CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION AND LITERATURE.

I Education:

Though it is not possible to get details about education for the common people during the first half of the 7th century A.D., contemporary evidences indicate that there were some primary schools as well as renowned centres of higher education. A definite course was followed. Various subjects secular, religious and philosophical were taught at the higher level. Girls received training in the fine arts. Professional education was not neglected. While all Brāhmans were educated, among Kshatriyas and Vaishyas, only princes and members of the merchant class appear to have received education. Generally, ordinary women and śudras did not get any education. The study of grammar was considered to be the foundation of all education.

According to Dharmashāstras the ceremony called Vidyārambhā (commencement of learning the alphabet) was celebrated usually at the age of five. Bāna and I-Tsung mention the commencement of learning alphabet at the age of six. A primer of alphabets was prescribed for teaching the first lessons in alphabets. Hsiun Tsang calls it a
test book of 12 chapters, but does not name it. I-Tsang calls it 'Siddha', the first chapter of which was titled as Siddham. Originally it suggested an auspicious invocation meaning "May good fortune be attained." Later on the name was given to the alphabetical book. According to I-Tsang there were 49 letters and vowels in that book. All those alphabets were included in 300 verses and 18 chapters. Hsuen Tsang gives the number of letters and vowels as 47. Such schools are usually described as lipisales (script-schools) and their teachers as dvarakācharyas (teachers of little children). This education was completed at the age of 7 or 8 years and then the student was introduced to Šabda-Vidyā (grammar) and other subjects.

After the Siddham the Indian child, according to Hsuen Tsang, was introduced to the five sciences at the age of 7. (i) Grammar (Šabda-Vidyā) which taught and explained words. (ii) Shilpaśāṭhāna Vidyā which included astrology and trained the students in the principles of mechanical arts. (iii) The medicinal treatise (Chikitsāvidyā) (iv) The Hetuvidyā (the science of reasoning) by which the orthodox and heterodox views were ascertained and true and false notions were defined and (v) The science of spiritual discipline
(Adhyatmavidya) which was related to the five vehicles and the subtle doctrine of Karma. 16

I-Tseng supports and supplements

Hsuan Tsang. He observes that

b. Study of Grammar:

the student was introduced to grammar in his 8th year. Four books namely

(1) Sūtra (ii) Dhatupathas (iii) Khilatraya and (iv) Vritti were taught. Sūtra meant the grammar lesson of Astādhyāyī composed by Panini. This sutra lesson containing 3983 sutras and 1000 verses was learnt by the student in 8 months. 16 Then he was taught Panini’s Dhatupatha containing about 2,000 sutras and 1000 verses. 17 At the age of ten the student was introduced to Khilatraya. This included the study of three khilas viz. (i) Astadhatu (ii) Banda and (iii) Unādi. The student had to study seven cases, ten tenses and eighteen prepositions affixed to verbs. 18 There is a difference of opinion among the scholars about the exact meaning of Banda and Unādi. It seems as if both the Vidyās convey the same idea and differ only in details. The science dealt with the derivation of verbal nouns. Lastly the student was taught vritti (Kasikāvritti composed by Jayāditya 19 and Vāman). It was an exposition of Panini sutra and contained 18,000 verses. 20

I-Tseng states that after the completion of Kasikāvritti, the students who
c. Study of Literature:
did not go in for higher studies of
grammar, generally studied prose and poetry. This does not seem to be quite correct. It is not possible that the student, after knowing the art of reading and writing did not study any other subject except grammar for ten to twelve years. References of Bana and even of I-Tsang indicate that the student became familiar with popular books like Panchatantra, Brihatkathã, Puranas, Mahabharat and Ramayana. Poems of Kalidasa, Bharavi, Bhartrihari and Bhatti must have certainly formed an important part of the curriculum. The dramas of Kalidasa, Uricchakatika of Sudraka, BuDrrãrahasa of Visakhadatta and Priyadarshika, Patnâvali and Nâgananda of Harsha could not have been neglected by the students. The prose books like Vâsavadattã of Subandhu, Daśakumaracharita and Avanti-Sundarikathã of Dandin and Harsha carita and Kadambari of Bana might also have been studied by students. Treatises on prosody like Kavyalankara of Bhûman, Kavyâdarsan of Dandin and Bhattacharya of Bhatti must have claimed the attention of students.

According to Hiuen Tsang and I-Tsang, a Buddhist student after completing the study of Kâsikâ-vrîti, was taught good prose and poetry books such as Jâtakamâla of Aryasûra and Suhallâkha of Nagarjuna. He also learnt logic and Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa, a book of Buddhist
philosophy named Sarvāstivāda. The student got himself acquainted with Nyāyaśāstra (Nyāyadvāra) of Nāgārjuna and with Hindu Nyāyadarsāna. He might have also studied the familiar Buddhist books such as Āvadānasāataka, Divyadāna, Mahāvastu, Dinavasāsa, Mahāvamsa, Latitavistara, and works of Aśvaghoṣa. The Jain student might have been taught Vimalārī's rakrit samcarīya and Sanghadāsasāri's Vāsudevahindi which are Jain poetical versions of the careers of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa respectively.

According to Hiuen Tsang the Brāhmanas

(1) Literture: (1) Āyur-veda (longevity)
(11) The Yajur-veda (sacrifice)
(iii) Sāmaveda (Peace of regulation)

(iv) The Atharva-veda (Secret mysteries). Curiously enough the pilgrim does not mention the study of Rīg-veda. Āyurveda is only a supplement to the Atharveda and denotes rather the science of medicine than any particular treatise. But it was reckoned as the fifth Veda. This does not mean that Rīgveda was not studied. Bāha returned as a śātaka (graduate) at the age of fourteen from the residence of his preceptor. He continued his studies and became proficient in Vedas and the six systems of philosophy. In Bṛhitkūṭa, the native place of Bāha, there were many Brāhmans of Vatsāyana gotra whose residences were almost like
gurukulas. They taught Vedas, grammar, logic, Mimansa and other Darshanas to the Brahmascharins residing with them. Bana's cousin brothers GanapatI, Achipati, Tarapati and Shyamal were renowned scholars of several branches of grammar like Vritti (possibly Kasikavritti) Vartika (sentence) and Nyasa (possibly of Jinendrabuddhi). They were also well versed in Nyayasatra, Puranas, Kshemavarta and history.

The Buddhist students and monks did not study Vedas, but different books on three pitakas viz. (i) Vinaya (ii) Sutra and (iii) Abhidharma. The Jain students studied Agama literature which was collected in 45 to 64 books at Mathura in the 5th century A.D. The student who chose higher studies in (ii) Grammar: studied the Churni, the Mahabhasya of Patanjali and Bhartruharishatra composed by Bhartruhari, the famous Buddhist grammarian and philosopher who died about 651-52 A.D. Such a student joined some famous centre of learning to achieve proficiency in grammar or in the subject of his choice. The student who completed the grammar course was called Bahuhruta, the renowned scholar.

Apart from these general branches of education there were special subjects for certain classes and castes. Students were trained in sciences like astrology, sculpture, archery, the art of using weapons...
Jewellery, music, drawing, dancing, medicine, magic and other technical arts. The example of Candrapida indicates that most of the 64 arts mentioned by Vatsyayana must have been taught during this age also. Candrapida was trained in grammar, dharmashāstra, politics, the use of all types of weapons, instrumental music, dancing, painting, veterinary sciences, astrology, examination of different types of jewels, the art of writing books, carpentry, ivory, medicine, mechanical arts, science of the erotic, magic, physical exercise and different languages. In spite of the poetic exaggeration in this description, it certainly suggests, some of the prevailing branches of education. It also hints at the training of a prince. According to Bāna the prince was trained to become an ideal ruler. The description may be based on the training received by Rājavana and Harśavarman.

Astrology with its two main branches, viz.,

1. Astrology: higher mathematics including astronomy and (ii) science of zodiac seems to have been one of the popular branches of knowledge. It was considered as a vedanga. I-Tsang also mentions these branches in the science of sculpture. Other popular studies included Aryasiddhánta of Āryabhaṭa, Brhatasamhitā and Panchasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira. The Maitraka inscriptions suggest that in the age of Harsha calendars
were prepared and interpreted according to Brahma\text{\textae}\text{\textsign}dha\text{\textae}ta, composed by Brahmagupta in 628 A.D.\textsuperscript{41} Sculpture was one of the important subjects taught at the famous educational centres at Nalanda\textsuperscript{42} and Valabhi\textsuperscript{43}. B\text{\textae}na also mentions it as an important science.\textsuperscript{44}

Ayurveda seems to have been quite popular. H\text{\textae}uen Tsang remarks that Brahmanas studied Ayurveda along with the other Vedas.\textsuperscript{45} C\text{\textae}ndr\text{\textae}p\text{\textae}da was proficient in medical science also.\textsuperscript{46} B\text{\textae}na\textsuperscript{46b} mentions eight divisions of Ayurveda and this is confirmed by I-Tsang.\textsuperscript{46c} According to the latter, there were originally eight books on these eight divisions. But later a physician edited them into a single book and all the physicians of India followed that book.\textsuperscript{47} Takakasu assumes that the physician referred to is S\textup{\textae}shr\text{\textae}ta.\textsuperscript{48} But the reference is more applicable to V\textup{\textae}g\textup{\textae}bh\textup{\textae}t\text{\textae}ta, who wrote a book called 'A\textup{\textae}t\textup{\textae}ng\textup{\textae}shrid\textup{\textae}ya' (\textsuperscript{48a}). He came after S\textup{\textae}shr\text{\textae}ta and C\textup{\textae}r\text{\textae}ka.

V\textup{\textae}g\textup{\textae}bh\textup{\textae}t\textup{\textae}ta deals at length with both surgery and medicine described separately by S\textup{\textae}shr\text{\textae}ta and C\textup{\textae}r\text{\textae}ka. Moreover he refers to the works of D\textup{\textae}hanv\text{\textae}ntari, N\text{\textae}mi, K\text{\textae}\textup{\textae}y\text{\textae}ma and others.\textsuperscript{49} Certainly the teaching of Ayurveda during the age under review must have included the study of S\textup{\textae}shr\text{\textae}tr\text{\textae}sa\text{\textae}b\text{\textae}t\text{\textae}a, C\textup{\textae}r\text{\textae}ka-sa\text{\textae}b\text{\textae}t\text{\textae}a, V\textup{\textae}g\textup{\textae}bh\textup{\textae}t\textup{\textae}ta's A\textup{\textae}t\textup{\textae}ng\textup{\textae}shrid\textup{\textae}ya and probably other similar works.

According to H\text{\textae}uen Tsang Ayurveda (\textsuperscript{49a}\textsuperscript{49c}) was taught at Nalanda,\textsuperscript{50} and possibly at Valabhi too.\textsuperscript{51}
Altekar refers to veterinary science also. According to Kautilya and aany the Vaisyas obtained knowledge about a variety of articles of their dealing, commercial geography, different land routes, currencies and exchange, folk-lores and some useful languages. We have no means to ascertain which of these subjects were taught to Vaisyas during the time of Harsha. But the fact that merchants played a prominent part in district administration and that internal and international trade was well developed are sufficient proof that many of these subjects were taught to the Vaisyas, specially to the merchant class, we have no information from contemporary source about how artisans were trained in their various craft. But Bana's reference to skilled artisans helps us to infer that apprenticeship system existed.

B. Note-worthy educational centres of the age

According to Huen Tsang Sakrāditya (possibly Kumāragupta I 414-455 A.D.) laid the foundation of Nalanda’s greatness by founding and endowing a monastery there. Some of the subsequent Gupta rulers namely Buddhagupta, Tathāgupta, Bālāditya (second) and Vajra, and a king of middle India (probably Harsha) added further monasteries to the establishment. Harsha
100 ft. high. Round this huge establishment there was built a lofty enclosing wall with one gate. The description of I-Tsang shows that several new buildings were added to the establishment and it was at the zenith of its fame when he visited it.

Free boarding and lodging arrangement was provided in the monasteries at Nalanda. These monasteries had double seated and single seated rooms. Each occupant of a room had a stone cot, and was also provided with niches for lamp, books etc. According to I-Tsang the university had received 200 villages as endowment. Hiuen Tsang mentions 100 villages. More villages may have been received in the interval between the two visitors. The biographer of Hiuen Tsang states that in the second quarter of the 7th century, the number of students at Nalanda was 10,000. This figure seems to be exaggerated. Hiuen Tsang simply observes that there were some thousand brethren residing at the centre. I-Tsang who stayed there for ten years mentions that more than 3000 monks resided there. The number might have been about 5000.

Hiuen Tsang observes that the brethren at Nalanda were famous for great learning and ability. They observed strict discipline and scrupulously followed the rules of the order. They spent their time in learning and discussing. Foreign students came there to
solve their doubts. Nālandā teachers and students commanded great respect. The teachers like Dharmapāla, Chandrapāla, Sunamati, Sīramati, Prabhāmitra, Jinamitra and Śīlabhadra were celebrated both for their scholarship and piety.

There was a great rush of students from all parts of India and abroad to get admission at Nālandā. During the short interval of thirty years between the visits of Huen Tsang and I-Tseng, several students from China, Korea, Tibet and Tokara came to Nālandā and stayed there for studying and copying manuscripts. The standard of admission was naturally high, only those who were deeply versed in old and modern learning were admitted and of these only two or three succeeded.

The university maintained a splendid library for its hundreds of teachers and thousands of students. Chinese scholars spent several months there to get true copies of sacred books and other works of Buddhism. I-Tseng got copied at Nālandā 400 sanskrit works amounting to 5,000,000 verses. The library section was known as Dharma-mānja (Dharmamandana). It was located in three buildings appropriately called Ratnasagara, Ratnodadi and Satva-rājaka.

In the total strength of about 5000,
Strength of classes

A thousand could explain thirty collections of sutras. It may mean that there were about a thousand competent teachers to look after the education of about 4000 students. Thus on an average no teacher was in charge of about more than 4 students. Personal attention might have been given to each student and as a result the teaching must have been very efficient. The teachers were experts in the art of teaching and expounding. I-Tsing has high praise for them.

Though the establishment belonged to the Mahāyāna school, the curriculum at Nalanda was comprehensive and catholic. The works of the rival school, the Hinayāna and other religious and secular subjects were also taught. Works of famous Mahāyāna authors like Nāgārjuna, Vasubandhu, Asanga and Dharmakirti were studied. But the course was not sectarian in any way. Subjects like grammar, logic and literature were common to both the Hindus and the Buddhists. The Buddhist and Hindu religion and philosophy had become so interconnected that it was not possible to study the one without the other whether for the ambitious controversialist or for the sincere lover of truth. Vedas, Vedānta and Sāmkhya philosophy were taught at the university along with miscellaneous works. The term 'miscellaneous' may have included subjects like
like dharmasastras, purāṇas, astronomy, astrology etc.
The science of medicine (cīkītśāśāstra) was also taught.

Valabhī, situated near modern Vala in Saurashtra, became famous as a seat of learning during 7th century A.D. I-Tsing states that its fame rivalled with that of Nālandā. Hsuan Tsang informs us that there were about a hundred Buddhist monasteries at Valabhī in 640 A.D. and they accommodated 6000 monk students. The famous Buddhist scholars Āthirāmati and Ānīmati were the leading personalities of the university in the middle of the 7th century. Though mainly a Hinayāna establishment, it was not exclusively a Buddhist or monastic centre of learning. According to a story of Kathāsaritasāgar, a brahman Vasudatta living in the Gangetic plain had sent his son Vishnudatta aged 16 years to Valabhī for higher education.

Graduates of Valabhī used to be appointed to posts in executive fields.

(ii) Study of several subjects: This would not have been possible if secular subjects like law, economics and literature had not been taught at the university. It was famous for its catholicity and intellectual freedom. Scholars from all parts of India used to assemble at Valabhī and stay there for at least two to three years. They discussed possible and impossible doctrines and achieved wisdom. The names of the
famous scholars of the university were written in white on its lofty gates, as was done at Nālandā. Vedas, Darśanas and astrology must have been studied here as well as the eighteen Nikāyas of Buddhism but Sammatiya Nikāya (the main book of Hinayana) was probably the most important subject in the curriculum. Epigraphic evidences suggest that the Śaṅkara rulers from the period of Āhravasena I (about 520-550 A.D.) up to the age of Śilāditya III (approximately 660-685 A.D.) were great patrons of learning. They gave direct grants to the university for its maintenance and for strengthening its library. Valabhi declined in prestige afterwards and ceased to be the famous seat of learning when it was destroyed by Arab invaders about 788 A.D.

There was another centre comparable to Nālandā and Valabhi in the freedom of its academic life and the variety and catholicity of its studies. This was the hermitage of sage Divākaramitra, described by Bāna. Students professing widely different faiths and practices assembled in the depths of the Vindhyān forest for the common purpose of search for truth - the ideal of every university. There were the different sects of Buddhists, Jains such as the Ārhatas (Sīkṣāśāstra and the Svetapatas (Svētambara),

other centres of learning
(1) Hermitage of the sage Divākaramitra:

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whit on its l->fty gatus, as was done at NaLanda,
various classes of Brahmical ascetics, atheists like the Lokayatikas (gāravakas), philosophers like the Kapilas, Kanadas, Aupaniśadás and Naiyāyikas; experts in law (Dharmasāstra), linguistics (śabdika) and the paurāṇikas experts in rituals and even metallurgists. From casual references in the 'life' and 'Travels of Yuan chswang' we learn that there were several monasteries in different parts of India where Hsuan Tsang learnt various sciences. At (i) Jayendra monastery in Kāshmir the pilgrim learnt grammar, logic and other śāstras from its old principal abbot. (ii) At the famous monastery of Nagarghara (Jālandhara), Hsuan Tsang stayed for four months and studied Sarvastivāda. (iii) In the monastery of Srughna country he learnt śāstras at the hands of Jayagupta. Srughna was the famous centre of Hinayāṇists who were so learned that monks from other countries came to them to clear their doubts. (iv) At Matipura monastery he studied the different principles of Sarvāstvāda from Mitrasena. (v) In Bhadra monastery of Kānyakubja, the preceptor Viryasena taught him the three pitakas for three months. (vi) Hiranya (vii) Pudravardhana and (viii) Karnasuvrana had also monasteries which were famous centres of learning.
According to Bana, Vijayini was a great centre of learning. There the people knew foreign languages and were expert in different sciences and arts. Benaras had maintained its reputation as a seat of learning for both Buddhist and Hindu sastras.

Gurukulas (residential schools maintained by renowned preceptors) are casually mentioned by Bana. At Pritikuta, the native place of Bana, the houses of the Vatsyayana Brahmins were just like residential schools where grammar, logic and different sastras were taught. Many Agrahara villages must have been centres of learning. Moving mendicants were like living institutions disseminating education far and wide.

Hsün T'ang remarks that Indian teachers were past masters in the art of explanation and exposition. They explained the general meaning to their disciples. They roused them to activity and cleverly helped them to progress. They instructed the inert and sharpened the dull. At the age of thirty having completed their education, they started earning their livelihood. Their first duty was to repay the kindness of their teacher. Learning in ancient India was mainly oral. Recitation and recapitulation were thus the most important aspect of education. I-Tseng also refers to ways of memorisation. Discussions
features of higher studies. The students of various schools of orthodox and heterodox systems of religion and philosophy studying under Divākaśītra, discussed their respective systems with their opponents, raised doubts and took decisions in consultation with their guru. I-Tsang says, "I have been always very glad that I had an opportunity of acquiring knowledge from my Indian gurus personally." 100

We are indebted to Hien Tsang for information about the state of literacy in Northern India during the age of Harṣa. He observes that the people of Gāndhāra, Kāśmir, Chinchapitik, 103 Kathura, Srugha, 105 Whikhetra, 106 Kanyakubja, 107 Prayaga, Benaras, Ujjain, etc. loved learning and literature. This does not mean that all the common people in those parts were educated. Beṣa also describes the people of Ujjain 111 and of Thaneswara Tract 112 as trained in several branches of knowledge.

II LITERATURE:

Compared with the Gupta age the age of Harṣa was not so rich in literature. But some branches of literature such as prose, grammar, and philosophy reached their zenith at this time. There is much difference of
opinion among the scholars about the date of Dandin. It is fixed between the 6th and 7th centuries A.D.\textsuperscript{113} Probably he flourished in the last quarter of the 6th century A.D., or in the first quarter of the 7th century A.D.\textsuperscript{114} In that case Dandin is almost contemporary to Subandhu, while Bana came a little later just in the time of Harsha. The theory that Dandin was a resident of Kāñcchi and he flourished under the Pallava kings and that the hero Ratnavarman or Rājavarman referred to by him was a Pallava prince, is mere guess work.\textsuperscript{115} Thus Dandin the author of 'Daskumara carita', 'Kavyadarsa' and 'Avantisundarikatha' may be placed during the 6th or the 7th century A.D. Along with 'Bṛhatkathā' of Gunadhyā (now lost), Bana praised 'Vāsavadattā' composed by Subandhu.\textsuperscript{116} Subandhu also mentions the Naiyāyakas namely Dyotkara and Dharmakirti. Dharmakirti was a pupil of Dharmapāla, the principal abbot of Nālandā before Silabhadra who was the principal when Huien Tsang visited it (637 A.D.) Dharmakirti was also a contemporary of the king Srang-sun-genpo (609-688 A.D.) of Tibet.\textsuperscript{117} Thus the belief of Keith that Subandhu was an older contemporary of Bana, seems to be correct.\textsuperscript{118}

The age of Harsha witnessed three great romance writers (i)

1. Great Romances: ('Achatyavika' and 'Kathā')
- Dandin
- Subandhu
- Bana. The romance is either based on historical facts or on imaginary
accounts. Amara names the former as Ākhyayīkā and the latter as Kathā. Bāna endorses this view.

"Harshacarita" of Bāna is an Ākhyayīkā, while his "Kādebārī", "Vāsavadatta" of Subandhu and "Dasakumāracarita" of Dandin are Kathās. Moreover the authorship of a stātra named 'Candi-sataka' and a play called Parvatiparinaya are ascribed to Bāna, but scholars do not agree about it. Similarly it is said that of the three parts of the Dasakumāracarita, the Parvapithikā (chapters I to V introduction) and the Uttarpithikā (conclusion chapter XIV) are not written by Dandin. Dandin wrote the remaining eight chapters (VI to XIII). But this does not go against the Dasakumāracarita proper being the work of Dandin.

Harsha-carita of Bāna, a fine specimen of Ākhyayīkā, depicts the life of his patron Śrī Harsha of Kanauj. The events are narrated up to the recovery of his sister Rājyasrī in the Vindhya forest and then the narrative breaks off. We cannot agree with the statement of Dr. Keith that Harsha-carita has very little historical importance.

Cowell and Thomas correctly state that Bāna is not a mere rhetorician. His descriptions abound with masterly touches reflecting contemporary life. Not even the Jātakas introduce us more directly into the very heart of the period or give us a more life-like picture. The court, the camp, the quiet villages, which then, as now,
contained the great mass of the population and the still more quiet monasteries and retreats, whether of Brāhmans or Buddhists, are all painted with singular power; and his narrative illustrates and supplements the Chinese traveller’s account at every turn. 'Kādaṃbāri' depicts the princely as well as the ascetic life of the age. It also reflects contemporary social and religious conditions. Bana did not complete his Kādaṃbāri. It was completed by his son Bhusanabhatta or Bhattapulina.

Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi and Kāgha were the famous poets of the age. The Kirātarjuniḥ is 'Kīratarjuniya' of Bhāravi, 'the Bhattikīya' or 'the Rävaṇavadha' of Bhaṭṭi and the 'Siśupālavadha' of Kāgha are considered as "śakāvyas (epics)." Bhāravi is mentioned in the Aiḥole Inscription (A.D. 634) along with Kālidāsa, and is also cited in the Kāśikā-vṛtti (650 A.D.). He is possibly not much earlier than Bāna who, however, ignores him. It is possible that Bhāravi was not sufficiently famous for Bāna’s reference. It also shows that he did not flourish much earlier than Bāna. His poem in eighteen cantos, describing the Mahābhārata story of the combat between Arjuna and God Siva in the garb of Kirāṭa, displays vigour of thought, language and expression. It also shows Bhāravi’s attempts at the artificialities of the citrakīya and several mannerisms.
Slightly later is 'Bhattikāvya' or 'the Rāvanavadha' composed by Bhatti under the patronage probably of king Dhārasena III (about 630-638 A.D.) of Valabhi. It is composed in 22 cantos containing 1624 verses. Bhatti has illustrated in it the rules of grammar as given by Pāṇini in his Astadhyayi and has also devoted one full canto to Alankāras. The fact that several critical books have been written on this Bhattikāvya, is a proof of its popularity. The treatise named 'Jayamangala', composed by Jayamangala, is the oldest criticism on Bhattikāvya.  

Magha, who flourished in the latter half of the seventh century A.D., competes with Bhāravi in every respect in his mahakāvya namely 'Sisupalavadha'. Magha refers to Kāśīkavṛtti and the Nyasa there on and also knew the Nāgānand of Harṣa. His skill is well praised in the saying, "In Magha exist all the three qualities Upamā, Artha-gaurva and Pada-lālitya." He is also very rich in vocabulary. The device of artificiality ushered in by Bhāravi has been carried a step further by Magha.

Among other poets of lesser repute may be mentioned Kumāradāsa, the author of 'Jānakiḥarana'. He possibly flourished in the
latter half of the seventh century A.D., he narrates in 20 cantos the story of the abduction of Sita by Rāvana. Bāna mentions the vernacular poet Isana, the descriptive poet Venibharata and the Prākrit poet Vāyuvikara as among the literary celebrities of the age. But unfortunately we know nothing about them except their names. Satakas (poetical works consisting of one hundred stanzas) were composed during this age. The three satakas of Bhārtrihari viz. Sringāra (love), Niti (wise conduct) and Vairāgya (indifference to worldly enjoyment) are good specimens of saintly advice on general conduct of life. The author Bhārtrihari is identified with the author of the Vākyapāṭhyā who is said to have died in 650 A.D. Mayūra, possibly brother-in-law or father-in-law of Bāna, composed Mayūra-Sataka also called the Surya-sataka. Slightly later comes Amara who has given us The Amara-Sataka in which various aspects of love both erotic and philosophical have been discussed.

These three dramas are generally attributed to Shri Harṣa of Kanauj. Doubts have, however, been raised regarding Harṣa's authorship of these plays. A passage in Kāśyapa's 'Kāvyasimansa' ascribes these dramas to Dhāvaka Bhāsa who sold Priyadarsīka and other dramas for money to Sri Harṣa Vikrata. Harṣa later on
appointed Dhāvaka as his court poet. Perhaps this passage was the source of Mamata's statement in his Kāvyaprakāsa in which he speaks of Harṣa's (Harṣa of Kanauj) gift of gold to Bāna (or Dhāvaka in some MSS). The commentators connect this gift with the Ratnavali which was accepted as Harṣa's composition by his own court poet. Thus Hall and Buhler attributed all the three plays to Bāna, while Pischel ascribed them to Dhāvaka, a contemporary of Sri Harṣa. Cowell attributed Ratnavali to Bāna, Nāgānanda to Dhāvaka and Priyadarsīka to some unknown author. Some critics argue that these plays were written by another ruler named Harṣa but not by Sri Harṣa of Kanauj. History knows of five other persons who bore the name of Harṣa but all of them flourished after the 8th century A.D. therefore they cannot be the authors of the dramas which were popular by the end of the seventh century A.D.

There are some internal and external evidences which signify that these three dramas are written by Sri Harṣa of Kanauj. They all have a common verse in the prologue ascribing their authorship to Harṣa who is also described as an accomplished poet. There are indirect references to Harṣa and to his ideals and achievements. The prologue definitely mentions the assembly of kings from different quarters
attending upon Sri Harshadeva, the king of kings. This is quite applicable to Harsha who exercised sovereignty over several feudal kings. The incident in Ratnavali about the princess driven to seek shelter in the Vindhyan forest under its chief Vindhyaketu seems to be directly inspired by the incident of Harsha's own sister Rājyasrī seeking the protection of the forest chief Sarasvaketu and his son Vyaghraketu. Descriptions of battles fought and ideals achieved in both the Ratnavali and the Priyadarsika echo the hopes and aspirations of king Harsha. The Nāgananda, evidently later than the other two works, must have been composed in the later part of his reign when he turned a Buddhist. His ideal is embodied in Jimutavahana, not a gallant but a moral hero who sacrificed his life for the sake of others.

There are some external evidences connecting these dramas with Harsha. Bana distinctly says that Harsha was a great poet. I-Tsung states that Silapitva versified the story of Jimutavahana, (who sacrificed himself for a Naga) which was enacted on the stage. It clearly refers to the performance of the play Nāgananda composed by Harsha. The famous poet Jayadeva, the author of Gitagovinda, (who cannot be placed later than the 11th century A.D.) mentions Harsha along with Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bana and Mayura as authors of equal rank. Damodargupta, minister of Jīrāna who ruled Kāshmīr at
the end of the 8th century A.D., in his work Kuttinimata ascribes 'Ratnāvali' to a royal author. As Keith points out there is absolute similarity of style and tone in the three dramas proving a common authorship. There is close similarity of form and subject matter between 'Ratnāvali' and 'Priyadarśika'. Each is a natika in four acts, they have also a common hero, Udayana and a common theme one of his numerous amours.147

The dramas Ratnāvali and Priyadarśika are obviously modelled on Malavikāgnimitra of Kalidāsa. Naturally Harṣa is indebted to Kalidāsa. As already shown, it is quite probable that, as in the case of Malavikāgnimitra, there is a historical basis for Harṣa's dramas. They mostly illustrate the court life of the time. Both of them are in the conventional style. From the purely artistic point of view neither Ratnāvali nor Priyadarśika has anything distinct to entitle its royal author to a high place in Sanskrit literature. But Harṣa's claim as a play writer is based on the Nāgānanda which is an entirely different type of work. It does not follow any model. It is a drama in five acts depicting the story of Jīmutavahana, who, after conventionally falling in love with the princess Malayāvali, becomes a moral hero by sacrificing his life for the sake of a helpless Nāga. Here Harṣa has succeeded in sustaining the interest of the reader up to the end. However, none of the dramas possess either the unique charm of Kalidāsa or the dignity of Bhavabhūti.150

Besides these three dramas two short Sanskrit
Two poems composed by Harsha: poems of Buddhistic content are attributed to Harsha. The poem 'the Suprabhatastotra, a hymn in praise of the Buddha mentions the name of Harsha in its colophon. The other entitled Astamaharsiralatyasaistotra, a hymn to the eight great Buddhist shrines, is preserved in the Chinese. It is attributed by Hiuen Tsang to an Indian king designated Siläditya who is inferred to be king Harsha. Possibly the Madhuban and Banshhera inscriptions were also composed by Harsha.

The Pallava king Mahendravarman, a contemporary of Harsha, composed a farce named *Mattavilasa*. It refers to the prevailing social and religious conditions of the time and ridicules the immoral practices of the Kāpālikas and Buddhist sages. It attacks the principles of Buddhism. The matter is very simple but the style is very impressive.

The age of Harsha seems to have produced some valuable philosophical works. Most of the commentaries on the six systems of Hindu philosophy appear to have been composed during this period. Some distinguished Hindu, Buddhist and Jain authors also flourished during this period. Uddyotakara who flourished in the 7th century A.D. wrote his *Nāyāyasavittika* and defended Vatsyayana, the earliest expositor of the Nāyāyasūtra (4th century A.D.)
against the attacks of Dīnāga, the celebrated Buddhist
logician. On the other hand Dharmakīrti composed his
Nyāyabindu to defend Dīnāga against Uddyotakara, who was
perhaps his senior contemporary. 154 The Jain author Divakara,
better known as Siddhasena Divakara composed his Nyāyavatāra
in thirty two stanzas by the end of the 7th century A.D. 155

After Sabara the Bhāsyakaras on the Mīmāṃsa

sutra of Jaimini divided themselves

into two main schools one headed by

Prabhākara and another championed

by Kumarila, generally known as bhātta. 156 Prabhākara
composed his Brihati, a commentary on Sabara's Bhāṣya about
600 A.D., while Kumarila wrote his commentary on Sabarabhāṣya
probably by the end of the 7th century A.D. 157

According to Hiuen Tsang Silabhadra the princi

Abbot of Nālandā university at the
time of his visit to the institution,
was the author of several works
explaining the principles of Mahāyāna, specially Yogacaradar-
sana. 158 Hiuen Tsang himself was the author of
Yogacaradarsana. 159 He also translated several philosophical
works into Chinese. 160 Gunamati and Sthiramati the prominent
abbots at Valabhi composed their works in that monastery. 161
Moreover Hiuen Tsang mentions several Buddhist teachers
who stayed in various monasteries all over India, and
composed their works expounding the principles of existing
Buddhist schools.

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