Chapter I

Jagannātha and His Times

A. Life of Jagannātha

Introduction

Jagannātha Panditarāja occupies a prominent place in the literary history of India both as a critic and poet. He is the last great authority on Sanskrit Poetics, and as a poet also, he is equally famous. A great Kavi-Pandita of his age his writings show that he is also a gifted metaphysician and a great logician. In the Rasagangādhara, he has given a long list of subjects that he studied under the able guidance of his father. He mentions two groups of subjects, namely Logic (Nyāya) and Grammar (Bhāvakaraṇa), a thorough grounding of which was regarded in that medieval age of frequent scholastic controversies, as an essential equipment for an ambitious scholar. Jagannātha's mastery on these subjects along with other important branches of learning contributed a lot in making him 'Panditarāja' in the true sense of the term.

Jagannātha Panditarāja enriches profusely with his own precious contributions in the sphere of poetry and the science of poetry both. He is widely known for his Rasagangādhara, Bhaminivilāsa and Gangālahari. He is also the author of some minor poetical works and panegyrics. In the whole range of Sanskrit criticism, he occupies a unique position as a critic. His Rasagangādhara is an outstanding work of highest quality. Scholars have given it the mead of highest praise and have universally acclaimed it to be the
classic work on Sanskrit poetics. In the introductory verses of the Rasagangadhara the author gives a clear idea about his originality and mental equipment. 'Diving deep in the troubled waters of the logical arguments and refutations, he has gained and exhibited to the highly cultured public-sahrdaya, the Jewel of the Rasagangadhara which is capable of illuminating the human mind and removing completely the pride of some of his rival rhetoricians.'

Panditaraja, the last great writer on Sanskrit alamkāra-sāstra, in his Rasagangādhara, has expounded the theories of Rasa and Dvani, which were first propounded respectively by sage Bharata and the great Kāsmirian polyhistor Anandavardhana. He touches all topics of alamkāra-sāstra and discusses them in clear and vigorous terms. Ancient rhetorical works were composed in verse and as such, the rhetoricians had no such advantage to their credit as Jagannātha had. He adopted the logical language of the neo-logicians of Bengal which enabled him to remove the slightest doubt in the exposition of the topics discussed by him. Again the different theories of the Sanskrit rhetoricians from Bharata to Anandavardhana and Abhinavagupta were treated elaborately by different writers at different periods. These exponents were the supporters of different theories and they tried their best to establish their views by refuting the arguments of the opponents. Our Panditaraja had not to labour hard in establishing the theories of his predecessors. His task was only to clarify the issues

1. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Jagannātha Pandita, p. 79
which he supported. He showed the inconsistencies in the views of some of his predecessors and tried to remove them by his subtle arguments. So he says:

pariskurantyarthânsahrdadhurînâh katipaye
tathāpi kleso me kathamapi gatârtho no bhavītā
timindrâh saṁksobham bidādhatu payodhe punarime
kimetenayaso bhavati biphalo mandaragīnâh

(Rasagangadhara, Introductory verse 5)

Panditarāja had before him, a galaxy of poets who had already earned universal recognition at the hands of critics. He succeeded Kālidasa, Bharavi and Magha, besides Vyāsa and Vālmiki. Thus he enjoyed the proud privilege of inheriting the great tradition of Sanskrit Kavya which he utilised in illustrating the topics of Sanskrit Poetics. Another noteworthy feature of Panditarāja was that he was also a poet of great creative ability and cited his own illustrations in his Rasagangadhara. Thus, in him interpretative genius was blended with creative faculty and by this unique fusion he became a giant writer in the history of Sanskrit Poetics.

Mammata is the pioneer for the standard work on alamkāra and his Kavyaprakāsa is more or less a textbook on alamkāra literature in which he discusses critically all the different views and concludes his work with a decisive view on its topics. It has won the position of an ideal textbook. All his successors have followed Mammata in the arrangement of the chapters of their works. The period after him was actually a stage of scholastic elaboration; the writers engaged themselves in detailed treatment and
hair-splitting distinction of the various concepts of alamkāra-
sāstra instead of giving their independent views. To be more
brief, it was an age of scholastic acumen and the writers tried
to show their pedantry instead of originality. But the style of
criticism adopted by Jagannātha was novel one. He left the beaten
track of the ancients and introduced for the first time the Nyāya
method of argument in the sphere of Sanskrit criticism which prov­
ed true safeguard against any undue omission or commission. As a
result of this, alamkāraśāstra becomes a difficult topic and or­
dinary scholars having no grounding in philosophy in general and
Nyāya in particular can hardly have any entrance into it. Pandita-
rāja hopes that his treatise would gain success in the field of
alamkara sastra for its excellence. He writes:

$$\text{mananataritirnvidyārṇavo Jagannāthapandita narendrah/}
\text{rasagāgādharanāṃnim karoti kutukewakāvyamāmśam/}$$

(Rasagāgādhara, Introductory verse 7)

In this thesis, an attempt has been made to appreciate
Jagannātha from the aesthetic points of view. As he is a writer
of great eminence, it is not possible to deal with all the aspects
of Panditarāja. Our attempt will be confined only to assess him
as a poet and critic. So we shall discuss here his life and time,
back ground of his poetic conception and his conception of rasa,
guna, dhvani and alamkāra. Next we shall try to comment on his
Bhāminivilāsa and other minor poetical works together with a cri­
tical estimate of him as a poet.
Jagannatha's birth, his parents and education

Though comparatively a modern scholar, Jagannatha has not left for the posterity any regular biographical account. But this does not mean that we know nothing about his life. In his introductory verses of the Rasangadhara, he has given a sketch, though very brief, about his father and mother, father's education in different branches of learning, his own education and his lineage. This information together with the accounts gathered from the stray references to his life in his literature gives us a more or less connected, sketchy biography, however incomplete it might be. Apart from the stray references, many oral traditions are current among the scholars of India about our Panditaraja. But these traditions have little historical value. They may be concoctions of his rival critics and hence they are not based on facts. We shall try to give a short biographical account of him from the internal evidences of his work.

Jagannatha Panditaraja, a Tailanga Brahmana, belonged to the Benginadu line of family in the Talegu country. He was the son of Peru Bhatta or Perama Bhatta who was a versatile scholar whom Jagannatha referred as Mahaguru. He was the disciple of Jnanendra Bhiksu in Vedanta of Maheswara Pandita in Nyaya and Vaisesika, of Khandadeva in Purvamimamsa and of Sesa in grammar; he

2. ... tailangakulabatangsema Panditajagannathena ...
   (Asaf-vilasa)

3. pasanadapi piyusam syandate yasya lilaya/
   tam bande perubhattakhyam laksimikantam mahagurum//
is called Sarvavidyādhara. Nāgessa says that Peru Bhatta had proficiency in other śastras as well (vide, atena taditaraśastravedādijñātirvāṃ suchitam - Gurumarma Prakāśikā). Jagannātha learned at the feet of his father and of Sesa who was his father's guru. There is a controversy about Sesa. According to Nāgessa, this Sesa and Sesa Viśeśvara are one and the same person. He says, 'sesa ityanka upanāma yasya tasmād viśeśvarapanditat.' Dr Aryendra Sharma expresses doubt this Sesa and considers him to be Sesa Śrīkrṣṇa, the guru of Bhattojiśekita who was contemporary of Panditaraṇā's father. But Jagannātha in his Monorāma-Kucamardana mentions Sesa Viśeśvara as his guru in clear terms (vide, Hindi Rasagangādhara, Introduction p.d). So there is little scope to doubt this Sesa to be Sesa Kṛṣṇa. Moreover, there is nothing unconvincing in the same man being the teacher of both the father and the son. Our Panditaraṇā was a versatile scholar and he earned proficiency in the Vedas, Vedānta, Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, Mīmāṁsā, Grammar, Literature and Aesthetics.

Many Jagannāthas

In the history of Sanskrit literature, many Jagannāthas are found and this has confounded scholars to mix Panditaraṇā with them. Our Panditaraṇā is very famous and his name at once brings to our mind the popular works like Rasagangādhara and Bhaminīvilāsa. There are also other authors of the same name writing on a variety of subjects. Naturally doubt arises in our mind about the identity

of these different authors on different subjects. Pandit Mathuramath Nath Sastri in his Introduction to the Rasagangadhara (pp. 48, 49) has mentioned eleven Jagannathas who are different from our Panditaraja Jagannatha. He has also shown there how the editor of the Pranabhara of the Kavyamala series had wrongly ascribed the three works namely Aswaghati, Ratimanmatha and Vasumatiparinaya to our Panditaraja. Even Dr Aryendra Sharma⁶ ascribes the following works to Panditaraja:

1. Kavyaprakasa-tika
2. Sabdakaustubha-sonottejana
3. Ratimanmatha-Nataka
4. Vasumatiparinaya Nataka
5. Allopanisad
6. Miscellaneous verses

Probably the learned Doctor was misled by the above-quoted Pranabhara of kavyamala series where the editor wrongly gave the authorship of Ratimanmatha Nataka and Vasumatiparinaya to our Panditaraja. But G. V. Devasthali⁷ in his article 'Jagannatha alias Umamatha' has established beyond shadow of doubt that this Jagannatha was a resident of Tanjor and he was the author of Ratimanmatha Nataka, Vasumatiparinaya Nataka, Nityotsavanibandha and Aswaghati-kavya. As Devasthali puts it: 'Thus from the RM, we know that his name was Jagannatha and that he calls himself a kavi. In N. on the other hand, we find him styling himself Panditavara. But the more important and interesting piece of information that we derive from this latter work is that Umamandanatha is the name

7. Dr G. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume, p. 271.
Another Panditarāja, a commentator of Kāvya Prakāṣā is also confused with Jagannātha Panditarāja, the celebrated author of the Rasagangādhara. But this commentator is a different man. According to Dr De, he is identical with Raghunanda Rāya, the disciple of the legist Mahesā Thākkura and hence he should not be confused with Jagannātha. The editor of the Rasagangādhara of the Kāvyamāla series gives a long list of authors bearing the name Jagannātha. All of them are different persons and they should not be confused with our author.

**Date of Jagannātha**

The question of the date of Jagannātha does not present much difficulty. It can be approximately settled from the internal evidence of his work. He states in his Bhāminivilāsa (4/45) that he passed his youth at Moghul court. He has mentioned many times the king of Delhi without naming any particular emperor. There is no doubt that he was a court poet of Moghul emperor. But the problem is when and how he managed to enter into the court to get patronage to contribute to Sanskrit literature. (In the Āsafvilāsa, Jagannātha writes that he received the title 'Panditarāja' through Nawab Āsaf Khan who helped him much in introducing him to the Moghul court.) He was the brother of Nur Jahan and father-in-law of Emperor Sjahjahan. He is known to have died in 1641. Again in one

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8. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume, p. 272
of the verses of the Rasagangadhara while discussing the Uttara-lamkara, Jagannatha mentioned Nurudin. It is the forename of Emperor Jahangir, father of Shahjahan. He also eulogised Jagatsimha of Jaypur and Prannarayana of Kamrup in his two panegyrics—Jagadabharana and Pranabharana respectively. So it may be concluded that Jagannatha enjoyed the patronage of four rulers—Jahangir, Shahjahan, Jagatsimha and Prannarayana. It is also probable that he was born in the second half of the sixteenth century and continued to contribute to Sanskrit literature as a court-poet of Delhi till the murder of unfortunate Moghul Prince Dara Shikoh in 1659.

Jagannatha is traditionally said to be a bitter critic of AppayaDiksita and in his criticism, Panditaraja introduces an element of personal abuse which is something uncommon in the history of Sanskrit poetics. In his Citramimamsakhandana also, the sting behind the attack remains intact. Mm. P. V. Kane informs us that a manuscript of Citramimamsakhandana is dated samvat 1709 (1652-53 A.D.). Both the Rasagangadhara and the Citramimamsakhandana are the products of his matured mind and are composed before 1650 A.D. and 1641 A.D. From Dr Kane concludes that the literary activity of Jagannatha lies between 1620 and 1665 A.D.

Jagannatha is connected with the celebrated line of grammarians headed by Bhottoji Diksita. He wrote the Monoramakucamaradana to refute the Praudhamonora commentary of Bhottoji Diksita

on the Siddhāntakaumudi to take revenge upon the latter. Dr Kane\textsuperscript{12} is of opinion that Bhottoji's literary activity falls between 1580 and 1630. Bhattoji was the disciple of Sēsāśrīkṛṣṇa and Jagannātha and his father Perubhaṭṭa were the pupil of Sēsavireśwara, son of Sēsāśrīkṛṣṇa. Bhattoji must be one generation earlier than Panditaraṇā and so, his date falls somewhere in between the first and third quarter of the seventeenth century.

Other evidences in support of this date may also be cited. In the Kula Prabandha\textsuperscript{13} it is stated that one Nārāyana, a student of Jagannātha Panditaraṇā met his early death.

\begin{verbatim}
labdhwā vidyā nikhilāh Panditarājā-Jagannāthāt/
nārāyanastu daivād alpāyuḥ svapurimagāt/
\end{verbatim}

Kulaprabandha is said to be written in the 17th century A.D. Again in the Subhasīka-hārāvalī of Hara Kavi,\textsuperscript{14} there is a verse composed by our Panditaraṇā on Gangādhara, Nāgesa in the very beginning of his Gurumarma Prakāśikā where he salutes Gangādhara: \textsuperscript{12}

\begin{verbatim}
natvā gangādharam marmaprabhāsam tanute gurum/
rasagangādhararamanerāti-gūdhārthasambide/
\end{verbatim}

Most probably these two Gangādharas are one and the same person. Nāgesa wrote the commentary in the beginning of the eighteenth century. So Jagannātha must belong to the seventeenth century. Hari-bhāskara wrote his Vṛttā-ratnākara-tīka in 1672. In his Padyāmrta

\textsuperscript{12} History of Sanskrit Poetics, P 324
\textsuperscript{13} Dr J. B. Chaudhury, Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning, p.53.
\textsuperscript{14} ibid., p.54
Tarangini, two verses from Panditaràja are also included. It was composed in 1672. So Jagannàtha must be earlier than this date. It is evident that he belonged to the seventeenth century A.D.

Centre of activity

It has been said that Jagannàtha Panditaràja was a Tail-angà Brahmana. In some editions of the Bhamihlvilàsa he introduces himself as a scion of the Andhra Benginadu ancestry. Whatever may be the case, he was a southerner; but both his father and Jagannàtha himself got education at Benàras. Though Telengana was their ancestral home land, his father migrated to Benàras for study and settled there permanently. Jagannàtha became a great scholar under the able guidance of his father. According to some tradition, Ràja Jaysingha of Jaipur heard the name of Panditaràja and he came to Benàras to seek help of our Panditaràja to defeat some Muslim scholars who entered into controversy with the king on some matter. This tradition may not be baseless; it has some grain of truth. Jagannàtha enjoyed the patronage of Jaysingha of Jaipur for sometime and wrote the Jagadabhàranà to praise the king. However Panditaràja's fame as a scholar spread far and wide and by virtue of his scholarship, he easily got introduced to emperor Shahjahan through the help of one Mukunda Ray, a scion of Mathura dynasty (cf. mûrtima-taiva nàwàbàsafkhànàmanah prasàdena dvijakulasevàhevakîncanmananah-kàyenà màthùrakulasàmudrtenàdístena srisàrvabhaumasàhàjàhin-prasàdàdàdadhigata ... ... nàrmeya, Àsafvilàs). He also mentioned Nurudin which was a sanskritised form of Nuruddin meaning Jahangir. So Dr Aryendra Sharma holds the view that Panditaràja enjoyed the
patronisation of four kings. He writes\(^\text{15}\) - 'It is clear from the internal evidence that Panditarāja lived at the courts of four rulers - Jahangir, Jagatsingha, Sahjahan and Prānnārayana. Jahangir reigned from 1605 to 1627 and Sahjahan succeeded him 1628. He reigned for about 30 years. His death in 1656 was followed by a war of succession. Prānnārayana reigned from 1633 to 1666, except for a short break of two years (1659 to 1661) when he had to flee to Bhutan to escape capture at the hands of Mirjumala, Governor of Bengal. In all likelihood, therefore, Panditarāja spent the first few years of his literary activity at the court of Jahangir. After his death in 1627 all was not well at Agra and Panditarāja probably migrated to Udaipur (court of Jagatsingha). There would be otherwise no occasion for him to write an eulogy on Jagatsingha. Probably he did not remain in the court of Jagatsingha for a long time. When Sahjahan ascended the throne in 1628, he again returned to Moghul court and enjoyed the full patronage of Sahjahan. That was the most flourishing period in Panditarāja's life. Abdul Hamid Lahuri, the court historian of Shahjahan tells us that Jagannātha Panditarāja was the poet-laureate of the Emperor who used to listen to his composition and bestow upon him royal gifts and favour.\(^\text{16}\) After the death of Shahjahan the war of succession began among the sons of the emperor and the Moghul court was no longer a congenial place for literary activity. So he migrated to the court of Prānnārayana, a feudatory of the Moghul Emperor at Cooch Behār. Mr. P.V. Kane\(^\text{17}\) also is of opinion that Jagannātha migrated to Assam during

\(^{15}\) Panditarāja-Kāvyasamgraha, Introduction, p.ix.
\(^{17}\) History of Sanskrit Poetics, p.323 (foot-notes).
the tumultous time of fratricidal war between the sons of Shahja-
han. But Prānanārayana himself had to go to Bhutan at the invasion
of Mirjumala and as such our Panditarāja also had to leave his
court ere long. In the court of Prānanārayana, Jagannātha wrote
his 'Prānābharana' to satisfy his patron.

There are internal evidences to show that the last part
of Panditarāja's life was not very happy. Giving up his all de-
sires, he spent the last part of his life at Mathura (vide, Bhāminivilāsa, 4/45 ed. by Radhesyam Misra). But Pandit Mathurānāth18
Sāstri quotes a different reading of the above-quoted verse which
gives Benaras as the place where Panditarāja passed him last days.
Dr Aryendra Sharma believes that Benaras rather than Mathura is the
place where Jagannātha spent his last days. As he writes - 'That
Panditarāja spent his last days at Benaras rather than at Mathura
is not only supported by tradition but would seem probable, because
it is hardly likely that he would return to the vicinity of Agra
where the political condition was still unsettled. There is enough
evidence to show that his father had his education and lived at
Banaras. Panditarāja also must have spent his boyhood days there
and it would only be natural for him to return to Benaras which was
more or less his home, rather than to Mathura.'19 But there is no
ground to suppose that he would stay at Banaras and not at Mathurā
in the last part of his life due to chaotic political condition
there. He had already lost his position among the scholars of

Bamaras due to his entrance in the Moghul court or for his alleged liaison with Lavangi. To avoid the orthodox society at Benaras he would naturally go to Agra leaving that city. In his Amrtalahari (verse 3) the poet earnestly desires to spend his last days living on fruits of trees. Moreover his Sántavilása bears ample testimony to show that Panditarāja was a great devotee of Lord Kríśna, and Mathura, Brindāvana and the Jamuna are closely connected with the name of Lord Kríśna. Naturally Panditarāja would pass his last days at Mathurā rather than at Banaras where he was condemned by the orthodox society. Again Dr Sharma’s contention that Banaras would be a proper place to inspire him to write Manoramākuacamardini than Mathura is without any warrant. There is no cogent reason to believe that for proper incentive to write works on Grammar he would go to Banaras after his retirement as a court poet. Mathurā would equally be a proper place to inspire him for such books, to counteract aggressively to the jealous criticism coming from his hostile critics. So we may safely conclude that Panditarāja at the last stage of life, retired to the bank of Jamuna at Mathura and passed a secluded life completely devoting himself to Lord Kríśna.

Jagannātha and Appayadīksita

While writing about the date of Panditarāja we have had the occasion to state that both Appaya and Panditarāja were contemporary for some years. But Appayadīksita was older than

Panditarāja. Both of them belonged to the south and they knew personally each other. But Panditarāja was a bitter critic of Appaya and in his criticism, he introduced an element of personal abuse. He applied uncivil and sarcastic epithets like dravida-siromani, dravidapungaba, valivarda, lambakarna etc. in case of Appaya which were something uncommon in the literary history. In his Citramimāmsākhandana he threw an open challenge to enter into polemics with him if somebody wanted to defend the case of Appaya:

\[
\text{sūksām bibhāvya mayāka samudiritanamappadāksitakrtābiha dusananam/}
\text{nirmtasaro yadi samuddharanam vidādhyattasya-}
\text{hamnjjvalamatesaranām bahāmi/}
\]

(quoted by P. Chaturvedi in his RG, Introduction, p.0)

Sāhityachāryya ShrīMādhūrīkāśastrī is of opinion that Panditarāja had no personal enmity against Appayadikṣita. Jagannātha was a very proud scholar; he refuted the views of Appaya and this does not mean that the former had any personal grudge against the latter. That was a difference of opinion. He also attacked vehemently Ruyyaka, Vimarśinīkāra, Sovākaramitra and Mammaṭa. But against this view, it may be said that the spirals of attack on Appaya were so much out of decorum and almost abusive that their sting betrays something personal rather than literary. The verbal pungency of Jagannātha's pen leaves little room to assume anything innocently humorous in this matter.

22. Rasagangādhara, p.159.
There are many traditions about Jagannātha Panditarāja. These traditions have been rejected by the scholars as baseless for want of historical evidences. As Mm. P. V. Kane puts it:

'The story about Jagannātha's liaison with a Yavana damsel called Lavangi (in such verses as yavānabanīte etc) appears to be a myth spread by those who were offended by the biting tongue (rather pen) of Jagannātha. Similarly, the story that old Appaya met Jagannātha at Benaras and addressed to him the verse (which occurs in Rasag, p.421 kim niśankaṁ ... etc) is without any warrant as Appaya never left south India in his old age (Gode Vol. II, p.460ff).'

But Purusottam Chaturvedi quotes another verse from 'Nalacarita' of Balakavi, the grandson of Appayadīksita, who was also a contemporary of Jagannātha. The verse throws a light on the life of Appayadīksita and Panditarāja. It runs as follows:

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yastum biswajitāyatā paridhairaṁ sarba budhā nirghta
bat to jātramukhāḥ, sa panditjagannathopī niśāpītā
pūrbe'rdhe, carame dwisaptitamasya'bdasya sadviswajit,
dyāyī jaśca cidambare svamabhajjyotih satāṁ
pasyatāṁ/
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(Hindi RG, Introduction, p. p)

which means that at the age of 72, Appaya with a view to performing the Biswajit, travelled the whole world and scholars like Bhottoji-dīksita and others including Jagannātha too were defeated. At the end of this, he attained self-light (atmajyoti) in the presence of learned scholars after performing the Biswajit sacrifice. From this

it is clear that Appaya, Bhattoji and Jagannātha were contempor­­­­ary, though, of course, Panditarāja was younger in age. He was excommunicated by the orthodox scholars of the time on account of his touch with the Moghul court. Most probably at the last part of his life, Panditaraja became very repentant for his past actions and Appaya met him at Benaras in his old age just before his death.

Jagannātha's family life

Like other Sanskrit poets, Jagannātha Pāṇḍitarāja has not left much about his personal life. So we know very little about his private life. However, a few facts can be gathered from his writings. While mentioning his father as 'mahāguru' he speaks highly of scholarship and training at whose glances even stones shed nectar.24 Lakṣmī was the name of his mother. Jagannatha earned proficiency in all branches of learning under the able guidance of his father. He was a versatile genius and in no time he earned mastery over all sāstras. The prolific nature of his works supports this view. Probably, he was the pet son of his father and he enjoyed much indulgence from him. Perhaps due to this over-indulgence he became very whimsical in his later life. But he was not disobedient to his parents. His love and respect for them were in tact though he was proud youth. It was through the grace of his father that he became a great scholar inspite of his conceited nature which betrays at times the absence of due humility. He passed

the greater parts of his life at the royal courts of many rulers. In his Bhāminīvilāsa, he says that he had passed his youth in Moghul court. He was the poet-laureate of Shahjahan and was bestowed upon him liberal gifts and royal honour. He lived a life full of rich material comforts and was happy with himself being in full enjoyment of all pleasures, physical, emotional and intellectual that a gifted man of his type might cherish having honoured position in the Royal Court.

Like Rajasekhara, Panditaraja had his partner in life who was a beautiful lady. He lost her prematurely and at her sad demise, his heart was broken. This lady was not only his beloved wife but also was the source of poetic inspiration in his life. The poet bewails her death in the following verse:

\[
\text{dhṛtvā padaskhalanabhītibasāt karam me yā rudhabatyasi silāsakalam bibāhe sa māṁ bīhāya kathamadya vilasini dyā-marohasiti hṛdayam satadāḥ prayāti.}
\]

(Bhāminīvilāsa, 3/5)

The death of his beloved wife created a vacuum in life and nothing could fill it up. He lost all charms in life; it became dull and intolerable. The love that has been depicted in Korunāvilāsa can be well compared with the ideal conjugal love depicted by Bhābabhūti in the Uttaracarita.26

Shri Madhusudan Sastri conjectures from a verse from the Bhāminīvilāsa (4/33) that Jagannātha bemoans the death of his son. The same verse has been cited by the writer to illustrate Pratyanika alamkāra in the Rasagangādhara. Pandit Purusottam Chaturvedi considers that the verse under question does not support the premature death of Jagannātha's son. This verse, according to the scholar, misleads the people. Had it been written at the loss of his son, the verse would have been included in the Korunavilāsa. Therefore for want of any definite proof we cannot be sure of the authenticity of this fact. But the last days of Jagannātha appear to be not very happy. The scholars of Benaras cut off their relation with him on account of his association with the Moghul court; he was made virtually an outcaste. At the death of Shahjahan, his patron king, he lost the royal patronage also. So suddenly from an affluent condition he was brought to a reversal of fortune. All these events brought out a tremendous change in his thoughts. He was awakened as if from stupor and began to look at the life in a different perspective. He took religion as the ultimate and unfailing solace to life and became a devotee of Hari. So he writes in Santavilāsa -

\[\text{Verse 7}\]

Jagannātha’s religion

To understand the personal religion of Jagannātha Panditaraṇaja, we should know the background of the religious life in India in his times. India is by nature receptive; she assimilates whatever is good and is always alert to know the nature of truth without caring for the barrier of caste, creed and religion. As a result of this, in the medieval period there was a fusion of Hindu and Muslim cultures and both the communities came closer to each other by the policy of give and take. The Hindus learnt from the Muslims whatever was good in their religion and the Muslims tried to know the innermost truth as revealed in the Hindu scriptures. As a result of the mixture of two religions, many Hindus became the disciples of Muslim saints and many Muslims also accepted Hindu saints as gurus. Their aim was to know the truth through the path of sādhanā. They did not care for external superstition and religious fanaticism. The Sufi saints made tremendous contribution in bringing unity between the two communities. Though it is controversial to be definite and definitive about whether Sufism borrowed from Hindu Vedanta philosophy or vice versa, still there is undeniably much common between the two philosophies. In some of its doctrinal features, sufism has a close resemblance to Vedanta philosophy. It preaches the idea of one godhead and universal brotherhood among the people.

Thus the sixteenth century witnessed a great religious upheaval in India. This goes down as Bhakti movement in the history of religion in India. During this period a galaxy of saints were born and they preached the cult of Bhakti among the people. According
to this new cult, loving devotion to God is the summum bonum of life and in devotion there is no distinction of caste or community. As a result of their preaching, both the Hindus and the Muslims came closer to each other and learnt to live in perfect harmony with an understanding of the essential unity of Hinduism and Islam. Among the preachers of the medieval age, Kabir and Nanak were also the supporters of this radical harmony. In Bengal, Chaitanya and other vaisnava preachers popularised the cult of Bhakti through kirtan. Dadu and Sundardas insisted in the oneness of the ultimate reality and taught people to look at the humanity as their brethren. Therefore, the Bhakti movement brought a tremendous change in the religious outlook of the Indian people and instead of hatred and distrust, Hindus and Muslims learnt to respect each other's religion and lived in a spirit of amity and harmony.

Born in an age of religious toleration, Jagannātha was carried away by the spirit of the age. He was a Vaisnava in his faith and accepted Visnu as his īstadevata who is the Highest God and One God. This shows the 'abheda' nature of the poet. Though Visnu or Kṛṣṇa was his īstadevata he had equal regards for other gods of Hindu pantheon. Obviously, he was the upholder of Bhāgavat-dharma and that particular verse of the Bhāgavata where Lord says that in whatever form one worships Him, He is pleased with him guided his mind. So to such a devotee like him, Kṛṣṇa, Śiva or Paramātman would be equal. Thus he exalted all of them in this verse of his Santavilāsa:

sevāyam yadi sābhīlasamasāri re! lak śhīm i pāt i s e v y at ā m
cintāyam sasprham yadi tā dā cakrayudhahāntyatām
That is why Panditarāja had fervent devotion to Viṣnu, but he was not a bigoted Vaisnava. His respects for other gods and goddesses like the Mother Ganges, Lakṣmi, Yamunā and the Sun can be well supported by the various 'laharīs' written by him. He was, therefore, like Kālidāsa, a Vedāntin and believer of one Divinity. He did not care for royal fortune, nor did he fear the god of death, but he wished that his mind would not deviate from the path of Dharma. In fact, the poet gives the impression that the religion that he professed was one that came to him by heritage and he observed it as an established code of life which generally atheist does not. In the midst of suffering and misery of life he did not lose faith in God. Rather even amidst plenty and riches when the mundane allurements deviated him every moment, he sought the help of Hari to remove the pangs of his life (vide, Bhaminīvilāsa, 4/7). From his writing it becomes clear that Panditarāja had predilection for Hari. He believed in the principle the Bhāgavata where the Lord declares Himself as the Highest God. But he was not sectarian in view. He was a product of his time as well as of Vedantic and liberal Bhakti traditions which found an embodiment in his personality. So whatever V. R. Ramachandra Diksitar spoke about Kālidāsa can be fittingly applied to our Panditarāja also - 'Whatever may be the predilection of the poet for a particular deity,

29. Santavilāsa, verse 27.
the fact remains that he was a Vedantim to the core. As a Vedantim he makes no difference between this god and the other ..... He was quite tolerant in his outlook and looked upon humanity as a whole as the children of God.  

B. Social background of his literature

Contemporary society of Jagannātha

The age of Jagannātha was most prolific in literary production in India. During this period a galaxy of scholars were born and they contributed much for the literary development. These scholars upheld the cause of Sanskrit and in every sphere, whether in literature or philosophy or theology or in grammar, they enriched the stock of Sanskrit learning by their valuable contributions. The most notable contribution of his age was in the field of Navyanyāya. The dialectical method of Navyanyāya was the advantageously applied in that controversial age. In the field of literature also this age made immense contributions. Though the literature produced in this age was not first-rate like that of Kālidāsa or of Bhababhūti, still considering the environment, it has considerable importance and aesthetic value. To appreciate Jagannātha, we must be aquainted with the literary celebrities of his age. Because the contemporary literary activity directly or indirectly exercises influence upon the mind of a writer and literature reflects contemporary society and culture. Literary works are not

30. Vide his article 'Religion of Kalidas' in the Dr C. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume,
mere products of imagination or the whims of somebody. They are
the embodiment of human feelings and thoughts derived through the
progressive march of history. It is to be admitted that Jagannā-
tha's contemporary scholars did not exercise any direct influence
upon him. But the social environments urged him to write. As Dr
S. N. Das Gupta puts it - 'It is indeed true that an individual
poet, though he may belong to his age, may have his own peculia-
rity of temperament and interest by which he may somewhat trans-
cend the age. But such transcendence cannot altogether change
the character of his mind which is a product of his society.' (His-
tory of Sanskrit Literature, Introduction, p.lvii).

From the ancient times, Benaras has been the centre of
learning. During the time of our Panditarāja also, it was the cen-
tre of Indian intellectual life. His father Perubhatta and Pandi-
tarāja himself had their education at Benaras. His father's tea-
er in Mīmāmsā Philosophy was Khaṇḍadeva who was also a author of
many works on Pūrvamīmāmsā.

Like Benaras, Navadvīp in West Bengal was also the centre of
intellectual life, and students from all sides came here to study
Navyanyāya under able teachers. Jagadish-tarkālaṅkār, a great Nai-
yāyika hailed from Bengal. He is the author of the monumental work,
Tarkāmrta. According to V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, 34 a manuscript of
his Tarkāmrta is dated 1631 and from this, it is concluded that

34. Jagannātha Pandita, p.2.
he belonged to the seventeenth century. Another famous scholar belonging to the Sanskrit school of Navadvip was Gadādharabhaṭṭa who hailed from East Bengal. He was author of many independent treatises and he wrote many commentaries among which Tatvachintāmanī was very famous. A manuscript of the Vyūpattivāda gives 1625 as its date; so he flourished in the former half of the seventeenth century. One of foremost Naiyāyikas of Jagannātha's time was Viswanātha Nyāyāpancānanā, the author of the Bhāṣāpariccheda, a popular work in Nyāya philosophy. Though he was a Bengalee, his centre of activity was Benaras. He also wrote his own commentary Siddhāntamuktāvalī on Bhāṣāpariccheda.

During the time of Jagannātha Pāṇḍitarāja many scholars on Pāṇiniān system of grammar flourished and they made solid contribution in the field of grammar. The most celebrated of those scholars was Bhoṭṭojoji Dīksita. He was the disciple of Sesakṛṣṇa in grammar and of Appayadīksita in Vedanta. Besides his Advaitatattvākaustava, he also wrote Śabdakaustuva, Siddhāntakaumudi and Prāṇḍhamonorāmā, a critical commentary on the Siddhāntakaumudi. Here he criticised his own guru Sesā-Shrīkṛṣṇa, the author of Prakriyāprakāśa, thereby rousing the wrath of Pāṇḍitarāja who took revenge upon him in his Monoramākuca-mardana. Another celebrity during that period in the field of grammar was Jnānendrā Saraswati. He wrote his commentary Tattabodhini on Siddhāntakauṃudī. He was a close contemporary of Bhattojoji Dīksita.

32. Jagannātha Pāṇḍita, P 3
33. Dr K. Dvibedi, Sanskrita vyākarana, p.42.
Nilakantha VajapeyI, another disciple of Jnānendra Saraswati, wrote the commentary Sukhabodhinī on the Siddhāntakaumudi.

From south also came a host of scholars who wrote on various subjects. Among those scholars mention may be made of Nilakantha Diksita who was both a poet and a critic. He lived in the middle of the 16th century near Canjeevaram and was the grandson of the brother of Appaya Diksita. The great scholars who were contemporary of Nilakantha Diksita were Rāja-Cudamani Diksita, Bhaskra Diksita, Kumāra-tātāchāryya, the author of Pārijāta nāṭaka, Cokkanatha Makhim and the great poet Venkatesvara, the author the mahā-kāvyā, Rāmcandrododaya.

Another junior contemporary of Jagannātha from the south was Rāmbhādra Diksita, the author of the drama Jānaki-parinaya. He was the son-in-law and disciple of Cokkanātha Makhim. In his Sṛngāti-lakabhāna, he says that he was the disciple of Nilakantha Diksita also. A senior contemporary of Panditarāja from Malabar in the south was Nārāyana Bhattapāda who had more than a dozen of books to his credit. He became so famous for his poetic genius that he secured high position at the court of king Deva-nārāyana. He was both a poet and a scholar in one like our Panditarāja. Dr Das Gupta mentions seventeen works of this scholar. Of these, the Nārāyaniya and Mānameyodaya are very famous.

34. Dr Das Gupta, History of Sanskrit Literature, p.464
35. ibid., p.765
36. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Jagannātha Pandita, p.3.
37. History of Sanskrit Literature, p.774.
Kavi Chandra Saraswatī, like Panditarāja, was another court poet of Shahjahan. He was personally known to him. He is said to have successfully led a deputation of Brahman scholars to Shahjahan to press him to withdraw Hindu pilgrim tax at Benaras and Prayag. He was a celebrated writer of his age and wrote on a variety of subjects. Among his works, Monoramākhandana, Kāśikā-sāṃgraha and Kabindrakalpadruma were very famous. The last mentioned work was composed in praise of Shahjahan who was the patron of the poet. He also wrote a Hindi commentary on the Yogavāśistha for the use of Darashikoh. In recognition of his scholarship Shahjahan conferred upon him too the title ‘Sarvavidyānīdāna’.

Another ālamkārīka of considerable importance contemporaneous to Jagannātha was Prabhākara Bhatta. He was the author of the Rasa-Pradīpa which was composed by the author at the age of nineteen in 1583. Prabhākara belonged to the last quarter of the sixteenth and first quarter of the seventeenth century. His Laghu-Saptasati-kā-Śtotra, an epitome of the Devi-māhātmya was written in 1629 A.D.

From Bengal came Madhusudan Saraswati, the great Advaita Vedāntin. His monumental work Advaitasiddhi bespeaks of his scholastic erudition and nyāya dialectical acumen and it earned him a name in the history of Advaita-vedānta. Besides the Advaitasiddhi, he is also an author of many commentaries and lyrics. While lyrics show his merit as a poet, his Bhaktirasāyana establishes him both as

38. Dr De, Sanskrit Poetics, p.290.
39. ibid., p.290.
a bhakta and a critic, V. A. Ramaswami assigns him seventeenth century as his date as a younger contemporary of Jagannātha.  
But in my humble opinion he appears to be a senior contemporary of our poet. MM. Gopinath Kaviraj assumes that Madhusudan belonged to sixteenth century and this he fixes on the basis of date transcription of ms of his Siddhāntabindu.  

Religious condition

In India, synthesis has played the most important role in her religion and culture. Whatever is good and beautiful, is assimilated in Indian culture by the cementing force of synthesis and that is why there is unity in diversity in India and Indian culture. It is for this spirit that our culture has been enshrined without being wiped away by the alien relationship. Our culture has stood always for synthesis and so from time immemorial, India being tolerant for foreign art and culture, has accommodated them in the same fold.

In early medieval age, India had seen an outburst in the field of religion and society. A new form of religion was founded based on the cult of Bhakti, and several saints preached this new faith among the masses of India. One noteworthy feature of this movement was it was based on the cult of Bhakti and so emphasis was laid on the unity of Godhead and equality of man. During this period many sects of the Vaisnavas came into existence. Among them

Shrisampradāya of Rāmānuja, the followers of Chaitanya, the Pustimargis and the followers of Rāmānand exercised highest influence.\textsuperscript{42}

Shrisampradāya of Rāmānuja was the upholder of Vishistā-dvaita Philosophy. Among the people of this sect the worship of Lakshmi and Nārāyana was prescribed. Many temples of this sect were built and the upholders of this sect preached their faith both in the south and the north. The Chaitanya-sampradāya formed the second largest group of Vaisnavas which laid emphasis on emotional devotion. Rūp Goswami, Jīva Goswāmi and Sanātana Goswāmi and other Gaudia Vaisnavas propagated the doctrine of this sect. One interesting point in this connection is that these preachers were also scholars and they composed many books in Sanskrit and Bengali.

Pustimargis are another important school of Bhakti cult. The followers of Vallavachārya belonged to this school of Vaisnavism. According to this sect worship of the idol of Lord Kṛṣṇa is the Supreme duty of the devotees. The great Hindi poet Surdas and Mirābāi of Rajasthan were the followers of Pustimarga. Devotional songs of Mirabai and Surdas acted as a balm on the bruised hearts of the people and hundreds and thousands of people forgot the day's troubles singing of the Lord at evening assemblies where songs of Mira and Surdas were recited. This brought them spiritual solace and inculcated a spirit of surrender to the will and grace of God.\textsuperscript{43}

\textsuperscript{42} A. B. Pandey, Later Medieval India, p.482.
\textsuperscript{43} ibid., p.483.
The followers of Rāmānanda formed another sect of Vaisnavas. They are known as Nirguniyas. Of the twelve disciples of Rāmānanda, Kāvīr is most widely known. The saints of this school composed devotional hymns in the language of the common people giving stress in the cult of Bhakti. Dadu, Malukdas, Sundaradas—all these saints of the sixteenth century belonged to this group.

The Muslim counterparts of Hindu saints were the sufis. They were highly impressed by the doctrine of Bhakti and Vedanta. Some of these saints adopted Hindu mode of life and took even Hindu names. Akbar's conciliatory policy towards the Hindus was another instance of his religious toleration. He gave full freedom of religious worship and propagation of views to all creeds and communities and abolished all religious restrictions and taxes which interfered with it. Akbar's grandson, Darashikoh devoted himself to the noble task of reconciling Hinduism and Islam. He was a learned scholar. He read the Hindu scriptures and translated many Sanskrit books into Persian. He translated the Rāmāyana, the Gita and the Yogavasistha. The Upanisads were translated by him under the title Sirr-Ul-Akbar or the 'great secret'. He states in the preface to the work that he became a disciple while at Kasmir, of a great Sufi called Mutta Shah and studied a lot about sufism. His labour was in vain; sufism could not give him the peace of mind he was earnestly seeking for. This, however, he obtained from the study of the Vedas and Upanisads. 44

44. Dr J. B. Chaudhury, Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning, p.89.
Bishop John A. Subham informs us that Dara also wrote another book entitled Majmail Bahrayan meaning 'meeting of two seas'. This was written by him to show that there is essential unity between Hindu and Muslim mysticism. It is for this book that Dara had to lose his life at the hand of his jealous brother, Aurangazeb who declared him a heretic.

Hindu-Muslim relation

From the standpoint of national integration, the sixteenth century is very important. The noteworthy feature of this development was the emergent of a spirit of fellow-feeling and mutual respect and goodwill between the Hindus and the Muslims in place of hatred and distrust. The saints of the sixteenth century viz., Kabir, Nānak, Dadu Chaitanya and others did a lot to bridge the gulf between these two leading communities. They not only took disciples from both the communities but also tried to establish perfect harmony by showing unity of all religions. In one of his dohas, Kabir wrote

\[
dui jagadish kahan se aye, kahu kaune bhramayee
Alla Ram, Karima-keso, harihazrat nam dharaya
\]

'O friend who has deluded you in the belief that there are two Lords of the Universe? There is only a difference in name, Allah or Rama, Karim or Keshava, Hari or Hazrat (i.e., Lord) are only different names of the same Divinity.'

45. Sufism - its saints and shrines, p.137.
46. A. B. Pandey, Later Medieval India, p.449.
The sufi saints also tried to preach the oneness of the Ultimate Reality. Some of them were highly impressed with Bhakti cult and Hindu Vedanta Philosophy. Even they took Hindu names and lived like Hindu devotees. 'The great saints advocating sufism such as Nizammuddin Aulia, Fariduddin Shakarganja, Karim Shah, Inyat Shah Kalandar were either initiated to religious life by Hindu saints or themselves initiated a large number of Hindus to religious life; as a consequence, Hinduism or Mohammadanism as a creed mattered little to them.' In fact, many Muslim devotees took Hindu saints as their gurus and vice versa, and as a result of this many saints were worshipped by both the communities. As a matter of fact, both the creeds, namely, Hinduism and Mohammadanism got intermixed and Indian culture became a joint culture of these two creeds. Akbar's religious policy created proper atmosphere of mutual love and toleration among the Hindus and the Muslims. He founded a new religion Din-i-Ilahi where tenets from Hinduism and Mohammadanism were incorporated. He allowed Hindus full religious freedom and as such, Hindus, Jains, Parsees etc. were satisfied with his policy. Thus they became the servants and supporters of his empire. Jahangir and Shahjahan also had not any inborn hatred towards Hindus. Both the emperors allowed their subjects to live in peace and harmony and had soft corner for Hinduism. Like Akbar, Shahjahan appointed Hindus in high post and observed Hindu festivals. He bestowed liberal patronage on Hindu pundits in his court and abolished pilgrim tax, after being pressed by a deputation of Hindu scholars. But in the reign of Aurangzeb, this cosmopolitan condition underwent a total change.

47. Dr J. B. Chaudhury, Muslim Patronage to Sanskritic Learning, Introduction, p.viii.
Muslim patronage and Sanskrit literature

The Moghul rule under Akbar not only established peace and sense of security in the mind of the Hindus, but also gave chances for an unprecedented growth of Sanskrit learning. Although Sanskrit books continued to be written, Sanskrit literature did not develop virtually after 1200 A.D. Due to depressing political and cultural conditions arisen out of the establishment of the sultanate of Delhi, Hindu mind could not make any noteworthy contribution in the field of Sanskrit. But from the sixteenth century circumstances changed and proper atmosphere for artistic creation in the field of literature and art was created. So suddenly there was an outburst of Sanskrit learning and side by side with Sanskrit, Hindi poetry also made a sudden development. This was possible only because many Moghul emperors were great patrons of learning and fine arts, and they patronised Sanskrit culture and learning. Their courts were adorned with Sanskrit scholars and poets of high magnitude. They got all sorts of patronage from the royal court. The emperors not only extended monetary help to the Sanskrit scholars but also took personal interest in translating Sanskrit works into Persian or Arabic. This had a healthy influence in the mind of the Hindu nobles and chiefs and they also followed the same set of examples. Consequently, Sanskrit flourished and Muslim scholars also were drawn to the fountain head of Sanskrit culture. Among the Muslim rulers, Akbar was a great lover of Hindu culture. During his reign, there was a great revival of ancient learning. His liberal religious policy coupled with his zeal for the propagation of education and culture, urged him to give encouragement for writing books on various subjects. Inspired by noble ideals, he established
a Translation Department and got many books in Sanskrit rendered into Persian so that Hindus and Muslims came to know each other's religion and culture. So many Hindu classics were translated under his patronage. The Mahābhārata was translated into Persian by the joint effort of Naqib Khan, Abdul Qadir Badayuni and Shaikh Sultan under the title Razm-name. The same batches of scholars also translated the Rāmāyaṇa into Persian. Other outstanding works translated under the patronage of the emperor were the Lilāvatī, Harivamsa and Panchatantra. Himself a lover of poetry, Akbar listened to the poems of his court poets. He also joined in the discussions on theology with the learned scholars. Jahangir and Shahjahan also extended liberal help to the Sanskrit scholars. The latter was the patron of our Panditārāja who was his poet-laureate. Another reputed Sanskrit scholar of his time Kavindra Acharya Saraswati also was patronised by him. Darashikoh's love for Sanskrit and Hindu Philosophy is well known in history. He translated many books from Sanskrit into Persian. The Ramayana, the Gita, the Upanisads and the Yogavasisthas were translated by him. According to Dr J. B. Choudhury Dara got much encouragement in his Sanskrit studies from his maternal uncle - Shastā Khan who was a learned scholar in Sanskrit. The same scholar informs us that Shayasta Khan used to compose verses in Sanskrit and six of these sloaks are quoted in Chaturbhuj's Rasa kalpadruma which is not yet published.

49. Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning, p. 90.
Dara was not only Sanskrit scholar, he was also a great patron of scholars. He patronised a large number of Brahmin scholars of Benaras. In the preface\textsuperscript{50} of his monumental work, Sir-rul-Akbar, he says that by reading the Vedas and the Upanisad, he got solace which he could not get by studying sufism under the sufi saints. Another book written by him which is worth-mentioning is Majma-ul-Bahrain. It is a valuable work on technical terms of Hindu panthesim and their equivalents in Sufism.

Thus during the Moghul rule, great impetus was given to Sanskritic learning. During this period many books from Sanskrit were translated into Persian and original books were also written under royal patronage. The scholars getting patronage from the royal court made tremendous contribution in Sanskrit poetry, philosophy, theology and astronomy. But during the days of Aurangzeb, the policy changed and there was a great set-back to Sanskritic studies.

\textbf{Hindi literature}

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries form the Classical age of Hindi Literature. A large number of celebrated writers flourished during this period. The peace and tranquility of the glorious reign of Akbar and freedom of thought coupled with his patronage to art and literature, stimulated a great outburst of literary activity and his reign became the golden age of Hindi poetry. Many great writers of the country belonged to this period and

\textsuperscript{50} Dr J. B. Chaudhury, \textit{Muslim Patronage to Sanskrit Learning}, p.89.
they produced remarkable poetical works which became monumental in the history of Hindi literature. Tulsi Das and Sur Das were the brightest stars in the firmament of the literary history of India. They were contemporaries of Akbar and Tulsi's period of literary activity almost coincided with Akbar's reign. Tulsi Das is credited with twenty-five works. Among these his Rāmcharitmānas is the most famous. The most important Hindi poet of the period was Sur Das. He was attahed to Akbar's court and was popularly known as the 'blind bard of Agra'. According to some critics, he was even greater than Tulsi Das. Besides them, many other Hindi poets adorned Akbar's court. Some Muslim poets also took to write in Hindi and enriched Hindi by writing poetry in Hindi. Akbar's patronage in this respect is well known. He is known to have written a few detached verses in Hindi under the name Akbar Ray. They were probably written by Tan Sen, the court musician of Akbar in the Emperor's name. Among the Muslim poets, who interpreted Hindu culture successfully, Akbar Rahim Khan Khana deserves to be named first. He is the author of several hundred dohās and these are very famous for their literary merit. He was equally a great scholar in Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Another Muslim poet in Hindi was Ras Khan who was a devotee of Kṛṣṇa. He wrote a large number of poems depicting the life of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Other court poets of Akbar worth the name are Birbal, Raja Man Singh, Bhagavan Das, Narahari, etc.

The most important feature of this age was that the literary activity was not confined to royal court alone. It was a movement of the mass people and a large number of Hindi poets flourished in the countryside. They were equally patronised by the landlords and rich public. Poetry, to touch the hearts of the millions, must be written in a language intelligible to them. So the writers of the age took Hindi as the medium of their writing and thus literary movement became a mass movement which made the age as the golden period of Hindi poetry.

This golden period of Hindi poetry continued in the reign of Jahangir and Shahjahan also. They patronised poets and scholars. The literature that was created in their reigns under their patronage reflected the taste of these rulers.

Jahangir and Shahjahan had no territorial ambition. They surrendered themselves to the full pleasures of life. So they loved and patronised that poetry where there was the reflection of their lives. So 'bardic poetry of the borderland chivalry and religious poetry of fervent devotion which had been for six hundred years the source of inspiration to Hindi poets, were suddenly given a good bye.'

There are other factors which are responsible for the change of ideal in Hindi literature. The note of fervent prayer and surrender found in the poetry of Sur, Tulsi and Mirabai was no longer there. It gave way only to lust and sensuous thoughts. They

had exhausted all the possibilities of poetic art in the devotional form and later poets had nothing new to say about the ideal and philosophy of life. So they turned their attention to the mere forms of poetry. They devoted themselves to the technical and rhetorical side of poetry. So their poetry showed their power of versification and ornamentation on such themes which were actually the subject matter of alamkārasāstra.

Among the poets of this school, Keshava stands predominant. Besides his 'Rasika Priyā' and 'Kavi Priyā', he has also written other works. His Jehangir Jashandrika, Ratan Bawani, Ram Chandrika and Vijnāna Gītā are famous in the history of Hindi literature. While the former two books are on the line of Bardic poetry, the other two belong to Bhakti cult.

Another poet who holds supreme place in Hindi literature was Bihāri. His pioneer work Satsai was written at the encouragement of king Jai Sing of Rajasthan. The poet himself says in the concluding couplet of his Satsai -

*hukuma pai Jaisahi kan, Hari-radhika-prasada*  
Kari Bihari Satsai bhan atnek sabad.  
(Satsai, ed. by Ganapati Gupta)

'At the command of his Highness Jai Sah, Bihari composed this interesting Satsai through the grace of Radha-Krisna.'

Bihāri is the only Hindi poet who has earned reputation by writing only 726 couplets. The rhetorical style gets its climax at the hand of Bihari. K. B. Jindal has compared Bihari with Pope

Thus under the stress of contemporary circumstances, Hindi literature made a tremendous development in Jagannātha's times. Many prominent Hindi poets flourished in the age and they made notable contributions to Hindi literature. Their poetic impulses were flowing in various channels, and poetry, both in devotional and secular aspects, showed a marked development in varied forms. The devotional literature of the time exerted great influence upon the common people. It inculcated religious spirit in them. The secular poetry was based on the doctrines of Sanskrit poetics and was marked by sensuousness. Poets generally showed their tendency in using short verses of lyrical structure and their poetry emphasized rhetorical graces. One interesting feature of these poets is that they were scholars in Sanskrit poetics and so we find in their works a remarkable blending of poetry with scholarship. Contemporary Hindi poetry exerted a great influence upon the mind of Jagannātha and inspired him to write Sanskrit poetry on the same line. But the devotional poetry of the time could not exercise such influence upon him as the secular literature did. In his devotionalism, Pānditarāja followed Sankarāchārya, Mayīka and other Sanskrit stotra writers instead of Hindi devotional poets. But the secular Hindi poetry of the time inspired him to write and there is definite proof that the Satsai of Bihāri was a source of inspiration to him for his erotic poetry. Bihāri was a very famous Hindi poet. His dohās were very popular among the elites and common people both during Jagannātha's time for their amazing pointedness and rare excellences. Jagannātha Pānditarāja read those dohās and they left an
indelible mark on his mind. He was urged to write on the same model and thus some of his verses bear striking parallel with the dohas of Bihari. As illustration, we cannot but cite some instances here:

kaisore bayasi kramena tanutāmāyāti tanvāstanā
vāgāmīnyakhilasvare ratipatau tatkālamasyāijnaya
āsyē pūrnāsaśāṅkata nayanayostādātmyamanbhoruhā!
kiṃcāśidamṛtasya bheda bīgamah sācismite tātvikah/
(Bhāminīvilāsa, 2.64)

This verse bears a close parallel to the dohas of Bihāri -

chutī na sisuta ki jālak, jālakyi yovamu anga/
dipati deha duhun mili dipati taphata-raṅga//
Satsai, p.20.

apane anga ke jani kai jovana-mrpati pravin/
stana, mana, nainā, nitamba ki badi ijapa kin//
Satsai, p.6.

The following verse of Jagannātha is quite similar with the dohas of Bihāri -

nilāncalena samvrtamanamanabhāti hariṇanayanāyāh
pratibimbita eva yamunāgbhīranīrantarenāṅkāḥ
(Bhāminīvilāsa, 2.128)

Thus we get sometimes striking points of resemblance between the poetry of Jagannātha and that of Bihāri. Both of them were contemporaries and Panditarāja lived for few days in the Rajasthan court too where Bihāri was residing. So a direct or indirect contact is not an impossibility. Still we feel that a softer and more convincing view would be that both Jagannātha and
Bihäri are the products of the same tradition and the same 'millieu' and both exist to each other less as borrower and more as the co-sharer of the same literary tradition of the past coming on one hand from the romantic vernacular tradition of Prakrit and Apabhramśa and on the other hand Alämkāra school of the classical Sanskrit. There is a direct and continuous link among Ḥāla, Gobardhanāchāryya, Hemchandra and Bihāri not only from the viewpoint of form but also of content. Bihāri's dohās which possess some of the formalities of Bhakti school by way of reference to Rādha and Kṛṣṇa, do not betray any conspicuous influence of Ujjval Nilamani and its Nayikābhedā. Bihāri borrows this matter, that is, mannerism and Nayikābhedā from the secular traditions of Daśārupāka and Sāhitya Darpana and above all Kāmasūtra of Vatsāyana. The whole of Riti-poetry of Hindi is an engrafting of the romantic folk traditions of Prakrit and Apabhramśa on secular dramaturgical and Alämkāra poetry of Sanskrit. All these points are equally true for Jagannātha too. He too is a product of the same tradition which is a combined product of four factors - (1) Prakrit and Sanskrit erotic poetry, (2) Stotra literature, (3) Kāmasūtra and (4) Alämkāra Sahitya of Sanskrit. That is why there is a lot which he appears to share with Bihāri or any other contemporary Hindi poet.

In this concern, we are to take note of not only the common literary tradition coming from the past, but also of the 'millieu' of the age which both the poets were taking breath in. It was the age of courtly atmosphere, 'the art and artifice', the formalism and luxury of mannerism and style. Not only in Sanskrit poetry of Jagannātha or Hindi poetry of Keshavadāsa, Jaswant Singh
and Bihāri, but in the other branches of fine arts too, this emphasis on 'artifice' formalism and mannerism can be clearly noted. Moghul and Rajput painting betrays a lavish liking for ornamentation and colours. Thus the period of seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was permeated with the mālliē of artifice and mannerism which is summed up in the word 'Riti' in the context of Hindi literature. No writer could escape the sharing of these forces operating in the high-brow society of the age. Bihāri and Jagannātha both lived in the thick of that society. So it is natural that they would feel similar thoughts, emotion or impulses arising out of the common literary fashions of their age. So it would be appropriate to conclude that what has happened in the context of the poetry of Bihāri and Jagannātha is not the result of the influence of one upon another, but rather of a common sharing of the same past 'tradition' and same contemporary 'mālliēa'.