In Pursuit of Love: A Historical Analysis of 'Feeling' in Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī*

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Abstract: Emotions and their aetiology were a major preoccupation of the composers of Sanskrit creative literature (*kāvya*) of the first millennium CE. Among the many extant literary compositions of the period Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* occupies a distinctive position as being among the earliest examples of prose (*gadya*) in which the author worked with the popular technique of emboxed stories steeped in sentimentality. This paper will look closely at the *Kādambarī* to explore the emotional world shaped by the *kāvya*s. Divided into two sections, this paper will first look at the role of stories and storytelling in informing ways of navigating the emotional universe of the first millennium CE and consequently the construction of the 'feeling community'. Following this, the second section will analyse the attitudes towards love and its myriad facets in early India through Bāṇa's lenses. By assessing the interactions between early Indian creative literature, particularly the *kathā*, and society, this paper will argue that by the mid-first millennium CE love emerged as a primary emotion that informed interpersonal relationships and group affinities of the post-Gupta period.

Keywords: *kathā*, Sanskrit *kāvya*, emotion, love, storytelling, post-Gupta

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1. Introduction

The construction and formalisation of emotion norms have attracted the attention of historians intending to assess the emotional past. When evaluating the history of emotions the preliminary issue that emerges involves the definition of terms like 'emotion' and 'feeling'.[1] However, not every society has terms and definitions equivalent to the western concept of 'emotion' or 'feeling'. Additionally, as Margrit Pernau has noted, the question of what 'emotion' is varies over time and space and sometimes this analytical category may even be untranslatable.[2] This issue becomes pronounced in the case of early India[3] where no precise equivalent in philosophical and religious lexicons to the term 'emotion' exists.[4] Most often the terms used in the Indian context would only overlap with the western notion of emotions and would not be fixed categories, often behaving as a combination of cognitive, conative, or affective states.

As a consequence of the above condition any discussion of emotions and their location within the early Indian context invariably brings up the aesthetic theory of *rasa* propounded by Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In his famous *sūtra* on *rasa*, Bharata pointed out that the meaning of a work comes into being only if it is imbued with *rasa*:

> *na hi rasād ṛte kaścid arthaḥ pravartate*; *tatra vibhāvānubhāva-vyabhicārisaṃyogād rasaniṣpattiḥ*.

1 Antonio Damasio defined emotions as 'bioregulatory reactions' that promote those physiological responses that assist us to survive and sustain our lives, thereby ensuring our well-being. Feelings on the other hand are, 'mental representation of the physiologic changes that occur during an emotion'. He states that feeling is the perception of an emotional state as enacted in the body. An essential part of this is the enactment of emotions is the perception of the valences, that is the experience of pleasure or pain which in turn sets into motion mechanisms of award and aversion that are integral to emotive behaviour. Antonio Damasio 2004, p. 50–52.

2 Margrit Pernau 2016, p. 25.

3 The term 'early India' here refers to what Romila Thapar defines as the 'early part of pre-modern south Asia' spanning the time period preceding 1300 CE. However, for the present paper I am looking at creative compositions written in the first millennium CE, more specifically between 300 and 800 CE.

4 Daud Ali 2021, p. 129.

> No meaning precedes (from speech) without (any kind of) Sentiment. The Sentiment is produced from a combination of Determinants, Consequents and Transitory States.[5]

Bharata's precept provides us with a point of entry into the question of emotions and their location within early Indian culture. According to this theory, *rasa* (essence or taste) arises in a spectator through the experience of *bhāva*s, which are psychophysical and affective states. Over a period spanning almost two millennia this aesthetic theory underwent myriad developments, with Abhinavagupta[6] in the tenth century describing *bhāva* as a personal experience entailing the discernment of pleasure or pain.[7] However, the theory of aesthetics as forwarded by Bharata and later theoreticians is inadequate to understand how emotions functioned within society. The gamut of emotions that circulate within society in general and early Indian socio-cultural domains in particular are far larger than the finite list of eight (and later nine) emotion categories that aestheticians provide us with. The lacunae that emerge as a result of the lack of an all-encompassing theory of emotions and how they influence human behaviours and consequently group associations can be addressed through a meticulous investigation of other historical sources like the creative compositions. Besides, the rasa theory is simply one among the many approaches to the construction of emotions and norms of their expression and practice.[8]

Compositions of creative literature (*kāvya*) are among the most significant sources of investigation of the emotional lives of inhabitants of the past. I propose that these sources essentially perform a three-pronged function when it comes to the study of emotions dealt with in the texts and those in circulation outside of them. Firstly, they present to the readers a group of emotions that form the core of the theme around which the composition is constructed. These emotions help inspire in the reader a set of reactions which are either expressed or suppressed. They thus assist readers to make sense of and articulate their own emotional expe-

5 Translation by Manomohan Ghosh (1952, p. 192); see also Pollock 2016, p. 50.

6 Sheldon Pollock discusses in detail the theory forwarded by Abhinavagupta in his *Abhinavabhāratī* or the *New Dramatic Art*. For details see Pollock 2016, Ch. 4.

7 Sheldon Pollock 2016, p. xvi.

8 For details see Ali 2021, p. 131.

riences. Secondly, these texts either present to the reader the prevalent emotions recognised as socially sanctioned by members of the urban, literate community at the time when the text was being composed or the response of society to those emotions. This then helps us as historians to uncover ways in which emotions were perceived or constructed in the times. Thirdly, these texts help us make sense of the mental world of the author. Constructed through an intimate association between experience and circumstance, the authors' beliefs serve as a keyhole into the mediations that take place between existing social realities and the self. Therefore, in order to evaluate the emotional norms and frameworks prevalent in a society it is essential for the historian to take a close look at its literatures. In the case of early India, *kāvya*s straddle the space between the normative and prescriptive on one hand and creative and amusing on the other, serving as instruments of instruction and entertainment. In order to undertake a study of emotions and their aetiology in early India it is imperative to investigate these literary sources.[9]

This essay will evaluate the role of early Indian *kāvya*s using Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Kādambarī* as a case in point to understand how they function as tools of emotional disciplining and simultaneously influence the construction of a repertoire of socially sanctioned emotions, among which love figured as a primary sentiment working in association with other sentimental categories in the construction of the early Indian 'feeling being' and consequently the 'feeling community'. In doing so, we will look at the various attitudes towards love. To this end the paper is divided into two sections. In the first section we will evaluate the role of stories in educating the urban elite about appropriate emotional comportment. I will argue that stories helped to establish emotional standards in society and in the case of early India, stories were extensively used to train members of the royalty and urban society in emotional refinement and

9 The necessity to study the aetiology of emotion emerges in the light of varying ideas associated with the control and regulation of emotional states in early Indian religious, political, and literary compositions. Moreover, it was through the understanding of the factors that lead to the rise of emotions in individual and consequently in collective thought that socio-political institutions articulated norms for their regulation and navigation. Realising the root for the arousal of emotions helps the reader to understand the reason why they were shaped and how.

formalised emotional behaviour. The second section of the paper will evaluate the complexity of 'love' as an emotion category through the analysis of its many types and characteristics as constructed in *kāvya*s like the *Kādambarī*. Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the author of the text in question, belongs to a long line of *kāvya* composers who dealt with love in their own distinctive ways, adding to the conceptualisation of love in early India. Using a wide expressive spectrum, Bāṇabhaṭṭa's narrative prose story presents to the reader a network of human relationships hinged on love.

2. Stories and the practice of emotions

Every culture has its own set of stories and ways of narrating them. For historians studying emotions these stories serve as tools for instruction in feelings as they have the ability to restructure the cognitive responses to emotional stimulants, thereby modifying and refining one's emotional skills. In 1984, Michelle Rosaldo argued that "feelings are not substances to be discovered in our blood but social practices organized by the stories we both enact and tell".[10] Additionally, Vera Nünning argues that if we regard the brain as a cultural organ shaped by the cognitive responses that emerge out of daily life, then emotions experienced by reading fiction can cause these cognitive responses to be altered and shaped.[11] Stories help readers to comprehend the origin and locus of emotions and inculcate manners of emotional navigation and regulation. These stories also help readers to increase the repertoire of emotions and experience sentiments which they may not have felt earlier.[12] Historically, societies have concerned themselves with the composition and circulation of stories among their members, thereby crystalising a set of social standards through them. In this section we will look at the long tradition of composing and consuming stories imbued with emotions and their role in fashioning the early Indian emotional world.

The technique of using stories for instilling and implementing moral virtues, particularly the ability to distinguish between noble and improper emotions, acquired increased attention among early Indian so-

10 Cited in Boellstorff/Lindquist 2005, p. 437.

11 Nünning 2017, p. 45.

12 Ibid., p. 49.

cio-political institutions. Certain stories and plots saw sustained interest among *kāvya* composers and were often reused as parts of larger narrative compositions. One such *kāvya* composer credited with incorporating older stories into a longer composition and introducing changes in its form and content was Bāṇabhaṭṭa who flourished in the seventh century CE during the reign of Puṣyabhūti king Harṣavardhana. Among his most influential compositions is the creative prose titled *Kādambarī*, a convoluted narrative of two pairs of lovers, Candrāpīḍa-Kādambarī and Puṇḍarīka-Mahāśvetā, spread across several lifetimes during which the heroes reincarnate multiple times before the final union with their beloveds. Bāṇa weaves the narrative carefully by employing the technique of emboxed story that was fairly popular in early Indian literary tradition while simultaneously introducing innovative techniques of word play and punning to take the story forward.[13]

Scholars of early Indian Sanskrit literature have pointed out that no form of creative prose from a time before the seventh century CE has been found, though Bāṇabhaṭṭa refers to the works of poet Bhaṭṭāra Haricandra in his *Harṣacarita*.[14] As a result Bāṇabhaṭṭa (along with Daṇḍin and Subandhu) is credited with refining the literary form of *gadya* (prose), composing his work based on popular stories. Two kinds of prose composition, viz., the *ākhyāyikā* (true story) and the *kathā* (fiction) were recognised. These two, as Siegfried Lienhard notes, were understood to be initially separate.[15] However, eventually they came to be unified in form. The *kathā*, unlike the *ākhyāyikā*, was defined as a delightful story, usually centred on love, and borrowed from earlier works which could be treated freely and originally. The *kathā* therefore relied on imagination and was supposed to be a continuous narrative.[16] Moreover, compared to the *ākhyāyikā*, the *kathā* is supposed to have dealt with much gentler themes. The following chart will help to outline the definition of the two forms of compositions as laid out by Bhāmaha.

13 Among the popular examples of emboxed stories are the *Vetālapañcavimśati*, the *Pañcatantra*, and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Another instance of the use of the technique of emboxed stories by litterateurs was the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin.

14 Lienhard 1984, p. 234.

15 Lienhard 1984, p. 229.

16 De 1924, p. 512.

	ākhyāyikā	*kathā*
1.	narrated by the hero	narrated by someone else on behalf of the hero
2.	contains true events	narrative is built on fiction
3.	hero can boast about his accomplishments	hero cannot boast about himself as it is a fictional story
4.	divided in chapters (*ucchvāsa*)	a continuous narration without division into chapters or sections

It should be noted that this definition was criticised by Daṇḍin who believed that there existed no such sharp distinctions between the two forms of compositions. Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* argues that *kathā* and *ākhyāyikā* are two different terms for the same species of prose composition (*gadyākhyāyikā kathā*).[17] Literary critics like Rudraṭa in his *Kāvyālaṃkāra*, too, have stated that the distinction between *ākhyāyikā* – dealing specifically with reality – and *kathā* – with imaginative compositions – does not always hold good. These attitudes towards the meaning of the two forms of literature suggest that the contrast between the two forms was rather narrow. Despite this, the variances in understanding the nature of the two forms of prose continued to persist and the latest descriptions of the distinctions are contained in Viśvanāthas *Sāhityadarpaṇa*. He notes in the sixth chapter (*pariccheda*) of his treatise that a *kathā* is usually written in *āryā* metre, sometimes *vaktra* or *apavaktra*, while the *ākhyāyikā* should contain a description of the poets' genealogy.[18] As Neeta Sharma points out, while Rudraṭa, Viśvanātha and others do not emphasise a sharp compartmentalisation of the two forms of prose, they definitely underline that the distinction between *ākhyāyikā* and *kathā* lay in the fact that the latter provided a greater scope for a "free flight of fancy" with a focus on the issue of winning of the girl (*kanyā-lābha*) in opposition to the more valorous stealing of the girl (*kanyā-haraṇa*), which in turn assisted in the development of *śṛngāra rasa* within the composition.[19] This makes the *katha* assume the nature of an "invented love story" along the lines of a romantic fiction.[20]

17 Dixit 1963, p. 145.

18 Dixit 1963, p. 147.

19 Sharma 1968, p. 27.

20 De 1924, p. 516.

Neeta Sharma[21] goes on to argue that Bāṇa drew considerable inspiration from folktales and other traditions of storytelling to construct the *Kādambarī* since in his *kathāmukha* (Introduction) he refers to the composition as *atidvayī*, "second to none".[22] While Bāṇa's employment of the term may have been to emphasise the uniqueness of his work owing to it being unmatched in the way it is constructed, later scholars have argued that this was a reference to two stories that the author must have drawn his plot from, viz., the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya, the original text of which has not survived, and the tale of Vāsavadattā. Since the original *Bṛhatkathā* is now lost, scholars usually compare the story of the *Kādambarī* to stories present in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* by Kṣemendra (eleventh century CE) and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva (late eleventh to early twelfth century CE)[23]. David Shulman, on the other hand, identifies two sets of stories from which the plot of *Kādambarī* may have been inspired. The first is what Shulman calls the South Asian type story known as the Supplanted Bride present in a Kannada tale in which a princess tends to the body of her dead or dormant husband for twelve years. The second type of story represents a lovesick man whose fantasy of the beloved is so intense that he fails to notice her when she stands in front of him.[24] The existence of a category of romantic stories in early South-Asia that were periodically modified and employed in inventive ways indicates the prevalence of a long tradition of romantic love literature in which ideas of union, separation, and memory played a pivotal role. Moreover, this reworking must have led to the stories being imbued with new and contemporary emotional standards. If we take a close look at early Indian *kāvya*s, we find numerous references to how the narrative stories become enjoyable only if they contain the appropriate aesthetic

21 Sharma 1968, p. 90.

22 *dvijena tenākṣatakaṇṭhakauṇṭhyayā mahāmanomohamalīmasāndhayā | alabdhavaidagdhyavilāsamugdhayā dhiyā nibaddheyam atidvayī kathā ||* (*Kathāmukhabhāga*, verse 20, English translation by Śastri/Malaviya, p. 23).

23 Kale 1924, p. 39. In his *Harṣacarita* (v. 1.17), Bāṇa attests to his awareness of the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya. He makes a similar reference in the *Kādambarī* too. Scholars have pointed out that the story of king Sumanasa found in the Kashmiri versions of the *Bṛhatkathā* comes close to Bāṇa's composition. For more details, see Sharma 1968, p. 91–103.

24 Shulman 2014, p. 286.

emotions. One such reference comes from Bāṇa himself who notes in his *Kādambarī* that a story when imbued with aestheticized emotions (*rasa*) is enjoyable just as a new wife who arouses pleasure in her husband:

> *sphuratkalālāpavilāsakomalā*
> *karoti rāgaṃ hṛdi kautukādhikam |*
> *rasena śayyāṃ svayam abhyupāgatā*
> *kathā janasyābhinavā vadhūr iva ||*
>
> Just as a newly married bride, looking delicately attractive on account of her charming (lit. 'shining and throbbing') and sweet voice and gracefully amorous sports, having approached (her husband's) bed on her own account being impelled by a passionate desire, produces in the heart (of her husband) a deep sentiment of love along with curiosity or admiration, similarly a new plot or story, tenderly delightful with the graceful display of bright and set dialogues, and assuming itself the form of a regular composition on account of (the charm of) its (prevailing) sentiments, arouses in the heart (of the reader) joy or pleasure, which is enhanced by admiration and interest.[25]

Whether within the text or outside it, emotions were a serious preoccupation of the composers and consumers alike. Developments within literature concurrent with the rise of new political groups increasingly invested in the emulation and inculcation of socially sanctioned emotions led to stories of the aphorismic kind as well as *kāvya*s gaining increased popularity. Stories were employed for the purpose of moral instruction and behavioural disciplining of members of the urban elite society, as can be gathered from their application in training of royal princes or young maidens.[26] Bāṇa mentions in his *Kādambarī* that during their period of education, Candrāpīḍa and Vaiśampāyana were trained in

25 *Kathāmukhabhāga*, verse 8 (translation by Śastri/Malaviya, p. 10).

26 The most common example of the use of stories to train members of the royal domain, particularly princes, are the *Pañcatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*. Patrick Olivelle dates the *Pañcatantra* to no later than the sixth century CE, stating that it must have been composed around 300 CE. The *Hitopadeśa* on the other hand is a later composition of Narayana belonging not later than 950 CE. A. N. D. Haksar (2007, p. 11) has pointed out that the earliest manuscript of the text was found in Nepal in 1373.

numerous arts among which was included the study of stories, dramas, and narratives.[27] Bāṇa was aware of the socio-political significance laid on the power of stories and their ability to bring about transformations within an individual's dispositions and beliefs. The following statement used by Bāṇa through the character of sage Jābāli will emphasise my argument:

> *dṛṣṭam āyuṣmadbhir idam antaḥkaraṇāpahāriṇoḥ kathārasasyākṣepasāmarthyam. yat kathayituṃ pravṛtto 'smi tat parityajyaiva kathārasāt kathāyām atidūram atikrānto 'smi.*
>
> You see what power to transport, to carry away the heart, this charming story possesses. That which I planned to narrate I abandoned and because of the enchantment of the tale, let the telling get out of hand.[28]

As it appears from the above statement, stories can have a transportive impact on the listeners and were therefore held in serious regard. Immediately after this statement, Jābāli stops the narration, deferring it to an appropriate time. This appropriate time may be wee hours of the morning, after the king has finished all his duties for the day, or during

27 Kale (tr.) 1928: 126. In the section titled *candrāpīḍasya sakalavidyākalāvagrahanam* Bāṇa states that the royal princes were trained among other things in *kathā*, *nāṭaka*, *ākhyāyikā*, *kāvya*, *mahābhārata*, *purāṇa*, *itihāsa*, and *rāmāyaṇa*. Early Indian literature displays an awareness of the distinction between narratives and stories. I believe that stories would usually be shorter, as seen in the case of the apologues like the *Nītipañcatantrākhyāyikā*, *Hitopadeśa* or the *Jātaka*s while the narratives would be longer, comprising of recycled stories and sometimes divided into chapters (*ucchvāsa*) as in the case of the *ākhyāyikā*s. As Siegfried Lienhard argues, classical Indian poetry has no corresponding equivalent to the European short story or novel but as can be seen in works like the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin certain narrative compositions were essentially a collection of short stories fitted within a given or invented framework. Moreover, as we see in the post-Daṇḍin era, the focus of the narratives was not the central plot but the elaborate descriptions of the characters of the work, their locations, that is, the city, the hermitage, the forest, the ecological surrounding and so on. The emphasis now is on the ability to employ literary techniques that would make the composition increasingly visual and aural. See Lienhard 1984, Ch. 5.

28 Quoted in Shulman 2014, p. 283, translation by Layne (1991, p. 333).

the celebration of festivals like the Spring Festival (*vasantotsava*).[29] It is clearly outlined in the *Harṣacarita* that once the king had performed his daily duties and had dined and rested, he is to summon men to tell him stories. As Sheldon Pollock points out, a significant aspect of courtly activities was storytelling for amusement (*kathāvinoda*).[30] Additionally, the recitation of *kāvya*s or excerpts from it were among the popular activities taken up in a *goṣṭhi* (assembly) and it was there that many conversations must have revolved around questions of practice of emotions and their relevance in society. Bāṇa refers to having attended numerous *goṣṭhi*s where the cultured folk would often meet to discuss music, poetry, dance, or even gossip.[31] Moreover, Bāṇa states that a poet should be interested in the multifarious nature of people's lives (*sarvavṛttāntagāmin*), that is, one who obtains the various accounts or narratives,[32] something that can be gathered from these social assemblies.[33] This statement of Bāṇa should be viewed in the light of his experience of association with people from all walks of life when he chose to rove the country during his youthful years.[34] Vātsyāyana mentions two kinds of *goṣṭhi*: the edifying one, and that of members indulged in immoral and ignoble works like gambling and drinking.[35] Bāṇa makes references to the noble kind of *goṣṭhi*, the *vidyā-goṣṭhi* which was a community that included the *pada-goṣṭhi* (of those skilled with words), the *kāvya-goṣṭhi* (preoccupied with poetry), and the *jalpa-goṣṭhi* (for free gossip). The *kāvya-goṣṭhi*

29 Recitation of stories and performance of dramas formed a significant part of festivals like the *vasantotsava*. References to it are found in the *nāṭika*s of king Harṣa, Bāṇa's patron.

30 Pollock 2003, p. 118–119.

31 Agrawala 1969, p. 3.

32 Agrawala mentions this term in the first chapter of his book. Ibid., p. 5.

33 Ibid., p. 5.

34 Towards the end of the first *ucchvāsa* of his *Harṣacarita*, Bāṇa states that he decided to leave his house and roam other lands out of curiosity. To quote: *gate ca viralatāṃ śoke śanaiḥ śanair avinayanidānatayā svātatryasya kutūhalabahalatayā ca bālabhāvasya dhairyapratipakṣatayā ca yauvanārambhasya śaiśavocitāny anekāni cāpalāny ācarann itvaro babhūva*. Also: *deśāntarālokanakautukākṣiptahṛdayaḥ satsv api pitṛpitāmahopātteṣu brāhmaṇajanociteṣu vibhaveṣu sati cāvicchinne vidyāprasaṅge gṛhān nirgagāt*; see Sharma 1968, p. 30, fn. 1 and 2.

35 Ibid., p. 14.

dealt with poetic compositions which were presented before the patron as can be perceived from the imageries presented from king Śūdraka's court. It was in these locations that appraisal of cultivation of the right kind of emotions was undertaken. The emphasis on the appropriate time for storytelling and listening suggests that these were regarded as serious pursuits and aided in the construction of the 'feeling being'. A 'feeling being' is an individual who adheres to emotional norms established within society and whose behaviours and actions are determined but the same. This individual recognises the distinctions between socially sanctioned and interdicted emotions thereby functioning within society by adhering to the same. Through an engagement with stories the 'feeling being' comes to recognise a spectrum of emotions, categorising them as noble or pernicious. Within this spectrum love came to be viewed as a paradoxical sentiment, that is, while it was understood as being central to human relationships, litterateurs were also cognizant of its harmful effects. Hence, among other things, early Indian stories dealt with the issue of navigating different kinds of emotions. More importantly, stories narrated through the *kāvya*s outlined different kinds of love, as well as appropriate ways of their experience and expression.

Catherine Benton argues that in all cultures, stories act as "moulders of behaviour, maintainers of cultural values, and preservers of societal order".[36] Stories help to "reflect, form, and reinforce particular views of the world".[37] The practical uses of storytelling, for instance in seducing or winning over a girl, is outlined by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra.* Stories referring to lovers meeting secretly after cheating people around them (*kapaṭākhyāna*), folk stories and the associated events of the world with reference to explaining love (*lokavṛttānta*), stories of romance composed by poets (*kavikathā*) and stories dealing with men procuring wives of other men (*pāradārikakathā*) are narrated to girls with the intention of seducing them, the very act being made easier by helping them take a firm decision about whether they should associate themselves with the men romantically.[38] Therefore, the acts of narrating and listening to stories became tools of sociability and played a major role in emotional

36 Benton 2006, p. 5.

37 Ibid.

38 Varadpande 2007, p. 87.

moulding and disciplining. This was particularly true in the case of love and its myriad facets that were held to be pivotal to early Indian socio-political relationships with texts, normative and creative alike, extending prescriptions and interdictions relating to its practice. It is interesting to note that early Indian works of literature display formidable cynicism towards emotions, particularly love and attachment gone to an extreme, providing instances of crisis owing to unrestrained indulgence in sensual love and giving free reign to emotions so that they may overpower judgement and discretion.[39] Yet, these texts also present to us an underlying conceptual framework that cautions the readers regarding the dangers of repression of the feeling self. This is outlined through instances within literary narratives where separation from one's beloved visibly jeopardises the emotional and physical well-being of the central characters. For instance, when gone into the extreme, passionate love (*rāga*) may cause consumptive disease (*rājayakṣma*) and death (*mṛtyu*). Yet, heartbreak or prolonged separation could also cause madness (*unmāda*), loss of self, and consequently the destruction of the body (*dehapāta* or *dehatyāga*). Thus, the *kāvya*s lay importance on the fact that emotions are not to be annihilated but inculcated systematically in order to ensure the maintenance of harmony within the self and within society.

I propose that love occupied a primary position among the extant set of socially sanctioned emotions, and human relations were construed and constructed around the expression and cultivation of these in early India. The centrality of love and its myriad forms within the sphere of aesthetics as well as day-to-day human relations was becoming clear from the mid-first millennium CE. In this light, the *Kādambarī* helps us to recognize a crucial point within the literary and political history of early India when poets and litterateurs engaged increasingly with ways to construct and employ emotions within their compositions, causing its story to undergo transformations by acquiring nuances emerging from experiments in literary styles and techniques, and along with be-

39 The ability of emotions to impair moral and psychological discernment is a preoccupation of numerous literary works beginning from the two epics to the aphoristic works like the *Śatakatrayī* of Bhartṛhari or other collections of *subhāṣita*s. The ability of emotions to cloud judgement becomes evident through numerous episodes where sages (*ṛṣi*) pronounce curses under throes of anger and once their dissatisfaction is assuaged, realise the impact of their action.

ing a preoccupation of the royal court it also gained attention outside the court, that is, among members of the city, and the hermitage where these texts were studied and discussed.[40] I suggest that the transition of a plot from the domain of folktales or popular stories to that of creative literature provided the opportunity for emotions to be restructured and restricted to fit the protocols of courtly behaviour and modes of thinking. Thus, just as archetypical characters were constructed to express and extend ideas of good behaviour, stock emotions were fashioned through the use of literary techniques to represent the prevalent emotional standards of the age.

Given that stories aided in the creation of a set of prescribed and proscribed emotions for emulation and practice, it can also be argued that they played a significant role in shaping the early Indian 'feeling community' (or: 'communities').[41] These 'feeling community/communities', which were social and political groups comprising of 'feeling beings', followed established emotional norms and adhered to appropriate codes of emotional expression, simultaneously determining and regulating emotional standards of their times. In early India the feeling community/communities comprised of people who partook in the exercise of composition and consumption of *kāvya*s as well as stories that constituted them. Thus, there existed a close association between the emotional world within the *kāvya*s and that of its composers and consumers. More

40 I draw my argument from the idea that Bāṇa's compositions would often be recited, read or heard outside the premises and structures of the court, too. Evidence for this comes from the *Harṣacarita* where Bāṇa is seen to be narrating his 'story' of visiting the royal court to members of his family at his house, and the *Kādambarī* in which the sage Jābāli narrates the story of Vaiśampāyana to his disciples in the hermitage.

41 The 1980s saw a rise in the idea that 'communities' are constructed rather than occurring organically. This concept was bolstered by the *Imagined Communities* of Benedict Anderson. Barbara Rosenwein's research on emotional communities underlined that there existed numerous emotional communities which have certain 'fundamental assumptions' regarding rules of feelings and modes of expressions. However, Margrit Pernau further problematises the issue and argues for the use of the term 'feeling communites' for people within society who share feelings with fellow members. But the community does not simply create feeling but also makes use of them to strengthen their community. See Pernau 2017, p. 10–13.

importantly, given the vastness and complexity of *kathā*s like the *Kādambarī*, they must have been read, heard, and discussed over multiple days. They would have been consumed in episodes rather than all at once. This in turn would have provided the reader(s) or listener(s) time to pause and reflect upon the emotional situations outlined by the author and respond to them by either accepting or rejecting the behaviours and actions of the characters within the narrative. In doing so, they would construct a framework within which ways of emotional expression and practice would be fixed. Thus I argue that complex narrative stories like the *Kādambarī* must have acted as significant tools to enhance one's sentimental repertoire and clarify different emotions and their functions in early Indian socio-political and cultural realms.

3. Attitudes towards love in *kāvya*s: A case study of the *Kādambarī*

Having underscored 'love' as the cornerstone of most social relationships of early India and serving a pivotal function in the functioning and upholding of social order, it is imperative to define what this 'love' is. Nevertheless, analogous to the problem of defining 'emotion', there is no specific term for love in early India. In fact, there was no specific theory about love as a complex set of feelings by ancient Indian thinkers. The concept of love included within itself both the sexual and sensual aspect as well as the sentimental. Analysing the common terms used in Sanskrit literature Minoru Hara pointed out that there were two preliminary aspects of love, the first being the volitional aspect denoted by *kāma* and the other the sentimental and affectionate aspect denoted by *sneha*. While *kāma* originally was used as a general term for desire or longing, it gradually began to be used as a reference for love between man and woman. While the all-consuming power of *kāma* as carnal desire is outlined in the *kāvya*s, counting it among the set of vices (*adharma*), it is also understood as a cause for supreme delight (*uttamam sukham*).[42] From being a reference for 'desire' or 'intention', *kāma* gradually came to denote carnal desire. On the other hand *sneha* was separate from *kāma* as it lacked the violent intensity and had an affectionate an-

42 Hara 2007, p. 5.

gle.[43] As a result, it is usually compounded with terms that express filial or friendly relations.

Based on the study of commentarial literature Hara pointed out that there existed a distinction (*bheda*) between *sneha* and *preman*. He discusses seven stages of love, the first stage being the desire to see the lovely being (*prekṣā*) and the final being union (*saṃyoga*). Between these two states existed the category of *preman*, the state of being incapable of enduring the pain caused by separation and yet sustaining through the distance. It is an intensified state that succeeds *sneha* and unlike *preman* had the tendency to gradually dissipate in the face of separation. Drawing from this, I propose that love in early India was a context-specific emotion. By this I mean that its nature and associated terminology varied depending on the kinds of relationships it mediated and their intensity. It was carefully constructed through a combination of specific prescriptions and proscriptions of gestural and verbal expression. Thus, new and complex forms of expressions of 'love' and ways to assess their valences emerged within Sanskrit literature of the first millennium CE.

The first millennium CE saw an overwhelming interest among litterateurs, theoreticians, and aestheticians alike in the workings of love or the erotic sentiment (*śṛṅgāra rasa*). As Daud Ali notes, between c. 350–750 CE there emerged a "common political culture throughout the major regions of the subcontinent".[44] Within it literature assumed a pivotal function, and within this literary and aesthetic structure, *śṛṅgāra rasa* was a central point of interest. Emerging from the permanent emotion (*bhāva*) of pleasure (*rati*), which was an idée fixe of the members of the urban realm, it became the foundation for affective relationships of the people of the court and city.[45] It was through the images and situations developed around the workings of this *śṛṅgāra rasa*, that is, in its state as the 'erotic enjoyed' (*sambhoga śṛṅgāra*) and erotic thwarted (*vipralambha śṛṅgāra*) that the dynamics of affective relationships were pronounced.[46] Moreover,

43 Ibid., p. 7.

44 Ali 2006, p. 20.

45 The combination of *rati* with other causes (*vibhāva*) and their effects (*anubhāva*), in association with 'transient emotions' (*vyabhicāribhāva*) as well as the eight involuntary states (*sāttvikabhāva*) created the *śṛṅgāra rasa*.

46 About *śṛṅgāra rasa* and its two kinds, see Pollock 2016, p. 53.

śṛṅgāra rasa dealt with that which was decorative and appealed to the senses as all those 'lovely' things do. Since the *rasa*s within drama were named after their functions, the *śṛṅgāra rasa* was named so because of its nature of being radiant and lovely.[47] Thus, it was through the framework of *śṛṅgāra rasa* that members of the courtly domain were able to identify, inculcate, and practise sensual and sentimental love. Additionally, as Ali notes, *bhāva*s and the ensuing *rasa*s informed and 'pervaded' the essence and meaning of literary compositions, often depicting the characters within them associating and affectively interacting with each other.[48] In this light, *śṛṅgāra rasa* buttressed the experience and expression of affectionate and erotic love by defining the ways of their construction within and mediated between characters in the creative compositions.

Given the emergence of a social and political system focussed on the importance of emotions and their cultivation through partaking in the literary exercise, we may analyse a significant statement made by Bāṇa in the *Kādambarī*. In the section called *Śukanāsopadeśa*, the royal prince Candrāpīḍa is advised by the minister Śukanāsa to be wary of the overriding of emotions and affections by wealth and flattery.

> *kiṃ vā teṣāṃ sāṃprataṃ yeṣām atinṛśaṃsaprāyopadeśanirghṛṇaṃ kauṭilyaśāstraṃ pramāṇam abhicārakriyākrūraikaprakṛtayaḥ purodhaso guravaḥ* (…) *narapatisahasrabhuktojjhitāyāṃ lakṣmyām āsaktir māraṇātmakeṣu śāstreṣv abhiyogaḥ sahajapremārdrahṛdayānuraktā bhrātara ucchedyāḥ.*
>
> And what is proper to them (fit to be done in the eyes of those kings) whose authority (for action) is the dreadful treatise of Kauṭilya (…); who are deeply attached to Lakṣmī, enjoyed and the abandoned by thousands of kings; who are sedulously given to the study of such *śāstra*s as consist of directions for killing; and to whom their (own) brothers, attached to them on account of their hearts being full of natural affection, are persons to be annihilated?[49]

47 Ibid., p. 52.

48 Ali 2006, p. 186.

49 *Kādambarī*, p. 179, 5–9, Kale's translation p. 151.

The above statement highlights that while among the essential roles of the king was the maintenance of prosperity and justice within the kingdom at times even by resorting to ruthlessness, the advisory (*upadeśa*) section of *kāvya*s draws the spotlight to the responsibility of the king and his administrative apparatus to ensure the happiness and wellbeing of the subjects through affection. Such instances of counselling in the inculcation and practice of appropriate emotions, particularly of love emerge from other contemporary *kāvya*s like the stage plays (*nāṭaka*) of king Harṣavardhana. Affectionate love serves as one of the guiding tools for the use of volition and discretion when it comes to the exercise of political decisions. Both political administration and personal relationships were hinged on the recognition and application of appropriate emotional practices. As a text on statecraft, the *Arthaśāstra*, though not completely devoid of references to the use of emotions, is viewed by Bāṇa as cruel and unsympathetic towards loving attachment. Śukanāsa's instructive advice to Candrāpīḍa therefore presents to us a clear instance where royal princes and other members of the court were trained in moral emotions, affectionate love being one of them. In fact, what would distinguish Candrāpīḍa from other kings would be his ability to be sympathetic and loving. The ability to 'feel' love for family and subjects and act accordingly hence determined the moral high ground that ought to be achieved.

Daud Ali provides an interesting explanation for Bāṇa's criticism of the *Arthaśāstra*. He notes that texts like the *Arthaśāstra*, *Kāmasūtra* and *Pañcatantra* were most of the times seen out of place as many commentators described them as "amoral" or "Machiavellian". The reason for this, the scholar notes, may have been because they were perceived as texts that neither conformed to "religious morality", which forms an integral part of the Dharmaśāstras, nor did they adhere to ideas of "public good". These texts were perceived as despotic since they subjected the issue of pleasure to the interest of logic (*nyāya*) and that of polity (*nīti*) to the prince's ability to acquire and expand his kingdom. However, Ali counteracts this view by arguing that the acquisition of wealth and pleasure were constitutive of virtuous actions and therefore the norms outlined by these texts to acquire the same were in conjunction with the pursuit of other goals and virtues. These texts helped in attaining "a reflective

ethical capacity".[50] However, there existed a persistent conflict between dhārmic[51] injunctions laid out by these texts and the practical ways of life. And it is likely that poets attached to the royal court like Bāṇa were trying to negotiate between these conflicts. Within the early Indian epic and *kāvya* traditions, authors have often pointed out instances when the overriding of emotions in the face of a moral challenge can lead to crisis and psychological and physical imbalance, the most common example of this being what Robert Goldman has referred to as Rāma's 'madness' at the loss of his beloved wife Sītā. As in other literary compositions like *Rāmāyaṇa*, and in the *Kādambarī* too, we see a stress on emotionality over hyper-pragmatism.[52]

Throughout the *kathā*, Bāṇa alludes to the need for paying heed to one's emotions instead of remaining strictly bound by social norms and thereby giving in to suffering. In fact, *kāvya*s reveal the existence of an alternative stream of thought that considered the expression and experience of emotions as undeniable constituents of self and society, divorced from the prevailing ascetical ideas of suppression of emotions like love through control over one's senses. Thus, while the *Nāṭyaśāstra* discusses ten stages of love and states that if despite all efforts union with one's beloved becomes unachievable,[53] the penultimate stage that comes about is *maraṇa* (death), Bāṇa paints a picture of love which even in its highest and final state is a reason for fulfilment and completeness:

> *ekākinam api manmathādhiṣṭhitam,* (…) *śūnyāntaḥkaraṇam api hṛdayanivāsidayitam.*
>
> Although alone, yet he was accompanied by (i.e. swayed by) the God of Love, (…) although with a vacant mind, yet there dwelt in it his beloved lady.[54]

50 Ali 2006, pp. 93–94.

51 I use the term dharmic to refer to the ethical and moral injunctions laid out in political and normative treatises.

52 Kālidāsa states in his *Abhijñānaśākuntala* that good kings "treat their subjects like their own children" (*prajāḥ prajāḥ svā iva tantrayitvā*, verse 5.5), that is, with affection, and that "riches do not make good men arrogant" (*anuddhatāḥ satpurūṣāḥ samṛddhibhīḥ* …, verse 5.12).

53 Ghosh 1951, p. 465.

54 *Kādambarī* p. 240, 4–5; Kale's translation p. 205.

Bāṇa draws attention to the potency of sensual love personified by Kāma, the flower-arrowed god of desire by stating that:

> *nāsti khalv asādhyaṃ nāma bhagavato manobhuvaḥ*
>
> Forsooth there is nothing which cannot be achieved by the mind-born God of love.[55]

Similarly, in another passage Bāṇa outlines that while the influence and control of passionate love over the being of an individual, particularly women, has the potential to cause them to transgress the bounds of social norms and appropriate standards of behaviour, once someone is struck by the arrows of Kāmadeva there can be no censure or reproach since their actions now are commanded by him.[56] This idea is expressed when princess Kādambarī contemplates death because she is unable to bear the pain caused by separation from her beloved Candrāpīḍa and yet is tormented by the idea that she might bring dishonour to her parents, her friend Patralekhā states the following:

> *kā cātra gurujanavaktavyatā yadā khalu kanyakāṃ gurur iva pañcaśaraḥ saṃkalpayati mātevānumodate piteva dadāti sakhīvotkaṇṭhāṃ janayati dhātrīva taruṇatāyāṃ ratyupacāraṃ śikṣayati.*

55 *Kādambarī* p. 245, 8–9, Kale's translation p. 210.

56 Though *kāvya*s make it blatantly apparent that it is women who are privy to the forces of *kāma*, their actions and behaviours a consequence of their being under the sway of erotic, volitional love, Bāṇa's composition presents to us a scenario in which the heroes too are under the absolute control of their emotional states. It is in this context that Bāṇa points out that nothing is impossible to achieve for the God of Love (*Kāmadeva*) for even young sages (*munikumāra*) trained to control their senses and be immersed in religious austerities and penance are not spared by the flower-arrows of the God. Thus, though similar notes may be found in other *kāvya*s, the context in which it is employed here is distinct. In fact, in the *Kādambarī* it is the two heroes who die owing to their emotional suffering. Puṇḍarīka tormented by his desire for Mahāśvetā and the inability to perform his duties as a young sage embraces death while Candrāpīḍa falls dead grieving upon realising that his friend Vaiśampāyana who is in fact Puṇḍarīka reborn died as a result of Mahāśvetā's curse.

> Where is the room for parents to blame here, when indeed, the five-arrowed god himself makes the proposal of a girl (chooses a husband for her) like an elderly person; gives consent like a mother; gives her away like a father; creates longing in her like a female friend; and teaches the ways and sports of love in youth?[57]

Statements such as the above become significant to assess the attitudes of early Indian poets and thinkers about the power of love and its location within the hierarchy of emotions. The multifarious ways in which love operates, that is, its ability to guide like elders, instruct about associated sentimental states such as longing like a friend, and guide in the ways of love becomes a criterium of evaluation within literary works. Thus, any act of misdemeanour or flouting of norms of social propriety are absolved through a recognition of the power of erotic love over one's being. Moreover, erotic love though viewed as an affliction is also stated to have a sentimental aspect. It is for this reason that love created by a combination of the two aspects is held as the cornerstone of marriage in early Indian didactic texts like the *Kāmasūtra*. More interestingly, unlike the *kāma* of the *Kāmasūtra* that is devoid of the ideal of monogamy, the love outlined in the text is question displays tendencies towards a monogamous union.

In the case of *Kādambarī* the centrality of the emotion of love emerges from Bāṇa's engagement with love of different kinds. He discusses friendship, romantic love, maternal and paternal love, love of the *prajā* (subjects of the ruler) for the *rājan* or *yuvarāja* (the 'young-king' or heir apparent of a kingdom) through complicated yet charming literary knitting. This reflects the sophistication in formalities associated with the maintenance of these relationships, particularly within the domain of the elites. At numerous instances Bāṇa draws our attention to filial and parental love, placing a greater significance on it compared to love between romantic partners. In a section of the *Kādambarī* titled *Śukajanmavarṇana*, Bāṇa draws our attention to what he refers to as the "extraordinary affection" of parents which according to him acquires the highest position in the hierarchy of kinds of love.

57 *Kādambarī* p. 350, 4–6, Kale's translation p. 298.

> (…) *dattvādharīkṛtasarvasnehenāsādhāraṇena guruṇāpatya-premṇā* (…).
>
> (…) exhibiting their great and unparalleled affection for their offspring, an affection that left behind love of every other sort.[58]

Similarly, the love between father and son is laid out in detail through symbols of attachment and separation. The idea is that separation from a person to whom one feels intense affection is always the reason for grief.

> *divasam aśeṣam abhinavapitṛviyogajanmanā śokāvegenāyāsya-mānahṛdayo duḥkhenātyavāhayat.*
>
> He spent the whole day in sorrow, as his heart was tortured by heavy grief caused by his fresh separation from his father. [59]

Moreover, the distinction between the different kinds of love becomes even more pronounced when we can identify that each kind of love has a set of sentimental states and emotional categories associated with them. Thus, in the case of paternal love there is a greater emphasis on sentiments of deference and subservience while in the case of romantic love we can observe references to sentiments of whole-hearted submission. The quote given below will make this argument clearer:

> *garīyasī guror ājñā prabhavati dehamātrakasya. hṛdayena he-makūṭanivāsavyasaninā likhitaṃ janmāntarasahasrasya dāsya-patraṃ devyāḥ.*
>
> The very weighty command of my father has power over my body alone. But my heart, which has a strong yearning for dwelling on Hemakūṭa, has written (as it were) a bond of slavery to the princess for a thousand births.[60]

This statement is particularly significant for it characterises two kinds of love pulling in different directions with the decision resting on the individual as to which emotions requires heeding. Thus, filial duty and

58 *Kādambarī*, p. 48,13–14, Kale's translation p. 31–32.

59 *Kādambarī*, p. 192, 9–10, Kale's translation p. 163.

60 *Kādambarī*, p. 331, 6–7, Kale's translation p. 282.

deference wields a greater power over Candrāpiḍa causing him to return to Ujjayini though he is aware of his heart being under the power of princess Kādambarī.

Irrespective of the kinds of love being described, Bāṇa highlights that love in general and romantic love in particular emerges in the heart and is essentially an experience, or more precisely, a state or condition of mind (*avasthā*). Bāṇa underlined love as a state of experience that transcends the physical and the worldly sensations to be located within the space of the mind (*manas*). Love then is defined as an experience of the mind that may not be necessarily seen but only felt. In doing so, love is not limited to the domain of bodily and sensory experience but also comes to be understood as an experience that involves mental perception. It is thus constructed as an internal, private sentiment that cannot be described, shown, or proven, but only felt. For this he constructs the following statement:

> *tatkālāvirbhūtenāvaṣṭambhenākathitaśikṣitenānākhyeyena svasaṃvedyena kevalaṃ na vibhāvyate kiṃ tadrūpasaṃpadā kiṃ manasā kiṃ manasijena kim abhinavayauvanena kim anurāgeṇevopadiśyamānā kim anyenaiva kenāpi prakāreṇāham api na jānāmi kathaṃ katham iti tam aticiraṃ vyalokayaṃ.*
>
> I gazed at him (…), being as it were instructed (to do so) by some (emotion) which was trained (to do its work) without being told (by anyone), and which cannot be described, but which is only perceptible to the person (who is so overpowered); it cannot be known exactly by what – whether his perfect beauty, or by (my) mind, or by the god of Love, or by (my) new youth, or by the Love (which I felt at the moment) or in some quite different manner – really, I do not know how it all happened.[61]

Bāṇa also emphasizes that love is heightened only when it is mutual. This can be confirmed by the instance when Mahāśvetā, on realizing her attraction to Puṇḍarīka, spells out the following statement:

> *tayā tu tasyātiprakaṭayā vikṛtyā dviguṇīkṛtamadanāveśā tatkṣaṇam aham avarṇanayogyāṃ kām apy avasthām anvabhavam.*

61 *Kādambarī*, p. 227, 2–5, Kale's translation p. 193.

> And on account of that change in him, a change which was but too visible, my love-infatuation became doubled and immediately, I began to experience a strange state (of feeling) incapable of being described.[62]

Similarly, when Mahāśvetā is consoling Kādambarī, she states that the love between the latter and Candrāpīḍa cannot be diminished despite the distance because it is mutual, permanent and lasting till death.

> *api ca yuvayor dūrasthitayor api sthiteyam idānīṃ kamalinīkamalabāndhavayor iva kumudinīkumudanāthayor iva prītir āpralayāt.*
>
> Moreover, this love of you two, even though you may be at a distance from each other, is now permanent, lasting till death, just like the bed of day-lotuses and their kinsman, the Sun, or like that of the bed of night-lotuses and their lord the Moon.[63]

In this passage as in many others in the text, the author uses the term *prīti* for love. This term delineates a graceful and joyous love that is essentially a positive emotional experience resting on the idea of fondness. Bāṇa outlines affection (*anurāga*) within friendship in great detail evident from the delineation of the relationship between Śukanāsa and Tārāpīḍa, Vaiśampāyana and Candrāpīḍa, Kādambarī and Mahāśvetā. Bāṇa states that Vaiśampāyana became Candrāpīḍa's best friend, his second heart and his true confidant. This friendship emerged as a result of the immense respect that Vaiśampāyana felt for Candrāpīḍa due to his acquaintance with the arts. Bāṇa states that the two were inseparable, with Vaiśampāyana following Candrāpīḍa like the day followed the hot-rayed sun. Similarly, Kādambarī displays extraordinary loyalty towards Mahāśvetā, even refusing to marry since her friend is grieving the loss of her lover. This is termed natural affection (*sahajaprema*). In fact, for the sake of friendship, Kādambarī is willing to accept disgrace and censure by refusing to marry.[64] This statement is tied up with the previous quote

62 *Kādambarī*, p. 229, 13–14, Kale's translation p. 195.

63 *Kādambarī*, p. 314, 5–7, Kale's translation p. 267.

64 To quote: *tvatpremṇā cāsmin vastuni mayā kumārikājanaviruddhaṃ svatantryālambyāngīkṛtam ayaśaḥ samavadhīrito vinayo gurūvacanam atikramitaṃ na gaṇi-*

about misdemeanour under the influence of *kāma*. It underscores the power of love as an emotion to override social norms and expectations.

Through the text Bāṇa constructs two sets of star-crossed lovers who experience the same sentiment but in varying ways owing to differing sets of circumstances. There also exists an essence of mutuality in the kind of love that is presented in the *Kādambarī*. Bāṇa points out that while it is time and the merits of an individual that has the ability to produce uncontrollable love, in the cases of Mahāśvetā and Kādambarī love emerges spontaneously at first sight. This idea of love at first sight or even love emerging and continuing through the exchange of glances, what Minoru Hara calls "eye-love"[65] (*cakṣūrāga*) had sustained popularity among litterateurs both preceding and succeeding Bāṇa. However he underlines that,

> *kāle hi guṇāś ca durnivāratām āropayanti madanasya sarvathā.*
>
> For, as a general rule, it is time (i.e., sufficiently long acquaintance) and merits (of the person loved) that produce (such) uncontrollable love.[66]

This is a particularly critical statement as it presents to us an attempt by composers of *kāvya* to distinguish between love which is spontaneous and has a likeness to infatuation (*moha*) as opposed to love that has evolved causing it to be deeper, firmer and not required to be consciously restrained.[67] Bāṇa, like *kāvya* composers preceding him, is aware of the distinction between infatuation (*kāmamoha*, *smaramoha*, *pramoha*) and attachment arising as a result of it and love (*prīti*, *anurāga*, *sneha*, *preman*, etc.) as distinct emotional categories.

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to lokāpavādo vanitājanasya sahajābharaṇam utsṛṣṭā lajjā (*Kādambarī*, p. 274–275). Layne's (1991, p. 181) translation: "Out of affection for you I have in this manner assumed an independence that is most contrary to a young maiden and have accepted disgrace, disregarded modesty, disobeyed my parents, discounted gossip, and ignored bashfulness, which is woman's natural ornament."

65 Minoru Hara 2007, p. 92.

66 *Kādambarī*, p. 228, 9–10, Kale's translation p. 194.

67 Princess Kādambarī speaks to herself thus, '*kiṃ kṛtam idaṃ mohāndhayā …*' (*Kādambarī*, p. 297,11; translation by Layne (1991, p. 197): "What is it I have done blinded by infatuation?"

4. Conclusion

Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* exemplifies the dynamic role *kāvya*s play as works of amusement (*vinodana*) as well as moral prescription and proscription, that is, instructions (*upadeśa*). Engagement with *kāvya* was a serious activity which, among other things, led to the explication of appropriate norms of emotional expression. These texts outlined a spectrum of emotions among which love and its various facets figured prominently. The varied kinds of love were hierarchised and shaped to be practiced by the 'feeling beings' who composed the 'feeling community'. In turn, these formalised emotions shaped the very 'feeling community' it emerged from. This circular process defines the early Indian emotional universe within which emotions were continuously gauged and subsequently assigned moral valence. Stories reused and incorporated within longer narrative *kāvya*s like the *kathā* surely would have played a pivotal role in this.

When read or heard these stories influenced behaviour and actions of members the early Indian urban society. These usually contained an implicit moral which would compel the reader or listener to dwell upon them and act accordingly. *Kāvya*s display a continuous and intensive engagement with human emotions, particularly with the different kinds of love, outlining that among the socially sanctioned emotions of early India, love serves as the foremost tool of sociability. It is important to note that given the length and complexity of Bāṇa's tale, it is unlikely that its reading would have been completed in one session or discussion. It must have required several days to finish reading or listening to the text and that would have drawn a long discussion or contemplation about its various parts. This in turn must have prompted a reflection upon and emulation of behaviours based on royal exemplars provided in the story. This complex piece of creative literature gives us an account of the ways in which the love of the differing kinds interacted and informed the socio-cultural world of early India. Love thus served as a driving force of human relationships within the court and the city and *kāvya*s like the *Kādambarī* helped emotionally navigate this complex world.

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