*Bhoja's Alternate Universe**

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Towards the end of the eleventh chapter of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, there is an aside in *gāthā*s that surveys the genres that king Bhoja accepts as constituting the complete range of literary form. The passage is long, 14 pages in Raghavan's edition, and gives us some idea of the unusual flavour of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* as a whole.[1] Much of it is taken over *en bloc* from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s eighteenth *adhyāya*, although with considerable reorganisation and occasional rewriting by Bhoja to account for the spectrum of forms said to be *prekṣya* 'visible' or *abhineya* 'performable'.[2] When the text next moves to the *anabhineya* or 'non-performable' types (that is, what other genre surveys, following *Kāvyādarśa* 1: 39, would call *śravyakāvya*), Bhoja composes his own verses, though continuing in a very similar style to the old Bhāratīya *gāthā*s, to account for the rest of his typology.

This portion is full of interesting literary-historical data in the formal definitions Bhoja offers as well as in the works he adduces as examples. All of this is extensively detailed in Raghavan's monograph.[3] Many definitions are familiar: the major dramatic types, the *mahākāvya*, *ākhyāna* and *ākhyāyikā*, the *campū*, etc. Some are atypical and somewhat eccentric, as when Bhoja proposes new generic types, *parvabandha* and *kāṇḍabandha* to account for the single (albeit massively important) token instances of the two Epics. In contrast to the schematic system of genres available in earlier critics, it is possible — though, I admit, purely speculative — to see here a new way to organise a wide-ranging collection of Sanskrit

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[1] V. Raghavan (ed.) *Śṛṅgaraprakāśa of Bhoja*, Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 53 (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), pp. 713–727. Cited hereafter as ŚP in the notes; for sections of the text after the fourteenth *prakāśa* I cite the forthcoming H.O.S. text.

[2] *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 18: 10ff. In the apparatus to his edition, Raghavan laconically notes "*katipayā āryās tyaktāḥ, kāsāṃcit paurvāparyavyatyāsaś ca. pāṭhabhedā bahavaḥ, prāyaḥ* GOS *sampādane ye ṭīppaṇyāṃ dattāḥ pāṭhāḥ, tān* ***bhojo*** *'nusarati*" (ŚP, p. 713, emphasis Raghavan's), "A number of these *āryā* verses have been left out, and the order of some of them has been rearranged. There are many variant readings: Bhoja largely follows those readings that are given in the apparatus of the GOS edition."

[3] V. Raghavan, *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* 3rd revised edition (Madras, 1978), pp. 526–545 (*prekṣya*) and pp. 593–610 (*śravya*). Cited hereafter as *Bhoja*.

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and Prakrit poetry, almost as if this was meant to serve as a versified catalogue for Bhoja's celebrated library at Dhārā.

It is the conclusion to this passage with which I would like to begin, both the final *āryā* as well as the bit of explanatory prose that the author attaches to it (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 727):

> *yasminn aśeṣavidyāsthānavibhūtayaḥ prakāśante |*
> *saṃhatya sa sāhityaprakāśa etādṛśo bhavati ||*
>
> *etasmin hi śṛṅgāraprakāśe suprakāśam evāśeṣaśāstrārthasampadupaniṣadām akhilakalākāvyaucityakalpanā-rahasyānāṃ ca sanniveśo dṛśyate.*
>
> A work in which the treasures of all of the disciplines are drawn together and displayed is the *sāhityaprakāśa*, the Light upon Literature. It is like this.
>
> It is in fact in this work, the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* or Light upon Passion, that one may see in the clearest possible way the complete range of the hidden excellences of every form of knowledge and the mysteries of how to best meet with success in poetry and in every other worldly craft.

What I seek to present in this essay is simply a gloss or *upanyāsa* on this short passage. This is confessedly a preliminary and tentative take on the mighty *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. I can hardly lay claim to expertise in the text or in the enormous world that it presupposes: at the most, I would say this is an effort to lay an initial understanding of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* on the table, what H-G. Gadamer would call a 'fore-structure of understanding'.[4] Given that the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* is so large and so atypical of much of *alaṃkāraśāstra*, hopefully this may be of some use, something to be adapted and modified or rejected in the course of subsequent study of the work.

In coming up with a preliminary approach to the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, one needs to comment briefly on the influential and important recent history of scholarship on the text. It is comforting, perhaps, that for all the vicissitudes suffered by Bhoja's great work (little read and poorly understood, despite its breadth and astonishing ambition), it has in the last several decades been the recipient of the remarkable interpretive attentions of two great scholars, V. Raghavan and Sheldon Pollock. Their interpretations of the text will continue to inform all discussions of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. Both Raghavan and Pollock are strong readers and critics (much as was Bhoja, or perhaps better 'Bhoja'[5]): readers whose powerful agenda at every step inform their labour with the text. This is, in my view, right and good.

[4]Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*. trans. by Joel Weinshimer and Donald G. Marshall (New York, 1994), 265ff, extending Heidegger; see especially his p. 267: "A person who is trying to understand a text is always projecting. He projects a meaning for the text as a whole as soon as some initial meaning emerges in the text. Again, the initial meaning emerges only because he is reading the text with particular expectations in regard to a certain meaning. Working out the fore-projection, which is constantly revised in terms of what emerges as he penetrates into the meaning, is part of the process of understanding what is there".

[5]See *Bhoja*, pp. 5–7 and Pollock, "Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the Problem of *Rasa*: A Historical Introduction and Annotated Translation", *Asiatische Studien/Études Asiatiques* 52.1 (1998), 1, n. 1 for defences of the attribution of unitary authorship of the work to the Paramāra king. Pollock asserts this without further demonstration (the ŚP is "unmistakably marked by the voice of a single author"); Raghavan is more detailed, presenting a reasonable *pūrvapakṣa* that gives some of the credit to the poet Chittapa (variants of the name include Cittapa, Kṣittapa, etc.). This joint attribution has some inherent plausibility to it: the poet was clearly a prolific member of Bhoja's *sabhā,* 38 verses of whose survive in the late twelfth-century Bengal anthology *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, including the ŚP's *maṅgala*

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There are times, however, when this strength forces them up against the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* in odd ways. I have the impression that Raghavan really wanted Bhoja to think and write like a normative śāstrī: readers of his monograph will recall passages when he really seems quite frustrated and almost indignant towards the idiosyncrasies of presentation and argument that are characteristic of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, especially so in the typologies and taxonomies to which so much of the work is given over, and in the often very creative rereadings Bhoja gives of some of his sources, notably the *Kāvyādarśa* and the *Nāṭyaśāstra*.[6] As for Pollock (without whom the present generation, including myself, would have little to do with the work at all), he wants to fit the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, especially its eleventh *prakāśa*, into the position of opposition to the Kashmirian school of literary theory synthesised by Abhinavagupta. As a consequence he rejects Raghavan's attempt to see the theory of *ahaṃkāra-śṛṅgāra* as a sort of generalised philosophical anthropology, a point to which I will return. Related to this, but ultimately even more significantly, Pollock wants to argue that the importance of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* is as a priceless archival textual monument, an enormous attestation of how Sanskrit literary culture worked at its zenith, before the full-fledged transition to vernacularity and before the ultimately homogenising effect of Abhinavagupta's revision of Ānandavardhana's *dhvani* theory forever changed the rules of the game of literary interpretation.[7] I am sympathetic to this archival-monumental vision of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, but I have come to think that this insistence on the conservative, almost museological, understanding of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* risks muting the innovative, even radical nature of some of the work's explicit and implied arguments.

With all of this in mind, and with due deference to these two scholars, I offer here two ways to frame the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* – two related but somewhat different paths 'into' the text. I begin with an appeal to a comparison, an *upamāna*, as a way to try and capture what is particular and unique at a *structural* level with Bhoja's enormous work. Following on this, I will conclude with a speculative reconstruction of what I call Bhoja's alternate universe:

verse *achinnamekhalam*, etc. (on this anthology see J. Knutson, "The Political Poetic of the Sena Court", *Journal of Asian Studies* 69.2 [2010], pp. 371–401).The same poet was also the author of a poorly preserved epigraphic *stotra* on the sun-god (H. V. Trivedi, *Inscriptions of the Paramāras, Chandellas and Kachchapaghātas and two Minor Dynasties*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, volume 7, 3 parts [New Delhi, 1979–91] 2, pp. 122–126; in line 11 the poet is named *mahākavicakravartipaṃḍitaśrīchittapa*; the record merits study and emendation). He was also evidently the author of a grammatical *kāvya* akin to Bhaṭṭi's retelling of the Rāma story (see *Bhoja* p. 7 and Raghavan's extended Sanskrit discussion in the critical apparatus to the ŚP, pp. 9–12), and thus his influence could plausibly account for the formal grammatical discussions in the work's early *prakāśa*s. In any event, the highly laminated, quotative style of the ŚP (discussed below) argues against a unitary author for such a polyphonic work. Nevertheless, the work claims for itself an individual author, and that author is Bhoja (see ŚP, p. 405, noted by both scholars). I am thus inclined to accept Raghavan and Pollock's defence of the work's attribution, provided that we envision the king as a sort of chief executive of the massive text, perhaps with Chittapa seen as a leading contributor heading up a whole paṇḍit organisation.

[6]See Raghavan's repeated references to Bhoja's patently distortive interpretation of *Kāvyādarśa* 2.275 (*preyaḥ priyatarākhyānaṃ*, etc.), e.g. *Bhoja*, p. 400 ("Bhoja quotes [the verse] and utilises it for his own purpose, pushing in all of his new wine"), p. 420 ("a strained meaning"), 440ff. The last of these passages discusses the central theoretical statement of ŚP's expanded notion of *rasa* as *ahaṃkāra-śṛṅgāra* (ŚP, pp. 673–687 [=*Bhoja*, pp. 492–501, translated in Pollock, "Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*", pp. 161–178]), which is grounded in Bhoja's exegetical colonisation of Daṇḍin's simple account of the three *alaṃkāra*-s *preyaḥ*, *rasavat* and *ūrjasvin*.

[7]On the opposition between Bhoja's interpretation and Abhinavagupta's, see Pollock, "Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*", esp. pp. 138–141 and Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men* (Berkeley, 2006): 216ff; on the ŚP as a *summa poeticae,* a great archive of pre-Abhinavaguptan and pre-vernacularisation literary culture, see *ibid.*, pp. 105–109.

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his vision of a textual-cultural order that culminates in poetry, poetic language and in the reflection thereon, *sāhitya*, the higher 'unity' of sound and sense possible in literature.

To work outward from an analogy is really in the spirit of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* itself. Late in the text, in its twenty-fifth *prakāśa*, there is a lengthy discussion of the workings of *prathamānurāga* or 'love at first sight'. Bhoja begins by describing how love at first sight begins in the realm of inchoate feeling (*bhāvaskandha*, the first of its four modalities), which itself emerges *nāyakayoḥ prāg asaṅgatayoḥ mitho darśanaśravaṇābhyām*, "through the furtive seeing and hearing of the two lovers who have not met before" (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, p. 1315). This furnishes Bhoja the opportunity to develop a lengthy aside on the *pramāṇa*s, the ways of knowing or epistemic warrants accepted in classical epistemology. Bhoja does this by subscribing the list of generally accepted *pramāṇa*s to his twin rubics of 'seeing' (something he quickly expanded to mean 'knowing'[8]) and 'hearing', in the case of young lovers. In the course of this long discussion, he makes the interesting and, on the face of it, very strange assertion that *upamāna*, which is often one of the *pramāṇa*s that epistemologists are wont to reject as really coming down to either one or other of the accepted forms of knowledge or a cocktail of several of them, is, in fact, the form of knowledge *par excellence*, that on which everything depends:[9]

> And there is something else. Let us give up on all of this great, pointless debate [about the validity of analogy]. Actually, for thoughtful people, comparison is largely the *only* form of valid knowledge; furthermore, [all other generally accepted *pramāṇa*s] such as direct perception are, in fact, contained within similiarity [*upamā*]. To explain: in order to be practically useful, valid knowledge depends upon a prior awareness that is discursively constituted. Such discursively constituted awareness is linguistic in nature, and language can convey meaning only insofar as there is the grasping of the connection [between word and referent]. But since it is only subsequent to this that direct perception can reveal something to be similar to some other thing, how does it not amount to comparison?
>
> [The sole surviving manuscript witness for this section is lacunose here: Bhoja goes on to cite the authority of the ancient Sāṃkhya authority Vindhyāvāsin, and to similarly reduce the *pramāṇa*s of inference, scriptural testimony, and traditional opinion (*aitihya*) to analogy as well].
>
> If this is really so, one might wonder what is the point of these other forms of knowledge, such as direct perception: to this, we would reply that received wisdom has real charm to it, as long as it goes unexamined: just like the ways of worldly life, it cannot endure scrutiny.

In short, it is really only through a series of working comparisons between dissimilar things that we are able get on with the business of life, while admitting there to be other ways to know the world only out of habit and convention. This argument — which is highly eccentric from the perspective of classical logic — gives something of the flavour of the

[8]ŚP, p. 1315 : *dṛśir iha jñānavacano 'darśanārthaḥ*, "in this case, the verb √*dṛś* refers to 'knowledge,' it does not mean 'seeing'."

[9]ŚP, p. 1321: *kiñcānyat, āstām asthānikī mahaty eṣā kathā. parīkṣakāṇāṃ hi prāyeṇopamānam eva pramāṇam, pratyakṣādīni punar upamāyām evāntarbhavanti. tathā hi: vyavahāropayogi pramāṇaṃ savikalpakajñānapūrvaṃ, savikalpakaṃ śābdaṃ, śabdasya ca sambandhagrahaṇasamaye 'rthapratipādakam* [read *-pratipādakatvam*?]. *taduttarakālaṃ tu tatsādṛśyenāvabodhakatvāt kathaṃ na pratyakṣam upamānam.*[. . .] *yady evam upamānam evāstu kiṃ pratyakṣādibhir iti. atrocyate. gatānugatikanyāyo 'vicāritaramaṇīyaḥ saṃsāravyavahāra iva vicāraṃ na kṣamate.*

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Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. It is a work of wide-ranging ambition and intellectual confidence, unafraid to entertain unorthodox views and often couching its ideas in surprising ways. While this argument does have a traditional śāstric precedent in Vindhyāvāsin's now-lost works,[10] I suspect that the significance of this argument for Bhoja is motivated by his work's central concern with literary language and literary art, and with the critical place of similitude (*aupamya*, *sādṛśya*) therein. Bhoja's choice of words is deliberate when he dissolves all forms of knowledge into analogical reasoning, calling it *upamā*, the same name given in the *alaṃkāra* tradition to the simile, the most basic and essential meaning-based figure.[11] This suggests an essential point about the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*'s larger argument, that the densely wrought language of poetry presents a series of paradigmatic instances by which we may truly understand the world.

More immediately, however, these broad claims for the centrality of comparison embolden me to offer one of my own, in which I will venture to compare the immense complexity and monumentality of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* to another, equally enormous project attributed to Bhoja. Imagine, for a moment, standing on a high hill in one corner of the Paramāra domain near the modern city of Bhopal, sometime in the decades after the completion of Bhoja's massive *summa poeticae*. From our hilltop perch, we could hardly fail to notice just how great this king's vision and ambition were. Taking advantage of a stretch of encircling hills near the headwaters of the Betwā river, this same Paramāra king set about transforming part of the world that was his birthright, setting up massive earthen and stone bulwarks to create an enormous artificial lake that bears his name, the so-called Bhoj tāl (Fig. 1). When the political agent William Kincaid surveyed the site in the late nineteenth century, by then known as Bhojpur after a nearby village, he made some calculations as to the size of the earthworks that Bhoja had created: two massive dams (the larger of the two nearly a half kilometre long), one towering forty feet above the ground and each hundreds of feet thick at their bases, tapering to a hundred-foot broad top, angled in to prevent their being overwhelmed by the waters they hemmed in.[12] Kincaid exaggerated the size of the constructions, but his observation that the nearby hill known as Maṇḍidīp (from *dvīpa* or 'island') reflects the size of the lake that had once been there seems to hold good. That by Kincaid's time this considerable body of water has disappeared is owed to the fact that in 1434 CE Hoshang Shāh, Sultan of Mālwa, in a bold *coup de main*, had the smaller of Bhoja's dams breached, in an effort, we are told in a Persian chronicle, to quell a local rebellion in

[10]See *Bhoja*, pp. 721–723, pp. 744–746; in an article exploring the methodological and conceptual issues of social-scientific and humanistic comparison, Pollock notes this argument in passing, while drawing attention to its intellectual genealogy in Praśastapāda's *Bhāṣya* (Pollock, "Comparison without Hegemony", in *The Benefit of Broad Horizons: Intellectual and Institutional Preconditions for a Global Social Science; Festschrift for Björn Wittrock on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, edited by H. Joas and B. Klein (Leiden, 2010), p. 196, n.; cf. *Bhoja*, p. 743).

[11]Though here, as ever, Bhoja is idiosyncratic, classing *upamā* as the first and typical instance of what he terms *ubhayālaṃkāra*s, "ornaments of both [sound and sense]". See Bhoja, *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, edited and translated by Sundari Siddhartha (Delhi, 2009) 4, pp. 1–4 (setting out the *ubhaya*-class as a separate category) and 3, pp. 5–23 (admitting twenty-four types of *upamā*); this is epitomised in ŚP, pp. 634–638. On the *ubhayālaṃkāra*-s, see *Bhoja*, pp. 379–383; for compelling reflections on the centrality of the *upamā*-simile to the basic problems of Sanskrit poetics, see Y. Bronner, *Extreme Poetry: The South Asian Movement of Simultaneous Narration* (New York 2010), pp. 217–230 (on the theory of *upamā* in Daṇḍin, Bhoja's most important source) and pp. 250–254 (more generally).

[12]William Kincaid, "Rambles among Ruins in Central India", *Indian Antiquary* 17 (1888), pp. 348–352.

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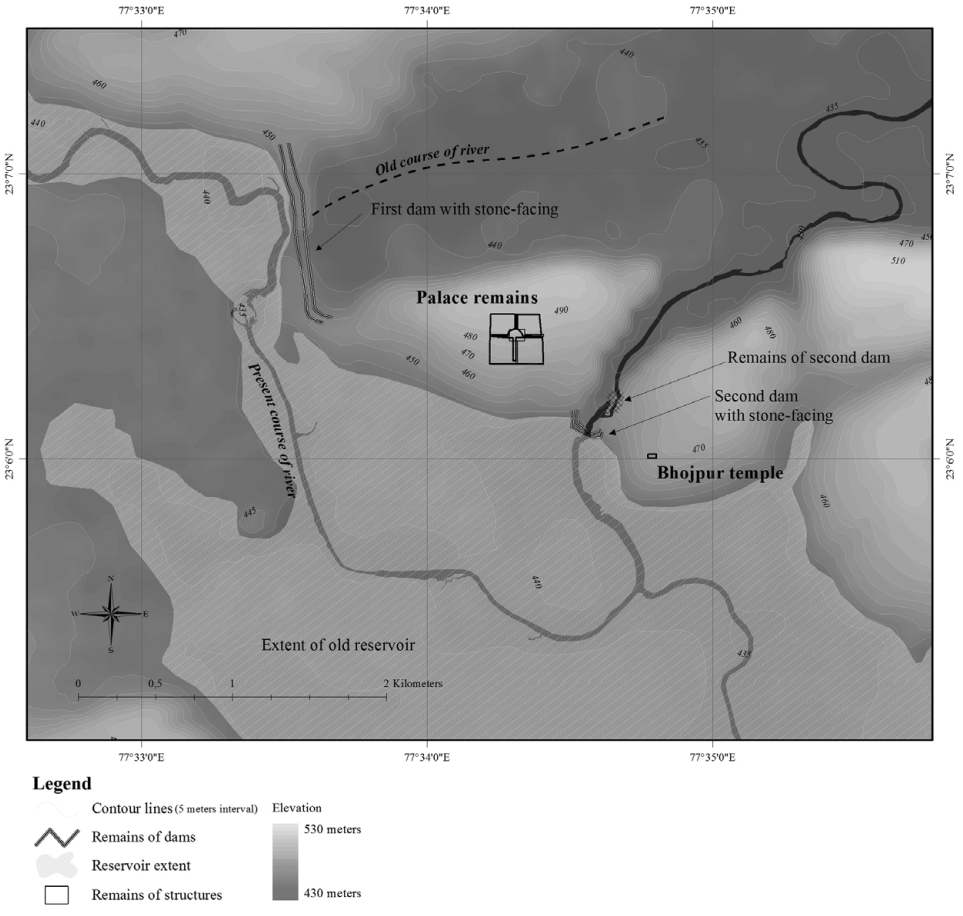


Fig. 1. Map showing the original size of the lake at Bhojpur.

the vicinty.[13] It took three years for the lake to drain, if the source is to be believed, and the hydrology of central India was substantially changed in the process.

I am very much an amateur when it comes to the history of irrigation in South Asia. But what I do know, gleaned from a brief excursion into the published work on the subject, suggests that it might be worthwhile to take these two great monuments of Bhoja – the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the Bhojpur constructions – in a single gaze. Bhoja's text and his waterworks are interestingly alike for more reason than showing that this man's attitude was 'more-is-more'. For one, there is the anomaly that both are products of a royal command economy. While it was long an axiom of Marxist and vociferiously anti-Marxist scholarship alike that pre-modern India depended on the absolutist control over water – an arrangement variously called the 'Asiatic mode of production' or 'hydraulic despotism' – it has now been overwhelmingly demonstrated that this was simply not the case. For most of India's agrarian

[13]See U. N. Day *Medieval Malwa* (Delhi, 1969); the reliability and context of this source merits more inquiry.

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history, massive public works like Bhoja's were exceedingly rare, though obviously seriously consequential when they were built. Most of the creation and upkeep of the astonishing web of tanks, barriers, channels and watered fields across the subcontinent was an entirely decentralised affair, or one in which kings were only single nodes in much wider and more various networks of power.[14] So the shared gigantism with the constructions at Bhojpur reminds us just how odd it is at this point to possess the literary-theoretical and anthological bulk of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. Though royally-centred works of *alaṃkāra* would later become all the rage – those authored by kings like Siṅhabhūpāla in his *Rasārṇavasudhākara*, directed to royal patrons like the *Pratāparudrīya* of Vidyānātha, or works falling somewhere between the two – there had been no such major work prior to Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and his earlier *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*.[15]

The Bhojpur dam and its surroundings help give us a purchase on the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* in other ways as well. To be precise, we can use what we can reconstruct of the site to think about the structure of *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* as a whole. To speak of the 'architectonics' of a text or other work of culture has long become a dead metaphor in certain kinds of humanistic scholarship, but I think it can be made to work as more than just a rhetorically inflated synonym for textual structure or organisation. It is worth exploring the ways in which the complex built environment of Bhojpur – from the mammoth edifice of the stone-faced earthen dams themselves, to their more humble (and now largely vanished) support structures, such as sluices, check-dams, spillways etc. – provides us a good working analogy for the linguistic bulk of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. At the very least, it allows us to frame the question of its design in terms that might be more familiar to those who work on material culture: how was the monumental text made and out of what sort of materials? And what was it *for*?

At the risk of appearing glib, I start with the second question and the suggestion that there is a functional as well as structural analogy between the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the Bhojpur dams. The enormous water structures along with their accompanying apparatus were meant, above all, to contain and to channel the evanescent flow of the waters of the Betwā, and

[14]For recent accounts of irrigation history in South Asia, see *inter alia* K. Morrison, *Daroji Valley: Landscape History, Place, and the Making of a Dryland Reservoir System* (Delhi, 2008); Morrison, "Dharmic Projects, Imperial Reservoirs, and New Temples of India: An Historical Perspective on Dams in India", *Conservation and Society,* 8.3 (2010), pp. 182–195; J. Heitzman, *Gifts of Power* (Delhi, 1997): esp. pp. 37–54, pp. 84–99, and pp. 228–234; D. Mosse, *The Rule of Water* (Delhi, 2003), pp. 53–91; Julia Shaw and J. V. Sutcliffe, "Water management, patronage networks and religious change: new evidence from the Sanchi dam complex and counterparts in Gujarat and Sri Lanka", *South Asian Studies* 19 (2003), pp. 73–104; *ibidem*, "Ancient Dams and Buddhist Landscapes in the Sanchi area: New evidence on Irrigation, Land use and Monasticism in Central India", *South Asian Studies* 21 (2005), pp. 1–24. The Marxian perspective is ably and judiciously argued for in B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Irrigation in Early Medieval Rajasthan", in *The Making of Early Medieval India* (Delhi, 1994), pp. 38–56 (and references given on p. 56). The old Wittfogelian model of hydraudic despotism is, I believe, no longer considered a reputable position: see the thorough critique already given in C. Geertz, *Negara: the Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton, 1980), 69ff.

[15]By this, I mean no work with a royal author, titular or otherwise, and no work that takes the author's royal patron as the subject of its exemplary verses. That *ālaṃkārika*s found preferment in royal courts before Bhoja's time is something established in Kalhaṇa's references to the critic Udbhaṭa's position as *sabhāpati* under Jayāpīḍa (reg. *circa* 775–800, see *Rājataraṅgiṇī* 4, p. 495). Literary criticism seems to have been a lucrative field, as Udbhaṭa received a daily stipend of hundred thousand *dīnnāra*s; see Stein's note on this incredible sum (vol. 2, pp. 308–328: the *dīnnāra* had by this point become purely a currency of account). However, absent this testimony, we would have no grounds in the actual work of this theorist that would lead us to assume him to be a court functionary. On the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa,* see Willis, "Dhār, Bhoja and Sarasvatī", in this issue of the *JRAS*.

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so to bring increase to the heart of Paramāra kingdom. The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, on my reading, was dedicated to a similar task, an attempt to contain and to channel an equally evanescent, equally crucial and equally life-giving resource – language itself. To continue the aqueous image, the work was meant to gather, to preserve, and to direct Sarasvatī, the liquid goddess of language personified, and a divinity to whom Bhoja was especially devoted.

The work's interest in the cultivation of Sarasvatī was not strictly archival, nor was it just the shambolic mess that some have seen it to be. On the contrary, the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* is organised around a single complex *telos*, that towards which language as such is directed and into which it can be focalised: the synthesis of sound and sense, signifier and signified that in Sanskrit is called *sāhitya* or 'unity'. Tucked away among all the many significant points that are there to be found in Raghavan's invaluable monograph, there is a key chapter that provides a *Begriffsgeschichte* of the concept of *sāhitya*. The central point there is that in the eleventh century, the concept of *sāhitya* was revolutionised by two nearly contemporaneous works, the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and the first *unmeṣa* of Kuntaka's *Vakroktijīvita*.[16] The notion of *sāhitya* was however an old one, dating back at least to Bhāmaha's definition that "Poetry is the union of word and meaning" (*śabdārthau sahitau kāvyam*, *Kāvyālaṃkāra* 1.16; an antecedent to this idea can be glimpsed in Kālidāsa's celebrated opening to the *Raghuvaṃśa*, *vāgarthāv iva saṃpṛktau*, *etc.*). Sanskrit *belles-lettres*, thus defined, was joined by the self-conscious reflection on poetic language in the form of *alaṃkāraśāstra* (often known under the name *sāhityavidyā*[17]), the discipline governing the judgment of what constituted *sāhitya*: the theory and practice of poetry were deeply and inextricably imbricated long before Bhoja's time.

In the Paramāra king's hands, however, *sāhitya* is taken up and further extended, and turned into a master-concept that governs the entire extent of his massive *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. In his expanded definition, *sāhitya* connotes not just fine or literary writing, but serves as the highest synthesis of language as such: poetic language is significant because poetry forms the apex of any and all forms of language use, the point at which grammar and all of the features of Bhoja's twelve-part taxonomy of *sāhitya* are present. It is in poetry that these features, the very stuff that constitutes language in its most intensified, autotelic form, are made available deliberately, self-consciously and beautifully. Sārasvatī, so often at risk of melting away into thin air with every utterance, is fixed, made solid and so preserved by means of all of the cataloging, regimenting and theorising of Bhoja's great *sāhityaprakāśa*. This, it seems to me, is the global intention and ambition of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. It aims to provide an exhaustive mechanism to contain and to channel language towards the higher unity of which it is essentially and primordially capable.

But what about the structure of our mammoth Sarasvatī conservation project? To put the question another way, what is the text *made of*? Again, the Bhojpur constructions, ranging from the massive dams to the spillways, channels, and sluices that depended on them, and the natural environment in which they were all set, provide us with a starting point. We can begin with the preexisting materials incorporated into the work, prior texts treated almost as found objects. The *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* in fact includes a huge amount of earlier textual material,

[16] *Bhoja*, pp. 82–103. A possibility not explored by Raghavan is that Bhoja may in fact have been aware of Kuntaka's work (a suggestion I owe to Lawrence McCrea, in conversation).

[17] As in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, pp. 4–10 *et passim*.

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whether through attributed quotation, reworked borrowing or wholesale incorporation. To mention only the big ticket items: the entirety of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* is written into the text, as are hundreds of verses from the *Vākyapadīya* along with its commentaries of Puṇyarāja and Helārāja (including verses no longer available in the work as transmitted), something like 80 pages of the printed edition of the *Nyāyamañjarī* of Jayantabhaṭṭa, large chunks of the *Nāṭyaśāstra, Kāmasūtra* and *Nyāyasūtra*; while the opening chapters on Vyākaraṇa are either direct quotations of Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* or are written in a style of self-conscious homage to that great work.[18] To this we may add the enormous bulk of the *udāharaṇa*-citations of *kāvya* texts. As much as the text is a testament to an astonishing breadth of reading in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature (providing the literary historian with precious attestations of lost works, and casting even central parts of the canon in a considerably different light), it is striking even to the casual reader of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* that Bhoja cites many verses over and over again, verses like *yad eva rocate mahyam* or *mā bhaiḥ śaśāṅka mama śīthuni nāsti rāhuḥ*.[19] These provide a sort of interwoven structural support to the text as a whole, as they are repeatedly introduced, often in the service of different points of the argument.

Outside of these incorporated materials, another key structural device of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* is its central habit of taxonomy and of list-making. This is a feature of the text that cannot be missed, and which has tried the patience of even its most sympathetic readers. Bhoja almost certainly fills out some parts of his taxonomies (which usually are organised into sixes or multiples of six) purely in the interests of symmetry. If we are willing to accept, however, that symmetry is a virtue to an argumentative text, then the patterning that results has a certain logic, a patterning that resembles architecture more than conventional forensic or propositional text-making. It is at the intersection of these two structural devices – extensive taxonomy and constant citation – that much of the intellectual energy of the text is located.

Standing out from all of this, however, is the feature that makes the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* most distinctive in the history of Sanskrit literary theory: its argument that *śṛṅgāra* (normally, the erotic sentiment or *rasa*, one of the set normally numbered eight or nine) is, in fact, the same as *ahaṃkāra* or *abhimāna*, the I-cognition or sense of self, and that it is the sole real *rasa*, and that all forms of literary affect are only transformations of this one actually-existing emotional core. It is here especially where the strong readings of Raghavan and Pollock are the most at odds. Both highlight the crucial difference between this interpretation of the *rasa* problematic and that associated with Abhinavagupta and the Kashmirian tradition of literary theory, and both acknowledge the thorny conceptual issues that this raises. For Pollock, who understands the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* as the final, totalising statement of an earlier theoretical dispensation, Bhoja's analysis of *śṛṅgāra* is strictly confined to literary representation, and crucially, the locus of *rasa* is the literary character himself or herself. On this reading, Bhoja's theory of *rasa*

> constantly redirects our attention toward the literary process itself and the production of literary communication. This is what Bhoja is above all concerned to analyze, not literary reception, and that is what his discourse on *rasa* appears to be designed to address. Although the various positions

[18]The extent of these borrowings is detailed in *Bhoja*, pp. 703–753; on Patañjali see especially pp. 729–730.
[19]E.g. ŚP, pp. 401, 663; 357, 1324 *et al.*

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on *rasa* may not be mutually exclusive in theory, there was clearly variance among thinkers with respect to which aspect of the *rasa* problematic they invested with analytical primacy.[20]

Raghavan earlier proposed a more ecumenical view. For him, literary characters are seen to most clearly typify the underlying workings of *abhimāna-śṛṅgāra* – of self-reflexive emotive awareness as the active structuring principle of consciousness – but this is only because it is in literature that this is most plainly laid bare. For Raghavan, Bhoja's theory contains within it the possibility of a general theory of culture and individuation, where the *rasika*, the one who "has *rasa*", becomes an all encompassing model for subjectivity.[21] This places us far afield of Pollock's text-internal reading of the theory. There is certainly something unusual, even uncanny, about this equating of putatively fictitious persons and those we understand to be actually existing, and Pollock is wary of the more constructive and eclectic aspects of Raghavan's interpretation.[22] But the tendency to leap across conceptual and intellectual boundaries that Pollock sees in Raghavan's work ("an anachronistic hodgepodge of theories") is certainly present in Bhoja's own thought,[23] and limiting the scope of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* to a disenchanted theory of literature for literature's sake runs the risk of muting some of its unruly brilliance. If the *ahaṃkāra-śṛṅgāra* theory certainly is confined in its demonstration to the represented *rasika*s of literature, it would nevertheless be a mistake to posit too strong a divide between art and life in Bhoja's work: analytical primacy does not constitute ontological exclusivity.

Notably, the main presentation of this idiosyncratic theory is really confined to the opening *kārikā*s of the work and a significant part of its eleventh chapter. Pollock's 1998 article presents an integral translation of these passages; there is additionally the application of the newly empowered *śṛṅgāra* to the moral theory of the *caturvarga*, as Malamoud discussed in a classic article.[24] Though of course it is central to design of the text, this material is slight when set against the thirty-six long chapters of a text that will eventually reach, in its completed edition, more than two thousand pages of closely printed Sanskrit. Thus the presence of the reconfigured idea of *śṛṅgāra* in the text as a whole is, to put it paradoxically, marginal but essential. This is something that the placement of the *précis* of the theory in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*'s opening verses itself calls to mind. And this again jibes with what we know of the site at Bhojpur. Scholarship on pre-modern Indic water structures sometimes speaks of 'monumentalised control structures': temples or temple-like buildings erected on top of or near to features like the dams at Bhojpur (Fig. 2).[25] These seem to have been built at

[20] Pollock, "Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*", pp. 126–127.

[21] See *Bhoja*, pp. 423–424; pp. 453–459.

[22] See especially Pollock, "Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*", p. 137, n. 41.

[23] To give only a single example, we may instance the significant place held by the speculative metaphysics of Sāṃkhya in the basic conceptual structure of the *rasa*-theory. This is foregrounded in the ŚP's third opening verses *ātmasthitaṃ guṇaviśeṣam* etc., which provides the keynote for the theory's ontological underpinnings. The sociomoral preconditions of aesthetic sophistication are reflected upon in thinkers early than or contemporary to Bhoja (most notably Abhinavagupta himself), but only in an undeveloped way: in Bhoja, by contrast, metaphysics, social theory, and literary criticism are all points on a single discursive continuum. That Bhoja himself claims "we are not one-hundred-percent Sāṃkhyas" (in Pollock's happy rendering of *na ca sarvathā sāṅkhyadarśanāśrayiṇo vayam*, ŚP, p. 398 = Pollock, "Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*," p. 150) goes some way towards demonstrating that creative intellectual appropriation is fundamental to the ŚP's method.

[24] C. Malamoud, "Semantics and Rhetoric in the Hindu Hierarchy of the 'Aims of Man'", in *Cooking the World* (Delhi, 1996), pp. 109–129.

[25] Notably in Shaw and Sutcliffe, "Water management, patronage networks and religious change".

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the point where the dams were pierced by spill-ways or other sorts of channels, often near enough their central point, where the system was under the greatest amount of pressure. Bhojpur, for its part, possesses an unfinished Śaiva temple, containing a massive monolithic *liṅga*, that stood on the edge of the lake and dam made by Bhoja.[26]

Like a properly ornamented temple set within the precinct of a practical and public dam complex, the *abhimāna-śṛṅgāra* theory is set within the larger *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* as its crowning pinnacle. The opening verses iconise this centrality: this is something that Bhoja himself avers to in his auto-commentary upon it in the seventh *prakāśa*.[27] It attracts the eye because it is meant to attract the eye, to call attention to itself and the details of its construction when set within its more functional or task-oriented surround. We can pursue the analogy a bit further. As a temple or temple-like structure could be set at the point of greatest physical strain to perform the work of structural but also ritual or apotropaic support for the entire system, so too the overarching theory of *sāhitya* embodied in the entirety of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* required buttressing at exactly the point of greatest tension in its theory of language, that of subjectivity, and its problematic status as constituted by language and, simultaneously, its creatively active role within language. The *śṛṅgāra* theory can perhaps be understood in just this way, as a general theory of languaged consciousness.

I am now at the point where I can abandon my extended *upamāna*, but before doing so, I would like first to draw a final consequence of it. If we, as readers of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, find ourselves in an analagous position to archaeologist and architectural historians, then our work on the text can be taken as an attempt to understand it as a functional whole rather than as the setting for a curious theory of how *rasa* works. Our work becomes, *mutatis mutandis*, akin to what those working on material culture are trying to do with the built environment – trying to see monuments not just as stylistic one-offs or as serenely autonomous works of art, but to understand them integrally as part of larger complexes embedded within social and ecological networks whose interpretation is as significant and as challenging as that of particular masterpieces.

It remains for me, by way of conclusion, to situate what I think the wider project of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*'s cultivation of *sāhitya* was meant to perform. My suggestion is necessarily tentative, but it centres on the question raised by my title, that of Bhoja's alternate universe. As several scholars have argued, *alaṃkāraśāstra* languished in a peculiar place in the hierarchy of knowledges in classical Sanskritic culture.[28] In part, this was an artifact of its own textual situation: *alaṃkāra* lacked the authority of a foundational *sūtra* with its canonical entourage of *vṛtti*, *vārttika* and *bhāṣya*, and so had a hard time gaining a place at the table (or on the syllabus) with the likes of Nyāya or Mīmāṃsā. But more to the point, the *śāstra*'s intellectual object was itself something both historically unstable and intellectually and morally questionable: when the Veda needs to be defended from the *nāstika*s, and questions about the fate of the embodied soul need answering, it could seem, to certain minds at least, disreputable to worry about the meaning of an erotic poem or how that poem went about meaning what

[26]On the attribution of the temple to Bhoja, see notes in Willis, "Dhār, Bhoja and Sarasvatī", in this issue of the *JRAS*.

[27]ŚP, pp. 397–406; this auto-commentary is partly translated in Pollock, "Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*", pp. 147–152.

[28]See, for example, the recent discussion in G. Tubb, "Philosophical Beginnings in Sanskrit Treatises on Poetics", in *Śāstrārambha: Inquiries in the Preamble in Sanskrit*, (ed.) Walter Slaje (Weisbaden, 2008), pp. 171–181.

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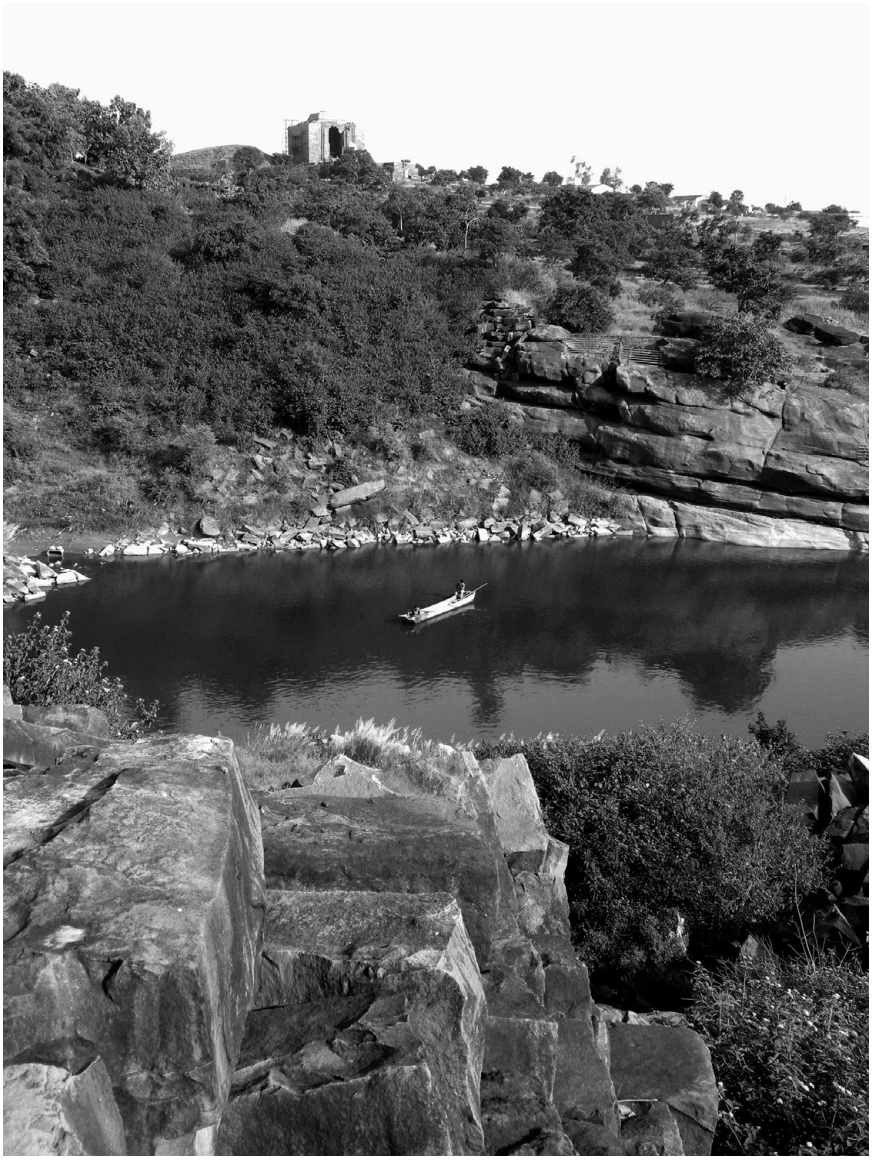


Fig. 2. View of the Betwā River at Bhojpur, showing the cyclopean masonry of the breached dam and, on the upper horizon, the unfinished Śiva temple.

it did. The long history of how this was negotiated both within the *śāstra* and across the domain of learned discourse is a fascinating one, but beyond the scope of this article. What I would simply like to suggest is that the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, along with the many theoretical and literary critical arguments which it enters into, was directed towards this particular disciplinary question. To put it one way, Bhoja acts as if the disciplinary divides in which the study of *kāvya* was given short shrift did not even exist, or could be refigured in a radical way.

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Again this seems to suggest something like a royal command economy – Bhoja reorganised in a single stroke the entire world of Sanskrit and allied textuality. But to think simply in terms of discrete *śāstra*s and to imagine that Bhoja sought to up-end the hierarchy and place *alaṃkāra* at the top seems to miss what is going on in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*. Rather, Bhoja sought to reorient the entire world of learned discourse towards poetic language and, along with the world of *śāstra*, the entire natural and social world to which *śāstra* gives us reliable access. *Alaṃkāra* possesses a vital role as the necessary instrument to the understanding of such language. Bhoja was not trying to create a sovereign discipline of language analysis that takes poetry as a particularly interesting, rich, and formally 'thick' set of texts, as was the case in Mammaṭa's somewhat later *Kāvyaprakāśa*. In the definition of the meta-genre of *sāhityaprakāśa* with which we began, there is no intervening mention of other *alaṃkāra* works, or indeed of any other kind of *śāstra* whatsoever. Rather, Bhoja's vision of the world accepts *sāhitya*, the self-aware articulation of signifier and signified, to be the most highly valued language-form, above and beyond any particular śāstric reflection upon it. By so arguing, and by making this argument the keynote to this enormous text, Bhoja's new vision for the cultural universe has some very real consequences. For one, there is an implicit rejection of the sort of anti-*kāvya* and anti-*alaṃkāra* prejudice typified by Jayantabhaṭṭa's dismissal of Ānandavardhana's theory of suggestion in his *Nyāyamañjarī*: "In any case, it does not look good to argue like this with poets; even learned men lose their way on the trackless path of sentence-meaning".[29] It is impossible to imagine from Bhoja's perspective such a negative contrast between *kavi* and *vidvān*.

A larger consequence can be found within the domain of systematic thought itself. Take the argument for the priority of *upamāna* that I mentioned earlier. For all that this argument possesses a conventional (if tenuous) scholarly pedigree in the lost work of Vindhyāvāsin, the significance of it to Bhoja seems to lie in the centrality of comparison to the work of poetic language, as can be seen in the foundational importance accorded to *upamā* or simile. Furthermore, recall that this whole lengthy aside on the nature of knowledge is found within a discussion on the vagaries of love at first sight: in Bhoja's reimagined *kāvya*-centric world, this is a matter worthy of epistemological reflection, not the dried-out logician's stock examples of the patch of blue or the smoke rising on a distant hillside. Bhoja's alternate universe of *sāhitya* thus has implications for the more traditional *śāstra*s, raising the question: what is it like to turn back and read Kumārila or Jayanta or Uddyotakara with an eye set to the terms of the world of which Bhoja was the great *kaviprajāpati*?[30]

[29] *Nyāyamañjarī*, vol. 1, p. 130: *atha vā nedṛśī carcā kavibhiḥ saha śobhate | vidvāṃso 'pi vimuhyanti vākyārthagahane 'dhvani ||*

[30] As Sheldon Pollock points out to me, the metaphor of Bhoja as demiurge was very likely an idea that he self-consciously embedded in the ŚP: "the ŚP has 36 chapters, and the great Śaiva Bhoja would have designed this to coordinate with the 36 *tattva*s," the thirty-six reality levels posited by commonly held Śaiva metaphysical doctrine (Pollock, personal communication, 2011); on the *tattva* scheme and the *Tattvaprakāśa* attributed to Bhoja, see W. Cox, *Making a Tantra in Medieval South India: The Mahārthamañjarī and the Textual Culture of Cola Cidambaram*, unpublished doctoral thesis (Chicago, 2006), pp. 119–126. Something similar can be seen in Abhinavagupta's commentary (and re-edition) of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*: as Guy Leavitt has demonstrated, the Kashmirian's introductory verses to each of the (N.B. thirty-six) chapters of Bharata's text venerate each of the *tattva*s in turn; while there is also evidence of rearrangement of the material in the root-text, to better accommodate the metaphysical scheme; G. Leavitt, "The *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s Redaction and the Śaiva Cosmos/Drama Analogy", paper delivered at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, Philadelphia, 18–21 March 2005.

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And it is here – working within the rules of the alternate universe – that we see the peculiar energy that can be found at the intersection of the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*'s taxonomic imagination and its massive corpus of citations. In a way that is distinctive among other *ālaṃkārika*s, in Bhoja's writing the poetry often seems to run ahead of the theory. Verses are not necessarily cited as exempla in order to be given an exhaustive reading (as one sees in Abhinavagupta's discussions, for example), but because a certain verse contains within it the fine detail of a particular taxon, and it is through focusing on this particular, often very subtle, element that we may see what it is that poetic language can really do. To give only a single example: within the first part of the twelve-member taxonomy that makes up *sāhitya*, that of *abhidhā* or 'denotation',[31] Bhoja begins by defining forms of linguistic referentiality familiar from as early as Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, the beginning of serious grammatical speculation in Sanskrit: words can refer to class-categories, individual instances, forms, qualities, actions, and relations.[32] The third of these, *ākṛti*, 'form' or perhaps 'shape', is a term that has long been considered problematic (in Patañjali it is at times difficult to distinguish from *jāti* or 'class'[33]), and Bhoja's terse definition ("Denotation as it pertains to shape describes objects such as pictures, reflections, and images"[34]) seems, from the perspective of this long tradition of discussion, quite beside the point. His two examples are, as everywhere in the *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, taken from existing works of poetry; if anything, they seem more eccentric than the definition:

> This is that same almond tree where once,
> long ago, in Śṛṅgiberapura
> we met the devoted chieftain of the mountain tribe.
>
> At its entranceway, in the pure white sand
> I see a line of fresh footprints:
> high in the front, deep at the heel
> from the weight of heavy hips.

These are very famous verses, recognisable to any serious reader of *kāvya*, drawn from Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita*[35] and Kālidāsa's *Abhijñānaśakuntala*.[36] The first is Rāma's description to Sītā of a painting of their life-story seen in the palace in Ayodhyā before their heartbreaking separation; the second Duṣyanta's delicately realised erotic reverie provoked by a trace of Śakuntalā's presence. At first glance, the use of these verses in Bhoja's taxonomy

[31] ŚP, p. 353 records the twelve members of this list: *abhidhā* (denotation), *vivakṣā* (speaker's intention), *tātparya* (general sentential meaning), *pravibhāga* (harmonious combination [of sound and sense]), *vyapekṣā* (extra-sentential dependency), *sāmarthya* (performative capacity), *anvaya* (syntatic relation), *ekārthībhāva* (semantic coherence), *doṣahāna* (exclusion of literary faults), *guṇopādāna* (inclusion of literary qualities), *alaṃkāra* (ornamentation), and *rasāviyoga* (the necessary presence of *rasa*). These provide the subject matter of *prakāśa*s seven through eleven.

[32] See Patañjali's *Paspaśāhnika* ((ed.) Keilhorn, pp. 1, 6); see also the translation, annotation and discussion in S. D. Joshi and J. A. F. Roodenberg, *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya, no. 15 Paspaśāhnika. Introduction, Text, Translation, and Notes* (Pune, 1986), pp. 78–85.

[33] Joshi and Roodenberg, *Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya* cf. the accessible survey of the wider problem found in B. Matilal, *The Word and the World* (Delhi, 1990), pp. 18–39.

[34] ŚP, p. 354: *citrabimbapratimādyarthavāciny ākṛtiviṣayā*.

[35] Bhavabhūti, *Uttararāmacarita* (1: 21): *iṅgudipādapaḥ so 'yaṃ śṛṅgiberapure purā | niṣādapatinā yatra snigdhenāsīt samāgamaḥ ||*

[36] Kālidāsa, *Abhijñānaśakuntala* (3: 5): *abhyunnatā purastād avagāḍhā jaghanagauravāt paścāt | dvāre 'sya pāṇḍusikate padapaṅktir dṛśyate 'bhinavā ||*.

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seems dully literal: are these really *only* about a picture and a footprint? But, on reflection, Bhoja's perspicuity in plucking just these two verses out of the ocean of potential examples seems remarkable, miraculously capturing something of the wider totality of these beloved classics. Rāma and Sītā's seemingly innocent viewing of their own earlier adventures contains not just a proleptic echo of Bhavabhūti's play-within-a-play *denouement*, but an intimation of the play's wider metapoetic concerns; while Kālidāsa's masterpiece is shot through with meditations on the epistemic status of the traces of absence, and with the impress of outward signs on memory and on desire.[37] Both verses portray a profound, affectively saturated awareness centred on a representation, as it is refracted through the complex subjectivity of a protagonist-*rasika*, capturing something about the way an image ineffably concretises a mixture of projection and fantasy, memory and expectation. The net effect of verses such as these results in a certain kaleidoscopic effect, especially when the verse is one that Bhoja cites repeatedly: each citation creates the impression that just capturing the complex totality that is a single stanza brings to bear the entire conceptual spectrum of *sāhitya*, to say nothing of the larger textual wholes that Bhoja tries to accommodate within his work.

Bhoja's alternate universe, this vision of Sanskrit (and Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa) as containing as its highest end a creative, expressive potentiality, made sense within the world of the eleventh century and can tell us something quite significant about that epoch. This was a time when, standing on a hilltop in the central Indian plains, the creator or serious reader of *kāvya* could look to the horizons and imagine a world where anything was possible. This was not a moment of would-be modernists re-inventing or breaking with the past; it was one in which a serene confidence saw a line of earlier poets extending back as far as could be imagined, and saw in its own time peers to these great masters of the past. Bhoja knew these works, all of them seemingly, and probably knew, or knew of, all the brilliant poets of his generation: for instance, he knew Padmagupta and his own court poet Chittapa; and he may well have known Bilhaṇa at one remove, by reputation. He was also, of course, himself a poet, if we can in fact assign *Śṛṅgāratilakakathā* and the wonderful *Campūrāmāyaṇa* to him. The eleventh century was a time when anything seemed attainable, at least for those fortunate enough to participate in this world, those who laboured to bring *sāhitya* into a more perfect union.

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[37] On these readings, see Pollock, ed. and trans., *Rāma's Last Act* (New York, 2009), pp. 38–51 and D. Shulman, "The Prospects of Memory", in *The Wisdom of Poets* (Delhi, 2001) pp. 183–212 (originally published in the *Journal of Indian Philsophy* 27, 1998).

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