

SHELDON POLLOCK

# The Language of the GODS in the WORLD of Men

SAKSHI, CULTURE, AND POWER IN PREMODERN INDIA

tour de force." *American Historical Review*

สำนักหอสมุด มหาวิทยาลัยเชียงใหม่

616724604  
01 2585348  
i 22706744

# The Language of the Gods in the World of Men

*Sanskrit, Culture, and Power  
in Premodern India*

Sheldon Pollock



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS

*Berkeley Los Angeles London*

## CONTENTS

### PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS xi

#### Introduction 1

*Culture, Power, (Pre)modernity 2*

*The Cosmopolitan in Theory and Practice 10*

*The Vernacular in Theory and Practice 19*

*Theory, Metatheory, Practice, Metapractice 30*

#### PART 1. The Sanskrit Cosmopolis

##### Chapter 1. The Language of the Gods Enters the World 39

*1.1 Precosmopolitan Sanskrit: Monopolization and Ritualization 39*

*1.2 From Resistance to Appropriation 51*

*1.3. Expanding the Prestige Economy of Sanskrit 59*

##### Chapter 2. Literature and the Cosmopolitan Language of Literature 75

*2.1. From Liturgy to Literature 75*

*2.2. Literary Language as a Closed Set 89*

*2.3. The Final Theory of Literary Language: Bhoja's Poetics 105*

##### Chapter 3. The World Conquest and Regime of the Cosmopolitan Style 115

*3.1. Inscribing Political Will in Sanskrit 115*

3.2. <i>The Semantics of Inscriptional Discourse: The Poetics of Power, Mālava, 1141</i>	134
3.3. <i>The Pragmatics of Inscriptional Discourse: Making History, Kalyāṇa, 1008</i>	148
Chapter 4. Sanskrit Culture as Courtly Practice	162
4.1. <i>Grammatical and Political Correctness: The Politics of Grammar</i>	162
4.2. <i>Grammatical and Political Correctness: Grammar Entry</i>	177
4.3. <i>Literature and Kingly Virtuosity</i>	184
Chapter 5. The Map of Sanskrit Knowledge and the Discourse on the Ways of Literature	189
5.1. <i>The Geocultural Matrix of Sanskrit Knowledge</i>	189
5.2. <i>Poetry Man, Poetics Woman, and the Birth-Space of Literature</i>	200
5.3. <i>The Ways of Literature: Tradition, Method, and Stylistic Regions</i>	204
Chapter 6. Political Formations and Cultural Ethos	223
6.1. <i>Production and Reproduction of Epic Space</i>	223
6.2. <i>Power and Culture in a Cosmos</i>	237
Chapter 7. A European Countercosmopolis	259
7.1. <i>Latinitas</i>	259
7.2. <i>Imperium Romanum</i>	274
PART 2. The Vernacular Millennium	
Chapter 8. Beginnings, Textualization, Superposition	283
8.1. <i>Literary Newness Enters the World</i>	283
8.2. <i>From Language to Text</i>	298
8.3. <i>There Is No Parthenogenesis in Culture</i>	318
Chapter 9. Creating a Regional World: The Case of Kannada	330
9.1. <i>Vernacularization and Political Inscription</i>	330
9.2. <i>The Way of the King of Poets and the Places of Poetry</i>	338
9.3. <i>Localizing the Universal Political: Pampa Bhāratam</i>	356
9.4. <i>A New Philology: From Norm-Bound Practice to Practice-Bound Norm</i>	363

Chapter 10. Vernacular Poetries and Politics  
in Southern Asia 380

10.1. *The Cosmopolitan Vernacularization  
of South and Southeast Asia* 380

10.2. *Region and Reason* 397

10.3. *Vernacular Politics* 410

10.4. *Religion and Vernacularization* 423

Chapter 11. Europe Vernacularized 437

11.1. *Literacy and Literature* 437

11.2. *Vernacular Anxiety* 452

11.3. *A New Cultural Politics* / 460

Chapter 12. Comparative and Connective  
Vernacularization 468

12.1. *European Particularism and Indian Difference* 468

12.2. *A Hard History of the Vernacular Millennium* 482

PART 3. Theory and Practice of Culture and Power

Chapter 13. Actually Existing Theory  
and Its Discontents 497

13.1. *Natural Histories of Culture-Power* 497

13.2. *Primordialism, Linguism, Ethnicity, and  
Other Unwarranted Generalizations* 505

13.3. *Legitimation, Ideology, and Related Functionalisms* 511

Chapter 14. Indigenism and Other Culture-Power  
Concepts of Modernity 525

14.1. *Civilizationalism, or Indigenism with Too Little History* 525

14.2. *Nationalism, or Indigenism with Too Much History* 539

Epilogue. From Cosmopolitan-or-Vernacular  
to Cosmopolitan-and-Vernacular 567

APPENDIX A

A.1 *Bhoja's Theory of Literary Language  
(from the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa)* 581

A.2 *Bhoja's Theory of Ornamentation  
(from the Sarasvatikaṇṭhābharaṇa)* 583

A.3 *Śrīpāla's Bilpaṅk Praśasti of King Jayasimha Siddharāja* 584

*A.4 The Origins of Hemacandra's Grammar*  
(from *Prabhācandra's Prabhāvakacarita*) 588

*A.5 The Invention of Kāvya*  
(from *Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṃsā*) 591

APPENDIX B

*B.1 Approximate Dates of Principal Dynasties* 597

*B.2 Names of Important Peoples and Places with Their  
Approximate Modern Equivalents or Locations* 597

PUBLICATION HISTORY 601

BIBLIOGRAPHY 603

INDEX 649

MAPS FOLLOW PAGE *xiv*.