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# A Lasting Vision

## *Dandin's Mirror in the World of Asian Letters*

*Edited by*

Yigal Bronner

# A Lasting Vision

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A LASTING VISION
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## *Dandin's* Mirror *in the World of Asian Letters*

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YIGAL BRONNER

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*keṭāa vaḻi vanta kēṇmaiyār kēṇmai*
*viṭāar viḻaiyum ulaku (Tirukkuṟaḷ 809).*

*Held dear in the world*
*are those who hold fast to a friendship*
*that never dies.*

*This book is dedicated to the memory of four dear friends:*

**P. B. Meegaskumbura**, *1938–2020,*
*part of the project from its earliest beginnings, coauthor of Chapter 3, always sharing his knowledge, insight, and wisdom with a smile and unbounded generosity.*

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*Classical Hindustani musician, connoisseur of Javanese literature, and a generous teacher, who passed away when this book, including Chapter 8 that he coauthored, was in production.*

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# A Note on Spelling and Transliteration

To make the volume as accessible as possible to nonspecialist readers (and in a volume of this scope and scale, probably everyone will be a nonspecialist reader of at least some part), it avoids diacritical marks in proper names. Names are given a spelling that best approximates their pronunciation—so, Dandin (not Daṇḍin), Shrivijaya (for Śrīvijaya), and so on. Chapter editors were free to replicate pronunciation in their language of expertise; hence Nrupatunga for Nṛpatuṅga in Kannada, but Bhartrihari for Bhartṛhari in Sanskrit. By and large, work names appear in the text in translation, with the transliterated original in parenthesis after the first appearance in every chapter and in an abbreviated form thereafter: so Dandin's *Mirror of Literature* is typically the *Mirror*, but the transliterated title or an abbreviation (e.g., *Kāvyādarśa* and KĀ) are used in footnote references. We likewise tried to minimize the use of technical terms in the original languages and preferred consistent translations wherever possible (again, with the transliterated term in parenthesis after the first appearance); the index refers to both translated and original items. When quoting from the different languages, of course, the relevant system of transliteration is used.

# Introduction

*Yigal Bronner*

## I.1. Traveling Poetics: Dandin and Aristotle

The protagonist of this volume, *The Mirror of Literature* (*Kāvyādarśa*), is a Sanskrit treatise on poetics that has had a remarkable career. Its author, Dandin, was a poet and scholar who flourished around the year 700 CE in Kanchipuram, South India, but his *Mirror* was read, commented upon, translated, and adapted well beyond his location in regions spanning much of Asia: in Sri Lanka to the south, in Tibet far to the north, across the Bay of Bengal in Burma and possibly in Java and Bali, in Mongolia, and perhaps even as far away as China. In South Asia, too, it solicited numerous responses in Sanskrit and in a variety of local languages, from Karnataka in the southwest to Bengal in the northeast, and from Kashmir at the northern edge of the Indian subcontinent to its Tamil home region in its southernmost tip. We know of a few texts that enjoyed this sort of transregional and multilingual circulation in premodernity—typically religious, scientific, or narrative works—but the list is not very long, and in the field of poetics, it is hard to think of many parallels.

One counterpart that suggests itself is Aristotle's *Poetics*. Sheldon Pollock has already depicted the *Mirror*'s phenomenal spread using Aristotle's work as a yardstick:

> Measured by the crudest quantitative standards—miles traveled, size of readership, kinds of language-traditions influenced, numbers of translations and adaptations and borrowings—Daṇḍin's . . . [*Mirror*] can be safely adjudged the most important work on literary theory in Asian history, and, in world history, a close second to Aristotle's *Poetics*.[1]

Below I address Pollock's key notion of the "Sanskrit cosmopolis" which provides a particularly valuable context for plotting the *Mirror*'s amazing success. For now, it may be useful to push his comparison further. The goal is not so much

[1] Pollock 2005: 637.

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to revise the ranking of the two treatises in world history, although a plausible case for such a revision could be made. Rather, my hope is that by extending its comparison with Aristotle's *Poetics*, we can highlight what was unique about the *Mirror*'s Asian story.

I begin by noting how short-lived the initial reaction to the *Poetics* was. It may come as a surprise to some today, but "after Aristotle's death, the *Poetics* disappeared almost without trace from the ancient literary scene," and although the text was copied into the medieval period, "the relatively uncomplicated stemma," harking back to a single manuscript, is one of several indicators "that there was little demand for the work in antiquity."[2] Only around the year 900 CE, more than 1,200 years after its composition, did the *Poetics* begin to attract some attention following its translation into Syriac and, through it, to Arabic.[3] Between the early tenth and the late twelfth century, it enjoyed a burst of commentaries and responses, primarily by Iberian intellectuals who wrote in Arabic. The dominant voices in this textual engagement were renowned thinkers such as Al-Farabi (872–950), Ibn Sina, or Avicenna (980–1037), and, most prominently, Ibn Rushd, also known as Averroes (1120–1198).

By this time, however, the *Poetics* had been severed from its original context, which led to "a process of assimilating Aristotle by misinterpretation."[4] Al Farabi and his followers had no access to the classical corpus to which Aristotle responded, and what is more, literature as they knew it, primarily in Arabic, possessed nothing comparable to the Homeric epic or the Greek tragedy which were so central to his analysis.[5] This stark divide has inspired a short story by Jorge Luis Borges, where he compares his difficulty in imagining Averroes's life to the latter's difficulty in understanding drama without ever setting foot in a theater.[6] The medieval Arab interpreters tended to see the *Poetics* as subsumed by the discipline of logic (where it supplied an "imaginative" variety to the menu of syllogisms), as a practical rhetoric, and as "the servant of philosophy."[7] In doing so, they ignored most of the technical aspects of the *Poetics*, creatively reinterpreted or sidestepped the key concepts of mimesis and catharsis, misunderstood or silently glossed over Aristotle's examples, and quoted things

[2] Hardison 1968: 57. Indeed, many scholars believe that a second part of the book was lost in antiquity, which is the premise of Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*. According to the standard account, Aristotle's entire corpus was scarcely in circulation during the centuries immediately following his death (Barnes 1997: 5–11). But even when it surfaced in Rome in c. 60 BCE, after a hiatus of 300 years, the *Poetics* remained largely ignored.

[3] Schrier 1997: 263, 275. The earliest translations are mostly lost.

[4] Hardison 1968: 59. According to a less judgmental view, however, "what we perceive as a fault and misunderstanding might and, in all probability, will have been read as a valid idea or argument by contemporary readers" (Vagelpohl 2008: 208).

[5] Tobi 2004: 325.

[6] Ben-Menahem 2017: 29–31.

[7] Hardison 1968: 60–61; Butterworth 1977: 38; Tobi 2004: 324.

he never said. Moreover, Hermannus, who in 1256 produced a Latin translation of Averroes, "did him a bad service . . . [as] his knowledge of Arabic was inadequate for his arduous task."[8] Thus the main Latin version of the *Poetics* between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries was a rather distorted rendition thrice removed.

Then there is the question of impact. The medieval response to the *Poetics* primarily took place outside poetic discourse and reflected concerns that were rooted in philosophy writ large. It was thus at best tangential to the rich production of literature in a variety of languages between Iraq and the Iberian Peninsula. "Arabic philosophers were interested in Aristotle's *Poetics* insofar as it relates to logic," and we will simply "not find an influence of the *Poetics* in the books of the Arab theorists of poetry."[9] It is only in the sixteenth century that the *Poetics* was retranslated directly from the Greek,[10] this time along with its accompanying corpus of poetry, epic, and stage plays. Aristotle's *Poetics* was finally relieved of the philosophical straitjacket, although even then, Averroes's authority as Aristotle's senior interpreter was respected throughout much of the century.[11] Beginning in the Italian Renaissance and continuing throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it helped inspire a wave of literary production in a variety of languages.

What can we learn from this story, admittedly painted in broad strokes? One possible lesson is that the ability of a work of poetics to integrate meaningfully into new literary cultures and, more importantly, its ability to help generate new expressive modes therein are the real measures of its impact, far more than, say, the mere tally of its adaptations, commentaries, and miles traveled. Moreover, if the story of Aristotle's *Poetics* in the medieval Mediterranean teaches us anything, it is the fact that for a literary theory to productively cross both cultural and linguistic borders, its new readers, adaptors, and translators must also have some proficiency in its original cultural milieu: its literature in different genres and its auxiliary cultural grammars. Judging by these standards, Aristotle's *Poetics* was not a particularly important work for the bulk of its history.

Now apply the same standards to Dandin's *Mirror*, beginning with the four main cases of translation and adaptation discussed in this volume: the Kannada- and Tamil-speaking regions of the Indian subcontinent, the island of Sri Lanka, and the Tibetan plateau. Here literary cultures received *Dandin's Mirror of Literature* relatively close to the time of its composition—the dates differ from

[8] Tigerstedt 1968: 8–9.

[9] Harb 2020: 75; Tobi 2004: 328. That said, the strange reading of Aristotle's notion of mimesis (Arabic: *muḥākāt*) did lead philosophers such as Ibn Sina and Ibn Rushd to fascinating theories on wonder and estrangement in literary language and rhetorical speech, as is shown in Harb's illuminating discussion (Harb 2020: 88–111).

[10] An earlier translation directly from Greek done in 1278 was by and large ignored.

[11] Hardison 1968: 73–77.

region to region, but the window between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries emerges as the pivotal period of Dandin-mania—while the original literary world that led to its composition was very much alive and directly accessible to the *Mirror*'s adaptors, translators, commentators, and some of their readers. Moreover, the *Mirror* came to these cultures not as a lone wanderer, but with a band of companions: poems, dramas, epics, and narrative works, as well as treatises on grammar, lexicography, and prosody. Most importantly, local mirrors modeled on Dandin's became highly influential texts in all of the receiving cultures—this despite the fact that all four cultures already possessed thriving literary traditions (even if sometimes little is left from the early, pre-Dandin phase), and in the case of Tamil, also a long-standing and well-attested tradition of poetics. Yet once they welcomed the *Mirror*, they changed course and produced new creative modes that thrived up to (and in some cases well into) the modern era.

Here in brief are the details. In the Deccan, the ninth-century *Way of the Poet-King* (*Kavirājamārgaṁ*), the earliest adaptation of Dandin's treatise, is the foundational and first extant text in Kannada, and its impact on later production in this still-flourishing literary tradition was formative: for centuries Kannada authors went back to the *Way* for ideas and inspiration. In Sri Lanka, another adaptation, *Poetics for This Language of Ours* (*Siyabaslakara*; hereafter: *Our Own Poetics*), probably from the tenth century, serves as the cornerstone of Sinhala literary culture and reigned indisputably in that position for almost a millennium. In Tibet, the first translation of the *Mirror* around the year 1200 inaugurated the dominant mode of literary production in the plateau; it also was one of a very small set of nonreligious texts studied by monks and laymen alike and, hence, formed the basis of a shared learned idiom for Tibet's literati. More than anywhere else, perhaps, the *Mirror*, through an industry of translations, commentaries, and the countless "example notebooks" written by its students, so dominated the literary landscape (and through it, also that of literary production in Mongolia), that in the twenty-first century, a group called "Third Generation" writers "explicitly identified itself in terms of a trenchant rejection of the *Mirror*'s poetics."[12] Even in Tamil, a language with a particularly strong history of poetry and poetics predating Dandin by centuries, the *Mirror* broke new paths. A series of translations and adaptations beginning in the twelfth century helped set in motion a new style of writing and, eventually, a new synthesis of the pre- and post-Dandin models.

The inspiring impact of Dandin was also felt in Southeast Asia. In Burma and other parts of the Theravada Buddhist world, a thirteenth-century Pali adaptation of Dandin's *Mirror* that was produced in Sri Lanka, *Lucid Poetics*

[12] Bhum and Gyatso, section 6.13 in this volume.

(*Subodhālaṅkāra*), was the main authority on poetic speech. It was repeatedly utilized by poets and scholiasts, and it was copied and studied constantly at least until the eighteenth century. A different case is presented by Java, where as early as the ninth century there arose a tradition in the model of Indic poetry that later migrated to Bali, where it thrived until the twentieth century. Here we have no record of any treatise on poetics that helped inaugurate this movement, but there is little doubt that such treatises were involved, and there is good reason to think that the *Mirror* was one of them. Finally, even in China, where literary production is vastly different from that of the subcontinent, and where there existed a robust tradition of literary theory long before Dandin, there is reason to believe that the *Mirror* has at least made a dent in pattern poems and patterns of poetic analysis in Chinese, and there is even a Chinese compendium on poetics by the Japanese scholar Kukai that, perhaps not coincidentally, is also named the *Mirror*.

Thus, unlike Aristotle's *Poetics*, Dandin's *Mirror* not only left a remarkable paper and palm-leaf trail extending over long stretches of time and covering vast tracts of land, it also helped stimulate a wave of creativity that continues to reverberate in some Asian languages to this day. The present volume is dedicated to this Asian story, so far never told. One main question shared by all the contributors of this volume is how to account for the *Mirror*'s amazing success: Why did Dandin's *Mirror* travel the way it did, why did it encounter so many open doors, and why, unlike Aristotle's *Poetics* (at least for the first 1,500 years of its existence), was it so productive wherever it went?

Before considering these questions in earnest, it may be useful to reject some all-too-easy answers. One such answer may be that the openness with which the *Mirror* was received in many parts of Asia had to do with the close affinity between its medium, Sanskrit, and the languages into which it was adapted. One might argue that its translators found it easy to read and understand it and the literature it strove to theorize, in stark contrast to Aristotle's *Poetics* and its adventures in Syriac, Arabic, and, through them, Latin. But no such direct linguistic affinity may be assumed in the cases discussed below. From the languages of the *Mirror*'s main translations and adaptations, Kannada and Tamil are Dravidian languages, Tibetan and Mongolian belong to the Tibeto-Burman and Mongolian language families, respectively, and only Pali and Sinhala are, like Sanskrit, Indo-Aryan languages. Of course, belonging to the same family is not the only indication of proximity between languages, and it is certainly true that Kannada and Tamil came to share a significant portion of their lexicon and imagery with Sanskrit, and the same is true of a language like Old Javanese. But this kinship is to a large extent the result of cultural connections mediated through works such as the *Mirror*. In short, the success of the *Mirror* cannot be reduced to the linguistic matter itself.

A second pseudo-explanation is religion: it is clear that Dandin enjoyed a place of honor in the Buddhist circuits, such as the Theravada cultures of Sri Lanka and Burma, the Tantric Buddhist cultures of Tibet and Mongolia, and the great academic centers in the subcontinent. But this is not exclusively the case, and the *Mirror* was popular among many other religious readers: Shaiva and Vaishnava Hindus, Jains, and others. Indeed, it may not be a coincidence that a Buddhist monk, a Jain, and a Brahmin were the three earliest commentators on the *Mirror*.[13] So while it is true that Dandin was the clear favorite among followers of the Buddha, this only begs the question: Why was a treatise on poetics whose author was a Brahmin and a follower of Shiva so warmly embraced by Buddhist thinkers?

Finally, another explanation might be that Dandin's *Mirror* was the foundational work on poetics in Sanskrit, and hence, the obvious candidate to spread its message. This is simply not the case. The discipline of poetics is unique among Sanskrit's knowledge systems in that it never possessed a foundational text of indisputable authority, and the *Mirror* was always, at best, one of several prominent texts on the shelf. Indeed, it was conceived as a rejoinder to an earlier such work, Bhamaha's *Ornament of Literature* (date unknown), and for a long time the two were understood and studied as a pair, at least among Sanskrit literati. Bhamaha's *Ornament*, too, was known to readers of Kannada, Sinhala, Pali, and Tibetan, but its impact in these cultures was not commensurate with that of the *Mirror*. Moreover, exactly coinciding with the centuries of its rapid spread, the *Mirror* was largely snubbed by literati in the Kashmir valley who, between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, consciously fashioned their region as the center of Sanskrit poetic theory. While the Kashmirians clearly studied the *Mirror* closely, it was not, by any means, their standard reference book.[14] Indeed, for them, their followers, and most modern scholars, the *Mirror* was entirely eclipsed by the works Kashmir produced during this period. Still, not one of these Kashmiri works ever enjoyed a success even remotely similar to that of Dandin's *Mirror*. This is certainly true outside the Indian subcontinent, where the Kashmirian authors on poetics were far less known, and even among Sanskrit literati in the post-Kashmiri era, when the *Mirror* enjoyed continuous study and admiration in many parts of the subcontinent.

So the *Mirror* presents us with an enigma: a treatise in Sanskrit that was particularly well received by readers of Kannada, Tamil, Sinhala, Tibetan, Mongolian, and Burmese; the work of a Shaiva Brahmin that was enthusiastically adopted by Buddhists and adherents of other religions; and a piece on Sanskrit poetics that had a huge transregional success despite ranking rather low in the minds of the

[13] As shown in Pollock 2005.
[14] See McCrea, section 5.4 in this volume.

doyens of this field. At the very least, this enigma calls for serious explanation. Let us first turn to existing scholarship, to see what answers it may offer.

## I.2. Dandin in the Mirror of Scholarship

With very few exceptions, the vast dimensions of the Dandin phenomenon have never been acknowledged, let alone documented. And since questions about it were never posed, no one ever sought to answer them. The field of Dandin studies, then, unlike that of Aristotle's *Poetics*, is in its infancy. Let me very briefly survey the relevant scholarship under the following headings: (1) studies of the *Mirror* itself by Sanskrit specialists; (2) studies of the reception of Dandin in some of its receiving literary cultures; and (3) Sheldon Pollock's work on the "Sanskrit cosmopolis."

Dandin's *Mirror* was first published in 1836,[15] but like many important Sanskrit works, it has received little sustained analysis. What were its aesthetic theory, methodology, and innovative goals? These questions were so far simply never asked. Moreover, since the early 1900s, almost every mention of Dandin's text in the next few decades was subsumed by a heated controversy concerning the relative chronology between it and Bhamaha's *Ornament of Literature* (first published in 1909).[16] And, in the second half of the twentieth century, after this debate gradually subsided unresolved, there was very little interest in the *Mirror*. The attention of those studying Sanskrit poetics was, by and large, directed to Kashmir, and between 1950 and the present, it is impossible to find a single monograph, or even a journal article, dedicated to examining the *Mirror* as a whole.[17] The picture is similar with respect to the responses to Dandin in Sanskrit: most of the *Mirror*'s commentaries remain unpublished and unstudied, and most of the other responses are uncharted.[18] One notable exception is Dragomir Dimitrov's work on Dandin's most important commentator, Ratnashrijnana, which I discuss below.

Specialists on literary cultures other than Sanskrit have in some cases noted and begun to explore the *Mirror*'s impact on those cultures. This is particularly true for Tibetan, where the contributions of Leonard van der Kuijp, Dragomir Dimitrov, Matthew Kapstein, and Jonathan Gold have opened an important

[15] For a brief summary of the history of printed editions and a complete and annotated list, see Dimitrov 2002: 3–6, 305–21.

[16] For a survey of this debate, see Bronner 2012.

[17] Two important near-exceptions are Eppling 1989 (a PhD dissertation that provides a translation of the *Mirror*'s second chapter, and whose introduction acknowledges the work's wide impact; 1393–94), and Singh 1979 (a monograph whose Dandin section does not focus on the *Mirror*).

[18] V. Raghavan's 1978 study of Bhoja is one important exception.

window into the reception of Dandin in this world and some of its main actors.[19] In Tamil studies, we have the pioneering work of Anne Monius, who took part in one of our group meetings and who sadly passed away prematurely in 2019.[20] I refer below to her insights on the connection between the adaptations of Dandin in Tamil and local Buddhist communities. For Kannada, we have the pioneering work of Sheldon Pollock, which led to his theorization of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, also discussed below. In addition, we are now fortunate to have a pair of learned English translations of Dandin's Kannada adaptations, the *Ornament of King Udayaditya* (*Udayādityālaṅkāraṁ*) and the aforementioned *Way of the Poet-King*, both by R. V. S. Sundaram, one in collaboration with Gil Ben-Herut, and the other with Deven Patel.[21] For Sinhala, we have another translation of a major adaptation, the *Compendium of Language and Its Meaning* (*Sidatsaňgarā*) by James Gair and W. S. Karunatillake.[22] And for Pali, there is the first study of another adaptation, *Lucid Poetics* (*Subodhālaṅkāra*), by Alistair Gornall.[23] Concerning the possible involvement of the *Mirror* in Old Javanese literature, there are the early insights of Hooykaas and, more recently, Thomas M. Hunter.[24] Mair and Mei's provocative essay postulating the influence of Sanskrit poetics in general and Dandin in particular on Tang China has received little follow-up or fine-tuning since its publication in 1991.[25] Note that there is also considerable scholarship in the many languages under discussion in this volume. For example, Dge 'dun rab gsal's history of Tibetan literature includes an extensive study of the *Mirror* in Tibet, and several conferences on the Mongolian commentaries on Dandin's *Mirror* had their proceedings published in that language.[26] To these one may add Wijayawardhana's important unpublished doctoral dissertation on the relations between Sanskrit and Sinhala poetics.[27] These contributions are crucial for future study. But not one of them sets out to tell the full story of the *Mirror* in any one region or literary culture, let alone across regions.

One exception worth separate notice is the work of Dragomir Dimitrov, a specialist of Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Pali. Dimitrov produced the only critical editions

[19] van der Kuijp 1996; Dimitrov 2002: 25–60; Kapstein 2003: 781–82, 788–89; Gold 2007: 117–19, 135–39.

[20] Monius 2000, 2001: 128–36.

[21] Pollock 2006: 338–56; Sundaram and Ben-Herut 2015; Sundaram and Patel 2016. Sundaram, Ben-Herut, and Patel have all participated in earlier meetings of our group, and Ben-Herut is also a contributor to this volume.

[22] Gair and Karunatillake 2013. See also Wright 2002 and Jaddipal, Viroopaksh V. 2010, for various aspects of the life of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka.

[23] Gornall 2020: 145–67. Gornall also has contributed to this volume.

[24] Hooykaas 1958: 40–46; Hunter 2001: 6, 9–10. Hunter is also a contributor to this volume.

[25] Mair and Mei 1991.

[26] For these, see Bhum and Gyatso, section 6.13, and Wallace, section 6.12, in this volume.

[27] Wijayawardhana 1963.

of parts of the *Mirror* on the basis of manuscripts in Sanskrit and Tibetan.[28] He also drew attention to a key player in Dandin's Asian story, Ratnashrijnana (hereafter Ratna), a tenth-century Sri Lankan Buddhist monk who traveled to mainland India, and whose commentary accompanied the *Mirror* in its travels in several Buddhist regions. Dimitrov's monumental *The Legacy of the Jewel Mind* reconstructs Ratna's life and scholarly career and puts forward a set of detailed and bold hypotheses about his contribution to the Sinhala literary and intellectual scene (some of which still await substantiation). Thus, his work stands out in being conducive to our understanding of the *Mirror*'s reception in Sanskrit, Sri Lankan, and Tibetan circles, and it has influenced several chapters of the current volume.[29]

Finally, this volume could not have been even conceived without Sheldon Pollock's key interventions. In a series of groundbreaking publications, Pollock charted two extended moments that tied together much of South and Southeast Asia. In the first such moment, around the middle of the first millennium CE, Sanskritic models of aesthetics and political imagination spread widely and came to enjoy a monopoly over an entire variety of expressive practices that shaped this "cosmopolis." In the second, around the end of the millennium, this world was decidedly vernacularized, which, among other processes, entailed a wave of literary creativity in languages from Kannada to Javanese and from Sinhala to Nepali, through internalization of and engagement with cosmopolitan models.[30]

There are at least three aspects of Pollock's theory that are particularly relevant to the story of Dandin's *Mirror*:

(1) What the cosmopolis shared was never an ethnic, political, or religious unity, but rather a set of ideas and practices concerning language, grammar, philology, and, indeed, literature (*kāvya*). These aspects, and especially the latter, are at the heart of the *Mirror*, and the fact that the cosmopolis was united by such notions enabled Dandin's adaptors and readers to engage with him in a way that Aristotle's medieval counterparts could not.

(2) The chronological coordinates in Pollock's account fit the contours of the *Mirror*'s story perfectly: the work was composed during the first extended cosmopolitan moment, and its wave of translations and adaptations coincided with the second extended moment of vernacularization. Pollock

[28] Dimitrov 2002, 2011.
[29] Dimitrov 2016. Dimitrov also presented his findings to the members of this group in 2015.
[30] Pollock 1998, 2003, 2006.

was the first to notice this coincidence and to allot the *Mirror* an important role in this process.[31]

(3) Pollock's theory was developed on the basis of the Kannada case, where the foundational statement, the *Way of a Poet-King*, is an adaptation of the *Mirror*, and the first one at that.[32]

## I.3. The *Mirror*'s Cosmopolitan Ways

Thus, the journey of this volume commences with Pollock's road map in hand.[33] But his metanarrative is not, in and of itself, an answer to the "why Dandin" question, or to its "how Dandin" concomitant.[34] Moreover, as the first in-depth case study of its kind, the exploration of the story of Dandin's *Mirror* promises to teach us a great deal about the cosmopolitan culture it helped promote. If it was, indeed, "the most influential textbook of its kind in the history of southern Asia," what cosmopolitan views and ideals about literature and society did the *Mirror* help shape, and what made it the most suitable candidate for this task?[35] Moreover, what can the engagements with the *Mirror* in different regions teach us about the uneven making of the cosmopolis and the various patterns of its vernacularization? And how can the extremities and confines of the *Mirror*'s voyages help us redraw the map of the cosmopolis? These are some of the questions that this volume sets to answer.

Let me illustrate some of the ways in which the *Mirror* and its reception can refine our understanding of this larger cultural formation. For Pollock, key to the cosmopolitan prestige of Sanskrit were (1) its grammaticality—the fact that it came ready with a sophisticated tradition of linguistic analysis that rendered it stable and rule-bound; (2) its transregionality—the fact that it was not a "language of a place," but the prominent member of a tiny club of "languages of the way," whose use and aesthetic ideals were not bound to any one region; and, relatedly, (3) its ready-made menu of regional varieties (with the southern Vaidarbha being a clear favorite), which—somewhat paradoxically, since "its regional differences were matters of style only, not substance"—allowed it to feel at home in any region.[36] Interestingly, on all three of these counts, the two earliest extant works on Sanskrit poetics, Bhamaha's *Ornament* and Dandin's *Mirror*, offer starkly different views.

[31] Pollock 2003: 43; 2006: 343–44.

[32] Pollock's reliance on the Kannada case has been the source of some criticism of his model of vernacularization (e.g., Novetzke 2016: 17–18).

[33] Bronner 2011: 541.

[34] Following Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.1 in this volume.

[35] The quote is from Pollock 2003: 43.

[36] The quote is from Pollock 2006: 346.

Take the question of grammar. For Bhamaha, not only should Sanskrit be rule-bound, but Panini and his most reliable followers alone can be trusted as its rule makers; no one else, certainly not the poet, is licensed to depart from their dictates and to set new norms. Dandin's approach is diametrically opposed. While he has utmost respect for the discipline of Sanskrit grammar, he never narrows it down to just its Paninian branch, and, on the key question of poetic license, he makes sure to turn his predecessor's words on their head: where Bhamaha said that forms not sanctioned by Panini are necessarily faulty, regardless of the use of the "learned," Dandin holds that "if favored by the learned, this is no flaw."[37] So while it is true that a notion of Sanskrit literature as bound by grammar is found in both treatises, it is quite a different notion nonetheless.

A similar point can be made about the cosmopolitan language club. Bhamaha allowed only three members in—Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsha—before shutting the door behind them. Dandin seems to follow him at first (although he adds a fourth variety of a "mixture" thereof). But he then pluralizes Prakrit based its ability to be formed on the basis of an open-ended list of local linguistic media, and ends up by stating, quite shockingly, that "all local languages (*bhāṣā*) as well as Sanskrit can produce all kinds of narrative literature."[38] So again, both texts share a worldview that restricts the entry of languages to the literary arena, but the criteria for admission differ, and so does the arena.

Then there is the fact that Sanskrit comes with a ready-made geocultural matrix that, while mapped onto specific regions of the subcontinent, can be repositioned elsewhere. For Pollock, the repurposing of Sanskrit's southern and northeastern ways (*mārga*) is a key move on the part of the Kannada literati, as explained in his discussion of the *Way*:

> The two *mārga*s, meant to reaffirm the limitless expansion of Sanskrit literature precisely by identifying all the quasi-regional varieties it can possess, have been congruously pasted onto the equivocally limited sphere of Kannada. Thus the category *mārga* appears to capture nothing of the actual character of the Kannada literature and to fit only to the degree that the vernacular enacted a kind of a precolonial mimicry of the dominant cultural formation.[39]

[37] Compare BKA 4.22 and 6.36 to KĀ 3.148. For more on this point, see Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume, and Kawamura 2017.

[38] Compare BKA 1.16 to KĀ 1.33–38. Pollock 2016: 90–92, 101, partly acknowledges Dandin's expansion over Bhamaha's but does not see it in the context of his overall open vision. See also Ollett 2017: 153. For a fuller discussion, see Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume.

[39] Pollock 2006: 348.

Whether or not one shares the concluding judgment—and Pollock himself later qualifies it with a crucial forward trajectory[40]—the theory of "ways" is another topic on which Bhamana and Dandin could not have disagreed more. As Pollock himself shows, Bhamaha denied the very existence of the ways and the means for distinguishing between them.[41] Dandin, by contrast, not only affirmed their validity (and structured his discussion of them as a rebuttal of Bhamaha, as the commentator Ratna shows[42]), he used the accepted list of ten poetic "virtues" to instill life breath (to use his own image) into them and revamp the "ways" in a manner that enabled, as Pollock also notes, their later assimilation in the Kannada *Way*.

Yet even to say this is only to scratch the surface of Dandin's re-theorization of the building blocks of Bhamaha's *Ornament*. The poetic "virtues" that now breathed life into his preferred southern way were matched with several alternative routes. First is the northeastern way which, although clearly not as favored as the southern, is not without virtue and hence also legitimate. Second are the poetic faults, which, almost without exception, can be turned into virtues if only the poet is a savvy traveler on "the path of flaws and virtues" (*mārgeṇa doṣaguṇayoḥ*), the method for navigating which Dandin takes pains to demonstrate. Then there is poetry's "difficult path" (*duṣkaramārga*), which includes a variety of intricate rhyming and "twinning" effects, palindromes, pattern poems, and riddles, all of which, we shall see, were crucial to the reception of Dandin's treatise wherever it went. Finally, there is the admission that there are countless literary ways, "as many as there are poets" (*pratikavi*). This statement seems to take into account not just the past and present but a future proliferation as well, just as Dandin does when he notes, by way of introducing poetic ornaments, the main topic of his book, that these "continue to be coined even as we speak."[43]

We can begin to realize why such practices and statements endeared the *Mirror* to many commentators, respondents, and adapters. We can also imagine why they were unsavory to others. The *Mirror* is not, by any means, a text promulgating a vernacular agenda. But one key to its vast transregional success is its open cosmopolitan vision, one that saw in the past and could see in the future a proliferation of directions: the coining of unauthorized grammatical forms (thereby authorizing them), the creation of (at least) narrative works in an

[40] Pollock later argues that the *Way* "is identifying and counterposing two modes of writing that constituted the foundational cultural choices for Kannada, indeed, for all South Asian vernacular literatures . . . [between] the aesthetic 'of the way' and 'of place'" (Pollock 2006: 350). For a rather different take on this supposed remapping of the cosmopolitan onto the vernacular, see Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2 in this volume, and also below.

[41] BKA 1.31–36; Pollcok 2006: 209–12.

[42] See Bronner and Cox, section 5.6 in this volume.

[43] The quotes are from KĀ 3.187 (*mārgeṇa doṣaguṇayoḥ*), 3.96 (*duṣkaramārga*), 1.101 (*pratikavi*), and 2.1 (*te cādyāpi vikalpyante*). They are all discussed in Chapter 1.

expanding list of languages, the invention of new figures, and the breaking of new poetic paths. This is one aspect of the *Mirror* that finds little to compare with in Aristotle's highly normative *Poetics*, or, for that matter, in any such other ancient work. One treatise that comes to mind, in this respect, is Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, which also has a lot to say on the topic of invention and which, like the *Mirror*, pays close attention to the different types of figures. But what may appear to a superficial gaze as a typology of figurative language in the *Mirror* is really almost the opposite: Dandin engages in a problematization of literary language and provides a bold investigation of it as an open-ended, generative system. Indeed, this unique theoretical openness, the main topic of Chapter 1, can and should be understood in social terms as well; below I discuss Dandin's religious tolerance as one of the reasons he was received across religious boundaries.

There are, of course, limits to his openness, both socially and aesthetically. Dandin's cosmopolitan view certainly depended on its being rule-bound: there was a method involved in turning flaws to virtues, and a principle on the basis of which one could coin new figures or use old ones in new combinations and contexts. But all these rules, methods, and principles come equipped with modes and ways of *overruling* or transcending them. There was thus a great deal of flexibility integral to every category, and there were many degrees of freedom in Dandin's vision, partly explaining why it was so expansive and lasting.

## I.4. Court and Monastery: The *Mirror* on the Ground

The current volume investigates more than just the cosmopolitan worldview itself. It also explores the mechanisms through which this vast world was formed and some of the differences between its literary cultures. In other words, an in-depth exploration of one case study like Dandin's *Mirror* across languages and regions may offer insight into the social and textual practices that helped create, expand, sustain, and ultimately remold the cosmopolitan order. In the following sections I deal with relations, mediations, and negotiations among texts; here I discuss the institutional and social settings they inhabited.

One of Pollock's most important insights is that royal courts played a crucial role in shaping the Sanskrit cosmopolitan culture and, later, those of its vernacular successors. In everything from the production of inscriptions, the sponsorship of cultural grammars (including lexicography, prosody, poetics, dramaturgy, musicology, and, of course, grammars per se), and the personification of the ideal of refined speakers and poets, kings and their courtiers were leading cultural agents. In a fascinating section of his *Language of the Gods*, Pollock documents what he aptly terms "grammar envy": the insatiable royal appetite for recruiting experts and producing titles in the language sciences—a grammatical arms race

that in a few cases even escalated to violent conflict.[44] Indeed, it was not uncommon for kings to be (or claim to be) leading grammarians, literary theorists, poets, literary connoisseurs, or all of the above. The most famous example is King Bhoja of Dhara (r. ca. 1010–1055), in whom all these identities were combined and whose name became synonymous with the ideal he embodied.[45] But there are many other such examples. For instance, the great cultural turning point that decisively put Kashmir on the map of cosmopolitan poetics is described by the Kashmirian chronicler Kalhana as the pet project of one king, Jayapida (r. 776–807): Kalhana depicts him as a disastrous military campaigner, who preferred scholarship to diplomacy and who was so engrossed in his academic work that "his fame in his capacity as pandit was greater than in his capacity as king."[46]

In many ways, the story told in this volume corroborates Pollock's thesis. Dandin himself was likely the recipient of support from the Pallava kings of Kanchipuram, and royal eulogy is one of the two main poetic topics the *Mirror* imparts by example (the other is love; some would say "courtly love").[47] And as Pollock has already observed about the *Way of a Poet-King*, both the title and the authorial practices of this Kannada adaptation of the *Mirror*—much of its teaching is attributed to King Nrupatunga—indicate beyond doubt that the composition of this work was directly connected to the Rashtrakuta court.[48] This volume supplies a great deal of additional evidence from the Asian travels of Dandin and other peripatetic poetic models. In Sri Lanka, some of the main translations and adaptations of the *Mirror* are likewise the product of courtly culture: *Our Own Poetics*, like the Kannada *Way*, identifies a king as the author (his name is Salamevan), and the *Compendium of Language and Its Meaning* reports that its author composed it at the request of Patiraja, a minister who protects the whole of south Sri Lanka.[49] In the Tamil-speaking region, the first theoretical text to incorporate Dandin's poetics, the eleventh-century *Heroic Chola Grammar* (*Vīracōḻiyam*), was written at the behest of the Chola king Virarajendra whose "pure Tamil" it purports to document. Indeed, the work's title could be translated as referring to this very king: "The Work of the Heroic Chola."[50] In Tibet, the introduction of Indic culture and the adoption of Buddhism were from the start state operations, and the first complete translation of the *Mirror* into Tibetan by Shongton in the late thirteenth century was sponsored by Pakpa, an

[44] Pollock 2006: 162–88; the section on grammar envy is 177–84.

[45] Pollock 2006: 179–81; see also Cox, section 5.8 in this volume.

[46] RT 4.91; Pollock 2006: 171–73; Bronner 2013.

[47] There seem to be references to the Pallava kings and their city in the *Mirror* (KĀ 2.277, 3.114), pointing to his court connections (Bronner 2012: 75–77).

[48] Pollock 2006: 343.

[49] See Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.2, and Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6, in this volume.

[50] *Vīracōḻiyam* 7.7. See also Monius 2000: 2, Clare and Shulman, section 4.3 in this volume. For a discussion of this king's court culture, see Cox 2016: 60–69.

imperial preceptor of Kublai Khan.[51] In Burma, an early record of the *Mirror* is in a fifteenth-century stone inscription that hails a local lord and his wife, both related to the family of the kings of Ava, who donated several manuscripts of Dandin's treatise and various commentaries thereon.[52] In China, during the last quarter of the tenth century, a wave of translations of Buddhist texts from India took shape at an institute founded by the second Song emperor, Taizong, precisely for this purpose.[53] Many more such examples could be supplied.

But the picture is much more complicated. Kings and their courtiers were not alone in these efforts. For example, Andrew Ollett and Sarah Pierce Taylor believe that the plotting of the cosmopolitan "ways" onto the various regions of Kannada speakers was meant, at least in part, to make "space for the sensibilities and competencies of the 'people of the country' within the exclusive space of the court." Indeed, if the *Way*'s polyphony included not only the authorial pair of King Nrupatunga and his court poet, Shrivijaya, but also more distant authorities, then its titular metaphor also alludes to the creation of "a kind of 'highway system' that integrates the court and country, and their respective ideals and practices, into a single space."[54] Or take a contemporaneous example from Java, thousands of miles to the east: the *Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa*, the first known literary work in Old Javanese, is an adaptation of another cosmopolitan model from Sanskrit, Bhatti's *Killing Ravana* (knowledge of Dandin's *Mirror* may have played a role in this adaptation). It was sponsored by the ruling families of Java at the time, but as Thomas M. Hunter suggests, the work was likely led "by learned preceptors of the Atimarga form of Shaivism," to whom the text alludes.[55]

If in the Kannada and Old Javanese cases we know little for certain about those additional agents and their possible affiliations, other regions offer ample information. The international network of Buddhist monasteries, for one, was clearly key to the spread, adaptation, and promulgation of the *Mirror*. In Sri Lanka, monastic colleges (*mula*) were the major site for these activities from the very start. I will say more shortly about Ratna's tenth-century Sanskrit commentary in this connection, but consider, for now, the aforementioned thirteenth-century *Compendium of Language and Its Meaning*, the poetic section of which primarily draws on Dandin: as noted, it was composed at the behest of a powerful minister, but the author was the head of an important monastic college.[56] Or take the first engagement with Dandin in Tamil, the just-mentioned *Heroic Chola* and its commentary, composed by Perundevanar (late eleventh century) and Puttamittiran

[51] Li, section 6.5 in this volume.
[52] Kirichenko, Lammerts, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.2 in this volume.
[53] Li, section 9.6 in this volume.
[54] Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2, in this volume.
[55] Hunter, section 8.2, in this volume.
[56] Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6 in this volume.

(early twelfth), respectively. Both intentionally catered, as Anne Monius has convincingly shown, to a Buddhist readership familiar with the corpus of hymns to the Buddha and the stories of his former births. While Monius cautions that we do not know for sure whether the pair of author and commentator represented "monastic voices," the evidence from other regions suggests that this is entirely plausible.[57] Indeed, it is possible that the Tamil title of the work, *Heroic Chola*, is a pun that refers not just to the heroic Chola king whose language the work claims to describe, but also to the *Cōḻiya* monastic community that had ties in both South India and Sri Lanka.[58]

The most extensive evidence for the massive role of monastic institutions in the story of the *Mirror* comes from Tibet and Burma. The text was first introduced to Tibetan readers in the form of a partial translation made by the head of the all-important Sakya monastery, and from then on, the vast industry of translations, adaptations, commentaries, example notebooks, and other scholarly and literary engagements with the *Mirror* were often the work of monks, including various Dalai Lamas. And while in Tibet the *Mirror* was not an official part of the monastic curriculum (and was perhaps taught outside the monastery),[59] in Burma there is ample evidence not only that it sometimes became part of the curricular requirements, but that it was even included, however tangentially, in the Buddhist canon accepted there.[60] Indeed, virtually all of the royal donations of manuscripts of the *Mirror*, its commentaries, and its accompanying texts from Burma were made to monastic libraries, including the donative stone inscription mentioned above. There is also occasional evidence that translations of the *Mirror* were included in the Buddhist canon in Tibet and Mongolia.[61]

What is more, local engagements with Sanskrit poetic models in the Buddhist communities mentioned so far (and also in Thailand, Mongolia, Java, and China) did not happen in isolation. The different Buddhist communities were connected through various nodes, where the *Mirror* was copied and studied and knowledge about it was exchanged. One such central node is Kanchipuram, Dandin's hometown, and a powerful monastic center according to the detailed account of Xuanzang, a Chinese monk, scholar, and traveler who visited India in the 630s and 640s, just decades prior to the composition of the *Mirror*. By his account, the Kanchipuram Buddhist scene consisted of hundreds of monasteries and ten thousand monks, all of which make it quite likely that Dandin

[57] Monius 2000, the quote is from p. 18.

[58] David Shulman, personal communication, October 2020. For a discussion of this monastic group, see Monius 2001: 124–26. Note that Puttamittiran is likely an ordination name.

[59] Bhum and Gyatso, section 6.7 in this volume.

[60] Kirichenko, Lammerts, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.2 in this volume.

[61] See sections 6.5 (Li) and 6.12 (Wallace), respectively.

himself was familiar with this cultural world and tried to cater to it.[62] It is in this context that, several centuries later, Dandin's Tamil adaptations were studied and perhaps also produced. Moreover, right at the time when the *Mirror* was being adapted into Tamil, Sinhala, and Pali, there was a constant back-and-forth movement of Sinhala monks between the island and the subcontinent, and Kanchipuram was either their destination or at least their first stop.[63] (There was also a constant cultural and intellectual exchange between Java and the monastic centers of Kanchipuram, another reason to suspect that the *Mirror* was known in the Indonesian archipelago.[64]) Sri Lanka, in turn, was a preferred destination for Burmese monks in which to study and receive their ordination. It is in the context of this repeated movement and intellectual exchange that the thirteenth-century Pali *Lucid Poetics*, an adaptation of Dandin composed in Sri Lanka, was introduced to Burma, where it became a foundational text that, like the *Mirror* itself, enjoyed a semi-canonical status.[65]

Kanchipuram was not alone. The northern monastic-academic centers of Nalanda, Vikramashila, and others were key nodes of exchange for monks traveling to Tibet, China, and northern Burma, just as they were connected to those of Kanchipuram and the south. We have a fairly accurate picture of the itineraries of monks who traveled between these monasteries and centers in Tibet, China, and central Asia, and some of them carried copies of the *Mirror* with them. Indeed, both Bhamaha's *Ornament* and Dandin's *Mirror* were studied in Nalanda and Vikramashila, quite likely together, and there are some clues that at least one early commentary on the *Mirror*, by a certain Vagishvarakirti, was composed in Vikramashila. We know for certain that copies of the *Mirror*, together with this commentary and another by Ratna (who may have also attended Vikramashila—more on this shortly), were then taken from Vikramashila via Jagaddala to Tibet by Shakyashri Pandita.[66]

I do not want to belabor this point, which many will find obvious. Nor do I wish to postulate, by my emphasis on the Buddhist monastic network, a kind of a court-monastery divide.[67] Clearly, there were often close relationships

[62] Xuanzang's account is cited in Monius 2001: 6. See Wright 1996: 48–54, 59f., on Dandin's familiarity with Buddhist literature. On the *Mirror* as catering to Buddhist readers, see Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume.

[63] Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.1 in this volume.

[64] See Creese, section 8.6 in this volume.

[65] See in this volume, Gornall, Meegaskumbura, and Hallisey, section 3.6, Kirichenko, Lammerts, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.2, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3.

[66] Bhamaha is quoted by Shantarakshita and Kamalashila, who were based in Nalanda and who have visited Tibet. On the significance of this passage, and on studying both Bhamaha and Dandin together, see Bronner 2012: 89–90 and 80–86, respectively. On the Buddhist identity and possible Vikramashila ties of Vagishvara, see Bronner and Cox, section 5.5 in this volume. On Shakyashri's role in the story of the *Mirror* (via Sapan), see Gold 2007: 10–11.

[67] Here I follow the caution of Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura in section 3.6 in this volume.

between royal powers and the monastic orders, cases in which people shifted from one to another,[68] and, in Tibet, the Gelukpa monastic order was beholden to the government of the Dalai Lama after the Great Fifth. In fact, as the evidence overwhelmingly suggests, the transmission, reproduction, translation, adaptation, and other scholastic engagements with the *Mirror* and its accompanying texts were typically a joint project of royal agents and of others, be they Shaiva preceptors, Jain literati, country poets, or, indeed, Buddhist monks. But the fact that these agents interacted and collaborated does not mean that they necessarily inhabited the same spheres, and to fully understand the story of the *Mirror* in Asia, and thus to fully appreciate the mechanisms of cosmopolitanism and subsequent vernacularization, we have to explore the role not only of kings such as Nrupatunga, Virarajendra, and Kublai Khan, but also of agents inhabiting adjacent spheres, such as Perundevanar, Sangharakkhita, and Sakya Pandita.

To realize the exchange between the two related worlds, consider the case of Ratna, who, after Dandin, is perhaps the most important person in the story of the *Mirror* in Asia. A native of Sri Lanka, Ratna, like many Sinhala monks, traveled to the mainland, and his first stop, like many other compatriots, may have been the monastic center of Kanchipuram. He likely attended Vikramashila, as suggested by his initiation name.[69] He emerges out of historical mist in 944, when he leaves a signed and dated inscription in Bodhgaya, sponsored by a certain King Tunga. As Whitney Cox and I argue in this volume, what both the inscription and the commentary he composed on Dandin's *Mirror* share is the attempt to inhabit two interlocking but not overlapping worlds: that of the royal court, the literary salon, and the nondenominational culture of Sanskrit, on the one hand, and that of Buddhist monasticism and Buddhist lay readership, on the other. Indeed, the location of this inscription, on the outer door of a Buddhist monastery, and its twofold praise, of the sponsoring Hindu king (in the first part) and of the Buddha (in the second), are iconic of Ratna's liminal status between the two worlds.[70]

We do not know for sure whether Ratna, who composed his commentary during his stay in the subcontinent, later returned to the island.[71] But we do know that his commentary was widely circulated in and through the monastic network of India, that it was repeatedly read and studied in Sri Lanka, and that

[68] One fascinating example mentioned in this volume (in several sections of Chapter 3) is that of Totagamuve Sri Rahula, one of the greatest writers in Sinhala, who was the head of the island's Sangha, but who grew up in the court.

[69] Dimitrov 2016: 85–90.

[70] Bronner and Cox, section 5.5, in this volume. For the full edited text of the inscription, a translation, and a discussion, see Dimitrov 2016: 19–48.

[71] Dimitrov 2016: 203 assumes he did.

it was likewise transmitted to Tibet, where it was also studied.[72] By contrast, his work enjoyed far less success in non-Buddhist circles, and there is no concrete evidence that it was available to Dandin's readers in Kashmir or to his great synthesizers in the plains and in the south, King Bhoja and Appayya Dikshita (although the possibility cannot be ruled out). This discrepancy between Ratna's pivotal role in Buddhist circuits and his marginal role outside them is another indication that the different spheres of the cosmopolis intersected but did not necessarily overlap.

In short, notwithstanding Pollock's critique of the tendency to reduce vernacular literary production to religion,[73] it is clear that religious institutions played a crucial role in the *Mirror*'s career throughout Asia. In fact, it may be more accurate to speak of two (or more) partly overlapping cosmopolitan vernacular orders, one connected to the court, with its ethos of political praise poetry (and veiled biting criticism), courtly love, and refined speech, and the other centered in the monastery, whether Buddhist, Jain, or Hindu, or still other institutions that are less visible in the historical records, such as the literary reading circle or nonroyal assembly (*sabhā*).[74] Moreover, it is crucial to understand that while kings exchanged models and ideas about poetics and grammar, through imitation and competition, the exchange in the network of Buddhist monasteries was at least as intense. The current volume thus offers, through the example of Dandin, a nuanced view of cosmopolitan structures on the ground.

I would like to conclude, for now, with two observations. First, the movement of ideas and models in the cosmopolis was not just "vertical," that is, from Sanskrit to vernacular cultures, but also "horizontal," that is, between the different vernacular cultures (say, from Tamil to Sinhala, or from Sinhala, via Pali, to Burmese, or from Tibetan to Mongolian), partly through interregional religious networks and with the help of vernacular polyglots.[75] Second, this movement was also partly due to the vital mediation of a liminal space between religious and more "secular" (or, rather, nondenominational) institutions, which Dandin's *Mirror*, a work that consciously catered to different communities and heralded a uniquely open vision, was so successful in inhabiting. And as I show below,

[72] For Sri Lanka, see Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6 in this volume; for Tibet, see Bhum, Gyatso, and Li, sections 6.5–6.6 in this volume.

[73] For this critique, see Pollock 2006: 423–36. And indeed, even Novetzke, who offers a different case of vernacularization in Maharashtra, where *bhakti* was far more important than the court, does not wish to completely disagree with Pollock's corrective (Novetzke 2016: 16–17).

[74] In this connection, it is interesting to investigate the yet unexplored curricula of Hindu *maṭha*s, such as those of Shrivaishnava Qualified Nondualists (*Viśiṣṭādvaita*) in South India. One of the great builders of this network, Vedanta Deshika, certainly knew the *Mirror* and cited it in his works (see Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume).

[75] An example of such a polyglot is again Sri Rahula (Hallisey 2003: 694).

equally important to this success were the various partners and intermediaries that facilitated Dandin's acceptance in different destinations.

## I.5. Fellow Travelers and Fast Friends: Dandin in Company

Wherever he went, Dandin never traveled alone. In their introduction to a volume dedicated to global intellectual history, Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori argue that such a history "might be less concerned about establishing the parameters of a global scale of inquiry . . . than about insisting on an implicit holism according to which cultural, social, linguistic, civilizational, or geographical boundaries are always occupied by mediators and go-betweens who establish connections and traces that defy any preordained closure."[76] This advice rings especially true of the story of Dandin, and, again, the comparison with Aristotle is illuminating. His *Poetics*, too, was transmitted to medieval Europe in the company of other texts (most notably his own) and with the help of authoritative intermediaries. But beyond the aforementioned crucial absence of Greek poetry and drama from the package that accompanied the *Poetics* before the Italian Renaissance, we are now in a better position to realize the difference between Dandin's and Aristotle's all-important middlemen, such as the near contemporaries Ratna and Averroes. Whereas the former comfortably inhabited two interlocking cosmopolitan worlds—that of the royal court, from which the *Mirror* emerged and which it helped shape, and that of the Buddhist monastery and academic elite, to which it also catered—the latter was firmly rooted only in the receiving cosmopolitan order of the medieval Mediterranean (itself consisting of the partly interlocking realms of Latin and Arabic), in the absence of a Hellenistic cosmopolis that had by then been irrevocably lost.

Beyond this general observation, it is crucial to understand that Dandin's company differed considerably from place to place. To begin with, the *Mirror* traveled with a band of other treatises on Sanskrit poetics, most prominently Bhamaha's *Ornament*, to which it formed a thorough response and, hence, a partner by design. We have evidence of familiarity with Bhamaha in Kannada, Sinhala, Pali, Tibetan, and possibly also in Old Javanese.[77] Interestingly, though, we see no obvious traces of Bhamaha in Tamil literary theory, where Dandin

[76] Moyn and Sartori 2013: 9.

[77] On Bhamaha in Kannada, see Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2 in this volume. For Bhamaha in Sinhala, see Dimitrov 2016: 152–53; and Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.2 in this volume. On Bhamaha in Tibet, see van der Kuijp 1986. On Bhamaha in Java, see Bronner and Creese 2019: 50, 52.

became synonymous with the analysis of ornaments, or in Burma, where Dandin arrived in very different company.

Among the other early texts on Sanskrit poetics, the lost work of Ramasharman, to which both Bhamaha and Ratna refer, was perhaps still in circulation in Sri Lanka at the beginning of the second millennium. But beyond an occasional reference, we hear very little about what he actually argued.[78] Likely more influential is Bhatti's *Killing Ravana* (*Rāvaṇavadha*), better known as *Bhatti's Poem* (*Bhaṭṭikāvya*). This work is a telling of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, wherein each chapter also teaches—by illustration—aspects of the Sanskrit cultural package, including, most prominently, Panini's grammatical sutras. The tenth chapter of *Bhatti's Poem* systematically illustrates poetic ornaments, following an order that was likely original to Bhamaha.[79] *Bhatti's Poem* traveled widely and was surely known in parts of the subcontinent. It was also the prime representative of the Sanskrit cosmopolis in Java, where it supplied the foundation to the first extant literary work of Old Javanese, now known as the *Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa* (OJR). To the extent that Dandin's *Mirror* and Bhamaha's *Ornament* were also involved in mediating this knowledge, as I believe they were, they served as companions to the OJR.[80] The distribution of poetic manuals in this world was neither random nor inconsequential. It would thus seem that the choice of *Bhatti's Poem* in Java is related to a long-standing preference for practice (*prayoga*) over theory (*śāstra*) as the primary medium for pedagogy and the preservation and expansion of knowledge.[81]

Just as significant is the choice to avoid certain texts. I find it meaningful that as a rule, later treatises, especially those composed in Kashmir between the ninth and the twelfth centuries, the formative period in the history of Sanskrit poetics, hardly play any role in our story. This despite the fact that chronologically speaking, Anandavardhana and his followers could have easily reached Tibet, Sri Lanka, or the Tamil south before, along with, or shortly after Dandin's arrival.[82] Indeed, Ratna, who accompanied Dandin to Sri Lanka and Tibet, was already familiar with Anandavardhana's work and even cites it, albeit briefly and dismissively.[83] One could say that once a literary culture received the *Mirror* along with some specific combination of companions, it rarely felt the need for

[78] On Ramasharma in *Lucid Poetics*, see Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6 in this volume, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3. On his mention in Ratna's commentary apropos of riddles, see Bronner 2012: 83.

[79] I believe that Bhatti's work is later than Bhamaha's and prior to Dandin's, but his relative chronology still awaits serious research.

[80] See Hunter, sections 8.2 and 8.4 in this volume.

[81] See Creese, sections 8.6–8.10 in this volume.

[82] Indeed, we know that Anandavardhana's and Abhinavagupta's works on poetics did travel all the way to the Tamil south (Cox 2011: 187–91), for instance, but their impact there is not commensurate with that of Dandin's.

[83] See Ratna on KĀ 2.203, and Bronner and Cox, section 5.6 in this volume. The Sinhala *Our Own Poetics* may have had a similar approach (Wijayawardhana 1964).

a cosmopolitan update. A minor exception here is the work of Vamana, which was likely known in Sri Lanka and possibly also influenced the author of the *Ornament of Udayaditya* in Kannada.[84] That Vamana's work was sometimes consulted for updates also seems meaningful; of all the Kashmiri authors, he follows the *Mirror* most closely.[85]

While later works of Sanskrit literary theory were often ignored by the receiving cultures, this is not necessarily so for other sorts of texts, as the case of Dharmadasa proves. Dharmadasa was a Buddhist author who lived in Bengal about two centuries after Dandin and whose work was also studied in local Buddhist monastic academic centers such as Vikramashila. His *Adornment for the Connoisseur's Mouth* (*Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*), an anthology of riddles, was likely composed in response to Dandin's important discussion of the *prahelikā* variety of riddling.[86] Dharmadasa quickly became Dandin's main companion in Bengal, and from there, the two traveled together to Burma. In this new milieu, it is hard to come by a mention of the *Mirror* without the *Adornment* tagging along, and the two works, together with the *Kātantra* grammar, became a closely knit unit that embodied Sanskrit learning and entered as such into the monastic curriculum. Indeed, of the three, the *Adornment* was probably the more influential and lasting in Burma.[87] Again, the choice is meaningful, if, as seems likely, Dharmadasa was a pair to Dandin by design. It likewise reflects the peculiarities of the Burmese monastic culture: a preference for riddling as a pastime (by no means unique to Burmese monks), a wish to incorporate Sanskrit treatises on refined speech but not necessarily in the service of producing poetry, and the habit of putting them, instead, to new and surprising uses in exegesis and ritual (more on which below). And here, too, the choice of what *not* to read along with Dandin is equally meaningful. Ratna's commentary, which in Sri Lanka and Tibet is Dandin's closest companion, is absent from the records in Burma, perhaps as part of a general disinterest in the models and methodology of the *Mirror* and its place in the context of Sanskrit literary theory proper (two main preoccupations of Ratna's commentary); Ratna's grammatical treatise, by contrast, does surface in Burma.[88]

[84] Vamana is mentioned as one of the authorities on poetics in the tenth-century Sinhala *Our Own Poetics*, and even if the reading in that verse is dubious (as argued in Dimitrov 2016: 150–51), there are signs that his treatise was known to the work's author (Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.2 in this volume). There is also a reason to believe that it was known to the author of the Pali *Lucid Poetics* (Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6). For a possible trace of Vamana in the *Ornament of Udayaditya*, see Ben-Herut, section 2.5. For Vamana's influence on Keshava Bhattaraka's late-medieval Sanskrit commentary on the *Mirror*, see Cox, section 5.9.

[85] On Dandin's influence on Vamana, see Bronner, section 5.3, and McCrea, section 5.4, in this volume.

[86] For a discussion of Dharmadasa, his background, and his relation to Dandin, see d'Hubert, section 7.4, in this volume.

[87] On this joint package, see Kirichenko, Lammerts, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.2 in this volume.

[88] On Ratna's grammatical treatise as known to Dharmasenapati (thirteenth-century Pagan), see Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3 in this volume.

The Burmese case is interesting because here we can demonstrate that Dandin arrived via two different routes, and that on each he traveled in different company. The western route led from Bengal, and here Dandin was primarily accompanied by Dharmadasa and the grammarian Sharvavarman (in addition to works on Sanskrit lexicography, prosody, and other sciences). The southern route led from Sri Lanka and included hardly any works in Sanskrit. Here Dandin is found insofar as he is incorporated into Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics* and travels in the company of other learned Pali authors. The two Dandins, one entering from Bengal and the other from Sri Lanka, occasionally crossed paths when commentaries and subcommentaries on *Lucid Poetics* used citations from the *Mirror* to clarify their root text, in what Aleix Ruiz-Falqués aptly calls a "camera obscura effect."[89] Something similar happened when Dharmadasa's categorization of riddles and Dandin's *prahelikā* were discussed and combined in Pali adaptations of the *Adornment*.[90]

Another important contingent of Dandin's caravan is *kāvya* literature. Consider the classic courtly works which Dandin knew and alluded to indirectly, such as the canonical poems and plays of Kalidasa, Bharavi's *Arjuna and the Hunter* (*Kirātārjunīya*), or the prose art of Subandhu and Bana, in Sanskrit, and the short poems of Hala's anthology (*Sattasai*) and Pravarasena's grand poem *The Building of the Bridge* (*Setubandha*), both composed in Prakrit. This prized corpus, along with the Sanskrit epics and a variety of other titles, traveled throughout subcontinental India and beyond, including the islands of Sri Lanka, Java, and Bali. But here, too, there are potential variations that merit further research. For example, it would seem that Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger* (*Meghadūta*) was particularly popular in Sri Lanka (where it helped inaugurate a popular genre of messenger poems) and perhaps also in Tibet, where it is "the *only* piece of non-Buddhist Sanskrit formal poetry (*kāvya*) to be translated . . . prior to the modern era," whereas his *Lineage of Raghu* (*Raghuvaṃśa*) was more influential in Java and Bali, although far more research is needed to determine the distribution pattern of this corpus.[91]

A second literary package consists of Buddhist poetry and literature with Buddhist themes: Aryashura's *Garland of Previous Births* (*Jātakamālā*) in art prose mixed with verse; Ashvaghosha's highly influential *Life of the Buddha* (*Buddhacarita*), a grand poem only partly preserved in Sanskrit; Matricheta's hymns; poems by Dharmakirti; Harsha's stage play that features the self-sacrifice

[89] Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.5 in this volume.
[90] See d'Hubert, section 7.4 in this volume.
[91] On Dandin's method of alluding to this earlier corpus, see Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume. On the *Meghadūta* in Sri Lanka, see Hallisey 2003: 723 and Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.7 in this volume; in Tibet, see Epperson 2017 (the quote is from p. 2). For the *Raghuvaṃśa* in Javanese, see Hunter, section 8.2, and Creese, section 8.6, in this volume.

of Jimutavahana (*Nāgānanda*); and other such works. This corpus was studied in the Buddhist monasteries of Kanchipuram in the Tamil-speaking region and in Vikramashila and Nalanda in Bengal, and from there, along with Dandin's *Mirror*, it traveled to and was translated in Sri Lanka, Tibet, Java, and Cambodia, among other destinations. This entire package was also translated and retranslated by Chinese literati, where we find occasional traces of Sanskrit literary theory, possibly including Dandin. In the case of China, we do not know of translations of texts on Sanskrit poetics; rather, they seem to have been transmitted indirectly and orally, in conversations with knowledgeable informants.[92]

As we should by now expect, the distribution of the different literary corpora did not necessarily overlap. In the extreme case of China, we find a full set of the latter Buddhist corpus and virtually nothing of the former. In Tibet, too, with the exception of Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger*, it is Buddhist poetry that was received and translated. In Sri Lanka, by contrast, the picture is far more balanced, as it was in many parts of the subcontinent, and also in Java. Here, again, Ratna stands unique, and his commentary shows him to be entirely at home in both literary sets.[93]

Speaking of literature, one notable absence in the package that accompanied Dandin's *Mirror* is that of Dandin's own literary output, and primarily his prose art. There is no sign in Kannada, Sinhala, Pali, or Tibetan textual engagements with Dandin that the authors were familiar with Dandin's prose. Again, a notable exception may be Ratna, who in a passing comment seems to betray awareness of Dandin as a poet as well.[94]

Finally, a major contingent of the company in which Dandin made his rounds consists of works dedicated to the different sciences of language, primarily grammar, lexicography, and prosody.[95] All three sciences are assumed and alluded to by Dandin, and as he surely anticipated, his work was transmitted and studied together with them.[96] This is a vast and complex field. For one

[92] See Li, Chapter 9 in this volume.

[93] See Bronner and Cox, section 5.5 in this volume.

[94] On Dandin's poetry, see Bronner, section 1.1, in this volume. On Ratna's awareness of Dandin's reputation as a poet, see his comments ad KĀ 1.50 (cited in Bronner, section 1.4, note 103). I am grateful to Whitney Cox for first pointing out to me the significance of this passage. Bhoja, too, was aware of Dandin's literary works (see *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* 494, cf. Bronner 2010: 100–1).

[95] Other disciplines were also represented: dramaturgy, treatises on erotic life, astral sciences, Dharma discourse, Vedic hermeneutics (Mīmāṃsā), language philosophy, etc.

[96] Among his references to metrics, Dandin dubs prosody "the knowledge that is a raft for those wishing to sail the deep sea of poetry" (KĀ 1.12), mentions the basic division of meters to two types (1.11), refers to the types of meters with which various prose narratives are mixed (1.26–27), and defines the flaw of breaking the meter (3.152–58), which for him is the one flaw that is beyond redemption. He betrays his deep knowledge of grammar (and must have anticipated such knowledge from his readers) in his discussion of "seeing-as" (*utprekṣā*, 2.224–32), and in the aforementioned discussion of the flaw of nongrammaticality (3.148–51). As for lexicography, see, for instance, his digression where he provides a long list of vocabulary items that denote simile (2.57–65); see also the emphasis on the correct and incorrect use of words in the introduction (1.6).

thing, works on the different sciences existed in at least three cosmopolitan languages: Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Pali (and to a lesser extent also in Apabhramsha), not to mention treatises in the local languages, such as Kannada, Tamil, and Sinhala. For another, this was a wide library, and there was a significant variety within and between languages and domains. For instance, among the Sanskrit grammars there were treatises with a clear Vedic orientation) as in the case of Panini and his followers), and others whose approach was more nondenominational. There were differences in terms of the religious identity of the writers, some Hindu (Sharvavarman) and others Buddhist (Chandragomin and Kumaralata),[97] whereas among the Prakrit treatises, there was a strong contingent composed by Jain authors (most famously Hemachandra). Far more research is needed on each of these sciences in general, and on the way they crossed paths with Dandin's *Mirror* in particular. Here I will limit myself to four initial observations.

First, it is clear that Prakrit treatises were primary companions of Sanskrit poetics in regions where vernacular literary cultures either emerged or were dramatically reshaped as a result of their encounter with cosmopolitan models. This is true in at least three cases discussed in this volume: Kannada, Sinhala, and Old Javanese, literary cultures that, we now know thanks to the seminal work of Andrew Ollett, conceived and theorized themselves with the help of Prakrit models.[98] It may also be somewhat true in the case of Tamil and Tibetan.[99] The impact of Prakrit models seems particularly evident in the case of prosody. In Sinhala, the most basic prosodic form is the *gī* meter, which shares patterns with the Prakrit *gāthā*, and it was so well-known and ingrained that the author of the tenth-century *Our Own Poetics* felt emboldened, as Charles Hallisey and P. B. Meegaskumbura show, to open his work with a verse that playfully stretches its rules.[100] In Kannada, as Andrew Ollett and Sarah Pierce Taylor argue, the ninth-century adaptation of Dandin negotiates and re-theorizes metrical models from both Sanskrit and Prakrit that were likely already in place.[101] And here, too, the *Way* itself is mostly written in a metrical form that is based on a Prakrit verse form (in this case, the *kanda* meter, which is based on the Prakrit *khandaa*). In both regions there was a lively production of works on metrics in the vernacular,

[97] Pollock 2016: 169–72.

[98] On the existence of systematic theory in Prakrit, and on its importance in the self-theorization of vernacular literary cultures, see Ollett 2017: 144–46, and 161–68, respectively. We have no precise knowledge about the role Prakrit might have played in theorizing Old Javanese, but the verb for translation or vernacularization in this language is "to Prakritize" (see Creese, sections 8.6 and 8.10 in this volume).

[99] For the literary and theoretical influence of Prakrit on Tamil, see, for example, Shulman 2016: 188, 203. On Rinpungpa's notion that Tibetan is a form of Prakrit, see Bhum, Gyatso, and Li, section 6.6 in this volume.

[100] See Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.3 in this volume.

[101] See Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.4 in this volume.

and, in the case of Sri Lanka, later also in Pali. In Java, one of the few surviving early theoretical texts is the *Compendium of Meters* (*Wṛttasañcaya*) written by Mpu Tanakung in the late fifteenth century.[102] There is good reason to believe that Prakrit knowledge was just as involved as Sanskrit knowledge (if not more) in the growing vernacular industry of theorizing metrics.

Second, there seems to be a noticeable pattern of language distribution in the different paths the *Mirror* took. Pali treatises on grammar, prosody, and poetics went from Sri Lanka to the Theravada lands in mainland Southeast Asia. They did not travel much elsewhere, and they were not accompanied by similar works in either Sanskrit or Prakrit on this route. Sanskrit treatises on the language sciences, by contrast, circulated throughout the subcontinent, and from there to Tibet and Mongolia, Burma, Sri Lanka, Java, and other destinations, including, perhaps, China. So Sanskrit, as befitting Pollock's basic thesis, was clearly capable of spreading across regions and religious lines, even if unevenly, as the case of the Theravada cultures shows. Prakrit largely overlapped with the Sanskrit, but not fully, and it, too, had found pockets where it was dominant, such as among Jain literati. That Dandin's *Mirror*, either in the original or in translation, full or partial adaptation, commentaries, or even secondhand knowledge (as was probably the case in China) was found across these partly overlapping circuits testifies to the unique success of this work's open and lasting vision.

Third, we find a similar pattern of distribution among the Sanskrit grammars that accompanied the *Mirror*. The works that circulated within the Buddhist monastic network were primarily by Kumaralata, Sharvavarman, and Chandragomin, whereas Panini and his followers dominated elsewhere. I have already referred to Dandin's nonalignment policy on the question of which grammar to follow, and this likely helped him to bond with different grammarians. In lexicography, it is clear that *Amara's Lexicon* (*Amarakośa*) was in wide circulation, and that it, too, like the *Mirror*, catered, by design, to authors of various religious affiliation. It is not a coincidence, for instance, that the initial verses of the "heaven" section of this thematically organized thesaurus include both the different epithets of the Buddha and the names of the Hindu gods.[103]

A fourth and final observation again concerns Ratna's unique position as conversant with much of this cosmopolitan literature across linguistic and religious lines. As an expert on Sanskrit grammar, he unsurprisingly was familiar with both Panini and Chandragomin—he composed a commentary on the latter—but it is interesting that in his commentary on Dandin he also quotes from Harivriddha's Prakrit-language grammar of Prakrit.[104] He is also obviously

[102] See Creese, section 8.9 in this volume, for this and more such works.

[103] See esp. *Amarakośa* 1.1.11–57.

[104] For a reference to Patanjali in his commentary on Chandra's grammar, see Dimitrov 2016: 606. In his commentary on Dandin's discussion of *utprekṣā* (ad KĀ 2.225), it seems clear that he is familiar

familiar with Amara's thesaurus.[105] He is likewise versed in philosophy emerging from both Hindu and Buddhist circles: from among the former, he quotes the famous linguist and philosopher of language Bhartrihari and is familiar with the towering philosopher and Vedic exegete Kumarila; as for the latter, he cites the Buddhist logician Dharmakirti.[106] As already noted, he is also familiar with post-Dandin poetics produced in Kashmir (Anandavardhana), and in addition, refers to the erotic sciences (Mallanaga), dramaturgy, and so on.[107] Once again, Ratna's ability to inhabit multiple worlds made him Dandin's most suitable companion.

It is sometimes hard to draw the line between Dandin's fellow travelers, authors of treatises that accompanied the *Mirror* to its various destinations, and Dandin's newfound friends, who authored works in response to the *Mirror* once it arrived. For instance, from a certain perspective, Ratna's work may be seen as a local response to the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka, but to the Tibetans it already came as a cosmopolitan companion from afar, and the same can be said of the Pali *Lucid Poetics*, composed in Sri Lanka but then disseminated in Southeast Asia, or of Dharmadasa's tract that was composed in Bengal, where it thrived, and then traveled with the *Mirror* to Burma. Nonetheless, we should take a closer look at the works that responded directly to Dandin in languages that were more local in orientation: Kannada, Sinhala, Tamil, and Tibetan. Here, while the Kannada case was a bit of an outlier, we can see that one fast friend was never enough, and usually a whole family of texts—sometimes, as in the Tibetan case, a sprawling multigenerational lineage—grew out of the encounter. It is time for us to come to the fascinating question of the different strategies employed by these texts: how they positioned themselves vis-à-vis the *Mirror*, how they engaged it (for instance, what they edited out and what they added), and what we can learn from these complex patterns of textual filiation.

## I.6. A Study in Reflections: Engagements with Dandin's *Mirror*

Dandin's *Mirror* was reflected and refracted in numerous texts in a vast variety of genres, languages, and cultures. When approaching this uniquely complex field with its multiple textual behaviors and patterns, it may be useful to begin with

with Patanjali's discussion of Panini 3.1.7 (though he does not refer to him by name). For a quote of Harivriddha, see KĀ 1.33, cf. Ollett 2017: 153.

[105] Compare, for instance, his commentary on KĀ 2.183 to *Amarakośa* 2.3.3 (cf. Dimitrov 2016: 95).

[106] For Bhartrihari, see ad KĀ 1.104; for Kumarila, see Dimitrov 2016: 189, 619; for Dharmakirti, see ad KĀ 1.102.

[107] Mallanaga, the author of the *Kāmasūtra*, is mentioned ad KĀ 1.3; Bharata and Kolaha, authors on *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ad 1.31.

several general observations. First, the fundamental principle that no translation is ever faithful to the original (or vice versa, as Borges reminds us), no adaptation is ever simple, and no commentary is entirely bound by its root text. Second, that the textual strategies of the *Mirror*'s many mirrors often differ dramatically from region to region and language to language. Third, within this immense variation there are also recurring convergences, and some of the patterns hark back to textual practices and mirroring effects already employed by Dandin himself.

Let me begin with the basic question of how the different textual engagements with the *Mirror* position themselves with respect to Dandin and his text. There is a wide spectrum of choices here. The Tibetan literati embody one extreme. They explicitly portray themselves as reproducing Dandin's original: they set out to take the *Mirror*, a Sanskrit work from India, and translate, explicate, and capture its meaning most accurately. Whatever discord is found in the vast literature that grew around Dandin in Tibet is presented as stemming from differences in reconstructing the Indian master's original intention. On the other extreme, the Kannada *Way* never mentions Dandin. Its contents are presented as the contribution of its two main authorial voices, the king Nrupatunga and the literatus Shrivijaya, who presumably came up with it in response to the unique challenge posed by Kannada's poetic practice and nothing else.[108] True, they consulted a variety of "teachers of old," but they never acknowledge the fact that the *Mirror* is their dominant source, or that it even exists. In this they follow Dandin himself, who never names his most important predecessor, Bhamaha (or any other predecessor, for that matter). One could say that the authors of the *Way* are faithful to their source precisely by not acknowledging it.

A middle position can be found in the Sinhala *Our Own Poetics*. This work, which in many passages approaches a literal translation of Dandin's *Mirror*, never presents itself as such. Yet it mentions, right at the start, a list of sources and inspirations. It begins with three divinities, Brahma, Indra, and Brihaspati, and ends with three humans, Kashyapa, Vamana, and, finally, Dandin. Scholars debate whether "Vamana" is the correct reading or a scribal error for "Bhamaha."[109] Be that as it may, the fact that the list ends with Dandin is significant and comes close to acknowledging him as the main source, even if with a wink. Moreover, the fact that like all of Dandin's lists this one, too, ends with "and so on" can also be seen as a nod to the *Mirror*'s author. Dandin's adaptors, we will see, developed a whole set of such textual gestures.

Finally, consider the surprising gesture of the Tamil adaptation, an abridged translation of the *Mirror* that features the definitions of ornaments (a possibly

[108] See KRM 1.42 and the discussion of Ollett and Pierce Taylor in section 2.2 in this volume.
[109] SBL v. 2. See the discussion of Hallisey and Meegaskumbura in section 3.2 in this volume. For more on the Bhamaha-Vamana question, see also Dimitrov 2016: 150–51.

later textual layer provides the examples, some of them also directly inspired by Dandin). This work is explicitly called "*Tandi's [Dandin's] Figures*." But nowhere in it is there even a mention of the existence of the *Mirror* as a separate text, or even of a Dandin who is different from the author who opens the work by stating, in the first person, "Focusing my mind on the feet of Sarasvati, I will define the ornaments of versified poetry."[110] A naïve reader might come to the conclusion that *Tandi's Figures* in Tamil is an independent work, the Sanskrit *Mirror* its mirror, and the Sanskrit Dandin a conniving Doppelgänger.

One thing to keep in mind, though, is that the adaptations of the *Mirror* were not produced for a naïve readership. We can formulate this as a fourth general observation: while adaptors of Dandin, and of Sanskrit poetics more generally, clearly wrote for readers versed in the target languages (Kannada, Javanese, Sinhala, Pali, Tamil, Tibetan, Mongolian, and so on), they also assumed at least a contingent of readers who were conversant in Sanskrit and familiar with the originals. The Sinhala *Our Own Poetics* even states at the outset that it is meant for such "two groups of people."[111] It is for this bilingual readership that the adaptors scattered a variety of textual "Easter eggs" that give pleasure only to those well versed with the intertext.[112] In this, again, they were following Dandin, whose made-up illustrations were often little-disguised reworkings of classical passages (from Sanskrit and Prakrit, verse and prose) and, as such, offered added pleasure to readers who could recognize them.[113] The existence of such dual audiences, something that Pollock already predicted, is another key to our understanding of these texts.

A fifth general observation is about ambivalence. The two target audiences and the complex posturing of proximity and distancing from Dandin suggest a tension between the poles of attraction and resistance. It is obvious that the different literary cultures that responded to Dandin found his *Mirror* highly attractive; it is also clear that the importation of his method and tools was always met with some friction. Attraction manifested itself in a variety of modes, from the Tibetan admiration to the Tamil appropriation, and the same is true of resistance. In Tibet we find a hesitation about the non-Buddhist and often sensual nature of Dandin's illustrations, and whether it should even be allowed into the monastery; in Tamil, there is a friction between his system and the older poetic grammar based on landscapes. More generally, while all vernacular literary

[110] *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* 1: *cŏlliṉ kiḻatti mĕll iyal iṇaiy aṭi* | *cintai vaitt' iyampuval cĕyyuṭk aṇiye* ||. For more, see Clare and Shulman, section 4.4 in this volume. I am grateful to David Shulman for discussing this verse with me.

[111] SBL v. 3. For more, see Hallisey and Meegaskumbura in section 3.4 in this volume.

[112] I borrow this term from Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2 in this volume.

[113] See Bronner, section 1.1 in this volume.

cultures discussed in this volume tried to shape themselves according to the cosmopolitan models, they also constantly begged to differ.

With these initial observations in mind, let me turn to a set of more specific textual behaviors in the responses to Dandin. I offer three pairs of behavioral tendencies here: selectivity and retention, playfulness and distinction, and, finally, remodeling and repurposing. All of these are, in each adaptation and every literary culture, part of a holistic mode of engagement, but for analytical purposes, I discuss them separately.

Let me take up selectivity first. The tendency to leave out parts of Dandin's discussion is found almost across the board. Many of the *Mirror*'s adaptations did not deem it necessary to include all of Dandin's categories. Sometimes whole topics of analysis did not make it to the target language, and the case of Tamil is the most conspicuous. *Tandi's Figures*, for instance, was primarily interested in Dandin's analysis of ornaments, viewed as his most valuable contribution, and topics such as literary paths and virtues were dramatically truncated, and in the *Heroic Chola* they were simply left out. More typically, however, the selection was carried out among subcategories. Authors in all languages recognized Dandin's modular, metatropic method (discussed in section 1.3 in this volume), and, following him, classified subtypes of ornaments based on their combination with others. But they felt no need to include all of Dandin's subtypes or necessarily to provide the same ones. Instead, they often edited out subvarieties, and, in some cases, added others, thereby showing that they fully internalized and came to own the modular method. Thus, the Kannada *Way* settled for only five subvarieties of the ornament "dismissal" (Dandin had twenty), but considerably expanded the possibilities for the ornament "illustration," which was deemed useful for Kannada genres.[114]

Another area in which Dandin's adaptors were highly selective is his polemics with other Sanskrit authors, primarily Bhamaha. Whereas Sanskrit commentators such as Ratna went out of their way to name and cite the relevant intertexts and flesh out the disagreements, the authors of Kannada, Tamil, Sinhala, and Pali adaptations (and their commentators) had little interest in these, even as some of them were clearly conversant with Bhamaha. Such polemics were likely seen as Sanskrit-internal and, hence, of little relevance for the project of theorizing vernacular literatures. They tended not to cross the cosmopolitan-vernacular barrier.

While some passages from the *Mirror* were silently edited out, the decision to avoid others is acknowledged (although without mentioning the *Mirror* as the source) or even theorized. Theorizing the cosmopolitan-vernacular barrier is

[114] See Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2, and Ollett, section 2.3 in this volume.

not unique to the adaptations of Dandin, and it has been observed and discussed elsewhere.[115] The Kannada *Way* occasionally provides a direct meditation on the materials that should and should not be allowed to be borrowed from Sanskrit, from the level of phonetics up. It also occasionally reflects on the applicability of rules that come from treatises such as the *Mirror* (again, without naming its source). An example is the flaw of failing to align word boundaries with metrical caesuras. This is listed as one of the ten flaws in Dandin's *Mirror*. Dandin has already noted, as he did with nearly every other flaw, that breaking of the caesura may be permissible under certain circumstances.[116] But as Andrew Ollett and Sarah Pierce Taylor show, the problem with the prohibition of such enjambments in Kannada is that it limits the options for creating initial alliteration, the most prominent mark of versification in Dravidian languages. More specifically, it would turn alliterations that are based on words that do not align with metrical caesuras—a feature that is built in to the *Way* itself and many other Kannada works—into a flaw. Hence the author of the Kannada *Way* notes:

> When they were laying down the Regional,
> the teachers of the past liked to make a fault appear as a virtue
> in Kannada, and so they violated the caesura
> on the grounds that run-on alliteration was superior.[117]

What we see here, thanks to the analysis of Ollett and Pierce Taylor, is how the Kannada author uses Dandin's principle of turning a fault into a virtue in order to theorize the difference between the vernacular and the cosmopolitan and thereby reject, or at least dramatically restrict, the applicability of one of Dandin's rules to Kannada literary culture.

The flipside of selectivity is retention. Since translations and adaptations are supposed to retain elements from the original, this textual behavior may not seem particularly striking at first. Here, however, I would like to call attention to cases where the receiving literary cultures go out of their way to retain elements of the *Mirror* despite good reasons not to do so. Let me begin with the *Mirror*'s opening verse, a benediction which Dandin addresses to the goddess of speech, poetry, and the arts:

> May all-white Sarasvati—a goose
> in a forest of lotuses that are the mouths

[115] See, for example in the case of Telugu, Narayana Rao 1995 and 2003: 397–402. For a recent discussion of the case of Malayalam, see Goren-Arzony 2021.

[116] KĀ 3. 152–58.

[117] *Kavirājamārgaṁ* 1.75, translation by Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.4 in this volume.

of the four-faced Brahma—forever delight
in the lake of my heart.[118]

Several aspects of this verse merit attention, such as its tight set of metaphorical identifications (Sarasvati as a female goose, Brahma's four mouths as a bed of lotuses, and the speaker's heart as a lake), as well as its relation to Dandin's "pleasure principle."[119] Here, however, I would like to highlight the fact that it invokes Hindu divinities, and also the distinctive voice of an author whose wish is self-directed and who speaks in the first person.

One would perhaps assume that this verse, with its personal voice and exclusive religious pantheon, would be the first to be edited out, especially for those adaptors who wish to begin a work on poetics in their own name and authority and with an appeal to their own divinities. But this was not always the case. Both the Kannada *Way* and the Sinhala *Our Own Poetics* begin with close translations of Dandin's verse that retain all of its key elements (and add more, in significant ways); this despite the fact that the former never mentions Dandin and the latter writes for a strictly Buddhist audience.[120] The same textual behavior is also found in the many translations of Dandin in Tibet. In fact, there is a later discussion among the Tibetan commentators about the verse's implication for its speaker: some interpreters go as far as portraying Dandin's invocation in Tantric terms, as an act of visualizing or uniting with goddess Sarasvati; others, such as the Fifth Dalai Lama, find this reading ridiculously anachronistic. But however they understood it, this verse remained front and center among the all-Buddhist literati of Tibet.[121] Even texts that chose to move away from some aspects of this opening stanza nevertheless retained others. Thus, the Tamil *Tandi's Figures* opens with an invocation to the goddess of speech, still voiced in Tandi's (Dandin's) first person, even if the all-white goose and the four mouths of Brahma are edited out. Likewise, the Pali *Lucid Poetics*, which as we shall see replaces Dandin's illustrative verses with Buddhist poetry, nonetheless retained key elements of the opening verse: the author, Sangharakkhita, still invokes Vani, or Speech, who now emerges not from Brahma's but from the Buddha's mouth, and he still asks Her to gladden his mind, this time so that he may compose his work effortlessly.[122]

In short, this invocation of Sarasvati became something of a Dandin signature, kept in full or in part, regardless of the identity of the signatory. And

[118] KĀ 1.1.
[119] See Bronner, section 1.6 in this volume.
[120] See Ollett and Pierce Taylor, and Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, in sections 2.2 and 3.3, respectively.
[121] Bhum and Gyatso, section 6.10 in this volume.
[122] See Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6 in this volume.

as a signature, or set piece, it continues to reverberate. I will mention just two examples here, a millennium apart from one another. A relatively recent instance is penned by the Mongolian scholar Jamyangarav (1861–1917), who in the early twentieth century wrote an extensive commentary on the *Mirror* in Tibetan. This work discusses and criticizes earlier commentators and considers Mongolian poetry that was inspired by Dandin. In the context of criticizing his predecessors' understanding of Dandin's distinction between the different literary paths, the southern and the northeastern, he composes an example, which happens to be an invocation that calls upon Sarasvati to "pervade our mind-streams" and "and bring us to the extraordinary, supreme state."[123] More examples of authors asking Sarasvati to take pleasure in their hearts can be supplied in a variety of languages, typically retaining key elements and lexical items from Dandin's opening verse.[124]

In this large echo-chamber of Sarasvati invocations, one occasionally finds more direct and pointed responses. Consider, for example, the following verse by the poetess Vijjika (ninth-century?), who is known to us primarily from the anthologies:

> My name is Vijjika. I'm black
> as the petal of the dark lily.
> Dandin wrongly dubbed Sarasvati
> "all-white," just because
> he didn't know me.[125]

There are many things that catch our attention in this striking stanza: the clear voice of its female author, the confident self-reflection and expression of her subjectivity, and the almost modern-sounding reference to her skin color. It is also a good example of the tendencies of playfulness and distinction addressed below. But in the context of this discussion, it is an early sign of how Dandin's opening verse became an acknowledged trademark, to be retained, emulated, and played with. Indeed, note Vijjika's insertion of her name to this stanza: one clear sign of being a signature is that others add theirs to it.

A second, more general trend of retention can be seen in the domain of puns, extended repetitions ("twinning"), riddles (many of which related to

[123] See Wallace, section 6.12 in this volume.

[124] An example is the opening verse of the *Hammīramahākāvya* 1.1: *sadā cidānandamahodayaikahetuṃ paraṃjyotir upāsmahe tat* | *yasmin śivaśrīḥ sarasīva haṃsī viśuddhi-kṛdvāriṇi raṃramīti* ||. For a discussion of this verse, see Hens 2020: 49–56.

[125] SRBh p. 36 (under Vijjikā): *nīlōtpaladalaśyāmāṃ vijjikāṃ mām ajānatā* | *vṛthaiva daṇḍinā proktā sarvaśuklā sarasvatī* ||. See also Narayana Rao and Shulman 1998: 46. For information about Vijjika, her literary output, and possible dates, see Warder 1983: 421–28.

word sounds and wordplays), palindromes, and other phenomena that are extensively treated in the *Mirror*'s third chapter. It should be noted that in Sanskrit poetics, the *Mirror*'s display of these devices was given a cold shoulder: Dandin's thorough analysis of "twinning" is unmatched in later tradition, and most writers either remain silent or express a resounding aversion to the use of this device;[126] he is also the last mainstream theorist in Sanskrit poetics to address riddles. Thus Dandin's treatment of such topics is another trademark of his *Mirror*. Moreover, such devices are, at the very least, not easily translatable, and one could have expected many of them to be discarded as Sanskrit-specific effects that the vernacular cannot and need not reproduce.

Against this background, one can say without hesitation that the responses to Dandin are unanimous in their wish to join his journey on literature's "difficult path." In Tamil, the turn to Dandin is perhaps most noticeably associated with experiments with double entendre, "folding over" (*matakku*, the Tamil version of "twinning" or *yamaka*), and similar devices: Tandi discusses these extensively in what amounts to "the extension of 'folding' into twenty additional bitextual genres, which, with the possible exception of verses that avoid labial sounds . . . push the play of sound and sense to extreme limits."[127] Tamil poetry from the post-Dandin times exemplifies this trend most remarkably.[128] The same is true of the incredibly complex Pali invocations produced in Sri Lanka and Burma under the influence of *Lucid Poetics*.[129] There is even good reason to think that the Chinese revival of *Huiwen* pattern poems under the second Song emperor, Taizong, was inspired by Dandin's *Mirror* and its discussion of pattern poetry.[130] Speaking of pattern poems, the author of the Sinhala *Compendium* provides his credentials in a verse at the end of the poem, but the information becomes apparent only when the verse is rearranged in a wheel-pattern (*cakrabandha*).[131] In Java, too, even in the absence of an adaptation of Dandin, "twinning" was extremely popular from the get-go, and was even pushed to the

[126] For an analysis of Dandin's discussion of "twinning," see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume.

[127] Clare and Shulman, section 4.4 in this volume.

[128] See Clare and Shulman, throughout Chapter 4 in this volume. See also Clare 2017 and Shulman 2016.

[129] See Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.7, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3, on Sri Lanka and Burma, respectively.

[130] See Li, section 9.6 in this volume.

[131] Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6 in this volume. A similar argument has been made about the author of the Kannada *Way* (Timmappayya 1948: 92–93), although the reading and the interpretation of the verse in question have been doubted (Venkatachalasastri 1987: 438–39). I am grateful to Andrew Ollett for this reference.

extreme and further experimented with, and so were other "difficult" devices.[132] Many more examples could be supplied.[133]

A third pattern of retention is found in the secondary texts, such as commentaries produced around the primary adaptations of the *Mirror*. There is a recurring tendency among the exegetes who composed such works to bring their root texts closer to Dandin. The clearest discussion of these tendencies in Sri Lankan commentarial literature, in both Sinhala, Pali, and Sanskrit, is offered by Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura in section 3.6 of this volume (I provide some examples below). It is also clear that the commentators on the Tibetan translations of the *Mirror* often work with the purpose of retaining more of Dandin, or better capturing his intention, than their root texts.[134] Finally, we find some of the most intense Tamil engagements with Dandin in the commentarial literature that grew around *Tandi's Figures* and the *Heroic Chola*.[135] In short, even when the adaptors did not even acknowledge their dependence on Dandin, their exegetes often worked with an open copy of the *Mirror* at hand.

Consider Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics* as an example of all of the textual behaviors discussed so far. This Pali adaptation of the *Mirror*, like many other such texts, never mentions Dandin. Indeed, from all of the adaptors, Sangharakkhita seems to veer furthest away from his source. His plan to cater strictly to Buddhist poets leads him to reject the entire edifice of Dandin's illustration verses, a major component of the *Mirror*, and to replace his erotic and political poems with those that praise the Buddha. He also edits out of his text some of its signature elements, such as the mention of Sarasvati in the opening verse (instead he invokes Vani, or Speech), and the sections dealing with riddles and "twinning." This would seem to go against the general pattern described so far. But, in fact, Sangharakkhita closely follows the *Mirror* and tries to retain from it as much as he can. Consider, for instance, his illustrations of the ornament "citing another case" (*arthāntaranyāsa*): while verses about the Buddha replace those that describe the pangs of lonely lovers as amplified by the southern wind and the bees' buzz, Dandin's signature opening example is retained. In the original, this verse ("Look at the sun and the moon, / the celestial eyes of the world. / Even they go down. / There's no escaping one's fate.") was possibly meant as a political reminder that every rise leads to a fall. But a nearly verbatim Pali translation of this verse ("Even those who serve the world, / even the sun and the moon, / look: they, too, go down. / There is no escaping one's lot.") is now repurposed in

[132] See Hunter, section 8.4 in this volume.
[133] For examples from Tibet, see Bhum and Gyatso, section 6.8 in this volume. On the prime position given to the difficult ornaments of sound in the Kannada *Way*, see Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2 in this volume, and also below.
[134] See Bhum, Gyatso, and Li, section 6.6 in this volume.
[135] See, for instance, Chevillard, in press.

its new context, where the Buddha teaches the impermanence of everything by way of his own demise.[136]

Even more importantly, Sangharakkhita composed his own commentary on his *Lucid Poetics*, and in it, like other commentators, he brings the adaptation, in this case his own, back to the *Mirror* on every one of the topics mentioned above. In commenting on the opening benediction, he ties Speech, Vani, to Sarasvati, and apropos of literature's difficult path, he reintroduces both "twinning" and riddles and deals with them in some detail. Thus, the combined package of text and commentary includes all of the above-mentioned key elements of the *Mirror*, and later Pali commentators continue this tendency and bring the *Lucid Poetics* and its autocommentary even closer to Dandin.[137]

I have been using terms such as "translation," "adaptation," "selection," and "retention" to describe some textual behaviors of the responses to the *Mirror*. But it may be more useful to use Dandin's own terminology.[138] For example, the above pair of verses depicting the eventual demise of the sun and the moon, one in Sanskrit and the other in Pali, may better be thought of as an instance of "twinning": two (almost) identical iterations, each with a different meaning—one more courtly oriented and the other attuned to Buddhist doctrine. Once we begin to apply Dandin's analytical tools to the different engagements with his *Mirror*, several new avenues open up. Consider, for example, the category "distinction" (*vyatireka*), where a subject is compared to a standard in a way that indicates that it surpasses it. Dandin considerably expands the discussion of this ornament and uses it to showcase the vast potentials of playful interplay between the vectors of similarity and difference.[139] The pages of this volume are full of cases where the responses to the *Mirror* playfully and consciously call attention to the differences with their otherwise very similar source text and the ways in which they "out-Dandinize" Dandin;[140] in doing so, they create a kind of meta-"distinction," something already seen in the *Mirror*'s own engagement with its predecessors.[141]

Perhaps the clearest example of these complex textual tendencies comes from the very discussion of "distinction" in Tandi, himself a distinct twin of Dandin.

[136] Compare KĀ 2.170 (*bhagavantau jagannetre sūryācandramasāv api | paśya gacchata evāstaṃ niyatiḥ kena laṅghyate ||*) to Subodh 240 (*te pi lokahitā sattā / sūriyo candimā api /atthaṃ passa gamissanti / niyamo kena laṅghyate // hisahitasabbabyāpī*); for a discussion of this passage, see Bronner, section 1.4, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3, in this volume.

[137] See Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3 in this volume.

[138] See Bronner 2017; Ollett, section 2.3 in this volume.

[139] KĀ 2.178–196, cf. Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume.

[140] V. Raghavan first said of Bhoja that he "out-Dandins Dandin" (Raghavan 1978: 345, cf. Cox, section 5.8 in this volume).

[141] Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2 in this volume; for a similar point apropos of the Pali verse of the Burmese scholar Saddhammajotipala, see Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3.

As Jennifer Clare and David Shulman show, Tandi's discussion of this ornament not only pushes the device further, amounting to what they call "a 'distinction' with an extra shot"; he also uses it to call attention to the distinctiveness of Tamil poetry and poetics as a whole. The reader is referred to section 4.4 of this volume for a detailed discussion of this passage in Tandi; here I want to excerpt only the final example from it:

> First appearing, resplendent, on a high mountain,
> as great people sing praise,
> are those that drive darkness away
> from the world circled by roaring waves.
> One is the blazing sun, its singular disc bright
> as lightning. The other is Tamil
> that has no equal.[142]

I cannot discuss in full the many levels of signification that Clare and Shulman show to operate in this poem, and I will limit myself to three. First, it inverts the imagery of Dandin's final illustration of "distinction," which speaks of a special kind of darkness that renders the youth blind, and that neither luminous stones nor the sunrays can dispel.[143] The Tandi verse, by contrast, speaks of two powerful entities that do drive away darkness, "the blazing sun" and Tamil. Note that the idea that language can dispel darkness appears at the very beginning of Dandin's *Mirror*, in another signature verse, but here it is Tamil that is explicitly given this prerogative. So Tandi is using one verse from Dandin to invert another, and this complex intertextual engagement with the original substantiates its claim that Tamil, indeed, is distinct.[144] Second, the verse is an instance of a subtype of "distinction" called "substance," or *poruḷ*, as part of a fourfold division to "attribute," "substance," "class," and "action" that Dandin uses elsewhere, but not for "distinction." So again, Tandi uses Dandin's methodology from one part of the text to reconfigure another, and here the effect is particularly powerful. This is because *poruḷ*, as Clare and Shulman remind us, also refers to the Tamil system of poetic conventions, and so the name of the category also supports the general argument about the distinctiveness of Tamil. Thus—and this is the third point—although Tandi supposedly creates a distinction between the blazing sun and the Tamil language—the latter, it is implied, is even more blazing and dependable than the former in its ability to "drive darkness away"—a third,

[142] *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram* 2.24b. Translation by Clare and Shulman, section 4.4 in this volume.
[143] KĀ 2.195. Dandin's verse itself is a close reworking of a passage from Bana (*Kādambarī*, p. 221).
[144] KĀ 1.4.

unspoken standard is nonetheless loudly heard: the Sanskrit language, its own system of poetics, and its own Dandin. To me this meta-distinction is brought about most powerfully in the way the verse pushes "distinction" to what Clare and Shulman call its "outer limit," that is, the notion of singularity, by denying that Tamil can even be the subject of comparison.[145]

I could go on, but I think the point is clear enough: the responses to the *Mirror* engage with it by coming close and distancing themselves, by doubling and winning distinction, by pitting one piece of it against another, and so on. Moreover, this is done throughout with endless playfulness that takes a cue from the *Mirror* itself.

Finally, I do not want to create the impression that the receiving texts only work with Dandin's tools, however playfully and creatively. This brings me to the discussion of remodeling and repurposing, our last pair. Dandin's model is built around two foundational metaphors. One is that of the "ways": the southern and northeastern, the individual way each poet takes, the so-called difficult path, the "path of virtues and flaws," and so on. Another is the metaphor of the "body," consisting of a work's plot, genre, language, arrangement (verse and/or prose); it is this "body" that is endowed with ornaments, virtues, and flaws. These metaphors helped Dandin organize his materials in the *Mirror*. They partly overlap—perhaps not very smoothly, though Dandin seems undisturbed by this. For him, these foundational metaphors are just that, metaphors, basic and useful though they may be.

While all of the textual responses to the *Mirror* recognize the efficacy of these metaphors, they employ different methods of dealing with them. For instance, whereas the *Way* turns the "way" metaphor into the cornerstone of its theorization of Kannada, *Our Own Poetics* significantly downplays its relevance for Sinhala. Instead, it opts for a tighter conceptual framework of the "body" metaphor, in which the "virtues" are no longer analyzed through the scheme of the different regional paths (the opposition between the southern and northeastern is silently glossed over) but as the "life-breaths" (*prāṇa*; Sinhala: *paṇa*) of Sinhala poetry. Dandin has already used the term when saying that the "virtues" breathe life into the southern way.[146] But *Our Own Poetics* renames Dandin's "virtues" altogether: they are now the ten "life-breaths" that animate literature. With the body metaphor subsuming corporeal elements from that of the way, the text becomes far more consistent and rigorous.[147]

[145] This involves other tools from Dandin's original kit, including "inimitability" (*anavaya*). But, as Dandin's metatropic system itself shows, "inimitability" only makes sense by presupposing imitation, just as "distinction" presupposes simile.

[146] KĀ 1.42.

[147] This Sinhala development is also attested in comments by Ratna on this topic. For a discussion, see Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.4 in this volume. *Prāṇa*s (life breaths) are likewise

A further extension of the body metaphor is found in the work of some commentators on the *Mirror* in Tibet. The sixteenth-century literati Drangchen Lotsawa and Zurkharwa Lodro Gyalpo argued that the meaning of a poem, such as its promotion of the "four ends of men" already mentioned by Dandin, are the life-force or "soul" (*srog*) of the literary "body." As Bhum and Gyatso show, this conceptual innovation, which could well be independent of the postulation of suggestion as the "soul" of poetry in Sanskrit poetics, was met with opposition precisely on the grounds that it has no clear basis in the system handed down from Dandin. But it was nonetheless endorsed by powerful and authoritative voices within the commentarial tradition, most notably the Fifth Dalai Lama.[148]

While the notions of "life-breaths" and "soul" form an extension to Dandin's body metaphor, if not an attempt to improve and make it more coherent, some conceptual innovations seem to hark back to no precedent in the *Mirror* and to be based on local notions. An example from *Our Own Poetics* is the use of the cross-cut notion of *niyara*. As Hallisey and Meegaskumbura explain, *niyara* is a native Sinhala word that refers, among other things, to the bund that hems in the water in the paddy field: it thus constitutes the field, serves as its outer border, and is a necessary means for nurturing its crop. *Our Own Poetics* uses *niyara* to define a vast variety of topics and tools (body, ornament, specific ornaments, and so on), and is thus a new foundational metaphor of "our own" that is ultimately meant to naturalize normativity in Sinhala literature.[149] It may thus be said that *Our Own Poetics* is not so much a translation of the *Mirror* as it is a *niyara* for allowing elements of Dandin's poetics to flourish on Sinhala soil.

An even more extreme example of remodeling and, hence, repurposing, is found in the case of the Tamil responses. From all the receiving cultures discussed in this volume, Tamil alone had a distinct and sophisticated poetic theory that predated the composition and adaptations of the *Mirror*. This theory was built around a set of local landscapes (*tiṇai*) and figures, such as the paradigmatic *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, the oblique or hidden comparison that typically opens the ancient Sangam poems. Faced with two distinct poetic systems, that of Dandin's ornaments, on the one hand, and that of Sangam poetry's aestheticized geography and oblique insets, on the other, a major dilemma of the Tamil responders to the *Mirror* was whether to select one of the two systems, subsume one to the other, or create some sort of new synthesis. All these strategies were experimented with in different texts and times. Yet as Clare and Shulman show, the main thrust of Tamil thinkers was to create a novel synthesis that, in the end,

prominently highlighted in the opening verse of the *Life Breath of Poetry*, one of a few theoretical texts we have for Kakawin (see Creese, section 8.10 in this volume).

[148] Bhum and Gyatso, section 6.11 in this volume.
[149] Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.4 in this volume.

was an independent system in its own right.[150] In this sense, as the title of their chapter suggests, works such as *Tandi's Figures* and the *Heroic Chola* were not so much adaptations of Dandin's *Mirror* as they were exercises in "folding over" (*matakku*), the Tamil equivalent of "twinning." And as in the case of "twinning," where the iteration of the phonetic twin generates an enhancement of meaning and beauty, the folding of one Tamil poetic system into another, or their simultaneous presence in a single poem, is seen as capable of intensifying and deepening expressive possibilities.

Many more instances of such "folding over" can be demonstrated in other language traditions discussed in this volume. I will give one last example that is highlighted as such in the Kannada *Way*: the author of this text groups together the different sound effects that Dandin discusses separately, in chapters 1 and 3 of his *Mirror*, explaining that "according to the analytical system of the pleasant king Amoghavarsha [Nrupatunga], the supreme ornaments are distinguished according to the categories of sound and meaning." He notes that the devices now grouped together are all "ornaments of sound" (for Dandin, some were classified "virtues," while others formed part of the "difficult path"), and adds:

> Moreover, to describe it in my own way, the ornaments of sound
> should be considered first among these two.
> They are more important since they are unique
> and form the basis for the meaning.[151]

So here we have it all: recategorization and reorganization of devices that are inherited from Dandin, along with additional novel ones, basing oneself on local authority ("the analytical system of the pleasant king Amoghavarsha," and "my own way"), creating a new theory on the relative importance of sound and meaning in literature, and foregrounding this theory as breaking new grounds.

Finally, a word about repurposing, or putting the *Mirror*'s tools to new uses: it may not shock us that Sangharakkhita in his *Lucid Poetics* exemplified all of Dandin's categories with poetry lauding the Buddha. Dandin, after all, may have well anticipated such usage. But that ornaments such as "condensed speech," as Dandin defined it, could be used to express veiled criticism of China's Cultural Revolution is quite beyond what anyone in the early eighth century could have foreseen.[152] And what is more, the *Mirror* was not used only to help generate poetry on any odd topic; it was also put to extra-literary uses. Its definitions

[150] Clare and Shulman, Chapter 4 in this volume.
[151] *Kavirājamārgaṁ* 2.2–3; translation by Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2 in this volume.
[152] Bhum and Gyatso 2017: 178–81.

and illustrations ended up serving a variety of purposes from purely philological (in illustrating a lexicographical or exegetical point) to purely philosophical (in supporting an argument about the open-endedness of knowledge, for instance).[153] There may have likewise been ritual and theoretical-methodological uses for the *Mirror* and its companions (in Burma and China, respectively).[154] In this, the *Mirror* is not necessarily unique. Many texts that live long enough tend to change purpose and roles in new times and contexts, and I have already noted that Aristotle's *Poetics* was subsumed by logic in medieval Europe. But there is something unique about the living presence of the *Mirror* in distant parts of Asia, and it is not by coincidence that three of the volume's chapters end with personal statements of Sinhala, Tibetan, and Burmese speakers who describe the ongoing presence of Dandin and his companions in their lives.[155] And as I suggest below, the *Mirror*'s longevity itself may have been a part of its own lasting vision.

## I.7. The Vision of *A Lasting Vision*

But before that, a few words on this volume. Piecing together the story of Dandin in Asia requires a team of scholars: no one person can have expertise in all the languages and cultures that welcomed the *Mirror*, and in every one of them, the multiplicity, longevity, and complexity of the materials call for collaboration. This volume is thus the product of a group effort. Its nine chapters were written by twenty-five contributors in a variety of combinations. Indeed, with the exception of the last, all the chapters are multi-authored. More important yet is the method of collaboration. This volume is the result of a decade-long series of meetings, some of them consisting of only the core contributors, while others expanded to include many additional scholars, who shared their knowledge with us and helped us shape this project. Most importantly, the group that produced this volume convened for an extended period of five months (September 2015–January 2016) in Jerusalem, as the guests of the Israel Institute of Advanced Studies (IIAS). Here we sat and read together the *Mirror*, along with its many mirrors. It is this unique opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the materials and with one another that eventually yielded this volume, even as more materials, ideas, and colleagues emerged since this formative period of residence at the IIAS.

[153] For philology in the uses of the *Mirror*, see Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3 in this volume; for the philosophical point on openness, see Bronner, section 1.2.

[154] For ritual, at least in the case of Dharmadasa's text, see d'Hubert in section 7.4. For Dandin's methodology as helping writers such as Kukai shape his, see Li, section 9.5 in this volume.

[155] See in this volume, sections 3.8 (Hallisey), 6.13 (Bhum and Gyatso), and 7.5 (Ruiz-Falqués).

The volume is primarily organized by region or language. After the first chapter that introduces Dandin, his *Mirror*, and some of its conceptual and methodological innovations (Chapter 1), come chapters about the engagements with Dandin in Kannada (Chapter 2), Sri Lanka (Chapter 3), and Tamil (Chapter 4). These are followed by a study of Dandin's place within the Sanskrit tradition itself (Chapter 5), and the story of his reception in Tibet and Mongolia (Chapter 6), Burma and the Bay of Bengal (Chapter 7), Java and Bali (Chapter 8), and, finally, East Asia, with an emphasis on China (Chapter 9). As can be seen, some of the chapters are more regionally oriented and hence multilingual: Chapter 3 deals with materials in Sinhala, Pali, and Sanskrit; Chapter 6 with Tibetan and Mongolian; Chapter 7 with Burmese, Pali, Sanskrit, and Bengali; and Chapter 8 with Javanese and Balinese. Others are more focused on one language, such as Kannada (Chapter 2), Tamil (Chapter 4), Sanskrit (Chapter 5), or Chinese (Chapter 9), although often from a multiregional perspective.

In other words, the chapters are considerably different from one another. The difference is partly determined by variance in the engagements with the *Mirror* across regions, and partly by the methodology and focus of the different authors. For a combination of both, consider the distinction between Chapter 4, which is built around a set of close readings of Tamil poems that employ and extend Dandin's figuration, and Chapter 7, which provides a meticulous study of the material and social presence of the *Mirror* in libraries and curricula in Burma. Similarly, some chapters concentrate primarily on theories of poetics (Skt. *śāstra*) in a given culture (as in the case of Kannada in Chapter 2), while others on the poetry itself (*prayoga*; as in Java and Bali in Chapter 8). Some deal with many direct engagements with Dandin (Tibet and Mongolia, Chapter 6), while other address what must have been faint reflections and oral renditions of its contents (China, Chapter 9).

There are, however, many aspects that all the chapters share. Most importantly, they each provide an alternative history of one literary culture or tradition. The history is alternative in that it follows its subject matter primarily through the lens of the *Mirror* and the engagements with it. Obviously, this is not the only way to tell the literary history of, say, Kannada, Tibetan, or Tamil. But, as the volume shows, doing so affords a new perspective and many insights in each case. Consider, for example, Chapter 5, which provides a detailed account of Sanskrit poetics, the tradition to which Dandin presumably "belonged," with the *Mirror* at its center. In standard accounts of this tradition, Dandin is usually marginalized as a minor predecessor of Anandavardhana and his followers in Kashmir. But once the focus shifts to Dandin, his precursors, and his followers, an altogether different discipline emerges, with its distinct foci and intertextual networks. The same is true of every other chapter in this volume.

That said, the division into chapters along linguistic and regional lines is not without its pitfalls. One problem is that South and Southeast Asia never consisted of well-defined regions with monolingual communities. Another is that the story of Dandin is, as already noted, interconnected, with ties between Kannada and Javanese, Tamil and Sinhala, or Pali texts from Sri Lanka and those produced in Burma. A volume organized along regional lines will inevitably tilt the picture to focus on what is unique to any one region and its ties with the Sanskrit models. I hope that we have succeeded in mitigating this problem to some extent by the very nature of our collaborative group work (the fact that we all shared our work as it was being produced, and that some of us contributed to more than one chapter), and by our extensive system of cross-referencing. In many ways, however, this volume is hopefully just the beginning of a field of Dandin studies, and we anticipate that future studies will improve upon our shortcomings.

Speaking of shortcomings, this volume is not a complete statement. Dandin's *Mirror* has played an important role in literary cultures that are not discussed in its pages, such as Brajbhasha (old Hindi). One of the founders of this tradition, Keshavdas, partly based his influential *Kavipriyā* on Dandin's *Mirror*.[156] A full documentation of the means of interaction and the overall effect of this intertextual engagement still await study. Another absence is that of Dandin the poet, and especially of his art prose: *What Ten Young Men Did* and *The Beauty from Avanti*. The two still await a comprehensive study in their own right, and we do not possess a good understanding of the transmission of what were possibly parts of the same original, nor of the relationship between their reception and that of the *Mirror*. For instance, while Dandin's art prose seems to have a more lasting presence in Telugu literature, we know of no Telugu adaptation of the *Mirror*. Is this a matter of choice between Dandin the poet and Dandin the theorist, or are there traces of the *Mirror* in Telugu that have thus far not surfaced? Such questions are left for future work in this nascent field.

Here, in brief, is what the nine chapters of *A Lasting Vision* do offer. Chapter 1 presents Dandin and his *Mirror of Literature*, the work at the center of this volume. It discusses Dandin's ethos of openness and method of modularity and presents his main tools and concepts: ornaments, ways, virtues, flaws, and literature's "difficult path." The following three chapters explore the receptions of the *Mirror* that are closest to it in time and space. Chapter 2 deals with Kannada literary culture. It analyzes the first adaptation of the *Mirror*, the ninth-century *Way of the Poet-King*, discusses its complex ways of engagement with Dandin, and continues to address later responses to the *Mirror* in Kannada. The long history of Dandin in Sri Lanka is the topic of Chapter 3, with an emphasis on a window around the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when the *Mirror* was the

[156] See Busch 2011: 4–5, 103–6.

focus of adaptations, commentaries, and other responses, both in Sinhala and Pali. Even after this period, the chapter shows, Dandin was a constant presence in the literatures of Sri Lanka up to the modern era. The equally long history of Dandin in Tamil is the topic of Chapter 4. The window of intensive engagement with the *Mirror* in Tamil coincides with that of Sri Lanka, and this is clearly no coincidence. And again, Dandin's models continued to play an important role much later, at least up to early modernity, with a period of a profound synthesis of the various poetic systems of Tamil during the sixteenth century.

Chapter 5 explores Dandin's role in the Sanskrit tradition. The chapter examines the work of Ratna, Dandin's most authoritative commentator, but it also charts Dandin's predecessors and followers, including Bhoja (r. ca. 1010–1055), whose work slightly predates the Dandin window in Tamil and Sinhala, and Appayya Dikshita (1520–1592), who worked in the Tamil country at the time when Tamil authors such as Kavirayar were completing their synthesis, with Tandi at its center. Chapter 6 provides a similarly long vision of the story of Dandin in Tibet (and through it, Mongolia), where the *Mirror* was met with singular enthusiasm. The chapter begins with a brief vista on Tibetan literature before the introduction of Indic models, tells the story of the first partial translation of the *Mirror* by Sakya Pandita (aka Sapan) in the thirteenth century, and follows the subsequent waves of translations, commentaries, and scholarly and literary engagements with it all the way to the present, in occupied Tibet and in independent Mongolia.

The volume ends with three chapters that throw light on the outer reaches of the Dandin story. Chapter 7 focuses primarily on Burma, which is not a part of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis as mapped and defined by Pollock, but where the presence of the *Mirror*, both in Sanskrit and through the Pali *Lucid Poetics*, was constant since at least the fifteenth century. Moreover, the close cultural ties with centers of learning on the other side of the Bay of Bengal helped color the reception of the *Mirror* with Bengali hues, and especially its companionship with Dharmadasa's *Adornment*, a text that became a fixture in the learned culture of the region. Chapter 8 takes us to Java and then Bali, where the Sanskrit cultural package was adopted and vernacularized in parallel to developments in Karnataka, but through distinct modes of dissemination and pedagogy. This meant, among other things, that Dandin's *Mirror* and other cultural grammars left little concrete trace in these islands, although, as the chapter shows, they may well have played a role behind the scenes in helping to inscribe theory in the practice. Finally, Chapter 9 focuses on East Asia, which never adopted Sanskrit or its literary models, and which has had its own long-standing and robust cosmopolitan literary culture. Nonetheless, China had several big waves of transmission and translations of Buddhist literature from India, and as the chapter shows, there is good reason to believe that oral knowledge of Dandin's *Mirror*

may have played a role in both the production of theory (in the case of Kukai's *Mirror of Literature and Treasury of Mysteries*, early ninth century) and of Song-era experiments with pattern poems.

Read individually, each Chapter from 2 to 9 offers an extended alternative account of one long-standing literary tradition as seen from the unusual perspective of Dandin's *Mirror*. But taken together, they open up a discussion not just about the reception of this one work. Rather, they offer us ways of thinking about an interconnected, multilingual, and multiregional literary history: its modalities and creative powers, its material and social contours, its commonalities, and its limits, in this case, across much of what is today called "Asia." The hope is that this volume, in addition to contributing to our understanding of these different traditions, will also contribute to such an endeavor.

## I.8. A Note on Lasting

It is perhaps appropriate to conclude this Introduction by returning to its framing comparison between Aristotle and Dandin, this time apropos the question of lasting visions. Aristotle's primary orientation is the existing corpus of Greek literature (primarily epic and drama), past and present, and theoretical thought based on it. He is keenly aware of the historical development of the genres he discusses, but he implies that tragedy (unlike comedy) may have already "ceased to evolve, since it had attained its natural fulfillment," and may have even begun to deteriorate, as "tragedies of most recent poets are lacking in characterization."[157] Obviously, the strong normative language of the work means that the author was thinking of setting norms for future writers. But the bulk of the energy is spent on restricting, with a very little sense of openness to the evolution of new, future norms.

Whereas Aristotle opens his *Poetics* by getting right down to business, Dandin begins his with a brief but broad meditation on the powers of language in general and literature in particular. Moreover, both his introduction and the *Mirror* as a whole are oriented to the future as open: unknown literary paths his readers will discover, unforeseen combinations of categories they will find, and new categories they will coin. Appropriately, then, his opening lines also address the future as inherent in literature's ability to defy mortality and time:

> The mirror of words holds fast to the image
> of kings who came first and their feats.

[157] *Poetics*, chapters 4, 6 (pages 35 and 38 in Halliwell's translation).

They can no longer face it, but look:
their reflection will not fade.[158]

It seems right that this verse, with its strong future orientation and hope of unfading, gave its name to a work that came to embody this vision.[159] The current volume is dedicated to studying this endurance.

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[158] KĀ 1.5: *ādirājayaśobimbam ādarśaṃ prāpya vāṅmayam | teṣām asannidhāne ʾpi na svayaṃ paśya naśyati* ||.

[159] On the naming of the *Mirror*, see Bronner, section 1.1 in this volume.

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# 1
# Dandin's Magic *Mirror*

*Edited by Yigal Bronner*

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## 1.1. Poet, Pedagogue, Professor: Introducing Dandin

*Yigal Bronner*

Who was Dandin, and why should we care about him? Here is the response of an anonymous Sanskrit verse that is not sparing with praise:

> When Valmiki was born,
> the word "poet" was coined.
> After Vyasa, you could say it
> in the dual. And "poets" (in the plural)
> first appeared
> along with Dandin.[1]

Valmiki is the composer of the first poem, the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The second, the *Mahābhārata*, is famously attributed to Vyasa. So primordial are these authors and their epic works that with them the word *kavi* ("poet") was originally uttered, first only in the singular and then in the dual. But it was only with Dandin that the category became popular, as manifested linguistically by its use in the plural, and the rest is history. It was Dandin, this verse suggests, who opened the gates of poetry, so far associated with its exclusive pair of founding fathers. One could take this as a comment on the vast success of his *Mirror of Literature*, a book that introduced readers throughout Asia to the art of poesy.

Another verse further corroborates the propensity to put Dandin in triads:

[1] *Sūktimuktāvalī* 4.75: *jāte jagati vālmīkau śabdaḥ kavir iti sthitaḥ* | *vyāse jāte kavī ceti kavayaś ceti daṇḍini* ||. Here Jalhana anachronistically ascribes the verse to Kalidasa.

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There are three fires, three deities,
three Vedas, three qualities,
and three works by Dandin,
celebrated across the triple world.[2]

It is possible to interpret this floating verse, which the anthologist Jalhana ascribed to the great poet and theorist Rajashekhara (fl. 920), as emphasizing Dandin's multiple personae. Just like the triad of scripture, the trinity of gods, the trio of sacrificial fires, or, indeed, the entire trifold universe, Dandin had three distinct and mutually constitutive roles, arguably embodied by his troika of texts. But it is perhaps not a coincidence, given our author's avowed ideology of openness, that several competing lists have been offered to match this seemingly fixed corpus of three, with no resolution in sight.[3] Taking a cue from this repeated notion of trios, I present here three of Dandin's personae, although this tripartite analytical division, too, betokens a reality that is at once more myriad and interwoven.

The first Dandin, as the above verses attest, was an admired, adventurous poet. We know, for example, that he was the author of a poem that simultaneously narrated both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the two foundational works of his dual predecessors, and that this work likely pioneered an entire genre of such bitextual poems.[4] He also penned the celebrated *What Ten Young Men Did* (*Daśakumāracarita*), an art-prose work that lovingly and humorously narrates the incredible adventures of ten princes coming of age. In these inventive stories, Dandin follows in the tradition of another stellar duo, the great prose masters Subandhu and Bana, but his prose is swifter and lighter than theirs. His words seem to be dancing, another floating verse famously states.[5] Indeed, his *Ten Young Men* gives the false impression that it was easy to compose. The bulk of this masterful and much-admired narration is extant, although the work has come to us in the form of a "headless, tailless torso," now "sandwiched between two secondary paraphrases of the missing sections of [Dandin's] original work."[6] Finally, we have his *Tale of the Beauty from Avanti* (*Avantisundarī*), also in prose, whose transmission is even poorer. Only two manuscripts of this work have survived, both of which break off at an early point, having hardly laid out the frame of a vastly expansive work.[7]

[2] *Sūktimuktāvalī* 4.74: *trayo 'gnayas trayo devās trayo vedās trayo guṇāḥ | trayo daṇḍiprabandhāś ca triṣu lokeṣu viśrutāḥ ||*.

[3] Below I provide a possible inventory of his works and a brief discussion of the difficulty in enumerating them. For more, see Bronner 2012: 72–74.

[4] This work is now lost, but one of its verses is cited as an example of the bitextual genre in a tenth-century work of Bhoja. See Bronner 2010: 99–102.

[5] "Kalidasa had his simile, / Bharavi has weighty meaning, / Dandin dancing words. / Magha had all three" (*upamā kālidāsasya bhāraver arthagauravam | daṇḍinaḥ padalālityaṃ māghe santi trayo guṇāḥ ||*). Translation from Bronner, Shulman, and Tubb 2014: 15.

[6] Onians 2005: 23, 22–23.

[7] Some believe that this personal tale is the missing "head" of the *Ten Young Men*'s "torso." See Raghavan 1978: 821–24; Warder 1983: 166–69; and Khoroche 2005.

Highly fragmented though it is, this text is of great importance because in it, Dandin the poet presents invaluable details about his ancestry, his background, and his life story up to the point of composing this work (as did Bana before him in his biography of his patron-king, *Life of Harsha*, or *Harṣacarita*). Dandin tells here of his great-grandfather, the poet Damodara, who was associated with some of the leading poets and politicians of the Deccan and who was invited to the Pallava court in Kanchipuram. Here Dandin was born and was orphaned at a young age. He fled town because of an enemy invasion and returned to it when peace resumed, and it was from here that he left for a trip to the port city of Mahabalipuram, a visit that inspired him to compose the now-lost work.[8] The information supplied by this now-textless introduction thus helps us locate its author in space, in the city of Kanchipuram in the Tamil country, and also in time, most likely at the close of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth.[9]

Dandin the pedagogue composed *The Mirror of Literature*, the work that is at the heart of this volume, also under Pallava patronage, as some clues in it suggest.[10] The *Mirror* was self-consciously meant to train "those who wish to enter the deep sea of poetry" in their voyage.[11] In fact, the work showcases one of the most sophisticated pedagogies ever produced in South Asia; certainly nothing like it had been written up to Dandin's time. Take, for example, the style of presentation. The entirety of the *Mirror*, consisting of its discursive passages, definitions, and poetic illustrations, is uniformly written in the simplest and most common meter in Sanskrit prosody (*anuṣṭubh* or *śloka*),[12] making it easy to comprehend and memorize.

This basic format is already found in Bhamaha's *Ornament of Poetry* (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*), the main precedent Dandin had in front of him, but Dandin clearly brought it to perfection.[13] First, the work as a whole is easy to navigate, thanks to a web of cross-references among and within its three chapters.[14] Second, the definitions are clear and thus diverge from Bhamaha's terse and often tautological style.[15] Third, unlike Bhamaha, in whose work examples are

[8] *Avantisundarī*, pp. 1–12; cf. *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* 1.1–36.

[9] For more on the relevance of this introduction, see Bronner 2012: 70–78.

[10] See Bronner 2012: 76–77.

[11] KĀ 1.12: *vivikṣūṇāṃ gambhīraṃ kāvyasāgaram*.

[12] The only exceptions are the illustrations of the complex rhyming patterns, twinning or *yamaka*, some of which necessitate longer lines (on which, see Bronner and Tubb in section 1.5 below), and verses that mark the end of a chapter.

[13] On the relative chronology of the two and the reasons to believe that Dandin had Bhamaha's text in front of him, see Bronner 2012. Bhamaha claimed credit for his self-composed examples (BKA 2.96), but these are far more sporadic and less elegant than Dandin's, and it is not rare to find in his book illustrations that only paraphrase the phenomena in question (e.g., BKA 3.10–11, and most of the examples after 5.8). See also Bronner and Ollett in section 5.2 in this volume.

[14] See, for example, KĀ 2.3, 2.102, 2.115, 2.239, 2.290, 2.311, 3.37–38.

[15] For cases where Bhamaha does not provide any definition or provides one that is purely tautological, see, for example, BKA 3.5, 3.7, 3.10, 3.11.

in short supply and seldom discussed, Dandin offers numerous illustrations, each carefully and explicitly tied to one subtype of the category under discussion and often prefixed or followed by an explanation of how it works as an example. Moreover, Dandin has a strong tendency to pair or group his examples, and he frequently keeps everything else constant between two examples while changing only the variable he is introducing. A case in point is his pair of nearly identical illustrations of "condensed speech," aimed at showing that not all modifiers need to be equivocal if, when one is narrating story X, an analogous story Y is evoked. As Dandin adds in a typical follow-up comment: "In the above two examples, a man is described as a tree. But in the former, all the modifiers equally apply to both tree and man, while in the latter only two of them do."[16] Dandin, in other words, created a perfectly methodical set of definitions (*lakṣaṇa*) and paired them with an elaborate set of straightforward, self-made illustrations (*lakṣya*) that were suited to his pedagogy. It was in accordance with this pedagogical plan that he originally named his book not *The Mirror of Literature* (*Kāvyādarśa*) but *The Definition(s) of Literature* (*Kāvyalakṣaṇa*).[17]

My description of Dandin's method of exposition may create the impression that he was a dreary pedagogue. Nothing could be further from the truth. Dandin the poet also coauthored this work with Dandin the pedagogue, and he was teaching by example.[18] As in his poetic corpus, the words in his made-up examples are "dancing": they are playful and humorous, and even when they are boldly experimental and self-admittedly difficult, they give the impression that they are easy to compose. Moreover, the seemingly simple illustrations not only are cleverly paired with others in the book, but also are often carefully crafted to replicate verses and prose passages by famous poets—a gesture to the style or topic that earned such poets their fame.[19] This is another technique whose

[16] KĀ 2.209. For a discussion of this verse, see Bronner 2017. For additional cases of carefully paired illustrations, see for example KĀ 1.43–44 (*śliṣṭa*), 1.45–46 (*prasāda*), 1.48–49 (*sama*), 1.73–74 (*arthavyakti*; here the commentator Ratna explicitly explains this method), 1.82, 1.84 (*ojas*), 1.86 and 1.90, and 1.87 and 1.91 (*kānta*), 2.309–10 (*śliṣṭa* the ornament), as well as 3.174 and 3.178 (*virodhadoṣa*).

[17] KĀ 1.2: *yathāsāmarthyam asmābhiḥ kriyate kāvyalakṣaṇam*. It is perhaps no coincidence that in languages of the South, where Dandin served as a key model, the word for poetics is derived from *lakṣaṇa* and the word for literature is derived from *lakṣya*.

[18] In fact, the examples are an integral part of the definitions. See, for example, the definition of *yamaka* discussed in section 1.5.

[19] I will give only a few examples. The illustration of the ornament "flavored" (*rasa*) by grief is almost a verbatim quote from Aja's lament in Kalidasa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, the best-known emotional elegy in all of Sanskrit poetry (compare KĀ 2.284 and *Raghuvaṃśa* 8.57); the pair of examples of "embrace" (*śleṣa*) is a direct echo of Subandhu, who pioneered the use of this device on a large scale (compare KĀ 2.309–10 and *Vāsavadattā*, pp. 245, 355; on Subandhu's pioneering work, see Bronner 2010: 20–56); the culminating example of "distinction" (*vyatireka*), which laments the blindness of youth, is an unmistakable gesture to one of the best-known poetic orations in Sanskrit about the dangers of youth, which is found in Bana's *Kādambarī* (compare KĀ 2.195 and *Kādambarī*, p. 221; I am grateful to H. V. Nagaraja Rao for this reference); the example of "citing another case" (*arthāntaranyāsa*) that speaks of the altruism of clouds is another nod to Kalidasa, who used this

origins may hark back to Bhamaha but that Dandin expanded and perfected, and it allowed his book to nourish learners at different levels of their study, depending on their familiarity with the canon. It is interesting to note in this context that the work ended up being called almost universally *The Mirror of Literature*. This title likely owes its origin to a verse in the preface that compares literature to a magic mirror that continues to carry the reflection of great kings long after they stopped standing in front of it (KĀ 1.5), but it is also a pun, referring to Dandin's power to capture and display what literature is about. Indeed, this looking glass proved just as lasting as the poetry it captured, and it generated an entire hall of *Mirror*s throughout Asia in the form of later works in different languages that replicated Dandin's own examples. The *Mirror*, it would seem, was the perfect title, even if unwittingly so.

Finally, let me briefly introduce a third persona, "Professor Dandin" (*ācāryadaṇḍī*), as some sources refer to him.[20] The *Mirror* was meant to lead students on a productive literary path, but Dandin also imagined it as participating in a learned theoretical discourse (*śāstra*) that, he says, has deeper roots and forms an absolute necessity for literature, as for any other human activity.[21] Indeed, he states at the very outset that his work is based not only on observations of poetic practice (as I have noted), but also on a summation of earlier scholarship.[22] The more academic side of the *Mirror* is, for the most part, not foregrounded. Dandin the scholar never names his predecessors and almost never explicitly calls attention to his disagreements with his colleagues.[23] But as I have already begun to show elsewhere (and as will become clearer below), under the guise of a benign textbook, the *Mirror* is a highly polemical treatise. In almost every line, Dandin systematically engages with the scholarship of his seminal forerunner, Bhamaha, often providing biting refutations as well as flippant reuses

ornament both as a signature device and, more specifically, to corroborate the conceit of altruistic clouds in his *Cloud Messenger*, or *Meghasandeśa* (KĀ 2.171; this is also seen already in Bhamaha's BKA 2.74); the first illustration of "antithesis" (*virodha*) elegantly echoes a similar instance in Bharavi's famous description of autumn (compare KĀ 2.332 and *Kirātārjunīya* 4.25); and the example of condensed speech (*samāsokti*), reminiscent of Prakrit poetry, which is full of suggestion, is a direct echo of one such poem from Kalidasa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (compare KĀ 2.204 and *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 5.1; I am grateful to Whitney Cox for pointing this out to me; for more on this verse, see Bronner 2017).

[20] On the manuscript pattern of referring to Dandin by this title, see Gupta 1970: 10–11, 13.

[21] KĀ 1.8–9; see also Bronner 2020.

[22] KĀ 1.2: *pūrvaśāstrāṇi saṃhṛtya prayogān upalakṣya ca*.

[23] One important exception is his discussion of "seeing as" (*utprekṣā*), where he digresses into a lengthy attack on an anonymous predecessor who labeled a certain verse a simile rather than "seeing as." Here Dandin showcases his erudition in a discussion that involves grammar, logic, and Sanskrit philosophy of language more generally (KĀ 2.224–32; the first half of the verse appears in *Mṛcchakaṭika* 1.34 and *Cārudatta* 1.19; Dandin refers to it as known, but does not mention its source).

of this predecessor's notions and images for very different purposes. All this is done silently and playfully, but it was certainly meant to be noticed, and noticed it was. Two prominent readers, Ratnashrijnana and Vadijanghaladeva, tenth-century scholars who produced the earliest extant commentaries on the *Mirror*, dedicated considerable attention to identifying a Bhamaha source for many of Dandin's more blatant contestations.[24] Moreover, it is clear that in learned circles, the works of Dandin and Bhamaha were seen and read as a pair,[25] and that the *Mirror*'s containment of Bhamaha is one of the keys to its breathtaking success.

## 1.2. An Air of Openness

*Yigal Bronner*

One of the defining characteristics of Sanskrit theoretical discourse (*śāstra*) is its avowed ideology of knowledge as a closed set. This view harks back to the understanding of the revelation of the Veda, the paradigm of true knowledge in the Brahminical world, as eternal, immutable, and transcending human agency. All that mortals can do, according to this ideology, is to partially reproduce knowledge. Although the practice of theory always brimmed with innovation and originality, authors of cultural grammars on nearly every topic almost unanimously subscribed to a metatheory according to which knowledge systems were fixed.[26] Sanskrit poetics was an exception in being empirically oriented from the start, and Bhamaha's openly empiricist agenda, his explicit reliance on his own intellectual power, and his appeal to the authority of the wise are early examples of this trend.[27] That said, Dandin's approach in the *Mirror* is entirely unprecedented. No other Sanskrit scholar writing in any field and no earlier authority on literature—certainly not the decidedly conservative Bhamaha—ever breathed such an air of openness.

For Dandin, every category is deliberately celebrated as unbounded. There are numerous examples of this approach. Take, for instance, his presentation of poetic ornaments, the topic of his central and longest chapter. Dandin begins this chapter by stating that ornaments cannot be presented in toto because "they continue to be coined even as we speak"; he brings it to a close 365 verses

[24] For Ratnashrijnana, see Bronner and Cox in sections 5.5–5.7 in this volume. For an earlier discussion of both commentators, see Bronner 2012: 80–86.

[25] See *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* 1.2, where all other disciplines have a single author but where "Ornaments" has Bhamaha and Dandin (in this order). See also *Paümacariu* 1.1.3.8 for another early mention of them as a pair. For more, see Bronner and Ollett in section 5.2 in this volume.

[26] Pollock 1985.

[27] See, for example, BKA 5.69. For empiricist trends in Sanskrit poetics before Dandin, see Bronner and Ollett in section 5.2 and Bronner forthcoming 2.

later by noting that the preceding was only a brief foray into "a vast field that is boundless."[28] Moreover, throughout the chapter, very similar statements frame the presentation of most individual ornaments. For example, the discussion of the quintessential ornament simile begins by highlighting its "vast universe" and concludes, after discussing both it and its sibling device of "identification" (*rūpaka*) in unprecedented detail, by noting that "there is no end to the categories of simile and identification."[29] Likewise, the discussion of "dismissal" (*ākṣepa*) opens by stating that it is infinite and concludes by reminding the reader that additional types can be named and illustrated,[30] and the chapter is replete with such language.

I will say more about ornamentation as open-ended shortly. But note that Dandin's bold vision of openness is also true of every other topic in the *Mirror*, from poetic paths, which are "as numerous as are poets," to the types and subtypes of rhyming devices, again said to be innumerable.[31] Indeed, elasticity is also written into the definitions of various poetic phenomena: simile is said to be a commonality between entities that is "understood in whatever manner"; alliteration is defined as a similarity of sound that is "experienced in whichever way"; the virtue "magnificent" (*udāra*) consists of the portrayal of "any good quality"; powerful poetry (*ojas*) is said to be "multiform"; and a plotline should be derived from historical narratives, "or from some other good source."[32]

In addition to a vision of poetic devices as boundless, Dandin's openness also means that almost every "no" is a strong "yes" in disguise. This is especially true in the case of Bhamaha's noes: factual statements (*svabhāvokti*) and various types of causation (*hetu*, *sūkṣma*, *leśa*), which Bhamaha viewed as prosaic, become "the number one ornament" and "first-rate ornaments," respectively; riddles (*prahelikā*), which Bhamaha ridiculed as difficult to the point of unintelligibility (at least without a running commentary), are "fun to use in the company of connoisseurs"; and an unconventional plot structure, where, to Bhamaha's horror, the antagonist is first valorized and later is slain, is just as good as the

[28] KĀ 2.1 (*te cādyāpi vikalpyante*), 2.365 (*vistaram anantam*). Anandavardhana, who otherwise snubs Dandin, directly echoes him on this point. This is apropos of discussing the way "the entire troop of ornaments" can support rasa. He explains: "When we speak about 'the entire troop of ornaments' of the literal meaning, we speak about the list beginning with 'metaphorical identification' that has already been identified, and also of what others will identify in the future, since there is no end to ornaments" (*vācyālaṅkāravargaś ca rūpakādir yāvān ukto vakṣyate ca kaiścit, alaṅkārāṇām anantatvāt*, *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 223).

[29] KĀ 2.14 (*tasyāḥ prapañco 'yaṃ pradarśyate*), 2.96 (*na paryanto vikalpānāṃ rūpakopamayoḥ*).

[30] KĀ 2.120 (*asya . . . anantatā*), 2.166 (*anye 'pi vikalpāḥ śakyam ūhitum*).

[31] For regional styles, see KĀ 1.101–2 and section 1.4 below; for the rhyming device called "twinning" (*yamaka*), see KĀ 3.3 (*atyantabahavas teṣāṃ bhedāḥ sambhedayonayaḥ*), 3.38 (*na prapañcabhayād bhedāḥ kārtsyenākhyātum īpsitāḥ*), and Bronner and Tubb in section 1.5 below.

[32] KĀ 2.14 (*yathā kathañcit sādṛśyaṃ yatrodbhūtaṃ pratīyate*),1.52 (*yayā kayāpi śrutyā yat samānam anubhūyate*), 1.76 (*kaścid guṇaḥ*), 1.81 (*uccāvacaprakāram*), 1.15 (*itarad vā sadāśrayam*).

standard one (which begins with the protagonist) because, well, "I like this too."[33] More generally, as I show below, Dandin's discussion of poetic flaws dwells not on liabilities in and of themselves, but rather on the way each is an asset waiting to be realized.[34] The same approach is found when Dandin deals with the simile and addresses a subset of flaws that hamper it (*upamādoṣa*). Here, too, instead of simply reproducing the age-old warnings about faulty similes, Dandin frames this discussion by stating that if these so-called deficiencies are used thoughtfully, they are not deficiencies at all.[35]

A different version of this open approach is found when Dandin touches on the all-important category of "poet." A true poet, he asserts, possibly following an earlier list of factors, must have "inborn insight, impeccable long education, and unwavering hard work."[36] The implication of the first item is that the literary path is determined by one's birth, and that being born with the right gift is necessary (albeit insufficient) for poetic success. But Dandin hastens to add that "even if one lacks insight resulting from past good deeds, one can still win the grace of Speech merely by education and hard work."[37] So the category "poet," too, is open, if only the candidate is receptive to instruction and is willing to try.[38]

Indeed, all lists that Dandin presents as closed come with caveats that render them at least partially open. Consider in this connection the crucial question of the languages in which literature can be composed. Like Bhamaha before him, Dandin allows only the cosmopolitan idioms, the "languages of the way," the right to poetic expressivity. No local idiom ("language of place") is given in his short list, which consists merely of Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha, or a mixture thereof.[39] But it immediately becomes clear that the list is more inclusive than it seems. This is because Prakrit itself is presented as a multifaceted category

[33] For factual descriptions, compare BKA 2.93 and KĀ 2.8 (*ādyā sālaṅkṛtiḥ*). For causation-related ornaments, compare BKA 2.86–87 and KĀ 2.233 (*vācām uttamabhūṣaṇam*). For riddles, compare BKA 2.19–20 and KĀ 3.96–97 (*krīḍāgoṣṭhīvinodeṣu . . .*). For plot structure, compare BKA 1.22–23 and KĀ 1.21–22 (*. . . ca dhinoti naḥ*).

[34] See section 1.4 below.

[35] "Discrepancy in case, number, and gender, as well as between a greater and a lesser, does not necessarily flaw a simile when it does not offend the poetic sensibilities of the wise" (KĀ 2.51: *na liṅgavacane bhede na hīnādhikatāpi vā | upamāduṣaṇāyālaṃ yatrodvego no dhīmatām*).

[36] KĀ 1.103. For a discussion of the three causes of poetry in later Sanskrit poetics, see Pollock 2005a: 19–27; and Shulman 2008: 499–503.

[37] KĀ 1.104 (*na vidyate yady api pūrvavāsanāguṇānubandhi pratibhānam adbhutam | śrutena yatnena ca vāg upāsitā dhruvaṃ karoty eva kamapy anugraham*); see also the next verse. For a discussion of this passage in Ratna, see Bronner and Cox in section 5.5 in this volume.

[38] The same notion is in play in Dandin's opening verses, where he states that his book is meant to open the eyes of those who are, without access to authoritative knowledge, blind to the differences between virtues and flaws (KĀ 1.8–9). This is a typically playful inversion of the metaphor that closes Bhatti's poem (*Rāvaṇavadha* 22.33). Bhatti states that his book, like a handlamp, is useless for the blind: those not familiar with the grammatical knowledge needed for decoding his work. Dandin, by contrast, makes sure his students can use what he has to offer and step from blinding darkness to light.

[39] The mixture variety is already an expansion of Bhamaha's list in BKA 1.16.

(*anekaḥ prākṛtakramaḥ*), whose vocabulary is derived not only from Sanskrit loanwords and cognates, but also from the languages of place (*deśī*).[40] This in itself is not an innovation, as already the *Treatise on Dramaturgy* states that Prakrit is threefold in its lexicon (loanwords, cognates, local), even if Dandin's choice of "multifaceted" as an adjective may be significant. Nor is it entirely groundbreaking that Dandin states that Prakrit is based on a variety of ethnic and linguistic communities—this, too, is known from the *Treatise on Theater* and its acceptance of different dialects in theatrical dialogue—though again, Dandin's list is said to be incomplete, and in that sense open.[41]

But when Dandin turns to the task of plotting literary genres onto his linguistic grid, he seems to imply that these can migrate from one linguistic medium to another, and the list of genres associated with each language is again capped by an "etc." Moreover, we suddenly learn that "all languages as well as Sanskrit" can produce "narrative literature of various kinds" (*kathādi*; note again the open list). The commentators try hard to explain away the implications of this strong statement by arguing that the plural in "all languages" is there either to include Sanskrit (although it is mentioned separately in "as well as Sanskrit") or to include a "mixture" (although this is not a language).[42] But Dandin here is crystal clear in his employment of the word "all," in his mention of Sanskrit separately, and, indeed, in his use of the word *bhāṣā* that he applies only to the vernaculars and never to Sanskrit. As if to drive this point home, yet another language, the so-called Language of the Ghosts (or perhaps some "dead language," *bhūtabhāṣā*) is introduced as the medium of the "amazing *Great Story*" (*Bṛhatkathā*), a work that is now lost (and may have already been lost by Dandin's time).[43] This language does not seem to fall under the initial division into Sanskrit, Prakrit, or Apabhramsha; it appears to be yet another language in which literature was at least once produced.

Thus, although it is true that Dandin stops short of licensing specific living vernaculars that are not included under the umbrella of Prakrit as literary media, and while he is strangely silent about Tamil, the language of his surroundings and the medium of a long-standing literary tradition, he does leave the door of the language club at least a crack open. This surprising approach was instrumental in applying the *Mirror* to literary languages originally outside its official scope. For instance, several Tibetan commentators identified their nascent literary idiom with Dandin's "Language of the Ghosts," Apabhramsha, or a variety

[40] KĀ 1.33.

[41] NŚ 17.7. See also Ollett 2017: 124. In addition to Maharashtri, Dandin mentions Sauraseni, Gaudi, Lati, "and others like them" (*anyā ca tādṛśī*); KĀ 1.33–35.

[42] See Ratna and Vadijanghaladeva, respectively, ad KĀ 1.38.

[43] KĀ 1.38. Ratna identifies *bhūtabhāṣā* with Paishachi. For an interpretation of the phrase as meaning simply a "dead language," see Ollett 2014.

of his open-ended Prakrit, and in the ninth-century *Way of the Poet-King*, which closely mirrors the *Mirror*, Kannada often seems to replace Prakrit as the counterpart of Sanskrit (even as it is officially counterposed to both).[44]

In short, Dandin produced a kind of a literary grammar wherein every rule also contains the seed of self-transcendence, something David Shulman believes is emblematic of South Indian grammars.[45] I will shortly extend the grammar analogy, but for now, note Dandin's remarkably open approach to the extremely influential discourse of grammar proper. For one thing, Dandin differed from his predecessors and successors by freely veering into areas uncharted by Panini. For instance, he had no qualms about locating "identifications" both inside and outside nominal compounds, despite the fact that Panini designated such compounds only for analogies.[46] For another, he was explicit about this approach when he said, boldly and in stark contrast to Bhamaha, that nongrammatical forms can be used in poetry if they are patterned on precedents set by trustworthy writers, who for him are authority: what they used (*śiṣṭeṣṭa*) is the gold standard.[47]

More generally, we know that one's grammar of choice often marked one's religious or regional identity, and that certain grammars were preferred in Brahmin circles while others were preferred in Buddhist and Jain communities.[48] Again, Dandin's policy here is illuminating. Whereas Bhamaha (and many of his later followers from Kashmir) swore exclusive alliance to Panini, Katyayana, and Patanjali, the triumvirate of grammarians in mainstream Vedic circles,[49] Dandin is audibly silent on this point and never mentions his preferred grammar,

[44] For the Tibetan sources, see, for example, the discussion of Khamtrul in *Rgyan gyi bstan bcos dbyangs can ngag gi rol mtsho*, pp. 109–10, where he ends up concluding that Tibetan is parallel to Apabhramsha and where he makes use of Dandin's "etc." (*ādi*; KĀ 1.36) to make room for Tibetan (I am grateful to Shenghai Li for this reference). For Kannada's juxtaposition of Kannada to both models, see, for example, KRM 1.41–42. For a more general discussion of Prakrit as the basis for theorizing the vernacular in South Asia, see Ollett 2017. I am grateful to Andrew Ollett for repeated discussions on this topic.

[45] David Shulman, personal communication. See also Shulman 2001: 13–17.

[46] KĀ 2.68. For a discussion of this perceived lacuna in Panini and the rather strange solutions that Dandin's predecessors and followers came up with in order to be consistent with Paninian discourse, see Bronner 2016: 92–93.

[47] KĀ 3.148: "Nongrammatical forms that have no precedent in theory or practice are the path the ignoramuses follow; but if favored by the learned, this is no flaw" (*śabdahīnam anālakṣyalakṣyalakṣaṇapaddhatiḥ | padaprayogo 'śiṣṭeṣṭaḥ śiṣṭeṣṭas tu na duṣyati* ||), *pace* Bhamaha (BKA 4.22): "Nongrammatical forms are said to be when words are used against the instructions of Panini and the author of the *List of Words*, for their trustworthy disciples do not use such forms" (*sūtrakṛtpadakāreṣṭaprayogād yo 'anyathā bhavet | tam āptaśrāvakāsiddheḥ śabdahīnaṃ vidur yathā* ||). For more on this point, see Kawamura 2017.

[48] See, for example, Pollock 2006: 62, 169–71, on the grammars of Sharvavarman (a Brahmin) and Kumaralata (a Buddhist) as alternatives to Panini outside *vaidika* circles and in the South. On the importance of Sharvavarman's *Kātantra* as a companion of the *Mirror* in Burmese monastic circuits, see Kirichenko, Lammerts, and Ruiz-Falqués in section 7.2 in this volume. See also Monious 2013: 123–28, for the cases of the Sanskrit *Rūpāvatāra* and the Tamil *Vīracōḻiyam*, Buddhist grammars that display strategies of appropriation of and competition with Panini.

[49] BKA 4.22, 6.37, 6.63.

thereby suggesting, especially to the many readers who studied his work along with Bhamaha's, that he was open to the use of linguistic treatises prevalent in non-Brahmin communities. Indeed, non-Paninian grammars often accompanied the *Mirror* as it traveled through Asia.[50]

There are other indications that, despite Dandin's Brahmin identity, the *Mirror* was crafted so as not to offend the sensibilities of other religious communities. For instance, Dandin was careful not to repeat anything like Bhamaha's attack on the Buddhist theory of *apoha*, which was not particularly well received in Buddhist circles.[51] Below I argue that Dandin also actively tried to cater to Buddhist poets (see section 1.4). It is thus perhaps no coincidence that of the three earliest commentators on his work, one was a Buddhist monk, the other was likely a Jain, and the third was a Brahmin.[52] The vast success of the *Mirror* throughout the expanding network of Buddhist centers of learning is also clearly not an accident. Dandin's openness helped him speak in a truly cosmopolitan voice, and his *Mirror* was adopted in, and thus helped create, a truly vast cosmopolis.

In short, with unbounded categories celebrated as such, a principle that every rule can be transcended, a cosmopolitan and tolerant worldview, and an appeal to a variety of communities, the *Mirror* was unabashedly open and openly received. When writers in fields other than poetics looked for a rare quote about the inherently open nature of knowledge, Dandin was a natural choice. Take, for example, the great tenth-century polymath Vachaspati Mishra. In corroborating Shankara's claim that Brahma's composition of the vast Veda is proof of his omniscience, he notes: "Nowadays, too, when I and others compose treatises about comprehensive topics, we know more than we actually say. For even if you realize a whole gamut of special facets, there is simply no way you can spell them all out. After all, even Goddess Sarasvati," he adds in a close paraphrase of Dandin, "cannot describe all the different types of sweetness of sugarcane, milk, sugar, and so on." And yes, Dandin originally left this list, too, open.[53]

But there is a risk in openness. One may end up with no boundaries whatsoever, a state in which anything goes. Certain passages in the *Mirror* may appear particularly vulnerable to such criticism, as can be seen in the aforementioned

[50] See note 48 above.

[51] BKA 6.17–19; for the responses, see Bronner 2012: 89–90.

[52] Pollock 2005a.

[53] *Bhāmatī* ad BS 1.1.3: *adyatve 'py asmadādibhir samīcīnārthaviṣayaṃ śāstraṃ viracyate tatrāsmākaṃ vaktṝṇāṃ vākyāj jñānam adhikaviṣayam. na hi te te 'sādhāraṇadharmā anubhūyamānā api śakyā vaktum. na khalv ikṣukṣīraguḍādīnāṃ madhurarasabhedāḥ śakyāḥ sarasvatyāpy ākhyātum.* Compare KĀ 1.102: *ikṣukṣīraguḍādīnāṃ mādhuryasyāntaraṃ mahat | tathāpi na tad ākhyātuṃ sarasvatyāpi śakyate* ||. The same Dandin verse was later quoted verbatim by Vedanta Deshika, but now to stress not so much the notion that the author knows more than he or she can ever say as the impossibility of expressing subtle (albeit real and important) differences (*Nikṣeparakṣā*, p. 72; I am grateful to Manasicha Akepiyapornchai for this quote). Both statements are plausible interpretations of Dandin's open statement about openness.

tendency to accept whatever Bhamaha rejected. The threat lies not so much in the inclusion of all of these elements as in the seeming lack of criteria. If the ultimate authority is simply the taste of connoisseurs, is it possible to come up with any principled aesthetic criteria? After all, taste differs from person to person, as Dandin himself was the first to acknowledge,[54] and as his repeated disagreements with Bhamaha make clear. Indeed, if you define ornaments, like Dandin, in the broadest possible terms ("the elements that make poetry beautiful"), and if you believe, with him, that they are subject to endless permutation ("even as we speak") and hence escape encapsulation ("who can describe them comprehensively?"), could you not also forgo altogether any theoretical pretense?[55]

The danger is even more pronounced if we realize how new and tenuous was the discipline's claim to be governed by rules. It was Bhamaha who first took credit for "fathoming the definition of literature in my own mind" and indeed for discovering "the law of ornaments, which I ascertained with my own mind and stated and elaborated with my own words."[56] Key to this newly discovered law is the principle that in order to be aesthetically pleasing, poetry must entail an intensifying language that is indirect and nonfactual (*vakra*), and it is precisely this law that allowed Bhamaha to deny, in a principled way, the ornamental status of "factual statement" and "causation."[57] By welcoming these ornaments back and by leaving the door open for countless others, Dandin threatened to derail Sanskrit poetics from a journey just begun.

## 1.3. The Modular Grammar of Ornaments

*Yigal Bronner*

Or so it seems. In fact, as already noted, Dandin presents his work as part of a rule-bound knowledge system (*śāstra*) meant to provide practitioners with clear guidelines about right and wrong. "This is why," he adds, "the seers, aiming at the enlightenment of the people, came up with the law [*vidhi*] for working with words with their variegated ways [*mārga*]."[58] The most relevant seer is surely Bhamaha, who took personal credit for discovering such a law, and here Dandin purports to follow in his footsteps. So how is one to resolve the contrast between

[54] See, for example, KĀ 1.101, and other verses quoted in note 61 below.

[55] KĀ 2.1: *kāvyaśobhākarān dharmān alaṅkārān pracakṣate | te cādyāpi vikalpyante kas tān kārtsyena vakṣyati* ||.

[56] BKA 6.64, 3.58: *avagamya svadhiyā ca kāvyalakṣma*; *girām alaṅkāravidhiḥ savistaraḥ svayaṃ viniścitya dhiyā mayoditaḥ*.

[57] See, for example, BKA 2.85–87.

[58] KĀ 1.8–9: *guṇadoṣān aśāstrajñaḥ kathaṃ vibhajate janaḥ | kim andhasyādhikāro 'sti rūpabhedopalabdhiṣu || ataḥ prajānāṃ vyutpattim abhisandhāya sūrayaḥ | vācāṃ vicitramārgāṇāṃ nibabandhuḥ kriyāvidhim* ||.

Dandin's commitment to a principle such as Bhamaha's, on the one hand, and his avowed openness and repeated undoing of his important predecessor, on the other?

One answer to this question is with a word just cited: "ways" (*mārga*). It is all too easy to understand this term strictly in its no doubt important technical sense of a regional style, which for Dandin are two: the southern (*vaidarbha*) and the northeastern (*gauḍīya*).[59] But a close inspection of the *Mirror* shows that "way" (*mārga* and its synonyms) has a much broader application for Dandin. He uses this term not just apropos of regional styles (in his first chapter) but also of poetic ornaments (in the second) and of easy and difficult devices of sound (in the third and last). It also appears, as we have just seen, in the very beginning of the work, and also in its closing statement, apropos of poetry's virtues (*guṇa*) and flaws (*doṣa*).[60] So Dandin brings up "way" in the context of all of the *Mirror*'s key topics, and in each case, he uses this term to make two seemingly contradictory arguments. First, he says that the ways of literature are numerous, myriad, and, indeed, infinite; at one point he even notes that there are as many ways as there are poets.[61] Second, he maintains that he has discussed this inherently plural reality in a concise manner and, indeed, has shown *the* way, that is, a single, rule-bound, and hence useful *method* for cultivating the pupil's mind—even if the student is not naturally gifted but is willing to work hard—in the innumerable routes of literature.[62]

What is this method? Perhaps the clearest illustration is found in Dandin's discussion of ornaments, which occupies the entire second chapter of the *Mirror*, the central and by far the longest of the work's three. By "ornaments," Dandin refers here to a rather disparate assortment of poetic elements that are primarily related to meaning.[63] This is a rather unruly bunch. Some ornaments, such as simile, identification, and antithesis, are based on the propositional structure of the statement (X is like Y; X is Y; although X, it is Y) or the logical relationship it entails (analogy, identity, contradiction); others are defined by their pragmatic effect (praise, blame, or blessing), or the mode in which a certain suggested

[59] For a definitive discussion of stylistic regions in Sanskrit, see Pollock 2006: 204–22.

[60] See, in the order of mention, KĀ 1.40 and 1.101–4; 2.365; 3.186; 1.9; and 3.187.

[61] KĀ 1.40 (*aneka*), 1.9 (*vicitra*), 3.186 (*citra*), 2.356 (*vistaram anantam*), 1.101 (*pratikavi*). See also KĀ 1.102, cited above, on Sarasvati's inability to tell the different shades of sweet, apropos of such endless personal styles.

[62] On abridgment, see KĀ 3.187 (*saṅkṣipya*) and 2.365 (*parimāṇavṛttyā saṅkṣipya*); on the way's being rule bound, see 1.9 (*kriyāvidhi*) and 3.186 (*vidhidarśitena*, *vyutpannabuddhi*); and on shaping the student's mind, see again 1.9 (*vyutpattim abhisandhāya*) and 3.186—in the former instance, credit is given to earlier writers, whereas in the latter, Dandin himself claims credit. On the practice of this way, see 2.365 (*abhyāsa*) and also 1.103–5, where Dandin emphasizes that hard work can compensate for the absence of natural gifts. On *mārga* in the sense of method, see Pollock 2006: 207–8.

[63] This in itself indicates a helpful distinction because according to an even broader view, the same category also includes sound effects such as alliterations and the exact repetition of more extensive clusters of sounds (*yamaka*), effects that Dandin relegates to the first and third chapter, respectively.

meaning is conveyed in a roundabout way; and some are based on their emotional or narrative contents, such as joy, grief, and a character's opulence or munificence. Likewise, some ornaments are based on the subject matter, while others are based on the manner in which it is described (as in the case of some of the punning and syntactic devices). Finally, while most devices pertain to a single statement and can thus be demonstrated by using a single example verse, one last ornament is defined as a work's overall integrity (*bhāvika*).

This highly varied field stems from a very long line of connoisseurs who minted different ornaments in response to specific aesthetic experiences in a process that Dandin explicitly acknowledges and expects never to end. One can see why Bhamaha felt that a rule governing all these devices was a desideratum, and why his notion that they must entail intensification—through indirect and counterfactual language—was so important. This criterion allowed him to affirm the ornamental status of most received devices, such as simile and identification (as he notes, the face is not exactly like the moon, empirically speaking, only partly so), while at the same time rejecting others that seemed reducible to empirical observations about the world and its causal relations. This also clarifies the potential price of Dandin's definition of ornaments in the broadest possible terms ("elements that make poetry beautiful") and of his readmission of "factual statements" (*svabhāvokti*) and the causal ornaments into the mix.

Still, it is not as if Dandin forgoes altogether the principled vision of aesthetics or rejects outright all of his predecessors' categories. Quite the contrary: immediately after defining ornaments so broadly, both theoretically and in terms of their ever-evolving status, he adds, "That said, past teachers have laid out the core of all ornamental categories, and my goal here is merely to put polish on this very core."[64] So previous thinkers in his line—and again, I believe that Bhamaha in particular is meant here—have already identified the key categories, and it is crucial to understand that, his polemics and playfulness notwithstanding, out of thirty-five ornaments defined and exemplified by Dandin, only one was not already mentioned by Bhamaha (approvingly or, in some cases, disapprovingly).[65] More important for my point is Dandin's method of expanding the discussion without harm to this inherited core. The *Mirror*'s expansionist energy in this chapter is strictly channeled to ornaments' subcategories, which are explored in great detail. Whereas Bhamaha recognized only a handful of subdivisions, Dandin has over 150 by a conservative count, and he repeatedly maintains that these are only examples of a vast and limitless spectrum. Moreover, the manner

[64] KĀ 2.2: *kiṃ tu bījaṃ vikalpānāṃ pūrvācāryaiḥ pradarśitam | tad eva pratisaṃskartum ayam asmatpariśramaḥ ||*.

[65] The one exception is "repetition" (*āvṛtti*; KĀ 2.116–19), which is paired with "illumination" (*dīpaka*) in the same way in which "identification" is paired with simile, and which is likely Dandin's own invention. On *āvṛtti*, see Bronner in section 5.3 in this volume.

in which subtypes are presented is methodical, and to realize Dandin's vision, we must follow his method.

Let us begin with the order of the presentation. Precisely because Dandin largely follows the sequence of Bhamaha's list of ornaments, any deviation from it is significant, as is especially conspicuous in the beginning of his second chapter. The fact that factual statement is not only allowed but is made "the number one ornament" is not just a dig at his predecessor, who dismissed it. It is also meant to impart the lesson that a poet needs to be grounded in reality, and that the ability to identify and capture a good subject with all its richness and beauty is a basic first step for the remaining devices to build on and intensify.[66] For example, one needs first to be able to observe the colorfulness of parrots, the courting dance of doves, one's wonderful reactions to the touch of one's beloved, or even God when He suddenly becomes visible.[67] Simile, moved up to the number two slot and discussed at great length, is the first nonfactual ornament: it is the primary device for casting two distinct real-world objects as similar. It also introduces some of the fundamental conventions of Indic poetry, such as the fact that a beloved's face, eyes, and arms are comparable to lotuses of various colors and kinds.[68] Then follows "identification," which takes simile a step forward, for it is "nothing but a simile wherein difference is obscured."[69] A basic identification like "vine-arm," then, disguises a simile (the arm is like a vine) only to evoke it in the mind and, through it, to revive the actual multifaceted beauty of the arm and the vine themselves.

This is still rather simple, but now consider the ornament "distinction" (*vyatireka*), mentioned somewhat later in the chapter. Dandin defines it as "the proclamation of difference between two entities whose similarity has first been established, either explicitly or by implication."[70] For example, the fact that a king is comparable to the ocean (another basic poetic convention, this time from the realm of political poetry) is called into question by noting that the fair-bodied king is superior to his dark and amorphous standard.[71] So the distinction here calls the bluff on simile, but this act of estrangement only revives the initial analogy with added force. Then there is the fact that the poet can estrange the distinction

[66] A poet also needs to be conscious of the reality of his or her own work, which must be well integrated in every aspect. It is surely not a coincidence that the list of ornaments is bookended by *svabhāvokti* (factual statement, KĀ 2.4–13) and *bhāvikatva*, or *bhāvika* (integrity; KĀ 2.361–63). For more on Dandin's emphasis on grounding poetry in reality, see section 1.4 below.

[67] KĀ 2.9–12. There is a clear escalation in this sequence of examples of "factual statement," examples that are also meant to demonstrate that the device can be used to depict genera, actions, attributes, and individuals, respectively.

[68] KĀ 2.15–16.

[69] KĀ 2.66: *upamaiva tirobhūtabhedā rūpakam ucyate*. For Bhamaha, "identification" comes after "alliteration" and "twinning" and before "illumination," only after which does he present simile.

[70] KĀ 2.178: *śabdopātte pratīte vā sādṛśye vastunor dvayoḥ | tatra yad bhedakathanaṃ vyatirekaḥ sa kathyate* ||.

[71] KĀ 2.179.

itself, or call the bluff on calling the bluff, by using a form of double speech, what Sanskrit thinkers call "embrace" (*śleṣa*). That is, the king and the ocean are made distinct, but only because the vocabulary used to portray them refers simultaneously to the former's wit and to the latter as being "watered-down."[72]

A certain pattern that I will call *metatropic* begins to emerge, wherein sets of ornaments are used to disguise and reveal one another and eventually to activate a core set of beautiful items and the poetic conventions that concern them. This pattern is particularly pronounced in Dandin's modular vision of ornamental subtypes. By this I refer to the way in which endless new poetic expressions can easily be created by combining distinct ornamental modules, as in the addition of "embrace" to "distinction." One of Dandin's methods for highlighting this modularity is in his pairing of categories and their illustrations. Consider, for example, two subtypes of "identification" that involve the just-mentioned devices of simile and distinction: "identification leading to simile" and "identification leading to distinction":

Your moon-face,
red with passion,
and the rising crimson moon
are rivals.

The gods drink nectar from the moon,
I from your moon-face.
Theirs is waning, but always perfect
is the disk of yours.[73]

The first of the above two verses begins by identifying, within the bounds of a simple nominal compound, the beloved's face with the moon. Indeed, the identification (*rūpaka*) seems to be corroborated by the fact that the face is "red with passion," just like the full moon, crimson at dawn. But if identification is nothing but simile wherein difference is obscured, this difference is summarily resummoned when the real moon, the standard supposedly subsumed by the subject, is reintroduced into the verse. Suddenly there are two moons, the moon-face and earth's satellite, and this new situation immediately provides scope for a further simile, indicated by the word "rivals": the moon-face is like the moon.[74] The second verse presupposes the first and introduces a distinction (*vyatireka*) on top of the simile that was added to the identification, which in

[72] KĀ 2.183. For a more detailed discussion of these verses, see Bronner 2010: 224–26.

[73] KĀ 2.89–90: *ayam ālohitacchāyo madena mukhacandramāḥ | sannaddhodayarāgasya candrasya pratigarjati || candramāḥ pīyate devair mayā tvanmukhacandramāḥ | asamagro 'py asau śaśvad ayam āpūrṇamaṇḍalaḥ ||*.

[74] Earlier Dandin has listed words for rivalry as indicating simile (KĀ 2.58ab).

turn is a simile in disguise: the actual moon, where the gods store their nectar of immortality, is prone to waning, but not so the beloved's moon-face, also a source of nectar (for the speaker), which always remains round and is hence superior.

One can see how Dandin is playing here with the opposite vectors of similarity and dissimilarity, as he notes in an explanatory note that introduces these illustrations.[75] Each vector has its moment in the spotlight, from whence it gently undermines the other, and both take turns in intensifying the beloved's beauty and thus help the speaker win her heart. In addition to the endless playfulness that is inherent in this process, the series of disguises and revelations also creates tremendous complexity, even if the basic building blocks are few and relatively simple. The complexity lies in the way these elements are combined and in the accumulated set of presuppositions they create.

Indeed, one way to think about the metatropic effect of combining ornamental modules in the *Mirror* is by analyzing the web of presuppositions this system entails. Consider an example from the discussion of simile: "This is no lotus, it is your face. / These are not bees but eyes."[76] This is a factual statement, but it is not identical with the empirical observations of the parrots' colors and the doves' courtship with which the chapter on ornaments begins. Rather, it is considered a case of "simile through stating the fact" (*tattvopakhyānopamā*), wherein pointing out the correct identity of the beloved's face and eyes presupposes some confusion, feigned or real, in the speaker's mind, stemming from and hence also implying their striking similarity to the lotus and bees, respectively. (Note, by the way, how a statement of difference, here and elsewhere, strongly affirms similarity.) Moreover, this illustration is also highly reminiscent of an earlier one: "The luster of a lotus simply could not shame the moon. . . . This therefore must be nothing but your face."[77] This is an illustration of "simile through inference" (*nirṇayopamā*), and one is right to wonder what differentiates this instance from the later variety of "simile through stating the fact." The answer seems to be that they differ in the aesthetic modules that each presupposes. As Dandin's most important commentator astutely explains, it is true that both categories "are indistinguishable insofar as they express a true conviction about reality. Still, there is a considerable difference because in 'simile through inference' this realistic conviction comes in response to a doubt, whereas [in 'simile through stating the fact'] it comes about through the removal of delusion. In this and similar cases,"

[75] KĀ 2.88: *iṣṭaṃ sādharmyavaidharmyadarśanād gauṇamukhyayoḥ | upamāvyatirekākhyaṃ rūpakadvitayaṃ yathā ||*.

[76] KĀ 2.36ab: *na padmaṃ mukham evedaṃ na bhṛṅgau cakṣuṣī ime |*.

[77] KĀ 2.27: *na padmasya . . . indulajjākarī dyutiḥ | atas tvanmukham evedam.*

he adds, "one has to explain differences between categories in terms of their different presuppositions [*apekṣāviśeṣa*]."[78]

I have given here only a handful of examples of a practice that is far more pervasive, varied, and intricate in Dandin's presentation of ornaments. Still, certain conclusions can already be drawn. First, we see at least one sense in which a single modular method, or way, enables poets to walk an infinite number of paths. Since Dandin's core set of ornaments numbers a few dozen, and since they can be added on top of one another far more flexibly than, say, morphemes in an agglutinative language, there is simply no end to their possible combinations. Second, and relatedly, we realize another sense in which the *Mirror* works like a grammar, in this case a generative one. It imparts to its readers a set of basic principles (e.g., factual statement, simile, identification, distinction, and embrace) and a foundational vocabulary (including the comparability of a face to a lotus and a king to the ocean), thereby allowing them to produce new poetic expressions, rather than merely understanding or reproducing existing ones. Third, Dandin's discussion teaches that such expressions are inherently intertextual in the sense that they "create presuppositions and hence pre-texts for themselves," with a variety of rhetorical effects.[79] In fact, it is even possible to understand Dandin's modular method as subtly reinterpreting Bhamaha's law of indirectness (*vakrokti*), now applying not to the lack of factuality, but to the indirect and suggestive mode of signification of ornaments through a variety of presupposed pre-texts.[80]

Let me clarify that much of this is only implied in Dandin's analysis and mode of presentation. He does not use adjectives such as "modular" and "metatropic," nor does he explicitly explain the nature of poetic language as resting on an interrelated system of presuppositions. That said, the fact that numerous ornamental subtypes in the *Mirror* are based on modular combinations, in stark contrast to Bhamaha's practice, is indisputable, as are Dandin's pairs of examples and similar sets of types and subtypes. Moreover, Dandin does occasionally call attention to aspects of his method. For instance, when he addresses the ornament "denial" (*apahnuti*), he reminds his readers that he has already illustrated how statements of denial can work as subtypes of simile, and that now its own subtypes will be shown, thereby highlighting this device's capacity to be used on various modular levels.[81]

78 Ad KĀ 2.36: *nirṇayopamāyā asyāś ca ko bhedaḥ? ubhayatrāpi tattvaniścayāviśeṣāt. yady api tattvaniścayas tulyaḥ, tathāpi saṃśayacchedena niścayaḥ, iha tu viparyāsanirāseneti mahān bhedaḥ. anyatrāpy evaṃ kvacit kathañcid apekṣāviśeṣād vyākhyeyo bheda iti.* The former category of "simile through inference" indeed follows on the heels of an example of "simile through doubt." See more on Ratna's similar commentarial practices in Bronner and Cox, section 5.7 in this volume.

79 The quote is from Culler 1981: 118.

80 Bronner 2010: 219–22.

81 KĀ 2.307.

Another particularly illuminating case is that of "embrace" (*śleṣa*), which for Dandin is the most pervasive and potent device of disguise and revelation. He introduces a subtype based on embrace for almost every other ornament in the book, and when he finally discusses it as an ornament in its own right, he underscores this fact: "I have already demonstrated 'embraces' in the domains of simile, identification, dismissal, distinction, and so on. I will now demonstrate several others."[82] Later, when he concludes the chapter by specifically addressing the question of mixing ornaments, he again states, "As a rule, 'embrace' enhances the entire domain of 'crooked speech' (*vakrokti*)."[83] To me, this indicates that Dandin was entirely conscious of his modular metatropic system and perhaps even of its ability to redefine Bhamaha's notion of "crookedness." Certainly this system was obvious to Dandin's most important interpreter in Asia, Ratnashrijnana (hereafter Ratna), who often responded to statements of the open-endedness of different ornaments in creating new subtypes precisely by extending Dandin's modular method.[84] We have also seen that Ratna spelled out the principle of distinguishing categories by their different presuppositions. In Ratna's reading of the *Mirror* and in the responses it elicited in many readers in other language traditions discussed in this volume, I see a strong affirmation of Dandin's generative modularity. This method is one of the secrets of his work's success.

Before I conclude this section, let me clarify that Dandin's modular method for creating new ornamental subtypes—and hence new poetic statements—involves more than just combining ornaments that made it to his short list, and that he uses as modules other tropes and conceits as well. An example already noted in passing is that of epistemic doubt, with which Dandin creates repeated ornamental subtypes—simile through doubt, intensification based on doubt, and the dismissal of a doubt[85]—even though doubt itself is not an independent ornament for him. In fact, this is another example where Dandin is conscious of and outspoken about this methodology. I say this because "in doubt" (*sasandeha*) is an independent ornament expressing similitude in Bhamaha, and Dandin makes a point of noting that he has turned it into a subtype of simile,[86] while at the same time introducing modules of doubt-based varieties for other ornaments as well. Moreover, he routinely tops off such doubt varieties with additional varieties based on the resolution of doubt (as we have seen in the case of simile), indicating the metatropic potentials of certainty (to reveal uncertainty) and of

[82] KĀ 2.311: *upamārūpakākṣepavyatirekādigocarāḥ | prāg eva darśitāḥ śleṣā darśyante kecanāpare ||*.
[83] KĀ 2.360ab: *śleṣaḥ sarvāsu puṣṇāti prāyo vakroktiṣu śriyam |*.
[84] On this, see Bronner and Cox, section 5.7 in this volume.
[85] See KĀ 2.26, 2.214cd–15, and 2.161–62, respectively.
[86] KĀ 2.356ab: *ananvayasasandehāv upamāsv eva darśitau |*.

uncertainty (to suggest similitude or intensification).[87] Another prominent example is the paired modules of congruity (*yukta*) and incongruity (*ayukta*): with these, Dandin is happy to create two subtypes of "identification," two of "causation," and no less than four of "citing another case" (*arthāntaranyāsa*), even though neither is an independent ornament.[88] In adopting such modules, Dandin may have been influenced by dramaturgy's theory of poetic "characteristics," as Andrew Ollett and I argue later.[89]

There are also modules that involve the analysis of ornaments by the type of entity depicted (genera, attributes, actions, and individual manifestations), or by whether they pertain to an attribute or its possessor (*dharma*, *dharmin*), which are useful for the creation of new subtypes for a variety of ornaments.[90] And there are numerous other ways to create ornamental categories, often in a manner that is not necessarily modular in the sense that they seem best to fit just one device, such as the structure of the analogical proposition in simile or the different types of causal relations in causation. These additional subtypes serve as a reminder of Dandin's avowed open-endedness, according to which new ornamental categories are infinite and will forever continue to be invented. But it is precisely this vast open-endedness that makes his use of repeated modules so important, both for pedagogical purposes and for advancing his notion of aesthetics, or even the "Law of Ornaments" as he understood it.

Indeed, we can see here the combined effort of Dandin's aforementioned personae. Dandin the poet recognized the infinite plurality of literature; Dandin the scholar devised a modular method underlying much of its aesthetic effect; and Dandin the pedagogue (with the help of Dandin the poet, who penned the illustrations) found the way to his students' hearts and provided them with a generative grammar so that they could go their own way. Still, important questions remain: Is there a normative side to Dandin's generative grammar? Can one play at will with the modules? Is there such a thing as too much playfulness and complexity? These questions drive the following sections.

[87] "Simile through doubt" is followed by "simile through resolution" (2.27); "intensification phrased as doubt" is followed by "intensification phrased as inference" (2.216, as Ratna explains); and "the dismissal of a doubt" obviously presupposes a doubt (2.161). This pattern is seen elsewhere in the *Mirror*, even when Dandin does not call attention to it. For example, under causation (*hetu*), the final two examples also involve doubt and its resolution (2.256–57).

[88] For identification, see KĀ 2.77–78; for citing another case, 2.174–77; and for causation, 2.256–57, which also involve doubt and its resolution, as noted in note 87 above.

[89] See Bronner and Ollett, section 5.2 in this volume.

[90] See "factual statement," "illumination" (*dīpaka*), and "exceptionality" (*viśeṣokti*) for the former categorization, and simile, "dismissal," and "denial" (*apahnuti*) for the latter. Obviously, these subcategories should not be limited only to the ornaments under which they are given, as Ratna's additional illustrations show (see Bronner and Cox, section 5.7 in this volume).

## 1.4. The Scalar Path of Flaws and Virtues

*Yigal Bronner*

Ornaments are the heart of Dandin's work, but the paired discussions of poetic virtues (*guṇa*) and flaws (*doṣa*) are key to understanding the *Mirror* and its lasting success. The two bookend the treatise: virtues feature in the first chapter, immediately after the introductory discussion of the "body" of literature, and flaws form the end of the third chapter, bringing the work to completion. Moreover, statements about the two and their relationship frame the treatise. The *Mirror* opens by announcing its goal of enlightening those who are blind to the difference between virtues and flaws, and it ends by inviting readers whose mind has now been cultivated by the "path of flaws and virtues" (*mārgeṇa doṣaguṇayoḥ*) to compose poetry and "earn fame and have fun like youth."[91]

What is this path? To begin with, the structure of Dandin's work and the language of his opening and closing statements suggest that poetic flaws and virtues are in mutual balance. This is also confirmed by the extremely different approach of Dandin's main predecessor. Flaws dominate Bhamaha's *Ornament*, while he treats virtues only in one offhand comment.[92] But if for Bhamaha, teaching poesy meant first and foremost a long list of don'ts, Dandin found little sense in examining flaws in the absence of virtues and vice versa. In fact, his exploration of one category *is* the exploration of the other, and as I show below, Dandin often explicitly comments on this dialectic.[93]

Stated in the broadest terms, flaws, for Dandin, are virtues waiting to be realized, and virtues always run the risk of becoming flaws. The first part of this equation means that in the hands of a gifted poet, any base metal can be turned into gold. One subtle way in which Dandin illustrates this alchemy is by his treatment of many of Bhamaha's "don'ts." Consider, for instance, the two groups of flaws that are discussed in the first chapter of Bhamaha's *Ornament*. Dandin mentions none of these, so it may seem that he simply ignored them. In reality, he quietly folds every one of these liabilities into his discussions of a range of poetic assets: riddles (*prahelikā*), ornaments, and the virtues of "sweetness" (*mādhurya*)

[91] KĀ 1.8, 3.187. I return to the last verse in section 1.6 below.

[92] In chapter 1, Bhamaha dedicates twenty-three verses to discussing two groups of flaws, nine in total (BKA 1.37–59). Chapter 4 is entirely dedicated to another list of ten flaws (the same list that Dandin has; 4.1–50), whereas chapter 5 is taken up by logical flaws (5.1–69). Finally, a significant part of chapter 6 is devoted to grammatical missteps that poets should avoid. All in all, Bhamaha's treatment of flaws is largely tantamount to his treatment of ornaments, the titular topic of his book. For his offhand comment on virtues, see BKA 2.1–3.

[93] For instances of similar statements apropos of ornaments, see KĀ 2.56, 2.270, 2.341. For the statements made in the context of flaws and virtues themselves, see below.

and "transference" (*samādhi*).[94] The second part of the equation means that every positive is contrasted with, if not defined by, a negative into which it can turn and which may result from non-doing, ill doing, or, often, overdoing. Thus the *Mirror*'s path of flaws and virtues is a maze of mirrors, and it is no wonder that virtues define both of poetry's main trails—the favorite southern and the less favorite northeastern—trails that either run parallel, head in opposite directions, or intersect.

To realize the nature of this delicate mutuality, let us look at a few examples, beginning with virtues. They number ten in the standard list that Dandin inherited from the *Treatise on Theater* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*), and he replicates this list faithfully, while radically changing the nature of its items.[95] Yet despite being few in number, virtues are just as diverse as Dandin's thirty-five ornaments. Some, like "concision" (*śliṣṭa*), pertain strictly to phonetic texture; others, like "clarity" (*prasāda*), are a function of meaning; and still others are said to be qualities of both ("sweetness"—*mādhurya*). Similarly, "evenness" (*sama*) is explained specifically in terms of the relationship between metrical units, while "power" (*ojas*) is by definition oriented to prose. Furthermore, virtues like "tenderness" (*sukumāratā*) represent the specific local taste of southerners, while "transference" (*samādhi*) is said to be universal. Finally, some are rather specific, while others ("sweetness" is again a prominent example) are metaprinciples that underlie other virtues or ornaments. Indeed, an added complexity is a possible overlap with ornaments: some virtues and ornaments share a name, while others are similar even in the absence of shared nomenclature.[96]

Dandin never tries to mask these complexities. He offers no rule that governs all virtues (or an easy demarcation from ornaments) even though one feature common to many of them is that they pertain to the overall arrangement (*bandha*) of poetic elements.[97] Still, a close reading of the discussion of virtues reveals a consistent scalar quality. If ornaments are about the endless potential for intensifying poetic convention and calling attention to complex metatropic relations, the virtues of poetry in its preferred southern variety consist of success in avoiding excess and maintaining moderation. Put differently, virtuous southern

[94] In some cases, the former flaws become virtues, ornaments, or clever riddles in their own right, and in other, they serve as the backdrop of "sweetness." See Bronner forthcoming 1.

[95] The list of ten appears in NŚ 17.96. I plan to write elsewhere on Dandin's overhaul of this list. For a good summary, see Raghavan 1978: 257–75.

[96] *Śliṣṭa*, *udāra*, and *mādhurya* (in its definition as *rasavat*) all share their name with ornaments. A virtue like *arthavyakti*, by contrast, has a unique label, but it calls to mind the ornament "roundabout speech" (*paryāyokta*, see KĀ 1.73). Dandin explicitly acknowledges this partial overlap in KĀ 2.3. On *arthavyakti*, see Bronner and Cox in section 5.6 in this volume.

[97] For mentions of *bandha*, see KĀ 1.44 (*śliṣṭa*), 1.47 (*sama*), 1.60 (*mādhurya*), 1.69 (*sukumāratā*; see also 1.72 *badhyate*), and 1.83 (*ojas*).

poetry strongly prefers subtlety and understatement over heavy-handedness and hyperbole.

Consider, for example, the virtue of "tenderness" (*sukumāratā*). This quality means the avoidance of phonemes that, in Dandin's experience, are harsh on the ear and hard on the tongue; a poem that shuns them is "tender." Note, however, that like other virtues, tenderness means striking a fine balance. It is not advised that all phonemes be soft, for this entails the flaw of "looseness" (*śaithilya*).[98] Rather, it is enough that a poem be predominantly nonharsh (*aniṣṭhurākṣara-prāya*), or at least not predominantly (*bhūmnā*) harsh, in order to be succulent. Note the consistent use of vocabulary denoting degree (*prāyas*, *bhūmnā*) here and elsewhere.[99] Tenderness, in other words, is a type of moderation, as Dandin illustrates and explains:

> *maṇḍalīkṛtya barhāṇi kaṇṭhair madhuragītibhiḥ* |
> *kalāpinaḥ pranṛtyanti kāle jīmūtamālini* || (KĀ 1.70)
> They display a full circle of feathers,
> their throats let out a mellifluous trill—
> peacocks pirouette in the season
> when the sky is circled by clouds.

As this example shows, when it is read in Sanskrit, the poetic convention of peacocks dancing at the sight of monsoon clouds can be expressed softly, that is, by largely avoiding harsh sounds.

Dandin then adds a typical follow-up comment: "Here the meaning is totally unamplified, nor is any such ornament at play, and still the verse, just by being tender, merits recitation by the wise."[100] This statement implies that even a poem that is unadorned can be attractive if tender-sounding, but it also suggests that its tenderness may be related to its unassuming message. After all, the poem does contain an ornament, as the commentator Ratna perceptively notes, namely, "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*; that is, factual depiction of peacocks during the monsoon), but this ornament does not involve a "puffed-up" (*ūrjita*) overstatement. Thus, although nearly all the other ornaments in Dandin's kit are based on some sort of amplification, here the desired moderation in sound goes hand in glove with an understatement. Note, moreover, that one of Dandin's ornaments, *ūrjasvin*, which consists of bold speech if not self-aggrandizement, embodies,

[98] See KĀ 1.69; cf. 1.43.

[99] The quotes are from KĀ 1.69, 72. For other mentions of *prāyas* in the discussion of virtues, see KĀ 1.42, 54. For Ratna's use of this word, see Bronner and Cox, section 5.6 in this volume; for Vamana's avoidance of it, see Bronner in section 5.3.

[100] KĀ 1.71: *ity anūrjita evārtho nālaṅkāro 'pi tādṛśaḥ* | *sukumāratayaivaitad ārohati satāṃ mukham* ||.

in name and in meaning, the very opposite of tenderness's lack of amplification (*anūrjita*). Yet here, in the context of discussing supple poetry, Dandin's preference seems clearly for the moderate virtue rather than the immoderate ornament.

Subtlety also works in concert with moderation, as can be seen in the case of "magnificence" (*udāratva*). This virtue is nearly synonymous with another ornament (*udāra*), but here too, the virtue seems tenderer than its namesake. This is because the exalted magnificent property that gives both categories their names is here, by definition, suggested rather than explicitly stated. To drive the point home, Dandin notes that there is another, clearly less desirable version of this virtue. Some people, whom the commentators identify with the immoderate northeasterners, express magnificence by burdening the poem with high-flown adjectives.[101]

Finally, moderation entails the avoidance of hyperbole, as is clear in the case of the virtue "charming" (*kānta*). For the southerners, this means depicting or evoking tangible beauty, whereas the northeastern "sophisticates" (*vidagdha*)—here the word seems to be used sarcastically—have a taste for aggrandizing things beyond what is humanly possible (*lokatīta*) and are enamored (*upalālita*) with overstatement (*atyukti*).[102] For example, expressing doubt whether a woman's swelling breasts can be contained by her delicate frame is charming for the southerners, but wondering whether the creator has miscalculated the proportions of the entire universe because the world is simply too small to encompass the beloved's bust is a blatant overkill typical of the northeasterners.[103] Here the intended contrast with the chapter on ornamentation is a function of Dandin's language, rather than his nomenclature. "Charming," for the southerners, is a beauty that "does not overstep the boundaries of what is possible in the world" (*laukikārthānatikrama*, *lokayātrānuvartin*), whereas the foundational ornament "intensification" (*atiśayokti*) is later defined, in seeming agreement with the northeasterners, as rooted "in the desire to state the exceptional as out of this world" (*vivakṣayā viśeṣasya lokasīmātivartinaḥ*).[104]

[101] KĀ 1.76–80. For the ornament *udāra*, see KĀ 2.298–301.
[102] KĀ 1.89, 92.
[103] Compare KĀ 1.87 with 1.91.
[104] KĀ 1.85, 1.88, and 2. 212. Compare the last statement with 1.89: *lokātīta ivātyartham adhyāropya vivakṣitaḥ | yo 'rthas tenātituṣyanti vidagdhā netare janāḥ ||*. Some voices within the tradition have suggested that they understood Dandin's nuanced connection between the ornament "intensification" (*atiśayokti*) and the virtue "charm" (*kānti*). Thus Appayya Dikshita (ca. 1520–1593), who lived nearly a millennium after Dandin but who deeply respected him, gives Dandin's *kānti* example (KĀ 1.87) as an instance of one of his own subtypes of *atiśayokti* (itself clearly modeled after that of Dandin; *Kuvalayānanda*, p. 45; for Appayya's take on Dandin, see Bronner, section 5.10 in this volume). Likewise, the tenth-century Sinhala work, *Our Own Poetics*, has two types of *atiśayokti*, one that transcends worldly boundaries, and one that is worldly (*Siyabaslakara* 173); for more on this work, see Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, sections 3.2–3.5 in this volume.

How is one to account for this conscious reversal: the fact that practices warned against in the discussion of virtues apropos of the northeasterners are later endorsed in the discussion of ornaments, and, conversely, that the southern recommendation of the virtues seems not to be heeded in the later teaching on ornamental modules? Several explanations suggest themselves. First, in his opening discussion of regional practices, Dandin feels most compelled to defend his inherited southern style with its ethos of suggestion and understatement, which also seems to characterize his own poetry.[105] Second, it can be argued that the contrast is not a complete contradiction, so that, for example, despite the conflicting definitions, the more moderate verse praising the woman's breasts under the virtue "charming" is not all that different from another take on a similar topic under the ornament "intensification."[106] In fact, Dandin may be suggesting this when he states that the examples of "charming" are elaborated (*saṃskṛta*) and express intensification (*viśeṣa*, which Ranta glosses as *atiśaya*) without exceeding worldly boundaries.[107] Third, and relatedly, it may be that the contrastive language is meant to highlight precisely that intensification is not tantamount to overdoing: even hyperboles should have their limits. A similar point is made in the *Mirror*'s aforementioned discussion of the flaws of similes: the employment of a standard of comparison from a higher order is certainly acceptable and often recommended in elevating the subject, but one should not go as far as comparing a firefly with the sun.[108] Before giving his readers the keys to the toolkit of intensification through ornamentation, Dandin wanted to demonstrate that playing with them is good so long as it is done in good measure.

Seeking a delicate middle path between non-doing and overdoing, then, is one sense in which virtues are scalar, but it is not the only one. If one turns the scale too far, resulting in blunder, one might as well keep turning to render one's flaw a virtue again. This brings me to Dandin's innovative discussion of another standard list: that of the ten flaws. The basic idea is simple: what is misstated as the result of sloppiness or inattention is faulty, but if uttered with the intention of serving a particular poetic purpose, what is technically a flaw can become a virtue. For instance, speaking incoherently (*apārtha*) or inconsistently (*vyārtha*) is obviously not welcomed in poetry, but if characters in a poem are drunk, mad, or madly in love, such language becomes aesthetically opportune.[109] Likewise,

[105] Interestingly, it is under the discussion of the virtue "even" (*sama*) that the commentator Ratna says, if I understand him correctly, that Dandin's own writing is reputed for this very quality: *etac ca daṇḍināpy atyantasaṃrādhitam iti śrūyate* (KĀ ad 1.50, following a pair of illustrations from Kalidasa and Aryashura). I am grateful to Whitney Cox for first drawing my attention to the significance of this comment.

[106] Compare, for example, KĀ 1.87 (no room for the breasts between the woman's arms; example of "charming") with KĀ 2.215–16 (no waist between the woman's breasts and bottom; example of "intensification").

[107] KĀ 1.89.

[108] KĀ 2.51–56. For more see Bronner 2007: 95–98.

[109] KĀ 3.128–34.

when two lists are meant to express parallelism between their items, it makes no sense to switch the order midway (e.g., X, Y, Z, and then X, Z, Y), but in some cases this flaw, called "disorder" (*apakrama*), allows for a special emphasis on the element mentioned out of sequence, in which case it becomes a virtue.[110]

Dandin's method is not new; it is occasionally found in Bhamaha's *Ornament*. The novelty is in the consistency with which flaws are considered redeemable, and in redirecting the discussion from warning against misstatements to showing their vast poetic potential. Only one flaw, the breaking of metrical rules (*bhinnavṛtta*), proves irredeemable, and it, too, is accepted as potentially virtuous by vernacular adaptors of the *Mirror*, who often respond to this work by being more Dandin-like than the original.[111] Moreover, the calculated departures from Bhamaha's far stricter vision show how "flaws" for Dandin are a major site for developing a bold theory of openness.

One particularly instructive example is "contradiction" (*virodha*). Poetic statements are considered flawed if they contradict, among other things, scripture (*āgama*) or logic (or policy, *nyāya*). In Bhamiha's treatise, both of these categories are defined in strictly Brahminical terms: scripture refers to Hindu Dharma literature and the limits it sets, and logic to other authoritative treatises, political theory in particular.[112] Indeed, both of Bhamaha's examples involve characters who break shastric rules. That King Vatsa, though described as politically savvy, failed to employ spies is a flaw of contradicting reason or good policy.[113] Likewise, the illustration of contradicting scripture portrays an untimely intervention by a prince who, although his father is still alive, his education (or rites, *saṃskāra*) is incomplete, and he is not yet married, rushes to kill an enemy at night.[114] The story is somewhat obscure, but it is clear that by thus acting, the prince oversteps the boundaries of Brahminical legal tradition, which renders the narrative flawed.

From the many types of damaging contradictions, Dandin turns the two aforementioned subtypes into a tight pair. The contradiction of scripture (*āgama*) remains purely Brahminical, whereas *nyāya* is now identified with logic broadly defined.[115] Indeed, the examples are coupled along religious lines, and we see that the category of contradicting logic is expanded to include Buddhist teachings:

> The Buddha spoke the truth:
> impressions [*saṃskāra*] are eternal.

[110] KĀ 3.144–47.

[111] KĀ 3.156–58; KRM 1.75; See Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.4 in this volume.

[112] BKA 4.48: *āgamo dharmaśāstrāṇi lokasīmā ca tatkṛtā*; BKA 4.39: *nyāyaḥ śāstraṃ trivargoktir daṇḍanītiṃ ca tāṃ viduḥ*.

[113] BKA 4.41.

[114] BKA 4.49–50.

[115] KĀ 3.163: *hetuvidyātmako nyāyaḥ sasmṛtiḥ śrutir āgamah*.

Hence that girl with chakora eyes
forever remains in my heart.[116]

Although a novice, he's got a guru
to teach him the Vedas.
A diamond naturally pure
needs no polish [*saṃskāra*].[117]

These examples of "contradiction with logic" and "contradiction with scripture," respectively, are twinned by their use of the pregnant word *saṃskāra*—initiation, education, polish, acculturation—which already appeared in Bhamaha's example of the latter, and which has, by design, a very different meaning in Buddhism (mental formations, impressions, anything formed).[118] Moreover, although otherwise quite elegant, each verse grossly misinterprets one religious teaching: Buddhism teaches not the permanence of mental impressions but rather their transience, and Brahmins do not allow noninitiates access to the Vedas. These misrepresentations, moreover, are by definition the result of neglect (*kaveḥ pramādāt*), which renders them flawed.[119] All this is par for the course for Dandin, but the fact that he fashions the former category so as to take Buddhist and not just Brahminical teaching into account is striking. Here and elsewhere he seems to operate under the assumption that his theory and pedagogy are meant for and are open to poets of religions and communities other than his own.[120]

That this message rang loud and clear to Buddhist readers can be seen in Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics* (*Subodhālaṅkāra*), a thirteenth-century Pali treatise composed in Sri Lanka. In this work, a close adaptation of Dandin's *Mirror*, Sangharakkhita replaces nearly all of Dandin's illustrations with verses that laud the Buddha. Here I would like to draw attention to just one such verse, an illustration of "citing another case," which directly and playfully echoes Dandin's admonition about misrepresenting the Buddha's teaching:

Even our master, teacher of humans and gods,
even the sage of sages,

[116] KĀ 3.174: *satyam evāha sugataḥ saṃskārān avinaśvarān | tathā hi sā cakorākṣī sthitaivādyāpi me hṛdi* ||.
[117] KĀ 3.178: *asāv anupanīto 'pi vedān adhijage guroḥ | svabhāvaśuddhaḥ sphaṭiko na saṃskāram apekṣate* ||.
[118] On the word *saṃskāra* as an instance of Buddhist subversive appropriation, see Pollock 2016: 53.
[119] KĀ 3.164.
[120] Pollock makes a similar point about Sharvavarman's *Kātantra* as a grammar "intended to meet the new needs of Sanskrit usage outside the world of the Brahmanical liturgy" (Pollock 2006: 170).

he, too, had to pass away.
No formation is forever.[121]

The first three lines of this stanza communicate that even the Buddha, no matter how powerful and praiseworthy a sage he was, eventually had to pass. The fourth line is the general case cited to drive the point home: nothing is permanent. What I find striking about this stanza is the way it directly responds to Dandin's paired examples of "contradiction with scripture" and, primarily, "contradiction with logic." Both of them were cases of "citing another case" that went wrong (due to doctrinal misrepresentations), so it is seems only right that the correction will also be in the illustration of this ornament. And like both of Dandin's examples, Sangharakkhita's verse also includes the all-important word *saṅkhāra* (the Pali equivalent of the Sanskrit *saṃskāra*), here in the sense of "formations" ("No formation is forever"). As can be seen, then, Dandin's open invitation to use his tools for poetry that correctly depicts the Buddha was embraced with open hands.

Before I conclude this section, note that these contradictory flaws, fatal for Bhamaha, are remediable for Dandin. In other words, they, too, are not dead ends but rather openings for the use of poetic skill (*kavikauśalya*):

I reckon you—you're beyond reckoning.
You are whole but you have no parts.
You are one. You are legion.
You are everything.[122]

The Lady of Panchala, wife to five
Pandu sons, was the best of women.
A person's destiny
is destined to be.[123]

In the first of these verses, one again finds a contradictory religious teaching, but this time, this contradiction is true to the infinitely paradoxical nature of the divine, rather than the result of neglect. In other words, the contradiction inheres in the doctrine as seen through emic eyes, and the poet highlights this "flaw" and turns it into the centerpiece of the short praise poem. Note, by the way, that the verse does not identify its addressee, who, in theory, could be of any denomination. Likewise, in the second verse, the contradiction between Draupadi's being

[121] Subodh 241: *satthā devamanussānaṃ / vasī so pi munissaro /gato 'va nibbutiṃ / sabbe saṅkhārā na hi sassatā //*. Translation adapted from Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3 in this volume.

[122] KĀ 3.184: *prameyo 'py aprameyo 'si sakalo 'py asi niṣkalaḥ | ekas tvam apy aneko 'si namas te viśvamūrtaye* ||.

[123] KĀ 3.185: *pañcānāṃ pāṇḍuputrāṇāṃ patnī pañcālakanyakā | satīnām agraṇīś cāsīd daivo hi vidhir īdṛśaḥ* ||.

married to five men and her role as a paragon of women is the very topic of poetic contemplation and the source of its charm, rather than the result of oversight. Moreover, this short poem may be read as a statement about the aesthetic principle at hand: in poetry, just as in Dharma, a seeming wrong can actually be a right, options are plural, and one always has to keep one's eyes open to hidden plans and explanations.

To conclude: the poet is invited to play with poetic convention and the ornamental modules so long as he or she has a good hand and a light touch. One should not go overboard, but if one does, one ought to do so consciously and playfully, drawing attention to one's choice, because flaws result from virtues and virtues from flaws. Each category is the source of the other, so that talking about them in isolation is meaningless. This, then, is the basic "path of flaws and virtues." This lesson proved particularly attractive to readers of the *Mirror* in cosmopolitan and vernacular settings, who found Dandin's contrasting contours of virtues and flaws and their scalar quality uniquely useful in the process of making his model their own. It was also crucial in framing Dandin's own analysis, as can be seen in his discussion of poetry's most arduous path.

## 1.5. An Easy Stroll on Poetry's Difficult Path: Dandin on "Twinning"

*Yigal Bronner and Gary Tubb*

One of the most salient features of Dandin's *Mirror* is its unique treatment of *yamaka*, or "twinning." *Yamaka* is the repetition of a cluster of sounds, each time in a different meaning. This device is mentioned in all the extant pre-Dandin works of Sanskrit poetics alongside alliteration (*anuprāsa*), the other main member of a group that post-Dandin thinkers call "ornaments of sound" (*śabdālaṅkāra*). But unlike its sibling ornament, twinning came to be treated with deep suspicion by many literary experts. We see the first hint of this in the work of Bhamaha, Dandin's most significant predecessor. While celebrated poets such as Kalidasa and Magha were conducting extensive experiments with it, Bhamaha's discussion of twinning seems intentionally terse: he insists that only five subtypes of *yamaka* are needed and rejects others, notes that the complete-verse variety of *yamaka* is hard to compose, adds a list of stipulations that must be adhered to for *yamaka* to be appreciated (e.g., clarity and easy comprehension), and then rejects *prahelikā*, riddle poems that for him are also a type of *yamaka*, on the grounds that they are so difficult that they necessitate a running commentary.[124] The acceptance of

[124] For the literary experiments, consult Bronner 2010: 63–64, 77–78; and Tubb 2014a. For Bhamaha's discussion, see BKA 2.10–20.

twinning thus seems, at the very least, conditioned by a demand that it not be "too difficult," and some later thinkers rejected it altogether, often quite vehemently.[125] Simply stated, *yamaka* posed an aesthetic and pedagogical challenge to Dandin, who never seemed to shy away from a challenge.

Dandin tackles the *yamaka* problem boldly and originally. First, he uncouples the ornaments of sound. Alliteration becomes one of several factors that make up his much-expanded virtue of "sweetness," which, like all virtues, is discussed in the first chapter of his book.[126] Twinning, too, is considered under sweetness but is rejected as not invariably sweet.[127] Instead, it is relegated to the third and last chapter, where Dandin groups a variety of more controversial topics, including the riddles that Bhamaha dismissed but which Dandin happily embraces, poems that can be read from beginning to end as well as from end to beginning (technically considered "twinning" by Dandin), pattern poems, other experiments that test the limits of poetry (such as passages that consciously avoid certain sounds), and, finally, outright flaws. And as we have seen with the virtues that are not necessarily flawless and his rather virtuous flaws, the sweetness of Dandin's alliteration has its limits,[128] and the notoriously difficult twinning reveals a surprisingly sweet and nonchalant side, even if producing it is far from easy.

Second, Dandin's vision of twinning is vast. Whereas Bhamaha went out of his way to be terse, Dandin allots some seventy verses to *yamaka*, easily the most space given to any device in the *Mirror* (11 percent of the entire text, to be precise). And while Bhamaha grudgingly accepted no more than five categories, Dandin gladly envisions an endless universe (*prapañca*) of types and subtypes of twinning, dozens of which he defines and illustrates. If the plan was that the more delicate topics be left for last, where he could deal with them attentively and leisurely, Dandin certainly took the time to show methodically how twinning can be simple and complex, lighthearted and dizzyingly dense, and he marvelously displayed his skill as a poet in penning its examples. All this, moreover, was done conspicuously and openly, almost as a dare: if Bhamaha grumbled that twinning is riskily arduous, Dandin welcomed the risk with enthusiasm. As far as we know, the dare was never fully accepted: no later mainstream work on ornaments even came close to the brazenly vast portrayal of twinning in the *Mirror*.[129]

Dandin begins his discussion with a laconic definition: "Twinning is the repetition of clusters of phonemes," unlike alliteration, which he earlier defined

[125] For example, Anandavardhana labeled the use of *yamaka* in the context of the erotic rasa as "carelessness, even if used with skill" (*śaktāv api pramāditvam*; *Dhvanyāloka* 2.15), and Nilakantha Dikshita termed it a "disease leading to sudden death" (*āmaye yamake jāgraty apamṛtyau ca duṣkavau*; *Gaṅgāvataraṇa* 1.30).

[126] KĀ 1.51–69.

[127] KĀ 1.61: *naikāntamadhuram*.

[128] KĀ 1.59–60.

[129] The one exception is Rudrata, who comes as a close second. He devotes the whole third chapter of his book to twinning, fifty-eight verses in total, and his discussion is primarily based on Dandin's.

as the "repetition of [individual] phonemes."[130] Note that he does not mention that each identical cluster must have a different meaning, presumably because, as in the exposition of other devices, he trusts his readers to realize key characteristics not just from systematic stipulations but also from his illustrations. He next outlines the basic formal parameters for classifying *yamaka*'s "extremely numerous types and subtypes."[131] Then he divides twinning into "easy" and "difficult,"[132] a division that serves to structure the remainder of the discussion. To understand his fascination with twinning and his crucial distinction between its ostensibly "easy" and "difficult" varieties, we must look closely at his examples. Because these are numerous, we offer here a short case study of six verses from the two halves of his exposition (four "easy" and two "difficult"). For every verse we provide the Sanskrit text with the repetition underscored, a "translation" that unfortunately but unavoidably fails to replicate the language-specific puns and wordplays, and a brief discussion.

Let us begin, like Dandin, with simple cases. Each of the following four verses contains a single instance of contiguous twinning, located at the beginning of one metrical unit. In the first verse, this "initial twinning" (*ādiyamaka*) is found in the first metrical quarter, in the second it is found in the second, and so on, as per Dandin's methodical exposition. Note that the first two verses are about love and the last two about kingship, a typical Dandinian mix. All follow a simple pattern of twinning, although this simplicity, we will show, is deceptive. Take, for instance, Dandin's first example:

> <u>*mānena*</u> <u>*mānena*</u> *sakhi praṇayo 'bhūt priye jane* |
> *khaṇḍitā kaṇṭham āśliṣya tam eva kuru satrapam* || (KĀ 3.4)
> In dealing with that dear man of yours,
> friend, don't fall in love with your pride.
> You've been cheated. Throw your arms around him.
> Let *him* feel uneasy.

A woman is coaching her friend on how to deal with her partner's disloyalty. Twinning is found at the very outset and consists of the repeated *mānena*: "with pride" but also *mā* + *anena*, "don't . . . with your." This repetition, as often in the hands of skilled poets, calls attention to the underlying issue,[133] which here is that of the dangers of jealous pride. It also manages to convey concisely a psychologically complex bit of advice: the woman should not simply express her anger,

[130] Compare KĀ 1.55 (*varṇāvṛttir anuprāsaḥ*) with 3.1 (*vyāvṛttir varṇasaṃhater yamakam*).
[131] KĀ 3.3: *atyantabahavaḥ . . . bhedāḥ sambhedayonayaḥ*.
[132] KĀ 3.3: *sukarā duṣkarāś caiva*.
[133] See Tubb 2014a: 162–71 for a discussion of Kalidasa's subliminal use of *yamaka*, a technique that his faithful reader Dandin likely noticed.

but rather should make the man the uncomfortable one in an unexpected way. The commentator Ratna recognizes this emotional complexity by apologizing for not having the space to explain it.[134] On top of all this, note that in addition to the twinning in the first quarter, there is also alliteration in the second (*praṇayo . . . priye*) and the third (*khaṇḍitā kaṇṭham*). Dandin shows already in his first example of *yamaka* that it can be simple linguistically but rich in its poetic effects.

This pattern carries over to the following example:

*meghanādena haṃsānāṃ* <u>*madano*</u> <u>*madano*</u>*dinā* |
*nunnamānaṃ manaḥ strīṇāṃ saha ratyā vigāhate* || (KĀ 3.5)
The thunder delights the geese
and drives pride from the hearts of women,
where Love dives in
along with Passion.

This is a typical depiction of the onset of the rainy season, when the hearts of women whose husbands are away soften. As they hear the first thunder, homebound women imagine that so do their traveling husbands, and that they will immediately start home before the roads become impassable. The *yamaka* is simple, based on twin derivations from the same root, *mad* (*madana*, "Love," and *mada*, "delight," + *nodita*). But here, too, the simplicity is misleading. Note, first, the added acoustic effects: the highly alliterative third metrical quarter (*nunnamānaṃ manaḥ*) and, across the caesura, the repetition of another root, *nud*, in two different derivations (*nodinā* | *nunna-*) and two different meanings. Second, the twinning calls attention to the great eruption of passion during the monsoon because the reader likely takes the poem (or perhaps even the geese) to cry "love, love" (*madano madano*) before reinterpreting the second instance to avoid plain repetition, and this initial take leaves a subliminal impression in the mind. Third, the sound effects heighten a carefully crafted vision of the passionate chain reaction that reverberates worldwide: the cloud's sonorous rumble leads to the geese's cries of delight (they, too, take a cue from the thunder to migrate for nesting in Lake Mānasa), and these, in turn, facilitate passion's entrance into human hearts (*manas*).[135] Fourth, there is the return to "pride" (*māna*), censured in the previous verse and now successfully driven away, a precondition for the resuming of love. Finally, note the complex intersubjective interplay that this short verse creates when the women imagine the men's thoughts to be in

[134] Ratna on KĀ, p. 203: *kiṃ māneneti? śabdārthapradhānam etad yamakavyākhyānaṃ kriyate, bhāvārthacarcāyām ativistaraprasaṅgāt.*
[135] For a discussion of such chains of reaction, see Bronner 2014: 250–59.

harmony with theirs and with all the forces of nature, so that it is not by chance that the verse concludes with a vision of togetherness of the erotic divinities themselves, Love (masculine) and his consort, Passion (feminine).[136] Twinning, it would seem, goes hand in hand with a mode of resonant cognitions.

In the next verse, twinning moves forward to the third metrical foot and also to a very different context, where a poet praises a king:

*rājanvatyaḥ prajā jātā bhavantaṃ prāpya sāmpratam* |
*caturaṃ caturambhodhirasanorvīkaragrahe* || (KĀ 3.6)
Your subjects have now become well ruled
by obtaining you, who are skillful
in collecting taxes from the earth
encircled by the four oceans.

We are now in the political arena, although, as we shall see, the erotic is also embraced. The basic *yamaka* is built around the words *caturam* ("skillful") and *catur + am . . .* ("four"). This is straightforward, but again, there is ample complexity. Virtually all the words here have a double meaning: *prajā* ("subjects," "children"), *catura* ("skillful," "good-looking"), *sāmpratam* ("now," "suitable"), *rājanvatya*: ("having a king," "having a good king");[137] most significantly, *karagraha* means not just collecting taxes but also taking the hand of the personified earth in marriage, something a king is expected to do.[138] Thus there is also a bitextual "embrace" (*śleṣa*) here, and the whole verse can be translated twice, with two different mini-narratives about the king. He is both a good husband and a good ruler, and there is a causal relationship between these two semantic layers as between one phonetic twin (*catur-a* as marking the dominion over the earth in its entirety, that is, surrounded by all four seas) and the other (*catura* as marking the charm and political skill of the king).[139] The king, in other words, is doubly skillful, which again supports a subliminal message embedded in the initial plain repetition: *caturam caturam*, or: "skillful, skillful."

To complete our first quartet of illustrations, consider the following verse, where twinning moves, according to Dandin's systematic presentation, to the beginning of the fourth and final metrical quarter:

[136] For a discussion of such intersubjective machinations in courier poetry, see Bronner, Shulman, and Tubb forthcoming.

[137] A Paninian rule explains the latter: the *sūtra* is *rājanvān saurājye* (*Aṣṭādhyāyī* 8.2.14, in the section on using the possessive suffix *vant* instead of *mant*). The commentary on this is clear: *rājanvān iti nipātyate saurājye gamyamāne. śobhano rājā yasminn iti sa rājanvān deśaḥ. rājanvatī pṛthvī. rājavān ity evānyatra* (*Kāśikāvṛtti*, p. 912).

[138] A pun on *kara* is already featured in Dandin's first example of "embrace," KĀ 2.309.

[139] This relationship is further substantiated by the variant reading *sat-pati* ("good king/husband") found in the editions of Sastrulu (p. 217) and Rangacharya (p. 316 n1).

*araṇyaṃ kaiścid ākrāntam anyaiḥ sadma divaukasām* |
*padātirathanāgāśva*<u>*rahitair ahitai*</u>*s tava* || (KĀ 3.7)
Some have crowded the forest,
some the halls of heaven:
these are your enemies, stripped
of their infantry, chariots, elephants, cavalry.

Again, a bard is speaking, this time hailing his patron's victory over his enemies. We already know that an able king controls the four corners of the compass (the four seas), but we now learn that he also deprives his foes of the four pillars of their army (infantry, chariots, elephants, and cavalry), leaving them with two opposite paths: the glory of heaven that comes with a heroic death in battle, or the disgrace of fleeing to the forest. The verse includes a variety of fine syntactic, alliterative, and rhythmic effects,[140] but let us turn directly to the twinning with which it culminates. The noun *ahita* ("enemy") is modified by the preceding adjective *rahita* ("deprived"). This, together with the identical morphological ending of both modifier and modified and the fact that the last phoneme of the former (*r*) can be severed from it and added to the latter for the sake of repetition, creates perfect phonetic twins (*rahitai rahitai*). This is an excellent example of Dandin's light touch, but note that the seemingly simple repetition also calls attention to a causal relationship between the enemies' ill intentions (the literal meaning of *ahita*, "enemy") and their ill fate (*rahita* signifies their being "stripped" of their armies). Moreover, there is also a pointed reference here to Bhatti's *Killing of Ravana* (*Rāvaṇavadha*), a poem Dandin likely knew. In Bhatti's first example of twinning (in a chapter that systematically illustrates all ornaments), there is a complex *yamaka*, featuring, among other elements, the same word *ahita*, but with an exactly opposite affect and causal effect. In Bhatti, Rama's faithful servant Hanuman shows that he is a true rival (*ahita*) of his nemesis, Ravana, which earns him Rama's utmost respect (*mahita*).[141] This playful inversion is typical of Dandin,[142] and as we can see here and in the preceding verses, a great deal of complexity is packed into his easy examples of twinning.

Indeed, things continue to get complicated, but we cannot illustrate this progress in detail.[143] Dandin ends his long section on "easy twinning" with a typical

[140] Note, for example, the interplay between short words at the beginning and end of the verse and a five-word compound occupying the middle and extending over the caesura in the middle (exactly where the twinning begins). For a discussion of such bold experiments in the works of Dandin's predecessor Bana, see Tubb 2014b.
[141] *Rāvaṇavadha* 10.2. See also Tubb 2014a: 159–61.
[142] See Bronner 2017 for similar inversions, including of Bhatti's.
[143] Let us just note that the very next verse (3.8) includes no less than four ornamental effects—identification (or simile: *ambhojavadane*), illusion (*viḍambayati*), doubt (*kiṃ nu*), and an amazing alliteration (*vibhramaṃ bhramarabhrāntyā*)—all in addition to featuring a "doubled initial twinning."

statement to the effect that numerous other subtypes can be postulated if only one follows his way (*gati*), but that he has no intention of "doing the topic to death" (*prapañcabhayāt*). Instead, he switches gears and turns to demonstrating "only a few instances that are considered difficult" (*duṣkarābhimatā eva darśyante tatra kecana*).[144] Note the playful tone. First, the instances are far from few. Second, Dandin is implying that despite all the complexity seen thus far, only now begins the truly complicated part. Third, he may be suggesting, conversely, that the difficult cases of twinning are only perceived as such, perhaps by hostile thinkers like Bhamaha, but if they are taught properly, they will prove friendlier than they seem. Here, too, a methodical demonstration follows that leads, with growing intricacy, from multiple repetitions in different locations in the metrical matrix to replications of entire metrical feet and, finally, to a fully twinned verse that yields one meaning when it is read forward, from left to right, and another when it is read backward, from right to left.

Again, we will look only at the opening illustrations. Here is Dandin's first example of a difficult *yamaka*:

> *sthirāyate yatendriyo na hīyate yater bhavān* |
> *amāyateyate 'py abhūt sukhāya te 'yate kṣayam* || (KĀ 3.39)
> Lasting is your legacy, sir. You've mastered
> your senses no less than a sage.
> Your being beyond error
> brings bliss with no end.

When one reads the Sanskrit aloud, the initial impression is dominated by the stunning sound effects. The string *yate* is repeated eight times, with two contiguous instances in the middle of every metrical unit, and accounts for half the syllables in this short but immensely dense stanza. It takes at least another round of reading, preferably with the help of a commentary, before the poem begins to unfold. Some items must be interpreted differently from what they appear at first blush.[145] Moreover, no two instances of *yate* can mean the same thing, so different appropriate meanings must be supplied for each of the eight appearances. Then there are various residual impressions, such as the fine alliteration surrounding the twinning in the first quarter, the fact that the verse begins on a note on durability ("lasting"; *sthira*) and ends with the word "end" (*kṣayam*), and the subliminal message that the repetitions of *yate* burn in the mind: "O sage!"—even as it turns out that none of them has "sage" as its addressee. Rather, a king is being addressed and is said to be no less a sage than an actual one.

[144] KĀ 3.37–38.
[145] Most conspicuously, *sthirāyate* is not a denominative verb but a vocative noun.

Then the real complexity hits the reader. It turns out that the whole verse is doubled: it simultaneously depicts political and spiritual advancement in a way that favors the former.[146] This is because, on the part of the sage, the bliss of being beyond error (*amāyatā*) is self-enjoyed, whereas in the case of the king, it is shared by all his subjects. Once this meaning, which resonates well with the subliminal message "O sage!" is realized, the verse lends itself to at least two additional interpretations: an insinuation on the part of the speaking bard that the king should make him happy as well (by paying him generously) and a possible hint from Dandin to his readers, poets in the making, how good and successful they can be if they have been carefully following his teaching.

Technically speaking, this example illustrates a contiguous case of "multiple twinning," displayed uniformly in the middle of every metrical quarter. For our final example, we will skip one verse in Dandin's patient and methodical presentation to a similar instance wherein the repetition is found at the end of every unit (to allow for a longer repeated stretch, he turns to a more capacious meter). Here Dandin turns once again to the realm of love, even though little love is lost between the speakers:

> *tava priyā saccaritāpramatta yā*
> *vibhūṣaṇaṃ dhāryam ihāṃśumattayā* |
> *ratotsavāmodaviśeṣamattayā*
> *na me phalaṃ kiñcana kāntimattayā* || (KĀ 3.41)
> Precisely because you always know what's right,
> have your darling wear this bright adornment.
> She can be proud at pleasing you so well
> in bed. No point in my trying to look pretty.

A man has brought a piece of jewelry in hopes of appeasing his woman. She knows well that he has been having an affair with her rival, which is why she refuses his gift. For all the complex repetitions, the verse is surprisingly readable and yields meaning quite immediately. Still, what first caught our attention in this verse is the deep suggestive effect that strongly supports the speaker's bitter sarcasm. The repeated stretch *mattayā* intuitively refers to her rival's pride—she believes herself to be special or is even drunk (*matta*) on her newly won power. This, indeed, is the sense in which this stretch is used at the end of the third line ("She can be proud"). But on an even deeper level, *mat* and *tayā* are two pronouns that, taken separately, mean "from me" and "by her," respectively. The speaker bemoans the

[146] Rangacharya in his commentary takes the verse only in the spiritual application (*kaścid jīvanmuktaṃ satpuruṣaṃ stauti*; p. 328), and none of the other commentators explicitly applies the verse to a king. Our interpretation is nonetheless implied by the contrast in the word *yateḥ* ("than a sage") understood in the setting of court poetry.

fact that her partner was snatched "from me by her," which is why she insists that the other woman should "bear this bright adornment." These two pronouns are not actually used in themselves in the explicit syntax of the verse, but the repetition at the end of each of the four lines of the exact sequence of sounds that would constitute the phrase *mat tayā*, "from me by her," builds up the subliminal suggestion of something that is central to what the speaker is thinking and that explains the reasons for her uttering such unusually harsh words. This is perhaps the best example we have seen so far of the causal effect of the *yamaka*'s hidden message and its ability to call attention to itself.

Although we have examined only a tiny sample of Dandin's leisurely, methodical, and extensive exploration of twinning, several insights suggest themselves. First, as we have come to expect, the "easy" cases of *yamaka* can be mind-numbingly complex, whereas some of the more difficult ones, while at least as intricate, demonstrate a surprisingly light touch. Second, against the lingering suspicion about the pointlessness of twinning, Dandin shows how it can support some of the mainstays of poetry—erotic encounters and praise for one's king—and that it can add to these a special force. Third, such enhancement is often helped by a residual, subliminal meaning that is not necessarily explicit and that, like the aforementioned metatropic interplay and the flaws-turned-virtues, is inherently reflexive and opens a space for a variety of effects and affects: playfulness, irony, and sheer pleasure.

## 1.6. The Pleasure Principle: A Farewell

*Yigal Bronner*

In the famous opening verse of the *Mirror*, functioning as its customary benediction, Dandin asks Sarasvati, goddess of poetry and the consort of Brahma, the creator of the world, for her blessing. She is depicted as an all-white female goose, and he invites her to "forever delight in the lake of my heart."[147] The work ends, as we have seen, with Dandin's own blessing on the readers trained by his treatise to compose poetry and thereby "earn fame and have fun." One Sanskrit root, *ram*, appears in both verses. This root's semantic field includes "playing," "delighting in," and "rejoicing." It also typically refers to erotic games with their distinct form of pleasure. This connotation is hinted at in the opening verse, where Dandin refers to Sarasvati as the partner of Brahma and even more so of himself, as a poet worthy of

[147] KĀ 1.1 *caturmukhamukhāmbhojavanahaṃsavadhūr mama | mānase ramatāṃ nityaṃ sarvaśuklā sarasvatī* ||. The word for heart, *mānasa*, is also the name of a famous lake. For the Sinhala response to this verse in *Our Own Poetics*, see Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.3 in this volume.

her attention. It is made fully explicit in the closing verse, where the poet's thrill in playing with words is compared to the love life of a "fortunate youth, who has made a rendezvous with women of enchanting eyes, who would do as he pleases."[148]

It is clear that for Dandin, the whole business of poetry, from inception to reception, is a matter of joy that is akin to sexual pleasure. Poets may become rich and famous as a result of their literary work, but on a more basic level, the act of composing poetry must be a delightful adventure that, like love, requires an openness to being enchanted and the ability to enchant. Note, in this connection, that both verses include "embraces" (*śleṣa*) on various levels, literally and figuratively. Note also the choice of the word "youth" in the latter verse. Why highlight the young age of the lover? One possibility is that by doing so, Dandin, as a seasoned writer, sets himself apart from his younger imagined readers, poets in the making. After all, one does not usually speak of "youth" in this way while being one. Indeed, there are indications that Dandin composed the *Mirror* at a relatively late stage in life, when he could look back with the wisdom and reflexivity that comes with age:

> I earned no money, gained
> no knowledge, did nothing
> for my soul. I lived a long life
> but wasted it all.[149]
>
> Gone is the thrill of talking of love.
> Spent is my puerile passion.
> I am done with delusion, no longer thirsty;
> my mind is fixed on the pious path.[150]

Even if the *Mirror* was a not late work, either literally or in the qualitative sense that Said eloquently described,[151] Dandin's treatise gives the clear impression of a veteran author who has seen it all: senior men who prey on adolescent girls, well-adorned women who start for the homes of their lovers on moonlit nights, men who use slick language to deny their wrongdoing, wives who resort to various shades of irony to make their partners stay, husbands who keep betraying their wives, and the bitterness and sarcasm that come with being betrayed.[152] Dandin is also a savvy court poet who has seen poets stretch the boundaries of what is

[148] KĀ 3.187: *vyutpannabuddhir amunā vidhidarśitena mārgeṇa doṣaguṇayor vaśavartinībhiḥ | vāgbhiḥ kṛtābhisaraṇo madirekṣaṇābhir dhanyo yuveva ramate labhate ca kīrtim* ||.

[149] KĀ 2.157: *artho na sambhṛtaḥ kaścin na vidyā kācid arjitā | na tapaḥ sañcitaṃ kiñcid gataṃ ca sakalaṃ vayaḥ* ||.

[150] KĀ 2.246: *gataḥ kāmakathonmādo galito yauvanajvaraḥ | kṣato mohaś cyutā tṛṣṇā kṛtaṃ puṇyāśrame manaḥ* ||.

[151] Said 2007.

[152] See KĀ 2.204, 2.213, 2.131, 2.135–45, and 3.41, respectively.

permissible in speaking to power, but always with a smile.[153] He has witnessed the surprising fact that inept poets can suddenly find their gift, and others have used nongrammatical language to charming effect.[154] He has fathomed that a strict and inflexible theory quickly runs up against its limits, and that in the end, each poet has his or her own style.[155] And he has realized that to teach poesy, one has to find a modular approach that is far more generative than normative and that imparts to students the basic modules and a familiarity with both ends of the scale, leaving the rest in their hopefully sensitive hands.

In crafting this enabling, open pedagogy, as in many other aspects of his work—think, for example, of his image of the lasting reflection that later gave its name to his work—Dandin saw into the future. But even he, perceptive author that he was, could not have foreseen the amazing future of his *Mirror*. The remainder of this volume is dedicated to this future.

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[153] See, for example, KĀ 2.344.
[154] See KĀ 1.104 and 3.148, discussed above.
[155] See KĀ 1.101, discussed above.

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# 2

# “A Mirror and a Handlamp”

## The *Way of the Poet-King* and the Afterlife of the *Mirror* in the World of Kannada Literature

*Edited by Andrew Ollett*

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### 2.1. Introduction

*Andrew Ollett*

> Shrivijaya’s *Way for Poets* is both a mirror and a handlamp for the minds of inspired poets. . . .[1]

One of the earliest texts to engage with Dandin’s *Mirror*—and the earliest vernacular text to do so—is the *Way of the Poet-King* (*Kavirājamārgaṁ*), composed by Shrivijaya around 870 CE. The *Way*, as we refer to it, is written in Kannada, one of the regional languages of South India and the language of the modern Indian state of Karnataka. Kannada belongs to the Dravidian language family, together with Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, and Tulu.

The *Way* is, with a number of qualifications, the earliest Kannada text to survive. It is also a text about Kannada, in the sense that it offers a programmatic vision of Kannada literature. Its place at the beginning—or, as this chapter argues, a new beginning—of Kannada literature has been affirmed by modern literary historiography. Thus Dandin’s *Mirror of Literature* is present at a crucial moment of vernacular beginnings. This chapter shows how Dandin’s

[1] *Five Discourses in Kannada*, v. 19 (p. 3). Note that in this chapter we employ the orthographic conventions for Kannada that we have proposed in Ollett and Pierce Taylor forthcoming. For the sake of consistency, we use the same conventions when quoting Sanskrit text. Hence we use r̥ for vocalic *r*, *ṁ* for *anusvāra*, and *ē* and *ō* for the long versions of these vowels (as opposed to *e* and *o*, which are reserved for the short versions of these vowels, which do not occur in Sanskrit).

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*Mirror* is reflected in the Kannada *Way*. Regarding the more difficult question of why the beginnings of several vernacular literatures were articulated through Dandin's *Mirror*, it is evident from the *Way of the Poet-King* that the *Mirror* provided an open-ended but coherent literary system for a vernacular community that was in search of precisely such a system. Shrivijaya's *Way* was remembered, like Dandin's text, as a mirror to reflect, and reflect *upon*, a set of literary practices constitutive of an ideal literary community. In doing so, as this chapter shows, it necessarily "refracted" the *Mirror*'s light, changing the way that those practices appeared. But it was also remembered as a handlamp. The implications of this metaphor—that one cannot find the path in the surrounding darkness—seem to apply specifically to the *Way* and its vernacular project.

The *Way* has sometimes been described as a "translation" of Dandin's *Mirror*. Since "translation" continues to suggest a one-to-one mapping of the meaning of a text into another language, even though the field of translation studies has shown that this is merely one kind of translation, the *Way*'s relation to the *Mirror* might be better described as "adaptive reuse."[2] As this chapter shows, Shrivijaya does not simply translate the content of the *Mirror*, but channels its spirit for his vernacular project. The *Way*'s model of engagement with Dandin established a pattern within the world of Kannada literature: for centuries afterward, Kannada authors kept going back to the *Mirror* to explain the fundamental techniques of literature. This chapter first introduces the *Way* and the project in which Dandin's *Mirror* was imaginatively and centrally put to use. Section 2.2, written by Andrew Ollett and Sarah Pierce Taylor, is organized around the axes of the *Way*'s authors, its intertexts, and its languages. It shows that Shrivijaya engages with Dandin by "playing Dandin's own game." His use of the *Mirror* is generally subtle and allusive, even and especially where he seems to be following Dandin closely. Sometimes Shrivijaya diverges from the model of the *Mirror*, doing to Dandin what Dandin himself had done to Bhamaha, often in the same understated and playful mode. In some cases, these divergences are motivated by different theoretical concerns—above all, the concerns of the vernacular—and in others, apparently, by more general concerns of economy and logical coherence. The *Way* invites its readers to reflect on these varied intertextual phenomena as a set of meanings that is consistently "built into" the *Way* and needs to be uncovered, and appreciated, by skilled readers who are familiar with Dandin's *Mirror*. One of the pleasures of reading the *Way*, in fact, is experiencing these moments of alignment and disjuncture. In this respect the *Way*, the earliest attempt to adapt Dandin's *Mirror* to a vernacular world, can be compared to *Our Own*

[2] For "adaptive reuse," see Freschi and Maas 2017.

*Poetics*, the next-earliest attempt to do so.[3] The introduction to the *Way* in section 2.2 is followed by two detailed case studies. The first (section 2.3), written by Ollett, examines how Shrivijaya transforms Dandin's discussion of the ornament of "dismissal" (*ākṣēpa*), in accordance with his own intellectual and pedagogical priorities. This section shows that the use of the *Mirror* as a model did not imply acceptance of Dandin's treatment in all particulars. The second (section 2.4), written by Ollett and Pierce Taylor, illustrates how, following Dandin's example, Shrivijaya turns a poetic flaw into a poetic virtue: in this case, a general requirement of metrical structure is sacrificed in order to allow another feature of poetic structure—one which characterizes Kannada in distinction to Sanskrit—to be implemented. In section 2.5, Gil Ben-Herut turns to another Kannada text that engages closely with Dandin's *Mirror*, the *Ornament of King Udayaditya*, which has several key differences from the *Way of the Poet-King*.

We conclude in section 2.6 with a reflection on the long history of effects that Dandin's *Mirror* has had in the world of Kannada literature and poetics, initiated and to some degree mediated by the *Way of the Poet-King*. One feature that distinguishes this history from that of other regions, such as Tibet, is the absence in the earliest period of "translation" in the strict sense of the word, and correspondingly, the fact that the "Kannada Dandins," rather than doing away with the need to read their Sanskrit prototype, engaged Dandin in a way that arguably *increased* his popularity and influence in the Kannada-speaking world.[4]

## 2.2. The *Way of the Poet-King*: Authority, Intertextuality, Language

*Andrew Ollett and Sarah Pierce Taylor*

The *Way* has played a critical role in discussions of South Asian vernacularity for two reasons. First, it is the earliest vernacular text to survive in manuscript form in all of South Asia, with the exception of Tamil. Second, and relatedly, Sheldon Pollock has used Kannada, specifically as it was "systematized" in the *Way of the Poet-King*, as his primary example of a "cosmopolitan vernacular," a local language that was deliberately enriched with the expressive resources of Sanskrit.[5] The *Way*'s nuanced stance toward Dandin's *Mirror* instantiates a specific kind of vernacularity that Pollock did not elicit in his discussion: respect, yet not deference, for the Sanskrit tradition; presupposing rather than replacing it; delight in the particularities of the vernacular without either defensiveness or a feeling of

[3] See Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, sections 3.2–3.5 in this volume.
[4] For the Tibetan Dandins, see Chapter 6.
[5] Pollock 2006: 368.

insufficiency. The tonalities of the *Way* allow us to understand vernacularity not simply as a linguistic phenomenon, but also through its structures of feeling.[6] In this section, we examine these structures through complex notions of authority, intertextuality, and language. Each of these features locates Dandin's *Mirror* in the field of forces that configures the *Way*'s vernacular project. In contrast to many texts composed around the same time, the *Way* does not state the name of its author unambiguously.[7] Unsurprisingly, then, it has been ascribed to different figures in its premodern reception. Much of the secondary scholarship on the *Way* has sought to address the question of who should be credited as the text's "author." The text supplies us with two candidates: one is the Rashtrakuta king Amoghavarsha, who ruled over much of the southeastern part of the subcontinent from 815 to 877 CE, and another is a little-known poet named Shrivijaya. Another possibility, besides one or the other having authored the text on his own, is that the two of them collaborated on it, in a sense that remains to be defined.[8] Our investment in this author question is not empirical: who sat where, whose authority predominated, or whose name rightfully deserves to be at the top of the page. Instead, we are interested in the "author functions" of the *Way*, namely, the way in which figures of authority come to be associated with or even representative of distinct spaces of literary production.[9] These spaces are, in our reading, one of the key concerns of the text. Although they are imagined partly through geography, they are not physical spaces, but idealized spaces that are constituted by different kinds of concerns—aesthetic, political, cultural, religious—and for that reason can also be objects of deeply held feelings, aspirations, and imagination.

Like previous scholars, we also see two figures of authority in the text. In our reading they triangulate between two relatively well-defined cultural spaces, the court (*sabhe*) and the country (*nāḍu*). The court includes both Amoghavarsha and Shrivijaya. The king is naturally at its center, and without him the court would not exist. The poet represents a set of cultural competencies that members of the court were expected to have. Among these competencies was knowledge of

[6] For "structures of feeling" see Williams 1977: 128 (we thank Claudio Sansone for the reference).

[7] Contrast Bhamaha's *Ornament* 6.64 and 6.66, and, in the field of Kannada literature, Pampa, who includes an autobiography in his *Victory of Valiant Arjuna* (vv. 14.40–50).

[8] Pathak (ed.) 1898; Fleet 1904a, 1904b; Timmappayya 1948; see also the introduction to Seetha Ramaiah's edition. Timmappayya 1948 was the first to discuss a substantive "collaboration" between Shrivijaya and Amoghavarsha. See Maralawadi and Masadi date unknown, for a depiction of this relationship in film. Since Timmappayya's monograph, most printed editions include Shrivijaya's name on the title page, either with the name of Nrupatunga (one of the titles of Amoghavarsha; this is true of Seetha Ramaiah 1994 and Krishna Murthy 1983), or without it (Venkatachala Sastry 2011; Sundaram and Patel 2017). Note that we give the king's name as Amoghavarsha, but he has a number of other titles, as will be clear from the verses quoted in this chapter. The ascription of the text seems to have gone back and forth over the centuries: Durgasimha (eleventh century) refers to it as Shrivijaya's *Path of Poets* (*śrīvijayara kavimārgaṁ*; *Five Discourses in Kannada*, v. 19, p. 3, discussed below), while Bhatta Akalanka Deva (seventeenth century) refers to it as the "book of Nrupatunga" (*nr̥patuṅgagranthē*; *Instruction in the Language of Karnataka*, p. 263).

[9] For "author functions" see Foucault 1977.

Sanskrit, the language in which all of the literary productions of Amoghavarsha's court, except the *Way* itself, were composed.[10] But Shrivijaya also represents the basis of the vernacular speech community. He injected the language, practices, sensibilities, tastes, and values of the country into the set of courtly cultural competencies. We refer to Shrivijaya as the author of the *Way* here, simply to give a name to the composite sensibility that distinguishes the text, and not to make any claims about the actual processes of composition that the historical figures of Amoghavarsha and Shrivijaya might have undertaken.

This ongoing question of the text's authorship has been negotiated in the translation of its title, the *Kavirājamārgaṁ*. In translating this title, a lot of emphasis has been given to the relationship between the words *kavi*, or "poet," and *rāja*, or "king," which plausibly map onto the *Way*'s two author figures. For us, however, it is the final word, *mārga*, that encapsulates the text's project. The word means a path, a way, or a road, but what exactly is it a metaphor for, and how can we sensibly relate the words "poet" and "king" to it? The combinations *kavirāja* ("king among poets") and *rājamārga* ("royal road") were both in common use, which makes a single straightforward interpretation difficult. One of the meanings of the word *mārga*, which is foregrounded in a tradition of poetics that long predates this Kannada text, is a set of normative practices. We suggest that the *Way* is a kind of "highway system" that integrates the court and country, and their respective ideals and practices, into a single space.

The *Way* not only connects spaces but, in so doing, defines those very spaces through their representative author figures. When Amoghavarsha is made present in the text, then, what is the nature of the space where that happens? Take, for example, the very first verse:

> Shri, nestled on his chest, encircled
> as if by a screen of light of the Kaustubha jewel,
> out of love does not leave him—who?
> The exalted Nrupatunga, Completely Suffused with Wisdom.[11]

The references to the *kaustubha* jewel and the goddess Shri identify Amoghavarsha—here called by his title Nrupatunga—with Vishnu, who represents the ideal of supreme political power. The very next verse affirms this identification explicitly by describing Amoghavarsha as "Heroic Narayana"

[10] The Sanskrit poets (all of whom were Jain) active in Amoghavarsha's court include: Jinasena, Mahavira, Ugraditya, Virasena, Shakatayana, and perhaps the king himself. For more on the Jain literary activities in this court and Amoghavarsha's involvement, see Taylor 2016a.

[11] *Way* 1.1: *śrī taḷt' uradoḷ kaustubhajātadyuti baḷasi kāṇḍapaṭad' ant' ire sampratīyin āvanan agalaḷ nītinirantaran udāran ā nṛpatuṅgaṁ*. We do not indicate metrical units in our quotation of verses in these footnotes, and we cite the verses according to Pathak's numbering (although sometimes with different readings). Note that the text begins with the auspicious word *śrī*.

(*vīranārāyaṇa*). The first verse uses another epithet: "Completely Suffused with Wisdom" (*nītinirantara*), which invokes the concept of *nīti*, or political wisdom.[12] These are two among many examples of royal titulature that suffuse the *Way*. The text shares with the inscriptions of the Rashtrakutas a repertoire of royal epithets, signaling the *Way*'s participation in the court's larger political project.[13] While references to Amoghavarsha using his imperial titulature carry different shades of determination, they are almost always used to present the king as a figure of authority for the literary "system" (*krama*) that the text builds. That system—that is, the *Way* itself—is consistently presented as Amoghavarsha's.[14]

At the end of the *Way*, we encounter a long encomium. To call it an encomium of Amoghavarsha is to be misled by the presence of the king's name. More than anything else, it praises the court as an idealized literary community, the site of a specific set of values, aspirations, competencies, and practices. Both the king and the members of his court come in for breathless praise:

> In the enterprise of literary science,
> the court scholar who has taken refuge in the Great Nrupatunga
> is dedicated to judging all of the particulars
> of what belongs to the world, what belongs to spirituality,
> and the vast domain of what belongs to the Vedas.
> He combines clear statements with the various arts,
> has the power of astonishing imagination,
> is extraordinary in his remarkably
> ingenious conduct and self-possessed,
> and subjects norms and models to exacting debate.[15]

This verse describes an idealized and anonymized court scholar (*sabhāsadan*) located in Amoghavarsha's court. While it is possible that this passage holds in view a historical person who embodied the literary and aesthetic milieu specific to the time and place of the Rashtrakuta capital of Manyakheta (Malkhed) in the 870s, its abstract cultural ideals could in principle be realized anywhere, precisely by virtue of the fact that they have been "textualized" in the *Way*. But this

[12] To our knowledge, *nītinirantara* does not occur as a title of Amoghavarsha within the inscriptional record. For *nīti* in medieval India, see, for example, Narayana Rao and Subrahmanyam 2008, 2009. For the representation of Amoghavarsha as Vīranārāyaṇa, see Taylor 2016a: 215–16.

[13] For *Vīranārāyaṇa*, for example, see Bhandarkar 1925–26: 251, v. 2; Kielhorn 1902: 25, v. 2.

[14] See the phrases *śrīnr̥patuṅgavicārakramamārga* ("*The Way*, the analytical system of the splendid Nrupatunga," 2.2), *nr̥patuṅgadēvaviditakrama* ("the well-known system of Lord Nrupatunga," 1.44), *nr̥patuṅgadēvamārgakrama* ("the system that is *The Way* of Lord Nrupatunga," 1.146).

[15] *Way* 3.218–19: *sakaḷalaukikasāmayikōruvaidikaviśēṣavivēkaparāyaṇaṁ prakaṭitōktiviviktakaḷākaḷāpakan upāhitasāhityavidyeyoḷ atiśayapratibhāvibhavaṁ mahācaturavr̥ttinitāntam anākuḷaṁ prativitarkitalakṣaṇalakṣyan āśritamahānr̥patuṅgasabhāsadan*.

list of qualities is certainly not meant as a list of the qualifications for the post of a court poet, in the manner of a job advertisement. Rather, it gives a name to a particular set of intellectual, literary, and ethical aspirations. The poet invoked in this verse links the specificity of Amoghavarsha's court to the possibility of creating a literary space elsewhere on the basis of the *Way*.

One important feature of this space is that it is limited: it is a small enclave of the intellectual and cultural elite, located, if only notionally, in a specific geographic location. Another feature is the presence of royal power, suggested by the phrase "taken refuge." In the world of the text, however, to subject yourself to Amoghavarsha's power is to subject your compositions to the norms enunciated in his system. It is partly a consequence of the *Way*'s insistence on the court as a space of literary production that earlier literature, probably less "courtly" than the *Way*'s ideal, was left to crumble. Notably, the court became the privileged space of literary production for the next two centuries.[16] The "three jewels" of classical Kannada literature, for example, were all closely associated with royal courts: Pampa with that of Eastern Chalukya king Arikesari, Ponna with the Rashtrakuta king Krishna III, and Ranna with the Western Chalukya kings Tailapa II and Satyashraya, all in the mid- to late tenth century.[17]

One possible referent of the "court scholar" of the above verse is the *Way*'s other author-figure, Shrivijaya. He is far less conspicuous in the text than Amoghavarsha. But once you know to look for him, it is impossible not to see him. In one important verse, Shrivijaya is figured as an author of the text—actually, the "source" of the text, to use the word *prabhūti* that appears to be his "signature"—on the basis of his mastery of the craft of poetry:

> By manifesting different configurations of syllables,
> like a painter manifests different combinations of colors,
> which sparkle with beauty and emotion,
> poets enter into the storied divide between
> the realm of discourse and the totality of the arts.
> In order to produce a work of art in speech,
> poets must take in hand this method that originates from Shrivijaya.[18]

Although the *Way* clearly locates Shrivijaya in the court, many of the cultural competencies that he represents—above all, mastery of the Kannada language—are connected to a space with very different properties and valences. We see this most clearly in the *Way*'s discussion of the location of Kannada speech. The *Way*

[16] Nagaraj 2003: 326.
[17] Taylor 2020: 347–348, 350.
[18] *Way* 1.149: *sakaḷāḷāpakaḷākaḷāpakathitavyāvr̥ttiyoḷ kūḍi citrakaraṁbol parabhāgabhāvaviḷasadvarṇakramāvr̥ttiyaṁ prakaṭaṁ māḍ' ire pēl̠da citrakr̥tiyaṁ vyāvarṇisuttaṁ kaviprakaraṁ śrīvijayaprabhūtaman idaṁ kaikoḷvud' ī māl̠keyaṁ.*

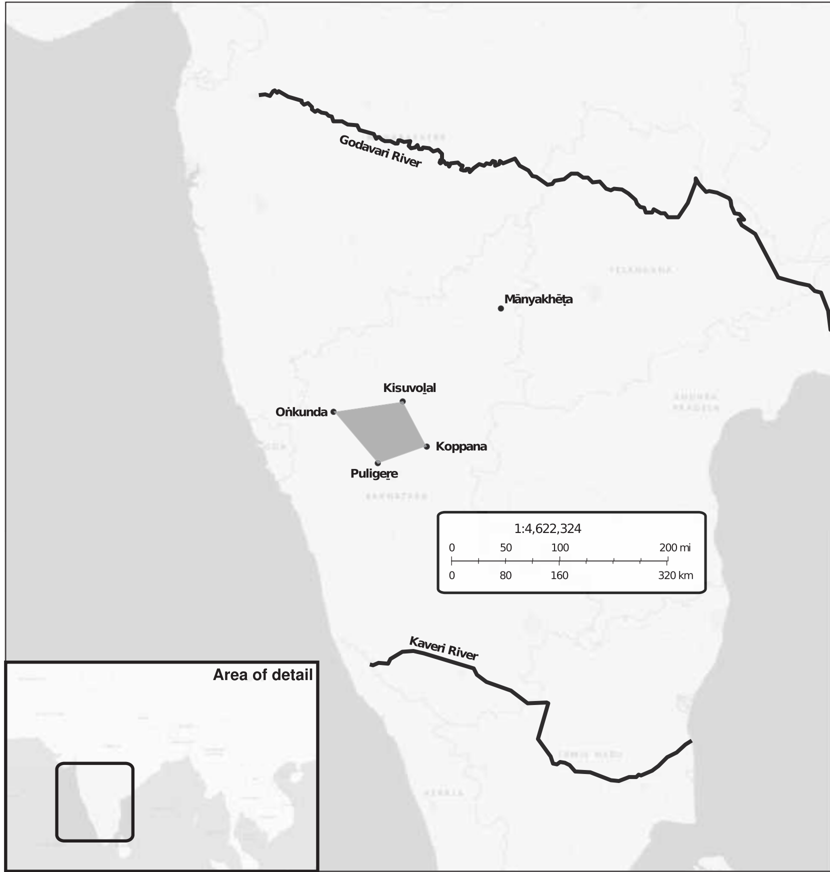


**Figure 2.1.** Map of the Kannada-speaking region according to the *Way of the Poet-King.*
Prepared by Andrew Ollett.

says that Kannada was spoken from the Godavari river to the Kaveri river. This is an extremely large space, although, in Amoghavarsha's time, it did more or less overlap with the dominions of the Rashtrakutas. But Shrivijaya claimed that the "core" (*tiruḷ*) of Kannada—which we understand to mean the most prestigious form of the language—was not located in the political center of the empire, at Manyakheta, but further south, in a quadrangle bounded by the towns of Kisuvolal, Kopana, Onkunda, and Puligere (see Figure 2.1).[19] Indeed, the capital city of Manyakheta is never named in the text.

[19] *Way* 1.37: *adaṟoḷagaṁ kisuvoḻalā viditamahākopaṇanagaradā puligeṟiyā tadabhistutam app' oṅkundada naḍuvana nāḍe kannaḍada tiruḷ.*

This is strong evidence for a space of linguistic authority distinct from the court that had functioned in this manner prior to the *Way* and would continue to do so for many generations afterward. In absolute contrast to the small and exclusive space of the court, this alternative literary space, called the "country" (*nāḍu*), is distributed over an immense area. Within this area, there is the smaller—but still very broad—area that the *Way* identifies as the "core." This identification would be cited by Pampa a hundred years later, and it is the most widely circulated verse of the *Way* today.[20] To state the obvious, the space of the court and the space of Kannada literature were not coextensive. There are some indications that the relation between them was even more fraught: of the texts produced at Amoghavarsha's court, we can count many works in Sanskrit and Prakrit, but only this single work in Kannada.

In the *Way*'s representation of space, the "country" is not defined in contrast to the putatively more cultured or sophisticated spaces, such as the court or the city, but rather by its own cultural practices. One group of people to whom the *Way* refers frequently, and with respect and sympathy, is the "people of the country" (*nāḍavar*). They are represented as having a natural eloquence, but who are in the difficult situation of having to contend with a language without articulated norms:

> When it comes to Kannada, it is completely impossible
> to go around collecting all of the bits and pieces,
> and then to claim "I will explain it through my expertise"
> like the teachers of old.
> The teachers of Kannada in this country do not have it easy.[21]

The "teachers of old" are teachers of Sanskrit and Prakrit, in contrast to the teachers of Kannada, who not only have to determine the norms of literature, but who must do so in the absence of existing systematic knowledge. The following verse similarly highlights an important feature of the country as a cultural space that distinguishes it from the court: their ways of knowing, of acquiring expertise, are different. Within the court, there is an emphasis on mastery of traditional texts (*śāstra* or *āgama*), whereas in the country:

> The people of that land can speak with propriety
> and critically reflect on what is spoken.
> Naturally clever and full of dedication, their minds

[20] *Victory of Valiant Arjuna* 14.58: *puligeṟeya tiruḷa kannaḍadoḷ.*

[21] *Way* 1.42: *arid' ādaṁ kannaḍadoḷ tirikoṟegoṇḍ' aṟiye pēḻven embud' id' ārgaṁ paramācāryaravōl saitiral aṟiyar kannaḍakke nāḍavar ōjar.*

are transformed by the practice of poetry,
even without formal training.[22]

This verse and similar verses in the *Way* have been read as a "defense of the vernacular" along the familiar lines of twentieth-century linguistic nationalism: the language of the country is naturally beautiful, and its speakers are naturally eloquent. Yet in our reading of the *Way*, nature is not enough for Shrivijaya. Even birds possess this untutored eloquence: if Kannada is ever to contend with Sanskrit as a language of learning and culture, it must become an object of systematic knowledge in the same way that Sanskrit was, and the teachers of Kannada should avail themselves of the models furnished by Sanskrit in this respect: "one must therefore become an expert in the supreme teachings and the compositions of earlier poets."[23]

The poetic consequences of the different epistemic modalities of the court and country are evident from reading the *Way*, where they are brought together in striking ways. Consider, for example, the following verse:

If you join together two adverbs that do not obviously go together,
then one of them will necessarily fail to connect with the main verb.
It's like a calf that is born to two cows.[24]

This verse starts out in a rather technical, and even pedantic, mode: it is making recommendations about the syntax of adverbs. Yet it ends with a folksy, proverbial turn of phrase. We see this combination of technical and real-world knowledge, of the scholarly and the down-to-earth, as characteristic of the *Way*, and perhaps more specifically of Shrivijaya himself. Part of Shrivijaya's project, in other words, might have included making a space for the sensibilities and competencies of the "people of the country" within the exclusive space of the court. This project is broadly similar to Dandin's in the *Mirror*: he stepped into the space of poetics, which was relatively scholastic, with the sensibility of a poet and the openness of a good teacher, as argued elsewhere in this volume.[25]

If the *Way* is a "highway system" connecting the literary cultures of the court and the country, it also connects the Sanskrit and Kannada languages. In doing so, it does not take the unity and identity of Kannada—or, for that matter, Sanskrit—for granted. One of the *Way*'s overarching questions is how languages

[22] *Way* 1.38: *padan aṟidu nuḍiyaluṁ nuḍidudan aṟid' ārayalum ārpar ā nāḍavargaḷ cadurar nijadiṁ kuṟit' ōdadeyuṁ kāvyaprayōgapariṇatamatigaḷ.*
[23] *Way* 1.9: *paramāgamakōvidan appudu pūrvakāvyaracanegaḷaṁ.*
[24] *Way* 2.9: *ondaṁ kriyāviśēṣaṇamaṁ dorekoḷe saitu pēḻad' adaṟoḷ peṟataṁ sandisi pēḻdoḍe kr̥tiyoḷag' ond' irad' eraḍakke biṭṭa kaṟuvaṁ pōlguṁ.*
[25] See Bronner, section 1.1 in this volume.

are to relate to each other. This question firstly concerns the relation between Sanskrit and Kannada. This is part of the problematic of vernacularization as we understand it from Sheldon Pollock's work. According to Pollock, "what everywhere conditions [the *Way*'s] exposition is the specification of Kannada difference, and it is against the backdrop of the Sanskrit cultural episteme—defining what language, especially the language of literary culture, is supposed to be—that this difference is constituted."[26] Yet the *Way* is clear that neither Sanskrit nor Kannada are completely homogeneous categories: just as there are multiple Sanskrits, in the sense of vastly different ways of using the totality of Sanskrit's expressivity, so too there are multiple Kannadas.[27] This multiplicity complicates the binary opposition of the two languages.

From this multiplicity emerges another question: How is Kannada to relate to itself? In the form it takes in the *Way*, this is a specifically vernacular question, related to the phenomena of a language's variance with itself across space and time. With regard to space, Dandin refers to styles of Sanskrit named for the regions of Bengal (*gauḍa*) and Khandesh (*vidarbha*).[28] Shrivijaya takes up these categories in the *Way*, as usual, adapting the categories to his vernacular project. He consistently uses "northern" (*uttara*) and "southern" (*dakṣiṇa*) in place of Bengal and Khandesh, inviting readers to understand these terms in reference to the geography of Kannada speech, while never explicitly making the connection himself. Somewhat tentatively, Pollock understands this maneuver as a remapping of "the cosmopolitan Way onto the local world of Karnataka." This remapping required Shrivijaya "to speak of a northern and a southern style of Kannada poetry—the domain of Kannada had to be shown to embrace a north and a south, to constitute a regional world unto itself—whether or not such a division corresponded to any actually existing forms of literature."[29] For Pollock, Shrivijaya's purpose in reformulating Dandin's categories was to demonstrate that Kannada can do what Sanskrit can do. As is usually the case, however, Shrivijaya's interest is in explaining features of Kannada, rather than merely demonstrating its parity with Sanskrit. In this case, this remapping addresses the internal heterogeneity of Kannada and casts it, at least notionally, in regional terms. Shrivijaya's use of the categories of "north" and "south" ranges over topics

[26] Pollock 2004: 400. See also Pollock 2006: 333ff. The relation of Sanskrit and Kannada has a history that long predates the *Way of the Poet-King*. From the earliest inscriptional evidence for Kannada, there are a number of strategies for accommodating Sanskrit lexical items within the grammatical structure of Kannada. The *Way* does not lay down rules *ex nihilo*, but against the background of a linguistic "common sense" that had developed over the preceding centuries.

[27] For "Sanskrits" (*sakkadaṅgaḷ*), see *Way* 1.60, 1.148; for "Kannadas" (*kannadaṅgaḷ*), see *Way*, 1.46, 1.56. The point stands even if these terms refer specifically to Sanskrit and Kannada words in these passages.

[28] *Mirror* 1.40 (responding to Bhamaha's critique of these categories in *Ornament* 1.32). See also Bronner, section 1.4, and Bronner and Cox, section 5.6, in this volume.

[29] Pollock 2006: 348.

of usage and grammar that have no parallel in Dandin's text. To take a simple example, certain verbal roots, such as *nōḍu* "see," form their non-past stem as *nōḍuv-* on the "northern way" and as *nōl̲p-* on the "southern way."[30] Whether such distinctions were truly regional in nature is difficult to say, and it is similarly difficult to say what, if any, significance they had for later authors.[31] What we can say, however, is that Shrivijaya used Dandin's categories for a completely new purpose, namely, to map the heterogeneity of Kannada in space.

The heterogeneity of Kannada through time, too, was one of Shrivijaya's persistent concerns. The *Way* offers a critique of past literary practices in Kannada, which he calls "old Kannada" (*pal̲egannaḍaṁ*), that marks the *Way* as a "new beginning" in the history of Kannada literature.[32] The *Way* thus gives Kannada a particular and important temporality that we might think about by taking a cue from Gadamer, who described "the classical" as "a past that is contemporaneous with every present."[33] On the one hand, for Kannada to be "classical" it had to have a past, which is to say, a textual archive associated with the great poets and teachers of earlier days. We can note that the pastness of earlier Kannada literature differed from the pastness of earlier Sanskrit literature. Whereas the forms of the Sanskrit language were imagined to be changeless, Shrivijaya claims that "old Kannada" is qualitatively different from the Kannada of his day, raising the possibility that the literary past would become inaccessible on account of linguistic difference. On the other hand, Kannada needed to address itself to the present. Here, too, Sanskrit provided a model of an expressive idiom that perdures throughout generations, precisely because it has been made the object of systematic knowledge. The *Way*'s efforts toward systematicity should not be mistaken for a kind of classicism or literary conservatism, however. It is oriented toward the present, where literature in fact comes into being. The *Way* is designed to inspire creativity and innovation. Although the word *posatu* ("new") appears just once in the *Way*, where it qualifies a thought rather than the linguistic means of expressing it, the *Way* nevertheless conforms in spirit to the programmatic use of *posatu* in later literature, where it qualifies "Kannada" as the privileged medium of new thoughts and expressions.[34]

[30] *Way* 2.100.

[31] Janna, for example, uses *nōl̲pen* (*Story of Yaśōdhara*, v. 4.19) while Durgasimha uses *nōḍuven* (*Five Discourses in Kannada, vacana* 1.70), both meaning "I see." The distinction between a northern and southern way more generally provides the only context in which the seventeenth-century grammarian Bhatta Akalanka Deva mentions the *Way* (*Instruction in the Language of Karnataka*, p. 263), though he quotes a verse from the *Way* elsewhere.

[32] See Seetha Ramaiah (ed.), introduction, p. 38, for the Kannada works that Shrivijaya is aware of. Note that modern scholarship has a different classification of the stages of the Kannada language and calls the language of the *Way* "old Kannada" (*halegannaḍa*), in contrast to the text's own usage.

[33] Gadamer [1975] 2006: 288.

[34] The word *posatu* is used in 1.12, which—despite the theme of a "novel idea" (*bage . . . posatu*) in the verse—draws upon the idea of Bhamaha's *Ornament of Literature* 1.12 (namely, that people are

Although Shrivijaya does not explain why he is so dismissive toward "old Kannada," his comments make it clear that he felt that the relationship between Sanskrit and Kannada in "old Kannada" was not properly calibrated. The *Way* uses a number of metaphors to describe both proper and improper combinations of Sanskrit and Kannada, including mixtures of boiling milk and buttermilk, pearls and black pepper strung on a necklace, and an ensemble consisting of different kinds of drums.[35] Continuously cited and revisited by later literary theorists, these verses evoke a sense of proportion but never articulate hard-and-fast rules.

What, then, does it mean to "calibrate" the relationship between these two languages? The *Way* deals with this fundamental question through highly specific and technical rules that build up to an overarching vision of the new literary language. For example, the *Way* rejects Sanskrit indeclinables as adverbs unless they happen to end in the ending *-aṁ*. Hence *ciraṁ* ("for a long time") is acceptable, but *antaḥ* ("inside") is not.[36] In this rule, as indeed in the larger discussion about language usage of which it forms a part, the frequent use of Sanskrit lexical items is taken for granted. The *Way* employs the term "Sanskrit-identical words" (*samasaṁskr̥ta*) to refer to Kannada words that differ from Sanskrit words only in their case-endings.[37] These rules for integrating such words into Kannada compositions might appear to be pedantic, but this pedantry shows that Shrivijaya was deeply concerned about the calibration of Sanskrit and Kannada to produce a register that was coherent, aesthetically pleasing, and distinctive.

The *Way* gives us a much more general picture of the relationship between Sanskrit and Kannada at the end of the first chapter:

> In the beauty of the local language,
> speech and thought seem to act in concert,
> the one never going too far beyond the other.
> For Kannada expressions, the words of Sanskrits,
> in good measure, serve as the standard,
> so long as you don't get tangled up
> in their dreadful syllables. Thus is the system

criticized for being *bad poets*, but nobody is criticized for not being a poet at all). Gurevitch (2022) examines some of the conceits of "newness" in eleventh- and twelfth-century Kannada literature.

35 *Way* 1.57, 2.5, 1.52, and 1.54. See Ollett 2022.

36 *Way* 1.53. The reader is expected to infer the rule from the examples Shrivijaya lists.

37 The term *samasaṁskr̥ta* is defined by Keshiraja in his *Jewel-Mirror of Language* (*Śabdamaṇidarpaṇaṁ*) as follows: "They assign the name *samasaṁskr̥ta* to those nominal stems of the [Sanskrit] lexicon with the exclusion of all of the number-words and indeclinables" (*samuditasaṅkhyā-vyayarahitam enisi vartipa nighaṇṭuvina nāmapadōttamavarṇaprakr̥tigaḷaṁ samasaṁskr̥tavesaran iṭṭu liṅgaṁ māḻvar* [v. 80 in Kedaliya's edition]). *The Way* uses the term twice, at 1.26 and 1.54.

that Nitinirantara put forth, expansive and delicate,
like a long creeping vine left to grow.[38]

What is notable here is an awareness of the explicit usefulness of Sanskrit as a standard, contrasted with its aesthetic limitations. On the one hand, Kannada lacks an authoritative standard (*pavaṇ*), but what it does have is an effortless beauty (*beḍaṅgu*) as well as *melpu*. Depending on whether it is pronounced with a long or short *e*, which are metrically equivalent here and not distinguished in the manuscripts, this Kannada word can mean two things. First, it can mean "loftiness" (*mēlpu*), containing an aspiration for the language that the *Way* describes to be more abundant and prestigious—an aspiration, we think, for the "vernacular millennium."[39] Second, it can mean "delicateness" (*melpu*) which contains the aspiration to a particular aesthetic quality. Kannada has a starting advantage, so to speak, over Sanskrit in this respect: for although there is nothing inherently "dreadful" about Sanskrit's syllables, the kinds of sounds that earlier theorists had identified as "harsh"—breathy aspirates, crashing combinations of consonants, hissing sibilants—are largely absent from Kannada words. The language thus has the kind of delicacy that had earlier been associated with Prakrit: a natural feature of its phonology that could be strategically exploited in literature.[40]

This verse in itself exemplifies the strategic exploitation of Kannada's delicacy in contrast to Sanskrit's harshness. Almost none of the words here are Sanskrit lexemes (*samasaṁskr̥taṁ*). They are, by contrast, words that scholars have variously called "native," "indigenous," and "Dravidian," or even simply "Kannada." What we call them is less important than recognizing that they constitute the linguistic background against which two exceptions are clearly visible, or rather audible. The first is the phrase meaning "dreadful syllables" (*vikaṭākṣara-*) that embodies the very quality that it names, clipped and hissing, and is thus necessarily a *samasaṁskr̥ta* word. The second is "the system of Nitinirantara" (*nītinirantarakrama*), a royal epithet that hence also needs to be in Sanskrit. Of all of the titles that could have been used, this one arguably accords most easily with the phonological system of Kannada since it contains no aspirates and only one conjunct consonant (*kr-*) that would not appear in a Kannada word. Shrivijaya's concern with texture, down to the level of phonemes, reflects what we mean by "calibration."

[38] *Way* 1.148: *nuḍigaḷ oḍaṁbaḍal bagedavol bageyaṁ migal īyad' onde nāḻnuḍiya beḍaṅge kannaḍada mātinoḷ ā vikaṭākṣaraṅgaḷoḷ toḍarade sakkadaṅgaḷa padaṁ pavaṇ āg' ire mēlpuvettu dāṅguḍiviḍuv' ante nīḷdu nile pēḻvudu nītinirantarakramaṁ.*

[39] Pollock 1998b.

[40] Ollett 2017: 88–94.

The deliberateness of the *Way*'s lexical choices in this verse draws us to one final point: the word *padaṁ*. This word could be a Kannada word, referring to the state of being "just right," as we might expect from the preponderance of Kannada words here. Or it could be the Sanskrit word that means "word," as we might expect from its close connection to the "Sanskrits" (*sakkadaṅgaḷ*) in the verse. Both meanings are present in the regulative principle that Shrivijaya lays out, namely, that Sanskrit words can be used, but they need to be used in the proper state or degree. And just as the "Sanskrit" word *padaṁ*, recontextualized as a Kannada word, takes on a new shade of meaning, so, in general, Sanskrit within Kannada has expressive possibilities that it does not have on its own. The *Way* is a two-way street.

The "new beginning" the *Way* represents was founded on this careful calibration of Kannada's expressive resources at every level of language, including the integration of almost the entire Sanskrit lexicon.[41] It might not seem as if this aspect of the *Way*'s program owes anything to Dandin's *Mirror*. Yet we can think of Dandin, too, as engaged in a broadly similar project: he also endeavored to integrate, and actually subsume, the systematic treatments of literary art that he found before him, in the service of fashioning a system that could be more flexible and productive. Before turning to the specific manner in which Shrivijaya responds to his Sanskrit intertexts, we might note that it is just possible that Dandin's *Mirror* had some role to play in making conceptual space for the calibration, or recalibration, of literary language that occurs in the *Way*.[42]

In the earlier discussion of authorship, we described Amoghavarsha as being constantly brought into the foreground, and Shrivijaya being allowed to recede into the background. A similar strategy operates with respect to the *Way*'s primary Sanskrit intertexts: Dandin's *Mirror* and Bhamaha's *Ornament*. As noted below, these two constituted a pair and often traveled as part of the same package.[43] In the wake of Dandin's and Bhamaha's works, two of the big questions in the subcontinental enterprise of formulating systems of poetics were which text should serve as the starting point for a nascent system, and what form of textual engagement that should take. The *Way* is a critical piece of evidence for understanding this phenomenon: it is not only the earliest engagement with Dandin's *Mirror*, but also one of the earliest engagements with Bhamaha's *Ornament* available to us, and it uses both of these texts in a very distinctive and deliberate way.

[41] Sheldon Pollock makes a similar observation: "Every feature of the literary in Kannada is marked by a calculation of how the local responds to the global that seems ever copresent with it" (2004: 400).
[42] See Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume.
[43] See Bronner and Ollett, section 5.2 in this volume.

Given their obvious influence on the *Way*, it is somewhat surprising that neither Dandin nor Bhamaha is ever named in the text. Whether we want to say that Dandin, for example, is subordinated as a source of authority, or is integrated into the persona of the *Way*'s author, or is put under erasure, the phenomenon is marked very clearly at the very beginning of the *Way*.[44] The text begins with two verses about Amoghavarsha—one of them discussed earlier in this chapter—followed by this third verse:

> Her stunning white color matches her faultless speech,
> her sweet and pleasant cry matches her singing,
> her steps match her skillful and resplendent compositions.
> May Sarasvati, taking the form of a goose,
> reside as long as she wants in the Manasa Lake of my mind.[45]

Nobody could fail to see the similarity to Dandin's first verse:

> May all-white Sarasvati—a goose
> in a forest of lotuses that are the mouths
> of the four-faced Brahma—forever delight
> in the Manasa Lake of my heart.[46]

This verse functions as an acknowledgment of the influence of Dandin's *Mirror*. Between Dandin and Bhamaha, it is very clearly Dandin whom Shrivijaya regarded as his main guide, his *mārgadarśaka* ("the one who shows the way"). Someone who has studied Dandin's *Mirror* closely will see the influence of Dandin everywhere in the *Way*, especially in the core topics of poetics—such as the ornaments of meaning (*arthālaṅkāra*s) in the third chapter and the qualities of poetry (*guṇa*s) in the second—that constitute the bulk of the text. This opening verse primes the reader to be attentive to these influences, but it does something else as well. As Dandin himself would say, behind every similarity lurks some difference. Through a series of bitextual adjectives that refer to Sarasvati both as the goddess of literature and as a white goose, Shrivijaya has added the ornament of "condensed speech" (*samāsōkti*), which involves talking about two things at the same time, or of "embrace" (*śleṣa*).[47] This verse prepares us for the kind of engagement with the *Mirror* that Shrivijaya carries throughout the *Way*, which is

[44] On Dandin's subordination to Amoghavarsha, see Taylor 2016b.
[45] *Way* 1.3: *śrīviśadavarṇe madhurārāvōcite caturarucirapadaracane ciraṁ dēvi sarasvati haṁsavibhāvade nelegoḷge kūrtu manmānasadoḷ*.
[46] *Mirror* 1.1: *caturmukhamukhāmbhōjavanahaṁsavadhūr mama mānasē ramatāṁ ciraṁ sarvaśuklā sarasvatī*. This verse is also discussed in sections 1.6 and 3.3 in this volume.
[47] "Condensed speech" was the focus of a special issue of *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* in 2017. See Ollett 2017 for the *Way*'s treatment of this ornament.

characterized by precisely this kind of "condensed speech." Just like a reader will not completely understand the third verse of the *Way* without appreciating the double reference of each of its adjectives, a reader will similarly not understand the *Way* as a whole without seeing the *Mirror* in it, and seeing it differently.

In more general terms, the *Way* engages with the *Mirror* according to a principle for which we propose the term "extratextuality." Extratextuality involves diverging from a text once you have set up an expectation of "intertextuality," that is, of converging with it. Shrivijaya does this in all kinds of ways. Very often he does so by riffing on Dandin's text, as in the verse above. Many scholars have been misled by the fact that the *Mirror* and the *Way* were composed in different languages into thinking that the *Way*'s citations and recreations of verses from the *Mirror* are "translations."[48] In fact, Shrivijaya seems to go out of his way to avoid producing "translations." Rather than a one-to-one correlation, every verse in the *Way* that has some parallel in the *Mirror* shows evidence of deliberate, and often playful, modification. To take one example, besides those discussed below, consider the *Way*'s example of the "vulgar" (*grāmya*) quality:

> Thinking of you night and day,
> I burn with a deep love for you.
> I am so agitated, my heart can't even bear it.
> You have no compassion at all. You're like a tree.[49]

Readers of Dandin will recognize this as a transcreation of his example: "I love you. Why don't you love me back?"[50] But they will also recognize that Shrivijaya has switched the genders of the speaker and addressee, a switch he only reveals in the last word of the verse—literally, "you are a man made of wood" and thus without feeling. Our impression is that Shrivijaya has scattered such "Easter eggs" throughout the *Way*. Besides rewarding his readers with the pleasure of discovery, these verses reveal to them that he is not simply reproducing Dandin's *Mirror* in Kannada but is using it strategically to construct a new text.

The *Way*'s extratextuality vis-à-vis the *Mirror* takes a number of additional forms, which are explored in the detailed case studies offered later in this chapter. It is in the discussion of "ornaments of meaning" that the *Way*'s proximity to the *Mirror* is most evident. The fact, however, that the *Way* uses the *Mirror* to discuss a particular ornament does not at all mean that the *Way* follows the *Mirror*,

[48] Fleet 1904: 38: "[M]ost of the verses in the third parichchhêda of the Kavirâjamârga are either translations or adaptations from Daṇḍi."
[49] *Way* 2.81: *nened' iruḷuṁ pagaluṁ ninnane pīnam oṟaldu maṟugi kātarisuttuṁ manadoḷ sairisal āṟeṁ ninag' enasuṁ karuṇam illa maravānisanai.*
[50] *Mirror* 1.63: *kanyē kāmayamānaṁ māṁ na tvaṁ kāmayasē katham.*

or that the two texts say "the same thing." Shrivijaya's discussion of "dismissal" (*ākṣēpa*), for example, is shorter than Dandin's, for reasons explained below. But this is not universally the case. Shrivijaya's discussion of the ornament "exemplification" (*nidarśana*) exhibits quite a different kind of extratextuality: whereas Dandin's discussion is brief (three verses), Shrivijaya's is quite long (fourteen verses), evidently because he wants to show that the ornament is especially useful for genres of ethical and political poetry in which the *Way*'s readers, and perhaps its author as well, might have taken a strong interest.

The other case study focuses on the *Way*'s discussion of "run-on alliteration" (*khaṇḍaprāsa*), a novel feature of Kannada verse. Here we might add that the *Way*'s concern with literary practices that are unique to Kannada, above all second-syllable alliteration (*prāsa*), is one major area where we might expect the Sanskrit model of Dandin's *Mirror* to be left behind. Yet the *Way* makes space for such Kannada vernacular practices within the system represented by the *Mirror*, even if a few adjustments are needed.

Shrivijaya does not hesitate to make adjustments to the overall structure and organization of Dandin's system. For example, he diverges from Dandin regarding the order in which the "ornaments of meaning" are presented, for reasons that are still opaque. Another example is the very distinction between "ornaments of meaning" (*arthālaṅkāra*) and "ornaments of sound" (*śabdālaṅkāra*). Dandin already refers to "ornaments of sound and meaning" (*śabdārthālaṅkriyā*) at the end of the *Mirror* (3.186), but he does not use this distinction as one of the organizing principles of the *Mirror* itself.

The ornaments are presented differently in the *Way*. At the beginning of the second chapter, we are told that "in the organization of the *Way*, according to the analytical system of the pleasant king Amoghavarsha, the supreme ornaments are distinguished according to the categories of sound and meaning."[51] The *Way* then goes on:

> Moreover, to describe it in my own way, the ornaments of sound
> should be considered first among these two.
> They are more important since they are unique
> and form the basis for the meaning.[52]

This verse explicitly calls attention to the intervention the *Way* has made in the system of poetics. First, the distinction between ornaments of sound and ornaments of meaning is explicitly elevated to an organizational principle,

[51] *Way* 2.2: *cāruśrīnr̥patuṅgavicārakramamārgagaṇaneyoḷ paramālaṅkāravibhāgaṁ vividhākāraṁ śabdārthabhēdadind' eraḍ' akkuṁ.*
[52] *Way* 2.3: *annegam adaṟoḷage samutpannaprādhānyam anyam arthādhāraṁ munnaṁ śabdāḷaṅkāraṁ niścitam akke pēḻva māḻkeyoḷ ennā.*

whereas it is implicit, if present at all, in Dandin and Bhamaha's works. Here, Shrivijaya is systematizing the system in his "own way," by improvising with the terms and categories he has at hand. Second, Shrivijaya insists that the ornaments of sound ought to come first in view of their greater importance. As already noted, Dandin does not have a dedicated section on ornaments of sound. He discusses some of them in his first chapter, on virtues, and others in his third chapter, on difficult poetry. At first, we might think that Shrivijaya is reverting back to Bhamaha's mode of organization. Bhamaha's list of ornaments (2.4) begins with two ornaments of sound, alliteration (*anuprāsa*) and twinning (*yamaka*). What Shrivijaya actually does, however, is reorganize the entire system such that all of the phenomena that give beauty to the linguistic forms themselves are recategorized as "ornaments of sound." This includes the "difficult poetry" (*duṣkara*) of Dandin's third chapter, which is reorganized as part of the *Way*'s second chapter. This leaves the *Way*'s third and final chapter to deal solely with ornaments of meaning.

It is not obvious that sound is prior to meaning, and even less obvious that the ornaments of sound are more "unique" or "special" (*anya*) than the ornaments of meaning. Shrivijaya's perspective, however, differs crucially from that of Dandin or Bhamaha because he is writing in and for the vernacular. For him, the ornaments of sound include all of the ways of regulating the forms of language themselves with a view to their beauty. This includes a number of phenomena with which Sanskrit theorists of literature did not have to concern themselves, either because they had been exhaustively described in other domains of systematic knowledge, such as grammar or metrics, or because they simply did not arise in Sanskrit. The *Way* does not refer to earlier works devoted to Kannada grammar or metrics, and suggests, in a verse translated above (1.42), that none was available.[53] Many of the topics that the *Way* discusses in the second section are indeed "unique," in the sense of being unique to Kannada. These include the optional lengthening of case affixes, the sensitivity of metrical patterns to conjunct consonants, the syntax of adverbs and adjectives, and the use of Sanskrit indeclinables as adverbs. These topics make up a set of issues related to grammar and metrics. Dandin and Bhamaha could presume that, even if these issues were not completely settled in Sanskrit, readers would nonetheless be able to consult technical works wherein they were discussed. Shrivijaya, by contrast, had to tackle such issues on his own in the uncharted terrain of Kannada.

Shrivijaya's relationship with Bhamaha is much more understated than his relationship with Dandin, and not quite as well understood. Partly this is because

[53] There was probably at least one work on Kannada meter composed prior to the *Way*, namely the *Guṇagāṅkīyaṁ*, which bears the title of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya III (r. 843–887 CE). It is referred to in a Tamil text of the later tenth century (the *Yāpparuṅkalakkārikaiviruttiyurai* of Kunacakarar) but is now lost. See Venkatachala Sastry 2011.

he engages with Bhamaha indirectly, that is, through Dandin. It seems that Shrivijaya, like many of Dandin's commentators who wrote in Sanskrit, understood him to have carried on an argument with Bhamaha.[54] And it seems that Shrivijaya was not always in agreement with Dandin's interventions: in fact, one of the main uses that he has for Bhamaha is in his subtle critiques of Dandin, where he suggests a reversion to Bhamaha's understanding of a given phenomenon. Nevertheless, more work must be done on the extent and nature of Shrivijaya's engagement with Bhamaha specifically. At this point, we can only say that there are passages of the *Way*, for example on the sources of poetic ability, and one of the sections on flaws, that have closer parallels to Bhamaha's *Ornament* than to Dandin's *Mirror*.[55]

One of the key ways in which the *Way* responds creatively to the *Mirror*, and takes its program into the future, is by "out-Dandining" Dandin. Shrivijaya has taken from Dandin not just a list of ornaments, their definitions, and their examples, but something more intangible: an approach, a tone, a sensibility. Specifically, Shrivijaya's manner of "extratextual" engagement with Dandin's *Mirror* is patterned on Dandin's own engagement with Bhamaha's *Ornament of Literature*. We see this when he makes subtle but pointed changes to Dandin's wording, strategically winnows down his categories, expands or contracts his examples, or reorganizes the entire structure of the system. Perhaps Shrivijaya did not mention Dandin for the same reason that Dandin did not mention Bhamaha. First, some of his readers would have already mastered the *Mirror*, and would therefore not need to be told. Second, his goal is not to criticize the literary works of the past, as theoretical texts often do, but to give his readers the equipment they need to create works of literature in their present. Shrivijaya therefore employs many of Dandin's strategies, but in the service of a very different project: he incorporates the literary theory of the past to envision a literary future that is shaped but not bound by it.

## 2.3. The Mechanics of Engagement: "Dismissal"

*Andrew Ollett*

Dandin focused, in his *Mirror*, on "ornaments" (*alaṅkāra*s), broadly defined as the features that imbue a literary work with beauty.[56] It is with these ornaments that the *Way* is primarily concerned. We can gain a better understanding of how

[54] See Bronner and Cox, section 5.6 in this volume.
[55] See *Way* 1.11 (close to *Ornament* 1.5 and 1.10) and 1.61 (close to *Ornament* 1.47).
[56] See Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume.

the *Way* engages with the *Mirror* by examining its treatment of one ornament in particular, namely *ākṣēpa*, or "dismissal."[57]

"Dismissal" is exemplary for the treatment it receives at Dandin's hands. Prior to Dandin, "dismissal" contained two key elements: it was defined by "taking back" a given statement, and it could be classified according to whether the statement occurred in the past or the present. This much is clear from what Dandin and Bhamaha have in common, as well as from other early texts of poetics, such as *Bhatti's Poem* and the Prakrit *Mirror of Ornaments*.[58] Dandin begins his discussion by defining the ornament in the briefest possible terms—"dismissal is the statement of a negation"—before presenting its two subvarieties, to which he adds a third, namely, the negation of something that will be stated in the future.[59] In a typical Dandin move, however, he quickly dismisses this classification by saying that "dismissal" is in fact infinite on account of the infinite variety of things that can be dismissed.[60] What follows are twenty examples of different types of "dismissal," although Dandin takes care to tell us that this is, of course, only the beginning.[61]

One possible problem with the *Mirror*'s discussion is that it was not exactly clear what "dismissal" meant to begin with, and it is even more difficult to see a common thread among Dandin's proliferation of examples. Ingalls, Masson, and Patwardhan noted that the word *ākṣēpa* has three different senses that tend to blend into each other: it can be a "hint" of something unexpressed, a "denial" of something expressed, or a "censure" of someone by someone else.[62] All three are at work in the *Mirror*'s examples, but we might expect the *Way*, a text that consistently emphasizes its own systematicity, to pick one of them to focus on. The tendency of "dismissal" to "hint" at something unexpressed, moreover, brings the ornament close to what Anandavardhana called resonance (or "suggestion," *dhvani*). Here, too, we might expect the *Way* to intervene in the discussion by minimizing the element of a "hint." For Shrivijaya makes no secret of his dislike for Anandavardhana's notion of resonance, which he considers to be willful obscurity.[63]

[57] This section of the chapter was presented at the Institute for the Intellectual and Cultural History of Asia in July 2017; I am grateful to the attendees of that event for comments. I also thank Yigal Bronner for making his annotated translation of the second chapter of Dandin's *Mirror* available to me. I have maintained my own translations throughout. Bronner discusses Dandin's treatment of "dismissal" in a forthcoming paper. His interpretation and conclusions will differ somewhat from those presented here.

[58] For these texts, see Bronner and Ollett, section 5.2 in this volume (*Bhatti* 10.38–39, *Ornament* 2.68, and *Mirror of Ornaments* 58).

[59] *Mirror* 2.120ab.

[60] *Mirror* 2.120: *pratiṣēdhōktir ākṣēpas traikālyāpēkṣayā tridhā* | *athāsya punar ākṣēpyabhēdānantyād anantatā* ||. See also Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume.

[61] *Mirror* 2.166: *anayaiva diśānyē 'pi vikalpāḥ śakyam ūhitum*.

[62] Note to *Light on Suggestion* 1.13e (p. 142).

[63] See *Way* 3.208, which lists resonance as an ornament: *dhvaniy embud' aḷaṅkāraṁ dhvaniyisuguṁ śabdadindam arthade dūṣyam* ("What is called 'resonance' is only an ornament when it suggests something through a linguistic expression. When it does so through a meaning, it something to be criticized").

Dandin's first example demonstrates a subvariety called "dismissal pertaining to the past" (*vr̥ttākṣēpa*):

> It's unbelievable that the Bodiless God
> conquered the world with five arrows
> made of flowers. Or maybe not:
> the powers of things might surprise you.[64]

This verse, Dandin explains, dismisses something that has already taken place, namely, the idea that the world conquest by Kamadeva, God of Love, doesn't stand to reason. This is, in fact, a double negation, since the statement that is dismissed ("it is unbelievable that . . .") itself contains a negation ("it is not the case that it is believable that . . ."). Thus Dandin's initial example is rather elaborate: logically, it amounts to a positive statement, despite the fact that "dismissal" is defined as a negation, and rhetorically, this statement is all the more striking and powerful on account of its double negation.[65]

Shrivijaya begins his discussion, like Dandin, by briefly defining "dismissal" as the "controversion of a meaning already known." He bypasses, however, Dandin's threefold classification. Instead, he declares his intention to "illustrate particular varieties of it in practice, by way of example."[66] I take this to mean that Shrivijaya has silently accepted Dandin's intervention. As we just saw, Dandin mentioned the possibility of classifying "dismissal" according to past, present, and future before dismissing it. This might have suggested to Shrivijaya that such a classification was not particularly enlightening. Dandin's first example, of "dismissal pertaining to the past," is then transformed, in Shrivijaya's hands, into an example of "dismissal" per se:

> To be sure, the arrowhead of the God of Love
> gains its entrance by the most tender of paths.
> But then it completely tears the heart apart with its
> twists and turns. That's why it can't be made of flowers.[67]

The theme of this verse is recognizably the same as Dandin's, namely, affirming the poetic convention that Love's arrows are flowers. Let us call the proposition

[64] *Mirror* 2.121: *anaṅgaḥ pañcabhiḥ pauṣpair viśvaṁ vyajayatēṣubhiḥ | ity asaṁbhāvyam athavā vicitrā vastuśaktayaḥ* ||.

[65] For further reflections about the strengthening effect of double negations, see Mahimabhatta, *Critical Analysis of Manifestation*, p. 60.

[66] *Way* 3.99: *viditārthaviparyāsāspadame dal ākṣēpam emb' aḷaṁkāraṁ matt' adaṟa viśēṣavibhāgaman udāharaṇamārgadiṁ prayōgisi tōrpeṁ.*

[67] *Way* 3.100: *mr̥dutaramārgade kennaṁ madanaśarānīkam oykan olavaṁ paḍeguṁ hr̥dayaman aḷavaḷavind' uṟe vidārisuvud' intu kusumamayam alt' adaṟiṁ.*

that the arrows of the God of Love are flowers "P." Whereas Dandin's example ultimately affirmed this convention by means of a double negation ("it is not the case that it is unbelievable that P"), Shrivijaya's example does the opposite: it negates the convention ("it is not the case that P") by presenting a violent and destructive quality that is not usually associated with flowers.

This example serves as a dismissal of Dandin's "dismissal." I believe that these intertextual effects are intentional: Shrivijaya often configures his own examples so that they can be read in conjunction with, and as "ornamenting," Dandin's examples.[68] Just as the literary Kannada presented by the *Way* presupposes rather than replaces Sanskrit, so the *Way*'s examples presuppose familiarity with Dandin's *Mirror*. And this relationship of presupposition allows us to see ornaments themselves as relations that obtain not just between meanings that are presented in a given text, but between meanings that are dispersed across texts and languages—in other words, precisely as Dandin would have wanted us to see them.[69]

Shrivijaya also compresses the discussion: whereas the *Mirror* includes twenty subvarieties of "dismissal," the *Way* presents only five: "regret" (*anuśaya*), "embrace" (*śliṣṭa*), "comparison" (*upamā*), "doubt" (*saṁśaya*), and "reason" (*hētu*). All five have parallels in the *Mirror*—although the "comparison" subvariety is an invention of Shrivijaya, as we will see—but they are all drawn from the very end of Dandin's discussion of this ornament. The beginning of Dandin's discussion is an elaboration on a single situation: a man is going off on a journey, and his beloved is trying to stop him from going. Here is an example of a "harsh dismissal" (*paruṣākṣēpa*):

If you're really going,
go hunt after some other girl.
From now on I'm spoken for—
by death, who's waiting in the wings.[70]

Dandin's decision to spin out this premise across more than a dozen verses has the effect of associating "dismissal" with a particular theme and narrative situation, and also with the tone of "censure" that is evoked in the name of the ornament itself. But in doing so, he has effectively redefined "dismissal," from "taking back" a statement to "negating" an element of meaning. In fact, the verse quoted above is typical in not having an explicit negation, and certainly not the phrase "or rather" (*athavā*), which occurs in many of the early examples. Rather, what is

[68] See Ollett 2017 for an example of "condensed speech" (*samāsōkti*).

[69] "Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* offers a vast repertory of strategies for multilayered presuppositions, an intertextual grammar of literary speech acts" (Bronner 2010: 221).

[70] *Mirror* 2.143: *yadi satyaiva tē yātrā kāpy anyā mr̥gyatāṁ tvayā | aham adyaiva ruddhāsmi randhrāpēkṣēṇa mr̥tyunā ||*.

"negated," in the sense of being foreclosed, is the lover's journey, as Dandin himself repeatedly notes in his own explanations of his examples.

In Dandin's last few examples, by contrast, the premise is no longer a woman speaking to her lover on the eve of a journey, and the "dismissal" takes the form of an explicit negation. Shrivijaya's examples of "regret," "embrace," and "reason" are all based closely on verses of the *Mirror* that fall into this second category. As is usually the case, Shrivijaya tries to achieve a similar meaning using completely different words. This point bears emphasis because it is possible to use Sanskrit expressions unchanged in Kannada. And in fact, other engagements with the *Mirror*—namely, the *Ornament of Madhava*—often incorporate Dandin's very words. Here, for comparison, are Dandin's and Shrivijaya's examples of the "reason" subvariety of "dismissal":

> Nobody ever says of you, king,
> that you give, since those who want it
> take money from you
> in the belief that it's theirs.[71]

> "You, who are rich in honor—how can somebody
> praise you as a donor? Your gold is always in the hands
> of the poor and helpless anyway. How does that
> make you a donor?"—this is "dismissal with a reason."[72]

This pair of verses, incidentally, illustrates another way in which Shrivijaya compresses Dandin's discussion: whereas Dandin typically uses one verse to illustrate a particular subvariety of the ornament and another to name and explain it, Shrivijaya puts both the name and the illustration in the same verse. He was able to do so partly because of the greater length of his chosen verse form, the *kanda*, relative to the Sanskrit *ślōka*.

Besides these similarities, there are also a number of puzzling differences. Dandin's "doubt" variety runs as follows:

> Is this an autumn cloud?
> Or a flock of geese?
> You can hear something like anklets.
> So it's not a cloud.[73]

[71] *Mirror* 2.165: *na stūyasē narēndra tvaṁ dadāsīti kadācana | svam ēva matvā gr̥hṇanti yatas tvaddhanam arthinaḥ* ||.

[72] *Way* 3.105: *mānadhanā pogaḻisal ēṁ dāniye nīn unte ninna kasavaram enduṁ dīnānāthara keyy adu dāniy ad' ent' embud' intu hētvākṣēpaṁ.*

[73] *Mirror* 2.161: *kim ayaṁ śaradambhōdaḥ kiṁ vā haṁsakadambakam | rutaṁ nūpurusaṁvādi śrūyatē tan na tōyadaḥ* ||.

The following verse from the *Way* certainly looks as if it is responding to that verse:

> "That's a flock of beautiful geese, not an autumn cloud,
> since the lovely sound of tinkling anklets is arising from it."—
> This is what is called a "dismissal with a comparison."[74]

Dandin, however, does not list "comparison" as a subvariety of "dismissal." Moreover, his "doubt" subvariety directly corresponds to the verse that Shrivijaya provides immediately afterward:

> "Is it a bee, or an autumn cloud? It's not a cloud.
> Arising from it is the attractive fragrance of the *saptacchada* tree."—
> One should consider this to be "dismissal with a doubt."[75]

Shrivijaya seemingly relabels Dandin's "doubt" subvariety as a "comparison," and then adds another closely related verse to exemplify the "doubt" subvariety. Precisely what motivated these changes is unclear. One possibility, based on a global feature of the *Way* identified above, is that this is an exercise in "extratextuality": Shrivijaya established a baseline of intertextuality with Dandin's *Mirror*, and veered away from this baseline for a single verse, as if to check if his readers were paying attention. As Yigal Bronner suggests to me, this short detour through "comparison," before returning to "doubt," has a basis in Dandin's own system, where "doubt" is not an ornament on its own but is instead a subvariety of the ornament of "comparison." We should also remember that Dandin concludes his discussion of "dismissal" by inviting his readers to come up with subvarieties of their own (2.166). Shrivijaya's introduction of one new subvariety might be a response to this challenge.

At the conclusion of this section, Shrivijaya reflects on the relationship between "dismissal" and other ornaments:

> Those who are clever will recognize, on the basis
> of the system presented in the *Way*, the teaching of Atishayadhavala,
> that these are the options for the ornament of "distinction,"

[74] *Way* 3.103: *varahaṁsakadambakam adu śaradambudam altu mukharanūpurasaṁvādiravaṁ negaḻdʼ appudu bandhuram adaṟindʼ idaṟoḷ embudʼ upamākṣēpaṁ.*

[75] *Way* 3.104: *madakariyō ghanasamayāmbudamō ghanam altu negaḻvudʼ adaṟoḷ saptacchadagandhasurabhi paduḷaṁ madakariy ene nenege saṁśayākṣēpakamaṁ.*

and take the ornament known as
"dismissal" in conformity with it.[76]

In keeping with the *Way*'s specific mode of "authorizing" its teachings, this verse refers to Amoghavarsha ("Atishayadhavala" is one of his titles) as the authority for the system, despite the fact that careful readers would easily have recognized Dandin's *Mirror* as the primary source for much of the discussion. The verse also reminds readers that "dismissal" had appeared earlier in the *Way* as one of the subvarieties of the ornament "distinction."[77] Shrivijaya thus calls attention to a feature of Dandin's system—and thus also the system that bears Amoghavarsha's name—that Yigal Bronner describes as "modularity."[78] Modularity means that ornaments can be combined with each other to produce new ornaments.[79] As is clear from Bhamaha's formulation, both "dismissal" and "distinction" result in the communication of a special quality (*viśēṣa*) present in the object under description, although "distinction" affirms it positively, and "dismissal," negatively.[80]

The final verse of the section switches over to the *gītike* meter, which Shrivijaya uses to take a step back from his discussion and reflect on the overall architecture of the poetic system:[81]

It results in a negation with reference to a particular state of affairs
that corresponds to a meaning expressed in language.
It is just to this extent that the account of the supreme
ornament of "dismissal" goes its own way
in the *Way* of Lord Nrupatunga.[82]

[76] *Way* 3.106: *vyatirēkavikalpam id' end' atiśayadhavaḷōpadēśamārgakramadind' atinipuṇar aṟidu koḷg' anumatiyind' ākṣēpam emb' aḷaṅkāramumaṁ.* Note that all of the manuscripts read *anumatiyand'* (= *anumatiyind'*); Seetha Ramaiah had conjectured *anumitiyind'*.

[77] *Way* 3.43: *alaghubhujan āgiyuṁ niścalam āgiyum akhiḷabhūbhṛduttuṅgateyoḷ nelasiyum eydadu ninnā vilasitamaṁ mēru kaṭhinabhōgādhāraṁ* ("You have big arms, and he has big slopes; you are steady, and he doesn't move; you stand higher than all kings, and he stands higher than all mountains. But Meru is hard as a rock. He can't come close to your grace"). This verse reimagines the "distinction with dismissal" that is taught and exemplified in *Mirror* 2.183–86.

[78] See Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume.

[79] As Yigal Bronner argues in a forthcoming paper, the final section of Dandin's discussion of "dismissal" showcases the modularity of the ornament, and this may have been one of the reasons that Shrivijaya decided to focus on this final section in his own adaptation.

[80] Compare *Ornament of Literature* 2.68 (*pratiṣēdha ivēṣṭasya yō viśēṣābhidhitsayā | ākṣēpa iti taṁ santaḥ śaṁsanti dvividhaṁ yathā* ||) with 2.75 (*upamānavatō 'rthasya yad viśēṣanidarśanaṁ | vyatirēkaṁ tam icchanti viśēṣāpādanād yathā* ||).

[81] The majority of the *Way of the Poet-King* is written in the *kanda* verse form, which is the standard discursive meter in Kannada (see section 2.4 below). The *gītike*, which is used much more rarely, has not been well understood; it differs from the *gītike* described by later authors such as Nagavarman and Jayakirti who wrote about Kannada meters.

[82] *Way* 3.107: *pratipadārthatattvabhēdadoḷ pratiṣēdhamaṁ negaḻgum anite māḻkeyind' atiśayākṣēpagaṇanāvyatigati nṛpatuṅgadēvamārgadoḷ.*

Shrivijaya here identifies the principle underlying his discussion of "dismissal." The initial definition referred to a "controversion" (*paryaya*) of a meaning that was already known, and this summary refers to a "negation" (*pratiṣēdha*) pertaining to a particular state of affairs (*tattvabhēda*). On my understanding, this state of affairs is qualified as "corresponding to a meaning expressed in language" (*pratipadārtha*, taking *padārtha* literally as "the meaning[s] of word[s]"). This hints that, according to Shrivijaya's understanding of the ornament, the negated meaning must be expressed, rather than implied or suggested. By contrast, the negated meaning is often left unexpressed in many of Dandin's examples. And whereas Dandin's long elaboration on "dismissal" connected the ornament with certain discursive situations—above all, a lover about to set out on a journey—and a range of affective dimensions, Shrivijaya's discussion focuses on the logical property of negation as the ornament's core characteristic. We might suspect that Shrivijaya sought to "prune" Dandin's overgrown discussion, both to make it more theoretically cogent, and to halt the encroachment onto this ornament of a poetics of implied or suggested meaning. Notice, too, that the phrase "the account of the supreme ornament of 'dismissal' going its own way" (*atiśayākṣēpagaṇanāvyatigati*) can be read in two ways: first, and primarily, as referring to the feature that differentiates "dismissal" from other ornaments in the system, and second, as referring to the features that differentiate Shrivijaya's account from Dandin's.

Shrivijaya's discussion of "dismissal" is an example of how to read Dandin's *Mirror* and what to do with it. He is not just an attentive and engaged reader of the *Mirror*, but also a critical reader. It appears that he found Dandin's treatment of "dismissal" to lack coherence, and to veer, in certain cases, toward a poetics of implied meaning of which he did not entirely approve. One of his interventions was to restore an earlier understanding of "dismissal," found in Bhamaha's *Ornament*, for example, as the "taking back" of a statement, rather than the "negation" of a meaning. Aside from Shrivijaya's theoretical reservations, however, Dandin's influence is manifest in this section of the *Way*. Shrivijaya does not only use Dandin's text as the raw material from which he builds his own—readers of Dandin's *Mirror* will recognize every single one of Shrivijaya's examples in this section as a transformation of one of Dandin's—but he also responds directly to Dandin, for example by "dismissing" Dandin's preliminary classification of "dismissal," or by coming up with a novel subvariety of "dismissal." And he manifests a keen understanding of the organizational and theoretical principles of Dandin's *Mirror of Literature*, including the possibility of combining ornaments, the concepts that serve as connective tissue, so to speak, between individual ornaments, and the layering of meanings in relationships of presupposition. His discussion of "dismissal" shows that Shrivijaya could both incorporate the insights of earlier teachers and still go his own way.

## 2.4. Turning Flaws into Virtues: Alliteration

*Andrew Ollett and Sarah Pierce Taylor*

Discussions of poetic technique in South Asia almost always include a discussion of poetic "flaws."[83] These are choices—related to poetic expressions, their meaning, or metrical form—that are likely to "ruin" the aesthetic effect of a poem. As Bronner explains in this volume, Dandin very often treated flaws as "virtues in disguise": every flaw has the potential to become a virtue, and an expression or meaning can be all the more striking if it is conveyed in the outward appearance of a flaw.[84] There are times in Shrivijaya's discussion of poetic flaws that he takes a very similar approach, showing that he clearly understood the game that Dandin was playing. Indeed, Shrivijaya even uses the expression "making a flaw appear as a virtue" (*dōsamane guṇadavōl udbhāsisi*; see below). Shrivijaya's version of this poetic alchemy, however, crucially differs from Dandin's in its application: Shrivijaya recognizes the space between "rule-following" and "rule-breaking" practice as a productive space for the vernacular, and it is there that he locates some of the most striking deviations of Kannada poetry from the rules articulated for Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry.

Shrivijaya discusses poetic flaws around the middle of the *Way*'s first chapter. The basic framework of the discussion is borrowed from Dandin's *Mirror*. One genre of flaws pertains to metrical form. This includes simple violations of the metrical pattern, listed as a flaw as early as the *Treatise on Theater* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*) in the early centuries CE, as well as incorrect placement of a caesura (*yati*), defined in Dandin's *Mirror*.[85] For these purposes, a caesura is a word boundary (a place where one word ends and another begins) that is expected at a given position in the metrical pattern.[86] Shrivijaya says that the rules for caesura should be known from metrical textbooks, which often specify the location of a caesura as part of the definition of a given metrical form.[87] It is possible that textbooks of

[83] Work on this section first began as a paper that Pierce Taylor gave at the Annual South Asia Conference, Madison (2016c). Invaluable feedback from Gary Tubb and Yigal Bronner heavily shaped the interpretation of the text found here.

[84] See Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume.

[85] *Treatise on Theater* 15.93 (*vr̥ttabhēdō bhavēd yatra viṣamaṁ nāma tad bhavēt*), corresponding to Dandin's *bhinnavr̥tta* ("incorrect pattern," *Mirror* 3.156–58); for misplacement of caesura, see *Mirror of Literature* 3.152 (and the next note).

[86] According to Shrivijaya's definition (*Way* 1.71), "a fixed place to take a breath, in the course of language in syllable- and mora-counting meters, is called 'caesura'" (*yatiy embud' usirva tāṇaṁ kr̥tāspadaṁ vr̥ttajātipadapaddhatiyoḷ*). This is modeled on *Mirror* 3.152, "in verse, a word-break at a fixed position is called 'caesura'" (*ślōkēṣu niyatasthānaṁ padacchēdaṁ yatiṁ viduḥ*). For a historical poetics of the manipulation of word boundaries in Sanskrit literature, see Pollock (1977). For an account of the selective laxity with which the rules regarding caesura were applied, see Balogh (2017).

[87] *Way* 1.71: "[The caesura] is to be known from the ways that are described in well-known and widely studied texts on meter" (*satataṁ chandōviditapratītaśāstrōktamārgadind' aṟivud' idaṁ*).

Kannada meter were in circulation at the time, but Shrivijaya is likely referring to textbooks of Sanskrit and Prakrit meter.[88] In fact, however, the meters that are relevant to this section of the *Way*—and the vast majority of the meters that are actually used in the *Way*—are identical to meters that were used in earlier Sanskrit and Prakrit literature and defined in Sanskrit metrical handbooks.

In exemplifying the flaw of the "breaking the caesura" (*yatibhaṅga*), Shrivijaya follows what he has by now established as his standard pattern: he gives a verse that violates the relevant metrical rule, followed by a verse that identifies the flaw and introduces a correction. The corrected verse is largely identical to the earlier verse except that the flaw no longer appears. What is noteworthy about this series of verses is how minute the metrical flaw actually is. For example, compare the faulty and corrected verses:

*kēḍ' aḍasid' andu bageyuṁ*
*kūḍadu kūḍidudum aḻidu viparītamumaṁ*
*māḍugum adaṟiṁ karmakk'*
*ōḍi barduṃkal**kam aṟiva**r ār bhūtaḷadoḷ?*[89]

*kēḍ' aḍasidoḍaṁ bageyuṁ*
*kūḍadu kūḍidudum aḻidu viparītamumaṁ*
*māḍugum adaṟiṁ karmakk'*
*ōḍi barduṃkal**ke kaltar** ār binnaṇamaṁ?*[90]

The translation for both is largely the same:

When disaster strikes, you can't even think,
and even if you can, you lose it and do the opposite.
So who on earth even knows how to survive
when he's on the run from *karma*?

Caesuras are regularly specified for longer syllable-counting meters (those with 15 or more syllables per line), as well as for all of the mora-counting meters.

[88] See note 53 above on the *Guṇagāṅkīyaṁ*. The earliest surviving textbook of Kannada meter, Nagavarman's *Ocean of Meters*, dates from about a century after the *Way*. The *Way* does, however, at least attest to a *vocabulary* for different metrical forms, since it mentions several meters (*akkaraṁ*, *cavupadi*, *gītike*, *tivadi*) in its discussion of the *cattāṇa* and *bedaṇḍe* genres (*Way* 1.33; see also the discussion of these genres in Clare and Shulman, section 4.6 in this volume).

[89] *Way* 1.72. Both of these verses seem to also have an uncorrected metrical flaw in the second line, namely, that a word boundary should occur before the *m* in *kūḍidum aḻidu*, but instead it occurs afterward. All of the manuscripts, however, read the text as printed here, and it seems that none of the previous editors noticed the problem.

[90] *Way* 1.74.

Like the majority of the *Way*, these verses are written in the *kanda* meter (derived from the Prakrit *khandaa*), which is the standard meter of exposition in Kannada, analogous to the *anuṣṭubh ślōka* in Sanskrit. This meter requires a caesura between the first and second syllable of the seventh metrical group (*gaṇa*), if that group consists of all light syllables. In the second half of the first verse, the seventh metrical group consists of four light syllables, *ka-ma-ṟi-va* (in bold). But *kam* is the end of one word, and *aṟiva-* is the beginning of the next word. There is no caesura between the first syllable (*ka*) and the second syllable (*ma*) of this group. In the second, corrected verse, the seventh group in each line is no longer constituted by four light syllables (*ke kalta*), and as a consequence, there is no longer a requirement for a word boundary after the first syllable (although it has one for good measure). If this sounds a bit like splitting hairs, that's because it is. The rule in question is, no doubt, completely valid, but it is also not likely to be the first thing one thinks of when "caesura" is mentioned. By contrast, Dandin's example of the same flaw is much more obvious, since he uses a meter (*mandākrāntā*) with caesuras in very salient locations.[91]

Why does Shrivijaya select such a marginal example? Probably because it is one domain of Kannada literary practice where the rules of caesura, such as they are formulated in Sanskrit and Prakrit metrical handbooks, actually apply. In Sanskrit and Prakrit, a word boundary is expected to occur between the end of one metrical line (*pāda*) and the beginning of the next. To have a word that straddles the two lines of a verse would be a serious metrical flaw. As Shrivijaya explains, Kannada usage is different:

*dōsamane guṇadavōl ud-*
*bhāsisi kannaḍadoḷ oldu pūrvācāryar*
*dēsiyane niṟisi khaṇḍa-*
*prāsaman atiśayam id' endu yatiyaṁ mikkar.*[92]

When they were laying down the Regional,
the teachers of the past liked to make a flaw appear as a virtue
in Kannada, and so they violated the caesura
on the grounds that run-on alliteration was superior.

Shrivijaya names the violation of the caesura *khaṇḍaprāsa*. Although the term itself is never explained, if we were to translate it literally, it might mean "alliteration (*prāsa*) by means of a broken (*khaṇḍa*) [word]," since the alliterative element requires a word to be broken across the line boundary. We render it as

[91] *Mirror* 3.153.
[92] *Way* 1.74.

"run-on alliteration," in which words skip over metrical boundaries to achieve alliteration. Alliteration refers to the practice, common in most South Indian languages but not in Sanskrit or Prakrit, of making the consonant of the second syllable identical (or nearly identical) across all four lines of a verse. By the time of the *Way*, this was a mandatory feature of Kannada verse and Shrivijaya himself adheres to it assiduously. The requirement of alliteration serves the purpose of signaling the *beginning* of a line of verse, just as the requirement of a word boundary signals the *end* of a line of verse. In principle, one could observe both requirements, and poets often did, especially in regional metrical forms such as *tivadi*. But it was very difficult to maintain this form of alliteration, and if the poet is not very good, there was also risk of tedium in the use of the same or similar words at the beginning of every line. The "teachers of the past" found a way out of this alliterative bind by easing up on the requirement of line-final caesura.

The ability to position words across a metrical line boundary immeasurably opened up the possibilities for second-syllable alliteration. The verse quoted above itself illustrates the phenomenon of "run-on alliteration" that it describes. The past participle *udbhāsisi* (underlined) breaks across the first line and the second line, providing the necessary "s" (bold) for the second syllable alliteration.[93] "Run-on alliteration" became one of the most distinguishing and enduring features of Kannada verse, and it was cherished by Kannada poets precisely because it indexed a difference from the norms of Sanskrit and Prakrit composition. Shrivijaya goes on to say:

*ni***r***atiśayam akkum adu ban-*
*dhu***r***akavijanatāprayōgasambandhanadiṁ*
*gu***r***ujaghanastanabharaman-*
*tha***r***alīlālasaviḷāsinīcaḷitambōl.*[94]

Indeed nothing is superior to it, owing to the charming ways
that the community of poets have used it,
like the swaying and nonchalant bearing of a beautiful woman
slowed down by her thick thighs and heavy breasts.

Remember that Shrivijaya is discussing "run-on alliteration" in this context because it is, technically, a flaw. But flaws, as he no doubt learned from Dandin, are

[93] The compound *khaṇḍaprāsaman* similarly breaks across the third and fourth line in order to provide the alliterative "s." But even in Sanskrit a caesura can fall between the constituents of a compound word.

[94] *Way* 1.75. With the words *bandhura* ("charming," literally "bent") and *manthara* ("slow") tumbling across line breaks, Shrivijaya again uses this verse to both describe and enact "alliteration by means of a broken word."

full of aesthetic possibilities. Shrivijaya's defense of this flaw-turned-virtue has two parts. First, he appeals to its acceptance, in practice, among a community of poets (*kavijanatā*). Then he explains what is so "charming" about it. The words do not stop at a metrical boundary, but stagger past it as if propelled by their own weight, captured in the verse by the image of a woman sashaying with confident indifference. What had started out as a flaw is, in this treatment, not merely acceptable, but "superior."

The rules regarding caesura need to be reformulated for Kannada if we want to be able to use them to separate good verse from bad. This is the final note that Shrivijaya makes in this section: rather than requiring a caesura at the end of each of a verse's four lines, he suggests instead that a caesura really only needs to occur between the two halves of a verse.[95] This reformulation thus satisfies not only the aesthetic preference for "run-on alliteration" between the odd and even lines of a verse, but also the more conventional requirement for a caesura at the end of the line between the even and odd lines. Shrivijaya prescribes this form of "run-on alliteration" for the popular *ārye* and *kanda* meters, but he himself uses it in other Sanskrit-derived meters in the *Way*. In later Kannada poets such as Pampa, the feature appears in Sanskrit-derived meters as well. By contrast, "run-on alliteration" does not commonly appear in regional meters like *tivadi*, or in Shrivijaya's own *gītike* verses. While second-syllable alliteration is a common feature of South Indian verse, "run-on alliteration" itself is not. It was introduced specifically to "Kannada-ize" Sanskrit and Prakrit meters. Thus, besides demonstrating how to "make a flaw appear as a virtue," this section demonstrates how to formulate new norms of composition in the vernacular, by transforming the practices of Sanskrit and Prakrit versification.[96]

## 2.5. The Afterlife of the *Mirror* in Kannada Literary Discourse

*Gil Ben-Herut*

This section examines the tradition of poetics in Kannada in the centuries following the appearance of the *Way*, and in particular a work of poetics called the *Ornament of King Udayaditya* (*Udayādityālaṅkāraṁ*). This text was probably composed at the court of the eponymous Udayaditya, a "Chola king" who likely ruled Warangal in the twelfth century.[97] Consisting of only seventy-six

[95] *Way* 1.76.

[96] See Pollock 1998a; 2006: 322.

[97] The reference in verse 24 to "the Chola king Udayaditya, son of King Somanatha" led some scholars to connect this text to a king named Udaya of the Chola dynasty in twelfth-century

verses, the *Ornament* offers a highly condensed guide to the composition of literature. As its title suggests, the majority of the text (forty-nine verses) is dedicated to poetic ornaments. Its brevity and plainness distinguish it from other Kannada works of poetics, including the *Way of the Poet-King*, and reflect an attempt to offer a pedagogically useful synthesis of poetics that was still closely aligned with the court.

The *Ornament*'s particularity is immediately visible upon comparison with the *Way*. The *Way*, as shown in the previous sections, represents an original, polemical, and expansive endeavor to provide a set of explicitly articulated and copiously illustrated norms for literary composition in Kannada, in a way that was self-consciously modeled on Sanskrit texts but nevertheless attuned to local literary practices. Its ambition was appropriate to the foundational moment in which it was composed, in the mid-ninth century. In contrast, *Ornament* was composed in the twelfth century, at a rather mature moment in the history of this literary culture, and reflects much more modest and pragmatic aspirations, in terms of its format, structure, length, and content. And while the author of the *Way* engages Dandin in an extended conversation that covers all of the topics treated in the *Mirror* and more, the *Ornament* uses the *Mirror* for its general plan and for much of its material, but does not engage it in an intertextual conversation, and its scope is much narrower. It is also much more compressed, in the sense that both the *Mirror* and the *Way* typically devote entire verses to either defining or exemplifying an ornament, whereas the *Ornament* often combines the definition and the example in a single verse or even less. Its brevity indicates that it served the goal of introducing young writers to basic concepts in literary composition, above all the ornaments of sense, in a form that they might easily memorize. But the text clearly served a different goal as well: praising its titular king. In fact, these two goals are systematically intertwined in the *Ornament*. Many of its verses both exemplify the literary phenomenon at hand and praise King Udayaditya.

The *Ornament* praises the king in a very specific way. He is assimilated both to a political ideal, through his heroic conquests, as well as to a cultural ideal, on account of his excellence of literary taste and competence. These aspects are combined in the ideal of the "poet-king" that the *Way* references both in its title and in its depiction of King Nrupatunga. The *Ornament*, however, makes no reference at all to the *Way of the Poet-King*, and it is difficult to determine whether it used Shrivijaya's text as a source (although, as noted below, it does discuss some

Warangal, who is known from an inscription from that region. Udayaditya was also the name of a king in the Paramara dynasty in the late eleventh century, although it is unlikely that this is the king who lent his name to the *Ornament* (Pollock 2006: 177–78).

of the same topics). For the *Ornament*, the epitomes of "poet-kings" are all kings of the past who wrote in Sanskrit. In verse 75, the author refers to "Munja, Bhoja, and the famous Shriharsha." Munja and Bhoja were both kings of the Paramara line of modern-day Madhya Pradesh. Munja, who ruled in the late tenth century, was a well-known poet and patron of literature. So, too, was his nephew Bhoja, who ruled in the early eleventh century, wrote a large number of works in Sanskrit, including a major synthesis of poetics, and became legendary for his support of poets. Shriharsha was a king of Kanauj in the seventh century who patronized the poet Bana and who wrote Sanskrit plays of his own. The *Ornament*'s program of creating a system of poetics that is "branded" with the name of its royal sponsor seems to be continuous with that of the *Way of the Poet-King*. But we may also consider it to be an early example of the "adornment of glory" (*yaśōbhūṣaṇa*) genre. The best-known example of this genre is Vidyanatha's *Ornament of Prataparudra* (*Pratāparudrīya*), a Sanskrit treatise on poetics that also serves to praise Prataparudra, the great Kakatiya king who ruled Warangal in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The structure of the two works, together with the possible Warangal connection, suggests a historical continuity between the *Ornament of King Udayaditya* and the *Ornament of Prataparudra*.

Despite owing much of its framework and content to the *Mirror*, the author of the *Ornament* makes no mention of Dandin's work. The same is true for the *Way of the Poet-King*, although the author of the *Ornament* briefly acknowledges other poets and theorists in general terms. Moreover, there are a few points on which the *Ornament* deviates from both the *Mirror* and the *Way*. These are generally issues on which the *Ornament* represents more current trends in the subcontinental discourse of poetics since the turn of the first millennium CE.

The *Ornament* can be divided into two main segments. The first opens with an invocation to Sarasvati (v. 1) that is quite different from the one found in the *Mirror* and the *Way*. It continues with the purpose for writing the book (v. 2), the definition of poetry and its division into three parts (prose, verse, and mixed, vv. 3–6), poetic styles and tastes (*rīti*s and *rasa*s, vv. 7–10), the components (*aṅga*s) of the "grand poem" (*mahākāvya*, vv. 11–13), and poetic qualities (*guṇa*s, vv. 14–23), including an explanation and example for each quality. In its first twenty-three verses, then, the author of the *Ornament* makes a quick run through major aspects of South Asian poetics. Details and examples are generally absent, except for the section on qualities. His discussion of poetic styles in particular shows that the author of the *Ornament* had a different agenda and used different sources than the *Mirror* or the *Way*. Both Dandin and Shrivijaya systematically related the poetic styles, which they both called *mārga*s, or "ways," to

the ten poetic qualities, and each devoted dozens of verses to this topic.[98] But verses 7 and 8 of the *Ornament* merely state that there are many styles, of which three—*vaidarbha*, *gauḍa* (*gauḍīya*), and *pāñcāla*—can be named. The fact that the author calls them *rīti*s rather than *mārga*s, and the fact that his division is tripartite instead of bipartite, both suggest the influence of Vamana (ca. 815 CE). Recall, too, that the *Way* uses the generic categories "northern" and "southern," instead of regionally specific names like *vaidarbha* and *gauḍīya*, in order to relate the discussion of regional styles to the Kannada language. The author of the *Ornament* simply borrows the categories, as they are, from Sanskrit authors. Moreover, his initial concession to the multiplicity of styles suggests that he was aware of the debates regarding the number and identity of styles in Sanskrit poetics.[99]

Dandin enumerated eight *rasa*s (literally "tastes," but in this context, an aesthetic emotion). The author of the *Ornament*—like Shrivijaya, but also like many other authors of his time—includes a ninth. The *Ornament* also uniquely connects the *rasa*s with the poetic styles, mapping, for example, the tragic (*karuṇa*) and peaceful (*śānta*) *rasa*s to the *gauḍīya* style.[100] The *Way* had connected the *rasa*s with particular qualities (2.99–100), but the *Ornament* seems to go further in making connections between the different categories that are described in the traditional systems of poetics and the map of regional styles. Although these connections themselves seem to have been an innovation, the author of the *Ornament*, in keeping with his minimal style, does not elaborate on them.[101]

The second and longest segment of the text, from verses 25 to 73, treats the titular theme of poetic ornaments. Here the author enumerates thirty-five ornaments of sense (*arthālaṅkāra*s)—the same as those enumerated by Dandin, but in a different order. In a few cases the *Ornament* differs from Dandin's nomenclature, most probably because of metrical constraints. The text typically presents a brief definition of each ornament and then a separate illustration verse, although in some cases the two are combined within a single verse or a single half-verse.[102] Unlike the *Mirror* and the *Way*, the *Ornament* does not discuss any subvarieties.

As an illustration, consider the treatment of "dismissal" (*ākṣēpa*), already discussed in a previous section:

[98] See Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume.

[99] Pollock 2006: 218.

[100] *Ornament* 9–10 and 24.

[101] *Ornament* 10.

[102] For example, while the first ornament discussed by the author, *svabhāvōkti*, takes a verse and a half, the one that follows, the foundational simile (*upame*), occupies as little as the remainder of the same verse, and "identification" (*rūpaka*) occupies a single verse. See *Ornament* 31–32.

"The creator made scholars poor.
But you, Udega, were born to protect them,
and to remove their tribulations."
This is "dismissal," where a prior statement is negated.[103]

This verse exhausts the *Ornament*'s discussion of "dismissal." The author has presented the ornament only in its most basic form, without any subvarieties. At first glance, it seems that in avoiding the entire question of subvarieties, the *Ornament* also avoided the questions of definition and classification with which it was closely connected, and on which the *Way*, as we have seen, sometimes challenged the *Mirror*. In fact, the *Ornament* engages these questions, briskly but pointedly, in its very examples. In the case of "dismissal," for instance, the *Ornament*'s illustration would be acceptable on Dandin's relatively expansive category, but perhaps not on Shrivijaya's more constrained definition (see above).

The above example also shows another aspect of the *Ornament*'s program: whereas the definitions often reflect Dandin's, albeit at several degrees of compression, all of the examples are made to order, and many of them either mention Udayaditya by name or speak of a king or hero that the reader will know, from context, to identify with him.

One feature of the *Ornament*, which picks up on a tendency already visible in Dandin's *Mirror*, is the pedagogical importance of its examples. Often the author of the *Ornament* defines an ornament in a relatively vague way and let the finer contours of the definition emerge from the example he provides. Take "identification" (*rūpaka*), for example. Dandin defined it as "nothing but a simile wherein difference is obscured," and Shrivijaya's definition follows suit.[104] By contrast, the author of the *Ornament* merely states that "identification is saying in a comprehensive manner," while the characteristic features of this ornament are taught through the accompanying illustration.[105]

The author of the *Ornament* is explicit about his pedagogical aim at the beginning of the work:

[103] *Ornament* 35: *baḍatanamaṁ bidi budharoḷ paḍedaṁ poredavaran udega nīn avareḍaṁ keḍisal udayisidey emb' ī nuḍivol pratiṣēdham appa nuḍiy ākṣēpaṁ.*

[104] *Mirror* 2.66: *upamaiva tirōbhūtabhēdā rūpakam ucyatē.* Translation by Yigal Bronner (forthcoming). For a discussion of this definition, see Bronner, section 1.3, McCrea, section 5.4, and Cox, section 5.9 in this volume. The *Way*'s definition (3.12) is *rūpakam embudu pe̱rava̱ra rūpādiguṇaṅgaḷān abhēdōktigaḷiṁ rūpisuvud' intu bāhulatāpādāmbujamukhēndunayanāḷigaḷiṁ* ("It is called 'identification' when you depict the qualities, such as visual form, of two different things through expressions of identity, such as 'creeper-arm,' 'lotus-foot,' 'moon-face,' and 'bee-eyes' ").

[105] Ornament 32: *intu samant' usirdoḍe rūpakaṁ akkum*. Not all the ornaments in the *Ornament* lack an explanation. Most of the presentations of ornaments include an explanation directly borrowed from Dandin, although usually in a truncated manner. Compare, for example, Dandin's definition of *tulyayōgitā* in *Mirror* 2.328 with the equivalent treatment of *samayōga* in *Ornament* 56.

> I shall explain this in short compass so that children, full of splendor, might begin to grow in and, ultimately, shine in poetic speech.[106]

The *Ornament* is composed entirely in the *kanda* meter, the primary discursive meter of premodern Kannada. It was thus probably intended to be memorized. As noted, it provides a basic understanding of the key concepts of poetics, such as ornaments, qualities, and styles, as well as a brief survey of the forms of poetry. In this respect it follows upon the pedagogical mission of Dandin's *Mirror*.[107] But there is a major difference between the two texts: whereas Dandin could aspire to present an entire system of poetics in a single book, by the time of the *Ornament of King Udayaditya*, it was perhaps impossible for a single work to be both student-friendly and comprehensive, owing to the massive expansion of poetics as a discourse in the intervening centuries. The *Ornament* is an introductory text and was meant to be supplemented by other texts—possibly including the *Mirror* and the *Way*—at a more advanced level. The Kannada poetic tradition has produced several such short texts throughout the ages, such as the *Kabbigara Kaipidi*, literally *A Handbook for Poets*, a sixteenth-century thesaurus in ninety-nine verses.[108]

Even if students continued to study poetics with more advanced texts, the definitions and examples of the *Ornament* would have remained deeply embedded in their memories. Hence we see that, contrary to what we might expect from a school text, the *Ornament* was used as a reference by several accomplished poets and theorists. For example, the *Ocean of Beautiful Sayings* (*Sūktisudhārṇavaṁ*; mid-thirteenth century), the first literary anthology in Kannada, includes a verse from the *Ornament*. Verses from the *Ornament* were also quoted in the *Ocean of Rasa* (*Rasaratnākaraṁ*), a treatise on dramatic composition from the sixteenth century.[109] One verse from the *Ornament*, about the eighteen components of a grand poem (*mahākāvya*), had a particular appeal for later writers, perhaps because, for the first time in the history of Kannada poetics, it condensed the long list found in Dandin's *Mirror* into a single convenient Kannada couplet.[110] The *Ornament*'s straightforward and concise list continues to be cited even by modern writers.[111] There is considerable evidence to suggest that, throughout the later history of Kannada poetics, the *Ornament* played

[106] *Ornament* 2: [ . . . ] *kiṟidaṟiṁ tiḷipidapeṁ śrībharitabālakar kavitābhaṇiteyoḷ amardu nimirdu neṟemeṟevinegaṁ*.

[107] See Bronner, section 1.1 in this volume.

[108] In contrast to the *Ornament,* however, such short texts usually attend to specific aspects of poetry (Rice [1921] 1982: 112–13).

[109] Narasimhacharya [1929] 2005: 180, 433.

[110] *Ornament* 13. See Venkatachala Sastry and Nagaraja Rao 2015: 51–52.

[111] When Narasiṁhācār [1971] 2005: 547–98 discusses descriptions of the elements of nature in classical Kannada poetry, he quotes the same verse from the *Ornament* in order to present to his readers all eighteen themes. Similarly, R. Narasimhacharya [1940] 1988: 15 points to this verse in the *Ornament* as the first to list the eighteen themes in a single Kannada verse and adds that it influenced

the role of a technical reference book, as well as that of an abridged manual on the basic principles of Kannada literature.

Finally, let me return to the *Ornament*'s consistent praise of King Udayaditya. The latter is, as noted earlier, the text's main addressee, and he is eulogized as a generous patron of poetry (see, for example, verse 37) and an invincible fighter (see, for example, verses 48 and 49). Beyond these typically royal ideals, however, in as many as thirty verses out of a total of seventy-six, the king is praised with epithets such as "Crown-Jewel of Poets" (verse 69) and "Gem-Ornament among the Best of Poet-Kings" (verses 32 and 42), which specifically refer to his competence in the field of literature.[112]

Udayaditya figures as the addressee in many verses, and he is presented as a "poet-king" in the tradition of Munja, Bhoja, and Shriharsha, as noted above. In one case—the oft-quoted verse on the eighteen components of a grand poem mentioned earlier—Udayaditya is also acknowledged as the source of the ideas expressed in the work.[113] In this respect, his function in the text seems very similar to the function of Amoghavarsha in the *Way of the Poet-King*: he is the authority on which the system contained in the text is promulgated. One major difference, however, is that Amoghavarsha is generally not praised in the examples provided by the *Way* and is not addressed in the second person, as Udayaditya is in the *Ornament*. This feature of the *Ornament*—let us call it "eulogy of direct address"—is important because it implicates a court poet who is never named but who is presumed to compose, and speak, the text's verses of praise.

The *Ornament* differs from the *Way* in its configuration of authorial voices and, in this way, in its relationship to royal authority. As a comparison—of which the author of the *Ornament* may have been aware—consider the inscriptional poems found at Bhoja's library in Dhar, especially the two Prakrit poems about the tortoise that supports the earth.[114] These poems, too, combine a claim of Bhoja's personal authorship with many cases in which Bhoja is directly addressed

later poets. In comparison, the *Way* contains slightly different themes, and they are presented in a more elaborate manner over several verses (*Way* 3.209–16).

[112] Some of the phrases that refer to the king's literary merits in this text are *kaviratnaśēkhara* ("Crown-Jewel of Poets"), *kavirājaśēkhara* ("Crown of Poet-Kings"), *sāhityavidyādhara* ("Sorcerer of Literature"), *rājasukaviratnābharaṇa* ("Gem-Ornament among the Best of Poet-Kings"), and *sāhityaratnākara* ("Ocean of Literature").

[113] Verse 24 directly claims that it is this king who composed this text: *esev' ī kāvyaśarīramaṁ posayis' ird' aṣṭādaśāṅgaṅgaḷaṁ rasarītikramadindam ondida daśaprāṇaṅgaḷ ondondamaṁ vasudhānāthana sōmanāthana sutaṁ cōḷōdayādityan int' usirdaṁ pēl̲dapan inn alaṅkr̥tigaḷaṁ sāhityaratnākaraṁ* ("The Chola king Udayaditya, son of King Somanatha, presented in this manner the eighteen components that infuse life in the glittering body of a poem, taking one by one the ten forms of expression in conformity with aesthetic experience and style. This man, called the 'Ocean of Literature,' will now present the ornaments").

[114] Kulkarni 2003.

by the poet. It is possible to read these poems, and by extension the *Ornament*, as simple cases of "self-praise." But in the case of the *Ornament*, the suggestion of other speakers besides the king extends to the possibility of a rather more ironic and critical voice in the text. Thus, simply because of the unrelenting character of the eulogy, the author of the *Ornament* seems to comment on the king's insatiable desire for fame, whether poetic or political. And there are a few instances of a tongue-in-cheek acknowledgment of the duty of a court poet to flatter his patron. For instance, right before the author declares that the work as a whole is to be credited to the king, he casually provides the following example of a poetic quality called "compression" (*samādhi*), in which something is described using words that typically apply to something else:

> The bard's tongue is sharp in praising the king's qualities.[115]

On its own, this verse uses the language of a knife to refer to the bard's tongue. The qualities that we might impute to the bard's tongue are quickness and efficacy. But perhaps we are meant to understand that the bard's tongue can be injurious, even deadly. Read in context, this statement may even "cut away" at the claim that we encounter in the following verse (verse 24), which figures Udayaditya as the author of the *Ornament*. If he is famous at all, it may not be because of his own literary genius, but because of the sharpness of his court poets.

## 2.6. Conclusion

*Andrew Ollett*

Ollett and Pierce Taylor began this chapter by introducing the *Way of the Poet-King*, a ninth-century text that represents an attempt to create a system for Kannada literature, just as Dandin had offered a modular method for analyzing and producing literature in Sanskrit. This discussion focused on the concepts of authority, language, and intertextuality. In the *Way*, Dandin is constantly present as an intertext, but he is deliberately "absenced" by a set of processes that determine two other figures, Shrivijaya and Amoghavarsha, as authorities for the literary system that the *Way* presents, each in very different ways. Those very same processes locate that system, and the literary practices that it makes possible, in two imagined spaces, that of the court (*sabhe*) and that of the country (*nāḍu*). One constitutive characteristic of vernacular systems, like the one the *Way* presents, is their negotiation of language at both the macroscopic and microscopic level.

[115] *Ornament* 23: [ . . . ] *nijaguṇanutiyoḷ vandige nālage kūrittu* [ . . . ].

The *Way* does not exactly construct a system for Kannada on the model that Dandin had constructed for Sanskrit: it creates a system that accommodates Sanskrit and Kannada side by side, making them objects of reflection and choice, and thus aestheticizing language in a way that the *Mirror* itself could do only very incidentally. Finally, they discussed the intertextual relationships that the *Way* itself thematizes: a general orientation toward the works of earlier scholars as a source of insight and inspiration, and a specific orientation toward Dandin's *Mirror*, which is never named but is constantly reimagined, expanded upon and edited, and lightly criticized, according to Shrivijaya's changing priorities. Shrivijaya's tendency to align himself closely with Dandin in order to draw even greater attention to his deviations from Dandin was called "extratextuality," for which Dandin himself provided a model, in his relation to Bhamaha.

As an example of how Shrivijaya responds to Dandin's *Mirror*, Ollett looked at the ornament of "dismissal" (*ākṣēpa*). This is a clear case of Shrivijaya compressing, rather than expanding, the discussion found in Dandin's *Mirror*. But the rationale for this compression must be reconstructed by reading the *Way* alongside the *Mirror*. Ollett argued that Shrivijaya omitted a classification based on time because he implicitly *accepted* Dandin's dismissal of this classification, while he omitted many of Dandin's subvarieties for the opposite reason, namely, because he implicitly *rejected* the more expansive understanding of "dismissal" that they reflected.

Ollett and Pierce Taylor then examined a case where the norms laid out in the *Way*'s Sanskrit models were overridden by the concerns of the vernacular. Within the discussion of poetic flaws, the overall framework of which was borrowed from Dandin's *Mirror*, Shrivijaya noted that the practice of "run-on alliteration," which is a structural requirement in the text of the *Way* itself, would have to be considered a flaw according to the rules of Sanskrit and Prakrit metrical practice. But he endorses it nonetheless, following the aesthetic judgments of Kannada's community of poets.

Clearly, the *Way* reflects a different set of concerns, and a different cultural context, from those of Dandin's *Mirror*. Nevertheless, this chapter should make it clear that Shrivijaya was a worthy heir to Dandin. As Yigal Bronner explains, one reason for the *Mirror*'s success was Dandin's ability to inhabit the roles of teacher, theorist, and poet simultaneously.[116] And a very similar combination of pedagogy, theory, and poetry is present in the *Way* as well.

This chapter has not focused on the poetry of the *Way*, but like Dandin's *Mirror*, it provides copious examples for all of the phenomena it discusses. In many cases, Shrivijaya picks a single example and makes slight modifications to it throughout a topic. It is worth noting that Shrivijaya, like Dandin, was known for his poetry: Nagavarman, a poet of the eleventh century (and a literary theorist

[116] See Bronner, section 1.1 in this volume.

himself), praised Shrivijaya's now-lost poem about the *Lineage of Raghu* at the very beginning of his own poem.[117] The many examples in the *Way* on the theme of the *Rāmāyaṇa* have suggested to some scholars that some of these were not made to order, as the vast majority of Dandin's examples were, but rather were drawn from an existing composition, perhaps by Shrivijaya himself.

The game that Shrivijaya constantly plays with Dandin—consistently using the *Mirror* as an inter- and extratextual layer in the *Way*'s meanings, and drawing attention to this intertextual relationship in various ways—is similar to the game that Dandin had played with Bhamaha. This can be thought of as an aspect of Shrivijaya's (and Dandin's) pedagogy: the *Way* insists that students familiarize themselves with what he calls "the supreme teachings and the compositions of earlier poets," which surely include Dandin's *Mirror*.[118] Having presupposed their familiarity with those texts, he proceeds to model a certain way of using them: he shows that one can use these texts *productively* and *creatively*, as a resource for thinking through literary beauty in all of its aspects, without being beholden to them. Particularly important for Shrivijaya's readers is the possibility of composing a work of literature in Kannada, a vernacular language that Dandin had not even mentioned, which nevertheless belongs to the "great path" that Dandin had helped to point out.[119]

In the domain of theory, it seems that Shrivijaya's aims were actually higher than Dandin's. Or perhaps it would be more appropriate here to speak of Amoghavarsha's aims. For the *Way* consistently draws attention to the "system" or "model" (*krama*) that it offers, but under the name and authority of the Rashtrakuta king. Although much of this system is recognizably the same as Dandin's, Shrivijaya does intervene in Dandin's system much more than the rubric of "translation" or "adaptation" would lead us to expect. He reorganizes and refines it, expanding some ornaments and paring others down, and adds a substantial number of new topics, especially in the *Way*'s first and second chapters. The *Way* demands that we confront the assumption that Sanskrit was the only language of theory in premodern South Asia and begin to think of a discourse of "South Asian poetics" beyond "Sanskrit poetics," in which vernacular authors did not merely "vernacularize" the theory of Sanskrit authors, but made important interventions into it themselves. One brief and suggestive example is the *Way*'s partial rejection of "resonance" (*dhvani*) as an ornament, at almost exactly

[117] *Tale of Vardhamana* (*Vardhamānapurāṇaṁ*), v. 2: *aghavighaṭanakāraṇamam maghaṭita-* (read *sughaṭita*?) *padabandhabandhurāḷaṅkr̥tiyaṁ laghuv āge pogaḻe pēḻdaṁ raghuvaṁśamahāpurāṇamaṁ śrīvijayaṁ* ("To his praise, Shrivjaya wrote the *Great Tale of the Lineage of Raghu* in brief, with pleasing ornaments and well-constructed arrangements of words, which brings about the destruction of sin").

[118] *Way* 1.9: *paramāgamakōvidan* [ . . . ] *pūrvakāvyaracanegaḷaṁ* (cited above, note 21).

[119] *Way* 1.16: *taḍeyade mahādhvakr̥tigaḷan oḍarisal ārpp' ātan ellarindaṁ ballaṁ* ("He is most knowledgeable of all who is able to compose works of the great path without any hesitation").

the same time that Anandavardhana was making it into the centerpiece of his theory of literature.[120]

After this discussion of the *Way of the Poet-King*, Gil Ben-Herut used the *Ornament of King Udayaditya* to examine other possibilities of engagement with Dandin's *Mirror* that were available to authors writing in Kannada. The *Ornament* seems to reflect the *Way*'s engagement in certain respects, such as its authorization by a king, but in other respects, such as its brevity, it clearly speaks to a different set of concerns: as Ben-Herut argues, it was probably intended for beginning students, but its concise formulations of core literary phenomena proved useful even beyond this audience.

The *Ornament of King Udayaditya* raises the question of the *Mirror*'s long-term history of reception in the world of Kannada literature. In this chapter, we have limited our discussion to two Kannada texts, the *Way of the Poet-King* and the *Ornament of King Udayaditya.* Nevertheless, we can observe a curious pattern of bifurcation that sets Dandin's reception in this space somewhat apart from his reception in other linguistic and cultural spaces. For, on the one hand, the *Mirror* exerts a strong indirect influence through the *Way of the Poet-King*. The *Way* offered a clear and compelling vision of what it means to compose refined literature (*samaṟi pēḻdudu*) in Kannada. Dandin's *Mirror*, more than any other text, is what made this vision possible, but many Kannada authors would point to the *Way*, in addition to or in preference to the *Mirror*, when referencing it. On the other hand, the *Mirror* never ceased to be studied in the Kannada-speaking world, and several texts—including the *Ornament of King Udayaditya* as well as the *Ornament of Madhava*—clearly went straight back to Dandin as a model. A similarly bifurcated reception of the *Mirror* is evident in other regions that are discussed in this volume, including the Bay of Bengal, Sri Lanka, and the Tamil country.[121] This chapter concludes with some reflections on this pattern of bifurcation in the Kannada-speaking world.

In contrast to other regions of South Asia, Sanskrit literacy remained an ideal for Kannada poets throughout the medieval period, despite resistance to the use of Sanskrit lexemes in certain currents of literature.[122] But most Kannada poets, including those who called themselves *ubhayakavi*, "a poet of both languages," namely, Kannada and Sanskrit, did not write in Sanskrit at all.[123] One might speculate that Sanskrit remained important primarily because it was the

[120] See note 63 above.

[121] See Chapters 3, 4, and 7 in this volume.

[122] For such currents, see the more popular poetry of the Vīraśaiva movement. See Ben-Herut 2018. One poem, Andayya's *Kabbigara Kāva* (thirteenth century), avoids Sanskrit-identical lexemes entirely.

[123] See Ollett 2017: 176–177 on the trope of the *ubhayakavi*.

language of a tradition of literature, and a tradition of reflection on literature, that remained authoritative well into the "vernacular millennium."

The *Ornament of Madhava*, of uncertain date, complicates this picture slightly. But in its own way, it reflects both the continuing influence of Dandin's *Mirror* in the Kannada-speaking world and a changing relationship to Sanskrit knowledge within that world. For its project is very clearly to render Dandin's definitions and examples into Kannada as closely as possible.[124] It can therefore be seen as a "translation" or "adaptation" of the *Mirror* in ways that the *Way of the Poet-King*, or even the *Ornament of King Udayaditya*, cannot be. It seems rather unlikely that the primary audience of the *Ornament of Madhava* was as literate in Sanskrit as the primary audience of the *Way*. But if this is the case, then the *Ornament of Madhava* would suggest that when Sanskrit literacy could no longer be expected as a matter of course, Dandin's *Mirror* was among the texts for which the need was felt rather urgently to render them into Kannada. This aspect of the *Mirror*'s reception in the Kannada-speaking regions bears some structural similarity to the situation in Tibet.[125]

The other avenue through which Dandin's *Mirror* continued to influence literary culture in the Kannada-speaking world is, of course, through the *Way of the Poet-King*. We do not yet have a clear idea of just how deep the *Way*'s influence was. It is clear, however, that the *Way* was the primary reference point on several topics of poetics that were distinctive to Kannada. Put another way, the *Way* enabled and invited authors to think about Kannada's *distinction* vis-à-vis Sanskrit. The *Way*'s discussion of second-syllable alliteration (*prāsa*) was borrowed, usually with only the smallest changes, by later authors such as Nagavarman (*Ocean of Meters* [*Chandōmbudhi*], late tenth century) and Ishvarakavi (*Binding the Poet's Tongue* [*Kavijihvābandhaṁ*], date unknown).[126] And a number of other borrowings, in both theme and wording, can be found in authors who wrote on Kannada poetics and grammar, such as the later Nagavarman (mid-eleventh century), Keshiraja (thirteenth century), and Bhatta Akalankadeva (1604 CE).

[124] Compare Dandin's example of "dismissal," cited above, with the corresponding verse in the *Ornament of Madhava* (2.126): *calad' aḷimāley' ondu tiruvaṁ padapiṁ taḷid' ikṣucāpadind' alargaṇey aidarind' atanu mūjagamaṁ neḻegeld' en' emb' id' ond' aḷal id' asaṁbhavaṁ negaḻd' id' appude mēṇ dharaṇītalāgradōḷ nelasuge daivayōgade vicitrataraṅgaḷu vastuśaktigaḷ* ("Everyone knows that it's impossible that the bodiless god should have solemnly strung a bowstring of bees unto his bow of sugarcane and then conquered the three worlds with five arrows of flowers. Or rather, let it remain on the surface of the earth: after all, the powers that fate has bestowed on things are extremely surprising"). The verse (in need of emendation in a few places) is longer than Dandin's, but the idea is exactly the same, as are many of the words.

[125] See Chapter 6 in this volume.

[126] Ollett and Pierce Taylor discuss these borrowings at length in their forthcoming book on the *Way of the Poet-King*.

One specific case of borrowing that fits into this category might be mentioned. The *Way* briefly mentions two genres, the *cattāṇaṁ* and the *bedaṇḍe*, that are particular to Kannada.[127] No examples of these compositions survive today, and indeed they may have ceased to be productive genres shortly after the time of the *Way*. But because they represent features of Kannada's "genre ecology" that distinguish it from Sanskrit's, they continued to be referred to in the tradition of Kannada poetics, including Nagavarman. Hence the author of the *Ornament of King Udayaditya*, who is extremely selective about what he includes, has mentioned these two genres (1.6). And they reappear in Keshiraja's grammar of Kannada (thirteenth century).

These borrowings are all unacknowledged. In a few cases, however, authors specifically refer to Shrivijaya's *Way* as an important moment in Kannada literary history. Note that in invoking Shrivijaya as the author of the *Way*, these poets seem to have been reacting against the text's own heavy-handed attribution to Amoghavarsha and reattributing it to a member of their own community. Such references to the *Way* can be found in the works of Durgasimha and Chandraraja, both poets in the eleventh-century court of the Chalukya king Jayasimha II. This, together with Nagavarman's utilization of the *Way* at the same court, suggests that the *Way* might have undergone a resurgence in popularity in this time, or at least among the court poets of Jayasimha II.[128]

Durgasimha's *Five Discourses in Kannada* begins with a section in which poets of the past are named and praised. Like many vernacular texts, including the *Way of the Poet-King* itself, this section is divided in half: one part praises poets who wrote in Sanskrit, and another part praises poets who wrote in the vernacular.[129] The last poet to be named in the Sanskrit section is Dandin, and the first poet to be named in the Kannada section is Shrivijaya. This alone suggests that the interface between Dandin and Shrivijaya is emblematic of the interface between Sanskrit and Kannada literature. But if we read what Durgasimha says, the relationship becomes even clearer:

It was Dandin who took the vow of greatness
that eclipsed all earlier poets with copious poetic qualities
for fame as white as a seashell

[127] *Way* 1.34–35.

[128] See Gurevitch 2022 for textual production of the court of Jayasimha II. Gurevitch (p.c.) has pointed me toward one more reference to the *Way* in Shridhara's *Jātakatilakaṁ*, produced at the court of Jayasimha's successor, Ahavamalla.

[129] See *Way* 1.31–32, where the first verse seems to include only Sanskrit authors, and the following verse seems to include only Kannada authors. The category of "Sanskrit authors," at least in Durgasimha's case, must be understood more broadly, since it includes Gunadhya (v. 12), who allegedly wrote his "Great Story" (*Bṛhatkathā*) in *bhūtabhāṣā*.

in the ocean churned by Indra's elephant.[130]

Shrivijaya's *Way for Poets*
is both a mirror and a handlamp
for the minds of inspired poets.
That makes Shrivijaya God.
How, then, can he possibly be described?[131]

Although the first verse doesn't mention the *Mirror* specifically, it refers to "poetic qualities," which are discussed at length in the *Mirror*'s first chapter, and to the whiteness of fame, which might allude to the "all-white Sarasvati" that figures at the very beginning of Dandin's *Mirror*. It seems that Dandin's *Mirror* is what Durgasimha had in mind, especially when we reach the next verse. Shrivijaya's *Way* is described as a "mirror" (*kannaḍi*). We could read this as indicating that the practices of poets are rendered visible by their explicit textualization in the *Way*. The very clear metaliterary suggestion, however, is that Shrivijaya's *Way* is another *Mirror*: between these two verses, the torch—here in the form of a handheld lamp—of poetics has been passed from Dandin to Shrivijaya.

By putting these two mirrors next to each other, Durgasimha suggests still other readings. The titular "mirror" in Dandin's text is the "mirror made of language" that will forever display "the image of the glory of previous kings."[132] By contrast, the "mirror" that appears in Durgasimha's verse is not for kings, but for poets. We should probably read this together with Durgasimha's removal of Amoghavarsha from the *Way*'s byline: the *Mirror* and the *Way* may both have been "pitched" at kings, for the purposes of patronage, but poets like Durgasimha read them as ways to secure everlasting fame for their authors, as he explicitly says about Dandin.

The impact of Dandin's *Mirror* in the Kannada-speaking world was, through the *Way of the Poet-King*, both early and formative, and it continued to exert an influence, both direct and indirect, on the teaching of poetics in this world for centuries afterward. The range of its impact—on the highest-ranking scholars and on elementary students, on readers trained in Sanskrit and those more at home in Kannada—and the fact that authors drew upon it, again and again, in order to build systems of literary practice *for the vernacular* testify

[130] *Five Discourses in Kannada*, v. 19 (p. 3): *vipulakavitāguṇāpāstapurāṇakavīndran enipa mahimeyan indradvipadugdhavārdhiḍiṇḍīrapiṇḍapāṇḍurayaśakke daṇḍiye nōntaṁ*.

[131] *Five Discourses in Kannada*, v. 20 (p. 3): *śrīvijayara kavimārgaṁ bhāvipa kavijanada manake kannaḍiyuṁ keydīvigeyum āduv' adaṟiṁ śrīvijayar dēvar avaran ē vaṇṇipudō*. The verse about Shrivijaya is somewhat obscure: it probably turns on a theological point about self-illuminating objects (like the lamp) and objects that must be illuminated by something else (like the mirror).

[132] *Mirror* 1.5ab: *ādirājayaśōbimbam ādarśaṁ prāpya vāṅmayam*.

to one of the *Mirror*'s signal achievements: it provided a systematic overview of poetics while at the same time conveying the inexhaustibility of the system itself.[133]

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[133] Acknowledgments: Ollett and Pierce Taylor: We are producing a critical edition and annotated translation of the *Way of the Poet-King*, with the support of the National Endowment for the Humanities (grant RQ-255779-17). That project has grown out of our collaboration for this chapter, and what we say about the *Way* here, as well as the translations provided, reflects our collaborative work on this text for the past several years. We encourage interested readers to consult our translation for further details on many of the topics touched on in this chapter. We thank Yigal Bronner for being *sādhakatama* in this project. Gil Ben-Herut: I wish to thank R. V. S. Sundaram for leading this project and for his help in preparing this paper. I also want to thank Yigal Bronner, Anne Monius, Lawrence McCrea, H. V. Nagaraja Rao, and Deven Patel for their assistance in bringing the material discussed in this paper to light.

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# 3

# "May It Always Be about Adding Beauty to Beauty"

## The Story of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka

*Edited by Charles Hallisey*

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*. . a mass of detail*
*to interrelate on a new ground, difficultly;*
*an assonance, a homologue*
*triple piled*

*pulling the disparate together to clarify*
*and compress*[1]
—William Carlos Williams

### 3.1. Introduction

*Charles Hallisey and P. B. Meegaskumbura*

The story of Dandin's *Mirror of Literature* in Sri Lanka is long, broad, and deep.

It is long insofar as it begins early in the *Mirror*'s general reception history. *Poetics for This Language of Ours* (*Siyabaslakara*; hereafter, *Our Own Poetics*), "a translation of Dandin's *Mirror* modified and adapted to suit Sinhalese literature and language,"[2] is among the earliest engagements with the *Mirror*. It was likely composed after the ninth-century Kannada-language adaptation of the *Mirror*, the *Way of the Poet-King*, but before the first extant Sanskrit commentary, written in the tenth century by the Buddhist monk Ratnashrijnana (hereafter Ratna),

[1] Williams 1995: 19.
[2] Wijayawardhana 1963: 135.

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himself a "Master born [on the island of] Sinhala."[3] Moreover, engagement with the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka continued, albeit in quite varied forms and modes, into the twentieth century, and endures even today.

The story is broad because of the degree to which the *Mirror* has impacted literary culture in Sri Lanka. By the thirteenth century, there were three major adaptations of the *Mirror* in the island, two in Sinhala (the aforementioned *Our Own Poetics*, and the thirteenth-century *Compendium of Language and Its Meaning*, or *Sidatsaňgarā*) and one in Pali (the thirteenth-century *Lucid Poetics*, or *Subodhālaṅkāra*), as well as eight different exegetical works in those two languages. Moreover, Ratna's tenth-century Sanskrit commentary was also known and studied in Sri Lanka. Indeed, it is possible that this work itself was at least inflected by interpretations of Dandin already current in Sri Lanka. It is also possible that some engagement with the Tamil version of Dandin was also ongoing in Sri Lanka, contiguous with those in Sinhala, Pali, and Sanskrit.[4] Most importantly, the Sri Lankan engagement with Dandin was not limited to such scholastic discussions. The *Mirror*'s presence is centrally visible in the island's literary history, as the model set in motion by these earlier engagements remained foundational to the literary culture for centuries, as we shall trace in section 3.7 below.

The story of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka is broad also because Dandin's ideas and values ramified religious and political culture in Sri Lanka. Elements of Dandin's *Mirror* were combined and recombined with various kinds of cultural activity, with results that extended far beyond Dandin's own project in the *Mirror*. These include the formation of collective identities, as in the narrow example of Buddhist monastic literary affiliations and in the larger example of Sinhala ethnic identity; the moral and religious education of individuals, particularly as Buddhists; and the display of what was perceived as a shared ethos and rectitude of language, religion, politics, society, and the world in general.[5]

The story of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka is broad also because it forms an important part of the wider Buddhist reception of Dandin in Asia, particularly in Burma (through the Pali *Lucid Poetics*), Tibet (through Ratna's Sanskrit commentary), and the aforementioned Tamil Buddhist community. As Bronner

[3] We briefly discuss the dating of *Our Own Poetics* in section 3.2. The quote on Ratna's identity is from the colophon to his commentary: *kṛtir iyam ācāryaratnaśrījñānasya siṃhalajanmanaḥ* (KĀ p. 282; see p. 66 for another mention). Similar language is found in two of Ratna's other works, his Bodh Gaya inscription and the *Reflections on Word and Meaning* (*Śabdārthacintā*); see Dimitrov 2016: 29, 35, 577, 589, 593.

[4] The interaction between the reception of Dandin in Tamil, Sinhala, and Pali remains unstudied, although we know of an ongoing exchange between Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu at least since the time of Dandin. The continuing recourse to Tamil Buddhist scholarship in Sri Lanka is indicated by the fact that Totagamuve Shri Rahula, a fifteenth-century poet-monk, cites the *Demaḷajatakagäṭapada*, a Tamil-language exegetical glossary to the stories of the Buddha's previous lives, in his work on Pali grammar, *Pañcikāpradīpaya* (Somadasa 1990: 373). For the Tamil reception of Dandin, see Clare and Shulman, Chapter 4 in this volume.

[5] The fifteenth-century *Hill Myna Messenger* (*Säḷalihiṇisandeśaya*) is a particularly notable example of this complex interface in medieval Sri Lanka, wherein Dandin's *Mirror* played a major role; see Hallisey forthcoming.

argues, Dandin's own work is consistently nonsectarian and is consciously meant to cater also to Buddhist literati, so that "the vast success of the *Mirror* throughout the expanding network of Buddhist centers of learning is also clearly not an accident."[6] However, there is still much more that we need to learn about the reason for this success, and the story of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka offers some important clues. As Anne Monius has noted about the Tamil reception of Dandin, "the interest in using extant theory in new ways—and thus pushing both literary form and theory forward . . . reflects much wider Buddhist patterns of innovation and creativity."[7] The same is true of Sri Lanka as well.

Finally, the story of Dandin's *Mirror* in Sri Lanka is deep because the enduring engagement with its ideas, values, and example was integrative and generative. That is to say, Dandin reached a broad spectrum of people in Sri Lanka, including those who never read the various Sinhala or Pali adaptations of the *Mirror*, let alone the Sanskrit original.

In short, Dandin's *Mirror* quickly became a classic in Sri Lanka—a classic in Italo Calvino's sense of "a book which has never exhausted all it has to say to its readers"[8]—and remained so for centuries. This is so, even if this classic spoke, at least in part, through the mediation of its Sinhala and Pali surrogates, such as *Our Own Poetics*, and through its Sinhala and Pali standard-bearers, that is, literary works that exemplified the *Mirror*'s lessons to such a degree that they could convey its pedagogy no less than it could itself. These standard-bearers include the twelfth-century Sinhala court epic, *Crest-Gem of Poetry* (*Kavsiḷumiṇa*), the fifteenth-century Sinhala poem about the Buddha's previous life as the musician Guttila (*Guttilakāvyaya*), and the twelfth- or thirteenth-century Pali poems, *Career of the Conqueror* (*Jinacarita*) and *Ornament of the Conqueror* (*Jinālaṅkāra*), all discussed in section 3.7 below.

There is an abundance of material relevant to the story of Dandin in Sri Lanka, but the nature of that material—embedded as it is in various kinds of cultural work and inflected as it is by different social processes—means that telling the story of Dandin always runs the risk of becoming subsumed within other, larger stories. The story of Dandin in Sri Lanka is part of Sri Lanka's literary history, of course, but it is also part of its intellectual, religious, cultural, social, and even political history. It is also part of Sri Lanka's connected history with other parts of South and Southeast Asia, and ultimately with the rest of the world in the time period that Sheldon Pollock has called "the vernacular millennium."[9]

As important as these larger histories are, they can easily obscure whatever it is about the *Mirror* that made Dandin so appealing to Sri Lankans over the course of centuries and the particular ways in which they appreciated and learned from the *Mirror*. In other words, keeping our eyes on the details in the story of Dandin

[6] See Bronner, sections 1.2 and 1.4 in this volume (the quote is from the latter).
[7] Monius 2013: 128.
[8] Calvino 1991: 5.
[9] Pollock 1998: 41–74.

in Sri Lanka is not easy, but doing so can help us see more clearly what is special about the *Mirror* and what led to its extraordinary reception history across Asia. Focusing on these details can also help us to explore the historically specific ways in which the *Mirror* was received and transmitted in Sri Lanka, and, as a result, to understand better Sri Lanka's cosmopolitan particularity as part of the larger story of Dandin's *Mirror* in Asia. Just as Ratna explained with respect to Dandin's insistence that a "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*) must reveal "the multifaceted nature of something," focusing on "just one aspect will not do; the description has to be rich in detail."[10]

Just a few of these details and aspects are the focus of this chapter. We try to bring them into higher relief in two ways. First, a variety of interpretive categories (such as "complex word" and "textual community") are used heuristically, that is, as provisional means to illuminate some of the details and aspects of the multifaceted reception of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka and to interrelate them on new grounds, as the quotation from William Carlos Williams at the head of this chapter commends. Second, particular statements found in various Sri Lankan texts are taken in a second-order, metapoetic way as comments on the reception of Dandin in Sri Lanka. Using particular statements metapoetically can guide us through some of the interpretive challenges that present themselves when we try to pull "the disparate together to clarify and compress," to invoke Williams again. When the details and aspects are seen in this way, they begin to suggest answers to two large-scale questions key to this volume. The first is "why Dandin?": what is it about the *Mirror* that contributed to its extraordinary reception history in Sri Lanka? The second is "how Dandin?": what were the particular ways in which the *Mirror* was received and transmitted in Sri Lanka?

## 3.2. *Our Own Poetics*: Reconfiguring This Language of Ours

*Charles Hallisey and P. B. Meegaskumbura*

It may be best to begin tackling these questions by taking a panoramic look at *Our Own Poetics*. It is not an exaggeration to say that in deploying some of the resources found in the *Mirror*, the author of *Our Own Poetics* reconfigured Sinhala literature and culture irreversibly.[11]

But who was this author?

[10] Ratna ad KĀ 2.8, translation from Bronner forthcoming.
[11] On translation as a culturally creative and transformative activity, rather than a reproductive and transmissional activity, see Saussy 2017.

A verse at the end of *Our Own Poetics* identifies him as a king named Salamevan (Pali: Silāmeghavaṇṇa; Sanskrit: Śilāmeghavarṇa).[12] Nothing more is known about him, his deeds, or his other compositions.[13] An adjacent verse reports that a minister named Amaragiri Kasub requested Salamevan to compose his text. It has been argued that key to identifying the king is determining "who this Amaragiri Kasub was," but that too has so far proved impossible.[14]

Wijayawardhana observed in 1963 that the authorship and date of *Our Own Poetic*s had long been the topic of wide-ranging views,[15] but they have recently attracted renewed interest. This follows speculations by Sheldon Pollock and Dragomir Dimitrov, both of whom suggest that setting a date for *Our Own Poetics* might be aided by connecting its old Sinhala gloss to Ratna, whose dates can be established independently.[16] Dimitrov believes that *Our Own Poetics* "was composed in the reign of King Kassapa V (r. 913–923)," and on the basis of his speculation that Ratna was the author of its old Sinhala paraphrase (-*sannaya*) on *Our Own Poetics,* he concludes that "*Our Own Poetics* (-*sannaya*) was written probably in the early 920s. . . ."[17]

Be that as it may, for our purposes here, determining the text's exact date is less important than setting it within a relative timescale. Fortunately, here the conclusions of scholars are in more substantial agreement, and this was so even when Wijayawardhana made his aforementioned observation. As he notes:

> It is agreed on all sides that [*Our Own Poetics*] belongs to the earliest phase of the extant Sinhalese literature; that it is the earliest extant work of a literary character and the earliest to be written in verse; that it is the oldest known Sinhalese work on the subject of poetics, and the only one exclusively devoted to that subject.[18]

Wijayawardhana also raises the possibility that "[t]he selection of [the *Mirror*] for adaptation [into Sinhala] would have been due to the fact that Dandin's

[12] SBL 407. On the challenges of interpreting this verse and a connected one (406) that also provides information about *Our Own Poetics*'s author, see Dimitrov 2016: 105–11.

[13] A number of medieval Sri Lankan kings adopted the throne name (*biruda*) "Salamevan," and it has proved impossible to determine just which of them authored *Our Own Poetics*. For a review of the possibilities and a suggestion about which one is the most likely, see Dimitrov 2016: 109–10.

[14] Godakumbura 2010: 329.

[15] Wijayawardhana 1963: 135.

[16] Pollock 2005; Dimitrov 2016: 117–22, 710 (where one can find a valuable survey of previous scholarship as well as a comprehensive overview of the evidence available for establishing Ratna's date).

[17] Dimitrov 2016: 710. Dimitrov and Pollock (Pollock 2005) both conjecture that Ratna may have authored the Sinhala *sannaya* (gloss) to *Our Own Poetics*, and Dimitrov suggests that this *sannaya* "is perhaps the earliest work with which Ratna involved himself as a young and promising scholar" (Dimitrov 2016: 710), but the evidence for either possibility is not conclusive. There is general agreement, however, that the old Sinhala gloss "appears to have been written soon after the composition of the text itself" (Godakumbura 2010: 330).

[18] Wijayawardhana 1963: 135.

text enjoyed great popularity among Sinhalese scholars (as it did among Tamil scholars too)."[19] In other words, it may be that the *Mirror* was already popular in Sri Lanka even before its first Sinhala adaptation.[20] Kanchipuram, Dandin's hometown, had long been a center of Theravada Buddhist religious culture and scholastic learning by the time of the *Mirror*'s composition, and the routine movements of monks and traders between Kanchipuram and Sri Lanka would have provided the conditions for Dandin's work to become known among scholars in Sri Lanka.[21] Moreover, it could be that there were ongoing discussions of poetics in Buddhist circles in Kanchipuram that Dandin himself was aware of and even, as J. C. Wright has argued in a series of essays, that there is "a link between Pali tradition and Dandin's fundamental formulation of Sanskrit poetic theory."[22] This remains, of course, entirely hypothetical, but the idea that Dandin's work was known to scholars in Sri Lanka even before its first Sinhala adaptation merits consideration.

Curiously, *Our Own Poetics* never names the *Mirror* directly, and it mentions Dandin only once in a list of six teachers "who knew what makes language literature"; three of those teachers are gods (Mahabrahma, Shakra, and Bhrihaspati), while the other three are historical figures (the sage Kashyapa, Vamana, and Dandin).[23] A reader familiar with Dandin's *Mirror*, however, immediately recognizes that it is the primary source for *Our Own Poetics*. A comparison of the structure and contents of the two works makes this clear. Like the *Mirror*, *Our Own Poetics* consists of three chapters, each of which closely parallels Dandin's, both in terms of specific elements included and sequence. For example, in the second chapter, devoted exclusively to defining and illustrating various ornaments, Dandin's list of thirty-five ornaments is taken up in the same order and method of treatment. Definitions and illustrative verses for these ornaments are also largely the same; only four illustration verses for ornaments in *Our Own Poetics* (out of dozens) are not close to Dandin's.[24] Indeed, most verses in *Our Own Poetics* come across as faithful translations of those found in the *Mirror*.

[19] Wijayawardhana 1963: 136.

[20] A minimally attested comment in the Sinhala gloss on *Our Own Poetics* suggests that there may have been an independent Sinhala gloss on the *Mirror* available to that text's author; that Sinhala gloss might be a text now lost, or it might be the *Old Sinhala Paraphrase on the Mirror of Literature* (*Kāvyādarśapurāṇasannaya*). For a careful discussion of this comment, see Dimitrov 2016: 141–43.

[21] On the sustained religious, intellectual, and commercial ties between Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka in the relevant period (political competition notwithstanding), see Liyanagamage 2001, especially pp. 29, 54; and Kerr 2021: 1–27.

[22] Wright 1996: 59; see also Wright 2000. See also Jaddipal 2010.

[23] SBL 2. Note that the *Hṛdayaṅgama*, an anonymous commentary on the *Mirror* probably later than both SBL and Ratna, also names Kashyapa as a predecessor to Dandin (*Kāvyādarśa* 1910: 3, ad KĀ 1.2); Kashyapa is also named in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. Dimitrov argues, together with others and with some manuscript-witness support, that the name "Vamana" in this verse should be emended to "Bhamaha"; see Dimitrov 2016: 152–53.

[24] The four fall under "embrace" (*seles*; *śleṣa*), "praise of the irrelevant" (*nopat vänum*; *aprastutapraśaṃsā*), "setting an example" (*nidasun*; *nidarśana*), and "mixture" (*musu*; *saṅkīrṇa*).

While *Our Own Poetics* mirrors the structure and contents of Dandin's *Mirror*, it is also different in significant ways. The Sinhala work is considerably shorter than the *Mirror*, with 408 verses compared to the latter's 659.[25] Different reductions create different effects. *Our Own Poetics* omits some of the subtypes of Dandin's ornaments. For example, it includes examples of only twelve of the twenty-four subtypes of "dismissal" (*ākṣepa*) found in the *Mirror*. In such instances, omissions have the effect of making a category more clear-cut and straightforward. At the same time, they can serve as occasions for significant conceptual innovation, as can be seen in the discussion of "condensed speech" (*samāsokti*), which in the Sinhala text is tied to other ornaments (in ways not seen in Dandin) and to the post-Dandin notion of "suggestion" (*dhvani*).[26]

*Our Own Poetics* omits parts of the *Mirror* that carry some of Dandin's most distinctive theoretical insights, as in the case of his understanding of "flavor" (*rasa*). For Dandin, this ornament is a case when a "basic emotion" (*sthāyibhāva*) is intensified to the point where it is transformed into an aesthetic flavor. Dandin was given credit for this theoretical insight by subsequent theorists, such as Abhinavagupta, but *Our Own Poetics* omits this point completely.[27]

The omission of one part of a discussion in the *Mirror* sometimes has the effect of emphasizing another. One example is Dandin's listing of the languages that make literature (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha) and his mapping of genres onto a linguistic grid.[28] *Our Own Poetics* omits this, even though it is one of Dandin's signature discussions, and proceeds directly to Dandin's survey of the ten poetic "virtues" (*guṇa*) which it renames "life-breaths" (*prāṇa*; more on this terminology below), in effect emphasizing the latter's place in its own understanding of the body of literature.

In a few cases, *Our Own Poetics* offers new Sinhala terminology for Dandin's categories, although the new terminology typically captures salient features of Dandin's conception of that category.[29] For example, the poetic virtue "charm" (*kānti*) is renamed "pleasing to the people" (*dana kal*; *janakalya*), and the Sinhala name seems directly informed by Dandin's explanation that "'charm' is what charms all people because it does not go beyond the usual meaning of words."[30] Likewise, Dandin's first and very important ornament, "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*), is renamed "describing a thing" (*vat kiyaman*), again, in

[25] Dandin's three chapters number 106, 365, and 187 verses; the chapters of *Our Own Poetics* contain 67, 272, and 68 verses, respectively.
[26] See Hallisey 2017: 139–43. It is worth noting Ratna also connected "condensed speech" with *dhvani* (ad KĀ 2.203).
[27] See Wijayawardhana 1963: 154–55; and Lawrence McCrea in section 5.3 in this volume. *Our Own Poetics* is, however, aware of *sthāyibhāva*s, as can be seen in its discussion of "misrepresentation of the arts" (*kalāvirodha*; SBL 390, cf. KĀ 3.170).
[28] KĀ 1.32–39.
[29] Wijayawardhana 1963: 178.
[30] KĀ 1.85.

fitting with Dandin's own definition.[31] Other cases are more complex. "Integrity" (*bhāvika*), Dandin's last ornament, equally important and something of a bookend to "factual statement," is called *hăňgum*, "intersubjective perception" or "suggestion," which is not quite what Dandin has in mind (for Dandin, it is about the whole work being integrated).[32] Independent nomenclature is also found in the thirteenth-century handbook for poets, the *Compendium of Language and Its Meaning* (*Sidatsaňgarā*; hereafter the *Compendium*). Such independence suggests that Sri Lanka's literary culture felt free to develop and innovate within received categories of poetic theory, something that is also visible in Tamil, at least by the time of the composition of the *Compendium*.[33]

*Our Own Poetics* also creatively builds upon and adds to the *Mirror*. In its survey of the varieties of simile (*upamā*), for example, *Our Own Poetics* adds a new subtype, "compounded simile" (*samas uvam*; *samāsopamā*), to Dandin's already extensive list, explaining it as "a simile in which the word expressing similarity is elided."[34] Dandin does hint that a compounded form of simile is possible,[35] but *Our Own Poetics* takes up this hint and presents a separate variety of simile with its own examples.[36] In doing so, *Our Own Poetics* exemplifies Dandin's "emphasis on ornaments' subtypes as the main arena for creative variation."[37]

Some omissions and additions suggest the possible influence of Sanskrit poetic theorists other than Dandin. For instance, *Our Own Poetics* omits Dandin's long discussion of riddles (*prahelikā*s), which raises the possibility that its author was more sympathetic to Bhamaha's dyspeptic dismissal of riddles than to Dandin's appreciation of them; riddles are, however, centrally visible in the practical legacy of Dandin in Sri Lanka, as we will see below in section 3.7. Wijayawardhana has shown that *Our Own Poetics* betrays awareness of developments in Sanskrit poetic theory after Dandin.[38] These include a discussion of poetic virtues that resonates with Vamana's concept of style or diction (*rīti*), a possible familiarity with Anandavardhana's theory of suggestion, and the idea of poetic inference associated most famously with Mahima Bhatta.[39]

[31] KĀ 1.8.

[32] SBL 335; KĀ 3.361. The *Old Paraphrase on Our Own Poetics*, however, interprets this verse in a manner which brings it more in line with Dandin's emphasis on the integration of the whole work. The view that *hăňgum*, as an ornament, includes a quality of suggestion resonates more closely with Rudrata's ornament called *bhāva* (RKA 7.38–40); Rudrata was also active in the tenth century.

[33] On Tamil, see Monius 2000; Claire 2017: 107–22; and Clare and Shulman in Chapter 4 in this volume.

[34] SBL 121. This new type closely agrees with Udbhata's in KASS 1.18 and with Dandin's own "compounded identification" (*samastarūpaka*; KĀ 2. 67–68).

[35] KĀ 1.61.

[36] See Wijayawardhana 1963: 154–55.

[37] Bronner forthcoming.

[38] Wijayawardhana 1963: 135–36; Wijayawardhana 1964.

[39] Wijayawardhana 1963: 22, 136, 154.

In short, there are close affinities between the *Mirror* and *Our Own Poetics*, but it is precisely these affinities that allow for our understanding of how the latter found its own path and emphasis. In what follows, we examine these changes of emphasis in three case studies: a detailed comparison of the works' opening verses, a juxtaposition of their discussion of poetic virtues, and a discussion of a key term in *Our Own Poetics* that does not appear in the *Mirror*. Taken together, these case studies bring us closer to answers for both the "why Dandin" and the "how Dandin" questions.

## 3.3. The First Verse of *Our Own Poetics*: Training a Capable Reader

*Charles Hallisey and P. B. Meegaskumbura*

Dandin opens his *Mirror* with an invocation to the goddess of learning, poetry embodied:

*caturmukhamukhāmbhojavanahaṃsavadhūr mama* |
*mānase ramatāṃ nityaṃ sarvaśuklā sarasvatī* ||
May all-white Sarasvati—a goose
in a forest of lotuses that are the mouths
of the four-faced Brahma—forever delight
in the lake of my heart.

Compare this to the first verse of *Our Own Poetics*, noting especially the phonic texture of the Sinhala verse:

*sadāvā muv tam̆bara—venenada sivumuvā,*
*sarasaviya hasa sav sudu—kivi sit pul madovu vil.*
May it always be about adding beauty to beauty
whenever an all-white goose, Sarasvati, takes flight
from the forest of lotuses, Brahma's four mouths, and rises
into that flooding pool in the Milky Way—the poet's heart.

Leaving content aside for the moment, readers who know both Sanskrit and Sinhala will immediately note marked differences in phonology, morphology, and word order. For one thing, there is not a single Sanskrit loanword (*tatsama*) in the Sinhala, although there are derivations (*tadbhava*s), such as "four-faced" (Sanskrit: *caturmukha*; Sinhala: *sivumuvā*) as an epithet for Brahma. For another, words in the Sinhala are placed quite differently than in the Sanskrit. Consider once again, the epithet "four-faced" (*caturmukha/sivumuvā*): in the *Mirror* it

opens the first line, and in *Our Own Poetics*, it closes it. Likewise, the name of the goddess Sarasvati closes Dandin's second line but opens that of the Sinhala (*sarasaviya*). In terms of word placement, the Sanskrit and Sinhala verses look almost like mirror images.

Now consider the morphological contrast, the full significance of which will become apparent when we discuss poetic virtues in the following section (3.4). In striking contrast to the long compound that comprises almost the entirety of the first line of Dandin's verse, there is only one small compound in the Sinhala. For Dandin, the use of long compounds is emblematic of the poetic virtue of "power" (*ojas*), and although he allows for their presence in verse written in the northeastern style, they are not particularly welcome in the much-preferred path of southerners. The minimal compounding in the first verse of *Our Own Poetics* comes across, then, as a statement on holding Dandin to his principles. Indeed, when coming to the topic of "power," *Our Own Poetics* explicitly disapproves of using many compounds in Sinhala verse.[40]

Other differences in phonic texture between the two verses further instantiate a contrast between the expressive ecologies of Sanskrit and Sinhala, a contrast similar to the one that Indian thinkers often made between Prakrit and Sanskrit. They spoke of Prakrit's "softness," exemplified in the avoidance of heterogenetic consonant combinations and aspirate consonants, and some of these very same qualities are evident not only in the first verse of *Our Own Poetics* but throughout the Sinhala text. Indeed a "soft" phonic texture was the norm for Sinhala poetry before and after *Our Own Poetics*.[41] The phonic texture typical of Sinhala poetry can be further described as always containing what Dandin calls the poetic virtues "tenderness" (*sukumāratā*) and "concision" (*śliṣṭa*).

Another key difference is in prosodic structure. *Our Own Poetics* opens with a *gī* meter, a verse form that is immediately recognizable as Sinhala, analogous to Dandin's *anuṣṭubh* for readers of Sanskrit. Dandin's verse uses a syllable-counting prosody, with eight syllables in each quarter, while *Our Own Poetics* uses a mora-counting prosody. Typically, *gī* meters have an uneven number of units (*mātrā*) in each quarter, and this is the case here, too: the distribution of units along the four quarters is 10/9/11/11. *Gī* meters place the general metrical repertoire of Sinhala poetry on a continuum with the poetry of literary Prakrit *gāthā*s, and the basic association of both *gī* and *gāthā* with song and music—etymologically and practically—is important to their poetic character.[42] That said, "[t]he system of

[40] KĀ 1.80, SBL 51; see Wijayawardhana 1963: 144.

[41] On the softness and sweetness of Prakrit's phonic texture, see Ollett 2017: 88–94. The Kannada *Way of the Poet-King* also highlights a contrast of phonetic texture between Kannada and Sanskrit, having to do with the harshness of some sounds in Sanskrit (see Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2 in this volume).

[42] See Ollett 2017: 85–110.

Sinhalese prosody has an individuality of its own," and if "to write in Prakrit was to a very large extent, to write in *gāthā*s or related *gaṇa*-counting meters," then writing poetry in Sinhala at the time of *Our Own Poetics* was to a large extent to write in *gī*.[43] Thus, with respect not only to language identification but also to expressive ecologies, including aesthetic registers of phonic texture and prosody, the first verse of *Our Own Poetics* would seem, by its very form, to be making a strong statement about what makes poetry feel like "our own" to its readers.

But there is more to the metrical structure here than first meets the ear. *Our Own Poetics*'s first verse fits no known pattern of the *gī* varieties that would have been familiar to its first readers. Those familiar with the received tradition of Sinhala poetry of the time would probably have initially tried to recite it in the *Yāgī* pattern, which is the most common meter and which looks similar to our verse initially.[44] This would have led to incongruous results, of course, but not ones that would have been entirely surprising to readers familiar with the tradition of prosody as represented in the Sigiri graffiti and perhaps with the now lost texts on Sinhala metrics that are mentioned in *Our Own Poetics*.[45] In fact, as Paranavitana puts it, "irregularity is the keynote of *gī* metres, but it is an irregularity which should have a pleasing sound effect" based on the poetic virtues intrinsic to Sinhala.[46]

The use of a completely original meter in the first verse of *Our Own Poetics* sets the stage, metapoetically, for its readers to anticipate similar discoveries in the rest of the work, an anticipation that what is to come might be novel and, precisely for this reason, pleasing. The author states this explicitly later in his work:

> Any poetic feature created from within the poet's being is faultless,
> For a person with merits, what will not be effective in accomplishing his objective?[47]

In the *Mirror*, this verse is found in the context of Dandin's disagreement with Bhamaha on whether or not it makes sense to distinguish between two narrative genres, *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā*. Omitting this context enables *Our Own Poetics* to make a more general point, of which its first verse is a particular example: there

[43] Quotes are from Paranavitana 1956: clxxvi, and Ollett 2017: 96, respectively.

[44] *Yāgī* has the syllabic instant (*mātrā*) pattern of 9/11/11/11. Here, by contrast, we have 10/9/11/11; even if one reads *venen ada* in the second foot, it would still be one syllabic instant short of a second foot in *Yāgī*.

[45] One such text is mentioned anonymously, and the other is named *Our Own Language* (*Siyabas*) and is described as a "treatise on Sinhala meters" (*siṃhala chandas śāstraya*) in its paraphrase (SBL 15, 386). For an authoritative overview of the tradition of prosody as represented in the Sigiri graffiti, see Paranavitana 1956: clxxv–clxxxix.

[46] Paranavitana 1956: clxxxiii.

[47] SBL 28, cf. KĀ 1.30.

will always be new poetic features that emerge from the creative imaginations of poets.

With such self-conscious innovativeness in phonic texture, prosody, and expressive ecology in mind, let us turn our attention to the content of the first verse of *Our Own Poetics*, here offered again in translation:

> May it always be about adding beauty to beauty
> whenever an all-white goose, Sarasvati, takes flight
> from the forest of lotuses, Brahma's four mouths, rising
> into that flooding pool in the Milky Way—the poet's heart.

The similarity of both the Sanskrit and Sinhala verses is obvious.[48] The Sanskrit and the Sinhala verses both highlight four-mouthed Brahma, all-white Sarasvati, and the poet's mind by matching them with a bed of lotuses, a female goose, and a watery home for this goose. It is worth noting, first, that despite being addressed to an audience whose members would likely think of themselves religiously as Buddhist, *Our Own Poetics* preserves Dandin's invocation to the goddess Sarasvati, together with the reference to Brahma. This tells us something important about the composite nature of the literary culture that embraced Dandin's *Mirror* and about its complex intersections with religious culture in tenth-century Sri Lanka. Indeed, there is an apparent accommodation of "Hindu" details throughout *Our Own Poetics*.[49]

By opening with a verse that directly repeats the vocabulary and imagery of Dandin's opening stanza, *Our Own Poetics* makes a clear statement about its tight intertextual relationship with the *Mirror*. A microanalysis of the contents of the two verses can tell us more about this relationship. Note, first, some key features of Dandin's own invocation. The speaker directly connects himself to the divinity Brahma (in his four-faced form, the origin of language and of the Vedic scriptures) and to Brahma's active creative force, Sarasvati, goddess of poetry. The latter, he hopes, will take pleasure in his heart, in the manner of a female goose in Lake Manasa (near Mount Kailash), where geese come to mate. Dandin thus evokes in his first verse what Yigal Bronner calls the "pleasure principle" in literature, in a way that is directly connected to erotic pleasures, and what enables

[48] Just as is their similarity with a verse from the opening of the Kannada *Way of the Poet-King*; for the Kannada verse, see Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.2 in this volume. See also *Kavirājamārgaṃ* 2017: 3 and note 4 to the translation.

[49] For instance, SBL 79 preserves the description of Shiva from KĀ 2.12, and SBL 45 keeps the allusion to Vishnu's boar incarnation from KĀ 1.74. Manuscripts and printed editions of *Our Own Poetics* generally include an invocation to the Buddha, such as "*namavu muni saraṇa*" or "*namo buddhāya*." Such paratexts lightly "Buddhicize" the work, even while calling attention to the fact that it does not begin like a conventional Buddhist text. By contrast, *Lucid Poetics*, the Pali transposition of Dandin's *Mirror*, tellingly avoids Dandin's invocation of Brahma and Sarasvati (see section 3.6 below).

Dandin to make this connection is not only the identification of Sarasvati with a female goose, but also the bitextual "embrace" (*śleṣa*) in the word *mānasa*, which conveys both "heart" and the name of the Himalayan lake.[50] Dandin, in his usual confident voice, suggests that he already has Sarasvati immersed in his heart, and the wish he expresses is far bolder: he wants her there forever. This adverb, "forever" (*nityam*), may mean as long as he lives, but it could also suggest the power of poetry to overcome death by immortalizing its subject, a topic to which Dandin returns in the *Mirror* more explicitly a few verses down.[51]

Turning to the Sinhala verse, we can note three subtle but important departures from its Sanskrit intertext. First is the shift from first to third person: the wish for eternal poetic pleasure is no longer for Dandin, speaking of himself, or even the author of *Our Own Poetics*, but for poets (*kivi*) in general, and perhaps an entire line of Sinhala poets that is projected into the future as the embodiment of Dandin's "forever." Second, the pun on *mānasa* in Sanskrit does not carry over smoothly to Sinhala, and it is creatively replaced by a suggestive identification between the poet's heart and a heavenly river (*madovu* [*Mandākinī*],[52] here translated as "the Milky Way"). It is as if the author of *Our Own Poetics* wanted to suggest a body of water that is even loftier than Dandin's, one which forms another conduit between the divine and human worlds: here it is not only the white goose that is Sarasvati that fuses the worlds, but also the body of water in which she takes pleasure, a river that springs in heaven before cascading down to earth (as the Ganges does). The already vast vision of Dandin is expanded even further in *Our Own Poetics*, temporally, spatially, and in terms of the community of poets it now includes.

Finally, and relatedly, note the all-important verb with which the Sinhala verse opens: *sadāvā*. *Sadāvā* is from *sadanavā*, carrying overt connotations of "making" as well as "adorning." Used here in the optative, the verb can have a range of meanings, from "may it join" to "may it ornament" and "may it beautify." This verb is glossed in the tenth-century Sinhala paraphrase on *Our Own Poetics* as *sajjita karāvā*, which brings a wider range of meanings into play: making flow, setting free, moving forth, creating (the Sanskrit cognate is *sṛj*), and producing, as well as getting and receiving. Moreover, on its own, the initial *sadā* part in *sadāvā* means "always" and "ever," and if one were to take this as a semantic free association, it resonates with the "forever" (*nityam*) in Dandin's verse, otherwise not found in the Sinhala. It is difficult to translate such a verb containing such a free association, and a literal translation cannot do justice to its many resonant meanings. We thus opt for an admittedly nonliteral combination of some of

[50] See Bronner, section 1.6 in this volume.

[51] KĀ 1.5.

[52] Mandākinī is also named in earlier Pali commentaries as one of seven great lakes in the Himalayas; it is said to never grow hot and to dry out only at the end of an aeon (*kalpa*).

them that, we believe, also articulates the opening tacit metapoetic statement of *Our Own Poetics*: "May it always be about adding beauty to beauty."

The first verse of *Our Own Poetics* thus helps us understand the work as a whole and, indeed, it also illuminates the larger story of Dandin in Sri Lanka. Key to this understanding is recognizing when and how beauty can be added to beauty. It is clear from *Our Own Poetic*'s first verse that its ideal readers would be alert to both the received heritage of Sinhala poetry and that of Sanskrit, including Dandin's *Mirror*. The verse also shows how the text trains its readers to read. Above all, readers must become skilled in the practice of re-reading texts with sustained attention—the ability to re-read the same text over and over while constantly seeking to find out something new about it. It also seems anticipated that a capable reader will be able to read a text with its intertexts, too, as is possible here with the *Mirror*'s first verse and that of *Our Own Poetics*. Reading as a literary practice itself is thus another way that beauty is added to beauty. This, then, is yet another sense in which *Our Own Poetics* became a classic in Italo Calvino's sense: "A classic is a book which with each rereading offers as much of a sense of discovery as the first reading."[53]

### 3.4. Body, Virtues, and Flaws in *Our Own Poetics*

*Charles Hallisey and P. B. Meegaskumbura*

To say that the story of Dandin in Sri Lanka is about adding beauty to beauty does not mean that it can be reduced to taking ideas and models from the *Mirror* and applying them to poetry in Sinhala and Pali.

There are theoretical discussions in *Our Own Poetics* which differ quite substantially from the *Mirror*'s. The most prominent example is its treatment of "the body of literature." Overall, the discussion of "body" (*śarīra*) is not one of the most satisfying in the *Mirror*, where it seems little more than a convenient heading under which to stick and briefly discuss certain received topics, such as genre, language, and their intersection, without much elaboration or particular coherence. It may be, however, that the apparent looseness, even blandness, of this notion in the *Mirror* actually masks what constitutes its "translatability," in Walter Benjamin's sense of those contours of a text that have a specific significance inherent in the original and which manifest themselves more overtly in its translation.[54] Significantly, it is in the discussion of "the body of literature" in *Our Own Poetics* that we see its author thinking *with* Dandin and, as a result, discovering Sinhala's potential as a literary language in new ways.

[53] Calvino 1991: 5.
[54] Benjamin 2002: 254.

We can begin to see how this happens by noting the differences from the *Mirror* in the parallel "body" section of *Our Own Poetics*. These primarily have to do with what the author sees as the particularities of the expressive ecology of Sinhala, those elements that are "suitable to the people of the Island of Gems (Sri Lanka)."[55] It is thus not surprising that, as we already have noted, *Our Own Poetics* completely omits the *Mirror*'s overview of different literary languages (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha, and mixed).[56] It also does not try to appropriate Dandin's notions of southern and northeastern paths (*mārga*), but instead silently ignores them.[57] It is as if these specific options make sense in Sanskrit literary production but have no clear usefulness for identifying possibilities in Sinhala.

At the same time, *Our Own Poetics* sees new possibilities for Sinhala in the light of the *Mirror*, when the plotting of genres is tweaked to expand the expressive ecology of Sinhala. Literary works in a mixture of prose and verse, which for Dandin embodies the genre of *campū*, apparently had not yet been written in Sinhala (although *Our Own Poetics* does recognize the combination of prose and verse as existing in stage plays).[58] Hence, Dandin's description of *campū* is replaced in *Our Own Poetics* by an explicit prescriptive encouragement for such works to be composed.[59]

Such new possibilities for literary expression in Sinhala are inflected by a sensitivity to the appropriateness of subject matter in the local religious community. *Our Own Poetics* plots appropriate topics onto Dandin's matrix of genres. Verse, for instance, is to be used for narrating the past and present lives of the Buddha, while prose is to be used for stories and biographies (*vat sirit*) and other ancient lore. These prescriptive associations are not based on anything in Dandin, and it "is reasonable to assume that [they] were based on a long tradition of Sinhalese works which were in existence when [*Our Own Poetics*] was composed."[60] Judging from elsewhere in the text, it does seem that the converse of this prescription is not normative: while the life of the Buddha is to be told in verse, verse can be used to tell other stories, even those from outside the Buddhist tradition. Indeed, as we have already noted, *Our Own Poetics*, following the *Mirror*, is openly ecumenical in its outlook.

[55] SBL 32.
[56] KĀ 1.32–38.
[57] KĀ 1.40.
[58] SBL 20.
[59] SBL 13: "It would be good if there were to be in our own language beautiful *campū* poetry which brings together both verse and prose" (*vanu mänavi siyabasi / nēkavi bańda siridu yam / vadan pabańdekda kiyu / peden visituru sapu [campū] yī*). Some later works in Sinhala, such as the fifteenth-century *Message of Kuveni* (*Kuveṇi asna*) and *History of Hatthavanagala Monastery in Sinhala* (*Eḷu attanagalavaṃśaya*), can be seen as realizations of this prescription.
[60] Wijayawardhana 1963: 145.

A more significant theoretical departure of *Our Own Poetics* when compared to the "body" section of the *Mirror* is in framing the discussion of poetic virtues (*guṇa*). For Dandin, the poetic virtues belong constitutively to the southern path (*Vaidarbhī mārga*), as distinct from the northeastern (*Gauḍī*), and they are even said to form the "life breaths" (*prāṇa*) of this preferred regional path or style. Indeed, for Dandin this framing of the poetic virtues is part of his decisive argument against Bhamaha, who considered the distinction between the southern and northeastern paths futile.[61] *Our Own Poetics*, by contrast, is totally uninterested in this argument, as it is in any similar argument between Bhamaha and Dandin, and there are several such squabbles in the parallel section of the *Mirror* (e.g., what constitutes a suitable plot structure and whether or not there is a difference between the two genres of storytelling). Such squabbles seem to be taken as intra-Sanskrit matters that are of no concern "to the people of the Island of Gems," the readers of *Our Own Poetics*, and they are thus safely omitted. Through such omissions, *Our Own Poetics* actually reframes Dandin's entire discussion of poetic virtues. It retains the vocabulary of "life breath" and uses it far more thoroughly than the *Mirror* does: "life breath" (*paṇa*) becomes the official name of the poetic virtues and is used consistently as such. This move makes the "body" metaphor far more robust than it is for Dandin: these life breaths animate the literary body itself, rather than serving as a device to identify styles within it. Even more importantly, according to *Our Own Poetics*, Sanskrit's division into "regional" styles is not to be replicated in Sinhala, in contrast to what is presented for Kannada in the *Way of the Poet-King*. Rather, the virtues/breaths are what unify the entire body of literature in "this language of ours."

Close behind this general reorganization comes a significant theoretical recasting. *Our Own Poetics* accepts the existence of what for Dandin was already a fixed list of ten poetic virtues, just as there are thirty-five ornaments that serve to decorate the literary body. But it immediately alerts its readers to possibilities of variability within this larger set:

> The life breaths (*paṇa*) that produce literature are only ten, and there are thirty-five ornaments (*lakara*), from these I will describe the ones needed for the people of this Island of Gems.[62]

Note the generative power allotted to the breaths "that produce literature," which again highlights their importance and lends the "body" metaphor coherence. But note also the process of selection: it is at this point that the text proceeds

[61] See Bronner and Cox, section 5.5 in this volume.

[62] SBL 32: *dasa pamaṇa kivikamä paṇalakara vē pantis / meyin ruvan divhi dananaṭa yut kiyat pat.*

to describe and illustrate only seven of the received list of ten, leaving out "concision" (*śleṣa*), "evenness" (*samatā*), and "tenderness" (*sukumāratā*). The summarizing verse at the end of *Our Own Poetics* that explicitly says that ten poetic virtues were included in the text reaffirms the idea that all ten virtues always need to be acknowledged, even if only seven needed to be practically described "for the people of this Island of Gems."[63]

There are two ways to explain this omission of descriptions and illustrations of three of the ten poetic virtues. One is to see it as an attempt to define the uniqueness of Sinhala literature by its constitutive selection from the larger menu of "life breaths." According to this approach, each literary tradition has its own preferences, and the seven life breaths defined and illustrated in *Our Own Poetics* are those that best represent Sinhala literature. Understood in this rather straightforward way, the Sinhala text would have another indication of some indebtedness to Vamana, who analyzed differences among literary styles on the basis of the degree to which they lack some and favor others from the standard list of ten.[64]

Wijayawardhana proposes a second, somewhat bolder interpretation. In his reading of *Our Own Poetics*, "concision," "evenness," and "tenderness" are omitted from the list not because they are absent from or inimical to literature in Sinhala, but because they are inherent in its expressive ecology.[65] Thus their presence in a work of Sinhala literature cannot be a mark of any special skill or achievement on the part of a competent poet.

Put differently, *Our Own Poetics* normatively expects all ten virtues to be found in Sinhala whenever that language is used as a medium for literature. In finding no need even to describe "concision," "evenness," and "tenderness," it seems to go beyond saying that Sinhala's expressive ecology favors these three and implies that, because of its constitution, Sinhala cannot but contain them. In this sense, *Our Own Poetics* presents Sinhala as forming a "maximal southern way," and it thus comes as no surprise that at the end of its first chapter, it describes Sinhala as "the good path," and anything in another style as "other."[66] At the same time, and somewhat contradictorily, when introducing four of the virtues individually—"clarity" (*pahan*; *prasāda*), "sweetness" (*miyuru*; *mādhurya*), "power" (*oda*; *ojas*), and "charm" (*danakal*; *kānti*), *Our Own Poetics* notes that an alternative, differing from the "good" Sinhala embodying these ten poetic virtues and closer

[63] SBL 408.

[64] Thus, for Vamana, the southern way invariably has all ten virtues, the northeastern way lacks "sweetness" and "tenderness" but favors "power" and "charm," and the western way lacks "power" and "charm" but favors "tenderness" and "sweetness" (KASū 1.2.11–13).

[65] Wijayawardhana 1963: 139, 200.

[66] SBL 67: *manā merum maga*. The *Old Paraphrase on Our Own Poetics* makes the point more strongly and says that what is other than the southern way is not good.

to Dandin's northeastern way, is also appreciated by some; each such alternative is also illustrated.[67]

We conclude this section with a few observations about a topic that is closely related to poetic virtues, that of poetic flaws, which appear at the very end of *Our Own Poetics*, just as they do in Dandin's *Mirror*. The Sanskrit and Sinhala passages on flaws are close in letter and spirit, but those in Sinhala demonstrate tendencies similar to those we have seen in the discussion of poetic virtues. For one thing, *Our Own Poetics* totally sidesteps another squabble between Bhamaha and Dandin, this time over whether flaws in logical reasoning apply to poetry as well.[68] For another, we find processes of selection and recasting at work once again. Thus, whereas the *Mirror* has ten flaws in its third chapter, establishing a symmetry with the poetic virtues in its first chapter, *Our Own Poetics* has only nine because it silently omits "flawed sandhi" (*visandhika*) from Dandin's list. Euphonic changes are not as rule-bound in Sinhala as they are in Sanskrit, and it is thus largely meaningless to speak of negligence of sandhi as a literary flaw in Sinhala. Just as *Our Own Poetics* includes without discussion the virtues of "concision," "evenness," and "tenderness" because Sinhala poetry cannot exist without them, so it excludes "flawed sandhi" because it simply cannot render Sinhala poetry flawed.

A particularly noteworthy feature of Dandin's conception of the ten poetic flaws is their contingent nature. In some settings, a flaw may cease to be so and actually may become a source of relish.[69] The only exception to the redeemability of flaws is in the case of "defective meter" (*bhinnavṛtta*), which for Dandin is intrinsically deficient. *Our Own Poetics* concurs and takes this norm as applying to Sinhala *gī* meters, naming *Piyum* as an example for all of those meters, while simultaneously sending us back to the citation of a book on Sinhala metrics that is mentioned in its first chapter.[70] *Our Own Poetics* also affirms explicitly that three of its nine flaws have the contingent nature that Dandin describes and illustrates—"incoherency" (*apārtha*), "repetition" (*ekārtha*), and "impropriety in terms of place etc." (*deśādivirodha*).[71] The status of the other five is less clear,

[67] SBL 34, 38, 47, 52, and 58.

[68] KĀ 3.127; Wijayawardhana 1963: 165.

[69] See Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume.

[70] SBL 385. The reference is to SBL 15. The placement of this cross reference here is itself significant. It turns the reader's mind back to the discussion of the "body" of literature in which, as we have seen, "the *prāṇa*s in [*Our Own Poetics*] bear the mark of absolute virtues" (Wijayawardhana 1963: 141). Defective meter is, in the same light, an "absolute flaw." The cross reference here thus reinforces *Our Own Poetics*'s sense of the "natural" normativity of Sinhala's expressive ecology, a topic to which we will return in section 3.5.

[71] SBL 379, 382, 388.

as the text does not provide any illustrations of how they might cease to be poetic flaws in an appropriate textual context.[72]

*Our Own Poetics*'s section on poetic flaws hints yet again at a broad spectrum of Sanskrit sources available to its readers, similar to what we have already noted with hints toward Vamana, Bhamaha, Udbhata, Anandavardhana, and Mahima Bhatta in section 3.2 above. There is another such hint in its discussion of "misrepresentation of the arts" (*kalāvirodha*). In the *Mirror*, two examples are given for this flaw, one concerning literature, the other, music.[73] This is also the case in *Our Own Poetics*, but its example of misrepresentation of music—pertaining to the precise number of *svara*s, *grama*s, and *murchana*s in a musical piece—is far more erudite than Dandin's, and the verse in *Our Own Poetics* may even be a reference to Chapter 28 of Bharata's *Treatise on Theater*.[74] The level of detail in this illustrative verse suggests that *Our Own Poetics* expected at least some in its audiences to be familiar with Sanskrit technical terms used to analyze music, just as they were expected to be with Sanskrit terms used to analyze literature.[75]

Taken together, these changes in the discussion of poetic virtues and flaws turn our attention to two additional key contours in the story of Dandin in Sri Lanka. The first is the perdurance of Sinhala's expressive ecology, and especially the degree to which this expressive ecology was seen as needing to be intentionally preserved in something of a fixed state according to its "natural" norms. The second contour is about what other Sanskrit works besides Dandin became part of his story in Sri Lanka.

## 3.5. Naturalizing Normativity: *Niyara*

*Charles Hallisey and P. B. Meegaskumbura*

So far we have mainly followed cases in which *Our Own Poetics* uses, sometimes selectively and creatively, conceptual tools already found in the *Mirror*. But telling the story of Dandin's reception in the "Island of Gems" also requires that we pay attention to how the *Mirror*'s conceptual toolkit was enlarged in ways that inflected the subsequent reception of Dandin.

[72] Wijayawardhana suggests that this is informed by the work's "marked tendency to be more concise and succinct," and that "it is possible to conclude that [*Our Own Poetics*] too subscribes to the view that dosas are anitya—variable" (Wijayawardhana 1963: 158, 164).

[73] KĀ 3.170.

[74] SBL 390 (possibly referring to *Nāṭyaśāstra* 28.7, 24, 27–31).

[75] The *Grandmaster Commentary* on *Lucid Poetics* (*Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā*), a Pali engagement with the *Mirror* discussed in section 3.6 below, names Bharata in the course of a discussion about the varieties of *rasa*s. The fifth chapter of *Lucid Poetics* is devoted to the topic of the varieties of *rasa*s, and its discussion also uses the technical vocabulary of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. All this suggests that the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was indeed known in Sri Lanka at this time; see the *Grandmaster Commentary* (*Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā*) ad Subodh v. 340, p. 272, for the reference to Bharata by name.

Before turning to one particularly important conceptual tool, let us first note how *Our Own Poetics* positions itself between two kinds of heritages and addresses two kinds of audiences:

> It's for two groups of people
> that I will tell a bit
> about the characteristics of our own literature:
> those who don't know those little books of old,
> and those who don't know the Language of the Gods.[76]

The "little books of old" mentioned here are usually taken to be Sinhala works on "poetics and other allied subjects such as prosody" that predated *Our Own Poetics*.[77] We know next to nothing about these works and the received heritage they constituted, but this verse does require us to entertain, once again, the likelihood that Sri Lankan authors and readers brought their own critical resources to their engagements with the *Mirror*. The "Language of the Gods" is a familiar epithet for Sanskrit, including resources such as Dandin's *Mirror*. This verse seems to imply that *Our Own Poetics* aims to bring together two groups of readers that did not entirely overlap: those versed in the world of Sanskrit and its terminology, and those steeped in local literature. What, we may ask, was the conceptual contribution of the local heritage to the text?

The term *niyara*, often deployed in *Our Own Poetics*, is one possible contribution. As we shall see, *niyara* is a complex word in William Empson's sense of a pervasively present term bearing "unnoticed propositions" and having the potential of becoming a "compacted doctrine" with a unified meaning that gradually grows in the reader's mind.[78] There are a number of complex words in Empson's sense already in Dandin's *Mirror*. *Mārga*, poetic path or "way," is a particularly salient example of a term that Dandin brings up repeatedly, in different contexts, highlighting not only literature's infinitely myriad ways, but also the constitutive unity that pervades its "inherently plural reality."[79] Sheldon Pollock has traced the broader contours of *mārga* as a term that, in the tradition of Sanskrit poetics, refers to a rule-bound method, a mode, or a style. Pollock also identifies a "somewhat more speculative" sense that "may be said to work at a sort of Heideggerian level of etymological determination:"

> Given that the modes of composition in Sanskrit poetry are geographically coded, *mārga* as the term chosen to express them may carry some deep

[76] SBL 3: *Deräsvas kiyam peragat sakev nidu vū / nodata nodata devbas siyakav lakuṇinek des.*
[77] Wijayawardhana 1963: 135.
[78] Empson 1985: 39.
[79] Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume.

> resonance with "marches" and "marshes"—terms to which *mārga* may be etymologically related—meaning the regions with their accompanying borders of the world of literary culture.[80]

Pollock's speculation about a deep resonance between *mārga* and margins appears quite prescient when we turn to the use of *niyara* as a conceptual tool in *Our Own Poetics*. *Niyara* is an example of what the *Compendium* calls a "native" word (*nipan*; Sanskrit *niṣpanna*), a word which is "unmixed with any other language manifest in the Sinhala island (*heḷadivä*)."[81] That is, it is neither a loanword (*tasama/tatsama*) nor a word adapted from Sanskrit (*tabava/tadbhava*). Dandin already brings such a tripartite division into poetics in the context of defining the three sources of Prakrit vocabulary, and the incorporation of this division in the *Compendium* suggests that Sinhala, too, had already become part of Dandin's open-ended continuum of Prakrit by this time.[82]

*Niyara*, as a native word, is thus unlike other complex words in *Our Own Poetics* which are all taken from the *Mirror*'s Sanskrit. This is significant in itself and highlights the self-consciousness about bringing together two distinct heritages, one originating in the island, the other coming from elsewhere, already seen in the verse just quoted. As is the case with *mārga* in Sanskrit, *niyara* is multivalent in Sinhala, with meanings ranging from "reality" or "fact" (*ākāraya*, *tattvaya*) to "process" or "order" (*kramaya*), and "border" or "inhabited region" (*vēlla, janapadaya*).[83] These meanings resonate closely with those of *mārga* in Sanskrit, and this closeness may be part of the significance of introducing the Sinhala native term in *Our Own Poetics*. Especially noteworthy is that, like *mārga* can seem to do in Dandin's Sanskrit, *niyara* refers to "regions with their accompanying borders."

*Niyara*s, in the narrowest usages, are "bunds" or "dikes"—the earthen boundaries that distinguish one paddy field from another—and it is perhaps this meaning that is most revelatory metapoetically. This is because these bunds not only separate one field from another, fence-like; they also retain the water when the paddy field is flooded to enable the growth of rice seedlings. *Niyara* are thus essential points of contact between paddy fields, for water passes from one field to another through them, either through seepage downhill or human-made sluices. Since young rice plants can only grow in standing water, *niyara* are a sine qua non for rice agriculture. Moreover, *niyara*s take advantage of natural features of the landscape, such as a gentle sloping terrain or a hillside that is suitable for making terraced paddy fields. At the same time, they are products of human

[80] Pollock 2006: 209.
[81] Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 7 (Ss I.11).
[82] KĀ 1.33, 35; see also Bronner, section 1.1 in this volume.
[83] Sorata 1963: 514, s.v. *niyara*.

vision and effort, in both their making and their maintenance. It could even be said that *niyara* are forms in the landscape, elaborated and improved (*saṃskṛta*) from potentials discerned in nature (*prākṛta*).

The metapoetic connotations and subsequent implications of *niyara* as a complex word are thus manifold, but they always include the necessary conditions for the generation of things that would not otherwise exist. In the realm of literature, this includes the constitutive interaction between the given and the improved, as well as between the divided and the shared. *Niyara*s in language represent bunds that connect and separate distinct expressive ecologies and create wholes that are larger than the sum of their parts. *Niyara*s thus are constitutive of literature writ large, just as rice farming is constituted by many individual paddy fields.

To better understand the semantic field and the range of use of *niyara* in *Our Own Poetics*, let us consider the many key topics on which the term is brought to bear throughout the text. We begin with Dandin's most basic categories. Under the aforementioned "body of literature," the *Mirror* lists three basic types of composition: verse, prose, and a mixture of both; for *Our Own Poetics*, these are the three *niyara*s of the literary body.[84] Likewise, meters of Sinhala poetry (all of which would be considered *jāti* in Dandin's binary classification into *vṛtta* and *jāti*) are identified as the *niyara*s of poetic composition.[85] With respect to ornaments, the largest topic in both texts, *Our Own Poetics* finds ample scope for the use of this term. Thus, taking up Dandin's statement that "things made of speech" (*vāṅmaya*)—which, as Ratna explains, refers in this context to the entire field of ornaments—are divided into factual and crooked statements (*svabhāvokti* and *vakrokti*), *Our Own Poetics* calls these "the two *niyara*s of all ornaments taken together."[86] Likewise, the two foundational ornaments that bookend Dandin's inventory, "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*) and "integrity" (*bhāvika*), are each defined as "*niyara*s of speech."[87] Dandin offers a basic subdivision of "factual statements" of "genera, attributes, actions, and individual entities"—a crucial division that he will later reuse in conceptualizing other ornaments; *Our Own Poetics* adds that "these four *niyara*s are supreme in all books and also well-known in poetry."[88] When Dandin says he will describe the vast universe (*prapañca*) of his quintessential ornament, simile, the author of *Our Own Poetics* tells of describing both its *niyara* and its vast expansiveness (*vitara*; *vistara*).[89] Additional examples can be supplied.[90]

[84] KĀ 1.11; SBL 12.

[85] KĀ 1.11; SBL 16–18: *pada bañdumehi niyara me*.

[86] KĀ 2.360 (see Ratna's comments on p. 196); SBL 337.

[87] SBL 75, 336; compare KĀ 2.8, 2.361, respectively.

[88] KĀ 2.13; SBL 80.

[89] KĀ 2.14; SBL 81.

[90] For example, long compounds, which Dandin identified as key to the poetic virtue "power," are now its *niyara* (SBL 51; compare KĀ 1.80–84). Apropos the virtue of "manifest meaning" (*arthavyakti*), *Our Own Poetics* asks: "could there be a *niyara* of language whose meaning is not

Note that the use of the native Sinhala *niyara* to describe discrete basic topics found in the *Mirror* (and the basis on which they stand) adds an entirely new foundational metaphor to the discussion; that is to say, *niyara* takes its place as a complex word alongside "body," "path," "ornament," and *rasa*. Although *Our Own Poetics* uses *niyara* in place of a variety of Sanskrit words found in the *Mirror*,[91] it consistently uses it to imply "that what the word names is really there and worth naming."[92] In effect, *Our Own Poetics* understands Sinhala to reconfigure Sanskrit knowledge, even as Sanskrit reconfigures Sinhala. Indeed, the use of independent nomenclature is also found in other Sri Lankan engagements with the *Mirror*, especially in the *Compendium*, suggesting a more general disposition toward this sort of reconfiguration.[93] Note also that *Our Own Poetics* is not unique in its usage of *niyara*; it is also found in Sinhala exegetical texts on Buddhist literature of the time.[94]

In the light of the use of *niyara* as a complex word in *Our Own Poetics*, we find it striking that "the Sinhala Master" Ratna, in commenting on Dandin's *Mirror*, says that its entire first chapter is about *khila*, a term that refers, among other things, to the land dividing cultivated fields, while the rest of the *Mirror* constitutes what is common (*samam*) to "different fields."[95] Perhaps in distinguishing the different parts of Dandin's *Mirror* with a close analogy drawn from agriculture, Ratna was trying to articulate some of the metapoetic connotations of *niyara* that he had learned in Sri Lanka before he wrote his Sanskrit commentary on Dandin in India.

To realize the full significance of *niyara* in *Our Own Poetics*, we must keep in mind the term's basic agricultural connotations. Consider, for example, the discussion of the virtue "sweetness," in the course of which Dandin addresses occasions of unintended vulgarity.[96] *Our Own Poetics* refuses to provide examples lest they end up becoming acceptable; it warns against the likelihood that the use

manifest?" (SBL 46: *no haňgavana tama arut–vadaniyara ätda kavara*; KĀ 1.75; for more on this passage in Dandin and Ratna, see Bronner and Cox, section 5.6 in this volume). See also SBL 272 for the use of *niyara* apropos the rasa-related ornaments.

[91] For example, *vyavasthita*; *parāyaṇa*; *avasthā*; and *nyāya*.

[92] Empson 1985: 39.

[93] See Wijayawardhana 1963: 177–78, especially 178: "The three figures uba-bas [*aprastuta-praśaṁsā*], nidi-pasas [*nindā-praśaṁsā*] and an-alap [*samāsokti*] in [the *Compendium*] are conspicuous by their unusual nomenclature. In spite of the fact there are well known terms in Sanskrit for each of them, [the *Compendium*] gives them new names whose Sanskrit equivalents are not in common use."

[94] In such exegetical texts, *niyara* is used as a gloss for *ākāra* (form, condition), *tattva* (real, true nature), *janapada* (inhabited country), and *maryādā* (boundary, bund, shore). See Sorata 1963: 514.

[95] Ratna ad KĀ 1.105, p. 66: *mataṃ khilaprāyam ihāsti daṇḍinaḥ | tad etad atra prakṛtaṃ parisphuṭam | itaḥ purastāt samam eva vartate | tad atra nāsmābhir abhāvito vidhiḥ* ||. See Dimitrov 2016: 576–77 on this verse. A discussion of Ratna's use of the semantically relevant term *maryādā* (e.g., ad KĀ 1.4) is beyond the scope of our concerns here.

[96] KĀ 1.62–67.

of a word or a phrase that is considered vulgar by contemporary standards will be later justified on the basis of such earlier usage in illustrations, "because as time goes on, will not this language of ours change, unlike Sanskrit?"[97] Although the term *niyara* is not used in this passage, we can see how, like earthen bunds of rice fields, the particular *niyara*s that distinguish languages according to their different expressive ecologies require vigilant maintenance. *Niyara*, in this sense, is not only an attempt to naturalize normativity, but also to normalize the nature of Sinhala poetic language.[98] We should also not lose sight of the crucial nature of *niyara*s, noted earlier, as forms in the landscape that have been elaborated and improved (*saṃskṛta*) from potentials initially discerned in nature (*prākṛta*). *Niyara*s are not only features that separate and distinguish, they also connect and supplement. Above all, as both connections and supplements, they make it possible to share what is needed for growth between otherwise separate fields. To be alert to the role of *niyara* in literature is thus to be mindful that literature should "always be about adding beauty to beauty."

## 3.6. A Textual Community

*Alastair Gornall, Charles Hallisey, and P. B. Meegaskumbura*

*Constellation, not sequencing, carries truth.*[99]

—Olga Tokarczuk

A key way in which the reception of Dandin became enlarged and reconfigured in Sri Lanka is by further engagements with the *Mirror* during the three or four centuries after the composition of *Our Own Poetics*. These number no less than eight, in three different languages—Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhala—thus keeping the issue of language choice at the center of the story. In this section we introduce this larger, multilingual group of works, discuss their textual and linguistic practices, and speak of them heuristically as a textual community. They embody not only complex connections with the *Mirror*, but also reflexivities and intersectionalities that connect them with each other and organize them within a single history, much as A. K. Ramanujan has suggested is broadly typical of cultural traditions across South Asia.[100]

This latter lineation comes to the fore especially with two of these eight interpretive engagements. They are both, like *Our Own Poetics*, adaptations

[97] SBL 42–43.

[98] A similar point can be made on Ratna's discussion of the two paths of poetry, ad KĀ 1.40 (see also Pollock 2006: 214 and his discussion of Sri Lanka therein).

[99] Tokarczuk 2018: 77.

[100] Ramanujan 1989: 189.

of the *Mirror* to new language contexts. One is in Sinhala, the *Compendium (Sidatsaňgarā)*, and the other is in Pali, Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics* (*Subodhālaṅkāra*). In this section we show that these two texts expand the discursive field centered around the *Mirror* in a variety of ways, one of which is through their own commentaries. Indeed, all of the adaptations of Dandin in Sinhala and Pali, and Dandin's original, too, attracted exegeses in Sri Lanka, totaling five additional works.

*Our Own Poetics*, not surprisingly, has the earliest commentary, the *Old Paraphrase on Poetics in Our Own Language* (*Siyabaslakarapurāṇasannaya*), written shortly after its root text.[101] Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics* has an auto-commentary in Pali (the *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā*, also known as the *Grandmaster Commentary* [*Subodhālaṅkāramahāsāmiṭīkā*]) and a distinct paraphrase in Sinhala (the *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇasannaya*). The *Compendium* also has an old Sinhala paraphrase (*Sidatsaňgarāpurāṇasannaya*). In addition, there is a Sinhala exegesis directly on Dandin's Sanskrit treatise (*Kāvyādarśasannaya*).[102] To these eight works composed in Sri Lanka—three adaptations, four commentaries thereon, and one Sinhala elucidation of Dandin—we may add a ninth, Ratna's Sanskrit commentary on Dandin, which, although written in the mainland in the tenth century, was in circulation in the island shortly thereafter.

There are many things that can be said about this varied and complex textual field, but let us begin with a basic observation: Dandin's *Mirror* was known in Sri Lanka not only as a Sanskrit text composed in mainland South Asia, across the Palk Strait, but also through a variety of local translations, adaptations, and secondary as well as tertiary engagements in several languages that were read in partially overlapping circles during the first centuries of the "vernacular millennium." These varied engagements established the *Mirror* locally, and they are a key reason that the *Mirror* has had a continuing presence in Sri Lanka.

One particularly noteworthy feature of this continuing presence is the way in which secondary exegetical works, when commenting on adaptations of the *Mirror*, sometimes reach out to make direct connections with the *Mirror* itself, taking it as the root of their root texts. In some cases, the connection is simple, but sufficient enough to ensure that discussions in the local adaptations would be easily seen in the light of the contents of the *Mirror* itself. For example, the *Old Paraphrase on the Compendium* consistently provides Sanskrit loanwords

[101] On the date of the *Old Paraphrase on Our Own Poetics*, see section 3.2 above and especially note 20.

[102] The authorship and date of the latter are the subject of widely differing views. Godakumbura dates it to the twelfth century (Godakumbura 2010: 328), Bechert to the twelfth or thirteenth (cited in Dimitrov 2016: 126), and Ven. Välivitye Sorata to the fifteenth (Sorata 1963: XXXVIII). Dimitrov places it in the tenth century on the basis of his argument that its author was Ratna himself (Dimitrov 2016: 142–43). As he himself acknowledges, however, sustaining his hypothesis awaits further research (Dimitrov 2016: 144–46), and we take this cautioning as relevant generally to his overarching argument about the very large corpus of works that should now all be credited to Ratna.

(*tatsama*) that make it easy to connect particular ornaments in the Sinhala text to their counterparts in the *Mirror*.[103] More elaborately, the Sinhala-language paraphrase on *Lucid Poetics* often quotes Dandin in Sanskrit, and also—rather unusually for a work in this Sinhala genre—in what may be original Pali translations of the Sanskrit.[104]

Moreover, the commentators, perceiving a gap between the *Mirror* and one of the translations and adaptations, often tie their root texts back to Dandin. This tendency can even be detected in Ratna's commentary, in response to what he apparently perceived as Dandin's occasional departure from his own principles, as Bronner and Cox argue in Chapter 5 of this volume.[105] A prominent example of this general disposition to return to the *Mirror* is seen in the Pali and Sinhala commentaries on Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics*. Although *Lucid Poetics* clearly draws on the *Mirror*, it also departs from it in many overt ways. Consider, for example, Sangharakkhita's auto-commentary in Pali, known as the *Grandmaster Commentary* (*mahāsāmiṭīkā*), on account of the fact that he held the position of "grandmaster" of the Sangha at the time of its composition.[106] In his auto-commentary, Sangharakkhita sometimes returns to the *Mirror* to supplement his more selective use of Dandin in the root text. For example, in *Lucid Poetics*, Sangharakkhita entirely omits Dandin's extensive treatment of "twinning" (*yamaka*) —the use of phonetically identical duplicates, each with a different meaning—because he deemed this topic too demanding for students.[107] He does, however, deal with "twinning" and other complex figurations such as riddles (*paheḷikā*, Skt. *prahelikā*) in his own *Grandmaster Commentary* in a manner that relies heavily on Dandin's analysis.[108]

We see similar patterns in the Sinhala *Old Paraphrase on Lucid Poetics*. The *Old Paraphrase* sometimes deviates from Sangharakkhita's auto-commentary to provide a more detailed treatment of particular topics and occasionally to link his ideas back to the *Mirror*.[109] For example, when commenting on the figure "reciprocity" (*parivutti*, Skt. *parivṛtti*), in which an interaction between two entities is depicted as a barter exchange, the *Old Paraphrase* supplements Sangharakkhita's example with an analysis of Dandin's own, perhaps because Sangharakkhita's

[103] For example, *vastūpamā* is supplied for *vatuvam*, *adbhutopamā* for *abutuvam*, *śleṣopamā* for *selesuvam*, and *nindopamā* for *niňdi uvam* (ad Ss XII. 2, 3, 4, 7).

[104] For example, *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇasannaya*, ad v. 3.48 (E$^e$ v. 163), p. 91, quoting KĀ 1.103; ad 4.4 (E$^e$ v. 167), p. 93, paraphrasing KĀ 2.4–7.

[105] See Bronner and Cox, section 5.6 in this volume.

[106] Some have cast doubt on Sangharakkhita's authorship of this commentary, but Petra Kieffer-Pülz has provided evidence to show that he elsewhere quotes it as his own work (Kieffer-Pülz 2017: 31–34, *contra* Wright 2002: 323–41).

[107] Subodh, v. 33. For *twinning*, see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume.

[108] See *Subodhālaṅkāraporāṇaṭīkā*, ad vv. 31–33 (Subodh 47–63).

[109] For example, *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇasannaya*, ad v. 3.48 (E$^e$ v. 163), p. 91, quoting KĀ 1.103; ad 4.4 (E$^e$ v. 167), p. 93, paraphrasing KĀ 2.4–7.

was deemed unclear.[110] The same pattern is visible in the Sinhala-language *Old Paraphrase on Our Own Poetics*. It too restores aspects of the *Mirror* that *Our Own Poetics* omits.[111] Similarly, the *Paraphrase on the Compendium* seems to have the *Mirror* at hand when it clarifies places where the *Compendium* itself seems unclear. For example, just after an overview of six kinds of similes, the *Compendium* introduces an ornament that it calls *viruduvā*: "If one were to display a special quality by denying something that does exist or affirming something that does not exist, that is *viruduvā*."[112] On the basis of its placement right after an overview of simile subtypes, some modern readers have derived *viruduvā* from the Sanskrit *viruduvam* (*virodhopamā*), "simile phrased as antithesis," indeed one of the varieties of simile distinguished by Dandin and a plausible derivation in its own morphological right.[113] But this contradicts the *Compendium*'s own definition of the ornament as well as its illustrative verse, both of which are closer to Dandin's ornament of "antithesis" (*virodha*).[114] The *Old Paraphrase on the Compendium* seems to anticipate this confusion, and it glosses *viruduvā* with *viroddhokti*, an equivalent of Dandin's *virodha* ("antithesis").[115]

A key player in this dense web of texts turns out to be Ratna's Sanskrit commentary on Dandin. To begin with, there is a very close connection between his commentary and the Sinhala *Paraphrase on the Mirror*, so much so that Dimitrov notes that "[i]f one compares the [*Paraphrase*] with [Ratna's commentary] more closely, very quickly the impression will arise that the author of the [former] was extremely well-acquainted with [the latter] and felt at ease adopting comments, examples, and references from it."[116] It is also the case, as Dimitrov also points out, that the Sanskrit text of the *Mirror* found in the *Paraphrase* consistently matches the text that Ratna has.[117] But an awareness of Ratna is also apparent in other engagements with the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka. For example, the *Compendium* and its *Old Paraphrase* introduce the figure "simile involving an embrace" (*śleṣopamā*) with a definition that seems to owe more to Ratna's commentary than to Dandin's

[110] *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇasannaya*, ad v. 4.163 (E^e v. 326), p. 159. It is noteworthy that the *Old Paraphrase*'s take on Dandin's verse here does not follow Ratna's.

[111] For example, the *Old Paraphrase on Our Own Poetics* restores Dandin's attention to authorial intention in "integrity" (*bhāvika*; ad SBL 338), and we have already noted (footnote 32) that it interprets *häṅgum* in a manner which brings it more in line with Dandin's emphasis on the integrity of the whole work.

[112] Ss XII.8: *äti näti kärä hota—näti guṇa kärä da äti sē / pavasata veses arutak—e viyū viruduvā nam.*

[113] For instance, Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 131 gloss it as "comparison by means of contradictory characteristics of the two terms of the comparison."

[114] Ss XII.8–9, which in turn is comparable to KĀ 2.333–40a (note the similar allusion to Karna in KĀ 2.339). On this point in the *Compendium*, we draw here from Wijayawardhana 1963: 179.

[115] *Sidatsaṅgarāpurāṇasannaya*, ad Ss XII.8, p. 250.

[116] Dimitrov 2016: 138. For a detailed survey of the similarities between the two texts, see Dimitrov 2016: 137–52.

[117] Dimitrov 2016: 127. As Dimitrov notes, the two texts match each other only up to verse 3.158 in the *Mirror*, at which point all available manuscript witnesses for the *Paraphrase* end.

own presentation.[118] Sangharakkhita's *Grandmaster Commentary* reveals that he, too, was reading the *Mirror* through Ratna's eyes.[119] A good example is Sangharakkhita's gloss of the definition of "intensification" (*atiśayokti*) with a close Pali version of Ratna's Sanskrit paraphrase.[120]

The texts in this group sometimes share their silences. No adaptation of Dandin in Sri Lanka includes any discussion of his basic principle that literature has a plurality of paths (*mārga*), and a key point of the *Mirror*'s first chapter, namely the polarity between the southern and northeastern regional styles (*mārgavibhāga*), is likewise unanimously ignored.[121] This is significant from the larger perspective of the *Mirror*'s life in Asia, and even more so, for its particular story in Sri Lanka. Apparently, there were aspects of Dandin's theory that seemed mainland-specific in the eyes of its otherwise highly receptive adaptors in the island. In their presentations of a single style for Sinhala and an internally diverse one for Pali, respectively, *The Compendium* and *Lucid Poetics* apparently assume normative stances similar to those that *Our Own Poetics* put forward, even though neither of them explicitly refers to that earlier text.

Related textual practices become visible around the same time in works beyond those engaging Dandin directly. For instance, passages quoted in Sanskrit from the *Mirror* are found in Sinhala-language commentaries on major works of literature as well. A twelfth-century Sinhala paraphrase on Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger* cites from Dandin to illuminate Kalidasa's beginning his poem with the indefinite pronoun "someone" (*kaścit*), although without naming the *Mirror*.[122] The likely contemporaneous *Paraphrase on When the Buddha Was a Hare* (*Sāsadāvatasannaya*) cites the *Mirror*, this time by title, apropos of its root text's use of various ornaments that Dandin defined and illustrated.[123] Notably, this same exegetical work quotes passages from Mammata's eleventh-century *Light on Literature (Kāvyaprakāśa*) in Sanskrit at least six times.[124] The Pali commentary to the *Ornaments of the Conqueror* (*Jinālaṅkāra*), a twelfth-century poetic biography of the Buddha in Pali that we return to in section 3.7, refers readers to Dandin's account of "twinning" (*yamaka*) apropos of verses that

[118] The *Compendium* distinguishes two types of "simile involving an embrace"—one "by word," the other by "meaning"—using the same distinction that Ratna introduces in his comments (see Ratna ad KĀ 2.28, cf. Ss XII: 4–6, Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 128).

[119] Dimitrov 2016: 99–101; Kieffer-Pülz 2016: 10 n5.

[120] *Subodhālaṅkāraporāṇaṭīkā*, ad v. 173, p. 160, 26f.; Ratna ad KĀ 2.212, p. 135, 8–9.

[121] Although recall that *Our Own Poetics* does allow variation between "good" and "other" expressions of some of the "life breaths" of literature.

[122] *Meghadūtapurāṇasannaya*, 2; cited in Godakumbura 2010: 141. Based on KĀ 1.15, the *Old Paraphrase* explains that the indefinite pronoun indicates that the story, while not based on history (*itihāsa*), has some other (*itara*), true or good source (*sadāśraya*).

[123] *Sāsadāvatasannaya* 53 (on verse 179, citing KĀ 2.331; *tulyayogitā*), 34 (on verse 109, referring to KĀ 2. 97, 99; *kriyādīpaka*).

[124] *Sāsadāvatasannaya* 17 (twice), 24, 29, 34, 42.

contain similar rhyming effects.[125] In a similar vein, albeit from some two centuries later, the *Paraphrase on the Gem-Mine of Meters* (*Vṛttaratnākarasannaya*), a Sinhala commentary on the ubiquitous tenth-century Sanskrit work by Kedara Bhatta, cites the *Mirror* by title and includes a Sanskrit quotation of Dandin's definition of the flaw of "broken meter" (*bhinnavṛtta*) apropos of its root text's own definition of it.[126]

Such interpretive engagements with the *Mirror* and the practice of citing from it in a variety of Sinhala- and Pali-language exegetical works show that it was not only known through its translations and adaptations. Rather, the *Mirror*'s Sanskrit text continued to have an independent and vital presence in Sri Lanka throughout the first centuries of the vernacular millennium. Indeed, the examples cited above suggest that Dandin's *Mirror*, in Sanskrit, had assumed the stature of an authoritative text, resorted to for legitimation, clarification, and guidance in a variety of contexts. This status is particularly impressive when we realize that the multilingual scholastic discussions in Sri Lanka remained open to other Sanskrit sources on poetics, including new ideas that were formed in Kashmir in the centuries after Dandin. This is clear not only from *Our Own Poetics* (as noted in section 3.2 above), but also from *Lucid Poetics*, *The Compendium*, and their commentarial literature. Thus, to give just one example, Sangharakkhita in his *Lucid Poetics* and his auto-commentary betrays his familiarity with the "peaceful" (*śānta*) as a ninth rasa, first introduced by Udbhata in the first part of the ninth century, with Anandavardhana's text (which he cites) from the second part of that century, with the notion of "propriety" (Pali *ocitya*, Sanskrit *aucitya*), perhaps as promoted in Kshemendra's eleventh-century *Elucidation of Propriety* (*Aucityavicāracarcā*), and so on.[127] Sangharakkhita also refers to earlier, pre-Dandin thinkers, such as Bharata's *Treatise on Theater* and Ramasharma's (Pali: Rāmasammā) now-lost text.[128] In addition, the inclusion of a discussion of poetics in its final chapter suggests that *The Compendium* was likely influenced by Tamil grammatical works.[129] Yet this openness to conversations beyond the island actually highlights that in Sri Lanka, Dandin's *Mirror* remained far more

[125] Dimitrov 2016: 279 n121.

[126] *Vṛttaratnākarasannaya*, 23 ad *Vṛttaratnākara* 1.13, citing KĀ 3.156.

[127] For *śānta*, see Subodh, vv. 354, 367 (E[e] pp. 289, 303); *Subodhālaṅkāraporāṇaṭīkā* and *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇasannaya* on the same verses. For quotes from Anandavardhana, see, for example, *Subodhālaṅkāraporāṇaṭīkā*, ad v. 2 (E[e] p. 7). For *aucitya*, Subodh, vv. 61, 103–5, 293, 301; *Subodhālaṅkāraporāṇaṭīkā*, ad vv. 1, 8, 20, 59–62, 67, 103–6, 139, 293, 301, 338, 344, 350, 361 (cf. Gornall 2020a: 158; see Gornall 2020a: 155–59). For *aucitya*, see also Ss XI.14 (cf. Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 122; Wijayawardhana 1963: 171).

[128] For Ramasharma, see Subodh, v. 2, which notably does not mention Dandin (who is named only in the *Grandmaster Commentary* and actually much later in the text (Subodh, v. 270; for other mentions of him in earlier Sanskrit texts, see BKA 2:19, 58; *Ratnaśrīṭīkā*, ad KĀ 2.7, 3.106; see also Bronner 2012: 83–86).

[129] Gair and Karunatillake 2013: xvi.

important than any other text on poetic theory, and its primacy was never really in question.

It was, however, also met with some detectable rancor. For example, the *Dambadeṇi Katikāvata*, an authoritative code for monastic behavior from the thirteenth century, prohibits monastic involvement in "despicable arts like poetry and drama" and adds that "foolish poets who liken the face of a woman to a lotus will be born as worms inside the bellies of those women." Lotus and moon are, of course, the standard comparands for the face of a beautiful woman in the *Mirror* and in *Our Own Poetics*.[130] Ambivalence about the poetic arts has a long history in the Theravada Buddhist tradition, and such rancor may be just another instance of this.[131] It may also be simply that the *Mirror* came to command great authority in Sri Lanka, and authority is often met with resistance.

The stature of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka, a text which was repeatedly revisited and quoted in Sanskrit for writers and readers in Sinhala and Pali, spurs us to think of it as the core of a thriving "textual community" in Brian Stock's sense of a putative group oriented toward one major text and sharing similar textual praxes.[132] For Stock, a "textual community" is a tangible group whose life, thought, sense of identity, and relations with outsiders are organized around an authoritative text.

Stock argues that a text comes to have such a key organizational role in a textual community through education and religion. With this in mind, Dandin's celebration of education in the ideal literary community that he imagines for his audience appears sociologically significant. It is also not a coincidence that Ratna, in his commentary, switches gears in providing an elaborated image of Dandin's "gathering of the sophisticated" (*vidagdhagoṣṭhī*) as an ideal community of the learned who compose, read, and recite poetry.[133] As for religion, Buddhist monks are central to the ongoing reception of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka, beginning with the author of the *Old Paraphrase on Our Own Poetics*[134] and continuing with Ratna and the authors of *Lucid Poetics* and the *Compendium*, all of whom embody Sri Lankan Buddhist ideals of education.

There are, moreover, patterns of received religious thinking that become illuminated with Stock's notion of a textual community. For example, there is a long-standing homology in Theravada Buddhist thought between the state of the Buddha's Dhamma and that of the world. The reception of Dandin's *Mirror*

[130] *Dambadeṇi Katikāvata* paragraphs 49, 50, 268; on lotus, moon, and the face of a woman as comparands in Dandin's investigation of the simile, see Bronner 2007.

[131] On this ambivalence, see Collins 2003: 669–70, and the references therein.

[132] Stock: 1983. We use Stock's notion only heuristically here, alert to the warnings, found in Heath: 2018, of the dangers of its overuse in extended applications.

[133] KĀ p. 62, ad 1.105. For a discussion of this passage, see Bronner and Cox, section 5.5 in this volume.

[134] See Dimitrov 2016 for a careful consideration of his identity.

in Sri Lanka served to extend this homology to the correct composition of literature in Pali and Sinhala. Dandin connects the condition of the world (*lokayātrā*) with knowledge of literature and the correct use of language more generally. Ratna expands on this sense of the sociomoral aspect of poetic language: since literature brings forth social values, literary erudition partly reveals one's own moral and social condition. Ratna extends Dandin's metaphor and says that those who know scientific works (*śāstra*s, poetics included) are to be treated like gods, whereas those who do not are nothing more than beasts (*paśu*).[135] Sangharakkhita, the monastic author of the Pali *Lucid Poetics*, takes up these ideas and reproduces a similar sociomoral vision in the introduction to his own work. For Sangharakkhita, to possess discriminating literary tastes is part of being wise, and he places the science of poetry (*alaṅkārasattha*) alongside the Buddhist canon (*tipiṭaka*), philosophy (*takka*), and grammar (*vyākaraṇa*) as a source of wisdom (*paññā*).[136]

Even while valuing what Stock's notion of textual community helps us to see, we should not forget the important differences between the works brought together within this textual community. This is especially the case with the *Compendium* and *Lucid Poetics*. Unlike *Our Own Poetics*, neither of these refers to either Dandin or the *Mirror* by name, and neither displays any obvious connection to the *Mirror* in structure. Both seem to be heirs to reception histories of the *Mirror* that are distinct from the one to which *Our Own Poetics* belongs, as well as different from each other. The full significance of these differences will be clearer in the next section, but to help us to keep such distinctive particularities in mind, we close this section with a brief overview of both texts.

The *Compendium* is a text that is somewhat anomalous in the general reception history of Dandin in Sri Lanka. It is both more than and less than Dandin's *Mirror*. It is less, insofar as it includes only a very cursory introductory treatment of poetics, in just two out of its twelve chapters, and in the second of those two, it treats only seven ornaments. It is more than the *Mirror* because the rest of the text is devoted to an introductory overview of the writing conventions and grammatical rules needed for writing poetry in Sinhala.[137] In this, the *Compendium* complements *Our Own Poetics*'s emphasis on preserving the expressive ecology "in this language of ours" (*siyabasä*) as inherited from the past.[138] As we noted above, in its combination of phonology, grammatical concepts and rules, and poetics in a single work, the *Compendium* is sometimes said to have been influenced by comparable texts in Tamil, but in its actual discussion of grammar,

[135] KĀ p. 4–5, ad I.6. A few canonical Buddhist texts, in contrast, call poetry "a bestial form of knowledge and a wrong livelihood" (Collins 2003: 670).

[136] *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā*, ad vv. 4–5 (Subodh 12).

[137] Ss I.1–3; Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 1–3.

[138] Ss I.5; Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 3.

it owes more to the traditions of grammatical thinking in Sanskrit and Pali than to anything in Tamil.[139] Finally, in terms of locating the *Compendium* in its various contexts, note how its opening verse embeds the text firmly within Buddhist religious culture:

> Praise to the feet of the Sage!
> Having made my heart a perfumed home for him [*sic*] who is omniscient,
> I write the *Compendium of Language and Its Meaning* for the knowledge of beginners.[140]

This opening verse is markedly different from those in the *Mirror* and in *Our Own Poetics* (see section 3.3 above) and, as we shall see, also from that in *Lucid Poetics.* It thus seems to hint at the text's general independence of thought. As Wijayawardhana has noted:

> For its material, [the *Compendium*] is indebted not to one particular source. The author culls material from diverse sources in Sanskrit to suit his purpose. Out of a vast stock of material he selects a few topics which he thinks important and representative. Although the material is drawn from Sanskrit sources, the selection and the presentation are his own. In some instances, the author appears to have composed his own illustrative verses. Thus, when compared to [*Our Own Poetics*], [the *Compendium*] finds greater opportunity to display originality.[141]

A verse in the *Compendium*'s colophon identifies its author as the chief incumbent of the Patiraja monastic college (*Patirājapiruvan*; *Patirājapirivena*), but this identification appears only when the verse is properly arranged in a wheel pattern (*cakrabandha*), itself an example of the "difficult" (*duṣkara*) and "flashy" (*citra*) poetry that Dandin includes in the third chapter of the *Mirror*.[142] The colophon also says that the work was composed at the request of a minister named Patiraja "who protects the whole of south Sri Lanka."[143] Just as is the case with the author of *Our Own Poetics*, it has not proven possible to identify conclusively who was the author of the *Compendium*, or to narrow down its absolute date of

[139] See Gornall 2020b.
[140] Ss 1.1; Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 1: *namavu munisaraṇa / mahada gaňdakiḷi—savnē gevā dathaṭa / duhunan dānum saňdahā—karanem sidatsaňgarā.*
[141] Wijayawardhana 1963: 167.
[142] Gair and Karunatillake 2013: xiii, 140; on "difficult poetry" (KĀ 3.186) in Dandin, see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume.
[143] Ss Colophon, v. 5; Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 139. An illustrative verse for the ornament the text calls "dialogue" (*ubabas*; *ubhayabhāṣā*) names a Patiraja as a conquering "world-lord"; Ss XII.1, Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 132.

composition.[144] The references to both a monastic and a political leader are significant, however, as they remind us that we should not assume a divide between religious and political roles within the textual community focused on the *Mirror*, nor within the broader Sinhala literary culture of its time of composition.

As already noted, only two chapters in the *Compendium* are dedicated to poetics: one to different aspects of prosody and literary flaws (*dos*; *doṣa*) and the other to ornaments (*lakara*; *alaṅkāra*). But the *Compendium* is overtly dedicated to the larger project of *Our Own Poetics*, namely, to identify norms for the expressive ecology of Sinhala poetry. This becomes clear when we keep in mind that the *Compendium* does not provide a comprehensive grammar of contemporaneous Sinhala, but only that of the special variety of language that was considered proper for poetic composition. In addition to being a treatise on poetic language, the *Compendium* is, in itself, an example of it, composed in that very variety of language.[145] As Gair and Karunatillake observe, the *Compendium* is a prescriptive text "in that it attempts to define the allowable elements and the limits of the language of poetry," but like the *Mirror*, its "appeal for authority in all cases is to 'the usage of the erudite.'"[146]

The *Compendium* shows its independence of thought especially in its treatment of both literary flaws and ornaments, as is already visible in the enumeration and nomenclature for each.[147] There are also significant differences at deeper conceptual levels. The most striking conceptual difference between the *Mirror* and *Our Own Poetics*, on the one hand, and the *Compendium*, on the other, is that the latter treats all literary flaws as irredeemable, regardless of context, and thus ignores a key part of the flexibility that is constitutive of Dandin's overall vision.

Turning to Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics*, it is immediately apparent that, despite being the first known engagement with the *Mirror* in Pali, the translocal language of Theravada Buddhism, its difference is more than a difference in language. What stands out, at first, is *Lucid Poetics*' substantial difference in structure and scope, suggesting that this is a work of a very different nature and agenda from other engagements with Dandin that we have thus far examined. That said, *Lucid Poetics* is still a direct adaptation of Dandin, and as such, it is closely indebted to its source.[148] Like *Our Own Poetics* and the *Compendium*,

[144] For a survey of the arguments for possible authors and dates, see Gair and Karunatillake 2013: xiii–xv.

[145] Gair and Karunatillake 2013: xxii.

[146] Gair and Karunatillake 2013: xix. For Dandin, the erudite can sanction even nongrammatical forms (see KĀ 3.148 and Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume).

[147] Wijayawardhana 1963: 176–78.

[148] Dimitrov gives a comprehensive list of the close parallels between the texts, concluding, *pace* Jaini in his edition of *Lucid Poetics*, that Sangharakkhita "has translated more or less faithfully nearly sixty stanzas (or *pāda*s thereof) from Daṇḍin's treatise. Several other passages in the Pali treatise are clearly inspired from the *Kāvyādarśa*." He further observes that Sangharakkhita clearly knew Ratna's commentary, and that "he was probably also one of the very last Sinhalese scholars who were able to make direct use of Ratna's major contribution in the field of Sanskrit poetics" (Dimitrov 2016: 100–1).

*Lucid Poetics* is firmly embedded in the Buddhist religious culture of the time, but more than any of the other texts in the Sri Lankan textual community centered on the *Mirror*, it reflects the devotional nature of medieval Sinhala Buddhist life.[149] The redirection of Dandin's tools for very particular Buddhist purposes is hinted at from the start in *Lucid Poetics*' benedictory verse. Whereas Dandin describes Sarasvati as dwelling in the mouth of Brahma, and whereas *Our Own Poetics* has no qualms in retaining this imagery, Sangharakkhita offers instead an explicitly Buddhist image of Vani (speech embodied) as "born in the womb of the Buddha's lotus-like mouth" (while still asking her to gladden his mind so that he may compose his work effortlessly).[150] When commenting on his opening verse, Sangharakkhita explains that although Vani is commonly thought to be identical with Sarasvati, she is in fact the goddess of the Buddha's true Dhamma (*saddhamma*).[151]

Sangharakkhita's counteractive echo of Dandin's original opening encapsulates to a large extent his general strategy for creatively adopting and adapting the *Mirror*. In part, this is to suit an audience that is not only overtly Buddhist, but also probably monastic. Indeed, following this opening statement, the full punch of which depends on readers' familiarity with its Sanskrit and Sinhala intertexts, the author continues his programmatic replacement of most of Dandin's illustrative verses with ones about the Buddha; he does, however, seem "unwilling to illustrate faults with verses on Buddhist themes [and] retained traditional examples."[152] Consider, for example, his treatment of "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*). Sangharakkhita largely replicates Dandin's key division between ornaments based on "factual statement" and those based on "crooked speech."[153] Nonetheless, all four of Dandin's examples of "factual statement," including the one that depicts the revelation of Lord Shiva, Dandin's personal deity, are replaced with a single dense example featuring a revelatory moment of the future Buddha:

> Beautiful with his graceful stride,
> constantly looking about in every direction,
> the little Bodhisatta glowed
> while speaking a lofty declaration.[154]

[149] For an in-depth account of the significance of Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics* as part of the history of medieval religious culture in Sri Lanka, see Gornall 2020a: 145–67.

[150] Subodh, v. 1: *munindavadanambhojagabbhasambhavasundarī | saraṇaṃ pāṇinaṃ vāṇī mayhaṃ pīṇayataṃ manaṃ* ||.

[151] *Subodhālaṅkāraporāṇaṭīkā*, ad v. 1, p. 2, 16–26.

[152] Wright 2002: 332.

[153] Subodh, vv. 165–67, 281–88.

[154] Subodh, v. 166: *līlāvikantisubhago disā thiravilokano | bodhisattaṅkuro bhāsaṃ viroci vācaṃ āsabhiṃ* ||.

Similarly, in some of his illustrative verses, Sangharakkhita adopts Dandin's tropes of courtly love but transforms them into religious devotion, as, for instance, in the example he offers for "intensification" (*atiśayokti*):

> They drink in the charms of your body
> their eyes filled like cupped hands:
> Conqueror, you are a destroyer of desire,
> So why can't you destroy theirs?[155]

The *Old Paraphrase* explains that the first part of this involves "intensification" because the Buddha's physical charms exceed the limits of worldly desire.[156] It adds that the question in the second part is itself an ornament, "irony" (*vakrokti*; translated as *vācābhaṅgī* in the Pali *abhinavaṭīkā*).[157] Sangharakkhita conjures such scenes of passionate worship in order to place the Buddha's transcendence in sharper relief, and his Pali examples are often designed both to evoke and to subordinate the emotional registers of Sanskrit court poetry, especially those that are overtly erotic. He also seems to suggest that only poetry about the Buddha is a worthy pursuit for a Pali-reading Buddhist community, echoing and expanding on the prescription in *Our Own Poetic* that the life/lives of the Buddha are to be told in verse.[158]

While *Lucid Poetics* is consonant with *Our Own Poetics* on the question of what in the *Mirror* is critically important, its structure and order of presentation are visibly different from both those works. *Lucid Poetics* has five chapters in contrast to their three, and its organization is strikingly different. It opens with two chapters on poetic flaws (*dosa*), a topic relegated to the closing chapters of the *Mirror* and *Our Own Poetics*. Its third chapter presents the ten poetic virtues, which are treated in the *Mirror*'s first chapter, immediately following Dandin's overview of the "body of Literature"; as we saw in section 3.4, *Our Own Poetics* reframes the virtues and gives them greater prominence than the *Mirror* itself. "Ornaments of meaning" (*atthālaṅkāra*) are covered in the fourth and longest chapter of *Lucid Poetics*, just as is the case in the counterpart chapter of the *Mirror*, the second chapter on ornaments. The fifth and last chapter treats literary experience, considered in terms of the nine "poetic sentiments" (*rasa*) then

[155] Subodh, v. 175: *pivanti dehakantī ye nettañjalipuṭena te | nālaṃ hantuṃ Jin' esaṃ tvaṃ taṇhaṃ taṇhāharo pi kim* ||.
[156] *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇasannaya*, ad v. 4.12 (E$^{e}$ v. 175) ≈ *Subodhālaṅkāra-abhinavaṭīkā*, ad v. 175 (Subodh 162).
[157] *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇasannaya*, ad v. 4.12 (E$^{e}$ v. 175) ≈ *Subodhālaṅkāra-abhinavaṭīkā*, ad v. 175 (Subodh 163).
[158] See section 3.3 above.

current in Kashmir, and gives attention to the conditions (*ṭhayibhāva*s), excitants (*vibhāva*s), and subsequent experiences (*anubhāva*s) appropriate for each.[159]

One could argue that in opening with an expansive treatment of literary flaws and their removal, Sangharakkhita was following Vamana, rather than the *Mirror*.[160] It is noteworthy, however, that Sangharakkhita's organizational logic also bears comparison with the structure of personal transformation enshrined in texts about monastic training. This structure begins with the identification of flaws inherent in a person and the praxes designed to restrain and then remove them. This is followed by diverse praxes of mental cultivation (*bhāvanā*), in which good qualities (*guṇa*) are progressively developed and realized. The process culminates in various experiences, preeminently those of reflexive insight (*vipassanā*) and wisdom (*paññā*).[161]

Consider the analogous threefold sequence in the *Lucid Poetics*. The middle portion—chapter 3 on understanding virtues (*guṇāvabodha*), and chapter 4 on understanding ornaments (*atthālaṅkārāvabodha*)—now takes on a crucial significance. Chapter 3 serves as something of a fulcrum in the text itself, as well as in the process of literary production that it prescribes. It effectively highlights and emphasizes Dandin's list of ten poetic virtues even more than *Our Own Poetics*, by alotting them an entire chapter and by placing it in such a crucially central place. *Lucid Poetics* begins this chapter by saying:

> Now that poetic flaws (*dosa*) have been overcome,
> poetic virtues (*guṇa*) can arise (*sambhavanti*), and, consequently, out of those,
> I will explain the ones which add beauty (*sambhūsayanti*) to words.[162]

After this opening verse, Sangharakkhita immediately introduces the same poetic virtues found in the *Mirror* and *Our Own Poetics*. Like the latter, *Lucid Poetics* omits Dandin's overview of different literary languages and his notions of distinct southern and northeastern paths within Sanskrit literature. Thus this text, too, silently recontextualizes and recasts Dandin's list of virtues, although now in the service of a very different project. As we saw in section 3.4, *Our Own Poetics* takes a prescriptive turn and finds the virtues of Dandin's southern path naturally normative for Sinhala. In contrast, *Lucid Poetics* takes an irenic position

[159] Wright has argued that this fifth chapter "is surely an accretion" (Wright 2002: 337; see pp. 337–39 for his reasoning supporting this conclusion).

[160] For a comparison of the similarities between *Lucid Poetics* and the *Aphorisms* in their treatment of literary flaws, see Gornall 2020a: 150–51.

[161] The locus classicus in the Theravada Buddhist traditions of Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia for this trifold pattern of personal transformation is Buddhaghosa's fifth-century training handbook, *The Path of Purification* (*Visuddhimagga*). See Nanamoli 1999.

[162] Subodh v. 116: *sambhavanti guṇā yasmā dosān' evam atikkame | dassessaṃ te tato dāni sadde sambhūsayanti ye* ||.

and completely ignores the contrastive framework that undergirds Dandin's entire discussion. Dandin describes one set of virtues as typical of the southern way and laconically says that "the opposite of these" (*eṣāṃ viparyayaḥ*) is typical in the northeast.[163] With respect to individual poetic virtues, however, Dandin is less consistent in his deployment of this contrastive framework, using it for some of the virtues while effectively treating others in terms of only differences of degree.[164] *Lucid Poetics* treats all ten poetic virtues in terms of differences of degree, rather than differences of kind, thereby describing Pali literature as consisting of a single, albeit internally diverse path. It thus leaves ample room for Pali literature to be composed in the ornate style of the northeastern path, and, as we shall see in the next section, this reflects one aspect of the state of literary Pali in Sri Lanka.

In short, *Lucid Poetics* is a nuanced model of and a generative model for Pali literature in the context of multilingual Sri Lanka. Yet it is also part of the textual community centered around the *Mirror*, and some of its textual practices, such as its more irenic adaptation of Dandin's virtues, are conditioned by this complex web of texts, for instance, by the important Sinhala adaptation, *Our Own Poetics*, whose restrictive and prescriptive tendencies it seemingly modulates. Moreover, *Lucid Poetics* also participates in wider discussions of poetics, as can be seen in the affinities that its discussion of the ten poetic virtues has with Vamana's. Both Vamana and Sangharakkhita elevate the poetic virtues to a central place in their understanding of literature, and both distinguish between virtues of sound and those of sense (Sangharakkhita by occasionally classifying Dandin's set in this way, and Vamana by supplying two such separate sets).[165]

We must also acknowledge that equally significant for appreciating *Lucid Poetics* as an engagement with Dandin is the manner in which it creatively enriches our understanding of the *Mirror* by bringing to bear heuristic resources directly from Pali as a language, just as we saw *Our Own Poetics* doing with heuristic resources from Sinhala as a language. One particularly beautiful example of this is found in its presentation of the virtue "charm" (*kanti*, Skt. *kānti*):

*lokiyatthānatikkantā kantā sabbajanāna pi* |
*kanti nāmā ti vuttassa vuttā sā parihārato* ||

[163] KĀ 1.42.

[164] Six of Dandin's virtues are presented through their opposites: *śleṣa* (*śithila*), *prasāda* (*vyutpanna*), *samatā* (*vaiṣamya*), *sukumāratā* (*dīpta*), *arthavyakti* (*neyatva*), and *kānti* (*atyukti*), while four are presented as different in degree: *mādhurya*, *udāratva*, *ojas*, and *samādhi*.

[165] See Subodh, vv. 123, 135, and 147; see also *Subodhālaṅkārapurāṇaṭīkā*, ad Subodh, v. 117 (Subodh 121). Admittedly, Sangharakkhita generally considers the poetic virtues as "ornaments of sound" (*saddālaṅkāra*s); see Gornall 2020a, 151. For Vamana, see KASū 3.1–2.

> Not overstepping the bounds of reality and beloved by all,
> "charm" is so called because it avoids the fault of overstatement.[166]

This definition of "charm" follows that of the *Mirror* closely, but, as Wright has pointed out, Sangharakkhita adds a special twist with a linguistic "embrace" between the verbs *kram-* (to go) and *kām* (to please) that is possible in Pali but not in Sanskrit. This homophony, in turn, reveals an underlying closeness between "not overstepping the bounds of reality" and being "beloved by all," the key two aspects of "charm"; this closeness is already seen at work in Dandin (KĀ1.85 *sarvajagatkāntaṃ laukikārthānatikramāt*), but without the pun that the Pali supplies.[167]

We conclude this section with three takeaways. The first is a historical reminder about the wider Asian dimensions of the continuing story of Dandin in Sri Lanka. The textual community that evolved around Dandin's *Mirror* in Sri Lanka was not limited to the island. *Lucid Poetics* traveled far and wide in the Buddhist Theravada world, and it had a particularly influential life in Burma. It, too, did not travel alone: a late Pali commentary on *Lucid Poetics* that was composed in Burma essentially translates the Sinhala *Old Paraphrase* into Pali. This part of Sri Lanka's textual community, it seems, was easily exported.[168] The second is the metapoetic realization that this diverse assemblage of texts within a single textual community, when taken as something of a constellation, is one in which texts illuminate one another by "adding beauty to beauty." To borrow an insight from Kshemendra, mentioned earlier in this section, "just as a virtuous good person stands out when surrounded by friends abundant in virtue," so Dandin's *Mirror* stands out all the more because of the different textual "friends" that form its textual community.[169] This leads us to our third and final point, another clue to answering our "why Dandin" question. Dandin's sketch of the ten poetic virtues highlighted in this section provided invaluable tools of discernment, and with those tools, writers and thinkers in Sri Lanka could see how literature flourishes variously in different languages, as well as how it flourishes variously within a single language. When Dandin said that "the way (*mārga*) of speech is multiple," they saw that acting on this multiplicity is also "about adding beauty to beauty."

[166] Subodh, v. 146, adopting the text and adapting the translation from Wright 2002: 325; cf. Subodh, v. 146 (Subodh, 142). Cf. KĀ 1.85.

[167] Wright 2002: 325. For other ways in which Sangharakkhita enhances Dandin's notion of "charm," see Wright 2002: 326.

[168] See Kirichenko, Lammerts, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.2, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3 in this volume. For the movement of people and texts between these two Buddhist centers, see Frasch 1998, 2001, 2017; Luce and Shin 1969; and Sirisena 1978.

[169] *Aucityavicāracarcā*, *kārikā* 23, where the topic is our understanding of a noun thanks to its fitting adjectives (*viśeṣaṇaiḥ samucitaviśeṣyo'rthaḥ prakāśate | guṇādhikair guṇodāraḥ suhṛdbhir iva sajjanaḥ* ||).

## 3.7. "The Way of Speech Is Multiple": The *Mirror* Enlarged in Literary Praxis

*Alastair Gornall, Charles Hallisey, and P. B. Meegaskumbura*

We know of no new adaptation of the *Mirror* in Sri Lanka after the thirteenth century, nor did the *Mirror*'s Sinhala and Pali adaptations attract new commentaries after that point. This is not to say that the *Mirror* was forgotten or superseded in Sri Lanka—quite the contrary. The lessons of the *Mirror* and its adaptations continued to be learned, but this happened as much through creative praxes as through received scholastic exegeses. As a result, we must look for the *Mirror*'s continuing presence in Sri Lanka by turning to the ways that it inflected the composition of new literature for centuries throughout Sri Lanka's premodern literary history. Since the *Mirror*'s impact is so ubiquitous, to give even a basic overview of its continuing presence risks losing sight of the *Mirror* itself against the background of the multilingual literary history of Sri Lanka.

There is another danger, however. It has become commonplace among some contemporary students of Sri Lanka to prejudge the impact of Sanskrit on Sinhala and Pali literature as intrinsically deleterious. The prevailing sentiment is that, to quote Martin Wickramasinghe, "the main fount of inspiration of the earlier writers [of poetry in Sinhala] seems to have been the later Sanskrit *alaṅkāra* and, of course, the Sanskrit poetry that was composed under its decadent influence," and that "the Sinhalese poets who slavishly imitated their Sanskrit models spoilt [their Buddhist] stories by introducing into them erotic descriptions not in keeping with the religious sentiments of the stories themselves."[170] Such judgments, their colonial and postcolonial roots notwithstanding, highlight an enduring problematic that needs to be faced: On what grounds do we judge the aesthetic achievements of literature from the past? As noted by Daniel Ingalls, "surely in the inspection of ancient literature it should be possible to arrest our judgment long enough for appreciation to grow in our minds of ideals and goals other than our own."[171]

We should keep this large-scale problematic in balance even as tracing the story of Dandin in Sri Lanka turns our attention, once again, to things on a smaller scale, and especially to the "hows" of the reception of the *Mirror*. The grappling with such things—"a mass of detail to interrelate on a new ground, difficultly," to remind ourselves once again of how William Carlos Williams puts it[172]— affords initial and fleeting glimpses of a possible large-scale literary

[170] Wickramasinghe 1963: 18. For a recent, more nuanced take which replaces Wickramasinghe's "slavish imitation" with a notion of "cultural appropriation" marked by "a kind of 'anxiety of influence,' " see Berkwitz 2016: 32.
[171] Ingalls 1965: 58.
[172] Williams 1995: 19.

history that could be an alternative to the ones which we currently have. We see, in addition to adaptation and imitation, also creativity, innovation, and confident discovery through experimentation. Moreover, as we trace the engagement of Dandin through creative praxes, we also see more distinctly some key aspects of the *Mirror*'s "translatability" (again, in Walter Benjamin's sense), in particular, its own orientation to experimentation and Dandin's aesthetic appreciation of the literary features that are "considered difficult" (*duṣkarābhimata*).[173] Attention to such praxes turns our thoughts once again to the large "why Dandin" question.

In this section, we try to catch just a few glimpses of the *Mirror*'s tacit presence in literature in Sri Lanka by looking at some of these creative praxes. As we do so, we will note a contrast that took form between the Dandin inscribed in Sinhala literature and the Dandin who articulated the grounds for a new kind of poetry in Pali. That is to say, a single, albeit composite literary culture in Sri Lanka gave rise to two distinct literary trajectories, both of which are comfortable with Sanskrit, but in different ways. As Dandin says, "the way of speech is multiple."[174]

We begin our turn to literary praxis by reminding ourselves of its presence in all of the texts we have considered so far. Recall that Dandin himself never quotes an existing work of poetry in the *Mirror*.[175] He wrote all of his illustrative verses himself, and the author of *Our Own Poetics* did the same, almost always taking Dandin's verses as the basis for his Sinhala creations. But Dandin also urges his readers to extend their understanding of the ornaments by turning their attention to "the practice of poets."[176]

Ratna seems to follow suit. He supplements Dandin's illustrative verses with some of his own, but he also extends Dandin's insights with examples drawn from the wider world of *kāvya* literature, citing a variety of texts, including some that are Buddhist and some that are now lost.[177] We see a selection of Ratna's supplementary examples included in the Sinhala *Paraphrase on the Mirror*.[178] Close in spirit to Ratna is the *Compendium* insofar as its author not only includes illustrative verses of his own composition, but also situates his work within the wider world of Sinhala literary history through the quotation of then-known texts. This practice of illustrative quotation effectively reimagines the received tradition of literature in Sinhala as it is illuminated in the reflective light of the *Mirror*. This appreciation of received works on new grounds is a reminder that, as John Berger notes, "imagination is not, as it is sometimes thought, the ability to invent; it is the capacity to disclose that which exists."[179]

[173] KĀ 3.38.
[174] KĀ 1.40.
[175] The one known exception is KĀ 2.224.
[176] KĀ 2.169, 2.307.
[177] Bronner and Cox, sections 5.5–7, this volume.
[178] Dimitrov 2016: 73, 136.
[179] Berger 1960: 61.

It is clear that the *Mirror* teaches not only by example and by studying received literary texts, but also by asking its students to write their own verse. As Dandin affirms at the end of the *Mirror*'s second chapter: "Here ends our tour of the path of ornaments, abridged though it was: the options are boundless, while this presentation has its limits. To discover the particular devices populating the domains that we have not addressed, you will simply have to practice."[180] In other words, some of Dandin's most important lessons are to be learned by means of original composition as an imaginative practice of discovery. The creative expansions of the *Mirror* to which we now turn are ones that have taken this general pedagogical orientation to heart.[181]

The Sinhala texts quoted by the *Compendium* are a good place to begin exploring this part of the story of Dandin in Sri Lanka. The texts quoted are three poetic biographies of the Buddha, in apparent agreement with the prescription in *Our Own Poetics* that the Buddha's lives are the most appropriate subject matter for verse,[182] and one "messenger poem" (*sandeśa*; more on this genre below). Also quoted are two Sinhala verses that have close parallels in Sanskrit. The first, an example of "seeing as" (*upēlakarā*; *utprekṣālaṅkāra*), is very similar to a verse said to be composed by Kalidasa when King Bhoja asked his poets to describe a scene of a girl playing with a ball and a lotus falling from her hair.[183] The second illustrates what the *Compendium* calls "dialogue" (*ubabas*; *ubhayabhāṣā*) and is very similar to an example that Appaya Dikshita later gives for "praise of the irrelevant" (*aprastutapraśaṃsā*).[184]

A final quotation is from a lost and unnamed Sinhala version of the *Kusajātaka*. This small example is telling insofar as it displays what looks like a clear imprint of the *Mirror* in an original work of poetry in Sinhala. It is found as part of a grammatical exposition of Sinhala, illustrating the dative case: "As she went down into the pond for water sports, dividing the water with waves, the face of Prabhavati gave shame to the red lotuses."[185] There are several aspects of this admittedly short illustration that we find arresting. First, the insertion of "water

[180] KĀ 2.364–365, translation by Bronner forthcoming.

[181] A fuller account of the transmission of the *Mirror* through literary praxis than is possible here would include the formation of a "pedagogical canon" of literature that possibly was engaged and transmitted in a "discursive tradition" (as conceptualized in Asad 2009); it would also include attention to the history of educational institutions that were the sites for the teaching and learning of this discursive tradition of literature in Sri Lanka (see Hallisey 2003: 692–93 for some preliminary comments on medieval Buddhist monasteries in this context).

[182] See section 3.3 above.

[183] "The Lotus is worried. / 'Why is she hitting the ball? / Is she mad at it for looking like her breasts? / But I look like her eyes!' / In a panic, / it falls pleading / at her feet" (Narayana Rao and Shulman 1998: 44). The Sinhala parallel is in Ss XII.16–17 (Gair and Karunatallike 2013: 135).

[184] See Wijayawardhana 1963: 180–81; cf. *Kuvalayānanda* of Appayya Dikshita, p. 87. Gair and Karunatillake dub this "indirect praise" (Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 132).

[185] Ss IV.11; Gair and Karunatillake 2013: 46–47: *taḷakeḷiyehi taraňga de bērā baṭa pabavata vat tam̆barānaṭa nigā din.*

sports"; in the earlier Pali version of the story, Prabhavati enters the pond only to bathe.[186] In the cited lost work, however, this verse seems part of a longer erotic description befitting the pattern of a grand poem (*mahākāvya*), and indeed, in his list of episodes to be included in such a poem, Dandin mentions "games in water and parks, drinking liqueur, and feasts of lovemaking."[187] The poet of this lost work probably structured the recommended topic of the Buddha's former life with the checklist of set pieces for a *mahākāvya* as stipulated by Dandin.

Second, note that as soon as Prabhavati enters the water, her face immediately incites shame in the red lotuses (whose mention in the dative is the occasion for this citation). We immediately recognize here Dandin's basic materials (face and lotus), building blocks (simile, seeing as), and method for combining them, all of which serve to heighten the erotic ambience of water sports. Indeed, Dandin's illustration of this particular combination ("simile involving seeing as") involves a competition between a woman's face, the moon, and a lotus.[188] The simile in the Sinhala quotation is far from a mechanical imitation of anything in Dandin; rather, it reveals a keen understanding of Dandin's subtle conception of this ornament and of his overall modular system. Thus, the lost Sinhala poem, only a verse of which is cited in the *Compendium*, must have demonstrated a careful assimilation of the *Mirror*, from the micro to the macro levels.

One might object, however, that all this could have been gotten directly from the practice of Kalidasa and his fellow poets, with their fair share of water sports and ashamed lotuses. What, one might ask, directly pinpoints to Dandin here? It is hard to supply incontrovertible evidence. But in a way, the tacit presence of the *Mirror* in the literary practices of Sri Lanka is among its greatest accomplishments. Once it has been adapted and readapted and repeatedly commented upon, once its generative principles were internalized, and once its advice to follow the practice was heeded, one could no longer view the works of Kalidasa and his fellow poets in its absence. Thinking with the *Mirror* became organic to Sinhala poetry.

Indeed, one may view some of the later grand poems in Sinhala as vehicles that assume the *Mirror*'s pedagogical mantle as a means for learning and furthering Dandin's ideas. Consider two fifteenth-century works, *Crown-Jewel of Poetry* (*Kāvyaśekhara*) and *Guttila* (*Guttilakāvyaya*; about the Buddha's previous life as the musician by this name), where we find what Thomas M. Hunter calls "ornament blocks": clusters of verses that teach and explore the possibilities inherent in a single ornament.[189] For example, in *Guttila*, we find twenty-one verses in very close proximity, all employing the ornament "magnificence" (*udātta*), and other

[186] Francis 1905: 149.
[187] KĀ 1.16: *udyānasalilakrīḍāmadhupānaratotsavaiḥ*.
[188] KĀ 2.23.
[189] Hunter, sections 8.3–4 in this volume.

extended passages that feature "causation" (*hetu*; a clear favorite of Dandin), and "seeing as" (*utprekṣā*).[190] Similarly, in the *Crown-Jewel of Poetry*, we find thirteen verses all exemplifying the ornament "integrity" (*bhāvika*) in a single passage.[191] Their presentation in verses clustered together improves conditions for learning individual ornaments inductively, but it also provides occasions for subtle innovation and fine distinctions therein.

In addition to grand poems, the other main genre of premodern Sinhala poetry was that of messenger poems; this is one of South Asia's most productive genres that encompasses numerous works inspired by Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger*. The *Mirror* and the *Cloud Messenger* were received in Sri Lanka at approximately the same time as something of a composite package. This genre often foregrounded certain ornaments described in the *Mirror*, such as "seeing as" (*utprekṣā*), "misperception" (*bhrānti*), "citing another case" (*arthāntaranyāsa*), and "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*), and Sinhala messenger poetry has some of this general pattern, too. For the sake of brevity, we will supply just one example of the way the composite package of Kalidasa and Dandin was creatively received in Sinhala messenger poetry, involving a combination of some of these ornaments. Let us turn to a rather randomly chosen verse from the fourteenth-century *Peacock Messenger* (*Mayūrasandeśa*):

> Women walk
> on balconies of sapphire
> gleaming like lakes
> deep within which are visible
> the reflections of the moon and the stars,
> As if the moon had mistaken their faces
> for lotuses that were too proud to close when he rose,
> and enraged by their insolence,
> had plunged into the lake
> to yank them up by their roots.[192]

Much of what we see here is typical in messenger poetry. Places are often represented by their women folk and their amorous activities. Tall balconies, too, are favorite topics, visible as they are to flying messengers and connoting the close proximity of heaven and earth. Indeed, the focus on the tiles of the terraces

[190] *Guttila*, vv. 406, 408–10, 412, 414, 418–24, 427, 434, 436–37, 442–44, 448 ("magnificence"); vv. 498–502, 506, 508, 509 ("causation"); 321, 324, 338, 340–44, 346 ("seeing as"). The identification of the ornaments in this case is by the editor, W.F. Gunawardhana.

[191] *Kāvyaśekhara*, vv. 16–23, 26, 32, 33, 37, 41. The identification of the ornaments in this case is by the editor, Sucarita Gamlat.

[192] *Mayūrasandeśa*, v. 8: *disi miṇi nil säňdäliyä liya vata kamala / däkä no malana pul piyumä yi kärä kuhula / saňda piḷibiṁbu turu sen samaňgin sakala / udurana lobin baṭa väni baṭ piyum ala.*

as reflecting both moon and stars harks back to a specific depiction of the city of Alaka in Kalidasa's intertext, where "stunning women / linger on the rooftops of moonstone, inlaid / with flowers to mirror the stars."[193] So where is Dandin in all of this? Note the amazing intensification in the second part of the verse, which reflects on the "factual statement" and simile of the first. The presence of the moon and the stars is not the result of mere reflection or similitude, but of a mini-narrative that involves attributing human motives ("seeing-as") and "misperception" (*bhrānti*) to the moon, and on invoking the poetic convention that the day lotuses shut at moonrise. It is as if, the poet tells us, the moon plunged into the depths of the balconies' floors in order to execute revenge against the faces of the women, which he mistook for lotuses that did not show him due respect when they continued to bloom at night. Anyone who has read Dandin will recognize his fingerprints at once. It is not just that his own example of "seeing as" involves a plunge into a lake (by an elephant) as an act of revenge against the day lotuses (given their kin with the tormenting sun); rather, it is the masterful internalization of the entire apparatus of generative modularity from one source, the *Mirror*, to intensify another, in this case Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger*.[194] Reading this single verse, it becomes fully clear what the Sinhala method of adding beauty to beauty meant, and how it was used to improve upon its source.

The literary landscape of Pali appears similar to that of its contemporary Sinhala in many ways, but it is also significantly different. An observation of Steven Collins provides help in preparing to attend to this difference:

> [W]hen monks in Sri Lanka began to compose *kāvya* in Pali . . . more than a thousand years after Pali texts were first composed, they did so in a consciously high-literate, Sanskritizied manner, deliberately adopting the specifically *kāvya* mode of literary expression. One might call this the *problem* of literature in Pali.[195]

The "problem" that Collins identifies has two aspects: first, why was a specifically *kāvya* mode of literary expression adopted at this particular time, and second, why was a translocal language like Pali subjected to processes similar to those transforming local (*deśī*) languages like Kannada and Sinhala at the beginning of the "vernacular millennium"? To find a solution to this problem, we must consider Sri Lankan literary culture in the second millennium as a single multilingual system, with Sinhala and Pali engaging with one another as well as with Sanskrit. One could even say more specifically that, eyeing one another, authors

[193] *Meghadūta* 2.5, translation from Bronner and Shulman forthcoming.
[194] KĀ 2.220.
[195] Collins 2003: 649–50.

who chose Sinhala and authors who chose Pali pushed the models offered by the *Mirror* in different directions.

Consider, first, the question of literature's "difficult way" (*duṣkaramārga*) and, in particular, Dandin's extensive discussion of "twinning" (*yamaka*) and his detailed illustration of "riddles" (*prahelikā*).[196] This aspect of Dandin's vision is downplayed in *Our Own Poetics* and *Lucid Poetics* and is omitted almost completely in the *Compendium*.[197] This makes it all the more striking that such aesthetic turns are so prominent in some Pali texts. For example, the twelfth-century *Ornaments of the Conqueror* (*Jinālaṅkāra*), a poetic biography of the Buddha, seems to go out of its way to give prominence to "twinning."[198] A long section of sixty-one verses (49–110) experiments with patterns that become progressively more complex, culminating with "twinning" in phonetically identical duplicates that are verse-long; verses consisting of only one consonant class, such as gutturals, palatals, etc., (*ekaṭhānika*, 101–4); or verses made up of only one letter (*akkharuttarika*, 105–8). It also includes a verse with a riddle (*paheḷi*, v. 109). Here, to give a taste of these verses, is an example composed only in guttural sounds (*ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *gha*, *ṅa*, *ha*), whose phonetic aspect is clearly more prominently featured than its meaning:

*ākaṅkhakkhākaṅkhaṅga kaṅkhāgaṅgāghāgahaka*
*kaṅkhāgāhakakaṅkhāgha hā hā kaṅkhā kahaṃ kahaṃ*.[199]

The author of *Ornaments of the Conqueror*, a monk named Buddharakkhita, also groups different types of "twinning" together in something of the same pedagogical fashion as the ornament blocks found in the Sinhala poetic texts mentioned above.

The Pali commentary on the *Ornament of the Conqueror* is itself closely connected to the *Mirror*. It explicitly refers readers to Dandin's definition of "twinning," using an original Pali translation of the Sanskrit, when commenting on relevant verses.[200] Moreover, many of the "twinning" instances found in the

[196] Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume. The quote is from KĀ 3.96.

[197] Recall, however, that the *Compendium*'s author is identified only when the verse is properly arranged in a wheel pattern (*cakrabandha*), and that Sangharakkhita returns to both topics in his commentary (as noted in section 3.6 above).

[198] For a careful discussion of the text of the *Ornaments of the Conqueror*, its commentary, its date, and its author, see Dimitrov 2016: 261–88. For a fuller reading and contextualization of the same text, see Gornall 2020a: 179–212.

[199] *Jinālaṅkāra*, v. 101. The meaning can be translated roughly as: "O one whose senses [can obtain what they] desire, whose form removes doubt, who does not hold on to the suffering that is the river of doubt, who destroys the doubts of those who hold them—Oh, Oh! Where, oh where can there be doubt?"

[200] Dimitrov 2016: 279–80.

*Ornament of the Conqueror* can be directly connected with Dandin's own treatment of the topic.[201]

Dandin's delight in this "difficult way" was clearly contagious to many authors in Sri Lanka, Sinhala writers included. One classic and early example of this in Sinhala poetry is the ninth chapter of the twelfth-century *Crest-Gem of Poetry* (*Kavsiḷumiṇa*), which also collects together a variety of "twinning" verses and picture poems (*citrabandha*). Verses employing only one syllable (*ekākṣara*), or one vowel, and others that can be read identically both forward and backward are likewise found in this work, just as they are in the Pali *Ornaments of the Conqueror*. Indeed, such poetic experiments are found across a wide range of Sinhala poetry, so much so that "riddle poems" are a genre in their own right.[202] A verse in the fifteenth-century *Parrot Messenger* (*Girāsandeśaya*) describes how travelers entertained themselves, as they rested for the night at waystations, by sharing riddle poems and happily elucidating them with each other.[203]

If both Pali and Sinhala poets ventured out onto Dandin's "difficult path," a clearer bifurcation emerges if we turn our attention to Dandin's different regional paths and the poetic virtues that embody them. As we saw in section 3.4, *Our Own Poetics* describes Sinhala, in what amounts to Dandin's southern path (*Vaidarbhī*), simply and normatively as "good" and anything in another style just as "other"; the *Old Paraphrase on Our Own Poetics* goes even further and says that what is other than the southern way is simply not good Sinhala.[204] By and large, Sinhala poets followed this normative stance and tried to embody the ethos of clarity, sweetness, charm, and avoidance of overdoing that are the hallmarks of the *Mirror*'s southern way. In the context of such prescriptive limits for Sinhala, by contrast, the Pali language offered an inviting space for the creative exploration of Dandin's depiction of the way of speech as multiple.

Consider the *History of the Great Bodhi Tree* (*Mahābodhivaṃsa*), which is among the first Pali poetic texts to experiment boldly with Dandin's northeastern path and which, like *Our Own Poetics*, is tentatively dated to the tenth century.[205] As its title indicates, the work narrates how the Bodhi tree came to Sri Lanka, but it starts the story much earlier, with the future Buddha's encounter with the former Buddha Dipankara. The text continues with an account of the Buddha's enlightenment under the Bodhi tree in Bodh Gaya, then the first three monastic

[201] For a list, see Dimitrov 2016: 263. For another example of a Pali work highlighting *yamaka* (in its opening verse, as noted by Dimitrov 2016: 524), see the *Jinacarita* (also discussed below).

[202] Coperahewa 2012.

[203] *Girā sandeśaya*, v. 115.

[204] SBL 67.

[205] Collins notes that "[i]f the suggested dating to the last quarter of the tenth century is correct, the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* would be the earliest extant example of later Pali *kāvya*" (Collins 2003: 655). For an overview of issues concerning the date and authorship of the work, see Dimitrov 2016: 157–206; Dimitrov argues for connecting the work and a Sinhala exegesis on it (the *Mahābodhivaṃsagäṭapadaya*) to Ratna.

councils dedicated to the care of the Buddha's heritage, and finally the arrival of Buddhism to Sri Lanka by the son and daughter of the emperor Ashoka, Mahinda and Sanghamitta. Sanghamitta is associated with bringing a Bodhi tree sapling, grown from a seedling of the original Bodhi tree, to Sri Lanka.

What stands out about the *History of the Great Bodhi Tree* for us here is less its subject matter and more its language. It is mainly in prose, with long sentences consisting of strings of long compounds. The text has a very distinctive phonic texture with alliteration and the deliberate use of particular consonant sounds. Much of its vocabulary, moreover, consists of loanwords directly from Sanskrit (*tatsama*s) or Pali versions (*tadbhava*s) of Sanskrit words; it would be difficult to understand the text without knowing both the original Sanskrit terms and the rules for changing Sanskrit into Pali. To give a sense of the unprecedented phonic texture of the work's language, we provide here a transliteration and translation of a single clause extracted from a sentence that extends for two and a half pages (in the Pali Text Society's edition; pp. 2–4.) The clause is from a sentence that describes the future Buddha, Sumedha, on his way to practice meditation in the forest:

> *ketakāsokatilakacampakādinekavikacakusumanikaraparimalatarusaṇḍa-maṇḍitaṃ migaturaṅganāgavyagghādiaparimitacatuppadakadambakānucaritaṃ kuraracakoramayūrabhiṅkārādisakuntānatakūjitaṃ devadānavasiddhavijjādha-rādinānābhūtasatatanisevitaṃ marakatarajatakanakaphalikādivividhasikhari-satasamujjalaṃ nekanākananāyakanikāyakāminīkucakalasaluḷitavanasarasah-assūpasobhitaṃ himadharaṇīdharābharaṇabhūtaṃ sisirasīkarāsāranijjharasata-sahassasaramaṇīyaṃ anekavidharatanākaraṃ surakinnaranāgaraṅgamaṇḍalaṃ himavantam ajjhohetvā . . .*
>
> Having plunged into the Himalaya [region], which was made beautiful by *ketaka* [flowers], trees such as the *aśoka*, *tilaka*, and *campaka*, and many masses of blossoming flowers and groves of fragrant trees; it was crowded with *kadambaka* [plants] and innumerable four-footed [animals] such as deer, horses, elephants, and tigers; it resounded endlessly with [the songs of birds] such as osprey, partridges, peacocks and *bhiṅkāra*s; it was always busy with [the comings and goings of] many kinds of beings, such as gods, demi-gods, magicians, and wizards; it shone with hundreds of various precious stones such as emeralds, silver, gold, and quartz; it glistened with thousands of forest lakes, stirred up by the jug-breasts of numerous groups of women devoted to Indra; it was an ornament for the snowy mountains; hundreds of thousands of cascades of cool water in fine rain and heavy showers made it lovely; it was a mine of many kinds of jewels and a playground for gods, *kinnara*s, and *nāga*s. . . .[206]

[206] Text and translation from Collins 2003: 654–55. A translation of the full sentence in which this clause occurs is available in Dimitrov 2016: 178.

The language in this clause is typical of the *History of the Bodhi Tree* as a whole. It is highly Sanskritized, and bears many of the virtues that Dandin and Vamana after him associate with the northeastern path, such as alliteration (*anuprāsa*), unusual and difficult words, and an abundance of compounds.[207] Of course, this sort of prose is highly reminiscent of the prose art of Bana, Subandhu, and Dandin himself too, in his own right as a poet.

The *History of the Bodhi Tree*, however, indicates only one of several directions the new Pali literature took. Other examples include quite a number of poems: the tenth-century (?) *Cauldron of Oil Verses* (*Telakaṭāhagāthā*), the aforementioned twelfth-century *Ornaments of the Conqueror* (*Jinālaṅkāra*), the twelfth- or thirteenth-century *Career of the Conqueror* (*Jinacarita*), and the thirteenth-century *Nectar of Poetry* (*Pajjamadhu*), all works of praise or biographies of the Buddha written by monks. There is also a Pali *campū*, the thirteenth-century *History of the Monastery at Attanagalla* (*Hatthavanagallavihāravaṃsa*), which draws upon Bana's *Kādambarī* and Aryashura's *Jātakamālā*. When this corpus of Pali literature is considered as a whole, we see a range not only of genres, but also of expressive ecologies, with some texts, like the *Cauldron of Oil Verses* seemingly closer to Dandin's southern way,[208] while others, like the *Nectar of Poetry*, exemplify Dandin's observation that long compounds are to be used in verse composed in the northeastern style.[209] Still others, like the *Career of the Conqueror* and *Ornaments of the Conqueror*, include verses in a variety of styles within a single text.

For example, the *Career of the Conqueror* includes the following verse that is in a quite simple, unadorned style. It is about Sumedha, who was the subject of the passage from the *History of the Great Bodhi Tree* quoted above:

*sumedho nāma nāmena vedasāgarapāragū* |
*kumāro 'si garūnaṃ so avasāne jinaṃkuro* ||
There was a prince named Sumedha, a future conqueror,
who had crossed the ocean of the Vedas, and had reached
the limits of his teachers' knowledge.[210]

[207] KĀ 1.40, 46, 54, 80, 92; KASū 1.2.12.

[208] See Gornall and Ruiz-Falqués 2018: 55–100.

[209] For Dandin's comment, see KĀ 1.83. The very first verse of *Nectar of Poetry* begins with a pair of long compounds occupying all (or almost all) of its pair of opening metrical quarters: *uṇṇāpapuṇṇasasimaṇḍalato galitvā / pādambujaṅgulidalaṭṭhasudhālavānaṃ / pantī va satthunakhapanti pajā visesaṃ / pīṇetu suddhasukhitam manatuṇḍapītā* || (v. 1).

[210] *Jinacarita*, v. 12. Note how the same idea is expressed in the *History of the Great Bodhi Tree*, where we find both shared vocabulary and the distinct difference in virtues: *sumedho nāma sukumāro kumāro hutvā, vasantakantimadditavilāso vedasāgarapārago sakalakalācariyabhāvam upagato garucaraṇapāricariyāvasāne*; "a prince was born who was extremely intelligent and was [thus] named Sumedha (i.e., one of high intelligence). After he [first enjoyed] the subjugating dalliance of love in springtime, and [then later] crossed the ocean of the Vedas, he acquired the status of a master in all arts. At the end [of his studies], when due respect had to be paid to his teacher . . ." (Dimitrov 2016: 175, 177).

But the same work also includes verses like the following, about the conception of the future Buddha, which is composed in a far more ornate style with obvious phonic flourishes in terms of alliteration and prominent compounds in each line:

*pādāravindakarapallavasundarāya* |
*sovaṇṇavaṇṇatanuvaṇṇavirājitāya* ||
*sīlādinekaguṇabhūsanabhūsitāya* |
*māyāya rājavanitāyupagañchi kucchiṃ* ||
He approached the womb of Maya, beloved of the king,
who was adorned with ornaments of various virtues beginning with morality,
the beauty of her body resplendent with its golden complexion,
and more beauty was added by her lotus-like feet and blossom-like hands.[211]

We also see experiments with rhyming sound and meaning, like what we saw above with the Sinhala poem *Guttila*; for example, this verse in the *Ornaments of the Conqueror* reproduces the sounds and rhythms of the dancing of the Buddha's wife before he went forth in the Great Renunciation:

*pāde pāde valayaviravā mekhalāvīṇānādā* |
*'gītaṃ gītaṃ patiratikaraṃ gāyatī gāyatī sā* ||
*hatthe hatthe valayacalitā sambhamaṃ sambhamantī* |
*disvādisvā iti ratikaraṃ yāti hāhā kim īhā* ||
With the jingling of anklets on each foot,
and the lute-like tinkling of her girdle,
she, Gāyatrī, sang a song not sung before
to entice her lord,
shaking the bangles on each hand,
and whirling around in excitement.
Though seeing her amorous advances,
it is as if he does not see and leaves.
Oh no, why the effort?[212]

Finally, there is the example of Vedeha, a monk who lived in the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. He composed two Pali works in distinctly different styles: the *Rasavāhinī*, a story collection primarily in prose, is written in a comparatively unadorned style, whereas his *In Praise of Mount Samanta* is a highly ornate poem.[213]

[211] *Jinacarita*, v. 78.
[212] *Jinālaṅkāra*, v. 77; translation Gornall 2020a: 198.
[213] See Rahula 2015. The twelfth-century Sinhala author Gurulugomi also clearly experimented with different literary styles in his major works, *Flood of the Deathless* (*Amāvatura*) and *Lamp on the*

To conclude, Pali and Sinhala poets both engaged closely with the *Mirror*'s models, but they did this in rather different ways. Whereas Sinhala poets were, by and large, constrained by the norms of the "good" path set in place by *Our Own Poetics*, the *Compendium*, and the exegetical works connected with them, Pali poets felt free to experiment with the entire range of paths and possibilities. This, then, is our answer to the "problem" Collins has raised: among the attractions of Pali as an experimental literary site was precisely that it was unlike Sinhala. It provided a laboratory in which Dandin's adage that the way of speech is multiple could be repeatedly explored, extended, and confirmed.

For our purposes, however, and by way of answering our "why Dandin" and "how Dandin" questions, it is important to see how the *Mirror* enabled these partially distinct stylistic ranges, within a single literary culture in Sri Lanka, and precisely at a time when the *Mirror*'s textual community in the island was at its height. Once this period ended, after the fourteenth century, far fewer Pali works were composed in the more ornate style. Pali *kāvya* and the *Mirror*'s textual community were, it seems, symbiotic with each other.

## 3.8. Conclusion: Coming Back to the *Mirror*

*Charles Hallisey*

Our telling of the story of Dandin in Sri Lanka has so far been guided by an intent to illuminate "a mass of detail" and "to interrelate [it] on a new ground."[214] To this end, we have kept references to broad patterns of change in medieval Sri Lanka's religious, cultural, social, and political histories to a minimum. Admittedly, however, there has been a tacit temporal order to the different sections. Each considered distinct developments that emerged sequentially over the course of a single long period which began around the tenth century, with the composition of *Our Own Poetics*, and continued through the Kotte kingdom in the fifteenth. This century in particular saw a flourishing of the literary praxes in Sinhala that served as effective vehicles for the transmission of the *Mirror*'s lessons. Some of the greatest works of Sinhala literature, such as Sri Rahula's *The Hill Myna Messenger* (*Säḷalihiṇisandeśaya*) and his *Crown-Jewel of Poetry* (*Kāvyaśekhara*, as well as Vättäva's *Guttilakāvyaya* about the Buddha's previous life as the musician Guttila, were produced in Kotte).

*Dharma* (*Dharmapradīpikā*, ostensibly an exegetical work on the *History of the Great Bodhi Tree*); see Liyanage 2004.

[214] Williams 1995: 19.

A different period in this sequence must be acknowledged before we conclude this chapter, a period brought about by European imperialism and colonialism. These began in Sri Lanka with the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, followed by the Dutch, and finally with the British, who ultimately established direct rule over the island in 1815.[215] Each of these colonial regimes lasted about 150 years. When characterizing this complex and multilayered era, whose pace of change in different spheres of life was uneven,[216] historians starkly differ in either emphasizing rupture or continuity. The same is true of the literary sphere: some scholars argue that the political turmoil of the period meant that "[t]he flame of the poetic tradition that had prevailed since the 10th century faded away,"[217] while others maintain that the Sinhala poetic tradition continued "in an unbroken flow up to the nineteenth century," at which point "it abruptly stops."[218]

Both perspectives—rupture and continuity—are apt, as can be seen in the example of the Sinhala poetry of Alagiyavanna. Alagiyavanna lived in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and served under both Sinhala and Portuguese rulers.[219] The expressive ecology of Alagiyavanna's poetry is different from that of the Sinhala poetry considered above. He was open to new soundscapes and literary forms, and the results often seem close to the conventions of folk poetry. New genres of Sinhala poetry emerged, most notably war poetry, and Alagiyavanna composed a work in this new genre himself, the *War of Constantine* (*Koustanīnuhaṭana*), in praise of the Portuguese general Constantino de Sá de Nornha (1586–1630).[220] At the same time, it is obvious that Alagiyavanna saw himself as an heir to earlier poetic tradition, and he composed one work in the genre of messenger poetry, *The Cock's Message* (*Sävulsandeśaya*), and two based on Buddhist Jataka stories, *The Poem of King Dhammasonda* (*Dahamsoṅḍakava*) and *The Birth Story of King Kusa* (*Kusajatakakāvyaya*); the latter tells the same story of Kusa and Prabhavati that the *Crest-Gem of Poetry* does, and as did the *Kusajataka* text quoted in the *Compendium* (see section 3.7 above).

Dandin's understanding of the poetic virtues is only vaguely visible in Alagiyavanna's work, and the range of ornaments found in the *Mirror* seems attenuated, but there is no question that Alagiyavanna embraced his "difficult path" (*duṣkaramārga*). *The Cock's Message* includes an example of Dandin's

[215] For overviews of the history of colonial Sri Lanka, see de Silva 1997 and Rogers forthcoming.
[216] Blackburn 2010.
[217] Paranavitana 2007: 61.
[218] Sarachchandra 1982: 209.
[219] See Berkwitz 2013 for a comprehensive exploration of Alagiyavanna's corpus against the backdrop of early modern Sri Lankan history.
[220] On the *War of Constantine*, see Berkwitz 2013: 163–201; for Sinhala war poetry from this period in general, see Paranavitana 2007.

"pinched twinning" (*sandaṣṭa yamaka*), in which the first part of a line repeats the last part of the preceding one, each time with a different meaning.[221] Another verse in *The Cock's Message* is a bitextual "embrace" (*śleṣa*), insofar as it can be read as a description of a forest and as a description of a city.[222] This verse also invites sustained reflection on the relationship between the forest and the city that is brought to the surface by the bitextual embrace, and we may even take it metapoetically as inviting reflection on the social and aesthetic grounds on which literary practices were valued and cultivated in the context of colonialism.

For reasons of space, it is not possible to give even a cursory account of the large and varied corpus of Sinhala literature that was composed in the context of colonialism or the much smaller and more fragmentary corpus of Pali literature composed in the same context. But there is no doubt that the large-scale changes in all domains of life in the colonial period meant that the reception of the *Mirror* now took place on new grounds and in new ways in Sri Lanka. Colonial educational institutions neglected the kinds of study and practice that the *Mirror* envisioned for a literary community, and the skills and tastes of authors and connoisseurs waned. New standards for estimating good literature emerged and contested those that had been defined by the *Mirror* and maintained across centuries in Sri Lankan literary culture. The same norms and values that had long framed the reception of the *Mirror* became grounds for rejection rather than appreciation, and the poets who wrote within these norms were denigrated and their works dismissed as derivative and imitative precisely on these grounds.[223] Munidasa Cumaratunga, a leading literary figure of the twentieth century, went further and charged that someone like Totagamuve Shri Rahula, the author of the *Crown-Jewel of Poetry*, did not even deserve to be called a "poetaster" but rather a literary "thief": "The poet imitates the shadows of another poet's meaning. The poetaster takes the meaning. The thief takes the words."[224]

In the twentieth century, reflection on the significance of Dandin's *Mirror* for the history of literature in Sri Lanka became caught up in more general reflections on the diverse cultural heritages of a colonized society anticipating independence. The generative role of the *Mirror* in the appreciation of Sinhala literature, especially as represented by *Our Own Poetics*, was sometimes now completely revalued in a negative fashion. Martin Wickramasinghe, for example, argued that "Sinhalese literature began under rather unfortunate auspices"; that the "rise of an independent spirit in literature was, therefore, greatly impeded by . . . the rules of *alaṅkāra* and the decadent literature of India"; and Sri Lankan poets showed "neglect of their own environment" and merely slavishly "imitated

[221] *Sävulsandeśaya*, v. 151; see Berkwitz 2013: 52. For Dandin, see KĀ 3.51.
[222] *Sävulsandeśaya*, v. 138; for a translation of the verse in both ways, see Berkwitz 2013: 52–53.
[223] See Dharmavardhana 2010.
[224] Quoted in Field 2017: 37.

the artificial Sanskrit creations which went under the designation of poems."[225] Yet even as Wickramasinghe dismisses the past as emblemized by Dandin as not *his* past and as a betrayal of the future he envisions for himself and for his Sinhala readers, he also affirms the necessity of going back to that past to make "a correct estimate . . . of all those treasures which we have received as our national heritage."[226]

The necessary conditions for coming back to the *Mirror* in the manner that Wickramasinghe advocates were created in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with the publication of printed editions of the central works that constituted the *Mirror*'s textual community. These were some of the first works to be published with the introduction of print capitalism in colonial Sri Lanka, and their publication meant that these works could reach a broader audience than was possible when they were only accessible through manuscripts. Their priority in coming into print also suggests that they were highly valued at the time as well. If the number of printed editions is any indication of importance, the *Compendium* has pride of place; it was published four times between 1865 and 1900 (1865, 1877, 1892, and 1896). *Our Own Poetics* was published, together with its paraphrase, in 1892,[227] *Lucid Poetics* with its Sinhala paraphrase in 1910, and an edition of the Sinhala *Paraphrase* on the *Mirror* (including materials from a Sanskrit commentary published in Calcutta in 1863) in 1925.[228] Publication of new editions of these works continued through the twentieth century.[229] The publication in 1852 of James d'Alwis's translation of the *Compendium* precedes that of all of these printed editions, but it has a special place of its own because of its long introduction, which gives a vigorous defense of the Sinhala literary tradition as it was framed by the legacy of Dandin's *Mirror*.[230] For example, d'Alwis says about the fifteenth-century *Hill Myna Messenger* that its "writer's thoughts, brilliant and original, sparkle as we go along his elegant and flowing rhymes."[231] Such editions created new conditions for coming back to the *Mirror* and were foundational for its modern reception.

Printed texts, while necessary, are not sufficient: capable readers are needed, too. In the twentieth century, educational changes created new conditions for the formation of capable readers of Sinhala literature. Perhaps most significant of these changes was the inclusion of premodern Sinhala

[225] Wickramasinghe 1963: 21, 22.
[226] Wickramasinghe 1963: 205.
[227] Information based on Wickramasinghe 1901.
[228] See Dimitrov 2016: 125–35 for a revealing account of this composite edition.
[229] Of all the works central to the *Mirror*'s textual community, only Ratna's Commentary remained inaccessible in print in the island.
[230] See Dharmadasa 1992: 47–85, for an overview of d'Alwis's career and contribution to making "the Sinhala language . . . a nationalist cause."
[231] d'Alwis 1966: cxcii.

classics in the annual A-level examinations that serve as prerequisites for university entrance in Sri Lanka. Standardized materials provided to the teachers preparing students for these examinations routinely include categories and ideas that derive from works like *Our Own Poetics*. The national teacher's manual for 2019, for example, emphasizes the importance of "integrity" (*bhāvika guṇaya*) as a distinctive literary quality, just as it was for Dandin, and glosses Dandin's term with one almost identical to that coined by *Our Own Poetics* (*hăn̆gīma*).[232]

The success of a national examination system to shape sensitive readers of premodern literature is likely to be mixed. But there is at the very least anecdotal evidence of modern readers acquiring new sensibilities. Here, for example, is the testimony of a young monk remembering his first encounter with the *Hill Myna Messenger* as part of his preparation for his A-level examinations; first is a translation of the verse, followed by a part of his report:

> With your mind set on crossing to the other shore,
> fly on, friend, from Kontagam's ferry where red lotus petals
> have fallen to the water's surface around
> the white lilies blanketed in moonbeams.[233]

> The above verse presents a very beautiful natural incident happening at night nearby the place called Kontagamtota. We know that it is naturally very beautiful to watch the sky being on a bank of a river where the river connects the ocean, and the sky can directly be seen without any interruption created by flora and fauna, and spend some time there at a night when the moon shines and flowers are blossoming. But, the poet's description on this incident adds far more beauty to it. Those particular flowers called "Kumudu" blossom only at night. The simile about the moonlight on flowers is fascinating here, it is not said that the flowers are just getting moonlight, but it is just as the flowers are putting something (a blanket) on them covering themselves. So, the moonlight is compared to what they put on them (the blanket). And, the withered "Tambara-petals," the petals of a so-called flower, have dropped onto the water and they are then sinking in the water. The petals are of course withered, but they are still colorful, and thousands of them on the surface of the water of the river are a very attractive sight to watch at night when the whole area is being illuminated by moonlight. The gorgeous picture of this incident drawn in my mind by this amazing description of the poet, I should say, could not

[232] *Siṃhalabhāṣāva hā sāhityaya* 2019: 59. See section 3.2 for a discussion of *hăn̆gum*.
[233] *Säḷalihiṇisandeśaya*, v. 20 (most modern editions number it as verse 21).

> be experienced even having been to that exact place in person, but only by descriptions of this kind of peerlessly skilled poets.
>
> This way, I was very much amazed and captivated after reading this poetry by Totagamuve Shri Rahula and I liked and loved it more and more every time I read it. I cannot still forget the verses that I learned by heart those days nearly ten years ago that were my favorites.[234]

This young monk's personal testimony is a good place for us to finish. It is an invaluable reminder that the story of Dandin is about personal experiences just as much as it is a story about social and cultural processes. When we turn our attention to the latter, we rightly focus on how the reception of Dandin's *Mirror* is inevitably about change as well as continuity, about negotiation and contestation as well as creative transmission and adaptation. But this personal testimony of a young monk remembering what he gained from his studies—his required studies—is a reminder that the story of Dandin in Sri Lanka is still unfolding and, just as importantly, it is still a story about relishing beauty and about adding beauty to beauty, just as the author of *Our Own Poetics* hoped it would be a thousand years ago when he began his translation of Dandin's *Mirror* with the words:

> "May it always be about adding beauty to beauty."

**Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| BKA | *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha |
| *Guttila* | *Guttilakāvya* of Vättäve |
| KĀ | *Kāvyādarśa*, *Mirror of Literature*, *Mirror* |
| KĀps | *Kāvyādarśa (purāṇa) sannaya* |
| KASS | *Kāvyālaṃkārasārasaṃgraha* of Udbhaṭa |
| KASū | *Kāvyālaṅkāra Sūtra* of Vamana |
| Ratna | Ratnaśrījñāna. See *Kāvyādarśa* in bibliography |
| RKĀ | *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Rudrata |
| SBL | *Siyabaslakara* |
| SBLps | *Siyabaslakarapurāṇasannaya* |
| Ss | *Sidatsaňgarā* |
| Subodh | *Subodhālaṅkāra* |

[234] Anonymous, personal communication by email, July 2, 2018.

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# 4

# Folding Figures

## Tamil Tandi and the New Poetic Language of Ornaments

*Jennifer Clare and David Shulman*

### 4.1. Introduction

The story of Dandin—both the man and the corpus of texts with which he is associated—is, in many ways, a South Indian story. Dandin was a Kanchipuram resident whose most immediate readership was that of a southern Sanskrit audience in the South Indian Pallava court. The kind of poetic expressivity for which Dandin provided his highly successful analytical framework is everywhere in Tamil literature in the second half of the first millennium, and by the twelfth century there are several versions of Dandin's *Mirror* in Tamil, including one that purports to be composed by the Tamil Dandin himself. However, despite the deep currents that tie Dandin to the South, the relationship of Dandin to the Tamil tradition remains frustratingly opaque. We do not know whether or not Dandin knew Tamil poetry, and nowhere do his texts make explicit reference to Tamil, despite a long, scintillating literary and grammatical tradition in that language. And while it is no exaggeration to say that Tamil literature is irrevocably transformed by the figurative logic presented by Dandin in the seventh century, we do not see tangible proof of Dandin's presence for another four hundred years. Given this situation, in which Dandin is everywhere and nowhere, how do we responsibly identify the role of Dandin in the Tamil literary tradition? How do we sort out the presence of Dandin from the presence of a corpus of newly emergent grammars of practice in Tamil, associated with the Sanskrit tradition of figurative poetics? The transformation of Tamil poetry and poetic language after the seventh century has no singular moment or text of origin, yet both the language and the analytical method of the *Mirror*, as well as its reception in Tamil, are inextricable from this development, at once hermeneutic and aesthetic, in Tamil literary and intellectual culture.

This chapter will first take into account that history of multiple entry points to show what was new about the post-Dandin world in Tamil, and also the ways in which the older poetic techniques remain present, albeit transformed, sometimes beyond recognition. We begin with two ninth-century literary examples

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that already show us the incipient move into a new poetic universe. We then examine three short examples of the Chola-period shift in suggestive techniques and address the new aesthetic possibilities that have opened up at that time in relation to the Tamil textual versions of the *Mirror* that belong to this period. This overview of the post-Dandin Tamil literary and intellectual world sets the stage for us to move to a remarkable sixteenth-century work on poetics and to the role of Dandin in that moment.

The story of the changing role of Dandin in the Tamil literary tradition allows for a retelling of the story of Tamil literature itself. In this retelling, the workings of literary language—its sounds, its meanings, its relationship to other modes of language—emerge as indicators of literary-historical change: changes acknowledged by the tradition, and those only visible from our distanced vantage point. To what degree these changes were shaped by Dandin's work is a question that will probably never be resolved (a perhaps meaningless question, in any case). What can be said is that over the thousand years of Tamil literary history after Dandin, Tamil poets and scholars drew on his logic and language—explicitly and otherwise—to explore and enrich new ways of thinking about literary language. It is to this untold Tamil story of Dandin that our chapter now turns.

## 4.2. Old Books in a New World

In a tradition distinguished by a dearth of material to reconstruct a satisfying picture of literary culture, the fifth through ninth centuries in Tamil literary history stand out as particularly enigmatic. Alternately characterized as post-Sangam, in relation to the earlier "classical" period of Tamil literature, or as the period of Tamil bhakti, referring to the poems of the Shaiva and Vaishnava poet-saints understood to have lived and composed during this time, these centuries witnessed the development of powerful temple complexes, as well as the masterpieces of cultural production associated with the Pallava court, where Dandin lived, traveled, and composed. What was the nature of the Tamil literary world during the time of the composition of Dandin's *Mirror of Literature*? Given that Dandin offers no discussion of the topic, are we to assume that he was unfamiliar with Tamil literature and poetics, despite a corpus of poetry and a grammar that predate Dandin by several hundred years? If so, what was the status of the early Tamil-speaking tradition in the Pallava literary and intellectual universe? According to one canonical account of Tamil literary history, knowledge of the ancient grammar of poetry was lost and later revived through divine intervention. While the details of this story are embedded in a particular interpretation of Tamil literature, one that is heavily Shaiva (and Pandya) to the exclusion of other viewpoints, certainly by the ninth century the poetic devices associated with the older Tamil literary

conventions had been significantly transformed. Let us take an example from the ninth-century *Nandi's Miscellany* (*Nantikkalampakam*), which we know belonged to that century as a work praising the Pallava king Nandivarman III.

> Seeing the sun set, Mother's upset:
> it's getting late.
> Go tell him, the one who lied to us.
> Tell him I've always been true to him,
> the one who's seen all there is
> in the old books, Nandi, king
> of the beautiful shores in Mallai.
> Go tell him to see
> how false he is.
> Tell him this,
> gentle heron with thick feathers![1]

This scenario is, in part, familiar to anyone who has read an early Tamil love poem. The heroine is waiting, increasingly frustrated, for some sign of her lover; she's chosen a heron as a messenger to chastise the delinquent lover and to inspire at least a little guilt in him. In addition to this basic template, there are stylistic elements that are continuous with the earlier poems—specifically, we have the identification of the hero with a particular piece of the Tamil landscape, in this case the seashore. But in this poem the hero has fused with the royal patron who is the object of the poet's praise. Moreover, the landscape no longer functions as a signifier of the inner workings of the minds of these two lovers, but rather highlights the relationship of the king to a real, historical setting—the Pallava port city of Mallai, today known as Mahabalipuram—as well as to the entirety of the poetic tradition in which he now features, embodied by the "old books."

To make the contrast clear, we will look at an early Tamil love poem from the older *Beautiful Landscape* (*Naṟṟiṇai*), one of the classical Sangam anthologies, which shares formal structure and characteristics of the *Nandi's Miscellany* verse:

> Little white heron, little white heron,
> little white heron with feathers the color of a clean cloth
> well-washed in the river,
> you come to our village, you muddy the clear waters,

[1] *Nantikkalampakam* 7: *poḻutukaṇ ṭāyatir kiṉṟatu pōkanam poyyaṟkeṉṟum*
*toḻutukoṇ ṭēṉeṉṟu collukaṇ ṭāytollai nūlvarampu*
*muḻutukaṇ ṭāṉṉanti mallaiyam kāṉal mutalvaṉukkup*
*paḻutukaṇ ṭāyitaip pōyppakar vāyciṟaip paiṅkurukē.*

you eat your fill of catfish with spiky whiskers,
and then go back to his village.
Is it because of such love for him, or a great forgetfulness,
that you haven't told him,
our lover from the good village
where the sweet water of the paddy fields flows
from there to here,
that I'm so sad, that my bangles slip from my wrists?[2]

Both poems are messenger poems, in which a lovesick girl addresses a heron, sending him to talk to the frustrating lover. In the older Tamil poem, this messenger occupies the first three lines of the poem. As is usual in these "interior" (*akam*) love poems, even an apparently innocent description echoes with suggested meanings. The images of cleanliness that begin the poem—white feathers, clean cloth, well-washed in the river—illuminate the description of the pure water where the girl lives and intensify the contrast between this clean water and its muddied state after the bird has paid a visit. The greedy and forgetful bird cleans himself in her water, eats his fill, and then disappears, failing even to convey the girl's desperate message: the details of these descriptions all evoke the selfishness of the hero and the frustration of the young woman.[3] From the poem itself, it's not entirely clear what the relationship between the two lovers is; it looks and sounds like another poem about premarital love and the related suffering due to an insensitive (always male) lover. However, according to the ancient grammar, the heron, the paddy fields, and the catfish(?) are indicators that the poem is set in the landscape of the delta (*marutam*), and the couple is already married and quarreling (*ūṭal*)—in which case, the pronoun *avar*, which we have translated as "his," could be taken more generally as "their [village]," referring to the other women with whom he apparently prefers to spend his nights. Whichever of these two interpretations we choose, the force of the suggestion becomes explicit in the final two lines of the original. This oblique reference to

[2] *Naṟṟiṇai* 70: *ciṟuveḷḷāṅ kurukē ciṟuveḷḷāṅ kurukē*
*tuṟaipōku aṟuvait tūmaṭi aṉṉa*
*niṟaṅkiḷar tūvic ciṟuveḷḷāṅ kurukē*
*emmūr vantemm oṇṭuṟai tuḻaiic*
*ciṉaikkeḷiṟ ṟārkaiyai avarūrp peyarti*
*aṉaiyaaṉ piṉaiyō perumaṟa viyaiyō*
*āṅkaṇ tīmpuṉal īṅkaṇ parakkuṅ*
*kaḻaṉi nallūr makiḻnarkkeṉ*
*iḻainekiḻ paruvaral ceppā tōyē.*

[3] Despite all this, the imagery has a built-in complexity. Not everything that comes from his village is bad. Think of the "sweet water" that "flows from there to here."

complex feelings of romantic love is the technique the grammatical tradition calls *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, or "comparison that resides within."

*Uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, or the use of oblique reference to suggest an entire emotional world, is the primary mode of figuration in the tradition of early Tamil poetry now known as the Sangam poems. Found throughout the collection of the *Eight Anthologies* (*Eṭṭuttokai*) and grammaticalized in the earliest extant poetic grammar, the *Ancient Book* (*Tolkāppiyam*), the figure of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* is paradigmatic of the literary-linguistic logic that characterizes early Tamil literature. *Uḷḷuṟai uvamam* resembles other modes of figuration in which the interpretive process requires recovery of a hidden object of comparison.[4] But the poetic logic of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* is quite different from anything we see in the standard discussions on figuration in Sanskrit. As the name itself implies, in the prevalent patterns of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* the comparison is not restricted to a single definable object or meaning. Nor is it usually amenable to simple paraphrase, despite the commentarial urge to do otherwise. This mode of suggestion opens a window to something that is happening in the mind and is given to various interpretations. This complexity, however, is given form by the grammar of the internal landscape. The grammatical tradition, both in the somewhat enigmatic verses of the *Ancient Book* and in the later commentaries, makes explicit that while *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* and other types of comparisons (*ēṉai uvamam*) are both classed as simile (*upamā*) and rest upon similarity, their technique is different.[5] No standard simile in the Sanskrit tradition of analysis follows the figurative logic of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* with its markers of landscapes correlated to emotional states, let alone its intentional oblique nature and the regularity with which it dominates the poems of interior.

By the ninth century, at the latest, the classical *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* technique and its way of looking at literature and the world have been replaced by new aesthetic concerns, though they remain present as a reference point for talking about the older tradition. *Uḷḷuṟai uvamam* poetry and its accompanying grammar are the "old books" mentioned specifically by the *Nandi's Miscellany* verse we have cited. However, despite the oblique hint about this important term, as we have said, the technique of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* does not feature in this verse; all that is left is the remembered knowledge of those old books and the heron, now a mere messenger shorn of its figurative feathers. Instead, the ancient grammar of meaning comes to find a new articulation in an aesthetic and poetic field of analysis that has assimilated other ways of doing poetry. Specifically, between the fifth and

[4] In later poetic grammars in Tamil, it becomes assimilated to the figure of "condensed speech" (*samāsokti*), as understood by Dandin, although this identification flattens the true nature of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* in the early texts. See Clare 2017 on this coalescence of the two figures in the Chola-period grammars.

[5] See notes 61 to 63 below, for a discussion of the *Tolkāppiyam sūtra*s on the two types of comparisons.

ninth centuries, the Tamil literary tradition witnesses a transformation from one mode of indirect expression to another, defined by a different set of assumptions about where meaning lies in literary language.[6] The basic logic behind the *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* mode—saying *x* to suggest a field of meaning that we can only hesitatingly call *y*—has shifted to an exploration of the relationship between *x* and *y* itself. Relationship configured in linguistic and figurative terms—comparison, distinction, identification, alliteration, among other sense-and-sound devices familiar to Sanskrit poetics—infuses all Tamil literature by the ninth century and replaces *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* as the primary distinguishing feature of literary language.

Let us show you what we mean (we'll return to the *Nandi's Miscellany* verse in a moment) in a poem from the eighth–ninth-century *Hundred Poems* (*Tiruviruttam*) of the Vaishnava poet-saint Nammalvar, one of the great pioneers of the new style. This verse also looks like a love poem in the old *akam* mode.

> These two flowers that are her eyes have conquered
> the red lotus, the dark blue lily, the spear, the carp,
> all these and others—
> and they are bigger
> even than my life.
> She's like a bird with soft feathers
> on Venkatam mountain
> that belongs to Govinda Madhava,
> rider of the great bird,
> killer of demons.[7]

Comparisons between a beautiful woman's eyes and elements of the natural world are not new to Tamil literature: spear-like, carp-like, and dark-lily eyes haunt early lovers as well. However, the use of these figures and their role in the aesthetic logic of poetry have changed significantly from the early love poems. To begin with, the poem is infused with figures. The initial line establishes that the eyes of the girl are not just comparable, but are distinctly superior to, indeed have overcome, the open-ended list beginning with four well-known standards of comparison (*upamāna*), constituting a figure classed as "distinction" (*vyatireka*) in Dandin's *Mirror*. The second line presents a more complex version of the same figure, suggesting not only that the size of her eyes is immeasurable, greater even

[6] This transformation is further explored in Clare forthcoming.

[7] *Tiruviruttam* 67: *kāviyum nīlamum vēluṅkayalum palapalaveṉṟu*
*āviyiṉ taṉmai yaḷavalla pārippu acuraicceṟṟa*
*māviyam puḷvalla mātavaṉ kōvintaṉ vēṅkaṭañcēr*
*tūviyampēṭaiyaṉṉāḷ kaṇkaḷāya tuṇaimalarē.*

than the life-breath of the hero, but also, that the power (or desire?[8]) of her eyes has conquered that same life-breath. The fourth line presents an "identification" (*rūpaka*; "these two flowers / that are her eyes"), which acts as the subject of the entire poetic statement (appearing at the end of the original). This final standard of comparison is preceded by an embedded simile (*upamā*) that compares the girl (to whom the eyes belong) to a soft-feathered bird, a seemingly straightforward comparison. However, as is typical in Nammalvar's verses, this simple comparison is complicated by the presence of another bird in the embedded description of the girl, that is, god Vishnu's eagle Garuda, who is as mighty as the girl-bird is tender. The birds are related metonymically through their relationship to Vishnu: Garuda carries the god, here called Govinda Madhava, while the girl-bird dwells on Vishnu's mountain.

The presence of these two parts of the poem—figurative description of a beloved, and an embedded, indirect reference to the god—locates this verse in the tradition of praise genres such as the *kalampakam* ("Miscellany") with which we began this section. In these poems, as in the better-known *kōvai* ("Necklace") genre,[9] interpretation of the poem depends on understanding the complex relationship between these two parts of the verse. In the Nammalvar verse we have quoted, the two sections are linked by synonyms that bridge both parts: the words "conquer" and "kill" end the first and second line, respectively, of the Tamil and thereby juxtapose two acts of vanquishing—the figurative vanquishing of carp, spears, and lilies by the girl's eyes, and the mythic vanquishing of the demons by Vishnu and his eagle. These two modes are then blurred in the second part of the first figure, in which the defeat of the hero's life by the girl's eyes is both figurative and deadly literal.

"Distinction" as defeat, defeat as "distinction": figuration becomes both medium and subject matter around which the poem is constructed. The poem draws attention to its own figurative devices. Here the figurative and the tangible substances of relationship are conflated—"distinction" is both a configured linguistic relationship as well as a human, experiential one.

Seen as a poem about defeat/distinction, where does the god, Vishnu, who appears in this slightly oblique way, as if by accident, fit in? In some sense the poem's true subject, Vishnu becomes subject to the same figurative logic of "distinction" that structures the rest of the poem. This distinction rests on the contrast set up between the great power of Vishnu and his bird and the destructive power of the tender-feathered bird: while Vishnu and his bird have defeated demons, the heroine's eyes have wreaked further havoc, destroying the hero's

[8] The Madras Lexicon attributes the meaning "desire" to *pārippu*, citing the Vaishnava commentarial tradition; Venkatesan 2014 follows this reading in her translation.

[9] The final part of this chapter will address a sixteenth-century *kōvai* dedicated to Vishnu.

very life. Given that this is a devotional poem to Vishnu, we can take the theme of defeat a little further. The image that ends the poem (*tuṇai malar*, "two flowers") is, on the one hand, a figure of "identification" (*rūpaka*) with the girl's eyes. On the other hand, these *tuṇai malar* can be read as Vishnu's divine feet, both tender-soft and warrior-fierce, that defeat the hero's life.

It will have to be enough to say at this point that this pattern of oblique reference within a heavily configured *akam*-style poem is the defining feature of the *kōvai* "Necklace" genre, as well as of the *kalampakam* "Miscellany," such as the verse praising King Nandi with which we began.

In the example from Nammalvar's *Hundred Poems*, typical of Tamil poetry of this period, sense figures such as "distinction" are not techniques for decorating or making more powerful other expressive modes. Rather, thinking about relationships in configured terms, that is, as explored though the inner dynamic of the ornament, becomes the central animating logic of the poem itself. Interpretation of the verse depends on an understanding of the embedded textual world in which the figure of "distinction" operates, including the world of Sanskrit ornaments, whether as codified by Dandin or as preexisting in poetic practice informed by the logic of Dandin's analytical style.

This interest in configured relationships, that is, intra- and intertextual reference structured by the logic of Tamil poetic ornaments, is not limited to figures of sense such as "distinction." As we can see in many, if not most, Nammalvar verses, relationships are also established by means of suggestive sound patterns. To look at just one such pattern in the verse we were reading: the long vowel *ā* which dominates the head-rhymes throughout the poem and recurs twice in each of lines 2 through 4 audibly enacts the life-breath of the lover. Just as the terms for defeat bind together the two levels of the verse (the configured description of the beloved and the mythic reference to Vishnu that dominates the second half) by means of sense-figuration, the long vowel *ā* also permeates both relationships—those of the girl and her lover, and of the god and the devotee, here the poet—by appearing and reappearing in the semantic positions that state these very relations. Figures of sound thus work alongside figures of sense to bind together both sections of the poem to the point where we have a syntactically coherent statement that is complex yet unified, playing itself out in the mind of the reader.

This discussion of vowel patterns is a frustratingly brief introduction to the expansive world of sound figures in Nammalvar's poetry. Returning to the *Nandi's Miscellany* verse with which we began this section, we take a more sustained look at how sound figuration works in ways that overlap with but are distinct from the Sanskrit poetic tradition. Like Nammalvar's verse, the *Nandi's Miscellany* poem centers on the relationships between characters familiar to the early Sangam love scenario, albeit reconceptualized to include praise of the "real" subject of

the poem, here a specific historical figure, the Pallava king. Again like the verse by Nammalvar, *Nandi's Miscellany* replaces the figure of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* with a new logic that puts configured relationships at the center of the poetic enterprise. However, unlike the metaphoric identification that structures Nammalvar's verse, the relationships in the *Nandi's Miscellany* poem are articulated almost exclusively in acoustic terms, using the Tamil sonic figure of "weaving" (*toṭai*). This "weaving," which can appear throughout but which is most prominent in the first two metrical feet of a line, involves alliteration and homophonous repetition to establish relationships within a verse and between verses. In our example, weaving appears as a repetition (both exact and partial) of the following sounds across the initial sequence of syllables in each of the four lines.

1. *po ḻu tu kaṇ ṭāy*
2. *to ḻu tu koṇ ṭēṉ*
3. *mu ḻu tu kaṇ ṭāṉ*
4. *pa ḻu tu kaṇ ṭāy*

This sonorous repetition draws the reader/listener's attention to the linguistic surface of the poem in ways rather different from sound figures in the early Tamil tradition.[10] In contrast to sonic sequences in those earlier works, here the repetition of sounds functions to the point of distracting the reader from other figures. However, understanding these repetitions purely as sound figures, albeit demanding ones, misses the way they work in the poem and in the larger Tamil tradition. In our example, the relationship between sounds, whether as similarity or difference, reveals correlated semantic patterns, thus blurring the distinction between figures of sound and figures of sense. Here, the sequence of repeated sounds in fact presents us with a shorthand introduction to the *akam* scenario itself, along with its key characters. First, the mother, in her role of chaperone, notices that it's getting late (*poḻutu kaṇṭāy*). The next sequence introduces the love-sick girl in terms of the characteristic most relevant for this scenario: [she has] always been true to him (*toḻutu koṇṭēṉ*). The next two lines reveal the man in his duplicity: he was "one who has seen all there is" (*muḻutu kaṇṭāṉ*), suggesting wisdom; but the last line provides a needed corrective: by means of the bird's message, the hero should see how false he really is (*paḻutu kaṇṭāy*). The complex investigation of human relationship central to the *akam* tradition has become the subject of an equally complex investigation of relationship in linguistic and sonic terms.

[10] Sound features differently across the early corpus of Tamil literature. See *Kuṟuntokai* 65 (and Clare forthcoming) for an example of the earlier use of alliteration in Tamil.

This historic shift away from the poetics of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* toward a poetics of configured relationships—relationships understood in terms of both sound and sense—permeates all Tamil literature, beginning with the poems of the *Eighteen Minor Classics* (*Patineṇkīḻkaṇakku*, date unknown), and particularly evident in the Shaiva and Vaishnava poems from the second half of the first millennium.

Now, again: where is Dandin in all of this? While we have already explained that this question has no pinpointed answer, when we look at the use of figuration in Tamil literature between the sixth and ninth centuries, we see in profusion the analytic logic presented in the *Mirror*. Specifically, in clear distinction from Bhamaha, his immediate predecessor, Dandin offers a way of thinking based on highly elastic possibilities of figurative relations.[11] For example, we see figures in which *x* is part of *y* and *y* is part of *x*; *x* and *y* can be mutually constitutive; *x* exceeds *y*, or contradicts *y*, or excludes *y*; *x* is *y*, embodies *y*, or can become *y* if one follows the figure through to the end. More generally, over and over in Dandin, we see *x* and *y* hovering uneasily around one another before settling into some temporary home or defined pattern. This list of possible relationships between *x* and *y* is not meant to be exhaustive, and it is also important to notice that two relationships that might seem to be contradictory may turn out, upon closer inspection, to overlap to the point of identity. This playful, flexible exploration of relations in linguistic terms—an exploration that draws attention to its own analytic mode, as we saw in Nammalvar's example of "distinction"—is characteristic of the widespread turn toward figuration in Tamil literature of this period. While it is difficult to prove direct influence one way or the other, there is, at the very least, a convergence in terms of figurative thought, between the Tamil poetry composed around Dandin's time and Dandin's *Mirror*, without acknowledging this fact.

As for the predominant interest in the suggestive power of sound figures in Tamil literature of this period, the role of the *Mirror* is even more difficult to ascertain, but there are haunting resonances between Dandin's treatment of sound and the Tamil predilection for sound figures. There are sections in the *Mirror* (e.g., on poetic virtues, or *guṇa*, as well as on "twinning," or *yamaka*) where the multileveled linkages between sound and sense are foregrounded and to some extent analyzed in ways that would be, at the very least, consonant with the notion that Dandin is operating in a South Indian literary cultural environment. The section on poetic virtues early on in the *Mirror* clearly reveals the author's sensitivity to the meaning-bearing powers of sound. Dandin's third chapter is primarily devoted to figures of sound, including some indication of their suggestive powers, in contrast to the way that Bhamaha has amalgamated figures of sound and sense, following the tradition of dramaturgy (*Nāṭyaśāstra*).[12] Perhaps

[11] See Bronner 2010: 214–26, and section 1.3 in this volume.

[12] For a discussion of Dandin's "twinning," see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume.

most striking, Dandin characterizes bitextual "embrace" (*śleṣa*), in which the relationship between sound and sense takes center stage, as pervading all figures, with the exception of factual or natural description (*svabhāvokti*).[13]

In the second half of the first millennium, all Tamil literature becomes structured around figures that examine the relationship between *x* and *y* in linguistic terms, including sense figures, sound figures, and the blurred category of bitextual figures into which the figure of weaving (*toṭai*) falls.[14] Although Dandin's presence is nowhere explicit in this turn toward figuration in Tamil literature, the analytic style of the *Mirror*, with its experimental, elastic treatment of relationship, infuses the poetic logic of Tamil literature of this time. In the following sections we will explore the way this analytical style makes itself prominently and unambiguously present in Chola-period literature several centuries later, at which point the Tamil tradition has produced multiple versions of the *Mirror*. In this "Tamil Dandin moment" of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the second-order systemization of figuration unleashes the expressive capacity for thinking about and playing not only with individual relationships/figures, but with the metacategory of configured relationship writ large, including the relationship between poetic systems themselves.

## 4.3. The Art of Hidden Meaning

By the eleventh century, we are on more confident historical footing, and the role of Dandin in this historic shift in Tamil literary language is clearer. By this time, Sanskrit discourse on figuration, including that of the *Mirror*, has infused theoretical discussions in Tamil on subjects ranging from meter to syntax to poetics. This lively discourse on ornaments includes texts that explicitly identify with the *Mirror*: the twelfth-century *Tandi's Figures* (*Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*), and the eleventh-century Buddhist text on grammar and poetics, the *Heroic Chola Grammar* (*Vīracōḻiyam*) with its early commentary, as well as texts such as the *Ship of Poetry* (*Yāpparuṅkalam*, with its commentary) that may have drawn from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* and other now unknown traditions.

The texts produced during this "Tamil Dandin moment" differ in their relationship to the *Mirror*. While the *Heroic Chola* explicitly claims to articulate the views of Dandin, *Tandi's Figures* represents itself as a root text, not a translation. The vocabulary and even the analytic approaches of this wide network of texts may differ occasionally, and in some places significantly, from that of

[13] KĀ 2.360.

[14] See Clare forthcoming, for further discussion of this historic shift in the treatment of literary language in Tamil.

the *Mirror*. However, the literary examples indelibly associated with the theoretical texts, embedded as commentary and transmitted along with them, reflect an understanding of literary language as an exploration of relationships in terms of ornaments familiar from the discourse on figuration in Sanskrit poetics. This includes the increased use of sense figures, sound figures, and bitextual figures seen in the sixth- through ninth-century examples discussed in the previous section. More importantly, though, the literary examples from the "Tamil Dandin moment" reveal an extension of the logic of figuration articulated by the *Mirror*—open-ended, modular, self-reflexive—to new modes of indirect language more generally.

We will examine verses from three of the texts that were part of the wider late-Chola-period intertextual discourse on figuration in Tamil. Each of these examples, taken from the commentaries of the *Heroic Chola*, *Tandi's Figures*, and the extensive *Virutti* commentary on the *Ship of Poetry*, respectively, reveals the reframing or repurposing of the earlier suggestive technique of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* in a changed aesthetic and hermeneutic landscape. All three works continue to privilege indirection, but within a radically altered framework of meaning that shares both explicit figures as well as a more general logic of figuration with the *Mirror*.

Our first example is taken from the twelfth-century commentary on the eleventh-century *Heroic Chola*.[15]

The coolness of water, the fierce heat of fire—
the closer you are, the closer they feel.
When you go away, they go away.
But the feeling for this man from the slopes
stays close as you get closer and closer,
and when you try to leave,
it won't leave you.

*nīriṉ taṇmaiyum tīyiṉ vemmaiyum*
*cārac cārntu*
*tīrat tīrum*
*cāral nāṭaṉ kēṇmai*
*cārac cārac cārntu*
*tīrat tīrat tīrpʼoḷḷātē.*[16]

[15] See, in detail, Chevillard in press. The *Vīracōḻiyam* (5.1) explicitly claims to derive its discussion of figuration from Dandin.

[16] *Vīracōḻiyam* commentary 4.9. Also cited in *Ship of Poetry* 72.

This verse appears not in the *Heroic Chola* commentary's discussion of figuration per se, but rather as an example of a type of meter, distinguished by shortened lines in the middle of the verse. We chose this verse because it is emblematic of the new use of figuration during the Tamil Tandi moment, and because it may have been a well-known verse, as it is cited by other commentaries of the period, including the *Virutti* commentary on the *Ship of Poetry* and *The Abridged Ship of Poetry* (*Yāpparuṅkalakkārikai*), also by the same author as that of the *Ship*. Certain formal elements identify the verse with the world of the old *akam* love poems. The nameless heroine is speaking, describing her own experience of love in separation. Likewise, the poem pivots around the feelings (*kēṇmai*) for a man identified by the mountain region from which he comes (*cāral nāṭaṉ*), the last remnant of the ancient landscape (*tiṇai*) system. So what is so different?

The first three lines read like an aphorism, along the lines of several of the didactic works of the *Eighteen Minor Classics*. The fourth line interrupts this mode, introducing a poetic and emotional world whose relationship to the first three is not initially clear. For someone coming to these poems with knowledge of the *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* tradition, the fourth line sets up readerly expectations that are foiled by what follows, which resumes, repeats, and slightly expands the verbal phrases used in the first part of the poem. Indeed, the poem as a whole mainly consists of two verbs (*cār* and *tīr*), each repeated in a variety of finite and nonfinite forms that make up the bulk of lines two through six. In addition, the word for mountain that modifies the hero is largely homophonous with one of the verbs (*cār* / *cāral*). In fact, the incantational sound effect is even more powerful to a Tamil ear, as the second verb in the verse (*tīr*), also appearing as a final verbal noun (*tīrpu*), has its nearly homophonous counterparts in the *nīr* and *tī* (water and fire) that open the text. This pervasive alliteration follows the reader throughout the poem and sets her up for the acoustic contrast with the last word of the poem, the negative *ollātē*, "won't enable (leaving)," which has no acoustic resonance whatsoever. What we are seeing is a well-known figure of grammar (Skt. *āmreḍita*, Tamil *aṭukkuttoṭar*) where, according to Panini's Sanskrit grammar (8.1.4), repetition of a word normally suggests either steady recurrence of the verbal action itself or intensification and expansion of the action into the entire semantic field. Here this reiteration is used to powerfully drive home the acute feelings of the speaker.

As we saw in the use of "weaving" in the *Nandi's Miscellany* example discussed earlier, here the aesthetic effect throws the reader back to the surface, in contrast to a classic *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*. However, the poem is not without suggestion; rather, these "surface-level" grammatical and acoustic relationships in the poem *replace* the complex imagery of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* as the primary vehicle of indirect expression, as we will also see in other examples. Simply stated, this deceptively slight verse is a portrayal of intimacy as a complex emotional experience, made intelligible through the syntactic and sonar figures that dominate the poem

entirely. The complex thought is not stated explicitly. Love—both its coolness and its fierce heat—won't let you go.

This poem is short, close in style to didactic poems, as we have said, but no less subtle than *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* poems.[17] It shows us something new in the field of Tamil poetry. The commentator acknowledges the newness, but rather than including it as an example of new treatment of Sangam poetics, he cites it as an example of the new meter.[18]

Our second example is more explicitly associated with the discourse of figuration articulated by the *Mirror*. It is embedded in the twelfth-century Tamil adaptation of the *Mirror*, *Tandi's Figures*, as an illustration of the technique of "folding over" (*maṭakku*; Sanskrit: *yamaka*), a technique discussed in great detail in the *Mirror* and in many texts associated with its tradition. Like the example just discussed, this verse expands the repurposing of the technique of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* to reflect a new poetic logic. In this case, the technique involves a particular type of "folding" in which an entire line is repeated with a second meaning.

*viraimēvu matamāya viṭarkūṭu kaṭunāka*
*viraimēvu matamāya viṭarkūṭu kaṭunāka*
*varaimēvu neṟiyūṭu taṉivāral malaināṭa!*
*niraimēvu vaḷaicōra ivaḷāvi nilaicōrum*[19]

A fierce snake, living in its hole, preys upon
rutting elephants, fragrant with musth, inflicting fear
on the path through the mountain.
You mustn't come that way alone, man of the slopes.
Her stacked bangles are slipping off her arms
as life itself slips away.

Like the example from the *Heroic Chola* commentary, and like the majority of exemplary verses in the *Tandi*'s section on "folding," this poem shares formal elements with the old *akam* poetics. The first three lines look like a familiar *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*. The description of the mountain path, in which the snake terrifies the elephant, suggests something about the relationship between the protagonist and the girl. The *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* conveys an atmosphere of deadly danger; in fact, the poem itself is balanced on the edge of life and death. Within the interpretive network of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, there are several paths we might take. If we read this poem as a "mountain flower" (*kuṟiñci*) poem—set in the landscape

[17] It also calls up classical precedents of very similar construction, for example *Kuṟuntokai* 399; the contrast with these earlier syntactic figures is, however, instructive.
[18] See Perundevanar's commentary on *Vīracōḻiyam*, *Yāppatikāram* 9 on types of *āciriyappā*.
[19] TA 3.5.1, p. 207.

of joyful premarital loving—as indicated by the two explicit references to the mountain and by the mention of the elephant, the implication is that this is a poem about stolen love (*kaḷavu*). But the emotional reality of the situation being described fits better with another landscape, in which separation is dominant. The old grammar allows for this mixing of landscapes. It is also possible to read the poem as implying that the protagonist has left the beloved for a purpose (to gain wealth, to serve a king, to get educated, as per the poetic grammar) and is intending to return after his purpose has been filled. The inherent ambiguity of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* regularly allows for such a range of interpretations.

There is a third interpretive possibility. As in some well-known early Prakrit poems,[20] here the negative imperative may, in fact, signal the opposite: a recommendation that, since no elephants are found there, the lover should come alone on a path on which he will not find any impediment to their union. Indeed, he should hurry, lest his beloved does not survive his absence.

However, like the *Heroic Chola* commentary verse ("The coolness of water"), the suggestiveness of this poem extends beyond *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* to the acoustic and syntactic components of the poem. At first reading, the two folded lines appear to be identical and hence completely interchangeable; however, as with all figures of "folding," there is a dissonant point, a gap in replication. Here that gap rests with the words that begin each line of this "folding." The two lines of the Tamil begin with seemingly identical sound-strings: *virai mēvum / virai mēvu*, each referring to one of the homonym doublets (*nākam* refers to both elephant and snake). But these sound sequences are homonymous only because of the rules of euphonic combination. In fact, we have two distinct words, *virai* (line 1) and *irai* (line 2), which are not interchangeable.[21] This semantic distinction is important: it fixes the syntax of the verse and defines the greater danger (the snake lurking on the lover's path). Thus the poetic "folding" both conceals and, upon reflection, reveals a critical distinction: the snake hiding in its hole turns out to be more potent and dangerous than the perfectly visible elephant.

The disjuncture here between sameness and difference at the level of sound is suggestive in a way that is quite different from that of the older *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* technique. Here the sound patterns present an intimation of intimacy that is then undermined, a movement from union to dissolution made explicit by the doubling of the verb "to slip away" (*cōrum*) that ends the poem. Following the sounds, in both their repetition and their subtle dissonance, the reader is brought to a new, generalized perception of the love relationship as a whole at this moment in the life of the two lovers. They are together, to the point of replication,

[20] Including several taken up by Anandavardhana in the first chapter of his *Light on Suggestion* (1.4) and commented upon by Abhinavagupta.

[21] The first occurrence can only be read in relation to the elephant, as snakes are not known to have fragrance (*virai*).

yet also painfully, even dangerously, distinct. The interpretive work required by this verse relies on a sensitivity to inherent tension in a language in which a single set of sounds can produce radically different, even contradictory, meanings.

The new mechanisms that these two examples highlight are intensified in our third verse, unfortunately the only one we have from the genre of "mixing of lines" (*pātamayakku*), found in the eleventh-century *Virutti* commentary on the text on new meters, the *Ship of Poetry*. The *Virutti* commentary defines this practice as the creation of a meaningful syntactic unit by the addition of an original fourth line to three lines composed by ancient poets in the meter *āciriyappā*. The example does just this by introducing three lines from the early Tamil corpus, two from *Four Hundred Poems on Love* (*Akanāṉūṟu*) and one from *The Jasmine Song* (*Mullaippāṭṭu*), before adding a fourth line that completes the poem's meaning.

The first three lines read as follows:

1. [ . . . ] that cracked open the wet surface of the anthill
2. the ascetic Brahmin who put on ochre-dyed clothes/clothes washed on a stone
3. the young golden *vēṅkai* tree that flowers in the lovely dawn.

Line 1 is the opening line of poem 8 in *Four Hundred Poems on Love* and the first of a four-line image that forms part of a statement by the heroine about the dangers lurking on the path the lovers must take to be together in the depth of the night. The image describes a bear burrowing into an anthill, where snakes are thought to live:

> In the night, as a bear with huge paws feeds on the soft comb
> hanging from the moist face of an anthill, he takes hold of a snake
> with his strong claws sheathed in overhanging skin,
> hurting it and robbing it of its strength.[22]

So the force of this complex *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* is to suggest unintentional violence. Note, however, that our "mixing of lines" verse does not just replicate this image in its reuse of this line; rather, the new line strips the original of its subject (the bear) and context, leaving only the denuded action of opening up the anthill.

Line 2, extricated from a longer description of a Brahmin ascetic in *The Jasmine Song* (from the anthology of long early Tamil poems, *Pattuppāṭṭu* or the *Ten Songs*), functions in the original as part of a simile describing the war camp where the hero has been stationed after having left the heroine. The original lines compare the Brahmin ascetic drying his wet clothes on his trident with the

[22] *Akanāṉūṟu* 8; translation by George Hart 2015.

soldiers who hang their quivers on their bows, planted in the ground as part of a makeshift fence. Only the image of the Brahmin and his clothes remains in the "mixing of lines" example, and even this image must be reconstrued in the new verse. The first two words in the original, *kal toyttu*, refer to the ochre dye of the ascetic's clothes; but *kal* also means "rock," and *toyttu* could also mean washing these same clothes on a rock—and it is this (secondary) meaning that must be invoked if the "mixing of lines" poem is to make sense. The bitextual potential of this phrase is thus crucial to the recomposition of the lines, as we will see in a moment. Like the first line, this fragment of text is heavy with separation; lines 23 to 100 of this 104-line poem depict a world at war, in which there is no place for the love relationship to unfold. Still, as a whole, *The Jasmine Song* ends when the beloved hears the sound of her lover's horses approaching home.

Line 3, again from the *Four Hundred Poems of Love*, is originally embedded in a poem about separation—though in contrast to the previous two lines, this one is part of a description of the rainy season that should, in theory, reunite the lovers. This line is in the voice of the heroine's friend, who is telling the heroine not to lose hope since the protagonist has promised—in these very words—that when the rains come, he'll be home.

To make sense of how these seemingly disjointed lines fit together, one needs the fourth, new line that makes a new poem.

> Picking flowers, my mind dwells only on her.

The completed poem then reads as follows:

> The Brahmin ascetic who put on his clothes washed on a stone
> that cracked open the wet exterior of an anthill
> picks golden *vēṅkai* flowers that open at dawn
> as my mind dwells only on her.[23]

The last line provides an interpretive guide to the first three quotations and, arguably, to the *akam* tradition itself. On the one hand, the aesthetic logic of the new poem depends on a radical act of disjunction—the dismantling of the lines from their natural contexts and their recomposition here through a syntactical tour de force. On the other hand, the short poem that has been created is still haunted by the original meanings and associations of these lines, with which the intended audience was surely familiar—otherwise the technique of "mixing of

[23] *īyar̲ pur̲r̲at tīrmpur̲at tir̲utta* (*Akam* 8:1); *kar̲r̲ōyt tuṭutta paṭivap pārppāṉ* (*Mullaippāṭṭu* 37); *naṉṉāṭ pūtta poṉṉiṇar vēṅkai* (*Akam* 85:10). Note that there seems to be mss. variation here between *Akam* 85:10 in printed editions and the line as cited in the *Virutti*: *Akam* editions read this line as *nāku iḷa vēṅkai malarkoya lur̲uvateṉ maṉamavaḷ māṭṭē* (*Virutti* commentary on *Yāpparuṅkalam* 96).

lines" would have no point. The last line is striking by virtue of its directness and simplicity: the protagonist is thinking (only) about his beloved, and he tells us so. But this direct statement, on closer inspection, has its own complexity. It's as if it were inserting itself backward into the earlier contexts, responding to and commenting upon the speakers there, and also teasing out the latent force of the three *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*s in which these lines are embedded. Not only does the past haunt the present of the new poem, but that present also now haunts the past.

Just as we saw in the previous two examples, this small poem contains a shift in the way that suggestive language works. While the fragmentary quotations appear to strip these lines of the suggestive resonance of their original usage as part of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*s, in fact their reconstitution generates a new type of suggestion, never seen before in Tamil. The last line, which strikingly introduces the voice of the protagonist to the earlier lines in which he was originally silent, reveals the implicit workings of the *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*—making explicit that which was only suggested in the original context and binding the three quotations together both syntactically and thematically. What we have are staggered and stacked or compounded *uḷḷuṟai* fragments that add up to something new only by virtue of the cumulation of their contexts and by the direct finale of the fourth line.

We might ask if the first three lines are interchangeable. Could one jumble the order to achieve other effects? Apparently not, at least not to the extent that poetic lines can be interchanged in the "picture poems" that Tandi analyzes in the final section of his *Figures.*[24] In our example of "mixing," the syntax as it stands must have its own logic and integrity. Yet each of the line-fragments does stand alone in some sense.[25]

One could also put it like this. Classic *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* works through indirect suggestion of the relation between external images and internal states of mind. The "mixing of lines," in contrast, works by conjuring up, or suggesting, this very suggestiveness in three separate contexts, and in only partial or fragmentary ways, and then by compounding or cumulating them, again indirectly, and creating a new syntactic unit out of the compounding, including a bitextual component; and finally by a direct paraphrase of their shared (latent) content. The final result is complex in ways utterly unlike the original suggestion of the early Tamil poems.

Central to the difference between these modes are the novel assumptions about language—how language works, and what it is capable of doing—that come to the fore both in the theoretical works of this period and in the literary

[24] For example, the *kōmūttiri* or "cow's-piss" figure. See TA 3.7.1, pp. 223–225 and *Yāpparuṅkalam* 96; also Shulman 2007.

[25] We do find mention of a figure called *aṭi mayakku*, characterized by the absence of line order; each line is radically interchangeable.

examples they cite.[26] Although the poetics associated with this new literary language had permeated Tamil literary composition for centuries, as we saw in the *Nandi's Miscellany* and the Nammalvar examples of the previous section, it is only in the eleventh and twelfth centuries that we find a complete theorization and crystallization of the new approaches to language.[27] What the examples associated with this Tamil Dandin moment reveal is a prolific extension of Dandin's figures, as the *Mirror* itself anticipates. The proliferation of figures allows for the expression of even more complex linguistic relationships, with the suggestive power of sound playing a central role in all these experiments with figuration. As figuration becomes further systematized in this period of second-order grammaticalization, poetry becomes concerned not only with the scope of these increasingly complex figurative relationships, but with the nature of the figurative relationship itself. As we have seen in this section, poetry is now increasingly self-reflexive, drawing attention to the systems of signification at work in a verse and the relations between those systems, including between the old *uḷḷuṟai* mode and the later poetics of figuration. In the examples of this section, the suggestive power of sound, whether as alliteration, "twinning" (*maṭakku*), or "mixing of lines," lies at the heart of how these systems work together in a verse.

The new poetics, with its attendant interest in sound, is not explicitly defined in the domain of ornaments, but rather appears across a range of discussions on meter, poetic skills, as well as figuration. The development of ornaments in Tamil has to be understood in the context of these competing paradigms for thinking about indirect expression, some of which persist in later Tamil theory of ornamentation, while others seem to have been lost to the tradition.

Amidst this competitive milieu arose a field of discourse overtly associated with Sanskrit discussion of ornaments, albeit not with one authoritative original source. Although they are but fragments of a larger intellectual world, we have evidence in texts and commentaries of a rich and diverse early articulation of the tradition of ornaments in Tamil even before the field becomes dominated by the terms and framework of the *Mirror*. We see a glimpse of this world in a close comparison of the terms and strategies used by Tamil texts that explicitly engage the *Mirror* with those used in texts that reflect other paradigms, represented by the *Ship of Poetry* and its *Virutti* commentary, *Pingala's Lexicon* (*Piṅkalanikaṇṭu)*, and the lost *Book of Ornaments* (*Aṇiyiyal*), paradigms that may have their roots in the ancient *Treatise on Drama*.[28]

[26] See Clare forthcoming, for a more detailed discussion of this shift in how literary language is conceived in Tamil.
[27] Clare forthcoming.
[28] See Chevillard in press. Situating the definition verses of ornaments in the eleventh-century *Heroic Chola* by Puttamittiran in this complex world of diverse and competing formations, including those drawn from the *Ancient Book* (*Tolkāppiyam*), Chevillard suggests that the *Heroic Chola*

## 4.4. Tamil Tandi and the Ornament of "Distinction" (*vyatireka*)

Whether or not they explicitly identify with the Sanskrit tradition of analyzing ornaments, all Tamil texts on figuration from this same period reflect this new interest in configured relationships, informed by a pervasive aesthetic phonology. But the text that clearly came to dominate the field, judging by the later history of Tamil theory, is the Tamil version of Dandin, *Tandi's Figures*, which we date to the twelfth century ("Tandi" is Tamil for Dandin).[29] In its division into three chapters on general poetics, figures of sense, and figures of sound, the *Tandi* follows the structure of the *Mirror of Literature*. The work, however, is abstracted and reduced—the 657 verses of the *Mirror* are covered in only 125 in *Tandi's Figures*. When Tandi provides definitions for ornaments, these definitions closely reflect those of the *Mirror*; however, many ornaments are presented as mere lists of types and subtypes that require a supplement—an interlocutor text, commentary, or teacher—for a more complete understanding. Unlike the *Mirror*, *Tandi's Figures* does not include literary examples in its definition verses; however, as is the case with the *Mirror*, interpretation of the poetic grammar requires literary examples to fill in the gaps in these verses. Although we don't know whether or not the literary examples that now accompany the text in every edition were composed by the author of the *Tandi*, we believe these examples were associated with this text from an early time. They are drawn from various sources, including those that were circulated in a wider world of grammatical texts, such as the commentaries on the *Heroic Chola* and the *Ship of Poetry*. These examples themselves stand in a strong intertextual relationship with literary examples from the *Mirror*, as well as with the larger Tamil literary world.

Despite this clear and consistent intertextual connection, there are also key differences between the *Mirror* and *Tandi's Figures*. Perhaps most striking is that there is no trace of the metalinguistic and metapoetic preface that opens the *Mirror*; rather, *Tandi's Figures* jumps right into a discussion of the types of composition, the different literary "paths" (*neṟi*), and the poetic virtues (*guṇa*, T. *kuṇam*). In contrast to texts such as the *Heroic Chola* or *Maran's Figures* (to be discussed below), which openly acknowledge the *Mirror* as a model, the *Tandi* never even mentions the *Mirror*, or any other text (in Tamil or Sanskrit), but presents itself as an original. The examples seem to position a Tamil Dandin,

represents, inter alia, an attempt to "normalize" these competing systems by means of the *Mirror*. His close reading and careful translation of the key verses, along with charts that display the varying range of terms used for ornaments in the Tamil tradition, aims at a complete mapping of competing figurative theories in Chola-period Tamil poetics.

[29] See the pioneering essay by Monius 2000.

possibly a devotee of Shiva, in Kanchipuram, working within the lively, competitive milieu of Tamil literary theory. Although we know nothing about this author, the impetus to produce a Tamil version of the *Mirror* reveals something of the intellectual power of the Sanskrit Dandin's way of analyzing figuration. Tandi translates not so much the technical formulation of the Sanskrit original as its powerful and supple mode of analysis.[30] Tandi wasn't the first to do this in Tamil; we see a similar translation of the *Mirror*'s analytical method in the *Heroic Chola* and its commentary, as we have shown in section 4.3. But while the *Heroic Chola* and its commentary present the *Mirror* as part of a larger world of discourse on poetics, *Tandi's Figures* provides a more univocal approach that will dominate Tamil thinking about figuration for more than five hundred years.

*Tandi's Figures* stays particularly close to the *Mirror* in its chapter on figures of sense. The Tamil text discusses the same thirty-five figures as the Sanskrit; the terminology used is a combination of Tamilized Sanskrit and Tamil translations of Sanskrit terms for the figures. While all discussions of figuration in *Tandi's Figures* convey a new way of thinking about the relationships between words at the level of sound and sense, as we will see, the ornament of "distinction" (*vēṟṟumai*, Dandin's *vyatireka*) offers a particularly clear example of how Tandi expands the expressive and interpretive possibilities of thinking about configured relationships generally. We will be focusing on the relation of the definition verses and the exemplary verses with the *Mirror*, as well as with earlier Tamil sources. Here is the definition of the ornament of "distinction" as *Tandi's Figures* gives it:

> When a similarity between two things, either explicit or implicit, appears in such a way that difference is revealed, that is "distinction" (*vēṟṟumai*).[31]

This formulation purports to be a direct translation of the Sanskrit. The *Mirror* proceeds to give examples of five subtypes of the figure, with corresponding definitions; the Tamil verses do not mention these subtypes, but the Tamil exemplary verses are keyed to the same typology—though sometimes with significant variation in nuance and meaning, as we will show.

The first example given by *Tandi's Figures* corresponds very closely to the first subtype in the *Mirror*, namely, "distinction resting in one" (*ekavyatireka*), where an attribute is singled out as different in just one of the entities. Here is the Sanskrit verse:

[30] See Bronner, Chapter 1 of this volume, and section 4.3 above.

[31] TA 2.23: *kūṟṟiṉum kuṟippiṉum opputaiy iruporuḷ / veṟṟumaip paṭa varin veṟṟumaiy atuve //*. Following KĀ 2.178: *śabdopātte pratīte vā sādṛśye vastunor dvayoḥ / tatra yad bhedakathanaṃ vyatirekaḥ sa kathyate //*.

Steadfastness, depth, salt of the earth—
You and the ocean have so much in common.
The difference is that you're here
in the flesh.[32]

All three of the initial attributes shared by both the king and the ocean are clearly bitextual, but the different relationships between the terms display a range of bitextual possibilities. Among these relationships, the attribute *lāvaṇya* ("salt of the earth") stands out. Steadfastness, or stability (*dhairya*), applies easily to both king and ocean; dignity (*mahātmya/gāmbhīrya*) is a natural semantic extension of depth. But would any careful listener see a relation between saltiness and loveliness? By requiring a leap of the reader's imagination, this middle term forces a question of the etymological, and therefore semantic, relationship between the terms.[33] The final attribute, the one that establishes the figure of "distinction," is not bitextual; the verse ends, or perhaps fizzes out, with a rather plain statement of fact. The king may well be oceanic, but he exceeds the ocean by his splendid human form. It's hard not to feel a measure of disappointment when we reach this point; however, a second look at the verse reveals that what appears to be a simplistic distinction in fact operates as an ironic wink about the nature of difference itself. While the last line claims bodily form as the key distinguishing feature in the position of emphasis, the very use of the word *vapuḥ*, body, or in the translation above, "in the flesh," thematizes the potential disjunction between sound and sense that lies at the heart of this figure. After all, the poem has already shown that difference (saltiness and loveliness) in fact shares the same bodily form (*lāvaṇya*).

Here is the corresponding Tamil example:

They encircle the world,
possessing many rare things,
and they can't be measured:
the cool ocean and your army,
Oh king, are alike.
There's only one big difference:
what is made of water
or made of goodness.[34]

[32] KĀ 2.179: *dhairyalāvaṇyamāhātmya[var. gāmbhīrya]pramukhais tvam udanvataḥ / guṇais tulyo 'si bhedas tu vapuṣaivedṛśena te //*. Translation by Yigal Bronner.

[33] For an insightful discussion of *lāvaṇya*, and the "adventitious" relationship between its seemingly incongruous meanings of "saltiness" and "loveliness," see Ingalls 1962: 99. For a discussion of this verse in Dandin's *Mirror*, see Bronner 2010: 224.

[34] TA 2.23.1, p. 112: *aṉaitt'ulakuñ cūḻ poy arum poruḷ kai koṇṭ'*

In the Tamil verse, the three shared attributes relate metaphorically to both the army and the ocean; bitextual modifiers assert this likeness, which is based on the suggested compatibility between the two subjects being described. This metaphorically based bitextuality is also present in the verses from the *Mirror* in this section on "distinction" (and elsewhere). But the final phrase in the Tamil—*nīr-vaṭivu*—introduces a bitextual device of an entirely different order. On the one hand, the phrase means a "body made of water." On the other, the same syllables can mean *nīrmai*, "good character." Note that in this critical instance, which gives the verse its real punch, there is no true metaphorical basis to the comparison; rather, the two *nīr*-phrases diverge into two unbridgeable tracks. In a sense, this elevated ending to the Tamil verse picks up on the *lāvaṇya* attribute in the Sanskrit (it is, incidentally, possible that Tamil *nīrmai* as good character may be related to the goodness of water, just as salt may lie just beneath beauty in Sanskrit).[35] But a Tamil reader of the verse will probably have to search for the suggested meaning of "character" (the traditional commentator Suppiramaniya Dikshitar doesn't mention it); the watery nature of the ocean is what first leaps to mind. The ocean is watery; the army is not.

If, however, we go back to another verse from the same section in Dandin's *Mirror*, 2.183, we have all the water we need. In this verse by Dandin, the "distinction" is based on a similarly fluid pun. The ocean is *jalātmā*, or made of water, whereas the king is *paṭu*, sharp of mind. *Jalātmā*, however, is a homophone of *jaḍātmā*, an idiot. In both the Sanskrit and the Tamil verses, the double meaning of "water" produces the punch. But the Tamil punch is a little heavier partly because of the way it combines two of Dandin's categories and examples in a single illustration. Moreover, the second meaning of the Tamil *nīr* is not just the result of mere homophony. It rests upon an abstract noun (*nīrmai*) that is etymologically relevant and that is more complex than its Sanskrit model. This is "distinction" with an extra shot.[36] In fact, we have a double distinction: the ocean is watery and cool, but the royal army is good, trustworthy, and orderly, the latter set of attributes surpassing the first.

There's a wider implication to this illustrative verse that sheds light on the development from the *Mirror* to *Tandi's Figures*. As our examples throughout this chapter have already shown, one distinctive feature of figuration in Tamil after the sixth century is the fascination with sound as capable of breaking into

> *iṉaitt' aḷavāitt' eṉṟaṟk' aritām—paṉikkaṭal*
> *maṉṉava niṉ cenai poṉ maṟṟatu nīr vaṭiviṟ-*
> *ṟ' eṉṉum ituv oṉṟe veṟu.*

[35] Elsewhere *iṉimai*, "goodness or sweetness," and *nīrmai* are suggested as synonymous, as in the definition of Tamil found in the Chola-period lexicon, *Piṅkalanikaṇṭu* 10.580. On *lāvaṇya*, see note 33 above.

[36] For a discussion of the parallel passage in the *Mirror*, see Bronner 2010: 225.

double or even multiple registers of meaning. We saw this first with the figure of "weaving" (*toṭai*) in the *Nandi's Miscellany*, later exploding into the pyrotechnics of the hidden-meaning poems of the late Chola grammars. This development is based on a new understanding of the relationship between sound and sense in literary language—namely, sound and sense are simultaneously bound to one another with sacred and powerful bonds, and, at the same time, independent of one another. This autonomy of sound results in a proliferation of bitextual genres and literary devices through which an attuned reader—adept in polysemy and homophony—can restructure the surface of the poem, making perceptible simultaneous layers of meaning.

In the *Mirror*, Dandin recognizes bitextual "embrace" (*śleṣa*) as a distinguishing feature of crooked language, in contrast to naturalistic description, and presents "embrace" as particularly amenable to combination with every figure that goes beyond factual description, including "distinction."[37] By the time of the Tamil *Tandi's Figures*, the Tamil tradition pursues the inevitable consequence of accepting bitextuality as a feature of all literary language—that is, once the natural relationship between sound and sense has been destabilized, there is no limit to the play of linguistic relationships that such an approach enables. What is more, as in our example above, Chola-period Tamil poetry experiments with *śleṣa* within (or upon) *śleṣa*—a continued bifurcation of meanings, or a process of repeated fission within sound-strings and their possible components, that can produce an exponential semantic and cognitive effect. The *Mirror*, with its sensitivity toward bitextuality in figuration, provides the framework for this extension of an unmooring of sound and sense that began in Tamil literature of the sixth to ninth centuries.

The second example, "distinction resting in both" (*ubhayavyatireka*), with its two-pronged contrast, extends this playful reapportioning of the *Mirror*. Here, first, is Dandin's illustration and follow-up explanation:

> Both the ocean and you are profoundly deep;
> both have lines that can't be crossed.
> But it's as dark as collyrium,
> and you're fairer than gold.[38]
>
> This is a "distinction resting in both" because the differentiae, namely, the two traits of darkness and fairness, are each spelled out separately. (2.182)

[37] KĀ 2.363 and 2.184, respectively. For a discussion of *śleṣa* in the *Mirror*, see also Bronner 2010: 214–30.

[38] KĀ 2.181–82: *abhinnavelau gambhīrāv amburāśir bhavān api / asāv añjanasaṅkāśas tvaṃ tu cāmīkaracchaviḥ // ubhayavyatireko 'yam ubhayor bhedakau guṇau / kārṣṇyaṃ piśaṅgatā cobhau yat pṛthag darśitāv iha //*. Translation by Yigal Bronner.

Now the Tamil verse:

> Some things fill the heart with joy without limit,
> reaching up to the ears, and glowing like gold.
> One is the enticing eyes of women, their long hair
> heavy with flowers; two, the words of Kuttan,
> who comes from Malari.[39]

Like the *Mirror*'s example, the Tamil poem begins with a description of shared modifiers—one (the length and color of the eyes) based on denotation and the other, the second in sequence (the sound and beauty of poetry), on transferred meaning (*lakṣaṇā*). More will be said about the one shared denotative description (fill the heart with joy without limit) in a bit. But the last two lines present the seemingly similar subjects, neither of which has yet been mentioned explicitly—eyes and words—as distinct. These are not just any words. They are the poetic statements by Ottakkuttan, one of the great Chola court poets, said to have come from the village of Malari.[40] Because of the use of "twinning" at the beginning of both these lines (*malar ivaruṅ kūn[talār]/ malari varuṅ kū[ttaṉ])*, the overt and evident distinction between eyes and words is, in fact, undermined. Despite this clear semantic differentiation, there is complete homophony in the first six syllables, undoubtedly pointing to a deeper affinity between these two subjects. What is different may turn out, on closer inspection, to be similar—or, on the level of sound, even identical. The Tamil verse thus carefully picks up on the defining characteristics of the Sanskrit verse and reworks them as, in effect, a subtle commentary on the figure of "distinction" itself.

We can outline the technical means the author of the verse has used to achieve this effect; please bear with us for a moment:

1. The Sanskrit *velā* ("limit," "lines that can't be crossed") appears twice in the Tamil both as a positive presence (*aḷakkum*, "measuring, reaching to") and a negative absence (*aḷav'il*, "without limit").
2. An eerie near-homophony obtains between the Tamil word *cemmai* ("goldenness" or "glowing" in our translation) and the Sanskrit word *cāmīkara* ("golden"), along with potential semantic overlap. However, while *cāmīkara* operates as the distinguishing feature of the *Mirror*'s example, the

[39] TA 2.23.2, p. 112: *ceṉṟu ceviyaḷakkuñ cemmaiyavāyc cintaiyuḷḷe*
*niṉṟ' aḷavil iṉpa' niṟaippavaṟṟuḷ—oṉṟu*
*malar ivaruṅ kūntalār mātar nokk' oṉṟu*
*malari varuṅ kūttaṉ ṟaṉ vākku.*

[40] See discussion of this poem in Wentworth 2011.

Tamil *cemmai* is actually a point of similarity between the two compared objects—at the level of both sound and sense. Here we have a complementary but opposite move to the subversive homophony of the last two lines.

3. The contrast between black and gold that is central to the *Mirror*'s verse features both implicitly and explicitly in the Tamil verse. As a sign of difference, the eyes and hair are black, whereas words are not. As a sign of comparison, goldenness (*cemmai*) refers to both words and eyes, as we have just said. Furthermore, the notion of "goldenness" haunts the women's eyes because of a secondary meaning of the attribute *mātar* (which we translated as "enticing"); *mātar* can also mean "gold." However—and perhaps this is the real point of this verse—the very use of the word "enticing" undermines the very category of "distinction" since, as the commentator Vai. Mu. Catakopa Ramanujacariyar points out, both the eyes of a beautiful woman and the beautiful words of a poet are enticing. The pleasure brought by poetry and women's eyes collapses the distinction between the two, a point supported by the one shared denotative description in the verse; after all, it is both words and eyes that "fill the heart with joy without limit."

So what is left of "distinction"? It exists, still—let us not underestimate the climax of the verse with its implication that Kuttan's words are something unique, maybe even more amply endowed than the eyes of a beautiful woman. But this distinctiveness enfolds a less obvious but possibly deeper similarity, largely carried by the figure of sound. It is as if each time one reaches toward either pole of the continuum between difference and similarity, the other pole magnetically kicks in. In this sense, the Tamil poem reframes the figurative logic of distinction, and it does so through sound-based effects. In a gesture toward self-reflexivity typical of poetry in this period, the verse itself draws attention to this phenomenon of literary language. In Tamil, the verse begins with the shared modifier "reaching to the ears" (*ceṉṟu ceviyaḷakkum*), a configured description of the beautiful shape of the women's eyes, and a reference to the sound of poetry. It then continues with a denotative description of how it is that poetry, like women's eyes, "fills the heart with joy without limit" (*cintaiyuḷḷe niṉṟ' aḷavil iṉpa' niṟaippa*). The last word of the verse completes the bookend; among the possible words for poetry in Tamil, the choice of the term *vākku* (from Skt. *vāc*, speech) that concludes the poem takes us back to the ears that began it and playfully points out the logic at work both in this figure and in literary language more generally.

Whatever else we may think about this verse, we cannot escape the sense that the Tamil poet is deliberately playing with the linguistic and aesthetic material available in the *Mirror*. Moreover, the verse gives us a window into the way

Tamil-speaking scholars of the twelfth century, well aware of what Dandin has to offer, may have discussed these poems with a kind of reverent irreverence.

Let's take one more example from this section, one that has no direct source in any of the *Mirror*'s verses on "distinction."

> First appearing, resplendent, on a high mountain,
> as great people sing praise,
> are those that drive darkness away
> from the world circled by roaring waves.
> One is the blazing sun, its singular disc bright
> as lightning. The other is Tamil
> that has no equal.[41]

This verse is cited to exemplify the second category—"substance" (*dravya* or *poruḷ*)—in Tandi's initial set of four subtypes of "distinction." He has taken this fourfold classification from Dandin, who first uses it to structure his typology of "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*) according to class (*jāti*), action (*kriyā*), attribute (*guṇa*), and substance (*dravya*), and then reuses it in other ornaments as well. Dandin, however, does not use these terms to structure his examples of "distinction." Yet as we will see in a moment, the meaning of the term *poruḷ* here goes far beyond the notion of "substance" in Dandin's fourfold typology.

Like the previous example, this verse explores the relations between distinction and similarity on the levels of both sound and sense. And, again as in the previous example, the first two lines of the verse are bitextual: that is, they can be read as applying both to the sun and to the Tamil language. However, unlike the previous case, bitextuality in this verse does not reveal, or qualify, significant difference. The sun rises on Sunrise Mountain; Tamil is understood to have first appeared on earth on Mount Potiyil, in the far South, where the sage Agastya—the first grammarian, according to the tradition—still sits. Likewise, the sun dispels night; Tamil dispels the darkness of ignorance. So far so good. There seems to be an overlapping in the description of the two subjects of this verse.

In general, as we have seen, the figure of "distinction" always explores the relationship between equivalence and difference. The third line of our Tamil verse still adheres to that logic: "One is the blazing sun, its singular disc bright / as lightning." Suddenly we have an element of singularity; but in keeping with the logic of the figure, it is haunted by a notion of equivalence. The first three words of the line—*mi ṉ ṉēr taṉi*, literally, "singular as lightning"—illustrate this tension.

[41] TA 2.24.2, p. 116: *ōṅkal iṭai vant' uyarntōr toḻa viḷaṅki*
*ēṅk' oli nīr ñālatt' iruḷ akaṟṟum—āṅk' avaṟṟuḷ*
*miṉ ṉēr taṉiyāḻi veṅkatir oṉṟ' ēṉaiyatu*
*taṉ ṉērilāta tamiḻ.*

But the singularity of the sun, made explicit by the word "one" (*o<u>n</u><u>r</u>u*), is dwarfed in the final, climactic line that undermines the whole figurative movement to this point. It turns out that there is something—Tamil—that is not amenable to comparison of any kind. This statement about the Tamil language thus becomes a comment about distinction itself and the limits of its expressive powers.[42]

The subdivision of "distinction" based on substance, used to make a powerful statement about the figure as such, is itself an innovation of *Tandi's Figures*. This singular example draws attention to a distinction in the category of "substance." The Tamil *poruḷ*, which appears throughout *Tandi's Figures* as a synonym for "substance" (*dravya*), also includes within its semantic range the potential scope of "meaning" (*artha*). Additionally, the Tamil tradition understands *poruḷ* to refer to one of the original fields of grammar, that which covers poetics. Implied, then, in this verse and in the wider semantic cachet of *poruḷ* is the suggestion that Tamil is ultimately outside or beyond *poruḷ*, something other. The figure of "distinction," reconfigured in its new Tamil context, allows for this conclusion.

The outer limit of "distinction" is the figure of "inimitability" (*ananvaya*)—something that can only be compared to itself. Having established this figure within our example of another one ("Tamil / that has no equal"), one can now retreat a bit and notice multiple possibilities of suggested equivalence. Tamil is incomparable, yes, but also amenable to being compared to the sun—both are bright and hot and dispel darkness. At the same time, as is well established in the poetic tradition, Tamil is cool, a salve that stands in contrast to the cruel South Indian sun. It's even possible that Tamil is implicitly compared here to the cool moon, the sun's stable companion in figuration—so that we would have a third-order distinction, a distinction issuing into singularity that issues into, or perhaps folds back into, similarity and, hence, distinction. Incomparability, equivalence, similarity, difference—all coexist in this verse. What the example shows is the non-mechanical reduction of "distinction," a polyphonic reworking of the Dandin materials. This polyphony amplifies the coexistence of equivalence and difference, without dissonance or contradiction.

As we consider even this very small sample, certain patterns emerge that show how *Tandi's Figures* worked with what it inherited from the *Mirror*. For one thing, the *Tandi* verses reveal a heightened attunement to the particularities of the *Mirror*—its latent ambiguities, its lexical choices, its images, its topics, even its sonic qualities. In its handling of the relationships explored in the *Mirror*'s verses, *Tandi's Figures* anticipates at least some readers who are alive to the pleasures of reading intertextually. This intimacy between the

[42] This verse appears to engage with both the poetic and explanation verses of Dandin in KĀ 2.195–96: "distinction with respect to one's class" (*svajātivyatireka*), where the darkness of youth is distinguished from all other types of darkness. In the Tamil verse, the category of "distinction" itself may be taken to replace darkness as the subject of "distinction."

texts reveals strong elements of distinction—and here we can see that *Tandi's Figures* takes the possibilities opened up by the *Mirror* in regularly recurring directions. The Tamil examples often stretch both the formulations and the examples in the *Mirror*, partly because of Tandi's predilection for sound-based figures. *Tandi's Figures* tends to read the relationships among terms, or between parts and wholes, that are central to the *Mirror* in terms of the coalescence or overlapping of sound and sense. Tandi's examples, in particular, extend and amplify the *Mirror*'s figures, moving them in a direction that makes sense in Tamil, where phonological devices routinely become fully configured. In the course of doing this, Tandi's examples regularly turn inward on themselves and become reflexive, both about specific figures and about figuration in Tamil per se. Every time the example makes this turn, it reconfigures the relationship between difference and similarity. Another way to say this, following the particular example we have given, is that the exploration of the individual figure of "distinction" has transformed into an exploration of the expansive horizon of distinction as a perceptual process.

This "turning in" becomes more fully configured in Tandi's chapter on figures of sound. Like in the *Mirror*, this chapter comes after the discussion of figures of sense, and includes not only figures based on sound, but also a discussion of poetic defects (*vaḻu*). However, while the intellectual energy of the first two chapters of *Tandi's Figures* is somewhat overshadowed by a mainly typological drive in these sections of the *Mirror*, its discussion of figures of sound appears as a natural (even teleological) crescendo to the investment in sound and sense that animates the entire text. Two features stand out to illustrate this point. The first is the unexpected appearance of the old *akam* poetic system in the series of poems that illustrate the bitextual device of "folding" in *Tandi's Figures* (as illustrated in the "folding" example discussed earlier in this section). The very term that the Tamil section uses for "twinning" suggests a rich conceptual world in which meaning is endlessly folded in on itself. The exemplary verses here, among the most beautiful in *Tandi's Figures*, exemplify this depth in inventive ways, including instances taken from the earlier tradition. The second feature is the extension of "folding" into twenty additional bitextual genres, which, with the possible exception of verses that avoid labial sounds (Tamil: *nirōṭṭam*; Sanskrit: *niroṣṭhya*),[43] take the play of sound and sense to extreme limits.[44]

[43] KĀ 3.83. Did Tandi know Dandin's *Daśakumāracarita*, with its famous *niroṣṭhya* (chapter 12)?

[44] This section replaces the *Mirror*'s verses on difficult poetry (*duṣkara*) and riddling (*prahelikā*), which, though also largely dependent on the relations of sound and sense, is less clearly organized. For more on this crescendo section, see Clare forthcoming.

## 4.5. Sixteenth-Century Synthesis

Poets in the post-Chola literary universe push these techniques into ever more complex expressive forms. Despite the richness of such experiments, and continued Tamil reflection on poetry and poetics, as far as we know, Tamil theoretical discourse does not return to a systematic logic of the figures until the sixteenth century. It is only in the first half of that century that we find the poet-scholar Tirukkurukaipperumal Kavirayar, working in the southern town of Kurukur, who both extends the processes we have been discussing and theorizes them in his three works on grammar and metrics. In the content and form of his grammars, as well as in the verses that he himself composes and includes as illustrations, Kavirayar displays a mastery of the long history of Tamil literature and literary theory, including texts from the early Tamil tradition based on *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, as well as those associated with the configured language of the post-Dandin tradition. His project is not simply a catalogue, however; his texts attempt a remarkable synthesis of the ancient poetic grammar of suggestion with the post-Dandin figurative analytic as practiced by the Tamil poets in the Chola and early post-Chola centuries. Although by his time there is a long history in Tamil literature of combining elements from the *akam* world and the analysis of ornaments, the novelty of Kavirayar's project lies in the self-reflexive triangulation between poetic systems, a triangulation that, as we will see, is itself reflective of the deep penetration of the *Mirror*'s analytic logic into Tamil literary and intellectual culture.

The introductory verses of Kavirayar's texts clearly situate them as both heirs to a Tamil textual tradition and articulations of contemporary developments. Kavirayar was clearly a devotee of the central Tamil Vaishnava poet Nammalvar, also known as Maran, and several of his main texts are named after him. The prefatory verse of Kavirayar's textbook, *Maran's Akam Poetics*, identifies the work as a secondary treatise (*vaḻi nūl*) on the grammar of *akam*; and although the primary treatise is not mentioned, readers familiar with the tradition will recognize the influence of the thirteenth-century *Light on Akam* ([*Nampi*] *Akapporuḷ Viḷakkam*). In the preface, Kavirayar explains his philosophy of poetics in three suggestive lines, which claim that in the course of articulating "new things of two different sorts," he has brought together "comparison that resides within" (*uḷḷuṟai uvamam*), ordinary or "explicit simile" (*ēṉai uvamam*) along with "brilliant suggestion" (*iṟaicci*). What are these "new things of two different sorts"? The modern scholar-editor of this text, Gopal Iyer, suggests that this phrase refers to both speaking of new things and novel ways of presenting old topics.[45] While the

[45] See Gopal Iyer's commentary on *Māṟaṉalaṅkāram*: *ciṟappuppāyiram*, p. 2

positioning of a text vis-à-vis textual precedents is standard convention for Tamil prefaces, the explicit framing of the project as new is highly unusual.

The negotiation between tradition and novelty is spelled out in the preface of Kavirayar's grammar of figuration, *Maran's Figures*. Like the preface of his *Maran's Akam Poetics*, the preface of *Maran's Figures* places it in a tradition of Tamil scholarship. Following upon this statement of continuity, however, the second preface to *Maran's Figures*, said to be composed by Kavirayar's student Kari,[46] explains in some detail the idea of novelty seen in the preface to the *akam* grammar. This second preface tells us that it was Kari who "recited the text in a court thronged with noble people (*āriyar*)," and mentions the name of the text. Kari then goes on to say that this new book follows the practice of the two types of usage (poetic and customary—*ceyyuḷ* and *vaḻakku*), and that "[Kavirayar], in his wisdom, compiled, classified, and expanded on:

- the ornaments created by new poets along with
- the ornaments of the primary text of Tendi [*sic*] with his ancient language respected by scholars of the three branches of Tamil [commentator: phonology, morphology, and poetics] that are sweeter than nectar, and
- many ornaments created with his own subtle knowledge in the four chapters of "general topics," "ornaments of sense," "ornaments of sound," and "miscellany."[47]

In invoking the role of both types of usage, old and new, as well as the responsibility of the individual poet-scholar in the generation of new ornaments, this text does not deviate from the logic or spirit of invention of the *Mirror* or from its reflection in *Tandi's Figures*.[48] However, the lucid articulation of what the *Mirror*

[46] We have a rare case where the poet's student, Kari, is a constant presence throughout the text; we think he composed the "special preface" (*ciṟappu pāyiram*) of *Maran's Figures*, and we have his commentary on the verses of this text. The commentary on v. 63, p. 56. identifies the author of the "special preface" as Kari. The editor Gopal Iyer concurs with this opinion (see his commentary, p. 3). We also have his sub-commentary on Parimelalakar's commentary on *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. Kari was also a poet in his own right, the author of *Makaraneṭuṅkuḻaikkātar Piḷḷaittamiḻ*.

[47] *Maran's Figures ciṟappu pāyiram*, pp. 2–3: [ . . . ] *amiḻtiṉum vāṉcuvaittu ākiya mummait*<br>*tamiḻteri pulamaic cāṉṟōr matikkum*<br>*mutumoḻit teṇṭi mutalnūl aṇiyoṭum*<br>*putumoḻip pulavar puṇarttiya aṇiyaiyum*<br>*taṉātu nuṇuṇarvāl taru pala aṇiyaiyum*<br>*maṉātūṟat tokuttum vakuttum virittum*<br>*potuviyal poruḷcollaṇi eccaviyaleṉac*<br>*caturpeṟa iraṇṭiṭam taḻīiya cārpu eṉalāyk*<br>*kāritantaruḷ kalaikkaṭal iyaṟpeyarpuṉaintu*<br>*āriyar tuvaṉṟa avaikkaḷattu uraittaṉaṉ*.

[48] The reference to "the primary text of Tendi with its ancient language" (*mutumoḻit teṇṭi mutalnūl*) is ambiguous, referring either to the *Mirror* or to Tandi. "Ancient language" suggests the *Mirror*; however, this reading would eliminate any explicit reference in the text to *Tandi's Figures*, despite the close relationship between the two.

tradition does is indeed new. This statement at the very beginning of the book is a strong example of how a later text elicits and makes explicit a principle in the original that may not have been as clearly worked out—such as the principle of proliferating figures. In fact, as the commentator tells us, new figures are created daily.[49]

So who was this innovative scholar? Kavirayar came from a merchant Vellala caste and was a devotee of both the god of Kurukur and of this god's main classical poet, Nammalvar, whose *Hundred Poems* we sampled in section 4.2. The range of the texts Kavirayar composed is striking, including a grammar that negotiates the poetics of the early *akam* tradition with its later development into a medium of praise, a grammar of figuration, and a grammar of metrics, as well as poetry in various genres.[50] It is impossible to understand Kavirayar's texts without seeing how they participate in the integrated literary ecosystem that he articulates. In this, he draws on a long tradition of integrated grammars in Tamil; from the *Ancient Book* (*Tolkāppiyam*) onward, Tamil scholars have seen the study of literary language in terms of interconnected fields. However, not until Kavirayar do we have such a clear exposition of how the disparate systems of landscapes and ornaments relate to one another in poetic expression. This is in part due to his intellectual innovation and gift as a sensitive poet, as we will see. But it is also reflective of how deeply entrenched these systems are in sixteenth-century Tamil literary culture, and as such, were certainly familiar to his readers.

To understand Kavirayar's project and, by extension, the life of Dandin in sixteenth-century Tamil, we look at key sections from his best-known texts: his work on figuration, *Maran's Figures*, along with his literary examples, and the work on *akam* poetics, *Maran's Akam Poetics*, with its accompanying long poem of the *Necklace of Beloved Places* (*Tiruppatikkōvai*) in praise of the poet-saint Nammalvar.

*Maran's Figures*, as the preface points out (see above), explicitly identifies itself as heir to *Tandi's Figures* in many ways. Both texts share the tripartite structure of the *Mirror*, and *Maran's Figures* follows *Tandi's Figures* in key moments of deviation from the Sanskrit text, including its abandonment of the discussion of

[49] Commentary on *Maran's Figures cirappu pāyiram*, p. 13. In the explicit reference to the "daily" (*tiṉamum*) creation of figures, the commentary on this verse extends the logic of the *Mirror* 2.1, which claims that new figures are created "even today" (*te cādyāpi vikalpyante kas tān kārtsyena vakṣyati*; see Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume).

[50] Here are the titles: *Maran's Figures*; *Maran's Akam Poetics (Māṟaṉakapporuḷ*, an *akam* grammar close in form to the thirteenth–fourteenth-century *Nampiyakapporuḷ* or *Akapporuḷviḷakkam*, setting out the rules for love poetry in the classical style or in the medieval *kōvai* reworkings of this grammar); *Maran's Prosody* (*Māṟaṉpāppāviṉam*); *Necklace of Beloved Places* (*Tiruppatikkōvai*)—a *kōvai* work with both Vishnu and Nammalvar as its subject/patron (*pāṭṭ'uṭait talaivaṉ*); *The Beauties of Kurukur* (*Kurukāmāṉmiyam*, first public recitation, *araṅkeṟṟam*: 1547), the local temple *purāṇa* of Kurukur; *The Triple Meter Necklace of Our Lord* (*Namperumāḷmummaṇikkōvai*, 30 verses in 3 meters, on the god of Kurukur). Both this work and the *Necklace of Beloved Places* provide illustrative verses for *Maran's Figures*. Finally, *Kiḷavimaṇimālai* (*kaṭṭaḷaikkalittuṟai* verses).

language and reality that opens the *Mirror*, as well as the intensified sound-based figuration that distinguishes Tandi. *Maran's Figures* also includes all figures of sense discussed by Tandi, with the exception of "subtlety" (*sūkṣma*), although *Maran's Figures*, as the preface announced, does not stop with Tandi and in fact adds new figures.[51]

Despite the identification with *Tandi's Figures*, however, the wielding of ornaments in *Maran's Figures* looks quite different from that of Tandi. Take the figure of "distinction," which we discussed earlier to illustrate the method and tone of *Tandi's Figures*. In the latter, as we showed, the verses centered on the configured relationship between *x* and *y*, a relationship of infinite complexity, particularly when compounded with other figures. The *Tandi* verses on "distinction" are jubilant, dizzying experiments in figuration and the expressive and perceptive possibilities that emerge from immersion in that figure's relational logic. In the discussion of the same figure in *Maran's Figures*, the system of figuration explored by *Tandi's Figures* has become a language in which people are fluent, a language which itself becomes a player in the field of configured relations. Likewise, though the structure, imagery, and characters from the *akam* tradition are largely missing from *Maran*'s example poems, his examples suggest an entire grammar of love poetry, from the early *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* poems to the later "Miscellany" (*kalampakam*) and "Necklace" (*kōvai*) *akam* praise genres. Finally, the presence of Nammalvar in these verses conjures up a third system: that of the world of Nammalvar's "Tamil Veda" with its own semiotics. The beauty of these new poems, as in so many of the examples in *Maran's Figures*, lies in the systematic bringing together of these three systems of meaning; for a reader familiar with the three corpora, these verses allow a creative examination of the relationship between them. As a framework based in relationships, ornaments are particularly well suited for this task.

Let us look at how Kavirayar treats the ornament of "distinction":

> The surpassing Veda is like Maran's Tamil Veda.
> Both hint at the same three realities.
> This one speaks clearly without slippage, holding in the light;
> the Veda never speaks without bewildering.[52]

[51] The commentary on *Maran's Figures* likewise recognizes the intimate relationship between its root text and *Tandi*. Indeed, Kari's commentary on 2.2 (pp. 122–23) discusses the anxiety over relationship between primary and secondary treatise.

[52] *Maran's Figures*, ex. 302, p. 244: *māṟaṉ tamiḻ maṟaikku vāyntamaṟai mupporuḷum*
*kūṟum tiṟattāl kuṟippu okkum - tēṟat*
*tūyavu aṟavē kūṟum itu; cōtiyai uṭkoḷḷa*
*mayarvu aṟavē kūṟā maṟai.*

At first glance, this verse looks watered-down compared to the examples of "distinction" in *Tandi's Figures*. It lacks the profusion of bitextuality that we saw in the *Tandi* examples, nor does it have the intriguing ambiguity of the *Tandi*, which prevents the reader from settling on a clear-cut hierarchical relationship between the components of the figure.[53] Here the example clearly asserts the superiority of one side of the comparison, with little to say about the complex nature of comparison itself. But when we look at how the verse is structured, a different kind of complexity (and beauty) emerges.

The verse establishes the superiority of Nammalvar's Tamil poetry over the Vedas by means of "distinction": Nammalvar's poetry "speaks clearly" and "[holds] in the light" while "the Veda never speaks without bewildering." However, this conclusive statement of "distinction" follows three lines whose syntax does not invite such a settled conclusion. To begin with, the poem opens with a comparison that is somewhat unusual in its reversed order: Maran's Tamil Veda is the standard of comparison for the Vedas, and not the other way around. The verse then continues with the ambiguous "this one speaks clearly without slippage," a statement whose syntax could in theory point us to the Vedas but surely must refer to Nammalvar in this context. The ambiguous syntax continues in the third line of the poem with the phrase "holding in the light," which can refer to either subject, thus simultaneously moving forward and backward. Only the last line, the definitive "the Veda never speaks without bewildering," resolves the poem's central figure of "distinction." Of course, given the context of this verse as embedded in a celebration of Nammalvar and his poetry, there is no doubt about its true subject and its superior status. As such, this example reflects the classic comparison between a woman's face and the lotus, in which there is hardly any doubt about which is more beautiful; indeed, the pleasure in such a figure lies in its ability to evoke an intertextual universe of variously configured lotus-faces. But the intertextual universe evoked in our verse is not only the world of Sanskrit *kāvya* literature, but also that of Nammalvar's Tamil poetry. For a reader already familiar with (a) the relationship between the Tamil Veda and the Sanskrit Veda, a relationship addressed in Nammalvar's work itself, and (b) the endless generative possibilities of an ornament like "distinction," the act of bringing these two systems together opens up new ways of seeing each of them that were not possible before.

We see this close intertextual relationship with Nammalvar's poetry more clearly in a further example:

[53] Another example of "distinction" from *Maran's Figures* (ex. 305, p. 245), however, is thoroughly bitextual.

Death kills, turning everything upside down,
and the confident eyes of that woman like a peacock
that appears on Maran's mountain—they kill too.
They are just the same.
But Death smashes the breath of life,
while her eyes take life,
then, softening, give it back.[54]

Let's go back for a moment to Nammalvar's verse that we discussed in section 4.2 (at note 7):

These two flowers that are her eyes have conquered
the red lotus, the dark blue lily, the spear, and the carp,
all these and others—
and they are bigger
even than my life.
She's like a bird with soft feathers
on Venkatam mountain
that belongs to Govinda Madhavan,
rider of the great bird,
killer of demons.

Kavirayar picks up on the key features of this verse. Like in the verse from Nammalvar's *Hundred Poems*, the "real" subject of his poem (Vishnu/Maran) appears embedded in a simile describing the woman; in both poems, the "real subject" and the woman-bird are linked by their shared home: Venkatam mountain in Tirupati or Maran's mountain, where the god resides. And like Nammalvar's verse, "distinction" is based on defeat or death. However, in the *Maran's* verse, the "distinction" pivots on the end line, in which the girl's eyes are granted the power not only to kill, but also to return life to her beloved.

Kavirayar's verse brings the figurative system into a deeper relationship with both the Tamil Veda and the later use of *akam* in the *kōvai* tradition. The basic comparison—between Death and the eyes of a beautiful woman—is neither new nor particularly complex, although the familiarity of this figure does not render it less alluring. However, these are not just any woman's eyes, but the eyes of a woman distinguished by means of a figure of comparison ("like a peacock") that introduces the other subject of the poem, Nammalvar, on whose mountain the

[54] *Maran's Figures*, ex. 308, p. 246: *māṟum kolai namaṟkum māṟaṉ maṇivaraimēl*
*tēṟum mayilviḻikkum cērviṉaitāṉ—vēṟu aṉṟē*
*niṉṟu oṟukkum kūṟṟu uyirai nēriḻaikaṇ maṉ uyiraik*
*koṉṟu aḻikkum mīṭkum kuḻaintu.*

peacock lives. If the first example included Nammalvar and his poetry as explicit subjects of the figure, here he appears in an oblique reference, a poetic strategy associated with the later *akam* development of the *kōvai* genre, as we have seen. However, Nammalvar as poet-saint is not entirely absent from this verse; the verbs of transformation, clarification, and permanence (*māṟum*, *tēṟum*, and *niṉṟu*) take on additional resonance in the context of an intertextual relationship with the Tamil Veda, and the final verb "to soften" is regularly used in Tamil to describe the experience of god associated with Vaishnava devotion. Just as we saw in the *Tandi* examples, Kavirayar's orientation toward the acoustic dimension of figuration offers up interpretive possibilities beyond the grammar of figures of sense, as well as that of the *kōvai* system.[55] Thinking in figurative terms sensitizes a reader to the texture of the relations between these two systems.

Throughout the exemplary verses of *Maran's Figures*, Kavirayar shows us the expressive and interpretive possibilities that emerge from looking deeply at the interconnections between poetic systems, a lens that we can trace back to the analytic framework of the *Mirror*. And although *Maran's Figures* is his text most clearly affiliated with the *Mirror*, all of Kavirayar's works extend this interest in synthesis. Let's look at an example from the first verse of his *Necklace of Beloved Places* which opens Kavirayar's grammar of *akam* poetics.

> The garden of the gods
> on the mountain of Arangesan, praised
> as the husband of the Earth,
> must have prayed hard and long.
> Oh how
> this one ravishing vine, born there to give shape
> to the husband of Rati, beloved of the one
> who shoots five arrows,
> haunts my mind.[56]

This is the first verse of a narrative poem of over five hundred stanzas praising Vishnu in the shrine of Tirukkurukur (today's Alvartirunagari) in terms familiar to any educated Tamil reader; the verses of the *Necklace of Beloved Places* are

[55] *Maran's Figures* has its own section on figures of sound—and the "Chapter on Residual Topics," *oḻip'iyal*, has additional sound-related materials (see *sūtra* 14, on "embrace," now an integral part of the way the lovers speak to one another—an innovation, as Gopal Iyer notes). Cf. *sūtras* 61–63. Sound is integral to Kavirayar's understanding of *akam* poetics.

[56] *Tiruppatikkōvai* 1, p. 44: *pūmātu kēḷvaṉ pukaḻ araṅkēcaṉ poruppil viṇṇōr*
*kāmātavam ceyya vantataṉāl peṟṟa kāmavalli*
*āmām iḥtu iṉi aimpaṭai īntaṉaṉ mēvu irati*
*kōmāṉ taṉakku avvuru aḷippāṉ kuṭikoṇṭatu oṉṟē.*

used throughout to exemplify the grammar that Kavirayar is formulating. As in all poems of its genre, the structure and poetic vocabulary enable a set cast of characters to navigate their inner feelings in an established sequence of patterns taken from ancient Tamil love poetry. The overall narrative sequence moves us from the initial moment articulated in this verse, in which the lover-to-be (*talaivaṉ*) first catches sight of his beloved (*talaivi*), through various subsequent stages of their life together. The poem is also a praise-poem in which the love scenarios consistently provide important details about the proper object of praise, namely, the temple god or some human patron, and in this respect, it follows the rules of the genre as a praise poem to Vishnu at Tirukkurukur.[57]

So how are we to make sense of this verse? In accordance with convention, the protagonist here is speaking to himself, giving shape to something he has just seen, namely, a beautiful young woman and a gorgeous, golden vine, both indicated by the word *kāmavalli* that we have translated as "(one) ravishing vine." All of the words of the verse apply to both these images, allowing for a doubling of readings.

In this verse, the complex act of seeing is conveyed by a corresponding complexity of language, including homonymy, homophony, and instances of syllabic re-segmentation (a technique that has been honed in many South Asian literary cultures). For example, in the second line we hear that the garden, *kā*, has "prayed hard and long" (*mā tavam vantataṉāl*); but these same syllables can also realign to generate the meanings of springtime (*mātavam*), and the fierce heat of desire (*kāmātavam*). The multilayered nature of linguistic play in this verse, which thwarts any attempt at identifying a stable meaning, reflects the confused state of the lovesick hero, whose mind, filled with his beloved, perceives her everywhere. However, reading the ambiguity in this verse as a byproduct of the madness of desire presumes an alternative state of perceptual and linguistic stasis that the verse does not privilege. Rather, the linguistic doubling throughout the verse reveals the dual nature of reality itself. The grove is simultaneously an earthly garden in which the hero sees the girl and the celestial garden belonging specifically to Lord Arangesan,[58] as well as the garden in the hero's mind, where the distinction between realms begins to collapse.

The hero tells us that the spectacular vine is born there—in both this/these garden(s) and in his mind—for a purpose, as he tries to understand what it is that he's feeling. Syntactically, the sentence defines this purpose: the vine haunts his mind in order to give shape to the Love God ("the husband of Rati") who

[57] See section 4.2 above. The Tamil tradition refers to this distinction between the human lover and the god or patron by two respective terms: the former is the *kiḷavi talaivaṉ*, or "literary protagonist," the male hero of the lovers' drama, and the latter the *pāṭṭ'uṭai talaivaṉ*, or "protagonist of the poem," who is understood by the *kōvai* tradition to interact only obliquely with the lovers.

[58] Ranganatha, the god of the Srirangam temple, also identified as the husband of the Earth.

is bodiless and shapeless, by definition. How does this giving shape occur? The syntax suggests that the vine has condensed and embodied the garden as a whole in order to supply the Love God with the five kinds of flowers that serve as his arrows (lotus, ashoka, mango, jasmine, and dark lily). But these same flowers are also implicitly identified with parts of the girl's body (the lotus is conventionally identified with a woman's face, hands, and feet; mango and ashoka probably evoke her color, though the mango sliver is also the shape of her eyes; her teeth by convention are jasmine buds; and dark lily refers to her eyes). Here the erotic potency of the vine (*kāmavalli*) is invoked by means of identification with both the Love God as well as with the girl's lovely body. But the analogy goes both ways: as the object of the protagonist's desire, it is also the woman (*kāmavalli*), configured as flowers, who serves as the arrow of love that has entered the hero's mind. The distinction between the real and the figurative very quickly becomes blurred.

This linguistic and metaphysical doubling throughout the verse accentuates the doubling in perception fundamental to the moment of "Catching Sight"—the caption of this verse—already in the classical tradition. The hero is seeing something in his mind, while at the same time taking in a vision of a real (though configured) person outside him. But our poet's handling of "Catching Sight" goes beyond earlier examples, largely because of the ways in which figuration is here used to reveal the role of language in experiencing reality.

What are the major figures of this verse? As we have said, the entire verse pivots around the double identification of the girl and the vine, a "metaphorical identification" (Skt. *rūpaka*, Tam. *uruvakam*) that is the subject of the verse's one finite (and final) verb. Note that the metaphor is based on a relationship of synecdoche—the slenderness of the girl likened to the vine stands in for the girl in her entirety.[59] This primary figure is embedded in the figure that begins the verse—that is, "seeing as" (*utprekṣā*), in which, through a flight of fancy, human attributes (as in the quality of intentionality) are imparted to insentient beings, such as the moon or an animal. The verse begins with such an attribution of intention to the grove, one that brings the primary figure of the metaphor into existence as a result of the grove's long and arduous prayer. The metaphorical identification of the vine as a young woman, in effect the daughter of the grove, that results from this meditation then acts as the subject of the second "seeing as" of this verse; it is the vine/girl that is "born there to give shape / to the husband of Rati." So here "seeing as" gives rise to a metaphorical identification, which then serves as the subject of another figure of "seeing as." Furthermore, these two instances of "seeing as" that embed the primary metaphor are not distinct, but themselves stand in a synecdochal relationship, in which the vine stands in for the grove of which it is a part. It is this dense compounding of figuration that

[59] With a nod to the wider Tamil grammatical category of *ākup peyar*: see Annamalai 1990.

allows for the threefold metaphorical identification that lies at the heart of the poem: that between parts of the girl's body, the trees, and the arrows of the god of love. After moving through these multiple identifications, however, the verse ends with an unmistakable statement of the vine-girl's singularity (*oṉṟē*), a statement that intensifies the tension between singular and multiple at play here.

By now you may have forgotten that this is a poem praising Lord Vishnu in the temple of Tirukkurukur, birthplace of the poet-saint Nammalvar, in the far south of the Tamil country. What is the poet telling us about this god? In earlier *kōvai* examples, the physical setting of the divine or royal patron provides the location of the love relationship, but this verse plays with that convention by introducing two settings: Vishnu's garden, explicitly mentioned, and the hero's mind, suggested by the final verb that we have translated as "haunted." These settings, present and absent, in fact bookend the verse, connected by the key metaphor of the vine-girl which/who inhabits both places. The setting of the divine patron and that of the lover protagonist have been collapsed through the mirror of figuration. The poem suggests that, like the hero's perception of the girl, our perception of Vishnu is always both singular and multiple, existing in the translocal, the local, and, perhaps most importantly, in the mind. We might add that god naturally inhabits that space of multiple perspectives and of mixing and meeting, as well as the paradoxical tension between singular and multiple. This statement might even serve as a definition of god.[60]

## 4.6. *Uḷḷuṟai uvamam* in Kavirayar

As we have seen in the examples discussed so far, the majority of Kavirayar's exemplary verses evoke at least three poetic systems: the later development of the *akam*-based *kōvai*, ornamentation as understood through the *Tandi*, and Nammalvar's devotional poetry. However, arguably the most striking section in both *Maran's Figures* and *Maran's Akam Poetics* is one in which Kavirayar looks back to an earlier iteration of the *akam* tradition, organized around the figure of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* (see section 4.2 above). In this section, which contains some of the most beautiful poetry in both of his poetic grammars, we see more clearly how Kavirayar integrates two systems of figuration, namely, *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* and Dandin-style figuration. If the previous Kavirayar verses use the analytical frame

[60] The god is formally a somewhat oblique intruder into the *akam* scenario; but he is also the real center of attention. Incidentally, he, too, like the Love God, is introduced by two epithets. However we want to read the two epithets—taken as apposition (husband and praiseworthy), or, as we translated, as a descriptive subordinate clause (praised as husband)—it is surely significant that these opening words of the entire work express the two poles of this genre: the erotic and the public praise.

of ornamentation to explore the relationship between poetic systems, the section on *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* takes this one step further, compounding the two systems and the logic behind them, along with their implicit assumptions about how language and figuration work.

We've already described and exemplified the concept of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, but at this point we need to go back for a moment to the foundational verses in the *Ancient Book* (*Tolkāppiyam*) that define the term. We know for certain that Kavirayar knew these verses as well as (actually, through the lens of) the medieval commentaries on them. The term *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* is introduced in the *Ancient Book* in three sections.[61] Kavirayar's student and commentator Kari and the modern editor Gopal Iyer both see this concept as the arena where the different poetic systems are felt to converge and to diverge from one another. Hence the richness and the ambiguities of the discussions that we find in these passages. Without trying here to fully unravel this richness, we can say, minimally, that the *Ancient Book* seems to recognize two kinds of similes: *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* and the "other" simile (*ēṉai uvamam*), that is, the usual form of explicit simile that is also recognized in Sanskrit poetics. Despite this classification, the *Ancient Book* never spells out the difference between these two kinds of simile, nor does it fully clarify the relationship of the "other" simile to the poetic landscape system.[62]

Kavirayar, who, as we have said, inherited this complex discourse, directly quotes from the *Ancient Book* in his discussion of the concept of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* both in his grammar of love poetry and in his textbook on figuration.[63] By clearly distinguishing between these two types of similes, Kavirayar takes what was a confused and contested discussion of the relationship between these two types of figuration—that of the early *akam* poems, and that of poetics à la

[61] *Tolkāppiyam, Akattiṇaiyiyal* 48–51 (*uḷḷurai uvamam ēṉai uvamam eṉa*), *Poruḷiyal* 46 (*uṭan uṟai uvamam*), and *Uvamaiyiyal* (*piritoṭu paṭaatu, uvamappōli aint'eṉa*).

[62] In the first reference above, in the *Akattiṇaiyiyal*, both are connected to the system of poetic landscapes. In the relevant *Uvamaiyiyal sūtra*, another term appears: *uvamappōli*, literally "semblance of a simile," which the medieval commentators Ilampuranar and Peraciriyar take to be equivalent to *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*.

[63] *Maran's Akam Poetics* 108: "When the two figures—*uvamappōli* and the 'other' (*ēṉai*) *upamā*—become one, this gives a faultless beauty. Both convey the landscape (*tiṇai*) categories. But this constitutes a rule [constraint] on the heroine and others and on the double course of their love ['stolen love' and 'married love']" (*uvamappōli ēṉai uvamam eṉa / taval aṟu ciṟapput taruvatu oṉṟāka / tiṇai uṇar vakaittāyc ceyiḻai mutalōr / kaikoḷ iraṇṭiṉum kaṭaṉ eṉa moḻipa*). Commenting on Kavirayar's other text, *Maran's Figures* (pp. 217–18), Kari tells us that *uvama pōli*, "semblance of simile," is hard to understand. It is classified according to action, function, form, color [like simile generally] together with *piṟappu*, "source." It takes as its domain the *karupporuḷ* markers, apart from deities, in the famous *tiṇai* landscapes, appearing in [the characters'] speech, and demands concentrated consideration alongside [other forms of] simile. It uses markers of comparison in a certain indirect way. It gives expression to the two kinds of love in the *akam* grammar, namely, joy and sorrow, and that too in unconventional ways (*icai tirintu icaiyā*). Its characters are the hero, heroine, the heroine's girl-friend, the wet-nurse, the hero's companion, and the pāṇaṉ bard. Through all the above, it is a form of suggestive language (*kuṟipp'uraitt' ākum*).

Tandi—and establishes them as two distinct systems with their own logic and presuppositions. This move opens up the possibility for the two systems to enter into a configured relationship with one another, as we saw happen in his *kōvai* ("Necklace") poems and in his poems on "distinction." Let us see how this works in Kavirayar's practice.

Here are two examples from Kavirayar's poem *The Triple Meter Necklace of Our Lord* (*Namperumāḷmummaṇikkōvai*), introduced to illustrate the figure of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* in *Maran's Figures*.

Dark nelumbo, white nymphea, white lotus,
and cool, perfect mayilai flowers whose marvelous fragrance
carries for miles line the banks of pools
where the male bee gorges himself on honey
from the red lotus, fully open and ready.
He's insatiable, his heart melting. He finds pleasure
even in what's left in worn-out flowers
of the thorny shrubs that cover the shore
with its open spaces that other bees have already
sucked dry. That man who comes from that well-watered village
has let go of any tie to those who serve the servants
of Lord Ranganatha in the Kaveri River
with its clear waves. He stays close to the hearts
of people who do harm to their own sweet life,
leaving wisdom behind, and he goes the way
of the vicious senses, at home in ignorance.
He's a mean, small man.[64]

Kari's commentary understands this poem in the context of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*. Here is how he formulates the suggestiveness of this figure: "For this hero of ours

[64] *Maran's Figures* ex. 274, p. 221: *kuvaḷaiyum kumutamum tavaḷa oṇ patumamum*
*ticai ticai yōcaṉai tēm kamaḻ tivviya*
*vacai tīr am taṇ mayilai vēlip*
*poykaiyuḷ cevviyiṉ poti aviḻ puṉitac*
*ceyya tāmarait teṟalai aḷavaḷāy*
*uvaṭṭātu arunti uḷ urukiya curumpu ataṉ*
*karai cēr veḷḷiṭaik kalitta nīrmuḷḷiyiṉ*
*pāṭu aviḻntu ayal curumpu uḷarntu uṇappataṉ aḻi*
*pū naṟā uṇṭu iṉpuṟu puṉal ūraṉ*
*teṇ tiraik kāviri tiru araṅkēcaṉ*
*toṇṭar tam toṇṭar toṭarpiṉai orīip*
*potam puṟamtarap purai tīr iṉ uyirkku*
*etam koḷḷunar itayam viṭṭu akalātu*
*ollāp pulaṉ vaḻi uykkum.*
*pul aṟiviṉuḷ kuṭi pukum puṉmaiyaṉe* (*Namperumāḷ Mummaṇikkōvai*).

there is no such thing as high women or low women; all of them are quite okay for making love and having pleasure. . . . The thorny shrubs growing in the open spaces suggest the courtesan who stands in the open street. The landscape is the fertile delta [that signifies married life].[65] The subject: preferring a courtesan to one's wife.[66] The theme: neighbors blaming his character." Note that Kari does not mention Lord Ranganatha or any additional ornaments. For him, *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* is the exclusive interpretive framework for this poem. In fact, however, we will see how the poem weaves together the distinct poetic systems in which Kavirayar and his readers were invested.

First, the poem revolves around a central image of the *uḷḷuṟai* simile, in which the indiscriminate lover is indirectly likened to a gluttonous bee, a trope found throughout the *akam* poetic tradition. This suggested comparison between bee and faithless lover, which does not require much commentary, extends through everything, including the embedded "real subject" of the poem, Lord Ranganatha, in whose wisdom the hero has no interest. Already the introduction of the *kōvai* schematic has added depth to a fairly straightforward suggested comparison: the lover's failure to discriminate is no longer limited to women (flowers), but extends to a failure to discriminate between truth and ignorance writ large. The true subject of the poem, the god Vishnu, has deeply infiltrated the suggested comparison, so much so that the poet allows himself a concluding moralistic statement that goes beyond the heroine's individual suffering. So far we have the *akam* poetic systems, both that of the *kōvai* and the earlier *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, as well as the introduction of the world of Vishnu-oriented devotional poetry with which Kavirayar's reader would be familiar. The third system, which at first seems to be missing, namely the world of Tandi-style ornaments, is in fact also present for informed readers: this poem responds to the example of "condensed speech" (*samāsokti*) from Tandi, in which the male bee has deserted the lotus in favor of the inferior lily that is enjoyed by many.[67] Kavirayar's verse is not a replacement of the signifying system of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, as we saw in the *Nandi's Miscellany* verse, nor is it a recasting of the old system in new clothes.[68] For Kavirayar, and the readers of his work, the three systems at play—*kōvai*, *akam*, and ornaments—are distinct, with their own logic, vocabulary, and textual models. It is this distinction between systems that allows the poem to explore the

[65] *marutam*.

[66] *parattayiṟ pirital*.

[67] In fact, by nodding to the *Tandi*'s "bee" example, Kavirayar's illustration acknowledges the long history of the complicated relationship between *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* and *samāsokti* in the Tamil poetic tradition. See Clare 2017 for a discussion of this relationship by Tandi, who offers a playful way to understand the poetic systems of *akam* and ornaments not in contest, but as equal participants in a bitextual reading. For Dandin's bee and its afterlives, see Bronner, section 5.10 in this volume.

[68] As we see in the *Vīracōḻiyam* (Clare 2017).

relationships between them, an exploration of relationships well suited for an analysis in the tradition of the *Mirror*.

This exploration will become clearer when we look at a rather more complex illustration of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* from the same work:

> A monkey snatches a sweet green mango
> from the tree whose branches fill the sky
> and enjoys it, but when the guardians of the cool grove
> come close, sadly he scampers off to another branch
> and lingers there, unsatisfied. Like flawless
> cow's-milk porridge that heals all ills, boiled
> and poured into golden vessels, wasted on menial people
> who want only sour rice-gruel,
> the sweet pulp of the ripening jackfruit,
> heavy and golden, among the jack tree's twisted roots
> goes to seed and is wasted in your well-watered village.
> It's like when people dying to drink up the whole ocean of milk
> created by Arangan, Lord of Srirangam himself—who is praised
> to the best of their ability by scholars of subtle understanding
> who have drunk up the ocean of books—are served a taste
> of milk sweet as ambrosia in a squat flat bowl not even full.
> Coming here and begging for love that's full of pain
> for the sake of a little pleasure just won't work.
> All you have to do is say goodbye
> to those whores.[69]

Kari offers a paraphrase that situates the poem in a classic lovers' scenario, framing the poem in terms of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*:

[69] *Maran's Figures* ex. 281, pp. 228–29: *vicumpu tūrttu eḻu viyaṉ ciṉai māttiṉ*
*pacuppuṟat tīṅkaṉi parīi nukar kaṭuvaṉ*
*purappavar kuṟukupu pulampu urīip poṅkar*
*irintu alam potarum īrn taṇ cōlaiyuḷ*
*puḷiṅ kaṟi vēṭṭa puṉ toḻil taṉmaiyarkkup*
*paḻippu iṉṟāka pāku ceytu aṭṭa*
*kōtu aṟum āṉpāl kuḻampu poṟkalattiṉuḷ*
*peytu iruntu āṟum peṟṟi ēyppa*
*muṭa aṭip palaviṉ mutir poṉ kuṭakkaṉi*
*vēr mutal paḻuttu virinta poṉ tīñcuḷai*
*pataṉ aḻi pāṉmaip pāy puṉal ūra*
*nūṟ kaṭal paḻakiya nuṇ uṇarvu uṭaiyōr*
*āṟṟaliṉ paravu cīr araṅkaṉukku amainta*

The speaker is the hero's long-term lover. What she says, indirectly, is: "You don't go to your noble lover's home in the evening but instead play with the young courtesan from that part of the village. Since she is a common woman, other men also hang around her house; so, left to your own devices, you leave, though you still keep circling her home. I was expecting you to come, so I adorned myself, made myself beautiful. But you were late. To assuage my sorrow at this waste of my beauty, you come here and stand at the gate and beg me. For the sake of a little pleasure I have to suffer much grief in loving you. Your duty is to take leave of that courtesan's home."[70]

As in the previous example, all three poetic systems are active: *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, the *kōvai* template, and ornaments à la Tandi/Dandin. The poem begins with an extended *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*: the monkey is playing around, helping himself to a ripe mango, but there are others in the garden who drive him away; still he lingers there, unsatisfied. That explicit statement about frustrated desire offers the unifying theme or leitmotif of the entire poem. Kari uses a pregnant phrase to describe the monkey's state: *taṉimaiyuṟṟu* (literally, "lonely, isolated")—he is not just sulking because he does not have the fruit, but rather suffering a deeper kind of unhappiness. This theme, too, develops as the poem moves along. As Kari says, both of these emotional elements—blocked desire and lonely isolation—must apply to the protagonist, at least as he is seen by the speaker, his erstwhile partner. Indeed, the *uḷḷuṟai* suggests that it is evening, when the hero should be coming home; instead, he lingers, worse than lonely, outside the house of the common whores who are visited at night by other men. He cannot tear himself away. As we will see from the way the poem develops, loneliness on many levels is the inevitable consequence of failure to discriminate.

Next we find an explicit simile,[71] marked by the comparative verb *eyppa*, which offers a powerful image of waste. The menial laborers crave their sour rice-gruel even when offered the flawless milk porridge that heals all ills. Kari, and in his wake the modern commentator Gopal Iyer, says that this comparison serves

*pāṟkaṭal muṟṟap parukutaṟku eḻunta*
*pērāp perum paciyāḷar tam muṉṉar*
*ārā vaḷḷattu amirtu amaippavar pōl*
*ciṟuvarai iṉpattu uṟu tuyar iḻaittaṟku*
*irattal īṅku iyalpu aṉṟāl*
*parattaiyiṟ pirital niṉ paṇpu ākume* (*Namperumāḷ Mummaṇikkōvai*).

[70] Kari (citing Tol. Poruḷ. 46), prefaces his remarks on this poem by saying that *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* and the other *uvamam* reveal the *tiṇai* landscape unmistakably; the explicit simile gives a heightened power to the *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*. This statement, and the verse itself, appear to be closely patterned after *Kalittokai* 71, judging by the extended reference to and explication of this poem and its colophon (cited by Gopal Iyer again in commentary on *Maran's Akam Poetics*, p. 108).

[71] Identified by Kari as *ēṉai uvamam* ("explicit simile").

to enhance a second *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* that immediately follows, where the waste of the ripe jackfruit suggests the waste of the speaker's beauty and feelings of love. The unused jackfruit belongs to the hero's town—or, rather, to the hero himself, who is identified by synecdoche with his place. Once we see this, with the active assistance of the simile, we can also see how it informs the initial *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*. The lonely monkey is also a figure of waste. In this sense, although syntactically the comparison belongs with the jackfruit, it effectively braids together these two *akam* segments. Even better, we could speak of two syntactic modes, one proper to ornamentation, in this case simile with its explicit verbal marker, and the second forming a nexus between the two *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* sections, as if these two poetic systems were unfolding at the same time within the narrow space of the poem.

The poem now moves into another explicit comparison, again marked with the word "like" (*pōl*). We clearly find ourselves at this point within the *kōvai* system, in which God, the true subject of the verse, appears embedded within the figure. The comparison begins with a metapoetic reference to those who have swallowed all the books, like our poet. The woman who is speaking resorts to this comparison in order to offer yet another image of unsatisfied desire. Unlike the previous set of potent *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*s, which suggested the possibility of fulfillment thwarted by poor discrimination, here the comparison reverses the image. In the words of the commentator Gopal Iyer: "The god of Srirangam created the whole ocean of milk, which is why they hunger for it and want to drink all of it—but all they get is a smattering of it in a tiny vessel that is not even full." This is part of a familiar bhakti complaint about the asymmetrical relationship to the god that puts him in the position of the withholding lover. Read in the context of the previous similes, this comparison suggests that the god, like the lover, is wasting the precious love of his devotees.

The last three lines place us back into the *akam* system. Here is how Gopal Iyer paraphrases the speaker's conclusion. "Like that, it's not right for you to beg from me after creating so much suffering for the sake of a moment's pleasure. You know what you have to do." Even if the protagonist knows what he has to do, he is incapable of doing it.

We could trace the schematic movement of the poem as follows:

*uḷḷuṟai uvamam* (1): the unsatisfied lonely monkey
"explicit simile": (*eṉai uvamam*) (1): wasted milk
*uḷḷuṟai uvamam* (2): wasted jackfruit, the subject of comparison of the
*ēṉai uvamam* (1) that simultaneously amplifies *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* (1) by means
of suggested comparison
*kōvai* patron-hero appears:

*eṉai uvamam* (2): begging hero compared to begging devotees
*uḷḷuṟai uvamam* (3): hero is withholding love like the god, and the speaker, like the devotees, is dissatisfied.

The verse concludes with a figure that operates independently and distinctively within the two systems. Such is the nature of this kind of braiding, in which the three systems we have mentioned—*akam uḷḷuṟai* poetic register, *kōvai* template, and the ornamentation paradigm—have mingled in such a way that there is a density of expression that would be impossible in one alone. Note that according to Kavirayar's own grammar of poetry, as we have seen above, it is precisely the compounding of the two forms of *uvamam*—the Dandin-style explicit simile and the implicit *uḷḷuṟai* mode—that allows for the enhanced density of poetic effect that we see in operation here. This theorization of dense convergence or overlapping as an aesthetic device is no less significant in terms of the evolution of the Tamil tradition from this point on than the actual use of this device in the kinds of poems we have witnessed here.

What is this poem about? Paraphrase is impossible. The images of waste and loneliness apply equally to god and lover, and settling on one real subject is irrelevant—the poem calls up an overwhelming feeling of waste, loss, and constant frustration. This feeling is total: all characters are implicated in it, male lover, female speaker, god, devotees. There is no resolution, nor can the poem with its complex layering be reduced to anything remotely resembling the classical Kashmiri notion of rasa.

This compounding of systems allows the poet to say something that couldn't have been said a few centuries before. Folded into the poem are also bits of text representative of each of the systems with which Kavirayar's reader would be familiar.[72] All three systems are now located in the garden (*cōlai*) where the *uḷḷuṟai uvamam* is set and where the god resides, the same garden where we found ourselves not long ago. It takes old texts to say new things.

In our view, the poetic technique we have been describing—the expressive braiding of available poetic resources, including, of course, Dandin's style of figurative analysis, is the hallmark of Kavirayar's achievement. He is the first Tamil poet, as far as we know, to have attempted this kind of far-reaching synthesis, to do it consciously, and to have explored, in his role as a theorist, the possibilities that it opens up in the hands of a gifted poet.

Earlier in this section we looked carefully at the first verse of the *Necklace of Beloved Places*—"The garden of the gods . . ."—with its grove and its emphasis on the doubling inherent in perception (and in language). Making our way through

[72] That is, an *akam* poem such as *Kalittokai* 71 (see note 70 above), the aphorisms and exemplary verses of *Tandi's Figures*, and the *kōvai* as seen through the grammar *Light on Akam* and its exemplary verses from the *Tañcaivāṇaṉ kōvai*.

this prism requires unfolding the competing systems we have identified. What appeared to be singular has unfolded into the multiple, as similarity unfolded into difference—and back again, as in the bitextual poems we discussed, so beloved of the Tamil tradition. If the first verse of the *Necklace of Beloved Places* revealed the distinctive elements of this new poetic world, the final verse returns to an image of heightened fusion and union:

> That preeminence, hard to achieve
> by doing the right thing—we achieved it,
> my love, in our life at home together. Now
> let us seek the ultimate life, loving Maran,
> who knew Tamil through ancient wisdom,
> and with those who have conquered the past
> we'll become one.[73]

Like other examples of the *kōvai* genre, this one ends with the hero's leaving his wife to study, in this case to learn the poems and music of Nammalvar's Tamil Veda. However, while *kōvai* works often end with marital separation and the consequent resentment, this verse introduces a new episode unique to the tradition as far as we know, in which the hero comes back from music school in order to announce to his wife that it is time to conclude their domestic life by going to the forest and worshipping Nammalvar.[74] By ending with this suggestion of transformation from lover to renunciant devotee, this final verse does away with the traditional distinction between the lovers' world and the world of the god, a structural and poetic distinction between the poem's protagonist lover (*kiḷavi talaivaṉ*) and the poem's subject of praise (*pāṭṭuṭaittalaivaṉ*). The lovers are crossing over to a life in which the two are entirely fused.[75] This complete reconfiguration of the dramatis personae signals a breakdown among the three systems we have been speaking of, which have become a single unified poetic world.

[73] *Necklace of Beloved Places* 527, p. 266: *nal aṟattāl peṟutaṟku aritāyp peṟṟa nāyakam īṅku*
*illaṟattu āṟu eyti vāḻntiruppām aṇaṅke iṉi nām*
*tol aṟattāl tamiḻ tēr māṟaṉait tutittē toṭarpāl*
*vel aṟattāroṭu oṉṟām peru vāḻvu eyta vēṇṭutumē.*

[74] This innovation seems to refer back to the *Tolkāppiyam, kaṟpiyal*, which offers a normative rule about the final stage of married life, a rule which, somewhat curiously, does not seem to be acknowledged by the later *akam* tradition.

[75] Note that Maran and Vishnu here are also merged.

## 4.7. Concluding Remarks

We have tried to trace the evolution to this point beginning with the new style of *akam* poems that we saw in the Chola period grammars and commentaries, including the striking examples from *Tandi's Figures*. But what we see in Kavirayar in the sixteenth century is a more powerful poetic synthesis that has enhanced the expressive means to a degree that is unique in the history of the tradition to this point. The poet offers a reflexive meditation on a fused unified system, which he identifies with Tamil itself, and along the way he makes a strong, novel statement about the relation between Sanskrit and Tamil. He articulates this reflexive understanding by means of the simplest lexical choice available—the *Necklace of Beloved Places* begins and ends, as we have shown, with "oneness." The word "one" (*oṉṟē*) concluded verse 1 of this *kōvai*, referring to the one ravishing vine that haunts the hero's heart, a oneness that proliferates into multiple registers and forms, as we have shown. In the final verse, this movement is reversed, and the multiple elements coalesce as the protagonist speaker promises one-ness (*oṉṟu* + *ām*) with one another, with fellow devotees, with Maran, and of course, with Vishnu himself. This striking repetition of the same word in the first and final verse of the *Necklace of Beloved Places*, perhaps not surprisingly by now, reveals a key difference: the one vine is an image of singular distinctiveness; after all, it is the moment of seeing, in which the lover distinguishes the beloved from all others. The final verse, in contrast, both performs and thematizes a oneness in which there is no longer any possibility of real distinction.

Kavirayar's innovative integration of poetic systems initiates a movement in the Tamil intellectual tradition toward an integrated ecosystem of Tamil language and poetics, in which Dandin-style figuration exists as one domain. The field of ornamentation explored in grammars produced between the seventeenth and early twentieth centuries continues to reflect Dandin/Tandi, whether through direct citation or by means of its organizing logic: modular presentation that allows for continued and compounded experiments with configured linguistic relationships. For reasons that are beyond the scope of this chapter, the Tamil figurative tradition of this period took interest not only in Tandi's interpretation of Dandin, but also in that of the *Joy of the Water Lily* (*Kuvalayānanda*) of South Indian Sanskrit polymath Appayya Dikshita. As for literary praxis, the play between systems that Dandin facilitates in texts ranging from Nammalvar's *Hundred Poems* to the *Necklace of Beloved Places* continues to expand, including systems drawn from alternative traditions of ornamentation, philosophy, music, and the natural sciences. In addition, Tamil literary culture reflects the privileged position of two ornaments critical to Dandin, namely those that bookend his discussion of figures of sense: "natural description" (*svabhāvokti*), the key to new

naturalistic description, and "integrity" (*bhāvika*), a key to emerging models of the mind.

We began by asking how one could identify the role of Dandin in Tamil literary tradition, and we addressed that question in several ways. The first was to say that there are multiple Dandins in the Tamil literary world. There is the somewhat shadowy author of the *Mirror*, whose analytical style and empirical patterns of figuration appear in Tamil literary works from the second half of the first millennium on, but who is only invoked by name several centuries later, in the eleventh-century *Heroic Chola*. Then there is Tandi, the probably twelfth-century author of *Tandi's Figures*, which becomes the authoritative interpretation of Dandin for much of the Tamil literary praxis and theory that follow, including for the sixteenth-century *Maran's Figures* with which we ended this chapter.

However, we learned that the influence of the *Mirror* itself and of its author matters less than the deep and enduring relationship of Dandin to a historic transformation of literary language in Tamil, a transformation that, as we saw, has no specific point of origin, but that permeates all Tamil literature after the seventh century. In contrast to older poetic modes in Tamil, notably the technique of *uḷḷuṟai uvamam*, this new way of doing poetry places linguistic relationships—sound figures, sense figures, and everything in between—at the center of the poetic project. And while nowhere is Dandin mentioned in this historic moment, everywhere we see the playful, flexible figurative logic of the *Mirror*, as well as the specific figures discussed within. This everywhere-but-nowhere scenario changes over the next few centuries, with the systematization and extension of Dandin's figuration in grammars explicitly associated with the *Mirror*. By the time we reach *Maran's Figures* in the sixteenth century, a logic of compounding has taken over and has been formalized in its own terms. The language of figuration emerges as a distinctive literary system that can be combined with others to stunning aesthetic purpose, transforming each of the systems involved into living parts of an organic, sometimes incongruous, whole.

Looking at what happens to Dandin in Tamil offers us an alternative model for thinking about the relationship between Tamil and Sanskrit beyond the limited (and incorrect) one of native and foreign linguistic and literary traditions. Kavirayar's project shows us that Dandin-style figuration fundamentally changed expressive possibilities in Tamil, not by means of accretion or replacement, but by generating a new poetic language in which, for the reader able to see the play between the systems within, there is beauty that is quite literally—in the language of Dandin/Tandi—incomparable.

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# 5
# Sanskrit Poetics through Dandin's Looking Glass

## An Alternative History

*Edited by Yigal Bronner and Whitney Cox*

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### 5.1. Introduction

*Yigal Bronner and Whitney Cox*

There's a story we all tell about the history of poetics in Sanskrit, one that has been around for a very long time. First told by the great Kashmirian theorist Anandavardhana (ca. 850), it was given its earliest full version by his countryman Ruyyaka about two and half centuries later. Anandavardhana, in fact, is its protagonist. According to this story, the theory of poetry— *Alaṅkāraśāstra*, the discipline of ornaments—begins with a rather rudimentary cataloguing of figures of speech and literary styles. Time passes, and these grow more elaborate: new figures and styles are proposed, and the way they work is to some extent interrogated. Some other, aberrant theories come and go, but it is only with Anandavardhana that the discipline is set on a new, scientific, and fundamentally better course. Anandavardhana and those who followed him took the communication of implicit meaning—how a poem can mean more than it says—to be the principal aim of poetry, and the elucidation of its mechanisms to be the aim of poetic theory. Later thinkers (Ruyyaka among them) would devote much attention to the workings of individual figures of speech, the ornaments which continued to give the field its name, but all later work in the field, or at least all work

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that mattered, took place within the agenda first set out by Anandavardhana's *Light on Suggestion* (*Dhvanyāloka*).

It's a good story, and it tells us a great deal. The practitioners of Sanskrit poetics, for one thing, understood their field to be capable of the sort of conceptual revolutions that other intellectuals in classical India denied were even possible. And something remarkable did indeed take place in Kashmir before and after Anandavardhana's transformation. But much is lost if we understand this story as the only one we can tell about Sanskrit poetic theory. Most obviously, the centuries-long and continent-wide process of the reception and reimagining of Dandin's *Mirror of Literature* that is the subject of this volume is fundamentally at odds with the view seen from Kashmir. Indeed, it is possible to tell the story of the field from a different perspective, one where Dandin's *Mirror* is granted a far more central role. In this chapter, we aim to chart the effect exerted by the *Mirror*—with its complex modular system of ornaments, its additive logic of trope begetting trope, its pedagogical touches, and its immensely popular examples—within the longer history of the field. Our approach is twofold. On the one hand, we will trace this effect on the language and on the theory of subsequent theorists, whether they were resistant to Dandin's model (as many were, especially in Kashmir) or enthusiastic in their adoption of it (as many outside Kashmir were). On the other hand, we will present a brief history of the scholarly interpretations of the *Mirror* that can be gathered from the exceptionally large number of Sanskrit commentaries it attracted. Here we must be very selective, focusing only on the earliest and most important such work to come down to us—that of the Buddhist scholar Ratnashrijnana, one of the great heroes in the story of Dandin's *Mirror*—and on a small array of later works, representative of a much larger field. In tracing the ways in which Dandin's ideas and examples ramified throughout the Sanskrit tradition, we can see *Alaṅkāraśāstra* in a different light, while listening for the voices of what was a much more complex conversation than has usually been thought.

The sections that follow are organized in a way that is partly chronological and partly geographical. After an opening glance at the poorly understood world of Sanskrit poetic theory prior to Dandin's time (section 5.2), we turn to the influence of Dandin's *Mirror* in Kashmir: first in the era of conceptual transformations that took place in the generations *before* the traditional watershed event of Anandavardhana's work (section 5.3), and then to Dandin's continuing, if tentative, presence within the world of poetic theory in Kashmir in the wake of Anandavardhana's intervention, from the tenth to the twelfth centuries (section 5.4). Then, in violation of our chronological presentation, we turn back in time to the tenth century and down to the plains of the subcontinent, to a lengthy discussion of the Buddhist commentator Ratnashrijnana's crucial work of commentary, the most important such work ever written on the *Mirror* (sections 5.5–5.7).

Resuming our historical narrative, we turn to the central place of the *Mirror* in the maverick and massive poetic treatise of the eleventh-century King Bhoja of Dhara (section 5.8), and glance into the largely unexplored world of Dandin's later medieval commentators (section 5.9), before a demonstration of the continued vitality of his theories and examples in one of the last innovative poetic theorists to write in Sanskrit, the great sixteenth-century polymath Appayya Dikshita (section 5.10). We end with a brief conclusion (section 5.11).

## 5.2. Poetics before Dandin

*Yigal Bronner and Andrew Ollett*

There can be little doubt that Dandin radically transformed the systematic discourse on poetics in South Asia. The problem is that, partly as the result of his success, we know very little about the field's prior state. Our lack of precise knowledge pertains to three broad areas: what texts made up the field, how to date them and how they relate to each other, and what exactly poetics meant at this early stage. There are a handful of texts about which we can say with confidence that they preceded Dandin and which share his interest in the analysis of literary language, in particular the features that were widely known as "ornaments" (*alaṅkāra*) and "virtues" (*guṇa*). But even these texts are extremely varied: an analysis of these features makes a small appearance in Bharata's *Treatise on Theater* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*, second century CE?); another discussion is embedded in *Bhatti's Poem* (*Bhaṭṭikāvya*, ca. 600 or 650, depending on the identity of his patron Dharasena), a literary work that primarily aims to exemplify the rules of Sanskrit grammar. Only Bhamaha's foundational *Ornament of Literature* (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*), likely composed sometime between 500 and 650 CE, addresses the problems of poetics front and center, but here, too, in connection with reflections on grammar and logic (odds and ends of these discussions also appear in the Purāṇas, encyclopedic compilations of knowledge of every sort). A further complication is that besides these texts, there are references to others that are now lost, such as the works of Medhavirudra and Ramasharman, and we have no way of knowing their nature, nor can we be sure that only they were lost.

Some things do, however, seem certain. Dandin's primary and immediate forerunner, Bhamaha, had already created a new model for the field, both in format and in conceptual outlook. We say this with confidence because Bhamaha himself claims credit for his innovations. First, consider his style of presentation. The bulk of Bhamaha's *Ornament* is written in the simplest and most common Sanskrit meter (*anuṣṭubh*). Moreover, for every poetic element, Bhamaha provides both a definition and an illustration, and the illustrations are self-authored and made to fit the textbook-like meter. This formal feature is not found in any other early

extant text, and Bhamaha himself reports that the ornaments he presents are "endowed with examples that are entirely my own creation." Had this practice been standard, it probably would have gone without saying.[1] Second, Bhamaha presents what was likely to have been the first systematic survey of ornaments, the titular character of his book. He takes pride in presenting "a whole spectrum of poetic ornaments based on observing them in a variety of works by others" and in "having consulted the views of master poets" as well.[2] Indeed, he orders his ornaments so as to reflect his understanding of his sources, with at least some attention to the way these evolved over time.[3] Finally, and most importantly, Bhamaha also takes pride in "having fathomed the definition of literature in my own mind" and, indeed, in discovering "the law of ornaments, which I ascertained with my own mind and stated and elaborated on with my own words."[4] By this he mainly refers to his key theorem that all ornamental devices must involve indirect and intensifying language (*vakrokti*, with its built-in *atiśayokti*), a principle which he uses to explain his rejection of devices that he believed lacked it.[5]

These innovative elements—Bhamaha's style of pedagogy, his striving for a complete survey of ornaments, empirically based and historically oriented, and his attempt to ground them in some principled way—must be seen as key to his book's success.[6] His *Ornament* quickly became the main primer on poetics to be studied in both Brahmin and Buddhist circles throughout South Asia, and it was enshrined as the field's foundational treatise by later Kashmiri thinkers beginning with Udbhata, who composed a massive and erudite commentary on it, now mostly lost.[7] Indeed, all later texts in the field were closely indebted to Bhamaha, and readers of other early texts on poetics tended to read them together with his *Ornament*. Clear examples are the commentators on Dandin's *Mirror*, who cite

[1] BKA 2.96: *svayaṃkṛtair eva nidarśanaiḥ*. Note also that illustrations by others are often highlighted as such (e.g., BKA 3.8: *uvāca ratnāharaṇe*). No other extant early text follows this pattern: the tenth chapter of *Bhatti's Poem* has only illustrations, in different meters, but obviously no definitions; the probably post-Dandin *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa* offers only definitions but no examples; and Bharata's brief section on ornaments provides illustrations that are, by and large, not in the same meter as their framing discussion, and do not seem to have been composed especially for this presentation. A possible exception is the Prakrit *Mirror of Ornaments*, which presents definitions and examples in the same meter, but it appears that the examples are drawn from existing literature, and, as we explain below, the text's date is far from certain (see note 15 below).

[2] BKA 5.69, 6.64: *iti nigaditās tās tā vācām alaṅkṛtayo mayā bahuvidhakṛtīr dṛṣṭvā; avalokya matāni satkavīnām*.

[3] See, especially, his references to others in BKA 2.4 and 3.4.

[4] BKA 6.64, 3.58: *avagamya svadhiyā ca kāvyalakṣma*; *girām alaṅkāravidhiḥ savistaraḥ svayaṃ viniścitya dhiyā mayoditaḥ*.

[5] E.g., BKA 2.85–87.

[6] This brief presentation is partly based on Bronner forthcoming.

[7] For quotations and references to Bhamaha in both circles, see Bronner 2012: 89–99. For Udbhata's commentary, see Gnoli 1962; for his agenda vis-à-vis Bhamaha and more generally, see Bronner 2016.

Bhamaha consistently, and Jayamangala, in his gloss on the tenth chapter of *Bhatti's Poem*, where Bhamaha's definitions are systematically matched with every verse of Bhatti.[8] More broadly, it could be said that Dandin's *Mirror* is a close, thorough, and particularly playful mirror held up to Bhamaha's *Ornament*, and that it responds precisely to Bhamaha's innovative elements identified here. Indeed, Bhamaha and Dandin soon came to be seen as a pair of founders for Sanskrit poetics, the only knowledge system to have two founding fathers, as it were.[9]

In formulating his system, Dandin did not look back only to Bhamaha and the tradition of poetics proper. He also engaged with discussions of poetic ornaments in the more distantly related field of dramaturgy, where the principal text—and likely the one that he read—was the *Treatise on Theater* ascribed to Bharata. Dandin says at the end of his second chapter that he considers as "ornaments" a variety of phenomena that are given different names in "another tradition," and the reference is clearly to dramaturgy.[10]

All of these phenomena are discussed in the *Treatise on Theater*, but one, "characteristics" (*lakṣaṇa*), deserves special notice. The *Treatise* distinguishes the four ornaments and ten virtues, which are discussed in almost every subsequent work of poetics, from thirty-six characteristics, which are rather more obscure. What are these characteristics? Clearly, there was no consensus within the tradition, so much so that Abhinavagupta, when commenting on the *Treatise* in the late tenth century, reports ten different views on the matter.[11] The truth, he argues, is somewhere in between these ten. For him, the four ornaments defined and exemplified in the *Treatise* can be explained formally through the recurrence (*āvṛtti*) of an element of sound or meaning. The thirty-six characteristics, by contrast, which the *Treatise* defines but does not illustrate, refer to modalities of expression that inevitably "characterize" poetic speech. A poet can express the same "thing" (*artha*) as a mere statement (*ākhyāna*), a question (*praśna*), a request (*yācñā*), a conclusion (*siddhi*), a denial (*pratiṣedha*), and so on. Moreover, relying on an insight of his teacher, Bhatta Tauta, Abhinavagupta explains that the characteristics and the ornaments can be combined (*yoga*) with each other. He explicitly compares these combinations to the way that Dandin generates new subvarieties of ornaments by adding "differentiating elements" (*prabhedakāṃśa*). In other

[8] For the practices of Dandin's commentaries, see Bronner 2012: 80–86, and also sections 5.5–5.7 and 5.9 below.

[9] For example, "I received ornaments from Bhamaha and Dandin" (*bhaṃbhaheṃ daṃḍiṇihiṃ alaṅkāru*; *Riṭṭhaṇemicariu* 1.1.3); "the ornaments of Bhamaha and Dandin." (*bhammahadaṇḍialaṅkāru, Paümacariu* 1.1.3); both quotes are by Svayambhu.

[10] KĀ 2.364: *yac ca sandhyaṅgavṛttyaṅgalakṣaṇādy āgamāntare | vyāvarṇitam idaṃ ceṣṭam alaṅkāratayaiva naḥ* ||; see also KĀ 1.31.

[11] For a pioneering study of the *lakṣaṇa*s and this passage in Abhinavagupta, see Raghavan [1942] 1973.

words, the different characteristics make a handful of ornaments into an immense system of figurative language (*lakṣaṇabalād alaṅkārāṇāṃ vaicitryam āgacchati*).[12]

It is difficult to say whether Abhinavagupta saw something in the *Treatise* that Dandin before him had also seen, or whether he is projecting a key feature of Dandin's *Mirror* onto the earlier *Treatise*. What is clear is that he is viewing the *Treatise* through Dandin's *Mirror*, to which he refers several times in this section. Bhamaha and Dandin elect to talk about ornaments alone rather than ornaments and characteristics, and their list of ornaments arguably includes several erstwhile characteristics.[13] But whereas Bhamaha is ambivalent about most of them, Dandin gets as much use from them as he can. Indeed, earlier characteristics are central to his tendency to multiply ornaments by combination and permutation. Abhinavagupta, for example, does not fail to mention that Dandin is able to generate added varieties of simile (*upamā*) by employing characteristics such as mere "neutrality" (or "the need to explain"; *ācikhyāsā*), "uncertainty" (*saṃśaya*), or its "resolution" (*nirṇaya*).[14] It appears, then, that Dandin did not merely recategorize the *Treatise*'s characteristics as ornaments, as did Bhamaha, but was inspired by the possibilities of combination implicit in the *Treatise* to create his modular system.

To conclude, despite our lack of precise knowledge about the origins of Sanskrit poetics, we believe that Dandin's highly successful model emerged from his creative engagement with his known forerunners, the "three *Bha*s."[15] From Bhamaha he took not just the list of ornaments but also his empirical approach, the key notion of indirection (*vakrokti*), and the new style of instruction; from Bharata he borrowed *lakṣaṇa* as a principle that allowed endless permutations; his sustained playful echoes of both Bhamaha and Bhatti are beyond the scope of this brief section.[16] These and other ingredients he used in creating his new pedagogy, his modular and open-ended approach to ornaments, and his signature intertextual playfulness—features that came to define his *Mirror* in the eyes of its readers and interpreters.

[12] NŚ p. 321.

[13] Such as *āśiḥ*, *preyas*, *atiśaya*, *hetu*, *arthāntaranyāsa* (arguably based on *dṛṣṭānta*), and *svabhāvokti* (arguably based on the characteristic called *ākhyāna*).

[14] NŚ p. 305: *eta eva śikṣitair api daṇḍiprabhṛtibhir ye nirūpitā upamābhedāḥ, tatra yo bhedako 'ṃśaḥ ācikhyāsāsaṃśayanirṇayādir arthaḥ, sa tādṛk pṛthag alaṅkāratayāgaṇitaḥ, gaṇane 'pi vā saṃsṛṣṭisaṅkarāpattiḥ. arthamātraṃ tad iti cet, tarhi tad eva lakṣaṇam*. Dandin's *Mirror* gives *ācikhyāsā* (KĀ 2.32), *saṃśaya* (KĀ 2.26), and *nirṇaya* (KĀ 2.27) as subvarieties of the simile.

[15] We do not bring into consideration here the anonymous *Mirror of Ornaments* (*Alaṅkāradappaṇa*), a Prakrit text consisting of definitions and examples of approximately forty ornaments. Ollett thinks that it is possible that the Prakrit *Mirror*, or at least an earlier Prakrit work which served as its model, might have been one of Bhamaha's main sources, in view of the close similarities between their definitions; Bronner considers this possibility highly unlikely. The date of the Prakrit *Mirror* has, in any case, never been established with certainty.

[16] See Bronner 2017.

## 5.3. Dandin and the Dawn of Kashmiri Poetics

*Yigal Bronner*

The next major development in Sanskrit literary thought after Dandin took place in Kashmir, which between the eighth and twelfth centuries fashioned itself as the center of Sanskrit learning and the arts. Thinkers in this northernmost region of South Asia tended to prefer their compatriots, viewed their valley as the birthplace of cosmopolitan knowledge, and claimed such classics as Patanjali's *Great Commentary* on Panini's grammar to be homegrown.[17] In the realm of poetics, this meant that Bhamaha, himself possibly a Kashmiri,[18] was given pride of place, while Dandin, with his outspoken southern local-patriotism and clear "digs" at Bhamaha, was typically snubbed. This differential treatment is especially true of the avant-garde of Kashmiri literati in the late eighth and ninth centuries. Some members of this group crowned Bhamaha the founder of their tradition, whereas none even mentioned Dandin by name.[19] But these citational practices are a mere facade. In reality, in over four centuries of intensive and innovative work on poetics in Kashmir, it is hard to think of even one thinker who was not well versed in the *Mirror*.

This keen familiarity is demonstrable right from the dawn of Kashmiri poetics, and especially during the formative period of creativity in the court of King Jayapida (r. 776–807). Kalhana, the celebrated Kashmiri chronicler, portrays this king's reign as dedicated to intense intellectual activity and to fostering a universal cultural hegemony, with a special focus on poetry and poetic theory.[20] Indeed, this was the time when thinkers such as Udbhata and Vamana, who landed lucrative positions in Jayapida's administration, sought to turn the discourse on poetics into a serious and prestigious discipline: they produced new foundational treatises in high academic style; they sought to create systematic and scientific frameworks within which to analyze literary phenomena; and they began heavily to borrow tools and analytical protocols from the authoritative triad of sciences—grammar (science of the word), Vedic hermeneutics or *Mīmāṃsā* (science of the sentence), and logic (science of valid means of knowledge)—with the purpose of grounding ornaments and other poetic phenomena in different semantic capacities and the cognitive scenarios that these entail.[21]

[17] On Kashmir as the homeland of knowledge see, for example, *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 4.486 and *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* 1.21, 18.6. On the *Mahābhāṣya* as native to Kashmir, see *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 4.488, cf. Aklujkar 2008.

[18] We do not know whence Bhamaha hailed, but the deferential treatment he received from Kashmiri thinkers suggests that he was a Kashmiri, either historically or by adoption.

[19] This refers to surviving texts by Udbhata, Vamana, Rudrata, and Anandavardhana. By contrast, all extant Kashmiri commentaries on these texts mention Dandin and cite the *Mirror* unambiguously, as discussed in the following section.

[20] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 4.486–99, cf. Bronner 2013.

[21] Bronner 2016.

This scientific turn is a dramatic departure from the open and playful approach embodied by the *Mirror* and seems more in line with Bhamaha's avowed parsimony and dogged conservatism. This may partly explain why Udbhata, the senior-most literatus in Jayapida's court, enthroned Bhamaha's text by composing an erudite commentary on it—the first exegetical treatise of its kind in Sanskrit poetics. This masterpiece, whose influence on literary thought throughout South Asia has been grossly underappreciated, is now lost but for a few fragments,[22] although a shorter, digest-like work by Udbhata, *The Essential Précis of Ornaments of Poetry* (*Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha*), did survive. This work, too, explicitly orients itself to Bhamaha: its title may mean that it is a précis of Bhamaha's *Ornament of Poetry* (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*), and Udbhata makes a clear effort to retain Bhamaha's original language and arbitrary order of presentation whenever possible.[23]

But this homage to Bhamaha is misleading. Wearing a thin loyalist veil, Udbhata was a highly original thinker who took profound liberties with his root text.[24] One of the most blatant examples of this is found at the very beginning of his *Précis*, where he topples "twinning" (*yamaka*), the ornament that topped Bhamaha's list, and replaces it with "apparent repetition" (*punaruktavadābhāsa*), a figure of his own invention.[25] The charm of this new figure rests on a first-blush impression of outright redundancy that is followed by a realization that the second element is entirely different from the first.[26] In a surviving fragment of his commentary on Bhamaha, Udbhata explains that Bhamaha's "twinning" is but a subcategory of his own broader heading.[27] But what may have been the inspiration for this expansive view of apparent repetition, which now included both sound (as in Bhamaha's twinning) and sense (as in the *Précis*'s example)? I suggest that this figure was modeled after a little-known ornament from Dandin's *Mirror* called "repetition" (*āvṛtti*), which has two aspects that are relevant to our discussion. First, it is the only earlier figure that includes, by definition, "sense repetition, sound repetition, and, indeed, combined repetition (KĀ 2.116)." Second, here too, the stronger the initial sense of redundancy, the more powerful the subsequent realization that it was only apparent, as is best manifested in Dandin's last example (KĀ 2.119). Most importantly, *āvṛtti* is "owned" by Dandin in the sense that it is the *only* ornament in the *Mirror* that has not been earlier mentioned by Bhamaha; he also mentions the term in his definition of

[22] On the lost masterpieces of Sanskrit poetics, see Bhattacharyya 1981. The fragments are published in Gnoli 1962.

[23] For an example of such an effort of retention, see Bronner 2016: 119–23.

[24] For Udbhata's innovativeness, see Bronner 2016: 139–41.

[25] KASS 1.1. On the invention of *punaruktavadābhāsa*, see Krishnamoorthy 1979: 31–32.

[26] This ornament, then, heralds Udbhata's bold attempt to ground the different poetic effects in specific cognitive scenarios; Bronner 2013: 113–14.

[27] *Vivaraṇa*, frag. 1, l. 5.

alliteration and "twinning."[28] If I am right in my reading of Udbhata, then the choice to open his *Précis* by replacing Bhamaha's first item by one modeled after a signature Dandin ornament is a strong statement, for those ready to listen, about his intellectual independence, regardless of his proclaimed adoption of Bhamaha as an intellectual father.[29] A close reading of Udbhata reveals Dandin's fingerprints elsewhere as well.[30]

Vamana was likely Udbhata's junior at Jayapida's court, and scholars have already recognized his affinities with Dandin. In fact, it has been noted that the earlier pair of Bhamaha and Dandin somehow replicated itself in the figures Udbhata and Vamana.[31] This, perhaps, is another case of "apparent repetition," but it is certainly true that the two were yet another pair in a long list that Sanskrit poetics kept producing, and that while Udbhata raised Bhamaha's flag, Vamana kept far closer to Dandin (without ever mentioning him by name). Indeed, in his *Gloss on the Aphorisms on the Ornaments of Poetry* (*Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*), Vamana strove to retain, within his new systematic framework and scientific jargon, as much as he possibly could from the topics, analyses, and actual language of the *Mirror* to an extent that has never been fully documented. Vamana, for example, is the first in a long line of thinkers to reuse Dandin's examples, verbatim or with modification, often as illustrations of other poetic phenomena than those found in the *Mirror*. Consider Vamana's signature innovation, a new ornament called "indirection" (*vakrokti*). Vamana grounded indirection in the figurative (*lākṣaṇika*) linguistic capacity and, hence, made it a counterpart to "identification" (*rūpaka*), whose "secondary usage" (*guṇavṛtti*) was distinct.

[28] KĀ 2.116, 1.55, 3.1 (where the term is *vyāvṛtti*, a close synonym), 3.73.

[29] Note, by the way, that the introduction of "apparent repetition" at the top of his list is inspired by Dandin in yet another way. As already noted in Basistha 2003: 116, Dandin, too, topped his predecessor's list with *svabhāvokti*, an ornament which had been discussed but rejected by Bhamaha.

[30] Here is a partial list of examples in the order of their appearance in Udbhata's text: Udbhata's subtypes of "intensification" (*atiśayokti*, see KASS 2.11–13 and the following examples) are reminiscent of Dandin's "striking causation" (*citrahetu*, e.g. KĀ 2.251ab; note that Bhamaha has no "intensification" subtypes); under "seeing as" (*utprekṣā*), Udbhata repeatedly stresses that this ornament can be marked by the word "like" (*iva*, KASS 3.3; both following examples feature *iva*), a key point in Dandin's disucssion (KĀ 2.224–32); Udbhata welcomes "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*; KASS 3.4), *pace* Bhamaha and in agreement with Dandin (KĀ 2.8–13); his pair of illustrations of "citing another case" (*arthāntaranyāsa*, see the two illustrations after KASS 2.5) replicate Dandin's signature method of providing two identical illustrations, with only one parameter changed; his understanding of the ornament "flavored" (*rasavat*, KASS 4.3) as an elevation of emotion so that it becomes palpable (*udaya*, *darśitaspaṣṭa*; KASS 4.3) is in agreement with Dandin's notion of it as an emotion in intensified form (*yuktotkarṣa*, KĀ 2.273; see also Dandin's repeated follow-up comments on the individual illustrations); Udbhata's definition of "denial" follows Bhamaha's, but the example retains Dandin's "relativistic" option (KASS 5.3, cf. KĀ 2.203–4); Udbhata's examples of "exceptionality" (*viśeṣokti*, KASS 5.4 and especially the first illustration) are also closely reminiscent of Dandin's verses under "dismissal" (*ākṣepa*, KĀ 2.157); Udbhata's inclusion of an ornament called "cause of poetry" (*kāvyahetu* or *kāvyaliṅga*; 6.7) is a nod to Dandin's embrace of "causation" (*hetu*) in poetry, *pace* Bhamaha (KĀ 2.233–57).

[31] Gerow 1977: 233.

Vamana's innovativeness with this ornament has been overlooked, as has the fact that the first example he provided ("the day lotus in the pond opens his eyes, just when the night lotus shuts his") is silently taken, with some alterations, straight from Dandin's discussion of the poetic virtue of "transference" (*samādhi*), itself already defined as based on a figurative capacity of language, albeit of a slightly different type.[32]

Another aspect of Vamana's indebtedness to Dandin that has been entirely overlooked is the fact that he is the first known literary theorist to adopt the *Mirror*'s style of pedagogy. This is most apparent in his discussion of poetic virtues (*guṇa*). Consider, for instance, Vamana's discussion of "cohesion" (*śleṣa*; Dandin: *śliṣṭa*). His definition of this phenomenon differs from Dandin's, but his mode of exemplification unmistakably mirrors the *Mirror*. In fact, Vamana provides here not one, but three paired examples that are identical but for their level of cohesiveness.[33] Viewed more broadly, Vamana is particularly keen on preserving Dandin's insights on poetic virtues, a major topic in the *Mirror* that was totally marginal for Bhamaha.[34] Much gets modified in the process of realigning Dandin's categories so as to fit Vamana's new system, but a great deal is retained, including the key observation that the virtues underlie the different styles of poetry, which Dandin called "paths" (*mārga*) and which Vamana renamed "dictions" (*rīti*; he also added a third such method to Dandin's original pair). To get a sense of the complex pattern of change and continuity, pay attention to two words that dominate Dandin's discussion of virtues: "by and large" (*prāyas*) and "arrangement" (*bandha*). The first is silently banned from Vamana's parallel discussion, which tries to distance itself from the *Mirror*'s perceived cavalier imprecision, whereas the second is made the organizing principle of the "virtues of composition."[35]

Then there is the very definition of virtues vis-à-vis ornaments and flaws, the two other main elements in Dandin's toolkit. While I cannot discuss this in any detail, it is easy to demonstrate that Vamana was heavily dependent on the *Mirror* in his attempts to restrict and improve it. For example, whereas Dandin kept showing how, under certain circumstances, flaws can turn into virtues

[32] Compare *unmimīla kamalaṃ sarasīnāṃ kairavaṃ ca nimimīla muhūrtāt* (KAlSū ad 4.3.8) with: *kumudāni nimīlanti kamalāny unmiṣanti ca* (KĀ 1.94). For Dandin this was an example of *gauṇa* and not of *lakṣaṇā* (KĀ 1.95: *gauṇavṛttivyapāśraya*). On *vakrokti* as a signature innovation of Vamana, see *Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 28–32, and Abhinavagupta's comments thereon. For more on Vamana's *vakrokti*, see Bronner 2013: 98–99.

[33] KAlSū, ad 3.1.11: *na punaḥ: sūtraṃ brāhmam uraḥsthale, bhramarīvalgugītayaḥ, taḍitkalilam ākāśam iti. evaṃ tu śleṣo bhavati: brāhmaṃ sūtram uraḥsthale, bhramarīmañjugītayaḥ, taḍijjaṭilam ākāśam iti*.

[34] BKA 2.1–3. For a more detailed discussion of Vamana's notion of virtues, see Lahiri 1993.

[35] For *prāyas* and its synonyms in Dandin, see KĀ 1.42, 1.54, 1.69, and 1.72 (*bhūmnā*). For *bandha*, see KĀ 1.44 (*śliṣṭa*), 1.47 (*sama*), 1.60 (*mādhurya*), 1.69 (*sukumāratā*; see also 1.72 *badhyate*), and 1.83 (*ojas*). Vamana turns this into a broader principle in KAlSū 3.1.4: *ojaḥprasādaśleṣasamatāsamādhimādhuryasaukumāryodāratārthavyaktikāntayo bandhaguṇāḥ*.

and vice versa, Vamana decreed very clearly and strictly: "The nature of flaws is that they are the opposite of virtues."[36] And whereas Dandin had stated that "ornaments are the factors that make poetry beautiful," leaving the nature of their relationship with virtues somewhat vague, Vamana turned things upside down in his search for rigor: "Virtues are the factors in charge of making poetry beautiful. Ornaments, for their part, cause their [virtues'] intensification. The former [virtues] are [alone] essential."[37] It is impossible to look at these two quotes without realizing not only that Vamana was fully familiar with the *Mirror*, but also that he expected his readers to recognize his key intertext as well.

Speaking of ornaments, let us look at one final example, simile (*upamā*), which epitomizes both Udbhata and Vamana's responses to the challenge posed by Dandin. Dandin turned simile into the quintessential figure by singling it out as the first nonfactual device and by dealing with it at unprecedented length and with unparalleled sophistication. Thus he presented a vast, highly modular, and flexible simile "universe" (*prapañca*) as the cornerstone of a wide-open field of ornaments.[38] This open vision was anathema to the systematists of the Jayapida's court, and they responded accordingly, each in his own way. Udbhata kept simile in its original place in Bhamaha's list and ignored Dandin's vast exploration of its subtypes. Instead, he combed the prestigious grammar of Panini and the commentaries thereon for rules governing the expression of similitude. Each such rule came to govern a distinct subtype of his revamped simile, while no other Dandin-like subtype was allowed.[39] Vamana, by contrast, welcomed simile as the quintessential figure and insisted on making it the mold of all figurative language; all ornaments were now included in simile's "universe," a term he adopts from Dandin, while those that could not fit this single prototype were silently written off.[40] Neither of these reactions were particularly lasting: no later theorist ever tried to model all ornaments on a single mold or to fully grammaticize simile, while Dandin's open vision endured for centuries to come.

A first indication of this future trend came soon with Rudrata (ca. 825), possibly a compatriot of Udbhata and Vamana. Rudrata, too, strove to put Kashmiri poetics on a new scientific and systematic path. But whereas Vamana pressed all ornaments into one strict mold, his junior colleague offered four super categories, three of which mirror signature aspects of the *Mirror*: "factuality" (*vāstava*) echoes Dandin's insistence, *pace* Bhamaha, on the importance of factual statements (*svabhāvokti*) and causality (*hetu*) in poetry; "similitude" (*aupamya*)

[36] KAlSū 2.1.1: *guṇaviparyayātmāno doṣāḥ*.

[37] KĀ 2.1: *kāvyaśobhākarān dharmān alaṅkārān*; KAlSū 3.1.1–3: *kāvyaśobhāyāḥ kartāro dharmā guṇāḥ. tadatiśayahetavas tv alaṅkārāḥ. pūrve nityāḥ*.

[38] KĀ 2.14. For openness in the *Mirror*, see Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume.

[39] See Bronner forthcoming 2.

[40] KAlSū 4.3.1: *prativastuprabhṛtir upamāprapañcaḥ*.

is based on the expansion of the simile, as already seen in Vamana; and "embrace" (*śleṣa*) follows Dandin's unique insight into the vast ornamental role of simultaneity.[41] Even "intensification" (*atiśaya*), a category that is arguably a nod to Bhamaha, is in practice highly indebted to Dandin in ways that I cannot discuss here, and the same is true of other aspects of Rudrata's book.[42]

Of the formative Kashmiri theorists, Anandavardhana (ca. 850) was the most famous and most influential. He also gave Dandin the coldest shoulder. His seminal monograph, *The Light on Suggestion* (*Dhvanyāloka*), continues and extends his compatriots' trend of semanticizing poetics based on concepts from *Mīmāṃsā*, but it also downplays much of the earlier topics of analysis, ornaments in particular, in favor of the poem's "soul" (*ātman*)—its suggested emotional flavor (*rasadhvani*).[43] Anandavardhana was mostly disinterested in old-school poetics, and when in need of a reference point, his designated elder was Udbhata or a combination of him and Bhamaha. Dandin was left out, even as ornaments, the way he defined and explained them, allot considerable place to suggestion. As we shall see below, Anandavardhana's snubbing of Dandin was met with scorn by the *Mirror*'s most important commentator, and it was not followed by later Kashmirians, including Abhinavagupta, Anandavardhana's main interpreter and follower.

## 5.4. Dandin in Post-*Dhvanyāloka* Kashmir

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Sanskrit poetic theory underwent a dramatic shift in the wake of Anandavardhana's *Light on Suggestion* (*Dhvanyāloka*, ca. 850) and the debate it stirred. Anandavardhana offered a radically novel account of the overall nature and proper objectives of poetry itself—seeing the ideal poem as a text systematically organized to produce a sustained emotional mood (rasa)—and concomitantly a fundamentally different understanding of the proper role of poetic theory—not merely to catalogue and illustrate ornaments and other individually beautiful poetic elements, but to assess the way these components work together to achieve a unified aesthetic objective. For these reasons, his work also generated a radical break with preexisting literary theory, challenging many of its key tenets and methodological presuppositions, as well

[41] For the division into four categories, see RKA 7.9. On Rudrata's system, see Gerow 1977: 238–45. On Dandin's discussion of factuality and embrace, see Bronner 2010: 214–30.

[42] One such example is in the extensive discussion of Rudrata on "twining" (*yamaka*), the topic of chapter 3 of his book (for Dandin's discussion of "twinning," see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume).

[43] For the definitive discussion on Anandavardhana, see McCrea 2008.

as the more general semantic theory that lay behind it. Not surprisingly, this attack on existing theory and method generated a certain amount of hostile response, giving rise among some theorists to a traditionalist defense, but also in some measure a rethinking and reformulation, of earlier poetic and semantic categories.

The scholarly and discursive practices of poetics in Kashmir also changed with Anandavardhana's *Light*, and one feature of this change is a marked increase in the citation of, and named reference to, prior theoretical works. In consequence, actual quotations of Dandin's *Mirror* occur for the first time in this period. Such citations remain quite rare in comparison with those of other early works on poetics (most notably those of Bhamaha and Udbhata, who retain general recognition as the founding figures of the field in Kashmir), but they are found occasionally in works written from the early post-Anandavardhana era up until the end of the major creative period of Kashmiri poetic theory (with Jayaratha, in the mid-thirteenth century). This shows that, while Dandin's work was very much in the background for most authors in this period, it was certainly not forgotten. In fact, as we shall see, there is reason to believe that Dandin's *Mirror* remained very well-known to the Kashmirian literati. This means that the highly selective use of Dandin among the Kashmiris, as a source of theoretical insights or of example verses, is a choice, rather than an accident of preservation or availability. We may then ask why Dandin is so often overlooked or neglected, and why only at certain points do particular Kashmiri authors choose to engage with him. In what follows I will briefly survey the direct references to Dandin in the later Kashmiri discourse, and then examine in more detail three authors who chose to engage with him in greater depth, in order to gauge the role of Dandin as a figure standing in the background of the dominant stream of Kashmiri aesthetics.

It is not in the work of Anandavardhana and his followers, but rather among those who resisted the changes he sought to introduce into the field, that explicit appropriation of and engagement with Dandin's *Mirror* begins. Anandavardhana's earliest critic, Mukulabhatta (ca. 875 CE), does not himself quote or refer to Dandin, but this is done for the first time in the works of two of his pupils, Pratiharenduraja and Sahadeva. It is no accident that both make use of Dandin while commenting on other pre-Anandavardhana literati. It would appear that both Mukulabhatta and his pupils were engaged in mounting a program of traditionalist resistance to the changes Anandavardhana had attempted to introduce into the field of poetic theory. Mukulabhatta himself, as I have argued elsewhere, sought to challenge both Anandavardhana's introduction of "suggestion" (*vyañjanā*) as a previously unrecognized semantic function peculiar to poetry, and his attack on earlier poetic theory as inadequate based on

its failure to account for suggestion-dominant poetry.[44] And, in different ways, both of his known pupils can similarly be seen to uphold the adequacy of earlier approaches to poetics in the light of Anandavardhana's critique.

This is seen most notably in Pratiharenduraja's *Brief Commentary* (*Laghuvṛtti*) on Udbhata's *The Essential Précis of Ornaments of Poetry* (*Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha*). In this work Pratiharenduraja, in the course of supporting Udbhata's system of the figures and explicitly defending it against Anandavardhana's charges of inadequacy, quotes from all of the pre-Anandavardhana writers on poetics. These quotations are for the most part presented as support for or in explanation of Udbhata's views, rather than as rival or alternative views. The overall sense one gets from his use of these citations is of an effort to formulate a unified traditionalist response to Anandavardhana's new suggestion-based poetics. Dandin is referred to as a source of authority, albeit only once.[45] Sahadeva's engagement with Dandin in his unpublished commentary on Vamana's *Gloss on the Aphorisms on the Ornaments of Poetry* (*Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*) is more extensive and more complex, and I examine it in detail below.

After these initial instances of quotation in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, direct citations of Dandin's *Mirror* are found occasionally in many of the more important Kashmiri works on poetics. These citations are never frequent, but occur with some regularity through the end of the major period of Kashmiri activity in the field in the twelfth century. Most often these quotations are of Dandin's example verses, occasionally accompanied by his definition of the figure exemplified. For example, the great eleventh-century synthesizer of the Kashmiri poetic tradition, Mammata, quotes from the *Mirror* twice in his magnum opus, the *Illumination of Poetry* (*Kāvyaprakāśa*), in both cases incorporating Dandin's example verses without their accompanying definitions. Mammata thus quotes Dandin's example of the figure *samāhita* ("coincidence") to exemplify essentially the same figure, which he borrows from the *Mirror* with a slight change in name (*samādhi*).[46] His second quotation involves a somewhat more substantial shift,

[44] McCrea 2008: 260–330.

[45] This is in the context of explaining that simile can only be used for nouns, not verbs: "It is precisely for this reason that Dandin explains at great length that, in the verse 'It's as if darkness smears the limbs, and the sky rains down collyrium . . .', there is a case of 'seeing as' containing an element of 'intensification' [rather than simile]." *Laghuvṛtti* ad KASS 1.15–21: *ata eva daṇḍinā "limpatīva tamo 'ṅgāni varṣatīvāñjanaṃ nabhaḥ* | *asatpuruṣaseveva dṛṣṭir niṣphalatāṃ gatā* ||" (KĀ 2.224) *ityāder garbhīkṛtātiśayotprekṣābhedatvam eva mahatā prapañcenābhyadhāyi*. In arguing this, Pratiharenduraja is following the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patanjali.

[46] Compare *Kāvyaprakāśa*, p. 873, and KĀ 2.297. Despite the slight change in nomenclature, it is unmistakable here that Mammata is not only borrowing the example from Dandin, but adopting the figure itself from the *Mirror*. The figure *samāhita* does occur in Bhamaha's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (BKA 3.10), but Udbhata, and following him most of the later Kashmiri figurative theorists, understand

but Mammata's understanding of the figure in question nevertheless remains unmistakably grounded in Dandin's analysis of the example verse.[47] We begin to see a pattern emerging here, of preserving Dandin's illustration verses, even under categories that are modified, in this case very slightly so.

Ruyyaka's procedure in his references to Dandin basically follows that of Mammata, and remains similarly focused on Dandin's treatment of specific ornaments. He too includes the figure *samādhi*, modeling his definition on Mammata's and likewise using Dandin's illustration as his example verse.[48] In addition, he quotes one of Dandin's examples of "dismissal" (*ākṣepa*) to exemplify the very same figure.[49] However, unlike Mammata, Ruyyaka not only cites illustrations, but also, in one instance, quotes from Dandin's definition, this time of metaphorical identification (*rūpaka*). In defense of his own account of the relation between simile and metaphorical identification—both involve an act of comparison, but simile equally emphasizes the identity and the difference between the compared items, while metaphorical identification emphasizes only identity— Ruyyaka quotes Dandin's own definition of the latter figure: "Identification is nothing but a simile wherein difference is obscured."[50] So, as with Mammata, Ruyyaka's references to Dandin, though comparatively infrequent, show that he knew Dandin's work well and could draw on it selectively when useful. Citations of this sort, however, while they certainly demonstrate an ongoing detailed awareness of Dandin's work among the Kashmiri theorists, are centered only on the treatment of a few individual figures, and do not represent a deep or wide-ranging theoretical engagement with Dandin's work.

Apart from these occasional and opportunistic citations, however, there are three important figures—Sahadeva, Kuntaka, and Abhinavagupta—who engage in deeper and more substantive ways with Dandin's *Mirror*, not only quoting from it more often, but more seriously considering its relation to and implications for Kashmiri poetics. The first of these, Sahadeva, has received almost no attention from modern scholars, as his only known work, his commentary on Vamana's *Gloss on the Aphorisms*, remains unpublished. As noted above, Sahadeva, along

this figure to consist in depicting the subsidence of a rasa or rasa-like emotional state. Of the pre-Mammata thinkers, only Dandin understands the figure to consist in serendipitous assistance in achieving a desired end.

[47] The verse highlights the outstanding size of the universe: it is so big that it succeeds in containing the fame of the king who is the target of praise (KĀ 2.217; *Kāvyaprakāśa*, pp. 880–81). Dandin names the ornament *atiśayokti* ("intensification"), while Mammata, following the lead of Rudrata (RKA 9.26–29), dubs it *adhika* ("oversized"; for Rudrata this is a variety of *atiśaya*, one of the four categories of ornamentation).

[48] *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, p. 163. Ruyyaka, however, also includes in his system a separate figure *samāhita*, modeled on Udbhata's rasa-based version (ibid., pp. 185–90; cf. KASS 4.7).

[49] *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, p. 120; KĀ 2.141.

[50] KĀ 2.66; *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, pp. 35–36: *upamaiva tirobhūtabhedā rūpakam iṣyate* [var. *ucyate*].

with his contemporary and fellow student Pratiharenduraja, is one of the first of the Kashmiri poeticians to quote or explicitly refer to Dandin or his work. But, in contrast with his classmate, he does not use Dandin to explain or reinforce the text he is commenting on, but recognizes him as regularly providing incompatible and alternative formulations of the categories dealt with by Vamana. For the most part he adopts a pose of neutrality, neither defending nor attacking Dandin's positions, but simply notes that they exist as alternatives. He is openly critical of Dandin only once, citing one of his positive illustrations as an instance of the flaw of over-repetition of a single word, as defined by Vamana.[51]

More typically, Sahadeva treats Dandin as representing an alternative theoretical model, one which occasionally offers interesting insights into Vamana's own formulations, but which sometimes must simply be noted as different for purposes of clarity. For instance, commenting on Vamana's "postulated simile" (*kalpitopamā*), which he takes to be formed in defiance of common convention (*prasiddhi*), Sahadeva remarks:

> It is for this very reason that another [theorist] has called this "inverted simile";
> as he says:
> The lotus, when it opened, became like your face.
> This is called "inverted simile," since it inverts common convention.[52]

For Dandin, the inversion consisted of the fact that the conventional standard of comparison (the lotus), changed roles with its conventional subject (the face). For Vamana, what is postulated is probably something with no prior convention. Sahadeva found this difference of terminology noteworthy.

In other cases, Sahadeva draws attention to similarities between Vamana's and Dandin's analyses. For instance, when commenting on Vamana's division of the simile into single-word-based and sentence-based varieties, he refers to a parallel distinction drawn by Dandin, citing the *Mirror*'s relevant passage. Similarly, when Vamana defines metaphorical identification as "the superimposition of the identity of the standard of comparison on the subject, due to the sameness of their attributes" (*upamānenopameyasya guṇasāmyāt tattvāropaḥ*), Sahadeva notes that this figure "is produced by the submergence of the difference that exists in simile" and cites in this connection Dandin's aforementioned definition of identification as "nothing but a simile wherein difference is obscured."[53]

[51] *Vivṛti* 4.1.7, p. 48; cf. KĀ 3.50.

[52] *Vivṛti* 4.2.2, p. 52: *ata eva etām anyo viparyāsopamām āha yad uktam: "tvadānanam ivonnidram aravindam abhūd iti | sā prasiddhiviparyāsād viparyayopameṣyate* || [KĀ 2.17]" *iti.*

[53] *Vivṛti* 4.2.3, p. 54 (cf. KĀ 2.43); 4.6.7, p. 65 (cf. KĀ 2.66).

In all these cases, Sahadeva is treating Dandin's work as a parallel theoretical system, showing similar categorization in some cases, but divergent ways of characterizing similar phenomena in others. In none of these cases, however, does Sahadeva assert or imply that Vamana is influenced by Dandin's work, or even that he knew it.

It is only when he sees Vamana's position as diametrically opposed to Dandin's that Sahadeva sees the need to reflect directly on the relation between the two authors. This appears to occur only once, in his discussion of Vamana's version of the aforementioned ornament "coincidence" (*samāhita*). As already noted above, Vamana sought to treat all meaning-based ornaments as part of the universe of permutations on the simile (*upamāprapañca*) and hence developed a radically new version of it as "[something] actually becoming that to which it is similar" (*yatsādṛśyaṃ tatsaṃpattiḥ*), as when the beloved materializes just when her lover gazes at the vine that resembles her.[54] Here Sahadeva takes Vamana to be self-consciously differing from prior views, and specifically draws a link to Dandin:

> In order to show that coincidence is among the permutations of the simile, he says: "One [ornament], 'coincidence,' remains [to be defined] . . ." [KAlSū 4.3.29]. For, on the view of another [theorist] this ornament is quite different.

He goes on to quote Dandin's definition and example.[55]

So, on Sahadeva's account, Vamana was specifically thinking of Dandin's alternate characterization of "coincidence" and sought to supplant it with his own definition. But Sahadeva himself merely notes this divergence, and, as with his other references to Dandin's positions noted above, seems to feel no need to adjudicate between the two accounts. His engagement with Dandin is, for the most part, neither supportive nor critical. He is presented simply as an "other"; as offering an alternative account of the ornaments, whose differences and similarities to Vamana's own must on some occasions be noted for purposes of clarity or scholarly thoroughness, but who need not be systematically evaluated or dismissed as a potential rival.

Kuntaka, in his *Life-Force of Obliqueness* (*Vakroktijīvita*, late tenth century), deals with Dandin's views far more thoroughly and systematically than any of the other Kashmiri theorists. His dozen quotations of verses from the *Mirror* are still quite restricted within the scope of his overall project and are entirely confined to the third chapter of the *Life-Force*, where Kuntaka presents his own system of

[54] KAlSū 4.3.29.

[55] *Vivṛti* ad KAlSū 4.3.29, pp. 79–80: *samāhitasyopamāprapañcatvaṃ yojayitum āha "samāhitam ekam" iti. paramate hi tad anyathābhūtam ity abhiprāyaḥ*. The quote from Dandin is from KĀ 2.296–7.

ornaments under the general rubric of "sentence obliqueness" (*vākyavakratā*). From among earlier theorists of ornaments, Kuntaka treats Bhamaha, Dandin, and Udbhata as more or less equally pivotal figures. This can be seen most clearly in his treatment of the group of ornaments based on emotional content—"rasa-laden" (*rasavat*), "affectionate" (*preyas* or *preyasvat*), "energetic" (*ūrjasvin*), and "coincidence" (*samāhita*)—minimally characterized by Bhamaha, revised and elaborated by Dandin, and consistently theorized in relation to rasa by Udbhata.[56] Kuntaka absolutely denies that any such ornaments can exist. Any time such an emotional state is conveyed through poetry, he argues, it must be seen as the "thing to be ornamented" (*alaṅkārya*), rather than as an "ornament."[57] In his long discussion of "rasa-laden," Kuntaka systematically examines and finds wanting the definitions of this figure given by all his predecessors alike.[58] In the process he quotes, for instance, Dandin's definition and first example of the figure and interestingly highlights the fact that he is following a variant reading of the text. This is striking, as it shows that Kuntaka assumes a very detailed familiarity with Dandin's text among his readers, expecting them to recognize not only whole quoted verses, but even variant readings thereof.[59] This strongly corroborates the impression one gets from Mammata, Ruyyaka, and others: the *Mirror* was well-known among the Kashmirian experts on poetics, even when they display little or no overt interest in it.[60]

Beyond his systematic attack on Dandin's definitions and examples of emotion-based ornaments (as part of his attack on all early thinkers on the topic), Kuntaka's other references to the *Mirror* again arise mostly when he wishes to reject a device that Dandin accepts. For example, in rejecting the ornaments "causation" (*hetu*), "subtlety" (*sūkṣma*), and "trace" (*leśa*), he begins by quoting Bhamaha's verse dismissing the same triad. He goes on to provide examples for all three categories, showing in each case that the supposed ornament is simply the subject matter of the verse (*vastu*, *varṇanīya*), and hence cannot be considered an ornament at all. The examples he gives for two of these are quoted directly from Dandin.[61]

[56] See McCrea 2008: 42–49.

[57] The figures are in many ways anomalous, and Kuntaka is not the first to dismiss them; both Vamana and Rudrata omit the same figures from their own systems, preferring to treat rasa and related emotional elements under categories other than ornaments.

[58] *Vakroktijīvita*, pp. 144–53.

[59] Ibid., 146–47 (preferring *rasasaṃśrayāt* to *rasapeśalam* in KĀ 2.273).

[60] Kuntaka then goes on to present similar arguments against the related ornaments "affectionate," "energetic," and "coincidence." In each case, he specifically quotes the definitions and/or examples as given by Bhamaha and Dandin, and usually Udbhata as well, showing that the "ornament" is no ornament at all, but merely a certain kind of narrative content (*vastu*; *Vakroktijīvita*, pp. 153–64).

[61] *Vakroktijīvita* p. 242, cf. BKA 2.86, and KĀ 2.235, 266. The example of the rejected *sūkṣma* is earlier cited by Anandavardhana (*Dhvanyāloka* 2.22), but its original source is unknown.

Despite the fact that his references to the *Mirror* are usually critical, Kuntaka is not partisan in his opposition to Dandin. As noted, he is equally free in his attacks on the main pillars of the Kashmiri tradition on ornaments, Bhamaha and Udbhata. In general he seems intent on reducing the number of ornaments (in distinction from the additive strategy which is far more typical of figurative theorists and in keeping with Dandin's principle of theoretical openness). True, he supports Bhamaha and attacks Dandin while dismissing "causation," etc., but immediately afterward he turns around and sides with Dandin against Bhamaha by rejecting "identification leading to simile" (*upamārūpaka*) as a separate ornament.[62] Moreover, in one case he explicitly references Dandin as an authoritative source. In his discussion of "seeing as" (*utprekṣā*), Kuntaka not only reuses Dandin's illustration as one of his examples, but also refers his readers to the *Mirror* for more information about words that can be used to indicate the existence of this ornament: "the enumeration of words such as 'as if' that express 'seeing as' has been made in this context by Dandin, and hence is not repeated here."[63] So, when there is no theoretical dispute between them over the admissibility of a certain ornament, Kuntaka is happy to use Dandin as a source and even to cite him as an authority, again assuming that his readers will be familiar with and have access to the relevant section of the *Mirror*.

Perhaps the most interesting engagement with Dandin among the Kashmiri poetic theorists is that of the aesthetician and dramatic theorist Abhinavagupta (late tenth–early eleventh century). Abhinavagupta cites Dandin less frequently than Sahadeva or Kuntaka (once in his commentary on Anandavardhana's *Light*, and three times in his monumental commentary on Bharata's *Treatise on Theater*), but his observations reflect deeper consideration of the historical and theoretical significance of Dandin's system for the Kashmiri aesthetic tradition. Abhinavagupta's interest in Dandin, unlike that of any of the Kashmiri theorists discussed above, is not focused mainly on his treatment of specific ornaments, but on more general questions of figuration, rasa, and genre theory. Most notably, he incorporates a discussion of Dandin's views in the extensive historical survey of rasa theory in his commentary on Bharata. He specifically mentions Dandin as an adherent of the "view of the ancients" (*ciraṃtanānām . . . pakṣaḥ*), a view which he ascribes to Lollata, the first in his historical survey of earlier views on rasa which he considers and then rejects. Lollata held that rasa is an intensified version of an emotional state existing in the character being portrayed and, to demonstrate that Dandin held a similar view, Abhinavagupta quotes two brief

[62] *Vakroktijīvita* on 3.63, pp. 242–43. He quotes and attacks Bhamaha's example (BKA 3.36). He does not quote or directly refer to Dandin at this point, but Dandin explicitly viewed Bhāmaha's *upamārūpaka* as superfluous and noted that he includes it as a subtype of simile (KĀ 2.356).

[63] *Vakroktijīvita* on 3.32, p. 192: *utprekṣāvācakānāṃ vādīnāṃ parigaṇanam atra daṇḍinā vihitam iti na punar vidhīyate*, cf. KĀ 2.222, 232.

excerpts from the *Mirror*'s discussion of "rasa-laden": "desire (*rati*) becomes the 'erotic' rasa (*śṛṅgāra*) by an intensification of its form," and "anger, when raised to the highest pitch, takes on the nature of the 'furious' rasa."[64] So, while Abhinavagupta clearly knows Dandin well, and clearly recognized his distinct efforts in dealing with rasa as an ornament, he regards his view, at least on the key question of rasa, as outdated.

Abhinavagupta's other references to Dandin in the *Abhinavabhāratī*, his commentary on the *Treatise*, are less unambiguously critical, but both similarly mark his views as both theoretically and historically "other." Discussing the differential treatment of simile in Bharata's *Treatise* and in later works of figurative theory, Abhinavagupta notes that the characterization and division of ornaments may legitimately differ from text to text, observing that "variation of ornaments is produced by their defining characteristics."[65] He illustrates this as follows:

> Various subtypes of simile have been described by learned men such as Dandin, but their distinguishing features—e.g., "need to explain" (*ācikhyāsā*), "doubt" (*saṃśaya*) and "ascertainment" (*nirṇaya*)—have been variously explained by others as separate ornaments.[66]

The "distinguishing features" that Abhinavagupta refers to here were treated by Bharata as part of a separate group of poetic "characteristics" (*lakṣaṇa*s), as noted in section 5.1 above. Dandin then used these characteristics to generate subtypes of his vastly expanded domain of the simile, the leading example of his elastic treatment of the ornaments. Other theorists had preferred to treat these as distinct figures. Abhinavagupta's point, clearly, is not to take sides, but rather to draw attention to the fact that the same set of poetic phenomena may legitimately be categorized and theorized in different ways. That Dandin's way differs from Bharata's shows that other such discrepancies—between Bharata and contemporary Kashmiri theorists, for example—should not disturb readers of Bharata, and do not require that they decide between Bharata's categorization and more current ones.

Similarly, Abhinavagupta uses Dandin's distinctive typology to stress the variability of other poetic categorizations, and especially of the purported distinction between ornaments and "virtues" (*guṇa*), remarking:

[64] All citations are from NŚ, Vol. 1, p. 266. The quotes from Dandin are . . . *ratiḥ śṛṅgāratāṃ gatāḥ | rūpabāhulyayogena* (KĀ 2.279), and *adhiruhya parāṃ koṭiṃ krodho raudrātmatāṃ gataḥ* (KĀ 2.281).

[65] NŚ, Vol. 2, p. 305: *alaṅkārāṇāṃ vaicitryaṃ lakṣaṇakṛtam eva*.

[66] NŚ, Vol. 2, p. 305: *śikṣitair api daṇḍiprabhṛtibhir ye nirūpitā upamābhedāḥ, tatra yo bhedako 'ṃśaḥ ācikhyāsā-saṃśaya [corr.; ed. saṃśraya]-nirṇayādir arthaḥ sa tādṛk pṛthagalaṅkāratayā gaṇitaḥ*.; cf. KĀ 2.32, 2.26, 2.27.

> Even Dandin, although he says that "They call the elements that make poetry beautiful 'ornaments'" [KĀ 2.1], nevertheless states in the same passage that features such as "clarity" [*prasāda*] fall within the domain of "virtues," thereby hinting that it is not even possible to make a categorical division between ornaments and virtues.[67]

In all these cases, Dandin's treatment of the standard topics and categories is marked out as anomalous, and although Abhinavagupta says nothing to this effect, it is interesting that his examples refer to Dandin's distinctive theoretical breadth and elasticity. But these anomalies are not seen as in any way problematic in themselves.[68] On the contrary, Abhinavagupta's use of Dandin as an outsider to the Kashmir-based tradition seems generally designed to highlight the malleability of the basic categories of literary theory, both synchronically and over time.

Whether he was viewed as "ancient" or merely as "other," Dandin was clearly well-known to the Kashmiri theorists throughout the most productive period of Kashmiri poetics, and was always present in the background, especially of their theorization of ornaments. Even though mention of him is relatively infrequent, especially in comparison with Bhamaha and Udbhata, the recognized founders of the Kashmiri tradition, it is clear that he remained available to the later Kashmiri theorists as a representative of a possible alternative model for the exploration of particular topics. It should be noted that Dandin is unique in this respect since, if we assume Bhamaha was native to Kashmir, he is the only non-Kashmiri theorist to draw any attention at all among the Kashmiri poeticians.[69] This alternative path might be drawn on as a source of additional categories (such as the rehabilitation of Dandin's *samāhita* alongside Udbhata's), as a model of theoretical openness, as a supporting authority for parallel formulations made by Kashmiri theorists, as a kind cultural curiosity, as part of a historical account that reduced it to an archaic and now supplanted position, or simply as a reminder that other ways of thinking through poetic categories are possible.

[67] NŚ, Vol. 2, p. 295: *daṇḍināpi "kāvyaśobhākarān dharmān alaṅkārān pracakṣate |" iti bruvatā guṇamadhya eva tatra prasādādīn abhidadhatā ca guṇālaṅkāravibhāgo 'py asaṃbhavīti sūcitaṃ bhavati*. See also NŚ, Vol. 2, p. 322.

[68] The sole reference to Dandin in Abhinavagupta's other major work of poetic theory, his commentary on Anandavardhana's *Light*, concerns genre theory. Anandavardhana gives a list of verse and prose literary genres, which he leaves open-ended. Abhinavagupta, wishing to supply the ellipsis, says that Anandavardhana's "etc." is meant to cover additional genres such as the mixed prose-verse type *campū*, and he cites Dandin's definition thereof (presumably since none of the other early theorists includes this in their list of genres). See *Locana* ad *Dhvanyāloka* 3.7, p. 324, cf., KĀ 1.31.

[69] Note that later theoretical works from outside Kashmir, such as those of Rajashekhara and Bhoja (treated below), are completely ignored by the Kashmiris, even after they become well-known elsewhere.

## 5.5. The Jewel in the *Mirror*

*Yigal Bronner and Whitney Cox*

Undoubtedly the second most important person—after Dandin himself—in the vast cultural phenomenon of the *Mirror* was the Sri Lankan Buddhist scholar Ratnashrijnana. His commentary, called *Ratnashri's Commentary* (*Ratnaśrīṭīkā*), is the oldest surviving work of scholarship on Dandin's text; it circulated in Sri Lanka, Tibet, and throughout the Indian subcontinent. It was far more influential than any other such work and contains the most learned and detailed discussion of Dandin's thought that we possess. Ratna (as we will call him) was himself a poet, and portions of his commentary imitate and extend Dandin's style of illustration. Ratna's comments on the *Mirror* reveal a scrupulous and erudite scholar who situates Dandin's work in the wider world of Indic literary and intellectual history, including many sources that are otherwise lost.

Despite this significance, Ratna's work barely survived into the present day in its original form. The printed editions of the *Ratnaśrīṭīkā* rely on the testimony of a single complete (though imperfect) manuscript and some additional fragments. However, the influence of Ratna's great work can be seen at the very least in Pali, Sinhala, Tibetan, and Mongolian. In all of these cases, Ratna's work circulated primarily within the learned culture of transregional Buddhism, including monasteries, the courts of Buddhist rulers, and the great international Buddhist universities of medieval South Asia. Anantalal Thakur and Upendra Jha, based on the sole manuscript witness, introduced Ratna's work to modern scholarship in 1957, and Dragomir Dimitrov has offered an improved text of parts of this commentary in a critical edition based on materials in Sanskrit and Tibetan. These scholars, along with Sheldon Pollock, in a brief but illuminating study, have traced Ratna's life and career, with a level of detail that is almost unheard of for a medieval South Asian intellectual.[70]

Born in Sri Lanka, Ratna spent years of his life in courts and Buddhist institutions on the mainland. Thanks to Dimitrov's painstaking research, we can locate Ratna with some confidence in time and space. He was the author of an inscriptional eulogy found in Bodhgaya, dedicated to a king he calls Tunga and dated to 944 CE. The eulogy is signed by "paṇḍita Ratnashrijnana, a Buddhist monk born on the island of Sinhala [Sri Lanka]."[71] This name, Ratnashrijnana, which he also uses in his commentary on the *Mirror*, perhaps links him to a line of Buddhist scholars active at the great Buddhist university of Vikramashila and its satellite institutions at around this same time.[72] In addition to his commentary

[70] Thakur and Jha 1957; Dimitrov 2002, 2011, 2016; Pollock 2005.

[71] Refer to the comprehensive discussion in Dimitrov 2016: 19–48. This discussion substantially revises and corrects the earlier brief study of the inscription in Pollock 2005.

[72] Dimitrov 2016: 85–90.

on the *Mirror* and his work of praise-poetry, Ratna certainly wrote other works in Sanskrit, possibly including a verse epitome of the non-Paninian Chandra school of grammar, called the *Reflections on Word and Meaning* (*Śabdārthacintā*), and an extensive prose sub-commentary on the major text of this same grammatical tradition.[73] All this scholarly activity appears to have been completed in the course of a decade, in the 940s and 950s. Dimitrov also assigns a small library of works in Sinhala and Pali to Ratna, composed before and after his Indian sojourn; we will not enter into this discussion here.[74]

Ratna's place within the cosmopolitan world of the Buddhist university at once allowed him to write the way he did (giving him access to books, as well as colleagues and students to talk to) and provided his work with a ready distribution network spanning much of Buddhist Asia. In this he was not alone: he himself refers to at least one earlier commentary, and we assume that additional exegetical works on the *Mirror* were composed within the circles of Buddhist scholiasts.[75] One such commentary, now preserved in fragmentary references only in Tibetan, is by a certain Vagishvara or Vagishvarakirti, whom the Tibetan seventeenth-century scholar Khamtrul (Khams sprul Bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma) calls a "Buddhist scholar."[76] Indeed, on at least one occasion, Khamtrul records what he sees as a Buddhist allegorical reading of a Dandin verse by this commentator.[77] We know of a few Buddhist scholars whose name was Vagishvara (or a version thereof), one of whom was indeed based at Vikramashila. And although it is unclear whether Dandin's commentator Vagishvara was indeed the one placed in this prestigious academic setting, there was certainly abundant interest in poetry, metrics, and poetics in Buddhist learned circles, and it is in this context that Ratna's commentary must be partly understood.[78]

Partly, but not entirely—it is a crucial feature of the work and its author that they existed at a precise junction between the world of institutional Buddhism

[73] Ibid.: 565–706.

[74] See Hallisey and Meegaskumbura, section 3.5 in this volume.

[75] Ratna occasionally rejects existing explanations in other commentaries: *kecit tu vyācakṣate . . . tad ana[va]gāhitagranthakārābhiprāyasyaitad vyākhyā[na]m iti* (ad KĀ 1.50); *anye tu . . . vyācakṣate . . . tataḥ śāstraviruddham eva vyākhyānam* (ad KĀ 2.116).

[76] Khamtrul (in *Rgyan gyi bstan bcos dbyangs can ngag gi rol mtsho*, p. 17) calls Vagishvarakirti a "Buddhist ācārya and mahāpaṇḍita." Based on his work, Leonard van der Kuijp says (1986: 32, 36–37) that Dpang lo tsā ba used Vagishvara's commentary in addition to Ratna's. See also Bhum, Gyatso, and Li, section 6.6 in this volume.

[77] *Rgyan gyi bstan bcos dbyangs can ngag gi rol mtsho*, pp. 35–36.

[78] Michael Hahn's brief article on metrical treatises by Eastern Indian Buddhist masters (Hahn 1988) is only an initial survey of a much wider phenomenon; see also Thibaut d'Hubert, section 7.4 in this volume. On Vagishvarakirti, refer to Taranatha's *History of Buddhism in India* (trans. Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, 1970: 296–99); and see the recent study by Peter Szántó (Szántó 2020; Szántó demurs from identifying his Buddhist Tantric author and the Dandin commentator). Note that already in Khamtrul's time, the identity and academic context of Dandin's commentator Vagishvara was a source of uncertainty and speculation (*Rgyan gyi bstan bcos dbyangs can ngag gi rol mtsho*, pp. 16–17).

and of the royal court and its assembly of learned men, irrespective of religion. Consider, for example, Ratna's Bodhgaya inscription.[79] The first and longer part of the text is a eulogy of King Tunga. In a typical court style, it provides the king's genealogy (vv. 1–8) and hails his martial prowess, wisdom, generosity, handsome appearance, and adherence to dharma, while comparing him to a variety of Hindu gods and epic heroes (vv. 9–13). Nowhere in this portion of the text is there any hint of the Buddhist identity of its author, or that his honoree had any Buddhist leanings, even as the eulogy is inscribed on the walls of the Buddhist temple whose construction it celebrates.[80] Then, in the closing portion of the inscription (vv. 14–19), the tone changes as Ratna moves to praise the Buddha, the ultimate recipient of Tunga's donation, in the highest possible terms (including that "the dust of his lotus-feet was crowned by Brahma and Indra," leading figures of the Hindu pantheon; v. 14) and foregrounding Buddhist dharma. The shift is dramatic, and it feels as if Ratna is speaking two different languages, in an attempt to address two distinct audiences: the broader circles of the royal court and the more specific circle of his co-religionists.

A similar divide animates Ratna's thinking in various places in his commentary on the *Mirror*. Consider, for example, his discussion of KĀ 1.53. Here, in the course of his vastly expanded analysis of "sweetness," Dandin illustrates euphonic harmony by praising a king who, beloved by Brahmins, made Dharma flourish. Ratna explains Dharma as "the eternal path of adhering to the [four] classes and stages of life that was fixed by *śruti* [Vedic scriptures] and *smṛti* [authoritative Brahminical texts]."[81] In other words, he does not try to obscure the religious implications of the terms in question and shows faithfulness to his root-text, familiarity with Brahminical terminology, and, quite likely, an appeal to non-Buddhist readers. For a moment you could forget his religious identity. But then, just before moving on, he offers "another example" of euphonic harmony, a praise for the Buddha from his own pen. Thus, keeping close to Dandin's own spirit of religious openness in literary theory,[82] Ratna imagines a broad readership of literati belonging to different denominations, while reserving a place for his own Buddhist voice within it.

In his comments on the end of the *Mirror*'s first chapter, Ratna includes a sustained reflection on an idealized vision of a literary gathering, precisely the sort of assembly a lord like Tunga was meant to sponsor. This unusually effusive passage is in response to Dandin's own optimism about the category of the poet: even those lacking genius "can, by sheer hard work, access the pleasures

[79] For the full edited text, a translation, and a discussion, see Dimitrov 2016: 19–48.
[80] For the nature of this "Perfume Chamber," see Dimitrov 2016: 37. The eulogy does begin with a brief homage to the Buddha: *namo buddhāya*.
[81] Ratna ad KĀ 1.53: *dharmasya śrutismṛtivihitasya sanātanasya varṇāśramācāramārgasya*.
[82] See Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume.

found in the gatherings of sophisticates."[83] Glossing this, Ratna suddenly shifts into the voice of an art-prose poet, like the great masters Subandhu, Bana, or indeed Dandin himself:

> "Sophisticates" are poets; their "gatherings," sessions of poetry readings, are tinklings of the anklets and girdle of beautiful Lady Knowledge; seas where the rivers of all the arts come to rest; troupes of actors that are the sentiments, emotions, and gestures; gems which sprout from the deep ocean of grammar; harvest festivals for the fruits of shastric study; nectars from the ocean of poetry; thieves of the minds of scholars; praiseworthy territories of the land of sophistication, festooned with many ornaments, made excellent by the wayside wells along the highways of the learned; spontaneous accounts of skill at the art of metaphysical philosophy; well suited to the virtuous; single in form but new and different for every person, and so like the Supreme Soul; great gifts of the favor of Lady Poetry; perfect sites for the worship of Lady Fortune; resembling final beatitude (in that they contain nothing but tranquil bliss), like oceanic freshwater lakes (in that they have fathomless depths, and possess the virtue of their dedication to others' well-being); mirrors for the deeds of noble men; lovely perfumes of the glory-flower; victory-pillars of great poets—what more need I say?—they contain all that is worthwhile in this unstable world.

Ratna then caps this off with a quoted verse:

> The world's a poison tree, but it has two nectared fruits:
> The savor of a poem and the company of the good.[84]

This eulogy to the world of the assemblies of aristocratic culture suggests a figure who moved—or at least wished to move—freely within this milieu. Ratna's stereotyped phrases here are written in an idiom that he shared with Brahminical authors, yet he follows this with a battery of quotations from explicitly Buddhist sources, especially the great hymnist Matricheta.

[83] KĀ 105cd: *kṛśe kavitve 'pi janāḥ kṛtaśramā vidagdhagoṣṭhīṣu vihartum īśate*. For the openness of this category, see Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume.

[84] KĀ, p. 62: *vidagdhāḥ kavayaḥ teṣāṃ goṣṭhīṣu kāvyālāpeṣu vidyāramaṇīmekhalānūpura[śiñjiteṣu] sakalakalānadīviśrāmasamudreṣu nānārasabhāvābhinayamahānaṭeṣu śabdapārāyaṇamahārṇavaratnāṅkureṣu śāstrapariśramaphalodayamahotsaveṣu kavisāgarāmṛteṣu budhajanamanastaskareṣu vividhālaṅkārahāriṣu vandanīyeṣu vidagdhatābhūmisīmānteṣu vidvatsaraṇiprapābhūtātiśayeṣu svayaṅkṛteṣu adhyātmaśāstrakalākauśalavarṇaneṣu satām uciteṣu tadekarūpeṣv api pratipuruṣam apūrvapariṇāmitayā paramātmadeśīyeṣu sarasvatīprasādamahāvareṣu lakṣmīpūjābhājaneṣu nirudvegasukhasvabhāvatvāt kaivalyakalpeṣv atalabhāvagambhīratvāt parārthaprasattiguṇayogāc ca sāgareṣv iva mahāhradeṣu satpuruṣacaritādarśabhittiṣu yaśaḥkusumāmodasurabhiṣu mahākavikīrtistambheṣu kiṃ bahunā saṃsārasārasandoheṣu. tad uktam: saṃsāraviṣavṛkṣasya dvayam evāmṛtaṃ phalam | subhāṣitarasāsvādaḥ sadbhiś ca saha saṅgatam ||.*

This is one point where the Buddhist moralist in Ratna falls short of Dandin's sunny optimism about the attainability of poetic and ethical goodness. The contrast is quite sharp: whereas Dandin offers even the lackluster writer a path to the ideal gathering that Ratna portrays, Ratna feels compelled to highlight what can go wrong, quoting sternly pessimistic Buddhist verse as his proof-texts. Without proper training, one can make a fool of oneself—Matricheta depicts a poor swimmer drowning in the "the vast sea that is the way of literature" (*kathāmārgamahāmahodadhi*)—and the assembly is also full of evil critics, eager to spit venom. The poet Kambala is quoted as recommending that the blind remain blind rather than try to gain blurry vision, in stark contrast to Dandin's self-declared attempt to enlighten those in the dark with the light of *śāstra*. A similar sentiment is visible in the short anthology of Ratna's own verses with which he concludes his commentary.[85] In short, Ratna tried to harmonize two cultural worlds (or audiences), but this combination was not always so seamless.

## 5.6. Paths and Proportions: Ratna on Poetic Virtues

*Yigal Bronner and Whitney Cox*

Ratna's commentary is unique not only in the way it positions itself within the wider literary community, but also in the breadth and rigor of its scholarship. Simply put, Ratna seems to have understood Dandin better than any other commentator, and it was certainly his explicit aim to improve upon the existing understanding of the text and to fathom the deep intention of the author.[86] Ratna's exegesis forms an extended argument about Dandin's project as an integrated and coherent statement about the *Mirror*'s main poetic, pedagogical, and scholastic principles.[87] We emphasize here three commentarial methods that enabled Ratna to illuminate the nature of his root text: his thorough mapping of Dandin's intertextual conversations with Bhamaha's *Ornament of Poetry*; his extensive system of cross-references and citations of other passages from the *Mirror*; and his rigorous, creative response to Dandin's modular categories by way of added illustrations of his own. None of these methods is unique to Ratna, but he employs them far more often than any other commentator on Dandin and in a way that demonstrates an unparalleled intimacy with his text. In what follows, we give several illustrations of how these methods are put to use in Ratna's explanation of Dandin's project.

[85] Ratna ad KĀ 1.105. We plan to discuss this passage elsewhere.
[86] See the citations in note 75 above.
[87] On these three aspects of Dandin's project, see Bronner, section 1.1 in this volume.

Let us begin with Ratna's exegesis of Dandin's long discussion on "poetic virtues" (*guṇa*, KĀ 1.40–102), perhaps the most complex and most confusing extended passage in the *Mirror*. As explained earlier in this volume, it is easy to get lost in the hall of mirrors of poetic virtues, and it is here that Ratna shines as an able guide who offers a compelling reconstruction of the author's intentions.[88]

In introducing poetic virtues, Ratna's first job is to situate them in the overall arc of the *Mirror*. He reminds the readers that Dandin had earlier outlined his plan to discuss poetry's "body" and its "ornaments" (in KĀ 1.10ab) and notes that the discussion so far was dedicated to issues that fall under "body" (language, genre, etc.), the "seat" (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of ornaments. According to Ratna's understanding, the virtues form the point of departure or underlying method (*prasthāna*) for the later discussion of ornaments.[89] Having thus contextualized the discussion, Ratna's second task is to show that Dandin frames the long section on virtues as an extended argument about the crucial difference between the two major poetic "ways" (*mārga*), the southern and the northeastern. In commenting on the section's opening verse (KĀ 10.40), where Dandin states that these two paths are clearly differentiated (*prasphuṭāntarau*), Ratna twice cites the passage's concluding statement (KĀ 1.101), some sixty stanzas away, reiterating this point. Later, when commenting on this concluding verse, Ratna reminds the readers that with this, the previously announced plan to demonstrate the analytical differentiation of these two paths has been concluded.[90]

Ratna's third goal is to show that the entire section is not only coherent, but a unified argument marshaled against Dandin's main predecessor, Bhamaha. For this earlier theorist, the differentiation of the two paths was at best a trivial issue. And so, in commenting on Dandin's opening statement, Ratna cites in toto Bhamaha's sarcastic attribution of the two paths' doctrine to some "other, very smart people" (*sudhiyo 'pare*) and his further portrayal of it as a textbook example of fools (*amedhas*) blindly following some inherited opinion (*gatānugatikanyāya*). Ratna, in a clear claim to have divined the intention of his author, notes that Dandin had "cleverly refuted" these arguments.[91] He adds that

[88] See Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume.

[89] Ratna ad KĀ 1.40: *yad uktaṃ taiḥ śarīraṃ ca kāvyānām alaṅkāraś ca darśitaḥ [KĀ 1.10]. iti tatreyatā śarīram alaṅkārādhiṣṭhānaṃ nirdiṣṭam. idānīm alaṅkāraṃ tasya nirdidikṣuḥ prasthānaṃ racayann āha*. He later introduces the list of ornaments by stating that the "poetic virtues, the sound ornaments that are restricted to particular regions, have already been discussed. Now we turn to the ornaments that are universal to all regional styles" (*pūrvaṃ śleṣādayaḥ śabdālaṅkārā mārganiyatāḥ kathitāḥ. idānīṃ sarvamārgasādhāraṇā alaṅkārā ucyante*; ad 2.2).

[90] Ratna ad KĀ 1.101: *iti yathoktena prakāreṇa "mārgadvayaṃ" vaidarbho gauḍīyaś ca mārgo bhinnaṃ prasphuṭāntaram*. Note that in introducing ornaments, ad KĀ 2.1, Ratna adds that they are common to all paths: *tad evaṃ mārgavibhāgaṃ [paricchidya sampraty arthā]laṅkāraṃ sarvamārgasādhāraṇaṃ śāsitum upakramate*.

[91] Ratna ad KĀ 1.40: *evaṃ ca kṛtvā yad uktaṃ bhāmahena . . .* [BKA 1.31–32] *tad bhaṅgyā nirastam*. Ratna's near-contemporary Vadijanghaladeva also cites Bhamaha's statement and he, too, shows that Dandin has refuted it. But he has no interest in showing that this is the purpose of the section as a whole.

the difference that Bhamaha belittled and ascribed to fools is tangible (*vāstavīya*), so that the real fool is the opponent, who cannot tell the sun from the moon.[92] Ratna later reminds his readers of the underlying polemical target of the entire passage: "those who fail to understand this, lump [the two ways] together and impose identity on them. But the point here is that their difference is real."[93]

But how are we to understand this difference? Throughout his comments on this passage, Ratna is peculiarly sensitive to the underlying principles of Dandin's discussion. He is aware of the fact that the ways of poetry (*mārga*) and their defining virtues (*guṇa*) are not fixed essences. He notes, for instance, that while the two paths are native to their respective regions, they are by no means restricted to them: one can compose in southern style in the northeast and vice versa, as evidence from the literary tradition shows.[94] Ratna likewise carefully demonstrates that the contrast is not a matter of essence, but of degree, and that the virtues form a delicate system of checks and balances: compositional "concision" (*śliṣṭatā*), for example, is in a trade-off with "sweetness" (*mādhurya*), and "evenness" (*sama*) may come at the expense of "tenderness" (*sukumāratā*). On the other hand, "power" (*ojas*) need not be to the detriment of "manifest meaning" (*arthavyakti*).[95]

In arguing this, Ratna highlights a word that is key to Dandin's discussion in this section: "generally" (*prāyas*).[96] In a telling moment at the outset of this discussion, Dandin says that while the ten virtues are the very "life breath" (*prāṇa*) of the southern path, they are only "generally" so. In his comments on this verse, Ratna notes that this disclaimer allows for the fact that some virtues are actually common to both ways—for instance, "manifest meaning" (*arthavyakti*)—and that this is exactly what Dandin intended. Later, when discussing the non-exclusive nature of this virtue, he refers back to this fine print in the opening statement.[97] Indeed, Ratna extends this principle also to cases of too much unanimity, that is, where the very distinction between the two paths seems to be threatened. Thus when Dandin states that the virtue of "transference" (*samādhi*) is "followed by the entire caravan of poets" (*kavisārthaḥ samagro 'pi tam enam anugacchati*), Ratna is quick to add that this, too, only holds true "generally" speaking.[98] It would appear that here he is keeping Dandin true to his own

[92] For a discussion of this passage, see Pollock 2006: 214.

[93] Ratna ad KĀ 1.101: *ye tu na vijānanti tair ekīkṛtam etat tataś cābhedo 'tra samāropitaḥ. bhedas tu vāstava ity ākūtam*.

[94] Ratna ad KĀ 1.40.

[95] Ratna ad KĀ 1.44 (refers forward to the discussion on sweetness), 1.47 (refers to 1.72 on tenderness), and 1.82 (refers backward to 1.75 on manifest meaning), respectively.

[96] On the importance of *prāyas* in this passage, see Bronner, sections 1.4 and 5.3 in this volume.

[97] Ratna ad KĀ 1.42: *arthavyaktyādeḥ kasyacid guṇasya sādhāraṇatvāt prāya ity āha . . . prāyograhaṇasaṅgṛhītaṃ sādhāraṇaguṇaṃ svayam eva yathāvasaraṃ darśayiṣyati*. See also the back reference to this discussion ad KĀ 1.75: *iti prāyograhaṇena saṅgṛhītam*.

[98] Ratna ad KĀ 1.100.

principles and protects him from what, by the *Mirror*'s own standards, is too sweeping a statement.

"Manifest meaning" is interesting also in the way Ratna uses his own poetic examples to clarify and even amplify Dandin's scalar notion of virtues.[99] Dandin defines the virtue negatively: in order for a verse or a passage to possess it, its meaning must not require elaborate interpretation (*aneyatvam arthasya*). To demonstrate this, Dandin gives two nearly identical poems depicting Vishnu, in his form of a wild boar, rescuing the earth from the depths of the ocean, where it is held captive by snakes. In the first example, the ocean is said to have been dyed red by the blood of the snakes, whose bodies the boar tore apart with its sharp hooves. In the second, the ocean again turns red, but no mention is made of the snakes, their blood, or the boar's hooves. The reason that the ocean is reddened is something that the readers have to summon out of thin air, and hence this verse lacks the desired virtue of "manifest meaning."[100]

Here Ratna seems to worry that the contrast is too stark, and that the reader may get the wrong impression that only the most blatantly obvious poetry is acceptable. Such poetry would be necessarily bereft of suggestion, and Ratna—despite his opposition to the new Kashmirian doctrine of *dhvani*—clearly values poetic subtlety. After all, in his only reference to Anandavardhana's theory of suggestion, Ratna notes dismissively that "others" have redefined *samāsokti*, Dandin's much-expanded figure of "condensed speech," as *dhvani*, and the point is clearly that Dandin has already theorized suggestion, albeit by another name. This is also a key principle for Dandin elsewhere in the *Mirror*.[101] Ratna thus provides his own compromise illustration on the same theme:

> The Great Boar instantly raised the earth
> from a red ocean,
> filled with hordes of huge serpents
> crushed by its hooves.

"Here," he explains, "even though the blood of the snakes, being the direct cause of the ocean's reddening, is not explicitly mentioned, phrases such as 'hordes of huge serpents / crushed by its hooves' and 'from a red ocean' have the capacity clearly to suggest the snakes' blood. This is because only the blood of the snakes could have caused the ocean to be dyed red. After all, not everything that is understood in poetry is literal; there is evidence for cases where understanding

[99] On Dandin's virtues as scalar, see Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume.

[100] On such pairs of examples as one of Dandin's key pedagogical innovations, see Bronner, section 1.1 in this volume.

[101] See, for example, his discussion on lack of subtlety as coarse or vulgar (*grāmya*; KĀ 1.63–64).

comes about through the meaning."[102] Ratna then cites a verse from Kalidasa's *Lineage of Raghu* (*Raghuvaṃśa*), whose main source of beauty lies in its indirection,[103] and he warns his readers not to misinterpret Dandin's notion of "manifest meaning" lest instances of indirect poetry such as Kalidasa's be deemed faulty.[104]

Poetry need not always be literal in order to be clear, but the reader must have a reasonable path to understanding. This is surely true to Dandin's nuanced stance elsewhere, but it may not seem all that clear based just on his short discussion of "manifest meaning," had Ratna not provided his additional verse and explanation. This, then, is another example of Ratna elucidating Dandin by putting a potentially sweeping statement in the context of the scalar principles that form the theoretical basis for his presentation of the literary virtues as a whole. It also illustrates why, for Ratna, this theory of the virtues supplies the underlying method (*prasthāna*) of the figurative and often suggestive language that is the main topic in Dandin's chapter on ornaments. Finally, it is a good example of Ratna's understanding of another key principle of his root-text: that Dandin's theory must conform to literary praxis.

## 5.7. Modularity and Metatropicity: Ratna on Ornaments

*Yigal Bronner and Whitney Cox*

One of Dandin's signature innovations is his method of creating numerous ornamental subtypes: these are often combinations of distinct ornamental modules that allow for the creation of chains of tropes upon presupposed tropes.[105] Ratna was well aware of this method, at one point even stating generally that the only way to tell the "differences between categories" in Dandin's book is "in terms of their different presuppositions" (*apekṣāviśeṣāt*).[106] Here we would like to show another way in which Ratna acknowledges and amplifies these methods: his

[102] Ratna, ad KĀ 1.73: *ujjahāra khurakṣuṇṇamahoragakulākulāt | mahāvarāhaḥ pṛthivīm aruṇād arṇavāt kṣaṇam || ity atra yady api nāgarudhiram aśabdopāttaṃ yadupādhikalohitatvam udadheḥ, tathāpi khurakṣuṇṇamahoragakulākulād arṇavād aruṇād ityukteḥ sāmarthyāt sphuṭaṃ nāgarudhiraṃ gamyate. tathāvidhasyodadher nāgarudhirāvyabhicārāt. na hi sarvatra śābdī pratītiḥ kāvye, arthe 'pi tasyā darśanāt.*

[103] *Raghuvaṃśa* 6.72. The ornament involved here, according to post-Udbhata readers, is *paryāyokta*. But Ratna, who is aware of such examples from Ananadavardhana's work, avoids this label and calls this an instance of indirection (*vakrokti*).

[104] Ratna, ad KĀ 1.73: *na cedṛśaṃ neyatvam, pratyuta vakroktir īdṛśī guṇa eva kāvyasya. tataḥ śabdena nyāyena vācinā yatrārtho netavyas tādṛśaṃ neyaṃ vijñeyam, anyathā tathāvidhaṃ kāvyaṃ sarvaṃ duṣyed iti.*

[105] For a discussion of this method in the *Mirror*, see Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume. For a possible inspiration for this method in Bharata's *Treatise on Theater*, see Bronner and Ollett, section 5.2 above.

[106] Ratna ad KĀ 2.36; see Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume.

insertion of added illustrations. Ratna responds to Dandin's open architecture—the fact that each category is deliberately presented as unlimited and, hence, that every discussion can only be partial—by showing that it could apply to other instances. His demonstration of this modularity is usually another poem.

Consider the figure "dismissal" (*ākṣepa*). Dandin's long discussion of this figure marks one of the most significant expansions of the tradition of poetics which he had received from Bhamaha and his now-lost predecessors. Dandin had massively expanded the figure's scope through metatropic variations on the themes of dismissal, prohibition, and rejection which give the figure its name.[107] Dandin's apparatus of new examples, moreover, reveals his characteristic responsiveness to his literary sources. His inspiration appears to be drawn from the world of the Prakrit erotic *gāthā*, best known from the celebrated early anthology, the *Seven Hundred Lyrics*, attributed to the Satavahana king Hala.[108] As in these early Prakrit lyrics, Dandin is peculiarly attentive to the gendered power dynamics that underlie the presumed narrative situation of his verses. The verses alternate between those written from the standpoint of male personae and those voiced by their female counterparts. The former use "dismissal" to flirt, flatter, and blatantly dismiss any charges of wrongdoing, while the latter do so to prevent a life-threatening separation. Indeed, Dandin's passage on "dismissal" gravitates toward the latter, and turns into an extended exploration of a situation wherein a woman tries to disallow her partner's departure through a variety of methods, with a clear preference for irony and sarcasm.[109]

Dandin concludes this long section with several modular instances of dismissal based on its interaction with the ornamental principles of punning (or "embrace"; *śliṣṭa*), "doubt" (*saṃśaya*), citing "another case" (*arthāntara*), and "causation" (*hetu*). He concludes with a typical statement about not having exhausted the topic: "In this way, one could certainly come up with other types of dismissal as well."[110] Ratna responds to this challenge with three additional types of his own. His first two illustrations form a "Dandinian pair," that is, two consecutive verses that explore an identical theme through a slightly altered variable; the third presents an outlier, less obviously modeled on Dandin's conceptual framework. Ratna classifies his added examples as illustrations of "dismissal by contrariety" (*viparyāsākṣepa*), "dismissal through conclusion" (*niścayākṣepa*), and "dismissal regarding favor" (*prasādākṣepa*). In order, these examples read:

[107] See Bronner forthcoming 1 for a complete translation and a first discussion of this section.

[108] See Ollett 2017: 54–68 et passim. For another instance of Dandin responding to a Prakrit source, see Bronner 2017 and section 5.9 below.

[109] KĀ 2.120–66, wherein cases of dismissal in a woman's voice occupy verses 2.132–54. For more on "dismissal," see Bronner forthcoming 1.

[110] KĀ 2.166: *anayaiva diśānye 'pi vikalpāḥ śakyam ūhitum*.

Whoever she is, she belongs among the goddesses.
Somehow she appears to us here.
But she's not a resident of heaven:
her eyes know the art of blinking.

She is the first thing Brahma created,
spotted alongside mortal women.
But could *they* have such beauty?
Whoever this woman is, she's divine.

I offer you my every breath, lovely girl,
and still you show me no kindness!
What else do you want?
How cruel can you be?[111]

These verses are crafted in a style reminiscent of Dandin's, though—in all fairness—lacking his élan. But Ratna clearly understood the metatropic logic of his root-text, and so extended the figure "dismissal" in ways that are closely analogous to what the master does elsewhere in his catalogue of ornaments. In the first verse, the speaker's initial perception—"she belongs among the goddesses"—gets dismissed ("she's not a resident of heaven") by noticing a damning piece of evidence, the woman's blinking eyes: the gods cannot blink. This tongue-in-cheek compliment resembles one of Dandin's simile subtypes (*viparyāsopamā*, the "simile through contrariety," KĀ 2.17). Ratna's second example pushes the flattery to a higher level: the speaker responds to the same confusion by eliminating the very possibility of her being human and comes to the conclusion that she *must* be divine after all. This playful return to the same dilemma with a new, opposite conclusion (she is not human but a divinity) while at the same time restating the same flattery (she is divinely beautiful) is a typical Dandinian move.[112] In the final example, Ratna invents a metatropic type of his own, with no direct precedent in the *Mirror*: *prasāda* ("clarity") is the name of one of Dandin's poetic virtues, but here Ratna seems to understand the term less technically, as the "kindness" of the beloved which the speaker denies (or dismisses). Here, perhaps, we see Ratna extend the boundaries of the *Mirror*'s system, striking out into new ground unmarked by Dandin himself. It is significant to note that

[111] KĀ, pp. 116–17: *kācid eṣā surastrīṇāṃ kathañcid iha dṛśyate | nākalokāśrayā naiṣā nimeṣābhijñalocanā || iyam ādyā vidheḥ sṛṣṭir martyastrīṣu vilokyate | rūpam īdṛk kutas tāsām iyaṃ kācit surāṅganā || na prasīdasi tanvaṅgi prāṇair api mamārpitaiḥ | kim ataḥ param ādeyaṃ yad evam api niṣṭhurā ||*.

[112] Compare, for example, the pair of illustrations that first posit that the very existence of a shapely woman's waist is beyond epistemic validation, and then resolve that it is knowable by means of inference (KĀ 2.215–16).

in all of these cases, Ratna avoids the playful nuances of gender roles that had been so characteristic of Dandin's models for "dismissal," and in general it seems clear that this monastic commentator was not comfortable writing poetry in a woman's voice.

A further, illuminating example is Ratna's discussion of the figure "causation" (*hetu*). This ornament had been explicitly rejected by Bhamaha and (thus) enthusiastically embraced by Dandin, something which Ratna carefully documents. In his account of "causation," Dandin relentlessly shows that practically every element of logical epistemology and linguistic theory can, in the hands of a real poet, be used to literary ends. As in the case of "dismissal" and many of his other ornaments, Dandin's discussion of causality is premised on the figure's fundamental openness. In response to the suggestion that other examples of "beautiful inferential causation can be found in literary texts" (KĀ 2.244ab: *iti lakṣyāḥ prayogeṣu ramyā jñāpakahetavaḥ*), Ratna launches into a series of his own verses. Dandin's examples here are mostly about disillusion and renunciation, and a dominant theme is the feverish torture felt by a separated lover in an otherwise beautiful wilderness landscape (a notably Tamil theme). Ratna, the Buddhist renunciate, gives as his first example of poetic causality something much more titillating:

Your face bespeaks supernal bliss, shapely girl:
Sweating, your eyes slowly open then slyly close.[113]

Surprisingly, Ratna uses explicitly Buddhist language to erotic ends in this verse: "supernal bliss" (*paramā nirvṛti*) is a synonym for nirvana.

Dandin then shifts to another part of his taxonomy of "causation": drawing on the epistemological tradition, he gives a series of "charming examples where absence serves as a cause" (KĀ 2.244cd: *abhāvahetavaḥ kecid vyākriyante manoramāḥ*). Ratna's additional examples—where he wishes to demonstrate poetic instances of an absence that leads to another absence—return to the theme of love; these, however, seem filtered through a distinctively Buddhist sense of impermanence:

Gone from his eyes is she who gazed at him
with doe-eyes. He recalls each little thing,
finds no point in living on,
and surely gives himself over to death.

"That slender girl is no lotus pond.
Her face, no lotus.

[113] KĀ, pp. 149: *nirvṛtiṃ paramām vakti vaktraṃ tava nitambini* | *svinnam udbhinnamandākṣam āmīlallolalocanam* ||.

Her eye is not a blue lily,"
he thinks, as his life slips away.

"She was beautiful
but never very kind,"
with this thought, man moves on
to the other world.[114]

We can see here, as throughout his commentary, Ratna's ability to respond to and extend Dandin's model, in a way that at once fulfills the expectation set up by the *Mirror*'s open-ended structure and echoes its specific elements.[115] At the same time, we also see Ratna offering occasional glimpses into a literary sensibility that is subtly marked by the informing values of his Buddhist commitments. This Buddhist accent to Ratna's verse raises the question of the place of his religious identity in his work as a commentator. To put it simply, is the *Ratnaśrīṭīkā* a work of Buddhist literary theory, or literary theory that happens to have been written by a Buddhist? And does this Buddhist commentator pick up some sort of philo-Buddhist tendencies in Dandin's root-text? The significance of these questions stretches beyond just our émigré Singhala monk. As is evident throughout this volume, the Buddhist cultures of South and Central Asia have proven peculiarly receptive to Dandin's *Mirror*.

One way to look at this is as a case of pure contingency: the Buddhist religion may have acted as a sort of "carrier wave" that permitted the text to transmit and propagate across the Bay of Bengal, the Himalayas, and beyond. The career of Ratna and his commentary take on an outsize importance in this contingent view of things: being uniquely located between the Theravada south and—via Vikramashila—the trans-Himalayan north, Ratna became the motive cause for this enormous process of cultural mobility.[116] The *Mirror*, on this view, did not contain any confessional valence whatsoever: it was simply a remarkably useful toolkit for literary composition and appreciation. Buddhists, like people everywhere, occasionally enjoyed poetry, and they had the good fortune to have Ratna's work in their libraries to serve as their guide to Dandin.

A different point of view would see little that is accidental in Ratna's interpretation of the *Mirror* and would claim that the Buddhist ethical and aesthetic valences that Ratna finds in the text were present from the *Mirror*'s creation.

[114] KĀ, p. 152 (ad 2.249): *adṛṣṭyā hariṇīdṛṣṭas tasyās tat ta[d anu]smaran | vyarthajīvitasaṅkalpaḥ so 'yam añcati pañcatām || padminīyaṃ na sā tanvī padmam etan na tanmukham | indīvaram idaṃ cakṣur na tad ity asavo gatāḥ || na kadācid abhūt tanvyās tasyā vinayavibhramaḥ | iti dhyāyann ayaṃ lokaḥ paraiti paralokatām ||.*

[115] Compare, for instance, the correspondence between the middle verse above ("Her face, not a lotus. Her eye is not a blue lily") to KĀ 2.36 ("This is no lotus, it is your face. / These are not bees but eyes.").

[116] See again Dimitrov 2016 for an expansive interpretation of Ratna's significance in Sanskrit, Pali, and Tibetan literary cultures. For his place in Sri Lankan literary culture, see Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.6 in this volume.

Dandin was born, after all, in the intensely plural world of Kanchipuram, one of the international capital cities of the Sangha in his period, and his genuine ethical commitments may conceivably have been at least colored by the beliefs of his Buddhist (and, for that matter, Jain) neighbors.

Between these two opposed positions there is—appropriately enough—a middle way. The very openness that is so characteristic of the *Mirror* as a work of poetic theory can equally be seen in the broad horizons of Dandin's cultural vision, and Buddhism was surely one of the most cosmopolitan ways to be a cultured person in late first-millennium Asia. Dandin could have a sharp tongue, and there were many models available to him to satirize or demean Buddhist monks or their stereotypically well-heeled lay followers. Yet the *Mirror* never seems to evince any Brahminical hauteur toward those rejecting the authority of the Vedas, never insists on the authority of Panini's Brahminical grammar, and the gentle, smiling manner in which he mentions the Buddhist Dharma seems born of affection instead of rivalry.[117] Ratna responded to Dandin's openness through a further broadening of the boundaries of the *Mirror*, including within its scope the possibility—even the necessity—of an ethically charged poetic project, in which the great Buddhist poet Arya Shura and the philosopher and poet (if the two are, indeed, the same person) Dharmakirti are equal partners in a conversation with the Shaivas Bhartrihari and Kalidasa.

Ratna was uniquely receptive and responsive to a certain quality in the *Mirror*—generosity, openness, experimentation, scalar nature: it is difficult to sum it up in a single term—that was distinctive of Dandin's work as a theorist. By adopting Dandin's own way of thinking about poetry, he not only showed the internal coherence of the *Mirror*, but also the ways that its project could be expanded, adapted, and made one's own. Our earliest surviving witness to the reception of Dandin's theories, Ratna demonstrated just how powerful a set of ideas these were. He proved directly influential on the subsequent thinking of many of his co-religionists; but Ratna's work serves as a model for thinking through and with Dandin in a way that helps us to better understand a great many other readings of the *Mirror*, even those of theorists who seem never to have read his commentary.

## 5.8. Bhoja of Dhara: Dandin as the "Teacher of Literature's Secrets"

*Whitney Cox*

King Bhoja of the Paramara dynasty ruled a sprawling kingdom from what is now the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh in the first half of the eleventh century

[117] See Bronner, sections 1.2 and 1.4 in this volume.

(ca. 1010–1055). He was a great builder, military leader, and the most celebrated patron of literature in South Asian history. To this day, he is considered a proverbially wise and generous king, and the subsequent literary tradition imagined him as the ideal patron, anachronistically placing in his royal assembly a galaxy of poetic luminaries, including Kalidasa, Bhavabhuti, and, not surprisingly, Dandin himself. He is the attributed author of a library of works, ranging from veterinary science and theology to two fine works of *kāvya*. But the most significant of the contributions attributed to him are certainly his two massive treatises on literary theory, *Sarasvati's Necklace* (*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*) and the *Illumination of Passion* (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*). The sheer size of these works and the remarkable breadth of the sources they draw upon may suggest that they were the products of a collective effort, a team of pandits working under the direction of the royal enthusiast. The texts, however, claim Bhoja to be their sole author, and I follow that attribution here.

While Ratna's interpretation of the *Mirror* was remarkably faithful to the spirit of Dandin's intentions, at times gently nudging the master when he seems to have strayed from the path he himself outlined, Bhoja's two works demonstrate a remarkably creative recasting of Dandin's theories into a form scarcely imaginable by their author. This is in part illustrative of the field-wide transformations of Sanskrit poetic theory that hinged upon Anandavardhana's *Light on Suggestion* and its radical reinvention of the basic problematic of Sanskrit poetics within the question of literary suggestion. *Sarasvati's Necklace* and the *Illumination of Passion*, composed a little less than a century after Ratna's work and seemingly in ignorance of it, together embody a complex reaction, on an enormous scale, to the innovations from Kashmir that were by then securely established as representing the avant-garde of Sanskrit poetics. Whereas Ratna could still dismiss the notion of an independent function of suggested meaning in poetry as an alternative name to Dandin's ornament of "condensed speech" (*samāsokti*), Bhoja acknowledged the existence of the Anandavardhana's *dhvani* theory, but sought a more capacious frame in which to set it. Dandin's *Mirror* was absolutely essential to this massive effort, which also included practically all available theories of language and a mind-bogglingly large quantum of Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry, folded into a totalizing vision of poetry as the pinnacle of language-use as such.[118]

Bhoja acknowledges his vast indebtedness to Dandin, whom he calls "the teacher of the secrets of great literature" (*mahākāvyopaniṣadācāryo daṇḍī*[119]). Given their enormous size, and the real complexities of their interpretation, a

[118] Cf. Cox 2012, esp. pp. 66–71.

[119] *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 187, following Raghavan's emendation *mahākāvya-* for ms. *mahāvākya-*. This occurs in the early, grammatical sections of the *Light upon Passion* and indeed the ms. reading

full review of the dependence of the two works—*Sarasvati's Necklace* and the *Illumination of Passion*—on the text of the *Mirror* is impossible, and instead only a brief sample of the *Illumination* will be offered here.[120] Pollock has described this work "a kind of *summa poeticae*, assembling and reordering the preceding seven or eight centuries of what literature was believed to be."[121] Dandin's *Mirror* is the key piece in this assemblage. The entirety of the *Mirror*—all of its definitions and all of its examples—has been incorporated into the *Illumination*, usually through direct quotation. In contrast to the occasional quotations of the *Mirror* by authors writing in Kashmir, reviewed above, this is quotation and incorporation on a massive scale, sometimes acknowledging Dandin by name, but more often taking up the *Mirror*'s language as raw material.[122]

Consider, for example, the work's eleventh chapter, which presents the major statement of Bhoja's maverick understanding of the nature and working of rasa: it marks the culmination of the *Illumination*'s extensive discussion of the elements of literary language (*sāhitya*), with "the necessary presence of rasa" (*rasāviyoga*) at its center. For this presentation, the heart of Bhoja's entire project, the chapter depends fundamentally on quotations and recastings of the *Mirror*. This is a remarkable choice. The problem of rasa—how emotions are expressed by literary language and how their "flavor" is relished by the reader—had been set on a radically new track following Anandavardhana's *Light on Suggestion*, as Bhoja and his readers knew well. Rasa was no longer an ornament on par with simile and alliteration, as Dandin had understood it, but a phenomenon of an entirely different order, based on suggestion and superordinate to all other poetic elements. Thus the extensive reliance on the *Mirror* here appears very deliberate, with Bhoja reasserting the centrality of Dandin within the changed intellectual landscape of poetic theory.

Bhoja's idiosyncratic theory marks a massive parting of the ways from the emerging Kashmirian consensus: it claims, uniquely, all literary rasas to be transformations of a single meta-rasa, variously called "passion" (*śṛṅgāra*), "love" (*preman*), "sense of self" (*abhimāna*), or "ego" (*ahaṃkāra*). The idea is original to Bhoja, based on an extension of Dandin's theories in directions that certainly were not part of the world of his potentially thinkable thoughts. Nevertheless,

may be correct; in which case, Bhoja is claiming for Dandin an even wider remit, over linguistic usage in general.

[120] The interested reader is directed toward the two indispensable authorities on the *Light upon Passion*, Raghavan's monumental study (rev. ed. 1978), and the several major contributions by Pollock (1998; 2006: 105–15, 178–84; 2016: 110–43 [with notes, pp. 356–67]). Throughout, I cite the recent edition of Rewaprasad Dvivedi.

[121] Pollock 2006: 105.

[122] Raghavan's monograph documents these borrowings in enormous detail (Raghavan 1978: 648–894).

this can be understood as a response to the very openness that is distinctive of the *Mirror*.

Though accessory to this revisionist theoretical goal, some of the discussions of the *Mirror* in the *Illumination*'s eleventh chapter serve as an extensive commentary on Dandin's text. When, for example, Bhoja asserts that rasa is manifested from the "confluence" (*saṃsṛṣṭi*) of multiple aesthetic elements, this leads to a lengthy grammatical exploration of Dandin's example of the figure of that same name.[123] Bhoja then goes on to provide a lengthy exegesis of Dandin's main example of "seeing-as" (*utprekṣā*; KĀ 2.224ff), quoting and commenting on the text extensively, drawing also on Dandin's earlier discussion of simile.[124] The sense one derives from this is of an intense engagement with the *Mirror* underlying the composition of the *Illumination*: these asides have the feel of extracts from extensive disputations on the text in Bhoja's royal assembly of scholars, documenting an attention to the text as intense as Ratna's, if perhaps less in line with Dandin's patent intentions.

Much of Bhoja's thinking is in fact very close to the original ideas of the *Mirror*. Following directly from his earlier assertion that rasa, when it occurs within a text, is the result of the confluence of ornaments, Bhoja seeks to greatly expand the domain of what counts as an ornament, in order to include any sort of constituent element of a poetic utterance. This is especially intended to include the range of modes of aestheticized communication (*rasādi*, "the list beginning with rasa"), which had been an innovation of Anandavardhana's. Bhoja finds a warrant for his own presentation in the opening of the *Mirror*'s second chapter: if those features that lend beauty to a literary work are by definition ornaments, if these are said to be infinite in number (KĀ 2.1), and if one can, as Dandin explicitly does, refer also to the poetic virtues (*guṇa*) as ornaments (KĀ 2.3), then the in-built elasticity of the category surely lends itself to further expansion. As a result, the rubric of "the confluence of ornaments" (*alaṅkārasaṃsṛṣṭi*), which for Dandin was just a single instance of his set of acknowledged figures, can be elevated to the underlying mechanism for any successful work of poetic art, including Anandavardhana's "list beginning with rasa." If this is in some sense a faithful extension of Dandin's own organizing logic, it is a massive extension nonetheless.

The second major recasting of the *Mirror* in this discussion is even more significant, and far more unexpected. Bhoja adopts Dandin's definition-verse for the three rhetorical figures, the "affectionate" (*preyas*), "rasa-laden" (*rasavat*), and "energetic" (*ūrjasvin*), as setting out a model for the inner working of his

[123] *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, pp. 617–21, kaliedoscopically citing KĀ 2.361, 3.151 (with v.l., *pace* Dwivedi), 2.226 (*limpatīva tamo 'ṅgāni*), and 2.57–65ab.

[124] Ibid., pp. 620–23; in discussing this verse (*limpatīva tamo 'ṅgāni,* etc.), Bhoja cites it in the full form in which it occurs in Dandin's own source, Shudraka's *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, a rare piece of source-criticism.

theory of rasa.[125] As argued in the *Illumination*'s programmatic opening verses, there is only a single rasa, "passion" or "ego" (*śṛṅgāra*, *ahaṃkāra*), of which all the apparent emotional phenomena of literature are just surface transformations. This theory draws as much from emanational metaphysics as it does from poetic theory, and—as Pollock has documented—the theory remains resolutely intratextual: it is the transformation of the literary character's sense of self into emotional expression that is of interest in Bhoja's theory.[126] Literary characters are represented as possessing complex emotional states; whether something identical or similar happens in the minds of the audience is left unstated.

Bhoja's principal authority here is the *Mirror*'s definition of these three rhetorical and emotive tropes. Dandin's definition of these is brief to the point of pleonasm:

> The "affectionate" is an expression of deep affection; "rasa-laden" is charming in its rasa; "energetic" has a prominent sense of self—and all three depend upon intensification.[127]

Bhoja presses this into service to explain how his theory works, correlating Dandin's definition with his own programmatic opening verses. Taking Dandin's three figures in reverse order, Bhoja describes how (as he claims) Dandin develops a three-phase model for the working of literary emotion. The "prominent sense of self" (*rūḍhāhaṃkāra*) that is distinctive of "the energetic" forms the baseline condition of possibility, the sort of rich inner life that is made possible through the experiences of prior noble births: this forms the "prior phase" (*pūrvā koṭiḥ*) of the singular rasa he calls "passion." The second or "middle" phase (*madhyamāvasthā*)—as is implied by Dandin's words, "charming in its rasa"—is where rasa operates as it is conventionally described, with a basic emotion inflected by different aesthetic elements, subordinated to passion, the sole real rasa. With the words "an expression of deep affection," Bhoja has Dandin describe the process's final phase (*paramā kāṣṭhā*) as that which exceeds the mechanics of ordinary emotion and transforms into the primal underlying core, "passion" understood as the sense of self. Bhoja closes by returning to Dandin's own claim about the "intensification" necessary for these three ornaments; absent this, Bhoja claims, these emotional expressions are just accessory, rather than revealing the real core of how literary language works.[128] While the details

[125] Compare Kuntaka's rejection of these three ornaments: see McCrea, section 5.4 above.
[126] Pollock 2016: 113–14; the point of literary analysis is for Bhoja "to constantly redirect attention back toward the text, toward the literary process itself and the production of literary communication."
[127] KĀ 2.263: *preyaḥ priyatarākhyānaṃ rasavad rasapeśalam | ūrjasvi rūḍhāhaṅkāraṃ yuktotkarṣaṃ ca tat trayam*.
[128] This summarizes *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, pp. 624–26; see Raghavan 1978: 439–53, and Pollock 2016: 127–32 for fuller discussions.

of this may be confusing for the nonspecialist, the boldness of the gambit should be clear: Bhoja presents Dandin's tight triad of old categories as if they already entailed his radically different tripartite psycho-aesthetic theory.

Bhoja's vision of rasa lies far beyond anything Dandin attempted to argue in the *Mirror*, yet the Paramara king's recasting does respond to elements of its presentation. Dandin was the first theorist to group these three rhetorical tropes together, and his account suggests a systemic logic underlying all three, while the *Mirror*'s underdetermined nature of the individual definitions calls out for exegetical expansion.[129] Bhoja returns to the examples which Dandin gives for these three figures later in the same chapter; and here, too, his responses pendulate between the normatively commentarial and the exotically creative. Citing all of Dandin's examples of "rasa-laden," Bhoja—reproducing his own comments from the earlier discussion in *Sarasvati's Necklace*—first provides a conventional explanation based in the old rasa-doctrine of the *Treatise on Theatre*, tabulating the stimulant and consequent factors (the *vibhāva*s and *anubhāva*s) whose gestalt effect is the production of rasa.[130] Shortly thereafter, Bhoja again glances at the *Mirror*, citing its example of "the energetic" (2.291, trans. Bronner):

> You think I am about to kill you.
> Fear no more.
> My sword wants nothing to do
> with those who run away from battle.[131]

Bhoja uses this category to argue that the arising of "the energetic" from its basis in the sense of self (*ahaṃkāra*) occurs in parallel with the erotic or the other canonical rasas. The restrictions set out in the *Treatise on Theatre* thus fail to make sense in the light of Bhoja's new unitary model of rasa. This is in line with the royal author's wider polemical stance toward the authority of Bharata's ancient treatise. When Bhoja returns to Dandin's example of "the energetic," it is at the head of a recapitulation of his three-phrase model. The verse must certainly present an instance of "a prominent sense of self," the first of the *Illumination*'s three phases. Bhoja then returns to each of the *Mirror*'s examples

[129] See Bronner forthcoming 1, on the treatment of the rasa-related ornaments.

[130] *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, pp. 629–31, citing KĀ 2.279 [*śṛṅgāra*], 2.287 [*hāsya*], 2.282 [*vīra*], 2.288 [*adbhuta*], 2.280 [*raudra*], 2.289 [*bhayānaka*], 2.284 [*karuṇa*], and 2.286 [*bībhatsa*]; the parallel passage in the SKĀ occurs following 5.166 (vol. 3, pp. 982–90). The preceding and surrounding discussion of these citations relates to two technical points: the meaning of the suffix *-vat* in the name *rasavat* (whether possessive or comparative) and whether, as discussed in the ancient *Treatise on Theater*, rasas only emerge from emotions. Refer to Pollock 2016: 123–38 for this discussion.

[131] KĀ 2.291: *apakartāham asmīti hṛdi te mā sma bhūd bhayam | vimukheṣu na me khaḍgaḥ prahartuṃ jātu vāñchati* ||.

of "rasa-laden"; in a major revision of Dandin's own thought, he redescribes each of these as an instance of the "energetic" and so of the first phase. While this seems strongly at odds with the *Mirror*'s explicit teaching, once again Bhoja is responding to a subtle feature of Dandin's presentation. Almost all of the *Mirror*'s examples of "rasa-laden" are written from a first-person perspective, utterances that capture a particular character's emotive reaction to a set of circumstances, rather than a depiction of the circumstances themselves.[132] Bhoja finds this latter sort of depiction to be the proper domain of his second phase of conventionalized rasa, exemplified not by Dandin's verses but by *loci classici* from Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti.

In the many scholarly discussions and disputes from which Bhoja's works were distilled, the centrality of Dandin—his status as the teacher of the secrets of language and literature both—was evidently taken as a given. To trace out the full extent of the *Mirror*'s influence in the royal author's literary-critical work would be an exceedingly large task. But as even this brief review of the *Illumination*'s eleventh chapter indicates, Bhoja's engagement with the *Mirror* is at once a work of exegesis and a repurposing of Dandin's language and ideas. This raises the obvious question: Why Dandin? Why did this work matter so much to Bhoja? While I have no definitive answer to this, I can offer a few suggestions. First of all, Bhoja, though ruling from central India, seems to have spoken Sanskrit, as it were, with a southern accent.[133] There is also his evident desire to jump back over the theoretical revolution of Anandavardhana's *Light*, and so back to Dandin's foundational treatise. And then there is the palpable affinity between the *Mirror*'s openness, with its modular logic, and Bhoja's own additive approach to literature: as Raghavan described it, Bhoja "out-Dandined Dandin."[134] At times—as in his exegetical colonization of the three rhetorical tropes—Bhoja may have found the *Mirror* to be a blank slate, its terse definition and example verses rich opportunities for expansion and discussion. Bhoja may also have been responding to the wider uptake of the *Mirror* in his era, including that into languages other than Sanskrit. By the early eleventh century, Dandin's work had been rendered into Pali and had supplied one of the major sources of the Kannada *Kavirājamārgaṁ*, as other chapters of this volume describe. Our cosmopolitan Paramara king, his

[132] *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 636. The possible exception to this—which Bhoja simply ignores—is KĀ 2.289, the example of *bhayānaka*, the fearful rasa. The only possible first-person element to this unusually lurid verse—describing how even calling to mind Indra's *vajra*-weapon can induce miscarriage in the wives of the *asura*s—is the presence of a deictic pronoun.

[133] Certainly the *Illumination*'s reception was almost entirely confined to the Deccan and points further south. Some of this might be attributed to the origins of his chief court pandit and collaborator, the poet and grammarian Chittappa. While we possess no reliable biographical information on this figure—or even know the full extent of his contribution to the *Illumination*—his name at least suggests southern origins (cf. Tamil *cittappaṉ*, "younger paternal uncle").

[134] Raghavan 1978: 345.

political eye and literary tastes turned noticeably southward, may well have been aware of these experiments, and attuned to the first murmurings of the crowd of new vernacular Dandins that would follow him. There is a certain paradox in claiming this—the *Illumination* includes the Sanskrit tradition's strongest defense of literary language "as a closed set," limited to Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Apabhramsha.[135] But Bhoja's works contain multitudes—and were certainly the product of many hands—and it is possible to imagine this wider cultural moment finding expression within them.

## 5.9. The Longer History of Dandin Scholarship in Sanskrit

*Whitney Cox*

Ratna's exegesis of the *Mirror* is certainly the most authoritative we now possess; Bhoja's reimagination of its theories is a fascinating and monumental anomaly. The interpretation of the *Mirror* in the Sanskrit scholastic tradition was by no means limited to these great interventions. A large number of other commentaries and glosses on the text have transmitted to the present, and these are surely only a small percentage of what was certainly a much more widespread phenomenon. Besides Ratna's, there are three other commentaries that are available in modern editions: Vadijanghaladeva's *Preserving the Teaching* (*Śrutānupālinī*), likely composed in southern Karnataka within a few decades of Ratna's work; Tarunavachaspati's brief *Explication* (*Vivṛti*), written in the Tamil country in the late thirteenth century; and a third work, *The Appealing Gloss* (*Hṛdayaṅgamā*), of unknown authorship and provenance.[136] These are just a small fraction of what survives, to say nothing of what has been lost. Earlier, we briefly noticed the work of another Buddhist scholiast, Vagishvarakirti, whose work also traveled to Tibet; the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* contains entries for at least another fourteen surviving unpublished precolonial commentaries with named authors.[137] Some of these are likely derivative or unambitious works of interpretation, but the scope for learning new things about Dandin's work and its reception from these is considerable.

[135] See Pollock 2006: 105–14, 581–82. Pollock, it needs be said, explicitly denies any connection between Bhoja's theories and the emergent worlds of the vernacular (109); he also insists on Bhoja's sole authorship of his literary-theoretical treatises.

[136] On Vadijanghaladeva's date and locale, see Pollock 2005; on Tarunavacaspati, see immediately below. These three commentaries have been published together, first by V. Krishnamacharya (Tirupati, 1936) and more recently by Nag Publications (ed. Yogeśvaradatta Śarma, Delhi, 1999).

[137] Refer to the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. 4, pp. 107–10; this is certainly a conservative underestimate; the NCC lists another fourteen "unspecified" commentaries.

A brief glance at a single example will suffice to demonstrate the value of this corpus, both for understanding the *Mirror* and for the intellectual history of Sanskrit poetic theory generally. *The Investigation of the Mirror of Literature* (*Kāvyādarśatātparyanirūpaṇa*), attributed to one Keshava Bhattaraka, today survives in a single manuscript held in Trivandrum, on the southern tip of the subcontinent. While the author says little about himself in the course of his work, its final colophon informs the reader that the text was composed "by the son of Tarunavachaspati, the professor whose lotus feet were honored by the great emperor, King Ramanatha."[138] This tells us two things: that Keshava, as I will call him, was the son of another commentator on the *Mirror*, just mentioned above, and that both men can be roughly dated to the decades around the turn of the fourteenth century, presuming that this Ramanatha refers to the Hoysala king of that name, who ruled 1254–1295. Tarunavachaspati appears to have held a high teaching position in the southern Hoysala court, perhaps as a royal tutor or preceptor. Ramanatha, however, was unseated by his nephew Viraballala, and it is possible that Keshava wrote as an out-of-favor courtier, or even as a political exile.

That commenting on the *Mirror* appears to have been the family business is interesting in itself. But while his father's work is the slightest of the *Mirror*'s published commentaries, Keshava's lengthy text is that of a very learned man, well versed in grammar, logic, and Vedic hermeneutics, who was particularly interested in recasting the history of poetics in light of the *Mirror*. His project was thus a sort of late-medieval counterpart to our effort here. Moreover, Bhoja's *Illumination of Passion* and *Necklace of Sarasvati* were central to Keshava's reconstructive vision. While commenting on "rasa-laden," already mentioned above, Keshava simply and explicitly copies out a passage from the *Necklace*, where he returns the compliment that Bhoja had earlier paid to Dandin, referring to the Paramara king as "the teacher of the secret nature of all science and literature" (*sakalaśāstrasāhityopaniṣadācārya*).[139] Keshava possessed an intriguing canon of post-Dandin thinkers: together with Bhoja, the Kashmirian Vamana is frequently adduced as a supporting authority. This makes sense: Vamana's work represented the major post-*Mirror* statement on the regionalized styles; it is also the work most indebted to Dandin from its generation, as explained above. Vamana's investment in the grammatical tradition, further, broadly accords with

[138] KĀTN, p. 217: *mahārājādhirājaśrīrāmanāthanarendravanditacaraṇāravindamahopadhyāya-taruṇavācaspatitanūjanmanā keśavabhaṭṭārakena viracite kāvyādarśatātparyanirūpaṇe tṛtīyaḥ paricchedaḥ*.

[139] Ibid, p. 120: *amīṣām aṣṭānām api ślokānāṃ sakalaśāstrasāhityopaniṣadācāryeṇa mahārājena bhojarājena vyākhyānam kṛtam. tad evābhilikhāmi.* "All eight of those verses have been furnished with a commentary by the great king Bhoja, the master of the secret teachings of all science and literature. I simply copy it out." Compare note 119, above.

Keshava's, whose interpretations frequently focus on questions of Paninian derivation. Finally, though he never cites him explicitly, there are suggestions that Keshava may have had access to the text of Ratna's *Ratnaśrīṭīkā*.[140]

Keshava was a man of wide reading, and his loyalties did not stop him from drawing on other poetic theorists. Thus at one point he essentially abandons the explicit text of the *Mirror* to offer an original synthesis of Vamana with Udbhata. This occurs in the explanation of poetic identification (*rūpaka*). "Identification" is an ornament which Dandin had defined by its propositional structure and place within or outside a nominal compound, but which the Kashmirian thinkers since the time of Udbhata had defined semantically, through reference to the nonliteral capacities of language. While the *Mirror*'s definition (KĀ 2.66: "Identification is nothing but a simile wherein difference is obscured") is deliberately simple, Keshava draws on the language as well as the ideas of the two Kashmirians to produce an independent account of the figure, an explicit attempt to upgrade Dandin's archaic version to a more modern definition:

> "Nothing but a simile wherein difference is obscured": an identification is nothing but the relationship of source and target, where the distinction of source and target is suppressed. This is the meaning: an identification occurs when, on account of their extreme degree of similarity, a source-term—by means of a figurative lack of difference, and without any explicit marker of comparison such as "like"—partakes of an existing secondary usage with regard to a target, thereby serving as a syntactically co-referential modifier. The followers of Udbhata have taught as much: "When a word is joined to another, predominant word in a secondary sense in the absence of an explicitly stated conventional connection, it is identification" [KASS 2.11[141]]. This is called a "*rūpaka*" because the identity "is attributed" [*āropyate*], owing to the extreme degree of similarity of the source-target pair.[142]

[140] To give only a single example, compare Keshava's introduction (*avataraṇikā*) to *śleṣa*, the first of Dandin's virtues, with Ratna's own comments on the same topic. Keshava points to the discrepancy between Dandin's masculine and neuter references to the name of the virtue in a way that closely echoes Ratna's discussion. Keshava writes (ms. cit., p. 29) *udāharaṇaniṣṭhatayā darśayituṃ teṣāṃ dharmidvāreṇa lakṣaṇam āha*; while Ratna's own introduction reads (pp. 29–30) *idānīṃ yathoddeśam eteṣām nirdeśaṃ saviparyayaṃ sodāharaṇaṃ kurvann āha*, followed several sentences later by *svatantrasya dharmasyāsambhavād dharminiṣṭhaḥ śleṣo darśitaḥ prāk.*

[141] See Bronner's discussion of this definition, its presuppositions, and its entailments within the Jayadipa moment (2016: 92–99).

[142] KĀTN, p. 60: *upamaiveti. upamānopameyabhāva eva tirobhūtopamānopameyabhedo rūpakam iti. ayam arthaḥ: yatrātyantasādṛśyād abhedopacāreṇevādiśabdavidhuram upamānapadam evopameye pravartamānāṃ gauṇīṃ vṛttim anubhavat sāmānādhikaraṇyena viśeṣaṇatvam anubhavati tad rūpakam iti. tad uktam audbhaṭaiḥ: śrutyā sambandhavirahād yat padena padāntaram | guṇavṛttipradhānena yujyate rūpakaṃ tu tat || iti. upamānopameyasyātyantasādṛśyāt tattvam āropyata iti rūpakam iti śabdārthaḥ.*

Keshava's analysis here possesses only the most superficial relationship to the text of the *Mirror*. Instead, he fuses the ideas of the two theorists from the Jayapida moment. As he acknowledges through his citation, Keshava adopts the semantic priorities of Udbhata's *Essential Précis*, while drawing on Vamana implicitly throughout this discussion, and directly borrowing, this time without attribution, the etymological argument implied by the latter's defining rule for "identification."[143]

Yet Keshava scrupulously avoids any explicit acknowledgment of theorists writing after the dramatic turn toward literary suggestion: the works of Anandavardhana, Abhinavagupta, Ruyyaka, Mammata, and Vishvanatha go unmentioned. This seems, in fact, to be the point. In commenting on the opening verse of the *Mirror*'s second chapter, he writes:

> Even though it is impossible to define each and every ornament, given their infinite number as they are the property of each and every poet [*pratikavi*], the early teachers nevertheless have described the general theory that is the basis for these different varieties, even those that have been concocted by moderns.[144]

While Keshava depends on Dandin's own words and distinct ethos of openness,[145] the sentiment seems to be entirely his. In an interesting piece of commentarial double-voicing, Keshava here unpacks his root-text while arguing polemically that Dandin's text and the tradition it represents—the tradition of Vamana, Bhoja, and perhaps Ratna—are perfectly adequate for providing theoretical guidance for the composition and criticism of any Sanskrit poetry. He effectively dismisses the entire intervening history of the field in the wake of Anandavardhana's *Light on Suggestion* with the potential objection which he understands Dandin to be addressing: there is no point in further addition of new tools to the kit provided by Dandin and the other early masters, when their model is itself generative enough to accommodate any subsequent innovation. All that one needs is a proper understanding of this paradigm. Dandin's characteristic and attractive openness here, however paradoxically, is transformed into orthodoxy, and the possibility of theoretical innovation is effectively denied in favor of a vision of the *Mirror* as an all-inclusive theoretical model.

[143] Vamana, *Aphorisms*, 4.3.6: *upamānenopameyasya guṇasāmyāt tattvāropo rūpakam*, "The attribution of identity, owing to a commonality of qualities of a target-source pair, is an identification."

[144] KĀTN, p. 39: *yady api alaṅkārāṇām anekadhā pratikavi prathamānānām ānantyād akhilānām api lakṣaṇam vaktum aśaktaṃ tathāpīdānīntanakalpitānām api bhedānāṃ nidānaṃ sāmānyaṃ pūrvācāryaiḥ pradarśitam.*

[145] KĀ 2.1–2; 1.101cd: *tadbhedās tu na śakyante vaktuṃ pratikavi sthitāḥ.*

## 5.10. Dandin's Bee Still Busy: Appayya on Dandin

*Yigal Bronner*

It is fitting to conclude this Dandin-centered alternative history of Sanskrit poetics with the towering sixteenth-century polymath Appayya Dikshita (hereafter Appayya). Throughout his works on poetic theory, Appayya was engaged in creating an alternative to the discipline's official story, and he clearly tried to carve a prominent place for Dandin therein. Like Bhoja and Keshava Bhattaraka before him, Appayya sought to counter the Kashmiri orthodoxy, and for this purpose, he too marshaled Dandin as a key authoritative voice. This is particularly evident in his *Joy of the Water Lily* (*Kuvalayānanda*), a manual on ornaments that quickly became the most popular work of its kind. In this book, which consists of three textual layers—simple verse definitions and textbook examples partly adapted from Jayadeva's older *Moonlight* (*Candrāloka*), an auto-commentary consisting of complex prose discussions, and additional examples from over a thousand years of literary practice—Appayya presents a robust field of ornaments, 100 in number, as responsible for an astonishing array of aesthetic phenomena.[146] If generations of thinkers beginning with Anandavardhana tried to curtail the aesthetic potential of ornaments and to argue for suggestion as an independent linguistic capacity, Appayya tries to reverse this tide, reclaiming suggestive power for ornaments, and preserving elements of Dandin's vision in the post-Anandavardhana figurative field.

Consider, for example, the case of "roundabout speech" (*paryāyokta*). As explained by Dandin, this is a case in which "one avoids stating one's desired goal directly and, instead, comes up with a speech in a different fashion that accomplishes the very same goal."[147] Dandin's example and its follow-up explanation illustrate well the potentially vast scope of the device:

"The cuckoo is munching
on the mango blossom.
I better go and ward it off.
You two stay and take your time."

[146] See Bronner 2004 for a discussion of the *Joy*, its relations to Jayadeva's source, and the place it allots Dandin.
[147] KĀ 2.293: *artham iṣṭam anākhyāya sākṣāt tasyaiva siddhaye | yat prakārāntarākhyānaṃ paryāyoktaṃ tad īdṛśam* ||.

> The speaker has arranged for a rendezvous between her friend and a young man and, with the intention of allowing the two of them to consummate their love, gets out of the way in this fashion.[148]

The speaker meant to tell the lovers that this is their opportunity to be together, but she achieves the same more elegantly, by referring to the seeming urgent need to ward an errant bird off the mango blossoms. For later Kashmiri thinkers, this notion of "roundabout speech" was an anathema, because it threatened to render at least one of Anandavardhana's basic categories of suggestion, the suggestion of a content (*vastudhvani*), redundant.[149]

Thus a new and leaner figure emerged, typically involving the insinuation of a cause by its effect. The famous example features the demon Rahu who is beheaded immediately after sipping the nectar of immortality; his head remains immortal, but he is forever deprived of the rest of his body. The illustration of the new ornament narrates this beheading in a roundabout manner. It refers not to the act itself but to one of its main consequences: Rahu can only kiss his wives from now on, but his sexual adventures can go no further. This lean version of "roundabout speech" (effect betokening cause) became standard, and so did the Rahu example, a version of which is included in Jayadeva's *Moonlight*, the main source of the verse layer of Appayya's *Joy*. It initially seems that Appayya is willing to go along with the now-established norm, and he keeps Jayadeva's Rahu verse in his *Joy*. In the following prose discussion, however, he directly attacks Abhinavagupta for misusing the ancient example and unnecessarily narrowing down roundabout speech to causality, when it is clear that suggestion can take many other forms here.[150] Finally, he adds another textbook definition and example verse to supplement Jayadeva's, unmistakably meant to echo Dandin, as the readers are expected to know: "Some also defined roundabout speech as achieving one's desired goal by resorting to a pretext: 'I'm going to check on the mango blossom; you two stay here.' "[151] Once the grounds have been laid for newly expanding the old figure, Dandin is immediately thrown back in, even if with a twist. What is now associated with the old master is not so much the broader definition of "roundabout speech" but the speaker's resorting to a false pretense, something that others, Bhoja included, have also associated with the verse.[152]

[148] KĀ 2.294–95: *daśaty asau parabhṛtaḥ sahakārasya mañjarīm | tam ahaṃ vārayiṣyāmi yuvābhyāṃ svairam āsyatām || saṅgamayya sakhīṃ yūnā saṅkete tadratotsvam | nirvartayitum icchantyā kayāpy apasṛtaṃ tathā* ||.

[149] See McCrea 2008: 138–39, 313–37; Bronner 2016: 119–23.

[150] KuĀ ad verse 68, pp. 92–95. For more see Bronner 2004: 70–71.

[151] KuĀ verse 69, p. 95: *paryāyoktaṃ tad apy āhur yad vyājeneṣṭasādhanam | yāmi cūtalatāṃ draṣṭuṃ yuvābhyām āsyatām iha*.

[152] See, for example, Bhoja's notion of "roundabout speech" in SK 4.80, where pretext (*miṣa*) is built into the definition, and where Dandin's example is the second to be given (verse 4.214).

A more complex engagement with a signature Dandin example can be seen in the case of "condensed speech" (*samāsokti*). This is another ornament that Dandin expanded in a way that seemed threatening to the proponents of *dhvani*. Indeed, as noted above, Ratna remarked in passing that others had dubbed this ornament "suggestion," citing Anandavardhana.[153] And it is true that Dandin's definition of "condensed speech" seems intentionally open-ended when compared with the definitions of his predecessors. It includes any case where one speaks of one entity/narrative (*vastu*) while aiming at an analogous other. Dandin's first illustration, which echoes a Prakrit stanza from Kalidasa's *Abhijñānaśākuntala*, depicts the recent love interest of a certain playboy in the following indirect manner:

> The bee sipped honey to its fill
> from a flower in full bloom.
> Look! Now it's kissing a bud
> that is yet to develop a scent.[154]

This famous bee verse, found in one form or another in numerous treatises on poetics in both Sanskrit and in the vernaculars, does not make it into Appayya's primer. His *Joy* replaces the bee with another lover, the moon: "Look! He's kissing the East on her mouth, that crimson moon."[155] Although some elements of Dandin's popular example—the kissing and the interjection "look!"—are unmistakably here, other key elements, most importantly the bee and the love triangle, are missing. Why is this the case?

As Appayya himself explains in the prose section, "condensed speech," too, has by this point been narrowed down to just one type of relationship between the expressed and suggested meanings. The ornament is now understood to refer only to cases where the description of something contextual (in this case moonrise) calls to mind a second semantic layer that is not pertinent to the context (the kissing of lovers) based on the equivocal nature of the adjectives employed.[156] In Dandin's original example, the love triangle of the playboy, the experienced woman, and the adolescent girl, must have been pertinent to the speakers'

[153] See Bronner and Cox, section 5.6 above.

[154] KĀ 2.204: *piban madhu yathākāmaṃ bhramaraḥ phullapaṅkaje | apy asannaddhasaurabhyaṃ paśya cumbati kuḍmalam ||* See Bronner 2017 for further discussion of this verse and its antecedents.

[155] KuĀ v. 61: *ayam aindrīmukhaṃ paśya raktaś cumbati candramāḥ*. Appayya, with the help of Jayadeva, here blends together verbal elements of Dandin's example with the theme of another verse, attributed to Panini, which ever since Udbhata's time had served as the figure's leading example; see Cox 2017.

[156] *Rakta* means both "crimson" and "passionate," *mukha* both "front" and "mouth," and *cumbati* can refer both to a benign touch and to a romantic kiss (with a clear preference for the latter). For Appayya's discussion of "condensed speech," see KuĀ, pp. 69–74.

context, and hence, it is implied, it had to be removed from a more narrowly defined ornament, even as the fingerprints of Dandin are visibly left in place.

So, no bee and flowers after all? Not exactly. A few lines down, Appayya introduces a new ornament of his own. This ornament is called "offshoot of the context" (*prastutāṅkura*), and it is meant to include precisely those cases wherein a statement that is pertinent to the context gives rise to another that is also contextual. And it is perhaps little surprise to find a familiar addressee in Appayya's verse: "Hey Bee! When the jasmine is there, why bother with the thorny bush?"[157] The situation, as Appayya explains in a Dandin-like follow-up comment, is of a couple walking through a garden.[158] The woman spots the bee uselessly hovering over a thorny bush, so the whole verdant drama of two flowers and one insect is clearly in the immediate context, and the speaker directly addresses the nearby bee. But just as clearly, a crisis involving the couple itself and a third woman is a pertinent fact, and the ultimate addressee is the lover at her side.[159] And there are more bees in the offing. Appayya cites a poem by the poetess Vikatanitamba, which is even closer in letter and spirit to Dandin's original verse:

> There are other blossoms, bee, that will withstand
> your rubbing. First turn your greedy mind to them.
> Why in vain torment this jasmine bud
> that is yet to come of age?[160]

Appayya's discussion of "offshoot of the context" offers several lessons to our discussion. First, as elsewhere, ornaments can account for an impressive variety of insinuation; we see again the effort of claiming back for figurative language what the Kashmiri choir sang in the name of suggestion. Second, Dandin is key to this effort, even if his older examples are in a sense particularized: each is seen as pertaining to a very specific scenario or insinuation (in the case of the bee verse, this is the use of something from the immediately visible context to bring to mind an acutely pertinent point; in the case of "roundabout speech," it is the resorting to a pretext). Third, it seems that by this point in time, there are certain topics where Dandin's model remained authoritative for centuries: following him, one can hardly speak of a love-triangle involving a third, very young woman, without evoking his licentious bee. Similar verses, clearly written as reflections of the *Mirror*'s example, can be adduced in Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, and Sinhala. Indeed, a vast swarm of such bees seem to be hovering

[157] KuĀ, v. 67: *kiṃ bhṛṅga satyāṃ malatyāṃ ketakyā kaṇṭakeddhayā* |.

[158] Ibid., p. 88: *iha priyatamena sākam udyāne viharantī kācid bhṛṅgaṃ praty evam āha*.

[159] Ibid., p. 68. The verse is a reworking of another Prakrit verse cited by Abhinavagupta (*Dhvanyāloka* p. 274).

[160] KuĀ, p. 89: *anyāsu tāvad upamardasahāsu bhṛṅga lolaṃ vinodaya manaḥ sumanolatāsu* | *bālām ajātarajasaṃ kalikām akāle vyarthaṃ kadarthayasi kiṃ navamallikāyāḥ* ||.

all over any poetic flower bed, so much so that Appayya, writing at the end of a millennium of bees and buds, had to coin a new and very specific ornament, "offshoot of the context," partly to account for it.[161]

Even more generally, we can think of Dandin's bee as a useful metaphor for his role in the history of the discipline of Sanskrit poetics. His voice, heard loud and clear by so many listeners in the subcontinent and beyond, became for some (mostly Kashmiri literati) an annoying drone: a buzz that that kept playing in the back of their minds. Some tried to drum it out or dismiss it, while others acknowledged it as part of the music of their discipline, even if a somewhat strange and distant chord. But outside of the northern valley and in the centuries after its great period of flourishing, Dandin's bee continued to thrive, multiply, and create complex and richly resonant music, wherever Indic poetry and its poetic discipline set up a garden. Indeed, something in this bee was constantly associated with the ability to respond to and relish newness, even if only in the bud, and even when this new bud was surprisingly old.

## 5.11. Concluding Thoughts

*Yigal Bronner and Whitney Cox*

One could argue that the above vignettes do not make a particularly coherent story. In a way, this is precisely the point. The standard account of Sanskrit poetic theory is way too neat, with a single plotline, a clear teleology, and obvious winners and losers. The alternative we are offering is necessarily messier and has several plots that sometimes run in parallel but often intertwine. As a first, crude approximation, we can say that there is a Kashmiri narrative, told by local literati and adopted by many thinkers outside the northern valley (and by most Indologists), and there is another, more southern story to which many subscribed throughout the subcontinent (but hardly any modern scholars). In the former account, Anandavardhana is the key figure, and Dandin, whether cited or snubbed, is the definite "other," whereas the latter often offers a mirror image. Here Dandin is the great master of poetic secrets, and Anandavardhana is often a remote alternative who may be dismissed as representing some other, minor view (as in the case of Ratna's early response) or knowingly ignored (as in the case of Keshava Bhattaraka).

True, Anandavardhana's powerful theoretical combination of *dhvani* and rasa may play an important role even when he is "the other." It is clearly not a coincidence that Dandin is marshaled, time and again, to counter Anandavardhana's

[161] For one such example in Tamil, see Clare and Shulman, section 4.6 in this volume. For more on "offshoot of the context," see Bronner forthcoming 1.

semantic analysis of suggestion, a tendency that has its roots in Kashmir (in the work of Mukulabhatta's students, Pratiharenduraja and Sahadeva) and that finds full bloom centuries later in the South (at the hands of Appayya Dikshita). It is also not by chance that Dandin is deployed to counter Anandavardhana's views on rasa, and the work of Bhoja is a grand example of this. One could argue that this repeated invocation of Dandin and his *Mirror* is yet another sign of the vast influence of the Kashmiri school, even in the deep South; on this view, invoking Dandin was a defensive strategy, a way to bring about an honorable surrender to the new theoretical dispensation. Indeed, there is some truth to this. But despite the best efforts of thinkers like Kuntaka, "rasa-laden" (*rasavat*) and its sibling emotive figures are never simply cast aside as primitive formulations. On the contrary, the three ornaments that Dandin had turned into an analytical unit remained a constant presence in Sanskrit poetics well into early modernity, while supplying along the way an organizing logic to Bhoja's idiosyncratic psycho-aesthetic theory.

More importantly, our investigation illustrates that we need not look at developments in this discipline as merely leading to or stemming from Anandavardhana's *Light*. This is partly because there are many areas where Dandin is the main figure and Anandavardhana plays a modest role at best. Take, for example, the understanding of "identification" (*rūpaka*): here the key turning point was Udbhata's semantic revolution, which took place a generation before Anandavardhana, but both Ruyyaka in Kashmir and Keshava Bhattaraka in the Tamil country, to give only two examples, insist on retaining the basic insight of Dandin's old definition within a semanticized analysis of the metaphor. It is its in-built metatropicity, namely that "identification is nothing but a simile wherein difference is obscured," that makes it such an attractive site for retheorization.[162] Many other examples are given above, including Dandin's signature analyses of simile, the confluence of ornaments (*saṃsṛṣṭi*), "roundabout speech" (*paryāyokta*), and the poetic virtues (*guṇa*), both individually and as a collective. More generally, the above sections show how often Dandin was credited, explicitly or by implication, for some of the most important features of the *Mirror*: its coherent worldview; the modularity at its heart (see, for example, the comments of Abhinavagupta on poetic characteristics); its open ethos, allowing for growing elasticity in the interpretation of Dandin with the passing of time (e.g., Bhoja and Keshava Bhattaraka); and its call for moderation and the scalar quality of the different poetic devices, as is manifest in Ratna's careful reading of the text.

[162] Ruyyaka's adoption of Dandin's metatropic definition allowed him to insist on the concealed existence of difference in the workings of "identification" as part of his system of ornaments, now "constituting a gamut of increasingly fictive convergence" between entities (Bronner 2021: 95).

Another key feature of any Dandin-centered narrative is the central role played by his illustrations. Vamana in ninth-century Kashmir began the habit of adopting Dandin's example verses; this would continue throughout the discipline's subsequent history. Texts on Sanskrit poetics reproduced or rephrased Dandin's poetic examples so often that a need was sometimes felt for finding place for them in manuals on ornaments, regardless of the original category they served to illustrate in his *Mirror*, as we have seen in the case of the cuckoo and the mango blossom, or the lustful bee and its romantic triangle. There is also the related tendency to respond to Dandin's illustrations and, more generally, to his open model and mode of pedagogy, by composing new illustrations in his style, as we saw in Ratna's commentary. Despite the lack of unanimity about Dandin's conceptual framework, there was certainly a broad consensus in Sanskrit poetics about the intrinsic value of his examples.

One also has to keep in mind that, despite the willed silence of most Sanskrit poeticians (and many modern scholars), this entire discussion took place alongside vernacular discourses on poetics, both in the subcontinent and well beyond its borders. In the vast area stretching from Sri Lanka to Mongolia and from the western Deccan to Southeast Asia, Dandin was the most important inspiration, as this volume documents. Set against this background, Anandavardhana and his followers enjoy at most a rare guest appearance. As much as theorists writing in Sanskrit would have liked to believe that only what is written in that medium matters, there must have been a growing awareness of the presence of this vernacular discursive world as, at the very least, existing "out there." This is partly parallel to the awareness of Kashmirian theorists to Dandin as "other," despite their clear preference to ignore literary theorists from outside the valley.

Indeed, there was at least some overlap between the ongoing discussion in Sanskrit poetics and poetics in the vernaculars, as difficult as it is to definitively establish it. An important linchpin is Ratna's erudite commentary, to which this chapter dedicates a place of honor. As we have seen, Ratna consciously appealed to two audiences, that of mainstream Sanskrit literati and that of his Buddhist co-religionists. And although his reading of the *Mirror* had a far more lasting presence in the languages of the latter (e.g., Sinhala, Pali, Tamil, Tibetan, and Mongolian), it did not entirely go unnoticed in the former. Clearly, much more research is needed on the commentarial tradition of the *Mirror* (and Ratna's role therein) as well as on later possible ties between the cosmopolitan and vernacular theories of literature. But surely any future attempt to rewrite the history of former must take account of the developments in the latter. Like other magic mirrors, it would seem, Dandin's, if understood properly, is a door to many paths.

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# 6

# *Mirror* on Fire

## An Ardent Reception in Tibet and Mongolia

*Edited by Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

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### 6.1. Introduction

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

Dandin's *Kāvyādarśa* (*Mirror of Literature*) stands in a tradition of Sanskrit poetic theory that fostered deep appreciation of the power of language—especially self-conscious poetic language—to communicate with one's fellow human beings.[1] For Tibetans, who had already received so much of value from Indian civilization in the realm of the Buddhist religion, the discovery of Sanskrit poetics (*Alaṅkāraśāstra*), and particularly of Dandin's *Mirror*, was another major epiphany. It became a massive symbol of how sophisticated literature can be, and how sorely lacking in sophistication was the Tibetan language. Tibetan was an oral language up to the seventh century, when a system of writing was invented in the king's court as part of an effort to translate Indic Buddhist texts. Many such works were then translated, and the new script also enabled the writing down of other kinds of works composed originally in Tibetan. But it was only in the thirteenth century that Sakya Pandita, a great monastic scholar and leader, presented the riches of the *Mirror* to the Tibetan intelligentsia for the first time in an original work of his own on writing and learning. Soon thereafter, around 1270, the *Mirror* was translated into Tibetan in full.

[1] KĀ 1.3 states that worldly afairs can take place only thanks to the goodwill of language (*vācām eva prasādena lokayātrā pravartate*). The following verses (1.4–7) speak of other capacities of language.

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The first full Tibetan commentary on Dandin's masterpiece was composed at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and study of the work has been at the center of Tibetan intellectual circles ever since. It has continued to be the subject of a vast number of commentaries; new ones are still being written in our day. It has also made a major impact on numerous kinds of Tibetan poetical writing. The Tibetan reception of the *Mirror* has had a prodigious influence as well in Mongolian Buddhist monasteries and other Mongolian literary contexts. The *Mirror* is still studied assiduously by Tibetan students in high schools and colleges in China today. We can venture to say that the language with the largest number of books in the world about, or inspired by, the *Mirror* is Tibetan.

The field of Tibetan studies has not sufficiently focused attention on the so-called secular literature of Tibet. One reason for that is a long-standing Buddhist bias against its value among the Tibetan intelligentsia themselves.[2] A classic category for classifying such writings is the old Buddhist rubric of the *vidyāsthāna*s (*rig gnas*), often translated as the "secular sciences." Four out of the list of five are medicine, linguistics, arts and crafts, and logic, but other lists add *kāvya* literature, dramaturgy, astral sciences, composition, and lexicography.[3] All of these fields had great import in Tibetan centers of learning, but their place in a specifically Buddhist curriculum, i.e., in monastic institutions, was in dispute. Perhaps the most controversial *vidyāsthāna*s were medicine and poetics. Medicine is of course a vital field of learning, but it was subject to doubt since its main systems of knowledge could only tentatively be attributed to the Buddha. There also had long been concern that lucrative medical practice would become a distraction for the pious; and perhaps even more concerning was the fact that the experience of doctors sometimes directly contradicted central tenets of tantric Buddhist anatomy and physiology.[4] Poetics was a problem for a different reason, not so much because of issues of textual authority, but rather because its subject was strongly associated with erotic love and other sensual pleasures, an anathema to Buddhist monasticism. In fact, it appears that while most (although not all) of the major commentators on the *Mirror* were prominent monks, the study of the *Mirror* took place in special seminars outside of the monastic curricula and formal institutions of learning.

In this chapter we provide an overview of the *Mirror*'s long history in Tibet. We will do this primarily by sampling a few of its most exceptional moments and developments. We begin with a brief reflection on Tibetan literature prior to the introduction of Sanskritic models. Then we turn to the ways in which the *Mirror* influenced and inspired poetry in Tibet and Mongolia. It ended up becoming so

[2] One striking example is the attitude toward personal diaries: see Gyatso 1997.
[3] Gyatso 1997: 101–2.
[4] Gyatso 2015: 101–2.

naturalized in educated society and letters that it could not help but serve new purposes—as well as face considerable critique from various nativist corners. And we have yet to mention the variety of ways in which Tibetan intellectuals built upon the poetic principles that they inherited from India, drawing, among other things, upon Buddhist resources, which themselves had long been taken up with both the theory and practice of specialized linguistic communication. If the following does not do justice to any of these dimensions of the Tibetan reception of Sanskrit poetics, and particularly its Buddhistic innovations, it is due not only to limitations of space, but also to our ongoing ignorance of the scope and diversity of Tibetan poetics over the centuries.

## 6.2. Songs and Poetics on the Plateau

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

The history of the *Mirror* in Tibet and Central Asia provides a remarkable case of cultural encounter, in some ways even more so than the story of Buddhism there. The impact of the *Mirror* is well defined, trackable, and self-conscious. The fact that there has also been considerable resistance to the *Mirror*'s aesthetics and style in Tibet throughout its history, in tandem with its enthusiastic adoption, only adds to the rich possibilities for reflection on the significance of cultural difference and the nature of literary creativity.

Tibetans seem only to have begun writing texts of any kind in the seventh century CE, after a script based on Indic models was invented.[5] Marvel has often been expressed at the massive amount of Indian literature that came to be translated into Tibetan during the eighth and ninth centuries, and how quickly a predominantly oral tradition became a vehicle for sophisticated philosophical reflection, devotional poetry, doctrinal systematization, ritual, narrative, and many other kinds of literature coming out of India, not only in translation but also in a quickly growing indigenous body of writing. Some of the earliest examples of indigenous Tibetan writing, such as the manuscripts found at Dunhuang (*terminus ad quem* eleventh century CE) and in neighboring caves, either do not reference Buddhism and other things Indian at all, or do so only marginally. These give us some sense of pre-Buddhist or non-Buddhist Tibetan literary sensibilities during the period. Those sensibilities would have fed into both the Tibetan language's ability to absorb the foreign materials and to create new literary traditions, in scholastic, historical, and poetic veins thereafter.

[5] See Róna-Tas 1985; van der Kuijp 1996a.

The founding scholars of modern Tibetan studies have already paid detailed attention to the writings discovered in eastern Tibetan regions, as well as to fragments reflecting pre-Buddhist culture identifiable in later writings. These include legends, aphorisms, riddles, and songs,[6] as well as the remarkable Tibetan *Old Tibetan Chronicle*[7] and *Annals*,[8] both of which would have been composed during the period of the Yarlung Dynasty (ended in the ninth century), and which give detailed records of the activities of the rulers and their families and court.[9] These materials, which mostly seem to lack Indic influence,[10] display a wide variety of poetic expression that likely echo old oral song traditions, including the frequent use of onomatopoeia (which is not restricted to sounds but also expresses feelings and visual images), assonance, repetition, and other striking rhythmic patterns. Lines and phrases that parallel each other in both rhythm and vocabulary are common, with much improvisation and variation, again suggesting oral origins. Dactyl lines of five or six syllables are often found, as are trochee meters with two-syllable feet. There is a large stock of proverbs and metaphors, with many allusions to the Tibetan landscape, its mountains, rivers, and plains, and to its many animals, real and mythical. Tibet's warrior culture is evident, with much boasting, challenging, and expressions of loyalty. Many songs have political messages. Others cover a range of topics relating to the land, to the spirits therein, and to human relations and habits. All such themes and messages could be usefully compared to the later Tibetan *Mirror*-style poetry, if one had the time to undertake such a project.

At the very least, we can say that early Tibetan songs and poems are no strangers to metaphor, simile, metonymy, and scores of other figures of speech. If these were never catalogued or analyzed, they were certainly plentiful and readily available to the singer or bard. Much early Tibetan poetry features long lists of figurative examples, followed finally by the main point directly stated. In the following example from the *Chronicle*, a Tibetan prince responds to a bellicose message from a Chinese minister, who was threatening the Tibetans with the overwhelming number of his troops. The prince provides convincing examples from nature to challenge the Chinese minister's logic, and to threaten back:

Numbers are not so crucial.
Even if there are many, many little birds,

[6] Some outstanding representative research would include Thomas 1957; Stein 1959, 1972, and 2010.

[7] Pelliot tibétain 1286 and 1287; Dbang rgyal and Bsod nams skyid 1980.

[8] Pelliot tibétain 1288; Dotson 2009.

[9] The pioneering study would be Bacot 1940.

[10] As for Chinese influence, either linguistically or in terms of style or genre, the topic needs further study. On Chinese vocabulary in Tibetan language, see Stein 2010. See also Dotson 2013, 228–29 *et passim* on borrowings of Chinese narrative elements or styles in the *Chronicle*.

they are a meal for one hawk.
Even if there are many, many guppies,
they are a meal for one otter.
Even if a deer has many horns,
will it prevail?
The horn of the yak is short,
but we shall see which prevails.
The pine may grow for a hundred years,
but one axe is its match.
Drops of water may be scattered over the grassland,
but a full irrigation channel of a fathom will do.
A barley field may be filled with plants,
but one mill will take it all.
The sky can be filled with stars,
but with the light of one sun, they are gone.
A fire may ignite in but a corner of one valley,
but all the trees and grass of both mountain and valley can be burned. . . .[11]

The prince goes on and on with more examples, implying the Tibetan army's greater cleverness and effectiveness, before he finally brings it all home to suggest that his army is far more threatening than the Chinese troops, and that he is not intimidated either by size or number.

Besides the lack of studied precision and self-consciousness in the deployment of specific types of figures, another major difference between early Tibetan poetry and the genres and styles prescribed by the *Mirror* is the former's presentation of a large number of figures before the actual message is named, unlike the standard four-lined verse deployed by the *Mirror*, whereby the entirety of figures and message are completed in one stanza. This tendency to linger on numerous poetic figures may also be observed widely in the ongoing indigenous song tradition in Tibet, a tradition that continues into modern times. Here is but one example of the very popular Tibetan song genre *glu*, an old term already found in the Dunhuang works. Today, at least in the Amdo region in the northeast, the *glu* is a song to be sung at parties where families and often whole villages are gathered. Usually made of three stanzas, the first two provide only figures of speech, setting up the last one that will finally deliver the message at hand. The following beautiful and popular *glu*, typically sung at the beginning of a party, glorifies a reverence for family relations. It contains Indic images and references, but it is replete with a specifically Tibetan aesthetic and rhythm of thought:

[11] Our translation. From Dbang rgyal and Bsod nams skyid 1980: 90–91. Cf. the different renderings of some of the lines in Dotson 2013: 303–4.

Above in the palace of the god
sits white Brahma on his throne.
A thousand young gods surround him,
while a hundred thousand goddesses serve him
and offer him a rainbow of five colors.

Below in the palace of the *nāga*s,
Sits Naga Dungkyong on his throne[12]
A thousand young *nāga*s surround him.
While a hundred thousand *nāginī*s serve him
And offer him five jewels of five colors.

In the Tibetan palace of the honorable
Sit the able fathers and uncles on their thrones.
A thousand of their descendants surround them
While a thousand daughters serve them
And offer them the nectar of beer.[13]

The first line of the last stanza brings the metaphor down to reality; in fact, it is very general, and it is changeable to match the specific locality where the song is being sung. But the metaphors stay the same, linking the real party to the divine places above and below, and conferring on the elders honor, respect, and imagination of the sublime.

## 6.3. Indian Influx

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

Starting in the early eighth century, the Tibetan poetic imagination came to be captivated by a slew of Buddhist scriptures and extra-canonical texts originating in the Indian subcontinent and coming into the Tibetan royal court. This literature, much of it devotional, eulogistic, moralistic, cosmological, and/or philosophical, was marked both by elaborate narrative and by poetic verse. It was often very expressive and aesthetically sophisticated. The ensuing adoption of Buddhism as the court religion, and the institution of monastic academies and large rituals across the Tibetan plateau, meant that ornate prose and verse gradually became familiar to scholars and educated laymen at many socioeconomic levels. Indian Buddhist

[12] Sometimes this Tibetan *nāga* king Dung skyong is cast as the counterpart to the Sanskritic *nāga* king Shankhapala.
[13] Our translation. From Tshe 'bar and Dgongs pa mtsho 1997: 88.

literature was not itself always directly influenced by the *alaṅkāra* tradition, let alone Dandin's *Mirror* per se, but there can be no question that it absorbed such sensibilities broadly. Indeed, in some outstanding cases, Buddhist literature played a formative role in the development of the great Indic poetic tradition.

While Tibetans were initially primarily interested in the doctrines, narratives, and practices of Indic Buddhist scriptures, these contained many aesthetically refined passages, either in prose or verse, that helped to naturalize the aesthetics of Indic poetic discourse and its associated tropes, allusions, and rhetoric for Tibetan sensibilities. In addition, freestanding works from the extra-canonical Buddhist corpus that were translated into Tibetan (either in prose or verse) were prized for their poetic elegance.[14] One outstanding example would be *The Garland of Births* (*Jātakamālā*), a work mixing verse and prose (*campūkāvya*) that was composed by Aryashura (third or fourth century CE) and was translated into Tibetan during the imperial period.[15] Another key poetic text is Ashvaghosha's celebrated *Life of the Buddha* (*Buddhacarita*), also from the early centuries CE, which was translated into Tibetan in the thirteenth century CE.[16] Yet another great literary work of Indian Buddhism available in Tibetan is Kshemendra's *Wishing Vine of Strories of Former Lives* (*Avadānakalpalatā*); it was translated, according to Nancy Lin, around 1270, and continued to have repercussions in Tibetan literature into the modern period.[17] Many other great Indic Buddhist literary works, including plays, letters, and eulogies, had impact as well. Outstanding examples would include the masterpieces of the Buddhist poet Matricheta in the first or second century CE and the renowned philosopher and poet Chandragomin of the seventh.[18]

That some Tibetans also knew of Indic literature beyond Buddhist materials is clear from the early renderings in Tibetan of the great *Rāmāyaṇa* epic. Several Tibetan versions of the epic have been found at Dunhuang and are thus no later than the early eleventh century.[19] They do not tell exactly the same story known in its classical form by Valmiki, although the main plotline is certainly close, and the style is reminiscent of Indic verse in some sections. But interestingly, in addition to including some original episodes and a few Buddhist components not seen elsewhere, the language and style of these Tibetan *Rāmāyaṇa*s reflect, more than anything, native Tibetan poetics. This illustrates the robust perdurance of the latter, even in the face of the advent of Indian literature in this period.

The following fragmentary passage from the opening of one of these renditions describes the beauty of the land governed by Ravana's grandfather in

[14] See, for example, Eppling 1989: 1435–40.

[15] For a discussion of similar translations into Chinese, see Li, section 9.2 in this volume. An English translation of the Tibetan version is Aryasura 1983.

[16] Jackson 1997. See also Regan 2016.

[17] Lin 2011.

[18] Some editions and translations based on the Tibetan include Shackleton Bailey 1951; Candragomin 2000; Hahn 1974, 2000.

[19] See de Jong 1977, 1989. Kapstein 2003, 747–802, emphasizes the Indic knowledge demonstrated in this work; Pema Bhum and Lauren Hartley emphasized the Tibetan qualities of the work in a presentation to an NEH Tibetan Literature Workshop, April 14, 2013, Princeton, NJ.

days of yore. It displays a kind of Tibetan reduplication and onomatopoeia (the latter unfortunately is not rendered in the translation below) that suggests that at least this section of the work was composed originally in Tibetan, despite the obvious adoption of Indic imagery:

> . . . A light wind stirs, stirs.
> To the mountain whence come many gems
> A blue turquoise rock is bonded . . .
>
> With wishes completely fulfilled,
> happiness swells, swells.[20]
>
> In thick forests, the musk deer . . .
>
> With rippling waves,
> the pure stream flows, flows.
>
> Turquoise pebbles
> are strewn, strewn.
>
> Sandalwood fragrance
> wafts, wafts.
>
> Sands of gold
> are piled, piled.[21]

Further evidence of the perdurance of native poetic sensibilities is the rise, during the same early period of Tibetan Buddhism, of original songs of yogic experience. Long known in the West from the English translations of the songs of Milarepa (Mi la res pa, 1040–1123), the yogic *mgur* usually displays a trochaic meter rather than the dactyl that was characteristic of the imperial period. These Tibetan songs often do not display ornamentation and other features of the Indic poetic tradition. While the *mgur* tradition of singing and writing doubtless took inspiration from the Indic *dohā* genre popular in late tantric Buddhism, many of which were translated into Tibetan, the *mgur* also displays old Tibetan linguistic as well as imagistic qualities, thereby ruling out a wholesale adaptation of Indic style. There are many extant examples of the yogic *mgur,* and while this is not the occasion to explore them in detail, they are a powerful testament to ongoing Tibetan poetic creativity in the post-imperial period.[22]

[20] *dga' yal yal.*

[21] Our translation. From Bsod nams skyid and Dbang rgyal 1983: 141. The text is identified as India Office Library 737D. Cf. de Jong 1989: 86 for other versions of the passage.

[22] Helpful studies include Ardussi 1977; Sørensen 1990. See also Kapstein 2003: 769–74. For an important early corpus of *mgur* see Yamamoto 2015. A recent study of Indian Buddhist *dohā*s is Jackson 2004.

Nonetheless, there is no question that throughout this period Tibetan scholars and monastics were aware, and perhaps anxious, that the rich literary traditions of India might far exceed their own in sophistication and breadth. Witness this eleventh-century mention of the term *kāvya* (Tib. *snyan ngag)*, here a neologism, in a critical exchange between the Tibetan disciple Drom Tonpa (ʼBrom ston pa Rgyal baʼi ʼbyung gnas, 1004/5–1064), and his master, the renowned Indian scholar Atisha Dipamkara Shrijnana (or Jowoje Atisha, Tibetan: Jo bo rje Atīśa, 982–1054). The latter seems a bit pleased with his literary prowess, while the Tibetan Drom is self-deprecating. In any event, the master does adjust his language in accordance with Drom's needs:

> [Atisha to Drom Tonpa, after giving a teaching in verse to Tibetans on how to practice Dharma]:
> "I did not expound in Sanskrit using ornaments (*alaṅkāra*) of 'embrace' (*śleṣa*) and so on. If I were to write even a little bit like that, how would [you] people understand it? Conversation is conversation. *Kāvya* is *kāvya*. Even if you Tibetans were to [work on your] writing for many months, nothing close to my own spontaneous verse would come out of it. . . ."[23]
>
> [Somewhat later, Drom Tonpa to Atisha]:
> "I need to train the sentient beings of Tibet. To do that, the time has come to ask you to use something like the Tibetans' own language, a greatly ignorant language, which is something that they can understand as soon as they hear the words.
> So, what is the root of all suffering?"
>
> [Atisha answers:] "Drom, it is sin."[24]

Note that the *Mirror* was not yet translated when this exchange would have taken place. But the author of the passage certainly knew of Indic *kāvya*,[25] and the very mention of this high literary style clearly represents a fraught issue with identity-related significance for Tibetans. Thus the passage proceeds with Atisha teaching Drom Tonpa in very plain Tibetan, using short direct statements replete with simple vernacular and homonymic expressions.

## 6.4. Compelling Advocate: Sakya Pandita

*Jonathan C. Gold*

Dandin's great treatise on poetic language became known to Tibetan intellectuals at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Coincident with the rise

[23] Our translation. From ʼBrom ston pa 1993, 675–76.
[24] Our translation. From ʼBrom ston pa 1993, 785.
[25] The word *kāvya* itself as translated into Tibetan (*snyan ngag*) is already known in the *Mahāvyutpatti* Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon compiled in the ninth century. Cf. Kapstein 2003: 758.

of scholasticism in Tibetan Buddhist monastic schools, one of Tibet's most celebrated intellects, the philosopher and polymath "Sapan," or Sakya Pandita Kunga Gyeltsen (Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan, 1182–1251), summarized and partially translated the *Mirror* as part of an original work of his own entitled *Gateway to Learning* (*Mkhas pa 'jug pa'i sgo*).[26] This first instance of real engagement with the *Mirror* was momentous.

Sapan's interest in the *Mirror* was part and parcel of his concern to establish standards of literary and scholarly excellence among Tibetan scholastics. He also seems to have been beset with a sense of inferiority regarding his native linguistic background. At one point he famously bemoans the fact that Tibetan barbarians cannot distinguish gold from brass, and that no matter how hard one tries, it is not possible to reproduce Sanskrit metrics (*chanda*s) when translating into Tibetan, just as one will not be able to produce elaborate embroidery on high quality silk by using wool thread.[27] In rectifying the perceived discrepancies between the two linguistic fields, it is notable that unlike others before and after him, he felt the answer was not to develop Tibetan writing on its own terms, but rather to incorporate and naturalize what he found from India. If he leveraged his own expertise as "a source of political charisma," using that in turn to elevate Sakya Monastery, his home institution, this was consistent with the goal of promoting scholarship in defense of the Dharma.[28]

This, then, is a central theme in Sapan's presentation of poetics in Tibet. Sapan seeks to display the riches of what Pollock calls the "Sanskrit cosmopolis," but to do so for Tibetans specifically, in a way that would not conflict with—rather, that would enhance—the charisma and ritual power of a Tibetan lama (*guru*). His approach to literary theory is based in an implied, transnational field of religious competition, in which Buddhist leaders are called upon to meet and surpass challenges posed by their non-Buddhist religious competitors. Sapan calls upon his monastic readers to beware of bringing disrepute upon the Buddha's teachings and embarrassing themselves before a learned assembly by blundering into unintended inuendo or grammatical error.[29]

It is within this larger project that Sapan cites the *Mirror*. His *Gateway to Learning* includes paraphrases or near-translations of more than 200 verses from the text—most of them from the second chapter. It is not a full translation by any means, nor is it a very close translation. Sapan often gives only half of Dandin's verse, and often skips a verse if it only supplies an example. His point with this abridged adaptation was primarily to introduce the poetic ornaments, and to

[26] See Eppling 1989: 1442–70; Kapstein 2003: 776–82.

[27] Dge 'dun rab gsal 2017: 197–206 notes that Tibetan commentators on the *Mirror* incorrectly attributed this line to Sapan's *Mkhas 'jug*, but it is actually to be found in his *Sdeb sbyor sna tshogs me tog gi chun po*. Cf. Sa paṇ 1992–1993: 565.

[28] Pollock 1995: 90.

[29] See Gold 2007: 117–39 for a discussion of how Sapan shapes Indic poetic theory to the Mahayana Buddhist norms of his Tibetan readership.

establish the *Mirror* as central to the learned Buddhist scholar's requisite toolkit. And that it did become in Tibet, forever after.

## 6.5. The Translation of the *Mirror* into Tibetan

*Shenghai Li*

It was Sapan's learned nephew, Pakpa Lodro Gyeltsen ('Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan, 1235–1280), who saw to it that the literary sciences of India became truly incorporated into Tibetan intellectual life. When Pakpa became imperial preceptor for Kublai Khan, he used Mongolian royal funding to make Sakya Monastery a center of literary study and sponsored a great number of translations, including the first complete translation of the *Mirror*.[30]

The first scholar to render the entirety of the *Mirror* into Tibetan was Shongton Dorje Gyeltsen (Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan, thirteenth century).[31] The *Blue Annals*, an important history of Tibet written between 1476 and 1478, tells a story of how this came about.[32] It says that when Pakpa returned to Tibet from his years at the Mongol court, he met up with Shongton, who greeted him with a "well-composed verse of praise." It seems that Shongton was already aware of the political favor bestowed on poets with literary prowess. "Then," the *Blue Annals* goes on, "he begged for funding to travel to India so that he could become a translator." Pakpa gave Shongton gold and silk and told him that he should go and study hard. Pakpa then expressed his own regrets for not having studied enough with the great translator Dharmasvamin in order to be able to understand his uncle Sapan's works on lexicography and prosody.[33]

At the command of Pakpa and the senior administrator Shakya Zangpo (Shākya bzang po, regent during this period), Shongton produced the first complete translation of the *Mirror* in about 1270, in collaboration with the scholar Lakshmikara.[34] This translation was then refined, with Shongton's endorsement, by the Tibetan scholar Pang Lotsawa (Dpang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa, 1276–1342).[35] By the time Pang Lotsawa received his education, Dandin's treatise had

[30] See also Eppling 1989: 1470–79 et seq.

[31] See Dimitrov 2002: 36. Present scholarly knowledge indicates a birth date somewhere between 1235 and 1245.

[32] On the date of its composition, see Roerich 1976: i.

[33] Roerich 1976: 784. Roerich identifies Dharmasvamin as Chag Lotsawa, but this is questionable.

[34] Cf. Eppling 1989: 1470–78; Dimitrov 2002: 33–47. Shongton and Lakshmikara's translation is yet to be assessed based on two manuscripts from Sakya monastery, whose variant readings have been recorded in Zhao 2014: 411–60.

[35] Eppling 1989: 1479–81; Dimitrov 2002: 32–33, 48–49. Pang Lotsawa's revision has witnesses in the Narthang, Ganden, and Peking canons, but these stand-alone versions differ considerably from the root text partially embedded in Pang Lotsawa's commentary. Therefore, it is appropriate to speak

already become a subject available for him to study.[36] Pang Lotsawa went on to become the first Tibetan to write a commentary on the full text of the *Mirror*. In connection with the writing of this commentary, Pang Lotsawa undertook a more substantial revision of the translation of the *Mirror*. This revised translation was embedded in the commentary and differs from Pang Lotsawa's earlier revision.[37]

The following centuries saw further revisions and re-translations, attesting to the growing importance of the *Mirror* in Tibet and to the felt need to render the masterwork more accurately.[38] Like Pang Lotsawa, Nartang Lotsawa (Snar thang lo tsā ba Dge 'dun dpal, 1370–1430) also used his exegesis as a vehicle for revising the work of earlier translators.[39]Although he did not produce an independent translation himself, his work influenced many further revisions to the translation produced later, as well as later commentaries.[40] The next attempt to refine the translation by Nyetang Lotsawa (Snye thang lo tsā ba Blo gros brtan pa, fifteenth century) was used by some prominent commentators as their root text; it was also widely circulated and later canonized by being added to the Derge and Cone editions of the Tibetan Buddhist canon.[41] Zhalu Lotsawa (Zha lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po, 1441–1528) produced the first bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan edition, which included yet another translation that was created while consulting a second Sanskrit manuscript and certain Sanskrit commentaries. His bilingual edition also served as a new model for future renditions.[42] A final important translation/edition of the *Mirror* in Tibet worthy of mention is the one created by the great eighteenth-century polymath Situ Panchen (Si tu Paṇ chen Chos kyi 'byung gnas 1699/1700–1774), who consulted Ratnashrijnana's and Vagishvarakirti's Sanskrit commentaries in the preparation of his 1772 bilingual version of the work. The impact of his major contribution to the study of the *Mirror* in Tibet is reflected in the acclaimed commentary of his student, the fourth Khamtrul (Khams sprul Bstan 'dzin chos kyi nyi ma, 1730–1779/80), based closely on Situ's interpretations.[43]

of two versions by Pang Lotsawa: a mild modification and a more substantial revision undertaken in connection with the writing of his commentary.

[36] Roerich 1976: 786.

[37] Dimitrov 2011: 122–27. One version of his commentary is now available in Dpang lo tsā ba 2016.

[38] Dimitrov 2002: 101–37; 2011: 117–24; Zhao 2014: 461–71.

[39] He is often referred to by his Sanskrit name, Saṅghaśrī.

[40] van der Kuijp 1986: 33, 39n8; Eppling 1989: 1485, 1533 n93; Dimitrov 2002: 51, 127–29; Zhao 2014: 464.

[41] Dimitrov 2002: 32–33, 52, 107–12; Zhao 2014: 464–66.

[42] Dimitrov 2002: 52–53.

[43] Khams sprul 1986: 20; Eppling 1989: 1503–6; van der Kuijp 1996a: 396–97; Dimitrov 2002: 57–59.

**Figure 6.1.** Dandin holding his book, from a modern reproduction of an anthology of writings on *kāvya* by the Tibetan scholar Shakya Chogden.
*Source:* Shākya mchog ldan, *Snyan ngag*. Beijing: Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 2004.

In sum, if we count Sapan's partial rendition and Pang Lotsawa's and Nartang's revisions that were incorporated into their commentaries, there have been at least eight distinct efforts to translate the *Mirror* into Tibetan or to refine existing translations.[44] These have each made their impact on the gradual transmission, study, and assimilation of Dandin's Sanskrit poetics in Tibetan cultural regions.

[44] Dimitrov 2002: 101–37; 2011: 117–24; Zhao 2014: 461–71.

## 6.6. A Mountain of Commentaries

*Pema Bhum, Janet Gyatso, and Shenghai Li*

As noted by Gene Smith, the overall number of original Tibetan works dedicated to the study of the *Mirror* "exceeds imagination."[45] These begin with the study by the aforementioned Shongton, whose work is characterized by the eighteenth-century master commentator Khamtrul as an "extremely short commentary, containing only the framework of an outline."[46] The true foundation of the Tibetan interpretive tradition on the *Mirror* is Pang Lotsawa's commentary entitled *Illuminating the Text's Meaning* (*Gzhung don gsal ba*), already mentioned above. This text frequently cites and paraphrases Ratnashrijnana's otherwise untranslated Sanskrit commentary, although rarely acknowledging this source.[47] Pang Lotsawa's work thereby gave Tibetans access to a key South Asian commentary that continued to exert influence on the reception of the *Mirror* thereafter.[48] A lesser-known Sanskrit commentary written by Vagishvarakirti was also used by Pang Lotsawa and is mentioned by later commentators, although it is only in Khamtrul's detailed 1770 commentary, *Sea of the Play of Sarasvati's Speech* (*Dbyangs can ngag gi rol mtsho*), that Tibetan readers would find an extensive and clearly attributed report of these two Indian scholars' views.[49]

Khamtrul's commentary is particularly valuable for its retrospective history of Tibetan writing on the *Mirror*. It also shows the power of Dandin's literary vision in its application to the reading of Tibetan Buddhist literature. Khamtrul cites Tibetan authors as diverse as the famous Gelugpa reformer Tsongkhapa (Tsong kha pa Blo bzang grags pa'i dpal, 1357–1419); the learned eighth Karmapa (Karma pa Mi bskyod rdo rje, 1507–1554); Zurkharwa (Zur mkhar ba Blo gros rgyal po, b. 1509), a great medical theorist whom we discuss below; and Rinpungpa (Rin spungs pa Ngag dbang 'jigs rten dbang phyug grags pa, d. 1597), the powerful scholar-king and last of the Rinpungpa rulers.[50] The majority of example verses with which Khamtrul augments the original ones given by Dandin, however, are drawn from Indian Buddhist literary classics, among

[45] Smith 2001a: 206. See Eppling 1989: 1453–1516 for an overview of Tibetan commentaries and other *Mirror*-related writings. The contemporary commentator Dung dkar Blo bzang 'phrin las provides a list of eighty-nine works (2003: 618–27), which does not include literary compositions that adopt Dandin's model. Others counted a hundred titles (Zhao 2014: 462 n1). See also van der Kuijp 1986 for an overview of Tibetan *Mirror*-related translations and commentaries.

[46] Khams sprul 1986: 18.

[47] van der Kuijp, 1986: 31–39.

[48] For a discussion of Ratnashrijnana's commentary, see Bronner and Cox, sections 5.5–5.7 in this volume.

[49] On Vagishvarakirti, see van der Kuijp 1986: 32, 37; Eppling 1989: 1480–81; Dimitrov 2002: 25–26, 56; Khams sprul 19–20, 38; Bronner and Cox, section 5.5 in this volume.

[50] Khams sprul 1986: e.g., 214, 370–71, 215, 209–10.

which verses from Kshemendra's famous *Avadānakalpalatā* predominate.[51] In addition, one finds here lesser known verses, like lines from Dignaga's praise of Manjushri, cited to illustrate figures such as "setting an example" (*nidarśana*).[52] And since metrics, lexicography (including thesauri), and grammar are sister disciplines of poetics, Tibetan commentators on the *Mirror* also quote works like Ratnakarashanti's treatise on metrics, *Chandoratnākara*; Amarasimha's lexicon *Amarakośa*; Subhutichandra's commentary *Kāmadhenu*; and the Kalāpa and Candra systems of Sanskrit grammar.[53]

Khamtrul's massive commentary was the summa of a long tradition of reflections on the *Mirror*, one that was historically self-conscious, varied, and critical. The long line of commentators included some of the most prominent figures in Tibetan history, such as the Fifth Dalai Lama (Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho, 1617–1682), who wrote his own highly influential commentary in 1646, *Music to Sarasvati's Ears* (*Dbyangs can dgyes pa'i glu dbyangs*). The Great Fifth, too, was conscious of his place in the line of commentators preceeding him. He writes:

> Pang Lotsawa's commentary is held as the standard and foundation. Rinpungpa's commentary is here relied upon, for the most part. The excellent explanations given by Jamyang Khache ('Jam dbyangs kha che, fourteenth century), Nartang Lotsawa, and many other scholars are incorporated as supplementary ornaments. However, we do not depend on the contents of these commentaries alone. The unique traditions of explanation that have been transmitted sequentially, ranging from what Shongton heard from the Indian great pandits (*mahāpaṇḍita*) to those coming from the omniscient Chokyong Zangpo ([Zha lu] Chos skyongs bzang po, 1441–1527), are taken up as the heart of our own system.[54]

While deepening their critical perspective by studying and assessing the cumulative work of their predecessors, Tibetan commentators on the *Mirror* also made their own theoretical interventions and creative suggestions; one notable example of this, regarding the "soul" of *kāvya* literature, is discussed below. We can note here, however, another interesting thread that runs throughout the Tibetan commentarial history. This concerns the very place of the Tibetan language in the South Asian linguistic universe, a question that is fundamental to

[51] On the connected lives of *Avadānakalpalatā* and the *Mirror* in Tibet, see van der Kuijp 1996: 401–2, Lin 2011: 10–12.

[52] See Khams sprul 1986: 511–12. cf. Dignāga 1982–85: 79a3–b7.

[53] For a sampling, see Dimitrov 2011: 757–58. Cf. Smith 2001a: 190–96; 201–5.

[54] Our translation. From Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1944, 7a. Cf. Rin spungs pa, in Dimitrov 2002: 25 n104, and Khams sprul 1986: 17–20. For other lists of major Tibetan commentators, see Dung dkar 2003: 19–20 and van der Kuijp 1986: 38.

**Figure 6.2.** Image of Dandin (right) and Sarasvati (left) from Mi pham dge legs rnam rgyal, *Dandi'i dgongs rgyan* (commentary on Dandin's *Mirror*) late nineteenth/early twentieth-century blockprint from Bla brang bkra shis 'khyil.
*Source:* Courtesy of Orosz Gergely.

the very project of applying the *Mirror*'s poetics to the Tibetan literary landscape in the first place. The *Mirror* recognizes four main language groups as media for literature: Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsha, and a "mixed" (*miśra*) variety.[55] The earliest Tibetan commentator, Pang Lotsawa, carefully discusses each but does not attempt to identify Tibetan with any one of them. He merely notes that "because *kāvya* is widely spread in India, it is manifold. In Tibet it has not spread very much, and so apart from a few mere mentions of their names, these categories appear not to be understood."[56] He seems to imply that Tibetans have difficulty in relating their own language to the *Mirror*'s fourfold language order.

But it was not long before such an attempt was made. Rinpungpa, who in his sixteenth-century commentary provides a long and learned discussion of the four languages of poetry, maintains that according to certain histories, Tibetan should be understood to belong in a category of a language that Dandin had added to his initial fourfold division and associated with narrative literature, namely the language of ghosts, or *bhūtabhāṣā* (Tib. *'byung po sha za*, lit. demon flesh-eaters; KĀ 1.38).[57] Rinpungpa adds that if poetry were to be composed in Tibetan, one could write in the genre of the multi-chapter work in verse (Skt. *sargabandha*) and create a great treatise (Skt. *mahāśāstra*) in the "language of the flesh-eaters."[58] An alternative approach is found in the work of Bokepa (Bod mkhas pa Mi pham dge legs rnam rgyal, 1618–1685). He criticizes Rinpungpa's view and maintains that Tibetan is a form of Prakrit, a language with a decidedly better profile than that of flesh-eating ghosts. Bokepa goes on to say sarcastically that those who believe that Tibetan lacks the capacity to follow the rules of Sanskrit metrics must either have never seen Tibetan literature or have not understood it.[59]

[55] KĀ 1.32. See Bronner, section 1.2 in this volume.
[56] Dpang lo tsā ba 2016: 294; 'Jam dbyangs kha che 2016: 496–99 also discusses the various Indic languages and their relation to *kāvya* in the *Kāvyādarśa*, but does not attempt to place Tibetan in that scheme.
[57] The commentator Ratna glosses *bhūtabhāṣā* as *paiśācikavāk* (Ratna ad KĀ 1.38).
[58] Rin spungs pa 2004: 95. See KĀ 1.38.
[59] Bod mkhas pa n. d.: 31b–32a.

Bokepa thus tries to resist the tendency to doubt the Tibetan potential for fine *kāvya*. But a century later, Khamtrul picks up on the earlier self-denigrating characterization of Pang Lotsawa. Defying the language scale altogether, Khamtrul argues that the status of one's language has nothing to do with one's intelligence or knowledge of the rules about composing *kāvya*. Tibetan, he concedes, is not a prestige language, and it does not accommodate wordplays, puns, and other alliterative effects as easily as Sanskrit. Indeed, it is really just the language of the stupid people of the borderland mountain regions. Nonetheless, there exist excellent compositions in Tibetan that deserve praise and are faultless. Even masters of "the language of cow herders," (mentioned in KĀ 1.36 as a gloss for Apabhramsha), Khamtrul avers, can produce poetic treatises in their "broken language."[60] In other words, Tibetans should not be discouraged if their language is not a central language like Sanskrit, because good literature can be composed in other languages as well. And indeed, we might add, this is exactly what Dandin's original discussion of the languages of *kāvya* works to allow.

Many Tibetan genres are devoted to the study of the *Mirror*, including the subcommentary, summary, compendium of definitions and classifications, memorandum, outline, and the exercise book (on which, see below).[61] The output of the versatile critic Bokepa illustrates this range.[62] He produced more than ten essays on the *Mirror*, including his just-cited full commentary, *The Ornament of Dandin's Thought* (*Daṇḍi'i dgongs rgyan*), his exercise book, a monograph dedicated to an analysis of the figures of sense, and an essay containing a series of questions on the interpretations of other Tibetan experts on the *Mirror*.[63] In yet other writings he supplies rejoinders to the responses of others that he subsequently received to those questions, and then proposes his own solutions. We will return to some of the critical exchanges around the *Mirror* in Bokepa's and others' writings shortly.

## 6.7. Tibetan Resistance to the *Mirror*

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

Despite or perhaps because of the massive importance of the *Mirror* for Tibetan intellectuals, there was also persistent resistance to it. For one, some regarded

[60] Khams sprul 1986, 109–10. On p. 111 he nonetheless paraphrases the statement of Pang Lotsawa that Tibetans do not really understand the four-language distinction since *kāvya* in these languages was not disseminated in Tibet. See KĀ 1.36 on Apabhramsha.

[61] See Dung dkar's list mentioned in note 45 above.

[62] Eppling 1989: 1492–94; see Dung dkar's list.

[63] The last two iterms are, respectively, nos. 42 and 40 in Dung dkar's list. On the former as a *dogs gcod* text, see Khams sprul 1986: 193.

Indian literature of the type embodied by the *Mirror* to be overly ornate and sophisticated and not in keeping with what they considered as Tibetan proclivities for simplicity and directness. And second, the mere foreignness of its pedigree, which contributed to its prestige, also made it suspicious. We already noted signs of such sentiments as early as the eleventh century, as well as a robust and perduring indigenous tradition of poetry and song with little regard for *Mirror* styles. These sentiments continued. Furthermore, they overlapped with long-standing suspicions about the entire enterprise of literary flourish, coming out of certain Buddhist ethical strains, even prior to the Tibetan encounter with Indic poetics.

The early Tibetan Buddhist philosopher Chomden Rikpé Raldri (Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri, 1227–1305) seems to have had a general aversion to the invocation of Sanskritic intellectual terms *tout court*, suggesting that in using them, his contemporaries were only trying to establish their personal prestige. "Some . . . often speak falsely, using a few terms such as *sgra* (Sanskrit grammar) and *snyan ngag* (*kāvya*) and claiming that they know a great deal that other people have never heard of. As for those who pretend to know what they don't know," he writes, their minds are controlled by falsehoods. . . ."[64] Others worried that *kāvya* would distract monks from their paths to buddhahood, here entering into the long-standing debate in Indian Buddhism about whether or not the non-Buddhistic sciences (*vidyāsthāna*s) have any salvific value. The polymath Gungthang Tenpé Dronmé (Gung thang bstan pa'i sgron me, 1762–1823) writes, "Searching for many so-called 'profound mantras,' accumulating as many attainments as one can, and spending time on grammar, *kāvya*, medicine, astrology, etc., are all obstacles to the genuine study of the scriptural traditions. Don't lose the roots by grabbing the branch!"[65] Note, however, the *Mirror*-like resonances of his last sentence; indeed, we might say it is an elegant instance of the ornament called "citing another case" (*arthāntaranyāsa*). In fact, Gungthang Tenpé Dronmé is famed for having been a *kāvya* master even though in the foregoing he sternly warns his disciples against it.

Monastic curricula in Tibetan Buddhist history require more research, but it appears that most monastic schools in Tibetan history did not teach the *Mirror* as part of their regular courses of study.[66] According to oral sources, Indic literature and poetics were primarily studied privately—often on the monastery grounds, in individual residences—with teachers who happened to be learned and interested in it. Such ambivalence toward the cultivation of high Indic literary aesthetics was also shared in the educated Tibetan laity. Witness what

[64] Bcom ldan [2006], 80b (p. 255).

[65] Our translation, from Gung thang 2003: 242.

[66] Based on the general knowledge of Pema Bhum and others. Kapstein 2003: 785–86 reports a similar finding. Even the monastery of Smin 'gro gling, which was famed for its propogation of the "secular sciences," does not mention the *Mirror* in the various monastic curricular documents that are extant (Dominique Townsend, personal communication, January 2019).

someone who was clearly learned in poetics, the outstanding aristocratic lay intellectual Dokharwa (Mdo mkhar ba Tshe ring dbang rgyal, 1697–1763), writes in his famed biography of the political strongman Pholhané (Pho lha nas Mi dbang stobs rgyas, 1689–1747):

> This fine man's virtues, the subject of this work, are deep and vast; they are priceless jewels. Knowing that to string them on a necklace with the inferior thread of village-talk (*grong pa'i tshig*) would not serve to render them an ornament for the people, I wished to singularly follow the poetic path taught so eloquently by Gopadatta, the great master of the Holy Land [India], and write accordingly in mixed verse and prose (*campū*). However, the Great Man [Pholhané] ordered: "If you just follow the path of *kāvya* with many archaic expressions and lexical items (*abhidhāna*), people, who these days are dull-witted, will be unable to enjoy it. Please make it easy to understand." And so, I endeavored to compose this work in accordance with this order.[67]

In this we see the Tibetan literatus caught between his desire to deploy the elegant toolkit of Indic literary style (here referencing the masterful medieval Indian Buddhist writer Gopadatta[68]) in order to do justice to his subject matter, on the one hand, and his patron's resistance to arcane language on the other. But perhaps it is his own aversion to the crassness of "village talk"—a Tibetan useage that itself no doubt derives from the *Mirror's* vocabulary for a similar notion—that wins the day.[69] And so while he promises to swear off *kāvya*-style writing, in the same breath he lets it be known that he would be capable of writing at that high level if given the opportunity. In fact, despite his promise, he ends up writing a highly literate biography with much *kāvya* flair anyway.[70] Witness, as one small example, the way he represents the wedding night of the protagonist and his wife, one of many passages for which this outstanding work is much loved by Tibetan intellectuals to this day:

> Then, as the moves
> of the intimately attuned pair
> unfolded in their pleasure feast,
>
> the entire mass of their body-hairs
> stood straight up
> as if straining to watch.

[67] Our translation. From Mdo mkhar ba 1981: 859. See another translation of this passage and more in Sperling 2015: 148. Regarding Mdo mkhar ba, see Hartley 2011.

[68] Author of a *Jātakamālā* and several *avadāna* works. See Hahn 1992; 1993: 49–53; 2007. His dates are somewhere between the late fifth century and the eighth century.

[69] Skt. *grāmya*; Tib. *grong pa'i tshig*.

[70] Note too Dokharwa's other major work, *Gzhong nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud*, which selfconsciously follows Dandin's poetics. See Newman 1996.

On that occasion,
the fingers of their hands, intoxicated,
intertwined softly.

The tinkling of their rings
as they grazed up against each other,
over and over,
sounded like the songs
of birds impassioned.

When the daughters of the sky
saw the husband and wife
partaking in the fresh taste of supreme happiness,
they slipped on clothes of cloud.
The drops of sweat from their passion
dripped down like a steady flow of soft rain.[71]

## 6.8. Tibetan *Kāvya* and Cultural Capital

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

While Tibetan suspicion of *kāvya* as difficult and foreign has remained alive in some quarters to the present day, already by the thirteenth century the practice of writing verse in modes inspired by Indic poetics had reached the highest echelons of intellectual and political prowess. Pakpa, mentioned previously for his leadership in sponsoring the earliest Tibetan translation of the *Mirror*, was possibly the first to compose Tibetan verses that deployed Sanskrit-like sound ornaments (*śabdālaṅkāra*), as a sign of his own mastery of ornate poetics. While we will refrain from translating the following verse into English in light of its heavy dependence on Tibetan homonym, we can say that it is taken from an elaborate praise poem that he wrote for the Buddha, illustrating multiple kinds of metrics and *Mirror*-inspired ornamentation. As is evident in our transliteration, the skillful reduplication of syllables amounts to a Tibetan version of "twinning" (*yamaka*), a key ornament in Dandin's *Mirror*:

*tshig gi sdeb sbyor sbyor ba'i tshul la tshul bzhin shes pa'i shes ldan zhing /*
*don gyi rin chen chen po'i chen pos ches chers mdzes byed sna tshogs kyis /*

[71] Our translation. From Mdo mkhar ba 1981: 163.

*gang blo'i gang mdzes mdzes par rab spras spros pas spros pa'i yid dbang phyir/*
*gzhan gyi snyan dngags ngag gi dpal 'phrog 'phrog byed yid rab 'phrog par sbyar//*[72]

Following the ascendency of the Sakya tradition in the thirteenth century and the leadership of Pakpa already mentioned, and in tandem with the rise of the prestige of learning and scholasticism across Tibetan Buddhism, there is a rapid expansion in the composition of *Mirror*-style poetry. Space prohibits a survey of its proliferation in the wide variety of Tibetan religious literary genres where it was explicitly and consciously deployed. But we should at least note the *Mirror*'s enormous impact on devotional prayer. Indic ornamental writing was also very widely adopted in genteel letter-writing.[73]

The important fourteenth–fifteenth-century reformer and Gelugpa scholastic Tsongkhapa greatly supported the study of *kāvya*-style composition, and he underlined the importance of aesthetic composition in the last line of an oft-cited verse:

Three kinds of precious activity have appeared on this earth:
Discernment, which can differentiate subtle logical approaches.
Practice, which renders the scriptures into a teaching.
And glorious speech, masterful in the way it phrases things.[74]

Among many highly ornate works, Tsongkhapa penned a long letter of advice to another scholar, in which he endeavored—and succeeded—to use no vowel marks whatsoever; every syllable in the eight-page document has only the implicit vowel 'a.' His effort is likely a direct reflection of one of Dandin's varieties of "difficult poetry" (*duṣkara*).[75] Yet another striking testimony to the ability of Indic poetics to galvanize the Tibetan literary imagination is Tsongkhapa's beautiful composition, in *kāvya*-style prose and verse, of a forty-plus page expansion of the much shorter story of the journey of Sadaprarudita, "Ever-Weeping," in the classic Indic Buddhist sutra *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.[76]

Another eminent example of *kāvya*-style composition from the period is *The Tale of Ramana* (*Rā ma ṇa'i rtogs brjod*) by Tsongkhapa's disciple, Zhangzhungpa (Zhang zhung pa Chos dbang grags pa, 1404–1469). This elaborate composition in the narrative *avadāna* genre provides a striking contrast to the earlier,

[72] Our translation, from Blo gros 2007: 11.
[73] The study of the literary qualities of Tibetan letter-writing is just beginning. For one example, see Kilby 2019.
[74] Tsong kha pa 1997a: 350. Our translation.
[75] Tsong kha pa 1997b: 850–58. The addressee is Dge shes Sba ba. For Dandin's category, see KĀ 3.83.
[76] Tsong kha pa 1987. Translated into English by P. Gyatso and Bailey 2008.

pre-*Mirror* rendering of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from Dunhuang mentioned above. When that earlier work related, for example, the story of Marica, an ally of Ravana who transformed himself into a golden deer in order to entice Rama to chase it, the prose was telegraphic:

> A special animal appeared in front of Ramana and Goddess Sita.
> She pleaded, "Lord, chase it!"[77]

We can see how far the Tibetan facility with—and interest in—Indic imagery, vocabulary, and poetic sensibility has come when we read the fifteenth-century Zhungzhungpa's rendering of the same incident:[78]

> In the same way that a sage can cast a curse,
> he turned his body into that of a beast,
> and just like a pleasure grove
> whose garden of reeds
> has been destroyed by an elephant,
> Sita's heart became agitated—
>     a horde of demon-clouds and thunder.
> From her tongue, like lightning, sprang
> "O king, seize that animal!"
> And the ears of Lord [Rama] rang wildly
> with the sound of crashing meteors.[79]

## 6.9. Exercising with the *Mirror*

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

If one pedagogical tool is to be credited for the prominence of *Mirror*-like writing in Tibet, it would be the "exercise book," or *dper brjod* (lit., "an expression of examples"). Its model is likely Dandin's own practice of providing example verses for each type and subtype of aesthetic category taught in his treatise. But Tibetans took the additional step of creating a special literary genre that consists entirely of original example verses, illustrating each of the *Mirror*'s definitions and their subtypes in turn. Some provide original verses only for the ornaments of the *Mirror*'s second chapter, while others do so for all of the devices and their

[77] Our translation, from Bsod nams skyid and Dbang rgyal, 1983: 158.
[78] See also Kapstein 2003: 782–86.
[79] Our translation, from Zhang zhung pa 1981: 82–85.

subtypes in the book (which total, by some Tibetan estimates, 318).[80] In addition, many Tibetan commentators on the *Mirror* also include in their commentaries example verses from their own pen to illustrate the figures, thus in effect constituting *dper brjod* as well.

Unfortunately, we have yet to find any discussions in Tibetan of the genre as such. We are not sure how or when it first took shape, although we have examples of this kind of text as early as the fourteenth century. The earliest example of *dper brjod* that we could identify so far is part of a short work on poetics written, interestingly, by the great master meditator and theologian Longchenpa (Klong chen rab 'byams pa, 1308–1364?). Alongside his influential and much better-known multivolume masterpieces on metaphysics and ritual in the Dzogchen school, Longchenpa also wrote several stories prominently featuring the ornaments from the *Mirror*.[81] Longchenpa's exercise book is not titled *dpe brjod*, but its opening lines declare the intent of the work to "express" (*brjod*) the definitions, along with an "example"(*dpe*) of each ornament.[82] He proceeds to go through all thirty-five ornaments of sense (*arthālaṅkāra*) from the *Mirror*, providing his own original example verse for each. His poems are straightforward but heartfelt, like this one for *atiśaya* ("intensification"), amplifying the scope of beauty that is improbably contained in the body of one gorgeous person:

That this splendor of infinite beauty
can be subsumed by your body is amazing.
O Beauty who totally steals everyone's heart:
Do, please, look at me.[83]

Exercise books came to be written by many eminent scholars.[84] Pedagogically, the *dper brjod* genre serves as a device for cultivating the ability to deploy the figures of speech in many other contexts beyond the mere study of the *Mirror* as such. Reading through them, we start to see how *kāvya* began to be domesticated as a Tibetan idiom, with distinctive uses and flavors. Many of the exercise books

[80] Gnya' 1989: 58 does not give a precise count.

[81] Eppling 1989: 1483.

[82] . . . *mtshan nyid dpe dang bcas pa brjod* (Klong chen pa 1973: 612). Pema Bhum adds that the phrase . . . *rgyan rnams kyi mtshan nyid dang rnam grangs bstan pa'i tshoms te gyis pa'o* on p. 618 could well have substituted *dpe brjod* for *rnam grangs*.

[83] Our translation. From ibid, 614. Cf. KĀ 2.217.

[84] Examples include: Nartang Lotsawa Sanghashri (we have his commentary on the *Mirror* [cf. note 39 above] but do not have his *dpe brjod* at this time [our colleague Gedun Rabsel told us he believes it exists; conversation, December 2016]); Ngor chen Dkon mchog lhun grub (1382–1456) (Ngor chen 2004); the Second Dalai Lama Dge 'dun rgya mtsho (1475–1542) (Dge 'dun rgya mtsho 1995); Chos kyi grags pa (1595–1659) (Chos kyi grags pa 1999); Shakya mchog ldan (1428–1507) (Shakya mchog ldan 2004); the Second Panchen Lama Blo bzang ye shes (1663–1737) (Blo bzang ye shes 1975); and A myes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1659/60) (A myes zhabs 2000).

primarily use the various ornaments to praise the Buddha and other deities, and especially one's teachers. But they also came to be used to express many other issues and feelings as well.

Expertise in *kāvya* became a prized mark of intellectual and artistic prowess in seventeenth-century Lhasa, with its cosmopolitan atmosphere, and especially the exemplary culture around the "Great Fifth" Dalai Lama. Exercise books became a potent medium to couch cultural or political critique in the elegance of poetic circumlocution. In what follows, we give a few examples of the many uses to which the *Mirror*'s poetic figures were put by Tibetan poets. A good place to begin is a striking case from the Great Fifth's own *Mirror* commentary-cum-exercise-book. Here is his illustration of the ornament of "dismissal through remorse" (*anuśayākṣepa*):

Never had the experience and realization
  of the likes of Marpa or Mila,
didn't reach the level of mastery
  of Shong or Pang,
stuck without wealth or power
  on the peak of a mountain—
The useless life of a man
  comes to an end.[85]

Dandin's "dismissal" is a literary device whereby, as Yigal Bronner puts it, the poet deploys the "aesthetics of saying 'no.'"[86] The subtype of dismissal through remorse appears to be a move to disallow or negate a sense of achievement. Dandin's own example reads:

I earned no money, gained
no knowledge, did nothing
for my soul. I lived a long life
but wasted it all.[87]

Dandin presents the verse as an old man's lament about the failure of his own life. But in the hands of the Dalai Lama, the illustration of the same category, while closely paralleling the original, highlights also the ingrediency of the author in the figure and the fact that the author pointedly is *not* the verse's ostensible speaker. Indeed,

[85] Our translation. From Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1944: 61b.

[86] Bronner forthcoming. For "dismissal" in Kannada, see Ollett and Pierce Taylor, section 2.4 in this volume.

[87] KĀ 2.157. All translations of the *Mirror* are from Bronner forthcoming, with the exception of KĀ 1.1 below.

the very fact that the verse is uttered by someone *other* than the author, namely, by the man on top of the mountain, draws attention to that speaker's different situation from that of the author. We know the verse is not autobiographical—or representing something the Dalai Lama would be saying in his own voice—because the Dalai Lama is patently *not* on top of a mountain. Instead, he is spending his life, quite usefully, in the Potala Palace, as king of Tibet. Certainly, he possesses the wealth and power that the useless speaker does not. Most of all, the Dalai Lama is cheerfully if indirectly pointing out that he possesses the learning that the useless man does not, by which he means learning in *kāvya* theory on a par with that of Shong and Pang, the first Tibetan translator of the *Mirror* and its first Tibetan major commentator.

There can be little doubt that in this verse, the Dalai Lama, head of the dominant Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism, is casting the speaker of the verse in the voice of certain Karma Kagyu figures, inheritors of the lineage of the revered Tibetan yogi saint Milarepa and his master Marpa named here. While we are not clear precisely whom he had in mind, we do know that the Karma Kagyu in general were the Fifth Dalai Lama's political nemeses during his own lifetime. The Fifth Dalai Lama's supporters defeated the supporters of the Karmapas in battle during the mid-seventeenth century and thereby consolidated the Dalai Lama's power in central Tibet. This was not long before the latter wrote his *Mirror* commentary where this verse appears. The Kagyu also apparently figured as cultural competitors for the claim to master the art of *kāvya*. The Dalai Lama directed other poetic barbs at this venerable lineage of Marpa and Milarepa as well, as we will see below. For now, however, note how his manipulation of the ornament of "dismissal" cleverly makes the man on the mountain utter critiques of himself in a kind of ironic and spiteful ventriloquy. The Dalai Lama is suggesting that the man on the mountain *ought* to utter this verse, all the while standing by himself, enjoying a moment of gleeful *schadenfreude*. Thus the Dalai Lama is using the figure to make his opponents feel bad about themselves, wasting their lives away in meditation in some alpine retreat.

In tandem with such a politically charged example verse by the Fifth Dalai Lama, we can consider the work of Bokepa, a close colleague and contemporary. Bokepa was affiliated with the Kagyu school and was in a somewhat tendentious relationship with the Dalai Lama as well as the latter's famous minister, Sangye Gyatso (Sangs rgyas rgya mtsho, 1653–1705).[88] Bokepa (his name means "Smart Tibetan") was an active member of the Lhasa intelligentsia; beyond his *Mirror*-related work already mentioned, we also know of his fine writings on medical history and theory. While this is not made explicit, it is commonly

[88] Sangye Gyatso says of Bokepa, "Smart Tibetan Mipam Gelek's composition of poetry is solid. Otherwise, regarding his general knowledge, it doesn't look like he really lives up to the meaning of his name. But he knows how to read and write, so he's got a few compositions." See Gyatso 2015: 90.

thought by contemporary Tibetan scholars that Bokepa's own commentary to the *Mirror*, as well as parts of his own exercise book, served as rejoinders to some of the Dalai Lama's barbs, and represented an effort to defend his Kagyu lineage from those insufferable remarks.[89] He himself owns up to this only elliptically. In a brief statement at the start of his commentary on the *Mirror*, he says "I'm not going to comment on this text in crooked ways, and I'm not going to contaminate my refutations with muddy water. My work is meant to straighten out issues in Dandin's exposition without confusion."[90] Modern readers take Bokepa's words as distinguishing his exegesis from the irrelevant machinations and diatribes that muddy the commentary of the Dalai Lama.

It may not be a coincidence that when commenting on the *Mirror*, a work that teaches the art of indirection, authors state their purposes in such roundabout ways. Indeed, by deploying the literary devices of the *Mirror*, both the Dalai Lama and especially Bokepa (remember, the Dalai Lama was the king of Tibet!) could voice otherwise improper or even risky sentiments with relative impunity. The *Mirror*, in other words, provided tools that allowed Tibetan literati to say things without having said them directly, and perhaps even more powerfully than if they had just said them straight out.

Indeed, a big part of the quarreling between Bokepa and the Fifth Dalai Lama seems often less about substantive questions than really just electrical flack: pure rhetoric and an occasion to score artistic credentials. As examples, the two interactions that we review in what follows, one in which the Dalai Lama rejects the imposition of Buddhist categories onto poetics, and the other in which Bokepa rejects the imposition of medical categories onto poetics, appear to be more about displaying knowledge and mastery than anything else. And yet we can also see in such interactions some very serious cultural issues coming to the fore. In the end, the fact that *kāvya* virtuosity served personal prestige and cultural capital does not mean that it should be reduced to just that. Much research is needed on how Tibetans wrote in what they thought of as high *Mirror* style, what liberties they took, what innovations they made, both explicitly and implicitly, and what artistic heights they achieved. For now, at least we can note how rude the Dalai Lama, incarnation of Avalokiteshvara and embodiment of Buddhist ethics, could sometimes be with his opponents in his poetic examples. Bokepa too did not shy away from confrontation in his own exercise book. Consider how he illustrates the figure of *samāsokti*, or "condensed speech" (KĀ 2.202), whereby one can refer to one thing by talking about another that has similar attributes. In this case Bokepa is illustrating a subtype, namely *bhinnābhinnaviśeṣaṇa* (*khyad*

[89] See also Smith 2001b: 242–44 seq.

[90] Our translation. Bod mkhas pa n.d.: 2b.

*chos tha dad mi dad pa*) where the attributes are only partly alike. Dandin exemplifies the subtype this way:

> The swath of boughs is not small
> and there is a wealth of fruits and flowers.
> The shelter is good, and its giver is strong.
> Thank God I found this tree. (KĀ 2.208)

According to the Sinhalese commentator Ratna, the features of swath of bough and wealth of fruits and flowers in the verse are applicable only to the tree, while the ability to give shelter and to be strong, or durable, is common to the tree and to a man, the actual imputed referent of the verse.[91]

Here is Bokepa's verse illustrating the same figure:

> With the taut shape of an eight-footed lion-garuda,
> he is forever posed haughtily in the monastery,
> looking super awesome.
> He performs his duties, but he is actually inanimate.
> It is a child's mind that would find this wondrous.[92]

Nowhere does Bokepa state his true target, but there can be little question that the powerful person he is mocking is the most powerful ruler of his era, the Fifth Dalai Lama. At the very least, this is the widely held perception among modern Tibetan intellectuals. Bokepa mocks the Dalai Lama's power as a mere posture, like that of a statue or painting, which does not actually require animation, intelligence, or creativity. It is as if one can be the Dalai Lama as a mere figurehead, a status that need not imply talent of any kind or any true accomplishment. For Bokepa, only a child would be impressed.[93]

Many others voiced criticism of incarnate lamas and other leaders in Tibetan history, but note how biting the critique can be when conveyed through poetic suggestion. In one and the same stroke, one can attribute even worse features to the intended referent than are actually true (the Dalai Lama the man certainly was not entirely inanimate), but get away with saying it with impunity, precisely because the figure of *samāsokti* demands that the identification of the actual referent be withheld. More conveniently yet, the particular subvariety of condensed speech that Bokepa employs here, *bhinnābhinnaviśeṣaṇa*, even makes it

[91] Bronner forthcoming.

[92] Our translation. From Bod mkhas pa 18th century: 152a.

[93] It was not uncommon to criticize the *tulku*, or reincarnation phenomenon in Tibet, whereby children are recognized at an early age as the rebirth of a recently deceased master and placed on the throne for their entire life, regardless of merit.

ambiguous as to which qualities are shared by the two referents and which are unique to only one of them.

## 6.10. Poetry vis-à-vis Buddhism and Other Knowledge Systems

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

Besides political matters of power, prestige, and state, other substantive cultural issues were negotiated via the Tibetan appropriation of Dandin's poetics as well. One telling issue has to do with the very status of poetry within the Buddhist world that Tibetan society was endeavoring to create. We have already mentioned the long-standing Buddhist monastic critique of poetry as a possible distraction from more worthy pursuits. The following is one example of several where the Fifth Dalai Lama explicitly and boldly thematizes this tension in his own poetry. It comes up in the Dalai Lama's treatment of the figure of *prāgabhāvahetu* (*sngar na med pa'i byed rgyu*; KĀ 2.245), which illustrates a particular kind of causation wherein absence serves as a cause.

Dandin's example reads:

No real education,
no heed to the wise,
and lack of self control:
man's surest way to disaster. (KĀ 2.245)

The Dalai Lama's verse illustrating the same figure takes up issues around Buddhist education in particular:

Didn't sit
  in the row of Mahamudra meditators.
Didn't foster
  the biographies of all the great gurus.
Didn't wrap this human life
  around mere sophistry.
Thereby did I achieve
  Shong and Pang's level of mastery.[94]

In contrast to our previous example, now the Dalai Lama is indeed autobiographical in this verse. In saying what he wants to say about himself, his use of

[94] Our translation from Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1944: 76a.

*prāgabhāvahetu* differs interestingly from that of Dandin. Whereas Dandin uses the ornament to showcase the conventional wisdom that education, wisdom, and discipline lead to good things and their absence to disaster, the Dalai Lama uses it to make a rather surprising claim about himself. The three activities that the Dalai Lama avers he has not performed—meditation, guru worship, and philosophical debate—are the three mainstays of Tibetan Buddhist practice. The result of failing to perform these key activities is named in the last line: the Dalai Lama has reached the level of poetic mastery of the two most revered Tibetan scholars of the *Mirror* tradition, Shong and Pang. Thus does the verse provide a clear disavowal of the efficacy of Buddhist practice to help one become a good *kāvya* poet, here a highly valued achievement.

Strikingly, the verse thus distances the Dalai Lama personally from Buddhist practice. It is again, of course, a bit of hyperbole—the Fifth Dalai Lama massively performed *sādhana*s and countless Buddhist rituals and also did write some biographies. But it is also true that much of his writing is about history, or governmental ordinances, or his own life, or, indeed, *kāvya*. The third line of his verse is particularly shocking: it is a jab at Buddhist doctrinal debate, which the Dalai Lama here dubs sophistry, but which is the specialty of the Gelugpa school of Tibetan Buddhism. That he targets his own school, and not only his nemesis, the Kagyupas (who would be implied by the reference to Mahamudra meditation), is surprising indeed.[95] It suggests a quite candid moment of self-reflection and is clearly a statement of independence. Once again, we can note that it is the exercise of the *Mirror*'s ornaments that makes these effects possible.

Of course, not everyone in the Tibetan world was comfortable undercutting the cultural prestige of Buddhism and elevating *kāvya*. Consider again Bokepa, the Dalai Lama's alter ego in *kāvya* and his subtle critic. Bokepa's most direct rejoinder to the verse just considered comes not in his own example of *prāgabhāvahetu*, but rather in his illustration of one of the subtypes of "concealment" (*leśa*). This is the ornament of tongue in cheek par excellence, used to express blame in the guise of praise, or vice versa. Here is Dandin's example of a case of "eulogy constructed in such a way that it ends up being nothing but criticism" (**nindāleśa*; Tib. *zol gyis smad pa'i cha*):[96]

> This king is young and upright,
> a fine future husband and a hero, too:
> he cares even more about winning a war
> than about making love to his woman. (KĀ 2.267)

As Dandin explains the figure, it allows a verse of seeming praise to work to dissuade a woman from considering the king as a potential husband, since, in fact, she cares a great deal about her love life.

[95] Mahamudra is a particular specialty of the Kagyupas, although far from absent elsewhere in Tibetan Buddhism.

[96] Bronner forthcoming.

Here is Bokepa's verse using the same ploy with the Dalai Lama as target:

This guide of beings during the fallen era
is in the full bloom of youth.
He has mastered all of the teachings
on the logic of conventions.
And without attaching himself to any inner yoga at all,
he has managed to hold the Victorious One's Teachings
by virtue of explanation, debate, and composition.[97]

This would seem to respond to the Dalai Lama's foregoing boast that he has not sat in the "row of meditators" but devoted himself only to *kāvya*. Bokepa is not disputing that claim and in fact is saying the same thing, but the sarcasm is palpable. For Bokepa, the realizations of inner yoga must be the grounds of all other accomplishment. So the fact that the Dalai Lama, "the guide of beings during the fallen era," achieved his position without practicing inner yoga is not a feat but a failure. After all, the poetic ornament Bokepa is illustrating is by definition a case of feigned praise. Likewise, in attributing to the Dalai Lama the mastery of "explanation, debate, and composition," Bokepa mocks certain Gelugpa specialties, while simultaneously setting aside the Dalai Lama's own disavowal of his mastery of "mere sophistry." For someone like Bokepa, it is particularly galling that the Dalai Lama assumed power over the Tibetan state on the pretext of achieving religious realization. While the Dalai Lama perhaps disingenuously disavowed any Buddhist realization at all in his verse, such realization nonetheless remained the principal basis for the status of the Dalai Lama as an intentional manifestation on earth of the bodhisattva Avalokiteshvara.

We see further evidence of the Dalai Lama's surprising views on the relationship between Buddhism and poetics early on in his commentary on the *Mirror*. Here he is discussing the text's very first verse, where Dandin beseeches the goddess Sarasvati to remain in his mind:[98]

May all-white Sarasvati—a goose
in a forest of lotuses that are the mouths
of the four-faced Brahma—forever delight
in the lake of my heart.[99]

Here the Dalai Lama criticizes the famous Tibetan historian Tsuglak Trengwa (Dpa' bo gtsug lag 'phreng ba, 1504–1566), another major scholar and famous

[97] Our translation. From Bod mkhas pa 18th century: 154b.
[98] For other discussions of Dandin's opening invocation in this volume, see the Introduction and sections 1.6 (Bronner), 2.4 (Ollett and Pierce Taylor), and 3.3 (Hallisey and Meegaskumbura).
[99] KĀ 1.1. Translation by Bronner, section 1.6 in this volume.

historian—who happened to be a Kagyupa—and who apparently made some comments of his own on the *Mirror*. In the Dalai Lama's citation, Tsuglak Trengwa notes that some have interpreted this first verse to involve Dandin's meditative visualization of Sarasvati, whereas others have interpreted it from a more esoteric perspective, whereby Dandin actually visualized himself as Sarasvati.[100] In this context, Tsuglak Trengwa employs technical tantric Buddhist terminology about the varying degrees of identification that a meditator can achieve with a deity. But the Dalai Lama berates such views as "big talk unheard of even by scholars," and goes on to name a few other arcane practices. This is the kind of thing the Kagyupas are constantly going on about, the Dalai Lama charges. "Wow," he adds sarcastically, "applying technicalities from Buddhist tantra, which even the translators and pandits have never heard of, to poetics, a knowledge system that is common to both Buddhists and non-Buddhists,[101] is really great. And if you make ornaments of meaning into an initiation (*abhiṣeka*), ornaments of sound into a permission ritual (Tib. *rjes gnang*), and riddles (*prahelikā*) into an introduction-to-the-mind transmission," the Dalai Lama goes on, "then you will really have made the Mahamudra teachings beautiful."[102]

In fact, what the Dalai Lama just suggested is rather interesting: the use of poetic figures could confer special religious illuminations on their readers, much like Buddhist transmission rituals! But he was actually being quite sarcastic. Most of all, the point that he is objecting to is the mixing—nay, confusing—of knowledge systems.

It is precisely this mentality that signals the relativization of Buddhism in Lhasa in the seventeenth century. *Kāvya* is not Buddhism, and *kāvya* is a good thing; these are two messages we can take away from these comments by the Fifth Dalai Lama.

## 6.11. The Soul of Poetry

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

The mixing of systems is also key to another dispute, regarding a major innovation in *Mirror* theory that a few Tibetan commentators suggested. It comes up, again, in the Fifth Dalai Lama's comment on the *Mirror*'s first chapter, in the

[100] We have not been able to locate Tsuglak Trengwa's writings on *kāvya*.
[101] Lit. "inner and outer ones."
[102] Our translation. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1944: 10a–b.

context of defining the central notion of "the body of *kāvya*."[103] The Dalai Lama accuses a number of *Mirror* scholars, including Tsuglag Trengwa again, of being confused, despite how confidently they are perched on their seats, pretending to be masters. When they begin to explain the notion of source-stories (*kathā*) and the principal fruits of human life with respect to the body of *kāvya*, the Dalai Lama goes on, they introduce a distinction between the body of *kāvya qua* meaning (*don lus*) and the body of *kāvya qua* words (*tshig lus*) and other crooked comments. But these are really just cases of wanting the plantain to have an essence, the Dalai Lama maintains.[104]

Here we see the Dalai Lama rejecting out of hand new and potentially interesting distinctions devised by Tibetan commentators, and with little justification. However, he immediately goes on to suggest an innovative and interesting distinction himself, which actually builds on the very distinction he just dismissed. He writes, "When the *Mirror* specifies above [i.e., KĀ 1.10] that 'body and ornament are taught,' it is also implying 'life-force'. . . . According to my teacher, this [idea] was put forth by Drangchen Lotsawa . . . as well as by Zurkharwa Lodro Gyalpo. . . . In this context, the idea of 'life-force' applies to all *kāvya*."[105] What the Dalai Lama is saying is that while the idea of the "body of *kāvya*" should not be understood to refer to the meaning or aim of *kāvya*, this meaning should instead be named by its own category, and that additional category would the *srog* of *kāvya*, its "life-force," or "soul."

The idea that "life-force," or "soul" (*srog*), should be a third basic category for understanding *kāvya*, along with the *Mirror*'s two other main categories of "body" and "ornament," is a significant intervention. It is not original to the Fifth Dalai Lama, but may be the invention of one of the two scholars whom the Dalai Lama names. While we do not know much about Drangchen Lotsawa,[106] Zurkharwa Lodro Gyalpo would be the well-known sixteenth-century medical scholar. That the latter wrote on the *Mirror* has not been widely known, apart from this reference. But quite fortuitously, these writings have recently come to light, giving us more insight into this Tibetan innovation to the theory of *kāvya*.[107]

We need to note, though, that Dandin does use the the term *prāṇa* (Tib. *srog*) a bit later in the *Mirror*, at KĀ 1.42 seq. There he glosses the ten virtues (*guṇa*s), including concision, lucidity, and so on, as the life-force of the path

[103] Our translation. Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1944: 15a . Dandin's discussion of the body of *kāvya* is introduced at KĀ 1.10.

[104] Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1944: 15a. While the *Mirror* does not make such a distinction, it does use both terms *artha* and *pada* in defining the body of *kāvya* in KĀ 1.10.

[105] Ngag dbang blo bzang rgya mtsho 1944: 15a.

[106] Grangs can Lo tsa ba 'Jam dpal rdo rje, sixteenth century?

[107] Zur mkhar ba 2016. See Gyatso 2015 for his innovative work in medical theory.

of the southern Indic Vaidarbha style of *kāvya*. But the term here is not well explained.[108] Some of the ten virtues refer to sonic issues, and indeed the term for "aspiration" is also rendered as *prāṇa* in the following verse (KĀ 1.43). In any event, both *prāṇa qua* the heart of Vaidarbha style and *prāṇa qua* aspiration are different from what the Tibetans are calling "the soul of poetry" writ large.

In what is currently the earliest account of the Tibetan idea, Zurkharwa first brings up the "soul," or "life-force" of *kāvya* in an earlier, different part of the *Mirror*, as a comment on KĀ 1.10, where it applies globally as a basic dimension of all *kāvya*. Zurkharwa maintains that while the body of *kāvya* would be the words in which *kāvya* is expressed, its "soul" or "life-force" would be the point being expressed. This point, or "life-force," he continues, amounts to the four classic aims of human life (*kāma*, *artha*, *dharma*, and *mokṣa*), which so much of Indian literature is about.[109]

Later in his discussion, now at KĀ 1.15, Zurkharwa again says that the basis or purpose for the act of composing *kāvya* is like the life that resides in the body and on which it depends.[110] In other words, life, or soul, is his way of labeling the point, or heart, or motivating theme of poetic expression. In fact, Dandin himself mentions the four aims of life at KĀ 1.15, in the context of discussing the topics of the great multi-chaptered Indian works of literature (*sargabandha* or *mahākāvya*), and he goes on to list a slew of the themes and topics in such works, such as royalty, love, nature, war, water sports, and so on (KĀ 1.15 seq.).[111] Dandin is not talking about *prāṇa* here. But Zurkharwa takes this section of the *Mirror* to be describing what he believes should be called "the soul of *kāvya*." What's more, the examples that Zurkharwa, like other Tibetan commentators after him, now supplies to illustrate the themes of the four aims of life are drawn from Buddhist resources, such as Jatakas, *avadāna*s, and sutras.[112] He also takes the step to divide these topics into those that are samsaric and concern worldly riches, and those that tend to nirvana and liberation.[113] Both kinds of literary *topoi* count for Zurkharwa as the soul or life-force of *kāvya*.

[108] And, indeed, it receives relatively little comment by the Indian commentators, according to Yigal Bronner (personal communication, 2017). Bronner notes that Ratna, for instance, merely comments on KĀ 1.42 that the ten virtues breathe life into the body of the Vaidarbha path: with them, it is alive; in their absence, it is absent (Ratna ad KĀ 1.42). Zurkarwa makes a similar point about the animation of the body of poetry (see following discussion); we noted above that the Tibetans were familiar with Ratna's commentary.

[109] Zur mkhar ba 2016: 6–7. Note that Ratna, in his commenst on KĀ 1.8, ties the notion of *guṇa*, or poetic virtue, to the four classic ends of human life.

[110] Zur mkhar ba 2016: 12: *lus de nyid gnas pa srog la kho na rag las pas lus gnas byed dang mtshungs bya'i [=pa'i] srog ste/ snyan ngag gi srog lta bu'i rtsom gzhi*.

[111] Zur mkhar ba skips many of the verses in KĀ after 1.18 and picks up his commentary around KĀ 1.40.

[112] The details will be discussed in a separate article entitled "The Soul of Poetry," currently in preparation by Janet Gyatso.

[113] Zur mkhar ba 2016: 12–14.

Most Tibetan commentators were wary of such a substantial change in the most foundational categorical structure of the *Mirror*. In particular, our friend Bokepa was not convinced. Quoting Zurkharwa's words in a passage addressed both to Zurkharwa and the Fifth Dalai Lama, Bokepa goes on to remark sarcastically that Zurkharwa thought he had discovered something good that others have never noticed. But Bokepa resists this impulse to add an extra basic category to the Indian masterpiece. "The *Mirror* itself [only] says 'body and ornament,'" he insists. He continues,

> But you, overcome with the habit-traces of medical science, may have in mind the saying "if it lacks life, who would take a man's corpse, however good?" But there can be ornaments on a chariot, or a palace, or a belt, so we see many cases where an ornament can beautify a substance that has no life-force. . . . And even if *kāvya* is [like a human body], if it definitely needs a life-force, why does it not [also need] the faculties, such as the eye faculty, and so on?[114]

Bokepa's clear implication is that basic *kāvya* theory as articulated by Dandin already does all the conceptual work that is needed, and the extra category is unnecessary. It is indeed not entirely clear what Zurkharwa and the Fifth Dalai Lama thought would be accomplished and what conceptual clarity would be gained by adding the category of life-force to the *Mirror*'s basic body metaphor. Our best guess is that they were motivated to raise up a category like life-force in order to highlight the power of *kāvya* to connect with the living concerns and experiences of people. Perhaps the Tibetan category of life or soul in the context of *kāvya* was meant to refer to the emotive taste of a poem, that which animates and drives home its "aims" of passion, prosperity, righteousness, and deliverance.[115] In fact, other poetic theory traditions in India introduced similar categories to name such a dimension of *kāvya*, but it is unlikely that any Tibetan writers knew of them. More likely, it is a case of literary theorists in different contexts independently coming up with similar ideas. Surely, wanting to talk about the "soul" of literature, rather than only the words *qua* words and figures of speech, is an understandable impulse.[116]

In the end, whether one agrees that Dandin himself should have added a category of soul or life-force to his analysis of poetry or not, we can at least be struck with how confident Tibetan commentators felt to make what from their

[114] Our translation. Bod mkhas pa n.d.: 22b–23a.

[115] We might connect this idea to what, centuries later, Gedun Chopel had to say about the "taste" of poetry: see below, note 155. See also Bhum 2008.

[116] The details of this history, from places as disparate as Sri Lanka, Tamil Nadu, and Kashmir, will be provided in a separate article by Janet Gyatso.

perspective was an entirely original—and Tibetan—improvement upon the classical system laid out in the *Mirror*. Also especially interesting in all this is how Bokepa, in his resistance to such a purported improvement, targets the fact that Zurkharwa was primarily a specialist in medicine. It was probably his immersion in medical work, Bokepa cattily suggests in the passage just quoted, that made Zurkharwa think about the life-force whenever discussing the body—in any context. Bokepa may well be right in this, although, again, Zurkharwa's insight that good poetry must have soul is probably not entirely reducible to his professional habits of mind.

But perhaps the main point for us remains the imputed fault of mixing systems, as we already saw the Dalai Lama doing, albeit for different purposes. People should not confuse knowledge systems, Bokepa seems to be repeating, and metaphors act differently in different systems, hence the problem in uncritically importing them from one to another. Such a point is based upon a broader presumption that poetics and medicine constituted separate knowledge systems whose borders needed to be maintained. This is a significant development both for Tibetan cultural history more generally, and for the fortunes of the *Mirror* in Tibet. The fact that neither medicine nor poetry reduced to Buddhism relativized the latter as well; such an insight would have had sizable implications for the maturation of Tibetan culture across Central Asia, and the place therein of religion, medicine, and literature alike.[117]

## 6.12. The *Mirror* in Mongolia

*Vesna A. Wallace*

It is no surprise that as Dandin's poetics came into its own in Tibet, we find a companion interest in the *Mirror* in the Mongolian sphere. The close connections between Mongolian and Tibetan scholastic traditions and the key role of the Tibetan language in Mongolian Buddhist institutions go a long way to account for this parallel.

Copious examples in both Tibetan and Mongolian language written by Mongolian Buddhist scholars demonstrate how influential the *Mirror* was in the development of the Mongolian poetic tradition in general.[118] Numerous versified eulogies, prayers, verses recited at the time of ritual offerings, benedictions in colophons, and other poetic works written in both Tibetan and Mongolian by

[117] This point is further developed in Gyatso 2015, albeit only regarding medicine in Tibet.

[118] Among the works that exemplify this effort are the versified eulogies and prayers contained in the Collected Works (*gsung 'bum*) of many Mongolian authors, including works by the early twentieth-century scholar Zava Damdin (Rta ba Rta mgrin blo bzang rta dbyangs 'Jam dbyangs

Mongolian scholars of the late seventeenth through the early twentieth centuries evidence their authors' attempts to follow Dandin's principles, including a new tendency to compose verse in light of Dandin's discussion of *vṛtta* and *jāti* meters (KĀ 1.11c–d).

While Mongolian scholars had long been acquainted with the *Mirror* through its Tibetan translations and commentaries, the text was not translated into the Mongolian language until the first half of the eighteenth century (exact date unknown), at the time of the formation of the Mongolian Buddhist canon. It was first translated by the Mongolian translator Gelegjaltsan (Dge legs rgyal mtshan), about whom we know very little,[119] and it was included in the 205th volume of the Mongolian *Tanjur* (Tib. *Bstan 'gyur*). In his rendering of the *Mirror*, Gelegjaltsan closely followed the Tibetan version, utilizing the old method of word-for-word translation from the Tibetan, which was otherwise no longer in vogue during that period. The translation is generally accurate but tends to be overly literal, especially in its invention of Mongolian neologisms meant as equivalents of Sanskrit nomenclature, which makes it sometimes incomprehensible unless one consults the Tibetan (or Sanskrit) original.

In the nineteenth century, the Buryat scholar Rinchen Nomtoev (1857–1907) wrote a Tibetan-Mongolian dictionary with Sanskrit equivalents in two volumes, in which he gave the meanings of technical terms and concepts occurring in the *Mirror*, as well as illustrations of those concepts in the Tibetan, Mongolian, and Old Buryat languages.[120]

From the eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, many eminent Mongolian scholars composed works related to the *Mirror*, for which purpose they usually preferred to write in Tibetan. Such works include commentaries, exercise books, and poetry that would illustrate various ornaments. Among the prominent authors from various Mongolian ethnic groups who wrote commentarial works on Dandin's *Mirror*, worthy of mention are Khalkha Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinle (Blo bzang 'phrin las, 1642–1715), Sumpa Kenpo (Sum pa mkhan po Ye shes dpal 'byor, 1704–1788),[121] Čaqar Geshe Lobzang Čültrim (Blo bzang tshul khrim, 1740–1810), Alasha Lharamba Agwaandandar (A lag sha

dgyes pa'i bshes gnyen, 1867–1937), such as *Dri med bshad sgrub bstan pa'i 'byung gnas dga ldan theg chen gling gi bsngags pa mdo tsam brjod pa bung ba gzhon nu myos pa'i glu snyan*; and by Erdene Mergen Bandida, Ishsambuu (Ngag dbang ye shes bzang po, 1847–1896), such as *Sa gsum skye rgu'i gtsug rgyan byang phyogs bstan pa'i gsal byed sku drin mtshungs med sprul sku rin po che rje btsun dam pa'i sku phreng brgyad pa ngag dbang blo bzang chos kyi nyi ma bstan dzin dbyang phyug dpal bzang pa'i zhal snga nas bstod pa'i rab tu 'byed pa dbyangs can dgyes pa'i glu snyan*, and *Skyabs mgon bla ma rin po che la gsol ba 'debs pa'i rim bag ang 'dun 'grub pa*.

[119] He also translated Ratnakarashanti's *Chandoratnākara* and its auto-commentary. See Huth 1890.

[120] Badaraev 1986: 60.

[121] E.g., Sum pa mkhan po 1975a, 1975b.

lha rams pa Ngag dbang bstan dar, 1759–1842), Nawang Yeshe Thupten (Ngag dbang ye shes thub stan, eighteenth–nineteenth centuries), and Khenpo Nomun Khan (Mkhan po no mon hang Ngag dbang blo bzang mkhas grub, 1779–1838), also known as Agwaanqayidub. Perhaps the earliest Mongolian scholar who studied the *Mirror* was the just-mentioned Zaya Pandita Luvsanprinle. In his encyclopedic work, *Thob yig gsal ba'i me long*, he wrote that during his stay in Tibet during 1660–1679, he studied the *Mirror* with his Tibetan teacher Blo bzang chos grags dpal bzang po based on the commentaries written by the Fifth Dalai Lama and other Tibetan scholars. He later composed a short Tibetan "exercise book" of his own, titled *Examples of the Thirty-Five Ornaments of Meaning: A Song That Pleases Sarasvati* (*Don rgyan so lnga'i dper brjod pa tshang sras dgyas pa'i glu dbyangs*).[122]

Alasha Lharamba first studied the *Mirror* in Mongolia and then traveled at the age of fifty to the large monasteries of Central Tibet and Amdo in search of scholars who specialized in the work. He pursued further study of Dandin's poetics in Labrang Tashi Kyil (Bla brang Bkra shis 'khyil) monastery in Amdo. Upon his return to Mongolia, he wrote three works in Tibetan related to the *Mirror*. One is a commentarial work composed in 1829, in which he also gives his own examples for topics discussed in all three chapters of the *Mirror*.[123] His second work is a poetic composition in which he illustrates the thirty-five ornaments with stanzas that make up a single poem eulogizing the body, mind, and learning of his Tibetan teacher, Longdol Ngawang Lobsang (Klong rdol Ngag dbang blo bzang, 1719–1795).[124] In a third work, Alasha Lharamba also composed seventy-seven verses of praise to the same teacher, adapting them to seventy-seven forms of sounds, in order to illustrate the ornaments mentioned in the *Mirror*.[125] Sixty-six of the verses are his own compositions, and eleven are from a commentary written by the Tibetan scholar Ngag dbang grags pa.

Another Mongolian scholar of the same period is Čaqar Geshe (Cha khar dge bshes, eighteenth–nineteenth centuries) who composed two Tibetan works related to the *Mirror.*[126] Nawang Yeshe Thupten (Ngag dbang ye shes thub bstan, eighteenth–nineteenth centuries) also wrote two commentaries in Tibetan: one on a Tibetan commentary by Stobs ldan rab 'byams,[127] and the other directly on the figures of speech in the *Mirror*.[128] In order to demonstrate

[122] L. Khürelbaatar 2002: 204–5; Sumiyaa et al. 2017: 20; Choimaa et al. 2015: 36–38.
[123] A lag sha 199?a.
[124] A lag sha 199?b.
[125] A lag sha 199?c.
[126] *Don rgyan so lnga kun 'byung* and *Snyan ngag sgra can gyi rnam bzhag*: See L. Khürelbaatar 2002: 202–3; Rintshen 1972: 20.
[127] Ngag dbang ye shes thub stan 1995.
[128] *Snyan ngag me long gi lus dang rgyan gyi mtshan nyid dang dbye ba dper brjod rnams dran tho bkod pa*. See L. Khürelbaatar 2002: 206.

his poetic skill and to exemplify the manner in which all thirty-five ornaments can be applied in a single poetic work, he also composed an ode to the goddess Tara.[129]

Among other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars who wrote in Tibetan on the *Mirror*, worthy of mention are Khenpo Nomun Khan;[130] and the nineteenth-century Luvsandash (Blo bzang bkra shis) from Ikh Khüree.[131]

Among late nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors, the most influential was Jamyang Karpo (ʼJam dbyangs dkar po, popularly known as Erdene Bandida Mkhan chen mkhan po, or Jamyangarav, 1861–1917). He wrote a Tibetan-language commentary on the *Mirror*, titled *Snyan ngag rtsa ʼgrel spyiʼi don rnam par bshad pa tshangs paʼi sgra dbyangs*, which consists of some 560 folios and was block printed in Gandangepiliing (Dgaʼ ldan dge ʼphel gling) Monastery, most likely sometime after 1904. In this work, he examined earlier Tibetan commentaries, pointing out their errors, and presenting his own interpretations, supported with examples taken from Dandin. He also introduced certain innovations in traditional Mongolian poetry based on the *Mirror*, as well as new terminology, and new ways of composing in verse. For example, his compositional style represents the combination of Dandin's "tender" and "even" styles (*sukumāratā-samatā*), which introduces soft consonants into a verse. He also produced a combination of Dandin's "hard-even" (*sphuṭa-samatā*), "tender-even" (*mṛdu-samatā*), and "medium-even" (*madhyama-samatā*) styles by distributing similar soft and harsh consonants at the beginning and ending sections of a stanza.[132] In his view, the first chapter of the *Mirror* implies that one should bring an even concoction of tender, harsh, and medium sounds into each verse of any poem.[133] He claimed that one should not interpret it in the one-sided manner of those Tibetan commentators who preceded Bokepa. According to Jamyangarav, those earlier figures wrote their stanzas only using a medium uniform style and thus restricted the range of stylistic possibilities.[134] Jamyangarav also asserted that only poetry composed in accordance with poetic theory is true to its name. Poetic theory is like a mirror, and poetry itself is like a vine creeper.[135]

[129] *Rje btsun sgrol ma la snyan ngag don rgyan so lngaʼi sgo nas bstod pa dge mtshan gsar baʼi dgaʼ ston ʼdren byed dpyid kyi pho nyaʼi glu dbyangs*. See L. Khürelbaatar 2002: 206–7, 216.

[130] Also known as Agvantüvdev. He wrote Mkhan po no mon hang n.d. See also L. Khürelbaatar 2002: 207.

[131] *Dbyangs can dgyes gluʼi mchan ʼgrel snyan ngag kun gyi ʼjug so*. Cited in L. Khürelbaatar 2002: 203; Rintshen 1972: 20; Sumiyaa et al. 2017: 22.

[132] The harsh consonants in the Tibetan alphabet are considered to be *kha*, *cha*, *tha*, *pha*, *tsa*, *za*, *sa*, *ha*, *sha*.

[133] See Ü. Khürelbaatar 1992: 30.

[134] ʼJam dbyang dkar po, n.d.: 35b–41b.

[135] Güragchaa 2013: 116.

Jamyangarav also criticized Shongton Dorje Gyeltsen's translation of verses 1.42–43 of the *Mirror*. Jamyangarav held that there is a compositional style in which the Tibetan hard consonants such as *kha*, *cha*, *tha*, *pha*, *tsa*, *zha*, *za*, *sa*, *ha*, and *sha*, the fifteen hard consonants of the Sanskrit alphabet, and the soft sound *la* frequently occur in a harmonious manner in different words in a Tibetan verse. He rejected the position of the earlier Tibetan commentators that the sound *la* only occurs in the northeastern (Gauḍa) compositional style. He provided an example of a Gauḍa style verse where *la* is replaced by the syllable *na*, as seen in the following stanza of four lines with nine syllables in each line:

| | |
|---|---|
| *r**n**am mang rgya**n** gyi r**n**am pa r**n**am par mdzes* | (*na* occurs 4 times) |
| ***n**ang du r**n**al ma'i dbyings la r**n**am par rol* | (*na* occurs 3 times) |
| *r**n**am pa du ma'i r**n**am 'gyur r**n**am rtse 'gyed* | (*na* occurs 3 times) |
| *r**n**al 'byor ma yis r**n**am dpyod r**n**on por mdzod* \|\| | (*na* occurs 3 times) |

Adorned with many kinds of ornaments,
manifesting in the inner, innate expanse,
amusing herself in manifold manifestations,
bring about a sharp discernment by means of a *yogini*![136]

Jamyangarav also wrote the following verse, in which every line contains four hard consonants, in order to illustrate the southern (Vaidarbha) compositional style in Tibetan:

| | |
|---|---|
| *m**kh**a' **kh**yab 'gro la **th**ugs rjes rjes su **ch**ags* \| | (4: ***kh, kh, th, ch***) |
| ***ph**a rol **s**grib gnyis mun **s**el rgyud '**th**ul te* \| | (4: ***ph, s, s, th***) |
| ***kh**yad '**ph**ags go '**ph**ang m**ch**og la nyer bkod pa'i* \| | (4: ***kh, ph, ph, ch***) |
| *m**tsh**o byung **lh**a mo gyis **sh**es rab **lh**a* \|\| | (4: ***tsh, lh, sh, lh***) |

Sarasvati, wisdom deity,
compassionately concerned with beings as infinite as space,
you pervade our mind-streams, dispelling the darkness of the two inimical
obscurations,[137]
and bring us to the extraordinary, supreme state.[138]

To illustrate the application of various ornaments, Jamyangarav wrote some six hundred poems in his exercise book *Snyan ngag rtsa 'grel gyi spyi'i don rnam par bzhag pa tshangs pa'i sgra dbyangs*, some of which deal with historical themes,

[136] Güragchaa 2013: 112; L. Khürelbaatar 2013c.
[137] Obscurations of mental afflictions and cognitive obscurations.
[138] Wallace translation. 'Jam dbyang dkar po, n.d.: 32b.3–4. See also L. Khürelbaatar 1989: 210; 2013c.

such as depicting events in the lives of the Mongol khans, and Indian, Tibetan, and even Russian kings.[139] For instance, Ögödei Khan's joyous laughter upon his conversion to Buddhism is used as an example of the ornament "trace" (*leśa*),[140] and Kublai Khan's spreading of both Buddhist Dharma and state law becomes an example of "respective enumeration" (*krama*).[141] He also illustrates the ornament "prideful" (*ūrjasvin*) in a verse about the Queen Manduqai, who, after bringing the Oirats under her power, promised not to harm persons who abide by the emperor's law and to show them compassion.[142] He further shows "magnificence" (*udātta*) in depicting Abatai Sain Khan's erection of 200 stupas and support of both the state and religion.[143] Similarly, "causation" (*hetu*) is brought into play in a verse about the legend of Chinggis Khan's ancestor Alungoo, as told in the *Secret History of the Mongols*:

> When the Queen Alungoo, without a husband,
> was dreaming that she enjoyed pleasure with a deity,[144]
> her joy and happiness increased, and she instantly had a son.
> After the newborn, [came his youngest brother] the brave hero Bodonchar.[145]

To illustrate the ornament of "blame through the yoke of equivalence" (*nindātulyayogitā*), Jamyangarav decried the moral decline of all levels of Mongolian society. A woman, a king, and a monk are similar in their states of corruption and are thus equally censured in the verse:

> Cunning women are fixated on alcohol and the appearances of this life.
> The king's conduct is evil, and the minds of common people are perverse.
> The monastic community is contentious and neglects the precepts.
> The wise say these are the causes of ruin for the teachings and for society.[146]

Around the middle of the twentieth century, two Mongolian poets, Ravjamba (Tib. *rab 'byams*) T. Danzan Odser (1901–1978) and Geshe Sh. Ishtavkhai

[139] Ü. Khürelbaatar 1992: 31–32; Güragchaa 2013: 99–101; 110–11.
[140] 'Jam dbyang dkar po, n.d.: 163a.5.
[141] 'Jam dbyang dkar po, n.d.: 172b.2–3.
[142] 'Jam dbyang dkar po, n.d.: 178a.1–2.
[143] 'Jam dbyang dkar po, n.d.: 181a.5–6.
[144] Alungoo, or Alan Gho'a, is a legendary figure mentioned in the *Secret History of the Mongols* and is said to go back ten generations before Chinggis Khan and to be an ancestress of the ruling Borjigid lineage. According to the *Secret History,* she told her sons that a bright, yellow man entered her tent through a smoke opening, rubbed her belly, and left in the form of a yellow dog by the beams of the sun or the moon. She claimed that her three later sons were the sons of Heaven destined to be sovereign rulers.
[145] Wallace translation from 'Jam dbyang dkar po, n.d.: 164a.6–164b.1. Bodonchar, or Bodonchar Munkhag (ca. 850–900), was the youngest of Alangoo's heavenly born sons. He became the ancestor of Borjigid lineage, including Chinggis Khan. See also L. Khürelbaatar 2013c: 110–11.
[146] Wallace translation from 'Jam dbyang dkar po, n.d.: 189b.6–190a.2.

(1902–1972), closely studied Dandin's *Mirror* in Tibetan and Mongolian translations and endeavored to reflect its principles in their anthology of poetry entitled *A White Lotus of Peace*. The work, written on the themes of social and individual peace, was initially published in Tibetan and later in Mongolian translation.[147] Inspired by the principles of the *Mirror*, Ishtavkhai wrote an ode to Manjushri known in its Mongolian translations as well, and Danzan Odser wrote a praise to Tara.[148] These and other authors of the period also experimented with various complex forms of sound effects, pattern poems, and other types of "difficult poetry" (*duṣkara*) borrowed from or inspired by Dandin, such as the pattern poems following the rule called "Samantabhadra's wheel." For instance, Ishtavkhai composed a poetic crossword in classical Mongolian, titled "A Disseminator of Peace" (*Engke taibung-i badaruɣuluɣči*), which can yield different meanings when read in different directions. Similarly, a famous contemporary of Ishtavkhai, Rinchen Byambyn, wrote the poem "Princes" (*Günj*) which, when read backward, conveys a complete second meaning; it also conveys a full meaning if read from the two lines on the top or from the two second lines. Moreover, every two lines of the first column begin with the same letter, which has been a popular practice of poetry-writing in Mongolia to this day.

In 1982, the *Mirror* was translated into modern Mongolian by three scholars, Bira Sh., Gaadan Kh., and Sukhbaatar O., who also carefully examined the errors of the Tibetan and classical Mongolian translations. In addition to an annotated translation of the text, they also provide the reader with explanations of terms, and a Sanskrit-Tibetan-Mongolian-English terminological index. In doing this, they relied on the commentary written by the Fifth Dalai Lama, as well as on a commentary by an eighteenth-century Mongolian scholar from Ikh Khüree, Agwaan Dorji, entitled *Snyan ngag me long gi zin tho dran pa'i gsal 'debs*, and the previously mentioned one by Jamyangarav.[149]

In 1972, the second international conference on "Mongolian Commentaries on Dandin's *Mirror*" was held in Mongolia and a new translation of the *Mirror* in Mongolian language was published.[150] The works of scholars of the late twentieth century, such as Altangerel Ch., Bira Sh., Sükhbaatar O., Gaadan, Kh., Khürelbaatar L., and Damdinsüren Ts.,[151] along with a number of contemporary scholars who have written extensively on Dandin's influence on Mongolian poetry, are but a few of the many examples one could cite of the *Mirror*'s continuing explicit role in the creation of poetic discourse in Mongolia.[152]

[147] Danzan-Odser and Isītābqai 1966; Rintshen 1972: 20–21.
[148] L. Khurelbaatar 1988: 251–52.
[149] Bira et al. 1982. See also Altangerel 2013: 47–50; L. Khürelbaatar 2013c.
[150] Sumiyaa et al. 2017: 26.
[151] Here are bibliographical references for only some of the commentators on the *Mirror* mentioned above: Altangerel 1972, 1995; Gaadan 2013; Damdinsüren 1962, 2013.
[152] See Sumiyaa et al. 2017: 26–27.

## 6.13. Modernity, the *Mirror*, and Tibetan Literature

*Pema Bhum and Janet Gyatso*

As in Mongolia, scholars and students in Tibetan contexts, both inside the People's Republic of China and in exile, have continued to study and propagate the *Mirror* into modern times, and to write poems in accordance with its principles. An important bridge figure for *kāvya*'s continued relevance into the twentieth century was the famous Tibetan artist and polymath Gendun Chopel (Dge 'dun chos 'phel, 1903–1951). A controversial advocate for modernity, he also championed traditional values and learning. In the following passage from his exceptional study of South Asian culture, he makes the case for the aesthetic value of the Tibetan language in contrast to the overly complicated and artificial nature of Sanskrit ("This was never a language that a mother could teach her child"[153]). He laments the unthinking Tibetan predilection for Indic literary sensibilities as opposed to Tibetan ones and resists the reducibility of the latter to common or vulgar "village talk," a self-disparaging *Mirror*- influenced moniker we have already encountered centuries earlier:

> Our only way of composing today is to write in the manner of Sanskrit translated into Tibetan. Having sat in our ears for a very long time, that has become easy to understand. Yet it is certainly not the natural way of writing in Tibetan. But who can hear this? When someone writes with very direct wording, everyone calls it "village talk." However, "village talk" consists in shameless words spoken frankly. How can [anyone say] that all frank words are that?[154]

Here Gendun Chopel holds out a possibility that there are kinds of direct, frank speech that are not necessarily reduceable to vulgar village talk. He implies that the natural way of Tibetan writing and communicating is frank and candid, and that such a style has value, perhaps no less than the mimicking of Sanskrit. According to his friend and biographer Rakra Rinpoche (Rak ra Rin po che, 1925–2012), Gendun Chopel maintained that in order to write poetry that yields real taste (*bro ba*) and meaning, one has to be deeply familiar with one's own native tongue. He added that while with effort he himself could manage to understand poetry written in English, he could not experience its taste the way that a native English speaker can.[155]

[153] Dge 'dun chos 'phel 1991: 279. See Lopez 2014: 209–14 seq. for the whole discussion.

[154] Our translation from Dge 'dun chos 'phel 1991: 282–83.

[155] Bkras mthong 1980: 19. Rakra Rinpoche was himself a prominent poet and literary figure in the twentieth century.

And yet despite this fondness for things natively Tibetan, Gendun Chopel was also a highly accomplished writer of Indic *kāvya*-style poetry. Witness this fine first verse of his treatise on the Buddhist philosophy of the Mādhyamika school:

To the sharp weapons of the demons,
you offered delicate flowers.
When the enraged Devadatta pushed down a boulder,
you practiced silence.
Son of the Shakyas,
incapable of casting even an angry glance at your enemy,
what intelligent person
would seek you for protection from the great enemy, fearful samsara?[156]

Despite his serious philosophical topic, Gendun Chopel chooses to begin the treatise with Dandin's playful ornament of "concealed praise" (*smad pa'i cha nas bstod pa; *stutileśa*, KĀ 2.269; the counterpart of concealed blame that we have already seen the Dalai Lama use) for the traditional opening praise to the Buddha. The ornament highlights the Buddha's power as a protector, despite his failure to deploy weapons or even cast an angry glance. It jokingly questions how anyone could put themselves in the hands of such a peaceful guardian.

With cultural pioneers like Gendun Chopel on its horizon, a new Tibetan literature has emerged since the 1980s, in the wake of the Chinese takeover of Tibet and the Cultural Revolution. This literature, in both prose and poetry, addresses modern topics, particularly as pertinent to the current Tibetan predicament. It has adopted new styles, and it is also influenced by some modern literary theory, known to Tibetan students through Chinese and Russian sources. Many of the early examples of this literature display communist idealism, but there also has developed a strong strain of critique of the Chinese Communist Party, as well as specific social ills. There is also a desire to explore and display Tibetan culture as a unique, if endangered, entity.

Dandin's *Mirror* has had a prominent, if shifting role in all of this, and it continues to play such a role today. In an important study of modern Tibetan literature, Lama Jabb points out how earlier Tibetan literary precedents—both stemming from indigenous traditions such as the *mgur* and those coming from the *Mirror*—have influenced the formation of modern Tibetan literature, despite numerous disavowals of such influence by various current writers.[157] This influence even extends to the second-order adaptation of the *Mirror*'s categories by contemporary Tibetan literary critics to evaluate previous and current

[156] Translation from Lopez 2006: 47.
[157] Jabb 2015.

Tibetan literature, including genres like *mgur* that strictly speaking are outside the *Mirror*'s purview.[158]

Nonetheless, Tibetan writers in the period following the Third Plenum of the Eleventh Chinese Communist Party Congress in 1971 decried the stifling effect of the *Mirror* on Tibetan literature and tried to reject it in favor of free verse. But as Jabb and other scholars have pointed out, even the towering and pioneering figure of modern Tibetan literature, Dondrub Gyal (Don grub rgyal, 1953–1985), studied and wrote about classical literature, and extensive use of stereotypical *kāvya* tropes and ornaments is palpable even in his free verse. Jabb in fact characterizes the dominant trend of contemporary Tibetan poetry to be current in its topics but traditional in its *Mirror* style.[159] This may be said even for the "Third Generation" writers, a radical Tibetan literary group founded in 2005 that placed itself in opposition to Dondrub Gyal's pioneering legacy. This group explicitly identified itself in terms of a trenchant rejection of the *Mirror*'s poetics, including the traditional Tibetan genre of praise literature (*bstod tshogs*) that so plentifully makes use of its tropes. They also declared themselves to be free of the influence of indigenous Tibetan song traditions. In some cases, their rhetoric against *Mirror* elements and style is strident. But from our perspective, such rhetoric only demonstrates more clearly how pervasive and dominant has been the *Mirror*'s role in Tibetan poetry up to the twenty-first century. And this is not to mention the fact that, even here, Jabb is able to point to the Third Generation's frequent use of ornaments, images, alliterative techniques, metrics, and mythological allusions that, their own rhetoric notwithstanding, is reminiscent of the *Mirror*.[160]

Especially interesting is Jabb's discussion of the Third Generation's stance on erotic poetry, whose supposed absence in traditional Tibetan *Mirror*-inspired poetry they bemoan. Yet as already suggested in the foregoing, premodern Tibetan literature that was influenced by the *Mirror* offers many examples of erotic verses, including by both the Fifth Dalai Lama and Bokepa, despite the fact that both were Buddhist monks. Indeed, Bokepa has been critiqued by another, more prurient faction of modern Tibetan critics, precisely for his overly sexual example verses. Some of these same critics failed to notice the presence of similarly erotic poetry in the corpus of Great Fifth as well. Jabb ironically attributes this oversight, at least in part, to these critics' inability to recognize the sexual nuances of the latter.[161] For us, this failure demonstrates so well a premier value of *Mirror*-style indirection: its precise deployment, as in the case of the Fifth

[158] Jabb 2015: 10 seq. See also Padma 'bhum 1994.
[159] Jabb 2015: 10 seq. See also Kapstein 2003, and Lin 2008.
[160] Jabb 2015: chapter five, esp. 202–5.
[161] Jabb 2015: 190–98. See also Bhum and Gyatso 2018: 179.

Dalai Lama, enables modesty and circumlocution, but at the same time artistic self-expression and suggestive allusion.[162]

Poets and novelists writing in Tibetan since the 1980s remain conflicted over their relationship to pre-1950s Tibetan literature, including the value of Dandin's *Mirror* for the future. From one perspective, the *Mirror*'s aesthetics helps to differentiate Tibetan writing from Chinese styles. Yet on the other hand, it too is not really "Tibetan." Nonetheless, the *Mirror* continues to have an enormous role in the education and production of literature throughout the Tibetan world. It is taught today to Tibetan public-school students in all areas of the Tibetan plateau, as witnessed in the standard state-issued textbooks on the Tibetan language for middle schools, starting in grade seven, and again in high schools, starting in grade ten.[163] It continues to be studied in monastery settings as well, on an individual basis between teacher and disciple, although still not as an official part of any monastery curricula as far as we currently know. One current monk poet/teacher is at Rongbo Monastery in eastern Tibet. Rongbo Gendun Lhundrub (Rong bo Dge 'dun lhun grub, b. twentieth century) is a prolific poet who addresses current life and longings. He frequently employs *Mirror* ornaments and poetic forms in his own writing, and he teaches its practice widely in informal classes on the grounds of his monastery complex and in other settings as well.[164] This all means that students regularly write exercise books today, just as they did for centuries. The *Mirror* is considered essential knowledge for writers of any kind, and it is not uncommon for students, clerical or lay, to memorize the entire text; the current 17th Karmapa Ogyen Trinley Dorje (O rgyan 'phrin las rdo rje, b. 1985) is one prominent example of a scholar and poet who has done so.[165]

In short, knowledge of the *Mirror* and *Mirror*-inspired poetry composition is thriving on the Tibetan plateau today. This is far from limited to the variety of genres that traditionally depended heavily on *Mirror* ornamentation and literary flourishes, which continue to be written anew, such as prayers uttered at the time of a lama's enthronement (*maṇḍala bshad pa*), prayers for the long life of the teacher (*zhabs brtan gsol 'debs*), and prayers for the quick appearance of a deceased teacher's reincarnation (*sprul sku myur 'byon*). We also see the continual production of newly published critical editions, newly composed commentaries, and various kinds of studies, aimed both at a wide audience and at university students focusing on the history of Tibetan literature. Tibetan bookstores in

[162] On this last point, cf. Bhum and Gyatso 2018.

[163] We are in possession of copies of the language textbook *Skad yig* issued by the national school board for Tibetan students, *Ljong shing lnga'i mnyam bsgrigs slobs gzhi mtho rim slob 'gring gi bslab tshan*, for 7th grade, 8th grade, and 10th grade. All contain substantial sections on the various ornaments and other devices in the *Mirror* and ways to apply them in writing.

[164] Examples include Rong bo 2012 and 2015.

[165] Personal communication to Pema Bhum, 2017.

China will have an entire section devoted to *Mirror*-related writing and studies thereof. There is a robust group of academics and other intellectuals working on the *Mirror* today; two fine examples would be Gendun Rabsel (Dge 'dun rab gsal, b. twentieth century), who teaches in Indiana University's Central Asian Studies department;[166] and Wandekar (Ban de mkhar, b. twentieth century), who teaches Tibetan literature at Zhongyang Minzu Daxue in Beijing.[167]

As for new poetry in Tibetan that still echoes *Mirror* aesthetics and rhetorical punch, the field is just too broad for us to survey here. There can be no question that connoisseurs have much to look forward to. Modern Tibetan literature continues to develop in its own directions; it is getting its own footing, *Mirror*-inspired or otherwise.

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[166] Some of his work includes Dge 'dun rab gsal 2001, a history of Tibetan literature that contains an extensive study of the *Mirror* in Tibet; and Dge 'dun rab gsal 2017, a collection of writings including studies of the 10th Karmapa Chos dbyings rdo rje's relation to the *Mirror*; the five *rig gnas*; and a biography of Shong ston Rdo rje rgyal mtshan. See also his *Sa skya bka' 'bum* essay on Sapan's work cited above, note 27.

[167] His work includes Bande mkhar 2014, a survey of *Mirror*-style poetry relating to Lhasa over the last 100 years; a forthcoming edition of Bokepa's various writings on *Kāvyādarśa* poetics, and articles on Sumpa Khenpo's writings on the *Mirror* (Bande mkhar 2014b); an analysis of the *Gzhon nu zla med kyi gtam rgyud* as an example of *mahākāvya* (Bande mkhar 2016); and on Jamyang Zhepa's work on the various *Mirror* commentaries (Bande mkhar 2017).

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# 7

# A Faultless Science

## Dandin and Dharmadasa in Burma and Bengal

*Edited by Aleix Ruiz-Falqués*

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### 7.1. Introduction

*Aleix Ruiz-Falqués*

With this chapter, the volume moves to the outer limits of the Sanskrit cosmopolis and the fascinating case of the Bay of Bengal. On the subcontinental side of the bay, as well as in regional polities such as Arakan, Assam (Ahom), and Manipur, testimonies of a vibrant Sanskrit tradition are abundant. Whether or not it was tied to Buddhism, Sanskrit culture was present around the bay, but there appears to be one prominent exception, namely Burma, the main focus of this chapter. Sanskrit culture appears as an undercurrent in Burma. Nevertheless, as we show in this chapter, its presence is well documented there, and it used to occupy an important place in the region's monastic education system.

Sanskrit models were imported to Burma both directly and indirectly, from the bay's northern route (Bengal and Arkan) and from the south (Sri Lanka). We have records of Sanskrit works being copied and studied (or at least known by name) in Burma since the twelfth century CE. The *Mirror*, in both monolingual Sanskrit and in its Pali and vernacular gloss texts (*nissaya*), the *Subodhālaṅkāra* (a Pali adaptation of Dandin produced in Sri Lanka) and its commentaries, and an unlikely companion in the form of a Sanskrit book on riddles from Bengal have together played a key role here. This chapter is the first attempt to assess their combined impact on intellectual and literary production in this part of Asia.

The earliest explicit reference to the *Mirror* in Burma's Pali Buddhist literature is found in Aggavamsa's grammatical encyclopedia, the *Rule of Sound*

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(*Saddanīti*), composed around the twelfth century in the Kingdom of Pagan, one of the world's centers of Buddhist culture at the time. Since at least the fifteenth century, the *Mirror* had the status of an important treatise: it was a key component of erudite learning and an authority not only on poetics but also in the fields of grammar and exegesis. The manuscript circulation of the *Mirror* seems to have continued fairly steadily until the nineteenth century.

The story of the *Mirror* in Burmese literary history is nuanced and complex. This, however, should not obscure one important feature of its presence here: its persistence as part of the advanced monastic curriculum. Together with a few other Sanskrit works that earned such distinction, the *Mirror* demonstrated an impressive ability to engage Pali scripturalism, wherein such works were typically classified as "worldly sciences" or "auxiliaries of Vedic learning." But as we show, Dandin and his close companions even managed to enter the canon; they also served as resources for leading scholars.

Section 7.2 traces the historical presence of Dandin in Burma. To the extent possible, we rely on the barely explored manuscript archives of the region. More typically, however, we draw on the many references to the *Mirror* in other Burmese sources, such as manuscript bibliographies and catalogues, commentarial literature, monastic curricular biographies, and other records of monastic scholarly elite culture. Together with select Sanskrit works such as the *Kātantra* grammar, the study of Dandin's *Mirror* is justified by virtue of its "faultlessness" and its usefulness to the study of Buddhist literature.

Section 7.3 examines the reception and indirect influence of Dandin in Burma through the lens of several Pali works, written in Sri Lanka but wielding great influence in the Bay of Bengal and mainland Southeast Asia. In particular, attention will be paid to Sangharakkhita's thirteenth-century *Lucid Poetics* (*Subodhālaṅkāra*), the first treatise on Pali literary theory, which owed much to Dandin's *Mirror* and other Sanskrit sources. This treatise became the staple introduction to literary aesthetics among Burmese scholars both inside and outside monasteries. *Lucid Poetics* functioned primarily as an exegetical scholastic manual, and to this day it is counted among the most authoritative Pali grammars. But apart from providing scholars with a set of hermeneutic tools, it also played an active role in setting the norms of poetic composition. It inspired highly ornate poetry such as the ubiquitous stanzas in praise of the triple gem (Buddha, Dhamma, and Sangha).

Section 7.4 highlights another member in the small but significant corpus of Sanskrit texts that circulated in Burma, namely the *Adornment of the Connoisseur's Mouth* (*Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*), written by the Bengali savant Dharmadasa (probably in the eighth century CE). This treatise has been an inseparable companion of Dandin's *Mirror* in the region. The causes and conditions for this successful tandem are among the main topics of this section. As we show,

just as *Lucid Poetics* gave new life to Dandin in Pali Buddhism, Dharmadasa's work, with its focus on the now marginalized art of riddles, seems to have opened new literary and social opportunities for Dandin's exploration of poetic ornamentation. After briefly discussing the liminal status of the riddle in Sanskrit poetics, this section delves into the nature of the *Adornment* and its successful canonization alongside the *Mirror* among literati in the Bay of Bengal, including learned monks and royalty in Burma.

We conclude (section 7.5) by noting that whether directly, in its original Sanskrit form, or indirectly, through the more accessible Pali *Lucid Poetics*, Dandin's authority thrived in a cultural milieu where textual skills were the hallmark of religious authenticity. Specifically, in the case of the Pali Buddhist literature, the analytic system of the *Mirror* provided a highly useful set of concepts that allowed scholars to understand and propagate the teachings of the Buddha. Considered a faultless scientific tract, the *Mirror* eventually became integrated into the broad canon of Buddhist literature conventionally conceptualized as *tipiṭaka*, and from this vantage point it radiated its influence into other domains such as literature, ritual, and pedagogy.

## 7.2. Manuscript Transmission, Study, and Canonical Status of the *Mirror* in Burma

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Unlike in neighboring Arakan and Bengal, the heartland of premodern Burma, situated within the central Irrawaddy valley, never witnessed the emergence of a Sanskrit literary or intellectual culture. Only a tiny handful of Sanskrit inscriptions have been uncovered from Burma, we know of relatively few manuscripts of Sanskrit texts, and there are no examples of local literary composition in Sanskrit. To the extent that Buddhist projects worked through a translocal Indic language, this was almost exclusively Pali, but the far greater proportion of cultural production was in local vernaculars: Pyu, Mon, Burmese, and several Tai languages.

Nonetheless, Burmese and Pali chronicles, bibliographies, poems, and epigraphs all document the transmission of a small corpus of Sanskrit theoretical treatises (*śāstra*) in Burma, including treatises on poetics such as Dandin's *Mirror*. Known in Burmese as *Daṇḍī* (Dandin) or *Kābyādassa* (*Kāvyādarśa*), Burmese-script witnesses to the Sanskrit original and local Pali and vernacular glosses survive in several manuscript versions, in some cases accompanied by Dharmadasa's *Adornment*. Most of these manuscripts await scholarly scrutiny, although two specimens of the monolingual Sanskrit text that we have consulted,

copied in 1858 and 1862, transmit a version that is closely parallel with modern editions from India.[1]

Despite the absence of sufficient documentation on available manuscripts and research on their transmission, we can partly assess the *Mirror*'s reception by examining the status of other Sanskrit works on poetics and grammar in Burma. Also relevant are the role of Dandin, other Sanskrit works, and related Pali and vernacular treatises in monastic curricula, as well as the efforts to define the scope of the Buddhist canon.

During the first millennium CE, there is no evidence for the presence of any genre of Sanskrit works in Burma. Several lithic donative inscriptions in Burmese from twelfth- to thirteenth-century Pagan demonstrate that individuals learned in the Sanskrit astral sciences were active there, although there are no explicit epigraphical references to the patronage or study of specific Sanskrit works. By contrast, there is ample evidence for the widespread donation and study of Pali texts. That said, certain Pali texts composed in Burma between ca. 1100 and 1400 CE paint a more complex picture. For instance, a commentary conventionally attributed to a fourteenth-century Burmese minister named Chaturangabala on the *Lamp of Words* (*Abhidhānappadīpikā*), a Pali lexicon composed in Sri Lanka in the twelfth century, contains a number of Pali citations with parallels in Sanskrit texts and also refers to some titles by name: *Amara's Treasure* (mentioned no less than seventy times), Kalidasa's *Cloud Messenger*, the *Kāmasūtra*, and the *Sūryasiddhānta*, to mention but a few.[2] It is very likely that Caturangabala's commentary was based mainly, or perhaps uniquely, on a Sanskrit commentary on *Amara's Treasure* by Subhutichandra.[3] Likewise, Sanskrit grammarians such as Panini, Katyayana, and Patanjali are known in Burma since, at the very least, the twelfth century.[4]

One of the explicit attestations of the *Mirror* is found in the famous Pali grammar called the *Rule of Sound* (*Saddanīti*), written by Aggavamsa of Pagan (probably in the twelfth century[5]). Aggavamsa discusses grammatical forms in Sanskrit language and cites quite a few Sanskrit works, including *Kātantra*, Patanjali's *Great Commentary*, *Amara's Treasure*, a certain *Lexicon of Monosyllabic Words* (*Ekākṣarakośa*), and, indeed, while discussing the topic of pronouns, offers one attributed citation from the *Mirror*:

> From the mouth of a poet [we have examples of the usage of the personal pronouns "you" and "I" in nominal composition], for instance, in the

[1] Cf. Ms. 811.TL.466, Tharlay Monastery (Inle Lake, Shan State, Myanmar).
[2] Yamanaka 2008.
[3] For the abundant parallels between these two works, see Deokar 2014.
[4] Gornall and Ruiz-Falqués 2019: 427.
[5] Gornall and Ruiz-Falqués 2019: 427–28.

> *Mirror*: "your face (*tvaṃmukhaṃ*) is equal to the lotus and to nothing else"; and: "your face (*tvaṃmukhaṃ*) is like the moon."[6]

This citation follows a discussion on the usage of the Buddha and other Buddhist saints, and that of grammarians (*niruttiññū*). Aggavamsa thus establishes a threefold categorical distinction between saints, grammarians, and poets, representing three decreasing degrees of authority.

The *Mirror* is also quoted four times in the *New Commentary* (*Navaṭīkā* or *Abhinavaṭīkā*) on the *Lucid Poetics*. Burmese sources claim that this work was composed in the mid-fifteenth century by a certain Dhammakitti Ratanapajjota, originally from Burma, who had visited Sri Lanka and translated a Sinhalese commentary into Pali.[7] Of these four quotations, three are already found in the *Old Commentary (Porāṇaṭīkā) on the Lucid Poetics*,[8] and the fourth is derived from the Sinhalese Commentary (*Sanne*) after which the *New Commentary* was modeled.[9] Yet despite these scattered early references to Sanskrit learning and even to Dandin's *Mirror* in Burma, there seems to have been little value accorded to Sanskrit as a prestige language or public poetic medium.

Against this modest background, the earliest Burmese inscription that explicitly names the *Mirror* and other Sanskrit texts is striking. This four-sided stone inscription was established in 1442 CE (1986 Sāsana Era) to document a "work of great merit": the construction of a monastery in Pagan and the donation of lands, slaves, and texts thereto.[10] The donor was a local lord and the nephew of the reigning king of Ava, Narapati the Great (r. ca. 1442–1468), together with his consort, the daughter of Mahasihasura, a former king of Ava (r. ca. 1422–1425). The inscription states that the monastery was built to endure for the full five-thousand-year period of Gotama Buddha's teaching (*sāsana*), and that a *tipiṭaka*, together with *vedaṅga* (Burmese *bedaṅ*, Pali: *vedaṅga*, Skt. *vedāṅga*) treatises (the sixfold auxiliary sciences of Vedic learning), was purchased by the sale of the consort's hair and deposited therein to ensure the prosperity of the "noble scholar monks" who would study them along with any other "people of good

[6] Sadd 289, 25: *kāvyādāse ca tvaṃmukhaṃ kamalen' eva tulyaṃ n' āññena kenaci ti ca candena tvaṃmukhaṃ tulyan ti ca kavimukhato*. See also Sadd 690, 7. The examples correspond respectively to KĀ 2.19, 32.

[7] Jaini 2000: 14. Jaini does not find this tradition credible. A comparison between the *New Commentary* and the *Sanne*, however, shows that the former is mostly modeled on the latter.

[8] These are some quotations traced so far in the two Pali commentaries on Subodh: *Old Commentary*: Subodh-ṭ 11, 21–22 = KĀ 1.8; 15, 17–28 = KĀ 1.14–19; 16, 20–21 = KĀ 1.20; 17,2–5 = KĀ 1.21–22; 17, 24–25 = KĀ 1.103; 18, 11–14 = KĀ 1.104; 54, 4–19 = KĀ 3.98–106; 84, 26–27 = KĀ 3.112; 201, 18–19 = KĀ 2.139. *New Commentary*: Subodh-nṭ 20, 3–14 = KĀ 1.14–19; 87, 21–22 = KĀ 3.112; 155, 1–2 = KĀ 1.103; 262, 14–15 = KĀ 2.356. Two of these references are unidentified by Jaini; see section 7.3 below.

[9] 155, 1–2 = Subodh-sanne 91, 4–5 = KĀ 1.103.

[10] Nyein Maung et al. 1972–2013, V.21–33; Luce and Tin Htway 1976.

birth." The inscription inventories several hundred texts that comprise this donation. These are organized into different categories and almost all of the Sanskrit titles pertain to grammar, lexicography, poetics (*alaṅkāra*), medicine, worldly wisdom (*nīti*), astrology (*jyotiṣaśāstra*), and even Buddhist tantras.[11]

No less than five Dandin-related texts are mentioned in the inscription. First, on the left face of the stone, we have what would appear to be a Sanskrit or Indic language *Mirror* (*taṇḍī*) and its commentary (*taṇḍīṭīkā*), mentioned among donated texts of the *sutta* class of the *tipiṭaka*. These are placed alongside other works on poetics: Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics* and one of its commentaries, as well as what seems to be a work on metrics, *Cluster of Meter-Blossoms* (*Chandomañjarī*) and a commentary thereon. On the right face of the inscription, Dandin makes another appearance, this time with three commentaries: *Daṇḍīṭīkā phroṅ*, *Daṇḍīṭīkā kyay*, *Daṇḍīṭīkā lat*—the "straight commentary on Dandin, the extended commentary on Dandin, and the middle[-length] commentary on Dandin." These titles are listed adjacent to a reference to *Amara's Treasure* and perhaps a reference to the astronomical treatise *On the Mathematics of the Sphere* (*Golādhyāya*). The collection constitutes one of the earliest pieces of evidence on the transmission of sets of the Buddhist canon, along with works representing "worldly sciences" labeled *lokī* (*lokiya*) or *bedaṅ* in Burmese. Such efforts, for which a range of later instances could be documented between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, invariably relate to donative projects associated with the royal court.

The 1442 inscription, with its rather peculiar listing of manuscripts, does not specify whether the *Mirror* and its related texts fall under *tipiṭaka*, a category that includes the earliest layer of Pali Buddhist literature plus commentaries and ancillary Buddhist treatises, or under *vedaṅga*, a category which typically encompasses mundane sciences, such as astrology and medicine, broadly. The former is perhaps implied, but the ambiguity, which might be intentional, leaves at least some room for interpretation. And as the inscription testifies, the collection included several commentaries facilitating the access to the text, a task which posed additional difficulties in Burma given the fact that many Sanskrit works on literary theory were apparently never available up to this point.

A similar example of the *Mirror*'s transmission is found in a bibliographic work likely dating to the mid-seventeenth century that inventories an unnamed manuscript collection of both *tipiṭaka* and *vedaṅga* texts.[12] At least two Dandin manuscripts are found in the part of the inventory listing a range of Pali and Sanskrit texts and their bilingual glosses (*nissaya*) that follows the contents of the

[11] The titles *Mratyuvaññcana*, *Kālacakkrui*, and *Kālacakkrui-ṭīkā* probably refer to the *Mṛtyuvañcana*, the *Kālacakra*, and the *Kālacakraṭīkā*, respectively. These comprise our only certain evidence for the presence of Buddhist tantras in Burmese history before the late eighteenth century.

[12] *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ*, manuscript OSK–MTK 002b (copied 1891), ff. khau$^{v}$, khaṃ, khāḥ$^{v}$.

three divisions of the Buddhist canon. The first manuscript contained *Daṇḍī cā kui* ("root text of Dandin") and *Daṇḍīṭīkā* ("commentary on Dandin), while the second contained *Daṇḍiṭīkā kalat*, which stands for either a miscopying of "the middle[-length] commentary on Dandin" or a combination of *Daṇḍīṭīkā* and a grammatical text from *Kātantra*'s line. Dandin also appears in the appended *vedaṅga* bibliography, whose purpose was to classify all Sanskrit texts under one of the four Vedas. Here the titles *Dandī* and *Dandīka* (likely a miscopying of *Daṇḍiṭīkā*) are grouped among a category of texts belonging to the *Sāmaveda* (as are the *Adornment*- and *Kātantra*-related texts).

Literary references from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries testify that the *Mirror* enjoyed the status of an important Sanskrit treatise among Burmese monastic elites. Dandin's manual, together with a few other selected Sanskrit works, were for some authors synonymous with erudite learning. An example of this characterization of Dandin is found in the *Essentials of the World* (*Lokasāra*), a didactic poem attributed to Kandaw Minkyaung Sayadaw (fl. early sixteenth century). Its third section is dedicated to the responsibilities of learned court Brahmins and provides a survey of texts, skills, and capacities they need to be proficient in. In particular, stanzas 48 to 53 prescribe a command of medicine, predictive astrology, sacrifices and sacrificial mantras, planetary appeasement, purification rituals, and poetic composition. While this enumeration is fairly stereotypical, the selection of texts is more localized, with identifiable titles including the Vedas, Sharvavarman's *Kātantra*, a Sanskrit commentary on this work known as the *Extended Commentary on the Kalapa Grammar* (*Kalāpapañcikā*), the *Mirror*, the *Adornment*, Panini, Varahamihira's manual on natal astrology called *The Great Birth* (*Bṛhaj*),[13] and *The Sun King* (*Rājamārtaṇḍa*), a work on astronomy ascribed to Bhoja.[14] As *Essentials of the World* is a moral instruction in an easily accessible format, a mention of the *Mirror* in such context suggests that for readers associated with the Burmese royal court of Ava, both Dandin and his companions were instantly recognizable classics and exemplars of Sanskrit learning.

Commenting on another work attributed to Kandaw Minkyaung Sayadaw, the abbot of the Minkyaung monastery from Taungdwin (1724–ca.1763) portrayed monastic literary fame in the following terms:

> . . . [The author of the poem] has called himself "celebrated" because he was learned in all literary works such as root texts, commentaries and subcommentaries of the three *piṭaka*s, [he also mastered works such as] *On*

[13] Though the Burmese name *Bṛhaj* for Varahamihira's work is unspecific, available *nissaya*s by Kavinda and Nyanabhivamsa make it clear that the text in question was *Bṛhaj Jātaka*, not *Bṛhaj Saṃhitā*. *Bṛhaj-niss*, manuscript MG–UPGT 094 (copied 1828); Nyanabhivamsa 1908.

[14] Min Thuwun 1955: 100–10. On the *Sun King*, see Pingree 1981: 338.

> *Metrical Composition* (*Vuttodaya*), *Lucid Poetics*, [Kaccayana's] grammar, *Explanations* [*on Kaccayāna*] (*Nyāsa*), the *Guide* (*Netti*), the *Lamp of Words*, Moggalāna's [grammar], *Morphological Analysis of Kaccayāna* (*Kaccayānaviggaha*), the decisions of Ṅa Mvai and Ṅa Kyvai, two handbooks on the *Compendium of Abhidhamma* (*Puiṅ toṅ* and *Min toṅ*), the *Adornment*, the *Kātantra*, the *Extended Commentary*, the *Mirror*, the *Great Birth*, and the *Sun King*.
>
> In making this statement [about his being celebrated], the author wanted to explain that the king's aunt wouldn't sponsor an average monk and, instead, selected and patronized a special person capable of promoting the *sāsana* [i.e., the Buddha's teaching]. He also wanted to encourage other monks to excel in scriptural studies by bringing to their attention the fact that he himself had gained royal veneration and received a monastery from the king's aunt through his effort in study and his achievements in learning, so that they should attempt to emulate him. In such a way, he hoped to help the *sāsana* flourish.[15]

It is worth noting that the commentator himself presided over a monastery sponsored by the headman of an important provincial town. As such, his argument for the utility of erudite learning and his outline of the corpus of works that a successful monastic scholar from Upper Burma was expected to master might well have reflected his own curricular experience and claims to recognition. In this particular example, the curriculum for which the *Mirror* was integral, is again presented without clear binary division. Both the words of the Buddha, on the one hand, and the works on grammar, poetics, and astrology, on the other, are presented as a form of Buddhist scriptural learning (*pariyatti*) and as an instrument to promote the *sāsana*. At the same time, the order in which the titles are listed reflects their relative authority and position in the overall topography of the literature. Dandin occupies a relatively low position, but what matters to us, here, is that the work is listed.

The quoted passage by the abbot of the Minkyaung monastery evinces that, at least since the seventeenth century, and possibly earlier, a select corpus of Sanskrit titles had become integral to Burma's monastic curriculum. Praise of the learning of prominent monks from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries corroborates this evidence. For instance, an inscription commemorating Taungdwin Sayadaw Nyanalankara (ca. 1725–1762), a prolific and influential author who received a monastery from King Naungdawgyi (r. 1760–1763), extols his memorization of the *tipiṭaka* in its entirety (*sabbatipiṭakadhara*), and praises his proficiency in many other fields, including Pali grammar, metrics, poetics,

[15] Kandaw Minkyaung Sayadaw 1959: 6–7. *Toṅ tvanḥ maṅḥ kyoṅḥ charā tau aphre*, manuscript NU–HPT–HK 010.2 (copied 1882), f. kī r.

lexicography, and, indeed, in "the outside treatises" (*bāhirasatthesu*), including Dandin's *Mirror*.[16]

The *Mirror* was likewise invoked to demonstrate the scholarly credentials of Otkyaung Sayadaw Punnyaramsi (ca. 1778–1830), a recipient of the chief queen's monastery during the reign of King Hpagyidaw (r. 1819–1837). Punnyaramsi was lauded as "well-versed in the entire sequence of canonical texts, the accompanying commentaries, and all sorts of subcommentaries and minor texts . . . as well as capable of easily comprehending Sanskrit writings in Bengali, Nagari, and Devanagari script arriving from extraordinary places and foreign countries, worldly works on medicine, astrology, metrics, poetic ornamentation, the *Adornment*, the *Mirror*, the *Extended Commentary*, the *Kātantra*, the *Great Birth*, the *Sun King*, and [other] special texts."[17]

Such lists of titles were not necessarily factual or accurate, conveying rather the ideals of learning and the favored understanding of the literary and religious canons of the time. Sometimes they were provided retrospectively by obituarists and chroniclers, for example, in ca. 1831 a single mention of a fourteenth-century monk's command of the auxiliaries to the canon (*ganthantara*) in an earlier chronicle was sufficient enough to instantly credit him with expertise in such subfields as prosody, poetics, grammar, the *Kātantra*, the *Adornment*, Dandin, and astrology in three historiographic revisions that were produced in that year.[18]

In short, the study of Dandin's *Mirror* became a clear sign of erudition among Burmese monks and literati from at least the seventeenth century onward. Indeed, they occasionally demonstrated their erudition by reusing or paraphrasing the text. For example, Hsonda Nandamala (ca. 1718–1784) begins his *Law Book of the Original Manu* (*Manu raṅḥ dhammasat*, ca. 1770), a Buddhist legal text, with a Palicized citation of the first stanza of Dandin's *Mirror*, an appeal to Sarasvati. In his vernacular gloss he explains that the deity, here treated as a Buddhist goddess, symbolizes the *tipiṭaka*.[19] It is noteworthy that Nandamala does not mention the original source of the verse and, perhaps, expects his readers to be familiar with it.

All monks known to study these works also studied the two classical Pali treatises by Sangharakkhita, namely the *Lucid Poetics* and *On Metrical*

[16] Hpo Thein 1930: I.462.

[17] Subodha-nissaya, manuscript FPL 1125.2 (copied 1907), f. ḍa r & v.

[18] *Mhan nanḥ* I.377; Ariyavamsa Adiccaramsi 2013: I.245; Nyanabhivamsa 1956: 126.

[19] Lammerts 2018: 227 n15. This connection between Sūrassatī (= Sarasvati) and the *tipiṭaka* is well attested in Burmese literature that invokes the goddess, and it is possibly indebted to the equation of her with the Buddha-dhamma found in the commentary on the *Lucid Poetics* (Subodh-pṭ 2, 16 ff). Note that this identification is not universally attested in the Burmese glosses on the *Mirror* itself: at least some of them remain very close to Dandin's imagery of Sarasvati as a female goose nesting in the lotus bed of Brahma's four faces (e.g., UCL 9530, f.tū.v, copied in 1862).

*Composition*, roughly in parallel, or, at the very least, the latter of these.[20] It thus seems that a thorough immersion in the above-mentioned list of Sanskrit texts distinguished the more advanced students. Indeed, a royal order dating to 1785 confirms that this was an elite curricular practice. It includes the *Kātantra*'s first section (dealing with sandhi) and the *Adornment*'s first chapter in the syllabus of the *pathama-byan* examinations, scriptural exams aimed at the selection of candidates for court-sponsored ordinations as novices and monks. The excerpt from the *Kātantra* was the last component that candidates for monastic ordination with "average abilities" had to master, while candidates displaying "outstanding abilities" were examined on the *Adornment* as well.[21]

The *Mirror*'s important place in the monastic syllabus and in the monks' self-presentation indicates that it transcended the restrictions imposed on other Sanskrit treatises by virtue of their ostensibly extra-canonical, non-*tipiṭaka* status. Its position vis-à-vis this divide becomes clearer when we examine its prominence in the persistent attempts to define and delimit the canon. As in other Buddhist traditions across Asia, Burmese royalty and court officials sponsored new sets of copies of the Buddhist canon for donation in merit-making rituals. Such large-scale donations created a need for establishing boundaries for the *tipiṭaka*. This was one of the main functions of the "bibliographies of the canon" (Bur. *piṭakat samuiṅḥ*; Pali: *ganthavaṃsa*), a large corpus of catalogues usually written by monks in response to a request by a king or another wealthy donor to identify relevant texts or as inventories of existing manuscript collections.[22]

Alhough a number of Pali commentaries take the distinction between *tipiṭaka* and *vedaṅga* for granted, drawing it in practice posed a conceptual challenge for Burmese literati. While other texts fit well into these categories, the group including the *Mirror*, the *Adornment*, *Kātantra*, and several legal treatises known as *dhammasattha* defied easy definition, effectively occupying a middle ground between the canonical and the so-called worldly literature. Moreover, drawing on both *tipiṭaka* and *vedaṅga* titles was not only typical of curricula but also of some scriptural catalogues, where recurring inroads into *vedaṅga* territory were made in preparation for the court-sponsored copying and donation of manuscripts.

The perceptions and trajectories of the different genres in this liminal category varied over time, and while *dhammasattha* texts were decisively deprived of canonical status in the eighteenth century, the *Mirror* and several other Sanskrit

[20] *Lucid Poetics* (*Subodhālaṅkāra*) and *On Metrical Composition* (*Vuttodaya*) remain the components of government-prescribed curriculum for monastic examinations in contemporary Burma as well.

[21] Than Tun, ed. 1986: IV.449.

[22] For a more detailed discussion of such Burmese bibliographies, see Lammerts 2018: 175, 137–42, 145–46 and Kirichenko forthcoming b.

works managed to establish a more lasting presence as a part of the *tipiṭaka* in Burma.[23] True, the majority of *tipiṭaka* catalogues were quite restrictive in excluding the *Mirror* and the *Adornment*, yet voices of dissent and evidence of an ongoing debate are found consistently. For instance, the earliest known example of such a bibliography, possibly written in the sixteenth century, lists 160 texts and occasionally even cites their opening lines, closely following the arrangement of the aforementioned 1442 inscription.[24] Dandin himself is not mentioned, although the bibliography names several affiliated Sanskrit works, including a Burmese gloss (*nissaya*) and commentary on the *Adornment*, sutras extracted from the *Kātantra* grammar, the *Extended Commentary* along with a subcommentary, as well as the *Sun King*, and two medical texts. A well-known bibliography (*ganthavaṃsa*) attributed to Nandapanna and likely dating to the late sixteenth or seventeenth century makes a similar revision of scriptural boundaries and extends the canon by including Pali commentaries on Dandin, the *Adornment*, the *Extended Commentary*, and what appear to be Sanskrit commentaries on the *Sambandhopadeśa*, a work on syntax (known in Burma as *Caṅgadāsa*) and on a work called *Mathematics of the Sphere*.[25] Likewise, in November 1831, an inventory of what appears to be a recently recopied set of the *tipiṭaka* compiled by an otherwise unknown editor of royal manuscripts hailing from the Gaban-ni monastery, a long-established institution in Ava, includes the *Mirror* as well as the *Adornment* with its subcommentary within the "miscellanea" category of the canon that features also historiographical, narrative, cosmological, liturgical, learned works in Pali, and an exhaustive Pali bibliography on poetics.[26]

By contrast, the earliest bibliography mentioned above also repeatedly states that "worldly (*lokī*) [works on] metrics, poetic ornamentation, lexicon, and grammar belong exclusively under *vedaṅga*." The argument that "worldly works on metrics, poetic ornamentation, and grammar belong to the three Vedas" is also found in a range of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Burmese commentarial and polemical works that ultimately relied on the definitions of literary genres provided in such influential Pali texts as Buddhaghosa's commentary on the

[23] For a relevant discussion of the relationship between canonical and extra-canonical Pali literature in precolonial Burma, see Lammerts 2013 and 2018. For a discussion of various definitions of Brahminical knowledge and *vedāṅga* genres in Burmese manuscript bibliographies and bilingual commentaries on Pali texts (*nissaya*), see Kirichenko forthcoming a.

[24] *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ*, manuscript RCAMM 1297.1 (copied 1783), ff. ka–khā.

[25] Minayeff 1886: 63, 73–75. This text gives Chaturangabala mentioned above as the author of the *Daṇḍīṭīkā* and Vepullabuddhi as the author of *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍanaṭīkā*. For *Caṅgadāsa* and its one known commentary, see Liebich 1895: 324–25 and Verhagen 1994: 62–63.

[26] *Piṭakat suṃ puṃ pāḷi tau*, manuscript MW–ZTW 059 (copied 1831), openings *ke* and *kai*. In neighboring central Siam, too, an iconographic depiction of the texts comprising the *tipiṭaka* in mural registers at Wat Thongnopphakhun (Thonburi), dated to the mid-nineteenth century, appears to include both Sanskrit and Pali versions of *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana* (*bidakadha, bidakasakaṭa*) as part of the extended Buddhist canon. Santi 2019: §4.27, §4.55.

*Discourse about Ambattha* and the twelfth-century lexicon called the *Lamp of Words*.[27]

An analogous argument that casts the spotlight directly on Dandin and his close companions is found in a bibliography composed in 1681 by the influential monk Uttamasikkha (d. after 1714). After detailing the contents of the canon as instantiated in a grand royal collection placed in Sagaing in the 1640s, Uttamasikkha lashes out at the *Mirror*, the *Adornment*, and *Kātantra* alongside some astrological texts, Pali works as the *Worldly Wisdom* (*Lokanīti*), and legal *dhammasattha*s. These, he says, are "external treatises (*bāhira*) that might pose a danger (*antarāy*) to the path, fruition, and nirvana."[28] The range of titles indicates that Uttamasikkha is concerned with the general category of *vedaṅga*; his polemic is not directed against these works as such, but rather against their common reception as canonical.

The persistence of the argument against "worldly sciences" is indicative of the continued study and promotion of the *Mirror* and similar titles. The criticism comes from Buddhist circles that favored narrowly "orthodox" and literalist definitions of beneficial learning. Attempts to restrict the canon and redraw the boundaries between Sanskrit-affiliated scholastic treatises (*śāstra*) and the *tipiṭaka* are documented in some detail across a range of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Burmese debates. Interestingly, however, these did not lead to a dismissal of Sanskrit learning, but rather to innovative modes of accommodating it within Buddhist frameworks. Moreover, the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth centuries saw an increased effort to acquire and incorporate Sanskrit scholastic treatises as well as a few other forms of "foreign" learning.

Perhaps the most zealous royal patron of Sanskrit literature in Burmese history, or at least the best documented, was King Badon (r. 1782–1819). Badon organized several missions to India to obtain Sanskrit texts that were vaguely known in Burma but were thought to have disappeared. These missions were led by Brahmins from Bengal who were supported by the Burmese court, and in at least one instance the expedition was provided with a bibliographical wish list. In 1785, the largest of these shipments brought back to Amarapura near Mandalay, then the Burmese capital, 170 Sanskrit texts whose titles have all come down to us: sixty-six works on Sanskrit grammar, forty-five astronomical texts, twenty-two titles in logic, eight in poetics, one treatise on metrics, six Sanskrit lexicons, seven histories or epics (*itihāsa*), one on worldly wisdom or policy (*nīti*), eight on law (*dharmaśāstra*), and six on medicine. The *Mirror* does not appear in the

[27] For instance, Sp-niss, 106.24–108.11, also manuscript FPL 128 (copied 1778), ff. ṅu[v] – ṅū[r]. *Discourse about Ambattha* = *Ambaṭṭha Sutta, Dīgha Nikāya* I, 3. D-a E[e] I 247; for the example in the *Lamp of Words*, see Abh B[e] 1.108–13.

[28] Uttamasikkhā, *Piṭakat samuiṅḥ*, manuscript MORA 10285 (copied 1872), f. cu[r].

extant records of any of Badon's shipments, presumably because copies of the text were already available at the court.

The newly imported texts were subsequently transliterated into Burmese script by a team of Brahmins, probably under the direction of the Burmese monk Nyanabhivamsa (ca. 1753–1833), who himself wrote Burmese commentaries on some lexicons and astral treatises. In 1786, he described the significance of the imported materials in an epistle to Badon that recalls Aggavamsa's discourse on the flawlessness of the Buddha's speech (see section 7.3):

> The omniscient Buddha accomplished the perfections of virtue over four incalculable universal cycles and one hundred thousand world cycles. During this time, the faultless worldly sciences (*anavajja-loka-sippa*) were known to him, and by attaining moral perfection conducive to the benefit of the world, he achieved omniscience and became lord of the three worlds [ . . . ].
>
> As is said in scripture: "even here [in the teaching of the Dhamma] there is the intention to these faultless sciences."[29] The faultless sciences that conform to Buddhist scripture are included in the righteous teaching of the Dhamma. Therefore, for the sake of fostering the teaching of the Dhamma, the following [Sanskrit] treatises were imported from Navadipa, a settlement subordinate to Baranasi, the capital city of the country of Kasika in Majjhimadesa. They comprise the ornament of the world and were written by the ten ancient Brahmin sages: Atthaka, Vamaka, Vamadeva, Angirasa, Bhagu, Yamadaggi, Vasittha, Bharadvaja, Kassapa, and Vesamitta.[30]

In this account, Nyanabhivamsa ascribes the imported Sanskrit texts to the ten ancient Brahmin seers known from the *Discourse about Ambattha* and elsewhere in Pali literature as the compilers of the Vedic mantras and the sixfold ancillary sciences of the Veda (*vedāṅga*, *chaḷaṅga*). Like earlier Burmese monastic authorities, he invokes these figures not only to highlight the Brahminical origins of these branches of knowledge, but also to provide scriptural justification for their being "faultless" (*anavajja*). Moreover, he stresses that these faultless sciences were part of the knowledge amassed by the Buddha, that they are sanctioned by the "teaching of the Dhamma," and that, hence, his patronage of them is a form of supporting and propagating the Dhamma.

Elsewhere, Nyanabhivamsa defends the role of poets, the importance of poetry, and the need to study *keṭubha*, an opaque term that is glossed by Burmese commentators as "the auxiliary science for poets":[31]

[29] *niravajjavijjādi-upadissanacetanā pi etth' eva saṅgahaṃ gacchati* = *Abhidhammatthavibhāvinī* v. 65.

[30] Nyanabhivamsa 1962: 172. See also Lammerts 2018: 153.

[31] PED s.v. *keṭubha*. D-a E$^{e}$ I 247. Subhuti (1938: 18) translates *keṭubha* in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* §112 as "poetical fiction."

> The auxiliary science for poets consists of works that aid the four kinds of poets to reach the status of a poet, to attain material welfare, and so on. But what does it refer to? It refers to various treatises on poetry, such as the *Ornament of Literature* (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*), the *Song [of the Lord]* (*Gītā*), the *Lucid Poetics*, etc.[32]

Here Nyanabhivamsa places Bhamaha's *Ornament of Literature* on the same level as the Pali *Lucid Poetics*.[33] Moreover, he goes on to assert that Sanskrit scholastic works can help propagate and preserve Buddhist scripture.

Nyanabhivamsa's epistles represent a larger change in the status of Sanskrit learning. Burmese thinkers of the time were moving away from defining the Indic sciences as "outside" works and began to openly recognize their potential usefulness for Buddhist textual studies (*pariyatti*). Indeed, Nyanabhivamsa argues strongly in favor of the Buddhist appropriation of Sanskrit scholastic disciplines, and similar arguments are echoed throughout the nineteenth century. According to this approach, works like the *Mirror* were promoted to the rank of auxiliary texts, thereby encouraging curators of manuscript collections to revisit their cataloguing practices and expand the corpus recommended for royal patronage. Thus, if earlier royally sponsored sets of extended *tipiṭaka* usually featured some 230 titles, the number jumped to at least 380 by the late eighteenth century, with new titles covering a range of lesser known Pali commentarial and grammar expositions, several recent Burmese contributions, and a few Sanskrit works, many of which were simply labeled "auxiliary" or "miscellaneous," without following traditional distinctions of genre. This simplified cataloguing structure eventually facilitated new additions to the canon.

An example of this new definition of the canon is found in the writings of Ariyavamsa Adiccaramsi (1766–1834), a prolific early nineteenth-century author. His *Illuminating Eye of All-around Knowledge* (*Samantacakkhudīpanī*), a collection of epistles and responsa that he wrote between 1808 and 1811, directly addresses the issue of canonicity. After enumerating the canonical texts of the five *nikāya*s in the *Sutta piṭaka*, together with their commentaries and subcommentaries, Ariyavamsa

[32] Sv-nṭ Be II 221: *kavīnaṃ upakārāvahaṃ satthan ti, catunnam pi kavīnaṃ kavibhāvasampadābhogasampadādipayojanavasena upakārāvaho gantho ti attho. ko pan' eso ti. kabyabandhanavidhividhāyako kabyālaṅkāragītāsubodhālaṅkārādi*. Cf. A II 230: *cattāro 'me bhikkhave kavī. katame cattāro. cintākavi, sutakavi, atthakavi, paṭibhānakavi.* "Bhikkhus, there are these four kinds of poets. What four? The reflective poet, the narrative poet, the didactic poet, and the inspirational poet. These are the four kinds of poets." Trans. Bodhi 2012: 601.

[33] A collection of Nyanabhivamsa's epistles assembled at some point in the early nineteenth century suggests that he tended to see Pali and Sanskrit titles as complementing each other in specific contexts from the very beginning of his career at the court. For example, an epistle from 1783 concerning the choice of a coronation title for King Badon invoked the *Mirror* and the *Cluster of Meter Flowers* to discuss figurative and metrical qualities that may be factored in when choosing this title. In this discussion, the *Mirror* was referred to as a Sanskrit peer of the *Lucid Poetics*, while the *Cluster* appeared as a match to *On Metrical Composition*. Nyanabhivamsa 1962: 18–19.

Adiccaramsi moves to texts that are "extremely helpful for the [Buddha's] teaching" (*atisāsanass' opakāra kyamḥ*).[34] The latter included all major Pali works on grammar, hermeneutics, poetics, and lexicography, as well as a range of by now familiar Sanskrit texts from a similar set of disciplines, where we find the *Adornment* with its commentary and Dandin's *Mirror*. Perhaps significantly, the latter are listed not with the other Sanskrit works in the "helpful" group, but instead are sandwiched between different parts of the Pali repertoire.

Ariyavamsa Adiccaramsi concludes his description of the *tipiṭaka* with a lengthy discussion of the relationship between the canon and "auxiliary" works:

> These and other major and minor treatises are extremely helpful to the teaching of the Buddha (*atisāsanass' opakāra*). The sun, moon, and heavenly constellations allow the sentient beings to see places and differentiate between day and night. In a similar way, [these works] provide wisdom and enable one to experience the supramundane journey of the path, fruition, and liberation (*nibbāna*), as well as to observe the emergence and the dissolution [of all conditioned things] like the day and night [go]. Himalaya, king of mountains, has eighty-four thousand peaks of pure stone that no one can level down and destroy. In a similar way, scriptural knowledge (*pariyatti*) [comprised of] the *tipiṭaka* that has eighty-four thousand methods and units of the Dhamma, as well as of the auxiliaries [of *tipiṭaka*], is the great mountain that no man or deity is capable of leveling down and destroying. When the methods and content of various auxiliaries (*ganthantara*) that are like small surrounding mountain ranges are identical with those of the *tipiṭaka* that is like the great mountain peak, they should be accepted. Whenever such texts disagree in one way or another with other works [belonging to the category of auxiliaries] or with the commentaries to the divisions of the canon, [such variations] should be investigated and rejected.[35]

The keen interest in selected Sanskrit works (and foreign knowledge more broadly) among several monastic and lay literati of the Konbaung dynastic era cannot, however, completely alter more restrictive general trends in Burmese literary culture. Texts imported from Arakan, Bengal, and Assam between the

[34] The Pali *atisāsanass' opakāra-* could also mean "helpful for what is beyond the Teachings [of the Buddha]," but that is not what the context wants us to read. Probably the correct form in Pali is *atisāsanasopakāra* (= *ati-sāsana-sa-upakāra*), with one "s" being one single compound.

[35] Ariyavamsa Adiccaramsi 1985: 696. It is worth noting that Ariyavamsa Adiccaramsi's enthusiasm for Sanskrit texts and minor Pali treatises is not entirely unreserved. In the same collection of responsa, he demonstrates a clear hierarchy of textual authority and partisan Buddhist attitudes, e.g., by drawing a contrast between the *tipitaka*, on the one hand, and auxiliary works, Pali texts that lack authority, and "worldly treatises" in Sanskrit, on the other. Ariyavamsa Adiccaramsi 1985: 141–42, 619–20, 622–29, 693–701.

1780s and the 1820s enjoyed varying degrees of favorable reception, and even those works that had already established a presence in Burma or that were translated into Burmese soon after being imported did not necessarily gain wide circulation. Based on the way its transmission is reflected in related sources, the *Mirror* appears not to have benefited from the greater Burmese enthusiasm for Sanskrit in the nineteenth century. Below we briefly outline the available evidence on the trajectories of Dandin's circulation in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Pali scholarship.

Seen from a long-term perspective and judged on the basis of the range of titles mentioned in bibliographies and literary works, the transmission of Sanskrit texts in Burma was in decline at least since the sixteenth century. Even recopying these works posed a significant challenge, because very few novices and professional lay scribes were capable of producing satisfactory copies.[36] Moreover, the transmission of a few Sanskrit titles devoid of a larger corpus of supplementary materials was a daunting task. At least since the late fifteenth century, Pali scholarship in Upper Burma was critically dependent on the proliferation of a whole industry of commentaries, bilingual glosses, digests, and, ultimately, vernacular adaptations and versified memorization tools, all of which facilitated access to such texts and their wider curricular spread across both urban and rural landscapes.[37] The evidence for the presence of such tools for approaching Sanskrit texts is patchy, with more resources found rather earlier than later. For instance, the commentaries on the *Mirror* listed in the aforementioned 1442 inscription and in the seventeenth-century inventory seem to disappear later on, with neither trace nor substitutes. Apart from one or two bilingual glosses, the transmission of the *Mirror* from the eighteenth century to the early twentieth thus seems to occur largely in isolation.

The diminishing availability of materials that facilitated access to Sanskrit treatises, coupled with the corruption of the surviving texts through imperfect recopying, created a vicious cycle. As a result, certain points and terminology in earlier texts became at least partly illegible, meaning that local scribes between the seventeenth and the nineteenth centuries struggled with a whole range of issues. Dandin and the *Adornment* still remained important resources that were occasionally employed to help with some of these lexical conundrums and other questions of interpretation. However, as the enterprise of Sanskrit poetics ranked rather low among the priorities of local Buddhist scholarship (see also the following section), the main focus of newly imported or reimported Sanskrit titles

[36] In this context, Palicization was a technique that essentially simplified and facilitated reproduction, first in manuscripts and later in print.

[37] Kirichenko 2015.

after the 1780s was not in the fields of poetic ornamentation, prosody, or literary theory writ large, but rather in lexicography, astral sciences, and medicine.

In this context, the aforementioned absence of the *Mirror* and the *Adornment* from the shipments from Bengal, their greater degree of integration into the Buddhist canon, and the existence of Pali corollaries such as the *Lucid Poetics* and its commentaries, as well as the *Eloquent Ornaments* (*Vicittālaṅkāra*) and the *Diamond of the Essential Meaning* (*Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*),[38] could have partly deprived Dandin and Dharmadasa of their earlier luster as signature *vedaṅga* works. Paradoxically, its earlier nominal acceptance could have made the *Mirror* redundant for later nineteenth-century scholars, except for very few literature enthusiasts. In short, the actual use and frequency of manuscript recopying of the *Mirror* had arguably dropped significantly, and by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the work was almost virtually unknown, even to learned authors interested in the subject of poetry.[39]

Furthermore, a preliminary examination of Burmese exegetical glosses (*nissaya*) from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries suggests that, despite the *Mirror*'s signature status, scholiasts were finding it difficult to recognize citations from it, when these came up in a text. Likewise, points made by Dandin required considerable explanation, his position in the field of poetics was not well understood, and even the title itself was occasionally confused by the authors of glosses and routinely misspelled by the scribes copying manuscripts for village monasteries.[40]

Our final example from the early twentieth century is provided by the work of U Tin (1861–1933), a scholar and literatus who served at the Burmese court from ca. 1877 to 1885. U Tin used the *Mirror* in an update to his *Essence of Poetic Composition* (*Kābyabandhasāra*),[41] in which he presents the *Mirror* under a different title, the *Limbs of Poetry* (*Kāvya aṅgā*) "composed by Śrī Daṇḍī

[38] Schnake 2018.

[39] The presence of manuscripts of the *Mirror* in a few libraries in Yangon at present should not be seen as the evidence of wide circulation, as these archives were built on selective appropriation from hundreds of monastic collections. In 1914, the British colonial administration published an index of manuscripts surveyed in Burma, including more than 2,200 multiple-text bundles containing what was counted as almost 10,000 different titles (cf. Pye 1914). These include only one monolingual copy of the *Mirror* in Sanskrit and two of its bilingual gloss. The picture suggested by other surveys and catalogues of the period is similar. For more details see Kirichenko forthcoming a.

[40] An example is Cakkinda's (1787–1842) gloss on the *Rule of Sound*, where, for example, he seems uncertain of the status of the text and finds it necessary to provide a translation of the title: *kabyādasse ca | kabyādassa kyamḥ n* laññḥ vā paññā rhi kre muṃ n* laññḥ* || Sadd-niss, manuscripts FPL 1535 (dated 1874), f. bhe$^{v}$; UBhT 723 (dated 1896), f. va$^{r\,\&\,v}$; UBhT 643 (dated 1930), f. bhū$^{r}$. Likewise, in copies of both the Pali text of the *Rule* and in the *nissaya*, the title of the *Mirror* was systematically misspelled as *Kābyādāsa* or *Kabyādāsa* instead of *Kābyādassa*. Sadd, manuscripts HL–NKB 158 (dated ca. 1780), f. ḍhāḥ$^{v}$; UBhT 711 (dated 1895), f. ṭi$^{v}$.

[41] The original edition of the *Essence* was first published in 1909, and by 1929 U Tin had collated a supplement that expanded the original text to almost twofold.

and transcribed from Sanskrit into Burmese using the method for copying the *Kātantra*."[42] His description of the manuscript, as well as a few quotes from it, makes it clear that U Tin was using a Burmese gloss (*nissaya*) rather than the Sanskrit original. Reflecting a long-standing subordination of the *Mirror* and similar works to Pali manuals, U Tin also states that the contents of Dandin are in accordance with "the methods of poetic ornamentation and metrical composition of the language of Magadha."[43] Although U Tin describes the full scope of the *Mirror* in his presentation, it was by and large irrelevant for him, as his discussion of genres, poetic qualities, ornamentation, meter, and flaws is fully dependent on Pali and Burmese scholarship. For him, the *Mirror* was likely an isolated relic of Sanskrit literary theory, rather than a well-known and respected classic, part of a cumulative tradition.

To conclude, the presence of Sanskrit literature in premodern and modern Burma stimulated commentary and debate. The authority and purpose of such materials relative to the Pali corpus were never entirely self-evident, and works in Sanskrit were perceived as occupying a different status. Treatises such as the *Mirror* and the *Adornment* were occasionally classified as *vedaṅga* or "outside" knowledge, but they were continuously deployed for various purposes and, occasionally, were even granted canonical status as *tipiṭaka* "insiders." Presumably anticipating (or actually encountering) resistance, we have seen many authors argue in favor of the inclusion of these and related works in copying missions, manuscript libraries, and in the monastic curriculum. Arguments in their favor were quite varied and included anything from the citation of Jataka tales, wherein the Buddha-to-be was involved in the study of texts perceived as "Vedic," "Brahminical," and Sanskrit-related (see section 7.3 below), to defining them as mundane sciences that conformed with and even supported the supramundane discourse of the Buddha. In short, the boundaries of properly "Buddhist" literature could be extended to recruit, however uneasily, works such as the *Mirror* and the *Adornment*.

At the same time, once recruited for the benefit of learning, the trajectory of the *Mirror* and the *Adornment* in Burmese intellectual culture remained tied to the general dynamics of the reception of Sanskrit materials. While exceptionally erudite authors, such as Aggavamsa and Ariyavamsa Dhammasenapati (on whom, again, see section 7.3) in the earlier period, or Nyanabhivamsa and Ariyavamsa Adiccaramsi in the later, were probably capable of utilizing the *Mirror* to a greater degree of its potential, for many others familiar with Dandin, either directly or through intermediaries, its utility remained relatively constrained. And yet,

[42] Tin 1969: 314 and 386.
[43] Tin 1969: 314.

though direct appropriations from Dandin might seem fairly limited on the scale of Burmese literary theory and local textual circulation, this should not obscure an indirect and less obvious significance that such works as the *Mirror* must have had in sustaining Burmese interest in Sanskrit learning and, perhaps, even more broadly in texts of foreign provenance. The *Mirror* and its many semi-canonical and extra-canonical companions served as a constant reminder that "outside" knowledge forms a valid and important complement to the *tipiṭaka*. For even when the actual presence of Dandin began to dwindle in the nineteenth century, it retained its position as a Sanskrit classic in the constellation of Buddhist canonical literature, like a dead star whose light still helps sailors find their way. This was mostly possible due to the unchallenged authority of Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics*. Embedded in the *Lucid Poetics* and its commentaries, the *Mirror* had a second life in the Pali scholastic literature.

## 7.3. The Lotus-Mouth in the Ocean of Grammar: Dandin in the Pali Literature of Burma

*Aleix Ruiz-Falqués*

The previous section provides detailed evidence for the *Mirror*'s continued physical presence in nearly a millennium of Burmese manuscript acquisition, copying, and syllabi. But what place did it occupy in the literary practice of poets? This question is more difficult to answer. For one thing, Burmese literary production in Pali, the region's main vehicle for ornate literature in premodern times, is grossly understudied. For another, it is difficult to detect traces of Dandin's *Mirror* in the praxis, let alone ascertain whether they reflect direct knowledge of Dandin or are mediated through other texts. Below I offer a preliminary attempt, based on the examination of a rather small sample of key works from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. This sample provisionally indicates that Dandin was not unknown in Pali texts, but that his influence was rather marginal and, indeed, largely mediated through the Pali *Lucid Poetics* (*Subodhālaṅkāra*), a treatise that was more suitable for Theravada monastic education.

Let us begin by looking at Aggavamsa's twelfth-century *Rule of Sound*, one of the most influential Pali texts written in Southeast Asia. In this philological encyclopedia, Aggavamsa discusses some verses from the earliest portions of the Pali literature that are traditionally ascribed to the Buddha. These verses can certainly be labeled "literature" (*kāvya*), as they often employ metaphors, similes, apparent contradictions, and other ornaments. There is, however, one thing that, according to Aggavamsa, distinguishes the compositions of the Buddha from those of professional literati (*paṇḍita*s) and poets (*kavi*s), namely the Buddha's indifference toward the formal aspects of the verse:

> Indeed, the Buddha does not worry about prosody and rhythm, nor does he resort to strategies such as eliding sounds in order to improve the flow of the verse. Only someone who is fearful and lacks self-confidence will worry about such things, out of fear of being criticized when he is in the presence of other literati. The Buddha, however, is fully confident and fearless because there is nothing unsound in his teaching. Why should he worry, then, about prosody, rhythm, and verse flow on account of the opinion of others?[44]

But if the Buddha shows little care for such aspects, how is it that he occasionally produces such carefully constructed verses? Aggavamsa returns to this question later in his work:

> As we have said, unlike a professional author of ornate poems, the Buddha does not worry about prosody and rhythm. However, during his limitless time as the Bodhisatta, he mastered grammar and prosody for many hundreds of thousands of existences and came to possess a glorious lotus-mouth. This is why, as a result of past learning, the words of the Buddha sometimes follow prosody and rhythm, even as sometimes they do not. When they do, one can say that the Buddha observes prosody and rhythm, and when they do not, one may simply say that he does not. But the Buddha should not be perceived as someone anxious and fearful of the criticism of others.[45]

If the Buddha showed his way with words, this is because in his many prior births as a Bodhisatta (Skt. Bodhisattva) he has mastered the worldly sciences (see section 7.2 above), including the art of poetry; in displaying his poetic skill he is thus unlike ordinary literati, whose verbal pyrotechnics are apparently meant to mask their insecurities. Moreover, rhetorical skills reach perfection in the Buddha's "lotus-mouth." Just as the day lotus beautifully opens at sunrise, the mouth of the Buddha opens to speak the truth after the "sunrise" of enlightenment. In short, Aggavamsa is by no means indifferent to figuration and formal aspects

[44] Sadd 640f.: *na hi bhagavā chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhati nāpi sukhuccāraṇatthaṃ akkharalopādikaṃ karoti, yo hi sāsaṅko sabhayo, so aññesaṃ paṇḍitānaṃ saṅkhāya uppajjanakanindābhayena chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhati sukhuccāraṇatthañ ca akkharalopādikaṃ karoti; bhagavā pana nirāsaṅko nibbhayo, bhagavato pāvacane khalitaṃ n' atthi, so kathaṃ parappavādaṃ paṭicca chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhissati sukhuccāraṇatthañ ca akkharalopādikaṃ karissati*. See also Warder 1967: 67.

[45] Sadd 843, 5ff.: *chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhanto pi hi Bhagavā na kabbakārakādayo viya savyāpāratāvasena rakkhati, atha kho aparimitakāle anekesu jātisatasahassesu bodhisattakāle akkharasamayesu kataparicayavasena padāni nipphannān' eva hutvā sassirīkamukhapadumato niggacchanti, tesu kānici chandovuttīnaṃ rakkhaṇasadisenākārena pavattanti, kānici tathā na pavattanti: yāni rakkhaṇasadisenākārena pavattanti, tāni sandhāya Bhagavā chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhatī ti vattabbo, yāni tathā na pavattanti, tāni sandhāya Bhagavā chandañ ca vuttiñ ca na rakkhatī ti pi vattabbo, na hi Bhagavā paresaṃ codanāhetu sāsaṅko sappaṭibhayo, sāsaṅko yeva hi sappaṭibhayo chandañ ca vuttiñ ca rakkhatī ti daṭṭhabbaṃ.*

of language and even takes visible pride in the Buddha's mastery of them, but he remains ambivalent about such functions of language that, for him, are ancillary.

Like his peers Uttamasikha and Nyanabhivamsa (see section 7.2), Aggavamsa is familiar with Sanskrit works on poetics, but his primary resource is Sangharakkhita's Pali *Lucid Poetics*. Keeping Sanskrit authors like Dandin at bay reflects the sentiments expressed in Theravada aesthetic discourse. Indeed, the *Lucid Poetics* and its commentaries state that Sanskrit manuals are not entirely satisfactory, because "authors such as Ramasharma and others," presumably including Dandin, did not write in "pure Magadhi language,"[46] that is to say, pure Pali, and thus cannot provide much service to those who study the Buddhist scriptures. Sangharakkhita's unique Pali treatise on poetics seems to have filled this gap and to have provided a manual specific for Theravada Buddhists in a way that did not transgress its monastic moral etiquette.[47]

Given that the *Lucid Poetics* is partly based on the *Mirror* and its classical commentaries, Dandin's indirect influence on the Pali scholastic milieu is clearly demonstrable.[48] But to what extent did Burmese Pali authors treat the *Mirror* as an authoritative source of knowledge? And how did its indirect influence shape the Pali discourse in Burma? To answer these questions, let us turn to Ariyavamsa's fifteenth-century *Casket of Essential Jewels* (*Maṇisāramañjūsā*), one of the most famous Abhidhamma treatises in Burma and no doubt a paradigm of the Burmese Pali scholastic style.[49] It is in fact a commentary on the *Explanation of the Compendium* (*Vibhāvinī-ṭīkā*) of Sumangala, which is itself a learned scholium on the famous *Compendium of Abhidhamma* (*Abhidhammatthasaṅgaha*) of Anuruddha. Ariyavamsa refers to the *Lucid Poetics* not in the context of discussing ornate poetry, but rather to analyze a prose passage where the adverb "*hi*" ("indeed") seems ambiguous:[50]

> The particle "*hi*" illustrates, in brief, an elaboration of what was previously expressed. Some consider the word "*hi*" to illustrate a firm causality. Others believe that it is used in the sense of justification. Still others take it to indicate the presence of the ornament "citing another case." This last view is incorrect, because no "other case" is offered. [ . . . ] For the word "*hi*" can only introduce a supporting statement, when a statement regarding a different matter is provided before, as stated in the *Lucid Poetics*:

[46] *Subodh* 2.

[47] See Gornall and Henry 2017; and Gornall 2020: 152.

[48] For the relationship between the *Lucid Poetics* and the *Mirror* with its commentators, see Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.5 in this volume.

[49] Ariyavamsa lived in fifteenth-century Sagaing, a city of the Ava (Inwa) kingdom, south of present-day Mandalay, cf. Bode 1909: 41. He is best known for the *Casket*, but he also made a very important contribution to Burmese literature by writing one of the earliest extant Burmese prose treatises on Pali, namely the *Editorial Notes on the Jataka* (*Jātakavisodhana*). In this commentary he also quotes the *Subodha* and the Subodh-ṭ, e.g., *Jātakavisodhana* $2,_{7-8}$.

[50] The English translators of the *Explanation* did not translate this passage; see Wijeratne and Gethin 2002: 2.

> "Citing another case" is defined as providing a means for understanding a previous statement. The additional case can have a specific or a general meaning. It can also be divided into two types, depending on whether or not it is explicitly marked by the adverb "*hi*."
>
> The authors of scholarly treatises, too, expect that in such cases the word "*hi*" will express an illustration, being an elaboration of the sentence previously stated. This is the only interpretation the wise praise.[51]

In this passage, Ariyavamsa resorts to the authority of *Lucid Poetics* for textual interpretation in general, including the philosophical prose of the Abhidhamma with its occasional figuration. Through this, the discourse on poetics, Dandin included, is emancipated from the realm of "poetry" (*kāvya*), a realm that, as we have seen, bore negative connotations.

Another quotation from *Lucid Poetics* is found in a later passage that discusses aspects of conditionality, one of the central topics of the Theravada Buddhist doctrine.[52] Once again, Ariyavamsa glosses the adverb "*hi*" on the authority of Sangharakkhita, and this time he quotes not the definition of "citing another case" but a whole host of illustrations and their follow-up explanations:

> The following is an example of the ornament when the statement applies universally, without using the particle "indeed":
>
> Even those beings who are beneficial to the world,<br>even the sun and the moon,<br>see how they all decline!<br>Who can leap above necessity?
>
> The following is an example of the ornament when the statement applies universally, using the particle "indeed":
>
> Even the Master, teacher of humans and gods,<br>the overlord among the mystic sages,<br>he, too, had to pass away.<br>Indeed, all formations are impermanent.

[51] Maṇis I 36, 5ff.: *hī ti nipāto sakaṭṭhānassa saṅkhepena vuttatthassa papañcakabhāvaṃ joteti. hisaddo daḷhīkaraṇajotako ti keci. hisaddo samatthane ti apare. hisaddo atthantaranyāsajotako ti eke. sabbam idam ayuttaṃ.* [ . . . ] *vākyassa hi atthantaranyāsatte sati yeva hisaddo atthantaranyāsajotako nāma hoti. vuttañ hi subodhālaṅkāre: ñeyyo sv atthantaranyāso / yoññavākyatthasādhano,/sabbabyāpī visesaṭṭho /hivisiṭṭhassa bhedato ti.* [Subodh 239, cf. KĀ 2.169; Subodh-nṭ 236, 9: *ganthakārā ca īdise ṭhāne hisaddassa vākyassa pubbe vuttatthapapañcakabhāvajotakattam icchanti. viññū ca idam eva pasaṃsanti.* Interestingly, the classification based on whether or not the particle "*hi*" is used is likely based on Bhamaha, *cf.* BKA 2.73; 2.74. I thank Yigal Bronner for pointing this out to me.

[52] Maṇis on Abhidh-s-mhṭ 8.25, which is in turn a commentary upon Abhid-s 8.25.

The following is an example of the ornament without using the particle "indeed," referring to a specific group, namely, the morally fearless:[53]

The Conqueror leads the people
from the impenetrable ocean of rebirth
to complete peace.
Is this not a suitable destiny
for those who are morally fearless?

The following is an example of the ornament using the particle "indeed," referring to a specific group, such as the followers of someone having the nature of the Buddha:[54]

O Conqueror! The bud of your well colored lips
*colors/gladdens* the mind!
Indeed, when *you become colorful* / *overcome desire*,
all those coming along rejoice.

In this case, Ariyavamsa quotes all four examples of "citing another case" from the *Lucid Poetics*, the first of which is a direct translation from Dandin's *Mirror*,[55] in order to introduce its two variables: universal vs. specific, and the presence or absence of the adverb "indeed." The conclusion is that the passage from Sumangala's *Explanation of the Compendium* is an example of "citing another case," one that is specific and uses the adverbial particle. In addition to displaying his erudition, Ariyavamsa's long citation from the *Lucid Poetics* can be understood as a didactic move. He inserts a lesson on poetics into his Abhidhamma commentary, thereby bridging the gap between the two disciplines.

This practice exemplifies the notion, common among Theravada scholars, that manuals of poetics provide a basis for textual interpretation that is not confined to poetry, since "the same method of analysis should be applied everywhere."[56] The fact that the definition given by Sangharakkhita, and ultimately by Dandin, was not meant to elucidate prosaic scholastic passages seems irrelevant. Ariyavamsa not only relies on the theory of poetic figuration in his analysis of metaphysical texts, he also goes out of his way to incorporate a long passage from the former in the latter.

[53] I follow the commentary, cf. Subodh-pṭ 238, 10–11.
[54] I paraphrase the commentary, cf. Subodh-pṭ 239, 4–5; Maṇis II 340, 25ff. = Subodh 240–43: *hirahitasabbabyāpī*: 240. *te pi lokahitā sattā / sūriyo candimā api /atthaṃ passa gamissanti / niyamo kena laṅghyate // hisahitasabbabyāpī*: 241. *satthā devamanussānaṃ / vasī so pi munissaro /gato ʾva nibbutiṃ / sabbe saṅkhārā na hi sassatā. // hirahitavisesaṭṭha*: 242. *jino saṃsārakantārā / janaṃ pāpeti nibbutiṃ / nanu yuttā gati sā ʾyaṃ / vesārajjasamaṅginaṃ // hisahitavisesaṭṭha*: 243. *surattaṃ te ʾdharaphuṭaṃ / jina rañjeti mānasaṃ / sayaṃ rāgaparītā hi / pare rañjenti saṅgate //*.
[55] Cf. KĀ 2.170: Look at the sun and the moon, / the celestial eyes of the world. / Even they go all the way down. / Fate plays no favorites //. Trans. Bronner.
[56] This statement refers to the analysis of Subodh 1 quoted and analyzed in the commentary on Nagita Thera's *A Net of Meaning for the Essence of Language* (*Saddasāratthajālinī*), cf.

Ariyavamsa's familiarity with and penchant for poetics is also conspicuous in his short poems that frame each section of the *Casket*. Pali works are traditionally introduced and concluded with verses that are laden with poetic ornaments. These framing statements offer a rare opportunity for scholar-monks to display their creative skills.[57] Consider, for instance, the *Casket*'s opening verse:

> *santāsantā pi dhī yassa 'nantānantāvalambato /*
> *dayādayā pi taṃ buddhaṃ sutaṃ sutaṃ 'bhivandiya //.*[58]

> I pay my respect to that Buddha who is famous (*sutaṃ*) for being pure (*asutaṃ*), whose wisdom is infinite (*anantā*) on account of unlimited (*ananta*) knowledge, and who is calm (*santā*) and most compassionate (*dayā-dayā*).

The stanza combines the sound effects of "twinning" (*yamaka*) with the figure of "contradiction" (*virodha*; based on the apparent antithesis between pairs such as *sutam* and *asutam*). This particular "twinning" pattern is classified by the placement of contiguous phonetic "twins" in the beginning of each metrical quarter (*catukkappādādiyamakam ekarūpābyapetam*). Interestingly, this kind of "twinning" is not taught in the *Lucid Poetics* but in its commentaries. This species of "twinning" makes the verse "difficult" (*dukkaraṃ*) in Dandin's classification followed by Sangharakkhita.[59] Ariyavamsa used the same pattern at the end of his *Casket*, this time in a passage made of heavily ornate verses in the intricate meter called *saddharā* (Skt. *sragdharā*): "garlanded." This is an extremely rare form in Pali literature, found only in compositions such as the *Ornaments of the Conqueror* (*Jinālaṅkāra*).[60] The following translation of Ariyavamsa's final verses relies on a modern Burmese commentary, whose author, the Venerable Sayadaw U Pandicca, warns us that "these stanzas imitate the style of ancient times, and manuscripts present abundant variant readings":[61]

> He, the Snake/the Buddha (*nāgo*), is the most excellent (*nāgo*)
> of all sentient beings, the most capable—not the excellent Garuda.
> Among right and wrong paths (*magga-amagga-*),
> the highest (*aggā*) are those that become safe

*Saddasāratthajālinī-ṭīkā* 116, 14: *iminā nayena sabbattha vitthāretabbo*. For Nagita Thera, see Bode 1909: 27.

[57] Crosby 2004: 89.
[58] Maṇis I 1, 3–4. I have slightly edited the text.
[59] For the scholastic analysis of "twinning" in the Subodha literature, see Subodh-pṭ 50, 14ff. For "twinning" in Dandin, see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume.
[60] For this work and the use of such devices in Pali, see Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.7 in this volume.
[61] Pandicca 1997: 667. Especially the second stanza seems a riddle of difficult solution.

once innumerable dangers are destroyed.[62]
Indeed foolish are those who have not
purified the metal from its rust.

The truly delightful gain
is the one whose result (*āyaṃ*) is *wealth/happiness* (*āyaṃ*),
not the one that leads to *poverty/suffering*.
Garlands (*māla*) should not be considered garlands (*māla*),
only the garland (*māla*) of immortality deserves the name,
although it is simple
and it *is without artifice / is no garland* (*amālo*).[63]

The poor textual transmission indicates that such language was easily misunderstood. The difficulty may partly be related to Ariyavamsa's attempt to pack a "contradiction" (*virodha*) into this verse, possibly inspired by the *Lucid Poetics*:

Although a *leader of birds/lord* (*vināyaka*),
you are a *snake/great being* (*nāga*).
Although you are *most bovine/of the Gotama clan* (*gotamo*),
your wisdom is magnificent.
Although you are *delicious/sublime* (*paṇīta*),
you are devoid of any *taste/passion* (*rasa*).
Oh Lord, your way (*gati*)
appears to me as *manifold/extraordinary* (*cittā*).[64]

At first blush, as the commentator explains, the Buddha is identified with something belittling (a bird, a bovine being, the taste of food), but this identification is contradicted by the immediately following statement: a snake cannot be the king of birds, a person cannot be bovine and magnificent, one and the same thing cannot be delicious and tasteless. To resolve these contradictions, the mind turns to a second register of reading that the same phonetic string enables: it turns out that the Buddha is both a lord and a great being, a scion of Gotama and superbly

[62] Here I differ from U Pandicca's reading: *maggā maggā na maggā*. Ven. Pandicca's interpretation is that paths that are true to their name are not those routinely traveled but those that become safe once the dangers are driven away (Pandicca 1997: 667).

[63] Maṇis II 640, 5–8: *nāgo nāgo ca nā so migapatigaruḷo p' accusāro karo yo* [B$^{e2}$ *karāyo*] / *maggāmaggānam aggā dasasatatibhayā* [B$^{nis}$ *dasadasati*°] *nibbhayā vīhiteyyā* // *āyaṃ āyaṃ visajjaṃ na hi nighajanakaṃ sā sudhā sātaladdhā* / *mālo 'mālo ti mā kho amatamalamato* [B$^{e2}$ B$^{nis}$ °*mālamato unm*.] *mekapūlo* [B$^{nis}$ *ekapūlo*] *mamālo* [B$^{e2}$ B$^{nis}$ *amālo*] //. I have adjusted the readings according to the *nissaya*: Pandicca 1997: 667–68.

[64] Subodh 71: *vināyako pi nāgo 'si / gotamo pi mahāmati / paṇīto pi rasāpeto / cittā me sāmi te gati* //. Cf. KĀ 3.184, where Dandin explains how a contradiction can become a virtue.

wise, a sublime being who is beyond passion.[65] We can see clear traces of this verse from the *Lucid Poetics*, with its "twinning," playful contradictions, elements of riddle, and even specific vocabulary and images, in the framing verses of Ariyavamsa's *Casket*.

Note, however, that by employing "twinning" and "riddles" (*prahelikā*), Ariyavamsa may be nodding here not merely to the *Lucid Poetics* but also to its main source, Dandin's *Mirror*. After all, Dandin dealt with these phenomena at great length, whereas Sangharakkhita viewed them as defects and refused to elaborate on them, as it is made clear in the following verse:[66]

> Both "twinning," and "riddle" are not entirely sweet. I therefore leave them out so as not to overtire the students.[67]

By contrast, Ariyavamsa dubs his concluding verses: "both sweet (*madhura*) and obscure (*guḷha*)[68] in terms of sound and meaning."[69] In insisting that such difficult verses can be sweet, Ariyavamsa directly rejects the position of the *Lucid Poetics*, and it is clear that his rejoinder is partly based on commentaries on the *Lucid Poetics* itself and, through them, on Dandin's *Mirror*. As we will see in the following section, both the *Old Commentary* and the *New Commentary* on *Lucid Poetics* 33 quote Dandin's list of riddles in full, and in glossing them, the *New Commentary* uses the very words Ariyavamsa later employed: "sweet" and "of obscure meaning."[70]

In composing such verses, Ariyavamsa is by no means alone. Specimens of ornate poetry are scattered throughout the Pali literature of Southeast Asia: they form a genre of such devotional Buddhist short poems that frame scholastic works, and they draw massively on the *Lucid Poetics*. Consider, for instance, the first stanza of a well-known devotional poem, the *Homage* (*Namakkāra*), written in Burma, probably during the Pagan period:[71]

> *sugataṃ sugataṃ seṭṭhaṃ kusalaṃ kusalaṃ jahaṃ*
> *amataṃ amataṃ santaṃ asamam asamaṃ dadaṃ /*

[65] Subodh-ṭ 91, 25ff.

[66] For Dandin's notion of "difficult poetry" and his analysis of "twinning," see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume.

[67] Subodh 33: *yamakaṃ taṃ paheḷī ca / n' ekantamadhurāni ti / upekkhiyanti sabbāni / sissakhedabhayā mayā //*. The quote itself is reminiscent of Dandin's first mention of *yamaka* as *naikāntamadhuram* (KĀ 1.61). Still, Sangharakkhita comes back to discuss them at great length in his autocommentary (see Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.7 in this volume).

[68] The word *guḷha* literally means "hidden" "secret" (cf. DOP s.v. *gūhati*); in this context it also means "difficult," "profound," "impenetrable."

[69] Maṇis II 640, 9–10*: *mama madhurā guḷhasaddatthā gāthā 'yaṃ anusāsanī ti.*

[70] Subodh-pṭ 54, 4ff.; Subodh-nṭ 56, 26ff. The *New Commentary* even offers a Pali commentary on the verses of the *Mirror*. This Pali gloss follows very closely one entire section of the Sinhalese *Subodh-sanne*. Subodh-sanne 30, 29ff. Subodh-nṭ 56, 27–28.

[71] The author, date, and origin of this work are unknown, but it is believed, in Myanmar, that it was composed or compiled in the region (Revata 1956, i; I would like to thank Ven. Nyanasamilankara for

*saraṇaṃ saraṇaṃ lokaṃ araṇaṃ araṇaṃ karaṃ*
*abhayaṃ abhayaṃ ṭhānaṃ nāyakaṃ nāyakaṃ name / /*

> To the Buddha (*sugataṃ*), the well spoken one (*sugataṃ*), the exalted one, the one who has abandoned both good (*kusalaṃ*) and evil (*akusalaṃ*), the donor of the immortal (*amataṃ*) ambrosia [of *nibbāna*] (*amataṃ*), that is peaceful, incomparable (*asamaṃ*), and different (*asamaṃ*) [from worldly wisdom], to him who offers sentient (*saraṇaṃ*) beings a refuge (*saraṇaṃ*) that is without debt (*araṇaṃ*) and without defilements (*araṇaṃ*), to him who leads (*nāyakaṃ*) to the sanctuary (*abhayaṃ*) of fearlessness (*abhayaṃ*), to this teacher (*nāyakaṃ*), I bow down.

Like in the *Casket*'s introductory verses, the impressive feat of "twinning" is at the heart of the stanza. In the Pali commentary that Venerable Revata published in 1956, he acknowledges the difficulties posed by this style: "any confusing word that hampers the understanding, such as in cases of 'twinning,' is an instance of the flaw 'confusion' (*kliṭṭha*)." Ven. Revata goes on to argue, however, that in the *Homage*, the "twinning" does not cause any confusion "because it is composed with words that are well known (*patītasaddaracitattā*) [ . . . ], which is why this instance of 'twinning' should be considered well spoken."[72] In support of this view he quotes the *Lucid Poetics* on "twinning":

> It is considered "twinning" when composed with words that are well known, when its euphonic ligatures are proper and it is endowed with the poetic virtue "clarity" (*pasāda*).[73]

From this stanza we understand that "twinning" is not flawed if the poet adheres to these stipulations, that is, if the referents are well understood and customary and the overall meaning is lucid. Thus, despite being discussed under the heading "flaws" in the first chapter of the *Lucid Poetics*, "twinning" is not inherently flawed and, indeed, has ample poetic potentials, as can be seen in Burma in the works of Ariyavamsa and in the *Homage*.

drawing my attention to this publication). At any rate, it was probably already known in thirteenth-century Pagan by the title *Mahānamakkāra*; see Lammerts 2010: 99. For an English translation see Barbe 1883.

[72] Revata 1956: 8: *tasmā taṃ yamakaṃ suvuttan ti daṭṭhabbaṃ;* cf. Subodh 24: *yaṃ kiliṭṭhapadaṃ mandābhidheyyaṃ yamakādikaṃ / kiliṭṭhapadadose va tam pi anto karīyati //.*

[73] Subodh 25: *patītasaddaracitaṃ siliṭṭhapadasandhikaṃ / pasādaguṇasaṃyuttaṃ yamakaṃ matam edisaṃ //.*

Other ornaments that are unanimously revered by poets and scholars abound in the Pali literature from the region. A fine example is the opening verse of the *Grammatical Stanzas* (*Kārikā*), a short versified grammar written by a certain Dhammasenapati of Pagan around the thirteenth century:[74]

> With the ship of their intellect,
> wise poets cross over the ocean of verbs
> with its aorist-waves, verbal root-waters,
> varied fish of modification and insertion,
> the sandy marshes of elisions and abbreviations,
> and the comprehension of meaning for shores.[75]

This stanza is an instance of "compound-based full-set identification" (*asesavatthuvisayasamāsarūpaka*). The model for this ornament is given in the *Lucid Poetics* as follows:

> Whose head will not be embellished
> by the lotus-feet of the King of the Sages,
> having such beautiful petal-toes
> and such shiny nail-filaments?[76]

Here the identification of the Buddha's feet with a lotus also includes the identification of his toes with petals and toenails with filaments.

In all of this, it is also important to keep in mind the mirroring of the *Mirror*. For one thing, the *Lucid Poetics*' definition and example are clearly borrowed from Dandin.[77] For another, the complex identification of the verbal system with the ocean calls to mind Dandin's own image of poetry as the sea, for which the knowledge of metrics serves as a necessary raft.[78] It is thus not implausible that Dhammasenapati had direct knowledge of Dandin. In fact, Dragomir Dimitrov holds that a great number of verses in his *Grammatical Stanzas* are translations from Sanskrit philosophical literature, including a large number from Ratna's *Reflections on Word and Meaning* (*Śabdārthacintā*).[79] Dhammasenapati was

[74] Gornall and Ruiz-Falqués 2019.

[75] *Kārikā* 541: *ākhyātasāgaram athʾ ajjatanītaraṅgaṃ /dhātujjalaṃ vikaraṇāgamakālamīnaṃ/ lopānubandhariyam atthavibhāgatīraṃ / dhīrā taranti kavino puthubuddhināvā*. This stanza is found in some editions of the *Kaccāyana* Grammar. Pind (2013: 146 n1) considers it an interpolation. The source could be the *Kārikā* itself. A similar stanza is found in Bhamaha's *Ornaments of Literature* 6.1–3, where the science of grammar is compared to an unfathomable ocean.

[76] Subodh 214: *aṅgulīdalasaṃsobhiṃ nakhadīdhitikesaraṃ / sirasā na piḷandhanti ke munindapadambujaṃ //*, cf. KĀ 2.67, 2.70.

[77] See previous note.

[78] KĀ 1.12.

[79] See Dimitrov 2022.

apparently familiar with Ratna's oeuvre, and he may have also known his commentary on the *Mirror*.[80] Note, however, that the Burmese commentators on Dhammasenapati's *Stanzas* appear to have had no access to Dandin or, at the very least, chose to ignore the ornament in question and its possible source.[81] But just as telling is the fact that the commentators did not consider the sudden appearance of such ornate verses midway in the discussion as an anomaly.

To conclude this brief inventory of ornaments in scholastic Pali verse from Burma, let us look at an instance of simile in the *Concise Commentary* (*Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā*), Chapata Saddhammajotipala's fifteenth-century gloss on Anuruddha's aforementioned *Compendium of Abhidhamma*:

> Though there exist many commentaries
> composed by ancient masters,
> they, like the moon, cannot illuminate
> hidden places, such as the inside of a bamboo reed.
> Therefore I produce a commentary
> that, like a firefly, will be able to illuminate
> even the heart of a bamboo reed.[82]

In this simile we find a possible echo of Dandin's discussion of flawed similes. There is no point, notes Dandin, in comparing entities of vastly different orders as the firefly and the sun (the analogy of the firefly to an oil lamp, by contrast, is aesthetically better, as Ratna notes in his commentary).[83] Saddhammajotipala, in turn, takes Dandin's dictum that flaws could be made into assets and turns the *Mirror*'s example on its head. Not only is the firefly comparable to a bright luminary, in this case, the moon, it has an advantage over it in illuminating tiny spaces where rare gems are hidden (it is believed that pearls grow in the hearts of bamboo reeds).[84] This, then, is not merely a simile but also a case of "distinction" (*vyatireka*, where the subject of comparison excels its standard), and, of course, the underlying message is that Saddhammajotipala himself can win distinction by virtue of his attention to fine details that his predecessors, with their grander ambitions, have overlooked.[85] It may also be that Saddhammajotipala, the perceptive local firefly, claims distinction over the old Sanskrit luminaries,

[80] For discussions of Ratna's commentary, see Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.5, and Bronner and Cox, sections 5.5–5.7, in this volume.

[81] See, for example, *Kārikā-ṭīkā* 437, 10–13, which offers only a straightforward gloss.

[82] *Saṅkhepavaṇṇanā* 1, 11–13: *porāṇehi katā 'nekā santi yā pana vaṇṇanā // etā veḷādigabbhesu ajotacandarūpamā / tasmā khajjotantupamaṃ karissaṃ kinci vaṇṇanaṃ //.*

[83] KĀ 2.55d; cf. Bronner 2007: 96–98.

[84] I thank Yigal Bronner for pointing this out to me.

[85] Malalasekera [1928] 1958: 201, however, saw this as a case of true (rather than false) modesty.

Dandin and Ratna, by virtue of his engagement with and playful inversion of their words.[86]

In this section we have seen that Pali literature from Burma has an ambivalent approach to the composition of ornate poetry. Aggavamsa, one of the highest grammatical authorities in medieval Theravada Buddhism, contrasts the formal anxiety of the professional poet with the saintly indifference of the Buddha, while simultaneously acknowledging the formal poetic virtue in some of the Buddha's own statements. The use of meters and ornaments seems to be well accepted in the scholastic community as long as they are subservient to the doctrine. Manuals such as the *Lucid Poetics* were used both as hermeneutic methods and as handbooks for poetic composition. We have seen a conspicuous example of this duplicity in Ariyavamsa's *Casket*: on the one hand, he cites sometimes extended passages, including ornate poetry, from the *Lucid Poetics* in the context of grammatical exegesis; on the other, he takes inspiration from it to compose his own highly ornate and cryptic benedictory verses that frame his text. Ariyavamsa's language tells us that he was acquainted not only with Sangharakkhita's treatise but also with its commentaries. He also uses bits and passages of these commentaries that are nothing but Pali renderings of the poetic teachings of Dandin. The example of Ariyavamsa shows that the reception of Dandin was not necessarily through its original Sanskrit version, but that his *Mirror* was not necessarily outside the Theravada doctrinal sphere either. The abundant use of Dandin-like ornaments in the Pali works composed in Burma, together with the vast circulation of the *Lucid Poetics* and its commentaries in monastic scholarly settings, offers a vivid testimony to the indirect influence of Dandin's *Mirror* in Pali poetics and hermeneutics in the region and, occasionally, to possibly direct familiarity with it as well.

## 7.4. Playing with Words: A Dangerous Game

*Thibaut d'Hubert*

Dandin's *Mirror* did not travel alone. One important companion that traveled along in mainland Southeast Asia was an extraordinary Sanskrit treatise on riddles, namely Dharmadasa's *Adornment for the Connoisseur's Mouth* (*Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*). A widely read text in its own right, the *Adornment* crossed paths with Dandin's *Mirror* in various contexts outside the scope of this

[86] For a discussion of "distinction" as a metapoetic observation on the project of adapting Dandin's text, see Clare and Shulman, section 4.2, in this volume.

chapter.[87] To understand why those two texts circulated as a tandem, I will first raise the issue of riddles in Dandin and of its liminal status as a poetic practice. It may not be immediately evident to the reader that the Buddhist tradition of Burma systematically indulged in riddles. Consider, however, the following stanza:

> In some garden I saw a vine with five shoots,
> and each of its shoots seemed to blossom.[88]

This verse is quoted in both the *Old* and *New Commentary* on the *Lucid Poetics*. The specific context of this quote is an afterword to the first section on poetic flaws (*dosa*). The stanza is meant to unpack the concluding observation of the root text: "I have briefly composed this excellent survey of poetic flaws. This should be enough to instruct poets even if they were to encounter great difficulties."[89] To complete this survey of poetic flaws, the commentary provides further details on what constitutes a poetic flaw and what, by contrast, is permissible.

The *Old Commentary*, after glossing each term of the text, adds: "Indeed, by saying 'briefly' [it is meant that] many flaws described by ancient authors have been left aside."[90] In the *New Commentary*, the afterword to the list of poetic flaws consists of two riddles. These are two verses from Dandin's treatise, including the one given above.[91] Dandin calls this kind of riddle *samānarūpā* (misleading similarity) and says it "is formed with words meant to convey a secondary meaning."[92] Such an attempt to veil the intended meaning from the reader may not be seen as a flaw. In this verse, the "garden" stands for "house," "vine" for "woman," "shoots" for "hands/fingers," and "blossoms" for "nails." The other quoted stanza illustrates the use of rare words, which make the verse enigmatic and turn it into a riddle.

By citing Dandin's verses and discussing the liminal status of riddles as poetic devices, Pali scholars show their familiarity with the *Mirror* and its relevance

[87] The wide diffusion of Dharmadasa's text is another story that still remains to be written. References to the many manuscripts, commentaries, and, unfortunately, less abundant modern scholarship on this text are given in the footnotes below.

[88] Subodh-pṭ *and* -nṭ ad Subodh 67: *kāc' uyyāne mayā diṭṭhā vallarī pañcapallavā | pallave pallave mudhā yassā kusumamañjarī* ||.

[89] Subodh 67: *kato'tra saṅkhepanayā mayā 'yaṃ, dosānam esaṃ pavaro vibhāgo | eso 'va 'laṃ bodhayituṃ kavīnaṃ, tam atthi ce khedakaraṃ param pi* ||.

[90] Subodh-pṭ 83, 23–24: *nanu saṅkhepanayā ti vuttattā purātanehi dīpitā santi bahū dosā, te pariccattā siyunti.*

[91] KĀ 3.112: *atrodyāne mayā dṛṣṭā vallarī pañcapallavā | pallave pallave cārdrā yasyāḥ kusumamañjarī* ||. The source of these quotes is not identified in the notes of Jaini's edition, which otherwise indicates parallels found in other Sanskrit and Pali texts. These stanzas are not quoted in the Sinhalese *Subodh-sanne*, as this commentary does not include the afterword.

[92] KĀ 3.100: *samānarūpā gauṇārthāropitair grathitā padaiḥ* ||.

for the issue at hand. It is thus not surprising to see riddles treated in the section on poetic flaws. Without calling attention to this fact, Sangharakkhita borrows the names of the sixteen categories of riddles directly from the *Mirror*. This borrowing is tacitly acknowledged by the *New Commentary*, where they are dubbed "the sixteen riddles taught by ancient masters."[93] The same categories would later be recycled by the author of the *Diamond of the Essential Meaning* (*Vajirasāratthasaṅgaha*) in the sixteenth-century Lanna kingdom in northern Thailand.[94] The continued use of Dandin's terminology by later Pali authors, such as the author of the *Diamond*, or the author of the *Casket* (see section 7.3), offers his system an afterlife that it did not have in the Sanskrit tradition in the subcontinent. One reason for the failure of this part of Dandin's poetic system is the problematic status of riddles in Sanskrit poetics as a whole.

Soon after the *Mirror*, Sanskrit poeticians reached a consensus on the exclusion of riddles from the scope of poetic ornaments.[95] Even in Dandin's treatise, a somewhat limited number of riddles are considered acceptable. The location of this section within the treatise, at the end of the discussion on figures of sound and before poetic flaws (*doṣa*), suggests that he is barely conceding riddles the status of ornament. Moreover, riddles are not defined on the basis of strictly linguistic features, but rather as playful utterances that prove useful in social gatherings:

> Riddles are used in the amusements that are leisured assemblies, for exchanging private messages in larger groups with those who understand them, and also for confusing others.[96]

The Sanskrit theoreticians' treatment of the subject probably reflects an anxiety about the respectability of their discipline and a wish to distinguish the analysis of semantics and aesthetic from riddle-solving.

Despite Dandin's seemingly apologetic tone, he stands out among Sanskrit poeticians precisely for his inclusion and relatively elaborate treatment of riddles.[97] The popularity of riddling as a literary practice and its role in fostering competition in learned assemblies called for some form of theoretical acknowledgment. Two centuries after Dandin, it was Dharmadasa who took up this task and composed the *Adornment*. Although he never mentions Dandin as the

[93] Subodh-nṭ 87, 28: *iminā purātanehi niddiṭṭhasoḷasapaheḷikāyo pi dassitā*.
[94] Schnake 2018.
[95] Gerow 1971: 210.
[96] KĀ 3.97: *krīḍāgoṣṭhīvinodeṣu tajjñair ākīrṇamantraṇe | paravyāmohane cāpi sopayogāḥ prahelikāḥ ||*.
[97] On the disagreement on the status of riddles between Dandin and Bhamaha, see Bronner 2012: 82–84.

author who opened the door for the systematic treatment of riddles, Dharmadasa was certainly not oblivious to the poetician's intervention in this domain. The *Adornment* is an anthology of riddles that also provides an elaborate system of classification which differs from Dandin's. It is only in the Pali tradition that both systems eventually and explicitly converged.

In the first three chapters of the *Adornment*, riddles are divided into several categories: for instance, whether the clues are divided (*vyasta*) or compounded (*samasta*), whether or not the question and the answer are of varying lengths, whether or not the riddle contains figures of speech, the different types of solutions (the name of meter, a doctrinal point, etc.), and whether the riddle implies a visual representation (*citra*) or a recourse to languages other than Sanskrit (Prakrit, Apabhramsha, and vernacular [*laukika*] languages).[98] The fourth and last chapter is devoted to the category *prahelikā* ("riddle" for Dandin) itself, which Dharmadasa defines as follows:

> Riddles are utterances wherein two meanings, internal and external, are communicated by way of hiding one, namely, the true meaning, and outwardly projecting the other.[99]

Only this last section of the *Adornment* potentially overlaps with Dandin's riddles, but the categories defined are totally different and more systematically laid out than in the *Mirror*.

It is important to note that the label *prahelikā* is not a generic term for "riddles" in the *Adornment*, and that it applies only to the types of riddles found in its fourth chapter. Despite Dharmadasa's rigorous categorization, it may be surprising to see that he did not provide an overarching definition of riddling that would allow us to articulate it with other disciplinary domains. The opening stanzas of the *Adornment* agree with the *Mirror* in that they define riddles by the context in which they are uttered. After the conventional praise of the righteous and blame of the mischievous reader, Dharmadasa introduces his work as follows:

> Comforted by the righteous man's support and leaving behind convoluted composition,
> for the enjoyment of the wise, and according to my own abilities,
> I shall discuss briefly the topic under scrutiny,
> the *Adornment for the Connoisseur's Mouth*.

[98] Sen 1950: 257–64. For an improved critical edition of this section with two commentaries and an English translation, see Hahn 2013: 77–109.

[99] VMM 4.1: *vyaktīkṛtya kamapy arthaṃ svarūpārthasya gopanāt | yatra bāhyāntarāv arthau kathyete tāḥ prahelikāḥ* ||.

If you, intelligent people, wish to attend and speak in a gathering,
take the *Adornment for the Connoisseur's Mouth* as a betel wrap and step in![100]

Dharmadasa does not refer to any debate regarding the topic under scrutiny, nor does he provide a disclaimer or apologetic statement about the practice of riddling. Nevertheless, the comment about the clarity of his composition and the fact that he left aside all convoluted speech both suggest that he anticipated criticism of riddling as unworthy of a rigorous treatment. Similarly, if we consider the profusion of categories defined in the *Adornment* relative to the cursory and very selective treatment of riddles by Dandin, one may perceive irony in proposing to discuss the matter "briefly" (*aprapañca*). Therefore, even if his system is entirely different, there is little doubt that Dharmadasa is taking a cue from Dandin's treatment of riddles in the *Mirror* as a topic worthy of the connoisseur's attention. He likewise agrees with Dandin when he avoids a technical definition of riddles. For him, too, riddles are first and foremost defined by the context of the social venue, the gathering of the learned (*sabhā* or *goṣṭhī*). In Dharmadasa's formulation, the *Adornment* is compared to the "betel wrap" (*tāmbūla*), which itself symbolizes courtly sociability. The simile suggests that the *Adornment* is a rhetorical ornament for the playful connoisseur in the same way that chewing betel beautifies the mouth of the courtier with its red color and fragrance. The author's hope is thus that his treatise become part of the connoisseur's paraphernalia. As detailed below, the remarkable success of the *Adornment* in the following centuries shows that this vision was realized.[101]

The *Adornment* filled an important lacuna in discourses on poetry as a living and playful practice in learned gatherings. But what was the context in which Dharmadasa composed his text? Would determining the circumstances of the composition of the *Adornment* shed light on the reasons behind its diffusion alongside the *Mirror* in Southeast Asia? A survey of the available scholarship on the *Adornment* provides some clues regarding its dating and the identity of its author.

References to works and authors in the text itself indicate that it was composed after the seventh century CE: this is based primarily on its mention of Bana (seventh century). The earliest explicit reference to Dharmadasa is found in Vidyakara's *Treasury of Well-Turned Verse* (*Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*) composed in eleventh-century Pala Bengal.[102] Here is the stanza that this anthology explicitly attributes to him:

[100] VMM 1.7–8: *prītyai satāṃ tadanubhāvagatāvasādaḥ santyajya gūḍharacanāṃ pratibhānurūpam | kṣiprāvabodhakaraṇakṣamam īkṣitārthaṃ vakṣye vidagdhamukhamaṇḍanam aprapañcam || yady asti sabhāmadhye sthātuṃ vaktuṃ manas tadā sudhiyaḥ | tāmbūlam iva gṛhitvā vidagdhamukhamaṇḍanam viśata ||*.

[101] Hundreds of manuscripts have been listed in Raghavan et al. 1949: 97–102.

[102] Kosambhi and Gokhale 1957: lxxxi–lxxxii. The *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍa* mentioned in Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* as an example of a play composed in prose and verse cannot be the treatise under scrutiny. Raghavan 1960: 224.

The tongue in a villain's mouth
seems weighted with a stone, or cursed by the sage Durvasas,
forever sealed with lac, or numbed by poison,
or tied with strong ropes, or pierced by an iron pin—
it can never speak even a single word of others' merit.[103]

The stanza is not itself a riddle and is taken from the *Adornment*'s opening passage, where the author praises good and blames bad characters (hence its location in the "Villains" section of the anthology). Under "Miscellaneous," Vidyakara quotes another verse from the *Adornment*, but this time he omits to indicate the name of the author:

"Makes me catch my breath; hurts my lower lip,
and raises a blush upon my skin."
"You've met a gentleman from town?'
"No, no, my dear friend, I meant the winter wind."[104]

This stanza illustrates "elision" (*apahnuti-jāti*) in the *Adornment*.[105] In this example, the object of the description is elided in the first half of the stanza, therefore creating confusion about its identity. The intended meaning is then revealed by her interlocutor and wittingly denied in the last quarter of the verse. Beyond the chronological landmark that these quotes provide, it is noteworthy that Vidyakara anthologized him more for the poetic quality of his verse than for his virtuoso riddles.[106]

There are other attestations that Dharmadasa's work was read and imitated in Pala Bengal. This is known, for example, from the text of Ratnakarashanti (ca. 975–1025), the renowned Buddhist scholar and philosopher of Vikramashila. Although he does not explicitly state it in his text, his *Amazement of the Connoisseur* (*Vidagdhavismāpana*) is likely named after the *Adornment*. Another noteworthy feature of Ratnakarashanti's work is the presence of specifically Buddhist riddles that this author fashioned—a practice that we also find in the case of the later Pali version of the *Adornment*.[107]

[103] Ingalls 1965: 357. *ākrānteva mahopalena muninā śapteva durvāsasā sātatyaṃ bata mudriteva jatunā nīteva mūrchāṃ viṣaiḥ | baddhevātanurajjubhiḥ paraguṇān vaktuṃ na śaktā satī jihvā lohaśalākayā khalamukhe viddheva saṃlakṣyate || śrīdharmadāsasya.* Kosambi and Gokhale 1957: 229, no. 1302.

[104] Ingalls 1965: 432.

[105] The *apahnuti-jāti* is defined in 4.22cd: *nihnavāt kathitasyāpi śabdavyājād apahnuti* || ("Elision" occurs by eliding the thing discussed and by verbal deception).

[106] A total of eleven verses attributed to Dharmadasa and present in the *Adornment* have been located in various anthologies compiled between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. See Sternbach 1980: 133–34.

[107] Hahn 2002: 3–81.

Sukumar Sen, in an article in which he translated Dharmadasa's riddles that entail the use of Prakrit, Apabhramsha, and vernacular (*laukika*) languages, mentions a reference to the *Adornment* in a twelfth-century commentary on *Amara's Treasure* also composed in Bengal: the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* (ca. 1160).[108] And indeed, the *Adornment*'s section on multilingual riddles contains a clear indication of Dharmadasa's familiarity with emerging eastern New Indo-Aryan languages. The following vernacular (*laukika*) riddle, for example, contains linguistic features typical of eastern languages:

> What is a word for "man"?
> Which are the two ear-ornaments of Shiva, the enemy of the god of love?
> And suppose a porter asks: "Whom did Vishnu lift up from the sea?"
> "O fool, why don't you bring our pots and vessels now?"
> What excuse will he who was thus asked give?
> The answer: "There is no potter."[109]

The solution to the riddle is made of the answers to the questions it initially presents: *nā* is a word for "man," *ahī*, or "two snakes," are Shiva's pair of earrings, and *kūm bhāra* ("The earth, Oh porter") is the answer to the porter's question. Put together they come to signify: "there is no potter" (*nāhī kumbhāra*). But for the context of this discussion, most relevant are the vernacular lexical items found in the middle of the verse ("O fool, why don't you bring our pots and vessels now?"), when the speaker switches to the register documented in eastern Avahaṭṭha or Proto- and early Middle Bengali texts (i.e., the *Caryāgīti* and the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtana*).

The location of all the early references to the *Adornment*, together with the text's use of local vernaculars, clearly point to a northeastern origin of the text. The likelihood that Dharmadasa was himself a Buddhist and the reference to Chandragomin, the author of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*—a crucially influential text in Pala Bengal and later Buddhist grammatical traditions—may also indicate that Dharmadasa belonged to the milieu of Pala imperial monasteries, where his book was well-received.

So far, the oldest manuscripts containing either the text or a commentary are from the Nepal-Mithila region and were written in Newari and Bengali scripts between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries.[110] Martin Kraatz, who

[108] Sen 1950: 257.
[109] VMM 3.63: *śabdaḥ kaḥ syāt puruṣavacanaḥ kuṇḍalau kau smarāreḥ | kām ambhodher harir udaharad vīvadhaḥ pṛcchatīdam | haṇḍī kuṇḍī aṇasi na [v]aḍā kīsa amhāra ettham | je pucchillā sa puṇa parihāruttaraṃ kīsa dei || nāhī kumbhāra ||*. Hahn 2013: 93–94.
[110] See NGMP catalogue and the description of the ms. of Keśava's commentary in Kraatz 1968: xxvi–xxix.

provided the most thorough study of the text and translated the first half into German in an unpublished dissertation in 1968, collected evidence that could help determine Dharmadasa's religious identity. He lists five verses in which explicit references to Buddhism are made. Besides, one also finds several references to Hindu deities and Puranic stories.[111] The transmission of the text in Mithila and Nepal in the subsequent period and the presence today of no less than thirty manuscripts in Nepal correspond to the path followed by many texts produced in Bengal during the Pala period and would tend to confirm the theory that Dharmadasa was a Buddhist author from Pala Bengal.

Turning back to the work's reception, one can distinguish between three signs of the influence of Dharmadasa's work in later periods. The first is the reproduction of his text, often with marginalia explaining the most complex mechanisms of some riddles, and sometimes with full-fledged commentaries. I have identified seventeen commentaries of Dharmadasa's text (not counting Pali commentaries). The *Delight of the Savant* (*Vidvanmanoharā*), for instance, is a popular commentary by Tarachandra, "jewel of the Kayastha community" (*kāyasthaśiromaṇi*), mainly found in collections in Nepal and Bengal; it was composed sometime between 1400 and 1650.[112] The second sign is the composition of new anthologies that echo the *Adornment*'s title. We have already seen the example of the *Amazement*. Another such case is the undated *Adornment of the Wise Man's Mouth* (*Budhavaktramaṇḍana*) by a certain Kika.[113] The third indication is the compilation of almost entirely new, shorter anthologies that bear the same title as Dharmadasa's work but hardly anything of its original contents (limited, as far as I know, only to Bengal). Many nineteenth-century Bengali script printed editions that bear the name of the *Adornment* and manuscripts found in collections in eastern Bengal sometimes have as few as a single verse in common with Dharmadasa's text of the identical title.[114] If the study of the *Mirror* lost some of its relevance in medieval Bengal in favor of later treatises on poetics, the *Adornment* remained an important reference, to the point that the title of Dharmadasa's work became a genre in its own right, independent of the actual text of the Buddhist author.

The *Adornment* was also read and commented upon in western India. Surveying the westward distribution of the text would take us too far from our topic. However, it is worth mentioning that the *Adornment* became very popular

[111] Kraatz 1968: xi–xxi.

[112] For excerpts of this commentary, see Hahn 2013. A list of all the available commentaries on the *Adornment* is given in Raghavan et al. 1949: 99–100.

[113] Sarma 1949: 289–94.

[114] Vidyālaṅkāra 1859; Kāvyatīrtha 1889. The earliest printed edition from Bengal of Dharmadasa's text is found in Haeberlin 1847: 269–311.

in Jain milieus in the west. The title *sūri* is sometime appended to Dharmadasa's name, which suggests an attempt to make him a Jain author.[115] Of particular interest is the case of the integration of Dharmadasa's forty-two kinds of riddles into the form called "questions and answers" (*praśnottara*) in *The Wishing Gem of Ornaments* (*Alaṅkāracintāmaṇi*, fifteenth century?), a work composed by the Jain author Ajitasena. This treatise on poetics is found only in manuscripts written in the Kannada script, and it is the southernmost example of the premodern reception of the *Adornment*.[116] Ajitasena's treatise may be seen as a rare attempt to reconcile theoretical literature on riddles with mainstream poetics. As we shall see in the case of the text's afterlife in Burma and Thailand, a very different kind of rapprochement between Dharmadasa and poetics took place in Theravada Buddhist contexts.

Now that we have traced Dharmadasa's likely Bengali origins, Buddhist affiliation, and the strong afterlife of his *Adornment* primarily in the region, let us turn to its distribution in the neighboring Theravada countries. The presence of Dharmadasa's text in Burma closely dovetails that of Dandin's, as documented in section 7.2 above. As in the case of the *Mirror*, an early reference to the *Adornment* and one of its commentaries in Pali literature is provided by Aggavamsa's *Rule of Sound*.[117] The second clearly datable clue to the presence of the *Adornment* in Burma is the aforementioned bibliographical Pagan inscription of 1442, which mentions the text and a commentary along with the *Mirror*, several of its commentaries, and other works related to the science of speech (see section 7.2). Although the date is not easy to ascertain, the next likely mention of the *Adornment* in Burma is of Vepulabuddhi's (or Vipulabuddhi's) commentary (*ṭīkā*), which may or may not be the same as the *Light on the Adornment* (*Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍanadīpikā*), an exegesis that is found today only in manuscripts in Thailand.[118] A later datable reference already discussed is Uttamasikkha's condemnation of the study of treatises such as the *Adornment* and *Daṇḍī* (i.e., the *Mirror*) in late seventeenth-century Ava. The *Adornment* is then referred to at least twice in royal orders of King Badon regarding the collecting of Sanskrit treatises from India. Finally, Dandin's work and the *Adornment* stand among the rare examples that we have of actual Sanskrit texts transcribed in the Burmese script. One of those manuscripts, complete but containing only Dharmadasa's Sanskrit text with no commentary, has been briefly described by Nalini Balbir.[119]

[115] In the *Catalogus Catalogorum* he is presented as "a Jain ascetic" who lived before 1050. See also the discussion in the preface of Parameśvarānanda Śarmā's edition, in which he indicates that the commentator Tarachandra stated that Dharmadasa was a Jain author (*jaina-kṛte asmin granthe*); Śarmā 1928: i.

[116] Shastri 1980: 20–31.

[117] See the quote and translation in Balbir 2007: 346–47.

[118] Skilling 2009: 27–45.

[119] Balbir 2007: 349–50.

Another is incomplete and starts in the middle of the second chapter. A third is part of a bundle containing the *Mirror* that was probably copied by the same scribe in 1858.[120] The *Mirror* and the *Adornment* must therefore be seen as direct contributions of Sanskrit literature to the science of speech in the Burmese Theravada Buddhist world.[121]

Several indications suggest that, not unlike the *Mirror*, the uses of the *Adornment* in Burma and mainland Southeast Asia shifted from the realms of poetry and courtly entertainment to those of exegesis, pedagogy, and even ritual. Consider, for example, the fact that Dharmadasa's text is frequently mentioned as an authority on monosyllabic words (*ekakkhara*), a special technical vocabulary that was particularly useful for creating polysemy or for expressing certain logical relations such as cause, effect, and simultaneity, and that was hence of great importance in Sanskrit and Pali hermeneutics. For instance, the *Adornment* is mentioned as a source in the commentary on the Pali *Dictionary of Monosyllabic Words* (*Ekakkharakosa*), suggesting that this text was used not so much as a model for composing riddles as a source of lexicographical knowledge. The aforementioned *Diamond of the Essential Meaning* (sixteenth-century northern Thailand) is an important piece of the puzzle because it brings together the *prahelikā* categories formulated by Dandin and Dharmadasa's system of "questions and answers" (*praśnottara*) and "pictorial poetry" (*citra*). The rapprochement between Dandin and Dharmadasa's systems of defining and categorizing riddles took place through Pali intermediaries in Theravada Buddhist lands, namely through the *Lucid Poetics* and the Pali adaptation of the Sanskrit *Adornment*.

More generally, recall that the schema adopted by Dharmadasa to categorize riddles relies, unlike Dandin's, on a precise understanding of grammar, morphology in particular. The riddles whose answers are points of scholastic and doctrinal knowledge, such as grammatical forms, meter names, or philosophical concepts, also lend themselves to a variety of uses in didactic contexts. The pedagogical advantages of word games and riddling are illustrated by the Pali version of the *Adornment* that was preserved in northern Thailand and by texts such as the *Diamond*. The work of Javier Schnake on the latter highlights the didactic dimensions of the playful handling of syllables and the hiding of meaning in monosyllabic words that enables a variety of interpretations. In both the Pali *Adornment* and the *Diamond*, riddles are composed on very specific points of doctrine connected to various sections of the Pali canon and rules of monastic discipline.[122]

120 See Kirichenko, Lammerts, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.2 above.
121 Bechert 1963: 1–12.
122 Schnake 2018.

Unfortunately, we lack scholarship on the reception of the *Adornment* and the *Mirror* at the hands of the Burmese monks who specialized in the study of such texts. The aforementioned manuscripts of Pali and Burmese glosses (*nissaya*) clearly indicate that more can be said about the ways in which the *Mirror* and the *Adornment* were read and understood in Burma, even if their influence remained limited to a small group of specialists. For instance, Sanskrit was cultivated to some extent by court Brahmins and Muslim literati from Arakan during the Mrauk U period (1430–1784).[123] During the reign of King Badon (r. 1782–1819), several attempts were made to update the knowledge on some emblematic texts representing mundane sciences, such as poetics and riddling, in the Buddhist imaginaire of Burmese scholars.[124] In Burma, the very idiosyncratic understanding of what a text like the *Adornment*, and probably the *Mirror* as well, was about is illustrated in two royal orders from 1812.

The first order was passed on June 5 and proclaimed on June 21, 1812, and it states that "Macava the Brahmin brought [a statue of] Kapila Muni the Rasi from Banaras, Majjhimadesa—Central India, and it has now arrived in Pyay [Prome]." It also claims that "according to *Vitakkamukhamandani* [i.e., *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*] by Dhammadasa the Risi, one could pray for prosperity and longevity after putting offerings at the shrine of this Risi." The second order was passed on June 29, 1812, and proclaimed on July 2, 1812. It reads as follows:

> The King is going to make offerings at Kapila Muni shrine; compose a prayer after the style given in *Vitakkamukhamandani*; get [a pantomime of] one hundred foreign kings coming to the King in their native costumes and with various tributes requesting to become his vassals; leave the images and a branch of the Maha Bodhi tree in the Big Pavilion and bring only the statue of Kapila Muni the Rasi on Hta Daw ["Special Pedestal"], to the interior; recite the prayer when the offerings are made; the program to display armed forces during this ceremony is approved.[125]

These orders record the importation of a statue of Kapila Muni[126] from Benares with the prescriptions of the *Adornment*. The identification of the *Adornment* is unambiguous because its author is also named. The exact nature of the prescriptions drawn from the *Adornment* in the first order is quite enigmatic, but in the second there is an explicit instruction to use the treatise on riddles in ritual

[123] d'Hubert 2018.

[124] Leider 2005: 159–202; Charney 2011: 159–81. See also Kirichenko, Lammerts, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.2 above.

[125] Than Tun 1988: 63–64.

[126] Traditionally considered the founder of Kapilavastu, the capital city of the Śakya kingdom in northern India/southern Nepal, from whose royal family Siddhartha, the Buddha, was legendarily born.

context as a template for composing "prayers." In the same way that texts on poetics such as the *Mirror* and the *Lucid Poetics* were used for the creation of new texts, the *Adornment* provided models for the composition of prayers related to specific events, such as the installation of a statue.

Many questions remain concerning the exact impact of the *Mirror* and the *Adornment* in Burma and mainland Southeast Asia, but the present survey provides, at the very least, a first approximation of the pairing of those texts and their subsequent transmission and uses. The fact that the *Adornment* was composed by a Buddhist author in a Buddhist context in Pala Bengal must have facilitated its inclusion in curricula, which were instrumental in shaping the perception of Sanskrit literary culture in both Mahayana and Theravada lands. The same is true of Ratnashrijnana, a Buddhist scholar and monk who traveled to mainland India and whose key commentary on the *Mirror* accompanied and facilitated its diffusion in other Buddhist scholarly milieus. We have seen that the *Adornment* featured prominently in the literary landscape of Pala Bengal, through quotes in anthologies and the imitation of this work by a prominent scholar of the period, Ratnakarashanti. The activities of these Buddhist scholars and their strong engagement with Sanskrit belles-lettres contrast with the reception of similar texts on poetics and prosody in Theravada domains, where Pali was the main medium of study. We observed that the *Mirror* and the *Adornment* were not simply translated; they were adapted to the Theravada Buddhist context. These works prompted new compositions that made a didactic use of riddles and, more surprisingly perhaps, a shift from the mundane domain of belles-lettres to ritual contexts. The history of the combined reception of the *Mirror* and the *Adornment* highlights the significance of the relations between eastern India and mainland Southeast Asia, with their shared history and sometimes radically different epistemes.

## 7.5. Concluding Remarks

*Aleix Ruiz-Falqués*

In this chapter we have followed Dandin in Burma and Bengal along paths never before explored or even known to have existed. This means that our account is, at best, partial and provisional. Yet the evidence presented here not only testifies to the presence of Dandin in Burma, it also situates him as an authority, at times even a sanctioned authority, among Theravadin scholars of the region.

We can state with a certain degree of confidence that the presence of Dandin's *Mirror* in Burma and Bengal was stable. At least since the twelfth century, it forms part of a small package of Sanskrit treatises known in the region. The status of

these works, and of the *Mirror* specifically, was never obvious. The *Mirror* veered between being labeled an "outside science," whose mundane knowledge is not conducive to the Buddhist goal of nirvana, to being seen as part of a somewhat loosely defined *tipiṭaka*, or "canon," which in Burma came to include Sanskrit treatises deemed beneficial for the study of Buddhism. It is true that authors in Burma have at times felt a need to justify the inclusion of works like the *Mirror* in the syllabus, betraying a certain degree of anxiety about them. But by and large, catalogues and lists that portray the ideal monastic library take Dandin's quasi-canonical status for granted.

As we have seen in section 7.2, a preliminary survey of the (largely unexplored) manuscript archive of Burma substantiates the *Mirror*'s presence and importance. Whether found in major monastic collections containing the *tipiṭaka*, mentioned in lists of texts required in monastic examinations, or directly quoted in Burmese commentaries to support interpretations of Buddhist doctrine, the relevance and authority of Dandin's work are indubitable. Particularly noteworthy is its continuous presence in monastic examinations, a clear indication that Dandin was perceived as a necessary component for those pursuing higher Buddhist education.

The scarce material presence of Sanskrit manuscripts from the region does not necessarily mean that Sanskrit learning was insignificant. Surely, our survey indicates that Sanskrit culture was an elite phenomenon in Burma. Over the centuries, works like Dandin's *Mirror*, or Dharmadasa's *Adornment*, were occasionally big game for some of the most learned Burmese literati, both monks and laymen. It is only in nineteenth- and twentieth-century curricula that these texts become absent. Today, one can pass the highest monastic examinations without studying Dandin, but not without studying those scholars of the past who knew his works well (Aggavamsa, for instance).

Perhaps an anecdote will illustrate how this trend continues today. During a visit to the State Pariyatti Sasana University in Mandalay in November 2019, I had the opportunity to interview Sayadaw U Kesara, a pandit who has taught generations of Pali scholars in the country. The interview turned around local monastic chronicles and Pali grammatical texts, but at some point U Kesara mentioned that he was working on a critical edition of a Sanskrit work called "Vitak." He repeated the title several times, but none of my monastic colleagues, some of them former disciples of the Sayadaw with a solid background in Buddhist literature, had ever heard of this title. I was puzzled, too, until I saw a printout of the provisional edition and recognized some verses from the *Vidagdhamukhamaṇḍana*. The joy with which the Sayadaw shared his work with us was contagious. At no moment did we feel that he was treating this Sanskrit work as an outside text. If anything, he was proud to be working on such a rare gem, one that appeared as a novelty to the other senior monks in the room, and I expect that for the other

monks in the room, Dharmadasa's work on riddles will forever be linked to their venerable Pali teacher.

This anecdote, I think, illustrates well the status of works such as the *Mirror* and the *Adornment* in Burma. Like other Sanskrit texts of repute, they have always been part of the intellectual landscape, but unlike the situation in Sri Lanka, they were accessed only by the most learned literati (and became even rarer with the move to modernity). The *Mirror* is included among those works that "a special person capable of promoting the *sāsana*" should master, as opposed to the "average monk" who cannot fully promote the teachings of the Buddha.

Via the Pali *Lucid Poetics*, however, the message of Dandin reached far wider circles of Pali-reading monks and literati in Burma and—to an extent still awaiting documentation—other parts of Southeast Asia. In sections 7.2 and 7.3, we have shown how key elements of the *Mirror*, often in tandem with those of the *Adornment*, found their way into the hegemonic cultural discourse, both in aiding doctrinal discussions and in inspiring literary practice. Despite the apparent misgivings toward ornate poetry by some Pali scholars like Aggavamsa, the fact that most Buddhist authors, monastic or lay, display their ability in reading and writing through the idiom and tools of the *Lucid Poetics* (and its commentaries) and with the tools it inherited from the *Mirror*, attests to the relevance and creative resonances of Dandin in this world.

Ornate poems in Pali are generally found in the opening verses of scholarly treatises. These verses offer worship to the "Triple Gem" (Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha) and to venerable teachers of the past. In part, they constitute a ritual invocation, whose purpose is to obtain blessings and protect the author's scholarly efforts from any type of danger. Although it is probable that most Burmese writers learned the art of poetry from Sangharakkhita's *Lucid Poetics*, here and there we see, again, direct traces of Dandin's Sanskrit text, which is frequently quoted in the commentarial literature on the *Lucid Poetics*. By virtue of a camera obscura effect of sorts, the figures of Dandin and Dharmadasa attained an ancillary status with respect to the Pali *Lucid Poetics*. Some Pali authors tended to see Dandin as a colleague who, like them, followed in the footsteps of Sangharakkhita. The chronology was overturned, but the relationship remained intact.

Perhaps most striking for our understanding of Dandin in Burma is the pairing of the *Mirror* and the *Adornment*. Taken together, these two works often lent themselves to new and surprising uses. In section 7.4, Thibaut d'Hubert has followed the companionship of Dharmadasa and Dandin, which formed in Bengal and was then transported to Southeast Asian Buddhist communities, specifically in Burma. The Buddhist adaptation of Dandin and Dharmadasa often entailed an emphasis on exegesis, pedagogy, and even ritual. This is attested in Pali works such as Ariyavamsa's *Casket of the Essential Jewels*, as well as in other works that have received little scholarly attention until recently, such

as Ratanapanna's *Diamond of the Essential Meaning*, composed in Lanna in northern Thailand. There is no doubt that further research on Pali and vernacular literatures of the Bay of Bengal and Southeast Asia more generally will shed additional light on the intersections between exegesis, pedagogy, and ritual, on the one hand, and Indic ornaments and riddles, on the other. But we can already see in the consecration of an image of Indian provenance, discussed by d'Hubert, a fascinating example of the *Adornment*'s unexpected ritual use and relevance.

With this, our survey of Dandin's journey through the Bay of Bengal, a region where he left numerous tracks, if often faint and dusty, comes to an end. In mainland Southeast Asia, where Sanskrit was at no point the dominant literary culture, the role that Dandin's *Mirror* was destined to play is different from its history in subcontinental India or even Tibet and Sri Lanka. And yet, the role it did play, as occasionally the hallmark of elite education, an authority in scholastic and doctrinal discourse, an inspiration for devotional poetry, or as an ancillary to its own Pali adaptations, was by no means marginal. The *Mirror* became a "faultless science" in Burma. This label perfectly captures its liminality, quasi-canonicity, and elite status; it also connotes the notion, held by many a scholar-monk, that Dandin's work was a faultless companion for the study of the Buddha's teachings.

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# 8

# The Mirror of the Practice

## Indic Models Internalized in the Indonesian Archipelago

*Edited by Yigal Bronner*

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### 8.1. Introduction: Where's Dandin?

*Yigal Bronner*

The Indonesian archipelago presents a fascinating enigma in the context of the story pieced together in this volume. On the one hand, unlike Burma, Thailand, and China to the north, Indonesia boasts a long-standing, continuous, and amazingly rich literary corpus that is directly indebted to Indic and primarily Sanskrit models, even as it has always sought and found a consciously distinctive aesthetics. In this sense, as Sheldon Pollock has noted, the literature in what we have come to call "Old Javanese" is essentially no different than vernacular literary cultures which emerged within the subcontinental mainland, for example Kannada: it displays the same sort of dialectical creativity that comes about from internalizing and indigenizing Sanskrit's cosmopolitan paradigms.[1] On the other hand, this illustrious and lasting tradition stands out, when compared to many vernacular literatures from South Asia, in having no foundational primer on poetics. No work comparable to Kannada's *Way of the Poet-King* (*Kavirājamārgaṁ*) is known in Old Javanese, and, moreover, no known text is dedicated to the key topic of ornaments, which nonetheless feature prominently in the literary practice from the very start. From its moment of inception, it seems, this literary tradition was heavily invested in the practice (*prayoga*) and far less so in theory (*śāstra*).

In fact, unlike all other literary cultures that came under strong or partial Indic influence, there is no unambiguous evidence for the presence of the *Mirror* in the entire cultural history of Indonesia: so far not a single manuscript, a sole citation,

[1] Pollock 2006: 326–27, 387–90.

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or any mention of the work or its author have come to light. If the *Mirror* was indeed part of the cultural package unloaded on Indonesian shores, as it was in the ports of Sri Lanka, Burma, and Thailand, it dissolved spectacularly into local soil without leaving a trace—or at least, not a trace of the sort we philologists are trained to find.

To figure out the elusive models that for generations continued to guide Javanese and Balinese poets, the present chapter is divided into two larger parts, each dealing with one extended "moment" in Indonesian literary history, and each written by a different hand.

In the first part of this chapter (sections 8.2–8.5), Thomas M. Hunter charts the earliest known literary experiments in Old Javanese. Our record of these begins in Central Java, with a series of inscriptions from the first half of the eighth century CE, and culminates, about a century later, with what is now known as the *Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa* (OJR), a monumental poem that was later seen as the foundation of a lively and lasting literary tradition. Already in the OJR, we see a uniquely complex engagement with Indic models. The work is an adaptation of Bhatti's *Slaying of Ravana* (*Rāvaṇavadha*), or *Bhatti's Poem* (*Bhaṭṭikāvya*; ca. 600 or 650), a Sanskrit work of poetry that, in addition to telling the Rama epic, was consciously meant to encapsulate the core of Sanskrit's theoretical knowledge, including the grammatical rules encoded in Panini's aphorisms, and the complete list of ornaments, perhaps based on Bhamaha's *Ornament of Poetry* or some older text that is now lost. Picking Bhatti's complex work for adaptation, the choice to play with and diverge from the original, and the decision of the later tradition to see the OJR as its point of origin are all indicative of the nuanced relationship between practice and theory—or practice as theory—in Old Javanese, and hence the work merits close attention in the context of this volume.

Hunter first charts the political, cultural, and religious context of the early poetic endeavors, when Sanskrit lexical items, meters, tropes, conventions, and ornaments were experimented with. He then turns to his primary exploration of pedagogy and creativity: how Indic models were imparted to aspiring poets in the classroom by masters who presumably had access, directly or through intermediaries, to the Sanskrit sources themselves, and how this transmission enabled and emboldened innovation vis-à-vis these models. Since there is no direct historical record of such pedagogy, Hunter finds evidence for it in a variety of sources, including visual representations of students in the classroom, and what is known about the large temple compounds such as Prambanan and Borobudur, the construction of which he sees as parallel to that of the OJR. More importantly, Hunter deduces poetry's pedagogical backstage from the OJR itself, with a specific emphasis on ornaments and other poetic devices. This he does not by focusing, as many have done in the past, on OJR 11, the chapter that forms an adaptation of Bhatti's systematic demonstration of ornaments, but on

"ornamental blocks" that appear in different parts of the poem, some with a direct Bhatti precedent while many with none. From his reading of these blocks, Hunter gleans the transmission and creation of knowledge in the formative phase of Javanese letters.

Pedagogy is also the main topic of the second part of the chapter, written by Helen Creese. If Hunter's extended moment spans about a century, Creese's part of the chapter (sections 8.6–8.10) examines the remaining history of the tradition, a bit over a millennium all told. *Kakawin* composition continued from the ninth century well into the nineteenth (in fact, the latest work Creese mentions is from 1998), during which period it migrated from Central to East Java and then to Bali.

Obviously, it is impossible to study this vast and productive tradition in but half a chapter, and this is not what Creese sets out to do. Instead, she opens two unique vistas for exploring the continued instruction and transmission of theoretical knowledge from one generation of poets to another. The first consists of the statements that the poets themselves make in introducing their poems. Unlike the OJR, which reached our hands without a title and bereft of authorial attribution, later *kakawin* works typically come with titles, authors' names (and nicknames), and, indeed, direct declarations with which the poets frame their works. The first part of Creese's discussion is a survey of such metapoetic statements, and as she shows, behind the conventional praises for deities and patrons and the necessary expressions of false modesty, they contain crucial information about the means by which one becomes a poet and the knowledge that gets imparted in the process. The second vista consists of texts that finally embody this knowledge methodically: primers dedicated to such topics as meter, lexicography, rasa, and poetic flaws. As Creese shows, there are numerous problems with these works, which are late compilations of earlier works that are no longer extant and which were compiled at a time when the original meaning may have been lost or changed beyond recognition. Nonetheless, Creese's study of such works, too, deduces some key facets about how Indic models were taught, preserved, and transformed during the long history of *kakawin*.

## 8.2. The Building Blocks: *Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa* and the Founding of a New Literary Language

*Thomas M. Hunter*

The history of Old Javanese letters begins in Central Java in a period ca. 732–856 CE when two powerful dynasties, the Shailendras and Sanjayas, were the dominant political forces on the fertile Kedu plain of south-central Java. This period

saw an unprecedented outburst of building activity, when a coalition between these dynasties united the agrarian productivity of central Java with the wealthy maritime trade of the western Malay-Indonesian archipelago. The two dynasties also enjoyed increasing access to the religious resources of India. The Shailendras were notable for their connections to the maritime trade and Buddhist networks that linked the archipelago with the Bay of Bengal and South Asia. The Sanjayas, whose power was tied to the organization of wet rice agriculture, were Shaiva-leaning, though both shared a growing fascination with an entire range of Indic intellectual traditions.

By the time of the first inscriptions in the eighth century CE, local officials linked to sacred springs and nodes in the irrigation system had evolved into a class of landed nobility. As the wealth and political influence of this noble *rakryan* class accumulated and Indic ideas of statecraft became the norm, powerful political figures emerged who took titles like maharaja. The Sanjayas, who appear on record with the Canggal inscription of 732 CE and were still prominent into the tenth century, emerged to become primus inter pares among the noble houses of central Java. As is known from their numerous administrative inscriptions, they had the power to mobilize "labor for the ruler" (*buat haji*) and the right to a share of the taxes from village clusters under their control (*dravya haji*).

The history of the Buddhist Shailendra dynasty is more difficult to trace. From the evidence of their intermittent support for a Buddhist foundation at "Seven Mangoes" (*Poh Pitu*), they appear from the early inscriptions to have had a connection to a Malay polity of Sumatra and to have prospered when they enjoyed the support of the Sanjaya monarchs. However, one faction within the Sanjaya line was hostile to them, with the result that there is no further evidence for the Shailendras in Java after 856 CE.[2] What is clear is that during the period ca. 732–856 CE the Shailendra kings were actively cultivating and experimenting with new cultural forms, as can be seen most visibly with their support of monumental building projects like the construction of the great Mahayana temple, Candi Borobudur.

The intertwined relationship of the Sanjayas and Shailendras is important for understanding the invention of Old Javanese (OJ) as a literary language and the genre of Javano-Balinese court epics generally termed *kakawin*. I believe that

[2] See Jordaan and Colless 2009 for an expert summary of the long history of debate on the Shailendras, and Mahdi 2008 and Hunter 2018 for recent studies in support of a Sumatran matriline and link to a polity of the Batang Hari river basin in the history of the Sanjaya dynasty that carry forward the approach of Stutterheim 1929. Griffiths 2013 has problematized Mahdi's account of the origins of the Sanjaya dynasty in a polity of the Batang Hari river basin and his interpretation of the Canggal inscription, but see also Mahdi's rejoinder that leaves open the possibility of a Sumatran predecessor and a Sumatran matriline in the history of the Sanjaya dynasty (Mahdi 2013). Klokke's review of the shifting pattern of patronage of Buddhist institutions by monarchs of the Sanjaya line suggests that the case presented by Mahdi should remain open (Klokke 2008: 155–56).

the close relationship between the two dynasties meant that young royals and religious aspirants who differed in their religious affiliation studied in tandem, perhaps in the same classrooms. Here they imbibed their knowledge of the authoritative Indian sources by methods of translation that are based on the Indian commentarial practices. These methods show up in the early theological and didactic literature of both the Mahayana and Shaiva streams of early Javanese religion and set the standard for prose composition for over seven hundred years.

We know from the Kalasan inscription that verses in *kāvya* form were being composed in Java in the late eighth century CE. This, we can surmise, was the beginning of a process of study and creativity of Indic meters and tropes that in time led to the formulation of a new literary language and a new poetic idiom. In another inscription, the Kayumwungan stone of 824 CE, we find traces of favored Indic tropes in a description of Pramodavarddhani, the daughter of the Shailendra monarch Samaratungga.[3] Here she is lovingly described with phrases that hark back to verses presumably taught in Shailendra classrooms. Consider, first, an example from Aja's lament for his deceased wife Indumati in Kalidasa's classic, the *Lineage of Raghu* (*Raghuvaṃśa*). Lonely Aja sees Indumati everywhere:

> In the calls of the cuckoos, the sweet music of your words,
> among the geese, your languid gait,
> amidst the does, your dancing eyes,
> and in vines gently brushed by the wind—your gestures.[4]

Now consider the Kayumwungan inscription, clearly built from very similar building blocks, even if used here in a very different context:

> She who is celebrated as the illustrious Pramodavarddhani.
> Steals . . . the bright beauty of the moon,
> The gait of the goose,
> And the melodious voice of the cuckoo.[5]

These figures, poetic conventions, and some of the most prominent meters of the Indian tradition make their first appearance in the eighth-century inscriptions of the Shailendras. Not long afterward—in the mid-ninth century—they find

[3] This inscription is also known as the Karang Tengah inscription, after the place it was found in the Temanggung district of Kedu Regency in central Java.

[4] *Raghuvaṃśa* 8.59: *kalam anyabhṛtāsu bhāṣitaṃ kalahaṃsīṣu madālasaṃ gatam | pṛṣatīṣu vilolam īkṣitaṃ pavanādhūtalatāsu vibhramāḥ ||*.

[5] Kayumvungan inscription 10: *sā kāntiñ candramaso gatiñ ca haṅsāt svarañ ca kalaviṅkāt | se – – – – ṇāṃ harati śrīmat prāmodavarddhanī khyātā ||* (*āryā* meter). Cited in de Casparis 1950: 39–42; Sarkar 1971: 67–74; Long and Lokesh Chandra 2014: 189; and Kandahjaya 2014: 121–25.

their way into a new literary idiom in the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa,* or *Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa*. The poets and pedagogues who created this work almost undoubtedly enjoyed the patronage of the Sanjaya dynasty, which by the mid-ninth century had emerged as the paramount power in central Java. Announcing their power and presence with the great Shaiva temple complex at Prambanan, Sanjaya monarchs like Rakai Kayuwangi and Rakai Pikatan were prime movers in support of literature, performing arts, and architecture, in addition to statecraft. A cultural encounter that had begun in Shailendra "classrooms" thus reached full vigor under Sanjaya patronage.[6]

One could argue, perhaps, that the above verse from the Kayumwungan inscription merely borrows a trope without any theoretical or pedagogical framework. But the picture becomes far more complicated when we consider the OJR, the first full-length literary effort in Old Javanese. The choice of the story of Rama and Sita for this monumental effort was in many ways a natural one. Even to this day, Rama is taken as a model of ideal kingship in much of Southeast Asia, including the Theravada countries of the mainland, where Rama is considered an earlier incarnation of the Buddha. But instead of taking the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Valmiki as their model, or a simpler oral version of the story of Rama and Sita, the literati of ancient Java chose as their model the *Slaying of Ravana*, or *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (BhK) of the seventh-century poet Bhatti. This work has the distinction of combining an elegant retelling of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in *kāvya* form with a detailed and methodical exposition of Panini's grammatical rules and of the building blocks of poetic theory. In particular, the BhK features a chapter that systematically demonstrates *kāvya*'s ornaments of speech (*alaṅkāra*), as discussed by the poetician Bhamaha in his *Ornament of Poetry* (*Kāvyālaṅkāra*).[7]

The BhK is known for its challenging combination of poetry and technical poetic knowledge. In one of the last verses of his work, the poet likens it to "a lamp to those who perceive the meaning of words," but also to "a hand mirror for a blind man to those without grammar." In the penultimate verse, Bhatti adds that his work is to be understood "by means of a commentary" and should be "a joy to those sufficiently learned."[8] So already in the Sanskrit root text that Javanese

[6] The relationship of the Sanjaya and Shailendra lines in the dynastic history of the Early Mataram period (ca. 732–928 CE) remains controversial. See Klokke (2008: 155–56) for a review of the on-again, off-again pattern of patronage of the Buddhist institutions of the Shailendra by scions of the Sanjaya line beginning with Rakai Panangkaran (r. 760–780). The Shivagriha inscription of 856 CE is of particular importance in demonstrating the final ascendancy of the Sanjaya line, who were responsible for the construction of the Shaiva complex at Prambanan, and very likely the composition of the OJR.

[7] See Hunter 2011b: 29, 32–35, for a discussion of the date of Bhatti that includes discussion of comments by Hooykaas 1958b; Söhnen 1995; and Tubb 2003. Hunter concludes that Bhatti very likely preceded Dandin, whose dates have been estimated by Rabe 1997 as falling between 685–719 CE. Bronner 2017: 89 seems to concur.

[8] BhK 22.33–34. Translation from Fallon 2009: 461.

thinkers chose for adaptation, a specific pedagogy is presented. The more technical aspects of Bhatti's work—the rules governing certain verbal endings, for instance, or the definitions of the different figures and tropes—are written in code. The rules and definitions themselves are not given, only the examples that exemplify them and that form the narrative. Decoding these coded examples requires a teacher or commentator who can help match them with the theoretical passages with which they correspond. Indeed, the work of the Sanskrit commentator Jayamangala (date unknown) is a perfect example of an author who understood Bhatti's pedagogical model, accepted his invitation, and masterfully decoded his poem. Thus, for each illustration of an ornament, Jayamangala provides (among other explanations) Bhamaha's definition of it and shows how Bhatti's example suits the definition. The implication of all of this is that by choosing the BhK for adaptation, early Old Javanese writers also knowingly chose a certain pedagogical model. This choice had lasting implications on the practice of literature in Java and later in Bali: as the Sanskrit model of pedagogy was further developed and adapted for local uses in the Indonesian archipelago, it led to the development of inscriptional and literary languages whose practice depends on the regulating hand of a commentarial tradition.[9]

The most obvious place to look for the emerging Javanese notions of literary pedagogy is in chapter eleven of the OJR, which responds to Bhatti's exposition of poetic ornaments in his tenth chapter. And indeed, there has been considerable scholarship on this topic, showing how in OJR 11, with the likely help of additional theoretical and commentarial works, the figures of BhK 10 were "analyzed and decoded" and then "recoded, or reconfigured."[10] The present contribution explores a different path by examining similar poetic-pedagogical encounters throughout the OJR. Indeed, I propose that we consider the OJR holistically, as a monument meant to embody the glory of the Sanjaya dynasty, not unlike the temples and relief sculptures of the Shaiva complex at Prambanan. A major aim of this contribution is to explore the possibility that, like the Sanjaya's massive architectural complex, the OJR is the result of a collective project, led by a master designer with an overall blueprint, but carried out by a plurality of artists and artisans. This plan may have prioritized the unpacking and repacking of the poetic figures from BhK 10 to produce their exposition in OJR 11, but similar tasks of decoding and recoding may have been assigned to poets in charge of different

[9] See Hunter 2011c: 11–17, 21–25, for a discussion of the history of a commentarial form of composition traced to the early didactic texts in Old Javanese. See Hunter 2010: 2, 11–12, 26, 32; Hunter 2011c: 12; and Hunter 2014a: 196–97, for discussions of Braginsky's model (1993) of the pre-classical literature in Malay as an "incorporating" literature designed to ensure connectedness to the "zone-shaping" literature of the Buddhist Pali canon.

[10] These include the seminal Aichele 1926; Hooykaas 1931 (a Dutch translation of Aichele 1926); Hooykaas 1957; Hunter 2014a; and Bronner and Creese 2019. The quote is from Bronner and Creese 2019: 64.

parts of the work, resulting in figurative or ornamental blocks that were purposefully and selectively deployed in the OJR, and with specific aesthetic goals in mind. In what follows, I provide examples from some of these blocks, appearing in different chapters of the OJR, and argue that they display the evolving Javanese efforts of producing a model that is at least partly independent of Bhatti's original.

Before turning to the textual samples, let me briefly state my hypothesis that the OJR was a modular composition, led by a master poet but collectively carried out. There is good reason to believe that work on the OJR was guided by learned preceptors of the Atimarga form of Shaivism, who are alluded to in chapter 24 of the work and who are likely depicted in the shrines to Brahma and Shiva at Prambanan (see Figures 8.1 and 8.2).[11]

In order to understand the role that these Shaiva preceptors may have played in the composition of the OJR, consider the model of the *sthāpaka*, master architects who guided the construction of temple complexes in the Early Mataram (732–929). *Sthāpaka*s are portrayed with great respect in the Old Javanese inscriptions and are an important feature of literary works of the later East Javanese period, such as *The Victory of Arjuna* (*Arjunawijaya*) and *The Description of the Countryside* (*Deśawarṇana*).[12] As intermediaries with the South Asian tradition, they were expected to be fully conversant with the textual basis of architecture and able to apply the Indic theories to the building projects at hand. Note that this implies the transmission of knowledge across a linguistic divide and so presupposes competence in a local idiom (spoken Javanese), the cosmopolitan idiom of Sanskrit, and an emerging literary language—a Javanese Prakrit.[13]

As Michell has pointed out in two works (1988, 2000), the architecture, images, and iconography of the central Javanese temples do not suggest a firsthand familiarity with mainland models, but rather the use of handbooks on the practical arts

[11] For works that provide insights into the history of Atimarga Shaivism in the Early Mataram period and the parallel case of Khmer Shaivism, see inter alia Acri 2006, 2011b; Acri and Jordaan 2012; Nihom 1995; Sanderson 1988, 2003–2004; and Zieseniss 1958.

[12] See, for example, OJO 11 (874): *rāma jātaka marhyang sthāpaka upakalpa kāyasthā dewakarma* ("the diviners, who perform the worship of the gods, the *sthāpaka*s, preparers of ritual implements, and the scribes, who record the rituals of the gods"); AWij 31.6: *sang sthāpaka śaiwa boddha karuhun sampun wineh pangrĕna* ("the honored *sthāpaka*s of the Shaiva and Boddha orders were first given tokens of gratitude for their services"); DW 78.1: *mpungku sthāpaka sang mahāguru panĕngguh ning sarāt kottama* ("milord, the *sthāpaka*, the great and honored guru famed in the entire world as paramount"). These examples suggest that *sthāpaka*s were as much identified in Java with the practice of ritual as with architecture, and that by the Majapahit period they were seen as among the highest religious authorities of the Shaiva and Sogata orders. For a discussion of the *Arjunawijaya* and the *Deśawarṇana*, see Creese in section 8.6 below.

[13] The texts of the traditional architects of Bali (*undagi*), like *Hasta Kosala-Kosali*, reflect a long tradition of attention to the textual means for recording and transmitting knowledge of the science of architecture. That in most cases a traditional architect is also a temple priest (*pemangku*) brings out the sacred aspect of architecture, an orientation that permeates the texts and architectural practice as well. See Hunter 2007: 283–85, for a study of the concept of an "increment that gives life" (*urip*) to the architectural and calendrical systems of Bali.

**Figures 8.1 and 8.2.** Shaiva Priest-ascetics, from the Krishna series of narrative reliefs in the Vishnu Shrine at Prambanan temple complex, Central Java.
*Source:* Courtesy of Marijke Klokke.

(*śilpa*) and architecture (*vastu*).[14] The *sthāpaka*s were the guiding hands that employed these texts in planning building projects and directing an army of builders and artisans who carried out the everyday work of construction and of carving the narrative reliefs that grace the walls of the temples. Their role as intermediaries between knowledge realms and linguistic media necessitated a pedagogy aimed at bridging gaps. The *sthāpaka*s were thus crucial both to the transmission of knowledge and its translation into tangible products like the Rama story reliefs of Prambanan. In the completion of such narrative reliefs, they would surely assign the themes of the various panels, often writing keywords above the panels indicating their theme. The actual work of carving the reliefs was then carried out by teams of expert stone-carvers, and from the relative consistency of representation in the reliefs it is clear that they all learned their craft in the same workshop.

It requires but a short leap of the imagination to begin to think of the composition of the OJR as following a course parallel with the construction of a temple complex like that of Prambanan. And while the applicability of this model to the OJR cannot be decisively proven, it better explains some aspects of the work and the context of its composition. First, this model may account for the various inconsistencies and "interpolations" that scholars detected in the poem, and for the second "voice" that Zoetmulder began to hear "roughly from *sarga* 24, stanza 100, onwards."[15] If we consider the kind of collective study needed to generate both a new literary language and a new genre, then it is natural to think of the completion of a monumental project like the OJR as necessitating a group effort, with at times distinct voices, guided by the learned elders of the Shaiva literati. Once we get used to thinking of this model of composition, it may offer more explanatory power than the assumption that the work was composed by a single poet expert in over eighty-one meters, all the sophisticated sound ornaments (especially the *yamaka*s) and ornaments of sense, and numerous other poetic elements featured in the poem.

Second, there are suggestive parallels between the model I propose here and a relief in Borobudur illustrating a "classroom scene." Here, in Figure 8.3, the young Bodhisattva is portrayed in a scene from the *Lalitavistara* where he amazes his teachers by demonstrating his proficiency in sixty-four types of writing and as many languages.[16] On the right-hand side of this relief, the young Bodhisattva is shown seated with a "meditation band" around his knees, with his right hand extended, and in an attitude of speaking. A figure seated to the left of the Bodhisattva is shown inscribing what may be a palm leaf manuscript

[14] This was pointed out earlier by F. D. K. Bosch 1961: 1–22, in his seminal article "The Problem of the Hindu Colonisation of Indonesia."

[15] Zoetmulder 1974: 230.

[16] For an earlier discussion of this relief, see Hunter 2014a: 207–8. For a reproduction, see Krom and van Erp 1920, Vol. II, Plate XIX. 28. A photograph of the left-hand side of the diptych is given in

**Figure 8.3.** Classroom Scene, from the *Lalitavistara* series of narrative reliefs at Candi Borobudur, Central Java.
*Source:* Courtesy of Alice Frye.

or writing slate, as if taking notes on what the Bodhisattva is saying. On the left-hand side of the relief, we see what is clearly meant to be a scene of classroom study: five students are visible, two of them holding manuscripts of *lontar* palm leaf. This relief from the great monument of the Shailendras gives us a pictorial model for the kind of pedagogical context that, I believe, lay in the background of the composition of the OJR. Based on the pictorial evidence, we can take the "teacher-student" (*guru-śiṣya*) educational method as basic to the pedagogy of the Early Mataram, and we catch sight of the collective nature of reading and discussion of textual materials that have been committed to writing on manuscripts of *lontar* palm, either as finished works, or "classroom notes" like those of the *Jānakīharaṇa* of Kumāradāsa that Lokesh Chandra identified in his study of the Javano-Balinese text *Candakiraṇa*.[17]

Finally, consider the blocks sampled below. The existence of such extended passages throughout the poem, and the fact that each of these passages experiments with certain ornamental devices, cannot be explained by the Sanskrit original, and the single-author model does not really account for them either. But if we imagine a collective pedagogical-creative effort of the type described above, they begin to make sense as practice assignments of elements from the curriculum, figurative as well as metrical, which the masters handed to students working on different narrative portions of the work. The story of Rama and Sita was chosen as the theme of the project, very likely for its virtues as a guide to kingship and marriage, as well as for its aesthetic strengths and possibilities. But if I am right, the BhK, with its built-in pedagogy, must have been deemed

Hunter 2014a: 207, Figure 8. For further discussion of the *Lalitavistara* and its Chinese translations, see Li, section 9.2 in this volume.

[17] Lokesh Chandra 1997. See Creese in sections 8.9 and 8.10 below.

uniquely suitable for this kind of practice, allowing poets in the making to internalize the knowledge of the original and then use it creatively in their work.

## 8.3. Exploring Modularity in the OJR: Ornaments of Meaning

*Thomas M. Hunter*

Whatever the process in which it was created—by one poet or many, from beginning to end or in a different sequence—one thing is clear: ornaments of meaning in the OJR rarely appear in isolation. Instead, they are found in blocks ranging between six and twenty-four verses in length that expand on particular expressive needs within the narrative. The first time we encounter a block of this type is in sixteen verses of chapter two that develop a description of the beauties of the countryside through which Rama and Lakshmana pass on their way to Ayodhya (OJR 2.4–19). These verses closely follow a richly figurative passage from Bhatti, but they do so in ways that reflect the twin processes of unpacking and repackaging seen elsewhere in the poem, thereby inscribing in the practice an already localized version of a theory and pedagogy of ornamentation.

Consider, to begin, a simple pair of verses. Here is a translation of Bhatti's verse followed by the OJR's response:

> The red lotuses displayed an extraordinary beauty of flames, their petals were atremble with the lapping waves, with their crowds of bees they shone with the luster of fire from a smoking lamp. (BhK 2.2)[18]
>
> The lotuses had opened widely, all of them blossoming, all of them red,
> When the ripples of the lake set them in motion,
> They looked just like the moving flames of a fire,
> (While) the bees moving restless above them were like the smoke. (OJR 2.4)[19]

The language and imagery seem identical, but a close examination of the two verses reveals an interesting difference. In Bhatti's version, the comparison of flowers and lamps is based on equative compounds such as "beauty of flames" (*jvālā-śriyam*), which Sanskrit grammarians and literary theorists classified as cases of simile (*upamā*). In the OJR version, however, the compounds are

[18] BhK 2.2: *taraṅgasaṅgāc capalaiḥ palāśair | jvālāśriyaṃ sâtiśayāṃ dadhanti || sadhūmadīptâgnirucīni rejus | tāmrôtpalāny ākulaṣaṭpadāni ||*. Translation adapted from Fallon 2009: 17.

[19] OJR 2.4: *utphulla ta ng kumuda kapwa mĕkar paḍâbang / ryak-ryak nikang talaga yêka dumeh ya cāla / byakta n katon kadi dilah ning apuy ya molah / kumbang bhramanta i ruhurnya akĕn kukusnya*.

replaced by a variety of lexemes that mean "like" (*kadi*, *akĕn*), as well as by a more extended comparative phrase (*byakta n katon kadi*; "clearly when seen like"), all of which denote the presence of a simile explicitly and unambiguously. We can imagine how the original imagery was mediated and assigned, perhaps by a master to an apprentice, *as a case of simile*. It also seems possible that the assignment was handed out along with a list of lexemes indicating comparison in Old Javanese, not unlike the Sanskrit list provided by Dandin when discussing similes in his *Mirror*.[20]

Now consider a more complex pair of examples, still within the same block. In the very next verse, Bhatti portrays an intense competition between the riverbanks and the river:

> As they saw their own flourishing imitated by the waters which the bankside groves reached by means of their reflection, the banks as if *emulous/jealous* increased the beauty of the water lotuses with the *whiteness/mockery* of their land lotuses.[21]

Note the intricacy of the postulated exchange. First, the trees growing on the bank literally reach over to the river "by means of their reflection," perhaps a menacing gesture born of jealousy. Then, the banks notice that their own distinct beauty is stolen by the water, which now displays the reflection of trees. This leads to a further act of emulation: the banks sprout land-lotuses that reflect those that grow in the riverbed. These flowers are white, and because laughter is always white in Sanskrit, the embankments are said to mock the river. As the medieval Sanskrit commentator Mallinatha has observed, here the "embrace" of meanings (*śleṣa*) supports the main ornament of attribution, or "seeing as" (*utprekṣā*): the banks and river (and their respective elements) are seen as feeling human agents.

Now consider the response of the OJR:

> The forest groves were charming, as if they intentionally bent over to look at
> their mirrored images,
> And gazed intently at their reflections that stood out clearly in the river,
> But a pugnacious pike set out to tease them and darted quickly to and fro,
> Throwing the clear reflections into a dark and confused mass.[22]

[20] KĀ 2.57–65.

[21] BhK 2.3: *bimbâgatais tīravanaiḥ samṛddhiṃ* | *nijāṃ vilokyâpahṛtāṃ payobhiḥ* || *kūlāni sâmarṣatayeva tenuḥ* | *sarojalakṣmīṃ sthalapadmahāsaiḥ* ||. Translation adapted from Fallon 2009: 17. The italicized alternates in the translation compensate for the original's consistent use of double entendre (*śleṣa*).

[22] OJR 2.5: *rāmya ng alas* ***kadi mahā*** *mangilo tumungkul / chāyānya yêngĕt-ingöt ya mawās rikang lwah /* ***medi*** *dĕlĕg agul-agul magĕlis ya molah / chāyâlilang malimunan makusut denya*. For the OJ text of Kern 1900, see van der Molen 2014: 16; for another translation, Robson 2015: 46–47.

In the first two lines the Javanese version follows the Sanskrit rather closely, although with one important difference: the motivation for the trees' bending over to the river is made explicit here: it is their narcissistic desire to gaze at their own reflection. Then, the third and fourth lines add an unexpected twist: the river responds by blurring the reflections by means of a "pugnacious pike," thereby poking fun at the forest groves growing on the banks who are intent on their reflections in the water of the river. It is clear that the author of this verse knew well that the ornament "seeing as" was his or her "assignment" here, as can be seen in the insertion of the "as if intentionally" (*kadi mahā*, an unambiguous indication of "seeing as" not found in Bhatti) in the first half, and the further development of the conceit of conflict in the second. Indeed, it may well be the case that this adaptation was informed by access to technical knowledge, either direct or mediated, of the sort found in Dandin's *Mirror*, where it is explained that the Sanskrit word *iva* ("like"), which appears in the Bhatti's verse (and is translated above by "as if"), should not lead one to confuse "seeing as" with simile; in the latter, *iva* is used to compare between noun phrases, and in the former it construes with the verb.[23] Moreover, we can see how the act of translation, informed by such pedagogical and commentarial practices, also opens up a new creative space: perhaps the Javanese authors, like the river in this verse, consciously escape the role of mere reflections and thus have the last laugh.

Blocks of ornaments of meaning are particularly favored when one of the separated lovers—Rama or Sita—reflects on nature's "wounding beauty" and the pain of love in separation. One of the first blocks of this type comes up in chapter six, where Rama reacts to the beauties he and his younger brother Lakshmana encounter in the forest of Pampa by voicing a lament on the pain of separation. Other such blocks are found in the seventh chapter, when Rama is flooded with memories of Sita as he meditates on the beauties of Mount Malyawan (OJR 7.10–33); in the sixteenth, where a similar soliloquy of Rama is prompted by the beauties of Mount Suwela (OJR 16.22–40); and in the seventeenth, when attention turns to Sita as she is tortured by moonlight in the Ashoka garden and expresses her longing for Rama (OJR 17.105–10).

It may be useful to compare two of these blocks: Rama's soliloquy in the seventh chapter and Sita's lament in the Ashoka Garden in the seventeenth. Both of these passages come up at points where the protagonists are strongly affected by the beauties of nature and respond with verses on the pain of separation. But whereas in the first, the Javanese poets were composing with a Bhatti parallel

[23] See Dandin's well-known discussion in KĀ 2.224–32 of the phrase *limpatîva* ("as if anointing") as exemplifying the correct use of *iva* in the construction of figures based on "seeing as."

in hand, in the second they moved into uncharted territory, creating an ornamental block that is entirely of their own making. As we have come to expect, the changes and experimentations are found already within the first block. I begin with a translation of the verse from Bhatti's poem that has a parallel in the first block:

> As this season of thunder scatters its waters,
> It would bring bewilderment
> Even to the heart of an ascetic,
> Who has gone beyond pleasure and pain. (BhK 7.10)[24]

Note that this Sanskrit verse offers little that is figurative or ornamental; it simply reports that the rainy season, with its showers and thunders, would bewilder even the self-possessed yogi. Here is the response of the *Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa*:

> Ah, the breeze that softly blows from north to south
> Its fragrance pleasing, carrying along the scent of *kadamba* blossoms.
> In such a place, even a sage living in the forest who has conquered his senses,
> Will clearly suffer longing and heartache. (OJR 7.10)

The idea is the same, but some things are added or changed. First, the rains and thunders are replaced with a soft breeze carrying the fragrant scent of the *kadamba* flowers that blossom in the rainy season. This creates a clearer impression of what it is that makes the heart of "even a sage living in the forest who has conquered his senses" feel "longing and heartache." Indeed, it calls to mind Dandin's examples for the ornament of "causation" (*hetu*), which dwell on the various effects, positive and negative, of such fragrant winds.[25] Second, and this cannot be seen from the translation, there is an interweaving of effects of assonance and alliteration in the OJR that enriches the naturalistic description.

In other words, the Javanese poets have not only fully internalized the Indic conventions and ornaments at this stage, but the ornamental blocks have allowed them to improve on the original, and they took this opportunity with open hands. The same trajectory is even more pronounced in the soliloquy of Sita in the seventeenth chapter, an elaborate study of the pain of separation that, as noted, has no direct parallel in the BhK, but which surely responds to the earlier

[24] BhK 7.10: *kuryād yoginam apy eṣa sphūrjāvān parimohinam | tyāginaṃ sukhaduḥkhasya parikṣepy ambhasām ṛtuḥ ||*.

[25] KĀ 2.234–37.

soliloquy of Rama. Let us consider the thematic correspondence in a verse that will surely ring familiar:

> And there in the *ashoka* grove it is so very pleasant and attractive,
> An abundance of fragrant flowers falls there without cease.
> Ah, but how is this, that it so causes the pain of separation for those who would seek happiness there,
> Even a sage observing a vow of silence will feel longing in his heart when he arrives in such a place. (OJR 17.107)

The fragrances that were added in Rama's soliloquy reappear in Sita's, and with the same effect. But what stands out even more, when comparing the passages from the seventh and seventeenth chapters, is the degree to which the effects of alliteration and assonance introduced in OJR 7.10 are expanded and become dominant in OJR 17.107. Consider the interweaving of the ornaments of sound in the two examples:

> *hāh sam**ī**raṇa m**irir** ya l**or** kidul / **rūm**nya **rām**ya sakadamba wāsita /*
> *sang jitend**ri**ya hanêng alas tuwi / byakta moněng ikanâta de nikā.* (OJR 7.10)
> *mwang ta rikeng aśokawana somya **rā**mya ya těměn / bāp ta sěk**ar** hane**ri**ya*
> *ma**rum** n**ir**antara **rurū** / hah ndya dumeh wiyoga kasukana yan hana **ri**ya /*
> *sang wiku **mona moněnga** / **manah** n**irâr para ri**ke.* (OJR 17.107)

The verse from chapter seven is already rich in alliteration, most notably a series of seven variations on syllables composed of /r/ plus a vowel (*–īr*, *ir*, *-ir*, *-or*, *-ru*, *-ra*, *ri*). But in the verse from chapter seventeen, this series is expanded to thirteen repetitions, in addition to additional rhyming effects such *(s)omya* and *(r)amya* in the first line. That the Javanese poets were intent on improving upon their earlier model is made further evident by their borrowing of the word *moněng*, "to yearn," found in the earlier verse, but now placing it with a richly resonant repetition of sounds in the phrase *mona moněnga*, "a silent yogi might yearn" in the later verse. It is to explorations of such sound effects that I would now like to turn.

## 8.4. Modularity and Sound Effects: *Yamaka* and *Daṇḍaka* Blocks

*Thomas M. Hunter*

One of the most prominent elements of structure found in the OJR are blocks of the reduplicated figures called *yamaka*, or "twinning," typically found

alongside other ornaments of sound such as alliteration.[26] As I explain below, when responding to Bhatti's systematic exposition of ornaments (as given in BhK 10), the Javanese poets avoided reproducing his *yamaka*s and opted for a different solution. However, extended passages containing "twinning" feature prominently in the latter chapters of the OJR. Hooykaas first called attention to three long "*yamaka* blocks" beginning with Canto 16.[27] I have argued elsewhere that these appear at crucial points in the narrative, and that they often include effects of assonance, parallelism, and other forms of repetition rather than *yamaka*, strictly defined as the repeated appearance of identical phonetic twins, each time in a different meaning.[28] I also have shown that *yamaka*s, as defined by Sanskrit theoreticians, are found in the Old Javanese Shivagriha inscription, whose composers may have been from among the same *sthāpaka* preceptors that, I believe, guided the study of the BhK and the making of the OJR.[29]

Indeed, a close examination of the "*yamaka* blocks" reveals a wide range of explorations with the classical Sanskrit form. Some examples follow the Indic rules closely. This is true, for instance, of the "clasp" (*kāñcī*) or "circular" (*cakravāla*) variety of twinning, where the phrase that ends a metrical quarter reappears with a different meaning at the beginning of the next. Consider an example from the first extended *yamaka* block in OJR 16:

*ḍaḍap matöb dalima paḍānĕḍĕng* ***kabeh***
***kaweni*** *ta ng mulati yam sangśayeng* ***apuy***
***apuy*** *nira-ng Madana kunĕng iko****marab***
***mara****n gĕsĕng hati nira sang wiyoga weh.* (OJR 16.24)
*Ḍaḍap* and pomegranate trees with luxuriant foliage were **all** at the height of their bloom,
Along with ***kaweni*** blossoms that if you looked at them seemed to be **aflame,**
With the **fire** of the Love God, then **flaring up**,
**Causing** the hearts of the lovelorn to burn with scorching heat.

We see here a perfect agreement with the pattern of "clasp" twinning, as illustrated in Bhatti and defined and illustrated in Dandin's *Mirror*.[30] But we also can observe the introduction of local vocabulary and indigenous flora that help create the repetition, which in turn corroborates the notion of an all-consuming fire of love. Moreover, in the OJR, such circular *yamaka*s invariably extend across

[26] On *yamaka*, see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5, Gornall, Hallisey, and Meegaskumbura, section 3.7, Clare and Shulman, section 4.4, and Ruiz-Falqués, section 7.3.
[27] Hooykaas 1958b: 130–32. The three "*yamaka* blocks" first noted by Hooykaas are: (1) the building of the causeway to Lanka (OJR 16.1–40), (2) the restoration of Lanka (OJR 24.97–123), and (3) Rama's and Sita's return to Ayodhya by means of an aerial chariot (OJR 24.252–26.9).
[28] Hunter 2014a: 212–15.
[29] Ibid., 37–41.
[30] BhK 10.9; KĀ 3.51–52. Dandin describes this figure as a *sandaṣṭa*, or "bitten" twinning.

multiple verses, something that we do not see in the poetic manuals of Bhatti, Bhamaha, and Dandin, where each subtype of twinning is exemplified by just one verse. It is thus clear that while the OJR poets shared interest in *yamaka* with thinkers like Dandin, who devotes no less than seventy-seven verses to a uniquely extensive study of this device, they also experimented further with its potential and found it a useful creative module for weaving together large portions of the text.

And indeed, more experimentation is in the offing. Consider the following verse from a later block of twinning in chapter 17:

> *ma**dulur-dulur** yārampukan asana*
> *ma**ngidung-idung** yācangkrama kasukan*
> *ma**turu-turū** roṇ-ḍon pinaka-tilam*
> ***tumĕnga-tengā** ring candra-wilasita.* (OJR 17.127)
> **Together** they arranged flowers in each other's hair,
> **Sang together** as they strolled about happily,
> Then **fell half-sleeping** on bedding made of leaves,
> Or **looked up again and again** at the play of the moonlight.

At first sight, this is a standard variety of twinning that appears at (or very close to) the beginning of every metrical foot (*pādādiyamaka*). But upon closer inspection we realize that the repetition is based on a sequence of reduplicated verbs used in parallel, predicate-initial constructions that are part of the Western Malayo-Polynesian (WMP) repertoire of grammatical forms. We are clearly not in the classical domain of *yamaka*, which requires an exact repetition of sound and a different meaning for each instance, but rather of a more permissive approach to repetitions that further expands the repertoire of sound effects and that, once again, beautifully augments the overall meaning of collective repeated action.

Indeed, there is a marked tendency toward increasing use of repetitions of all kinds in the later chapters of the work, especially in the exceptionally long block that includes 135 verses (extending over three cantos, from OJR 24.252 through 26.9). Hooykaas has identified it as one of his three "*yamaka* blocks," but surely, not all of the verses illustrate classical *yamaka* patterns. In fact, most of them offer repetitions that expand the Indic repertoire of twinning. These examples and many others suggest that we should see the poets of the OJR as having developed a more flexible understanding of effects of repetition, including reduplicated verb forms, parallelism, assonance, as well as *yamaka*s that fit the classical definitions of theorists like Dandin. I propose giving the name "Indo-Javanese *yamaka*s" to these ornaments of sound developed in the OJR,

and I would like to think of them as one visible product of the creative forces at work as Javanese poets fashioned a vernacular literary language.[31]

It is with such elasticity and creativity in mind that I would like to conclude this section by looking at the marked use of the ultra-long and uniquely flexible meters of the *daṇḍaka* category as another module in the OJR.[32] These meters seem to lend themselves, at least in Old Javanese, to virtuoso displays of verbal skill and exuberance. It may be that the simple, repetitive structure of these meters, with the possibility of nearly unlimited expansion, made them particularly suitable for such effects. They appear first in two lengthy verses from the ninth canto (OJR 9.56–57), describing Hanuman's destruction of the Ashoka garden and the frenzied flight of the birds and animals of the garden. This is followed by another lengthy pair of verses in the eleventh canto that describes in rollicking detail the theme of Hanuman's torching of Lanka (OJR 11.1–2).

The choice of a "*daṇḍaka* block" at this point is especially significant when compared to the BhK's parallel description of the burning of Lanka, where Bhatti displays the possibilities of the aforementioned *yamaka*. The poets and pedagogues of the OJR may have found the Sanskrit instances of twinning untranslatable, and as we have seen, they preferred to allot this device ample space elsewhere in the work. Here they chose to replace it with the *daṇḍaka* metrical form that was well suited to the fast-paced presentation of the action, thereby replacing Indic *yamaka*s with Old Javanese assonances and alliterations.

Additional *daṇḍaka* blocks in chapter twenty-six are also devoted to the depiction of tumultuous action. These blocks first feature the elaborate feasting and drinking that celebrate the victorious return of the protagonists to Ayodhya (OJR 26.22–24). This is followed by the exuberant soliloquy of the jester Bhandira as he exhorts the guests at the feast to sample the many delicacies laid out for their enjoyment (OJR 26.25), a passage that the late A. L. Becker once referred to as "Old Javanese rap."[33] Indeed, the extreme simplicity of the three-syllable feet of *daṇḍaka* lends itself to the literary version of a rapid-fire oral delivery that shares much with the long tradition of the *wayang* shadow plays.[34] Here is a portion of Bhandira's speech in translation:

> Hey, take a look at the guy chopping things up in the kitchen, the way he does it it's like he's trying to imitate someone playing the *murawa* drum. From the way

[31] See Ollett 2017: 162–63, 176, for a recent discussion of Old Javanese as a vernacular literary language modeled on the example of Prakrit.

[32] In the most common form of *daṇḍaka* meter, a pair of tribrachs (⏑ ⏑ ⏑) is followed by $n$ cases of molussus (– – –). In the OJR the shortest variant has $n = 7$, for a total syllable count of $(2 \times 3) + (7 \times 3) = 27$ syllables, while the longest variety has $n = 33$ and a total syllable count of 105.

[33] A. L. Becker, personal communication, June 2009.

[34] This passage calls to mind the "*wayang* style" in narration that the late Y. B. Mangunwijaya used to great effect in the novel *Durga Umayi* (1994), his allegorical study of the fate of the Indonesian nation. For a translation of *Durga Umayi*, see Mangunwijaya and Keeler 2004.

he flings around his chopping knife he looks like a court jester (*boṇḍi*), he's so clever at insane grinning and bending over backwards with every movement, then jumping back startled when oil poured in the cook pots hits the wood fire and hisses as it splits. Now four drunks stumble in, paying no attention to the steamed rice bundles, leaving them unfinished, nor do they complete cooking the porridge of pure, white milk, the epitome of coolness to ease the heat of those felled by hard drink. They carry staves, but made of bunches of flowers fit for use in adorning the hair.

What then is the use of pleasure? It is the fruit in the form of leisure of those who are victorious in battle. The greatest of all enjoyments is paying devotion of the highest order to Maheshwara. That is the cause that the world will become happy and the realm will return to an auspicious and prosperous state.[35]

It appears that the poets of the OJR looked to the possibilities of the *daṇḍaka* meters as a natural ally in describing tumultuous scenes, whether a scene like Hanuman's torching of Lanka, a boisterous scene of feasting, or a dazzling display of verbal pyrotechnics in the *wayang*-like delivery of a court jester inviting guests to enjoy the delicacies laid out for their enjoyment. In cases like these, *daṇḍaka* blocks proved to be natural allies in *kakawin* composition.

## 8.5. Poetry of Yore: A Metapoetic Statement in OJR 24.230–33

*Thomas M. Hunter*

Until recently, the received wisdom has been that the poet(s) of the OJR followed Bhatti closely through Canto 16, at which point the presence of Bhatti "completely vanished."[36] But Saran and Khanna have shown that the "poet of the OJR" returned partly to Bhatti in Cantos 24–26,[37] and indeed, the received wisdom needs serious reconsideration. The latter part of the OJR, where many of the building blocks discussed above are found, suggests nothing less than the declaration of independence of a new poetic tradition. By this point in the composition, the Javanese poets had become so self-confident that they aligned their work with that of Bhatti only at crucial points in their narrative, leaving room for vast displays of self-sufficient creativity.

[35] For other translations of this passage from the *daṇḍaka* section of chapter twenty-six, see Robson 2015: 766–67 and Becker and Ricci 2008: 10.

[36] The phrase is from Zoetmulder 1974: 229, but the claim for a complete divergence of the OJR with Bhatti after Canto 16 goes back to articles by Hooykaas 1955, 1958a.

[37] Khanna and Saran 1993: 231–32. See also Acri 2014: 476.

I cannot give an exhaustive rendering of the points of alignment and departure here, but a few examples may suffice. The two works converge with Ravana's creation of a false replica of Rama and Lakshmana's heads (BhK 14.1; OJR 17.4), his decision to wake up his sleeping brother Kumbhakarna to join the rescue (BhK 15; OJR 22.1–89 and 23.1–9), elements of Kumbhakarna's awakening and fighting (e.g., BhK 15.11; OJR 22.1–23a and BhK 15.69c–d; OJR 22.81d), Ravana's death (BhK 17.111; OJR 24.28–30), Wibhishana's rebuke of his dead brother Ravana for failing to heed wise counsel (BhK 18.17–18; OJR 24.38), Hanuman's approach to summon Sita to Rama once the battle is over (BhK 21.1–22.32; OJR 24.127–26.49), and Rama's initial rejection of Sita (BhK 20.26–29; OJR 146–54a). These moments of convergence, however, are interspersed and overshadowed by modules of growing length and experimentation: soliloquies of the type we have seen, with ample emphasis on Sita's plight in captivity (e.g., her confrontation with Ravana, her spirited defense by the virtuous demoness Trijata, and her address to her own body[38]); battle scenes such as Kumbhakarna's death, in an extended section that features the use of the ultra-long *daṇḍaka* and other lengthy meters (OJR 22.50–89; 23.2–7); the lament of Wibhishana following the death of his brother; and Rama's advice to Wibhishana that is much favored among Balinese *mabasan* groups (clubs that meet regularly to recite works from the *kakawin* literature), especially a series of eight verses known as the "Eight Vows" (*aṣṭabrata*) that liken the proper conduct of a king to eight of the main deities of the Javano-Balinese Hindu pantheon.

A particularly interesting example of the pattern of textual convergence and divergence comes at a moment when the protagonists, while still together, contemplate a possible farewell. This happens when Rama is about to return home to Ayodhya and invites his new allies, Hanuman, Sugriva, and Wibhishana, to join him. To a certain extent, the OJR stays close to the BhK in portraying Rama's invitation and the amicable exchange that ensues. But then it goes its own way, with a small block of ornaments that clearly harks back to earlier passages in the work and which further explores the theme of separation (*viraha*), this time between close friends. I provide two examples from this module.

Consider, first, the following verse, anticipating future pangs of separation:

> Will the brightness of the moon still bring pleasure?
> Even the essence of sandalwood will not then cool the mind
> and cool water will be tasteless, the opposite of medicine,
> when one is overcome by the power of longing. (OJR 24.231)[39]

[38] For the latter, see OJR 17.135–37. The passage begins, "Let these things be considered, say I to the holy body" (*ya tikana hiḍěpěn tā lingku sang hyang śarīra*).

[39] OJR 24.231: *manukana kari ng wulan sateja / rasa ning candana tan panīsi citta / asěpěn wway atīs tatan ya tambā / ri pangāweśa nikang uněng kuněng ya.*

In terms of figurative classification, this is an instance of “denial” (*apahnuti*). In this case, the usual effects of cool and pleasant substances such as moonlight, sandalwood paste, and water are denied (or negated) by the condition of separation. This particular verse reworks several others that appeared in earlier modules, including Rama’s aforementioned soliloquy on Mount Malyawan, and Sita’s letter to Rama, another declaration of bold poetic independence in the OJR.[40] The above verse also displays an almost uncanny resemblance to one of Dandin’s illustrations of “denial,” also in the context of separation.[41] But its appearance here, in the context of the newly created friendship between Rama and his junior allies, suggests that the Javanese poets by this time felt confident in their mastery of the Indic curriculum, including Bhatti, Bhamaha, and Dandin. Poetic tools such as “denial” are now put to new use, one that is close to the heart of the OJR poets and perhaps comments on their creative work as a younger tradition facing a senior sibling.

The following verse strengthens the impression of a full awareness of the role of the older tradition inherited from South Asia:

> What is described in the poetry of yore (*pūraṇa-kāvya*),
> is the pain of separation from a beloved king.
> Friendship with one’s lord is the miraculous elixir of immortality,
> that brings happiness to those of us who find shade in your protection. (OJR 24.232)[42]

It does not seem to be reading too much into the verse and its use of the otherwise unattested phrase *purāṇa-kāvya* (“poetry of yore”) to say that it speaks in a metapoetic manner. While this verse may be commenting on the relationship of the master poets of the OJR to the Indian tradition, even more important is the recognition that the older tradition and its incarnation in a new poetic language are called into play most often and most appropriately at moments when the poet(s) describe cases of *viraha*, the pain of longing in separation.

Indeed, the latter part of the OJR is particularly dense with passages that lend themselves to metapoetic readings, as well as to insinuations and allegories about the political and religious realities of contemporary Java. For instance, OJR 24.95 speaks of the pleasure of the five elements and of “five Kushika Sages” (*pañca-kuśika*) who witness the coronation of Wibhishana. These “five Kushika” are

[40] See OJR 6.118, 11.25. On the latter verse and passage, see Bronner and Creese 2019: 59–62.

[41] “Sandalwood paste, moonbeams, the mild / perfumed breeze from the south— / They are all fire, as far as I am concerned. / They are cool only for everyone else” (KĀ 2.303, translation from Bronner forthcoming).

[42] OJR 24.232: *ya winarṇita sang purāṇakāwya / lara ning kāri ri sang narārya māsih / prabhusanggama yâmṛtātidibya / sumukêng wwang adi sanghulun hanā ng höb*.

none other than the pentad of the Pashupata form of Atimarga Shaivism that Sanderson (2003–2004: 373–377) and Acri (2011b) have identified as the dominant religion of the Early Mataram. This verse thus aligns the OJR with the state-sponsored Shaivism of the Early Mataram and sets the stage for a critique of rival religious interests satirized in the first of several "avian allegories" that Acri has described. The analysis of these and similar allegorical passages is beyond the scope of this study, but I would like to note that the forays into such units, which have no parallel in the BhK, is typically marked by some kind of code-switching. What others have seen as "change of voice" or "interpolation" may instead consist of modules assigned to poets now emboldened to cover grounds that are much closer to home than simply the story of Rama and Sita, and that draw their material from the behavior of various avian species and other fauna of the Javanese landscape. Acri has further developed Aichele's claim that these passages are not interpolations, but an essential part of the work that introduces an allegory linking the OJR to the political events of the mid-ninth century.[43]

To summarize, if we trace the developmental process apparent in the figural and metrical blocks of the OJR, we encounter a "learning curve" that supports my claim that the OJR was the product of a pedagogy aimed as much at a literary product as the developing of an indigenous literary language responding to the South Asian models of Sanskrit and Prakrit. While the aesthetic of the later cantos may be more challenging than that of the earlier ones, the "verbal alchemy" involved suggests that we are seeing here a master hand guiding the work, someone fully capable of weaving together the elements of sound and sense to produce a Javanese response to the challenge and inspiration of the *kāvya* literature of South Asia. At the very least, we should now give stronger consideration to a move away from the idea of later "interpolations" and follow the path of Aichele and Acri in seeking the rationale for the inclusion of large narrative or figural blocks designed with specific purposes in mind. If I am right in my assumption about the process of its creation, then the architect(s) of this grand literary experiment have fully succeeded in their pedagogy, one that enabled the creation of a uniquely creative literary tradition that continued to reinvent itself for many centuries, while at the same time retaining its connection to Indic models. This continued reinvention, and the role of the Indic models therein, is the topic of sections 8.6–8.10 by Helen Creese.

[43] See Acri 2010 and Aichele 1969. This was a period when the long-standing alternation between Sanjaya support for Buddhist institutions and falling off of support attest to tensions between the Sanjaya and Shailendra lines that ultimately led to the retreat of the Shailendra to the western archipelago. In that sense, the OJR can be read as a testament to the final victory of the Sanjaya and the *sthāpaka*s of the Shaiva tradition who guided the construction of the great temple complex at Prambanan and, I believe, the composition of the OJR itself.

## 8.6. The Practice Becomes the Poetry

*Helen Creese*

The study of poetry in practice exemplified by Thomas M. Hunter's discussion of the OJR above provides important insights into the practice of an Old Javanese poetics that continued to be indebted (partly via Bhatti) to theorists such as Bhamaha and Dandin, but which also took its own independent course. The exemplary nature of the OJR, with its systematic presentation of ornaments of meaning and sound in *alaṅkāra* blocks as shown above, points to specific pedagogical practices that guided its composition. It may also have served as an archetypal text in other areas, such as emotional flavors (rasa), meters, and components prescribed for a chapter poem (*sargabandha*).[44] The OJR is the only surviving literary work from the Early Mataram period (ca. 732–928 CE), and is separated geographically and temporally from the next surviving *kakawin*, the *Marriage of Arjuna* (*Arjunawiwāha*), written in the first half of the eleventh century by Mpu Kanwa under the patronage of the East Javanese ruler, Airlangga (r. ca. 1019–1042).[45] By this time the center of political power had shifted geographically from Central to East Java. The Javanese literary world had also witnessed a major transformation. Indeed, the composition of the *Marriage of Arjuna* signaled the arrival of a new and distinctly Javanese literary style and established aesthetic norms that were to endure throughout *kakawin* literary history. A number of distinctive changes and innovations had emerged in the interval between the OJR and the *Marriage of Arjuna.* Structurally, all *kakawin* after the OJR were divided into mono-metric cantos. An opening invocatory hymn addressed to the poet's tutelary deity and patron had become a standard inclusion. Most striking, however, was the shift from the primarily Sanskrit world of the OJR to a localized Javanese physical, social, and cultural milieu. Although the names of the heroes and geographical locations remained Indian, the world of the poem was now Java. Moreover, never again did any *kakawin* poet undertake the kind of direct translation that had characterized the OJR's transcreation of *Bhatti's Poem*.

Another significant literary milestone had taken place somewhat earlier at the East Javanese court of Airlangga's predecessor, Dharmawangsa (r. ca. 990–1016), namely the composition of the Old Javanese *parwa*s (Sanskrit *parvan*), prose adaptations of the *Mahābhārata*. The final section of Valmiki's *Uttarakāṇḍa* (from the *Rāmāyaṇa*) was also included in this tenth-century prose corpus.[46] This literary project probably originally encompassed the epic's eighteen books,

[44] Hooykaas 1958a: 25, 32; Bronner and Creese 2019.
[45] Robson 2008.
[46] Zoetmulder 1974: 68–100.

but just nine have survived (Books 1, 2, 4–6, 15–18). The narrative content of the great battle, related in Books 7–10 and missing from the prose corpus, was later incorporated into the *War of the Bharatas* (*Bhāratayuddha*), a major *kakawin* completed in 1157 CE.[47] Thus by no later than the mid-twelfth century, the central narratives of both the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* epics had already found literary expression in Old Javanese.

Nevertheless, *kakawin* literature owed an ongoing debt to Sanskrit literature, and Javanese poets continued to look to Sanskrit *kāvya* or to other South Asian traditions for narrative inspiration. Indeed, the *Marriage of Arjuna* itself shows some influence from Bharavi's *Arjuna and the Hunter* (*Kirātārjunīya*).[48] The thirteenth-century *Death by Sumanasa Flower* (*Sumanasāntaka*) draws partly on Kalidasa's *Lineage of Raghu* (*Raghuvaṃśa*).[49] Even *Ghatotkacha to the Rescue* (*Ghaṭotkacāśraya*), the tale of the abduction of Ksitisundari by Abhimanyu with the help of his demon cousin, Ghatotkacha, which was once considered the most "Javanese" of all the East Javanese *kakawin*, has recently been linked to a well-known South Indian folk tradition, where its heroine Ksitisundari is known as Vatsala or Sasirekha.[50]

In contrast to *kakawin* poets with their repertoire of ornaments of sound and meaning, however, the authors of the *parwa*s present unornamented and succinct prose summaries, interspersed with Sanskrit verses as reference points, which are then expanded and explicated or sometimes directly translated into Old Javanese.[51] These Sanskrit quotations scattered throughout the text provide evidence of the direct dependence of the *parwa* authors on the original Sanskrit epics. These authors speak of rendering stories into the vernacular (*amrākṛta*; or passive *pinrākṛta*). The stem is *prakṛta*, but in Old Javanese it does not appear to refer directly to the Prakrit language, but rather to the process of retelling Indian stories in Old Javanese.

Throughout the Kadiri period (ca. 1042–1222), poets continued to refer to the transcreation of Sanskrit narratives by the term *prakṛta*. For example, Mpu Monaguna describes his task in writing *Death by Sumanasa Flower* (*Sumanasāntaka*) as "relating a story from the book of Raghu . . . rendering it into the vernacular in poetic form."[52] The anonymous poet of *Bhoma's Death* (*Bhomāntaka*) notes that he will do his utmost "to render the *kāvya* of Bhoma into Javanese," although no direct Sanskrit source has yet been identified.[53]

[47] Supomo 1993; Creese 2018.

[48] For the discussion of these intertextual links, see Hunter 2011a.

[49] Only chapters 5–8 of Kalidasa's work show direct influence. Elsewhere the Javanese poet, Mpu Monaguna, takes his own path in a manner reminiscent of the OJR treatment of *Bhatti's Poem*. See Hunter 2013: 531–56.

[50] Creese 2018: 173–74; see also Robson 2016: 16–17.

[51] See Hunter 2011c for the discussion of the Sanskrit–Old Javanese translation dyads that are typical of exegetical texts across a range of literary, religious, philosophical, and legal traditions.

[52] Sum 182.3: *kathā sumanasāntaka ring aji ning Raghu.*

[53] BhA 1.3: *mrākṛtā ng bhomakāwya*. See also Teeuw and Robson 2005.

Similarly, *Krishna's Tale* (*Kṛṣṇāyana*) begins by noting it is a tale of Vishnu's incarnation as Krishna, and "nothing less than an epic tale that has been turned into vernacular form."[54] In later times, poets' use of the term *prakṛta* becomes less common. Instead, they indicate that they are drawing on the *parwa*s and recreating them as poems, perhaps indicative of a more confident local literary tradition. *Arjuna's Victory* (*Arjunawijaya*) by the fourteenth-century Majapahit poet Mpu Tantular is described as a "versification of an epic story (*parwa*)," and it indeed tells of the battle between Arjuna of the thousand arms and the demon Ravana as told in the *Rāmāyaṇa*'s *Uttarakāṇḍa*, while the *Sutasoma*, a Buddhist poem by the same author, uses a "composition in prose form, drawn from a poem about the Buddha."[55] In the later Balinese tradition, when close ties to South Asia had come to an end, the Old Javanese *parwa*s became the principal thematic sources for poets.[56]

In spite of the lack of historical detail concerning the political and economic networks between South Asia and maritime Southeast Asia, direct interaction with Indian intellectual life and practices is attested in Javanese literature until the Islamization of the former Indic courts at the end of the fifteenth century. The learned and religious nature of these links, as well as the expressive nature of political poetry that linked Java to the Sanskrit ecumene more broadly, are captured in the epilogue to the *Depiction of the Districts* (*Deśawarṇana*; also known as *Nāgarakṛtāgama*), an exceptional *kakawin* completed in 1365 at the height of the Majapahit golden age. It was written by the Superintendent of Buddhist Affairs, Mpu Prapanca, as a panegyric to King Rajasanagara (r. 1350–1389) and, instead of relating an epic or mythical narrative, it is, just as its title proclaims, an account of the Majapahit polity and its ruling dynasty.

> All the scholars of other lands compose the praises of our King:
> Lord Buddhaditya the monk has made a eulogy on him in countless verses
> In India (Jambhudwipa) is his home, a place called Kanchipura of the Six Monasteries,
> And also the priest Lord Mutali Sahdraya has presented praises in faultless verses.
> Not to mention the scholars of Java, all who are expert in the scriptures and highly knowledgeable,
> discuss and compose verses, and sometimes it is in prose texts that they depict him.[57]

[54] Kṛṣṇāyana 1.1: *tan len parwa kawarṇanān ira kinārya prākṛtā ning mangö*. See Zoetmulder 1974: 479; Soewito Santoso 1986.

[55] AWij 74.2: *angracana parwacarita*; Sut 1.4: *parwaracana ginĕlar sangka ring boddhakāwya*.

[56] For the discussion of Balinese *kakawin* drawing on *Mahābhārata* and *Uttarakāṇḍa-Rāmāyaṇa* traditions, see Creese 1998: 65–84; 2011; 2018.

[57] DW 93.1–2: *sakweh sang paṇḍitānganya dharaṇi mangikĕt kāstawān śrī narendra / śrī buddhāditya sang bhikṣwagaway i sira bhogāwali śloka kirṇna / ring jambudwīpa tonggwānira*

Here in the mid-fourteenth century, Prapanca provides compelling evidence of the wider intellectual world in which he imagines himself. He also highlights the presence and central role of Indian intellectuals, priests, and scholars at court, including some from Dandin's hometown of Kanchipuram, where his *Mirror* was at this point extant both in Tamil and Sanskrit.[58]

Whatever Indian sources may have inspired individual poets to compose their poems, by the eleventh century, the poetics that shaped their narratives had left behind the highly Sanskritized character of the OJR and were indisputably Javanese—evidence of a mature, confident, and independent tradition. For further evidence of what this tradition encompassed, I turn first to the consideration of the invocatory introductions that became a canonical feature of all *kakawin* from eleventh-century Java to nineteenth-century Bali. These invocatory verses are offered to the poet's *manggala*, that is "any word, act or person, which by its salutary power is able to assure the success of the work that is to be undertaken."[59] Here, and in the epilogues, with which most *kakawin* conclude, poets directly address their audience and reveal much about not only the purpose of poetics but also its practice. As conscious statements about the act of composition and adaptation, and in stark contrast to the OJR, whose author (or, as Hunter believes, its master planner) is silent about his goals or purpose and who launches immediately into the narrative, these invocations merit close scrutiny. They are the principal source for metapoetic insights underpinning the practice of *kakawin* poetry. And as we will see, in spite of their somewhat formulaic style, these invocations are more than mere poetic convention, and their themes are supported by the small body of theoretical texts which I will consider further below in sections 8.9 and 8.10.

## 8.7. The Point of Poetry

*Helen Creese*

*Kakawin* invocations conventionally incorporate three key elements that reflect each of the goals of *kakawin* composition: the devotional—in which the poem is offered in homage to the poet's tutelary deity (*iṣṭadewatā*); the political—in

*mangaran i kañcipurī ṣaḍwihāra / mwang sang wiprā ngaran śrī mutali sahṛdayāwat stuti śloka śuddha / astam sang paṇḍite bhūmi jawa sahana śāstradakṣāti wijñā / kapwāgoṣṭyângikĕt śloka hana waca-wacan nggwān irêkin pamarṇana.* Translation from Robson 1995: 93.

[58] On the Tamil adaptations of the *Mirror*, see Clare and Shulman in chapter 4.
[59] Zoetmulder 1974: 173. See also Teeuw and Robson 1981: 33–38.

which the poet extols the virtues of his (usually royal) patron; and the aesthetic—by which the poet enraptures his audience through language, ornament, and mood. I will now consider each of these aspects in turn.

Let me begin with the devotional. One of the unique features of Java's vernacular cosmopolitan literature was the explicitly spiritual nature of *kakawin* composition. Writing poetry was an act of religious devotion. Consider the opening words of Mpu Monaguna's *Death by Sumanasa Flower*:

> The deity, who is the supreme god of the poet's writing board, is the essence of written characters.
> The origin and final goal of *kakawin* poetry and extremely difficult to approach, he is the abode of one who is the prince of poets.
> He is united in subtle state with and concealed in dust from the pencil when the nail of the poet, who tries to master beauty, sharpens it.
> He is given illusory form through unceasing meditation in order that he descend into this temple of books.[60]

*Kakawin* poets were practitioners of what Zoetmulder has termed "literary yoga," which he describes as a process whereby

> with words and sounds [the poem] gives form to and embodies beauty, in order to become the receptacle of the god and at the same time an object of concentration, both for its creator and for those who may read, recite, or hear the poem. By creating a poem or relishing it after it is completed, one may be transported into the ecstatic beauty of *langö*, the aesthetic experience, and in the receding of one's consciousness accompanying this one is able to sense the approach of that mystical union with the divinity in which all consciousness of the self vanishes.[61]

As it is offered to the god, the poem thus may become a "temple" of words or poetry (*caṇḍi ning bhāṣa*) at which poets devoted to the cult of beauty (*kalangwan*) can worship.[62] The deity will bestow his blessing, which will bring the poetical

[60] Sum 1.1: *sang hyang-hyang pinakādidewa ni karas para kawi makatattwa ng akṣara / sang sangkan paran ing palambang atidurlabha kahanan ira n kawīśwara / sang sūkṣmê kukus ing tanah kinikir ing kuku ri sĕḍĕng ing angrĕgĕp langö / māyākāra winimba nitya sināmadhi manurunana caṇḍi pustaka*. Translation from Worsley et al. 2013: 55.

[61] Zoetmulder 1974: 184.

[62] For example, see BhA 1.1: *mangke caṇḍyā nirêng bhāṣa saphalakĕna yan dewa ring kūng winimba*; Teeuw and Robson 2005: 1–2. AWij 1.2: *acaṇḍya bhāṣêng karas*. Later Balinese *kakawin* frequently include this image, including the *Hariwijaya* (1.1: *līlā caṇḍya nirêng palambang*) and *Abhimanyuwiwāha* (1.2: *rasa bhāṣa mamawangi cinaṇḍi ring stuti*); see Creese 1998: 357.

work to a successful conclusion, and will enter the temple. Such an elevated task requires nothing less than a *kakawin* as its vehicle.[63] Through the tantric yogic practice of meditation on the deity, that is, by composing poetry, the poet summons the deity from its immaterial essence and "gives it visible form in a *kakawin*, arranging it in lines, as its essence in the pencil marks of the temple he builds with tendrils of beauty."[64] In his temple of words, dedicated to Buddha and to his patron who is his incarnation, the poet of the *Tale of Kunjarakarna* (*Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana*) sets up his poem as "a statue (*pratimā*) that is crowned with the prescribed rules of poetics (*widhi*) and bestrewn with letters."[65] The completed poem is then presented at the feet of the poet's personal deity. In the words of the poet, Monaguna, as he proclaims his final goal:

> May one single bough of poetry, blossoming into a *kakawin*, and adorned with beauty,
> be the flower offering I lay at his feet as I am about to begin the story Sumanasāntaka.[66]

The most prominent deity is Kama (Smara) the god of love and all things beautiful. In Balinese *kakawin* works, Sarasvati, goddess of learning and knowledge, to whom Dandin also dedicates his *Mirror*, is highly favored. Together these two gods represent the aesthetic and the learned dimensions of *kakawin* composition. A number of other deities are worshipped, including the great gods of the Hindu pantheon, such as Shiva and Vishnu, and in the case of Buddhist-inspired works, such as the *Tale of Kunjarakarna* and the *Sutasoma*, also Buddha. Sometimes the deity is not named at all.

Poems were written in praise of rulers and many *kakawin* were allegorical, equating the rulers of the real world with the heroes and gods of the epic tales. Named patrons who are also known from epigraphical and other textual sources have allowed a rough chronology of the East Javanese *kakawin* to be established, although the poets themselves remain anonymous and adopt pen names (*parab*). In the absence of any other historical data or personal records, these names are all we know of them. Nearly all the *kakawin* that have survived from the East Javanese period were the work of poets attached to the royal courts and were probably literary gems that had already been singled out and deemed worthy of preservation in the royal "temple of books."[67]

[63] Zoetmulder 1974: 173–86; Teeuw and Robson 2005: 48.
[64] PY 1.1: *nyāsan ring kakawin tinap pinakasāntĕn i jurang ing acaṇḍya lung langö.*
[65] KK 1.2: *stuty angkĕn pratimāpratiṣṭha ginĕlar makuṭawidhi winījan akṣara.*
[66] Sum 1.2: *lunggah ning kalangön sapunggĕl asĕkar kakawin inuparĕnggan ing langö.*
[67] AWij 74.4: *dūran têki damĕlnya yan kahañangângusira hĕlĕm acaṇḍya pustaka.*

Royal patrons are portrayed as both a source of inspiration and as teachers, for whom poets gladly wear out their stylus until it snaps in two (*sang panikĕlan ing tanah*).[68] Monaguna ("The Silent One"), for example, claims that *Death by Sumanasa Flower* is his first composition, and he notes that his patron, Warshajaya, who has deigned to take him as a pupil, is "a teacher of renown in the art of versification."[69] He offers his poem to the prince in humble devotion:

> Because of his compassion, he has condescended to teach the composition of poetry so that it will be sweet.
> His instruction is pure nectar, which is why it resembles the *gaḍung* vine reaching out to touch the fourth month.[70]

Warshajaya is by no means the only royal teacher. The court poet's world, and the emotional rollercoaster of inspiration and torment, is exemplified by Mpu Panuluh, a poet at the court of Jayabhaya (r. 1135–1179). In the epilogue to *Hari's Lineage* (*Hariwangśa*), a poem which relates Krishna's abduction of Princess Rukmini, Mpu Panuluh reveals something of his journey along the path toward the status of master-poet (*mpu*) and of his relationship with his patron, King Jayabhaya, a peerless poet in his own right, whose pen names are "His Majesty who puts forth new shoots of beauty" and "He who is praised for erecting book-monuments."[71] Mpu Panuluh recalls how, after being rewarded with the tools of his trade, his stylus and writing board, by his patron, he had gone wandering on hill and shore in search of poetic inspiration:

> I, for my part, with my imagination constantly in the clouds, and forgetting that I was still an inexperienced youngster, conceived an irresistible desire to surrender myself to poetic inspiration. This was the reason I began unabashedly to compose poetry and give expression to my aesthetic feelings in a mere lover's lament (*wilāpa*), the fruit of my wanderings in search of beauty, in the course of which I roved about in inaccessible places, along beaches and across mountains, over rocks and through ravines, and finally, tired and

[68] For example, AW 36.2: *śrī airlangghya namo'stu sang panikĕlan tanah anganumata*; KK 41.15: *panikĕlan tanah amuruki tingkah ning mangö*; ŚR 1.2: *manggĕh donya rahaywa sang panikĕlan tanah*.

[69] Sum 183.1: *nghing śrī warṣajaya prasiddha guru ning guru-laghu sira hantusâmuruk*.

[70] Sum 182.3: *sih kāraṇa nira n anumāna mājara rikang pangikĕt amanisa / śuddhāmṛta warah ira hetu ning kadi gaḍung lumung anĕmu kapat*. Translation from Worsley et al. 2013: 439. The fourth month, or Kārttika, which falls in October–November in the Indonesian archipelago, marks the beginning of the rainy season when trees begin to bud and poets are filled with the joy, and melancholy, of "spring."

[71] HW 1.3: *śrī lung langö ring langö*; 54.1: *naranātha lung langö*; 54.3: *sang inalĕm akīrti pustaka*.

exhausted as from ascetic observances, lay down on a stone, shrouded in an all-enveloping mist.[72]

Mpu Panuluh's poetic efforts had rather unhappy consequences. When he presented his poem to Jayabhaya, the king was irate that his personal instruction in composition and poetics had borne such meager fruit, and he berated the hapless poet for the work's irregular meter and its lack of flavor or rasa:

Upon realizing the result of my passionate wandering in search of beauty,
I offered it to my king, whose pen name is "New Shoots of Beauty."
I presented my composition of the story, but then because it was flavorless,
and incorrect in the arrangement of heavy and light syllables,
his anger hotly flared from his displeasure that his teaching me the art of beauty had been to no avail.
Because of his anger, and being rebuked over and over again by him, I was afraid, and for a long time avoided my writing board.[73]

A powerful patron may have forced a poet to write poetry against his better judgment. In his later poem, *Ghatotkacha to the Rescue*, Mpu Panuluh claims he would never have dared to write it had not the illustrious Madaharsha (possibly the Kadiri ruler Kretajaya, d. 1222) insisted on ordering the poet to join him in producing a story in *kakawin* form.[74] Occasionally the patron is not a prince, as in the case of the Buddhist-inspired *Tale of Kunjarakarna* by a poet who calls himself "Master Yokel," but whose meager efforts are nonetheless presented as "a flower homage at the feet of him who is himself a poet, as he was kind enough to deign to give instruction in the way to compose poetry as its sponsor."[75] More unusual still is the unnamed and unidentified patron of *Bhoma's Death*, who is named only as "Chief Judge in Poetical Affairs."[76] In the later Balinese *kakawin*, royal patrons are less common and, with some notable exceptions such as *Journeying of Partha* (*Pārthāyaṇa*) and *Hari's Victory* (*Hariwijaya*), many *kakawin* appear to have been written outside the sphere of the courts.

The poet's task is to capture beauty. Beauty is found everywhere in the world in subtle form and becomes visible only in written form when the deity becomes accessible and descends into the natural world.[77] For this reason, like ascetics,

[72] HW 53.10–11. Translation from Zoetmulder 1974: 163–64.
[73] HW 54.1. Translation from Hunter 2014b: 767–68.
[74] GhĀ 50.2: *yan tan śrī madaharṣa kĕdw amidhi rīlwa niki mawijila pralāpitakathā.*
[75] KK 41.15: *puṣpañjalya ri jöng nira n kawi samenaka pakĕna nirāstu sanmatan / tĕkwan sih nira antusā-n panikĕlan tanah amuruki ing mangö.*
[76] BhA 1.1: *dhyakṣêng kalangwan.*
[77] Robson 1983: 309.

poets leave the social world of the court for the isolated and liminal spaces of mountain and shore, where their goal is no less to achieve union with the divine, but where their yogic practice is writing poetry.[78] As the anonymous Balinese poet of the early eighteenth-century *Journeying of Partha* notes in his homage to Kama:

> If the deity is praised according to the prescriptions, He becomes embodied in the beauty of sea and mountain.
> Clearly He merges with them, vanishing without trace into nothingness, inspiring the poetic sentiments that reach the ear,
> when the point of the stylus is completely worn away in the letters which form the black marks on the writing board.
> In this way he, who in performing his act of worship, falls at His feet, frames his first praises.[79]

Key to this ideal of beauty is the unique aesthetic conception of nature, typically encapsulated by the pair of liminal spaces, "sea and the mountain." The natural world, the poets report, often drives or inspires the composition, for example, when the poet is forced to take up his writing board and stylus by the rumbling of the thunder that heralds the arrival of the fourth month and the welcome rains that will bring nature back to life,[80] or when he falls sick when cut off from the beauties of nature and in despair can think only of how wonderful it would be to wander along hill and shore to capture the beauties of the natural world in verse.[81] *Bhoma's Death*, which is primarily concerned with the battle between Krishna and the demon Bhoma, but which also incorporates the love story of Samba and Yajnawati that is related, among other places, in Dandin's *Ten Young Men*, captures this compelling voice of nature with an extended metaphor that depicts poetic endeavor ascribed to aspects of the natural world:

> The divine beings of the month of Kartika fill the minds of poets of *kakawin* along the shores and lovely mountains,
> and playfully make ready with clouds in the form of their writing tablets—they look enchanting, thick with lightning.

[78] Zoetmulder 1974; Worsley et al. 2013.

[79] PY 1.2: *āpan yan winidāna kastawan irân pangawaki rĕcĕp ing pasir wukir / byaktâmiśra luput ndatan pahamĕngan mamiṣayani raras hanêng kapö / tāwat yan guru ning tanah tutug ing ākṣara pinakahirĕng hanêng karas / nāhan prastuti ning mangarccana rarab ni suku nira winimba nityasa*. Creese 1998: 149.

[80] PY 1.3: *hāmhām de ni kĕtĕr nikang jalada tibra kagagat angalap karas tanah*.

[81] ŚR 39.1: *kady agring ri lawasku kary apisah ing kalĕngĕngan atĕmah wuraṇḍungĕn / yan ketung raras ing mango mahas-ahas*.

> The fragrant thorny pandanus is always their pen while, deep in reverie, they describe the beauties of nature,
> and the thunder again and again summons up the proper mood to depict the feelings of yearning when one is separated from a lover.[82]

From the East Javanese period and the composition of the *Marriage of Arjuna* onward, the core aesthetic of *kakawin* poetry is *kalangwan*, which means "beauty" but also "poetry." Its root, *langö*, signals not only poetic ornamentation writ large, but also the inseparable links between beauty, love, and poetry. It embraces such concepts as "the feeling of longing or being entranced by beauty or love, aesthetic experience, romantic feelings, the raptures of love"; while the stative verbal form *mangö* means "sunk in reverie, carried away by feelings of longing (love, sadness); to lose oneself (roam about) in the pursuit of beauty."[83]

Aesthetically, the OJR is distinguished from this later development of *kakawin* metaphor and poetics. This network of words that express aesthetic rapture, love, and beauty is largely absent from the OJR.[84] As the close links with Sanskrit poetics lessened, something clearly significant had taken place in the aesthetic realm of *kakawin* poetry. The examples we have considered here attest that there is no lack of ornament in these metapoetic statements. So even if poets did not have Dandin's *Mirror* or other such manuals before them, they had clearly learned and absorbed the art of ornamentation that reflected their own milieu and understandings of literary practice. I will now consider what that practice may have entailed, by looking first at the pedagogical practices hinted at in the invocatory verses and epilogues, and then by examining the supporting complementary information found in the small body of theoretical texts that have survived.

## 8.8. The Practice of Poetry

*Helen Creese*

Although poets may have been inspired by duty, or devotion, or the beauties of nature, they also needed to learn their craft. Details are sparse, but there is no doubt that teachers, royal or otherwise, were crucial for someone aspiring to join

[82] BhA 1.2: *hyang-hyang ning kārtikângamběki kawi kakawin ring pasir parwatârum / līlâdandan ghanâpiṇḍa karas ira lěngö lwir nika syuh kilatnya / tan sah tang ciṇḍaga mrik tanah ira n alangö marṇana ng langwa-langwan / gěntěr lagy ângatag bhāwa nira n angikět ing twas ning oněng tinambang*. Translation from Teeuw and Robson 2005: 71.

[83] So ubiquitous and central is this conception of the aesthetic that the entry in Zoetmulder's dictionary (1982: 977–79) for *langö* and its derivatives spans seven columns.

[84] Zoetmulder 1974: 231–32.

the brotherhood of *kawi* poets.[85] But as Panuluh makes clear in his account of his relationship with Jayabhaya above, this was no easy task. When poets refer time and again in their poems to the arduous task of acquiring the skills of the prince of poets (*kawīśwara*) or those truly skilled in composition (*tamêng langö*), it seems more than conventional modesty.

Poets aspire to join the ranks of those who are "expert in allegorical narrative," "skillful and expert in poetics," and who "illuminate the world like the full moon."[86] But as they poignantly lament, when compared to the master poets they are but a star to the sun or the moon, but waterweed to a lotus, or a mere insect flapping helplessly on the ground.[87]

Here Mpu Tantular effectively speaks for all his fellow poets in summing up the challenges in mastering form and ornament:

> He is indeed a foolish, impudent poet, who does not know how to compose a poem;
> he is moreover not conversant with words, nor skilled in literary expression, metrical rules or prosody, nor is he of outstanding quality.
> His work is far from being worthy to be taken and kept in the temple of books,
> for the thought behind his work is not based on revelation; it is like *gadung* vine trying to reach for the moon.[88]

This bleak view of attaining mastery is reminiscent of the warnings of Bhamaha and Ratnashrijnana—unlike Dandin, who believed that hard work will open the doors of poetry even for those who lack talent.[89] Careful and long study is required for a mere student or novice poet who devotes himself to beauty.[90] Without guidance, the poet is as desperate as a bee at the falling of the flowers, despondent, and heavy-hearted, even as he wanders about on hill and shore attempting to capture beauty.[91] What he seeks is a model that will save him from the worst pitfalls of inexperience that might see him labeled as a desecrator of his

[85] Sum 1.1: *ahyun ajara-ajara milwa ring kawi*.

[86] BhA 1.1: *sang mangö wri ng palambang*; KK 1.4: *sang kawi nipuṇa pinaṇḍitêng langö*; Sut 147.3: *lwir sang hyang śaśi rakwa pūrṇa pangapus nira n anuluhi rat*.

[87] BhA 1.3: *himpĕr wintang lawan sūrya*; AWij 1.3: *wintang-wintanga donya rakwa ya tĕkap sang lwir śaśangkêng langö*; KK 1.5: *lwirnya hirim-hirim sama saroruha*; Sut 147.4: *kadi patangga n umibĕr i Iĕmah*.

[88] AWij 74.4: *singgih yan kawi mūḍha tan wruh ing irang, salah-iḍĕp angikĕt pralāpita / lud tan śabdika tan wruh inggita ning akşara guru-laghu canda tan sphūṭa / duran teki damĕlnya yan kahañangângusira hĕlĕm acaṇḍya pustaka / de ning buddhi nirāgamôpama gaḍung lumung aharĕpa wimba ning wulan*. Translation from Supomo 1977: 282.

[89] For Bhamaha, see KA 1.12; for Ratna, see Yigal Bronner and Whitney Cox in section 5.5; for Dandin, see Yigal Bronner in section 1.2.

[90] KK 1.3: *panggil rakwa wĕnang pangahwata ri janma ning ajar-ajar angrĕgĕp langö*.

[91] HWij 58.2: *epwâlok kadi ṣaṭpade lwang ing aśoka liman apĕga rehnya sungkawa / medran prihkw alangö masir wukir*.

teacher.[92] Models—of which the OJR, which is still regarded in Bali as the first and foremost *kakawin* (*ādi-kakawin*), was undoubtedly a prime case—provide the key, and until mastery was achieved all one could do was slavishly follow the master poets.

Evidence for the careful, detailed, and repeated study of the Javanese *kakawin* classics is provided by the existence of specific lexical texts to explicate individual *kakawin*, *kakawin* manuscripts with interlinear Balinese glosses, and the direct linguistic influence of classic works such as OJR and *Death by Sumanasa Flower* in works belonging to the late Balinese *kakawin* tradition. Notable among these is the early eighteenth-century *Journeying of Partha*, which shares some of the OJR's distinctive linguistic features that had been suppressed during the East Javanese period, including hiatus and the doubling of consonants *metri causa*.[93] Thus, the OJR continued to retain something of its early role as practiced pedagogy.

In order to write poetry, inspiration and perspiration are undoubtedly needed, but practical knowledge is the key to success, and the intellect must also be engaged:

> I too join in the practice and strive to wield the pen with a poem as my exercise—
> It is a work of the intellect, but I must do my best to seek out the secret nuances of poetic sentiment.[94]

The task seems impossible without having mastered both exoteric and esoteric knowledge.[95] Even as he struggles to arrange his words, nevertheless, a poet may dare to plunge into poetic practice even without adequate knowledge (*wihikan*):

> It is not from knowledge that I write, but because I seek to imitate in some measure the poets in their craft.
> My understanding can never be enough, though no poet yet, I act like one and still do not know how to go about it.[96]

The Majapahit poet, Prapanca, tells of the hard work needed, and in the light of his meager accomplishments, he laments that the time he has spent in so often composing *kakawin* and producing lyrical verses (*bhāṣa*) on his writing tablet has

[92] KK 1.4: *ndātan kojara talpakângidang-idang ngwang angikĕta kathā palambanga*.

[93] Creese 1998: 42–46.

[94] GhĀ 1 2: *milw âbhyāsa mara ngwang amrih amutĕr tanah ataki-taki pralāpita / de ning jñāna kĕdö jugâmalar anĕwakĕna rasa rahasya ning mangö*. Translation from Robson 2016: 27.

[95] AWij 74.2: *wāhyâdhyātmika tan hanêki ring apan manginakana ri buddhi ning tuhan*.

[96] KK 1.5: *mangiringêng gati para kawi mātra ring langö*. Translation from Teeuw and Robson 1981: 71.

been wasted. He has tried to gain more experience to compose works fit for his king, but even so, he is not yet thoroughly accomplished in poetry.[97]

The keenest insight into pedagogical practices in the invocatory verses comes from the flaws that poets cite as presenting the most difficult challenges. Naturally their teachers are key, but in the end the poet himself must master his art. As the three areas in which they most struggle, poets list metrical infelicity, and especially the incorrect use of long and short syllables (*guru laghu*), failure to evoke the emotions (*tunêng rasa*), and lack of adornment (*tan paracana*) or sweet words.[98] While this customary self-deprecation may be attributed to conventional false modesty, it also highlights the very real need for poets to acquire their craft and poetical skills through study and learning. Long after he had to defend himself from the wrath of Jayabhaya, in his final poem, *Ghatotkacha to the Rescue*, Mpu Panuluh laments that his skills are in decline. The resulting poem, he bemoans, is "lacking in feeling (*tunêng rasa*), devoid of literary adornment (*tan paracana*) and offends against the rules of the meters (*amurul-murul guru-laghu*)." But he nonetheless is unable to resist the temptation to make this point with a virtuosic display of ornaments of sound in the alliterative repetition of **ng** and **l**, as he claims that he has become "worn out in poetry, decrepit in musing, forgetful when looking at the beauties of secluded hermitages."[99]

Our final example comes from the very late tradition. Writing in 1826, at the Balinese court on the neighboring island of Lombok, the poet Piniputra offers his *Hari's Victory* to his prince, who is about to take up the overlordship of the kingdom of Karangasem. Piniputra captures perfectly the point that poetry—be it devotional, aesthetic, or political—is founded on inspiration, devotion, and perseverance and hard work:

> Here in the lotus in immaterial form, the highest truth is sought through the esoteric knowledge of poetic arts.
> Joyfully, the temple that is the poem is brought to perfection when composed and written down on the writing board.
> Having mastered poetic expression through perseverance and continuous meditation in singing praises,
> hoping for the flow of knowledge, a pearl without blemish.[100]

[97] DW 94.3–4: *nirwyā têki lawas nikâsring angikĕt kakawin awĕtu bhāṣa ning karas /. . . tan tamêng langö.*

[98] GhĀ 50.1: *tan paracana / tan makweh akikuk tunêng rasa tutuk mpu panuluh amurul-murul gurulaghu.*

[99] GhĀ 50.1: *ri* ***ngl****ihnya n* ***l****ĕwas i****ng*** ***langö lilu*** *ma****ngö*** ***lali l****umihat i* ***lĕnglĕng*** *i****ng*** *pa****nga****lusan.*

[100] HWij 1.1: *ngkānê pangkaja mūrti sūkṣma paramārtha sinamaya ri sandhi ning langö / līlā caṇḍya nirêng palambang inuwus-huwus inapi winarṇa ring karas / limpad ring kalangön sahiṣṇu sinamādhi lagi-lagi winakta ring stuti / his ning jñana nirêka rakwa pinalar-palarakĕn akaluṣyamoktika.*

We must of course be cautious about lending too much weight to the metapoetic insights discussed here that are expressed in enduring stock phrases and have been gleaned from just the opening verses of several *kakawin* from across the East Javanese and Balinese traditions. However conventional these stock phrases are, they nevertheless also appear to reflect actual pedagogical concerns and practices. In the sections that follow, I now turn to the body of shastric texts that continued to support the craft of *kakawin* composition across the centuries. As we will see, this admittedly rather fragmentary textual record provides extraordinary points of convergence and correspondence with the very concerns our poets have shared in their invocatory hymns and epilogues.

## 8.9. The Poet's Primer

*Helen Creese*

We have seen now that *kakawin* poets were fully aware of the need to combine inspiration and hard work with specific knowledge of the rules and conventions of their craft. Right from the outset, the vernacularization of the *Rāmāyaṇa* via Bhatti's poem was a choice that announced "the learned character of the *kakawin* genre," and ongoing attention to theoretical knowledge remained integral to poetic practice.[101] Old Javanese was not the language of the everyday but, like Sanskrit, a literary language that required dedicated study. For over a millennium, Old Javanese remained a literarily uniform language, relatively free from recognizable regional characteristics or influence from Balinese. Indeed in Bali, *kawi* means not just poet, but also the "language of poets." The writing of *kakawin* in the cosmopolitan vernacular of the Javanese past could not have been sustained without effective pedagogical frameworks and poetic practices learned under the guidance of a teacher.[102] These frameworks were particularly crucial for those elements of language and form most distant from vernacular literary and day-to-day communication.

The great importance that poets attached to the mastery of form that we have noted in the invocatory verses of *kakawin* across the centuries is evident in the corpus of Old Javanese works relating to orthography, meter, spelling, and phonetics. Sanskrit metrical principles, as well as many meters, were taken over directly into *kakawin* prosody. Meter was an area that required particular and careful attention, initially to Sanskrit theoretical constraints and knowledge, but in

[101] Pollock 2006: 389; see also Bronner and Creese 2019.

[102] We owe the preservation of the Javanese *kakawin* legacy largely to generations of Balinese intellectuals, writers, and copyists. The Balinese manuscript tradition remains the primary source of textual evidence for Old Javanese pedagogic and poetic practice across its history.

characteristic Javanese vernacular style, there are nearly as many meters that were created in Java and Bali. The focus of generation after generation of Javanese and Balinese poets to heavy and light syllables (*guru-laghu*) is testament to the centrality of this core component of *kakawin* meters. Even in the very late tradition, there are remarkably few occasions where syllable quantity was altered *metri causa*. There are a number of theoretical works dealing with meter and orthography, such as *On Meters* (*Canda*; Skt. Chandas), *The Writing of Poetry* (*Candakiraṇa* or *Candakaraṇa*),[103] and *On Vowels and Consonants* (*Swarawyañjana*), cross-generational compilations whose dates cannot be determined.[104] This knowledge was important not just for composition but for the vocalization and oral interpretation of *kakawin*, which remains integral to contemporary Balinese textual singing practices (*mabasan*). Exemplary Javanese metrical works, such as the *Canda*, the *Compendium of Meters* (*Wṛttasañcaya*) written by Mpu Tanakung in the late fifteenth century, and a later Balinese work, the *Treatise on Meters* (*Wṛttāyana*), which was directly indebted to Tanakung's earlier text, were written to provide poets with guidance in the correct use of meters by means of a series of illustrative verses.[105] The importance of facility in handling meters never lost its grip, as indicated by such works as *Naraka's Victory* (*Narakawijaya*), composed around 1900 by the ruler of the South Bali kingdom of Badung, Cokorda Ngurah Made Pamecutan of Badung (r. 1902–1906). With 104 different meters, this poem on Naraka (also known as Bhoma) and his attack on the gods contains a greater variety of meters than any known work in *kakawin* literature.[106]

*Kakawin* composition relied on a semantic repertoire imbued with Sanskrit sounds that are non-phonemic in Javanese, including the dental and retroflex sounds and the aspirated consonants. Because of the extensive borrowing of Sanskrit lexical items in Old Javanese, perhaps as much as a third, a thorough understanding of the distinctions between homonyms was clearly considered crucial and remained integral to *kakawin* pedagogic practices throughout the tradition. There are numerous word lists and dictionaries, known by such titles as *Kṛtabhāṣa* and *Ekalawya*, which are essentially lexicons, thesauri, and lists of

[103] The correct form of the title is uncertain. The manuscripts name this text *Candakiraṇa* or "Rays of Meters" and open with the words *kiraṇa wiyati candāgni* (*for cand(r)āgni*?)—(sun's) rays, sky, moon, fire. For the discussion of the derivation and possible meanings of the original title, see Ensink 1967: 3–4; Lokesh Chandra 1997: 140–41. See also Aminullah 2021, who has recently argued that the correct name of the text is *Candrakiraṇa* "Rays of the Moon."

[104] These metrical and orthographical texts are discussed in detail by Rubinstein 2000: 191–222. Rubinstein also deals extensively with the religious and mystical dimensions of letters.

[105] Hunter 2001.

[106] Zoetmulder 1974: 115. An even more recent example is the *Kakawin Candakaraṇa* by I Wayan Pamit, composed in 1998, which contains 180 meters. See Van der Meij 2017: 301.

synonyms and homonyms.[107] Concern with language and meaning at the lexical level provides evidence that, just like in South Asia, the understanding and composition of literary works relied heavily on the availability of lexicons to provide poets with the wide range of synonyms that were required to manipulate meter and to create descriptions of originality and variety. Such word lists were vital aids in the creation of figural language and therefore a cornerstone of the poet's craft. Some texts, including those dealing with elements of Sanskrit grammar, may have originally been intended to assist Javanese poets to read and understand Sanskrit.[108] Most are, or later became, hybrid texts containing a legacy of Sanskrit lexemes but incorporating Old Javanese and Balinese exegesis and thus attesting to their ongoing use in different politico-cultural contexts through the centuries.

Many of the surviving theoretical texts on prosody and poetics are brief and deal with a single topic. They are often found in compilations that provide comprehensive coverage of all major aspects of the poet's craft, including prosody, orthography, and lexicography. These compendia of theoretical knowledge serve as textbooks, practical manuals for aspiring poets, and bring together a variety of explicit instructional works on poetics and composition compiled for private use by individual poets from a variety of sources. The provenance of many of these texts is often difficult to determine because of their long and complex history of transmission and later interpolations and accretions, and a history of later textual corruption attributable to scribal transmission, misunderstandings, and intentional change by Old Javanese authors. Many of them have deep roots, sometimes only dimly remembered, in the earliest phases of Sanskrit knowledge and Old Javanese pedagogic practices.

Within this broader shastric corpus, only a single extant theoretical work that deals directly with *kakawin* poetics has come to light thus far, called here the *Life Breath of Poetry* (*Bhāṣaprāṇa*).[109] In a number of manuscripts, it forms part of the *Candakiraṇa* compilation, where it is located between a *Canda* text on metrics and the lexicographical work called *Garland of Amara* (*Amaramālā*).[110]

[107] The title *Kṛtabhāṣa* is derived from *saṃskṛtabhāṣā*, "the Sanskrit language." The meaning of the term *ekalawya* is uncertain; it may be related to *ekārthalabhya*, "to be understood in the same meaning as (synonyms)." See Schoterman 1981: 430.

[108] On grammatical works, see, for example, Schoterman 1981, and Radicchi 1996.

[109] The title *Bhāṣaprāṇa* was coined by Rubinstein 2000: 176 on the basis of the opening words of this work. Existing manuscripts show considerable variation in spelling, and no two manuscripts provide the same reading of the text. The translations from the *Life Breath of Poetry* presented here are therefore tentative.

[110] The text has already received considerable scholarly attention and was first described by Kern 1885. A detailed study was undertaken by Lokesh Chandra 1997, who used only the Javanese manuscript, the Leiden codex LOr 4570. For her extensive work on Balinese *kakawin* prosody, orthography, and poetics, Rubinstein 2000 also cross-referenced the second major textual witness, the Balinese-Lombok manuscript, LOr 5109.

Because the *Candakiraṇa* is attested in both the Javanese and Balinese traditions, the compilation as a whole, including the *Life Breath of Poetry* section on poetics, is assumed to have been originally written in Java sometime before the early sixteenth century.[111]

## 8.10. The Life Breath of Poetry

*Helen Creese*

The *Life Breath of Poetry* is a concise text of just ten double-sided palm leaves.[112] The title is taken from the opening words of the text, which begins:

> With the life breath of poetry, song
> and kakawin are made sweet
> on shore, mountain, and sea;
> with verse, rhythm, and mood.[113]

Here in this opening verse, the *Life Breath of Poetry* conjures up the familiar landscape of the *kakawin* world. It captures the purpose of poetic endeavor, its principal components, ornaments of meaning and sound, and evokes one of the core metapoetic tropes of *kakawin* poetry, namely that the sea and mountain (*pasir wukir*) provide the most conducive environment for *kakawin* composition. A prose exegesis immediately follows the verse, which does more than merely provide a key to the rather obscure meaning of the verse itself:

> This means: if you wish to devote yourself to poetic composition, do not be impeded by your knowledge. Whether it be *kakawin* verse or song, strive for an agreeable mood; if the sea is your desire, or the mountains, or the shoreline where the river meets the sea, [if] literary ornament is your desire,

[111] The *Garland of Amara* section of the *Candakiraṇa*, which comprises sixty-six stanzas of Sanskrit synonymous words in verse form, which are then repeated in prose and provided with a paraphrase or gloss in Old Javanese, may be of much earlier, Central Javanese provenance. The writer offers homage to Ishvara as he commences the vernacularization of his unidentified Sanskrit source text (*sĕmbah ning hulun manggala ni majarakna Mahāmaramālā prākṛta*). He names as his royal patron Lord Jitendra, an otherwise unknown member of the eighth-century Shailendra dynasty.

[112] For earlier interpretations of the *Bhāṣaprāṇa*, see Lokesh Chandra 1997: 180–84, and Rubinstein 2000: 175–89; 250–53. Their studies do not reference each other but are complementary insofar as Lokesh Chandra gives prominence to Sanskrit links, and Rubinstein to Balinese material.

[113] BhP 18b: *bhāṣaprāṇa ñca gīta ñca /pralambang manura* (for *madhura?*) *bhawit* (for *bhavet?*)/ *pasir wukir sāgara ñca /pādawirāmanaṭya ñca*; (variant reading *naḍya ñca*). The sense is uncertain. The use of the Sanskrit connective *ñca* gives the opening verse a Sanskrit-like tone and may indicate that it may originally have been in Sanskrit or is purposely designed to mirror the translation-as-commentary format.

devote yourself to aesthetic experience just as to yoga and to the pleasures of love. Let it be accompanied by the nine modes of expression, verse, and rhythm.[114]

In structure, the exegesis echoes the pedagogical practice of translation-as-commentary in prose texts, which was common to many branches of knowledge including philosophical, religious, and legal texts. These commentaries originally comprised translation dyads of Sanskrit phrases or stanzas with a paraphrase in Old Javanese, but later took the form of extended exegesis in Old Javanese. The beginning of the exegesis in the *Life Breath* is clearly marked by the expression "this means" (*kalingnya or nga(ran)*), a device that is typical of this form of interpretation. The expanded commentary above alerts us to the presence of an ornament beloved of Dandin, namely that of the poetical embrace (*śleṣa*) and points to a potential hidden double interpretation of the final line. The last line of the verse offers differing translations, either as a reference to the technical components of poetry, namely, verse (*pāda*), rhythm (*wirāma*), and mood (*naṭya*), or as presenting both the seashore and mountain (*paḍa* here is a plural marker) as "places to rest" ([*pa*]*wirāman*), a term frequently associated with a lover's bower and appropriate to the pleasures of love mentioned in the exegesis. The verse and its commentary thus draw attention not merely to the building blocks of poetic expression, but also to an emotional response to the landscape most conducive to poetry and love. Another polysemic and ambiguous element is *prāṇa* in the title of the work. It can mean "breath," "life breath," "the heart or soul as the seat of the emotions," but also "the beloved," in the sense that in Old Javanese lovers are said to be each other's *prāṇa*, or one in *prāṇa*.[115] This exegesis therefore also raises the possibility that behind the metapoetic statements may lie hidden references to the asceticism (*tapa*) associated with the literary yoga of the poet, the breath control of yogic concentration, and an allusion to the tantric practices of *kakawin* sexuality so commonly evoked in scenes depicting the relationships between men and women.[116] Thus, in the opening section of the *Life Breath of Poetry*, the poet and commentator make explicit the connection between landscape and the spiritual and emotional dimensions of composition that, as we have seen above, were integral to the practice of the poet's craft in Java.

[114] BhP 18b–19a: *kalinganya yan pangabhyaṣa kalangĕn, aywata kaphala jñananta / yan lambang gīta kunang, prih tang raṣa menaka / yan pasir wukir kahyunta, wukir wuluṣan kahyunta, lĕngkara matapa śṛnggara kamiraṣa / iringĕn tang anawanaṭi paḍa* (for *pāda*?) *wirama*. The readings of the various manuscripts are inconsistent and the interpretation somewhat tentative.

[115] Zoetmulder 1982: 1394–95.

[116] Creese 2004: 172–209.

In what might be seen as an extended commentary on, or extension of, the opening verse, the text then turns immediately to the formal detail and the description of these nine modes of expression, or *nawanāṭya*:

> *Love, heroism, disgust, fury, humor, fear, compassion, wonderment, and peace* are the nine modes of expression.
>
> **Love** expresses the delights of love, full of desire for that which is desirable, an expression of the enchanting and the beautiful, the pleasures of love; **heroism** means to fight, expresses bravery; **disgust** means impure; ill-mannered, uncouth, rude; **fury** means darkness of mind and fear; **humor** means an object of merriment; equally the cause of the comic is merry-making; **fear** means objects of fear, the frightening; **compassion** is words that describe everything seen and heard that generates a pitiable condition, sympathy; **wonder** means awesome, the amazing; **peace** means calmness of mind; benign. These are the nine modes of expression.[117]

Here we have the enumeration and definition of the nine modes of expression, or rasa, familiar from Sanskrit theories of poetics.[118] The order differs from listings in the major Sanskrit commentators, and the definitions show some local variations and interpretations, but this section of the *Life Breath of Poetry* provides unequivocal evidence of specific Sanskrit theoretical understandings replicated in Old Javanese. This listing is clearly not from Dandin, who names only eight

[117] BhP 19a–19b: *śṛnggāra-wīra-wībhatsā-rodra-hāsya-bhayānākah, karuṇādbhuta-śantaśca-nawanaṭyarasa ime:* ***śṛnggara****, ngaranya mujarakna karāsikan ya dhana saka srakengin, konang-unang, śabda rarașa rum kamirașa;* ***wīra*** *ngaranya aprang umujarakĕn kawanin;* ***wībhatsa*** *ngaranya umujarakĕn karama-ramah apacĕh* (var. *apasah*)*;* ***rodra****, ngaranya umujarakna-ng moha katakut;* ***hāsya*** *ngaranya umujarakna kaguyu-guyu pada karaṇa aṣya papacĕhan, duli, goḍok (?), pĕñcul;* ***bhayānaka*** *ngaranya umujarakĕn kawĕdi-wĕdi karĕrĕs bhaya-kabhayan;* ***karuṇa*** *nga umujarakna amarṇa sakaton sakarĕngĕ, mandadyakĕn śanta citta ning kawĕlas-asih;* ***adbhuta*** *ngaranya umujarakna kagiri-giri aścarya;* ***śānta*** *ngaranya upaśama ng somya. Iti* ***nawanaṭi***.

The translation of *wībhatsa* (disgust) is based on a revised ordering of the text as follows: ***wībhatsa*** *ngaranya umujarakĕn karama-ramah apacĕh* (var. *apasah*) *duli, goḍok*(?)*, pĕñcul*. The extant manuscripts appear to have conflated the definitions of *wībhatsa* (*bībhatsa*) and *hāsya*, through the apparent misinterpretation of the phrase *karama-ramah apacĕh*. The variant reading of *apacĕh* is *apasah*, "separated; broken," which makes little sense, but may echo an earlier more correct form of the text now lost. Whatever that reading may have been, under the influence of the reading *apacĕh* ("merry, laughing;" Zoetmulder 1982: 1121), *karama-ramah* ("impure, unclean, dirty;" ibid.: 1496, 1498) appears to have been read as *rame* (*rāmya*) "joyful, glad, cheerful." The characteristics of *wībhatsa*, namely *duli* (ill-mannered; ibid.: 429)*, goḍok* (?)*, pĕñcul* ("unrefined, rude"; ibid.: 1343) have then jumped to the end of the definition of *hāsya*, following *papacĕhan* ("making merry"). The connection between *bībhatsa* and (*ka)ramah* is attested in *Sarasamuccaya* 442.2 (*awayawa) atyanta ring bībhatsa, wĕkas ing kararamĕhan* and *Wiraṭaparwa* 63.10: *bībhatsu ngaran ing maramĕh*. Both Lokesh Chandra (1997: 181) and Rubinstein (2000: 183–84) interpret the definition of *wībhatsa* as "the cheerful; laughing."

[118] It is possible that the semantic range of rasa in Old Javanese forms a polysemic network that also embraces the phonetically and semantically related terms *ras* and *ngrĕs*, "deeply penetrating feeling or emotion (Zoetmulder 1982: 1213,; 1514) and *rāsika* "delights of love; erotic emotion" (ibid.: 1517).

rasas. Because it includes the ninth rasa, the tranquil or peaceful (*śānta*), which in the tradition of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* was introduced by Udbhata, the Old Javanese source text likely dates from no earlier than the ninth century.

As we have come to expect, Old Javanese poets, never content merely to imitate, put their own stamp on this adaptation. First, immediately after the concluding phrase "these are the nine modes of expression (*iti nawanāṭya*), a tenth mood is appended, namely *krūra*. The meaning of *krūra* is cruel, ferocious, or terrifying, and thus overlaps in meaning with the earlier mode fear (*bhayānaka*), but here it is defined as expressing utter confusion.[119] Moreover, briefly glimpsed only at the end of the initial enumeration, the Sanskrit technical term *rasa* is seemingly set aside in favor of *nawanāṭya*. The derivation of *nawanāṭya* is doubtful, but there are obviously possible links to Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* treatise on the dramatic arts, in which the original eight modes were defined.[120] The links to the dramatic arts are certainly evident in Prapanca's account of the Majapahit court in the *Depiction of the Countryside*, when the poet calls attention to the king's skill in evoking emotion and the modes of expression when he performs in a masked dance:

> The King was exceedingly handsome, in his full costume,
> and he had eight companions who, being his minor wives, were truly beautiful.
> They were of noble descent, clever, and thoroughly versed in what to do,
> so when he did the jesting scene they let pointed comments drop.
>
> In this way he went right through the **nine modes** and took them as his starting point,
> with **humor** as first principle—the laughter was constant, in unison, and unbroken,
> and also **compassion**, which made people weep, inspired sorrow, and ended in tears
> so that the audience were overwhelmed with **emotion**.[121]

The only other reference to the *nawanāṭya* in the *kakawin* corpus comes at a moment in the thirteenth-century *Death by Sumanasa Flower* when Prince Aja and his bride Indumati set off to return to his kingdom, and the poet notes that "it

[119] BhP 19b: *krūra nga umujarakna karohan-rohan*.
[120] Worsley 2013: 636; Zoetmulder 1982: 1178–79.
[121] DW 91.7–8: *śrī naranātha tan sipi wagus nira tĕlas arasuk / aṣṭa tĕkĕs nireki n upabhāryya rahayu sawala / tus ning amatya wangśa wicakṣaṇa tĕtĕs ing ulah / hetu niran pabañwal anibākĕn ucapan angĕne / nā ng nawanatya kapwa tinapak nira tinĕwĕkakĕn / hasya makādi tan pĕgat ikang guyu parĕng paselur / mwang karuṇâmangun tangis aweh sĕkĕl apuhara luh / hetu nikang tumon paḍa kamānuṣan angĕn-angĕn*. Translation adapted from Robson 1995: 91–92.

would take too long to describe the beauty of the road they took. It was like *the nine modes of expression* of a poet."[122]

*Nawanatya* (spelled thus) is also the title of a Majapahit work on courtly etiquette in which the term is defined in commentarial mode as "*nawa* means nine, *natya* means *smita* (facial expression by which one gives a hint or sign expression)."[123] At the beginning of this text, though, the nine modes of expression are used in a quite different sense to describe the nine pursuits and accomplishments of court officials in service to the king, which are said to be "game, meat, drink, gambling, erotic pleasures, humor, armed battles, mock combat, and poetry and aesthetics."

In Old Javanese, *rasa* encompasses a broader range of meanings than in Sanskrit to include "taste, flavor, essential substance or meaning; to feel taste savor, enjoy; to think over or reflect on, and the expression of emotion." In addition, *rasa* (and indeed also *bhāṣa*) is an alternative name for the lyrical verses embedded in *kakawin* descriptions of love and in this sense is the vehicle for the expression of the inner core or essence of poetry. As the exegesis of the opening verse of the *Life Breath of Poetry* makes clear, the evoking of emotion is the primary goal of poetry. Each of the nine modes of expression of Sanskrit poetics can be readily identified in any *kakawin* poem and, as we have seen above, *kakawin* poets frequently refer to the importance of capturing the appropriate emotional and aesthetic response using the term *rasa*. On balance, however, this usage seems more generic than technical and in *kakawin* literature the centrality of rasa in Sanskrit *kāvya* appears to have been subsumed under the localized umbrella of *langö* and its cognate forms to refer to the state of enchantment entered into by those enraptured by beauty or love, expressed in poetry.[124]

To return to our text. At the end of this set of definitions of the nine modes of expression is an epilogue which draws specific links to the spiritual dimension of composing poetry. It records that the souls of poets who compose *kakawin* will attain heaven (*swarga*), while those who compose songs (*gīta*) will return to the abodes of the Love God and the Goddess of Literature, Sarasvati. In this world, the poet will gain the love of kith, kin, and friends, and of kings, elders, and priests. The discussion of rasa then ends on a pedagogical note with an admonition to poets to pay careful attention to its depiction: "You must fully understand rasa, devote full attention to it, as also to its repeated practice."[125] The

[122] Sum 145.1: *tangeh yan ucapěn kalangwan i hěnū nira kadi nawanāṭya ning kawi*.

[123] Nawanatya 1a: *iti* ***nawanatya*** *sawitā hulahakěna: mṛga, matsya, pāna, dyuta, śṛnggāra, hasya, samara, śrama, kalangěn*; 5a *nawa ngaran ing sanga, natya ngaran ing smita*; Pigeaud 1960: 81–82.

[124] See also Hunter 2014b: 760–68, for a detailed exposition of the development of rasa in the East Javanese *kakawin* tradition.

[125] BhP 19b: *kunang phala ning kawi* (var. *kadi*) *lambang yan inabhyasa(kěn) tan wyartha swarga* (var. *sura*) *paḍatmanta* (var. *padaktmu) kunang yan gita bhyaṣanta [nya santa] byakta mantuk*

verse and the section of the text as a whole is thus brought to a close by bringing together instruction in the devotional, the political, and the aesthetic in a way that mirrors the attention paid to these key components of poetic practice that we have observed in the opening invocations of *kakawin*.

The text then turns to the enumeration of nineteen poetic traps that should be avoided. Theorists such as Dandin would have termed them flaws (*doṣa*), although the Sanskrit term is not used here. Structurally, the section imitates the earlier rasa section with an initial enumeration of the defects followed by a brief definition of each of them. As was the case for the list of rasas, there are no accompanying illustrative verses, and it is not possible to ascertain if such verses were once part of an original, more comprehensive exegesis and were subsequently lost. The inclusion of this enumeration of poetic defects provides clear evidence of the influence of Sanskrit poetics in the shaping of Old Javanese *kakawin* practices at some point in the transmission process, although the disordered, often incomprehensible state of the text suggests it had long since been discarded from any curriculum study for aspiring poets. The list of literary defects is not familiar from any known Sanskrit works on poetics. The nineteen flaws fall into three main groups, mirroring those we have noted in the invocations of *kakawin*, namely those related to phonetic texture, those that relate to clarity and sense, and those that commit the ultimate poetical sin, of metrical infelicity, "a much abhorred flaw" allowing no exceptions, here following Dandin's footsteps (Dandin also singled out the breaking of metrical rules as the one flaw that is not redeemable).[126] The definitions are elliptic and often comprise little more than a series of juxtaposed phrases. The text is corrupt and the interpretation so problematic that rather than provide a comprehensive discussion, a few examples must suffice here.[127]

*marêng makaradhwaja mareng wagiśwari* (var. *mwang marêng kawagiśwaran*) *ta kunang, kadang mitra masih mwang sang prabhu rāma rṣi masih phalanya wnang manginditakĕn kadang mitra warga nda nahan phalanya. Ndan mengĕta kita raṣa piningit* (var. *pinkĕt*) *kunang lwir ing pinali-pali, tan dadi kantaka katha ring kakawin* (var. *tan dadi kasĕlata*), *nāhan lwirnya*. The reading is corrupt and the translation tentative. For two different interpretations of this passage, see Lokesh Chandra 1997: 182; Rubinstein 2000: 185.

[126] For Dandin, see KĀ 3. 3.156–58 and Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume; BhP 20a: *apākṣara ngarannya manggurwakĕn lagu ikang guru lagwakĕn kunang*; making short syllables long or long syllables short.

[127] The initial enumeration of the flaws (based on the reading of LOr 5109) reads as follows (BhP 19b–20b): *nihan arannya: ajñana, nyuddha, maprabhangśa, pada wikara, dura sambada, wiruddabhaṣa, wiruddhalangkara, wiruddhaweśa, kahalangan śawa, apracanda, apraganda, yatibhraṣṭa, aprakṣara, cedakṣara, śanggata prabhangga, śrutikaṣṭa, duṣprakṛti, ubhayabhraṣṭa*. For differing interpretations and translations of the definitions of these flaws, see Lokesh Chandra 1997: 182–84; Rubinstein 2000: 185–87. Rubinstein's definitions are out of alignment in the table in Appendix F (pp. 250–53).

The flaws are all defined in Sanskrit, or Sanskrit-like, words. In some cases, although the connection with Sanskrit terminology is clear, the defects themselves are defined rather differently than in the Indic tradition. There are occasionally direct echoes of Bhamaha and Dandin. For example, the defect of breaking the caesura (*yatibhraṣṭa*) is included, but is defined in the *Life Breath of Poetry* as "making defective the words that have already been well formed; what is fine ends defectively."[128]

Most striking is the group of three flaws of contradiction (*viruddha*) in which the domains of knowledge differ from any of the six listed in Bhamaha and Dandin, but which clearly reflect the unacceptable use of contradiction:[129]

**wiruddhabhaṣa** (contradictory language): the story heard is unpleasant.
**wiruddhālĕngkara** (contradictory ornaments): the story is verbose, words flood the narrative.
**wiruddhaweṣa** (contradictory outward appearance): incorrectly written conjunct consonants and vowel muting symbol characters.[130]

Again, a mix of titles that may sound somewhat familiar to the readers of Sanskrit poetics, but with definitions that are entirely unprecedented.

As a final example, we will note the flaw of being "harsh to the ear" (*śrutikaṣṭa*) in which the Sanskrit and Old Javanese definitions partly converge. This flaw is found in Bhamaha's list, was excluded from Dandin's, but was, nevertheless, incorporated into the *Way of the Poet-King*, the Kannada adaptation of Dandin's *Mirror*. In the *Life Breath of Poetry* it is said to be "unpleasant when heard and deficient in rasa, as for example the tortuous language of one inclined to anger or rage. It is called being overwhelmed."[131] So here there is a faint echo of the Sanskrit definition of Bhamaha (which merely gives illustrations of offensive words poets should avoid), yet again, the Javanese formulation goes its own rasa-related way.

[128] BhP 20a: ***yatibhraṣṭa,*** *nga, ahala ujar uwus dadi, ar ahayu mapuputan ala*.
[129] KĀ 3.164–75; KA 4.29–50.
[130] BhP 20a ***wiruddha bhāṣa****, tan enak caritanya karĕngö.* ***wiruddha lĕngkara*** *nga ujar ing wah ing caritanya;* ***wiruddha weśa****, nga tan yukti gantungĕn mwang tĕngĕnanya, sandanganya kunang*. The last of these three flaws refers to incorrect orthography in relation to specific characters in Balinese script that mark the conjoint conjunctions that sit below the letters (*akṣara gantungĕn*), and the vowel-muting consonant symbols (*sandangan tĕngĕnan*) *surang* (r), *wisarga* (h), cĕcĕk (ng), and adĕg-adĕg (muted vowel). See Rubinstein 2000: 146, 150.
[131] BhP 20a: *śruti kaṣṭa, nga tan enak arĕngĕ, mwang tuna rasanya, kady angga ning kadyangga ning* ***alĕngkara*** *ning atyewamada, ya* **kawah** *nga*. There are hints of a poetic embrace here. Rather than "overwhelmed or flooded" from the passive verbal form of *wah*, *ka-wah*, the final phrase may also be translated, "It is called the cauldron of hell," since *kawah* means the "cauldron of hell." Similarly, while *alĕngkara* generally means "ornament of style, artistic language," it is also "tortuous (too artificial) language"; Zoetmulder 1982: 45. For Bhamaha, see KA 1.53.

Like the section on rasa, the section on defects ends with an epilogue, suggesting that it was at one point a discrete text. Poets are exhorted to avoid all the defects and in particular to be conversant with the correct use of language; to keep the idioms of Prakrit and Sanskrit discrete (which may be reminiscent of the Kannada *Kavirājamārgaṁ*); not to mix in Prakrit words (with high literary registers?); not to reuse obsolete letters or sounds, or words without vowels.[132] We can detect here a hint that the text must go back to an early stage in the process of transcultural exchange between South Asia and the Indonesian archipelago and that the reference here is to the Prakrit language, rather than the process of prakritization or vernacularization noted earlier in section 8.6.

Later Balinese manuscripts that bear witness to the *Life Breath of Poetry* show considerable textual confusion and preserve the memory of only five of the nine modes of expression, namely, delight, heroism, disgust, fear, and fury (*śṛnggāra*, *wīra*, *wībhatsa*, *bhayānaka*, *rodra*) and two literary defects, lacking the vowel *a*, *i*, or *u* (*bana*), and ambiguous words (*nyūna*). It is hard to escape the conclusion that the relevance and understanding of this theoretical work on poetics may have declined over time in the new literary centers in Bali. In contrast to texts dealing with poetic requirements of form such as meter, spelling, orthography, and ornaments of sound which required detailed instruction and the systematic and dedicated learning by a pupil at the feet of a master, in the case of poetic ornaments of sense and to convey mood and emotion, Javanese and Balinese poets could instead rely on their own traditions and turn to homegrown literary masterpieces. In this respect, *śāstra* in Old Javanese *kakawin* clearly took second place to *prayoga*, or pedagogy through practice and example.

## 8.11. Concluding Remarks: Who Needs Dandin?

*Yigal Bronner*

Indic models arrived early in Java, and there is every reason to believe that they also arrived quite often. For one thing, the contact between Indonesian courts and political and cultural establishments in different parts of the Indian subcontinent continued well into the middle of the second millennium, including, as Helen Creese shows, direct exchanges with the Buddhist monasteries in Dandin's hometown of Kanchipuram at a time when his *Mirror* was a topic of study in

[132] BhP 20b: *nda nahan ta lwir niki kasinggahana de ning wruh ri paribhasa; ujar prakṛta mwang sang(s)akṛta; aywa ta wor den pada prakṛta; aywa manguripakĕna akṣara sampun mati, aywa tângde ya tan paśwara*. For the *Kavirājamārgaṁ*, see Ollett and Pierce Taylor, sections 2.2 and 2.4 in this volume.

both Tamil and Sanskrit literary circles. For another, we see in the preserved texts remnants of different phases of Indian thought: from ornaments echoing the oldest texts such as Bhamaha's *Ornament of Literature* (if not Bharata's *Treatise on Theater*) to analyses of rasa that clearly date to—or even postdate—the great Kashmiri moment of creativity between the ninth and the twelfth centuries.

It is also the case that Javanese and later Balinese poets were methodically trained to follow certain rules (*widhi*) in prosody, lexicography, ornamentation, and so on, and that at least some of this information was in the form of primers adapted from Sanskrit and written, or orally transmitted, in the vernacular. Thomas M. Hunter's discussion makes it palpably clear that detailed information about *kāvya*'s poetic conventions, versification, the creation of its sound effects, and even the lexical items that mark the presence of certain ornaments such as simile (*upamā*) and seeing as (*utprekṣā*)—all of which (with the exception of metrics) are discussed at some detail in Dandin's *Mirror*—was already available to the maker(s) of the OJR. In fact, without deep familiarity with this often-technical knowledge, likely taught at the poetic Shailendra classrooms, it is impossible to understand the way it was employed and playfully experimented with in the early phases of *kakawin*. Creese's historical survey of metapoetic statements likewise shows beyond doubt that this knowledge was part of a growing professional corpus that was imparted to new poets over the centuries, and as her discussion of primers shows, oral pedagogy was aided by written manuals.

And yet, not one of the Sanskrit works that delivered this knowledge to Indonesia has left a distinct trace on its shores, and even the extant corpus of vernacular works of theory and pedagogy is rather minimal, and entirely absent when it comes to the key field of ornaments. This absence cannot be explained merely by failures of preservation and transmission, although we surely have lost some texts and manuscripts along the way. Indeed, while it is dangerous to make arguments out of silence, it is telling that none of the introductory statements studied by Creese mentions, let alone names, a primer as part of a poet's education. As in the case of Mpu Panuluh and his patron-teacher Jayabhaya, the pedagogy as reported involves rules, yet no rule books are cited, and it is rather the teacher who is seen as embodying the transferred knowledge. Perhaps, then, we should thus understand this relative absence of primers at least in part as a function of a cultural preference for inscribing the theoretical models in the literary practice itself.

Indeed, it cannot be a coincidence that the one identifiable semi-theoretical work that did not disappear without a trace in Java is *Bhatti's Poem*, a work that may have been chosen for adaptation partly because it encoded poetic theory in the poetry itself. After all, the bulk of Bhatti's effort of encoding theory in his verse—teaching Panini's grammatical aphorisms on a variety of topics such as Sanskrit's aorist system—was of little or no relevance to Old Javanese and also

prone to be lost in translation, but not so the sections on poetic moods and ornaments. And, as Hunter shows, the teachings of these sections were already put to creative use not just in translating them in OJR 11, but in ornamental blocks strewn throughout the OJR, with growing boldness in the second part of the poem, which, he says, "suggest nothing less than the declaration of independence of a new poetic tradition." So already in the first known instance of *kakawin*, we see a pattern emerging that will typify later tradition: pedagogic models are consciously inscribed in the praxis, the learning involves repeating, commenting upon, and restating the learned models in increasingly playful ways and within an ever-growing echo-chamber of intertexts and intratexts, and this creative engagement with the models becomes, in turn, a model in its own right.

It is interesting to consider, in this context, the analogy that Hunter makes between poetry-making and temple-construction. For one thing, the workflow that he postulates for both, with masters mediating the Indic knowledge to novices, is not inconsistent with the way later poets describe their process of learning in the statements studied by Creese. For another, these later authors themselves repeatedly envision their poems as "temple[s] of words . . . at which poets devoted to the cult of beauty (*kalangwan*) can worship." Likewise, as the poet of the *Tale of Kunjarakarna* puts it, his poem is "a statue (*pratimā*) that is crowned with the prescribed rules of poetics (*widhi*) and bestrewn with letters."[133] And it is true that temple complexes and images in South and Southeast Asia alike embody pedagogy and theory in the practice and offer reflections between their parts and with other monuments, near or distant. In fact, just like temple complexes such as Borobudur, *kakawin* works embody, from the perspective of South Asia, an image that is ever confusing: so similar in many of its components and conventions, and yet, so remarkably distinct overall.

Thus, on final analysis, it seems that the evolving practice itself was the main tool for imparting poesy throughout the long and impressive history of *kakawin*, and written manuals of the sort analyzed by Creese were second-in-command. It is also important, however, to realize how deeply the practice internalized the basic principles we see in works such as the *Mirror* and its many adaptations: Dandin's remarkable ethos of openness; the heightened intertextual and intratextual playfulness, often poking fun at some earlier model; the inherently modular nature and the creativity with which modules are put to use, often in combination with others, and so on. Consider, in this context, the thematization of mirroring, found already in the OJR. I am thinking here, for instance, of Hunter's analysis of the river verse—which has it mocking the trees growing on its banks as they try to observe their reflection in the water—as indirectly commenting on the relationship between adaptation and original. This is just one example of reflexive observations on the process of adaptation and

[133] The quotes are from Creese, section 8.7 above.

translation, but many more can easily be supplied.[134] So, with a poetic tradition that has become so adept at putting up a series of concave and convex mirrors, and that has become so thoroughly trained at internalizing the models and, yet, converting and owning them, one might ask: Who needs Dandin?

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AW. *Arjunawiwāha* of Mpu Kaṇwa. See Robson 2008.
AWij. *Arjunawijaya* of Mpu Tantular. See Supomo 1977.
BhA. *Bhomāntaka*. See Teeuw and Robson 2005.
BhK. *Bhaṭṭikāvya* [*Rāvaṇavadha*] of Bhaṭṭi. See Fallon 2009.
BhP. *Bhāṣaprāṇa*. LOr 4570 (BCB80); LOr 5109 (BCB3). Special Collections. University of Leiden Library.
DW. *Deśawarṇana* [*Nāgarakṛtāgama*] of Mpu Prapañca. See Pigeaud 1960; Robson 1995.
GhĀ. *Ghaṭotkacāśraya* of Mpu Panuluh. See Robson 2016.
HW. *Hariwangśa* of Mpu Panuluh. See Zoetmulder 1974.
HWij. *Hariwijaya*. See Creese 1998.
KA. *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha. Edited by P. V. Naganatha Sastry. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, 1991.
KĀ. *Kāvyādarśa* [*Kāvyalakṣaṇa*] of Daṇḍin, with the commentary of Ratnaśrījñāna. Edited by A. Thakur and U. Jha. Darbhanga: 1957.
KK. *Kuñjarakarṇa Dharmakathana* of Mpu Dusun. See Teeuw and Robson 1981.
OJR. *Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa* [Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa]. See van der Molen 2015; Robson 2015.
PY. *Pārthāyaṇa*. See Creese 1998.
*Raghuvaṃśa* of Kālidāsa with the commentary of Mallinātha. Edited and translated by M.R. Kale. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1981.
Sum. *Sumanasāntaka* of Mpu Monaguṇa. See Worsley et al. 2013.
Sut. *Sutasoma*. See O'Brien 2008.
ŚR. *Śiwarātrikalpa* of Mpu Tanakung. See Teeuw et al. 1969.

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[134] See Bronner and Creese 2019: 53–64 for a series of metapoetic and metacultural reflections in the OJR.

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# 9

# Two Mirrors, Fleeting Reflections

## Traces of Sanskrit Poetics in East Asia

*Shenghai Li*

### 9.1. Introduction

The present chapter differs from others in this volume. For most of the contributions here, Dandin's presence is a given, or can be relatively easily ascertained (the chapters on Indonesia and the Bay of Bengal being the outliers), and attention can be directed instead to the type of his influence on the relevant theoretical and literary traditions. In the world of premodern East Asia, however, there exists no translation or adaptation of Dandin's *Mirror of Literature*, and there is not even a work that addresses a similar set of topics. What Chinese literary sources may offer are scattered traces of possible exchange with Indic models of poetics, such as Dandin's, and some points of partial overlap that may or may not indicate direct cultural exchange. In assembling and assessing these traces, then, one should utilize utmost caution.

This chapter follows three extended moments of engagement with Indic textualities in East Asia. The first, beginning in the early centuries CE and lasting until the eleventh, is the translation into Chinese of Buddhist literary texts originally written in Sanskrit, where Indic literary ideas and tropes were embedded. The second consists of parallels, random or not so random, in the theoretical texts composed in South Asia and East Asia between the seventh and early ninth centuries, the period in which Dandin's *Mirror* was composed and began to travel. The third is the experiments with visual poetry in China, from at least the late tenth century onward, that had meaningful parallels with very similar Indian experimentations. Taken together, these moments suggest that literary knowledge from India was recurrently transmitted to East Asia, albeit in a rather piecemeal fashion, and that it was received and incorporated into East Asian literary circles, though not by any means pervasively and not necessarily in its original form.

More specifically, I try to view Chinese literary thought from the perspective of Dandin's *Mirror*, at least during the time when China was actively receiving cultural influences from India. Dandin's vision of literature is, I believe, not entirely

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alien to Chinese literary thought, and the basic facets of literature presented in his *Mirror* approximate the critical areas that the modern Chinese study of rhetoric identified when it turned to chart the ancient roots of the discipline.[1] As the following pages make clear, Dandin is only one of the possible Sanskrit sources from which certain literary ideas may have been introduced to China, and other theoretical texts of the early Sanskrit tradition are also considered below. Yet even those who are not readily convinced by the argument of Indian influence on East Asian literary thought and who prefer to see the parallels between the two theoretical traditions as mere coincidence must come to terms with the uncanny capacity of Dandin's treatise to explain vastly diverse literatures across geographical boundaries, China included.

Still, one major lacuna has to be admitted up front. From the time of Bhamaha and Dandin onward, Sanskrit poetics was primarily concerned with tropes and figures of meaning, the "ornaments" (*alaṅkāra*) after which the tradition eventually came to be named. These ornaments, moreover, were often the preferred aspect of Sanskrit poetics chosen for incorporation into other Asian languages, as a gift from another culture. Such, for instance, was the case with Sakya Pandita's initial introduction of Dandin's poetics to Tibet in the thirteenth century as a civilizing force.[2] But the vast array of ornamental devices found in the *Mirror* and other Sanskrit texts is not matched by anything remotely comparable in East Asia. With some exceptions noted below, Chinese thinkers seem far less interested in the type of meticulous figurative analysis that so fascinated their South Asian colleagues. Thus, if we are to look for the impact of Sanskrit poetic elements in China, we should turn our gaze elsewhere, to ways in which they may have helped to analyze and describe phenomena, forment changes, and stimulate creativity in a literary tradition that has long enjoyed a thriving and independent history. The peripheral role of these elements and the degree to which they were integrated into Chinese literary thought make them less discernible, calling for careful detective work.

Another note of caution has to do with the modes of possible transmission. So far, no historical record has surfaced reporting any direct communication about Indian theories of literature in East Asia. Inference, therefore, has to be drawn on the basis of traces found in the texts. Indeed, a close reading of these texts, with their parallels and overlaps, suggests that ideas were often exchanged through fortuitous personal contact. To ensure that one is not engaged here merely in a comparison of two independent traditions, establishing reasonable means of contact is essential. If the knowledge of Sanskrit poetics did travel to East Asia,

[1] Literally "the study of language refinement," *xiuci xue* 修辭學 arose in the early twentieth century with Western and Japanese influences. Sample works include Chen 2008; Zhou 2004; and the series that includes Zong and Li 1998. For a brief overview in English, see Kao 1986.

[2] See Jonathan C. Gold, section 6.4 in this volume, and Gold 2007: 117–39.

it was likely the doing of Buddhist monks or Chinese pilgrims from India, who primarily brought with them religious and philosophical treatises. Direct contact with such possible carriers of knowledge can, in fact, be established for the cases considered here. In this connection it will be useful to begin by turning to translators and their endeavors as a way of offering a brief sketch of key points of contact.

## 9.2. The Mirror of Translation: Indic Literature Rendered into Chinese

Buddhist monks in China began to translate Buddhist texts from India as early as the second century CE. By the beginning of the fifth century, the craft of translation reached new heights with Kumarajiva, who is known for his translation of Mahayana scriptures and their philosophical interpretations according to the Middle Way school. According to traditional accounts, Kumarajiva edited out portions that appeared verbose to the Chinese ear while retaining the essential ideas of the originals.[3] His work may be described as literary translation that succeeded in producing stylistically appealing Chinese. A case in point is his embellished rendering of Kumaralata's collection of parables, *Adorned by Imagination* (*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*), a work of a more literary nature.[4] The art of translating Indian texts reached its peak in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Indian monk Paramartha (499–569) and the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (ca. 600–664) demonstrated their dexterity in translating the complex theological and philosophical works of the Yogācāra and Abhidharma traditions while conveying their contents more precisely than in previous generations.

Another skilled translator, Yijing (635–713), worked somewhat later, and his period of activity was likely contemporaneous with Dandin's career. Yijing was clearly familiar with the Buddhist literary output of authors from South Asia and its aesthetic ideals. He speaks of literary beauty in Matricheta's *A Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Stanzas* (*Śatapañcāśatka*) and *A Hymn in Four Hundred Stanzas* (*Varṇārhavarṇastotra*), Aryashura's *Garland of Previous Births* (*Jātakamālā*), King Harsha's drama enacting the self-sacrifice of Jimutavahana (*Nāgānanda*), Chandragomin's theatrical work on the story of a Buddhist prince, the aforementioned *Adorned by Imagination*, and Ashvaghosha's *Life of the Buddha* (*Buddhacarita*).[5] In such passages Yijing displays a rare awareness of the

[3] T 2059 L 332c28–333a1; T 2145 LV 76a29–b3; T 1519 XXV 57b22–23. Harrison 2010, however, shows that Kumarajiva sometimes worked with shorter Sanskrit texts.

[4] T 201 IV 257a–348b.

[5] T 2125 LIV 227b11–228a17; Takakusu 1896: 156–66. Yijing identifies the protagonist of Chandragomin's work as the prince Vishvantara, although he is most likely referring to

Buddhist literary canon as it was formed and recognized in India in the late seventh century. Regarding Matricheta's hymns, he says:

> It may be said that in language and sentiment they are graceful as well as beautiful, comparable to heavenly flowers in fineness. The principles they contain are most pure and high, rivaling earthly mountains in loftiness. Consequently, hymn composers in the western regions all acknowledge Matricheta as a forerunner and imitate him.[6]

Note how the hymns' aesthetic excellence is praised even before the purity of their principles.

Beginning with the eighth century, Buddhist monks were hard at work introducing Tantric Buddhist ideas into China. Chinese Buddhism suffered repression in the mid-ninth century and endured further uncertainty following the collapse of the Tang dynasty, all of which had an impact on translation activities. State-sponsored translations were reinstated in 980 under the patronage of Emperor Taizong of the Song dynasty. But translation efforts supervised by Indian monks would come to an end when the last Sanskrit expert Richeng (Sūryakīrti?) died in 1078.[7] To conclude, with the exception of the hiatus that began in the late Tang, the period between the early centuries CE and the eleventh century was an important window of opportunity for Indian literary ideas to travel east.

Narrative literature is by far the largest body of Buddhist literary texts rendered into Chinese. The bulk of this literature was translated during the early centuries CE and is now collected in the third and fourth volumes of the *Taishō Tripiṭaka*.[8] These texts primarily include biographies of the Buddha, stories of the Buddha's previous births (Jataka), and parables (*avadāna*), traditional categories that are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Monastic codes of conduct (*vinaya*), especially those associated with the Mūlasarvāstivāda sect and translated by Yijing, are also storehouses of narrative materials.[9] These genres of translated texts supplied themes and stories that became the precursors of the popular Buddhist literary forms created in China, including biographies of eminent monks and nuns, transformation texts (*bianwen*), and miracle tales.[10] Of particular

Chandragomin's drama *Lokānanda*, which tells the story of Manichuda. The Chinese monk attributes *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* to Ashvaghosha, as Kumarajiva did in the Chinese translation.

[6] T 2125 LIV 227b27–29. Cf. Takakusu 1896: 157.

[7] Sen 2002: 30.

[8] T 153–219. A representative anthology of this literature is available in Chavannes 1910–1934.

[9] T 1442–59.

[10] For short surveys of Chinese Buddhist literature, see Schmidt-Glintzer and Meir 2001 and Jan 1986. See Meir 1983 and 1989 on Indian contribution to popular Buddhist narrative and the rise of vernacular fiction.

interest to us are the Chinese renditions of certain Buddhist narrative texts that were written in a highly ornate Sanskrit, and I will return to these shortly.

Obviously, the Buddhist literature of China is tremendously indebted to India, but it also follows a trajectory of its own. One facet of this distinctiveness is that the Buddhist texts that most influenced literature are arguably some of the scriptures that became central to Chinese Buddhism. Thus, Chinese literati repeatedly turned to the eloquence and carefree spirit of the saintly layman and titular character in the *Teachings of Vimalakirti* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*).[11] The pilgrimage of Sudhana told in the "Chapter on the Entry into the Realm of Dharma" (*Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, a part of the *Avataṃsakasūtra*) likewise inspired many fictional creations and artistic elaborations.[12] Finally, one of the legacies that the highly esteemed *Lotus Sutra* left in China was its set of seven parables, some of which became proverbial and were widely referenced in many literary works. Perhaps the most well-known of these is the parable of the burning house, in which a skillful father lures his children out of their flaming residence with the promised gift of goat-, deer-, and ox-drawn carriages.[13] The Chinese term for such parables is *piyu* (譬喻), which is also the Chinese equivalent for the *avadāna* genre: texts that narrate karmically significant acts and their fruits. As a genre, *piyu* highlights the deployment of narrative as a tool of comparison between its frames of past and present along with its edificatory function.[14]

In its more common meaning, however, *piyu* is the Chinese translation for simile (Skt. *upamā*). Buddhist texts introduced into Chinese culture an entire class of hitherto unknown similes, as well as their uses in religious contexts. We will encounter below a sophisticated analysis of simile developed in China in the twelfth century, after Chinese translations of Indian texts were completed. In the earlier times, resources for understanding similes could be found in Buddhist texts from India. One type of such resource is the interpretation offered by scholastic texts, for example the exegesis of the last verse of the *Diamond-Cutter Sutra* (*Vajracchedikā*), which provides one of the best-known lists of Buddhist similes:

> Like a star, a false vision, a lamp,
> a magic show, dew drops, a bubble,
> a dream, a lightning flash, and a cloud—
> in such manners shall the conditioned states (*saṃskṛta*) be viewed.[15]

[11] Bunker 1968 and Wang 1992.

[12] Idema 2008 introduces one Chinese version of the story of Shancai (pp. 30–35) and provides a translation. In the Ming Dynasty novel *Journey to the West*, Sudhana is identified as the fictional character Red Boy.

[13] T 262 IX 12b8–15b8.

[14] For a survey of Buddhist narratives of South Asia and the meanings of *avadāna*, see Straube 2015. For more examination of the etymology of *avadāna* along with its adaptation in East Asia, see Takamichi 2018.

[15] Sanskrit in Conze 1957: 62.

Asanga's and Vasubandhu's interpretations of this verse enter into theological discussions to show that these specific similes are far from randomly stated analogies. Rather, they are presented to demonstrate features of the Buddha's perception of the phenomenal world. At least four of the text's Chinese translators—Bodhiruci, Paramartha, Dharmagupta, and Yijing—had access to Asanga's or Vasubandhu's commentaries.[16]

Moreover, the highly influential translation of the *Sutra on the Great Final Extinction* (*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*) offers, in addition to a host of similes, a tool for their literary analysis. It explores the anatomy of a simile and names and illustrates its eight varieties: (1) a series of similes that follow the natural sequence of events; (2) a series of similes that follow the reverse sequence; (3) apparent simile; (4) spurious simile; (5) simile in which the standard of comparison precedes its subject; (6) simile in which the standard follows the subject; (7) simile in which the subject is both preceded and followed by different standards of comparison; and (8) pervasive simile.[17] When this translation was produced between 420 and 431, its literary analysis of the simile must have been strikingly elaborate for its Chinese readership. While this taxonomy's relationship with the early Indian theoretical tradition is not clear, the "pervasive simile" refers to cases in which multiple points of resemblance are found between two events or objects, an area of interest in South Asia since the time of the *Treatise on Theater* (*Nāṭyaśāstra*).[18] The concern with structure and the epistemic aspect of comparison displayed in the sutra is certainly familiar from Indian poetics, Dandin included.[19]

Works of Indian poetics are first and foremost theories of, or for, *kāvya* literature—texts composed in meters, prose, or a mixture thereof that employ ornate style. Without self-evident Chinese renditions of Indian poetics, we are still left with the corpus of translations of Buddhist *kāvya* that presuppose, and thus may convey, knowledge of Indian literary theories. Studies that compare Indian

[16] Li 2004: 60–61 and 76–77. In Kumarajiva's earliest, but most widely circulated, translation, the verse in question contains only six similes.

[17] T 374 XII 536b11–537a15 (T 375 XII 781b10–782a17 in the reworked "southern version"). This passage appears in the twenty-ninth fascicle of Dharmakshema's translation. A question remains as to whether the last thirty fascicles of the text were based on an Indian original, simply because no Sanskrit manuscript fragment, quotation, or another translation corresponding to that section has been found. Mark Brum (2013: xix), however, holds that the existence of one or more Indic originals of this translation can be presumed.

[18] In NS 2.324, a sample verse illustrating the simile of partial resemblance (*kiñcitsadṛśī*) compares the face of the speaker's friend to the full moon, her eyes to the petals of a blue lotus, and her movement to that of an elephant in rut. It shares with pervasive simile an interest in multiple comparison, though the emphasis here is partial resemblance. Bhamaha may refer to something similar when he speaks of a string of simile (*mālopamā*), though he prefers not to elaborate on it (BKA 2.38). Dandin explores a form of comparison structurally closer to pervasive simile in the context of the simile on the level of sentence meaning (*vākyārthopamā*; KĀ 2.43–45). Both deal with multiple points of resemblance between two objects compared.

[19] On the latter aspect, compare nos. 3 and 4 with KĀ 2.25–27.

literary texts with their Chinese translations tend to focus on the single question of accuracy. A case in point is Heinrich Lüders's appraisal of Kumarajiva's early rendering of *Adorned by Imagination* (*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*) and his emphasis on the translator's "deviations" from the Sanskrit.[20] This general trend continues in the assessment of the Chinese versions of the *Life of the Buddha*, *A Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Stanzas*, and other such texts.[21] A more useful approach would be to explore the concerns, priorities, or forces that shape the translators' choices, even in moments of so-called deviations. Given the interest of the current volume, special attention is given here to the translators' treatment of ornaments, central as they are to Dandin's project and his tradition.

Less than a decade after Kumarajiva's illustrious career, the monk Baoyun rendered Ashvaghosha's renowned *Life of the Buddha* into Chinese.[22] Baoyun's pentasyllabic verse often differs considerably from the Sanskrit original. In a memorable episode from Ashvaghosha's poem, the poet creatively constructs the urban ambience as the setting for the prince's fateful encounter with an old man, an encounter that dramatically alters the course of his life. The section is effectively rewritten by Baoyun, in part to avoid the depiction of female spectators, the subject of some thirteen Sanskrit verses, which did not fit his sense of propriety.[23] Still, other aspects of the section's style and import were retained.[24] Consider, for instance, a key verse in this Sanskrit passage that enlivens the street scene with a simple but charming simile:

> Because those balconies were not too large,
> with earrings resting on each other's cheeks,
> the faces of those excellent girls beamed,
> like lotus bouquets tied to the windows.[25]

In the Chinese stanza the echo of the Sanskrit may be hard to discern: "In the high pavilions and in the trees on the embankments, in the windows and allies and at the crossroads, they stand sideways as they vie with each other with their countenance. They gazed, experiencing no tiredness from watching."[26] The analogy is gone, but the vivid description supplies the only suggestion in the entire passage

[20] Lüders 1979: 174–78. A French translation of Kumarajiva's Chinese version of the text is available in Huber 1908, which was consulted by Lüders.

[21] See Johnston 1998: xiii (part I) and 6 (part III); Willemen 2009: xvi–xvii; and Shackleton Bailey 1951: 25.

[22] Willemen 2009: xiv.

[23] BC 3.12c–24. For the corresponding Chinese, see Willemen 2009: 20.

[24] Jin (1999: 263), for instance, judges the Chinese transformation of the passage to be a success.

[25] BC 3.21, in Johnston 1998: (part I) 22: *vātāyanānām aviśālabhāvād anyonyagaṇḍārpitakuṇḍalānām / mukhāni rejuḥ pramadottamānāṃ baddhāḥ kalāpā iva paṅkajānām //*. Olivelle's (2008: 67) translation is basically reproduced here.

[26] T 192 IV 5c10–11. Cf. Willemen 2009: 20 (3.15).

of the presence of women among the spectators, conveying in its own way the original's sense of heightened spatial density and intense excitement.[27] The verses from the procession episode are an outstanding part of Ashvaghosha's legacy, which inspired emulations in the Sanskrit poetry of prominent poets such as Kalidasa and Bharavi and in second-millennium Javanese literary monuments.[28] This is a case where it is more fruitful to see the Chinese version as an adaptation, rather than a poor translation, allowing it to shine alongside more creative Asian descendants of Ashvaghosha.

Baoyun's Chinese can, at times, be remarkably close to the Sanskrit, including his treatment of many of Ashvaghosha's ornaments. Consider, to give but a few examples, his detailed reproduction of an unusual verse describing the facial features of a Brahmin, as well as of a set of similes likening the future Buddha's stature, arm, voice, eyes, gait, and face to those of a golden peak, an elephant, a thunder cloud, a bull, a lion, and the moon, respectively.[29] The Indian literary tradition makes a distinction between simile (*upamā*) and metaphorical identification (*rūpaka*). The latter is a figure where the subject and standard of comparison are described as identical. According to Dandin, metaphorical identification is nothing but a simile wherein the difference between the two is concealed.[30] How Chinese translators deal with metaphorical identification still requires study, but there is some evidence to suggest that Baoyun is aware of it as a distinctive figure.[31] Baoyun's six-line rendition of the following verse, simulated here into English, is a telling case of a translation that intentionally captures the imagery of the original without reproducing every single detail precisely:

> Impermanence is a hunter;
> old age, his bow; and sickness, his sharp arrow.
> Constantly ambushing the deer of living beings
> in the open wilderness of birth and death,
> he captures them, then takes their lives in an instant.
> Who will be permitted to complete their natural life span?[32]

[27] To understand Chinese versions of Indian texts more productively, we may need to set aside certain modern notions of translation. In this connection, Bronner and Creese's 2019 study of the Old Javanese version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* serves as a good example of working with the transformation of literary qualities and figures in adapted works. See also Hunter, sections 8.3 and 8.4 in this volume.

[28] See Hunter 2018: 351–59, where the particular verse cited here is used as an example.

[29] BC 7.51 and 5.26–27.

[30] KĀ 2.66. Cf. BKA 2.21.

[31] See, for instance, BC 8.13ab. In the Chinese translation, after the departure of the prince, the citizens also say, like in the Sanskrit, that "this city becomes a hilly forest, and that forest is a walled city." T 192 IV 14c1: 此邑成丘林，彼林城郭邑.

[32] T 192 IV 22a5–7: 無常為獵師，老弓病利箭，於生死曠野，常伺眾生鹿，得便斷其命，孰聽終年壽. Cf. Willemen 2009: 80. BC 11.62: *jarāyudho vyādhivikīrṇasāyako yadāntiko vyādha ivāśivaḥ sthitaḥ / prajāmṛgān bhāgyavanāśritāṃs tudan vayaḥprakarṣaṃ prati ko manorathaḥ //*. See Olivelle 2008: 319 for an English translation.

Interestingly, Baoyun turns what is in Sanskrit a simile in the main subject ("when death stands *like* an ominous hunter") into a metaphorical identification. It is possible that this is done to be consistent with the employment of identification in the subsidiary figures. Notwithstanding this and a small number of discrepancies, the translator manages to convey the basic design of Ashvaghosha's extended metaphor and personification (or "seeing as," *utprekṣā*) along with the general flavor.[33]

Baoyun is also aware of Ashvaghosha's use of ornaments of sound, and his translation often imitates the Indian poet's experiments with the sound effects of syllabic repetition. In the *Treatise on Theater*, Bharata describes the ornament "twinning" (*yamaka*) as "the repetition of sounds," and his illustrations of its various varieties, like many instances of Ashvaghosha's syllabic repetition, feature the repetition of whole words, frequently without change in meaning.[34] Though word repetition without altering the meaning would be avoided by later Sanskrit poets, it might have been admitted as a form of "twinning" in the early understanding of the figure, as both Bharata's and Ashvaghosha's examples seem to indicate, and Baoyun's adaptation makes an effort to capture this in Chinese.[35] To what extent was Baoyun familiar with the theories underlying the practice of Sanskrit poets? It is hard to say. We know that he visited Central Asia and India, and it is reasonable to expect that he acquired some knowledge of Indian figurative theory both from his travel abroad and from conversations with visiting foreign scholars. He translated the *Life of the Buddha* in southern China, where his Chinese associates were likely to have played some roles in the project.[36] Be that as it may, the attention of translators like Baoyun may have led to further conversations about or explorations of relevant Indian theories, including the technique of syllabic repetition.

In the late seventh century, Yijing had the uncommon circumstance of undertaking a translation of a Buddhist poem at Nalanda monastery in India, where he could avail himself of input from his Indian mentors and colleagues. This work is the translation of *A Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Stanzas* by Matricheta, whom he eulogized in his *Account of Buddhism Sent from the South Seas*.[37] In Yijing's approach to ornamental devices, a section labeled the "praise of incomparability" is of special interest.[38] Here the original consists of a series of verses, the theme of which is the inevitable failure of any comparison between

[33] On *utprekṣā* as an ornament, see KĀ 2.219–32.

[34] NS 2:326: *śabdābhyāsas tu yamakaṃ*. Relevant illustrations are in NS 2:327–30. More will be said about *yamaka* (treated in KĀ 3.1–77) later in section 9.5.

[35] See, for example, BC 5.24–25 (9a23–25), 7.1 (12b26), 9.38 (17b27–29), and the instances discussed in Li 2019: 373–75.

[36] For a discussion of the circumstance of this translation, see Willemen 2009: xiv–xv.

[37] See a passage cited earlier in this section.

[38] *Nirupamastava* = *Śatapañcaśatka* 27–41.

the Buddha and some ordinary entity. Dandin dubbed this reflexive device, in which the speaker or poet praises the subject of comparison by admitting that no standard compares to it, "simile phrased as incomparability" (*asādhāraṇopamā*), and he added that in such cases, the subject in question can only be compared to itself.[39] Note, however, that Matricheta does end the original passage by moving away from the notion of incomparability, as he names one standard, the "jewel of Dharma," the Buddha's likeness.[40] The famous Buddhist author Dignaga, who has composed a poem to match each of Matricheta's verses with one of his own, pushes incomparability to its logical conclusion by adding, "Or, even that is not your equal."[41] Yijing's translation of Matricheta's section appears to be informed by Dignaga's move, if not by knowledge of the specific device of incomparability as defined in the contemporaneous *Mirror*, for he concludes his Chinese version of the section, unlike Matricheta, by stating: "Only the Buddha is the equal of the Buddha."[42]

Like Baoyun before him, Yijing's handling of structures of layered correspondence or analogy between items seems well-informed.[43] The related ornaments in Dandin's *Mirror* are "simile based on a plurality of attributes" (*samuccayopamā*), "respective enumeration" (*krama*), and "simile on the level of sentence meaning."[44] Familiarity with the prevalent practice of parallelism in Chinese poetry, a practice about which I will have more to say, may very well have conditioned translators such that they were more sensitive to structural parallels in Sanskrit.

A later attempt at translating a major Buddhist *kāvya* was a Song dynasty Chinese rendering of Aryashura's *Garland of Previous Births*. John Brough has demonstrated that the Chinese translators of this poem worked with very limited Sanskrit vocabulary and no knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, leading to a product hardly recognizable as a translation of Aryashura's poem.[45] It has also

39 KĀ 2.37: *candrāravindayoḥ kakṣyām atikramya mukhaṃ tava/ ātmanaivābhavat tulyam ity asādhāraṇopamā//*. "'Simile phrased as incomparability' is exemplified in 'surpassing the rivalry of the moon and lotus, your face can be compared only onto itself.'"

40 *Śatapañcaśatka* 40.

41 Shackleton Bailey 1951: 186: *yang na de yang khyod mtshungs min/*. In *Nanhai jigui zhuan* (T 2125 LIV 227c7–11), Yijing records that there were multiple commentaries, as well as poems composed to parallel the *Śatapañcaśatka*. Dignaga's *Miśrakastotra*, now preserved in Tibetan, is one of such matching poems that Yijing mentions.

42 Shackleton Bailey 1951: 63: 唯佛與佛等. Comparing an entity to itself is typically called *ananvaya*. Dandin and Ratnashrijanana's commentary on his *Mirror* both mention *ananvaya* but do not discuss it as an independent ornament; instead, the reader is referred back to simile that is phrased as incomparability (KĀ 2.356). Many later theorists consider *ananvaya* a separate ornament. It is possible to read the Chinese line as saying that only "a Buddha is the equal of a Buddha," thus highlighting the uniqueness of a class rather than an individual. However, Matricheta's devotion is derected toward the historical Buddha, for whom the second-person singular pronoun is often used.

43 E.g., *Śatapañcaśatka* 38, 72, 73, 74, 87, and 97. For the Sanskrit and Chinese translation, see Shackleton Bailey 1951: 62, 88–89, 99, and 107.

44 On the first two kinds of devices, see KĀ 2.21 and 2.271–72.

45 Brough 1964. The Chinese text in question is T 160.

been shown that the Chinese version was attempted without the guidance of a Sanskrit expert, after the last Indian monk to preside over state-sponsored translation activities had died.[46] This instance thus shows that knowledge of Sanskrit poetics and related topics was not based on the translation of any theoretical work such as the *Mirror* and necessitated, instead, constant personal contact in order to be transmitted. And it is clear that such contacts facilitated most of the translations mentioned above. There is no doubt that the Chinese versions of *Adorned by Imagination*, *Life of the Buddha*, *A Hymn in One Hundred and Fifty Stanzas*, and many other Buddhist texts that are recognized mainly as scriptures rather than poetry demonstrated Indian literary ideas and practices to their Chinese readers.[47] Consider, for instance, the *Life of the Buddha*. The fact that such a long narrative work is written entirely in verse, and the presence of long sequences that feature the appearances and manners of women—even when the attention given to the depiction of women is diminished in translation—have no known precedent in Chinese literary history.[48] Indeed, certain distinctive Indic ornaments, some of which we have sampled, may have had a lasting impact on their Chinese audience.

## 9.3. Parallel Lines: Poetics and Prosody in Sanskrit and Chinese

If we turn our gaze away from Chinese translations to Chinese theoretical texts, two major works call for investigation: Liu Xie's *Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons* (*Wenxin diaolong*, 文心雕龍) and Chen Kui's *Rules of Writing* (*Wen ze*, 文則). Liu Xie inaugurated systematic exposition on literature in China around the turn of the sixth century, a time when little is known of the Indian tradition other than that it was in its very early stages.[49] Liu Xie advocates naturalness and decries artificial ornamentation in the literature closer to his time. Even so, several chapters of his treatise are dedicated to literary tools and figures of speech, among which metaphor, hyperbole, and factual description have recognized Indian counterparts.[50] Liu Xie's treatment of these literary devices, however,

[46] Bowring 1992: 93 puts the date of the translation between 1078, the year Richeng (Sūryakīrti?) died, and 1082.

[47] For a literary study of another major Indian Buddhist scripture, the *Lalitavistara*, with a consideration of its Chinese translations, see He 2012.

[48] On the *Buddhacarita*'s reception in premodern China, see Li 2019: 376–78.

[49] Some statements indicating the state of the early Indian tradition can be found in NS 2:321–31, Ghosh 1951: 308–15, and BKA 2.4 (p. 8).

[50] *Wenxin diaolong*, ch. 36, 37, and 46. See Lu and Mou 1995: 443–558 and 547–55; Zhou 1981: 394–410 and 493–501; Owen 1992: 256–62 (ch. 36) and 277–86 (ch. 46); Shih 1959: 195–202 and 245–49. On the Indian counterparts, see simile, "intensification" (*atiśayokti*), and "factual statement" (*svabhāvokti*), in KĀ 2.14–65, 2.212–18, and 2.8–13. See also Zhou's (2004: 76–81) summary of Liu Xie's figures of speech.

shows no sign of being dependent on the Indian tradition, and he ties his discussion to relevant Chinese literature. Though he was a scholar of Buddhism, Liu Xie traces the source of literature to the five Classics of Confucianism.[51]

Chen Kui wrote his *Rules of Writing* in 1170, about a century after the last Buddhist missionaries labored to translate Sanskrit texts from India. This is the first treatise focusing entirely on the full range of literary expressivity, covering topics such as the selection of words, the formation of sentences, figurative language, literary style, and the organization of composition.[52] Although some means of literary refinement that Chen Kui treats, such as "textual reference," "inversion," and "parallelism," are distinctive to Chinese criticism, his discussions of patterns of repetition and his classification of ten types of metaphors have parallels in Dandin's *Mirror*.[53] In his analysis of metaphors, Chen Kui first distinguishes between explicit (no. 1, 直喻) and implied (no. 2, 隱喻) metaphors. The explicit metaphors, or similes, are marked by the words clearly indicating resemblance: *you* (猶), *ruo* (若), *ru* (如), and *si* (似). As for the implied variety, "although its language is obscure, its meaning is traceable." In the *Mirror*, Dandin discusses simile (*upamā*) and "metaphorical identification" (*rūpaka*) at great length. For simile, he provides a long list of words that explicitly indicate its presence, while identification is described as simile "wherein the difference is concealed."[54] The two critics who work with vastly different literatures concur on a distinction between two basic modes of metaphorical expressions. While Chen Kui focuses on the general type of implied metaphor and supplies examples from classical literature, Dandin calls attention to the case where similarity is disguised more specifically as identity and goes on to build more modalities of expression based on reflections on that circumstance.

Moreover, Chen Kui, like Dandin, is interested in forms of multiple comparisons. Chen Kui speaks of a "class metaphor" (no. 3, 類喻)—where the objects in a series of comparison belong to one class, while their respective standards belong to another class—as well as an "elaborate metaphor" (no. 6, 博喻), where one object is compared to several standards. The latter is none other than Dandin's simile involving a multitude of standards, while the former is close

[51] *Wenxin diaolong*, ch. 2. See Lu and Mou 1995: 109–17; Owen 1992: 194–201; Shih 1959: 17–21. The five Classics are the *Book of Documents*, the *Book of Songs*, the *Book of Change*, the *Spring and Autumn Annals*, and the *Book of Rites*. For studies comparing *Wenxin diaolong* and KĀ, see Bstan 'dzin 2011 and Chen 2014. Cai 2001 is a collection of essays treating many relevant issues in the *Wenxin diaolong*.

[52] Zhou 2004: 241–46; Zong and Li 1998: 361–87. For an introduction to Chen Kui's *Wen ze* in English, see Kirkpatrick 2005.

[53] For ten types of metaphors (*yu* 喻), see Liu 1960: 12–14 and Liu 1988: 40–47. Kirkpatrick 2005: 120–24 offers a translation and a brief commentary on the section. Some of Chen Kui's patterns of repetition resemble features of "twinning" (*yamaka*).

[54] The list of words indicating comparison provided in KĀ 2.57–65 is discussed in Bronner 2007: 98–100. Metaphorical identification is defined in KĀ 2.66.

to his simile on the level of sentence meaning and even shares some elements with simile based on a plurality of attributes.[55] Chen Kui's "metaphor involving interrogation" (no. 4, 詰喻) is related to Dandin's "simile through doubt."[56] Chen Kui's pair of "concise metaphor" (no. 7, 簡喻) and "detailed metaphor" (no. 8, 詳喻) are metaphors that can be stated briefly and those that depend on the use of many words, respectively. "Metaphor through parallelism" (no. 5, 對喻) and "metaphor through textual reference" (no. 9, 引喻) have no analogues in the *Mirror*, but the underlying principle of combining metaphor with other recognized forms of embellishment is essential to Dandin's principle of modularity.[57] What would be alien to Dandin's vision is Chen Kui's "abstract metaphor" (no. 10, 虛喻), which mentions neither object nor event.

Chen Kui writes in the preface to his work that his purpose is to describe rules of literary composition as discovered through the study of Confucian Classics and pre-Qin philosophical works, and these books indeed provide the examples illustrating the rules in the *Rules*. Given his background, his stated purpose, and the universality of simile and metaphor, one should be very careful in arguing for an Indian origin or even inspiration for Chen Kui's classification of these devices. Even if certain ideas about metaphor—such as the relationship between simile and identification—appear tantalizingly familiar, such parallels may not necessarily be explained by cultural contact. During the centuries that separate Liu Xie and Chen Kui, Chinese writers and critics continually expounded on figures of speech, though not as systematically as we have witnessed in the latter's classification of metaphors.[58] Moreover, there is no unmistakable evidence that this discussion was directly informed by a comprehensive analysis of Indic figures, such as can be found in the second chapter of Dandin's *Mirror*. If knowledge about Indian poetics made its way to Chinese literati, this was not through wholesale borrowing of the type found in other literary cultures studied in this volume. And whatever was (or was not) the nature of exchange with Sanskrit poetics between the time of Liu Xie and Chen Kui, the latter's *Rules* became the foundation for all later Chinese rhetoric, even up to the present.[59]

Besides figures of sense, which we have already surveyed, Chinese critics also write about literary genres and styles, topics that Dandin has discussed under the heading of the "body" and the "ways" of literature (and in particular the

[55] See KĀ 2.40 (*bahūpamā*), 2.43–45 (*vākyārthopamā*), and 2.21 (*samuccayopamā*), respectively.

[56] *Saṃśayopamā*, KĀ 2.26.

[57] See Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume.

[58] For overviews of literary rhetoric between Liu Xie and Chen Kui, see Zhou 2004: 83–241 and Zong and Li 1998: 19–360.

[59] On the place of *Wen ze* in the history of Chinese rhetoric, see Zong and Li 1998: 384–87. It influenced Chen (2008), which opened the path of modern Chinese rhetoric after its first edition was published in 1932. For a list of Chinese rhetorical figures with brief explanations in English, see Kao 1986: 130–36.

southern and the northeastern ways) in the first chapter of the *Mirror*.[60] Here, there is no reason to suppose anything other than indigenous genres and styles as occupying the attention of Chinese critics.[61] True, beginning with the poet Wang Changling (698–756), a distinction is made between the southern and northern styles, but its source is most likely the distinction between the respective schools of Chan Buddhism.[62]

The gradual development of the "Recent Style Prosody" (*jinti shi*, 近體詩) between the late fifth century and the early period of Tang (618–907) is more likely a promising case of cross-cultural pollination. The eleventh-century polymath Shen Kuo already suspected that the developed phonology was influenced by what came from India: "In the study of sounds and rhymes, there have been four tones since the time of Shen Yue. When the Sanskrit learning from India entered China, that craft gradually became sophisticated."[63] Mair and Mei's detailed study has offered a concrete shape to the idea that the development of the Chinese regulated verse was influenced by Sanskrit elements.[64] Their ideas are compelling on a general level, especially their point that Sanskrit prosody, with its alteration between light and heavy syllables, spurred a desire to create a Chinese equivalent, in which the four tones were combined and transformed into a binary system so that a prosody can be created based on the oscillation between two tonal varieties. Basic ideas of Sanskrit metrics such as variation based on a binary opposition may have contributed essential ingredients to the development of "Recent Style Prosody," even though there are weaker aspects to their arguments.[65] Although Mair and Mei's contribution focuses on prosody, it also

[60] KĀ 1.10–39 and 1.40–102. For the latter, see primarily sections 1.4 (Bronner), 2.2 (Ollett and Pierce Taylor), 3.4 (Hallisey and Meegaskumbura), and 5.6 (Bronner and Cox), in this volume.

[61] On literary genres, see Hightower 1957; Birch 1974; Luo 2015: 150–70, chapters 5–25 of *Wenxin diaolong* (Lu and Mou 1995: 125–358; Shih 1959: 25–154; and Luo 2015: 228–34), and chapter 2 of *Canglang shihua* (Chen 1996: 108–209). On the latter work, see the next footnote. Chinese comments on literary styles tend to be about styles of periods, authors, or those without apparent association. See chapters 27, 45, and 47 of *Weixin diaolong* (Lu and Mou 1995: 367–75, 526–47, and 555–80; Owen 1992: 210–18; Shih 1959: 158–62, 233–45, and 249–59) and various parts of chapters 1, 2, and 4 of the *Canglang shihua*.

[62] Bodman 1978: 59 and 364–67. On a side note, one notable fruit of the rapprochement between Chinese Buddhism and poetry was Yen Yu's (ca. 1180–ca. 1235) use of the attainment of Chan enlightenment as a sustained analogy for poetry in his influential *Canglang's Remarks on Poetry* (*Canglang shihua*, 滄浪詩話). On Yen Yu's work, see Owen 1992: 391–420; Chen 1996; Debon 1962; Guo 2008: 312–22; and Lynn 1975.

[63] *Mengxi bitan* (夢溪筆談), fascicle 14. Cited in Luo 2015: 176. See Yue 1999 for a summary of Chinese discussions of the Indian origin of four tones and eight defects and the related scholarship from the United States and Japan.

[64] Mair and Mei 1991.

[65] The arguments involving Sanskrit *yamaka*s (Mair and Mei 1991: 447–50) are weaker not because there exists a much closer Chinese parallel to *yamaka*, which will be discussed below, but because they depend more on the resemblance in name than in substance. The idea that the Sanskrit *śloka* meter might have influenced the making of "Recent Style Prosody" (pp. 445–47 and 450–54) is plausible, but a sense of *śloka*'s rhythm and balance within its poetic lines is more likely to spur innovation than its specific prosodic mechanism. Zhang (2015) has advanced counterarguments against Mair and Mei's details, but they do little to discredit the notion that basic ideas of Sanskrit prosody,

discovers a possible connection in poetics. The study reveals a significant link in the theory of literary flaws between the two traditions. It draws attention specifically to a text on poetics composed by the Japanese Buddhist monk Kukai, who visited China in the beginning of the ninth century. This work may hold the clues to the contact between the two theoretical traditions.

### 9.4. The Two *Mirrors*: Dandin and Kukai

In Kukai we find an ideal combination of interests in both Sanskrit learning and Chinese poetics that could have stimulated his curiosity in the common areas of the two literary traditions. Kukai visited China between 804 and 806. From early 805, he resided for a little over a year in the Ximing Temple, a leading intellectual center in the Chinese capital Chang'an, known for its extensive library collection, with a tradition of Indian and Buddhist scholarship. Kukai's main religious achievement in this productive period was to receive the teachings of Tantric Buddhism from its Chinese patriarch Huiguo and to bring them home as the Japanese heir of his master's lineage. While in Chang'an, Kukai is said to have studied "Brāhmanical philosophical systems popular in southern India" with the Indian monk and translator Bore (般若, Prajña?), who was the most likely scholar to have taught Sanskrit to Kukai.[66] A native of Kapisa (Kāpiśa) in today's Afghanistan, Bore was trained for eighteen years at the Nalanda Monastery and became an expert on grammar, logic, medicine, and practical arts, in addition, of course, to Buddhist doctrinal topics. Before departing for China, he learned Tantra for a year in South India, where Dandin enjoyed particular fame.[67] Among the objects that Kukai brought back to Japan from China were forty-two Sanskrit texts on subjects such as Buddhist scriptures, ritual texts (often containing spells), textbooks for writing Sanskrit in the Siddham script, phonetics, and grammar.[68] Kukai also emphasized the importance of the study of Sanskrit for the students of his Japanese school of esoteric Buddhism.[69]

Among the writings that Kukai left behind are many religious tracts on Buddhist thought, his poems, and a treatise on literary theory, whose title, the

which were plain enough to be accessible throughout the period of China's cultural encounter with India, may have contributed to the invention of "Recent Style Prosody."

[66] Abé 1999: 118–19. It is not clear what other subjects Kukai studied with Bore.

[67] For biographical sources on Bore, see T 2157 LV 891c4–896b15 and T 2061 L 722a26–b9. Abé provides a few biographical details, including Bore's visit to South India, in 1999: 119.

[68] Abé summarizes the categories of texts Kukai brought back to Japan in 1999: 113, 179, and 484 n2.

[69] On Kukai's travel in China, see Hakeda 1972: 29–34; Abé 1999: 113–27 (see p. 114 on Kukai's emphasis on the importance of Sanskrit studies); and Green 2003: 105–37.

*Mirror of Literature and Treasury of Mysteries* (*Bunkyō hifuron*, 文鏡秘府論), echoes that of Dandin's Sanskrit poetics.[70] It is divided into six books labeled "Heaven," "Earth," "East," "West," "South," and "North."[71] The "Book of the East" and the "Book of the West," which deal with parallelism and literary flaws, respectively, intersect with Indian theoretical discussions and will therefore receive close attention below. "The Book of Heaven" mainly discusses the Chinese system of tones as it relates to literary composition and prosody, while the other three books contain more heterogeneous materials.[72]

To a large extent, the treatise is an anthology of books on poetics and of quotes from literary practice in both verse and prose. The Japanese author explicitly states that he reviewed various authorities and surveyed their similarities and differences.[73] He names particular critics in the introductions to individual books and sometimes attributes groups of points or individual explanations to specific authors or texts in these introductory headnotes or in the body of the text.[74] Indeed, surviving books and quotations found elsewhere show that his treatise has preserved remnants of Chinese theoretical texts that are no longer extant.[75] The fact that Kukai relied on earlier sources has a major ramification for our argument. On the Chinese side, Kukai's sources span from the Six Dynasties (beginning from 220 CE) to the time of his visit to China under the Tang. Previous scholarship has indeed attributed much of Kukai's treatise, passage by passage, to specific Chinese sources that Kukai relies on. As a sizable number of ideas in Kukai's *Mirror* agree with Indian sources, it is imperative that we consider their relative chronology. For the purpose of this chronological scrutiny, I assign Dandin's *Mirror* to around the year 700 and Bhamaha's *Ornament of Literature* to around the early seventh century.[76] The work of Bharata can be dated roughly to the early centuries of the common era.

Kukai's *Mirror of Literature*, which is written in Classical Chinese, does not identify any Indian source explicitly. The argument that follows, therefore, rests on the resemblance in content between Kukai's *Mirror* and early Sanskrit

[70] Kukai also composed *Monbitsu ganshinshō*, 文筆眼心抄 (*The Essentials of Literary and Prosaic Compositions*), a shorter work that summarizes the contents of his *Mirror of Literature*.

[71] This is the order adopted by Lu 2015 (BH); Konishi 1948–1953; and Bodman 1978. On the alternative order, see Bodman 1978: 6; and Man 2008: 12–14.

[72] An English summary of the contents of BH is provided in Bodman 1978: 18–20. The entire "Book of Heaven" and the majority of the "Book of the West" and the "Book of the South" are translated in Bodman 1978: 161–474.

[73] BH 1:22, Bodman 1978: 167.

[74] See, for instance, the introductions to the "Book of Heaven" (BH 1:13, Bodman 1978: 166), the "Book of the East" (BH 2:631 and 642), and the "Book of the West" (BH 2:842, Bodman 1978: 262).

[75] For a list of Kukai's source texts identified by Konishi Jinichi and their use in various chapters of BH, see Bodman 1978: 16–17 and 18–20. Lu (2015) identifies the sources and parallels, including those of the lines of poetry and prose, in the notes throughout his edition. Zhang 2002 offers reconstructions of lost books of poetics partly through extensive use of Kukai's *Mirror*.

[76] Bronner 2012.

treatises on literature. The key areas of resemblance, surveyed in the present and subsequent sections, come under the theory of literary flaws and the ideas and practices of syllabic repetition, the latter of which are presented in Kukai's study of parallelism. Modern scholars have shown that a group of critics were the main sources of these two areas of Kukai's *Mirror*.[77] These Chinese critics, with their often approximate dates, are identified as Shangguan Yi (608–665), Cui Rong (653–706), Yuan Jing (active during the years 649–705), and Jiaoran (ca. 734–ca. 799).[78] Another source, the anonymous *Standard of Literary and Prosaic Compositions* (*Wenbi shi*, 文筆式), was probably written no later than Yuan Jing's active period.[79] With the exception of Jiaoran, most of these Chinese sources are not chronologically likely to have been influenced by the work of Dandin. Nevertheless, as I show later, a number of key ideas in the realm of flaws and syllabic repetition were already present in the earlier Sanskrit tradition now preserved in the work of Bhamaha and the *Treatise on Theater*, not to mention that there might be other sources of Dandin that are no longer extant.

The body of parallels between the two Asian traditions demonstrated in the following pages is considerably large, and it warrants an argument of influence, even if not all of the overlaps are causally related. In light of the relative chronology just outlined, I propose at the very least a two-step transmission of literary ideas from the Sanskrit to the East Asian theoretical tradition as follows. The predominantly seventh-century Chinese sources of Kukai were likely to have been aware of Indian discussions of the relevant issues with which they were dealing. In the post-Dandin era, Kukai could have learned about the Sanskrit *Mirror of Literature* and some of its contents from his teacher and other informants. Particularly suggestive of the borrowing from India is the fact that the Japanese writer adopts *Mirror of Literature* as a part of the title of his work. To be sure, the juxtaposition of "mirror" and "literature" had occurred in Chinese texts prior to Kukai, but it is not known to have appeared in earlier book titles.[80] The present study depends on Japanese and Chinese research on Kukai's Chinese sources, which tends to leave very little room for Kukai's own contributions. It is important to recognize that modern scholarship on this topic is noticeably speculative, with a considerable amount of disagreement among researchers themselves. I will indicate points in Kukai's *Mirror* where no verifiable Chinese source is known. I will also comment on the Japanese writer's own agency and

[77] Sources of Kukai's presentation of defects are conveniently summarized in a tabular form in BH 2:1126–27. On the attribution of the twenty-nine forms of parallelism in BH, see BH 2:790–806 and Man 2008: 193–97.

[78] BH 1.18–21; Bodman 1978: 17; Owen 1981: 287–88; Nielson 1972: 9; Luo 2015: 300. Liu Shanjing, who is known to be active around 610, is also credited with having contributed a number of ideas about literary flaws to Kukai's discussion of the topic.

[79] Lu 2013: 1:207–10.

[80] Lu 2015: 1:3–5.

creativity, which are more reflective of Dandin's approach to rhetorical figures in the Sanskrit *Mirror*.

Our discussion begins with the parallel conversations on flaws. The Chinese literary theory of defect (*bing*, 病) finds a counterpart in the Indian notion of "flaw" (*doṣa*), as both terms also carry the sense of "disease."[81] Kukai assembles twenty-eight types of defects that make up the "Book of the West" of his *Mirror*.[82] Mair and Mei have argued that the Sanskrit tradition influenced Kukai's treatment of this topic in procedure as well as in substance.[83] The list of defects treated in Kukai's *Mirror* concern rather multifarious domains of poetic and literary composition. Defects 1–10 and 13 deal with the newly developed norm of tonal prosody and prohibit various kinds of rhyming and alliteration. Prosodic rules are typically discussed in Sanskrit metrics but not in treatises on poetics, where Bhamaha and Dandin only proscribe against broken meters (*bhinnavṛtta*) in generic terms.[84] The question of prosody is beyond the concerns of this chapter.

I attach more weight to the flaws' substance than to their names in assessing the likelihood of imitation from the Sanskrit. While caution is certainly called for, strong cases of similarity are seen in several cases.[85] A case in point are the flaws of "meaning" (*artha*), which occupied the attention of Sanskrit theorists since the time of Bharata. Four defects in Kukai's list pertain to different shades of redundancy in meaning.[86] The equivalent Sanskrit flaw, "tautology" (*ekārtha*), is discussed by Bhamaha, Dandin, and in the earlier *Treatise on Theater*.[87]

Kukai's "contradiction" (b26) is a defect where ideas expressed in a literary composition contradict each other.[88] The close Sanskrit match is

[81] For surveys of defects in the early Sanskrit poetics and in Dandin's analysis, see Jha 1965: 14–71, and Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume.

[82] Edited in BH 2:842–1128 and translated in Bodman 1978: 261–361. Short summaries are provided by Mair and Mei 1991: 462–65 and in Luo 2015: 188–95.

[83] Mair and Mei 1991: 435–39 and 462–65.

[84] BKA 4.25–26 and KĀ 3.156–58.

[85] The cases emphasized below overlap to a significant extent with those highlighted in Mair and Mei (1991: 438–39). However, I disagree with their assertion that "every one of the Chinese defects from the eleventh on can easily be traced to Indian forerunners in name, function, or spirit" (p. 439). Kukai's defects 11 and 21 concern parallelism, while defects 14, 19, and 20 can be described as those involving monotony in structure or the use of words in the same category. This entire group of defects has no Indian parallels. Kukai's list also includes a class of usages (b15: taboo, 忌諱; b16: suggestiveness, 形跡; b17: tangential reference, 傍突; and b18: reversed words, 翻語) that are offensive to the state, political authority, or one's own parents. In the Indian tradition, violation of the convention of propriety consists of the use of indecent language, or at least language that is rustic and unsophisticated. See Bhamaha's discussion of *śrutiduṣṭa*, *arthaduṣṭa*, and *kalpanāduṣṭa* and Dandin's discussion of vulgarity (*grāmyatā*) in BKA 1.48–52 and KĀ 1.62–67, respectively. The mismatch of precise contents makes the link between the two traditions in this area weak. I adopt Mair and Mei's (1991: 462–65) numbering of the Chinese defects, but their letter "d" is replaced by "b."

[86] These defects are b12: verbosity, 繁說; b22: mutual excess, 相濫; b27: repetition, 相重; and b28: joined toes, 駢拇. See BH 2:1066–70, 1101–5, and 1119–24.

[87] BKA 4.12–16; KĀ 3.135–38; and NS 2:332.

[88] B26 contradiction 相反 is discussed in BH 2:1117–19.

"contradictory meaning" (*vyartha*), one of a set of ten flaws that both Bhamaha and Dandin share.[89] Or consider Bhamaha's and Dandin's "contradiction in time" (*kālavirodha*), which features descriptions that do not conform with the season being described, or, in the case of Dandin, also with the time of the day.[90] Kukai has an identical category called "out of season" (b23). Its emphasis on the season is suggested by its name, although, as in Dandin, contradiction with regard to the time of the day is also treated.[91] Of course, both the Chinese and the Indic traditions could have developed the notion of a contradiction with the depicted season independently of one another. But note how the examples seem to indicate striking parallels that are more typical of textual borrowing. A unique case of this form of correspondence, as Mair and Mei have pointed out, is in Bhamaha's "mango blossoms turn the wind fragrant," and Kukai's "merging into the wind, the scent of flowers is fragrant."[92] The former is an example of a mismatch in season (the verse depicts the rains, but the mangos blossom in spring), while the latter of a mismatch in topic (the poet deviates from the topic of the moon under which a woman spends her lonely nights).[93] But the fact that under the same category of "contradiction in time," Kukai, who provides a freshly composed illustration, chose to feature the fragrant wind, is at the very least suggestive.[94]

Somewhat weaker forms of resemblance are found in cases where the similarity lies mainly in the nomenclature of the flaws. Kukai's "out of order" (b24) concerns itself with the wrong order of the lines of a poem.[95] The Sanskrit blemish "wrong sequence" (*apakrama*) treated by Bhamaha and Dandin describes the confusion caused when two matching enumerations do not follow the same respective order.[96] Likewise, the name "superfluity" (b28) suggests another form of redundancy, although Kukai's interpretation shows that it is a case of ruining an otherwise good poem by the use of mediocre words.[97] More significantly, there are many instances where Kukai's *Mirror* specifies conditions that render a

[89] BKA 4.9–11 and KĀ 3.131–34. This defect involves contradiction in general. Several specific kinds of "contradiction" (called *virodha*) are also discussed in this shared list, to one of which I turn presently.

[90] BKA 4.30–31 and KĀ 3.167–169ab.

[91] B23 "out of season" 落節 is discussed in BH 2:1105–9.

[92] Mair and Mei 1991: 438. BKA 4.32: *nabhasvataḥ/ phullāḥ surabhayantīme cūtāḥ*. BH 2:1105: 入風花氣馥.

[93] Apparently, Kukai considers deviation from intended subject a time related flaw.

[94] Zhang 2002: 125–26 sees Kukai's explanation of "out of season" as taken verbatim from the anonymous *Standard of Poetry* 詩式. However, the acknowledgment that the poem is specifically composed for the explanation of this defect by a critic is the most likely signal of Kukai's personal intervention.

[95] BH 2:1110.

[96] BKA 4.20–21 and KĀ 3.144–47.

[97] BH 2:1112–16.

literary defect harmless.[98] For Dandin, virtually all defects can be transformed in the hand of a skillful poet.[99]

## 9.5. Mirrors and Twinning: Patterns of Syllabic Repetition in Kukai and Dandin

While various literary figures preoccupy Dandin's and Bhamaha's analyses of ornaments, Kukai directs his attention to the single figure of "parallelism" in his "Book of the West" and in one section of his "Book of the North." For him, "parallelism" is the device that enables the beauty of language, in the same way that Dandin defines ornaments in general ("the elements that make poetry beautiful").[100] In contrast with his predecessor Liu Xie, who presented a small set of four kinds of "parallelism," Kukai assembles an impressive taxonomy of no less than twenty-nine types.[101] Simply put, "parallelism" entails symmetry and paralleled structures achieved by placing Chinese characters that take on the same part of speech or even the same semantic category in identical metrical positions of paired lines.[102] The importance of "parallelism" as a master figure grew as it was recognized as a formal feature of a new form of Chinese poetry and, consequently, was treated in technical manuals that were the sources of Kukai's *Mirror*. But it may also reflect the influence of Indic modes of analysis (a topic I return to later) and Indic forms of sound repetition, which Sanskrit theorists defined and analyzed as "twinning" (*yamaka*), one of the very few figures recognized already by Bharata and that also received unique attention from Dandin. In China, the importance of character repetition can be inferred from the works of Chinese critics such as Chen Kui, who analyzes its examples from

[98] BH 2:890 (b2), 906 (b3), 951, 954 (b5), 961, 962 (b6), 965, 977, 979 (b7), 987, 997 (b8), 1092 (b20), and 1105 (b23). Many of the views where these specifications appear are attributed to Yuan Jing.

[99] See Bronner, section 1.4 in this volume.

[100] BH 2:631 and KĀ 2.1.

[101] The first eleven form a distinct group, most of which will be discussed below. This initial group comprises of the following varieties: d1: precise parallel, 的名對; d2: parallel with the alternate line, or parallel on the level of the stanza, 隔句對; d3: double-pointing parallel, 雙擬對; d4: parallel of joined brocades, 聯錦對; d5: parallel of mutual support, 互成對; d6: parallel by a word from a different category, 異類對; d7: parallel in the style of rhyme-prose, 賦體對; d8: parallel by consonantal alliteration, 雙聲對; d9: parallel by internal rhyming, 疊韻對; d10: parallel by means of circular text or *huiwen*, 迴文對; and d11: parallel in intention, 意對. Among the remaining forms of parallelism, the following varieties of linguistic units in parallel are either discussed below or are more relevant to my argument: d13: unique parallel, 奇對; d15: character parallel, 字對; d16: sound parallel, 聲對; d17: parallel by part, 側對; d18: approximate parallel, 臨近對; d19: crisscross parallel, 交絡對; d23: partial parallel, 偏對; d24: parallel between two real and two unreal entities, 雙虛實對; d26: slanted direct parallel, 切側對; and d29: parallel by the overall lack of parallel, 總不對對. On forms of "parallelism" recognized by Liu Xie, see Man 2008, 76–77.

[102] See Man's (2008: 1–3) brief discussion and Wang's (2005: 146–89) longer treatment.

the early Chinese writings.[103] Is there any indication for convergence between the discussion of "parallelism" in Chinese and "twinning" in Sanskrit?

In Sanskrit, *yamaka* is described as the repetition of entire strings of phonemes, each time with a different meaning.[104] While repetition of the same character with a different sense does occur in Chinese literature, it does not feature prominently in Kukai's examples of "parallelism."[105] Within his broad spectrum of "parallelism," Kukai distinguishes between the repetition of a character (重字), alliteration based on consonants (雙聲), and internal rhyming (疊韻). The latter two are partial repetitions that are more in line with alliteration (*anuprāsa*) in Sanskrit.[106] From among the former category, I find repetitive patterns that have exact counterparts in the analysis of "twinning": "parallelism on the level of the stanza" (d2); "double-pointing parallelism" (d3); "parallelism of joined brocades" (d4); "parallelism in the style of rhyme-prose" (d7); and "parallelism by means of circular text" or *huiwen* (d10).

Taxonomical and technical differences aside, Kukai's treatment of "parallelism in the style of rhyme-prose" (d7) shares with the early Indian discussion of *yamaka* an attention to the positions where patterns of repetition occur in a poem.[107] Kukai provides the following description.

> As for the parallelism in the style of rhyme-prose, there is a repetition of character at the beginning of a line, a repeated rhyme at the beginning of a line, a repeated rhyme at the belly of a line, a consonantal alliteration at the beginning of a line, or a consonantal alliteration at the belly of a line. Such varieties are called "parallelism in the style of rhyme-prose."[108]

Dandin defines *yamaka* as follows:[109]

> The repetition of a cluster of letters
> either continuous or interrupted, is called "twinning."

[103] For the varieties that Chen Kui identifies, see Liu 1960: 7–8, 17–18, 19–20, and 30–36; Liu 1988: 17–19, 65–67, 75–77, and 133–76. Following Chen Kui and the premodern Chinese tradition, Chen Wangdao classifies several figures where character repetition is involved (2008: 137–42, 157–60, 161–62, 163–65, 165–66, 166–72, and 173–75).

[104] KĀ 3.1b: *vṛttir varṇasaṃhateḥ*. See BKA 2.17 and cf. NS 2:326. For a discussion of the *yamaka* section in Dandin (KĀ 3.1–77), see Bronner and Tubb, section 1.5 in this volume.

[105] An exception is found in a couplet from Kukai's *Mirror* that can be read backward, which will be discussed below. Man 2008: 110–14 discusses other forms of shift, such as from the role of object to that of subject. More examples from Chinese literature can be found in Chen 2008: 137.

[106] BKA 2.5–8; KĀ 1.52–60; Gerow 1971: 102–3.

[107] "Parallelism in the style of rhyme-prose" acquires its name from *fu* (賦), or rhyme-prose, a literary form that abounds in repetitive patterns.

[108] BH 2:697. In the illustrations that immediately follow this description, Kukai also shows forms of repetition at the end of a line. Konishi Jinichi, Zhang Bowei, and Lu Shengjiang all attribute these comments that show attention to locations to the *Standard of Literary and Prosaic Compositions* (*Wenbi shi*). See Man 2008: 195; Zhang 2002: 75; and BH 2:701 n1.

[109] KĀ 3.1.

It may occur in the beginning, the middle,
or the end of a line.

Kukai's study of parallelism echoes the two key aspects of Dandin's analysis of "twinning": attention to positional variation (whether the repeated elements occur in the beginning, middle, or end), and attention to continuity (whether or not the repeated elements are contiguous). In the analysis of "parallelism in the style of rhyme-prose," Kukai shows attention to the positional variation. An attention to continuity and the lack thereof, on the other hand, manifests in the very ideas of two additional forms of "parallelism." First of all, "parallelism of joined brocades" (d4) is a case of repeating the same character "where there is no interruption."[110] This form of "parallelism" is illustrated by the following poem, in which the speaker laments the capriciousness of her partner in contrast to the dependable nature of other things in the world.[111]

When I behold *the mountain*, *the mountain* is as high and steep as ever.
When I look at *water*, *water* is still clear.
When I listen to *the cicadas*, *the cicadas* sing in haste.
But when I think of *you*, *you* turn your affection elsewhere.

Anyone familiar with Dandin's analysis of "twinning" can see the clear parallel in this example, even as what is being repeated here without interruption, unlike in "twinning," is the same word with the same meaning.[112]

Once we recognize the same categorization, we see it elsewhere in Kukai's analysis. For instance, "twinning" with interruption finds its counterpart in Kukai's "double-pointing parallelism" (d3), a second instance of a category of parallelism that is based on the question of continuity, and which takes its name from the sandwiched element to which the repeated characters both point. Consider this example provided by Kukai, followed by his own explanation:

Should you discuss the *moon*, her eyebrow puts the *moon* to shame.
Should you mention the *flower*, her cheeks surpass the *flower*.

Explanation: The first line lays out the two "moon" characters, which are interrupted by their shaming by the eyebrow; the subsequent line speaks of the word

[110] BH 2:676. Konishi, Zhang, and Lu all attribute this statement, which makes the idea of repetition without interruption inherent in this type of parallelism explicit, to *Wenbi shi*, while Zhang attributes the statement additionally to Shangguan Yi's *Zhizha hualiang*, 筆札華梁. See Man 2008: 194; Zhang 2002: 74 and 59; and BH 2:681 n2.

[111] BH 2:676: 看山山已峻，望水水仍清。聽蟬蟬響急，思卿卿別情.

[112] Failure to match the repetition in the paralleled line would amount to the defect of "disjointed" (defect no. 21).

> "flower" twice, interrupted by its defeat by the cheeks. Although the character is read again, each time the expression is encountered alone. The pointing is accomplished by the two characters, which is how this name is acquired.[113]

While "repetition of character" seems to emphasize the visual aspect of the language, the reference to reading tells us that the aural component is a part of the reading experience as well. These comments also show that Kukai and Dandin share a similar expository process of explaining a figure, exemplifying it, and clarifying the example.[114] In the specific sample couplet cited here, which features the eyebrows' and cheeks' surpassing of the moon and flower, respectively, the "double pointing" functions as a mechanism where difference is highlighted against the backdrop of similarity. This move echoes a notable insight in Dandin's analysis, where the idea of similarity underlying simile is contrasted with its opposite, difference, to create the more nuanced ornament "distinction" (*vyatireka*).[115]

With just the variation in the location of the "twins" and their positioning in relation to one other, Dandin manages to account for a large number of subcategories for twinning.[116] A similar potential is suggested in an illustration of Kukai's "parallelism on the level of the whole stanza" (d2). Notice that in the translation given below, parallel exists between the odd lines and again between the even ones, and thus between the first and second couplets (rather than within a single couplet, the space to which "parallelism" is typically confined). This form of "parallelism" is not inherently tied to character repetition, but the added space enables a greater scope of patterning when repetitions do occur, if only incidentally.

> Thinking of *you* and remembering *you*,
> *Night* after *night*, tears soak my dress.
> Feeling sad *in vain* and sighing *in vain*,
> *Morning* after *morning*, you haven't returned.[117]

113 BH 2:671, where the Chinese couplet reads: 議月眉欺月，論花頰勝花. Konishi attributes the passage to *Wenbi shi*, while Zhang and Lu attribute it to *Bizha hualiang*. See Man 2008: 194; Zhang 2002: 59; and BH 2:676 n10. It is notable that Zhang attributes only the couplet to Shangguan Yi's *Bizha hualiang* (see also BH 2:676 n9), leaving the source of the comments on it unattributed.

114 Mair and Mei 1991: 437–38 have noted this similarity between Dandin's and Kukai's discussions of literary defects. While Kukai makes remarks on certain defects' severity, as Mair and Meir have pointed out, Dandin makes the judgment that several ornaments are particularly excellent.

115 KĀ 2.178–196. See also Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume.

116 See Eppling 1989: 200–20 and Dimitrov 2011: 2:733–37.

117 BH 2:664: 相思復相憶，夜夜淚霑衣。空悲亦空嘆，朝朝君未歸. This verse's pattern of repetition can be illustrated in the following diagram, where the "+" sign indicates where the paralleled elements occur: A _ _ A _, BB _ _ _; A+ _ _ A+ _, B+ B+ _ _ _. On the appearance of this sample poem in the writings of Shangguan Yi, see BH 2:644 n2.

The placement of single or multiple repeated elements, with or without intervening gaps, in various positions of a verse witnessed in this example contains all the ingredients that Dandin uses to map an extensive taxonomy of "twinning."[118]

Dandin's discussion of possible repetition in "twinning" culminates with the extreme case of "repetition in reverse" (*pratilomayamaka*).[119] Here the two twins form a true mirror image of one another, when either a line, a couplet, or a whole stanza is repeated, syllable by syllable, from the end to the beginning, yielding an entirely different meaning. Consider, for instance, Dandin's following couplet, where the second line provides an exact reversal of the first (to realize this, read each syllable separately):

*nādino 'madanā dhīḥ svā na me kācana kāmitā /*
*tāmikā na ca kāmena svādhīnā damanodinā //*.[120]

Constructing a poem by reading its lines backward is not named a separate variety of character repetition in Kukai's *Mirror*. Nonetheless, it is silently illustrated in the section of "parallelism in the form of rhyme-prose." This is because a couplet provided to illustrate character repetition at the end of a line forms the exact backward reading of one of the couplets exemplifying initial repetition. If we join the two couplets together, there is parallelism within each couplet, while symmetry in reverse occurs on the level of the combined stanza.

裊裊樹驚風，曬曬雲蔽月。
月蔽雲曬曬，風驚樹裊裊。
As they *shake*, the trees startle the wind,
as they *are exposed to light*, the clouds cover the moon.
The moon conceals the clouds as it *shines*,
the wind startles the tree as it *blows gently*.[121]

The appearance of the same sequence of characters in reverse order in the section on "parallelism" is surely not a coincidence; rather, it is the result of very careful design. The two sets of repeated characters, italicized here in my attempted translation, in fact shift their meaning when they recur, thereby coming even closer to Dandin's notion of "twinning." In the first and fourth lines, *niaoniao* (裊

[118] Note that there is no intervening gap between the two "night" and between two "morning" characters in the Chinese. For examples of complex "twinning" patterns, see KĀ 3.72 and BKA 2.14 cited below.
[119] KĀ 3.73–77.
[120] KĀ 3.75, in Dimitrov 2011: 1:182.
[121] BH 2:697. The underlying pattern is: A A B C D, A+ A+ B+ C+ D+; D+ C+ B+ A+ A+, D C B A A.

褭) signifies the manners of “shaking” or “blowing gently,” and each in its own turn modifies the actions of the tree and wind, respectively. Between the second and the third lines, *shaishai* (曬曬) shifts its meaning from “exposing to light” to “shining,” describing in respective places the clouds covering the moon and their being concealed. Kukai is clearly signaling here to his attentive readers that Chinese poetry is capable of a form of reverse parallelism that is also discussed and illustrated in Dandin. It is notable that the two reversable couplets are not traceable to any known Chinese source, making it likely Kukai’s creation.[122]

Another interesting case of equivalence, or mutual reflection, between the two *Mirror*s is between Kukai’s “circular text,” or *huiwen*, and Dandin’s “bitten twinning” (*sandaṣṭayamaka*). As can be seen from their examples, both the Sanskrit and the Chinese categories are based on the same feature of repeating the last syllables of every line in the beginning of the next line, even as the Chinese example is also driven by a need for coming full circle.[123]

Consider, to begin with, Dandin’s illustration, where the phonetic string that is found at the end of one metrical unit immediately opens the next, this time, with a totally different meaning:

*upoḍharāgāpy abalā madena sā madenasā manyurasena yojitā /*
*na yojitātmānam anaṅgatāpitāṅ gatāpi tāpāya mamāsa neyate //*[124]
Though she was passionately in love, drunk on it, in fact,
one mistake by me, and she was overcome by fury.
Though her whole body is tormented
by the god of love, she doesn’t come to me,
But hey, you think I suffer?
It could be worse.

One first notices a rolling motion in the musicality of the verse: a relay of poetic lines effected by a flow of syllable strings from one line to the next, marked here by underlining in the Sanskrit. The sequence of psychological events conveyed by these sounds further manifests as an oscillation between love and displeasure. Kukai’s parallel sample verse also features an oscillation between pairs of alternative emotions, pairs in which one feeds or leads to the other.

[122] Konishi, Zhang, and Lu all attribute parallelism in the form of rhyme-prose to *Wenbi shi*. See Man 2008: 195 and Zhang 2002: 75. Lu (BH 2:701 n2), however, suspects that the couplet that is later read in reverse was composed for the purpose of illustrating this category of parallelism.

[123] The more specific Chinese figure for this pattern is called *dingzhen* 顶真, or anadiplosis. See Kao 1986: 131–32 and Chen 2008: 173–75. Kukai’s comments on his illustration emphasizes not the specific *sandaṣṭa*-like form, but the reuse of words to come full circle, as well as the repetition of words’ meaning.

[124] KĀ 3.52.

情親由得意，得意遂情親。
新情終會故，會故亦經新。
Love turns intimate on account of fulfillment,
fulfillment leads to the intimate feeling of love.
New love eventually ages,
when it ages, one also experiences something new.[125]

The potential for discovering echoes between the Sanskrit and Chinese examples—in spiral motion, the movement within the hemistich, the flow from one hemistich to the next, antithesis, and so on—is vast. In the passages recovered from later works, Shangguan Yi's illustration of the "parallelism by means of circular text" gives us the first couplet of Kukai's stanza.[126] The addition of the second couplet, which is possibly another case of Kukai's intervention, creates additional repetitive and alliterative patterns and spiral motions; it also enables more parallels with Dandin's *Mirror*.[127]

In phonological patterning, this single example of Kukai's *huiwen* parallelism also bears resemblance to Dandin's penultimate form of "twinning," which is built on the basis of the circular *sandaṣṭa* design, but where more recurring syllable strings—both contiguous and interrupted—are added (to realize this, the reader is advised to try to read the letters aloud):

*dharādharākāradharā dharābhujāṃ*
*bhujā mahīṃ pātum ahīnavikramāḥ* /
*kramāt sahante sahasā hatārayo*
*rayoddhurā mānadhurāvalambinaḥ* //.[128]

In Kukai's sample verse, several alliterative and rhyming features combine with forms of character reuse to create more complexity, thus reflecting to a higher

[125] Illustration of d10, in BH 2:713. Its pattern, without accounting for its alliterations, is: A B C D E, D E F A B; G A H I J, I J K L G.

[126] BH 2:644; Luo 2015: 300–3. Minor variances exist in the reading of Shangguan Yi's first couplet. See Zhang 2002: 61–62. In one version (Luo 2015: 301), the couplet reads: "*Love* becomes *new* on account of *fulfillment*, *fulfillment* leads to the experience of *love* as *new* (情新因意得，意得遂情新)." The change permits the word "new" to reoccur in the added couplet: "*New love* eventually *ages*; when it *ages*, one also experiences something *new*."

[127] In the early research of Konish, parallelism by means of circular text is attributed to *Wenbi shi* (Man 2008: 195). Zhang attributes the entire stanza in question to Shangguan Yi's *Bizha hualiang*. But in another manual of poetics put together later on the basis of writings around Shangguan Yi's time (Zhang 2002: 98–99), the second couplet is missing. See Zhang 2002: 61 and 105. In the most recent work, Lu (BH 2:720 n2) shows that the second couplet is a modified version of the poetic lines composed by Emperor Jianwen of Liang (503–551). It appears that the joined use of the two couplets is not verifiably identified in writings before Kukai.

[128] KĀ 3.72.

extent Dandin's admixture of "twinning" formations.[129] When arguing for Indian influence on Chinese patterns of syllabic repetition, I am not suggesting that these Chinese literary practices were newly invented by borrowing from the Sanskrit. The literary phenomena I have described for the most part existed long before. I am arguing instead that they were recognized in East Asian theoretical texts due to the influence of Sanskrit literary theory.

As noted earlier, Kukai's Chinese predecessors were already writing about patterns of syllabic repetition in the seventh century.[130] However, these writers were preceded by a still earlier Sanskrit tradition, making Indian influence on the Chinese theory at that time a possibility.[131] In the *Treatise on Theater*, which was written no later than the fourth century CE, Bharata thinks of "twinning" as an ornament that might appear in the beginning or end of a line of poetry.[132] He mentions such locations when he defines "twinning," names its varieties, or describes these varieties, sometimes further illustrating such deployment in the sample poems.[133] Bhamaha also identifies such location factors in his classification of "twinning" or in their illustration.[134] Both Bharata's and Bhamaha's sample verses demonstrate manners of repeating identical syllable strings, either continuously or interrupted by a gap.

Moving beyond the initial basics, Bhamaha has also shown that one can assemble an assortment of repeated strings to create more complex "twinning" patterns, coupled with additional alliterations. The following example demonstrates a level of complexity we encountered earlier in some of Kukai's illustrations (d2 and d10).

*sitāsitākṣīṃ supayodharādharāṃ susammadāṃ vyaktamadāṃ lalāmadām /*
*ghanāghanā nīlaghanāghanālakāṃ priyām imām utsukayanti yanti ca //*.[135]

[129] In Chinese phonology of this period, B and G share the same rhyme; A, B, and G have similar consonants, so do E and K; A, K, and L have similar vowels. I follow here the symbols used in note 125.

[130] On the dating of various groups of Chinese parallelism, see Luo 2015: 300–3 and 312. On Shangguan Yi's six and eight kinds of parallelism, which are datable to the mid-seventh-century and survived independently of Kukai's *Mirror*, see BH 2:644–45 n2.

[131] Parallels between Chinese theories of flaws and those of Bharata and Bhamaha have been briefly noted earlier in section 9.4.

[132] *Yamaka* is treated in NS 2:326–331 (Ghosh 1951: 311–15) and BKA 2.9–18 (Sastry 1970: 24–27).

[133] Bharata defines *yamaka* as "the repetition of sound or words at the beginning of a line and other places." NS 2: 326: *śabdābhyāsaṃ tu yamakaṃ pādādiṣu vikalpitam /*. In addition to *yamaka* types called "end of a line" (*pādānta*) and "beginning of a line" (*pādādi*), repeated strings at the two ends of a line are mentioned or illustrated in the discussion of following varieties: *kāñcī*, *cakravāla*, *sandaṣṭa*, and *āmreḍita*.

[134] His *yamaka* subtypes include "beginning of a line" (*ādi*) and "middle and end of a line" (*madhyānta*). The location factor also figures in his illustration for *samasta yamaka* or "complete twinning."

[135] BKA 2.14, which can be patterned as: A A _ _ _ _ B B _ _ C _ _ C _ _ C/ D D _ _ D D _ _ _ _ _ _ _ E E _//.

Even the name "bitten twinning" was used by both Bharata and Bhamaha.[136]

What evidence of cultural borrowing do East Asian writings on literary theory offer in the post-Dandin era? The work of the eighth-century monk critic Jiaoran does not contribute substantial materials that could have arrived newly from India.[137] A much stronger case can be made for Kukai's own intervention.

The resemblance of the title of Kukai's work to Dandin's has already been noted. Equally intriguing is his "parallelism by the overall lack of parallel" (d29): the recognition of such an absence as parallelism is considered to be an original contribution that Kukai made, which he even regards as the "most excellent."[138] Notionally, it stands as a counterpart to Dandin's "integrity" (*bhāvika*), as both writers present the respective tropes as the final member of their system. For Dandin, "integrity" is what integrates the various components of a work such that the authorial intention is materialized in the entire work.[139] In "parallelism by the overall lack of parallel," concrete parallels are transcended and replaced by a set of less formal connections: contrast, causality, and echoes. Here, in the space of a full eight-line sample poem, a deeper harmony emerges, precisely thanks to the absence of formal parallels, dissonance, or loosely linked pairs.[140] While focusing on the question of parallels, Kukai shares with Dandin the idea of a trope that works on the level of totality if the constituent parts of a text work together properly.[141]

I have already argued for Kukai's innovation in the examples of the reversable couplets and expanded poem of circular text (d10), where no earlier Chinese source has been identified. Even more crucial is Kukai's agency in selecting and assembling existing varieties and materials to create the full systems of literary flaws and "parallelism" based on what he learned during his trip to China. No Chinese critic before him came close to constructing a system of "parallelism" with the spectrum that he has, which contains so many similarities to Dandin's theory. Consider, for instance, the remarks that Kukai makes about forms of

[136] The name "bitten twinning" (*sandaṣṭayamaka*) has a rather complicated history. In the *Treatise on Theater*, the type of "twinning" that Dandin labels as "bitten," where the end of one line is reused at the beginning of the next, is referred to as the "circle" (*cakravāla*), while the name "bitten" applies to another kind of "twinning." The change of referent renders uncertain what Bhamaha means when he uses that name, since he does not illustrate it.

[137] The defects "out of season" and "out of order" (b23 and b24) are thought to originate from the *Standard of Poetry* (詩式). But this text is regarded as different from Jiaoran's work with the same title. See Zhang 2002: 124–26 and BH 2:1097–1101 n1.

[138] BH 2:785–87 n1; Man 2008: 190. Dandin, too, has elevated certain ornaments in similar terms, as Kukai does in BH 2:785.

[139] See KĀ 2.361, where *bhāvika* is "declared to be the quality taking the whole composition as its scope. The integrative element is the poet's authorial intention when sustained till the work's end."

[140] See BH 2:786 and 788 and, especially, Man 2008: 190–92.

[141] The parallelism in intention (d11) also has its share of resemblance to the Sanskrit ornament "integrity": both direct attention to the poetic idea rather than formal details. See modern interpretations of this parallelism in Man 2008: 137–39 and BH 2:722 n1.

syllabic repetition: that they occur in the beginning, middle, or end of a poetic line, either with an interruption or continuously. As indicated earlier, attempts to attribute these statements to earlier Chinese authorities are hypothetical, if not contradictory.[142] On the other hand, it is a simple fact that Kukai has explicitly stated all these principles in his *Mirror*.

I have so far focused on the substantive overlaps in the figures of sound. Once we turn our attention to the two systems that Dandin and Kukai have constructed, we can also find a number of parallels in what the Sanskrit tradition calls "ornaments of sense," which point to certain shared analytical approaches. One aspect of this shared approach may be demonstrated in the conception of a number of fairly distinctive figures. The aforementioned comparability of Dandin's "integrity" with Kukai's "parallelism as the overall lack of parallel" shows a shared vision of a text-wide figure. Another example is that both Dandin and Kukai consider difference as a principle that works in tandem with similarity to create complexity.[143] There is also a cluster of three varieties of "parallelism" (d15, d16, d17) that stands out in sharing the kind of wordplay underlying the Sanskrit ornament "embrace" (*śleṣa*). Similar to double-entendre or pun, "embrace" is defined by Dandin as "the speech that is one in form but multiple in meaning."[144] The variety "character parallelism" (d15) fits well with this description, although parallelism is achieved here by exploiting the same visual form of Chinese characters with completely different meanings.[145] Then there is "sound parallelism" (d16), whose pairs can be recognized as such, similar to the Sanskrit, when one character is substituted by its homonym.[146]

By far the most pervasive Dandin-like analysis to be found in Kukai's study of "parallelism" is the compounding of figures to create new subtypes. This method of literary criticism has been described as metatropic in the context of Dandin's Sanskrit poetics, where a series of modules or their combinations are applied to each figure to create a wide range of subvarieties.[147] In his presentation

[142] As shown in earlier footnotes, Konishi attributes these statements to *Wenbi shi*, while Zhang and Lu, each in their own way, identify *Wenbi shi* and *Bizha hualiang* as the sources. Zhang (2002: 59) does not ascribe Kukai's comments on repetition with interruption in the context of double-pointing parallelism to any other source.

[143] See the earlier comparison between Dandin's "distinction" and the illustration of Kukai's "double-pointing parallelism" (d3) in this section. Kukai's "parallelism by a word from a different category" (d6) supplies examples where difference stands against the expectation of similarity imposed by the foundational "precise parallelism" (d1).

[144] KĀ 2.308.

[145] An illustration offered in BH 2:734 is the pair "Kwai Muk oar" (*gui ji* 桂楫) and "bearing dagger-axe" (*he ge* 荷戈), between which phrases hardly any correspondence exists. Nevertheless, the same character (荷) functioning as a verb that takes the ancient weapon as its object has an additional meaning of "lotus." When it assumes that nominal sense, though that is not how it should be taken here, it indeed parallels the wood from the Kwai Muk tree by which the oar is made.

[146] In the next type, "part parallelism" (d17), the parallel is constructed only when an element in a written character mirrors what is contained in its counterpart.

[147] See Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume.

of "parallelism," Kukai also uses a modular approach, applying other figures or conceptual schemes such as patterns of syllabic repetition, consonantal alliteration, internal rhyming, polysemy, homonymy, shared visual form, and vectors of similarity and difference to generate many subtypes. The shared approach is manifested, moreover, in the way new figures, or subtypes thereof, are built by introducing new variations and twists to the basic types, especially by using the vectors of similarity/identity and difference.[148] It is in Kukai's full spectrum of "parallelism" and its elaboration that metatropic analysis is deployed with greater force. I have cited here a few salient cases, and these examples indicate a much deeper kinship between the two *Mirror*s: one that lies in a shared methodology rather than in random cases of resemblances in substance.

Much of my argument has so far largely presumed that Kukai's Chinese sources were written texts alone, while in reality he also had access to early ninth-century Chinese scholars whom he encountered. After mentioning his study of literary arts in early life, Kukai remarks in his *Mirror* that he "entered Chang'an in adulthood and roughly listened to other treatises."[149] His being an earwitness calls to mind the possibility that Kukai's informants could have been aware of more recent developments in India, to which earlier Chinese writers had no access. "Rough listening" may very well describe personal communications and sustained discussions that Kukai had with his Chinese and Indian colleagues and teachers on literary matters.[150] It may also explain why Kukai does not mention any Indian sources, as systematic book learning was not involved in this case.[151] Yet, the nature of such conversations would appear to have been very penetrating given the scope and depth of the parallels between the two Asian *Mirrors*.

To conclude: Kukai's discussion of "parallelism" offers many intriguing parallels with Sanskrit texts on poetics. In terms of actual categories, the short lists of Bharata's and Bhamaha's types of "twinning" have a relatively high percentage of overlap with Kukai's equally short inventory of repetitive patterns. Dandin's far more extensive study, on the other hand, covers the full range of syllabic repetition found in Kukai's *Mirror*, and could have informed his general mode of analysis. A minimalist reading of the data assembled in this and preceding sections would support an argument that knowledge of Sanskrit literary theory was brought to China piecemeal in both pre-Dandin and post-Dandin

[148] For examples in Kukai, consider "partial parallelism" (d23) and the aforementioned "parallelism by a word from a different category." For Dandin, consider the progression from simile, to "identification," and then to "distinction," as discussed by Bronner, section 1.3 in this volume.

[149] BH 1:22: 長入西秦，粗聽餘論. Bodman (1978: 167) takes *lun* (論) to mean discussions rather than "treatises." See also BH 1:24–25 and Green 2003: 117.

[150] Lu's (2005: 6–13) account of Kukai's trip to China discusses his literary activities, including the Japanese monk's exchange of poems with Chinese writers outside the capital.

[151] Sustained personal communication also fits better the relatively short period of Kukai's stay in the Chinese capital.

periods. A more optimistic reading would assert Kukai's personal awareness of Dandin's work. This second hypothesis takes into account the remarkable parallels between the two *Mirror*s, Kukai's personal interest in Sanskrit, and the time he spent in China, and presumes, as I have argued, the more active role he played as the compiler of the East Asian *Mirror*.

## 9.6. The Revival of Translation under the Song and Buddhist Visual Poetry at the Court

Kukai visited China toward the end of an era. Around 810, Bore's translation of one last Buddhist text into Chinese signaled an interruption of 160 years, before state-sponsored cross-cultural exchange between India and China would resume under the auspices of the Song emperors.[152] The second Song emperor, Taizong, ordered the establishment of the Institute of Sutra Translation. The revived tradition of Buddhist translation at the institute continued for about a hundred years and achieved impressive results: an estimated 263 texts were translated between 982 and 1037.[153] The impact of this new wave of translations was less dramatic than the previous ones, as Buddhism in China was by now an established tradition with its own schools and institutions and was less dependent on Indian texts.[154] That said, the renewed contact also presented new opportunities.

Emperor Taizong attached great importance to international Buddhist relations. The momentum gained at the translation institute he founded was passed on to his successors.[155] Taizong's personal interest in Buddhist teachings manifests in a number of texts that he himself composed, which praise Buddhism and express his understanding of it. In addition, Taizong has written poems in the genre of *huiwen*. As one traditional scholar explains, "*Huiwen* means turning; it refers to the text (*wen*) that can be read by turning (*hui*) backwards."[156] Such glosses and the common literary technique that allows a poem to make good sense when read both forward and backward led to the choice of palindrome as an equivalent for *huiwen*, although the forms of writing that come under its rubric are too diverse to accommodate this straightforward etymological translation.[157] This can

[152] T 2126 LIV 240b19–25; Sen 2002: 31–34.

[153] Takeuchi 1975: 27–53; Sen 2002: 53–54.

[154] On the rise and decline of Buddhist translation efforts in the Song Dynasty, see Jan 1966 and Sen 2002.

[155] The translation institute was most productive during its early existence in a period that overlaps with the last fifteen years of Taizong's reign (982–996), producing an estimated 150 translations. On Taizong's involvement with Buddhism, see Huang 1994a and 1994b and Sen 2002: 34–39.

[156] Ding and Zhou 2002: 34.

[157] For introductions to *huiwen* literature in English, see Franke 1986 and Tan 2009: 86–126. The latter also reviews related literary forms. A historical overview is available in Ding and Zhou 2002: 34–54 and 115–211. Some traditional glosses of the term *huiwen* are given in ibid.: 34, and the

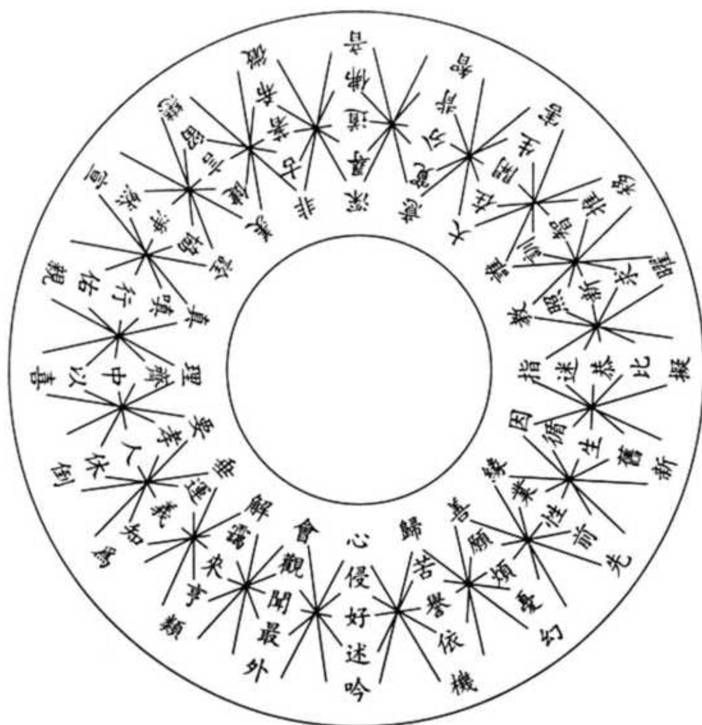

**Figure 9.1.** Illustration of Song Taizong's *Huiwen Stanzas in the Lotus Design.*
*Source:* Reproduced by permission from Shengyuan Ding and Hanfang Zhou (eds.), *Huiwen ji* (Beijing: Guojia tushu chubanshe, 2012), 1:132.

be seen clearly in one of Taizong's *huiwen* poems, which his preface dubs *Huiwen Stanzas in the Lotus Design* (Figure 9.1). The one hundred characters of the poem are arranged into five concentric rings, each consisting of twenty characters. In effect, the work contains one thousand pentasyllabic stanzas, rather than the mere five that appear at first glance.

The text of this *huiwen* work by Taizong has been preserved in several versions of the Chinese Buddhist Canon made in the Song and Jin periods and in Korea and Japan, containing its stanzas, a preface, a colophon, and a commentary.[158] In

varieties and nomenclature in ibid.: 127–28 n38. A comprehensive anthology of *huiwen* literature is Ding and Zhou 2012. Some samples of reversable writing (corresponding to the Sanskrit poetry in the *pratiloma* design) are given in Li 1996: 56, 62–65, 67–68, 70, and 87–89.

[158] Ding and Zhou 2002: 138. The complete text can be found in *Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 1258 XXXV 729a–820b. The figure and the verses are found in Ding and Zhou 2012: 1:132–203. More will be said about the commentary below.

the initial section of the text, each of the five rings in the diagram supplies forty stanzas. They are constituted by starting from any of the twenty characters and reading both clockwise and counterclockwise. It has been suggested that in this work Taizong imitated and expanded on the *Stanza on the True Nature* that is attributed to Bodhidharma, the fifth–sixth-century monk who is credited with the transmission of Chan Buddhism to China.[159] Indeed, the *Stanza on the True Nature* and part of Taizong's *Huiwen Stanzas in the Lotus Design* share the same theme of the ultimate truth, while the former goes deeper into nonduality.[160] The first stanza of Taizong's work, which starts from the word "mind" at the nadir of the innermost circle, offers a glimpse of its flavor.

> The mind comprehends the essence that was imparted;
> the true principle is ineffable, though being admired.
> Who could demonstrate the deep intent that is truly vast?
> By teaching the causes and conditions, all are made to return to the good.

Moreover, Bodhidharma's and Taizong's stanzas both employ the same method of generating forty stanzas by reading from any character clockwise and counterclockwise. We do not need, however, to look westward for the source of this specific poetic technique, as poems that can start from any character were common in Song China (960–1279).[161] This form of poetry may very well have originated from the practice of carving literary lines and poems arranged in a circle on bronze mirrors, a practice that went back at least to the Six Dynasties.[162] That being said, it should be pointed out that each ring of poetry contains twenty stanzas that are backward readings of the remaining twenty stanzas. This specific feature may have been informed by the Indian technique illuminated in Dandin's "repetition in reverse" (*pratilomayamaka*, KĀ 3.75), especially during the later centuries with China's growing knowledge about India.

To complete the remaining 800 stanzas of the poem, Taizong's *Huiwen Stanzas* uses a new strategy. As can be seen in Figure 9.1, a character situated at the

[159] Ding and Zhou 2002: 138.

[160] Ding and Zhou 2012: 1:86–90. The first of the stanzas on true nature reads: "The truth is beyond nature, emotions, and conditions; the principle is empty, and one forgets meditative reflection and remains tranquil. The body reaches the pure luminosity and perfection; from beginning to end eternal is the wonderous ultimate" (真離性情緣，理空忘照寂。身至淨明圓，始終常妙極). It is notable that the poem takes a form that, akin to the "eternal ultimate," is good wherever one begins and ends.

[161] On the well-known *Figure of a Belt with Mirrors* from the early Tang, which shares some similar techniques, see Tan 2009: 105–6; Ding and Zhou 2002: 38 and 132–33 n42; Li 1996: 87–91. The shape of the coiled belt recalls the image of the snake in the Indian tradition. On image of the latter, see Jhā 1986: 119.

[162] Ding and Zhou 2002: 37 and 131–32 n41. Both the *Stanza on the True Nature* and *Huiwen Stanzas in the Lotus Design* show a concern for rhyming between any two characters that are intervened by nine.

nadir of each ring is regarded as the starting point. From each of such starting points, four zigzag patterns are constructed by joining characters from different rings. To begin, one moves from the character "mind" in the innermost ring to the second character of the second ring to the left, followed by a return to the third character of the innermost ring. The pattern is completed by following the same zigzag motion until one again reaches the character "mind" with which one began. Three more patterns are then constructed by going through the zigzag motion between the innermost and three outlying rings. With each of the remaining four rings, four zigzag patterns can be constructed in a similar way. Within each pattern, forty stanzas are generated as before by reading from any character in two directions. The introduction of the zigzag pattern multiples the number of stanzas fivefold.

Other known *huiwen* compositions of Taizong—among which one scroll of *huiwen* poetry has survived—testify to his enthusiasm for this form of poetry.[163] In the year 995, the aged Taizong is reported to have kept on his table a colored copy of the *Figure of Xuanji Stars* (璇璣圖), which was created by the fourth-century female poet Su Hui. Recognized as the most well-known instance of *huiwen* poetry, the work is a magic square of 841 characters—with twenty-nine characters on each side—and contains within itself a large number of poems. Taizong might have maintained a long-standing interest in the *Figure of Xuanji Stars*, which could have inspired his creation of the *Huiwen Stanzas in the Lotus Design* to emulate Su Hui, but in a novel manner.[164] But for the source of Taizong's innovation we must look in a different direction.

The sustained zigzag design that Taizong introduced is unique in *huiwen* poetry. Its most intriguing parallel is the Indic *gomūtrikā* pattern, whose name derives from the crisscross pattern created by a cow urinating while walking. In his *Mirror*, Dandin describes *gomūtrikā* ("cow's urine-line") as a poetic technique in which every other syllable of one hemistich is identical to the corresponding syllable of the other hemistich of the stanza.[165] Since the alternate syllables of the stanza's two halves are identical, moving in a zigzag pattern allows one to obtain the same reading as reading in a straight line. As can be seen in Figure 9.2, in the example verse that Dandin supplies, to read any half, one can start from the other half by following the zigzag pattern.[166]

[163] Ding and Zhou 2002: 138–39. For the surviving scroll of *Huiwen Poems of Reflection in Pentasyllabic and Heptasyllabic Lines*, see *Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* no. 1259 XXXV 956b–958a. Taizong's *Huiwen Poetry* in four scrolls was lost.

[164] *Xuanji* is technically the first four stars of the Big Dipper. On *Xuanji tu*, see Tan 2009: 92–94 and 100–9; Ding and Zhou 2002 (on Taizong's ownership of its copy, see p. 40). The content of the work is presented in Ding and Zhou 2012: 1:2–73. Li 1996 provides a comprehensive guide to the reading of what he tallies at 13,961 valid poems.

[165] KĀ 3.78.

[166] KĀ 3.79; Dimitrov 2011: 1:184; Eppling 1989: 221–23; Jha 1975: 59–60 and 195–96.

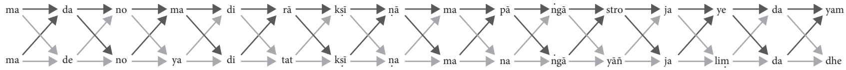


**Figure 9.2.** Illustration of the *Gomūtrikā* Pattern in Dandin's *Mirror of Literature* 3.79.

*Source:* Prepared by Shenghai Li.

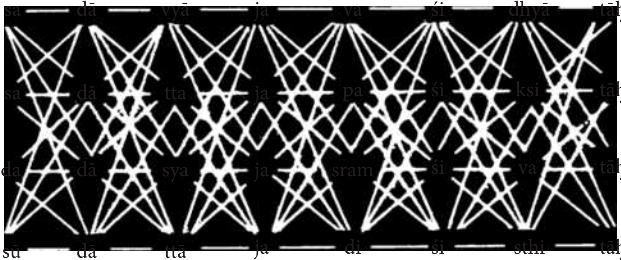


**Figure 9.3.** The Double *Gomūtrikā* Design in Anandavardhana's *Goddess's Century* 81.

*Source:* Reproduced by permission from the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Daniel H. H. Ingalls), "Ānandavardhana's Devīśataka." *JAOS* 109(4) (1989): 570.

Even closer to the design of Taizong's lotus stanzas is the double "cow's urine-line," which is not discussed by Dandin, but is a further development on the basis of the technique that Dandin describes. In this design, every alternate syllable of a quarter is identical to the corresponding syllables in the other three quarters. When four quarters of a stanza are stacked, starting from any point just before a column of identical syllables, one can move to any of the four identical syllables before a mandatory return to the following syllable on the same line where one has begun. Three zigzag patterns are thus generated in addition to the straight line. This technological advance is employed in the eighty-first verse of the *Goddess's Century* (*Devīśataka*) by the Kashmirian theorist Anandavardhana (Figure 9.3) described by Daniel H. H. Ingalls.[167]

In the *gomūtrikā* design, different ways of reading are simply different pathways one can take to read one and the same poem, though the number of pathways could be astronomically large.[168] In the case of the Chinese stanzas, the

[167] Ingalls 1989: 570–71.

[168] Unlike the *huiwen* stanzas in the design of lotuses, in the double *gomūtrikā* design the pathways one chooses is not so restricted that one has to move to the same line every time one faces an option in the course of reading. This is the key to the numerical expansion of possible "ways" of reading. See Ingalls 1989: 570.

employment of zigzag patterns allows the generation of many more new stanzas. In this case, the Chinese language offers some unique advantages. In Classical Chinese, words are commonly monosyllabic. The lack of inflectional endings, the ability of many words to function as both nouns and verbs or as both nouns and adjectives, and the potential for the changed word order to generate new coherent meaning combine to make it easier to form comprehensible sentences.[169] Given that the number of stanzas discovered in Su Hui's *Figure of Xuanji Stars* at Taizong's time is possibly not more than 1,000,[170] the new technique helped the emperor achieve quite a feat.

Of course, it is one thing to generate many new stanzas, and quite another to read and make sense of them. This task was delegated to the Office of Monastic Administration, which assigned the composition of a commentary to twenty Buddhist monks known for doctrinal scholarship and writing skills. The learned monks happily complied with the imperial order "to examine the work's sources" by "searching for the true words of the Buddhist canon."[171] Nevertheless, the assignment was not accomplished without resorting to hermeneutical gymnastics. In the preface, Taizong wrote that the stanzas "originated from my own bosom,"[172] but it appears that the large field of meaning generated by the application of certain literary techniques became unwieldy, and that bringing it under control required the labor of skilled collaborators. The Buddhist context and contents of the *huiwen* stanzas are apparent. Taizong indeed intended it as a means for the dissemination of his own Buddhist insight. His *huiwen* stanzas and a few other Buddhist writings were included in the printed Kaibao edition of the Buddhist canon. The stanzas were also given to the envoys of Japan, Korea, Xi Xia, and the Jurchen people—sometimes in addition to the Buddhist canon—as a part of the strategic early Song international diplomacy through Buddhist influence.[173]

The *Huiwen Stanzas in the Lotus Design* were written at a key moment of Taizong's fervent effort to resurrect the tradition of Buddhist translation. In 980, Taizong was pleased by the submission of a Buddhist translation completed under the supervision of the Indian monk Fatian (Dharmadeva?), who was summoned to the capital. In the same year, two other Indian monks, Tianxizai (Devaśāntika?) and Shihu (Dānapāla?), also arrived in the capital, and Taizong ordered the establishment of the Institute of Sutra Translation. After the construction was completed in 982, the three foreign monk scholars took residence

[169] Cf. Ding and Zhou 2002: 116–17.
[170] On the history of the interpretation of the *Xuanji tu* and the growth of the number of its stanzas in time, see Ding and Zhou 2002: 16–22 and Li 1996: 92–97.
[171] Ding and Zhou 2012: 137–38 n50; *Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 1258, XXXV 729c18–19.
[172] *Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 1258, XXXV 729a19–20.
[173] Ding and Zhou 2002: 40–41 and 143–51 n52. Fragments of Taizong's *huiwen* stanzas (Stein 4644 and Pelliot 3130) are found among Dunhuang Chinese manuscripts.

at the institute. In the seventh month of the year, each of them presented a sutra scroll that they had translated to the throne. Also in 982, Taizong visited the Institute of Sutra Translation and granted gifts. In the eleventh month of 983, the *huiwen* stanzas in the lotus shape were shown to the ministers close to the emperor.[174]

Not only was this a period of Taizong's intense interest in translation, we also have a few pieces of information about the Indian monks' study in the linguistic arts. While the Oddiyana monk Shihu was known for having learned various forms of scripts used in five regions of India in addition to those of Sinhala, Khotan, Shrivijaya, and Java, Tianxizai received training in grammatical science (*śabdavidyā*). He was a native of Kashmir, a thriving center of Sanskrit literary culture where Anandavardhana was active in the ninth century and where Dandin's text was continuously studied.[175] More is known about the general education of yet another monk, Fahu (Dharmapāla?), who arrived in China in 1004 after the death of Taizong. This scholar, who also hailed from Kashmir, studied the four Vedas, historical records (*purāṇa*s?), and *śāstra*s in childhood. After his full Buddhist ordination, he received training in the religious subjects while also studying treatise(s) on the science of grammar (*śabdavidyāśāstra*). He is said to have "thoroughly investigated the origin of Sanskrit words, and became skillful in eight tones of recitation. . . . His composition of prose and verse are both fine."[176] What we know about Fahu may well be true of learned Indian Buddhist monks of this period, which shows the kinds of cultural knowledge and literary expertise that were brought to the Song court.

The complete title of Taizong's work is *Huiwen Stanzas of the Mind Wheel in the Lotus Design* (蓮華心輪迴文偈頌). *Ji*, the abbreviated form of *jituo* which translates the Indic *gāthā*, signifies that the stanzas are Buddhist. The preface says, "I constructed the *huiwen* stanzas in pursuit of the source of the mysterious wonder. It begins with one paragraph but is completed with one thousand stanzas. In stretching and unfolding it takes the shape of a lotus blossoming. In joining and linking, it resembles the multicolored glow of the moon when it first becomes full. It is titled *Huiwen Stanzas in the Lotus Design*."[177] It is easy to imagine that the original meaning of *gomūtrikā*, the pattern of cow's urine, was abandoned in the process of transmission in favor of the shape of the lotus. The commentary speaks explicitly about the titular character "mind" as the point where the stanzas start, although doctrinal implications are also suggested. Less certain is the significance of the word "wheel" in the title. The wheel (*cakra*) is an

[174] Sen 2002: 33–36; Jan 1966: 146–49; *Fozu tongji* at T 2035 IL 398a2–399a14. Ding and Zhou 2002: 40.

[175] See McCrea, section 5.4 in this volume.

[176] Jan 1966: 36–40.

[177] *Koryŏ taejanggyŏng* 1258 XXXV 729c4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13.

Indian literary design that was used by Anandavardhana in the *Goddess's Century* and by poets before him. However, Taizong's design of "mind wheel" is only similar to the Indian wheel in rough appearance. The *huiwen* stanzas form concentric rings, whereas in the Indian wheel design the verses constitute the spokes, with additional verses of the circumference—and sometimes also the verse of the inner rim—intersecting with them.[178] The wheel is a familiar Buddhist symbol. In Taizong's immediate environment, according to the ritual of sutra translation described by Tianxizai, a circular wooden platform was arranged, where "a wheel of the names of saintly beings" was set up. It is said to "arrange the names of Buddhas, great beings, gods, and well-known subordinate figures in tiers, surrounded in such a way that it resembles the shape of a wheel of a chariot."[179] Whether such a religious object or garlands of concentric mantras used in tantric Buddhism could have spurred Taizong's interest in the wheel-shaped design is a subject of speculation.

With the design of the wheel, we leave Dandin and move further into a field of visual poetry that takes the shape of physical objects. This is yet another dimension of intersection between the Indian and Chinese literary traditions. It suffices to demonstrate just one case of a striking parallel. This is a design that has the same pattern and moving parts as the Indian wheel, with poetic lines forming the radii and the verses of external border and internal rim intersecting with them. It is called "spider web" (蛛絲), and the use of the outer octagonal border conforms to the appellation. Chinese poets have written poems to instantiate this design, just as Indian poets followed the design of the wheel. The diagram of an illustration by Wan Sitong (1638–1702) is given in Figure 9.4.[180]

Such poetic techniques could be transmitted as technical knowledge rather than theoretical knowledge, and they do not require intricate explanations. During the Song dynasty, *huiwen* writing became more widely practiced, partly due to the impact of Emperor Taizong's personal interest. Also in the Song period, Chinese historical documents have recorded the travel of hundreds of Chinese monks to India, as well as the arrival of dozens of Buddhist monks from South Asia. With the exception of very few, these travelers were not significantly accomplished in the task of textual transmission—and in fact not much is known about their activities in China—but there were clearly sufficient opportunities

[178] See Ingalls 1989: 570 and 573–575; Jha 1975: 63–64 and 198.

[179] T 2035 IL 398b1–5. Cf. Sen 2002: 35, where the explanatory note in the original text is omitted. A historical record also reports the presentation of a mantra wheel and a wish-fulfilling wheel (*maṇḍala*) by a Buddhist monk from Sri Lanka in the year 993. See Jan 1966: 150.

[180] Ding and Zhou 2012: 1:605. The three verses constituted by the outer border, the inner ring, and radii are given on the next page. Another exemplification is a work attributed to Wan Shu (1630–1688) in ibid.: 1:398–99 (see also Li 1996: 71–72).

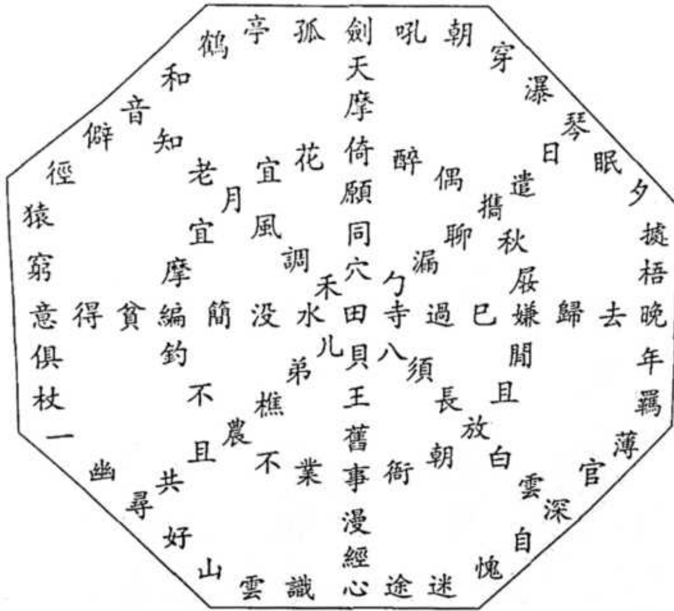

**Figure 9.4.** *The Spider Web* by Wan Sitong.
*Source:* Reproduced by permission from Shengyuan Ding and Hanfang Zhou (eds.), *Huiwen ji* (Beijing: Guojia tushu chubanshe, 2012), 1:605.

for the transfer of cultural knowledge.[181] Indeed, it is less important to insist on the successful transmission of specific literary techniques.[182] Instead, it should be stressed that it is the general idea of a form of pictorial poetry, which takes the shape of physical objects and is characterized by the interlocking feature, that is likely to have traveled and to have contributed to the development of a similar kind of Chinese poetry.[183]

## 9.7. On the Scope of Sanskrit Influence: Concluding Remarks

This chapter argues that knowledge of Indian literary science was conveyed to East Asia in a series of three extended moments: the translation of literary

[181] According to one estimation, more than fifty Indian monks are known to have arrived in China between 985 and 1085, while 183 Chinese pilgrims returned from India. See Sen 2002: 32 n19 and 47–52; Jan 1966: 138–39 and 144–59.

[182] Franke 1986: 106 describes a Japanese work of art dated to ca. 1150, which was constituted by the Chinese text of the *Sutra of the Golden Light* that was constructed in the shape of pagodas. A partial reproduction in color is available in Lévi et al. 1967: plate xxvii.

[183] For surveys of Indian visual poetry, see Jha 1975 and Jhā 1986.

Buddhist texts in which literary phenomena, conventions, and devices were illustrated in practice; the work carried out by Kukai and his Chinese predecessors in which knowledge of Indian poetics played a role in facilitating the theorization of literary defects and patterns of syllabic repetition and in inspiring certain methods of analysis; and the incorporation of Indian techniques in the composition of visual poetry in the Song period. Many of the theoretical works collected by Kukai were concerned with a newly emerged form of poetry that came to be known as “Recent Style Prosody.” The authors of these theoretical treatises were eager to define the formal features of this emerging poetry, figurative language included, however marginally. The large number of overlaps between their critical work and Sanskrit poetics, the existence of extensive contact between India and China, and the strong Buddhist participation in literary theory in the period in question all make Sanskrit influence a distinctive possibility.[184]

I should also clarify that the knowledge from India was just one factor in the matrix of reflections on literature in China in general, and in the period between the seventh and ninth centuries in particular. When Kukai addresses the lively discussion on literary defects, for instance, he gives the impression that many theorists “vied with each other” to voice their views.[185] The Chinese reception of Indian literary ideas typically involved a great deal of creativity. Recall, for instance, Emperor Taizong’s composition of the *huiwen* stanzas in the lotus design—the circumstance of which can be determined with relative certainty. Here the Indian *gomūtrikā* pattern was combined with native Chinese techniques (and exploited the unique features of the Chinese language) to multiply the text exponentially, rather than to read the same poem via different routes. Finally, the Sanskrit sources that might have contributed to Chinese literary thought and practices tend to be elusive, and they left very few traces about their identity in the host culture. This corroborates my hypothesis that their contents were communicated not through systematic textual study but rather indirectly, through informal conversations with learned informants. Nevertheless, the combined cases recovered in this study—if the line of argument advanced here is valid—allow us to speak of the intermittent travel of Indian literary knowledge during a long span of time stretching from the fifth to the eleventh centuries. Even in very fragmentary forms, a partial spectrum of Dandin’s poetics is reflected in the East Asian literary phenomena surveyed above, making his work a true mirror of the world of Asian letters.

[184] In addition to Jiaoran, two other major sources of Kukai—Shangguan Yi and Wang Changling (698–757)—also have a particularly strong Buddhist background. On Shangguan Yi’s Buddhist connection and his interaction with the translator Xuanzang at the Tang court, see Hu 2012. On the poetics of Wang Changling, see Bodman 1978: 22–98.

[185] BH 1:13 and 2:842 and Bodman 1978: 166 and 262–63.

Overemphasizing Indian influence, however, will undo the delicate balance that this chapter strove to strike. A cautionary example is provided by Jiaoran, a Chinese Buddhist writer who did not wish to learn the literary science coming from India. This monk poet and critic is esteemed for the high register and versatility of his poetry. He died about a hundred years after the composition of Dandin's *Mirror*, possibly within a decade of Kukai's arrival in China. In one poem, he openly distances himself from foreign languages and writes that he "never bothered to translate barbarian words."[186] Moreover, the theme of his poetry is predominantly secular, and only a small portion of it deals with Buddhist topics.[187] Kukai has discussed eight types of parallelism that are attributed to Jiaoran alone; he also cites examples from his work to illustrate additional types proposed by others.[188] Jiaoran's classification, however varied, mostly continues the patterns and ideas that were proposed by earlier Chinese critics. One theme that is unique to Jiaoran is the distinction between real and insubstantial objects, a distinction that has no apparent connection to Indian poetics but that seems to echo Buddhist philosophical views. The idea is expressed in Jiaoran's parallelism between two real and two unreal entities, which is anthologized by Kukai (d24). The accompanying commentary gives only one couplet as illustration:[189]

Old friends—the clouds and rain—have dispersed;
on the empty mountain, coming and going are scarce.

The clouds and rain function as an implied metaphor in the first line, but for Jiaoran the main point here is that they are real objects and, as such, contrast with the abstract "coming and going." Apparently, this couplet also instantiates Jiaoran's unique "crisscross parallelism" (d19): "old friends" and "coming and going," from the top of the first line and middle of the second, constitute one diagonal that represents the sentient world, while an intersecting diaogonal connects the inanimate objects "clouds and rain" and "empty mountain." It would seem that Buddhist ideas, rather than Indian literary techniques, inform the aesthetics of this couplet. One cannot help but notice the evanescence and impermanence of even fixtures of reality: acquaintances, rain and clouds, and human commotion. Their dispersal and the solitude on the mountain suggest a state of tranquility common in Buddhist poetry. For us, the poem also provides

[186] Quoted in Owen 1981: 292.
[187] For a short introduction to Jiaoran, his poetry, and his literary criticism, see Nielson 1972.
[188] Lu 2013: 1:223–24. The additional sample poetic lines illustrate six of the eleven initial shared parallelism types and one kind attributed to Cui Rong (d28). There are also two forms of parallelism that Jiaoran criticized.
[189] BH 2:765: 故人雲雨散，空山往來疎.

an apt metaphor for the two "old friends" whose relationship this chapter explores: Indic and Chinese literary cultures. After all is said and done, their indirect and informal encounters left only fleeting reflections on a set of concave mirrors. But if the mountain now seems empty and the concrete traces scarce, the two still had their comings and goings.[190]

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*Chinese*

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