

Krishnakanta Handiqui (1898-1982), a renowned scholar in the field of Indological research, devoted all his life-time to the study of different languages, literatures and cultures. The range of his studies, the depth of his thinking and the varieties of his interest made him a rare example of erudition and scholarship. He translated *Nalsadhacarita*, the Sanskrit epic of Sri-harsa, into English for the first time and immediately after its publication it became known to the scholarly world. Such eminent scholars as Professor M. Winternitz, Professor A. B. Keith, Mahamahopadhyay Gopinath Kaviraj, described it as a remarkable study of the Indian speculative thought. In his second monumental work, *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, he examined in detail the facts brought forward by Somadeva in the original and confronted them with the realities of the sects and the theories. Like the original, the work has become a mine of information—literary, historical, social, religious and archaeological. His initial translation of Pravar-sena's *Setubandha* was described as a 'great gift' to the society by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee.

In this monograph, Abdus Sattar has dwelt on the life and career of Dr Handiqui and assessed his contribution towards Indological studies.

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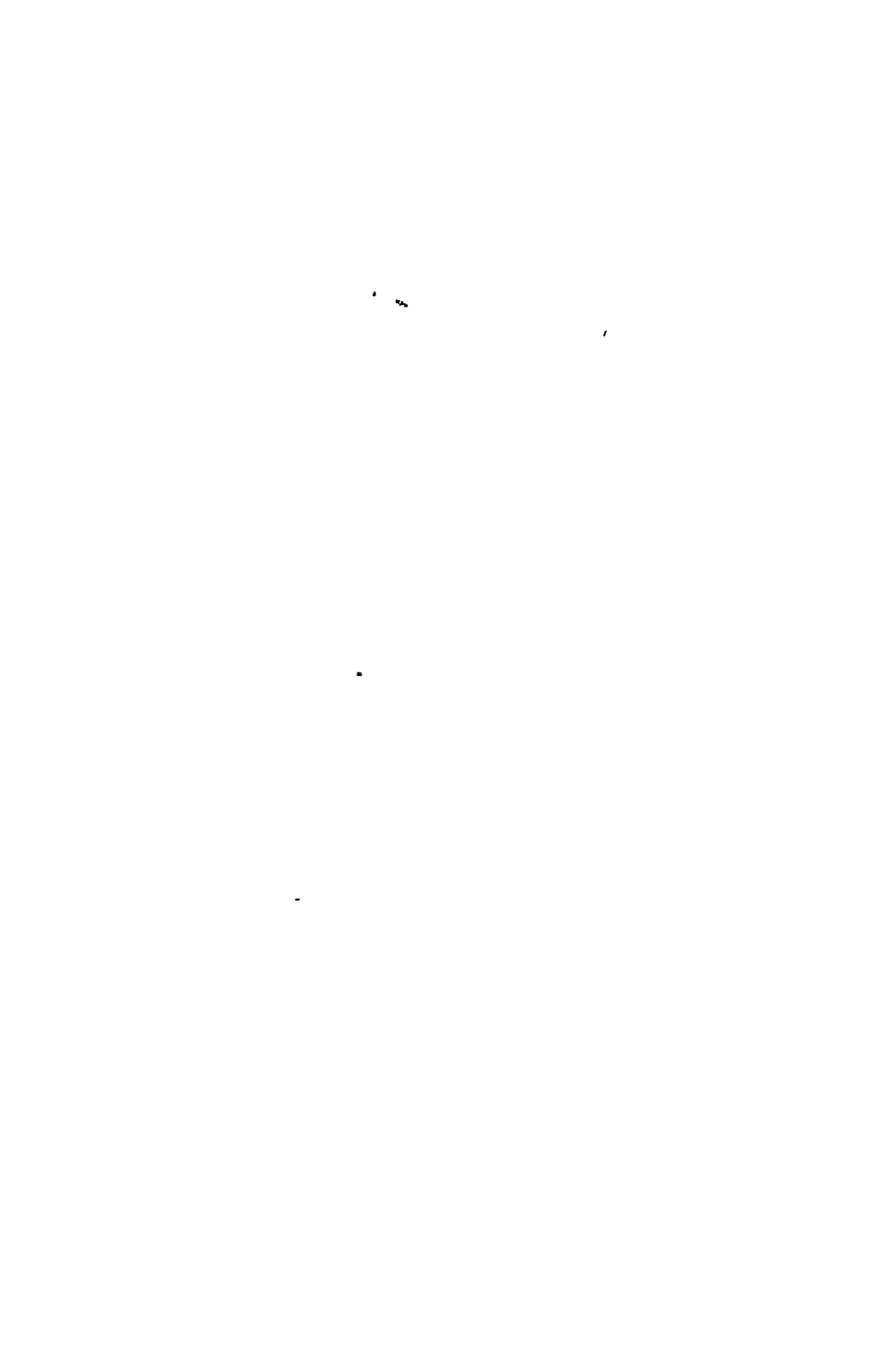
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KRISHNAKANTA HANDIQUI

The sculpture reproduced on the end paper depicts a scene where three soothsayers are interpreting to King Suddhodhana the dream of Queen Maya, mother of Lord Buddha. Below them is seated a scribe recording the interpretation. This is perhaps the earliest available pictorial record of the art of writing in India.

From Nagarjunakonda, 2nd century A.D.

Courtesy : National Museum, New Delhi.

MAKERS OF INDIAN LITERATURE
KRISHNAKANTA HANDIQUI

ABDUS SATTAR

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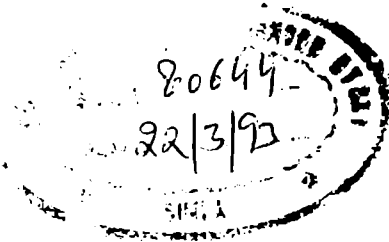
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Life and Career

EARLY LIFE

Krishnakanta Handiqui was a renowned scholar in the field of indological research. The range of his studies, the depth of his thinking and the varieties of his interest in that field made him a rare example of Indian scholarship.

Born at Jorhat in the State of Assam on 20 July 1898, Krishnakanta Handiqui came of a traditionally respected Ahom family of Jhanji, which is a distance of 30 km from Jorhat. His father, Radhakanta Handiqui, was a high-ranking Government officer under British rule in Assam. He was known throughout Assam for his munificence and was popularly known as 'Danavir'. It is on account of his generosity that Assam got the Chandrakanta Handiqui Bhavan at Jorhat, which is the Central office of the Asam Sahitya-Sabha and the nerve centre of Assamese literature and culture, Narayani Handiqui Historical Institute at Gauhati, R. K. Handiqui Girls' College at Gauhati. Handiqui's contribution towards the publication of the Assamese dictionary *Chandrakanta Abhidhan* is also worth mentioning. He wrote the historical drama *Mulagabharu* in Assamese. Radhakanta, who was also a poet, died in 1952.

Krishnakanta's mother, Narayani Handiqui, was an ideal lady and house-wife. She took much care for the education of her children. Krishnakanta was the eldest son of R. K. Handiqui and Narayani Handiqui. Narayani Handiqui died in 1938.

Krishnakanta Handiqui passed his early life at Jorhat and had his schooling there. He passed the Matriculation Examination

from the Jorhat Government High School in the year 1913 and the Intermediate Examination in Arts from Cotton College, Gauhati, in 1915. Thereafter he went to Calcutta to persecute his higher studies and passed the B. A. Examination with Honours in Sanskrit (Vedic Group) securing the first position in the University from the Calcutta Sanskrit College. He passed M. A. in Sanskrit in 1919 from the Calcutta University.

He went to England for further studies in 1920 and took the Honours Degree in Modern History with distinction from Oxford University in 1923. After his studies at Oxford he spent four years in Germany and France, studying different European languages, ancient and modern. In France he engaged eminent teachers for different languages and literatures, and in Germany he carried out his studies in the State Library of Germany at Berlin. Dr Barre, a French scholar and a specialist in the French Symbolist Movement, was his teacher and guide in the field of French literature. While in France, he learnt the Italian and the Russian language under the guidance of Professor Signor Mazzi and Professor Madam Wolzoff respectively. Krishnakanta learnt twelve languages in addition to his mother tongue, Assamese. He knew English, German, French, Russian, Italian, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit.

Professor E. Lipson, Reader in Economic History at Oxford University, who was Handiqui's tutor, had a high opinion of his pupil, "From what I saw of Mr Handiqui's work for the History Schools I formed the impression that he was a very thorough and sound worker. His essays were based on extensive reading and showed solid knowledge in point of learning." Handiqui regarded this testimonial from his teacher as the crowning point of his Oxford career, more valuable to him than even the degree conferred by the University. While in Europe he moved untiringly from one library to the other, particularly in England, Germany and France, to study various types of books on language, literature, culture, art and history in different languages.

After finishing his studies in Paris, he went to Berlin in the middle of 1925. He did not engage any teacher there. He studied there in the State Library (Staats Bibliothek) of Germany. He found that its reference section was very rich, compared to those of other libraries in Europe. He studied these for a period of one year and a half and concentrated particularly on Greek Philology and histories of different European literatures. While in Berlin, he purchased most of the volumes on these topics. He had the privilege to stock the books in the shop wherefrom he purchased them. This particular shop was also his lending library. On the Kant Strasse he stayed in a hotel near the shop. He was a regular visitor to the State Library of Berlin also. When Handiqui was in Paris, he met many Indian students in various parties organised by Indian students and had the opportunity to discuss many topics of importance. He met there Shahid Suhrawardy of Bengal and Miss Slade later famous as Miraben. He also met an Indian revolutionary, Md. Barkatullah, in Berlin and developed friendship with him. Moreover, he met Jamil Peshwary, a great spy in Berlin. He put Barkatullah in trouble, but was very helpful to Handiqui.

He got himself admitted into the University of Paris for his studies. But his intention was not to obtain any degree but only to learn the French language and literature. He was, however, attracted to England as he saw that England had a greatly developed society while ours was poor. Also there he met people of various regions of India with their various clothes, languages and colours.

PRINCIPAL

After his return from Europe in 1927, he settled down at the Tirual Tea Estate, managing its affairs. He married Hemalata Gohain, daughter of Umacharan Gohain, in February 1928. Hemalata was a very active, beautiful and highly cultured lady. While Handiqui was busy with his studies throughout their life together, the household affairs were looked after by this lady of

extra-ordinary calibre. They had two daughters and a son. Life for Handiqui was very lonely when his beloved wife died in July 1961. In memory of her he founded a school at Jorhat, the Hemalata Handiqui Memorial Institute. In 1930 the Principalship of Jorhat College (later known as the Jagannath Barua College) was offered to him. Right from the inception of the college Handiqui remained as Principal up to 1947. It was the first private college in Assam. At that time, the Government of Assam was against the opening of any private college. It was, therefore, very difficult to get the affiliation to the University of Calcutta without the help of the Government of Assam. It was under pressure from the authorities of Calcutta University that the Government of Bengal sanctioned affiliation of J. B. College to the University. During Handiqui's tenure of Principalship, the college became one of the foremost institutions of higher learning in Assam. It was with the help of a substantial donation from him that the Science Section could be opened in the college (1949). Later he served the college as Principal for seventeen years.

VICE-CHANCELLOR

In 1948 Krishnakanta Handiqui was selected at the instance of Gopinath Bardoloi, the then Premier of Assam, as the first Vice-Chancellor of the Gauhati University, the first university in the State of Assam. He served the University for nine years from 1948 to 1957. Handiqui remained at Gauhati all alone for these nine years. He did all his office work in the bungalow which was the official quarters of the Principal, Cotton College. Of the bungalow he used only one room for his personal use and the rest of the big house was all used for official purposes.

As Vice-Chancellor of the University this renowned scholar was very keen to maintain a high academic standard always stressing on quality rather than on quantity. The following paragraph from his first Convocation Address may be quoted in this context : "To the Graduates of the University who will take their degrees today I offer cordial greetings and the best wishes

of the University for their success and welfare in life. I need not remind them of their nascent responsibilities and the great tradition they have to carry forward as worthy citizens of India. They must remember that it is not degrees, but character and the purity of the heart that will entitle them to the dignity of man. In a world full of temptations they have to keep their balance and resist the forces of evil".

In his second Convocation Address he again reminded the graduates that "the man counts more than the degrees, and their University Education will be judged by the influence it exerts upon their lives and actions. I hope that ideals they have cherished and the dreams they dreamt in their student days will not fade away without inspiring them to be honest and enlightened citizens of India".

Gauhati University was very fortunate in having Handiqui as the first Vice-Chancellor. He was a man of extraordinary calibre. It was not that he was a very good administrator, but he shaped the University after his own academic ideal. In order to make it a University of the first order in India, he appointed as its teachers only qualified and experienced men from different states. Prior to their appointment he made it a point to know about their background. This is why during his tenure the University could get worthy teachers.

A very good library was established in the University during his time. He personally took care for the selection of books in various departments. While he was at Gauhati University, he accepted Calcutta University as a model, particularly in respect of curriculum and examination system. He was always straight forward to give his impartial opinion in regard to administrative and academic matters. It was due to his extraordinary personality that everything was running smoothly in the University. Everybody in the University respected him and it is for this reason alone that he could manage the University affairs without living at Gauhati for five months when he was hospitalised in the Jorhat Mission Hospital. His tenure was a glorious chapter of

Gauhati University. It is to his credit that there was no student unrest during his tenure of nine years. He did not attend any public function at Gauhati except the Convocations of the University and the opening of the first Science Building by Dr Rajendra Prasad, the then President of India. It was his regular habit to remain aloof from people. He used to go out for a long walk after dusk on the bank of the Brahmaputra.

HONOURS

Professor Handiqui was an Honorary Fellow of Deccan College, a rare distinction reserved only for outstanding scholars of India and abroad. In the span of 150 years of its existence, the college conferred Honorary Fellowship to five persons only. They are Professor Ralph Turner, Principal of London School of Oriental Studies ; Professor P. V. Kane, ex-Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University and author of *Theological History* ; Dr C. D. Deshmukh, ex-Finance Secretary of India and ex-Chairman of the University Grants Commission ; Professor Krishnakanta Handiqui, Assam ; and Professor W. Norman Brown, Professor of Sanskrit, John Hopkins University of America.

Krishnakanta Handiqui was given the honour of *Sadasya Mahiyan* of Assam Sahitya-Sabha, which is the highest honour that could be conferred by the Sabha on a scholar of rare distinction. He was also the president of Assam Sahitya-Sabha in the year 1937. He presided over the All Assam Students' Conference in the year 1929.

He presided over the Classical Sanskrit Section of All-India Oriental Conference, Sixteenth Session, Lucknow, 1951. Further, he presided over the Special meeting of the Inter-University Board of India held at Madras University in the year 1952 as Vice-Chancellor of Gauhati University and member of the Inter-University Board. He was also elected General President of All-India Oriental Conference, Srinagar, 1961, but he had to decline this honour for his personal inconvenience.

He was awarded the 'Padmashri' honour in 1955 and 'Padma Bhusan' in 1967 by the Government of India in recognition of his scholarship.

Krishnakanta Handiqui was a Sanskritist of great note, a linguist, a great educationist and scholar of acumen. He was really a great benefactor of learning having worked devotedly for the spread of higher education in Assam. He was conferred the honorary D. Litt degree by the University of Gauhati in 1967 and by Dibrugarh University in 1972.

Works

Professor Handiqui is the author of three learned work, viz, *Naisadhacarita* of Sriharsa, *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture* and *Setubandha* of Pravarsena .

To Professor Handiqui goes the credit of translating *Naisadhacarita*, the Sanskrit epic of Sriharsa , into English for the first time, with critical notes and extracts from unpublished commentaries, appendices and vocabulary with illustrative extracts. What he had in view in taking up the translation of *Naisadhacarita* is clearly mentioned by him in the introduction : "Poetic merit apart, the chief interest of the *Naisadha* lies in the fact that it is in many ways a repository of traditional learning, and contains literary, lexicographical and socio-religious data, important for the study of cultural history of medieval India. No apology is needed for translating a lengthy *mahakavya*, which is in some respect difficult of the late Sanskrit epics."

He made it a point to make us approach the stiff work of Sriharsa through the eyes of several commentators. In this matter Handiqui's words, "We have so far noticed eight commentaries on *Naisadhacarita*, of which only two, those by Mallinatha and Narayana, have been printed. Among the commentaries mentioned here, the *Sahityavidyadhari* of Vidyadhara is the oldest and, in fact, the earliest known commentary on *Naisadhacarita*. The *Dipika* of Candupandita is the most learned, and there are few *kavya* commentaries which can compare with it in the extent and variety of its references. Candupandita seems to have realised that *Naisadha* was

essentially a learned poem, and must be approached with the full equipment of the traditional learning. Mallinatha's *Jivatu* is an excellent introduction, and pays due attention to interpretations as well as grammar and rhetoric. Narayana's commentary is the most comprehensive and particularly well adapted to the needs of the student. Yet no single commentary is sufficient for a proper understanding of the poem. It is often necessary to compare different interpretations and reading."

This approach called for a critical view not only of the original work but also of these commentaries, all these entailing very much a laborious task. Handiqui did not, however, flinch from the task, but as much completely fulfil it as was possible for a high ranking Sanskritist with modern views.

This learned work was published in 1956 and 1965 respectively by the Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute. His translation was based on the fourth Nirmayasagara edition of *Naisadha*. Published in 1912 it generally followed Commentator Narayana. The subject-matter of Sriharsa's *Naisadhacarita*, written in the 12th century, is based on the story of Nala and Damayanti.

The *Naisadhacarita* deals mainly with the earlier portion of Nala's career which ends in his romantic marriage with *Damayanti*. Sriharsa devoted about two thousand eight hundred verses to the work. The main story has been taken from the *Mahabharata*. He followed this great epic in the broad outlines except for details.

Handiqui's work of 700 pages contains a learned introduction of 60 pages, the complete translation of the text in 355 pages, notes with extracts in 155 pages and the vocabulary consisting of 100 pages. Regarding this vocabulary he says, "The vocabulary has been prepared with some care and I shall consider my labours amply rewarded if it is found useful when the time comes for compiling an up-to-date lexicon of the Sanskrit language in critical and historical principle." When the second edition of the book was published, incidentally the Deccan College had taken

up the work of compilation of a comprehensive Sanskrit dictionary, Professor Handiqui's remarks turned out to be prophetic.

He started the work in 1927 and completed the same in 1934. Thus he took seven years to complete the work with all its commentaries and explanations. Professor P. K. Gode, Curator of Bhandarkar Oriental Research, helped him a lot in collecting the obscure commentaries. Gode even wrote summaries of certain Marathi materials for Professor Handiqui in English. Handiqui has admitted that it would not have been possible for him to go into details of this Mahakavya without the help of Professor Gode.

In reply to a question why he took up this Mahakavya for translation and commentary, he said that as it was known to be the most difficult of all the Sanskrit Mahakavyas and as it was called a medicine for the learned (Naishadham vidvadausadham). As soon as the translation of *Naisadhacarita* was published, he immediately became known throughout the scholarly world. Professor M. Winternitz wrote : "The translation will be a great help to readers of this difficult Mahakavya. The critical notes and the extracts from the unpublished commentaries are very important for the restoration of the text and its interpretation. The vocabulary is a highly valuable contribution to Sanskrit lexicography."

Professor Handiqui had a special passion for this work even from his early college days when he approached his teachers for explanation of some passages.

Professor A. B. Keith wrote : "The poem is far from easy, and the translation has a distinct merit. The extracts are from commentaries hitherto unpublished and greatly to the utility of the work, while the appendices dealing with philosophical allusions contain much helpful matter and prove the translator's familiarity with the leading exponents of Indian speculative thought. Special value attaches to the most important vocabulary which is rich in contribution to Sanskrit lexicography. I note with pleasure

that the translator is to publish another work dealing with Kavya literature as a whole, a task for which he is clearly well qualified."

Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj, Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Banaras, wrote : "The rendering of stiff Sanskrit poem like the great work of Sriharsa into elegant English was by no means an easy task. The importance of the publication has been further enhanced by the valuable introduction and note, and more particularly by the scholarly appendices and vocabulary. Every portion of the book bears upon it the stamp of great erudition and wide research ..."

Mahamahopadhyaya S. Kuppaswami Sastri in a personal communication to Professor Handiqui wrote : "I am glad to be able to say that your rendering in English is accurate and faithful to the original. Your notes are copious, critical and scholarly. The *Naisadhacarita* is a great Sastra Kavya teeming with hundreds of *sastric* allusions and it requires a rare combination of scholarly courage and indefatigable energy to produce an acceptable English rendering of that Sastra Kavya. Kindly permit me to say that you have succeeded in accomplishing the difficult task admirably well."

It is clear from the remarks of the leading scholars that Handiqui's work has made easy what was stiff in Sriharsa's. It has brought to our door many out of the way commentaries on this important text and classified the vocables available in the original work and made them fit for inclusion in a historical dictionary.

YASASTILAKA AND INDIAN CULTURE

Yasastilaka and Indian Culture is Handiqui's second monumental work. The Sanskrit work *Yasastilaka* was written in prose and verse by Somadeva in 959 A.D. It deals with aspects of Jainism and Indian thought and culture. Professor Handiqui's book with a critical cultural commentary was published in 1949 by the Jaina Samskriti Samrakshaka

Sangha of Sholapur and the second edition came out in the year 1968.

About the importance of the study of *Yasastilaka* as a literary work and as an elaborate record of the cultural India in the 10th century, Handiqui says in his preface : "It is a Jaina religious romance written in Sanskrit prose and verse, but more important as an encyclopaedic record of literacy, socio-political, religious and philosophical data, valuable for the study of the cultural history of India, and particularly of the Deccan, in the 10th century and thereabouts, when the Rastrakuta empire still held sway in that part of the country." *Yasastilaka* is also called *Yasodhara-Maharaja-Carita*.

Handiqui's critical study of the work *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*, has been published under the supervision of two eminent scholars, Dr A. N. Upadhyaya and Dr H. L. Jain, as General Editors. They have observed in the preface, "It is with great pleasure that the General Editors present to the world of scholars this learned work. *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture* by Professor K. K. Handiqui as the second volume of the Jivaraja Jaina Granthamala. Though the *Yasastilaka* (A.D. 959) had attracted the attention of the Sanskrit scholars like Peterson and others, the literary genius and the wealth of learning of Somadeva were not fully appreciated. This dissertation will enable us now to assess the value of Somadeva, one of the most versatile talents in the history of Indian literature, and his masterpiece *Yasastilaka* reveals the manifold aspects of his genius. He is a master of prose and verse, a profound scholar with a well-stocked memory, as authority on Jaina dogma and a critic of contemporary philosophical systems."

"Thus Somadeva for his literary rehabilitation has found a worthy scholar in Professor Handiqui, who possesses rare qualities of sympathetic and judicious understanding, wide and rich information and deep and critical learning ... Very few Sanskrit works have been studied as thoroughly as the *Yasastilaka* in this work ; and Professor Handiqui deserves

every praise for his steady labour and painstaking researches. The Sanskrit studies have become richer by his present contribution." In the preface to the second edition of *Yasastilaka* the General Editors observed that "Somadeva was fortunate that his *Campu* came to be studied by a worthy scholar of great literary acumen and historical perspective".

Another important book of Somadeva, *Nitivakyamrita* (a book on economics), was translated with critical notes and summaries by Oscar Botto, an Italian Scholar, and was published in 1962 by the Turin University of Italy. He refers, in his book, to the critical analysis of Handiqui's *Yasastilaka* as *il dottissimo lavoro di K.K. Handiqui* (the most learned work of K. K. Handiqui).

Professor L. Renou of Paris University wrote a review of *Yasastilaka* in *Academic des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* in 1951. An extract from the review is given below :

"Except for a note by Peterson, nothing had been written on *Yasastilaka*. It requires the remarkable zeal of Mr Handiqui, which had already found expression fifteen years ago in a vastly learned work of Sriharsa's *Naisadhacarita*, to incorporate the *Yasastilaka* in the general current of Hinduism. This is now an acquisition ... Mr Handiqui describes the position of Jainism in the 10th century and records the controversies or the conflicts with diverse Hindu sects and eventually with the Buddhists. Here is a study which had not been made before, at least on such an extensive scale. Particularly interesting is Chapter 14 which will serve as a basis for all such studies in the future. Mr Handiqui examines in detail the facts brought forward by Somadeva and confronts them with the realities of the sects and the theories ... A descriptive index of the geographical names terminates this voluminous work one of the most substantial that have been achieved in connection with a Sanskrit literary text."

In the Presidential Address of All-India Oriental Conference (Classical Sanskrit Section Bombay, 1949), Professor V. Raghavan of the Sanskrit Department of Madras University

spoke very highly about *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture* : "It must be accepted that in the hands of Professor Handiqui, the work (*Yasastilaka and Indian Culture*), like Somadeva's original, has become a mine of information, literary, historical, social, religious and archaeological, the collection of which must have involved prodigious labour."

SETUBANDHA

The third great work of Handiqui is the critical translation of Pravarsena's *Setubandha*. It was published by Prakrit Text Society at Ahmedabad in October 1976. It is a Prakrit Mahakavya translated into English with extracts from unpublished commentaries, critical notes and an Introduction. The General Editor, Dr H. C. Bhayani of Gujarat University, wrote the foreword of the book with the following introductory lines :

"We are happy to place herewith in the hands of the students of Classical Indian literature Professor Handiqui's critical translation of Pravarsena's *Setubandha*, which is one of the few works that marks the highest achievement in the major literary genre of Mahakavya. No recent work of Prakrit literary scholarship matches the present work in richness of exegetical materials culled after a meticulous scanning of numerous commentaries so as not to miss any significant detail. The *Setubandha* can fairly compare with the *Saptasataka* of Hala in points of age, importance and a continuous tradition of high literary esteem. The latter work had quite early received thorough attention it deserves from a scholar of Weber's stature. The *Setubandha*, it seems, was reserved for Professor Handiqui's mature scholarship." Professor Handiqui started the translation of *Setubandha* in 1958 and it took more than 12 years to complete the work. This volume of 800 pages was published in 1976.

Setubandha deals with a portion of the story of Rama from the return of Hanuman from Lanka with special reference to the construction of the great causeway between the mainland and the island. The main stress is given by Nala to build the causeway

methodically. Method and planning were the main reason of success in constructing the causeway. Thus *Pravarsenag* gives us a new meaning to this ancient legend. This was the central thought underlying the main topic.

The text of the *Setubandha* followed in the translation was the critical edition of S. Goldschmidt which presents the Prakrit original. It was first published in the year 1880 in Germany. A German translation followed in 1884. *Setubandha* was published in India by the Nimayasagar press and the second edition of the work was published in 1935. Handiqui translated it from the original in Prakrit. Regarding the Introduction of Professor Handiqui, H. C. Bhayani, (the General Editor) rightly observed : "The elaborate Introduction deals with all the important aspects of the poem like authorship, date, source and influence from cultural and geographical background, language, metre, literary worth, commentarial tradition and textual recensions. The detailed outline of the contents of the poem, spotlighting passages of significance, will be found very useful. The problem of exactly characterizing the Prakrit of the *Setubandha* is highly complicated."

Regarding the translation, Professor Handiqui himself writes in his Introduction : "In a translation based on different commentaries containing many alternative explanations, it is not always easy to hit upon the right meaning of a word or a phrase especially on account of the vagueness of Prakrit as a medium of expression, and there will always be room for improvement in the rendering of particular verses ... The extracts from the commentaries appended to the translation contain adequate material for an evaluation of the different interpretation and variant readings."

Dr H. C. Bhayani rightly observes, "It is quite evident that the future scholars working to settle various recensions and prepare a critical Text of the *Setubandha* shall have to build on the foundation laid by Professor Handiqui. The readers will no doubt welcome this translation and study of the *Setubandha* with

several years' painstaking and careful work at their back and appreciate them as a major contribution in the field of Prakrit Philology. The Prakrit Text Society is not only extremely glad to publish this work but it is also grateful to Professor Handiqui for very generously bearing the publication cost of the work and donating it to the Society."

This Mahakavya was accepted as a gift offer by Professor Handiqui to the Prakrit Text Society. The Managing Committee informed him in July 1969, "Your scholarly edition of the *Setubandha* would certainly be a valuable asset to the society in more than one sense." *Setubandha* was highly praised by Dr S. K. Chatterji as "a great gift".

As a general assessment of his monumental works it may be stated that no doubt he took a long time, i.e., several years to translate the Mahakavya with explanatory notes, etc., but he was very thorough. Not only that, the salient features of these monumental works proved his erudition and pinpoint accuracy of facts. He made textual criticism and studies of the commentaries with great zeal. Above all, his patience was really praise-worthy. He was a great painstaker. He was slow but steady in writing and he always pursued every detail of a subject with great zeal and interest. It is surprising to note that he did everything, i.e., the work of preparing the manuscript for the press with his own hand and he read the proofs himself very carefully.

Prefaces and Addresses in English and Assamese

In addition to his three learned works Handiqui wrote several articles and addresses in English for *The Assam Tribune*, *Forward*, *J. B. College Magazine*, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, *The Indian Antiquary*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, etc.

Further, he wrote many introductory notes and prefaces to many important books in Assamese and English. He wrote prefaces in English to : (i) The Sanskrit book, *Jibandhar-Champu*, published by Jnanapeeth of India, Kashi ; (ii) Anundaram Barua's *Bhavabhuti and His Place in Sanskrit Literature*, 2nd edition, published by Assam Publication Board ; (iii) *Aspects of Early Assamese Literature*, published by the Gauhati University. He wrote learned prefaces in Assamese to (i) *Sakuntala*, an Assamese drama written by Professor Atul Chandra Hazarika ; (ii) *Prasanga-Kosh*, a dictionary of references relating to History, Literature and Culture written by Abdus Sattar, and (iii) the poetess Na.inibala Devi's *Sandhiyar Sur*, a collection of poems. He wrote an appreciation of Syed Abdul Malik's famous novel *Surujmukhir Swapna*.

A short but significant piece of Handiqui's writing is his introduction to H. N. Dutta barua's *Chitra-Bhagavata* with the reproduction of paintings from a manuscript of Sankardeva's *Bhagavata*, Book X. In the introduction Professor Handiqui dwelt upon the meaning of the Assamese art of painting in the context of medieval Indian painting :

"The history of medieval Indian painting has been the subject of considerable research in recent years, both in India and the

West ; but very little is known about the materials available in Assam, especially the illuminated manuscripts several of which are known to exist in private and other collections. The present publication is the first systematic attempt to reproduce the paintings incorporated in one such manuscript, that of a portion of the tenth Skandha of the Assamese *Bhagavata* composed by Sankardeva. According to the editor, the manuscript is dated Saka 1461 or A.D. 1539, and contains both the text and the illustrations. The text was published separately some years ago, and the present volume contains only the illustrations with explanatory notes in Assamese and Hindi. The descriptive notes just below the pictures are in old Assamese and given from the manuscript. Although many of the pictures have been reproduced in one colour, there are enough examples to give an idea of the brilliant colour sense of the original paintings.

"The publication of these illustrations will be welcome to all students of medieval Indian painting. The art of illuminated manuscripts, which was developed in Gujarat or Western India in the twelfth century, and at first practised on palm leaves for embellishing Jaina texts like the *Kalpasutra*, was later extended to Vaishnava works like *Bhagavata* and especially the *Gita Govinda*, not only in Gujarat but in Rajputana and the Hill States of the Western Himalayas as well. Large series of paintings were executed to illustrate the *Ramayana* of Tulsi Das, and reference may be made also to the miniatures illustrating secular poems, for example, the *Ragamala* and *Vasantavilasa* paintings. The pictures reproduced here illustrate the stories of Krishna's childhood as narrated in the Assamese version of the tenth Skandha of the *Bhagavata*. These stories were popular with Rajput painters ; and scenes from Krishna's early life form the subject-matter of some of the best known examples of the Kangra school, which flourished in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Assamese manuscript, dated in A.D. 1539, is of special interest in view of the paucity of known examples of Rajput painting earlier than the seventeenth century, and

represents one of the earliest attempts to illustrate a version of the *Bhagavata* composed in the vernacular.

"The paintings in the original manuscript deserve careful study in relation to those of other Indian schools. The pictures of trees with flowers or birds have considerable charm ; and animal life is vividly portrayed with observant sympathy and tenderness of feeling. The maneless Indian lion occurs more than once, and the bison (*methan* in Assamese) which is almost extinct in the province will attract the attention of the students. The costumes follow a conventional pattern, but it is interesting to find the drum and the horn (*pepa*), the familiar auxiliaries of the Bihu festival."

In September 1984 was published *Krishnakanta Handiqui Rachana-Sambhar*, a collection of Assamese writings of the Professor, compiled by Jatindranath Goswami. In Krishnakanta's early days when Assamese literature was sadly neglected in the schools and colleges of Assam, he studied with particular care the works of Sahityarathi Lakshminath Bezbarua, the greatest Assamese literary figure of the twentieth century and his compeer Padmanath Gohainbarua, the latter being Krishnakanta's maternal uncle. He remembered with pride that in his college days Bezbarua, used to write to him about literary matter and encouraged him in his Sanskrit studies, while as a schoolboy he was a frequent guest at his uncle Gohainbarua's home at Tezpur where he had the privilege of reading Gohainbarua's drama *Sadhani* in the original manuscript form. Among later writers Lakshminath Phukan and Benudhar Sharma, well-known masters of Assamese prose, were Handiqui's intimate friends.

Handiqui wrote brilliant essays on various topics in Assamese, mostly in his youth. His writings in Assamese indicate his love for his mother tongue, and they are the expression of his patriotic feelings. These essays made distinct contribution towards Assamese prose. He was a pioneer writer on the topics of Western and other world literatures. Thus, he brought new light to Assamese prose. Later on also while in Europe he used to

write articles on various subjects. His 'Anuvadar Katha' (All about Translation, 1921) was his first article sent from abroad. He suggested that translation of foreign writings should be encouraged to enrich Assamese Literature. He further suggested that all the important classics of the world literature should be translated into Assamese in order to get the best thoughts in literatures of the world. He convinced that it would be a good way to enrich our literature through translation from foreign languages. Handiqui cited examples from different European countries how they enriched their own literature through translation. Another very important article he wrote was 'Ruch Abhinaya' (Russian Theatrical Performances, 1926), wherein he gave details of subject-matter and stage technique. Handiqui wrote this article after going through Chekov's *Cherry Orchard* and seeing it performed by a Russian theatre group in Paris. He wrote an article 'Germanir Jnanadhana' (Pursuit of Knowledge of the Germans, 1927) as he was impressed by their pursuit of knowledge.

In 'Socratesar Mate Kavir Prakriti' (The Nature of Poets According to Socrates), he gives an idea of poets and poetry as we find in Plato's *Republic*. In another article, 'Greek Natakhar Gan' (Songs in the Greek Dramas), he estimates the place of chorus in Greek dramas and shows clearly that in Greek dramas songs were the most important elements.

In a brilliant piece 'Spanish Sahityat Romeo Juliet' (Romeo and Juliet in Spanish Literature), he renders the romantic story of a Romeo-Juliet type which was prevalent in Spain. In 'German Sahityat Sapon Natak' (Dream Plays in German Literature), Handiqui speaks of the poverty of Assamese literature and gives the call to Assamese writers to acquire the richness of other climes.

Another essay of his on 'Greek Bhasa' is very important as he makes here a fine study of different dialects of Greece. Further, he gives here a comparative study of Sanskrit and Greek and carefully shows the similarity.

He gives an idea of 'the Veda of Babylonia' in Assamese (Prachin Bebilonor Veda) and contributed some very important articles on literary criticism which are of high order and at the same time he gave the ideas of European languages and literatures through his article 'Europe Bhasa Aru Sahitya' with special reference to Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Russian, etc. His addresses as the President to the Asam Sahitya-Sabha (1937) and All Assam Students' Conference (1929) are also of great value. Thus Handique gives us new thoughts and ideas of world literature through these writings of his in Assamese. These essays in Assamese hold an important place in Assamese literature for their unique qualities.

Conclusion

Handiqui was a scholar of great eminence, or in the words of Dr S. K. Chatterji, "a scholar of whom India may be proud." The Socialist leader Ashok Mehta remarked that he never met such a personality of high order in India.

The great Prakritist Dr A. N. Upadhye, to whose memory Professor Handiqui had dedicated his *Setubandha* with affectionate regard, chose to call himself "a mustard seed indeed by the side of a mountain of learning".

Professor Upadhye wrote him in a letter : "I am much touched by your affectionate feelings. Professor, you are elder to me ; and in every respect, in scholarship, in position and in academic equipment, I have ever looked upon you as my superior. I have learnt much from you through my contacts with you. Your feelings are a treasure for me and also an inspiration to me in my humble works."

It is to be noted that Professor Handiqui the Sanskritist hailed from an old aristocratic family of Ahoms, a race ruling for long six centuries (1228-1826 A.D.) and patronising learning in a fine way.

Arun Kumar Chanda, the renowned educationist and sometime D.P.I. of Bengal, considered Handiqui a legend. In the General Editors' preface to *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture* Dr H. L. Jain and Dr A. N. Upadhye wrote, "Professor Handiqui's name has been well known to the Sanskritists through his standard English translation (with learned notes) of the *Naisadhacarita* of Sriharsa (Lahore 1934, Poona 1956 and again Poona 1964). The work brought to the notice of Indologists

Professor Handiqui's consummate mastery over the intricacies of the Sanskrit language. His dissertation on the *Yasastilaka* has been a pioneer and scholarly exploration in a more or less neglected religious romance based on domestic tragedy, of a medieval author of encyclopedic learning.

"Professor Handiqui has inherited in his veins the blue blood of an aristocratic family of administrators connected with the Ahom dynasty of Eastern India. Obviously his zest (even at the age of seventy) for Indian learning is a part of his personality ; and his devoted self-training in Western Universities had equipped him with the knowledge of many European languages, Catholic taste and critical outlook. His personal library could be a proud possession of any of our new universities. He leads the life of a Vanaprastha scholar whose entire time is spent in fruitful study and quiet research. Professor Handiqui shuns publicity and is shy of positions : *vidya vinayana sobhate*. He is an academic *risi* and his self-dedication to learning should be an inspiring example for the younger generation. His detached pursuit of knowledge is characterised by generous instincts, rare indeed these days."

Indifferent to considerations of fame and honour, he lived the life of a recluse but his life has been one of constant activity involving the heavy responsibilities of academic administration for decades and even at the age of 84, an overall supervision of paternal properties consisting of several tea gardens. But more than these properties Handiqui prized books and this is evident from the large collection he accumulated in his residence at Jorhat all through his life. On the whole, Handiqui had humanitarian qualities with extra-ordinary personality.

Handiqui's generosity is evident from his liberal donations for the development of Assamese literature. For the revised second edition of *Chandrakanta Abhidhan*, the Assamese dictionary, he donated Rs. 37,000/- to Gauhati University and again for the third edition he donated Rs. 1,10,000/- to the same University in October 1976. The University agreed to contribute through its Publication Department further amount as supplement to the

donation of Professor Handiqui to achieve the target of Printing 5300 copies of this Assamese dictionary. Many poor students and needy people received help from him and many organisations got monetary help from him for the publication of some useful books and other good purposes.

He gave away the copyright of these books to three different institutions. While accepting the *Setubandha* for the Prakrit Text Society, its Secretary told professor Handiqui in gratitude, "I hereby convey on behalf of the Society our deep sense of gratitude and sincere thanks for your selfless and generous gesture to the Society. Really this giving away of the books to the institution is a great generosity on the part of this selfless donor." Handiqui was the pioneer among Assamese writers in giving the Assamese an idea of foreign literatures like Russian, Spanish, Greek, French and German. He did this some 60 years back. For the first time certain foreign authors were introduced by Handiqui to the Assamese readers after he had studied their works in the original. After his return from Europe, it was Professor Handiqui's desire to write a comprehensive series of such articles in Assamese, but his preoccupation with Sanskrit and Prakrit studies thwarted that plan. He devoted seven years for *Naisadhacarita*, ten years for *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture* and twelve years for *Setubandha*. His health was deteriorating particularly since 1977 and he regretted with a sense of frustration that advancing age and growing disabilities prevented his devoting the declining years of his life to the cause of Assamese literature to which he had looked forward from his younger days.

He devoted all his life-time to the study of different languages, literatures and cultures. This academic giant died on 7 June 1982 at Dibrugarh, at the age of 84 years. He was cremated at Jorhat the next day in the presence of a very large gathering.

Professor Krishnakanta Handiqui secured a permanent position for himself among the brilliant orientalists with life-long devotion to learning, especially through the three monumental works which are great contributions towards indological studies.

Appendix I

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Sixteenth Session

Lucknow University

3rd, 4th and 5th October 1951

Classical Sanskrit Section

Presidential Address

1. 1
2. 2
3. 3

4. 4

Brother Delegates and Friends,

I am grateful to the Executive Committee for asking me to preside over the Classical Sanskrit Section of this great Conference. I do not propose to make any elaborate presentation of my views on a subject in which we are all equally interested. I will confine myself to a few remarks on the cultural significance of Sanskrit and notice a few recent publications which may have already attracted your attention.

In spite of the universal character of Sanskrit literature which it shares with the great literatures of the world, it has an emotional appeal to us as the basic foundation and the age-long medium of Indian culture in the widest sense of the term. The manifold aspects of this culture nourished by diverse intellectual and religious currents find expression in the rich variety of Classical Sanskrit Literature ranging from famous works of imagination and speculative thought to all branches of secular knowledge. Sometimes it is works of the latter category that have played a notable role in the history of civilization. Prof. Hitti, the eminent authority on Islamic history, tells us, for instance, how a *Siddhanta*, a treatise on astronomy, introduced into Baghdad by an Indian traveller about 771 A.D. was translated into Arabic by al-Fazari who subsequently became the first astronomer in Islam. We learn further that a book on mathematics brought by the same Indian scholar led to the use of the Arabic numerals, which were, however, called *Hindi* (Indian) by al-Khwarizmi, the great mathematician of the Islamic world, who wrote in the first half of the ninth century. The Latin translation of his lost work on the Indian method of calculation made by Adelard of Bath in the twelfth century has survived as *De numero indico*. Well-attested facts like these help us to understand the role of Sanskrit literature in the advancement of scientific knowledge.

In estimating the cultural contribution of Sanskrit literature we must not forget the services rendered by Jainism and Buddhism. In fact the part played by these two schools of thought in the development of Classical Sanskrit literature does not appear to have been sufficiently recognised. Apart from literary and philosophical contributions, Buddhism spread the knowledge of Sanskrit beyond the borders of India in Central Asia and China in the early centuries of the Christian era. As an illustration of the influence of Buddhist Sanskrit literature, I may refer to a text in which students of Sanskrit hardly take any interest today, the *Sukhavativyuha*, of which the longer version was translated many times into Chinese. This work was epoch-making in the sense that it introduced the cult of Amitabha Buddha, which ultimately captured the imagination of the people, and by the tenth century the whole character of Chinese Buddhism, and has for centuries formed the basis of the faith of the majority of Buddhists in China and Japan. De Visser in his *Ancient Buddhism in Japan* describes how the larger *Sukhavativyuha* was translated into Chinese by an Shi-kao and also by another priest as early as the second century A.D. and by others in the subsequent centuries until Bodhiruci II produced the eleventh translation of the text early in the eighth century, and helped to spread the mighty cult of Amitabha, which was also promulgated in Japan by the Emperor Junnin sometime after the middle of the eighth century. Buddhism brought about the first major contact of Sanskrit with the outside world, and Buddhist scholars for the first time appear to have solved the problem of rendering Classical Sanskrit into foreign tongues. The use of Sanskrit pure and mixed by the different schools of Buddhism seems to have brought into existence a literature as extensive as the Pali, a considerable portion of which has unfortunately failed to survive the ravages of time. The part played by Sanskrit in the propagation of the Jaina faith has been more restricted than its role in the expansion of Buddhism owing to the love of the Jainas for Prakrit and the regional languages ; but Jaina literary effort is

more intimately bound up with the development of later Sanskrit literature in a continuous process which has remained unbroken until recent times. Indeed, sufficient attention has not been paid to the contribution of Jaina writers to the evolution of Classical Sanskrit prose from the time of Umasvati onwards. Although their major narrative compositions are in Prakrit, they have introduced allegorical and religious romances in Sanskrit literature. Jaina philosophical writings frequently discuss and criticize the doctrines of other systems and throw considerable light on the different schools of Indian speculative thought. I mention these points only by way of suggesting that it is necessary to pay greater attention to the Buddhist and Jaina contributions if we are to understand fully the evolution of Classical Sanskrit literature.

It may be instructive to investigate into the total extent of Classical Sanskrit literature by an examination of the references to lost works and little known authors in extant literature. It has been said that 'the lost works of Greek literature very greatly exceeded in number those which have survived'. A recent authority tells us that in the first thirty sections of the great anthology compiled by Stobaeus about the end of the fifth century A. D., more than three hundred quotations are taken from works still extant, and more than one thousand from works that are lost. It is difficult to surmise what would have been the proportion of lost works to those still extant had such an anthology been compiled from Sanskrit writers. We have to reckon with the unbroken continuity of Indian culture in which Sanskrit literature has played a leading part. Nevertheless numerous references to lost works and forgotten authors are found in Classical Sanskrit writers from Panini, Patanjali, Caraka, Susruta, Kautilya and others to those who wrote at a much later date. Our knowledge of Sanskrit literature would be greatly advanced if a comprehensive and classified collection of such references and citations could be compiled from extant works in all branches of Sanskrit literature including the writings

of Buddhist and Jaina authors. There is also the problem of citations from authors which do not appear in their extant works. A major undertaking like this would require the concerted efforts of specialists in different branches of Sanskrit learning, and is well worth the consideration of our research institutes.

Comprehensive and analytic study of Sanskrit texts, many of them vast and elaborate, is essential for the proper understanding and appraisal of old Indian writers and their cultural background. There has been a veritable renaissance of Sanskrit studies in India in the present century, and much useful work has been done in the field of scholarly interpretation and critical presentation of ancient texts. But as students of Sanskrit we may ask ourselves whether our studies are to remain scholastic and antiquarian in character, and whether or not we have also a cultural mission, an obligation to interpret our cultural heritage in a manner intelligible to the modern world. If this is regarded as part of our work, some of us at any rate, at least those of the coming generation, must have the necessary literary equipment and familiarity with a modern tongue sufficient for the task. Sanskrit in this respect compares very unfavourably with the literatures of Greece and Rome which have been interpreted and brought within reach of the educated public a thoroughness and efficiency of which there is yet no parallel in our country. We have still much leeway to make up in the matter of communicating the treasures of Sanskrit literature to the world. Students and admirers of Sanskrit literature do not possess anything like the magnificent 'Loeb Classical Library' or the 'Collection of the Universities of France' which gives critically edited Greek and Latin texts and their translation in English and French respectively on opposite pages for the convenience of the scholar and layman alike. In independent India we can reasonably expect our Government and statesmen as well as philanthropists to give greater encouragement to Sanskrit studies and provide ample facilities for making our literary heritage better known to our own people and other nations as well.

There are many who without being students of Sanskrit take a keen interest in Sanskrit literature and Indian thought and culture. In the educational sphere it is necessary to implant and develop such an attitude in the younger generation and ensure that a knowledge of the beauties and the basic ideas of Sanskrit literature does not remain confined within the narrow circle of Sanskrit scholars. In the various courses in literature at the University stage it should not be difficult to include the study of selected Sanskrit classics in translation and that of Indian poetical and aesthetic theories and the main currents in the history of Sanskrit literature. For this we shall require suitable text-books and manuals, but I think it will be a worth-while effort which is bound to widen the intellectual horizon of our students and provide them with a balanced viewpoint in literary appreciation.

The study of Sanskrit demands accurate knowledge and precise interpretation. Like all classical studies, it ought to be an intellectual discipline calculated to promote accuracy of thought and expression, the value of which can hardly be overestimated in a reasoned approach to the multiple problems of state and society. But the classics have also a higher significance. In an address given to the Classical Association Lord Greene has rightly observed that 'the service of science whether pure or applied, cannot of itself lead to a complete and happy life, but, on the contrary, if followed to the exclusion of the humanities, tends to enslave the spirit and keep the eyes directed to the ground instead of raising them to the skies.' For us the supreme importance of the study of Sanskrit lies in the fact that it must help us to preserve the spiritual values of our civilization and strive after a higher morality based on the ideals of ancient Indian culture. In a significant passage the Apastambadharmasutra (1.8), for instance, inculcates the destruction of the propensities known as *bhutadahiya* which consume human beings, and can only be eradicated by *yoga* or ethical discipline, which combats the evil and not only develops the best in human personality and character but makes for charity, avoidance of cruelty and good will

towards all. It is by upholding such ideals that Sanskrit literature has vitalized Indian culture, and its great lessons may yet sustain us in times of stress and strain, and help to set right the uneasy lack of balance caused by unsettled conditions of life in an age of transition.

I will not attempt to review the progress of Classical Sanskrit studies in an address written off and on in the midst of other preoccupations. But I take this opportunity of referring to a few recent publications which I have studied with some care.

The edition of Samantabhadra's *Stutividya* published by the Viraseva Mandir of Sarsava is of considerable interest to students of Kavya literature. The first edition of the work was published nearly forty years ago, and the new edition reflects great credit on Pandit Pannalal Jain who has reedited the work with the commentary of Vasunandin and a Hindi translation. Samantabhadra is better known as a great exponent of Jaina philosophical and religious tenents, and is earlier, probably much earlier than Akalanka who is known to have flourished in the seventh century A.D. The *Stutividya* is a poetical work in 116 verses in praise of the twenty-four Tirthankaras, and employs throughout the Citralankaras such as Murajabandha, Ardhabhrama and the different varieties of Yamakas etc. The use of these devices in a religious poem by such an early author helps to explain their recurrence in the Mahakavyas, and bears witness to the mastery of the intricacies of the Sanskrit language expected of the poets. The last verse of the poem which is a *cakravrtta* yields the name Santivarman as that of the author, and this appears to have been the name of Samantabhadra who was the son of a king prior to his renunciation. Our thanks are due to Pandit Jugalkishore Mukhtar well known for his researches in Jaina Sanskrit literature for his learned Introduction to the poem.

A comprehensive edition of Jinasena's *Adipurana* in two volumes is being brought out by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha of Banaras. I have seen only the first volume, and the second volume is expected shortly, if not published already. The two

previous editions of the work have been long out of print, and are replaced completely by this critical edition based on ten manuscripts in Devanagari and Kannada characters. The work is edited by Pandit Pannalal Jain with a Hindi translation and a detailed introduction which gives valuable information about the literary activities of Jinasena and cognate matters. Composed in the ninth century, Jinasena's *Adipurana* is one of the famous works of Jaina Sanskrit literature and a landmark in the literary history of India, and mentions earlier authors like Sridatta, Yasobhadra, Prabhacandra, Sivakoti, Kanabhisu, Vadisimha, Kavi-paramesvara and others. Apart from the treatment of myths and legends and a wide range of cultural topics, the work contains elaborate descriptions in Kavya style in a variety of metres which claim the attention of students of Classical Sanskrit poetry.

Nagadeva's *Madanaparjaaya* is an interesting Jaina Sanskrit text published for the first time by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha and edited by Pandit Rajakumar Jain. It is an allegorical romance in prose and verse which has been assigned to the fourteenth century, and belongs to the tradition established by the great work of Siddharsi. Its theme is a great war between Madana and the Lord Jina figured as two powerful kings, and the narrative conforms to the conventional Kavya style with the despatch of messengers, the marshalling of the rival forces and their commanders (all abstract conceptions), spirited battle scenes and the final triumph of Jina and his union with Muktisri. The work incorporates a few minor tales, and quote verses from earlier works like *Mrcchakatika*, *Yasastilaka*, *Pancatantra* and others and at least one Apabhramsa verse. The Sanskrit in which the romance is composed shows a number of grammatical lapses, but the narrative is full of movement in spite of the abstract character of the theme. Nagadeva says at the beginning of his romance that it is based on the Prakrit work of Harideva. The editor says in the Introduction that Harideva's work is composed in Apabhramsa and known as *Mayanaparajayacariu* of which an edition is in preparation.

A substantial edition of Venkatanath's *Samkalpasuryodaya* with the commentaries of Ahobala and Nrsimharaja has been brought out in two volumes by the Adyar Library. This is one of the most elaborate among the allegorical dramas in Sanskrit literature, and the present edition based on seven manuscripts supersedes all previous editions of the work. The commentary of Ahobala assigned to the first half of the sixteenth century is published here for the first time, and that of Nrsimharaja, though a late work, has not hitherto been published in a complete form. Venkatanatha is a prolific writer of the school of Vedanta founded by Ramanuja ; and his drama sets forth the triumph of Viveka over Mahamoha culminating in the emergence of Samkalpa or Divine will for the emancipation of the individual soul uplifted by Visnubhakti. Interesting sidelight on the poetical talents of Venkatanatha is provided by the colourful descriptions of diverse regions of India in Act VI and of the Incarnations of Visnu in Act VII. The *Samkalpasuryodaya* has so far been neglected by students of Sanskrit literature, and this edition will facilitate the study of the work. We are grateful to the editor Pandit V. Krishnamacharya for his masterly Introduction in Sanskrit in which he surveys the philosophical tenets of the school of Ramanuja and the life and work of Venkatanatha whose prodigious literary activity marks an epoch in the history of later Sanskrit literature.

Two unpublished plays of the Jaina dramatist Hastimalla, Anjanapavanamjaya and Subhadra, have been critically edited by Prof. M. V. Patwardhan for the Manikcand Jaina Granthamala. Two other plays of the same author, *Maithilikalyana* and *Vilkrantakaurava*, were published more than thirty-five years ago in the same Series, and both are now out of print. Prof. Patwardhan gives a detailed account of all the four plays and their sources in the Introduction to the present work, and discusses fully the life and work of Hastimalla and the language, metres, lexical peculiarities and other characteristics of the two newly published plays. Hastimalla was a Jaina layman and wrote also

an *Adipurana* in Kannada ; he is said to have lived during the reign of a Pandya king of Karnataka. The date of Hastimalla is uncertain, but he must have lived between the beginning of the tenth century and the end of the thirteenth, as his father Govinda belonged to the succession of pupils of the great teacher Gunabhadra, and he himself is referred to in Ayyaparya's *Jinendrakalyanabhyudaya* composed in 1319 A.D. I am inclined to think that Hastimalla is later than the tenth century, as the Vidyadharabhairava appearing in *Anjanapavanamjaya* seems to be modelled on Bhairavananda in Rajasekhara's *Karpuramanjari*, though the analogy is not complete. The plays of Hastimalla deal with Jaina mythological stories as set out in works like Vimala Suri's *Paumacariya*, Ravisena's *Padmapurana*, and Jinasena's *Adipurana*. Like most later Sanskrit plays, they are descriptive in character and lack in dramatic qualities, but the easy and graceful verses of Hastimalla, especially those containing natural descriptions have an appeal of their own to students of Classical Sanskrit poetry. Prof. Patwardhan gives an Index of the verses occurring in all the four plays of Hastimalla, and he may be congratulated on having produced one of the best editions of Sanskrit plays in recent years.

In the *Journal* of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library (Vol. VI) Sri S. V. Iyer gives detailed information about an unpublished Mahakavya called *Subhadraharana* in twenty cantos composed by Narayana of Kerala with the object of illustrating the rules of Panini's grammar. He wrote also a commentary on the first sixteen cantos of his poem, and is said to have been a member of the group of "Eighteen-and-half-poets" in the court of Manavikrama, the Zamorin of Calicut in the latter half of the fifteenth century. Several manuscripts of the poem are available in the Oriental Manuscripts Library of Travancore University, and a critical edition of the work will help to round off our knowledge of the so-called grammatical Mahakavyas. Obviously the *Dvyasraya*

Mahakavya of Hemacandra was not the last long poem to be written in illustration of the rules of Sanskrit grammar.

In the field of Prosody the ancient text of *Janasrayi* has been recently edited by Prof. M. R. Kavi in the Venkatesvara Oriental Series, but the manuscript material on which the edition is based is somewhat defective, to judge from the lacunae in some of the illustrative verses quoted in the work. The work has also been published serially in the Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library (Vols. III-V), and was described by Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri in a paper published in the Journal of Oriental Research (March, 1948). The *Janasrayi* follows a different technique from that of Pingala, and *Janasraya* with whom the work is associated has been identified with the Visnukundin king Madhavavarman I who reigned in the sixth century A.D. *Janasrayi* appears to be the collective name of the Sutras and the *Vrtti* composed by Ganasvamin, but it is not easy to determine the authorship of the text as it is available today. The points raised in this connection by Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillay in his Introduction to the work published in the Travancore University Manuscripts Library Journal deserve careful consideration.

An outstanding publication in the field of Sanskrit Prosody is the *Jayadaman* edited by Prof. H. D. Velankar who has critically edited in this modest volume four important works : *Jayadevacchandasa* of Jayadeva with the commentary of Harsata, Jayakirti's *Chandonusasana* and the texts of Kedarabhata's *Vrttaratnakara* and Hemacandra's *Chandonusasana* with a comprehensive Introduction. Of these the first two are published here for the first time. Jayadeva and Jayakirti were Jaina writers. Jayadeva is earlier than the tenth century, and his views are criticized by Halayudha in this commentary on Pingala's *Chandahsutra*. Jayakirti lived about 1000 A.D. Unlike *Janasraya*, Jayadeva deals also with Vedic metres ; while Jayakirti devotes a chapter to Kannada metres and mentions the *Kumarasambhava* and *Malatimadhava* Kavyas composed in

Kannada. At the end of his work he refers to earlier writers on Prosody such as Mandavya, Pingala, Janasrya, Saitava, Padapujya and Jayadeva. While editing the text of *Vrttaratnakara* Prof. Velankar has consulted several unpublished commentaries, the earleist of which is that of Sulhana composed in 1189 A.D. At the end of the volume he gives a classified list of Sanskrit metres with their technical definitions. Prof. Velankar is our leading authority on Sanskrit and Prakrit metres, and scholars will be grateful if he brings out a complete edition of Hemacandra's *Chandonusasana* with the valuable commentary. Another interesting but little known work on Sanskrit Prosody edited by Prof. Velankar is *Ratnamanjusa* with an old commentary published in the Murtidevi Jaina Granthamala. The authors are unknown, but the writer of the commentary is a Jain, and so is probably the author of the Sutras, who employs symbols different from those of Pingala for representing the metrical Ganas. An important fact pointed out by Prof. Velankar is that the author of *Ratnamanjusa* defines not less than twenty-one metres which do not occur in Pingala and Kedara, but are known only to Hemacandra, and obviously belong to the Jaina tradition represented by him. Jaina scholars seem to have experimented with new Sanskrit metres, though they did not become popular. In my *Yasastilaka and Indian Culture* I have discussed the use of Prakrit metres by the Jaina writer Somadeva in Classical Sanskrit poetry.

Amidst the steadily growing literature on Sanskrit poetics an outstanding contribution is Dr. K. C. Pandey's *Comparative Aesthetics*, the first volume of which has been recently published. It is difficult to appraise the scope of the work at this stage, but the present volume contains an elaborate treatment of the aesthetic theory of Abhinavagupta against the background of the monistic Saiva philosophy of Kashmir and the main currents of aesthetic thought in Sanskrit literature. The book, in fact, critically deals with the important materials presented in Abhinavagupta's commentaries on the *Natyasastra* and the

Dhvanyaloka in connection with his exposition of the theories of Rasa and Dhvani. Dr. Pandey discusses fully the interpretation of Rasa by Bhatta Lollata, Sankuka and Bhattanayaka in relation to dramatic appreciation, paying special attention to the views of Sankuka, which, though unsound and rejected by others, represent probably the first serious attempt to analyse the aesthetic experience from the spectator's point of view. Two chapters are devoted to the exposition of Abhinavagupta's philosophy of Svatantryavada Abhasavada in relation to his conception of Camatkara identified with Vimarsa (Free will) and Ananda. This helps us to understand his two-fold interpretation of Rasa as *rasyate iti rasah* and *rasanam rasah*. Dr. Pandey explains that the latter process, in Abhinavagupta's view, corresponds to the final stage in the aesthetic experience characterized by the emergence of the Ananda aspect of the Self consisting in the repose of the Self within itself described as *svatma-visranti*. Other topics elaborately discussed in the book include Abhinavagupta's treatment of the Santa Rasa and the possibility of its presentation on the stage ; the conception of Dhvani and Mahimabhatta's attempt to refute it ; and the traditional analysis of the constituents of a Sanskrit drama, beside a brief survey of the poetical theories of Bhamaha, Dandin and Vamana. All this is instructive and useful to students of Sanskrit poetics, but, I think, it is in the earlier chapter that the learned author has made a distinct contribution to our knowledge of Abhinavagupta's aesthetic ideas as developed in his literary and philosophical works. In this connection I may refer also to the interesting contributions of Dr. K. Krishnamoorthy on the subject of Dhvani and allied topics published in different research journals, and hope that they will soon be available in a collected form. It is encouraging to find that the studies initiated by Dr. P. V. Kane. Dr. S. K. De and others have borne fruit in such detailed treatment of the fundamental aspects of Indian aesthetic and poetical theories.

As regards Alamkara texts, I may refer to the excellent edition of Amrtanandayogin's *Alamkarasomgraha* prepared by Pandits

V. Krishnamacharya and K. Ramachandra Sarma with an Introduction from the pen of Prof. C. Kunhan Raja. The interesting feature of the work is that the author devotes four chapters to dramaturgy and quotes from a large number of poems and plays. The little known plays referred to by him are mentioned also in works like *Bhavaprakasa*, *Natyadarpana*, and *Natakalakshanaratnakosa* : but his work contains a considerable number of verses and citations from Sanskrit plays which have not been traced to their sources. Ahobola in his commentary on Venkatanatha's *Samkalpasuryodaya* says that a verse in the Prologue of that drama is cited from Amrtananda's work : but, as pointed out by Dr. Kunhan Raja, it might be a quotation from the *Natyasastra*. Amrtananda's patron, king Manna of Vengi, has not been properly indentified, and he has been assigned to about the middle of the fourteenth century:

Another interesting Alamkara text just published by the Hyderabad Archaeological Department is *Srngaramanjari* composed by Akbar Shah of Hyderabad in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The work deals with the different types of Nayikas on the lines followed in Bhanudatta's *Rasamanjari* which it, however, criticizes frequently. The text is edited by Dr V. Raghavan with his usual thoroughness with an elaborate introduction in which he surveys the treatment of Nayaka-Nayikas by Bharata, Rudrabhatta, Bhoja and other writers on Snaskrit poetics, and gives a detailed and critical summary of the contents of *Srngaramanjari*. The reproductions of old Indian paintings illustrating the different types of Nayikas add to the value of the book. The *Sringaramanjari* was originally composed in Telugu ; and even if the work was probably not composed by Akbar Shah himself, it was written in collaboration with him and under his patronage. The work thus throws new light on Muslim patronage of Sanskrit learning in the Deccan, and scholars will be grateful to Dr. Raghavan for bringing to light a work of such deep cultural significance.

In the field of lexicography Dhananjaya's *Namamala* with the hitherto unpublished commentary of Amarakirti and the same author's *Anekarthanamamala* with an anonymous commentary have been edited by Pandit Sambhunatha Tripathi with valuable notes in a volume published by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha. Pandit Mahendrakumar Jain in his Introduction assigns amarakirti to the fifteenth century, and his comprehensive commentary quotes Somadeva's *Yasastilaka* and *Nitivakyamrta* Indranandi's *Nitisastra*, *Anekaothadhvanimanjari*, *Sabdabheda* and other works, besides some verses including one in *Apabhramsa*. Dhananjaya's *Namamalla* contains at least one doubtful word *godha* in the sense of 'man' on which Amarakirti does not throw any light. He was a famous Jaina poet, the author of the *Dvisandhanakavya*, who has been assigned to the twelfth century. But Pandit Mahendrakumar Jain points out in his Introduction that Dhananjaya is mentioned by Vadiraja in his *Parsvanathacarita* composed in the first half of the eleventh century ; while a verse from *Anekarthanamamala* is quoted by Virasena in the *Dhavalā* commentary completed in 816 A.D. I am inclined to think that the Elacarya mentioned just after Pujyapad in the first verse of Dhananjaya's *Anekarthanamamala* might be the same as the teacher of that name under whom Virasena said to have studied the Siddhantas in the *srutavatara* of Indranandin, as pointed out by Pandit Pannalal Jain in his Introduction to the new edition of the *Adipurana*. This would corroborate Pandit Mahendra Kumar Jain's view that Dhananjaya lived towards the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth. He could not of course be very much earlier as he mentions Akalanka at the end of his *Namamala*.

The *Amaramandana* of Krishnasuri edited by Dr. V. Raghavan with an elaborate introduction has been published by the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute in connection with its great scheme for the compilation of a Sanskrit lexicon on historical principles. It is a quite modern tract written in defence of the well-known lexicon of Amarasimha against the

attacks of Sriharsa, a late writer of the Telugu country, in his polemical work *Amarakhandana*. The importance of these tracts lies not so much in the views expressed by the writers as in the mention of a large number of rare and little known lexicographical works, specially by the author of *Amarakhandana* who started the controversy. Dr. Raghavan gives a complete list of these works with valuable notes and details about manuscripts of several of them which are still available in South Indian libraries. Among the authors and works cited by Sriharsa are *Rabhasa*, *Paryayaratnamala*, *Paryayarnava*, *Nanarthacandrika*, *Nanarthasikhamani*, *Sabdasabdarthamanjusa* and others which seem to have been popular in the Telugu country. It may be mentioned in this connection that the unpublished commentary of Candrasekhara on Magha's *Sisupalavadha*, a manuscript of which was borrowed by me several years ago from the India Office Library, also quotes several rare Sanskrit lexicons and the commentary itself is useful for the study of the poem.

I take this opportunity of referring here to the admirable project undertaken by Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute of Tirupati for compiling an Encyclopaedia of Sanskrit learning from the vast materials collected by Sri Paravastu Venkata Rangacharyulu of Vizagapatam from all branches of Sanskrit literature during a period of more than forty years until his death in 1900. The work was named *Sabdarthasarvasva* by the author and planned in the form of articles alphabetically arranged. When published, this monumental work will prove a treasure house of information for students of Sanskrit and Indology in general.

The publication of the long-awaited second volume of the *Bhaskari* in the Sarasvati Bhavana Series will be welcome to all students of Sanskrit philosophical literature. The *Bhaskari* is the gloss of Bhaskarakantha on the shorter *Vimarshini* commentary composed by Abhinavagupta on the *Isvarapratyabhijna Karikas* of Utpaladeva, a leading text of the Saiva philosophical system of

Kashmir. Despite the somewhat defective manuscript material the present volume of the *Bhaskari* has been edited by Dr. K. C. Pandey with great care with a learned Introduction. The *Bhaskari* is indispensable, for the study of Abhinavagupta's *Vimarsini* which is a running commentary on Utpaladeva's *Karikas*, and is more or less an independent treatise on the Pratyabhijna system. It is a work for the advanced student, and although Abhinavagupta's observations are often remarkably clear and illuminating, the meaning cannot be fully grasped without a preliminary knowledge of the fundamental concepts such as *abhasa*, *iccha*, *kriya*, *svatantrya vimarsa* etc. Dr. Pandey's Introduction is very helpful in this respect, as it not only gives a lucid exposition of the basic concepts and the general background of Kashmir Saiva philosophy but explains the points at issue between that system and other schools of thought, especially the Buddhists. Abhinavagupta sometimes explains these points quite clearly. e.g. the divergence between the Nyaya and the Kashmir Saiva conception of Isvara as the Cause (2. 4. 8) ; but his *Vimarsini* is, on the whole, a difficult work, the study of which will be facilitated by this critical edition of the *Bhaskari*. The elaborate Indices prepared by the editor will be of great use to students of Indian philosophy. Another work of Abhinavagupta, the *Paryanta-pancasika*, has been brought to light and edited by Dr. V. Raghavan with a learned Introduction and critical notes ; it is a brief resume of some of the tenets of the Pratyabhijna school in fifty-two verses.

The new edition of Vidyananda's *Aptapariksha* prepared by Pandit Darbarilal Jain is a valuable contribution to the study of Indian philosophical texts. Students will be grateful for this exhaustive edition with a learned Introduction and a translation in Hindi with several appendices. The text is not a very easy one, and the translation appears to be lucid and can be followed by students of Sanskrit even with a little knowledge of Hindi. Vidyananda who flourished early in the ninth century is one of the most elaborate among Jaina philosophical writers, and a

worthy successor of of Akalanka. The *Aptapariksha* is one of his smaller works in which he propounds the Jaina theory of the Trustworthy Being, and examines in this connection Vaishesika, Samkhya, Buddhist, Mimamsa and Vedanta doctrines, paying special attention to Vaishesika views. In fact, the numerous references to Jaina and non-Jaina authors add to the importance of his works in Sanskrit philosophical literature. The editor in his Introduction gives a valuable account of these references as well as the other works of Vidyananda including the lost *Vidyandanadamahodaya* and his principal predecessors and successors in Jaina philosophical thought. A detailed exposition of Vidyananda's treatment of Jaina doctrines and those of the other schools of Indian thought will advance our knowledge of the cross-currents in Indian philosophical literature.

It will not be out of place to say a word about the isolated efforts of individuals and there who have found delight in the writing of fluent Sanskrit prose and verse. Sri Mocherla Ramakrishnayya, a lawyer of Nellore, has published *Saradaprasada*, an interesting satirical poem in hundred smooth verses. Sri K. S. Nagarajan, a graduate in Science, of Mysore Electrical Department, has composed a Mahakavya in sixteen cantos entitled *Sitasvayamvara*. Pandits Ganes Joshi Acharya and Vishnuram Dvivedi have republished Appa Sastri Rasivadekara's *Lavanyayamayi*, a translation in Sanskrit of a Bengali novel of Bankimchandra. Dr. Mangaldev Sastri has published the second part of his *Prabandhaprakasha*, a collection of learned and thoughtful essays on educational and literary topics including one on the moral and religious ideas in the *Aitareyabrahmana*. In the concluding section of the book the author has incorporated an interesting collection of passages of ethical import from Vedic and Classical Sanskrit texts. It is the combined efforts of different categories of devoted workers that will help to keep Classical Sanskrit alive as an essential factor in our cultural life.

Sanskrit studies have long enjoyed an international status in the academic world. Western scholars, especially those of

England, France, Germany and the U. S. A., have made great contributions to the better understanding of Sanskrit literature. One of the latest, which I cannot refrain from mentioning, is the Sanskrit version of the *Mahaparinirvanasutra*, edited by Ernst Waldschmidt from the Turfan manuscripts and published by the German Academy of Sciences in Berlin only last year, which, though fragmentary in character, is a great effort in textual reconstruction. Such contributions will continue to awaken keen interest among Sanskrit scholars in India. But in the new age that is dawning upon us we also look forward to the Eastern nations taking a sympathetic interest in Sanskrit literature and the services rendered by India to the civilization of Asia. The recent institution of a professorship in Sanskrit by the Government of Iran will earn the gratitude of all lovers of Sanskrit learning in this country. Such encouragement given to Sanskrit studies will strengthen the cultural links that have always existed between India and the other nations of the East. In conclusion we must also express our gratitude for the efforts made by some of our leaders, men like C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar and K. M. Munshi, to establish international co-operation in the expansion of Sanskrit studies for the interpretation of all that is best and stimulating in Indian thought and culture.

Appendix II

German Academic Ideals

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The great French savant Renan contributed in 1864 an article to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of Paris, in which he declared that Germany was doing in the intellectual sphere what England was doing in the political and that the German universities were the scene of an intellectual movement, which was the most fruitful flexible and varied that the history of the human intellect had ever seen. This was before Sadowa and Sedan and opinion in France has fluctuated according to the sway of political sentiment. But the essential feature of German universities as centres of research has generally been recognised, and when we speak of German academic ideals it is this point that we have to grasp—the peculiar German conception that the universities are the sole centres of academic research, literary and scientific. A university without a number of special Institutes attached to it for carrying on organised research and supplementing the usual university course is an anomaly accepted in India, but unthinkable in Germany.

University as Centre of Research

Paulsen in his well-known work on the German universities (*Die deutschen Universitäten*) points out that some of the most eminent scholars and thinkers of England, men like Darwin, Mill, Spencer, Carlyle, Macaulay, Gibbon, Bentham and others have stood outside the pale of the universities, and to these we may add Lord Haldane, Balfour, Edmund Gosse and others from contemporaries. In Germany, on the other hand, all who are university teachers are scholars, and vice versa, all who are scholars are university teachers. There are, indeed, exceptions : William and Alexander Humboldt were not professors, and among the school teachers there are some who have a reputation as scholars. Even among university professors there are some who have written nothing important and wish to be teachers rather than scholars. But continues Paulsen, the coincidence of the scholar with the professor is the general rule. "Whenever in Germany one speaks of a scholar, it is at once asked : in which

university is he ? ...On the other hand, when one speaks of a professor, it is at once asked : what has he written, what has he accomplished in the domain of science ?"

Scientific Academies

Next to the universities come the five scientific Academies dealing with all branches of knowledge—those of Berlin, Munich, Gottingen, Heidelberg and Leipzig, which are, however, more or less associations of professors belonging to various universities and often serve as centres for the intellectual cooperation of professors from neighbouring seats of learning. The academies often make grants for the publication of important works (*Druckzuschuss*), and their proceedings (*Sitzungsberichte*) contain some of the most important investigations in the domain of higher learning in Germany, supplementing the scientific works published by the professors individually. The Academy of Berlin, founded by Leibniz in 1700, has to its credit some monumental publications among which may be cited the collections of Latin and Greek inscriptions, the edition of the works of the Arab historian Ibn Saud and specially the great collection of historical documents known as the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (since 1826). The academies find a point of concentration in the Association (*Verband*) of the German Scientific Academies, which publishes a critical weekly, the well-known *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*. The united academies in conformity with their high mission have often undertaken works of universal importance, some of which are still in progress. We may refer to the great Dictionary of the Latin language begun in 1893 and other monumental works like the Encyclopedia of the mathematical sciences (since 1898) and the great Biographical and Literary Dictionary for Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry and the allied sciences (since 1863).

Technical High Schools

The Technical High Schools which are more or less universities are active centres of technical research. It may be

noted that Heinrich Hertz made his famous experiments on the electric waves named after him during his tenure of professorship in the Technical High School at Karlsruhe. Research is further centralised under the guidance of university professors and distinguished scientists in the highly specialised technical Institutes belonging to the Kaiser William Society for the promotion of sciences mostly in Berlin, though there are some in other parts of Germany.

Teaching and Research

The ruling idea in Germany on the subject of teaching and research is that the scientific researcher should also be a teacher and vice versa. From Luther and Melancthon to Nietzsche and Rontgen, the vast majority of the foremost minds of Germany, including even poets and dramatists like Schiller, Burger and Freytag, has worked in a teaching capacity in the universities ; and Paulsen points out that in the case of some like Fichte, Hegel and Schleiermacher, a great part of their works was published after their death from the sketches they had made for their lectures, or from the lecture notes of their students ; they owed their influence more to their lectures than to their writings.

The simple fact that a good researcher is not necessarily a good teacher is not overlooked, but the belief seems to be that a really learned man cannot be a bad teacher. "The best scholar passes for the best teacher," says Dr. Remme, a German scholar writing in 1928.

Academic Freedom

Research can flourish only in an atmosphere of freedom, and intellectual freedom is conditioned by administrative autonomy. The great classical scholar Ernst Curtius remarked in his rectorial address in the University of Berlin in 1881 that "science can make its way in all directions only when left to itself." Hermann Helmholtz points out that in German Universities "the most extreme consequences of materialistic philosophy and the boldest

speculations in the field of Darwin's theory of evolution can be put forward in public lectures with as much freedom as the most extreme exaltation of the infallibility of the Pope." Helmholtz mentions the well-known case of Renan in France and says that it would be extremely risky for a lecturer in an English University to set forth anything against the dogmas of the Church of England. To us in India the existence side by side of Faculties of Catholic and Protestant Theology in some German Universities is not without its lesson. But the doctrine of the freedom of teaching is sometimes carried to extreme lengths, and in this connection we may refer to the Social-democratic demand for parallel professorships for the interpretation of diverse outlooks on life (*Weltanschauung*).

Administrative autonomy is assured by the fact that the Rector who is our Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor combined and elected annually by the professorial body, carries on the administration with the help of the Senate, which is a committee of professors. With regard to the appointment of teachers, the unpaid *Privatdozenten* who are admitted by the University on its own authority become ultimately professors, but the appointment of a professor, before it is valid, requires the approval of the State.

Autonomy in the University

The administrative autonomy of German Universities is not greater than that of English Universities, but they enjoy a greater measure of freedom than those of France. In 1925 the students of the Faculty of Law in the University of Paris made demonstrations against a professor appointed by the Minister of Education who was accused of favouritism. The Minister ordered certain disciplinary measures which were not adopted by the Dean, as a result of which the latter was suspended. Cases like this would hardly be possible in a German University.

The academic freedom of German Universities has, however, been criticised on the ground that the Universities were for decades a hotbed of militarism, and the free thinking of the

students was hampered by the strong national and political prejudices of the majority of the professors. Ulrich von Wilamowitz, Germany's most famous Greek scholar, in his new year's speech in the University of Berlin in 1903, indeed described the Prussian army "as the national high school" and saw in the education provided by the army the indispensable factor that made an educational system complete. Devotion to the ideal of Prussian militarism was no doubt deeprooted in academic circles, though it was the inevitable lesson conveyed by the whole history of the unification of Germany in the 19th century. Besides, it sometimes so happens that where the tyranny of the State does not exist, the tyranny of the guild makes itself a reality. It is said that in 1922 Professor Nikolai of Berlin was compelled by the senate to resign on account of his pacifist opinions. The unseemly conduct of the nationalist students of the Technical High School at Hanover in 1926 when they rebelled against the radical professor of philosophy in spite of the wholesale condemnation of the Liberal Press may be regarded as another instance of what we have called the tyranny of the guild, though no doubt such instances are extremely rare. Put in criticising the militarism or national egoism of German academic circles, we must not forget the imperialist views of many professors in English Universities, and imperialism when it is a reality is nothing more than militarism in disguise.

Nature Of Research and Analytic Method

Academic freedom is but a means to an end, and that end is research. Ernst Curtius in his rectorial address emphasised the importance of a preliminary training : "the habit of methodical work, precision in the use of the auxiliary material at the disposal of the various sciences—mathematical training for the exact sciences, accurate linguistic and literary knowledge in the case of historical and philological studies." He points out that the assimilation of the whole mass of materials is the only guarantee of solid progress, and refers to Fichte's idea that a true study is

that "which does not avoid difficult spots or hate the dry and the tedious". A study of this type is "the best barrier against dilettantism, which plays with the fancy and wants to gather fruits without having ploughed the soil". This, shortly speaking, is the ideal of German research, while the analytic method is its handmaid : both combined have made German scientific investigations models minute and painstaking research. Curtius has, indeed, described research as a "handicraft" involving intelligence as well as drudgery. The analytic method is essentially objective : "the artist gives the material a higher being, the researcher finds in it the true being."

The analytic method necessarily leads to the synthetic method, but before we speak of it we must refer to Nietzsche's severe criticism of German academic ideals and methods.

Nietzsche's Criticism and Synthetic Method

The wholesale condemnation by Nietzsche of German education and science, coming as it did from one who was himself a university professor, was no doubt staggering, but the philosopher did not suggest any definite method, and as a matter of fact, was too metaphysical to do so. He denounced the analytic tendencies of his times and laid stress on the creative side of the human intellect, on genius as opposed to learning or scholarship, and sought to replace historical thinking by metaphysical thinking. So, in his "Wir Gelehrten" he pities the scholar, who is nothing more than a mirror and has become merely "the thoroughfare (Durchgang) and reflection of foreign forms and occurrences." With his eye on the dynamic force of character, on will power and personality he heaps scorn on "objectivity", "scientificness", "art for art", and "mere knowledge devoid of will." In his "Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Historie" he declares that "a great scholar and a great blockhead (Flachkopf) go together very easily under the same hat", and that the absorption of knowledge without will power and creative genius gives a feeling similar to that of "those serpents which swallow a whole

rabbit and then lying quietly in the sun avoid all movements except those which are indispensable."

Nietzsche's criticism and teaching contained elements of abiding value for the future of human education but did not influence the course of German research and learning to any great extent. He no doubt admitted the utility of "philosophical workers" gathering materials for the law-giving philosopher and that of historical workers as "handymen in the service of the master historian", who in the exertion of his own noblest qualities guesses what is great and worth knowing in the past. He gave importance to "synthetic productions", but the synthetic method which has appeared in Germany as a necessary adjunct of the method of analysis does not and possibly cannot fulfil the idea of Nietzsche, a prophetic sweep and a synthetic vision mastering the past and "shortening Time itself."

As a student of literature, I will not venture to speak of science, but so far as literary research is concerned, in the field of German literature itself the extreme analytic method of Lachmann and Scherer has been followed by the synthetic studies of Jakob Minor, Dilthey and others, who along with Richard Meyer, Walzel and Gundolf among contemporaries, have fruitfully applied the psychological and aesthetic methods to the interpretation of the spirit and history of literature. In the field of historical research also the importance of the judgement of values as opposed to a mere collection and arrangement of facts has been in recent times emphasised. Prof. Georg von Below in his masterly survey of German historical literature finds the purely objective method insufficient and points out the importance of discerning values, which is possibly only by the subjective method.

There are, however, distinguished scholars, who suspect any method involving wide generalisations and subjective interpretations. Konrad Burdach, the great modern authority on the Renaissance, has, for instance, expressed his misgivings regarding such topics as the philosophy of history or the

discernment of values. He advocates the analytic method, which avoids "abstractions and constructions" and occupies itself with the concrete truth and "the manifold character and divergence of individual creative forces." This predilection for minute study and analysis may be said to characterise German scholarship at its best*.

* Published in 'Forward', 11th March 1928

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