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*Two Unconventional Dramas in Classical Sanskrit Literature**

Mrinal Kanti Gangopadhyay

The antiquity, richness and variety of the Sanskrit dramatic compositions is an undeniable fact. Referring to the antiquity in this regard scholars point out that Indian tradition, preserved in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*, the oldest of the texts of the theory of the drama, claims for the drama divine origin and a close connection with the sacred Vedas themselves. The gods approached Brahmā and requested him to produce something which would give pleasure to the ears and the eyes equally, a fifth Veda which, unlike the other four would not be the jealous possession of the three twice-born caste, but might be shared by the Śūdras also. Brahmā was sympathetic to the gods and designed to create a new Veda in which tradition *(itihāsa)* should be combined with instruction in all the ends of men. To accomplish his task Brahmā took the element of recitation from the Ṛgveda, songs from the Sāmaveda, mimetic art from the Yajurveda and the sentiment from the Atharvaveda.

Moreover, it has also been claimed that some dramatic elements are found also in the dialogue hymns *(saṁvādasūkta)* in the ancient Ṛgveda. There are at least fifteen such dialogues which are indeed quite interesting. Thus, Keith writes:

> Thus in X.10 Yama and Yamī, the primeval twins, whence in the legend are derived the races of men, engaged in debate; the poet, with a more refined sentiment than the legend, is uneasy regarding this primitive incest, and represents Yamī as intent on an effort, fruitless so far as the

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hymn goes to induce Yama to accept and make fruitful her proffered love. A tantalizing, but certainly interesting, hymn in the same book (X.95) gives a dialogue between Purūravas, and the nymph Urvaśī; he rebukes her inconstancy, but does not succeed in making her refrain from withdrawing from his gaze.

Coming to the varieties of Sanskrit drama, we shall give just two instances. First, we shall refer to Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* which beautifully depicts conjugal love, cruel separation of the heroine from the hero and lastly, the final happy reunion of the two. In fact, superb characterization, study of human nature and wonderful mastery over the Sanskrit language have placed Kālidāsa in the forefront of Indian dramatists. Secondly, we shall note Kṛṣṇamiśra's *Prabodhacandrodaya*, a unique allegorical drama. The characters of this drama are represented by such characters as Viveka, Manas, Buddhi and others. This drama is a solitary instance where the quietistic sentiment *(śāntarasa)* has been represented on the stage.

I have, however, selected only two dramas for critical discussion, namely, the *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta (6th century A.D.) and the *Uttararāmacarita* of Bhavabhūti (8th century A.D.). The former is unique, because it is perhaps the only drama which depicts political intrigue superbly, sometimes reminding one of the political strifes of modern time. The latter is remarkable, because the main sentiment of the drama is that of pathos (*karuṇarasa*). Generally Sanskrit dramatists mostly prefer to depict the erotic sentiment *(sṛṅgārarasa)* and the depiction of any other sentiment is conspicuous by its absence in their dramatic compositions. Both the dramas referred to above are exceptions to this general tendency, because in the former we have the heroic sentiment *(vīrarasa)* and in the latter the quieistic sentiment as already mentioned.

Let us now critically examine the *Mudrārākṣasa*. Unlike the majority of Sanskrit dramas, it is purely a political drama and as such derives its subject-matter from history. It has for its theme the winning over of Rākṣasa, the hostile minister of the Nanda dynasty in Magadh, to the side of Candragupta, the new king, set on the throne of the Nandas by

Cāṇakya. The language is in perfect keeping with the political character of the drama. It is lucid, forcible where necessary and free from intricate or misleading compounds. It is sometimes terse or even laconic and yet not without feeling and pathos where occasion requires them. The dialogues are marked by a pleasing simplicity often enlivened by wit and pithy sayings. A singular feature of the drama is that no female appears among its principal *dramatis personae.* "The business of the play," remarks a well-known scholar "accordingly is diplomacy and politics, to the entire exclusion of love. There is, in truth, but one female character, with one little child, introduced into the play, and these are Candanadāsa's wife and son, who come in at the beginning of the last Act. But even their appearance introduces no passages suggestive of tenderness or the purely domestic virtues, but only of sacrifice - a stem sense of duty."

The plot is arranged and developed with a masterly skill practically not displayed in any other drama. The unity of action is admirably maintained, all the events being made to converge to one end, namely, the conciliation of Rākṣasa. It is clearly announced at the very beginning and all the means are directed to secure this end and the various occurrences, in part accidental and unforeseen but most of them deliberately planned and effected, are with great skill made subservient to it. Cāṇakya, with a whole host of spies around his victim-his political opponent, Rākṣasa – watches everyone of his movements, foils him in his efforts and ultimately succeeds in throwing him into so a desperate condition, that he has to yield, seeing no alternative but either base in gratitude towards a heroic friend or the office of minister under his accursed foe. Well-designed at the beginning, vigorously pushed on now under cover, now on open track, though resisted yet ever advancing straight towards the goal and turning to profit the incidental events on the way and rapidly developing into complete success, the plot possesses the chief requisites of a piece of art – unity in variety, entire subordination of the individual factors to one idea and plan and the harmonious cooperation of the parts to one crowning effect. "It may be difficult,"

says one of the scholars, "in the whole range of dramatic literature to find a more successful illustration of the rule".

The drama comment itself further on the point of interest which, once awakened, is continually kept up by change of scenery, of persons, opposing views and conflicting events and by a variety of life-like description, some of them highly poetic and stirring.

This drama is objected to on the ground of its bad moral. A good drama ought to teach a moral lesson that virtue should always succeed in the long run and vice and cruelty be punished, as they deserve. But here the order seems to have been reversed, in as much as vice is represented as gaining the upper hand over virtue-fraud triumphing over honesty of purpose. But to those who will read the drama in its true spirit this objection will not appear to be just. Fraud is used no doubt, but it is used only as a means to achieve a noble end. Cāṇakya, the principal character in the drama, has used several stratagems to win over Rākṣasa to Candragupta's side. But this he did because he knew that Rākṣasa was a firm and devoted minister of his master- a man of sterling virtue and high administrative talent. He also knew that Rākṣasa was the champion of a lost cause. To allow him to have his own way would have entailed needless and untold suffering and misery, not only on him but also on the innocent people. To avoid all this and to see that virtue was properly rewarded Cāṇakya directed all his efforts. He could have retained office as chief minister for himself had he chosen it and done very well without Rākṣasa. But this was not his object, because he never meant to seek self-elevation. Thus, we can show that fraud is not used here to satisfy a selfish end. Candanadāsa's fidelity to his friend is also adequately rewarded. The course of policy followed by Cāṇakya is that of crookedness, no doubt, but then he was driven to adopt such a course by the exceptional circumstances of the time. The Nandas had become unpopular and a political revolution had threatened Magadha. Candragupta had appealed to him for help and Cāṇakya knew that in helping him he would be helping the right man. Now the question before him was-how to accomplish his object

with the least possible bloodshed or trouble to the people - whether to be guilty of innocent fraud and the adoption of extreme means for the removal of a few adversaries or to plunge the country into general warfare and carnage and he chose the lesser of two evils. Not that he did not know the simpleness of his doings but that he could not help it. Thus, the murders of Parvataka and Sarvārthasiddhi as also of the five allies of Malayaketu were political necessities. The unsuspecting Malayaketu was treacherously betrayed and made a captive, but this end accomplished, Cāṇakya restored him to his original possessions. Beyond the few incidents mentioned above, there is not a single case of homicide for which Cāṇakya is directly responsible. The threatened executions of Śakaṭa and Candanadāsa were meant more as political expedients than facts to be accomplished. The decapitations of the executioners of Śakaṭadāsa is a political lie and not a fact. Thus, we see that the immorality of the policy of Cāṇakya is greatly redeemed by his desire to avoid general bloodshed and the utter absence of selfishness. The same may be said of the policy of Rākṣasa. In judging of the actions of statesmen we must remember that theirs are the ethics of politics and not of ordinary life. It would be certainly wrong to judge and form an estimate of the morals of a society from the doing of a few individuals under political exigencies.

Viśākhadatta's diction is admirably forcible and direct. The martial character of his drama reflects itself in the rapidity of his style. An artiste in essentials, he uses images, metaphors and similes with tasteful moderation and along of the later dramatists, he realizes that he is writing a drama, not composing sets of elegant extracts. His ability in this regard can be seen in the jingle of Malayaketu's lament.

The *Mudrārākṣasa* is undoubtedly one of the great Sanskrit dramas in theme, style and treatment and it stands apart from the normal Sanskrit drama. It breaks away from the banal subject of love, having only one minor female character and poetic flights are naturally circumscribed by its more matter of fact interest. It is a drama of purely political intrigue, in which resolute action in various forms constitutes

the exclusive theme. The action, however, does not involve actual fight, war or bloodshed. There is enough martial spirit, but there is no fondness for violent situations, no craving for fantastic adventures and no taste for indecorous tendencies. The action takes the form essentially of a conflict of wills, or of a game of skill, in which the interest is made to depend on the plots and counterplots of two rival politicians.

The drama is unique in avoiding not only the erotic feeling but also the erotic atmosphere. It is a drama without a heroine. There is nothing suggestive of tenderness of domestic virtues, no claim to prettiness of romance, no great respect even for religion and morality. Politics is represented as a hard game for men, the virtues are of a sterner kind and if conduct glorified by the name of diplomacy, is explained by expediency, its crookedness is redeemed by a high sense of duty, resolute fidelity to a cause and unselfish devotion. There is a small scene between Candanadāsa and his family indicative of affection, but it is of no great importance to the development of the plot and there is nothing of sentimentality in it even in the face of death.

In characterization Viśākhadatta fully realizes the value of contrast, which brings distinctive traits into vivid relief and one of the interesting features of his delineation is that most of his characters are dual portraits effectively contrasted but not schematically symmetrical. Both Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa are astute politicians, bold, resourceful and unscrupulous, but both are unselfish and unflinchingly devoted, from different motives, to their respective cause. Any possible triviality or sordidness of the plot is redeemed by the purity of their motives and by the great things which are at stake. Both are admirable as excellent foils to each other. Cāṇakya is clear-headed, self-confident and vigilant, while Rākṣasa is soft, impulsive and blundering. The one is secretive, distrustful and unsparing, while the other is frank, amiable and generous. The one is feared, while the other is loved by his friends and followers. The hard glitter of the one shows off the pliable gentleness of the other. The motive of Cāṇakya's unbending energy is not any affectionate sentiment for Candragupta, for in his methodical mind there is no room of tender feelings. Rākṣasa, on the other hand, is moved by a high sense of duty

and steadfast loyalty, which draws the unwilling admiration even of his political adversary.

The same contrast is seen in the presentation of Candragupta and Malayaketu. Although they are pawns in the game, they are yet not mere puppets in the hands of the rival statesmen. Though low-born and ambitious, the Maurya is a sovereign of dignity and strength of character, well trained, capable and having entire faith in his preceptor and minister, Cāṇakya, but the capricious young mountaineer, moved as he is by filial love, is conceited weak and foolishly stubborn and has his confidence and mistrust equally misplaced.

The mastery of technique which the work betrays is indeed considerable, but there is no aggressive display of technical skill or any wooden conformity to fixed modes and models. Nor is there any weakness for the common place extravagances of poetic diction affected by some of his contemporaries. Viśākhadatta's style is limpid, forcible and fluent and he appears to be fully aware of the futility of a labored and heavily embellished diction for the manly strain of sentiment and vigorous development of character which is drama wants to attain.

Of the characters represented in the drama, Cāṇakya and Candragupta are real historical personages. Rākṣasa also must be a because such an important character in the drama could not have been a creation of the poet's fancy. Again, had it been a fictitious name the poet could not have chosen such a reprehensible name as Rākṣasa. Malayaketu also may be a historical person. Nipuṇikā, Virādhagupta and others, as they are names indicate, no doubt, fictitious characters.

Cāṇakya was the son of the sage Caṇaka. His own name was Viṣṇugupta. Owing to his crooked policy he was nicknamed Kauṭilya. He was profoundly learned in the Vedic lore and was well versed in the occult charms and mystic rites taught in the Atharvaveda. He was a through master of state-craft, so great that in the beginning of his work, Kāmandaka speaks reverentially of him, the *Nītisāra* pays his tribute of respect to him. He is said to have compiled an epitome of the science of politics Candragupta. He was the advocate of the doctrine of Sukṛtya

or thoroughness of action. Nothing is historically known about Rākṣasa. According to tradition, he lived, at first unknown to fame near the residence of Candanadāsa in Kusumapura. His name was Subuddhiśarman. One day the king Nanda had a riddle sent to him which no one at his court could solve. Upon this the king sent for Subuddhiśarman. He solved it at once and the king was so much pleased with his ready wit and acuteness of intellect that he immediately appointed him his prime minister. He was also a good swordsman and as he fought with the strength and fierceness of a giant, he soon came to be called Rākṣasa.

The principal characters in the play are the pairs, Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa, Candragupta and Malayaketu, Cāṇakya being the most important of them all. Cāṇakya and Rākṣasa are both introduced in the drama in their official characters. Both are distinguished by an utter absence of all idea of self-interest both have an ultimate end to gain and both are intriguing politicians, but here ends all that is common to them. The poet has been successful in finely drawing the contrast between the characters of these two politicians. Cāṇakya is represented as a clearsighted statesman of sound judgement never erring in his estimate of men or selection of proper agents. He is firm of resolve and cool-headed and resourceful even under trying circumstances. By his fore sight he not only frustrated the plans of his enemies, but by his wisdom and vigilance turned them to his own advantage and who will say that the praise bestowed on him by his servants Bhāgurāyaṇa and Siddhārthaka was not bestowed rightly. Rākṣasa, on the other hand is represented as a better soldier than a politician, blundering in his schemes and not a proper judge of means or the characters of men. He is too noble hearted to distrust anyone about him. His faithfulness to his master is exemplary. The destruction of the house of the Nandas weighed heavily upon his mind and consequently his judgement was often warped by his over-zeal in their cause. The one thought that took complete possession of his mind was how to wreak vengeance for his master's destruction on Cāṇakya and Candragupta. This led him to

engage even persons of untried integrity into his service and to confide his secrets to them. That a man was a deserter from the enemy's camp was enough to gain his confidence. To turn to Cāṇakya, he is wrongly called the Machiaveli of India. Though some of his actions look Machiavelian-like, his guiding principle was not expediency as opposed to right. He had a noble mission before him and the whole tenor of his life was self-less. Nor was pride of caste the ruling principle with him. True that he addresses Cāṇakya as Vṛṣala, but that was out of his almost paternal affection for him and not owing to the pride of caste, else Candragupta could not but have resented it. The drama does not speak of his having raised any of his Brāhmaṇa accomplished to eminence. The avowed object of Cāṇakya's policy, clearly stated at the beginning, is giving stability to his pupil's sovereignty by the consolidation of his empire.

The following traits of his character are well brought out in the play, namely, he is self-confident, and he is a kind hearted preceptor. He is a harsh but generous master; else his servants could not have loved him so well. His magnanimity is exceptional. He is always ready to praise his enemies for their noble qualities. The simplicity of his life and his utter disregard of earthly grandeur do ample credit to him as the scion of a saintly family. His mastery over his mind is remarkable. Even the cleverest of his servants were not able properly to gauge his mind or to comprehend his policy. He is haughty and overbearing, but it was owing to this that he was feared by all and if he boasts of his doings, it was not an idle boast as remarked by Candanadāsa. He is a staunch advocate of industry and has no confidence in the working of fate. His policy is thorough.

His adversary Rākṣasa has no perfect mastery over his mind. He is unable to keep his secrets from his servants. He betrays the name of Virādhagupta although he had at first concealed it from his servant. He is somewhat superstitious, where he consults astrologers. He fails to impress Malayaketu or his own servants with his personality. The servants of Cāṇakya stand in awe of him, while Siddhārthaka openly

defies him. Rākṣasa, however, is generous and straightforward. He is also a loving friend. His love for Candanadāsa was unbounded. He also shows a just appreciation of his adversary's merits. The iron sinews of Cāṇakya does not bend before difficulty. Rākṣasa loses heart when he meets with the reverses of fortune.

Of the other two rivals Candragupta is represented as having a proper regard, rather veneration, for his Guru, while Malayaketu's regard for Rākṣasa is very scanty. Candragupta is a very competent prince who has the good sense to put absolute confidence in the ability and diplomatic skill of his preceptor and entirely submits to his counsels. Malayaketu has no confidence in Rākṣasa, but regards him with suspicion. He not only allows his faith in him to be easily shaken, but actually dismisses him from his service. He is capricious and thoughtless as proved by his execution of the five princes. He has no strength of character and lends an easy ear to the insinuations of the agents of his enemy. Rākṣasa himself gives the contrast in his complaint against Malayaketu.

Of the minor characters Candanadāsa stands out as a noble example of friendly affection. He would rather lose all than be treacherous to a trusting friend. Even Cāṇakya is impressed by this trait of his character and admires him inwardly. A devoted faithfulness to their master marks the other characters. They subordinate the consideration of right or wrong to the cause of their chief and adhere to it with a singular tenacity. They neither betray trust nor grow remiss in the discharge of their duty, although treated with indignity or subjected to physical punishment.

Let us now examine the second drama, namely, the *Uttararāmacarita* written by Bhavabhūti (8th century A.D.). Although Bhavabhūti wrote a number of dramas, there is no doubt that the present drama is rightly considered the best one among them by the scholars. The reason for this is that this drama shows a much greater command of dramatic technique and characterization. It is undoubtedly Bhavabhūti's masterpiece, the product as the poet himself declares, of his mature

genius, and has deservedly earn the high reputation of having an equal status with the dramatic masterpiece of Kalidāsa, It depicts in seven acts the later history of Rama extending from the exile of Sītā to the final reunion and Bhavabhūti's literary characteristics may be studied to the best advantage in this work, which reaches a high level as a drama but which undoubtedly ranks higher for its intense poetic quality. The dramatist derives his theme from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* but to suit his dramatic purpose he does not, as in his earlier drama dealing with Rāma, hesitate to depart in many points from his authoritative epic original. The conception, for instance, of the picture-gallery scene, derived probably from a hint supplied by Kālidāsa and of the invisible presence of Sītā in a spirit-form during Rāma's visit to Pañcavaṭī, of Rāma's meeting with Vāsantī and the fight between Lava and Candraketu, the visit of Vaśiṣṭha and others to Vālmīki's hermitage and the enactment of a miniature play 'or masque on Rāma's later history composed by Vālmīki are skillful details which are invented for the proper development of his dramatic theme, as well as for the suitable expression of his poetic powers. Here again, Bhavabhūti's principal problem is not the creation but the adequate motivation of an already accepted story.

While not monotonously adhering to his original, he accepts for his particular dramatic purpose the epic outlines of a half-mythical and half-human legend of bygone days, which had already taken its hold on the popular imagination by its pathos and poetry, but he reshapes it freely with appropriate romantic and poetical situations, which bring out all the ideal and dramatic implications of a well-known story. In taking up the theme of conjugal love and a form of pure, tender and spiritual affection, ripening into an abiding passion, Bhavabhūti must have realized that its beauty and charm would be best brought out by avoiding the uncongenial realism of contemporary life and going back to the poetry and idealism of olden days. It was not his purpose to draw the figures on his canvas on the generous and heroic scale of the Epic, but he wanted to add to the ancient tale and intensity of human

feeling, which should transform an old-world legend into one of everyday experience, the story of high ideals into one of vivid reality.

In this drama Bhavabhūti idealizes conjugal love through the chastening influence of sorrow and he does this in a way which is unparallel in Sanskrit or perhaps any literature. Bhavabhūti's Rāma and Sītā are from the beginning man and woman of more strenuous and deeper experience than Duṣyanta and his woodland love. In the pening act, which has been praised so often and which strikes the keynote of the drama, the newly crowned king of Ayodhyā with his beloved spouse and his ever-faithful brother is looking over pictures which recall the dear memory of their past sorrow. This scene which is made the occasion for the tender and deep attachment of Rāma and Sītā to show itself, also heightens by contrast the grip of separation which immediately follows. There is a fine note of tragic irony not only in Rāma's assurance that such a separation as they had suffered would never happen again, in Lakṣmaṇa's inadvertent allusion to the fore-ordeal and Rāma's instant declaration of his disbelief in baseless rumors, but also in Sītā's passionate clinging to the memories of past joy and sorrow on the verge of a still more cruel fate. The blow comes just at a moment when the tired, timid and confiding Sītā falls asleep on the arms of her husband, who is lost in his own thoughts of love. When the cup of happiness, full to the brim, was raised to his lips it was dashed off from Rāma's hand and one can understand the sentimental breakdown which immediately follows in the conflict between his love and his stem sense of kingly duty. With the responsibilities of the state newly laid on his shoulders, Rāma is perhaps more self-exacting than is right or just to himself and his beloved, but having abandoned the faithful and dear wife, who was his constant companion ever since childhood, his suffering knows no bounds. Both his royal and personal pride is deeply wounded by the thought that such an unthinkable strain should attach to the purity of his great love and to the purity of the royal name he bears.

The scene of the next two acts is laid in the old familiar surroundings of Daṇḍaka and Pañcavaṭī, which Rāma revisits. Twelve years have

elapsed, his grip· has mellowed down, but he is still loyal and devoted to the memory of his banished wife. The sorrow, which has become deep-seated, is made alive with the recollection of their early experience of married love in these forests, where even in exile they had been happy. The situation is dramatically heightened by making the pale, sorrowing but resigned Sītā appear in a spirit-form unseen by mortals and become an unwilling, but happy, listener to the confessions which are husband makes unknowingly to Vāsantī of his great love and fidelity. Sītā's resentment is real and reasonable and she is still mystified as to why Rāma abandoned her. She comes on the scene with despair and resignation in her heart, but it is not for her to seat in judgement on his conduct. She appears as the true woman and loving wife which she has not ceased to be and his willing to be convinced. Unknown to each other, the reconciliation of hers is now complete and with an admirable delicacy of touch the dramatist describes her gradual, but generous, surrender to the proof that, though harsh, he deeply loves her and has suffered no loss. When Vāsantī, who cannot yet take kindly to Rāma, reproves him on his heartless act to his wife in a half-finished but bitter, speech and denounces him in her righteous wrath, her pitiless words aggravate his grief, but the unseen Sītā, with a characteristic want of logic but with the true instinct of a loving heart, now defends her husband and resents all disparagement from outside. The denouement of reunion is only a logical development of this scene and the recognition scene in fourth act in which Bhavabhūti, like kālidāsa, represents the offspring as the crown of wedded love, forms a natural psychological climax. By removing the inevitable tragedy of the original story, Bhavabhūti runs the risk of weakening the artistic effect of his drama, but the denouement of happy ending is not here a mere observance of convention, brought about in a forced way. It is naturally developed by rehandling the entire theme and creating new situations and no other conclusion is possible from the poet's skillful readjustment of motifs and incidents. It is a drama in the tragic climax occurs, with the sorrow and separation, at the beginning and it requires a considerable mastery

of the dramatic art to convert it from a real tragedy into a real comedy of happiness and reunion. It cannot be said that Bhavabhūti does not succeed.

Bhavabhūti praises himself for his 'mastery and speech' and claims merit for felicity and richness of expression as well as for depth of meaning and the praise that he arrogates for himself is not undeserved. The qualities in which he excels are his power of vivid and often rugged or grotesque description, the nobility and earnestness of his conception, a genuine emotional tone and a love for all that is deep and poignant as well as grand and of inspiring in life and nature. Contrasted with Kālidāsa, however, he lacks polish and fastidious technical finish, but his tendency was not towards the ornate and the finical but towards the grotesque and the rugged, not towards reserve but towards abandon. This could explain, to a certain extent, why his so-called dramas are in reality dramatic poems and his plot is, at least in his earlier dramas, a string of incidents or pictures without any real unity. Bhavabhūti cannot write in the lighter vein, but takes his subject too seriously and he has no humor, but enough of dramatic irony and he can hardly attain perfect artistic aloofness, but too often merges himself in his subject and he has more feeling than real poetry.

His *Uttararāmacarita* shows indeed considerable dramatic skill, but it appeals more as an exceedingly human story of love and suffering, steeped in the charm of poetry and sentiment. It is strictly in this that its merit life. The story is drawn from the Epic, but the picture is far more homely, far more real and the emotion is far more earnest than is usual in Sanskrit love-poetry. Bhavabhūti is not concerned with romantic and light-hearted intrigues, nor does his theme, in spite of the introduction of the supernatural, consists of the treatment of a legendary subject, removed from the reality of common experience. His delineation of love as an emotion is finely spiritual and yet intensely human. His descriptions are marked by an extra ordinary realism of sensation and vividness of touch. While preserving the essential ideality of a theme, which was perished through ages as an elevated conception, he invests

it with a higher poetical naturalness, based on the genuine emotions of common manhood and womanhood. In this he vies successfully with Kālidāsa.

It is natural, therefore, that in Indian estimation Bhavabhūti should rank next to Kālidāsa as a poet if not as a dramatist. To be judged by this lofty standard is itself a virtual acknowledgement of high merit and it is not an altogether unjust praise. Bhavabhūti's shortcomings are those of an exuberant poetic mind, lacking the much-desired restraint of an artist and they are manifest on the surface, but he has excellences which place him very high. As a dramatist he does not certainly lack power, but perhaps he is not as successful as Kālidāsa, much less than Sūdraka or Viśākhadatta. His tendency to exaggerate, to strain deliberately after effect and accumulate series of them, to indulge in sentimental prolixity, to take things too earnestly and identify himself with them, are false which are fatal to a good dramatist. His lack of humor, which is partially responsible for these aberrations, does not indicate a disorganized mind, but it is perhaps a temperamental insufficiency which makes his mind to elevated and inelastic to appreciate fully the lighter side of life and embrace in broad and sparkling sympathy all kinds of men and things. He is too profoundly interested in his characters and their sentiments to care for action as such. In a narrative we are told what occurs, in a drama we see the actual occurring and in Bhavabhūti's dramas, comparatively little happens, though much is said. Yet he does not excel in mere narrative. His genius is lyrical, implying a development of feeling and reflection at the expense of action and it is too often so in principle, even when it is not so in form. He cannot project himself properly into his characters and he is too personal to be entirely self-effacing, too impetuous to be smooth and even. Bhavabhūti is indeed not a shadowy figure, but lives vividly in his works and he is one of the few charmingly egoistic poets in Sanskrit, who seldom loses sight of himself, but permeates his writings, even though they are dramas, with the flavor of a rugged but lovable personality.

It is not surprising, therefore, that his emotions carry him away, often further than the limits of art. His sentiment becomes sentimentality and his pathos the spectacular sensibility of the man of feeling rather than the poignant rush of tragic sorrow. He is a master of aggravated pathos rather than of heroic agony. He does not condense a word of emotion in one terse pregnant phrase of concentrated passion, but dilutes the strength of the poetic nucleus by defusing it into graceful and sonorous periods. Perhaps popular taste did not disapprove of such naked wallowing in the pathetic and very few Sanskrit poets in accordance with the accepted theory of sentiment, would resist the opportunity of a free outpouring in sentimental verse and prose. But these are not mere concessions to the groundlings, nor is theory not emphatic in the sound view that sentiments should be suggested rather than expressed. The unauthorized practice of wordy emphasis springs rather from an excess of sensibility inherent in Bhavabhūti's poetic imagination, which is never tired by unchartered freedom. Leaving aside his Mādhava, even his Rāma's prolonged lamentations, tears and faintings, however poetic, are overdone and become undignified.

There can be no denying these facts, which are obvious even to a superficial reader of Bhavabhūti's dramas. Bhavabhūti is fortunate in having good editors and apologists - the kindred spirits for whom he cried in his life-time, but his merits are also too obvious to require a justification of his demerits. It is not of much consequence if his dramas, judged by strict standards are really dramatic poems, it is the type in which Bhavabhūti excels and he should be judged by what he actually aims at and achieves. Other dramatists may exhibit a greater degree of some characteristic quality, but it is scarcely too much to say that none among the successors of Kālidāsa surpasses Bhavabhūti in pure poetry. It is not necessary to prove it by quoting instances of his mastery of poetical imagery, thought and expression in every variety of melting modulation or sounding pomp; the spirit of poetry quite indefinable but easily perceivable, pervades all his writings in their theme and treatment and more especially, in the charming series of lyrics stanzas which Bhavabhūti alone could write.

If he is a poet of human passion, having a strong perception of the nobility of human character and its deeply felt impulses and emotions, he is no less a lover of the overwhelming grandeur of nature, enthroned in the solitude of dense forests, sounding cataracts and lofty mountains. It is not often that his passionate humanism and naturalism yield to mere academism. If he expresses his sensations with a painful and disturbing intensity and often strays into the rugged and the formless, he thereby drinks deep at the very fountain of life and he realizes the man's joy, even he loses the artist's serenity. His unevenness and inequality, even his verbosity and slovenliness, are thus explicable.

As S. K. Dey remarks, "Bhavabhūti suffers from the excess of his qualities, but the qualities are those of a great, but powerfully sensitive poetic mind. His contemporaries called him Śrīkaṇṭha "Divine Throat", perhaps in homage to his divine music; but since it is also the name of the rugged and powerful deity, who swallowed poison in lieu of nectar, the epithet is justified by Bhavabhūti's mastery of overmastering passion, by his nervous energy and terrible sincerity, which scorn mere polish and finish, but speak, with palpitating warmth, of things lying at the very core of his being.

It has also been pointed out that Bhavabhūti was conscious and proud of his own poetic powers and calls himself master of speech. We may unreservedly accept this estimate of his own powers. The two greatest names among classical Sanskrit poets and dramatists are those of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. Though he lacks Kālidāsa's modesty, polish, art and technique, the traditional verdicts of mediaeval Sanskrit critiques have been that Bhavabhūti is supreme in depicting the sentiment of Karuṇarasa (pathos) and that in the *Uttararāmacarita* Bhavabhūti excels everybody else. The *Uttararāmacarita* is, according to the poet himself, a product of his mature intellect. The problem before the poet was how to bring about a union of hearts between Rāma who had abandoned Sītā without any faults of hers and Sītā who had suffered undeservedly. In this drama, Bhavabhūti, cleverly manipulating several incidents brings about a reunion of the hearts. But it must be said that his work as a

literary artiste is most uneven. Alongside of passages unrivalled in their beauty, force and loftiness of sentiments, there are others that are marred by verbosity and slovenliness. Some of the merits of Bhavabhūti may be briefly noticed here, particularly in relation to the *Uttararāmacarita,* which are as follows.

The tone of the whole drama and every part of it is highly elevated. Every one of the characters portrayed is an ideal in its own way. Even the spy Durmukha is portrayed as a public servant who honestly does his duty to his lord and master, though with great reluctance and sorrow. In the *Uttararāmacarita,* the poet draws the finest picture of conjugal love and affection, particularly in the following two verses:

Iyaṁ gehe lakṣmīr iyam amṛtavartir nayanorasāvasyāḥ sparśo vapuṣi vahulaś candanarasaḥ/
Ayaṁ bāhuḥ kaṇṭe śiśiramasṛṇo mautikasaraḥ kimasyā na preyo yadi paramasayhas tu virahaḥ//
Advaitaṁ sukhaduḥkhayoranugataṁ sarvāsvavasthāsu yadviśrāmo hṛdasya yatra jarasā yasminnahāryo rasaḥ/
Kālenāvaraṇātyayāt pariṇate yatsnehasāra sthitaṁ bhadraṁ tasya sumānuṣasya kathamapyekaṁ hi tat prāpyate//

The speaker of both these verses is Rāma, the hero of the drama. The meaning of the first verse is that Śīta is the goddess Lakṣmī (prosperity) in my house, she is the nectar pencil to my eyes. Her touch is profuse sandal juice (paste) applied to the body. This arm of hers, paste on my neck, is as cool and smooth as dew and similar to a string of pearls. What of hers is not very dear? But separation from her is unendurable. The meaning of the second verse is that that love which is uniform and unvaried both in pleasure and suffering, is welcome and beneficial under all the circumstances, by taking shelter to which the heart enjoys repose and rest, the sweetness of which does not disappear even at the old age and in the course of time which attains maturity and becomes transformed into pure blissful affection when the preventive factors like shame and others have been removed, that

supreme love that comes from an honest person without any deceit, can indeed be enjoyed with great difficulty and industry.

Bhavabhūti is unrivalled in treatment of deep and tender human feelings. The *Uttararāmacarita* contains many verses that reach the high-water mark of tenderness and pathos. The poet himself expresses the nature of Rāma's grief in this drama. The poet is very happy in his description of the actions of young boys and his portrayal of a child of tender age is unrivaled.

He had a great command over Sanskrit and was a master of appropriate style and expressions. He often composes verses where the sound is an echo to the sense. Where intense feelings are to be depicted, he employs simple and forcible language and gives up his fondness for compounds. Sometimes he feels difficulty in properly characterizing the deep and surging emotions in the heart of his noble characters and states that the mental state at such moments is indefinable and incomprehensible.

The poet is remarkably free from the conventions of classical Sanskrit poets even including Kālidāsa, such as the cooing of the cuckoo, the mango blossom Aśoka and similar trees and the exciting influence of the moon. He hardly ever refers to the note of the cuckoo.

The poet is a true lover of nature in its beautiful, awe-inspiring and sublime aspects and moods. He is a minute observer and his description of scenery, thick forest like the Daṇḍaka, mountain peaks, panoramic views of mountain ranges are realistic, vivid and forceful.

In all his three dramas there is no Vidūṣaka at all. This is a remarkable matter. The poet appears to have been of a very serious temperament. There is hardly any joke in the three dramas except perhaps Sītā's question to Lakṣmaṇa in the first of the *Uttararāmacarita* about the picture of his wife drawn on a canvas painting of all the brothers and their wives.

In an ideal drama, critiques say, three unities must be observed as far as possible, namely, the unity of time, that is, the limitation of supposed time of the drama to the actual time occupied in presenting

it or to a single day, the unity of place, that is, the use of the same scene or room or house throughout and thirdly, the unity of action, that is, omission of or abstention from all that is irrelevant to the development of the single plot. These unities are not generally observed in many Sanskrit dramas. In the drama under discussion, there is an interval of twelve years between the first act and the second act, the action of the first act is laid in Ayodhyā, but the incidents in the second and the third acts occur in or near Pañcavaṭī and Janasthāna, the rest of the action takes place in the precincts of Vālmīki's hermitage on the Ganges in quick succession. The unity of action is broken by various incidents such as Vāsantī's dialogue with Rāma when Sītā is invisibly present.

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Garbhotpattilakṣaṇaṁ in the Kalyāṇakāraka : A Critical Appraisal

Mintu Sannyasi

Abstract

Jaina tradition of medicine is known as *prāṇāvāda* or *prāṇāvāya* is known to have many medical authorities, only one complete work is now extant. The Kalyāṇakāraka written in the 9th century CE by Ugrādityācārya is the earliest surviving Jaina text dedicated to medicine. Hence the second *adhyāya Garbhotpattilakṣaṇaṁ* here becomes important and the author focuses on birth which reflects that he had followed a linear scheme of composition beginning with birth and then proceeding to the rest of the issues related to medicine. The author of this text while discussing conception and child birth lays stress on the health of both parents which would ensure the birth of a healthy infant. He lays stress on physical strength and virility. The food habits mainly of the mother have been given importance here. The chapter is highly logical, rational and scientific except for a minor section.

Keywords: Jaina, Kalyāṇakāraka, Ugrādityācārya, medicine, health, birth etc.

Introduction

Among the heterodox sects that emerged in India in early historic India, the Jainas, like the Buddhists, developed their own tradition of medicine. Maintaining its differences with the other medical traditions, this tradition forged its own separate textual identity. All Jainas abide by the five basic tenets of *ahiṁsā* (non-violence), *satya* (truthfulness), *asteya* (non-stealing), *brahmacarya* (chastity) and *aparigraha* (non-materialism)[1]. Jainism believes in the peaceful co-existence of all living

beings. It is not only a religion but also a way of life. Observance of these tenets and the concomitant dietary restrictions necessitated the emergence of an alternate system of medicine, known as *prāṇāvāda*, (Prakrit *prāṇāvāya*) to serve their own religious community.[2] Several Jaina preceptors contributed to the *prāṇāvāda* tradition but the only complete text available to us is the *Kalyāṇakāraka*[3] which was used extensively by the Jainas. The text was composed by Ugrādityācārya in c. 9th century CE, who made valuable contribution to the field of Ayurveda. We have selected the second *adhyāya* of this text, named *Garbhotpattilakṣaṇaṁ*, for the present study.

The text comprises of 25 chapters with more than 2500 *śloka*s. The contents of this text are briefly discussed below which would help us to understand the position of the second chapter and its significance. After giving a basic introduction to the science of medicine, the 2nd *adhyāya* is concerned with conception and child birth. The 3rd *adhyāya* deals with anatomy and physique, while the fourth and the fifth chapters focus on seasonal regimens, properties of food and drink. The 6th *adhyāya* deals with personal hygiene, the 7th with elements of treatment, arrangements in the hospital and the patient's examination. The chapters from the 8th *adhyāya* onwards deal with various diseases and their treatment including paediatrics, psychiatry and poisoning (*viṣaroga*). There is a cursory discussion on surgical procedures, *pañcakarma* and *rasāyaṇa,* and includes the uses of mercury and its processing. The concluding part of the text consists of two appendices to the main text, *pariśiṣṭariṣṭādhyāya* and *hitāhitādhyāya* that were added by Ugrāditya.

It is noteworthy that the second *adhyāya* in the text is concerned with embryogenesis and childbirth, and is titled *Garbhotpattilakṣaṇaṁ*. However, a detailed discussion and analysis reflects that it also discusses several associated factors which are concerned with generic health. It begins with an invocation to Lord Jinendra, after which follow the themes related to general health, life cycle and food, energy, assessment of physical strength and its enhancement, the bio-

geographical factors in treatment, qualities of food, conception and childbirth and finally the concluding portion. However, as the title indicates, the focus of the chapter is on human birth and associated conditions. It is imperative to mention here that in the introductory *adhyāya*, the author begins with an invocation to God for acquiring true medical knowledge. He mentions the aim of the composing this work, the role of the physicians and their qualities, various good and bad signs and its association with longevity, etc. As the author focuses on birth in the 2nd *adhyāya* itself before deliberating on anatomy and diseases, it probably reflects that he had followed a linear scheme of composition, beginning with birth, and proceeding to the rest of the issues related to medicine. Hence the second chapter is quite significant, and we have attempted to make a critical study.

Ugrādityācārya being a Jaina physician and the fact that the text was composed by a Jaina for the Jainas and of the Jainas one would expect a strict adherence to the stringent food restrictions as maintained by the Jainas but on the contrary a critical analysis of the text provides several such instances where the basic Jaina principal of not engaging in eating or consuming roots or honey has been evaded.

Following the invocatory verse to Śrī-Jinendra, the author mentions two kinds of health: *vyavahāra* and *pāramārthika*. Of these the *pāramārthika* is of primary importance and *vyavahāra* is secondary. One can attain *pāramārthika* health after the individual is able to end of all *karma*s related to the soul; it is extraordinary, unending and unparalleled. It is like the imperceptible bliss of salvation. Hence, it is desired by the wise.[4] *Vyavahāra* health is defined as the balance of several elements: *agni* (the digestive fire), the *dhātu*s (the seven body tissues), an equilibrium of the *doṣa*s, and proper functioning of the excretory system. A perfect balance between these, leads to happiness of the soul, balance of stimuli and a blissful mind.[5] The former type relates to spiritual health and the latter to physical health.

The presence of the state of equilibrium (*sāmya*) is evident by the presence of appetite, good digestion and strength. Good health helps

in the attainment of the four goals of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa*. An individual, thereby, obtains contentment.[6] This discussion on health in the context of embryogenesis points to the author's emphasis on maintenance of a proper balance in dietary habits for giving birth to a healthy child. Though, it is not mentioned specifically. Its inclusion in this portion in the chapter on *Garbhotpattilakṣaṇaṁ* cannot be otherwise justified.

Ugrāditya says that the physician or *vaidya* should take into consideration the state of *jaṭharāgni* in the young middle aged and the aged patients in the manner prescribed in the texts. He should examine whether it is in equilibrium (*sama*), vitiated (*viṣama*) or low (*manda*). In this context it is noteworthy that *Caraka Saṁhitā*[7] refers to thirteen types of *agni*. *Agni* refers to the digestive fire in the stomach or the digestive enzymes in the gastro-intestinal tract. *Jaṭharāgni* is the most important among the all types of *agni*[8]. Three types of vitiated *jaṭharāgni* are described in the text: *viṣamāgni*, *tīkṣāgni* and *mandāgni*.[9] Patients suffering from digestion related disorder due to vitiation of *vāta*, *pitta* and *kapha*, should be treated successively with enema (*vastikārya*), purgation (*virecana*), appropriate emesis (*vamana*) and nasal inhalation (*nasya*) therapies to restore the equilibrium of the digestive fire (*samāgni*). If these procedures are done at the proper time and the appropriate seasonal diet regimen is followed, they help to protect the equilibrium and prevent its vitiation.[10]

Prior to the initiation of any therapy, the physician needs to assess the physical strength of the patient. Some people look thin but are quite strong while others who may have a heavy build but are inherently weak. Hence, it is necessary to examine the strength of an individual by making him run or by lifting weights and not judge by their appearance alone. Strength is of prime importance for all activities; hence, a wise physician should examine it first. If the physician applies his treatment on strong men, then he will be successful in his treatment, so he should treat men only after assessing their strength.[11]

Our ancient medical authorities were well aware that the body constitution of individual was impacted by the geographical terrain and the ecology. In the *Kalyāṇakāraka*, the author discusses the already prevalent concept or notion of regions (*bhūmi-deśa*) according to their geo-environmental conditions, i.e., *jāṅgala*, *anūpa* and *sādhāraṇa*.[12] Of the three, *sādhāraṇa-deśa* is the most common type. This theorisation of the zones has been postulated in the medical compendia of *Caraka*[13] and *Suśruta*[14] The discussion in *Suśruta Saṁhitā*[15] is very short unlike that of *Caraka Saṁhitā*, but Ugrāditya gives a more detailed description of the flora and fauna of the three zones.

The terrain of *jāṅgala-deśa* is described as having coarse grass and few trees such as *sarja* (Indian laurel or *Terminalia-tomentosa*), *arjuna* (*Terminalia-arjuna*) and *bhurja* (Birch tree or *Betulautilis*) trees, etc. The soil is red, black or white. Hills of hard rock, clumps of bamboo and jungles of trees with hollowed trunks are scattered all over where fierce animals like the leopard roam the land. There are deposits of realgar with sand and gravel. *Priyaṅgu* (foxtail millet or *Setaria-italica*), *varaka* (wild gram or *Phaseolustri-lobus*), *kodrava* (an inferior type of grain), *moong* lentil (*Vignaradiata*), etc. are cultivated here. Donkeys, horses, cows, camels, goats and rams are found in some places. The region is arid with few wells are located far away from villages. People of *jāṅgala* region are naturally of slender build, and their bodies are firm, strong and coarse. People here suffer mostly from diseases originating in vitiation of *vāta*.[16]

In comparison, *anūpadeśa*/ *anūpa* country is a wet and hilly zone where the ground is always muddy. The vegetation is characterised by tenderness in the grass and the leaves. Tree cover is dense which includes the banyan tree (*Ficus-benghalensis*), *Pātali* (*Bignonia-suaveolens*), *Parijātaka* (*Nyctanthus-arbor-tristis*), *Aśoka* (*Jonesia-asoka*), clove (*Syzygium-aromaticum*), *Tamāla* (areca nut) etc. The water of the lakes, the wells and the rivers is clean and clear. People consume nutritious meals consisting of items prepared mainly from cow's milk, buffalo's milk and curd. They also consume jackfruits, mangoes,

coconut, juice of date palm tree, and jaggery, People of *anūpa* region are humble by nature. Their feet are tender and reddish implying that they are fair of skin. People are of heavy and rotund build, and generally suffer from *kapha* diseases.[17]

Between the *jāṇgala* and the *anūpa* regions, lies the zone demarcated as *sādhāraṇa*. The soil, here, is neither too red nor too white and the terrain is neither very dry nor dense. The weather is not extreme. It is neither very cold nor very hot; it is not very windy and rain is moderate. There are a few hills with light forest cover, adequate water sources and an abundance of crops. As fewer diseases occur in the *sādhāraṇa* terrain, this kind of locality is superior to the other two types. People of this terrain live in happiness.[18]

What is central to this theorisation is the notion of polarity between bio-climatic zones of the arid and the marshy regions.[19] The conception of these three bio-climatic zones is important for management of diseases.[20] The physical and physiological characteristics of an individual constitute his or her constitution (*deha-prakṛti*). The *Caraka Saṁhitā* states that some individuals maintain equilibrium of the *doṣa*s from the time of conception. Others are dominated by one *doṣa* or the other. The body constitution is named according to the predominance of the *doṣa*s.[21] Thus, the *deha-prakṛti* is fixed at the time of conception itself and it determines the nature of diseases that one will suffer from in the future. The physician's knowledge of the patient's environment, including flora and fauna, enabled the doctor to anticipate the course of the disease and to take action on it.[22]

The chapter on *Garbhotpattilakṣaṇaṁ* as expected has a special focus on food and its qualities. These not only describe about the qualities of food (*sātmya and asātmya*)[23] but also highlight the fact that intake of such food and medicines which generate happiness/comfort (*sukha*) mentioned here as *sātmya*. Opposed to these, is *asātmya*, i.e. those which generate unhappiness or sorrow (*sātmyavicāra*). While describing the concept of *sātmya*, the author mentions that every product, even poison, can be included in this category. If poison is consumed at

regular intervals in small quantity as a habit, then this poison becomes digestible, and it does not have an adverse impact on the human body. According to *Caraka Saṁhitā*, *sātmya* is something that has become beneficial to a person through constant use.[24]

The main focuses of the chapter in the text under study, however, remains conception and childbirth and are dedicated directly to this theme. The text lays down the code of behavior for a woman who attains puberty. She should leave or reject the five sins like violence etc. and behave like the sages. She should take a silent vow and for three days and abstain from using floral garlands, jewelry and perfumes. She should eat from a shallow earthenware dish (*śarāva*) and sleep on a grass bed (*darbha-śayyā*). During the first three days of menstruation, the husband should not touch his wife. On the fourth day after taking a bath in a pond or a river, she should change her clothing, put on jewelry and perfumes, and takes hot gruel with oil. Her husband should consume aphrodisiac foods such as clarified butter (*ghee*), milk, sugar, and jaggery. He, too, should wear ornaments; engage in copulation with his beautiful wife with the happy mind. If both desire a male child, wife sleeps on her right side thereafter or on the left side if they desire a female child.[25] The above description has no scientific explanation and probably comes from myths and superstitions. Its inclusion in this chapter which otherwise is based on rationale reflects that such myths and superstitions were also given due attention as far as childbirth was concerned.

The author of *Kalyāṇakāraka* cautions the couples that, due to ignorance, if the wife conceives on the first day in this state of menstruation, the foetus may die in the womb. If she conceives on the second day, then the foetus will die within ten days of taking birth; and in case of conception on the third day, the newborn can die very soon. If newborn survives, then he may be dumb, blind or deaf or he may have a stammering defect or can be very cruel in nature. To avoid these defects of birth, the couple should not cohabit before the fourth day. So, in this way, the fourth day from the commencement

of menstrual cycle is recommended as the suitable day for conception. He prescribes that the couple should copulate in proper manner so that the semen merges with the blood in the womb so that there are more chances of a healthy conception. After conception takes place, the eternal, infinite and conscious soul enters the foetus.[26]

Ugrādityācārya mentions that the foetus is initially in the form of a *piṇḍa* or lump but gradually attains six types of *paryāpti* (completeness) at the end before taking the bodily form. In this context he has mentioned three kinds of strength, viz. mental strength, verbal strength and bodily strength (*mana-vacana-kāya bala*) in the context of the growth of the *jīva*.[27] *Jīva* has been described as conscious substance, capable of development and imperceptible to the senses.[28] These three types of strengths, along with the five sensory organs, the process of respiration and life force constitute the ten kinds of *prāṇa*s or life energies. If any of these are taken away or withdrawn, the consequence is fatal. The *jīva* must therefore develop above-mentioned the ten *prāṇa*s after obtaining *āhāra* (food) and *śarīra* (body). These are the five *indriya* or sensory organs, *kāya-bala* (bodily strength), *vacana-bala* (power of speech), *mana-bala* (mind), *svāsocchavāsa* (respiration), and *āyu-prāṇa* (possession of an allotted span of life) to become a perfectly developed *jīva*.[29] These in sequential order become reasons for a *jīva* to attain a complete healthy growing body.[30] The food habits of the mother have been given importance here.

The journey of this foetus now gets elevated to the status of embryo. On the tenth day after conception, this new life may be termed as *kalala* or embryo. Then, again after ten days, it takes a different form, and next ten days, it becomes fixed. After a month it becomes like a bubble and then again in another month it becomes stronger. In this manner, according to its *karma*, it attains further flesh and muscles in the first five months. In the sixth month, it gains its limbs, and in the seventh month, skin, nails and pores develop. The pores on the head develop in the eighth month, and it also receives throbbing sensation. In the ninth and tenth month, it emerges from the womb in the form

of a baby. If the baby does not emerge in the tenth month, then an alternative should be suggested by the physician.[31]

Ugrāditya also explains how the foetus grows in the womb and acquires vigour. Food and drinkables consumed by the mother get converted into *pitta*, *kapha*, *rasa* and *nirasa* but without any foul smell. It consumes the fluids from its surroundings, just as a dead body kept in the jar filled with water, soaks up the water in it. With this food the child gets its nourishment for seven months. After completion of seventh month, a small tube, like a lotus stalk emerges from the naval of the foetus, and gets attached to the mother's heart. Henceforth, it consumes its food through this umbilical cord. The foetus grows in this way going through a lot of troubles and hurdles in the womb. The author of *Kalyāṇakāraka* also mentions labor pain, easy birth/ delivery, difficulties in labor, still birth, and infant mortality. It is very tragic when both the mother and the infant lose their lives. The most strenuous thing on this earth is giving birth, and nothing parallels or compares with this pain.[32]

The text while describing the moment of birth mentions that the unborn child comes out through such a place which is not even eligible of description. It is extremely impure filled with excreta, urine, blood and other fluids. It is smeared with vaginal secretion, filth, and is extremely foul smelling. Covered with foetal hair, it looks unbearably dirty. The baby emerges with its head turned downwards through the unclean canal.[33]

The above discussion on the *Garbhotpattilakṣaṇaṁ*, thus, reveals that the author of this text while discussing conception and childbirth lays stress on the health of both parents which would ensure the birth of a healthy infant. He lays stress on physical strength and virility for it ensures conception. This is also the view of *Caraka Saṁhitā* which has devoted two chapters to the formation of the embryo, *Khuḍḍika-Garbhāvakrānti* and *Mahati-Garbhāvakrānti* in *Śarīra Sthāna*. The factors that help in growth of the foetus in the pelvis are the ovum, the sperm, *sātmya*, *rasa* (digestive product of mother's food) and the mind

(*sattva*).[34] If there are defects in the ovum or the sperm, the conception would not take place.[35] As Lord Ātreya states, the embryo is formed when the ovum, sperm, the soul (*ātman*), wholesomeness and *rasa* combine. The mind serves as the connecting link.[36] The union of the sperm, the ovum and the soul is defined as the embryo (*garbha*).[37] There is long explanation of how the union of the soul takes place. The soul unites with the *pañcamahābhūta*s one by one, beginning with *ākāśa* (ether), and then takes the form of the embryo.[38] In the *Suśruta Saṁhitā*, four factors are said to be essential for conception just as they are necessary for germination of plants: the right season (ovulation period), soil (body of the uterus), water (nutrition) and seed (the fertilized ovum).[39] The sperm is dominated by water (*saumya*) and the ovum by fire (*āgneya*), but each contains minute quantities of the other *bhūta*s also.[40]

During the first month of gestation, it is a jelly-like mass of the five *mahābhūta*s.[41] The five senses are also derived from them; thus, sound from auditory from ether (*ākāśa*), tactile from the wind (*vāyū*), visual from fire (*agni*), gustatory from water (*jala*) and olfactory from the earth (*pṛthvī*). Thus, the individual is the epitome of the universe.[42] This understanding differs from the *Kalyāṇakāraka* as we have seen above, where Ugrāditya speaks of the six stages of *paryāptis* or vital forces in the development of the embryo.

The chapter is highly logical, rational and scientific except for a minor section which has a hint of superstition and certain beliefs have been mentioned which cannot be scientifically explained. However, this is negligible when compared to the rest of the portions. The chapter is placed or positioned right after the introductory chapter which reflects the linear progression in Ugrāditya's scheme of composition. While dealing with diseases, treatment and cure, one would begin with birth and end with old age. The first and foremost factor would be the birth of a healthy child. He also focuses on the time of copulation and enhanced chances of conception along with caution when one should not engage in the process. As expected, he

has discussed about the importance of consumption of human milk as we know it contains immunoglobulins. He also mentions the food intake of a newly born child. What is missing here is a segment on pediatrics. There is no chapter on treatment of child diseases in this text except for a small portion on *bālagṛhabhūtatantrādhikāra*[43] which again is based on mistreating children and scaring them by punishments of confinements etc. according to the author all these become the cause of certain diseases among children and this portion also has several elements of superstition and spells caused by *graha*s, *rākṣasa*s and so on and their impact on children. Though the author of *Kalyāṇakāraka* deals with conception and child birth in the second chapter yet we find that there are a few verses in other chapters which are also related to the same theme. It is difficult to assess why these portions were added later and even if these were later interpolations why they were not added to the second chapter? This additional information is mostly related to foetus malpresentation, miscarriage and termination of the pregnancy if required. Since this is not on conception and has a negative implication has the author excluded it from chapter two? It is difficult to conclude. But it is imperative to mention that the additional information has added in Chapter Twelve of *Kalyāṇakāraka*. This is a chapter on *mahāvyādhicikitsā* i.e. treatment of major diseases. The focus of this chapter is mainly on *vāta* related diseases. It is surprising why the author has digressed to include this additional theme here. Probably this portion was left out while composing the second chapter and later while composing this twelfth chapter he realized it and added it here. One can only speculate yet such explanations fail to give a satisfactory and logical reasoning for its incorporation in chapter twelve. We shall take up all these portions for a critical appraisal below. In chapter twelve after mentioning the effects of *vāta* on the human body the author discusses the symptoms of *mūḍhagarbha* or foetus astray/ foetus malpresentation.[44] Then he discusses the reasons of miscarriage as excessive travelling in vehicles, excessive walking, slipping, engaging

in copulation or due to falling or due to getting hurt accidentally.[45] Due to the above reasons if the conception is only in the fourth month then there can be *garbhasrāva* miscarriage.[46]

The next verse i.e. mentions the symptoms of foetus malpresentation leading to miscarriage. In case of a normal pregnancy during the labour or when it is ready for birth then if the (*apāṇavāyu*) i.e. ventris crepitus or wind *apāṇa* is agitated then if reverses the mobility of the to be born child as it does not get the access to exit and moves in reverse direction, this is also another kind of miscarriage. If this condition is not treated immediately, it can be fatal.[47]

Then the author proceeds to describe types or stages of miscarriage here he mentions that sometimes in case of a miscarriage the hand and legs of the infant comes out first, while in case of others the head comes out but hand remains inside or back and stomach comes out first rest of the body remains inside or if the hands and feet join the anal portion comes out first and so on, all the above may lead to a miscarriage. In such cases an efficient doctor should assess the condition of foetus malpresentation and immediately pull the child out at any cost or else it can be fatal for the mother.[48] If the expecting mother is in severe pain, if her body has excessive swelling, if she is screaming with pain and has the tendency to faint and her eyes are moving in upward direction a physician should understand that it is a hopeless case and such a case cannot be cured or treated.[49] In such a case if the would-be mother expires and still the heart beat of the child can be felt and the uterus is still, a physician should pre-assess this condition and on compassionate ground should slit open the uterus to take the baby out thus here a surgical procedure is intended.[50] If the foetus is dead inside, then the mother gets a foul smell in her breath and feels excessive pain, thirst, if her face turns pale, there is no movement in her womb, excessive swelling and feels the pain like labour pain all these are symptoms of a dead foetus (*mṛitagarbhalakṣaṇa*).[51] If the foetus malpresentation is positioned between/ near the intestine, liver, spleen etc. it is almost impossible

or difficult to come out then an expert physician should inform about the condition to the *narapa* or King and use a slippery substance like clarified butter etc. for pelvic examination and pull the foetus out without damaging the uterus and also without causing harm to the lady. It is interesting to note that for conducting such a procedure the author mentions that the permission of the king is a must.[52] The text also has a reference to registration of *vaidya*s[53] which shows that a qualified doctor had to seek permission from the royal authority of the administration for practice and now the above-mentioned portion reflects that even for unusual procedures like termination of pregnancy using a procedural intervention he had to seek prior permission from the ruler or the authority. As far as the registration of the physician is concerned the author of *Kalyāṇakāraka* mentions that the physician who is well versed in both theoretical as well as practical aspects of medicine is wise. He has knowledge of the use of medicines as well as *yantra*s (blunt instruments) and *śastra*s (sharp instruments) and is eligible to receive permission from the king to undertake treatment of all his subjects[54]. This also refers to the compulsory registration of a *vaidya* prior to the induction into the profession.

This type of information is exceptional and this makes our text a significant one. There is another verse where the author mentions that the foetus malpresentation when poses a life risk to the mother then an efficient physician after examining the condition and assessing the position of foetus should pull it out accordingly with an intention to save the mother's life.[55] Then he moves further to prescribe that a physician should use the powdered root of flame lily plant (*kalihārī*) and rub it beneath the feet of the lady and also place the root of *dhatūra* or *circire* plant on the forehead of the patient.[56] Then the text mentions certain herbs and procedures for easy child birth.[57] If the foetus has come closer to the exit point, then an efficient physician should pull the baby out either using his hands or a forcep (*mudrikā śāstra*).[58] If the foetus is larger than the usual size the physician should use slippery substance and carefully pull it out.[59] Next he moves on

to describe how by pulling and use of incision the physician should pull the foetus out and then treats the pregnant lady.[60] The text then prescribes the use of different oils and it's massaging in detail for an easy child birth[61] followed by prescribing medications for a pregnant woman for a safe and unhindered child birth.[62] Thus the above study shows that the author of *Kalyāṇakāraka* has made a major contribution in this *Garbhotpattilakṣaṇaṁ* chapter, his approach, attitude and also its positioning as the first chapter post introductory chapter makes it worth a critical appraisal. We have also shown that besides the second chapter there is another portion where there is additional information related to child birth, critical issues like foetus malpresentation, miscarriages, forceful termination of pregnancy and also surgical intervention. Child birth and care for the would-be mother has been a concern from the very beginning and is also seen in the two main medical compendia and besides this there is also a whole text named *Garbhopaniṣad*. Our text in this context not only gives due attention to the topic but also provides additional information.

Notes

[1] They are collectively known as *Pañcamahāvrata.*

[2] For a general reading on Jaina medicine, *see* P. Hymavathi. *Scientists of Andhradesa : Ancient and Medieval, Warangal,* 1992; P. Hymavathi. *Medical Services of Jains in Andhra (A.D. 6th Cent.-11th Cent.)*, Jainism Art Architecture Literature and Philosophy, H. Rangarajan, et al., (eds.), Sharada Prakashan, 2008; P. Hymavathi. 'Contribution of Jainas to Medicine in Ancient Deccan', in *Kevala-Bodhi Buddhist and Jaina History of the Deccan*, Aloka Parasher Sen (ed.), Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 2004.

[3] Vardhaman Parshwanath Shastri, (ed. & tr.), *Kalyāṇakāraka of Ugrādityācārya*, Varanasi: Chowkhamba Krishnadas Academy, 2011.

[4] *Kalyāṇakāraka,* 2.3.

[5] Ibid., 2.4.

[6] Ibid., 2.5.

[7] R. K. Sharma and Vaidya Bhagwan Dash, *Agniveśa's Caraka Saṁhitā : Text with English Translation and Critical Exposition Based on Cakrapāṇi Datta's Āyūrveda Dīpikā,* Vol. I-VII, Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series office, Varanasi, 2008 (Rpt.).

[8] *Caraka Saṁhitā*, *Cikitsā Sthāna*, 15:38-39.

[9] Ibid., 2.12.
[10] Ibid., 2.14.
[11] Ibid., 2.15-16.
[12] Ibid., 2.19-38.
[13] *Caraka Saṁhitā, Kalpa Sthāna*. 1.8.
[14] *Suśruta Saṁhitā Sūtra Sthāna*. XXXV. 42-45.
[15] P. V. Sharma, (ed. & tr.), *Suśruta Saṁhitā with English Translation of Text and Ḍalhaṇa's Commentary along with Critical Notes,* Vol. I-III, Varanasi: Chaukhambha Visvabharati Oriental Publishers and Distributors, 2010 (Rpt.).
[16] *Kalyāṇakāraka,* 2.20-24.
[17] Ibid., 2.25-34.
[18] Ibid., 2.35-38.
[19] F. Zimmermann. *The Jungle and the Aroma of Meats: An Ecological Theme in Hindu Medicine*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1999, p. 3.
[20] Ibid., p. 20.
[21] *Caraka Saṁhitā Sūtra Sthāna*. VII. 39-40.
[22] Zimmermann, p. 20.
[23] *Kalyāṇakāraka,* 2.39-40.
[24] *Caraka Saṁhitā Vimāna Sthāna*. VIII.118.
[25] *Kalyāṇakāraka,* 2.42-45.
[26] Ibid., 2.46-48.
[27] Ibid., 2. 51.
[28] S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, Humfrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1915, p. 95.
[29] Ibid., pp. 95-96.
[30] *Kalyāṇakāraka,* 2. 50-51.
[31] Ibid., 2. 53-54.
[32] Ibid., 2. 55-57.
[33] Ibid., 2.58.
[34] *Caraka Saṁhitā Śūtra Sthāna*. IV.27.
[35] Ibid., IV.28.
[36] Ibid., III.14.
[37] Ibid., IV.5.
[38] Ibid., IV.8.
[39] *Suśruta Saṁhita Śūtra Sthāna*. II.33.
[40] *Suśruta Saṁhita Śūtra Sthāna*. III.3.
[41] *Caraka Saṁhitā Śūtra Sthāna*. IV.9.
[42] Ibid., IV.12-13.
[43] *Kalyāṇakāraka,* VII.
[44] Ibid., XII.45.
[45] Ibid., XII.46.
[46] Ibid., XII.47.

[47] Ibid., XII.48.
[48] Ibid., XII.49-50.
[49] Ibid., XII.51.
[50] Ibid., XII.52.
[51] Ibid., XII.53.
[52] Ibid., XII.54-55.
[53] Ibid., VII.48-49.
[54] Ibid., VII.48.
[55] Ibid., XII.56.
[56] *lāṅgalākhyavarabheṣajakalkaṁ lepayedudarapādatalānyuna-mattamūlamathavā kharamaṁjaryāśca sādhu śirasi praṇidheyam.* (*Kalyāṇakāraka,* XII.57).
[57] *Kalyāṇakāraka,* XII.58.
[58] Ibid., XII.59.
[59] Ibid., XII.60.
[60] Ibid., XII.61-62.
[61] Ibid., XII.63-72.
[62] Ibid., XII.73-75.

Battling with Self: A Probe into the Mental Health Discourse through Patricia Laurent's Santiago's Way

Preeti Choudhary

Abstract

This paper focuses on the novel *Santiago's Way* by the author Patricia Laurent who lived most of her live in Monterrey, Nuevo León. It presents the story of Mina who since an adolescence event becomes perpetually controlled by a spirit inhabiting her head. The presence of this force which drives her ways in life becomes so tormenting that the liminality of her life brings her to a level of schizophrenia, a mental disorder. The present paper proposes to delve in the mental health discourse Laurent's text weaves through the character of Mina battling with Santiago overpowering her actions. It aims to trace the trajectory of the psychotic behaviour the character of Mina reaches and the agents which exacerbate the same. The paper weaves the stigmatised narrative on mental health through various facets of family, relationships and societal attitude shaping a child's life.

Keywords: Schizophrenia, mental health, stigma, identity, family.

Introduction

Patricia Laurent Kullick's *Santiago's Way* (2004), originally published in Spanish as *El camino de Santiago* (2000), was translated in English by Geoff Hargreaves. This debut novel from the author won her the Nuevo Leon Literary Prize in 2001. The novel seems to have sought out the inspiration for its title from Camino de Santiago meaning 'way to St. James', a pilgrimage route taking to the shrine of the apostle James in Northwestern Spain. The story is about an unnamed narrator cerebrally possessed by a male voice Santiago shepherding

her actions since she turns fourteen. Mina, the feminine voice, inhabited the narrator before the age of fourteen, until she gets trounced by Santiago after she tries to commit suicide. Santiago initially marked reason or Freudian superego while Mina signifies pure desire and instinct, symbolic of the internal desire (ID) of the narrator in the novel, but gradually Santiago starts hounding the narrator with paranoid thoughts and turns against, misleading her with hallucinations and stories, having no trace of truth. Thus, the story marks a journey of her 'self' trying to locate her real identity between the two countervoices of Santiago and Mina, where the latter has been latent somewhere, after Santiago captures her cerebral space.

The novel sets a momentum to the mental health discourse in Mexico where talking about inner conflicts or psycho-neurosis is considered a taboo as it is thought to bring shame to the family. The present paper aims to chart out the incidents and symptoms this troubled narrator in the novel experiences which lead her to the extremes of cognitive dysfunctions. Mina and Santiago are the two characters which the narrator creates out of her own extensions of psyche/self which keep on haunting her as counter inner voices. The inability to draw balance between her ID (Mina) and Superego (Santiago) creates repression in her 'self' which is not merely hysteria but something which goes to the extremes of making the narrator schizophrenic. She starts having delusions, hallucinations, fits and related symptoms which make her life miserable to the extent of insanity. The trajectory of this deviance from mental order traces back to the trauma experiences which the narrator goes through since childhood.

The first memory of her childhood itself is a traumatic incident. According to Erikson, the first stage of psycho-social development is Trust vs. Mistrust where an infant tries to gain security and starts posing trust on the 'outer predictability' around them. This incident, on the contrary, instils a fear of abandonment in the narrator as she is forgotten by her family on a journey, all by herself in a public transport. When she was two years old, all of them were travelling on

a bus when suddenly her brother Alejandro informs their worldly detached mother that Lilia, her sister, has got off the bus, her mother jumps off the bus and others follow to join Lilia down the road, unbothered of the existence of a two-year old narrator who is left all by herself in the bus. She curls down in fear all through. However, she is handed back to the family by police later. But the impression this incident leaves on the narrator's memory is everlasting. She herself recalls on the incident that "It is here that my fear of abandonment is chillingly featured" (Kullick 72). Such incidents instil insecurity in an infantile head and leads to a trauma experience which develops mistrust in the child and resultantly shapes the rest of the life of the narrator. The first bond of trust a child creates is with one's primary caregiver i.e. mother in most of cases as here, but this incident dents on the 'outer predictability' of her mother's presence for the narrator which draws her towards mistrust in the very first stage of her psycho-social development:

> Mothers create a sense of trust in their children by that kind of administration which in its quality combines sensitive care of the baby's individual needs and a firm sense of personal trustworthiness within the trusted framework of their culture's life style. This forms the basis in the child for a sense of identity which will later combine a sense of being 'all right', of being oneself, and of becoming what other people trust one will become. (Erikson 224)

Not only this but Lilia is set as a competitive benchmark of perfection for the narrator to follow in life, and this incident probably stamps Lilia's supremacy over her in the family, as her existence in bus gets threatened over Lilia's absence. She develops 'mistrust' which makes her bereft of any friends or social life. She has no one to communicate to, but to her own self. Her mother's perpetual self-absorption keeps her oblivious to the emotional needs of this child, the only memories of her father are predominantly characterized by stern rebukes or reprimands, her siblings exploit her for their personal gains and she has an inadvertent rival in the form of Lilia, her sister, who fosters a deep sense of inferiority in the narrator. All this hampers

in healthy development of the Erikson's psycho-social developmental stage II of Autonomy vs. Shame, where the inferiority complex pushes the narrator towards the pole of shame in this binary. Her self-doubt does not let her take to have autonomy over her actions but dooms her to choose shame over it.

Her relationship with her siblings is also not that congenial. Lilia, her elder sister's perfection comes as an imposing hallmark of success on her to follow, her mother often expects and asks her to "follow Lilia's shining example and make something of" life (Kullick 26). This idealism creates an unpremeditated rivalry from her siblings which levies a sense of inferiority on the self in the psyche of narrator. This is the third stage of the psycho-social development of child where a child tries to situate in 'Initiative vs. Guilt', continuous shaming and devaluation pushes the narrator towards guilt and resultant anxiety. Erikson notes:

> Infantile jealousy and rivalry, those often embittered and yet essentially futile attempts at demarcating a sphere of unquestioned privilege, now come to a climax in a final contest for a favoured position with the mother; the usual failure leads to resignation, guilt, and anxiety. (Erikson 230)

On insistence of her mother, the narrator even starts imitating Lilia but realising the futility of such pursuit she stops emulating her after teenage. But, the inferiority complex seeped in her is continuously voiced throughout the novel where the narrator continuously chases Lilia's way of life as her utopian reality, probably more to please her mother.

The repeated mentions of the narrator's mother as "inattentive" (Kullick 15), "blissfully indifferent" (Kullick 72), confirming "detachment from the world" (Kullick 72) or "habitual detachment" (Kullick 111) refers to the "maternal rejection" the narrator as a child experiences. However, Erikson disclaims any such role of mother in psychosis of a child. He calls these as "facile interpretations then in vogue which claimed that rejecting mothers could cause such malignancy in their offspring." Erikson further goes on to discuss

that the "truism" of such psychosis originating from mother-child relationship hold the ground only for the co-dependency or "emotional pooling"

> …which may multiply well-being in both but which will endanger both partners when the communication becomes jammed or weakened. In those cases of infantile schizophrenia which I have seen, there was a clear deficiency in 'sending power' in the child.

However, parent-child relationship, if taken as the first social setting for a child, bears some responsibility in shaping a child's psyche. The environmentality around Lilia's perfections challenges the narrator more toward ego-synthesis in her family. Alfred Adler while deliberating upon the role of family system in personality development, discusses upon sibling-influenced inferiority complex. Differential treatment by parents can cause poor sibling relationship. The 'upward comparisons' (Wang) with the better-doing sibling becomes the scale for an individual to be attained. Also, sibling conflict tends to be higher in degree when the age gap is lesser. Thus, if pitting the narrator against Lilia, the difference is only of eleven months which aligns with the statement that "the negative effects of upward social comparisons are more pronounced when siblings are closer in age and have more conflictual relationships" (Noller, Conway, et al., 2008).

The narrator in such competitive atmosphere tries hard to situate her ego identity even during the games they play. Play according to Freud as quoted by Erikson is "the royal road to the understanding of the infantile ego's efforts at synthesis" (Kullick 188). A child develops to synthesise one's ego through play and locate one's identity in a social setting. The narrator in her childhood tries hard to situate herself as swiftly as her siblings were, she used to "rehearse the gestures of other bodies: how they eat and laugh, how they carry their books to school. I imitate my classmates. I tread in the footsteps of neighbours when I go to the corner shop." She tries to synthesise her identity with her physical and mental makeup on a touchstone of her siblings or to the normality attached to them. According to narrator, her siblings were:

> …excellent models for what a body could be. I filched sketches of behaviour from them and signed them with my own name. I stole their love stories and made myself their protagonist. I faked the musculature of my brother Alejandro and had fights with other girls on the strength of an insult or a laugh. (Kullick 11)

She accepts that the one thing she could never emulate "was their way of really understanding things", she feels she "lived with a defect in that area" as she could not develop a sense of rules in games and had to depend on the verdict of her siblings on her performance, for her "They were the judges. They pronounced the verdict" (Kullick 12).

In such situations the coping mechanism of the suffering individual compels one to escape any such situation which threatens one's ego identity. Thus, one starts taking divergent paths from the equality curve of the superior sibling and they try choosing different paths in life to eradicate any possible scope of comparison between the two.

> …rivalry between siblings is grounded in each child's need to overcome potential feelings of inferiority. As a means of reducing competition, siblings often differentiate or "de-identify," developing different personal qualities and choosing different niches. (Whiteman)

In *Santiago's Way* the narrator tries emulating Lilia until the age of thirteen but then she chooses not to chase her for excellence and to follow her own path when competing against her gets tougher. This stage marks as the fourth stage of psycho-social development of a child where one tries to synthesise one's ego identity to the either in Industry vs. Inferiority. Here, the narrator again goes to the negative binary of inferiority realising the intellectual disparities between Lilia and her and thus admits:

> …as a cerebral weakling with regard to logic and method, I managed early on to imitate the lives of my siblings, that of Lilia in particular, but I could not pull it off after I reached the age of thirteen. Anyone can copy, but forgery is an art. Up to thirteen I could fake certain qualities, talents and signs of intelligence, but then Lilia sped off in directions I simply did not comprehend. (Kullick 25)

Thus, narrator's sense of self remains repressed, which compels her to seek social sanctions through her actions to attain a fixed social actuality. Erikson justifies this loudness of the child's acts to claim an ego identity in a social setting, he says:

> No wonder, then, that some of our troubled children constantly break out of their play into some damaging activity in which they seem to us to 'interfere' with our world; while analysis reveals that they only wish to demonstrate their right to find an identity in it. (Erikson 214)

Such "breaking out" of play coincides with the narrator's behaviour in one incident where her siblings and Gonzalez kids who "hated each other's guts" bump into one another in square where the narrator took a dramatized "initiative" of delivering kicks to a "playful puppy" brought by the Gonzalez. She "grabbed it by the tail, whirled it around and thwacked it against a wire-mesh fence." This act, which took both the parties by surprise, finds reasons in Erikson's explanation on the ways for ego-synthesis of a "budding identity" sought by a child through play. He says that when such synthesis of locating one's identity fails:

> …it must lead to severe conflict, often expressed in unexpected naughtiness or delinquency. For should a child feel that the environment tries to deprive him too radically of all the forms of expression which permit him to develop and to integrate the next step in his identity, he will defend it with the astonishing strength en- countered in animals who are suddenly forced to defend their lives. And indeed, in the social jungle of human existence, there is no feeling of being alive without a sense of ego identity. Deprivation of identity can lead to murder. (Kullick 216)

These infusions of inferiority complex and the fear of abandonment breed the fear of rejection in the narrator, recognising which she addresses "Thanks to Santiago, lord and master of my mind, whose sceptre is my fear of rejection" (Kullick 21). Being continually compared on the scale of siblings devalues individuality of a child. This kind of devaluation snatches away from a child what assures "to the individual a sense of coherent individuation and identity: of being one's self, of

being all right, and of being on the way to becoming what other people, at their kindest, take one to be" (Erikson 30). He further goes on to explain the vulnerability of such child as "such devaluation puts the defensive system out of commission: where the 'counterphobic' cannot attack, he feels open to attack and expects and even provokes it" (Erikson 30). This happens in case where narrator "provokes" Vincente, an abusive partner, to exploit her vulnerability in all hostility. The counterphobic attack with regard to the narrator is an impulse to depart before being abandoned or rejected. Vincente, whom the narrator was "incapable of loving", "refused to end" the relationship, the defensive system of narrator which could have alarmed her of the toxicity of this person runs "out of commission" as Santiago keeps on insisting her to stay there and tolerate his thrashings and violent behaviour. This results in causing an immense trauma on the narrator as she "waged war — emotional, mental and physical" inside her (Kullick 21).

The narrator in the novel suffers from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). She suffers from a chronic trauma which is "typically caused by prolonged experiences of harm which are repeated and/or multiple" (Paper Dolls Research Group 2019). She has faced multiple episodes of harm in the form of childhood neglect, sexual abuse in teenage, sexual and physical abuse in the hands of her partner in her twenties. She also attempted suicide at the age of fourteen, the event which for her marks the entry of Santiago.

Growing up under such circumstances, the narrator tries to locate her identity and role in social actuality. In teenage, a child undergoes fifth stage of psycho-social development i.e. of Identity vs. Confusion. The liminal phase between childhood and adolescence, marking puberty keeps an ego-identity at work. The stage marks its dangers in form of role confusion which yield to commonality of psychotic episodes which if "diagnosed and treated correctly, these incidents do not have same fatal significance which they have at other ages." Teenagers at this stage, "In order to keep themselves together they temporarily over-identify, to the point of apparent complete loss of

identity with the heroes of cliques and crowds", as happens in case of the narrator where she might have felt in complete loss of her own identity with the "hero" of her family Lilia which might have led her towards her suicide attempt (Erikson 235). Her standing in the social actuality causes her towards confusion than situating their identity which leads her role confusion to the extremes of self-harm.

Suicide ideation is a condition attached to psychosis and specifically with schizophrenia. Suicidality is one of the conditions, a person in this disorder is tempted to feel to kill oneself as a resolution to the ongoing battles inside. As shown in studies "Suicide is a major cause of death among patients with schizophrenia. Research indicates that at least 5-13% of schizophrenic patients die by suicide, and it is likely that the higher end of range is the most accurate estimate" (Pompili).

Narrator's suicide puts a lasting imprint on her memory that most of her reference to her teenage comes like "after my suicide attempt" (Kullick 25), "during my suicide attempt" (Kullick 49), "before my suicide attempt" (66, 81), her attaching a temporal significance to this act identifies with the trauma it has left on the narrator's psyche. It is this episode only which casts the shadow of Santiago's presence in the narrator's mind exerting her PTSD in a schizophrenic way.

Her fears translate into self-isolation where the narrator remains closeted to her own self and starts talking to herself oscillating between Mina and Santiago's voices. The narrator here undergoes the sixth stage of psycho-social development i.e. Intimacy vs. Isolation where she finds refuge in withdrawal and isolation. Her centrifuge from people creates a universe of her own with these two inhabitants she remains engaged in. Rather then having conversations with people, she starts talking to herself through Santiago and Mina's voices. This kind of self-talk is a trauma response. When isolation creates a void, these "inner critics" get loud in head. The narrator affirms the fact about Santiago "By then I had realised that he used every occasion when my life felt unsatisfactory to extend his dominion over me" (Kullick 73).

In order to satiate her quest, the narrator continuously seeks to understand the void which has been encircling her periodically. She

felt the void after the orgasms, which she calls "explosion of the suns" (Kullick 18), she had with the beggar who sexually exploited her by "dribbling" (Kullick 18) her clitoris while she was sent to fetch tortillas by her mother. She also felt the void while she was with her partner Vicente, she felt like battling a war against all her fears of loss, rejection, abandonment and others but "…behind them yawned the void, an emptiness that the late-night throbbings of my insomnia barely touched on" (Kullick 36) she asserts. This void is a result of failed attempts to seek intimacy as Erikson points:

> The counterpart of intimacy is distantiation: the readiness to isolate and, if necessary, to destroy those forces and people essence seems dangerous to one's own, and whose essence seems dangerous to one's own, and whose territory seems to encroach on the extent of one's intimate relations. (Erikson 237)

The beggar seems to her dangerous after a point of time after he starts appearing at her school window wanking it off publically, she escapes. Then, her siblings presence also seems dangerous to her identity, she leaves home to stay with Vincente. When she finds her ego self-threatened even there, she escapes from there as well and leaves the country to survive alone in Spain. She would be found throughout escaping from any such place which threatens her 'self', she would also leave Spain to briefly stay with Reginald in London but will again leave the kind care for no reason to return to Mexico again where she would marry and stay undisturbed by Santiago for ten years until it appears again and compels her to continue her runs from life. Her evasiveness from the conscious world even takes her to resort on high levels of intoxication by alcohol.

Apparently, substance abuse also comes as one of the trauma responses and an isolating deviance for the narrator. Her reasoning self, Santiago, keeps on asking her to limit alcohol intake, he insists her to think on "Why do I drink so much? Smoke so much? It all ends in dreadful hallucinations. How can I hope to achieve physical harmony when I pollute my body all the time?" (Kullick 10)

Not only this, even her landlady at the lodging in Madrid counters her by saying "You don't talk to anybody. You drink far too much. I wouldn't know who to call if you had an accident" (Kullick 60). In the novel, one of the reasons read for this behaviour is that the narrator has:

> …discovered that alcohol fumes can scare off Santiago like magic. When I get drunk I experience a rebirth of childlike love, the sort I felt for Cheese-Buns. I love fearlessly, recklessly, with the shameless need to take desire to the verge of the abyss, where the flesh can no longer go. Once my body has spilled itself out, all limp, Santiago cannot navigate through the diverted traffic routes and scrambled brain signals. (Kullick 19)

Since alcohol numbs the frontal lobes which are responsible "in a multitude of cognitive processes, such as executive function, attention, memory, and language" (Thakur), it removes the potentiality of Santiago over the narrator in such state, but it comes back the moment the intoxicating effect alleviates down on the narrator and she starts hearing voices again. Erikson extends this by explaining how addicts depend as babies depend on "the incorporation by mouth or skin of substances" because it makes them"feel both physically satiated and emotionally restored" (Erikson 52). He also states that manic-depressive patients "feel hopelessly empty, without substance; or full of something bad and hostile that needs to be destroyed" (Erikson 53) as the narrator feels for the voice of Santiago in her head.

The voices narrator perpetually battles with are termed as auditory hallucinations or paracusia in psychology. It is a condition where there "are the sensory perceptions of hearing noises without an external stimulus" (Thakur). The narrator is incessantly haunted by the "cavernous voice" (Kullick 103) of Santiago since the age of fourteen and before that she found Mina as a voice to her instincts and desires talking to narrator like any separate agency. The governmentality Santiago creates in her head is so encroaching that at a point of time the narrator is not able to differentiate herself from that impeding voice in head, she accepts that "Back then I still had not understood that Santiago and I were not identical. I thought that rancorous

bitterness was a part of my spiritual make-up" (Kullick 21). She is aware of this "sickly union" with Santiago but he keeps on claiming in her head "He is I and I am he" (Kullick 09)." He goes to an extent of pushing the narrator to catastrophic thinking or catastrophizing which is "a cognitive distortion that occurs when people have a hard time weighing the likelihood of certain outcomes and believe that terrible or catastrophic outcomes—which are highly unlikely—become, in one's mind, salient and extremely likely," explains Dr. Zaubler (Berg).

The narrator's paranoia translated through Santiago coverts her into a catastrophizer personality, multiple times Santiago feeds her head threatening her to the worst case scenarios of dying if she chooses to stay at a place be it with her boyfriend Vicente or with a man named Cuco she sleeps with in Madrid and later against her own loving caring husband. Santiago's voice continuously haunts her to leave Madrid after the arrival of her mother's letter which seems opened, read and resealed. Santiago fills her with a false fear of being arrested by the police authorities as they might have read the contents of the letter where her mother writes about her anxiety over narrator's sense of justice which might push her to join any terrorist group withstanding the current state of affair in Spain. On this Santiago "kept imploring"her incessantly with extreme consequences like "you can bet for sure whole Guardia civil is outside the door right now," he caused a state of panic for the narrator in such situations and rigorous anxiety by insisting:

> Think? There's no time to think. We've got to pack and get out of here fast. They're going to stick us in gaol because they believe you're in league with the Basque terrorists, and once inside we're going to die from the disease Cuco infected us with. (Kullick 70)

The catastrophic influences of Santiago does not limit to mere thoughts but also starts playing with her episodic memory and autonoetic consciousness which refers to the ability of time travel in the past and future to recall memories and foresee the consequences of any act in future. Narrator's mental impairment causes disturbance in both the functions as she is able to recollect only few memories among those

which Santiago presents in a photographic form in her psyche. She also had cognitive difficulties in understanding the chronological sequence even of a story while watching movies as she "would kill time trying to match the intermittent way our memory worked with the efficient way the memories of the characters operated" (Kullick 47).

Battling with such circumstances, the narrator approaches towards the seventh stage of psycho-social development of an individual i.e. Generativity and Stagnation. The inner turmoil of the narrator robs her off from any 'generativity' in terms of procreation out of marriage which lands her towards 'stagnation' ultimately leading her to cognitive impairments as a result. One of the other cognitive deficit in narrator's mental health causes is her speech dysfunctions. There are times when she suddenly goes numb in silence and loses power over language. She keeps on blaming Santiago for having control over her vocabulary, she makes it clear in the prologue itself, "Santiago finally agrees to let me have enough vocabulary to ensure the reader's understanding. He will act as a faithful mirror to my rudimentary alphabet. He will observe, comprehend, assert, and I can tell my story" (Kullick 7). Her inner voice "interferes with the flow of language." Often she finds herself in a state of silence and affirms how her husband used to accept her "prolonged silences produced by the cerebral dysfunctions that Santiago induces on a whim" (Kullick 114). The cognitive dysfunctions of able perception and articulation of response makes the narrator's life more silent, giving room to the voice of Santiago in her head, she says "The silence forestalled invasions by Santiago" (Kullick 88). Cognitive dysfunction is one of the most common and severe deficits of psychosis and especially schizophrenia:

> Poor learning and retention of verbal information is a hallmark cognitive impairment in schizophrenia. Along with executive functioning deficits, impaired ability to encode and retain verbally presented information is one of the most consistent findings across research studies. (Bowei)

Erikson, analysing this behaviour in schizophrenic children, explains that such children turn against their own sensory organs as they fail to make a sense of differentiation between inner and outer worlds.

> …these children repudiate their own sense organs and vital functions as hostile and 'outside'. They have a defective screening system between the inner and the outer world; their sensory contacts fail to master the overpowering impressions as well as the disturbing impulses which intrude themselves upon consciousness. They therefore experience their own organs of contact and communication as enemies, as potential intruders into a self which has withdrawn 'under the skin'. (Erikson 179)

Apart from cognitive dysfunctions, she starts having visual hallucinations in the middle of road in broad daylight, she blames on Santiago who "causes fits and hallucinations, anything to get his way" (Kullick 3). Once, while heading back to her lodging through Santa Barbara Square she experiences a hallucinating episode in the mid of the road when Santiago forces her to stop "suddenly half-way across the square. Loaded with his bagful of photographs of other people, of strangers" and at her he hurls "the bag of photos and they create a knot in the nape" (Kullick 47) of narrator's neck. The narrator visualises her family members whom she is not able to recognise at the moment:

> Santiago is determined to harass me. He drums out questions in my encephalic arteries. Where is she now, the absent woman who loves us so? Where is the grave of the cruel old man? Where is Lilia, dancing for joy? Where today, exactly where today, in what part of the garden back home, is the Macho Brigade celebrating the arrival of the weekend? (Kullick 48)

In these fits, the narrator stumbles on the road and "The people nearby scurry away, anxious not to be involved in an embarrassing scene" (48). Such incidents happen repeatedly, once again on a roadside where the warm chocolate in her hands "turns out to be cold mud. The cake is with the crown and sickly masses of green, white and blue marzipan transforms itself into a policeman" (Kullick 94). She has another violent fit of hallucinations at her workplace where she hits the accountant at her office in head and then runs away, her aberrations reach to an extent where she unclothes herself behind the bushes of a deserted square and finds herself in the hospital when she wakes up. (Kullick 122)

She lands at the hospital losing touch with reality all-laden under Santiago's control suffering severe repercussions of an unhealed trauma. On the scale of stages suggested by Erik Erikson, the psycho-social behaviour of the narrator remains thoroughly distressed engaged in a conflict to locate her identity. Even the eighth and final stage of Ego integrity vs. Despair on Erikson's touchstone of psycho-social development also choses despair for the narrator out of failure of attaining an ego-integrity which according to Erikson is "ego's accrued assurance of its proclivity for order and meaning (Erikson 241)." This kind of failure leads an individual towards despair which expresses "the time is short now, too short to start another life and to try out alternate roads to integrity (Erikson 242)." This despair leads the narrator to cognitive dysfunctionality on multiple layers at the end of the novel.

Thus, the incidents of childhood neglect, her early age sexual abuse, her suicide attempt and abusive relationship with Vicente stand as factors which lead her to multiple episodes of recurring trauma responsible for her chronic-type trauma. An untreated post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) exacerbates her symptoms to the extreme levels of hallucinations, paranoia and the violent outburst. An early diagnosis could have helped the narrator gain a healthy growth in her psycho-social development. The situation could have even been monitored after the narrator tried to commit suicide but mental health issues are regarded as a taboo in the Mexican region which marks the location of the geo-spatiality of the narrator in the novel. Thus, despite her suicide attempt, she never receives any medical or clinical aid, from her family or anyone in her circle there, due to the stigma attached to mental health. Rather she receives a good lecture from her father on better ways to commit suicide, what all he is concerned over is "What you've done is a total disgrace. If you are set on killing yourself, go and do it somewhere else. Not in this house, got it?" he goes on suggesting:

> Next time get some sleeping pills and a bottle of tequila. Drink it down along with the pills. If you decide on gas, you'll need to rent a

> room with a gas fire. You open the tap with one of these things'…'Have you got enough money to rent a room with a gas fire?'
>
> I shake my head.
>
> 'Then throw yourself under a train. But you don't do anything in this house, understand?' (Kullick 112)

Narrator's home is in Mexico which is ranked second in the world for the level of stigma attached to mental health issues (Daniels), despite bearing an economic burden of USD 3,065,866,865; equivalent to 0.25% of the GDP only on schizophrenia. The state of mental health here is that:

> In Mexico, 87.4% of people with a mild mental disorder, 77.9% of those with moderate disorders and 76.2% of those with severe mental disorders, such as schizophrenia or bipolar disorder, do not receive treatment [2]. The deficiencies in access to mental health care in Mexico are fundamentally due to the lack of services and inequity in the distribution of community and outpatient mental health resources within the country. (Carmona-Huerta)

This treatment hesitancy in Mexico is not a mere result of poor services but "some of the main barriers to access mental health care are social stigma and discrimination" (Carmona-Huerta). Spain comes as a stark contrast to this, it is during the narrator's stay in here that for the first time ever she is suggested by anyone to visit a psychiatrist. Among European countries, Spain tops the mental health quotient and ranks second in world ranking according to Mental State of World Report 2021 suggesting the highest levels of well-being there. Mental health condition is seen as a shame on the family, as the narrator's father also charges the narrator of bringing 'disgrace' to the family, this is why they wish to keep it a secret affair which leads to medical negligence towards the patient:

> Many in the Latinx community are familiar with the phrase "*la ropa sucia se lava en casa*" (similar to "don't air your dirty laundry in public"). Some people do not seek treatment for mental illness out of fear of being labeled as "*locos*" (crazy) or bringing shame and unwanted attention to their families. (*Hispanic/Latinx*)

Conclusively, the author might have chosen to not name the narrator in the novel as a scheme to imply a sense of universality to this character and her parents who also remain unnamed and undiscussed explicitly of their socio-cultural identity. The novel depicts a continuous chase of narrator to situate her ego identity which remains conflicted between the voices of internal desire (ID) which she calls Mina and superego in form of Santiago. Her failure to negotiate a fine compromise between the two, represses the ego self of narrator which disturbs her mental health to the extremes of schizophrenia.

The novel, thus, sets a tone to an elaborate commentary on her internal conflicts and initiates a much needed discourse on the mental well-being of a person. Touching upon the role of parents and society in shaping a child's personality, sibling dynamics, sexual and physical abuse, substance abuse, the novel tries to touch upon all such issues and their lasting impact on the psychology of a child. Patricia Laurent through her crisp picturesque text advocates, without preaching, for the attention and mental healthcare of a person from the childhood itself.

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On the Origin of the Hindví Language and its Relation to the Urdu Dialect.—*By Bábu* RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA. *Corresponding Member of the German and the American Oriental Societies.*

[*Read* 12 *August*, 1864.—*Revised* 10*th October*, 1864.]

The history of our vernacular dialects, like that of our social and political condition, during the Hindu period, remains yet to be written. It is not remarkable, therefore, that considerable difference of opinion should exist as to their origin. Our Sanskritists take every thing to be Sanskritic. Those of our philologers who have devoted much of their time to the dialects of the south of India, cannot, from habit and long association, look at an Indian dialect from other than a Turanian stand-point. And most of our Persian and Arabic scholars, in the same way, observe every thing through a Semitic medium. Hence it is that the Hindví has been sometimes called a Sanskritic, sometimes a Turanian, and sometimes a Semitic dialect. The balance of opinion, however, now preponderates in favour of the theory which assigns to it a Sanskrita origin. It has been shewn that the affinity of its roots is unmistakeably Aryan, that its phonology and laws of permutation are peculiarly Sanskritic, and that the number of Sanskrita vocables traceable in it, amount, at the lowest computation, to 90 per cent. The discussion on the subject has, however, not yet been brought to a close. Even at the last meeting of this Society, my learned and respected friend, Capt. Lees, in his valuable essay on the Romanising of Indian Alphabets, stated that the Hindustáni had not an alphabet of its own, and was therefore a fit

dialect to be written down in the Roman characters. It may not be uninteresting therefore to enquire what is the origin of the Hindví, the parent of the Hindustáni, and how far is it removed from the original Sanskrita to be disentitled to the use of the Nágarí alphabet as its natural symbolical representative; although in making the enquiry, I shall necessarily be obliged to run over ground which has already been very carefully traversed by some of the most distinguished philologers of the day, and to repeat much that is generally well known and admitted.

The Hindví is by far the most important of all the vernacular dialects of India. It is the language of the most civilised portion of the Hindu race, from the eastern boundary of Behar to the foot of the Soliméni Range, and from the Vindhya to the Terai. The Gúrkhas have carried it to Kemaoon and Nepal, and as a *lingua franca* it is intelligible everywhere from the Kohistan of Peshawar to Assam, and from Kashmir to Cape Comorin. Its history is traceable for a thousand years, and its literary treasures are richer and more extensive than of any other modern Indian dialect, the Telegoo excepted. No doubt it has not always been the same, nor is it exactly alike every where over the vast tract of country in which it prevails. For a living language growing with the progress of time, and diversely influenced in different places by various physical, political and ethnic causes, such a thing would be impossible. But there is sufficient similitude between the language of the *Pṛithvíráya-Ráso*, the most ancient Hindví work extant, and the Hindví of our day, and between the several dialects of Hindví, Hindustáni, Braja Bhásha, and Ráñgri into which the modern Hindví is divided, to shew that they are all essentially one—dialectic varieties of the same language—branches of the same stem, and not issues from different trunks.

The *Pṛithvíráya-Ráso* was written nearly nine hundred years ago, and yet the difference between its language and that of the *Premaságar* one of the most modern books in the Hindví, is not even so great as —certainly not greater than—that between the languages of Chaucer and of the *Times* newspaper, and whatever that is, it is due more to the use of obsolete and uncouth words than to any marked formal peculiarities. Chand, the author of the *Pṛithvíráya-Ráso*, has been very aptly described by the learned de Tassy as the Homer of the Rájputs.*

* Chand, qu' on a nommé l' Homère des Rajpouts, est certainement le plus populaire des poétes Hindví. De Tassy's Rudiments de la Langue hindví, p. 7.

He was a minstrel in the court of Pṛithvíráj, the valiant knight of Kanouj, and appealed to the people in language suited to their capacity. It will be no presumption then to take the language of his epic as the vernacular of the then flourishing kingdom of Kanouj and of Northern India generally. How long before the time of Chand, that language was the vernacular of India, it is impossible now to determine, for from the time of Vikramáditya the great to that of Pṛithvíráj, we have no reliable information of any kind regarding the vernaculars. The literary work of every-day life was in those days transacted in the Sanskrita, and the language of familiar intercourse was never thought worthy of record.

Passing over *per saltum* the gap between the time of Pṛithvíráj and Vikrama, we find in the first century B. C., a number of dialects bearing the names of some of the principal provinces of India, such as Behar, Mahratta, &c. These were undoubtedly the vernaculars of those provinces at the time, for they could not otherwise have taken their local designations, nor assumed the position they held in the dramatic literature of the time of Vikramáditya. Their mutual differences were but slight, not much more prominent than what may be noticed in the English as spoken in London, Wales and Yorkshire; and they were all known by the common name of the Prákṛita. Professor Wilson, it is true, was of opinion that the Prákṛita could not have been a spoken dialect, but his arguments have been so fully met and so frequently refuted by Max Müller, Sykes, Weber, Lassen and a host of other distinguished scholars, that I need not dwell upon them here.

Two centuries before Vikramáditya, As'oka appealed to his people in favour of Buddhism in a language which has been called the Pàli. It was a form of Prákṛita standing midway between the language of Vararuchi's grammar and the Sanskrita of Páṇini. Whether it was ever a vernacular of India has been doubted, and some have gone the length of calling it a "quasi religious" or a "sacred dialect." But "a careful examination of the As'oka edicts," to quote what I have elsewhere said, "clearly shews that it is a stage in the progress or growth of the Sanskṛita in its onward course from the Vedic period to the vernaculars of our day, produced by a natural process of phonetic decay and dialectic regeneration, which can never be possible except in the case of a spoken dialect. Professor Max Müller, advert-

ing to these changes, justly says, they 'take place gradually, but surely, and what is more important, they are completely beyond the reach or control of the free will of man.' No more could As'oka and his monks devise them for religious purposes, than change the direction of the monsoons or retard the progress of the tides. It is said that Marcellus, the grammarian, once addressed the emperor Tiberius, when he had made a mistake, saying, 'Cæsar, thou canst give the Roman citizenship to man, but not to words;' and *mutatis mutandis*, the remark applies with just as much force to As'oka as to Tiberius. There can be no doubt that As'oka was one of the mightiest sovereigns of India. His sway extended from Dhauli on the sea board of Orissa to Kapur-di-Giri in Afghanistan, and from Bakra in the north-east to Junagar in Gazerat. His clergy and missionaries numbered by millions; they had penetrated the farthest limits of Hindustan proper, and had most probably gone as far as Bamian on the borders of the Persian empire. Religious enthusiasm was at its height in his days, and he was the greatest enthusiast in the cause of the religion of his adoption. He devised his edicts to promote that religion; had them written in the same words for all parts of his kingdom; and used exactly the same form everywhere: but with all his imperial power and influence, he could not touch a single syllable of the grammar which prevailed in the different parts of his dominions. In the north-west, the three sibilants, the *r* above and below compound consonants, the neglect of the long and short vowels, and other dialectic peculiarities, rode rough-shod over the original as devised by him and his ministers and apostles in his palace, and recorded in Allahabad and Delhi; while at Dhauli nothing has been able to prevent the letter *l* entirely superseding the letter *r* of the edicts. Had the language under notice been a "quasi religious," or a "sacred dialect," it would have been found identically the same in all parts of India, for the characters used in the Delhi, Allahabad, Dhauli and Junagar records are the same, and if uniformity had been sought, it could have been most easily secured. But popularity was evidently what was most desired, and therefore concessions were freely made in favour of the vernaculars of the different provinces at the expense of uniformity. Unless this be admitted, it would be impossible to explain why the word *Rójá* of Delhi, written in the same characters, should in Cuttack change into *Lájá*. Had the language been a sacred

one, intended for the clergy only, no such concession would ever have been required. The Sanskrita of the Brahmanic priesthood is alike everywhere, and so is the Latin of the Roman Catholic clergy. It is the people whom As'oka wished to address, and accordingly adapted his language to the capacity and the idiom of his hearers." And if these arguments be admitted, and similar arguments have already led Dr. Max Müller, Mr. Muir and others to admit, that the Páli was the vernacular of India from Dhauli in Cuttack to Kapur-di-giri in the Yusafzai country in the time of As'oka, and for some time before and after it.

Ascending upwards to the time of the first great convocation of the Buddhist clergy, soon after the death of S'akya Siñha, we come across a kind of corrupt Sanskrita called the *Gáthá*, which was used for ballads and improvisations by the scalds and bards of that period. For reasons which I have already submitted to this Society in my paper on the Gáthá dialect, I take that language to be the first stage in the transition of the Sanskrita into the Prákṛita, and the vernacular of Brahmanic India in the fifth and sixth centuries before the Christian era.* For the purposes of the present enquiry we need not proceed further. We have the Gáthá proceeding directly from the Sanskrita and forming the vernacular of India in the sixth century, B. C.; the Páli following it in the third, and the Prákṛita in its different forms of Mágadhí, Saurasení, Mahráṭṭi, Pais'áchi, &c. in the first century of that era. How long the last flourished we know not, nor have we any information as to the transitions it underwent, or the dialect or dialects which succeeded it. But passing over a period of about a thousand years, we come to the Hindví in the tenth century, and the question hence arises, Is the Hindví a produce of the Prákṛita, or a different and distinct language which has succeeded it? Muir, De Tassy, and the German philologers generally, maintain the former position; while Crawford, Latham, Dr. Anderson of Bombay and others assume the latter. They all agree that no less than 90 per cent. of the vocables of the Hindví are Sanskrita; and if the affinity of its roots were alone to decide the question of its affiliation, there could be no doubt as to its claims to a Prákṛitic, and necessarily a Sanskritic origin. But, since a language is to be judged more by its formal than by

* Dr. J. Muir has adopted this opinion in his *Sanskrit Extracts*, Vol. II. p. 124 *et seq.*

its radical elements, and the formal elements of the Hindví are apparently very unlike those of the Sanskrita, but closely similar to those of the Scythic group of languages, it is argued that it must be a Turanian or Scythic, and not an Aryan dialect. To meet this, we must enter into some detail regarding the changes which the grammatical apparatus of the Sanskrita has undergone in some of the Sanskritic dialects, such as the Gáthá, the Páli and the Prákṛita and then trace its relation to the Hindví.

Beginning with the inflection of nouns, we find that the first step in the transition of the Sanskrita into the Gáthá, was the omission of the mark of the nominative singular—*s*, which after *a* assumed the form of the aspirate *visarga*. Where the Sanskrit said *Rámah*, the Gáthá was contented with *Rámaḥ*. This was exactly what was to be expected, for the most prominent feature of the changes which led to the transition of the Vedic Sanskrita into the language of the Rámáyaṇa and the Mahábhárata was the softening down of harsh and difficult combinations of several consonants, and of elision of aspirates. The aspirate of the nominative singular was, besides, not common to all nouns, but only to themes ending in *a*. Words ending in consonants, in the vowel *ṛi* and in long *í* or *ú*, received no aspirate, and their analogy prompted the elision of it also after *a*. This elision in the Gáthá was, however, occasional and not universal. It retained the aspirate as often as it dropped it, and sometimes supplied its place by the letter *u*, and so all the three forms of *Rámah*, *Ráma* and *Rámu** are to be met with in the ballads of the Gáthá.

The *s* of the Sanskrit, which becomes a visarga after *a*, changes into *o* if an *a* follow it. But in the Zend, the latter condition is not necessary, hence *o* is the usual termination in the nominative singular, and it is its contraction that we meet with in the Gáthá in the form of *u*. The Páli of As'oka's edicts omits the *s*, but never takes the *o* or *u*; but in the Páli of Kátyáyana's grammar and as we find it in the Cingalese chronicles, the *o* is preferred to simple elision, so is it in the Prakṛita. Of the modern vernaculars the Braja Bhásháa or the Hindví of Mathurá alone occasionally takes the *u*, but the others all drop all case-mark for the nominative. Thus the Sanskrit *Bálakaḥ* becomes in Gáthá *Bálaka* or *Bálaku*,* in Páli *Bálako*, in Prákṛita *Bálaka*, and in

* I have not noticed these words declined in the different forms, but the forms occur in connexion with different words.

Hindví *Bálak* or *Bálaku*. The euphonic laws which regulate these changes are not yet known, but their operation is universal, and we accordingly find that the *s* of the Latin nominative singular is first dropped in the language of the Troubadours, in Provençal and French, but transformed into *o* in the Italian and Spanish. Thus the Latin *oculus*,* eye becomes in Provençal *huel*, in French *œil*, in Italian *occhio*, and in Spanish *ojo;* the changes being almost parallel to what we have seen above.

The flexional termination for the *accusative*, like that of the nominative, has been either dropped or assimilated with the dative in almost all the modern vernaculars. This commenced as early as the time of the *Apabhramsa* in which the Sanskrit accusative mark *m* used to be frequently if not uniformly omitted. In the Hindví, this mark is *ko*, which in some of its patois, in poetry, and in some of the earlier writings, occurs in the form of *ku*, *koñ*, *kauñ*, *kaha*, *kañha*, *kahañ* and *hi*. Apparently this termination is perfectly distinct from the Sanskrita inflection, for both the accusative and the dative, and this has led to much discussion as to the ethnology of the Hindví speaking races of India. Dr. Kay, (ante xxi. p. 109) thought the *ko* of the Hindví and the *ke* of the Bengali, came from the Tartar suffix *ka*, and Dr. Caldwell bases on the existence of this particle his strongest argument in favour of the Dravidian origin of the Hindví. He says, " of all the analogies between the North Indian dialects and the Southern, this is the *clearest and most important*, and it cannot but be regarded as betokening either an original connexion between the northern and the southern races, prior to the Brahman irruption, or the origination of both races from one and the same primitive Scythian stock." Dr. Trumpp, commenting upon this, observes: " At the first *coup d'œil* the identity of कु, कॅ, कॉ, etc., with the Dravidian dative case-affix *ku*, etc., seems to be quite convincing; yet, on nearer investigation, we shall find this comparison to turn out illusive. In the first instance, the fact speaks already very strongly against it, that the Maráthi, which is the closest neighbour to the Dravidian tongues of the south, has repudiated the use of कॅ or कॉ altogether, and used an affix, the origin of which we have attempted to fix, and as we hope, past controversy. We shall further see that the Gujaráti

* The Sanskrita *Akshi* (eye) the counterpart of *oculus*, runs a similar course, but as a neuter noun takes no case-mark in the nominative.

and Panjábi have also made up for the dative case by postpositions, borrowed from the Sanskrit, without the slightest reference to the Dravidian languages, and we may therefore reasonably expect the same fact for the remaining Arian dialects. It would certainly be wonderful if those Arian dialects which border immediately on the Dravidian idioms, should have warded off any Dravidian influence, and that those more to the north should have been tinged "deeply" with Scythian characteristics. Fortunately we are able to shew that such an assumption is not only gratuitous, but irreconcilable with the origin of the above-mentioned dative affixes. We derive the Sindhi खे and the Bengali के from the Sanskrit locative कृते, 'for the sake of,' 'on account of,' 'as regards,' being thus altogether identical in signification with the Márathí ला, Bengali *re*, etc. This will at once account for the aspiration of ख in the Sindhi खे, for this is not done by mere chance, but according to a fixed rule. [See my System of Sindhi Sounds, 1, and note.] In Bengali there is no such influence of *r* on the aspiration of a preceding or following consonant, and therefore we have simply के. The Sanskrit form कृते becomes in Prákṛit first किते, then (by the regular elision of त्) किए, and contracted to के, and in Sindhi by the influence of (elided *r*) खे.

"The Hindví and Hindustani form of this affix को (dialectically pronounced kú in the Deccan), which has apparently invited its comparison with the Tamil *kú*, etc., we derive in the same way from the Sanskrit accusative neuter कृतं, which is used adverbially with the same signification as the locative कृते. In Prakrit already, and still more so in the inferior dialects, the neuter is confounded with the masculine, (and in the modern dialects which have no neuter, the neuter has been altogether identified with the masculine); we have therefore first in Prákṛit, कितो, then again (by regular elision of त) कि ओ, and contracted को. We can thus satisfactorily account for all these three forms, खे, and को, and का; how Dr. Caldwell will now identify them with the Dravidian *ku*, etc., I cannot see. That this derivation of खे, के, and को rests not on a mere fancy of mine, is farther proved by the Sindhi particle रे *without*, which is derived in the way described, from the Sanskrit locative form ऋते, 'with the exception of,' 'excepted,' 'without;' Prákṛit first रिते, then रिए, and contracted रे."*

* Journal Rl. As. Soc. XIX. p. 392. The *re* turns up in the Bengali dative in the same way.

This explanation, ingenious as it is, is not satisfactory. *Kṛita* is a participle from the root *kṛi* "to do," and the dative or accusative signification attributed to it is altogether a forced one. The indeclinable particle *kṛite* is often used in Sanskrita in lieu of, or to imply, some forms of the dative; but its contraction does not yield *ko*. We must look elsewhere, therefore, for the origin of this puzzling particle, nor are we at all at a loss on the subject. Professor Max Müller derives the Bengálí dative *ke* from the Sanskrita suffix *ka*, which is largely used in modern Sanskrita as an expletive, and I think we may trace in it the germ of the Hindví *ko*. As a simple means of reducing nouns of different terminations to one standard, the syllable *ka* is a valuable adjunct, and scalds and improvisatores use it frequently to obviate the necessity of a multiplicity of declensions. Now, if we bear in mind that in the Gáthá, the ordinary method of indicating the elision of a case-mark is by the addition of *u* as in the words *jayu* for *jayam*, *kṛitu* for *kṛitam*, *kálu* for *kálam*, &c., (vide my edition of the Lalita Vistara,) we find the missing components of *ku* which was the architype of *ko*, and which is still largely used in colloquial Hindví for both the dative and the accusative. We believe the *ka* at first took the ordinary accusative affix *m* after it. But gradually it wore down to a nasal *ñ* and the inflexion became *kañ*. This transition is by no means uncommon in Aryan languages. In Greek the Sanskrit accusative affix *m* passed into *n* at a very early period, and in Bengálí it is invariably sounded as *ñ*. Now if we apply the expletive *u* to this *kañ* it becomes *kuñ*, and in this form we meet with it in the Uriah, which has preserved its similitude to the Sanskrit with more care than any other Indian dialect. It also occurs in the Deccan Hindví, and in the Braja Bháshá. The prolongation of the *u* yields *koñ*, and this variously pronounced forms in Northern India *koñ*, *kauñ*, *ko*, and the rest.

The dative of the Sanskrit in the first person singular is *e* which added to *ka* makes, by the elision of *a*, the Bengálí dative *ke*. It is true that according to the rules of Pánini, the *e* of the dative after themes ending in *a* should change into *aya*, but as corruption is the result of a fanciful analogy on the part of the illiterate masses, it is not remarkable that the universal affix *e* should replace the especial *aya*. In the Gáthá the reverse of this often occurs and the especial *ena*, the instrumental ending of themes in *a*, is frequently used after themes ending in consonants instead of the more legitimate and general affix

á ; the examples being *mahatena* for *mahatá, yasena* for *yasasá, rájena* for *rájñá.*

One form of the *instrumental* in the Sanskrit is *ná.* It is used after themes in *i, u* and *ṛi.* and the Hindví adopts it with but a slight change in the vowel, the endings being *na, ni, ne* and *neñ.* The similitude here is so close that we need not dwell on it at any length.

The Sanskrit *ablative* termination in the singular number of words ending in other than *a* is *as.* This changes into *hi* or *hinto* in the earlier Prákṛitas, and to *he* in the later, in which the ablative is confounded with the genitive. In the Bengálí the *hinto* passed into *haiñte* a little before the time of Chaitanya Deva, and subsequently into *haite,* the form in which we now have it. The *he* of the Prákritas, according to Dr. Trumpp, merged into *se* or *señ* in the Hindví on the ground of *h* and *s* being interchangeable, but we think the original Sanskrita *smát* the especial affix of the pronouns, offers a more probable source of *señ* and *se* than the secondary *he.* In either case the origin of the termination is purely Sanskritic. In the Braja Bháshá the *se* is generally replaced by *teiñ,* an obvious corruption of the Sanskrita *tas.*

The *genitive* affix in the Bengali and the Uriah is formed by hardening the Sanskrita *sya* into *ra.* But in all the other Aryan Indian dialects, a novel mode is adopted which is traceable only in the old Vedic language. According to Dr. Trumpp, " The noun, which ought to be placed in the genitive case, is changed into an adjective, by an adjectival affix, and thence follows naturally, that this so-called genitive, which is really and truly only an adjective, must agree in gender, case, and number with its governing noun, as every other adjective does. The adjectival affix, used thus, to make up for a genitive, varies in the different dialects * * * The Hindví and Hindustáni have preserved the original Sanskrit adjectival affix क without changing into a palatal, viz., का ; in Hindví we meet with the genitive affix कौ का. A further proof that these genitive affixes जो, चा, का, कौ, etc., are really the adjectival affix क of the Sanskrit, and the कौ of the Prákṛit, we have in the fact, that they all end in *o,* a *long vowel, ó = á ;* as all those adjectives do, which are formed with this affix (see my system of formation of themes under the termination कौ.)"

The *locative* in the Sanskrita is *i* or *e,* which has been carefully preserved in the Bengalí, though the ablative *te* proceeding from the Sanskrita *tas* is occasionally used in a locative sense. The *e* changes

into *smin* after words of the class "*Púrva, &c.*" and this *smin* seems to have been adopted as a general termination for the locative in the Páli. In the Prákṛita it merged into *mmi*, and in the Hindví the *mmi* appears in the different forms of *meñ, mai, moñ, mañ, maki*, &c. Dr. Trumpp has overlooked this obvious derivation in his "Declensional Features of the North Indian Vernacular," in which he says, "In Hindví and Hindustání the locative, as a case, has been quite lost, and only some vestiges of it remain, as: होते, or emphatic होतेहो, 'in being,' and thus a locative can be formed with all participles, present or past, which are generally looked upon by our European grammarians as indeclinable participles, but which are in reality only locatives as it is most clearly borne out by comparing the cognate dialects."* In some forms of the Hindví, the *me* of the locative is replaced by *pai* and rarely by *paiñ*, the origin of which we can trace only to the Sanskrita preposition *upara* "upon" which first changed to *par* in such sentences as *mupar* "on me," and subsequently to *pai*, the nasal affix being a euphonic adjunct which in the Braja Bhásha is largely introduced often without any obvious reason. The same was the case in the Bengalí four hundred years ago, and the *Chaitanya Charitámṛata* affords innumerable instances of its use in words like *jáyiñá, khañyiñyá* for the modern *jáyiyá, kháyiyá*, &c.

The *vocative* in the Hindví is identically the same as in most forms of the Sanskrita, being formed by the addition of the interjections *he, re, ahe* (for *ayi*,) &c. A few of the interjections are peculiar to the Hindví, but they offer nothing of importance for comment.

The *personal pronouns* are so obviously Sanskritic that we need not swell this paper by tracing the gradual changes which they have undergone from the time of the Prákṛitas to our own day. The only word which appears to some to be of doubtful origin is the third person *vah* plural *vai*, but the difficulty vanishes if the Sanskrit *asau* be taken as its archtype.

The verb generally undergoes a greater variety of changes than any other class of words. It is said that in some American languages, verbal roots may appear in no less than six thousand different forms. In Sanskrita, the changes are not so numerous, still they exceed three hundred. In Greek and Latin they are less, and in modern European languages generally very few; in English the least—not

* Journal Bl. As. Soc. Vol. XIX. p. 398.

more than six or seven in all. Still compared to nouns of their respective languages, the verbs assume a much greater variety of forms, and therefore their conjugational affixes offer the most ready materials for tracing their origin. This test applied to the Hindví fails entirely to detect in it the smallest amount of a Scythic or Dravidian element. No doubt the niceties of the Sanskrita conjugation, the ten classes, the three voices, the ten moods and tenses, have all disappeared in the Hindví, as they have more or less in all other modern vernaculars, whether Indian or European ; but what is left to us is purely Sanskrita and not foreign, and we may fairly conclude therefore that what has disappeared was likewise Sanskritic, and that the whole system owes its origin to a Sanskrita source. The process has been that of decay and regeneration, and not of development and expansion. History does not afford us an instance of a language growing out of a rude state, developing new forms and gradually acquiring symmetry and perfection, such as the Latin out of the Spanish or the Italian. It is the perfect that wears out and readjusts its members when the first arrangement ceases to be expressive. Hence it is that we find in the Hindví, as in all other vernaculars, the original inflections losing their power and significance and yielding their places to verbs and participles, which in their turn wear out and assume the form of inflections. It is easy to suppose that the verbs which will most frequently adopt this auxiliary character are these which indicate "to be," "to exist," "to live," "to go." These in Sanskrita are *as*, *bhu*, *sthá* and *gam*, and they therefore constitute the principal auxiliaries in the conjugation of the Hindví.

The *bhu* of the Sanskrita becomes in the first person singular of the present tense *bhavámi*. In the Gáthá the process which converts *bhu* into *bhava* is partially carried out, and the word becomes *bhomi*. In the Prákṛita the *bhu* changes to *ho* and *huba* and those forms continue in all the Aryan Indian vernaculars. Some think the transition of *bhu* to *ho* to be unnatural and therefore assume it to be a non-Sanskrita word, but, besides the authority of Vararuchi who nineteen hundred years ago wrote down in his grammar the rule* that "in Prakrit *bhu* should be changed to *ho*, and *huba*," we find that notwithstanding the

* *Bhubo ho hubau*, Delius *Radices Prâkriticæ*, *p*. 1. *B* and *h* were interchangeable even in the time of the Vedas and in the *Srauta Sutra* of Aśwalâyana, the same word is written at option both *gribhíta* and *grihíta*.

use of two thousand years the *ho* in the past tenses of the Braja Bháshá appears in its primitive form of *bha* in *Bhaye*, *Bhayethe*, *&c.* The conjugated form of the *ho* in the Prákṛita was *homi*, and in the Hindví *huñ*. In the definite present this again is intensified by the addition of the past participle *hotá* before it.

The past tense is formed by the past participle *hotá* with the aid of the Sanskrita *sthá* "to remain" changed to *thá*, the personal distinction being indicated by the alteration of the terminal vowel. The perfect is formed by the union of the present participle with the present tense, *huá-hoñ*. This duplication of the verb in the perfect tense is peculiarly Aryan. It occurs in Sanskrita, Greek, Latin, Zend, Anglo-Saxon and Gothic, and is by itself a strong proof in favour of the Sanskrita affiliation of the Hindví. In the pluperfect the *thá* again occurs as an inflection, the verb remaining in the form of the present participle *huá*. For the future tense the auxiliary is the root *gam* "to go" in the form of *gá* or *ge* added to the verb in the indicative present. This paraphrase is peculiar and not common in any other Sanskritic vernacular. Its analogue in the English may be traced in such phrases as *I am going to do.*

In the case of other verbs *ho* becomes an auxiliary for the perfect, the other tenses being conjugated in the same way as *ho;* it is not necessary, therefore, to adduce examples.

Nor is it necessary to dwell longer on the subject of the grammatical forms of the Hindví. What has been said will, I trust, be sufficient to shew the strong affinity which it has to the Sanskrita, and the relation it bears to the Prákṛita and the other Aryan vernaculars of India. There are, we admit, breaks in the chain of our evidence, but they are not of such a character as to render the whole untrustworthy. At any rate it will be seen that the Hindví as it stands, could not have proceeded from any other known language except the Sanskrita, and this sort of negative evidence, in the absence of positive proof, has been recognized in judicature, and may with every reason be adopted in history.

It has been said that inasmuch as the earliest seats of the Bráhmans in India at the time of their advent were occupied by the aborigines, and the two races freely coalesced together, their vernaculars must have, from a very remote period, assumed a mixed character. But the Vedas give us no reason to suppose that any such extensive

admixture did take place. On the contrary it is certain that the aborigines receded as the tide of the Aryan conquerors flowed onward from the north-west, very much in the same way as the Red Indian in North America receded from the contact of the Saxon and the Celt, and they could not therefore leave behind much of their dialects to leaven the language of the aggressors. At the same time as it is impossible for two languages to come in contact without exchanging their vocables, so we find that from 5 to 10 per cent. of the vocables of the modern Aryan vernaculars of India are of non-Sanskrit or Turanian origin. Owing to the same cause the dialects of the aborigines shew a considerable stock of Sanskritic vocables, varying of course in proportion to the extent of intercourse which the different tribes who speak them had with the Bráhmans. When the aborigines had receded beyond the Kṛishṇá, their flight was checked by the sea, and they had accordingly there to make their last stand against their conquerors, and it is beyond the Kṛishṇá, therefore, that we find the descendants of those aborigines in the largest number and in full possession of their original dialects.

After having thus taken, what I trust will appear, a sufficiently consistent view of the origin of the Hindví, I shall now turn to the *Urdu*, otherwise called the *Hindustáni*. Mahomedan writers inform us that the necessity of colloquial intercourse between the Moslem invaders and the natives of this country, produced a mixed dialect of which the grammar was purely Indian, but the vocables partly foreign and partly Indian. It was first principally used by the Affghan soldiery and therefore called the *Urdu* or the "camp dialect." Chiefs and nobles next took it up and it now forms the language of nearly half of the Mahomedan population of the country, the other half speaking the ordinary Hindví. This sort of fusion of the vocables of one language into another is common enough in the history of languages. To a small extent it is taking place in almost every language on earth ; and instances are not wanting to shew that it has happened to a very large extent without affecting in the least the grammatical peculiarities of the recipient. In Bengal the language of the courts contains no less than 30 per cent. of Arab, Persian and other foreign words, and still it is acknowledged to be Bengálí. There is a class of books also in Bengálí which is said to be written in "Mahomedan Bengálí," and some of the Gospels have been translated into it. Its

grammar is pure Bengálí, but it contains no less than 35 per cent. of foreign words. The Persian in the same way, though an Indo-European language, has received a large accession of Semitic element from the Arabs without in the least altering its grammar. Again the Turks, though Turanian by birth, have a language which contains, almost in equal proportion, vocables of Semitic Turanian and Aryan origin. Its grammar nevertheless is purely Tartaric. According to certain missionaries quoted by Hervas* "the Araucans at one time used hardly a single word which was not Spanish, though they preserved both the grammar and the syntax of their own native speech." The English, however, offers the most remarkable instance of a language borrowing its stock of words from a variety of foreign sources without in the least altering its grammar. It is well known that in England, for three centuries after the Norman conquest, the language of court and law, and of elegance and fashion, was French, and nobody was held respectable who did not speak in it. This led to the accession of a large stock of French words into the Saxon, generally estimated at 17 or 18 per cent. and to such a change in the character of the language of the metropolis, that Chaucer doubted that his poetry would be intelligible out of London. But its grammar was left untouched. Omitting all mention of the other foreign elements, the Hebrew, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Bengálí, Hindustání, Malay and Chinese words to be met with in English, I may observe that it has been proved by Thommeral that of the total number of 43,566 words in Webster's dictionary, no less than 29,853 come from classical and only 13,230 from Teutonic sources. And yet the English is not a classical but a Saxon language, and that because English can be written with words entirely Anglo-Saxon, but never by Latin or French words only. The Bengálí of the Mofussil courts in the same way may have 30 per cent. of foreign words, but those words by themselves can never construct an intelligible sentence. Hence the great axiom in the science of language "that grammar is the most essential element, and therefore the ground of classification in all languages which have produced a definite grammatical articulation."† Applying this rule to the Urdu, we find that in Hindví there are several works which contain but a small admixture of foreign element. Insha Alla Khan wrote a tale in the so-called Urdu, which does not contain a

* Apud Max Müller, Science of Language, p. 76. † Max Müller, loc. cit.

single Persian or Arabic word,* and the largest extent to which Semitic element has been traced in any Urdu work does not exceed 40 or at the outside 50 out of every hundred.† While on the other hand its remaining 50 to 60 per cent. of vocables are Hindví, and its structure and grammar are entirely so, and that to such an extent that it is impossible to construct a single sentence in it without the aid of the Hindví grammar. Pedantic Mauluvis may string together endless series of adjectives and substantives and even adverbs, but they can never be put in concord without indenting on the services of Hindví verbs, Hindví inflections, Hindví case-marks, Hindví pronouns and Hindví prepositions. Nothing could be more conclusive than this ; the grammar of the Urdu is unmistakeably the same as that of the Hindví, and it must follow therefore that the Urdu is a Hindví and an Aryan dialect. A variety no doubt it is, differing from the original in having a large admixture of foreign element, but still a variety of the Hindví, as the Assamese and the Coch are varieties of the Bengalí. Englishmen who maintain that 200 per cent. of Latin and Greek do not alter the Saxon origin of their vernacular will, I am sure, readily admit my position, and if this be admitted the question as to the character in which it should be written becomes self-evident. As Sanskritic dialects the Hindví and the Urdu have undoubted claims to the Nágarí, for that alone can supply the necessary symbols properly to indicate their system of sounds. The Persian alphabet has no such symbols and therefore fails adequately to represent the phonology of the Hindví, except by the aid of a cumbrous system of diacritical marks. It is besides, notwithstanding the great facility with which it may be written, to quote the language of the learned translator of Ferishta, " the most difficult to decipher with accuracy, and the most liable to orthographical errors. In writing it the diacritical points, by which alone anything like certainty is attainable, are frequently omitted ; and in an alphabet where a dot above a letter is negative, and below the same letter is positive, who shall venture to decide in an obscure passage which is correct, or how is it possible that a person unacquainted with the true orthography of proper names can render a faithful transcript of a carelessly written original ?"‡

It is true that owing to a feeling of national pride on the part

* Ante, vol. xxi. p. 1. † Vide Appendix. ‡ Brigg's Ferishta, p. xi.

of the Mahomedan rulers of India, and partly to the inconvenience and trouble on their part of learning a foreign alphabet, the bulk of the literature of the Urdu is now written in the Persian character, which cannot now be changed, and there are certain Arabic and Persian letters, such as ق ع ز غ ف which have not their counterparts in the Nágarí; but these facts cannot, I contend, invalidate the right of a language to the use of its own native alphabet. In importing foreign words, the rule has hitherto been to assimilate them to the language into which they are imported, and not to invent a new alphabet for their sake; the Greeks did not add to the number of their letters when they met with new letters, such as *j*, in the language of their neighbours, but represented them by their nearest equivalents in their own alphabet, and the same course should be, and in fact has hitherto been, adopted in writing the Hindví.

But whether it be proper to write the Hindví in the Nágarí or the Persian characters, certain it is, on the arguments so ably set forth by Capt. Lees, that the Roman alphabet is by no means adapted fairly to represent its system of sounds.

The question is one of great importance. It has already engaged the attention of some of the most distinguished scholars of Europe,* and it would be presumptuous on my part to dispose it off at the fag end of an article on a different subject. But as a native who feels deeply interested in the prospect of the vernaculars of his country, I cannot allow this opportunity to pass, without observing that the question has been hitherto discussed mainly, if not entirely, from an European stand-point. The benefits which European scholars, officials and missionaries are to derive by substituting the Roman characters in their writing and printing of Indian dialects, are what have been most elaborately discussed, but little consideration has been shewn as to the advantage which the natives are to derive by accepting the Roman as a substitute for their national alphabet. It is from

* It is worthy of note that Sir William Jones, Gilchrist, Wilson and some others whose names are intimately associated with schemes of Romanising, were not advocates for converting all native writing into the Roman character for natives, but for supplying a uniform plan for representing foreign words in European languages for the use of European scholars. Dr. Max Müller's system is also avowedly intended for Europeans. It is called the "Missionary Alphabet," and Christian Missionaries in foreign parts are the principal persons who are expected to benefit by it. Even Lepsius looks to Missionaries for his principal supporters.

that point, therefore, that I wish to discuss the question here. I have not the least objection to the adoption of a uniform system for the reproduction of foreign words in European languages. On the contrary I think, for Englishmen in India, such a system is most urgently needed, as much for the sake of convenience and precision—" to avoid the chaos of caprice"—as for the researches of philologists; and I have always advocated it to the best of my humble powers.

Philologically considered, sounds are all that are of importance in a living language, and therefore it is perfectly immaterial what are the shapes of the symbols which indicate them; and if it can be shewn that one set offers advantages in writing and printing as well as in precision, over another, considerations of antiquity or national vanity ought not to stand in the way of improvement. But as the case stands, while the Roman alphabet is without question highly defective both in its arrangement and in the range of sounds which can be expressed by it, the Sanskrita has been acknowledged by competent scholars to be the most perfect of all known systems of letters, and the proposition therefore amounts to the substitution of an avowedly inferior in place of a superior alphabet. It is true that the Nágarí letters are angular, and in cursive writing must yield the palm of superiority to the Roman, but facility in writing is not the only nor the most important requirement of a good alphabet. Besides, the Roman, notwithstanding its superiority, is in this respect far from being perfect. It is utterly unsuited for the purpose of reporting public speeches, and various systems of short-hand writing have had to be devised for that work. For ordinary rapid writing, such as taking down depositions, the Bengálí and the Persian have been found in our Courts quite as good for the Bengálí and the Urdu languages as the Roman for the English, and the proposed change therefore is uncalled for, particularly when we bear in mind that the Roman letters cannot be used in writing the oriental languages without a multitude of dots and dashes and accents and commas, which completely neutralise its cursive superiority. In the standard alphabet of Lepsius, there are no less than 189 letters, of which the first *a* appears under nine disguises, produced by dots and dashes and hooks and spurs above, below and by the sides. The *d* in the same way has nine, *e* thirteen, *i* nine and *u* twelve disguises. To such an extent has this process of accentuation been carried with regard to the other letters that we

find but a few that have escaped its metamorphosing influence, and no less than 165* letters heavily loaded with excrescences. Several of those letters are Greek and others oblique and horizontal lines with diacritical marks which had never before been made to do duty for letters, except in some systems of stenography. These are surely not recommendations by way either of simplicity or precision, the two most important requirements of a good alphabet, and hence it is, that the use of the standard alphabet has proved so troublesome in the Cape Colony.† The Roman has only two diacritical marks, the dot on the *i* and the score on the *t*, and both these are unmanageable in rapid writing; to multiply them a hundred-fold, and still to expect that the alphabet would remain simple and easy of writing, is to expect what experience has already proved to be, an impossibility. Mr. J. G. Thompson of Madras once suggested "An unpointed Phonetic alphabet based upon Lepsius' Standard alphabet, but easier to read and write; less likely to be mistaken; cheaper to cast, compose, correct and distribute, and less liable to accident;" but unfortunately for his scheme, his letters were distorted and disproportioned, and so metamorphosed by hooks and loops and spurs that they could not at all be recognised as Roman. Other systems there are, but none free from diacritical marks, nor of so uniform a character as to be generally understood all over Europe. It has been said that when the Roman alphabet becomes familiar to the Indians, it will not be necessary to retain the use of the points, and by their omission, writing will be free and easy. But the proposition amounts to writing a language without vowels, and the mischief of such a course in writing generally, and in mofussil legal proceedings particularly, must be frightful to contemplate.‡ The experiment has been tried already and found to break down completely. The *Kúṭiál* Hindví is written in characters

* It is necessary to note that these are all distinct simple letters and not compound consonants and vowel marks of the Sanskritic alphabets, with which some Romanisers wish to confound them. The Sanskrita is a syllabic alphabet, and therefore every letter or combination of letters represents a complete syllable with its necessary vowel, whereas the Roman, being a literal alphabet, has to put in a separate letter for every sound both consonantal and vocalic that occurs in a syllable, and most of them when used for oriental languages have to receive their special diacritical marks above and below.

† Professor Max Müller declines to give in his adhesion to Lepsius' system.

‡ It has been said that since the Persian, a diacritical alphabet, has been so long in use, the Roman is not likely to prove more troublesome. But the object of the proposed change should be to give us a good alphabet instead of a bad one, and not to substitute a defective one by another equally bad.

closely allied to the ordinary Nágarí, but without *mátrás* or vowel marks, and in this state it is perfectly unintelligible to all except the initiated. Its use is therefore confined exclusively to drafts and cheques, and even there, for the sake of precision, the sums have to be written with such circumlocution as "rupees twenty, the double of which is forty and quadruple, eighty, and the half of which is ten and quarter, five." It is said that once a *gomástá* wrote in it from Agra to his master's family at Muttra, stating that his master was gone to Ajmere and the big ledger was wanted. The words used were

Bábu Ajmir gaye baḍi bahi bheja dijiye.

Without vowel marks and written continuously without breaks in the native fashion, the words were read—

Bábu aj mar gayá baḍi bahu Bheja dijiye.

"Master is dead, send his wife," apparently either to perform a suttee, or attend the funeral obsequies. The story may be false, but I firmly believe that the mistake it is intended to ridicule, will multiply many fold, if Indian languages be written in the Roman characters without diacritical marks.

One great argument in favour of introducing the Roman characters in India, is the uniformity of sounds which will be secured to the whole country. But the argument is based on a fallacy. Sounds are regulated by the condition of our vocal chords, and as those chords must change in their tension, elasticity and power, with every change of climate, human organs of speech cannot produce the same sounds with equal facility everywhere. Hence it is that the Roman characters have no uniformity in Europe. They differ in almost every different country. The alphabet of England is not the alphabet of France, nor is the alphabet of France that of Germany, Sweden or Russia. In each of those countries, the same letters are very differently pronounced, and the difference is greatly increased when they coalesce into words. Further, they do not retain the same sounds in all positions. Their natures and powers vary, and they become hard or soft, long or short, sounding or mute, with reference to the natures of their neighbours, and hence a constant source of difficulty presents itself in their use. This is well illustrated in the pronunciation of Englishmen and Frenchmen. The two races use the same alphabet borrowed from one common source, and yet such is the force of *genius loci* on sounds, that Englishmen find the greatest difficulty in

pronouncing French words correctly, and the Frenchman is rare who can speak English like an Englishman. It is to obviate this difficulty and secure uniformity in spelling and reading, that the "Phonetic System" has been originated in England, and Ellis, Pitman and others are trying to supersede the Roman characters altogether. This problem of phonetic reform involves questions of mathematics, physiology, and acoustics, besides those of convenience, easy writing, and economy of printing, which I cannot undertake to discuss. The system that will satisfy all the requirements of the different languages that we have to deal with, remains yet to be devised, and until that is done it would be too hasty to take up the proposition in connexion with the Indian dialects. The advocates of the phonetic system, who are making such rapid strides in England, will, ere long, do away with the present arbitrary and puzzling English orthography, and then will be the proper time to think of romanizing the Indian vernaculars. At present the want of uniformity of the Roman characters in the different countries of Europe, has led to many dissimilar and often contradictory systems of romanising; and since every one of them is more or less defective, their introduction in vernacular writing in India, where we have to deal with several distinct nationalities having many peculiar sounds of their own, cannot but prove most troublesome and vexatious. These sound, even when stereotyped by a number of diacritical marks, will still remain peculiar, and be quite as unintelligible as foreign letters to an ordinary European scholar. No language unaffected by physical causes can borrow sounds. Centuries of the Norman conquest failed to force French sounds into English organs of speech,* and it is impossible therefore to suppose that the European languages will ever receive foreign sounds for the sake of a few diacritical marks: and if they will not, where is then the uniformity for which we are to sacrifice all the Indian dialects? If the familiar English *c*, the emblem at different times of *s*

* Perhaps the real cause of the arbitrary character of the English alphabet is due to the adoption of the Roman letters by the Saxons for a Teutonic language, the sounds of which they could not represent without assuming other than the sounds which had been originally assigned to them. Hence it is that the Latin dentals *t* and *d* have become cerebrals in English, the latter having no *t* and *d* sound at all. Translating from the English, a great number of foreign names are, in the vernaculars, written with cerebral *t* and *d* when they should be represented by dentals. A ridiculous instance of this occurs in a Bengálí novel where an aping Young Bengal is made to call his father ঢাঢারাম্ ভট্ instead of ঢাতারাম দত্ত.

and *k*, is to read as *ch*, and our *ch* to become something very different, it would be a delusion to talk of uniformity and universality. Admitting for the sake of argument, that foreign sounds can be naturalised in Europe, in order to familiarise them to Europeans, it would be necessary first to remove the ordinary Roman alphabet from European Primers, and supply its place by a standard one, be it of Lepsius, Max Müller or some other ; and when it becomes universal in Europe, then to apply it in writing the Indian dialects, so as to render the latter easily readable by every body, and the alphabet identically the same everywhere. But as no European nation will learn 189 characters instead of 26, and that simply for the possible need of learning a foreign language, the plan cannot but appear quixotic in the extreme. Besides, some of the sounds of native languages are so peçuliar, that to know them correctly, the language in which they occur must be learnt, and he who has the leisure and inclination to learn a foreign language will never find its alphabet a stumbling block. If he cannot learn the alphabet, he is never likely to learn the language. There is no system of alphabet on earth which cannot be mastered in a couple of hours, and which would not become perfectly familiar in a month ; but there is not a language that I know of, which the greatest linguist could acquire with sufficient accuracy for purposes of ordinary conversation, in six months.

Much stress was laid at the last meeting upon the natives of the Peninsula being separated from each other by a number of alphabets, and rendered incapable of mutual intercourse, and on the advantage that would accrue to them by having a common alphabet. But I feel certain that the evil pointed out would not yield to the remedy proposed. We find that while in Northern India, the Hindus with their Nágarí and the Mahomedans with their Persian, meet with no difficulty in carrying on familiar intercourse, the Englishman with his Roman character common to all Europe must starve in a provincial hotel across the channel, if he knew not that bread in French was *pain*. What is wanted therefore is a common language, and not a common alphabet. The latter even when attained, can, at best, but gratify a fancy—that of ideal uniformity, while the former would be a positive good, and come home to the business and bosom of all who attain it.

No discussion on the value of an alphabet in the present day can be complete without reference to its adaptability to printing. I wish

therefore to say a few words on the subject, though I claim no especial knowledge of that art. It has been repeatedly said that the Roman letters occupy less space, and are more easily composed, more lasting, less liable to breakage, and consequently more economical than any other known class of letters, and if these could be proved to be facts, a strong argument no doubt would be made in its favour. But I am afraid the advocates of the Roman alphabet have come to their conclusion, without making sufficient enquiry. I have been assured by several respectable printers, and I know from personal knowledge, that the cost of composing in Sanskrita and Bengálí types is much lower than that of setting up Roman letters; and that the lasting quality of the former compared to that of the latter, is as 2 to 1. The Rev. C. B. Lewis of the Baptist Mission Press, assures me that "the English type soonest shows signs of wearing out. This arises from the more delicate outline of a nicely cut Roman and Italic type—and especially from the seriffe of the letters *i. e.* the fine line at the end of each stroke of b p u s. When this line is worn off, the Roman letter, even if otherwise good, has a very ancient decayed look." As regards breakage, the Roman type has great advantage over the Nágarí, but this advantage is entirely negatived by its wearing out much faster than the latter. On the whole therefore the balance of advantage is in favour of the oriental type and against the Roman. Nor is this compensated by any saving of space through the slimness of the Roman letters. I have a volume by me, containing a prayer by the Armenían patriarch Saint Nersetis Clajensis, translated into thirty-three different languages, and also separate pamphlets containing translations of the same into Sanskrita, Bengálí and Burmese. The translations in German, Hebrew, Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Syriac, Chaldee, Ethiopic, Malayan, Burmese and Chinese are given in large type: the rest in type very nearly alike. These books therefore offer valuable data* for ascertaining the extent of space which a given quantity of matter takes up in different type, and on examining them, I find that the Roman is inferior to the Greek, Sanskrita,

* The following list shews the number of pages which the prayer takes up in the different languages. Armenian 13 pages, Greek 12, Latin 13, Italian 15, French 13, Spanish 14, Lusitanian 16, German 15, Dutch 14, Swedish 14, Danish 13, Icelandic 13, Greenlandic 14, English 14, Hibernian 14, Celtic 16, Wallachian 14, Russian 14, Polish 15, Illyrian 13, Servian 13, Hungarian 14, Iberiac 22, Turkish 13, Persian 16, Arabic 15, Hebrew 14, Syriac 17, Chaldee, 31, Chinese 25, Æthiopic 23, Malayan 20, Malayalim 21, Burmese 12, Sanskrita 12, Bengálí 12.

Bengálí and Burmese, and that if the Semitic letters be reduced to the same face, as that of the Long Primer or the Bourgeois, they would far surpass the Roman in compactness. No doubt the natives of this country, accustomed to manuscripts for ages, are fond of large types, as were the natives of Europe two or three centuries ago ; but already the people of Bengal have taken to Bourgeois and Brevier in Bengálí, and the same will soon follow in the Nágarí and the Persian. It is possible that Bengali types, as generally used, with the vowel marks cast in separate pieces and the lines leaded out, take, face for face, a little more space than the Roman, but while this disadvantage may be easily obviated by mechanical means, the superiority of the Roman on this account is so small, that it cannot at all make up for the defects which have been set forth above.

As a question of policy it would not be proper for our present Government—the most liberal and tolerant that India ever had—to force the introduction of the Roman character into our schools and courts. One great cause of complaint in Poland, Hungary, Schleswig-Holstein and Austrian Italy is the attempt on the part of the conquerors to force their languages on the subject races, by introducing them into the courts of those countries, and a similar course in India, even if confined to the alphabet alone, will, I apprehend, prove a like source of discontent. The Hindus regard their alphabet to be of divine origin (Deva Nágarí) and a gift from the Godhead. With it is associated their religion, their literature, and their ancient glory. To touch it is to meddle with their religion, their past greatness and their cherished recollections. In the case of Austria, Russia and Denmark there is some advantage in prospect. It is a prerogative of Government and a source of power to use its own mother-tongue in the courts established by it, though the main object of dispensation of even-handed justice may not thereby be fully attained. The people of India could understand the object of introducing the English language into our courts, though they would feel the injustice of sacrificing the interest of the million for the convenience of a few officials. But they cannot but think it a gratuitous and vexatious interference with their language, to force upon them an alphabet which is avowedly unfit to represent its system of phonology, and that merely for the sake of an idea. Give them what is good for them, and they will receive it with thankfulness. Offer them the English language and

they will learn it with all their might and main, for they know it enables them to have intercourse with their governors, and opens the way to wealth and power; but they cannot perceive that changing their own ancient and superior alphabet for a defective one, can do them any good, and they will have none of it. The interference of Government in such a case cannot but prove mischievous, for were the Government even to confine its patronage of the Latin character to printing vernacular books in it and giving them a wide circulation, it would still displease its subjects, for, preternaturally suspicious as they are, they cannot but look upon such a measure as an act of antagonism against their ancient literature, while it will divert to a useless channel a portion of the limited resources of the education department. The Germans are more highly civilized and more intelligent than any modern Asiatic race, and yet they have, up to this time, notwithstanding the experience of centuries, failed to appreciate the superiority of the slim Roman to the cumbrous German type. The Hindus cannot but prove infinitely more obtuse. It has been said that a patriotic feeling for their ancient characters prevents the German from adopting the Roman letters. If so, (and most probably it is so,) how much stronger must that feeling be in the Hindus in favour of the alphabet in which is preserved their ancient and much revered Vedas, and which is the repository of all their correspondence, accounts and title-deeds. Teach the Roman character in our vernacular village schools, and you will teach what the pupils will be most anxious to unlearn, for it cannot help them at all in the affairs of their lives for centuries to come, nor keep them *au courant* with the rest of their countrymen. For my part I believe, with Sir Erskine Perry, that "were a legislative enactment to insist, even under penalty of death, upon the use of the Roman character, it could not convert our banias' accounts to round German text."

Grand no doubt is the idea of a universal alphabet and grander still is that of a universal language, but the curse of Babel is still upon us, and neither the one nor the other is practicable.

POSTSCRIPT.

I take this opportunity to express my entire concurrence in the opinion expressed by Capt. Lees, on the reading of my paper in August last, as to the number of non-Hindví or foreign words trace-

able in the Urdu. My estimate of 40 to 50 out of every hundred was founded upon the ordinary run of Urdu books, and is not applicable to the style of some of the works patronised by the late effete courts of Delhi and Lucknow. The percentage of foreign words in those books, is, I readily admit, much higher. But at the same time it will be seen from the subjoined extract from the *Sarúr e Sultáni*, the book to which Capt. Lees particularly drew my attention, that it is not so excessively great as to affect much my general conclusion. I add an extract from the *Fisháneh Ajáëb* which also belongs to the highly Persianised class of writings of the *Sarúr e Sultáni*, and the relative proportion of Hindví and foreign elements in it appears to be as 62 to 38; in the first named book it is 57 to 38, *i. e.* 60 and 64 per cent. respectively. My quotations are, I must acknowledge, taken at random, and there are passages in both the works which are much more Persianised, while there are others which are less so; but on the whole they may be, I believe, taken as fair average specimens, as the facts they yield correspond very closely with the results of my enumeration and classification of the words of several pages of each of the two works. To be exact, it would be necessary to count and classify all the words that occur in them, and even then no satisfactory conclusion could be drawn, owing as much to my own limited knowledge of the Semitic languages as to the doubtful origin of many of the words. It is even likely that my division of the Hindví and foreign words in the short extracts given below will be questioned, but that will not, I believe, alter my position, for I do not depend so much upon the relative proportion of the two elements of the Urdu, as upon its structure and grammar, which I contend is purely Hindví. The verbs *hai*, *thá*, *huá*, *geyá*, *dekhe*, *sunke*, *&c.*, in the extracts are all without exception Hindví; the case affixes *ke*, *ká*, *ki*, *son*, *men*, *&c.*, are likewise Hindví, and so are the pronouns and prepositions, *apne*, *uoh*, *se*, *tak*, *kiá*, *&c.* Take away those case-affixes, verbs and prepositions, and the sentences will crumble down and cease to be sentences. It would not be elegant to say in English "the bouleversing of the escritoire created quite a sensation in the boudoir of the Mademoiselle;" but similar sentences are not rare in first class periodicals and novels, and they afford a fair example of what the Urdu is. Their construction and grammar are English, and though we may call them Galli-

cised we cannot say they are French. No Frenchman would for a moment recognise them as such. English rhetoricians, no doubt and very justly, condemn them, but still they admit them to be English and quote them as specimens of English. Following them, we may call the Urdu, *Persianised* Hindví, but still Hindví and not Persian. In the four Mahomedan Bengálí books, from which extracts are given below, the number of foreign words appear to be quite as large as in the ordinary run of Urdu books, and yet those books are described by their authors to be Bengálí, and translated from the Persian and Urdu expressly for the people of Bengal. Virtually their language is as much the Urdu of Bengal, or Bengálí Urdu, as the Urdu is the Hindví Urdu, or the Urdu of the North-West. If they be taken for distinct languages, I see no reason why the anglicised Hindví in which Englishmen in India say,

E 1 E 2 H 1 E 3 E 4 H 2

" *bearer couchká sámne álmárime pantaloon rakkho*,"

a new language. In it we find no less than four European and only two Hindví words. Similarly the Bengali of our courts, which contains twenty per cent. of English words, would have a fair claim to a distinct rank. The language of Young Bengal again is a patchwork of English nouns and Bengálí verbs, and yet nobody has thought of calling it a distinct language. And if they are not distinct languages, but corruptions and dialectic varieties of one language, the Urdu can hold no higher position.

The colloquial Urdu of the masses contains a smaller admixture of foreign words than the written Urdu, and Capt. Lees is of opinion that it is a distinct dialect independent of the Urdu of our books; to it he applies the term Hindustání. But the principle of this subdivision is open to grave objection. Pressed to its legitimate end, it would justify our dividing every living language into not only two distinct dialects, the written and the colloquial, but to as many dialects as there are orders and ranks of people.

Extract from the Surúr Sultáni, p. 11.

F 5 F 4 H 4 H 3 H 2 H 1 F 3 F 2 F 1

جوشن زرہ گلایا لوہے کو تیز تھا طبیعت کا اولوالعزم جمشید

H 13 H 12 H 11 H 10 H 9 F 7 H 6 F 8 H 7 H 5 H 3

بنایا ریشمی کپڑا ایجاد کیا رعیت کو شاد کیا جس جگہہ زمین

F 12 H 18 H 17 F 11 H 16 F 10 H 15 H 14 F 9 F 8
قابل زراعت ديكهي پاني کا چشمه پايا خلق کو بسايا ديو محکوم
F 16 H 28 H 22 H 20 F 15 F 14 F 13 H 26 H 18
تهے اونسے عمارت مستحکم ايوان محل سراپخته بنوائي ادميون کو
F 22 F 21 H 27 H 28 F 20 F 19 F 18 H 25 H 24 F 17
ترکيب سکهائي تخت مرصع جواهر نگار تيار هوا شروع سال کا
F 26 H 35 H 36 H 34 H 33 H 32 H 31 H 30 H 29 H 28
نو روز نام هوا جشن کا سرانجام هوا جب تخت پر جلوس
H 45 H 44 H 43 H 42 H 41 F 25 H 40 H 39 F 24 H 38 H 37
کرے جهانکا عزم هوتا ديو بروئي هوا تخت اوڑا ليجاتے هاتهون
F 27 H 50 F 26 H 48 H 46 H 47 H 49
هاته پونهچاتے سات سي برس سلطنت کي مگر فردوسي درين
F 29 F 28 H 51
سال هنقصد همين رفت کار ندیدند مرکه اندران روزگار • یکایك باده بخوت
H 54 F 36 H 53 F 34 F 33 F 32 H 52 F 31 F 30
کا دماغ مين جوش هوا دفعة خود فراموش هوا عبديت بهولا
H 54 F 35 F 36 F 37 H 56 H 55 F 38
معبودي کا دعوي کيا شيطان نے رسوا کيا

Extract from the Fisáneh Ajáeb, p. 7.

F 6 F 5 H 6 H 5 H 4 F 4 H 3 H 2 F 3 H 1 F 2 F 1
سبحان الله و بحمده عجب شهر گلذار هي • هر گلي کوچه دلچسپ
H 17 F 9 H 16 H 15 F 8 H 14 H 13 H 12 F 7 H 11 H 10 H 9 H 8 H 7
باغ و بهار هي • هرشخص اپنے طور پر قطعدار هي • دورويه بازار
F 13 H 22 H 21 F 12 F 11 H 20 H 19 H 18 H 18
کس انداز کا هي • هر دوکان مين سرمايهٔ ناز و نياز کا هي • هر چند
F 15 H 30 H 29 F 14 H 28 H 27 H 26 H 25 H 24 H 31
هر محلے مين جهان کا ساز و سامان مهيا هي • پر اکبري
H 38 F 19 H 37 H 39 F 18 F 17 H 35 H 34 H 33 F 16 H 32 H 32 H 31
دروازيسے چلو جاے اور پکے پل تك كه صراط مستقيم هي • کيا جلسا هي
H 41 F 26 H 40 F 25 F 24 F 23 F 22 F 21 H 39 F 20
نان بائي خوش سليقه شيرمال کباب نان نهاري جهان کي نعمت اس
H 47 F 31 F 30 H 45 F 29 H 44 H 43 F 28 H 47 F 27
ابداريکي جسکي بو باس سے دل طاقت پائے دماغ معطر هوجاے •

* Persian Quotation from Ferdusi.

H 54 H 53 F 34 H 52 H 51 F 33 H 50 H 49 H 48 F 33 F 32
فرستہ گذرے تو سونگھے ۔ کیسا ھی سیر ھو ذرہ تدبیر ھو دیکھے سے
H 56 H55
بھوک لگ آے ۔

The following is an extract from the *Iblisnámeh* (p. 1.) The total number of words in it is 58, of which 35 are Bengálí and 23 foreign. Its grammar is pure Bengálí.

F 1 F 2 F 3 B 1 B 2 F 4 B 3 B 4 F 5 B 5 B 6
পহেলাতে বেছমেল্লা, শুরু করি নামে আল্লা, সে নামে ছেপ্ত শুন ২ ভাই।
F 6 F 7 B 7 F 8 F 9 B 8 B 9 B 10 B 11 B 12
আমেল ফাজেল তারে, এরবিতে তরজমা করে, মুর্খলোকে তাহা বোঝেনাই॥
B 13 B 14 F 10 B 15 B 16 B 17 B 18 B 19 B 20 B 21
শুন ভাই বেরাদরি, একারণে বাঙ্গালা করি. লেখি আমি বুঝিবার তরে।
F 11 F 12 B 22 B 23 B 24 B 25 F 13 F 14 B 26 B 27
আরবি ফারছির তরে, কেহনা বুঝিতে পারে, সোকর ছেফত বলে কারে॥
F 15 F 16 B 28 F 16 F 17 F 18 F 19 B 29 B 30 F 20
আল্লার ছেফত যত, থোড়া এয়ছা হকিকত, কেতাব মত করিজে বয়ান।
F 21 F 22 B 31 B 32 B 33 B 34 B 35 F 23
মুরসিদের হুকুমমতে, অবুঝাকে বুঝাইতে, পুথি করি বাঙ্গালা জোবান॥

The following is from the *Kiámatnámeh* (p. 2). The number of Bengálí words in it is 36, that of foreign 16.

B 1 B 2 F 1 B 3 F 2 B 4 F 3 F 4 B 5 F 5
নাজানি কেমন তেদ আছে কেয়ামতে। কি রূপে হাসর খাড়া হবে আখে-
B 6 F 6 B 7 B 8 B 9 B 10 B 11 B 12 B 13 B 14
রেতে॥ বাঙ্গালা জবানে যদি কেহ কহে ভাই। আপনা চক্ষেতে দেখ মনকে
B 15 F 7 F 8 B 16 B 17 B 18 F 9 B 19 B 20 B 21
বুঝাই॥ এয়ছাই তালাস লোগ করে যেথাসেথা। কাহেনি করিয়া কেহ না
B 22 F 10 B 23 B 24 F 11 F 12 B 25 B 26 B 27
করে কবিতা॥ জাহানে অনেক আছে লায়েক কাবেল। বাঙ্গালা করিতে কার
B 28 F 13 F 14 B 29 F 15 B 30 B 31 B 32 B 33 B 34
নাহি ফিরে দেল॥ লোকের খাহেস দেখে ভাবে মনেমনে। কেমনে হইবে
B 35 B 36 F 16
পুথি বাঙ্গালা জবানে॥

The *Chahárdurvish*, p. 2, which has an admixture of 16 foreign in every 40 Bengali words, proclaims itself to be current Bengálí, translated into it in order that it may be easily understood by the Bengálí public.

চলিত বাঙ্গলায় তাই করিনু তৈয়ার। সকলে বুঝিবে ভাই কারণ ইহার ॥

Kázi Safí-uddín, in his preface to the *Kilas ul ambiá*, says

এহাতে নবি ও পয়গম্বরানের কেচ্ছা কোরান সরিফ ও হদিছ হইতে ছাবেত আছে, এক্ষণে এহাকে বাঙ্গলা ভাষায় তরজমা করাইয়া বহুত খরচ করিয়া ছাপাইতেছি।

"It contains accounts of prophets and messengers according to the holy Koran and the Hadith, and now I, having got it translated into Bengálí, print it at a great cost."

The language of the translator, Reza-ullah, will be illustrated by the following extract, in which we have 17 foreign for every 24 Bengálí words.

B 1 F 1 B 2 B 3 F 2 F 3 F 4 B 4 B 5
শুন হো মোমিন ভাই করিয়া খেয়াল। আখেরে সাফৎ তাঁর হইবে
F 5 F 6 F 7 F 8 F 9 F 10 F 11 B 6 B 7
নেহাল॥ মহাম্মদ মোস্তা নবি আলায় হেচ্ছালাম। পয়গম্বরী হৈল তাঁর
B 8 F 12 F 13 F 14 B 9 B 10 B 11 B 12 F 15 B 13
উপরে তামাম॥ নবুওত দরিয়াতে সেই মোতি ভারী। লেখিতে ছেফত তাঁর
B 14 B 15 B 16 B 17 F 16 B 18 B 19 B 20 B 21 B 22
আমি কিবা পারি। আপনা নূরেতে জারে আপে নিরঞ্জনে। প্রথমে করিয়া
F 17 B 23 B 24
পয়দা রাখিল গোপনে॥

EMENDATIONS.

P. 498, line 4. For "*i*, *u* and *ri*" read "*i*, *u* and neuter nouns in *ri*."

P. 498 line 7. For "singular number of words ending in other than *a* is as," read "plural number is *bhyas*."

A Note on Babu Rajendralala Mitra's Article 'On the Origin of the Hindvi Language and its relation to the Urdu Dialect' (1864)

Ram Ahlad Choudhary

Babu Rajendralala Mitra's 1864 essay 'On the Origin of the Hindvi Language and its relation to the Urdu dialect' occupies a significant place in the early intellectual history of Indian philology and the evolution of modern linguistic thought in India. Written during a time when debates over the genealogies of the subcontinent's vernaculars were intertwined with colonial knowledge-production, emerging Indian scholarship, Orientalist assumptions, and political anxieties, Rajendralala Mitra's article stands as one of the earliest systematic attempts by an Indian scholar to theorise the historical development of Hindvī — the linguistic precursor to what later bifurcated into Hindi and Urdu.

The republication of this text offers not only a chance to revisit Rajendralal Mitra's argumentation but also an opportunity to reassess the methodological frameworks, epistemological biases, and cultural politics that shaped the mid-nineteenth-century understanding of language. Rajendralala Mitra's article is characteristic of an era steeped in comparative philology, racialised linguistic taxonomies, and the effort to reconcile nationalist impulses with the classificatory zeal of European scholarship. At the same time, it shows an impressive degree of erudition, autonomy of thought, and resistance to Orientalist oversimplification.

The present note examines Mitra's arguments through the lens of contemporary linguistic theory, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics,

and postcolonial scholarship, using the ten passages provided as interpretative anchors. The objective is not merely to evaluate his correctness or incorrectness by modern standards but to situate his contribution within the broader intellectual movements of his time and to understand his work's lasting implications for the historiography of Hindi-Urdu.

Hindvī as "the most important of all the vernacular dialects of India"; Mitra begins with an emphatic assertion:

> The Hindvi is by far the most important of all the vernacular dialects of India. It is the language of the most civilised portion of the Hindu race, from the eastern boundary of Behar to the foot of the Solimani Range, and the Vindhya to the Terai.

This sweeping claim reflects the linguistic geography as imagined in the mid-nineteenth century, when the notion of 'Hindvī' was still fluid, encompassing a broad belt of Indo-Aryan speech varieties. His description corresponds roughly to what modern linguistics categorises as the Central Indo-Aryan zone, though his civilizational framing betrays a racialised Victorian vocabulary.

By identifying Hindvī as the speech of 'the most civilised portion of the Hindu race,' Mitra implicitly reproduces the nineteenth-century belief that language serves as a marker of civilizational progress. Yet this claim was also an act of early cultural self-assertion. At a time when Orientalist philology privileged classical languages (Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit) over the living vernaculars, Mitra's insistence on the centrality of Hindvī signalled an effort to recalibrate scholarly attention. His geographic mapping—stretching from Bihar to the Solimani ranges— suggests an understanding of the linguistic community that transcends provincial borders, anticipating the later idea of a Hindi-speaking 'Heartland.'

However, his formulation also exemplifies the homogenising tendencies of early philological nationalism. Modern linguistic scholarship shows that the vernaculars across this vast region—Bhojpuri, Maithili, Awadhi, Braj, Bundeli, Khari Boli— are not dialects

of a single homogenised 'Hindvī,' but distinct languages with their own histories. Mitra's classification thus represents less a linguistic fact and more an ideological attempt to conceptualise a broad northern linguistic unity— a project that played a formative role in the later construction of Hindi nationalism.

The Sanskritic Legacy and the Question of Grammatical Descent

> Mitra proposes a methodological approach: 'The grammatical apparatus of the Sanskrita has undergone in some of the Sanskritic dialects, such as the Gatha, the Pali and the Prakrita and then traces its relation to the Hindvi.

This is a sophisticated philological procedure: to trace Hindvī's grammatical lineage by examining intermediate stages of linguistic evolution. Mitra rightly recognised that no modern Indo-Aryan language descends directly from classical Sanskrit; rather, the transition occurs through the Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali, Prakrits, Apabhraṁśa) and early New Indo-Aryan forms.

For his time, the methodological insight is commendable. He anticipates what later became established historical linguistics: that the grammatical simplification and morphological attrition from Sanskrit to Hindvī follows a known trajectory. Modern scholarship confirms his core intuition: Hindvī's grammar shares structural features—loss of case-endings, simplification of verbal inflections, expansion of postpositions—with the Apabhraṁśa-Prakrit continuum.

However, Mitra underestimates the scale of linguistic heterogeneity. He treats the evolution as a linear descent rather than as a set of overlapping, regionally diverse processes. His framing also assumes that 'Sanskritic grammars' form the most important reference point, overlooking the role of substrate influences from Munda, Dravidian, and Tibeto-Burman languages. Nonetheless, Mitra's grounding in Sanskritic philology shaped his overall interpretative grid, and his insistence on viewing Hindvī through the lens of older Indo-Aryan forms was both typical and advanced for his generation.

The Scythic Hypothesis and Nineteenth-Century Racial Philology

Perhaps the most striking and controversial assertion in the article appears in the point:

> The formal elements of the Hindvi are apparently very unlike those of the Sanskrita, but closely similar to those of the Scythic group of languages, it is argued that it must be a Turanian or Scythic, and not an Aryan dialect.

This argument reflects a major nineteenth-century philological debate: whether North Indian vernaculars exhibit a Scythic (i.e., non-Aryan, Turanian) influence. European philologists like Max Müller had popularised the racialised classification of languages into Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian families. Mitra, drawing upon these classifications, attempted to reconcile the apparent divergence of Hindvī structures from classical Sanskrit by considering possible Scythic affinities.

Today, modern historical linguistics decisively rejects the Scythic hypothesis. Hindvī is indisputably Indo-Aryan in origin. The structural divergences that Mitra observed—analytic grammar, reduced inflectional complexity—represent natural processes of internal evolution rather than evidence of foreign linguistic ancestry. Yet Mitra's engagement with the Turanian hypothesis reveals several important intellectual dynamics: An awareness of the limitations of Sanskrit-centric frameworks: He recognised that Hindvī could not be fully explained as a mere degeneration of Sanskrit. An attempt to incorporate new European theories: His argument reflects the Victorian preoccupation with linking linguistic forms to racial migrations. A desire to assert an indigenous antiquity for Hindvī: By exploring the Scythic hypothesis, he implicitly challenged the colonial narrative that vernaculars were recent, corrupted, and inferior. Thus, while philologically inaccurate by modern standards, Mitra's engagement with the Scythic framework illuminates his intellectual ambition to provide a comprehensive, global comparative account of Hindvī's origins.

Contact, Conquest, and the Formation of Mixed Dialects

Mitra cites Muslim historians to frame the emergence of a contact language:

> Mahomedan writers inform us that the necessity of colloquial intercourse between the Moslem invaders and the natives of the country, produced a mixed dialect of which the grammar was purely Indian, but the vocables partly foreign and partly Indian.

This is one of his most valuable observations. It accurately describes what modern linguistics recognises as a contact-induced koine—the early form of Hindustani that developed in military camps, markets, and multi-ethnic settlements in North India during the Delhi Sultanate period.

Mitra perceptively distinguishes between grammar (Indian) and lexicon (mixed). This distinction is supported by contemporary research: structural features of Hindi and Urdu are overwhelmingly Indo-Aryan, while their vocabulary incorporates Persian, Arabic, Turkic, and Sanskrit elements. However, he over-relies on the testimony of 'Mahomedan writers,' which reflects the Orientalist practice of privileging Persian-language historiography. He does not consider vernacular literary evidence, such as Apabhraṁsa poetry, early Hindvī works like Amir Khusrau, or the evolution of Rekhta. Nevertheless, the core insight—that Hindvī arose partly through intercultural interaction—is a historically accurate and important rebuttal to both Sanskritic purism and colonial claims that Indo-Muslim linguistic mixing was corrupting.

Script and Identity: The Nagari Claim

Mitra's fifth and sixth points address script politics:

> As Sanskritic dialects the Hindvi and the Urdu have undoubted claims to the Nagari, for that alone can supply the necessary symbols properly to indicate their system of sounds. The Persian alphabet has no such symbols and therefore fails adequately to represent the phonology of the Hindvī...

Here Mitra articulates an early instance of what would later become the Hindi-Urdu controversy. His argument is essentially phonological:

the Perso-Arabic script (Nasta'līq) lacks symbols for aspirated consonants, retroflex sounds, and short vowels characteristic of Indo-Aryan languages. This claim holds linguistic validity, though it oversimplifies the adaptability of scripts. Nasta'līq developed innovations—dots, diacritics, modified letters—to represent Indo-Aryan phonemes reasonably well.

What is more revealing is Mitra's ideological positioning. His assertion that Urdu, too, has an 'undoubted claim' to Nāgarī script anticipates an alternate historical trajectory—one in which Urdu might have been written in Devanāgarī, avoiding the communalisation that later became entrenched. It also reflects a nationalist desire to foreground the Indic script tradition as the natural home for all North Indian vernaculars.

Mitra's critique of the Persian script must therefore be understood not merely as linguistic argumentation but also as an attempt to assert a cultural genealogy rooted in Sanskritic heritage. This aligns with nineteenth-century Indian reformist intellectuals who sought to resist the Persianate legacy by elevating Indic symbols of identity.

Rejection of the Roman Script

Mitra continues the discussion by invoking Capt. Lees:

> Whether it be proper to write the Hindvi in the Nagari or the Persian characters, certain it is, on the arguments so ably set forth by Capt. Lees, that the Roman alphabet is by no means adapted fairly to represent its system of sounds.

This statement situates Mitra firmly within the anti-Romanisation camp. Many colonial administrators advocated adopting the Roman script for Indian vernaculars to streamline governance and printing. Mitra, like many Indian scholars, viewed this as an erasure of cultural sovereignty. His argument, couched in phonological terms, also had political implications: defending indigenous scripts was defending indigenous cultural identity. With the benefit of hindsight, his rejection of the Roman script was prescient. Romanisation studies today recognise that Indo-Aryan phonemic inventories pose challenges for

Roman script without extensive diacriticisation. His insistence that script is not a neutral technology but a bearer of cultural memory is now widely accepted in sociolinguistics.

Philological Minimalism: Sound over Symbol

A paradoxical but insightful statement follows:

> Philologically considered, sounds are all that are of importance in a living language, and therefore it is perfectly immaterial what are the shapes of the symbols which indicate them.

This contrasts sharply with his strong defence of Nāgarī earlier. On one hand, this is a sound linguistic principle—speech precedes writing, and alphabets are merely representational tools. Mitra here articulates a proto-structuralist insight long before Saussure: the arbitrariness of the signifier.

On the other hand, this statement reveals unresolved tensions in his argument. While he claims script is immaterial, he simultaneously assigns ideological and phonological superiority to Nāgarī. The inconsistency reflects the political pressures of his time: as a scholar, he recognises linguistic universals; as a cultural nationalist, he must defend Indic scripts. This contradiction makes his work historically valuable, for it mirrors the transitional intellectual climate of nineteenth-century India, in which European scientific linguistics and cultural patriotism coexisted uneasily.

The Idea of a 'Common Alphabet'

Mitra observes colonial concerns regarding India's 'diverse alphabets':

> Much stress was laid at the natives of the Peninsula being separated from each other by a number of alphabets, and rendered incapable of mutual intercourse, and on the advantage that would accrue to them by having a common alphabet.

This reflects a typical colonial argument— that India's linguistic diversity hindered communication and progress. Mitra's inclusion of this perspective suggests that he was aware of the utilitarian drive

behind proposals for Romanisation. Yet he does not endorse them. Instead, by contextualising them as colonial anxieties rather than indigenous needs, he subtly resists the homogenising impulses of colonial modernity. Modern sociolinguistics confirms Mitra's scepticism. Script diversity has rarely been a barrier to communication in multilingual societies like India. Literacy, education, and social hierarchies— not script multiplicity— shape communicative access.

The Structure of Urdu: A Hindvī Grammar with Mixed Vocabulary

Finally, Mitra asserts:

> I do not depend so much upon the relative proportion of the two elements of Urdu, as upon its structure and grammar, which I contend is purely Hindvi.

This is arguably Mitra's most enduring insight. Modern linguistics agrees that:

Hindi and Urdu share the same grammar, their differences lie primarily in lexical registers shaped by cultural, religious, and political histories, their divergence is historically recent and ideologically driven. In 1864, however, such an argument was bold and forward-looking. While colonial philologists and Persianate scholars often portrayed Urdu as a distinct or 'foreign-influenced' language, Mitra correctly identified the underlying grammatical unity. He thus anticipates both Suniti Kumar Chatterji's twentieth-century analyses and contemporary linguistic consensus. At the same time, Mitra's framing of 'purely Hindvī' grammar reflects his ideological project of rooting Urdu within an Indic framework. His argument resists the communalised narrative — popular even in his period— that Urdu was an 'alien' or Muslim language. This aspect of his work remains significant for modern debates surrounding linguistic identity.

Strengths and Limitations of Mitra's Philology

A critical evaluation of Mitra's article reveals several strengths such as Mitra attempted a longue-durīe account of language evolution from Sanskrit to Hindvī. He used cross-linguistic comparisons in accordance

with emerging Indo-European philology. He correctly understood the role of intercultural interaction in shaping Hindustani. His analysis of script and phonology was unusually sophisticated for the period. He argued forcefully for the essential unity of Hindi and Urdu. However, there are significant limitations: His use of Aryan-Turanian classifications reflects outdated racial linguistics. He homogenises diverse northern vernaculars under the label 'Hindvī.' He underestimates substrate and adstratum contributions. He relies heavily on Persian historiography while ignoring vernacular literary traditions. His defence of Nāgarī is not always consistent with his own theoretical principles. Nonetheless, these limitations must be understood within the intellectual constraints of his time.

Rajendralala Mitra belongs to the first generation of Indian scholars who engaged deeply with European philology while attempting to reclaim agency in the study of Indian languages. His work anticipates later debates: The Hindi-Urdu controversy (late 19th–early 20th century), Sanskritisation vs Persianisation of Hindustani, the creation of Standard Hindi in the 20th century, the politics of script and nationalism.

Indeed, Mitra's insistence on the unity of Urdu and Hindvī sits at odds with later nationalist narratives that sought to separate them. His emphasis on structural unity, contact origins, and common grammar offers a counter-history to communalised language politics.

Relevance of Mitra's Arguments in Present Time

The republication of Mitra's article in present context is timely for several reasons: Renewed interest in pre-modern linguistic ecologies,Debates on Hindi imposition and linguistic diversity, Growing academic focus on multilingualism and contact languages, Decolonising linguistics etc., Mitra's perspective shows an early Indian intellectual resisting colonial knowledge frameworks. Contemporary linguistics would reject several of Mitra's claims— particularly the Scythic hypothesis— but his broader project of understanding Hindvī as an evolving, composite, dynamic language aligns well with modern scholarship.

Babu Rajendralala Mitra's 1864 article 'On the Origin of the Hindvi Language' remains a landmark in the intellectual history of Indian linguistics. His arguments, though framed within the constraints and biases of nineteenth-century philology, reveal a scholar striving to reconcile Sanskritic heritage, Indo-Muslim cultural interactions, and European comparative linguistics.

By foregrounding Hindvī's structural unity, acknowledging its composite vocabulary, critiquing inadequate scripts, and exploring its deep historical roots, Mitra contributed significantly to the conceptualisation of Hindustani as a major Indian language. The critical re-evaluation of his essay in present time allows us to appreciate both its historical limitations and its intellectual daring. Mitra emerges not merely as a colonial-era philologist but as an early architect of linguistic thought in India— one whose insights continue to illuminate contemporary debates on language, identity, and cultural history.

Explorations in Colonial Bengal – Essays on Religion, Society and Culture, Achintya Kumar Dutta (Ed.), Publisher: Orient Blackswan Pvt. Ltd. (Hyderabad, 2023), Pages : 250, Price: Rs 1495, ISBN: 978-93-542-513-4

The book *Explorations in Colonial Bengal – Essays on Religion, Society and Culture,* edited by Achintya Kumar Dutta with a Foreword by Amiya P. Sen is a collection of 13 articles, divided thematically into two sections. Namely, Section I, entitled 'The Many Worlds of Bengali Culture' and Section II, entitled 'Aspects of Bengali Politics, Society and Economy.' The book has been dedicated to the memory of Ramakanta Chakravorty (Remembering Ramakanta Chakravorty) and, appropriately, a Foreword to the book has been written by Amiya P. Sen with the title 'Ramakanta Chakravorty: The Modern Historian of Bengal Vaishnavism'. While introducing Ramakanta Chakravorty, the author, who has done extensive research on Vaishnavism in Bengal, comments,

> It was only recently that I became aware of his astonishing range of intellectual interests, stretching from music and folklore to astronomy and science fiction, from local and provincial history to the study of historiography. Arguably, Ramakanta babu remains in essence a historian of ethnic Bengal in all its staggering cultural breadth and complexity.

In the Preface to this book, Achintya Kumar Dutta, who is a student turned colleague of Ramakanta babu and who has edited this collection of articles in this publication decides on contributing an excellent article entitled 'Prosperity, Dominance and Social Mobility: Emergence of Mobile Caste in Colonial South-West Bengal,' comments,

> The core of this volume lies in the study of Bengali Society, religion and culture and other aspects of Bengali history, in which Prof. Chakravorty himself specialized.

In another write-up on 'Ramakanta Chakravorty: A Tribute', Anuradha Roy comments,

> I came to know Prof. Chakravorty primarily as a cultural historian of Bengal. Since then, cultural history has made rapid strides, and the vast interdisciplinary field of cultural studies with its stress on critical

theory, has developed too.But this does not take away from Prof. Chakravorty's distinction as a pioneer in so far as the history of Bengali Culture is concerned.

Professor Chakravorty himself is an authority of Vaishnav literature. His research on Vaishnavism won him the degree of D. Litt from Calcutta University and was published in 1985, under the title 'Vaishnavism in Bengal, 1486-1900'. About ten years later, he published *Bange Vaishnav Dharma* in Bengali, which won him the prestigious Ananda Puraskar in 1996. The many-sided aspects of Professor Chakravorty becomes evident by his wide-ranging interest and publication on areas incorporating religion, society and culture in Bengal. Within cultural history, he could travel more elegantly from elite to popular culture.

Keeping in mind the many-sided interests of Professor Chakravorty, with its focus on cultural history, this book engages itself to two major themes, namely, first, Vaishnavism, and, second, the Society and Culture of 19th and 20th Century Bengal. As in Professor Chakravorty's thinking, political history was of less importance than social and cultural studies, the emphasis in the selection of essays in this publication has been to unearth the various dimensions of social and cultural history, and to some extent, some dimensions of economic history in colonial Bengal.

As far as the first group of essays, delineating in better developments in the socio-cultural history of Bengal with regard to Vaishnavism, we have Santanu De's 'Text Traditions: Collating the Vaishnava Heritage and Issues of Authenticity in Colonial Bengal'. Here the author traces the exploration of vernacular texts and manuscripts from the late nineteenth century by individual literateurs, developed Vaishnava scholars and institutions and shows how Bengali literature was influenced by early modern Vaishnav texts. Professor Arun Bandopadhyay's article on 'Bhakti Siddhanta Saraswati and the Making of Vaishnavism in Modern Bengal' delves into the development of Vaishnavism in Bengal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century

with special reference to the role of Bhakti Siddhanta Saraswati. The author shows how, with the emergence of a non-dualistic Vedantic Philosophy in the 19th century, Vaishnavism faced a decline and how Bhakti Siddhanta was instrumental in rekindling Vaishnavism in Bengal by emphasizing upon the Vaishnav concept of Bhakti and how his religious campaign for the development of Chaitanya Bhakti in Bengal enables the revival of the rich heritage of Vaishnavism in the earlier part of 20th century.

Another article highlighting the developments in Vaishnavism vis-á-vis an individual, is 'Bijoy Krishna Goswami and the Reform Movement in Nineteenth Century Bengal' by Sujata Mukherjee. Goswami, a Brahmo-turned-Vaishnava, left the Brahmo Samaj because his rationalist and progressive spirit led him to protect the the violation of Brahma tenets. But his liberal and universal outlook antagonised the orthodox Vaishnavas also. The author dwells on Goswami's achievements, projects him as a modern, rational and liberal thinker who infused new blood into the Vaishnava movement.

The article on 'The Fallen Woman and the Saint: The Vaishnavi in Colonial Bengal' by Varuni Bhati is most interesting where the author shows the part played by women in the evolution of Bengali Vaishnava tradition. The Vaishnavis mostly drawn from those categories of women who had been socially ostracised by being victims of patriarchal norms, joined the Vaishnava institutions. These Vaishanavis had various social identities ranging from devotees to sevadasis. The akhara, the monastic residence attached to a shrine and the significant Vaishnav institution influenced the life of Vaishnavis, who participated in it as stakeholders. So here the author has studied a relatively unknown aspect of culture, where in he has examined the role of women in the evolution of Bengali Vaishnava traditions.

Besides, we find a write-up by Kailash Chandra Dash on 'Sri Chaitanya, Jagannatha Das, and Puri: Jagannatha Charitamrita

Revisited' which analyzes the role of those Oriya literatures on Vaishnavism, which also highlights how Vaishnavism brought together Bengali and Odiya cultures during Chaitanya's period.

Highlighting the growth of a harmonic and synthetic culture of which Vaishnavism was a part, Amit Dey, in his article on 'Bengali Folk Responses to Hegemonic, Orthodoxy and Social Hierarchy: Jari, Baul and Maijbhandari Songs', presents a thematic survey of those beautiful folk songs focusing on their historical developments and the way they responded to the emerging scripturalism and orthodoxy in colonial Bengal. It has been shown how the bauls, the mendicant singers, speak out against social inequality and religious orthodoxy through their songs.

In Section II of the Book, entitled 'Aspects of Bengali Politics, Society and Economy', this volume explores subjects as diverse as the close connection between history and literature, Tagore's concept of nationalism and his liberal humanism, the central political and ritual space assigned to water in its various forms in social relations and Bengal's economy and its nascent banking system during the early days of the East India Company.

Without any sense of prioritising, we can here mention in particular two articles viz., 'Rejection of Nationalism and Much More: Reading Tagore's Nationalism 100 years on' by Anuradha Roy and 'Prosperity, Dominance and Social Mobility: Emergence of a Mobile Caste in Colonial South West Bengal' by Achintya Kumar Dutta, who is incidentally the editor of this prestigious and valuable publication. In his article on Tagore's notion of nationalism, the author shows how Tagore, while rejecting the conventional notion of nationalism, raises certain fundamental questions regarding civilization, society and human nature. The Western notion of nationalism, which India is imitating, is based on greed and inhumanity and it goes against liberalism,

nationalism and humanism. That is why Tagore warned that Eastern Nationalism must not imitate Western Nationalism. The author, in the present article also discusses the limitations of Tagore's ideas.

In the article on 'Prosperity, Dominance and Social Mobility: Emergence of the Middle Caste in Colonial South-Western Bengal', the author discusses the emergence of Ugra-Kshatriyas as a dominant caste which led to the process of Kshatriyasation among them. Their emergence as dominant caste in the agrarian and commercial sectors of Burdwan district was based not only on land-ownership but also their entrepreneurial activities in the non agricultural sector. Eventually they attended a ritual and caste status which was higher than that of their neighbours. This was how the process of social mobility occurred in India in the past. The process was slow but it gives the lie on the notion that caste-based society is a static society. This article is a living testimony of Srinivas's concept of Sanskritisation.

So overall, the present book gives a graphic and analytic account of development in Vaishnavism in Bengal and also the development in other fields of culture. As far as researches on Vaishnavism is concerned, we can mention here in this Journal of Asiatic Society, that researches on Vaishnavism were mostly done under the direct patronage of The Asiatic Society. In 1792, Sir William Jones, the Founder President of the Society, translated Jaidev's Gita Govinda and in 1854, Rajendra Lala Mitra edited Karnapura's 'Chaitanya Chandrodaya'. Continuing with that tradition, The Asiatic Society has continued to respond researchers on Vaishnavism and has valuable publications in the area of Vaishnav culture and history in Bengal. So, on behalf of The Asiatic Society, we are proud to mention that this book is a valuable addition to the field of cultural history. As it has been mentioned, it will interest scholars of history, sociology, culture studies and religious studies as well as appeal to all readers interested in Indian religious and cultural traditions.

A valuable feature of the book is the addition of various tables and figures by the authors while elaborating their points of view. That the book is a product of the historians and their analytical endeavour has been substantiated by the various statistical and analytical data compiled from hitherto unknown sources. That immensely adds to the value of this book.

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Books :
Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India,* London, 1933, 7.

Articles in Books :
H.V. Trivedi, "The Geography of Kautilya", *Indian Culture,* Vol. 1, 202ff.

Edited Volumes :
C.W. Troll, ed. *Muslim Shrines in India : Their Character, History and Significance,* Delhi, 1989.

Articles in Journals :
G. Hambly, "A Note on the Trade in Eunuchs in Mughal Bengal", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (hereafter *JAOS*), Vol. 94(1), 1974, 125-29.

Articles in Edited Volumes
P. Gaeffke, "Alexander and the Bengal Sufis", in Alan W. Entwistle and Francoise Mallison, eds, *Studies in South Asian Devotional Literature, Research Papers, 1988-1991,* New Delhi/Paris, 1994, 278-84.

10. Book Reviews must contain name of the author/editor and the book reviewed, place of publication and publisher, year of publication, number of pages and price.

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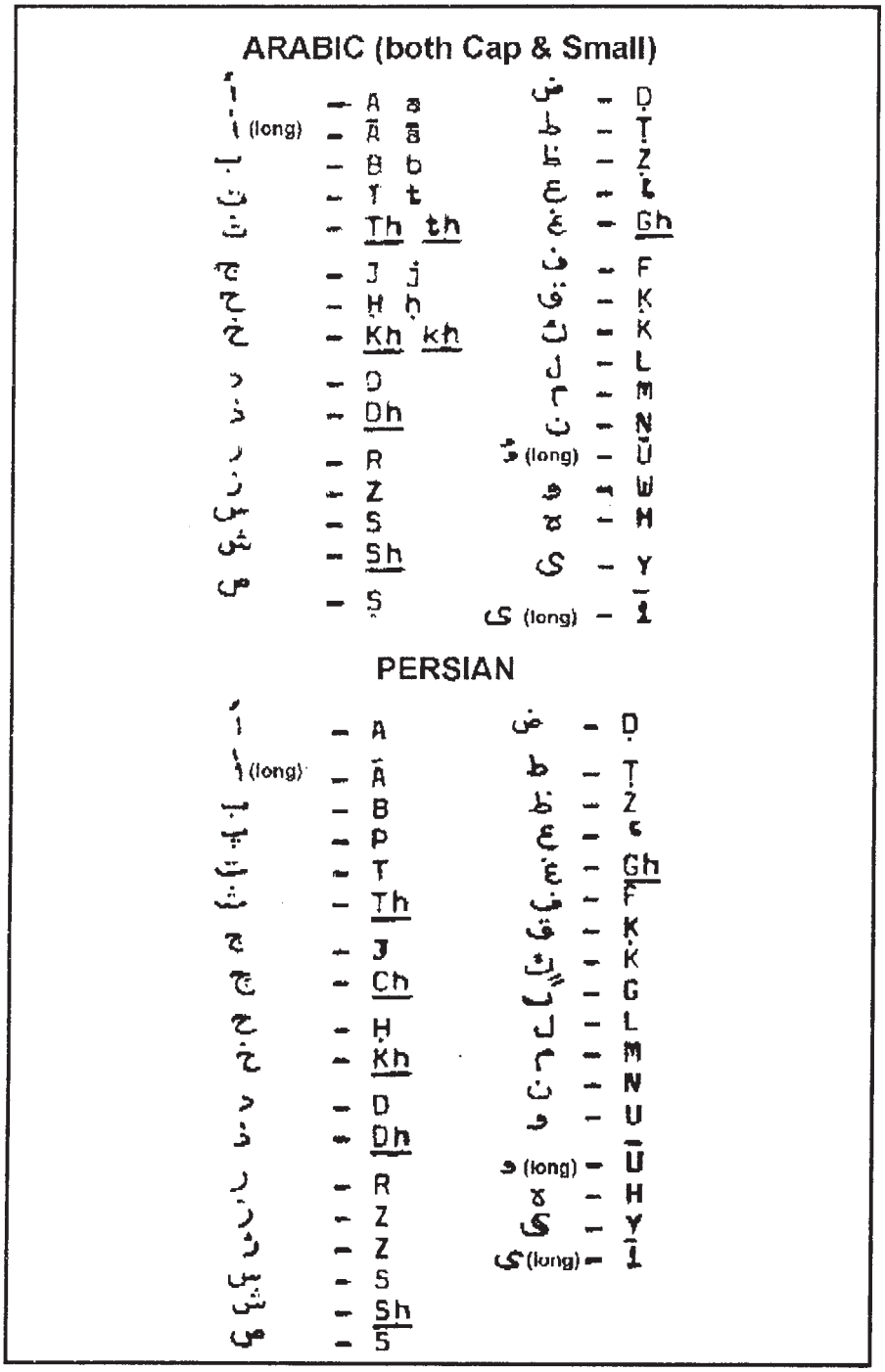
SANSKRIT

आ = ā	ई = ī
ऊ = ū	ऋ = ṛ
ङ = ṅa	च = ca
छ = cha	ञ = ña
ट = ṭa	ठ = ṭha
ड = ḍa	ढ = ḍha
ण = ṇa	श = śa
ष = ṣa	ं = ṁ

TIBETAN

ཀ = ka	ཁ = kha	ག = ga	ང = ṅa/nga
ཅ = ca	ཆ = cha	ཇ = ja	ཉ = ña/nya
ཏ = ta	ཐ = tha	ད = da	ན = na
པ = pa	ཕ = pha	བ = ba	མ = ma
ཙ = tsa	ཚ = tsha	ཛ = dza	ཝ = wa
ཞ = zha	ཟ = za	འ = 'a	ཡ = ya
ར = ra	ལ = la	ཤ = śa/sha	ས = sa
ཧ = ha	ཨ = a	6	


ARABIC (both Cap & Small)
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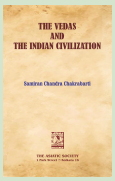

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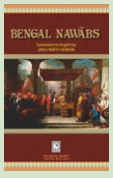

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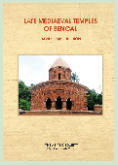

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Sir William Jones
on the publication of The Asiatic Society