A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE TERMS VṚTTI, RĪTI AND PRAVṚTTI FROM THE SELECT SANSKRIT TEXTS ON POETICS

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
TILAK MAHARASHTRA VIDYAPEETH, PUNE

FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In Sanskrit
Under the Board Of Arts and Fine Arts Studies

BY
Sunila Santosh Gondhalekar

(Registration No. 00119004677)

UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF

Dr. Ambarish Vasant Khare

DEPARTMENT OF
Shri Balmukund Lohia Centre of Sanskrit and Indological Studies

September 2023

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CERTIFICATE OF THE SUPERVISOR

It is certified that work entitled -

A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE TERMS VṚTTI, RĪTI AND PRAVṚTII FROM THE SELECT SANSKRIT TEXTS ON POETICS

is an original research work done by **Sunila Santosh Gondhalekar.**

Under my supervision for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Sanskrit to be awarded by Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune. To best of my knowledge this thesis

- embodies the work of candidate himself/herself has duly been completed
- fulfils the requirement of the ordinance related to Ph. D. degree of the TMV
- up to the standard in respect of both content and language for being referred to the examiner.

Date: September 2023

Place: Pune

Ambarish Vasant Khare

Signature of the Supervisor

Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Pune

Undertaking

I, Sunila Santosh Gondhalekar is the Ph. D Scholar of the Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth in Sanskrit.

Thesis entitled is A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE TERMS VṚTTI, RĪTI AND PRAVṚTII FROM THE SELECT SANSKRIT TEXTS ON POETICS
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Sunila Gondhalekar

Abbreviations

AD.   - Aṣṭādhyāyī by Pāṇini

ADa.   - Abhinayadarpaṇa by Nandikeśvara

Ait. Br.   - Aitareya Brāhmaṇa

Bd.   - Bṛhaddeśī by Mataṅga

Bhāg.   - Bhāgavata Purāṇa

BP   - Bhavaprakasana of Saradatanaya

DR.   - Daśarūpa by Dhanañjaya

KD.   - Kāvyādarśa by Daṇḍin

KL.   - Kāvyālaṅkāra by Bhāmaha

KLS   - Kāvyālaṅkārsārasaṅgraha by Udbhaṭa

KS.   - Kavyālaṁkārasūtra by Vāmana

Mahāvira. - Mahāviracarita by Bhavabhūti

MBh.   - Mahābhārata

Megh.   - Meghadūta Kālidāsa

MS.   - Manu Smṛti

Mudrā.   - Mudrārākśasa

NŚ   - Nāṭyaśāstra

Piṅgala.   - Chandaḥsūtra by Pāṅgala

Rām.   - Rāmāyaṇa

SD.   - Sāhityadarpaṇa.

SR.   - Saṃgītaratnākara by Śārṅgadeva

Śṛ. Pr.   - Śṛṅgāraprakāśa by Bhoja

Uttara.   - Uttararāmacarita by Bhavabhūti.

YāS.   – Yājñavalkya Smṛti

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Chapter I - Introduction

I.1 What is Sociolinguistics?

Sociolinguistics, is the study of the sociological aspects of language. It attempts to separate linguistic features that are used in particular situations and that mark the various social relationships among the participants and the significant elements of the situation. This discipline concerns itself with the part language plays in maintaining the social roles in a community.

Languages do not develop in emptiness in any society. Languages are shaped, developed and used by the people, by the society as a whole. Sociolinguistics is a branch of linguistics that works on the social aspects of the languages. It studies about language dialects. In these studies, different ways of using the language are vital. The views of many individuals about using the particular dialect or language suggest about their thoughts, ideas and social behaviour significantly.[1] It also gives idea about the class differences in the particular society. The styles of writing also vary amongst the groups based on the economic status, education, age, gender, etc.

In another studies one can see the impact of geographical barriers such as people from mountain range or a desert, or a river, use different words and phrases. The procedure of a language varies from place to place and it also varies between social classes. Such studies observe differences in the usage reflect differences in the beliefs of the people and likewise reflect socioeconomic classes. It is known as *sociolects* that sociolinguistics studies. Sociolinguistics can be studied in various ways such as interviews with speakers of a particular language, matched-guise tests, and observations or studies related to dialects and speaking.

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[1] "Sociolinguistics | Linguistic Society of America". www.linguisticsociety.org

This branch of research also tries to discover the mutual relationship between language and culture of a society. These relations are reveled in information from various grammatical, literary, and literature texts.

There are many socio-historical situations in various parts as Caribbean, Africa, South America, Asia, and the Pacific Islands. These have resulted in the specialized language situations. It is possible to observe how speakers of various languages in the world, use each language and how they switch between them. It provides the details of a particular language and also the social and linguistic details.

I.1.1 Early stages

The social facets of language in the modern way were first studied about Indian and Japanese linguistics in the 1930s. (for details see the Appendix 'Sociolinguistics research in India and Japan')

Louis Gauchat also studied them in Switzerland in the early 1900s. Not plentiful was received in the West until much later. The first confirmed use of this term was by Thomas Callan Hodson in the title of his 1939 article "Sociolinguistics in India" published in Man in India.

Sociolinguists attempt to separate linguistic features used in the particular situations. It is the social relationships among the participants and the significant elements of the situation. It searches with people and texts, for the influences on the choice of sounds, grammatical elements, and vocabulary. It includes factors as age, sex, education, occupation, race, and peer-group identification etc. It is really challenging to distinguish between linguistics and sociolinguistics as well between sociolinguistics and sociology. Sociolinguistics has become an increasingly important and common field of study, as certain cultures around the globe. It expands their communication and intergroup and interpersonal relations on escalating significance.

It is often suggested that there is a clash between the sociolinguistic and the psycholinguistic approach to the study of language, and it is certainly the case that two distinct points of view are discernible in the literature at the present time. Socio-

anthropology is another field of work that has similarities between socio-linguistic research.

I.1.2   Western contributions

The study of sociolinguistics in the Western countries was pioneered by linguists such as William Labov, a Harvard and Columbia University graduate. His focus is on the quantitative analysis of variation and change within languages, making sociolinguistics a scientific discipline. Basil Bernstein in the United Kingdom. William Stewart penned "A Sociolinguistic Typology for Describing National Multilingualism" in 1968.   The elementary concepts for the sociolinguistic theory of pluricentric languages was introduced by Heinz Kloss. It describes how standard language varieties differ between the nations. Dell Hymes is one of the founders of linguistic anthropology. He is attributed with developing an ethnography-based sociolinguistics. His focus on ethnography and communicative competence contributed to analyze speech events in their cultural context." [2]

William Labov mainly focuses on linguistic identities of people and society, to be regarded as stable, known as the social linguistic. He and his followers consider 'act of Identity' as constructed at least partly through language and they emerge in their interactions. This term goes back to the work of Robert LePage in 1985. This work questions the value of analytical concepts such as language or dialect, and it promotes a fundamentally individualistic and speaker centre social linguistics.

I.2 Sanskrit rhetoric

Sanskrit poetics was always a subject of my interest. I loved to apprehend the various theories and terminologies given by the Sanskrit poetics writers of the ages. The texts on poetics in Sanskrit has a very long tradition in India. The first book of its kind is Nāṭayaśāstra by well-known dramatist Bharata. His date is about 2 BCE. Then there is a series of texts on poetics till almost 17th century. It is a long period when writers of poetics

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[2]

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sociolinguistics#:~:text=Sociolinguistics%20is%20the%20descriptive%20study,effect%20of%20language%20on%20society.

were writing about poetry, its key essentials and language. These texts basically were looking for the beauty elements in a literature. What makes literature charming? Words are basis for the poetry or any piece of literature. They do give their observations and opinions about various languages and linguistic approaches while speaking about the core essentials of the poetry. The earliest literary discussions focused on the differences between aesthetic and merely ornamental aspects of poetry. It included the definition of kāvya, types of kāvya, the virtues and defects of kāvya, different meters and alaṅkāra in poetry etc. In these books we also find provide information about the languages spoken into various parts of India, the people who spoke them, the status of a particular language in that society, various ideas about the prominence and expressions based on languages etc.

Let me tell the brief outline of texts, their writers and doctrines of Sanskrit poetics, which is the basis of this work.

I.2.1 Bharata and doctrine of rasa

Bharata wrote the Nātyaśāstra describing all aspects of drama and other arts. It is the oldest surviving ancient Indian work on performance of arts. Its first complete compilation is dated to between 200 BCE and 200 CE, (Lidova,2014; 7). but estimates vary between 500 BCE and 500 CE. (Wallace Dace, 1963;250) It has 36 chapters with a total of 6000 poetic verses describing various Indian performance arts. The subjects covered include structure of a play, dramatic composition, genres of acting, body movements, dance, make up and costumes, goals of an art director, the musical scales, musical instruments and the integration of music with art performance and so on. It has influenced dance, music and literary traditions in India. The text asks and understands the goals of performing arts, the nature of the playwright, the intimate relationship of artists and the spectators during the performance.

Bharata's key contribution to Sanskrit poetics is *rasasūtra*. The concept of *Rasa* explained in this text became foundation for further texts on poetics. The *Rasa* theory has attracted scholarly interest in dramatic studies and into developing texts and performances also outside the Indian culture. It is accepted as a formula for explaining the aesthetic experience

of arts. A desired effect of performance arts is to transport the audience into another, parallel reality, where they experience the essence of their personal consciousness, and reflect on spiritual and moral questions. Its most complete elucidation in drama and other performances is found in the works of the philosopher Abhinavagupta (c.1000 CE), demonstrating the persistence of an aesthetic tradition of ancient India. It mentions eight primary *rasa*. They are *Śṛṅgāra* (शृङ्गार) Romance, *Hāsyam* (हास्य) Laughter, *Raudra* (रौद्र) Fury. *Karuṇya* (कारुण्य) Compassion, *Bībhatsa* (बीभत्स) Disgust, *Bhayānaka* (भयानक): Horror, *Vīra* (वीरं): Heroism, and *Adbhutam* (अद्भुत) amazement. Śānta functions as an equal member of the set of rasas. Bharata gives this concept of rasa for drama but gradually it was applied to all the works of art. Later rhetodians as Bhaṭṭa Tota, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, Bhaṭṭa Śanṅkuka, Bhaṭṭa Lollṭa accepted and added to the rasasūtra. Abhinavaguta finds rasa as a soul of poetry. It became most recognized doctrine on the aesthetics.

I.2.2 Bhāmaha

Bhāmaha wrote *Kāvyālaṅkāra* which is divided into six chapters. Bhāmaha seems to have had a significant reputation as a grammarian. Bronner (2012;110) says "The *Kāvyālaṁkāra* has, however, been widely recognized as similar to and in many ways in disagreement with the *Kāvyādarśa* by Daṇḍin. Although modern scholars have debated which scholar was borrowing from which, or who was responding to whom, recent work suggests that Bhāmaha was the earlier scholar, and that Daṇḍin was responding to him. This would place Bhāmaha no later than the early 600s." Bhāmaha states that Kāvya comprises of words and their meanings – शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यम् | He speaks about *guṇa*s and types of *doṣa*s of poems, the necessity of the grammatical accuracy and alaṁkāras. He establishes poetic figure or alaṅkāra as foremost element in a poetry saying न कान्तमपि निर्भूषं विभाति वनितananम्। The beautiful face of the wife does not shine with radiance without proper ornaments.

I.2.3 Daṇḍin

Daṇḍin (7th–8th century) was also an Indian Sanskrit grammarian. His three books are available to us namely *Kāvyādarśa*, *Daśakumāracarita* and Avantisundrikathā. The first

book is about poetics, and the remaining two are prose-poetry. He is known for his prose with complex sentences and creation of long compound words in his Daśakumāracarita. The Kāvyādarśa is the earliest surviving systematic treatment of poetics in Sanskrit. In Kāvyādarśa, he states that a poem's beauty derives from its use of thirty-six rhetorical devices. Daṇḍin's career took place around 680–720 CE under the king Narasiṁhavarman II who was a king of Pallava kingdom.

This text to some extent a promoter of the rīti school of poetics and also of the Alaṁkāra school. Daṇḍin has written in flowing and pleasant style. P. V. Kane(1998:132) states that Daṇḍin preceeded Bhāmaha, with many proofs.

I.2.4 Udbhaṭa

Udbhaṭa was the pandit of the Kāśamiri king Jayāpida. His time is the first half of the ninth century. He wrote commentary on text of Bhāmaha. His three books are famous - Kāvyālaṅkārsārasaṅgraha, Bhāmahavivaraṇa and Kumārasambhava. Out of these, only the first book is available. Udbhaṭa was follower of alaṁkāra School. He gives characteristics and examples of alaṁkāra in six chapters. Examples of some alaṁkāra have also been taken from his own poetry. He differs from Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin in defining certain alaṁkāras having rasa. He believes that Śāṇta rasa could be developed possibly through action on the stage.

I.2.5 Vāmana and doctrine of Rīti

Vāmana was also a court scholar of Kashmiri king Jayāpida. His time was around 800 AD. His famous book is Kāvyālaṅkārasutravṛitti. There are five chapters in the book. Vāmana, the protagonist of rīti school gives us a systematic theory of poetics in his text called Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti. He conferred the highest place for rīti or the style of composition as the soul of poetry. रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य | To him Rīti is a beautiful collocation endowed with excellences – "विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः" "विशेषो गुणात्मा". Vāmana expanded on the concept of *guṇa*s earlier dealt by Dandin. He modified their names and increased the number to twenty. He created two sets of the same ten guṇas as shabda guṇa and artha guṇa. Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti is divided into five chapters. Vāmana

treats *alaṅkāra* as a subsidiary significance. Riti school of Vāmana unfortunately did not have much followers as Rasa and Dhvani schools. But Vāmana was the capable writer to formulate a definite theory of rīti to determine the soul of poetry very strongly.

I.2.6 Rudraṭa

Rudraṭa, the author of *Kāvyālaṅkāra* is the final representative of *alaṅkāra* School.

His life time is considered to be the beginning of the ninth century. The book has 16 chapters. In eight chapters, alaṁkāra have been discussed and in the remaining chapters, there is a description of poetry form, poetry difference, ritual, defect, rasa and difference in hero and heroine. Although Rudraṭa is the from alaṁkāra school we find after Bharata systematic and independent formulation of Rasa is given in his book. He says that poetry must be endowed with rasa but his emphasis lies on alaṁkāra.

I.2.7 Ānandvardhana and doctrine of Dhvani

He is known for his book named *Dhvanyāloka*. Ānandvardhan was the councilor of King Avantivarmā of Kashmir. His life span is the middle of the 9th century. There are two main parts of the book - Kārikā and Vṛtti. There is a difference of opinion among the scholars whether the writer of these two parts is one person or two. Most of the scholars consider Ānandvardhana as the doer of both the parts.

He believes that dhvani which means sound is the soul or essence of poetry. This doctrine influenced the later poetics very prominently. He refers to the different views on dhvani and then he states that there are two senses in the poetry. One is expressed known as vācya and other is implied known as pratīyamāna. Pratīyamāna is like a personal charm in the case of the beautiful lady. It is principle in poetry while vyaṅgya sense is most prominent in a best poetry called dhvanikāvya. P.V. Kane writes that "the Dhvanyāloka is an epoch-making work in the history of Alaṅkāra literature. It occupies the same position in poetics as Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī in grammar and Śaṅkarācarya's commentary on Vedānta". (1998:187) The commentary on this text by Abhinavagupta named Locana is highly praised.

I.2.8 Rājaśekhara

Rājaśekhara was a resident of Vidarbha (Berar) and was the Rājaguru of Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla of Kannauj. His life time has been considered as the first half of the tenth century. He was proficient in Sanskrit and many dialects of Prakrit. His book is called Kāvyamimānsā, which is divided into eighteen chapters. But only one part of it has been received named Kavirahsya. Various chapters in the book describe various rare topics such as the daily routine of the poet, the systematic consistency for a poet and king should examine poets, information on countries, women can be poet, amongst other topics.

I.2.9 Abhinavagupta

Abhinavagupta lived in the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century. He had equal authority over poetry as well as philosophy. He took the poetic interpretation to a very high level. His commentaries named 'Dhvanyālokalocana' on Dhvanyāloka and 'Abhinavbhāratī' on Nāṭyaśāstra are highly praised by scholars.

I.2.10 Kuntaka and doctrine of Vakrokti

Kuntaka's time is considered to be the end of the tenth century and the beginning of the eleventh century. He wrote the book named Vakroktijivita**.** He re-energized the concept of Vakrokti giving it a new twist and a new meaning. He did not approve the dhvani doctrine committedly. He defines Kāvya as follows

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्रकविव्यापारशालिनी।

बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि।। (वक्रोक्तिजीवितम्-१.७)

Words and meaning, are the objects to be decorated and vakrokti is the adornment. He has described many types of vakratā or adornment. He has included guṇas and types of dhvani under them.

Mahimabhaṭṭa criticises Kuntaka strongly. He states that vakrokti is mainly inference. It is just a new name as he provides the same examples which were given by Ānandavardhana for Dhvani. Bhojarāja says that literature has three divisions. They are svabhāvokti,

vakrokti and rasokti. Rudraṭa classifies vakrokti as Sleśavakroti and Kakuvakroti and placed them under alaṁkāra.

I.2.11 Kṣemendra and doctrine of Aucitya

Kṣemendra was a resident of Kashmir and lived during the reign of King Ananta and later King Kalaśa. They existed in the second half of the 11th century. He was the son of Prakāśendra and the student of Abhinavagupta. Books to his credit are - Auchityavichaaracharcha, Suvṛattatilaka and Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa. Keeping justification in the first book, he has determined the form of different parts of speech - sentence, quality, juice, action, verb, gender, prefix, country, nature etc. In the second book there is an instruction for the justification of the verses. The third book is related to poet-education. There are 5 treaties (sections) in this book. In these, there is an explanation of the methods of attaining poetry, the difference between poets, the merits and demerits of poetry.

According to Kśemendra, auchitya is the soul (jivita) of rasa. If rasa is to be essence of a Kāvya, auchitya is the heart of Rasa. He says that alaṁkāra, guṇa, dośa, etc., all are pointless without auchitya. He has mentioned 27 types of auchitya. It indicates what is appropriate and what is not appropriate. But this is very subjective matter.

Ānandavardhana has employed the term anauchitya on more than one occasion. He says auchitya decides the type of saṅghaṭanā in a Kāvya. He also says that anauchitya is the greatest interruption for the relishment of rasa. Kuṇṭaka considers auchitya as a guṇa while Mahimabhatta says anauchitya is of two kinds - Antaraṅga and bahiraṅga.

I.2.12 Bhojarāja

Bhojaraja was the king of Dhārā. His life span is the first half of the 11th century. Apart from being a patron of poets, Bhoj himself was also a profound critic and poet. His two books related to poetry are Saraswatikaṇṭhabharaṇa and Śṛingāraprakāśa. There are five sections in the first book. In these, there is a detailed and comprehensive explanation of defects, qualities, ornaments and rasa.

I.2.13 Mammaṭa

Mammaṭa is considered as a resident of Kashmir. His lifetime is the latter half of the 11th century. His fame is due to his work named Kāvyaprakāśa. It is traditionally appreciated as an ākara-grantha of the poetics. The Kāvyaprakāśa represents the complete philosophy of poetics, that has also two major branches, Rhetoric and Aesthetics.

The work is divided into ten chapters and comprises of three parts kārikā, vṛtti and examples. It defines purpose of poetry, definition of poetry, the subdivisions of poems into Uttama, madhyama and adhama. They are based on principle of dhvani.

This monumental work had earned so vast a popularity that one may find a commentary on it in each and every house of Indian scholars.

I.2.14 Śāradātanaya

The Bhāvaprakāśana is a dramaturgical work composed in Sanskrit in 13th century. It is a work on a work on Rasa and Dramaturgy which produces a synthetic overview of the tradition of dramaturgy. This text became the standard point of reference for many subsequent authors writing in the south. The Bhāvaprakāśana is important as supplying valuable data regarding the views and opinions held by the predecessors. it mentions a large number of excellent dramas and poems composed by eminent writers. Śāradātanaya seeks to steer a course between the modern glamor of the innovative poetics associated with Kashmir thinkers and the priorities of a tacit local theory of aesthetics. Śāradātanaya was well versed in the sciences as traditional theatre, including Music, Iāsya, tāṇḍva, Rasa, and the different kinds of Rupaka, etc. Śāradātanaya must have composed a second work entitled the Śāradīya which, as he informs was related to Music.

I.2.15 Viwanātha

Vishwanātha was probably a resident of Odisha. His time is the first half of the 14th century. He was the son of Chandrasekhara. He is known for his book

named Sāhityadarpaṇa**.** Vishwanātha, after a refutation of the poetic characteristics of Mammaṭa, Ānandvardhana, Kuntaka, Bhojraj etc., has determined the rasa as the soul of poetry. His theory is वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम्। He has strongly denied Mammaṭa's poetry, but still he is indebted to Mammaṭa for most of the content of his book. His style is simple and elegant and his expressions are also clear. However, he lacks originality.

I.2.16 Jagannātha

Jagannātha's youth was spent in the court of Śahājahāna, the famous ruler of Delhi. Śahājahāna had adorned him with the title of 'Panditrāja'. Therefore, his time is the middle of the 17th century.A composition named Gaṅgālahari" is of 52 Sanskrit Ślokas by Jagannath Pandit has historic importance. His famous composition Rasagaṅgādhara is incomplete. Jagannātha's poetry is mostly complete and comprehensible. He has accepted four differences of poetry - Uttamottama, Uttama, Madhyama and Adhama. This is the first Acharya who has accepted the religion of word, meaning and creation equally in addition to taste, and not in secondary form. Jagannātha's gifted language-style, mature thought-power and his unique ability to refute made his text important for poetics. He is considered as an adult and accomplished ācārya.

This is not the complete list of the texts on poetics in Sanskrit. There are some other texts on poetics but I find the above texts on Sanskrit poetics very useful for my topic of research work. These texts discuss various socio-political-geographical and linguistic terms. Before moving ahead, let us see what is sociolinguistic method of research, which is another vital aspect of this research.

I.3 Sanskrit poetic texts and socio-linguistics aspects

Since ancient times India is a country of multiple languages. There are many factors which influence the structure and expression of the various languages. Languages are formed and shaped by many social, political, economic and cultural reasons. Even various religious believes influence socio-linguistic attitudes of the society. One can find variation in lexicon, morphology or syntax of the language depending on the socio-political, economic and cultural influences. These changes indicate the language attitudes of a community.

Over the year's people change their views about social distinctions which is reflected in the language of that time. The poetics is an outcome of the same society. It is closely related with languages. Not only languages but the terms of poetics also evolve with time as societal needs and scenario changes.

It requires careful examination of the socio-linguistic attitudes involved in India's complicated linguistic makeup, past and present. There are many scholars who have worked in the socio-linguistic area. Jules Bloch presented a picture of the development of Indo-Aryan languages from Vedic to modern time. Franklin C. Southworth, Charles Ferguson and others have worked on the problems of bilingualism diversity of languages in India as a multilingual nation. But unfortunately, not much has been done on the texts of Sanskrit poetics from the perspective of socio-linguistic influences.

I.4 Research work presented for this thesis

In this research work, I am trying to revel the relation of Sanskrit poetic texts with socio-linguistic stimuluses. This aspect has various angles and there is a vast scope for this research work. It would be a long-term commitment to work on this vast topic. There are many new terminologies used for the first time by Sanskrit texts of poetics. They have been discussed at length by many of them. But some of the terms are not discussed much. I am limiting my scope of research for this thesis up to some terminologies used by Sanskrit rhetoric and which have some socio-linguistic link. Their relationship with social aspects extends to the literature of that time.

The terms which I will speak about are *Vṛtti*, *Rīti* and *Pravṛti*. These are frequently used terms in the field of Sanskrit poetics. All three are discussed by almost every text of poetics. These have some influence in the field of poetics as no rhetoric or no commentary on literature can avoid these terms. There are multiple interpretations or ambiguous elucidations of these terms. Many tried to interpret them in their own way. One can see the irregularity in the interpretation of the meaning and the practice of these. It is not clear what is the role of these three concepts in dramatic performance and classical literature namely epic poetry. It is interesting that no commentator can successfully applied these concepts to any piece of literature in a satisfactory manner. But at the same time almost

every commentator mentions them. Briefly it means that commentators and rhetoric's cannot ignore these terms.

Why is it so? Are these terms indicating more than what has been said in its definitions? Does these terms are linguistically improved? Do these terms have socio-political-regional aspects? These questions lead my research.

I.5 Hypothesis

There should be socio-political, geographical, economic, cultural and regional impact on literature. Sanskrit literature is no exception to it. Sanskrit likewise has a rich tradition of poetic treatises. There are few socio-linguistic approaches impelling the poetic terms in Sanskrit texts. This also had its influence on the themes and expression of classical Sanskrit literature. It would be significant to find what type of impact and the depth of the impact it had on the poetic terms in Sanskrit poetic texts and how it drives the literary manifestation in classical era of literature.

I.6 Scope and limitations of the present research

Socio-linguistics is a branch with vast scope in itself. There are many possibilities to look into the Sanskrit poetic texts from social and linguistic point of view. I have limited the scope of my work with mainly three terms namely *Vṛtti*, *Rīti* and *Pravṛti*, in Sanskrit poetic texts.

I have used the texts on Sanskrit poetics, which have been introduced above. The foremost discussion on the above said terms is found in the Nātyaśāstra of Bharata and texts by Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Vāmana and Rājaśekhara. After Rājaśekhara doctrine of dhvani became prominent and the focus on these terms slowly changed and also faded. So, my focus is on the poetic texts between 2nd century BE to 10th century BE. These terms are also reflected in the classical Sanskrit literature. The echo of these terms in the classical literature explains the sociological and regional aspects. These aspects have influenced the linguistic use of these terminologies. It is a circular effect of these aspects on each other.

There will be few minor socio-linguistic attitudes discussed in the Sanskrit poetic texts. But they are beyond my research work, for time being. I am mostly focusing on above three terminologies in this work. I am also restricting the work in the time span and texts on classical works. I have considered only famous and influencing major dramas and five epics of classical literature.

In this limited scope, I have tried to understand the terms *Vṛtti*, *Rīti* and *Pravṛti* in new light of meaning. Its boundaries and strengths. This work has opened a new topic for search and research for me. This research can be extended to the other important terms and treatises from Sanskrit Poetic texts.

Chapter II - Review of Literature

My focus of the research work is mainly the Sanskrit poetic texts which have a long history. The poetic texts have introduced some aesthetic doctrines. Among them I would like to work on three terminologies used in Sanskrit poetics. They are *Vṛtti*, *Rīti* and *Pravṛtti*. This research aims to search into the socio-linguistic aspects related to these three terms. One would find many books written on the Sanskrit rhetoric. I am not incorporating all those books in his review as many of them are just translation of poetic texts or which give same discussion on this topic.

The Nāṭyaśāstra - *Vṛtti* and *Pravṛtti* were introduced in Nāṭyaśāstra for the first time. *Vṛtti*s were accepted and discussed largely, by rhetoricians. *Pravṛtti* did not became that popular. *Rīti* was not used by Nāṭyaśāstra. It became a popular doctrine thereafter. Some other important texts are Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha, Kāvyādarśa of Daṇḍin, Kavyālaṃkārasūtra of Vāmana, Sāhityadarpaṇa by Viśvanātha, Kāvyamīmāṃsā by Rājaśekhara Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhoja, Kāvyaprakāśa by Mammṭa, Abhinavabhāratī by Abhinavagupta etc. Hereby I present, the literature review for the three terminologies which is a focus of my research.

II.1 Books

1. Kane, P.V. very informative and analytical book on History of Sanskrit Poetics. He discusses the Rīti school of Vāmana and its history from page no. 378-382. It is a review of the development of the concept of Rīti with specific information about the authors, names of the types, its changing numbers etc. He also introduces *Vṛtti* and *Pravṛtti* on the page no. 383 very briefly. Similar discussion on these topics will be found the other books which are writing History of poetics.

2. M. M. Ghosh in his English translation of Nāṭyaśāstra discusses on these topics in the introduction. He introduces the nature of *Vṛtti* as the Styles of dramatic production. His careful examination is that the foregoing descriptions of Styles, except the Graceful, are

not mutually quite exclusive in their application. He further analyses the description of different types of play with the *Vṛttis*. He shows the relation of the three *Vṛttis* in which the stringed instruments are to be played. In the introduction he gives very vital observation about *pravṛttis* that it seems that some interpolator put this information about *Pravṛttis* into the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra, for associating it with all the different parts of India. And the original work was an exposition of the dramatic art as it was practiced in the north of India especially in the midland only. He speaks about *Pravṛttis* from the view point of geographical data found in Nāṭyaśāstra.

3. Rangacharya, Adya. In his book titled "Introduction to Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra", writes briefly in two 5-6 lines paragraph about *Vṛtti* and *Pravṛtti* concepts under the chapter named 'Stage craft'. He gives the types of *Vṛtti* and *Pravṛtti*. He further elaborates that "Production must follow the style and the *Vṛtti* current in the styles of people of the region in which the play is produced."

4. Deshpande, Madhav M. "Sanskrit and Prakrit: Some Sociolinguistic Issues" The University of Michigan, 1993. He has tried to disentangle the complicated results and attitudes involved in these phases of Indian linguistic history. He has reviewed the sociolinguistic situation prior to the emergence of Jainism and Buddhism in ancient India. He has discussed the question of relative prestige of Sanskrit and Prakrit in some greater depth. And also discussed in many places how political factors do affect sociolinguistic attitudes.

Now I will list the literature which focuses on each of these terms.

II.2 Vṛtti

1. Natalia Lidova, "The Concept of Vrtti in Nāṭyaśāstra" (chapter 2, pages 28-50) in a book titled "Natyasastra in the Moden World", Edited by Radhavallabh Tripathi. (Proceedings of the 15th World Sanskrit Conference) Published by Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan Demmed University, Under Human Resource Development, Govt. of India. New Delhi, 2014.

In this article she reviews the concept of Vṛtti as described in the text of Nāṭyaśāstra. Initially she explains the relevance of a mythology and the terminology of *vṛtti* and the concept of fifth Veda given to the Nāṭya. For her the *vṛtti* is a hierarchy in the theoretical concepts. This article looks for the common concepts between the term *vṛtti* and abhinaya, rasa.

2. Bhattacharyya, Syamapada. "The Number of Vṛttis" *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* 53, no. 1/4 (1972): 239–42. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41688778.

He says "The ancient authors of dramaturgy acknowledge only four kinds of vṛttis. But from the statement of Abhinavagupta we learn about the number of *vṛtti*s that four opinions were prevalent up to the time of Abhinavagupta. Udbhaṭa has theory of three *vṛtti*s. Bhoja addes one more *vṛtti* named Miśra to the Bharata's four *vṛtti*s. Dhanañjaya and Śāradātanaya agree on five *vṛtti*s. The logical development of number of *vṛtti*s is the focus of this article.

3. Raghavan, V. "The Vṛttis." Journal of Oriental Research Madras, 1932, VI (4) VII (1) 33-52; 91-112. This article is very insightful. This has been quoted in many articles. I could find the references and quotes from this article in many texts and articles. But unfortunately, I was not able to find the original copy of this article in print or digitally.

Dr. V. Raghavan' has explained the conception of Vrtti as follows "Nāṭya is the imitation of action and each action has its characteristic mood or atmosphere with respect to the man in action as well as the sahrdaya who sees the Nāṭya. The mood or atmosphere is Vrtti. Hence Bharata says that the dramatic action or drama is born of Vrtti. Different types of drama present different kinds of action as characterised by atmospheres. So Bharata says that Vṛtti is also that factor which differentiates one type of drama from the other." He explains Bharati as connected with the Bharatas, Sattvati with the Sattvatas (the race of Krsna), Arabhati with the Arabhatas and Kaisiki with Kaiśika or Krathakaiśika (the ancient capital of Vidarbha country, the home of grace and beauty). When the speech is the prominent mode of expression, it would be Bhārati style. Hence that would come under Vácikābhinaya. The mental action-the Sāttvikābhinaya would be Sāttvati. The bodily action would be Angikābhinaya. When it is forceful it would give rise to Ārabhati style and when graceful to Kaiśiki style.

4. Wright, J. C. "Vṛtti in the 'Daśarūpakavidhānādhyāya' of the 'Abhinavabhāratī': A Study in the History of the Text of the 'Nāṭyaśāstra.'" Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London 26, no. 1 (1963): 92–118.

This article acknowledges the relation between ten types of Rūpaka and four *vṛttis.* It also sees it in the light of rasa as explained by the commentary Abhinavabhāratī. As *vṛtti*s were considered as mātṛkās of drama, thus nothing can be portrayed which is non-activity. Drama has activities based on physical, vocal, mental and combination of these. The *vṛtti*s have correlation with these activities.

II.3 Rīti

Vāmana - The word *Rīti* was first used by rhetorical Vāmana. Earlier to him, Bhāmaha in his text 'Kāvyālaṅkāra' speaks about this as two kinds of poetry. He names them as mārga. Then Daṇḍin classifies the various modes of composition broadly into 'Vaidarbhī' and 'Gaudīya' with presence of guṇas translated as excellences of composition. Finally, Vāmana establishes the doctrine of rīti on the basis of *guṇa*s. Furthur, Anandavardhana defines three rītis with different names. Rudraṭa and Bhoja defines four rītis. Whereas Mammaṭa gives completely new three name of *rīti*s.

1. Concepts of Riti and Guṇa in Sanskrit poetics – in their historical development by P. C. Lahiri, The University of Dacca Ramna, Dacca. 1937. This is his Doctorate Thesis submitted in 1934. It was then published in Dacca University Bulletin No. XVIII. His objective of the investigation is to study two of the concepts of Sanskrit - Alaṁkāra, viz.*,* Guṇa and Rīti. He has made an attempt to trace the historical development of the concepts as they unfold themselves in the works of all standard writers down to the time of Jagannātha. He has also touched upon the chronological relation of Kuṇṭaka and Abhinavagupta.

2. Dr. V. Raghavan writes in the Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastri [S. Kuppusvāmin Sāstrin] Commemoration Volume.[3] (chapter 15)

Dr. Raghavan's analysis suggests that rītis are not so few as two or six but really as infinite as poets and that at least one or two *Alaṁkāras* and poets have related *rīti*. He also gives the comparisons with western thought like Aristotle, Demetrius, Winchester idea of the style of literature.

He says that it was a living geographical mode of literary criticism in initial stages. This statement has supported my point of view.

Journals

1. In the International Journal of Creative Research Thoughts (IJCRT) Volume 9, Issue 5 May 2021, Dr. N.A. Shihab. His work finds the relation between the terms *Rīti* and *Pravṛtti* on the basis of speech in literature. He gives three stages of rīti on historical basis.

Vamana's philosophy of poetry by S.S. Barligay. He talks about three terms guṇa, rīti and Alaṁkāra. He says that "I, however, think that these words have a different significance for Vāmana. Vāmana's philosophy of poetry is very different from what tradition ascribes to him." This writing mostly focuses on Vāmana was not advocate of style which is called *rīt*i, and of figure of speech. *Guṇa, rīti* and *Alaṁkāra*, are only causes which progressively lead to poetic beauty. This article is available on the website of University of Pune [4]

II.4 Pravṛtti

Pravṛtti has been described in the 13th chapter of NŚ elaborately. The authors of the *Daśarūpa* and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇa*, are silent on *pravṛtti*s. *Pravṛtti* is variety in dress,

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[3]https://www.cse.iitk.ac.in/users/amit/books/raja-1935-kuppuswami-sastri-commemoration.html

[4] http://www.unipune.ac.in/snc/cssh/ipq/english/IPQ/1-5%20volumes/04-3/4-3-3.pdf

language, manners or customs in various areas. It also includes ornamentation, manners, professions, commerce as in agriculture, breeding of cattle etc. livelihood. There is no much discussion on the term *pravṛtti* in later poetic texts. After a long time in 9-10th century Rājaśekhara in his text kāvyamiṁsā reopens the discussion related to all the three terms and provides new dimensions to it. In many texts the nature of *Pravṛtti* as discussed in the NŚ has been described to introduce the term to readers. I could not come across the research articles dedicated to this topic.

This broad topic also demanded for reading of the epics as the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata. Sanskrit plays of Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Śudraka, Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Viśākhādatta etc. The mahākāvya as the Kumārasambhava and the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa, the Kiratarjuniya by Bhāravi, the Naiśadhiyacarita by Śriharśa and the Śiśupālavadha by Māgha. The book named The History and Culture of the Indian People by Dr Ramesh Chandra Majumdar and the book named Prācīna Bhārata – Itihāsa Āṇi Sanskritī by G.B. Degalurakar, were helpful in understanding of the kings and kingdoms in Indian ancient history.

Sanskrit-Englsih Dictionary by Monier-Williams. Puranic encyclopaedia by Vettam Mani, Nṛtyaratnakośa by Muni Jinavijay, A dictionary of technical terms with definitions on music and dance Bhāratakośa by Rāmakṛṣṇakavi were very useful. The Aṣṭādhyāyī by Pāṇini was reviewed for the linguistic aspects of these terms.

The texts and articles which I read regarding these three terms are mainly discussing and expanding about one of the terms. The analysis and interpretation of every term and collectively all three terms, have not been much attended by the scholars. There is no discussion available on the interrelation of these three terms. I have not found work done on the socio-political-geographical impact and linguistic approach towards these three terms. This gave me my own scope for the thesis.

Chapter III - Research Design & Methods

A research method is an approach towards the implementation of a research plan. The goal of any research work is to pursue answers to previously unanswered questions that contributes to the body of knowledge. It also includes "principles, theories, and ethics" that support a research approach.

III.1 Determine a research problem

I believe, research is the method to determine a research problem. It was a first phase which took little more time for me. I could identify the problem after first quick reading of the primary texts on Sanskrit poetics. Many of my honorable teachers and scholarly guide helped me a lot in this phase. I was reading some of these Sanskrit poetic texts from the days of my degree education. After I received the degree, I had opportunity to teach some of the poetic texts. This process too helped me in shaping of the problem from these texts. I had read various doctrines and terminologies from Sanskrit poetics for my studies and my teaching. Every time, terms *Vṛtti, Rīti* and *Pravṛtti* caught my attention. There is no satisfactory discussion and information on these three terms. Form the beginning, I was trying to find some connection in these three terms of Sanskrit poetics. I also found that there any many meanings to these words in Sanskrit. This resulted in my curiosity about its linguistic forms. Why there is specific meaning of these three terms in the texts of rhetoric? What is exact sense and elucidation of these terms, intended by the poeticism? This curiosity helped me in framing a problem statement for the present research. The hypothesis of the research was finalized at this stage which gave me direction towards the research work.

Once problem statement and research topic was finalized the data gathering form various Sanskrit poetic texts started along with a review of literature. It also include the texts on history of poetics and also the classical literature of Sanskrit.

III.2 Reviewing the literature

After the topic of research is decided, it is essential to review all the relevant material which is a bearing on the topic. It was very important for me to know all the previous research studies which are related to my research topic. It is incumbent on my part to show how the problem under investigation is expansion to the work so far done. I wanted to be sure that the proposed study should not have been done previously. Thus, I looked for the books and articles which discussed the similar topics. I was happy at the end of this phase I could conclude that the focus of the earlier work was not socio-linguistic. The exception was very learned article by Dr. Madhav Deshpande, titled "Sanskrit and Prakrit: Some socio-linguistic issues." This reading helped me a lot in understanding the socio-linguistic approaches. But at the same time, I realize that the scope of my research work is somewhat more than this article.

Methods of a research mainly cover the technical procedures to do the research, and methodology itself delivers the underlying reasons why certain methods are used in the process. Positivistic or qualitative method and phenomenological or quantitative approaches play a major role in determining data gathering process for a particular research topic.

Present research topic demands for Positivistic or qualitative method to arrive to the conclusion. The field of Sanskrit poetics has a vast ancient texts and doctrines by eminent rhetorical. The qualitative method deals contextualizing and interoperating of the available data. This research method is subjective.

III.3 Collecting of material

As a first step reading material was identified based on the requirement of the research topic. I studied the scope and exposure of the subject. The scope mainly covers the Sanskrit poetic texts. I had a quick reading of texts and then came to identify the texts which are more relevant to my research topic.

III.3.1 Reading the books

I read books on poetic in Sanskrit, Commentaries and translations of the important texts for my topic, History of Sanskrit Poetics, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and some outline books, etc. This helped me in understanding the scope of the subject. A general knowledge of the library or bibliographic classification schemes was helpful to identify the required books, besides guidance from my eminent guide.

III.3.2 Searching for the documents

Now I began consulting the various types of bibliographies to identify the availability of books and journals. This helped in gazing the work done upto date in different sub-areas, and I can identify the areas of the subject which are not yet exploited.

It is very important to identify the aspects of the subject which are either unearthed or left with several gaps. I noted down the top names in this field and read their work. I also read some of the important texts with my seniors for better comprehension.

III.3.3 Preparing Bibliography

Based on the scope of the research topic, I prepared the temporary bibliography for my work. This included many books, dictionaries and journal articles from hard copies of books and also e-copies from the internet. I also visited institutions for various types of studies which added to the bibliography.

III.3.4 Physical verification of the documents

A working bibliography prepared only after examination of documents as far as possible. The physical verification gives authenticity to the description of documents.

III.4 Reading original sources

Original Sanskrit texts were read. The books were available in the form of hard copy as well e-copies freely available on internet. The books on histories, handbooks, dissertation abstracts, encyclopedias and recent writings on the subject gave a general frame work. Library assistance was vital for this research work. I was very fortunate to have resourceful

libraries like Tilak Maharashtra Vidyapeeth, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute and Deccan Collage, which are well-known names in the field of Sanskrit.

The keen reading of the original Sanskrit poetic texts helped me in understanding the approach of the writers and small details given by them. The precise meaning of the Sanskrit words used by an author and accuracy in its natural order or connexion of words in a sentence, are significant aspects of interpretation of any Sanskrit text. The commentaries and translation of some books also helped in shaping the research work. I tried to avoid using translations which sometimes can be misleading. But accepted those which are scholarly and authentic.

Thus, the understanding of a text "involves not merely an understanding of the single words in their typical significance, but a full comprehension of the whole text as it is mirrored in the words, or as it is suggested by their overtones.

III.5 Philological method

Philological method was the most suitable system for my research topic. The term philology means 'science of language' and thus the philological method is based on linguistics. The meanings of the words change from time to time and it is key to trace the stages of the development of the meanings. The meanings of the words are judged by studying the importance of the contexts and situations in which a word or is used with a certain regularity. Their interpretations suggested by the traditional views, and also views in modem scholarship.

The use of various dictionaries helped me in understanding the etymological development of these three terms. At the same time, I was also aware that etymology should not be treated as argument, and it should be a starting point in discussing a philological point of view.

III.6 Correlation method

The interlinks within the various concepts and doctrines in Sanskrit poetics was the crucial element for the research. The information and data collected from classical dramas and epic poems was decisive to establish interlinks. The correlational method involves looking

for relationships between variables. It involved the Literature research methodology to read through, analyze and sort literatures in order to identify the essential attribute of materials. The next step was to establish the correlation between the materials.

III.7 Socio-political-geographical studies

A socio-political and geographical study helped me in knowing the multi-dimensions of social elements in society. It involved the process of social changes, investigations into the causes of the nature of the literature, and employment of Sanskrit poetic texts in to effective response in all areas of social changes. It included some books on history of ancient India.

III.8 Cultural study

It is very crucial question to be asked that How is it going to contribute to the human knowledge and culture of the nation? The language and literature are the most efficient means for understanding the ancient culture. I tried to add the poetic texts with them. Many a times, a question posed against the studies in classical languages like Sanskrit, Greek and Latin, why we should know about the past of a country by unravelling many confusing facts? Indian civilization certainly has its roots in an ancient heritage. Understanding of this heritage can enrich a man's life by deeper insights into his own past. These days the nations look for the past, for the nationalism is an outcome of the past. It is reflected in the form of classical literature. The nations cherish to identify themselves in terms of their origin. The sources of knowing the culture of any nation are traditions and customs, archaeological and epigraphical evidences, language and literature and art forms. My topic took me to the tiny cultural study of the three terms from Sanskrit poetics, I have chosen for the research topic.

The concepts which are involved in this research are varied as language, music, dance, makeup etc. The interview with some musicians and dancers helped me in understanding the intricacies of art and its inter-linking. It also facilitated me in knowing the classical Sanskrit literature with some different perspective.

A topic of research becomes a cultural study when it is related to the applied fields of specialization such as literary criticism, sociology, ethics and morals, physical and natural

sciences, linguistics, religion and philosophy and area studies. These three terms incorporate some of these aspects very strongly.

The chief research methodology for this research work is subjective which is more time-consuming. I used a qualitative methodology as the aims and objectives of the proposed research are exploratory with various aspects.

Chapter IV - Observations and Interpretation

IV.1 Vṛtti

IV.1.1 What is the Origin of Four *Vṛitti*s?

The Nāṭyaśāstra provides us the myth of Viṣṇu killing the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, behind the creation of the four *vṛttis*. The mythological narrative of the origin of the Nāṭyaveda is elaborated in the first chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The tradition of *Vṛttis* is a part of the same mythological narrative that appears in the first chapter of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The fifth Veda was created by Brahman at the crisis between Kṛta and Tretā Yuga in order to improve ethics and release the degrading world from bad behavior, was put in to the practice (*prayoga*) by sage Bharata.

IV.1.2 Etymology of the word

Vṛtti derives from the Sanskrit root vṛt-, which according to the Monier-Williams Sanskrit dictionariy is "to turn, turn round, roll, to move, proceed ahead in a specific way or manner, be performed, live, remain, stay, dwell", (Monier-Williams 1960: 1009-10). The terms *itivṛtta* and *vṛtta* originate from the same root. Each describes an essential aspect of the object and process of imitation. The meanings "conduct" and " event" of the term *vṛtta* entitle human action that the drama is called upon to imitate. Hence, the term concerns a reality more general than the scenic reality. It is the keyword in the essential definition of the drama, given by Brahman in the treatise (NS 1.111). It says 'The imitation of the rotation of the world is nāṭya made by me.'

Thus, the term *vṛtta* stood for real events that could be represented on the stage, and *itivṛtta* referred to the plot being enacted, while vṛtti characterized the basic features of the action and determined the choice of practical acting devices. Therefore, *vṛtta*, *itivṛtta* and *vṛttis* were interweaved not only linguistically but are also linked semantically. According to the

Nāṭyaśāstra, *Vṛtti* was far more important not only than the chosen object of imitation (*vṛtta*) but also than the plot based on it (*itivṛtta*). The category of *Vṛtti* was certainly the essential of all. (NS 22.1).[5]

IV.1.3 Mythical Story of *Vṛttis*

The chapter titled 'Vṛttivikalpana' explains the origin of the *vṛtti*s (NS 20.2-19) (See Appendix 1.1 for Sanskrit text). This is a mythological story which should be seen in the light of the theatrical performance and core concepts of drama at the time of the Nāṭyaśāstra.

In the very first verse it is made clear that the *vṛtti* has a relation with the formation of a drama. *Vṛtti*s are a core part of presenting a drama (*kāvya-bandha-āsraya*). Before going into its details let us see the origin of the *vṛtti* as described in the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra. The text conveys the mythological story of two demons named Madhu and Kaiṭabha and their association with the origin of the *vṛttis*.

The Nāṭyaśāstra is not the only text that narrates the story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha. It has been told in various contexts in a few other texts. The aim of the story in those texts is to express the prominence of the God Viṣṇu or Goddess Durgā in the creation of the world and their contribution in abolishing the evil for the upward mobility, stability and peacetime of the world. The Nāṭyaśāstra is the first text that presents the same story with the additional purpose. It certainly associates the *vṛtti*s with the prominence of God Viṣṇu in the development of dramatic presentation. It links the *vṛtti*s with the behavior, emotions like pride and anger and actions of the two demons and the God Viṣṇu. The story appears in the verse NŚ 20.2.

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[5] समुत्थानस्तु वृत्तीनां व्याख्यास्याम्यनुपूर्वशः। यथावस्तूद्भवञ्चैव काव्यानाञ्च विकल्पनम्।। NŚ २२.१

The very beginning of the story connects the concept of *vṛtti* with the creation of the world by lord Viṣṇu. This is probably to emphasize the importance of the concept *vṛtti*s for the dramatic presentation.

It is a story of the two demons namely Madhu and Kaiṭabha who challenged the God Viṣṇu at once for the fight. These two demons fought the lord Viṣṇu. They attacked him fought and with their fists and knees. They used harsh words that they shook the ocean with their insulting speech.

In the verses NŚ 20.6-7 the origin of the first *vṛtti*- the '*Bhāratī vṛitti*' is described as follows-

"kimidaṁ bhāratīvṛttirvāgbhireva pravartate?" This has been understood and translated as the Bhāratī Vṛitti that comprises of the words or connected with speaking. Thus, it is named as 'Verbal Style'. This interpretation is unfitting. This sentence by Druhiṇa is to provoke Lord Viṣṇu for the appropriate action against the two demons, namely Madhu and Kaiṭabha. The question by the Druhiṇa can be interpreted as "Is this a Bhāratī Vṛitti, only using words (and not action)? Go ahead with the actions and kill them." It suggests that just using words are not enough and the expectation to take strict actions. Brave action is desirable by Lord Viṣṇu.

kāryahetormayā brahman bhāratīyaṁ vinirmitā (NŚ 20.8) Here what is the purpose (kāryahetu) of God Viṣṇu? It is very clear that the purpose is to kill the demons. The only words are not enough to kill the demons. What did he do to achieve his purpose have been described in the next two verses 10 and 11?

IV.1.3.1 The origin of the Bhāratī vṛtti

The Viṣṇu with his gestures and aṅgahāra fought these two demons who were experts in the art of battle. At that time his pacing with the sthānakas on the ground created a great bhāra (burden) on the earth; the Bhāratī Vṛtti was built on that bhāra. The Viṣṇu created Bhāratī Vṛtti with the various steps by footwork in dancing poses. This clearly establishes

the correlation of this Vṛtti with the dance movements. The graceful dance movements are described in the chapter titled cārīvidhāna.

IV.1.3.2 The origin of the Sātvatī vṛtti

The origin of the Sātvatī vṛtti is described in the verses NŚ 20.12. By the rebounding of the bow called Śārṅga which was intensely brilliant, steady and full of much sāttvata (strength) the Sātvatī vṛtti was made. In this depiction of the Sātvatī vṛtti there is action of war. The jumping movements of the wielder of Sārṅga bow, sharp, intensely brilliant and full of sattva i.e., strength and without any misperception, gave rise to the Sātvatī vṛtti.

IV.1.3.3 The origin of the kaiśikī vṛtti

The origin of the kaiśikī vṛtti is described in the verses NŚ 20.13. In the course of fighting, the God moved sportively using various aṅgahāras and then he tied up his keśa that is bunch of his hair, this made the kaiśikī vṛtti.

IV.1.3.4 The origin of the Ārabhaṭī vṛtti

The origin of the Ārabhaṭī vṛtti is described in the verses NŚ 20.14. Then from the various personal fights which involved various cāris, the ārabhati vṛtti was made. This style arose out of foot-movements.

All the *vṛtti*s are regularly related with the personal fights in this mythical story and forceful actions by Lord Viṣṇu. The story gives pseudo etymology of these terms.

IV.1.3.5 False-etymological Interpretation in the mythical story

The legendary story from NŚ in the chapter titled 'Vṛttivikalpana' explains the origin of the *vṛtti* (NS 22.2-19). It describes etymology for all the four names of *vṛtti*s. Bhārati Vṛitti was built on bhāra or burden on the earth. Bhāratī Vṛtti do not have any element of being burdened. Sāttvata or strength as the Sātvatī vṛtti. The tying up of his keśa, this made the kaiśikī vṛtti. These apparently are a false or pseudo- etymologies. They just imitate the sounds of the words but they do not produce a meaning which can correlate them with their characteristic. The reason why these names were chosen for the names of the *vṛtti*s is different than what the etymology says. There is a resemblance of the names of *vṛtti*s with the *Nyāya* which are explained in the NŚ 20.17-19.

Nyāya

The word *Nyāya* has a different meaning in NŚ. It is related to the dance movements. The method of personal fight of throwing different kinds of arms by God will be termed in this world, as *nyāya*. This fight made with the *aṅgahāras* and observance of them on the stage will be called *nyāya*. The concept of *nyāya* and *aṅgahāras* has also instigated in the same mythological story that explains the origin of *vṛtti*s. This description of the legendary story gives impression as if the story is in performance and someone as Sūtradhāra is narrating the tale. Now the story takes us to the *nyāya*. Let us see the concept of *nyāya* explained in the Nāṭyaśāstra.

IV.1.4 The origin of *Nyāya*

It would be appropriate to see the concept of nyāya that has been discussed in the chapter called 'cārīvidhāna', in the context of *vṛtti*s.

IV.1.4.1 What is a *Nyāya*?

In the chapter 11 named cārīvidhāna various dance movements are described. Moving simultaneously with feet, shanks and the hip is *cārī*. Thirty-two *cārī*s are elaborated in this chapter. The fifth verse gives the application of *cārī* as in dance movements or in general movements it is useful for release of missiles and fighting on the stage.

The concept of *nyāya* in dance has been defined in the verses NŚ 72-75 in the same chapter. This is not just a coincidence that the names of *nyāya*s are corresponding to the names of the *vṛtti*s. They are termed as follows –

IV.1.4.2 The four *Nyāya*s for using weapons

There are four *nyāya*s namely Bhārata, Sāttvata, Vārṣagaṇya, and Kaiśika. Those are ways of using weapons or releasing arms. As we know *vṛtti*s are bhāratī, Sātvatī, kaiśikī and ārabhatī. The names of the three *vṛtti*s corresponds with the three names of *Nyāya*s. It would be interesting to see how and when are *nyāya*s to be performed by actors.

It describes how to attack in each of these movements. In the Bhārata *Nyāya* actor cuts at the waist, in the Sātvata *Nyāya*, actor strikes at the foot. In the Vārṣagaṇya *Nyāya* actor attacks at the breast and in the Kaiśika *Nyāya* actor strikes at the head. The *nyāya*s are so called because fights on the stage are carried on with the *aṅgahāra*s and arising out of them.

IV.1.4.2.1 How to perform *Nyāya*

In the next verses (NŚ 11.76-84 – See Appendix 1.2) it is described in detail how to perform a particular *nyāya*. For example, in Bhārata *Nyāya* actor should use shield with the left hand and holding the weapon should walk about on the stage. He should fully stretch the hand forward and then drawing it back move the shield at back from side to side and

flourish the weapon around the head. It should also be turned near the cheek. And again holding the sword and the shield should flourish gracefully around the head. As in Bhārata *Nyāya* the actor should hold the same flourishing of the sword and the shield but the flourishing of the weapon should take place at one's back.

The walking about in Vārṣagaṇya *Nyāya* will be similar to that in the Sāttvata, but the sword or weapon and the shield should go round the head. In Kaiśika *nyāya* the blooming of the sword near is with the breast or close to the shoulder. But latter the sword should be made to strike only after being flourished over the head. With these elegant movements of the limbs weapons like the bow, the thunderbolt and the sword are to be flourished at the time of their use.

IV.1.4.3 Vārṣagaṇya *nyāya*s and *vṛtti*

Vārṣagaṇya is not a name of any *vṛtti*s. Is there any relation of this *nyāya* with *vṛtti*s? Abhinavagupta in his commentary on Nāṭyaśāstra named Abhinavabhāratī finds similarity in the four names of *vṛtti*s and *nyāya*s. He says that Vārṣagaṇya is to be used in Ārabhati.

अभिनवभारती - तस्य प्रयोक्तृभिः व्यायामाच्चेति (न्यायात्यादि) नामानुसारादेषां वृत्तिविभागे परिशेषता। आरभटया वार्षगण्यः।।७२।।

IV.1.4.4 Relation of *nyāya*s with the *vṛtti*s

All these four *nyāya* are about grasping the arms, elegant actions of body parts, and graceful walking while holding a weapon. In the story of Madhu and Kaiṭabha, the Lord Viṣṇu wants to kill the demons. The enactment of such theme such as killing, actors will be performed using these *nyāya*. This must be giving a graceful look to the performance of a battle on the stage. It shows the possibility that the types of *vṛtti*s were based on the types of these *nyāya*. The *vṛtti*s were based on dancing movements for using weapons gracefully.

These names are also used in some other texts. The four styles usually spoken in Sword-play are kaiśika, Sātvata, Vārṣagaṇya and Bhārata are given by Someśvara for shooting with the bow. The preparation of the shield from hides and targets of different kinds and their hitting are then dealt with. [6] In the tenth chapter of the text Bhāvaprakāśana, Śāradātanaya describes all the four *vṛtti*s in the form of dances. [7] In Kumārsaṁbhava of Kālidāsa, we find portrayal of battle in this technique. The graceful dancing of the earlier cantos of the Kumārsaṁbhava is replaced in the later cantos by the dance of swords and men and decapitated trunks in the context of Kārtikeya's fight with the demon Tarakasura (KS. XVI. 48-49). The swords covered with blood dance like lightning in the battle field (KS. XVI. 15), and soon there is nothing but the dance of headless trunks of soldiers which the spirits of the soldiers watch from above.

IV.1.4.5 Aṇgahāra

There is also a mythological story behind how Bharata received these *aṅgahāra*s. (NŚ 4.18 -27 See Appendix 1.3 A*ṅgahāra*) The verses 16 and19 explain the background of this story. Brahman said to the Śiva, "Tell us about the use of the *aṅgahāra*." Then lord of the world Śiva called Taṇḍu and said, "Speak to Bharata about the use of the *aṅgahāra*." Taṇḍu told the use of the *aṅgahāra*s.

All the *aṅgahāra* consist of the *Karaṇa*s. *Karaṇa* are the minor dance figures. *Karaṇa* are base of *aṅgahāra*. The combined movement of hands and feet is called the *Karaṇa*. Two *Karaṇa*s make one *Mātṛkā*. Two, three, or four *Mātṛkā*s make one *aṅgahāra*. So *aṅgahāra* is combination of *Karaṇa*s.

After explaining 108 *karaṇa*s, all the *aṅgahāra*s are described in detail.32 *aṅgahāra*s are listed in verses 4.19-27. These *aṅgahāra*s are comprised of various arrangements of hand

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[6] For details see V Raghavan, 1975 "Festivals, sports and pastime of India" B, J. Institute of Learning and Research, Ahmedabad.

[7] वृत्तिः स्यात्कैशिकी गीतिर्यत्र तल्लास्यमुच्यते । उद्धतैः करणैरङ्गहारैर्निर्वर्तितं यदा।। तत्र ह्यारभटी वृत्तिस्तथैव परिकल्प्यते। विलम्बितो लयो यत्र नृहश्चातीतकल्पितः।। तद्वदारभटी यच्च तत् ख्यातं चण्डताण्डवम्। वृत्तिरारभटी गीतकाले तत्ताण्डवं विदुः। उभयं पूर्वरङ्गस्य नाटकादौ भविष्यतः।। Bhāvaprakāśana 10.20

and feet movements. They are to be performed as a one group, one after another. For example, *aṅgahāra* named Sthirahasta (NŚ 4.170-172) is explained as stretching two arms and throwing them up, taking up Samapāda Sthāna, the left hand stretched upwards from the level of the shoulder, taking up afterwards the Pratyālīḍha Sthāna then observing successively the Nikuttita, Urudvṛtta, Ākṣipta, Svastika, Nitamba, Karihasla and Kaṭichinna *Karaṇa*s.

From the above discussion it is can be concluded that all the *vṛtti*s explained in the mythical story are dance movements associated with *nyāya* and *aṅgahāra*s.

The various acts the Lord introduced arising out of the *vṛtti*s, were worshipped. The destruction of the demons was affected by body movements, strange, uneven, clear and graceful too. This would be the method of personal combats among people, to be called *nyāya*, in the release of weapons. G.H. Taralekar (1999:21) suggests "The *nyāya* would be the styles of people in battles to hold and move various weapons." Why this story relates to the four *vṛtti*s with the actions of weapons? Let us go to the roots of these words to find the answer.

IV.1.5 Etymology of the types of *Vṛtti*s

It is essential to see the various meanings of the four terms of vṛttis. The words are etymologically connected to the following words - bhāratī to bhārata, sātvatī to sātvata, kaiśikī to kaiśika and ārabhatī to ārabhata. Let us see, the meanings of words bhārata, sātvata, kaiśika and ārabhata earlier to the text of Nāṭyaśāstra. Do these words used with same meanings before the Nāṭyaśāstra? Etymologies of these words would throw some more light on the meanings of these terms

IV.1.5.1 Bhāratī belongs to the Bhārata region or Kurukṣetra

For the etymology, I refer dictionary by Monier-Williams. (1986:753)

IV.1.5.1.1 Bhārata

1. mf(ई)n. descended from Bhārata, the Bhāratas (applied to Agni either " sprung from the priests called - Bhāratas " or " bearer of the oblation ") RV. etc.

   mf(ई)n. belonging or relating to the Bharatas the story of the Bhārata, the history or narrative of their war ; king Bharata's realm " i.e. India MBh. Ka1v. etc.

2. mf(ई)n. inhabiting Bharatavarṣa i.e. India BhP.

3. m. a descendant of Bharata RV. etc.

4. m. (with aśvamedha), N. of the author of RV. v , 27, RV. iii , 23

5. m. an actor L. (See. NŚ)

6. m. N. of the sun shining on the south of meru

7. n. the land of Bharatas i.e. India (See. above)

8. n. the story of the Bharatas and their wars (sometimes identified in Mahābhārata)

9. n. (with saras), N. of a lake

In the Puranic encyclopedia (1975:122) "Bhārata, The Mahābhārata is an epic. Bharata is acclaimed as the first emperor of Bhārata. The theme of this great epic is the fight between the two lines of princes belonging to the dynasty of Bharata. That is why the book is called Mahābhārata. The great size of the volume and the greatness of the wisdom contained therein have contributed much to its getting the name, Mahābhārata. Name of the great epic composed by Vyāsa, who was also known as Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana; the title Bhārata once given to an abridgement of the original in 24000 ślokas made by dropping the upākhyānas (caturviṃśatisāhasrīm cakre bhāratasaṃhitām/upākhyānair vinā tāvad bhārataṃ procyate budhaiḥ//) 1. 1. 61; also called Bhāratī kathā (śrotuṃ pātraṃ ca rājaṃs tvaṃ prāpyemāṃ bhāratīṃkathām)1.55.3.

Puranic encyclopedia further states "It narrates the extensive life-story of the Kurus (kurūṇāṃ caritaṃ mahat) 1. 56. 1, or the full story of the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas (kurūṇāṃ caritaṃ kṛtsnam pāṇḍavānāṃ ca bhārata) 18. 5. 25; or the history of Śaṃtanu (yasya (i. e. śaṃtanoḥ) itihāso dyutimān mahābhāratam ucyate) 1. 93. 46; Vaiśaṃpāyana summarized for Janamejaya its contents in three words, 'breach, loss of kingdom, and victory' (evam etat purāvṛttaṃ teṣām akliṣṭakarmaṇām/ bhedo rājyavināśaś ca jayaś ca jayatāṃ vara) 1.

55. 43 (also cf. 1. 55. 4-5 where the three events are referred to as bheda, vanavāsa and yuddha); earlier the three events are referred to by a single word bheda (kurūṇāṁ pāṇḍavānāṁ ca yathā bhedo 'bhavat purā) 1. 54. 22, or by two bheda and rājyavināśa (bhedaṁ rājyavināśaṁ ca kurupāṇḍavayos tadā) 1. 54. 24; the sage (Vyāsa) examined together the śāstras related to Dharma, Kāma and Artha, as also other śāstras, and the laws that govern the affairs of the world; next also the histories with their commentaries and different revealed texts; all that is included here--this defines the text (of the Mahābhārata) (dharmakāmārthaśāstrāṇi śāstrāṇi vividhāni ca/lokayātrāvidhānaṁ ca saṁbhūtaṁ dṛṣṭavān ṛṣiḥ// itihāsāḥ savaiyākhyā vividhāḥ śrutayo'pi ca/iha sarvam anukrāntam uktaṁ granthasya lakṣaṇam 1. 1. 47-48.”

It is notable that before the formation of the Nāṭyaśāstra the word 'Bharata' was used in Rigveda and the Bhāratas in a very popular and folk story of the Mahābhārata.

Does the term Bhāratī was used before Nāṭyaśāstra? What was the meaning of this word?

IV.5.1.1.2 Bhāratī

(Monier-Williams. (1986:753))

1. Bhāratī f. a female descendant of Bharata

2. Bhāratī f. N. of a deity (in RV. often invoked among the Āpri deities and esp. together with ilā and saraswatī accord. to Nir. viii, 13 a daughter of Āditya; later identified with saraswatī, the goddess of speech) RV. etc.

3. Bhāratī f. speech, voice, word, eloquence, literary composition, dramatic art or recitation MBh. Ka1v. etc.

4. Bhāratī f. (with वृत्ति *vṛtti*) a particular kind of style

5. Bhāratī f. the Sanskrit speech of an actor

6. Bhāratī f. a quail

7. Bhāratī f. N. of a river MBh.

8. Bhāratī f. one of the 10 orders of religious mendicants traced back to pupils of Śaṅkarācārya (the members of which add the word Bhāratī to their names)

The meaning of the word Bhāratī before NŚ was a female descendant of Bharata. Nāṭyaśāstra for the first time gave a new meaning to this word and it became a kind of style in writing.

IV.1.5.2 Sāttvati to the region of the Sāttvatas / the Yadavas of Saurāṣṭra

IV.1.5.2.1 Sātvata

(Monier-Williams. (1986:1200))

"Sātvata: m. (pl.): It is a name of people who formed a section of the Yādavas; Sātvat occurs only in complex forms except in (1.210.12)."

Puraṇa Encyclopedia (1975; 704) provides information as - Sātvatas were matchless in battles; they hit their targets accurately; they fought in various ways. They were conquerors of gods, demons and Gandharvas. They depended for triumph on their own valour and not on others (na hi śakyā raṇe jetuṁ sātvatā…//labdhalakṣyāś ca saṁgrāme bahavaś citrayodhinaḥ/ devadānavagandharvān vijetāro hy avismitāḥ/svavīryavijaye yuktā naite paras parigrahāḥ//) 7. 119. 20-21 (Nī. on Bom. Ed. 7. 144. 22; paraparigrahāḥ parādhināḥ). The army of Sātyaki consisted of warriors from different countries (tasya yodhā…nānādeśasamāgatāḥ) must have also some Sātvatas (as Sātvatas, formed a section of the Yādavas, and Sātyaki is often referred to as a Sātvata.

In the epic Mahābhārata many times there is a mention of Sātvatas as belonging to Yādava. Sātvatas were envious of the wealth while Kṛṣṇa was trying to pacify Baladeva and Vṛṣṇis. They were annoyed at the abduction of Subhadrā by Arjuna. (arthalubdhān na vaḥ pārtho manyate sātvatān sadā Mbh.1. 213. 3); Aśvatthāman was honoured by Kurus, Pāṇḍavas as well by Sātvatas (upāsyamāno bahubhiḥ kurupāṇḍavasātvataṭ Mbh.7. 61. 14); along with Sṛñjayas and Pāñcālas, Sātvatas also followed Bhīma and Arjuna who led the attack on Droṇa from the southern and northern side (bībhatsur dakṣiṇaṁ pārśvam uttaraṁ tu vṛkodaraḥ Mbh.7. 132.41); Nārāyaṇa told Nārada that he as Kṛṣṇa would bring about the

annihilation of all the chiefs of Sātvatas which was equivalent to the damage of his kinsmen (sarvasātvatamukhyānaṁ dvārakāyāś ca…/kariṣye pralayaṁ ghoram ātmajñātivināśanam Mbh. 12. 326. 92). Several persons were belonging to Sātvatas; or as their chiefs, or their best; great chariot-fighters and the like.

Before Nāṭyaśāstra the word Sātvata was connected with Yādavas who were warriors.

IV.1.5.3 Kaiśikī to Krathakaisika i.e. Vidarbha

(Monier-Williams. (1986:311))

Kaiśaka was a name of a prince (son of Vidarbha and brother of kratha), (m). of several men Hariv. VP.,

(m. pl.) Name of a subdivision of the Yādava (descended from Kaiśika) MBh. ii, 585 Ragh.

Was name of a locality or of a river MBh. iii, 10095

Kaiśakī   f. (scil. वृत्ति)one of the four varieties of dramatic style (graceful style , suited especially to the passion of love) Bhar. xx, 45 ff. Das3ar. ii, 44 Prata1par. Sa1h. (v.l. कौशिकी)

IV.1.5.4 Puranic Encyclopedia (1975: 417)

Gives the meaning of the word Kratha from Mahābhārata as follow

1. A Kṣatriya King. He was the rebirth of an Asura called Krodhavaśa. [M.Bh. Ādi Parva, Chapter 67, Stanza 61].

2. A King defeated by Bhīmasena during his regional conquest. [M.Bh. Sabhā Parva, Chapter 30, Stanza 7].

3. A hermit. in [M.Bh., Udyoga- Parva, Chapter 83, Stanza 27] it is stated that this hermit visited Śrī Kṛṣṇa on his way to Hastināpura.

4. There was a warrior named Kratha on the side of the Kauravas. [M.Bh. Droṇa Parva, Chapter 120, Stanza 10].

5. A warrior of Skandadeva. [M.Bh. Śalya Parva, Chapter 45, Stanza 70].

6. A Yakṣa. (Demi-God). When Garuḍa reached the world of Devas he had to fight with this Yakṣa. [M.Bh. Ādi Parva, Chapter 32, Stanza 18].

7. An demon. It is stated in [M.Bh., Ādi Parva, Chapter 67 Stanza 57] that this Asura was born as King Sūryākṣa on the earth in his re-birth.

8. Name of a son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. [M.Bh. Ādi Parva, Chapter 116, Stanza 11].

Before Nāṭyaśāstra the word kaiśikī was connected with Kratha. Kratha Kaiśikas were warriors from the region of Vidharbha in Maharashtra.

IV.1.5.5 Ārabhaṭa were people from Arabitae or Arbiti

Monier-Williams. (1986:150)

1. Ārabhaṭa / Ā-rabhaṭa 1. an enterprising man, courageous man.

2. the representation of supernatural and horrible events on the stage. A particular style of dancing. आरभटी स्त्री॰ आरभ्यतेऽनया आ + रभ--अटि ङीप्। नाट्येअर्थविशेषयुक्ते सा॰ दर्पणोक्ते

3. Ārabhaṭi / Ā-rabhaṭi f. boldness, confidence, heroism.

Ārabhaṭi to the country of Arabhaṭas i.e., the region to the west of Indus and south of Baluchistan, inhabited by people called Arabitae or Arbiti. In that region there is the river named Arabius. This last region marked the end of Bhāratavarṣa which was the ancient Arabhata region.

Hamilton, J.R. (1972; 604) says "The general view among modern historians about Alexander appears to be that during his return march from India in September 325, the king founded two cities in the territory of the Oreitae. The first of these, it is held, was built by Hephaestion at Rhambacia, the largest village of the Oreitae, the second by Leonnatus at an unknown site."

Oreitae being the last Indian people. The Arabius formed the boundary between the Arabitae and the Oreitac just as the Hab divided Sind from Las Bela until the partition of

India and Pākistan.[8] Before the Nāṭyaśāstra the word ārabhaṭa was connected with region Arabitae or Orietae in the earlier times. Another meaning of this word is confident, heroic people. This meaning also ensembles to the people from this region. It seems that either by the time of NŚ, the meaning of the word change; or the NŚ itself provided the new meaning to this word.

IV.1.6 Dance style from warriors of those areas

There is a possibility that these styles of dance may have arisen from the warriors of clan of those particular regions. The *nyāya*s are representing the way Bharata, satvata- kratha and ārabhata people were using their weapons. Nāṭya is an imitation of life. The *nyāya*s were used in plays to showcase the power either of Gods or Kings. The imitation of how actually warriors fight in particular region or particular clan was represented in a drama. as it is said in Nāṭyaśāstra that नानादेशसमुत्थं हि काव्यं भवति नाटके ॥ NŚ 17.47॥

In the course of time many people started following these specific styles and they lose their exclusiveness. But the names still speak about their ancient connection with regions and the warrior clans from those regions. Thus, the names are based on the names of those regions and people with particular battle styles. This was the beginning phase of the concept of *vṛtti*. We see the further development of the concept of *vṛtti* in the same adhyāya after few more verses.

IV.1.7 The Vṛttis are connected with regions and people

Dr. V. Raghavan (1933:33-52) suggests that Bhārati is connected with the Bhāratas, Sāttvati with the Sāttvatas (the race of Kṛṣṇa), Ārabhaṭi with the Ārabhaṭas and Kaiśiki

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[8] See Arrian, Indica 21. 8, 22. 10, 25. 2 Hamilton, J. R. "Alexander among the Oreitae." *Historia: Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 21, no. 4 (1972): 603–8. Also see Tripathi, Ramashankar. "ALEXANDER'S INVASION OF INDIA: A REVISED STUDY." *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 3 (1939): 348–70. http://www.jstor.org/stable/44252385.

with Kaiśika or Krathakaiśika (the ancient capital of Vidarbha country, the home of grace and beauty).

Dr. V. Raghavan (1933:33-53) has explained in his article 'The Vrttis' the conception of *vṛtti*s' as follow "Nāṭya is the imitation of action and each action has its characteristic mood or atmosphere with respect to the man in action as well as the sahṛdaya who sees the Nāṭya. The mood or atmosphere is *vṛtti*s. Hence Bharata says that the dramatic action or drama is born of *vṛtti*. Different types of drama present different kinds of action as characterised by atmospheres. So Bharata says that *vṛtti* is also that factor which differentiates one type of drama from the other."

Babulalsukla Śastri (2018: 99) says "Kaiśikī might be a clan who lived near the shores of kaspian region. Ārabhatī clan was probably Arbitus that has been mentioned by Greek writers situated in Sindhu region."

Ārabhaṭi seems to be a mode of fighting, relating to Ārabhaṭas and hence their violent manner. Ārabhaṭi is connected with the sentiments of raudra, bhayanaka and bibhatsa. According to Dr. V.S. Agrawal (1953:34) "This violent style was produced by the mixture of Hallisaka and Rāsa. Hallisaka, is derived from the Ionian Elysian. The ancient Ārabhaṭa region had the Indian Rasa and Ionian[9] Elysian mixed. The Ārabhaṭi naṭas are described by Bāṇa as dancing with their hair wafting about due to the vigorous movements. This dance style in which the hair is left untied and the head and the whole body shaken violently is peculiar to Baluchi and Kabayali people." [10]

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[9] 1. a member of a Hellenic people who settled in Attica in about 1100 BC and later colonized the islands and E coast of the Aegean Sea 2. of an ancient Greek people that settled in eastern Greece and in Ionia

1.1 **https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/ionian**. The site was visited on 20 september 2022.

[10] हमारा विचार है कि यही प्राचीन आरभठ देश था जहाँ की नृत्तपद्धति जिसमें भारतीय रास और यूनानी हल्लीसक का मेल हुआ, आरभटी कहलाई | बाण ने यह भी लिखा है कि आरमरटी शैली से नाचते हुए, न खुले बालों को इधर-उधर फटकारते हुए नृत्य का आरम्भ करते थे (चटुलशिखानतेनारमारमटीनगाः।)। इस प्रकार बाल खोलकर सिर को और शरीर को प्रचंड अंगसंचालन के द्वारा हिलाते हुए नृत्त की पद्धति बलूची और कबायली लोगों की अमी तक विशेषता है। Dr. V.S. Agrawal (1953:34)

IV.1.8 Another Mythical story

Let us come back to the mythical story of NŚ (20.20-25). After these verses the story illuminates the term *vṛtti* further in different ways. It says these *vṛtti*s which were desired, wellborn and full of various *cār*is, were again, taken at Druhina's command. Then Brahman for the purpose of making plays gave *vṛtti*s to Gods which were full of various psychological states and sentiments.

It is also stated that the Bhāratī style rose from the Rigveda, Sattvatī from Yajurveda, Kaiśiki from Sāmaveda and Ārabhaṭī from the Atharvaveda. The Vedic origin, of course, forms a supplementary part of the story of the origin from the fight.

IV.1.8.1 Another story of the origin of the *vṛtti*s

The concept of *vṛtti* is not consistent through the text of NŚ. It keeps on changing in the with different chapters and different contexts. There is another story about the origin of *vṛtti* that occurs in the first chapter of NŚ. This verse in conversant with the verses which has the mythological story of origin of Nāṭya in the chapter 20. (See Appendix 1.4 for Sanskrit verses)

एवं सङ्कल्प्य भगवान् सर्ववेदाननुस्मरन् ।

नाट्यवेदं ततश्चक्रे चतुर्वेदाङ्गसम्भवम् ॥ १.१६॥

NŚ 1.16-18. The Holy One from his memory of all the Vedas, shaped this Nāṭyaveda compiled from the four Vedas. He took the, the song from the Sāmaveda, the Histrionic Representation (*abhinaya*) from the Yajurveda and sentiments (*rasa*) from the Atharvaveda.

जग्राह पाठ्यमृग्वेदात्सामभ्यो गीतमेव च ।

यजुर्वेदादभिनयान् रसानाथर्वणादपि ॥ NŚ १.१७॥

वेदोपवेदैः सम्बद्धो नाट्यवेदो महात्मना ।

एवं भगवता सृष्टो ब्रह्मणा सर्ववेदिना ॥ NŚ १.१८॥

Thus, was created the Nāṭyaveda connected with the principal and subsidiary Vedas (vedopaveda), by the holy omniscient Brahman.

The similarity between these verses in two different chapters, is noticeable. Both the verses speak about the creating something new by accepting some virtues from Veda. For the creation of Nāṭyaveda, recitation was taken from the Rigveda and for vṛtti Bhāratī was taken from the Rigveda. Recitation or vācika abhinaya was connected to the Bhāratī vṛtti at this stage and thus from this point of time Bhāratī was connected with speeches as said in the next verse. This new combination gave birth to the new definition of the four *vṛtti*s which are elaborated in following verses of NŚ 20.26 for Bhāratī vṛtti.

It states that the style to be applied by the male characters and not by females and which is prominent for the speeches in Sanskrit, is used by the actors (Bharatas) as Bhāratī *vṛtti*.

The *abhinaya* and *sāttvatī vṛtti* were taken from the Yajurveda. These two were got connected and *sāttvatī vṛtti* received excitement of joy and suppression of the state of sorrow which probably indicate presenting *abhinaya* using body and mind. The *sāttvatī vṛtti* is gifted with the quality of the spirit or *sāttva*, the *nyāya*s, proper meters and has excitement of joy and suppression of the state of sorrow. (NŚ 20.41)

Song and *kaiśikī vṛtti* were taken from the Sāmaveda. *Kaiśikī vṛtti* received dance and music with this new association. (NŚ 20.53) That style becomes interesting on account of

charming costumes mostly of women, and many kinds of dancing and singing, and the themes for acting of love and are connected with its enjoyment is called *kaiśikī vṛtti*.

Sentiments (*rasa*) and *ārabhaṭī vṛtti* were taken from the Atharvaveda. The nature of *ārabhaṭī vṛtti* did not changed with this innovative connection of the new story. The style that includes mostly the qualities of a bold person or *ārabhaṭa* such as speaking many words, deception, bragging and falsehood, is to be known as *ārabhaṭī vṛtti*. (NŚ 20.64)

IV.1.9 The development of the concept of *vṛtti*

There is a difference in the original mythological story of *vṛtti*s and this concept described further. Here, stages of development of the concept are evident. The original concept was connected with various regions of the India and the clan of warriors at the time of Nāṭyaśāstra or before. They are Bhārata region or Kurukṣetra, the Sāttvatas i.e., the Yādavas of Sauraṣtra, Krathakaiśika i.e., Vidarbha, the country of Ārabhaṭas i.e., the region to the west of Indus and south of Baluchistan.

The dramas which were played in the earlier stage mainly had a plot of struggle between Gods and demons. The ones which have been mention in text of the NŚ are namely Amṛtamanthana and Tripuradāha. In both the plays there is a battle between the Gods and demons. At that time, their fight must have been presented on the stage using the *nyāya*s and *Karaṇa*s with appropriate dance movements. Amṛtamanthana is a type of drama named Samavakāra and Tripuradāha is a dima. Both the types of drama have vīra and raudra rasa.

Let us see the features of these types of dramas as explained in the text of Nāṭyaśāstra in the chapter 18.

The Samavakāra should have the exploits of Gods and Asuras as its subject matter and one of them as its well-known and exalted hero. It consists of three acts presenting the three kinds of deception, the three kinds of excitement or the three kinds of love. It should have as many as twelve heroes and a duration of eighteen Nāḍikās for the performance. (NŚ 18.69-76)

The Ḍima should be constructed with a well-known plot. It consists of only four acts. The hero should be known and dignified. It should contain the six sentiments except the erotic and the humar. A plot should have exciting sentiments and various psychological states. It should include incidents such as an earthquake, fall of meteors, an eclipse of the sun or of the moon, fighting in battle and personal combat, and angry conflict. The Dima should abound in deceit and jugglery. It should include energetic activity of many persons, and unfriendliness among themselves. It should include sixteen characters which may be Gods, Asuras, Rākṣasas, Bhūtas, Yakṣas and Nāgas. The play is to be carefully made in the grand and the energetic styles and is to have many rasas to support it. (NŚ 18.84-88)

The elements of Samavakāra and Ḍima are apt for the vṛttis described in the very beginning phase of the story. Personal warfare, conflicts in these types would be presented using weapons and dance movements with *nyāya* called Bhāratī, Sātavatī. kaiśikī and ārabhaṭī. The sentiments useful for these types of drama were also complimentary to the *vṛtti*s.

IV.1.10 The development of the plays from the *Vṛtti*s

Scholars have discussed the development of the plays from the view point of *vṛtti*s or the number of acts and actors.

The stages are as follow, in the one Act play a single actor plays the actor and eventually it developed into the plays with three or four acts having many characters and lastly the plays with five to ten well-knit acts. The development from the point of view of vrttis is given as, (1) plays like Bhāṇa had Bhārati Vrtti prominently; (2) Sāttvati was added and it became more prominent, (3) later in addition to Sāttvati, Ārabhaṭi was included and then; (4) the types with all the four vṛttis like Prakaraṇa and finally the (5) perfect Nāṭaka. Dr. Raghavan (1967:8) has traced the evolution from Vithi to Prahasana and finally to Prakaraṇa with the various stages. This is a linear development suggested by him. In the previous types of drama, the presentation of ordinary men from the society is represented. The other line of the dramatic development is the heroic one. The first plays staged were Amrtamanthana and Tripuradāha, celebrating the deeds of Gods slowly developed into Nāṭaka. In this development some features of the social play & the heroic play was intermixed. This helps us to understand the beginning of the dramatic art and the imitation of the fights from the society.

IV.1.11 *Vṛttis* and musical notes

In adhāya titled "Daśarūpanirūpaṇaṁ" (See Appendix 1.6 for Sanskrit verses) the relation between *vṛttis* and musical notes is discussed. [11]

According to NŚ musical notes follow a specific order to make the scale with the basic melodic combinations and sounds. The structures of poetic works emerge through styles means *vṛttis*. NŚ says that the composition of a drama emerged from *vṛttis* just as the musical scale from the notes. The subtle equivalence between *vṛttis* and the musical note

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[11] सर्वेषामेव काव्यानां मातृका वृत्तयः स्मृताः । आभ्यो विनिसृतं ह्येतद्दशरूपं प्रयोगतः ॥ NŚ 18. 4॥

जातिभिः श्रुतिभिश्चैव स्वरा ग्रामत्वमागताः ।यथा तथा वृत्तिभेदैः काव्यबन्धा भवन्ति हि ॥ NŚ 18.5॥

ग्रामौ पूर्णस्वरौ द्वौ तु यथा वै षड्जमध्यमौ ।सर्ववृत्तिविनिष्पन्नौ काव्यबन्धौ तथा त्विमौ ॥ NŚ18.6॥

allows to separate something of essential importance for the understanding of the category being analyzed. *Vṛtti*s are as basic and essential to nāṭya as notation is to the any music. The musical note is the basic constituent of the musical expression. It characterizes not only the sound that instrument or a person produces but the instruments itself or procedure of producing sounds and reading music etc. is also part of musical notes.

Natalia Lidova (2014: 31) in her article "The Concept of *Vrtti* in Nāṭyaśāstra" states "The emergence of this theory directly followed from the long pre-literary developmental stage of the ancient Indian theatre. Second, as the note is the basic component of the musical idiom and characterizes not only the sound but also the devices or recording and reading music, so vrttis reflect the essential features not only of the stage performance but also of the formal structure of the drama, while its comprehensive perception is possible during performance -which is also the case with music."

वृतिसंज्ञाः कृता होताः काव्यबन्धरसाश्रयाः।

चरितैर्यस्य देवस्य द्रव्यं यद्यादृशं कृतम् ॥ NŚ 20.21॥

This verse describes the nature of *vṛtti* with the word *kāvyabandha* i.e., poetic works. NŚ is not speaking about the works which are only poetic or textual in nature. By kāvyabandha Bharata means the poetic work in drama which has both audio and visual aspects. The visual element to support the poetic work is very crucial here. To enhance the beauty within the plot of drama strong visual features were used along with dialogues or speech. The Sanskrit drama traditionally uses lot of music and dance in a performance. The music includes instrumental music, singing and dancing too. One can see all these visual elements used heavily even today's date in South Indian Sanskrit dramas played with traditional performances.

Then again in furthur verses the term *Vṛtti* has widen its scope. The four varieties of *vṛtti*s would be later development. I will not go in those details as that is out of the scope of the present research.

IV.1.12 Original concept of *Vṛtti*

The original notion of *vṛtti* is been reflected in the mythological narrative. The story represents the initial stage of drama. The conflict between the Gods and demons was signifying the unsettled society. The plays were illustrating the instability of the period. In reality, various warrior groups or races were highly active in establishing their power and acquiring new regions. They had developed their own ways of using weapons. The *vṛtti*s - Bhāratī, Sāttvatī, kaiśikī and Ārabhaṭī may symbolize the style of fighting with various arms of Bhārata, Sātvata, krathkaiśika and Aribatae people. *Nyāya*s with same name depict their presence on the stage with dance movements and music. Texts of poetics used these names with adding dance and musical staging of them with completely new meaning. Linguistically the words which were used as region words or warrior race names got new meaning by the phase of *vṛtti*.

IV.1.13 Why regional influence was prominent in the drama?

The classical literature of Sanskrit called Abhijāta or Vidagdha flourished after the vaidic literature. It comprises of two very popular Ādikāvya - Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata. All these pieces of poetry have a hero as a central character who is a King. In Rāmāyaṇa hero is Rāma and the struggle of the hero is about the being future king and problems in being king. Love or Sṛngāra is a main rasa of all these poetic works. But at the background the struggle of kingdom, increasing area under his control, battle between other kings is strong. It a world of controlling regions and acquiring new areas. Even we will come across the literature written by kings like Shriharśa. The first dramas are by Bhāsa. In Malavikāgnimitra by Kālidas Agnimitra is the hero. In the first adhyāya, hero speaks about problems of kingdom.

King being the central carrier of the story of the drama the kingdoms and their territories became significant.

नृपतीनां यच्चरितं नानारसभावचेष्टितं बहुधा ।

सुखदुःखोत्पत्तिकृतं भवति हि तन्नाटकं नाम ॥ NŚ१८.१२॥

daśarūpanirūpaṇaṁ nāmāṣṭādaśo'dhyāyaḥ

Writer of the Nātyaṣastra was well aware of the changing social and political situations. The text is responding to the endeavors in the civilization. May be the writer is not well clear of the impacts of activities on theatre presentations but he could sense the prominence and so he incorporated regional elements in the form of styles of literature.

IV.2 Rīti

The concept of *rīti* has been conversed and defined in Sanskrit many times. It was a popular component of literary work among rhetoric. It was esteemed by commentators of various literary compositions in Sanskrit. For example, the commentator Rāghava in his commentary on the Abhijñānasākuntala states 'अनेन चात्र कविना रीतीनां मुख्यतमा सर्वगुणाश्रया वैदर्भी रीतिरुपक्षिप्ता। यदाह वामनः अस्पृष्टा दोषमात्राभिः समग्रगुणगुम्फिता। विपञ्चीस्वरसौभाग्या वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते ।' The Nāṭyasāstra does not have any mention of the term *rīti*. It is as an element of a literary composition which dates back to Bhāmaha. His time period is 7th century. *Rīti* is a mode of expression or the style of a literary composition and it is synonymous with the term *mārga* (way or path). Originally the three *rīti*s were recognized and they ultimately rose to six. They are 'Vaidarbhī', 'Gauḍīya', Pāñcālī, Lātīya, Māgadhī, and Avantikā. Vāmana gave definition of *rīti* and systematic elaboration for the first time.

Bhāmaha in his text the Kāvyālaṅkāra (1.31) speaks about this loudly and raises objection towards the earlier writers on poetics who are unknown to us. That means the earlier writers were using these names even before him. It is noticeable that all the types of *rīti* are the names of the regions present in the subcontinent at that time. Let us see how geographical elements played important role in the concept of *rīti* in the beginning phases.

The names and nature of *rīti* which had been listed by various Sanskrit poetics are as follow. Daṇḍin classifies the various modes of composition broadly into 'Vaidarbhī' and 'Gauḍīya' with presence of *guṇa*s translated as excellences of composition. According to Daṇḍin 'Vaidarbhī' is superior because it possesses in a harmonious relationship all the ten *guṇa*s. The Gauḍīya is marked by the absence of these *guṇa*s. Still, he does not consider the *rīti* as an independent element because he considers the basis are the *guṇa*s and it is mere embellishments. Vāmana (9th century A.D.) emphasizes on *guṇa*s to form the basis of his *rīti* doctrine. He differentiates between *guṇa*s and alaṁkāras, also classifies *guṇa*s into *śabda guṇa* and *artha guṇa*. He classifies *rīti* into 'Vaidarbhī', 'Gauḍīya' and 'Pāñcālī'

on the basis of the presence or absence of *guṇa*s. He gives high status to 'Vaidarbhī' *rīti* for possessing all the *guṇa*s or excellences.

The first change in the names of *rīti* came in the middle age. Ānandavardhana defines three *rīti*s with different names as asamāsa, a composition with no compounds, madhyamasamāsa, a composition with medium or less compounds and, use of long compounds is dirghasamāsa. Kuntaka identifies three mārgas – sukumāra, vicitra and madhyama - on the basis of what he terms kavi-svabhāva or the power, nature and the practice of the poet. The sukumāra *mārga* is marked by natural grace and charm, the vicitra *mārga* by decorativeness and the madhyama *mārga* by a combination of elements of both the styles. Rudraṭa defines four *rīti*s as 'Vaidarbhī', 'Gauḍīya', 'Pāñcālī', 'lāṭiya' on the basis of use of compounds. Bhoja also gives four names as 'Vaidarbhī', 'Gauḍīya', 'Pāñcālī' and 'Lāṭiya' based on compounds, *guṇa*s, and alaṅkāra. Mammaṭa gives the name of three *rīti*s - upanāgarikā, paruṣā and komalā or grāmya and he says that these were referred to as 'Vaidarbhī', 'Gauḍīya' and 'Pāñcālī' by earlier theorists. The upanāgarika is characterized by letters suggestive of the mādhurya *guṇa*, the paruṣa by ojas and the komala by letters other than the above. Mammaṭa makes it clear that the manifestation of rasa is important for a poetic charm than mere arrangements of the letters. Similarly, Viswanātha says that *rīti* is just a padasaṅghatanā, and can never claim to be the soul of a poetry. Śāradātanaya in his text named Bhāvaprakāśana suggests two more *rīti*s, Saurāstrī and Drāvidī instead of Māgadhī and Avantī. He says *rīti* is a composition of that regions and that is why it has the names which were based on region names.

Then again question arises why there were geographical names for style of writing in the earlier stage of the development of this term. Let us try to understand the term *rīti* from the outset.

IV.2.1 Bhāmaha

In the available texts of poetics, it was Bhāmaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* which speaks about *rīti* for the first time. Bhāmaha does not include *rīti* or *mārga* in his discussion of poetic composition but distinguishes between 'Vaidarbhī', and 'Gauḍīya' as two kinds of poetry. It is interesting that he uses the geographical names for it for the first time. At the same time, he has some objections regarding this classification. He says, (KL.1.31) the knowledgeable men think, Vaidarba only is superior. Not any other type though conveying good sense. (See Appendix 2.1 for Sanskrit verses*)*

IV.2.1.1 Attacks the classification

He betrays the author's aversion to recognise Vaidarbha as a separate type of poetry. Just because it does not bear the name Vaidarbha. It is to be noticed that here it has not been used as a name of a *rīti* thus the form is not feminine but neuter as Vaidharbham and Gaudiya and not Vaidharbhi and Gaudi. They think, that alone Vaidharbha is superior, not any other poetry however possessed of good sense.

In this and the further verses, Bhāmaha attacks the classification of poetry into Vaidharbha and Gauḍiya. These terms were unclear in his times. Vaidarbha is the type of poetry prevalent in the Vidarbha region and Gauḍiya is that predominant in the Gauḍa deśa. Vaidarbhas are known as the southeren school to which Daṇḍin belongs and to which probably Bhāmaha did not belong. Gauḍas represent the prāchya or the eastern school. Vaidharbhi and Gaudi as the opposite types of *rīti* or style are recognised in later works. *Rīti* as a special entity in poetry seems to be of late origin. Bhāmaha's objection is directly only against this classification of poetry. (KL.1.32)

He asks, how the Gauḍīya poetry is different than the Vidarbha poetry – is there any such distinction? It need not be told that folls walk the trodden path, blindly following the lead of the blind. Gauḍīya and Vaidarbha is a distinction made by ignorant persons. There is nothing to prevent them from making such a distinction; so they are free to say so. But why do they at all say?

IV.2.1.2 Aśmakavaṁśá vaṁśa

Aśmakavaṁśá etc. are known as Vaidarbha. Let it be so, as it is given at one's own will. He raises the objection as indeed Aśmakavaṁsa and the like represent the Vaidarbha. (KL.1.33) He wants to say that it is like the blind following the blind. Are there not poems like Aśmakavaṁśá which belongs to Vaidarbha type? Aśmaka seems to be the name of a country whose king was also called Aśmaka, and Aśmakavaṁśá is history of the dynasty of Aśmakas just as Raghuvamsa is about the dynasty of Raghu. Unfortunately, a work of this name is not available to us. The answer is Alright; let it be so. If you call it with the name of Vaidarbha we have no objection. Our only disagreement is that we cannot recognise a poetry as it referred to in the next verse and as such insipide.

Aśmakavaṁśá was a dynasty from the region of Vidarbha. It is a possibility that the composition was about the emperor, his dynasty, his victory - being glorified in the poem. He was the king of the Vidarbha region and thus the poetry has been named Vaidarbha and then the name was declared as the type of composition earlier to the time of Bhāmaha. Bhāmaha raised objection to the type of composition behind the region name or dynasty from that region.

Then he speaks about the virtues and defects of the poetry (KL.1.34) (See Appendix 2.1 for Sanskrit verses)

If the poem has insufficient meaning and absence of clever expressions, though clear, straightforward and soft composition be, is it different from poetry, something like music and that merely appeals to the ear. Here अपुष्टार्थमवक्रोक्ति refer to two defective features of poetry. प्रसन्नमृजु कोमलम् refer to its good qualities. If a composition is possessed of these three good features it will not amount to poetry if it posses the two defects mentioned earlier.

Bhāmaha states that beauty of any composition resides in its meaning and expression. He is perhaps saying that the qualities which are said to be of the Vaidarbhī *rīti* are not abilities of the particular *rīti* but they make poem just appealing as the music pleases the ear. What

Bhāmaha thinks is a mere song, Vāmana recognises this as a distinct source of enjoyment under the name of 'Vaidarbhī' (1.2.11 and 20) गेयम् has also been considered as a kind of composition. The difference between music and poetry is thus set out by Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkśhit[12] in शिवलीलार्णवः as the music goes dry as sand when it alone enters the ears. A good poem of a poet is like fragrance of a nectar that enters inside the audience and makes him happy.

Bhāmaha further says that a poetry endowed with alaṁkāra, decency, full of meaning, convincing and coherent though it be of the Gauḍīya type, it is preferable, not which is known as Vaidharbha. But it represents the reverse of the said qualities. (KL.1.35)

Gauḍīya can also be superior with good alaṅkāras, if void of vulgarity, with decent and logical and undiffused meaning. That is not different than Vaidarbha style. You may call it 'Gauḍīya' as you like; even then it is preferable. If you call it Vaidarbha it is not going to alter its nature. Call it what you may, it is a good poetry.

The beauty of poem does not arise just by using of soft words like नितान्त having nasals and unaspirated letters of the dental class   etc. A language embodying clever ideas composed of good words is as an adornment of a poem.   (KL.1.36)

The soft words like नितान्त does not contribute to the beauty of speech. Then what is rquired to enhance the merit of speech?   वक्राभिधेयशब्दोक्ति. It may be recalled that the same feature has been referred to by the author in युक्तं वक्रस्वभावोक्त्या in Verse 30. Unconnected composition means that the various versed dealing with separate subjects as songs, or stray verses. Even such composition should possess clever presentation and nice description.

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[12] श्रीनीलकण्ठदीक्षितप्रणीतः शिवलीलार्णवः , प्रथमः सर्गः 17
 https://sanskritdocuments.org/doc_shiva/shivalIlArNavanIlkaNThadIkShita.html?lang=sa
कर्ण गतं शुष्यति कर्ण एव संगीतकं सैकतवारिरीत्या। आनन्दयत्यन्तरनुप्रविश्य सूक्तिः कवेरेव सुधारसगन्धा।।

IV.2.1.3 No distinction

Bhāmaha however does not give much importance to the distinction of the two. According to him, none of them is inferior or superior to one another. The most important factor to judge poetic beauty is Vakrokti, the fundamental principle of all Alaṅkāras in his theory of poetry. In addition, if that is existing in the Gauḍīya poetry it must be accepted in performance to the Vaidharbha. In his opinion that type of Vaidharbha which although – prasanna, ṛju and komala is neither which in ideas nor possessed of Vakrokti does not deserve any high amount of estimation simply an account of its being agreeable to the ear. On the other hand, even the Gauḍīya can be accepted if it is endowed with Alaṅkāra and is free from vulgarity and in consistency.

IV.2.1.4 Objection of Bhāmaha on naming the *rīti*s

Bhāmaha's point is valid. *Mārga* or *rīti* is a poetic concept. The foundation of the poetic concept should be primarily based on the components of literature. But the words Vaidarbha and Gauḍa do not indicate any element of literature. In this case, these words are creating false impression. This argument also points towards the fact that a Alaṃkārācāryas before Bhāmaha were using the region names for literary concepts, with some purpose.

The Nāṭyaśāstra was the first available text on Indian poetics. The time period of the Nāṭyaśāstra is 2nd century BCE to 2nd century BE. At this time there were many political entity crises. Geographical boundaries were not fixed and regional peculiarities were unblemished. Bharata was trying to integrate regional individualities in the field of arts from Bhāratavarśa. The dance, music and attires had local identities. Drama embraces all these elements for performance. Bharata was collecting all the small elements which had regional particularities. So, the names of *vṛtti*s and *pravṛtti*s were termed behind regions.

Bhāmaha was in 6th century CE. There is a gap of at least 3-4 decades from the composition of the Nātyasástra. It seems that rhetoric at the time of Bhāmaha, did not appreciate the importance of local distinct particularities.

Let us move to the next Sanskrit scholar Daṇḍin.

IV.2.2 Daṇḍin

Daṇḍi or Daṇḍin (7th–8th century CE) was an Indian Sanskrit grammarian and author of Sanskrit prose. His active career took place around 680–720 CE under the auspices of Narasiṁhavarman II of the Pallava dynasty. He is known for composing the text Kāvyādarśa (KD.) (Mirror of Poetry), the handbook of classical Sanskrit poetics. Daṇḍin who belonged to the Vaidarbha school, elaborately establishes the distinction and it is whole-heartedly followed by all later rhetoricians.

It was Daṇḍin who deal with the concept of poetic style in an elaborate manner for the first time. He does not use the term *rīti* and instead prefers the term *mārga* to refer to the style of a poetic composition. He classifies the various modes of composition broadly into 'Vaidarbhī' and 'Gauḍīya' on the basis of the presence of *guṇa*s or excellences of composition. It sounds like Daṇḍin is giving answer to the question arose by Bhāmaha.

IV.2.2.1 Types of compositions '*mārga*'

Daṇḍin first explains the types of composition, the languages in which the poets compose and the speakers of those languages and dialects. Then he writes about *mārga*.

His arguments are (KD.1.40) Manifold is the style of composition with minute mutual differences. Of these styles the Vaidarbha and the Gauḍīya, as being clearly different from each other, will now be described. Then in the verse 41 he lists the excellences of composition which are elaborated in coming verses. I have given the number of verses in which particular quality has been described into bracket. They are -

श्लेष Cohesion (i. 43), प्रसाद Lucidity (i. 45), समता Evenness (i.47), माधुर्य Sweetness (i. 51), सुकुमारता Tenderness (i. 69), अर्थव्यक्ति Explicitness of meaning (i. 73), उदारत्व Pregnancyof expression (i. 76), ओजस् Floridity (i. 80), कान्ति Grace (i. 85), and समाधि Transference (i. 93).

IV.2.2.2 *Guṇa*s and styles

According to Daṇḍin ten *guṇa*s are considered as the soul of the Vaidarbha style and the opposites of these are usually to be noticed in the Gauḍa style. (KD.1.42)

To further illuminate on this argument, he gives example (KD.1.43) Cohesive is what does not involve Looseness. Loose is what consisting mainly of faintly-aspirated syllables; as for instance '*Mālatī-māla lolāli-kalilā*' (a garland of Mālatī flowers laden with longing bees). This example indirectly suggests that Gauḍa poetry has looseness as they use more aspirated syllables as shown in the example.

The sound repetition has been permitted by the Gaudas; by the Vaidarbhas, however, because it secures compactness of syllabic binding, expressions like *Mālatī-dāma lahghitaṁ bhramaraiḥ* (a wreath of Mālatī invaded by bees). Gauḍas are fond of Anuprāsa alaṅkāra. Whereas Vaidharbha people are particular about the compactness of the syllables. (KD.1.44)

Having Lucidity is that which conveys a sense that is well-known: '*Indorindīvara-dyutiḥ lakśma lakśmim tanoti* (the spot on the moon ining like a blue-lotus augments her charm)' is an expression conveying the sense without any effort. (KD. 1.45) Thus his argument is that the poetry by Vaidharbha poets possess lucidity and thus their poem conveys the meaning more accurately.

Because it exhibits command over grammar the Gauḍas prefer even what is not very conventional; for instance, *Anatyarjunābjanmasadrikśānko balakśaguh* (the white-rayed that is Moon having a spot resembling a water-born lotus not verywhitest blue) (KD. 1.46) In these verses Daṇḍin is expressing the liking of people of Gauḍa region with reference to the use of language. Daṇḍin states that *mārga* is based on the *guṇa*s or excellences and then

he explains how people from these two regions have distinct ways of composing poems with certain ways. Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin both were certain of connection of people and their liking with *mārga* or *rīti*.

IV.2.2.3 Regional liking

Daṇḍin furthur says (KD. 1.50) The poetry of easterners has flourished regardless of this unevenness and with an eye to pompousness in diction and also in figures.

The Gauḍas do not pay any regard to such sound similarity as Gauḍas love sound repetition called anuprāsa; the Vaidarbhas usually prefer sound similarity even to alliteration. (KD. 1.54) Further, he gives various examples of sound repetition or anuprāsa.

Then in the verse KD. 1.60 it is said that such compositions lead to a roughness of syllabic-structure and to looseness; hence the southerners do not foster such an anuprāsa. And (KD. 1.75) he says such composition is not much honored in both the *mārga*s; as the sense is not easily understood if the law of the expressive power of words is exceeded. Florid consists in a superabundance of compounds. This is the soul of prose. Even in poetry, for the non-Southerners, this is their sole resort. (KD.1.80) This verse suggests that southerner's superabundance of compounds does not create any florid composition. In this way even in poetry the easterners cultivate floridity in expressions. The others, however, prefer floridity of expressions when it is charming and not confusing. (KD. 1.83)

Daṇḍin elaborates about exaggeration with examples in verses 90-91 and then comments in the verse KD. 1.92 that this type of 'exaggerated statement'; is made too much of by the Gauḍas. The mode earlier illustrated is the essence of the other style.

For him these two styles are differentiated by a description of the nature of each. (KD. 1.101) He thinks great is the difference in the sweetness of sugar-cane, of milk, and of molasses ; and yet it is not possible to have it described even by the Goddess Sarasvatī. (KD. 1.102) An inborn genius, learning free from defects, and no slight application: these constitute the cause of this excellence in the poetry. (KD. 1.103)

IV.2.2.4 No mention of Kālidāsa

Interestingly Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin do not mention Kālidāsa or give any example from his poetry as pursuing Vaidharbha *mārga*. All the commentators of Kālidāsa and most of the further rhetoricians do mention Kālidāsa as an ideal example of Vaidharbhi *rīti*. Kālidāsa's poetry was in front of both of these Sanskrit rhetoricians. But they do not give example from any of his poem.

Although Daṇḍin's treatment of poetic style is quite elaborate compared to the earlier theorists, he does not consider the *mārga* as an independent element because for him the basis of the *mārga*s, is the *guṇa*, to be mere embellishments. He thus fails to distinguish between alaṅkāra and *guṇa*. Vāmana constantly emphasizes on the *guṇa* as the basis of his *rīti* doctrine.

IV.2.3 Vāmana

Vāmana was an Indian rhetorician in the latter half of the 8th century - early 9th century At the outset of his Kavyālaṁkārasūtra (KS.) (9th century A.D.) he defines *rīti* as visiṣṭā padaracanā (arrangement of marked inflected constructions). He goes on to differentiate between *guṇa* and alaṅkārā, classifies *guṇa* into śabda *guṇa* and artha *guṇa*. On the basis of the presence or absence of *guṇa*, classifies *rīti* into 'Vaidarbhī', 'Gauḍīya' and 'Pāñcālī'. Like Daṇḍin, he accords the highest status to the 'Vaidarbhī' *rīti* as it possesses all the excellences but also associates the *guṇa*s. Ojas and kānti with the 'Gauḍīya' *rīti* and mādhurya and sukumāra with the 'Pāñcālī' *rīti*. Thus, while the 'Vaidarbhī' is marked by the grand, the glorious and the imposing the 'Pāñcālī' is characterized by sweetness and softness. Vāmana's chief contribution to Sanskrit Poetics lies in his elevating the concept of *rīti* to the status of an independent school. His elaborate treatment and classification of

*guṇa*s definitely marks a major advance on the alaṅkāra school which subsumed literary excellences under the rubric of embellishments.

IV.2.3.1 Soul of the poetry is *rīti*

Vāmana says रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य। that *rīti* is the soul of the poetry. Vāmana suplements the two types of poetry namely वैदर्भी and गौडी by a third one named पाञ्चाली. (KS. 1.2.6-9)

Immediately after providing the names of the *rīti* he arises the question, why these names are geographical? Are the qualities of the composition related to regions and thus the names are based on those regions? Vāmana refuses this possibility. Then why does this question is discussed by Vāmana? Probably this matter was in discussion around his time. The way Daṇḍin expounds on the ten excellences and the types of *rīti*, establishes the relation between types of *rīti*s and region names. (KS. 1.2.9)

The names of *rīti*s are based on the styles of compositions of poets from the regions namely Vidharbha, Gauḍa and Paṇcāla. The geographical distinctiveness is not important. This sentence is translated as the poets from those regions were using these styles, so the names like Vidharbha are used as a practice which indicates the poets of that region. (KS. 1.2.10)

IV.2.4 Agnipurāṇa

In Agnipurāṇa ३४०.१ it is said that वाग्विद्यासम्पतिज्ञाने रीतिस्साऽपि चतुर्विधा। पाञ्चाली गौडदेशीया वैदर्भी लाटजा तथा ।

Diction is vital for a good knowledge of speech. It is of four kinds—Pañcālī, Gauḍadesīyā, Vaidarbhī and Lāṭajā. They respectively belong to the regions Pañcāla, Gauḍa, Vidarbha and Lāṭa.

While describing rīti, the Agnipurāṇa is not using the exact same names for *rīti* as Bhāmaha or Daṇḍin. It clearly says *rīti* is from Gauḍa region and from the Lāṭa region. May be initially diction was very important factor for good reading of the literature. The people from various regions have their own diction patterns.

Daṇḍin in the discussion on *mārga* comments on the speech of a composition as follows when a certain charm is experienced after the recitation of a composition, that composition is styled to be 'Pregnant-in-expression.' This charm lends excellence to poetic style. (KD. 1.76)

Recitation of the poem brings charm in the experience of the audience. It is not an experience of only written part or a reading a piece of literature alone. It is the way literature is presented to the audience.

IV.2.5 Rājaśekhara

In the fourth chapter of kāvyamīmāṁsā Rājaśekhara describes the types of genius. One of them is Bhāvayitrī pratibhā. He says the genius which is helpful to Bhāvaka is Bhāvayitrī pratibhā. He takes the efforts of a poet (of creating a virtuous poem) to the audience. Because of his efforts the tree of creation of a poet receives the fruit. [13] Bhāvaka is everything for a poet, master, friend, advisor, learner and guide.

If a literature just remains in the minds of a poet, it is inadequate. Bhāvaka brings it to the audience of various directions. In the houses of the people lays various books of literature.

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[13] भावकस्योपकुर्वाणा भावयित्री (प्रतिभा) । सा हि कवेः श्रममभिप्रायं च भावयति। तया खलु फलितः कवेर्व्यापारतरुः। अन्यथा सोऽवकेशी स्यात् 'कः पुनरनयोर्भेदो यत्कविर्भावयति भावकश्च कविः' इत्याचार्याः। kāvyamīmāṁsā 4

There are very few poems which are carved in the minds of people by the Bhāvaka.[14]

Various emotions and states of mind shine in with the Bhāvaka. Sometimes even the experts of poetry are also not able to understand that state of mind. Some Bhāvakas appreciate the implications of the words well, some reach to the heart of the poem, some describe sātvika bhāva well and some appreciate anubhāva attractively. Some appreciate the merits of the poetry and some faults. Some avoid both and elaborate on alaṅkāra or rasa etc.[15]

This passage on Bhāvaka by Rājaśekhara is very helpful in understanding the earlier idea of *rīti*. It documents the importance of a presenter of a poetry in his time and may be before his time also.

Rājaśekhara also elaborates on the recitation of people from various regions of then India in the seventh chapter of his kāvyamīmāṁsā. The people of Magadha which is to the east of Vārāṇasi, read Sanskrit language fluently but they hesitate in reading Prakrit languages. People from Gauḍa region that is modern Bengal, were not good at reading Prakrit languages and thus Goddess Sarawati was unhappy with them.
The diction of the people from Gauḍa region is not very clear, not much indiscernible, not very soft nor hard, not in high pitch or in very low pitch. People from Karṇāṭa

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[14] स्वामी मित्रं च मन्त्री च शिष्यश्चाचार्य एव च। कवेर्भवति ही चित्रं किं हि तद्यन्न भावकः।।

काव्येन किं कवेस्तस्य तन्मनोमात्रवृत्ता । नीयन्ते भावकैर्यस्य न निबन्धा दिशो दश ।।

सन्ति पुस्तकविन्यस्ताः काव्यबन्धा गृहे गृहे । द्वित्रास्तु भावकमनःशिलापट्टनिकुट्टिताः।। kāvyamīmāṁsā 4

[15] सत्काव्ये विक्रियाः कश्चिद्भावकस्योल्लसन्ति ताः। सर्वाभिनयनिर्णीतौ दृष्टा नाटयसृजा न, याः।। वाग्भावको भवेत्कश्चित्कश्चिद्धृदयभावकः। सत्विकैराङ्गिकैः कश्चिदनुभावैश्च भावकः।। गुणादानपरः कश्चिद्दोषादानपरोऽपरः। गुणदोषाह्तित्यागपरः कश्चन भावकः।। kāvyamīmāṁsā 4

(Karṇāṭaka) read all types of poems with pride and use lot of ṭa alphabet.[16] Poets from dravida regions (South India) sing all types of literature it may be verses or prose or mixed literature. People from Lāṭa region (South Gujratha and Khāndeśa) dislike (reading) Sanskrit but they read Prakrit attractively as their tounge is at ease with graceful utterances. People from Surāṣtra, Gurjara and Travaṇa etc. (western regions) read both Apabharmśa and Sankrit language cheerfully. By the grace of Goddesses Sāradā poets of Kāśmira region are wonderful poets (but) there reading is not pleasing to ears as it is likegargling of medicine Gudūcī. [17]

The poets from Utarāpatha (east Punjab) read with lot of nasal sounds.
Poets from Pāṇcāla (Himālaya to north of river Yamunā) do read literature sweetly. They utter all the alphabets clearly and they stop at the proper yati. Prominent sound of la, sound of ṛ can be heard clear in words like Jarjara, is worshiped by those who understand the literature very well. A good reader utters the alphabets form its five places and takes stops considering the meaning of the poem.[18]

Rājaśekhara in his kāvyamīmāṁsā elaborates on Bhāvaka who recites the poems and make it reach to the audience. Rājaśekhara praises the wisdom of a Bhāvaka who takes the poem of a poet to the all directions of the world. We know that the Rāmāyaṇa was

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[16] पठन्ति संस्कृतं सुष्ठु कुण्ठाः प्राकृतवाचि तु । वाराणसीतः पूर्वेण ये केचिन्मगधादयः । ।आह स्म ब्रह्मन्निज्ञापयामि त्वां स्वाधिकार जिहासया। गौडस्त्यजतु वा गाथामन्या वास्तु सरस्वती।। नातिस्पष्टो न चाश्लिष्टो न रुक्षो नातिकोमलः । न मद्रो नातितारश्च पाठी गौडेषु वाडवः । रसः कोऽप्यस्तु काप्यस्तु रीतिः कोऽप्यस्तु वा गुणः । सगर्व सर्वकर्णाटाष्टट्ङ्कारोतरपाठिनः । गद्ये पद्येऽथवा मिश्रे काव्ये काव्यमना अपि । गेयगर्भे स्थितः पाठे सर्वोऽपि द्रविडः कविः । । kāvyamīmāṁsā 7

[17] पठन्ति लटभं लाटाः प्राकृतं संस्कृतद्विषः । जिह्वया ललितोल्लापलब्धसौन्दर्यमुद्रया । । सुराष्ट्रवणाद्या ये पठन्त्यर्पितसौष्ठवम् । अपभ्रंशावदंशानि ते संस्कृतवचांस्यपि । । शारदायाः प्रसादेन काश्मीरः सुकविर्जनः । कर्णो गुडूचीगण्डूषस्तेषां पाठक्रमः किमु ? kāvyamīmāṁsā 7

[18] ततः पुरस्तात्कवयो ये भवन्त्युत्तरापथे । ते महत्यपि संस्कारे सानुनासिकपाठिनः । । मार्गानुगेन निनदेन निधिर्गुणानां सम्पूर्णवर्णरचनो यतिभिर्विभक्तः ।पाञ्चालमण्डभ्रुवां सुभगः कवीनां श्रोत्रे मधु क्षरति किञ्चन काव्यपाठः । । ललल्कारया जिह्वां जर्जरस्फाररेफया । गिरा भुजङ्गाः पूज्यन्ते काव्यभाव्यधियो न तु । । पञ्चस्थानमुद्भववर्णेषु यथास्वरुपनिष्पत्तिः । अर्थवशेन च विरितिः सर्वस्वमिदं हि पाठस्य । । kāvyamīmāṁsā 7

popular as Lava and Kuśa sang it from place to place and presented the story of Rāma to the audience. Literature was not read but heard from a presenter named Bhāvaka (by Rājaśekhara).

Rājaśekhara in the text kāvyamīmāṁsā lists the regional peculiarities of poetry reading. This is a rare and valuable documentation of an oral tradition of poetry. This is written evidence of regional diversity of Indian society in the 9th century and may be before that. Ofcourse it may have a long history which has not been documented by any other text. Possibly Agnipurāṇa by वाग्विद्या is pointing towards the types of diction in various regions of India which were in existence till 9th century and may be after that.

IV.2.6 Bāṇabhaṭṭa

Now let us see what Bāṇabhaṭṭa has documented. Bāṇabhaṭṭa (a writer of seventh century CE) in his text Harśacharita remarks that the certain regions of the country produce the literature marked by certain features.[19] Bāṇabhaṭṭa is probably giving four patterns of writing from four regions of India. They are as follow. In the North a figure of rhetoric श्लेष with a connection of words so as to admit of a double interpretation are mainly admired, in the West it is only the sense or meaning of the poem is admired; in the South it is poetical fancy called Utprekṣā, where the comparison is introduced by 'as it were' is admired; and in Gauḍa region (east) people love pomp of syllables.

Then he also says that A new subject, a diction not too homely, unlabored double meanings, the sentiment easily understood, the language rich in echoing words, it is difficult to combine all in one composition. What has that poet to do with poetry, whose language,

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[19] श्लेषप्रायमुदीच्येषु प्रतीच्येष्वर्थमात्रकम् । उत्प्रेक्षा दाक्षिणात्येषु गौडेष्वक्षरडम्बरः ॥ Harśacarita १.१ ७.

going to the furthest limits of metrical skill, does not fill the three worlds like the Bhārata story? [20]

IV.2.7 Untying the connection

All these arguments indicate that Vāmana is untying the connection between the names of *rīti*s with their regional identities. He is now combining the *rīti*s with excellences and do not want regional associations with the composition. It is not important to which place the poet belongs or which region he describes in his story of the poem. Only the expression ability of a poet is vital in deciding the quality of the poem. This new meaning given by Vāmana was accepted by succeeding rhetoric.

Vāmana is the first rhetoric who is beholding towards the composition of words from the viewpoint of literary excellences. Till the time of Vāmana the concept has changed and it lost its link with regional uniqueness.

Śāradātanaya in the text named Bhāvaprakāśana adds two more *rīti*s and says *rīti* is a composition of that regions and that is why it has names based on regions.[21]

IV.2.8 Kālidāsa and Vidarbha

Kālidāsa is most praised poet for his writing and his styled called Vaidarbhī. It would be interesting to examine why it is so? Is it only because his poetry possesses all the ten excellences or there is something more than that?

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[20] नवोऽर्था जातिरग्राम्या श्लेषोऽक्लिष्टः स्फुटो रसः । विकटाक्षरबन्धश्च कृत्स्नमेकत्र दुष्करं ॥ १८ ॥
किं कवेस्तस्य काव्येन सर्ववृत्तान्तगामिनी । कथेव भारती यस्य न व्याप्नोति जगत्त्रयम् ॥ १९ ।. Harśacarita १.१ .८

[21] सौराष्ट्री द्राविडी चेति रीतिद्वयमुदाहृतम्। तत्तद्देशीयरचनारीतिस्तद्देशनामभाक् ॥ Bhāvaprakāśana १.१५

In the Mālavikāgnimitra and Meghadūta of Kālidāsa, there are many references of Vidarbha region. V.V. Mirashi in his book 'Kālidāsa' proves the time of Kālidāsa based on historical elements. Mirashi (1969:88) states that "From some copper-plate grants discovered from time to time it appears that there was, in this age, another royal family called Rāṣṭrakūṭa, ruling over Kuntala which comprised southern Maharashtra and the adjoining Kanarese districts. This family ruled from Manapura which has been identified with Man, now a small village in the Satara district of the Maharashtra State. These Rashtrakutas of Manapura occasionally came into conflict with the Vākaṭakas of Vatsagulma, whose kingdom was conterminous with theirs. Mananka, the founder of this dynasty, is described in a copper-plate grant of his grandson as the ruler of the Kuntala country. His son Devarāja was probably the lord of Kuntala to whose court Kālidāsa went as an envoy of his patron Chandragupta II Vikramaditya. It seems that he was not received at first with proper respect, but later by his diplomacy he succeeded in bringing about a political alliance between the Rashtrakutas and the Guptas. This tradition about the embassy of Kālidāsa, is been recorded in several old Sanskrit works, shows clearly that he was patronised by the Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikramaditya, who lived in A. D. 380 to 413."

V.V. Mirashi also says that Kālidāsa seems to have been one of them. Kālidāsa may have visited Rāmagiri in Vidarbha (modern Ramteka, 28 miles from Nāgpur). which was situated near the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana (modern Nagardhan). There he appears to have composed his Meghadūta.

V.V. Mirashi (1969:35) states that "Kālidāsa's works appear to commemorate some event or other of the reign of Chandragupta II. His Mālavikāgnimitra appears to have been first put on the boards on the occasion of the marriage of Chandragupta's daughter, Prabhāvatī Guptā with the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena II; for it recalls a similar matrimonial alliance between the rulers of Akarāvant! (Mālwā) and Vidarbha in bygone times. As shown above, the Meghadūta was probably composed while the poet was staying at the Vākāṭaka court by the order of his patron king Vikramāditya."

According to Mālavikāgnimitra (Act IV, Verse 14), Agnimitra belonged to the Brahmin Baimbika family, the Puranas also mention him as a Śuṅga. The Mālavikāgnimitra, (Act V, Verse 20) tells that Agnimitra was the Goptṛ or viceroy at Vidiśā during his father's rule. According to the play (Act I, Verse 6-8 and Act V, Verse 13–14), a war broke between the Śuṅgas and their neighboring Vidarbha kingdom in the course of Agnimitra's rule. Vidarbha had become independent from the Mauryan Empire before the rise of the Śuṅgas, when a former Mauryan minister brought his brother-in-law Yajñasena on the throne. Mādhavasena, a cousin of Yajñasena, pursued help from Agnimitra in conquering his cousin. He was captured while crossing the border of Vidarbha and was imprisoned. Yajñasena's former minister was captured by Agnimitra. He claimed the release of Mādhavasena, and in return Yajñasena demanded the release of the former Mauryan minister. Agnimitra sent his military to conquer Vidarbha region. Yajñasena was defeated and was forced to divide Vidarbha with Mādhavasena, and cousins recognized the suzerainty of the Śuṅga rulers. Agnimitra succeeded his father in 149 BCE and ruled for 8 years. His reign ended in 141 BCE.

Candragupta II defeated the Kṣatrapas with the help of the Vākāṭaka. He annexed their two provinces - Mālwā and Kāthiawād to his kingdom. He made Ujjayini his capital. He gave his daughter Prabhāvatī Guptā to the Vākāṭaka prince Rudrasena II, in order to convert the military alliance with the Vākāṭaka into a matrimonial connection and to bring the two royal houses closer. Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra appears to have been selected for performance in commemoration of this auspicious occasion. This had a great political significance. In this play king Agnimitra defeats his enemy and wins a lovely mate for himself. This play having been staged before the members of the two royal families, must have brought Kālidāsa to the notice of Chandragupta and gained him his favour. V.V. Mirashi confirms this in his text named 'The history and inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and Western Kṣatrapas'.

This is very important drama that Kālidāsa had build. Its face is of problems and success in Love life of a hero. So this comes under the name of poetics and is not included into history. The importance of the king Chandraguta and Vākāṭaka is also indirectly woven in

the story of Yakṣa named Meghadūta. It is not the co incidence that Yakṣa resides at Udayagiri. Kālidāsa was praised not only for his expression of Vaidarbhi *rīti*. But his style of writing is named against the region which was under the powerful regime of Guptas and Vākāṭakas. Actually the core of the story of Meghadūta does not require this much regional details. But still Kālidāsa has knitted them in a story very wisely.

Kālidāsa portraits political happenings in his poetry very sensibly that glorifies his king. His writing was combination of good poetic expressions and the history of Vidarbha region in his initial writings. The way he portraited the history gave a new meaning to the present of his time. Bhāmaha says the Vidarbha *mārga* termed was used for the poem called Asmakavaṁsá that might have explained the glory of the Asmaka regime. Similar must have happened with Kālidāsa. Initially Kālidāsa was praised as a follower of Vaidarbhī style may be because the Kālidāsa was using the historical events of Vidarbha. Many of the events in his poems are related to the region of Vidarbha and the king of Vidarbha. Using political activities in these areas with brilliant poetic excellences (*guṇ*a) made Kālidāsa founder of Vaidharbhi *Rīti*. Eventually the concept of *rīti* undergone a change. Still Kālidāsa's poetry was called Vaidarbhi *Rīti* as it also suited the new definition laid by Vāmana. Kālidāsa was penning poems full of all the excellences.

It would be important to see one more significant poet, Bhavabhūti in this context.

IV.2.9 Bhavabhūti

Bhavabhūti, the writer was an 8th-century scholar noted for his plays and poetry. His literature is Mahāviracarita depicting the early life of Rāma. Mālatimādhava, a play based on the romance of Mālati and Mādhava. Uttararāmacarita depicts Rāma's coronation, the abandonment of Sītā, and their reunion.

V. V. Mirashi (1996:312-313) in his book titled 'Bhavabhūti' says "The vaidharbhi rīti is appropriate in descriptions suggestive of the *sṛingāra* and *karuṇa* rasa while the Gaudi rīti is suitable for that of the *Vira*, *Raudra* and *Bibhatsa* rasa. These rules are to be observed in

poetry. Bhavbhuti has composed the verses in Mahāviracarita play in the Gaudi Rīti. On the other hand, the *sṛingāra* rasa is prominent in the Malati-Madhava and the Karun Rasa is prominent in the Uttara Rāmacharita. So, the verses in both these plays are appropriately in the Vaidarbhi rīti. As Bhavabhuti had natural inclination of prolix description, he has used the Gaudi rīti in the descriptions of nature and time where the question of sentiment does not arise.

As the Ojo-*guṇa* (vigour) was regarded as the soul of prose in the age of Bhavabhuti, almost all prose speeches in his plays are in long compounds. Such compounds in as srāvya kāvya, a poem, do not cause much difficulty. The reader can interpret them at leisure and relish the sentiments. Their presence in Sanskrit plays, especially in the Prakrit speeches of the various characters, comes in the way of the proper appreciation of the intended rasa. It is surprising that Bhavabhuti has used them not only in the Mahāviracarita where the Vira rasa is the main sentiment but also in the Malati Mādhava, in passages where the *sṛingāra* rasa is to be suggested. See e.g. the speech of Lavangika describing the condition of love-lorn Malati or that of Madayantika describing her imaginary union with her lover in the Malati Madhava. In some places these descriptions full of long compounds appear quiet inappropriate. See e.g. the detailed account, in long and involved compounds, of the confusion caused by a tiger and involved compounds, of the confusion caused by a tiger which escaped from its cage, in the third Act of the Malati Madhava. A similar scene is described in only about a dozen short Prakrit sentences in the Mrichchhakatika."

But in some other cases Bhavabhūti has changed his style to suit the subject. For example, see the following description Uttararāmacarita by Lava. It is of the conflict in his mind when he has to fight with Candraketu

यथेन्दावानन्दं व्रजति समुपोढे कुमुदिनी तथैवास्मिन्दृष्टिर्मम कलहकामः पुनरयम्।

रणत्कारक्रूरक्वणितगुणगुञ्जद्गुरुधनुर्धृतप्रेमा बाहुर्विकचविकरालोल्बणरसः।। Uttara. 5.26

The first half of this verse which describes the joy that Lava feels on meeting Candraketu is in the Vaidarbhī *rīti*, while the second half which refers to his proud arm longing to fight

with him is in the Gauḍī *rīti*, replete with lengthy compounds and words of hard consonants.

In the Mahāviracarita Jāmadagnya describes in the following verse how he, in wrathful indignation at the breaking of his Guru Śiva's bow, is going to use his battle-axe -

प्राग्प्राप्तनिशुम्भशाम्भवधनुर्द्वेधाक्रियाविर्भवक्रोधप्रेरितभीमभार्गवभुजस्तम्भापविद्धः क्षणात्।

सज्वालः परशुर्भवत्वशिथिलस्त्वत्कण्ठपीठीतिथिर्येनानेन जगत्सु खण्डपरशुर्देवो हरः ख्यापते।।
Mahāvira. 2.3

In the first three quarters of this verse, which describes how the battle axe thrown by Jāmadagnya in outrage will strike the neck of his foe, are in the Gauḍi *rīti*. It has hard letters, long compounds and reduplication of consonants. The fourth quarter, which suggests his devotion to Śiva, who blessed him with the gift of a piece of his own battle-axe, is in the Vaidarbhī *rīti*. This part is devoid of compounds and couched in soft letters.

V. V. Mirashi rightly said that no poet has a particular rīti in his every poem. The plot of the poem demands for the particular style. By and large the author Bhavabhūti has been said to be the follower of the Gauḍī rīti. But one can see he uses the styles as the demand of the story. Nany more poets have used it as the demand of the plot or the character. It cannot be a style of any particular author.

IV.3 *Pravṛtti*s

Pravṛtti is another important concept in line with *vṛtti* and *rīti*. It seems that some interpolator put them into the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra, for associating it with all the different parts of India, though the original work was a discussion of the dramatic art. The authors of the Daśarūpa and the Nāṭakalakṣaṇa are completely silent on *pravṛtti*s. This may be because they also cannot identify the applicability of regional significance in the field of Indian art.

Let us see the importance of the concept of *pravṛtti*s in light of NŚ and other later poetic texts. The chapter 13 of NŚ deals with three subjects. Parts of the stage, nāṭyadharmīn-lokadharmīn and *pravṛtti*s or local usages. Why these three subjects are together in a one chapter? Abhinavagupta answers this question in Abhinavabhāratī.

These parts of the stage are put in order on the basis of types of regions and *pravṛtti*s are determined by various regions. When the character of a play enters the stage from the north it is known as *Dākṣiṇātyā*, *Pāñcālī* entrance, others enter from the south. *Pravṛtti*s are equivalent to the types of entrances.

First 36 verses of the chapter '*karayuktidharmīvyañjaka*' describes the parts of the stage. Then it starts the discussion about *pravṛtti*s. ((See Appendix 3.1 for Sanskrit verses)

I will again continue the explanation of the *pravṛtti* or Local Usages which are four and are described as *Āvantī*, *Dākṣiṇātyā*, *Pāñcālī* (*Pāñcāla-madhyamā*) and *Oḍra-Māgadhī*. Why the word again (पुनः) is used here? In the 6th chapter named *rasadhyāya* the first mention of the term *pravṛtti* is seen which is as follows. (NŚ 13.37)

In the verse 24 of chapter 6, it is said that Practice of *dharmīn* or representation in a dramatic performance is twofold. One is *lokadharmīn which is* realistic or popular and another is *nāṭyadharmīn that is* conventional or theatrical. And there are the four Styles - *bhāratī, sāttvatī, kaiśikī* and *ārabhaṭī*.[22]

In the verses 25-26 there is mention of the four *pravṛttis* or local usages in a dramatic performance as Āvanti, Dākṣiṇātyā, Oḍramāgadhī and Pañcālamadhyamā.

Thus, in the chapter 13 it is said पुनश्चैव प्रवक्ष्यामि. It is interesting that the discussion about *pravṛtti*s is in prose and not in verse. This suggests that this prose is an interpolation done in later period. Still, it is vital in understanding the concept, though it has been added to this chapter later. It may be interpreted as this concept became important at the point of time when it was added to the text.

IV.3.1 The definition of *pravṛtti*s

Why is it called *pravṛtti*? The answer is - it gives correctly information regarding costumes, languages, and manners in different countries of the world. This course of action or conduct is known as *pravṛtti*. In this paragraph *vṛtti* means information.

There are several countries in this world. "How there is fourfold division of the *pravṛttis*? A compliance of all these *pravṛttis* has common characteristics." And it is true.

People do have different regions, different costumes, many languages and diverse manners, (depending on the regional variety) here is a fourfold classification of the dramatic performance committed to four different styles. Different regions are close to performances

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[22] Haas translates *vṛttis* as Styles of Procedure (DR. p. 67). The four Styles are translated by him as Eloquent (*bhāratī*), Grandiose (*sāttvatī*), Gay (*kaiśikī*) and Horrific (*ārabhaṭī*).

which relay to the *vṛtti*s - the *bhāratī*, the *sāttvatī*, the *kaiśikī* and the *ārabhatī*. The four local usages develop because of this, and performances are created following them. [23]

Abhinavabhāratī explains this as follow - *Pravṛtti* is variety in dress, language, manners or customs in various regions. It also includes ornamentation, professions, commerce as in agriculture, breeding of cattle etc. livelihood. The word *pravṛtti* informs about the specialties of the regions. The term expresses all the knowledge of the world. It explains the understanding of outer world. [24]

The relation between *pravṛtti*s and *vṛtti*s is been described in coming passage. Thus, *pravṛtti*s indicate all the regional peculiarities and uniqueness in Bhāratavarśa.

Then NŚ further elaborates on four *pravṛtti*s by giving details of the regions it includes and the *vṛtii*s associated with them. The first is Dākṣiṇātyā i.e., Southern *pravṛtti*. (NŚ 13. 38-40) The Southern provinces like few types of dances, song and instrumental composition, which has an abundance of the kaiśiki style, and clever and elegant gestures. The regions adjacent to mountains named the Mahendra, the Malaya, the Sahya, the Mekala and the Kālapañjar. They are known as the Dākṣiṇāpatha (Deccan), Kosala, Tosala, Kaliṅga, Mosala and regions like Dramiḍa, Andhra, Mahārashtra and Vanavāsika which are between the Southern Sea and the Vindhya Mountain, are always to follow to the Dākṣiṇātyā *pravṛtti*.

Āvantī *pravṛtti* is from the regions as Avantī, Vidiśā, Saurāṣṭra, Mālava, Sindhu, Sauvīra, Ānarta, Arbudeyaka, Daśārṇa, Tripura, and Māṛttikāvat. This Local Usage depends on the

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[23] अत्राह प्रवृत्तिरिति कस्मात् ? उच्यते पृथिव्यां नानादेशवेषभाषाचारवार्ताः प्रख्यापयतीति वृत्तिः । प्रवृत्तिश्च निवेदने । अत्राह - यथा पृथिव्यां बहवो देशाः सन्ति , कथमासां चतुर्विधत्वम् उपपन्नं, समानलक्षणश्चासां प्रयोग उच्यते , सत्यमेतत् । समानलक्षण आसां प्रयोगः । किन्तु नानादेशवेषभाषाचारो लोक इति कृत्वा लोकानुमतेन वृत्तिसंश्रितस्य नाट्यस्य वृत्तीनां मया चतुर्विधत्वमभिहितं भारती सात्त्वती कैशिक्यारभटी चेति । वृत्तिसंश्रितैश्च प्रयोगैरभिहिता देशाः । यतः प्रवृत्तिचतुष्टयमभिनिर्वृत्तं प्रयोगश्चोत्पादितः । NŚ 13.37

[24] प्रवृत्तिः देशविशेषगता वेषभाषासमाचारवैचित्र्यप्रसिद्धिः रुच्यते । तत्रैवं योजना देशे देशे येष्वेव वेषादयो नेपथ्यं, भाषा वा, आचारो लोकशास्त्र व्यवहारः, वार्ता कृषिपाशुपाल्यादिजीविका इति तान् प्रख्यापयति पृथिव्यादिसर्वलोकविद्याप्रसिद्धिं करोति । प्रवृत्तिर्बाह्यार्थे यस्मान्निवेदने निःशेषेण वेदने ज्ञाने प्रवृत्तिशब्दः ।

styles namely the sāttvatī and the kaiśikī. These should be used in plays and be adopted by the producers. (NŚ 13.41-43) (See Appendix 3.2 for Sanskrit verses)

The Oḍra-Māgadhī is eastern regions as Aṅga, Vaṅga, kaliṅga, Vatsa, Oḍra, Magadha, Puṇḍra, Nepāla, Antargiri, Bahirgiri, Pravaṁga, Māhendra, Malada, Mallavartaka, Brahmottara (Suhmottara) Bhārgava, Mārgava, Prāgjyotiṣa, Pulinda, Videha, Tāmralipta, and Prāṅga. The Oḍra-Māgadhī *pravṛtti* is applied to the other regions recorded in the Purāṇas as belonging to the East. This Local Usage depends on the *bhāratī* and the *kaiśikī* styles. (NŚ 13.44-47)

Regions such as Pañcāla, Śūrasena, Kāśmīra, Hastināpura, Vālhīka, Śālvakā, Madra and Uśīnara which are connecting either to the Himālayas or to the Northern side of the Ganges, take to the Pāñcāla-madhyamā *pravṛtti*. The sāttvatī and the ārabhatī styles dominate in this *pravṛtti*. The presentation of these two is scarcity of song, extreme movements with the extraordinary speed and steps in dance. (NŚ 13.48-50)

The authors of the Daśarūpa and the Nāṭakalakṣaṇa, who speak of the *vṛtti*s are absolutely silent on *pravṛtti*s which are connected with them. Considering that these works depend a great deal on the NŚ their omission of *pravṛtti*s may be taken as very significant. Geographical names occurring in connexion with the *pravṛtti*s are found in the Mahābhārata and some of the Purāṇas, some of these being almost in the same sequence.[25] M.M. Gosh (1950) has not been able to understand the importance and impact of the geographical data in the NŚ on various aspects of drama. He thinks that this information may throw interesting light on the social life of the Indian people in the remote past. But this information speaks more than that.

After the narrating four *pravṛtti*s, again the conversation about the parts of the stage begins. Thus, it can be inferred that the discussion about four *pravṛtti*s is interpolation in the text. When the parts of a stage became important may be at that time this, interpolation happened. The text is in a prose which is uncommon in the text of NŚ. Original discussion was about the parts of the stage and how to use those parts. There came the words that

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[25] See D.C. Sircar, "Text of the Puranic Lists of Peoples" in IHQ. Vol. XXI., 1945, pp. 297-314

indicate various regions of Indian territory. And the discussion about *pravṛtti*s is connected to the original topic of parts of stage.

Thus, these two topics came one after another as follows-

The *pravṛtti*s will function in two-fold ways for arriving on the stage, first by entering from the right side and another by entering from the left side of the stage. In the Āvantī and the Dākṣinātyā *pravṛtti*s, it would be from the right side of the stage. The door for entering the stage, should be at North. In the Pāñcālī and the Oḍra-Māgadhī *pravṛtti*s it will be from the left side and actors should use Southern door. But in the view of the special assembly, experts should combine place, occasion and expression of meaning with these rules. Experts should produce their plays in various styles which have been prescribed before for the *pravṛtti*s in different countries. Entering the stage from particular direction connects them with *pravṛtti*s. (NŚ 13.51-55)

The concept of *pravṛtti*s is discussed in the chapter 13 and the actual practice of the these *pravṛtti*s are seen in the 23rd chapter of NŚ. The 23rd chapter is 'Āhāryabhinaya'.

IV.3.2 Āhāryabhinaya

In this chapter all the accessories such as costumes, body colour, ornaments, hairstyles, stage property are explained with many details. Almost all of them have some regional element. The description of this ornamentation is for dramatic performance, but it reflects the regional taste and customs of the people of that particular region. Here I list them out.

IV.3.3 Costumes

In costumes they include dresses, ornaments and hairstyles. (NŚ 23.66-72) (See Appendix 3.3 for Sanskrit verses)

Females should have dresses and ornaments according to their places of origin. The young women of Āvantī have curling locks, and the Gauḍa women generally to have hairs curled, and styled them as the Śikhāpāśa and the Veṇī. The Ābhīra females have two Veṇīs, with their heads usually have an encircling band. Their clothes should typically be blue in color. The women of the North-East regions are known for holdup Śikhaṇḍas, and in their region in dressing they all cover the body up to their hair. The females from the South regions have Ullekhya with Kumbhībandhaka, and Āvarta on their forehead.

Thus, hair-style, dresses, ornaments, and application of head shaving, hair-cutting etc. should be structured for the remaining characters according to their habitation and birth. This description shows that there is a direct association of regional peculiarities with *pravṛttis*.

IV3.4 Colors

In the same chapter there is more discussion about body-colours for human beings from different regions. It is as follows- (NŚ 23.101-107) (See Appendix 3.4 for Sanskrit verses)

In the persons of Jambudvīpa, live men of various colours. Everybody other than who reside in the North Kuru region should be in the gold colour. In Bhadrāśa people should have the śweta ie. white colour, and in Ketumāla nīka, they are blue. But in the rest of the subcontinents people should be made gaura i.e., reddish yellow.

The diverse colours of the people of Bhāratavarṣa are as follow- the kings should be having Padmā i.e., lotus colour, or śyāma i.e., dark blue or gaura i.e., reddish yellow. The happy mortals are to be made of the gaura i.e., reddish yellow colour.

The people who practice wicked acts, are possessed of evil spirits, diseased or those who are engaged in penance and in laborious work, and are of inferior birth, should be made *asita* i.e., not fair. The black color is many a times associated with evil and bad. Sanskrit verses always express the knowledge as white and lustrous. Void of knowledge is described as black and hollow. Dandi defines the Goddesses of knowledge Sarasvatī as gaura. And

then Vijjakā refutes him saying he was wrong because he has not seen me who is śyāma in color.

And the sages should be given the colour of badara fruit. The colour of sages observing tapas should not be white.

Because of some necessity and also according to author's pleasure, colour of persons may be varied according to their regions, birth and age. An expert should paint persons after knowing their place of action, and time of action, birth and the region of the earth they dwell in.

IV.3.4.1 Colours of different tribes

NŚ describes body colors of Dākśinātyās, Northern tribes and aslo North-west tribes. It then elaborates Kirātas, Barbaras, Andhras, Dramilas, Kāśis, Kosalas, Pulindas and the residents of the South are usually *asita* i.e., not white. Śakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas (Pahravas) and Vāhlikas (Bāhlikas) who belong to in the North, should be painted *gaura* i.e reddish yellow. Pāñcālas, Śūrasenas, Oḍras, Māgadhas, Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas should be painted *śyāma* i.e., dark or deep blue in complexion. (NŚ 23.111-12)

IV.3.4.2 Drāviḍians

These verses from NŚ give a valuable information about some ethnological features of early India. The similar information can be seen in the text of Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇa. It states that the information in NŚ is close to real society at its time. The Drāviḍians (Āndhras and Dramilas) were not fair in complexion agreeing to NŚ. In Mahābhārata, according to Bhīṣma, Āndhrakas, were sinful and they led the life of dogs, crows, ravens and vultures; they did not exist in the Kṛta age, but were to be met with from the Tretā age onwards (talavarāndhrakāḥ… ete pāpakṛtas tāta caranti pṛthivīm imām śvakākabalagṛdhrāṇāṁ sadharmāṇo narādhipa//naite kṛtayuge tāta caranti pṛthivīm

imām/tretāprabhṛti vartante te janā…) Mbh.12. 200. 39, 41-42; they lived like Dasyus and were attached to objects of senses (viṣayavāsinaḥ/…dasyujīvinaḥ) Mbh.12. 65. 15; When the horse of the Aśvamedha went to Āndhra and other countries, Arjuna who accompanied him was honoured by peoples of those countries (kāśīn andhrān kosalāṁś ca…tatra pūjāṁ yathānyāyaṁ pratigṛhya sa pāṇḍavaḥ) Mbh.14. 84. 4-5; but when he went again to the south, he fought with Āndhra and other peoples (tatrāpi draviḍair andhrai…yuddham āsīt kirīṭinaḥ) Mbh.14. 84. 11. Sahadeva also was honoured by Andhras during his expedition to the south. It is unknown whether the term Tamiḻa and it's the equivalents to Dramilas were Damela, Dameda, Dhamila, and Damila in Prakrit. It was a self-designation or a term denoted by outsiders. Dramilas is known in Pali (Mahāvaṁsa) as a modern Tamil. Andhras is a tribe well-known in history and literature. Indrapala, K. (2007:155–56) "Epigraphic evidence of an ethnicity termed as such is found in ancient Sri Lanka, where a number of inscriptions have come to light dating from the 2nd century BCE mentioning Damela or Dameda persons."

IV.3.4.3 Dākśinātyās

Dākśinātyās may be the members of Kol and other tribes living in the South as described in the text of Mahābhārata. It was a designation for the people or warriors of the south. They were described as brave (śūra) Mbh. 5. 30. 24; excellent warriors (pravīra) Mbh. 8. 17. 2; cruel and rough in battles (krūra, saṁgrāmakarkaśa) Mbh. 8. 15. 10; fighting with swords and shields (asicarmin) Mbh. 12. 102. 5; also, expert in fighting with all kinds of weapons and missiles (sarvaśastrāstrakuśala) Mbh. 6. 16. 17; and fought from chariots and riding elephants (dākṣiṇātyā…rathāḥ Mbh. 5. 196. 6; gajayodhin Mbh. 8. 17. 2).

IV.3.4.4 Northern tribes

The separate mention of the Southerners after Andhras and Dramilas (Draviḍas) taken along with some Northern tribes like the Kāśis and Kosalas, seems to show that the NŚ,

records the tradition of their once living in the North. Kāśi was the tribe after which the ancient kingdom of Kāśi and the city of that name were known. Kāśi was the ancient and popular holy centre in India. Devotees from all parts of India go on pilgrimage to Kāśī to bathe in the sacred waters of the river Gaṅgā. It is for spiritual satisfaction and people believed in release from worldly attachments. The reason for the above is stated in the Agni Purāṇa Chapter 112. It lost its separate entity before the time of Buddha. Kosala was well-known as eastern and southern Kosalas; the eastern Kośalas formed part of the Kuntī country (pūrvāḥ kuntiṣu kośalāḥ Mbh. 2. 13. 26); and also in the east, beyond the river Sarayū. There is Mithilā and the rivers Mālā and Carmaṇvatī beyond Kosala. (Mbh. 2. 18. 28) Kirātas was a hill tribe, they were possibly living in the Himalayan region (Mbh. XII. 207, 43). Barbaras was non-Āryan tribe mentioned not very often in Sanskrit literature (Mbh. XII. 207, 43). This may be a synonym of Mleccha at that time. Pulinda were original people existing perhaps in the Vindhya region. Śaka were roaming tribes on the peripheries of North Indian plains; mentioned in Manusmṛti X. 44. Śaka was a name of a Janapada and its folks. It was listed by Sañjaya among the northern Janapadas. It is also called Deśas of Bhāratavarṣa (Mbh. 6. 10. 68) Yavana was mentioned by Sañjaya among the northern Mleccha tribes of Bhāratavarṣa (uttarāś cāpare mlecchā janā…/yavanāś ca sakāmbojā…mlecchajātayaḥ Mbh. 6. 10. 64, 5). They lived in different parts of India. यवन-देश is sometimes applied to Ionia, Greece, Bactria, and more recently to Arabia. Pahrava or Pahlava mean Parthians who annexed the Western Punjab in about 140 B.C. Vāhlika or Bāhlika were the inhabitants of the region known as Balkh settled on the river of Beās and other rivers. (Rām. II. 68. 18-19 and also Mbh. VIII. 7. 41).

IV.3.4.5 North-west tribes

The tribes mentioned from the North-West as उत्तरा ये श्रिता दिशम्. Pañcāla tribe is well-known in Mbh. It is listed by Sañjaya twice among the northern Janapadas (called Deśas Mbh. 6. 10. 68) (ata ūrdhvaṁ janapadān nibodha Mbh.6. 10. 37), Also listed by Arjuna among the Janapadas nearby the Kuru country (santi ramyā janapadā…paritaḥ

kurūn/pāñcālāś cedimatsyāś ca Mbh. 4. 1. 9). Śūrasena was the tribe which once settled around the Mathurā. This region gave its name to the principal Prākrit of the Indian drama (Śaurasenī). Odra was the name of a tribe after which the modern Orissa (Oḍrivisaya) was named. (Manu. 10; 44.) Māgadha was the tribe after which the ancient country of Magadha was named. It was the name of a mixed tribe, said to have been the offspring of a Vaiśya father and a Kṣatriya mother, क्षत्रिया मागधं वैश्यात् Y.1.94; Mb.13.49.1. The duty of the members of this caste was that of professional bards Ms.1.11,17. सूतमागधबन्दिनः Bhāg.1.11.2. Vaṅga was the tribe after which the ancient Vaṅga (South-East Bengal) was named. Aṅga was the tribe after which the ancient country of Aṅga was named. It was the name of a country and its folks; often mentioned along with Vaṅga and Kaliṅga. It was listed by Sañjaya among the Janapadas (aṅgā vaṅgāḥ kaliṅgāś ca) Mbh. 6. 10. 44, 5, 37; mentioned among the eastern countries, holy places which were visited by Arjuna (prācīm diśam abhiprepsur jagāma) Mbh. 1. 207. 5; (aṅgavaṅgakaliṅgeṣu yāni puṇyāni kānicit/jagāma tāni sarvāṇi) Mbh. 1. 207. 9. The army protected by the king of the Aṅga said to be of the easterners (tad aṅgapatinā guptaṁ…prācyānām abhavad balam) Mbh. 6. 17. 28.

IV.3.4.6 Colours of different castes

Brāhmins and Kṣatriyās be painted *gaura* i.e reddish yellow and Vaiśyas and Śūdras be painted *śyāma* i.e., dark or deep blue. The colour which is assigned to Brāhmins and Kṣatriyas possibly indicate that the theatrical appearance of these two sections of the society still retained their original Aryan features with their skin colour. The dark colour for the Vaiśyas and Sūdras similarly probably show that these were not Aryans. (NŚ 23.113-14)

In the same chapter there are multiple references of various elements of āharya abhinaya which have base of regional as well social structure in the society. They are mainly in the

ornaments[26], cloths[27], hair styles[28], beard[29], body colors[30], and masks[31]. All of these are related to regional peculiarities.

IV.3.5 Bhāṣā

Under the discussion of *Pravṛttis* there is lot of discussion on bhāṣā in the chapter 13 of NŚ. *Pravṛttis* give correctly information regarding costumes, manners and also languages from different countries of the world. NŚ elaborates on languages very well.

The chapter 15-18 of NŚ gives a good idea of language structure and opinions regarding various languages at the time of NŚ. In dealing with languages, it has talk over alphabets, syllables, composition of words, syntax, musical *swara*s, meters and also the grammar. In the chapter 15 it speaks about Sanskrit and in another about *deś-bhāṣās* (NŚ 18.24) (See Appendix 3.5 for Sanskrit verses) i.e., regional languages. Language is one of the foremost regional facets of Indian society. Multilingualism gives unique identity to this country. But it is not unusual. Woolner tells us that even in western dramatic tradition different dialects are found to be used and he quotes Grierson. (Woolner 1986;22) Grierson says "In India there is nothing extraordinary in such a polyglot medley. It is paralleled by the conditions of any large house in Bengal at the present day, in which there are people from every part of India each of whom speaks his own language and is understood by others,

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[26] भूषणानां विकल्पं हि पुरुषस्त्रीसमाश्रयम् । नाविधं प्रवक्ष्यामि देशजातिसमुद्भवम् ॥१५॥, मानुषाणां तु कर्तव्यो नानादेशसमाश्रयः । भूषणैश्चापि वेषैश्च नानावस्थासमाश्रयैः ॥ NŚ २३.५३॥

[27] अवस्थान्तमासाद्य शुद्धाः कार्याः पुनस्तथा । मानुषीणां तु कर्तव्या नानादेशसमुद्भवाः ॥ NŚ २३.६६॥ वेषाभरणसंयोगान् गदतस्तान्निबोधत । नात्याभरणसंयुक्तो न चापि मृजयान्वितः । एवं स्त्रीणां भवेद्वेषो देशावस्थासमुद्भवः ॥ NŚ २३.७६॥

[28] देशजातिविधानेन शेषाणामपि कारयेत् । वेषं तथा चाभरणं क्षुरकर्म परिच्छदम् ॥ NŚ २३.७२॥

[29] श्मश्रुकर्म प्रयुञ्जीत देशकालवयोऽनुगम् ॥ NŚ २३.११४॥

[30] वेषभाषाश्रयोपेता नाट्यधर्ममवेक्ष्य तु । वर्णानां तु विधिं ज्ञात्वा वयः प्रकृतिमेव च ॥ NŚ २३.९५॥ कुर्यादङ्गस्य रचनां देशजातिवयःश्रिताम् । देवा गौरास्तु विज्ञेया यक्षाश्चाप्सरस्तथा ॥ NŚ २३.९६॥ कारणव्यपदेशेन तथा चात्मेच्छया पुनः । वर्णस्तत्र प्रकर्तव्यो देशजतिवशानुगः ॥ NŚ २३.१०८॥

[31] तथा प्रतिशिरश्चापि कर्तव्यं नाटकाश्रयम् । दिव्यानां मानुषाणां च देशजातिवयःश्रितम् ॥ NŚ २३.१३९॥

though none of them attempts to speak what is not his mother tongue.". This uniqueness is reflected in this discussion about languages under the topic of Vāchika abhinaya.

NŚ is one of the earlier texts giving rules of Prakrit grammar. (NŚ 18.6-23) It talks about the way vowels may be substituted for another; the ending vowel of words that have declensional terminations may be shortened or lengthened. Also, the modification in consonant clusters is discussed. It also gives information about many languages and its usages.

IV.3.5.1 Use of languages (bhāṣā)

The chapter 18 provides rules on the use of languages (bhāṣā) for drama from verse 24 onwards. They are as follows – The languages to be used for drama are of four types. Recitation should be either of the *saṁskṛta* (refined) or of the Prakrit (unrefined) type. Those four types are *atibhāṣā, ārya-bhāṣā, jāti-bhāṣā and yonyantarī bhāṣā.* (NŚ18.26)

The *atibhāṣā* and *āryabhāṣā* are possibly the dialects of the pure Indo-Aryan speech. It is noticeable that *saṁskṛta* (Sanskrit) as the name of a language is absent here. Bhoja in his text Śṛṅgāraprakāśa takes *atibhāṣa* as *śrauta* (Vedic), *āryabhāṣa* as *ārṣa* (Purāṇic) and *jātibhāṣa* as *laukika* (literary) language. (Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa). But no drama has used Vedic Sanskrit and thus is it unclear what type of language it was.

It gives a description about which character in a play should use which language. This depiction reflects the hierarchy of languages in a society at that time. A*tibhāṣā and ārya-bhāṣā* are two refined languages and were used over the seven great parts means *dvīpa* of the world. (Here World means a state or a region) *Atibhāṣā* is for the Gods and *ārya-bhāṣā* is for the kings. (NŚ 18.28) The language of Gods and Kings were considered to be different than of a common people. Sanskrit has a high status as to be used only by people of high status in a society. This indicates that Sanskrit was in use all over the world. (Not the world as we it means today.) We do not come across *atibhāṣā* in any of the dramas. It

is difficult to say whether it was any special language for Gods or it was a language used in dramas at that time.

Jāti or *laukika bhāṣā* on stage, has many forms which contains many mleccha words that is words of Barbarian origin and it is spoken only in the *Bhāratavarṣa*. The speech of common people is here distinguished from that of the priests and the noble people by relating it as containing words of Barbarian origin. (NŚ 18.28) *Yonyantarī or jātyantarībhāṣā* is a language of animals and birds. *(NŚ18.29)* This is to be used as *nāṭyadharmī* that is as conventional practice. Any drama does not give us example of this conventional language of lower animals used on the stage. It is not clear, if there was any special kind of language used for animals on stage or it is a hypothetical type.

The Recitation in the *jātibhāṣā* is of two types, *Prakrit* and Sankrit and this recitation relates to the four castes. (NŚ18.30) This approach is different than grammarians and Vedic systems. NŚ not only accepts Sanskrit but also accepts Prakrit as a *bhāṣā.* Probably Prakrit was used for normal conversation in the society on large scale. NŚ gives equal position to Prakrit with Sanskrit language by using the term bhāṣā for the both.

NŚ considers society as a whole in terms of artistic performances. It is rightly called a Pañcama Veda in the first chapter. There was no barrier of caste to this knowledge. It belongs to all the people of the society as it is वेदं पञ्चमं सार्ववर्णिकम्।। NŚ १.१२।।

In normal conditions noble person like a hero of a play, should speak in Sanskrit but there are some exceptions. It is interesting to see the conditions in which even hero should speak Prākrita. The social condition and the situation in which hero is going through, is more applicable. A superior person, who is intoxicated with the kingship or wealth or overwhelmed with poverty no Sanskrit should be used. (NŚ 18.33) The most famous example is the fourth act of Kālidasa's *Vikramorvaśīya*, where Purūravas's shift from Sanskrit to Apabhraṁśa which is used to demonstrate his madness at having lost Urvaśī. The Prakrit recitation should be assigned to persons who are in disguise, jain

monks, ascetics, religious mendicants and jugglers. (NŚ 18.34) An example of persons in disguise is Indra in the appearance of a Brāhmaṇa in a play named Karṇabhāraṁ, by Bhāsa. He speaks in Prākrita being a Brāhmaṇa character. Virādhagupta (Mudrā. II.) assuming the appearance of a snake-charmer, is an example of using Prākrita in a similar situation. So are Yaugandharāyaṇa and Rumaṇvān in the Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa, (III) by Bhāsa. Prakrita should be assigned to the children, persons possessed of spirits of lower order, women in feminine character, persons of low birth, lunatics and phallus-worshippers. (NŚ 18.35) There are some exceptions to the rule of Prākrita recitation. Parivājaka, munī etc. Śrotriyas and others who wear costumes appropriate to their position (*liṅgastha*) should be assigned Sanskrit Recitation. (NŚ18.36)

Who are entitled to Sanskrit speech, it says -
Sanskrit Recitation is to be assigned to kings, courtezans, female artistes to suit special times and situations. (NŚ 18. 37) For the pleasure of all kinds of people, and in connexion with the practice of arts, the courtezans are to be assigned Sanskrit Recitation. (NŚ 18.40)

Queens, courtesans, female artistes to suit special times and situations, they may speak Sanskrit. An example of courtesan speaking Sanskrit is Vasantasenā (Mṛcchakatika. IV.). The *parivrājikā* in the Mālavikāgnimitra, speaks Sanskrit. Normally queens speak Prākrita but Mālatī switches from Śaurasenī to Sanskrit in the second act of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*.

The rule is about Sanskrit speech for matters relating to the peace and war which may occur in course of a talk and the movements of planets and stars and cries of birds concerning the well-being or distress of the king are to be known by the queen, she is to be assigned Sanskrit recitation in that time. (NŚ 18.38-39) This rule is not very clear. This might be related to the astrology and astrologer. As king is in distress queen has to conduct the conversation with an astrologer and therefore, she has to speak in Sanskrit.

For the practice of arts and for amusing the king the female entertainer has been prescribed to use Sanskrit recitation in dramatic works. (NŚ 18.41) Probably there is no example of this practice.

The pure speech in Sanskrit is for Apsarasas which has been sanctioned by the tradition, since they have association with the gods. (NŚ 18.42) No play is available of apsarā speaking in Sanskrit but may be at the time of the NŚ there was play in which apsarā was reciting in Sanskrit.

IV.3.5.2 *Prakrit* Recitation

One may assign Prakrit recitation to apsarās on the earth. Prakrit recitation should be assigned as an occasion for the apsarasas in the role of the wife of a human. Urvaśī in the Vikramorvaśiya is an example of an Apsarasas becoming the wife of a mortal. (NŚ 18.43)

IV.3.5.3 Use of Native Language

The rule says, in a drama, native language should not be assigned to tribal people such as, Barbaras, Kirātas, Andhras and Dramiḍas. To these pure tribes, should be assigned dialects current in Śūrasena. The plays may use local dialects which are written in different regions may be for local production. (NŚ 18.44-46) The word bhāṣā is associated here with the word deśa. The regional influence on languages in India has a long history. The regional multi-linguistic development has been recognized here by using these two words together.

In these above verses there are names of various places and people living in those areas.

Barbara is a name of a Janapada and its people. It was listed by Sañjaya among the northern Janapadas (also called Deśas) of Bhāratavarṣa in Mahābhārata. Kirāta a mountaineer, is a name of a degraded mountain tribe who lived by hunting. Andhras were native of Telengana. Listed by Sañjaya among the (northern) Janapadas of the Bhāratavarṣa.

Dramiḍas were listed by Sañjaya among the southern Janapadas (also called Deśas Mbh. 6. 10. 68). These four have low social status and thus their language is not much spoken nor much accepted. No play is available with these characters. The Kirātārjuniya is a famous Sanskrit poem having a character of Kirāta. As it is a Sanskrit mahākāvya, there is no scope of using languages other than Sanskrit. These all people are of low status in the society. Their languages also possess low status, still NŚ did not avoid to speak about them, do not ignore them. It is an example of accommodating various regional aspects with a healthy view. This view gives a picture of linguistic characteristic of then India.

These native languages are connected with some professions. Traditionally the professions were associated with families or castes. This category was may be indicating the dialects of some castes which were engaged in specific professions.

Though no drama in Sanskrit has any example of characters using these languages, one cannot overlook the information provided by the text as a social actuality.

IV.3.5.4 Seven major dialects

Major seven dialects (*bhāṣā*) of India at the time of NŚ are listed here. They were Māgadhī, Āvantī, Prācyā, Śaurasenī, Ardhamāgadhī, Bāhlīkā, and Dākṣiṇātyā. (NŚ 18.47) Māgadhī, Śaurasenī and Ardhamāgādhī are well-known languages. Unfortunately, any old and authentic description of Āvantī, Prācyā, Bāhlīkā and Dākṣiṇātyā Prākrita is non-existent. Mṛcchkatika contains the specimens of Āvantī and Prācyā only. This list does not include Mahārāṣṭrī as a major dialect that means it was not a foremost dialect at the time of NŚ. At later stage it became a significant dialect for drama as the kings from south strongly came in the scene of Indian politics.

Māgadhī was assigned to guards of the royal harem, and Ardhamāgadhī to menials, princes and leaders of bankers' associations. (NŚ 18.49) No surviving drama seems to demonstrate this rule. For example, Candanadāsa who is a *śreṣṭhī*, does not speak Ardhamāgadhī in Mudrārākśsa.

Prācyā is the language of the clown and the like. Āvantī is the language of gentlemanly offenders (*dhūrta*). The Heroines, and their female friends are also to speak Śaurasenī without any exception. (NŚ 18.50) The Viduśka in Mrichakatika speaks in Prācyā language. Vīraka speaks in Āvantī, though he was a Southerner and a man of Karṇāta. No old and authentic description of this dialect is available to us.

Dākṣiṇātyā should be assigned to the soldiers, gamesters, police chief of the city and the like. Bāhlikī is the native speech of the Khasas who belong to the north. (NŚ 18.51) This again emphasizes that the political entity of south India was not very impelling at this time. Chandanaka in Mrichakatika speaks Dākṣinātyā language. No old and authentic description of this dialect is available.

The dramatic theory in this text recommends the use of those dialects for the persons representing characters belonging to the respective regions.

IV.3.5.5 Rules for uses of minor dialects

Śākārī should be assigned to the character Śakāra and the Śakas and other groups of the same nature. Cāṇḍālī should be assigned to the Pulkasas and the like. Śakāra in Mrichakatika speaks Śākārī dialect and Caṇḍālas speak Cāṇḍalī dialect. There is no other example of using of these languages in a drama. (NŚ 18.52)

Śābari should be assigned to the charcoal-makers, hunters and those who earn their livelihood by wood and as well as the speech of forest-dwellers. (NŚ 18.53) There is no example of using this language in a drama.

Ābhīrī or Śābarī has been prescribed for those who live in places where animals like elephants, horses, goats, sheep, camels or cows are kept, and for forest-dwellers and the like, Drāviḍī is to be prescribed. (NŚ 18.54) This indicates that the south of India was considered to be the place of jungle and animals. Ābhīrī dialect is not available in any extant drama. Oḍri is to be assigned to diggers of subterranean passages, prison-warders,

grooms for horses; and Heroes and others like them while in difficulty are also to use Māgadhī for self-protection. (NŚ 18.55)

IV.3.5.6 Relation of drama and Languages

This discussion shows that sex, prestige, learning and social status of the character determines the dialects for the stage. The language used by the various elements of this vast social hierarchy gives us an idea of their social identity in general conducts. Though NŚ recommends use of several dialects and subdialects in Sanskrit drama, practice was limited to just few of them. And sometimes the dialects which were not recommended by NŚ were added.

Prakrit occupies most of the dialogues in Sanskrit drama. In Abhijñānaśākuntalam 31 out of 48 characters speak Prakrit. The ratio of the Prakrit in different Sanskrit dramas with the usage of Sanskrit is presented by scholars K.R. Chandra and Dr. Dave[32]. They show that almost 50% of the text of Sanskrit dramas appears in different Prakrit languages. Śaurasenī is the most prominent dialect among the Prakrit languages in dramas. It is a vernacular spoken around the region of Mathura called Sūrasena. According to some scholars the form of classical drama was developed in Śūrasena country and therefore it appears as a normal prose of Sanskrit drama.[33]

Māgadhī was the dialect spoken around the region of Magadha Empire in the East. Dramatic theory assigns it to characters belonging to lower class such as servants, fishermen, policemen, barbers and Jain monks. This probably suggests the loss of Magadha Empire which is reflected into the status of the dialect. This information in NŚ points out

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[32] For details - CHANDRA K.R., "Importance of the Study of Prākṛit in view of its Occurrence in Sanskrit Dramas," Proceedings of the seminar on Prākṛit Studies, October 27-30, 1971. Ed.
G.C. Jhala, T.G. Mainkar; University of Bombay, 1971, pp. 54-58.
T.N. DAVE, "Rule of Prākṛit Dialects in Sanskrit Drama", Proceedings of the seminar on Prākṛit Studies, 1973, Ed K.R. Chandra, L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, 1978, pp. 101-108.

[33] A. KEITH Berriedale, The Sanskrit Drama in its Origin, Development Theory and Practice, first Indian Edition, Motilal Banarasi Das, 1992.

the connection of languages with regions which gives an identity to the people. It also suggests the influence of political changes on the dialects.

The NŚ gives vast information about the various languages and their usage. Let us see what other texts on poetics say about languages at their time.

IV.3.5.7 Sāhityadarpaṇa on use of languages

In Sāhityadarpaṇa (Viśvanātha ,14th century) in the 6th chapter, describes how languages were used in drama. Most of the rules are taken from the NŚ. But they are not exactly similar. Let us consider the differences - The songs for the women should be in Mahārāṣṭrī. (SD 6.159) (See Appendix 3.5.1 for Sanskrit verses) This feature is followed in many Sanskrit dramas. This is a major change in the usage of languages in the drama. We will come to this topic later.

The NŚ assigns Śakārī language to the śaka and śakāra while *Sāhityadarpaṇa* assigns Śābarī to them. The NŚ does not mentions Drāvidī language at all. *Sāhityadarpaṇa* clearly mentions it. Till the time of *Sāhityadarpaṇa* Drāvidī language was established in south of India and was recognized by rhetorician. Mahārāṣṭrī was one of them and was used in many dramas for songs. (SD 6.162)

For charcoal workers the NŚ assigns *Śakārī* language but Sāhityadarpaṇa assigns Ābhīrī. In Sāhityadarpaṇa *cheta* is not considered having a lower status and so his language should be *Śaurasenī*. (SD 6.164) *Śaurasenī* as a language was also promoted by *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. This verse is also different from that of the NŚ. Sāhityadarpaṇa is ready to assign Sanskrit in some cases or sometimes for children, phallus, intoxicated and lunatics. (SD 6.165)
It is interesting that till 14th century at least in some of the situations, children, intoxicated, phallus and similar persons can speak in Sanskrit. This indicates Sanskrit was no more the language only for upper classes or religious purposes.

Wherever the learnedness is to be shown as a demand of a plot, women, her lady friends or servants, children, courtesans, jugglers and apsaras can speak Sanskrit. Sanskrit is again associated with learnedness. (SD 6.169)

There were some changes in the use of languages and the status connected with the languages in 14th century compared to the NŚ. This indicates the continuous change in the linguistic scenario of the country. Change is the key feature of languages in India from a long history.

IV.3.5.8 Features of various local dialects in the *NŚ*

A dialect abounding in *e* should be applied to the regions that lie between the Gaṅges and the sea. A language abounding in *na* (or *ta*) should be assigned to the regions that lie amongst the Vindhyas and the sea. Regions like Surāṣṭra and Avanti at the north of the Vetravatī should be assigned a language abounding *ca*. a language abounding in *u* should be assigned to the people who live in the Himalayas, Sindhu and Sauvīra regions. A language abounding in *o* (or *ta*) should be assigned to those who live on the bank of the Carmaṇvatī river and nearby the Arbuda mountain. (NŚ 18.56-60) (See Appendix 3.5.2 for Sanskrit verses)

The dramas may not be showing all the linguistic features given by the rhodian in their texts. Still, they are vital as they point towards the philological peculiarities of the society at that time. These are vital observations about the dialects at the time of the NŚ. These also indicate towards why languages are called deśī or how regional elements influenced the regional languages. These verses indicate the linguistic deviations and tendencies in the society. It is significant that a text of the NŚ was responsive to these small linguistic tendencies. This awareness is a part of concept of *pravṛtti*.

IV.3.5.9 Kāvyamīmāṁsā on languages

Awareness about the regional or local linguistic tendencies is seen in the text named Kāvyamīmāṁsā by *Rājaśekhara.* He states in chapter 10 that 'Sometimes some kings give regulations regarding linguistic use or composing *kāvya* (poetry).' This points toward the role of kings or political influence on the variations in regional languages.

The king *Śiśunāga* prohibited the use of eight litters (*i.e. 'ta', 'tha', 'da', 'dha', 'śa', 'ṣa', 'ha'* and *'kṣa'*) in his country, *Magadha.*[34] *Śiśunāga* was the founder of the Śiśunaga dynasty of the Magadha Empire in the present day northern India. He ruled from 413 BCE to 395 BCE.[35]

The king *Kuvinda* rejected hard-sounding and other conjoined letters in his palace *Śūrasena.*[36]

The Kuninda Kingdom was an ancient central Himalayan kingdom. It was documented around the 2nd century BCE to the 3rd century. It was located in the southern areas of modern Himachal Pradesh and western areas of Uttarākhanda in northern India and Doti Gadwall in Nepal.

The king *Sātavāhana* encouraged the peoples to speak *Prakrit* language in his palace. *Sātavāhana* were an ancient dynasty from the Deccan region.[37] The *Sātavāhana* rule

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[34] स्वभवने हि भाषानियमं यथा प्रभुर्विदधाति तथा भवति। श्रूयते हि मगधेषु शिशुनागो नाम राजा तेन दुरुच्चारानष्टौ वर्णानपास्य स्वान्तःपुर एव प्रवर्त्तो नियमः, टकारादयश्चत्वारो मूर्धन्यास्तृतीयवर्जमूष्माणस्त्रयः क्षकारश्चेति। kāvyamīmāṁsā 7

[35] For more details, see - Raychaudhuri, H.C. (1972), *Political History of Ancient India*, Calcutta: University of Calcutta. Page 201

[36] श्रूयते हि सूरसेनेषु कुविन्दो नाम राजा तेन परुषसंयोगाक्षरवर्जमन्तःपुर एवेति समानं पूर्वेण।

[37] श्रूयते हि कुन्तलेषु सातवाहनो नाम राजा तेन प्राकृतभाषात्मकमन्तःपुर एवेति समानं पूर्वेण। kāvyamīmāṁsā 7

began in the late second century BCE and lasted until the early third century CE, although some assign the beginning of their rule to as early as the 3rd century BCE based on the Purāṇas, but unsupported by archaeological evidence.[38] The *Sātavāhana* kingdom mainly included the modern Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and Maharashtra.

The king *Sahaśāṅka* (Chandragupta-*II*) introduced Sanskrit language into his home and places.[39] The Raṣṭrakuṭa king Govinda IV use the epithet "Sāhasaṅka" for Chandragupta II. The name Sāhasaṅka has also been applied to the legendary Vikramāditya.

IV.3.5.8.1 Linguistic liking of poets

Then he gives list of linguistic liking of poets from some regions of India.
People from Gauḍa region prefer Sanskrit language. People from Lāṭa region prefer Apabrmśa language. People from Maruland which is Rajputānā and Punjab (ṭakka) region prefer Apabrmśa language. They make more use of letters ta, ka and bha. The poets from Āvanti, Pāriyātra and Daśapura write in Bhūta bhāśā. Poets from Maddyadeśa are expert in all languages. [40]

IV.3.5.8.2 Rājaśekhara and Prakrit Language

Rājaśekhara was knowledgeable in several languages. He wrote in Sanskrit as well as in Prākrit and he was very proud of that. He calls himself Kavirāj as he was not well-versed

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[38] For details see - Sinopoli, Carla M. (2001). "On the Edge of Empire: Form and Substance in the Satavahana Dynasty"

[39] श्रूयते हि चोज्जयिन्यां साहसाङ्को नाम राजा तेन च संस्कृतभाषात्मकमन्तःपुर एवेति समानं पूर्वेण।

[40] देशविशेषवशेन च भाषाश्रयणं दृश्यते । तदुक्तम्- "गौडाद्याः संस्कृतस्थाः परिचितरुचयः प्राकृते लाटदेश्याः सापभ्रंशप्रयोगाः सकलमरुभुवष्टक्कभादानकाश्च । आवन्त्याः पारियात्राः सह दशपुरजैर्भूतभाषां भजन्ते यो मध्येमध्यदेशं निवसति स कविः सर्वभाषानिषण्णः ।। kāvyamīmāṁsā 7

only in Sanskrit but was very proficient in many languages. He says that all the languages were equal to him. स्वतंत्रस्य पुनरेक भाषावत्सर्वापि भाषाः स्युः। *(Kāvyamīmāṁsā Ch-10)*

In Karpūramañjarī he seems to illustrate on multilingualism which is another linguistic identity of India. He says a good poet should pay attention to all the languages, based on his ability, taste and curiosity. संस्कृतवत्सर्वास्वपि भाषासु यथासार्थम्यं यथारूचि यथाकौतुकं चावहितः स्यात्। *(Kāvyamīmāṁsā Ch-9)* And, एकोर्थः संस्कृतोत्तया ससुकविरचनः प्राकृतेनापरोऽस्मिन्नन्योऽपभ्रंषगीर्भिः किमपरमपरो भूतभाषाक्रमेण। द्वित्राभिः कोऽपि वाग्भिर्भवति चतस्रभिः किञ्च कश्चिद्वैवेत्कुं वस्येतं धीः प्रगल्भा स्नपयति सुकवेस्तस्य कीर्तिर्जगन्ति।। *(Kāvyamīmāṁsā Ch-9)*

An intellect poet when ready in various languages than he acquires fame all throughout the world. गिरः स्रव्या दिव्याः प्रकृतिमधुरा प्राकृतधुराः। सुभव्योऽपभ्रंश सरसरचनं भूतवचनम्।। *Bālarāmāyaṇa I/11*

In the *Bālarāmāyaṇa, Rājaśekhara* described that the Prakrit language is elegant and it possesses natural melodiousness, and Apabhraṁśa also very elegant, *Bhūtabhāṣā* as a well-formed language. परुषाः संस्कृतबन्धो प्राकृतबन्धोऽपि भवति सुकुमारः। पुरुषमहिलानां यावदिहान्तरमं तावत् तेसु।।- *Karpūramañjarī I.8*

In the *Prakrit* drama named *Karpūramañjarī*, *Rājaśekhara* says that compositions in Sanskrit are harsh, but in *Prakrit,* they are smooth. This play was composed by him on the request of his wife Avantīsundarī.

IV3.5.8.3 King's assembly

The text of Kāvyamiṁsā in the 10th chapter gives details of approach of king towards poetry, poets and artists. It gives the description of the ideal assembly of a King. In this assembly, the poets writing in various languages should have a position. King should sit in

the center, Sanskrit poets and persons who were well versed in Vedas, Vedāṅgas, persons versed in ancient legends and stories, persons well-versed in traditional law, physicians, astrologers and like these should sit at the north, Prakrit poets and actors, dancers, singers, instrumentalist and presenters, persons using hands for musical time and other artists should sit at the east to him. Apabhraṁśa poets and painters, persons doing plastering, persons working with rubies, jewelers, ironsmiths and craftsmen should sit at the west to him, Paiśācī poets and serpent catchers, courtesans, swimmers, *conjurers, persons performing with teeth (pulling carts with teeth etc.), wrestlers, persons living by arms and such persons* should sit at the south of him. [41]

We do not know this type of assembly really existed at Rājaśekhara's time. But he is definitely suggesting many possibilities with this list. The hierarchy of languages has been suggested here. The hierarchy was also subject to the occupations. The persons associated with the languages were may be connected with those languages. As persons related to Veda and similar occupations should sit with the Sanskrit poets means they all were speaking Sanskrit language for their professional work. Actors, dancers, singers etc. were speaking in Prakit while performing. Village serving persons were speaking Apabhraṁśa. Persons who had their livelihood on inferior qualities or bodily skills were speaking Paiśācī. The question remains whether this distinction was a reality of his time or it was a traditional and thus outdated view.

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[41] मध्येसभं चतुःस्तम्भान्तरा हस्तमात्रोत्सेधा समणिभूमिका वेदिका । तस्यां राजासनम् । तस्य चोत्तरतः संस्कृताः कवयो निविशेरन् । बहुभाषाकवित्वे यो यत्राधिकं प्रवीणः स तेन व्यपदिश्यते । यस्त्वनेकत्र प्रवीणः स सङ्क्रम्य तत्र तत्रोपविशेत् । ततः परं वेदविद्याविदः प्रामाणिकाः पौराणिकाः स्मार्त्ता भिषजो मौहूर्त्तका अन्ये ऽपि तथाविधाः । पूर्वेण प्राकृताः कवयः, ततः परं नटनर्त्तकगायनवादकवाग्जीवनकुशीलवतालापचरा अन्ये ऽपि तथाविधाः । पश्चिमेनापभ्रंशिनः कवयः, ततः परं चित्रलेप्यकृतो माणिक्य वन्धका वैकटिकाः स्वर्णकारवर्द्धकिलोहकारा अन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । दक्षिणतो भूतभाषाकवयः ततः परं भुजङ्गणिकाः प्लवकशौभिकजभ्भकमल्लाः शस्त्रोपजीविनोऽन्येऽपि तथाविधाः । kāvyamīmāṁsā 7

It is not clear why the languages are associated with particular direction as in reality we do not find any association of them with the regions in those directions. Sanskrit was used at north is more or less correct. Paiśācī can be an *epithet* which may possibly be interpreted as a "dead language" with no surviving speakers. The 13th-century Tibetan historian Buton Rinchen Drub wrote that the early Buddhist schools were separated by choice of sacred language: the Mahāsāṁghikas used Prākrit, the Sarvāstivādins used Sanskrit, the Sthaviravādins used Paiśācī, and the Saṁmitīya used Apabhraṁśa.[42]

IV.3.5.8.4 More on languages for a poet

Servants of a poet should be skillful in apabhrśa; lady servants should be good in Māghadhi language. His friends and family should be good in Sanskrit and Prakrit languages. His writer must be well in all the languages, he should have good handwriting, he must understand his master, good in various scripts, poet himself.[43]

IV.3.5.10 Bhāmaha's personal view

Bhāmaha in the sixth chapter of his text lists the words or expressions that poets should avoid. This would have been very useful manual for new poets. It gives observations based on the wrong word formation by poets. It provides grammar rules for correct words in the verses (KL 6.31-61.) (See Appendix 3.6 for Sanskrit verses)

Bhoja mentions threefold classification of literature – Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa. But it is surprising that all these rules are for Sanskrit words. No single example is about Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa poetry. He does not give example for virtues and faults of poem, or

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[42] Yao, Zhihua. *The Buddhist Theory of Self-Cognition.* 2012. p. 9

[43] अपभ्रंशभाषणप्रवणः परिचारकवर्गः, समागधभाषाभिनिवेशिन्यः परिचारिकाः । प्राकृतसंस्कृतभाषाविद आन्तःपुरिका, मित्राणि चास्य सर्वभाषाविन्दि भवेयुः । सदःसंस्कारविशुद्ध्यर्थं सर्वभाषाकुशलः, शीघ्रवाक्, चार्वक्षरः, इङ्गिताकारवेदी, नानालिपिज्ञः, कविः, लाक्षणिकश्च लेखकः स्यात् । kāvyamīmāṁsā 7

alaṁkāras from Prakrit or Apabhraṁśa poetry. This behavior of Bhāmaha suggests that he was inclined towards Sanskrit than other languages though he mentions them earlier.

He has divided Prakrit into regions and have rated them from high to low. At his time or as his perspective, the regions had high and low status. This is the shift of significance from north India to south India. The south regions are counted as high and medium standard or status. Kāśmira and Paurstya which were northern regions are counted as lower status.

Here, Bhoja is actually speaking about the styles of various languages or phases of a particular language. This is a different view point towards the languages.

IV.3.5.11 Some other theorists of poetry on languages

IV.3.5.11.1 Bhāmaha

NŚ defines languages in context of characters in a play. Then Bhāmaha in his text named Kāvyālaṅkāra, speaks in the light of poetry how he looks towards the languages. It is defined in the first chapter.

Bhāmaha defines the kāvya as - The word and its meaning together constitute Kāvya. It is of two types – prose and poetry. There is threefold classification of literature – Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa. (KL. 1.16) (See Appendix 3.6 for Sanskrit verses) Apabhraṁśa is a dialect spoken by cowherds, shepherds, huntsmen and barbaric tribes. NŚ lists these tribes and people but does not name it as Apabhraṁśa. Till the time of Bhāmaha, this name was established.

An Ākyāyikā is in Sanskrit language with a noble theme and divided into chapters known as Ucchhvāsa. (KL. 1.25) kathā is acceptable if it is composed in Sanskrit. It may also be in a dialect as Prākrit or Apabhraṁśa. (KL. 1.28)

Bhāmaha distributes the types of literature into various languages. This is a different perspective than NŚ towards the languages. He is not using words like *jāti* or *laukika bhāṣā*.

There is no mention of *ārya-bhāṣā* for the kings, nor *atibhāṣā* for the Gods. There is no mention of the language *jātyantarībhāṣā* used for birds and animals. There is no need of using these terms for Bhāmaha. He elaborates on which languages were implied for which type of literary expression in his time. He is not relating language to the group of people in the society or regions of the country.

IV.3.5.11.2 Daṅdin on languages

In the text Kāvyādarśa he (6-7th century) says all the dealings of men in this world are in every way rendered possible by virtue of languages alone, be they amongst those formulated in rules by the Sages or be they otherwise. In the very third verse he verbalizes the significance of languages in social life and who have prepared the rules for the languages. (KD. 1.3) (See Appendix 3.7 for Sanskrit verses)

The authorities declare all this literature as being fourfold: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa, and Mixed. (KD. 1.32) Daṅdin's view towards language is similar to the Bhāmaha. First three were also listed by Bhāmaha. Daṅdin added forth to it.

The Sanskrit is the divine speech; it has been expounded by great Sages. Manifold is the gradation of the Prākrit as being Tadbhava (derived), Tatsama (anologous), and Desi (provincial). KD.1.33

Daṇḍin says that the Mahārashtri is the best Prākrit. It is like an ocean of beautiful verses. in it are compositions - the Setubandha and others. (KD. 1.34) The other forms are Saurasenī and Gauḍī and Lāṭī, as also any other language of the same kind, is in common usage denoted by the term 'Prākrit. (KD. 1.35) The languages of Abhīras (cowherds) and others are known as Apabhramsa in poetic compositions: in a scientific treatise, however, every language other than Sanskrit is declared to be Apabhraṁśa - a debased form. (KD.

1.36) In Sanskrit are Sargabandha and similar compositions; in Prākrit are Skandhaka and the like; Osara and others are in Apabhramsa; while the dramas etc. use a mixed language. (KD. 1.37)

Daṅdin is giving more details than Bhāmaha. In NŚ and Bhāmaha there is no mention of Mahāraṣtri Prākrit. According to Daṇḍin the term Prākrit was used as Mahāraṣtri for literary compositions and most of the succeeding writers also use the same. The other dialects which are included in Prākrit are from the Madhyadeśa. The region saw the rise and fall of several well-known Mahajanapadas such as Kurus, Pañcālas, Kosala and also dynasties such as Kushans and Guptas. It also includes Bengal and south Gujarat. The dialects from these regions find a place in a literary composition in a secondary capacity. Unfortunately, no literary work from these dialects is available to us.

IV.3.5.11.3 Rājaśekhara

Rājaśekhara (10th century) has completely different view than these two. He is assigning the various body parts of the kāvyapuruṣa (a poetry-man) to the different languages of India. He says This description of Sārasvateya or kāvyapurusa is not present in any of the other texts. *Rājaśekhara* is presenting it in a form of mythological story. *He* sees Sanskrit language as mouth of a kāvyapuruṣa, Prakrit as his arms, Apabrṁśa as his buttocks, paiśāchi language as his feet and mixed languages as his breast. By mixed languages he means fluency in different Prakrit languages. [44]

At the time of Rājaśekhara there was no need for separate language for Gods as well birds and animals. And people were using many languages at a time and some of them were fluent in many or all languages. Rājaśekhara does not hesitates to admit this reality.

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[44] शब्दार्थौ ते शरीरं, संस्कृतं मुखं, प्रकृतं बाहुः, जघनमपभ्रंशः, पैशाचं पादौ, उरो मिश्रम् । समः प्रसन्नो मधुर उदार ओजस्वी चासि । उक्तिचणं ते वचो, रस आत्मा, रामाणि छन्दांसि, प्रश्नोतरप्रवह्लिकादिकं च वाक्केलिः, अनुप्रासोपमादयश्च त्वामलङ्कुर्वन्ति । kāvyamīmāṁsā 3

Dhananjaya in his text Daśarūpaka (10th century) says यद्देशं नीचपात्रं यत्तदेशं तस्य भाषितम्। कार्यतश्चोत्तमादीनां कार्यो भाषाव्यतिक्रमः।।२.६५।। Lower characters speak the language of their province. The upper characters do retrograde the language for certain works. The native languages were region based is again confirmed by Dhananjay very clearly.

IV.3.5.11.4 Bhoja

Bhoja (10th century) in his text Śṛṅgārprakāśa, describes types of sentences in the third chapter. It is interesting that he terms languages as the types of sentences. It is interesting that he gives examples for all of the regional languages he mentions.

They (sentences) are of three types– Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa. He divides Sanskrit into three which actually are the phases of the language – Vedic, Ārśa and Laukika.[45] Vedic language is language of Vedas. Ārśa is a phase of Ādikāya, Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata, penned by sages. Laukika is phase of classical literature, in which mahākāvya and dramas were written.

Bhoja mentions languages as types of a sentence. He might be pointing towards the difference of expression in these languages that ultimately matters in conveying the rasa (as he is throwing a light on śriṅgāra rasa in this text). The expression changes with the type of literature and type of language. He is trying to combine these two aspects in this discussion.

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[45] एकार्थपरः पदसमूहो वाक्यम् । तत्रिधा - संस्कृतं प्राकृतमपभ्रंशश्च । तत्र संस्कृतं श्रौतमार्ष लौकिकञ्च । Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii

He divides Vedic language into two. The type of language used in Vedic hymn and other is used in Brāhmṇa texts. Ārśa phase is divided into two – Smṛiti texts and Purāṇa texts. Laukika is divided into two – literature and theory texts. [46]

This is a different perspective towards the language. It incorporates the stages of languages which do change according to the demand of literary form and time.

He further says that Prakrit is of three types– natural, distinguished or characterized, clung (It may mean the language of two meanings or meaning that is not confirmed) These are phases of Prakrit. Natural Prakrit is of two types – Similar to Sanskrit and regional.[47] Bhoja is suggesting how the Prakrit languages developed. It was naturally twofold – accepting words and patterns from Sanskrit and also at the same time accommodating regional features.

Regional was distinguished or characterized of two types – Mahārarśṭra and Śaurasena.[48] The two words he is using are place names and not the language names. Certainly, he is indicating languages of these regions and wants to give importance to regions and not languages.

Clung is of two types Paiśāca and Māgadha.[49] These two are also region names and not language names.

Apabhraṁśa is of three types – high, medium and low.[50] Bhoja do consider Apabhraṁśa as a language of literature which was earlier considered as vibhāśās. The changing attitude towards Apabhraṁśa can be seen in Vāgbhata (12th century). In his kāvyālaṅkāra he says

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[46] तेषु श्रौतं द्विधा - मन्त्रब्राह्मणभेदात्। आर्ष द्विधा । स्मृतिः पुराणं च । लौकिकं द्विविधं, काव्यं शास्त्रं च । Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii

[47] प्राकृतं त्रिधा, सहजं, लक्षितं श्लिष्टं च। तेषु सहजं द्विधा-संस्कृतसमं देश्यं। Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii

[48] लक्षितं द्विधा, महाराष्ट्रं शौरसेनं च । Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii

[49] श्लिष्टं द्विधा, पैशाचं मागधं च । Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii

[50] अपभ्रंशस्त्रिधा । उत्तमो मध्यमः कनिष्ठश्च । Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii

अपभ्रंशस्तु यच्छुद्धं तत्तद्देशेषु भाषितम् ॥२.३॥ He considers Apabhraṁśa as pure or correct language. He has an untraditional view towards Apabhraṁśa.

High are Lāṭiya, Āvanti etc.[51] The upper part of the Dakṣiṇa. A particular division of the Kṣatriyas. Because a set of the Kṣatriyas showed jealousy towards the Brahmins, they became Lāṭas. (Mbh. 35.17)

Āvanti was a name of a Janapada corresponding to the present-day Mālwā region. Āvanti was divided into a northern and a southern part by the Vindhya mountains. This is also upper part of Dakśina.

Medium are Ābhīra, Gaurjara etc.[52] Ābhīra is a location mentioned by Sañjaya among the Janapadas of the Bhāratavarṣa (*ata ūrdhvaṁ janapadān nibodha gadato mama* Mbh. 6. 10. 37, 5); (*ābhīrāḥ kālatoyakāḥ*) Mbh. 6. 10. 45; counted by him among the northern Mleccha people (*uttarāś cāpare mlecchā janā bharatasattama*) Mbh. 6. 10. 63; (*śūdrābhīrātha daradāḥ*) Mbh. 6. 10. 66; they are called residents of Pañcanada (*ābhiraiḥ …pañcanadālayaiḥ*) Mbh. 16. 9. 16; (also cf. *sa pañcanadam āsādya* Mbh. 16. 8. 43). In the description of the expedition of Nakula to the west of Khāṇḍavaprastha (*niryāya khāṇḍavaprasthāt pratīcīṁ abhito diśam* Mbh. 2. 29. 2) Ābhīras are said to live on the bank of the river Sarasvatī (*śūdrābhīragaṇāś caiva ye cāśritya sarasvatīm*) Mbh. 2. 29. 9. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya says (1974:129) "The Ābhīras ruled western areas from Mahāraṣṭra which included Nāśika and its adjoining areas like Aparānta, lāṭa, Aśmaka, and Khāndeśa."

Gaurjara means coming from Gujara region. Gurjaradeśa ("Gurjara country") or Gurjarāṣṭra is a historical region in India including the eastern Rājasthāna and northern Gujarātha through the period of 6th -12th century CE. The predominant power of

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[51] तेष्वावन्त्यलाटीयादिरुत्तमः । Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii
[52] आभीर गौर्जरादिर्मध्यमः । Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii

the region, the Gurjara-Pratihāras eventually controlled a major part of North India. Lower are Kāśmira, Paurstya etc.[53] (eastern regions and their languages)

He has divided Prakrit into regions and have rated them from high to low. At his time or as his perspective, the regions had high and low status. This is the shift of significance from north India to south India. The south regions are counted as high and medium standard or status. Kāśmira and Paurstya which were northern regions are counted as lower status.

Here, Bhoja is actually speaking about the styles of various languages or phases of a particular language. This is a different view point towards the languages.

IV.3.5.12 Shifting Approach towards Languages

The approach towards languages had definitely changed substantially from the 4th century BC to 9th century AD. This is a major shift of attitude towards the use of languages in the society. All the languages were definitely not at the same level. There was hierarchy between them. But it is important from the viewpoint of rhetoric that all languages were included in the poetic expression.

This shows the change in the lookout towards the languages from the NŚ to Daṇḍin. For the first time the NŚ accommodated dialects as languages. It reflects the use of these languages in society in its time.

This is a strength of art and artistic presentation. Art dependents on the liking and disliking of the society. It demands the support of the people. Response of the society as a whole is vital for any artist. NŚ states that drama and all the other arts are imitation of the world around. It is presented directly to the audience. Marcel Duchamp (1973; 140 page) says

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[53] काश्मीरपौरस्त्यादिः कनिष्ठः । Śṛṅgārprakāśa xxvii

"Creative act is not performed by the artist alone; the spectator brings the work in contact with the external world by deciphering and interpreting its inner qualifications and thus adds his contribution to the creative act." Thus, artist is answerable to their spectators. As a result, it becomes the replication of the social order. NŚ is open to the changing society. It recognizes *mārgi* as well as *deśi* pratices, both the approaches in dance, in music and costumes, body colors, ornamentation and speech at its time.

Vararucī wrote grammar of Prakrit languages named Prākṛatprakāśa in 3-4th century. He gives instructions about the rules of Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit appears in the dialogue and songs of low-class characters in Sanskrit plays by Kālidāsa. In his time Vidarbha was politically happening territory which was reflected in his works. He was probably the resident of Vidarbha and his some of the characters also reside the same region. These political activities influenced the use of Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit in dramas. This language was not mentioned by the NŚ as it was not a prominent regional language at that time.

Literary expression was only in three languages Sanskit, Prakit and Apabhraṁśa. The dialects of small groups had no expression in main stream literature. They must be good folk literature which was preserved only in oral tradition. Even till today one can observe similar tendency. It is still difficult to have good literary compositions from people with a smaller number of speakers of that particular dialect which are recognized in main stream. There are lot of traditional songs and stories which are orally transmitted from generations with no mention of a particular writer.

IV.3.6 Synthesis of Vṛtti, Rīti and Pravṛtti

Unfortunately, there is no much discussion on the term *pravṛtti* in later poetic texts. After a long time, Rājaśekhara (9-10th century) in his text Kāvyamīmāṁsā reopens the discussion about the three terms. Kāvyamīmāṁsā precisely defines *vṛtti*s, *rīti*s and *pravṛtti*s. In the third chapter of the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, Rājaśekhara tells a beautiful mythological story of the

birth of a son of Goddesses Saraswatī named Kāvyapuruṣa. He was the first to produce the metrical verse which was then handed over to the other poets including sage Vālmiki. Once mother Goddesses Saraswatī leaves him alone. He becomes upset and starts walking. Goddesses Pārvatī asks her daughter, Sāhityavidyāvadhū to follow him. A poetry–man (Kāvyapuruṣa), a poetry-woman (Sāhityavidyāvadhū) had a journey around India. Then Rājaśekhara very creatively relates this story with the three literary terms *vṛtti*s, *rīti*s and *pravṛtts* in connection to the poetry. (See Appendix 3.8 for Sanskrit verses) They are defined in a different manner. Let us see how he treats these terms. He describes their journey along with poets in the following way –

They first went to the east direction. There are janapadas as Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suṁha, Brahma and Puṇḍra. Oumeyī i.e., daughter of Goddesses Pārvati, followed him and she had a different clothing. The females from those regions imitated her clothing that is called *Rauḍra-Māgadhī pravṛtti*. The munīs who were the poets and following them, praised them.

May the style of their clothing look beautiful for a long time. These female wear strings of necklace stuck to their breasts with wet sandal-paste, their clothing is as if kissing the forehead, their underarms are clearly visible, they are fair as Durvā and beautiful. The Kāvyapuruṣa had a special clothing which was followed by the men residing there. The name of this *pravṛtti* is also same - *Rauḍra-Māgadhī*. Oumeyī presented dance and music, that is *Bhāratī vṛtti*. The munīs, who were following them, praised them. To please him, she uttered sentences with lot of compounds, anuprāsa alaṁkāra in traditional way, that is *Gaudīyā rīti*. The munīs or poets, who were following them, praised them.

A comparison with the Nāṭyaśāstra and the Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rajaśekhara confirms that *Gauḍī rīti* was the style of present-day Bengal. The Nāṭyaśāstra which is much earlier than kāvayādarśa of Daṇḍin, mentions four *pravṛtti*s - Āvantī, Pañcāla- madhyamā, Dākṣiṇātyā and Oḍra-Māghadhī. The last two of them correspond to the Vaidarbhī and Gauḍī rīti of

Daṇḍin and it is apparent that what Bharata calls Oḍra-Māghadhī or the style of Orissa-Magadha is called Gauḍī or Paurastyā by Daṇḍin. The NŚ tells us that Oḍra-Māghadhī flourished in Begal, Orissa, Magadha, Prāgjyotiṣa, Tāmralipta and the adjoining countries. That this Oḍra-Māghadhī is identical with *Gauḍī rīti* is made clear by Rājaśekhara who shows the connection between the earlier and the later ways of enumeration; he says that in the countries Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahm, Puṇḍra, etc. the *Oḍra-Māghadhī Pravṛtti* and the *Gauḍīyā rīti* were prevalent and he cites in this connection a verse describing the Gauḍa women (Gauḍāṅganāsu). The rhetoricians refer to *Gauḍī rīti* that is of the Bengal. Then he headed towards Pañcāla region where are various janapadās as Pāñcālas, Śūrasenas, Hastināpura, Kāśmira, Vāhlikas, Bāhlikas, Bāhlaveya etc. Oumeyī followed him and she had a different clothing. The females from those regions imitated her clothing that known as *Pāñcāla-madyamā pravṛtti*. The munīs, who were following them, praised them.

The clothing of beautiful females of Kanauja is praiseworthy. They wear hanging earrings which feel as if their cheeks are moving. The moving white flower garlands touch their navel. Their lower garment is from the buttocks to the ankle. The Kāvyapuruṣa whose heart was melted little, had a special clothing which was followed by the men residing there. Oumeyī presented dance, music and charming actions that is *Sātvatī vṛtti*. With crookedness the same is *Ārabhatī vṛtti*. The munīs, who were following them, praised them. She uttered sentences with less compounds, *anuprāsa alaṁkāra* in traditional way, that is *Pāñcālī rīti*. The munīs, who were following them, praised them.

Sātvata is a name of a people who formed a section of the Yādavas of Sauraṣtra. Rājaśekhara in this passage was trying to connect the eastern Indian regions with *Sātvatī* and *Ārabhatī vṛtti*.

Then he headed towards Āvantī region which have various janapadas like Āvantī, Vaidiśa, Suraṣtra, Mālava, Ārbuda, Bh ṛ gu, Kaccha etc. She followed him and she had a different clothing. The females from those regions imitated her clothing that is Āvantī *pravṛtti*. This

is a combination of *Pāñcālamadyamā* and *Dākṣiṇātyā pravṛtti*. Thus, *Sātvatī* and *Kaiśikī vṛtti*. The munīs, who were following them, praised them.

The clothing and activities of men from *Pāñcāla* region and women of *Dākṣiṇātyā* region is admirable. In region of *Avantī* is a blend of both of these regions.

Sātvata is a name of a society who formed a section of the Yādavas of Sauraṣṭra and became famous in Mahābhārata. Kratha- kaiśikas were warriors connected with the region of Vidharbha which is in Mahārāṣṭra. In Rājaśekhara's opinin *Avantī* is a blend of *Pāñcālamadyamā* and *Dākṣiṇātyā.* Thus, connecting these regions with the *Sātvatī* and *Kaishikī vṛttis* is meaningful.

Then he goes in the west direction. There are mountains named Malaya, Mekala, Pāla and Mañjara. The janapadas are Kuntala, Kerala, Mahārāṣṭra, and Gaṅgā (here means Narmadā). She followed him and she had a different clothing. This is Dākṣiṇātyā *pravṛtti*. The *munīs*, who were following them, praised them.

The beauty of Kerala women is commendable. They tie their attractive hairdo from its bottom in circular shape. Their forehead is attractive due to their curly hair. They hide the tie of their lower garment.

The Kāvyapuruṣa had a special clothing which was followed by the men residing there. Oumeyī also presented beautiful dance, music and charming actions that is *Kaishikī vṛtti*. The poets praised them. He was pleased and uttered with *anuprāsa alaṅkāra*, compounds and *Vañjaka* sentences, that is *Vaidarbhī rīti*. The *munīs*, who were following them, praised them.

Kaiśikī vṛtti is always connected with *Vaidarbhī rīti* and regions in south side of India. It is interesting to see how Rājaśekhara redefines these three important terms.

तत्र वेषविन्यासक्रमः प्रवृत्तिः, विलासविन्यासक्रमो वृत्तिः, वचनविन्यासक्रमो रीतिः ।

Pravṛtti is a variety of clothing and ornamentation in several regions, *vṛtti* is a variety in manners and activities of regions and *rīti* is a diversity in speaking or language.

IV.3.6.1 Re-defining the three Terms

The definition of these terms is different in the NŚ. These terms in their previous phases were not very clear. The importance of regional expression was sensed by NŚ for the first time, but the relation of these terms, with regional artistic manifestation, was ambiguous. Rājaśekhara sensed it more clearly and re-defined the terms. While redefining them he deliberately connects *pravṛttis, vṛttis and rīti* with each other on the basis of their influence in geographical areas. He is stating that all the three terms are not separate but they are connected with each other on the basis of regional uniqueness.

Vṛttis are defined differently than the NŚ (See Appendix 3.9 for Sanskrit verses) and similarly some other poetic texts. *Bhāratī vṛtti* was considered as verbal style in the NŚ. 22.25 The *bhāratī* style is to be applied by the male characters and which gives a prominent place to speeches made in Sanskrit, is used by the eponymous actors is Verbal.

NŚ 22.41 says the grand style which is endowed with the quality of the spirit (*sattva*), the *nyāyas*, metres and has excitement of joy and suppression of the state of sorrow, is called sāttvatī. NŚ 22.53 says the graceful style (*kaiśikī*) is especially interesting on account of charming costumes worn mostly by the women, and in which many kinds of dancing and singing are included, and the themes acted are practices of love and are connected with (lit. arising from) its enjoyment. NŚ 22.64 says the energetic style which includes the qualities

of a bold person called as *ārabhaṭa* such as speaking many words, deception, bragging and falsehood.

These definitions form the NŚ are not satisfactory. The application of these is difficult to find and so the commentators of various texts of poetry and drama, cannot apply it properly. The synthesis by Rajaśekhara made it possible to understand it as he connects them all with regional distinctiveness. The basis of these terms is the regional artistic diversity of India. Thus, the earlier conventional meaning of the terms were not relevant.

IV.3.6.2 Why *pravṛtti*s are four?

Then the question arises why the *pravṛtti*s are only four, when there are many regions in the country. The answer to this question is given differently by Rājaśekhara than the NŚ. The NŚ answers this question as –

I have prescribed a fourfold classification of the dramatic performance which are attached to four different styles. As different countries are connected to performances which relate to the styles such as the *bhāratī*, the *sāttvatī*, the *kaiśikī* and the *ārabhatī*. Because of this the four *pravṛtti*s develop, and performances wer initiated following them. [54]

Rājaśekhara has a different view on it. He says [55] though there are many regions, *Pravṛtti*s can be four as the poets from these various regions write their poetry divided into four

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[54] अत्राह - यथा पृथिव्यां बहवो देशाः सन्ति , कथमासां चतुर्विधत्वम् उपपन्नं, समानलक्षणश्चासां प्रयोग उच्यते , सत्यमेतत् । समानलक्षण आसां प्रयोगः । किन्तु नानादेशवेषभाषाचारो लोक इति कृत्वा लोकानुमतेन वृत्तिसंश्रितस्य नाट्यस्य वृत्तीनां मया चतुर्विधत्वमभिहितं भारती सात्वती कैशिक्यारभटी चेति । वृत्तिसंश्रितैश्च प्रयोगैरभिहिता देशाः । यतः प्रवृत्तिचतुष्टयमभिनिर्वृतं प्रयोगश्चोत्पादितः । kāvyamīmāṁsā 3

[55] 'चतुष्टयी गतिर्वृत्तीनां प्रवृत्तिनां च देशानां पुनरानन्त्यं तत्कथमिव कात्स्न्र्येन परिग्रहः' इत्याचार्याः । अनन्तानपि हि देशाश्चतुर्धैवाकल्प्य कल्पयन्ति 'चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रं सामान्येन तदवान्तरविशेषैः पुनरनन्ता एव' इति यायावरीयः । दक्षिणात्समुद्रादुदीचीं दिशं प्रति योजनसहस्रं चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रं, तत्रैव नेपथ्यविधिः । ततः परं दिव्याद्या

styles. Here he mentions चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्र as the basis of this division. चक्रवर्तिन् means the ruler of a chakra or a country described as extending from sea to sea. Rājaśekhara defines it's spread from southern sea to the east direction, that is from Kanyākumarī to the Kāśmira. One of the basis of dividing the country into four parts for artistic expression is the rule of a king. King seems to be very important factor even in the artistic expression like literature, popularly known as court poetry. The parts of the country are made also on the basis of their नेपथ्यविधिः. By *nepathya* he means clothing, ornamentation, dance, music etc. NŚ has not included dance and music in the list of *Pravṛttis*. In the mythological story Rājaśekhara adds these two creative elements as a part of *vṛttis*. Let us see the regional aspects in music and dance.

अपि यं देशमधिवसेयुस्तद्देश्यं वेषमाश्रयन्तो निबन्धनीयाः । स्वभूमौ तु कामचारः । द्वीपान्तरभवानां तदनुसारेण वृत्तिप्रवृती। kāvyamīmāṁsā 3

IV.3.6.3 Music

The NŚ elaborates on vocal and instrumental musical terms. In vocal music it gives details of *Śrutis,* different *Grāmas,* the *Mūrcchanās,* the *Jātis* and their connexion with the sentiments, the *Dhruvās,* and metres of *Dhruvās.* In the instrumental music it elaborates on the stringed instruments, hollow instruments, and instrument of percussion.

Let us see the influence of regional elements on music in the NŚ. Among many other musical terms *Dhruvās* is important from our point of view. *Dhruvās* are dramatic songs. It helps in an enrichment of *rasa* in a play. Chapter 32 of NŚ describes when and how to use *Dhruvās* in any play. The prominence of *Dhruvās* is described as follows -

यानि वाक्यैस्तु न ब्रूयात्तानि गीतैरुदाहरेत्। गीतैरेव हि वाक्यार्थैः रसपाको बलाश्रयः।। ३२. ४०६।।

The things that cannot be expressed by speech in a play that should be presented in a song; for through songs, the strength and ripeness come to the meaning of the words. So Dhruvās were prominent part of dramas at the time of the NŚ.

IV.3.6.3.1 Meters used for *Dhruvās*

The earliest work on Prakrit prosody, at present available, is the Nāṭyaśāstra. These *Dhruvās* are in various meters. Let us know more about Sanskrit and Prakrit meters. The metros are used for Tāla. The meters in poetry are divided by a set of letters in a verse. Normally a group of three letters is considered as a basic unit named *Gaṇas.* In Prakrit meters, we also find Gaṇas of two, four or five letters (Trikas and Dvikas) which is reflected in the *Dhruvās* of the NŚ. The shortness and length of letters in the words of a poem in compositions, depended upon their position in a metrical line of a Tāla Vṛtta. Still, they did not inherently belong to them at all times and places. If necessary, they would pronounce short letters as long ones and vice versa, and force two or three short or long letters within

the portion of time which is usually taken by a single letter for its pronunciation. This process was not possible for the learned verifiers owing to their ideas of accurate and correct pronunciation. The adoption of a Mātrā unit for the quantitative valuation of a letter in the composition of metrical lines was accepted. Such a unit was already known in the Vedic times. This gave ample choice in the selection of the words. It did not bind them to a particular order of short and long letters, but only to a certain number of Akṣara mātrās which are required to fill up the Kāla mātrās or time-moments (5, 6, 7, 8, or 10) of a particular Tāla Gaṇa.

Velankar, H. D. (1961:15, Introduction) explains the process of development of meters "Pure Mātrā Vṛttas were invented, where there are no restrictions either of the order of short and long letters or about the number of the time-moments represented by the letters. In short, the new meters were neither agreeable to the Varna Sangita of the Classical Sanskrit meters, nor to the Tāla Sangita of popular poetry. Nor could they be compared with the Vedic Akṣara Vṛttas. The earliest and the most prominent among such meters is the Ārya or the Gāthā meter. They were often used for the composition of memorial stanzas on different kinds of serious but non-poetical topics. It soon became a conflicting to the epic Anuṣṭubh Sloka. It was more spacious, convenient, and easy to handle. The only restriction in the Arya and its derivatives meters, was avoiding long letters at certain places. This therefore, govern the commencement of a new Mātra Gaṇa in a line, thereby investing it with a peculiar metrical rhythm of its own, which may be called an adverse type of the Varṇa Saṅgīta."

Sanskrit prosodic mention only three broad types of Mātrā Vṛttas. The order of short and long letters may differ; and the Vaitālīya. These three groups respectively belong to the Dvipadi, sama Catuṣpadi and the Ardhasama Catuṣpadi classes of meters. For defining these they usually recognize only the Caturmātra Gaṇa and neither the Trimātra, nor the Pañca- mātra, nor even the Sanmitra Gaṇa. But the help of even this Caturmātra Gaṇa is taken only when it is absolutely necessary, and generally where possible the use of the well-known Akṣara Gaṇas is made for conveying also the Mātra Gaṇas in the metrical definitions.

The earliest work on Prakrit prosody, at present available, is Bharata's NŚ. Prakrit poetry had not yet fully developed the meters, though it had already established its influence on Sanskrit scholars. Prakrit poetry was originated from Prakrit poets belonging to the masses and written for the masses. Gāthā, known as Āryā in its Sanskrit apparel, is certainly the earliest and the most popular meter of the Prakrit prosody. The NŚ (16.151-163) gives all the details about the constitution of this meter and mentions its three main kinds, namely, the Pathyā, the Vipula and the Capala.

It should be clearly understood that this a time-controlled metrical music, was essentially a popular one and the uneducated bards who had a natural talent for music based on words sometimes neglected the grammatical correctness of the pronunciation of their words or their constituent letters. They were not much caring for the usual proportion of the syllabic content of letters with the time required for its correct pronunciation. Such lapses naturally offended the susceptibilities of the educated Sanskrit Pandits, who indeed very much liked this type of metrical music. They were not prepared to sacrifice their conventionally and grammatically correct pronunciation of short and long letters. That respectively took one and two time moments or Kala Mātrās. It is briefly in this manner that the beginning of the Akṣara Mātrā and the Caturmātrā Gaṇa in the field of classical Sanskrit prosody is to be explained.

Piṅgala's Chandaśāstra defines only two groups of Mātrā Vṛttas and one group, namely, the Vaitalīya group which, is a group of mixed Mātrā - Varṇa Vṛttas. The Prakrit compositions of these poets remained restricted to the exclusively Prakrit metres which are Mātrā Vṛttas and not adapted to the Tāla Sangita, but only to the negative type of the Varṇa Saṇgīta where a long letter was to be avoided at particular places. Prakrit metres are, in general, Mātrā Vṛttas. The Akṣara Gaṇas were treated by them as a Mātrā Gaṇas comsisting of 4 or 5 Mātrā which is then turned into a Tāla Gaṇas. That these original Akṣara Gaṇas who often substitute two short letters in place of a long one in the scheme of the original metre. Thus, for example, the Bhujaṅga- prayāta which is a well-known Varṇa Vṛtta, is often adopted in Prakrit poems and many times two short letters are substituted a for any

one of the two long letters of the Ya- Gaṇas, four of which to constitute a Pāda of that metre. Further these Ya- Gaṇas are preated as Tāla Gaṇas of 5 Matras each, the stanza being sung in scae Tāla of 5 Mātras, in which the recurring stroke of the Tāla is krit after the 5th Matras. This adaptation of the Varṇa Vṛttas articularly seen in the narrative poems, where they were used it for the sake of variety in the composition.[56]

The examples of Prakrit *Dhruvās* in the NŚ do represent the Prakrit metres and old local music. The metres of these Prakrit *Dhruvās* is a subject of detail research.

IV.3.6.3.2 Another impact of regional languages on instrumental music

IV.3.6.3.3 Variety of Drumming to suit Occasions

In drum instruments we find various Varṇas called bola. They also have strong influence of local languages. Let us see its examples.

 The experts in the Mṛdaṅga should produce sound in their instruments, mostly by the touch of their fingers. It was a music which will be of a collection of light Varṇas, and which will relate to the Tāṇḍava, at the time of female dancer. As the song related to the appearance of the female dancer being finished, the Sannipātas should be taken up. A music related to the Karaṇas conforming to the Aṅgahāras of the Lāsya dance, should be combined with the Karaṇa Dhātu. Hence there is the saying *samaṁ raktam*.

At the start of the performance music should be played in relation to the Karaṇa of the Ālipta Mārga. It should be performed by striking the Vāmaka and the Ūrdhvaka, and will be as follows; *dheṅ mati dhaṅ mathā dheṅ dhiti ṭit saṁ kraṁ kraṁ khoka ṇe devyāṁ kentāṁ kiṭ gheṅ*. The change after these two kinds of playing will be to that of pure *Jāti* in the four Mārgas consisting of *kho kho ṇāṁ kho kho ṇāṁ kho kho khonā*. In the Utthāpana of the

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[56] For details see Introduction *of Velankar, H. D.* 1961 *"Chandonuśāsana of Hemachandrasuri* (A comprehensive treatise of Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa Prosody)" Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay

Vastu and in the Apakṛṣṭā Cārī, the playing should begin with letters *gheghentāṁ gheṅ ṅo ghakhaṇādoṇāṁ gho ghagheghaghe*. In the Śuṣkāpakṛṣṭā Dhruvā of the Nāndī, the playing should be in the Pratiśuṣka Karaṇa and should have *Tho gho tho khe kha ghoghegheṅ nādabhyah khoddho kutāṁ kha khe kheṇa kasu guka gheṅ nokhi kheh tāṅ kheṅ ṇāṁ kiṭi kiṭi ghagheṅ ghe kaṭuka ghudu kaṁla volākho kho kho kho vāghnu tetāṁ māliṁ ṅammāṁ kiṭi vatthi*. (NŚ 33. 227 ff)

These sounds are not similar to the thuds of percussions instruments. Though these are just letters, they have resemblance with Prakrit language. Even today the bolas that instrumentalists utter to depict the sound of the percussion instruments like tabalā, mrudaṅga and pakhavāja are similar to these. This also strengthens the bond of local language and local people with instrumental music.

IV.3.6.3.4 Some more geographical inferences

1. Aḍḍitā is one of the limbs of *Dhruvās* and this name is non- Sanskrit.

2. *Oḍava* or *auḍava* appears to be a non-Sanskrit word meaning probably 'five', and *ṣāḍava* also may be of the same origin, and can mean 'six'. It's another form might have been *ṣoḍava* connected with *ṣoḍa* in *ṣoḍaśa*.

3. Alaṁkāras depend on the *Gīti*. These *Gītis* are known to be without any connexion with the *Dhruvā*s. They are always to be applied by the musicians in the Gāndharva only. *Gīti*s are of four kinds: the first is Māgadhī which is sung in different tempos (vṛtti). the second Ardhamāgadhī which revises its tempo after half-time, the third Sambhāvitā is known to be constituted with long syllables and the fourth Pṛthulā constituted with short syllables. The first two types of *Gītis* do

indicate regions and regional languages. It suggests a possibility of some

commonness between these *Gītis* and local ways of *Gītis* at the time of the NŚ.

IV.3.6.3.5 Other geographical references in the development of Indian Music

Classical music is frequently ascribing the origins of music to the highest and oldest tradition of ritual music, the Sāmaveda. On the other hand, the distinguished modern Indian musicologists, the late B. C. Deva, (1974:2) believed "The classical tradition resulted from a fusion of many musical strands, reflecting the geographical extent, the social diversity, and the historical depth of South Asian culture." He suggested that temple and other religious music traditions establish many channels between classical and non-classical music. These musical styles, structures and instruments have flowed in both directions through such channels. He pointed out furthermore that this interdependence between musical traditions at different social levels are over and over again ignored by the musical establishment. An excessive trust on texts and an absence of ethno-musical approach has so conditioned Indian musicology that the grass roots of our culture are rarely noticed.

The *rāga* is a unique and principal feature of the classical Indian music tradition. Each *rāga* is an array of melodic structures with musical motifs, considered in the Indian tradition to have the ability to "colour the mind" and affect the emotions of the audience.[57]

Deva suggests (1974:8) "The names of many *rāgas* indicate cultural interaction between classical, folk and tribal music traditions." He gives examples of *rāga* names, attested in historical sources and in some cases still current today, that refer to ethnic groups or geographical regions, and concludes that "the structure and ethos of *rāga* have derived inspiration and sustenance from many sources"

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[57] For details see Nettl, Bruno; Ruth M. Stone; James Porter; Timothy Rice (1998). *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: South Asia: The Indian Subcontinent*. New York and London: Routledge. ISBN 978-0-8240-4946-1.

It is not easy to define the period when does earlier melodic forms developed in *rāgas*. Its earliest mention appears in the works of Yāstika and Mataṅga, who were quoted by Śārṇgadeva. His time span belonged to the first half of the thirteenth century (1210-1247 A.D.). The *Rāgas* of the time of Yāstika and Mataṅga had become outdated at the time of Śārṅgadeva. This gives space to assume that it might have taken at least one century for the *Rāgas* of the time of these two authors to have reached their state of maturity and another century to be the approximate period as the *Rāgas* first came into existance. The term *rāga* in the modern connotation of a melodic format occurs in the *Bṛihaddeśī* by Mataṅga Muni dated ca. 8-9th century.

The *Bṛihaddeśī* describes it as "a combination of tones, with beautiful illuminating graces, pleases the people in general". The similar vital idea and prototypical framework is found in ancient texts, as the *Nāradiyaśikṣā (*1st century BCE) and the NŚ. In the ancient texts, the term for the technical mode part of *rāga* was *Jati*. Later, *Jati* evolved to mean quantitative class of scales, while *rāga* evolved to become a more sophisticated concept that included the experience of the audience.[58] From the two hundred and sixty-four melodic types by Śārṅgadeva only fifty-eight were called *Rāgas*. The Rājaśekhara's time is similar to this (9-10th century). This development of the concept of *Rāgas* have enabled him to incorporate music in the list of *pravṛttis.*

We easily identify that many *rāgas* have names of places, regions and peoples. For example, Audav Devgiri, Audav Gāndhāra, Dakśina Gujjari, Gaudi, Gaud Malhar, Dhakka, Karnāṭaka Bāngalā, Karnāṭaki (raagini), Mahārāṣṭra Gujjari, Pahādi and many more. The question arises, is there any connection between these names and regional musical peculiarities?

Rāgas and other modes have certainly been named after peoples and regions ever since the earliest recorded stages in the evolution of theory and practice in South Asia. In particular, modes have been named after peoples and places of ancient Āryan society and civilization. The evidence also indicates a two-way flow between the centre and the borders of the Āryan heartland. For example, the *rāga* botta, botta referrers to the valleys of Nepal and Tibet. This *rāga* name do not, necessarily constitute evidence for regional or cultural origins. It may not actually have originated in the valley to which that name is referred. Such names suggest, a conceptual map of those peoples and places that were considered to be outside the regional, social and cultural boundaries within which the rāga-system developed and was engaged. This raises the question why these regional names should have been employed for naming of *rāgas*?

Keith A. B. (1920:307) says "Perhaps the earliest reference by name to specific non-Āryan peoples with which the Āryans came into contact? is provided by the "Aitareya Brāhmaṇa", a religious text dating from the pre-Buddhist period, not later than c. 600 B.C. The text lists five non-Āryan peoples, namely the Āndhras, Pundras, Śabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas, they "live in large numbers beyond the borders (udantya)" They live beyond the areas cleared by Āryan cultivation, *beyond* the Āryan culture. Three of the tribes mentioned in the NŚ, the Āndhras, Śabaras, and Pulindas, later had *rāgas* named after them. Post-Vedic Sanskrit literature, the popular epics like Rāmāyaṅa and Mahābhārata and Purāṅas, lists a vast corpus of names for the peoples of South Asia, and inhabitants of very remote regions e.g., Central Asia. All such peoples were considered as inferior to the Āryan, but they were permitted a place in the theoretical ordering of the universe. They were recognized by their clothing, food as well as art, by their dance and music.

The notes of the Samavedic scale were used for chanting sacred verses at the most auspicious rites. They have names that indicate their musical position or function, such as prathama, "first"; dvitīya, "second"; kṛuṣṭa, "loud"; etc. The scale of non-Vedic music, used for religious and dramatic purpose, includes at least two notes named after regions or peoples. The *Gāndhāra*, the third scale of Indian music, refers to the border region of *Gāndhāra* in the Hindu Kuśa. Another is *niśāda*, the seventh scale of Indian music, which

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denotes a non-Āryan ethnic group of western India, the *Niṣādas*. The non-Vedic musical system, which may have been more open to outside influences, than the ritual music of the Vedic time. It displays associations with regions and peoples from the geographical and social margins. It is interesting to note that the G*āndhāra* and *Niṣāda* have a feature in common that sets them apart from the other five degrees of the heptatonic scale. They were not of fixed pitch relative to the others, but could be sharpened by a semitone approximately. This extraordinary musical behavior could feasibly account for their exotic names.

The concept and system of *rāga* developed during the middle and later centuries of the first millennium A.D. The NŚ gives long description of *jātis*. The *jātis* were classified into two types: a primary set of seven, each named after the scale-degree and a secondary set of mixed *jātis*, formed by a combination of the structures of two or more primary *jātis*. Many of the secondary *jātis* have technical names like *kaiśiki, ṣaḍja-madhyama* etc., but four of them exhibit names with cultural or regional associations. *Āndhri* refers to the region of the Deccan. The names *sadjodicyavā, gāndhārodicyavā, and madhyamodicyavā*, each couple a scale degree name as *sadja, gandhāra and madhyamā* respectively. They have element udicya, a geographical term referring to the north-Western regions of the sub-continent. This might imply that these are regional variants of the primary *jātis ṣāḍji, gāndhārī and madhyamā*. These four regional names further imply that the *jāti* system as a whole did not originate either in the north-western provinces or in the Deccan, but in a region that was in contact with the Ganges valley.

Bṛhaddeśī of Mataṅga, deals with the concept and structure of *rāga*. It is also the first text to acknowledge the localised character of practical music. The treatise is devoted to *deśī* music. *Deśī* means which is provincial or regional, is defined as follows
In various regions sound becomes pleasant to animals, people and kings. That sound which arises in various regions (*desa*) is called *deśī*. (Bṛhaddeśī verse 1). That which is sung in their own respective regions by women, children, cow herds and kings, according to inclination and with delight is called deśī (Bṛhaddeśī verse 141)

Here we have explicit recognition of the origins of music in different regional traditions and in different social groups. The remainder of this treatise and most subsequent treatises on music, are largely devoted to systematising such *deśī* music in accordance with pre-existing rules and principles.

Nāradiyaśikṣā

षड्जे वदति मयूरो गावो रभन्ति चर्षभे। अजा वदति गांधारे क्रौञ्चनादस्तु मध्यमे।।

पुष्पसाधारणे काले कोकिलः पञ्चमेस्वरे। अश्वस्तु धैवते प्राहुः कुञ्जरस्तु निषादवान्।।

The satisfactory explanation of this verse is not yet possible. Shri. V. R. Athavale in his article titled "भारतीय स्वरशास्त्रः एक अभ्यास" tries to give its meaning from different perspective. He says, "There is a probability that the scales are connected with various birds or animals because they represent various regions or powerful herds at that time. Before the time of the NŚ *Magadha* was the powerful dynasty. The rulers were of *Maurya* lineage. *Mayura* that is peacock may be their symbol. *Kabul*, *Kandhāra* were known as Gāndhāra region and goat was important animal for them. Bull was important for an agrarian land of Punjāba." He guesses that all the names of seven scales were based on various regions.

There are ample evidences of regional and local influences on Indian music from Vedic times. There was a process of accepting those currents into main stream. This leads to add music to the list of *Pravṛttis*.

IV.3.6.4 Dance

Dance is another important component included in to the *pravṛttis* by Rājaśekhara. He does not give details of various dance forms from several parts of the country. We can find from other sources the variety of dancing enjoyed by regional people. Those dance forms are in some way connected with ancient treatise the Nāṭyaśāstra. The idea of dance as a representation in its most exquisite statement of the truth of the world, it seen in Lord Natarāja or Śiva dancing the cosmic dance.

IV.3.6.4.1 Indian dance in literature of Karnāṭaka

Dance is natural to human beings. It is core part of any society. Dance has a long history from the time of Ṛig veda. The original dancing Gods and Goddesses of our mythology grow to assume the religious significance embodied in the symbolic concept of the dances of Lord Śiva or Lord Viṣṇu, who were the full-fledged gods of our trinity: in the direction of worldly and social development. Dancing becomes social as folk dancing of our country where every festival and important event of life is expressed through collective community. In this regard the NŚ says-

प्रायेण सर्वलोकस्य नृत्तमिष्टं स्वभावतः। मङ्गल्यमिति कृत्वा च नृत्तमेतत्प्रकीर्तितम्।।४.२६६।।

विवाहप्रसवावाहप्रमोदाभ्युद्यादिषु । विनोदकरणं चेति नृत्तमेतत्प्रवर्तितम्।। ४.२६७।।

Naturally people like dancing. Dance is for auspicious occasions as weddings, new born etc., it is also entertaining. In the Grihya Sutras the art of music and dancing are cultivated, and at every stage of domestic life, both of them play a key part. The dance and music formed an important part of a marriage ceremony is clear from the various Gṛihyasūtras.

Dancing is also considered as a source of spiritual uplift, moral elevation of the highest type. It is the voice and association of God with human beings. These trends develop slowly

in course of a time. The NŚ writes treatise on dramaturgy, in which many concepts take a shape. It attributes to dancing a divine origin, a religious and literary background, and an aesthetic and secular purpose.

Let us see how dancing has been reflected in literature. Both the *ādikāvya* has numerous references of dance, dance theatre and artists. The Kṛṣṇa and gopis are closely connected with dancing in the Harivamsa of Mahābhārata. The sport of Kṛṣṇa with the gopis in Vrndāvana is explicitly described (II. 20). The word *hallisaka* occurs in the colophon to the chapter. In another place the words *hallisaka, rāsa* and *chālikya* occur (II. 89). In this sport Kṛṣṇa, Nārada, Balarāma and the celestial courtesans take part. Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa join the dance in the company of Revati and Satyabhāmā. The *rāsa* and the *hallisaka* dances were mixed entertainments. These singing and dancing were the main features, and the chālikya was a special kind of an operatic performance, which involved of song, instrumental music and dance. The dance is held on a full-moon night of the autumn season. The gopis, with a magical effect, come out to dance with the lord. They form a circle and move with hands interlocked. The women form pairs in a chain and sing the praises of Kṛṣṇa (Harivamsa, II. 20). Nīlakaṇṭha in his commentary, describes *hallisaka* and *rāsa* as "The sporting of one man with several women is called rāsa sport. The circular dance formation of the gopis is called *hallisaka*"

Hallisaka is a group dance native to Gujarātha. The 'tāla' is kept by clapping and the dance is accompanied by some melodious songs. We also find reference of this dance in Bālacharita by Rājaśekara (*ghoṣavāsasyānurūpo'yaṁ   hallīsakanṛttabandhaṁ upayujyatām*). Vatsyāyana (earlier to second century BCE), mentions *hallisaka* as one of the *Uparupakas*, which were watched by men and women. *Abhinavagupta* describes *hallisaka* as a dance; and, places it under the category of minor musical or dance dramas, characterized by *vachicabhinaya* that mainly employs singing and dancing. The twelve varieties of *Uparupakas* that *Bhoja* discussed in his *Sṛṅgāra Prakāsa*, one of them was *hallīṣaka*. There are three versions of this name – *hallisaka*, *hallīśaka,* and *hallīṣaka*.

IV.3.6.4.2 Rāsa dance

The rāsa dance was another famous dance which was a formation of the women joining hands in the circle. Sometimes they join with each other or sometimes couples stood together to form two circles. Clapping for tāla with the hands was also a necessary feature of this dance. Perhaps the most direct descendants of the rāsa dances described in the Puranas are the rāsa dances of Vṛindāvana and far off in Manipur. These views are by Kapila Vatsyayan, Rāsa dance took varying shapes and forms in the different provinces of India. Today they are widespread as dances of men only, of women only and of women dancing around one man or couples dancing in a circle. The circle as the basic chorographical motif is common to them all. There is another description of the mahārāsa. The contemporary mahārāsa in Manipur till today is danced to these verses of the Bhāgavata. A very much later Purāṇa, the Brahma Vaivarta, also devotes a section to the rāsa dance. (Kṛṣṇa Janana Khaṇda, XXVII).

IV.3.6.4.3 Jātaka

In the Buddhist Jātakas we find the arts as part of the royal entertainment. The dances described in the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu are the references to the solo-classical dance. Dancing is frequently mentioned in the Jaina canons. The most important and significant for dance tradition is the text Rāyapaseṇiya. Thirty-two types of dances are mentioned there. Their names indicate that they were dance dramas. Some seem to be the names of pure dance forms. [59]

In this bhakticitra, the following were represented through abhinaya: ihamiga, usabha, turaga, nara, magara, vihaga, valaga, kinnara, ruru, sarabha, camara, kuhjara, vanalayu, and paumalaya. In the NŚ we find Karaṇa, that is standing positions and movements of feet, also have names behind animals and birds. Bhujagatrāsita, Bhramara, vṛucchikakuṭṭita,

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[59] For details – Vatsyayan, Kapila; 1968 "Classical Indian dance in literature and the arts" Sangeet Natak Akademi, New Delhi,

garudaplutaka etc. These movements arenoticeably similar to animals or birds. The inclination of imitation has been in the society for long which is reflected in the dance movements.

Interesting details are seen about the kinds of dances and the huge range of the dance compositions in the thirty-two categories. It has *abhinaya*, *nṛtya*, *nātya* and *nritta*. The circle formations in dace are clearly indicated, and their names suggest pure dance. Also circle formations and dance compositions to represent planets, and supernatural beings are there. Though the word maṅḍala is used, it has nothing in common with the maṅḍala of the NŚ. Some varieties suggest a complete dance-drama based on the movement of the sun and the moon. The same is true where the gaits of various animals as the horse, elephant, etc are discussed. The NŚ talks of the representation of the gaits of the animals (NŚ 12.107 ff.), have some resemblance with this. In this text the walking and jumping of the elephant and horse are described, and all these are represented in both the *druta* and the *vilambita* tempo. The *añcita* here, is not a dance of any specific type and this term indicates anything from the *añcita* gesture of any part of the body, to the *a ñcita karaṇa* (NS. 4.84).

We may only conclude that the present classification does not base itself entirely on the classification and terminology of the NŚ. Still some connections can be established between these two. A few terms and concepts seem to be common. If we attempt to translate these terms into that of the NŚ, then perhaps one can say that first few numbers belong to the *purvaraṅga*; some define formation. Few belong to the variety of nātya where the circular formations and abhinaya is suggested. The gaits (*cāris*) of various kinds, the *bhāva* representations, *samyuta hastas*, the tempo, the dance poses and character of the dance and the choreographical patterns are similar to that of the NŚ.

The Jain texts also mentions various musical instruments. They are the rich source of information regarding social status of the artists.

The textual evidence shows us that dancing in India evolved by assimilating new forms and techniques and it gradually moved away from its dependency on drama. In this process aesthetic scope widened beyond decorative grace to include emotive communication. This resulted in a complex art of dance with the emotional expression. The field of dance was undergoing various modifications. Some of them had association with early Sanskrit texts.

Some social changes were trying to find new ways of expressions. Both these streams were flowing simultaneously.

Ganser (2011:147-48) points out that "Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, this seminal text on dramatic art devotes an entire chapter to dance and lays the basis for all subsequent descriptions of this art from. Characteristic of the period, which ends with Abhinavgupta's commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra, is the treatment of dance as an auxiliary to drama, a practice inaugurated by Bharata himself. In the medieval period, literature on dance came to be treated as part of the literature on saṇgita properly and dance started to be dealt with together with music. In this second period, spaning from 11th to the 15th century, regional and popular features of dance began to be recorded in treatises, giving rise to the well-known dichotomy in the dance tradition between *deśī* (the regional, popular forms) and m̄arga (the style codified by Barata in the Nāṭyaśāstra). The third period, ranging from the 16th to the 19th century, is marked by a proliferation of manuals composed mostly in vernacular language, which attest the existence of dance forms close to the contemporary one, namely Bharatn̄atyam, Odissi, Kathat etc."

IV.3.6.4.4 Abhinavagupta

The process of change in dancing is visible in the Abhinavagupta which again indicates towards the geographical influences on dance in his time. Abhinavagupta at many places, in his commentary on the NŚ, interprets it in the light of contemporary concepts and practices. He also introduces certain ideas and terms that were not present during the time of Bharata. For example, *Karaṇa* was defined by Bharata as '*hasta-pāda-saṁyogaḥ nṛttasya karaṇaṁ bhavet'* (NŚ 4.30*)*; meaning that the combination of hand and foot movements in dance (*Nṛtta*) are called *Karaṇa*. Abhinavagupta explains that '*hasta*' and '*pāda*', here, do not denote merely the hand and foot. But, *hasta* implies all actions pertaining to the upper part (*Purvakāyā*) of the body (*Aṇga*); and, it's *Śākhāṇga* (branches, the various movements of the hands), and *Upāṇga* (the eyebrows, the nose, the lower lip, the cheeks and the chin etc). Similarly, *pāda* stands for all actions of the lower limbs of the body (*Aparakāyā*); such as sides, waist, thighs, trunk and feet. Thus, *Karaṇa* involves the

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movement of the feet (*pāda karmāṇi*); shifting of a single foot (*cāri*) and postures of the legs (*sthāna*), along with hand gestures (*hastās*). All the actions of the hands and feet must be suitably and lucidly combined with those of the waist, sides, thighs, chest and back – *Hasta, pāda saṁyogah Nṛtta Karaṇam bhavet.*

IV.3.6.4.5 Padmā Subramaṇyam

Padmā Subrahmaṇyam is an Indian classical Bharatanāṭyam dancer. She is also a research scholar, choreographer, teacher, Indologist and author in the field of dance. Her PhD was based on the reconstruction of the 108 *karaṇas*, dance movements described in the NŚ.

Until Padmā Subrahmaṇyam's time, the *karaṇa-s* were thought to be static postures. With her efforts lasting over a decade, Padmā Subrahmaṇyam reconstructed the *mārga-karaṇa-s* which had been lost for over a thousand years, after the times of Abhinavagupta (1000 CE). She believes that '*Tāṇḍava-vidhāna*', in the Nāṭyaśāstra, contains detailed descriptions of one hundred and eight *karaṇa-s*, which form the basis for the movement vocabulary of dance. She showed through her research, that Bharata's original text, Abhinavagupta's Abhinava-bhāratī composed in Kashmir (1000 CE), the sculptures of Brihadeeshwara temple, Tanjavur (completed 1010 CE), Thillai Nataraja temple, Chidambaram (12-13th century CE), Sarangapani temple, Darasuram near Kumbhakonam (10-15 century CE), Aruṇācaleśvara temple, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai (around 1520 CE), and Vṛddagirīśvara temple at Vriddhacalam (1530 CE) all contain similar depiction of karaṇa-s (Subrahmaṇyam, 2003). She also identified the karaṇa sculptures of the Caṇḍi Śiva temple at Prambanan, Central Java, Indonesia belonging to 9th Century CE.

Arjun Bharadwaj (December 2017) in his talk stats that "Padmā Subrahmaṇyam's reconstruction was not limited to mere textual and sculptural evidences, but it was also based on a close observation of today's regional dance styles, that have been passed on for thousands of years. '*Mārga*' refers to the universal classical tradition that is realized and documented, '*Deśi*' refers to the application of the *mārga* to suit regional tastes." A study

of the *deśi* dance forms that are merely echoes of the *mārga*, was essential for the reconstruction of the *karaṇas*. Padmā Subrahmaṇyam has shown the traces of the *karaṇas* can be found in all Indian *deśi* or regional forms of dance, and also the folk variants. *Deśi* means regional forms of dance such as *Sadir-dāsiāṭṭam*, *Odissi, Mohiniaṭṭam*, *Kucupuḍi*, *Kathak* and *Kathakali*, also the folk forms such as *Gotipua*, and *Kolāṭṭam*, all are *deśi*, if Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra is taken as the absolute Mārga. Padmā Subrahmaṇyam has revealed that the pan-Indian culture extended for several ages and covered large portions of India and South East Asia its geographic extent, through the identification and reconstruction of the *karaṇas*. Abhinavagupta was writing commentary on the Nāṭyaśāstra in the northern province of Kaśmira and the Brihadeśwara temple was being constructed in the southern province of Tanjāvura. She says that the description of the *karaṇas* as documented by Abhinavagupta closely matches the sculptures of Tanjāvura. This proves the geographical, cultural and artistic unity of the Indian sub-continent. All 'folk' forms of dance are derived from Bharata's *mārga* tradition, they are integral to the pan-Indian culture. It proves that the divide between the classical and the folk is fabricated.

IV.3.6.4.6 The Evolution of Classical Indian Dance Literature

The early texts such as the NŚ, the Visnudharmottara Purāṇa, give us bare descriptions of body movements, while medieval texts, such as the Sangītasamayasāra, the Sangītaratnākara and the Nrttaratnāvai, highlight the purpose of achieving imaginative effects through bodily motion, such as fine expression as simulating the shiver of a drop of a water on a lotus leaf, or the vibration of a flame.

Bose Mandakranta (1989: 270) in his Phd thesis rightly points out that "The NŚ sets out the principles and describes the technique of the established dance style of its time, but while it does acknowledge the existence of regional and popular dance forms, it does not describe them, presumably because they were not developed enough or sophisticated enough to be regarded as distinct styles. Whether this neglect was general or limited to Bharata cannot be discovered, for no relevant work by other early authors, such as Kohala, Dattila or Matanga, is extant. But the fact that no description, however brief, of regional

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and popular forms appears in any literary source suggests that they could not have been of any great importance in this early period".

In the medieval period, popular, local forms became part of the general discourse on dancing. At that stage a clear distinction between the older tradition (of Bharata) and the newly emerging styles made a distinctive difference. It was marked by the use of the term *mārga* for the old style and *desī* for the new. The first record of the *desī* style appears in the Mānasollāsa of Someśvara. Pārśvadeva records some desī dances in his Saṅgitasamayasāra (13th century). The first organized account of desī dancing appears in the thirteenth century in the Saṅgitaratnākara by Śārṛṅgadeva (13th century). It was followed by more elaborate treatment of the subject in the Nṛttaratnāvali of Jaya Senaāpati (13th century). With these texts the inclusion of the *desī* dance becomes a standard feature of dance manuals. The later texts record the dances of their own time. We can identify the style as the present day kathaka from historic sources. This style was indeed imported to India in the Mughal era by Persian court dancers. Styles such as this were not part of the tradition derived from Bharata. The emphasis on these styles shows the significant development that the dance underwent from about the eleventh century to the seventeenth. The emergence of such styles in above discussed texts suggests that by this time the newer dances had assumed an importance that was considered as equal to the dance described by the NŚ. Present day we have various classical dancing in India. It is grounded more directly in the tradition recorded in the later dance manuals, than in the older tradition. [60]

The works on dance gained significance in their own regions. The dance forms, which prevailed in those regions, followed to their practice based on the tradition. Regional traditions became scripture in the texts. These works were mostly written based on the peculiarities of dance forms prevailing in those regions.

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[60] For details Mandakranta Bose, 1989 "The Evolution of Classical Indian Dance Literature: A Study of the Sanskritic Tradition"

IV.4 Socio-political and geographical influences

IV.4.1 How the prominent kingdoms came into existence?

In the Vedic literature, the term *jana* denotes a tribe, whose members believed in a shared ancestry. The Janas were mobile communities without fixed territories. Geography of the Janapadas is a valuable source of historical Janapadas like Magadha, Kāśi, Kosala, Avanti, Kuru, Pañchāla, Matsya, Gandhāra and others. It also brings to light the migratory and settling trends of a number of people. There is an interesting mythological story in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (1.14) which throws a light on this. It was the war between the Devas and the Asuras and the defeat of the Devas at the hands of their enemies. In the analysis the only short-coming of the Devas was attributed that they had no king, whereas their opponents had one. (देवा अब्रुवन्नराजतया वै नो जयति राजान करवमहा इति तथेति। Ait. Br. 1.14) This indicates towards the preliminary phase of Kings and Kingdoms in ancient times.[61]

IV.4.2 The King and the supremacy

The kingless janapada and its vices have been discussed in the Rāmāyaṇa and it is highlighted that in kingless society, the stronger gulps the weak. (2. 67. 31) The Mahābhārata (12, 67, 11; 68, 40.) advocated many times that King was appointed with a contract. The contract allots certain percentage of the income and the virtues to the monarch. In the Droṇa Parvan (Mbh. 7 69.12) the people request Pṛthu to be the king for their safety and prosperity and address him as an emperor, savior and father. In the Śānti Parvan (MBh 12.67.7) at first Manu felt uneasy to accept kingship perhaps trembling at the

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[61] For details - Majumdar, Dr Ramesh Chandra. 1968 "The History and Culture of the Indian People, p lxv" Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay

idea of the monarchical responsibility and fate of the monarch in case of his non-conformity to the popular will.

The attentiveness and dutiful discharge of the royal responsibilities of early Janapada kings placed the institution of empire high in public opinion. The Kuru Pāñchāla kings of the later Vedic literature and the Mahābhārata, in the Rāmāyaṇa kingship at Ayodhyā, king Aśvapati of Kekaya, the Videha rulers like Janaka, the Brahmdatta kings of Kāśi and a few others offer examples of the leading monarchy of the Janapada era. Monarchs possessed a moral responsibility regarding their people. The king was bestowed with sovereignty for specific purposes and promised to fulfil them being not subjective. He further promised to be guided by the principles of ethics and politics and whole-heartedly work for public welfare. The Rāmāyaṇa (1,6.1) adds the epithet *Paura-janapadapriyaḥ* to king Dasaratha. It elaborately describes the virtues of Rāma, the royal prince and therefore the virtues of the king.

The first and the primary duty of the state in this period was the safety of the empire from outside attacks. The fear of outside violence and the protective measures to be adopted, demanded the foundation of diplomacy. (MBh 12.120. 3, 67, 44-46) The idea of insignificant over lordship gave place to the concept of real ruler over vast territories. This led to the loss of political independence of the individual Janapadas and their territorial absorption in bigger political units. That existed in ancient India from the sixth to fourth centuries BCE during the second urbanisation period. The 6th–5th centuries BCE is often regarded as a major turning point in early Indian history; during this period India's first large cities arose. [62]

The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa extensively deals with the characteristics of the various janapadas mostly regarding their regional practices, social habits and fighting

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[62] For details see Vikas Nain, "Second Urbanization in the Chronology of Indian History", International Journal of Academic Research and Development 3 (2) (March 2018), pp. 538–542 esp. 539.

specialties. In the Mahājanapada period, the tendency of conquering and capturing the territories of the weaker and neighboring janapadas by the stronger was developed. It significantly reduced the number of minor janapadas. It was the consequential change in the political structure of India. The early Buddhist literature repeatedly refers to the sixteen mahājanapadas, in contradiction of the larger number of the Janapadas in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata.[63] The Aśwamedha sacrifice in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Rājasūya in the Mahābhārata are proofs of this state of affairs. The tendency in the mahājanapadas era of obtaining territory, culminated in the political unification of India under the Mauryas of Magadha. The sacrifice like Aśwamedha for kings played vital role in that.

In the verse (Mbh. 1.56.19) Itihāsa means -

jayo nāmetihāso'yaṁ śrotavyo vijigīṣuṇā mahīṁ vijayate sarvāṁ śatrūṁś cāpi parājayet||

It should be heard by those desirous of victory. A king by hearing it may bring the whole world under subjection and conquer all his foes. Thus, by word Itihāsa it means victory of a king.

In India the basic foundations of social structure, political institutions, religion, philosophy, art and architecture were laid in the janapada period. The evolution of fine arts such as music, dance, drama and architecture; the experience of the final end of human life coupled with the oneness of the soul. God was another significant characteristic achievement of the janapada age. The end of the Janapada states paved way for the long-desired political unification of India. The Vedic literature relishes the idea of sole monarchy of the land up to its natural frontiers. The Aśvamedha ceremony of Daśaratha in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Digvijayas of the Pāṇḍavas, and the victories of Jarāsandha in the Mahābhārata reveal the sanctity of the ideal of singular monarchy over the whole of India. The political merger of the country gave a shape to the territorial unity of India. The post-janapada literature however, involved a new meaning to Indian territorial harmony and so did the rulers and

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[63] For details see B. C. Law, 1974 A History of Pāli Literature

leaders of post-Janapada India. We can find it in the texts like Viṣṇu Purāṇa.[64] The kings started empires with defined geographical borders. The historians have often presented a sign of this age as an introduction to the stability and certainty of the majestic period of India, which is been also reflected in the poetry.

IV.4.3 The geo-political prominence in Kāvya

The Rāmāyaṇa is a Sanskrit epic poem, and the other is the Mahābhārata. Both these great epics had a powerful impact on the readers for the thousands of years. Many translations of these two into the vernacular languages are themselves works of great literary creativity. For example – 12th-century Tamil language Rāmāvataram, popularly referred to as Kamba Rāmāyaṇam written by Kambara, 12th-century Kannada Rāmachandra Charitapurāṇa also known as Pampa Rāmāyaṇa by Nāgachandra. 13th-century Telugu language Sri Raṅganātha Rāmāyanam, written by the poet the Raṅganātha. 16th-century Awadhi language Rāmacaritamānasa by Tulsidāsa. Throughout North India the events of these poems are enacted in an annual carnival, and in South India both the epics, the Rāmāyana and the Mahābhārata, make up the story of the various dance-drama presentations.

What does the authors of these epics are depicting? Were they just interested in the victory of the heroes over the villains? Were they just creating wonderful poetic piece of literature? Vālmīki and Vyāsa, both the authors were portraying the story of their period. The important factors for them were itihāsa that is history of kings and purāṇa that is ancient lineage. This new era was of kingdom of great kings. Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata are to view as a work of political structuring aimed at bringing about socio-political order and administrating propriety. A structure of socio-political chaos moving up to a tentative establishment of a federal system of political administration can be seen in these epics. It

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[64] देशः पृथिवी। तस्यां हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरमुदीचीनं योजन सहस्रपरिमाणमतिर्यक् चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम्। उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेच्चैव दक्षिणम्। वर्ष तन्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्ततिः। Viṣṇu Purāṇa II.3.1

turns into war and conflict, to stabilize into a political order and religious tolerance of a society.

The new monarchy systems had a great impact on the literature of the era. The Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, Purāṇa literature all have impressions of socio-political affairs by and large. Let us see how this impact is being echoed in the two great epics and then further in classical literature.

IV.4.3.1 Polity in the epics the Rāmayaṇa and the Mahābhārata

Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata are known as poems but still it has a large amount of information about the polity of its time.

IV.4.3.1.1 Polity in the Rāmāyaṇa

The major type of state found in the Rāmāyaṇa is monarchical. Political thought is thought about the state, its structure, nature and its purpose. The word rājan though literally derived from the root rāj which is to shine. It is associated with the root rañj which means to please. Thus, prajānurañjana, pleasing his subjects is considered to be the primary duty of a king. (R. I 14/1; R. VII 62/6). The primary duty of the king was also to ensure perfect security of life and property of his citizens against external as well as internal dangers. (R. I 19/9) The protection of the subjects was not merely a pious obligation on the part of the king. It was legally binding upon him, for the taxes that he received from his subjects were expressly on the understanding that he would in return protect them as his own children. (R. Ill 7 /14)

The kingdoms usually comprised a capital town known as *pura*, a few other towns called *nagaras* and a number of agricultural and pastoral villages as *gramas* and *ghośas*. The royal

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court of Ayodhyā is often described in the Rāmāyaṇa as being attended to by subordinate kings. (R. I 5/14; R. II 3/52-55; R. II 92/7) The Bāla Kāṇḍa specifically mentions *sāmanta* kings coming to Ayodhyā to pay their tribute to Dasaratha. (R. I 5/14) Rāma asserts in the Kiśkindhā Kāṇḍa that the entire earth with its mountains and forests belonged to the Ikśvākus. (R. IV 16/63) Imperialistic ideas are indicated by the existence of words like samrāṭ, sarvarāja, (R. II 13/21) cakravarti, (R. V. 25/2) and adhirāja (R. II 57/13) applied to Daśaratha and his sons. In a passage of the Kiśkindhā-Kāṇḍa, with the exception of the amātyas all the elements of imperial state are collectively mentioned;

Yasya daṇḍaśca kośaśca mitrānyātmā puraṁ janaḥ,

Pūrṇāny'tāni sarvāṇi sa rājyaphalamaśnute R. IV 22/11.

In a monarchical state the position of a king was unequivocally super-eminent. (R. II 103/10) The Rāmāyaṇa states that success in an enterprise depended upon the king. (R. Ill 44/10) The next importance is to the ministers, the treasure, the army and the allies. The relationship between the state and the citizens was very important. The people are required to render to the state a portion of their produce or otherwise income, in consideration of the protection granted by a king. The state exists primarily for the benefit of the people. A king was to regard his subjects with affection and justice even as a father regards his children. (R. III. 7/15-16; VI 95/55; VII 95/15) Daśaratha had to seek the approval from the subjects for appointing Rāma as the prince. Rāmāyaṇa gives information about the various aspects of political entity through its chapters.

In the absence of a king, it is the law of the jungle which would prevail everywhere and the poor and the weak would be oppressed by the rich and the powerful. (R. II 73/24-25; VII 63/22) The smooth functioning of the economic, commandment, literary, religious and other social institutions could be possible only when the state duly discharged its functions. But the king was only an agent of the state to enforce with strictness and impartiality the *dharma* which was neither of his making nor necessarily of his choice. (R. VII 2/9) While

introducing a ruler or a rule it generally employs the qualifying phrase "ruling according to *dharma* and *nyāya*.'' As said - *rājāpi dharmeṇa tad rañjayan sunayaih prajāḥ* (R. I 14/1) The society believed that evils and mishaps among the people were caused by the wrongs of the ruler. (R. VII 76/17-18) For example the drought in the Aṅgadeśa was attributed to the fault its ruler, Romapāda. (R. I 8/12)

As every king was eager either to increase his power and influence or to maintain at least its distinct individuality, inter-state relations naturally happened to be a matter of vital interest to them. Ancient political thinkers refer in this connection to the mandala theory, which with the vijigiśu (the ambitious conqueror) at the center seeks to explain his relationship with the other states around him. Thus the terms vijigiśu, mitra, amitra, madhyastha and udāsīna occur in the Rāmāyaṇa and clearly indicate that in a political scope the other states could be related to a particular one as its ally, enemy, or neutral. The epic also displays ṣāḍguṇya or sixfold policy which embodied the guiding principles for a king in determining his relationship with the foreign states. (R. VII 61/22) The six policies enumerated under ṣāḍguṇya are sandhi, vigraha, āsana, yāna, saṁśraya and dvaidhī-bhāva.

The story of Rāmāyaṇa is about the kūṭa-yuddha versus dharma-yuddha among Rāvaṇa and Rāma. (R. I 18/6) In the Rāmāyaṇa the Rakśasa have been declared kūṭa-yodhins and māyāvins in their fights. (*Prakritya Rakśasah sarve māyayā kūṭayodhinah* R. VI 28/27) Rāvaṇa has been described as employing his Māyā in the Uttara Kāṇda. When fighting against the Yakśas, he assumed a thousand shapes to contrive the destruction of his adversaries. He successively assumed the shapes of a tiger, a boar, a cloud, a hill, the ocean and a pond and thus wore full many forms and was not visible in his native shape. (R. VII 14/27-28) Sītā condemned Rāvaṇa as a coward, for he did not win her in war duly announcing himself as a fighter to her husband. (R. Ill 59/9) In course of his digvijaya, Rāvaṇa captured many maidens of his foes and seized the Puśpaka from Kubera as a mark of victory. (R. VII 30/2)

The Rāmāyaṇa, introduces us to an early period of ancient Indian history, in particular, the region beyond the Vindhya Mountain in the south was inhabited by non-Āryans.

Politically, Rākśasas had a strong power, a great threat to the security of the Āryans. Rāma, as a hero, ensures security not only to his kingdom but to all the citizens of Bhāratvarṣa by killing Rāvaṇa.

Dr. Vishwanath Prasad (1974; 289) states the views by Lassen and Weber that the Rāmāyaṇa, represents the glorification of Āryan penetration in the south. The general belief is that Rāma represented Āryan victory over Rāvaṇa, the powerful Dravidian king. But this view is partly vitiated by several errors.

I do not find it relevant to discuss if Rāma's invasion towards south was to be considered as Āryan invasion or not. In the given context, the point is, the story of Rāmāyaṇa was full of political disturbances. This unrest begins from the Kaikeyī's demand for power his son. This instability was also replicated into the geographical entity. It was very important for a king to win more *deśa* or regions under his regime. Thus, a region under a king became key element of a story.

IV.4.3.1.2 Polity in the Mahābhārata

As Rāmāyaṇa, the epic Mahābhārata is also rich in polity. Of course, the complexity is different.

Prafulla Kumar Mohanty (2005:146-151) states "I would humbly venture to call it a vast statement on the post-modernist cultural ethos of the post-Vedic times, which have impacted the regional and zonal cultures and bhāṣa literatures up to the contemporary times. the most profitable reading of the Mahābhārata is to view it as a work of political structuring aimed at bringing about socio-political order and administrating propriety."

Mahābhārata is a triadic work of structure of socio-political structuring which aims at bringing about socio-political order and administrating decency in its realm. It was an establishment of a political administration which disperses into war and conflict. The aim is to stabilize itself into a political stability. The epic reaches its highpoint of a political vision at the Rājsuya yajña where the federal political structure is anticipated. We come across aspects of good governance discussed at length in the Śānti parvan popularly known as Rājadharma.

प्रजानां पालनधर्मो राज्ञां राजीवलोचन। धर्मः प्रमाणं लोकस्य नित्यं धर्मानुवर्तिनः।

Mbh. Śānti 31.2

It is the duty of the king to seek and promote the welfare of its subject.

The best of the kings should have characteristics as intellect, renunciation, awareness of the weaknesses of the enemies, good looks, capacity to be fair and just to all the sub-sections, quickness in decision making, softness in behavior, industrious, hardworking, farsightedness, indifference to self-pride and control over anger.

प्राज्ञस्त्यागगुणोपेतः पररन्ध्रेषु तत्परः। सदर्शः सर्ववर्णानां नयापनयवित् तथा।।

क्षिप्रकारी जितक्रोधः सुप्रसादो महमनाः। आरोषप्रकृतिर्युक्तः क्रियावानविकत्थनः।।

आरब्धान्येवकार्याणि सुपर्यवसितानि च यस्य राज्ञः प्रदृश्यन्ति सराजाराजसत्तमः।।

Mbh. Śānti 57.30-32

Bhiṣma says that one should come under the guardianship of a king first and only then aspire for wife and wealth because when there is no king to protect him; there will be no security either for his wife or for his wealth.

राजानं प्रथमं विन्देत् ततो भार्यां ततो धनम्। राजन्यसतिलोकस्य कुतो भार्या कुतो धनम्।। Mbh. Śānti 57.41

The concept of polity was based on Daṇḍanīti. If the king commits wrongs and sins, Daṇḍanīti may get destroyed and Rājadharma disgraced resulting in the absence of the sense of right and wrong for the people.

विनष्टायां दण्डनीत्यां राजधर्मे निराकृते। सम्प्रभुह्यन्ति भूतानि राजदौरात्म्यतोऽनघ।। Mbh. Śānti 65.29

Anarchic state has no security for its citizens, property, wealth, women, servants, poor and weak.

राजा चेन्नभवेल्लोके पृथिव्यां दण्डधारकः। जलेमत्स्यानिवाभक्ष्यन् दुर्बलं बलवत्तराः।। Mbh. Śānti 67.16

Collecting taxes from the common people as Dharma, the king is directed to govern the state for the welfare of subjects.

दापयित्वाकरं धर्म्यं राष्ट्रं नीत्या यथाविधि। तथैतं कल्पयेद् राजा योगक्षेममतन्द्रितः।। Mbh. Śānti 71.11

The king is condemnable when the people and the visitors to the state are unhappy and restless about their living.

धिक् तस्य जीवितं राज्ञो राष्ट्रं यस्यावसीदति। अकृत्यान्यमनुष्योऽपि यो वैदेशिक इत्यपि।। Mbh. Śānti

130.34

Roles, duties, functions and qualities of the king were described and discussed in Śānti parvan of Mahābhārata at length. At the same time in this epic, readers can find many kings with political fear for failure. We thus see that several attempts were made on life of Kṛṣṇa by the Kaṁsa whose political insecurity did not spare any newborn baby of his kingdom. When Kṛṣṇa grew up, he experienced the ruthless might and autocracy of Jarāsandha, the Magadha king whose power had weakened the neighboring kingdoms of North-Central India at that time.

The Kurū clan at Hastināpura, under the protective care of Bhiśma, was showing symptoms of restlessness. The children of the blind king Dhṛtarāṣtra and the late Pandu, were

struggling under the almost invisible planning of Śakuni. Kṛṣṇa and Śakuni are the two polls in the Mahābhārata.

One can see the political polarizations at Kurukśētra war based on geographical identities of the kings. The kingdoms to the east, south and north of Kuru region were Pāñcāla, Matsya and the Rākśasa. The Rākśasa under Ghatotkaca supported the Pāṇḍavas as he was son of Bhīma. Matsya king Virāta was the father-in-law of Abhimanyu who was Arjuna's son. Pāñcāla king Drupada was the father-in-law of the Pāndava. The kingdoms to the east of Pāñcāla were Vatsa, Kāśi, Kōsala and Magadha. The kingdoms to the south of Matsya and Pāñcāla were Niśādha, Chēdi, Kunti and Kāruśa, were also supporting the Pāṇḍavas. Pāṇḍavas had marital associations with these kingdoms. Chēdi king Dhristakētu was a friend. Magadha king Sahadēva too was also a great ally. An alliance that Kṛṣṇa done with the southern kingdom of Pāndyas resulted into the support of Pāndyās, Kēralās and Chōlās to the Pāṇḍavas. The rebel sections among the Yādavās under Sātyaki who was a disciple of Arjuna supported the Pāṇḍavas. These forces were collected from Dvāraka, Ānarta and eastern Kurujangala. The agitators among the Kēkayas, who lost the kingdom to cousin brothers, Rebels of Aśmaka and Kāmboja warriors too supported the Pāṇḍavas.

The Kāśi king, the Matsya king Virāta and the Chēdi king Dhristakētu, Brihadbala, the main king of Kōsala, Rākśasa rebels like Amabuśa opposed to Ghatotkacha, leaders of the Yādavās like Kritavarma, supported the Kauravas. The Madra king, Śalya the maternal uncle of the Pāṇḍava twins, was forced to support the Kauravas. The major associates of the Kauravas were the Trigartas, the Salvas, the Gāndhāras, the Sindhu-Sauviras, the Bāhlikās, the Darada-Kāmbojas, the Anga-Vanga-Kalingas, the Avantis, the Dāśārnas and the Kirātas under king Bhāgadatta.

The kingdom of Vidarbha ruled by Rukmi stayed away from the battle.

The purpose of the great war was to establish a federal political structure under the emperorship of Yudhishthira who adhered to the principles of rule of law and righteousness. The samrāt was protected by the mightiest of heroes like Bhima and Arjuna, which ensured stability. The empire of Yudhishthira was a federal trust of all kingdoms of

the then India with a benevolent ruler as the protector of dharma. The Rajasuya was the peak of the triumphal moment. It gave the political stability, order and righteous administration claiming the crown.

It can be summarized that the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata in both of these great epics, polity plays a major role. The whole story of Rāma and Pāṇḍavas is woven with the political and administrative aspects of kindom.

IV.4.4 Geography in the Rāmāyaṇa and theMahābhārata

IV.4.4.1 Geography in the Rāmāyaṇa

Rāmāyaṇa is not just a story of victory of the hero. It is not a mere story of a King who must save his kidnapped wife. In the epic Rāmāyaṇa, description of various regions, rivers, mountains, forests occur with the journey of the hero Rāma. This description does not appear accidentally. It seems to be the need of the poet and his time. King, kingdom and the regions, mountains, rivers in the kingdom were playing vital role in framing the identity of the then new society.

Rāmayaṇa underscores the sacred geography of India. No wonder it is said that any village you visit in India, the common thing to be found is the stories of Rāmayaṇa and Mahābhārata. The author of the epic Rāmāyaṇa has beautifully knitted the journey of the hero with the journey of the various regions. Let us see journey of Rāma with Viśvāmitra as one of the examples were the geographical illustration runs along the story of Rāma.

In the first Bāla Kāṇḍa (22) Rāma and Lakśmaṇa started from Ayodhyā with sage Viśvāmitra. Rāma received the Bala and Atibala mantras on the bank of river Sarayu

(Kośala). Then Rāma visits Aṅga āśrama where rivers Gaṅgā and Śarayu meet. There he spent a night in a hermitage (Bāla 23). Rāma heard about river Śarayu originating from lake Manasā (Bāla 24). Rāma visited the Tātaka forest and sage Viśwāmitra tells the story of demoness Tātaka. (Bāla 24 - 25). He receives the knowledge of terminating the divine weapons from sage Viśwamitra. Rāma comes to the outskirts of Siddhāśrama (Bāla 28). He hears the story of Vāmana avatāra of Lord Viṣṇu. They spent a night in the hermitage (Bāla 29). Then comes the story of Rāma guarding the sacrifice of Viśwāmitra for six days and nights. Then Rāma along with the sages starts his journey from Siddhāśrama towards Mithilā (Bāla 31). This place is in Bihar. On the way from Siddhāśrama to Mithilā, Rāma camped on the bank of River Shona at Girivraja (Bāla 31). He hears the story of the lineage of Viśwāmitra and spents the night there. This place is in Bihar. Rāma camped on the bank of river Gaṅgā (Bāla 35). He hears the story of the ancestry of river Gaṅgā and spent the night there. (Bala 35 - 44). Rāma crosses river Gaṅgā (Bāla 45). Rāma hears the story of the churning of Milky Ocean (Bāla 45-47). Here, Rāma visits the Gautama āśrama and redeemed Devi Ahalya from her curse and she became united with sage Gautama (Bāla 48-49). This place is in Bihar. Rāma reaches Mithilā. Sage Viśwāmitra told king Janaka about Rāma. Rāma hears the story of the bow of Lord Śiva from king Janaka and also, he knows the story of the birth of Sītā. He breaks the bow there and then he marries Sītā. (Bāla 68-73).

In the same way the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa takes us to various places of then India. We can also identify those places in modern India. In this epic not only places but forests, mountains, rivers, lakes, aśrama of various munī, all of them have their important role to play. They are from all four directions of the country from north to south and east to west.

In a way, reader has a journey of all the regions of India with this poem. Readers can enjoy these two great Pan-Indian epics who connect the vast geography of India within a great piece of literature.

IV.4.4.2 Geography in the Mahābhārata

Some portions of the text of the Mahābhārata reminds a reader of the Vedic-Upanisadic period. Parts of it resemble the Purānic texts. The core text of Jaya is defined as an Itihāsa. The Mahābhārata is thus a connecting link between Vedas and Purānas as indicated in the verse Mbh.01.56.15

idaṁ hi vedaiḥ samitaṁ pavitram api cottamam ǀ

śrāvyāṇām uttamaṁ cedaṁ purāṇam ṛṣisaṁstutam ǀǀ

The text of Mahābhārata starts with astronomical observations and a geographical analysis of Bhāratavarṣa. Mahābhārata mentions many geographical elements of Bhāratavarṣa – its rivers, forests, mountains, lakes and constituent provinces and kingdoms. Mahābhārata text is also full of travel stories connecting various places of Bhāratavarṣa along with the main story of Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas.

Bhīshma Parva, Jamvukānda Nirmāna Parva is an information-repository on the geography of Bhāratavarṣa. (MBH. 06.05.06- 06.06.02) Dhritarāṣtra asks Sañjaya to describe the portion resembling the shape of rabbit in detail (MBH.06.07.01). Sañjaya names the six mountain ranges spread in the east-west direction - Himavāna, Hemakūṭa – also known as Kailāsa, Niṣadha, Nīlanīlaś, vaiḍūryamayaḥ, Śveta, Śṛṅgavān (MBH.06.07.03) These six mountain ranges divide the into seven regions. They are Bhārata Varṣa, Himavat Varṣa, Hari Varṣa, Ilāvrita Varṣa, Śveta Varṣa, Hiranyaka Varṣa and Airāvata Varṣa. Regarding the people inhabiting the six mountains were as following- The Rākshasās live on the Himavat Mountains while Yakshās live on the Hemakūṭa or Kailāsa Mountains. The

Sarpās, Nāgās and Gandharvās live on the Niṣadha Mountains and Brahmarṣis live on the Nīla Mountains. Devās and Asuras live on the Śveta Mountains. The Pitris live on the Śṛṅgavān Mountains. (Mbh. 6.07.48)

Travels such as Digvijayas and troop movements for battles. The travel narratives in the Mahābhārata are mostly of two types, roundabout pilgrimages usually around Bhāratavarṣa and Military –

Pāṇḍu's journey in Himālayas and his stay at Śatasringa, Pāṇḍava's journeys in Śatasringa, Haistinapura, Pramānakoti and Vāranāvati, Pāṇḍava's wandering from Vāranāvati to Ekachakra and Kāmpilya, Bhīma, Arjuna & Kṛṣṇa's travel to Magadha with the aim to kill Jarāsandha, Pāṇḍava's shift from Hastināpura to Kāmyaka and Dwaita forests, Arjuna's travel in Devabhūmi for Pāsupata and divine weapons, Pāṇḍava's shift from Kāmyaka to Virāta's city, Arjuna's travel to submerging Dvārakā. The final journey of the Pāṇḍavas as the Mahāprasthana. In the sub-stories have travel narratives as wanderings of Nala as described in the Nala-Damayanti, Wanderings of Satyavāna & Sāvitrī, and travels of Rāma as Rāmayaṇa embedded in the Vana Parvan of Mahābhārata.

There are some pilgrim narratives as Arjuna's pilgrimage, circling Bhāratavarṣa as penance for seeing Draupadi in the chamber of Yudhiṣṭhira, Pilgrimages of Paulastya, Dhaumya and other sages encircling Bhāratavarṣa, Yushirthira's pilgrimage encircling Bhāratavarṣa from Dwaita-Kāmyaka forests and returning back, Balarāma's pilgrimage along Sarasvati from Dvaraka to Kurukśetra when the Kurukśētra ware was taking place.

The major military travels are for Digvijaya and battles. They are as follow -

For Rājasūya Digvijaya Arjuna goes to the north, Bhīma's goes to the east, Nakula's goes to the west and Sahadeva's goes to the south. For Aśvamēdha Digvijaya Arjuna's military campaign circles Bhāratavarṣa for the post war. Pāṇḍu goes to Hastināpura after ascending the throne, Bhīma and Arjuna travel after their military education, Karṇa's travel to Pāṇḍavas as they were in exile.

Some important battle travels are of both Kuru-Pāṇḍava attacking on Pāñcāla to present Drupada as the preceptor's pay to Drōna, Trigarta-Kaurava attacking on Matsya while Pāndavās were staying secretly in Matsya kingdom, Arjuna's attack on Kālakeyas during his stay at Dēvabhūmi and deployment of Kurus and Pāndavas armies around Kurukśetra for the Kurukśetra War.

V.3.2.2.1 The Mountains and rivers of Bhāratavarśa

Dhṛtarāṣtra asks Sañjaya to describe Bhāratavarśa in detail in the Bhīṣma-parvan. Sañjaya describes Bhāratavarśa as the beloved land of Indra and Vaivasvata Manu (अत्र तु वर्णयिष्यामि वर्षं भारत भारतम्। प्रियमिन्द्रस्य देवस्य मनोर वैवस्वतस्य च।– Mbh. 06.10.05). He also lists many other rulers as Pṛthu, Vainya, Ikṣvāku, Yayāti, Ambarīṣa, Māndhātr, Nahuṣa, Mucukundasya, Śibi, Auśīnara and Ṛṣabha. Then Sañjayaexplains the major mountain ranges called seven Kula-Parvatās of Bhāratavarśa. These are Mahendra, Malaya, Sahya, Śuktimān Ṛkṣavān, Vindhya and Pāriyātra (महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यः सुक्तिमान् रक्षवानपि विन्धश्च सप्तैते कुलपर्वताः।– Mbh. 06.10.10).

The names of the 150 rivers of Bhāratavarśa are spread in 24 ślōkas from Mbh.6.10.12 - 35. The names of the provinces of Bhāratavarśa are spread in 32 ślōkas from Mbh.6.10.37-68. The 220 kingdoms or provinces covering Bhāratavarśa are listed.[65] Around 30 forests are found – badari, brindavana, Brinda, chitraratha, dandaka, Devadaru, Devavana, Dharmaranya, Dwaita, Dwaitbana, Gandhamadana, Gobhavana, kāmyaka, khādava, Madhuvana, Mathara, Naimiśa, Naṇdana, Saugandhikanaka, Saugandhivana etc. Around 30 lakes, 80 mountain ranges and peaks, 300 Tīrthastānās or pilgrim places, 80 kingdoms are described in this epic.

Geography is described and listed in ample in this epic poem. It is important as geography was the significant element of the story of heroes.

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[65] see the appendix for the detailed list.

IV.4.5 Sanskrit Drama

Let us see how the political activities, expansion of a regime and concept of heroism of a King has influenced many important dramas in Sanskrit. I am, hereby, giving few of the examples from the major plays and epics from Sanskrit classical literature.

There are four classes defined of heroes (नायक) in NŚ chapter 34. They have various characteristics. The four kinds of heroes are as follows:

1. *Dhīroddhata is* the self-controlled, firm and balanced; ārabhaṭī-vṛtti
2. *Dhīralalita is* interested in fine arts and always happy and carefree; kaiśikī-vṛtti
3. *Dhīrodātta is* the self-controlled and exalted passionate and ambitious; sāttvatī-vṛtti
4. *Dhīrapraśānta is* the self-controlled and calm virtuous and kind; bhāratī and kaiśikī-vṛtti

The Sāhityadarpaṇa accepts all four kinds. The word *dhīra* is associated with each of the varieties. The term *dhīra* means firmness. So, it can be said that according to the Sāhityadarpaṇa, all the four types of hero should be associated with the firmness. On this ground, let us see how actually writers reveal heroes.

How this rule is applied in Sanskrit plays? The political activities, expansion of a regime and concept of heroism of a King has influenced many important dramas in Sanskrit. I have given many examples of these from various Sanskrit plays. Hereby, I discuss, vital question about a wellknown drama in Sankrit. Kālidāsa is a very important dramatist and he makes some changes in the story of Śakuntalā. He has taken the plot from the epic Mahābhārata. He makes some changes. There must be some reason for the changes.

IV.4.5.1 Bhāsa

Bhāsa is considered to be one of the best Sanskrit playwrights. He is earlier than Kālidāsa and is dated to the 3rd or 4th century CE, one of the early Sanskrit dramatists. Bhāsa had 13 plays in his name. They are Swapnavāsadatta, Pancharātra, and Pratijna Yaugandharayaanam, Pratimanātaka, Abhiśekanātaka, Bālacharita, Dūtavākya, Karnabhāra, Dūtaghatotkacha, Chārudatta, Madhyamavyāyoga and Ūrubhaṅga. Urubhanga is derived from the famous epic Mahābhārata.

G.K. Bhat (1980:3) in his Marathi book observed that "एका मध्यवर्ती सूत्राभोवती गुंफण्याचा त्याचा प्रयत्न असतो. हे सूत्र, सर्वच नाटकात नाही तरी बऱ्याच नाटकात हरवलेल्या राज्याची पुनप्राप्ती असे असल्याचे दिसते." He means that most of the plays of Bhāsa have a common theme and that is regaining the regime that has been lost. Thus, he selects his themes mostly from Rāmāyaṇa or Mahābhārata. Swapnavāsavadatta is his most famous play that depicts the story of King Udayana, who must choose between marrying for love his beloved Vāsavadattā or the daughter of a neighboring king, Princess Padmāvati, for political gain. Though the story is told to us as a love-based plot, its ultimate aim is regaining the regime. This story is concerned with two restorations: That of Udayana to his lost throne and that of Vāsavadattā to her husband.

The first is chiefly a political and the second is related to a psychological issue. These two restorations are quite interrelated and arise from one another mutual sustenance. The political motive is a powerful background and the main picture is a vivid study in a psychological crisis.

In the play Avimāraka, the ending of the curse lifts the ban of untouchability on the hero and his father who is a king; and it also restores their kingdom to them. In Bālacarita, the death of Kaṁsa restores the legitimate king Ugrasena to the throne and this political declaration is significantly made towards the close of the play. In Pratimā, the story aims towards the coronation of Rāma as a king. In most of the plays Bhāsa combines romance with political intrigue.

In Urubhaṅga, protagonist Duryodhana is presented in a different light. He isn't exempted from his original evil deeds, but he is shown as a character with heroic qualities. The play centers around events that happen preceding his death; Duryodhana is shown repenting his past, reconciling with his family, and realizing the futility of war. In a way again this drama also glorifies who can be the hero. Karṇabhāra is essentially the retelling of an episode of the Indian epic Mahābhārata. The play describes the mental pain of Karṇa on the previous day of the War. Karṇabhāra shows the valiant, generous, righteous Karṇa riding out towards the battle-ground, where his death under heart-wrenching circumstances is certain. Karṇa presents the Kśhatriyatva at his best.

These are few examples from Bhāsa's play. Almost all his plays are portraying the ideal hero. King, doing heroic deeds and also regaining of the lost regime are two basic motives of Bhāsa's plays.

IV.4.5.2 Śudraka

Mṛcchakaṭika (*The Clay Cart*) is one of the earliest known Sanskrit Prakaraṇa, by Śudraka. It is full with romance, comedy and royal conspiracy. The plot of the play has numerous twists and turns. This is not a type of drama named nātaka, thus the king is not the hero. The main story is about a young man named Chārudatta, and his love for Vasantasenā, who is a rich courtesan of the ancient city of Ujjayini. The love affair becomes intricate by a royal courtier, who is also attracted to Vasantasenā. The plot is further complicated by royal happenings with the king Pālaka. The Pradyota dynasty from fifth century BCE is coming to an end. Āryaka, a herdsman and prince in exile becomes a king. This sub-story represents the political unrest. The villain of the story is saṁsthānaka, also called Śakāra, is a brother of one of the queens. These characters give us the picture of political happenings and thus making it a greatly entertaining play.

IV.4.5.3 Kālidāsa

Kālidāsa was (4th-5th century CE) the greatest poet and playwright in Sanskrit, and he occupies the same position in Sanskrit literature that Shakespeare occupies in English literature. His three plays are Vikramōrvaśīya, Mālavikāgnimitra , and the play that he is most known for is Abhijñānaśākuntala ("The Recognition of Śakuntala").

The plot of the drama named Mālavikāgnimitra is proficiently woven round a historical dignitary king Agnimitra - the Śunga Emperor at Vidiśā and the princess of Vidarbha - Mālavikā. The drama is chiefly concerned with their love episode. There is some political issue undertaken with by the king with wisdom. In the first scene of the play the minister reads the letter send by King of Vidarbha for the exchange of prisoners (Vidarbha's brother-in-law with Mayaṅka's cousin). King Mayaṅka denies the request and instead sends for an expedition against him, under the command of Virasena, the Queen's brother. In the last act two captive maid-servants from the Vidarbha expedition are introduced, who at once recognize Mālavikā as the missing sister of Mādhavasena. There is a strong thread of political happenings in this drama at a background of the story.

In the great Sanskrit drama Abhijñānaśākuntala the hero is king Duṣyanta. The most important in this regard is the fact that Duṣyanta has no son. It is probable that this fact is not just a matter of private sorrow. It means that there is no successor to the royal riches and the powerful empire that Duṣyanta has built. Kālidāsa from the act I portraying him as a humble and a gentle person. He gives new character to a hero.

V.4.3.1 Why does the author used a Curse in Abhijñānaśākuntala?

It is not Duṣyanta but the curse of Durvasas that is responsible for the estrangement of the loving couple. The story of Abhijñānaśākuntala is taken from the epic Mahābhārata. G.K.Bhat, 1985;105 says that The Mahābhārata story does not create this impression about the hero because Duṣyanta of the epic Mahābhārata is clearly hypocritical. Kālidāsa wanted

for his piece of art the incident to be impeccable; the rejection of Śakuntalā was necessary for his dramatic design; and he wanted the behavior of his Duṣyanta to be above any blame and consistent with his noble and upright character and fully justified by other causes. The curse makes the rejection logical and inevitable, as far as Duṣyanta is concerned.

This is a classic example, how authors like Kālidāsa were conscious about the image of a King. The dramatists developed the image of hero as ideal king as well as a noble, responsible person by the way they portrait hero in the drama. This was building image of the King intentionally.

IV.4.5.4 Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa

Veṇisamhāra (Binding of Hair) is the work of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. He belonged to the 6th or the 7th century CE. The play consists of six acts. The plot of Veṇisamhāra is mainly based on the episode in the Mahābhārata. Bhima taking a vow that he would tie up the locks of Draupadi with the blood which is drawn from the thighs of Duryodhana. The playwright takes liberties with the original episode in maturing omissions, additions and variation. Plot depicts the rivalry among the Kaurava and Pāndava princess. The plot is full of heroic thoughts and actions of Bhima.

IV.4.5.5 Viśākhādatta

Mudrārakṣasa is the historical play by Viśākhādatta. Amongst Sanskrit plays, it is unique because it contains political plotting and is full of life and action. The time period of composition is prior to 800 C.E. In the play, Chandragupta Maurya is ruling from Pātaliputra, having deposed the last of the Nanda kings. Rākśasa the minister of Nanda, attempts to avenge his late King. Chanakya, the minister of Chandragupta succeeds in

winning over Rākśasa to his master's side. There is no female character in the play, no love story. This play is completely based on the political actions and showcases the administrative side of it very strongly.

These are few examples of Sanskrit plays. There are many more those will prove the point that dramas developed an image of the king as a good person and an ideal king as well.

IV.4.6 Mahākāvya

Mahākāvya is popularly known as sargabandha kāvya. It is a kind of Indian epic poetry in Classical Sanskrit. The is described by ornate and elaborate descriptions of scenery, love, battles and many more aspects. This poetry tests skill of a poet at various descriptions. These are very popular in learned readers. The tradition identifies five works as *mahākāvya*. They are Kumārasambhava and Raghuvaṁśa by Kālidāsa in 5th century CE, by Kālidāsa, Kiratarjuniya by Bharavi in 6th century CE, Śiśupālavadha by Māgha in 7th century, Naiśadhacarita by Śriharṣa in 1174 AD

IV.4.6.1 Kālidāsa

His epic poems are, and Kumārasaṁbhava, and two smaller epics are Ṛitusaṁhāra and Meghadūta.

The epics and plays of Kālidāsa could not be an exception to the literary trend. The 'hero' of the epic Kumārasambhava is Śiva. Meghaduta has the semi-divine Yakṣa. The heroes of Raghuvaṁśa and his three dramas are noble kings. Besides divine, mythological and legendary characters, he represents King also as an ideal character. Purity of birth (Raghu 1,14)**,** Strength, lustered and Competence are major qualities of a good King. The royal heroes of Kālidāsa are thus ideal men, dedicated servants of their subjects. स पिता

पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः । The king is the real father of the people; their fathers are only progenitors: This description truly applies to the kings of lineage of Raghu.

His famous poem Raghuvaṁśa strengthens the ideas of kingship. He says the king milks the cow that is the earth to make the required sacrifices; as Indra milks the heaven for the rich harvest; both together sustain the two worlds, heaven and earth, by means of their mutual exchange of riches. (Raghu 1.26) Protection of citizens is a prime responsibility of a king. Kālidāsa depicts it in various ways. Dilipa punished the criminals. (Raghu. IV.8) There was no fear of theft in the kingdom of king Dilipa, since property remained merely as a term to he heard of. (Raghu I.27) Because of the absence of theft and similar other offences in his kingdom. Dilipa had no prisoner to release on the happy occasion of the birth of his son Raghu. (Raghu III. 20) Kālidāsa compares the competence of king Raghu with the brilliance of the sun and the skill of daśaratha with that of the god himself.

The idea in the Raghuvaṁśa, is prosperity will prevail under a good king. Kālidāsa admires a prosperous kingdom as the very status of Indra. The king has to sacrifice all his personal comforts to please his subjects. Rāma is an ideal example of this. For him public opinion is of greater prominence than his personal life. (Raghu IX.6, V.13, II.50, XIV.40).

We find in Raghu a glimpse of kautilya's dharma-vijayi ruler. An important aspect of the qualification of a king is his power of control over the senses. Dilipa's intelligence entered deep into the Sastras without obstacle (I, 19)

Political institutions and their functions, as can be gleaned from the classical kāvyas, more or less bear the alikeness of the traditions as worked out in the great epics, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and Kautiliya Arthaśāstra. Poets depict some important aspects of political concepts in the light of these books. The main features are as follow - the ideal of "chakravartin king", two popular assemblies as Sabhā and samiti, prosperity and growth of a country, the entire code of duties on the part of the king is viewed as a subject matter of

dharma and the requirement of artha and kāma, the System of spies, diplomacy, foreign policy, King should not speak untruth even in jest. (Raghu.IV.26). Charity has been set forth by the poet in canto IV. Raghu after conquering all the four quarters performs the viśvajita sacrifice and gives away all his wealth as charity.

Amritava Das (2017; 38-42) says "The heroes of the classical kāvyas are mostly drawn from the ruling nobility. They represent in them the type of attributes of proper leadership and proper protection which are indispensable for the rulers of good state. In some of these writings we have prototypes of the just and also the efficient ruler. But in the realm of politics, justness and efficiency are not always necessary correlatives. Politics as a part of ethics is also made up of variables and in the last analysis, justified by exigency of circumstances. The delineation of characters, the movement of the themes and the turn of events in response to political stimuli of diverse grade and significance these are some of the notable features of political issues that we gather from the kāvyas. The ideals of Indian society upheld the needs of stable social order with prospect of diversity in unity, remarkable richness and interest not only for high intellectual development but also for sound and strong political organization."

IV.4.6.2 Bhāravi

Bhāravi belonged to the sixth century A.D. His poem Kirātārjuniya, has a theme from the Mahābhārata. He is renowned for his realistic approach towards politics. In the first canto, Bhāravi has described, the efficiency and dutifulness with which Duryodhana was ruling his kingdom. This description implies that a king should maintain a very high level of consciousness of royal obligations. The activities of Duryodhana, may be regarded as a graphic commentary on the ideals set forth for the king in the epics and the Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstra traditions.[66]

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[66] For a detailed discussion of the political ideas of Bharavi, V.P. Varma, "Kirätarjuniyam Men Rajnitika Yatharthavada," Vishwarajniti (Patna, Gyan- pitha Prakashana, 1960), 26-28

Bhāravi holds that the king should be devoted to his duties and it may be inferred that through Yudhisthira who is motivated to act for the recovery of his kingdom and devoted for the acquisition of political power.

Arjuna, under the advice of Yudhisthira, wants to propitiate Śiva for getting divine weapons from him. He goes for penances to the Indrakila in the Himalayas. This highlights the Himalayas, in those days, which had a religious significance. The army of Śiva under the leadership of Kārtikeya who is Kirāta shows that he was a person of the Mongolian race. Indirectly, Bhāravi had accepted the theory of racial synthesis, at his time.

Bhāravi has elaborately described the fight between Śiva (in the appearance of a Kirāta) and Arjuna. Throughout this poem we find support to war and violence. Śiva, the great god, is not opposed to fighting. The philosophy of this epic strengths the idea that Kings should fight for power and more regions.

IV.4.6.3 Māgha

Māgha was a traditionalist like Kālidāsa. In his book Śiśupālavadha, it is a story of wicked king of cedi, Śiśupāla and his death with the hands of Kṛṣṇa. The story is from Śantiparva of Mahābhārata. Śiśupāla is regarded as an autocrat who was a threat both to men and to gods. In the canto III Kṛṣṇa starts from Dvārakā to Indraprastha to attend the sacrifice by Yudhiṣṭhira. There are long descriptions of the sights on the route till canto XII. In canto XIV there is a description of Rājasūya sacrifice. The battle between Kṛṣṇa's and Śiśupāla's army goes from the canto XVII to XX. This elaborate description of war is a new creation of Māgha. The negotiations for peace are also Māgha's own creation.

We can see that the later poets are using the war description and polity discussions as their skill of writing. He has depicted the disagreeing ideals of contemporary kingship. Māgha skillfully discusses political affairs. Kṛiṣṇa solicits the help of his elder brother Balarāma and his confidential adviser Uddhava. Balarāma advocates a policy of confident heroism

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and he is in favor of immediate revenge upon Śiśupāla. His dialogue discloses the strategies of political suitability, opportunism and a policy of force and power. He supports war against Śiśupāla. He pleads for a policy of expansion. He says that the bases of politics are one's own prosperity and the destruction of enemy. A dignified man wants to destroy his enemies just as the sun shines after destroying darkness, and just as water reduces dust. In short, reader can enjoy the political discussions in this epic.

IV.4.6.4 Śriharṣa

Naiśadhiyacarita presents the story early life of Nala, his falling in love with Damayanti, their marriage, and lovemaking. In this plot there is not much scope for political battles or discussion of rājanitī. At the svayaṁvara of Damayanti in canto 11 and 12 various regimes and their kings are described at length.

IV.4.7 What did the Sanskrit literature achieve?

The real reason why king came to be the 'hero' in Sanskrit compositions is that a king in ancient India was the netṛ who was leading religious, social, financial and political life of his country and citizens. Theorists like Kauṭilya have expounded the science of polity and laid down a daily time-table for a king to discharge his administrative duties towards his kingdom. Kauṭilya has taught that 'The happiness of a king lies in the happiness of his subjects; their benefit is king's own benefit' (प्रजासुखे सुखं राज्ञः प्रजानां च हिते हितम्। Kauṭilya 1.1.16)

The two dominating themes of Sanskrit dramatic writing were heroism and love. The Sanskrit dramas focused on the king as a person. In a drama of heroic emotions, a writer has opportunity to admire the great qualities of valour and courage of a hero and present him like a super hero.

The epics in particular and dramas in general were building the image of 'King' and its efficient administration. This helped in building the image of contemporary kings as an ideal public personality.

They were following the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, and using format of travelogue in their epics for a long time. This type of journey of a hero in various parts of India was very important for them. It cherished the geographical identity. The geographical unity played a vital role in feeling of being one.

The epics in Sanskrit rendered the ideal king with its fullest. The territory under king's regime was important for him as an identity. He was a master within his kingdom. Thus the epics reinforce the ideal of kingship with the beautiful depiction of perfect kings in past. That is a reason King Udayana is a hero of so many Sanskrit plays. Kālidāsa is remembering old lineage of king Raghu. Simultaneously they have used a pattern of traveling in various epics, following the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata. We have same king; we are from same region – this helped in building the sense of oneness. Literature as a renowned form of art indirectly helped in formulating the notion of unity in diversity in India. The artistic representation of the social elements was at the background. It definitely had a socio-linguistic impact on the poetic concept. The poetic concepts as *vṛtti*, *rīti* and *pravṛtti* were supporting this socio-geographical importance in a creative form.

Classical literature was mainly for the delight of the classes of a society. The Nāṭaka is a developed form of Rūpaka or audio-visual presentation. The audience of this presentation was the learned, intelligent rasika (viewer). The classical drama and poetry in Sanskrit was mostly seen, read and enjoyed by the certain class of the society. These intelligent viewers and readers were significant for the King. The classical literature facilitated the process of developing concepts for unity in diversity and political entity for the classes or cream of the society.

The poetics was in search of the elements which enhance the beauty to the poem. They are alaṅkāra, vakrokti, metres, style, rasa etc. *vṛtti, rīti* and *pravṛtti* in its original sense, does

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not add to the delight of the words and its meaning. But they were shaping the minds of people and the concepts of the readers. They have a place in socio-political life in addition to the literary beautification.

IV.4.8 Connection of epics with the concepts *vṛtti*, *rīti* and *pravṛtti*

All these three concepts were connecting the political and geographical identities with the piece of literature. NŚ described *pravṛtti* for drama, but one can see its influence not only on Sanskrit drama but also on epic poetry. What is *pravṛtti*?

अत्राह प्रवृत्तिरिति कस्मात्? उच्यते पृथिव्यां नानादेशवेषभाषाचारवार्ताः प्रख्यापयतीति वृत्तिः।

प्रवृत्तिश्च निवेदने।(NŚ 13. Prose after the verse 26)

According to NŚ *pravṛtti* includes costumes, languages, body colors, ornaments and manners in different countries of the world. Further, it also accommodates Music and dance. All these was an essential part of any drama. We will see that epic poetry was also incorporating these elements of *pravṛtti* as the descriptions of people and places.

I would like to add few examples from Rāmāyaṇa. The evidence in the Rāmāyaṇa indicates that the dress of the people consisted of two oblong pieces of cloth - adhovastra and uttarīya, which were worn differently by men and women. (R. II 40/7, 9; R. II 103/2) A brahmacārin (*ekavastra dharaḥ* R. Ill 41/12) and one banished by the king (*idsasaikena vanarah mrvasayarpasa* R. IV7/66) wore only one garment, the adhovastra. A few Rākśasas and those who were leading a solitary life in the interior of the forest, used only skins to cover their limbs (R. Ill 5/9). Other dresses mentioned in the Ramayna are (i) Uṣṇiṣa (Kañcukoṣnlṣiṇah, R. VI 95/42) a covering for the head—turban, (ii) Kañcuka (formed part of the uniform of servants. R. Ill 3/31) a cloak; and (iii) Upānahau (pādukopānahascaiva, R. II 104/75) a pair of wooden or leather sandals.

Ravaṇa was appearing before Sītā veiled as a parivrājaka. But the clothing of women in Rāvaṇa's palace displayed a rich variety (R. V 5/57) and the cloth of their dress was so fine that a regular stir was produced in it by their breath as they slept. (R. V 5/76) Rāvaṇa's attire was made of extremely refined cloth which was light and white like the foam of churned nectar. (R. V 13/19) Likewise, the nightwear of Rāvaṇa was made of golden fibres (maha-rajatavāsasam R. V 5/100). The description of cloths and ornaments was certainly helping in characterization of a various characters in an epic.

NŚ gives variety of body colours, whereas Rāmāyaṇa gives colour scheme for the cloths. The hermit's dress and also of servants was usually in yellowish red colour (kaśāya). (R. VII 99/9; R. II 17/3). An abhisārika proceeding on a meeting attired in blue. (R. VII 32/11) The garment of Añjanā was yellow and had a red border. (R. IV 57/11) Rāvaṇa and the Rakśasas in general seem to have favoured red dresses. (R. Ill 54/9; R. V 40/2) Sītā had a special fancy for the yellow garments. (R. VII 5/27) The white garments were considered pure and auspicious. (R. II 20/7; R. V 21/12)

NŚ gives a long list of numerous ornaments for women and men. Rāmāyaṇa also mentions ornamentation of its time. Mukuṭa and kirita were ornamental head-dresses for the males. The cūḍamani mentioned in the epic is of Sītā and it have been of the shape of a ring and was studded with jewels and pearls. (R. V 35/61-62; R. V 65/4-5) women wore tilaka which though described as an ornament for the face. (mukhe ca tilakam, R. II 12/12) The general term for the ornaments of the ear was avatamsa. (R. II 109/32; R. V 1/24) In the Rāmāyaṇa ornaments for the neck have been mentioned under different names such as hāra, mālā or mālya, hemasūtra and niṣka. (R. I 6/11; R. Ill 1/78; R. Ill 58/30) The use of the girdle worn round the waist, slightly suspended on the heaps at the back, was common. Besides serving as an ornament it helped in supporting the lower garment. This latter sense is very well expressed by the various names of the girdle employed in the Rāmāyaṇa such as mekhalā-dāman, śroṇi-sūtra and raśanā-guṇa. (R. II 81/7; R. V 17/31). Ornaments for head, neck, hand, feet, made of flowers, using various cosmetics and herbs are widely described all through the epic. Dressing of the hair formed an important item in toilet. There is a mention

of gold, silver and various jewels is of the town Laṅka and its people. (R. V 5/13; R. V 5/25; R. V 5/30), Rāvaṇa's golden mukuṭa is described as thickly set in pearls. (R. V 45/2). One can find enormous examples of clothing, ornamentation, local music and local dances in famous classical epic poems over the centuries. These poems also represented changing tastes and patterns over the period.

IV.5 The Aṣṭādhyāyī and names of types of Vṛtti, Riti, Pravṛtti

All the names of all the types of three terms are based on either some geographical regions in India or some clan in ancient India. The question arises why they have used the terms which are basically region or clan names? Are there any grammar rules which articulate how and in what sense the region or clan names were formed? What are the grammar rules about such geographical names? Does Pāṇini gives rule for the formation of region related words? Do those rules point towards the same meanings of these terms used by rhetoric? OR, the important question is, does the rhetoric have created the new meaning to these words? The linguistic approach is vital in this process of meanings of these three terms.

Does the texts of poetics have linguistically used old words for region and clans, with new implications? Let us check with grammar books.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī is a text on grammar of Sanskrit language. It is authored by Sanskrit philologist and scholar Pāṇini. It was dated around 500 BCE. The work accounts both for some features specific to the older Vedic form of the language, as well as dialectal features existing in the author's time. The fourth chapter is related to तद्धित (4.2.76). The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after which are known as *Tadrāja* affixs. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Few of them are related to the region names and its various usages. [67]

Now we will see how the word for regions and their meanings are reflected in Aṣṭādhyāyī.

IV.5.1 Three words have various meanings

Monier-Williams (1986:1010)

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[67] AD. विषयो देशे ॥ 4.2.52॥ शिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैवः 'The country within the sphere of the *Sibi*'

IV.5.1.1 वृत्ति

1. f. rolling, rolling down (of tears) S3ak. iv , 5 ; 14
2. f. mode of life or conduct, course of action , behaviour , (esp.) moral conduct , kind or respectful behaviour or treatment (also v.l. for वृत्त) Gr2S3rS. Mn. MBh. etc.
3. f. general usage, common practice, rule Pra1t.
4. f. mode of being, nature, kind , character , disposition ib. Ka1v.
5. f. state, condition Tattvas.
6. f. being, existing, occurring or appearing in(loc. or comp.) La1t2y. Hariv. Ka1v. etc.
7. f. practice, business, devotion or addiction to , occupation with (often ifc. " employed about ", " engaged in " , " practising ") MBh. Ka1v. etc.
8. f. profession, maintenance, subsistence, livelihood (often ifc.; See. उञ्छ-व्; वृत्तिं-कृor

   कृप्[Caus.] with instr., " to live on or by " ; with gen. , " to get or procure a maintenance for " ; only certain means of subsistence are allowed to a Brahman See. Mn. iv , 4-6) S3rS. Mn. MBh. etc.
9. f. wages, hire, Pan5cav.
10. f. working, activity, function MaitrUp. Kap. Veda7ntas. etc.
11. f. mood (of the mind) Veda7ntas.
12. f. the use or occurrence of a word in a partic. sense (loc.), its function or force Pa1n2. Sa1h. Sch. on Ka1tyS3r. etc.
13. f. mode or measure of pronunciation and recitation (said to be threefold, viz. विलम्बिता, मध्यमा, and द्रुताSee.) Pra1t.
14. f. (in gram.) a complex formation which requires explanation or separation into its parts (as distinguished from a simple or uncompounded form e.g. any word formed with कृत्or तद्धितaffixes, any compound and even duals and plurals which are regarded as द्वंद्व compounds, of which only one member is left , and all derivative verbs such as desiderative etc.)

15. f. style of composition (esp. drama. style, said to be of four kinds, Bhar. Das3ar. etc.

16. f. (in rhet.) alliteration, frequent repetition of the same consonant

17. f. final rhythm of a verse

18. f. a commentary, comment, gloss , explanation (esp. on a सूत्र)

19. N. of the wife of a रुद्रBhP.

IV.5.1.2 रीति

Monier-Williams (1986:881)

1. f. going, motion, course RV.
2. f. a stream, current ib.
3. f. a streak, line, row Pa1rGr2. Hariv. Naish.
4. f. limit, boundary
5. f. general course or way, usage, custom , practice , method , manner Ka1v. Katha1s. Sarvad.
6. f. natural propensity or disposition L.
7. f. style of speaking or writing, diction (three are usually enumerated, viz. वैदर्भी, गौडी, पञ्चाली, to which a fourth is sometimes added , viz. लाटिका, and even a fifth and sixth , viz. आवन्तिकाor यावन्तिकाand मागधी) Va1m. Ka1vya7d. Sa1h. etc.
8. f. yellow or pale brass, bell-metal Ra1jat. Katha1s.
9. f. rust of iron
10. f. scoria or oxide formed on metals by exposure to heat and air

IV.5.1.3 प्रवृत्ति

Monier-Williams (1986:694)

1. Activity, occupation, active life, as opposed to contemplative devotion; or it is defined to consist of the wish to do, knowledge of the means of success and accomplishing the desired object.

2. Prosecution, perseverance.

3. Addiction to, predilection for.

4. Practice, conduct.

5. Tidings, intelligence.

6. Continuous flow, stream, current.

7. Employment, occupation.

8. Fate, Destiny.

9. Signification, sense.

10. Direct perception.

11. Progress, advance.

12. Rise, source, origin.

13. Appearance, manifestation.

14. The juice that exudes from the elephant's temples, when in rut.

15. holy place.

16. (In arithmetic,) The multiplier.

17. Rise, origin, source, flow (of words &c.)

It is noticeable that there are many meanings to these three words other than poetic texts. These three words were in use before the Sanskrit rhetoric texts and outside the Sanskrit rhetoric texts. Was the meaning offered by Sanskrit rhetoric text to these three words are different which make them rhetoric terminologies?

IV.6 Names of types of Vṛtti, Rīti and Pravṛtti

The names of the types of *pravṛtti* are as *Āvantī*, *Dākṣiṇātyā*, *Pāñcālī* (*Pāñcāla-madhyamā*) and *Oḍra-Māgadhī*. The names of the types of *rīti* are *Vaidarbhī, Gaudīyā, pāṇcālī, lātīya,*

māgadhī, and avantikā. All these category names are essentially the region names. The names of the types of *vṛtti* are *bhāratī, sātvatī, kaiśikī* and *ārabhatī*, these belong to some clan. It would be interesting to see in which meanings those names were used before NŚ and other poetic texts. Does the texts of poetics have linguistically used old words for region and clans, with new implications? Let us check with grammar books.

IV.7 The Taddhita-affixes in the Aṣṭādhyāyī

The Aṣṭādhyāyī is a text on grammar of Sanskrit language. It is authored by Sanskrit philologist and scholar Pāṇini. It was dated around 500 BCE. The work accounts both for some features specific to the older Vedic form of the language, as well as dialectal features existing in the author's time. The forth chapter is related to तद्धित (4.2.76). The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after which are known as *Tadrāja* affixs. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Few of them are related to the region names and its various usages. [68]

IV.7.1 Descendant

a) The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words '*Salveya*' and '*Gandhari*'.[69]

b) The affix ञ्यङ् comes in the sense of descendant after वृद्धि in the first syllable and after a word ending in short इ and after the words कोसल and अजाद when they are the names of countries and क्षत्रिय.[70]

c) The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.[71]

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[68] AD. विषयो देशे ॥ 4.2.52॥ शिबीनां विषयो देशः = शैवः 'The country within the sphere of the *Sibi*'

[69] AD. 4.1.169 साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च।

70 AD. 4.1.171 वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ्।

[71] AD. 4.2.111 कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे।

IV.7.2 Kingdom

a) The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup* elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom).[72]

IV.7.3 Inhabitants of a country

a) The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words '*madra*' and '*vriji*'. the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra'[73]

b) The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word whether a वृद्ध or not, denoting a locality and having its second term the words 1. कच्छ 2. अग्नि 3. वक्त्र and 4. गर्त।[74] As दारुकच्छकः, पैप्पलीकच्छकः, काण्डाग्नकः, वैभुजाग्नकः ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाक्रगर्तकः॥

c) The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words *dhuma* &c, denoting country.[75] The words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken वुञ् by 124 *ante*; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं = वैदेहकम् "the property of *Videha Kśatriyas*".

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[72] AD. देशे तन्नाम्नीति यश्चातुरर्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य देशविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुब्भवति ॥

[73] AD. मद्रवृजिशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

[74] AD. 4.2.126 क्अच्छाग्निवक्त्रगर्तोत्तरपदात् ।

[75] AD. 4.2.127 धूमादिभ्यश्च।

IV.7.4 Born in that region

a) The affix वुञ् comes after the words *kachchha* &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.[76] Thus काच्छकः 'a man born in Kutch', काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'.

b) The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.[77] Thus साल्वको गौः "the cows born in Salva". साल्विका यवागूः 'the barley gruel of Salva'.

IV.7.5 Men and their conducts

a) The words कच्छ &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next *sutra*, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits. [78] This is applicable also for 1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वर्णु, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अनुषण्ड (अणु, अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलूतर (कुलून)16 रङ्कु ॥

IV.7.6 Specific areas

a) The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words beginning with कद denoting the places of the East-folk.[79]

b) The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्र, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.[80] Thus पौर्वमद्रः f. द्री; आपरमद्रः f. द्री ॥

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[76] AD. 4.2.134 मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्वुञ्।

[77] AD. 4.2.136 गोयवाग्वोश्च।

[78] AD. 4.2.133 कच्छादिभ्यश्च।

[79] AD. 4.2.139 प्राचां कटादेः ।

80 AD. 4.2.108 मद्रेभ्योऽञ्।

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c) The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having *udatta* accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.[81] Thus शैवपुरम्, भाण्डपुरम् ॥

d) The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c, and after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not. [82] Thus माद्रीप्रस्थः, माहकीप्रस्थः, पालदः, पारिषदः, नैलिनकः, चैवातकः॥

IV.7.7 Feminine

a) In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the तद्राजा affix अ, the affix is लुक् elided. Thus m. शौरसेनः, f. शूरसेनी; m. माद्रः f. मद्री ॥

b) when the place is situating in the lands of the *Sauvira*, or *Salva* or of the Eastern people; and the word in these cases is always feminine. The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशेतन्नाम्नि (AD. 4.2.67)

c) the affix 'nyan'. (AD. 4.1.171) after the word '*Avanti*' and '*Kunti*', and the affix 'nya' after the word '*Kuru*' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus अवन्ती, कुन्ती and कुरु 'a daughter or princess of *Avanti*, *Kunti* of *Kuru*'.[83]

IV.7.8 Criticism or praise

a) The affix वुञ् comes after the word नगर in the remaining senses, when criticism or praise is implied. [84] The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure';

81AD. 4.2.109 उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात् ।

82 AD. 4.2.110 प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण् ।

83AD. 4.1.176 स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च।

84 AD. 4.2.128 नगरात् कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः।

and प्रावीण्यं which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix. Thus नागरकः, 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

The three terms *vṛtti*, *rīti* and *pravṛtti* are embracing much more than these associations given by Pāṇini. It is a socio-linguistic approach of Sanskrit rhetoricians that introduce new approach to these terms. They are definitely thinking in a different way from the view point of the poetry. The region words which are used as the names of these terms go beyond the earlier use of these terms listed by the grammarians. This change is a representation of the socio-geographical and political approach of Sanskrit rhetoricians.

Chapter V - Conclusion

There are many poetic terminologies and other terminologies related to dance, music and instrumentation described in NŚ. Some more poetic terms are used in further rhetoric texts. Almost all of them have names based on their nature. Only the types of the term names of *vṛtti, rīti and pravṛtti* were based on the region names. This laid to the socio-linguistic research based on these three terms. I found the suppositions as I went in detailed reading. The inter-relations between the further texts and socio-political and geographical influences lead to the answers of the hypothesis. Here, I am concluding the major points of socio-linguistic approach in Sanskrit poetics and its impact on Sanskrit poetry.

The importance of the regional and political elements has been discussed in earlier chapters in detail from Sanskrit poetry. Its reflection can be seen linguistically in poetic terms as *vṛtti, rīti and pravṛtti*. They are as follows -

V.1 Vṛtti

Vṛtti was unsolidified concept. One could find the term *vṛtti* in the text of Nāṭyaśāstra itself was not very concretely defined. It was initially explained as a mythical narration. Actually, it was connected with the styles of dancing arisen from the warrior of clans of those particular regions, which were performed on the stage. There was more than one mythical story connected to it. Various elements of drama, as rasa and types of drama, were coupled with the concept of *vṛtti*. In different chapters' different shades of this concept were discussed. Thus, it can be concluded that it was not a uniform idea at that point. Finally, Rājaśekhara gave a concrete definition of *vṛtti* that emphasizes the connection of regional elements with this term. He says that it should be considered as a variety in manners and activities of regions.

V.2 Rīti

The concept of *rīti* has been discussed and defined by various theorists in Sanskrit. The geographic elements were important in the concept of *rīti* in its earlier stages.

Bhāmaha from 7th century in his text 'Kāvyālaṇkāra' speaks about this concept. He was on to raise objection about the names used for *rīti*s by earlier writers on poetics, unknown to us. In a way he is asking a question, why all the names of the types of *rīti* are basically geographical?

V.2.1 The history of *rīti* can be summarised into following steps:

1. It was a living topographical mode of literary expression. The name of the styles was based on names of the regions. Bhāmaha considered it as a type of poems and then it was called mārga by Daṇḍin. Aśmakavaṃśa by unknown poet, Kālidās's Meghadūta and Mālavikāgnimitra do represent the connection of the term *rīti* with regional royal dynasties, their battles etc.

2. In the next stage, the names remained same but it lost the geographical association. The styles were used by poets in literature depending the demand of the plot or character. Rudrata, Rājśekhara and Bhoja represent this stage. Ānandavardhana stands at this point holding them that appropriateness of the plot or theme (Viśay-aucitya) regulates the nature of *rīti* in parts of the poem.

3. Kuntaka related the *rīti* to the rasa or character of the poet and displaced the old names of *rīti*s by new ones. He refused to use old geographical names as the concept of *rīti* was completely different for them. Kuntaka refuses the geographical connection and thus he changes the term names to the nature of the styles using.

4. Mammata discusses the concept of *rīti* under the rubric of *vṛtti*. The provincial characteristics and national characteristics, are studied by Bharata in the concept of *pravṛtti* as a part of the complete understanding of the world in its infinite

variety, of which nāṭya is an anukaraṇa. the concept of *pravṛtti* in manners is *rīti* in speech, in literature.

5. The change in the concept of *rīti* was in the number of types. The change was also from the perspective of changing concept of rīti which left its connection with regionality behind.

V.2.2 Failure of the Rīti School

The *rīti* theory failed to achieve wide popularity in course of time. Ānandavardhana subjected it to trenchant criticism. Mammaṭa has refute the main thesis of Vāmana. The inherent weakness of the *rīti* doctrine lies in the fact that it lost its roots. The origin of the *mārga* concept was in regional elements. Those elements were conceptualized rhetorically.

The association of local taste or local plot became less important as Vāmana changed its definition. It lost its originality and new theories came up that lead to the failure of this school. The theory of *rīti* suffered a setback after Vāmana and its general doctrines were criticized by the proponents of the Dhvani School. Ānandavardhana did not admit *rīti* as an important element of poetry but accepted another factor namely, saṁghaṭanā. He classifies saṁghaṭanā into asamāsa, madhyama samāsa and dīrgha samāsa. It is based on the presence of compounds or absence of compounds.

Vāmana's theory of *rīti* lost relevance because it conceived poetic compositions without referring to its inner nature. But it improves upon the doctrines of the alaṇkāra school in giving primacy to the *guṇa*s over the alaṇkārā as defining features of poetic compositions. Then at this stage, it became difficult to understand the proper nature of *rīti*.

The theory of *rīti*, despite its limitations, has been a major contribution to the study of literary compositions. This theory of language has close affinities with current day stylistic studies of literature.

V.3 Pravṛtti

The *pravṛtti* or Local Usages cover regions from four major parts of India. Nāṭyaśāstra was the first available text on Indian poetics. At this time there were many political crises about entities of the ruler and their regime. NŚ was trying to integrate regional individualities in the field of artistic enactment.

V.3.1 Regional elements in music

Lot of regional elements are prevalent in the field of music from the beginning. The influence of local language on the local musical elements is indicated by the Prakrit *Dhruvās* in the NŚ. These types of songs must be common in various parts of then India. The regional peculiarities in singing and instrumental music would relate audience with the drama. The NŚ says *Dhruvās* should be used after considering the rule regarding themes, regions, times and seasons, the characters in the play and indication of their States. Region or place of the plot, along with other elements, was very important while applying *Dhruvās*. The rule of usage of Sanskrit language was not followed in these verses. This indicates the use of local Prakrit languages for folk music. People from various regions must be singing in local languages. This use of local music should be very popular. It is very appropriate to use popular music in a drama.

The various *rāga* names or types show the cultural interaction between classical, folk and tribal music traditions. Many *rāgas* have names of regions and peoples as Audav Gāndhāra,

Dakśina Gujjari, Gaudi, Gaud Malhar, Dhakka, Karnataka Bangala, Karnataki (raagini), Maharashtra Gujjari, Pahadi and there are many more.

V.3.2 NŚ was representing both *Mārgī* and *Deśi* in music and dance

It is often believed that NŚ was about the *Mārgī* ways of presenting the music and dance in ritualistic way. As it is discussed in the Purvaraṅga as it follows rules. *Margi music* means 'music of the path'. It refers to music regulated by strict rules. It was first used to describe the music of *mantras*, during the Vedic times, that was bound by a rigid grammar of music. *Deśi* music was regional music that was meant "to please the hearts of the men." That sound which arises in various regions (*deśa*) is called *deśi*. (Bṛhaddesī 1928,1.2). In particular region-specific sound becomes pleasant to animals, people and kings. NŚ was representing both *Mārgī* and *Deśi* music patterns. It is believed that NŚ mainly archives *Mārgī* sangita of its time as it is mostly rule based and systematic. But one can see that *Mārgī* sangīta is used more for formal representation like *nāndi* and *purvaraṅga*. *Deśi* was prevalent in the Prakrit *Gīti*s.

The process of accepting *Deśi* elements into formal texts on drama and music had started at the time of NŚ. Further this stream became strong. Regional elements became significant. Mārga was referred to the universal classical tradition mainly in dance and music. These classical traditions were documented at later stage. 'Deśī' refers to the application of the mārga to suit regional tastes.

V.3.3 *Mārgī* eventually accepted by *deśī and deśī* accepted by *Mārgī*

There must be a give and take within these two essentials. The music, dance, costumes, makeup styles that Nāṭyaśāstra considered for the *Mārgī* or ritualistic representation on stage were adopted by local people for their folk performances. It must be a process going

for years. It is now difficult to differ between the *Mārgī* in old time and the *deśi* of new time. It eventually became similar. This is clearly visible in the streams of Music and dance. But they are also seen in drama and other forms of Arts in Indian society. Dance is an important element which was included in to the list of *pravṛttis* by Rājaśekhara. In dance also it is visible that the *Mārgī* and the *deśi* came close and these two streams became one.

Thus, all art forms in India represent the regional elements in various ways which were the part of the three terms discussed at length in this thesis.

Rājaśekhara was looking towards the three poetic concepts from these new developments in the field of arts at his time. He was representing the oneness of a country on the basis of artistic varied expressions and practices which were reflected in the three terms namely *vṛtti, riti* and *Pravṛtti*.

We can find the traces of *Mārgī* elements even in today's folk forms of India. Sangeet Nāṭaka from Maharashtra still follows the format from Sanskrit drama. The Tamāśā tradition follows the moving into circular movement to indicate the change in place, dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and females in Gokul is imitation of as Sanskrit drama. Most of the genres of folk theatre in North India are derived from Sanskrit language, for example, the Maṇca of Madhya Pradesh is taken from Sanskrit mañcakam. The Rāmalīla and Rāslīla of Uttar Pradesh is taken from Sanskrit līla means "sport, play". Nautanki, is a folk form emerged from the Sanskrit drama, has taken various elements from it. They share a number of stage conventions. They divide performance time into several segments, beginning with the symbolic construction of the performance space, its ritual sanctification, and the worship of deities, followed by musical overtures played on various instruments, introductory dance items, and finally the entrance of the stage manager named sutradhāra, who formally invites the audience. All these activities constitute the purvaraṅga or pre-theatre. Such elements are present in abbreviated or expanded form in the traditional theatres. Folk theatres such as Jatrā, Maṇca, Nauṭanki, Yakśagāna etc. have fragments that can be traced to Sanskrit drama.

V.4 Why the regional elements in the field of arts, are important in poetics?

The epics Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, were also written in the time span of NŚ. These epics were full of battles over the supremacy of regions. In the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the heroism is elucidated with a story focusing on several kings. Kings were engaged in conquering additional area under their regime. They were fighting among themselves for their right, regions and power. The regime of a king comprises of many geographical peculiarities such as rivers, oceans, mountains, forests and sometimes pilgrim places etc. Waters, trees, hills were considered auspicious. The rivers, mountains and forests were so important because they were auspicious? The answer is, the boundaries of two neighboring realms were formed by rivers, as was the case between the northern and southern Pāñcāla and between the western Kingdom of Pāndava and eastern Kingdom of Kaurava. Mountain ranges like Himālaya, Vindhyāchal and Sahyādri also formed their boundaries. Sometimes, huge forests formed boundaries, as was the case of Naimiṣa Forest, between Pāñcāla and Kosala kingdoms.

Geographical identity became important for a ruling king. This view has been reflected in almost all the popular epics of that era. In context with these references *vṛtti*s, *pravṛtti*s and *riti*s can be seen with a different viewpoint. It is also important to understand the history of development of kingdoms. It will help us to find how the geographical identities with political identities received vital abode in most of the popular poems of classical Sanskrit.

This type of descriptions shapes the idea of readers about the financial and political position of the king and the state. The likes and dislikes of the people of its time. It provides regional peculiarities and customs and thus adds the liveliness to the poem. It also helps a lot in shaping a character. We find all the classical epics following the Rāmāyaṇa in these types of portrayals. We find no single epic that has not given these details. I can sum up with saying that not only dramas followed *pravṛtti*s but epics also used them wisely.

The meanings which are based on various region names used in three terms vṛtti, pravṛtti and rīti are different than the meanings documented by Pāṇini in his text Aṣṭādhyāyī. The meanings of regional words that Pāṇini gives can be classified into eight ways. They are mainly connected to the people who were born in that region or people reside in that region, descendants of the particular region, or a name of a kingdom. Some words specify the particular region were as some form feminine words for the above meanings.

V.5 King was the hero

King was the hero of Sanskrit dramas and epic poems. The regions of their regime became important because of political influence of the kings. There existed many states, languages, cultures, and communities, on that basis gradually people developed territorial identity. The ancient society struggled for unity. The Indian subcontinent was geographically defined and its regional unity was complemented by cultural integration. The states or territorial units, which were called janapadas, were named after different tribes as described by Pāṇini. However, the country as a whole came to be named Āryavarta after the overriding cultural community named the Āryans. Āryavarta denoted northern and central India and extended from the eastern to the western sea coasts. The other name by which India was better known was Bhāratavarśa or the land of the Bharatas. Bharata, in the sense of tribe or family, figures in the Rigveda and Mahābhārata. The name Bhāratavarśa occurs in the Mahābhārata and post-Gupta Sanskrit texts. This name was applied to one of the nine divisions of the earth, and in the post-Gupta period it denoted India. The term Bhārati or an inhabitant of India occurs in post-Gupta texts.

Our ancient poets, philosophers, and writers spoke of the land stretching from the Himalayas to the sea as the proper domain of a single, universal monarch. The kings, who tried to establish their power from the ranges of Himalayas to the Cape Comorin and from the valley of the Brahmaputrā in the east to the land beyond the Indus in the west, were universally praised. They were called *Chakravartis*. This concept of kingship was expressed in Sanskrit Classical Literature. The poetry depicted the king as a strong warrior, and protector while theatre depicted him as a king hearted and love making person.

We also find continuing efforts to establish linguistic and cultural unity in India along with the political identity. Sanskrit drama promoted this process by using multiple languages, using variety of costumes and ornaments, and incorporating regional music and dance forms. The poetry contributed in this process by adding regional features in the beautiful descriptions of the same

V.6 Generalization of regional tendencies

The original concept of *Vṛtti* was related with people or clans of bhārata, Sātvata, kaiśika and ārabhata people respectively from the regions Kurukṣetra, Sauraṣtra, Vidarbha and west of Indus and south of Baluchistan from their ways of using weapons. The original concept of *rīti* was related with the diction of people from various regions, taste for literature from particular region. The concept of *Pravṛtti* was associated with the regional variety in costumes, body colors, ornamentation, language etc. All these concepts undergone a change from time to time may be because slowly the regional specific usage or taste for these elements was accepted by the people from other regions. Eventually they lost their regional characteristics and thus the concepts also changed their expression. In due course, they became rigid as poetic concepts and lost their identity. This type of generalization can be seen even in today's date. Indians now a days do not wear region specific cloths as they were doing earlier. They do not eat only regional food from their area, do not speak region specific languages etc.

V.7 Prominence of North India

The names of geographical regions which were used as names for types of *vṛtti, rīti*, and *pravṛtti* are mostly from North India. Bhārata, Sātvata, krathkaiśika and Aribatae people and or clans named as type of *vṛtti.* Vaidarbhī', 'Gauḍīya', Pāñcālī, Lāṭīya, Māgadhī, and Avantikā are types of *rīti*, Vidharbha is a region that today is in state of Maharastra that

lies on the northern part of the Deccan Plateau. Gauḍa was an area situated in Bengal in ancient and medieval times. Pañcāla was an ancient kingdom of north India. It was located in the Ganges-Yamuna doab. Lāṭa was a historical region located in the southern part of the present-day Gujarat state. Magadha was the powerful kingdom based in southern Bihar in the eastern Ganges Plain, in ancient times. Avanti was roughly corresponding to the present-day Mālwa region.

Śāradātanaya in his text named Bhāvaprakāśana suggests two more *rīti*s, Saurāstrī and Drāvidī instead of Māgadhī and Avantī. Saurāstra is a prominent region of the state Gujarat, located on the Arabian Sea coast. Drāvida was a group of south regions which was added to this list later.

*Pravṛtti*s were four: Āvantī, Dākṣiṇātyā, Pāñcālī (Pāñcāla-madhyamā) and Oḍra-Māgadhī. Three out of four are from North India. Dākṣiṇātya was a collective identity of south. No specific region name from south India has been accepted as a type of these three terms.

One can easily understand the prominence of North Indian regions in the types of these three terminologies.

V.8 Linguistic aspect

The types of *Vṛtti, rīti*, and *Pravṛtti* are originally based on either some geographical regions or some clan in ancient India. The interrogative is why they have words for regions or clans? What are the grammar rules about such feminine geographical names? Does grammar of Pāṇini gives rule for this formation? Does the rules from grammar books points the same meanings of these terminologies? This question gives rise to the next one, if does the writers of Sanskrit poetics were offering the new meaning to these words? Have they created these terms for poetic expression with novel concept?

Rājaśekhara (9-10th century) in his text kāvyamiṁsā puts these terms in new way. He mentions janapadās as in relation to these terms. For example, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suñha, Brahma and Pundra. *Rauḍra-Māgadhī pravṛtti* related to the clothing of the people from

those regions. Dance and music of those regions is called *Bhāratī vṛtti*. The sentences with lot of compounds, anuprāsa alaṁkāra in traditional way, is called *Gaudīyā rīti*.

These poetic terms which were used in poetic texts, includes not only kingdom or people of those areas but clothing, ornamentation, body color, ways of uttering words, ways of pronunciation of languages, likes and dislikes of people regarding languages, use of languages, and types of poetry. This whole compass is included in these concepts by rhetoricians. This approach shows the regional importance of that time which has been mirrored in poetic terms.

This is the reason that the meaning of the three terms namely *vṛtti*, *pravṛtti* and *rīti* are not found before NŚ. All these three terms have different meanings in other spheres of life. Poetic writers gave their own terminology to the old package of regional words with the new life of a different denotation to these terms. This shows the impact of social elements on linguistic use in kāvyaśastra. It was necessary for them to use terms with region names with a new denotation. They could have used completely new words for these types but in that case, they did not have conveyed this vast spectrum of implications. The Sanskrit poeticisms were giving a new sense to the region words and thus they used terminologies such as *vṛtti*, *rīti* and *pravṛtti* with new meanings.

V.9 Being one, feeling united

Region names used in the text of poetics for *vṛtti, rīti* and *pravṛtti*s does not only reflect the literarily aspects. The types of *vṛtti, rīti* and *pravṛtti*s represent the influence of political aims and accomplishments which are mirrored in the early epics.

What is the contribution of these two great epics? These epics planted concept about king and his rule in the society. It nurtured the reputation and position of a king and his regulation on the large scale. It also nurtured the concept of Rājdharma in citizens. It simultaneously waves the thread of geographical identities in the story which strengthen the political boundaries. Political and regional awareness together created the feeling of coherence in the readers. It helped the monarchy to establish itself deeply in the society.

The reflection of this nurturing is incorporated in the terms *vṛtti, rīti* and *pravṛtti*s by the poeticism. This further resulted in the court poetry and court poets in the future. The classical literature in Sanskrit is popularly known as court poetry, that is not a concurrence.

Classical literature became a medium of communication between common man and their ruler.

V.10 Depiction of variety of Indian regions

Vṛtti, *rīti* and *pravṛtti,* these terminologies were depicting the variety of Indian regions in the field of arts. Hearing own regional language in a Sanskrit drama, seeing clothing and ornamentation pattern of their regional variety etc. should have raised the sense of belongingness of viewers to the artistic presentation. The use of the local elements was also applied by poets very elaborately and wisely in the classical Sanskrit literature. Representation of regional elements must have helped in strengthening sense of belongingness. These regional elements did facilitated readers find commonness and thus feeling of oneness among themselves. This is definitely a major contribution of Sanskrit poetics.

V.11 Further possibilities

1. One can understand the variety in clothing, ornamentation, body colors, use of language under this concept which was prevalent in the society at that time. But unfortunately, it is not clear how it was actually used on stage. If these elements were applied to the characters on the basis of the regional identities of characters? How authors and directors implemented it and with what purpose? What they would have achieved using this variety? This could be the further research as an extension of this research work.

2. There might be some other aspects in Sanskrit rhetoric compositions which have influence of socio-linguistic aspects. To look for those aspects can be the further scope of this research work.

3. There was a give and take between Sanskrit Classical drama and regional folk drama of India. Classical Sanskrit dramas present a break with the past and allow a broad scope for intermixing and adaptation of genres or making some new genres with time. It would be interesting to see the influence on each other for their growth. What were the reasons and motives which enforced them for adaptations?

4. Various *Mārgī* and *desi* factors were prevalent in Indian theater. To identify them and classify them will be another scope of this research work. This can help in understanding of traditional Indian theater and its development.

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Appendices

1. Sociolinguistics research in India

Sociolinguistic research in India is the study of how the Indian society affects and is affected by the languages of the country. India is a highly multilingual nation, where many languages are spoken and also studied, both as part of linguistics and with the aim of aiding community development. Though theoretical and comparative linguistics have a long history in the country (dating back to perhaps the first millennium BCE), few researchers have concentrated on the sociolinguistic situation of India.

History of sociolinguistic research

Variation between Indian languages has been noted for millennia: by Tolkāppiyar (Tamil) in his "Tolkāppiyam"(5 BCE); Yaska in his text Nirutka (500 BCE); Patanjali (200 BCE); Bharata in his Natyasastra (500 CE).

The classification of languages, particularly with regard to regional differences and to so-called 'hybrid' languages, continued to progress during the 19th century. From 1881, language information was explicitly sought in the census, which found a total of 162 languages in the country (116 Indian languages and 46 foreign languages). Questions about language continued to be included in the 10-yearly census in the following years, and in 1896 George Abraham Grierson began his Language Survey of India, in which he tried to classify Indian languages based on the distribution of morpho-phonemic differences. Jules Bloch published a study on caste dialects in 1910, however this was not followed up for some decades.

Early Indian research into sociolinguistics can be said to have begun in the early 1960s. Charles A. Ferguson published Diglossia (1959) on variation as a developmental and functional phenomenon of language, while John J. Gumperz published on the linguistic aspects of caste differentiation in 1960. Both topics were quickly picked up by Indian linguists. In the mid-1960s, William Labov added an interest in variation within the speech of a caste.

Almost a hundred years after Grierson's survey, the International Centre for Research on Bilingualism completed its sociolinguistic Survey of India (1983-86), covering 50 major and minor languages in the country. Originally it had been intended to cover all the written languages except Sanskrit and English, but not enough data were collected for the other 47 languages reviewed.

Caste dialects

Following Bloch's 1910 work on caste dialects, further studies were carried out in the 1960s by (among others) William McCormack, in an attempt to discover the origin and method of transmission of caste dialects, and by A. K. Ramanujan, comparing the kinds of language innovation between Brahmin and non-Brahmin dialects of Tamil. Researchers have studied both the degree of association between caste distinctions and linguistic differences, and the methods and reasons for maintaining these differences.

Diglossia and Code switching

Ferguson (1959) first used the term "diglossia", whereby languages exhibit two or more distinct styles of speech in different contexts, and a number of studies looked into the phenomenon in more depth. Much of this research was focused on Tamil, but diglossia in Sinhalese and in Telugu was also studied.

Shanmugam Pillai attempted to analyse code switching among Kanyakumari fishermen (1968) with regard to the hierarchy of the caste structure.[3] Other research into code switching has studied it in the context of minority-majority interactions, urban and tribal transactions, and other special settings.

The following researchers have been instrumental in the development of Indian sociolinguistics:

- William Bright who, along with A. K. Ramanujan, wrote early work on phonetic and phonemic innovation in Brahman and non-Brahman dialects. Bright also wrote on semantic structural differences among speakers.

- Murray Barnson Emeneau, who had written the classic paper India as a Linguistic Area, also wrote on ritual language and ritual culture.
- Prabodh Bechardas Pandit focused on sociolinguistic aspects of convergence and language shift.

2. Sociolinguistics in Japan

The *Routledge Handbook of Japanese Sociolinguistics* provides an insight into the language and society of contemporary Japan from a fresh perspective. While it was once believed that Japan was a linguistically homogenous country, research over the past two decades has shown Japan to be a multilingual and sociolinguistically diversifying country. Building on this approach, the contributors to this handbook take this further, combining Japanese and western approaches alike and producing research which is relevant to twenty-first century societies.

Japanese sociolinguistics, wholly independent of trends in American sociolinguistics, got off to a quick start immediately after World War II in the late 1940s under the rubric "language life research". Japanese sociolinguistics officially began in December, 1949, with the establishment of the Kokuritsu Kokugo Kenkyujo (National Language Re- search Institute, hereafter NLRI). This government-formed institute was created for the purpose of "conducting scientific studies regarding the national language and the linguistic life of the Japanese people and building a sound basis for the rationalization of the national language"

Primary among the charges to the fledgling institute was the description of the "language life" (gengo seikatsu) of the Japanese people and of their "linguistic culture" (gengo bunka). Findings from the Institute's various research projects were to be used as bases for the formulation of official policy on language and language education. The research program of the NLRI was characterized from its inception by the use of sociological survey methods, by the statistical manipulation of quantitative linguistic data and by an emphasis on large scale group projects rather than individually conceived and executed research. In

sum, the institute has from the beginning been devoted to questions of the relations between language and society and to the quantitative analysis of language from in its context of use.

The study of the interrelations between language and society in Japan, then has a long and will establish history. Despite this, Japanese work in this area differs from Western sociolinguists.

In the 1970's there was a renewal of concern for the language life of the Japanese this time under the influence of a new field introduced from the west. Under this influence some Japanese scholars have attacked the research address the issues of identifying the contextual and speaker identity features that influence language production, of defining the individual speakers with relationship to his or her speech community.

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1. Vṛitti verses

1.1 'Vṛttivikalpana' explains the origin of the *vṛtti*s (NS 20.2-19).

एकार्णवं जगत्कृत्वा भगवानच्युतो यदा ।

शेते स्म नागपर्यङ्के लोकान्संक्षिप्य मायया ॥२०.२॥

अथ वीर्यबलोन्मतावसुरौ मधुकैटभौ ।

तर्जयामासतुर्देवं तरसा युद्धकाङ्क्षया ॥ २०.३॥

निजबाहू विमृद्नन्तौ भूतभावनमक्षयम् ।

जानुभिर्मुष्टिभिश्चैव योधयामासतुः प्रभुम् ॥ २०.४॥

बहुभिः परुषैर्वाक्यैरन्योन्यसमभिद्रवम् ।

नानाधिक्षेपवचनैः कम्पयन्ताविवोदधिम् ॥ २०.५॥

तयोर्नानाप्रकाराणि वचांसि वदतोस्तदा ।

श्रुत्वा त्वभिहतमना द्रुहिणो वाक्यमब्रवीत् ॥ २०.६॥

किमिदं भारतीवृत्तिर्वाग्भिरेव प्रवर्तते ।

उत्तरोत्तरसंबद्धा नन्विमौ निधनं नयः ॥ २०.७॥

पितामहवचः श्रुत्वा प्रोवाच मधुसूदनः ।

कार्यहेतोर्मया ब्रह्मन् भारतीयं विनिर्मिता ॥ २०.८॥

वदतां वाक्यभूयिष्ठा भारतीयं भविष्यति ।

तस्मादेतौ निहन्म्यद्येत्युवाच वचनं हरिः ॥ २०.९॥

शुद्धैरविकृतैरङ्गैः साङ्गहारैस्तथा भृशम् ।

योधयामासतुर्दैत्यौ युद्धमार्गविशारदौ ॥ २०.१०॥

भूमिसंयोगसंस्थानैः पदन्यासैर्हरेस्तदा ।

अतिभारोऽभवद् भूमेर्भारती तत्र निर्मिता ॥ २०.११॥

वल्गितैः शार्ङ्गधनुषस्तीव्रैर्दीप्ततथैरथ ।

सत्त्वाधिकैरसंभ्रान्तैः सात्त्वती तत्र निर्मिता ॥ २०.१२॥

विचित्रैरङ्गहारैस्तु देवो लीलासमन्वितैः ।

बबन्ध यच्छिखापाशं कैशिकी तत्र निर्मिता ॥२०.१३॥

संरम्भावेगबहुलैर्नानाचारी समुत्थितैः ।

नियुद्धकरणैश्चित्रैरुत्पन्नारभटी ततः ॥२०.१४॥

1.2. The origin of the *Nyāya*

अहो विचित्रैर्विषमैः स्फुटैः सललितैरपि ।

अङ्गहारैः कृतं देव त्वया दानवनाशनम् ॥ २०.१७॥

तस्मादयं हि लोकस्य नियुद्धसमयक्रमः ।

सर्वशस्त्रविमोक्षेषु न्यायसंज्ञो भविष्यति ॥ २०.१८॥

न्यायाश्रितैरङ्गहारैर्न्यायाच्चैव समुत्थितैः ।

यस्मादयुद्धानि वर्तन्ते तस्मान्न्यायाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ २०.१९॥

The four *Nyāya*s for using weapons

नानाशस्त्रविमोक्षो हि कार्योऽनेन प्रयोक्तृभिः ।

न्यायाच्चैव हि विज्ञेयाश्चत्वारः शस्त्रमोक्षणे ॥ ११.७२॥

भारतः सात्वतश्चैव वार्षगण्योऽथ कैशिकः ।

There are four *nyāya*s or ways of using weapons or releasing arms. Those are Bhārata, Sāttvata, Vārṣagaṇya, and Kaiśika.

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भारते तु कटिच्छेद्यं पादच्छेद्यं तु सात्वते ॥ ११.७३॥

वक्षसो वार्षगण्ये तु शिरश्छेद्यन्तु कैशिके ।

एभिः प्रयोक्तृभिर्न्यायैर्नानाचारीसमुत्थितैः ॥ ७४॥

प्रविचार्य प्रयोक्तव्यं नानाशस्त्रविमोक्षणे ।

न्यायाश्रितैरङ्गहारैर्न्यायाच्चैव समुत्थितैः ॥ ७५॥

यस्माद् युद्धानि वर्तन्ते तस्मान्न्यायाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।

वामहस्ते विनिक्षिप्य खेटकं शस्त्रफेटकम् ॥ ७६॥

शस्त्रमादाय हस्तेन प्रविचारमथाचरेत् ।

प्रसार्य च करौ सम्यक् पुनराक्षिप्य चैव हि ॥ ७७॥

खेटकं भ्रामयेत् पश्चात् पार्श्वात् पार्श्वमथापि च ।

शिरःपरिगमश्चापि कार्यः शस्त्रेण योक्तृभिः ॥ ७८॥

कपोलस्यान्तरे वापि शस्त्रस्योद्वेष्टनं तथा ।

पुनश्च खड्गहस्तेन ललितोद्वेष्टितेन च ॥ ७९॥

How to perform Sāttvata *Nyāya*

खेटकेन च कर्तव्यः शिरःपरिगमो बुधैः ।

एवं प्रचारः कर्तव्यो भारते शस्त्रमोक्षणे ॥ ८०॥

सात्वते च प्रवक्ष्यामि प्रविचारं यथाविधिः ।

स एव प्रविचारस्तु खड्गखेटकयोः स्मृतः ॥ ८१॥

How to perform Vārṣagaṇya *Nyāya*

केवलं पृष्ठतः शस्त्रं कर्तव्यं खलु सात्वते ।

गतिश्च वार्षगण्येऽपि सात्वतेन क्रमेण तु ॥ ८२॥

अभिनवभारती –तस्य प्रयोक्तृभिः व्यायामाच्चेति (न्यायात्यादि) नामानुसारादेषां वृत्तिविभागे

परिशेषता। आरभटया वार्षगण्यः।।७२।।

How to perform Kaiśika *Nyāya*

शस्त्रखेटकयोश्चापि भ्रमणं संविधीयते ।

शिरः परिगमस्तद्वच्छस्त्रस्येह भवेत्तथा ॥ ८३॥

उरस्युद्वेष्टनं कार्यं शस्त्रस्यांशेऽथवा पुनः ।

भारते प्रविचारोऽयं कर्तव्यः स तु कैशिके ॥ ८४॥

1.3. Aṅgahāra

   (NS 4.18 -27)

द्वात्रिंशदेते सम्प्रोक्ता अङ्गहारास्तु नामतः ॥ ४.२७॥

एतेषां तु प्रवक्ष्यामि प्रयोगं करणाश्रयम् ।

हस्तपादप्रचारश्च यथा योज्यः प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥ ४.२८॥

अङ्गहारेषु वक्ष्यामि करणेषु च वै द्विजाः ।

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सर्वेषामङ्गहाराणां निष्पत्तिः करणैर्यतः ॥ ४.२९॥

तान्यतः सम्प्रवक्ष्यामि नामतः कर्मतस्तथा ।

हस्तपादसमायोगो नृत्यस्य करणं भवेत् ॥ ४.३०॥

द्वे नृत्तकरणे चैव भवतो नृत्तमातृका ।

द्वाभ्यां त्रिभिश्चतुर्भिर्वाप्यङ्गहारस्तु मातृभिः ॥४.३१॥

1.4. Another mythological story

ततो देवेषु निक्षिप्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ।

पुनर्नाट्यप्रयोगेषु नानाभावरसान्विताः ॥ 20.20॥[85]

वृत्तिसंज्ञाः कृता ह्येताः काव्यबन्धरसाश्रयाः।

चरितैर्यस्य देवस्य द्रव्यं यद्यादृशं कृतम् ॥ 20.21॥

ऋषिभिस्तादृशी वृत्तिः कृता पाठ्यादिसंयुता[86] ॥ २०.२३॥

ऋग्वेदाद्भारती क्षिप्ता   यजुर्वेदाच्च सात्त्वती ।

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[85] [चारीषु च समुत्पन्नो नानाचारीसमाश्रयः ।
न्यायसंज्ञः कृतो ह्येष द्रुहिणेन महात्मना॥ २०॥

ततो वेदेषु निक्षिप्ता द्रुहिणेन महात्मना ।
पुनरिश्वस्त्रजाते च नानाचारीसमाकुले ॥ २१॥

पुनर्नाट्यप्रयोगेषु नानाभावसम्निवताः ।
वृत्तिसंज्ञाः कृता ह्येताः काव्यबन्धसमाश्रयाः] ॥ २२॥ (क) पाठभेद.
[86] पाठ्याङ्गसंभवा। (घ) वाक्याङ्गसंभवा) (ख)

कैशिकी सामवेदाच्च शेषा चाथर्वणादपि ॥ २०.२५॥

या वाक्प्रधाना पुरुषप्रयोज्या स्त्रीवर्जिता संस्कृतपाठ्ययुक्ता ।

स्वनामधेयैर्भरतैः प्रयुक्ता सा भारती नाम भवेतु वृत्तिः ॥ २०.२६॥

या सात्त्वतेनेह गुणेन युक्ता न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च ।

हर्षोत्कटा संहतशोकभावा सा सात्त्वती नाम भवेतु वृत्तिः ॥ २०.४१॥

या श्लक्ष्णनैपथ्यविशेषचित्रा स्त्रीसंयुता या बहुनृत्तगीता ।

कामोपभोगप्रभवोपचारा तां कैशिकीं वृत्तिमुदाहरन्ति ॥ २०.५३॥

आरभटप्रायगुणा तथैव बहुकपटवञ्चनोपेता ।

दम्भानृतवचनवती त्वारभटी नाम विज्ञेया ॥ २०.६४॥

1.5. The development of the plays from the *Vṛtti*s

अर्थे हि समवकारे ह्यप्रतिसम्बन्धमिच्छन्ति ॥ १८.६९॥

युद्धजलसम्भवो वा वाय्वग्निगजेन्द्रसंभ्रमकृतो वा ।

नगरोपरोधजो वा विज्ञेयो विद्रवस्त्रिविधः ॥ १८.७०॥

वस्तुगतक्रमविहितो देववशाद्वा परप्रयुक्तो वा ।

सुखदुःखोत्पत्तिकृतस्त्रिविधः कपटोऽत्र विज्ञेयः ॥ १८.७१॥

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त्रिविधश्चात्र विधिज्ञैः पृथक्पृथक्कार्यविहितार्थः ।

शृङ्गारः कर्तव्यो धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च ॥ १८.७२॥

यस्मिन् धर्मप्रापकमात्महितं भवति साधनं बहुधा ।

व्रतनियमतपोयुक्तो ज्ञेयोऽसौ धर्मशृङ्गारः ॥ १८.७३॥

अर्थस्येच्छायोगाद्बहुधा चैवार्थतोऽर्थशृङ्गारः ।

स्त्रीसम्प्रयोगविषयेष्वर्थार्था वा रतिर्यत्र ॥ १८.७४॥

कन्याविलोभनकृतं प्राप्तौ स्त्रीपुंसयोस्तु रम्यं वा ।

निभृतं सावेगं वा यस्य भवेत्कामशृङ्गारः ॥ १८.७५॥

उष्णिग्गायत्र्यादीन्यन्यानि च यानि बन्धकुटिलानि ।

वृत्तानि समवकारे कविभिस्तानि प्रयोज्यानि ॥ १८.७६॥

प्रख्यातवस्तुविषयः प्रख्यातोदात्तनायकश्चैव ।

षड्रसलक्षणयुक्तश्चतुरङ्को वै डिमः कार्यः ॥ १८.८४॥

शृङ्गारहास्यवर्जं शेषैः सर्वै रसैः समायुक्तः ।

दीप्तरसकाव्ययोनिर्नानाभावोपसम्पन्नः ॥ १८.८५॥

निर्घातोल्कापातैरुपरागेणेन्दुसूर्ययोर्युक्तः ।

युद्धनियुद्धाधर्षणसम्फेटकृतश्च कर्तव्यः ॥ १८.८६॥

मायेन्द्रजालबहुलो बहुपुस्तोत्थानयोगयुक्तश्च ।

देवभुजगेन्द्रराक्षसयक्षपिशाचावकीर्णश्च ॥ १८.८७॥

षोडशनायकबहुलः सात्वत्यारभटीवृत्तिसम्पन्नः ।

कार्यो डिमः प्रयत्नान्नानाश्रयभावसम्पन्नः ॥ १८.८८॥

1.6. The relation between *vṛttis* and musical notes

सर्वेषामेव काव्यानां मातृका वृत्तयः स्मृताः ।

आभ्यो विनिसृतं ह्येतद्दशरूपं प्रयोगतः ॥ 18. 4॥

जातिभिः श्रुतिभिश्चैव स्वरा ग्रामत्वमागताः ।

यथा तथा वृत्तिभेदैः काव्यबन्धा भवन्ति हि ॥ 18.5॥

ग्रामौ पूर्णस्वरौ द्वौ तु यथा वै षड्जमध्यमौ ।

सर्ववृत्तिविनिष्पन्नौ काव्यबन्धौ तथा त्विमौ ॥ 18.6॥

2. Ritī verses

2.1 Bhāmaha Kāvyālaṅkāra

वैदर्भमन्यदस्तीति मन्यन्ते सुधियोऽपरे।

तदेव च किल ज्यायः सदर्थमपि नापरम्।। KL.1.31।।

गौडीयमिदमेतत्तु वैदर्भमिति किं पृथक्।

गतानुगतिकन्यायान्नानाख्येयममेधसाम्।। KL.1.32।।

ननु चाश्मकवंशादि वैदर्भमिति कथ्यते।

कामं तथास्तु प्रायेण संज्ञेच्छातो विधीयते ।। KL.1.33।।

2.2 *Guṇa*s and styles by Daṇḍin

अपुष्टार्थमवक्रोक्ति प्रसन्नमृजु कोमलम्।

भिन्नं गेयमिवेदं तु केवलं श्रुतिपेशलम्।। KD.1.34।।

अलंकारवदग्राम्यमर्थ्यं न्याय्यमनाकुलम्।

गौडीयमपि साधीयो वैदर्भमिति नान्यथा।। KD.1. 35।।

न नितान्तादिमात्रेण जायते चारुता गिराम्।

वक्राभिधेयशब्दोक्तिरिष्टा वाचामलंकृतिः।। KD.1.36।।

अस्त्यनेको गिरां मार्गः सूक्ष्मभेदः परस्परम्।

तत्र वेदर्भगौडीयौ वर्ण्येते प्रस्फुटान्तरौ।। KD.1.40।।

इति वैदर्भमार्गस्य प्राणा दशगुणाः स्मृताः।

एषां विपर्ययः प्रायो दृश्यते गौडवर्त्मनि।। KD.1.42।।

श्लिष्टमस्पृष्टशैथिल्यमल्पप्राणाक्षरोत्तरम्।

शिथिलं मालतीमाला लोलालिकलिला यथा।। KD.1.43 ।।

अनुप्रासधिया गौडैस्तदिष्टं बन्धगौरवात्।

वैदर्भैर्मालतीदाम लङ्घितं भ्रमरैरिति।। KD.1.44 ।।

प्रसादवत्प्रसिद्धार्थं इन्दोरिन्दीवरद्युतिः।

लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोतीति प्रतीतिसुभगं वचः ।। KD.1.45।।

व्युत्पन्नमिति गौडीयैर्नातिरूढमपीष्यते।

यथानत्यर्जुनाब्जन्मसदृक्षाङ्को बलक्षगुः।। KD.1.46।।

इत्यनालोच्य वैषम्य अर्थालंकारडम्बरौ।

अवेक्षमाणा ववृधे पौरस्त्या काव्यपद्धतिः।। KD.1.50।।

इतीदं नादृतं गौडैरनुप्रासस्तु तत्प्रियः।

अनुप्रासादपि प्रायो वैदर्भैरिदमीप्सितम्।। KD.1.54।।

इत्यादि बन्धपारुष्यं शैथिल्यं च नियच्छति ।

अतो नैवं अनुप्रासं दाक्षिणात्याः प्रयुञ्जते ।। KD.1.60 ।।

नेदृशं बहु मन्यन्ते मार्गयोरुभयोरपि ।

न हि प्रतीतिः सुभगा शब्दन्यायविलङ्घिनी ।। KD.1.75।।

ओजः समासभूयस्त्वं एतद्वद्यस्य जीवितम् ।

पद्येऽप्यदाक्षिणात्यानां इदं एकं परायणम् ।। KD.1.80।।

इति पद्येऽपि पौरस्त्या बध्नन्त्योजस्विनीर्गिरः।

अन्ये त्वनाकुलं हृद्यमिच्छन्त्योजो गिरां यथा ।। KD.1.83।।

इदं अत्युक्तिरित्युक्तं एतद्गौडोपलालितम् ।

प्रस्थानं प्राक्प्रणीतं तु सारं अन्यस्य वर्त्मनः ।। KD.1.92।।

इति मार्गद्वयं भिन्नं तत्स्वरूपनिरूपणात्।

तद्भेदास्तु न शक्यन्ते वक्तुं प्रतिकवि स्थिताः।। KD. 1.101।।

इक्षुक्षीरगुडादीनां माधुर्यस्यान्तरं महत्।

तथापि न तदाख्यातुं सरस्वत्यापि शक्यते।। KD. 1.102।।

नैसर्गिकी च प्रतिभा श्रुतं च बहुनिर्मलम् ।

अमन्दश्चाभियोगोऽस्याः कारणं काव्यसंपदः ।। KD. 1.103।।

2.3 Kavyālaṁkārasūtra of Vāmana

रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य।। KS.१.२.६।। विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः।। KS.१.२.७।। विशेषो गुणात्मा।। KS.१.२.८।। सा त्रेधा वैदर्भी गौडिया पाञ्चाली चेति।। KS.१.२.९।।

रीतिं विवेक्तुमाह - सा त्रिधेति। सकलगुणसधीचीनत्वेनाभ्यर्हितत्वाद् वैदर्भ्याः प्रथमं निर्देशः। अनन्तरयोरुभयोः स्तोकगुणत्वेऽपि प्रशस्तगुणसंस्कृतत्वाद् अनन्तरं गौडियायाः, अवशिष्टाया अन्ते निवेशः।।KS. १.२.९।।

किं पुनर्देशवशाद् द्रव्यगुणोत्पत्तिः काव्यानां, येनाऽयं देशविशेषव्यपदेशः।

नैवं यदाह - विदर्भादिषु दृष्टत्वात् तत्समाख्या।। विदर्भगौडपाञ्चालिषु तत्रत्यैः कविभिर्यथास्वरूपमुपलब्धत्वात् तत्समाख्यां न पुनर्देशैः किञ्चिदुपक्रियते काव्यानाम्।। KS. १.२.१०।।

उत्कर्षवान्गुणः कश्चिदस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते। तदुदाहृयं तेन सनाथा काव्यपद्धतिः।। KS. 1.76।।

3. Pravṛttis

3.1 Karayuktidharmīvyañjaka chapter 36

पुनश्चैव प्रवक्ष्यामि प्रवृत्तीनान्तु लक्षणम् ।

चतुर्विधा प्रवृत्तिश्च प्रोक्ता नाट्यप्रयोगतः ।

आवन्ती दाक्षिणात्या च पाञ्चाली चोढ्रमागधी ॥ NŚ१३.३७॥

लोकधर्मी नाट्यधर्मी धर्मीति द्विविधः स्मृतः ।

भारती सात्वती चैव कैशिक्यारभटी तथा ॥ ६.२४॥

चतस्रो वृत्तयो ह्येता यासु नाट्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ।

आवन्ती दाक्षिणात्या च तथा चैवोढ्रमागधी ॥ ६.२५॥

पाञ्चालमध्यमा चेति विज्ञेयास्तु प्रवृत्तयः ।

दैविकी मानुषी चैव सिद्धिः स्याद्द्विविधैव तु ॥ ६.२६॥

3.2 Dākṣiṇātyā i.e. Southern *pravṛtti*

तत्र दाक्षिणात्यास्तावत् बहुनृत्तगीतवाद्या कैशिकीप्रायाः चतुरमधुरललिताङ्गाभिनयाश्च ।

तद्यथा महेन्द्रो मलयः सह्यो मेकलः पालमञ्जरः ।

एतेषु ये श्रिता देशाः स ज्ञेयो दक्षिणापथः ॥ १३.३८॥

कोसलाग्ग्स्तोशलाश्चैव कलिङ्गा यवना खसाः ।

द्रविडान्ध्रमहाराष्ट्रा वैष्णा वै वानवासजाः॥१३.३९॥

दक्षिणस्य समुद्रस्य तथा विन्ध्यस्य चान्तरे ।

ये देशास्तेषु युञ्जीत दाक्षिणात्यां तु नित्यशः ॥१३.४०॥

आवन्तिका वैदिशिकाः सौराष्ट्रा मालवास्तथा ।

सैन्धवास्त्वथ सौवीरा आवर्ताः सार्बुदेयकाः ॥ १३.४१॥

दाशार्णास्त्रैपुराश्चैव तथा वै मार्तिकावताः ।

कुर्वन्त्यावन्तिकीमेते प्रवृत्तिं नित्यमेव तु ॥ १३.४२॥

सात्वतीं कैशिकीं चैव वृत्तिमेषां समाश्रिता ।

भवेत् प्रयोगो नाट्येऽत्र स तु कार्यः प्रयोक्तृभिः ॥ १३.४३॥

अङ्गा वङ्गाः कलिङ्गाश्च वत्साश्चैवोढ्रमागधाः ।

पौण्ड्रा नेपालकाश्चैव अन्तर्गिरिबहिर्गिराः ॥ १३.४४॥

तथा प्लवङ्गमा ज्ञेया मलदा मल्लवर्तकाः ।

ब्रह्मोत्तरप्रभृतयो भार्गवा मार्गवास्तथा ॥ १३.४५॥

प्राज्योतिषाः पुलिन्दाश्च वैदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तकाः ।

प्राङ्गाः प्रावृतयश्चैव युञ्जन्तीहोढ्रमागधीम् ॥ १३.४६॥

अन्येऽपि देशाः च ये पुराणे सम्प्रकीर्तिताः ।

तेषु प्रयुज्यते ह्येषा प्रवृत्तिश्चोढ्रमागधी ॥ ४७॥

पाञ्चाला सौरसेनाश्च काश्मीरा हस्तिनापुराः ।

बाह्लीका शल्यकाश्चैव मद्रकौशीनरास्तथा ॥ १३.४८॥

हिमवत्संश्रिता ये तु गङ्गायाश्चोत्तरां दिशम् ।

ये श्रिता वै जनपदास्तेषु पाञ्चालमध्यमाः ॥१३.४९॥

पाञ्चालमध्यमायां तु सात्वत्यारभटी स्मृता ।

प्रयोगस्त्वल्पगीतार्थ आविद्धगतिविक्रमः ॥ १३.५०॥

द्विधा क्रिया भवत्यासां रङ्गपीठपरिक्रमे ।

प्रदक्षिणप्रदेशा च तथा चाप्यप्रदक्षिणा ॥ १३.५१॥

आवन्ती दाक्षिणात्या च प्रदक्षिणपरिक्रमे ।

अपसव्यप्रदेशास्तु पाञ्चाली चोढ्रमागधी ॥ १३.५२॥

आवन्त्यां दाक्षिणात्यायां पार्श्वद्वारमथोत्तरम् ।

पाञ्चाल्यामोढ्रमागध्यां योज्यं द्वारं तु दक्षिणम् ॥ १३.५३॥

एकीभूताः पुनश्चैताः प्रयोक्तव्याः प्रयोक्तृभिः ।

पार्षदं देशकालौ वाप्यर्थयुक्तिमवेक्ष्य च ॥ १३.५४॥

येषु देशेषु या कार्या प्रवृत्तिः परिकीर्तिता ।

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तद्वृत्तिकानि रूपाणि तेषु तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥ १३.५५॥

3.3 Costumes

मानुषीणां तु कर्तव्या नानादेशसमुद्भवाः ॥ २३.६६॥

वेषाभरणसंयोगान् गदतस्तान्निबोधत ।

आवन्त्ययुवतीनां तु शिरस्सालककुन्तलम् ॥ २३.६७॥

गौडीयानामलकप्रायं सशिखापाशवेणिकम् ।

आभीरयुवतीनां तु द्विवेणीधर एव तु ॥ २३.६८॥

शिरः परिगमः कार्यो नीलप्रायमथाम्बरम् ।

तथा पूर्वोत्तरस्त्रीणां समुन्नद्धशिखण्डकम् ॥ २३.६९॥

आकेशाच्छादनं तासां देशकर्मणि कीर्तितम् ।

तथैव दक्षिणस्त्रीणां कार्यमुल्लेख्यसंश्रयम् ॥ २३.७०॥

कुम्भीबन्धकसंयुक्तं तथावर्तललाटिकम् ।

देशजातिविधानेन शेषाणामपि कारयेत् ।

वेषं तथा चाभरणं क्षुरकर्म परिच्छदम् ॥ २३.७२॥

3.4 Colors

जाम्बूद्वीपस्य वर्षे तु नानावर्णाश्रया नराः ॥ २३.१०१॥

उत्तरांस्तु कुरुस्त्यक्त्वा ते चापि कनकप्रभाः ।

भद्राश्वपुरुषाः श्वेताः कर्तव्या वर्णतस्तथा ॥ २३.१०२॥

केतुमाले नरा नीला गौराः शेषेषु कीर्तिताः ।

नानावर्णाः स्मृता भूता गन्धर्वा यक्षपन्नगाः ॥ २३.१०३॥

विद्याधरास्तथा चैव पितरस्तु समा नराः ।

पुनश्च भारते वर्षे तांस्तान्वर्णान्निबोधत ॥ २३.१०४॥

राजानः पद्मवर्णास्तु गौराः श्यामास्तथैव च ।

ये चापि सुखिनो मर्त्या गौरा कार्यास्तु वैः बुधैः ॥ २३.१०५॥

कुकर्मिणो ग्रहग्रस्ताः व्याधितास्तपसि स्थिताः ।

आयस्तकर्मिणश्चैव ह्यसिताश्च कुजातयः ॥ २३.१०६॥

ऋष्ययश्चैव   कर्तव्या नित्यं तु बदरप्रभाः ।

तपःस्थिताश्च ऋषयो   नित्यामेवासिता बुधैः ॥ २३.१०७॥

किरातबर्बरान्ध्राश्च द्रविडाः काशिकोसलाः ।

पुलिन्दा दाक्षिणात्याश्च प्रायेण त्वसिताः स्मृताः ॥ २३.११०॥

शकाश्च यवनाश्चैव पह्लवा वाह्लिकाश्च ये ।

प्रायेण गौराः कर्तव्या उत्तरा ये श्रिता दिशम् ॥ २३.१११॥

पाञ्चालाः शौरसेनाश्च माहिषाश्चौड्रमागधाः ।

अङ्गा वङ्गाः कलिङ्गाश्च श्यामाः कार्यास्तु वर्णतः ॥ २३.११२॥

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्चैव गौराः कार्यास्तथैव हि ।

वैश्याः शूद्रास्तथा चैव श्यामाः कार्यास्तु वर्णतः ॥ २३.११३॥

एवं कृत्वा यथान्यायं मुखाङ्गोपाङ्गवर्तनाम् ।

श्मश्रुकर्म प्रयुञ्जीत देशकालवयोऽनुगम् ॥ २३.११४॥

3.5 Bhāṣā

अतिभाषार्यभाषा च जातिभाषा तथैव च ।

तथा योन्यन्तरी चैव भाषा नाट्ये प्रकीर्तिता ॥१८.२६॥

अतिभाषा तु देवानामार्यभाषा तु भूभुजाम् ।

संस्कारपाठ्यसंयुक्ता सप्तद्वीपप्रतिष्ठिता ॥ १८.२८॥[87]

विविधा जातिभाषा च प्रयोगे समुदाहृता ।

म्लेच्छशब्दोपचारा च भारतं वर्षमाश्रिता॥१८.२८॥

अथ योन्यन्तरी भाषा ग्राम्यारण्यपशूद्भवा ।

नानाविहङ्गजा चैव नाट्यधर्मीप्रतिष्ठिता ॥१८.२९॥

जातिभाषाश्रयं पाठ्यं द्विविधं समुदाहृतम् ।

प्राकृतं संस्कृतं चैव चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाश्रयम् ॥१८.३०॥

ऐश्वर्येण प्रमत्तानां दारिद्र्येण प्लुतात्मनाम् ।

अनधीतोत्तमानां च संस्कृतं न प्रयोजयेत् ॥१८.३३॥

व्याजलिङ्गप्रविष्टानां श्रमणानां तपस्विनाम् ।

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[87] पाठभेद - सम्यङ् न्याय्यप्रतिष्ठिता, सम्यक् राज्ये प्रतिष्ठिता, सम्यग् नाट्यप्रतिष्ठिता, सम्यग्ग्रामप्रतिष्ठिता

भिक्षुचक्रचराणां च प्राकृतं सम्प्रयोजयेत् ॥१८. ३४॥

बाले गृहोपसृष्टे च स्त्रीणां स्त्रीप्रकृतौ तथा।

नीचे मत्ते सलिङ्गे च प्राकृतं पाठ्यमिष्यते॥३५॥

परिव्राण्मुनिशाक्येषु चोक्षेषु श्रोत्रियेषु च।

शिष्टा ये चैव लिङ्गस्थाः संस्कृतं तेषु योजयेत् ॥१८. ३६॥

राज्ञाश्च गणिकायाश्च शिल्पकार्यास्तथैव च ।

कलावस्थान्तरकृतं योज्यं पाठ्यं तु संस्कृतम् ॥१८. ३७॥

सन्धिविग्रहसम्बन्धं तथा च प्रासवाग्गतिम् ।

ग्रहनक्षत्रचरितं खगानां रुतमेव च ॥१८. ३८॥

सर्वमेतत्तु विज्ञेयं काव्यबन्धे शुभाशुभम् ।

नृपपत्न्या स्मृतं तस्मात् काले पाठयन्तु संस्कृतम् ॥१८. ३९॥

क्रीडार्थं सर्वलोकस्य प्रयोगे च सुखाश्रयम् ।

कलाभ्यासाश्रयं चैव पाठ्यं वेश्यासु संस्कृतम् ॥१८. ४०॥

कलोपचारज्ञानार्थं क्रीडार्थं पार्थिवस्य च ।

निर्दिष्टं शिल्पकार्यास्तु नाटके संस्कृतं वचः ॥१८. ४१॥

आम्नायसिद्धं सर्वासां शुभमप्सरसां वचः ।

संसर्गाद्देवतानां च तद्धि लोकोऽनुवर्तते ॥ १८. ४४॥

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छन्दतः प्राकृतं पाठ्यं स्मृतमप्सरसां भुवि ।

मानुषाणां च कर्तव्यं कारणार्थव्यपेक्षया ॥१८.४३॥

न बर्बरकिरातनान्ध्रद्रमिलाद्यासु जातिषु।

नाट्यप्रयोगे कर्तव्यं पाठ्यं भाषासमाश्रयम्॥१८. ४४॥

सर्वास्वेह हि शुद्धासु जातिषु द्विजसत्तमाः ।

शौरसेनीं समाश्रित्य भाषां काव्येषु योजयेत् ॥१८.४५॥

अथवा छन्दतः कार्या देशभाषा प्रयोक्तृभिः ।

नानादेशसमुत्थं हि काव्यं भवति नाटके ॥१८.४६॥

मागध्यवन्तिजा प्राच्या शौरसेन्यर्धमागधी ।

बाह्लीका दक्षिणात्या च सप्त भाषाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥१८.४७॥

शकाराभीरचण्डालशवरद्रमिलोद्रजाः ।

हीना वनेचराणां च विभाषा नाटके स्मृता ॥१८. ४८॥

मागधी तु नरेन्द्राणामन्तःपुरसमाश्रया ।

चेटानां राजपुत्राणां श्रेष्ठिनां चार्धमागधी ॥१८. ४९॥

प्राच्या विदूषकादीनां धूर्तानामप्यवन्तिजा ।

नायिकानां सखीनां च शूरसेन्यविरोधिनी ॥१८.५०॥

यौधनागरकादीनां दक्षिणात्याथ दीव्यताम् ।

बाह्लीकभाषोदीच्यानां खसानां च स्वदेशजा ॥१८.५१॥

शकारघोषकादीनां तत्स्वभावश्च यो गणः ।

शकारभाषा योक्तव्या चाण्डाली पुल्कसादिषु ॥१८. ५२॥

अङ्गारकारकव्याधकाष्ठयन्त्रोपजीविनाम् ।

योज्या शकारभाषा तु किंचिद्वानौकसी तथा ॥१८.५३॥

गजाश्वाजाविकोष्ट्रादिघोषस्थाननिवासिनाम् ।

आभीरोक्तिः शाबरी वा द्राविडी वनचारिषु ॥१८.५४॥

सुरङ्गाखनकादीनां सन्धिकाराश्चरक्षताम् ।

व्यसने नायकानां चाप्यात्मरक्षासु मागधी ॥१८.५५॥

3.5.1 Sāhityadarpaṇa

आसामेव तु गाथासु महाराष्ट्रीं प्रयोजयेत् ॥६.१५९॥

शबराणां शकादीनां शाबरीं संप्रयोजत्।

बाह्लीकभाषोदीच्यानां द्राविडी द्राविडादिषु ॥६.१६२॥

आभीरेषु तथाभीरी चाण्डाली पुक्कसादिषु।

आभीरी शाबरी चापि काष्ठपात्रोपजीविषु ॥६.१६३॥

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तथैवाङ्गारकारकादौ पैशाची स्यात्पिशाचवाक्।

चेटानामप्यनीचानामपि स्यात्सौरसेनिका ।।६.१६४।।

बालानां षण्डकानां च नीचग्रहविचारिणाम्।

उन्मत्तानामातुराणां सैव स्यात्संस्कृतं क्वचित् ।।६.१६५।।

योषित्सखीबालवेश्याकितवाप्सरसां तथा।

वैदग्ध्यार्थं प्रदातव्यं संस्कृतं चान्तरान्तरा।। ६.१६९।।

3.5.2 Features of various local dialects in NŚ

गङ्गासागरमध्ये तु ये देशाः सम्प्रकीर्तिताः ।

एकारबहुलां तेषु भाषां तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥१८. ५६॥

न बर्बरकिरातान्ध्रद्रमिलाद्यासु जातिषु ।

नाट्यप्रयोगे कर्तव्यं काव्यं भाषासमाश्रितम्

विन्ध्यसागरमध्ये तु ये देशाः श्रुतिमागताः ।

नकारबहुलां तेषु भाषां तज्ज्ञः प्रयोजयेत् ॥१८. ५७॥

सुराष्ट्रावन्तिदेषेषु वेत्रवत्युत्तरेषु च ।

ये देशास्तेषु कुर्वीत चकारप्रायसंश्रयाम् ॥१८. ५८॥

हिमवत्सिन्धुसौवीरान्ये जनाः समुपाश्रिताः ।

उकारबहुलां तज्ज्ञस्तेषु भाषां प्रयोजयेत् ॥१८. ५९॥

चर्मण्वतीनदीतीरे ये चार्बुदसमाश्रिताः ।

तकारबहुलां नित्यं तेषु भाषां प्रयोजयेत् ॥१८. ६०॥

3.6 Bhāmaha defines the kāvya

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्यं गद्यं पद्यं च तद्द्विधा।

संस्कृतं प्राकृतं चान्यदपभ्रंश इति त्रिधा॥१.१६॥

संस्कृतानाकुलश्रव्यशब्दार्थपदवृत्तिना।

गद्येन युक्तोदात्तार्था सोच्छ्वासाऽऽख्यायिका मता॥ १.२५॥

संस्कृते संस्कृता चेष्टा कथाऽपभ्रंशभाक्तथा ॥ १.२८ ॥

वृद्धिपक्षं प्रयुञ्जीत सङ्क्रमेऽपि मृजेर्यथा।

मार्जन्त्यधररागं ते पतन्तो बाष्पविन्दवः॥६.३१॥

सरूपशेषं तु पुमान् ६.३२, णाविष्टवदितीष्ट्या च तथा क्रशयतीत्यपि६.३३, तृतीयासमीपक्षे नालुग्विषयमानयेत् ६.३४ etc.

3.7 Dandin

इह शिष्टानुशिष्टां शिष्टानामपि सर्वथा।

वाचामेव प्रसादेन लोकयात्रा प्रवर्तते।।१.३।।

तदेतद्वाङ्मयं भूयः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं तथा।

अपभ्रंशश्च मिश्रं चेत्याहुराप्ताश्चतुर्विधम्।।१. ३२।।

संस्कृतं नाम दैवी वागन्वाख्या महर्षिभिः।

तद्भवस्तत्समो देशीत्यनेकः प्राकृतक्रमः।। १.३३।।

कथा हि सर्वभाषाभिः संस्कृतेन च बध्यते।

भूतभाषामयीं प्राहुरद्भुतार्थां बृहत्कथाम्।।१.३८।।

महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः।

सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम्।।१.३४।।

शौरसेनी च गौडी च लाटी चान्यापि तादृशी।

याति प्राकृतमित्येवं व्यवहारेषु संनिधिम्।।१.३५।।

आभीरादिगिरः काव्येष्वपभ्रंश इति स्मृताः।

शास्त्रे तु संस्कृतादन्यपभ्रंशतयोदितम्।। १.३६।।

संस्कृतं सर्गबन्धादि प्राकृतं स्कन्धकादि यत्।

ओसरादिरपभ्रंशो नाटकादि तु मिश्रकम्।।१.३७।।

3.8 Rājaśekhara on *vṛtti*s, *rīti*s and *pravṛtt*s in connection to the poetry

अथ सर्वे प्रथमं प्राचीं दिशं शिश्रियुर्यत्राङ्गवङ्गसुह्मब्रह्मपुण्ड्राद्या जनपदा, तत्राभियुज्जाना तमौमेयी यं वेषं यथेष्टम्सेविष्ट, स तत्रत्याभिः स्त्रीभिरन्वक्रियत । सा प्रवृत्ती रौद्रमागधी । तां ते मुनयोऽभितुष्टुवुः-

आर्द्रार्द्रैचन्दनकुचार्पितसूत्रहारः सीमन्तचुम्बिसिचयः स्फुटबाहुमूलः ।
दूर्वाप्रकाण्डरुचिरास्वगुरुपभोगाद्व गोडाङ्गनासु चिरमेष चकास्तु वेषः ।।

यदृच्छयापि यादृङ्नेपथ्यः स सारस्वतेय आसीत् तद्वेषाश्च पुरुषा बभूवुः । सापि सैव प्रवृत्तिः ।

यदपरं नृत्तवाद्यादिकमेषा चक्रे सा भारती वृत्तिः । तां ते मुनय इति समानं पूर्वेण । तथाविधाकल्पयापि तया यदवशंवदीकृतः समासवदनुप्रासवद्योगवृत्तिपरभ्परातद्गर्भ (वाक्यं) जगाद सा गौडीया रीतिः । तां ते मुनय इति समानं पूर्वेण ।

ततश्च स, पञ्चालान्प्रत्युञ्चचाल । यत्र पाञ्चालशूरसेनहस्तिनापुरकाश्मीरवाहीकबाह्लिकबाह्लवेयादयो जनपदाः । तत्राभियुञ्जाना तमौमेयीति समानं पूर्वेण । सा पाञ्चालमध्यमाप्रवृत्तिः । तां ते मुनयोऽभितुष्टुवुः-

ताटङ्कवल्गनतरङ्गितगण्डलेखमानाभिलम्बिदरदोलिततारहारम् ।
आश्रोणिगुल्फपरिमण्डलितान्तरीयं वेषं नमस्यत महोदयसुन्दरीणाम् ।।

किञ्चिदार्द्रमना यन्नेपथ्यः स सारस्वतेय आसीदिति समानं पूर्वेण । सापि सैवेति समानं पूर्वेण ।

यदीषन्नृत्तगीतवाद्यविलासादिकमेषा दर्शयांबभूव सा सात्वती वृत्तिः । आविद्धगतिमत्त्वात्सा चारभटी । तां ते मुनय इति समानं पूर्वेण । तथाविधाकल्पयापि तया यदीषदूशंवदीकृत

ईषदसमासमीषदनुप्रासमुपचारगर्भञ्च (वाक्यं) जगाद सा पाञ्चाली रीतिः । तां ते मुनय इति समानं पूर्वेण ।

ततः सोऽवन्तीन्प्रत्युच्चचाल ।यत्रावन्तीवैदिशसुराष्ट्रमालवार्बुदभृगुकच्छादयो जनपदाः । तत्राभियुञ्जना तमौमेयीति समानं पूर्वेण । सा प्रवृत्तिरावन्ती । पाञ्चालमध्यमादाक्षिणात्ययोरन्तरचारिणी हि सा । अत एव सात्वतीकैशिक्यौ तत्र वृत्ती । तां ते मुनयोऽभितुष्टुवुः-

पाञ्चालनेपथ्यविधिर्नराणां स्त्रीणां पुनर्नन्दतु दाक्षिणात्यः । यज्जल्पितं यच्चरितादिकं तदन्योन्यसंभिन्नमवन्तिदेशे ॥

ततश्च स दक्षिणां दिशमाससाद । यत्र मलयमेकलपालमञ्जराः पर्वताः । कुन्तलकेरलमहाराष्ट्रगाङ्गकलिङ्गादयो जनपदाः । तत्राभियुञ्जाना तमौमेयीति, समानं पूर्वेण ।

सा दाक्षिणात्या प्रवृत्तिः । तां ते मुनयोऽभितुष्टुवुः ।

आमूलतो वलितकुन्तलचारुचूडश्चूर्णालकप्रचयलाञ्छितभालभागः । कक्षानिवेशनिबिडीकृतनीविरेष विषश्चिरं जयति केरलकामिनीनाम् ॥

तामनुरक्तमनाः स यन्नेपथ्यः सारस्वतेय आसीदिति समानं पूर्वेण । सापि सैवेति समानं पूर्वेण । यद्विचित्रनृत्तगीतवाद्यविलासादिकमेषाविर्भावयामास सा कैशिकी वृत्तिः । तां ते मुनय इति समानं पूर्वेण । यदत्यर्थं च स तया वशंवदीकृतः स्थानानुप्रासवदसमासं योगवृत्तिगर्भं च (वाक्यं)जगाद सा वैदर्भी रीतिः । तां ते मुनय इति समानं पूर्वेण ।

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3.9 Re-defining the three Terms

या वाक्प्रधाना पुरुषप्रयोज्या स्त्रीवर्जिता संकृतपाठ्ययुक्ता ।

स्वनामधेयैर्भरतैः प्रयुक्ता सा भारती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः ॥ NŚ 22.25

या सात्त्वतेनेह गुणेन युक्ता न्यायेन वृत्तेन समन्विता च ।

हर्षोत्कटा संहृतशोकभावा सा सात्त्वती नाम भवेत्तु वृत्तिः ॥ 22.41

या श्लक्ष्णनैपथ्यविशेषचित्रा स्त्रीसंयुता या बहुनृत्तगीता ।

कामोपभोगप्रभवोपचारा तां कैशिकीं वृत्तिमुदाहरन्ति ॥ NŚ 22.53

आरभटप्रायगुणा तथैव बहुकपटवञ्चनोपेता ।

दम्भानृतवचनवती त्वारभटी नाम विज्ञेया ॥ NŚ 22.64

A SOCIO-LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE TERMS VṚTTI, RĪTI AND PRAVṚTTI FROM THE SELECT SANSKRIT TEXTS ON POETICS

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80 Recommendations

Conclusion

There are many poetic terminologies and other terminologies related to dance, music and instrumentation described in NŚ. Some more poetic terms are used in further rhetoric texts. Almost all of them have names based on their nature. Only the types of the term names of *vṛtti, rīti and pravṛtti* were based on the region names. This laid to the socio-linguistic research based on these three terms. I found the suppositions as I went in detailed reading. The inter-relations between the further texts and socio-political and geographical influences lead to the answers of the hypothesis. Here, I am concluding the major points of socio-linguistic approach in Sanskrit poetics and its impact on Sanskrit poetry.

The importance of the regional and political elements has been discussed in earlier chapters in detail from Sanskrit poetry. Its reflection can be seen linguistically in poetic terms as *vṛtti, rīti and pravṛtti*. They are as follows -

V.1 Vṛtti

Vṛtti was unsolidified concept. One could find the term *vṛtti* in the text of Nātyaśāstra itself was not very concretely defined. It was initially explained as a mythical narration. Actually, it was connected with the styles of dancing arisen from the warrior of clans of those particular regions, which were performed on the stage. There was more than one mythical story connected to it. Various elements of drama, as rasa and types of drama, were coupled with the concept of *vṛtti*. In different chapters' different shades of this concept were discussed. Thus, it can be concluded that it was not a uniform idea at that point. Finally, Rājaśekhara gave a concrete definition of *vṛtti* that emphasizes the connection of regional elements with this term. He says that it should be considered as a variety in manners and activities of regions.

V.2 Rīti

The concept of *rīti* has been discussed and defined by various theorists in Sanskrit. The geographic elements were important in the concept of *rīti* in its earlier stages.

Bhāmaha from 7th century in his text 'Kāvyālaṇkāra' speaks about this concept. He was on to raise objection about the names used for *rīti*s by earlier writers on poetics, unknown to us. In a way he is asking a question, why all the names of the types of *rīti* are basically geographical?

V.2.1 The history of *rīti* can be summarised into following steps:

1. It was a living topographical mode of literary expression. The name of the styles was based on names of the regions. Bhāmaha considered it as a type of poems and then it was called mārga by Daṇḍin. Aśmakavaṃśa by unknown poet, Kālidās's Meghadūta and Mālavikāgnimitra do represent the connection of the term *rīti* with regional royal dynasties, their battles etc.

2. In the next stage, the names remained same but it lost the geographical association. The styles were used by poets in literature depending the demand of the plot or character. Rudrata, Rājśekhara and Bhoja represent this stage. Ānandavardhana stands at this point holding them that appropriateness of the plot or theme (Viśay-aucitya) regulates the nature of *rīti* in parts of the poem.

3. Kuntaka related the *rīti* to the rasa or character of the poet and displaced the old names of *rīti*s by new ones. He refused to use old geographical names as the concept of *rīti* was completely different for them. Kuntaka refuses the geographical connection and thus he changes the term names to the nature of the styles using.

4. Mammata discusses the concept of *rīti* under the rubric of *vṛtti*. The provincial characteristics and national characteristics, are studied by Bharata in the concept of *pravṛtti* as a part of the complete understanding of the world in its infinite

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variety, of which nāṭya is an anukaraṇa. the concept of *pravṛtti* in manners is *rīti* in speech, in literature.

5. The change in the concept of *rīti* was in the number of types. The change was also from the perspective of changing concept of rīti which left its connection with regionality behind.

V.2.2 Failure of the Rīti School

The *rīti* theory failed to achieve wide popularity in course of time. Ānandavardhana subjected it to trenchant criticism. Mammaṭa has refute the main thesis of Vāmana. The inherent weakness of the *rīti* doctrine lies in the fact that it lost its roots. The origin of the *mārga* concept was in regional elements. Those elements were conceptualized rhetorically.

The association of local taste or local plot became less important as Vāmana changed its definition. It lost its originality and new theories came up that lead to the failure of this school. The theory of *rīti* suffered a setback after Vāmana and its general doctrines were criticized by the proponents of the Dhvani School. Ānandavardhana did not admit *rīti* as an important element of poetry but accepted another factor namely, saṁghaṭanā. He classifies saṁghaṭanā into asamāsa, madhyama samāsa and dīrgha samāsa. It is based on the presence of compounds or absence of compounds.

Vāmana's theory of *rīti* lost relevance because it conceived poetic compositions without referring to its inner nature. But it improves upon the doctrines of the alaṅkāra school in giving primacy to the *guṇa*s over the alaṅkārā as defining features of poetic compositions. Then at this stage, it became difficult to understand the proper nature of *rīti*.

The theory of *rīti*, despite its limitations, has been a major contribution to the study of literary compositions. This theory of language has close affinities with current day stylistic studies of literature.

V.3 Pravṛtti

The *pravṛtti* or Local Usages cover regions from four major parts of India. Nāṭyasástra was the first available text on Indian poetics. At this time there were many political crises about entities of the ruler and their regime. NŚ was trying to integrate regional individualities in the field of artistic enactment.

V.3.1 Regional elements in music

Lot of regional elements are prevalent in the field of music from the beginning. The influence of local language on the local musical elements is indicated by the Prakrit *Dhruvās* in the NŚ. These types of songs must be common in various parts of then India. The regional peculiarities in singing and instrumental music would relate audience with the drama. The NŚ says *Dhruvās* should be used after considering the rule regarding themes, regions, times and seasons, the characters in the play and indication of their States. Region or place of the plot, along with other elements, was very important while applying *Dhruvās*. The rule of usage of Sanskrit language was not followed in these verses. This indicates the use of local Prakrit languages for folk music. People from various regions must be singing in local languages. This use of local music should be very popular. It is very appropriate to use popular music in a drama.

The various *rāga* names or types show the cultural interaction between classical, folk and tribal music traditions. Many *rāgas* have names of regions and peoples as Audav Gāndhāra,

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Dakśina Gujjari, Gaudi, Gaud Malhar, Dhakka, Karnataka Bangala, Karnataki (raagini), Maharashtra Gujjari, Pahadi and there are many more.

V.3.2 NŚ was representing both *Mārgī* and *Deśi* in music and dance

It is often believed that NŚ was about the *Mārgī* ways of presenting the music and dance in ritualistic way. As it is discussed in the Purvaraṅga as it follows rules. *Margi music* means 'music of the path'. It refers to music regulated by strict rules. It was first used to describe the music of *mantras*, during the Vedic times, that was bound by a rigid grammar of music. *Deśi* music was regional music that was meant "to please the hearts of the men." That sound which arises in various regions (*deśa*) is called *deśi*. (Bṛhaddesī 1928,1.2). In particular region-specific sound becomes pleasant to animals, people and kings. NŚ was representing both *Mārgī* and *Deśi* music patterns. It is believed that NŚ mainly archives *Mārgī* sangita of its time as it is mostly rule based and systematic. But one can see that *Mārgī* sangīta is used more for formal representation like *nāndi* and *purvaraṅga*. *Deśi* was prevalent in the Prakrit *Gīti*s.

The process of accepting *Deśi* elements into formal texts on drama and music had started at the time of NŚ. Further this stream became strong. Regional elements became significant. Mārga was referred to the universal classical tradition mainly in dance and music. These classical traditions were documented at later stage. 'Deśī' refers to the application of the mārga to suit regional tastes.

V.3.3 *Mārgī* eventually accepted by *deśī and deśī* accepted by *Mārgī*

There must be a give and take within these two essentials. The music, dance, costumes, makeup styles that Nāṭyaśāstra considered for the *Mārgī* or ritualistic representation on stage were adopted by local people for their folk performances. It must be a process going

for years. It is now difficult to differ between the *Mārgī* in old time and the *deśi* of new time. It eventually became similar. This is clearly visible in the streams of Music and dance. But they are also seen in drama and other forms of Arts in Indian society. Dance is an important element which was included in to the list of *pravṛttis* by Rājaśekhara. In dance also it is visible that the *Mārgī* and the *deśi* came close and these two streams became one.

Thus, all art forms in India represent the regional elements in various ways which were the part of the three terms discussed at length in this thesis.

Rājaśekhara was looking towards the three poetic concepts from these new developments in the field of arts at his time. He was representing the oneness of a country on the basis of artistic varied expressions and practices which were reflected in the three terms namely *vṛtti, riti* and *Pravṛtti*.

We can find the traces of *Mārgī* elements even in today's folk forms of India. Sangeet Nāṭaka from Maharashtra still follows the format from Sanskrit drama. The Tamāśā tradition follows the moving into circular movement to indicate the change in place, dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and females in Gokul is imitation of as Sanskrit drama. Most of the genres of folk theatre in North India are derived from Sanskrit language, for example, the Maṇca of Madhya Pradesh is taken from Sanskrit mañcakam. The Rāmalīla and Rāslīla of Uttar Pradesh is taken from Sanskrit līla means "sport, play". Nautanki, is a folk form emerged from the Sanskrit drama, has taken various elements from it. They share a number of stage conventions. They divide performance time into several segments, beginning with the symbolic construction of the performance space, its ritual sanctification, and the worship of deities, followed by musical overtures played on various instruments, introductory dance items, and finally the entrance of the stage manager named sutradhāra, who formally invites the audience. All these activities constitute the purvaraṅga or pre-theatre. Such elements are present in abbreviated or expanded form in the traditional theatres. Folk theatres such as Jatrā, Maṇca, Nauṭanki, Yakśagāna etc. have fragments that can be traced to Sanskrit drama.

V.4 Why the regional elements in the field of arts, are important in poetics?

The epics Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, were also written in the time span of NŚ. These epics were full of battles over the supremacy of regions. In the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa, the heroism is elucidated with a story focusing on several kings. Kings were engaged in conquering additional area under their regime. They were fighting among themselves for their right, regions and power. The regime of a king comprises of many geographical peculiarities such as rivers, oceans, mountains, forests and sometimes pilgrim places etc. Waters, trees, hills were considered auspicious. The rivers, mountains and forests were so important because they were auspicious? The answer is, the boundaries of two neighboring realms were formed by rivers, as was the case between the northern and southern Pāñcāla and between the western Kingdom of Pāndava and eastern Kingdom of Kaurava. Mountain ranges like Himālaya, Vindhyāchal and Sahyādri also formed their boundaries. Sometimes, huge forests formed boundaries, as was the case of Naimiṣa Forest, between Pāñcāla and Kosala kingdoms.

Geographical identity became important for a ruling king. This view has been reflected in almost all the popular epics of that era. In context with these references *vṛtti*s, *pravṛtti*s and *riti*s can be seen with a different viewpoint. It is also important to understand the history of development of kingdoms. It will help us to find how the geographical identities with political identities received vital abode in most of the popular poems of classical Sanskrit.

This type of descriptions shapes the idea of readers about the financial and political position of the king and the state. The likes and dislikes of the people of its time. It provides regional peculiarities and customs and thus adds the liveliness to the poem. It also helps a lot in shaping a character. We find all the classical epics following the Rāmāyaṇa in these types of portrayals. We find no single epic that has not given these details. I can sum up with saying that not only dramas followed *pravṛtti*s but epics also used them wisely.

The meanings which are based on various region names used in three terms vṛtti, pravṛtti and rīti are different than the meanings documented by Pāṇini in his text Aṣṭādhyāyī. The meanings of regional words that Pāṇini gives can be classified into eight ways. They are mainly connected to the people who were born in that region or people reside in that region, descendants of the particular region, or a name of a kingdom. Some words specify the particular region were as some form feminine words for the above meanings.

V.5 King was the hero

King was the hero of Sanskrit dramas and epic poems. The regions of their regime became important because of political influence of the kings. There existed many states, languages, cultures, and communities, on that basis gradually people developed territorial identity. The ancient society struggled for unity. The Indian subcontinent was geographically defined and its regional unity was complemented by cultural integration. The states or territorial units, which were called janapadas, were named after different tribes as described by Pāṇini. However, the country as a whole came to be named Āryavarta after the overriding cultural community named the Āryans. Āryavarta denoted northern and central India and extended from the eastern to the western sea coasts. The other name by which India was better known was Bhāratavarśa or the land of the Bharatas. Bharata, in the sense of tribe or family, figures in the Rigveda and Mahābhārata. The name Bhāratavarśa occurs in the Mahābhārata and post-Gupta Sanskrit texts. This name was applied to one of the nine divisions of the earth, and in the post-Gupta period it denoted India. The term Bhārati or an inhabitant of India occurs in post-Gupta texts.

Our ancient poets, philosophers, and writers spoke of the land stretching from the Himalayas to the sea as the proper domain of a single, universal monarch. The kings, who tried to establish their power from the ranges of Himalayas to the Cape Comorin and from the valley of the Brahmaputrā in the east to the land beyond the Indus in the west, were universally praised. They were called *Chakravartis*. This concept of kingship was expressed in Sanskrit Classical Literature. The poetry depicted the king as a strong warrior, and protector while theatre depicted him as a king hearted and love making person.

We also find continuing efforts to establish linguistic and cultural unity in India along with the political identity. Sanskrit drama promoted this process by using multiple languages, using variety of costumes and ornaments, and incorporating regional music and dance forms. The poetry contributed in this process by adding regional features in the beautiful descriptions of the same

V.6 Generalization of regional tendencies

The original concept of *Vṛtti* was related with people or clans of bhārata, Sātvata, kaiśika and ārabhata people respectively from the regions Kurukṣetra, Sauraṣtra, Vidarbha and west of Indus and south of Baluchistan from their ways of using weapons. The original concept of *rīti* was related with the diction of people from various regions, taste for literature from particular region. The concept of *Pravṛtti* was associated with the regional variety in costumes, body colors, ornamentation, language etc. All these concepts undergone a change from time to time may be because slowly the regional specific usage or taste for these elements was accepted by the people from other regions. Eventually they lost their regional characteristics and thus the concepts also changed their expression. In due course, they became rigid as poetic concepts and lost their identity. This type of generalization can be seen even in today's date. Indians now a days do not wear region specific cloths as they were doing earlier. They do not eat only regional food from their area, do not speak region specific languages etc.

V.7 Prominence of North India

The names of geographical regions which were used as names for types of *vṛtti, rīti*, and *pravṛtti* are mostly from North India. Bhārata, Sātvata, krathkaiśika and Aribatae people and or clans named as type of *vṛtti.* Vaidarbhī', 'Gauḍīya', Pāñcālī, Lātīya, Māgadhī, and Avantikā are types of *rīti*, Vidharbha is a region that today is in state of Maharastra that

lies on the northern part of the Deccan Plateau. Gauḍa was an area situated in Bengal in ancient and medieval times. Pañcāla was an ancient kingdom of north India. It was located in the Ganges-Yamuna doab. Lāṭa was a historical region located in the southern part of the present-day Gujarat state. Magadha was the powerful kingdom based in southern Bihar in the eastern Ganges Plain, in ancient times. Avanti was roughly corresponding to the present-day Mālwa region.

Śāradātanaya in his text named Bhāvaprakāśana suggests two more *rīti*s, Saurāstrī and Drāvidī instead of Māgadhī and Avantī. Saurāstra is a prominent region of the state Gujarat, located on the Arabian Sea coast. Drāvida was a group of south regions which was added to this list later.

*Pravṛtti*s were four: Āvantī, Dākṣiṇātyā, Pāñcālī (Pāñcāla-madhyamā) and Oḍra-Māgadhī. Three out of four are from North India. Dākṣiṇātya was a collective identity of south. No specific region name from south India has been accepted as a type of these three terms.

One can easily understand the prominence of North Indian regions in the types of these three terminologies.

V.8 Linguistic aspect

The types of *Vṛtti, rīti*, and *Pravṛtti* are originally based on either some geographical regions or some clan in ancient India. The interrogative is why they have words for regions or clans? What are the grammar rules about such feminine geographical names? Does grammar of Pāṇini gives rule for this formation? Does the rules from grammar books points the same meanings of these terminologies? This question gives rise to the next one, if does the writers of Sanskrit poetics were offering the new meaning to these words? Have they created these terms for poetic expression with novel concept?

Rājaśekhara (9-10th century) in his text kāvyamiṁsā puts these terms in new way. He mentions janapadās as in relation to these terms. For example, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suñha, Brahma and Pundra. *Raudra-Māgadhī pravṛtti* related to the clothing of the people from

those regions. Dance and music of those regions is called *Bhāratī vṛtti*. The sentences with lot of compounds, anuprāsa alaṁkāra in traditional way, is called *Gaudīyā rīti*.

These poetic terms which were used in poetic texts, includes not only kingdom or people of those areas but clothing, ornamentation, body color, ways of uttering words, ways of pronunciation of languages, likes and dislikes of people regarding languages, use of languages, and types of poetry. This whole compass is included in these concepts by rhetoricians. This approach shows the regional importance of that time which has been mirrored in poetic terms.

This is the reason that the meaning of the three terms namely *vṛtti*, *pravṛtti* and *rīti* are not found before NŚ. All these three terms have different meanings in other spheres of life. Poetic writers gave their own terminology to the old package of regional words with the new life of a different denotation to these terms. This shows the impact of social elements on linguistic use in kāvyaśastra. It was necessary for them to use terms with region names with a new denotation. They could have used completely new words for these types but in that case, they did not have conveyed this vast spectrum of implications. The Sanskrit poeticisms were giving a new sense to the region words and thus they used terminologies such as *vṛtti*, *rīti* and *pravṛtti* with new meanings.

V.9 Being one, feeling united

Region names used in the text of poetics for *vṛtti, rīti* and *pravṛtti*s does not only reflect the literarily aspects. The types of *vṛtti, rīti* and *pravṛtti*s represent the influence of political aims and accomplishments which are mirrored in the early epics.

What is the contribution of these two great epics? These epics planted concept about king and his rule in the society. It nurtured the reputation and position of a king and his regulation on the large scale. It also nurtured the concept of Rājdharma in citizens. It simultaneously waves the thread of geographical identities in the story which strengthen the political boundaries. Political and regional awareness together created the feeling of coherence in the readers. It helped the monarchy to establish itself deeply in the society.

The reflection of this nurturing is incorporated in the terms *vṛtti, rīti* and *pravṛtti*s by the poeticism. This further resulted in the court poetry and court poets in the future. The classical literature in Sanskrit is popularly known as court poetry, that is not a concurrence.

Classical literature became a medium of communication between common man and their ruler.

V.10 Depiction of variety of Indian regions

Vṛtti, *rīti* and *pravṛtti,* these terminologies were depicting the variety of Indian regions in the field of arts. Hearing own regional language in a Sanskrit drama, seeing clothing and ornamentation pattern of their regional variety etc. should have raised the sense of belongingness of viewers to the artistic presentation. The use of the local elements was also applied by poets very elaborately and wisely in the classical Sanskrit literature. Representation of regional elements must have helped in strengthening sense of belongingness. These regional elements did facilitated readers find commonness and thus feeling of oneness among themselves. This is definitely a major contribution of Sanskrit poetics.

V.11 Further possibilities

1. One can understand the variety in clothing, ornamentation, body colors, use of language under this concept which was prevalent in the society at that time. But unfortunately, it is not clear how it was actually used on stage. If these elements were applied to the characters on the basis of the regional identities of characters? How authors and directors implemented it and with what purpose? What they would have achieved using this variety? This could be the further research as an extension of this research work.

2. There might be some other aspects in Sanskrit rhetoric compositions which have influence of socio-linguistic aspects. To look for those aspects can be the further scope of this research work.

3. There was a give and take between Sanskrit Classical drama and regional folk drama of India. Classical Sanskrit dramas present a break with the past and allow a broad scope for intermixing and adaptation of genres or making some new genres with time. It would be interesting to see the influence on each other for their growth. What were the reasons and motives which enforced them for adaptations?

4. Various *Mārgī* and *desi* factors were prevalent in Indian theater. To identify them and classify them will be another scope of this research work. This can help in understanding of traditional Indian theater and its development.