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INTRODUCTION

In Sanskrit, a “treasury” or *kosha* is a storehouse of gems, but it can also mean a collection of words, poems, and short literary pieces. This treasury contains 177 terms, jewels in fact, from classical India for what English speakers refer to as emotions, affects, dispositions, and feelings. These jewels are drawn from literary, philosophical, religious, aesthetic, medical, social, and political texts in three classical languages—Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit. This collection offers the English-speaking world a wealth of experiences, evoked and discussed in over two millennia of some of the most extraordinary reflection about human experience available in world history.

The idea of a storehouse of words has an ancient history in India. In the fifth century, Amarasimha, himself considered a gem at the court of the emperor Chandragupta II, composed the *Treasury of Amara*, a thesaurus giving synonyms for words used in nearly every sphere of life. The study of language had been well under way at least a millennium before Amara, and he cites precursors to his lexicon that have been lost to us. Amara’s *Treasury* was valued by poets (what aspiring poet doesn’t need a thesaurus ready to hand?), and it went on to attract numerous erudite commentaries over the centuries adding to and expanding its lists and meanings. It also traveled far beyond the shores of India—eastward in a seventh-century translation in Chinese, southward as it was rendered into Pali in Sri Lanka, northward in a Tibetan

version in the medieval period, and westward to Europe in an Italian translation in the late eighteenth century.

This *Treasury* continues this long-standing Indian love of collecting words and their meanings, but unlike Amara, I focus exclusively on emotion-type words. In this sense, the *Treasury* should be seen as a modern enterprise too, at a time when lists and lexica of emotions have great currency. Some scholars have aimed in a reductive fashion to arrive at a list of the most basic and universal emotions. Descartes came up with a list of six primitive passions: wonder, love, hatred, desire, joy, and sadness. More recently, social psychologist Paul Ekman has arrived at a different set of six basic emotions: happiness, anger, disgust, fear, sadness, and surprise, and argued that their universality is clear from how they are tractable in the expressions of the human face. Other scholars have aimed not for reduction and brevity but for prolixity and inclusivity, as Tiffany Watt Smith does in her collection of 156 feelings from many languages. She argues that we need *more* terms for emotions from many cultures, as they help us identify and discover finer shades of experience possible for human beings.¹ This is an impulse with which I am inclined to agree, and I offer this collection as a further contribution to this very project.

The concept of “emotion” is of course of relatively recent vintage. What may feel like a natural or universal category to modern English speakers in fact has a history. In early modern Europe, emotion was at first rather vague, describing bodily movement or the commotion of a crowd of people. Before the nineteenth century, English speakers would more likely have referred to affections, appetites, passions, humors, and sentiments for much of what we speak of as emo-

¹ Tiffany Watt Smith, *The Book of Human Emotions: An Encyclopedia of Feeling from Anger to Wanderlust*, London: Wellcome Collection, 2015.

tion today. This began to change in the 1830s, when the term was fashioned into a theoretical category in the moral philosophy lectures of Edinburgh professor Thomas Brown, and it attracted systematic scientific study in the early work of both Charles Bell and Charles Darwin (culminating in the latter's 1872 *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*). By the time William James asked in his influential 1884 essay, "What Is an Emotion?" emotion was well on its way to becoming a central term in psychology.² Today, it seems hard to imagine life without it.

But, of course, such a specific history has no obvious analogue in India before the modern period and no single word in Indian languages gets at the range of ideas and phenomena that the English word emotion has now come to suggest. Conversely, the classical languages of India offer up categories that have no clear correlates in modern English. And not only do meta categories like "emotion" differ, but also more granular terms for affect and feeling. We have words for particular experiences in Indian languages that are not named in English, and vice versa. Still, the English term "emotion" can get us in the door and help us locate the kinds of phenomena we are interested in, which include feelings, affects, bodily states, moods, dispositions, temperaments, and sentiments widely conceived. The *Treasury* does not attempt to police these categories or identify strict criteria for them, which would seem to be a task about English-language usage rather than ideas in Indian texts. While English

² William James, "What Is an Emotion?" (*Mind* 9, no. 34 [1884]: 188–205). See Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, translated by Keith Tribe, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; and Ute Frevert, *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700–2000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, for reliable and thorough treatments of the history of emotion in the modern West.

is my medium for exploring these ideas, my word-based approach is meant to resist the all-too-prevalent assumption that modern English words name, in some easy way, universal categories.³

That languages and cultures differ in their words for emotion, feeling, and sentiment has vexed philosophers, anthropologists, and scientists for the past two centuries. Is it that the terrain of human experience is demarcated and described variously across different languages, but remains, basically, *the same terrain*? Or is it that the language used for experience itself shapes what humans can experience, so that culture inflects or even determines what is possible for people to feel? Or does the answer lie somewhere in between—perhaps there is a basic human endowment or range of possibilities shared by all of us, but culture and language do shape what can be described and thus felt, at least to some extent.

I don't have the answers to these questions, but for me, the overlap between classical Indian languages and modern English on ideas about emotions has the delightful possibility of bridging our time to theirs. Many experiences described on the pages that follow will be instantly recognizable to modern readers. But I am equally moved by experiences that seem quite different, where we get names and descriptions of feelings unfamiliar to the modern reader.

³ I share Barbara Cassin's critical eye on that strand of Anglophone analytic philosophy where English presents itself, despite its own historical particularity, as the language of "common sense and shared experience," a language of philosophy that somehow conveys, unproblematically, a universal logic true in all times and all places. I offer my wordbook, as she does her "untranslatables," in part to counter this assumption with rich and complex vocabularies otherwise situated and often with their own universalist pretensions (see the *Dictionary of Untranslatables: A Philosophical Lexicon*, ed. Barbara Cassin, translated from the original French by S. Rendall et al., Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004: xviii).

These are opportunities to expand our understanding of what it is to be human, as they suggest new possibilities for us not only to think about, but also, perhaps, to feel.

The History of Emotion

Within Western ways of telling the story (and to date we *only* have Western ways of telling the story), the category of emotion begins with the Greeks, though of course they did not use the term “emotion” either. Plato and Aristotle spoke of *pathē*, and argued that pathos is to be distinguished from reason and the spirit. Saint Augustine modified this tripartite model slightly to discern a faculty psychology of reason, passion, and the will, setting the stage for a long battle in Western thought between reason and the passions, one carried forward in the modern period by Descartes and Kant. It is from this legacy that theorists and modern people have often assumed that emotions are, by their very nature, irrational. Yet others have argued that, going back to Greek thinkers like the Stoics, emotions are a certain kind of cognitive judgment, albeit one that delivers an affective impact. Still others emphasize the *feeling* quality of emotions.

Further, Descartes initiated a sharp metaphysical divide between body and mind that has had enduring implications for subsequent theorists of emotions who have wondered whether emotions should be considered “mental” or “physical.” Determining the ontological nature of emotions according to these divisions of the human person occupies philosophers to this day.

In addition, the rise of anthropology has had scholars studying languages and cultures worldwide, leading to the idea that emotions are culturally constructed and vary significantly from one culture to the next. In recent times, cognitive scientists and evolutionary biologists have pushed

back against social constructivism to insist on a single universal set of emotional capacities, though their assumptions and evidence have not gone uncontested either.

None of these debates—is emotion opposed to reason? is it a matter of mind or body? is it innate and universal or socially constructed and variable across cultures?—occurred as such in ancient India. This is not because Indians did not reflect on their experiences or theorize about them. On the contrary, the entries in this book invite the reader to see the spirited, subtle, and sophisticated theories and debates they did have about how to understand experience. But premodern Indian thinking about emotions is refreshingly innocent of these Western preoccupations. In the Indian discussions, we get fresh possibilities for thinking about human experience that operate, from the ground up, with quite different sets of assumptions and concerns.

Too often, Western thought occupies the role of universal theory, with non-Western cultures permitted simply to supply the data to be interpreted by that theory. But India has nearly three thousand years of investigating, categorizing, and reflecting upon human experience in ways every bit as sophisticated and critical as those developed in the West. This *Treasury* provides entries—that is, *entry points*—for particular terms for emotions and similar experiences to begin to demarcate the distinctive theoretical contributions Indian sources can make in understanding human experience.

Emotion Talk and an Ecological Approach to Emotion

This collection is based on my sustained immersion in Indian texts for over three decades as a student, scholar, and teacher. Over the years, I have collected words, passages, and ideas that have struck me as arresting, beautiful, or

inspired. I have published scholarly studies on some of these emotion terms and the systems and narratives in which they occur. At the same time, I have come to feel that these ideas should reach further into the world than the narrow scholarly circles in which academics usually publish their work. Perhaps a wordbook or an anthology, this ancient Indian conception of a treasury, could be one way to bring them together and into the light.

I have included words and passages chosen for various reasons, reasons that are, in every case, deliberate and based on research and scholarly principles that are themselves not always fully visible in the entries. My principles of selection—I draw widely from what English speakers would call desires, passions, affects, dispositions, sentiments, and of course emotions—are based on what I think can help us understand this arena of human experience better, and which, albeit always in a necessarily partial and incomplete way, get at brilliant insights in the Indian texts. Some terms bring to the fore philosophical debates (Is remorse a reliable form of moral knowledge? Can hatred ever be justified? Should compassion be reserved for those whose suffering is undeserved?). Others open up rich veins of human feeling evoked by literature that might even arouse the experience, or an appreciation of it, in the reader (revolting depictions of bodily effluences in instructions to actors representing disgust, for example, or quite oppositely, the sweet anguish called love-in-separation favored by the poets). Some conceptual areas get very granular very quickly: ancient India had no single category matching the catch-all English conception of “love.” Rather, there are many types of love differentiated at the outset as romantic, erotic, familial, ethical, religious, and so on. Some terms are meta categories (*rasa*, *bhava*, *vedana*) that indicate larger theoretical systems, the outlines of which we can only begin to discern

in the context of a given entry. Some terms are profoundly elemental ideas in the history of Indian thought that suggest deep and abiding concerns (the three *gunas*, the all-pervading terms for desire, ideas of religious bliss and devotion, the nature of suffering, the humors of Ayurveda). Still others are here because I came across them, found them delightful, and simply wanted to share my discoveries. Other scholars would have reached for different passages and in some cases rather different entries altogether.

While my entries often bring forward philosophical and normative discussion about emotions, I have also been drawn to include textual passages and examples that evoke the phenomenality of a particular experience—that is, passages that convey *how it feels*. My entries often sidestep generalities to focus on the particular, much as the literary forms do on which many of the entries rely. The focus on the particular can itself help us get out from underneath some of the overgrown bracken of Western theory. While India offers many technical and abstract discussions of emotions (and many of these are present in the pages that follow), I give equal weight to literary, religious, and aesthetic treatments that do not describe or regulate so much as *evoke*. I want the affective nuances and subtleties of particular experiences to come through.

Of course, we cannot get access to emotions *directly* as they ebb and flow in any particular person's life. We must instead consider *talk* about emotions: what gets noticed in the untidy field of experience, and lifted up, named, described, suggested, or prompted in texts that are centuries or millennia old. We encounter emotion talk in texts that have varied purposes and aspirations, and thus find that the nature of such talk itself must attract our scrutiny. Medical texts have different ways of portraying and managing grief than court poetry; religious texts treat desire and erotic love

more skeptically than does the *Kama Sutra*; aesthetic theorists appreciate anger and its cultivation in ways troubling to moralists. Emotions always occur in *contexts*, within scripts, narratives, normative orders of value, and systems of philosophical, moral, social, or political thought that inflect how they are to be described or regulated, indeed, that determine what even gets noticed to begin with.⁴ Thus, as I draw as widely as I can from very different types of texts with an aim to begin to trace the contours of early Indian thought, I am ever attentive to the genres and purposes of these texts and how they shape the representation of any particular experience.

My interest in the *particular* and in the nature of the discourses describing emotions comprise two prongs of an approach developed with Chakravarthi Ram-Prasad that can be described as “ecological.” This approach treats emotions (and other areas of experience) not as pregiven or self-contained fixtures of the world that show up here and there in our experience, but rather as constituted through the contexts and environments in which we humans always and constantly find ourselves. Just as *ecology* is the study of the relationships of organisms within their environments, where, in a nontrivial sense, organisms are products of their environments and vice versa, the study of experience involves attention to the processes and interrelatedness of noticed features of experience and their contexts.⁵

⁴ Scholars of the Western classics have been perceptive to the contextual situatedness of emotions and the need for the scholar to attend to such contexts or “scripts,” as Robert Kaster calls them. See David Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006, and R. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

⁵ Chakravarthi Ram-Prasad’s *Human Being, Bodily Being* applies this ecological approach to the bodily nature of experience (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

In an ecology, the “same” thing looks different depending upon the context within which one frames inquiry: the same redwood giant is described differently as home to billions of microscopic creatures nestled in the mosses at its base than from the perspective of the birds nesting in its canopy, still more when it is considered as one node in a much larger forest, watershed, climate pattern, migration path for animals, or potential supply of timber. Its processes, interactions with its environment, and even its very structures and features vary depending on what is being studied and for what end. As dendrology becomes more advanced, even understanding what is tree and what is its environment can become difficult to untangle, a point itself salutary for advancing the scientific paradigms themselves. Nor should scientific descriptions be necessarily privileged, for the poet, storyteller, artist, and day hiker will suggest their descriptions and narratives that speak their truths. Fixed and essentialist notions of trees simply won’t do, because good science, and indeed good poetry, can produce many, indeed, an unfixed number, of potential descriptions. These descriptions don’t compete to promote one explanation as more accurate than others; these are nonrival and enriching descriptions of different aspects of the tree.

To us, emotions and other phenomena of human experience are also usefully seen as ecological in these ways: they are embedded in, or rather, constituted by, their environments; and both our observations and expressions of them are necessarily shaped by our perspectives and purposes at hand. Any emotion is a response to and an imposition on an environment, something irreducibly felt and known within and because of the circumstances in which it occurs. Of course, it is often hard to specify in advance the borders between the experience and the context, which is precisely the point. I am drawn to Alva Noë’s question “Where do you

stop and the rest of the world begin?”⁶ and want to leave the question open.

The answers will always be different depending on the context in which the emotion is felt, noticed, and described, and the nature and purpose of the text doing the noticing. A neuroscientist might (usefully in some contexts) define grief in terms of specific chemical activity in a certain region in the brain, whereas the recently bereaved widow might define it in terms of the narratives and memories of a life spent with a particular and beloved spouse. As different as their accounts might be, both are right.

And so we must always attend to the contexts of emotions, and the nature and purposes of the descriptions, regulations, evocations, and normative instructions in which they occur. The epic heroine Draupadi is consumed with righteous anger (*manyu*) at her disgrace at court by the enemies of her husbands in front of men who should have protected and honored her. Her anger is not easily separated or even understandable apart from the moral and social details of these circumstances. To be sure, emotions can be abstracted from their narrative contexts and scripts, and certain texts do this adroitly and systematically, but their processes and purposes of abstraction can themselves become the objects of study. Why and under what constraints are certain experiences treated abstractly, and not others? Anger may be treated in general terms— inveighed against by moralists, listed as one of the universal emotions, appreciated in aesthetic terms, and so on—for specific purposes, but these purposes themselves require our notice. At the same time, we might also keep in view the nuanced phenomenological

⁶ Alva Noë, *Out of Our Heads: Why You Are Not Your Brain, and Other Lessons from the Biology of Consciousness*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux: 2010.

quality—that is, *how it feels*—of the particular anger captured only by a focus on the situational. Draupadi’s anger and her situation are in some important sense irreducible to generalities. This *Treasury* attends to both registers: emotion talk that attempts to organize and give abstract treatment to emotions, and emotion talk that evokes highly particular instances of specific experiences.

The ecological nature of human experience suggests that it would be unwise to decide, in advance, on fixed or essential definitions of emotions. We need not decree that emotions or feelings are matters of mind *or* body, because mind and body are themselves no more fixed or pre-given than feelings are. Contemporary English speakers have had to resort to the neologism “hangry” to get at that distinctive variety of irritability that is neither entirely the physiological response to dinner arriving late to table, nor simply a matter of end-of-a-long-day tetchiness, but something of both, or in between. Perhaps much emotion talk is like this—where the complex task of trying to disentangle what is physiology, what is mood, disposition, and emotion, and what is context will tell us more about presumed definitions of these categories than about the phenomenon as it presents in experience.

I’d rather ask where and for what purpose does a given text decide to distinguish mind and body in the ways that it does—or even *if* it does, for I notice when texts don’t presume such ontological distinctions at all. For example, readers will find experiences here that they might consider “physical”—tears, goosebumps, the “heart’s soft core”—and might, following Cartesian dualistic assumptions, consider them as the bodily expression of the mental thing that is emotion. I myself won’t go this far unless there is evidence in the Indian text itself that suggests that it chooses to make

a distinction between what it considers “mind” and “body.” Goosebumping might itself count as an emotion.

Similarly, we need not decide in advance that emotions are interior or exterior, individual or social, innate or learned, or any of the other distinctions so readily available in modern Western theorizing about emotion. I opt instead to see if and when such distinctions occur in the Indian texts themselves, and if they do, to what purpose. And where texts do make similar distinctions about experience, I remain open to the idea that these distinctions could be working simply to point out a feature of experience rather than attempting to settle in any final way on what it is.

As noted earlier, my entries often discuss emotions in highly particular ways as they are discussed or evoked in particular textual passages. I often aim less for a comprehensive general treatment of an emotion and more for the resonant and evocative valence that can be achieved only by depicting a particular state in a particular narrative. This disposition toward the particular, even the singular, is facilitated by the wordbook format. It is also a principled stance shared by some of the theorists we will be considering. The ninth-century literary theorist Anandavardhana, for example, takes up the question of how it is that poets can produce endless varieties of experience and feeling by attending to the particular as it is inflected by time, season, place, region, circumstance, and the vicissitudes of individual beings. He advises poets to seek the particular in a world of endless nuance and difference:

Among sentient beings, such as men, animals, birds, there is obviously a great difference between those who have been raised in villages, forests, rivers, or the like. If one makes these distinctions in writing of them one

will find an endless store of material. Thus, to take only humans, who could ever exhaust the manifold variety of customs and activities of persons from different countries and regions, especially of young women?⁷

The nuances of experience of diverse young women are best approached by the poet looking for shades of difference and multiplicity. The endless possibilities for variation allow for immeasurably finer and subtler poetic composition. It has also been observed that the “treasury of words,” the word bank from which good poets have been making daily withdrawals from time immemorial, has limitless reserves to support this nuance.⁸

But a critic might counter that the facts of the world “come into denotation in their general, not their particular, forms.” Words are categories that touch only generalities, and as general categories they conceal the elusive particularity of things. Indeed, certain Buddhist thinkers lobbed just this critique. But the aesthetic theorists were having none of it. Poetic expression is just that skillful concomitance of denoter and denoted, and if ways of being human are endless, then the poet’s expressions of them must also be. In fact, they are doubly so when we consider the poet’s imagination too. Properly conceived, the imaginative ways a poet can express experiences should not be seen to have a limit.

⁷ *The Dhvanyāloka of Ānandavardhana with the Locana of Abhinavagupta*, translated by Daniel Ingalls, Jeffrey Masson, and M. V. Patwardhan, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990: 707–708. He is arguing against Dharmakīrti, a Mahayana Buddhist thinker who argues that language cannot get at the particular that exists only momentarily and thus is gone by the time the word for it is uttered; Dharmakīrti’s view is quoted in the voice of the critic in the next paragraph.

⁸ The *Gauḍavaho* (87) as translated and discussed by David Shulman, *More Than Real*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012: 97: “Day after day, / from the beginning of time, good poets draw from the treasury of words, / and still its lock / remains unbroken.”

My use of the traditional form of a wordbook deploys an Indian genre to suggest both possibilities. Words have always been taken as vital sources of knowledge in India even as thinkers argued with one another about whether they deliver particularities or universals. Read one way, this *kosha* offers an open-ended and profuse catalogue of many words with many shades of meaning to begin to get at the texture and multiplicity of particular experiences (indeed, composing open-ended and profuse catalogues was a task dear to the heart of many Indian thinkers!). When read in terms of the narratives in which words occur and the networks of other terms to which they are related in a modal or an ecological way, a word-based approach can help us keep in view the complex and relational particularity that we can discern in human experience. Read another way, however, these emotion terms, or perhaps some among them more than others, offer categories that allow for broader generalization, comparison, and questions about shared patterns of experience.

Classical Indian Languages

SANSKRIT TRADITIONS

The idea of the “classical” that I invoke in this book refers less to a narrowly drawn historical period and more to a broader conception of literary and intellectual works of a markedly high order, works whose genius ensured that people would preserve and revisit them time and again over the centuries. There are many ways to explore what might make a body of texts or ideas “classical,” but I like the proposals of Sheldon Pollock when he suggests that India’s “classical civilization” may be known in the “durability and distinctiveness” of its literary and philosophical traditions and

practices.⁹ In his capacity as editor-in-chief of the celebrated Murty Classical Library of India, Pollock puts forward a library of “classical literature”:

What do we think makes Indian works “classic”? It might in fact be their very resistance to contemporaneity and universality, that is, their capacity to communicate the vast variety of the human past. There will of course be many occasions for learning something about our shared humanity from these works, but they also provide access to radically different forms of human consciousness, and thereby expand the range of possibilities of what it has meant or could mean to be human.¹⁰

The Indian classics reach across space and time to teach us a wider conception of what it is to be human. At the same time, they pointedly resist assimilation into both European and modern conceptions of the universal.

I draw mostly from Sanskrit sources, but I also include a substantial number of Pali terms and a handful of Prakrit terms as well. Sanskrit’s celebrated lexicon, the sheer enormity and precision of its vocabulary, together with the scope and centrality of its literatures and intellectual systems in aesthetics, philosophy, politics, medicine, and religion across southern Asia for millennia, put it at the center of the *Treasury*. Sanskrit was the language of most intellectual work in ancient India, and its corpus was, by conservative estimates, huge, many times the size of the Greeks’. The entries draw from all of its main knowledge systems and attempt to evoke the extraordinary power of its literary forms, which include

⁹ Sheldon Pollock, “The Alternative Classicism of Classical India,” 2015, https://www.india-seminar.com/2015/671/671_sheldon_pollock.htm.

¹⁰ Sheldon Pollock, <http://www.murtylibrary.com/why-a-classical-library-of-india.php>.

the great epic stories, folk narratives, legends, and court poetry and drama.

Emotions don't reveal themselves to us in the Sanskrit materials in the way contemporary philosophers are conditioned to expect. There aren't any systematic treatises on emotions per se. But once we know how to look for emotion talk, we can find it everywhere—in the hymns and speculations of the Vedas and Upanishads; in the normative texts called *shastra* on morality, politics, social life, and religion; in the philosophical literature called *pramanavada*; in Buddhist and Jain texts of all sorts; in the Hindu ascetic traditions; in lyrical religious poetry like the *Bhagavad Gita*; in courtly literary texts and the aesthetic traditions that studied them; and of course, everywhere in the epics. I have drawn widely and lovingly from all these sources, trying to cast as diverse a net as my scholarly expertise and the many scholarly resources and tools I have deployed to help have permitted.

Within these genres, several are especially useful to mine for the *Treasury*, and certain foundational assumptions and patterns in Indian thought are helpfully set out in advance. We may begin with religion. Religious traditions in India can be seen as close studies of suffering, emotion, and desire. The ascetic traditions (Buddhism, Jainism, and the Yoga system, to name just the most prominent and ultimately enduring early examples) began with an acute sensitivity to suffering that in turn led to a disenchantment with life in *samsara* (endless rebirths) driven by karma (action), and the need to dismantle desire to achieve freedom (nirvana or *moksha*) from it (see the entry on *duhkha* for a basic précis of these insights). They offered rigorous therapies of the emotions to replace the turbulence of emotional life with peace, equanimity, and a kind of bliss that transcends desire. Within these broad structural assumptions and forms,

the ascetic traditions, which in some cases grew to become world religions, developed intricate systematic psychologies. We will enjoy tracking the nuances and debates among these traditions in many of the entries that follow.

Much later than the initial textual output of the ascetic systems, a very different approach to emotionality referred to as *bhakti*, devotion, developed across traditions in India, but mostly within Hinduism. Often in explicit tension with the ascetic traditions, the exponents of *bhakti* celebrated emotion, particularly varieties of love and desire, as long as these were properly channeled to God. *Bhakti*, in the words of one of its most outspoken theorists, “trivializes *moksha*,” preferring to sacralize the rich panoply of human feelings instead. While he is at it, this thinker rebuffs the “dried up” ritualists that have held sway in certain domains in Indian religion as well: *bhakti* should be kept from them much as one keeps one’s treasure from a thief.¹¹

In addition, I am drawn to the genres of *shastric* discourse—such texts as the *Laws of Manu*, the *Kama Sutra*, the manual of realpolitik called the *Artha Shastra*—because of this genre’s attempt to render explicit the nuances of social life in both rich detail as well as highly ideological terms. Some *shastra* is “religious,” while other texts may be considered “secular” (if these modern terms can be of any use in such a different intellectual context). *Shastra* is a distinctively Indian genre that is both descriptive and prescriptive, as it seeks to regulate the norms of a substantial variety of practices. The *Kama Sutra*, for example, describes and regulates the norms of sex, romance, and gender in ways that have obvious value for considering emotion talk. This body of

¹¹ Rūpa Goswāmi, *The Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu*, translated by David L. Haberman, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2003: 4–5, 8–9, 384–385; by “ritualists,” Rūpa Goswāmi is referring to Mimamsakas, the foremost intellectual tradition espousing Vedic ritualism and interpretation.

shastric prescription is a disquisition on the idealized conduct of the cultured “man-about-town,” in a way that locates emotions within a densely interactive material and social environment. Kautilya’s *Artha Shastra* does similar work with the acquisition of power and wealth in advice to kings. And in the Dharma *shastras*, legal authorities like Manu and Yajñavalkya regulate the Dharma—that is, the etiquette, morality, law, and normative social order of all classes of the social body. These texts seldom thematize emotions as such but nevertheless manage emotion with great care and precision, often by way of lists and rules that rank and classify forms of experience. Indeed, the *shastric* proclivity for lists is a boon for my purposes because lists corral, define, and rank emotions in highly systematic and illuminating ways. Much formal Indian religious and philosophical thought is a kind of *shastric* discourse that offers very meticulous treatments of human psychology and social life.

It will surprise no reader familiar with India that the two great epics, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, should furnish much human experience for our purposes. These monumental Sanskrit epics, and their stories within stories, have provided India with studies of character, disposition, and emotion for more than two millennia, and I follow many of these studies here. The *Mahabharata* tells of a great fratricidal war to end all wars; the *Ramayana* is a tragic love story between Rama and Sita that involves loss, recovery, and loss again. I have also sought to represent other Indian literatures ranging from the scrappy folk tales of the *Pancatantra* to the high court dramas of Kalidasa, from Sanskrit tales of the Buddha’s life to the lyrical mysteries of Vedānta Deshika’s devotional poetry. And everything in between.

Of particular relevance for Sanskrit thinking about emotions is the aesthetic tradition introduced by Bharata, the

author of the first great treatise on dramaturgy who lived in the early centuries of the Common Era. Since aesthetics became a central arena for close scrutiny of emotion (as it was in premodern traditions in the West as well), I draw heavily from it, and so some general remarks about Bharata's system and its successors will be helpful here. While Bharata's treatise is a *shastra* on the performing arts, along the way it develops a complex theory of what we would call emotion and aesthetic feeling. The text supplies lists and descriptions of emotional states encountered in performing a play. Bharata's system inaugurated a long and highly sophisticated tradition of aesthetics we now call "*rasa* theory" that found its highest and most probing analyses centuries later among literary theorists (one of whom we've just met, Anandavardhana, but there were many others). For our purposes, two key terms—*rasa* and *bhava*—and the overall context of them will be essential for the reader to know.

First, among the many matters discussed by Bharata, a central question concerned how aesthetic response, the savor and the savoring (both *rasa*) of artistic pleasure, occurs. What makes a play pleasurable even when the players perform tragedy or painful human emotions? How can actors portray emotions in such a way that they and others will relish and appreciate them? To explain these processes, Bharata offered a formal analysis of how emotions are created and can be represented. The term "emotion" here is *bhava* ("way of being"), and while the two words do not overlap precisely, many of the experiences Bharata considers *bhavas* are instantly recognizable to English speakers as emotions. But the range of *bhavas* is quite a bit broader, as we can see from Bharata's lists. Bharata lists eight main *bhavas* that are thought to be "stable" in human experience (at least as it is to be considered in the context of aesthetic experience). These stable emotions (*sthayibhavas*) are attraction,

amusement, grief, anger, determination, fear, disgust, and amazement. He then lists thirty-three “transitory” *bhavas*, many of which are emotions, such as despair, resentment, anxiety, shame, joy, and so forth, as well as such conditions as intoxication and exhaustion (for the full list, readers may turn to the entry on *vyabhicaribhava*, transitory emotions). And there are eight psychosomatic responses (*sattvikabhavas*) like weeping, sweating, goosebumps, and so on. Through work with these categories of experiences as well as the other elements of stagecraft, playwrights, actors, and directors produce their art.

Subsequent theorists wondered if Bharata’s *shastra* was meant to provide an exhaustive list of emotions or whether other emotions might be accommodated in this set (for example, could “distress,” which isn’t listed, be included in “despair”?). Further, the idea of an exhaustive list itself was interrogated. A tenth-century literary theorist, Abhinavagupta, notes that people have wondered “how anyone could possibly number all the various states of mind” and “how any given number could capture this totality” of experiences people have.¹² He reminds us that Bharata was concerned with those states that actors and directors would need to know and perform, and so his model might not be an exhaustive theory of human nature per se. Bharata lists emotions that are particularly salient in the production of aesthetic pleasure.

This brings us to *rasa*, the emotional and aesthetic relish that prompts artists and keeps us going to plays and seeking out great literature. It is reasonable to assert that on questions of aesthetic sentiment—*how to produce it? what are its finer shades and varieties? what is the structure of human*

¹² Abhinavabhāratī 1.373, translated by Sheldon Pollock, *The Rasa Reader: Classical Indian Aesthetics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2016: 207.

emotion on which aesthetic sentiment draws?—*rasa* theory goes further than any philosophical tradition of aesthetics in human intellectual history. Drawing on the meaning of *rasa* as “taste,” Bharata offered a gustatory metaphor to define it: “just as connoisseurs eat and savor their fare when prepared with so many condiments and substances, so the learned fully savor in their heart the stable emotions when conjoined with the factors, transitory emotions, and reactions.”¹³ That is to say, a *rasa* is the *taste* of a stable emotion when the arts of the theater have represented that emotion along with the transitory emotions and the other elements of successful stagecraft. Since they interact with the repertoire of the eight stable emotions in order to savor them, there are eight *rasas* corresponding with them:

<u>Rasas</u>	<u>savor</u>	<u>Stable Emotions</u>
Erotic		Attraction
Comic		Amusement
Tragic		Grief
Violent		Anger
Heroic		Determination
Horror		Fear
Macabre		Disgust
Fantastic		Amazement

Thus, the erotic *rasa* savors attraction, the comic *rasa* savors amusement, and so on, with the *rasas* as the aesthetic experiences of emotions. One of the key explorations of *rasa* theory is the question of how it is that the private and “real” experience or *bhava* of one’s own grief, anger, fear, or disgust may be highly unpleasant, and yet we relish the artistic representation and tasting of these same emotions. It is

¹³ *Nāṭyaśāstra* 6.32–33. Pollock, *The Rasa Reader: Classical Indian Aesthetics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2016: 51.

through the artistic refinement or manipulation of these emotions that we can savor the tragic, the heroic, the horrific, and the macabre. While not attempting to discuss this theory systematically—there are now excellent resources available for doing so¹⁴—the *Treasury* assumes at least this much background into its fundamental questions. I feature the *rasas* and stable *bhavas* in my entries (and many of the more “emotion-like” transitory and psychosomatic emotions as well).

PALI AND PRAKRIT

While Sanskrit secular texts as well as Sanskrit religious literatures of Hindus (of all varieties), Buddhists, and Jains are well represented in the *Treasury*, the Buddhist scriptures and commentaries preserved in Pali bring additional pleasures to our table. The Pali texts—Pali is a language and literature limited to the Theravada Buddhist tradition—provide some of the most intricate attention available anywhere to questions of psychology and the subtleties of emotion, and their contributions to the thoughtworld of classical India are not always fully recognized. It was in the Pali language that the most complete corpus of the early Buddhist teachings was preserved, and this corpus is devoted to the nature of human experience in highly meticulous and systematic ways.

Specifically, the Pali Abhidhamma texts offer phenomenological analysis of experiential life by attempting to list, classify, and define psychological states in a highly prolific and systematic way. Emotional phenomena, and their causal relations with other phenomena in the production of

¹⁴ Chiefly, Sheldon Pollock’s *The Rasa Reader: Classical Indian Aesthetics*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2016, and P. V. Kane, *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1961.

consciousness, are subject to intensive scrutiny and definition by a large corpus of canonical texts. Scholastics developed these ideas in Pali and in adjacent Buddhist traditions in Sanskrit (called Abhidharma) and Tibetan, for the next two millennia. These systems give us a completely different carving up of experience than anything in Western psychology, as will become evident in the entries drawing on them.

One important feature of Abhidhamma and Abhidharma literatures is that they define phenomena by modal analysis. For example, in the Pali system a standard list of phenomena present in one's field of experience in any given moment lists some fifty-six phenomena ranging from the barest processes of perception to rather more developed emotions and cognitive faculties. Any given moment of awareness will have an assemblage of these phenomena, each of which inflects the mode, valence, and strength of the other phenomena present, and together these phenomena construct the particular quality of the moment of awareness. (Incidentally, *rasa* theory can also be said to be “modal” in this sense—experience is made up of phenomena that in a dynamic way shape the modes in which other phenomena also present are felt and can be defined.) I see an “ecological” quality in this literature—indeed, I have learned to think ecologically from these Indian systems.

Entries from Pali sources are not limited to the Abhidhamma psychological genre, however; I draw also on Pali's considerable scriptural and literary corpuses, including some of the very earliest literary composition in India.

While occurring in just a handful of entries, Prakrit texts must be included as well. I find myself drawn to the austere but acute emotional landscape of Prakrit poetry. Prakrit occupies a curious position in the “language order” of classical India, as shown by Andrew Ollett, who calls it “the most

important Indian language you’ve never heard of.”¹⁵ Its very name means “common,” suggesting a more natural language when juxtaposed, as it always was, to the “refined” (*samskṛta*) qualities of Sanskrit. But for all that, it was a courtly product, and the secular literature in this language, which began to come into view in the early centuries of the Common Era at the Satavahana court, was of a very high order. Indeed, Prakrit appears to have been a precursor to Sanskrit literary traditions of poetry (*kavya*) and the critical literary aesthetics that theorized it.

Prakrit literary composition, most notably the anthology of King Hala called the *Seven Centuries*, has a different emotional tone than Sanskrit. Its poems evince a sensibility simultaneously rustic and refined, spare yet suggestive, and artless while deeply erudite. Poems in Prakrit tend to feature (as objects of courtly and urbane representation) the emotions and sensibilities of rural and village folk; Prakrit is also the language that women and people of lower social position spoke in Sanskrit dramas such as those composed by Kalidasa (in fact, we should properly call such plays “Sanskrit and Prakrit dramas”). Variants of Prakrit were also the languages of many of India’s earliest inscriptions, such as those of many of the edicts of the emperor Ashoka, indicating Prakrit’s role as an early language of power and diplomacy. Last, a variety of Prakrit was also the chief scholarly and public language of the Jains, and their distinctive perspectives on human experience must be included in any lexicon on early classical Indian thought.

Absent here are the languages of India’s classical Persian and Islamic civilizations as well as the vernaculars, many of

¹⁵ Andrew Ollett, *Language of the Snakes*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2017: 14.

which have high literary and intellectual traditions as well. It is equally painful to omit Tamil, which has a literary corpus extending back to its early classical tradition adjacent to and interacting with Sanskrit. These languages and their lexica, had I the expertise to include them, would have greatly enriched the *Treasury*. And I do not draw at all from the modern subcontinent, as tempting as the hyperpolyglot that is contemporary India may be, nor do I partake of the delights of portmanteau Hinglish. I center on what might be loosely called early “classical” India as I draw from the deep storehouses of nearly two millennia of expression in these three literary traditions. If this *Treasury* encourages further work on emotions in other classical and modern Indian language worlds and textual traditions, then I shall gratefully come to consider it a success.

Even within these languages, I have not aimed to be exhaustive, either in providing a complete listing of emotion terms, or in canvassing all the possible sources on any given term. A kingdom’s treasury should burst with jewels, but it cannot contain all of the treasures of the world. It should brim with the coin of the realm, but also contain rare gemstones, pearls, precious baubles, and curios accumulated by the court. I have included emotion terms that carry significant weight in the theoretical systems and literary traditions in which they occur. I would be remiss to omit the three *gunas*, the eight *rasas* and their counterpart *bhavas*, the Ayurveda humors, and so on, all of which are so fundamental to so much Indian thought. But I have also attempted to step over the well-worn grooves of expectation and include less obvious emotion terms that have attracted my notice for one reason or another, curiosities, as it were, that can help us see certain features of Indian thinking about human experience in a new light.

How to Read This Book

The *Treasury* is not a reference work; it is not a dictionary or encyclopedia of historical philology. Rather, it is a word-book of literary and philosophical vignettes. My entries in some instances may seem idiosyncratic. I don't aim to offer an etymological or comprehensive historical account of each term, or a concordance of every mention of a term in a single text, much less attempt to track it in all texts. I often aim not for generalities that will cover most cases, but for the poignant anecdote that will sharpen the particular—noting, however, that it is through close attention to particulars that the contours of the thoughtworld of ancient India can begin to emerge most distinctively. Every entry is based on specific textual passages, but they may not always be the first texts that readers well acquainted with Indian literature will know. Specialists in specific areas of expertise will doubtless prefer that more of their beloved texts were included; it cannot be otherwise in a collection that draws so widely from so vast a textual world. Sometimes I have chosen to describe a term based on passages that raise philosophical questions and that may be illuminated by a comparative discussion with other theoretical treatments of similar emotions. In other cases, I have inclined in a literary direction, taking pleasure in how a poem or narrative brings into focus a particular experience, and ideally, helps us to feel it too.

I have aimed to make the *Treasury* readable for many different types of readers. I am first attuned to the general reader who may or may not have much background in Indian thought but who is interested in emotions and how they might be described in other contexts. For this reader, I have tried to keep much of the scholarly apparatus and technical

discussions at bay, while still allowing the sophistication of the ideas to emerge. I use diacritics sparingly: general readers may get distracted by them and scholars don't need them. If a word has diacritics, readers can find it in parentheses when the word is first mentioned in the body of the entry and in the references section. Indian ideas about human experience deserve to be better known and we ought to remove specialist barriers wherever possible. Above all, I hope that my efforts make it possible that anyone interested in emotions and experience can gain access to the words, texts, and passages I explore here.

But the *Treasury* may be edifying for the specialist as well. It pulls together a range of phenomena and brings to bear some of the wealth of Indian thought concerning terms important to all of our work. Scholars who already know Indian material may find that thematizing emotion helps them see familiar texts and ideas in new light. Every entry is based on actual textual passages that are clearly cited, and I use my translations unless otherwise noted, though I very frequently use the very fine translations of others. For the scholarly sorts who want to track down my references and see for themselves the textual passages from which each entry is drawn, I have included scholarly citations under "References" for each entry. Readers less interested in these details may enjoy staying above the line.

Some will want to read the *Treasury* cover to cover, surveying the gems as they come up. Others may wish to look up particular terms, though they should be cautioned that the *Treasury* is not a dictionary, glossary, thesaurus, encyclopedia, or exhaustive history of emotions. All readers will find that every term can be usefully understood in relation to other terms, either words that are similar to the emotion under consideration, or those that might be antonyms of it. The facets of jewels in a chest reflect many other gemstones

near and across from them. Often a term is part of a larger schema of emotions as an item on a list, or it may be a meta category that includes other phenomena—words are frequently synonyms of one another, even as texts often take great pains to parse their nuances. Amarasimha was also aware that words are always related to other words through complex webs (to switch metaphors) of semantic relations: his *Treasury*, despite unfolding in a linear way, was in fact a “knowledge web,” indicating these relations between terms.¹⁶

We can take *karuna* as an example. This term for the hugely important feeling of pathos and sorrow is one of the *rasas* in Bharata’s aesthetic theory, and the reader will be encouraged to see it in those terms. *Karuna* is also a key religious practice of compassion and comprises one of the “sublime attitudes” that define and locate it in an entirely different schema. It includes phenomena that lie close to it such as mercy and pity, and is just one of a large number of words for compassion. For these types of reasons, entries often urge that one “see also” other terms. Readers are encouraged to flip around and crisscross through the *Treasury* to see how, in an ecological way (to return to yet another metaphor), items are related to, and often helpfully defined by, other items.

¹⁶ Sivaja Nair and Amba Kulkarni, “The Knowledge Structure in *Amarakośa*,” *Proceedings of the Sanskrit Computational Linguistics—4th International Symposium*, 2010.

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