇa* may be cited as examples. Many of the great Jaina writers have owed their inspiration to these epics though their versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* are slightly modified perhaps to suit the Jaina ideology. Pampa, the greatest of the Jaina poets, has narrated the story of *Mahābhārata* in Kannada and Nāgacandra has written on *Rāmāyaṇa*. There are direct references to Sanskrit texts in Kannada works. Mahīpati of Kākhandki says : "I consulted the four, the six and the eighteen." meaning thereby the four Vedas, the six Śāstras and the eighteen Purāṇas. Such writings are rooted in orthodox tradition. The *Vacanas* of Vīraśaiva poet-saints are called Kannada Upaniṣads which indicates the desire to raise any profound philosophico-mystical treatise to the status of an Upaniṣad. Many of the philosopher-saints of Karṇāṭaka are writers of great Vedāntic learning, not to speak of their insight into Yogic physiology. In the strain of the traditional Ācāryas, Nijaguṇaśivayogi makes a survey of the Ṣaḍḍarśanas and then puts forth his own philosophy of Advaita in his *Viveka-cintāmaṇi* and *Anubhavasāra*. Raṅganātha wrote the *Anubhavāmṛta* to develop Advaita philosophy. Advaita

Vedānta has reached even up to Kannada folk songs : एन भरा नट्टीतप्वा एनगे मुल्ला by the poet Sang is an example. A number of Siddhas like Ravaṇasiddha and Kādasiddha famous in Karṇāṭaka were great Yogins. Vaiṣṇavite saints of Karṇāṭaka who are Dvaitins owe the origin of their doctrine to Madhvācārya. In the Haridāsa literature, we clearly discern the basic doctrines of Dvaita philosophy. Jagannāthadāsa's *Harikathāmṛtasāra* can well be said to be a Dvaita encyclopaedia.

The impact of Sanskrit in the field we are dealing with may be methodological, phraseological and ideological, not to speak of its deep stamp on religious practices. As regards validity of knowledge we have in Kannada literature both faith and reason, faith exhibited in the elucidation of scriptural teachings and reason found mainly in the subtle dialectics of the *Vacana* literature. For Kumāravyāsa the authorities are : the Vedas, Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, Smṛtis, the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṃsās and Nyāya. Dialectics of a high order is found in the argument and counter-argument put forth by the parties in debate, a veritable intellectual warfare, as in the conversation Prabhudeva has with Siddharāma or Muktāyakka.

The different methods found in Sanskrit philosophical and religious literature find their replicas in Kannada literature as well. To note a few of them : we see the enigmatic method in a *Vacana* where it is stated that a merchant of Jambu isle gathering his fares set up his stall. He was overcome by insatiable thirst. A baby carries his mother's dead body on its back (शून्य संपादने I. 15). This is to be understood as the *Jīva*, carrying the burden of the body accumulating past *Karmas* with desires and passions which are unquenchable. Similarly we come across a song of Purandaradāsa: "there is a silent being in the assembly of saints : it does not appear, does not eat, does not demand. It knows every thing but does not speak ; it does not go any where". This silent being must be interpreted as the *Niṣprapañca Brahman* which is aloof from the worldly affairs. We are familiar with the use of the symbolic method in Sanskrit. For example, in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (I. 4) there is a remarkable account of a great circumscribing felly with three tyres, sixteen ends, fifty spokes and so on, which is to be understood as Reality with three *Guṇas*, sixteen *Kalās* and fifty *Bhāvas*.

There is then the etymological method which depends upon giving etymological meaning to every letter of a word. For example, the *Māṇḍūkya Kārikās* I. 19-21 explain the etymological meaning of each letter of the *Bījamantra*, AUM. The first letter A (*akāra*) of the syllable *Aum* is equivalent to *Āpti* or attainment, the second letter U (*ukāra*) means *Utkarṣa* or exaltation and M (*makāra*) means *Miti*

òr measurement. So too the letters of the name 'Allamaprabhu' are interpreted by Kannada writers. "A" will lead to *Aiśvarya*, "L" to *Lakulīśa* or Śiva ; "Ma" stands for crossing the *Māyābdhi* or Ocean of *Māya*, "Pra" leads one to the vision of *Prabhā* or splendour and "Bhu" will lead to Bhūteśvara or God Śiva.

In the analogical method the lesson is brought home by way of examples. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* talks about the rivers flowing into the ocean and losing their individuality to show the non-difference of the individual from the universal soul. The same analogical method is found in Kannada, many times developed into a continued metaphor, as in Sarpabhūṣaṇaśivayogi who says that the body is the field, tranquillity and self-control are the oxen, equanimity is the manure, the seed is the teacher's instruction, and you reap the harvest of firm and continuous freedom of the soul (*sthiramukti*).

As many of the philosophical topics are discussed in the form of dialogues (*Saṃvāda*) in Sanskrit, so too we find the dialogue method used profusely in Kannada literature. The famous characters, Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī who figure in Sanskrit literature are found in Kannada also.

Alongside is the monologic method too where the person is engaged in a conversation with himself. Here a saint loses himself in a revery and almost thinks aloud as in the post-ecstatic monologue ; Cf. Hā vu hā..... Ahamannam...(*Tattirīya* III. 10. 5-6). Similarly Mahīpati of Karṇāṭaka exclaims : 'When the highest desire I could ever contemplate is fulfilled, what else now remains to be achieved ? The knowledge of the real nature of the *Jīva* and *Śiva* and their inter-relation has dawned upon me and I experienced the truth of *So'ham*'.

We now proceed to the phraseological impress. Though Kannada literature has contributed to religious and philosophical thought and though Vīraśaivaism in particular might have added to the religious practices, the diction throughout is dominated by Sanskrit. The philosophical terms like : स्वेच्छालीलाविलास, अनंतकोटि ब्रह्मांड प्रणवस्वरूप परब्रह्म, or the psychological terms like पंचप्राणs, पञ्चज्ञानेन्द्रियs, and पञ्चकर्मेन्द्रियs or the Yogic physiological terms like · कुण्डलिनी, इडा, पिंगला, सुषुम्ना,, त्रिकूट, सहस्रार चक्र or ब्रह्मरन्ध्र are found again and again in Kannada literature. Look at the descrip-tion of an ideal Yogin given in Kannada : शुद्धसात्विकयोगि, सच्चिदानन्द योगि, नित्यपरिपूर्णयोगि, सकलकरणगुणरहित योगि, अप्रतर्क्यचारित्र्य योगि, महाज्ञानैकचैतन्य योगि, इहलोक-परलोकगति रहित योगि; or again a

Kannada lyrical prayer : भक्तानुकंपि शरण्य ˙ ई समयदि ब्रह्निशि ध्यानिसुवे; or yet again इदे अनुभव मंटपवु˙˙˙इदे धनतर मोक्षदुन्मनिय साधनवु । इदे गुरुचर लिंग स्त्रोत, इदे करस्थल इष्टप्रणव, इदे षट्स्थल ब्रह्मघोष इदे प्राञ्जल ब्रह्मज्ञान˙˙˙.

Are not these lines likely to be taken as instances of Kannada words used in Sanskrit passages rather than *vice versa* ?

Sanskrit sentences are taken verbatim and used tactfully in the course of an argument : प्रत्यतिष्ठद्दृशांगुलवेंव श्रुतिय नोडलु (शू. सं. III. 116); गुहेश्वरन निलवु निःशब्दं ब्रह्ममुच्यते (शू. सं. III. 119); तत्त्वमसि महावाक्यव केलि (माणिकप्रभु) and सोऽहं स्वनद मातनु (महिपति).

Phraseological identity is not confined only to a few phrases or terms referred to above. In most of the cases ideological identity which we shall presently notice, is also seen. Sanskrit terminology has been so profusely woven into the texture of Kannada language that these Sanskrit terms have commanded a permanent place in Kannada thought.

The ideological impact is far too important to be summarily treated. We shall therefore note this impact in different branches of philosophy like epistemology, metaphysics, ethics and religion.

Coming to some of the Karṇāṭaka epistemological doctrines, we find them asserting that those who boast about their knowledge are away from God ; they really do not know. This is similar to the Upaniṣadic assertion that those who think they know, really do not know. In line with Sanskrit thought, in Kannada literature also *Ajñāna* or ignorance is taken to be the root-cause of all bondage. In fact all Indian philosophy has always subscribed to this. According to ordinary psychology all senses are opaque. The eye cannot hear ; nor can the ear smell. But in supersensuous experience, this is not so. We read in the Upaniṣads about vision without eyes and audition without ears : पश्यत्यचक्षुः स श्रृणोत्यकर्णः We find such expressions in abundance in Kannada literature. Purandaradāsa goes a step further and points out the fact of interchange and apperception in mystical experience. He says that the eye is not only able to hear but is also able to smell, taste and touch. This is true of all the sense-organs. This unique experience Purandaradāsa attributes to दिव्येन्द्रिय. This दिव्य इन्द्रिय is what Kant termed original, synthetic, transcendental unity of apperception, the central sun of knowledge by whose light and attraction discrete sensations are raised into form and system. In *Bhāgavata*, Dhruva says that the immanent God enkindles all our sensory and motor

organs. Likewise we find Siddhalingeśvara holding that God is the inspirer of all external and internal sense organs. He uses the expression :—सर्वजीवमनःप्रेरक.

We find in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* a conflict between the claims of intellect and will for supremacy. There are passages which lay stress on Will as the primary reality while in others intellect becomes supreme. Similarly there is a controversy between Reason and Will in the dialogue between Prabhudeva and Muktā-yakka. Prabhudeva stresses the necessity of identity of *Jñāna* and *Kriyā* (reason and will) after one has annihilated the sense of ego. The theory that knowledge is of two types runs through Kannada philosophy. The distinction which the Advaita Vedānta makes between *Vyāvahārika Jñāna* and *Pāramārthika Jñāna*, the Buddhists between *Samvṛti* and *Pariniṣpanna* and the Jainas between *Vyavahāra* and *Niścaya* is expressed in Kannada as *Upādhika* and *Upādhirahita Jñāna*. These are the two degrees of truth, the empirical and the transcendental which are too familiar to need elucidation.

We come across the analysis of mental processes when we are told that those who claim that they have cleansed the mind are still in the domain of mind. For Prabhudeva mind has no absolute existence. It is to be transcended. In fact it has to cease to be for the attainment of the absolute. Gaudapāda has already said that to realise the *Advaya* principle, mind will have to be transcended. Mind works in the domain of *Māyā* and creates the appearance of duality, *Dvayābhāsa*. When the objects of the mind are gone *Manas* ceases to be i.e. it becomes *Amana* (III. 21-32).

The poet-saint Mahanta in his poem तन्न ता स्तिकिद मेले refers to the epistemological aspect of cosmic consciousness and tells us that he was himself the subject-world and the object-world as well as the subject-object relation. This is nothing but the famous Vedānta doctrine of *Triputilaya* where the distinction between the subject, the object and the subject-object relation is wiped out in the unitive experience.

We do not want to make a plea that Kannada literature is just a replica of Sanskrit and that it has borrowed everything from Sanskrit. We want to show that the roots of Kannada philosophy and religion are in Sanskrit though the development of these ideas is in Kannada. Regional genius has enriched them and for the nourishment of what has been inherited from Sanskrit, they have provided a healthy environment.

Coming to the views of Kannada philosophers regarding the nature of the ultimate reality, the reality of the world and the nature

and destiny of the individual soul, which three constitute the fundamental metaphysical problems, we find the Absolute being described as the subtlest of the subtle, immaculate, indivisible and omnipresent. The absolute is not only self-luminous but also self-conscious. Interestingly enough Kannada writers term the Absolute as *Mahākāraṇabrahman* or *Parataravastu*. *Brahman* which is अद्वय (non-dual), अनुपम (unparallelled), निरवयव (partless), निरञ्जन (untainted), सच्चिदानन्द (truth, consciousness, bliss), and नित्यपरिपूर्ण (eternally perfect) in order not to remain alone, created in itself, by an act of its own spontaneous sport, myriads of macrocosms and microcosms. All this seems as if taken from the Upaniṣadic description of Brahman (*Chāndogya* VI). Both the Sanskrit and Kannada writers agree that the ways of the Absolute are inscrutable.

Further the Absolute is described in the Upaniṣads as that which the eye is not able to see, but which enables the eye to see and in *Śūnyasampādane* (III. 78) as that which reveals everything but itself remains unrevealed. Agnostic tendencies, as in Sanskrit philosophy, are not wanting in Karṇāṭaka thought. If the Upaniṣads declare the Absolute as that from which the speech and the mind return back without appropriating it, the Kannada philosophers regard it as beyond the grasp of speech and mind. Even the expression used is वाङ्मनोऽतीत (शू॰ सं॰ III. 112). As in the 'Nāsadīya Sūkta' which delineates the mysteriousness of creation, the Vīraśaiva mystics hold that Guheśvara or the ultimate reality was there when the primal ground or support was not there, when neither void nor non-void was there, nor that which moves nor moves not was there.

According to Kumāravyāsa as according to Nicholas of Cusa there is in God the coincidence of opposites. Thus according to him Kṛṣṇa is both सुव्यक्त and अव्यक्त manifest and unmanifest; He is both *Sat* and *Asat*, being and non-being (Ādiparva 11-10). He creates the world but remains uncontaminated by it. He devours the world but is not cruel. He protects the world but does not become infatuated (Udyogaparva IX. 70-71). On such a positive-negative characterisation of God and ascription to the God-head of the three functions of creation, preservation and destruction, the influence of Sanskrit is obvious. Kumāravyāsa makes an important point that Kṛṣṇa whom he regards as the ultimate reality is simultaneously present in all four states of consciousness, viz., जाग्रत्, स्वप्न, सुषुप्ति and तुर्य. Further we find in him the different philosophical theories like Dvaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita and Advaita as well as a synthesis of *Jñāna, Bhakti* and *Karma*.

As to the status of the world, there are frequent references to the *Māyā* doctrine in Kannada literature. Everybody including Brahmā, Viṣṇu and all creatures are under the spell of *Māyā*. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* recognises the moral order which governs the cosmos (III. 8-9). Similarly the Saint of Nimbargi refers to the cosmic law in his song चिन्त्याक माडति where he says that it is God who supports the canopy over our heads and directs the motions of the sun and the moon. Kumāravyāsa in his *Mahābhārata* says that the world is empirically real because it is experienced ; but transcendentally ideal because ultimately it is grounded in *Paratattva* which is *Nirguṇa* or formless.

The realism of Sāmkhya is accepted by theistic thinkers of Karnāṭaka who trace the evolution of the world to *Prakṛti*.

Coming to the nature and destiny of the Soul, the terms 'Bayalu' and 'Nirbayalu' in Kannada literature signify *Jīva* and *Brahman*. The famous phrase 'Bayalige Bayalu Nirbayalu indicates the mergence of *Jīva* in *Brahman*. The *Ṣaṭsthala Siddhānta* of Vīraśaiva philosophy describes the stages by which the *Jīva* approaches the *Brahman*. Though the exfoliation of the stages is a special feature of Vīraśaiva philosophy the central idea running through the whole doctrine is a familiar concept of the process of *Jīva* becoming *Brahman*.

Side by side with this Advaitic philosophy there is also development of Dvaita theory. In Jagannāthadāsa we find the fundamental tenents of Dvaita philosophy. The doctrine of *Bheda* that *Jīva* is not one with *Brahman* even in *mokṣa* stands in bold relief in him. There is also a great stress that *Paramātmabhakti* leads to *Mokṣa*.

Prabhudeva points out that when one realises *Brahman*, all doubt in *Karma*, *Jñāna* and *Bhakti* is expelled from one's consciousness. *Brahman* cannot be realised unless the tie between body and soul is broken. Has not the Upaniṣad said : भिद्यते हृदयग्रन्थिः छिद्यन्ते सर्वसंशया···तस्मिन् दृष्टे परावरे ॥ 'The knots of the heart are loosened, all doubts vanish when ultimate reality is visualised.' The song सारि चल्लिदे मुक्ति re-echoes the teaching contained in the *Brahma-sūtra* III. 4-1 which says that Vision itself is liberation.

In their ethical teachings Kannada writers have freely borrowed from Sanskrit. They advocate that in a virtuous man the five senses (पञ्चेन्द्रियs), the seven passions (सप्तव्यसनs), the six enemies (षड्रिपुs), and eight kinds of pride (अष्टमदs) are vanquished. The idea that senses lead to destruction is present in the famous *Vacana* of Akhaṇḍeśvara : नयनेन्द्रिय विषयदिदम्; due to the attraction of the

object of the eye, the moth is destroyed ; of the ear, the deer meets its doom ; of the nose, the bee is caught in a flower ; of the skin, the elephant is subdued ; of the tongue, a fish is entangled. Akhaṇḍeśvara puts forth that only one sense leads these creatures astray and bewails that he himself is oppressed by all the five senses. Does this not appear to be a reproduction of the verse :

शब्दादिभिः पञ्चभिरेव पञ्च
पञ्चत्वमापुः स्वगुणेन बद्धाः ।
कुरंग-मातंग-पतंग-भृंग-
मीना नरः पंचभिरञ्चितः किम् ॥

The idea that one has to become a devotee and leave aside all egoism is a familiar concept in both the literatures.

In Basava we find an echo of the *Niṣkama Karma* doctrine in that he emphasises the reconciliation between activism and renunciation. He prescribes that all work should be done in the spirit of service to God. Again we find the synthesis of *Bhakti*, *Kriya*, *Jñāna* and *Dhyāna* in the *Ṣaṭsthala Siddhānta*.

One of the ethical problems, *viz.*, the freedom of Will is discussed by Jagannāthadāsa. He classified men into three types. In the first place some people believe that everything is done by God, whether good or bad. This is exactly what the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* says : एष हि एव साधु कर्म कारयति···एष उ एव असाधु कर्म कारयति ॥ (III. 9). The doctrine of predestination in the *Gītā* is clearly reflected in Kumāravyāsa who says that the *Jīvavrāta* or the multitude of souls has not any *Svātantrya* or freedom (Udyogaparva IX. 73-74). If God does not intend a thing, it will never come to pass inspite of the best intentions on the part of the individual to do it. Secondly, there are some who regard man as responsible for all actions good or bad ; this speaks for complete freedom for man ; man is the architect of his own destiny. लोके गुरुत्वं विपरीतता वा स्वचेष्टितान्येव नरं नयन्ति echoes the same idea. Jagannāthadāsa talks of the third type of men who say that they do bad actions while God does good actions. But he does not only classify men. He grades them. He says that those who take the agency of actions upon themselves are the lowest, who own bad actions and give the credit to God of good actions stand in between and those who attribute both good and bad actions to God are the highest.

Coming to the religious practices, we may note that the very *Mantra* ओ३म् नमः शिवाय which we are enjoined to meditate upon, is itself in Sanskrit. The devotee is looked upon as the bondsman

of God.   The word Jagannāthadāsa uses in this connection is किंकर which is common in Rāmānujian philosophy of religion.   The whole mode of worship right from invoking the deity in the image (आवाहन) to respectful send off to the deity (विसर्जन) through the *Upacāras* is again in the spirit of Sanskrit tradition.

The virtues we are asked to cultivate are silence (मौन), equanimity (समता), detachment (वैराग्य).   *Cittaśuddhi* or purity of mind is also stressed.   Basava in one of his *Vacanas* says that truth, absence of self-flattery, non-hatred is what constitutes internal purity and external purity.   It is no wonder if the whole gamut of virtues is the same here as in Sanskrit literature.   The virtues taught in Sanskrit philosophy are universal.   There is no reason why the Kannada writers should not accept *in toto* what has come to their hands ready-made as part of their cultural inheritance.

Narasimha gives an allegory on the process of shooting at the target of *Brahman.*   The gun-powder is the initiation by the spiritual teacher.   Further, a steady posture is prescribed.   The body is the gun and *Bhakti, Jñāna* and *Vairāgya* are the three fingers.   The same allegory is found in the Upaniṣad : ब्रह्म तल्लक्ष्यमुच्यते अप्रमत्तेन वेद्धव्यम्···(मुण्डक. II. 2. 3-4) : shoot at *Brahman* with an unswerving mind.   While stressing the necessity of concentration for self-realisation, Gurusiddha prescribes that mind, breath and sight (मन, पवन, दृष्टि) must be focussed together.   The emphasis laid in the Yoga philosophy on एकाग्रता or one-pointed concentration need not be reiterated.

Cidānanda in his song एंथ गारडिगा सद्गुरु says that having lost all bodily consciousness he became the spectator of all existence. We see here the infiltration of the idea of *Sakṣī* of Sāmkhya philosophy.   The Yoga ideal that after realisation the self abides in its own nature तदा द्रष्टुः स्वरूपेऽवस्थानम्—is met with in Kannada literature times without number.

Ānanda or bliss is the spiritual ideal in many a system of philosophy. So too in Kannada literature, we have Nirupādhisiddha who enunciates the ideal of परतरानन्द.   The account given by Prabhudeva of an ideal saint is full of traditional ideas : wherever the saint casts his eye, that place becomes sanctified ; whatever falls from his lips, constitutes the highest instruction ; whatever water he touches, becomes a *Puṇyatīrtha* (holy waters) ; those who come into contact with him are liberated at once (सद्योमुक्त).

The Vedas extol the released soul as the over-lord (अनन्याधिपति:) ruling in the kingdom immortal (अमृतां पुरीम्), while Kannada mystics enthrone him on the शून्यसिंहासन throne of the infinite in the अनुभवमंटप or *spiritual assembly*.

We find similarities in many fields ; but every time we find a similarity, we need not say that it is due to the impact of Sanskrit. The expression may be similar because the experience itself is similar. This is particularly true of the spiritual experience which, as Dr. R. D. Ranade points out, is universal. The similarity of expression is due to the universality of mystical experience. That is, spiritual experiences like *Anāhata Nāda* (the subtle sound), *Rūpa* (form), *Tejas* (Light), *Amṛtarasa* (ambrosia) are repeatedly found in mystical literature. The words particularly found in Kannada literature are *Nāda, Bindu* and *Kalā*.

Thus it will not be an exaggeration to say that there is not merely an impact of Sanskrit on Kannada philosophy and religion but Kannada philosophical literature is just a further elucidation of Sanskrit philosophy in local language. Here ancient doctrines are taken up, accentuated, transformed and adopted ; they are thus given a new garb and handed on to posterity.

KASHMIRI AND SANSKRIT

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भारतीय संस्कृति के विकसित करने का श्रेय जितना काश्मीर को प्राप्त हुआ है, उतना अन्य किसी देश को नहीं । यह देश शताब्दियों से सांस्कृतिक गतिविधियों का केन्द्र रह चुका है । संस्कृत का प्रधान केन्द्र होने के कारण 'शारदा पीठ' के नाम से यह प्राचीन समय में प्रसिद्ध था । यहां के विविध शास्त्र निष्णात आचार्यों, विद्वानों, लेखकों, कवियों, दार्शनिकों, इतिहासकारों आदि मनीषियों ने संस्कृत साहित्य के विभिन्न क्षेत्रों में समय-समय पर योगदान देकर इस साहित्य को समृद्ध बना दिया ।

काश्मीर मण्डल आठवीं शताब्दी ईस्वी से बारहवीं शताब्दी ईस्वी तक अर्थात् चार सौ वर्ष पर्यन्त सारे भारतवर्ष के लिए साहित्य और संस्कृति का मुख्य केन्द्र था । वस्तुतः भारतीय साहित्य के विकास में काश्मीर ने एक महत्त्वपूर्ण योगदान दिया है ।

काश्मीर में तेरहवीं शताब्दी से पूर्व संस्कृत, प्राकृत तथा काश्मीरी के अतिरिक्त कोई भाषा उपलब्ध न थी जिससे यह स्पष्ट होता है कि तेरहवीं शताब्दी पूर्व इस देश में लोग आपस में संस्कृत, प्राकृत तथा काश्मीरी भाषा के द्वारा ही अपने भाव प्रकट करते थे । काश्मीर के प्रसिद्ध महाकवि बिल्हण (११वीं शताब्दी) ने अपने महाकाव्य 'विक्रमाङ्कदेवचरित' के अठारहवें सर्ग के छठे श्लोक में इस विषय पर इस प्रकार लिखा है :—

ब्रूमः सारस्वतकुलभुवः किं निभेः कौतुकानां
तस्यानेकाद्भुतगुणकथाकीर्णकर्णामृतस्य ।
यत्र स्त्रीणामपि किमपरं जन्मभाषावदेव
प्रत्यावासं विलसति वचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतञ्च ॥

अर्थं :—"हम सारस्वत कुल की जन्मभूमि काश्मीर के कौतुकों के भण्डार के विषय में क्या कुछ कहें, जिस (काश्मीर) भूमि के अनेक अद्भुत गुणों की कथाओं के अमृत से कान परिपूर्ण हैं और जिसमें स्त्रियों की वाणी भी जन्मभाषा (काश्मीरी) की भांति ही संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत के रूप में प्रत्येक घर में विलास करती हैं ।"

तेरहवीं शताब्दी में मुसलमानों का शासनकाल आरम्भ हुआ । उनके शासन में सर्वप्रथम रेंचन (सदरदीन) शहाबुद्दीन, कुतुबुद्दीन, सिकन्दर और जैन-उल-लाबुदीन आदि राजे हुए । इनमें शहाबुद्दीन तथा सिकन्दर के शासन तक संस्कृत में भी राज्य कार्य होता था और परवर्ती शासकों के भी कुछ शिलालेख संस्कृत में अब तक पाये जाते हैं । इतना ही नहीं. मुसलमान भी कतबों के रूप में संस्कृत को ही प्राथमिकता दिया करते थे । यही कारण है कि आजकल काश्मीर में कहीं-कहीं संस्कृत में कब्रों के कतबे पाये जाते हैं ।

जैन-उल्-लाब्दीन के समय (१४२३–१४७५) संस्कृत और फारसी साथ साथ चलती रही । यह कुछ समय तक मिश्रितभाषा भी रही । काश्मीर के प्रसिद्ध लेखक क्षेमेन्द्र रचित 'लोक प्रकाश' से उद्धृत निम्नाङ्कित उदाहरण से स्पष्ट होता है कि किस प्रकार यह मिश्रित भाषा राज्यकार्यों तथा न्यायालयों में भी प्रचलित थी :—

"संवत्सरेऽत्र दिने श्री अ्रेन्नापितकदले रेंज्जि-अमुकेन रेंज्जि अमुक पुत्रेण हस्ते सति बंगलचीरिका दत्ता । यथा अत्र आगारान्तरे खुज्या अमुक: खुज्या अमुकं प्रति लिखति-खुज्या अमुके सलामा बन्दगी ददनीयमिति" । हजरतमखदूम साहिब (१४००ई०) का वसीयतनामों भी दोनों लिपियों तथा भाषाओं में (संस्कृत तया फारसी) लिपिबद्ध हमें प्राप्त हुआ है (जम्मू व कश्मीर के संग्रहालय में यह सुरक्षित है) ।

तेरहवीं शताब्दी तक काश्मीर का सारा साहित्य संस्कृत के अतिरिक्त अन्य किसी भी भाषा में नहीं पाया जाता है । तेरहवीं शताब्दी के उत्तरार्ध में पहली पुस्तक शितिकण्ठ रचित 'महानय प्रकाश' है । इस पुस्तक में पुरानी काश्मीरी उपलब्ध होती है जैसे :—

इतय अ्रोवल्लीन परम्पर
दीपमाला जन अन्धकार ।
घमित घाम उद्येत निरन्तर
दिशिपावोत अविकार ॥

इसके बाद चौदहवीं शताब्दी में काश्मीर के प्रसिद्ध लेखक लार निवासी अवतार भट्ट का 'बाणासुरवध' नामक काव्य शारदा लिपि में लिखा हुआ मिलता है । इस काव्य का कथानक 'हरिवंश पुराण' के आधार पर लिखा गया है । इसमें संस्कृत तथा शुद्ध कश्मीरी शब्दों का प्रयोग अधिक रूप से तथा विदेशी शब्दों का प्रायः अभाव दिखाई देता है । इसके पद्य श्लेषमय होने के कारण बहुत ही आह्लादकर हैं । उपमा, रूपक, यमक, पुनरुक्तवदाभास आदि अलङ्कारों का प्रयोग समुचित रीति से कवि ने किया है । काश्मीरी साहित्य में यह पहला खण्डकाव्य के नमूने का अव-लोकन कीजिए :—

वैनतेयस चडेत् दुरुजने
हेलि गच्छौ सौ शत्रु मारणि ।
रट्टो तेन अनिरुद्ध दुज्जने
तुलि बाण् दितिपुत्र मारणि ॥

ए शुनेत् विनये तदाशये
सर्पंरस्ते दुज्जने चडे ।
पुष्पवर्षुन सुरु नभाशये
क्षे वीरविन्द तत् ग्राह्विव चडे ॥
गयि श्रसि किस तय गोविन्दा
सकले काञ्चन वेन्न देह् ।
नेरु निकुट क्षे ए बु विन्दा
वननु क्या गौ हर सन्देह ॥ (बाणासुरवध)

(रिसर्च विभाग के आचार्य श्री दीनानाथ यक्ष शास्त्री, ने 'बाणासुरवध'
का रूपान्तर राष्ट्रभाषा में किया था । उनकी कृपा से उक्त तीन पद्य मुझे प्राप्त
हुए हैं)

बाणासुरवध की पाण्डुलिपि इस समय ''पूना भण्डारकर रिसर्च इन्स्टिच्यूट'
में सुरक्षित है । इससे पूर्व इसी शताब्दी में काश्मीर की प्रसिद्ध कवयित्री ललेश्वरी के
लल्ल वाक्यों का संग्रह भी पाया जाता है जिसमें शुद्ध काश्मीरी भाषा का प्रयोग किया
गया है :—

केंह छिय न्यन्दरिहती वुदी,
केंचन वुद्दान न्यसर पिये,
केंह छिय स्नान करिथ अपुती,
केंह छिय गृह भजिथ अक्रिय ॥
लोलकि ताव सत्य वलिञ्ज बुजुम,
प्रक्षुत छुजुम पवन सत्य ॥

यह वही समय था जब यवनधर्म के अनुयायी तथा प्रचारक जुलकदर खां
मीर सैयद अली, आदि पश्चिम से काश्मीर में आ गये । उन्होंने काश्मीर को अपना
निवासस्थान बनाया । उनके आगमन से मुस्लिम संस्कृति का प्रचार व प्रसार यहां
हुआ । परिणामस्वरूप बहुत से अरबी तथा फारसी शब्द काश्मीरी भाषा में मिश्रित
हुए ।

ललेश्वरी के समय में ही कश्मीर में स्थित प्रसिद्ध गांव 'च्रार' के निवासी
नुन्दऋषि के जो शेख नूरदीन के नाम से भी प्रसिद्ध हैं, काश्मीरी भाषा में श्लोक
(श्रूक) पाये जाते हैं जिनमें शुद्ध काश्मीरी शब्दों का प्रयोग किया गया है । नुन्दऋषि
के कुछ श्लोकों का नमूना देखिए:—

केवल कोरगच्छक पन्थानी,
अविथ शुरि मुरि गेह्भार ।
यिम कस भार लदख पापानी,
भार खुदाया पाप निवार ॥

हूनिस वासुर प्यठ सूर लारे,
ब्रारिस गज्य अन्दरय स्वख ।
ऋषा वनन खुदा गारे,
रेंचि छुय दुखय स्वख ॥

फिर बहुत से काश्मीरी कवि जैसे रूप'द्यद, परमानन्द, अरिनिमाल कृष्णदास, ख्वाजाहबीब, अज़ीज़ दरवेश, बहाबखार आदि काश्मीर में पैदा हुए । मुस्लिम शासन के कारण यहां के लेखकों तथा कवियों ने अपनी विभिन्न रचनाओं में शुद्ध कश्मीरी के अतिरिक्त फारसी तथा अरबी शब्दों का प्रयोग स्वच्छन्दरूप से किया है । यह प्रवृत्ति प्रायः मुस्लिम साहित्यकारों में पाई जाती है ।

फारसी, अरबी एवं संस्कृत को छोड़कर जो काश्मीरी शब्द अवशिष्ट रहते हैं उन अवशिष्ट शब्दों के विषय में प्राच्यभाषाशास्त्री ग्रियर्संन आदि विद्वानों का मत इस प्रकार है कि कश्मीरी भाषा दारिदक है तथा काश्मीरी शब्दों का विकास दर्द देश में हुआ है । उनका सम्बन्ध दारिदक भाषा से बताया जाता है (बलतिस्तान तथा तञ्जीर नदी का मध्यभाग दर्द देश कहा जाता है) वहां की भाषा से पैदा हुए शब्द दारिदक माने जाते हैं ।*

यहां पर काश्मीरी भाषा के विषय में भाषाशास्त्रियों के मत का उल्लेख करना आवश्यक है ।

काश्मीरीभाषा का स्रोतः— विश्व के भाषापरिवारों में भारोपीय परिवार (Indo-European Family) सबसे अधिक विस्तृत एवं समृद्ध है । संसार की समुन्नत, सुसंस्कृत एवं शक्तिशाली जातियों की अधिकतर भाषाएं इसी परिवार से सम्बद्ध हैं । इस परिवार में अनेक उपपरिवार हैं । भाषाशास्त्रियों ने उनका वर्गीकरण इस प्रकार किया है ।

(१)   भारतीय आर्यभाषावर्ग ।
(२)   ईरानी भाषावर्ग ।
(३)   दरद या पेशाची भाषाएं ।

हिन्दुकुश (अफगानिस्तान के उत्तर में) से लेकर काश्मीर तक फैले हुए प्रदेश में शीना, वशागाली, आदि भाषाएं बोली जाती हैं । उनमें ईरानी तथा भारतीय दोनों के लक्षण मिलते हैं । वे भी भारत-ईरानी वर्ग में सम्मिलित की जा सकती हैं । ग्रियर्संन ने इस वर्ग का नाम पेशाची भाषा वर्ग रखा है ।

कहा जाता है कि मध्यएशिया से आने वाले आर्यों का एक वर्ग परिस्थितिवश भारत के मैदानी इलाकों में न पहुंचकर पहाड़ी प्रदेशों में बस गया होगा । यह इलाका दरद और इनकी भाषा दरदीय या पेशाची कहलायी । इसी दरदी और पेशाची से कश्मीरी भाषा का सम्बन्ध माना जाता है ।

*[Elements of the sciences of language, By Taraporewala p. 362]

कुछ विद्वानों के मत से दार्दिक कुल में शीना, कश्मीरी और कुहिस्तानी आजाती हैं। शीना इस वर्ग का शुद्ध उदाहरण है। कुहिस्तानी भारतीय सीमाप्रदेश के निकट अपरिमार्जित उपभाषा का वर्ग है जो पश्तो तथा भारतीय भाषाओं से प्रभावित है। शीना गिलगत्त तथा आसपास की घाटी में बोली जाती है। कहा जाता है कि गुणाढ्य की बृहत्कथा इसी प्राचीन कश्मीरी या पैशाची भाषा में लिखी गई जो इस समय अप्राप्य है।

आर्य कश्मीर में :— कश्मीर के मनमोहक प्राकृतिक दृश्यों, नदी-नालों, पर्वतों, सरोवरों, एवं चरागाहों को देखकर आर्य बहुत प्रभावित हुए होंगे। फलसः उन्होंने अपना निवासस्थान यहां भी किया। उनकी भाषा संस्कृत थी। यही कारण है कि कश्मीर के प्रसिद्ध स्थानों का नामकरण शताब्दियों के बाद भी संस्कृत में पाया जाता है। कश्मीरी पर वैदिक तथा लौकिक संस्कृत का प्रभाव स्पष्ट रूप से अब भी दिखाई देता है। इस समय भी शुद्ध कश्मीरी में लगभग ६०% शब्द संस्कृत के पाये जाते हैं।

इसके साथ हमें यह बात भी दृष्टि में रखनी चाहिए कि यवनों के शासनकाल में इस देश की भाषा पर अरबी तथा फारसी का भी प्रभाव पडता रहा। भाषा का क्रम गतिशील है, स्थगित नहीं। कश्मीर में चिरकाल तक अनेक शासकों— मुगलों, अफगानों, तथा सिक्खों का शासन रहा जिनके समय में फारसी ही देशभर की राजभाषा थी।

कश्मीरी भाषा की लिपि शारदा थी और यह गुरुमुखी के बहुत निकट है। कश्मीर का प्राचीन साहित्य हमें इसी लिपि में मिलता है। जैसे—लल्लवाक्य बाणासुर वध, साहिब कौल का 'जन्मचरित' आदि।

संस्कृत के बाद भारतीय भाषाएं प्राकृत तथा अपभ्रंश आदि के रूप में परिवर्तित हो गई। फलतः कश्मीरीभाषा में कई शब्द प्राकृत तथा अपभ्रंश के द्वारा आ गये। जो शब्द कश्मीरी भाषा में प्राकृत तथा अपभ्रंश के स्तरों से होकर न आये हों, अथवा जो शब्द इस प्रणाली से तत्सम या तद्भव के रूप में न आये हों वे शब्द देशी या विदेशी कहलाते हैं।

हम कश्मीरी में संख्या का अध्ययन करते समय देखते हैं कि कोई शब्द संस्कृत से प्राकृत में आने के बाद हिन्दी में एक रूप में तथा कश्मीरी में एक और ही रूप में है यद्यपि अंतर थोड़ा ही रहता है। दोनों का उद्भव एक है तथा दोनों का प्रयोग साथ-साथ चलता आता है। जैसे—हिन्दी का सात शब्द स्पष्टतः संस्कृत के 'सप्त' से आया है। यह प्राकृत में 'सत्त' और कश्मीरी में 'सथ' होगया है। अन्तिम शब्द का महाप्राण होना कश्मीरी भाषा का एक सिद्धान्त ही है। जैसे 'दृष्टम्' का प्राकृत में दिट्ठ बन गया। कश्मीरी में आकर यह शब्द 'ड्यूठु' बन गया। इसी प्रकार मुष्टि, ज्येष्ठ, रुष्ट क्रमशः प्राकृत में मुट्ठी, जेट्ठ, रुट्ठ के रूप में बदल गये और कश्मीरी में क्रमशः इन शब्दों ने ख्वठ, ज्युठ, रूठ का रूप धारण किया। इन उदाहरणों को दृष्टि में रखकर हम इस निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं कि, कश्मीरी ने प्राकृत से शब्द लिये हैं। इसी प्रकार कश्मीरी ने अपभ्रंश से भी शब्द लिये हैं। निम्न उदाहरणों से यह

स्पष्ट होता है कि किस प्रकार संस्कृत के शब्द अपभ्रंश के रूप में कश्मीरी में प्रयुक्त होते हैं । जैसे—अवन्तिपुर, ललितपुर, स्कन्दपुर, कनिष्कपुर, पद्मपुर, सिंहपुर, नौकापुर, सोमविहार, गणपतिविहार, षोडशविहार, आदि शब्द क्रमशः वून्तिपोर, ल्यतपोर, खन्दुर, कानिसपोर, पपोर, स्यंपोर, नावपोर, सूमयार, गणपथयार, शुरहयार आदि रूपों में बिगड़ गये ।

उक्त उदाहणों से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि कश्मीरी प्राकृत अथवा अपभ्रंश के रूप में प्रयुक्त होती हैं ।

प्रायः कश्मीरी भाषा की शब्दावली संस्कृत शब्दावली के समान है, जो निम्नलिखित तालिका से स्पष्ट प्रतीत होती है । कश्मीरी भाषा के स्वर संस्कृत के स्वरों के बहुत निकट हैं । इतना ही नहीं संस्कृत के तद्धित प्रत्यय भी कश्मीरी में पाये जाते हैं । संस्कृत के तद्धित प्रत्ययों तथा कृदन्तों (Nominal Derivations & Verbal Derivations) का प्रभाव कश्मीरी पर बहुत पड़ा है । जैसे संस्कृत के 'दृश्यमान' से कश्मीरी में दृण्ठमान् बन गया है । 'दृश्' धातु से शानच् प्रत्यय करने पर दृश्यमान बन जाता है । इसी प्रकार संस्कृत के कृदन्तों— वीक्षण, रक्षण, पचन, नमन से क्रमशः कश्मीरी में वुछुन, रछुन, पचुन, नमुन बन गया है । संस्कृत के क्लान्त Indeclinable Participles) का प्रभाव भी इस पर पड़ा हुआ दिखाई देता है । जैसे:— कृत्वा, खादित्वा, लिखित्वा, दत्त्वा, रक्षित्वा, धावित्वा, मृत्वा, चलित्वा, जित्वा से क्रमशः कश्मीरी में करिथ्, ख्यथ्, लीखिथ्, दिथ्, रछिथ्, धविथ्, मरिथ्, चलिथ्, जीनिथ् बन गया है ।

संस्कृत का उरच् प्रत्यय भी कश्मीरी में प्रयुक्त होता है (दन्तादिभ्यः उरच्) जैसे— कान्दुर, वोवुर, दान्दुर, गबुर, लबुर आदि । संस्कृत के कालों लङ् में (Use of imperfect past) तथा लोट् लकार (Imperative Mood) का प्रयोग कश्मीरी में उत्तम रीति से पाया जाता है । जैसे—

लोट् लकार—	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी
	दूरं मा गच्छ ।	दूर म गछ ।
	चिरं मा कुरु ।	चेर म कर ।
	तप्तं मा खादय ।	तुत म ख्य ।
	तत्र मा चल ।	तुत म चल ।
	दुग्धं मा आनय ।	दूद म अन । आदि ।
लङ् लकार—	सः एकः जन आसीत् ।	सु अख जुन औस ।
	सभा-मध्ये कतिजना आसन् ।	सबि मञ्ज कच जन्य अस्य ।
	तत्र अनेके लोका आसन् ।	तत्य अनीख लूख अस्य ।
	स एकः मूढ आसीत् ।	सु अख मुड औस ।

संस्कृत के सर्वनामों का प्रयोग भी कश्मीरी में प्रायः ज्यों का त्यों पाया जाता है ।

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी
तस्मै मा देहि ।	तस म दि ।
इमे कुत्र गताः ।	इम कुत गय ।
अस्य निकटे मा वस ।	अस नख म वस ।
मह्यं (मे) मा देहि ।	म्य म दि ।

संस्कृत—कस्य, काश्मीरी—कस । संस्कृत—मे, काश्मीरी—म्य । ऊपर कहा जा
चुका है कि काश्मीरी ने संस्कृत तथा प्राकृत से शब्द लिये हैं । निम्नलिखित उदा-
हरणों से यह पुनः स्पष्ट हो जायेगा ।

(१) प्रायः संस्कृत के क्षान्त शब्द तथा क्ष मध्यग शब्द कश्मीरी में आकर
'छ' में परिवर्तित हुए हैं । जैसेः—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
पक्ष	पछ	पग्वाडा	तक्ष	तछ	कुरेदना
रक्ष	रछ	रक्षा	लक्ष	लछ	लाख
कक्ष	कछ	कांग्न	वक्ष	वछ	छाती
यक्ष	यछ	यक्ष	द्राक्षा	दछ	दाख
माक्ष	माछ	मग्गीर (पंजाबी)लाक्ष	लाछ	लाख
अक्षि	अछ	आंख	कुक्षि	क्वछ	कोख
लिक्ष	लछ	लीग्ब	भिक्षु	बेछ	भीख
सुभिक्ष	स्वछ	सुकाल	बुभुक्षा	ब्बछ	भूख
दक्षिण	दछुन	दाहिना	वीक्षाणा	वुछुन	देखना
पक्षिन्	पछन	पंखी	मक्षिका	मछ	मक्खी
क्षालन	छलुन	धोना	मन्दाक्ष	मन्दछ	मंद आंख वाला
शिक्षण	ह्राछुन	सीग्वना			

अपवाद (Exception)

पक्ष	पग्ब	पर	पक्षिति	पख	पर

(२) प्रायः संस्कृत के मूर्धन्यपान्त तालव्यशान्त तथा 'श' मध्यग 'श' आदि
शब्द काश्मीरी भाषा अथवा प्राकृत में आकर 'ह' में परिवर्तित हुए हैं—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
पौष	पोह	पूस	तुषा	तुह	भूसी
क्रोश	कुह	कोस	माषा	माह	माशा
कृष्ण	कृहुन	काला	दश	दह	दस
शत	ह्रथ	सौ	शाक	ह्राख	साग
शुष्क	हुब्व	सूख्वा	घर्षण	गहुन	घसीट
श्वशुर	ह्य_हुर	ससुर	शकट	हगुड(र)	सगड
वैशाख	वह्राख	बैसाख	आषाढ	हार	हाड

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
मशक	मुह	मच्छर	लशुन	रुहन	लहसुन
शक्	ह्याकु(न)	सकना	शमन	ह्मन	शान्तहोना
श्रृंखला	हंकल	सांकल	चतुर्दश	चुदह	चौदह
शिम्बा	हिम्बा	फली	शिवत्र	ह्यत्र	श्वेत (कुष्ठ)
शिक्षण	ह्याछुन	सीखना	पिष्टन्	पिहिन	पीसना
विंशः	वुह	बीस	त्रिंशः	त्रह	तीस
शुन्	हून्	कुत्ता	शुनी	हूञ्यी	कुतिया
वाष्प	बाह	भाप	श्रृङ्ग	ह्याङ्	सींग
चूष	च्ह	चूसना	शनैः शनैः	ह्ज्य ह्ज्य	धीरे धीरे

<center>अपवाद (Exception)</center>

श्याम+लः श्याम	सांवला	महिष	म्श	भैंस
तृषा त्रेश	प्यास	पुष्प	पोश	पुष्प(पहुप)
शोभा शूभ	शोभा	शङ्का	शेङ्ख	सन्देह
वर्षण वर्षुन	बरसना	पेशलः	पिशुल	कोमल
श्रृगाल शाल	सियार	शून्य	शुन्य	सूना
श्वास शांश	सांस	षट्	स	छः
शुकः शोग	सुग्गा ।			

(३) प्रायः संस्कृत के पादि पान्त तथा 'प' मध्यग शब्द काश्मीरी अथवा प्राकृत में 'व' में परिवर्तित होते हैं :—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
पत्र	वथ'र	पत्ता	पथ	वथ	रास्ता
पानीय	वोञ्य	पानी	ताप	ताव	ताप
लेपन	लिवुन	लेपना	कच्छपः	कछवा	कछुआ
स्थापन	थवुन	रखना	स्थापय	थ'व	रखो
दापन	दावुन	दिलवाना	नापित	न'विद	नाई
तपन	तवुन	तपाना	वपन	ववुन	बोना

<center>अपवाद (Exception)</center>

पुष्प	पोश	पहुप	पालन	पलुन	पालना
पारद	पारुद	पारा	पेटा	पीटच	पेटी
कोपः	कूप	कोप	रौप्य	रुफ़	चान्दी
काकपोतः	कांवपूत	कौवे का बच्चा	पक्षिपोतः	पछनपूत	पंखी का बच्चा
कुक्कुटपोतः	कुकरपूत	चूजा	कम्पन	कं'पुन	कांपना

(४) प्रायः संस्कृत के ष्टान्त या ष्ठान्त शब्द काश्मीरी भाषा अथवा प्राकृत में आकर ठान्त या ठान्त में परिवर्तित होने है :—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
ज्येष्ठ	ज्युठ	जेठ (बड़ा)	ओष्ट	उठ्	होंठ
कोष्ठ	कुठ	कोठा	काष्ठ	काठ	काठ
भ्रष्ट	ब्राठ	भ्राठ	ऊष्ट्	ऊंठ	ऊंट
मयष्ट	मुठ	मोठ	कुष्ठ	ववठ	कुट नामक औषधि
मुष्टि	म्वठ	मुट्ठी	रुष्ट	रूठ	रूठना
भ्रष्ट	भ्रेठ	पतित	वेष्टन	बुठुन	बेठन
उच्छिष्ट	छयुट	भूठा	अंगुष्ट	न्युठ	अंगूठा
मिष्ट	मिठ	मीठा	पुष्ट	पूठ	पोढा ।

(५) प्रायः संस्कृत के रेफान्वित शब्द काश्मीरी अथवा प्राकृत में आकर रेफहीन उच्चारित किये जाते हैं :—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
स्वर्ण	स्वन	सोना	पर्ण	पन	पन्ना
कर्ण	कन	कान	चूर्णं	चून	चूना
शूर्प	शुप	सूप	कर्मं	क'म	काम
चर्म	चम	चाम	शर्करा	शक्कर	शाकर
आर्द्रं	अद्रुर	गीला	भर्जन	बुजुन	भुनना
खर्जूर	ग्वजूर	ग्वजूर	आर्द्रक	अदरख	अदरक
मार्जन	मांजुन	मांजना	कर्पास	कपस	कपास
जर्जर	जजुर	जीर्ण	चर्मकारः	चमार	चमार

अपवाद (Exception)

भूर्जं	बुजं	भूजं	धर्मं	धर्म	धर्म
दर्भं	दर्भं	दाभ	सर्पं	सुरुफ	सांप
कूर्मं	क्रम	कूर्मं	गर्जन	ग्रजुन	गरजना

(६) प्रायः संस्कृत के सकारादि शब्द काश्मीरी अथवा प्राकृत में आकर सकारहीन उच्चारित किये जाते हैं :—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
स्थाल	थाल	थाली	स्नुषा	नुश	बहू
स्तन	थन	थन	स्तम्भ	थम्ब	खम्भा
स्फुटन	फटुन	फटना	स्फुरण	फोरन	फडकना
स्थान	थान	थान	स्थापन	थबुन	रखना
स्पन्द	प्वन्द	छींक	स्पर्श	फश	छूना

अपवाद (Exception)

स्वर्ण	स्वन	सोना	स्वाद	साद	स्वाद
स्मरण	सुरुण	याद	स्वर्ग	स्वर्ग	स्वर्ग

(७) प्रायः संस्कृत के हादि शब्द काश्मीरी में आकर 'अ' में परिवर्तित होते हैं :—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
हड्ढ	अड	बडी हड्डी	हस्त	अथ	हाथ
हल	अल	हल	हस	अस	हंसो
हसुन	असुन	हंसना	हंस	अञ्ज	हंस
हूल	अल	हिल	हारा	आर'	हार

अपवाद (Exception)

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
हठ	हठ	हठ	हख	हख	बुलाने का विशेष प्रयोग
हस्ती	हुस	हाथी	हरिद्वार	हरद्वार	हरिद्वार
हो	हो	बुलाने की आवाज ।	हवन	हवन	हवन

(८) प्रायः संस्कृत के त्रान्त शब्द काश्मीरी अथवा प्राकृत में आकर 'त' में परि-वर्तित होते हैं :—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
तत्र	त्वत	वहां	कुत्र	कुत	कहां
अत्र	ओत	यहां	यत्र	यु'त	यहां
दात्र	द्रोत	दांतरी ।	छत्र	छतेर	छाता

(९) प्रायः संस्कृत के लान्त शब्द काश्मीरी में आकर स्त्रीलिङ्ग में 'ज' में परिवर्तित होते है :—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
चल	च्ज्य	चल	स्थल	थ'ज्य	थल
तल	तज्य	तल	फुल्ल	फ'ज्य	फूल + ना
हू्ल	हृज्य	हिल	गल	गज्य	गल
हल	प'ज्य	पल (परिमाण)	कल	कज्य	गूंगा
पुत्तल	पुतज्य	पुतला	तुल	तूज	तौल
शृगाल	श'ज्य	सियार	जाल	जज्य	जाल
कुलाल	ऋज्य	कुलाल	पलाल	प'ज्य	
तुलि	तुज्य	तूली	खलि	ख'ज्य	खली
मूली	मुज	मूली	स्थाली	थाल'ज्य	थाली
कील	किज्य	कील	पेशल	पिशज्य	पेशल

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मिल	मीज्य	मिल+ना	पाल	प'ज्य	पाल
कुण्डली	कुण्ड'ज्य	कुण्डली	मण्डली	मुण्ड'ज्य	मण्डली

Exception (अपवाद)

कोकिला	कुकिन	कोयल	तल	तल	तलवा
जल	जल	जन्न	मल	मल	मैल

कहीं कहीं संस्कृत वाक्यरचना (Syntax) काश्मीरी वाक्यरचना के समान ई जाती है । जैसे:—

संस्कृत वाक्य	काश्मीरी वाक्य
तत्र मा गच्छ ।	तोत म गछ ।
तप्नं मा खादय ।	तोत म ख्य ।
अहो ! सः कुत आगत ।	अहो ! सु कति आव ।
ग्रामभाजनं तत्र मा स्थापय ।	ओम बान तति म थव ।
तत्र मा चल ।	नोत म चल ।
पुष्पं फुल्लम् ।	पोश फुल ।
तत्र मन्दाक्षं मा कुरु ।	तवि मन्दछ म कर ।
शुष्कघासभारं तत्र मा स्थापय ।	हुखगास बोर तति म थव ।
पानीयं मलिनं मा कुरु ।	पोन्य मल म' कर ।
यत्किञ्चित् गन्नं तत् गतम् ।	यि केंह गव ति गव ।
स घासभारं न शक्नोति ।	सु गासबोर छुन' ह्राकान ।
स समस्य सम आसीत् ।	सु समिस सुम ओस ।
तस्य पादस्य तले एकः सर्पं आसीत् ।	तस पदिस तल अख सुरुफ ओस ।
सः तत्कार्यस्य मध्ये मग्न आसीत् ।	सु तथ कारस मंज लुगमुत ओस ।
भक्तम् दग्धम् ।	बत' दोद ।
स मा करिष्यति ।	मु मा करि ।
तुम्बीमानय ।	तुम्ब अन ।
रेण्वापुञ्जं मा कुरु ।	र'खपुञ्ज मकर ।
मा लिख ।	म' लेख ।
निर्गच्छ ।	नेर् गच्छ ।
शाकलेशं देहि ।	हाकलूश दि ।
नक्र	पुटकं क्षालय ।	नकवोर छल ।
परिमाणं तस्मै देहि ।	परमान तस दि ।
चिरं मा कुरु ।	च्रे र म कर ।

संस्कृत वाक्य	काश्मीरी वाक्य
स भिन्न आसीत् ।	सु ब्युन श्रोस ।
मा चल ।	म' च.न ।
ज्ञानं मा कुरु ।	ज्ञान म' कर ।
तत्र मा धाव ।	तोत म' दव ।
तत्र मा वस ।	तति म' बस ।
क्षीणं मा तोलय ।	छुन म' तोल ।
एतु एतु ।	इत' इत' ।

संस्कृत	प्राकृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
महिषी	महिसी	म'श	भैंस
कषपट्ट	कसवट्ट	कह्वट	कसौटी
ब्रच्च	ब्रज्ज	ब्रज	ब्राज
जीव	जीव्र	जुव	जीव
ज्ञान	जाण	ज्ञान	जान
मध्य	मज्झ	मंज	मभ + (धार
कर्पूर	कप्पूर	कोंपूर	कपूर
जानीहि	जाण	ज्ञान	जानो
भगिनी	बहिणीए	बिन्य	बहिन
नय	णइ	नि	लेजाब्रो
रुष्ट	रुट्ट	रूठ	रूठना
स्वर:	सुर	स्वर	सुर
दूर	दूर	दूर	दूर
नम	णम	नम	नम (तत्सम)
ददातु	देउ	दच् ू	दो
नर्त्तं	णच्च	नच्	नाच
शब्द	सद्द	सदाह	शब्द
रस	रस	रस	रस
वर्द्धं	बड्ढ	बड	बढ
तैल	तेल	तेल	तेल
तुषार	तुसार	तूर	सर्दी
दन्त	दंत	दन्द	दांत
अक्षि	अच्छि	अ'छ	आंख
कर्ण	कण्ण	कन	कान

संस्कृत	प्राकृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
स्वर्ण	सुवण्ण	स्वन	सोना
दुग्ध	दुद्ध	दुद	दूध
मूल	मूल	मूल	मूल
दश	दह	द'ह	दस
वर्णय	बण्णम्र	वन	वर्णन करो
ग्राम	गाम	गाम	गांव
वस	वस	वस	बसो
घर्में	घम्म	गु'म	घाम
पत्र	पत्त	पताह	पता
ज्येष्ठ	ज्जेठ	ज्युठ	बडा
कुमारी	कुमरी	कूर	कुंवारी
शर्करा	सक्करा	शकर	शक्कर
तत्र	तत्थ	त'ति	वहां
कृष्	कड्ढ	कड	खींच
क्षालय	च्छालइ	छल	धो
चर्में	चम्म	च्रम	चाम
श्रोष्ठ	श्रोठ्ठ	वुठ	होंठ
कस्य	कस्स	कस	किसका
श्रेष्ठी	सेठी	सेठ	सेठ
ग्रन्थिः	गंठी	गण्ड	गांठ
मुष्टि	मुट्टि	म्वठ	मुट्ठी
जर्जरः	जज्जर	जुजूर	जीर्ण
शिथिलः	सिढिलो	डघ्ुल	ढीला
नाम	णाम	नाव	नाम
सप्त	सत्त	सथ	सात
कज्जल	कज्जल	कजुल	काजल
दण्ड	डंड	डंड	डंडा
स्पर्श	प्फस्स	फश	छूना
वल्गा	वग्गा	वग	बाग
श्रृङ्गार	सिंगार	सिंगार	सिंगार
सपादकः	सवाम्रो	स्वाद	सवा
श्रृङ्ग	सिंग	ह्याङ्ग	सींग

संस्कृत	प्राकृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
षण्ढः	सड्ड	स्नण्ड	सांढ
धूम	धूमम्रो	दूह	धुवां
फुत्कः	फुक्कः	फ्वख	फूंक
पर्ण	पण्ण	पन	पन्ना
प्रत्यय	पच्चय	पचु्न	प्रत्यय (तत्सम)
नक्र+शिरा	नक्कसिरा	नसेर	नकसीर
सन्धि	संधी	सन	सेंध
क्षम्प	छंप	छांप	छाप
गर्भ+रूपः	गब्भ+रूपो	गुब्बुर	गवरू
काष्ठ	कट्ठ	काठ	काट
दृढ	दढ	द्उर	दृढ (तत्सम)
चतुष्क+कः	चउक्खम्र	च्ोक	चौक
प्रक्रमण	पक्कुन	पकुन	चलना
राज्ञी	रणी	र'ञ्य	रानी
तालकः	तालाम्रो	तोर	ताला

वैदिक शब्दों का प्रभाव काश्मीरी भाषा पर :—

वैदिक संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	वैदिक संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
त्वक्ष्	त्वछ	प्राणशक्ति	वय	वय	अनाज
वाज	वाज (पाचक)	अन्न	पय	पव	बल
सिन	स्युन	सलोना (तरकारी)	तम	तम	दमे का एक भेद
पुष्प	पोश	पुष्प	प्लुषि	पिश	पिस्सू
पूरः	पूर	पुभ्रा	तकुँ	अकुन	तकला
नव	नुव	नया	प्रव	प्रव	चकाचौंध
दिव्य	दिव	दिव्य	यदिउवैं	युदवय	यद्यपि
पन्थानम्	प'न्थुन	पथ	बुध्नः	ब्वन	नीचे
कक्ष	कछ	कांख (सूखी घास)			

वाद्ययंत्रों के नाम :—

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
डिण्डिमः	डुमडुम	वाजा	द्रकट्, द्रगड	दुकुर	दुग्गी
तुम्बुकनाडी	तुम्बकन'र	एक प्रकार का ढोल	डामरः	डाबर	डमरू

संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी	संस्कृत	काश्मीरी	हिन्दी
स्वरनाडी	स्वरनय	एक प्रकार की शहनाई	मुरली	मुरली	मुरली
वंशी	बसी	बंसरी	सारङ्गी	सारङ्ग	सारङ्ग
ढोल	ढोल	ढोल	स्थाली	थाल्ऊज	थाली
तूर्य	तुरी	तुरही	वीणा	बीन	बीन
			वाद्य+कः	बाज	बाजा

अलङ्कारों के नाम :—

कर्णवलय	कनव'ज्य	बाली
कण्ठमाला	कंठमाल	कंठ की माला (हार)
कुण्डली	कुण्डली	कुण्डली
चम्पाकलिः	चफक'ल्य ।	वक्षस्थल का आभूषण
नासावलय	नस्तव'ज	नाक की बाली (बेसर)
भूजबन्धः	बा़जबन्द (फा०)	भुजबन्द
मत्स्यबन्धः	मळबन्द	बाजूबन्द
तुनमी	तुनमी	गले का आभूषण
कण्ठहारः	कण्ठहार	कण्ठ का हार
कटकः	कटर	कडा
लवङ्ग	रुझ	लौंगाकार भूषण
तालरज्जु	तानरज	लम्बमान स्वर्ण जंजीर
रुद्रमाला	नदरमाल	रुद्रमाला
द्विजगृम्म?	ड्रजझुर	लम्बमान आभूषण
गुल्फकटः	ख्वडकोर	पांव का कडा
रणटक	रुग्य	हनुक
चन्दनहारः	चन्दनहार	चन्दन का हार
मुक्ताहारः	मोल्तहार	मोतियों का हार
बाहुवटः	बानुट	(बहुटा) बाहु का भूषण
गोनसा	गुनस	गोनसाकार आभूषण
पाद+कटकः	पांकरि	पांव का कडा
कङ्कणः	कङ्कुल्य	कंगन
अलक+छुर?	अलकछुर	कान का भूषण
बिन्दु	बिन्दर	बिन्दुरी
पादवलयः	प'यिल	पायल

डचक + ? तिलकः	डचकटिक	माथे का आभूषण (टीका)
वर्तुंवलयः या वीरवलयः	बीरबलि	कान की बाली
वेणिका + लटः	वंक'ल्उट	वेणी के साथ लगा हुआ आभूषण

रंगों के नाम :—

श्वेत	छ्उत	सित	नीलः	न्यूल	नीला
उज्वल	वजुल	उज्वल	शारः	होर	हरा
तिलक + शार टचचहोर		चितकबरा	हरिद्रा	ल्यदुर	पीला
कृष्ण	क्रहुन	काला	गौर	गु'र	गोरा

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON MAITHILI
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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The History of Mithilā has been singularly free from wars and conquests.[1] With the exception of about a dozen occasions, the Kings of Mithilā have been mainly engaged in building up traditions of learning and art. Indeed, Plato's ideal of 'philosopher Kings' has perhaps been fulfilled in no other country of the world except Mithilā (e.g. Janaka and MM. Maheśa Ṭhakkura).

Before 1,000 B.C. Mithilā was the great centre of Vedic and Upaniṣadic lore; it was the age of Janakas and Yājñavalkyas. Then followed the foundation of at least five of the six orthodox systems of philosophy; from about 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C. Mithilā, according to some scholars, had the proud privilege of having the rare galaxy of Gautama[2], the author of Nyāya Sūtras, Kaṇāda[3] the propounder of *Vaiśeṣika* System,[4] Jaimini, the founder of *Mīmāṁsā*, Kapila[5] the propagator of *Sāṅkhya Śāstra*, and Vyāsa[6] the first author of *Vedānta* philosophy. From the Sixth to the Third Century before Christ, Vaiśālī, a town within Mithilā's borders, became a renowned stronghold of Jaina and Buddhist Philosophy and Logic. Thereafter we find a gap of about five hundred years.

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1. *Darbhanga District Gazetteer*, p. 22,
2. Shyamnarayana Singh, *History of Tirhut*, pp. 190-2 ; and *Gaṅgānātha Jhā Commemoration Volume* (Poona) p. 388.
3. Vindeshwari Prasad, Introduction to *Vaiśeṣika-Darśana*, p. 11 ; and *Mithilāmoda*, Udgāra 80, p. 4, f. n. 1.
4. *Gaṅgānātha Jhā Commemoration Volume*, p. 388.
5. *Ibid.* It is not clear if Kakarauda and Kapilesvara are both relics of his residence in Mithila.
6. *Mithilāmoda*, Udgāra 114. p. 11 places his Āśrama at Viraulī.

By the Sixth Century A.C. or so we have again unmistakable signs of great literary and philosophical activity. According to Maithila tradition, Uddyotakara, Maṇḍana, Kumārila, Prabhākara, Vācaspati Udayana and later Gaṅgeśa, Pakṣadhara and several others —Naiyāyikas and Mīmāṁsakas were engaged in combating the Buddhists, and ultimately re-establishing Brahminical thought in the province.

After the invasion of Turks (= Muslims) another occasion arose when Maithila scholarship asserted itself. While the 'Turks' succedded in coming down the Ganges as far as Bengal, they somehow bypassed Mithilā, which, therefore, remained for centuries the home of Hindu learning and culture. Maithila writers of Digests (*Smṛti Nibandha*) came forward with Codes of Law and with Handbooks of Polity[7] wherein they recognised the new conditions and tried to protect the purity of their ideals and traditions. Of course, the greatest writers in this field are Caṇḍeśwara and Vācaspati Miśra II.

Even to this day Mithilā has been able to preserve her interest and love of the traditional scholarship. There are spread all over the country Ṭols or *Catuṣpāṭhī*-s (popularly called *caupāḍī*-s) where paṇḍits impart education on the old lines. Hundreds of palm-leaf MSS. and paper MSS. are read and commented upon in Mithilā even in these days of brisk printing. The official examination system of Darbhanga Raj (*Dhauta parīkṣā*[8]) is based on the old Maithila systems of *Śalākā-Parīkṣā*[9] where the candidate is allowed even to have his books by his side when experts take his *viva-voce*; of course, the old system of taking a *Śarayantra*[10] is no longer current. In the latter system the scholar was even required to present himself for examination by the public; the scholar who intended to take a *Śarayantra* could be asked any question on any topic the people liked. From what we know of the last person who

7. See Introduction to *Mithilā Mss. Catalogue* Vol. I and Intro. to Caṇḍeśvara's *Rājanītiratnākara* by Dr. K. P. Jayaswal.

8. Vide, for example, the syllabus for a *Dhauta-parīkṣā* published under the supervision of the late Sir Gaṅgānātha Jhā.

9. Vide Satishchandra Vidyabhushan, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 522 f. n. 1 and M.M. Gopinatha Kaviraja, *Saraswati Bhawana Studies* Vol. IV, p. 62.

10. Sir Ganganatha Jha, *Kavirahasya*, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal Introduction to *Mithilā Mss. Catalogue* Vol. II ; and R. Jha, *Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference* (Benares), proceedings Vol. I, part 2, pp. 310, 325.

is known to have taken it, it seems that it was a sort of intelligence or General Knowledge Test by the public. Similarly, the institution of Upādhyāyas, Mahopādhyāyas, and Mahāmahopādhyāyas[11] as graded degrees of seniority among Professors is today extinct.

The marks of this aspect of Maithila Culture are found in various things. Most of Maithila place-names are commemorative of the particular branch of learning that has been perfected or specialized at those places,[12] e.g. Yajuāra (seat of *Yajurveda*), Rīgā (seat of *Rgveda*), Atharī (seat of *Atharvaveda*), Māu-behata (seat of *Mādhyandinī-śākha*), Bhaṭṭasimarī and Bhaṭṭapurā (seat of Bhāṭṭa School of Mīmāṁsā). Names and even surnames of men, such as Upādhyāya or Jhā as common surname, indicate the same thing.

Most of the customs and practices of Mithilā are also remnants of this very feature. For example, a peculiar custom mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (IV. iv. iii. 19) is still observed in Mithilā in its original form. On the day after the Sukharātrī festival (corresponding to the Diwali festival) a pig is tied to a post or tree outside the village where all domestic animals, such as the cows, buffaloes and bullocks, are brought by every farmer. Then these animals are given a chance to play with the pig, strike it with their horns and, it is believed, the more the pig cries the better are the fruits and harvests of the people (called "Hūrā-Hūrī").

Similarly, there are various customs and usages which can be traced to the fact that the roots of Sanskritic studies or Brahminical culture are deeply engrained in Mithilā, Paṇḍita Bhekhanātha Jhā has recently completed his monumental work on this subject after twenty years' research, called the *Vyavahāra-vijñāna*. I shall, however briefly describe one such Maithilā game where the principles of philosophy are used for dialogue : it is called "Ḍhehālela-chhoo"[13]. It begins with a number of boys throwing water on all sides. One of them takes up some water in his hand and asks : "What is in my hand ?" He is told : "Water". Then comes a second boy who also asks : "what is now in my hand" ? The answer given is "An egg". Another boy is made to ask : "who hatched this egg ?" and he receives the reply that "such and

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11. See M. M. Dr. Sir Gaṅgānātha Jha's Foreword to Kashi Mishra's edition of MM. Sacala Miśra's commentary on *Āryāsaptaśatī*, p. 11.

12. I am indebted to the late Pt. Baladeva Miśhra, Librarian, Mss. section Raj Darbhanga for his information.

13. See Pt. Baladeva Mishra, *Khela-mēn Brahma-Vidyā* (*Mithilāṅka* number of the *Mithilāmihira*, Darbhanga).

such a boy (hatched it)". Then follows the query : "Who will destroy it ?" and he answers "such and such a boy (will destroy it)". Then asks the original questioner, who kneads it ?" and they will not let him rest till the latter accepts defeat.

Now it is pointed out that the dialogue refers metaphorically to the first creation of Brahma, *viz.* water, then it describes the *Brahmāṇḍa* (cosmos) which can be destroyed by Śiva the great destroyer at the time of *Pralaya*, and lastly it describes the knocks and kicks (*Ḍhehā*) which a *jīva* gets in this world till he realizes his defeat and begins to strive after *"mukti"*. Such is also the case with plays like *Satagharā, dolabātī* and other Mithilā sports and pastimes which are based on some philosophical concept or the other.

The cumulative effect of this extraordinary devotion to the Sanskrit learning has been on the whole very fruitful in keeping the lights of scholarship and culture burning throughout the ages. Nevertheless, it must be said that it has also been responsible for the excessive orthodoxy and conservativeness that are found in Mithilā. "They (Maithilas) are guided by the mint, *anise* and cumin of the Brahminic Law in their everyday life[14]. They view everything that runs counter to it with great suspicion. The result has been that when the majority of Indian Provinces were giving new lease of life to their languages and literatures and customs by imbibing new influences with the study of Western languages and literatures, Maithilas had remained comparatively static for a long time. This explains the delay in the introduction of Journalism and various other forms of literature in Maithili. This also explains the almost complete neglect of the local language in the Educational and Administrative spheres of the Province today.

The exclusive and excessive cultivation of Sanskritic ideals is also responsible for the archaic, complex and comparatively synthetic character of the mother-tongue of Maithilas. The verb-system of Maithili is extremely complicated — unlike other Indo-Aryan languages, with a peculiar combination of honorofic and non-honorofic forms in the subject as well as in the object of the verb — its nouns continue to take inflexions, and its peculiar pronouns and certain other features preserve many obsolete links in the study of Modern Indo-Aryan Philology.

"The practice of using the pronoun of the third person with an appropriate verb for that of the second person in an extremely high honorific sense continues to this day, especially in the conver-

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14. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. V, Pt. 2.

sation that takes place between a son-in-law and elderly persons of his father.in-law's family and among the Kabirapanthis and servants class. This goes to suggest that originally, like Sanskrit *bhavan,* the word *apane,* a noun, was used in the sense of the pronoun of the second person with verbs of the third person, and gradually with the passage of time the idea of its being a noun or pronoun of the third person disappeared and it began to take, like *ahā,* the verbs of the first person.

"The word *apane* is also found in the nominative in the passive voice, an idiom in which the nominatives of different persons take the same form of verb.

"A very extreme form of high respect is indicated by using the proximate demonstrative pronouns for the second person. In this case the verb is of the third person. Such a use is generally confined to the *Kabīrapanthīs* of Mithila and to that of women and man of the higher classes in course of their conversation and vice-versa and that of servants and upper classes."[15]

Maithilī literature has been very closely associated with Sanskrit. In fact the earliest use of Maithilī words has been found in the form of equivalents of difficult Sanskrit words in early Sanskrit works such as Vācaspati Miśra's famous commentary *Bhāmatī* (9th century A.D.) or Rucipati Upādhyāya, Jagaddhara and Vidyāpati (14th -15th centuries). When we find Maithilī emerging as the leading literary language of the whole of Eastern India, it was Jayadeva's immortal Sanskrit lyrics in *Gītagovinda* that inspired the great lyric poets of Maithili—Jyotiriśvara and Vidyāpati. Indeed Vidyāpati's eminence as one inspired by Jayadeva's Sanskrit lyrics was regarded by the award of the title "Abhinava-Jayadeva" by his illustrious patron Mahārāja Śiva Siṃha of the Oinivār Dynasty (1414 A.D.). In Vidyāpati's love lyrics, moreover, we may see the very essence of Sanskrit love poetry. Kālidāsa, Amaru, Govardhana, and other Sanskrit poets of love have provided images and themes to Vidyāpati and his followers through the ages. Often one may find allusions and such borrowed images taken for granted by Vidyāpati and one may not follow the argument of the poems if one does not remember the Sanskrit poetic conventions and images, and if one remembers them one's enjoyment of their diction and argument is immensely enhanced.

In the middle period of Maithilī literature, Maithilī poets began introducing Maithilī translations of Sanskrit verses in the dramas. Soon they introduced independent Maithilī songs also in form of the dialogues or introduction of various characters when

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15. Dr. Subhadra Jha, *Formation of Maithili Language.*

they make their appearance. In course of time Maithilī prose was also introduced and both in Mithilā and Nepal wholly vernacular plays came to be written. This is how the great Kīrtaniyā Drama of Maithilī was brought into being. In the secluded Hindu courts of Mithilā and Nepal Maithilī could thus develop a new stage and a new dramatic tradition different from that of the Sanskrit drama. In subject-matter of "regular" and "irregular" Maithilī dramas the various Purāṇas and Epics of Sanskrit have provided the material. In the 18th century, Manabodha began a tradition of condensed translation of Sanskrit Purāṇas in long poems. Manabodha produced the entire ʃ*Harivaṁśa* in 18 chapters only, and in the 20th century Candā Jhā wrote the *Rāmāyaṇa* condensing *Adhyātma Rāmāyana*. Such long poems made a great impression on the Maithilī readers. More effective than this has been the revival of Modern Maithili literature by a series of translations and adaptation of Sanskrit Purāṇas in the 20th century. Of course, in modern times foreign languages and sister Indian languages have also provided inspiration. But the work of translation from Sanskrit has not been given up. Almost all important Sanskrit classics have today been translated or adopted into Maithilī, and some very abstruse and difficult philosophical texts have been also rendered into Maithili e.g. Śrīharṣa's *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍakhādya* and Udayanācārya's *Kiraṇāvalī,* the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* Upaniṣad and the *Brahmasūtra* along with detailed commentaries.

In the end it may be said that like many Modern Indian literatures Maithili has writers who follow the forms of Sanskrit literature closely. Not only the plots and themes are from Sanskrit, the imagery, the prosody and the diction were basically associated with Sanskrit and Prākṛt till recently, and the treatment of subjects was frequently on the lines of Sanskrit classics; but also the style of early scholarly works in Sanskrit is perpetuated in several ways. Thus, the greatest *Grammatical Treatise* in Maithili today by Pandit Dinabandhu Jhā is written in *Sutra*-form and has a long *Dhātupāṭha* attached to it in the Pāṇinian manner; the Maithilī Dictionary compiled by the Editor of Mithilāmihira is on the lines of the *Amarakośa* and lastly such types as the *Mahākāvyas* and *Khaṇḍa-kāvyas* and *Campūs* are still the common forms in which quite a sizable number of poets in Maithilī take pride. Even the pious Folk Tales (particularly the *Vratakathās*) are inspired by the ideals of Sanskrit works, Purāṇas and Epics. There is a very old custom in Mithilā of obeying a strict procedure of writing letters in Sanskrit: Vidyāpati, Vararuci, Ratnapāṇi and several others have written hand-books on letter-writing in Sanskrit. In special the letters of invitations on all social and religious occasions are well

graded to suit all ranks and relations of the host. Now this has a counter-part in the numerous specimens of letters in Maithilī which form the bulk of medieval Maithili prose.

In one way the literature of Maithilī has suffered very much by the high esteem in which Sanskrit has been held in Mithilā. The Sanskrit scholars have always considered Maithilī as the Apabhramśa language and therefore only fit to embody light literature. This is why we had in the past rarely any serious or scholarly writing in Maithilī. The fit vehicle for it was Sanskrit alone. It is only now that people are prepared to write serious works also in the vernacular. Of course, this meant also that the less scholarly of the Brahmins, the Kāyasthas and other classes of society took greater interest in cultivating Maithilī literature, and have thus balanced the otherwise over-burdening of the language with models and ideas of Sanskrit literature, and have ultimately brought it nearer the masses than could otherwise have been possible with its courtly and aristocratic patronage in the past.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE
MAITHILĪ LITERATURE

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Mithilā is an old country. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (1000-600 B. C.) refers to its boundaries and states that the river Sadānīrā divided the kingdoms of Videha and Kośala. Mithilā of to-day was known by the name of Videha in the *Purāṇas* and the epics. In the *Bṛhad-Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (5th Cent.) twelve names of this land are mentioned.

मिथिला तैरभुक्तिश्च वैदेही नैमिकाननम् ।

ज्ञानशीलं कृपापीठं स्वर्णलाङ्गलपद्धतिः ॥

जानकीजन्मभूमिश्च निरपेक्षा विकल्मषा ।

रामानन्दकरी विश्वभावनी नित्यमंगला ।

इति द्वादशनामानि मिथिलायाः श्रुतानि वै ॥

Of these Videha, Mithilā and Tirhut are the names most widely used, Videha being the earliest. The land borrowed the name of king Videha Māthava, its ruler, who brought Agni, performed sacrifice and made the region holy and happy. The capital city of Videha, the modern Janakapur in Nepāl territory was perhaps given the name of Mithilā. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*, the name originated from its king Mithi. It is derived from √ Manth = to churn and explains as मथ्यन्ते रिपवो यत्र सा मिथिला, that is, the place where enemies are vanquished.

The geographical boundaries commonly given for Mithilā are sharply defined consisting of the Himālayas on the north, the Ganges on the south and the Gaṇḍak and the Kośī on the west and east respectively. It is to be noted that the northern and southern boundaries are of special significance. It is not only that the Himālayas and the Ganges are two of the most sacred geographical

symbols of Hinduism, but the Ganges has historically represented a boundry against competing religious practices from the south. Over the millennia the land north of the Ganges has been a stronghold of *sanātana dharma*, Vedic orthodoxy. The language of this historical land is known as Maithilī, which is grammatically a distinct language with an independent literature.

Mithilā is famous for the study of the different branches of Sanskrit learning. In ancient times, it was the centre of Vedic and Upaniṣadic lore. The foundations of several systems of Indian philosophy were laid here. Maithilī literature has been undoubtedly influenced by Sanskrit. Almost all notable writers of Maithilī literature were well-versed in Sanskrit. They followed the lines of Sanskrit literature closely. Not only has the subject-matter been taken from Sanskrit, the imagery, prosody and thought have also been taken. The Maithilī grammar has been written in Sūtra-form by Paṇḍita Dīnbandhu Jhā in the Pāṇinian style. Types of Sanskrit literature, *mahākāvya, khaṇḍa-kāvya, campūkāvya*, have been imitated. They have been inspired by the Sanskrit Purāṇas, and the epics.

In the following pages I propose to give a brief account of some important works of Maithilī which bear the clear imprints of Sanskrit literature and tradition.

1. The *Varṇa-ratnākara's* description of ocean is the oldest prose-work in Maithilī. It is of the 14th cent. and is preserved in a unique manuscript on palm-leaf in the library of the Asiatic society, Calcutta. The manuscript is written in old Maithilī characters. The author of this great work, Kaviśekharācārya Jyotirīśvara Ṭhākur is quite a well-known figure in Sanskrit also. He is the author of the Prahasana called *Dhūrtasamāgama* and the works on erotics— *Pañcasāyaka* and *Raṅgaśekhara*. *Dhūrtasamāgama* is quite a popular drama which has been published and mentioned in works on Sanskrit drama by European writers. From the prologue of the *Dhūrtasamāgama* we learn that Jyotirīśvara's father's name was Dhīreśvara ānd his grand-father was Rāmeśvara. He was in the court of Harisiṃhadeva, a king of the Karṇāṭa dynasty who defeated the Mohommedan invader, Sultān. Jyotirīśvara was an accomplished Sanskrit scholar and a successful writer. His work *Varṇa-ratnākara* is divided in Chapters called *kallolas* as follows :

1. Nagaravarṇana, 2. Nāyikāvarṇana, 3. Āsthānavarṇana, 4. Ṛtuvarṇana, 5. Prayāṇakavarṇana, 6. Bhaṭṭādivarṇana and 7. Śmaśānavarṇana.

This important prose work of Maithilī literature is written in a vernacular speech with *Tatsama* and *Tadbhava* forms of Sanskrit,

Much of its materials are taken from Sanskrit Purāṇas and epics. It is a book in the set pattern in the orthodox Sanskrit style cultivated by Bāṇa and others.

2. The most famous literary figure in Maithilī history and the central symbol is the great 15th cent. poet Vidyāpati. He was followed by a long line of poets who imitated his style and who maintained an unknown literary tradition for more than five centuries. He has many works to his credit written in Sanskrit, Apabhraṁśa and Maithilī. The *Padāvalī* of Vidyāpati is in pure Maithilī language and is preserved in several mss. in the libraries of Nepāl and Mithilā.

Vidyāpati was born in an age when Sanskrit was the language of culture and learning in Mithilā. He was a contemporary of renowned Sanskrit scholars, like Pakṣhadhara. Vidyāpati, however, took bold steps and began to write his songs in a language actually spoken by the people of his land. He tried to simplify Sanskrit which was getting difficult to be understood by a man of average learning. The secret of Vidyāpati's popularity lies in the fact that he brought the true delight of poetry to those who did not understand Sanskrit, especially the womenfolk. Vidyāpati has been kept alive in the throats of lacs of ladies all over Mithilā for five centuries.

The themes of Vidyāpati's songs may be classified as—1. songs depicting love, 2. songs of devotion to Lord Śiva and 3. songs appropriate for social functions like marriage and *upanayana*. His songs on the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are jewels of Indian lyric poetry. They exerted a tremendous influence on the lyrics of Bengal, Orissa and Assam. Vidyāpati is a poet of love and while writing love poetry, Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and the *Bhāgavata* were models to him. The influence of Sanskrit is no doubt great on his poetry which is clear when we compare his poetry with the Sanskrit authors who preceded him. It has been mentioned that while writing lyrics Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* was his model and rightly Vidyāpati has been called 'Abhinava Jayadeva'. He has made an abundant use of the figures of speech such as vakrokti, hyperbole, simile and metaphor, prevalent in Sanskrit. His imagery is influenced by the conventions of Sanskrit. The imagery is what is inherited from Sanskrit. A critical and comparative study of Vidyāpati shows that he has been greatly influenced by Sanskrit poets like Amaru, Govardhana, Bhāravi and Māgha.

3. In the 17th and 18th centuries many contributions were made to different forms of Maithilī litetature. Many scholars of Mithilā and Nepāl wrote dramas. They are written in Sanskrit

and Maithilī, generally the speeches are in Sanskrit and songs are in vernacular. Amongst these Umāpati deserves to be mentioned first. He lived in the court of Hariharadeva and belongs to the 17th cent. His drama, the *Pārijātaharaṇa* was published with an English translation by Sir George A. Grierson. This drama is based on the well-known Paurāṇic legend.

4. Mānabodha wrote the *Kṛṣṇa-janma* which was published by Grierson in 1882. It is written in pure and simple Maithilī language and narrates the story of the 10th Skandha of *Śrīmad Bhāgavata* of Vyāsa. Ramāpati's *Rukmiṇīsvayaṃvara*, Devananda's *Uṣāharaṇa* also deserve mention. Śrī Chandā Jhā's *Rāmāyaṇa* is the most famous of all works written in recent years. All these derive their themes from ancient Sanskrit sources, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Among the modern writers of Maithilī, names of Kaviśekhara Paṇḍit Badrīnāth Jhā, Tantranāth Jhā, Munshī Raghunandan Dās, Yātrī and Suman deserve mention. Kaviśekhara Paṇḍit Badrīnātha Jhā has composed the *Ekāvalīpariṇaya*, a Maithilī Mahākāvya in fifteen cantos. It strictly follows the conventions of Sanskrit *Mahākāvya* and is written in a language full of *tatsama* words. It contains descriptions of natural objects--the sun, the moon, the evening, the six seasons, the river, the hermitage etc. in conformity with the rules laid down by Sanskrit rhetoricians. Sanskrit has thus exercised its patent influence on Maithilī literature.

INFLUENCE OF THE MEGHADŪTA ON MALAYALAM LITERATURE

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Poetry has always remained an effective, attractive and appealing medium for sending messages to the beloved. The fact that Ādikavi Vālmīki himself used it speaks for itself. A new dimension was however, given to *Sandeśa Kāvyas* (message-poems) with Mahākavi Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam*. The sigh of the Yakṣa eking his existence on the sacred rocky terrain of Rāmagiri—a sigh burning with passionate longing, moistened with tears yet fragrant with fond nostalgia shook the poetic world as never before. History gave the role to the poets of regional language to develop the *Sandeśa-Kāvya* as a regular class of poems. This is illustrated by Malayalam literature also.

The earliest *Sandeśa Kāvyas* of Kerala were not certainly modelled on Kālidāsa's work. Popularly known as 'Sandeśappāṭṭukal' (message songs), these were written by amorous young men to get the attention and favours of their beloveds who were flirtatious and rather free with their love. This later developed into a regular class of poetry (*Sandeśa Kāvya Prasthāna*) with explosive popularity. Hundreds of *Sandeśa Kāvyas* written during these centuries have been lost to posterity since no attempts were made to preserve them. The oldest among the *Sandeśa Kāvyas* of Kerala available to posterity is the '*Sukasandeśa*' written in Sanskrit by the gifted poet Lakṣmīdāsa.

Before commenting upon the *Sandeśa Kāvyas* of Kerala it will not be out of place to mention something about the society in which the poets flourished. Whatever might be the general economic conditions of the common man there existed an elite society which comprised the Nambūdiri Brahmins, the rulers of kingdoms and principalities, petty chieftains and affluent landlords. With assured incomes from estates or temples they had enough

time for literary pursuits and pleasing pastimes, amorous exercises getting precedence over anything else. So far as women were concerned, with the exception of ritual marriages prevalent among certain classes, it was a period of free love. The hetaerae had the pride of place in the society and were much sought after by princes and priests, poets and philosophers with equal fervour. They were well educated and trained in all artistic pursuits. Many of these 'geishas' of the middle ages were eulogised by poets and often accepted as consorts by some of the rulers of the period. With the enviably influential position enjoyed by the hetaerae it is but natural that poets often found in them the heroines of their compositions.

In *Suka Sandeśa* the heroine is the charming hetaera Raṅga-lakṣmī. It is supposed to have been written by poet Lakṣmīdāsa, possibly in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It faithfully follows the model of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam*, but the separation in this case is only in a dream. The author belonged to the "Karingampally Swaroopam", an affluent Brahmin family. As in many subsequent *Sandeśa Kāvyas*, the hero and the author are identical. While sleeping in the arms of the beautiful hetaera Raṅgalakṣmī on the terrace of his mansion at Trikkanamtilakam the hero is separated from her in a dream and finds himself in distant Rameśvaram. The poet chooses the Śuka (parrot) as the carrier of his fond message, giving the bird clear directions of the route and the text of his message. We get more than a bird's eye view of such places as Trivandrum, Quilon, Tiruvalla, Kaduthuruthy, Tripunithara, Trikariyoor, Mahodayapuram and Trikkanama-tilakam besides a panoramic view of the Periyār river. The pastime of the ladies of Mahodayapuram also finds ample expression in the poem. This reminds one of Kālidāsa's description of Ujjayinī. If any Sandeśa Kāvya has come within approachable distance of Kālidāsa's great composition it can be undoubtedly said that it is the 'Śuka' of Lakṣmīdāsa.

"Unnuneeli Sandeśa" which was written in the third quarter of the same century can easily get the pride of place among the Malayālam Sandeśa Kāvyas. It can also be assumed that this was the heyday of *Maṇipravāla Sandeśa Kāvyas* because the *Koka Sandeśa* which can be considered as a close rival to the 'Unnuneeli' must have been written within a reasonable span of time after the latter. It is an unfortunate fact that a large number of Sandeśa Kāvyas of this period is lost to posterity. Running into near about 240 *Ślokas*, 'Unnuneeli Sandeśa' is one of the most exquisite

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*Poetry in which Sanskrit and Malayālam words are blended together like coral and ruby.

literary productions in Malayalam. The story is purely imaginary but it is abundantly clear that the poet had pictured himself as the hero. While the hero is sleeping after his amoral exercises with his beloved on his chest a wicked female spirit, jealous and passionate, carries away the hero and proceeds south in an aerial route. When he suddenly wakes up to find himself in the clutches of a wicked spirit he recites the 'Narasimha Mantra' which had the power of frightening away the evil spirit. Unfortunately, when he escapes from her clutches and drops down near the Padmanābha Temple of Trivandrum he sustains physical injury and finds it impossible to return to his beloved very soon. While groping about with a confused mind the dawn breaks out in all its glory. The description of the vanishing night, the stars losing their lustre and the glory of the approaching dawn is remarkably beautiful. It reminds one of Kālidāsa. Luckily, he chances to meet his intimate friend Āditya Vermā of the Quilon royal family who had come to the temple for his usual worship. Here is now a situation where a human being is himself sent as the massenger of love to the heroine. The royal messanger is requested to make a journey which will take him three days to go to Mundakkal where the beautiful hetaera Unnuneeli who is supposed to have descended from the clan of the celestial dancer Urvaśī, had her abode. A clear direction is given of the path to be followed but the route not being aerial, the description also takes a new dimension. Quite often, the descriptions of landscapes are associated with exotic ideas. The moonrise on the Aṣṭamudi Lake with dusk descending on it like unbraided tresses of hair finds comparison with the beloved in the excitement of dalliance. The description of the heroine is also on the model of Kālidāsa, but there are inevitable variations, the heroine being a hetaera.

In *Koka Sandeśa*, also written near about the same time, we have been able to recover only less than 100 Ślokas. The author seems to belong to South Malabar. Every grain of sand at Ponnani is familiar to him and his descriptions are delightful. Here also, the separation is not real. While in the arms of his beloved the hero gets into a fainting fit. On recovering, he tells his beloved that he felt he was separated from her and taken to a place in South Malabar by a spirit. From there he sent a message through a Cakravāka bird. The route is described in meticulous detail and the imagery here is intimately domestic. The description of the mouth of the Periyār river is unforgettable.

Hundreds of Sandeśa Kāvyas followed Śuka-Unnuneeli-Koka trinity. The situations of separation differed in each case. Some-

times, it was real and at other times made up for the sake of sending the message. Almost invariably the message is sent by the hero to the beloved, but there are rare cases in which messages were sent by the heroine. In *Kokila-sandesam*, the hero was moved away to Kāñcīpuram from Marakkara by the mischievous Varuna Purandhris. In *Mayūradūtam* of Udaya Śrīkantha the prince of Manakkulam and his beloved Tachapalli Itti Umā are mistaken for Lord Śiva and Pārvatī making love. Indignant at the mockery indulged in by the hero they cursed him and brought him to Trivandrum. In *Bhramara-dūta* which is a blind imitation of *Unnuneelisandesum* the hero is carried away by a Yakṣa to Trivandrum. In *Subhaga-sandesum* the hero is carried away from Trichur to Kanyākumārī.

Imitation is said to be the best form of flattery. In that case, the poets of Kerala have paid most flattering tributes to the author of *Meghadūtam* because they have blindly imitated him in all the Sandeśa Kāvyas. The Yakṣa tells the messenger that he should first understand the route to be followed. This he does in the first part. Subsequently he is to listen to the fond message itself. This is done in the second part. All the Sandeśa Kāvyas, just like *Meghadūtam* are written in two parts, the first one dealing with the circumstances of the separation itself and the route to be followed by the messenger. In the second part, the heroine is introduced along with the message meant for her. In most cases, the 'Mandākrāntā metre so appropriately selected by Kālidāsa to suit the situation has been adopted by the Kerala poets. Except in *Hamsasandeśa* and *Cātaka-sandeśa*, the Vipralambha is the dominating *Rasa* in all the Sandeśa Kāvyas. In the former, the prevalent Rasas are Śānti and Bhakti and the latter is written in the form of a panegyric address to Rama Verma Maharaja of Travancore by a Namboodiri. Princes and parrots, animals, birds and insects of various types were imposed upon by the later poets.

An innovation brought in by Lakṣmīdāsa in his *Śuka-sandeśa* was that the separation was only in a dream. This seems to have influenced some of the later poets occasionally. Bringing about such a situation might mean that the poet wanted us to understand that the love drama as well as other material themes were only a transient dream. It might also be that the poet wanted to impress upon the readers the unbearability of separation even in a dream. When we consider the nature of the society in which the poets flourished the latter conclusion arrived at by some of the commentators appears to be less controversial.

While Kālidāsa's heroine was a model of chastity and the Yakṣa a devoted and faithful husband, the Kerala poets were not

prepared to accept these norms. The hetaerae were the central figures not only in Sandeśa Kāvyas but in other compositions too. These were well-educated women and were great exponents of all forms of fine arts. Possibly, upto the eighteenth century, women other than the hetaerae did not venture to be educated in these sciences. These women who practised sacred prostitution were having a position of pre-eminence in the society. Unniyāchi, a Devadāsī of the thirteenth century, was married by Raja Kerala Verma of Venādu. A hetaera of the same temple, Kuttati, was married by Odanadu Kerala Verma in the fourteenth century. The hetaera Unniyadi became the consort of the prince of Perumpadappu. Māracemantikā, the heroine of *Mayūradūtam* is depicted as "Veśyākularatnam" (the gem among prostitutes) and was the wife of the Raja of Manakkulam. Poets did not even want to call her by the real name—Tachapalli Itti Umā, but gave her a sophisticated and meaningful name—Māracemantikā.

Many of the gifted poets of this period were the constant patrons of these hetaerae. Great poets like Pūnam, Dāmodara Cākkiār and Śankara Wārriar wasted quite a bit of their talents by composing poems in praise of these women. Śankara, the author of *Srī-Krishnavijayam*, had as his paramour the celebrated courtesan Mānavī Menakā.

It was at a time when the situation had gone to such an extent that the *Candrotsava* was written by one of the most talented poets whose name should unfortunately remain unknown for ever. Written about 1500 A.D., it is an exceptionally brilliant composition. Irony and sarcasm are so subtle while the author ridicules the entire stratum of the elite who were doing nothing but hanging round the hetaera's salons. The hetaera Medinī Veṇṇilāvu is celebrating the moon festival at a village near Trichur. There is a grand assembly of all the famed hetaerae. The poet conveniently and purposely ignores the lapse of time to introduce them. The renowned Namboodiri Brahmins, many of them well known poets, rulers and chieftains assembled there for the Candrotsava ready to attend to the slightest wishes of the hetaera. The hetaerae came physically carried on the shoulders of aristocratic young men. The great poet Pūnam carried on his shoulders the beloved Māralekhā. A ridiculous situation indeed !

After the age of *Candrotsava*, no work of notable quality seems to have appeared among the *Sandeśa Kāvyas* till *Mayūra sandeśa* by Kerala Varma Koilthampuran in the present century. Hundreds of Kāvyas have been written but their quality had become worse than mediocre. In *Mayūra-sandeśa* the situation of separation

is real and a historical fact. From Haripad Kerala Varma sends a message to his beloved at Trivandrum. By the beauty of its sentiments, the melody of its verse and the intensity of feelings to which it gives expression *Mayūra-sandeśa* reached a fairly high water mark of Malayalam Poetry. Mention may also be made of the *Bhūpa-sandeśa* by Sirdar K.M. Panicker and the *XIth* Canto of *Umā Keralam* by Ulloor which is in the form of a Sandeśa Kāvya.

Though many of the *Sandeśa Kāvyas* written after *Candrotsava* are nothing but trash it cannot be denied that the really good ones have enriched Malayalam literature to a great extent.

Among the *Maṇipravāla Kāvyas* of Malayalam literature some of these have a distinct place. It is also possibly true that Kālidāsa's *Meghadūtam* has influenced Malayalam poetry more than that of any other Indian language. Though they have tried what may practically be called a blind imitation many of the poets have been able to do it with a touch of genius. The *Sandeśa Kāvyas* can certainly claim a unique place among the *Maṇipravāla Kāvyas* of Malayalam literature.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON MALAYALAM
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Malayalam, the mother-tongue of the people of Kerala.

Malayalam is the mother-tongue of more than 25 million people living mainly in the State of Kerala on the West Coast of India. A narrow coastal strip lying in between the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west, Kerala was supposed to extend from Gokarṇa in the north to Kanyākumārī in the south. However, the mother-tongue of the people inhabiting the northern half of this region is not Malayalam, but Tuḷu. Having been conquered and administered for long by the rulers of Mysore, this Tuḷu area came under heavy influence of Kannada which became the language of administration and education here. Discarding its former script which it shared with Malayalam, Tuḷu adopted the Kannada script. This completed the cultural separation of the Tuḷu area from the Malayalam area, and naturally at the time of the re-organisation of States, the Tuḷu area was finally incorporated in Mysore. Kasaragode thus became the northern boundary of Kerala.

The Kanyākumārī area in the South had always been under strong Tamil influence, because here the western Ghats tail off to the plains with the result that no natural barrier separates the Tamil-speaking area from the Malayalam-speaking area at this point. Since Malayalam developed as a medium of literary expression only comparatively late, Tamil remained among large sections of the people of Kerala as the medium of higher education and administration. This was especially true in the southern half of the native State of Travancore which was comparatively less amenable to Brahminic influence. Consequently, at the time of the re-organisa-

tion of States the Kanyākumārī area was ceded to the State of Tamil Nadu on the basis of the numerical preponderence of Tamil-speaking people, and the small town Pāṟaśśala in the Trivandrum District came to be the boundary of Kerala in the South.

The majority of the Malayalam-speaking people are now densely packed in this small State of Kerala with an area of 38,900 sq.k.m. and a population of 2,12,80,397 (1971). 60.16 of this population is literate. Malayalam-speaking people can also be found in all States of India, in Pakistan and Bangla Desh and also in the former European colonies of Asia and Africa. Outside Kerala they are scattered among the local population and do not form anywhere sizable blocs of linguistic minorities.

The relationship between Malayalam and Tamil.

Geneologically Malayalam is a Dravidian language and is closely related to Tamil. Malayalam developed from an old Tamil dialect current on the West Coast towards the 10th century A.D. From this period onwards we have epigraphical records which enable us to trace its development, while the earliest literary compositions in Malayalam date from the 12th century A.D.

There are various theories as regards when and how Malayalam separated from Tamil and assumed the status of an independent language, but all are agreed on the circumstances which led to this decisive break. The separation was solely due to the overwhelming influence exerted by Sanskrit. Owing to this influence the dialect of the West Coast cut its connections with the mainsprings of Tamil and started on its career as an independent language.

This transformation might have been slow and might have stretched over several centuries. We have absolutely no record of this formative period in the career of the language. The earlier epigraphical records are all in the VATTEZHUTHU script which provides graphemes only for the Tamil phonemes. Hence we cannot be absolutely sure that the written forms were also current in the speech of the people, for conscious attempts by scribes at approxima-tion to standard Tamil forms cannot be ruled out from these inscriptions. Still, the increasing use of specifically Sanskritic phonemes and abandoning of personal and numeral terminations in verbal forms, which together with progressive nasalisation and palatalisation as well as a preference for certain forms of case endings and primary (kṛt) suffixes no longer in vogue in standard Tamil, are evident in these inscriptions. And in these features the influence of Sanskrit is clearly discernible.

When we come to the earliest literary works, the transformation of Malayalam into an independent language is fully achieved. The earliest available literary composition in Malayalam is perhaps BHĀṢĀKAUṬALĪYAM, a prose commentary on Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra*, written, most likely, in the 12th century A.D. The current script of Malayalam, which is an adaptation of the Tamil Grantha script introduced by Pallavas for writing down Sanskrit works and commentaries on Sanskrit works in South Indian Languages, has been used in writing this work. This Malayalam script, which incidentally is closely allied with the Singalese script current in Ceylon, provides distinct graphemes for all the phonemes in Sanskrit and Tamil. The use of this script facilitated not only orthographically correct representation of Sanskrit words in Malayalam, but reversely also approximation of many purely Malayalam words to somewhat similar Sanskrit words. This "Sanskritisation" of Malayalam words gained quick currency. Use of Sanskrit terminations along with purely Dravidian stems was the next logical step. However this is found only rarely, and was soon discarded.

Maṇi-pravāḷa Style.

All this contributed to the development of the so-called Maṇi-pravāla style. Use of local dialects along with Sanskrit has been a very ancient practice on the Indian Stage, as testified by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Abhinavagupta in his commentary on it. Abhinavagupta has pointedly referred to the *Maṇi-parvāla* style current in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Even before Abhinavagupta the term *Maṇi-pravāla* has been used by Jain authors, but the *Maṇi-pravāla* of the Jains seems to have been Sanskrit passages interspersed with passages of Prākṛt. Mixing of Sanskrit words with words of local languages in the same sentence must have been a later development, the application of the Grammatical devices of Sanskrit to the local dialects being the culmination of this process.

At the dawn of the history of Malayalam language, however, we find this mixed literary dialect of *Maṇi-pravālam* in its fullfledged form. The earliest use of this dialect must have been for presenting Sanskrit plays in temples in what is now known as the *Kūṭiyāṭṭam* style and for commenting on and expounding epics and scientific and philosophical works in Sanskrit. The problem of finding Malayalam equivalents to Sanskrit words was solved by indiscriminate borrowing from Sanskrit, with the result that the boundary line between Sanskrit and Malayalam got blurred to such an extent that all Sanskrit words with Malayalam terminations added to them were pronounced as Malayalam words by the author of LĪLĀTILAKAM, a 14th century work on the Grammar and Poetics of *Maṇi-pravāla*.

Sanskritisation in Kerala.

The intensive cultivation of Sanskrit in Kerala must have started even before the birth of Śrī Śaṅkara in the 8th century A.D. It continued for the succeeding 12 centuries without any interruption. Thus "Sanskritisation" in its widest meaning has been going on in this region for more than a millennium. Almost all available works in Sanskrit were collected, copied and critically studied by generation after generation. Most of these were also commented upon in Malayalam, for the medium of Sanskrit education had, from the earliest times, been the local language. Gradually Kerala almost forgot its Tamil heritage. So much so that even classics like *cilappatikāram*, composed by Keralites in Kerala went out of vogue in the region of their origin. It is only recently that we find a revival of interest in this Tamil heritage in Kerala.

During the long period of intensive cultivation of Sanskritic lore, certain families in Kerala developed into reputed Gurukulas specialising in particular branches of knowledge. The *Aṣṭa Vaidyas* or the eight families of Physicians and their numerous disciples kept the torch of *Āyurveda* burning. Original texts in Sanskrit were studied, but commentaries which supplemented the texts and practical manuals were mostly written in Malayalam. This was also the position in Astronomy-Astrology which was another vast field of knowledge to be systematically cultivated in Kerala. The study of *Vedas* and *Dharmaśāstras* was also not neglected. One of the earliest works in Malayalam is YĀGAM BHĀṢĀ, a manual on the performance of Vedic Sacrifices. There were also families specialising, generation after generation, in *Mīmāṁsā, Vyākaraṇa* and *Sāhitya*. There were communities entirely devoted to the enactment of Sanskrit plays, which also included expounding of epics and *Prabandhas* based on stories taken from epics, in temples. Even such specialities as Toxicology and Veterinary Science were not neglected.

One fact which deserves special mention in this connection is that this cultivation of Sanskritic lore was not confined to the Brahmins. All communities had free access to the secular part of the Sanskritic lore, while certain non-Brahmin communities specialised in teaching Sanskrit and the practising of Medicine and Astrology. These included communities considered as untouchables, Christians and Muslims.

System of Rural Education.

As education meant the exclusive study of Sanskrit texts, the entire system of rural education was Sanskrit-oriented. Well-to-do

families considered it a point of prestige to maintain teachers, who in their turn provided free education to those who cared for it. Boys and girls started with mastering Malayalam script by writing with fingers on sand spread on the ground. This was soon followed by practising writing on palm-leaves with an iron stylus. After mastering the scripts the students memorised a few *Stotras* in Sanskrit which served as material for oral practice of correct pronunciation. The study of *Siddharūpa* (Sanskrit declensions and conjugations) and *Amarakośa* and the *Cāndra Vākyas* of Vararuci which provided the foundation for practical Astronomy was the next stage. After this those who wanted to continue took up the study of a few cantoes of the three Easy *Kāvyas* (*Laghutrayī*—Śrī Kṛṣṇa Vilāsa of Sukumāra, *Raghuvaṁśa* and *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa) and the three difficult *Kāvyas* (Bṛhattrayī—*Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha, *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi and Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrī Harṣa). The system followed was a kind of integrated course. The students were required to memorise the verses, separate the *Padas*, decline fully every *Subanta* and conjugate fully every *Tiṅanta*, find out the prose order by the Ākāṅkṣā method, repeat the prose order in Malayalam, dissolve the compounds and state the meaning of every word and finally explain the idea contained in the Śloka in Malayalam. Thus gaining sufficient mastery over the language, students selected their fields of specialisation. The system was liberal, both from the point of the opportunities it provided to all sections of the community and from the point of view of the variety of subjects brought under it. This was the general pattern of education in Kerala until the modern system of school education came into vogue.

Influence of Sanskrit on Malayalam Literature.

The influence of Sanskrit is stamped as a birthmark on the Malayalam literature. The most important of our early works are either translations of *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and *Bhāgavata* or based on these three classics. Our medieval literature is mainly Campūs in *Maṇipravāla* style expounding the stories of Rāma or Kṛṣṇa.

In the latter half of the 19th century A. D. when there was a renaissance in Malayalam literature, an era of neo-classicism was the result and a flood of translations of Sanskrit *Kāvyas* and Plays inundated the literary landscape. The same work was translated by many. To cite an example, more than a dozen translations of Kālidāsa's Abhijñāna Śākuntala has been published in Malayalam. Literary genres in Sanskrit supplied the models which were indis-

criminately imitated by writers. Even the best of our poets composed huge *Mahākāvyas* which no one bothers to read now. This state of affairs continued till nineteen thirties, when the attraction of the western models began to present a powerful alternative.

The points emerging from the above discussion may now be summarised. Though geneologically belonging to the Dravidian group of languages, Malayalam has been profoundly influenced by Sanskrit both phonetically and morphologically. Besides, almost the entire lexical stock of Sanskrit has been incorporated into Malayalam. The use of Sanskrit words, i. e. nouns and verbs and indeclinables, with Sanskrit terminations, has been very common. Now this sort of excess has been bridled, and Sanskrit case-endings are used in Malayalam only in certain exceptional instances. But there is absolutely no ban on the use of Sanskrit loan words with Malayalam case-markers. And it appears that when necessary Malayalees prefer to take a Sanskrit word on loan rather than coin a new word from a Malayalam root. Recently there has been a massive exercise in the creation of a technical and scientific terminology in Malayalam, and it was found that the people of Kerala prefer a Sanskrit-based terminology with possibility of All-India currency rather than creation of purely Malayalam words coined from Dravidian roots. This provides a marked contrast to the practice in Tamil Nadu where the tendency is to discontinue the use of even simple Sanskrit words and to coin instead recondite words of pure Tamil origin.

The literature in Malayalam has been moulded, for centuries, after models in Sanskrit. Not only the literary norms, but also figures of speech, conventions and even the most popular metres have been those of Sanskrit. Even though this situation has changed of late, and the main models are now supplied by the more relevant literatures of the West, and in the realm of expression pedantly has been replaced by simple native idiom, the rich Sanskritic tradition is still very powerful and it can be safely assumed that this tradition will continue to exert its beneficial influence for as long a time as we can envisage.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON MALAYALAM

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The Southern part of India was, from very ancient days, known as the *Draviḍa* Country. The *Mahābhārata* speaks of Dramiḍas in several places द्रमिडा: पुरुषा राजन्; द्रमिडी योषितां वरा; द्रमिडेरावृता ययौ etc. Aśoka, the great Buddhist Emperor speaks of the Cola and Kerala-Putra as the southernmost parts of India. The word Draviḍa or Dramiḍa can linguistically be recognised as the Sanskritised form of Tamil, i. e., Tamil > Tamila > Damila > Dramila > Draviḍa > Dramiḍa. Kumārila, the great Sanskrit scholar of the 7th Century, speaks of Āndhras : (आन्ध्र द्राविड़भाषा म्लेच्छ भाषा) Draviḍas as speaking the *mleccha* languages.

In the literature of the Sangam Age we find that the Dravidian Country was divided into the North Dravidian and the South Dravidian. The North Dravidian portion included the Karnatic and Andhra regions and the South Dravidian part constituted the three regions Cera, Pāṇḍya and Cola. This portion (i. e. Southern Dravidian) was also called Tamilakam, which included the above three southern kingdoms. In the Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiam* written before the first century B. C., it is mentioned that Tamil is the spoken language of the country between Cape Comorin and the Tirupati Hills : "Vaḍa Venkatam Ten Kumari-yāyiḍai Tamizkuru Nallulakam."

Kannada and Telugu separated from the ancient Dravidian much before Malayalam separated as a distinct language. In the Sangam Age, ancient Tamil which was current in the Pāṇḍya country round about Madura, was called Centamil; ancient Tamil or Pure Tamil and the Tamil of the other two countries (i. e. Cera and Cola) as Koṭum Tamil, Mixed Tamil. Cera was the original name of the country now called Kerala and we have every reason to believe that this mixed form of Tamil was the common

language of the Cera country for a long time even after the Christian Era.

When and at what time Malayalam seperated out as a distinct language from Tamil cannot be said decisively ; but almost all scholars in this line such as Dr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, U. V. Swaminatha Iyer, M. Raghava Iyengar, Messrs K. N. Shiv Raj Pillay, Vayyapuri Pillay, Ullur S. Parmesehwara Iyer, A.R. Rajaraja Varma etc., are agreed on this point that the present-day Malayalam emerged out of what is called Mixed Tamil in the literature of the Sangam Age.

The earliest specimen of written Malayalam is found in a few copper-plate inscriptions belonging to the four centuries from about 885 A.D. to 1320 A.D. The language of these inscriptions is a good guide to the development of the Malayalam language. The oldest copper-plate is assigned to 885 A.D. and pertains to a King of Quilon making a grant of lands and other facilities to certain Jewish settlers in Kerala. It begins as follows :—

Aruliccaita sakābdam āyirattu Orunuṟṟiyézupattu munnil māl Cellānin kollam nānuṟṟiyirupatti ārāmatu mēṭa jñayar pattonpatu cenna vyāzāzcayum mulavum aparapakṣattu pañcamiyum śivānityayogavum peṟṟayinnāḍu Venāḍu vāzuaruḷunā...z...ppettur śrī vīra ilara iṟaya mātyāṇḍavarma śiṟavā...etc.

This language is more akin to the Tamil of the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite saints whose songs are available in Tamil.

The earliest literary work in Malayalam that has been discovered so far is the poem called *Rāmacarita*. The author of this work is not known and its date is supposed to be the beginning of the 13th Century. Its language is so closely related to Tamil that, even today, scholars argue as to whether it is a Tamil work or a Malayalam work.

The next work of importance that we have in Malayalam is a prose translation of Kauṭilya's *Artha-Śastra*. Here also, there is a large number of Tamil words and usages ; but the struggle to cast off the influence of Tamil is very pronounced as will be seen from the following quotation :

Adhyakṣar kāṇ pālvarum kālamāṟṟitu. Aṭuttiṅgaḷ varuvitu. Anṟu vaṅṅu kaṇakku kaṭṭuvatum ceytu. Vyayam ceytu miñjiya dhanam vaippiccitum ceyvītu. Mutalu celavu ezutiya kaṇakku peṭṭiyiliṭṭu ilaicciccakondvaruvitu. Avarāḷe kāṭṭumiḍattuninṟu puṟattupōkātē vāṭulāppiccatu.

This is a specimen of the technical language used in translation and commentaries in the 13th Century.

8. Next we have got works like *Āṭṭaprakāram* and *Krama-dīpika* which give certain rules and directions for the Cākyārs for the performance of Sanskrit plays called '*Kūḍiyāṭṭam*.' Here is an innovation peculiar to Kerala in the stage-performance of Sanskrit dramas. The dramas selected for this purpose are all in Sanskrit like the Subhadrā-dhanañjaya, Nāgānanda, Mattavilāsa-prahasana, altogether thirteen plays.

These *Āṭṭaprakārams* appear to have been written by different hands in different ages and they also provide useful material for studying the development of the language and the influence of Sanskrit on it.

Next in chronological order come certain verses written in the *Maṇipravāla* style, composed in Sanskrit metres. The word *Maṇipravāla* itself means a 'mixture of jewel and pearl', meaning thereby Sanskrit and the regional language. *Vaiśikatantra* is one such work containing about 200 verses. This is full of not only Sanskrit words but a number of figures of speech according to the Sanskrit rhetoricians. Here is a specimen taken at random.

Tāruṇyamāvatu sulē taruṇījanānām Mārāstramē mazanilāvatu nityamalla Annārjitēna Mutalkoṇḍu kaṭakkavēṇḍum Vārdhakya-menmatoruvan kaṭaḷuṇḍumunpil.

Coming to the 14th Century, we find the three 'Niraṇam' poets vying with each other in their translations of the *Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa, Bhāgavata* and *Bhagvad-Gītā*. Any of these works will show the increasing influence of Sanskrit in their language. There is no dearth of long Sanskrit compounds such as कुन्तशरासन बाण निशात कुठारायुध प्रतिनिर्मल भस्मोच्छूलिकाय and whole this in Sanskrit like पुष्करपत्रमनोहरनेत्रे पूर्णशशांकनिभाननरम्ये, नारायणचरितं व्यासोक्तं नानावेद-पुराणागारं अव्यक्तं परिपूर्णंमहं पुनरखिलचराचरभूतम्.

The only difference in these poets is their use of Tamil metres instead of Sanskrit metres.

During the same period, i.e. the end of the 14th Century, we have a number of stotras, songs, translations of Purāṇas and some astrological and medical works. To illustrate the increasing influence of Sanskrit one or two extracts are given below :— उदयपुर विलासोत्तं समच्ची सुतायाः भवनमवनिसारं काण्मुतेन्सास्यमेव । उदयगिरि शिवाग्रात् पादमोट्टै रे वञ्चिट्टुरियरिगमन चे ने रिनानेष चन्द: । This is a description of the rise of the moon which is a common subject for all poets. The prose translation of *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇa begins thus,

Śrī Vēdavy.. · · · aruļiccaita Brahmāṇḍa purāṇattil
madhyabhāgattē itā jñan tamizay '. . ḍapyikkunnēn.

The anonymous author states that he proposes to translate
into Tamil the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*. This is very important as it
clearly means that even by the 14th Century Malayalam was still
considered a part of the Tamil language.

An important literary work based on the '*Meghadūta*' of
Kālidāsa is the *Uṇ. . .l. . . . .*. It is divided, just like Kālidāsa's
original, into two parts containing 136 and 101 verses, respectively.
One verse at random is given below as specimen of its language:-

श्राश्थिश्रेणित कुमिगनफःनंनल्लुञ्चान् पारिजानम्

विद्वत्पादाक्वर दिनकरं विश्वलोकैकदीपम् ।

मुक्तिष्वकूलं निश्वियारन्कैतु चक्रायमाणम्

कल्लुक्कार्मंनुतुरि कृष्णिगार मार्गे काण्क सिन्ने   (७६ पू०या०)

A similar work which is also attributed to the same period is
the '*Kokasandēśa.*

Next we have three Campūs, mixture of poems with prose.
The subject matter of these is not taken or based on the Purāṇas or
other works but they describe the stories of certain noted women of
that age. They are : -Uṇṇiyaccicaritam, Uṇṇicirutēvīcaritam.

These are the forerunners of the Campūs in the Malayalam
literature. The verses are in Sanskrit metres but the prose pieces
are a particular type of Daṇḍaka which has a musical cadence and
because of this more Sanskrit words and compounds are found in
prose than in the verses, e.g. :—

Tasmin Vismayanīye dēśe kasminnapi ca virājati mēnmēl
alakēva svayam `va'īṭi ppral kōyil kunru viduṣā lankēvātura
rakṣōdārā bhogavativa bhujanga niṣevyā guptamanōhara nandana-
mānyā kevalamārāśiyeppōl.

The emergence of a grammatical work called *Līlatilaka* by the
end of the 14th Century showed that by that time a large number of
works in the *maṇipravāla* style had begun to be written, thus neces-
sitating the codification of the grammar for the same. This work
by an unknown author is unique and the mere fact that it is written
in Sanskrit is proof enough to show the dependence of the Malaya-
lam language on Sanskrit for its development. It is divided into
chapters or *śilpas* and consists of (i) rules in the *sūtra-style*, (ii) *Vṛtti*
or short explanation of the *sūtras*, and (iii) examples for these rules.
The first chapter defines what *maṇipravala* is and, incidentally, men-
tions the difference between Malayalam and Tamil. The origin of

the language and the chief characteristics of the case-endings are explained in the 2nd chapter. The 3rd chapter deals with rules of *Sandhi*; *Kāvya Dośas*, *Maṇipravāla*, *Guṇas*, *Sabdālaṅkāra* and *Arthā-laṅkāras* form the subject matter of the next four chapters. The last and the eighth chapter expounds Rasas. The author has largely drawn upon standard authors and works such as Bhāmaha, Daṇ-ḍin, Vāmana, *Kāvyaprakāśa*, and *Dhvanyāloka* for writing the *Sūtras* and the *Vṛtti* both of which are in Sanskrit. The illustrations are all in Malayalam and drawn from standard works current at that time, most of which are, perhaps, now lost. The work reveals the author's deep knowledge of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭadhyāyī* and its commentaries, the *Kāśikā* and *Rūpāvatāra*, as also his proficiency in the Prākṛt, Tamil and Canarese languages. He quotes from Kālidāsa, Harṣa, Māgha and Ānandavardhana among others. It is interesting to note that the author has denounced the use of Sanskrit case-endings with Malayalam nouns like Pupūgiec etc., and Sanskrit verbal termina-tions with Malayalam works. This clearly shows that such usages were common during that period which was an earlier age. The object of writer, but humurous criticism by a poet called Tholam who is supposed to have ridiculed the users of such forms in the following verse :

Maṇḍanti pānthanivahāḥ paṭibandhapēṭyā
kākāḥ karañju maramēṛiyuraṅgayanti
Tāṅpūṭṭayanti takarāḥ karikoptaśēṣe
Minnāminuṅinivahāśca minuñayanti,

An epoch-making work assigned to the 15th Century is the famous *Kṛṣṇa-Gā thā* by *Cheruseri* Nampūtiri, It is a summary of the 10th Skandha of *Bhāgavata* and is written in *Maṇipravāla* style in Malayalam metres. Though the author states at the outset that he is going to tell the story of Kṛṣṇa in Bhāshā (i. e. Malayalam) the influence of Sanskrit usages and figures of speech can be noticed in every line. In many Nair families in Malabar there are even today old women who can repeat by heart the whole poem. There are many imitations of the *Kṛṣṇa Gāthā* but none so popular.

The end of the 15th Century heralds a series of compositions called *Campūs* in mixed prose & verse, of which the *Rāmāyaṇa Campū* is supposed to be the first. This is followed by a *Bhārata Campū*, *Rāvaṇavijaya*, *Rukmaṇī swayaṁvara*, *Pārijāta-haraṇa* and a host of others, all based on Purāṇic stories. This period has some-times been named as the era of *Campūs*.

In the same century, the prose literature produced consists of translations of *Bhāgavata*, some ritualistic and astrological works and commentaries on Kāvyas like *Yudhiṣṭhira Vijaya* and Stotras like

Saundaryalaharī and *Mukundamālā,* on Vedanta Works like *Śaṅkarabhāṣya* and *Tattvamasi,* on music like *Saṅgīta Sudhākara,* on grammer like *Rupāvatāra.* Earlier and later commentaries on such important works like Bhāskarīya and *Horā* in astrology, *Tantrasam-uachrya* on temple architecture, *Praiṣam,* *Āsāucam* on rituals. *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* and *Yoga-Sarmachaya* in medicine indicate the interest of the people of those days was not confined to liteiature but extended to scientific and philosophical subjects.

All these and other important works now available in Malayalam before the end of the 15th Cantury show the remarkably increasing influence of Sanskrit and the decreasing influence of Tamil. It is about this time that a separate set of alphabets were introduced which is being followed in the language even today. It is but natural that when once Malayalam gave up its dependence on Tamil it had to adhere to something for its support, both for inspiration and material ; and Sanskrit provided it in no small measure. Even today the basic foundation of any good Malayalam scholar is a solid grounding in Sanskrit. Almost all the poets from the 16th to the 19th Centuries have drawn upon Sanskrit literature for enriching the Malayalam language and literature. The most important name is that of Tunchath Ezhuthaśśan who is assigned to the 17th Century. It is well known that Ezuthaśśan derived his inspiration from Sanskrit as all his works directly show. He is rightly called the 'Father of Modern Malayalam Literature' and it can safely be said that the language has not altered much from his time. It is believed that he was the first to introduce into Malayalam the *Kilippāttu* style of singing based on some Tamil metres. His works are all well known and fairly voluminous. The absence of Tamil usages (except for stray instances) fully justifies the conclusion that he depended only on Sanskrit for the development of the Malayalam language.

The next development in Malayalam literature, is the dance-drama known as *Kathakali.* This has become so popular now-a-days that it is appreciated even in foreign countries. Almost all the *Kathakali* compositions are based on Purāṇic stories or episodes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Purāṇas. They are interspered with varses and songs. This makes it necessary that the author of a *Kathakali* must be a good musician too, besides being a gifted poet, to make his work a success. The predominance of Sanskrit in these is so much that there are whole verses and passages written in complete Sanskrit. Even today, *Kathakali* is an important adjunct to all temple-festivals in Malabar and there are people who are not tired of seeing it through the whole night.

Here is a specimen of a benedictory verse sung at the beginning of the *Kathakali* just like *Nāndi* verses in Sanskrit Drama.

सान्द्रानन्दान्मुरारिः सरसिजकलित सग्धग्राम्या वघ्वालक्ष्म्या घरित्रा
परिवरित पदं मुक्तिपदं भक्तिभाजाम् ॥...............

Kathakali was first introduced in Malayalam literature about the end of the 17th Century, though some scholars may put it even a little earlier.

Another writer who cannot be omitted in Malayalam literature and who has contributed to the development of the language as much as Ezuthaśśan is Kuñjan Nambiār. He belonged to 18th Century. He has written works in Sanskrit under the names of Rāmapāṇivāda. In Malayalam, he has written a sort of songs called Tullal, under the name Kuñjan Nambiar. In the latter category he has written about 55 works, all of which except one are based on the Purāṇas. The language of Kuñjan Nambiār, even in his Malayalam works, is highly influenced by Sanskrit. After Ezuthaśśan and Kūñjan Nambiār, there are a number of works by various authors, on the *Kilippāttu* and *Tullal* models, about 85% of which are based on Purāṇic stories.

About the middle of the 19th century, prose novels under the influence of English literature began to be written and the language in the earlier ones, at least, is so full of Sanskrit that only a Sanskrit scholar can understand them. Some of the earliest romances in the language such as *Mārtāṇḍa Varma, Rāmarāja Bahadūr, Akbar* etc. are clearly modelled on the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa in their style, although not photographic copies. During all these years, a number of translations from Sanskrit and commentaries on philosophical and technical works were being written and their number is legion. The influence of Sanskrit was so dominant that by the beginning of this Century a reaction took place and from the second quarter, at least, of this Century Malayalam authors are trying to use less and less of Sanskrit and also draw less and less from the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works for their materials. Translations from other languages, especially Western literature, in the spoken language of the ordinary man, is becoming more common,

SANSKRIT INFLUENCE ON THE TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Languages in General

"Among the languages we have known nowhere is to be found a language so sweet as Tamil" said Subrahmanya Bharati, the great modern poet of Tamil Nadu. But there is a Telugu proverb which says that Telugu is honey and Tamil is a desert. Now one may ask whether Tamil is sweeter than Telugu or Telugu is sweeter than Tamil. This question is an extremely difficult one and it can never be answered by anybody. Every language in this world whether it be ancient or modern, eastern or western, possesses an exclusive charm and has got some special features which are quite different from those of others. Speaking on rītis or styles in Sanskrit, Daṇḍin has said that there is a vast difference in the sweetnesses of sugarcane, milk, jaggery and others but to explain them correctly is impossible even for Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning. This statement can hold good even in respect of languages. Hence it is absolutely improper to consider one particular language either sweeter than or superior to another one. The people of Karnataka say that their tongue is musk, those of Bengal that theirs is golden and so on. Virtually all these sayings have no intrinsic value, coming as they are from an utmost passion for one's own mother tongue. If however one persists in ascribing a superiority to a particular language, it can be only due to lack of a good knowledge of other languages.

Sanskrit

It has been admitted that Sanskrit is one of the most ancient languages of the world. The language was once spoken by all. The Vedas, the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata were its products. But as time went on, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali wrote their works on grammar and made it perfect and refined. Thus it got the name of

Saṃskṛta. By the rigorous enforcement of the rules of grammar the language ceased to grow up further and became static. Hence only the cultured classes spoke and wrote in that language and the ordinary people spoke Prākṛta which grew up as a side language and which was only a crude form of Sanskrit. Though the general folk spoke Prākṛtayet every body understood Sanskrit and all topics of interest, literature and arts, religion and philosophy, found in Sanskrit a convenient mode of expression agreeable to all. There was no subject of study which did not receive treatment in it. By and by Prākṛta gave rise to Apabhraṁśa and gradually there grew up afterwards the regional languages Marāthī, Hindī, Bengali and others. During the classical period, like English under the British rule, Sanskrit became the official and the common language of India and continued to be so for several centuries afterwards. Even the Buddhists and Jains who originally used Prākṛta in their works turned subsequently to use Sanskrit being fascinated by its charming nature.

At present Sanskrit is spoken of as a dead language. A language can be considered dead only if it ceases to excercise any influence on the people as well as on the languages of the land. Viewed from this angle Sanskrit can never be considered dead. It continues to live in this land by invigorating and enriching not only the various languages in India, but also those in the far east and serves as the sole link, for bringing together the different languages of India, thus proving the unity and integrity of all the people in India. It is still being used for religious and philosophical purposes.

Dravidian Languages and Tamil

That Sanskrit, the Divine language, is the mother of all Indian languages is quite clear to any scholar of impartial views. Of course it is wholly true in the matter of all North Indian languages. But Tamil and other Dravidian languages, though they are very much influenced by it have a relation fundamental and mutual amongst themselves which is very much different from their connection with Sanskrit, in spite of the fact that their relatedness to Sanskrit is ages long and of no mean extent.

Among the Dravidian languages Malayāḷam is of recent origin, its first literary work dating from 5 or 6 centuries back. Telugu and Kannada are much older, their first literary works dating respectively from 10 and 15 centuries back. But Tamil is older than all of them, its initial stages going as far back as several centuries before Christ. For Vālmīki in his Rāmāyaṇa makes mention of Kapāṭapura and of the kingdoms of the Pāṇḍyas and the Colas. In spite of this fact, Tamil cannot be so ancient as Sanskrit. Because, even before the

time when the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed, and when the art of writing was unknown to man, there existed in this land the great Vedas handed down from generation to gereration, orally and hence called 'Śrutı'. There is nothing comparable to this in Tamil nor even any work of the socalled Talaiccaṅkam or Iṭaiccaṅkam exists now. Both these *canḵams* themselves are mere tradition and have no historic background.

Sanskrit influence in general

As no subject of study in arts or sciences was left untreated in Sanskrit, even in subsequent times, when the regional languages began to have their individual growth and development, people had a great attraction and admiration for Sanskrit and being held under the spell of its fascination, they thought it a mark of fashion and civilization to utilise Sanskrit words and phrases in their speeches and words, just as we mix English during our conversations and discussions nowadys.

Some people are of opinion that borrowing words from one language into another is only a day to day occurrence and hence it has no importance. This is not correct. Unless there is a close contact with a particular language and with the people speaking it, borrowing words from that lan uage cannot take place. Truly speaking, such brrowings are not at all a flaw to a language. On the other hand they pave the way for its development by making the style, flexible, conspicuous and more agreeable. In later times, along with the renaissance of *bhakti* movement, when religious philosophies of a diverse nature got a new upsurge among the masses, even technical terms in Sanskrit, coming in every branch of study got entry into all languages and Tamil is no exception to this.

The chief factors of Sanskrit influence

Though from very early times up to the present day, orthodox Hinduism of the Vedas has been an eternal factor in the Sanskrit influence of Tamil, it has to be admitted that Buddhists and Jains had a considerable part in the improvement and growth of Tamil not only in the early period but also at the beginning of the middle ages. The major old works in Tamil were their productions and they did not hesitate to incorporate their dogmas and theories into them. All of them being proficient in Sanskrit, they left no stone unturned in imparting Sanskrit influence to Tamil. Anyway Tamil is surely indebted to them and that too in no small measure.

In later times, Buddhism and Jainism had to give way to Saivism and Vaisṇavism which had their renaissance from the songs of *Tevaram* and *Divyaprabandham* of the Saivaite and Vaiṣṇavaite saints. More-

over with various *tāntric* cults and *purāṇas* coming to prominence at this time on one side and the great philosophers like Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva preaching their philosophical doctrines on the other, Sanskrit influence in Tamil became all the more widespread and it has continued to be so up to the present day.

Tamil lexicons

There are two lexicons in Tamil which are considered to be pretty old. They are *Cēntar Tivākaram* and *Piṅkaḷa Nikaṇṭu*. If one happens to go through them, he will find that Sanskrit words either in their original forms or changed and Tamilised forms according to the rules laid down by Tolkāppiyar, occupy a greater portion of the texts. In their enumeration of 'ornaments of sense' and the eight-fold *aṅgas* of *Yoga* both of them follow *Nāṭyaśāstra* and Pātañjala *Yogasūtra* respectively, not to speak of other minor items.

Now 'nikaṇṭu' is the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit word 'nighaṇṭu' or 'nighaṇṭa'. Originally it was the name of a Vedic glossary included by Yāska in his *Nirukta*. But subsequently it came to mean any collection of words or vocabulary. A learned professor of Tamil in his work called 'History of Tamil Lexicography' has tried laboriously to give an etymological Tamil derivation to this word, but proceeding from a faulty pronunciation of the word 'nīṇṭu, as 'nikaṇṭu' which means 'being lengthened'. How a lengthened thing or list can be a collection of words, he only knows. The reasons he adduces are least convincing.

The antiquity of Tamil

Svāminātha Deśikar, in the 7th sūtra of his *Ilakkaṇakkoṭṭu*, while admitting the fact that the existing Tamil works are far beyond enumeration, asks if among all of them there exists at least one single work in taNittamiL, i. e., composed solely of indigenous words and without the admixture of Sanskrit. It is true. But on that account it cannot be said that such works never existed. It can be seen from the following reasons that works in taNittamiL must heve been in existence in the very remote past.

In *Tolkāppiyam* II, 397, the author classifies words into four kinds as iyaRcol, tiricol, ticaiccol and vaṭacol. IyaRcol is indigenous word and vaṭacol is Sanskrit word. By the force of iyaRcol having been giving the first preference, it is quite possible to assert that in the very early days of Tamil evolution, there ought to have been some sort of literary works in taNittamiL, though the language itself might have been primitive, crude and underdeveloped. But the development of its literature must have had its origin only from the influence of Sanskrit, and this development had taken place at a time long before

Tolkāppiyar, Sanskrit words having been inseparably mixed up in Tamil. As *ilakkiyam* or literature is necessarily a fore-runner to *ilakkaṇam* or grammar, Tolkāppiyar must have had before him only such works as had developed under the influence of Sanskrit and not taNittamiL works. Otherwise what is the necessity for him to give vaṭacol as the fourth class ? So, there can be no denial that Tamil is very ancient but its development took place under Sanskrit influence.

As the Sanskrit influence in *Tolkāppiyam* and TirukkuRaḷ have beed already treated in detail by scholars like Vaiyāpuri Piḷḷai, Rāmachandra Dīkṣithar, Krishnaswami Iyengar and others, they are not dealt with here.

Sanskrit words and expressions which are present only in a small extent in early Tamil literature increase gradually and this forms one of the main features in the growth of Tamil language and literature. Accordingly we find that the percentage of Sanskrit words is greater in *KuRaḷ* than in the early Sangam works and *Tolkāppiyam*.

Sangam works

In *AkanāNūRu PuRanāNūRu* and others, the occurrence of words like yūpam (yūpa), avi (havis), āvuti (āhuti), tūṇ (sthūṇa), amarar (amara), vetam (veda), muttī (tretāgni) and tavam (tapas) clearly shows that even Vedic Sanskrit did have some sort of influence in those times and that the orthodox Brahmins were mainly responsible for these words relating to the religion of the Vedas, Vedic rites and rituals. Words relating to the ordinary social life, paṇṭam (bhāṇḍa), ulakam (loka), pōkam (bhoga), amiLtu (amṛta) and maṇṭilam (maṇḍala) and the like were also contributed by them. Words like vaṇṇam emam, vali, cāntu, ilakkam, payam (prayojana), Pācī (prācī) and ūcī (udīcī) and others were contributed by the Jains through Prakrit. Words like akil, āṇai, aNNai, cūtu, kamuku, kañci and others were brought in by the Buddhists through Pāli.

There is a work called *Ācārakkōvai*, probably the last one of the Sangam anthologies. Its author was Muḷḷiyār of Vankayattūr. The work deals with the rules of conduct, customs and daily observances of the Hindus. The author himself avows in 'ciRappuppāyiram' that he has based his work on materials drawn from various *dharma śāstras* or *smṛtis*. Āpastamba's Gṛhya and Dharma-sūtras, *DharmaSūtras* of Baudhāyana, Gautama, Viṣṇu and Vaśiṣṭha, the *Smṛtis* of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara, Likhita and Hārīta, *Saṃhitās* of Uśanas and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, some having been literally translated.

Cilappatikāram and Manimekalai

Both these are twin epics, the story of the latter being a continuation of that of the former. Both contain thirty cantos each, each

canto bearing the name of 'Kātai' which is a Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *gātha*. In *Cilappatikāram*, the whole of the third canto is based on the *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata. The mantras, *pañcākṣara* and *aṣṭākṣara* are spoken of in canto 11, 128-132. A story from *Pañcatantra* is reproduced in canto 15, 54-74. The knowledge of astronomy and astrology displayed in cantos 23 and 26 is noteworthy. Besides containing numerous dogmas and doctrines of Buddhism, the duties of people belonging to different castes, moral rules of diverse nature, the theories and tenets of various religious sects and many other kindred topics have found place in this work as a result of Sanskrit influence.

In *Maṇimēkalai*, canto 27 deals with Pramāṇavāda, Ājīvakavāda, Sāṅkhyavāda, Śaivavāda, Nikhaṇḍavāda, Bhūtavāda, Mantravāda Vedavāda, Vaiśeṣikavāda and Vaiṣṇavavāda. Canto 29 describes the various aspects of *anumāna, hetvābhāsas, dṛṣṭāntas* of *sādharmya* and *vaidharmya* nature and dṛṣṭāntābhāsas, all of which pertain to Sanskrit logic. It is said that this canto follows the *Nyāyapraveśa* of Diṅnāga.

Nīlakeci

This is a minor Tamil kāvya, written by a Jain. It contains ten *sargas*. It describes many doctrines of Jainism. In so doing it contradicts the philosophies of the Buddhists, Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣikas and also that of Vedavādins and Bhūtavādins. In this work Sanskrit influence can be seen, conspicuously, from beginning to end though through the Jain philosophy. A well known commentary named *Samaya-dīvākara* by Vāmana Muni is noteworthy especially for its innumerable quotations from Sanskrit.

Cūḷāmaṇi

This is another minor kāvya in Tamil composed by Toḷamo Littēvar, in the tenth century. Though in poetic diction and style, it takes a high rank among Tamil kāvyas, yet the subject-matter of the work has been taken from the Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇa* of the 9th century.

Rhetoric works

Daṇḍiyalaṅkāram is based on the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin. There are also Tamil translations of *Candrāloka* and *Kuvalayānanda* by recent authors.

The Purāṇas

Sanskrit influence was solely responsible for rendering in to Tamil almost a good number of the major and minor purāṇas from Sanskrit.[1] This gave rise to the *sthala purāṇas* in Sanskrit being

1. See Dr. V. Raghavan.

reproduced in Tamil. All these gave a fillip to the *bhakti* cult which attracted all people and had a direct reaction on literary Tamil. The Sanskritic diction of the Brahman leaders of thought was another element in making the language richer and more attractive.

Māṇikkavāsal in *Mēṇ Mēṇ* and *ĀLvārs*

While *Māṇikkavāsakar*, Cuntarar, Appar, Campantar and other NāyaNmārs were responsible for the resurrection of Saivism, the ĀLvārs shouldered the responsibility for the revival of Vaiṣṇavism. The *Tiruvācakam*, the *Tēvārams* and the *Divyaprabandham* got an all round inspiration from Sanskrit not only through words, but also through literary and religious and philosophical concepts. This flamed up the devotional movement amongs the masses towards individual gods or the various froms of Śiva and Viṣṇu, residing as presiding deities in the different sacred temples of the land. *Tiruviḷaiyāṭa-Rpurāṇam* and others translated from *Ilālāsyamāhātmya* and the like have also their own share in the growth of the literary field in Tamil. The *Bhāratam* of PeruntēvaNār and the *Rāmāyaṇam* of Kampar bear ample evidence to the indebtedness of Tamil literature to Sanskrit.

Arts and sciences

As in the entire field of the Indian languages, so even in Tamil, excepting those works which are of a strictly classical nature and possess a purely literary value, all others concerning arts and sciences, like astronomy, astrology, music, medicine etc, are based only on the respective ancient treatises in Sanskrit. Even the Siddha system of medicine prevalent in the Tamil county is but an offshoot of Āyurveda following the works of Caraka, Suśruta and others.

From the facts referred to above, it should be plain to any unbiassed mind that contact with Sanskrit, directly or indirectly through Prākṛta, has been the great factor in shaping the Tamil mind and infusing within it a vigorous desire to emulate the Sanskrit literature, though in the stream of Tamil literature, Hinduism is the main flow and Jainism and Buddhism formed themselves as mere tributaries at the beginning.

Tamil and Sanskrit alphabets

There are 30 letters in Tamil alphabet, 12 vowels and 18 conso-nants, exclusive of 'āytam' which is considered a cārpeLuttu or a letter which has a lean on others. This āytam is the *visarjanīya* and *upadhmānīya* in Sanskrit, their nature being called as 'parāśrita' (or leaning on others), in śloka 5 of Pāṇini's Śikṣā. Though the two

come respectively before the hard consonants of *ka-varga* and *p varga* in Sanskrit, *āytam* comes before all letters of valliNam group Tamil. Parāśrita and CārpeLuttu are one and the same. Āytam the tamilised form of the Sanskrit word āśritam.

The vowel-system in Tamil with 12 does not have the Sanskr ṛ, ṝ , ḷ; anusvāra and visarga, and adds short e and o. The cons̩ nant-system of Tamil, does not have the 2nd, 3rd and 4th letters i the five groups beginning with ka-varga ; Tamil does not have th letters śa, ṣa, sa and ha and by adding another Ra in valliNam another Na in melliNam and ḷa and La in iṭaiyiNam. Though th letter La seems to be indigenous to Tamil, it comes in places wher the sanskrit letters la, ḍa and ṣa occur, as found in paLam for phala in pīLai for pīḍā, in cikaLikai for śīrṣaka and such like.

Pāṇini has spoken of only 48 letters in Sanskrit with 15 vowel and 33 consonants. But in mantra śāstras, the letters are considered tc be 51 with the addition of the vowel ḷ, and the consonants ḷa and kṣa and to be 50 without the consonant ḷa. In verses 924, 945, 963, 96 and 2698 of Tirumantiram, Tirumūlar speaks of the 50 and 51 Sanskri letters used in mantra śāstras. But, in PāyirakkaṭṭuRai of Tiruman. tirakkaṭṭuRai (TiruvāvaṭutuRai edition) and in Tirumūlar varalāRu of Tirumantiram (KaLakam edn.) it is given that once upon a time Tamil had 51 letters in its alphabet and in later times they were reduced to 30. In verse 965 Tirumūlar says that all the Vedas and the Āgamas are in the form of 50 letters and that when one happens to know the truth of them, then only five letters (which go to make pañcākṣara-mantra) remain. When saying this Tirumūlar means only the Vedas and Āgamas in Sanskrit. To say that Tirumūlar spoke of only the 51 letters in Tamil is absurd. On the other hand it only proves that the letters of Tamil alphabet were drawn from those of Sanskrit. Even the pañcākṣara given by him is only namaccivāya or civāya namaḥ and not 'civaNukku vaṇakkam'.

The Tirumantiram of Tirumūlar

It is no exaggeration to say that the Sanskrit influence rose to the highest degree in *Tirumantiram*. Whatever is said about Tiru-mūlar, the author, by way of tradition, none can deny that he was a vast ocean of Saṅskrit learning. He speaks about the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas and the twenty-eight Āgamas, with utmost regard. Verses 62 and 63 say that he obtained from his Guru, Nandi, nine among the 28 Āgamas. In verses 73, 77 and 81, he says that he had been ordained by his Guru to render the Āgamas and the Vedas in beautiful Tamil. The work contains a little above 3000 verses divided into nine tantras.

Some of the important references from Sanskrit are given hereunder :

pāyiram

The very first verse in pāyiram says that the Lord Śiva, though one and non-dual, has a double nature. This equates with *Bṛhadāra-ṇyakopaniṣad* 1,4.3. "sah iitāvān āsa" etc. which speaks of the Lord's double nature, of being both Śakti and Śiva, or female and male.

In verse 20, Tirumūlar says that all objects in the world such as thunders, lightnings, hills, etc. are only his forms, which corresponds with *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 2, 3, 1. "vṛṣṭau pañcavidham sāmopāsīta" etc.

Verse 35 stresses that *Śivo' hambhāvanā* makes one omnipotent following *Sarvajñānottarāgama* which says that one can attain omniscient knowledge by the above *bhāvanā*.

Verse 40 showing the clear nature of the *ātman* as foreign and separate from the inanimate matter, body, is only a restatement of the doctrine "Śaṛīrasya na caitaṇyam mṛtēṣu vyabhicārataḥ"

Verse 46 refers Śiva as having the white complexion like the Āgamas in general.

Verse 47 speaks of those who have no thought of Him, will not get any happiness at all, like a hawk sitting at the top of a palm tree and thinking of nothing. This cannot but remind one of *Bṛhadāra-ṇyakopaniṣad* IV, 3, 19 'tad yathāsminnākāśe śyena etc'.

Verse 51 shows the amount of regard the author had for the Vedas. He says "Leaving the Vedas there is no other work on moralism. All the laws of morality are found in them. Savants of yore attained emancipation only by studying the great Vedas, leaving aside discussions of useless reasoning."

Verse 55 considers the Vedāṅgas as inherent in the Vedas and inseparable from them.

Verse 57 refers to the 66 holy souls who first of all heard the 28 Āgamas which sprang forth from the mouth of the upward face of the Lord.

Verse 63 enumerates the nine Āgamas received by Tirumūlar from his guru Nandi, and names them as Kāmika, Kāraṇa, Vīra, Cintya, Vātula, Yāmala, Kālottara, Suprabheda and Makuṭa.

Verse 67 mentions Patañjali and Vyāghrapāda as his associates.

Verse 85 acclaims that the essential truth of Vedas is the mantra 'pañcākṣara' which kindles the sensation of the soul and by constant hold becomes self-evident.

Verse 93 refers to the existence of countless mantras in the *Ṛg Veda*.

Verse 106 speaks of the nine forms of Śiva, shapeless 4, both shaped and shapeless 1 and shaped 4.

V. 115. The eternal nature of the three-fold *tattvas* of Pati, Paśu and Pāśa bears resemblance to *Mṛgendravṛtti*, Vidyāpāda śl. 7 and *Kiraṇāgama* Vidyāpāda 3, śl.7b-9a.

V. 118 refers to Pañca Sādākhyas quoted in *Vātulāgama* I, 30, 31.

V. 125 and 126 say that the 36 Śiva-tattvas are the prime factors of liberation.

V 135. The reversion of tanmātras and other elements to their origin is corroborated by *Śivatattvaratnākara* IX, 3, 11-115.

V. 137. That *Brahmāṇḍa* or cosmic sphere has not the capacity to be filled up by *aṇvaṇḍas*, only reiterates the 'pṛthivyādicatuṣṭayotpattināśakrama' of Kaṇāda.

V. 152. The mention of the nine gateways of the body is an old *siddhānta* coming in the works on Vedānta (*Vedāntasiddhāntādaśa* I, 214).

V. 154. The 96 *tattvas* spoken of here have a resemblance with a quotation from *Jñānasiddhi* given in ñāNāvaraṇaviḷakkamum pāṭiyamum.

V. 156 compares well with 118th śloka of adh. 314 of Vanaparva *Mahābhārata* 'ahanyahani bhūtāni' etc.

V. 165 refers to the seven hells.

V. 185 speaks of the 16 *kalās*, referred to in *Prāsādaṣaṭślokī*.

V. 193. The three fires and the five fire-brands closely follow *Ajītāgama*, Kriyāpāda paṭ. 20 Śl. 40-50.

V. 194. The Lord's visibility to the internal eye alone and not to the external compares well with expressions like 'antarmukhasamārādhya bahirmukhasudurlabhā' in *Lalitāsahasranāmastotra*.

V. 216. The mention of the internal fire of life is in agreement with 'tasyaivaṁ viduṣo yajñasyātmā' etc. in *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad*, 80.

V. 222 reminds the production of Śivāgni as found in Pūrvakāraṇāgamma paṭ, 22.

V. 225 stresses the importance of muppatam 'tat tvam asi'.

V. 293 The body becoming golden by Śiva's worship through Kuṇḍalinī yoga implies the transformation of Vicāraśarman as Caṇḍeśvara quoted in *Śivabhaktavilāsa*.

V. 310 That even an illiterate can obtain Śiva's grace reminds one of the episode of Netrārpaka or KaṇṇappanāyaNar (*Bhaktavilāsa*)

V. 336 mentions meditation in the six ādhāras.

Tantra II

V. 339 Killing of the Demon Andhaka comes in *Sivamahā-purāṇa* II 5, 42 and 44-49. There is also a mention in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Aranyakāṇḍa, sarga 30, 41,66.

V. 340. Burning the head of Dakṣa occurs in *M. Bh.* Śānti-parva, adh. 290 and Anuśāsanaparva, adh. 235.

V. 341. Cutting the head of Brahman is given in Skandapurāṇa, Śaṅkara Saṃhitā, Dakṣakāṇḍa, adh. 18 and 19.

V. 342. Slaying of Jalandhara comes in *Śi. ma. purāṇa* II, 5 adh. 24.

V. 343. The destruction of Tripuras is noted in *M. Bh.* Karṇaparva, adh. 27.

V. 344. Slaying of Gajāsura is mentioned in adh. 15, Dakṣa-kāṇḍa, Śaṅkarasaṃhitā, *Skandapurāṇa*.

V. 345. Punishment meted out to Yama by Śiva on behalf of Mārkaṇḍeya is narrated in *Padmapurāṇa* VI adh. 236.

V. 346. The burning of Kāma is mentioned in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* Bālakāṇḍa, sarga 23.

V. 350. Śiva crushing Rāvaṇa's hands with his toe is described in *Val. Ram.* VII sarga 16.

V. 351. The episode of Daṇḍin or Vicāraśarman is narrated in *Upamanyu Bhaktavilasa* I adh. 44.

V. 371. The episode of Śiva's wearing Viṣṇu's bones occurs in *Sk. Pur. Śaṅ. Saṃ. Upadeśa kāṇḍa*, adh. 67.

V. 381. The description of ParāparaN and Parāparai etc. is in quite concordance with *Vātulāgama* I. 19-24.

V. 386 agrees with the śloka 'dakṣiṇād asṛjat putram etc.' in Acintyaviśasādākhya.

V. 388 describing the appearance of air from ākāśa and that of agni and others corresponds with *Taittirīyopaniṣad* II, 1.

V. 391. The parts belonging to Brahman and Viṣṇu in Śiva-liṅga are in conformity with śl. 106-109, paṭ 9, *Pūrvakāraṇāgama*.

V. 398. The description of Vijñānākālas, Pralayākālas and others is corroborated by *Mataṅgāgama* jñānapāda.

V. 457 refers to aṣṭapuri, a technical term in vedānta denoting the five sūkṣma bhūtas together with manaḥ, buddhi and ahaṅkāra.

V. 469 refers to the well-known ariṣaḍvarga.

V. 509. That proper snāna or ablution is only a purification of mind is a repetition 'snānaṅ manomalatyāgaḥ' coming under the Yakṣapraśna in *M. Bhārata.*

V. 519 reminds one of the *Kiraṇāgama* śloka 'adīkṣitārcitam liṅgam tyaktvā bhīto maheśvaraḥ'.

V. 520. Śiva having a sixth face looking downward has a parallel in Sk. Pur. Sambhavakāṇḍa adh. 25, śl. 25-28.

Tantra III

V. 552. The description of yogāṅgas follows *Pātañjalayoga-sūtra* 2, 29 and *Yogatattvopaniṣat* 24-25.

V. 557. The enumeration of ten niyamas is in accordance with *Śāṇḍilyopaniṣat* I, 2.

V. 558, 559, 560, 562 and 563 respectively correspond with I, 3, 1 : I, 3, 3 : I, 3, 8 : I, 3, 5 and 6 : and I, 3, 2. Śāṇḍ-up.

V. 567 fully agrees wlth *Yogacūḍāmaṇyupaniṣat* 89-92.

V. 568. The mātrās of recaka, pūraka and kumbhaka are in perfect concord with those given in *Yogatattvopaniṣat* 41-42.

V. 569. is in parallel with *Śāṇḍ up.* 1, 7, 17

V. 572. Making prāṇa to center round navel in Kumbhaka closely follows *Śāṇḍ. up.* 6, 45.

V. 574. The description of the ten principal nāḍīs in the body resembles *Yogacūḍ.* up. 18-20.

V. 580. follows *Yogaśikhopaniṣat* I, 167-175 in the delineation of the mūlādhāra and other cakras.

V. 604 closely follows *Śāṇḍ. up.* I, 45 and *Triśikhibrāhmaṇo-paniṣat* 110.

V. 606. Hearing of subtle sounds during meditation corresponds with *Nādabindūpaniṣat* 33-35 and *Haṃsopaniṣat.*

V. 610. The rising up of 5 luminances from the 6 ādhāras mostly follows *Yogaśikhopaniṣat* 56-58.

V. 619. The union of bindu and nāda in samādhi concords with *Yogacūḍ.* up. 113.

V. 621. Tightening of bridle (mind) compares well with *Kaṭhopaniṣat* I, 3, 8 and 9.

V. 622. The three knots or granthis are the same as given in *Yoga kuṇḍalinī up.* I 72-75.

V. 623. The maṇḍalas (five, referred to are in concord with *Yogatattvopaniṣat* 83-98.

V. 627. The mystic square and triangle are parallel to *Yogacūḍ-up.* 7-10 and the nature of Kuṇḍalinī to *Yogakuṇḍ. up.* I, 7 and 8.

V. 642. Śāmbhavī mudrā follows *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* III, 59-62 and Khecarī mudrā, *Dhyānabindu up.* 79-83.

V. 653. The reference to ten prāṇas and ten nāḍīs has a parallel in *Yogacūḍ. up.* 16-26.

V. 654. The 224 mystic bhuvanas mentioned correspond with *Mṛgendra*, Vidyāpāda, adhvaprakaraṇa śl. 1-176.

V. 659. The process of Viparītakaraṇi meant here is dealt with in *Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā* 3, 28-31 and *Yogatattva up.* 122-125.

V. 662 The nine Śaktis staying in the ādhāras have a background in *Kiraṇāgama* kri-pāda : 14, 24-25.

V. 697. The number of breathings in a day follows approximately *Yogacūḍ up.* 31-33

V. 702. The union of prāṇa and Kuṇḍalinī is spoken of in *Triśikhibrāhmaṇa up* 55 to 68 and *Śāṇḍ. up.* 1, 4.

V. 708. The 10 ādhāras in the body and their deities are stated in *Siddhāntasārāvali*, yogapāda śl. 2 and 3.

V. 712. The union of Gangā and Yamunā in meditation is given in *Haṭhayogapradīpikā* 3, 109.

V. 730. Hearing of peculiar sounds in meditation is in *Nādabindu up.* 28-33.

V. 731. Ajapāgāyatrī is dealt with in *Yogacūḍ. up.* 31-34 and *Yogaśikhopaniṣat* 130-133.

V. 732. Prāṇa and Apāna attracting each other can be seen in *Yogacūḍ. up.* 26-30.

V. 744. The 4 maṇḍalas in dvādaśānta are same as those given in *Siddhāntasārāvali*, yogapāda śl. 6.

V. 745. Śiva's 9 forms are quoted in *Vātulāgama* 1, 122-135.

V. 765. Akāra and Ukāra forming as Śiva and Śakti concords with *Vātulāgama* 6, 5,

V. 769. The yogi visualising Brahman and others in the six ādhāras is given in *Yogaśikhā up.* I. 176-178.

V. 772. The benefits of the tongue reaching the top in meditation comes in *Śāṇḍ. up.* 1, 43.

V. 796. The 16 ādhāras referred to are given in *Gorakṣapaddhati* I, 13.

V, 799. The nature and benefits of the Khecarī mudrā are spoken of in *Dhyānabindu up.* 79, 80.

V. 805. Pumping of prāṇa into the soft palate comes in *Yogakuṇḍ. up.* II, 23 and 24.

V. 813 Kalās from Mūlādhāra up to Ājñā totalling 224 is corroborated in *Saundaryalaharī* śl. 14.

V. 817. Meditation centering sahasrāra is spoken of in *Yoga cūḍ. up.* 96.

V. 818. The description of Uḍḍiyāna bandha appears in *Yogakuṇḍ. up.* 1. 87-88a Yogacūḍ. up. 48 and 49, and Dhyānabindu up. 75b-77a.

V. 820. The description of Mūlabandha occurs in *Yogaśikhā* 104 and 105, *Yogakuṇḍ* 63b-65, *Yogacūḍ.* 46 and 47, *Yogatattva.* 120b-121, and *Dhyānabindu* 74 and 75.

V. 821. The description of Jālandhara bandha comes in *Dhyānabindu* 77b-79a, *Yogatativa* 118b-119a etc.

V. 845-850. Amarīdhāraṇā or Amaroli is found in *Yogatattva* 126b-128 and in *Gorakṣapaddhati* I śataka under the section Vajroli.

Tantra IV

V. 906. Utterance of Śiva mantra in lip-murmur is found in *Mṛgendrāgama,* kri. pāda, paṭ. 4.

V. 955. The pañcākṣara mantra comes in *Rudraprasna* in *Kṛṣṇayajurveda.*

V. 1307. The mantra of Pañcadaśākṣari (kādividyā) with its three groups, beginning with the letters ka, ha and sa is described.

V. 1320. The mantra of Navākṣarī is given as 'sauṁ auṁ hauṁ, āṁ krīm krom aim hrīm śrīṁ'.

The whole tantra is full of various sorts of pañcākṣara mantras and cakras, in addition to Tripurācakra, Śāmbhavīmaṇḍala cakra, Navākṣarī cakra, Bhuvaneśvarī cakra, Bhairavī cakra and others. On the whole 22 cakras are described here with their modes of design and manner of writing the bījākṣaras within them. In verses 924 to 927, in the delineation of Tiruvampalaccakkaram, Tirumūlar specially directs to write the 50 sanskrit letters in the 25 squares

inside at the rate of 2 in each, and to write the 51st letter kṣa in the space below the squares.

Tantras V to IX deal with all sorts of subjects connected with Śaiva siddhānta philosophy. There is no topic left untreated.

Conclusion

The reconciliation of Tamil grammar with that of Sanskrit attempted in *Vīracō Liyam, Pirayōkavivekam* and *Ilakkaṇakkottu* by their authors is another proof of how far Tamil grammar is indebted to Sanskrit. Moreover CivaññāNa Cuvāmikaḷ, the author of *Tolkāppi...* has expressly stated that *Tamil Learning will not be complete for those who have not learnt Sanskrit.*

SOME ASPECTS OF THE INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON TAMIL THOUGHT AND CULTURE

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The aim of this paper is to assess the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil thought and culture with special reference to the early period. The study is mainly based on a comparative study of the Vedas and the Epics and the Sangam literature and some of the important aspects of the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil thought and culture will be demonstrated in the following pages.

What is now known as Sangam literature[1] is the earliest extant literature of the Tamils. It consists of anthologies of short lyrics and longer poems. The lyrics are made into eight collections known as *Eṭṭu-t-togai* and the longer peoms are collected under the name *Pattup-Pāṭṭu*. The eight collections are as follows: (1) Naṟṟiṇai, (2) Kuṟundogai, (3) Aingurunūṟu, (4) Padiṟṟup-pāṭṭu, (5) Paripāḍal, (6) Kalittogai, (7) Ahanānūṟu and (8) Puranānūṟu. Of these the first three, the sixth and the seventh collections treat of love-themes technically known as 'aham', in its several aspects. The fourth and the eighth have for the subjects non-love themes, technically called 'puram', which includes heroism in war, liberality, just rule, praise of gods and of men. The fifth in the series, viz., *Paripāḍal* partakes of the nature of both, some songs being in praise of gods and others in depiction of love.

The collection of ten longer poems called *Pattup Pāṭṭu* (Ten Idylls) consists of the following: (1) *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*, (2) *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai*, (3) *Sirupānāṟṟuppaḍai*, (4) *Permpānāṟṟuppaḍai*,

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1. For more details about the Sangam literature see *History of Tamil Literature*, T.P. Minakshisundaran, Annamalai University, 1965; Also *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, New Century Book House, Madras, 1956.

(5) *Mullaip-pāṭṭu,* (6) *Maduraik-kānji,* (7) *Nedunelvāḍai,* (8) *Kuṟunjip-Pāṭṭu,* (9) *Paṭṭinap-pālai* and (10) *Malai-Paḍu-kadām.* The poems in this collection mainly deal with the cult of gifts, the theme of love in its various aspects and the description of Nature.

Tolkāppiam which is the earliest available work on Tamil grammar and poetics is also included in the Sangam literature, The conclusions arrived at in this paper are mainly based on these works.

A brief remark on the age of Sangam literature is necessary and relevant for this paper. The age of Sangam literature has been a matter of speculation and dispute among scholars. Many theories and counter-theories have been put forward. These theories can be grouped into three categories. (1) The Sangam age is to be fixed between 1000 B.C. and 500 B.C.[2] (2) It is to be fixed between 300 B.C. and 1st or 2nd century A.D.[3] (3) It is to be fixed between 200 A.D. and 700 A.D.[4] In support of each of the above mentioned theories many speculative and evidential arguments are made. A detailed consideration of these arguments may be irrelevant and redundant here. In the Sangam literature in many places evidences are available to conclude that the people and the poets of Sangam age were very familiar with the two Epics namely, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.*[5]

Although the Sangam age is post-epic it does not appear to be correct to bring the Sangam age later than the 2nd century A.D. Many evidences and arguments could adduced in support of this view. For instance, this may be said[6] : The Pallavas of Kāñchī who were non-Tamils in their origin established their rule in Tamil

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2. See S. Vaiyapuri pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature,* pp. 10-11.

3. *Lectures on Puṟanānūṟu,* by M. Rajamanikkam, Saiva Siddhānta Publishing House, Madras 1 , 1966 pp. 141-150.

4. Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai advocates this view. This view is not acceptable to Tamil scholars. The arguments adduced by Prof. Pillai need careful consideration. See *History of Tamil Language and Literature,* pp. 5-23.

5. Infra.

6. Cf. M. Rrjamanikkam Pillai, *The Lectures on Puṟanānūṟu,* pp. 138-140.

Nadu in the 3rd century A.D.[7]   During this century the Pallaves ruled the northern parts of Tamil Nadu.[8]   The Kalabhras who were also non-Tamil in origin and who were ruling the northern parts of Tamil Nadu during the 3rd century A.D. came to the southern parts of Tamil Nadu to establish their kingdom as a result of the Pallava occupation in the north of Tamil Nadu.   The Kalabhras ruled the southern parts of Tamil Nadu till the 6th century A.D. As the Pallavas and the Kalabhras were occupying the whole of Tamil Nadu there was no scope for any other kings to rule Tamil Nadu from the 2nd century A.D. onwards. Some authoritative literary records of the 7th century A.D. speak of the Sangam age as a proud past history of Tamil Nadu.[9]   The geographical limits of Sangam Tamil Nadu extended to the Tirupati hills in the north and to the districts of Kanyākumarī in the south.   All the Sangam kings who are mentioned to have ruled the Tamil country were pure Tamils.   Therefore it does not seem to be justified to relate the political, historical and the geographical facts of the Sangam age to the facts supplied by the history of Tamil Nadu from the 2nd century A.D. to the 6th century A.D.   The only possibility is to place it before the 2nd century A.D.   Some of the Sangam kings have been proved to belong to the 2nd century A.D.[10]   Hence, the age of Sangam may be between 300 B.C. and 200 A.D.   A brief discussion on the age of Sangam has become necessary to speak of the influence of the Vedic and Epic tradition on Tamil thought and culture and to show the historical importance of the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil.

The Sangam literature gives clear proofs to assess the influence of Sanskrit culture on the society of the Sangam age.   In the Sangam literature we get references to the division of society into many castes.[11]   But it cannot be ascertained whether the caste division was based mainly on the basis of birth.   From the reference to barbers, potters etc. it is difficult to conclude whether a particular man undertook to become a barber etc. chiefly because he was born in that caste or because he took to that profession.   Similarly many kings are referred to in the Sangam

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7.   R. Gopalan, *Pallavas of Kāñchi*, Chapter 3.

8.   M. Rajamanikkam Pillai, *History of Pallavas*, Saiva Siddhanta Publishing House, Madras 1 (Reprint 1952).

9.   T. P. Minakshisundaran, *History of Tamil Literature*, p. 9.

10.   S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, p. 22.

11.   *Lectures on Puṛanānūṛu*, p. 195.

literature but it is again difficult to hold whether the Kṣatriya caste was existing. The Sangam evidence is inconclusive on the question that birth was the only criterion to become a king.

As far as the Brahmins are concerned we are on definite ground. Reference to Brahmins is frequent in the Sangam literature. From a study of the references to the Brahmins it may be concluded that the Brahmin caste had already become an established thing. This is very interesting from the point of view.

The Brahmins were highly respected.[12] They had a separate place where they lived in each village[13]. There were many schools in the cities which facilitated the Brahmins to study the Vedas and to discuss the problems arising from the study of the Vedas.[14] Their main duty was to learn and teach the vedas, to do the sacrifices and to officiate in the sacrifices, and to give and accept gifts[15] The advice of the Brahmins even on secular matters was highly respected.[16] Respect for them was mainly due to their learning, moral and ethical perfections. Some of the Brahmins became highly respected poets. Kapila was one among them. This poet is greatly honoured partly because of his poetic genius and also because of his being a Brahmin.[17]

An interesting fact to be noted here is this. Kapila the Brahmin poet is said to be a meat-eater.[18] This is evidently due to the sacrifices he performed.

The establishment of the Brahmin caste as an integral part of the Tamil society paved the way for introducing the religious practices of the Vedas and of the Epics. It may be mentioned here that the Brahmins were mainly responsible for the propagation and maintenance of Sanskrit culture. This was true of the Brahmins of the Sangam age. The Brahmins of the Sangam age are always referred to as engaged in Vedic sacrifices.[19] They had at home the three famous Vedic fires namely the *Āhavanīya,*

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12. *Ibid,* p.2.
13. *Lectures on P. Tuppāṭṭu,* p. 130.
14. *Ibid,* p. 175.
15. *Padiṟṟuppattu,* 24.
16. *Kalittogai,* 9.
17. *Lectures on Pattuppāṭṭu,* p. 23ɔ
18. *Puṟanāṉūṟu,* 14.
19. *Lectures on Pattuppāṭṭu,* p. 130.

Dakṣiṇāgni and Gārhapatya-[20] Constant reference to the performance of Vedic sacrifices is found in the Sangam literature.

The performance of the Vedic sacrifices was not confined to the Brahmin caste alone. Many rulers of the Sangam age are described to have performed the sacrifices. There was a king called Perunaṛkiḷḷi[21] who is credited with the performance of the Rājasūya sacrifice. Another king named Mudukuḍumi Peruvaḷudi is said to have performed many Vedic sacrifices. His attachment to the Vedic sacrifices was so great that he was popularly known as 'Palyāgaśālai' meaning 'He who has many sacrificial halls to his credit'.[22] It may also be mentioned here that the Vedic sacrifices were not confined to the members of the Brahmin and the ruling section. Even the farmers[23] are said to have shown keen interest in the Vedic sacrifices. These facts will amply testify the fact that the religious practices of the Vedas and of the Epics got themselves deeply rooted in the religion of the Sangam people. An interesting remark is necessary here. It is generally thought that the advent of the Upaniṣads and the teachings of the Buddha destroyed the high respect that the Vedic sacrifices were held in. But what we observe in the Sangam land, which is 2500 miles away from the original land of the Vedas, and in the Sangam literature, which is to be assinged a period between 300 B. C. and 200 A. D., remarkable respect is shown to the sacrifices.

The influence of Sanskrit culture is extended to the other aspects of religious practices and beliefs of the Sangam age. Following the Vedic and Epic traditions the Sangam people believed that the South is meant for the worship of the dead. Ceremonies meant for the departed were performed facing the South. The habit of offering 'piṇḍa'[24] to the departed souls was not uncommon during this age. The belief in the existence of Yamaloka was there. Yama was the God of death.

Most of the poems of the Sangam literature are dedicated to describing the love affair of the youth of those days. Love-making was generally encouraged. But it must be noted that it was prescribed that the love affairs should culminate in marriages which were performed to a larger extent according to the Vedic and Epic prescriptions. The practice of having Agni as the

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20. *Lectures on Puṛanānūru,* p. 197.
21. *Ibid,* p.117.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Paṭṭinappālai,* 200.
24. *Puṛanānūru,* 234; 363.

marriage witness and the habit of going round the Agni and also the custom of Saptapadī were in vogue.[25] Marriages and the death-ceremonies are the real tests for assessing one's originality of culture. It is comparatively easy to influence the dress-customs, food habits, etc., but to change the marriage and the death customs it is very hard. From the influence of Sanskrit over the marriage and the death habits of the Tamils the depth of the Sanskrit influence may be judged.

The social scheme of the Tamils has given a prominent place to the *Varṇāśrama dharma* during the Sangam age. Although love making is encouraged of the youths, the young people are made to remember the fact that love or *Kāma* is not the only aim of life. Love should lead to a regulated married life which will in its turn lead to the *Vānaprastha* life and that will finally end in the life of a *Sannyāsin*.[26] Throughout the Sangam literature indications are available to conclude that many people took to the life of *Vānaprastha* and Sannyāsa. This proves the fact that the *Varṇāśrama dharma* was not a mere theory but had become a reality in the Sangam age. It may be mentioned here that the Sannyāsins of the Sangam age were spending their days not in the pursuit of philosophy giving no room to religious rites, but they are mostly described as being indulged in doing the Vedic sacrifices and the *homas*.[27] This is more in conformity with the Vedic society.

Another aspect of the influence of Sanskrit on the Sangam literature is the fact that during the Sangam age the Sanskrit Epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, were well known to the Sangam people and the poets. There are many references in the Ssngam poetry to the Epics, the epic heroes, the epic incidents and the epic way of life. What is more interesting is the fact that many Sangam poets bore the names such as Kapila, Vālmīki, Dāmodara and Acyuta. This amply testifies the fact that the Epic tradition had deeply penetrated into the Sangam age.

The names Rāma,[28] Sītā,[29] Dharmaputra,[30] Bhīmasena[31] and Arjuna[32] are frequently mentioned. The Pāṇḍavas were well known as the famous 'five' and the Kauravas also were known. It appears that the Sangam poets were familiar with the detailed

25. *Kalittogai,* 104.
26. *Lectures on Puṟanānūṟu,* p. 90.
27. *Lectures on Pattuppaṭṭu,* p. 137.
28. *Puranāṇuṟu,* 378.
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid,* 366.
31. *Lectures on Pattuppāṭṭu,* p. 78.
32. *Ibid;* p. 119.

story of the Epics as narrated by Vālmīki and Vyāsa. For example this may be quoted: A poet goes to a philanthropist with his family. The philanthropist gives many ornaments to the poet and his family. The poet's family-people do not know where and how they should wear the ornaments. In their eagerness to wear them they wear the ornaments at wrong places. This reminds the poet of the monkey which wore the ornaments of Sītā at wrong places.[33] This is a clear reference to the Rāmāyaṇa.

Here is an important reference in the Sangam literature.[34] Some of the incidents found in the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa are mentioned here. It may be mentioned here that the *Uttarakāṇḍa* is generally believed to be a very late addition to the *Rāmāyaṇa*. If it could be demonstrated that the Sangam poets were familiar with the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, then many theories on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* may have to be revised.

Equally famous was the *Mahābhārata* during the Sangam age. It would not be wrong to assume that the Sangam poets were familiar with the Mahābhārata written by Vyāsa. In addition to the mention of the Epic heroes many stories forming part of the Mahābhārata of Vyāsa are known to the Sangam poets. To quote a few:[35] The churning of the ocean for Amṛta, Viṣṇu assuming the role of Mohinī to deceive the Asuras, Śiva's part in swallowing the poison. Also, the story of Garuḍa who went to the Indraloka to bring *Amṛta* in order to save his mother from slavery, the incident which narrates how Viṣṇu put an end to the pride of Garuḍa are mentioned.[36] The advent of the river Gaṅgā to the earth is also mentioned.[37]

Here is an important piece of information : A Pāṇḍya king requested a poet named Perundevanār to compose the *Mahābhārata* in Tamil. The poet did so and as a result of this the poet was known as 'the poet who composed the *Bhārata*.'[38] This is corroborated by a copper-plate inscription of the 10th century A.D.[39] It would not be wrong to conclude that the poet must have had the Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* as his model. Unfortunately the Tamil *Bhārata* composed by Perundevanār is not available to us. If that were

33. *Lectures on Purananuru.* p. 108.
34. *Kalittogai,* 38.
35. *Paripāḍal,* 3 ; 34.
36. *Ibid,* 3 : 59.
37. *Ibid,* 9 : 4-8.
38. *Lectures on Puṟanāṉūṟu,* p. 118.
39. *Ibid.*

available many theories regarding the *Mahābhārata* may have to be changed.

We now turn our attention to consider the influence of Sanskrit on the conception of God in the Sangam age. The fact that all the gods who are found mentioned in the Sangam literature are Epic gods. The Vedic deities are of course mentioned but it is evident that the Sangam poets are not influenced by the Vedic literature in this regard. For instance, Varuṇa[40] is remembered as the God of the sea and not as the glorious Varuṇa of the *Rgveda*. Indra is referred to in some places but he too is not the Vedic Indra.[41]

Although the Brahmins of the Sangam age are said to worship the Sun and perform the *Sandhyāvandana* three times a day,[42] Sun-worship does not occupy a prominent place in the Sangam age. The Vedic divisions of gods into Ādityas,[43] Vasus[44] and Rudras[45] are found here. The conception of *devaloka* etc. appears in the Sangam literature without any change.

The worship of a goddess named Koṟṟavai[46] was popular in the Sangam age. She is considered to be the presiding deity of the waste lands. She was worshipped more in an unrefined form. From the description of her in the Sangam literature it may be concluded that she was an aspect of Umā and she could be equated with Durgā.

The worship of Śiva[47] was also popular in the Sangam age. The Epic conception of Śiva is adopted in the Sangam literature. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti[48] aspect of Śiva and the Ardhanārī[49] aspects are also known to Sangam works. Many heroic deeds of Śiva such as his heroism in burning the three cities etc. are frequently mentioned.[50] It is also possible that Śiva had a special set of devotees[51].

40. *Lectures on Pattuppāṭṭu,* p. 299.
41. *Paripāḍal,* 19 : 50-52.
42. *Lectures on Pattuppāṭṭu,* p. 249.
43. *Paripaḍal,* 3 : 6.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Lectures on Pattuppāṭṭu,* p. 201,
47. Invocatory song of *Puṟanāṉūru.*
48. *Puranāṉūru,* 198.
49. *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai,* 153.
50. *Ibid,* 154.
51. *Lectures on Puṟanāṉūru,* p. 267.

Another important God of the age was Kārttikeya known as Muruga.[52] Although Kārttikeya was known by a different name in the Sangam age, all the purāṇic stories on the birth and other deeds of Kārttikeya are reproduced in the Sangam literature, as found in the *Mahābhārata*. Muruga-worship was very popular at that time. A whole poem named *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai* is dedicated in praise of Muruga and in another poem, named *Paripāḍal* Muruga occupies a significant position. One peculiar feature of Muruga-worship in the Sangam age was that he had six hill-abodes in Tamil Nadu where he showed his divine *līlās*. These places are still famous as Muruga-sthalas in Tamil Nadu.

Another significant Sangam God is Viṣṇu known as Tirumal.[53] In the Sangam descriptions of Viṣṇu the Vedic and the Epic traditions are maintained. Of the important descriptions about Viṣṇu the description or the mention of Varāha[54] and other incarnations is of significance. Although it may not be said that the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu are fully developed in the Sangam age, it may be mentioned that some of the incarnations are recognised beyond doubt. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma[55] are said to be Viṣṇu's incarnations. But Rāma and Paraśurāma, although found mentioned frequently, are not explicitly stated as *avatāras* of Viṣṇu. It is interesting to note that Paraśurāma is described as having performed a sacrifice in a place in Tamil Nadu[56]. It is evident from this that when the Sangam poetry was composed the legends of Paraśurāma were very famous in Tamil Nadu so that the poet was inclined to connect Paraśurāma with Tamil Nadu by saying that he performed a sacrifice in Tamil Nadu.

Another prominent aspect of Viṣṇu-worship during the Sangam age was the joint worship of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma[57]. The joint worship of Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma was famous in north India in the Ist century B.C.[58] and it is interesting to note that in Tamil Nadu too it was famous by the same period. This problem requires a special study.

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52. See *Tirumurugāṟṟuppaḍai*.
53. See *Paripāḍal*.
54. Second song of *Paripāḍal*.
55. *Ibid*.
56. *Lectures on Ahanānūṟu*, Saiva Siddhanta Publishing House, Madras 1, p. 79.
57. Fifteenth song of *Paripāḍal*.
58. Mrs. S. Jaiswal, *The origin and development of Vaishnavism*, pp. 170f.

The influence of Sanskrit on Tamil thought and culture is extended to the other fields such as Philosophy, Ethics, etc. But it may be remarked here that the Sangam poetry was not openly philosophical and the ethics of the Sangam poetry will have to be studied separately.

The following conclusions may be made at the end of this study : (1) The influence of Sanskrit on Tamil thought and culture was very deep and integral even at the early period. (2) Sanskrit culture did not suffer any major change by passing through the various cultural traditions that lay in between Tamil Nadu and the home land of Sanskrit culture. (3) The changes that affected Sanskrit culture were mainly due to internal causes and no external culture however powerful it may be, could change the essentials of Sanskrit culture.

THE ROLE OF MAṆIPRAVĀLA IN THE PROPAGATION OF SANSKRIT IN TAMILNADU

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The name Maṇipravāla:-

According to some the term *Maṇipravāla*[1] means an admixture of rubies and corals and denotes a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil. Rubies and corals appear similar from a distance but on a close observation their individualities come to light. Similarly though the language-mixture appears compact, their heterogenous nature cannot escape the notice of the reader. Many people favour a different meaning of the term, i. e. a mixture of pearls and Corals.[2] Their different colours naturally lend a rare charm to the mixture. Probably Kālidāsa[3] was the first poet to take a fancy to the mixture of pearls and corals. The term *Maṇipravāla* exclusively denotes an impressive and judicious mixing of the Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) with the Dravidian language Tamil, although the mixing of Sanskrit with the other Dravidian languages like Telugu, Malayalam etc. is in current use. The latter mixtures do not attract the attention of a reader or a listener for there the blending of the languages is profuse and become a part and parcel of the languages. In fact there is a treatise on the grammar of Malayāla Maṇipravālam name by Līlātilaka.

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1. Maṇi means both ruby and pearl; pravāla means coral.

2. Muthukkalālu *miha* narpavayangalālu mothukkhalanda tamiyā lapi Saṃskṛtena Eḷthikkilum hāraḷateva baddhā buddhi khu matkṛtiriyam kṛtinām vibhūṣā.

3. Puṣpam pravālopahitam yadi syāmmuktāphalam vā sphuṭa-
vidrumastham.
tato'nukuryād viśadasya tasya tāmroṣṭhaparyastarucessmi-
tasya.
K.S.I.

(188)

In the *Mani-pravāla* style of poetry Ādi-yamaka (*Monai* in Tamil) is given a greater importance and *Sanskrit compounds* and sometimes Sanskrit verbal forms too are used.[1]   It has been the pastime of the pandits in Tamil Nadu of the last generation to compose *Mani-pravāla* poems in a lighter vein and exchange them in social gatherings.

The impact of Sanskrit on Tamil must have been there long before the celebrated Tamil grammar *Tolkāppiyam*.   This woik contains certain rules for accommodating Sanskiit words.   In the section of Tamil literature called 'Aham', the poems are grouped under three heads.   The middle group containing about a hundred poems is titled '*Manimidaipavazham*.'[2]   (corals amidst pearls).   The commentator interprets the title as symbolic, i. e. a composition similar to corals and pearls, the poem and the meaning do not coalesce.[3] The above title might have been responsible for the coining of the term *Mani-pravālam*.

Date

In the Tamil literature of the Sangam period, Sanskrit words were only to a small extent.   But there are strong evidences to show that there was a two-way traffic of ideas between the two ancient languages, Sanskrit and Tamil.

Especially in the section called 'Aham' in Tamil Literature where the sentiment of Śṛṅgāra is portrayed in all its details, we find ideas and situations similar to those in Sanskrit classics.   A broader division of Tamil literature under the four heads *Dharma, Artha, Kāma* and *Mokṣa* (*Aram, Porul, Inbam* and, *Vōḍu*) has also been in existence to which fact the Sangam literature bears ample evidence. Some commentators on the Sangam literature and Tamil critics

1. '*The story of Tamil Research*', A. V. Subramania Iyer, (Pp. 24-35), (Published by Amuda Nilayam Pvt. Ltd., Madras-18.)
2. Idaye Vadavezuthcithul viravial Indothugai nadoēthumillā manipravāḷa Nattraivachollin Idaye mudiyum padamudaithām (vi.a soliyam).
3. Aganānuril muthal nūru pāṭṭu — Kaḷitriyānai mirai
   Idai nūru pāṭṭu — Manimidai pavaḷam
   Kadai nūru pāṭṭu — mithilakavai
   Manimidai pavaḷam — Cheyyuḷum poruḷam
   ovvāmayāl ithu uvamayār
   pettra peyar.

Ondrōdondru ovvātha eru mozikaliṅāl iyandra intha nadayum ippeyar petrathu 'Manipravalam' U. M. Gopalakrishnamacharyar Sen. Tamil xi, pp. 485-95.

throw light on the above method of classification.[1] In Eṭṭuttohai and the five Mahākāvyas in Tamil literature the influence of Sanskrit is clear. So far the influence of Sanskrit on the Tamil thought was unmanifest. Then came the Devotional Literature where the influence of Sanskrit was considerable. Thereafter the physical mixing of the two languages was easy.

The Jains who were known as 'Samaṇas' in the Tamil country appear to have first handled the Maṇipravāla style of writing. Side by side with the propagation of their faith, the Jains contributed a lot to the enrichment of Tamil literature. The Pallavas who ruled South India for nearly two centuries—from the sixth to the eight century A.D.—were patronising Sanskrit a great deal. Though many of the Pallava rulers were Hindus, a few of them were either Jains or supported Jainism. Upto the 7th Century A.D. Jainism was in ascendancy. By this time Hindu metaphysical Thought became settled through original Sanskrit works and Sanskrit commentaries. The earlier Tamil Literature having been mostly secular except for certain stray descriptions of gods and goddesses which also could have been influenced by the religious thought in Sanskrit, it is but natural that Sanskrit went to enrich the religion and philosophy of the Tamils. The Jains whose contribution to Tamil Literature is considerably large wrote a work called the Śrīpurāna in the *Manipravāla* style.[2] This is also called *Tiruppugazhpurāṇam*. It contains 24 chapters, each chapter being called a purāṇa. With an amount of certainty we can say that the Jains were the earliest to use the Maṇi-pravāla.[3] Probably with the dwindling of Jainism in the South,

1. *The Story of Tamil Research*, A. V. Subramania Iyer, (Pp. 208-223).

2. Eppatriattākiya dharma thai ākṣepiṇī vikṣepiṇī saṁvedinī, pl. see theorigina ākṣepiṇī enpathu bheda svasiddhānta madthinai Pragāsipperthākum vikṣepiṇī enpathu parasiddhānta-durmata vetittdrinkatki dūṣaṇa nkaḷai prathipāthiputākum saṁvedin enpathu puṇyaphala ngalāgiya abhyudayaniśreyas ngalai vyavarṇī ppadāgavum nirvedini enpadu sansar śarīra bhog aṅgaḷi asārabhāva thinai arivithala mugathināl vairāgya thaippaṇṇu-uadākum. Sri purāṇa

Edited by Venkatarajulu Naidu
Madras University

3. Matru oruṇāḷ saddharmānuṣṭhāna tatpara Nāgi vidyādhara-rājā viṣapuṣpa mena rājyavibhava thinaṅ veruthu svaputra ṇ misaivitha rājya bhāra thanāgi paramanirvāṇasādhana māgira jinadi nakshayinai prāpi tha nan mahābala num

this mixed language ceased to be current except in Inscriptions. This was the case till the 10th or 11th century A.D. Even during the time of Āzhwārs and Nāyanmārs the use of *Maṇi-pravāla* was as such absent, though we are able to discern the impact of the Vedas, Upaniṣads, Purāṇas and the like on the Tamil Literature in general and the Religious thought in particular. After 10th Century A.D. we find the re-emergence of *Maṇi-pravāla* style of writing as evidenced by the appearance of huge commentaries and esoterics in the Vaiṣṇavite literature.

Tirukkuragaippirān Piḷḷān, a favourite disciple of Rāmānujā-cārya, (11th-12th century A.D) is the first Vaiṣṇavite author to write a commentary on *Tiruvāimoḷi* (one thousand and odd sacred hymns by Nammāḷwar). This commentary containing 6,000 *granthas* and planned after *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* is known as *Ārāyirappaḍi*. Within a period of two or three centuries the Vaiṣṇavite literature became flooded with a number of commentaries and religious biographies called *Guruparamparās* written in *Maṇi-pravāla* style.[2] The *Ārāyira-*

prāptarājyābhiṣeka thanākiyapin rūpasaundarya-kalā-guṇa-vijñāna balaiśvaryādi kaḷāl Nādorum abhivṛddhi inaiadyanthu sampūrṇa-candra naippōl samasta-jana ngatkam ānandahetu vāgi vidyādharasāmrājya thinai anubarthanan.   Ibid, p. 23.

1. Eppadi aihika māna aiśvaryam alpa mumāi asthira mumdie-ruṅthathākil svargadyaiśvarya thai prāpya māyapatrinālō ? annil svargādyaiśvarya vanchayāle aihikaviṣayasaṅgaparityāga-pūrvaka maya enthriyargaḷai Jayithu svargaprāptivirodhiśarīra thai parithyajithanargalukum emperumānai āśrayi yatholil antha svargādyaiśvarya Inddyathu; tadāśrayaṇa ttale siddhi thalum asthiram; āthalal eppadi alpāsthiratva bahuladukha-tvānartha hetutvādi anekadoṣadūṣita manā entha aiśvarya thai vittu Penyathiruradai kuividislum svāśrita rai orunalum orunilayelum kaividatha amperumān thiruvadigalil parama-prāpyamā ger patrungal enyirar.   Arāyirappadi-Tiruvainoghi
   Edited and published by :
   S. K. Krishnamachasias

2. Kizil thiruvaimoziel avanudaya praṇayitva-guṇa gunathai anusandhi thupicherinar. Evarukhu keeypirandhu niravadhika-prīti yānadhu eruvarudaya āśraya mum ayiumbnndun padiyāyitru, antha rasathai ariyaru paduthi sādmi pekkipaya akalavai alpam negiya nindran esaran āgayāle avanidu sadṛśapadārti ngalatum sambandhipadārtha ṃgalarum agoppada avunagakhondu bhrami thuphitiparthu avanandri khe oyinthal meelavusm mattathe novupattuchellukirathu kvacidubramate vegāt kvacidvibhramate balāt kvaeinmatta ivābhāti kāntānveṣaṇatatparaḥ engirapadye.

ppaḍi[1] and *Iḍu*[2] quoted in the footnotes will bear ample testimony to the felicity of expression of the authors in this mixed style of Sanskrit and Tamil. The author of *Irā...*[?] ... Periyavāccān Piḷḷai interpreted *Rāmāyaṇa* in favour of S... ... by commenting on certain ślokas considered important by him. This commentary known as *Taniśloki* is a landmark in the history Śrīvaiṣṇavism. These commentaries are addressed to readers who possessed adequate knowledge of both Sanskrit and Tamil. Thus the Śrī-vaiṣhṇavites—the elite as well as the lay public—mastered both the languages and were rightly called 'Ubhayavedāntācāryas.' Even now this title is prefixed to the names of learned Śrīvaiṣṇavites.

The situation was entirely different in the field of Śaivism The Śaivite Ācāryas did not give this importance to Sanskrit in their writings although many of them were masters of it. They assimila-ted whatever Sanskrit offered and rendered everything into pure Tamil. Nevertheless commentators like Śiv... ... and Jñāna-prakāśa handled *Maṇi-pravāla* to a small extent. One noteworthy variation is worth noticing. The Maṇiprāvāla style of writing is said to have been adopted by Perundevanār in his commentary on the *Mahābhārata*.[3] His date is suggested as the middle Sangam period-probably 1850 years ago[4]. In that case we must concede an earlier date for the Maṇipravāla style—say 2nd century. Strangely enough none of the Śaivite Ācāryas attempted to write commen-taries on *Tevāram* and Tirumurais.

The Advent of Grantha Character:

As mentioned earlier the Jains utilised Maṇi ... vāla medium to their best advantage. Although they did not favour Sanskrit which

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1. Evvagaye pasheya asarīri yagiya ... num antar-dhānam chegthapin kamanudaya tyāgaśakti en mahānubhāva mkondu devajāti ka'um āścarya pathu pasp... ... poyinthar.

   (Com. of Perumdevanār)

2. Purātanāgamavedagītapurāṇarūpa moyithu ven kirāta nagiya nadivukonda girīsa nodurai cheiguvan viradhanādin isācaresa rai vendru muchi karathin malerathavaradlamar purindha virāmane nigar thanmian. —Bharata by Villiputūrār.

3. Important among them are : *Onpadināyirappadi* by Nanjeeyar, *Pannīrāyirappadi* by Alagiamaṇavāla Jeeyar, *Irupathumālyira-ppadi* by Periavāchān pīḷḷai, *Iḍu* or *Muppathārāyirappadi* by Vrdakkutiruveethi Piḷḷai who recorded the discourers of his teacher Nampiḷḷai, *Ārāyirappaḍi Guruparamparaprabhāva* by Pinbazhagiyaperumāl Jeevar. (All these works are printed. The above commentaries are available in one volume).

4. *Sentamil*, Vol. XII, Sec. XI. (Pp. 485-495).

is the language of the Vedas and treatises on Rituals and naturally preferred the use of the mass medium of the Prakrits, they should have been at the end of their wits to popularise their religion in the South where Sanskrit had gradually become prominent. They were not able to convey the complicated metaphysical thoughts in Tamil. In order to take their religion to the masses they devised the mixed language a mixture of Sanskrit and Tamil and while doing so they met with another obstacle, that of accommodating the Sanskrit script (Brāhmī pattern) alongside the Tamil Script (Vaṭṭezhuttu pattern). Moreover there were no symbols to represent the peculiar Sanskrit sounds like Ṣa, Ja, Sa, Ha, etc. They had therefore no alternative exco inventing a new script--the Grantha script. Although they invented the grantha character and handled Maṇipravālam as early as the fourth or the fifth century A.D. these were handled by others only after 10th century. This script mixed physically well with the Tamil script. In modern times, in order to achieve uniformity and to avoid composing difficulties large volumes of Vaiṣṇavite literature were earlier printed in Telugu script introducing the letter.

The later history:

The Sanskrit language influenced not only the religious literature of the Tamils but the literary works also to a certain extent[1].

Many Christian Missionaries like Fr. De Nobili who preached Christianity in the South mastered Sanskrit and in order to convince the local mass and to be in tune with the prevailing conditions, they handled a volume of Sanskrit words. Even though they did not resort to the *Maṇi-pravālam* style, yet their writings had a similar flavour. The same is the case with the compositions of Saint Aruṇagiri and Rāmaliṅga Svāmī. It was a time when Sanskrit words and phrases were freely used alongside of Tamil and with pride because such a combination of languages had a unique flourish. In the field of Science, Sanskrit equivalents for Scientific terms were used freely alongside commonplace Tamil words and both the languages not only mixed easily but there was clarity as well because many of the Sanskrit terms had become commonplace. The spread of Devanāgarī script drove away the Grantha script and along with that the Sanskrit language too from Tamil Nadu. Although the Devanāgarī Script is accepted at national level, constitutionally and by practice, Devanāgarī Script has made patent the difference which Grantha script had served to cover and has also added to the difficulty of handling.* The Sanskrit scholars of the previous

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*The Story of Tamil Research by A. V. Subramania Iyer, (Pp. 224-225).

generation wrote only in Grantha script. Many of them are even today ignorant of the Devanāgari script.

The Present Day

At present there is a strong move to 'purify' Tamil by giving a go-by to all foreign words. We are not concerned with the reasons behind this move but it is certain that it will affect the growth of the Tamil language and result in its isolation from the rest of the Indian languages. The famous commentary on *Tiruvāimoli* called *Idu* or *Muppattārāyirappaḍi* was recently recast in pure Tamil under the auspices of the University of Madras. It is found that it helped neither the Tamil public nor the Sanskrit scholars nor the religious-minded people. It remains a literary curio. Similarly in the literary field 'Pratāpa Mudaliyār Caritram', the first Tamil Novel by Vedanāyakam Pillai was also 'purified' by recasting it in pure Tamil in this century. This was also criticised by some Tamil scholars and critics. Rather than a National language, a National script would go a longway in integrating the various language groups. This will also incidentally help the propagation of Sanskrit. I have ventured to show in this paper how Sanskrit played its full role in the enrichment of its own as well as the native literature in Tamil Nadu through the Maṇīpravāla style in composition and the Grantha script in writing.

THE INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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The vocabulary and the grammatical pattern of a language can be separated into two catagories - *native* elements which we can take back to the earliest known stage of the language and *borrowed* elements which were imported at some period from a different language. Just as the native elements are subjected to phonological, morphological and semantic changes, the borrowed elements also, though subject to such type of changes, yet differ from them in the mode of their entry into a language. This borrowing, whether spontaneous or induced, is one of the important influences on language. In using speech of a language, one of our aims is adequate communication. To achieve this communication we constantly modify our phonological and grammatical systems and also our vocabulary to the speech of our associates.

It is clear that language is constantly changing. Linguists explain two sets of factors for this change—external influence and internal process. External influence occurs when a foreign language is imported to the people by conquest, political domination or cultural impact.

Though Sanskrit is not spoken now, it still serves as the medium for composing creative literature and writing learned or religious works. Its impact and influence on other languages are, indeed, to the greatest extent. Sanskrit served as the model for the rest of India. An attempt is made here to explain its influence on one of the earliest and most highly developed languages of the Dravidian family, viz. Tamil.

"Through the predominant influence of the religion of the Brāhmaṇas, the majority of the words expressive of their religious

ideas in modern Tamil is of Sanskrit origin, and though there are
equivalent Dravidian words which are equally appropriate and in
some instances more so, such words have gradually become obso-
lete, and are now confined to the poetical dialect. This is the real
and the only reason why Sanskrit derivations are so generally used
in Tamil in general and religious compositions in particular. In
other Dravidian languages, whatever may be the nature of the
composition or subject matter treated, the amount of Sanskrit
employed is considerably larger than in Tamil and the use of it has
acquired more of the character of a necessity. This is in conse-
quence of the literature of those languages having been chiefly
cultivated by Brahmins". (B. Caldwell)

Sanskrit has been considered as the nurse of the Tamil langu-
age (cevilittāy). Vocabulary, subject-matter and literary traditions
are the three reasons given in support of the above statement.
It has been observed that Sanskrit words are introduced in the
Tamil language from very early times. While speaking about this,
Sri Swaminatha Desikar, author of a Tamil grammar entitled
'Ilakkaṇakkottu' has asserted the impossibility of the Tamil langu-
age without the Sanskrit elements.[1] Sri Sivajñana Swamigal,
another great Tamil scholar, has stated the difficulty of understand-
ing Tamil without the knowledge of Sanskrit.[2] Secondly, a good
number of literary works of Tamil language has their source from
the Sanskrit literary Compositions.[3] Tiruvalluvar's *Tirukkural* and
the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambar, bear ample testimony to this. The great
commentator Parimelazahar while commenting on *Tirukkural* says :
'poruṭ pākupāṭṭinai aram, poruḷ, inpamena vaṭanūl vazakkuppaṟṟi
yōtutalān' and

'aramāvatu manu mutaliya nūlkaḷil vitittena ceytalum ozitalumām'.

Kamban while writing his *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to Vālmiki :

vānkarum pātam nānkum
vakutta *valmīki* enpān...

Besides the subject-matter, Tamil language has set up the
literary tradition (Kavimarabu) in conformity with that of
Sanskrit. The desire of making Tamil equal to Sanskrit is deeply
rooted in the mind of the people of Tamilnad as is evident from
the Tamil statements—

'āriyattoṭuraz taru tamizteivam'.
'iru moziyum nikarennu mitaṟkaiya mulateyō'.

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1. Anṟiyuṇ tamiznuṟ kaḷavilai yavuṟṟul onṟē yāyinum tanittamiz-
   uṇto.
2. Vaṭamozi Yuṇarntārkkanṟit tamiaiyalpu viḷankātu.
3. Ilakkanac cintanaikal, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 2.

The indebtedness of Tamil to Sanskrit in explaining the grammatical principles is great. The first grammar in Tamil was composed by Agastyar called 'Akattiyam'—and then 'Tolkāppiam' by Tolkāppiar. Two greatest grammarians of Tamil language proclaim that Indra vyākaraṇa and Pāṇini's grammar are the source books respectively for *Tolkāppiam* and *Akattiyam*.[1]

'Tolkāppiyanār' in his *Tolkāppiam* adapted not only the Sanskrit grammatical terms and the arrangements, but also many of the grammatical theories. For instance, his account of the origin of speech-sounds and the function of case-suffixes is a close reproduction of what is found in old Sanskrit grammar, though in the treatment of compound and the initial and final sounds of words, he appears to have made certain alternations and adaptations to suit the requirements of Tamil language. On the other hand, the author of *Vīrachōlīyam* and *Prayokavivēkam* have imitated Pāṇini's grammar in declension, conjugation and word-formation to the greatest extent. Vararuci's *Kārikās* on Sanskrit compounds are also incorporated by them.

Tolkāppiyanār in the *sūtra* says that the air which starts from navel comes out as different speech-sounds through the vocal organs—chest, neck, head, hard palate, teeth, tongue, lips and nose and undergoing different modification therein.[2] It is more or less the translation of the following *Kārikās* of *Pāṇini Śikṣā* :

aṣṭau sthānāni varṇānām uraḥ kaṇṭhaḥ śiraḥ tathā/
jihvāmūlañca dantāśca nāsikoṣṭhau ca tālu ca//

Here the 'Jihvāmūla has been translated as 'nā' or tongue while it actually means the root of the tongue.

The author of *Ilakkaṇavilakkam* improves the above-mentioned sūtra of Tolkāppiar by adding that the sound has emanated from 'Udāna', which is made to rise by the will of persons. This clearly shows that he has in his mind the *Kārikās* in *Pāṇini Śikṣā*—

1. Vitai yukaittavan pāninik kilalakkaṇa mēnāl
   vatamo zikkurait tānkiyan malayamā munikkut
   tiṭamu ṛttiyam mozikketi rākkiya tencol

and

   vaṭamoziyaip *pāninikku* vakttaruḷi ytaṛkiṇaiyāt
   toṭarputaiya tenmoziyai ulakamelān tozutēttu
   kuṭamunikku valiyuruttār kolleṛṛup pākār

2. talaiyinu mitaṛṛinu neñcinu nilai-p
   pallu m-itazu navu mukkum
   annamu m-ulappaṭa enmurai nilaiyan...

atma buddhya saṁ..e.ṭyārthān mano yuṅkte vivakṣayā/
manaḥ kāyāgnim āhanti sa prerayati mārutam//

Towards the end of the third section of the *Eluttatikāram* or the theory of speech of sound Tolkāppiar states that the theory of speech sounds and modifications which sound undergoes within the body may be learnt from the scriptures of the Brāhmaṇas and that he has dealt with only articulated speech sounds that came out of mouth. Here it is evident that he refers to the four phases of speech sounds, Parā, Paśyantī, Madhyamā and Vaikharī described in Sanskrit grammar. Parā, is that phase of the Śabda Brahman, the undifferentiated primordial sound which is manifested at Mūlā-dhāra or sacral plexes ; Paśyantī is that phase which is manifested at the navel and which is cognisable to Yogins ; Madhyamā, is that phase which is manifested at the heart ; and Vaikharī, is that phase which is manifested at the vocal organs as the articulatory sounds. The four phases are clearly suggested by the following *Ṛk* which Patañjali mentions in his *Mahābhāṣya*, first Āhnika :

catvāri vākparimitā padāni
tani vidur brāhmaṇā ye manīṣiṇaḥ/
guhā trīṇi nihitā neṅgayanti
turīyam vācō manuṣyā vadanti//

So it is very clear that the three *Sūtras* of Tolkappiar, 83, 102 and 103 reveal that Tolkāppiyanār had studied Sanskrit *Śikṣā Prātiśakhyās* and grammar and had adopted in his work these points which would suit Tamil language.[1] Again, the definition of a word given by Pāṇini and Tolkappiar almost agree.

suptiṅantam padam/
Collenap paṭupa peyarē vinaiyanṟu
āyiraṇ ṭenpa aṟintici nōrē

The author of 'Nannūl'—another grammatical treatise in Tamil—while defining a *Sūtra*, clearly adapts the Sanskrit definition of *Sūtra*.

Cilvakai ezuttiṟ palvakaip poruḷaic
cevva nātiyiṟ ceṟintinitu viḷakkit
tiṭpa nuṭpañ ciṟantena cūttiram.

The Sanskrit definition.

alpākṣaram asandigdham sāravat viśvatomukham/
astobham anavadyam ca sūtram sūtravido viduḥ//
is well known.

In the treatment of the vowels—their quality and quantity, the position of their occurrence in the initial and final position

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1. *History of Grammatical Theories* P.S.S.Sastri, p.10.

in particular, the parallelism between the ancient grammatical works of Sanskrit and Tamil are clearly noticed. In mentioning the initial and the final vowels in words, Tolkāppiyanār has probably followed *Prātiśākhyas*. The *Ṛk Prātiśākhya*, the *Śukla Yajuḥ Prātiśākhya* and *Atharva Prātiśākya* say that 'l' (ऌ) cannot stand as final.[1]

In the treatment of the consonants also, particularly their position in a word, Tolkāppiyanār, it seems, has followed the *Prātiśākhyas* which give a list showing the sounds in Sanskrit that can respectively stand as the initial and final members. Though there are differences in the treatment, in majority of the cases, a clear parallelism between the two languages is clearly noticed. To cite an example for the difference—Tamil allows all explosives except 'ṭ' and 'ṇ' after 'y' while Sanskrit does not. On the other hand, Tamil does not allow 'y' after the stops, while Sanskrit allows it. But both Sanskrit and Tamil agree in not allowing 'r' to be followed by 'r' ; 'l' to be followed by 'r' and 'u' to be followed by k, c, ṭ, t and p. The non-inclusion of the Tamil secondary sound 'Āytam' which appears in the middle of the word, either in the vowel or in consonants, is perhaps on the model of the two Sanskrit sounds 'jihvāmūlīya' and 'upadhmānīya' which have not been classed either as vowels or as consonants by the Sanskrit grammarian.

While dealing with I-ṭai-c-col, Tolkāppiyanār had in his mind Yāska's *Nirukta*. I-ṭai-c-chol, according to Tamil grammarians, has no separate existance of its own; it is used along with nouns or verbs, either as prefixes, suffixes or part of them, etc. In this case it is clear that the I-ṭai-c-chol in Tamil corresponds to *Pratyayás* and *nipātas* in Sanskrit. The sentence 'iṭai-y-enappaṭuva peyarottum vinaiyoṭṭum naṭai-perriyalum' has a parallel in *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* 'Upasargā vimśatirarthavācakāḥ sahetarabhyām' (R.V.P.12.6). Here *sahetarabhyām* has been translated by Tolkāppiyanār as peyarottum and vinaiyoṭṭum which will apply to all pratyayas and nipātas.

In addition, Tolkāppianār, while giving a list of iṭai-c col with their meanings in iṭai-y-iyal may have had for his model the first chapter of *Nirukta* where Yāska deals with *Nipātas*. To cite an example, *Tolkāppiam*, sūtram 267, it is said words 'antil', 'aṅka' are simply to make up the quantity of the verse.

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1. Nālkāraḥ svareṣu (*RVP* 1.9)
   Svarāśca ḷkāravarjam (*SYVP* 1.87)
   Aṇlkāraḥ swaraḥ padyah (*AVP*.1.4)

antil aṅka-v-acaiṇilai-k-kilavi —
A parallel in Yāska's *Nirukta* —

Athāpi pādapūraṇa idamu tadu (Y.N. I. 5.4)
[Pādapūrana may be translated as 'acaiṇilai-k-kilavi']

A close examination of the Uri-y-iyal — a chapter which is perhaps identical with the chapter dealing with 'Dhātus' in Sanskrit grammar — in *Tolkāppiam* shows that Tolkāppiyanār may have had the second, third and fourth chapters of Yāska's *Nirukta* for his model. The portion 'orucol palaporuṭ kuṛimai tōnṛinum' (though the same roots can have different meaning) has a parallel in 'ekārtham anekaśabdam ityetaduktam' (Y.N. 265.1). The portion 'palacol oṛuporut kurimali tōnṛiṇum' (though different roots are used in the same sense) has a parallel in 'atha yānyanekārthāni eka-śabdāni tānyato anukramiṣyāmaḥ (Y.N. 266.2). The expression 'payilātavarrai' has a parallel in 'anavagata-samskārānśca nigamān' (Y.N. 266.3). Again the expression 'velippaṭu colle' has a parallel in 'samvijñātāni tāni' in the sentence—

> tadyatra svarasamskārau samarthau
> prādeśikena guṇena anvitau syātām
> samvijñātāni tāni (Y.N. 56.4)

Besides, the above-mentioned parallelism, Tolkāppiyanār first gives the roots which have the same meaning and then only roots which have different meanings. In *Nirukta* too, Yāska gives a list of words in the second and the third chapters that have the same meaning, and in the fourth and fifth chapters list of those words having different meanings.

Thus in conclusion, we can say that Tolkāppiyanār had for his model the Prātiśākhyās in general and *Ṛk Prātiśākhya* and *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* in particular, for writing his *Tolkāppiam* chapters of I, II and III — dealing with 'Ezuttatikāram' or speech sound and for 'Iṭaiyiyal' and 'Uriyiyal' in 'Collatikāram' he had the first four chapters of Yāska's *Nirukta*.

Having dealt with the influence of Sanskrit on Tamil language and grammar, let us consider how far Sanskrit has influenced the Tamil literature in general and the Tamil works during 'Sangam Age' in particular.

The earliest available literary works in Tamil literature are the Sangam classics, belonging to 2nd century B.C. or so. These are anthologies of poems composed by several poets. Here too let me confine myself to the impact and influence of the language on some of the Sangam Classics like *Akānāṉūru, Puranāṉūru, Pattupāṭṭu* and

Kalittogai. A close study of these Sangam Classics of Tamil literature will certainly reveal how the authors of the works made use of Vedic passages here and there. In numerous references about the performance of sacrifice, the fruition of the past deeds, salvation, rebirth, the fourfold human aspirations — *Dharma, Artha, Kāma,* and *Mokṣa,* reference to Brāhmaṇas as twice-born *Dvija* — irupirappālar — etc. Besides, numerous Sanskrit words are also found in these classics. To cite a few examples — Yāma, śakata, Vadhū, Pati, Kalāpa, Nūpura, Vajra, Hara, Nemi, Añjana, Yūpa, etc. These classics show how Sanskrit words and the subject-matter of the Sanskrit works influenced the life and literature of Tamil people generally.

Let us now consider the classics one by one : *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* is a group of ten poems by different authors. 'Thiru-muruku-aṟṟu-p-paṭai' — or guides to the abodes of Lord Muruga, one of the poems included in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* makes a clear reference to the Supreme bliss and goal mentioned in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad.* (Chapter 3)

Yastu vijñānavān bhavati samanaskaḥ sadā śuciḥ/
Sa tu tatpadamāpnoti yasmād bhuyo na jāyate//
......tadviṣṇoḥ paramam padam......sā kāṣṭhā sā parā gatiḥ
Cevaṭi paṭarum cemmal uḷḷamoṭu
Nalampuri koḷkaip pulampurint turaiyum
Calavu-nī nayantanai āyin...

Tirumurukārrūppaḍai—Lines 62-64.

A reference to Indra possessing thousand eyes and a performer of hundred sacrifices and mounting the heavenly elephant is seen in the following lines of the same text—

Nūṟṟuppat taṭukkiya Nāṭṭattu nūṟupal
vēḷvi muṟṟiya venṟu aṭukoṟṟtu
īriranṭentia maruppin, elil naṭai
talperum taṭakkai uyaruta yānai
eruttam ētiya tirukkiḻar celvanum. *Ibid.,* lines 155-159

While explaining the manner in which Lord Muruga is to be worshipped by the twice-born, clear mention about the three holy fires—Āhavanīya, Dākṣiṇātya and Gārhapatya is made—

Iru—mūnṟaitiya iyalpinin valā aṭu
iruvar cuṭṭiya palvēṟu tolkuṭi
aṟunān kiraṭṭi ilamai nalliyānṭu
ārinir kazippiya aṟa navil koḷkai
mūnṟuvakai kuṟitta *muṭṭic* celvattu
irupiṟappāḷar polutarintu nuvala *Ibid.,* Lines 177-182.

Here it has been mentioned that the Brāhmaṇas are observing the vow of 'Brahmacarya' for forty-eight years and propitiating the three holy fires mentioned in the scriptures. The Dharma Sūtra says—

Aṣṭācatvārimśad varṣāṇi Brahmacarī tamācaritavantaḥ.

The performance of sacrifice and the reference to the sacrificial post—yupastambha—is also found in another poem *Perumppānaṟaṟuppaṭai*—included in *Pattupāṭṭu*—

kēlvi *yaṇṭaṇar* aruṅkaṭa niṟutta
vēlvit tūṇat tachi-ı yavanar.[1]

In the same poem there is a clear reference to the *Mahābhārata* war and the defeat of the Kauravas at the hand of the Pāṇḍavas—

īraim patinmarum porutukaḷat taviyap-
peramarkaṭanta koṭuñci neṭunder
ārac ceruvin aivar pōla.[2]

A reference to the story of the birth of Lord Subrahmanya as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* is found in the same poem—

aivaruḷ oruvan aṅkai eṟpa
aṟuvar payanta āṟamar celva.[3]

The *Puṟanāṉūru*, collection of 400 verses, elaborately analysing the background of Nature—(i) terrain (tinai), hilly regions (Kuruñci) pastoral (mullai), plains (marutam), sea-shore (neital) and the intervening waste lands (pālai), (ii) the six reasons and (iii) the six divisions of the day,[4] refers to the subject matters discussed in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads.

A clear reference to rebirth and salvation is found in the following lines—

Atanāl vuyarnta vēṭṭat tuyarnitici nōrkkuc
ceyvinai maruṅki neaita ḷuṇṭeniṟ
ṟōyyā vulakattu nukarcciyun kūṭum
toyyā vulakattu nukarcci yillenin.[5]

The four-fold human aspirations—*Dharma, Artha, Kāma* and *Mokṣa* have been re-classified by the Tamil ancient literature into two, 'Aham' and 'Puram', the former dealing with 'Kāma' and the latter dealing with 'Artha', 'Dharma' and 'Mokṣa'. Like the

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1. *Perumpararruppatai* Lines 315-316.
2. *Ibid.*, Lines 415-417.
3. *Tirumurukāṟṟuppatai* Lines 254-255.
4. *An Anthology of Indian Literature—Tamil*, pp. 555-556.
5. *Puṟanāṉūru*—verse 214—Lines 649.

,Puram' verses, 'Aham' verses are also a collection of 400 verses dealing with the subjective moods of love, Kāma.

References to the stories of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, destruction of the demon Sura by Lord Muruga, and the story of Paraśurāma are found mentioned here. Besides, the practice of marriage ceremony of the Brāhmaṇas in which chaste women possessed of children are asked to look at the bride at the time of the marriage and offer their benedictions also finds a place here. Here it would be appropriate to compare the Vedic text which runs thus—

> Sumangalīriyam vadhūrimām samēta paśyata/
> Saubhāgyamasyai datvāyāthāstam viparetana//

Kalittokai — another classic belonging to Sangam age, containing 150 dramatic odes in a special metre (kali) and grouped according to the five-fold classification of the country (thiṇai), (Kuruñci, Mullai, Marutam, Neital, Pālai). Here a number of references to the ancient stories of the Sanskrit origin is found. For example, Lord Śiva's burning the three *puras* — Duryodhana's effort in killing the Pāṇḍavas in the Wax Palace, the battle between Śurapadma a demon, and Lord Subrahmanya, Rāvaṇa's effort in lifting of the mount Kailāsa, Duryodhana's death at the hand of Bhīma by the latter striking on his thigh, Lord Kṛṣṇa's encounter with the two wrestlers sent by Kaṃsa, the account how Lord Śiva concealed the river Gangā on his matted hair etc. are mentioned.

The reference to the lifting of Kailāśa mountain, mentioned in the Sanskrit epics and purāṇas, is found in the following lines.

> imayavil vāṅkiya irṅcaṭai yantaṇan
> umaiyamarnt tuyar malaii runtananāka
> aiyirutalayin arakkar kōmān
> toṭippoli taḷakkaiyiṛ kizpukuttammalai[1]

A beautiful reference to the marriage customs of the Brāhmaṇas, especially going round the sacred fire (Saptapadī) by the bride and the bridegroom, as enjoined in the Śāstras—

> pōtaviz panippoykaip putu vatū talvitta
> tātucuz tāmarait tanimalarp puṛancēṛpu
> kātalkoḷ vatuvainaṭ kalingattuḷ otuṅkiya
> matarkōḷ mānōkkin matantaitan tunai yaka
> ōtuṭai yantanañ erivalañ ceyvān pōl[2]

Mention of Lord Śiva as Candraśekhara and Lord Viṣṇu as Śrīnivāsa in the following lines—

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1. *Kalittokai,* 69.
2. *Kalittokai,* 104.

Tirumaṟu mārpanpōl tiṟalcāntṟa kāriyum
mikkoḷir tāzcatai mevarum pirainutal
mukkaṇṇā nuruvekol......[1]

Reference to the past deeds and tridaṇḍi sannyāsin is found :
......tañceyta

tolvinaip payanṟuyppat turakkamve tezunārpōl.[2]
Mukkōlko ! antaṇar mutumozhi ninaivarpol.[3]

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1. *Kalittokai*, 104.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid*, 126.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE THOUGHT
AND CULTURE OF TAMILNADU

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Tamil-nāḍu is that part of South India, formerly ruled over by the Cera, Cola and Pāṇḍya kings, where Tamil language was spoken. It is referred to as that stretch of land which extended from Tirupati (Tiruvenkaṭam) in the north to Cape Comorin (Kanyā-kumārī) in the south.

The language spoken in Tamil-nāḍu had an indigenous origin and it developed an early literature covering a period of nearly ten centuries from about 5th century B. C. to 5th century A. D. called the period of the three Sangams, the earliest, the middle and the last. The first Sangam period remains a dark chapter for the literary historian ; but, some rays of light have been projected by the author of *Tolkāppiyam* of the middle Sangam period (circa 2. century B. C) into this dark period ; for, in his grammatical woik which is the sole representative of the middle period, he presupposes, and rightly too, some ancient writers and critics in Tamil. He must have based his grammatical rules on the usages current in the literature that existed before him. The representative works of the last Sangam period are contained in three collections of 10 Idylls *(Pattup-pāṭṭu)*, 8 anthologies *(Eṭṭut-tokai)* and 18 ethical lyrics called *Patineṇkīlkaṇakku*. During the Sangam period Tamil came under the influence of Sanskrit, and in the subsequent periods, the rich literature of Tamil became richer both in vocabulary and thought, thanks to the beneficent influence of Sanskrit and the catholicity in outlook of the Tamil poets. And this was inevitable too.

Language and literature can retain their indigenous nature only so long as they remain isolated from external influence, by accident or design. A language ceases to grow and progress when it lives in isolation. Contact with Sanskrit language, literature and

thought and culture must have happened to indigenous Tamil somewhere about 5th century B. C. Tamil was receptive and did not place a taboo on accepting words, ideas or expressions. Words like *tapas, daivam, satyam, karma, bhakti* and *Jñāna* have a wider significance and appeal than their translations in the different languages. Some learned poets like Kapilar, Bāṇa, Kāsijahar and others adopted Tamil-nāḍu and Tamil as their own and gave the benefit of their prolific literary contribution to Tamil. No growing language can afford to remain changeless in the realm of ideas continually growing and changing.

The Tamil classics of the post-Sangam period after the 5th century A.D. bear the stamp of Sanskrit influence both in vocabulary and thought; for, they were written by Tamil writers who either knew Sanskrit or derived inspiration from the Sanskrit classics. The influence of Sanskrit on Tamil became increasingly pronounced in post-Sangam literature both under the rule of the liberal Tamil kings and to a greater extent under the patronage of the Pallava and other non-Tamil kings who were avowed patrons of Sanskrit. A spirit of "Give and Take" and reconciliation became the dominant feature in art, literature, religion and philosophy.

The Sangam classics reflect the spirit of preserving the purity and genius of the Tamil language on the part of the writers to a greater extent than the subsequent classics, Still they echo many ideas and concepts already current in Vedic and in the early phase of post-Vedic Sanskrit literature.

Among such ideas are those relating to the Veda, the Vedic gods and sacrifices, the Upaniṣadic concept of *Svarga*, of the life here and in the here-after and of the Law of *Karma*, the concept of *Mokṣa* and the other *Puruṣārthas, Dharma, Artha* and *Kāma* subserving it, the concept of *Aparā Vidyā* including the *Vedāṅgas* as distinct from *Para Vidyā* the knowledge par excellence pertaining to the *Ātman*, the duties of the four professional divisions of society called *Varṇas*, the concept of the four stages or orders in man's spiritual evolution called *Āśramas*, the pivotal position of the stage of the house-holder (*Gṛhastha*) and the institution of marriage relating to it, the Epic and Purāṇic conception of the Trinity *Brahmā, Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* and of *Durgā* and *Skanda* (*Muruka*) and stories depicting their greatness.

In dealing with the influence of Sanskrit on the Thought and Culture of Tamil-nāḍ only a few representative works of the early period in both the literatures have been noticed here. The main Sanskrit works cited are the *Ṛg-veda*, the *Taittirīya-saṁhitā* of

Kṛṣṇa-yajur-veda, the *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* and *Manu-smṛti.* Similarly, the earliest works available belonging to the second and third Sangam periods have also been taken up for comparison. The earliest and the sole extant representative of the second Sangam period is the celebrated Grammatical work-*Tolkāppiyam.* The following works of the Pattu-ppāṭṭu collection of the last Sangam period have been noticed—(1) *Tirumurukāṟṟu-p-paṭai* (317 lines) of Nakkīrar, where the author prescribes for a person aspiring for liberation, devout worship of Lord Muruka in the six places of worship (Tiru-p-paran-kunṟam, Tiru-c-cīr-alaivāi (Tiruchendur), Tiruvāvi-nan-kuṭi, near Palani, Tiruv-erakam (in Malabār, popularly identified with Svāmimalai near Kumba-konam), Kunṟu-t-toṟ-āṭal and Palamutir-colai). (2) *Porunarṟṟru-p paṭai* (248 lines) of Mutattāma-k-kanṇiyār dealing with the fertility of the Cola country in general and the greatness of the Cola king Karikal-peru-valattān, in particular. (3) *Mullai-p-pāṭṭu* (103 lines) of Nappū-tanār dealing with the love-lorn life of a heroine when her hero-husband has gone on a military campaign. (4) *Maturai-k-kāñcī* (782 lines) of Mānkuṭi-marutanār dedicated to the Pāṇḍya king Nedunchezhiyan to whom the path of salvation is prescribed and describing the glory of his predecessor and of the city of Maturai. (5) From the *Eṭṭu-t-tokai* collection the following works have been noticed—(1) and (2) *Naṟṟinai and Kuruntokai*, each being a collection of 400 lyric verses dealing with the topic of love composed by many poets like Avvaiyār, Kapilar and Pāṇar. (3) *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* or the tenfold Ten containing 10 poems of ten odes each by a particular poet describing a particular Cera king and setting forth the customs of the Cera country and the greatness of its rulers. The work bears distinct marks of Sanskrit influence, (4) *Paripātal* (70 verses, with but 26 now available in print), dealing with the greatness of Maturai city and Vaikal river, the birth of Skanda-Muruka and with some Vedic customs prevalent at the time. (5) *Kali-t-tokai* (150 verses) in the Kali-metre except for the significant invocatory verse and dealing with the five thinais forming the back-ground for love (*Pālai, Kuriñcī, Marutam, Mulai* and *Neytal*) and with many moral maxims and marriage customs current in those days. (6) *Akanānūru* (400 verses) by several poets dealing with the *tinais* and other topics pertaining to *Akam*, the subjective mind and (7) *Puṟanānūru* (400 lyric verses) by many poets dealing with *Puram*-life in general especially war and the affairs of State and all activities of human society not comprised in *Akam* or pure love. It is a veritable mirror which reflects the felicity of Sangam Tamil. Works cited from the third collection called *Patineṇ-kīl-kaṇakku* are— (1) The celebrated *Tiru-k—kuṟal* of Tiruvalluvar,

1,330 couplets in the Kural metre, (2) *Trikaṭukam* (100 verses) of Nallātanār, each verse embodying a group of three ideas and (3) *Ācārakkovai* (100 verses), prescribing the ideal conduct of people with others in general and with elders and kings, in particular.

Of the works mentioned above, the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Tirukkural* serve as two great lamp-posts shedding light on rules relating to ideal literature and ideal life respectively.

Of the three broad divisions of Tamil literature, *Iyal* (poetry), *Iśai* (Music) and *Nāṭakam* (Drama), the first, Iyal consists of works dealing with grammar and general features of the language and definition called *Ilakkaṇam* corresponding to *Lakṣaṇa* in Sanskrit and literary works illustrative of the definitions formulated in the former called *Ilakkiyam* corresponding to *Lakṣya* in Sanskrit. The *Tolkāppiyam* is the oldest extant sole representative of the former and consists of about 1,600 aphorisms called *Sūtras* and three chapters called Adhikāras (*Atikārams*). This division is in consonance with the time-honoured division followed by the earlier *Sūtrakāras* in Sanskrit. The Sūtra-form had already been adopted by Pāṇini in his grammar, (*Vyākaraṇa*), Gautama in *Nyāya*, Kaṇāda in *Vaiśeṣika*, Jaimini in *Pūrva-mīmāṁsā*, Bādarāyaṇa (Vyāsa) in *Uttara-mīmāṁsā* (Vedānta), Patañjali in *Yoga*, Kapila in *Sāṁkhya*. They call the sections consisting of Sūtras as Adhyāya, Adhikāra, Adhikaraṇa, etc. The first adhikāra of *Tolkāppiyam* deals with letters or sounds in 480 sutras like the earlier *Śikṣās* in Sanskrit and is called *Eluttatikāram*. The second one deals with words (Śabda) like *Vyākaraṇa* and *Nirukta* in Sanskrit and is called Colati kāram (in 465 *sūtras*). The third deals with matter relating to Art and Literature corresponding to the works on *Chandas* (Yāppu) *Rasa* (Akam), *Alaṁkāra* (Aṇi) and well-known verbal expressions (*Uktis*) called Porul-aṭikāram. (665 *sūtras*). The author in *Collatikāram* (9 : 1) refers to four kinds of words used in verses and mentions words of the north *(Vaṭa-c-col)*. Hence Sanskrit and Prākṛt words ought to have been current in the Tamil before his time.

The *Tiru-k-kuṛal* is the most outstanding extant literary work of the Sangam period dealing with a universal code of morals applicable to all times and climes. It propounds an ideal monarchy with ideal house-holders and citizens and true ascetics all enjoying the best things of the world and attaining divine bliss. The work is systematically planned with subject-wise divisions as in the Śāstraic literature in Sanskrit and contains 1,330 verses in the Kural metre and is divided into 133 *Adhikāras (atikārams)*, each of 10 verses. There are three broad sections dealing, in the main, with

the three *Puruṣārthas*-ends of human life—(1) *Dharma (Aram)*, (2) *Artha (Porul)* and (3) *Kāma (Kāmam)*. A separate section for *Mokṣa (Vīḍu)* the fourth *Puruṣārtha* is not devoted by the poet because, following the other Sanskrit tradition, ascetic life is included in *Dharma* as *Nioṛtli Dharma*.

Section I *Aṛat-tu-p-pāl* consists of 380 verses in 38 decads *(Atikārams)* divided into four topics—(1) Introductoṛy *(Pāyiram)* in 40 verses dealing with God, Rain, Ascetics and Virtue. (2) Life of a Gṛhastha house-holder (Illaṛam) in 200 verses. (3) The life of an ideal Sannyāsin (Tuṛavaram) in 130 verses and (4) Destiny (Ul) in 10 verses.

Section II (Porut-pāl) consists of 700 verses divided into three topics —(1) Ideal sovereign and administration (Araśu) in 250 verses. (2) Ministers and other officers of State *(Aṅga)* in 320 verses and (3) Other matters like high birth, culture etc., necessary for an ideal citizen (Ozhipu) in 130 verses.

Section III (Kāma-t-tu-p-pāl) in 250 verses is divided into two topics—(1) The Gāndharva form of marriage (Kaḷavu) of true lovers leading to an ideal wedded life in 70 verses and (2) The sacramental form of marriage with the approval of the parents and according to the prescribed rites (Kaṛpu) in 180 verses.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar is quite familiar with Sanskrit and must have been influenced by the pre-Kuṛal Sanskrit classics like the *Vedas* and the *Dharma-sūtras* Where the *Puruśarthas* had been already dealt with. His language is simple, direct and original in accord with the epigramatic style. He uses only such Sanskrit words as had become part and parcel of the Tamil language. Guṇa, Dāna, Daivam, Karma, Āśā, Karaṇam, Kāma, Nāma, Māna, Aṅgaṇam, Gaṇa, Āya and Kulam belong to this category. Some words are slightly changed to suit the genius of Tamil with an addition of a vowel or softening of a consonant. The Tamil forms of Loka, Phalam, Tapas, Kṣaṇa, Amṛtam, Pāpī, Havis, Rūpam, Bhūta, Amātya and Goṣṭhi used by the author are instances in point. The first Kuṛal itself presents three words of Sanskrit origin—Akāra, Ādi-Bhagavān and Loka, which had naturally gone into Tamil, either directly fṛom Sanskrit or through their Prākṛt forms, thanks to the literary contributions of Buddhist and Jaina Tamil writers. The author uses Sanskrit words but sparingly and in cases of need, only without materially affecting the sound-system of Tamil or drastically changing the sounds of Sanskrit words to suit the Tamil genius. The work of *Nālaṭiyār* in 400 verses and the *Paḷamoḷi* by a Jain writer in 400 verses follow the *Virukkural* both in the subject-matter and method of treatment.

The Sangam poets acknowledge their knowledge of the *Veda* and its greatness. They refer to the Vedas as Śruti (*Kelvi*) the unwritten wisdom learnt by hearing (*Ezhutā-k-kaṟ-p-pu*), as eternal (*Māyā-vaymoḷi*) and as the old sacred scripture of the Brahman inculcating *dharma* (*Mutu-mozh Arampuriyarumarai*). The Vedic gods Indra (*Ventan*) and Varuṇa are considered to be the presiding deity of Marutam and Neytal, the Vedic-cum-Purāṇic gods Viṣṇu (*Māyon*) and Skanda (*Ceylon*) as the presiding deities of Mullai and Kuriñci by Tolkāppiyanār. The Vedic concept of propitiating the gods through sacrifices is referred to in *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* (21, 70, 74), and the chanting of *mantras* in *Tirumurukāṟṟu-p-paṭai* (94-6) and in *Kali-t-tokai* (36). Kings and chieftains performed sacrifices according to Vedic injunctions constructing Yajña-śālās. *Puranāṉūru* refers to many sacrifices performed. The learned Brāhmaṇa called Kauṇiyam, born of a high family, performed many prescribed sacrifice (166). Mutu-k-kutumi-p-peruvazhuti performed many of them (15) a fact which is referred to in *Maturai-k-kāñci* also (759-863). Karikār-p-peruvaḷattān performed the *Garuḍa-cayana* sacrifice (22). Perunār k-killi performed *rājasūya* and Nalankilli many other sacrifices (363, 400). *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* refers to many sacrifices performed by the king Celva-k-katuṅkōvazhiyātāṉ. The *Akanāṉūru* and *Puranā-nūru* refer to the Pāṇḍyas as descendants of the Kuru dynasty of kings. Similarly the Colas are also supposed to belong to the line of the munificent king Śibi as mentioned in *Puranāṉūru* (39, 43). Thus, being Kṣatriyas, they were entitled to perform sacrifices.

The Upaniṣadic concept of *Svarga* and its denizens, of the Life here and to the hereafter and the Law of *Karma* and transmigration are also dealt with in the Sangam works. *Svarga* is referred to as the World of the gods (*Devar-Ulakam*), the exalted world (*Uyar-nilai-ulakam*) the world of the higher beings (*Melōr-ulakam*) and as the world of the great (*Cirantor ulakam*) in *Puranāṉūru, Patiṟṟu-p-pattu, Maturai-k-kānci* and *Paripāṭal*. It is also called *Nākam*. Its denizens are the gods referred to as the shining (*Kur.* 1073), unwinking (*Imaiyār* 906), immortal (*Amarar* 121) denizens of heaven (*Vāṉor; Vāṉa-t-tavar.* 346; 86). Their food is nectar and the offerings (*Avi-Havis*) made by men in sacrifices. They are 33 in number, 12 Ādityas, 2 Aśvins, 8 Vasus and 11 Rudras (*Paripaṭal*,8). Indra is the lord of Svarga (*Kur.* 25), called as *Purandara* (*Parip.* 5, 56) and as the performer of a hundred sacrifices. The *Puranāṉūru* states that the fruit of what a person does here is reaped in the life hereafter (134) and the fruits of good deeds are enjoyed in heaven (174) and the painful fruits of bad deeds suffered in Hell (*Niraya*-5). It also prescribes doing good deeds without any desire for the results as in the *Gītā* (134, 182).

The concept of *Trivarga* (*Dharma*, **Artha and Kāma**) and of the fourth *Puruṣārtha* (*Mokṣa*) are briefly dealt with in the *Upaniṣads* and *Dharma-sūtras* and elaborately in the *Mahābhārata* ; they are lucidly dealt with in *Tiru-k-kuṛal*, *Nāladiyār*, *Palamoli* and similar works of the Sangam period.

The *Muṇḍakopaniṣad* refers to two types of *Vidyā* which are to be known—*Parā* (the superior) and *Aparā* (the secondary). The *Aparā type* includes the four *Vedas* and the six *Aṅgas* namely, *Śikṣā* (Phonetics), *Kalpa* (Directory for the Vedic rituals), *Vyākaraṇa* (Grammar), *Nirukta* (Etymology), *Chandas* (Prosody) and *Jyotiṣa* (Astronomy). The Parā Vidyā is that by which the Imperishable *Ātman* is realised. (Tatra aparā rgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharva-vedaḥ śikṣā kalpo vyākaraṇam niruktam chando jyotiṣamiti. Atha parā yayā tadakṣaram adhigamyate/ *Muṇḍ.* 1 : 5). The *Puṛanānūṛu* refers to the four *Vedas* and the six *Aṅgas* (166). Following the line of the *Brahma-sūtras* which declare that all the Vedas, etc., have come from the Supreme Brahman, the *Puṛanānūṛu* states that they have come from the Supreme Śiva. . *Tirumurukāṛṛu-p-paṭai* (179-182) says that the twice-born mastered the four Vedas and six Aṅgas in 48 years (Āruṇānkiratti...). *Puṛanānūṛu* says (2, 18-21) that the truth of the Vedas does not change like the natural sweetness of milk. The invocatory verse in *Kali-t-tokai* refers to Śiva as the teacher of the Brahmans versed in the Vedas and the six Vedāṅgas. The verse translated runs thus :—

> The Brahmans versed in *aṅgas* six
> Were taught by Thee in Vedas rare ;
> The Braids concealed the clear Ganges,
> Thy Fire did spread to Tripura ..
> And words fall back from Thee, and Thou
> Transcendeth all thoughts of human kind.

(यत वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह)

The division of Society into four professional classes called *Varṇas* based on the aptitude and obligation of its members is referred to in the later phase of the Vedic period and in the *Dharma-śāstras* (*Gaut. Dh. Sūtra* II-1-1, 7, 16, 50, 57, 62). *Tolkāppiyam* (Marapu. 71, 72, 78, 81 & Purat. 16) refers to the duties of the four *Varṇas*, *Brāhmaṇa* (Pārppaṇār), *Kṣatriya* (Araśar), *Vaiśya* (Vaṇikar)· and *Śūdra* (Veḷāḷar). Here and in *Kural* the six duties of the Brāhmaṇa—*Adhyayanam* (learning the Veda) *Adhyāpanam* (teaching the Veda), *Yajanam* (performing sacrifices) *Yājanam* (officiating at the sacrifices), *Dānam* (giving gifts), and *Pratigraha* (accepting gifts) are referred to. These are referred to as "Otal, Otuvittal, Vittal, Vetpittal, Ital, and Erṛal. The scheme of the *Āśramas* consisting of graded stages in life is meant for man's gradual spiritual evolution

while fulfilling his duties from the material plane. The first stage is that of the *Brahmacārin* (the student of the Veda called Brahma) the second that of the *Gṛhastha* (House-holder), the third that of the anchorite called *Vānaprastha* or *Vaikhānasa,* and the fourth is that of the renouncer called *Sannyāsin, Bhikṣu, Muni, Yati* and *Parivrāṭ* or *Parivrājaka.* These are dealt with in the *Dharma-Sūtras* of Āpastamba (II-9-21), Gautama (I-3-3), and Vasiṣṭha (VII-1-2) and in *Manu-smṛti.* The Sannyāsin and his characteristic kindness are referred to in *Tolkappiyam* (Purat. 17). The *Mullai-p-pāṭṭu* (37-38) refers to his orange robe and *Tridaṇḍa.* The *Kural* (41) says that he should be honoured and protected by the Gṛhastha. *Naṟṟiṇai* (141) says that the Vānaprastha wore matted locks, performed penance on hills and was kind to all. (*Kuṟal* 280). The normal period of study for each *Veda* was 12 years for the Brahmacārin and his appearnce with the *Yajñopavīta, Śikha* (Tuft of hair), Mekhalā (girdle) and the *Daṇḍa* (stick) and the *Kamaṇḍalu* (pitcher) dealt with in the Dharma-sūtras are referred to in Kapilar's *Ainkuṟunūru* (202), in *Tirumurukāṟṟup-paṭai* (179, 184) and *Kuṟuntokai* (156). The Gṛhastha (house-holder) holds a pivotal and essential position in the scheme of *Āśramas.* The *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (6,3,10) and other works declare that a Brāhmaṇa is born with three debts— first to the sages (*Ṛṣis*) which he pays by Vedic study, next to the gods which he pays through offerings in the fire and thirdly to the ancestor which he pays by begetting progeny. This idea is referred to in *Trikaṭukam* (34). The debt to the gods is referred to in *Puṟanānuṟu* (2) and *Perumpāṇaṟṟu-p-paṭai* (315-316) and the debt to the departed *Pitṛs* in *Puṟanāūru* (9). The greatness and essential nature of the Gṛhastha's Āśrama are referred to in *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* (1-3-3), *Manu-smṛti* (VI, 87, 89, 90) also M.S. III. 70, 77 and *Mahābhārata* in many places. This is referred to in *Tirukkuṟal* also. Five great sacrifices or forms of worship (*Pañca-mahā-yajñas*) are enjoined in the daily duties of a house-holder. They are— (1) *Brahmayajña* (Reciting Brahma, namely the Veda), (2) *Pitṛ-yajña* (Propitiating worship of ancestors through offering of water), (3) *Daiva-yajña* (Giving offerings in the sacred fires), (4) *Bhūta-yajña* (by offering particles of food to ants and other creatures of the lower order) and (5) *Nṛ-yajña* or *Manuṣya-yajña* (by entertaining honoured guests, like Sannyāsins and others). The Vedic concept of offering oblations in the fire and of performing sacrifices for propitiating the gods are referred to in *Puṟanānūru, Paṭṭina-p-pālai* (200), *Patiṟṟu-p-pattu* (21, 70, 74) *Kali-t-tokai* (36, 119) and *Tiru-murukāṟṟu-p-paṭai* (94-6). The *Gautama-dharma-sūtra* (1-5-13, 33) says that a house-holder should first feed guests, children, ailing persons, pregnant women, daughters and sisters, old people and

the inferior (Junior) ones. The *Ācāra-k-kovai* (17) expresses practically the same idea and further says, as in *Vidura-nīti* of *Mahābhārata* that food, water, resting place, mat and sweet words should be offered to the ordinary guest at the house.

The *Dharma-sūtras* prescribe that a gṛhastha should get a suitable wife and in that connection the different types of marriage are mentioned. *Vivāha* (marriage) is a fundamental time-honoured social institution. The *Dharma-sūtras* and *Smṛtis* refer to eight types of marriage (*Gaut.* Dh. *sūtra*, I-4, 4-11, *Manu.* S. III-21; *Yāj* S. I, 58-61). They are — *Brāhma*, *Prājāpatya Ārṣa*, *Daiva*, *Gāndharva Āsura*, *Rākṣasa* and *Paiśāca*. In refined society the first four are recommended as in conformity with *dharma (Gaut.* Dh., Catvāro dharmyāḥ prathamāḥ), the middle two, Gāndharva and Āsura are just permitted; and the last two, Rākṣasa and Paiśāca, tabooed. The author of *Tolkāppiyam* refers to these in the sections dealing with *Kaṛpu* and *Kaḷavu* and is of opinion that the first four belong to the *Peruntiṇai* variety, Gāndharva to Kaḷavu and the last three to the *Kaikkilai* type. The marriage sanctified in the presence of fire and approved by the parents and relatives of the couple is accepted as the norm to be followed. The words *Udvāha*, taking the girl out of the parent's home, *Vivāha*, taking the girl in a special way for a particular purpose for making her one's life-long partner, *Pariṇaya* or. *Pariṇayanam* going round the fire in *pradakṣiṇa*, *Upayama* bringing near or making one's own and *Pāṇi-grahaṇa*, taking the hand of the girl indicate the totality of the several acts that go to make up the ceremony of marriage. The newly wedded couple going round the fire in *pradakṣiṇa*, the taking of seven steps together (*sapta-padī*) and the blessings offered on the bride by auspicious mothers dealt with in the *Dharma-śāstras* find expression in the Sangam classics like *Kali-t-tokai* (69 going round the fire), *Perunarāṭṭu-p-paṭai* (166-going seven steps together) and *Akanānuru* (86-blessings conferred by four auspicious mothers). Tolkāppiyar (Kaṛpu 3) states that the marriage in the presence of fire as witness usually followed by the first three *Varṇas* was followed by the fourth *Varṇa* called *Veḷāḷar* in later times. Vivāha is a Vedic sacrament referred to in detail in the *Taittirīya saṃhitā*—VII-2-87, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (27-5) and *Tāṇḍya-mahā-brāhmaṇa* (VII-10-1). It is quite clear that this aspect of Vedic culture was in vogue in Tamil-nāḍu during the Sangam period and even before.

The conception of the One Supreme Being, Brahman assuming three different Powers with forms for discharging its three different functions of creation, protection and destruction is hinted in the *Vedas* and *Vedānta sūtras* (Janmādyasya yataḥ) and graphically

described in the Epics and Purāṇas. The Vedic gods, Prajāpati, Viṣṇu and Rudra are developed into the concept of the Trinity-Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. Stories are told to describe their greatness, especially with that of Viṣṇu through the many avatāras ascribed to him for protecting the world when it is in distress. The stories of the goddess Durgā and gods like Skanda (Muruka) are also narrated. It is interesting to note that Balarāma, elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, considered to be one of the ten *Avatārs* of Viṣṇu is worshipped as a god and given a higher position in the Tamil classics than in the Sanskrit classics. The dramatist Bhāsa consider Balarāma as a god to be worshipped. The Sangam works describe Brahmā as born in the beginning (*Kalittokai* 2), from the lotus in Viṣṇu's navel (*Perumpāṇ* : 402-4), with four faces (*Tirumuruk* 164-65), the swan being his *Vāhana*.

Viṣṇu (Tirumāl) is considered to be the presiding deity of Mullai land, wielding the conch and the wheel (*Saṅkha* and *Cakra*) in his two hands and as bearing Lakṣmī on his chest (*Mullai-p-pāṭal*, 1-3), as blue in complexion (*Puṟanāṉūṟu* 174), with lotus-eyes (*Paripāṭal* 15, 49), clad in a yellow robe (*Paripāṭal*, 13, 1-2), wearing a garland on his chest (*Paripāṭal*, 8), Garuḍa—as his banner (*Puranāṉ.* 56, 6 ; Parip. 13, 4) with Śravaṇa as his star (*Maturaikāñcī* 591), as having humbled King Bali by measuring the three worlds in his three strides (*Kali-t-tokai*, 124-1), as the killer of the demon Keśī (*Kalit-tokai* 103, 53-55) and as having killed Hiraṇyakaśipu for the sake of his devoted son Prahlāda. (*Paripātal*, 4, 12-21). The *Ṛg-veda* mentions the three strides of Viṣṇu (*RV.* 1. 155. 2) and the other stories are seen in the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. Śiva bears the Ganges in his matted locks (*Kalittokai* 38, 1) and the moon on his forehead (*Puṟanāṉ.* 91, 5). He is three-eyed (*Puṟanāṉ.* 6, *Kalittokai*, 2, 4) carries an axe in his hand (*Akanāṉūṟu*, 220, 5). The bull (Pūṅgava) is his *Vāhana* (*Paripāṭal* 8, 2) and he became Nīlakaṇṭha (bluenecked) by drinking the poison which remained in his throat (*Malaimaṭu*, 83). These ideas are already found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttara. 1, 16-32 ; 43-7) and *Mahābhārata* (Adi. 18, 26 ; Anuśāsana 207). Further, the Ārdrā is said to be his star (*Kalittokai* 150, 20), is seated beneath the *Vaṭa* tree (*Akanāṉūru* 151) with Umā as his spouse (*Tirumuruk*. 151, 4 ; *Maturai-k-kāñcī* 453-55). He is the creator of the five elements and the destroyer of the world in time (*Paripāṭal*. 5, 13 ; *Kalittokai*. 103, 15). He made Rāvaṇa cry by pressing the Kailāsa down when the latter tried to raise the mountain on which the Lord was seated with Umā (*Kalittokai*, 38). The Tripura-dāha by Lord Śiva already narrated in the Sanskrit classics like *Mahābhārata* (Karṇa Parvan. Chs. 24;

25, 27, 30, etc.,) is described in *Puṛanāṉūru* (55 ; 58), *Paripāṭal* (5, 22-26) and (*Kalittokai* 1 ; 2.). The asura called Avuṇan residing in an impregnable fortress, persecuted the gods and they sought Lord Śiva's protection which was granted. Then the Earth became the chariot, the four Vedas, the four horses, Brahmā, the charioteer, Viṣṇu, the arrow, Mount Meru, the bow, Vasukī, the bow-string, and with their help Śiva destroyed the three cities with a single arrow and defeated the demon. Durgā and Muruka (Skanda) are invoked for victory in battle. Yudhiṣṭhira in Virāṭa Parva and Arjuna in Bhīṣma Parvan of *Mahābhārata* invoke the blessings of Durgā for future victory. Netunalvāṭai of *Pattu-p-pāṭṭu* (188 lines) by Nakkīrar describes Neḍunchezhiyan's wife as worshipping Durgā called Koṛṛavai for the victory and safe return of her husband from battle. The Sanskrit classics *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* deal with the birth and exploits of Skanda. The *Paripāṭal* also deals with the same subject. *Tolkāppiyam* (Akat 5) speaks of Skanda (Murka, Cēyōn) as the presiding deity of Kuriñcī land. The *Paripāṭal* (5, 14, 18, 26-50), *Tirumurukāṛṛu-p-paṭai* (260), *Akanāṉūru* (59), *Puṛanāṉūru* (23) deal with the birth of Skanda (Muruka) and his exploits including the killing of Tāraka andŚūra Padmāsura.

The rich vocabulary of Tamil was made richer in course of time by the adoption and adaptation of Sanskrit words along with the ideas in the Technical Sciences and Philosophy. In the post-Sangam period many Sanskrit classics were adapted or translated in Tamil with suitable changes to suit the new environments and customs of the times. Thus the *Kambarāmāyaṇam* of Kampar, the *Bhāratam* of Villiputtur-ālvār, the *Kandapurāṇām* of Kacciyappasi-vācariar, are based on the Sanskrit originals. Koṅkuvel's *Perunkatai* is an adaptation from the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya. The *Kṣatracū-ḍāmaṇi* in Sanskrit is believed to be the source of *Jīvaka-cintāmaṇi* by a Jain writer.

Sanskrit literature was developed with the cooperative endea-vours of all the people of India since it served as a common medium of expressing higher thought which could reach all the parts of the country. The contribution of the great religious Ācāryas and great poets of South India including Tamilnadu after mastering that language and making it their own is quite substantial like the contribution of Sanskrit scholars and poets who mastered Tamil, made it their own and contributed richly to the development of Tamil literature. The Sangam poets like Kapilar, Kaśyapar, Pāṇar and probably Tolkāppiyar too belong to that class of writers.

उत्कलदेशस्य चिन्ताधारायां संस्कृतौ च संस्कृतस्य प्रभावः

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON ORIYAN THOUGHT AND CULTURE

SRI. CHINTAMANI MISRA SARMA, PURI

नीलाचलनिवासाय नित्याय परमात्मने ।
बलभद्रसुभद्राभ्यां जगन्नाथाय ते नमः ॥

रामायण-महाभारत-पुराणपर्यालोचनतः स्पष्टं प्रतीयते यद् अयमुत्कलदेशः प्राचीनसमयतः इलातलगीतनामा वर्त्तते । तथाहि, सीतान्वेषणाय सुग्रीवेण संप्रेषितेषु वानरेषु कतिचन कलिङ्गान् प्रति कतिचन उत्कलान् प्रति प्रत्यादेशिताः । तथा च वाल्मीकीये रामायणे किष्किन्धाकाण्डे——

"मेखलानुत्कलांश्चैव दशार्णनगराण्यपि"

महाभारतेऽपि——

"सुद्युम्नस्य तु दायादास्त्रयः परमधार्मिकाः ।
उत्कलश्च गयश्चैव विनताश्वश्च भारत" । इति ।

सुद्युम्नपुत्रः उत्कलनाम्नायं भूभागं प्रशासितवान् तन्नाम्ना एव स भूभागः उत्कल इति ख्यातिं गतः । अयमुत्कलदेशः मनुस्मृतौ उड्रदेशपदेन व्यपदिश्यते । तथाहि——

"पौण्ड्रकाश्चौड्रद्रविडाः कम्बोजा यवनाः शकाः ।
पारदाः पह्लवाश्चीनाः किराता दरदाः खशाः ॥ इति ।

स्कन्दपुराणे उत्कलखण्डे उत्कलदेशस्य विवरणं सर्वेषां सुविदितं वर्त्तते । तच्च इत्थम्——

"उड्रदेश इति ख्यातो वर्षे भारतसंज्ञिते ।
दक्षिणस्योदधेस्तीरे क्षेत्रं श्रीपुरुषोत्तमम् ॥
तत्र नीलगिरिर्नाम समन्तात् काननावृतः ।

सागरस्योत्तरे तीरे महानद्यास्तु दक्षिणे ॥

स प्रदेशः पृथिव्यां हि सर्वतीर्थफलप्रदः ॥ (स्कन्दपुराणम्)

क्षत्रवंशसमुद्भूतः कश्चन नृपः उत्कलधरां शशास तन्नाम्ना उड्डेश इति प्रथ्यते । उड्डेश इति उत्कलदेशस्य नामान्तरम् । युधिष्ठिरं प्रति तत्पुरोहितधौम्योक्तिः निपुणं निरूपयति उत्कलदेशस्य पावित्र्यं तथा पृथिव्यां प्रथमसृष्टिरिति । सा च इत्थम्—

"अहं च ते स्वस्त्ययनं प्रयोक्ष्ये, ततस्त्वमेनामधिरोहसेऽद्य ।
स्पृष्टा हि मर्त्येन ततः समुद्रमेषा वेदी प्रविशत्याजमीढ" ॥

देशोऽयं भिन्नानां राज्ञां शासनकाले आतानवितानं लेभे इति पाश्चात्त्यलेखकानां लेख-
तोऽवसीयते । ष्टर्लिं नामकः पाश्चात्त्यविद्वान् स्वप्रणीते उत्कलेतिहासे ग्रन्थे उत्कल-
सीमानम् इत्थमाकलितवान् : —

अवाच्यां गोदावरीम् उदीच्यां त्रिवेणीं प्रतीच्यां हुगुलीनामकजनपदं प्राच्यां च
सिंहभूमनामानं विषयम् ।

यदा तु अरिसार्थसार्थकीकृतनामा प्रतापरुद्रदेवः आसीत् उत्कलानां नृपः तस्य
बाहुप्रतापेन देशस्य अस्य सीमा कन्याकुमारीमपि पस्पर्श इति तस्य राज्ञः सेनापति-
प्रवरस्य रायरामानन्दस्य विरचितजगन्नाथवल्लभनामधेयनाटकतः प्रविज्ञायते—

"यन्नामापि निशम्य संविविशते सेकन्दरः कन्दरं,
स्ववर्गं कलवर्गभूमितिलकः साश्रुः समुद्वीक्षते ।
मेने गुर्जरभूपतिर्जरदिवारण्यं निजं पत्तनं,
वातव्यग्रपयोधिपोतगमिव स्वं वेद गौडेश्वरः ॥

महाभारतप्रणयनकालस्तु प्रायेण पञ्चसहस्रसमाभ्यः पूर्वं इति निश्चिन्वन्ति कोविदाः ।
महाभारते उत्कलदेशस्य नामोल्लेखात् निर्विवादमवगम्यते यत् बहोः कालात् प्राक्
उत्कलविषयः अयं समुद्रगीतकलाकलापकः सुपवित्रः चतुर्षु धामसु श्रेष्ठं पुरुषोत्तमधाम
अङ्गीकृत्य विरराज । यत्र देशे सन्ति बहूनि क्षेत्राणि तीर्थानि च । तेषु द्वित्राणां नामानि
प्रदर्श्यन्ते—अर्कक्षेत्रम्, एकाम्रक्षेत्रम्, महानदी, वैतरणीति । आकृत्यापि देशोऽयम्
एकतः महेन्द्रादि-सुशोभनां पर्वतराजिं विभ्रत् अन्यतः तीर्थराजं महोदधिमपि स्वाङ्गी-
कृत्य भारतस्य सुषमां चकासयति । विषयः अयं पुरातने काले कदाचित् कलिङ्गविषयेण
साकं संमिश्रितः कदाचिच्च तस्माद्भिन्नः इति अवगम्यते । वाल्मीकीयरामायणतः पुरा-
णतः तन्त्रग्रन्थराशितः तथा कविसमाजशिरोमणिकालिदासकृतरघुवंशलेखतः—

"उत्कलादर्शितपथः कलिङ्गाभिमुखो ययौ" इत्यादिश्लोकतः सुस्पष्टम् अवबोध्यते
यत् उत्कलदेशः कलिङ्गविषयात् सर्वथा भिन्नः ।

तथा ख्रीष्टीयद्वादशशतके विरचितनैषधीयचरिते दमयन्तीस्वयंवरे सरस्वत्या
राज्ञां वर्णनप्रसङ्गे कलिङ्गराजं निर्वर्ण्य "अयं गुणौघैरनुरज्यदुत्कलः" इति उत्कलनृपः
पृथक्तया निर्देशितः । सांप्रतिकेष्वपि सुलेखकेषु स्वर्गतः सी॰आई॰ई॰ महामहो-

पाध्यायपदवीकाः पूज्यपादा आन्ध्राभिजनाः गङ्गाधरशास्त्रिणः स्वीये 'अलिविलासि-संलाप' नामके खण्डकाव्ये—

"अथोत्कलमहीस्थितं स मुवनेश्वरं प्राणमत्,

सहाभिमतसंपदोदयति यत् सपर्य्यासिताम्" । इत्यादिपद्यसन्दर्भेण उत्कल-विषयं पृथक्तया निर्वण्ण्यं—

"कलिङ्गविषये ततः परिनिपीय गोदावरीम्" इति कलिङ्गदेशात् भिन्नोऽयं देश इति प्रतिपादितवन्तः ।

एवं सति उत्कल देशोऽयं कलिङ्गदेशात् पृथग्भूत आसीत् आहोस्वित् इति केचन सुधीवरा मुधैव विवदन्ते । मन्ये, यदा उत्कलाधीशः कलिङ्गान् विजिग्ये, तदा-कलिङ्गस्य संमिश्रणम् उत्कलविषयेण सह बभूव । कलिङ्गदेशस्तु त्रिधा विभक्त इति विज्ञायते । अतः उत्कलीयः साहित्याणवकर्णधारः ध्वनिप्रस्थापनपरमाचार्यः कविसूक्ति-रत्नाकरः अष्टादशभाषावारविलासिनीभुजङ्गः गजपतिसाम्राज्यसान्धिविग्रहिकः महा-पात्र-श्रीविश्वनाथकविराजः स्वरचित-'साहित्यदर्पणे' अलङ्कारग्रन्थे चतुर्थपरिच्छेदे—

"एकोऽपि त्रिकलिङ्गभूमितिलकः त्वत्कीर्त्तिराशिर्ययौ, नानामण्डनताम्" इत्यादिग्रन्थान्तरस्थं पद्यमुदाहृत्य उत्कलाधीशः त्रिकलिङ्गेश्वरइति सूचितवान् । स्वयं विश्वनाथकविराजः त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपस्य उत्कलराजस्य सचिव आसीत् इति तत्पुत्रेण अनन्तदासेन साहित्यदर्पणस्य टीकायाः स्वरचित लोचनाभिधायाः प्रारम्भे स्वपितुः परिचयप्रसङ्गे इत्थमभाणि यत्,

"आसीत् कपिञ्जलकुलक्षीराकूपारचन्द्रमाः,

त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपघराधामघा-सचिवः कृती", । इति ।

किं बहुना, यत् पुराणप्रगीतं कम्ब्वाकृतिं परिदधत् पुरुषोत्तमक्षेत्रं स्वीयावासभूमिं प्रकल्प्य सर्वधर्मसमन्वयं प्रकटयन् जगन्नाथनाम्ना परब्रह्मरूपपरमात्मा "अदो यद् दारु प्लवते" इत्याद्यृग्वेदवर्णितसूक्तप्रतिपादितदारुब्रह्मरूपेण विराजते पृथ्वीतले ।।

उत्कलदेशे न्यायमयः वर्णाश्रमाचारः सर्वत्र समादृतः । पण्डितप्रवरेण साहित्य-दर्पणकारेण दिवंगतेन श्रीविश्वनाथमहापात्रशर्मणा स्वीयकाञ्चीविजयकाव्ये–पुरुषोत्तम-क्षेत्रवर्णनावसरे लिखितम्–

"यत्रासते वेदविचारदक्षा विप्राः सदा ध्याननिरस्तपापाः"। इति ।

उत्कलराजभिः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रभूतभूभागाः प्रदत्ताः । दानपत्राणि च सुरभारत्या ताम्र-फलकेषु समुट्टङ्कितानि यत्र ब्राह्मणाः शालासमवायं कृतवन्तः त एव ब्राह्मणग्रामाः ब्राह्मणशासनानि इति नाम्ना प्रख्यायन्ते । ब्राह्मणास्तु ग्राममधिवसन्तः वैदिकमार्गानु-यायिनः सकलं वैदिककृत्यं स्वशाखानुमतं संनिवर्त्य सर्वेषामादरपात्राणि बभूवुः । वेदमार्गसुप्रतिष्ठाकारिणः कुमारिलभट्टाः अस्मिन् उत्कलविषये पुराणप्रसिद्धायाः पुण्यतोयायाः महानद्याः तटस्थब्राह्मणावासे प्रादुरभूवत् इति किंवदन्ती अद्यापि प्रचलति ।

उत्कलेषु प्रतिब्राह्मणशासनं शासनसंस्थापनात् प्राक् ग्रामसीमायां ब्राह्मणोक्तयज्ञानां षोडशीवाजपेयप्रभृतीनां समनुष्ठानमभूत् । तेषां परिचयप्रदातारः यूपाः अद्यापि दृग्गोचर-तामुपयन्ति । श्राद्धलग्नप्रभृतिश्रौतसूत्रानुमता यज्ञशाला यथाविधि निर्मापिता अभूवन्, तदर्थम् एतद्देशप्रसूतैः वेदनिष्णातैः वैदिकप्रवरैः निबन्धा अपि विरचिता अभू-वन् । तत्र तत्र ग्रन्थारम्भे—

"अग्निष्टोमः सर्वयज्ञादिमो यत्, तस्मादग्निष्टोमशालां ब्रवीमि ।
तन्मार्गेण स्वल्पभिन्नां विधिज्ञाः कुर्वन्तुद्राग् वाजपेयादिशालाम् । अन्यत्रापि,
"नत्वा नत्वा पादयोः पद्मनाभं, हित्वा हित्वा मन्दधीभिर्विवादम् ।
स्मृत्वा स्मृत्वा शुल्वशास्त्रार्थमर्म, श्लोकैर्ब्रूमः केवलां यज्ञशालाम्" । इत्युक्तम् ।

तेषां निबन्धानां नामानि तन्निवेशितयज्ञशालानिर्माणिकारिका अपि उपरिष्टात् वक्ष्यन्ते । यद्यपि उत्कलविषये शाखाभेदप्रभिन्नस्य वेदचतुष्टयस्य एकशाखाध्यायिनो ब्राह्मणाः निवसन्ति तथापि तेषु द्विजन्मसु शुक्लयजुर्वेदकाण्वशाखाध्येतॄणां संख्या गरीयसी । कृष्णयजुर्वेदाध्यायिनो न सन्तीति निश्चप्रचम् । शुक्लयजुर्वेदेऽपि माध्यन्दिनशाखा-ध्यायिनो न परिलक्ष्यन्ते । प्रान्तेऽस्मिन् ब्राह्मणशासनेषु मौञ्जीबन्धनानन्तरं माणवकाः शब्दशास्त्रं समधिगम्य श्रौतसूत्राध्ययनप्रवृत्ता बभूवुः । "ब्राह्मणेन निष्कारणो धर्मः षडङ्गो वेदोऽध्येतव्यः" इति सूत्र्यनुसारं वेदाङ्गानि समधीत्य कुलक्रमागतां तत्तद् वेद-शाखाम् अध्यैषत ब्राह्मणतनया । अतः वेदानां परिरक्षणं सर्वात्मना समजनि । किं बहुना, अद्यत्वेऽपि संस्कृतानभिज्ञा अपि ब्राह्मणाः यथास्थानप्रयत्नं वेदमन्त्रान् उपनय-नादिशुभसमारोहे समुच्चारयन्ति । सोमसंस्थाङ्गभूतज्योतिष्टोमपद्धतिरपि एतद्देश-प्रसूतेन अग्रजन्मना जलेश्वरमिश्रशर्मणा निरमायि । तथा शम्भुकरवाजपेयी अग्निहोत्र-होमपद्धतिम्, अग्निहोत्रप्रायश्चित्तपद्धतिम्, दर्शपूर्णमासेष्टिपद्धतिम्, निरूढपशुबन्धपद्धतिं च निर्बबन्ध । रामचन्द्रवाजपेयिना कुण्डलक्षमविवृतिः, कर्माङ्गपद्धतिरपि विरचिते । नरसिंहमिश्रवाजपेयिना विरचितेषु अष्टादशप्रदीपेषु अन्यतमः 'चयनप्रदीपः' श्रौतकर्म-साधकः ।

उत्कलेषु चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्था बहोःकालात् प्रचलति । ब्राह्मणशासनेषु अन्येषां वर्णानां सन्निवेशनं प्राक्काले नासीत् । तत्रस्थब्राह्मणाः श्रुतिस्मृतिनिगदितचारमार्ग-गामिनः अभूवन् । शास्त्रानुमतम् अग्निहोत्रादिकमपि दैनन्दिनकृत्यम् अनुतिष्ठन्तो ब्राह्मणाः वेदाध्ययननिरता बभूवुः । इतरेषां वर्णानां ब्राह्मणग्रामेभ्यः पृथक् अवस्थान-मासीत् । ते च यथानियमं कृष्यादीनि कर्माणि संपादयन्तः उत्कलीयसमाजमर्यादां संररक्षुः । चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थोल्लंघने उद्युक्तः पुरुषः तात्कालिकराजशासने दण्ड्योऽ-भूत् ।

प्रान्तेऽस्मिन् चातुर्वर्ण्यमर्यादासंरक्षणाय एतद्देशसम्भूतैः बहुभिः विद्वद्वरैः बहुशः गीर्वाणवाणीसमुल्लासिताः धर्मशास्त्रनिबन्धाः प्रणीताः । ते च तालदललिखिताः आसन् । कालमहिम्ना कीटकवलीभूताः केचन ग्रन्थाः विलयंगताः । महम्मदपथागतानां

शासनकाले तेभ्यः अनुपमग्रन्थरत्नेभ्यः बहुशः वह्निसात् विहिताः । मध्ये च तेषां कतिचन केवलं नाम्ना प्रथ्यन्ते । सांप्रतं ये केचन अवशिष्यन्ते तेषामपि प्रकाशनं प्रायेण न जातम् । बहुषु ग्रामेषु तालदलेषु संस्कृतभाषासंलिखिताः धर्मशास्त्रग्रन्थाः अद्यापि प्राप्यन्ते । तेषु च प्रकाशनं प्रापितानां केषांचन नामानि तेषु संनिवेशितविषयाणां सारश्च समासतः निर्दिश्यन्ते । तत्रादौ विपश्चिद्वर्येण अग्रजन्मना राजगुरुणा गदाधरेण विरचितेषु साराभिधेयेषु अष्टादश-धर्मग्रन्थेषु 'वेङ्गल् एसिआटिक् सोसाइटी' नामधेयसंस्थया संमुद्रणं प्रापितयोः द्वयोः आचारसारकालसारयोः निर्देशानुसारं प्रान्तेऽस्मिन् जनानां दैनन्दिनकृत्यजालमनुष्ठीयते । तत्रापि मङ्गलाचरणानन्तरम्—''इह खलु विष्णवाराधन-मेव परमपुरुषार्थः, तच्च आचारवत एव सिध्यतीति आचारसाराभिधो ग्रन्थः प्रारभ्यते' इत्युक्तम् ।

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन्, ''यस्मिन् देशे य आचारः पारम्पर्यक्रमागतः'' इति याज्ञवल्क्यवचन-मनुसृत्य उत्कलाभिजनानाम् उत्कलनिवासिनां च सदाचारः निर्दिश्यते । तत्प्रणीते कालसारे च उत्कलीया संस्कृतिः स्फुटतरा वर्त्तते । तथाहि—श्राद्धविघ्ने समुत्पन्ने दिवाश्राद्धाभावे रात्रावपि श्राद्धकरणं माधवादिसंमतमपि ''अस्मद्देशशिष्टाः रात्रौ श्राद्धं न कुर्वन्ति'' इत्यादिना नादृतम् । तथा अमावास्याश्राद्धकालविभागे माधवमतम् एतद्देशशिष्टैः न समादृतम् । एवं च बहुषु स्थलेषु स्वदेशाचारमादृत्य अन्येषां धर्मशास्त्र-प्रणेतृणां मतमस्मिन्निबन्धे दूरीकृतं दृश्यते । उत्कलानां सदाचाररूपसंस्कृतेः परिचायकं 'पण्डितसर्वस्व' नामकं धर्मशास्त्रम् उत्कलेषु यथाकालं कृत्यसंपादनाय समाद्रियते ।

एवमेव बहवो धर्मनिबन्धा उत्कलीयैः विद्वद्वरैः प्रणीताः श्रीनरसिंहवाजपेयि-कृतः नित्याचारप्रदीपः, वर्षप्रदीपः, भक्तिप्रदीपः, प्रायश्चित्तप्रदीपः, श्राद्धप्रदीपः, प्रतिष्ठा-प्रदीपश्च, श्रीशम्भुकरवाजपेयिकृता नित्याचारपद्धतिः, श्रीबृहस्पतिसूरिकृता कृत्यकौमुदी अष्टादशभाषाधुरीणमन्त्रिवर श्रीगोदावरमिश्रकृतेषु चिन्तामणिनामधेयेषु अष्टादशग्रन्थेषु आचारचिन्तामणिः, श्रीमुरारिमिश्रकृतः प्रायश्चित्तमनोहरः, कालिदासचयनिकृता शुद्धि-चन्द्रिका, श्रीविप्रमिश्रकृतः श्राद्धप्रदीपः, श्रीविश्वनाथमिश्रकृतः स्मृतिसारसंग्रहः, श्रीबासु-देवरथकृतेषु प्रकाशाभिधेयेषु अष्टादशसु ग्रन्थेषु स्मृतिप्रकाशादयः, महामहोपाध्याय श्रीकृष्णमिश्रकृतं कालसर्वस्वं शुद्धि-सर्वस्वंच, श्रीगोविन्दकविभूषणसामन्तरायप्रणीतं सूरिसर्वस्वम्, श्रीदिव्यसिंहमहापात्रकृतः श्राद्धदीपः कालदीपश्च, श्रीगोविन्ददासकृतः सर्वस्मृतिसारसंग्रहः, वक्रवाक्चक्रपाणिपट्टनायकप्रणीतः पुरुषार्थचिन्तामणिः, महामहो-पाध्याय श्रीसदाशिवमिश्रप्रणीतं कल्यापद्धर्मसर्वस्वम्, इत्यादयः ।

उत्कलेषु भिन्नानां राजवंशीयानां राज्ञां राजत्वकाले संस्कृतशिक्षायाः प्रसारः आसीत् । राजसभासु संस्कृताभिज्ञानामादरः समधिको जातः । अतः संस्कृतभाषायां व्युत्पत्तिलाभार्थं जनेषु आग्रहातिशय्यं समभूत् । तेन जनपदेषु संस्कृतचर्चा बहुलतया प्रचलतिस्म । राजसभासु बहवो विद्वांसः आसन् । राज्ञां पृष्ठपोषकत्वेन समुत्साहिताः बहवः पण्डिताः प्रौढपाण्डित्यप्रकर्षसमुद्भूतान् विविधान् ग्रन्थान् प्रणीतवन्तः । गङ्गवंशीयनृपतिनरसिंहदेवस्य सभापण्डितः कविविद्याधरः, गङ्गवंशीयराजस्य श्रीभानु-

देवस्य सेनापतिः कविः उमापतिः, गङ्गवंशीयराजस्य निःशङ्कभानुदेवस्य सभाकविः तथा मन्त्री सान्धिविग्रहिककविराजश्रीविश्वनाथमहापात्रः (साहित्यदर्पणप्रणेता), सूर्यवंशीय-राजगजपति-श्रीकपिलेन्द्रदेवः, तथा गजपतिश्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवः, तन्मन्त्रिप्रवरोऽपि श्रीगोदा-वरमिश्रः, गजपतिश्रीप्रतापरुद्रदेवस्य गुरुः तथा मन्त्री कविदिण्डिम श्रीजीवदेवाचार्यः, गजपतिश्रीप्रतापरुद्रस्य राजत्वकाले अतिविडिश्रीजगन्नाथदासगोस्वामी, रायरामानन्द-पट्टनायकश्च, गजपतिश्रीमुकुन्ददेवस्य सभापण्डितः श्रीनरसिंहमिश्रवाजपेयी, गजपतिश्रीनारायणदेवः, गजपतिश्रीहरेकृष्णदेवस्य सभापण्डितः श्रीगदाधरराजगुरुः, भोइवंशीयराजस्य श्रीरामचन्द्रदेवस्य राजगुरुः श्रीविश्वनाथपट्टूयोऽपि, इति एतेषां राज्ञां, पण्डितानाम् तथा अन्येषां नरपतीनां जयदेवादिविदुषां च सुरभारतीचर्चा तदानीं समभवत् । परम्परया इदानीमपि उत्कलेषु संस्कृताग्रहः जनेषु परिलक्ष्यते ।

प्रदेशेऽस्मिन् बौद्धधर्मप्रसारतः ह्रासं प्राप्तस्य शैवधर्मस्य पुनरुद्धरणं केशरि-वंशीयानां राज्ञां राजत्वकाले संजातम् । विशेषतश्च केशरिवंशस्य आद्यनृपतिः ययाति-केशरी उत्कलेषु बौद्धधर्मप्रसारावरोधाय उत्कलवाराणसीति पुराणेषु प्रख्यातिगते एकाम्रकानने कोटिपरिमितानि शिवमन्दिराणि संस्थापयितुं प्रयततेस्म । तेषु च मन्दिरेषु मूर्धन्यभूतं श्रीभुवनेश्वरमन्दिरं विराजते । तदभ्याशे स्थितेषु अनन्तवासुदेव-मन्दिरप्रमुखेषु विन्यस्तशिलालेखतः अवसीयते यत्, तदानीम् उत्कलेषु संस्कृतभाषाज्ञानं प्रायेण सार्वजनीनमासीत् । अतः सर्वेषां सुबोधाय संस्कृतभाषया लिखिताः शतशः श्लोकाः शिलासु खोदिता विराजन्ते । तथाहि-ब्रह्मेश्वरशिला लेखानाम् अन्तिमोऽयं श्लोक :—

"वेदव्याकरणार्थ शास्त्रकवितातर्कादिविद्याधरो-
ब्रह्मोवावितथ प्रसन्नविनयोद्बुद्धिविशुद्धान्वयः ।
ताराधीश्वरवंशजावनिभुजां शुभं यशस्तन्वतां
भट्टः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमः कविवरोऽकार्षीदिमां वर्णनाम् ॥ इति ॥

केशरवंशीयैः राजभिः संस्थापितानां शिवविग्रहाणां समर्चनाय विविधाः ग्रन्थाः उत्कलीयविद्वद्भिः संस्कृतभाषया संकलिता वभूवुः । मध्ये च तेषु शैवचिन्तामणिः कपिलसंहिता, एकाम्रपुराणम्, एकाम्रचन्द्रिका, स्वर्णाद्रिमहोदयः, श्रीतत्त्वबोधिनी, लिङ्गराजपूजापद्धतिश्च प्रधानतया शिवसपर्याविधिं निर्दिशन्ति ।

पुराणसम्मतशिल्पशास्त्रानुसारम् उत्कलेषु विनिर्मितमन्दिरकलेवरेषु शिल्प-भास्कर्यनैपुण्यपराकाष्ठा उत्कलीयशिलिपिभिः प्रकाशिता । तत्साक्षिभूतानि संप्रति-श्रीजगन्नाथ—भुवनेश्वर—कोणार्क प्रभृतीनि उत्कलीयमन्दिराणि विराजन्ते । तत्र निहितम् उत्कलीयशिल्पभास्कर्यं केषामपि दर्शकानां मनो न हरति ? अतएव अनुमीयते, उत्कलेषु संस्कृतस्य प्रभावः शिल्पभास्कर्येऽपि प्रकटितोऽभूत् ।

उत्कलेषु गङ्गवंशस्य प्रतिष्ठाता चोडगङ्गदेवः दाक्षिणात्यः । अयं महाप्रतापी दक्षिणतः आगत्य उत्कलभूमिं शशास । अयमेव प्राचीनजीर्णजगन्नाथमन्दिरस्य पुनर्निर्माणा-रम्भं कारयामास । विषयेऽस्मिन् कश्चन ताम्रफलकलेखः समुद्धियते । स च इत्थम्—

"पादौ यस्य धरान्तरीक्षमविलं नाभिश्च सर्वा दिशः,
श्रोत्रे नेत्रयुगं रवीन्दुयुगलं मूर्धाऽपि च द्यौरसौ ।
प्रासादं पुरुषोत्तमस्य नृपतिः को नाम कर्तुं क्षमः,
तस्येत्याद्यनुपैरुपेक्षितमयं चक्रेऽथ गङ्गेश्वरः ।।" इति ।

तद्वंशजः अनङ्गभीमदेवः उत्कलाधीश्वरः श्रीजगन्नाथमन्दिरस्य निर्माणसमाप्तिमनयत्, एषां राजत्वकाले द्राविडसभ्यता उत्कलेषु प्रसरिता । तदनुसारं देवमन्दिरादिषु देवदासी-नृत्यादिकं प्रचलितमभूत् ।

श्रीजगन्नाथदेवस्य मन्दिरं निर्माय गङ्गवंशोद्भवाः राजानः तस्य देवस्य दैनन्दिनसपर्यायै बहुविधां नीतिं परिकल्पयामासुः । ताश्च नीतयः तात्कालिकैः एतद्-देशाभिजनैः पण्डितप्रवरैः संस्कृतभाषया ग्रन्थरूपेण निबद्धाः । मध्ये च तेषां नीलाद्रि-महोदयः, वामदेवसंहिता इति द्वौ ग्रन्थौ प्रसिद्धौ, ययोः निर्देशानुसारं श्रीजगन्नाथदेवस्य दैनन्दिनपूजाविधिः अद्यापि समनुष्ठीयते । इदानीं वामदेवसंहितायाः मुद्रणार्थम् आपेक्षिकमर्थसाहाय्यम् अंशतः प्राप्स्यते भारतशासनः ।

तथागतपथागतस्य अशोकस्य उत्कलेषु बौद्धधर्मप्रचारणेन वैदिककृत्यानां ह्रासः समजनि । जैनधर्मावलम्बिनः ऐरखारवेलनामधेयस्य उत्कलाधीश्वरस्य शासनकाले उत्कलेषु गिरिकन्दरासु अर्धमागध्या पालिभाषया धर्मोपदेशः प्रस्तरेषु यद्यपि उत्कीर्णः तथापि तदानीं संस्कृताध्ययनाध्यापनं च न निर्मूलतां प्रापितम्, प्रत्युत तदा अस्मिन् प्रान्तेऽपि संस्कृत—भाषया भिन्नासु विद्यासु बहवः ग्रन्थाः निबद्धा बभूवुः ।

बौद्धव्रज्यानमार्गानुरागिणाम् उत्कलेषु स्वमतप्रचारे यदा जनानां तत्र समाग्रहः समुत्पन्नः तदा तन्मतालोडनेन उड्डीयानप्रभृतीनि बहूनि तन्त्रशास्त्राणि संकलितानि एतत्प्रान्तप्रसूतैः पण्डितवर्यैः । तानि च तन्त्रशास्त्राणि प्रायेण सुरभारत्या एव लिखितानि । भिन्नानां देवानां पूजनाय तान्त्रिकमन्त्रदीक्षापि प्रसारिताऽभूत् । मन्ये, तदाप्रभृत्येव देवसपर्या तन्त्रानुमता बहुलतया जाता ।

बहोः कालात् भारते प्रदेशान्तरेषु इव उत्कलेषु प्रतिग्रामम् अष्टादशविद्याध्यय-नाय संस्कृतविद्यालयाः संस्थापिता अभूवन् । ते च चतुष्पाठी, पाठशालादिनाम्ना व्यपदिश्यन्तेस्म, तेषु शास्त्राणि समधीत्य बहवः अष्टादशविद्यानिष्णाता संजाताः । मध्ये च तेषां मुख्यतया केषांचिद् विदुषां नामानि उपरिष्टान् प्रदर्शयिष्यन्ते । तेषु च विद्यालयेषु प्रायशः प्रथमतः व्याकरणस्य कोषग्रन्थस्य च अध्ययनं बभूव । ततः द्विजातीनां स्वशाखानुसारं षडङ्गसहितं वेदाध्ययनं, ततः यथारुचि अन्येषां साहित्य-प्रभृतीनां शास्त्राणाम् अध्ययनं समभूत् । न केवलं द्विजतय एव संस्कृताध्ययनाधिका-रिणः अभूवन्, अपितु अन्ये बहवः समधीत्य संस्कृतशास्त्राणि सुविद्वांसः संजाताः । प्रणीतवन्तश्च भिन्नेषु विषयेषु ग्रन्थराशिम् ।

उत्कलेषु सूर्यवंशसंस्थापयितुः गजपतिकपिलेन्द्रदेवस्य शासनसमये संस्कृतभाषा उत्कलानां राष्ट्रभाषा आसीत् इति उत्कलेतिहासतः समाकल्यते । विशेषतश्च राज्ञां

दानपत्राणि ताम्रफलकेषु संस्कृतभाषया एव समुट्टङ्कितानि, क्वचिच्च राज्ञां प्रशस्तिः गीर्वाणवाण्या श्लोकनिबद्धा प्रस्तरेषु उत्कीर्णा दृष्टिपथमुपयाति ।

उत्कलप्रान्ते संस्कृतस्य प्रचाराय प्रसाराय सुगमावबोधाय च भिन्नेषु विषयेषु उत्कलीयैः पण्डितैः ग्रन्थराशिः संप्रणीतः । एषु केचिद् ग्रन्थाः नानाकारणतः चिरं-विलुप्ताः । नाममात्रावशेषाश्च चिरं विलुप्तेषु, इदानीम् उपलभ्यमानेषु मुद्रितेषु अमुद्रितेषु च मुख्यतया केपांचन ग्रन्थानां तत्प्रणेतृणां च नामानि अत्र निर्दिश्यन्ते । तद्यथा—व्याकरणविषये—लक्ष्मीधरकृता नामनिर्मलदर्पणाख्या प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका, वैद्यनाथाचार्यकृता व्याकरणवादार्थदीपिका, वसुप्रहराजकृता वसुप्रक्रिया, सिद्धान्त-चन्द्रिकाटीकाच वैजलदेवकृता वैजलकारिका, चाङ्गुदासकृता चाङ्गकारिका, हलधर-मिश्रकृता हलधरकारिका, मार्कण्डमिश्रकृतं प्राकृतसर्वस्वम् ।

कोषग्रन्थविषये:—श्रीपुरुषोत्तमदेवविरचिताः—त्रिकाण्डशेषः, हारावली, एकाक्षर कोषः, द्विरूपकोपः, शब्दमाला च । मयूरभञ्जकृतं मुग्धबोधाभिधानम्, महामहोपाध्याय-मुकुन्दमिश्रकृता अनेकार्थध्वनिमञ्जरी, महामहोपाध्यायदैत्यारिदासकृता अमरकोप-टीका हरिप्रिया, महीधरमिश्रकृता अमरकोषटीका शिशुबोधिनी ।

साहित्ये—अष्टादशभाषावारविलासिनीभुजङ्गसान्धिविग्रहिककविराज विश्व-नाथमहापात्रुविरचितं विश्वविश्रुतं साहित्यदर्पणम्, अनन्तदासकविराजकृता साहित्यदर्पणस्य लोचनटीका, गोपीनाथमिश्रकृता साहित्यदर्पणप्रभा, महामहोपाध्याय चण्डीदासविरचिता काव्यप्रकाशदीपिका, रामचन्द्रशर्मकृता काव्यप्रकाशस्य कलावतीटीका, गजपतिनारायणदेवप्रणीता अलङ्कारचन्द्रिका, रामचन्द्रखड्गरायकृतः अलङ्कार-चिन्तामणिः, कविविद्याधरविरचिता एकावली (अलङ्कारशास्त्रम्), महामहोपाध्याय-नरहरिपण्डाकृता मेघदूतस्य जगन्नाथरथयात्राविषयिणी ब्रह्मप्रकाशिकाटीका, गङ्गादासविरचिता छन्दोमञ्जरी, गोवर्धनाचार्यकृता आर्यासप्तशती, जयदेवविरचितं विश्वप्रसिद्धं गीतगोविन्दम्, कृष्णानन्दसान्धिविग्रहिकमहापात्रकृतं सहृदयानन्द महाकाव्यम्, कविचन्द्ररायदिवाकरमिश्रप्रणीतं भारतामृतमहाकाव्यम् कविडिण्डिमजीव-देवाचार्यविरचितं भक्तिभागवतमहाकाव्यम्, वसुप्रहराजकृतं द्व्यर्थबोधकं राघवयादवीय-महाकाव्यम्, नारायणसत्कविप्रणीतं रामाभ्युदयकाव्यम्, मुरारिमिश्रकृतम् अनर्घ-राघवनाटकम्, मार्कण्डेयमिश्रप्रणीतं दशग्रीववधः, महामहोपाध्यायगोविन्दविरचितं प्रद्युम्नसम्भवम् (महाकाव्यम्), गजपतिकपिलेन्द्ररचितः परशुरामविजयाख्यो व्यायोगः, कविराजभगवान्ब्रह्मविरचिता मृगयाचम्पूः, वक्रवाक्चक्रपाणिकृता गुण्डिचाचम्पूः, भुवनेश्वरवडपण्डाकृता आनन्दवृन्दावनचम्पूः, वासुदेवरथसोमयाजिकृतं गङ्गवंशानु-चरितम्, विद्याकरपुरोहितविरचितं प्रौढपाण्डित्यसूचकं नारायणशतकम् चिन्तामणिमिश्र कृतः कादम्बरीसारः, कविचन्द्रभुवनेश्वररथविरचितः रुक्मिणीपरिणयः, लक्ष्मण-परिणयश्च,.

दर्शनशास्त्रविषये—श्रीधरस्वामिविरचिता श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायाः सुबोधिनी टीका, श्रीमद्भागवतस्य भावार्थदीपिका टीका च, बलदेवविद्याभूषणकृतं ब्रह्मसूत्रस्य

गोविन्दभाष्यम्, तन्त्रविषये—इन्द्रभूतिविरचिता ज्ञानसिद्धिः, चन्द्रशेखरविप्रकृता पुरश्चरणदीपिका, वर्धनाचार्यप्रणीता दुर्गोत्सवचन्द्रिका, गोविन्दकविभूषणसामन्तराय-प्रणीतं सूरिसर्वस्वम्, रामचन्द्रकृता ताराऽर्चनतरङ्गिणी, सोमेश्वरकेशरप्रणीतः तन्त्रार्णवः ।

ज्योतिःशास्त्रविषये—महामहोपाध्यायचन्द्रशेखरसिंहसामन्तविरचितः विश्व-प्रसिद्धः अनुपमः दृक्सिद्धान्तसंवलितः सिद्धान्तदर्पणः । अमुष्यसिद्धान्तगणनानुसारेण रवीन्दुग्रहणं यथाकालं दृग्गोचरताम् उपैति । अतः ग्रन्थकृता स्वीये ग्रन्थे प्रतिज्ञातम्, तद् यथा—

> "नास्ते कालावयवकलना यत्र दृक्शास्त्रसिद्धा,
> श्रौतस्मार्तव्यवहृतिरपिच्छिद्यते   तत्र   धर्म्या ।
> तस्मादेपाकृतिरनृतवागस्तु   वा   संहितार्थी ।
> ग्राह्या दक्षैर्ग्रहणभगणाद्यत्र संलक्ष्य साक्षात्" ।

अस्य ग्रन्थस्य सिद्धिमासेन फाल्गुनमासोऽपि अधिमासो (मलमासः) भवति । एतदनुसारि पञ्चाङ्गं (पञ्जिका) उत्कलेषु प्रचलति । शतानन्दाचार्यविरचिताः—शतानन्दसंग्रहः, शतानन्दरत्नमाला, भास्वती च । गजपतिनारायणदेवप्रणीता आयुर्दायचिन्तामणिः, श्रीनिवासकृता श्रीनिवासदीपिका, श्रीनिवासात्मजकृता ज्योतिष-तत्त्वकौमुदी, नारायणाचार्यकृतं स्फुटदर्पणम्, महामहोपाध्यायकृष्णमिश्रकृतः नक्षत्र-चूडामणिः, धनञ्जयाचार्यकृतः ज्योतिश्चन्द्रोदयः, दशरथमिश्रकृतः ज्योतिषसारसंग्रहः, गदाधरपट्टनायककृतं रवीन्दुग्रहणम् ।

आयुर्वेदविषये—माधवकरप्रणीतं माधवनिदानम्, विश्वनाथशेणकृतः पथ्या-पथ्यविनिश्चयः, भुवनेश्वरपट्टयोषिकृतः आयुर्वेदसारसंग्रहः, योगिप्रहराजमहापात्रकृतं वैद्यहृदयानन्दम् गणितशास्त्रेषु—मागुणित्रिपाठिप्रणीता मन्दार्थबोधिनी, चन्द्रशेखरकृतः लीलावतीविस्तरः ।

सङ्गीतशास्त्रेषु—गजपतिनारायणदेवविरचितः सङ्गीतनारायणः, रघुनाथरथ विरचिता सङ्गीताऽर्णवचन्द्रिका, नाट्यमनोरमा च, श्यामसुन्दरनरेन्द्रकृतः स्वरसारः ।

नाट्यशास्त्रे—अभिनयदर्पणप्रकाशः ।

धर्मशास्त्रे—धर्मशास्त्रविषयकग्रन्थानां परिचयः संक्षेपतः पूर्वमेव संदर्शितः । अन्ये च बहवः एतद्विषयकग्रन्थाः वर्त्तन्ते । येषु शंखधरकृतः स्मृतिसमुच्चयः, शाम्भु-करवाजपेयिकृता स्मार्तरत्नावली, विद्याकरवाजपेयिकृता दिनकृत्यदीपिका, नित्याचार प्रदीपश्च प्राधान्येन परिगण्यन्ते ।

प्रबन्धेऽस्मिन् स्थालीपुलाकन्यायेन केपांचिद् ग्रन्थानां तत्प्रणेतृणां च नामानि संसूचितानि । एतद् विहाय शतशः ग्रन्थाः गीर्वाणवाण्या विरचिताः उत्कलीयपण्डितवर्यैः ते च ग्रन्थाः उत्कलानां संस्कृतानुरागित्वं प्रौढपाण्डित्यप्रकर्षं च स्मारयन्तितमाम् ।

उत्कलभाषायाम् उत्कलभाषाग्रन्थेषु च संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रभावः दिवालोक इव स्पष्टं प्रतिभाति । उत्कलभाषायां ये शब्दाः व्यवह्रियन्ते तेषु प्रतिशतम् अशीतिशब्दाः द्रविकलं संस्कृतशब्दाः तद्भवाश्च । संस्कृतशब्दाः खलु—पक्षि, सन्ध्या, प्रभात, स्वप्न, निद्रा, नदी, विवाह, पर्वत, वात्या, वन्या, शस्य, जन्म, मरण, मृत्यु, सन्ताप, उत्ताप, आशीर्वाद, विवाद, सुख, दुःख, पवन, दर्पण इत्यादयः । तद्भवाः शब्दाश्च यथा— कोमल-कग्रँल, गोष्ठ-गोठ, मुद्ग-मुग, गभीर-गहीर, वन-वण इत्यादयः ।

उत्कलभाषासाहित्यग्रन्थेषु अपि संस्कृतस्य प्रभावः स्फुटतरः परिलक्ष्यते । तथाहि-भाषासाहित्यग्रन्थानां केपांचन नामानि तत्संनिवेशितपद्यसन्दर्भांश्च समुपन्यस्यन्ते । वैदेहीशविलास (अत्र प्रतिपद्यम् आद्यवर्णः वकारः), विदग्धचिन्तामणि, रसकल्लोल, प्रबन्धपूर्णचन्द्र, कलाकौतुक, विचित्ररामायण, कोटिब्रह्माण्डसुन्दरी, रसिकहारावली, लावण्यवती, प्रेमसुधानिधि, सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरी, रसपंचक इत्यादयः ।

तत्र उपेन्द्रभञ्जमहाकविप्रणीते लावण्यवतीनामके काव्ये ''हृतकृशानु सानुमानरुभानुभानुतापरुनिस्तरिला मही'' ।

इत्थं परशताः उत्कलभाषाग्रन्थाः संस्कृतेन प्रभाविताः उत्कलीयानां संस्कृतानुरागं नितरां प्रख्यापयन्ति । ये च अलङ्कारा उपमादयः संस्कृतसाहित्येषु सुप्रसिद्धाः तानेव अनुकृत्य उत्कलीयविद्वांसः रसालङ्काररीतिबृंहितं भाषाकाव्यनिचयं विरचितवन्तः। संस्कृतव्याकरणस्यापि प्रभावः उत्कलभाषाव्याकरणेषु सुस्पष्टः । संस्कृतशब्दानुशासनानुरूपम् उत्कलभाषाव्याकरणम् अवलम्ब्य भाषाकाव्यानि कवयः कृतवन्तः इति समुदाहृतपद्यन्तः स्पष्टमेव प्रतीयते ।

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON TAMIL LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

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Among the Aryan languages in India the oldest and the most important is Sanskrit. Among Dravidian languages in India the most ancient and the one endowed with the richest literature is Tamil. The influence of Sanskirt on Tamil is too obvious to be missed, and has been evident from very ancient times and persistent. In the Tamil Sangam literature the influence of Sanskrit is clear but the autonomy of Tamil is equally manifest. From the period of the devotional literature downwards, Sanskritic thought patterns, religious ideas, epic norms, multiple figures of speech etc. make increasing impact on Tamil language and literature. The translation of Sanskrit epics into Tamil is a direct area of impact. But creation of local myths on the Sanskritic model, elaboration of Tamil grammatical principles to accommodate Sanskrit construction and the tradition of myth-making and relating it to sacred centres and the creation of *Sthala Purāṇas* are the consequence of Sanskrit influence. Rationalisation of ancient Tamil grammatical principles to create a background of Sanskritic influence as was attempted by rhetoricians and grammarians like Buddhamitra a by-product of Sanskritic influence; i.e., it is an influence not on the grammar but on the grammarians. The most notable example of this type is Senavaraiyar, commentator on the *Tolkappiam*. More ancient examples like the influence of Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana on Tiruvalluvar are well known. But Tamil more than any other language in India has maintained its autonomy in spite of considerable absorption of Sanskritic norms. The chief areas of this autonomy are the alphabet, the *Aham* literature, and the fourfold metrical form in prosody, and later elaboration of figures of speech. The spread and common acceptance of Sanskritic mythology however resulted in

very considerable and basic changes in the diurnal life of the people, not excluding nomenclature, so that literature which is ultimately reflection of life got profoundly influenced by Sanskrit.

It is in the nature of languages to influence and be influenced by other languages. In a multilingual country like India the mutual influence among the languages is a perpetual process leading to enrichment of all linguistic groups. This process commenced as early as Vedic Sanskrit. With the spread of the Āryan language and culture along the length and breadth of Bhāratavarṣa Sanskrit terminology representing the Aryan culture at its core must have found its way into native languages.

On a conservative estimate it would be reasonable to suppose that Sanskrit language and their spokesman, the Brahmin, and other speakers of various Prakrits spread from Āryāvarta to the south about the 4th cent. B.C.

Then it was that Pāṇini and classical Sanskrit began to influence the various linguistic groups in India; and Tamil which is spoken by the people of the extreme south of the peninsula was last and perhaps the least influenced by Sanskrit. The settlement of Jaina and Buddhist monks and Brahminical teachers in the southern districts was followed by the introduction of religio-philosophical terminology relevant to these sects into Tamil language. The Brahminical Pravara and Gotra system accompanied the migration of Brahmin families to the south and many early princely grants and endowments were made to Brahmins of particular Gotras like the Bharadvāja, the Kauṇḍinya etc. Of course, Bharadvāja became in Tamil Barataya and Kauṇḍinya became Kauṇiya. The Putrakāmeṣṭi and the Rājasūya were the more popular among the numerous sacrifices that the early Tamils learned to perform and naturally the technical terminology appropriate to Vedic sacrifices found its way into Tamil language. In the administrative system of the early Tamils it is surprising that while the king was Mannan, Vendan etc. all Tamil words—there is no Tamil word to represent Minister. He was a *Mantri* or Amaichar (*Amātya*). There was perhaps no word even for *Sabhā* which became *Avai* in Tamil. Sanskrit mythology and puranic lore was well known to them. A Perundē-vanār (a partially Tamilised form of Mahādeva) translated the *Mahābhārata* into Tamil even in the Sangam days. The story of the Rāmāyaṇa and Srī Kṛṣṇa's juvenile pranks were also known to them. The *Paripāḍal* for instance has an advanced account of Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva and Kaumāra traditions. The Tirumurugāṟṟupaḍai mentions mantric worship of Muruga by a Brahmin priest. The

introduction of mantric worship of indigenous village gods introduced by a Chera prince Ilamchēral Irumporai finds mention in the Padiṟṟupattu. The *Tolkāppiam* reputed as the earliest extant Tamil work, reveals Sanskritic influence in many ways. Though it is not necessary to agree entirely with Senavaraiyar of the middle ages or P.A. Subrahmania Sastri of modern times in regard to Sanskritic origins for Tamil grammatical principles it would be difficult to go the whole hog with Nachchinarkiniar and say that words like Kālam, and Ulagam have nothing to do with Kāla and Loka of Sanskrit. In regard to figures of speech, though *Tolkāppiam* does not know all the nuances of *Kāvyādarśa* the very caption *Uvama Iyal* takes from the word *Upamāna* and for simile which is supposed to be the mother of all figures of speech there is no other word in Tamil. If to this we add *Tolkāppiar's* knowledge of the fourfold community system of Andaṇar, Araśar, Vaiśya and Vēlāla closely corresponding to the system of Caturvarṇa and his knowledge of the eightfold system of marriage of which the *Gāndharva* is equated with *Aham* (Anbin Aindinai), then one has an idea of the influence of Sanskrit even in the ealriest stratum of Tamil language and literature. Of course it is not surprising that this influence is brought about by Tolkāppiar who is a Kāvya, i.e., descended from the *Kavi* gotra (*Kavi* is the name of Śukra who was a Brahmin) and so was himself a Brahmin. But of course the greatest example of triple influence of Sanskrit on Tamil literature is the *Kural*. The *Aram, Porul, Inbam, Vīḍu* classification is the same as the *Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mokṣa* and Manu, Kauṭilya and Vātsyāyana take care of Aram, Porul, and Inbam respectively. This is not to say that Valluvar translated any of the Sanskrit originals or entirely agreed with any one of them. But the influence is unmistakable. Uyirachcham is surely related to the *Upadhā*: the *punarcci-pirivu* classification is synonymous with *Sambhoga* and *Vipralambha* classification in Sanskrit. With the advent of the *Bhakti*-age roughly about A.D. 600 Sanskrit influence became pronounced and popular. The secularity of the Sangam age disappeared, no more to return. A deep religious concern marks the post-Sangam literature. More than 90% of the literature produced between 600—800 A.D. was directly or indirectly connected with the religion of one denomination or another. The *Tevaram* and the other Śaiva *Tirumurais*, the *Nālāyiram*, the *Chintāmaṇi*, the philosophical texts like *Śivajñānabodham, Rāmānujanūṟṟantādi*, the *Periya Purāṇam* and the numerous other *Stalapuranas, Kallāḍam*, the mystic songs of Tirumūlar, Paṭṭinattu Pillai and later of Tāyumānavar and Rāmaliṅgar, the pretty poems of a religious nature like the *Pillaitamil, Kovai, Kalambagam, Ulā* etc. and above all works like the *Tiruppugal* account for a high percentage of devotional literature

in the entrire Tamil literature. This religious enthusiasm which in the days of the Alwars and Nayanmars bordered on fanaticism is a clear departure from the Sangam style of a non-partisan attitude to religion which might be either tolerance or indifference. The later style is clearly the product of deep Sanskritic influence. Even the nomenclature of persons and institutions bore on their face undoubted influence of Sanskrit. In the Sangam days the poets and wisemen bore Sanskrit names like Gautama, Dharmaputra etc. But kings, chieftains, ministers, generals etc. bore clearly Tamil names. But from 600 A.D. downwards at the latest and from the Kalabhra invasion downwards, poets as well as princes assumed Sanskrit names. In this connection it would be interesting to contrast a name like Verpahradakkai Peruvirarkilli (Sangam age 2nd cent. A.D.) with names like Narasiṃhavarman, Paracakra-Kolāhala, Jaṭāvarman Kulaśekhara etc. of later times. Even Sańskrit names were Tamilised suitably and adopted in the Sangam age like Kovalan for Gopalan, Uruttiran for Rudran or directly adopted from Prakrit like Kaṇṇan. But in later usage, direct adoption in Tamil without alteration of the original, became common. But it is noteworthy that many literary names preferred the Tamil form like Kambar, Śēkkilār, Oṭṭakūttar, Nachchinārkiniar, Perāśiriyar, Uraiāśiriyar etc. while words partially Tamil and partially Sanskrit like Tiruttakkadēvar, Senāvaraiyar, Perundevanār were not objected to. Buddhamitra, Neminātha, Pavanandi, Amitasāgarar etc. were names conditioned by the author's religion. In the case of the philosophers, religious leaders and saints both varieties are common. The same person bears both forms of the same name like Nāvuk-karaśar and Vāgīśa whereas Sambandar, Sundarar and Māṇikkavā-chakar bear Sanskritic appellations. Among the Vaishnavite saints very few bear Sanskrit names and the tradition persists after the 10th cent. also among the commentators like Periavāchchān Pillai. But Rāmānuja himself along with Vedāntadeśikar wrote profusely in Sanskrit and bore a Sanskrit name. Thus it would be seen that the influence of Sanskrit was rather indifferent frontally but very extensive and deep indirectly. Daṇḍin, author of the Tamil Alaṅkāra work, adopted the name of his Sanskrit counterpart of the 7th cent. Daṇḍin, the author of *Kāvyādarśa* and introduced the multiple forms of figures of speech into Tamil through his *Daṇḍialaṅkāram.* *Māranalaṅkāram* which came later, further improved on this along Sanskritic lines.

Epic poets like *Bharavi* author of the *Kirātārjunīyam,* writing in the South, must have influenced Tamil epic poets who came later. The Sanskritic puranic themes began to flood the Tamil literary world and the Sangam type of imagery was literally swamped out.

Sanskrit became the language for philosophical discussion and exposition. Śankara and Rāmānuja preferred that medium while the author of the *Śivajñānabodham*, though entitling his work in Sanskrit, preferred to write in Tamil.

Tamil composition in prose as well as in verse came to be influenced heavily by Sanskrit after the 9th cent i.e., when the age of the Ālvārs and Nāyanmārs had come to an end. But the age of the editors of religious texts, and the commentators had started: Nambiāṇḍārnambi and the commentators on *Śivajñānabodham* on the one hand Nādamunigal and the commentators on the Nālāyiram on the other. The Vaishnavite commentators evidently following the traditions of Jaina work like *Māpurānam* and *Śripurāṇam* commenced writing a mixed style, part Sanskrit and part Tamil, with substantives and verbs in Sanskrit mostly and case endings and sentence structures in Tamil. They called it the *Maṇipravāla* style. This style was not adopted by the Saivites. These were stages in the evolution of prose style in Tamil under Sanskritic influence as the difference between the commentary on the *Iraiyanār Ahapporul* and that on *Tiruvāymoḷi* by Periavāchchānpillai will show. The commentaries on the purely literary works however avoided Sanskritic expression as far as possible and that tradition changed only recently i.e., when under the influence of European languages simple prose, easily understood, was deemed better than obscure expressions and constructions and the use of archaic terms.

In poetry too the influence of Sanskrit vocabulary is unmistakable. The *Bhakti*-literature permits itself of a higher percentage of Sanskrit words in the composition of devotional hymns. But progressively percentage of Sanskrit words in Tamil devotional compositions increases steeply as can be seen by comparing the Tirumurugāṟṟupaḍai and the Paripāḍal with the *Tevāram* and the *Tiruvāymoḷi* and these latter with the compositions of Paṭṭinattār and then those with the Tiruppugal of Aruṇagiri. Tāyumānavar continued Aruṇagiri's tradition. Epic writers generally followed the example of Tiruttakkadevar in format, style, diction and imagery. This is true of Śekkilar and Kambar but *Villiputtūrar*, the author of the condensed *Mahābhārata*,[1] employed Sanskrit words and phrases freely and took for granted in his readers an intimate knowledge of Sanskrit purānic themes. Of course eminent composers in Sanskrit pure and simple, heavy and light, literary and grammatical are not unknown to the Tamil country : the tradition goes back to Bhāravi and Daṇḍin in Kanchipuram. Śankara (Śankara's birth-place was

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1. This is an adaptation in Tamil of the Sanskrit Mahākāvya *Bālabhārata* by Agastya Paṇḍita of the 13th century A.D. -Ed.

part of the Tamil country in the 9th cent.), Rāmānuja, Vedānta-deśika, Appayadīkṣita, Govinda Dīkṣita and many others of equal eminence could be cited as contributors to the corpus of Sanskrit literature. The pervasive influence of Sanskrit therefore resulted not only in the refashioning of Tamil diction and style but in the creation of purely Sanskritic works as well. The Nigaṇḍus in Tamil followed the Amara and other Kośas and Nighaṇṭus in Sanskrit; very early i.e., about 1,400 years ago morals and diadatic preachings culled from Sanskritic dharmaśāstras are found reflected in works like the *Achārakkovi* in Tamil.

The question of Tamil indebtedness to Sanskrit basically has agitated the minds of the commentators of grammatical works and has yielded different answers. Nachchinārkiniar and Senāvaraiyar commenting on the *Tolkāppiam* have tended to hold variant views on the autonomy of Tamil grammatical structure and principle, the former affirming full autonomy and the latter heavily qualifying it. Tolkāppiar himself knew that Sanskrit was a force to be reckoned with, language and literature ultimately influencing the way of life of the people. So he had a chapter on Vaḍamoliākkam (the modes of accommodating Sanskrit words) and he distinguished between Vaḍaśol (Sanskrit words written in Tamil script and appropriately Tamilised) and Āryam (Sanskrit word in Sanskrit script). Pavan-andi of a later age was more flexible and provided elaborate rules for Sanskrit construction in Tamil. The field of prosody absorbs *viruttam* meter which became popular soon; the field of figures of speech and rhetoric absorbed all the forms contemplated in *Kāvyādarśa* and even more; the field of Orthography remaining somewhat rigid, like *Rāma* having to be written *Irāma*, etymology and syntax becoming slightly more flexible with Sanskritic Sandhis becoming more common. The Buddhist and Jaina rhetoricians and grammarians who had a near monopoly of writing Tamil grammatical texts and commentaries from the 10th to 15th cent. vide *Nemināth.am, Yāpparunkalam, Yāpperunkala, Kārikai, Vīraśoḷiyam, Nannūl*—introduced changes of a far reaching nature into Tamil language. The author of the *Vīraśoḷiyam* consciously introduced Sanskritic structure and rationalised Tamil grammatical principles from the Sanskrit angle. This attitude was energetically pursued by Īśānadeśikar, author of *Ilakkaṇakottu* and Subrahmania Dīkṣitar, author of the *Prayoga Vivekam* and in modern times by P.S. Subrah-mania Sastri who extensively wrote on Tamil indebtedness to Sanskrit in the field of grammar. All these will not mean that either these rationalisers or their opponents are correct. A reaction to excessive democratisation of style and hybridisation of diction

has pushed the pendulam in modern times to the opposite extreme of purism..

As an adjunct to the Bhakti movement which started round about the 6th cent. A.D. the construction of temples became an important social activity; and religious architecture, Iconography and worship patterns came in for much thought and the *Āgama* literature was a consequence. This was written in Sanskrit or in Tamil or in a mixture of both in varying proportions written either in Nagari, Tamil or Grantha script. The Grantha script was innovated to accommodate Sanskrit alphabetic sounds in writing.

NOTES ON THE INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT LITERARY FORMS ON ORIYA LITERATURE

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Sanskrit in ancient India was the cultural gold currency, against which the general worth of literatures in the regional languages was measured. The early phase of the developmental history of all the Indo-Aryan languages present the same phenomena.

The early phase of literary activity is one of transcreation of the epics and the scriptural literature. The various Purāṇas, Gītās Saṃhitās, besides the Sāralā, Mahābhārata, Dāṇḍi Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhāgavata in Oriya bear testimony to the omnipresence of Sanskritic form and metamorphosed content. Even the earliest popular songs—*Koili* and *cautisā*—which continued to flourish until the end of the 18th Century can be traced to Sanskrit influence.

The 17th and the 18th centuries saw the evolution of a type of Oriya literature which claimed recognition as being in no way inferior in excellence to the Sanskrit literature.

Upendra and other Oriya writers were well versed in the tradition of Sanskrit. They took the Sanskrit Kavya model and created unparalleled literary masterpieces based on the traditional culture of Orissa.

The dawn of modernity in Oriya literature was with the advent of Radhanath Ray (1848-1908). Although there is perceptive western influence during this period Sanskrit continued to provide stimulus to writers of this period in selecting as well as depicting specific themes. Sanskrit for the modern writer in search of an

identity is a bright star in the distant horizon from which he is at best eager to draw sustenance in relating his immediate present with the tradition.

Oriya language through ages has been indebted to Sanskrit in style, content, mode, taste, syntax, metre, diction and other components. Sanskrit opened up the vast cultural treasure of ancient India to the Oriya poets, who freely drew upon its generous bounty to enrich indigenous literature. The large bulk of tatsama and tadbhava vocabulary connot be understood without reference to Sanskrit. The contributions of Oriya scholars to Sanskrit literature and scholarship is a subject of special discourse. But scholarship in Sanskrit and creativity in Oriya had gone hand in hand for almost seven hundred years whether it is for purpose of bringing the language closer to Sanskrit or establish it on its own away from Sanskrit.

THE ORIYA CITRA BHĀGAVAT

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The Sanskrit as well as the Oriyā *Bhāgavta Purāna* are very popular religious scriptures of Orissa. In most of the Hindu villages of Orissa "Bhāgavat Ghar" is a sacred institution where palm-leaf manuscripts of Jagannāth Dās's Oriyā *Bhāgavata* (16th C.A.D.) are worshipped in the form of Vāsudeva or Viṣṇu. Jagannāth Dās translated the Sanskrit *Bhāgavata Purāna* into Oriya when Sri Chaitanya was residing at Puri (1509-10 A.D.) and this Oriyā *Bhāgavata Purāna*, led to the spread of Vaishnavism in Orissa.

Apart from the Oriyā *Bhāgavata Purāna*, rightly called the Bible of the Oriyās, the Skt. *Bhāgavata Purāna*, was also in vogue. During my research tour to different interior parts of Orissa for survey and collection of palm-leaf manuscripts I accidentally discovered some portions of the *Bhāgavata Purāna* consisting of 105 pages. The size of the manuscript is $10'' \times 10''$ and the material is hand-made polished paper. The date of the manuscript goes back to the 18th Century A.D. Each page of the manuscript is illuminated with multicoloured paintings on the different episodes of the *Bhāgavata*. Studying the style of the painting I came to the conclusion that the art of the paintings in this *Bhāgavata Purāna* ms. is of the later Moghul school. The script of the ms. is bold Devanāgarī. The importance of this rare and valuable ms. lies in the excellence of these colourful paintings which require further study, research and lastly their publication.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE RAJASTHANI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

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Early Indo-Aryan, Middle Indo-Aryan and Modern Indo-Aryan : these are the three stages in the development of the Indo-Aryan language, the first always remaining the linguistic and litrary source of the latter two. Rajasthani is no exception to the rule. It was around 11th century A.D. onward that from the Apabhraṁśa[1] developed a number of dialects in the region comprising whole of modern Rajasthan, parts of Malwa, Saurāṣṭra, Sindh and Panjab. Important amongst these dialects are : (1) Mārwāri[2]

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1. *Prākṛtacandrikā* lists twenty-seven varieties of Apabhraṁśa :

ब्राचड़ो लाटवैदभांडुपनागरनागरी ।

बार्बरावन्त्यपांचालटाक्कमालवर्कंकयाः ॥

गौड़ोढहैंव पाश्चात्यपाण्ड्यकौन्तलसैंहलाः ।

कालिगृय्यप्राच्यकर्णाटकांच्यद्राविणगौर्जंरा: ॥

आभीरो मध्यदेशीय: सूक्ष्मभेदव्यवस्थिताः ।

सप्तविंशत्यपभ्रंशाः वैतालादिप्रभेदत: ॥

Grierson in his *Linguistic Survey of India* identifies Nāgara Apabhraṁśa as the source of the language of Rajasthan. S. K. Chatterjee prefers to call it Saurāṣṭra Apabhraṁśa (Vide *Rājasthānī Bhāṣā*, Udaipur, 1949, p. 65) while K. M. Munshi calls it Gūrjarī Apabhraṁśa.

2. Mewari spoken in Udaipur division is considered a sub-dialect of Mārwārī. It is spoken in Jodhpur, Bikaner, Sirohi, South-west parts of Ajmer-Merwara, in some parts of Kishangarh and Palanpur, Shekhavati, Sindh and in southern parts of Panjab.

(2) Dhūndhādī (ढूंढाड़ी),[3] (3) Mālvī,[4] (4) Mevātī,[5] and (5) Vāgaṛī[6]

its literary content abounding in the works of Saints like Dādū is influenced by Brij Bhāsā.

4 Current mainly in Malwa but spoken in parts of Mewar also. Besides Marwari and Dhūndhāḍī, Marathi has also influenced it

(३) मेवाड़ से राग शाखम जस का गीत ।   *Ibid,* 156

Ibid. 157

vas recognised as a

portion of their vocabulary and the whole of their inflectional system being derived from this source. Whatever may be the opinions held as to the subsequent influences which they underwent, no doubt can fairly be cast on this fundamental proposition."[8]

The vocabulary of early Rajasthani[9] contains a comparatively small percentage of *Tatsama* words (say 20%)whereas the percentage of *Tadbhava* words derived from Sanskrit (either through the process of Prākṛt or directly) and of *Deśaja* words is extremely large. The words of Persian and of other non-Aryan source are also in small number. In view of the large percentage of *Tadbhava* and *Deśaja* words, a thorough study of the Rajasthani language in all its developments will prove amply rewarding. An examination of the three thousand words occurring in the *Kanavajja Samaya* of the *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* reveals[10] that the percentage of *Tatsama* words is 16 and that the Persian words constitute a very small fragment as they are only fifty. Among the *Tatsama* words occurring in the above text the following be noted :

अंकन, अंगना, अंगुलि, अंचल, अम्ब, अंबर, अभ्मोरुह, अखंड, अध, अच्छ, अनुहार, अपर, अर्क, अलक, अस्तमित, आगत, आवद्ध, आसने, इतो, इह, उच्च,

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8. *A comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan Languages of India*, John Beames. Chapter I, p. 2, Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1970.

9. Speaking about the percentage of Sanskrit, Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa words on the one hand and the words of Arabic and Persian origin on the other in the Diṅgal literature as whole Motilal Menaria has observed :
Hindi and other modern Indian languages have definitely larger percentage of Arabic and Persian words and less of *Tatsama* words than Rajasthani.
'अनुमानतः डिंगल में प्रतिशत ८० शब्द संस्कृत, प्राकृत और अपभ्रंश के ५ शब्द अरबीफारसी आदि मुसलमानी भाषाओं के और शेष शब्द प्रान्तीय हैं ।'   '–डिंगल में वीर रस, मोतीलाल मेनारिया, पृ० ।। हिन्दी सा० सम्मे, प्रयाग

10. See p. 148, *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso Kī Bhāṣā* by Manvar Singh, Sarasvati Press, Benaras, 1956. Vipin Behari Trivedi has listed 450 words in his edition of the text *"Chandavardai Aur Unka Kavya"*, pp. 313-346. Considering the size of the text this number is very small.

उन्चार, उभय, एव, कथित, किरण, कुंभ, कुसमित, कोट (Fort), गंडस्थल, घनसार, तंबूलस्यः, ततो, तटाक, तामस, नग्न, नभ, पावन, पुनर, पूजा, बिम्बेन, मरंति, मंजीर, मध्याह्न, मनोमय, यज्ञार्थे, रद, लोल, विवर्जित, श्रृंग, संवेग, समादाय, सह, सहस्त्र, and सोधु ।

An analysis of the nature of *Tadbhava* words in the *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* will require a comprehensive discussion on the Rajasthani language proper, its phonology, formation of nouns and verbs in it etc., which is not very pertinent for our purpose here. The poet of the *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* suffers from a *pathetic* desire to introduce Sanskrit in his work. He fails miserably in writing any verse correctly in Sanskrit. Nevertheless, a number of stanzas are found here which are full of some kind of corrupted Sanskrit. The Sanskrit was employed perhaps to demonstrate knowledge of the language of the learned and thus to earn recognition of the Pandits. Some examples of this may be found interesting and will eventually illustrate how early literature in Indo-Aryan languages imitated, though very poorly, the form of Sanskrit. What they wrote was semblance or imitation of Sanskrit and never Sanskrit. In the *Kanavajja Samaya* there are eight chandas in this corrupted Sanskrit. They are :

Kāvya : Verse Nos. 20.95, 141.
Śataka : 140.
Āryā : 147.
Śloka : 179, 188.194.

The Kāvya (Verse No. 20) is as follows :

बंभे कंड कमंडले कलिमले कान्तिहरः कः कविः ।
तं तुष्टां त्रैलाक्यतुंगगहनी तुं गीयसे सांमनी
मर्धं विष्णु मगामिनि अविज्ञते अस्पष्ट ज्वालाह्वी
जंजाले जग मार पार करनी दरसाइ सा जाह्नवी ॥

The Āryā is as given below :—

तुलसाइ विप्र हस्तेषु विभूतिः वर योगिनां ।
चंडिय पुत्र तवोरह त्रीणि देयानि सादरम् ॥
Verse No. 147

The Śloka is :

धर्मार्थेषु च यज्ञेषु कामकालेषु शोभितं ।
सर्वत्र वल्लभा बाला रणकालेषु मोहिनी ॥
Verse No. 188

Another Śloka is :—

गुरुजनो नाम नास्ति तातमातविवर्जितः ।

तस्य काम विनश्यन्ति जाम चन्द्रदिवाकरः ।।

<div align="right">Verse No. 194</div>

In Troṭaka also 'm' is used to give the semblance of Sanskrit, as in Troṭaka Nos. 21-31 :

सुरनर टट चालं कुसुमति लालं श्रतिजालं ।

हिम रिम प्रतिपालं हुरिचर नालं विघिवालं ।।

<div align="right">Verse No. 28</div>

Similarly again in Troṭaka Nos. 203-211, 282-298 'm' is employed to symbolise Sanskritism. Gāthā (see verse No. 179), Nārāca (see verse No. 248) also at times employed the 'm' trick. The following Gāthā is interesting as it embodies with necessary modification and simile an oft-quoted Sanskrit saying : न गृहं गृहमि-त्याहुर्गृहिणी गृहमुच्चते and reads like Sanskrit :

यतो नलिनी ततो नीर यतो नीर ततो नलिनी ।

यत्र गेह गेहिनी तत्र यत्र गेहिनी तत्र गृह ।

<div align="right">Verse No. 273</div>

The above examples of uses of corrupted Sanskrit in *Pṛthvī-Rāja-rāso* demonstrate the unavoidable impact of Sanskrit literature over Rajasthani. There is a popular saying that मृ लगन्तं संस्कृतं बनन्तमृ. The poets of early literature in Rājasthān seemed to follow this dictum to maintain their popular prestige as poets of considerable calibre. The tradition of 'Ṣaḍbhāṣākavitā' or poem containing use of six languages, which invariably included Sanskrit amongst the six, had such an unchallenged sway over the claims for being a poet that such tricks as use of 'M' for poor Sanskriti-sation came into vogue.

One of the important characteristics of Rajasthani is the use of *Tadbhava* words in more than one meanings. For example the word 'Karatāra' from 'Karta' in Sanskrit occurring eighty times in the *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* means *maker* (*Kartā*), *cymbal* (*Karaṭāla*), *palm* (*Karatala*) ; the word *kara* (occurring 400 times) stands for hands, ray of light and trunk of the elephant. Being pronounced as 'Kaḍa' it also stands for buttocks (the word *Kaḍa* being derived from *Kaṭi*).

It was observed earlier that the percentage of *Tatsama* words in the *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* is very small (about 20%). This increased in later works of Rajasthani, particularly from the 16th century A. D. onwards. The *Beli Krisaṇa Rukmiṇī Rī* (1580 A. D.) by Pṛthvī Rāj Rāthora bears testimony to this. To illustrate :

<div align="center">

मैली तदि साध सुरमण को कमनि

रमण को कमनि साधु रही ।

फूले छंडी वास प्रफूले, ग्रहणो सीतलता इ ग्रही ।

धुनि उठी **श्रनाहत संख** भेरी धुनि

श्ररुणोदय थियो जोग **श्रभ्यास**

माया पटल निसामैं मंजे **प्राणायामें** ज्योति प्रकास ।

</div>

Sanskrit words such as *Aruṇa, Abhirāma, Kañja, Nayana, Grīvā, Pataṅga, Dhanus,* are abundantly used in the Diṅgal Literature of centuries that followed. The most brilliant poet of Diṅgal in the 19th Century, Suryamal Misrana had freely mixed Sanskrit in his historical poem, the *Vaṃsabhāskara*. It may also be noted in passing that in Rajasthani works, dealing with Śāstraic subjects (Prosody, rhetorics, astrology, Darśana etc.) and in translations or adaptations or in works based on Sanskrit literature (for example, *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*) the percentage was still higher. However, the Rajasthani works in prose had always a higher percentage of *Tadbhava* words, even words of Persian origin, such as सुरतांण, श्रादाब, जमात, तमास, दखेंस, फील, दस्तैं, फरमाण, बन्दगी etc. were freely used. So much about the impact of Sanskrit on the vocabulary of Rajasthani. Now we pass on to its structural and inflectional elements.

Sanskrit is synthetical or inflectional. Hindi like English and many other modern Indian languages, is analytical.[11] In a synthetical languages particles are not separable. They are incorporated into the words which they modify by varying the terminal syllable or syllables. In an analytical language particles are not even recognisable as constituent elements of the word with which they are incorporated and new auxiliary words have to be brought in to express the necessary modification of sense.[12]" Rajasthani, unlike

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11. From synthetical to analytical is a natural stage of linguistic growth and one need not import the question of Dravidian influence over analytical Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi, Gujarati, Sindhi' Panjabi, Bengali, and Oriya as John Beames has rightly pointed out. Reference as under 12.

12. Vide Introduction Vol. I, Ch. I in "*A comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan languages of India.*" by John Beames, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi, Reprint 1970.

Hindi, preserves both the inflectional and analytical forms. To illustrate.

1. Nominative Singular, Masculine (by termination in e) :

ढोले करह चलावियौ करि सिणगार अपार

(ढोला मारु रा दोहा)

2. Nominative singular, masculine (by termination in simple stem) :

(1) ज्यो प्रिथिराज   *(Kanavajja Samaya, 336 2)*

(2) चहुवान् गाउ   *(Ibid   302.6)*

(3) सिर तुट्टे   *(Ibid   189.1)*

(4) अरब्बी लर

3. Nominative singular masculine (by termination in 'u')

(1) कहै चन्दु   (कनवज्जसमय 336.6)

(2) पर्यो माल चन्देलु

4. Nominative plural masculine (by termination in ā)

कायरड़ा मंजन करै आँसू धार मंझार

(कायर बावनी)

5. Nominative plural masculine (by termination in आं)

पारख कीधी पंडिताँ सरब मिलै संताँह

(वचनविवेकपच्चीसी)

6. Nominative singular feminine (formed by termination in 'i' and 'a') :

(1) धरणि   (2) अरघंगा

7. Nominative plural feminine (by termination in आं)

(1) अखियाताँ वाताँ बचै (सुजसछत्तीसी)

(2) जाया रजपूताणियां वीरत दीधी वेह ॥[13]

The accusative singular of masculine is formed by either termination in simple stem or in 'u' or in 'e'. For example :—

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13. It is clear from the above examples that Nominative singular of Masculine is formed by termination in (i) u (ii) ए (iii) Simple stem, and of feminine by termination in (i) and 'आं'. The Nominative plural of masculine is formed by termination आ and feminine by 'आं'.

(1) बज्जपति बज्ज गहि,

(2) दिव दिवान गो देवरउ,

(3) हाथी घोड़ाए मार्यो (बेलि०)

The accusative plural masculine and feminine is formed by श्राँ and याँ[14]-   For example :

(1) भिड़जाँ भड़ा चारणाँ भाटों मुंहगा वतरणहार मुवौ

(2) नरौ नठीगों नारियाँ   (सूर्यमल्ल)

The accusative singular feminine is formed by termination 'i' and 'a'.   For example : कट्टारि and श्ररघंगा.

The instrumental singular masculine and feminine is formed by 'i' and 'e' and plural (both masculine and feminine) by 'e' and 'An'.[15]   For example :

(1) कनवज्ज दिखन कारणइ (कनवज्जसमय)

(2) रुकै निरदलिया रवद (राजरूपक)

(3) पितनू कमलां पूज बारणमुख बड़भाग ।

The dative is formed by 'e' 'Nu' and श्राँ in singular and by only श्राँ in plural.   For example :—

(1) कलह करै मत कामणीघोड़ै धी देताँह ।

(2) हंसाँ नग हरनूं तुचाँ, दांत किराताँ दीघ ।   (सीहछत्तीसी)

Ablative is formed by ऐ and श्राँ.   For example :

(1) नारषे हियें निसास पास न राण प्रतापसी । (दुरसाजी)

(2) चिहुरै जल लागौ चुवण (बेलि०)

(3) तात विदेसाँ श्राविगयो   (नाथूदान)

Genitive is formed by श्राए ऐ and श्राँह-[16] For Example:—

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14. In the *Prthvī Rāja Raso* 'Hi' is used for the accusative.   As in
कीर चुनहि मुकताफलहि ।
(कनवज्जसमय 98-4)

15. For plural 'na' is often used here which is perhaps the short form for श्रानाम् in Sanskrit. Examples.

पुरखन, राइन, सुगन्धिनि

16. The Genitive is also found without any ending.   In such cases the Tatpuruṣa compound may also be suspected.

(1) ढोलै मन ग्राणंद भयो
(ढोला मारु रा दोहा)

(2) भाव टालियै भर्वांह (पृथ्वीराज)

(3) माथै मुगलांह विधि विधि खांडा वाहती
(रतनरासो)

Locative singular is formed by ऐ and plural additionally by ग्रौ. For example :

(1) कंत घरे किम ग्राविया (सूरजमल)

(2) चंचलां चाढ़ महा सरवर री पाल ग्राइऊभी रही (रतनरासो)

For vocation either a simple uninflected stem is used or ए and ऐ are prefixed to the stem.

From the above examples two facts stand out. Rajasthani, maintains, like Sanskrit, synthetical forms and secondly, its particles inseparable from the stems are a few and many of these are employed in different cases. Thus 'ए' particles can be used in all cases of singular masculine. In plural generally ग्रां or यां is used. Another important feature is the use of the uninflected stems in a number of cases like instrumental, dative, genitive and the locative. Side by side with synthetical forms Rajasthani developed analytical forms under the influence of the Apabhraṁśa. In Rajasthani two or more post-propositions are found for different cases except the nominative and the vocative which have none.[17]

It is clear from the above that the Rajasthani language has in its declension of nouns a great variety, namely :

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17. Post-propositions are as under :

(1) Accusative : नै, प्रति, ।

(2) Instrumental करि, नइ, पाहि, साथि, सिऊँ, सूँ

(3) Dative : कन्है, नै, प्रति

(4) Ablative कन्हुई, कनै, ताँड़, थी, मझारि, मझि, मा, माहि, हूँत, हुंता, हूँती ।

(5) Genitive रा, री, रै, चा, ची, चै, चौ, कैरी, कैरा, कैरो, तणा, तणो, तणौ ।

(6) Locative : मंझार, मांझ, माँ, माझल, मधि, में

(1) Uniflectional i. e. where simple stem is used without ending. We have in Sanskrit such uncharacterised nominative neuters to the stems in—H and in nominative feminines ending in 'ā' (Ramā) and those in 'ī' of the 'Devī' class. The locative without ending (which is the oldest form in Sanskrit) appears in n — stems (for example, Ahan, Śīrṣan, Mūrdhan) and in the Vṛddhi forms of the 'i' and 'u' — stems.

(2) Inflectional form has been treated at length and it has been pointed out how Rajasthani, unlike Hindi and some other modern Indian languages, is similar in this respect with Sanskrit.

(3) Analytical form of the Rajasthani brings it closer to Hindi and other modern Indian languages of India and marks the impact of the Apabhraṁśa.

Other important linguistics peculiarities of Rajasthani marking the influence of Sanskrit may now be noted briefly :

(1) In Diṅgal both dental and cerebral 'l' is found, while dental 'l' is common to Classical Sanskrit and other modern Indian languages ; cerebral 'l' is found in Vedic Sanskrit, Marathi, Gujarati, and Lahandi, Sindi and Oriya only. There are a number of words ending with cerebral 'l' where if 'l' were pronounced dentally, it will change its meaning.[18] For example :

1. *Māḷī*, Gardner ; Mālī, Financial
2. *Mahaḷ*, Woman ; Mahala, Palace
3. *Cancaḷa*, horse ; Cañcala, fickle.

(2) In Vedic Sanskrit accent or stress on a particular syllable determines the meaning of a word. In Rajasthani stress on a particular syllable or lack of it changes the meaning. For example :

Nara Woman, Lion
Kada Height, When
Maur Coin, back
Pira Pain, Bride's parental home.

(3) Although palatal *s* does not exist in Rajasthani and it is always represented by dental *S* in its script but in pronunciation both are distinguished. Thus *Sastra* in writing is read as *Śāstra*, Caturdasa as caturdaśa. This was clearly to maintain correct pronunciation of the *Tatsama* and *Tadbhava* Sanskrit words. Similarly cerebral 'ṣ' is generally pronounced as '*Kha*' but in *Tatsama* Sanskrit words the cerebral pronunciation is *respected* For example, *Poṣa*, *Āṣāḍha* and *Bhīṣma*.

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18. In old Rajasthani Script cerebral 'l' was written like dental. However it was always pronounced as cerebral as in Gurumukhi where also there is no separate character for cerebral.

(4) Independent Ṛ changes into *ri*, for example Ṛṣi in Rajasthani becomes Risi but in words with conjoined syllables, generally *Tatsamas*, the Ṛ has been retained as in *Smṛti* and *Vṛta*.

(5) Words of Sanskrit origin changed into *Tadbhavas*, by various devices, as illustrated in the following examples :—

(i) दुरलभ > दुर्लभ, दुरग > दुर्ग, कीरत > कीर्ति, धरम > धर्म क्रम > कर्म

(by changing *r* into *ra* or its position)

(ii) हेक > एक, एक > हैव, तुलछी > तुलसी, छमा > समा, रामण > रावण

(by replacing e by *he* ; s by *ch* and va by *ma*)

(iii) कैरव > कौरव

(by replacing *au* by *ai*)

(iv) समहर > समर, अंवहर > अंबर

(by adding '*Ha*' and *ra*)

(v) आरण > रण

(by adding a vowel in the beginning)

(vi) जीवण > जीवन, माण > मान
(by changing words of N-stem into na)

(vii) पीवइ > पिबति, हुई > भवति

(6) For *tadbhava* indeclinables the following words of Rajasthani may be listed :

परभातइ > प्रभात, रातई > रात्रि, अज्ज > अद्य, पुण > पुन:, दूरइ > दूरे, तठै > तत्र, अनेठि > अन्यत्र, पाखलि > पक्षे, जेण > येन जथा > यथा, अवस > अवश्य, अउभकइ > अकस्मात्, अत > अति, आगा > अग्रे, नएवि > न तु

(7) In old Rajasthani, which was influenced to a large extent by Gujarati, there were three genders as in Sanskrit. But later on neuters have been included in masculines as in Hindi, Punjabi and Hindi.

(8) Agreement of the adjectives with their substantive is found both in Sanskrit and Diṅgal.

(9) A simple future derived from the synthetical tense in Sanskrit exists in Rajasthani. For example : करस्यूं, करसी, करस्याँ, करस्यों, करसी and करसूं It is the Sanskrit future *iṣya* as in *kariṣyāmi* which is retained by Rajasthani through *karissāmi* in Prākṛta.[10]

Side by side with *karissati* we get in Prākṛta करिहइ and thus in *Chand*, simple future हैं— forms are found as in Tulasi :—

हम सावंत सब जुभिहैं

कौं सिर तुमहि समप्पि हैं

कै सिर घरिहौं छत्र

Rajasthani has an interesting variety of metres. *Dohā, Kavitta, Chhapaya, Nisāṇī, Jhulana, Kuṇḍaliyā, Davāvaita, Vacanika. Jhamal, Be-akkhari* and *Gīta*, and more particularly *Dohā* (perhaps from *Dodhaka* or *Dogdhaka* in Sanskrit) *Kavitta* and *Gīta*, are mostly favoured by the Rajasthani poets.[20] A number of varieties of the Diṅgala metres were named in Sanskrit such as *Vidyādhar, Lakṣmīdhara Sāraṅga, Modaka, Nārāca, Ardha-Nārāca, Carcarī, Amṛtadhvani.* Amongst Sanskrit metres freely used in Rajasthani are *Upendravajrā, Bhujaṅga-prayāta, Taṭala-nayana, Muktadāma. Troṭaka, Cāmara, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Gītikā, Harigītikā,* (i. e. *Harigītā* in Sanskrit), *Chappaya,* (*Aṣṭapadī* in Sanskrit), *Vacanika* and *Paddhari* (*Padhari* in Rajasthani). Use of a great number of Sanskrit metres in Rajasthani underlines their close relationship.

Employment of the Alaṁkāras is *sine qua non* of literary language. Alaṁkāras of Sanskrit are not only discussed and illustrated in Rajasthani Rhetoric but are freely used in literature. Given below is the list of important alaṁkāras employed with or

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19. In Rajasthani simple future is also found by use of *la*, as in—

(1) बूड़ैला बुधवायरा जल विच छोड़ जहाज (हरिदास)

(2) पाकड़ जम घतेला फाँसी पापी इण दिन नैं पछतासी

20. A number of metrical works in Rajasthani were written. The most important amongst them are listed below :

(1) हरिपिंगल प्रकाश, (2) लखपतगुण पिंगल (3) रघुनाथरूपक गोतारो (4) रघुवरजसप्रकाश (5) डिंगलकोश (6) पिंगल-सिरोमणि

Number of many poetical works in Rajasthani are named after the metres that they use. For example :

गोगैंजी चहुंवाण री नीसाणी, अमरसिंह जी रा भूलणा, राजकुमार अनोपसिंह जी री बेल, भमाल आउआ री, राठोड़ रामसिंह जी रा गीत, महाराज अभैसिंह जी रा कवित, सांगे राणी रा दूहा ।

without any effort in important works of Diṅgal.[21]

Sanskrit Alaṅkāras in the Veli Krisana Rukmāni Ri :

(1) Anuprāsa-13 ; Yamaka-10 ; Śleṣa-9 ; Vakrokti-7 ; Citra-1.

(2) Rūpaka-58 ; Utprekṣā-44 ; Upamā-37 ; Svabhāvokti-16 ; Dīpaka-10 ; Apahnuti-10 ; Yathāsaṁkhya-9 ; Vyāghāta-9 ; Parikara-8 ; Ullekha-7 ; Virodhābhāsa, Saṁdeha, Udātta, Samāsokti, Atiśayokti (each six times) Hetu-5 ; Samuccaya-5 ; Vibhāvanā-4 ; Vyatireka-4 ; Pratīpa-4 : Nidarśanā, Kāvyārthā-patti, Atyukti, Bhrāntimān, Parikarāṅkura, Paryāya (each three times) ; Dṛṣṭānta, Sāra, Paryāyokti, Ekāvali, Mīlita, anyonya, Viśeṣa, Anumāna, and Pramāṇa (each twice) and Viśeṣokti, Tulyayogitā, Adhika, Udāharaṇa, Sahokti, Prahar-ṣaṇa and Sūkṣmā (each once only).

Dhavalapacīsī of Bankidas

Each Dohā or Soraṭhā has one or more Alaṁkāras. However only 14 arthālaṁkāras are used. Besides *Hetu* and *Vicitra*, each occurring eight times, *Sama* occurs four times and *Ākṣepa* three times. Each of *Aprastuta-praśaṁsā*, *Samuccaya*, *Vidhi* and *Udātta* are employed twice only. The remaining alaṁkāras, *Adhika*, *Anan-vaya*, *Sambhava*, *Nirukti*, *Viṣāda* and *Vinokti* occur only once.

In another work of his, the Nītimañjarī, Bankidas has used twelve *arthālaṅkāras* including *Dṛṣṭānta*, *Pariṇāma*, *Upamā*, *Krama* and *Vyāghāta* (which are not found on the *Dhavalpacīsī*). The best poet of Rajasthani even in using alaṅkāras of *Śabda* and *Artha* is Suryamala Misana. In his *Vīrasatasai*, *Śabdālaṅkāras* (besides *Vayanasagai* alaṅkāra of Rajasthani) include *Chekānuprāsa*, *Vṛttyā-nuprāsa*, *Śrutyānuprāsa*, *Antyānuprāsa*, *Lāṭānuprāsa*, and *Yamaka*. The Arthālaṅkāras used in this *Virasatasai* include *Upamā*, *Utprekṣā*, *Rūpaka*, *Parikarāṅkura*, *Kāvyaliṅga*, *Apahnuti*, *Dīpaka*, *Atiśayokti*, *Atyukti* (a kind of *Udātta*), *Anumāna*, *Vibhāvanā*, *Dṛṣṭānta*, *Svabhā-vokti*, *Rūpakātiśayokti*, *Paryāyokti*, *Anyokti*, *Asaṅgati*, *Samāsokti*, *Saṁdeha*, *Bhrāntimān*, *Vyatireka*, *Viśeṣokti*, *Vyājastuti*, *Nidarśana*,

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21. *Vaina—Sagain* (or harmonious relationship of the syllables) is exclusively Rajasthani alaṅkāra. It has a bewildering variety and is most frequently used by all the poets. It may not be Anuprāsa or any of its variety, found in Sanskrit but there can be no doubt that it evolved under great impact and extensive use of the *Anuprāsa* and other *Citrālaṅkāras* in Sanskrit. Figures after the Alaṅkāra indicate the frequency of the alaṅkāra.

Viṣama, *Adhika*, *Udatta* and *Praharṣaṇa*. Besides onomatopoeia, personification and euphemism are also used in *Vīrasatasai*.[22]

The poet of the *Dholā Marū Rā Dohā*, having 41 alaṅkāras, is very fond of using alaṅkāras based on similitude. Thus Upamā is used 109 times, Rūpaka and Utpṛrekṣā 37 and 32 times respectively.

Rajasthani Literature has been enriched by all important sections of society. Cāraṇas take the lion's share and their contribution is the largest. Jainas are next to Cāraṇas only and their contribution to Rajasthani may not be excellent but is very important,[23] to study the evolution of the Rajasthani language

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22. Some illustrations of the alaṅkāras from the Virasatasai :—

Upamā :

बाला, चाल म वीसरे
मो थण जहर समान
रीत मरंता ढील की
ग्रठ छियो धमसाण ॥

Rūpaka :

घोड़ा घर ढालाँ पटल
भाला थंभ वणाय

Kāvyaliṅga :

मैं तो विण सब हाँसिया उण भड़ एक महेस ।
काय दिये थण मेहणूं हूं भड़ हूंत विसेस ॥ 279 ॥

Apahnuti :

सींह न वाजो ठाकराँ
दीन गुजारो दीह् ।
ह्रापल पाड़े ह्राथियाँ
सौ भड़ बाजे सींह ॥ 34 ॥

Atiśayokti (*with Utprekṣa*)

तोपाँ घर दरजाँ पड़ै
भड़े गिराँ सिर झाट
जाणे सागर-खीररै-मंदर रो ग्ररडाट ॥ 164

Sandeha

ग्राँख हिये कै सीस । 174 ।

Vibhāvanā :

विण माथे बाढ़े दलाँ । 174 ।

Dīpaka.

मायड़ खाय दिखाय थण
थण पण वलय बताय ।

23. The list of Jain writers is very large. They contributed to Sanskrit and Rajasthani literature to a very great extent. Some of the Jainas like Jina-vallabha Sūri, Jinaprabhasūri, Samaya-sundara, Dharmavardhana, Jñānasāra wrote in Sanskrit and Rajasthani with equal felicity.

from its earliest beginning to the modern times. Kings contributed to the Rajasthani in no small measure. The *Kṛṣṇa Rukmiṇī Rī Beli* by king Prithvi Raj is an outstanding work of Rajasthani literature. Amongst the Brahmins the names of Narapati Nalh, celebrated poet of *Bisāladeva Rāso*, Śrīdhara Vyās who composed *Rāṇā Mala*, *Chand* and *Saptaśatīchand*, of Padmanābha who is famous for *Kanhana De Prabandha* and of *Vyās Bhāṇḍa* the poet of Hammirayana, deserve special mention. A kāyastha poet, Gaṇapati composed (Samvat 1554) the *Kāmakandalā Prabandha*, a love-poem containing 2500 *Dohās*. Another Kāyastha versified in Rajasthani the *Bhāgavata* and the *Gītā* (available in the collection of Manuscripts of Agarachanda Nahata) A Muslim poet, named, Dhadhi Badara wrote *Biravana*, Jana, a Muslim poet of great repute is credited with the authorship of seventy-five works, many of which are in Rajasthani and deal with Śṛṅgāra. He was well-versed in Arabic; Persian, Sanskrit and Rajasthani.

The most important class of literature is by Cāraṇas and Bhāṭas which is in Diṅgal and is predominantly poetry of bravery abounding in Vīra Rasa.[24] This constitutes the largest part of Rajasthani literature. The Cāraṇa poetry is found in the form of *Prabandha*[25] (which includes certain characteristics of a *Mahākāvya* in Sanskrit), *Gītā* and in the form of other chandas such as *Chappaya*, *Doha*, *Savaiya*, *Kavitta*. The Prabandha form is borrowed from Sanskrit. However, Prabandhas called Visara eulogising valiant deeds and the poetry of bravery or vīrakāvya are specially and almost exclusively developed in Rajasthani. The erotic and devotional Prabandhas are to a large extent based on either the *Bhāgavata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Rītikāvyas, such as, *Hari Piṅgalā*, Prabandha Lakhapata Pingala, *Raghunātha Rūpaka Gitaro*, described elements of prosody and rhetoric of Sanskrit. The *Gītā* in Rajasthani is the type of Khaṇḍakāvya like

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24. Some cāraṇas have composed secular love-poems and still others have translated the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* and other Sanskrit works.

25. The number of Prabandhas is very large, the more important being Canda Baradai's *Pṛthvī Rāja Rāso* ; Beli Kṛṣṇa Rukmani Ri (1581 A. D.) of Pṛthvi Rāja (based on the 10th Skandha of the *Bhāgavata*).

26. Gītā is a type of khaṇḍakāvya. The best example of this class are kallola's *Dhola Marū Rā Doha* (Composed in 1473 A.D.), *Hala Jhala Rā Kuṇḍaliyā* (1563 A.D.), *Vira Jaitasi Ro* (1534-4 A.D.).

Meghadūta, defined by Viśvanātha as : खण्डकाव्यं महाकाव्यस्यैकदेशा-नुसारि (*Sāhityadarpaṇa*).

Rajasthani literature by Jainas deals mainly with Jaina religion, culture and tales of both religions and secular character. As mentioned already the contribution of the Jainas to Rajasthani literature has been uninterrupted from its very beginning and though it may not have produced excellent literary treasure, its importance for the study of the Rajasthani language cannot be undermined. Many Jainas wrote both in Sanskrit and Rajasthani and it is but natural therefore that Sanskrit literature created by the Jainas influenced their Rajasthani literature both in content and style.

A number of sects of Saints existed in the liberal soil of Rajasthan. Their literature generally ponders over God, Self, *Māyā,* ephemeral nature of the world, identity or intimacy of self with the supreme Self, life of Saints, Haṭha Yoga, glory of *guru,* word, Om, lover of all human beings and instructions for leading meritoriously good life. In the immense literature of the saints of various sects, such as, Nātha, Lāladāsi, Ramasanethi, Cāraṇadāsi, Dādupanthi, we breath the atmosphere created by devotional, Tāntric and religious literature in Sanskrit.

An important form of literature preserved in Rajasthani is known as Vacanikā, for example, *Acaladāsa Khici Rī Vacanikā* (15th century), *Rao Ratan Mahesadasota Ri Vacanikā* (18th century), *Khiriya Jagga* and *Mata ji Rī Vacanikā* (18th Century) by Jayacanda a Jaina Saint. In this class of Rajasthani literature prose is mixed with verses making it the *Campū* of Sanskrit. We have no such form developed in Hindi. Bāta, a word derived from *Vārtā* in Sanskrit, is a form of prose-literature in Rajasthani. However, *Bāta* by Dholā Maru and Sadayavatsa are also found in both verse and prose, giving a *Campū* form as to the *Vacanikā*. Intimate, informed and respectable relationship between Sanskrit and Rajasthani is attested to by the fact that more than one Sanskrit Ṭīkā is found on the *Beli Krishṇa Rukminī Rī* (1581 A.D.) of Pṛthvi Rāja, which is a poem based on the tenth Skandha of the *Bhāgavata*. Impact of Sanskrit over Rajasthani is underlined by the fact that all the important works in Sanskrit, more particularly the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata, Gītā, Bhāgavata* (or parts of it, especially the tenth skandha) Purāṇas, dramas, tales, poems, and Śāstraic works etc. have been and continue to be translated or adapted or used as source by a number of poets of the past and

the present in both prose and verse in Rajasthani. List of such
works is too long to be presented here and can be briefly illustrated
by mentioning :—

1. *Works based on the Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata.*

गीताभाषा, दशम भागवत रा दूहा, दसरथरावउत, वसुदेव रावउत,
हरिचरित, भागवत भाषा निबन्ध by कृष्णदास, जानकीविजय रामायण, भागवत-
भाषा, सत्रसंजीवनीगुणसागर of किशोरदास (on the 10th Skandha of the
Bhāgavata)

2. *Poems, Dramas and tales of Sanskrit in Rajasthani :*

गीतगोविन्द टीका by महाराणाकुम्भा, भर्तहरिशतकत्रय, वेतालपच्चीसी
शिवदास नासिकेतोपाख्यान[27] (नासिकेतरी वात 1797), नासिकेतरी कथा,
नासिकेतोपाख्यान भाषा (1918), पंचाख्यान भाषा, पंचाख्यानवार्तिक, वृहत्कथा-
भाषा, डोकरी री बात, नेषधचरितभाषा, सिंहासनबतीसी, हितोपदेशभाषा, प्रबोध-
चन्द्रोदय by जसवन्तसिंह (1720-37) प्रबोधचन्द्रोदय भाषा by माधोदास, मालती-
माधवभाषा, हनुमान नाटक, रुक्मिणी हरण, शार्ङ्गधर पद्धतिभाषा ।

3. *Purāṇa, Tantra, Vedānta, etc.*

ब्रह्माण्डपुराणभाषा (प्रथमखण्ड) (1806), हरिवंशपुराण भाषा, भूगोल-
पुराण (1878) वाराणसीविलास (18th Century) by देवकरण पंचोली, गणेष-
पुराण भाषा, मार्कण्डेयपुराणभाषा (in Verse) by दामोदर, दुर्गासप्तशतीव्याख्या,
देवीचरित by बुधसिंह (translation of देवीभागवत in Verse) अश्वमेध भाषा,
एकलिंग माहात्म्यभाषा, गंगालहरी ।

विजयादशमीमाहात्म्य, श्रीकृष्णजन्माष्टमीव्रतकथा, शनिकथा । तन्त्रभेद,
नम्सार, पश्चिमाधीशस्तोत्र, त्रैलोक्यवोधिका ।

वेदान्तपरिभाषा by मनोहरदास (1866), पट्प्रश्नि by मनोहरदास निरंजनी,
सर्वबोधसार by नाथूराम, ज्ञानसार, सिद्धान्तबोध, सिद्धान्तसार, अनुभवप्रकाश,
अपरोक्षसिद्धान्त, आनन्दविलास ।

4. Jyotiṣa, Music, Āyurveda.

लीलावती भाषा, शकुनसंवत्सरसार, ज्योतिपरलमाला, राधागोविन्द संगीतसार
(based on the संगीत रत्नाकर) । रसरत्नाकर, षट्रसगुणागुण, द्रव्यशुद्धिदीपिका-
भाषा ।

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27. All figures within brackets signify date of the manuscripts in
Samvat, deposited with the Rajasthan Pracyavidya Pratisthana.

रसमंजरी by रत्नसुन्दरसूरि, चमत्कारचन्द्रोदय by रसपुंज (1866), भाषाभूण by जसवन्तसिंह, रससरस by शिवदास, ध्वनिव्यग्यार्थचन्द्रिका by ईश्वरकवि, भाषा-भूषण, रसिकसिरोमणि by रामसिंह, छन्दसार रत्नावली by हरिरामदास, पिगल-शिरोमणि by कुराललाल, हरिपिगलप्रबन्ध by जोगीदास, डिगलकोश by मुरारिदास, छन्दसार पिगल and a number of other works by सुरति मिश्र.

Jainas developed various forms of comments on Sanskrit, such as Balāvabodha, Ṭavbā and the number of such works is very large.[28]

What has been given above is simply a casual illustrative list of Rajasthani (Diṅgal and Piṅgal) works taken down at random from the catalogue of Sanskrit and Rajasthani manuscripts deposited in the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur. In many cases the names of writers are unknown and even the dates of the manuscripts are not traceable.

Sanskrit contributed words, contents, forms and style to Rajasthani, which in its turn inspired the poets of Rajasthan to write Sanskrit works eulogising bravery, chivalry and culture of Rajasthan. These works in Sanskrit have at times the same atmosphere as found in the popular speech. It was but natural because a poet who wrote both in Sanskrit and Rajasthani could not split himself emotionally. The result is that we have a number of small and big poems in Sanskrit eulogising Hindi kings of Rajasthan and not surrendering literary results of their talents to the *Dillīśvara* as the king amongst Pandits Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha did (दिल्लीश्वरौ वा जगदीश्वरौ वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः) Rajasthani (particularly Diṅgala) is known primarily for its *cāraṇa* literature glorifying the deeds of the brave kings. Sanskrit poets also gave a number of Sanskrit Kāvyas and Mahākāvyas like the following : (dates within brackets are in Vikram era unless otherwise specified) राजरत्नाकर (1709), अमरसार (1665), श्रीजगतसिंह महाकाव्य (1685) अमरकाव्य, पृथ्वीराजविजयमहाकाव्य (1249), प्रबन्धचिन्तामणि · (1361), वीरतरंगरंग (1981), वीरवंशवर्णन (1982), पृथ्वीराज विजयमहाकाव्य (13th Century A.D.) मानप्रकाश महाकाव्य (16th Century A.D.) ईश्वरविलास महाकाव्य (16th Century A.D.) कच्छवंशमहाकाव्य (18th Century A.D.) मानवंशमहाकाव्य (20th Century A.D.) वीरभूमि (1987), हमीरमहाकाव्य (1460), सर्जनचरित्र (1635), प्रतापोदय, प्रतापविलास काव्य ।

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28. See राजस्थानी साहित्य की गौरवपूर्ण परंपरा—अगरचन्द नाहटा, राधाकृष्ण प्रकाशन, दिल्ली—1967

Like Rajasthani Sanskrit also used words of local and Persian origin, such as :

लत्ता, सलामं, डूंगरपुरं, नबाव, लड्डूक, चौकड़ी, जहाज, सिसोदिया, राणा, नाल (as found in the राजप्रशस्ति of रणछोड़ भट्ट, a work of 1718-1732 V.S.)

It is not only that the poets like Vālmīki, Vyāsa, Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti of distant past inspired the Rajasthani literature but in fact contemporary poets of Sanskrit and Rajasthani sang together the chorus of Rajput chivalry and displayed loyalty to their kings and love and admiration for the history and culture of Rajasthan.

SANSKRIT AND SINHALESE LITERATURE

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While it cannot be denied that Ceylon in its long history of twenty-five centuries has maintained itself as a separate political and economic entity, in literary and cultural matters it has largely been dependent on India. Its religion is Theravāda Buddhism, which originated on the sub-continent, and was subsequently introduced to the island in the time of Aśoka, and its secular arts and sciences too came from the same source, at least in the early period. For instance, as Professor Paranavitana points out.[1] "The architecture of the Anurādhapura period preserved, in its essentials, the forms which the Sinhalese brought with them when they originally settled in this Island, or were introduced with Buddhism as a result of the missionary activities of Aśoka. There was natural development in certain of its aspects and refinement of certain features, but no extraneous influences profoundly modified the inherited forms in such manner as to obscure their origins." The same is true of the fine arts, poetics and *belles lettres*, as well as of technical and scientific subjects like astronomy (including astrology) and medicine. Since language is the most explicit vehicle of culture, a study of its influence on any other literature is bound to reflect the degree of the latter's indebtedness to the original culture. This is exactly what we find in the case of Sanskrit and Sinhalese literature.

Although the hey-day of Sanskrit learning in Ceylon falls in the Polonnaruva period [starting about the 11th century, yet the influence of Sanskrit on the life and thought of the Sinhalese people must be considered to stretch back to several centuries before the Christian era. The Polonnaruva period only marked the culmination of a process that had gone on throughout the previous history of the island.

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1. In his article on the "Art and Architecture of Ceylon" in a monograph published by Arts Council of Ceylon and re-published in the *Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, pp. 69 ff.

In fact, it is a safe presumption to think that some at least of the first Aiyan colonizers of Ceylon must have been Brahmins or at least bearers of Brahmin civilization. In his *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, (p. 44), Dr. Adikaram has stated : "There were Brāhmaṇas who came along with Vijaya to Ceylon. Upatissa was one of them. He founded the village Upatissagāma which was for some time the capital of Ceylon. The same Brāhmaṇa held the post of chaplain (*purohita*) to King Vijaya." The famous chronicle of Ceylon, the *Mahāvaṃsa* (x. 20), says that Prince Paṇḍukābhaya, born about 423 B. C., was sent for higher studies and instructions in regal polity to Paṇḍula, a brahmin well versed in the Vedas, and that the son of Paṇḍula, Candra, became chaplain to the King (x. 79). The appointment of Brahmins to the office of *purohita* continued for several centuries and while the Buddhist Saṅgha played the part of spiritual guides to the rulers it was the Brahmins that advised them on secular or temporal matters.

That the Sinhalese monarchs gave ample patronage to Brāhmaṇism is conclusively proved at least for the Polonnaruva period. The *Mahāvaṃsa* (lxii. 31-33) states that King Vikramabāhu II who ascended the throne in 1116 A. D had such Brāhmaṇic rites as the *Homa* sacrifice performed by his *Purohita* and other brahmins well-versed in the Veda and Vedāṅgas, while at the same time having Buddhist ceremonies like *Parittas* (Sinhalese *pirit*) conducted on suitable occasions. It is of great significance in this connexion to find it mentioned in an inscription of the twelfth century that King Nissanl·a Malla established an alms-house called 'Brāhmaṇa-*sattra*' especially to provide accommodation and alms to the Brahmins.[2] No more striking instance of the prevalence of Brahmin institutions at least among the royalty and the upper stratum of Sinhalese society can be adduced than the one found in the *Kañdavurusirita* which describes the daily routine of King *Parākramabāhu* II (1211-1214). According to this text the monarch, who was a zealous Buddhist, arose from bed in the early hours of the morning and sat in the *padmāsana* posture on bed practising Buddhist meditation. Then his *Purohita* would come with *kuśa* grass in hand and a conch filled with holy water and recite Vedic *mantras* and perform propitiatory rites for averting evil influences. Much more evidence can be adduced from epigraphy and literature to prove that Brahmin institutions had gained a foothold in the land of the Sinhalese from early times.[3] However, the influx of Brāhmaṇism was not always

2. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. 2, p. 168.
3. For further evidence see Paññāsāra, *Sanskrit Literature Extant Among The Sinhalese*, pp. 11 ff.

by peaceful penetration History shows that this happened more by way of violent incursions starting as early as the third century B.C. with the inroads made by the two Tamil chieftains Sena and Guttika who established a rule at Anurādhapura for about 20 years.[4] Later came the invasions by the Cholians and the Pandyans. Undoubtedly every such invasion from the sub-continent must have given a sudden impetus to the spread of Indian culture in Ceylon.

Another factor that helped the promotion of Sanskrit learning in ancient Ceylon was the introduction of Mahāyāna Buddhism into the curriculum of the Abhayagiri Monastery at Anurādhapura soon after the beginning of the Christian era. As Professor Paranavitana has clearly shown, Mahāyānism — or *Vaitulya-vāda* as it was known in Ceylon — evolved in India from about the first century AD., and every phase of this development was followed by a parallel in Ceylon.[5] Although the more orthodox monks of the Mahāvihāra at Anurādhapura opposed the spread of Mahāyānism, the rival monks of the Abhayagirivihāra took to the study of the later Buddhist sectarian texts with great interest. The *Vaitulya-Piṭaka*, also called the *Vaitulya-Sūtras* and sometimes *Vaipulya-Sūtras*, no doubt referred to the canon of the Mahāyānists which contained the largely extended *sūtras* such as the '*Mahāvaipulya-Sūtra*'[5] In spite of the the violent opposition of the Mahāvihāra orthodoxy, it would be surprising if this more popular form of Buddhism had not made considerable headway among the people of Ceylon and thereby helped the diffusion of Sanskrit language and literature in the island.

The above facts indicate that from the earliest period of Sinhalese history there must have been an *élite* given to the cultivation of Sanskrit learning. The surmise is strengthened by the existence of several important literary works composed by the Sinhalese in the Sanskrit medium going back to the early centuries of the Christian era. Apart from the occurrence of Sanskrit verses in the old Sinhalese or Eḷu inscriptions and a few inscriptions written in Sanskrit itself, especially due to the efforts of the Abhayagiri monks,[6] we have a tradition in ancient Ceylon of

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4. See The University of Ceylon *History of Ceylon,* Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 42 f.

5. Article 'Mahāyānism in Ceylon' in the *Ceylon Journal of Science,* Sec. G, Vol. II.

6. See Paññāsāra, *op cit.* pp. 34 ff.

noteworthy Sanskrit compositions. The earliest extant work is the *Sārārthasaṅgraha*, a medical treatise, attributed by the *Mahāvaṃsa* (xxxvii. 108-111, 145) to King Buddhadāsa who ascended the throne in 338 A. D. But the most celebrated literary work by a Sinhalese author is the famous *Jānakīharaṇa* attributed by Ceylon tradition to King Kumāradāsa (508-516 A. D.) who was supposed to have been a friend of Kālidāsa. This tradition, however, never gained full acceptance by literary historians and the question of authorship remained unsettled. But recently new light has been thrown on the problem by the discovery of manuscripts of the complete poem in Malabar. Four stanzas at the end of the poem establish that the author of the *Jānakīharaṇa* was certainly one Kumāradāsa but not a King, although the data prove that he was a member of the royal family. His father's name given as Mānita has been indentified by Professor Paranavitana[7] with Māna mentioned in the *Cūlavaṃsa* (xliv, v. 123) as the *Yuvarāja* in the reign of Aggabodhi III (629-639). Thus Kumāradāsa must have lived in the 7th century, and this date tallies with the one inferred by Keith (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 119) on evidence of style and language in comparison with those of Kālidāsa, etc.

As has been noted above, it is with the Polonnaruva period that we come to the heyday of Sanskrit learning in Ceylon. However, there is reason to surmise that many of the Sanskrit compositions by the celebrated scholars and poets of this period have been lost during the centuries of neglect that followed it. Most of the Buddhist Elders of this period famous as Pāli authors also tried their hand at original Sanskrit compositions. The doyen of classical scholars during this period, Mahākassapa of Udumbaragiri vihāra, was an expert in Sanskrit grammar and wrote a treatise called the *Bālavabodhana* on the lines of the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa*. His learned and famous pupil Sāriputta wrote a *ṭīkā* on the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* entitled the *Pañcikālaṅkāra*, but this work is probably lost for ever. There is also a still unpublished exegetical work of the Cāndra School composed in Ceylon, namely the *Līnārthadīpa* or *Pāttrīkaraṇa Ṭīkā* of the Elder Buddhanāga. It is said there that the *Pāttrīkaraṇa* was written by one Guṇākara, who according to the evidence preserved in the *Ṭīkā*, was a Buddhist with Mahāyānist tendencies, since the original contained a salutation to Avalokita and other Bodhisattvas.

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7. University of Ceylon *History of Ceylon*, pp. 393-4.

The Sanskrit works of this period, however, do not deal only with grammatical and exegetical matters. Available data would confirm the view that the poetical activities of Santkrit writers on the main land of India had their repercussions on the Sanskrit authors in Ceylon. Considering the fact that in India the *Śataka* poems had come into vogue about the seventh and eight centuries of the Christian era, with the appearance of the works of Mayūra, Amaru and Bhartṛhari, it is easy to understand how the Sanskrit writers of Ceylon were inspired, three or four centuries later, to compose poems *a la mode* these Indian models. The first and foremost among the Ceylon 'Centuries' is undoubtedly the *Anuruddha-Śataka*, an eulogy of the Buddha, which as its name implies, was the work of the Elder Anuruddha. The poem compares favourably with the Sanskrit works of Indian origin. It is characterized by lucidity of expression, evenness of sound, and beauty of sense, showing that the author was consciously attempting a work in the Vaidarbha style of Indian masters of the kāvya.

Another poem of this type, probably composed in the Polonnaruva period, is *Nāmāṣṭa-Śataka*, stanzas in praise of the 108 epithets of the Master. Its authorship is unknown. The work is inferior to the *Anuruddha-Śataka* in poetical merit, and smaller in volume. In the temple-monasteries even to this day it is read as a beginner for Sanskrit students. Finally, it remains to mention a Sanskrit poem of a somewhat different nature, the *Buddhagadya*, again by an unknown author who too most probably belonged to the Polonnaruva period. The work is simpler in character and the versification shows some slight resemblance to the celebrated *Gīta-govinda* of Jayadeva by virtue of the consecutive use of the vocative case in each succeeding stanza. Even if the Sanskrit works of this era by Ceylon authors are numerically not on a par with the corresponding Pāli compositions, the literary excellence of the few that have come down to us is sufficient to warrant the assumption that Sanskrit scholarship of the Polonnaruva period must have been as great as the one in Pāli. Towards the end of this period we have a technical treatise on astrology, the *Daivjñakāmadhenu* by the Ven. Anomadassi, who, according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, lived during the time of King Parākramabāhu II (1236-1271). It is an extensive work in 2618 Sanskrit stanzas which purport to give the substance of all authoritatives treatise on astrology, such as those by Varāha-mihira, Bhojarāja and Parāśara who are actually referred to in the work.[8] Along with Buddhadāsa's summary of Medical Knowledge, the *Sārārthasaṅgraha*, referred to above, this work presupposes a

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8. See Paññāsāra, *op cit*. pp. 218 f.

deep knowledge of Sanskrit technical literature and indicates to what an extent Sanskrit had influenced the life and thought of the Sinhalese at that time. Such influence, particularly in the political and social spheres, may be judged from the statement in the *Mahāvaṃsa* that Parākramabāhu, the Great was well versed in the Indian works on polity such as that of Kauṭalya. The same authority states that Parākramabāhu II was trained in the ordinances of Manu. It is also mentioned that King Vijayabāhu I encouraged learned men from the sub-continent to come and settle down in Ceylon, and these scholars were, undoubtedly, great Sanskritists. It may be mentioned also that King Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186) is recorded in the *Mahāvaṃsa* (lxxiii. 82) as having inaugurated a centre for music and dancing called the Sarasvatī-Maṇḍapa where in all probability, Indian musical theory formed the technical basis for these arts.[9] Thus the influence of Sanskrit on all aspects of the life and thought of the Sinhalese, at least in the ancient period, is an undeniable fact.

The most striking influence of Sanskrit, however, is on the Sinhalese language and literary styles and forms. The influx of Sanskrit words into the Sinhalese vocabulary is already seen in the early inscriptions. An inscription[10] of the first century of the Christian era commences with the benedictory word "Siddham" which is purely Sanskrit, and gradually more and more Sanskrit terms and expressions came to be employed. So great was the effect of such usage on the vocabulary that in course of time the whole character of the Sinhalese language came to be transformed. Even before the Polonnaruva period during which Sanskrit became the dominant factor in linguistic form and structure the old Sinhalese or Eḷu had undergone such transformation that the language of a text like the *Dämpiyā-Aṭuvā Gaṭapadaya* composed in the ninth century is best described as 'mixed Sinhalese' (*miśra Siṅhala*) in contrast to the Prākritic idiom of Eḷu.[11] As it has been pointed out[12] in the *Katikāvata* or 'Ordinance for the Saṅgha' out of the first 69 words only 21 are pure Sinhalese, the rest being all Sanskrit in form and significance. This trend has gained momentum with the passage of time and today in the idiom of the educated Sinhalese, both written and spoken, the Sanskrit element is the most notice-able. This influx of Sanskrit terms and expressions into the language of the Sinhalese naturally led to the innovation of new

9. See Introduction to the *Gītaśikṣaka* by M. G. Perera (1933).
10. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 154.
11. See Paññāsāra, *op. cit.* pp. 242 ff.
12. See Miss S. Saparamadu, *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, Vol. IV, p. 100, citing the work of Dr. Ananda Guruge.

literary styles and forms which came to stay as an irreversible characteristic.

The repercussions of such influences on the poetical and other literary works in Sinhalese could well be imagined. Three famous epic works in Sinhalese, the *Sasadā, Muvedevdā and Kavsilumiṇa,* all probably of the thirteenth century, are in form and style just parallels of the similar works of Kālidāsa, Māgha, Bhāravi and other Indian authors. They were bound by the same canons of poetics and use the same poetical devices of sound and sense. Of course, their themes are derived from the Jātaka stories and their hero, as may be expected from Buddhist authors, is the Bodhisattva or Buddha in one of his previous lives. In general structure and salient features these poems are genuine *Mahākāvyas*. Another class of Sinhalese poems composed from about the sixteenth or seventeenth century are the *sandeśa* or 'message poems'. They were undoubtedly inspired by the *dūta-kāvyas* of Sanskrit literature beginning with Kālidāsa's famous *Meghadūta*. The secular outlook of these poems contrasting with the exclusive by religious character of the earlier mentioned works gave ample scope to the Sinhalese poets for descriptions of nature, contemporary life and eminent personalities of Ceylon history. Two of the earliest poems of this class, namely, *Tisara-Sandeśa* and the *Mayūra-Sandeśa* by their structure and characteristics of expression show to what extent they are indebted to the Sanskrit models. The mastery of Sanskrit poetics by Sinhalese writers is clearly demonstrated by the *Siyabaslakara* attributed by some authorities[13] to King Sena IV, who came to the throne in 954 A. D. It is the earliest extant work on poetics in Sinhalese and is almost an exact replica of the *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin. The author refers to an Elder of the Abhayagiri Vihāra who had composed an earlier work on Sinhalese prosody, thus furnishing some indirect evidence that poetics had been studied in Ceylon for a long time before the *Siyabaslakara*. Similar influence of Sanskrit learning on the study of Sinhalese grammar is clearly attested by the *Sidatsañgarā* of Anomadassi who is said to have lived in the reign of Parākramabāhu II in the twelfth century. As the late Ven. Paññāsāra has shown[14] the work closely follows the grammatical principles laid down by Indian authorities such as the *Sārasvata,* the *Kātantra* and the *Siddhāntakaumudī.*

In addition to such influence of Sanskrit on the sciences of poetics and grammar of the Sinhalese there is considerable evidence for its influence on their more material, technical and scientific pursuits. How their knowledge of Sanskrit promoted the medical

13. See University of Ceylon *History of Ceylon,* p. 395.
14. See Paññāsāra, *op. cit.,* pp. 253 ff,

astronomical and astrological activities of the Sinhalese has been referred to above. As some scholars have pointed out the ancient Buddhist statues and paintings of Ceylon show marked similarities to those in India in point of technical peculiarities. The *Sariput-rīya*, a Sanskrit treatise on statuary, was very popular in Ceylon and there is no doubt that here too the Sinhalese continued the technical traditions of India as in architecture. Similarly in irrigation and other agricultural activities, the Sinhalese in the early period developed their skills on the basis of theoretical knowledge derived from the mainland. It has been surmised that there were in Ceylon even Sanskrit treatise dealing with the technique of tank-building.

From the above considerations, it can be seen that from the earliest beginnings the civilization of the Sinhalese was primarily indebted to Sanskrit both as a linguistic medium and as the vehicle of one of its parent cultures that inspired it in its secular aspects, while its spiritual trend derived mainly from Theravāda Buddhism. Thus it is by no means an exaggeration to say that Ceylon, at least in its material culture, was part of Greater India during the major part of its long history.

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15. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

SANSKRIT AS A LINK LANGUAGE

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Sanskrit has long been and still is considered by many scholars as a sacred and a literary language essentially belonging to the Brahmanical class. That is true but not enough to characterise the whole of its function in the Indian society and to explain its strong and wide influence on foreign languages and even on modern and colloquial languages of India herself.

If Sanskrit, as a means of expression, had been confined to orthodox literary circles, how are we to understand the fact that it was propagated throughout the Asian mainland and beyond the seas up to China and Japan by the Buddhists, who admitted Brahmins among them, but not as such, and were in majority non-Brahmins ?

On another side, Śaivism and Vaishnavism in South-East Asia are generally considered as propagated by Brahmins. Sanskrit epigraphy of Campā, Cambodia and Indonesia as well as Chinese records in the countries of South-East Asia very often refer to Indian Brahmins coming to these countries and, sometimes, even to rather large communities of Brahmins inhabiting there. But this fact has been the centre of a lot of discussion on the real nature of the Indian colonies in South-East Asia and Far East. Many scholars, both in India and in Europe, have been embarrassed by the problem of the conciliation of the sea-voyage of Brahmins with *varṇāśramadharma* which these Brahmins ought to respect.

Our purpose will be to examine these questions in the light of the history, specially of the literary and chiefly of the epigraphical evidence which supplies to us linguistic, cultural and chronological data. For this purpose we must recall many well-known facts together with some new observations and we must also try to place

afresh the facts in a general survey of the actual use of the Sanskrit among the peoples of India and of the foreign countries which have been in long and close intercourses with India.

First, we must recall that we have no evidence about the use of Vedic and Brahmanical Sanskrit for lay and general purposes in the antiquity. When we get from the Greek records dating from the 4th century B. C. Indian names or words they already appear in Sanskrit intermixed with Prakrit forms. For example *Pāṭali-putra*, appears in Greek as *Palibothra* where *Pali* proves the disappearance of the intervocalic —*ta*—, —*b*— the sonorisation of intervocalic —*pa*— which are common Prakrit features, and where —*thra* is Sanskrit in spite of the aspiration added in the Greek form. The famous name Sandrakottos in Greek corresponds to a Prakrit Candiragutta as well as to the Sanskrit Candragupta. Even in Vedic hymns, Prakrit words or features have been traced out. In any case, the first epigraphical documents available to us, the Aśoka's inscriptions in the 3rd century B. C. are in Prakrit with various peculiarities following the various geographical locations of these inscriptions. Sanskrit is seen gradually replacing Prakrit in the Indian inscriptions in the course of the subsequent centuries and in Indo-China, since the oldest inscription so far known, the famous Vocanh inscription found in the Champa country, the language is Sanskrit, even literary Sanskrit, not Prakrit. No Prakrit inscription has been found in South-East Asia. All are in Sanskrit or in local languages written in Sanskrit characters more or less differentiated in the course of time. Middle-Indian languages are represented by the Pāli alone after it has been introduced from Ceylon and popularised as the language of the Theravāda Buddhism in Indo-China.

This fact of the exclusive importation of Sanskrit in South-East Asia is chronologically in accordance both with the data of the Chinese records locating in the first centuries A. D. the beginning of a strong Indian impact on South-East Asia and with the period of the predominance of Sanskrit epigraphy in India.

In the mean time we observe in India the use of the so-called mixed Sanskrit in the inscriptions and of the so-called Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit in the Buddhistic literature. In the first century A. D., for example in the series of the Nasik inscriptions, we find the same formulas either in pure Sanskrit, or in pure Prakrit, or in a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit.

The splendid work of Prof. Franklin Edgerton has fully described the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit of *Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara,* and other works which belong to the centuries around the beginning

of Śaka or Christian eras or to the very first centuries of these eras. But I cannot agree with the explanation given by Prof. Edgerton of the use of such an Hybrid Sanskrit. He thought the older Buddhist tradition was entirely in Middle-Indian languages and that is very likely as we have no evidence at all of any Buddhistic literature in Sanskrit before the appearance of Sanskrit in the Hybrid texts. But he thought also a sanskritisation of the literary Buddhist tradition was attempted by the Buddhist authors in order to enhance by the use of the Sanskrit the prestige of their Scriptures. This hypothesis, in my opinion, cannot be accepted. For the sake of prestige it would have been very easy to write or re-write the Buddhist texts in pure grammatical sanskrit, as it has been done later. Sanskrit, at that time, was taught for centuries in schools. If it was not a colloquial tongue like the various kinds of Prakrits, it was a strongly living language among educated peoples. And even if we think it was used only in Brahmanical circles and families, there was no difficulty to introduce it directly in its correct form in the Buddhistic circles, as many fully educated Brahmins had turned Buddhist since the very beginning of the Buddha's predication. If the gain of prestige had been the sole aim of the so-called sanskritisation, this aim would have been missed. How could a barbarous mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit have seemed prestigious in a country where pure Sanskrit was so largely cultivated and was ready to conquer new literary circles throughout the whole of Eastern Asia ?

The reason for the temporary use of mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit, both in epigraphy and Buddhist literature, must be traced elsewhere.

We have to consider the general linguistic situation of India in the time of the Buddhist expansion and of the development of contacts and intercourses with foreigners of the mainland of Asia and, through the seas, of West and East. Prakrits were developing more and more differences from each other in the various countries of the subcontinent. Pāli and Ardhamāgadhī had already fixed forms, grammatically and literary. Prakrits were also confronted with Dravidian languages. Tamilians, though fully aware in their literary circles of the Sanskrit culture, not only preserved their mother tongue but also fixed it in their own grammar and literature. Some among them were Buddhists and used Pāli. One of them, around 400 A.D., Buddhadatta, born at Uraiyūr in the Cola country and living at Kāveripaṭṭinam, was a Pāli author and one of the great commentatois of the Pāli Scriptures.

Facing such a diversity of languages, a common means of expression became a need. In a period of intense activity of Buddhist propaganda and of expansion of what has been later termed as *Hindu* religions, a link language was necessary. None was available except Sanskrit. Regional languages, either Indo-Aryan or Dravidian, either colloquial or literary, were unfit to be adopted everywhere. Sanskrit alone, even if it was the mother tongue of a limited number of groups or families, and in spite of its much sophisticated shape, was regularly taught everywhere in traditional schools. Brahmins attached to Vedic lore and followers of Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc. may have used in their respective regions, Indo-Aryan or Dravidian, their regional tongues, but they had only Sanskrit in common. The French Archaeological Delegation in Afghanistan has just unearthed, in North Afghanistan at Ai-Khanum, in an old Greek settlement, some coins of Agathokles, belonging to the 2nd century B.C. and bearing an Indian deity on each side, clearly Balarāma Halāyudha and probably Vāsudeva, the legends of the coins being in Greek and Prakrit. This Prakrit was evidently the ordinary language of the country. Nevertheless, the literature of All India. thanks to which we know these deities, is primarily in classical Sanskrit or very lately in various Indian languages, developed later and resting upon the Sanskrit tradition. Only in Tamil, which often preserves side by side with Sanskrit old data in its old literature, Halāyudha is referred to (*Paripāṭal* 1,5), but for Tamil scholars only. Really, Sanskrit was the only link language from Afghanistan to Kanyākumārī between the Indian communities. So, the post-Vedic religions were able to compose directly their Scriptures in Sanskrit.

But the case is different with the Buddhist teachings which have been first given in regional Prakrit languages and to everybody, even to uneducated peoples. For the practical preaching to such peoples no link language was necessary. Monks were obliged, like now in all the Buddhist countries, to use the ordinary local language. But the Buddhist scholars for their own instruction and for discussions with pilgrims and visiting scholars belonging to various countries needed a link language. Sanskrit again was the only available one. But the Holy Scriptures being in Prakrit and the grammatical teaching of Sanskrit having been at first useless for their study, as long as a regular Sanskrit teaching has not been organized in the communities, the trend towards its use could not immediately lead to proficiency. So the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit represented a step to the final passage from the regional or sectarian Prakrits to the all Indian classical Sanskrit. There was not an

incomplete sanskritisation for gaining an unreachable prestige, but a trend to adopt for the sake of wider communications the only language common, if not to everybody, at least to every country of India.

That was also convenient for foreigners. We know through the testimony of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yi-tsing in the 7th century Sanskrit schools had been established abroad, as he learnt Sanskrit at Palembang in Sumatra on the way from China to India. Instead of being obliged to learn many languages when travelling in India, the foreigners had just to get some acquaintance with the classical Sanskrit. Yi-tsing himself never got mastery in Sanskrit and no doubt the Sanskrit of the foreigners and even of many Indian people was not always correct and rich, but it was sufficient for ordinary purposes and to undertake the reading of books. In any case there was no alternative link language.

So Sanskrit has played in India and around India the same rôle that Latin in old Europe or Persian for a time in India, and above all, English today, played.

In Gandhāra and in Central Asia, in the region of Niya, in the Kroraina kingdom, Prakrit languages have been used in the first centuries of Śaka or Christian eras. That was at the beginning of the propagation of the Buddhism or of some elements of the Indian culture. But, in the same period, Sanskrit manuscripts were also brought to Central Asia from India, or were written in Sanskrit in Central Asia itself. Later, only Sanskrit texts appear to have been preserved side by side with national texts in Central Asia, in Tibet, in China, in Korea, in Japan. The propagation of the Indian culture in those countries has been done mainly through Sanskrit and through translations from Sanskrit as soon as the classical Sanskrit became in India the actual link language. Only few texts have been translated from Pāli into Chinese or Tibetan. But the great works composed in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit have been included in the bulk of translated texts in Chinese and Tibetan (and from Tibetan into Mongolian) because they were canonical Scriptures.

Later minor works, chiefly songs in *apabhraṃśa*, have also been included in the Tibetan translations of Buddhist texts. These apabhraṃśa texts, like the *dohas* of Kaṇha and Saraha, several *caryāpadas* and some stanzas quoted in Tantras like *Caṇḍamahāro-ṣaṇa tantra* are ordinarily considered as representing a form of old Bengali. But they have been composed by various authors of

Northern and Eastern India from Kashmir to Orissa and seem rather to correspond to a stage of apabhraṃśa just prior to the development of the modern languages of the North like Hindi and Bengali.

In spite of the fact that in continental Asia the Indian influence has been essentially a result of the Buddhist missionary spirit, non-Buddhist Sanskrit texts, had also been introduced. We have recovered from Central Asia several Āyurvedic texts, also a magical fragmentary text, partly in Sanskrit, partly in Kuchean language, written in the 7th or 8th century A. D. Some specific similarities between practices of Chinese Taoism and Indian Yoga imply communications which were independent from Buddhism. Moreover pure Sanskrit literature has also been brought beyond the mountains. There is a Tibetan translation of Pāṇini included in the *Tanjur* together with Chandoratnākara, Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* Kālidāśa's *Meghadūta* and many others.

Some inscriptions in Sanskrit have been found in Southern China as well as in Tibet, Mongolia, etc. They are written in Siddhamātṛkā characters but they are not original compositions. They are Buddhist formulas like those which are kept with the same writing in the Chinese and Japanese translations of Buddhist works, except in Tibet where they are written in Tibetan characters. But this Siddhamātṛkā writing coming from Northern India has been widely propagated, chiefly in the 8th and 9th centuries, throughout the Buddhist world upto Java (Kalasan inscription), and even in countries where other writings of Indian origin were already in use and even in Non-Buddhist inscriptions like those in Southern India at Kāñcīpuram (Kailāsanātha temple) and in Cambodia (digraphic inscriptions of Yaśovarman).

Though the propagation of Sanskrit has been very large throughout the continent of Asia, its influence and its adaptation in South-East Asia has been much greater. There, it has not merely been imported and translated : it has flourished.

More than one thousand Sanskrit inscriptions, often very long and in kāvya style, have been found in Campā, Cambodia and Indonesia, from the 3rd till the 13th century. They give a clear evidence of the high level of Indian culture in those countries. The question comes immediately : by whom and for whom have such inscriptions been composed.

First, we must observe they could not have been inscribed for the sake of the ordinary peoples. They are mainly charters of donations and religious foundations beginning with elaborate invocations

the gods and with *prasastis* of the kings. Even in India such a kind of inscriptions cannot be expected to be read by everybody. They cannot be understood but by literary men fully acquainted with the *Vyākaraṇa* and the *Alaṃkāraśāstra*. They are not composed for general information but in order to sanction officially grants and dedications and to create for the kings what Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* termed as a *yaśaḥśarīra*, i.e. a "body of glory". This practice was quite famous in India not only according to the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* but also according to other traditions. The kings are equalled to gods and even to major deities not only in the Sanskrit tradition but also in the ancient Tamil Sangam literature. A Pāṇḍyan king, for example, is described as ruling not only from the Himālayas upto Kanyākumārī but also on the Goloka in the sky. That means that the king was considered not in his limited capacity of human ruler but also as a representative of the God lord of the world. The inscriptions and even the texts written in praise of the kings in Sanskrit literature also refer, not always to the real situation, but to an idealized one. For example, according to the literary tradition, Vidyānātha, the poet of Pratāparudra of Warangal, in the 13th century, at a time when his patron was taken as prisoner by Muslims still celebrated him as a great monarch, saying he was considering not what had happened but what should be the right situation.

If inscriptions composed with such a purpose in kāvya style in Cambodia, Campā or Java did not have any direct influence on the peoples of the countries, they were often completed by an associate text in the regional language, giving a translation or at least an idea of the contents of the Sanskrit text and supplying all the particulars of the donation, giving, for exemple, precise lists of furniture or servants ordered to be given to a temple.

These highly literary Sanskrit texts are precious testimonies of the full assimilation and establishment of the Sanskrit culture in South-East Asia and, as we shall see later, they have not been without indirect influence on the ordinary peoples, even quite uneducated. In any cases, they have been composed exclusively by literary men.

According to Chinese sources concerning the first centuries of Christian era, one Kauṇḍinya had conquered a kingdom in South-East Asia in the second century A.D. This is corroborated by later Sanskrit inscriptions from Indochina. This Kauṇḍinya had been educated in Dhanurveda by Aśvatthāman (or some teacher bearing this name or claiming to belong ot the Droṇa-Aśvatthāman

In any cases, those having true Brahmins among ancestors have practically been termed as Brahmins especially if they kept the

than birth in any family.

It is also well known that Śiva and Buddha religions with Sanskrit texts have been preserved till today in Bali Island where

the name for "religion", is *Āgama*; it is so in Java and in the modern Indonesian language. Unfortunately, in those countries if Sanskrit manuscripts are preserved they are no more used or even under-stood. Sanskrit there is now a dead language. But there is a strong evidence, during the long centuries of the use of literary Sanskrit in the inscriptions, Sanskrit was not confined to literary circles and had echoes in the colloquial and ordinary languages. Other-wise, we cannot explain how the popular languages of Campā, Cam-bodia, Burma, Thailand, Laos. Malaysia and Indonesia have incorpo-rated many Sanskrit words. We have just to refer to the great work of Prof. J. Gonda on *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. Even in Madagascar, as Mrs. Thierry has pointed out, Sanskrit words have been borrowed probably through Java rather than directly, according to the opinion of the late L.C. Damais. The large borrowing of Sanskrit words does not imply Sanskrit was popular throughout these countries. But it is evident that it was the only link language of Indians from various parts of India, was used as the common language of official documents in different countries of South-East Asia ; and as a real language of prestige in literature, it had a strong impact on the local languages and cultures.

We may localise in time the duration of its influence ; it was from the centuries of the beginning of Śaka era (Śaka era is the most common era in the ancient inscriptions throughout the South East-Asia) till the development of the Pāli in the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Muslim influence in Indonesia, from the 13th and 14th centuries upwards. In India itself, we observe all along this period, and also later, the formation of the modern Indian languages.

Those Indian languages, either Indo-Aryan and deriving from Ancient-Indian, through Middle-Indian, or even if they were Dravidian, have also included a lot of Sanskrit words. It is clear that it is so because Sanskrit was a common link language in India, it was present and widely cultivated everywhere, although not used or understood by everybody. Indo-Aryan vernaculars may well in some cases, be considered as sanskritised *apabhraṃśas*. Kannaḍa, Telugu, Malayalam have also been much sanskritised in the same period. Tamil too, but in its oldest texts corresponding to the time of predominance of various Prakrits, it has borrowed much from Prakrits. Its large sanskritisation begins in the time when Hybrid Buddhist sanskrit and epigraphy gave place to Classical Sanskrit and it continued all along the centuries of lexical Sanskrit-

isation of both the Indo-Aryan languages of India and of the langu-
ages of South-East Asia.

Really Sanskrit has not been confined throughout the history
to a closed literary class. It has been raised by the Brahmanical
. . . . highest level but it has also been expanded to all
the people . . . st Asia and so has been the
medium of the cultural unity of All India and of the Indian
cultural expansion outside India.

SANSKRIT ACROSS THE HIMALAYAS

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I

It is a common place of Oriental studies that India has shared the heritage of Sanskrit with other countries. On purely philological considerations the ancient-most Sanskrit is the matrix of the speeches of more than half of mankind through ancient and modern times. On deeper philos phical considerations Sanskrit is reputed to have made profound impact on foreign mind, Mleccha or Yavana. The response to Vedānta or Kālidāsa of distant foreigner from Plato and Plotinus to Schopenhauer and William Jones has so much exercised the imagination of our scholars that the role of Sanskrit in the cultural milieu of our neighbours is often overlooked. Countries across the Himalayas happened to be most important acquisitions of Sanskrit abroad and yet more than the Trans-Himalayan highlands other lands interest Indian Sanskritists. This is despite the fact that India produced two pioneers in the field, namely, Sarat Chandra Das and Rahul Sankrityayana. I have no claim to be a Sanskrit scholar. It is only as a student of history, specializing in the survivals of Indian culture abroad, that I venture to present the contribution of Tibet and Mongolia to Sanskrit through the ages. The story of Indian Panditas and their Bhota collaborators is an edifying chapter in the history of Asia.

The history of Asia is a sort of triangular complex composed of Iranic, Sanskritic and Sinic traditions. Much of Asian history is the product of permutation and combination of the three. In Northern Buddhist terms, history is a process of flux and there is no set pattern in history except the *Dharma*; and strange are the ways of the *Dharma*. The encounter between Sanskrit and other traditions had thus no fixed norm in history. It is now well known

that in the confines of Indic sub-continent Sanskrit yielded, in different ways, to Irano-Persian and Sino-Mongoloid encroachments while in the highlands of Trans-Himalayas Sanskrit most successfully encountered Iranic and Sinic traditions, both in linguistic form and literary expression.

Yet the Sanskrit which accomplished this *Digvijaya,* from Kashmir to Kokonor or from Bangala to Baikala, had no title to high caste; this Sanskrit hardly conformed to the grammar or finesse of what is called Vedic or Classical form. Buddha Śākyamuni is known to have spoken the dialects of the diverse regions. In short Buddha did not preach in "perfected and refined form" which happened to be the " .· · . .·' _ R .·· ּ ·! á .· the Kṣatriya. So Sanskrit, Vedic or ·.· ·· , ·ᵛ ··ᵢ ·.· ·· "for the profit of the many, for the bliss of the many and out of compassion for the world". Yet Sanskrit and nothing but Sanskrit was found worthy and capable of expessing or expounding the Perfected Wisdom or Transcendental Learning. Thus the texts of *Prajñāpara-mitā* and the commentaries and dissertations of the saints and .· ·· .· ·· N.·· ·:·· ·:· '·. 150) to Atīśa (c. 980-1054) happened to .·· ·ᔆ. .·· ·. ·· ᵤ .:. ·· anical and Hindu scholars described as bad or impure Sanskrit. Recently, some western scholars have started calling this medium Hybrid Sanskrit. Nepali scholars and Vajrācāryas are also not happy with the label Hybrid as Nepal for centuries has preserved the learning enshrined in Buddhist Sanskrit and for a century now has been helping the modern scholars to explore the esoteric texts in this medium. The Buddhist Sanskrit had to be bad or impure, as conformity to Vedic or Classical grammar would have made the new lore more obscure and less open than the ancient one. The spirit of tolerance and the anxiety for adaptation, which made Buddhism the national creed wherever the *Dharma* migrated, accounted for the historic success of Sanskrit Buddhism outside India, particularly in Tibet and Mongolia.

II

"The waters of Ganga made fertile the arid steppes of Inner Asia". That is how a German scholar had described the great efflorescence of Buddhist literature in the sands and snows of Inner Asia. The Bhagīratha who took the stream to the arid north was in the grateful imagination of Northern Buddhists, come from Vārānasī, where Buddha Śākyamuni had turned the Wheel of Law. In trans-Himalayan legend the Sacred Lotus after it withered away in Vārānasī blossomed in Lhāsa, and the Master's "body, speech and mind" ·· . . . ·· ·ₘₚₐₗ ·ₙₑₑ· ·ᵢ· ·ₛ· Tᵣₐₙₛ-Hᵢₘₐₗₐyₐₙ · highlands

Lhāsa in welcoming Sanskrit was no doubt sheltering the language of the Land of Enlightenment and Bod-skad (Tibetan) as the medium of the *Dharma* became as sacred as Sanskrit. The layout, content and presentation of Tibetan canon and all later works down to the last days of Lamaism have been such that a Nepali Vajrācārya proud of his country having been the refuge of Sanskrit learning has no hesitation to describe Bod-skad (Tibetan) as Lhāsa Sanskrit. By the label Lhāsa Sanskrit a Nepali Buddhist would not merely imply that the Tibetan script is derived from Sanskrit source but also acclaim that Tibetan literature preserves the treasures of Sanskrit literature. Much of the original are lost to the world today while most of the remnants in Sanskrit the world owes to the care and zeal of Nepali scholars during the centuries when Sanskrit learning in the Land of Enlightenment was in shade. Western sholarship would testify further that the monastic universities in Tibet and Mongolia not merely preserved the treasures of Sanskrit but also developed the Sanskrit traditions in their seats. Thus Logic and Metaphysics, Medicine and Chemistry from India flourished in Sakya, Tashilhunpo, Drepung, Derge, Kumbum and Urga.

Why the legendary author of Tibetan alphabet, Thomi Sambhota, did not seek inspiration for a script from the great neighbouring country in the east, has puzzled many Sinologists today. As the medium of expression in the Celestial Empire, the Chinese script had a sanctity of its own. Mastery of the ideograph was a hall-mark of academic and bureaucratic power inside the Middle Kingdom while beyond the outermost frontiers of the Middle Kingdom the ideograph was a symbol of culture. A barbarian speaking the Celestial language was a lesser barbarian and if a barbarian could read and write the script his access to power and privilege in the Celestical court was ensured. Besides dissemination of Chinese language and Chinese script beyond the Han frontiers was a fundamental principle of imperial statecraft throughout history. Thus the Manchu, the Mongol and even the Turki (Uighur) had to accept Chinese language and script for varying periods to varying degrees and the vertical form was adopted in ⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱ ⸱⸱⸱⸱⸱ An American Sinologist has there-fore described the Tibetan escape from Chinese language and script as an inexplicable phenomenon. The truth of the matter is that the Tibetan speech is not as near the Han as many Sinologists presume. If the term Mongofoid is used in a wide sense both Tibetan and Chinese languages are Mongoloid languages. Tibetan is also a tonal speech like Chinese but Tibetan is not so predomi-nantly monosyllabic as Chinese. Even if there are affinities, as

presumed by some Sinologists, an ideograph established in one language is not necessarily adequate for the imagery and idiom of another. While linguistics and morphology conceal the secrets of failure of Chinese ideograph in Tibet, Tibetans have their own explanation for the success of Sanskrit *Akṣara*. Sixteen years ago in Tashilhunpo and Drepung I made enquiries as to why the pictograph was found unsuitable for transcription of Tibetan speech and how did Thomi Sambhota and his colleagues adjudicate the claims of different Indo-Iranian and Mediterranean scripts. I had in mind that the Brāhmī script was possibly an import from the west of *Saptasindhu* and that in the first half of the seventh century Kharosthi and several other scripts were prevalent in the regions west and northwest of Tibet. The answer of the Tibetan scholars was, however, as simple as the Tibetan mind. I was told that there was no need to adjudicate the merits of different phonetic scripts known to Thomi and his friends. The need for a script had arisen out of the need for translating Buddhist texts in Tibetan language. It was thus "a good act" or "a natural process", interdependent on the other processes of *Dharma* as in *Pratītyasamutpāda*.
. . . . from where
. . . . th the *Svara*
Vyañjana of Sanskrit or the horizontal *Rūpa* from left to right. The Tibetan book, though made of paper, did not follow the format of Chinese scroll but adopted the palm-leaf format of India. An honorific designation for a Tibetan loose-leaf book is Poti derived from Sanskrit Punthi/Pustika. Indic or Sanskritic sentiments for books and learning have influenced Tibetan mind ever since.

To start with, the invention of alphabet was treated as a divine gift as in Sanskrit tradition; Brāhmī was reputed to have come from the mouth of Brahmā. It is not certain whether Thomi Sambhota, the formulator of Tibetan alphabet, devised his set of thirty letters from the archaic Nāgarī (Ranjana/Lantsha) or from Kashmiri (Sāradā) characters. What is certain and indisputable, both among Tibetan believers and modern scholars, is that the Tibetan alphabet was of Brāhmī origin. It is curious that while the words Brāhmī and Nāgarī were obsolete in many Indian vernaculars by the beginning of the nineteenth century, these words were current among the Lamas and other learned people all over the Tibetan-speaking world. A Sanskrit-Tibetan Thesaurus of 1771 from Kham enters the word Brāhmī with its Tibetan equivalent as the first item under the head "speech". This was undoubtedly following the ancient Sanskrit tradition. For instance, the *Lalita-vistaralist* of sixty-four kinds of writting begins with Brāhmī. It is relevant to point out that in India the term Brāhmī was a re-

discovery towards the middle of the nineteenth century, thanks to archaeologists and epigraphists. In Tibet terms like *Akṣara, Śabda, Vāk* or *Varṇa* came to be sanctified exactly as in India and each term was most meticulously translated to convey the different meaning under different contexts. The veneration for *Akṣara* as in traditional India was fully reflected in Tibet in handling of books as if they were icons. I was surprised to notice such usage in Tibet in 1955-56. A Tibetan book, even if it be on a mundane matter, cannot be left on the floor or cast away like an old pair of shoes. The Imperishable Object, as the Sacred Letter or *Akṣara*, is the heart of the matter. Much later in Sikkim I had another experience. A sign board warning the visitors to take off their shoes while entering the temple was fixed right on the floor. The sign-board was intended mainly for the foreigners and the trilingual inscription: Tibetan, Hindi & English, was my responsibility. On protest against the written word being on the floor I had proposed that the Tibetan inscription could be erased and the signboard left as it was. An ordinary man, who was not a monk or priest, protested that Nāgarī script being the matrix was more sacred than even the ⋅₁.   ₁ be raised a few inches from the floor but still today no Tibetan or Sikkimese would keep his shoes near that trilingual inscription. The Tibetan veneration for Nāgarī as the kin of Brāhmī should be an enlightenment to several Indian scholars who, having read Sanskrit in the Western seats of Occidental learning, champion transcription of Sanskrit works in Roman and would discard Nāgarī as internationally less honourable than Roman. I am not a linguist nor by any means am good in reading scripts obsolete in our country today. But for me the most important evidence of Indian culture in Sikkim, Tibet and even the Baikal has been the most ubiquitous presence of the Six Mystic Syllables OM - MA - NI - PAD - ME - HUM on rocks and boulders, *stūpas* and temples, pray-wheels and altars; and I had not the least doubt on my first sight of Six Mystic Syllables that the Tibetan *Akṣara* was a *Rūpa* of Sanskrit *Akṣara*.

The Tibetan veneration for the Sacred Letter from the Land of Enlightenment was also expressed in calling the vowels and consonants as *Ali* and *Kali*, the two mystic terms used in Tantra but can be traced back to the Veda. The learned Tibetan unhesitatingly affirms that *Akṣara* goes back to pre-Buddhist times in Rig-jhe, that is the Veda. The adoration of *Vāk* and *Akṣara,* Brahman and Sarasvatī in *Ṛg Veda* and later literature needs no presentation to an assemblage of Sanskritists. What needs emphasis here is that Sarasvatī is the only Vedic deity and for that matter the only Brahmanical or Hindu deity who is held in highest adoration in

Mahāyāna pantheon and therefore in Northern Buddhist countries like Tibet and Mongolia. While other Hindu deities like Brahmā, Indra or Gaṇeśa were incorporated into Mahāyāna pantheon simply as accessory deities aiding and serving Buddha Śākyamuni or other Buddhas and while even some Hindu deities were depicted under the feet of a Buddha or held in utmost ridicule, Sarasvatī was admitted as a goddess on her own right. The Mahāyāna veneration for Sarasvatī progressed across the Himalayas, and as Yang-chen in Tibet and Mongolia, Sarasvatī is the deity for scholars and laymen alike irrespective of any sectarian considerations. The Tibetan literature from Thomi Sambhota down to the twentieth century abounds with utterances and remarks about the significance and sanctity of Śabda Brahman.

III

The translation of the Buddhist canon from Sanskrit into Tibetan has been universally admitted as the most scientific and yet lucid ever before the present day UNESCO programme. The national endeavour in Bod-yul (Tibet) running through four centuries may be best described in esoteric diction as the union of *Prajñā* (Wisdom) of India and *Upāyakauśala* (Ingenuity) of Tibet. Infinite wealth and refinement of Sanskrit had to come to terms with the originality and independence of Tibetan. Western scholars who have mastered Iranic, Sanskritic and Sinic languages have not discovered any affinities between Tibetan and any of these groups. Basil Gould and Hugh Richardson—speaking, reading and writing Tibetan almost like the Bod-pa (Tibetan)—wrote in 1943 that "Tibetan is widely separated in vocabulary, grammar and mode of thought from any language with which the learner is expected to be familiar". Earlier a renowned master of languages, Denison Ross, had admitted the same, though he felt that his mastery of Russian was complementary to his mastery of Tibetan and *vice versa.* Knowledge of Sanskrit, which Denison Ross and Hugh Richardson had acquired before beginning Tibetan, did not determine the proficiency of such eminent Tibetologists.

To obtain the exact meaning of Sanskrit words and phrases Thomi Sambhota and his successors had first resorted to a servile imitation of Sanskrit layout and style and ignored the claims of Tibetan syntax. This resulted in monstrous compositions which misrepresented the potentialities of Sanskrit and denied the genius of Tibetan language. These translations were later on considerably revised or altogether replaced; a few servive in the manuscripts discovered from the Caves of Thousand Buddhas and other sites

in the north and north-west of Tibet. In the later or revised translations imagery and idiom of Sanskrit underwent welcome Tibetanization along with honourable acceptance of native idiom imagery.

No effort was spared to probe into the etymology of a *Sabda* or to unravel the aphorisms of *Vyākaraṇa*. Pāṇini and later *Sārasvata Vyākaraṇa* were studied with the same zeal as in the Tols in India. Thus while each word of the original was rendered into its exact appropriate in Tibetan, the Tibetan syntax was complied with. For every translation there would be one (or two) Indian scholar knowing Tibetan and one (or two) Tibetan scholar knowing Sanskrit. For support to translators, compilation of grammars and lexicons was slso taken in hand. For widely used or commonplace terms like Buddha, Dharma or Sangha uniform sets of equivalents were fixed by a central council of translators. The result of the translations from the time of Thomi (c. 650) till the propagation by *Atīsa* (c. 1050) were later incorporated into two encyclopaedic callections called Kanjur and Tanjur. Kanjur stands for *Buddhavccana* and Tanjur for *Śāstra*. Thus *Abhidharma, Prajñāpāramitā* and *Vinaya*, the treatises of Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and Diṅnāga or the latest Mahāyāna tracts from Pāli Bengal are all enshrined in these collections. But for this idiomatic translation many of the Buddhist Sanskrit works would have been lost forever. I need not recite the great Mahāyāna works recovered by Brian Hodgson and Rahula Sankrityayana or refer to the Gilgit Manuscripts read by Nalinaksha Dutt. I would however remind that Nāgārjuna's *Suhṛllekha* or Diṅnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* are yet to be discovered.

Through such scientific translations and regular exchanges with Nepali and Indian scholars, imagery and idiom of Sanskrit became a part and parcel of Tibetan literature and later, when Mongols embraced the *Dharma*, of Mongol literature. This impact is noticed most in the art of dialectics, science of poetics, and historiography. Buddhist logic with Indian art of polemics and Indian logician's mannerisms flourished in refuge in Sakya, Drepung and Urga. For models of rhetoric and prosody, men of letters in Tibet and Mongoli invariably referred back to *Kāvyādarśa* and such works thereto related. Dialectics or poetics were, however, not much developed in Tibet before the advent of *Dharma*; therefore such Indic elements in Tibetan literature were more in the nature of innovations than revolutions. For a true revolution in Tibetan literature one has to notice the historiographical writings in Tibet. In the beginning, that is, before Sanskrit made its impact, the annals and chronicles of Tibet were inspired by the Chinese tradition of

Shin-chi (the Record of the Scrib = the Record of a Historian). The Chinese method of record-keeping meant a meticulous regard for events and their dates. The Indian tradition of historical writings, as will be accepted by this distinguished grathering of Sanskritists, was indifferent to mundane happenings and their chronological sequence. The victory of Buddhi... ... was eventually the victory . . . . Men of letters, including historical scholars, submitted to the Indian school of history. The Tibetan nomenclature for records, Yig-tshang, yielded to a new form Chon-jung (Chos-hbyung) or the Growth of Religion. As the new nomenclature suggests the content of chronicles, that is the subject-matter of history was now the *Dharma*, its origin in India and its growth in the Trans-Himalayas. The *Dharma* was eternal and everything else was transitory; therefore the story of *Dharma* was history *par- excellence*. The ideal history was no longer the Records (Yig-tshang) or the Line of Kings (Rgyal-rabs) but the Dharmakahini (Chos-hbyung). The lives and thoughts of the saints and scholars, the doctrinal debates and the construction of temples and monasteries were now the stuff for the historiographer. Even then a strong sense for historical sequence and a high regard for firm chronology continued to characterize the chronicles of Tibet.

It cannot be denied that Tibetan historical writings contained much useful data for history of the neighbouring countries. Tāranātha's 'History of Buddhism' abounds with legends and myths but provides some unimpeachable evidence where Indian literary sources are silent.

A measure of Sanskrit impact on Tibetan and Mongol languages is provided by the wide currency of loan-words from Sanskrit. While a most fuithful and yet perfect translation of the entire corpus of Sanskrit vocabulary was achieved and even many proper names like Aśoka and Vaiśāli were rendered into Tibetan, for academic as well as sentimental grounds the Sanskrit forms of certain words were preferred. Thus while Buddha, Dharma and Sangha or Veda and *Vijñana* were always expressed in Tibetan forms, terms like *Guru* and, *Muni* or Śākyamuni and Pāṇini have been used in the original form down to our times. Not that good Tibetan equivalents could not be coined but that such coinage could not satisfactorily convey the full context of the term. It will be interesting to give a few examples of Sanskrit loan-words : Om, Maṇi, Padma, Vārāṇasī, Nālandā, Takṣaśilā. Some Sanskrit words underwent sea-change in spelling and pronunciation. Five such loan-words common to Tibetan and Mongol would be - Ārya, Dharma Paṇḍita, Ratna, Vajra. In Mongol there

was a greater zeal to have as many Sanskrit words as possible for the Mongol translators rightly found that in the relay of *Dharma* from Sanskrit to Mongol via Tibetan the original context would be more obscure. A thirteenth century Mongol version of *Lalitavistara* is conspicuously punctuated with Sanskrit words. I cull here some as per transcription of Professor Nicholas Poppe with regular Sanskrit form in brackets. Duvaja (Dhvaja), Lakṣa (Lakṣmaṇa), Bodi (Bodhi), Dibangkara (Dīpaṃkara), Erdini (Ratna), Arsi (Ṛṣi), Diyan (Dhyāna), Esrua (Īśvara), Kadali (Kadali), Tusid (Tuṣita), Manggal (Maṅgala), Sarati (Sārathi), Vinai (Vinaya), Yaśodari (Yaśodharā), Sidi (Siddhi), Darm-acari (Dharmacarī), Kumuda (Kumuda), Vcir (V: ir. ., M . ., . . ., . ., ... Sarvaartasidi (Sarv . : . ., ... (Uṣṇīṣa), Arata Kalmi (Arāḍa Kalama), Badir (Patra), Badmi (Padma), Samadi (Samādhi), Maqumayi (Mahāmāyā), Siramani (Śramaṇa), Vayiduri (Vaiḍūrya), Gunamati (Guṇamati), Ratnagarci (Ratnagarbha), Ridi (Ṛddhi). It is not necessary to extend the list of Sanskrit words in the Trans-Himalayas. I need however record my most pleasant experience in the Baikals regions to hear the Buriat Mongols uttering the words like Adisa (Atīsa), Bandita (Paṇḍita) and Erteni (Ratna) without any efforts in their prayers in Mongol and their talks in Russian.

If I tell a Lāma (Mongol or Tibetan) that modern researches have proved that there are substantial non-Āryan elements in Sanskrit vocabulary and that such words as Candana, Daṇḍa, Paṇḍita and Bilva are pobably of Dravidian stock the Lāma would retort that whatever is Sanskrit is Ārya. If I argue further I may offend the Trans-Himalayan believer be he a monk or a layman, a scholar or a muleteer. I had on several occasions told Lāmas that in modern Indian opinion Buddha Śākyamuni would be traced to Tibeto-Mongoloid stock and not Indo-Āryan. Far from pleasing the Lāmas my statement was a sort of blasphemy which pained them considerably. To a Northern Buddhist all moral and spiritual values are from Āryabhūmi (Phags-yul in Tibetan) and Buddha Śāk . . . . guage of *Prajñāpāra-* . . . .

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In a recent paper entitled "Study of Sanskrit Grammar in Tibet" (*Bulletin of Tibetology*, Vol. VII No. 2) B. Ghosh narrates the history of Sanskrit grammar in Tibet down to the nineteenth century. Regarding Tibetan (and Mongol) sentiments on Buddha's nationality vide N. C. Sinha : *Greater India : Fact, Fiction & Fetish* (Bhagalpur, 1971) and "Indic elements in Tibetan culture" in *Man in India*, Vol. 49, No. 1. For an authoritative statement of Tibetan sentiments about Tibet's indebtedness to Sanskrit vide the Dalai Lama's address to the Buddha Jayanti Symposium on November 29, 1956, in Shakabpa : *Tibet* (New Haven 1967), Appendix.]

SANSKRIT AND THE INDO-TIBETAN LANGUAGES

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The Indo-Tibetan people occupy territory to the north-east of India and south of Tibet, which is politically known as Bhutan, Sikkim and parts of Arunachal Pradesh in India. Through the ages it has evolved its own pattern of existence. Sparse population, rugged terrain and poor communications have been the lot of these people since the time men began to first exist in this part of the world. ... the Lepchas, or as they prefer to call themselves the "Rong-pa", the Bhutias, the Tsongs, the ... the Krotepas, the Khengs, the Wangs ... all over the region including the Mirasaktens who are closely related to the Monpas of the Tawang area of Arunachal Pradesh. No single or common linguistic or ethnological basis can be made in the case of these people; suffice it to say that their languages are all derived from the Tibeto-Sanskrit group and that most of these tribes, if not all, are Buddhists or Lamaists which is a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Prior to the advent of Buddhism in this region, the people had taken to a form of nature worship, variously referred to as Pon (also spelt Bon) or Shamanism. It was a curious mixture of witchcraft and sorcery with the worship of spirits and ghosts. In or about 640 A.D. Songtsen Gampo was ruling Tibet. This King had a Nepalese queen who was locally regarded as an incarnation of the Buddhist saviouress, Tārā, the goddess of Knowledge. This made the Tibetan ruler deeply interested in Buddhism and in order to fulfil his Queen's wishes, he sent one of his trusted ministers, Thonmi Sambhata, as an envoy to India to know more about Buddhism and bring all holy scriptures to Tibet. Thonmi Sambhata duly came to India in the same year and seriously applied himself to the study of Sanskrit which in turn led him to the study of Buddhist religious scriptures. In all he was in India for seven years

during which he visited all the principal places of Buddhist interest which made a deep and a lasting impression on him.

When Thonmi Sambhata went back to Tibet by way of Ladakh, he was asked by King Songtsen Gampo to make an alphabet of the Tibetan language since prior to this period, Tibet had no written language. My findings show that the Tibetan alphabet as devised by Thonmi Sambhata is completely and thoroughly based on Sanskrit alphabet, as was then written in Kashmir. This alphabet has undoubtedly undergone some changes in later period, but it can still be deciphered by those knowing the Sanskrit alphabet as was then being written in Kashmir. The Tibetan language was thus only reduced to writing in the seventh century and its entire alphabet was based on Sanskrit alphabet. True enough, Tibetan words were derived from a variety of languages such as the Shina languages of the Dardic sub-family, the Bodhi language of the Buddhist Ladakh, Chinese and Burmese languages including some Central Asian dialects, the alphabet in the Tibetan language which are derived from Sanskrit. It is small wonder because at that time Sanskrit as a vehicle of Buddhism had gone right up and into Chinese Turkestan in Central Asia.

About the year A.D. 742 when Buddhism was fast declining in India, Guru Padma Sambhava, the Lotus-Born and also subsequently known as Guru Rimpoche brought Buddhism to what is known as the Indo-Tibetan region. This was almost a hundred years after Thonmi Sambhata came back with holy Buddhist scriptures in Sanskrit to Tibet, Padma Sambhava was a teacher of mysticism at the Nalanda University and was well versed in Tantricism, an amalgam of Buddhism with primitive belief and nature worship then current in certain parts of India and Nepal. He travelled on foot all over Tibet, Sikkim and parts of Arunachal Pradesh for nearly five ye disputing with local chieftains and high priests of Shamanism, composing soul-stirring hymns to Buddha in local dialects, training several local disciples and establishing *mani-lakhangs* that even to-day remain active and alive. He set in motion all over the Indo-Tibetan region a tidal wave of spirituality, which even after the passage of more than 1200 years is on its conquering march. His another abiding contribution is that he provided almost all Indo-Tibetan tribal languages with such a rich wealth of Sanskrit words that even a casual probe in these dialects is enough to convince one of the influence of Sanskrit on these languages at that time. Guru Rimpoche is said to have vanquished all the

demons of the Shamanistic school of thought and through conver-
sion established the first community of the lamas in 747. A.D.

During this sojourn in these regions, the Guru's fame as a
mystic and a teacher spread naturally into Tibet also. He was soon
sought after by the then Tibetan King, Thisrong Detsan, who had
inherited from his forbears a strong leaning towards Buddhism.
Thisrong Detsan was the son of a Chinese Princess and was known
to be more interested in the Chinese style of Buddhism rather than
Indian. When Guru Rimpoche reached the Tibetan capital, he was
pleasantly surprised to find another notable Indian scholar of the
times. He was none other than Śāntarakṣita with his disciple
Kamalaśīla. All these three Indian Buddhist teachers gradually won
over King Thisrong Detsan to the Indian merit of Buddhism.
Systematic translations of Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit to
Tibetan were undertaken by these three Buddhist scholars and their
growing number of disciples. Teachers to teach Buddhism were
imported from India and the first monastery was established by Guru
Rimpoche in 747 A.D at Samye in Tibet. This monastery still
stands and is built on the style of Indian vihāras. Buddhism, as
then established by Guru Rimpoche in Tibet and in the Indo-Tibetan
region is a superb mixture of Mahāyāna Buddhism with local mytho-
logy, mysticism and magic. The relics of Pon as well as Tāntric
practices in regard to *Prāṇāyāma, Āsanas* and *Mantras* were essential
ingredients. These are clearly Sanskrit terms describing certain
postures and positions for meditation, recitation and incantation of
prayers or sacred texts.

On his return from Tibet to Bhutan and Sikkim in A.D 750.
Guru Rimpoche set about translating sacred Buddhist texts from
Sanskrit in the local Indo-Tibetan tribal languages. The translations
had to be oral and teaching was only from word of mouth because
none of the Indo-Tibetans had any written language at the time. They
only used to speak different kinds of patois which can be said to be
a mixture of Tibetan and Sanskrit with no clear line of demarcation.
As I have tried to show, the Tibetan alphabet itself was then only a
hundred years old. The written part of this language was by no
                                              in no way be compared to
Sanskrit which was far more advanced. Guru Rimpoche and his
disciples were more tuned to Sanskrit than to Tibetan which is
probably the only reason for his attempt to enlarge the Indo-Tibetan
languages with Sanskrit words and phrases. This period according
to Fr. Cacella, a Jesuit traveller in 1627, was the height of proto-
historic contacts between Sanskrit and Tibetan in these regions. Fr.
Cacella further traces the earliest stages of Indo-Tibetan languages

and has shown a morphology consisting of prefixes and suffixes. By the time the written form of these languages became fixed around the seventeenth century, the prefixes and suffixes of Sanskrit origin were tending to disappear and were replaced by Sanskrit features of tone accompanied by simpler forms with complex consonant clusters. This development was uneven in various dialects; in some the clusters tended to remain; in others the tonal system developed. The evolution of the script of this group of languages is a matter of greater controversy in as much as a definite history of these languages is still in the making.

During the period, seventh to seventeenth century, it is without doubt that Sanskrit developed as a larguage of administration in this region. The records of the reign of two famous Kings of the era, Khikharathoid, the ruler of Khempajonj in Kurtoi and Naguchhi, King of Sindhu, both of whom flourished during the late eighth and early ninth century in these parts bear testimony to this fact. Even upto the time of Phuntshog Namgyal in A.D. 1642 administrative records were in Sanskrit, though Fr. Cacella does record the fact that signs of Sanskrit having undergone some linguistic mutation were visible then.

Another evidence of the impact of Sanskrit in this region can be seen by the fiist Sanskritized Buddhist scriptures inscribed at Takphu, literally a rock-cave (associated with Guru Rimpoche). Tongsa, Punakha, Taksang Dzong and numerous *mani-lakhangs* which are even to-day to be found in several villages in Bhutan, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh. These *mani-lakhangs* are somewhat akin to the present-day gompas and they minister to the religious needs of the local villagers. Each of these inscriptions contains correct words Sanskrit words and most of these words have found their way into the local dialects either in their original or varied forms.

The traditional arts and crafts as also architecture of the people of these parts, especially in the construction of *dzongs*, fort monasteries and residential buildings clearly reflect early Indian influence when Sanskrit was widely prevalent in use all over the sub-continent. This has been interpreted by historians as a continuation of medieval Buddhist art and language of the Pāla Kings who ruled a part of North India from 750 to 1150 A.D. An examination of the later period shows that Tibetan and Chinese influence over traditional arts and crafts was predominant.

It is thus clear that Sanskrit, both in its pure and hybridised form, has through the centuries freely given of its own rich heritage

to all Indo-Tibetan languages the .... reducing the flow of ..... is a later development around the end of the seventeenth century. Sanskrit is rightly held to be the repository of all essential knowledge in these regions where even now Sanskrit manuscripts are being discovered. The multiplicity o .... are really local or dialectal variants of a few prominent dynamic and hard core languages such as Dzongkha, but the common features in the local scripts are so extensively Sanskrit-based that we can, with a few exceptions, pass quite easily from one language to another. Most Indo-Tibetan languages lack literary and scientific vocabulary. It is here that Sanskrit can once again play its role of a mother language. After its revival in India, as is being done now, it can with local script in Indo-Tibetan tongues, continue its role of give and take, absorb elements of value and beauty in the local language and literature so as to readily equip these languases for their proper role for the future upliftment of the people of this region.

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AN OLD TIBETAN VERSION OF THE RĀMĀYAṆA

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In 1929 F.W. Thomas announced the discovery of a Tibetan version of the Rāmāyaṇa story among the manuscripts brought back from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein in the beginning of this century.[1] A few years later Marcelle Lalou described two other manuscripts, which also contain fragments of the story of Rāma and Sītā.[2] In his article Thomas gave a summary of three of his manuscripts and translated most of the verses. One of the Paris manuscripts has been edited and translated by J. K. Balbir in 1963.[3] In a volume, published last year in memory of Marcelle Lalou, I have contributed an edition and translation of the second of the Paris manuscripts.[4] In view of the importance of this Tibetan version, a complete edition and translation of all six manuscripts is highly desirable. For some time I have been working on this project which will comprise an introduction, an edition of the six fragments, a translation, notes and a glossary. It is not an easy task to translate these fragments which are written in pre-classical Tibetan. Especially the verses are often difficult to understand. However, the greater part of the texts can be translated without too many difficulties. I hope that even a provisional translation will be of interest to scholars, concerned with the history of the Rāmāyaṇa-recensions.

None of the six manuscripts contains a date. Some of the manuscripts, found in Tun-huang, have been brought there from central Tibet, but probably most of them have been written by local scribes. Many Tibetan texts are written on the verso of Chinese manuscripts. These texts must have been written in Tun-huang during the Tibetan occupation which lasted from 787 (according to Demiéville[5]) or 782 (according to Fujieda[6]) to 848. Two of the Tibetan texts in the India Office (MSS A and D) are written on the

verso of Chinese texts. It is therefore not too rash to assume that, probably, all six manuscripts, which are closely related to each other, were written during the Tibetan occupation of Tun-huang. The story of Rāma and Sītā was known also in Central Tibet. The famous Sanskrit-Tibetan terminological dictionary, the *Mahāvyutpatti*, which was compiled in the beginning of the ninth century[7] contains an entry : *Sītāharaṇam*, tib. *rol-rñed phrogs-pa* (no. 7629). Sītāharaṇam probably is the title of a work known to the compilers of the *Mahāvyutpatti*. Sarat Chandra Das refers for this work to the biography of Atiśa, the famous Indian scholar who arrived in Western Tibet in 1042 and died near Lhasa in 1054.[8] According to Das the full title is : "The story of the ravishment of Sītā and of the killing of the yakṣa A-śa-pa" (*rol rñed-ma phrogs-pa daṅ gnod-sbyin a-śa-pa bsad-pa'i gtam-rgyud*). The word which I translate as "story" (*gtam-rgyud*) is used to render Sanskrit *ākhyāna* (cf. Mahāvyutpatti no. 7128). The Tibetan version of the Rāmāyaṇa, found in the Tun-huang manuscripts, is written in prose, interspersed with verses. Perhaps the "Story of the ravishment of Sītā and of the killing of the yakṣa A-śa-pa" was also written in this style. However, this story is not identical with the one found in Tun-huang. The Tun-huang version does not mention a yakṣa A-śa-pa. One of the six manuscripts contains a title of which only the words king Ramana (rgyal-po Ra-ma-na) have been preserved. In any case, there is no doubt that versions of the Rāmāyaṇa story were known about 800 A.D. both in Central Tibet and in the North-East. In the Mahāvyutpatti Sītā is rendered in Tibetan by Rol-rñed-ma 'Found in the furrow'. This has not been noticed by Das who reconstructs the Sanskrit name as Līlavatī. In the Tun-huang version of the Rāmāyaṇa it is told that Sītā was enclosed in a copper vessel and committed to the waters. She was found by an Indian peasant, while he was channelling water in a furrow of his field. For this reason he gave her the name Rol-rñed-ma. It is clear from this story that Rol-rñed-ma renders Sanskrit Sītā. Nevertheless, Thomas, probably misguided by Das, indicates as Sanskrit name Līlavatī.[9] This error has been perpetuated in later publications dealing with the Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*.[10] There can be no doubt that the author of the Tibetan version knew the meaning of the word Sītā. In this version Sanskrit names are sometimes transcribed, sometimes translated. When king Daśaratha is first mentioned, the author adds a Tibetan translation "Ten chariots" (*śiṅ-rta bcu-pa*). These examples show clearly that this Tibetan version must be closely related to an unknown Indian original.

All six manuscripts are incomplete. However, by piecing the fragments together it is possible to reconstruct an almost complete

text. Thomas has designated the four manuscripts in the India Office Library with the letters A, B, C and D.[11] Marcelle Lalou has accordingly given the letters E and F to the two Paris manuscripts.[12] Manuscript A contains 440 lines, manuscript E 276 lines and the four others between 41 and 99 lines. Thomas already indicated that manuscript D is probably an earlier part of manuscript A. Closer examination of these two manuscripts and a comparison with the other manuscripts shows that D contains a part of the story immediately preceding that given in A. The first few lines of D are missing. The complete manuscript must have contained almost 500 lines of which 491 have been preserved. Two other manuscripts C and F are closely related to manuscript A. The four manuscripts A, D, C and F thus represent one recension : recension I. The other two manuscripts B and E are almost identical, the main difference between the two consisting in the fact that the text of B has been expanded by a few additions between the lines. This recension, which I call recension II, is more concise than version I, as appears already from the fact that the 276 lines of E correspond to about 340 lines of the manuscripts D and A. However, recension II contains one episode which is missing from recension I.

Before discussing a few points of the Tun-huang Rāmāyaṇa story it is necessary to give a summary. In this summary, which is divided into 46 sections, the main differences between the two versions have been indicated. Variant forms of the names which occur in the manuscripts have been added in parentheses.

SUMMARY of An old Tibetan Version of the *Rāmāyaṇā*.

I. Description of the country of Laṅkapura, situated on an island in the ocean. D1-9, E 2-7, B 1-5.

II. The king of the demons, Yagśakoric (Yagśakore), reigns over the three worlds and cannot be overcome by gods or men. The gods decide to ask Viśravas and Śrīdevī to bear a son who will be capable of defeating him. D 9-16, E 8-16, B 6-14.

III. The gods address their request to Viśravas and Śrīdevī. By means of a smile a son is born. He kills all demons but spares the infant Malhẙ   ⁓·⁓···· · ⁓·⁓·⁓ ͻpanta, Malyapa'da), the son of ⁓   ·   ⸴   :   · ·⸴. ⸴ 15-21.

IV. A brahman, Ratana, tells Malhyapanta about the killing of the demons. In order to seek revenge he devotes himself to the service of a divine ṛṣi; Śvapasina (Biśurasena), thę son of Brahmā. D 24-33, E 23-32, B 21-30.

V. Malhyapanta offers his daughter Mekesena (Mekesena, Megasina) to him. D 24-33, E 32-43, B 21-30.

VI. Śvapasina accepts Mekesena. D 43-51, A 1-2, E 43-51, B 42-48.

VII. Three sons are born to Mekesena : Daśagrīva, Udpakana (Ampakarna) and Ciriśana (Birinaśa). Brahmā gives ten heads to Daśagrīva. Malhyapanta asks them to go to Laṅkapura. They promise to do so. A 2-9 E 51-59, B 48-56.

VIII. The three sons (devaputras) obtain power over the gods from Mahādeva. They defeat the gods and kill both gods and men in Laṅkapura. E 59-67, B 56-63.

   (*a*) Malhyapanta offers a banquet. The devaputras promise to avenge him. A 9-16, C 1-5.

   (*b*) Malhyapanta tells them about his father Yagśakore and asks them again to avenge him. They promise to do so. A 16-22, C 5-8.

   (*c*) They are unable to defeat the gods and ask Brahmā for three miraculous powers : (1) that everybody at whom they shoot an arrow shall die; (2) immortality; (3) power over the three worlds. Brahmā refuses. A 22.30, C 8-15.

   (*d*) The devaputras ask Mahādeva for his miraculous power. Although Daśagrīva cuts off one of his heads and offers it, Mahādeva does not grant their request. His wife, Upade (Umade), offers her own miraculous power which they reject. She curses them and prophesies that they will be destroyed by a woman. A 30-41, C 15-23.

   (*e*) Mahādeva's minister, Prahasti (Prahaste), offers his miraculous power which they reject. He prophesies that they will be destroyed by a monkey. A 41-47, C 23-30.

   (*f*) The goddess of speech transforms herself into the tip of the tongue of the devaputras and modifies their requests. They obtain the following powers : (1) power over the gods; (2) the death of any being that is struck by the first arrow shot; (3) immortality as long as the horse-head of Daśagrīva has not been cut off.
They defeat the gods, kill the gods and the men in Laṅkapura. A 47-56, C 30-41. End of C.

IX. Daśagrīva goes to Viṣṇu who lives in the North, in the Ocean of Milk, but is unable even to attack him. E 67-80, B 63-77. Episode missing in A and C.

X. The gods deliberate what to do against Daśagrīva and the demons. Mahādeva declares himself unable to assist them but advises them to ask Viṣṇu for help. Viṣṇu incarnates

himself as Ramana, the son of Daśaratha, and his son appears on earth as Lagśana. In order to bring about Daśagrīva's ruin, a goddess enters into the womb of his wife. E 80-92, B 77-89.

(a) The gods deliberate. As the demons cannot be defeated by the gods, the gods cause a being capable of destroying the demons, to be born as the daughter of Daśagrīva. A 56-60.

(b) The king of Jambūdvīpa, Daśaratha, prays to five hundred Arhats on Mount Kailāsa for a son. They give him a flower for the chief queen. The chief queen gives one half to the junior queen. The son of the junior queen, Ramana, is born three days before the son of the chief queen, Lagśana. A 65-73.

XI. Birth of the daughter of Daśagrīva. Readers of signs predict that she shall cause the ruin of her father and the demons. She is placed in a copper box and committed to the waters. An Indian peasant finds her and gives her the name Rol-rñed-ma 'Found in the furrow'. A 60-65, E 92-95, B 89-92.

XII. King Daśaratha is wounded in a battle between the gods and ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ appoint as successor. ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ ⋯ is appointed. King Daśaratha dies. A 73-83, E 104-111.

XIII. Lagśana offers the reign over the four dvīpas to Ramana who refuses. Lagśana places one of the shoes of Ramana on the throne and acts as minister. A 83-90, Fa 1-4, E 111-116.

XIV. Rol-rñed-ma grows up. The peasants search for a suitable husband. They find Ramana. A 90-96, Fa 4-9, E 116-119.

XV. The peasants praise the beauty of Rol-rñed-ma. 24 verses in A 96-109, Fa 10-19; 12 in E 119-126.

XVI. R⋯⋯. ⋯⋯⋯ ⋯⋯ and gives her the name of queen Sītā. R⋯⋯ ⋯ ⋯⋯⋯ ⋯⋯. A 106-109, Fa 19-20, E 126-128.

XVII. A minister of Yagśakore, Marutse, prevents 500 brahmans from obtaining a Siddhi. Ramana throws a finger-ring at Marutse and injures one of his eyes. The brahmans obtain their siddhi and give Ramana a blessing: all those who will die by his arrows will be reborn as gods. A 109-119.

XVIII. Daśagrīva's sister, Purpala (Phurpala) falls in love with Ramana. Ramana, who loves Sītā very much, rejects her. A 119-130, E 128-136.

XIX. Purpala advises her brother Daśagrīva to steal Sītā. His minister. Marutse, tries in vain to dissuade him. A 131-140, E 136-143.

XX. Marutse transforms himself into a deer. Sītā asks Ramana to capture the deer for her. Marutse interposes a storm between Ramana and Sītā. Ramana shoots the deer, who exclaims : "Pity, O Lagśana". Sītā begs Lagśana to go to the assistance of his brother. A 140-152, E 143-155.

XXI. At first Lagśana refuses to leave Sītā but, eventually, he gives in to her and leaves, uttering this curse : "If in my mind there is no deceit, may you, husband and wife, feel hatred for each other one time !" Sītā regrets having persuaded Ramana to go after the deer. A 153-162, E 155-167.

XXII. Daśagrīva appears before Sītā in the form of an elephant, then in the form of a horse but Sītā refuses to mount him. Afraid to be burned by touching Sītā, he carries her away along with a plot of ground. Ramana and Lagśana return and search everywhere for Sītā. A 162-171, Fb 1-3, E 167-176.

XXIII. They come upon a stream of black water and discover that it flows from the eyes, mouth and nose of Sugrīva, the younger son of the king of monkeys. He explains that his elder brother, Bālin, has injured him. Sugrīva advises them to ask three monkeys who had fled to a mountain for information about Sītā. A 171-182, Fb 3-14, E 176-183.

XXIV. The monkeys tell Ramana that a man with ten heads (the first of which is a horse-head) has carried away Sītā. Ramana makes a pact with Sugrīva, promising to make him king if he helps him to find Sītā. A 182-190, Fb 14-23. E 183-193.

XXV. Sugrīva fights with Bālin. Ramana is unable to distinguish between the two monkeys and does not shoot an arrow. The wife of Bālin ___.   ·   .   · from further fighting. A 190-198, Fl·   ·   .

XXVI. A mirror is attached to Sugrīva's tail. The wife of Bālin tries again to warn her husband. Bālin is killed by Ramana's arrow. A 198-207, E 198-207.

XXVII. Ramana and Sugrīva return to their homes. Ramana waits three years for Sugrīva's return. He shoots off an arrow with a message, warning him that the fate of Bālin awaits him if he does not come. Sugrīva comes with an army of monkeys. The monkeys Pagśu, Sindu and Hanumanta are sent off to search for Sītā. Ramana gives them a ring and a letter for her. A 208-218, E 207-218.

XXVIII. The monkeys are very thirsty. Following two ducks they enter a cavern. They discover the residence of gTsug-rgyal sgeg-mo, the daughter of Śrīdevī. The goddess tells them to close their eyes. When they awaken, they are on a large beach in front of a black mountain, which proves to be a black bird with burned wings. He tells them that he is Pada', the elder son of Agajaya (Agajana), king of eagles. Pada' had entered into a contest with his younger brother Sampada' for the kingdom. They both flew away from the mountain. Sampada"s wing was in danger of being burnt by the sun. Pada' came to his assistance and thus lost the contest and the kingdom. Pada' tells them that Sītā was ravished by Daśagrīva. His father, an old friend of Daśaratha, snatched Sīta from Daśagrīva. Daśagrīva threw a lump of red-hot iron at him. Agajaya ate it and, his heart burnt, he died. Daśagrīva took Sītā away. A 218-238, E 218-222 (E omits the visit to the cave.).

XXIX. Hanumanta leaps to Laṅka, leaving the two other monkeys behind. He finds Sītā in a castle with nine walls without gates. He gives her the letter and the ring. A 238-246, E 222-229.

XXX. Sīta reads Ramana's letter. 20 verses. A 246-256, E 229-240.

XXXI. Hanumanta uproots the trees in the park and kills the demons sent to capture him. The eldest son of Daśagrīva tries to capture him with a magic noose made of sun-beams. The gods of the magical power order Hanumanta to enter the noose. Hanumanta asks as favour to be killed in the same way as his father was killed. The demons wrap his tail in cloth, dip it in butter and set it on fire. Hanumanta burns the castle of the demons and many demons die. A 256-272, E 240-253.

XXXII. Hanumanta returns to Sītā who gives him a letter for Ramana. Hanumanta goes and gives the letter to Ramana who reads it. A 272-286, E 253-267.

XXXIII. The monkeys and the men set out for Laṅka. The monkeys Maku and Damsi (Dan'du) quarrel while constructing a bridge. Ramana reconciles them. They arrive in Laṅka. Daśagrīva's younger brother, Ampakarna (Udpakarna) advises his brother to flee. Daśagrīva does not listen to him and Ampakarna joins Ramana. A 286-301, E 267-275.

XXXIV. Kumbhakarṇa had formerly obtained the boon of eternal sleep. Daśagrīva and the others try to wake him up by pouring liquid in his ear and by making a thousand elephants trample

his bdoy. They finally succeed by beating one hundred thousand great drums. Kumbhakarṇa swallows the men and the monkeys, but Ramana and Hanumanta escape. Kumbhakarṇa falls asleep again. A 301—308.

XXXV. At the advice of Ampakarna, Hanumanta is sent to fetch a herb Amṛtasaṃjīva on mount Kailāsa. He returns with the entire mountain which is replaced again. All men and monkeys are revived. A 308—311.

XXXVI. Battle with Daśagrīva. His younger brother, Birinaśa, flees. Lagśana is killed. Daśagrīva makes himself invisible. Ramana defies him to show the toe of his foot. Ramana cuts off his horse-head and Daśagrīva dies, killing the demons in his fall. A 311—323.

XXXVII. Ramana climbs through the window of the castle and liberates Sītā. He revives Lagśana. Sugrīva and Ramana return to their respective countries. A 323—327.

XXXVIII. Hanumanta is appointed minister of Sugrīva. They invite Ramana, Lagśana and Sītā and organise banquets. Later Sugrīva dies and the reign is offered to Hanumanta. A 328-333.

XXXIX. Hanumanta first refuses but finally accepts. A 333-340.

XL. Hanumanta forgets to send letters and presents to Ramana. Ramana sends him a message. Hanumanta repents and they become friends as before. A 340-352.

XLI. King Benbala revolts and before setting out to fight him Ramana leaves Sītā and his son in the care of 500 ṛṣis on mount Malayana. Sītā goes for a walk and leaves her son with the ṛṣis, but he follows her. When the ṛṣis realise that he is missing, they create another son, made of Kuśa grass. Sītā returns with Lava and adopts Kuśa. Ramana returns after having reduced Benbala to subjection. A 352-368.

XLII. R᠁ ᠁ ᠁ ᠁ ᠁ ᠁ ᠁ between the Licchavi Vimala ᠁(ᴵ) ᠁ ᠁ ᠁ ᠁ He accuses her of adultery She says that Sītā lived for a hundred years with Daśagrīva but that nevertheless Ramana loves her. She asks him whether he knows the nature of women. Ramana wants to find out from her about the nature of women and arranges a meeting with her. A 368—386.

XLIII. The Licchavi Vimala's wife explains the nature of women to Ramana. A 386—392.

XLIV. Ramana is convinced that Sītā slept with the demon and rejects her. Sītā goes away together with Lava and Kuśa. A 392—409.

XLV. Ramana invites Hanumanta who is surprised not to see Sītā Ramana tells him about the words of the wife of the Licchavi and his rejection of Sītā. A 410—422.

XLVI. Hanumanta explains that Daśagrīva was unable to approach Sītā. Ramana is convinced and sends for Sītā and his two sons. They hold a feast for Hanumanta who returns to his own Kingdom. Ramana, Sītā and their two sons live happily in the palace 'Old Earth' *(sa-rñiṅ)*. A 422-440.

It is undoubtedly not necessary to indicate in which respects this story differs from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. However, it is perhaps useful to compare briefly the Tibetan story with the two Rāma-stories, which have been preserved in Chinese Buddhist text, and with the Khotanese version.

The Tibetan version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* does not show any Buddhist influence unlike the earlier of the two Chinese Rāma-stories 'the Story without Names' which was first translated into French by Edouard Huber and, later, by Edouard Chavannes.[13] At the end of one of the Tibetan manuscripts the scribe has added the words : "Hommage to Śākyamuni, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Samyaksambuddha", but this is only of importance with relation to the beliefs held by the scribe. Both in the Chinese version and in the Khotanes Rāma text[14] the story is told in the form of a Jātaka but both texts are written entirely in prose. The Tibetan text contains many verses, more than 250 in recension I. The relation between verse and prose is not the same as in Pāli Jātaka in which both prose and verse relate the same story. In the Tibetan version the story is told in prose. The verses contain the words spoken on different occasions, and also the texts of the letters from Ramana to Sītā and from Sītā to Ramana. The prosody of these verses is much more complicated than that which is found in other ancient Tibetan texts from Tun-huang.[15] It seems probable that the text of the verses follows closely an Indian original. For the history of the Tibetan Rāma-story and for the better understanding of the verses, which are often difficult to understand, it would be very useful to find in Indian *Rāmāyaṇa* recensions verses which resemble those found in the Tibetan story. As yet, only one close parallel has been pointed out by Balbir.[16] In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* Lakṣmaṇa reminds Sugrīva of his promise to come to the assistance of Rāma. Lakṣmaṇa pronounces the following verse :

na sa saṃkucitaḥ panthā yena vālī hato gataḥ,/
samaye tiṣṭha sugrīva mā vālipathaṃ anvāgaḥ. (IV.30.81).

This verse is reproduced almost with the same words in both Tibetan recensions. The difference between the two resides in the qualifica-

tions of the path which is said to be *na samkucitah* in Sanskrit. According to recension I the path is 'not good' and according to recension II 'not wide'. However, a third variant of this verse is found surprisingly enough, in a folio of a Tibetan translation of the *Śatasāhasrikā-prajñapāramitā* from Tun-huang.[17] This folio contains the end of a fascicle (Tib. *bam-po*) followed by the same verse. In this case, the path is said to be 'not narrow' which is much closer to the Sanskrit than the two other variants. The fact that this verse has been copied by the scribe of this *Prajñāparamitā* manuscript shows that it must have been well-known at that time. It is of course impossible to know whether this verse was part of the Indian original of the Tibetan version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* or has been incorporated into it from another source.

It is possible that the study of the Tibetan manuscripts from Tun-huang and of ancient Tibetan literature may result in the discovery of other quotations from or references to the story of Rāma. A comparison of the Tibetan Rāma-story with the two Chinese versions of the Rāma-story, the one just mentioned, and the Daśaratha-story, translated by Sylvain Lévi and Edouard Chavannes[18] and with the Khotanese version, shows that there is no direct relation between these four stories However, a few points are worth noting. In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, when searching for Sītā, find Jaṭāyus who tells them what has happened. Jaṭāyus advises Rāma to allay himself with the monkey-king Sugrīva. In the Tibetan story Ramana and Lagśana do not find Jaṭāyus but they come upon a stream of black water flowing from the eyes, mouth and nose of Sugrīva. In the Chinese 'Story without names' it is told that the king after discovering the absence of his wife, searches for her and comes upon a mountain-stream which he follows to its source. There he sees a huge monkey. Several points of agreement between the Tibetan and Khotanese stories have already been pointed out by H.W. Bailey. Jean Przyluski and Camille Bulcke.[19] To these one can add the mention of the herb *amṛta-saṃjīva* in both stories. In the Khotanese version, following the advice of Jīvaka the physician, the monkey Naṇḍa is sent to the Himavant mountain to fetch the herba *mṛta-saṃjīva*.[20] In the Tibetan version, following the advice of Ampakarṇa, the brother of Daśagrīva, Hanumnata is sent to mount Kailāsa to fetch the herba *mṛta-saṃjīva*. Bailey and Bulcke have already drawn attention to the fact that both the Khotanese and the Tibetan version mention Daśagrīva's toe. According to the first, to quote Bailey's translation : "They looked to his (Daśagrīva's) horoscope, "Where is his vital point ?" They saw that it was on the toe of his right foot. They said to him "If you are a hero to behold, stretch out to us the toe of your right

foot." He stretched out his foot. Rāma shot him with an arrow, he fell at the blow upon the earth."[21] In the Tibetan story Daśagrīva makes himself invisible and Rāma defies him to show the toe of his foot. As has been told before in the story, Daśagrīva is immortal as long as his first head, the head of a horse, is not struck. When Rāma sees the toe of his foot, he is able to calculate the place of his horse-head and with an arrow he cuts it off. Daśagrīva then loses ⸱ ⸱⸱⸱ ⸱⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱⸱⸱ ⸱⸱⸱ ⸱ ⸱⸱ ⸱ ⸱⸱ ⸱ ⸱ army of demons. ⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱⸱⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱ ⸱⸱ ⸱ ⸱ not the toe of his foot but his horse-head.[22] It is obvious that this version has combined different themes : the toe of the right foot, the horse-head as vital point and finally the invisibility of Daśagrīva which reminds us of the invisibility of Indrajit in Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Indian original of the Tibetan version seems to have taken elements from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* and to have combined them with stories taken from other *Rāmāyaṇa* recensions. Also the fact, mentioned before, that Sītā is given the name of 'Found in the furrow' points in the same direction. In the Tibetan story Sītā is the daughter of Daśagrīva, she is enclosed in a box and committed to the waters. In all these details, which are found also in other *Rāmāyaṇa* recensions, the story is quite different from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*. However, the finding of Sītā in a field and her name remind us again of the classical version. A parallel occurs in the Vasudevahiṇḍi. Here Sītā is also the daughter of Daśagrīva and enclosed in a box. However' the box is not committed to the waters but put before a plough in the park of king Janaka in Mithilā.[23]

Some interesting parallels to the Tibetan story can be found in the Malay version which has been studied by Stutterheim and Zieseniss.[24] In Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma kills Rāvaṇa by shooting an arrow in his heart, but in the Malay version Rāvaṇa is killed by a shot in a little head behind his right ear. The Dutch missionary Abraham Roger, in his book published in 1651, relates a South-Indian version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which Lakṣmaṇa kills Rāvaṇa by shooting an arrow into his donkey-head which arises above his other heads.[25] It would be interesting to know whether, in any Indian recension, the horse-head is mentioned instead of the donkey-head. Another striking parallel to be found in the Malay version relates to the capture of Hanumat. In the Tibetan story Hanumanta is persuaded by 'the gods of the magical power' to be caught in a noose. They to him : "Your life is not at stake. Let yourself be caught by the noose. Hanumanta requests the demons as a favour to be killed in the same way as his father. He tells them that the tail of his father was wrapped in a thousand pieces of cloth, then put into ten thousand ounces of butter-oil and lit.

one of the most fascinating topics for future research. The critical
edition of the *Rāmāyana* which is nearing completion, will be of

scholar is able to know all the languages in which the *Rāmāyana*
has been transmitted For this reason it is absolutely necessary
that translations should be published Another desideratum is the

and in many countries, has played such a great part in the imagination of mankind.

NOTES

1. F W. Thomas 'A Rāmāyana Story in Tibetan from Chinese Turkestan, *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman* (Cambridge, Mass , 1929), pp 193-212

2. Marcelle Lalou, L'histoire de Rāma en tibétain *Journal asiatique*, 1936, pp 560-562.

3 J K Balbir. *L'histoire de Rāma en tib'tain d après des textes de Touen-houang* Edition du texte et traduction annotée Paris. 1963 For my review see *Indo-Iranian Journal*, IX, 1966 pp 227-235

5 Paul Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa* (Paris, 1952), pp 176-177

6 Fujieda Akira, *The Tunhuang Manuscripts. A General Description* Part II, Kyoto, 1969, p 22

14. H.W. Bailey, 'Rāma', *BSOS*, X, 1940, pp. 365-376, 'Rāma II', *BSOAS*, X 1941, pp 559-598

15. Cf R.A Stein, *La civilisation tibétaine*, Paris, 1292, p. 222

16. Cf. J K. Balbir *op cit.*, p. 33

19 .

20 Cf. H.W Bailey, *op cit*, pp. 570 and 594

21. H W Bailey, *op cit*, p. 570

22 This has not been made clear by Bulcke, cf *op.cit* p. 585.

23. *Ātmānand Jain Granth Ratnamālā*, Nos. 80-81, Bhāvnagar, 1930-31, p 241

24 Willem Stutterheim, *Rāma-Legenden und Rāma-Reliefs in Indonesien*, München, 1925,

25. Cf Stutterheim, *op cit.*, p. 99.

26 Cf. Zieseniss, *op cit*, pp 63 and 153

27 Cf. Camille Bulcke, *op.cit.* p. 520.

SANSKRIT AND MONGOL LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

PROF PENTTI AALTO
Helsinki

Many important loan words seem to have come through Tokharian, e g.

Mo. *binwad* 'alms, almsgiving' · Uig. *pinwat* . Tokh. *pmtwāt* . Sanskr. *pindapāta*,

Mo *matar~madar* 'sea-monster' : Uig. *madar* . Tokh *madar~ matar* . Sanskr *Makara*,

Mo *sartawakı* 'caravan leader' Uig. *sartawaqı* : Tokh *sārthavāk~ sārthavāhe* Sanskr *sārthavāhu*,

Mo *garag~graq* 'planet. demon' · Uig. *grax* . Tokh. *grak* · Sanskr. *graha*,

Mo *usumbad* 'full ordination of a monk' : Uig. ? : Tokh. *wasarpāi*, Khot. *vaysambūta* Sanskr. *upasampadā*,

Mo *śılug* 'poetry, poem, verse' . Uig. *šlok* · Tokh A *slyok~*B *šlok* . Sanskr *śloku*,

Mo. *Karkasundi* (or *Krakasundi* ?) 'a previous Buddha' : Uig. ? : Tokh. *Krakasundi* : Sanskr. *Krakucchanda*,

Mo. *abišig* 'inauguration' : Uig. *abišik* : Tokh. *abhiṣek* : Sanskr. *abhiṣeka*,

Mo. *yagšas~yagčis* : Uig. *yàk* (has been connected with Middle Indic *yakkha*) : Tokh. *yakäs* : Sanskr. *yakṣa*,

Mo. *šagšabad* 'commandment; precept' : Uig. *čaxšapat* : Tokh. *šikṣapat* : Sogd. *čxš'pδ* : Sanskr. *šikṣāpada*,

modern Mo. *mixa-bod* (according to Vladimircov understood as *mixa* 'flesh' and *boda* 'matter'), old literary Mongolian *maqamud~ maqabud* 'element, matter' : Uig. *maxabut* : Tokh. *mahābhūt* : Sanskr *mahābhūta*,

Mo. *ridi* 'miracle, magic' : Uig. ? : Tokh. *rädddhi* : Sanskr. *ṛddhi* there also occurs in Mongolian a word *ide* 'sorcery' connected by Ramstedt with the above Sanskrit word. If, howevr, this latter word really is of Indian origin it must obviously go back to a MIA form like Pali *iddhi* which perhaps also occurs in the *Mahāvastu*. Another loan word which might be based on a Prakrit form is Mo. *šaman* 'ascetic, mendicant : Tokh. *ṣāmaṃ* ; Sanskr. *šramaṇa*; this word was further borrowed into the Tungus languages and became at last an international cultural word *shaman* 'exorcist, medicine man'. According to Vladimircov Mo. *šabi* 'novice, adherent, subject of a Khutugtu' is through a Chinese intermediary *sha-mi* borrowed from Tokh. *ṣanmir* 'novice' : Sanskr. *šramaṇera*. The feminine of *šramaṇa* is a loan from Sogdian and fitted with a Sogdian feminine suffix both in Uigurian and in Mongolian : Mo. *šibaganča~* ... ... Sanskr *bhikṣuṇī*. The same suffix is met with in Mo. *ubasanča* : Uig. *upasanč* : Sogd. *wp's'nč* : Sanskrit *upāsikā*, while the corresponding masculine is Mo. *ubasi* : Uig. *upasi* : Sogd. *wp'sy* : Sanskr. *upāsaka*; these words occur e.g. in the routine sequence Mo. *toyin ba šimnanča ba ubasi ba ubasanča ba* : Uig. *toyin smnanč upasi upasanč, Samskr bhikṣubhikṣuṇyupāsakopāsikaḥ.* ...

Mo. *wčir* : Uig. *wčir* : Sogd. *βz'yr~βčyr* : Sanskr. *vajra*,
Mo. *bertegčin* 'unenlightened person' : Uig. *prtikčan* : Sogd. *prtkčn* : Sanskr. *pṛthagjana* 'ordinary man',
Mo. *čadig~čedig* 'biography' : Uig. *čedik* : Sogd. *č'δδk* : Sanskr *jātaka*,
Mo. *čindan~čandan* 'sandal wood, s. tree' : Uig. *čindan* : Sogd. *čntn*, Sanskr. *candana*,

*n*Mo. *irwan* : Uig. *nirwan* : Sogd. *nyrβ'n* : Sanskr. *nirvāṇa,*

Mo. *Wibaši~Bibaši* : Uig. *Wipaši* : Sogd. *βyp'šy* : Sanskr. *Vipašyin* 'a former Buddha'.

Mo. *biraman* (modern Khalkha *byarman*) : Uig. *braman~barman* : Sogd. *pr'')mn~pr'm'n* : Khotanese Saka *braṃmaṇa* : Sanskr. *brāhmaṇa.*

Some words were perhaps borrowed through Khotanese :

Mo. *šašin* 'faith, doctrine'; Uig. *šazan~šāsiñ* : Khot. *śśāśara* : Sanskr. *śāsana,*

Mo. *aršan* 'nectar, elixir' : Uig. *rasayan* : Khot. *raysāpana* : Sanskr *rasāyana.*

Under the reign of the Mongol Emperor Temür Öljeitü (1294-1307 A.D.) Čhos sku'od zer or Čhos kyi'od zer was invited to the M̌. . . . . Emperor Q. . . . . A.D. . . . . texts beginning with the *Pancarakṣā.* We know the name of this scholar only in Tibetan, but it seems probable that he was of Uigur origin. It is in any case known that he made his translations from Sanskrit originals using Uigur translations as an aid. There is a very clear correspondence in the wording between his translations and the Sanskrit text. This congruity seems now and then permit us to check the Sanskrit text. E.g. *Pancarakṣā* 2 fol. 20 r occurs *prāsādanīya* which is translated by Edgerton 'cheering, gracious, pleasing'. He criticizes as "not happy" the meaning given in the Pali Text Society Dictionary *pasādanīya* 'inspiring confidence, giving faith' : the Mongol rendering *ünen susüldekui yosutu* speaks in favour of the latter explanation.

I quote below a passage from the beginning of the first of the *Pancarakṣā*-texts :

evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye Bhagavān Rājagṛhe viharati sma/Gṛdhrakūṭe parvate dakṣiṇe pārśve buddhagocare ratnavṛkṣe prabhase vanaṣaṇḍe mahatā bhikṣusaṃghena sārdham ardhatrayodaśabhir bhikṣuśataiḥ// tad yathā/āyuṣmatā ca Śāriputreṇa /.. Mahāmaudgalyāyanena/... Mahākāśyapena/...Gayākāśyapena/...Nadīkāśyapena/ . Uruvilvākāśyapena/...Ajñātakauṇḍi-

eyin kemen minu sonosursanningen čaɣtur ilaǰu tegüs nögčigsen burqan rajagriqa balɣasunugada rigud aɣula-yin emüneǰi eteged burqan-u ɣaǰar asuru sayin üǰeküi metü erdin modutu oidu' mingɣan qoyar ǰaɣun tabin ayaɣ-qa tegimlig-üd-ün yeke quwaraɣ-ud-luɣa nigen-e bükün-i// eyin uqaɣdaqui/amin qabiyatu saributari kiged/... maqamodgalwani/...maqa kašibi/

nyena/...Mahākātyāyanena/
...Vakulena/...Vāṣpena/...
Koṣṭhilena/...Vāgīśena/...Aśvajitā/
...Subhūtinā/...Suvāhunā/...
Aniruddhena/...Revatena/...
Nandikena/...Ānandena/ evaṃ
pramukhair ardhatrayodaśabhir
bhikṣuśatais (?) tasmiñś ca samaye
Bhagavān sabhikṣusaṃgho
Māgadhena rājñ'Ājātaśatruṇā
Vaidehīputrena satkṛto gurukṛto
mānitaḥ pūjito 'rcito yācayitaś
cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglāna-
pratyayabhaiṣajyapariṣkāraiḥ//

tena khalu punaḥ samayena Vai-
śālyāṃ mahānagaryāṃ mahān
bhūmi. calo 'bhūd abhrakūṭaṃ ca
prādur. bhūtam/ mahatī cākāla-
vātāśanir mahāmeghaś ca
samutthito devo garjati guḍaguḍā-
yati vidyutaś ca niścaranti/
daśadiśaś cākulībhūtās tamo
'ndhakāraṃ ca prādurbhūtam/
nakṣatrāṇi ca na bhāsante/
candrasūryau na prabhavato na
tapato na virocato na ca prabhā-
svarau bhavataḥ//

...gaya kašibi/...nandi (?) kašibi/
...urubila kašibi/...anjata
koodani/...nandiki/...maqa kata-
yani/.. bakuli/.../
...basbi/...kostali/
.. wagisai/ ašuaji/...subti/
...subaqu/ anirudi/
...iriwati/...

ananda kiged/edeger terigüten
mingγan qoyar jaγun tabin ayaγ-
qa tegimlig-üd-üge qamtu bülügei/
tere čaγ-tur wayidiqi qatun-u köbe-
gün magada ulus-un ejen ajatasa-
turu qaγan ilaju tegüs nögčigsen
burqan kiged ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd-
ün quwarγ-ud-i degel qubčas
binwad idegen oron debüsker
ebečin-dür kereglekü emkiged/
kereg jaraγ-ud-iyar ergün
kündülen takin tabiγlan bülüge//
tere čaγ-tur basa γajar ber yeke-
dekö dölüged/egüled ber yekede
čirulju čaγ busu-yin kei qui
boluγad yeke mündur kiged yeke
qura beroroju tngri ber künggeri-
sün dongγuduγad γal gilbelgen
čekiljejü/ bügüde arban jügtür
yeke kimuraγ bolju qab qara yeke
qara ngγui boluγad/ odud ber
ülü üjegden naran saran ber
gerelküi gilbeküi ge yikeülküi
gegen duliγan ügei bolbai/tendeče
wayisali balγasun-dur...

An original work by Chos kyi' od zer is the "Twelve Deeds of Buddha". Curiously enough the colophon states that the author had written it in Tibetan and that it had then been translated into Mongolian. It is also surprising that the work shows a great number of Sanskrit loan words. Its wording is often remarkably near that of the *Lalitavistara*, cf. e.g. LV p. 204,11 *kālānusāri-megham abhinirmāya uragasāra-candana-cūrṇa-varṣam abhivarṣayiṣyāmaḥ* : *ba čindan čgeled-eče urigasari čindan-u ürübdesün-ü quras-i oroγulsuγai*. It seems that even with the aid of this Mongol "trans-

lation" we are able to check the text of the *Lalitavistara* edited by Lefmann, e.g. LV p. 208, 13 we should obviously read *karmakṣetra* (*ruham*) = *jayagan-u tariyan* : Lefmann has *kṣetra* alone among his variants. On the other hand there seems to be a certain dependence on a work with the same name written by Bu ston.

Chos kyi 'od zer's *Pañcarakṣā*-translation quoted above and referred to as A in the following, was later revised by the Śākya monk Śes rab seṅ ge under Togan Temür (1333-1367 A.D.) A draft of this translation was again revised by the redactors of the Mongol Kanjur and included in the canon (this edition is referred to as B below). In the latter half of the eighteenth century Śes rab seṅ ge's translation was again revised and printed separately (the draft C below). The redactors of the Mongol Kanjur who worked under Ligdan-Khan in 1628-29 and those who finally carried out the editing and printing under K'ang hsi in 1718-20 followed in their revision the principles laid down in the Tibetan hand-book Sgra sbyor composed for the "Great Revision" of the Tibetan canonical texts and included in the Tanjur. This meant i.a. that Sanskrit technical terms and even proper names were rendered in "translation" based on their real or "popular" etymology. Later editors often tried to restore at least the most important terms and names which in their translated renderings some time were quite unintelligible. In order to illustrate the development in translation methods I quote in the following some verses out of the Yakṣa catalogue in the second text of the *Pañcarakṣā* :

1. *Krakucchandaḥ Pāṭaliputre, Sthūnāyāṃ* (Msc. London *Sthālāyāṃ*) *cĀparājitaḥ*

   A batalibutar ulus-tur kirakučandi sutul ulus-tur abaračiti

   B čagabir (?) ulus-a orčilang-i ebdegči (:Tıb. 'khor ba ǰig 'cercle break') busud-a ülü ilagdagči (:Tib. gzan gyis mi thub 'other-by not vanquishable') kaban-a (Tib. ka ba 'pillar' and na Tib. Locative ?)

   C batalibutar ulus-tur orčilang-i ebdegči busud-ta ülü ilagda-gči kaban-a

2. *Śailo Bhadrapure yakṣa, Uttarāyāṃ ca Mānavaḥ*

   A badirabur ulus-tur saili yaksa manawi yaksa utari ulus-tur

   B qour öggügči költi (:Tib. brag 'rock'?) sayin balgasun-a (Tib. groṅ khyer bzaṅ 'town happy') böke-yin (or böge-yin) köbegün (Tib. šid kyi bu) inu umar-a ǰüg-tür (Tib. byaṅ phyogs 'northern direction') ele

   C sayin balgasun-a sine (?) yaksa böke-yin (or böge-yin) köbegün inu umara ǰüg-tür ele

3. *Vajrapāṇi Rājagṛhe Gṛdhrakūṭe kṛtālayaḥ*

   A   račagraq balgasun-dur wčir barigči gadarigud agula-dur
   orŏn jasagsan

   B   gar-tagan wčirtu (:Tib. lag na rdo rje 'hand-in diamond)
   qagan-u qarsi-dur ('palace', a Tokharian loan word) qaǰir
   sibagun-u agula-dur (:Tib. bya rgod phuṅ po 'vulture
   peak') ayu[1]

   C   gar-tagan wčir-tu qagan-u qarsi-dur gadarigud agula-dur
   ayu[1]

4. *triṣkṛtvā cānuparyeti sāgarāntāṃ vasūṃdharām*

   A   dalai-yin kiǰagar torug delekei-yi gurban-tatogurin čidagči

   B   dalai-yin kiǰagar-un ǰagur-a-tu gaǰar-a (:Tib. rgya mcho'i
   mtha' yi bar gyi sar 'ocean's end's interval's country')
   gurban-daki odun üiledüyü[2]

   C   dalai-yin kiǰagar-un ǰagura-tu gaǰar-a gurban-ta daki odun
   üiledüpü[1]

4a. *mahābalo mahātejāḥ daśayojanavikramaḥ*[3]

   A   yeke küčütü yeke čogtu arban bere-dür kürtele darugči

   B   yeke küčütü gaǰar-a (has the translator read mahābale ?)
   yeke ǰog ǰali-tu arban beres-i tegsi darugči

   C   yeke-kučutu bolugad yeke čog ǰali-tu arban beres-i teyin
   büged darugči

5. *Garuḍo Vipule yakṣaś, Citraguptaḥ Sthitīmukhe*

   A   wibul agula-dur garudi yaksa sititamug agula-dur čitiragubti

   B   delgeregsen (:Tib. rghyas pa 'wide', cf. London msc. Vipu-
   lo)[4] qour öggügči ogtargui-dur nisügči (Tib. mkha' ldiṅ
   'sky soaring') ber eldeb yabudal-tan (suggests an original

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1. Only A renders *kṛtālayaḥ* literally, as does also the Tibetan
   translation : *bya rgod phuṅ por gnas byas pa* ;
   Mongol *ayu* 'is' looks rather concise.

2. According to Lévi, *Journal Asiatique* 1915 p. 31, the Tibetan
   translation suggests an original *antarāyāti* instead of *anuparyeti*.
   The latter reading is, however, clearly supported by the old
   Mongol translation A.

3. Lévi l.c. seems to believe the reading *śatayojanavikrama*
   of the London msc. to be the original one, but even the
   Paris msc. D has *daśa-*, and all the translations go back to
   daśa-.

4. To be read delgeregsen-e, or has the original had 'Vipulo like
   the London msc. ?

like 'citragati~'citragamana ?) oron-u qagalga-da (:Tib. gnas sgo 'place gate')

C delegeregsen qour öggügči ogtargui-dur nisügči ber eldeb nigugsan (:Tib. sna chogs sbed pa 'various hidden') oron-u qagalgan-a

In his edition of three Mongol translations of the *Vajracchedi-kāprajñāpārmitā* Prof. Poppe states (p. 6) : "One should also keep in his mind that the Mongolian versions are verbatim translations from Tibetan". It seems to me, however, that the oldest version, which in its language shows many features characteristic of Mongolian of the fourteenth century, is remarkably near the Sanskrit original. In fact, all the translations of this work seem to be based on a Sanskrit original somewhat differing from the preserved draft. According to the colophon the Mongol translation was made from "the language of the gods". During the great revision preceding the edition of the canon, e.g. the term *arhat*, Mo. *arqat* was "translated" on the basis of a Sanskrit popular etymology as *dayin-i darugsan* corresponding to Tib. dgra bčom pa 'one that has vanquished the enemy' : the oldest Mongol *Vajracchedikā* shows (15 b) *dayin-i darugsan arqad kü bolbai bi* rendering Sanskrit *mayā-arhattvaṃ prāptam*. We possess fragments of the *Vajracchedikā* in Khotanese too, and it seems probable that there has been an Uigur translation of this work. In order to show the parallelism of the Sanskrit and Mongol texts I quote the beginning and end of the story :

evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye/Bhagavāñ Śrāvastyāṃ viharati sma Jeta vane' nātha-piṇḍadasya-ārāme mahatā bhikṣu-saṃghena sārdham ardhatrayo-aśabhir bhikṣuśataiḥ sambahulaiś ca bodhisattvair mahāsattvaiḥ/ atha khalu Bhagavān pūrvāhṇa-kāla-samaye nivāsya pātracīvaram ādāya Śrāvastīṃ mahānagarīṃ piṇḍāya prāvikṣat/.

atha khalu Bhagavāñ Śrāvastīṃ mahānagarīṃ piṇḍāya caritvā kṛta-bhaktakṛtyaḥ paścād-bhakta-piṇḍopāta-pratikrāntaḥ patra.

eyin kemen minu sonosuγsan nigen čaγtur/ ilaju tegüs nögči-gsen burqan sirawasti-daki čid köbegün-ü čečeglig anaata bindadi-yin qotola-yi bayasqaqui sangram-dur ayaγ-qa tegimlig-üd-ür mingγan qojar ǰaγun tabin a.t. yekes quwaraγ-ud kiged/ asuru olan bodmstw maqastw-nar-luγ-a qamtu saγun bülüge// tendeče i.t.n. üde manaγar-yin čaγtur samtabs kiged karsa degel-i beyedegen emüsüged badir ayaγ-a-yi beriǰu bürür/ sirawastayin yeke balγasun-dur binwadtur aǰirabai/ tendeče i.t.n. s. y. b. binwad-un tulada aǰiraǰu bürün/

cīvaraṃ pratiśāmya pādau
prakṣalya nyasīdat prajñapta
eva-āsane paryaṅkam ābhujya
r̥juṃ kāyaṃ praṇidhāya pratimu-
khīṃ smr̥tim upasthāpya/ atha
khalu sambahulā bhikṣavo yena
Bhagavāṃs tenopasaṃkraman
upasaṃkramya Bhagavataḥ
pādau śirobhir abhivandya
Bhagavantaṃ triṣpradakṣiṇīkr̥tyai-
kānte nyasīdan//

tena khalu punaḥ samayena-
āyuṣmān Subhūtis tasyām eva
pariṣadi samnipatito' bhūt
samniṣaṇṇaḥ/ atha khalu āyuṣmān
Subhūtir utthāya-āsanād eka-
aṃsam uttarāsaṅgam kr̥tvā
dakṣiṇam jānu-maṇḍalam
pr̥thivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya yena
Bhagavāṃs tena-añjaliṃ
praṇamya Bhagavantam etad
avocat//

binwad idegen-i iderün/ idegen-ü
üile-yi üiledčü/ qoyitu idegen-ü
binwad-i tebčigsen-ü tula/ badir
ayaɣ-a kiged/karsa degel-iyen
talbiǰu/ köl-iyen ugiyaɣad beled-
ügsen debisker-tür ǰabilaǰu beye-
ben sidurɣu ǰalaɣad/ duradqu-yi
ilete aɣulǰu saɣubai//

tendeče olan ayaɣ-qa tegimlig-üd
i.t.n. qamiɣ-a bükü tendeǰyorčiɣad
odču/ i.t.n. köl-dür terigüber-
iyen mörgügal i.t.n. üurban-ta
toɣoriǰu nigen ǰügtür bayibai//

basa tere čaɣ-tur amin qabiy-a-tu
subuti terekü nököd-tür čiɣulǰu
saɣun bülüge// tendeče a.q.s.
oron-ačayan bosču degedü degel-
iyen nigen möründegen qumbiǰu
baraɣun ebüdüg-iyer-iyeɣaǰar-tur
sögödüged i.t.n. qamiɣ-a bükü
tere ǰüg-tür bököyin alaɣaban
qamtudqaǰu bürün i.t.ü. eyin
kemen öčibei.

In these passages cases occur in which a Sanskrit word has
been rendered in Mongolian with a binomial, e.g. *pātra : badir
ayag-a*, *cīvara : karša degel*. These represent a very common
feature in the Mongol translations. E.g. the expression *pātracīvaram
ādāya is* in general rendered like "having put on the *karša saṃdab
clothes* and taken the *badir bowl*", and *koša* 'treasure' by *ed tawar*
'property possession'. We meet this type in Tokharian and Uigur
too. But comparable turns can be found already in Indian
languages, e.g. in Pali. · In some cases we have very authoritative
parallels : 'mind, sentiment' can in Mongolian be expressed by a
bi-nomial *sedkil ǰirüken* : Uig. *köngül saqinč*, Tokh. *ārinč pältsäk*,
Vedic Sanskrit *hr̥dā manasā* correspond to this.

At least since the fifteenth century Mongolian literary life as
well as the language were dominated by Tibetan influence. A
number of Sanskrit loan words seem to have come into Mongolian
through Tibetan, e.g.

Mo. *badmaraga* 'ruby' : Tib. *pad ma ra ga* : Sanskr. *padmrāga*,

Mo. *baiduri~biiduriy-a* : Tib. *bai du rya* : Sanskr. *vaidūrya* 'lapis lazuli',

Mo. *baǰar* : Tib. *ba ǰar~baj ra* : Sanskr. *vajra*,

Mo. *madumadi* 'Mohammed', Tib. *ma dhu ma ti* : Sanskr. *madhumati*,

Mo. *mahi* 'buffalo : Tib. *ma he* : Sanskr. *mahiṣa*,

Mo. *udbala* 'lotus' : Tib. *ut pa la* : Sanskr. *utpala*,

Mo. *udumbar* 'fig tree' : Tib. *u dum ba ra* 'a giant lotus (in tales)' : Sanskr *udumbara* 'fig tree', etc.

In some cases such loans seem to reflect Middle Indic forms, cf. e.g. Mo. *amindiwa* : Tib. *a ma de ba* : Apabhr. *amidewa* : Sanskr. *Amitābha*, Mo. *neüle* 'mongoose' : Tib. *ne' u le* : MI *neüla* : Sanskr. *nakula*, etc.

The old Mongolian translations of Buddhist texts were revised with the aid of the Tibetan canonical texts on which all new translations from Sanskrit were exclusively based. Soon after the edition of the Kanjur referred to above the Tanjur was translated and published under K'ien lung (1741-49 A.D.) Among the Tanjur works we also meet a translation of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta-* The Tibetan translation of ıt is metrical while the Mongolian is in prose. The latter was perhaps meant only as an aid when reading the Tibetan text. It seems, however, that the translators into Mongolian have had a Sanskrit commentary at their disposal. E.g. 1d *taru*, Tib. *ljon śiṅ* is exactly specified as *kalbarawaras modu* = *kalpavṛkṣa-taru*. The peculiar forms (even *kalbavrč*, in Oirat Mongolian *galburgusn*) of this word in Mongolian are perhaps due to an intermediary language. The abnormal forms of many loans like *maqaranča* (Uig. *maqarac*, Sogd. *mγ'r'č*, Sanskr. *mahārāja*) might be originally pure misreadings (cf. however Tokh. A *lāñci* 'royal', B *lāntsa* 'Queen'); *Nagaṅǰuna* from *Nāgārjuna*, *šibarag* from *śrāvaka*, *ubadini* from *upādhyāya* etc. might even depend on clerical errors. Mo. *bisman* for Sanskrit *Vaiśravaṇa* might go back to a Prakrit form like Ardha-Magadhi *Vesamana*, Pali *Vessavaṇa* (cf. above).

A special problem in translating from Sanskrit into a language like Mongolian were the verbal prefixes. To render them the Mongol translators had to use adverbs, e.g. Mo. *dagan* (Converbum modale of *daga-* 'to follow') stands for Sanskrit *anu-*; *asuru* 'very much' for *vi-*, *ati-*; *ile~iledte* 'obviously' for *abhi-*; *magad* 'surely, really' for *nir-* and *vi-*; *magu* 'bad, evil' for *apa-*, *dur-*; *masi* 'very' for *ati-*, *pra-*; *vi-*; *neng* 'very' for *ati-*; *ogugata* 'completely' for *pari-*; *teyin~teyin büged* 'thus' for *vi-*, e.g. *teyin ilgal* "thus distinction" = 'grammatical case' : Sanskr. *Vibhakti*; *qamug-a* 'everywhere' for *pari-*; *qotala* 'id.' for *pari-*, *ā-*; *quran~quriyan* (Converbum modale

of *qura-~quriya-* 'to gather') for *sam-*, e.g. *quran üiledküi* "gathering doing" : Sanskr. *saṃskāra*; *ünen~üneker* 'truly' for *sam-, samyak-, pra-*. The nominal prefix *su-* is rendered by *sayin* 'good' and its derivatives *sayibar~sayitur*, sometimes also by *asuru*. The use of these adverbs seems in general to follow very consistent patterns, at least in the context of a given translator's work.

When the Mongolian literary tradition begins in 1240 A.D. with the Secret History we meet fully developed poetical performance certainly based on an oral folklore tradition still living today. Historical prose is also clear and fluent as shown by the above quotations from Buddhist works. What was obviously difficult to express was the Buddhist philosophy, as can be seen e.g. in the main part of the Mongol *Vajracchedikā*. The philosophical translations introduced several important Sanskrit loan words into Mongolian. In Vajr. the translation of Sanskrit *pṛthivīrajas* with *baramanu* = Sanskrit. *paramāṇu* 'atom' is interesting, in the later draft we have *tovosun* 'dust'; Sanskrit. *adhicitta* higher thought' is rendered *adičid sedkil*, in the later draft *bisirel sedkil*, etc. Likewise a new meaning was given to many Mongolian words. It is not clear how far such "translation loans" could be understood without knowledge of their Sanskrit models. So e.g. Mo. *ilbe~yilbe* 'shrewdness' was given the sense *māyā* 'illusion', Mo. *oron* 'place, locality, site' was used to render Sanskrit *dhātu* 'plane of existence' (also = Mo. *töb*), *viṣaya* 'sphere, range', *kṣetra* in *Buddhakṣetra*, *ālaya* 'basis, base', *sthāna* 'point, matter, subject', *bhūmi* 'stage, state'; Mo. *ündüsün* 'root' renders e.g. Sanskrit. *paramparā* 'tradition', *hetu* 'cause', *mūla* 'base, root', *tantra* 'mystical treatise', *saṃtāna* 'mentality'; Mo. *sedkil* referred to above also renders e.g. Sanskrit *abhiprāya* 'difference', *citta* 'thought, consciousness', *manas* 'mind, intellect', *cintā* 'thought, reflection', *vijñāna* 'knowledge', etc.

A sphere in which the influence of Sanskrit has been most important is astronomy and astrology. We do not know the Indian sources of the (non-canonical) "Manual of Mongol Astrology and Divination" —so named by the editors Mostaert and Cleaves—but we can see that it is built on Sanskrit terminology, e.g. the names of all of the 28 *nagšadar* (=*nakṣatra*) are directly borrowed from Sanskrit. There is, however, an interesting case among them, viz. the No. 14 *sušag* which probably reflects an original *sušakhā* corresponding to the Sanskrit name *viśākhā*; this constellation is explained as "guarding the treasures". The details of the tradition as well as of the Sanskrit terminology are to be investigated more thoroughly.

The vast majority of Sanskrit works reached Mongolia in translations carried out or at least revised on the basis of Tibetan translations. As a result it is not easy to know whether the achievements of Indian science were already known in Mongolia before the Tibetan influence set in. In several cases, however, we are in possession of Sanskrit works found in East-Turkestan or of old translations into the local languages there. In these cases, especially, it seems probable that the contents were known in Mongolia early enough. E.g. the so-called Bower-Manuscript, discovered in 1890, contains a metrical Sanskrit text *Nāvanītakam*. It consists of three medical treatises, two treatises on divination and two on magic. The latter two are parts of the *Mahāmayūrīvidyārājñī*, one of the *Pancarakṣā* texts referred to above. We know that just text has this been very popular among the Mongols. Remains of medical texts of Indian origin written in Turkestanese languages — Uigurian included — clearly show the influence of Sanskrit in this science too.

The very popular Mongolian medical work Rasiyan-u jirüken naiman kešigütü niguča ubadis-un ündüsün bears the Sanskrit title 'Amṛta-hṛdaya-aṣṭa-aṅga-guhya-upadeśa-tantra'. Here 'rasiyan' is a borrowing from the Sanskrit 'rasāyana' while 'ubadis' of course derives from 'upadeśa'. The Sanskrit original seems to have been lost, but it derived probably from the *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* by Vāgbhaṭa. This famous physician is said to have been a Buddhist which may be an additional explanation for his great popularity in the Buddkist countries outside India. We meet his work under the title 'Astankar' even in Arab translation. Vāgbhaṭa's *Amṛta°* was translated into Tibetan under Khri sron sde'u bčan (728-786 A.D.) and is generally known as the Rgyud bzi, in its Mongol translation as Dörben ündüsün.

In the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* there also occurs a list of medical substances, the Mongol names of which we thus can compare with their Sanskrit, Uigur and Tibetan equivalents. The preserved Uigur translation of this work is based on the Chinese version by I-tsing. The translators have tried to rendei the names both in Sanskrit and in Uigur. The Mongol versions also translate some names but in most cases use a Sanskrit loan word :

Mo. *Sbrika~isburakin* : Sanskr. *spṛkkā* (Trigonella corniculata),

Mo. *širiša* : Sanskr. *śirīṣa* (Acacia Seeressa),

Mo. *indiraqasta* : Sanskr. *indrahasta* (Mandṛagora ?),

Mo. *širavista* : Sanskr. *śriveṣṭaka* (gum of Pinus Longifolia),

Mo. *agaru*. Uig. *agaru* : Sanskr. *agaru* (Amyris agallocha = Commiphora A.),

Mo. *čindan* : Uig. *čandana* : Sanskr. *candana* (Sandal),

Ma. *tagara* : Sanskr. *tagara* (Tabernaemontana coronaria),

Mo. *gürgüm* : Uig. *gürgüm* : Sanskr. *kuṅkuma* (Ciocus sativus),

Mo. *naldan* (?) : Sanskr. *nalada* (Naradostachys Jatamansi),

Mo. *čoločana* : Sanskr. *sarocanā* (Tabasheer),

Mo. *sungsumair* (?) : Uig. *suksumur* : Sanskr. *sūkṣmaila* (Elettaria cardamomun),

Mo. *samuta* : Uig. *samata* (?) : Sanskr. *jaṃmita* (?),

Mo. *ušira* : Uig. *usir-a* : Sanskr. *uśīra* (Andropogon muricatus = = A. squarrosus),

Mo. *šilaki* : Sanskr. *śallakī* (Boswellia thurifera=B. serrata),

Mo. *yabuni* (?) : Sanskr. *yabhanī* (?) : *yavanī* (Carum copticum),

Mo. *nagakesar* : Uig. *nagakesar-a* : Sanskr. *nāgakeśara* (Mesua Roxburghii=M. ferrea),

Mo. *kosti* (?) : Uig. *kusta* (?) : Sanskr. *kuṣṭha* (Aplotaxis auriculata = Saussurea hypoleuca).

The medicine shall be prepared *puṣyanakṣatreṇa* : Mo. *büs odun-u edür* Uig. *bus yoldus-qa.*

We can see that in all fields of the literature the Mongol culture was deeply influenced by Indian achievements. By adopting Sanskrit cultural words and scientific terms and by adopting Mongolian expressions to render the ideas conveyed by Sanskrit texts, the Mongolian language thus grew more and more capable of expressing the sophisticated scientific and metaphysical thinking of the time.

THE IMPORTANCE OF CENTRAL ASIAN MANUSCRIPT FINDS FOR SANSKRIT PHILOLOGY

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By reason of climate, manuscripts survive in India only for a limited space of time. Thus, during the greater period of 19th century works of Sanskrit literature were known to Sanskrit scholars only from comparatively recent manuscripts. The Central Asian manuscript finds, therefore, meant a break-through for Sanskrit philology in many respects. From the publication of the "Bower manuscript" from Eastern Turkestan by A.F.R. Hoernle in 1891 onwards, there was a new dimension of Sanskrit philology. A large amount of manuscript material was collected from different parts of Eastern Turkestan (Sinkiang) by English, French, Russian, German, Swedish, Finnish, Japanese and Chinese expeditions since 1890.

Most of these manuscript remains were rather fragmentary, but there were fragments belonging to most branches of Sanskrit literature, the fully documented history of which thereby can be traced back several centuries earlier. In spite of the fragmentary character of the finds the study of this material yielded results of utmost importance. Let me quote a few examples. There are the fragments of early dramas in the collection of manuscript finds discovered by the German "Turfan expeditions" and edited by Heinrich Lueders in 1911. (Cf. Heinrich Lueders, *Bruchstuecke buddhistischer Dramen*, Berlin, 1911). These manuscript fragments written on palm leaves provide us with specimens of forms of the Prakrit dialects found in Sanskrit plays which are several centuries older than those which were known before. Even the existence of this early Buddhist dramatical literature was unknown so far. Only of one of these plays the name was found in the manuscript remains, viz. the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa* of Aśvaghoṣa. These manuscript remains were written in North-western India and belong to

the Kuṣāṇa period, thus belonging to the earliest extant manuscript remains in an Indian script. Not less important was the discovery of early manuscripts written in Kharoṣṭhī script from Eastern Turkestan which, however, are in a Prakrit dialect of North-western India called Gāndhārī and not in Sanskrit. Therefore, these finds shall not be discussed here.

No other branch of Sanskrit studies was more influenced by these discoveries than the study of Buddhist Sanskrit literature. While the finds of Sir Aurel Stein's expeditions (1900-01 and 1906-.., ... : : ¨ ..: to the knowledge of Mahāyāna litera-ture, the literature of the influential Sarvāstivāda school of early Buddhism forms the main contents of the finds of the four German expeditions to Central Asia called "Turfan expeditions" (1902-03, 1904-05, 1905-07, and 1913-14). These texts were edited by a number of German scholars, particularly Heinrich Lueders, Ernst Waldschmidt, and their disciples and co-workers. The editions prepared by these scholars are based on a comparative study of the various recensions of Buddhist scriptures with the help of the Pāli, Tibetan, and Chinese parallel versions.

Recently, some comprehensive works on these manuscripts have been undertaken. E. Waldschmidt (together with W. Clawiter and L. Sander) is preparing a detailed descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts from the Turfan collection, three volumes of which are already published (*Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfan-funden*, by Ernst Waldschmidt, vol. 1-3, Wiesbaden, 1965-1971, published in the series "Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland", part. lo). L. Sander contributed a palaeographical study of these ancient manuscripts (*Palaeographisches zu den Sanskrithandschriften der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Wiesbaden, 1968). A comprehensive dictionary of the Sanskrit Buddhist litera-ture from these finds is being prepared as a research project of the Academy of Sciences in Goettingen.

It is not possible to provide an electronic survey of these texts in a short paper. Therefore, as an example of the di ness of the material available from the Central Asian finds, I shall mention here those texts belonging to the canonical scriptures of Buddhism, of which greater parts became known from these finds for the first time. These texts were either known only from Chinese or Tibetan translations before or they were completely unknown.

From the *Vinayapiṭaka*, we have large parts of the *Bhikṣu-prātimokṣa* of the Sarvāstivādin (to be edited by H. Haertel), a frag-ment of the *Prātimokṣa* of the Dharmaguptakas (identified and

edited by Waldschmidt, *Sanskrithandschriften, loc. cit.*, no. 656), parts of the *Bhikṣuṇīpratimokṣa* (edited by E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstuecke des Bhikṣuṇī-Pratimokṣa*, Leipzig, 1926), *Karmavācanā* manuscripts of Sarvāstivāda and of Mūlasarvāstivāda school (edited by H. Haertel, *Karmavācanā*, Berlin 1956), sizeable portions of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* (edited by V. Rosen, *Der Vinayavibhanga zum Bhikṣupratimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*, Berlin, 1959) and some other small fragments. From the *Sūtrapiṭaka*, a large number of texts is represented in the Turfan collection. *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (with *Mahāsudarśanasūtra*), *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* and *Mahāvadānasūtra* were edited by E. Waldschmidt (*Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, 3 vols., Berlin 1950-51 ; *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1952-62 ; *Das Mahāvadānasūtra*, 2 vols., Berlin 1953-56) and evaluated for the knowledge of the biography of the Buddha (cf. E. Waldschmidt, *Die Ueberlieferung vom Lebensende des Buddha*, 2 vols., Goettingen 1944-48; 'Vergleichende Analyse des Catuṣpariṣatsūtra,' *Festschrift W. Schubring*, Hamburg, 1951, pp. 82-122). Numerous texts from *Saṃyuktāgama* in the Turfan manuscripts were identified (cf. the relevant contributions collected in E. Waldschmidt, *Von Ceylon bis Turfan*, Gottingen, 1967 ; Ch. Tripathi, *Fünfundzwanzig Sūtras des Nidānasaṃyukta*, Berlin, 1962) *Daśottarasūtra* and *Saṅgītisūtra* are impor.ant sources for the knowledge of the dogmatics of early Buddhism (see *Dogmatische Begriffsreihen im aelteren Buddhismus*, vol. 1 by Kusum Mittal, Berlin, 1957 ; vol. 1a by D. Schlingloff, 1958 ; vol. 2 in two parts by V. Stache-Rosen, 1968). There is a number of other sūtra texts extant in manuscript remains in the Turfan collection, a number of which was also edited, but cannot be mentioned here. Complete information can be found in Waldschmidt's above-mentioned descriptive catalogue.

Special reference should be made to the texts belonging to *Kṣudrakāgama*, the collection of "minor works" in the *Tripiṭaka*. F. Bernhard has edited the complete *Udānavarga* which was one of the most popular texts of Sanskrit Buddhism (F. Bernhard, *Udānavarga*, 2 vols., Goettingen, 1968) which can be attributed to Sarvāstivāda and, in a slightly different recension, to Mūlasarvāstivāda school (see L. Schmithausen, *Zu den Rezensionen des Udānavargaḥ*, Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde Suedasiens 14, 1970, pp. 47-124). The present author has published *Sthaviragāthā* fragments which are parallels to *Theragāthā* of Pāli canon as well as *Anavataptagāthā* which correspond to Apadāna in the Pali tradition (H. Bechert, *Bruchstuecke buddhistischer Verssammlungen*, Berlin, 1961). There are also *Arthavargīyāṇi Sūtrāṇi* (corresponding with the similarly named section of *Suttanipāta*), *Pretāvadāna* and *Vimānāvadāna* which will be edited. Of the Abhidharma literature, frag-

ments of *Pañcavastuka* and its *Vibhāṣā* were edited by J. Imanishi (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Goettingen, 1969, no. 1). Though not belonging to the *Tripiṭaka* itself, the manual of meditation extant in a birch bark manuscript from the Turfan collection must be mentioned here (D. Schlingloff, *Ein buddhistisches Yogalehrbuch*, 2 vols., Berlin 1964-66).

This is a very incomplete report of canonical Buddhist texts from the Turfan collection. The collections in London, Paris etc. contain other Buddhist texts of equal importance. It must be recalled here that also a number of important non-Buddhist Sanskrit works, particularly śāstra texts (Sanskrit grammar, metrics, medicine, astrology etc.) were found in Central Asian manuscripts.

The importance of these finds can be exemplified in many ways. I   '   '   ' '   '   '   ' the study of *Saddharma-puṇḍarīk*   .   is Sūtra which is one of the most famous sacred books of mankind is available in Sanskrit manuscripts written in Nepal, in a Tibetan and in three Chinese translation. Parts of two manuscripts are traceable in the manuscripts discovered in Gilgit. It is, however, beyond doubt that the text found in the Gilgit manuscripts is very similar to that of the Nepalese manuscripts as well as the texts underlying the Tibetan and Kumārajīva's Chinese translation. But there is a large number of Central Asian manuscript remains of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. A.F.R. Hoernle published first notices of these manuscripts already in 1906 (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1906, pp. 695-698) and a number of fragments were described and edited by various scholars (see the bibliographical survey in Akira Yuyama, 'A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Texts of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra', Canberra 1970, pp. 20-34). The editor of the first printed Sanskrit text of the Sūtra, H. Kern, has used parts of eight different manuscripts from Central Asia in the N.F. Petrovsky collection which is now in the Leningrad Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences after he had established the text from Nepalese manuscripts. (See *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, edited by H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, St. Petersbourg 1912, Additional note). Kern has only given an unsystematical and casual selection of readings from these manuscripts neglecting all rules of philological work. Thus, Kern's edition which is based on the tradition of Nepalese manuscripts but also includes readings from Central Asian manuscripts—sometimes even without any notice in the critical apparatus—is not at all a piece of critical scientific work. Unfortunately, all later editors of the text (U. Wogihara and C. Tshuchida, 1934-35 : Nalinaksha Dutt, 1953, and P. L. Vaidya, 1960) did not substan-

tially improve the text as established by Kern and Nanjio. They have not altered the method adopted by Kern and did not make use of the Central Asian material (apart from printing some transcripts made by N. D. Mironov in Dutt's edition in form of footnotes).

The present author has been able to trace nine leaves of a *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* manuscript in the collection of Central Asian manuscripts belonging to the West German State Library in Marburg forming a part of the "Turfan Collection". It was possible to identify these leaves as parts of the same manuscript of which the main portion exists in the already mentioned Petrovsky collection of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* texts. Some notes about this collection have recently been published by G.M. Bongard-Levin and E.N. Tyomkin (in *Jazyki Indii, Pakistana i Cejlona*, Moscow, 1968, pp. 439-451, and in *Indo-Iranian Journal* 8, 1964/5, pp. 268-274). Furthermore, four leaves in the India Office Library which have been edited by H. Lueders (in A.F.R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, Oxford, 1916, pp. 144-152), and some small fragments in the British Museum as well as some leaves which had been in the collection of Count Otani, can be identified as belonging to this one and the same calligraphic manuscript of the Sūtra which was written by Central Asian Buddhist whose mother tongue had been Khotanese which is a middle-Iranian language. The textual gap in one of the leaves edited by Lueders can be explained as a consequence of a misplacement of certain leaves in the manuscript copied by the scribe of the manuscript.

The portion of the text available in the "Marburg fragments" contains the Stūpasaṃdarśana section forming the end of the eleventh chapter and the Devadattaparivarta which is a separate chapter in this Central Asian manuscript (as well as in the Chinese translation), but is included in the eleventh chapter in the other version. In addition, the corresponding part of a Gilgit manuscript is also published (see W. Baruch, *Beitraege zum Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, Leiden, 1938). Finally, the Devadattaparivarta is altogether absent from another Central Asian manuscript called "Farhad-Beg manuscript" which was discovered by Sir Aurel Stein and edited by L. de la Vallée Poussin (see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1911, pp. 1063-1079). Thus, this part of the text is particularly useful for the study of its history.

I shall sum up here the results of the detailed studies which were published by the Academy of Sciences in Goettingen (H.

Bechert, *Ueber die "Marburger Fragmente" des Saddharmapuṇḍarīka,* Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Goettingen 1972, no. 1).

The manuscripts of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* discovered in Central Asia were copied there from Indian manuscripts without any major change in the textual tradition. Therefore, the study of these texts provides us with information on the history of the text in India. We can trace two versions of the Sūtra in these manuscripts, an earlier and a later one which, however, show only minor differences. The above-mentioned calligraphic manuscript of which parts are kept in various collections (Petrovsky collection, Turfan collection, Hoernle Manbuscripts in India Office Library, British Museum Ms. or. 9613, Otani collection) belongs to the younger of these two versions. The so-called Central Asian tradition of the text is also represented by the earliest Chinese translation made by Dharmarakṣa in 286 A.D.

The text found in the Central Asian manuscripts shows very essential differences from the one handed down in Nepalese and Gilgit manuscripts. There can be no doubt that this recension of the Nepalese and Gilgit manuscripts (represented also in Kumārajīva's translation of 406 A D. and in the Tibetan translation) is definitely a more recent form of the text. It seems to have originated in the 4th century A.D. This text is the work of a redactor who consciously remodelled and modernized the text of the Sūtra according to the taste of his time. It was precisely this revised text which became generally adopted in the Buddhist world.

Therefore, the task which should be taken up by Sanskrit philology offers itself in a two-fold manner : firstly, to establish the earlier form of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* as represented by the Central Asian manuscripts because this was the original text of the Lotus Sūtra. Secondly, the text of the later "classical" version must be re-edited by replacing those readings which were inserted from Central Asian manuscripts by the editors adopting the true readings of this tradition for all passages.

It is not possible to establish an "original text" by an electical method i.e. by selecting readings from both versions as scholars have done so far, e.g. F. Edgerton in *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader* (New Haven 1953, pp. 42-76). This eclectic method is wrong and leads to a falsified text which has never existed in the Buddhist tradition.

Thus, we must confess that Sanskrit philology has completely failed so far to establish critical and reliable editions of *Saddharma-*

puṇḍarīka. The Lotus Sūtra is one of the greatest contributions which India has made to the religious literature of the world. As Sanskrit scholars, we are challenged by this failure of Sanskrit philology to prepare adequate editions of the Lotus Sūtra. We possess now the knowledge about the history of the text which is needed to meet this challenge, but the task is too a big one for a

scholars concerned is

is no better place for

important work than

the first International Sanskrit Conference.

STUDIES IN THE AŚOKA INSCRIPTIONS
PALAEOGRAPHY AND CENTRAL ASIAN MSS.

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It is well known that the oldest Indian manuscript fragments, discovered in Central Asia, were edited by Lueders in 1911 with his famous monograph, *Bruchstuecke buddhistischer Dramen* (Koeinglich Preussische Turfan-Expeditionen, Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte 1.1911, Berlin). Besides the transcriptions and facsimiles of the palm-leaf fragments Lueders' book contains also several special studies concerning the metres occuring in the texts, the dialects spoken by the different acting figures and the presumable contents of the dramas, the third of which was, according to a colophon, the *Sāriputraprakaraṇa of Aśvaghoṣa* (cf Lueders, *Philologica Indica* 1940, pp. 190ff.). On palaeographical grounds the manuscript fragments can be dated as written during the Kushana period, i.e. during the first centuries A.D.

But it is not only that those manuscript fragments are interesting with regard to their most important contents or their script. There are, moreover, some seemingly insignificant details which deserve our interest from the palaeographical point of view : As already observed by Lueders (*Bruchstuecke*, p. 10), the text within the otherwise continuous lines of writing is often segmented, and that in two different ways, (1.) by "dashes" and (2.) by spaces.

Comparable with our quotation mark, o "dash" usually is written after the nomination of acting figures (such as the *Vidūṣaka*, the *Gaṇikā* etc.) before and after their direct speech, and at places where prose and verse meet.

Spaces within the lines of these manuscripts, however, occur in completely different situations. Lueders could show (*Bruchstuecke*, p. 10) that a space signifies in prose the end of a sentence (A), or

in verses the end of a *pada* or quarter (B), i.e. such spaces in writing
are found at places where, in later manuscripts, one would expect
a *daṇḍa,* [This space is not given e.g. for A in fragment 10b3 after
bbrūhi; for 10b1 sṛtena, 50b3 jāyamāno, 4V4 gṛhāṇi, 15VI uṣṇe,
14b3 jādareṇa, 65a2 tathāyaṃ, 47a2 parān, 27a4 ppradvesaṃ.]

Further Lueders pointed out that, moreover, spaces in writing
often separate single words and groups of words, and that *this
way of writing is known already from some of the inscriptions of
Aśoka*. With this last-mentioned observation, Lueders calls attention
to certain graphical facts of his manuscript fragments written
during the Kushana period which have on outwardly equal
appearance with graphical data of some Aśokan Inscriptions written
about four centuries earlier.

But we need not leave it at that. After a thorough study of
the principles of spacing within the lines of writing in Aśoka-
Inschriften", 1972), we are today in a position to contribute to the
problem of spaces in the manuscript fragments edited by Lueders.

However, before we are able to compare the graphical pheno-
menon of those manuscript fragments with the relevant graphical
data of our oldest epigraphs, it is necessary to state that the Eastern
Aśokan Inscriptions show two completely different systems of
spacing, the difference of which may be estimated to a certain extent
if, for example, we bear in mind the spacing of texts according to
padapāṭha, or to *saṃhitāpāṭha.*

The first system of spacing is known from the Aśokan
Inscription of Kalsi, line 1-27, and the Separate Pillar Edict Topra
VII, whereas in most of the other Aśokan Pillar Edicts (Araraj,
Nandangarh, Rampurva, Mirath, Topra I-VI, Rummindei, Nigali
Sagar) the second system of spacing can be studied, —both serving
to fix intervals of speech graphically, i.e. speech-breaks or pauses
laid down during recitations following
two different principles of spacing (cf. *Adyar Library Bulletin* 32,
1968, p. 515).

Spacing according to the first system (Kalsi 1-27 and SepTop
VII) shows that there were pauses after every word of two or more
syllables which one always combined, according to circumstances,
with foregoing or following monosyllables, proclitics or enclitics
into a unspaced sequence.

As already mentioned, this system of spacing is found in Kalsi
only in lines 1-27 written by the first scribe, whereas there are no
distinct spaces in line 28-39 of Kalsi East Face showing the more or

less careless work of a second scribe. But also in the master copy used by this second scribe of Kalsi East Face, the words seem to have been separated according to the same rule. This is testified especially by line 36 where quite regularly a *daṇḍa* instead of a space serves for segmenting the text :

(dha)ṃmak(ā)m(a)tā ‖ dhaṃmānusathɪ=cā ‖ devā(naṃ)piyasā ‖ [D.] (se)=athɪ=anusay(e) ‖ de(vānaṃ)pɪya([s]ā) ‖ vijin(i)t[u] ‖ kalɪgyāni ‖ [E.]av(ɪ) jɪtaṃ=hi ‖ vɪjɪnamane ‖ e=tatā ‖ v(a) dhaṃ=vā ‖ malane=vā ‖ apavahe=(vā) ‖ janasā ‖ (s)e=bādh [*aṃ*] ‖ vedani(y)amu(t)e ‖ gul(u)mute=c[ā] ‖ d(ev)ānaṃ[pɪ]-yasā ‖ [F.] iya(ṃ)=pi=cu ‖ tato ‖ galumat(a)tale ‖ d(e)vāna (ṃ)piya(sā)

[For sentence D compare Thommen, Wortstellung, Phil.Diss. Goettingen 1903, p. 36, § 42; one could expect a *daṇḍa* after athi.] *Daṇḍas* of the same type and mostly in the same positions are sometimes written also in some other lines (cf. 29; 33-35; 39) of the inaccurate and careless second hand of Kalsi East Face, only not with the regularity of line 36: sometimes the *daṇḍas* are put even at obviously wrong places (cf. 35).

Now, if we compare this system of segmenting the text with the system of spaces in our manuscript fragments of dramas studied by Lueders, the fundamental difference of the two systems is obvious : short complexes of words or many separated words here against long complexes of words or rarely separated words there.

It remains for us to compare the data of the other Aśokan Pillar Edicts containing imperial proclamations with the fragments of dramas written about 400 years later.

As demonstrated by me already (cf. *Adyar Library Bulletin* 32 1968; Janert, *Abstaende* 1972, etc.), the scribes in writing down the texts of the above-given Aśokan Pillar Edicts (SepTop VII excluded) marked by their spaces within the othrewise continuous lines owriting (I.) the rhythmical pauses as well as (II.) the syntactical or grammatical pauses they have heard during the recitation of the edicts. The last-mentioned pauses (II.) occur there (II,1) after every sentence, (II,2) after a predicate followed by a qualifying substantival phrase, (II,3) after every item in an enumeration, (II,4) after a word followed by a negative particle, (II,5) between two words loosely in apposition.

Even if we take into consideration that (due to the fragmentary character of Lueders' manuscript remains of the Kushana period) we cannot expect an answer to every question, in observing the spaces within the lines of the *prose parts of the dramas* we are able

to make out certain principles of spacing which, as we shall see, in some respects are equal to those of the Aśokan Pillar Edicts (SepTop VII excluded); cf. 6, II above.

As observed already by Lueders (cf. 2 above), in his manuscript fragments usually there is a space after every syntactically independent syntagma, i.e. after oṃ (fragment 3,Vorderseite 2), after initial siddham (3V1), after a principal or a subordinate clause, after a vocative, e.g. :—voyasya gaccha=t° (13, b1), —Magadhavati atitīkṣṇaḥ=khalv=ayaṃ=damṇḍaḥ—(8,R.3). (bhava)ti na=tāva= vyākaraṇasya=kālaḥ —(8,V.2),— haṅgho=Komudagandha dekkha= tāva°(4,R.1), – ⸳⸳⸳ ⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳ ⸳⸳ ⸳ ⸳⸳ ⸳ ⸳⸳⸳ ⸳⸳ ⸳⸳⸳ ⸳⸳ ⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳ ⸳⸳ mā=tāva=mᵤ ⸳⸳⸳ ⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳ ⸳⸳ ⸳ ⸳ ⸳⸳ ⸳ ⸳ ⸳⸳⸳⸳⸳ units unspaced).

Short sentences often are written as one complex of words, and that also at places without consonant combinations, e.g. : [para] sparāyattam=idan=dvandvam=iti yatra=hi=buddhir=avatiṣthate tatra=dhṛtiḥ=sthā[*n*]aṃ=laᵗʰᵃᵗᵉ yatra=co=dhṛtir=ādhīyate tatra=buddhir=vistīryyate —(1,V.3),— icchāmi=pupphā=yeva (30, b3), idāni=kathañci=ussasati —(30, a1).

Contrary to the rules of spacing in the afore-mentioned Aśokan Pillar Edicts, there occur also longer sentences unspaced (sometimes even in spite of the presence of a negative particle), e.g.: bhavanivarttakeṣu=kleśeṣu=na - kiñcid asti=pprahātavyaṃ yasya =nityam=anityaṃ=vā=na=kiñcid=asti=boddhavyaṃ (1,V.1), or 1,V.2 (Dhṛti).

Even other than such sententious formulations sometimes are written without a space, e.g.: —tasminn=aparādhe· kan=daṇdam =anutiṣṭhāmi (8,V.3), dassanam=pi=me=imassa=dullabha[ṃ] (4,V.3).

On the other hand there are distinct spaces in sentences spoken in Sanskrit as well as in Prakrit, e.g· : — kva - punar - idānīṃ=sa= puruṣavigraho=dharmaḥ samprati=viharati —1, R.1), —susnigdhā samprati=pakt(i)ḥ (13,a4),—upadeso edissa=bambhaṇajanassa= anuggāhako=bh[oti] (14,V.2), yuktam=evaṃ=hi=kurvvato mokṣa =syād=° (12, b2), avikkhittena=hidayena ādaṃso dhārayitavva (8, R.1).

Other spaces seem to be inserted first of all from the grammatical or syntactical point of view, i.e. after the predicate followed by the rest of the sentence, or where in a sentence a space is followed by a negative particle, e.g. :—gatāsi Somadattassa- śvaśurakulam— (13, a3), —na=samīpaseṣv=an[ā]sthā durasthe[ṣu] (29,a3), vtmm-haññantu putt[ā=ca] n[a]tt[i]kā=ca (8,R.4), añjalim=pi=karaya-

mānā na=jīvanti —(10,a2), Somadattena na=bhuttaṃ=bhu°
(30, b2). — —

All these observations suggest that probably also the spaces
occurring within the lines of the manuscript fragments of dramas
written in the Kushana period, graphically represent speech-breaks
or pauses in the spoken chain of words. But, I think, it is a comple-
tely different question whether in this respect we have to assume a
direct scribal tradition from the time of Aśoka to the time of the
Kushanas.

THE LEXICAL AND MORPHOLOGICAL IMPACT
OF SANSKRIT ON MODERN INDONESIAN

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I

Phonological Aspects

The continuous intake of socially, culturally, scientifically, and economically important loan words as well as ever newly coined internationalisms into the system of a modern national language is of ·. ·:   ·¡ ·· ·· · ·· ·f·: ·· ··· ·· ·· language planning in general and   . · ·.. · ¡uages in particular. As has been shown by recent developments in African and Asian countries, the choice and subsequent modernization process of national languages especially in these areas of the world reveal a great complex of various theoretical and practical aspects. Once the selection of the national or official language to be has been made out of several languages or dialects of each country, there is the problem of standardisation of the chosen official communication system. This problem of standardization — and we may add communicative optimization — of a given natural language is closely connected with a steady improvement and accomplishment of its vocabulary, the creation of specified systems of terminology in the field of science, technology, economics, education, etc.

As everybody knows, the cultural and linguistic history of European countries has been greatly influenced by classical Greek and Latin. The borrowing from these ancient pools of lexical and word-formation elements continues to serve the whole intellectual world with over new and well-defined, internationally accepted and standardized scientific and technical terms.

A similar role is played by Sanskrit in the national language of the Indonesian Republic, the Bahasa Indonesia. In many respects

the growth and structure of Modern Indonesian may be compared,
from its developmental point of view, with the history of English.
The Roman, Scandinavian, and French invasions to England are
in their cultural and linguistic effects a certain resemblance to the
Indian, Islamic, Portuguese, Dutch and Japanese invasions to the
Indonesian archipelago. The consequence for the Indonesians in
our present time may be seen in a diverse bulk of loan words,
including loan formations, mainly from Sanskrit, Arabic, Dutch,
and English, not only in the local dialects, but also in that basic
interinsular vernacular that has been developed from the original
Malay language and officially come to be received as the unitary
lingua franca, and been given the name of "Bahasa Indonesia".
In his contribution to the Conference on "The Modernization of
Languages in Asia", held in Kuala Lumpur in September 1967,
the Indonesian novelist and philologist Sultan Takdir Alisjahbana
made it clear that there is a passionate rivalry on the lexical field
between Sanskrit, Arabic, Graeco-Latin and local languages and
dialects in the standardization and modernization of the Indonesian
language. In Sukarno's time there was even a noticeable tendency
to screen off intruding anglo-americanisms by resorting to anciant
borrowings or newly patterned forms from Sanskrit, using
"pramugari" for "stewardess", and "pra-sedjarah" (a Sanskrit-
Arabic hybrid) for "prehistory", "wartawan" for "journalist",
"wisatawan" for "tourist", "swasraja" for "self-service",
"dwibahasa" for "bilingual". Of late "konamatru" has been
introduced in mathematics and engineering as a substitute for
"goniometry". Moreover, it should be noted from the socio-
linguistic point of view that the general trend to apply high-flaunting
Sanskritisms in Modern Indonesian has at the same time a signifi-
cant bearing on style in its social frame. In many cases the
preference of a Sanskrit loan word or neologism to a simple-
sounding vernacular word is meant to show that the speaker is an
intellectual, educated person, saying "pria" and "wanita" instead
of Malay "laki-laki" and "perempuan" for masculine or feminine or
"boy" and "girl" respectively.

On the whole, there is a growing tendency to use Sanskritisms
in the national language of Indonesia, whose very designation,
"bahasa", has been derived from Sanskrit "bhāṣā" = "language".
The fact that we have two forms in Indonesian — bisyllabic "basa"
and trisyllabic "bahasa" — was of a certain difficulty for our
computer experiments concerning an automatic phoneme trans-
formation Sanskrit-Indonesian, where a number of hitherto
disregarded or unknown phonematic irregularities could be
discovered and analyzed.

Phonematic correlations between the two languages under consideration have been drafted intuitively and empirically by J. Gonda in his book *Sanskrit in Indonesia*" (Nagpur, 1952), in H. Kahler's *"Grammatik der Bahasa Indonesia*" (Wiesbaden, 1956), and by G. Kahlo with his chapter on the sound changes of Sanskrit loan words in Malay contained in his booklet *"Indonesische Forschungen — ...."* (Leipzig, 1941). Their inventories of .... rules between Sanskrit and Indonesian are far from being exhaustive and carry a certain amount of mistakes with them. In the case of the Indonesian homonym "bisa", for example, we have to take into account two .... from the native tongue and ...."", the other leading straight back to Sanskrit "viṣa", which is "poison" (cp. Latin "virus"). That is why we decided to use quadruples consisting of a Sanskrit word, its Indonesian counter-part and their respective German meanings, each as one entry in our input format for the purpose of data processing. The German equivalents may serve as semantic markers in further investigations. A regular howler is Mohammad Zain's wilful explanation of Indonesian "balai" "house, building" from Sanskrit "valaya" = "bracelet, circle, enclosure". We always have one reliable method at our disposal, by which to prove that a given item is of Sanskrit origin or not. This is the Polynesian matching test, because Sanskrit did not spread into the Pacific beyond the Philippines. Thus, if we find for our Indonesian word "balai" the form "balé" in Javanese and "fale" in Samoan, as well as "whale" in Māori, all expressing the same meaning, we may be absolutely sure that we have not to deal with a Sanskritism. The same author's identification of the Indonesian word "meditasi" = "meditation" as of Sanskrit origin should not be considered as a howler, but as a mere joke.

Our automatic phoneme transformation through Sanskrit-Indonesian word-matching yielded the following results :

From the given list of quadruples as described above we obtained

— A complete set of transformation rules from Sanskrit phonemes to Indonesian phonemes

— Alphabetically arranged word lists for each type of transformations

— A series of tables, recording both the absolute and relative frequencies of the occurrence of the particular transformation types.

Our basic idea was a man-machine interplay, where man feeds the machine an empirically or otherwise gained initial set of transformation rules and the machine, as it were, is recursively "learning" more and more rules by which the whole batch of Sanskrit-Indonesian word-couples is filtered. There will always remain a residual amount of words not corresponding to the given rules from the inventory. Taking this fact into consideration, we formulated an algorithmic strategy, the main operations of which are :

(A) Successively increasing the inventory of phonematic transformation rules

(B) At the same time, successively reducing the list of residual word quadruples.

The algorithm turned out to be slightly susceptible toward such case, where the Sanskrit-Indonesian word-couples showed different lengths. This happens, when the Indonesian syllabic glide vowel /ə/ (spelled as an "e") is inserted between consonant + /r/, e.g. Sanskrit "istrī" = "wife" → Indonesian ' isteri" = "wife", or when an aspirated consonant in Sanskrit either looses its aspiration in Indonesian or is transformed by insertion of a phoneme /a/ into a full syllable, such as in Indonesian "bahagia" corresponding to Sanskrit "bhāgya" = "fortune", whereas in the case of Sanskrit "bhāsā" we have, as already mentioned above, two corresponding forms in Indonesian, viz. "basa" or "bahasa". Likewise, the Sanskrit suffix "ya" becomes either "ja" or simply ' i" in Indonesian.

Apart from these cases, a great number of philologically interesting irregularities due to reduction, contraction, and syllable-formation, have been revealed through our automatic transformation, and, furthermore, have been formulated as regularized correspondences between the two languages. In this respect, hitherto unnoticed cases of nasalization in Indonesian words, especially before dental consonants, are of particular interest to orientalists.

Besides this catalogue of phoneme correlations we tried to gain descriptive and numerical data for a phonomorphological typology of the two languages by means of a statistical contrastive analysis. These inquiries resulted in a table of the most frequent morpheme types in both languages as well as an index showing the degree of consonant clustering, which — as was to be expected — turned out to be significantly higher in Sanskrit than in Indonesian.

As Sanskrit has come to be known as a language relatively rich in consonants and Indonesian rather poor, just as the whole Malayo-Polynesian family, the difference between the extent of consonant clustering in Sanskrit and Indonesian at the same time be regarded as an expression for the degree of adaptibility of foreign structures into the phonomorphological system of the Bahasa Indonesia.

As has been proved by the phonemic transformation rules in the first part of our phonological investigation and by the quantitative contrastive analysis in the second part, words of Sanskrit origin or pattern are easily and skilfully assimilated to phonemic-phonological standards of the Indonesian language and not without a certain natural elegance and gracefulness incorporated into the analytic-agglutinative system of its grammar.

Trying to overcome the difficulties of Sanskrit spelling, we used a machine code developed by Bart van Nooten at the American Institute of Indian Studies from the Deccan College of Poona, India.

In order to illustrate the derivation of phonematic transformation rules the following examples may be mentioned :

Phoneme Transformation by Computer

Sanskrit	Input Format	English Meaning	Indonesian	Engish Meaning
āgama	AA/G/A/M/A	LEARNING	A,G'A/M/A	RELIGION
viṣa	V/I/.S/A	POISON	B/I/S/A	POISON
daśa	D/A/Z/A	TEN	D/A/S/A	TEN
bhūmi	BH/UU/M/II	EARTH	B/U/M/I	EARTH
kusuma	K/U/S/U/M/A	FLOWER	K/F/S/U,M/A	FLOWER

Transformation Rules

$$\left.\begin{array}{c}A\\AA\end{array}\right\}\to A \quad \left.\begin{array}{c}I\\II\end{array}\right\}\to I \quad \left.\begin{array}{c}U\\UU\end{array}\right\}\to U \quad \left.\begin{array}{c}Z\\.S\\S\end{array}\right\}\to S \quad \left.\begin{array}{c}BH\\V\end{array}\right\}\to B \;\; \widehat{D} \;\; \widehat{G} \;\; \widehat{K} \;\; \widehat{M} \;\; etc.$$

II

Lexicological Aspects

As has been shown in our contribution on "Sanskrit Loan Words in the Bahasa Indonesia", published in *"The Journal of Oriental Research"* Vol. XXXVI, 1970, by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute at Mylapore, Madras, a tentative semantic

grouping of Sanskrit words in the Bahasa Indonesia displays the following fields of application :

— Religion and Philosophy
— Scholarship, Science, Numbers
— Abstract Words
— Man, and Parts of the Body
— Family Relations
— Official Appointments and Titles
— Literary Terms and Notions
— Natural Phenomena and Geographical Expressions
— Animals and Plants
— Metals, Minerals, and other Materials
— Notions of Time
— Buildings and Institutions
— Trade and Business.

In addition to the main stock of lexical items from both the nominal and verbal complex, there is a group of function-words (prepositions, adverbs, pronouns, and conjunctions) and prefixal as well as suffixal elements to be used in word formation, all of them equally derived from Sanskrit. There is a considerable number of undoubted Sanskritisms unrecognized and consequently not registered as such in Indonesian dictionaries, such as the *"Kamus Moderen Bahasa Indonesia* (Djakarta, 1954), by Sutan Mohammad Zain, or the *Indonesian-German dictionary* by Otto Karow and Irene Hilgers-Hesse, published in Wiesbaden, 1962. These two German orientalists, in fact, must have failed to know a Sanskritism when they saw one, otherwise they would have designated such evident items as "bahasa"="language", "bakti"="devotion", "bisa"= "poison", "muka"="face", "prasangka"="prejudice", "sardjana" ="scholar", "tjita"="idea" (from the Sanskrit Past Participle "citta"="thought"), and a great many others as genuine Sanskritisms.

After statistically checking different dictionaries as to their content in Sanskritisms we arrived at the following results :

— Karow and Hilgers Hesse booked 545 Sanskritisms among 19070 dictionary entries, which is 2.9% as compared to 8.7% Arabisms.
— Sutan Mohammad Zain records 565 Sanskritisms from a total of 13182 entries, which is 4.3% as compared to 8.4% Arabisms.

Already from these numerical data we can infer a general agreement with regard to Arabisms and a considerable uncertainty when it

comes to Sanskritisms. Our own file of Sanskrit loan words in the Indonesian language, collected by hand in the traditional way from novels, scientific and technical publications, magazines and newspapers, private letters, together with those specimens found— if designated— in the dictionaries, amounts up to altogether 760 items, i.e. both borrowings and new formations with the help of Sanskrit implements. It is to be expected that the actual number of the Sanskrit share in Indonesian word usage is much higher, because our collection increases from day to day. As from our 760 Sanskrit words about 100 are still more or less doubtful in view of the shortcomings mentioned above, the need for an exact and complete solution of the problem becomes obvious. In order to ⋯ routine techniques of computer systems, seems to be inevitable. A given Indonesian word should, in accordance with a system of phonological transformation rules be converted into its initially quite fictitious Sanskrit counterpart, a process which after a suggestion made by Hans Karlgren might duly be called a "translation into quasi-Sanskrit". The fictitious Sanskrit word, produced in this way, will then be looked up in the Sanskrit dictionary for a match, if successful, it will be stripped off its fictitious character and be turned into a genuine Sanskritism, if there is no match, the next Indonesian word has to be converted.

As may easily be guessed. the first step in the entire lexico-logical research scheme has to be an automatic phoneme transformation Sanskrit—Indonesian, yielding the fundamental inventory of phonemic correlation rules between the two languages.

Yet another preliminary procedure to facilitate the dictionary comparison will be an automatic root analysis of current Indonesian text materials, because only root morphemes are to be finally matched so that the Sanskritisms among them can be selected by machine routines. Moreaver, an automatic root analysis has to be regarded as indispensable for the preparation of dictionaries, thesauri, and word-frequency lists, which may then be subjected to various procedures of natural language data processing, and be further exploited in automatic documentation systems, as for instance in keyword-in-context (KWIC) indexing, or in mechanized information retrieval with indexing, content analysis, abstracting, and — to some degree at least—for purposes of machine translation of telegraphic abstracts, again first and foremost in the field of information and documentation. Furthermore, it will become feasible, after all, to state the relative frequencies of Sanskrit words

in actual usage of the Bahasa Indonesia covering all provinces of life, i.e. from newspapers, wireless broadcasting and television, from publications of any kind, political speeches, university lectures, bazaar slang, and so forth.

Trying to explain this by way of an example, let us take as input for our automatic text analysis on any medium-size computer just one sentence from the speech held by Sukarno on the occasion of the national ceremonies for the 19th anniversary of the Day of Proclamation on 17th August 1964. Incidentally, Sukarno's name is derived from a Sanskrit Bahuvrīhi-compound "su-karṇa" meaning as much as "being provided with a nice ear", just as Suharto's goes straight back to "su-artha", which had the meaning of "showing nice endeavour, good property".

Sukarno said in his speech :

"Karena itulah maka pada permulaan pidato ini saja bitjara tentang pengalaman dimasa jang lampau, dan djurusan untuk masa jang akan datang".

In English : "For this reason at the beginning of this speech I will talk about the experience drawn from the past and our tasks for the future."

The output in the form of a string of root words after the procedure of automatic root analysis looks like this :

KARENA ITU MAKA PADA MULA PIDATO INI SAJA BITJARA TENTANG ALAM MASA JANG LAMPAU DAN DJURUS UNTUK MASA JANG AKAN DATANG.

Only in this form any word may usually be looked up in an Indonesian dictionary. It is this intermediary output which in its turn may be used for different processes of theoretical and practical analysis. If, however, we should want to get nothing else but merely an indication of the content in Sanskritisms, an automatic scanning of this small piece of text would print out the following words of Sanskrit origin or pattern : KARENA, MULA, SAJA, BITJARA, MASA from "kārana" = "reason", mūla" = "root", "sahāya" = "fellow", "vicāra" = "consideration", "māsa" = "month". That is to say that 23% of all words in our selected sentence are Sanskritisms.

III

Morphological Aspects

Words of grammatical function such as prepositions, adverbs, pronouns, conjunctions, demonstrate in a rather convincing way the process of gradual incorporation of Sanskrit into the system

of the Bahasa Indonesia up to the final stage of their grammaticalization into pure function words. The following examples may be mentioned :

"bahwa" = "that" (introducing subordinate clauses) from Sanskrit "bhāva" = "manner of acting, state of mind or body"

"atau, atawa" = "or" from Sanskrit "athavā" -- "or"

"antara" = "between" from Sanskrit "antarā" - "between"

"karena" = "as, because" from Sanskrit "kāraṇa" = "reason, cause"

"tatkala" = "when"

"sementara" = "meanwhile" from Sanskrit "samāntara" = "meanwhile"

"sarwa" or "serba" = "all, entire" from Sanskrit "sarva" = "all"

"purna" = "complete" from sanskrit "pūrṇa" = "complete".

Among prefixes or quasi-prefixal elements in compound structures may be mentioned :

"antar" = "inter-", as e.g. in "antar-pulau" = "interinsular"

"maha" = "great". Prefixal "maha—has become one of the most active word-forming morphemes in Modern Indonesian. We have discovered more than 20 specimens of word-formation with "maha-". Among them there are "maharadja" = "great king", "mahadjaja" = "great victory", "mahadjana" "person of high rank", "mahaduta" - "embassador", "mahaguru" = "professor", "mahamenteri" - "high official". "mahamulia" = "Excellency", "maharupa" - "of grand shape or kind", "Mahasiswa/-i" = "student". For "God", as pertaining to any theistic religion including Catholicism, Protestantism, and Islam, the words "Mahadewa, Mahakuasa" "Almighty". or "Mahasempurna" = "He who alone is entirely perfect" are in common use. Moreover, "maha" can be used in the function of an intensive adverb like "very, extremely, exceedingly" Examples are : "mahabaik" = "very good". "mahapenting" = "very important", "mahabesar" - "very great", all of them written in one word or with a hyphen, giving the feeling as if "maha" has to be considered as the first element in a compound.

"eka-, dwi-, tri-, tjatur-, pantja- etc." = "mono-, bi-, tri-, tetra-, penta-, etc." Expressing the simple, double, threefold, fourfold, fivefold, etc. meaning of the semantic content signalled by the second element in the compound. In other words, we have Sanskrit numbers in quasi-prefixal use : e.g. "dwiwarna" = "in two colours", "dwibahasa" = "bilingual", "triwulan" = "three monthly", "tritunggal" = "unity of three" (referring to the Trinity of Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva), "tjaturtunggal" =

"unity of local government consisting of four powers or forces : civil force, military force, the police, and jurisdiction", "Pantjaindera" = "the five senses". The famous "Pantjasila" and modernisms such as "Dwi-Dharma" and "Tjatur-Karya", which can also be written in the form of compound words, have played an important role in politics. The "Pantjasila", as propagated by the Indonesian Government after the Revolution of 1945, comprise the following five principles of statesmanship :

—Belief in One Almighty God (Ketuhanan Jang Maha Esa)
—National Consciousness and Democracy (Kebangsaan)
—The P··· : · · ' ᒍ   :·· · ᒍ · ᵀ· · ᵉ ᵀᵉ··· ᑫ·· .
—The   .   ᵔ : · · .:   ᑎ:... ·..·.ᵈ · ᑫᒪ·ᵒ·ᘻ: · ᵎ
nusiaan)
—Social Justice and Common Welfare (Keadilan dan Kemakmuran Sosial).

Meantime the new government of the Indonesian Republic have contributed some new principles for political and economic orientation, yet also decorated with Sanskrit labels. In 1966 General Soeharto issued a political-economic emergency programme which was summarized under the brief codification "Dwi-Dharma" and "Tjatur-Karya", both of which terms are Sanskrit in every syllable. "Dwi Dharma" are the two basic preconditions for any further development of the Indonesian Republic, viz. political and economic stabilisation, whereas "Tjatur-Karya" explicitly state the four necessary practical actions that had to be taken without any delay : to provide a livelihood for every citizen, to prepare general elections by 1968, to carry on a free and active foreign policy, and to continue the fight against imperialism and colonialism.

The word "Dwiwarna" together with the honorific article "Sang", i.e. "Sang Dwiwarna" = "The Two-Coloured" is used as a euphemism for the national flag of the Indonesian Republic, exhibiting the two colours-red and white.

"swa" = "self, own" e.g. in "swasta" = "individual, private", "swasraja" = "self-service", "swatantra" = "autonomy".
"pra" = "before, pre-". This element has grown to be another
··· ₂·ᵗ ·ₐᵗ:·· ₚᵣₐfᵢᵪ ₜₒ fₒᵣm words in analogy to internationalisms
 ·· ,   .   ,   "prae-" as in "praehistoria",
or English "prehistory", German "Vorgeschichte", Indonesian "pra-sedjarah". The word "pra-sedjarah" is a hybrid formation whose first element stems from Sanskrit and the second from Arabic. Other examples with "pra-" are :

"prasaran" = "pre-advice", "pramugari" "stewardess", "prakarsa" = "initiative", "prasangka" "prejudice" and many others.

"sarba" = "all" (Sanskrit "sarva", e.g. "serbaguna" - "multi-purpose", "serbapikir" = "mentalism" (again a Sanskrit-Arabic hybrid).

"purba" = "ancient" (Sanskrit "pūrva), as e.g. in "purbakala" "ancient time".

"pari" = Serving as an intensifying element, e.g. "paripurna" = "very full", "paribahaja" - "great danger". The Sanskrit, and with it also the general Indo-European meaning of "around, about" (cp. Greek "peri-" Russian "pere-", etc.) has been retained in "pariwarta" - "all-round report", and especially" "pariwisata" = "tourism", whereas "tourist" is "wisatawan" without the prefixed element "pari-".

"su" = "good, nice", corresponding to Greek "eu-" as in "eu-anggelion" = "Gospel, literally good news", cp. also words like "euphemism" or "eulogy" in English. Innumerable proper names, such as "Sukarno, Suharto, Subadio, Suma-dirana, Sutjipto, Sudarsono, etc. etc. are formed with the help of this morpheme which has remained active from ancient Javanese up to the modern times. Otherwise it occurs in formations like "susastera" - "belletristic".

As productive suffixes may be mentioned :

"-wan/-wati" = Expressing the faculties acquired for a given activity or profession, such as in "wartawan" - "journalist", "wisa-tawan" = "tourist", "tjendekiawan" "scholar" (cp. "sard-jana"). The feminine gender is formed by "-wati" respectively.

"-man" = is of similar meaning as "-wan", e.g. "seniman" = "artist", its feminine counterpart being "seniwati", however.

"-bakti" = "service", e.g. "darma-bakti" - "duty", "kerdjabakti" = "working-service", "pramubakti" = "hotel servant".

"-ta" = In Sanskrit the ending "-ta" serves to form Past Participles from verbal roots, which may be nominalized into substantives, mostly of an abstract character. In the Bahasa Indonesia the suffix "-ta" is used in analogy to internationalisms ending in "-tas", derived from Latin (e.g. "facultas", "universitas"), in "-ty" as in English ("capacity, quality"), or in "-tät" as in the German language ("Fakultät, Quantität"). Indonesian examples are : "kapasita" — "capacity", "legalita"

= "legality", kwalita" = "quality", "kwantita" = "quantity", "fasilita" = "facility", "fakulta" = "faculty", "universita" = "university". For the two latter, though, the original Latin forms "fakultas" and "universitas" are more frequent. Thus, we see that the suffix form "-ta" may have arisen from a contamination between Latin "-tas" and Sanskrit "-ta".

Every lexical item adopted from Sanskrit is easily and elegantly incorpoarated into the agglutinative mechanism of Indonesian morphology. Thus, e.g. active verbs are given the prefix "me-" with concomitant prenasalization and elimination of the voiceless consonants /p/, /t/, /k/, and /s/. In accordance with this phonomorphological rule a verb "to like" is derived from the root "suka": "menjukai". It has attained the prefix "me-", palal prenasalization /nj/, and the suffix "-i", which denotes orientation of action towards an unmoved object. From the root "pudja" the verb "memudja" = "to adore, love, honour" is formed, from "kata" = "word" the active verb "mengataken" = "to say" with suffix "-kan" denoting, as a rule, orientation of action towards a moved object. Abstract nouns are generated by embedment of the lexical, basic root into the affixal frame "ke . an". Thus from "sastera" = "books, philology" we form "susastera" = "beautiful books, belletristic", and then by attaching both prefix "ke-" and suffix "-an", we obtain "kesusasteraan", which stands for "literature' .

The analytical—agglutinative character of the Malayo-Polynesian languages may be considered as the structural reason for the absence of any formal distinction of gender in the Bahasa Indonesia. As has already been emphasized in our introductory remarks, the modern Bahasa Indonesia is in its historical growth and structure more or less comparable to English, conspicuously so after the Normanno-French invasion into the British Isles or after the exportation and transplantation of the English language across the ocean to the American continent. Thus, the influence exerted e.g. by the French language upon the lexical structure of English with all its consequences as to anincreased richness in synonyms, the enhancement of possibilities of word-formations and derivation, the occurrence of hybrid formations, greater varieties of style, connotative multiplicity etc., is, on the other hand, reflected through the role played by Sanskrit and Arabic in the Bahasa Indonesia. And much in the same way as English has adopted a few plural endings from Greek and Latin that have remained entirely unproductive within the whole language system (e.g. "phenomena, algae, fungi", etc.) and some of which are even used for the singular number, because their original plural form and

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function are no longer to be felt by the English speakers (e.g. "visa, data", etc.), so, likewise, in the national language of Indonesia we may hit upon petrified and hence grammatically unproductive plural forms taken over from Arabic (such as "saladin, hadirin"), which, like their Latin and Greek equivalents in English, are no longer looked upon as true plural forms and consequently, are not seldom provided with the systematically and paradigmatically prescriptive plural marker "para" (originally "people, mass, crowd") in front of them. This is what we understand by the technical term "lexicalization". There is a similar case of adoption of formal means of gender discrimination between masculine nouns in "-a" and feminine ones "-i" borrowed from Sanskrit, but equally unproductive within the whole system of the Indonesian language. In other words, these few cases should be treated as nothing else but an occasional retention of morphological differentiation markers that have not become paradigmatic. Such Indonesian instances as e.g.

"dewa — dewi"	=	"god — goddess"
"mahasiswa — mahasiswi"	=	"boy-student — girl-student"
"putera — puteri"	=	"son—daughter"
"saudara — saudari"	=	"brother — sister"

have to be treated as part of the vocabulary and not of grammar. They have been lexicalized. This is a logical postulate, even though we might mention some rare example of analogy where the gender criterion is used with nouns of Malay origin as in the case of "pemuda-pemudi" = "boy — girl" or "pembatja-pembatji" = "reader, masculine and feminine respectively". The latter, by the way, is an interesting example of etymologically hybrid nature: "batja" = "to read" goes back to Sanskrit "vac" = "speak" or "vācā" = "speech", whereas the prefix "pe—" is typically Malay to indicate the actor of the verbal expression represented by the root or basis, the feminine suffix "—i", after all, is again made use of in accordance with the Sanskrit pattern. In how far the morphological neutralization of the "—a/—i" differentiation in Indonesian has actually advanced, may be illustrated by such examples where the originally masculine form in "—a" may express both masculine and feminine gender. This is particularly the case in words of a generalizing meaning such as

"mahasiswa"	=	"student" (both masc. and fem.)
"saudara"	=	"comrade" (both masc. and fem.)

etc.

This neutralizing process may also be illustrated by numerous examples from any other language—cf. the Russian words 'kollega' "colleague" and "tovarišč" = "mate, fellow, comrade", both of which imply masculine as well as feminine gender in one and the same word-form.

From a general linguistic point of view, embracing all aspects of language development—the phonomorphological phenomena, the semantic dynamics, the syntactical conditions — the processes of lexicalization as in the cases of non-paradigmatic plural endings on the one hand, and of grammaticalization as illustrated in the process of semantic generalization of the words "saudara" and "saudari" up to their final desemantization into mere pronouns on the other, are of paramount interest for the documentation of extra-linguistically conditioned effects of intralinguistic activities. On its long way of gradual loss in semantic content until finally gaining the function of a personal pronoun of the second and third person, the word "saudara", and respectively its feminine counterpart "saudari", exhibits a complete chain built up by the following semantic links : from "brother or sister" to "intimate friend" to "mate" to "formal friend" to "fellow" to "comrade" (as an equivalent to Russian "tovarišč") to "colleague" (in the general sense of the word) to "Mr. and Mrs. or Miss" (as a manner of addressing other persons) and finally to the personal pronoun of the second person corresponding to English "you", or German "du, ihr, Sie". In postposition, as any other personal pronoun of the Bahasa Indonesia, "saudara/saudari" may be used in the function of a possessive pronoun : e.g. "rumah saudara" = "your house", "suami saudari" = "your husband". Occasionally the words "saudara" and "saudari" can also stand for the personal pronoun of the third person singular. As to plural formation in the pronominal sphere, the usual structural rules have to be applied, as there are

word-repetition : "saudara-saudara"
                   "saudari-saudari"
adding of "semua", or "sekalian", both of which
meaning "all"   : "saudara/saudari semua"   } = "you all".
              "saudara/saudari sekalian" }

Indonesian "saudara/saudari" is derived from Sanskrit "sodara" (m.)/ "sodarī" (f.) = "full brother/sister by kinship". As further Sanskrit forms of the same lexical item under consideration may be met with :

— adj. usage of "sodara", e.g. acc. sg. "sodaram bhrātaram"

= "the full brother" (as an object), where in the attribute the proper basic meaning of "stemming from one and the same womb" is inherent.

— adj. derivation "sodarya" = "brotherly, sisterly"

— the latter substantivized : "sodarya (m.) /sodaryā (f.)" = "sodara/ sodarī" as mentioned above.

— in addition to these, in compounds : "sodarasneha" or "sodarya-sneha" = "love among brother and sister also used symbolically", cf. *Śākuntala* Act IV, line 5 (p.47 in the edition by Cappeler) : "avaimi te tasyām sodara-sneham" — "I know your sisterly love to him". In Boehtlingk's edition of "*Śākuntala*" the /o/ of the form "sodarya" has been changed into the diphthong /au/ : "... saudarya-sneham".

— subst. "saudaryam," (n.) with Vṛddhi /o, · au/ "brotherly resp. sisterly relation", as occurring in the texts of "*Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*" and '*Daśakumāracarita*'.

In a line with —"mant, · vant, in" expressing something like "having, being provided with", also the suffix "—ya" = "belonging to" may be considered as a derivational morpheme, used in Sanskrit to form adjectives from nouns, or, more generally speaking : nominal stems from nominal stems. Of paramount inerest is, in this connection, the treatment given to the ancient forms "sodara" and "sodarya" in Pāṇini's sūtras, which have to be considered, in terms of modern linguistics, as the earliest documentation of programmed teaching by means of logically arranged sets of rules and metalinguistic symbols. In this respect Leonard Bloomfield is scientifically justified calling the Sanskrit grammar of Pāṇini as "one of the greatest monuments of human intelligence". Thus, we too, felt justified throwing a glimpse into Pāṇini's sūtras, using the annotated edition by Otto Boehtlingk, Leipzig, 1887.

Pāṇini, Sūtra 4,4,105 : "sabhāyā yaḥ"

Stating that the suffix "ya" is to be added to "sabhā", resulting in the form "sabhya" = "being in community with". Pāṇini, Sūtra 4.4. 108 : "samānodara śayita codāttaḥ" Denoting the meaning of "—ya" expressing "having lain, rested" after "samānodara". the /o/ in this case bearing the accent, e.g. "samānodaryo bhrātā" — "full brother". The past participle "Śayita", meaning "having rested or slept", is derived from the root form "śī" and, as a noun, determines the place, where somebody "has been lying". Phonologically, there ts a sandhi of "samāna" + "udara" > "samānodara".

Pāṇini, Sūtra 4,4,109 : "sodarādyaḥ" Which says that in this same meaning of "has been lying" as shown in rule 4,4,108 "-ya"

may be added to the word "sodara", e.g. "sodaryo bhrātā" = "brother by kinship or biological relation".

In a later section, Pāṇini describes a powerful algorithm for what in modern structural linguistics would be called "substitution technique". So, for instance, Sūtras 6,3, 84 till 89 are dealing with the substitution of "samāna" by monosyllabic "sa" = "equal, identical, same, together, common, joint" (cp. the same meaning of the word "same" in English, "zusammen" in German, and "sama" in Indonesian), as it occurred in rules 4,4,108 and 109 just mentioned above. Embedded, now, within the total substitution algorihm Pāṇini formulates a clever alternative rule for using either "samāna" or "sa" according to Sūtra 6,3,88 : "vibhāṣodare", where he says that in the case of prefixation before "udara" = "belly, cavity, womb", provided with the suffix "-ya", substitution of "samāna" by "sa" is not obligatory, or, in other words, both forms are admitted : "samānodarya" and "sodorya". This is an interesting example of a so-called "Not Only But Also" rule as it is known to modern mathematical logic.

The sandhi rule for "vibhāṣā" + "udara" → "vibhāṣodara" is given in Pāṇini 6,1,87. The feminine noun "vibhāṣā" means "arbitrary decision, alternative, free choice". The ending "e" of "vibhāṣodare" denotes the locative case singular and the existence of "-ya" is to be inferred from the aforegoing sūtras. Thus Sūtra 6,3,88 may literally be rendered into English by the following prescription : "Alternative is possible in case of 'udara' ".

In quoting these few rules from Pāṇini's programmed Sanskrit grammar, we have, at the same time, extracted the two basic elements "sa" and "udara" as they are necessary for an etymological understanding of our two Indonesian words "saudara" and "saudari". Taken together, the Indian preconditions for the Indonesian word-couple "saudara/saudari" can best of all be explained by referring to a confirmation of the phonomorphological facts, as kindly informed by the Principal of the Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapitha in Delhi, Dr. Mandan Mishra. He says that the Indonesian and Malay form "saudara" does not occur in Sanskrit, where we find "sodara" with /o/ exclusively, both in adjectival and substantival usage. As far as the opinion of Indian scholars goes, there is no explanation for the occurance of the phoneme /au/ in the Bahasa Indonesia. No tendency of a shift from "so-" to "sau-" may be traced in modern Hindī either. Moreover, Mandan Mishra makes it clear that in Sanskrit and Hindī the proper form for the feminine gender of the masculine counterpart "sodara" out to be "sodarā" with a long

ending vowel /ā/ instead of "sodarī" with long final /ī/. In other words, the latter is to be explained by way of analogy to all the other feminine nouns of the "ī"-class. But, nevertheless, the general rule for feminine derivation from "akārānta"-words, i.e. words ending in "-a", postulates the suffix "-ā". This may be seen from examples like "kanya" (m.) = "the samllest one" and "kanyā" (f.) = "girl', or "rāma" (m.) = "the dark one" and "rāmā" (f.) = "the dark lady", who, incidentally reminds one of Shakespeare's famous lady love to whom he addressed his charming sonnets. The form "rāmī", also of feminnie gender, however, has quite another meaning, viz. "night".

The modern Indonesian word "saudara", and its feminine counterpart "saudari" respectively, has the basic meaning of "brother (or sister), mate, fellow, comrade". Other meanings have been touched upon already. Originally, Sanskrit "sodara" from "sa"+"udara' pointed to the fact that brothers and/or sisters are stemming from "one and the same maternal womb". Owing to the amalgamation of these etymological elements expressing "togetherness.' and "uterus" into one sandhi-form "sodara', which phonomorphological phenomenon the American linguist Paul L. Garvin in his book 'On Linguistic Method' (The Hague, 1964, p. 25), very adequately described as a "morphemic overlap" where the phoneme produced by the sandhi acquires an ambimorphemic character, prevented the Indonesian borrowers of the word from realizing and comprehending the original semantic kernel of the compound. Thus, when the necessity should arise in communication to make it clear that not just "fellow, or mate", but rather "brother or sister by true kinship" is to be meant by the word "saudara" or "saudari", the Indonesian speaker feels compelled to regenerate or recharge the loan word by a lexical manipulation that might linguistically be called something like a "resemantization process". The resemantization is brought about by introducing Malay word "kandung" which has the same meaning as Sanskrit "udara", viz. "womb, or uterus" : "Saudara kandung" = "full brother". There is another form, "saudara sekandung", where the prefixed element "-se", though exactly corresponding to the grammatical meaning of Sanskrit "sa-", is not at all etymologically identical with the latter. Indonesian "se-" is a reduced form of the numeral "satu" = "one" and, when used as a prefix, serves in the function to express comparison of equal degree as the syntactical construction "sama dengan", meaning literally "together with, along with, being of the same degree as". In this construction, of course, the grammatical function word "sama" is another case of borrowing from Sanskrit.

For reasons of curiosity, in our etymological and phonomorphological analysis, we have to demonstrate a typical mistake that once occurred to the Indonesian philologist and lexicographer Sutan Mohammad Zain when trying to explain the etymology of the word "saudara" as used in the Bahasa Indonesia. In his *"Kamus Modern Bahasa Indonesia"*, = Modern Dictionary of Indonesian, Djakarta, 1954), he says about the historical development of our word ; "terdjadi dari sa+udara"="originated from "sa" (together) plus "udara" (air, atmosphere, sky), and then he goes on explaining : "bernapaskan udara jang sama dalam kandung ibu : adik, kakak ; tetapi sekarang artinja bertambah luas dengan teman, sahabat". In English : "To breathe the same air — or having breathed the same air—within the mother's womb : younger or elder brother or sister ; nowadays, however, in a broadened sense referring to mate or friend". The process of pronominalization, i.e. of gradually grammaticalizing the words "saudara" and "saudari" into a personal pronoun, has not been mentioned at all. And, although Muhammad Zain quite correctly registers in his Indonesian dictionary the word "udara" with its meaning "air, atmosphere, sky" as a Sanskritism and, contrary to the prefix "se-" mentioned before, the compository element "sa-" has also undoubtedly been taken over from Sanskrit, he feels inclined to consider the morphemic amalgamation "saudara" as peculiarly and virtually Indonesian and by no means derived from Sanskrit.

A lexico-grammatical analysis of the usage of "saudara/saudari" in the Bahasa Indonesia reveals the fact that from the lexical field of application in the sense of "friend, comrade, Mr, Mrs. or Miss" as a semi-grammaticalized lexeme in the function of addressing another person, the fully grammaticalized pronoun of the second or third person has developed. From linguistic processes of this kind, to which may easily be added further examples, certain interactions between semantic changes and functional shiftings, between lexicon and grammar, or, more commonly speaking, among form, meaning, and function, may be concluded.

Summarizing our lexicological and morphological findings, we arrive at the following conclusion : For South-East Asia Sanskrit plays a similar role as ancient Greek and Latin do for Europe. It is to be considered as a rich source of root morphemes. prefixes, and suffixes, as well as morphological patterns for word formation in the developmen of national languages. Not only prepositions, adverbs, pronouns, and conjunctions, but also certain grammatical features, types of compounding and a great number of active pre— and suffixes have been collected to prove their incorporation into the agglutinative mechanism of Indonesian morphology.

From these linguistic findings a constant process of grammaticalization of Sanskrit words within the system of Bahasa Indonesia may be inferred. The conclusion is drawn that the influence of Sanskrit on the development of the national language of Modern Indonesia shows an increasing tendency in the present time. This general trend is most conspicuous in the field of lexicology, including word-formation, less effective in grammatical morphology, since the Bahasa Indonesia is a predominantly analytical language, and almost negligible in the syntactic sphere.

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SANSKRIT WORDS IN THE THAI LANGUAGE

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This paper is an attempt at discussing the main points in the adaptation and the role of Sanskrit words in the standard or official Thai language.

The Thai language belongs to a type of language called Isolating Language, that is, each word in the language is free to enter into the construction of sentences without any modification as to case, gender, number, mood, or tense. Thai words are usually monosyllabic, but there are also words with two or more syllables; words of the second type are generally of Indic and other foreign origins. Phonologically the Thai language has nine short vowels /i- u, e ə o, æ ɔ a/ which can be geminated to give corresponding long vowels, and three dipthongs /ia a ua/. By using semivowels /j, w/ it is possible to represent all Indic vowels except ṛ r̄ ḷ which are represented by the consonants /r/ and /l/ plus a vowel. There are twenty consonants and five tones.

When a Sanskrit word is adapted for use in the Thai language, it may have to undergo one or a combination of the following changes : a change in the number of the syllables, a change in the vowels, and a change in the consonants.

A change in the number of the syllables

The main tendency is to cut down the number of the syllables. Thus a two-syllabled word becomes monosyllabic, e.g. *sattva* 'being, animal' becomes /sàt/, *śāstra* 'science' becomes /sàat/, *nīti* 'conduct' becomes /nít/, *hetu* 'cause' becomes /hèet/. A three-syllabled word becomes two-syllabled *āditya* 'sun' becomes /aathít/; *anuja* 'younger

brother' becomes in poetry /núchaa/ also /nút/ down to only one syllable, *kañcana* 'gold' becoming /kaan/ is an example of the loss of two syllables in a three-syllabled word. A Sanskrit consonant cluster that is not phonologically allowed in the Thai language usually splits, resulting in an additional syllable e.g. *kṣema* 'ease, comfort' becomes /kàsèem/, the number of the syllables remains the same because of the loss of the final *a*.

A Vowel Change

Although in ordinary Thai words the length of a vowel is significant, /tam/ 'to pound' contrasts with /taam/ 'to follow', /aj/ 'to cough' contrasts with /aaj/ 'to be ashamed , the length of the vowels of a Sanskrit loan word, especially in the final open syllable, does not always remain the same. Thus *kāya* 'body' is represented by /kaaj/ /kaajá-/ (as the first member of a compound) and /kaajaa/, *candra* 'moon' becomes /can/ /canthra, canthraa/ *darśana* 'view' becomes /thát, thátsàná, thátsànaa/. *śattru* 'enemy' becomes /śattruu/. *śīla* 'conduct, rules of conduct' becomes /sǐn, sǐin/.

Short *a* in a close syllable usually becomes /o/. For example, *janaka* 'father' becomes /chánók/, *dāraka* 'child' becomes /thaarók/, *vihaga* 'bird' becomes /'wíhók/. But when followed by *r* the short *a* becomes /ə/ and the *r* becomes /n/, *amara* 'god' becomes /àmɔɔn/, *nagara* 'city' becomes /nákhɔɔn/. In a few words *a* becomes /e/, e.g. *vajra* 'diamond' becomes /phét/, *sarvajña* 'knowing all' becomes /sǎnphét/, *pañca* 'five' becomes /bencà/.

Long *a* normally does not change. But *vidyā* 'knowledge' becomes /wíthájá-/ in /wíthájathǎaná/ 'academic status' a word made up of *vidyā* and *sthāna*. (P.)

Short *i* usually remains short, but in the final open syllable it sometimes becomes lengthened. e.g. *Indra* 'the lord of heaven' is represented as /in/, *mati* 'thought' remains /mati/ but *maṇi* 'gem' becomes /mánti/. The lengthening of /i/ is perhaps due to the stress which falls on the last syllable.

When *i* precedes a velar or a gutteral in a close syllable it is some times represented by /ɨ/ a high central vowel. Thus *linga* 'mark' becomes /lǐŋ/. *adhika* 'additional' becomes /àthɨk/ and *śikṣā* 'study' becomes /sɨksǎa/.

The *i* in Skt. prefix *nir* 'without' is variously represented : /nira/ in /níráthúk/ from *nirduḥkha* 'without misery', /neerá/ in/ /neerákhun/ 'bad, ungrateful' from *nirguṇa* 'without virtue', /nári/ in nárímon/ 'without blemish' from *nirmala*.

Long *i* usually remains unchanged. Sometimes however it is represented by /i, íí, ee/, *nīti* 'conduct' becomes /nít, níti, neetí/. *vīja* 'plant' becomes /phíít/.

With a following *r* Skt. *i* often becomes /iə/. Thus *kīrti* 'fame' becomes /kíət/ and /kiən/ in raamákiən/ 'the glory of Rāma' for Skt. *Rāmakīrti*.

Skt. *u* and *ū* usually remain unchanged. Thus *kuñjara* 'elephant' becomes /kunchɔɔn/. A reversal of length sometimes occurs : *guru* 'teacher' becomes /khruu/, *cūrṇa* 'powder' becomes /cun/.

u and *ū* are sometimes represented by /oo/. Thus *kuhaka* 'a liar' becomes /koohók/ 'to tell a lie', *kusuma* 'flower' becomes /koosŭm/. The prefix *dūra-* 'far, distant' becomes /thoorá-/ and is found in /thoorásàp/ 'telephone' for Skt. *Duraśabda*, /thoorálèkh/ 'telegraph' for Skt. *duralekha*, and /thooráthát/ 'television' for Skt. *duradarśana*.

Skt. prefix *dus* 'bad' which becomes *dur* before a sonant is represented by /thúrá/ and /thɔɔrá/. Thus *durjana* 'a bad man' becomes /thúráchon, thɔɔ ráchon/. *durlakṣana* 'ugly' becomes /thúrálák, thɔɔrálak/.

Skt. prefix *su* 'god' normally remains /sù/ but is sometimes represented by /súwá/ an /sǎwwá/. *sugandha* 'having good smell' is represented by /súkhon súwákhon sǎwákhon/.

āi in a close syllable is sometimes represented by /ae ae/. *vaidya* 'doctor' becomes /phaèaet/, *sainya* 'army' becomes /saèaenjaa/, *veśya* becomes /phaeaetsàjǎa/ 'a prostitute'.

r becomes /rí rí ríí rəə/ *ṛddhi* becomes /rít/ 'power', *ṛṣi* 'hermit' becomes /ríisĭi ríísĭi/, *ṛkṣa* becomes /rɔ̂ɔk/ 'auspicious moment'.

It can be seen from the above examples that the change of vowels involves both their length and places of articulation.

A Consonantal Change

Thai has twenty consonantal sounds or phonemes and one of them (a labiodental fricative) is not used to represent any Indic consonant. When Sanskrit consonants are to be represented by nineteen consonantal sounds, many mergers occur. Some of the Skt. consonants are represented by more than one sound.

The general scheme of representation is as follows :

1. All the retroflexes or cerebrals become dentals and subsequently undergo the changes affecting the dentals.

2. The voiceless unaspirated stops, the semivowels and the aspiration are represented by the corresponding consonants in Thai.

3. The voiceless aspirated stops, the voiced stops both aspirated and unaspirated merge into a voiceless aspirated stop of their class.

4. The nasals are represented by the corresponding consonants in Thai except the palatal nasal which becomes a semivowel /j/ when in the initial position, and becomes dental /n/ when final.

5 All sibilants are represented by a dental /s/.

6. As the Thai language permits only /k t p ŋ n m j w/ as finals, all gutteral stops become /k/ in this position; all palatal, cerebral, dental stops and the sibilants become t/; all labial stops become /p/ : and r and l become /n/.

7. A voiceless unaspirated dental stop and a voiceless unaspirated labial stop may become voiced when followed by a vowel. Thus *pitā* 'father' becomes ,bidaa'.

8. The semi vowel *V* may become /ph/: thus both /wicít/ and /phícít/ are used to represent Skt. *vicitra* 'pretty'.

There are also other changes which are optional and of stylistic value. For example an initial syllable *ka* may be replaced by /kra/, e.g. *kapāla* 'tile' may become /krabaan/ (the word comes to mean 'head').

The Tones

In the Thai language there are five tones. The tone of a Thai syllable is indicated by (1) the class of the initial consonant (there are three classes of consonants). (2) the kind of syllable, open or close, and 3) by the tone mark, if necessary. The Thai alphabet has all the signs for Skt. vowels and consonants plus a few other signs for words of non-Indic origins. So it is possible to retain the original spelling of a Skt. word in Thai script. Normally a Skt. word or syllable takes its tone from its written form.

In borrowing or adapting a Skt. word into Thai, the word may be given many forms. For example from Skt. *purāṇa* 'old' are derived/búraan, booraan, baw raan/. Different forms have different literary value : of the three forms above /bawraan/ appears only in poetry, while /buraan/ and /booraan/ appear in prose as well as in poetry.

The Role of Sanskrit in the Thai Language

Although it is not possible to say exactly when Skt. words were first introduced into the Thai language, they definitely had been in use before the end of 15th century of the Christian Era. In A.D. 1492 a rock inscription was made for a king of Sukhothai, a kingdom to the north of Bangkok. The inscription which is the earliest extant record of the Thai language, contains many Skt. and Pali words : /súkhôothaj/ :dawn of happiness' from *sukhodaya*. /raam/ for *rāma*, /pràat/ 'a learned man' for *prajña*, are some of the words found in the inscription.

The borrowing of Skt. (and Pali) words into the Thai language has been so extensive that there is hardly a lexical field in which a Sanskrit word does not occur. The following examples are given to indicate the extent of borrowing. The glosses indicate the meaning of the words as used in Thai.

Kinship terms : /bídaa/ 'father' from *pitā*; /bùt/ 'son' from *putra*.

Minerals and precious stones : /phét/ 'diamond' from *vajra*; /phajthuun/ 'beryl' from *Vāidūrya*.

Animals : /sùnák/ 'dog' from *sunakha*; /sàt/ 'animal' from *sattva*.

Parts of body : /sǐisà/ 'head' from *śīrṣa*; /kaaj/ 'body' from *kāya*.

Fighting : /sàttruu/ 'enemy' from *śattru*; /chaj/ 'victory' from *jaya*.

Political terms : /raachaa/ 'king' from *rājā*; /montrii/ 'minister of state' from *mantrin*; /thùut/ 'envoy' from *dūta*.

Legal terms : /khádii/ 'a law suit' from *gati*; /niitìsaàt/ 'Legal science' from *nītiśāstra*.

Marriage : /wíwaa/ 'wedding' from *vivāha*; /phanrájaa/ 'wife' from *bhāryā*.

Education : /sǐksǎa/ 'study' from *śikṣā*; /sìt/ 'student' from *śiṣya*.

Religion : /tham, thammá/ 'duty, righteousness' from *dharma*; /phìkṣu/ 'monk' from *bhikṣu*.

Geography : /kàseèt/ 'agriculture, field' from *kṣetra*; /meèk/ 'cloud' from *megha*; phaajú/ 'storm' from *vāyu*.

Science : /sàat/ 'science' from *śāstra*; /wítthájaa/ 'knowledge' from *vidyā*. /cìttàwítthájaa/ 'psychology' from *Cittavidyā*.

Time ; /kaan, kaalá/ 'time' from *kāla*; /sàmǎj/ 'period, age' from *samaya*.

Child rearing : /thaarók/ 'baby, child' from *dāraka*; /suǔtìkam/ 'child delivery' from *sūtikarma*.

Food and cooking : /aahǎan/ 'food' from *āhāra*; /pháàcháná/ 'bowls, cups' from *bhājana*; /rót/ 'taste' from *rasa*.

Some of the Skt. forms given above might not be attested, for they may be only forms made up of available elements. The representing forms are however quite common and in general use.

The impact of Western culture and technology has brought about the need for many new terms, and to meet the need, new words are coined out of the already available Skt. and Pali elements and patterns. Some of the elements are very productive. For example /thoorá-/ 'far, distant' from *dūra*, was first used in /thoorásàp/ 'telephone' from a constructed form *dūra-śabda*. Later it appears in /thoorá lèd/ 'telegraph' from *dūra-lekha*. Now /thoorá-/ is used in place of *tele-* of English. Thus /thooráphim/ 'teletype' from *dūrabimba*, /thoorákhámánaakhom/ 'telecommunication' from *dura-gamana- āgamana.*

Sanskrit language then has been making two major contributions toward the enrichment of the Thai vocabulary by lending words and by providing elements and patterns with which new terms can be coined and put in current use.

SANSKRIT AND THAILAND

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Sanskrit and Thailand

The Sanskrit language is of great importance to Thailand in many ways, viz.

(a) Archaeology, (b) Epigraphy, (c) Literature, (d) General Culture, (e) the language.

Sanskrit and Archaeology

In Thailand, a lot of ruins depict the Brahman stories, such as the shrine made of stone called 'Prasart Hin Pimai' in the Pimai district, Nakhon Rachasima Province, northeast of Bangkok, with the pictures of the three Gods and idols of Hinduism carved inside and the shrine called 'Prasant Phanomroong' in the province of Buri Rām, northeast of Bangkok with the idols of Hinduism inside, are bassed on the Sanskrit language.

Besides, on the walls of the Uposaha (Buddhist monks' temple) and 'the Vihara' of the wats (Buddhist sanctuary) with paintings concerning the story of Rama, which in fact is an adaptation of Sanskrits Ramayanam' called in Thai 'Ramakien.'

Sanskrit and Epigraphy of Thailand

The inscriptions in the various periods of Thailand such as those in the Davarvati (Dvāravati)period and the Srivichai(Śrīvijaya) period, have been engraved in Sanskrit.

The inscriptions in the period of Davaravati were found in the province of Prachin Buri, east of Bangkok, and those in the Chaiya district, in the province of Suratthani, south of Bangkok.

Here is a part of an inscription at Wat Huavieng in the Chiya district :

(1) svasti śrīmat srighanaśasanāgeasubhadaṁ yas tāmbralin —

(2) geśvaraḥ sa.........niva patmavaṁsajanatāṁ vaṁśapradī —
potthavaḥ saṁrū —

(3) pena hi candrabhānumadanaḥ śri dharmma rājā sa yaḥ
dharmmsāsokasamānanī —

(4) tini punaḥ pañcaṇḍavanisādhipaḥ.
svasti śrīkamalakulasamutbhṛ (t) tām —

(5) braliṅgeśvarabhujabalabhimasenākhyayānas
sakalamanusyapunyā —

(6) nubhāvena babhuva candrasūryyāṇubhāvamiha
lakeprasiddhikīrtti

(7) dhara chandrabhanu-ti śridharmmarājā —
kaliyugabarṣāṇi dvatriṁśadhikastrīni —

(8) satādhikacatvārasahasbhanyatikrānte śelālekhamiva —
bhaktyānṛtavaradam

Sanskrit and Thai Literature

Many books of Thai literature such as 'Ramakien' and 'Sakuntala' come from the Sanskrit origins. The 'Ramakien', as has been mentioned above, is the Ramayanam, and "Sakuntala" is from the Sanskrit work of the same name. They have been beautifully recomposed in Thai verses. Both are not only read but produced on stage also. Thai people consider them as "classics". And again, the Sanskrit' 'Meghadūta' has also been put into Thai verses.

Sanskrit and general Thai Culture

It is the national culture for the Thais when greeting each other that they do namaskāra. Two Sanskrit words have been adopted in current Thai speech and writing : 'Pranamya' and 'Vanda'.

Much of the style of Thai dancing is said to have been taken from the Sanskrit *Nāṭyaśāstra* written by Bharatamuni.

Sanskrit plays an important part in every day life of Thai people

It seems that the Thais have been in close connection with Sanskrit since their birth.

Since her giving birth to a child, the Thai mother is sometimes asked the day of her delivery. The answer to this is my child was born on Won *adītay* (a : tit) = Sunday (Skr. adītya) .

The Sanskrit words have been adapted for the Thai names of the days in a week. They are as follows :—

āditay (a : tit)   = Sunday, from Skt. āditya
candr (d3An)   = Monday, from Skt. candra
aṅgār (Anka : n)   = Tuesday, from Skt. aṅgāra
budh (put)   = Wednesday, from Skt. budha
brhasbodi (pAruhAtsabs : di :)
                          = Thursday, from Skt. bṛhaspati
śukr (sug)   = Friday, from śukra
saur (sau)   = Saturday, from Skt. saura

In giving names to new born babies in Thailand ever since Sukhothai was the capital of Thailand in 1800 B.E. (1257 A.D.), a lot of Sanskrit words have been used. The first king himself was named 'Sri Indraditay'. Indraditay comes from Skt. 'Indra and Āditya; it is because of the beauty or, very often the meaning of Sanskrit words. Because India and Thailand are so close together, there have been some exchanges of culture.

Here are the names of Thai people :—

Sathien (sAtian) from Skt. sthira
Sundar (sunta : n) from Skt. Sundara
Anek (Aneig) from Skt. aneka
Padmā (pAttama :) from Skt. Padma
Ruci (rud3i :) from Skt. Ruci
              etc.

Besides, Sanskrit words are used for the names of universities, hospitals, schools, stores ...... etc.

Names of universities are :—
'Silpakorn' University   = Skt. Śilpakara
'Dhammasart' University   = Skt. Dharmaśāstra
'Chulalongkorn' University   = Skt. cuḍālaṅkaraṇa
              etc.

Names of hospitals are :—
'Sirirart' hospital   = Skt. Śrirājan
'Vajira' hospital   = Skt. vajra
'Ramadhibordi' hospital   = Skt. Rāmādhipati
              etc.

Names of bookstores are :—
'Suksabhan' store   = Skt. Śikṣābhāṇḍa
'Dhonburi Suksa' store   = Skt. dhanapurīśikṣā

Sanskrit and the Thai language

A lot of Thai words are used in daily life, about 30 per cent being derived from Sanskrit. The Thai people have considered some parts of Sanskrit as the mother of their language.

The Thais, however, make use of the form of Sanskrit in the Thai language but not the sound which they pronounce differently from the original Sanskrit. Those words, in another word, have been adopted in the way of Thai pronunciation.

Here are some Thai words adapted from Sanskrit :

(a) With the same meanings as Sanskrit

Thai Words	Thai Pronunciation	Meanings	From Sanskrit
aṅg	auñ	body	aṅga
adhibodi	Atibodi	head of a department	adhipati
anācār	Ana : dza : n	immoral conduct	anācāra
kavi	gAvi :	poet	kavi
kaṣir	gAsi : ra	milk	kṣīra
kasien	gAssien		
kaudand	gAutan	bow	kodaṇḍa
khaṣem	kAseim	happy	kṣema
gaj	kout	elephant	gaja
garbh	kAn	embryo	garbha
gṛhasth	kAru : hat	householder	gṛhastha
ghosak	kosoug	proclaimer	ghoṣaka
cakr	d3Ag	heel	cakra
candr	d3An	moon	candra
cor	d3oun	thief	cora
chavi	t ʔ Avi :	colour of the skin	chavi

Thai Words	Thai Pronunciation	Meanings	From Sanskrit
jan	ʃoun	man, person	jana
janak	ʃAnoug	father	janaka
janani	ʃAnAni ⎱ ʃounnAni : ⎰	mother	jananī
danay	ŏAnai	son	tanaya
daruṇ	ŏArun	young boy	taruṇa
dārā	ŏa : ra :	star	tārā
tark	tAg	doubt, reasoning	tarka
dant	toun	tooth	danta
darjan	tə : rAʃoun	bad man	durjana
darśana	tAtsAnA	sight, seeing	darśana
dhāni	ta : ni :	town	dhānī
draby	zAb	wealth, property	dravya
dharm	tAmmA, tAm	virtue	dharma
nagar	nAken	city	nagara
nadi	nAti :	river	nadī
namaskar	nAmAtsaka : n	respectful salutation	namaskāra
baurivar	bə : riva : n	dependents	parivāra
bāp	ba : b	evil, bad	pāpa
buṇy	bun	merit, virtue	puṇya
butr	but	son	putra
prakṛti	pragriti	nature	prakṛti
praja	prAʃa :	people	praj ॳ

Thai Words	Thai Pronunciation	Meanings	from Sanskrit
praṇam	prAnoun	respectful salutation	praṇam
prabhed	prApeit	kind, sort	prabheda
phal	poun	fruit, result	phala
phāṇīt	pa : nit	sugar	phāṇita
bṛkṣ	pru : g	tree	vṛkṣa
bisdar	pitsAda : n	wide	vistāra
bīj	pu : t	seed	bīja
bhay	pai	danger	bhaya
bhāryā	pAnja :	wife	bhāryā
bhakdi	pagdi :	worship, faith	bhakti
maṇḍana	mAntAnA	ornament, decoration	maṇḍana
maṇī	mAni :	gem or jewel	maṇi
matsyā	mAtsAya :	fish	matsya
madhayam	mattAyoum	middle	madhyama
yācak	ja : d3oug	beggar	yācaka
yug	jug	age, period yoke	yuga
yoddin	jotin	warrior	yodhin
rājy	ra ; t	sovereignty kingdom	rājya
rājā	ra : ʃa :	king	rājā (rājan)
ṛddhi	ritti	increase, success	ṛddhi
ṛday	ru : tai	heart	hṛdaya
ṛṣi	ruzi :	sage	ṛṣi

Thai Words	Thai Pronunciation	Meanings	form Sanskrit
lāvaṇy	la : VAn	beauty, charm	lāvaṇya
liŋg	liñ	gender	liṅga
lok	log	the world people	loka
lobh	lob	desire for, greed	lobha
vaṇij	VAnit	merchant	vaṇij
varg	VAg	class, chapter	varga
vidyā	VittAya :	knowledge	vidyā
śakun	zAgun	bird	śakuna
śab	zoub	corpse, dead body	śava
śāstr	za : t	science, law	śāstra
śikṣā	zugza :	learning	śikśā
sakal	sAgoun	all	sakala
saṅgrām	sounkra : m	war, battle	saṅgrāma
strī	satri :	woman	strī
saty	sAt	truth	satya
hiraṇy	hirAn	gold, silver	hiraṇya
hemant	heiman	winter	hemanta
hairaṇ	hairoun	silver	hairaṇya
	etc.		

(b) with changes in meaning

Thai Words	Thai Pronunciation	Meanings	From Sanskrit	Meanings
icchā	ittfa:	jealous	icchā	desire
caṇḍāl	d3Anta:n	bad, low	caṇḍala	an outcast
chatr	tʃAt	tiered umbrella	chatra	umbrella
bātr	ba:t	bowl	pātra	pot
moho	moho	angry	moha	lost in sense, mistake
yodhā	jota;	construction work	yodha	warrior
vedanā	vetAna:	to pity, pitiful	vedanā	feeling
saṅgh	souñ	monk	saṅgha	group

(c) New creations formed by the Thais themselves on the basis of Sanskrit :

carācar (d3Ara : d3ə : n) — policeman on the traffic duty from Skt. cara + acara

daśanācar (tAtsana : d3ə : n) — tour, from Skt. darśana + cara

doradarśan (tozAtAt) = television, from Skt. dura + darśana

doralekh (tozAleig) = telegram, from Skt. dura + lekha

dorasabd (torAsAd) — telephone, from Skt. dura + śabda

prajñā (pratʃAja :) = Philosophy, from Skt. pra + jñā

vidyu (vittAju) — radio, from Skt. vidyut.

etc.

Sanskrit Studies in Thailand Today

Now-a-days, Sanskrit is widely taught in Thailand. There are many institutions, colleges and universities in which Sanskrit is taught in not only B.A. classes but upto M.A. classes also. But it seems there are a few scholars who are experts in this language.

Speaking of Sanskrit learning in M.A. classes of universities in India, it is very difficult for the foreigners to study Sanskrit, because the local languages such as Hindi, Bengali, etc., have too often been mediums for lectures in India. Thus there is no way for the foreigners who do not know such languages to understand what the Sanskrit lecturers are saying. They should adopt English which is an international language. Many Thai people, who desire to study Sanskrit, having known that only Indian local languages are medium for lecture in Indian universities, have been put off from coming to India to study Sanskrit here. My proposal is that, in M.A. classes in India, it is better therefore to use English in lecturing, since it is the best way to teach foreigners Sanskrit.

However, so that the teaching and learning of Sanskrit in foreign countries may be widely expanded, the Indian Government should do many things to help the expansion, for example : granting scholarships to the foreigners who want to read Sanskrit in India or in their respective countries. This is also indirectly beneficial to India. Instead of hearing that 'Sanskrit is a dead language', we may hear that 'Sanskrit is a living language'.

I hope my proposal will kindly be considered. Thank you.

Śāntiḥ vo bhavatu sarvadā ! (May all of you be forever peaceful and happy.)

THE RĀMĀYANA IN THE MALAY WORLD—SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT

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My interest in Sanskrit in particular, and Indian culture ir general, is primarily in the influence which this great culture has exerted on the life of the Malay world during the past two thousand years. This influence has been enormous, and even today, although 99.9% of Malays in Malaysia have now been Muslims for several hundred years, a considerable number of (Islamic) religious concepts are expressed in Malay with words derived from Sanskrit, thus for example, *puasa* (to fast), *shurga* (heaven), *neraka* (hell) etc.

In this short paper I intend to make observations on the *Rāmasaga* in the Malay world and to present briefly some of the results of my own research on the subject. The *Rāmāyana* has captivated the inhabitants of South-East Asia for centuries and has been written, recited, sculpted and performed from Cambodia to Bali. Two major versions are encountered in the Malay world. The first, found only in Javanese literature, is represented by Yogīsvara's thousand year old *Old-Javanese Rāmāyana Kakawin* and Yasadipura's, eighteenth century New-Javanese version of it. As regards the development of the plot, this version is similar to Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana*. The *Old-Javanese Rāmāyana Kakawin* is not, however, a translation of the latter work, and Manamohan Ghosh first and then Hooykaas (1955) have shown that the first two thirds were modelled on the Sanskrit *kāvya*, Bhaṭṭi's *Rāvanavadha*, popularly known as the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*. Yogīsvara not only modelled his work on the content of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, but also the form, and composed his *kakawin* according to Indian poetic standards and ideals. This is a most interesting feature of the *kakawin* in particular, and of Old-Javanese poetry in general: Old-Javanese poetry

employs quantitative verse, although this is not a feature of the Indonesian language group, and Teeuw (1952, p.4) cites this as a "most striking case of discrepancy between language and verse structure". It would appear that the influence of Sanskrit was so strong on Old-Javanese literature that the latter developed an artificial quantitative verse structure modelled on that of Sanskrit prosody.

Although the influence of Sanskrit on the Malay language has been considerable, the earliest Malay manuscripts surviving today date only from the end of the sixteenth century, which puts them well into the Islamic period, and we are well nigh ignorant of the state of pre-Islamic Malay literature, for those works originating from Hindu times have, to a large extent, submitted to Islamic 'remoulding'. There are, however, indications that Malay prosody on at least one occasion was modelled on a Sanskrit verse form: Marrison (1951) demonstrates that a poem in Malay inscribed on a Muslim tombstone in Acheh, and dating from the fourteenth century, employed a quantitative metre and modelled on the *upajâti* measure of Sanskrit verse. Nothing comparable to the poetry of Old-Javanese, however, survives in early Malay, and there exists no translated version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* comparable to that of Yogīśvara. The Rāma-saga is, however, well known in Malay and exists in both literary and oral forms, the latter still enjoying considerable popularity in the north of West Malaysia, where they form the basic repertoire of the Malay shadow-play. The literary Malay version the *Hikayat Seri Rama* is interrelated with a group of popular Javanese versions. These popular tales differ considerably from the version of Vālmīki, and this was thought by some scholars, notably Rassers (1922), to be due to Indonesian influence. It seems clear that Rassers devoted his attention only to Vālmīki's version; yet numerous other versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have been current in India from early times, and Father Camille Bulcke (1950) compares three hundred versions in Sanskrit and various vernaculars. Rassers' view was shown to be unacceptable by Stutterheim (1925) and to a greater extent by Zieseniss (1928) who pointed to Indian sources for nearly the whole of the Malay Rāma-saga. Zieseniss concluded that the *Hikayat Seri Rama* represents a popular form of the Rāma-saga which reached Indonesia from various parts of India and was there fused into a more or less complete whole.

In the studies of Stutterheim and Zieseniss, however, only two main texts of the *Hikayat Seri Rama* formed the basis for comparison. Examination of the Raffles Malay MS. 22 of the Royal Asiatic Society, London[1] reveals, however, that the version contained

therein is largely a combination of the two versions employed
Zieseniss, and in many places is much fuller and fills many of
gaps left in the previous two texts. Comparison of this MS. w
the Thai Rāma saga, the *Ramakien*, reveals that much more of t
Hikayat Seri Rama resembles the *Ramakien* (and consequently t
Khmer version, which shows much similarity to the *Ramakien*, a
which judging from the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat, is the olc
version) than is apparent from the version of the *Hikayat Seri Ra*
as presented by Zieseniss.[2] For example, the following motifs a
but a few of the features common to the *Hikayat Seri Rama* [HS
(Raffles version) and to the *Ramakien* [RK], but which do not occ
in the versions studied by Zieseniss:

a) Hanumān, en route to Langka, meets a bird nam
Sempāti [HSR]/Sambadi [RK] who had flown too near the sun a
lost all his feathers. He is cured when Rāma's army cheers hi
thrice.

b) Bali (Skt: Vālin) succeeds in correcting the slant of Bisnu
(Skt: Viṣṇu) [HSR/Isvara's [RK] mountain.

c) Bali swears by Bisnu's [HSR]/Rāma's [RK] arrow to deliv
a woman to his brother Sugriwa [HSR]/Sugrib [RK]. He breal
the oath and takes her for himself.

d) Hanumān, en route to Langka, meets a nymph, curse
and living a solitary life. By meeting Hanumān, she is release
from the curse.

e) Hanumān kills Miraba [HSR], Maiyarab [RK] (Sk
Ahīrāvaṇa?) by crushing his soul.

f) In order to cure the wounded Laksamana, Hanumā
descends below the earth to collect the dung of the cow that suppor
the earth.

As stated above, the *HSR* has much in common with th
popular Javanese recensions of the saga as found in the *serat kanda*
and the *Rama Keling*, and it is clear that the popular Rāma-saga
of South-East Asia fall into a distinct group. This conclusion in n
way negates the findings of Zieseniss, and although a large numbe
of the motifs found in the Raffles version of the *HSR* are not deal
with by Zieseniss, there is no evidence to show that these motifs ar
not Indian in origin. Rather, the evidence seems to suggest tha
the popular versions of South-East Asia (thus not merely Mala
and Javanese) originate, to a greater or lesser extent, from the sam
streams of oral tradition flowing from India.

Study of the Malay *HSR* reveals a few non-Indian motifs
There is, however, one interesting feature: Islamic influence. Barret

(1963), makes plausible the idea that the *HSR* is not merely given Islamic colouring to ensure its survival in a Muslim society, but that a deliberate attempt is made to remould the story on Islamic lines, so that the tale is depicted as unfolding during the time of the prophet Adam, and indeed Adam takes the place of *Pitāmaha* in the *HSR*. Further, much didactic material, as for example, the speech of Jama Menteri when invited to become ruler, is manifestly Islamic in content. Barrett suggests the possibility that the tale was remoulded by Sufis to make it a suitable vehicle for the presentation of Islamic beliefs in a milieu which would be entirely familiar with the tale of Rāma. It may be noted, moreover, that not only in Malay, but also Javanese, the popular Rāma-tales do not occur in written literature of the pre-Islamic period, appearing in Java only in the Islamic Pasisir literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, (Pigeaud, I. p.243).

Although Rasser's views on the autochthonous nature of the divergences of the Malay Rāma-saga were shown to be unacceptable, there is nevertheless a tendency especially in the oral forms of the Malay Rama tale, towards Indonesianization, whereby,' as Zieseniss noted, Rāma is reduced to the level of 'a mere fairy tale hero, a process which had probably already been initiated in the Sellabear version of the *HSR*. This Indonesian levelling is best viewed in the oral versions of the Malay Rāma-saga, which exist primarily as shadow-play tales, and secondarily as stories of the *penglipur lara* (professional story-teller). We find in the study of folk literature, that certain geographical areas tend to emphasize characteristic types of plot, often very limited in number. Themes, motifs and plots which diffuse into those areas tend to be remoulded and handled so that they assume the features of the plot or types of these areas. In the Malay, a characteristic plot is that of the separation of loved ones, wandering in the wilderness, the overcoming of numerous obstacles and eventual reunion. This is the plot of all *Pañji* romances, and the theme of wandering and undergoing various trials, culminating in the union of the hero and his beloved constitutes the plot of most *penglipur lara* romances. When, therefore, the Rāma-saga is adapted for presentation in Malay folk literature—it is already an ideal subject, for all the features noted above are present—it is these features which tend to be emphasized, often to the detriment of others. Thus in the Malay shadow-play version of the Rāma-saga, entitled *Cherita Maharaja Rawana* (The Tale of Maharaja Rāvaṇa), the plot is far more compressed than the Malay literary version, the *HSR*. No mention is made of Rāma's exile and the abduction of Sītā is considered to occur on the journey home from the swayembara

where Rāma won her hand. Further, the transformation c Rāma and Sītā into monkeys, and the encounter with Rāvana' sister, Surpanha[3] are considered in the *Cherita Maharaja Rawana* to be attempts at this abduction. We find, too, a consisten omission of certain *HSR*-episodes, as for example, Rāma's shootin; at the hunchback's hump, the meeting with Kikukan, Rāma's exile or the installation of Rāma's sandals.

It should not, however, be thought that the oral shadow-play version is merely a compression of the literary Malay version. Examination of the repertoire of over a hundred *dalang* (shadowplay masters) revealed that the majority of motifs of the *wayang* (shadow-play) version are also found in the *HSR* and/or the R*K*. None of the *wayang* versions, however, is identical to the *HSR* or *RK*, nor are any two *wayang* versions indentical to each other; in fact it may be said that each *dalang* possesses, to some extent, a distinct version, the motifs of which are, to a considerable degree, similar to motifs of the *HSR* and/or *RK*. This is not to say, however, that there is no "*wayang* version" and that the repertoire is merely the result of 'dipping' into the literary versions by each dalang. In spite of wide variation, the *wayang* versions possess a number of common features which distinguish the *wayang* tale from *HSR/RK* and make it possible to speak of *wayang* version which, whatever the origion, has crystallized into a distinct form. Examples of these common features are :—

a) Frame of the plot, already discussed above.

b) Certain motifs and names which are common to the *wayang* versions but are absent or differ from *HSR/RK*. Such motifs are :

    i. Shooting through palm trees growing on the back of a *naga* during the contest for Sītā.

    ii. The setting adrift of Mah Babu Sanam (Skt: Vibhīṣaṇa) by his brother Rawana.

    iii. The presence of and the role played by 'god-clowns'—a typical Indonesian feature.

    iv. Rawana's possession of seven or twelve heads (not ten as in the *HSR*).

c) Localization of events. Thus the majority of *dalang* believe that the Rāma-story occurred locally. A number of *dalang* consider that Langkapuri (Langka) is situated in Langkawi, a small island off the north-west coast of Malaya. Others believe it to be near Bangkok. All would be sceptical to be told that Langka was Ceylon ! Similarly, it is generally believed that the location of the

swayambara for the hand of Sītā was in Singgora, in Southern Thailand. Every *dalang* is able to cite 'evidence' for the correctness of his belief, for example, seven palms are still to be seen in Singgora.

d) Characterization. The characters of Rama and Laksamana in the *wayang* version differ considerably from those of *HSR/RK*. In the *wayang* tale, Rāma is in general more effeminate, petulant, harsh and amorous, and lacks resource, depending more than in *HSR/RK* on his followers. Until the building of the causeway, Rāma is dependent on Laksamana's wisdom and foresight. After this time, Laksamana's role in this respect is, to a large extent, transferred to the astrologer Mah Babu Sanam who figures even more importantly than in *HSR/RK*. In contrast with Rāma, Laksamana, who in the *wayang* version is made a hermaphrodite [the virtues of celibacy and asceticism do not appeal to the Malay *dalang*, their only explanation of Laksamana's celibacy is that he is a hermaphrodite !], is gifted with second sight, has great wisdom and is a moderating influence on Rāma. We note a similar tendency in the *penglipur lara* version cited by Zieseniss for Rāma to become a more fairy tale prince and there, too, Laksamana has the powers of a shaman. We note, too, that in the *wayang* version, Rawana and his followers do not usually have very finely-drawn characters; in general they are reduced to the level of "all purpose baddies" and few *dalang* ever feel sympathy for them.

Although similarity of *wayang* motifs to *HSR/RK* does not alone prove that it is the *wayang* version which is derived from *HSR'RK*, comparative work reveals (Sweeney, 1971) that the *wayang* version in its present state is the result of intermingling of two main versions: Thai and Malay, which may be the literary versions or oral forms parrallel to them. Nevertheless, a considerable number of similarities are also found with Javanese, Lao and Khmer versions. One interesting example is the episode of Rawana's changing himself into a lizard in order to gain entry to Borembun's (Skt: Viṣṇu) grotto and seduce the latter's wife. The same legend is cited by Moura (1883, II,p.315) and it is said to explain one of the bas-reliefs of Angkor Wat. (There however, Rāvaṇa is seeking entry to Indra's palace.)

There is yet a further stage in the development of the tales of Rāma in Malay folk literature. The term *ranting* (twig) is used in the *wayang* to designate a mass of stories which, although featuring *Rāmāyaṇa*-characters, are not parallel to the *HSR/RK* (nor thus to the Indian epic). As is clear from the name *ranting* these stories are not considered to form a basic part of the repertoire, and consist of the later or minor adventures of the heroes and their offspring. These stories are generally much more fluid in content than the

basic repertoire and are often changed or invented. The most interesting feature of these *ranting* tales is that the plots are mostly Pañji stories, adapted to suit the *Rāmāyaṇa*-characters. Thus Radin Ino Kertapati's role is taken by Rāma, that of Radin Galuh Chendera Kirana by Sītā, Ino's brother by Laksamana. Characters from the basic Rāma-repertoire, although not corresponding to any Pañji character, may be brought in to play parts in keeping with their characters and roles in the basic ... . the *Cherita Maharaja Rawana*. Thus Hanumān may appear on the scene to perform a task requiring strength; Mah Babu Sanam may be introduced when a problem requires divination. Rama characters corresponding to Pañji characters may also retain their original characteristics. Thus, when Laksamana assumes the role of Ino's brother, he remains always the celibate. Sometimes, the characteristics of the performers of two corresponding roles are almost identical as in the case of Pak Dogol (the 'god-clown' in the Rāma-story) and Semar (the god-clown in the Pañji plots). On the other hand, the Pañji characters may have an influence on the Rāma-character. When a characteristic, such as that of lover in the case of Pañji, is prominent in the majority of stories, this appears to influence not only the character of Rāma in *ranting* tales but the effect is seen even into the basic part of the repertoire.

Although nowadays the literary Malay version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* enjoys little popularity and is read probably only by scholars, at least the characters of the Lord Rāma, his Lady Sītā and their loyal followers still come to life nightly on the shadow screens of the north of West Malaysia, where a performance by a good *dalang* can still draw a larger audience than a local open-air cinema showing the latest in Hollywood Coca-cola culture.

Notes

1. This MS. was first brought to light by Winstedt (1944). A careful romanization has been made by Mr. E. C. G. Barrett of the School of Oriental and African Studies, but so far unpublished.
2. For a detailed discussion of the subject, see Sweeney (1971).
3. For the sake of convenience, the names Rāma, Sītā, Rāvaṇa, & Sūrpaṇakhā are the Sanskrit forms. The Malay forms are Seri Rama, Sita Dewi, Rawana and Sura Pandaki. The Malay *wayang* forms are Seri Rama, Siti Dewi, Rawana and Siti Mayang.

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GENERAL APPEAL OF SUBHĀṢITA LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

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The moral and ethical verses *(subhāṣita-s)* are innumerable in Sanskrit literature; they are mines of practical good sense in metrical form. The *subhāṣita-s* are found not only in different Sanskrit literary works but also in special collections of wise sayings—*subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. These collections influenced the literature of "Greater India" and became known in the North, South and East of India. Some of the collections of wise sayings were translated into the languages spoken in "Greater India" or with spreading of Pāli became known in countries South and East of India or even became known in Sanskrit in these countries where Sanskrit was used. With the spreading of Sanskrit literary works, *subhāṣita-s* of Sanskrit origin became also known in countries West of India.

A. TIBET

2. In the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. some of the best known works in India, not necessarily of Buddhist character, were translated into Tibetan and were included in the Tanjur. In this way some Sanskrit gnomic poems which became lost in India were preserved in Tibet.

2.1. The Tibetans had a special liking for the gnomic *(nīti)* literature and in particular collections of moral and ethical sayings. Thus, one of the best known in India collections of gnomic verses, the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings, and in particular the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version, was preserved in Tibetan through a translation made in the tenth or eleventh century A.D.

2.2. Since the first studies were made in the Tibetan Tanjur by A. Csoma de Körös in the first half of the nineteenth century,

we know that eight works, containing collections of *subhāṣita-s,* were included in the Tanjur. These works are as follows[1] :

1. Śes-rab brgya-pa shes-bya-baḥi rab-tu-byed-pa; in Sanskrit *P r a j ñ ā ś a t a k a-n ā m a-p r a k a r a ṇ a* (according to P. Cordier[2] *śataka-prakaraṇa nāma*) *by A. Klu-sgrub (N ā g ā r j u n a)* and translated by Sarvajñadeva, Dpal brtsegs. (No. 4328 [ṅo. 99 b⁴-103 a⁷] = No. 4501) ;

2. Lugs-kyi bstan bsos śes-rab sdoṅ-po shes-bya-ba; in Sanskrit *N ī t i ś ā s t r a-p r a j ñ a d a ṇ ḍ a-n ā m a by* Klu-sgrub *(N ā g ā r j u n a)* and translated by Śīlendrabodhi, Ye-śes sde. (No. 4329 [ṅo 103 a⁷-113 a⁴]);

3. Lugs-kyi bstan-bcos skye-bo gso-baḥi thigs-pa shes-bya-ba; in Sanskrit *N ī t i-ś ā s t r a j a n t u p o ṣ a ṇ a b i n d u-n ā m a* (according to P. Cordier *Janapoṣaṇabindu nāma nītiśāstra) by Klu-sgrub (N ā g ā r j u n a)* and translated by Śīlendrabodhi, Ye-śes sde. (No. 4330 [ṅo 113 a⁴-116 b⁴]);

4. Tshigs-su bcad-paḥi mdsod ces-bya-ba; in Sanskrit *G ā t h-ā k o ṣ a n ā m a* (according to P. Cordier *Āryakośa) by i-ma sbas-pa (R a v i g u p t a)* and translated by Jñānaśānti, Dal-gyi lhun-po sde. (No. 4331 [ṅo. 116 b⁵-122 a³]);

5. Tshigs-su bcad-pa brgya-pa; in Sanskrit *Ś a t a g a t h ā by Mchog sred (V a r a r u c i)* and translated by Vinayacandra, Chos-kyi śes-rab. No. 4332 [ṅo. 122 a³ 1126a⁶]);

6. Dri-ma med-paḥi dris-lan rin-po-cheḥi phreṅ-ba shes-bya-ba; in Sanskrit *V i m a l a-p r a ś n o t t a r a r a t n a m ā l ā-n ā m a* (according to P. Cordier '*notata...malī-*') *by Don-yod ḥchar and translated by Kamalagupta,* Rin-chen bzaṅ-po. (No. 4333 [ṅo. 126 a⁶-127 b⁶] = No. 4499);

7. Tsa-na-kaḥi rgyal-poḥi lugs-kyi bstan-bcos; in Sanskrit *C ā ṇ a k y a n ī t i ś ā s t r a by Tsa-na-kaḥi (C ā ṇ a k y a)* and

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1. Quoted from the *Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* ed. by Professors Hutuju Uinetada Suzuki, Yenshō Kanakura and Lect. Tōkan Tada. Publ. by *Tōhoku Imperial University aided by Saito Gratitude Foundation Senadai,* Japan 1934. Nos. 4328-4335. This catalogue refers to the Sde-dgo edition of the Tibetan Buddhist-canons (Bkaḥ ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur) in 4569 volumes owned by the Japanese Tōhoku Imperial University Library.

2. P. Cordier, *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétains de la Bibliothequé Nationale, Paris, 3me partie* pp. 481-3 (Mdo Ḥgrel-Sūtravṛtti), Vol. 123 (Tibeṭan 318).

translated by Prabhākaraśrīmitra. Rin-chen bzan-po. (No. 4334 [ño 127 b⁶-137 b⁶]); and

8. Lugs-kyi bstan-bcos; in Sanskrit *N ī t i ś ā s t r a of M a s-u r a k ṣ a* (or *Masau-rakṣa* or *Masūrākṣa*) and translated by Dharmaśrībhadra, Śākya blo-gros. (No. 4335 [ño. 137 b⁶-143 a⁷]).

2.3. Particularly the last two works, i.e. the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra and the Nītiśāstra of Masurakṣa are *.../ sīte sa ng. aha-s* par excellence, of which the last became lost in India Also the *Gāthākoṣanāma* of Ravigupta and the *Śatagāthā* of Vararuci contain a great number of *subhāṣita-s.*

2.4.1. The Tibetan Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra was edited in Tibetan and retranslated into Sanskrit by Sunitikumar Pathak;[3] it is the Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra version of Cāṇakya's sayings and is almost identical with the Bṛhatsaṃhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa[4].

2.4.2. The text is divided into 8 *adhyāya-s* which contain respectively *23, 30, 31, 17, 26, 23, 31* and *72* wise sayings. This text must have been well known in Tibet and probably was used by other Tibetan compilers of *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, since we find the same saying also in the She-rab-dong-bu and the Subhāṣita-nidhi.

2.5.1. The text of the Nītiśāstra of Masurakṣa was completely unknown in India until 1962. Only then was it for the first time edited in Tibetan with a retranslation into Sanskrit and a translation into English by Sunitikumar Pathak[5].

2.5.2. Masurakṣa is an unknown author; he is mentioned only once in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī as the author of verse

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3. *Viśva Bhārati Annals*, Vol. VIII, Śāntiniketan, 1958.

4. Cf. L. Sternbach, *Cāṇakya-Nīti Text Tradition* Viśveśvarānand Indological Series No. 28), Vol. 1.2; pp. XXXVIII-LVIII; L. Sternbach, *The Cāṇakya-rāja-nītiśāstra and the Bṛhaspati Saṃhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa* in *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona*, Vol. 37; pp. 58-110; L. Sternbach, *The Tibetan Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra*, idem Vol. XLII; pp. 99-122; L. Sternbach, *Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s in Old Javanese and Tibetan*, idem Vol. XLVIII; pp. 115-158; L. Sternbach, *A new Cāṇakya-rāja-nīti-śāstra Manuscript, Bhāratīya Vidya Bhavan*, Bombay 1958; L. Sternbach, *An unknown Cāṇakya MS and the Garuḍa Purāṇa* in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. I; pp. 181-200; L. Sternbach, *A New Abridged Version of the Bṛhaspati - saṃhitā of the Garuḍa-purāṇa.* "*Purāṇa*", Varanasi, 1966.

5. *Viśva-Bhārati Annals*, Vol. X, Śāntiniketan.

2935 which is however a verse from the Pañcatantra;[6] Masurakṣa (or Masūrākṣa) mentioned in the Tanjur is probably another person and was probably the compiler of a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* which must have been popular in India in the tenth or eleventh century A.D.[7].

3. In addition to the gnomic (*nīti*) works preserved in the Tanjur we find also two other Tibetan *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, undoubtedly at least in its greater part, of Sanskrit origin, viz. the She-rab dong-bu and the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi.

3.1.1. The S h e - r a b   d o n g - b u is a *subhāṣita-saṃgraha* in Tibetan which contains 260 wise-sayings; in the colophon it is ascribed to Klu-sgrub or Lu-trub, i.e. to N ā g ā r j u n a. M. Winternitz[8] considered that it was not likely that this anthology was the work of Nāgārjuna, while Campbell tried to prove that it was compiled or written by Nāgārjuna himself; if we accept Campbell's theory than the She-rab dong-bu was composed in the first century B.C. W.C Campbell was of the opinion that this anthology was a metrical translation from Sanskrit of an ethical work. It seems, however, that She-rab dong-bu was compiled in the form known to us sometimes in the eleventh century A.D. when most Sanskrit works were translated into Tibetan and included in the Tanjur.

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6. Pañcatantra, textus ornatior 3.35 and textus simplicior 3.43 (or 3.40 [Kosegarten]).

7. The name of Masurākṣa (in the RAS MS; and the Nepalese MS; *mathasurā*) is also mentioned in the Lankāvatāra-sūtra (Bibl. Ctaniensis, Vol. I, Otani University Press, 1923; Sagathakam, śloka 816) as a highly virtuous *ṛṣi* who along with Valmīka (sic !), Kauṭilya and Āśvalāyana will appear in the future. We also find the name of a king Masurakṣita of Pāla family in the Tāranātha's *History of Buddhism in India* (in German translation by A. Schiefner, chapter 31; 171 p. 225 and ch. 38; 195; p. 257) in the latter case along with Cāṇakya also of the Pāla family; he was also mentioned as a king in ch. 27 (154-5; p. 201) and ch. 33 (178; p. 234). Masurakṣita, as an interim ruler of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal in the ninth century A.D., is also mentioned in the Dpag bsam bjoṅ bzab of Ye Śes dpal byor. In some stories Canaka (Cāṇakya) was identified with Mohipāla (see *Mystic Tales of Lāmā Tārānatha*, transl. by Bh. Datta, Calcutta p. 62. Monier Williams in his *Sanskrit Dictionary* also quotes Masurakṣita as a name of king. See also : L. Sternbach's Review of the Nītiśāstra of Masūrākṣa in JAOS 82.3; pp. 407-411.

8. M. Winternitz, Geschichte der indischen Literatur II,

3.1.2. The She-rab dong-bu is a well known work in Tibet, though it was more likely better known by the educated classes by name only. It was largely quoted by Tibetan authors. W. L. Campbell considered that later writers borrowed many sentiments and sometimes entire lines, inserting them in their own compositions. He particularly thought that Paṇḍita Sākya had done so when preparing his Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi. It is difficult to subscribe to this statement since it was possible to identify only three *subhāṣita-s* which occur in both works[9] and two of them are Cāṇakya's wise sayings; their common source was probably the Cāṇakya-nītiśāstra prevalent in Tibet.

3.1.3. The She-rab dong-bu was first edited by Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das[10] and then by W.L. Campbell[11] who gave on the right-hand side the Tibetan text and on the left-hand side the English tranalation.

3.1.4. The work deals mostly with ethics and general wisdom; it contains only few Buddhistic truths (e.g. 61, 100) and even in these places some Sanskrit words could have been changed by the translator in order to fit the text with his own faith; such a procedure was also extensively applied in the Tibetan Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra. She-rab dong-bu followed the pattern of Sanskrit anthologies, as far as their contents were concerned and included, similarly as the main Sanskrit *Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* did wise sayings from the *kathā-*works[12] and from the floating mass of oral tradition.

3.2.1. The S u b h ā ṣ i t a - r a t n a - n i d h i is also a subhāṣita-saṁgraha in Tibetan; it contains 457 wise sayings and is divided into 7 chapters dealing with the wise, the prominent people, the fools, the excellent and the fools, wrong behaviour, normal behaviour, improper behaviour, duties of men and religious doctrines. The wise sayings included in this anthology are not always translations from Sanskrit but, perhaps with the exception of the last chapter, were influenced by Sanskrit sayings. Also the arrangement and division of this anthology into the seven chapters

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9. She-rab dong-bu 29, 111 and 133   Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi 323, 29, 43.

10. This edition was not available to me. According to Campbell it was printed in continuous lines. Some stanzas of the Prajñādaṇḍa were also published in *Bhoṭa Prakāśa, Tibetan Chrestomathy,* University of Calcutta, 1939. Cf. L. Sternbach, *Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s,* op. cit. fn. 4.

11. *Baptist Mission Press,* Calcutta 1919.

12. E.g. from the Pañcatantra, verse 45.

mentioned above shows Indian influences.[13] This anthology contains however one noticeable characteristic; it deals to a negligible extent with women, a subject dealt extensively in Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*. It contains only isolated sayings with Buddhistic leanings.

3.2.2. The Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi is ascribed to Paṇḍita Sākya (Sāskya) Kun dgah rgyal-mis'han dpal-bzang-po; in Sanskrit : Ānanda Dhvaja Śrī Bhadra who was born in 1181 A.D. and died at the age of seventy in 1251 A.D. It was partly published in 1855-56 with an English translation by Csoma de Körös;[14] there it contained only 234 out of 457 *subhāṣita-s*. An other extract of this work was translated into French in 1858 by Ph. E. Foucaux; it contains a selection of 134 *subhāṣita-s*. 12 of these *subhāṣita-s* were translated in 1860 into German and published in the *Illustrirten Revalschen Almanach*. A. Schiefner published critically (with notes) 33 of *subhāṣita-s* and included them in the first edition only of Böhtlingks *Indische Sprüche* in 1863-1865. Also G. Huth in his *History of Tibet Hor chos byung*, published and translated 19 *subhāṣita-s*. The whole text with a German translation was published in 1925 by W.L. Campbell (who also published and translated the She-rab dong-bu) in the *Ost-Asiatische Zeitung*, N. F. 2. (pp. 31-65 and 159-185). The best critical edition (of the Tibetan and Mongolian Text) with an English translation was published by J.E. Bossom as a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the United States; it was produced by microfilm-xerography in 1967 by University Microfilms, A Xerox Company, Ann Arbor.[15] J. E. Bossom based his edition in the first place on the Tibetan and Mongolian text published by L. Ligeti in 1949[16], as well as on some xylograph copies of the text. J. E.

13. For instance in verse 246 mentions the Pāṇḍava-s. Several verses are translations or adaptations of verses from the Pancatantra and the Hitopadeśa. See also A. Schiefner in the First Edition of O. Böhtlingk's *Indische Sprüche*.

14. JASB 24. p. 41 and 25, p. 257, reprinted in *Tibetan Studies : Being a reprint of the Articles contributed to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* by A. Csomas de Körös; ed. by E. Denisson Ross, Calcutta 1912. JASB Extra 1911.

15. Recently announced in some catalogues of commercial booksellers that it appeared also in book-form.

16. *Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi Mongol; Partie première. Le Manuscrit tibéto-mongol en reproduction phototypique avec une introduction. Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica VI*; Budapest 1948.

Bossom mentions that the entire text has recently been published in China in 1958 in Ch'eng-tu and another one in Lan-chou and a selection of 212 *subhāṣita-s* in Chinese translation also in 1958.[17]

3.2.3. There are many stories about the life of Paṇḍita Saskya.[18] We know that he made a long trip to China and resided in Middle Tibet (U Ts'ang) in the Saskya monastery in the province of Ts'ang "one hundred days distant" from Tashi Lhun-po. According to the introduction and the colophon, the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi was first compiled by Nāgārjuna but was written and edited by the Paṇḍita Saskya. Sometime, in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D., according to the legend, the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi was brought by Paṇḍita Saskya from China (sic !) but was lost by him when a boat overturned on a river. However when Paṇḍita Saskya returned to his monastery he found it miraculously in the library[19].

3.2.4. Tibetan scholars consider that the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi, called by them Saskya legs-bcad (in Lhassan : Sakya Legshe) was not a work of one person but a compilation made by three scholars. They base this theory on the introduction where it is stated that the author of the Subhāṣita-ranta-nidhi took the best from various works of his predesessors. This argument is not convincing, since Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* led often such an introduction and for instance, all the texts of the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version have similar introductory stanzas.

B. MONGOLIA, MANCHURIA CENTRAL ASIA

4. Buddhist monks spread some Sanskrit works, particularly through Tibet, to Mongolia and Manchuria.

4.1. And so, the Tibetan Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi was translated into Mongolian and West Mongolian (Kalmuk) and became one of

17. See also Pentti Aalto, *The Mannerheim Fragment of Mongolian Quadratic Script* in *Studia Orientalia* XVII. 7. Helsinki 19521 pp. 3-9 and *Fragmente des mongolischen Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* in *Quadratschrift* in *Mitteilungen des Institutes für Orientforschung Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, Band III, Heft 2, Berlin 1955; pp. 279-290; James E. Bossom, *A Rediscovered Xylograph Fragment from the Mongolian Phags-pa Version of the Subāṣitaratnanidhi in Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 2, June 1961; L. Sternbach, op. cit. (fn. 10).

18. See J. E. Bossom, op. cit. pp. 4 sqq

19. The Sa-skya Monastery famous for a large library of books taken or transported from India; it contains even today a large collection of Tibetan, Sanskrit and Chinese books.

the most popular works in this part of the world, wheie great interest for gnomic and didactic literature was noticed[20].

    4.1.1.   The first translation into Mongolian of the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi was attributed to Ch'os kyi od ser. Another translation from the fourteenth century by Toyin Sonom gara[21] exists in transcripts.   Another translation called Sayin üge-tü erden-yin saṅg subhasita kemegdekü shasti orusiba[22] (a treasure of gems of

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20. B. Laufer, *Skizze der mongolischen Litreratur* in *Kemeli Szemle, Revue Orientals pour les études ouralo-altaiques* VIII (1907) pp. 165-264; B. Laufer, *Skizze...*in *Keleti Szemle...*IX; pp. 1-53; L. Ligeti, *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie chinoise*, 1928-31, Budapest 1933; W. Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolishher Sprache*, Wiesbaden, 1954, in *Göttingen Asiatische Eorschungen*, Bd. II; N. Poppe, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altmongolischen Schridt-sprache* in *Asia Major*, Vol. I; pp. 688 sqq. *Mongolische Volksdichtung, F. Steiner Verlag*, Wiesbaden. 1955; P. Aalto, *Altasiatica* in *Studia Orientalia* 17.7 of 1952; *Verzeichniss der Orientalischen HSS I (Mongolische HSS; Blockdrucke, Landskarten)*, Wiesbaden 1961.

21. Vl'adimircov, *Mongol'ski sbornik rasskasov in Pañcatantra* in *Sbornik Muzea Antropologii, Etnografii pri Akademii Nauk SSSR* V.2, Leningrad 1925; p.445. Vl'adimircov also mentions a mongolian translation which originated among the Kalmuks and which dated from the seventeenth century. The MS. was prepared on the basis of a translation made in the fourteenth century by an unknown author; it has preserved some archaisms in the ortography and vocabulary. N. Poppe (op. cit. fn 20) also reported that the Asiatic Museum of the Soviet Academy has a tibeto-mongolian MS. of the Subhāṣita-ratnanidhi; it is a copy from the sixteenth or seventeenth century. For more details see J.E. Bossom (op. cit) in the Introduction.

22. Or Sayin üge-tü erden-yin saṅg subhāṣita kemegdekü shastir orusiba. We find this work in a mongolian edition (xylograph of small size) from the eighteenth century (78 pages). L. Ligeti (op. cit. fn. 20) (p. 58) repoited that it was still easy to find a copy of the same in Peking. Another translation of the Subhāṣitaratnanidhi, the Sayin üge-tü... by Sonom gar-a was also reported by L. Ligeti. He found among the Xarchin a MS. of the seventeenth or eighteenth century which preserved the archaism of a translation of the fourteenth century (see above).

good counsel) was translated by dge slong dambaidzamsan (dge sloṅ bstan pa'i rgyal mc'an) of the Ural on repeated advice of Sürüm that such a translation was essential. This translation was then elaborated by Mergen blama-yin gegen[23]. A further translation of the Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi and its comprehensive commentary by Noyirub (dṅos grub) from the Chaghan funinggha sumun of Tsakhar was prepared at the end of the eighteenth century after the Mergen blama-yin gegan had been compiled. It was printed in Chaghan agula süme in the district of Tsakhar. The printing blocs were prepared and are preserved in Chaghan aghule-yin süme of the Chaqar köbege tü Chaghan-i qosighan, the white mountain monastery of the white-bordered flag of Tsakhar[24]. This text is also combined with a commentary entitled Subhaṣidi-yin tayilburi chindamani-yin tülgigür kemegdekü; the latter is the revised version of the Tibetan commentary of Rin chen bzaṅ-po. This version was published in book form in Kalgan some time between 1930 and 1950, and in Ulaanbastar in Cyrillic script, as well as in Mukden in Mongolian script. There exist also a West Mongolian (Kalmuk) translation of the work[25].

5.   Based on the Mongolian Subhāṣitaratna-nidhi or directly on the Tibetan Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi is the eastern Mongolian, Buryat work by Lama Irdini Maybzun Gallishev who lived among the Buryats in the second half of the nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century. He prepared his "Mirror of Wisdom", published in Russian translation in 1966 in Ulan-Ude.[26] According to the introduction to this work Lāmā Irdini prepared his work composed of 979 subhāṣita-s on the basis of subhāṣita-s of Gunga-al-an in Tibetan, i.e. the Sa-skya's kun dgah rgyai-mis'han dpal-bzang-po (Subhāṣita-ratna-nidhi). Many Sanskrit subhāṣita-s can be traced in this work, including some from the Pañcatantra, Hito-padeśa and so-called Cāṇakya's sayings

6.   In addition to these works, being translations from Tibetan, we find in Mongolia and Manchuria collections of wise

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23.   Yeke Noṅghol ulus-un ündüsün-ü altām bobchi. It is the closest translation to the Tibetan Subhāṣitaratnanidhi.

24.   X.40

25.   The text is found in the Sven Hedin collection in Stockholm. See P. Aalto, *A Catalogue of the Hedin Collection of Mongolian Literature* (p.102). For other texts of the Mongolian Subhāṣitaratnanidhi see J.E. Bosson (op. cit.) Introduction 17-2

26.   *Zertsalo   Mudrosti*   by   T.A.   Dugar-Nimayev,   *Burnatskoe Knizhnoe Izdatel'stwo* Ulan Ude, 1966.

sayings which are either translations from Sanskrit or were inflenced by Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*. For instance some of the Mongolian and Manchurian sayings collected by Louis Rochet[27] definitely show that they are of Sanskrit origin (e.g. the Manchurian saying (13) which stated that the king who likes the same things as his subjects like, who hate the same thing as his subject hate, is like a father, mother to his subjects) is certainly influenced by a *subhāṣita* found in the Sūktiratnahāra (176.59) which is a quotation from the Kauṭilīya-arthaśāstra (1.19.34) or from the Mahābhārata (12.56) or the Śukranītisāra (4.4.204).

7. Some *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* found also their way to Central Asia. We find, for instance, among the finds of the German Turfan-expedition to Eastern Turkestan, some fragments of the Laghu Cāṇakya version of the so-called Cāṇakya's collections of wise sayings.[28]

C. DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES; CEYLON

8.1. Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* of didactic and gnomic character influenced the Tamil *nīti*-literature, in particular some of the main 18 main didactic works, i.e, the Nālaṭiyar with its famous quadrains, the Tiru-k-kuṛaḷ (both divided according to the three *puruṣārtha-s*). the Nāṇmaṇi-k-kaṭikai, the Iṉṉā-nāṛpatu, the Iṉiyavai nāṛpatu, the Tirikaṭukam, the Ācāra-k-ko·vai, the Cirupañcamūlam, the Llāti, the Mutumoḷi-k-kaña and to the lesser extent the Paḷamoḷi, the Kār-nāṛpatu, the Kaḷavaḷi nāṛpatu, the Kainnilai, the Tiṇaimoḷi aimpatu, the Tiṇaimālai nūṛṛaimpatu, the Aintiṇai aimpatu and the Aintinai eḷupatu, as well as such works as the Nīti-veṇpaā, Nīti-neṛi-vilakkam, Naṉṉeṛi, Nalvaḷi and Ataṉericcāram which contain Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*. It is very likely the Tamil *nīti*-literature as well as the South Indian Sanskrit literature influenced the *nīti*-literature of Ceylon.

8.2. The Simhalese *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, such as the S u b h ā-ṣ i t a y a by A l a g i y a v a n n a, the L ō k ō p a k ā r a y a by R a ṇ a s g a l l ē T h e r a of 238 verses, the A n u r ā g a m ā l-

27. L. Rocher, *Sentences, maximes et proverbes mantchoux et mongols,* Paris 1875. See also E. Teza, *Laghucāṇakyam* in *Annali delle University Toscane,* Tomo XVI, Pisa 1878, *Appendice,* pp. 3846; J.Kovalevski, *Mongol'skaya Chrestomatiya.*

28. Cf. L. Sternbach, *Some Cāṇakya's Epigrams in Central Asia* in *Viśveśvaranand Indological Paper Series,* No. 292 and L. Sternbach, *Les aphorismes difide ,Cāṇakya dans les textes bouddhiques du Tibet et du Turkestan Oriental* in *Journal Asiatique* 259. 1-2; pp. 71-82.

a y a of 65 verses (despite its title has no erotic content), the U p ā r a t n a m ā l a y a of 60 verses, as well as, in particular the textbook of poetry prepared by A t t a r a g a m a-B a ṇ ḍ ā r a entitled V a d a n k a v i p o t a contain some verses from, or influenced by Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*.

9. In particular three Ceylonese *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* show a great affinity with Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*: the Vyāsakāraya, the Pratyayaśataka, both know in Sanskrit and the Siṁhalese Subhāṣitaya of Aligayavanna.

9.1. The V y ā s a k ā r a y a is a Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* which until recently was unknown in India. Only recently the Vyāsa-subhāṣita-saṁgraha[29] was published on the basis of two South Indian Manuscripts and some ancillary sources, of which one was the Ceylonese Vyāsakāraya[30] which is almost identical with the Sanskrit Vyāsasubhāṣita-saṁgraha; the latter was certainly the basis for the Ceylonese Vyāsakāraya.

9.2. There is not such a clear-cut in the case of the Ceylonese P r a t y a y a ś a t a k a, a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* in Sanskrit, well-known in Ceylon[31], containing 102 wise sayngs in *śārdūlavikrīḍita, vasantatilakā, upajāti* and *śloka* metres. In the Pratyayaśataka the Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* are seldom reproduced in their classical original form; if they are reproduced at all, they are reproduced in the vulgate text and in the most popular form; the majority of these *subhāṣita-s* were borrowed from the classical sources of Sanskrit literature. In addition some *subhāṣita-s* are paraphrases of known *subhāṣita-s*; this paraphrase is usually correct as far the contents of the wise saying is concerned but not as far as its form; often some *subhāṣita-s* are composed of two to four different components taken from more than one Sanskrit *subhāṣita*; there are also many *subhāṣita-s* only influenced by thoughts which we also find in Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*.

29. Cf. L. Sternbach, *On the Sanskrit Nīti-Literature of Ceylon. 1. Viyāsakāraya...* in *Brāhmavidyā* Vol. 31-32: pp. 636 sqq. and 3. *An additional Note on the Vyāsakāraya* in *Brāhmavidyā* 35. 3-4; pp. 258-269.

30. Published by H. Bechert in Sanskrit text aus Ceyon I, München 1962. See also L. Sternbach, *On the Sanskrit Nīti-Literature in Ceylon. 2. Pratyayaśataka* in *Brāhmavidyā* Vol. 33, pp.80 sqq.

31. Published by H. Bechert (op. cit. fn. 30) in Sanskrit. Published in Sinhalese script by P.J. Karmadhara, *Panadura Press*, 1941. Translated by Arthur p. Perera in *Sanskrit Wisdom in English Verse*, Candy 1942.

All the *subhāṣita-s* which are paraphrases, or combinations of several *subhāṣita-s*, or verses influenced by some *subhāṣita-s*, or, finally, verses containing thoughts similar to those known to exist among Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* may have existed in the form preserved in the Pratyayaśataka, but at present are still unknown[32].

9.3. As far as form is concerned, the S u b h ā ṣ i t a y a of A l i g a y a v a n n a, a Siṁhalese *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* of 100 verses, is similar to the Pratyayaśataka. Also most of the *subhāṣita-s* included in the Subhāṣitaya are well-known Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*; some of these *subhāṣita-s* are also paraphrases of well-known wise sayings or were influenced by the Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*. Only the 17 verses of the first part of this anthology, which is Buddhistic in character, were probably not borrowed from the Indian literature.

10. In addition to these *subhāsita-saṁgraha-s*, the whole collection of Cāṇakya's wise sayings is prevalent in Ceylon; that is the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version[33];

D. BURMA

11.1. Probably there must have existed in India, in the thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth century a collection of wise sayings which was particularly well known among the Manipurian Paṇṇa-s; this collection which was as J. Gray reported[34] written in Bengali characters, but also known in Sanskritised Burmese penetrated into Burma and became well known as the Lokanīti, one of the three best known in Burma collections of wise sayings; the two others are Dhammanīti and the Rājanīti.

11.2. It is impossible to ascertain when these collections of wise sayings were compiled. The earliest reference in Burmese literature to the Lokanīti and the Rājanīti is found according to J. Gray in the Arākān rāzawiṅ or the "Chronicle of Arākān" in connection with Prince Kha Maung's visit to Pegu early in the Seventeenth century; he did not find, however, any reference to the Dhammanīti.

11.3. G.E. Gerini in his "Siāmese Proverbs and Idiomatic Expressions[35] has shown that imitations of the Lokanīti occurred in a Burmese inscription at Pagan dating from 1408 or 1416 A.D.

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32. Cf. L. Sternbach, op. cit. fn. 30.
33. Cf. L. Sternbach, op. cit. fn. 29; pp. 649-653.
34. J. Gray, *Ancient Proverbs and Maxims from Burmese Sources; or the Nīti literature of Burma*, London, *Trübner Oriental Series*, 1886; pp. Ix-x
35. *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. I, p. 180.

He thought that the Lokanīti was composed between 425 and 1400 A.D. He saw the date *a quo* in commentary on the Dhammapada— the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā—ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa, in which he could notice "strict analogies" between certain passages of the Lokanīti and the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. On the other hand C. Temple[36] thought that the Lokanīti was not "of any great antiquity".

11.4. J. Gray considered that it was unlikely that the Lokanīti and the two other nīti-works were compiled between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. He seems to be right when saying that the wars between the Môn-s and Burmese led to intercommunication between the two races. J. Gray also stated that Hindū colonists, besides, had settled on the lower valleys of the Irrāwadi and Sittang rivers, and a religious struggle between Brahmins and Buddhists resulted in evolving the erudition of the learned Puṇṇa-s. Their services were soon utilized by the Burmese kings in furtherance of the cause of literature, and it was through their invaluable assistance that the study of Sanskrit became a *sine qua non* in the royal monasteries. Being familiar with the Māgadhī language and the local vernaculars they were of great help to the Buddhist *rahan-s* in the interpretation of the Piṭagat. J. Gray was further of the opinion that it was reasonable to suppose that when the great task was completed attention was paid to secular literature, the outcome of which was the compilation of the Lokanīti, Dhammanīti and Rājanīti.

11.5. It is most probable that these nīti works were prepared for a king's *ācārya* in order to enable him to discourse on ethics and polity, to pronounce moral sayings and to give advice.[36A] J. Gray thought that since these treatises were in use in the royal courts of India they could have been introduced in the court of Ava.

11.6 C. Temple who, independently of J. Gray's research, studied the Lokanīti, could not find out much about the history of this book, although he personally made enquiries from the Burmese *Sayā-s*. He reported that according to one account it was written originally at an unknown date in Sanskrit (or Pāli) by the Pôngnā (Brāhmaṇ) Sānnékgyaw and paraphrased into Burmese in 1826 by the Hpôngyi U Pôk of the Mahā Oung Nyē Bông Sàn Ok Kyoung at Ava. This U Pôk's name as priest was Sēk-kàn-da-bī, to which the king of Ava added the titles of Thiri Thàddamma-daza, Mahā

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36. *The Lokanīti translated from the Burmese Paraphrases* (JRASB, No. 11 (1878); pp. 239 sqq.

36A. Cf. M.H. Bode, *The Pali Literature of Burma; Prize Publ. Fund. vol.2; Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909; p. 51

Dama-yāza Guru. According to another informant of C. Temple, the author was a priest without very extraordinary knowledge of Pāli who either collected the wise sayings from old books or collected some of them and added others of his own composition.

11,7. During my stay in Burma in 1961, I also made unsuccessful enquiries into the origin of the three *nīti*-collections. I contacted the International Institute for Advanced Buddhistic Studies, Kaba Aye, Rangoon, and several Burmese *Sayā-s* in Rangoon, Mandalay, Pegu and Pagan but no one could give me any information about these three *nīti*-works, although many of them knew about the existence of the Lokanīti, more by name than by its contents; they only knew that it was a book of proverbs on common life.

11.8. It does not seem yet possible to know when these *nīti*-works were compiled. The date suggested by Gerrini seems to be too early, since the analogies with Buddaghoṣa's Dhammapada-ṭṭhakathā[37] are more likely to be accidental and the moral sayings included in the Lokanīti are of a general and common nature. Temple's date of 1826 is certainly too late; it probably refers to one of the translations of the Pāli Lokanīti into Burmese, while the Pāli text was known in Burma much earlier. Therefore, it is quite possible that the Lokanīti was composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century[38] and that the two other *nīti*-collections were compiled not much later.

12.1. The Pāli L o k a n ī t i is known today in Burma more by its name than by its contents. Two different independent translations were made into English in 1886 from Pāli by J. Gray[39] and from Burmese in 1875 (published in 1878) by R.C. Temple[40]. Gray's translation contains 167 wise sayings while Temple's translation 164 wise sayings. This difference is due to the fact that C. Tempple combines sometimes two wise sayings into one[41]. The Lokanīti is divided into seven distinct sections dealing with : (1) wise men (1-40); (2) good men (41-67); (3) the evil-doer (68-78); (4) friendship (79-93); (5) women (94-111); (6) kings (112-137); and (7) miscellanea (138-

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37. It is not certain whether Buddhaghoṣa really composed this commentary.
38. Imitations of some passages of the Lokanīti occurred in Burmese inscriptions at Pagan (cf. above).
39. Cf. fn. 34 above.
40. In JASB XLVII of 1878; pp. 239 sqq.
41. Also Gray's translation is much better and clearer than Temple's. Cf. E. Teza (op. cit. fn. 27); pp. 402 sqq. Cf. L. Sternbach, *The Pāli Lokanīti and the Burmese Nīti Kyan and their Sources* in the BSOS 26.2; pp. 329-45.

167); such a division of subject-matters is very common to Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*.

12.2. The origin of a great part of Lokanīti's wise sayings can be traced to classical Sanskrit sources and, in particular, to the Mahābhārata, the Hitopadeśa, the Pañcatantra, so-called Cāṇakya's wise sayings, the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, etc.

13.1. It was proved that the N ī t i - K y a n was the Burmese translation of the Pāli Lokanīti.[42] In the Nīti-Kyan many verses *(gāthā-s)* are divided into two or four parts and therefore the number of wise sayings of the Nīti-Kyan is 211 instead of 167 found in the Lokanīti.

13.2. The Nīti-Kyan was translated in 1858 by E. Fowler[43] who wrote that this anthology was taught in the Burmese monasteries to the daily scholars and resident novices; it was always in use and was generally known as being one of the elementary books in Burma, since it contained moral teachings, popular in India which could be applied in every day life.

14. In addition to this collection of *subhāṣita-s* of Sanskrit origin, there are two other *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* also greatly influenced by Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*. These are the Pāli Rājanīti and the Pāli Dhammanīti.

14.1. The Pāli R ā j a n ī t i is a typical Indian *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*, dealing — as its title shows — with *rājanīti*; it contains 136 wise sayings. According to J. Gray it was based on the Indian *dharmaśāstra-s* and was compiled by the Brahmins Anantañāṇa and Gaṇāmissaka. It does not seem to be correct to state that the Pāli Rājanīti was based on Indian *dharmaśāstra-s*; it was rather based on sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s*, and in particular on one version of Cāṇakya's sayings, viz. the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha version. The first 20 wise sayings dealing with king's officials, their duties and qualifications and the group of wise sayings 48-55 were, no doubt, borrowed, either directly or indirectly, from the so-called Cāṇakya's collections of wise sayings; the latter group follows almost word for word the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṃgraha version.[44]

14.2.1. The Pāli D h a m m a n ī t i is also a typical Indian *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*; it contains 411 wise sayings (plus three introductory verses) and is divided into 24 sections dealing with the

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42. L. Sternbach, op. cit. fn. 41.

43. JRAS XVII of 1860; pp. 252-266

44. Cf. L. Sternbach, *Spreading of Cāṇakya's Aphorisms over "Greater India"* Calcutta, Oriental Book Agency, 1969; pp. 42-43.

precepto r, scholarship, wisdom, knowledge, conversation, wealth, residence, dependence, friendship, the bad man, the good man, the powerful, women, sons, servants, the wise man, what should be done, what should be avoided, ornamentation, kings, ministration, two's three's, etc. miscellanea.[45]

14.2.2. The Dhammanīti contains a great number of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*, of which many are identical with the Pāli Lokanīti but, generally speaking, the Dhammanīti is more losely connected with Sanskrit sources than the Pāli Rājanīti and particularly the Pāli Lokanīti. The wise sayings of the Dhammanīti are seldom straight translations of Sanskrit wise sayings; they are rather paraphrases of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*.

14.2.3. The Pāli Dhammanīti is not as common in Burma as the Lokanīti, but is better known than the Pāli Rājanīti; it never became a handbook of study in Burma and, being much longer than the Lokanīti and Rājanīti, was not so willingly recopied by scribes; it also did not have the reputation of being originated in India, though it is, at least in part, a translation or paraphrase of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*, particularly from the Hitopadeśa, Pañcatantra, other *kathā*-works, the Mahābhārata, the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, etc.[46]

15. Among other gnomic works of Burma the following should be mentioned ; the S u t t a - v a ḍ ḍ h a n a n ī t i in Pāli and Burmese translation, containing 73 wise sayings chiefly from Buddhist sources, but also containing some *subhāṣita-s* from the Sanskrit *kathā* literature, the M a h ā r a h a - n ī t i and the S i h a l a - n ī t i (for Siṁhalanīti). I was informed by the Manuscript Examiner of the International Institute for Advanced Buddhistic Studies in Rangoon that the two last named anthologies are "a combination of the Lokanīti, the Dhammanīti and a collection of Cāṇakya's sayings." The MSs of the last two works were however not avai'able for scrutiny.[47]

16. Another Pāli work containing a collection of wise sayings is the L o k a s ā r a, a Pāli anthology of 55 wise sayings, probably from the fourteenth century; it is divided into three parts dealing with the general rules of ethics, kings and Brahman-s. It is more Buddhistic in character than the Lokanīti, Rājanīti and the

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45. 1-10; 11-24; 25-54; 55-60; 61-71; 72-77; 78-84; 85-92; 93-108; 109-137; 138-147; 148-152; 153-169; 170-176; 176-178; 179-192 193-224; 225-253; 254-262; 263-284; 285-320; 321-331; 332-411.

46. Cf. L. Sternbach, op. cit. fn. 41.

47. Cf. L. Sternbach, op. cit. fn. 44; paras 72-73

Dhammanīti; however most of the *subhāṣita-s* included in the second and third parts of the work are influenced by Sanskrit wise sayings, but the wording of the Pāli *subhāṣita-s* is quite different from that of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s.*[48]

17. We also find in Burma in Sanskrit with Burmese translation as well as also Pāli translation of some Cāṇakya's collections of wise sayings, viz. the Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra version. There is the Cāṇakya-nīti-Thaḍanīti, originally published in Mandalay in 1900; the Sanakya-nīti (with the Lokanīti). ...Two most renowned *nīti* (collections), Rangoon (one edition without date and another from 1954), and the three-volume work entitled Sanakya-nīti-kyan, based on the original text in Thakkata (Sanskrit), Rangoon, 1957, which contains an explanation in Pāli and Burmese of forty verses for memorising the main Cāṇakya verses and a long explanation of each of the Cāṇakya's sayings. This work was prepared for the purpose of teaching ethics.[49].

E. SIAM

18. The Sanskrit and Pāli literature, extremely rich in *nīti* verses, contributed largely in forming the greater part of Siamese sayings. The Siamese, similarly as the Burmese, were greatly impressed by the profound thoughts of Sanskrit wise sayings; they discovered however a source nearer to them than India, viz. Burma and embodied the Pāli-Burmese Lokanīti into their literature. E. G. Gerini[50] reported the existence in Siam of several editions of the Lokanīti in Pāli; one of these (the Sup'hāsit Lokanīti Klam Klong, Bangkok 1904), comprising 408 wise sayings contains many wise sayings from other sources prevalent in Siam.[51] Another collection of the Lokanīti in Siamese verse was written by his Royal Highness Prince Dajadisorn in 1824; it was probably based on some old incomplete Siamese collections from the days of Ayud'hyā; the author admitted that this text has been derived from a Pāli version which is not named beyond Lokanīti. This anthology of verses, together with older fragments, was recently published in a

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48. *Lokasāra pyui*[1] (*Lokasāra pyo*) ed. by ū[3] Van. (*Maṅsuvaṇ*)[3] with paraphrasing and notes; Rangoon, *Kusulavaṭī*, 1955 (in Burmese); *Lokasāra with an introduction and notes* by Yeo Wun Sin Rangoon, *The British Burma Press*, 1902 (in Burmese and English)

49. Cf. L. Strenbach, op. cit. fn. 44; paras 36-37.

50. *On Siamese Proverbs* Cf. fn. 35.

51. Cf. L. Sternbach, op. cit. fn. 44;

"Compendium of Worldly-wise verses in Siamese" named Klön Lokanīti.

19. In addition to this classical anothology containing Sanskrit wise sayings, we find in Siam several other collections of sayings; they are enclosed in Sup'hasit-s (from Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*) which included not only epigrams, moral teachings, rules of good conduct, but also proverbs.

19.1. The best known Siamese *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* is the S u p ʻ h a s i t of Pʼ h r a ḥ R u ā n g (or Baññat Pʼhra Rūang). According to tradition Pʼhraḥ Rūang was one of the first kings of Sukhetʼai, probably Rāma Kʼambeng; he lived in the second half of the thirteenth century A.D. E.G. Gerini[52] regarded this collection of wise sayings "as a genuine product of the period, as the ethical code of the re-born nation, embodying the outcome of the wisdom matured during the long centuries of servitude and tempered and made more poignant by the novel spirit of freedom that pervaded the age"[53]. On the other hand he thought that this collection of wise sayings was probably inspired by practical sense, but did not soar ʻ to the sublime heights of the ethical treatise of the West" or the Buddhistic literature in the East[54].

19.1.1. The Sup'hasit of Pʼhraḥ Rūang exists in several editions[55]. Gerini translated subhāṣita-s which show influence of Indian thinking, but are rather composed in form of *proverbs* than *subhāṣita-s*.

20. E. Lorgeou in *Bulletin de lʼ Athénée Oriental*[56] translated in his "Suphasit Siamois" a number of Siamese wise sayings; some of them were influenced by Indian thinking and were written in the style of Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s*; however some of these Siamese wise sayings are quite different and are not of Indian origin. According to Lorgeou their origin is obscure; they were collected in the beginning of the nineteenth century by a monk who lived in a monastery in Bangkok.

21. Gerini quoted also a number of Siamese Sup'hasit-s, the most important of which are the P ū s ö n tān (The grandfather's teaching to his grandchild) and the L ā n s ö n P ū (The grand-

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52. op. cit. fn. 50
53. op. cit. fn. 50; p.6.
54. op. cit. fn. 50; p. 12
55. E.G.E. Gerini. fn. 35.
56. Cf. 1881; pp, 59-65, 123-135, 260-279; and of 1882; pp. 102-114; 187-205, 250-253.

child's teaching to his grandfather); they are probably of Lāo origin but were well known in Siām. The National Library in Bangkok has registered in its catalogue these two works in T'ai verse and the Pū sön Lān also in Sanskrit verse (*sic!*). Unfortunately these two works, despite long search, could not be found in the Library when I visited Bangkok in 1961 and consequently could not be analyzed by me. Since the Pū sön Lān was written in Sanskrit verse it may be surmised that it was also known in India and that it is of Indian origin. Probably then the same applies to Lān sön Pū. One text of Pū sön Lān in the National Library in Bangkok is a work of Xieng Mai literature; it is written on palm leaves.

22. L. Finot[57] mentioned also that in Siām two additional anthologies of wise sayings exist, viz. the P i p ' h c k s ö n b ü t and the Pāli S ö n n ö n,[58] however they contain teachings from the Rāmāyaṇa (Vibhīṣana to his family and Bālī to Sugrīva). Particularly the latter one is well known in Siām. Though undoubtedly of Indian origin, these teachings are not *subhāṣita-s* par excellence.

23. The Siāmese proverbs and wise sayings which were collected by Gerini and Gühlel[59] (Gerini collected 208[60] and Gühler 276) are, similarly as the P'hraḥ Rūang's short sentences and were probably of local origin, although some of the thoughts coincided with Western ideas[61]. Some of the wise sayings were of Indian origin; that can be seen from the fact that they often refer to the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata and heroes of these two epics, as well as mention Indian deities in particular Garuḍa; it seems also that they were influenced by the Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeśa tales, but most of them were adapted to the local daily life.

24. In the twentieth century the Sanskrit Vyāsa-subhāṣita-samgraha became also known in Siām as the V y ā k ā r a ś a t a k a. It was probably brought from Ceylon during the reign of king

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57. *Resherches de la littérature lāotienne*, BEFO XVII; 5.148.

58. Unfortunately I was not able to consult these treatises.

59. W. Gühler, *Uber Thai Sprichwörter* in the *Journal of the Slām Society* 34; pp. 97-144; Cf. J. Kasem Sibunruang and Ann B. Darling, *Siamese Proverbs* in *Thought and Word I*; No.2; pp. 46-9.

60. Op. cit. fn. 214; pp. 69-105.

61. Cf. Gerini, op, cit, (fn. 55); 13. 18-23.

Rāma III and printed[62] in Siāmese characters with the help of a Brahmiṇ Mukupusvāmi (?) and Luāng Phirivanahorn and then distributed at the cremation ceremony of Ammart Trī P'hra Turuparkpichorn[63].

25. Also a collection of Cāṇakya's sayings the "sanskrit C ā ṇ a k y a-ś a t a k a"[64] is known in Siām; it is registered in the catalogue of the National Library in Bangkok[65], but could not be traced when I visited Bangkok in 1961[66]. Also Under the auspices of the Royal Insititute a translation of the Cāṇakya-śataka into Siāmese was prepared by P'hraḥ P'hinic' hevarnakar and was published in 1922[67]: it is the text of the Cāṇakyanīti-śāstra version.

F. CAMPĀ, KAMBUJADEŚA, LAOS

26. In "Further India", Hindu-s established two powerful colonial kingdoms —Campā and Kambujadeśa which comprised today's Cambodia, southern part of South Vietnam (old Cochinchina), part of Lāos and the southern part of today's Thailand.

27. Only in today's Cambodia it was possible to find one edition of the L o k a n ī t i in Pāli with a Cambodian translation. It is the Lokanīti Pakarana (for *prakaraṇa*) by Ven. Ouk Chea Vacirannanbhavoṅgs, Member of the Commission du Tripiṭaka á l'Institut Bouddhique de phnom Penh[68] It is not a complete edition of the Pāli Lokanīti; it contains only 150 wise sayings, divided into 7 chapters of 36, 28, 11, 13, 18, 25 and 19 verses respectively; it omits particularly the wise sayings of the last chapter — miscellanea.

28. It was impossible to ascertain whether any other *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* of Sanskrit origin exist in this part of the world. The only additional information which was possible to

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62. *Vyākaraśatak*a, *Sanskrit Text in Siāmese translation with a preface* by H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajajanubhab, B. E. 2464 (A. D. 1920).
63. Cf. L. Sternbach, op. cit. fn. 29 (No. 3) and in *Brāhmavidyā* 35. 3-4; pp. 258-269.
64. Cāṇakya Satakama (sic!).
65. Letter addressed to me of 15th February 1961, No. 483/2504.
66. Many editions of this version (Cāṇakya-nīti-śāstra) are common as Cāṇakya-śataka, while the Cāṇakya-sāra-saṁgraha (which is composed of three *śataka-s*) is unknown outside India and Nepāl.
67. Information from His Highness Prince Dhani Nivat.
68. Phnom Penh, *Albert Portail*, 1936.

secure, was to find a small publication of 26 pages in Pāli in Cambodian characters with a translation into Khmer entitled R ā j a n i t i (for Rājanīti), texte tiré de Sastras (for śāstra-s) sur feuilles de latanier...Première édition. Phnom Penh. Editions de la Bibliothèque Royale, 1941"; it contains political wise sayings in Pāli based on Sanskrit sources.

29. Another publication is the S u p ' h a s i t e b ā p s r ī, Bāky kāby, Anāk Okña Suttant Prijā. Tén Ind., of which the title page in French reads "Bons Conseils (sour les femmes) (Poésie) par Oknha Suttantrarije 'Ind' Douxième édition, Phnom Penh. Editions de l'Institut Bouddhique, 1951." The booklet contains 250 verses in Khmer, dealing in particular with the beauty and charm of women modelled probably on Sanskrit *kāvya* works, in particular the Amaruśataka.

30. L. Finot in his "Recherches de la littérature Laotienne"[69] referrred to a Pāli L o k a n ī t i which is known in Lāos; it is composed of some 400 wise sayings[70]; although not mentioned in the catalague of the Royal Library in Luang Prabang it exists in the Vat That[71].

31. L. Finot also referred to the P ū s ö n L ā n and the Lān s ö n P ū manuals of "apophthegmatical love" held in the highest esteem "from Luang Prabang in the North to Ubon in the South" which were not only widely read but also learnt by heart[72]. The Lān sön Pū was known to exist in Luang Prabang in manuscript form[73].

32. L. Finot referred further to the publication of a series of

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69. BEFEO 22.6.

70. Finot probably referred to the Sup'hāsit Lokanīti K'am Klong, one of the editions of the Lokanīti current in Siām (Bangkok 1904), cf. para 18.

71. In the list of the Lāo MSs. Finot later mentions under No. 328 Lokanīti C *(Liste des MSs conservées dans les Pagodes de Louang Prabang* par Chao Chittarat. 1914),

72. BEFEO 17.5; p. 148; Gerini, op. cit, (fn. 55) 110.

73. L. Finot speaking about the Lāo subhāṣita-literature (BEFEO 17.5; p. 147-8) mentioned that the Ecole Francaise de l'Extrème Orient has a MS L. 70 which is composed of three distinct treatises : (1) Köñ Suphasit; (2) Aṇacak Thammacak, a code of offences and punishment; and (3) Sattahardhamma, duties of an official. He gave five examples of these sayings, but none seems to be of Indian origin.

Lāo adages of Xieng Mai (S u p ' h a s i t L ā o Xien) which however was not finished[74].

33.   In addition, among others, fifteen Lāo proverbs were recorded by Gerini[75], eleven by W. Gühler[76], fifteen by P. Lévy[77] and twenty by P. S. Nginn[78]; they are of peasant, earthy type of everyday wisdom and only seldom show Indian influence[79].   However the Laotian Lokanīti is certainly, as other Lokanīti-s of Indian origin.

34.   My other endeavours in Cambodia, Lāos and Vietnam in 1961 and then in 1967 and 1968 to find there other sources of gnomic literature showing Indian influences were unsuccessful, particularly due to the lack of interest in this part of the world in the older literatures.   I am convinced, however, that many other *subhāṣita-s* of Sanskrit origin exist also there.

G. JAVA, SUMATRA, BALI

35.   The Hindu-s must have established political authority in Java by the beginning of the second century A.D. In Java there were several Hindu kingdoms; two of these called Cho-po and Ho-lo-tan by the Chinese, sent regular embassies to China in the fifth century A.D.   The names of the kings of both these countries ended with "—varman", show Indian influence. The first great Hindu empire was founded by the Śailendra dynasty in the eighth century A.D. With the Hindu colonisation came also the Sanskrit literature, including Sanskrit *subhāsita-saṁgraha-s*. Particularly two subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s became very popular viz. the Sārasamuccaya and the Ślokāntara; both are well preserved.

35.1.   The Old Javanese S ā r a s a m u c c a y a was well-known in Java and Bali, as the book of moral precepts collected from different Sanskrit sources, mostly the Mahābhārata (Anuśāsana-, Ādi-, Udyoga-, Strī- and Aśvamedha-parvan-s), the Hitopadeśa, the Pañcatantra and the Mānava-dharmaśāstra. It was first noticed by Dr. Friedrich in 1849; and then by H. H. Juynboll who published 117 of the wise sayings included in this anthology, it contains 517 wise sayings and, as C. Hooykaas

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74. I was not able to study any of the collections of maxims mentioned by L. Finot.
75. Gerini, op. cit. (fn. 55); pp. 106-112.
76. W. Gühler, op. cit. (fn. 35) pp. 144.
77. *Proverbs* in *France-Asie* XII; pp. 1079-80.
78. *Proverbs* in *France-Asie* XII; pp. 1080-82.
79. As for instance, No. 8 of the Laōtian Pū sŏn Lān.

remarked[80], is considered the "best source for Old Javanese literature hitherto known". Almost all *subhāṣita-s* included in this *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* could have been identified in Sanskrit sources[81]; out of 517 wise sayings quoted in this anthology 320 were borrowed from, or were influenced by, the Mahābhārata, sixty wise sayings occur in various collections of Cāṇakya's sayings, 33 in the Pañcatantra; 30 in the Garuḍa-purāṇa, 20 in the Hitopadeśa, 23 in the Mānava-dharmaśāstra; also a number of wise sayings appear in various *smṛti-s* and in other works of Sanskrit literature, not to mention *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, such as the Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra, the subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva, the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati, the Sūktiratnahāra and many others.[82]

35.2. The Sārasamuccaya was edited in the Śata-piṭaka-Series, No. 24 in Delhi in 1962. Its collator is Vararuci who in the introduction stated that he collected "all the essentials of the Mahābhārata, the composition of His reverence Vyāsa" to whom he paid homage. In the explanation to the sixth verse Vararuci referring to himself wrote : "henceforth he will say what is best in this Bhārata epic. It is designated Sārasamuccaya; *sāra* signifies essence and *samuccaya* is its accumulation". Therefore Raghu Vira who translated the whole work and wrote a preface to it remarked : "The Sārasamuccaya is the Gītā of the Balinese Hindu-s. As designed by its author Vararuci, it contains the essence of the high teaching and noble ideas set forth in the Mahābhārata".

35.3. On the basis of the edition of the Sārasamuccaya in the Śata-piṭaka-Series and additional two *lontars* (which do not contain any important variants) Tjok. Rai Sudharta published in mimeographed form the first 255 verses of the Sārasamuccaya in Sanskrit and Old Javanese transcriptions as well as in Indonesian translation of the Old Javanese text; it appeared in the Parisada Hindu Dharma Pusat in Denpasar (Bali) 1968. The whole Sāra-samuccaya so edited and translated is expected to appear in printed form in 1972.

36.1. The existence of the Old Javanese Ś l o k ā n t a r a

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80. G. Hooykaas, *Kāmandakīya Nītisāra etc. in Old-Javanese* in *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. 15; pp. 18 sqq.

81. Cf. L. Sternbach, *Sanskrit Subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s in Old-Javanese and Tibetan* in *Annals of the Bhandarakar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona XLIII; pp. 115-158.

82. Op. cit. fn. 81; para 6. Obviously same *subhāṣita-s* appear in more than one primary source.

was known for a vary long time[83]; it was however brought to light in a critical edition only in 1957; it was then published in the International Academy of Indian Culture and critically edited by Sharada Rani[84].

36.2. The Ślokāntara contains 83 sayings which are followed by an Old Javanese prose-explanation which, as the editor stated, "though usually close to the original stanza, is at times quite prolix. This style of exposition is still to be seen in India, where the religious preachers and *purāṇic* narrators explain the Sanskrit *śloka-s* and further elaborate them by their own explanations"[85].

36.3. The Ślokāntara does not correspond "to the *nīti* text of Sanskrit literature", as the editor suggested; it is somewhat an unusual text of a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha* because of the preponderance of purely *dharmaśāstra* verses; such verses are sometimes included in *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s*, but never occupy as much as one-fourth of the whole *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*, as is the case of the Ślokāntara. Otherwise, however, it can be considered as a *subhāṣita-saṁgraha*. If we do not count some twenty verses, which are *dharmaśāstra* verses, half of the rest, i.e. 27 verses are of Cāṇakya origin or were influenced by the so-called Cāṇakya's sayings.

36.4. The importance of the Ślokāntara, similarly as the importance of the Sārasamuccaya, is enhanced by the preservation of "losts" texts; the Ślokāntara contains the same "lost" Mānava-dharmaśāstra verse which we find in the Sārasamuccaya[86], as well as an additional "lost" Mānava-dharmśāstra verse.[87]

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83. The MS of the Ślokāntara was mentioned by H. H. Juynboll in his *Supplement op den catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche Universiteits Bibliothek II*, Leiden; 1911; pp. 200 sqq.

84. *Dvīpāntara-Piṭaka*, vol. 2. *International Academy of Indian Culture*, Delhi. The edition is divided into three parts : the first contains the text in transcription; the second the English translation; and the third the text with extensive notes. It also contains a preface and an Index of "new and notable words".

85. Introduction, p. 5

86. Ślokāntara 1 = Sārasamuccaya 136.

87. Ślokāntara, verse 30. The first "lost" Mānava-dharmaśāstra verse appears in V. N. Mandlik's edition of the Mānava-dharmaśāstra after VIII. 82 (p. 929), the second appears also exclusively in V. N. Mandlik's edition after VIII. 102 (p. 934); both verses are often quoted in *nibandha-s* (cf. L. Sternbach op. cit. fn. 81, para-s 14 and 19).

37.1. Less popular, but also important is the Old Javanese N ī t i ś ā s t r a or N ī t i s ā r a ,[88] composed, according to Dr. Poerbatjaraka, the editor of this Old Javanese *subhāṣita-saṁgraha,* in the last years of Mahapahit[89]; it contains 120 verses in fifteen chapters.

37.2. Dr.C.Hooykaas was of the opinion that the Old Javanese Nītiśāstra gave the impression of being purely Indian in origin. The garb, however, in which the maxims have been clad, though also of Indian origin, did not favour exact translation; its metres must at times have driven the poet to some abbreviations, at other times to enlargements and additions. He also very rightly concluded that it is doubtful whether it would be possible to detect one definite treatise as a source; the Javanese may only have rearranged the contents of the work, but also may have omitted from or/and added to it; the work may also have been an anthology from the very beginning. U. N. Ghoshal characterised it as "a collection of wise sayings, moral precepts and so forth of the Cāṇakya-nīti-class"[90].

37.3. It seems that the Nītiśāstra could be characterised as an Old Javanese *subhāṣita-saṁgraha,* since many of those sayings which could be identified are found exclusively in some Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṁgraha-s* and not in primary sources. This anthology might have been, as Dr. C. Hooykaas suggested, a work rearranged by a Javanese compiler with omissions or additions; it must be added, however, that it is far from a purely Sanskritized text; the wise sayings are, generally speaking, not translations of the Sanskrit text into Old Javanese but a paraphrase of the Sanskrit saying written very often in corrupt Sanskrit.

37.4. A great number of *subhāṣita-s* included in this anthology are so-called Cāṇakya's sayings; many other *subhāṣita-s* originated in the Mānava-dharmaśāstra, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Pañcatantra, the Mahābhārata, the Hitopadeśa and other Sanskrit sources.

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88. *Nītiśāstra. Oud-Javaansche tekst met vertaling iutgegeven* door R. Ng. Dr. Poerbatjaraka *Bibliotheca Javanica* No. 4. Bandoeng 1933.

89. Cf. U. N. Ghoshal, *Progress of Greater India Research during the last twenty-five years* in *Journal of the Greater India Society,* IX, 2, p. 124; C. Hooykass *Bibliotheca Javanica* in *Djāwā,* 20, 1940, pp. 42-46.

90. Cf. U. N. Ghoshal, op. cit. (fn. 89).

38.1. Also the Pañcatantra with many added *subhāṣita-s* became very popular in Java, Bali and Madura; it was known there as T ā n t r i K ā m a n d a k a, it is quite different from most of the versions of the Pañcatantra; it seems to be nearest to the Pañcatantra of Durgasiṁha[91]. We find in this part of the world at least twelve different recensions of the Pañcatantra of which the oldest three are written in a sort of Old Javanese, several in Middle Javanese and Balinese, two in New Javanese and two others in Madurese[92].

38.2. The best text of the Old Javanese Tantri Kāmandaka was edited and translated by C. Hooykaas[93]. The Old Javanese text written in prose with some added verses, which are mostly *subhāṣita-s*, contain only 83 such verses[94], not all of which can be found in the different texts of the Pañcatantra; most of those verses which could not be traced to the Sanskrit Pañcatantra could be found in the Mahābhārata, Bhartṛhari's *Sataka-s*, or among wise sayings attributed to Cāṇakya.

39. Also the Udyoga-parvan of the Mahābhārata which contains a great number of wise sayings was known well in Old Javanese.

40.1. It is well known that many Indian fables—with hundreds of inserted *nīti*-sayings (*subhāṣita-s*)—and I mention here only the best known, were incorporated into the literatures not only to the East of India but also to the West of India. The Pañcatantra, for instance, became known not only in the whole of South-East Asia, but was also translated into Pehlevi by A.D. 570; this text was then translated into Old Syriac and old Arabic, as the Kalilah wa-Dimna (later called also the fables of Bidjpai). The text spread through Hebrew and Greek translations to whole of Europe. Let me only mention the translations of Rabbi Joël, Symeon Seth, Giulio Nutti, Johannes di Capua, A. von Pforr, Abu'l Naáli

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91. Published by A. Veṅkatasubbiah in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* 6.255 sqq.

92. Cf. C. Hooykaas, *Tantri Kamandaka. Een Oudjavaansche Pañtjatanra-Bewerking in tekst en vertaling uitgegeven* door... *Bibliotheca Javanica*; No. 2. Bandoeng 1931, pp. 14 sqq.; H. B. Sarkar, *India's Influences on the Literature of Java and Bali*, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 237 sqq.; L. Sternbach, op. cit. fn. 81.

93. *Tantri Kamandaka*, op. cit. fn. 92.

94. The Pancatantra in different various texts contains from 341 to 1134 verses.

Nushrallah ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdul Hamīd and Anwāri Suhaili. The Hitopadeśa has been known in the West for a very long time; a translation of this collection of fables was already made into English in 1787 and from them into most European languages. The Śukasaptati served as the basis for the 14th century Nakshabi version of the Persin Ṭūṭī-nameh and the 17th century version of Muḥammad Qadiri; it spread then to Turkey as the Turkish version of the Ṭūṭī-nameh with additions from the Vetāla-pañcaviṁsatikā. Motifs of the Śukasaptati are found in the Arabian Thousand and One Nights and particularly in the Kitāb el-Sindbād and even in Gottfried's Tristan und Isolde, not to mention many translations of the Śukasaptati into European languages. The Vikramacarita was not only translated into Newārī and as Sib-songliang into Siāmese but also in 1574 by order of the Emperor Akbar into Persian. By name of Arji-Borji Chan (Rāja Bhoja) it was absorbed into the Tibetan and the Mongolian literatures. Also translations, though of a later date, were made into European languages. Finally the Vetālapañcaviṁsatikā was early translated into Newārī, Tibetan and Mongolian-Kalmuck and through Braj-bhākhā, Hindī and other modern Indian languages has greatly influenced under the name Baitāl-pachīsī, particularly in the nineteenth century, the English literature with Richard Burton's Vikram and the Vampire, or Tale of Hindu Devilry. It also became partly known in Turkey through the Turkish version of Nakshabi's Ṭūṭī Nameh, where some stories of the Vetālapañcaviṁsatikā were also incorporated.

40.2. The question of the influence of Sanskrit *kathā*-literature on European fables is a well known fact. It is not for me to deal with this question; I wish only to emphasize that the Sanskrit *kathā*-literature is full of *nīti* sayings (*subhāṣita-s*) which through translations of the main works into foreign languages became widely known not only to the East of India but also to the West of India and were often quoted in Europe.

41. It may also be emphasized that some Sanskrit *subhāṣita-s* were included in the Old and New Testament. For instance Mahābhārata's *subhāṣita-s* such as "you see the faults of others even if they are as small as a grain of mustard, but you .do not want to see your own faults even if they are as big as the *bilva*-fruit" (MBh. 1.69.1) is found in St. Mathews 7.3 and in the Talmud 'Arakkin 16; or the Mahābhārata *subhāṣita* "Do not do to others what is disagreeable to yourself, that is *dharma*, the other proceeds from desire" (MBh 5.39,57) is found in St. Mathews 7.12 and in the Rabbi Hillel's dictum; or the saying of the Mahābhārata "do not react evil with evil" (MBh. 3.198.43) or "whatever one has sown

that one reaps" (MBh. 12.287,44) are respectively found also in the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans (12.17) and in the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Galatians (6.7) and many others. However the ascriptions of these maxims to Sanskrit texts should be made with great care for they may belong to the floating mass of oral tradition being the property of the whole of mankind[95].

42. Probably many more collections of *nīti*-sayings of Sanskrit origin — and I wish to stress the word collections, since I did not deal in the main part of my presentation with individual *nīti* sayings — exist in "Greater India", but with so many works still buried in the various lands of South-East Asia and difficulties in getting the needed information, it was impossible to ascertain the existence of other treasures of Sanskrit *nīti*-literature which spread over "Greater India". I am, however, convinced that with the progress of Indian studies in "Greater India" this important branch of Sanskrit literature will become better known in the nearest future.

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95. Cf. L. Sternbach, Similar Thoughts in the Mahābhārata, the Literature of "Greater India" and in the Christian Gospels in JAOS 91.3, pp. 438-442.

SANSKRIT IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGE
AND LITERATURE

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Introduction : The influx of Indian cultural elements, viz. art objects[1], Sanskrit language and literature[2], systems of writing[3], and others[4], is viewed only in terms of their movement through the South-east Asian regions. In more precise terms, the role of Malaya and Indonesia in this movement is most significant. So pervasive, indeed, is the Indianization of these areas, that these Indian cultural elements, in spite of their having been substantially assimilated into their local cultural matrices, that in the course of time these also found their way into the Philippines. However, it should not be construed that the process of culture movement was primarily one way; rather there was also a substantial reverse movement.

Certainly, the carriers of these elements as they returned of their original lands in pursuit of trade and traffic may have carried back with them some cultural elements of the lands they visited. In a similar manner, traders and traffickers from the Philippines visiting the Indonesian archipelago and the Malayan Peninsula left some of theirs with those they had traded, and brought back with them some of those they felt would suit their needs. Thus, on this basis, could we understand the influx of Indian culture into the Philippines.

In terms of the linguistic evidences, the Indian cultural elements began to percolate some time between the 10th and 12th centuries A.D. However, the more detable evidences, e.g., archaeological artifacts, reached the Philippines between the 12th and the 14th centuries A.D.

It may be fairly deduced from these dates that (1) the language items arrived in these Islands ahead of the artifacts and (2) they arrived here at a time when the full flowering of Indian culture in the intermediate regions had reached its zenith and was in fact on its decline, decisively crushed towards the middle of the fourteenth century by the advent of Islam.[5]

What is most interesting in this process of culture movement, particularly in relation to the influx of Indian culture into the Philippines is that Indian cultural influence continued to percolate into the islands even after the establishment of the Islamic kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. For the Muslims who came to the Philippines were themselves formerly Hindus or people who had been Hinduized, and they could not have forgotten their heritage so soon. Thus it is not surprising to see vestiges of Hindu rituals in those of the Muslim Filipinos of Mindanao and Sulu. But the percolation finally ceased with the "complete" Islamization of those "entrepreneurs" and the coming of the Europeans.[6]

It must be noted at this point that these evidences of Indian penetration into the Philippines are substantially less than those found in both the Malayan Peninsula and the Indonesian Archipelago. It is an inescapable fact that the paucity of the Indian influence that reached the Islands was due primarily to its start at a period when Indian influence had begun its decline—a decline accelerated by the Islamic invasion and expansion and by the introduction of a European culture entirely alien to the orientations of the Philippines[7].

Thus, looking at these facts brings to focus inferences relevant to the subject of the present paper. That the language elements, e.g. Sanskrit, that reached the Philippines did not involve syntactical or grammatical constructions as to have been strong or influential enough to have changed substantially the character of Philpine languages. Rather, these influences were primarily in the field of enriching the Philippines by way of contributing to their stock of vocabularies. That the literatures did not involve the introduction of Sanskrit texts, or the writing of local texts that are highly Sanskritized, e.g., the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* and other texts of like importance. Rather Sanskrit literature that reached the Philippines were either re-narration of those stories in the local languages, e.g., Maranaw, or direct translations of stories of Indian themes, e.g., the Rāma-story, from the intermediate languages, e.g. Malay.

Sanskrit in Philippine Language and Literature : Earlier work has been done in the way of initially uncovering the Sanskrit influence in Philippine languages. However, as the research activities of the present writer on the same subject continued, new evidences of these influences have been brought to light. This refers to the work being done on the Maranaw language and literature,[9] with particular reference to its Sanskrit influence. The data used in this paper is based on the initial readings of the Maranaw folk epic, the Darangen,[10] a narrative of great length tells the story of their culture heroes and their deeds.

(1) *Language* : The Sanskrit words that are being presented in this brief essay are not found in the other Philippine languages that have been studied in an earlier work. No attempt on a phonological analysis of these words shall be made for the general principles on the development of Sanskrit sounds, as they found themselves adopted in Philippine languages, had been established in said earlier work. Only peculiar developments shall be given attention in this brief essay.

Mar.[11] *astana,*' mansion, manor, house, castle, residence.
Sans. *sthāna,* place of standing or staying, any place, spot, locality, abode, dwelling, house, site. Jav. Mal. *istana,* palace. Mag., *istana,* "id." cf. also Sans. *āsthāna,* court.

Mar. *bakti,* faithful, loyal. Sans. *bhakti,* attachment, devotion, trust, homage, worship, piety, faith or love. Jav. *bekti,* homage.

Mar. *bandara*', title of nobility. Mal. *bendahara,* royal treasurer, prime minister (in old Malay state). Sans. *bhāṇḍāgāra,* treasury.

Mar. *barahana,* eclipse. Sans. *grahaṇa,* seizure, of the sun or moon, eclipse.

Mar. *batokapala,* headstone. Mal. *bato,* stone + Sans. *kapāla,* the skull, the cranium, skull-bone.

Mar. *biaksa*', expert, accustomed, experienced. Sans. *abhyāsa,* repeated or permanent exercise, discipline, habit. Jav. *biyasa,* habit.

Mar. *bidaria,* houri, angel (female in Maranaw belief). Sans. *vidyādharī,* a female of the above class of supernatural beings, fairy, sylph.

Mar. *bitiara,* speak, feast as in marriage, dialogue.
Sans. *vicāra,* dispute, discussion, pendering, deliberation,

consideration, reflection, examination, investigation. Mal. *bicara*, discussion, legal proceedings, concern, opinion.

Mar. *bogabong* a komara, kingdom in the *darangen*. Sans. *kumāra*, a child, boy, youth, son; a prince, heir-apparent associated in the kingdom with the reigning monarch.

Mar. *daksina*, northeast.
Sans. *dakṣiṇa*, south, southern (as being on the right side of a person looking eastward), situated to the south, turned or directed southward. Jav. *daksina*, south.

Mar. *gadia*, bishop in chess game; lion. Sans. *gaja*, elephant.

Mar. *garahana*, eclipse. (see *barahana*) Sans. *grahaṇa*, eclipse.

Mar. *istiri*, sweetheart. marry. Sans. *strī*, a woman, female, wife. OJav., *strī*, "id.", ModJav. istri, "id."

Mar. *kaio kapur*, dryobalanops Gaertin. F., pinus insularie Endl. *kaio*, tree. Sans. *karpūra*, camphor (either the plant or resinous exudation, or fruit).

Mar. *laksasa*, dragon.
Sans. *rākṣasa*, a demon in general, an evil or malignant demon. Mal., Jav. *raksasa*, *reksasa*, ogre, or goblin of Hindu mythology (often mentioned in traditional literature).

Mar. *mantapoli*, The Philippines
Sans. *mantra*, saying, prayer, etc., + puri, city, town, Hence, the country where pious people live.

Mar. *manteri'*, queen in the chess game.
Sans. *mantrin*, a king's counsellor, minister. Mal. menteri, headman, chief.

Mar. *midadari*, lady of god, beautiful lady in heaven. Sans. *vidyā-dharī*, a female of the upper class of supernatural beings, fairy, sylph.
Mal. *bidiadari*, *bidadari*, celestial nymph. Jav. *widadari*, "id."

Mar. *nagri*, community, country.
Sans. *nāgarī*, town-born, town-bred, relating or belonging to town or city, town like, civic.

Mar. *niaoa*, life, spirit, soul. cf. Sans. *jīva*, life, existence.

Mar. *otara'*, northeast monsoon, pagotara' an, north. Sans. *uttara*, higher, upper; northern (because the northern part of India is high). Jav. *utara*, northeast wind. Mal. *utara*, the north.

Mar. *padoka*, title used by persons of royal blood in Sulu. Sans. *pāduka*, impression of the feet of a god or a holy person, shoe or slipper. Mal. *paduka*, royal title of honorific (the

subject is presumed to speak to the king's shoes). Bh. Ind (OJav), His Majesty.

Mar. *pahala*, use. value

Sans. *phala*, benefit, enjoyment, compensation, reward, advantage, fruit. Mal. *pahala*, reward, merit.

Mar. *paksina*, northwest. See *dakṣiṇa*, above.

Mar. *paramata*, sapphire, gem, jewel.

Sans. *paramārtha*, the highest truth, spiritual knowledge, any excellent or important object, the best kind of wealth. Lit. Jav. *marta paramarta*, gentle, gentleness.

Mar. *ragas*, sizzle, successive sounds.

Sans. *rāga*, loveliness, beauty (esp. of voice or song); a musical note, harmony, melody.

Mar. *rasa*, coating, nutritious part of food.

Sans. *rasa*, the sap or juice of plants, juice of fruit, any liquid or fluid, the best or finest or prime part of anything, essence, marrow, juice of the sugar cane, syrup. Mal. *rasa*, taste, feeling, sensation. OJav., *rasa*, "id."

Mar. *ropia*, money, rupee.

Sans. *rūpya*, well-shaped, beautiful, stamped or impressed, wrought silver or gold, stamped coin, rupee. Mal. *rupiya*, silver coin, rupee.

Mar. *samsara'*, trouble, suffer, hard up

Sans. *saṃsāra*, the misery of mundane existence. Mal. *sensara*, suffering misery, torture.

Mar. *saudara*, friend, chum, pal, sweetheart Sans. *sodara*, brother, born of the same womb. Mal. *sudara*, *saudara*, brother, sister.

Mar. sasana, trust, to have confidence in, rely on. Sans. *śasana*, religious or scientific instruction; charter, royal edict, any written book, scripture, teaching.

Mar. *satari*, game, chessmen; *sator*, chess, chess-play; satoran, chess game. Sans. *caturaṅga*, the four limbs of the army : elephants, chariots, cavalry, infantry; a kind of chess, the game of chess. Mal., Jav., Sund., *catur*, chess or chess-like game.

Mar. *satro'*, trouble.

Sans. *śatru*, enemy, rival, a personal enemy.
Mal. seteru. personal enemy.

Mar. *siksa'*, calamity, danger, pestilence, trouble, maltreat.

Sans. *śikṣa*, instruction, chastisement, punishment. Mak. *sessa*, to punish, torment.

Mal. *seksa, siksa*, punishment, torment, agony, etc.

A few comments on the above list of Sanskrit words in Maranaw may be given at this point. There seem to be two forms of Sans. *vidyādharī* in Maranaw, e.g. *bidaria* and *midadari*, each having apparently different meanings. However, both words seem to convey meanings only in two levels. Phonologically, *midadari* appears to be much closer to the assumed Sans. form. The intermediate Mal. form does not deviate substantially from the original Sans , for the nasal bi-labial *m* is merely a variation of the bi-labial plosive *b*, which is the sound to which the Sans. *v* develops as it reaches the Malayo-Indonesian languages.

An interesting interpretation is that of the Mar. *mantapoli*, which is said to be the Philippines, according to the Maranaw. Whether or not the word is composed of Sans. *mantra* and *purī* or *pura*, it is difficult to ascertain. The texts are, however, definite in referring to the area now politically known as the Philippines, the setting of the epic. Unlike the geographic descriptions in the *Mahābharata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* which are definite, the descriptions in the *Darangen* are quite hazy. Hence, it is still difficult to place Mantapoli in sharper location and, therefore, interpreting it as the present Philippines.

Sans. *dakṣiṇa* takes the opposite meaning in Maranaw — *daksina* northeast, and *paksina*, northwest. At the present stage of the work on the *Darangen*, it is not yet ascertainable how this direction came about. What may be offered as an explanation to this phenomenon, is that the term may just as well be a native Maranaw word, or that if it were a borrowed word, the borrowers may not have had a clear meaning of it when they assimilated it into their stock of vocabulary. Could it have any relevance to the north-east monsoons or to the north-west monsoons ? Phonologically, it is difficult to explain the $d > p$-development (the *dantya* to *oṣṭhya* development).

Of the other words in the list, it seems that they had followed the general development—both phonological and semantic—from Sanskrit to Maranaw through the intermediate languages, viz. Malay and Javanese.

(2) *Literature.* In an early work,[12] I discussed the Indian influences in Philippine literatures in two levels, i.e., parallel elements and motif indices. The discussions were limited only to brief, or even fortuitous, sometimes hazy, episodes or indices. At that point in time during which the work was written, there had not been discovered narratives of some magnitude showing extensive borrowings from a much greater literary tradition like the Indian. In a

later work[13] following this earlier one, I had occasion to refute some of my earlier conclusions, and put into sharper focus the indigenous nature of some of my earlier conclusions.

Some time in 1968, however, in pursuance of further work on the same subject, I discovered a local (Maranaw) text which upon examination is the Rāma-story in miniature. It is, however, entitled *Maharadia Lawana*. Of course, *maharadia* is Sans. *mahārāja* and *lawana* is *Rāvaṇa*, rather undisguised. The piece is now published in text and translation with an introductory essay. Since, the work is not readily available in India, I am presenting here a summary of the story, and a detailed comparison between the Indian *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Maranaw story, using the intermediate Rāma-stories as the connecting link between the two.

Summary. The story begins with a description of Maharadia Lawana as the son of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Bandiar-masir, who possesses eight heads. He is one of irritable character that the whole sultanate becomes the object of his derisions. He is reported to his Sultan father, and for this he is exiled to an island named Pulu Nagara. While at Pulu Nagara he performs *tapas* and prays to Allah; through Angel Diabarail, he is released from his *tapas*. He returns to his father's kingdom and he is received back into the graces of his father.

Now in another kingdom, Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, sons of the Sultan and Sultanness of Agama Niog, had grown to manhood, and yet had remained unmarried. Presently they are preparing their journey to pay their suit to Tuwan Potre Malaila Tihaia, daughter of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Nabandai. They set on a boat which was provisioned for their journey of ten years. On the way, they were shipwrecked, but they were thrown ashore by the strong waves right on the land of Tuwan Potre Malaila Tihaia. There they were saved by an old Lady, Kabayan by name, who took care of them while they were recovering from the accident.

In that kingdom, Radia Mangandiri wins the hand of Tuwan Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihaia) by being able to kick the *sipa* into the lamin (the women's quarters). After living in the bride's land for some time, Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna become extremely homesick that they desired to go back to their homeland. Thus, they set out with a retinue who shall provide them all the services they needed for such a long journey. On such a journey, they had to remain for a sometime in a certain place to enable them to produce food-rice and corn.

As they watched their rice ripen, one afternoon the brothers Mangandiri and Mangawarna and also Tuwan Potre Malaila Ganding saw a deer with golden horns grazing among the ripening rice. Tuwan Potre desired that the animal be caught, and if not she would die. So the brothers set out to capture the deer. First, it was Mangandiri, but as he wrestled with the deer, he cried for the help of his brother Mangawarna, who was at that time guarding his sister-in-law. Knowing that her husband might be killed, she demands of her brother-in-law to go and aid him. As he joins the fray, the deer makes itself two so that each brother ran after each of the deer. In the chase, Mangawarna ran after the deer round and round till he is back to their house, and finds out that Tuwan Potre Malaila Ganding has been abducted by Maharadia Lawana. Of this, it immediately dawned on him that it was Maharadia Lawana who had disguised himself into a deer in order to deceive both of the brothers to enable him to get near Potre Malano Ganding to abduct her.

With this discovery, Mangawarna sets out again to search for his brother, who had followed also the other deer. In the process, he (Mangandiri) falls into the river and was carried down stream unconscious. In his unconsciousness, he dreams that he fought a carabao. He was gored and one of his testicles was thrown to the east where it was swallowed by Potre Langawi, the Queen of the East. This makes Langawi pregnant, and later gives birth to a monkey-child, who was named Laksamana. At this point Mangandiri wakes up because Mangawarna arrives. Mangawarna tells his brother of the fate of Potre Malaila Ganding, and both lament such a fate, for they are now without any army or arms to fight Maharadia Lawana in their plans to search for and recover the princess, who becomes a prisoner in the kingdom of Lawana.

While the brothers are contemplating on their unfortunate situation, Laksamana, the monkey child, appears before them and offers his services in the search for Potre Malano Ganding. Mangandiri's dream is indeed true ! After much hesitation, the brothers accept the offer of Laksamana, who now prepares his followers - crocodiles, carabaos, monkeys — for the search and recovery of the princess. Laksamana finally finds the princess after jumping over the seas on the palm of his father, Radia Mangandiri, who now recognises his parenthood. Laksamana observes that whenever Maharadia Lawana approaches Potre Malano Ganding fire appears between them.

The battle now rages between the followers of Maharadia Lawana and those of Mangandiri. Lawana's army are wiped out,

thus he joins the fray, fighting Mangawarna and then Mangandiri and then Mangawarna again, who at this time wounds Lawana with a sword that was sharpened in a stone that was foretold that any blade that is sharpened on it shall be the only weapon that shall subdue Lawana. Thus Lawana falls wounded.

Now everything becomes peaceful, and Lawana rules with justice, and the brothers Mangawarna and Mangandiri, Potre Malaila Ganding and Laksamana and their retinue proceed to Agama Niog, where they are received with joy and happiness, Laksamana metamorphoses into a handsome datu. And they lived happily ever after.

To bring the *Maharadia Lawana* in the full context of South-east Asian literature as the Indian epic, *Rāmāyana,* has influenced these literatures, it (the *Mah. Law.)* shall be compared with the Hikayat Maharaja Ravana (HMR),[15] and a Malay Fairy Tale based on the *Rāmāyana.*[16] Certainly, the *Mah. Law.* shall be brought within the perspective of the *Rāmāyana.*

The comparison shall deal primarily with three points, e.g., (a) the major characters and their relationships with each other; (b) the names of the important places and episodes connected with these places, and (c) interpolations and accretions.

The Major Characters and Their Relationships With Each Other. The table (Page 407) gives a graphic representation of the characters in the *Maharadia Lawana* in comparison with those in The Fairy Tale, the HSR (HMR) and the *Rām.* .

The birth of Radia Mangandiri, and for that matter, of his brother Radia Mangawarna, is not described. The story merely relates that Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangwarna are the sons of the Sultan and Sultaness of Agama Niog. Therefore, there seems to be no way of knowing the facts of the birth of these two sons, unlike that in the HSR, HMR and the *Rām.* Similarly, there is no mention of the fact of the birth of Srī Rāma in the Fairy Tale, as well as the circumstances of the heroine's birth. No inference from the tale itself can be drawn as to the circumstances of these births. The story commences only with the reference that Srī Rāma is married to Princess Sakutum Bunga Satangkei and that he was unhappy about their being childless for years.

The names of Sītā and of her sons (Kuśa and Lava) in *Maha-radia Lawana* show entirely different developments. This is also true in the Fairy Tale. Sītā becomes Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaia. She is Sakutum Bunga Satangkei, "Single Blossom on a Stalk", and Kuśa and Lava, Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga. In the HSR.

Mah. Law.	Fairy Tale	HSR/HMR	Ram.
Radia Mangandiri	Sri Rama	Seri Rama/Rama	Rāma
Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaia	Sakutum Bunga Satangkei	Sita Dewi/Sita	Sitā
(Laksamana, son of R.M. by Potre Langawi)	Kra Kechi Imam Tergangga	Tabalawi/Janggapulawa	Kuśa-Lava
Radia Mangawarna	Raja Laksamana	Laksamana/Laksamana	Lakṣmaṇa
Laksamana	Shah Numan	Hanuman/Hanuman	Hanumān
Maharadia Lawana	Maharaja Duwana	Ravana/Ravana	Rāvaṇa

she is born as Sītā Dewī, of the second Mandu-dari (who wa carried away by Rāvaṇa) by Daśaratha, who by supernatural powe goes to Langkapuri and sleeps with her. It would lead to th inference that Rāma in this *Rām.* version married his own (half sister. However, in *Maharadia Lawana*, the identities of Kuśa anc Lava become rather complicated, for Radia Mangandiri (Rāma) anc Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaia (Sītā) in the story do not have as yeꞇ an issue. Radia Mangandiri becomes the father of a monkey son, not by Tuwan Potre Malano Tihaia; the circumstances of such an issue shall be discussed in the following paragraph.

In the Fairy Tale, Kra implies that the son is born as a monkey, a small (kechil) monkey, but a leader (imam tergangga)'' among the simians''. The monkey-birth of ꞏhe son was caused by the transformation of Sakutum and Śrī Rāma into monkeys on their excursion for the acquisition of a son. In the HSR, there is no clue to the development of the name of Sri Rama and Sakutum's son. It may be well to assign this question to an independent source which may be indigenous Malay. While Rāma's son turns out to be a monkey in the HSR, he is not directly born of Sītā Dewī. Instead the embryo was massaged out of Sītā Dewī's womb, wrapped and thrown into the sea, where it falls into the mouth of Dewī Añjatī, while the latter was performing spiritual austerities. Dewī Añjatī becomes the vehicle through whom the son is born (see below).

The birth of a monkey son (in Maharadia Lawana) of Radia Mangandiri, but not the counterpart of Lava and Kuśa in the *Rām.*, shows a similarity with that in the HSR. He is born of Potre Langawi, who swallows the testicles of Radia Mangandiri, which was gored out (of his scrotum) by a wild carabao (Boss sondaicus) in his dream. Potre Langawi thought it to be precious stone. In the *Rām.*, these events are entirely absent. Thus, it may be safely said that these developments owe their introduction into Maharadia Lawana, the Fairy Tale, and even in the HSR to indigenous literary traditions. Even in the popular versions of the *Rām.* in India, no evidence of this episode is seen.

The birth of a monkey son in Maharadia Lawana is relatively complicated because while it is an issue by similar circumstances, the son takes on the role of Hanumān as seen in the *Rām.* He was born of a dream which becomes empirically true, with Potre Langawi as the vehicle of birth. On the other hand, Hanumān becomes Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale, and he turns out to be a "grand parent" of Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga, Shah Numan

appears to be a corruption of Sans. Hanumān, the name of a general in the Monkey army of Sugrīva, who helped Rāma recover Sītā.[17] Moreover, the title Shah must have been mistaken by the rhapsodist (from Perak who narrated the tale) to be corrupted in Hanumān. Shah Numan is a monarch in the monkey world by the sea. All the adventures of Hanumān in the *Rām.* are now attributed to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. In the HSR. Hanumān[18] is born as the son of Sītā Dewī and Seri Rāma. His birth came about after the couple had plunged into a pond which as an embryo after having been massaged out of Sītā Dewī was then deposited into the mouth of Dewī Añjatī who becomes pregant with it: she gave birth to a simian-boy who was named Hanumān. In the Maharadia Lawana, Hanumān becomes Laksamana, and there seems to be no internal evidence with which to check these developments. Moreover, even in the larger versions of said episode in the *darangen*, the incident is not verifiable.

One of the most interesting developments in the Fairy Tale is Lakṣmaṇa's (Laksamana in the HSR) relation to Rāma. He becomes Rāma's elder brother and is given the title Raja-Raja Laksamana. In the *Rām.*, Rāma is the first born of Daśaratha, and Lakṣmaṇa, the third, born of a different mother. There is no way to determine whether or not Śrī Rāma and Raja Lakṣmaṇa were born of the same mother. The brothers Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa in the Maharadia Lawana are known as Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, respectively, being the sons of Sultan and Sultaness of Agama Niog. Their relation is that from a double-single consanguineal line,

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, contrast to the Rāma-Lakṣmaṇa kingship through the single-double

line
$$\bigcirc\!-\!\triangle\!-\!\bigcirc$$
$$\triangle\quad\triangle$$
, that is, both were

born of one father through two mothers. It is, indeed, interesting to note that certain cultural factors may be operating in the kin structure of the dramatis personae of the story.

As noted above, Lakṣmaṇa, who becomes Radia Mangawarna in the Maharadia Lawana, appears to be the younger brother of Rāma, the major hero, as he is known in the *Rām.* But their relationship (Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna) seems to be more egalitarian than that between Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.

However, in the Fairy Tale, apart from being the elder brother to Rāma, Raja Laksamana becomes a diviner, a man well versed in sorcery. This seems to be an "allusion to the art of divination still practised by Malay sorcerers and devil dancers, the impiety of whose performances, from the Muhammedan point of view, is excused by immemorial usage."[19] The ceremonies that he performed in order to divine whether Srī Rāma, his younger brother, would be favoured with a child are exactly those of a Malay pawang[20] of present day. Raja Laksamana's name and position in the Fairy Tale is in direct disregard to the meaning of the words in the Malay language. Laksamana, in Malay, means "admiral", the name with whom historically Han Tuah compared himself in the 15th century Malacca.[21]

Rāvaṇa in the Maranaw story occupies the major position as both villain and hero, but much less so of the latter, for he forcibly abducts without her consent the wife of Radia Mangandiri (Rāma in *Ram.*, Srī Rāma in the Fairy Tale, Seri Rāma in the HSR). It is indeed interesting to note that the story presents Maharadia Lawana first, and describes him as one with vile tongue, albeit having great compassion for the world, because "the world is chained" to desire. He is still a young man subject to the commands of his parents — the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Bandiarmasir.

In the Fairy Tale, the position of Rāvaṇa seems interesting.[22] He is Maharaja Duwana of an Island equivalent to Laṅkā (Kachapuri, see below); he is an island ruler of less violent tendencies. After his abduction of Sakutum, he is discovered to be consanguinally related to the princess — that the princess stood to him in the relation of a daughter to a father. This relationship is not found in the *Ram.* as well as in the HSR. In fact in the HSR, Rāvaṇa carries away Rāma's mother, Mandudari,[23] who is actually the double of his real mother, from whose skin's secretion the former had been created.

The place-names: Only two important place names shall be discussed in this essay. The city of Daśaratha, Ayodhyā, in the *Ram.* does not have any traces in the Maharadia Lawana as well as in the Fairy Tale, and in the HSR. The HSR city of Daśaratha has Sanskrit suffixes, e.g. Mal. puri (Sans. pura, "city") "ruler's private apartments in a palace," and Mal. nagara, negara (Sans nagara, "city"), "lit., state, country; or., the top of a hill." Mandupuri nagara[24] may, therefore, mean "the city of Mandu on top of a hill," if it were to be interpreted literally. But the city of Srī Rāma, Tanjong Bunga, which may be inferred to be also the city of his father, in

the Fairy Tale, apparently shows a development independent of both the HSR and the *Rām*. Similarly, Pulu Agama Niog does not show any traces of the city in the Fairy Tale, HSR or in the *Rām*. The name may be interpreted to mean the "City located in an Island of Coconuts," which is quite interesting in terms of the fact that the setting is relatively a source of products derived from coconuts.

Mah. Law.	Fairy Tale	HSR-HMR	Ram.
Pulu Agama Niog	Tanjong Bunga	Mandu Puri Nagara/Mandurapa	Ayodhyā
Pulu Bandiar-masir	Kachapuri	Bukit Serindib (Later, Langkapuri)/ Langkapura	Lankā

The events that happen in Laṅkā in the *Rām*., in the HSR, as well as in the Fairy Tale are not transferred to Pulu Bandiarmasir in the Maharadia Lawana. The word Bandiarmasir is reminiscent of the city of Bandjarmasin in the south-western part of Borneo. Whether or not Bandiarmasir has any relation to Bandjarmasin, is one problem that needs further investigation.

W.E. Maxwell[25] interprets Kachapuri to be Conjeeveram (the Kañcipuram of the inscriptions and literature) in the Coromandel (Cholamandala) coast in South India. He interprets it further to be the "Kachchi in Tamil literature."[26] There is no internal evidence of the development of Kachapuri from Laṅkā. It seems that Kañcipuram was yet unknown in the *Rām*., although it is likely that the city may already be known in the later versions of the epic, like the Tamil Rāma-story by Kambar. Moreover, it is probable that the Fairy Tale may have sources other than the HSR from which this interesting interpolation may have been lifted. Even the phonetic development of the word is curious. Rāvaṇa's island kingdom in the HSR, Bukit Serindib, is already known in the Arab records on South-east Asia as Serindib.[27] This island kingdom would be later known as Langkapuri which follows closely the *Rām*. island kingdom with the purī accretion.

The identity of both Pulu Agama Niog and Pulu Bandiarmasir in the historical records of the Maranaw as well as in the references in literature is not known. A check with known historico-literary texts in Old Malay and Old Javanese, particularly in those that are contemporaneous with the introduction of the Rāma story into Indonesia and Malay, yielded negative results.

Important Episodes : The episodes that have been selected for discussion in the present essay are (1) the winning of Sītā, (2) the abduction of Sītā, (3) the search for Sītā, and (4) the return of Sītā. These episodes roughtly correspond to the Bāla-, Āraṇya-, Kiṣkindhā-, Sundara- and the Yuddha-kāṇḍa-s of the *Rām*. It may be seen that the story is reduced to almost microscopic size in the Maharadia Lawana. The Fairy Tale is equally microscopic, but the HSR is still relatively voluminous.

(1) *The Winning of Sītā* : Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna had learned of the incomparable beauty and charm of Tuwan Potre Malano (Malaila) Tihaia, daughter of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Nabandai. Now they set out for the journey to the princess's home which could be reached only by sea for ten years. After suffering the privations of the journey they reach Pulu Nabandai wrecked by the strong waves of the sea. However, they did not know that the island was Pulu Nabandai.

While they were recuperating in the home of their rescuer and benefactor, they heard of the playing of the agongs and the kulintangs and upon inquiry were informed that a festival is going on for the winning of Tuwan Potre Malaila Tihaia's hand in marriage; that a game of the sipa is to be played among the suitors, and whoever kicks the rattan ball to the lamin, pent-house, where the princess lives with her retinue, to him shall she be wed. To make the story short, Radia Mangandiri kicks the sipa to her pent-house, and wins the hand of the princess.

The Fairy Tale and the HSR (Maxwell) do not tell of the winning of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei by Śrī Rāma. Rather they open with the married life of both being described as childless. The HSR and HMR tell of the winning of Sītā's hand by Rāma's shooting one arrow through forty palm trees, which was the condition set by Sītā's guardian, Kala, that whosoever pierces these forty trees with just one arrow to him shall Sītā be wed.

While the HSR and the HMR show the use of the bow and arrow in the winning of Sītā, it is only the bow that plays a significant role in the winning of Sītā in the Vālmiki *Rāmāyaṇa*. King Janaka offers Sītā in marriage to whoever could raise and

string the bow that plays a significant role in the winning of Sītā in the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa*. King Janaka offers Sītā in marriage to whoever could raise and string the bow of Śiva. Rāma instead of merely raising and drawing it with just one arm also snaps it asunder. He wins the hand of Sītā in marriage.

(2) *The Abduction of Sītā.* The cause of the abduction of Sītā in the *Rām.* is found in the HSR, although there are already certain variations in the episodic unfoldment. It is Sura Pandaki (Śūrpaṇakhā, in the *Rām.*) alone who suffers the humiliation and in the hands of Lakṣmaṇa. In the *Rām.*, Śūrpaṇakhā tells Rāvaṇa of the exquisite beauty of Sītā; thus the abduction had two purposes — revenge and the desire to possess such a woman of unsurpassed charm and beauty; in the HSR, the attraction to Sītā's beauty is not mentioned.

In the Fairy Tale, no revenge is known. Maharaja Duwana, having merely heard of Sukutum Bunga Satangkei's fascinating beauty, falls in love with her.[28]

Now begins the adventure of Maharaja Duwana. Possessing supernatural powers, he flew from Kachapuri to Tanjong Bunga and there by magic charms he affected the bahaviour of the princess. Subsequently he appears before her in the form of a golden goat. She and her attendants around her, as well as Śrī Rāma himself, were fascinated by such an unusual animal. The king, therefore, summoned his people to seize the golden goat, but it proved elusive. It ran deep into the jungle. Having thus enticed all, it disappeared, and returned to the palace. Resuming his human form and having by magic charms opened all the locks of the palace doors, Maharaja Duwana presented himself before Sakutum Bunga Satangkei, who was extremely agitated by the confrontation of a person who is a complete stranger to her.

Here follows one of the most interesting episodes in the Fairy Tale. The conversation between Princess Sakutum Bunga Satangkei and Maharaja Duwana in rather symbolic-euphemistic verse, particularly the replies of the latter to the former, is very curious. The following excerpts from the conversation is a case in point:[29]

. "From the island of Kachapuri," he said,
    Yang tersisip di-awan mega
    Hilang di-puput angin menyankar
    Belam tempak dari kemunchak gunong
      Enggil-berenggil

(It may be seen peeping out from among the clouds, but is
lost to view when the wind blows, From the summit of
Enggil-berenggil it looks no larger than a dove's nest.")

"What uneasiness of mind," asked the princess, "has
brought you to my house at such an hour of the night ?"
He answered in the following stanza :

Berapa tinggi puchock pisang
Tinggi lagi asap api
Berapa tinggi gunong melentang
   (ledang, Windtedt)
Tinggi lagi harap kamil

(How high soever the shoot of the plantain,
Higher still is the smoke of the fire ;
High tough may be the mountain ranges ;
Higher yet are the hopes I indulge.)
To which the princess replied :

Kalau bagitu kembang jala-nya
Ikan sesak ka-berombong
Kalau bagitu rembang kaya-nya
Choba berserah beradu untong.

(If the casting net be skilfully thrown, the fish are found
together at the upper end of it; If these words are said in
earnest, Let us yield to fate and see what comes of it.)

He retaliated with the following verse :
Meranti chabang-nya dua
Di-tarah buat kerentong
Sedang mati lagi di-choba
Inikan pula beradu untong.

(The meranti tree with a forked limb; Shape the wood and
make drum of it. The path that leads to death is often
ventured one; Here I yield to fate and see what comes of it.)

The princess then ceremonially entertained the stranger with
sirih. The ceremony being over, Maharaja Duwana found no
difficulty in convincing the former to elope with him to Pulau
Kachapuri. But with his magic power, he carried her off. Having
reached Pulau Kachapuri, Maharaja Duwana looked over the
genealogy of his house and discovered that the princess stood to
him in the relation of a daughter to a father. Thus he could not
marry her.

Meanwhile, Śrī Rāma, having entered the jungle in search of
the golden goat, realized the futility of the chase. He ordered his

men to return to the palace. Having reached his court, he discovered his inner apartments violated. Learning of the true situation, he uttered a horrible cry whi·h terrified everyone in the palace.

In the *Rām.*, the abduction of Śitā was accomplished by Rāvaṇa's deception. He orders Mārīca to assume the form of a golden deer, and gambol about Rāma's hut in the jungle. Śītā sends Rāma after the deer while Lakṣmaṇa remains to watch over his sister-in-law. Mārīca when struck by Rāma's arrow utters a cry similar to Rāma's voice. Śītā anxious of Rāma's safety sends Lakṣmaṇa, who goes reluctantly. Rāvaṇa, as in the HMR, and HSR, thereby appears before Śītā in the guise of a Brahman, and is admitted into the princess's confidence. But later on, he reveals his own nature, and forcibly abducts the helpless Śītā. The use of a magic car in the *Rām.* is not found in the Fairy Tale; neither is the combat between Jaṭāyus and Rāvaṇa. The flying chariot is found in the HMR and HSR. Two rākṣasas, one of gold and the other of silver, appear before Śītā Dewī. As in the HSR, the conversation between Śītā and Rāvaṇa in the *Rām.* was congenial before the latter's revelation of his true intention. In the Fairy Tale, it was friendly.

As in the *Rām.*, the HSR scenes are located in the jungle where the couple, accompanied by Laksamana, were in exile. In the Fairy Tale, the scene is in the kingdom (palace of Śrī Rāma). This interpolation seems to be an independent development from *Rām.* and HSR-HMR, whereas the variations in the employment of the silver golden fawns, the golden goat, and the golden deer, have shown or show very close affinity. This last point seems to give a clue to the origin of the Fairy Tale.

There is no evident cause for the abduction of Malaila Ganding (Tihaia) by Maharadia Lawana in the Maranaw story. The abduction is introduced by the scene of ripening rice grains which Radia Mangandiri and his party had planted while they were on their long journey to their kingdom, Pulu Agama Niog. While they watched the golden grains, their attention is caught by a deer with golden horns, grazing in the nearby cogonal area. Malaila Ganding, upon seeing it immediately harbours a craving for the rare animal, that if it is not caught she would die. Radia Mangandiri, to satisfy such desire, goes forthwith to catch the animal with instructions to his brother Mangawarna not to leave Malaila Ganding even if he would call for help.

The deer did not prove elusive to Radia Mangandiri. Rather it met him, and fought back. Radia Mangandiri in his difficulty

cried for help, but Radia Mangawarna did not leave his sister-in-law. However, Potre Malaila Ganding not being able to bear the predicament that Radia Mangandiri is in, threatened to die (to kill herself) if Radia Mangawarna did not go to help his brother. So he went telling his sister-in-law "... I think that when I go down, you close the window, and whoever knocks, do not open."

Upon reaching the site where Radia Mangandiri and the deer were fighting, and the deer seeing him thus, made himself into two and ran away. The brothers ran after each till darkness fell, and Radia Mangawarna finally found himself right at their house. Radia Mangandiri had reached the forest, and the deer was nowhere to be found.

Radia Mangawarna, upon his return, saw the result of his action—the women were wailing because Potre Malaila Ganding has been forcibly taken away by Maharadia Lawana, the wall of their house was destroyed and everything in the house was in disarray. He said to himself, "That which we were running after was Maharadia Lawana who disguised himself as a deer."

It is interesting to note that there is a common identifying element in the stories, particularly the HMR, HSR (Maxwell and Shellabear) and the Maharadia Lawana; and that is the presense of the golden deer, or golden goat or silver goat or golden gazelles or a deer with golden horns. All these are coveted by the heroine in each story. These fantastic animals are Rāvaṇa in each story appearing thus before the heroine to draw away the heroes from her preparatory to the abduction. In the *Rām.*, Rāvaṇa orders Mārīca to assume the form of a golden deer to draw away *Rama*, and then Lakṣmaṇa, so that he would have no difficulty in penetrating the defences of the brothers. All these were done by deception.

No drawing of the protective magic circle is evident in the South East Asian versions of the episode as it is found in the *Ram.* Neither is there any evidence of Sītā's accusations against Lakṣmaṇa's desire to possess her should his brother Rāma die in the pursuit of Mārīca disguised as a golden deer. Many other details could be cited here but these are the most significant to the episode of the abduction.

(3) *The Search for Sītā.* This episode takes on very curious turns. Radia Mangawarna, upon learning of the abduction of Malaila Ganding and seeing that Radia Mangandiri had not returned from his search for the golden horned deer, returned to the jungle to look for his brother. He finds him unconscious (asleep).

Now Radia Mangandiri dreams that he fought a carabao and he was gored; and one of his testicles was thrown to east where Potre Langawi, Queen of the East swallowed it, causing her to become pregnant and later to give birth to a monkey son named Laksamana. He awakes and sees his brother Radia Mangawarna. He feels his scrotum and finds his testicle missing. He thinks to himself that his dream may be true.

Subsequently, the brothers discuss the plans for the search and recovery of Potre Molaila Ganding. And they felt despair because there are only two of them; they have no arms, no army to pursue their search for the princess who has been brought to Pulu Bandiarmasir by Maharadia Lawana, who had deceived them.

Now, Radia Mangandiri's dream indeed is true; Laksamana, the monkey-son asks his mother Potre Langawi about who could be his father, since while growing up he had not seen him. She evades answering the question, for she knows that he "has no father." The monkey-son being disappointed by such evasion, leaves home, and goes in search of his father. In one of his adventures, he falls right between Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna, and addresses them father and uncle, respectively. And both were surprised to be addressed thus by a complete stranger and a monkey at that. After proper introductions, and a presentation of their problems, Laksamana offers to help the brothers to search for Potre Malaila Ganding. All their problems- weapons, soldiers, etc.—are now within solution. Laksamana gathers all his subject carabaos to attack Bandiarmasir. He also asks his father and uncle to help gather rattan to be used for building a causeway between Pulu Bandiarmasir and the land where they now are.

Laksmana ties one end of the rattan to a tree, and holding the other, he prepares to leap to Pulu Bandiarmasir. He asks his father to support him on his (father's) palm; but is directed to leap from the mountain. The mountain can not support him. It fell apart. Hence, Radia Mangandiri has to support his son's leap with his palm. The leap is successful; and stringing the rattan back and forth, the causeway is finally constructed. They proceed to cross to the other side.

As they walk, the bridge sways and they fall into the sea, where crocodiles waited to eat them. But Laksamana battles and defeats them. The crocodiles promise aid to the cause of Radia

Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna. Thus they are to battle those subjects of Maharadia Lawana who shall run to the sea for safety. They proceed to the palace of Maharadia Lawana. At the Palace, they witness Maharadia Lawana approach Potre Malaila Ganding, but fire appears between them. They are surprised at such a phenomenon. Maharadia Lawana himself is perplexed by such a situation and he is told by Laksamana that such a phenomenon occurs because she was abducted from Radia Mangandiri.

After this exchange, betel chew is prepared and exchanged between Radia Mangandiri and Potre Malaila Ganding. Then Laksamana takes the princess' hand, leads her to his father.

At this point, the battle between the forces of Maharadia Lawana and Radia Mangandiri led by Laksamana begins. Laksamana commands the carabaos to enter the village to fight Maharadia Lawana's army. Those who fled to the sea/water are eaten by crocodiles. Later, Maharadia Lawana enters into the fray and fights with Radia Mangawarna, who cannot equal the strength and power of his adversary. Radia Mangandiri takes over, but he cannot wound Maharadia Lawana. Laksamana, seeing that his father seems to be unable to cope with Maharadia Lawana's prowess, takes the kampilan of Radia Mangandiri and sharpens it on the whetstone set upon a naga wood found in the palace. With this, Radia Mangawarna wounds Maharadia Lawana, who falls, for according to the prophecy Maharadia Lawana could only be subdued from the power he acquired while performing "austerities" during his exile, by any bladed weapon sharpened on the whetstone set upon a naga wood. Thus the battle comes to an end.

In the Fairy Tale, Sri Rama, having been advised by his chiefs, consults Laksamana, his elder brother. After deliberating upon the course of action they should take, they set out to recover the lost princess. Having reached the realm of a monkey monarch, who is actually Sri Rama's son who he had driven away from Tanjong Bunga, they are asked what their business was. Sri Rama thereupon asks his son to help him search for his mother. But the monkey prince promises to fulfil his father's request only if he is permitted, just for once, to eat a meal with his father off the same leaf, and to sleep in his arms. Having extracted the promise, and having fulfilled it, they prepare for the prince's jump to Kachapuri. After two or three attempts, he jumps from his father's shoulder but lands upon an island in the midst of the sea. He calls upon the jin, whom he had befriended in one of his attempts to help him land upon Pulau Kachapuri.

The meeting between the mother and son was effected through the recognition of the ring that Kra Kechil had slipped into one of the water jars which forty-four maidens carried with which to collect water for the bath of the princess, After this meeting, Maharaja Duwana and Kra Kechil confront each other, before which, however, the latter destroys the former's favourite trees — a coconut tree (nyor gading) and a mango tree. Furious at this outrage, Maharaja Duwana fights the monkey prince who changes himself at will into a buffalo bull and declares his mission. Thereafter, a battle rages between Maharaja Duwana's army and the prince. No weapon could hurt him; even when bound and thrown into the fire, not a hair is singed. After a seven-day truce the battle continues. Kra Kechil is caught. He instructs his captors to swathe him with cotton cloth soaked in oil, and to set fire to the mass. He jumps about the palace and the fire spreads reducing Pulau Kachapuri to rabble and ashes.

All the adventures of Hanumān in both the *Rām.*, HMR and the HSR are atributed to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. But these adventures are attributed to Laksamana in the Maharadia Lawana. The meeting between mother and son in the HSR is not quite represented in the Maharadia Lawana for Laksamana is the son of Radia Mangandiri by another potre. Hence, there is no evidence of recognition by the mother, rather it was merely identification of who Laksamana was before her, just as the identification of Hanumān in the *Rām.* (but with rings for recognition of his mission from Rāma). The ring-incident is not found in the Maharadia Lawana.

There are no evidences in the HSR that may have led to these developments. The meeting between mother and son, however, is known in the HSR. Kra Kechil's appearance in monkey form before his mother is perhaps an echo of Hanumān's appearance before Sītā in the Aśoka groove of Rāvaṇa, while Hanumān in the HSR appears first as a Brahman before Sita Dewi. The ring incident is found in all stories, as well as in the HMR, although in varied forms. In the HMR, Hanumān appears before Sītā in the form of an old woman, and later assumes his monkey-form and identifies himself as her son.

The single combat between Maharaja Duwana and Kra Kechil is not found in either *Rām.* or the HSR or in the HMR. But the burning of Pulau Kachapuri is known from the *Rām.*, the HSR and the HMR, although again interesting accretions and developments occur. In the *Rām.* and HMR. Hanumān's tail is swathed with cloth soaked in oil/petroleum (minyak tanah) bestrewn with

saltpetre (sendawan); Hanumān in HSR is swathed all over, but he grows till all the cloth in Langkapuri becomes insufficient. The oil-soaked cloth is burned, and when only that which binds the tail is left he leaps over the roof and sets the palace on fire. No bodily expansion of Kra Kechil takes place in the Fairy Tale. All these are not known in the Maharadia Lawana. There seems, therefore, to be no significantly sustained nourishment of the literature in the past. Either this was due to the changes in the political climate in the area, or this was more or less a case of misunderstanding of the literary motif by the borrowers who belong to a different socio-cultural complex. Whichever is probable, it is a very important task of further research to investigate.

(4) *The Return of Sītā.* The return of Potre Malaila Ganding from Pulu Bandiarmasir after the death of Maharadia Lawana is not as dramatic as the return of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei in the Fairy Tale, the return of Sita Dewi in the HSR or Sītā in the HMR and *Rām.* There's no evidence of the carrying of Sita Dewi by Kra Kechil nor the use of a flying car or chariot to carry Sītā back to Ayodhyā. Moreover, no fire-ordeal is known in the Maharadia Lawana to purify Potre Malaila Ganding, from her "contact" with Maharadia Lawana. But the fire that appears between them is reminiscent of this fire-purification in *Rām.*

Details of the return of Potre Malaila Ganding is here presented for comparative purposes. Tarrying in Pulu Bandiar-masir after their victory over Maharadia Lawana, they make prepa-rations for their return to Pulu Agama Niog. The biggest crocodile with the broadest back becomes the mount of the prince and the princess, and Radia Mangawarna and Laksamana. After travelling through the sea they reach the shores of Agama Niog, and the waves created by all the crocodiles were like those created by strong winds; "also the forest seemed to tremble at the footsteps of the carabaos that were walking" escorting the party on land.

The people of Agama Niog were frightened, but Laksamana announces to them that they should not fear, for Radia Mangandiri with his bride Potre Malaila Ganding and Radia Mangawarna is returning from long travel. They are welcomed with joy instead of with fear. Laksamana metamorphoses into a handsome datu.

Following are the details relative to this episode as they are found in the HSR, HMR, Fairy Tale and the *Rām.* This will further bring to mind the various interesting aspects of the Maranaw story in relation to the South-east Asian versions of the story as it is known in India also.

The return of Sakutum Bunga Satangkei follows the burning of Kachapuri. She is carried off by her son and restored to Sri Rama at the plain of Anta-ber-Anta, in the kingdom of Kra Kechil. Her return to Tanjong Bunga was marked with rejoicing and feasting, but the celebrations are interrupted by the arrival of Maharaja Duwana who had come to avenge his defeat at Pulau Kachapuri. (He had previously warned Kra Kechil that he would follow him.) In the midst of the fierce combat, Raja Laksamana is killed but is immediately revived by a powerful remedy that Kra Kechil brings from Mount Enggil-ber-Enggil. Maharaja Duwana, seeing his power being reduced to nothing, leaves Tanjong Bunga in token of defeat. His men who died in the combat are revived by Kra Kechil.

Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei now acknowledge Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga as their son and heir to the throne of Tanjong Bunga.

The adventures of Hanumān are carried on to the third episode While the return of Sīta in the *Rām.* agrees with the return of Sita Dewi in HSR and Sita in HMR, Sakutum's return takes on another turn in the Fairy Tale. Sītā is carried back to Ayodhyā by Rāma in the magic car of Kubera which was forcibly appropriated by Rāvaṇa from the god of wealth. No mention of the magic car or flying chariot is made in the HSR and HMR, while Sakutum is carried off to Sri Rama by her son. No flying car or magic chariot is used.

Perhaps the fire-ordeal is not necessary, as it is in the *Rām.*, the HSR and the HMR, for the purification of the heroine because it is her son who took her away. Moreover, Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is sanguinally related to Maharaja Duwana, who stands to her as a father to a daughter. Thereby no chastity test and purification ceremonies are necessary. There is no clue to the incident relating to the "invasion" of Tanjong Bunga by Maharaja Duwana in the HSR, HMR or in the *Rām.*, while the death and revival of Raja Laksamana is known. Moreover, no proof of Sri Rama and Sakutum's acknowledgment of Kra Kechil as their son after his adventures connected with the recovery of his mother is also known.

(5) *Rāvaṇa.* Of Rāvaṇa's position in the Maharadia Lawana, the account points out a very important relation with the HMR and the HSR (Shellabear). Maharadia Lawana commences with Maharadia Lawana described as the son of the Sultan and Sultanness of Pulu Bandiarmasir; he has eight heads (seven heads, in Par. 61, Text and Translation). He is said to have caused the death of many a man in the realm because of his vile tongue-he intrigues. Then

he is sent on a ship to Pulu Nagara on exile as a punishment for his false representations.

In Pulu Nagara, he gathers leaves and wood, ignites these' and climbs a tree over the fire. He cries that the world is chained; thereby, Diabarail (Angel Gabriel), hearing it, appears before the Lord (Tohen), informs the latter that Maharadia Lawana cries because the world is in chains. The Lord (Tohen) instructs Diabarail to tell Maharadia Lawana to desist sacrificing himself, because nothing can cause his death except when he is cut by any tool (knife, sword, etc.) that is sharpened upon a whetstone kept in the heart of the palace of Pulu Bandiarmasir.

The HMR commences with the relation of the genealogy of Maharaja Ravana. Then being unruly and having become a danger to his sire's dynasty, he is banished to Langkapura. In Langkapura he practices austerities, collects firewood during the day and sleeps in the night hanging over the fire, head down. Twelve years elapse and Allah sends down Adam to find out what Rāvana wants. Rāvana asks for the rule over the four worlds —earth, air, water and the nether world. His wish is granted on condition that he angers nobody, and does not steal women. Should he break the covenant, Allah's curse will fall upon him. (When delivering the message, Adam omits the stealing of women.) Rāvana agrees and conquers the four worlds.

Reference to Rāvana's having ten heads is made when he becomes angry as he passes over the hermitage of a great rishi (sage). The ten heads appear thus.

The HSR (Shellabear) commences with an account describing Rāvana as ten-headed and twenty-handed Rākṣasa. He is banished to Bukit Serindib (called later as Langkapuri) where he performs austerities for twelve years, hanging himself by the feet downward. While engaged thus, the Almighty God in heaven sends Prophet Adam to ask what he wants, and God, informed of his desire, grants his wish—that he rule over the worlds: the earth. the heavens, the seas and the nether world.

Rāvana, in the *Rām.*, is described with ten heads and twenty arms; performs austerities for conquering four worlds.

In all the stories, the asceticism event seems to be the common "denominator"; with just slight variation according to each story. All the four stories describe the austerities as having been caused by the banishment imposed upon him for causing disorder in, and danger to the dynasty/kingdom of his father. The use of fire in order to perform the ascetic acts is also a feature which is indeed

very much Indian in character. The appearance of Allah and Adam and the Angel Gabriel (Diabarail) in the Maharadia Lawana, the HSR and the HMR may be and could be interpolations in exchange for the persons of Brahmā and Viṣṇu (both Hindu gods in the Indian pantheon) to give the stories Islamic character considering the development in the area, e.g., the introduction of Islam and the subsequent changes that occured to give the literature and other social aspects some Islamic spirit, if not entirely to supersede the earlier overlay. However, these may just as well be indigenous developments considering also the importance of fire in even the most "primitive" societies in the area.

One of the interesting aspects of the austerities by fire of Maharadia Lawana is his lament that the world is chained. Whatever this means to the Maranaw, it means that he is performing this asceticism to relieve the world of the sins (desires) to which it is chained. This (concept) appears to evince a relatively Buddhistic orientation, considering the influence of the Buddha's teachings in the area. However, whatever could be said about its relationship with the Buddha concept, the other Rāma story versions—the HMR and the HSR—in the Malay literature do not seem to show such a tendency. Certainly, the austerities performed by Rāvaṇa in order to gain power to challenge Śiva in the purāṇic literature is definitely Brahmanic in character. Of course, in South East Asia, there developed in the course of the long years of encounter between Brahmanism and Buddhism, a blend of these two systems of thought as expressed in the Śiva-Buddha syncretism.

In the HMR and HSR, Rāvaṇa is described physically as ten-headed and twenty-handed king of Langkapuri (Bukit Serindib), or Langkapura, which physical description is derived from the *Rām.* Maharadia Lawana describes Maharadia Lawana as eight-headed in paragraph 1, while in paragraphs 61, 65 and 73 he is seven-headed. There seems to be no clue to the change from ten to eight or seven heads. No mention of the other hands of Rāvaṇa in the Maharadia Lawana is made. No reference even is seen to such number of other hands during Maharadia Lawana's combat with the brothers Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna during the battle for recovering Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihaia). Perhaps, the problem may be solved only upon examination of the greater literary piece, the epic darangen, which is still in the process of being put together into one volume, and translation to be made available to the non-Maranaw. The Darangen describes in the detail the abduction, at least in terms of the many re-narrations of the story in English by Maranaws themselves and others who have passing interests in the

literature. Perhaps, the genealogy or Maharadia Lawana in the text may help to solve the problem of the reduction of the number of heads.

The foregoing episodes may be touched upon again in the discussions that follow.

Interpolations and Accretions. A collation of the Maharadia Lawana with the Fairy Tale and the HSR and HMR reveals that a number if not all of the interpolations and accretions found in the former cannot be traced to the latter two. This may lead to the inference that these interpolations and accretions are independent of the historical development of the story in Maranaw literature. Some of the accretions and interpolations found in the HSR and the Fairy Tale relative to the *Rām.* are not found in the Maharadia Lawana, e.g.

(a) Sri Rama's desire for offspring even after three years of married life does not show any distinct connection with either the two Rāma-stories. The desire for offspring, however, may derive from Indian custom and tradition; but it is universal among all peoples of the world.

(b) While showing independent development from the two Rāma-stories, Raja Laksamana's sorcery to predict the birth of a son to Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is purely an indigenous accretion is an allusion to the art of divination still practised by Malay sorcerers and dancers, since time immemorial.

The excursion of Sri Rama and Sakutum seems to show connection with the decision of Sri Rama in the HSR not to return to his father's country after winning the hand of Sita Dewi, and the connection is perhaps carried on to the transformation of Seri Rama and Sita Dewi into monkeys, which transformation is also found in the Fairy Tale. The pregnancy is explained by this excursion. This is not found in the Maharadia Lawana, but which birth is known.

(1) The birth of Laksamana, the monkey-son of Radia Mangandiri, in Maharadia Lawana, takes on a very interesting aspect. Laksamana is born of Potre Langawi after she swallows Radia Mangandiri's testicle thinking it was a precious stone which was gored out and thrown to the east by a carabao in his dream. Laksamana's searching questions addressed to his mother enquiring about his birth and his sire are, indeed, significant in the light of the structure of Maranaw society. Here reference to a certain taboo in the society, e.g., incest, becomes important in the relations between mother and son. Moreover, the Maranaw's "congenital"

concern with genealogy to establish the greatness of his birth is brought to focus by the son's searching questions as to who is sire is. However, the problem becomes moot as Laksamana finally finds his father.

The birth of Laksamana as a monkey finds no clue or clues in the story itself. Unlike the birth of Kra Kechil in the Fairy Tale and of Hanuman in the HSR (also in the HMR) which are more or less explained, Laksamana in the Maharadia Lawana, where no mention of the birth of Radia Mangandiri and Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihaia)'s son(s) is made.

The birth of the monkey-son in the HSR takes on another interesting turn. Seri Rama and Sita Dewi like Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei in the Fairy Tale were turned into monkeys after having plunged into a lake, but were later restored to their human forms after bathing in another lake. Having thus been transformed into monkeys, the germs that developed were monkeys. Hanuman is born of Sita Dewi, through Dewi Anjati who carried the embryo that was conceived by the former, while Sakutum Bunga Satangkei herself conceives, carries and gives birth to the monkey-son, Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga. The birth of Hanuman in the HMR is similar to that in the HSR.

In the *Rām.*, Sītā gives birth to sons in the exile; in the HSR, Sita Dewi, Hanuman and later gives birth again to another son, Tabalawi, also in exile. This incident does not occur in the Fairy Tale, as well as in the *Maharadia Lawana*. What is interesting, however, is that in the Fairy Tale, there is an expressed desire for an offspring which does not occur in the *Rām.*, HSR, HMR, and is not known in the Maharadia Lawana.

On the occasion of the birth of a son, ceremonies described in the *Rām.* and HSR are not found. This is also true in the Maharadia Lawana. The presence of lebis, hajis, imams and khatibs and the readings of the Koran do not have any reference in the *Rām.* These are not found in the HSR and HMR which are already influenced by Islamic ideas. But perhaps these owe their presence in the Fairy Tale to the complete islamization of the Malay (Perak) peoples. There are no clues to the incidents of the breaking of the news to Sri Rāma of the birth of a monkey-son, and of the sending away of Kra Kechil in either the *Rām.* or the HSR.

The departure of Laksamana in Maharadia Lawana from his mother's home is impelled by his search for bigger sources of food. This is somehow paralleled by that in the banishment of Kra

Kechil (in the Fairy Tale), for he has been a shame to the kingdom, "to a remote part of the forest where human foot had never yet trod." Later, he leaves the forest to look for more adventure and in the process he finds Shah Numan (Hanuman), his "grandsire". Further on, he leaves the realm of Shah Numan to pick the large round red fruit, which is actually the sun. He falls in his attempt to pick it. Jumping from tree to tree, Laksamana (in the Maharadia Lawana) falls between his sire Radia Mangandiri, and uncle Radia Mangawarna. This is the end of his search for his sire, and hence his problem of being "born" of a supposed incestous relation between his mother and grandfather is solved. But the immediate recognition of the brothers Radia Mangandiri and Radia Mangawarna as his sire and uncle respectively is a problem that is to be solved; perhaps the solution of which may be found in the greater epic version, the Darangen.

(2) Sugrīva's or Bāli's position in the *Rām.* appears to be taken by Shah Numan (Hanumān) in the Fairy Tale. Hanumān in the HSR is the same Hanumān in the *Rām.*, the former's birth shows no clue to the birth of Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale. He (Shah Numan) is an aged sagacious monarch in the kingdom by the jungles. Moreover, he becomes a friend of the sun (Mata Hari).

Shah Numan by his declaration that he already knew of the origins of Kra Kechil upon their first meeting, that he is related to Sri Rama and Sakutum Bunga Satangkei, and that Kra Kechil is his "grandchild" is very interesting. These will perhaps give the clue to the parentage of Sri Rama or Sakutum Bunga Satangkei. It may not be without basis to conjecture that Shah Numan may be the father of either Sri Rama or Sakutum, judging from the filial affection, the concern and loving care that he (Shah Numan) had for Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga.

In the Maharadia Lawana, Sugrīva's or Bāli's roles are not known; and, therefore, it seems that this is a very perplexing problem, at least in the light of the story. For the kinship of Laksamana with monkey-world further adds to the problems. It seems, however, that the roles of Sugrīva or Bāli and Hanumān in the *Rām.*, and that of Shah Numan in the Fairy Tale, or Hanuman in the HSR and HMR are performed by Laksamana in Maharadia Lawana. This is evident in his gathering all the carabaos and crocodiles to compose the army that shall invade Pulu Bandiarmasir, and in his great leap across the sea from Pulu Nabandai to Pulu Bandiarmasir to secure the rattan vine for the bridge that shall be

constructed on which they shall cross to the latter island. Towards the end of the story still no evidence of the kinship of Laksamana with the simians could be established. Perhaps it is only in the examination of the larger Maranaw literature, the great epic Darangen, that this problem would be brought to light.

(3) It seems evident that the adventures of Hanumān in both *Rām.* and the HSR as well as the HMR are attributed to Laksamana in the Maharadia Lawana and to Kra Kechil Imam Tergangga in the Fairy Tale. However, there are no other adventures attributed to Laksamana than the discovery of Potre Malaila Ganding (Tihaia). Kra Kechil's other adventures can be traced to the two epics.

It may be assumed that since Hanumān in the *Rām.* and in the HSR-HMR occupies a prominent position in the cynosure of the hero, Kra Kechil's becoming a prince of all monkey-tribes in the Fairy Tale is traceable, for the Tale appears to have its original source in either or both the epics. With this situation it is understandable that no traces of the presence of Sugrīva and Bālin are evident. Similarly, Laksamana occupies an important position in the Maranaw story; but there is no evidence of his being a monkey-prince as such in spite of his being born of a princess (Potre Langawi, Queen of the East). However, the monkey-aspect as well as the adventures of Laksamana may be traced back to the HSR-HMR and further back to the *Rām.*, perhaps with the Fairy Tale as the intermediate story.

There seems to be no evidence at all in the HSR to show Kra Kechil's eating from one leaf, with and sleeping in the lap of his father, Sri Rama, in return for which he will undertake the search for his lost mother. In the HMR, however, Rāma and Hanumān eat from the same banana leaf. Neither does his metamorphosis into a handsome prince towards the end of the tale have any evidence. This metamorphosis, however, may be explained to be an influence from the folk-literature[30] of the Malays.[31] Indeed, the assumption that this accretion is independent of any folk-literature development cannot be ignored. For the metamorphosis motif is comparatively widespread not only in locality but also in all forms of folk-literature.

The Maharadia Lawana is so microscopic, in comparison with the HSR, HMR and the Fairy Tale, that no traces of Kra Kechil's eating from one leaf with, and sleeping on the lap of his, father, Sri Rama, are found in the story. However, there is a trace of the metamorphosis of Kra Kechil into a handsome prince in the Maharadia Lawana. Laksmana metamorphosed into a very handsome

datu. However, there is no reference to any further adventures he undertakes, unlike what is evident in the Fairy Tale.

Such a metamorphosis as referred to above may be an influence of the folk-literature, such as seen in the many metamorphosis stories in Maranaw literature-both kunst and volk.

(4) Both the Maharadia Lawana and the Fairy Tale end with the metamorphosis respectively of Laksamana and Kra Kechil into handsome prince/datu. But Laksamana's change is not followed by other events, and he does not assume any other name. Kra Kechil henceforth is known by the name of Mambang Bongsu; becomes the son-in-law of a king (Raja Shah Kobad), who abdicates his throne in favour of Mambang Bongsu, and reigns as Raja (of) Bandar Tawhil. All these are not found in the greater Malay text, the HSR as well as the HMR, and no traces are found either in the *Rām*. This is understandable for it appears that in spite of the evident attempt at Islamization of the HSR and HMR, there seems to have been some resistance to the introduction of new elements and interpolations, because of its being closer to the traditional story as introduced from Indonesia than to the developing literature which found its way into the folk traditions.

Concluding Remarks. At the present stage of the work on the Sanskrit influence upon Philippine languages and literatures, we are not yet in the position to make definitive 'conclusions as to the degree of that influence. The work is being done in the literatures of Philippine Muslims, who in the past had been the earliest and the most deeply influenced ethnic groups of the Philippines. Studies on the Sanskrit elements of their literatures and languages are concentrated on their pre-Islamic literatures, which are suspected to contain the most extensive amount of Sanskrit elements in the language as well as in the literature. This suspicion is more or less partly confirmed in the cursory study of the *darangen*, the folk-epic of the Maranaw. Considering the Rāma-story in miniature in the Maranaw literature, there is great chance for our scholars to discover more in the literatures of the other Muslim peoples of the Philippines like the Magindanao and the Sulu. The Indarapatra epic of the Magindanao appear to show some characteristics of the Indian long narratives, but we cannot as yet make any definite stand on these elements, for we have not collated it yet with a narrative of the same title found among the Maranaw.

In a year or two, we would be able to show in sharper lines the nature and extent of Sanskritization of Philippine language and literature, particularly before the intrusion of Islam and Christianity.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme orient
BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
FAIRY TALE	The Rāma-Story in the Maxwell Study
HIKAYAT or	
HSR	The Malay HIKAYAT SERI RAMA (Shellabear)
JRAS-SB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Straits Branch
JRAS-MB	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch
PSP	Philippine Studies Program
Rām.	The Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa

Notes

1. See Juan R. Francisco, *The Philippines and India : Essays in Ancient Cultural Relations.* Manila : National Book Store, 1971. pp. 38-60.

2. See Juan R. Francisco, *Indian Influence in the Philippines (With Special Reference to Language and Literature).* Quezon City : University of the Philippines, 1964.

3. See Juan R. Francisco, *Philippine Palaeography,* Quezon City : Linguistic Society of the Philippines, 1972.

4. See other essays in reference cited in fn.1, above.

5. *Ibid.,* pp. 16-16.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*

8. See work cited in fn. 2, above.

9. The Maranaw are lake (ranao) dwellers, who at some point of their history received Indian cultural elements, but which more or less had ceased in the course of their Islamization. Nevertheless, their language and literature in spite of the dominance of Islam in their present cultural perspective still carry much which are distinguishable as Indian in character.

10. The term *darangen* may be Sans. *taraṅgiṇī* perhaps both being of the same meaning, narrative or history.

11. Other abbreviations are found at the end of the paper. Mar.—Maranaw; Jav.—Javanese; Mal.—Malay; OJav,—Old Javanese: Omal.—Old Malay; Mak.—Makassar; Sund.—Sundanese; Mag.—Magindanao. The apostrophe after a vowel-ultima indicates the velar-stop, e.g. *astana'*.

12. See fn. 2, above.

13. See fn. 4, above.

14. *Hikayat Seri Rama* (Text) in JRAS-SB, LXXI, 1917. With introduction to this text which is a ms. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, by W. G. Shellabear, in JRAS-SB, LXX, 1917.

15. H. Overbeck, in JRAS-MB, XI, w, pp. 111 ff.

16. W.E. Maxwell, "Sri Rama, A Fairy Tale told by a Malay Rhapsodist," JRAS-SB, XVII, May 1886.

17. W.E. Maxwell, Loc. cit., writes a note to the name, that Hanumān was the "monkey-king in the Rāmāyaṇa." This is not exactly so.

18. In Indian mythology, Hanumān is the son of Pavana, the god of the winds, by Añjanā, wife of the monkey named Kesarin.

19. Maxwell, *loc. cit.*

20. Malay, pawang, "1. magician, expert in spells, talismans, drugs and some peculiar industry, 2. a shaman who invokes ancestral spirits, Hindu gods, Arabian genie, and Allah to reveal the cause of the illness or drought or pestilence and accept placatory sacrifices." See R.O. Winstedt, "Notes on Malay Magic," JRAS-MB, III, 3, pp. 6-21; and "More Notes on Malay Magic," JRAS-MB, V, 2, pp. 342-347.

21. See R.O. Winstedt, Malay-English Dictionary. It is certain that the Hang Tuah of the 15th century Malacca may have been a ruling sultan who was at the same time an admiral of the navy.

22. See H. Overbeck, "Hikayat Maharaja Ravana," JRAS-MB, XI, 2, December 1933, pp. 111 ff. This hikayat is not dated. While its title tells of Rāvaṇa, it more or less tells the story of Rāma, his exile, his search for sīta, his combat with Rāvana, and the return of the princess, who is purified in the pyre. The entire hikayat shows the influences (?) of the Rāma and the HSR, and it appears that it could be the source of the Fairy Tale.

23. In the HSR, Mandudari, having been "given" by Daśaratha to Rāvaṇa although she had already given birth to a son, Seri Rama, retires into the inner apartments, and from the secretion of her skin, she produces by massage a mass which she first changes into a frog, then into a woman exactly like herself, whom she dresses with her own clothes and sends to the king.

24. Although the story of Seri Rama in the HSR commences only on page 51 of the text, the city is mentioned for the first time on page 62.

25. *Op. cit.*

26. *Ibid.* His authority is Yule's Glossary, p. 782.

27. Serindib is mentioned (Dimaski 1325) as one of the islands met in a west-east route (from Arabia) in which Malay closes the chain—"serindib (Ceylon) and Sribuza ....." See and cf. J. L. Moens, "Srivijaya, Yava, en Kptaha," JRAS-MB, XVII, 2, January 1940, p. 85.

A check with the Malay Annals (Sejarah Melayu) does not mention the name Bukit Serindib or Serindib. But the modern name is known as Ceylon already (See "Outline of the Malay Annals : Shellabear's romanized edition. Singapore, 1909" Chapter XXVIII, in "The Malay Annals or Sejarah Melayu" The Earliest Recension from Ms. No. 18 of the Raffles Collection, in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London edited by R.O. Winstedt), JRAS-MB, XVI, 2, pp. 12-13, Perhaps it owes its not being mentioned to the late composition of the Annals—between the 16th and 17th centuries. Ibid., pp. 27-34.

28. Sakutum Bunga Satangkei is described thus—" her waist could be encircled by the four fingers and the thumbs joined how her figure was as slim as the menjelei (a kind of grass or weed something like millet ?) stem, her fingers as slender as the stalk of the lemon grass, and her heels as small as bird's eggs; ......when she ate sirih or drank water her face acquired an indescribable charm..." Maxwell, loc. cit.

29. See JRAS-SB, LV, June 1910, p. 68

30. See and cf. Howard Mckaughan. The Inflection and Syntax of the Maranao Verb, Text Illustration No. 2A, "Si Someseng sa Alongan ago si Amo" (Someseng of Alongan and Monkey), pp. 50 ff.; Dean S. Fansler, Filipino Popular Tales (Lancaster, Penn., 1921), No. 19—"Juan Wearing a Monkey Skin"; No. 29—"Chongita" (Little Monkey Lady); and the Tinguian Tales, found in Fay Cooper Cole, Traditions of the Tinguians, Field Museum of Natural History Publication 180, XIV, 1 (Chicago 1915).

Also Mary Frere, Old Deccan Days (London 1858), No. No. 12—"The Jacal, The Barber, etc.," pp. 175-194; *Ram.* I, 48; III, 71; The Purāṇas and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* also provide us with a number of tales that show the motif. The story of Urvaśī and Purūravas in *RV*, X, 95, is another major paradigm

for his motif: The motif in this story is also known as tl
"Swan Maiden" motif (see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, II, Appendix I-
"Urvaśī and Purūravas"; VIII, Appendix I—"The Swa
Maidan' Motif".

Furthermore, see Ivor N. H. Evans, "Folk-stories of tl
Tempasuk and Tuaran Districts, British North Borneo,
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, XLIII, 191:
Studies in Religion, Folklore and Customs in British Nort
Borneo and the Malay Peninsula (Cambridge, 1923).

31. Malay is used here as a generic term. This would inclu(
therefore the whole of the Malaysian Peninsula and Arch
pelago.

SHANTIDEVA'S BODHICARYĀVATĀRA AND MONGOLIAN EVERLASTING SONGS

RINCHEN MONGOLIA

It is a great honour and pleasure to me to participate in the International Sanskrit Conference and I sincerely thank the Organisers for the opportunity given to me to attend it.

It is also my sacred duty as disciple to honour the pious memory of my Soviet Gurus—Indologist academician Oldenburg, Tibetanist academician Shcherbatsky, Mongolist academician Vladimirtsov and the founder of the Russian School of History of Orient academician Barthold all of whom emphasised to me the great importance of Sanskrit and its glorious literature for the sublime cultural heritage of my beloved People.

At present we know the existence of Mongol written versions of Rāmāyana but from my childhood I remember evening shadow-plays with coloured puppets of Rāma, monkeys and a many-headed demon Mangus cut out from a transparent yellow, rather hard leather manipulated by the skillful hands of a wandering Mongol monk-artist reciting a story of Rāma. And after more than a half century it seems to me that I hear his little cracked voice mysteriously sounding in semi darkness behind a screen in a large gher crowded with silent and ravished audience.

Demon Mangus in the shadow-play was invincible but Rāma came to know that a soul of his redoubtable adversary was hidden in another place. Using a stratagem he killed the soul and demon Mangus died in the twinkling of an eye.

The similar episode of battle with monster Mangus having a soul in a safe and secret place is very common in Mongol heroic epos and may be closely connected with the folklore of ancient India.

The most gifted and distinguished singers of Mongol epic songs, following the old tradition, studied the elements of Dandin's

Kāvyādarśa in their literary or mostly oral Mongol versions. T scholars of old Mongolia estimating their national heroic ep sincerely helped them to master the art of poetry.

Most of Mongol scholars of older generation made a caref study of Śāntideva's lyrico-philosophical poem *Bodhicaryāvatāra* al tantric songs of Mongol Tanjur.

Bodhicaryāvatāra was first translated into Mongol in 1305 al its text was included in Mongol printed Tanjur with many other o translations very important for the Mongol philologists.

Soviet academician Vladimirtsov in his edition of the o Mongol text of *Bodhicaryāvatāra* translated by Paṇḍita Chos-kyi-'o zer and included in Mongol Tanjur mentioned his great importanc for the development of the literary Mongol. He stated also a influence of the philosophical conceptions of Śāntideva's poem to noble lyrical poetry of Tsoktutaiji, the Mongol Prince, statesma and poet of the early 17th century, whose elegiac verses wer engraved by his learned and true-hearted assosiate Guyeng bagatu on the rocks from which Tsoktu taiji recited his poetical improvi sation remembering his beloved elder sister.

From 14th to 19th century Śāntideva's poem was man times translated into Mongol testifying us its great popularit among the Mongol scholars which created commentaries on thi celebrated poetical work of the great Indian writer and philosopher

Following an old literary tradition the highly educated Mongo intellectuals, both the clergy and laymen, wrote poetry and song composing their melodies. And the philosophical conceptions o Śāntideva's poem and Tantric songs of Tanjur, by their ideas o enlightening, influenced the so-called 'urtu-yin dagun'—i.e. 'everlast ing songs' created by Mongol scholars. The beauty of the eterna Motherland Jambūdvīpa, the high sentiments or esteem and vene ration to enlightened Gurus, the love and benevolence to all Living beings etc. were the highlight of these songs which were esteemed very much by the people. Thousands of manuscripts of these everlasting songs were dispersed all over the country and some of them had socalled 'yan-yig' — i.e. musical notes for the melody of songs.

We know the names of many learned authors of the everlasting songs from 17th to 20th century. For example, the solemn everlasting song 'Tümen-ü eki' — 'A Head of Thousands' was composed by a Prince Darkhan Chin Vang in 1696 on the honour of the all-horse winner at the great national feast after a devastating war. Mongols love horse, which symbolize in their language of

poetry. 'Thought, Mind, Intention,' rapid like 'Morin Erdeni, Cindamani Morin' — Cintāmaṇi Horse.

Nowadays the eminent singer of everlasting songs, the soldier of the People's Revolution Dugarjab composed an everlasting song in honour of the Mongol Hero National Sukhebator after his death in 1924.

All the everlasting songs are very much appreciated by Mongols and singers sing them in such solemn occasions as feasts, anniversaries banquets, weddings etc.

In concluding my brief paper I request you to permit me to reproduce tape-recordings of two old everlasting songs. The first of them is the above mentioned 'Tümen-ü eki' –'A Head of Thousands', performed by Lhamojab, the popular singer of everlasting songs, Member of the People's Songs and Dance Company. The another is 'Uyaqan Jambutvib' — 'A Lovely Jambūdvīpa' performed by woman singer Norbobandzad, the Honoured Worker of Arts of the Republic.

SANSKRIT AND INDO-EUROPEAN

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Within the past ten years I have been working on general studies on the history of IE languages from which a few relevant conclusions concerning the pre-history of Vedic and its situation among the IE dialects can be drawn.

Some of these works are already published as *Estudios sobre las laringales indoeuropeas* (Madrid, 1961, a new enlarged edition is about to appear). *Evolución y estructura del verbo indoeuropeo* (Madrid 1963) and a series of articles[1]. There are also in preparation books and works, not only mine but of some of my pupils. I think convenient to advance here some of the results. In one or two years Francisco Villar's *Evolución y estructura de la flexión nominal indoeuropea*, a large work by Julia Mendoza on the pronominal flexion and another book of mine, a synthesis entitled *Lingüística indoeuropea* will appear. The results of all these studies are easy to resume :

(a) The most archaic IE dialect transmitted is Anatolian, concreatly Hittite. Let us make a list of Hittite archaisms ; non-existence of opposition between masculine and feminine genders, identity between singular and plural endings (with exception of

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1. Cf. "Loi phonétique, sonantes et laryngales", *Emerita* 31, 1963, pp. 185-211; "Historische und strukturale Methode in der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft", *Kratylos* 10, 1965, pp. 131-154; "Notas sobre laringales", *Emerita* 34, 1966, pp, 1-14; "Die Rekonstruktion des Indogermanischen und die strukturalistische Sprachwissenschaft", *Indogermanische Forschungen* 73. 1968, pp. 1-47; "Das Hethitische und die indogermanische Laryngale", *Revue Hittite et Asianique*, 28, 1970, pp. 7-17; "On indoeuropean sigmatic verbal stems", *Archivum Linguisticum* 2 (n.s.), 1971, pp. 95-116.

nominative and accusative), identity between dative and locative, absence of ablative, no comparative grade in adjectival flexion, and, over all, the existence of a verbal flexion where each verb has a single stem, with no subjunctive nor optative modes.

The great innovations of IE languages which we call Post-Anatolian consist in opposing to each verbal stem a second one with secondary endings, meant to mark the past tense; and, at least in some languages, to oppose a third stem meant to mark a subjunctive with no temporal value.

(b) The reconstruction of the utmost phonological IE system shows a stage with two short vowels, *e* and *o* used mostly to mark a lexical or morphological distinction. There were also two series of laryngeals with three timbers *e*, *a*, *o*; one of the series had a palatal appendix, the other a velar one. With the aid of these two series it is possible to understand the origin of the items ending in -*i* and -*u*, used with several grammatical values; for instance, present stems in -*i*, perfect stems in -*u*, such as Sanskrit *jajñáu*, *dadáu*, etc. These are grammaticalizations inside the morphological system of phonetic variants which, as such, did not have originally those morphological values.

(c) Understanding of the phenomenon through which, new grammatical categories can be created, which as their marks adopt stems, suffixes or endings which originally did not have any relation with them. The study of the evolution of significative systems allows to explain these facts. In our case it explains how from an IE stage where verb was not different in flexion from noun, it developed the Anatolian stage, where with a single verbal stem and four series of endings, oppositions of person, number (singular/ plural), tense (present/past), mode (indicative/imperative), voice (active/media) are expressed. In a later moment, oppositions of number, tense and mode are completed and the opposition of aspect is created. In a parallel way, it is possible to follow the formal differentiation of noun and adjective and the creation of nominal and pronominal flexion.

On this basis it is clear that several characteristics specific of Sanskrit phonology and morphosyntaxis are also common to the great Post-Anatolian branch of IE. In noun, the disparition of laryngeals, the development of *a* and long vowels, the creation of the opposition masculine/feminine; dual number (limited to a few languages); the completion of noun flexion with the creation of independent endings for the cases of singular and plural; several innovations in the pronominal flexion; and in verb, the creation of a system which opposes several stems : present, perfect and aorist

(the latter only in indicative); each verb has a subjunctive and an optative stem.

But there are other series of points where Sanskrit shares the innovations of specific dialectal groups inside the Post-Anatolian group of IE; in other cases Sanskrit has an independent evolution, following certain inherited tendencies. To this independent evolution some features which are usually thought archaisms should be abscribed.

The consequence is a vision of Sanskrit as a language which preserves many archaisms, but not the language which offers us always the greatest archaisms. We can see a progressive differentiation of IE languages, how Sanskrit proceeds from one of the several dialectal groups created and it offers specific tendencies. We can get a more realist and exact view of the history of Indo-Iranian group and also of the Indian group in itself. Its own evolutions are original answers to old problems of IE languages : from a certain point of view Sanskrit represents the culmination of one of the fundamental tendencies in this development.

Our theory coincides with that of those who postulate the existence of an old dialectal group formed by Greek, Indo-Iranian and, at least in some innovations, Armenian. Some of the features attributed traditionally to oldest IE are features peculiar of this dialectal group. But inside this group there are specific innovations of Greek or Sanskrit : it is important to indicate which is the innovating language. But, sometimes Greek coincides not with Sanskrit but with languages alien to this group : the same thing happens with Sanskrit. There are some isoglosses common to Sanskrit, Baltic, Slavic, Tocharian or to some of these languages. Finally there are already specific features of Sanskrit; they are, as we said, original answers to IE problems.

(1) *Relations of Sanskrit with the Greek language.* Here are some of the most remarkable features of Sanskrit (and Indo-Iranian) in one hand and Greek in the other. Some of these features are partaken by Armenian also. We can divide them in innovations and archaisms.

(a) New elements added to the system. Let us remark the following :

Augment. Only found in Indo-Iranian, Greek and Armenian, not compulsory in old stages of these languages. It is a redundant element to mark past : probably an old particle or tonic adverb, next to which verb was enclitic.

Medial perfect. It is quite clear the relation of active IE perfect with medial hittite presents of *-hi* flexion, whose endings are

-ha, -ta, -a. All Post-Anatolian opposes stem flexionated in this manner and frequently with other special features, let us say, vocalism *o* of the root and reduplication, to any other stem. Thus a perfect opposed to a present is obtained. It is quite clear that this corresponds to a Hittite form which only secondarily, when opposed to flexion in *-hi, ti, -i,* was considered medial: really, an IE perfect in some languages has no voice value (as in Germanic and Slavic) and in other languages, because of system reasons, was sometimes active (this is the general case) sometimes medial. For instance, in Sanskrit the form in *-a* is active (*cakara*), but the form in *-e* (from *-ai*) is medial (*cakré*). But *-i* was not originally a medial characteristic : the proof is that in Latin the form in *-ai*, which produces *-i* is active (lat. *uidi*). As Latin converted *uidi* in active in opposition to *uisus sum*, Greek and Sanskrit converted *-a* in active through opposition to a special form of medial voice, imitated from medial presents. The device consists in adding to the very stem of perfect medial present endings. So Sanskrit *cakré.* Greek diéphtharzac This is an innovation common to both languages.

Plusquamperfect. It is clear from Hittite that perfect did not have originally a tense value : the *-ha, -ta, -a* of the perfect only through opposition to a past tense of clearly secondary origin became present endings. The plusquamperfect, which is found in Greek and Sanskrit and is formed adding secondary endings to the perfect stem is a specific innovation of this group.

Combined flexion of modes and tenses. The most important innovation of this group consists in producing for the present, aorist and perfect stems specialized forms with modal values (subjunctive, optative) as well as a participle for each (Greek also produced an infinitive). This happens on grounds of the existence of an imperative for each stem, as Anatolian shows. It is clear that it is an innovation, when we compare what happens in languages such as Tocharian or Celt, which only have a subjunctive for each verb, not for each stem. There are traces that in archaic Latin, subjunctive was derived from root, not from the different stems (Lat. *attigas, aduenas*). Sanskrit precative, as *budhyas* from *bodhati,* derived from the root, and it is clear that participle was not necessarily from each of the verbal stems. On the other hand this innovation is not exclusive of Greek and Sanskrit : Latin, Osco-Umbrian and Germanic have traces of it, but in this evolution they went farther, because they tried to confer to the modes the tense values of indicative.

This doesn't happen in Greek and Sanskrit, which instead of this, established an aspectual system in indicative and in the modes and in participles (also in Greek infinitives) for all the verbal stems.

It is not sure at all that from the existence of an imperfect and an aorist, which were two variants of past tense, it was created in all Post-Anatolian languages the aspectual opposition present/aorist, nor that it was taken into the modes; this only can be said for Greek and Sanskrit.

With those innovations, Greek and Sanskrit go very far in the principle of expanding the system of categories and functions which was developing in IE verb : only the tense system was limited to indicative.

Future. Another innovation common to Greek and Sanskrit is the development of future, parting from a -s desiderative. This innovation is partaken by another linguistic group, Baltic. It is another step in the expansion of verbal categories about which we are talking.

b)   Elimination of elements of the old system.

Greek and Sanskrit eliminate from the old system of Post-Anatolian verb not categories nor functions but several formal elements which added complexity and ambiguity: this is an attempt to simplify and to make a clearer relation form/content. We talk specially of semithematic flexion about whose archaism there is no doubt, because its appearance in Hittite and in western European languages (Latin, Slavic, Baltic and Germanic). To these eliminations corresponded a great development of athematic flexion, differenciated sometimes formally through endings, and specially through vocalism and accent displacements. There was also a development of thematic flexion inside which two types were opposed with a different aspectual value: *bhárati* and *tudáti*.

Another element eliminated from the old system, not totally in Sanskrit is the -r ending. There are no traces in Greek; in Sanskrit it appears only as a secondary ending of 3rd plural, but not as a medial ending (with the exception of medial ending -*re*). This elimination is an attempt to produce coherence and regularity in the system of verbal endings.

There are also some archaisms common to Greek and to the Indo-Iranian group. But there are gradual differences between both groups: sometimes an archaism is better preserved in one of them or it is only maintained by one of them. Let us limit to the following:

Small development of -*ē*, -*ā* (old Indian -*ā*) stems, with the exception of subjunctive. While several languages make wide use of

these suffixes with state and other values (so in Slavic, Baltic, Germanic, Latin) and also to mark past, in Sanskrit there are no traces of it, with the exception of denominatives and some isolated cases with no specific value as *gabhāyati*. Greek makes little use, but the type exists: deverbatives as osrō pháō, the -ē aorist, etc.

Sanskrit does not have a compound preterite as the weak past tense of Germanic or of Latin, Baltic and Slavic imperfects. We think that the socalled passive aorist, ended in -thē-, is a compound past tense.

Sanskrit and Greek, differently from other languages, did not establish a verbal flexion on two stems, fusing in the second the old imperfects, aorists and perfects. Even when both languages proceeded in this tendance along their history, this did not happen in their oldest stages. There was not in them (with the exception of Greek contract verbs) what we call a conjugation: a system of forms related to each other in an inequivocal way and which can be deduced one from the other automatically. Greek and Sanskrit maintain the fundamental archaism that to a present can correspond several aorists and contrariwise; and that very often only inside the system a form can be defined as present or aorist, indicative or subjunctive.

It should be remarked that the closest relations of Sanskrit and Greek lay mainly in the verb structure; that is why we have referred to it all the coincidences exposed. In both languages the system of categories and functions of IE verb gets its utmost expansion. They tend to express these categories systematically and clearly but they refuse to create a conjugation. They make to stand out aspect and restrict tense to indicative.

2) *Relations with other languages.*

As Greek is related to other languages, for instance as to the development of compound past tense and of long vowel stems, the same happens with Sanskrit. We have already talked of archaisms such as the preservation of certain endings. Another archaism is the existence of several present stems derived from the same root: next to a basic verb in Sanskrit we find a desiderative, a causative or iterative, a passive form. Really, Sanskrit has developed a system whose antiquity is attested by coincidences with Hittite, Tocharian and Slavic. It is not an identity, because formations vary as to detail in form and content: but in Hittite we find causative and iterative-durative, in Tocharian causative, in Slavic there is an opposition between imperfectives and perfectives. In Greek and other languages we find only traces of these formations. It is quite

remarkable that Sanskrit has preserved the important archaism of using these formations, as well as denominatives in present stems only, quite differently from Greek and other languages.

We point also as archaisms, within the verbal system, the non-adscription of an infinitive to each stem (as Greek does) and the use still independent of injunctive which in other languages passed to imperative or disappeared.

But these relations of Sanskrit out of the group formed together with Greek, are the more interesting when they are innovations. Really the existence of several present stems for each root, that is to say, of a basic verb and the socalled deverbatives, is an innovation parting from an archaism. In Hittite it is only a possibility sometimes used, sometimes not used: it is not systematic. But in Tocharian, next to each basic verb there is a causative; in Slavic to each imperfective corresponds a perfective drawn by fixed rules. In a similar way in Sanskrit systematically from each verb a causative-iterative, a desiderative, an intensive and a passive are derived. We have to admit that at least there was a common tendency which realized in the different languages in different ways.

But the greatest coincidence of Sanskrit with languages alien to Greek are in the noun system. We think that Greek, Germanic and Celt are even more archaizing than Hittite when, apart from nominative, accusative and genitive they only offer a single case, the socalled dative, derived from pure stems: the suffixes -*ei* and -*i* derived indeed from pure stems ended in laryngeal -H^i and are the final elements which only secondarily are used as endings. If this is so —and as now it is impossible to demostrate it, we shall only make reference to the works alluded at the beginning of this paper — it is clear that the development of special cases such as ablative, locative and instrumental are innovations, even when some of them answer to old tendencies: Hittite has already an instrumental. Sanskrit is in this sense next to the Baltic-Slavic group which has certain points of contact with Latin.

3. *Innovations specific of Indo-Iranian and Greek.*

We have to add to all these several innovations, sometimes of the Indo-Iranian group, some other of the Sanskrit itself. They refer to many details of noun and verb flexion and its main points are: the creation of some special forms, as predicative; of certain uses specific of noun and verbal categories, as for instance aorist aspect; or the already mentioned system of deverbatives. But the principal innovations refer to form more than content. Sanskrit tries to make as inequivocal as possible this relation form/content

in noun and verbal flexion within the most archaic IE type without surrendering to the creation of a tight conjugation. Sanskrit created a system of endings very clear, specially in noun flexion: each case has its own endings with no ambiguities (there are some, such as the existence of pure stem locative or -*i* locative) and in some circumstances distinguishes in flexion masculins and feminines. So we have masculine stems in -*a* and feminine in -*ā*, but also stems in -*i*, -*u*, -*r*, etc.

But it is in verb where Sanskrit achieves clearer results. While IE languages have the same only ending for 1st plural primary or secondary, 2nd plural primary or secondary, Sanskric eliminated totally such syncretisms. For each person, for each one of the three numbers, has achieved, through differenciation and analogic facts, four endings; active primary, active, secondary, medial primary, medial secondary. This is a feat not accomplished by any of the IE languages.

4. Conclusions.

Sanskrit follows old tendencies of Post-Anatolian; its History reflects tendencies of later Post-Anatolian, such as the absorption of a like value to imperfect, aorist and perfect, and the reduction of old subjunctive and optative modes to a single mode. But in spite of this fidelity to later tendencies we have to insist that it represents a culminating point in its history. Coinciding sometimes with Greek, Baltic and other languages, some others innovating by himself, it has achieved the most complete system of cases and verbal categories of all IE languages, expressed by words and not by periphrasis (with some exception). That has happened within a respect of the old independence of stems, that is to say rejecting a system of tight conjugation. Here we are at a point of arrival, not of origin. Sanskrit is not a counterdrawing of oldest IE as it was pretended to be. Only in not having an infinitive for each stem is inferior to Greek: but its system of cases and deverbatives is richer, more inequivocal the form/content relation. Greek and Sanskrit are the culminating points of a certain type of IE; of a type of IE which, doubtlessely, was too nuanced and complex, too intellectual for the speakers of other languages. These languages, on the contrary of Sanskrit, introduced verbal two-stem flexion, reduced the importance of aspect and mode, broadening tense; reduced the importance of noun cases, enlarging that of prepositions. Concerning the relation form/content, they created a rigid system, conjugation, and nullified the independence of stems, with loss of sense of the root and reduction of the role of vowel alternations and accent

deplacement. They expanded periphrastic forms. They represent at least partially a different linguistic type.

We did not want to present here the history of Sanskrit, bu only its principal characteristics. We think that those characteristic shed light on its history. Sanskrit is a harmonious and comple building, fit to give expression to all adventures in thinking and to all human feeling.

SANSKRIT AND GERMAN
LANGUAGES, LITERATURE AND THOUGHT

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Sanskrit and German, both belong to the Indo-European or the Indo-Germanic group of languages. They are thus two sister languages belonging to the same family of languages. Both the languages and literatures have contributed immensely to world thought, culture and civilization. The stamp which marked history and public life in both the countries was intellectual. Both the peoples, the Germans and the Indians, have had their own experience with nationalism and with the world of modern political confrontation, in recent times. Indo-German relations are among the note worthy encounters between members of two great peoples. Indo-German ties have grown close and it is hoped that co-operation between India and Germany will grow further.

Sanskrit and German, belonging to the group of Indo-Germanic languages, have word similarities and certain syntactical similarities. In both these languages words of kinship and numerals have similarities which can be philologically illustrated. To illustrate a few we may note the following as examples :

mātṛ Mutter', Pitṛ Vater; Bhrātṛ Bruder; Svasṛ Schwester; dvi zwei, tri drei, pañca fünf; ṣaṭ sechs; sapta sieben; aṣṭam acht; navm neun; etc. In Sanskrit the numerals after twenty are formed as ekaviṃśati, dvāviṃśati, trayoviṃśati, saptaviṃśati, pañcapañcāśat, ; in German we have einundzwanzig, zweiundzwanzig, dreiundzwanzig, sibenundzwanzig, fuenfundfuenfzig, etc. We have also words like Nāman and Name.

Sanskrit and German are inflectional languages. As a result of this, one has the facility and freedom to start the sentence as one likes. e.g. in Sanskrit we can say Govindo grāmaṃ gacchati

grāmaṃ gacchati Govindaḥ, gacchati Govindo gramāṃ, etc. e
without in any way obstructing the sense of the senten
In German also, one can say : Der Lehrer kommt jetzt in
Klasse, Jetzt kommt der Lehrer in die Klasse. In die Klas
kommt der Lehrer jetzt.   But, there is a point to be note
In the German language, though one can begin the sentence in t
way shown above, still, in this sort of construction known as tl
"inverted sentence construction", this small rule is to be strict
adhered to viz. that in this type of "inverted construction." the ver
must be second and this is to be followed by the Subject i.e. the Su
ject should be the third.   In the *Ṛg-veda*, a verb with a prepositic
may not come together i.e. in between them some few words ma
intervene e.g. parā me yanti dhītayaḥ I.25.16, saṃ nu vocāvahā
1.25.17, pāśaṃ madhyamaṃ cṛta I.25.21, pra vāṃ andhāṃ
madyānyaṣṭhuḥ 7.68.2.   In Kālidāsa also we have pātayāṃ pratī
mam āsa.   In German, in a simple sentence, the preposition of th
verb known as the trennbar comes last at the end of the who.
sentence.   In Sanskrit the preposition is first or last and the wor
or words intervene.   In German, on the other hand, the main ver
is always second the preposition is always last.   This will becom
clear by the following examples:

> Herr Alsdorf fährt von Delhi ab.
> Herr Alsdorf kommt in Delhi an.
> Herr Alsdorf steigt in Delhi ein.
> Herr Alsdorf steigt in Delhi aus.

In both the languages, an interrogative sentence begins witl
the verb. e.g. gacchasi tvaṃ grāmaṃ ? Gehen Sie nach dem Dorf.
Paṭhasi tvaṃ Rāmāyaṇam ? Lesen Sie das Rāmāyaṇam ? But, whei
an interrogative Pronoun begins the sentence in both the language
generally the verb occupies the second place.   Kiṃ Karoṣi tvaṃ
Was tun Sie ? In Sanskrit we have eight cases including the vocative
whereas in German we have only four cases viz. the nominative, thi
accusative, the dative and the genitive. In Sanskrit, we have the rul
gatyarthe dvitīyā e.g. ahaṃ grāmam gacchāmi.   In German also wi
have, "Ich gehe in die Schule". Ich gehe in das Hotel. Ich gehe ir
den Garten. Both the languages have three genders and two number
in German and three in Sanskrit. The latter has in addition the dual
number. In German, too, we have compounds but not so long as in
Sanskrit. We have: e.g. Wörterbuch, Haustür, Haushaltswarenges-
chäft, in German we have certain verbs like anbieten, bringen,
diktieren, schreiben, zeigen, geben, nehmen, sagen erklären, erzählen,
etc. which govern two objects the Dative and the Accusative. We
have certain verbs like antworten, danken, gheören, helfen, schaden

governing two objects as is shown in the following couplet :—

दुह्याच्पच्दण्डुर, चिप्रच्छिचिब्रूसुजिमथ्मुषाम् ।
कर्मयुक् स्यादकथितं तथा स्यान्नीहृकृष्व्वहाम् ॥

and roots like dā, ruc, śam, ślāgh, spṛh, krudh, druh, rādh, ikṣ, pari and krī which govern the Dative case. Cf, also krī, krī—vi and kaufen, verkaufen, etc.

The Upaniṣads are well known for their philosophy, The Upaniṣadic philosophy has greatly influenced the German thought and men of letters. Schopenhauer has praised the Upaniṣadic philosophy. "The philosophy of the Upaniṣads will be the solace of my life and will be the solace of my death." The Indian Yoga also has attracted peace—loving souls from the West. In Russia, there are persons who are endeavouring to learn Yoga, practise Yoga and propagate Yoga. Goethe has showered encomium on Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. He was so much enamoured of the play that he danced in joy after reading the translation of it. In his *FAUST* he has written the prologue to the drama exactly after the prastāvanā of the Sanskrit plays. Goethe's friend Schiller too was led to copy the theme of *Meghadūta* in his 'Maria Stuart'. In the former, the cursed Yakṣa sends a message through the medium of the cloud to his beloved. In Maria Stuart the captive Queen of Scotts sends through the medium of the cloud a message to his beloved. Examples like this can be multiplied. All this goes to show that languages and literatures can act and react.

Thus, the Germans have done pioneering work in the field of Sanskrit, both classical and Vedic. They have done monumental work in Indology. Even in the present century, in more than ten Universities in Germany, there are Chairs for Sanskrit and Indology. Max Müller brought out an edition of the complete text of the Ṛg-veda. It was a surprise to the Indian Pandits. He came to be called 'mokṣa-mūla'. To pay homage to this veteran scholar of Indology, eight German Institutes in India are known after his name as "MAX MÜLLER BHAVANS".

Germany is one of the few countries in the Western hemisphere where Indology has found a permanent abode. Indology, which implies a study of Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina as well as Islamic philosophy, took its birth in the 18th Century. Friedrich von Schlegel became one of the founders of Indology in Germany. His translation of the *Hitopadeśa* was as remarkable as his work "Ueber die Sprache und Weisheit der Inder". It bore a scientific stamp than of a literary character. It was followed by his three books. "On

language", "On philosophy", and "Historical Ideas". This start of Indology in Germany was enriched by Max Müller. Lamprecht's "Alexander Lied" in which the flower girl bears similarity with the daughters of Māra (Lalitalistara 23). In Fraunlob of Hugo von Trimberg the roots of the theme are found in old Indian folk tales. Barthlomaeus Ziegenbald drew accounts from Siamese Buddhism. Herder described Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* as "essence of perfection". That Goethe went lyrical in praise of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala* is very widely known. For his Paria triology (1824) Goethe took a theme from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, and made it into a redemption mystery. A.W. Schlegel, who held the first Chair of Indology, was responsible for many translations from the Sanskrit Literature, Ruekert knew besides Sanskrit Tamil too. His translations are: 'Nala and Damayanti', 'Sāvitrī', *Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa, and *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi. Heine's Indological studies cast a spell on works which did not touch India directly. Köppenś Buddhismus (1857-58) provided a stimulus to German Literature, which is evident even to-day. He was followed by Richard Wagner, whose theme for the drama "Der Sieger" was love of the caṇḍāla girl 'prakṛti' for the Buddhist monk Ānanda. Again Wahnheim and Wunschheim are of Indian character. Religious poetry of P. Dahlke and H. Much are of Buddhistic nature. Karl Bleibtreu in his dramas 'Karma' (1901) and 'Heilkönig' attempted to portray Buddhism as perfection of religion. Gustav Meyrink Franz Werfel, Josef Winkler and Stefen Zweig enriched German literature by taking recourse to themes on Buddha legends.

Jainism too attracted German Indologists. W. Schubring worked mainly on Jaina canons and doctrines. Helmuth von Glasenapp commented on almost all aspects of Indian religions including Jainism. Leumann also wrote on Jainism. Hermann Hess was attracted by Yoga. Thomas Mann, his contemporary, found fulfilment in giving new literary shape to themes which before him were handled by Goethe. Mann dealt with psychosomatic problems embodied in his "Die vertauschten Köpfe."

Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Paul Deussen, Hermann Keyserling Max Scheler, Karl Jaspers are a few of the illustrious German Philosophers. It is not possible to review and note all the German Indologists from the beginning upto the end in the scope of this paper in view of the limitations time etc. and therefore I undertake to give a kaledioscopic view of the representative scholars in the different fields of Indology. Thereby, there is a scope to leave out some of the best scholars. This paper aims at giving the trends of Indological study in the different fields and hence cannot be exhaustive.

Max Müller moved to Oxford where he rediscovered the Vedas. His 'Sacred Books of the East' in 50 vols. won him recognition throughout the world. His book "India, What can it teach us" is well known in the field of Vedic studies. We may mention Heinrich Zimmer, Hermann Oldenberg, Alfred Hillebrandt, K.F. Geldner, Hermmann Lommel, Wilhelm Rau, Hermann Berger, Grassmann, Ludwig, Adolf Kaegi, Alsdorf, Bruhn, Waldschmidt, Poul Thieme among the few past and present German Indologists.

In the field of Vedānta we may mention Paul Deussen, in the field of Epics i.e. the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* we refer the names Oldenberg, Jacobi, Holtzmann, Garbe, Schroder, Otto, etc. German poet Schlegel wrote a Latin version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Regarding the Purāṇas we may mention Paul, Kirfel and regarding Arthaśāstra Jacob Meyer may be mentioned.

The study of Indology in Germany is well organised so that every important library has a special collection of books on India. They have Journals of repute like Z D M G, Indo-germanische Forschungen etc. Besides libraries and Journals there are institutes like Indian Institute in Munich, German-Indian Society in Stuttgart, East-Asia Association in Hamburg, Indo-German cultural societies and Max Müller Bhavans all over India (eight in number) do remarkable work to bring the two cultures nearer.

Bonn was the first University to have a Chair of Indology in 1818. In 1856 in Tuebingen the second chair was founded. In 1862 in Göttingen another chair was established, then in Muenich, Marburg, etc. In Germany the professors of Sanskrit deal with language, literature, religion, philosophy, teach Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākrit, and occasionally Avesta and Tibetan. There, the professors pursue several fields such as Veda, Vedānta, the Epic study, dramas, Law, Sāṃkhya, Advaita, Yoga etc. Many German Innologists like Helmuth von Glasenapp came and lived in India to quench their thirst for knowledge.

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