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*Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo,
Camillo Alessio Formigatti (Eds.)*

INDIC MANUSCRIPT CULTURES THROUGH THE AGES

MATERIAL, TEXTUAL, AND HISTORICAL
INVESTIGATIONS

STUDIES IN
MANUSCRIPT CULTURES

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Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages

Studies in Manuscript Cultures



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Volume 14

Indic Manuscript Cultures through the Ages



Material, Textual, and Historical Investigations

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Preface

This volume reflects and celebrates the work carried out in the frame of the project ‘The intellectual and religious traditions of South Asia as seen through the Sanskrit manuscript collections of the University Library, Cambridge’,¹ funded by a Standard Route research grant of the British Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The project, which was officially launched in November 2011, had the duration of three years. I served as the Principal Investigator with the assistance of two research associates, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo A. Formigatti, who are the co-editors of this volume. The project’s main goal was to create a complete electronic catalogue of the Sanskrit – and generally South Asian² – manuscripts held in the University Library (henceforth UL³) of Cambridge and digitise about one-third of the collections,⁴ linking the catalogue entries to the digital images (wherever these are available).⁵

Most of the contributions stem from presentations given at two workshops organised in April 2013⁶ and September 2014⁷ at the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cambridge, while some (including my own) are independent contributions. However, all of them reflect the diverse efforts of the authors to engage – each in her or his often very personal way – with various aspects of the manuscript cultures of pre-modern South Asia. At the origin of this endeavour there is the shared awareness and recognition that the material features of the technology that allowed knowledge to be stored and circulated –

1 We used to call it the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, which is how I will refer to it in the following pages.

2 Notably, the UL collections include substantial numbers of manuscripts in Prakrit, Tamil, Malayalam, and other medieval Indian languages.

3 Note that throughout the volume the acronym UL will refer to the Cambridge University Library. Similarly, shelf-marks starting with either Add. or Or. identify manuscripts kept in the Cambridge University Library, unless otherwise specified.

4 Due to the limited budget at our disposal, we could not aim at the complete digitisation of all the Sanskrit holdings in the UL.

5 The catalogue is now accessible online in the Sanskrit Manuscripts section of the Cambridge Digital Library: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/sanskrit>

As is known, before the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project was launched, the only available print catalogue of the Cambridge collections was Cecil Bendall’s remarkable 1883 *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, which – as the title indicates – only covers the Buddhist manuscripts acquired until that year.

6 ‘Buddhist Manuscript Culture: Textuality and Materiality’, 12–13 April 2013.

7 ‘The South Asian Manuscript Book. Material, Textual and Historical Investigations’, 25–27 September 2014.

namely, the manuscript – inevitably affected the ways in which knowledge itself was produced, organised, and transmitted in that world (and within it, in innumerable local variations). Thus, the interest of manuscripts lies not only in their being the repositories of intellectual, religious, and aesthetic contents, but also in their being artefacts of a specific culture, each of them the unique outcome of the convergence of a number of factors: the availability of materials (such as palm leaf, paper, ink, pigments, etc.), the technical know-hows involved in its production (the preparation of the leaves, the scribe’s mastery of one or more scripts, the artists’ illuminations, etc.), the social conventions and constraints, the laws of offer and demand for certain works, the existence of formal and informal institutions supporting the cultivation of given systems of knowledge, the individual passions and beliefs, and so on.

The most innovative aspect of the project, for which there were hardly any precedents within the field of South Asian studies, was the creation of an electronic catalogue linking the individual records to digital images, and it posed some considerable technical challenges that demanded creative solutions. Already at the application stage, and in consultation with Grant Young, then Head of Digital Content of the UL (who later acted as Project Manager for all the aspects that concerned the library), and Burkhard Quessel, Curator of Tibetan Manuscripts at the British Library, it was decided that the records would be prepared in XML using the manuscript description module of TEI P5, an internationally recognised metadata standard that had been adopted by the UL in 2009. One of the first tasks that our team had to undertake was the adaptation of the TEI P5 module, mostly developed for Western materials, to the quite different characteristics of South Asian manuscripts in terms of formats, materials, foliation, etc.⁸ Our team made the conceptual decisions about the necessary changes to the TEI module, with the advice of the project’s consultants, Harunaga Isaacson and Dominic Goodall, renowned Sanskritists with a unique experience of manuscripts.⁹ Luckily, our task was enormously facilitated by the launch of the UL’s new digital platform, the Cambridge Digital Library, in 2012, during the first year of the project. For all the technical aspects of the project’s setup we could rely on the invaluable assistance of Grant Young and his collaborators – in particular

8 For a more accurate description of this and other technical/theoretical aspects of the cataloguing, see Formigatti (forthcoming), ‘<title type="alt" xml:lang="eng"> From the Shelves to the Web: Cataloging Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Digital Era</title>’, in Elena Mucciarelli and Heike Oberlin (eds), *Paper & Pixel: Digital Humanities in Indology*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

9 In particular, Harunaga Isaacson has been for several years the director of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft).

Huw Jones – with whom we established a fruitful and friendly cooperation that continued throughout the lifespan of the project and beyond. I take this opportunity to express our heartfelt gratitude to all of them.

The core of the work consisted in the painstaking and time-consuming direct inspection of each manuscript, and the careful recording of its physical and codicological features: support material, script, number of folios, number of lines per folio, foliation, illustrations, hands, etc., but also, as far as possible, type of layout, graphic and decorative devices, marginal annotations, colophons, scribal colophons and other paratexts – all features that are frequently neglected and omitted in conventional printed catalogues.¹⁰ Besides, our team inspected the contents of each manuscript, to confirm or correct its identification as given in the hand-list(s), or establish it independently, as far as possible, in those (not too infrequent) cases in which the work was only vaguely identified as falling into a general category, such as ‘devotional poem’, ‘work on *jyotiṣa*’, etc., in the existing hand-list or the partial card catalogue.¹¹ We also tried to retrace and record the history of each manuscript on the basis of the information contained in sources as diverse as colophons, cover notes, modern hand-lists, and archives: date of production and place of copy; names of scribes, owners, patrons, donors, and other individuals involved in its production and later vicissitudes, up to the time and circumstances of its acquisition by the UL.¹²

This was a massive enterprise, equally daunting and exhilarating, not just because – as I have pointed out above – we often had to start from scratch, but also because the UL collections of South Asian manuscripts, although relatively small (if compared for example with those in the British Library or the Bodleian

10 The emphasis on the detailed description of minute codicological aspects (such as interlinear space, writing frames, *akṣara* height etc.) fulfils a specific aim, namely the creation of a manuscript description template that could be used for studies in quantitative and comparative codicology. The information gathered and encoded during our cataloguing project can be used to develop a database to query large amount of data, for instance in order to determine the date or place of production of a manuscript lacking the colophon. To achieve this goal, we (especially Camillo Formigatti) collaborated closely with two similar projects, *Transforming Tibetan and Buddhist Book Culture* and *Tibetan Book Evolution and Technology* (TiBET). Both projects were based at the Mongolian and Inner Asia Studies Unit (MIASU) of the University of Cambridge. For these collaborations we wish to thank Hildegard Diemberger, Burkhard Quessel, and Michela Clemente.

11 The latter catalogue was prepared in 1916 by Louis de la Vallée Poussin with the help of Caroline Mary Ridding (1862–1942). On the history of the formation and cataloguing of the UL South Asian collections, see C. A. Formigatti’s article in the present volume.

12 For an overview of the provenance of the UL holdings, see Tables 1–2 in Formigatti’s contribution to this volume.

Library in Oxford), show considerable internal variety in terms of contents and provenance.¹³ All the three main Indian religious traditions – Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism, with many of their own internal strands and branches – are well represented in the Cambridge manuscript collections, and so are some of the traditional *śāstras* (intellectual traditions) such as grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), astronomy/astrology (*jyotiṣa*) and medicine (*āyurveda*). This (and of course the fact that historically Sanskrit was written in a wide range of regional scripts) also accounts for the variety of scripts found in the Cambridge collections: beside Devanāgarī, one finds Western or Jaina Devanāgarī, Nepālākṣarā (also known as Newari), Tamil, Grantha, Malayalam, Śāradā and Bengali, just to mention those that are attested more frequently. Furthermore, a significant number (approximately one third) of manuscripts come from Nepal, the only region of the subcontinent in which the climate is temperate enough to allow their survival for several centuries. Thus, the UL South Asian manuscript collections cover a time range of almost thirteen centuries, with the oldest dated specimen, Add.1049.1,¹⁴ dating from 828 CE, and several from the early second millennium. Thus, they provide precious evidence of archaic (and poorly attested) forms of the scripts in which they are written.¹⁵ Similarly well represented are early paper manuscripts (14th–15th centuries) from the (mostly Jaina) collections of Western India.¹⁶

Dealing with such diversity required a variety of expertise, which was secured through the generous collaboration of several colleagues. Many of the authors who have contributed to this volume (and others who for different reasons have not) collaborated with our team to the study and cataloguing of the UL manuscripts, and it is my pleasure here to acknowledge their contribution.

Nalini Balbir, with the assistance of Anett Krause from 2013, was responsible for the cataloguing of the rich collection of Jaina manuscripts (for the history of this collection, see Balbir's contribution to this volume), which – as is typical of

13 Incidentally, I should mention that, while the grant application, and the overall architecture of the project as described therein, were based on the assumption that there were about 1,200 items to be catalogued, the real number turned out to be close to 1,600, partly because some manuscripts were not recorded in the main hand-list to which I had had access, and partly because some bundles turned out to contain several independent manuscripts.

14 <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01049-00001/1>

15 On the palaeography of some of the earliest manuscripts in Cambridge and in Nepal see Kengo Harimoto's contribution to this volume. Among the most remarkable documents kept in the UL it is worth mentioning a 12th-century manuscript in the extremely rare Bhaikṣukī script; on this manuscript see Dragomir Dimitrov (2010), *The Bhaikṣukī manuscript of the Candrā-laṃkāra* (Harvard Oriental Series 72), Cambridge, Mass.

16 On the Jaina manuscripts in the UL see Nalini Balbir's contribution to this volume.

this religious tradition – includes both texts in Prakrit (mostly canonical) and Sanskrit, often beautifully illuminated.

Francesco Sferra and Harunaga Isaacson advised us with the cataloguing of Buddhist Tantric materials. In the same field of studies, Gergely Hidas inspected the numerous Dhāraṇī manuscripts and prepared most of their catalogue records as well as other entries on copies of works on Tantric ritual.

Florinda De Simini assisted us with the cataloguing of the manuscripts – often of considerable antiquity – of the so-called Śīvadharma corpus,¹⁷ while Nina Mirnig prepared the records of some manuscripts of Purāṇas and Hindu Tantras. Giovanni Ciotti assisted us with the cataloguing of works on *vedalakṣaṇa* (i.e. *śikṣā*, Vedic recitation, etc.), Charles Li helped with works on *kāvya*, grammar and *vāstuśāstra*, and Elena Mucciarelli with Vedic works. Hugo David, who spent two years in Cambridge as a Newton International Fellow, generously devoted part of his time to the cataloguing of the manuscripts containing works of the classical philosophical systems (*darśanas*) in the UL.

The UL manuscript collections also reflect the variety of literary cultures of pre-modern India. Even though the name of the project contained the phrase ‘Sanskrit manuscripts’, we were aware from the beginning that the collections also contain a substantial number of manuscripts in other pre-modern South Asian languages. Over the centuries each of these literary cultures developed its own particular features, but they existed alongside and within the prevailing cosmopolitan Sanskrit tradition, and often overlapped and influenced one another, participating in the same broader cultural phenomena. Among these regional literary cultures, the one that is best attested in the UL collections is the Tamil, with approximately 50 manuscripts. For their inspection and study, the project could rely on the expertise of Eva Wilden, Emmanuel Francis, and Jean-Luc Chevillard.

Tamil manuscripts were only some of the South Indian manuscripts that found their way into the UL collections at various times in the history of the library. In that part of the subcontinent palm leaf remained in use as the main writing support until the late 19th–early 20th centuries, even after the spread of printing.¹⁸ As a consequence, they are all relatively young (less than two hundred years old), because the hot humid climate causes their rapid deterioration. Nevertheless, especially in Kerala the commitment of the local Brahmins to preserve and hand down the works of the tradition was so strong that they regularly produced

¹⁷ On this corpus, see the article De Simini and Mirnig have contributed to this volume.

¹⁸ See Emmanuel Francis’ contribution to this volume, which looks at some aspects of the transition from manuscript to printed book (and vice versa!).

new copies of most works in their possession even when the scholarly and religious traditions that had originally produced them had died out, thus collectively making the region a major repository of texts of the pre-modern cultural legacy. A significant number of the UL South Indian manuscripts were acquired as part of the so-called Stolper collection in the late 1990's, and apparently enumerated in the main hand-list and ostensibly provided with a classmark.¹⁹ In fact the bundles bore no labels linking them to the listed classmarks, so it was necessary to inspect them carefully from scratch. It was Professor Kesavan Veluthat who first started sorting out the manuscripts by language and script and identifying some of the works contained in them during a four days' visit to Cambridge in 2013. But the great bulk of the work, which took months, was carried out by Marco Franceschini, a leading expert on the history of the Grantha script used to write Sanskrit in Dravidian South India, and Elisa Ganser, who helped us with the manuscripts in Malayalam script,²⁰ with the contribution of Francis and Wilden for the Tamil manuscripts.

As is evident from the previous pages, the project was an extraordinary opportunity to create links with Indologists worldwide, strengthening existing collaborations and creating new ones. Besides the collaborative work on the main project goal, the cataloguing of the UL manuscripts, I would also like to mention that Camillo A. Formigatti and Daniele Cuneo contributed to the organisation of the exhibition 'Buddha's Word' curated in 2014 by Hildegard Diemberger with the collaboration of Michela Clemente at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge, which displayed a range of objects (manuscript and printed books, writing implements and materials, and inscribed artefacts of various kinds) produced across Buddhist Asia to disseminate the teaching of Dharma. Another collaboration with a team of researchers at the Fitzwilliam Museum, led by the Keeper of Manuscripts and Printed Books Stella Panayotova, who work on the analysis of the pigments used in manuscripts in medieval Europe and Asia, led to the inclusion of some of the UL illuminated Sanskrit manuscripts into a sample of books that were examined with experimental non-destructive methods of analysis.

¹⁹ Note however that in most cases the list just indicated the script, but gave no indication of the title or even the language of the work contained in the manuscript. On the Stolper collection, see Formigatti's article in this volume.

²⁰ While the majority of manuscripts in the latter set are in Sanskrit, a substantial number are in Malayalam language, so their proper identification and cataloguing will have to be postponed until the resources are found to secure the collaboration of an expert on medieval and modern Malayalam.

Furthermore, the two project workshops were a forum for the dissemination of project findings, but also for a broader reflection and debate on the South Asian manuscript cultures, which covered the whole range of possible ways in which Indological research can engage with manuscripts and manuscript culture(s), from textual criticism to palaeography, codicology, and topical or historical studies.

This diversity is well illustrated in the present volume.²¹ The collections themselves are in the limelight from a variety of angles in a number of contributions. Camillo A. Formigatti's paper tells the story of the Cambridge South Asian manuscript collections, and of the scholars who helped to create them, pointing to the important role they have played in the history of Indology. The Jaina collection in the UL is the subject of Nalini Balbir's article, which looks at its history and contents and casts light on the ancient Jaina libraries and, generally, the book culture of this religious group. Vincenzo Vergiani's contribution surveys the contents of Nepalese collections – a task enormously facilitated by the existence of online databases such as the descriptive catalogue of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP)²² and the Sanskrit Manuscripts section of the Cambridge Digital Library – in order to attempt a reconstruction of the history of grammatical traditions in Nepal and reflect upon what they reveal about the practice of *vyākaraṇa* in pre-modern South Asia at large. In his article Dominic Goodall presents fascinating evidence – epigraphic, archaeological, literary, and iconographic – that points to the existence of manuscript libraries in medieval Cambodia, one of the most lively centres of the so-called Sanskrit cosmopolis that, at its zenith, expanded well beyond the sub-continent to include most of South East Asia.

Several contributions consist in studies of paratexts, layouts, and other codicological features, which draw attention to the wealth of historical information that can be drawn from these often neglected aspects of manuscript books. Eva Wilden's article deals with what she calls 'satellite stanzas' in Tamil manuscripts and explores their multiple functions as well as their role in the emergence of indigenous literary genres. Paratexts are also the subject of Giovanni Ciotti's and Jürgen Hanneder's papers. The former looks at the annotations in vernacular (Tamil) composed by teachers, but possibly also students, in south-Indian copies of a centrepiece of traditional Sanskrit education such as the *Amarakośa* in order

²¹ I would like to thank the Cambridge University Library for having granted us the permission to reproduce the images of many of their manuscripts, and the editors of the series *Studies in Manuscript Cultures* for having agreed to publish this volume in their prestigious collection.

²² <https://www.aai.uni-hamburg.de/en/forschung/ngmcp>

to reconstruct practices of teaching and learning in 19th-century Tamil Nadu, while the latter inspects the traces left by scribes, editors, and proofreaders in Śāradā manuscripts from Kashmir, challenging widespread but superficial assumptions on the production and transmission of literary texts in pre-modern India. The spatial arrangement of the written text on the folio is the focus of Cristina Scherrer-Schaub's contribution, a masterly reflection on the complex relation between orality and textuality as mirrored by the layout of early Buddhist manuscripts, and their lasting impact on later South Asian manuscripts. Many centuries later, the introduction of printing in Buddhist Tibet ushered in a new era in the circulation of textual knowledge, but, as Michela Clemente and Filippo Lunnardo show in their article, in its early stages the new technology still bore the visible traces of the craftsmanship of the draftsmen and engravers involved in the production of xylographs. On the other hand, Emmanuel Francis' paper questions simplistic ideas of linear technological progress, presenting the case of manuscript copies of printed books in early modern Tamil Nadu, in which the author considers the socio-cultural and economic factors underlying this seemingly odd phenomenon.

The field of palaeographical studies is exemplified by Kengo Harimoto's contribution, which inspects the evolution of the script in early-medieval (pre-1000 CE) written documents (both manuscripts and inscriptions) from Nepal, and Marco Franceschini's article, which examines the unusual system of notation of grammatical features in a Grantha manuscript of the *Rgveda* Padapāṭha.

Other contributions are examples of classical textual criticism, namely Francesco Sferra's edition of the *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra*, one of the most important and ancient Buddhist *yoginītantras*, of which only one other copy – now seemingly inaccessible – is known to survive; Gergely Hidas' edition of *Mahā-Daṇḍadhāraṇī-Śītavatī*, a Mahāyāna apotropaic scripture that is included in the Sanskrit *Pañcarakṣā* collection; and Péter-Dániel Szántó's edition of the *Rigyarallitantra*, a Vajrāyāna scripture preserved in two fragments that originally belonged to the same multiple-text manuscript of the *Vajrāmṛta*. All of these contributions contain editions of little known or unpublished works and at the same time relate them to the history of the tradition in which they originated and the development of the respective genres. Similarly related to textual criticism is one of Florinda De Simini's two contributions to the volume, which is a reflection on the pros and cons of traditional stemmatics in light of the author's study of the transmission of a particular corpus, the *Śivadharma*.

Among the cultural and textual studies one finds Daniele Cuneo's paper, which examines the iconographic programme of a manuscript that is full of pictures rather than words – an exquisite illuminated book produced in late medieval

Nepal that according to the author may have been conceived at the same time as a pedagogical tool for princely pupils and as a courtly *objet d'art*. The article co-authored by Florinda De Simini and Nina Mirnig compares different manuscript sets of the *Śivadharma* corpus and sheds light on its formation and ideological premises and goals, drawing insightful conclusions about sectarian dynamics in medieval South Asia. Lata Deokar's article on an unpublished grammatical work, the *Sub-antarātrnākara*, based on a study of its manuscript witnesses, brings back to life the intriguing figure of its author, the Buddhist Subhūticandra (11th–12th centuries), who composed also the *Kavikāmadhenu*, a well-known commentary on the *Amara-kośa*. Another unpublished work, a commentary on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* preserved only in a few (mostly Nepalese) manuscripts, is the focus of Mahesh Deokar's contribution, which points to its importance for the history of the Cāndra system as well as to its influence on the Pāli grammatical tradition. And in his paper Hugo David lays the ground for a critical edition of Śaṅkara's 'longer' commentary (*bhāṣya*) on the *Aitareya Upaniṣad*, a copy of which is kept in the Cambridge University Library, oddly neglected both by the indigenous commentarial tradition and the modern scholarship for reasons still to be ascertained. All these articles are a reminder that not just individual works but whole vast areas of pre-modern South Asian literary culture still need to be properly researched, as they are only preserved in manuscript form. The risk of this immense legacy being lost forever looms large if in the next years no adequate measures are taken to protect, reproduce and safeguard the manuscript collections, in South Asia and worldwide.

Today, almost 3 years after the end of the project, I am happy to be able to say that much has been achieved: the project has managed to create a complete online catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the UL and digitise a substantial portion of the collections, which were its main goals. But I am also ready to admit that much work remains to be done, not only because this is in the nature of research, but also due to some other factors that I have partly mentioned before: the manuscripts turned out to be much more numerous than we thought, and we had to develop and adjust our tools and methods as the project moved on. And of course we made mistakes, which sometimes it took weeks or months to rectify. At present, the online catalogue contains two kinds of records: those that are linked to digital images (almost 600) and the remaining (more than 1,000), without images and ranging in content from basic to very rich and exhaustive. This is where some of the advantages of an online electronic catalogue become apparent. Once the template has been established, enriching or indeed correcting the existing records is relatively easy. This will be necessary in a number of cases, not only for the records of digitised manuscripts that, for lack of time and human resources, could not be adequately catalogued during the lifetime of

the project, but also for all those manuscripts the existence of which was unknown or which the project has made accessible in a way that was unthinkable before, thus stimulating further research on them. It is hoped that in the future a new project will complete the digitisation of the South Asian manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library and integrate and expand the existing catalogue.

Vincenzo Vergiani
Former Director of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project,
Cambridge University Library



Collections

Camillo A. Formigatti

Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library: Three Centuries of History and Preservation

Abstract: This article describes the history of the collections of Sanskrit manuscripts at the Cambridge University Library over a time-span of three centuries. It provides detailed descriptions of archival material as well as transcriptions of letters written by 19th-century Indologists in order to delineate the importance and influence of the manuscript collections in the 19th and 20th century—mainly for Buddhist studies, but also for Jaina and Hindu studies. The last part of the contribution is dedicated to the fate of the collections in the 21st century and the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project.

The patient work of Sanskrit scholars, tracking manuscripts of old, cataloguing them and edit impo[r]tant texts from them may not strike the politician and the public as spectacular, but slowly and steadily it is contributing to the proper understanding and adjustment of the ideology of culture for which India stood, and for which it is hoped she will stand, in and through the exigencies of historical upheavals.

(V. Raghavan, 1963, 7)

1 Introduction

Manuscripts—and consequently manuscript collections and catalogues—played a seminal role in the development of South Asian studies in 19th-century Europe. Many European scholars travelled to the Indian subcontinent in search of manuscripts of texts in Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan languages, very often working with the help of local Pandits. The second half of the 19th century saw a boost of interest in collecting and cataloguing South Asian manuscripts. In 1853 the German

This article is a companion to Formigatti (forthcoming), which provides an explanation of the theoretical background and the cataloguing practices of the Sanskrit Manuscripts project (alongside an examination of the history of cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts). The first two sections of this article consist partly of a revised version of sections from Formigatti (2014) and Formigatti (forthcoming). I would like to express my gratitude to Vincenzo Vergiani and Daniele Cuneo for their insightful comments on a first draft of this article.

scholar Albrecht Weber published his *Verzeichnisse der Sanskrit- und Prâkrit-handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, and in 1864 another German scholar, Theodor Aufrecht, published a catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. In 1868 the Indian Government began to take an active role in securing and cataloguing South Asian manuscripts. This new enterprise was seemingly prompted by the growing demands of European scholars of Indian languages and literatures for better and more comprehensive tools with which to pursue their research.¹ It is thanks to the reports and catalogues written by scholars who travelled through the whole of South Asia, collecting and buying manuscripts, and to the catalogues of South Asian manuscripts kept in European libraries, that in the second half of the 19th century the knowledge of Sanskrit literature made a huge step forward. Many texts hitherto unknown – and others that had been deemed lost – were (re)discovered.

The latest remark holds true all the more for the collections of South Asian Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library (hereafter UL).² The history of Sanskrit studies at the University of Cambridge goes hand in hand with the history of its collections of South Asian manuscripts. We speak of ‘collections’ in the plural, rather than of a single collection, because it is possible to recognize different sections according to the provenance of the manuscripts. In the first part of this article I delineate a short history of the collections of Sanskrit manuscripts. The central section is dedicated to the importance and influence of the collections in the 19th and 20th century—mainly for Buddhist studies, but partly also for Jaina and Hindu studies. Finally, the last part of this contribution is dedicated to the fate of the collections in the 21st century and the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project.

2 South Asian manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library

The origin of the collections of South Asian manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library dates back to the beginning of the 19th century, but most of the

¹ This is clearly stated in a letter sent by Pandit Rādhākṣṇa, Chief Pandit of the late Lahore Durbar, to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, dated May 10th, 1868 (Gough, 1878, 1). This topic, as well as the history of collecting and cataloguing Sanskrit manuscripts in the 18th and 19th century, is dealt with in more detail in § 1 in Formigatti (forthcoming).

² Unless specifically noted (for instance, as in Bodleian MS Or. Raghavan 3), all shelfmarks beginning with Add. and Or. should be understood as Cambridge University Library manuscript shelfmarks (i.e. UL MS Add.1711 will be cited as Add.1711 or UL MS Or.2259 as Or.2259.)

material accessed the library during the last thirty years of that century. Among the very first written documents from South Asia that arrived in Cambridge is a set of brass plates reproducing the text of the original Kollam Plates in reverse, to be used for printing, presented by the Scottish missionary Claudius Buchanan to the University Library in 1809.³ These plates were commissioned by him in 1805 in Cochin and were later used to produce a set of prints, also held in the University Library.⁴ These copper plates draw their name from Kollam, an ancient port town on the coast of Kerala, and are also known as the Sthanu Ravi Plates, after the local ruler under whom they were issued (c. 849 CE). They award trade privileges to two merchant associations, the Manigramam, an indigenous south Indian group, and the Anjuvanam, probably representing West Asian interests, who were associated to an eastern Christian church at Kollam.

During the 19th and 20th century the collections grew steadily thanks to acquisitions and donations by different individuals. The collections comprise manuscripts written in many different languages, ranging from Old and Middle Indo-Aryan languages like Vedic, Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit to Modern Indo-Aryan languages like Sinhala, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi and Urdu. Moreover, they include several manuscripts in Dravidian languages, mostly Tamil and Malayalam, but also a few in Telugu. The material related to the history of UL South Asian manuscripts collections is scattered between various institutions in Cambridge. It consists of both manuscripts (handwritten catalogues, hand-lists, slips of paper kept with the manuscripts, letters), as well as of printed material (catalogues, reports and articles).⁵ According to these sources, I was able to identify at least six different homogeneous collections that include Sanskrit manuscripts:

Wright Collection

Daniel Wright (1833–1902) was Surgeon-Major in the Indian Medical Service in 1866–76 and Surgeon to the British Residency, Kathmandu in 1873–76. During this period, with the help of the Residency Pandit, Guṇānanda, he collected approximately 450 manuscripts, more than a half of which are Buddhist manuscripts. Guṇānanda was the grandson of Amṛtānanda, the Paṇḍit who wrote the *Buddhacarita* manuscript Or.342, adding at the end three cantos composed by

³ Buchanan provided the library also with South Asian manuscripts (none of them is in Sanskrit; cf. also Dalby 1988, 257–59).

⁴ The plates are shelved with the class-mark Oo.1.41; prints from the copper plates are shelved at 899.bb.149 and Buchanan's autograph facsimile of the inscriptions at Or.2259.

⁵ The most relevant sources I was able to trace are listed in Appendix 1.

himself (cf. Cowell 1893, v–vii and Bendall 1893). Other important sections of this collection include numerous palm-leaf manuscripts of Śaiva tantric texts, of *kāvya* and *jyotiṣa* texts, and several palm-leaf manuscripts of *vyākaraṇa* works belonging to the Cāndra school.

Cowell Collection

Edward Byles Cowell (1826–1903) (Fig. 1) was the first Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge from 1867 to 1903. On his behalf, between 1873 and 1878 R. T. H. Griffith, then Principal of the Benares Sanskrit College, procured for the University Library 77 Sanskrit manuscripts (mostly Vedic and Mīmāṃsā texts). In 1877, at Cowell's request 17 more manuscripts were sent to Cambridge by J.C. Nesfield, again from the Benares Sanskrit College. In 1903, Cowell bequeathed hundreds of books and manuscripts to the Cambridge University Library, 45 of which are manuscripts of Sanskrit works.

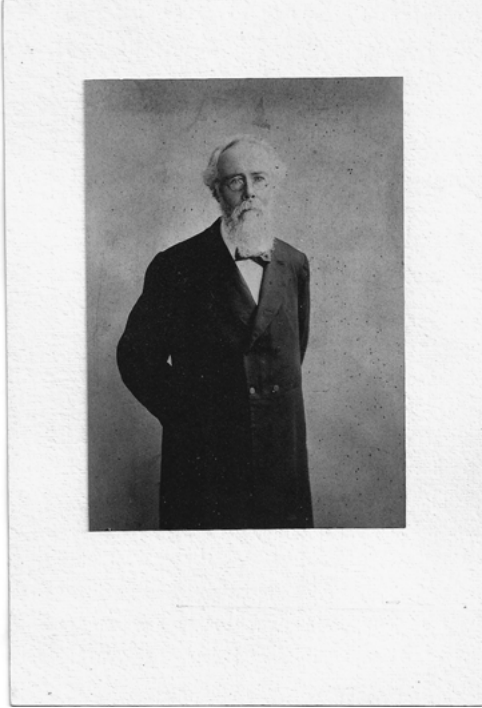


Fig. 1: Edward Byles Cowell (1826–1903).



Fig. 2: Georg Bühler (1837–98).

Bühler Collection

In 1877, the German Indologist Georg Bühler (1837–98) (Fig. 2) sold to the Library 68 Jaina manuscripts bought by him in Western India during his tour in search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kaśmīr, Rājputāna and Central India (on this journey, see Bühler 1877).

Corpus Christi or Honner Collection

Colonel Augustus Cotgrave Honner of the 1st Bombay Grenadiers collected approximately 300 Indian manuscripts in Lucknow around 1860–1870. The collection passed to Francis Hodder and was deposited in the Cork Royal Institute, then was given to Corpus Christi College, and is now on deposit at the University Library.

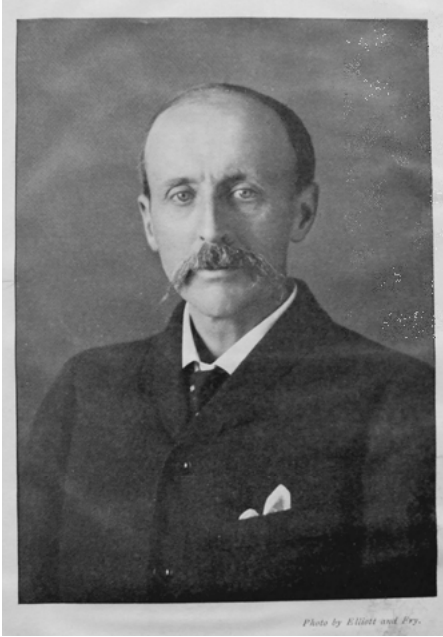


Fig. 3: Cecil Bendall (1856–1906).

Bendall Collection

The biggest collection (more than 630 manuscripts) has been gathered for the Library by Cecil Bendall (1856–1906) (Fig. 3), Professor of Sanskrit in Cambridge from 1903 to 1906, during his two journeys to North India and Nepal in 1884–85 and 1898–9. In his search for manuscripts he was helped by several Pandits, both in Nepal and India: in Nepal by Indrānanda, the son of Guṇānanda (the Pandit who helped D. Wright), in India by Bhagvāndās Kevaldās, Ciman Lāl, and Sudhākara Dube.

Stolper Collection

In 1990–91 the University Library acquired a set of South Indian manuscripts from the book dealer Robert E. Stolper. This collection includes palm-leaf manuscripts in Grantha, Malayalam, and Tamil scripts (the latter include texts in both Sanskrit and Malayalam languages). It is the least documented part of the UL collections as far as the history of the provenance is concerned.

A seventh group consists of Sanskrit manuscripts hailing from different regions of South Asia (for instance, Kashmir, the North Western Provinces and Tamil Nadu) donated to the UL by various private individuals. Mention should also be made of the two main collections of Pali manuscripts, the Rhys Davids and the Scott collections (about these two collections, see Dalby 1988). Some manuscripts included in the Rhys Davids collection are Sanskrit texts with a commentary in Sinhala (for instance Add.960, a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Pratyayaśataka*).⁶

It is difficult to ascertain the exact number of Sanskrit manuscripts in the UL, for very often what is listed as a single manuscript in the old catalogues and handlists turns out to be a bundle of fragments from different manuscripts, and sometimes two texts originally listed as separate manuscripts turn out to be one manuscript.⁷ There is always a certain degree of arbitrariness in decisions such as splitting a bundle of folios into more manuscripts, or conversely group together into one single entry manuscripts previously catalogued separately. It is all the more difficult to reach a decision in the case of the numerous bundles of fragments, like for instance for the fragments of manuscripts grouped together under the shelfmarks Add.1679 and Add.1680. After his tour in Europe for the compilation of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, in 1963 V. Raghavan counted 1262 manuscripts kept in three different places in Cambridge: the UL, Trinity College and the private collection of Prof. H.W. Bailey (Raghavan 1963, 65). At the moment of writing, the total amount of Sanskrit manuscripts in the UL is estimated to be between 1600 and 1700 (due to the numerous still unidentified fragments, it is very difficult to provide an exact figure). We might add to this figure the Sanskrit manuscripts kept in Trinity College,⁸ in Christ's College,⁹ in the Ancient India and Iran Trust, as well as some Sanskrit manuscripts in the Museum for Archaeology and Anthropology.¹⁰

6 The Pali manuscripts of the Rhys Davids collection in the UL are listed in Rhys Davids 1883, 145–46 (see also Appendix 1, List Add.; on the role of Rhys Davids in the acquisition of Pali manuscripts in general and the impact on Pali studies in the 19th century, see Gornall 2015, 478–79).

7 For instance, Add.1380 and Add.1381 are listed as separate manuscripts in Bendall's catalogue (Bendall 1883, 80–81).

8 Catalogued by Theodor Aufrecht 1869.

9 Eight manuscripts, described by D. Cuneo in a tabular e-catalogue available on the college website: <https://www.christs.cam.ac.uk/sites/www.christs.cam.ac.uk/files/Library/Catalogues/Sanskrit-catalogue.pdf>.

10 These last two small collections are still uncatalogued. The author of this article has started cataloguing the AIIT Sanskrit manuscripts, but the project has been put on hold for the time being.

Until very recently, only two printed catalogues describing the Sanskrit manuscripts kept in the UL were available: the *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, prepared by C. Bendall in 1883, which contains descriptions of 248 manuscripts in the Wright collection, and the list of South Asian manuscripts belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, compiled by Grahame Niemann in 1980. Strictly speaking, the latter is a catalogue of manuscripts belonging to a college and not to the UL, but since the manuscripts are kept in the UL, it has been mentioned alongside Bendall's catalogue. Moreover, two other catalogues of South Asian manuscripts in Cambridge ought to be remembered: T. Aufrecht's *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge* (1869, mentioned above), and T.W. Rhys Davids' *List of Pāli Manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library* (1883).

An integral part of the cataloguing process consisted of tracing the provenance of the manuscripts. While pursuing this task, I soon realized that it is possible to reconstruct the history that lies behind the transfer of the manuscripts from South Asia to Cambridge. The reconstruction of this history provides a means for a better understanding not only of the scholarly/academic and intellectual milieu that shaped South Asian studies in Europe in the 19th century, but occasionally also of the reception of South Asian religions and culture in the West. In the following sections (§ 3 and § 4), hopefully it will become clear that the publication of catalogues is of utter importance for at least two correlated reasons: as they are the main gateways to access collections, they also have a direct impact and influence on scholarly research.

3 The collections in the 19th century: Laying the foundations

Most of the South Asian manuscripts reached the UL in the 19th century. Five of the six major collections listed above were acquired before 1900: the Wright, the Cowell, the Bühler, the Bendall,¹¹ and the Honner collections. Together they include more than 1400 manuscripts. In terms both of the numbers as well as of the importance of the manuscripts, it is this century that indelibly shaped the character of the Cambridge collections of Sanskrit manuscripts.

¹¹ With the exception of very few manuscripts that were bequeathed after Bendall's death in 1906 or were found in his papers and thus reached the UL in the first decades of the 20th century (cf. Appendix 2).

3.1 The ‘Cambridge Buddhist Manuscripts’, or the collections as they are

Buddhist Sanskrit literature has been my special study, and for it materials exist nowhere in Europe comparable to those of Cambridge.

(Bendall 1903, 8)

These words, used by Cecil Bendall in his application for the professorship of Sanskrit, were surely not a hyperbole—in fact, to a certain extent they still hold true. Before the 19th century, due to the fragmentary character of the primary sources, the knowledge of Buddhism in the West was full of misconceptions—to say the least. In his book *The Awakening of the West*, Stephen Batchelor devotes part four to the history of Buddhist studies in 18th- and 19th-century Europe. This passage from the fourteenth chapter provides a lively description of what, at the end of the 18th century, Westerners thought Buddhism was:

With no Buddhists to consult, no Sanskrit Buddhist texts to read, and in a climate of brahmanical anti-Buddhist prejudice, these pioneers of Indian studies [i.e. Sir William Jones, Charles Wilkins, and other members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at the end of the 18th century] gave little attention to the obscure figure they knew as Boudh. Jones believed that Buddha was the teutonic god Wotan or Odin. The clan name ‘Shakya’ reminded him of that of the ancient Egyptian king Shishac. In the statues of the Buddha he noted strikingly Ethiopic features. The ‘mild heresy of the ancient Bauddhas’, he concluded, must have been imported to India from north Africa.

(Batchelor 1994, 233)

This situation started to change during the first half of the 19th century, when Western scholars gained access to the primary sources in Sanskrit and Pali.¹² The two central figures of this period are Brian Houghton Hodgson and the French scholar Eugène Burnouf. From 1820 onwards, Hodgson held different posts for the British civil service in the Nepalese capital Kathmandu (Assistant Resident, Resident Postmaster and finally, in 1833, Resident). He was also a keen collector of Sanskrit manuscripts and Tibetan block prints of Buddhist texts, which he sent to various institutions around the world (for instance the libraries of the College of Fort William and of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Royal Asiatic Soci-

¹² For practical reasons, I do not dwell here on the great influence of T. W. Rhys Davids in the field of Pali and Theravāda Buddhist studies; suffice it here to mention again the fact that he was the founder of the Pali Text Society.

ety, the India Office and the Bodleian Library). In 1837 he sent a total of 147 Nepalese manuscripts of Buddhist texts to the Société asiatique in Paris and to Burnouf personally, and '[s]uddenly Burnouf had before him more Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts than had been available to any previous European scholar, with the obvious exception of Brian Hodgson in Kathmandu. But unlike Hodgson, Burnouf was able to read them.'¹³ It is on these manuscripts that Burnouf based his seminal study *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, published in 1844. The importance of this work for the understanding and the reception of Buddhism in Western culture cannot be overestimated, for Burnouf managed to 'construct from this fresh field of unexamined documents an intelligible scheme of ideas which would henceforth be the prototype of the European concept of Buddhism' [Batchelor 1994, 239].

Like the Hodgson collection in Paris used by Burnouf, the Wright and Bendall collections of Sanskrit manuscripts played a pivotal role in the spread of knowledge about Buddhism in the West. While the manuscripts sent to Europe by Hodgson were mostly modern copies on paper copied for him by Nepalese scribes, Daniel Wright was able to procure original palm-leaf manuscripts of most of the works studied by Burnouf. Among these palm-leaf manuscripts one can find manuscripts that are interesting from many points of view in various disciplines (literature, palaeography, codicology, art history, etc.), as Bendall aptly pointed out in the introduction to his 1883 catalogue:

The first discovery of a large unexplored literature in Nepal was due to Mr Brian Houghton Hodgson, whose untiring zeal and well-used opportunities have enabled him to supply a greater quantity of material for the study of the literature and natural history of India and Tibet than any person before or since. After such achievements, immortalized by the great work of Burnouf, it was but natural to hope that further material for research might still be forthcoming in the same country. Accordingly on the suggestion of Professor Cowell, Dr Wright was requested by Professor W. Wright to procure specimens of such copies as could be made to order from works still extant in Nepal. These specimens were sent, and form Add. 1042 [...] in our collection. Dr Wright however soon found that originals were procurable, and the result of his energetic and persevering negotiation and the well-timed liberality of the University has been the acquisition of a series of works which, apart from their literary interest, will be seen from the following pages to be from a merely antiquarian and palaeographical point of view, the most important collection of Indian MSS. that has come into the hands of scholars.

(Bendall 1883, VII-VIII)

¹³ Introduction by D. S. Lopez Junior to the English translation of Burnouf's *Histoire* (Burnouf 2010, 11).

I have included this long quotation because it contains fundamental observations on which I would like to expand. Bendall mentions Add.1042, four loose paper folios ‘sent over from Nepal by Dr D. Wright in 1873, when it was proposed to obtain copies of various Sanskrit manuscripts existing in Nepal, for the University Library’ (Bendall 1883, 26–27). They contain part of the *Maitrakanyakāvadāna* and part of the *Laṅkāvatāra*. Although at least one other Sanskrit manuscript had already reached the UL before 1873,¹⁴ Add.1042 can be considered the foundation stone of the Cambridge collections. Unlike in the case of the Nepalese manuscripts sent to Europe by Hodgson, up to now the historical impact of the Cambridge collections of Sanskrit manuscripts on 19th century Buddhist studies has not always been adequately recognized. For instance, in the book by S. Batchelor mentioned above there is no mention of the importance of these collections or of Cowell’s and Bendall’s scholarly achievements in the field of Buddhist studies. This is particularly regrettable, since both scholars managed to create an international scholarly network centred around the manuscript collections.

A good example is Or.1290, which contains a series of letters sent by the Tibetologist H. Wenzel to Cowell in 1891 and 1892, at a time when Cowell was preparing his critical edition of Aśvaghōṣa’s *Buddhacarita* (published in 1893). This work was translated into Tibetan in the 7th or 8th century, and in order to improve his edition Cowell asked Wenzel to check the Tibetan translation. These and similar letters sent to Cowell by other Indologists allow us to get a glimpse in the workshop of a 19th century Indologist and philologist and to reconstruct his editorial methods. Cowell’s *editio princeps* of the *Buddhacarita*, based on two manuscripts in the UL,¹⁵ made available to scholars for the first time the oldest known *mahākāvya*, dated between the first century and the second quarter of the second century CE. His edition was used and commented by several scholars for around forty years and was replaced only in 1936 by E. Johnston’s edition. Cowell’s contribution to the field of Buddhist studies¹⁶ includes also another milestone, the *editio princeps* of the

¹⁴ Add. 572, a modern manuscript of the first chapter (*Mitralābha*) of the *Hitopadeśa*, donated by Robert Cotton Mather in 1868. It is in the format of a Western notebook and most probably was written for didactic purposes for Western scholars. (Add.285.67 entered the UL most probably before or around the 1860s, but no precise information is available.)

¹⁵ Cowell 1893, iv. The manuscript labelled C is Add.1387 (the UL copy), while manuscript D is Or.342 (Cowell’s private copy, bequeathed to the UL after his death).

¹⁶ Cowell’s contribution to Buddhist studies includes also his editorship of the English translation of the Pali *jātakas* prepared by various scholars and published in six volumes from 1895 to 1907 (vol. I translated by Robert Chalmers, 1895; vol. II by W.H.D. Rouse, 1895; vol. III by H.T. Francis and R.A. Neil, 1897; vol. IV by W.H.D. Rouse, 1901; vol. V by H.T. Francis, 1905; finally, vol. VI by E.B. Cowell and W.H.D. Rouse, 1907).

Divyāvadāna in collaboration with R. A. Neil, published in 1886. Again based mostly on the manuscripts kept in the UL,¹⁷ this contribution endured the time better and it is still the reference edition used nowadays.¹⁸

Scholars from all over the world (for instance, Nepal, India, Europe, the United States and Japan) were in regular correspondence with Bendall—not only Indologists, but also Sinologists, Semitists, and many others. The wide range of Bendall's academic contacts is clearly seen in the testimonials to his application for the professorship of Sanskrit in 1903.¹⁹ Even more than in the case of Cowell, his research interests were deeply influenced by the UL Sanskrit collections. Although based on limited manuscript evidence and inevitably dated, Bendall's editions and studies of the *Meghasūtra* (1880) and Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (1902) have stood the test of time well. It is however with his pioneering work in the field of the history of Nepal and of palaeography of Nepalese scripts that Bendall left an indelible mark in Sanskrit studies. As soon as he started cataloguing the manuscripts in the Wright collection, he recognized immediately their importance as historical documents. In 1881, two years before the publication of his *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts*, he published an article in which he draws attention to the manuscript colophons as sources for the reconstruction of Nepalese history. Moreover, he addresses the doubts about the antiquity of the manuscripts raised by other scholars who were sceptical evidently because they had not yet seen similarly ancient manuscripts before.²⁰ Bendall's discoveries about Nepalese history and his palaeographical acumen allowed him to enrich his 1883 *Catalogue* with an *Historical* and

¹⁷ Cowell 1886, vi; manuscript A in the edition is Add.865, manuscript B is untraced, manuscript C is Add.2598, and manuscript F is Add.1680.3.

¹⁸ P. L. Vaidya's 1959 edition is basically a reprint of Cowell's and Neil's edition. Among the numerous publications about the *Divyāvadāna* still based on Cowell's and Neil's edition, see for instance the recent translations by Rotman (2008) and Tatelman (2000 and 2005); a discussion and preliminary analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Divyāvadāna* and its position in the *avadānamālā* literature is provided by Formigatti (2016a).

¹⁹ The list includes scholars based in India (G.A. Grierson), Germany (J. Jolly, F. Kielhorn, H. Oldenberg, P. Deussen, E. Leumann—professor in Strasbourg, at that time part of the German Empire), France (E. Senart), Italy (A. de Gubernatis), England (T. W. Rhys Davids), and Scotland (J. Eggeling) (Bendall 1903).

²⁰ 'The early dates of some of these MSS. have been, indeed, received in some quarters with certain incredulity; but for myself, I must testify that, after about two years study, both of the great Cambridge collection, of which I have been during this time engaged in preparing a catalogue, and of various Buddhistic MSS. in other libraries, the truthfulness and genuineness of the colophons is placed in almost every case beyond a doubt by evidence both varied and conclusive' (Bendall 1882, 190). Bendall then lists the varied and conclusive evidence: the climate and

a *Palaeographical Introduction* of such importance that the latter is still used as a reference work for the palaeography of Nepalese scripts. His work on the history of Nepal culminated in the publication of a revised and enlarged version as a *Historical Introduction* to Haraprasad Shastri's 1905 catalogue of manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal, with the title *The History of Nepal and Surrounding Kingdoms (1000-1600 A.D.) compiled chiefly from MSS. lately discovered*. Finally, Bendall's 1883 *Catalogue* as whole is such a fundamental piece of scholarship that it was reprinted in 1992 in the VOHD series as Supplementband 33.²¹ Another palaeographical endeavour of this untiring scholar worth mentioning is his discovery and study of the Bhaikṣuki/Sindhu(ra) script²² (Bendall 1886b and 1890). For 120 years, his articles were the primary studies available on this subject, until the recent contributions by A. Hanisch (2009) and D. Dimitrov (2010). Even though Bendall died at the young age of 50, his list of publications is long and includes several important works. I hope these few examples suffice to bring to light both his scholarly stature as well as the importance of the UL collections of Sanskrit manuscripts for Buddhist and Sanskrit studies in the 19th century.

3.2 Interlude: Manuscripts of Jaina, Hindu, and secular works

In the 19th and 20th century, the UL collections of Sanskrit manuscripts were known and tapped into mostly by scholars of Buddhism precisely thanks to Bendall's catalogue. However, in terms of sheer number the Jaina manuscripts in the UL almost match the Buddhist manuscripts: the former amount to 324, while the latter to 381. The figure for the Jaina manuscript is provided in N. Balbir's article in this volume and refers to 'manuscripts where a Jain work is copied. This means religious scriptures of all kinds ('canon', liturgy, ritual, narratives, *stotras*, etc.) and contributions

remoteness of Nepal, the physical features of the manuscripts, the comparison of the scripts with inscriptions.

21 'The reason for making it available again lies firstly in the fact that the information contained in the colophons of the MSS. belonging to this collection, viz. the Daniel Wright Collection, still retains the importance it had for the historian and philologist when it first appeared [...]; secondly, what justifies the reprint of the latter is simply that descriptions – of the high standard of Bendall's – of manuscripts like those of the collection at Cambridge, are now attracting more and more attention, and a major reason for this is the very activity of the NGMPP' (Wezler in Bendall 1992, v).

22 Also known as 'arrow-headed' or 'nail-headed' script; the original name of this script is discussed in Dimitrov 2010, 6–9.

by Jain authors to disciplines of knowledge such as grammar, lexicography, astronomy, mathematics, etc' (Balbir, p. 54). Consequently, our definition of 'Buddhist manuscript' is also broad enough to include manuscripts of works composed by Buddhist authors but belonging to various disciplines of knowledge.²³ Since in her article in this volume N. Balbir masterly describes and analyses the UL collection of Jaina manuscripts,²⁴ we can turn directly to the manuscripts of Hindu and secular works. It would be beyond the scope of this article, to provide a full account even of selected manuscripts belonging to these two groups and of their importance for Sanskrit studies. I will therefore limit myself to the description of a specific category of manuscripts, in order to elucidate how E. B. Cowell made use of a particular section of the collections. Finally, I will introduce three instances of circulation of manuscripts among 19th-century European scholars as examples of the network of scholars with which Bendall was in contact.

Cowell was elected the first Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Cambridge in 1867.²⁵ We have already mentioned his achievements in the field of Buddhist studies. However, Cowell's scholarly interests were very wide, and very often the only testimony of them is preserved in his unpublished papers. In 1873, he instructed Ralph T. H. Griffith of the Benares Sanskrit College to procure manuscripts of texts belonging to specific literary genres for his personal study, as well as for the Cambridge University Library.²⁶ Until 1878 Griffith continued to send manuscripts to Cambridge. After Cowell's death in 1903 they were bequeathed to the UL. It is not by chance that the great majority of the manuscripts sent to Cambridge by Griffith consist of Vedic and Mīmāṃsā works. Cowell's interest in this branch of Indian knowledge is testified by a series of twelve manuscripts containing his notes and an unpublished translation of the *Ṛgveda* (Or.372 to Or.383). The following note on folio 1r of Or.372 provides an insight into his scholarly attitude and his care for the interests of his pupils:

23 In our count we have included nine manuscripts of grammatical texts of the Cāndra school, seventeen manuscripts of the *Amarakośa*, and eight manuscripts of Buddhist *kāvya* works (three of Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita*, three of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā*, and two of Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*).

24 On the role of G. Bühler in building the UL collection of Jaina manuscripts see also Formigatti forthcoming, § 1.1 and Appendix 1.

25 It is interesting to note that the contest was between Cowell and Theodore Aufrecht. Cowell was elected with a great majority of votes, as he 'was warmly supported by Max Müller and many eminent scholars and friends' (Oxford DNB, s.v. Cowell, Edward Byles).

26 To these manuscripts we should add also Add.1934–50, bought in 1878 from J.C. Nesfield, who was also based at the Benares Sanskrit College.

N.B. This translation of the Ṛig Veda is not intended for publication. It was prepared for my own use, as I have several years past been reading the R.V. with various classes + I never knew at the beginning of a term which book my pupils might want to read. My authorities have been mainly Grassmann (Lexicon + transl.), Ludwig (vols. i. ii. iv. v.) with continual reference to Sāyaṇa. Mar. 23. 1899. E.B.C.

Cowell's interest in Vedic knowledge was not limited to the *Ṛgveda*, and in fact a series of 22 manuscripts of texts belonging to the Vedalakṣaṇa branch of knowledge are a good example of manuscripts commissioned by him to be copied for the purpose of his own study.²⁷ Ten manuscripts contain Śikṣā texts, works on phonetics and phonology dealing with the pronunciation and recitation of both Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, and other theoretical topics such as the accent-bearing unit, or providing list of Vedic words to be memorised on account of the ambiguity of their articulatory features.²⁸ Another class of Vedalakṣaṇa texts, represented by four manuscripts, are the Anukramaṇīs, lists of various features of the Vedic *saṃhitās*, for instance number and attribution of meters to different deities, indexes of titles of works about the Vedas etc.²⁹ Furthermore, we can add a smaller group of three manuscripts of Paṛiśiṣṭa texts,³⁰ as well as one manuscript of a text on Vedavikṛti, the *Jaṭāpaṭaladīpikā*.³¹ Many of these manuscripts are modern copies commissioned by Griffith to scribes, and thus they share many common features. For instance, it is possible to distinguish a series of three manuscripts all written in 1877: one manuscript of the *Lomaśīśikṣā* (Add.1709), one of the *Keśaviśikṣā* (Add.1710) and one of the *Laghvamoghanandinīśikṣā* (Add.1711). Although only the first manuscript is dated, it is clear from the script that all three have been written by the same scribe. Most probably they were conceived as a single collection of śikṣā texts, as they share many common features: paper and layout are identical, and at the end of Add.1709 the catch number 18 is written, which is repeated on the first folio of Add.1710 and on the verso of Add.1711 (which consists of a single folio).

²⁷ Add.879, Add.907, Add.1709–11, Add.1720, Add.1909–10, Add.1914, Add.1920–21, Add.1923–25, Add.1934–38, Add.1944, Add.1946–47 (Add.1934–38 were bought from J.C. Nesfield in Benares in 1877, see Appendix 2, Table 1; other manuscripts of Vedalakṣaṇa works—not listed here—were acquired by Bendall). We would like to acknowledge the fundamental help provided by our collaborator Giovanni Ciotti for the cataloguing of these manuscripts.

²⁸ Add.1709–11, Add.1923–25, Add.1934, Add.1936–38, (Add.1936–38 were bought from J.C. Nesfield Benares in 1877, see Appendix 2, Table 1).

²⁹ Add.879, Add.1909, Add.1914, Add.1920.

³⁰ Add.1944, Add.1946, Add.1947.

³¹ Add.1910; Vedavikṛti means literally '[textual] modifications of the Vedic texts', i.e. recombinations of words for mnemonic purposes.

The centrality of manuscripts for research in 19th century is confirmed by the information we can gather from the correspondence of scholars. At a time when many texts had yet to be edited, scholars often had to rely directly on manuscripts for their research. They were even willing to send manuscripts all over Europe—sometimes, even precious palm-leaf manuscripts. Add.7603/18 is a letter sent by the Russian Indologist Ivan P. Minayev to Cecil Bendall in 1887. At that time, Bendall was working on an article about the *Tantrākhyāna*, the Nepalese recension of the *Pañcatantra* (Bendall 1888b). According to this letter, Minayev provided Bendall with one manuscript of the *Tantrākhyāna* from the library of the University of St Petersburg. I provide here a diplomatic transcription of this very short letter:

University of St Petersburg, 9 Oct 87

Dear Bendall,

I hope the *Tantrākhyāna* is now with you. I am very sorry for the delay. It took some time to find out the Ms., and to get the necessary permission for the loan. The translation is not Newari, but Gorkhali. I do not think the Ms. will be of great use to you, however. Your edition, I hope, will be soon out

Sincerely Yours

I Minayeff

This is a case in which a manuscript was sent to Cambridge, but we know of manuscripts in the UL collections that Bendall sent to other scholars. In this case, our source is not a letter, but the original envelopes with which the manuscripts were wrapped when they were sent back to Cambridge. A first example is Add.2137, a unique manuscript of the *Nyāyavikāsinī*, a Newārī commentary/translation on the *Nāradasmṛti* by the Nepalese author Maṇika, dated 1407 CE.³² In 1885 the manuscript was sent to J. Jolly, professor in Würzburg, who was preparing a critical edition of the *Nāradasmṛti*.³³ The manuscript is still wrapped in the cardboard cover used by J. Jolly to ship the manuscript back to C. Bendall (after the loan mentioned in both Bendall 1886a and Jolly 1885). On the front cover of the box we read in pencil in Latin characters ‘Naradasmṛti Bendall,’ and on the back cover, written in pen in Latin characters: ‘Professor C. Bendall British Museum London W.C.’ and ‘Geschaeftspapiere. einschreiben.’ On the side of the box, the sender’s name is written

³² On the importance of this commentary for the cultural history of 14th-century Nepal and Maṇika, the author of the commentary, see Formigatti 2016b, 56–63; on the manuscript and its importance for the textual tradition of the *Nāradasmṛti*, see also Jolly 1885, *passim*, Bendall 1886a, 56–9, and Lariviere 1989: ix–xxx.

³³ Although the volume is dated 1885, at the end of the introduction Jolly reports the place and date of completion as ‘Würzburg, February 16th, 1886’ (Jolly 1885, 16).

in pen in Latin characters: ‘From Prof. J. Jolly Wuerzburg.’ Unfortunately, the stamp is illegible, so that we don’t know the exact date when it was posted. Interestingly, the manuscript was sent back to Bendall’s office at the British Museum in London and not to Cambridge.

In 1902, Bendall sent another manuscript (Or.1279) to Jolly requesting him to identify the work, as the latter was an expert on Indian medicine. It is an old Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript containing Vaṅgasena’s *Cikitsāsārasaṅgraha*, a long treatise on *Āyurveda*. In this case, not only the top of the original wrapping box³⁴ was preserved together with the manuscript, but also the letter dated 21 May 1902, in which Jolly identifies the work and provides a first evaluation of its philological importance.³⁵

Several other letters kept in the UL archives further confirm how well connected Bendall was with the most important Sanskrit scholars of his time.³⁶ These letters are clear evidence that his work on the palaeography of Nepalese scripts and his expertise in Buddhist Sanskrit texts, acquired thanks to his untiring work on the UL Buddhist manuscripts, was widely recognized.

3.3 A notable absence, or the collections as they could have been

As we have seen, the UL collections of Sanskrit manuscripts are particularly important for their high number of old Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts. If you are interested in Buddhist Sanskrit texts or the study of Nepalese medieval culture, you might probably think to pay a visit to Cambridge and consult the UL collections. On the other hand, if you are interested in the Sanskrit tradition and the history of Kashmir, you would probably want to travel to Oxford and consult the manuscripts of the Stein collection. In the Bodleian Library there is however another collection that features Kashmirian manuscripts: the Hultzsch collection. Usually, it is not referred to as a homogenous collection because—unlike for instance the Stein manuscripts—it was not kept as such under the name of their former owner. The manuscripts are described in the 1905 catalogue by M. Winternitz and A. B Keith together with manuscripts from other collections. In the preface, E. W. B. Nicholson summarizes the circumstances of the acquisition as follows:

³⁴ The name of the sender (‘Jolly Würzburg’) is recognizable on the box, as well as partially the name and address of the addressee (‘[Pro]fessor Bendall [?] Castle Str. Cambridge’).

³⁵ The letter is partially transcribed in the description of the manuscript on the Cambridge Digital Library (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-01279/1>).

³⁶ They are kept in the UL as Add.7603.

On Oct. 22, 1884 Dr. Eugen Hultzsch, afterwards epigraphist on the Madras Archaeological Survey, had landed in Bombay from Trieste, and on May 2, 1885, he had re-embarked at Bombay: in the interval he had obtained 483 vols. of MSS., a list of which, and of the chief places he visited, will be found in an article by him [...] Of these 483 he offered 465 to the Bodleian for a sum of £225, which, in view of the financial condition of the library and the heavy cost involved in binding and repairing, was reduced to £200, and for this sum the collection was purchased, in 1887, under the advice of Prof. Max Müller. In extent it outnumbered the Mill, Walker, Hodgson, and Fraser MSS. combined, and it distinctly improved the average antiquity of the Bodleian Sanskrit collection.

(Winternitz 1905, iii)

In reality, the story behind this acquisition is much more interesting and involves many people and institutions between England, Germany, and India. It can be reconstructed by means of the correspondence of the people involved (preserved in the Bodleian Library at Library Records d.1088). On 19 October 1886 Reinhold Rost, the India Office librarian, sends a letter to the Principal Librarian of the Bodleian Library, writing that he has been 'requested by Dr. E. Hultzsch, of Dresden, to send you the enclosed list of Sanskrit MSS. He proposes to sell 465 out of the 483 numbers of which the collection consists for £225'. Rost then suggests to consult Prof. Max Müller on this matter, who promptly replies two days after. Obviously, the Bodley's Librarian E. W. B. Nicholson must also be involved, and an arrangement is made to send the manuscripts to the Bodleian for inspection. At that time, E. Hultzsch is in India, holding the post of epigraphist at the Madras Presidency. It is therefore Hultzsch's father who sends the manuscripts from Dresden to Oxford in November of the same year. In a letter dated 22 November, Max Müller suggests that it would be better to ask the 'Professor of Sanskrit' to write a report on them—that is, the Boden Professor for Sanskrit, M. Monier-Williams. Four days pass after M. Monier-Williams's reply, in which he writes that he regrets that the request came too late, as he now has 'only a few days left before starting for the South of France' and he is 'utterly overwhelmed with work.'³⁷ At this point, R. Rost steps in again and on the 8 December writes a letter in which he kindly requests Monier-Williams to ask either E. W. B. Nicholson or A. A. Macdonnell for their opinion on the manuscripts, for otherwise everything would have to wait 'till end of February.' Moreover, he adds the following suggestion:

³⁷ Any resemblance of this account with contemporary persons or real events is purely accidental.

‘The work of assessing the value of the MSS. will be greatly facilitated by the descriptive catalogue which has been conscientiously made.³⁸ Would you allow Prof. Cowell, of Cambridge, or anyone whom he may depute, to inspect the MSS. in the course of the ensuing recess?’ With the Christmas break approaching, all the persons involved in this delicate matter would probably like to pass the responsibility to somebody else. At this point, Max Müller comes into play again, writing the following letter:

12 Dec. 86

Dear Mr. Nicholson,

I have carefully gone through the titles of the MSS. Offered to us by Dr. Hultzsch, and I quite approve of Dr. Rost’s suggestion that they should go to Cambridge. We possess MSS. of nearly all the texts, excepting the Jaina texts, which the collection contains while Cambridge does not. As long as the Collection is kept in England, the MSS will be accessible to scholars at Cambridge as at Oxford. I shall be sorry if they went to the British Museum, still even there they might be consulted. If Cambridge shall decline to buy them, the matter might be reconsidered, but I will strongly advise the Bodleian not to compete with Cambridge.

The price is not too high, but I am afraid the expense of binding, and still more of carefully mending the MSS, will be considerable.

Yours very truly
F. Max Müller

A few days later, Cowell sends a short reply directly to Rost (as a reply to a letter now probably kept in his correspondence in the UL):

Cambridge
Dec. 16. 86.

My dear Rost

I fear there is no chance of our buying any of the MSS. The Library is very poor and they cant [sic] afford it. Most of the MSS, are, I fear, in Southern alphabets, so that I feel less keen for them.

Yours sincerely,
EB. Cowell

Rost’s reply to this letter is not included in Library Records d.1088 (as it was sent to Cowell, it must be in the UL archives). Cowell’s reply to Rost transcribed above

38 To my knowledge, the only catalogue to which Rost could have referred is the list of the manuscripts compiled by Hultzsch and published in the same year, which however is not a descriptive catalogue, but a mere list of titles (Hultzsch 1886, 11–26). Was this a sly attempt by Rost to settle the matter as quickly as possible?

is in the Bodleian archives because Rost enclosed it in a letter he sent to Max Müller on 17 December,³⁹ in which he suggests that the two libraries should purchase Hultzsich's collection in a shared effort. Still, Cowell's argument about the manuscripts being in South Indian alphabets and therefore not interesting to him sounded legitimate and for this reason on the 19th December Max Müller writes to Nicholson, clarifying that no manuscript in Hultzsich's list is in a South Indian alphabet. Nevertheless, even this last attempt fails, as it is clear from this last letter that Cowell sent a few days after Christmas:

Cambridge
Dec. 28. 1886

My dear Sir

Every body has been away from Cambridge lately, but I saw Prof. Wright the other day and had some talk with him. I fear the Library has no money at present; so that we cannot indulge in MSS. just now.

I suppose there is no list of the MSS. which the Bodleian would not take. I cannot get away from Cambridge at present, so cannot come to examine them. Thanking you for your letter I remain

Yours faithfully
Edw. B. Cowell

After this letter, it is clear that the Hultzsich collection wouldn't have gone to Cambridge. (The rest of the letters deals with the negotiations about the price between the Bodleian and Hultzsich's father, as well as with some missing manuscripts which were on loan to European scholars when the manuscripts were first sent to the Bodleian for inspection.) It is interesting to reflect closely about how the whole story evolved and ended. First of all, the picture that emerges from the letters is that of a close collaboration between Sanskrit scholars at Oxford and Cambridge. Secondly, it is clear that to the scholars involved the manuscripts were interesting mainly for their textual content and not for their antiquity or any other feature. Max Müller's letter is particularly instructive in both these aspects, as are Cowell's replies. Also, we see that apparently the financial situation of the Bodleian and the UL was very different: Max Müller's remark that 'the price is not too high' is in sharp contrast with Cowell's statements that 'the Library is very poor and they can't afford it' and 'the Library has no money at present.' We have to remember that just one year before, in 1884–5, Bendall had gone on his first tour in search of manuscripts in Nepal and Northern India, where he had purchased manuscripts for the UL and for his own personal library. It is possible that in 1886 the UL financial situation could have been dire because of this expenditure (and

³⁹ As a reply to a letter by Max Müller dated 14 December, but again not included in this record.

surely others) in the previous year. On the other hand, Bendall had bought the manuscripts with a special grant from the Worts Fund, so we could also imagine that there was simply no interest in buying another large collection of Sanskrit manuscript after Bendall's tour. Either way, the failed purchase of Hultzschn's manuscript was a loss for the UL. In his journey, Bendall personally collected 212 manuscripts, to which we have to add 294 collected by Bhagvāndās Kevaldās. If we sum up these manuscripts to the c. 450 in the Wright collection, we come to a total of around 950 manuscripts. Not only Hultzschn's collection of 465 manuscripts would have considerably bolstered the UL collections from the point of view of quantity, but also of quality. There are only three birch-bark manuscripts in the UL collections,⁴⁰ but with the acquisition of the Hultzschn's manuscripts it would have gained 26 Kashmirian birch-bark manuscripts,⁴¹ not to speak of the other Śāradā manuscripts on paper. If we think that the Stein collection in the Bodleian comprises around 30 birch-bark manuscripts, we can better understand how important this acquisition was for the Bodleian—and could have been for the UL. As we have seen, C. Bendall's research interests focused on Sanskrit Buddhist texts and the history of Nepal due to the character of the UL manuscript collections: what if the UL would have bought these Kashmirian manuscripts? Would Bendall have edited for instance Jonarāja's *Kirātārjunīyaṭīkā* or *Śrikanṭha-caritaṭīkā*⁴² instead of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*? Would have he written an article on the palaeography of the Śāradā script as influential as his work on the palaeography of Nepalese scripts?

⁴⁰ Two of them are in such an extremely bad physical condition that no proper examination was possible. Both are Kashmirian *codices*: Or.948 contains Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadhā*, Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* and Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava*, while Or.2264 is a manuscript of an unidentified *Naiṣadhacaritaṭīkā*. The third birch-bark manuscript is Add.1578, a single birch bark sheet in excellent condition, containing a *Devikavaca*. It was written in Devanāgarī in Nepal, most probably in the 19th century.

⁴¹ This figure refers to the manuscripts as listed in Hultzschn's 1886 article. Several manuscripts have been bound together and are now found under one single shelfmark.

⁴² Hultzschn's manuscript 53 and 88 respectively, now bound together and shelved in the Bodleian at MS Sansk.d.65.

4 The collections in the 20th century: on handwritten catalogues and more critical editions

The history of the collections in the 20th century is marked by a continuing—albeit little known—cataloguing activity, as well as by an increased awareness of its importance within the international scholarly community. In 1916, the manuscripts of the Bühler, the Cowell and part of the Bendall collections were described by Louis de la Vallée Poussin (1869–1938) (Fig. 4) with the help of Caroline Mary Ridding (1862–1942).⁴³ They recorded on paper index cards the basic features of some of the still uncatalogued manuscripts: title, writing material, number and dimensions of folios (Figs. 6–8). Occasionally, they transcribed some excerpts from the manuscripts and provided bibliographical references. Their card catalogue includes all Sanskrit manuscripts in the Add. series⁴⁴ and two manuscripts in the Or. series (Or.407 and Or.722). The catalogue is kept in a wooden box (Figs. 5a and 5b; it is described in Appendix 1). The box has two compartments: in the right-hand side compartment, the cards with the manuscript description are arranged according to the increasing shelfmark, while on the left-hand side there are reference cards arranged according to the titles of the work, provided with the shelfmark for the consultation of the descriptive card on the right-hand side. Inside the box there is a letter by de la Vallée Poussin about the completion of the card catalogue:

⁴³ On the life and work this (unfortunately neglected) scholar, see Diemberger 2012 and Huett 2012.

⁴⁴ It does not include Add.2396–2405, Add.2408, Add.2458, Add.2841, and Add.3437.



Fig. 4: Louis de la Vallée Poussin (1869–1938).

Sir

I think I have now completed the catalogue of the Sanskrit and Jain Sanskrit MSS. in the Library.

(1) Short notices of the MSS.: titles of the works, author, material, writing, date, size (with occasional additional notes, references to Catalogues or to editions, data useful for identification, etc.)

(2) Index of the titles.

(3) Index of the authors.

According to the instructions I had received, I have only been concerned with the MSS. that had not been hitherto studied. The work proved to be more complicated than I had expected it to be.

There remains a small number of MSS., chiefly fragments, which I have not been able to identify. I shall spare us pain in order to ascertain what they are. But, as further progress depends largely on chance, as the number of the MSS. is small, I believe that I may honestly state that 'I have accomplished what I had to do', as the Buddhist Saints are accustomed to say, at death.

I beg to remain,

Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Louis de la Vallée Poussin

To the Librarian of the Cambridge University Library
1ere juin [1]916

Actually, the ‘small number’ of manuscript still left to be catalogued consisted of more than 200 manuscripts, for all other manuscripts in the Or. series acquired until 1916 (i.e. those in the Cowell and in the Bendall collections) were not catalogued.⁴⁵ Moreover, after de la Vallée Poussin and Ridding completed their catalogue, several individuals donated or bequeathed manuscripts to the UL (including Cowell and Bendall), and single manuscripts were bought from different sources (see Appendix 2, Table 1). All these manuscripts were left uncatalogued until the Digital Catalogue was launched. However, they were examined by V. Raghavan in his 1954 tour and are included in the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. In some of the Or. manuscripts it is still possible to find notes by Raghavan, who identified many hitherto unidentified texts. His notes on the UL Sanskrit collections are now kept in the Bodleian Library (Or. Raghavan 3; see Appendix 1).⁴⁶

After Raghavan’s visit to the UL, the library acquired more manuscripts, which consequently are not included in the NCC. Apart from a series of small acquisitions from different sources,⁴⁷ the only fairly big and homogenous collection acquired by the UL in this century is the Stolper collection. In 1990–91 the UL bought from the art dealer Robert E. Stolper hundreds of South and South-East Asian manuscripts. The South Asian manuscripts are all palm-leaf manuscripts of texts in Sanskrit and Malayalam. Around 100 manuscripts contain Sanskrit texts written in Grantha or Malayalam script. They were hardly known outside the UL and no information was available until they were catalogued for the first time by the project team.⁴⁸

The UL South Asian manuscript collections continued to provide research material for scholars all around the world throughout the 20th century. Several seminal studies on and editions of Buddhist texts based on UL manuscripts were published. A full list would probably cover several pages, therefore I will provide here just a few, representative examples. Continuing the tradition started by Cowell and Neil with their edition of the *Divyāvadāna*, numerous scholars exploited the UL collections and consulted manuscripts of *jātakas* and *avadānas* to prepare critical editions of unpublished texts. In 1902, J. S. Speyer published his *editio*

⁴⁵ Dalby (1988, 278–279) states that ‘descriptions of the other Sanskrit manuscripts [i.e. not described in Bendall 1883] by Aufrecht, Bendall and la Vallée-Poussin remain unpublished.’ Despite great efforts by the UL staff, we were not able to trace any other handwritten catalogue, apart those listed in Appendix 1.

⁴⁶ On the UL manuscripts examined by Raghavan, see also Formigatti forthcoming.

⁴⁷ As shown in Appendix 2, Table 1, a total of 26 manuscripts were acquired between 1954 and 1990.

⁴⁸ Some of the Sanskrit manuscripts in Malayalam were examined by Gavin Flood in 1999 (personal e-mail communication on 5 July 2014).

princeps of the *Avadānaśataka*, which is mainly based on Add.1611, the oldest complete witness of this text, dated 1645 CE. Even though this text belongs to the *sūtra* genre, it is worth mentioning L. Finot's 1901 edition of the *Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛcchā*, in fact based solely on Add.1586, a manuscript dated 1661.⁴⁹ Most probably, these two manuscripts were copied by the same scribe, Jayamuni, who was also responsible for copying a manuscript of the *Sumāgadhāvadāna* (Add.1585) and of Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (Add.1041).⁵⁰

We now jump to the second half of this century. Among the Cambridge Indologists who continued to study material in the collections special mention should be made of Prof. John Brough (1917-84), who devoted part of his scholarly efforts to the study of important Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library. His correspondence and papers are stored in the archives of the Library of the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cambridge, and include unpublished editions of texts and numerous notes on Nepalese Buddhism. R. Handurukande published two *editiones principes* of *avadānas* in which she made extensive use of UL manuscripts. The first one is the edition of the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna* (1967), a revised version of her PhD thesis, for which she collated Add.874, Add.1375, Add.1398, and Add.1680.4. In 1984 she used Add.1598 in her edition of the first five chapters of the *Avadānasārasamuccaya*, a unique collection of *jātakas* and *avadānas* of heterogeneous character. Finally, I would like to mention one last important manuscript, Add.1306, dated 1302 CE. It is the oldest and arguably most reliable witness of Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, very recently used by M. Straube for his editions of selected *avadānas* from Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (Straube 2006 and 2010).

The UL boasts also several finely illuminated manuscripts, among which there are some of the oldest specimens of Buddhist illuminated manuscripts.⁵¹

49 'Cette édition a été faite d'après un Ms. unique conservé à la Bibliothèque de l'Université de Cambridge sous la cote Add. 1586, et décrit dans le Catalogue de M. Bendall, p. 130 et 206. Le Ms. de la Bibliothèque Nationale Devanagari 83 n'étant manifestement qu'une copie du premier, je n'avais pas à en tenir compte' (Finot 1901, xv).

50 On the role of Jayamuni in shaping the *avadānamālā* genre in 17th century Nepal, see Formigatti 2016a.

51 'The collection has contributed to studies of Indian art: see A. Foucher, *Etude sur L'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, 2 vols, Paris 1900–1905 on Add.1595 and Add.1643; J. P. Losty, *The art of the book in India*, London 1982 including Add.1364, Add.1464, Add.1643, Add.1688; P. Pal, *The arts of Nepal. Painting*, Leiden 1978, on Add.864, Add.1464, Add.1643, Add.1645. The Library copy of Pal's book at S849.c.1.12 has been annotated to show class-marks, which Pal omits; his Cambridge thesis (Ph.D. 5275-5276) is also relevant' (Dalby 1988, 279).

Several other editions and studies featuring UL manuscripts have been published, not only in the field of Buddhist studies. The modest aim of this admittedly short and incomplete list is to highlight once again how influential the UL collections have been, and continue to be, even in a specific field of study. The main reason why I focused on the UL Buddhist manuscripts is that they were more widely known and more accessible precisely thanks to Bendall's catalogue of the Buddhist manuscripts in the Wright collection. Luckily, the wider scholarly community was made aware of the existence of the other manuscripts thanks to V. Raghavan's work and the inclusion of the UL Sanskrit manuscripts in the NCC. I believe that we could repeat this exercise for other fields of Sanskrit literature and reach quite similar results.

5 The collections in the 21st century: on the digital catalogue and beyond

Among libraries outside South Asia, the Cambridge collections can be considered mid-sized, yet their Sanskrit (c. 1450) and Prakrit (c. 150) manuscripts are astonishing under many aspects. Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism, as well as all major literary genres (Veda, Śāstra, Kāvya, Purāṇa, Tantra, Jyotiṣa, the Darśanas, Vyākaraṇa etc.) are represented with manuscripts important from many points of view (such as antiquity, textual and historical significance, artistic value). The collections include manuscripts in the three most widespread South Asian writing materials: palm leaf, paper, and birch-bark (the former two include two of the oldest Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts,⁵² as well as one of the oldest dated Nepalese paper manuscripts⁵³). Furthermore, the manuscripts are written in a wide array of South Asian scripts (the full range of Nepalese scripts, various kinds of Nāgarī, Bengali, Oriya, Malayalam, Tamil, Telugu, Grantha, Śāradā). Finally, the geographical areas of provenance cover virtually the whole Indian subcontinent and the time span ranges from the 8th century to the 20th century. After a very long way from South Asia to Europe (and in some cases, again within Europe) in the 19th and 20th century, these manuscripts in the UL collections now enjoy a deserved rest on the shelves. However, they could have undertaken all their travels in vain, for they cannot speak to the scholarly community as long as they remain uncatalogued. As we have seen, the only catalogue printed in the 19th century was

52 Add.1049 (dated 828 CE) and Add.1702 (dated to the 8th century).

53 MS Add.1412 (dated 1278 CE).

Bendall's (1883), and the only one printed in the 20th century was Niemann's (1980). Together, they cover less than one fourth of the collections. The Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, Cambridge made available on the Cambridge Digital Library platform the descriptions of more than 1600 South Asian manuscripts, covering the totality of the Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts (and some Tamil manuscripts as well). Approximately one third has been digitized and the images are now accessible online. As in the case of printed catalogues, some descriptions are very exhaustive and include excerpts of the texts as well as a full codicological analysis, while others provide only basic information (such as author, title, writing material, number of folios etc., like in a tabular catalogue).⁵⁴ Regardless of the type of description, it is now possible to navigate the totality of the collections. The impact of the digital catalogue on research is yet to be assessed, but it has surely made available to the scholarly community manuscripts that otherwise would have been accessible with more difficulty—if at all.

Catalogues give manuscripts a voice, but the language in which they speak varies according to the interests and priorities of the scholars who catalogue them. For instance, in a masterpiece of scholarship such as A. Weber's *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliotheken* (compiled in 1853), the manuscripts are classified under a textual criterion, i.e. all manuscripts of one work are grouped together. This criterion is a clear hint of the priority assigned to the textual element over the physical features of manuscripts, and indeed the description of the codicological aspects of the manuscripts is kept to a minimum.⁵⁵ This methodological approach was adopted also by V. Raghavan during his work for the compilation and supervision of the NCC, with the consequence that 'catalogues of Indian manuscripts normally present lists of works as if they were lists of manuscripts, silently asserting a false identity between work and manuscript' (Wujastyk 2014, 180). In the case of the Cambridge Digital Library, as the readers have access to images of the manuscripts their physical aspect gains more prominence and can be more easily exploited for research purposes. We obviously kept the description of the textual elements in the foreground. On the other hand, we devoted particular attention precisely to codicological aspects (like layout and binding) often barely included—or even neglected—in catalogues.⁵⁶ The tendency

⁵⁴ The reasons for this choice are explained in Formigatti forthcoming, § 2.1.

⁵⁵ On this aspect and the history of cataloguing of Sanskrit manuscripts, see Formigatti forthcoming, § 1.2 and § 2; see also Wujastyk 2014, 179–181.

⁵⁶ This aspect of our cataloguing methodology is partly explained in Formigatti forthcoming, § 3.2.1 and § 3.2.2.

to give more importance to the text is seen also in more recent digital catalogues.⁵⁷ In contrast with the common idea that manuscripts are mainly carrier of texts significant only from a literary or philological point of view, we decided also to transcribe precisely those textual elements that are usually left out of descriptions of manuscripts, i.e. the ‘written materials that are not classical works as such, for example scribal comments, marginal glosses, ownership notes’ (Wujastyk 2014, 180). This obviously does not mean that we were able to follow through this plan in all cases. For instance, we certainly could not provide transcriptions or even full assessments of the characters of the marginal annotations found in several manuscripts. Yet we strove to provide as many complete transcriptions of this type of textual material as possible. Our hope is that the digital catalogue will not only be the means for the navigation of the collections, but also a useful tool for researchers interested in the materiality of the South Asian manuscripts.

57 See for instance Scharf 2015, 243–264.

6 Appendices

6.1 Sources for the history of the UL collections of Sanskrit manuscripts

6.1.1 Manuscript sources

Besides information about the provenance of the manuscripts, the first seven handlists provide only shelfmark and title of manuscripts.

List Add. = List of Additional Manuscripts 923-1827

Handwritten list compiled by various authors, kept in the Cambridge University Library. It contains following lists of South Asian manuscripts:

- List of the Pāli and Sinhalese manuscripts acquired by T.W. Rhys Davids, compiled by him on the 31 March 1874 (Add. 923–998, 76 manuscripts sold to the Library on 30 March 1874, plus an addition of two manuscripts under the shelfmark Add.999);
- List of the manuscripts bought in Nepal by Dr. D. Wright in 1873–76 (including the Tibetan manuscripts and blockprints);
- List of Sanskrit manuscripts bought in Benares on behalf of Prof. E. B. Cowell ('Sanskrit MSS recd. [received] from Benares, sanctioned May 8, 1878' = Add.1709-1725);
- List of the Jaina manuscripts acquired by the University Library from Prof. G. Bühler ('Jaina MSS recd. from Dr. G. Bühler sanctioned by the Syndicat March 22, 1876' = Add. 1755–1822; 'Jaina MSS recd. from Dr. G. Bühler sanctioned by the Syndicat May 2, 1877');
- List of five manuscripts of other provenance bought through Prof. E. B. Cowell and sanctioned on January 31, 1877.

Handlist = List of Oriental MSS. Class Catalogue of Oriental MSS

Handwritten list of all Oriental manuscripts acquired up to September 1900, further inspected on September 1913 ('Inspected, September 1913, by W.J. Dunn and A. Anable, and all accounted for, except: [...] a list of missing manuscripts follows, but the Sanskrit manuscripts allegedly missing have been struck through, since they have been found; only a Tamil manuscript, Add.1579, seems to be missing since 1900).

ULIB 7/1/4 = Assorted Lists of Manuscripts and Books, Chiefly Oriental, Acquired by the Library, with Related Papers

Handwritten list and notes by Ralph T. H. Griffith and Daniel Wright of Sanskrit manuscripts acquired by the UL in 1873.

ULIB 7/3/55 = Notes on the Collections of Oriental, Thibetan and 'Additional' Manuscripts

Handwritten list by Henry Bradshaw, providing the year of acquisition of the manuscripts of the Wright collections for the years 1870–80.

Oriental MSS: Shelf List 1

Handwritten list of all Oriental manuscripts compiled according to their size.

Oriental MSS: Language List 2

Handwritten list of all Oriental manuscripts compiled according to their language.

List of Printed Books Notebooks Portraits m.s.s. in the Cowell Collection

The handwritten list of the manuscripts bequeathed by Prof. E. B. Cowell to the University Library is found on folio 29.

Or. 345 = Sanskrit MSS in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

Handwritten short catalogue of the manuscripts belonging to Corpus Christi College. Each entry usually contains the title and a very brief description of the manuscript.

LVP = U. L. C. Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS by Miss C. M. Ridding and Louis de la Vallée Poussin

Card catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts in the Add. class not catalogued by Bendall. The descriptions are written on index cards by Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussin and C.M. Ridding. The catalogue was completed in 1916. The cards are kept in



Figs 5a and b: 'Colman's' wooden box containing the card catalogue by L. de la Vallée Poussin and C.M. Ridding.

a picturesque wooden box with advertisements for Colman's products such as mustard oil, corn flour, and starch impressed on the sides (Figs. 5a and 5b).

Raghavan = Bodleian MS Or. Raghavan 3.

MS Or. Raghavan consists of three boxes containing the notes taken by Raghavan during his European tour for the compilation of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*. The UL collections are described in the notes in box 3. The boxes include also letters by Raghavan to various individuals, all relating to his European tour.

6.1.2 Printed sources

- (1) Bendall's *Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts* (1883);
- (2) Bendall's reports and articles (Bendall 1882, 1886, 1888a, 1899 [1900]);
- (3) Grahame Niemann's article on the Corpus Christi College South Asian manuscripts (Niemann 1980);
- (4) Andrew Dalby's article on the Oriental Collections in the UL (Dalby 1988).

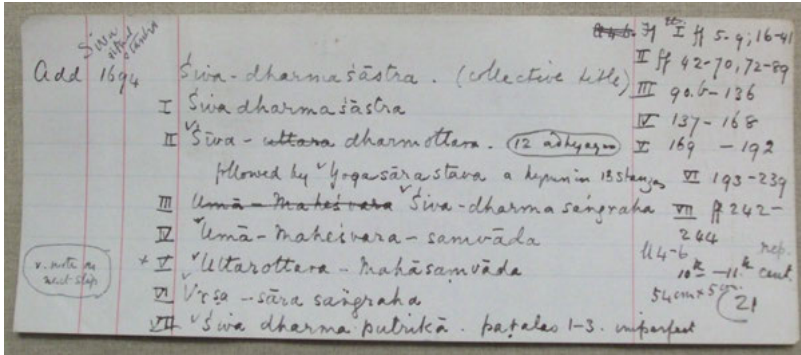


Fig. 6: Catalogue card of MS Add.1694, recto.

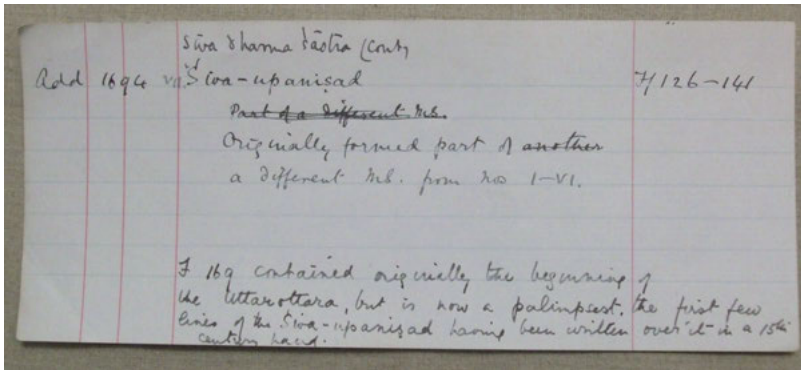


Fig. 7: Catalogue card of MS Add.1694, verso.

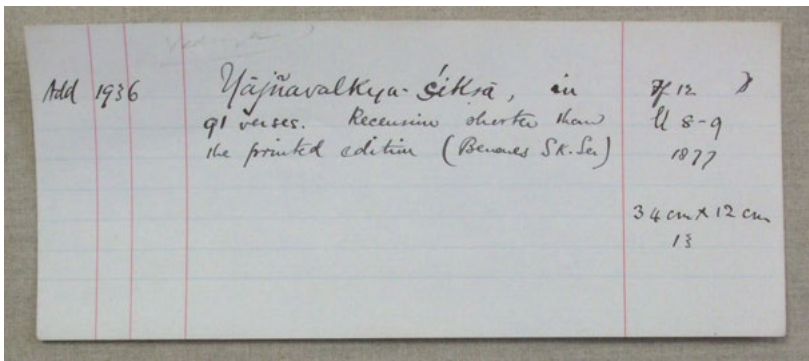


Fig. 8: Catalogue card of MS Add.1936, recto (verso blank).

6.2 Tables of Manuscripts Provenance

Tab. 1: Manuscripts Provenance. General Table

Shelfmark	Collection	Provenance	Date of Acquisition	Sources
Add.285.67	Miscellanea	Unknown	19 th century	Handlist
Add.572	Miscellanea	Cotton Mather	1868 (donated)	Handlist
Add.960, 994	Miscellanea	Rhys Davids	1873–76 (bought)	List Add., Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55
Add.1033	Miscellanea	Unknown	After 1873	List Add., Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55
Add.864–875, 899–901, 912–918, 1032, 1041, 1049, 1108, 1160–1164, 1267–1415, 1464–1488, 1533–1545, 1585–1708	Wright	D. Wright (bought)	1873–76	List Add., Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55
Add.1039, 1040, 1042, 1050, 1104–1107, 1156, 1416–1463, 1546–1557, 1576–1581, 1952	Wright	W. Wright and D. Wright (donated)	1873–76	List Add., Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55
Add.1157–59	Miscellanea	Fischl Hirsch (bought)	1875	List Add., Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55
Add.1266.01	Miscellanea	Reinhold Rost (bought)	1875	List Add., Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55
Add.1755–1822	Bühler	G. Bühler (bought in Bikaner? See the envelopes)	1875	List Add., Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55, original envelopes wrapping the manuscripts

Shelfmark	Collection	Provenance	Date of Acquisition	Sources
Add.1853	Miscellanea	Pots	19 th century	Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55
Add.876-885, 889-898, 902-911, 1034-1038, 1709-1725, 1824-1827, and 1908-1927	Cowell	R. Griffith, bought in Benares	1873-78 (Add.876-885, Add.889-898, Add.902-909 bought in 1873, see ULIB; Add.1024 and Add.1025 in 1875; Add.1826 and Add.1827 in 1876)	List Add., Handlist, ULIB 7/1/4, ULIB 7/3/55
Add.1934-1951	Cowell	E. B. Cowell; 'Copied at 1877 in Benares [...] bought from J.C. Nesfield Benares Skt College' (note in Add.1934)	1877	Handlist, ULIB 7/3/55, note in Add.1934
Add.2185	Miscellanea	Unknown	19 th century	Handlist
Add.2079-2251	Bendall	C. Bendall; 'MSS 2079-2250 were collected by me in Northern and Western India, as shown in my "Journey in Nepal etc" especially pp. 41-49. CBendall' (note in the Handlist of Oriental MSS)	1884-85	Handlist, Bendall's Journey
Add.2252-2545	Bendall	C. Bendall; 'MSS 2252-2545 were bought by me from Bhagvan Dās Kevaldas at Bombay in 1885 CBendall' (note in the Handlist of Oriental MSS)	1885	Handlist, Bendall's Journey
Add.2574	Miscellanea	Unknown	19 th century	Handlist

Shelfmark	Collection	Provenance	Date of Acquisition	Sources
Add.2598	Cowell	Cowell (bequeathed after his death?)	1903 (?)	Cowell 1886, vi: 'Our own MS. [of the <i>Divyāvadāna</i>], 274 leaves, 14–15 lines'; this description corresponds to this manuscript
Add.2800	Miscellanea	Sotheby's	1887	Handlist
Add.2831–2838	Bendall	C. Bendall; received from Dr G. H. D. Gimlette of Kathmandu	1887	Handlist, Bendall 1888a
Add.2840–41	Bendall	C. Bendall; received from Dr G. H. D. Gimlette of Kathmandu	19 th century	Handlist
Add.3437	Miscellanea	Doughby	19 th century	Handlist
CC.31.B.08.1–3, CC.31.B.47.1, CC.32.Add.B.01, CC.32.B.06, CC.32.B.29, CC.32.B.30, CC.33.B.04.1–2, CC.33.B.5, CC.33.B.9, CC.33.B.11–15, CC.33.B.25.1–5, CC.33.B.25.7, CC.33.B.26, CC.33.B.27.1, CC.33.B.27.2, CC.33.B.28, CC.34.B.7.1, CC.34.B.17–24, CC.37.Add.B.5	Corpus Christi	A.C. Honner	1860–1870	Or.345, Niemann
Ms.3.59–70	Miscellanea	Robert Lubbock Bensly	1890s	Handlist
Or.72–162	Bendall	C. Bendall (bought); Or.72–83 received from Pandit Ciman Lal; Or.85–92 received from Syed 'Aii Bilgrami of Hyderabad	1898–9	Handlist; Bendall 1899

Shelfmark	Collection	Provenance	Date of Acquisition	Sources
Or.235-383, 407 (Or.344-383 are handwritten notes on various topics and translations by Cowell)	Cowell	E.B. Cowell (bequeathed);	1903	Handlist
Or.462	Miscellanea	H. Bradshaw	1887	Handlist
Or.679, 713-732, 810-822, Or.838, 845, 1278-1279	Bendall	C. Bendall (bequeathed); '1906 March Bequeathed by Professor Cecil Bendall See also Or.810-822' (handwritten note in pencil in the List of Oriental MSS)	1906-1934	Handlist
Or.688-89	Miscellanea	Bought from Mrs Gwendolen Crosse (formerly belonged to General Willough- by Osborne, Advocate general of India, her grandfather)	1906	Handlist
Or.1372-73	Miscellanea	Walter Sibbald Adie (donated)	24 January 1924 (?)	Handlist
Or.845	Miscellanea	Guignard	1911	Handlist
Or.860	Miscellanea	A.S.B. Miller, library assistant (donated)	1911	Handlist
Or.905	Miscellanea	C. J. Sawyer (bought)	1914	Handlist
Or.948	Miscellanea	A.E. Wade (gift in memory of her hus- band, the reverend T. Russell Wade)	20 th century	Handlist
Or.975	Miscellanea	A.G.W. Murray	1919	Handlist
Or.1040	Miscellanea	John Whitaker (bought)	1924	Handlist
Or.1085	Miscellanea	B.F.C. Atkinson (donated)	1926	Handlist

Shelfmark	Collection	Provenance	Date of Acquisition	Sources
Or.1278-79	Bendall	Bendall; 'Found among C Bendall's papers. Dec. 1934. AFSchofield Librarian'	1884-85	Handlist; handwritten note on the box lid of Or.1278 on the envelope of Or.1279
Or.1372-73	Miscellanea	W.S. Adie (donated) 'Presented by W.S. Adie, Trinity College, in 3 February 1943'	1943	Handwritten note on folio 1r of Or.1372
Or.1730	Miscellanea	Faculty of Oriental Languages (donated)	20 th century	Handlist
Or.1743.8	Miscellanea	Faculty of Oriental Languages (bought)	1954	Handlist
Or.1743.20	Cowell	Presented by A.N.L. Munby, Esq. Librarian of King's College. From the M.R. James collection, Cowell Collection	1948	Handlist
Or.1748.1	Miscellanea	W.S. Adie (donated); 'Presented by W.S. Adie, formerly Fellow of Trinity College in 3 February 1943'		Handlist
Or.1810-20	Miscellanea	E.K. Waterhouse	1957	Handlist
Or.1932-35		Transferred from the Faculty of Oriental Studies in 4 December 1959	1959	Handlist
Or.2025-30	Miscellanea	W.H.D. Rouse (bequeathed)	1961	Handlist
Or.2031	Miscellanea	Mrs Dorothy B. G. Line and Lt.-Col. Dimmock (donated)	1961	Handlist
Or.2258, 2262-64	Miscellanea	Sotheby's (bought)	1982	Handlist and label attached to Or.2258
Or.2260	Miscellanea	Harding (bought)	1982	Handlist
Or.2338-69, 2380-2435, 2471	Stolper	Robert E. Stolper (bought)	1991	Handlist
Or.2555-73	Griffiths	Arlo Griffiths (donated)	2013	

Tab.2: Manuscript Provenance. MSS Add.2079–2250, Bendall's Manuscripts from the 1884–85 Journey.

Shelfmark	Provenance	Additional Notes
Add.2079–85, 2087–98 [2098(?)], 2101–02, 2107, 2110–11, 2113, 2115, 2120, 2123–24, 2126–27, 2129, 2131, 2133, 2136, 2138, 2142–43, 2145–55 [2147?], 2157, 2159–60, 2165–70, 2172–85 [2176?]	Benares and the North-West Provinces	
Add.2086, 2099–2100, 2103–06, 21089, 2112, 2116, 2121, 2137, 2194–99, 2248–51	Nepal	'With Add. 2112 were formerly preserved 4 leaves not iden- tified. In 1903 I recognized these as forming part of Or. 137 (bought by me in my late journey (1898) in Nepal, at Bhatgaon. I transferred them to this MS. accordingly C.B. 4 Sp. 1903' (Handlist, s.v. Add.2112)
Add.2117, 2128, 2130, 2132, 2134–5, 2140–1, 2156, 2158, 2200–2247, 2394	Rājputāna	
Add.2118, 2252–2545	Bombay	'MSS 2252–2545 were bought by me from Bhagvan Dās Keval- das at Bombay in 1885 CBen- dall' (note in the Handlist)
Or.116, 811, 817–9, Or.727	Rājputāna Nepal	
Or.730, 822	Benares and the North-West Provinces	

6.2 Manuscripts listed in Bendall's *Journey* but not found in the lists or on the shelves

The titles and the notes before the page number are quoted directly as they appear in Bendall 1886a. The letters following the title refers to the provenance of the manuscript: B. = Benares and the North-West Provinces, N. = Nepal, R. = Rājputāna. The final bracketed figures provide the reference to the page in Bendall 1886a in which the manuscript is mentioned. Manuscripts marked with * were 'reserved and not sent to the University Library' (Bendall 1886a, 41). Most probably, these were manuscripts that Bendall kept at home for his own research (like Or.727, a manuscript of the *Tantrākhyāna*, a work of which Bendall published a partial edition in 1888b). In his *Application for the Professorship of Sanskrit*, Bendall states that 'of about 500 Sanskrit MSS.' acquired by him '487 are now in the Library (Add. 2079–2845)' (Bendall 1903, 6). Some of Bendall's private manuscripts were subsequently acquired by the UL after his death (like Or.727), some were later found in his papers (like Or.1278, a manuscript of the *Can-drālamkāra* in the Bhaikṣukī script), but some are still missing (for instance, the *Kāarakakaumudī* manuscript listed below as 6).

1. Vṛishasārasaṅgraha. B. (?) (42)
2. Meghadūta with anonymous commentary. Kashmiri-Nāgari writing.
3. Sāraṅgasāratattva, circa 1690. B. (42)
4. Damayantikathāvṛtti (comm.), begun by Candrapāla and finished by Guṇavinayagaṇi. 1853. R. (43)
5. *Mādhavānalopākhyāna. 1751. N. Paper. (43)
6. *Kāraka-kaumudī. R. (43)
7. *Sūtras with comm. not identified. N. (43) (= Or. 729?)
8. *Tājikasāra by Haribhadra Sūri. 1404. R. (43) (= Add.2394? The date does not correspond)
9. Bhīmavinoda (?). Imperfect. N. (44)
10. *'Gaurīkantī' (another copy)? complete. B. (44)
11. Māthurī. Comm. by Mathuranātha on Tattvacintāmaṇi. (Part of Khaṇḍa 1 only). Beng. hand xvii–xviii cent. B. Imperf. (44)
12. Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī 1760. (44)
13. Advaitasiddhi by Madhusūdana Sūri. B. (45)
14. Advaitasiddhi, commentary by Brahmānanda. B. (45); in the Handlist, between Add. 2162 (Laukikaviṣayavicāra) and Add.2165 (Aparokṣānu-bhūti) a blank space has been left for Add.2163 and Add.2164 and accordingly there are no paper slips in LVP; has the place been left for these

- two manuscripts of the Advaitasiddhi (see Bendall 1886a, 45 for this section of the 1884–5 manuscripts)?
15. *Aparokṣānubhūti (another copy). B. (45); in the Handlist, between Add.2170 (Jñānasvaprakāśa) and Add.2172 (Prašnāvalī by Jaḍubharata) a blank space has been left for Add.2171, and accordingly there is no paper slip in LVP; has the place been left for this manuscript (see Bendall 1886a, 45 for this section of the 1884–5 manuscripts)?
 16. Kaivalyakalpadruma by Gaṅgādhara Sarasvatī. B. (45)
 17. *Nyāya-makaranda and its ṭīkā (or vivṛiti) by Citsukha Muni. Text by Anandabodha. Kashmiri-Nāgarī character. 184 l. B. (45)
 18. Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha. (End of last chapter wanting). B. (45)
 19. Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha. (commentary) defective at end. B. (45)
 20. Svarūpanirṇaya by Sadānanda. B. (45)
 21. *[Vākyavṛitti-prakāśikā, comm. on Śaṅkara's Vākyavṛitti. B] (another copy). B. (45)
 22. Vedānta-kalpataru. B. (46)
 23. *Pañcarakshā. Palm-leaf (modified Kuṭīla writing) with modern paper supply. Dated in reign of Vighrahapāla of Bengal (c. 1080). (46)
 24. *Daśavaikālikā (text only). 1469. (47)
 25. *Śāntināthacaritra. (47)
 26. Śrāvakāṅgām mukhavastrikārajohāraṇavicāra. 1597. (47)
 27. Chandonuśāsana. (47)
 28. *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa. (47)
 29. Several Paṭṭāvalīs. (48)
 30. A treatise by Somasundara, ff. 4, 64 verses. (48)
 31. Padyosavaṇa with ṭippanī (49)
 32. Kalpāntarvācyānī (A.D. 1457). (50)

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Nalini Balbir

The Cambridge Jain Manuscripts: Provenances, Highlights, Colophons

Abstract: This paper deals with the history of the Jain manuscript collection at the Cambridge University Library. It focuses on the actors who were involved in selling and buying manuscripts in Western India at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Among them the Gujarati Bhagvāndās Kevaldās and the British Cecil Bendall feature as prominent figures. The contents of the collection are then described, including the few illustrated manuscripts. The final section of the paper is devoted to the examination of some significant colophons. A group of them shows how manuscripts of Jain texts in Gujarati current in the 1820s were sponsored by the British Lieutenant Colonel William Miles (1780–1860) who then restituted their contents in his own study of the Jains. Thus the Cambridge Jain collection gives valuable insights into manuscript circulation among Jains or between India and the West, and into the modes of transmission of knowledge through Prakrit and Sanskrit as scholarly languages, or Gujarati as the language of oral informants.

1 Introduction

From the start, manuscripts produced among Jains, whether they are in Sanskrit or in other languages Jains used, have been an integral part of the digitization project of Sanskrit manuscripts initiated and supervised by Vincenzo Vergiani with the most efficient concourse of Daniele Cuneo and Camillo A. Formigatti. Several of them are visible on the website either as brief records (yet to be completed) or as detailed notices, often accompanied with images of their original pages. But, given the constraints of a website, the focus is on individual items. The present paper is intended as a way to contextualize the manuscripts within a broader perspective and could serve hopefully as a kind of introduction to the Jain manuscripts in the Cambridge University Library, addressing questions such as: how was the collection built up? What does it contain and how does this content feature compared to other European collections of Jain manuscripts? What do some of the colophons teach us about the actors involved in the production process?

2 How did Jain manuscripts enter the Cambridge University Library?

The majority of Jain manuscripts entered the Cambridge University Library at a time when the search for manuscripts in Western India, which largely meant Jain manuscripts, developed rapidly. It started in 1869–70 thanks to a systematic organization in the Bombay Presidency.¹ European scholars were on the lead, surrounded by an array of ‘natives’, whose assistance was recognized in varying degrees (see Balbir in the press with full bibliography). One of these members of the Indian staff was Bhagvāndās Kevaldās, a Jain from Surat. Born in 1850, he was recruited in his early twenties by Georg Bühler as an ‘agent’ and worked continuously for supplying manuscripts both to the Bombay Presidency and to individual libraries or scholars in the West until his death in 1900, at the age of 50. In the service of Bühler, Kielhorn and Peterson successively, he was at the interface of these scholars and of the Jain owners of manuscripts in temple libraries, being a native speaker of Gujarati and mastering English as well. He became instrumental in supplying manuscripts to all European libraries: Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig, London, Strasbourg, Paris, and Florence. When the search started, G. Bühler was on the lead and numerous copies of the same texts came to light. These duplicates started to be sent to European libraries, the first of which were Berlin and Cambridge (see below Bendall 1886, 34). A first batch of Jain manuscripts (Add.1755 to 1822), which entered the Cambridge University Library (UL) in 1878 (stamp dated 6 August 1878), reached Cambridge in this way, through the good offices of G. Bühler. On their paper envelopes one can read written in Devanāgarī script *jainīyam Kembridjasya* followed by the title of the work and sequences of numbers such as ‘16–13–1637’ (Add.1766), meaning a manuscript with 16 folios, 13 lines per page, dated V.S. 1637 (= 1580 CE).² Sometimes we have indications on when and where the manuscript was acquired. The envelope of Add.1812, which has *Bikānera tā. 2-jā. sa.-1875*,³ shows that this was part of what Bühler acquired during his tours in Rajputana (Bühler 1874, 1875, 1877).

1 Before this peak period, the only notable collection of Jain manuscripts in the West was that gathered by Colonel James Tod (1782–1835) during his appointment in India between 1799 and 1823. The Tod collection is kept in the Royal Asiatic Society, London (see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1940: 129–178).

2 V.S. = Vikrama samvat, year in the Vikrama era, which is one of the main chronological system used in Indian manuscripts. Remove 57 in order to get the date in the Common Era, thus here = 1580 CE. <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01766/33> (Fig. 1); other examples would be Add.1783 (<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01783/1>), Add.1800 (<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01800/11>)

3 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01812/1>

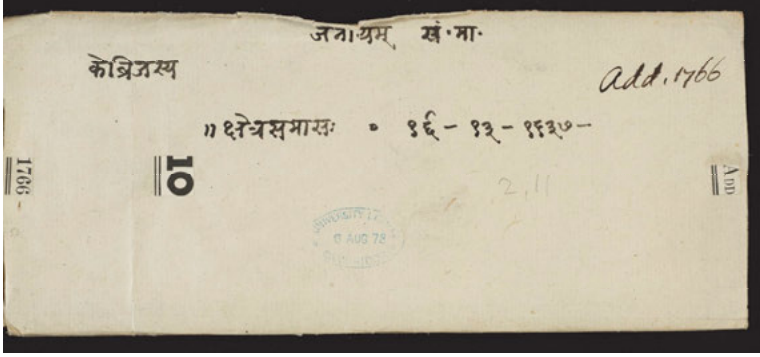


Fig. 1: Envelope of a manuscript bought from Bhagvāndās Kevaldās (Add.1766). © All images in this article are reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Now, for scholars visiting India in the 1880s and having an interest in Sanskrit manuscripts, meeting with Bhagvāndās Kevaldās in Bombay became a must, a necessary stop in their journey. Cecil Bendall (1856–1906) undertook a first tour in India and Nepal from 22nd October 1884 to 1st May 1885. Bombay was his port of disembarkation and embarkation. On his way back, he reports in *A Journey of Literary and Archaeological Research*:

I met by appointment Pandit Bhagvān Dās, who has long been the energetic agent of the Bombay Government for the collection of Sanskrit MSS. By a minute of this Government the agent is allowed to sell duplicates of works in the Government collections for the use of certain institutions in this country, of which our University Library is one (Bendall 1886, 34).

The ‘Rough list of MSS. purchased at Bombay’ published in Bendall’s *Journey* (1886, 49–51) is the fruitful outcome of the first meeting. It has 140 Jain manuscripts and 153 ‘Brahmanical and general MSS.’, now kept in the Library of the University of Cambridge where Bendall taught from 1903 to 1906. These Jain manuscripts correspond to shelfmarks Add. 2252 to 2389. Bhagvāndās Kevaldās’s handnotes are seen on some of the modern paper manuscript covers. Information useful for calculating the manuscript selling price is often summed up on their last pages, from his hand as well. Thus for instance ‘206–11–40 ślo. 5200’ means 206 folios, 11 lines per page, 40 *akṣaras* per line. The last number is the total obtained through the following operation: number of folios x 2 (recto and verso) x number of lines x number of syllables divided by 32 (the *grantha* unit). Here $206 \times 2 \times 11 \times 40 : 32 = 5665$; 5200 is an estimate, which could be deliberately less in order to take into account the variations in the number of *akṣaras*, which are counted on the basis of a sample. Beside this number, the material quality of the



Fig. 2: Example of grantha calculation (Add.2258).

manuscript or the rarity of the text copied are other elements which come into consideration for determining the price (see Balbir in the press).

During his second tour, in the winter of 1898, Bendall again met the Indian agent:

I landed at Bombay on 23rd November 1898, and commenced search for MSS. by conferring with Bhagran [sic; read Bhagvān] Dās of Surat (Bendall 1900, 162).

In addition, Bendall's classified list of manuscripts personally collected also includes 74 Jain items marked as 'all from Rājputānā' (1886, 46), which entered the Cambridge collection as well. These are shelfmarks Add.2200 to 2247 and a number of manuscripts marked as 'Or.', which include some Digambara works Bendall had managed to get:

At Jeypore the Digambara Jain pandit, Cimanlāl, not only gave me a full list of his valuable MS. library, from which copies can be made, but also presented me with several MSS. I further succeeded in obtaining some Digambara MSS. through my old friends amongst the brahmans of the city. (Bendall 1900, 162).

So a large number of the Cambridge Jain manuscripts were ultimately acquired through the offices of Bühler and then Bendall with Bhagvāndās Kevaldās as the common source in the background or the foreground. Yet there were a few isolated items that had entered earlier from other provenances; those which came later ultimately went back to Bendall's legacy. This is summed up in the following table arranged chronologically:

Add.1266	see below (W. Miles; bought by Reinhold Rost, entered UL on 15.10.1875)
Add.1755 to Add.1822	entered 1878, bought by G. Bühler in 1876–77
Add.2252 to 2389 ; Add.2558 to 2563	Bought by Bendall from Bhagvāndās Kevaldās, 1885
Add.2200 to Add.2247	Bought by Bendall ‘from Rajputana’
Or.73 to Or.80, Or.83 ; Or.106 to 129	Bought by Bendall in 1898–1899 from Bhagvāndās Kevaldās in Bombay or Paṇḍit Ciman Lāl in Jaipur
Or.810–811, 813–820, 845	Presented by Mrs. C. Bendall in 1909
Or.812	Bought by Dr D. Wright in 1873–76 (according to the provenance indicated in the individual record, Or.812)

Bendall spent most of his career in London, where he was senior assistant in the department of oriental manuscripts and printed books in the British Museum from 1882 to 1898, and held the chair of Sanskrit at University College London from 1885 to 1903. It was only in 1901 that he returned to Cambridge where he was appointed university lecturer. In 1902 he became curator of oriental literature in the university library. Finally, in 1903 he was elected professor of Sanskrit as Cowell’s successor. Yet, he was instrumental in getting most of the manuscripts kept in Cambridge University Library. The Jain manuscripts coming from him in London are only a handful (Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, I, 32–34).

3 Users of the Cambridge Jain manuscripts

The first user was Ernst Leumann (1859–1931). At a time when so few editions of Jain texts existed or were available, this pioneer in many areas of Indology, especially Jain studies, worked only on manuscripts and, with his very characteristic long-distance sight, was always keen on acquiring manuscripts of rare texts, which he felt were crucial for the history of Jain scriptures. For instance, he built the full edifice of what he termed ‘Āvaśyaka literature’ on texts that could be read only in this form. In a febrile quest for manuscripts, he used to borrow them from India, especially Poona, and managed to buy a lot for the Strasbourg University Library through Bhagvāndās Kevaldās. We have a direct testimony of their interaction in a person to person relation thanks to traces of the regular correspondence they had during seven years (Balbir in the press). Bhagvāndās Kevaldās’s

letters are preserved at the Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg, accompanied by handwritten notes of the contents of Leumann's answers attached to them (Leumann's original letters sent to India, however, could not be traced so far). Having never gone to India, Leumann had to do all this through letters, and could not let his Indian correspondent in peace! These letters are valuable documents on the mechanisms of manuscript search, discovery, acquisition and supply in a dual relation. We see from Leumann's correspondence that he did not always take for granted Bhagvāndās Kevaldās's prices and sometimes disputed his *grantha* calculation (see above).

But wherever Leumann could travel, he did so. Thus he used to tour the libraries of Europe in order to explore their new manuscript acquisitions and treasures. At that time this meant mainly libraries in England. So Leumann was a visitor of the then British Museum where he read several of the Jain manuscripts (Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, I, 40–42), of the Royal Asiatic Society, the Bodleian Library, and the Cambridge University Library. Leumann took notes of excerpts in more or less details in a large number of blue-covered notebooks kept at the Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets, Hamburg (see Plutat 1998). The large majority of these notes have remained unpublished. They were preparatory.

Add.2203	Municandra Āvaśyaka-saptatikā mit Auszügen aus Maheśvara's Commentar. Nach d. Cambridge Ms. Add. No.2203	Plutat 1998 No. 51
Add.2350	Munipati-carita. Auszüge d. Cambridge-Ms.	Plutat 1998 No. 124
Add.2378	Āvaśyaka-vṛtti III, 128,1–XX,18/19,1: Cambridge Ms. No. 2378 and Āvaśyaka-vṛtti: Cambridge Ms.	Plutat 1998 No. 49 and No. 49/1
Add.2385	Sāmāyāri-vidhi in Bhāṣā Cambridge Coll. 136 (Add. 2385)	Plutat 1998 No. 109
Or.820	Kathākośa. Bendall's Ms. presented to him by Rāja Sivaprasād N.I.E. of Benares. – 9.	Plutat 1998 No. 94 ⁴

⁴ Leumann's pioneering work also extended to Buddhist literature in Sanskrit and central Asian languages. Thus he also left notes about Cambridge University Library Add. 1598, a manuscript of the *Avadānasārasamuccaya* (Plutat 1998, No. 388).

In addition, the symbol ‘C’ in his *Übersicht über die Āvaśyaka-Literatur* (1934) refers to the Jain manuscripts that had been bought by Bendall in 1885.

Otherwise, the Cambridge Jain manuscripts have hardly been known outside. Exceptions are very few. One of the illustrated manuscripts of the *Kālakācārya-kathā* (Or.845) was used by the American scholar W. Norman Brown for his celebrated monograph on the topic (1933). Two manuscripts of the *Catuḥśaraṇa-prakāṃaka* (Add.1774 and Add.1816) were used by K.R. Norman, a specialist of Middle Indian philology who taught for many years in Cambridge, for his critical edition of the text (1974).

4 What are the contents of the Cambridge Jain manuscripts?

As is well-known, the oldest Jain manuscripts in Western India were first written on palm leaf, between the 11th and the beginning of the 14th century, when it was progressively replaced by paper. The libraries of Jaisalmer, Patan and Cambay, in particular, are famous for the large number of palm-leaf Jain manuscripts they keep, whether they are Jain or non-Jain works. Outside India, Western Indian palm-leaf manuscripts are exceptions – there are three of them in the British Library (Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, I, 31–32), for instance, which entered there just by chance, one in the Göttingen University Library, which came there through Kielhorn – but none in Cambridge.

According to my count, Jain manuscripts in Cambridge number 324.

Śvetāmbara literature works	260
Śvetāmbara canonical works	111
Other Śvetāmbara doctrinal works	89
Polemic works	7
Philosophy	2
Śvetāmbara narratives	30
Śvetāmbara hymns (<i>stotras</i>), pilgrimage places (<i>tīrthas</i>), rituals	19
Monastic lineages (<i>paṭṭāvalis</i>)	2
Digambara literature (all categories)	21
Belles-lettres and śāstric (scientific) disciplines	38
Varia	5
Total	324

I understand the phrase ‘Jain manuscript’ as referring to manuscripts where a Jain work is copied. This means religious scriptures of all kinds (‘canon’, liturgy, ritual, narratives, *stotras*, etc.) and contributions by Jain authors to disciplines of knowledge such as grammar, lexicography, astronomy, mathematics, etc. In Cambridge, the works written by the 12th century polymath, the famous Hemacandra, feature well.⁵ But in a broader meaning, Jain manuscripts also mean manuscripts of non-Jain works produced among Jains: the Cambridge collection has examples of śāstric works (grammar and science, for instance) and of commentaries of Sanskrit classics written or copied by Jain monks which testify to the wide intellectual range of Jain scholarship.⁶

The Cambridge collection is a typical European collection with a prevalence of copies of manuscripts containing works representing the Śvetāmbara tradition. This is the case in all libraries outside India, except Strasbourg where, as mentioned earlier, the collection was built with precise purposes in mind by Ernst Leumann. One of these purposes was to explore the points of contact between the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara traditions in the areas of ritual and liturgy. Hence Leumann made all efforts to diversify the sources from where he could get the relevant material (Balbir 2015b).

Within Śvetāmbara manuscripts, copies of canonical scriptures are prevalent in Cambridge: they were the first to attract the attention of scholars in search of the ‘old’ Jain doctrine, whose primary aim was to get at least one exemplar of each of the Āgamas in their various groupings (Aṅgas, Upāṅgas, Mūlasūtras, Chedasūtras, Prakīrṇakas). This was an obvious priority stated by Bühler right at the first stage of the search:

Copies of all the forty five sacred works of the Jainas with the exception of three very small treatises have now been obtained and Sanskrit commentaries on most of them (Bühler 1872–73, 6).

Manuscripts acquired in Berlin and catalogued by Albrecht Weber (*Verzeichnis*) and Hermann Jacobi’s collection (bought in 1897 by the then British Museum, today housed in the British Library, see Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, I, 34–37) show this focus as well. Forming one third of the whole in Cambridge, manuscripts of Śvetāmbara Āgamas are sometimes represented by more than one copy of the same text in

⁵ For example, portions of the *Śabdānuśāsana* (Add.2313, 2318, 2319, 2325, 2331), and copies of the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (Add.2289, 2302).

⁶ For example, Add.2266 and 2296 (*Kumārasambhava*).

Ardhamāgadhī, and, usually, for each scripture a manuscript with one of the standard Sanskrit commentaries by Śīlāṅka, Abhayadeva or Malayagiri is available.⁷ For us, in 2017, these copies are not necessarily crucial: the texts are available in print and well known, if not always critically edited. And for a critical edition, paper manuscripts such as the Cambridge ones could be useful, but not as much priorities as palm-leaf manuscripts would be. Nevertheless they are often interesting as objects, because they are rather old, or testify to sustained continuity in copying and collecting these texts through informative colophons. Late manuscripts of Gujarati commentaries, not absent from Cambridge either, are also significant in the transmission of scriptural knowledge through the vernaculars, which became the main current medium in the 17th–18th centuries onward (for example Add.1776, *Bālāvabodha* on the *Aupapātikasūtra*). The *Ṭabo* format where the Gujarati rendering is placed below the relevant Sanskrit or Prakrit phrases is close to a translation or paraphrase.⁸

The layout often takes the shape of compartments clearly delineated by red lines and then assists the reader visually.⁹

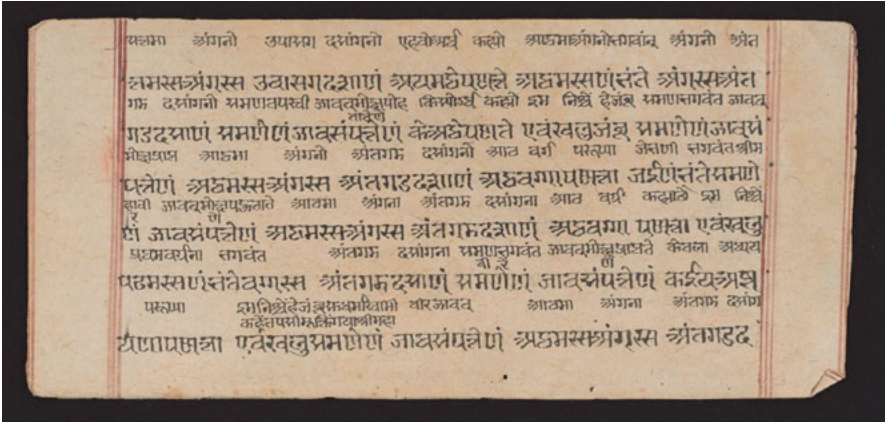


Fig. 3: Instance of a bilingual manuscript: Prakrit root-text and Gujarati quasi-translation as interlinear (Add.1779).

7 For example, Add.2355 or 1799, 1791 or 1808, 1820, 2254, 1801 or 2297, 2282, 2252 or 1813, 1773 or 2275, 1770 or 2255, 1797 or 2259, 2281 or 1817, 1805 or 1818, 1757 or 2232.

8 For example, Add.1779 *Antagaḍadasāo* with interlinear Gujarati commentary, dated V.S. 1801 (= 1744 CE), see Fig. 3; Add.1787 *Laghuniśīthasāstra* dated V.S. 1794 (= 1737 CE); Add.1811 *Daśaśrutaskandha* with interlinear Gujarati commentary dated V.S. 1830 (= 1773 CE).

9 For example, Add.2209 *Vyavahārasūtra* with *Ṭabo* dated V.S. 1765 (= 1708 CE), see Fig. 4.

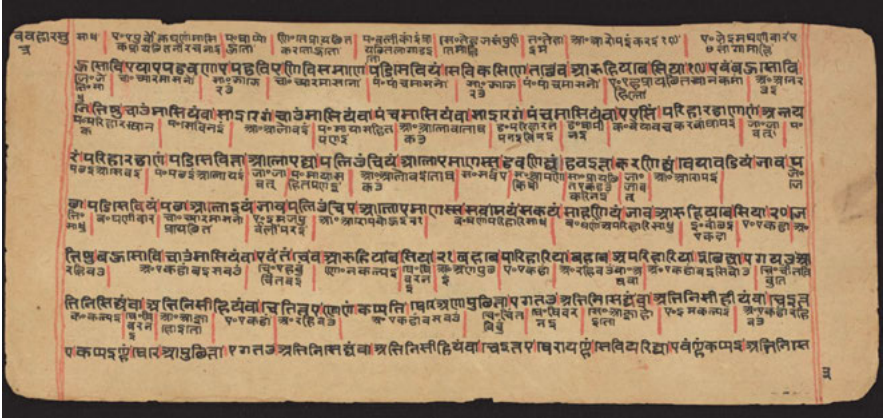


Fig. 4: Instance of an interlinear Gujarati quasi-translation in compartments (Add.2209, fol. 3v).

All major genres of Śvetāmbara extra-canonical literature are present in the collection. At least a few treasures deserve a special mention. The first two are treasures 1) because they contain Sanskrit commentaries of considerable size and importance that have never been published, even in India, and 2) because the Cambridge manuscripts seem to be the only ones available outside India. Today travels and digitisation have made access to manuscripts easier, independently from the location where they are housed. Thanks to improvement in management and new understanding of the advantages of communication in matter of manuscripts of which one may get photographs easily (like in exemplary Jain institutions such as the Koba Institute), knowing that a given unpublished text is available in western libraries may seem somewhat irrelevant, except when these manuscripts are of such a quality that they cannot be ignored. This is the case with the instances mentioned below.

Add.1775 contains the *Āvaśyaka-laghuvṛtti* by Tilakācārya, a massive Sanskrit commentary on the *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* written in the 13th century (V.S. 1296 = 1239 CE).¹⁰ The commentator, whose works remain little explored so far, is a specialist of technical Jain scriptures on monastic life (Balbir 2015a, 74–77). This specific commentary is valuable, in particular, for the Sanskrit verse rewritings of several illustrative stories that had first been transmitted in Prakrit commentaries (see Balbir 1993, 441–467). Leumann used the London manuscript (Or.2102) and does not seem to mention the Cambridge one. However, he used Add.2283 (Leumann 1934, 15), a manuscript of a still later Sanskrit commentary by Jñānasāgarasūri

10 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01775/2>

that is the last noteworthy landmark in the long exegetical process centering around the Āvaśyaka corpus. For Leumann's ambitious project on the history of the Āvaśyaka literature and his investigation of the textual development of commentaries and subcommentaries, it was indeed an important witness.

Add.1758 relates to the category of Chedasūtras, or books on monastic discipline. In this category, the *Jitakalpa*, composed in Prakrit by Jinabhadragaṇi in the 6th century, more specifically deals with monastic atonements, a highly technical topic. Among the rewritings it generated there is a *Yatijitakalpa* by Somaprabha. The Cambridge manuscript is a bulky Sanskrit commentary on this latter work, composed at the end of the 14th century (V.S. 1456 = 1399 CE) by Sādthuratna of the Tapāgaccha.¹¹

Add.2223 has Haribhadra's Sanskrit commentary, written in V.S. 1185 = 1128 CE, on the *Samayakhettsamāsa*, a cosmological text in Prakrit. Manuscripts of this text are rare in India, even rarer outside India. The Cambridge copy is dated and old, V.S. 1491 = 1434 CE. This commentary is unpublished, and was analysed only by Leumann in an unpublished notebook.¹²

Add.2304 is another noteworthy manuscript of a cosmological work. The *Narak-hittaviyāra*, 'Reflection about the area of humans' (in the Jain universe) by Somatilakasūri, is written in Jaina Māhārāṣṭri Prakrit and has 388 verses. It was composed around 1340 CE and belongs to the intermediate phase of Jain cosmological writings (compared to the earlier one represented by Jinabhadragaṇi, 6th century, and the later one represented by Vinayavijaya in the 17th century). The Cambridge manuscript is very significant because of its relatively old age (V.S. 1474 = 1427 CE),¹³ and because outside India manuscripts having the Prakrit text of Somatilakasūri without commentary, thus the verses in their full form, are relatively rare.

Debates between Jain monastic groups have been very lively since the emergence of different *gacchas* from the 12th century onwards. The Cambridge collection can boast of a text that would deserve further exploration. It is the *Lumpākamatakuṭṭana* (Add.2224, shortly described in Bendall 1886, 63).¹⁴ The main tenet of the Lumpakas is the rejection of image-worship. This apparently unpublished work makes use of Prakrit quotations from canonical texts, which are then explained and discussed in Gujarati, in order to show that image-worship is canon-based. Written in V.S. 1687 (*saṃvati muni-siddhi-rasa-śvetāśva-mite* = 1630 CE), it makes use of what had been transmitted by teachers of the Kharataragaccha such as Ratnaharṣa or Ratnasāra.

11 Final page of the manuscript.

12 Final page of the manuscript; Plutat 1998, No. 204 *Kṣetrasamāsa (Kṣ^l) mit Haribhadra's Comm.*

13 Final page of the manuscript.

14 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02224/2>

Among the few and rare Digambara texts preserved in Cambridge is a modern manuscript of the *Indranandi-saṃhitā* (Or.2030), a work that has never really been investigated. Partly written in Jaina Śaurasenī Prakrit, it deals both with monastic life and with topics relating to daily practice, such as bath, worship, etc. in a style cognate to Dharmaśāstra literature.

Generally speaking, manuscripts in Prakrit and Sanskrit form the great majority, in contrast with vernacular commentaries (i.e. Gujarati), stories or hymns.¹⁵

5 Illustrated manuscripts

Illustrated manuscripts form a group usually attracting attention in collections of Jain manuscripts. The Cambridge collection cannot boast of any exceptional item. The classical themes and trends of Jain manuscript painting are very well represented though.

Indeed, the most often illustrated Jain work is the *Kalpasūtra*. This can be explained by its contents: the first part deals at length with the careers of four Jinas, in reverse order (Mahāvīra, Pārśva, Nemi, and Ṛṣabha), in tabular form for the remaining twenty, the second part praises the first Jain teachers and their lineages, the third one is devoted to specific monastic rules to be observed during the rainy season. But, even more, this work owes its popularity to its growing public use from the 14th century onwards. During the August-September festival of Paryushan, which centres around the notion of forgiving (*kṣamā*), manuscripts, and today printed editions of the *Kalpasūtra*, where this notion is central, are displayed in temples by monks who read the original text or narrate from it in the vernaculars. It became a prestige act for wealthy Jain families to commission new copies of the *Kalpasūtra* for this occasion, as we know from often detailed colophons (Balbir 2014). This might have been the case of the Cambridge manuscript Add.1765, but the last folio is a replacement. This undated manuscript could go back to the 15th or early 16th century on the basis of the script and style of paintings. It has a total of 47 illustrations, some of them accompanied by a short caption. The manuscript has a fairly developed iconographic programme covering all the text sections. The last

¹⁵ See below Add.1266 among notable exceptions. Other instances would be Add.2233, 2561, Or.818.



Fig. 5: Attacks on Mahāvīra's asceticism, caption *Ma° upasarga*, from a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript (Add.1765, fol. 52r).

one is depicted through stereotyped paintings of preaching monks or the fourfold Jain community. For their illustrations the painters draw inclusively on all available textual sources, the Prakrit text of the *mūla*, but also the commentaries that developed around it and contain a number of stories. Thus there is ample scope for variety in the paintings found in *Kalpasūtra* manuscripts. Cambridge Add.1765 thus has two scenes showing attacks on Mahāvīra before he reached Omniscience that are not depicted in all manuscripts (fol. 52r) (Fig. 5): he remains fast and steady while spikes are put into his ears by two malignant cowherds, or when lions threaten him. The section on early teachers is illustrated through one of his famous representatives, the monk Sthūlabhadra who had miraculously changed himself into a lion and was found in this shape by his frightened sisters as nuns (fol. 85v) (Fig. 6).

A sort of supplement to the *Kalpasūtra*, the *Kālakācāryakathā* narrates how the religious teacher Kālaka took the help of the Sāhis to recover the nun, his sister, who had been abducted by the malevolent king Gardabhilla (Add.2377, fol. 5v).¹⁶ The story is connected to the *Kalpasūtra*, because Kālaka is given a role in fixing the date of the Paryushan festival. The eventful story has generated numerous versions in Prakrit, Sanskrit or Gujarati, and numerous illustrated manuscripts. Cambridge Add.2377 and Cambridge Or.845 are both an anonymous Sanskrit verse version widely circulated (Norman Brown 1933, 98–102), with respectively three and seven paintings. The pagination of the second one (fol. 145 to 156) strongly suggests that it came after a *Kalpasūtra* as the second text in the manuscript, as it often happens.¹⁷

16 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02377/10>.

17 See <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00845/1> for more details.

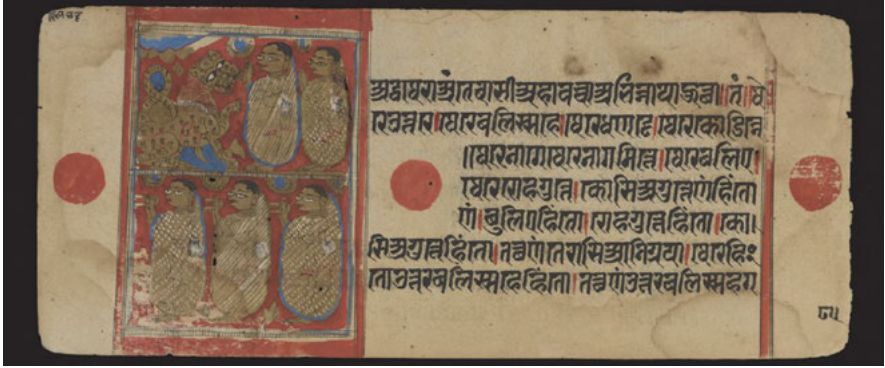


Fig. 6: The Sthūlabhadra story, caption *Sthūlabhadra*, from a *Kalpasūtra* manuscript (Add.1765, fol. 85v).

Another common corpus of illustrated Jain manuscripts is formed by those of works on cosmology. A noteworthy item is Add.1766 where the famous classic on the subject, Ratnaśekharasūri's *Laghukṣetrasamāsa* composed in the 14th century, was copied in V.S. 1637 (= 1580) by the nice hand of a Śvetāmbara monk (Harṣasiṃgha, disciple of Harṣakulagaṇi). Several outward signs point to the plan of making of this manuscript a distinctive object: red ink is used for verse numbers and *daṇḍas*, ornamental designs are formed with *akṣaras* and margins are carefully drawn. It opens with a bright picture of the Jambūdvipa (fol. 1v)¹⁸ and has a number of other illustrations of smaller size (folios 3v, 6r, 7v, 8r, 13r and 16v). Although there are many manuscripts of this work with many more illustrations, often occupying the full page, this one is striking by the extremely large number of charts and diagrams it includes. The verses of the text are often sequences of lists of items which have to be put in correspondence with each other, for instance, lists of the names of mountains and their respective number of summits, size, etc. (fol. 4v). They are thus appropriate for visualization in tabular form. This mode of transmission of knowledge finds its full development in the Cambridge manuscript.

¹⁸ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01766/2>.



Fig. 7: The fourfold community as auspicious beginning of an *Uvāsagadasāo* manuscript (Add.1781, fol. 1r).

Finally, isolated illustrations at the outset of a manuscript tend to function as a *maṅgala*. They are generally non-narrative scenes emphasising the ideas of worship or teaching. The manuscript of the *Uvāsagadasāo* dated V.S. 1579 (= 1522 CE, Add.1781) has a beautiful painting in the classical style with blue background and use of gold pigment (Fig. 7).

On the upper register a Śvetāmbara Jain monk, clearly identified as such through his white-dotted monastic robe, is teaching seated in front of the *sthāpanācārya*, which is a symbol of the revered teacher and of the doctrine itself. In front of him a man, a Jain *śrāvaka*, is listening with cupped hands in a gesture of respect. On the second and third registers, other Jain laymen and laywomen as well as nuns similarly listen carefully. This is a common way to depict the fourfold community (*caturvidha saṅgha*) and a translation into images of the facing words where the teaching to come is staged: Sudharmasvāmin preaches the seventh Aṅga as answer to Jambūsavāmin’s question. Right at the start, the undated manuscript of the *Vivāga-suya* (*Vipāka-sūtra*, *śrūta*) shows a brightly coloured scene where a man and a lady are shown in a temple pavilion paying homage to a Jina seated in *padmāsana* (Fig. 8). He can be identified as the sixteenth, Śāntinātha, through his *lāñchana*, the antelope shown on the pedestal. The *Vipāka-sūtra* is a narrative scripture, depicting in a lively mode first the result of good deeds, then the result of bad deeds, staging a lot of characters from different social strata who wander through the cycle of rebirths and the Jain universe. Thus the text has an important visual potential. Illustrated manuscripts of it are rare, though. Here, the image of a Jina is peripheral to the text and functions as an



Fig. 8: The sixteenth Jina Śāntinātha as auspicious beginning of a *Vivāgasuya* manuscript (Add.2376, fol 1v).

auspicious beginning embodying respect to the teaching and supporting the traditional fivefold homage (*pañcanamaskāra*) to teachers facing the image. The decorative ornamented red border of the folio underlines the wish to make of this manuscript a distinctive object.

The Cambridge collection has a good number of manuscripts that are enhanced by the presence of *citraṣṣṭhikās*. These ‘illustrated pages’ may be found as openings and closings, functioning like covers. Their origin is not known, and they are largely unexplored.¹⁹ They show intricate geometric or floral motifs intertwined with each other. In contrast with wooden or cloth book-covers that may depict any type of scene or motif, these illustrated pages are always non-figurative (Figs. 9a and b). In Add.1812 or Add.1781, there is a red geometric motif of a simple type as opening that occupies a limited space on the page. In the *Vipāka-sūtra* manuscript just mentioned (Add.2376), both the opening and the closing illustrated pages occupy the full page. Both are bright red but use different decorative motives. Red, a colour viewed as auspicious, is the most frequently used, but there is no rule. On the contrary, this seems to be an area with freedom. The closing illustrated page of Add.2225 (Fig. 10) strikes the viewer by its elegant sophistication in the floral composition where yellow, blue and pink are used in addition to red. The finish of the painting almost gives it the texture of a soft cloth. Pink, brown and green, which are more unusual, are employed in the two *citra-ṣṣṭhikās* opening and closing the *Jñātadharmakathā* manuscript Add.2258²⁰ to

19 See Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, plate I for examples.

20 and <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02258/417>



Fig. 9a: Instances of opening and closing illustrated pages in Jain manuscripts: Opening page of Add.2376.



Fig. 9b: Closing page of Add.2376.

produce slightly different shapes (Figs. 11 and 2). The recurrence of colours gives unity and consistency to the whole object.²¹ Add.2252 and 2286, which are related through their colophons (see below), have opening or closing pages of similar types but in different colours.

²¹ Other examples would be the opening page of Add.1792 (*Uttarādhyayanāsūtra*) or of Add.1805 (*Jīvājīvābhigama*).



Fig. 10: Closing page of Add.2225.



Fig. 11: Opening page of Add.2258.

6 What do some Cambridge colophons teach us?

Jain manuscripts have the overall reputation of often providing informative colophons. The simplest cases are those that are restricted to giving a date: *saṃvat 1662 Phālguṇa-vāda 5 soma-vasare* 'In V.S. 1662 (= 1605 CE) on Monday, the fifth day of the dark fortnight of Phālguṇa',²² or *saṃvat 1665 varṣe Kārttika sudi 14 gurau laṣitaṃ / śrīr astu* 'Copied in V.S. 1665 (= 1608 CE) on Thursday, the fourteenth day

²² Add.1793, fol. 416r.

of the bright fortnight of Kārttika. May there be prosperity!’²³ The good reputation of Jain manuscripts in this respect is deserved, but this information has been made use of too less so far. I would like to give some examples of what colophons can teach us on the production process of manuscripts and social networks it involves. The Cambridge collection has some interesting cases.

Colophons may help documenting the history of Śvetāmbara Jain monastic groups and of their actors. Those of Add. 1800 belong to the Ancalagaccha:

saṃvat 1619 varṣe Caitra śudi 5 some śrīMevāta-maṃḍale Alavaragaḍha-mahādurgge śrīAṃcalagacche śrīDharmamūrtisūri-vijaya-rājye vā° śrīVelarāja-gaṇi-śiṣya-śrīPunyaḷabdhī-pāṭhaka-tat-śiṣya-śrīBhānulaḷabdhī-pāṭhakena liṣāpitā sva-vācanāya ciraṃ naṃdatu // śubhaṃ bhavatu kalyāṇa-prāpti li° Garīvābīṇāpu° (?) (fol. 5v).²⁴

Bhānulaḷabdhī, the instigator of the copying, is paid respect in the opening formula of the manuscript as well (*mahopādhyāya-śrīBhānulaḷabdhigurubhyo namaḥ*). His name and the other ones as well recur in colophons of other manuscripts dating back to the same year or surrounding years (see ‘Pārśva’ 1968, 366–368) that were also produced in the same region of Rajasthan (Mewar) and feature in identical connections to each other. Dharmamūrti, the then head of the group, was born in V.S. 1585 and died in V.S. 1670 (= 1528 – 1613 CE). Nothing is known about the teacher Velarāja except for the group of his disciples, as mentioned here. They also appear in inscriptions found on the pedestals of Jina images consecrated through their good offices.

As they contain information about who gets a manuscript sponsored and for whom, colophons obviously throw light on the readership of some works. Add.2345 contains Yogīndu’s *Paramātmaprakāśa*, an Apabhraṃśa verse text about the Absolute, in the tradition of mystical Digambara literature also showing common points with the Upanishadic tradition. This does not mean that it was a Digambara property. The Cambridge manuscript features the text circulating among Śvetāmbara monks belonging to the Kharataragaccha in 1630, renewing, if necessary, any misconception about sectarian boundaries.²⁵ It was copied by a monk in order to be read by his own disciple. The 17th century seems to have been a period of intense debates about the tension between ritual or external forms of religion and notions

²³ Add.2268, fol. 81.

²⁴ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01800/10>

²⁵ *saṃvata 1687 varṣe Caitra śudi 5 ravau śrīBṛhatkharataragacche / vācaka śrīVaralābhagaṇi-śiṣya-paṃ° śrīRājahaṃsagaṇi-śiṣya paṃ° śrīKhemakalaśa-gaṇi-śiṣya vā° Mahimāsāgareṇālekhi: / śiṣyaŚivavijayamuni-vācanāya // śreyo stu // // śrīArggalapure lekhi: // śubhaṃ bhavatu lekhaka-pāṭhakayoś ca //*. See <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02345/23>

such as the Absolute, real truth, etc. Especially Agra, where this manuscript was copied, was a buzzing centre of discussion and brainstorming. The example of the merchant Banarsidas, who was born in a Śvetāmbara family affiliated to the Kharataragaccha and later rejected ritual practices in favour of inner contemplation, is the most famous case in point. Since the Śvetāmbara tradition is rather poor in texts of mystic or spiritual inspiration, interested readers would have to turn to other circles in order to satisfy their curiosity. We can also note that the actors involved in the Cambridge manuscript are *vācakas*, so mendicants specialized in reading and study, and that the name of the then leader of the Kharataragaccha is not mentioned. Could this suggest that they read and copied this work without having received the caution of their hierarchy? Even asking the question, though, might be rightly regarded as overinterpretation.

Among the numerous manuscripts that were meant to be read by women stands Add.2225 which contains the *Navatattva* with an interlinear Gujarati commentary and was copied in V.S. 1753 (= 1696 CE). This is a basic work on the principal categories of Jain doctrine, which is thus available in a bilingual version.²⁶ The copyist is the monk Jinavijayagaṇi, whose details of spiritual lineage as given here are supported by other evidence as well.²⁷

Manuscripts circulated and changed hands. Colophons occasionally testify to this broad phenomenon. Add.1812 has two successive colophons. The original one, written in red ink by the same hand as the rest of the text, is dated V.S. 1581 (= 1524 CE) and says that the manuscript of the *Samavāyāṅgasūtra* was handed over (*vihāritam*) by a pious laywoman (*suśrāvīkayā*) named Meghū to the monastic preceptor Cāritrasāra, a member of the Kharataragaccha, whose spiritual genealogy is detailed. This is followed by a second colophon, written in black ink from another hand. It reports that 24 years later (in V.S. 1605) this manuscript (*prati*) was handed over by a certain Khara for the benefit of a monk named Amaramāṇīkya.²⁸

26 *likhitam ca saṃvat 1753 varṣe Aśvina vadi 11 ravau sakalavācākāvataṃsa-mahopādhyāya-śrī-105-śrī-śrī-Devavijayagaṇi-śiṣya-paṃḍita-śrī19śrīJasavijayagaṇi-caraṇāṃbhoja-caṃcarīka-tul-yaiḥ paṃḍita-śrīJinavijayagaṇibhiḥ // śrīSūratibaṃḍira-vāstavya Prāgvāṭa-jñātiya-vṛddha-śākhiya Doṣi Premaji bhāryā śilālaṃkāradhāriṇibāi Vayajabāi putra Doṣi Vimaladāsa bhāryā // dānāvahelita-kalpalatābāi Goribāi paṭhanārthaṃ // śubhaṃ bhavatu śrīmal-lekhaka-pāṭhakayoḥ // śrīr astu.* See <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02225/21>

27 It is detailed in the colophon to the commentary part of the manuscript as: Vijayarāja – Vijayamāna – Yaśovijaya (or Jasavijaya). Jinavijaya is the author of several compositions, see JGK vol. 4, pp. 378-380.

28 *saṃvata 1581 varṣe śrīKharataragacche / śrīJayasāgara-mahopādhyāya-śiṣya-śrīRatna-caṃdra-mahopādhyāya-śiṣya-śrīBhaktīlābhopādhyāya-śiṣya-śrīCāritrasāropādhyāyānāṃ / paṃ^o Cārucaṃdragaṇapādi-parivārasārāṇāṃ Meghū suśrāvīkayā śrīSamavāyāṅga-sūtraṃ vihāritam*

Mostly we lack any information regarding the cost involved in having a manuscript copied. But the fact that it was high could be one explanation why colophons testify to collective undertakings. Beside sharing expenses, the advantage would be to extend the prestige to a network. The Cambridge collection of Jain manuscripts has several noteworthy instances showing how such group sponsorship could take place.

As usual, the copying of the *Candraprajñapti* manuscript copied in V.S. 1571 (= 1514 CE ; Add.2338)²⁹ was done at the instigation of a monk, here Vivekaratnasūri, the then leader of the Āgamagaccha, one of the Śvetāmbara monastic orders that was particularly committed to spreading the scriptures. The commissioners were Parbata and Kānha, two businessmen (*vyavahārin*) brothers resident in the Gujarat coastal town of Gandhāra. So they could have been involved in sea-trade. They got the manuscript copied to commemorate another businessman named Dūmgara. What is noteworthy is that their names recur at several other places. So far, seven other manuscripts commissioned by them could be traced either in the same year or in surrounding years (see Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006, vol. 1, 144–146 for a detailed analysis).³⁰ The Cambridge manuscript contains one of the Upāṅgas of the Śvetāmbara canon. The other known ones have commentaries of canonical scriptures or Prakrit treatises. Hence they represent the ‘higher’ kind of knowledge rather than texts connected with daily practice. Indeed, one of the detailed verse colophons states that, following the advice of the religious teacher, they had decided to get all the scriptures copied.³¹ Here, Parbata and Kānha are described as ‘doers of several meritorious acts such as pilgrimage’ (*tīrthayātrādi aneka-puṇyakaṛaṇīya-kāṛakābhyaṃ*). This is not a vague ornamental phrase, as this and various pious acts (such as organizing ceremonies for the promotion of religious teachers) they performed are praised in other colophons as well.

Modes of manuscript transmission of Śvetāmbara canonical texts can be approached through the examination of colophons. One should bear in mind that there is no manuscript that would contain the 45 scriptures comprising the Jain Āgamas as they are recognized by the Śvetāmbara Mūrtipūjaks, the prevalent section among the Jains. What we have are mostly individual manuscripts for each

// śrīḥ // saṃvat 1605 varṣe sā Ṣarahathena vihāritā prati // vā° Amaramāṇikyasya puṇyārthaṃ.
See <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01812/76>

²⁹ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02338/1>

³⁰ There the equivalent date of 1494 CE should be corrected to 1514.

³¹ *Āgamagaccha-bibhratāṃ sūri-Jayānanda-sadguroḥ kramataḥśrīmadVivekaratnaprabhasūriṇāṃ sad-upadeśāt śaśi-muni-tithi (1571)-mita-varṣe samagra-siddhānta-lekhana-parābhyaṃ vyavahāri-Parvata-Kānhabhyaṃ sukṛta-rasikābhyaṃ ...* (verses 32-33 in the *praśasti* of the two Ahmedabad and the Pune manuscripts, see Balbir, Sheth, Tripathi 2006).

text, or instances of 4 to 6 texts that are found together because they are related. This is the case with Aṅgas No. 6 to 11 which are predominantly narrative. But this situation is not that common either. Mostly, the texts have been copied individually – some available in numerous copies, others in fewer. In manuscript colophons, however, laypeople do claim their intention to form larger projects where one category of scriptures or all of them would be collected. Unfortunately, since the individual manuscripts have circulated in all directions, in India and outside, and are no longer *in situ*, we have access to them only in very partial form, as the scattered pieces of a *jigsaw* that we can try to collect without being able to assemble them all.

The actors involved in the production of Add.1781, a manuscript of the *Uvāsagadasāo*, the seventh Aṅga, copied in V.S. 1579 (= 1522 CE), clearly regard it as belonging to the set of 11 Aṅgas (*śrī-ekādaśāṅgi-sūtra-pustakaṃ likhitam*):

saṃvat 1579 varṣe śrīKharataragacche śrīJinavallabhasūri-saṃtāna-śrīJinabhadrasūri-śrīJinacandrasūri 1 śrīJinasamudrasūri-ṣaṭṭa-pūrvācala-sahasarakarāyamāna-bhaṭṭāraka-prabhu-śrīJinahaṃsasūri-vijaya-rāje śrīUsavaṃsa-śraṃgāra-Āvavāḍīya (sometimes read as Ācavāḍīya)-gotra-labdhāvatāra maṃ. Nāgadeva, maṃ. Mūṃjāla, maṃ. Dharmmā, maṃ. Śivarāja, bhāryā Varāṇu, putra maṃ. Harṣā, bhāryā suśrāvīkā Kīkī, putra maṃ. Mahipāla, bhāryayā Iṃdrāṇī suśrāvīkāyā śrī-ekādaśāṅgi-sūtra-pustakaṃ likhitam viharītam ca śrīpūjebhya ciraṃ ṇaṃditu ||
//³²

The lay sponsors are followers of the Kharataragaccha who have an elite social status. The syllable *maṃ*^o prefixed to the names of the male members of the family stands for *mantrin* and suggests that they were, for several generations, something like political advisors or persons close to the ruling political power (unspecified, though). They got the manuscript copied to give it to the head of the monastic group (this is the meaning of the term *śrīpūjya*), not to an ordinary monk, which also points to their social importance. The sustained involvement of the family in getting the 11 Aṅgas copied is supported by another manuscript, four years before this one (V.S. 1575 = 1518 CE), which contains the fifth Aṅga, the *Bhagavatīsūtra* and its Sanskrit commentary by Abhayadeva (Punyavijayaji 1972, No. 1365). In this colophon, emphasis is on the first son of Śivarāja and Varāṇu, Dhaṇapati and his descendants, and we come to know that Harṣā, who is in focus in the Cambridge manuscript as the father of the main donor, Mahipāla, was the second son of the couple.³³ An additional sign of their multifarious investment in pious activities is provided by the fact that, a few years later, in V.S. 1584 (= 1527 CE), some of the family members

³² For another 11 Aṅga project as palm-leaf manuscript see Balbir 2006, 333 and 342–343.

³³ They also recur in the colophon of a manuscript dated V.S. 1606 = 1549 CE; L.D. manuscript catalogue, Muni Punyavijaya's collection, Ahmedabad, 1968, No. 265, shelfmark 8784.

(Harṣā, his wife Kīkī, their son Mahipāla and the latter's wife Indrānī, now along with younger generations too) are involved in the donation of an inscribed Jina image of Sumatinātha (Vinayasāgar 2005, No. 1090).

In the 16th–17th centuries, the number of books considered as 'canonical' becomes a sign of sectarian identity among Śvetāmbaras. Mūrtipūjaks recognize 45 of them as authoritative, when Sthānakvāsins, the protestant Jains, recognize 32. Mūrtipūjaks are prevalent, and there are three signs showing their desire to promote their position:

1) There are more and more manuscripts in the form of lists, where the titles of the 45 books are just noted one after the other, or in the form of *stotras* where they are celebrated. These are two efficient means to underline their cohesion as a totality.

2) At the instigation of some religious teachers, these 45 books are collectively the center of a *pūjā*, the *45-Āgama-pūjan*, where each of them is praised in the form of a short poem.

3) Finally, and this is the main point here, colophons of manuscripts produced in Gujarat have the recurring names of some individuals, inserted within a family lineage, who are said to have commissioned the copying of this or that book among the 45 with the plan to produce a complete collection. Ideally, we should be able to lay hands on such collections. But manuscripts have been sold or given, in India or abroad, with the result that pieces originally belonging together have been scattered. Reading manuscripts and their colophons, however, makes it possible to put at least some of them together again. One Jayakaraṇa, from Cambay in Gujarat, with his brother Kānaji and the rest of his family, from the Śrīmālī caste, commissioned in 1637 CE (V.S. 1694) such a collection of these 45 books that he meant as complete. Each colophon where these men occur, with the genealogical tree on two generations, has a precise date, with year, month and day. The same formula is used in each of the manuscripts, and the existence of this systematic project is mentioned in identical terms. The coherence is underlined by the mention of the serial number of the given text in the category (Aṅgas, Upāṅgas) where it belongs. So far, I had been able to trace five manuscripts commissioned by the Jayakaraṇa family, three of which have been examined directly; for the remaining two, only the colophons have been read, in a precious book where a lot of them are collected (Balbir 2006 and 2013, 307–311).

Now, the examination of the Cambridge collection has brought to light two more items:

– Add.2286: *Jnātādharma-kathā*, 6th Aṅga, 133 folios.³⁴

³⁴ See cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02286/1 for the transliteration.

- Add.2252: *Antakṛddaśā*, 8th Aṅga, 33 folios.³⁵

All these manuscripts are objects of good quality. The two Cambridge items are highlighted by elegant *citra-prṣṭhikās* (see above). Further, it is also clear that all the seven manuscripts traced so far have distinct layouts and are from distinct hands. It thus seems that the family could have hired a team of scribes who were working simultaneously on the different texts, or they may have bought copies that were ready-made. The colophons indicate when the work was completed and when the manuscript was acquired (*gṛhītam*) in order to join and increase the family collection. This explains why the three Aṅga manuscripts are dated on the same day, the second day of the bright fortnight in Kārttika. The project was achieved progressively: the tenth Aṅga and the first Upāṅga are dated on the 5th day of the bright fortnight in Kārttika, and the *Nandīsūtra*, which comes at the end in the traditional classification of the 45 canonical scriptures, is from the full moon of Poṣa, so about one month and a half or two months later.

Further, the last page of Jain manuscripts often has a kind of library number that gives their reference *in situ*. There are two problems with these numbers: they do not supply the library name (*bhaṇḍāra*). So they are meaningful only when they are found in their original location. Once they pass from hand to hand, sold and bought, as it was often the case,³⁶ and are transferred to another place, there is no means to know from where they come.

These indications are never reproduced in manuscript catalogues. I started introducing this practice for the British Library collections and, of course, in the Cambridge manuscript notices.

Four out of the seven Jayakaraṇa manuscripts that could be inspected directly have such library numbers:

- Add.2286, *Jnātādharmakathā*, 6th Aṅga : ‘73 po° 1 pra° 10’
- Add.2252, *Antakṛddaśā*, 8th Aṅga : ‘73 po° 1 pra° 13’
- Berlin, *Aupapātika*, 1st Upāṅga. ‘73 po° 1 pra° 17’
- Berlin, *Rājaprasāniya*, 2nd Upāṅga, ‘73 po° 1 pra° 18’.

‘73’ is likely to refer to the large manuscript box number where manuscripts are traditionally piled up one another. Even if this is relevant internally only, it shows that these manuscripts were once together at the same place. This seems logical, and would support the colophon references to the same family sponsors. ‘Po°’ is the usual abbreviation for *poṭālī* ‘bundle’ and ‘pra°’ for *prati* ‘manuscript’. ‘Po’ normally refers to the larger container (cotton envelope) in which several ‘pra’ could

³⁵ See <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02252/1> for the transliteration.

³⁶ E.g. Add.1765 *Kalpasūtra*: *gṛhītā pustikā vikrītā*.

be put together. So ‘po’ would refer to the bundle of the 45 Āgamas, and ‘pra’ to each individual manuscript. This would explain why one of the numbers, 1, is identical, and why the other one varies as it is a serial number. These serial numbers follow each other when the texts follow in the traditional classification, for example the first and second Upāṅgas. If the sequence is fully consistent, it could be reconstructed as follows:

- (Aṅga 1 to 5 : *prati* 5 to 9; *prati* 1 to 4 would then have contained non-canonical texts)
- Aṅga 6 : *prati* 10
- (Aṅga 7 : *prati* 11 ?)
- Aṅga 8 : *prati* 13 (reading clear but problematic – why not 12?)
- (Aṅga 9 to 11 : *prati* 14 to 16)
- Upāṅga 1: *prati* 17
- Upāṅga 2 : *prati* 18
- (Upāṅga 3 and foll.: *prati* 19 and foll.).

The future examination of other Jain manuscript collections either in India or outside could provide missing items in the chain, in the same way the examination of Cambridge manuscripts brought to light two of them.

Finally, I turn to a group of manuscripts commissioned by a British officer *cum* intellectual as a source for his 19th-century exposition of the Jains. Their colophons are related. Each manuscript contains a text in Gujarati:

- Add.1266.6 *Jambūdvīpa no vicāra*, remarks on Jain cosmology in Gujarati prose;
- Add.1266.7 *Pancakāraṇa-bola-stavana*, a famous philosophical verse hymn in Gujarati;
- Add.1266.8 Hemrāj Pande’s 84 *bol*, a discussion on 84 points of contention between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras in Gujarati prose;
- Add.1266.9 *Cauvīsadaṇḍa* and Guj. comm., a short and famous treatise on Jain cosmology and karma with a Gujarati prose commentary.

Each of them ends with a colophon that makes them connected at a first level: they were all copied in V.S. 1879 = 1822 CE, in the same place, the town of Palanpur in northern Gujarat. Two of them (Add.1266.6 and Add.1266.9) were copied by the same scribe, a Jain monk called Bhaktivijayaṅṇi. Two (Add.1266.7 and Add.1266.9) were copied exactly on the same day, one by Bhaktivijayaṅṇi, the second one by Paṃ Vīravijayaṅṇi, the disciple of Rūpavijayaṅṇi, but both for the same person. In one manuscript (1266.7) he is said to be the intended reader, in the other one (Add.1266.9) the sponsor of the copy. This person’s name, written as *Mehala* in the first case and *Mahila* in the second, is followed by the title *sāhiba* (Add.1266.7; see Fig. 12).

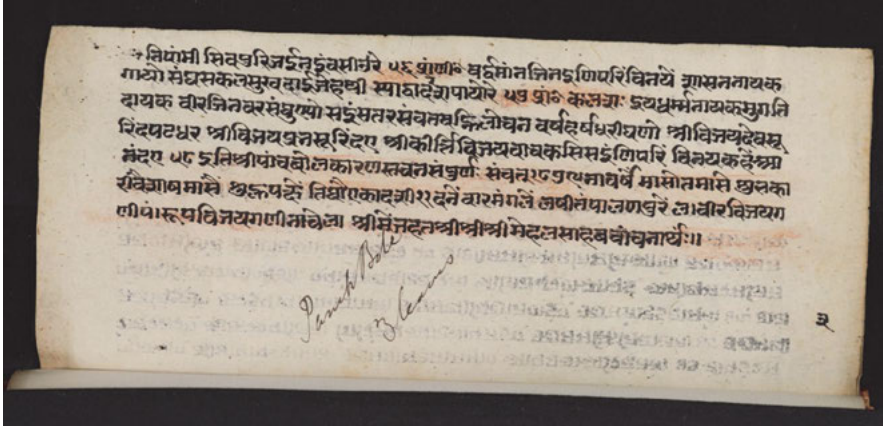


Fig. 12: Last page of the *Pancakāraṇabola-stavana* manuscript copied for Colonel W. Miles in V.S. 1879 = 1822 CE).

This would point to him as a British, as would the mention *kapatāṃṇa mehajara* (Add.1266.9), which is likely to stand for ‘Captain Major’. This British sponsorship would be in accordance with the fact that the manuscripts are copied on European paper, although in the *pothī* format. I would strongly suggest that the person in point could be Lieutenant Colonel William Miles (1780–1860), although, admittedly, one would have rather expected something else than *Mehala* or *Mahila* as the Indian rendering of his name. William Miles had become captain in 1815 and major in 1821. He had captured the fortified town of Palanpur in 1817 and became the representative of British authority, the resident also known as political agent, in the Palanpur Agency created in 1819 and depending on the Bombay Presidency. When James Tod visited Palanpur (Palhanpoor, his spelling) in June 1822, thus one month after the two manuscripts mentioned were copied, ‘Major Miles’ as he calls him was ‘the resident agent, through whose judicious superintendence the town was rapidly rising to prosperity’ (Tod 1839, 139). Tod’s account continues:

I remained all this day and the next with Major Miles, and have seldom passed eight and forty hours more agreeable; for in him I not only found a courteous and friendly brother-officer, but one whose mind was imbued with the same taste and pursuits as my own. We had much to talk over and to compare, and our general conclusions as to the character of the dynasties of ancient days were the same (Tod 1839, 140).

Indeed, Lieutenant-Colonel William Miles also followed intellectual pursuits, with an interest both in Indian history and in Jainism. On the latter, he contributed one lengthy article ‘On the Jainas of Gujerat and Marwar’, read on 7 January 1832 at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and published in the *Transactions* vol. 3 (Miles 1833). This study provides a translation of sections of the *Mirāt i Ahmadi*, an 18th century Persian work by ‘Ali-Moḥam-mad Khan ‘a part of which is devoted to a description of the religion and customs of the Jainas’.³⁷ For the rest, it is based on observations he could make during his fairly long stay in Gujarat, or, through the phrase ‘I am told’, on oral information he got from the Jains themselves, although no detail is given as to the identity of any informant. In the course of his contribution, Miles gives the number of Jain ‘priests’, as he calls them, in various towns of Gujarat and Rajasthan. Significantly he specifies that all are estimates, with the exception of Palanpur – the place he knew best because of his official function. Without any title and with approximate transliteration, as the editor of the journal notes, he refers to ‘Jain books’ and gives gist of their contents. He writes, for instance:

The (Jaina) priests appear fond of controversy, and I have often heard of books written by them exposing the absurdity of Hindu doctrines (Miles 1833, 346).³⁸

He also broadly draws on the Jain lineage histories (*paṭṭāvalīs*), stating that he is acquainted with the various sects. It is difficult to know for sure the extent of William Miles’s knowledge of languages and his ability to consult the sources on his own. Yet, his only published contribution on the Jains shows that he did not ignore their existence. Even more: one of the Cambridge manuscripts that was copied for him to read is the *Pañcakāraṇa-bola-stavana* (Add.1266.7), a polemic hymn in Gujarati discussing five emblematic notions along with their respective followers. Unable to solve their dispute as to which one is more important, the five go to Mahāvira who explains that they are all crucial together. In Miles’s contribution on the Jains, no title of original work is mentioned. But it is interesting to see that a detailed and reliable description of what corresponds to the contents of this *stavana* is given in his article. Thus, whether he had read the Gujarati

³⁷ I am not able to assess the quality of this translation myself but I am told by Dr. Pegah Shahbaz and PhD. student Jean Arzoumanov, whom I thank for their help, that it is rather accurate.

³⁸ See also: ‘Each of the above has its Sri Puja or Acharya. The following account of the period and cause of the secession of the Gujerati Lunca from the other Jainas, is translated from a paper given to me by a priest of that sect’ (p. 363) about the origin of the Lonkagaccha’.

hymn himself or, more likely, had it explained to him orally, he made use of the manuscript which was copied for him in his exposition:

They maintain that there are five *cāranas* [= *kāraṇas*], or causes, which unite in the production of all events. The 1st of these is *Cāla* [= *kāla*] or time. 2d. *Swabhāva* [= *svabhāva*] or nature. 3d. *Nint* [= *niyati*], or *Bhavitēvitā* [= *bhavitavyatā*], fate, necessity. 4th. *Carma*, works or the principle of retributive justice. 5th. *Udyama*, strength and exertion of mind, or perseverance. They say that the learned were originally divided into five schools or sects, bearing the above titles, as *Cāla-vādī*, *Swabhāva-vādī*, &c, each of which maintained the supremacy of its favourite cause or principle; those of the first referring to the evident effects of time in the production and reproduction of all things. The second holding that the world and all it contains is derived solely from nature. The third, or those who adopted fate as their principle, maintaining that neither time nor nature have any control whatever in the occurrence of events, all being pre-ordained from eternity and immutable, and that no efforts can avert the decrees of fate. The fourth, or those who considered retributive justice as supreme, say that life revolves eternally through the four orders of beings before described, and that its transmigrations will be high or low, evil or good, in proportion to the worthiness or unworthiness of its actions; that life wanders through all the mutations of existence in conjunction with the eight carma, between which and the soul there is a secret but almost indissoluble connexion; and by their operation the most exalted being, as the *Chacravartī*s, may be degraded to the infernal regions; and the *dēvatās*, or divinities, become animals, insects, or even particles of matter; that this is effected by *carma*, to which all but the immortal *Sidd'ha* are subject. The fifth sect are those who refer all to energy of mind. The advocates for the supremacy of this faculty as influencing: the condition of mankind, say that all motion and exertion, the *asi*, *masi*, and *crishi*, or, the arts of civilized life, all result from the strength of the mind: there is therefore, they say, no necessity for the intervention of the deity, time, *carma*, &c. It is related that the supporters of these doctrines all came before the *Jinēśwara* or *Tīrthancara* of the age, and after respectively stating their arguments in support of their favourite principle, requested him to decide on their validity. The *Jinēśwara* after hearing all they had to say, desired them to forego their prejudices, and exert their understanding; he then explained to them that neither of these principles can do any thing of itself; but as the five fingers perform the work of the hand, so do these unite in the completion or perfection of all events, and that their influence may be traced in the production of every thing existing. This is the Jaina opinion on the subject (Miles 1833, 340–341).

Add.1266.8, another of the group copied in Palanpur in 1822, which provides a detailed account of 84 points of contention between Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, does not have the name of Miles in the colophon. Yet, it would not be surprising that it was meant for him. A section of his printed account on the Jains is devoted to sketch some of the differences between the Tapāgaccha, the prevalent Śvetāmbara monastic order, and the Digambaras. The contents and the wording both betray a recourse to this manuscript as the source of information. Similar connections could be detailed between other manuscripts of this group and Miles's published account.

Thus we can assume that the following process took place. Miles had a function of authority in Palanpur, where the Jains, according to his own statistics, made a quarter of the whole population. He was in contact with representatives of the faith and, having taken interest in the topic, he was keen on giving an exposition of its tenets. Following the lead of Colebrooke, who, in 1807, had given his ‘Observations on the sect of the Jains’ on the basis of manuscripts that had been put at his disposal by a Jain turned Vaishnava, Miles also wanted to draw on textual sources. The texts that were copied for Miles were probably chosen by the ‘Jain priests’ with whom he was acquainted. This group of manuscripts forms a selection of works that present the basic Jain tenets either in themselves, or in relation with other creeds so as to problematize them and underline the points of contention and distinctive features. It is thus a valuable link between traditional Jain knowledge and its transmission by a British in the 19th century.

In short, the Cambridge Jain collection gives valuable insights into manuscript circulation among Jains and between India and the West, as well as into the modes of transmission of knowledge through Prakrit and Sanskrit as scholarly languages, or Gujarati as the language of oral informants.

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Vincenzo Vergiani

A Tentative History of the Sanskrit Grammatical Traditions in Nepal through the Manuscript Collections

Abstract: Despite the recognised centrality of grammar in South Asian intellectual history, much of the existing scholarship on the history of the various grammatical traditions consists of lists of names, works and relative, approximate chronologies. Little is known of how their fortunes related to the socio-political changes that affected a given region in the course of time, and even less about the social history of grammar. This article is an attempt at reconstructing the history of the three main schools of Sanskrit grammar – Pāṇinīya, Cāndra and Kātantra – in medieval Nepal through the survey of the grammatical works listed in the catalogues of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) and the small but important Cambridge collections. The study of the colophons (where available), as well as the assessment of other indicators of age and provenance such as the material (palm leaf/paper) and the script, can throw light on the social and cultural conditions that made the various systems flourish or decline at different times.

1 Introduction

In this article I will present a preliminary attempt to flesh out the history of grammatical traditions in medieval (and to a lesser extent early modern) Nepal on the basis of the data one can glean from the catalogues of the manuscript collections.¹

I wish to thank my former project collaborator Camillo A. Formigatti, who first gave me the idea of developing the type of methodological approach implemented here, and Daniele Cuneo and Victor D'Avella, who read and commented on an earlier draft of this article. I am also grateful to Dominic Goodall for his invaluable help with the interpretation and translation of the scribal colophons, and Alessandra Petrocchi for the information about the astronomical details of the dates. I alone am responsible for all remaining faults.

1 Here I will mostly rely on the Descriptive Catalogue (wiki) of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (http://134.100.29.17/wiki/Main_Page) and the Sanskrit Manuscripts catalogue in the Cambridge Digital Library (<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/sanskrit>).

It is generally taken for granted, and for reasons that are self-evident to any Indologist, that grammar played a central role in the literary cultures of pre-modern South Asia, and it is well-known that this holds true for the dominant pan-Indian Sanskrit culture as much as for many of the regional vernacular traditions, and for Pāli, the language medium of Theravāda Buddhism. The Pāṇinian system was the first to achieve a mature textual form already a few centuries before the Common Era and to spawn a rich speculative and commentarial tradition, and to this day it has remained the most influential school in the intellectual history of South Asia. However, from the first centuries of the Common Era other systems of Sanskrit grammar were born, which mostly modelled themselves to varying extents after the Pāṇinian system. Some of these (just to mention the most ancient), such as the Kātantra, were apparently stimulated by the need for a more pragmatic, teaching-oriented approach, others, such as the Cāndravyākaraṇa and the Jainendravākaraṇa, originated within particular religious groups (the Buddhists and the Jains, respectively), even though, as far as we can tell, Pāṇinian grammar had from the start been non-sectarian and counts some Buddhists among its exponents. The historical development of each of these systems has on the whole been sketched out, even though the modern Indological scholarship, especially in recent decades, has mostly focused on the Pāṇinian tradition. We know the names and the relative chronology of the main authors, and the titles and contents of dozens of works produced in medieval times. However, despite the consensus on the centrality of the linguistic speculation in the Indic intellectual universe, so far there has been little research and reflection on how the fortunes of the various grammatical traditions relate to the bigger historical picture, the socio-political changes that affected this or that region of South Asia in the course of more than two millennia. Similarly, very little is known about the social history of grammar in South Asia: how it was produced, practised, taught and transmitted; who were the scholars who engaged in this discipline, who were their patrons, and what were the institutional contexts – formal and/or informal – in which they operated; and, most relevant to the topic of this volume, how their works were composed, circulated, preserved and handed down in book format, namely, in what ways the specific features of the South Asian manuscript culture at different times and in various places across the subcontinent and beyond affected and reflected the history of the various grammatical traditions.

The notorious almost complete lack of an indigenous historiographical tradition, as well as the scarcity of diaries, letters, autobiographies, and other first-hand

For a similar approach, in which catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts are used as sources for the intellectual history of South Asia, cf. Zysk 2012.

accounts of daily life in pre-modern South Asia undoubtedly make this a daunting task, especially for the earliest period roughly up to the end of the first millennium CE. And it would be futile, I believe, to attempt to engage in this kind of historiographical enterprise on a large scale, namely embracing the whole temporal arc of the Sanskrit civilisation across the entire region, as this would inevitably lead at best to sweeping generalisations and platitudes. One should rather direct the attention to particular places and times, and collect the relevant data to build up a credible picture of the vicissitudes of grammatical studies in a given historical and geographical context. This entails the careful perusal of literary and epigraphic sources, which can shed light on the practices and movements of the people who engaged in grammar, the foundation and endowment of educational institutions, the circulation of books, and so forth. Gradually, through the accumulation of such case studies, we will eventually get a clearer historical picture of grammar in pre-modern South Asia.

2 Nepal as a case study

The idea to investigate this aspect of ancient Nepalese literary culture was born during the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project at the Cambridge University Library. The Nepalese holdings there contain a fair number of grammatical works, as can be expected in any generalist South Asian manuscript collection, and some of them are remarkably old and rare. Moreover, the requirements of cataloguing drew my attention to the colophons, which often provide a fascinating and rare insight into the circumstances that led to the copy of a work. As Eva Wilden writes in her contribution to this volume, this kind of paratext is a threshold that allows us to enter the text and at the same time to go out ‘into the community and culture that produced the manuscript... our only way back into that world’ (see Wilden, below, p. 164). In other words, colophons (and other similar paratexts: introductory verses, marginal annotations, etc.) give us access – especially rare for pre-modern South Asia – to a first-hand account of the social dynamics surrounding the production and transmission of knowledge.

In many ways Nepal offers a unique opportunity for such a case study. It has often been remarked that its temperate climate has allowed the preservation of manuscripts for much longer than in any other region of South Asia, with the earliest exemplars going back to the second half of the first millennium CE, so that one can form a relatively accurate idea of the works that were read and copied in

the country at a certain time starting from a quite early age.² Moreover, the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (henceforth, NGMCP) has produced a large and easily accessible database of the manuscripts microfilmed by its predecessor, the Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP), which between 1970 and 2001 reproduced virtually all the manuscripts (around 190,000) held in Nepalese collections.

Therefore, it should be possible to retrace the history of grammatical traditions in Nepal by looking at the texts that are preserved in the collections, the number of extant witnesses for a given tradition in general and for specific texts, and their distribution over the span of several centuries – from the central middle ages to the early modern period. And possibly, through the study of colophons, it should also be possible to relate it to political and social events or specific centres of learning (monasteries, temple schools, *pāṭhaśālās*, courtly circles), or even to the role played by particular individuals (authors, sponsors, scribes) in the cultural dynamics of a certain period. Even if we allow for the losses that must have certainly occurred over time, as is inevitable, the abundance of materials in the existing manuscript collections should make the survey sufficiently reliable from a statistical point of view and allow a coherent historical picture to emerge from their analysis, as I hope I will be able to show here.

In this article I apply the method briefly outlined above to provide what is a still provisional, bird's-eye view of the history of grammatical traditions in Nepal. To get an accurate picture, a more in-depth study will be required, based on the direct inspection of the relevant manuscripts, as well as of other potentially available sources.³ Given the centrality of grammar in pre-modern South Asia, such a survey will certainly prove relevant to the intellectual and social history not only of Nepal, but of the whole subcontinent and beyond.⁴

² Regmi (1960, 1965) and Petech (1984) have put manuscript colophons to good use (along with more common sources such as inscriptions and chronicles) in their historiographical works on early to late medieval Nepal.

³ I have not managed to have access to the colophons of all the manuscripts that should have been included into my survey. All extant Nepalese manuscripts are listed in the NGMCP online catalogue, but some only have minimal entries with no excerpts.

Note that here, when I mention a manuscript kept in a Nepalese collection, I refer to it with its library classmark (whenever available), followed by the number of the reel in which it has been reproduced by the NGMPP between brackets, because in the NGMCP catalogue the manuscripts are listed under the reel number. Cambridge manuscripts are named by their shelf-marks, starting with either Add. or Or.

⁴ See e.g. some recent works by Mahesh Deokar (2008) and Dragomir Dimitrov (2016), which throw light on some important but until now virtually unknown works in the Cāndra tradition, and their influence on the Pāli grammatical tradition of Sri Lanka. For a recent, brilliant example

3 General features of Nepalese grammatical manuscripts

Some of the considerations in this paragraph may apply not just to grammatical manuscripts, but to all Nepalese manuscripts. First of all, I should clarify that here by ‘Nepalese manuscripts’ I intend not only the manuscripts that were copied in Nepal, but also those written elsewhere but kept there in pre-modern times⁵ after being imported into the country at some point in its history, presumably because there was a demand for that particular work or class of works.

Regarding the manuscripts copied locally, the place of production of the copy is sometimes explicitly stated in the colophon and/or, more frequently, the year is given in the Nepāla Era. But even when the colophon is not available, the particular variety of north-Indian script⁶ used in the country has distinctive features that are a reliable indicator of the provenance. The other most common script found in the manuscripts taken into consideration here is Maithili, which was used in the region of Mithilā (present-day Tirhut in north Bihar) that lies immediately to the south of the Kathmandu Valley and in ancient times provided the only relatively easy access to the latter. The large number of manuscripts in this script found in Nepalese collections testifies to the historic links between these two regions throughout the Middle Ages, with phases of intensified exchange due to the social and political circumstances of either region.

When the colophon is not available or does not contain a date, the manuscript can be tentatively dated not only on palaeographic grounds, but also on the basis of the material. While in the earliest period palm leaf alone was used, starting from the 15th century paper gradually became more and more common,⁷ therefore its use can be taken as a quite reliable pointer to the relative lateness of the copy. On the other hand, one should keep in mind that palm leaf remained in use for a rather long time after the use of paper became widespread. For example, among the manuscripts I have taken into consideration there are palm-leaf copies

of the kind of historiography of grammar I have in mind, see also Alastair Gornall’s unpublished PhD thesis (2013), which also deals with the Pāli grammatical tradition of Sri Lanka; and outside South Asia, for the influence of Sanskrit grammar in Tibet, see Verhagen (1994, 2001).

⁵ Starting with the colonial period, many Nepalese manuscripts have been acquired by Western libraries, including the University Library in Cambridge.

⁶ This script has been variously called in the secondary literature: Newari is the term used in the NGMCP catalogue. In the online catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project we have opted for the descriptive term Nepālākṣara, which I use also in this article.

⁷ On the production and availability of paper in late medieval Nepal see Formigatti 2016, 64.

of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the *Siddhāntakaumudī* dating to the second half of the 17th century.⁸ Therefore, one cannot assume that a given manuscript is old, namely pre-15th century, simply because it is made of palm leaf. Nevertheless, for the bulk of the collections the palm leaf/paper divide does indeed roughly distinguish the older manuscripts from younger ones. Thus, under the subject heading *vyākaraṇa* the NGMCP website lists over 2300 manuscripts,⁹ but only 143 of them are made of palm leaf and therefore can be assumed, in principle, to go back to earlier times. It is mostly on this latter older set that I direct my attention in this article.

Keeping these considerations in mind, I will now proceed to present the data I have collected about Nepalese grammatical manuscripts, devoting one section each to the three main traditions found in the region – the Cāndra, the Kātantra and the Pāṇiniya¹⁰ – and one more paragraph to miscellaneous works.

4 The Cāndra school

The Cāndra school of grammar,¹¹ established by the Buddhist Candragomin (c. 4th century CE) with his *Cāndravvyākaraṇa*,¹² a sūtra work in six chapters, is represented by a fairly large number of manuscripts in the earliest period, more than any other grammatical system.

Under the title *Cāndravvyākaraṇa* the NGMCP catalogue title list¹³ enumerates 36 items, 33 of which are palm-leaf manuscripts (26 of them in Nepālākṣara

8 The former is National Archives of Kathmandu (henceforth NAK) 1/468 (A 1162/12), dated Lakṣmaṇa Saṃvat (LS) 541, corresponding to 1661 CE; the latter is NAK 4/40 (B 35/6), dated LS 532 = 1652 CE. Both are mentioned below, § 5.

9 All the figures given in this article need to be taken with a pinch of salt because the lists on the NGMCP web pages are not entirely consistent as they are based on the microfilm reels prepared by the NGMPP. However, occasionally the same manuscript has been microfilmed twice (or more) under different reel numbers, and therefore it is listed twice. Moreover, the pioneering work carried out by the two projects on tens of thousands of manuscripts has inevitably been uneven in terms of accuracy, so some works have been wrongly identified and many texts contained in multi-part bundles have been missed altogether.

10 The data concerning these traditions are summarised in three tables appended to the article.

11 On the Cāndra system, see Scharfe 1977, 162 ff.; Saini 1999, 45–50. Oberlies (2012) contains a survey of the unpublished works of this school.

12 First published in Liebich 1902, 1–139, without Dharmadāsa's *Vṛtti*; again in Chatterji 1953, with the *Vṛtti*.

13 <http://mycms-vs04.rz.uni-hamburg.de/sfb950/>, last accessed 18/12/2016.

script). However, the search for *Cāndravyākaraṇa* in the NGMCP descriptive catalogue¹⁴ returns 65 results (many of them duplicates), among which one finds more than a dozen palm-leaf manuscripts that are not included in the previous list. Moreover, the name *Cāndravyākaraṇa* seems to have been used in the NGMCP catalogue as a blanket term to refer generically to works belonging to the Cāndra tradition because the corresponding records often show that in fact the manuscripts contain other works than the Cāndra *sūtrapāṭha*¹⁵ (including the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* of Ratnamati, the *Śabdalaṅkāraṇapañjikā* of Pūrṇacandra, the *Sumatipañjikā* of Sumati, etc., for all of which see below).

Among the manuscripts not included in the title list, two – NAK 4/26 (A 53/1) and NAK 1/1692 (A 53/3), containing the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* (*sūtrapāṭha*) and Dharmadāsa's *Vṛtti*, respectively – are said to be in 'Transitional Gupta' script, and thus they are presumably very old, possibly from the first millennium CE.¹⁶ Another set of three – NAK 4/311 (A 38/4 1, 2, 3), the first containing the *Śabdalaṅkāraṇapañjikā*, the other two the complex *sūtrapāṭha* plus *Vṛtti* – are part of the same bundle, in which one colophon, now apparently lost, bore the date *samvat* 2005, probably to be understood as Nepāla Samvat (henceforth, NS) 205 (= 1085 CE).¹⁷ Clearly, these fragments need to be carefully inspected and dated as precisely as possible on palaeographic grounds.

Of the remaining palm-leaf manuscripts, 15 are said to contain the *sūtrapāṭha* with the *Vṛtti*, while five contain the *sūtras* alone, and in the remaining four the exact content is unspecified. Similarly, in the collections of the Cambridge University Library there are 14 palm-leaf manuscripts of Cāndra works: six are copies of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, three of them with the *sūtrapāṭha* alone, the other three including the *Vṛtti*. Throughout the medieval period one finds manuscripts in which the *sūtrapāṭha* is transmitted either with or without Dharmadāsa's *Vṛtti*, which suggests that the two works were not regarded as a single inseparable complex. It is worth recalling that the name of Dharmadāsa, an author of whom nothing else is known, has been handed down in the colophons or internal rubrics of

¹⁴ http://134.100.29.17/wiki/Main_Page, last accessed 18/12/2016.

¹⁵ Not all of these are even affiliated to the Cāndra system. For instance, one manuscript, NAK 1/1697 (A 51/15), contains an unpublished Pāṇinian work, possibly called *Sambandhaprakaraṇa* (see below).

¹⁶ Unfortunately, I did not have access to the images of the microfilms of these ancient manuscripts.

¹⁷ The catalogue entry for A 38/4 (1) remarks that 'it is not uncommon that scribes write "1001" instead of "101" (or likewise "2005" instead of "205")', and '(t)hese figures, then, must be interpreted as "100 + 1" and "200 + 5" respectively'. It also notes that the year 1085 CE looks like a 'reasonable time for the copying of this MS'.

(at least) four Nepalese manuscripts¹⁸ of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* – an important piece of evidence in the debate on the authorship of the *Vṛtti*, which for a long time has been considered the work of Candragomin himself by some scholars.¹⁹

Besides the (probably older) manuscripts mentioned above, the earliest dated manuscripts are from the 12th century. One is a *Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti* manuscript from NS 254 (= 1134 CE), written during the reign of Indradeva.²⁰ The other is NAK 3/379 (A 53/2; also A 1279/8), a copy of *Cāndravyākaraṇa* dated NS 276 (= 1155 CE²¹), during the reign of Ānandadeva (1147–1167 CE), whose colophon reads²²:

samvat 276 prathamapauṣakṛṣṇadivā caturthyaṃ śrīānandadevasya vijayarāje likhitam idam pustakam || || yaṃṭākudumbajakulaputraśrīmanahaṛṣavarmasya pustako 'yaṃ ||

This book has been copied in the year 276, on the fourth [lunar day] of the dark fortnight of the first [intercalary] month of Pauṣa, during the victorious reign of Ānandadeva.²³ This book belongs to Manahaṛṣavarma, the scion of the northern²⁴ family.

Both these kings, whose mutual relationship is uncertain, belong to the so-called Transitional Period.²⁵ Judging from the way his name is mentioned, the owner of the latter manuscript, Manahaṛṣavarman, may have been a layman, possibly an aristocrat from an illustrious family. Further below one finds some lines by a later

18 NAK 1/1558 (A 52/14), NAK 5/736 (A 54/7, B 173/21), NAK 1/1608 (B 35/13), and NAK 1/1697 (B 35/20).

19 On Dharmadāsa's authorship of the *Vṛtti*, see Dash (1986, 8–21) and Oberlies (1989, 2 ff.; 1992, 162 ff.); for a survey of the controversy, and further proof of Dharmadāsa's authorship, see Vergiani 2011.

20 Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1937, 43) records it among the holdings of a Tibetan monastery. Petech (1984, 57) quotes it among the documents of king Indradeva (c. 1126–1136) and reports the colophon as follows: *samvat 200-50-4 caitra-śukla-saptamyām śrīmat rājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramahatṭāraka-paramaśaiva indradevasya śrī-indradevasya vijayarāje likhitam idam*.

21 Petech (1984, 62) writes that the date is verified for 14 December 1155.

22 For manuscripts other than those held in Cambridge, I rely on the transcripts found in the NGMCP catalogue entries (with minor adjustments), unless otherwise stated.

23 Throughout this article, when a proper name in a colophon is preceded by the single honorific *śrī* I will leave it untranslated.

24 *yaṃṭā* is a Newari word meaning 'northern' (see Malla 2000, s.v.). The confusion between dental and retroflex consonants is not unusual in the transcription of Newari names.

25 The history of the Kathmandu Valley until the early modern period is usually divided for convenience into five political ages (see Slusser 1982, 18): the Licchavis (c. 300 to 879 CE); the Transitional Period (c. 879–1200); the Early Malla (1200 to 1382); the Late Malla (1382 to 1769); and the Shah (from 1769). For the purposes of this article, the earliest available documents go back to the Transitional Period.

hand, among which the following passage that mentions the purchase of the manuscript in NS 473 (= 1353 CE) by a certain Buddharakṣita:

samvat 473 pauṣasūklapūrṇamāyā [!] *cālisadammena kṛitaṃ śrībuddharakṣitena* ○
*atyamtabhaktiyuktena vyākaraṇaṃ sākhiḍṛṣṭa*²⁶ *saṃcamaṃveje bhāsa*²⁷ *śubhaḥ* ||

Bought in the year 473 on the day of full moon of the bright fortnight of [the month of] Pauṣa, for [the price of] 40 *dammās*²⁸ by Buddharakṣita who has extraordinary devotion, [this] grammar is a bright light appearing like a friend ... [*saṃcamaṃveje*²⁹?].

It is impossible to determine what prompted Buddharakṣita's purchase of this manuscript for what appears to be a considerable sum two centuries after its production – whether it was for study reasons or as a gesture of devotion³⁰ (the wording of the passage does not clearly point to a scholarly interest, as might be expressed through a common phrase such as *svapāṭhārtham*). But the existence of several copies of Cāndra works produced in the three centuries after this manuscript was copied shows that at the time of the purchase there was a lively interest in the Cāndra grammatical tradition.

Confining ourselves to copies of the *sūtrapāṭha* (with or without *Vṛtti*), the next dated manuscript is NAK 5/729 (B 35/24), dated NS 345 (= 1225 CE), which contains the *sūtrapāṭha* with the *Vṛtti*. Its short colophon is followed by a partially corrupt quotation of verse 60 from the *Saptakumārikāvadāna* of Gopadatta's *Jātakamālā*³¹:

samvatsa[re] 345 *kārttikaśuddhi 5 ādityavāsare* *likhitim* [!] *idaṃ pustako yaṃ śubhaḥ* || * *yaḥ satvānām avi*|| * || *ratasaṅkleśanāśārthaśāntaḥ santaptānām adhi-*
*gatayathābhūta[dha]rmādhirājaḥ | hlāda*³² [!] *cakre prakṛtīśīśirai*³³ [!] *dharmavāgam-*
bukumbhaiḥ śāstre tasmai paramabhiṣaje sarvakālaṃ namo stu ||³⁴ (fol. 62v6–8)

26 Possibly emend to *sākhiḍṛṣṭaḥ*.

27 Possibly emend to read *bhāsaḥ*.

28 The term *damma* – from the Greek *drachmē* – is the name of a coin used in medieval Nepal, also called *karṣa*. Four *karṣas* were equivalent to one *pala* (see Kölver and Shakya 1985, 85).

29 Possibly a toponym.

30 Or perhaps as a collectible? We do not know if there were collectors of 'rare' books in the pre-modern Indic world, but there is no reason to assume there were not.

31 I am grateful to Dominic Goodall for pointing this out to me.

32 Emend to *hlādaṃ*.

33 Emend to *prakṛtīśīśirair*.

34 The verse in the edition by Michael Hahn (1992, 58–72) reads: *yaḥ sattvānām aviratarasakleśanāḍivraṇāntaḥ saṃtaptānām adhi-gatayathābhūtadharmādhirājaḥ | hlādaṃ cakre prakṛtīśīśirair dharmavāgambukumbhaiḥ śāstre tasmai paramabhiṣaje sarvakāle namo 'stu*. I am grateful to Mahesh Deokar for his comments on the interpretation of this verse.

This brilliant book has been copied in the year 345 on Sunday the fifth day of the bright fortnight of [the month of] Kārttika [= October/November]. May there be reverence in all times for that teacher (*śāstre*), the supreme physician, who is the destroyer of ulcers and sores in the form of the defilements [caused] by the incessant enjoyment [of the sense objects], the great king of the acquired real *dharma*, who pleased the scorched beings with naturally cool jugfuls of the water [that is] the words of *dharma*.

This colophon provides no information besides the date of completion of the copy, but the following verse unmistakably shows that the scribe was active in a Buddhist milieu.

The colophons of the next two dated manuscripts of *Cāndravyākaraṇa* (both without the *Vṛtti*), namely NAK 1/1583 (A 52/1), dated NS 377 (= 1257 CE),³⁵ and NAK 5/724 (B 34/15), dated NS 379 (= 1259 CE),³⁶ just give the year of copy without making any mention of the ruling king or the scribe. It may not be a coincidence that they were produced during or soon after the short and troubled reign of Jayadeva, the last of the so-called Early Mallas (see Petech 1984, 89 ff.).

Approximately one century younger is a copy of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* kept in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, no. 3823, dated NS 476 (= 1356 CE),³⁷ prepared by (or possibly for) the *vajrācārya*³⁸ Kṣemendra in a *vihāra* in Patan. To the end of the same century should tentatively³⁹ be assigned NAK 5/727 (A 53/8), a palm-leaf

35 The colophon (fol. 33r5) reads: *śreyo 'stu samvat 377 kārttikakṣṇacaturthasyām* [!] || *maṅgal-avāśare* || 'May there be bliss. Tuesday, the fourth [day] of the dark fortnight of [the month of] Kārttika, in the year 377'.

36 The partially legible colophon (fol. 40r7) reads: *samvat 379 poṣaśu*{di.. ..} *bda* 'The bright fortnight of [the month of] Pauṣa, in the year 379'. As noted in the NGMCP catalogue entry, the exact date of this manuscript is uncertain because the colophon is written in a different hand from the rest.

37 The colophon reads: *samvat 476 phālgunaśukladaśamyām śukravāsare ādrānakṣatre | rājādhirājaparameśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrījayarājadevavijayarājye | ... śrīyokhācchavihāravajrācāryaśrīkṣemendrasya likhitam* (quoted in Petech 1984, 123, among the four documents of the reign of king Jayarājadeva).

38 The term *vajrācārya* designates a Buddhist tantric priest, but as Slusser (1982, 287–288) points out, from the 12th century onward, as the *vihāras* became increasingly secularised, it gradually evolved into a caste and family name, conferred by heredity: 'Even *vajrācāryas* who no longer chose to function as priests automatically belonged to a religious aristocracy if they confirmed their status by the observance of proper initiation rites. Literally, they became "Buddhist Brahmins".'

39 The NGMCP catalogue entry reports that the colophon with the date is probably a later addition, which 'seems to be not very reliable'. Indeed the colophon, which includes some Newari words (here in bold), seems to confuse the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* with the *Kālāpavyākaraṇa*, i.e. the *Kātantra*: *samvat 517 kārtikṣṇadasamyāyā titho vṛsapavāre śrīrathahemavyākraṇa seṇā juroḥ kalāpavyākṛnasūtraḥ* [!] || (fol. 25r).

manuscript of the *Cāndravyākaraṇavṛtti*, dated NS 517 (= 1397). In the early 15th century we find two more dated palm-leaf manuscripts of the Cāndra *sūtrapāṭha* without commentary, both in Nepālākṣara. The first is NAK 5/730 (B 34/25),⁴⁰ dated NS 531 (= 1411 CE), bearing the following colophon that gives the scribe's name, Manikarāja⁴¹:

*samvat 531 phālguaśuklacaturddaśyām bṛspa○tivāsare*⁴² [!] || *śrīśrijayajotimalladevasya* [sic!] *vijayarāje* [!] || *likhitim* [!] *iti manikarājena śubham astu* || (fol. 112v2–4)

[This book] has been written by Manikarāja in the year 531, on Thursday the fourteenth [lunar day] of the bright fortnight of [the month] Phālgua [February–March] during the victorious reign of the glorious king Jayajotirmalla. May there be bliss.

The second manuscript, Add.1691.4,⁴³ held in the Cambridge University Library, was copied just one year later, in 1412. The colophon on fol. 44r gives the date with some unusual astronomical details:

samvat 532 āśāḍhakṛṣṇa | ekadaśyām tithau | kṛttika(!) ghaṭi 20 rohiṇinakṣatre || *gaṇḍaghaṭi 9 vṛddhiyoge | somavāsare | likhitam idaṃ* ||

This [book] has been written in the year 532, on Monday the eleventh lunar day of the dark fortnight of [the month of] Āśāḍha [June–July], when there are 20 *ghaṭis*⁴⁴ [left] in the lunar mansion Kṛttikā before the asterism Rohiṇi, [and] there are nine *ghaṭis* [left] in [the *yoga*] Gaṇḍa before [the *yoga*] Vṛddhi.⁴⁵

Next comes NAK 5/731 (A 52/3), a manuscript of *Cāndravyākaraṇa* dated NS 561 (= 1441 CE), which is part of a bundle that also contains a copy of the Cāndra *Uṇādisūtra*⁴⁶ by the same hand. The colophon gives the name of the scribe and owner of the manuscript, a certain Abhayarāja, who declares to have copied the work in order to teach his son Akṣayarāja and other pupils:

⁴⁰ This manuscript is not listed in Petech 1984.

⁴¹ The same name appears in a colophon of an almost contemporary copy of the *Subantarānākara* (see below, p. 97).

⁴² Emend to *bṛhaspativāsare*.

⁴³ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01691-00004/1>.

⁴⁴ A measure of time, consisting of 24 minutes.

⁴⁵ I am not entirely sure about the translation of the final part of the colophon that mentions *ghaṭis*. One would expect the scribe to refer to the 'hours' that have lapsed rather than those that are left, but then there would be no need to mention Rohiṇi, which is the lunar mansion following Kṛttikā, or Vṛddhi, which is the next *yoga* after Gaṇḍa.

⁴⁶ Published in Liebich 1902, 140–171.

kṛtir iyan tribhūmiśvarabodhisatvaśricandragomipādānām [...] || naipālābdagate mṛgāṅkarasayucchrīpañcabāṇayudhe⁴⁷ māse kṣṇaśucāu divākaratithau ṛṣyeva⁴⁸ puṣṇābhidhe⁴⁹ | śaṣṭhā'dhyāyasasūtrakam [|] likhitikaṃ⁵⁰ [|] śubhrāṁśuvāre śubhe tasmād dharṣasutena niṣṭhimanasā⁵¹ [|] putrārthahetos tv alam || nāmnā abhayarājena cāndrasūtram akhaṇḍitaṃ | putrāyākṣayarājāya śiṣyārthena [[ca]] liOkhyate || (fol. 45r4–45v2)

This is the composition of the feet of the Bodhisattva Candragomin, the lord of the three worlds [...]. The sūtra in six chapters has been copied in the year 561⁵² of the Nepāla Era, on Monday⁵³ the lunar day [presided] by the Sun⁵⁴ in the dark fortnight of the month of Śuci⁵⁵ and in the lunar mansion called Puṣyā, thus the son of Harṣa, called Abhayarāja, has thoroughly (*alam*) copied the entire Cāndrasūtra with a firm mind for the sake of [his] son (*putrārthahetoḥ*), with the purpose of [teaching his] son Akṣayarāja as well as [other] pupils [*śiṣyārthena*].

The Cambridge University Library has five more undated manuscripts – the first three of *Cāndravāyākaraṇavṛtti*, the last two of the Cāndra *sūtrapāṭha* alone – that can be tentatively assigned to the 14th–15th centuries on palaeographic grounds: Add.2192,⁵⁶ Add.1657.3,⁵⁷ Add.1691.5,⁵⁸ Add.1660.2,⁵⁹ and Add.1691.7.⁶⁰ Several undated manuscripts of the *Cāndravāyākaraṇa*, with or without Dharmadāsa's *Vṛtti*, on

47 Emend to °bāṇāyudhe.

48 Emend to ṛkṣe ca, where ṛkṣa means 'lunar mansion' (cf. the colophon of NAK 3/685 below). I am grateful to Nirajan Kafle for suggesting this emendation.

49 Emend to puṣyābhidhe.

50 Clearly a mistake for likhitaṃ.

51 Possibly emend to niṣṭhimanasā.

52 The year is written in *bhūtasamkhyās* (i.e. common nouns having a conventional numerical value), starting with the unit, followed by tens and hundreds: one = *mṛgāṅka*, 'moon'; six = *rasa*, 'flavour', because there were six basic flavours; added to = *yut*; five = *śrīpañcabāṇāyudha*, lit. 'the weapon of the venerable one with the five arrows', namely the five arrows of Kāma. Cf. Petocchi 2016.

53 *śubhrāṁśuvāre*. The compound *śubhrāṁśu* 'having white rays' is an epithet of the moon.

54 Namely, the seventh lunar day (cf. Einoo 2005, 106).

55 *śuci* is another name for the hot summer month of Āṣāḍha. Cf. the following versified list of alternative names for some months found in *Jayasimhakaḷpadruma* (kindly brought to my attention by Dominic Goodall): *caitro māso madhuḥ prokto vaiśākho mādhabo bhavet | jyeṣṭhamāso tu śukraḥ syād āṣāḍhaḥ śucir ucyate | nabhomāsaḥ śrāvaṇaḥ syān nabhasyo bhādra ucyate |*

56 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02192>.

57 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01657-00003>.

58 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01691-00005>.

59 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01660-00002>.

60 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01691-00007>.

palm leaf and in Nepālākṣara, which may be from the same period, are also recorded in the NGMCP catalogue.⁶¹

But, even more interesting, the manuscript collections in Nepal and, on a smaller but significant scale, in Cambridge also preserve the evidence of a rich commentarial tradition on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* comprised of several works that in their Sanskrit version have been preserved only in Nepal.⁶² Among these there are three unpublished commentaries on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* with Dharmadāsa's *Vṛtti*, namely the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* of Ratnamati,⁶³ with some sub-commentaries, the *Ratnamatipaddhati* of Ānandadatta, the *Nibandha* of Ratnadatta, and Sāriputta's *Candrālaṃkāra*; the *Śabdalaṅkāraṇavaraṇapañjikā* of Pūrṇacandra; and the *Sumatipañjikā*.⁶⁴ Moreover, one finds works on the verbal system, such as the *Dhātupārāyaṇa*, possibly composed by the same Pūrṇacandra who authored one of the three *Pañjikās*, and the *Ākhyātaratnaśoṣa*, and others on the nominal declension, in particular the *Subantarātnākara* of Subhūticandra⁶⁵ (with some later works based on it), and the *Uṇādisūtra* with the anonymous *Uṇādisūtravṛtti*. All of these are preserved in Nepalese manuscripts that are dated or datable between the 10th and the 15th century CE.

⁶¹ The NGMCP catalogue also records a single palm-leaf manuscript of *Cāndravyākaraṇa* in Maithili script (NAK 5/6209, reel A 54/2). Unfortunately, the entry for this item is very limited; the only additional piece of information given is the number of folios, 23, with the measures.

⁶² Many of these works were translated into Tibetan in medieval times (see Verhagen 1994, 2001, *passim*). In the 1930's Sāṅkṛtyāyana recorded several Sanskrit manuscripts of works belonging to the Cāndra system as well as to other grammatical schools held in the libraries of Tibetan monasteries (see Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935, 1937).

⁶³ On this work, see now Dimitrov 2016, 599 ff. According to Dimitrov (2016, 557), the grammarian Ratnamati is the same as Ratnaśrījñāna, a Sinhalese Buddhist monk who composed a commentary on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* in the first half of the 10th c. CE and also wrote works in Sinhalese and Pāli under the name of Upatissa.

⁶⁴ On these works, their dates, and their mutual relationships, see Oberlies 2012; Dimitrov 2016, 599–706; and Mahesh Deokar's contribution to this volume.

⁶⁵ On this work and its author, better known for the *Kavikāmadhenu*, a commentary on the *Amarakośa*, see Lata Deokar (2014) and her contribution to this volume.

For Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, probably composed in Sri Lanka around 930 CE (Dimitrov 2016, 599), one can rely on a handful of witnesses, including three fragments kept in Nepal, and one in Cambridge.⁶⁶ In the Kathmandu set one finds Kaiser 17 (C 2/9),⁶⁷ dated NS 363 (= 1243 CE), the colophon of which reads:

iti [...]karaṇe ratna[ma]tikṛtāyām pañjikāyām pañcamasādhyāyasya prathamah pādaḥ samāpta [!] || gra[ntha]pramāṇam asya dvādaśottaranavaśatam || saṃ 363 pauṣa budha 10 śubham O

Thus the first quarter of the fifth chapter of the *Pañjikā* composed by Ratna[ma]ti on [the *Cāndravyā*]karaṇa has been completed. It measures 912 gra[nthas]⁶⁸. In the year 363, on Wednesday the tenth of the month of Pauṣa. Fortune!

The Cambridge manuscript, Add.1657.1,⁶⁹ is incomplete and has no colophon, but it can be dated to the 12th–13th century.

To the same author Dimitrov (2016, 565 ff.) attributes a treatise on semantics called *Śabdārthacintā* and the auto-commentary *Vivṛti* thereon (Dimitrov 2011, 43, n. 86). The former is preserved in a single palm-leaf manuscript that was brought from Nepal to Calcutta, where it is now kept in the Asiatic Society, by Haraprasāda Śāstrī. The latter is preserved in NAK 1/1697,⁷⁰ a palm-leaf copy in Nepālākṣara that Dimitrov tentatively dates to the 12th–13th centuries.

As mentioned above, three sub-commentaries on Ratnamati's *Pañjikā* are extant. The *Ratnamatipaddhati* of Ānandadatta⁷¹ survives in three fragments preserved in Cambridge, namely Add.1657.2, Add.1691.6, and Add.1705, and in five more fragments identified by Dimitrov, namely NAK 5 /456 A, B, C, D, and E (A 57/31).⁷² According to Dimitrov, all the Kathmandu fragments can be dated to the

⁶⁶ See Oberlies 2012, 145–148, which does not mention the Cambridge copy. One palm-leaf copy of this work ‘in Proto-Bengali script of the eleventh century’ (Dimitrov 2010, 50), photographed by Sāṅkrtyāyana in 1937, is known to exist in Tibet; and another is found in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

⁶⁷ The NGMCP entry is very pithy. The NGMCP catalogue also lists NAK 4/247, a modern paper copy in Devanāgarī of this manuscript, made in Vikrama Samvat 1989 (= 1933 CE).

⁶⁸ A unit of measure of the length of a manuscripts consisting of 32 *aḥṣaras* (syllables).

⁶⁹ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01657-00001>.

⁷⁰ NGMCP catalogue http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_54-1_%C5%9Aabd%C4%81rthacint%C4%81viv%E1%B9%9Bti. Retrieved 18 December 2016. Dragomir Dimitrov and Mahesh Deokar are preparing a critical edition and translation of the *Śabdārthacintā* with the commentary (personal communication, September 2016).

⁷¹ Already mentioned with the title *Sūtrapaddhati* in Liebich 1896.

⁷² On the *Ratnamatipaddhati* and, in particular, its Kathmandu copies, see Dimitrov 2016, 624 ff.

12th–13th centuries. Three of them (A, B, and E) look very similar, and the handwriting is possibly the same, therefore ‘it may be assumed that they were prepared ... possibly by one and the same scribe or at least in the same scriptorium’. Nothing is known with certainty about Ānandadatta, who according to Dimitrov (2016, 676) may have been affiliated to one of the Buddhist universities in eastern India. If Ratnamati’s *Pañjikā* was composed in the first half of the 10th century CE, as argued by Dimitrov, Ānandadatta must have flourished some time between the second half of the 10th c. and 1199 CE, corresponding to NS 319, which is the date recorded in the colophon of Add.1657.2:

[...] *raṇe mahopādhyāyaśrīānandadattavirācitāyāṃ rannamatipaddhatau dvitīyādhyāyasya prathamah pādaḥ samāptaḥ || O || samvat 319 jaiṣṭhakṛṣṇa amāvāsyāṃ tithau subha |* (fol. 31r1–2).

The first quarter section (*pāda*) of the second chapter of the *Ratnamatipaddhati* composed by the great teacher Ānandadatta on the [*Cāndravyākā*] *raṇa* has been completed, in the year 319, on the lunar day of the New Moon in the dark fortnight of [the month of] Jyaiṣṭha.⁷³

The *Nibandha*⁷⁴ of Ratnadatta is preserved in fragmentary form in two manuscripts identified by Dimitrov (2014; 2016, 691 ff.), one kept in Kathmandu (NAK 5 /456 F, A 57/31) and comprised of just three palm leaves, which preserves the author’s name and the title;⁷⁵ the other, slightly bigger (11 folios), kept in Cambridge (Or.714⁷⁶). The two fragments are so similar that, according to Dimitrov (2016, 691) ‘originally [they] might have even belonged together’. If the *Pañjikā* was composed in the first half of the 10th century CE, as argued by Dimitrov (2014), Ratnadatta would have flourished some time between the mid-10th century and the 13th century, the likely date of the Cambridge manuscript.

The University Library in Cambridge also holds Or.1278,⁷⁷ the only known copy of the *Candrālaṃkāra*⁷⁸ composed by the 12th-century Sinhalese Buddhist monk and scholar Śāriputta (in Sanskrit, Śāriputra).⁷⁹ This manuscript is written in the rare Bhaikṣukī script, mostly used by Buddhists in eastern India. On the basis of the

⁷³ The year is written in letter-numerals, namely āu = 3, a = 1, o = 9.

⁷⁴ This is certainly an abridged form of a longer title that probably contained a clear reference to the commented text.

⁷⁵ *mahopādhyāyarannadattakṛte* [!] *nibandhe prathamasyādhyāyasya tr̥tīyaḥ pādaḥ* (quoted in Dimitrov 2016, 691).

⁷⁶ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00714>.

⁷⁷ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-01278>.

⁷⁸ Already mentioned as of unknown author in Liebich 1896.

⁷⁹ On this work and its *codex unicus*, see Dimitrov 2010.

colophon found in the Kathmandu portion Dimitrov (2010, 42–46) surmises that the manuscript may have been copied in the 12th century CE at the great Buddhist monastery (*mahāvihāra*) of Somapura (modern Paharpur, in Bangladesh).

Pūrṇacandra's *Śabdalaṅkāraṇavivaraṇapañjikā*, another independent commentary on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, has been transmitted in three palm-leaf manuscripts, all of them in Nepālākṣara. The oldest copy is possibly NAK 4/311, mentioned above, which may date to the late 11th century. Both the name of the author and the title of the work are attested there in a rubric.⁸⁰ Roughly one century younger is Kaiser 9/27 (C 82/7), dated NS 314 (= 1194 CE), the colophon of which reads:

[...]gomipraṇīta *śabdalaṅkāraṇavivaraṇapañjikāyām ācāryapūrṇacandraviracitāyāḥ śaṣṭhyo 'dhyāyāḥ samāptaḥ* || * || *samvat 314*⁸¹ [...] || [so]madine | *punarvasunakṣatre* || *rājādhirājaparamēśvariparamabhaṭṭārakaḥ* [sic!] | *śrīlakṣmīkāmādevasya vijayarājyeh* | *śrīkothavulaṅkhu* || *somacandrena likhita*[m] | *da*[m] *pustakam* || *lekhikena likhitan iti* || (fol. 59v1–3)

The sixth chapter of the *Śabdalaṅkāraṇavivaraṇapañjikā* composed by the teacher Pūrṇacandra on the [*Cāndravyākaraṇa*] composed by [Candra]gomin has been concluded. This book has been copied by Somacandra in the year 314, on Monday [...],⁸² under the asterism of Punarvasu, during the victorious reign of the king of kings, the highest sovereign, the supreme lord Lakṣmīkāmādeva, ... [*kothavulaṅkhu*⁸³?]. Written by the scribe.

The third extant copy of Pūrṇacandra's commentary is NAK 5/735 (A 53/15), undated, where a sub-colophon gives the name of the scribe, a Buddhist layman (*upāsaka*) called Mādhava.⁸⁴ Pūrṇacandra is also mentioned as the author of a commentary on the Cāndra *dhātupāṭha* called *Dhātupārāyaṇa* in the rubrics of the *codex unicus* Add.2121,⁸⁵ kept in Cambridge.⁸⁶ Liebich (1902, IX) used this manuscript

80 *candragomipraṇītaśabdalaṅkāraṇavivaraṇapañjikā*Oyām ācāryapūrṇacandrakṛtāyām prathamasyādhyāyasya prathamah pādah samāptaḥ.

81 The year is written in letter numerals: āu= 3, ḍo = 10, pka = 4.

82 Month and lunar day are not legible. But on the basis of the coincidence of the *nakṣatra* with the day of the week, Petech (1984, 77) conjectures that the month may be Caitra, and the full date likely correspond to Monday, March 20, 1194.

83 Possibly a toponym: in classical Newari *kotha/kvāṭha* means 'fort', *laṅkhu* 'river' or 'road'; for *vu* cf. the sociative suffixes *u*, *vo* (Malla 2000, all s.v.).

84 *paramopāsakacandragomipraṇītaśabdalaṅkāraṇavivaraṇapañjikāyām ācāryapūrṇacandrakṛtāyām prathamō dhyāye dvitīyāḥ pādah samāptaḥ* ||*|| *śubham astu* || * || *sarvvaḥ jagatām iti* || O || *paramopāsakamādhavena likhitam idam iti* || (fol. 241/82v6–7). Note that Candragomin himself is called *upāsaka* here.

85 The work and the Cambridge manuscript were already listed in Liebich 1896; see also Liebich 1902, IX–X.

86 See for example the rubric of the section on roots of the second class (*adādi*): *ācāryapūrṇacandrarakite dhātupārāyaṇe adādilaḥ parisamāptaḥ* || (fol. 48r3–4).

for his edition of the Cāndra *Dhātupāṭha*. According to Verhagen (1994, 110), Pūrṇacandra's work was known to the Tibetan grammatical tradition and was used by native translators of the Cāndra *dhātupāṭha*. The manuscript does not have a colophon, but it can be dated to the 13th–14th centuries CE on palaeographic grounds.

The third commentary on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, the *Sumatipañjikā*,⁸⁷ is partially preserved in two undated palm-leaf manuscripts in Nepālākṣara both kept in Kathmandu, namely NAK 5/734 (B 34/29), consisting of 107 folios, and NAK 5/732 (B 35/31), 101 folios, both containing portions of the commentary on the first chapter. The two copies have a very similar colophon in verse.⁸⁸ The following is from NAK 5/734 as quoted by Dimitrov (2016, 690, n. 247):

rājñā śṛiguṇakāmadevavibhunā svasyaikaṛāṅjye kṛte |
varṣe 'smin diśamuttare śatatame – – – (māse) – (te) |
(gaṅgāmārga)[tithau bṛhaspati]dine tārādhanīṣṭhānvite |
nāmneyaṃ sumatīr yathābhilīkhitā (se) – – (syai śāśvate) || (fol. 91v1–2)⁸⁹

This [commentary] named the 'Correct Doctrine' (*sumati*) ... as it was written in the year 110 on Thursday the third lunar day associated with the asterism Dhaniṣṭha of the month,⁹⁰ in which the powerful king Guṇakāmadeva has established his own sole reign.⁹¹

87 On the *Sumatipañjikā* see Oberlies (2012, 152) and Dimitrov (2016, 688–690), who has identified another fragment of this work in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (*ibidem*: 629).

88 Here is the colophon of NAK 5/732 as given in the NGMCP catalogue:

rājñā śṛiguṇakāmadevavibhunā svasyaikaṛāṅjye kṛte
varṣe smin diśam uttare śatatame – – – – – |
– – – – – (6) dine tārādhanīṣṭhānvite
nāmneyaṃ sumatīr yathābhilīkhitā (!) – – – – – ||.

89 This is followed by a verse that, as Dimitrov (2016, 690, n. 248) notes, is badly corrupt: *ra-vikaviśāśisomyā vyomni sambhānti yāvat | sumatīr api maneṣāvad atra prātisasya | subhadīnakaṛājīvo jīvako nandako 'pi | bhavatu vabhubhṛtām śrīmañjughoṣānubhāvāt.*

90 The year is expressed partly with a word numeral (*śatatama* 'hundredth'), partly with a *bhūtasamkhyā* (*diś*, *diśā* = 10, like the ten directions of space). Unusually, the lunar day (*tithi*) is also expressed with a *bhūtasamkhyā*, i.e. *gaṅgāmārga* = 3. Regmi (1965, 110) quotes this colophon reading the year as 104. However, although the basic cardinal points are four, the usual value of *diś* as a *bhūtasamkhyā* is 10 since the four intermediate directions (south-east, north-west, etc.) are also counted, plus above and below.

91 For the import of the expression *svasyaikaṛāṅjye kṛte*, and the Nepalese political institution known as *dvairājya* (roughly 'shared kingdom'), see Petech 1984, 33.

The year is NS 110, corresponding to 990 CE, which makes this copy of the *Sumatipañjikā* one of the oldest dated grammatical manuscripts of Nepal. Its author, possibly named Sumati,⁹² should therefore be assigned to the mid 10th century at the latest.⁹³ The colophon of the other copy, NAK 5/732, is one of three documents listed in Petech (1984, 32–33) on the basis of which the historian tentatively dates Guṇakāmadeva's reign to c. 980–998 CE.

Two more works should be mentioned here, both of which are preserved in a few palm-leaf manuscripts in Nepālākṣara. The first is the *Ākhyātaratnakoṣa*, of an unknown author,⁹⁴ which survives in three copies. According to the NGMCP catalogue entry, the work 'enumerates and exemplifies a great deal of roots, but not all, from the Dhātupāṭha, giving the individual forms arising after the substitution of the *lakāras* such as *laṭ*, *luṭ*, *liṭ*, etc. has taken place'. The following introductory verse found in one of its witnesses, NAK 1/1152 (A 52/5), seems to allude to the *Dhātupārāyaṇa*, Pūrṇacandra's commentary on the *Dhātupāṭha* mentioned above:

dhātupārāyaṇaṃ samyak nirūpya vyavahāriṇāṃ | koṣa ākhyātaratnānāṃ svābhogāya kariṣyate ||

Having given careful consideration to the complete list of verbal roots (*dhātupārāyaṇa*), a treasury of the verb-gems [used] by ordinary speakers will be compiled for my own use.

One copy of this work, NAK 3/685 (B 23/36), is dated NS 537 (= 1417 CE), and bears this quite long and elaborate colophon:

*ākhyātaratnakoṣaḥ samāptaḥ || * ||
śrīraghuvamśasāravindaṭjuṇḍaṭ prakāśanekamārttaṇḍasya⁹⁵*

⁹² The name appears in the verse following the colophon (see n. 87), but, as Dimitrov (2016, 690) remarks, 'it is difficult to decide whether this is again the name of the work or perhaps a personal name'.

⁹³ Dimitrov (2016, 690) remarks that these stanzas are 'placed, strangely enough, before the subcolophon of the commentary on Cān. 1.1' and 'were written possibly by the commentator himself or by the scribe who prepared the master copy'. On their basis, he conjectures that 'this commentary was composed by a scholar from the Kathmandu Valley'. It seems to me that this conclusion is only warranted if these verses can be attributed with certainty to the author rather than the scribe.

⁹⁴ The NGMCP catalogue entry of one of its copies, NAK 1/1152 (A 52/5), tentatively attributes it to Pūrṇacandra, but as far as I can tell this is not supported by any colophon or textual tradition. The issue of the authorship of this work can only be settled by the edition and study of the work, which is unpublished.

⁹⁵ Emend to *prakāśanaikamārttaṇḍasya*.

rājādhirājaparamēśvarasya paramamāheśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakasya
*sakalaguṇakalānidhāna[sakhi]vatpratipālanekanipunasya*⁹⁶
*sakalahimabho*⁹⁷*bhāgadhavalabahalakīrttiparipūritasya*
*sakalajāṭjācakajana*⁹⁸*cintāmaṇikalpavṛkṣasya*
śrīśrījayajyoti[r]malladevasya vijayarājye ||
cāturbrahmavihāracāraṇapaṭuḥ sannītiratnāṃṇavaḥ
śrīmatpuṇyakadambakeśarinibhaḥ pratyakṣaviśvambharaḥ |
*sarvveṣām pratipālanekanipunaḥ*⁹⁹*sarvveṇa māheśvaro*
jīyāj jaṅgamakalpavṛkṣasukṛti śrījyoti[r]mallaprabhuḥ || ○ ||
śrīmadyaśo'tccha+lalitaṃ haritāsthītānām
*saṅkhāvātām*¹⁰⁰*śravaṇayor api maṅḍano vai |*
*brāhmīn dadhāti suratām varakaṅthalagne*¹⁰¹
śrīmān guṇajñajayabhairavamalladevaḥ || ○ ||
sārottamam idaṃ ratnam ākhyādhātusambhavam |
likhyate tejarāmeṇa kramācāryeṇa dhīmatā ||
abde śailakṣānubānasahite māsāsīte māghake
*cāturthītithisa[ṃjñā]ke bhṛgudīne ṛṣe*¹⁰²*ca barhisthite |*
yoge maṅḍavare ghaṭe ravigate candre ca kanya(!)sthite
hy etasmin samaye samāptasakalaṃ ā[khyā]taratnottamaṃ ||
udakānalacaurebhyo mūṣikebhyas tathaiva ca |
raḁṣitavyam prayatnena mayā kaṣṭeṇa likhyate || || (fol. 172r5–v6)

The *Ākhyātaratnakoṣa* has been completed during the victorious reign of the glorious Jayajyotirmalla, who is the one sun serving to illuminate ... [*juṅḍa?*], the lotus of Raghu's race, the king of kings, the highest sovereign entirely devoted to the great Lord [Śiva] (*paramamāheśvara*), the supreme lord who is alone adroit in protecting like a [true] friend the treasure of all virtues and arts, full of copious fame that is as resplendent as all the parts of the moon, a wish-fulfilling tree bearing wish-fulfilling gems for all suppliant folk (*sakalayācakajana?*).

May the glorious king Jayajyotirmalla, who is generous like a moving wish-fulfilling tree, triumph, he who has sharpened [his intellect] by attending the Cāturbrahma Vihāra,¹⁰³ [and is] an ocean of gems of statecraft (*saṃmiti*), similar to a lion with a multitude of fortunate

⁹⁶ Emend to *°pratipālanakanipunasya*.

⁹⁷ Possibly emend to *°himabhānu*^o, literally 'having cool lustre', namely the moon.

⁹⁸ Possibly emend to *°yācakajana* 'suppliant people'.

⁹⁹ Emend to *°pratipālanakanipunaḥ*.

¹⁰⁰ Possibly emend to *saṅkhyāvātām*.

¹⁰¹ Possibly emend to *varakaṅthalagne*.

¹⁰² Emend to *ṛkṣe*.

¹⁰³ As the four *brahmavihāras* are the four noble Buddhist virtues (sympathy, compassion, joy and equanimity), Dominic Goodall (personal communication) suggests that some pun may be intended here, implying that the king was 'skilled in practising the whole group of Buddhist virtues'.

merits, a directly visible all-sustainer,¹⁰⁴ the follower of Maheśvara (*māheśvara*) who is alone adroit in protecting all [beings] with all [means].

[...],¹⁰⁵ he [because of what he says] is verily an ornament (*maṇḍanaḥ*) to the ears of people of intellect (*śaṅkhyavatām?*), the honourable Jayabhairavamalla, a connoisseur of virtues, [who] wears the goddess (*suratām*) Brāhmī fixed to his excellent throat (*vara-kaṅṭhalagnām?*).

The learned Tejarāma Kramācārya has copied this jewel of the finest nature that collects the roots of verb forms in the year 537,¹⁰⁶ on Friday the fourth lunar day of the month of Māgha and in the lunar mansion of Kṛttikā,¹⁰⁷ since the best of the jewels of verbs (*ākhyātaratnot-tamam*) has been entirely completed at the time when the *yoga* is Maṇḍavara,¹⁰⁸ Aquarius is in the sun, and the moon is in Virgo.

This has been copied for Jayabhairavamalla. One should make an effort to protect it from water, fire, and thieves, as well as from mice – I toiled to copy it.

This is one of the thirty-five documents listed by Petech (1984, 163–164) for the reign of Jayajyotirmalla, who ruled between 1408 and 1428. The colophon is similar to a royal eulogy (*praśāsti*), ornately extolling the king's manifold virtues – his Śaiva faith, his statesmanship, his commitment to the protection of the arts, and his intellectual achievements¹⁰⁹ – and linking his name to the Cāturbrahma Vihāra (located in Bhatgaon according to Petech), possibly the institution where the sovereign had received his education or a centre of scholarly activity that he sponsored. It also mentions the names of the scribe, Tejarāma Kramācārya, and the person who commissioned the copy, the aristocrat Jayabhairavamalla, the husband of Jayajyotirmalla's daughter Jīvarakṣā, who is described as wearing Brāhmī, that is Sarasvatī, as an ornament around his neck.

The other independent treatise is the *Subantarātākāra*,¹¹⁰ which survives in six palm-leaf manuscripts, all in Nepālākṣara, five of them kept in Nepal and one

104 Unlike gods, who are invisible to ordinary mortals.

105 At present I am not able to offer a plausible interpretation of the first *pāda* of this verse (*śrīmadyaśo'rcca+lalītaṃ haritāsthītānām*).

106 The year is given in *bhūtasamkhyās*, starting from the units: 5 like the arrows (*bāṇa*) of Kāma; 3 like the fires (*kṛśānu* = *agni*); 7 like the mountain (*śaila*) ranges (*aśva*) of the earth. Petech says that 'the date is verified in all elements for Friday, February 5th, 1417'.

107 *barhithita*, literally 'the one placed on the peacock (*barhin*)', namely Kārttikeya.

108 The name *maṇḍavara* does not appear in the usual list of 27 *yogas*.

109 There may be more in this than the usual hyperbolic adulation found in this kind of text, since Jayajyotirmalla is allegedly the author of the *Siddhisāra*, a treatise on *jyotiṣa* preserved in a Cambridge manuscript, Add.1649 (see incipit: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01649/4>; also Regmi 1965, 638).

110 On this and other works by the same author see Lata Deokar's contribution to this volume, in which she also gives the full text of the manuscript colophons mentioned below (below, pp. 663–664).

in Cambridge.¹¹¹ Two of these, Kesar 582 and Cambridge Or.148, have colophons showing that they were also produced during Jayajyotirmalla's reign. The former was copied in NS 533¹¹² (= 1413 CE) by Māṅikarāja (almost certainly the same as the scribe of NAK 5-730, a *Cāndravyākaraṇa* manuscript mentioned above, p. 87), probably active at court, who praises the sovereign's learning and statesmanship at length.¹¹³ The latter was copied just a few years later in NS 540 (= 1420 CE) by a Buddhist monk called Dharmarasika, in the Śrīṣaḍakṣarīmahāvihāra in the town of Gaṅgūlapatana, for his personal use.¹¹⁴ Another work also attributed to Subhūticandra and called *Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama*, dealing with nominal declensions, is preserved in NAK 5/416 (B 34/16), a palm-leaf manuscript in Nepālākṣara from NS 560 (= 1440 CE).

The manuscript collections in Nepal and in Cambridge also preserve a few palm-leaf copies of other works that can be assigned to the Cāndra tradition – mostly smaller tracts on specific topics, perhaps composed for didactic purposes. Among them one finds the *Uṇādisūtra* with its *Vṛtti*, the *Prādivṛtti*, the *Kṛdbhāṣya*, the *Tiṅbheda*, the *Viṃśatyupasargavṛtti*, and the (*Bālavallabhā*) *Prakriyā*.

Four of these manuscripts have colophons with dates. The earliest is NAK 5/410 (A 53/16), a copy of the *Uṇādi(sūtra)vṛtti*¹¹⁵ in Nepālākṣara dated NS 489 (= 1369 CE).¹¹⁶ Next is a NAK 3/361 (B 35/33), a copy of the *Tiṅbheda* (also bearing the alternative title *Ākhyātavicāra*), with a colophon that just gives the date *saṃvat*

111 This is Or.148 (<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00148>).

112 The year is written with *bhūtasamkhyās*. The relevant part of the colophon reads: *vahnau vahnau ... vānābde* 'in the year (*abda*) *vāna* = arrow = 5, *vahni* (= *agni*) = 3, *vahni* = 3'.

113 One should of course compare the handwriting in the two manuscripts to be absolutely sure. It would be interesting to investigate if the name of Māṅikarāja (or Manikarāja, as it is spelled in the other manuscript) appears also in manuscripts of works on other subjects than grammar.

114 Gaṅgūla(patana) is another name of Kathmandu, according to Petech (1984, 164), who quotes this document but misreads the name of the *vihāra* as Śrī-Yatradevī.

115 The NGMCP records two more palm-leaf copies of this work: NAK 5/409 (B 34/18), in Nepālākṣara, and NAK 5/733 (B 35/16), in a hybrid form of Nepālākṣara with some features of Maithili. This work is already mentioned in Liebich 1896 and 1902: VIII–IX, and it was known to the Tibetan tradition (see Verhagen 1994, 113–114, 121–122).

116 Or possibly 479 = 1359 CE. The uncertainty stems from the fact the year is expressed in *bhūtasamkhyās*, unusually starting with the hundreds: *veda* = 4 like the 4 Vedas, *nāga* 'snake', which can stand for either 7 or 8, and *graha* 'planet' = 9 because Indian astronomy counted nine planets. The colophon reads: *saṃvatasarā* [sic!] «(..) *vedanāgagraha* || *āṣāḍhaśuklapratipadāḥ* [sic!] *mṛgaśiri-ṅakṣatra* [sic!] | *vṛddhiyoga* | *magalavāra* [sic!] | *leṣijaśu* [sic!] ||. The catalogue entry notes that the manuscript contains many scribal mistakes, possibly because it was copied from a manuscript in a different script.

540 (= 1420 CE). Another is NAK 5/407 (B 34/24), a copy of the *Prādivṛtti*, a short work on preverbs (*upasarga*) from NS 574 (= 1454 CE), whose colophon reads:

brahmānanāśvabāṇe 'bde mārggakṛṣṇe tiOthau yame | ṛkṣahastārkkavāre ca prādiḥ saṃli||
* ||*khitam mayā* || (fol. 7r2–3)

I have copied this work [called] *Prādi* in the year 574,¹¹⁷ on Sunday the second (*yame*) lunar day of the dark fortnight in the month of Mārga(śirṣa), under [the lunar mansion] Hasta and the Great Bear [constellation].¹¹⁸

The fourth is NAK 5/6210 (B 460/15), a paper manuscript of the *Upasargavṛtti* (or *Viṃśatyupasargavṛtti*, as the Tibetan translation suggests¹¹⁹) traditionally attributed to Candragomin himself, dated NS 774 (= 1654 CE).¹²⁰ This is among the very few Cāndra works copied after 1600.¹²¹ The search for paper manuscripts of the *Cāndravāyākaraṇa* in the NGMCP online catalogue returns not more than a dozen hits, and only two of these are said to be in Nepālākṣara (NAK 5/2591 and 4/247). Three more manuscripts (reels B 460/16, 17 and 18) are 20th-century copies of old manuscripts, as is stated in the colophon of one of them.¹²² This clearly suggests that after the 16th century the Cāndra tradition in Nepal underwent a dramatic decline. (For a synopsis of Cāndra manuscripts, see Tab. 1)

117 The year is given in *bhūtasamkhyās*, starting from the units: 4 like Brahma's faces (*brahmānana*); 7 like the horses (*aśva*) of the Sun; 5 like the arrows (*bāṇa*) of Kāma.

118 Another possible interpretation of the compound *ṛkṣahastārkkavāra* is 'Sunday (*arka-vāra*) under the lunar mansion (= *rkṣa*) *Hasta*', although in this case one would rather expect the expression *hastarkṣa*.

119 Verhagen 1994, 55; cf. also Dimitrov 2011, 14.

120 The colophon simply reads *iti cāndravāyākaraṇasya upasarggavṛtṭiḥ samāptiḥ* [!] || || *saṃ 774* || (fol. 5r5).

121 The manuscript of another work, partly based on the *Subantarātnākara* and partly on the *Rūpāvatāra*, a Pāṇinian work, is dated NS 737 (= 1617 CE). The scribe, a certain Kāśirāma, copied it for his son (see below L. Deokar, p. 683).

122 1989 *mite vikramasamvatsare śrāvāṇamāsasya viṃśatitmadivase guruvāsare divyaratnavajrācāryyeṇa prācīnapustakataḥ pratilipi samāptikṛtvā śubham rāmacandraśarmaṇā śodhitā* (fol. 40r1–5). The date given in the colophon is 1989 of the Vikrama Era, corresponding to 1933 CE.

5 The Kātantra school

The NGMCP catalogue lists more than 40 manuscripts of works belonging to the Kātantra school,¹²³ a dozen of which are on palm leaf, most of them in Nepālākṣara. The earliest of these is NAK 3/397 (A 52/12), an incomplete copy of Trilocanadāsa's *Kātantravṛttivivaraṇapañjikā*, the most widespread sub-commentary on Durgasimha's commentary on the Kātantra *sūtrapāṭha*, covering *pādas* 1–4 of chapter 4, the section on primary suffixes (*kṛt*). According to the catalogue entry, this quite ancient witness is in Devanāgarī (presumably an early form of the script) and bears the date of LS 156 (= 1286 CE), two elements indicating that it was probably produced in northern India¹²⁴ and then brought to Nepal, or perhaps produced there by a scribe who had moved to the Kathmandu Valley. The colophon, which is followed by an apotropaic verse praising the scribe's painstaking labour,¹²⁵ reads:

*la saṃ 156 phālgunavadi 2 ravau || ṭhakkuraśrīprajñāpatināleki yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā ti (!)
likhitam [e]khako nāsti doṣaḥ || bhagnapṛṣṭi¹²⁶-kaṭi-gr[ī]va- s{t}a{b}(a)dha[dṛṣṭir
a]dhomukha[m] [l] duḥkhe[na lī](2)khitam sāstram [putravat prati]pālayet || (fols 79r4–79v2)*

[This] has been written in the year 156 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era, on Sunday the second [day] of the dark half of the month of Phālguna [February–March], by Ṭhakkura¹²⁷ Prajñāpati. As it was seen so it was written, the scribe has no fault. Painfully written, with aching¹²⁸ back, loins [and] neck, the gaze fixed, the head downcast, this book should be protected like a son.

The next dated manuscript is Kesar 14 (C 2/6), a palm-leaf copy in Nepālākṣara script of a work called *Padarohaṇa*, according to the NGMCP catalogue a treatise

123 On the history of Kātantra see Belvalkar 1915, 68 ff., Saini 1999, 15–44, and Shen forthcoming.

124 The use of the Lakṣmaṇa Era was confined to a region that corresponds to today's northern Bihar.

125 The same verse, with minimal variation, is also found in other colophons, including that of Or.148, a later manuscript of the *Subantarātnākara* mentioned above and discussed in L. Deokar's contribution: *bhagnapṛṣṭ(h)akatigrīvaṃ (!) taptadṛstir adhomukham | kastena (!) likhitam sāstram jīvatat pratipālayet |*

126 Emend to *bhagnapṛṣṭha*^o.

127 This title suggests that the copyist was a man of some social standing.

128 Sanskrit *bhagna*, lit. 'broken'.

(*prakriyā*) dealing with the derivation of nouns and verbs,¹²⁹ composed by a certain Utsavakīrti. According to the colophon, the manuscript was copied in NS 513 (= 1393 CE):

ity upādhyāyotsava[k]irrtikṛto[!] padarohana[!] samāptaḥ || --- || śreyo 'stu nepālo 'bdo tridaśapañcagate | māghakṛṣṇa daśāyāṃ tithau[vāre] || [rā]jādhirājaparamabhaṭṭāarakaparameśvaraśrīśrījaya[sthiti]ma[l]ladevasya vijayarāje [!] | śrīśrīsuvarṇanapanārīḥ na[garyāṃ] samavasthitapātraśrī [...] (fols 98v5–99r1)¹³⁰

Thus the *Padarohaṇa* composed by the teacher Utsavakīrti is completed. May there be bliss. In the year 513 of the Nepali Era, on the tenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha [January–February], during the victorious reign of the king of kings, the supreme lord, the highest sovereign, the glorious Jayasthitimalla,¹³¹ [for the dignitary ... established¹³²] in the city of Suvarṇapanārī¹³³...

Only a few years younger than the manuscript of the *Padarohaṇa*, NAK 5/418 (A 54/3) contains another minor work in the Kātantra tradition, the *Syādyantakoṣa*, the title of which clearly identifies it as a treatise on nominal declension.¹³⁴ The manuscript, on palm leaf, is dated NS 516 (= 1396 CE) and is written in Nepālākṣara. Its quite detailed colophon¹³⁵ reads:

129 The NGMCP catalogue quotes at least two more copies of this work, undated but most probably later since they are on paper. This work was probably known to the Tibetan tradition (see Verhagen 1994, 59–61).

130 The NGMCP catalogue entry does not give any excerpt for this manuscript. I have transcribed this colophon from a copy of the microfilm.

131 The two *akṣaras* giving the name of the king are barely legible, but the vowels are almost certainly i's, and the year falls within Jayasthitimalla's reign. Petech 1984 does not list this colophon among the documents of this king.

132 This is a tentative translation, based on the meaning 'court dignitary, official' for the term (*mahā-*)*pātra* in medieval Nepal (see Regmi 1965, 498 ff.), an interpretation that seems to be corroborated by the following word, *śrī*, commonly prefixed to proper names in such documents. My conjecture is that this line of the scribal colophon may have mentioned the name of the person who commissioned the copy (or – less likely – who prepared it). Unfortunately the rest of the line is almost completely effaced.

133 Another name of Kathmandu.

134 In the Kātantra system *sI* is the technical term for the first ending – nominative, singular, masculine –, corresponding to Pāṇinian *sU*. There is a Tibetan translation of a text called *Syādyantaprakriyā*, attributed to Mañju(śrī)kīrti and affiliated to Kātantra (Verhagen 1994, 70–72). Cf. also L. Deokar in this volume (below, p. 671).

135 Partially quoted in Petech (1984, 147). He specifies that the date is verified for Wednesday 7 June 1396. Note that Petech's readings occasionally differ from those found in the NGMCP catalogue entry. Here I am relying on the latter.

*samvat 516 ākhā[ḍha]*¹³⁶ *śuklapratipadyāyā* [!] *tithau buddhavāsare*¹³⁷ *purnavasunakṣatre*¹³⁸ || *juva*¹³⁹ *rājaśrīśrīdharmamalladevasya vijayarājyasamaye* || ○ *śrīvyanāpyānā*[[ma]] *deśanag-napatanavare* || *brahmakulendravidiprasrijivasarmaṇasya* [!] *yathābhilikhitaṃ manoratham pustakam idaṃ sapūrṇam* [!] *astu* || ○ *viprendraśrījivasarṇeṇa satvārthapratihetanā*¹⁴⁰ | *anena puṇyamārggena nīpatan*¹⁴¹ [!] *sarvvasukhāspadaṃ* || *likhitaḥ śrī amarendracandrena* | (fol. 74r2–5)

May this book, a desire of the mind, be entirely completed as it was written [in the original document?] for the brahmin Jivaśarmaṇa, the chief of the Brahma lineage, in the year 516, on Wednesday the first lunar day of the bright fortnight of [the month of] Āṣāḍha under the asterism Punarvasu, during the victorious reign of the crown prince (*yuvarāja*) the glorious Dharmamalla, in the city of Nagna-Patanavara in the country called Vyanāpyā.¹⁴² [This work,] the seat of all happiness, proceeding by this meritorious road the cause of which is the pursuit of truth by the chief of brahmins (*vipendra*) Jivaśarma, has been copied by Amarendracandra.

If my understanding of the colophon is correct, a high-ranking brahmin called Jivaśarma(ṇa), possibly living in a town of the Banepa region, commissioned the manuscript to the copyist Amarendracandra during the reign of Jayadharmamalla, the eldest son of Jayasthitimalla and Rājalladevī, born in 1367.¹⁴³ Here Jayadharmamalla is given the title *yuvarāja* because, after his father's death in September 1395, he shared the kingdom with his brothers Jayajyotirmalla and Jayakirtimalla for a number of years (Petech 1984, 143, 151), in keeping with the established practice of *dvairājya* mentioned above.

In the early 15th century we find a copy of the Kātantra *sūtrapāṭha*, NAK 5/417 (B 35/19), copied in NS 531 (= 1411 CE) during the reign of king Jayajyotirmalla (who was by then ruling alone since both his brothers had died). The book belonged to a minister (*amātya*) called Jayabrahma, as specified in the colophon:¹⁴⁴

136 Emend to *āṣāḍha* = June/July.

137 Emend to *budha*^o.

138 Emend to *punarvasu*^o, which is the name of a lunar mansion.

139 Emend to *yuva*^o.

140 Possibly emend to *hetunā*.

141 Possibly emend to *nīpatat*.

142 According to Petech, who reads *Byanappāna*, this may be identified with present-day Banepa, to the east of Kathmandu.

143 See Petech 1984, Appendix Genealogy C, p. 231.

144 The NGMCP entry gives the final rubric but not the scribal colophon, which I quote from Petech 1984, 162. According to him, the date is verified for 9 April 1411.

śreyo 'stu samvat 531 caitrakṣṇapratipadyāṃ tithau svātinakṣatre siddhiyoge yathākaraṇa[m] muhūrte bṛhaspativāsare meṣarāśigate savitari tulārāśigate candramasi rājādhirājaparameśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrījayajyotirmalladevasyavijayarāje amātyajayabrahmakasya pustako 'yam...

May there be bliss! This book belongs to the minister Jayabrahma, [having been copied] in the year 531, on Thursday the first lunar day of the dark fortnight of [the month of] Caitra [April] under the asterism Svāti [and] the yoga Siddhi at the time [established] in accordance with the astrological calculation (*yathākaraṇam*) when the Sun is in the sign of the Aries and the Moon is in the sign of the Libra during the victorious reign of the king of kings, the highest sovereign, the supreme lord, the glorious Jayajyotirmalla...

A few years later, in NS 536 (1415 CE) another manuscript, NAK 1/1078 (B 34/17), also on palm leaf and in Nepālākṣara, containing the entire Kātantra *Dhātupāṭha*, may have been copied for an unnamed young royal prince (*rājakumāraka*), possibly a son or nephew¹⁴⁵ of Jayajyotirmalla:¹⁴⁶

*ṛtu[rā]maśare yāte māse mārggaśire 'śite¹⁴⁷ |
susampūrṇaṃ kṛtaṃ lekhaṃ suOpañcamyāṃ tithau vare || rājādhirāja[[h]]parameśvara-
paramabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrījayajyotirmalla-devasya vijayarāje || ○ vidyāvilāsaraghurāja-
kumārakasya cintāmaṇīdrumasamārthijanasya tasya | śrīśrisubhairavamal[!]asya
parājayasya kālāpadhātuvarapuṣṭakam eva yasya || (fol. 33v1–4)*

The copy [of this book] has been entirely completed in the year 536,¹⁴⁸ in the dark [fortnight of the] month of Mārggaśira [November], in the auspicious (*vare*¹⁴⁹) fifth lunar day, during the victorious reign of the king of kings, the highest sovereign, the supreme lord, the glorious Jayajyotirmalla. This excellent book [containing] the verbal roots of Kālāpa¹⁵⁰ belongs to the prince of the solar dynasty (^o*raghu*) who has playful ease with learning

145 Possibly Jayayakṣamalla, Jayadharmamalla's son, who succeeded his uncle to the throne.

146 The final portion of the colophon is not entirely clear and lends itself to multiple interpretations. The colophon is partially quoted in Petech (1984, 163), which on the last line reads *śrīśrīśribhairavamal(l)asya ya rājā yasya* for *śrīśrisubhairavamal[!]asya parājayasya*. According to him, the date corresponds to 21 November 1415.

147 Probably a misspelling for *asita* 'dark'.

148 The year is expressed in *bhūtasamṅkhyas*: starting from the units, *ṛtu* 'season' stands for 6, *rāma* stands for 3, and *śara* 'arrow' for 5.

149 Alternatively, one may conjecture that this is to be emended to *vāre*. We have seen the expression *tithau vāre*, in which the two words – essentially synonyms meaning 'lunar day' – apparently reinforce each other, in other colophons quoted above.

150 Kālāpavyākaraṇa was another name for the Kātantra.

(*vidyāvilāsa*°), [and is] like (°*sama*-) a wish-fulfilling tree for the suppliants (-*arthijā-nasya*),¹⁵¹ who is victory (*parājaya*) [incarnated] [and bears the *biruda*] Subhairavamalla.

The next dated manuscript, NAK 3/383 (A 53/9), dated Nepāla Samvat 545 (1425 CE) is a copy of Durgasiṃha's *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*, a work on the metarules (*paribhāṣā*) of Kātantra, also on palm leaf and in Nepālākṣara, suggesting that the interest in this grammatical tradition was not purely practical but embraced its theoretical aspects. Besides the date, the colophon gives the name of the scribe, once again a brahmin named Gayāpati:

samvat 545 āṣāḍhasuklapūrṇṇamāsyām tithau | pūrva[phālguni]nakṣatre | [vai]dhyoyoge | śanidīne | vipraśrīgayāpatinā likhito (2) yam | yathā dṛṣṭe sati tathā likhitā na doṣaṃ lekhakasya ||

This has been copied by the brahmin Gayāpati in the year 545, on Saturday the day of full moon of the bright fortnight of [the month of] Āṣāḍha, under the asterism of Phālguni,¹⁵² under the *yoga* Vaidhṛti. As it was seen so it was written: the scribe has no fault.

Around the mid-15th century, another palm-leaf manuscript in Nepālākṣara script, NAK 9/589 (C 55/7), contains the Kātantra *sūtrapāṭha* with Durgasiṃha's *Vṛtti* and Trilocanadāsa's *Vivaraṇapañjikā*. The colophon gives the year as NS 567 (= 1447 CE), when the ruling monarch was Jayayakṣamalla.¹⁵³ It also mentions the name of the scribe, the brahmin Śivaharideva:

*samvat 567 śrāvaṇakṛṣṇadaśamyām tithau ādityavāsare saṃpūrṇṇam kṛtam idaṃ puṣṭa[!]*kaṃ* | rājādhirājayameśvara¹⁵⁴paramabhaṭṭārakaśrīśrījayayakṣamalla devavijayarāje [!] || śubham astu sarvajagatām iti || likhitam idaṃ dvijavaraśrīśivaharidevena idaṃ puṣṭa[!]*kaṃ* || (fol. 27r1–3)*

151 This is a tentative translation based on the conjecture that the members of the compound are clumsily inverted: one would rather expect *arthijana-cintāmaṇidrumasamasya*.

152 According to the NGMCP the date corresponds to 30 June 1425 CE, but the correct asterism for that date should have been *pūrvāṣāḍha* instead of *pūrvaphālguni*. It is possible that the scribe confused the names of the two *nakṣatras*.

153 Jayayakṣamalla (1408–1482) ruled from 1428 to the year of his death, an exceptionally long reign attested by numerous manuscript colophons (including this one) and inscriptions (Petech 1984, 176).

154 The epithet *yameśvara* is unusual. Considering the similarity between the *akṣaras* ya and pa in Nepālākṣara, I suspect the correct reading is °*pameśvara*°, in turn probably a simple scribal mistake that should be emended to *parameśvara*, one of the titles commonly adopted by the Malla kings.

This book has been completed in the year 567, on Sunday the tenth lunar day of the dark fortnight of [the month of] Śrāvaṇa,¹⁵⁵ during the victorious reign of the king of kings, the highest sovereign, the supreme lord, the glorious Jayayakṣamalla. May there be fortune for all the worlds. This book has been copied by the best of the twice-born Śivaharideva.

Among the remaining undated palm-leaf manuscripts of Kātantra works one finds copies of the *sūtrapāṭha*, alone or with Durgasiṃha's *Vṛtti*, the *Dhātupāṭha*, the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* ascribed to Durgasiṃha and a commentary on this called *Paribhāṣāvṛttiṭīkā*, a *Kātantravṛttipañjikā* by Udayaśramaṇa (apparently different from Trilocanadāsa's commentary), and some minor works such as the *Prajñāvistārikā* (NAK 1/1152, B 35–15) of Billeśvara (also known to have composed a *Ṭīkā* on the *Kātantravyākaraṇa*) and a *Dhātusaṃgraha*, these last two in Maithili script.

The Kātantra tradition continues to be well attested in several paper manuscripts from the late medieval and early modern period.¹⁵⁶ Quite a few of them are in Devanāgarī or Maithili script. Among the dated ones, the earliest appear to be a copy of *Triliṅgaprakaraṇa*, a section of *Syādyantakoṣa* (NAK 5/5496 = A 1212/23), written in NS 600 (= 1480 CE) or 620 (= 1500 CE) by the scribe Śubharāja in Devanāgarī;¹⁵⁷ and NAK 1/1406 (A 1309/4), simply listed as *Kātantra*, in Devanāgarī, from the year 1554 of the Vikrama Era, i.e. 1497 CE.¹⁵⁸ This is followed by NAK 5/4274 (A 552/7), a copy of Trilocanadāsa's *Kātantravṛttivivaraṇapañjikā*, in Devanāgarī, dated 1632 of an unspecified era (probably Vikrama, corresponding to 1575–76).¹⁵⁹

NAK 1/1528 (A 552/11; also A 1302/8) is a copy of the section on *sandhi* of the Kātantra *sūtrapāṭha* in Nepālākṣara, dated NS 705 (= 1585 CE). The pithy colophon

155 The date is verified for 10 August 1447 (Petech 1984, 171).

156 Unfortunately, many of these have not been properly catalogued yet, and their entries contain only a very basic physical description. In most cases the title is simply given as *Kātantra*, without any further specification.

157 Another entry in the NGMCP catalogue, for Kesar 234 (C 26/7-1), the copy of a clearly related work called *Syādyantakoṣasāra*, said to be on palm leaf and in Nepālākṣara, records a very similar colophon and was written by the same scribe in NS 620 (= 1500 CE). It is possible either that the script of these two manuscripts is Devanāgarī with some features of Nepālākṣara (or vice versa), or that one of the two records is not correct. In any case, the relation between these two manuscripts needs to be investigated further.

158 The very pithy entry in the NGMCP catalogue just gives the title as *Kātantra*.

159 The colophon, in ungrammatical and badly spelled Sanskrit, reads: *saṃvat 1632 samaye vaiśāṣa śudi 6 sanivāsare || || pāṭhārthaṃ liṣāpitaṃ pāṭhakam itā[!]nandasutap-admanābhaliṣyāpitaṃ pāṭhārthaṃ liṣitaṃ pustaka śrīvāstavyaṃ pāṃḍe madanaputra gosāi dāsena || viśvanāṭhasaraṇaṃ ||* (fol. 115v5–8).

also contains an invocation to the goddess Durgā.¹⁶⁰ Another manuscript, NAK 1/1388 (B 458/19), also simply listed as *Kātantra*, is in Nepālākṣara and dated NS 707 (= 1587). Among the dated manuscripts from the 17th century one finds Kesar 191 (C 20/8; also C 21/1), also in Nepālākṣara, a copy of the *Kātantravṛtti* from NS 755 (= 1635 CE) written by a certain Sūryarāma for his personal use (*svārthe*);¹⁶¹ E 1707/10 (no accession number) is a copy of *Dhātuvṛttimanoramā*, most probably a commentary on the Kātantra *dhātupāṭha*, in Nepālākṣara, dated Nepāla Samvat 802 (= 1682); and NAK 1/1351 (B 462–17) is a copy of *Durgasiṃhavṛtti*, also in Nepālākṣara, from Nepāla Samvat 812 (= 1692), with a colophon in heavily Sanskritised Newari apparently stating that the copy was prepared for king Bhūpatīndramalla.¹⁶² The production of manuscripts of Kātantra works continued well into the 19th century. (For a synopsis of Kātantra manuscripts, see Tab. 2).

6 The Pāṇinian school

When we turn to the Pāṇinian school, we get a very different picture from the fervour of activity that is testified by the surviving manuscripts of the Cāndra grammar since the early medieval period. On the basis of the data available in the NGMCP online catalogue,¹⁶³ it appears that among the major works of this school composed in the first millennium CE – the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *Mahābhāṣya*, the *Vākyapadīya*, and the *Kāśīkavṛtti* with its subcommentary *Vivaraṇapañjikā* (also known as *Nyāsa*) –, only the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi has been preserved in a manuscript that is earlier than the late 15th century. The manuscript in question, NAK 4/216 (A 52/13), in Nepālākṣara, is comprised of more than 400 folios and covers the first four *adhyāyas*. The copy is likely to be incomplete, since it ends

160 *iti sandhau pañcamah pādaḥ samāpta || me mahyaṃ durggāpṛitir astu || 7 || sambat 705 śrāvaṇaśuklapañcamyā.*

161 *samvat 755 āṣāḍhakṣṇatrayodaśi sampūrṇam iti likhitaṃ śrīsūryarāmeṇa svārthe || (fol. 77v9).*

162 Colophon: *samvat 812 vaiśāṣavadi thva kuhnu śrībhūpatīndramalladeva na dayakā dina || śubham astu || (fol. 18r5)* (Newari words in bold: *thva kuhnu* ‘on this day’; *na* ‘genitive case marker’; *dayakā* ‘which was made’ [Malla 2000: all s.v.]). However, note that Bhūpatīndramalla reigned in Bhaktapur from 1696, when he succeeded his father Jitāmitramalla (see Slusser 1982, 205–206), therefore the date in the colophon may be wrong.

163 The University Library in Cambridge holds no manuscripts of Pāṇinian works from Nepal.

on fol. 423r with the rubric to the fourth chapter rather than a proper colophon.¹⁶⁴ Despite the absence of a date, according to the catalogue entry it can be ascribed to the beginning of the 11th century on palaeographic grounds.

The first – but seemingly isolated – dated specimen of a Pāṇiniya manuscript is NAK 4/755 (B 35/34), a palm-leaf copy in Nepālākṣara of the *Sambandhasiddhi*, written in Nepāla Samvat 329 (= 1209 CE).¹⁶⁵ This work is an obscure (and as far as I know unpublished) commentary on the *Kāraḥakakra* or *Vāraucasaṅgraha* traditionally attributed to the mythical Vararuci, of uncertain date (probably second half of the first millennium CE), itself somewhat on the periphery of the Pāṇinian tradition despite its popularity (on Nepalese copies of the *Kāraḥakakra*, see below).

Particularly striking is the absence of early manuscripts of the *Mahābhāṣya*. A search on the NGMCP catalogue returns about 120 hits, but all the copies are on paper, and thus presumably later than 1500, and most of them are in Devanāgarī. Some also contain the subcommentary *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa, and a few Nāgeśa's *Uddyota*. Only a few copies happen to be dated, the oldest in Devanāgarī apparently from c. 1790.¹⁶⁶ As for Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya*, another major work in the early Pāṇinian tradition, not a single manuscript is recorded in the NGMCP catalogue.

The search for copies of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* itself returns around 90 hits, but only one of these is in Nepālākṣara script, undated and (probably) on paper, so presumably late (see below). Significantly, the earliest surviving copy of Pāṇini's *sūtra* in Nepal, NAK 4/326,¹⁶⁷ is a palm-leaf manuscript in Maithili script, dated LS 374, corresponding to 1494 CE. The colophon (fol. 82v4–5) suggests that it was produced in eastern India (and later brought to Nepal):

164 *bodhisatvadeśīyācāryajinendrabuddhiviracitāyām kāsikāvivaraṇapañjikāyām caturtho dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ ||* ‘The fourth book of the *Kāsikāvivaraṇapañjikā* composed by the teacher Jinendrabuddhi, who is like a bodhisattva, has been completed.’

165 The colophon (not transcribed in the NGMCP catalogue entry) is hardly legible from the image of the microfilm, but fortunately the year (written in numerals) is very clear.

166 NAK 5/3832 (B 472/1) is dated Samvat 1847 of an unspecified era. If it were the Vikrama Era, the year would be 1790–1791 CE.

167 The same manuscript has been microfilmed twice (reels A 1311/19 and A 1162/13), which is not unusual, but in this case there is also some uncertainty in the catalogue about the library classmark, which is given as NAK 5/4481 in one place. There is one more record, of reel A 52/4, by a different author, describing an *Aṣṭādhyāyī* manuscript that is suspiciously similar to the former in terms of number of folios, with an almost identical colophon and yet another classmark. Only the direct inspection of the manuscript(s) in Kathmandu will clarify this confusion.

la saṃ 374 śrāvaṇabadi 13 ravau cāuṇṭitapāsamlagnadalakauligrāme pāṇḍavagrāmīyapaṭhatā śrīvarddhamānena svapāṭhārthaṃ ṭhakukesārddhaṃ likhitaiśā pustiti || pustakalikhanaṇparīśramavettā vidyujjano¹⁶⁸ nānyaḥ | sāgaralaṃghanakhedam hanūmān ekaḥ paraṃ veda |

This book has been copied in the year 374 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era, on Sunday 13, in the dark half (*badi*) of the month of Śrāvaṇa [= July–August], by Vardhamāna, the reciter/preceptor (*paṭhatā*) from [the village known as] Pāṇḍavagrāma, in the village of Dalakauli attached to Cāuṇṭitapā, for his personal study, together with [i.e. with the help of?] Ṭhakuke.¹⁶⁹ Only someone who is learned (*vidvājano?*) knows the fatigue of copying a book, no one else; only Hanūmān knows the formidable effort of jumping across the ocean.

This late 15th-century Maithili copy of a Pāṇiniya work is far from being exceptional. In fact, the NGMCP lists at least half a dozen manuscripts in the same script and from approximately the same period, containing the *Kāśīkāvṛtti*, the *Nyāsa*, and other works. The oldest appears to be NAK 1/464 (A 52/8 = A 1171/4), from LS 358 (= 1478 CE), containing *Kāśīkāvṛtti* on *adhyāya 7, pāda 2*, of *Aṣṭādhyāyi*. Its colophon reads:

la saṃ 358 āśvīnavadi dvādaśyāṃ bhaume jamugāma-braṃhāpure sadupādhyāyāśrīvāsudevacarāṇāravindebhyāḥ paṭhatā śrīguṇapatīnā svapāṭhārthaṃ likhitam idaṃ pustakam iti || (fol. 32r4–5)

This book has been copied for his personal study by Guṇapati, reading at the lotus-feet of the virtuous teacher Vāsudeva, in the year 358 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era, on Tuesday (*bhauma*) the twelfth [lunar day] in the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvina in [the town of] Jamugāma-Brahmapura (?).

By a curious coincidence, the next two manuscripts (both on palm leaf) are dated to the same year, LS 376 (= 1496 CE). They are NAK 1/1537 (A 53/7) and NAK 1/468 (A 1171/2). The former is a copy of the *Nyāsa*, covering just the second *pāda* of *adhyāya 1*, and its colophon specifies the name of the scribe, Jagāditya, who copied the manuscripts for his personal use:

*la saṃ 376 māghaśudi [pū]rṇīmāyāṃ kuje udyānagrāme śrījagādityena svapāṭhārthaṃ likhitam idaṃ pustakam iti | ○ ti || || * || * || makarāhisaṃ śrīraghuśarmmaṇā śrīramānandeṣu dattā | (fol. 63r1–2)*

168 Possibly emend to *vidvājano*.

169 Possibly emend to *ṭhakure*.

This book has been copied in the year 376 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era, on Tuesday (*kuje*, i.e. the day of Mars) the day of full moon of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha [January–February], in the village of Udyāna, by Jagāditya for his personal study.

Donated ... [*makarāhisam?*] by Raghūśarman to Rāmānanda.¹⁷⁰

The latter is a copy of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* alone containing *pāda* 2, *adhyāya* 1, commissioned by a certain Rāmānātha, bearing the title of *ṭhakkura*, and copied by the scribe Buddhinātha:

śubham astu lasaṃ 376 āśvinaśudi 5 śukre śrīcaraṇadharaṇagare | ṭhakkuraśrīrāmānātha-mahāśayānā[m ā]jñayā śrībuddhināthena likhitam idaṃ pustakam iti || (fol. 17v4–5)

May there be fortune. This book has been copied by Buddhinātha by order of Sir (*mahāśaya*) Ṭhakkura Rāmānātha in the year 376 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era, on Friday (*śukre*, i.e. the day of Venus) the 5th [day] of the bright fortnight (*śudi*) of the month of Āśvina, in the town of Śrīcaraṇadhara.

The colophon of another palm-leaf manuscript of *Kāśikāvṛtti* in Maithili script, NAK 1/468 (A 1171/3), is even more concise, with no date:

iti kāśikāyāṃ vṛttau tṛtīyasyādhyāyasya prathamah pādaḥ samāptaḥ || || śubham astu || oṃ namo gopālāya || sarasvatyai namaḥ || śrīnaraharer līpīr iyaṃ (†mariyaḥ†) || (fol. 35v4)

The second quarter of the first book of the *Kāśikāvṛtti* has been completed. May there be fortune. Oṃ, homage to Gopāla. Homage to Sarasvatī. This is the copy [made] by Narahari ... [*mariyaḥ?*]

It is difficult to draw any historical information from these colophons, or even identify the places they mention, but it is clear that these copies were originally made for the personal use of individual scholars, possibly in eastern India, and then later presumably sold and brought to Nepal.

Another early Pāṇiniya work that – like several texts of the Cāndra tradition – made its way into Nepal from eastern India, having been originally composed by a Southern author, is the little-studied *Rūpāvatāra*¹⁷¹ of the Srilankan Buddhist monk Dharmakīrti (probably 10th century), the first known attempt at rearranging Pāṇini's *sūtras* according to topic, a few centuries before Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita's *Siddhānta Kaumudī*. It is plausible that, like Ratnamati's *Cāndravivaraṇapañjikā* and, possibly, its sub-commentaries, Dharmakīrti's work was studied in the Buddhist

170 The catalogue entry points out that the final sentence is probably a later addition.

171 The only study devoted to this work that I am aware of is Lalithambal's 1995 monograph.

universities of eastern India, but unlike those, it was preserved even after their decline, certainly because it was kept alive in brahmanical circles thanks to its affiliation to the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition. The Nepalese collections hold three palm-leaf copies of *Rūpāvatāra*, all of them in Maithili script, two of which are dated (for the third manuscript, NAK 1/1559 = A 1162/5, see Śāstrī 1905, 70). The oldest is from LS 367 (= 1487 CE),¹⁷² the other, NAK 4/764 (A 52/11) is a few years younger, from LS 383 (= 1503 CE), and was prepared by a certain Śaṅkara:

ity ācāryyadharmma ○ *kīrttiviracite rūpāvatāre tiṅantākhyah samāptaḥ* || || *la saṃ* 383
āśvinaḥṣṇadvādaśyām śukre ajinauliśrāmavāstavyena śrīśaṅkareṇa likhitaiśā ○ *pustiketi* ||

Thus, the Section on Finite Verbs in the *Rūpāvatāra* composed by the Teacher Dharmakīrti has been completed. This book has been copied by Śaṅkara, a resident of Ajinauliśrāma, in the year 383 of the Lakṣmaṇa Era, on Friday the 12th [lunar day] in the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvina.

The *Rūpāvatāra* seems to have enjoyed a continued popularity in later centuries, because there are several paper copies of it, some of them in Nepālākṣara – one from NS 697 (= 1577)¹⁷³ – while others are in Maithili or Devanāgarī. The most recent is a Devanāgarī copy dated Nepāla Samvat 1001 (= 1881).¹⁷⁴

Among the *kaumudī*-type works, a search for the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra returns no less than 32 hits.¹⁷⁵ At least six of these are dated. NAK 1/446 (A 556/6), in Nepālākṣara, bears the year 601 of an unspecified era. If this belonged to the Nepāli Era, it would correspond to 1481 CE,¹⁷⁶ which means it would have been copied only a few decades after the work was composed in the

172 This is reel A 1162/4, for which no proper record exists in the NGMCP catalogue. However, the manuscript is described in Śāstrī 1905, 60-61, among those then held in the Durbar Library of Kathmandu.

173 This is NAK 5-5497 (A 567/8), for which only a minimal record exists in the NGMCP catalogue.

174 This is NAK 5-5498 (A 555/2), whose colophon reads: *ity ācāryyaśrīdharmmakīrttiviracite rūpāvatāre subaṃtāvatāraḥ samāptaḥ śubham śrisamvat 1938 śrīnepālasaṃvat 1001 sāla miti śrāvaṇava vadi 6 ro 1 etad dīne idaṃ pustaka likhitam samāptam likhitam idaṃ pustaka śrīlalitāpūranagarasya śrīmahābuddhopāśakācāryyaśrījitānandena śubham* (fol. 89v3–5). The year is given both in the Vikrama and the Nepāli Eras. The scribe was a lay (*upāsaka*) Buddhist scholar called Jitānanda from the town of Lalitāpūra, i.e. Patan.

175 Interestingly, this work was also known to the Tibetan tradition (see Verhagen 1994, 135–137, 317–320).

176 Unfortunately the colophon is very short and does not indicate the day of the week, so the date cannot be verified: *saṃvat 601 phālgūṇa śukla dvitīyā likhitam idaṃ pustakaṃ* (fol. 110v8–9). Only the direct inspection of the manuscript will be able to tell.

first half of the 15th century. Furthermore, if the catalogue entry is correct, the copy is on paper, which would make this a relatively early specimen of paper manuscript in Nepal. If, on the other hand, the date is given in the Lakṣmaṇa Era, which – as mentioned above – had some currency in Nepal, it would correspond to 1721 CE. The other dated copies are all from the 17th century onwards, some in Nepālākṣara, some in Maithili, and some in Devanāgarī. Among those in Maithili, NAK 1/309 (A 555/1) and NAK 5/3559 (A 555/12) give the year 792 according to the Nepāla Era (= 1672 CE). The colophon of the former explicitly indicates Kāṣṭhamāṇḍapanagara, that is Kathmandu, as the place of copying.¹⁷⁷ In the latter, the scribe, a certain Gaṅgādhara, calls himself a *mahāmantrin*, which suggests he may have been a high-ranking official at court.¹⁷⁸ Another, NAK 1/1076 (A 53/13), on palm leaf, is dated LS 558 (= 1678 CE), and the scribe's name is given as Dāmodara Śarmā. The colophon of yet another copy, NAK 1/313 (A 555/9), in Nepālākṣara and on paper, from the same year expresses the date as NS 798 (= 1678 CE), again in Sanskritised Newari.¹⁷⁹

Another Pāṇiniya work composed by a Buddhist author, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottamadeva (12th century), is also preserved in both palm-leaf and paper manuscripts, either in Maithili or Nepālākṣara scripts, but none of them is dated.¹⁸⁰ Another work found in the Nepalese manuscript collections is the *Kārakacakra* or *Vārarucasamgraha*,¹⁸¹ already mentioned above. It is a short treatise in verse on Sanskrit syntax and word formation, comprised of five sections (*paṭalas*), dealing with *kārakas*, *samāsas*, *taddhitas*, *tiñantas* and *kṛdantas*, usually accompanied by a commentary that was possibly called *Prayogamukha* and is sometimes attributed to Dharmakīrti, who might be the same as the author of the *Rūpāvatāra*.¹⁸² The Nepalese collections hold several copies of the

177 It reads: *om || om || om || 792 || pauṣe māsi śukle pakṣe navamyāṃ tithau kāṣṭhamāṇḍapanagare yo ...*

178 *nepālasammat [!] 792 || * || * || [-9-] daśamyāṃ bṛhaspatau keva mahāmantri gaṅgādhareṇa likhitaiṣā prakriyā || nama kṣṇāya ||* (fol. 97v4–6). There is some uncertainty in the interpretation because the sentence is clearly ungrammatical, as frequently happens with scribal colophons.

179 *sambat 798 pauṣa kṣṇa pañcami kuhnu sampūrṇa yāñā ||* (fol. 129r2–3) (*kuhnu* 'on the day'; *yāñā*: past form of *yāca* 'to do').

180 NAK 1/425 (A 52–7) is a palm-leaf copy in Maithili script of the *Bhāṣāvṛttipañjikā* of Viśvarūpa, a sub-commentary on Puruṣottamadeva's *Vṛtti*.

181 There is some uncertainty about the title: alternative names are *Kārakasaṅgraha*, *Prayogamukha* (*maṇḍana*) and *Prayoga* (*viveka*) *saṅgraha* (cf. the remarks in the catalogue entry of NAK 4/798 [A 51/14]).

182 The catalogue entry of NAK 4/798 (see previous note), an undated palm-leaf copy in Maithili, remarks that in the work the 'ślokas of Vararuci's *Prayogamukha* or *Kārakacakra* are given and commented upon. [...] In two sub-colophons (as in other MS) the *Prayogamukha* itself is

Vārarucasamgraha, mostly on paper, often with the commentary. An undated palm-leaf specimen, NAK 4/798 (A 51/14), is in Maithili script, suggesting perhaps that this work too may have been brought into Nepal from eastern India. The earliest dated copy is NAK 1/1490 (A 557/8), on paper, in Nepālākṣara, from NS 750 (= 1630 CE), copied by a scholar/teacher (*upādhyāya*) called Mahādeva.¹⁸³ Roughly half a century later, in NS 805 (= 1685 CE), another copy, NAK 6/495 (A 1108/06), also on paper and in Nepālākṣara, was prepared by a brahmin called Cakrarāja, who proudly claims to be ‘the excellent pandit, the sovereign among the twice-born’ (*dvijātīnām cakravarttisupaṇḍitaḥ*). In NS 883 (= 1763 CE), the colophon of another Nepālākṣara copy, NAK 4/151 (A 557/7), informs us in a mixture of Sanskrit and Newari that the scribe Bhāju Dhana had written it for the ‘sole purpose of study’ (*adhyayanārtham eva*), surely implying that this was not a copy made for sale by a professional scribe.¹⁸⁴ Another paper manuscript of the *Prayogamukha*, NAK 1/1590 (A 557/3), undated, is remarkable in that, according to the catalogue entry, it is written in Maithili script on folios 1v–34v, and in Nepālākṣara script from fol. 35r to fol. 56v, even though the text is continuous – further evidence of the close and persisting links between Nepal and Mithilā.

The importation of manuscripts of Pāṇinian works from the Mithilā region of eastern India appears in fact to have continued in the late medieval-early modern period. NAK 4/257 (A 53/14), a palm-leaf copy of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* prepared by a scribe called Hariśvara for a certain Kṛṣṇānanda, dates from LS 437 (= 1567 CE).¹⁸⁵ Slightly younger is NAK 1/1114 (B 35/22), *Ṣaṭkarakabālabodhinī*, a didactic work on *kāraḥ* ascribed in the NGMCP catalogue entry to Prabhudāsa, from LS 475 (= 1595).¹⁸⁶ The 17th century saw the production of a manuscript such as NAK 4/40 (B 35/6), a copy of the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, on palm leaf, dated LS 532 (= 1652 CE),

attributed to Dharmakīrti. However, there seems to be a tradition to refer both to Vararuci’s verses and Dharmakīrti’s commentary thereon as *Prayogamukha*’.

183 Colophon: *saṃvat 750 āśvīnakṛṣṇapratipadyāditye śrīmahādevopādhyāyena likhitam idaṃ pustakaṃ* || (fol. 73r5).

184 Colophon (with Newari words in bold): *saṃ 883 jyeṣṭhaśuklayā ekāśī [!] somavāra **thva kuhnu** saṃpūrṇa **yañā julo** || lekhakāya śubhaṃ bhavatu sarvvaḍā || śrī 3 madekajaṭāyai pītir astuḥ [!] || guṇāhimātaṃgagate ca varṣe, jeṣṭhe śucau candradine hares tithau | bhāju dhana vyākaraṇaṃ prayogamukhaṃ lilekhādhyayanārtham eva* || (fol. 50v2–5).

185 See the colophon: *la. saṃ. 437 phālgunaśuklasaptamyām candravāsare śrīkṛṣṇānandasya pāṭhārthaṃ śrīhariśvareṇa ○ li[khi]...* (fol. 65r2).

186 Colophon: *iti ṣaṭkarakapustakaṃ samāptam iti || * || la saṃ 475 pauṣaśudi 12 budhe bhau ā(dra)grāme śrīmurāriśarmmaṇā likhiteṣā pustakīti* ||. This manuscript is mentioned in Śāstrī 1905, vii–viii, where the work is said to belong to the Kātantra school.

copied by a certain Cūḍāmaṇi for his son in a place called Taraunī,¹⁸⁷ and NAK 1/468 (A 1162/12), yet another copy of *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, dated LS 541 (= 1660 CE), which the scribe, boasting of his ‘clear and graceful handwriting’ (*prakaṭacārulekhā*), dedicates to Bhārati (i.e. Sarasvatī).¹⁸⁸ Like the *Siddhāntakaumudī*, most works of later Pāṇinīyas – such as Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita, Kauṇḍabhaṭṭa, and Nāgeśa, just to name some of its major representatives – are well attested in the Nepalese collections with several modern copies listed in the NGMCP catalogue. (For a synopsis of Pāṇinīya manuscripts, see Tab. 3)

7 Miscellaneous grammatical manuscripts

While in the previous paragraphs I have focused on the three grammatical systems that are arguably the oldest and most influential in the intellectual history of South Asia, here I will look at some of the other grammatical works that are found in the Nepalese collections. The sheer number and variety of manuscripts of grammatical works (even outside the main traditions) confirms that *vyākaraṇa* played a key role in the literary culture of medieval and early modern Nepal like in the rest of the subcontinent. Other schools are also represented – in particular, a search for *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa* returns more than 200 hits, mostly paper manuscripts, with one possibly quite old palm-leaf manuscript¹⁸⁹ –, as well as several works of a didactic nature, or of uncertain affiliation (sometimes mixing elements of different schools), or smaller tracts on specific topics, or even works dealing with languages other than Sanskrit. Without any ambition to be in any way exhaustive, I will present some of these manuscripts, once again focusing on the most ancient items.

187 Colophon: *dviraṅṅniśavaktṛāṅkīte lakṣmaṅābde śucau kāmāthiyāṃ śucau jivavāre | vyalekhīd idaṃ pustakaṃ putrapāṭhe prayatnena cūḍāmaṇiḥ saṃs [sic!] taraunyām ||* (fol. 158r6). The name Taraunī recurs several times among the localities of the Mithilā region mentioned in the table found in Zysk 2012, p. 276 ff.

188 Colophon: *la saṃ 541 kārttikaśu pañca[mī] yadartham iha me śramaḥ prakāṭacārulekhānivate [for °ānvitah?] sa eṣa laṣitānvito bhavatu bhāratītatparaḥ ||* (fol. 12r3–4).

189 This is NAK 3/686 (B 35/8), in Nepālākṣara, dated Samvat 457 of an unspecified era (no proper catalogue entry is available): if it were in the Nepāli Era, the year would correspond to 1337 CE, quite an early date for a copy of *Sārasvatavyākaraṇa*, which was composed around the mid 13th century; if it were in the Lakṣmaṅa Era, it would be 1577. The latter date seems much more likely.

The NGMCP catalogue lists a 14th-century manuscript of a work that it calls (*Bhū*-)*Padagahana*. I would tentatively emend the title to *Padagrahaṇa* on the basis of the colophon as I could read it in the microfilm (which also reproduces the initial card with a partial transcription of the same). This work of uncertain affiliation and subject is contained in NAK 1-468 (A 1161/12), a palm-leaf manuscript in Nepālākṣara copied in NS 484 (= 1364 CE), consisting of 13 leaves. The catalogue entry provides only very basic physical information and no excerpt. The colophon (fol. 13v, l. 3) reads:

*ity upadhyāyotsavakīrttikṛtaṃ pada[gra]hanam [sic!] samāptam || * || śreya 'stu || samvat 484
kārttikaśuklaḥ paurṇamā[syāṃ ti]tho bharini[!na]
[13v4][kṣa]tre | somavāsare || rājādhirājaprameśvara[!]-śrīśrijayārjjuOnadevasya vijayarāje
[!] || śrīkāstamaṇḍapa[-2-]na [-1-] likhitā śrī [-13-][13v5][-7-] idam | [-22-]va ca | rakṣatavyam [!]
prayatnena mayā [kaṣṭeṇa] likhitam | śubham astu sarvvajagatām ||*

Thus the *Padagrahaṇa* composed by the Teacher Utsavakīrti has been completed. May there be bliss. This has been copied in the year 484, on Monday, the lunar day of full moon in the bright fortnight of [the month of] Kārttika, under the asterism Bharāṇi, during the victorious reign of the king of kings, the highest sovereign, the glorious Jayārjunadeva, in Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa¹⁹⁰ ... One should make the effort to protect it as I have toiled to write it. May there be fortune for all worlds.

According to Petech (1984, 130 ff.;¹⁹¹ see also Genealogical Table B) king Jayārjunadeva of the Bhonta family, born in 1338, ascended to the throne in 1360 in association with his father Jayarājadeva and reigned alone after the latter's death in 1361. Thus the present manuscript belongs to the early years of his rule, which was later challenged and effectively overturned by Jayasthitimalla in the 1370's, although Jayārjunadeva remained nominally in power until his death in 1382. On the basis of the author's name, Utsavakīrti, and the similarity of the titles, one may suspect this to be the same as the *Padarohaṇa* (see above, § 2), a work belonging to the Kātantra school. Only the inspection and comparison of the two manuscripts will make it possible to establish whether they contain the same work or two different works by the same author.

¹⁹⁰ The Kāṣṭhamaṇḍapa was a well-known public rest-house that gave its name to the city of Kathmandu (see Petech 1984, 187). It is difficult to decide whether here the name refers to the building or already to the city.

¹⁹¹ However, note that Petech 1984 does not list this colophon among the 16 documents of Jayārjunadeva's reign.

A few decades younger is NAK 1/1076 (A 18/6), a fragmentary palm-leaf manuscript in Nepālākṣara script of a tract called *Ūṣmabheda* attributed to Maheśvara, which according to the catalogue deals with the spelling and pronunciation of words containing the sibilants (*ūṣman*) *śa*, *ṣa* and *sa* (for an edition of this work, see Hahn 2006 and 2007). The short colophon bears the year NS 541 (= 1421 CE):

*samvat 541 dvirāṣāḍhaśuddhi*¹⁹² *15 tad eva tithau sampūrṇṇaṃ yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā likhitaṃ lekhaḥo [!] nāsti doṣaḥ ||* (fol. 6v5)

This has been completed in the year 541, the 15th lunar day of the bright fortnight of the intercalary Āṣāḍha month. As it was seen so it was written, the scribe has no fault.

A few surviving manuscripts indicate that the interest in grammatical works was not confined to those dealing with Sanskrit, but also embraced grammars of Prakrit, which – as is known – was an integral part of the classical Sanskritic literary culture. Among these the following, kept in the Cambridge University Library, is especially noteworthy. The manuscript, Or.84,¹⁹³ is in fact the oldest known surviving copy of the *Prākṛtasañjivanī* of Vasantarāja, a commentary on the *Prākṛtprakāśa* traditionally ascribed to Vararuci, by far the most popular grammar of Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. Even though incomplete (it ends on fol. 48v with the final lines of the commentary on the first *sūtra* of chapter 4, *sandhāv acām aḍlopaviṣeṣā bahulam*, on fol. 45r, l. 1), it is a generally correct and reliable witness for the surviving portion. The colophon is missing, but the manuscript can be dated on palaeographic grounds to the 15th century at the very latest. Moreover, the verses found at the beginning of the manuscript,¹⁹⁴ which are not found in the printed edition of the *Prākṛtasañjivanī*, provide some information on its author:

*hṛtpadmasadmodaravartti rūpaṃ
dhyātaṃ sudhāsyandi sadaiva yasyāḥ |
prakaḷpate vānmayatatvasiddhyai
devīn namasyāmi sarasvatīṃ tām ||*¹⁹⁵
*manthakṣobhitaduḥkhasindhu*¹⁹⁶ *vilasaḍḍiṇḍirapiṇḍopamaḥ*

192 Probably to be emended to *śudi*.

193 <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00084/1>.

194 The verses are preceded by a short invocation – *ṛ oṃ namaḥ sarvvajñāya ||* – suggesting that the unknown scribe was a Buddhist. I wish to thank Emmanuel Francis, Andrew Ollet and, especially, Dominic Goodall for their comments on the readings and the interpretation of these verses.

195 The first verse is in *upajāti* metre, the second in *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, and the last three in *āryā*.

196 Probably to be emended to *°dugdhasindhu*^o ‘ocean of milk’.

saṃmūrcchatghanaghoraghoṣaghaṭanāvvyāghūrṇitāśāgajah |
stikṣat¹⁹⁷kajjalapūñjasecakarucou kṛṣṇasya pāṇau sthite¹⁹⁸ |
yuṣmākaṃ śaradabhrakhaṇḍakacakes¹⁹⁹ tatpāñcajano²⁰⁰ mude ||
bhaṭṭaśrīśivarājāṅgatadoṣaḥ²⁰¹ prasamitā²⁰²nyatejasvī
sūrya iva satyavatyā samajani O sūnur vviayarājaḥ²⁰³ ||
pūrṇnakalo [']py akalaṃko jāttā²⁰⁴ vasudhātale sūdhakiraṇaḥ²⁰⁵ |
tatpādasamupajīvi²⁰⁶ vasantarājānujas tasya |
suvyaktarūpasiddhiṃ so [']natisaṃkṣepavistarāOm akarot ||
vararucisūtreṣv etāṃ prākṛtasamjivaniṅvṛttim || (fol. 1v1–4)

I pay respects to the goddess Sarasvatī, [having] constantly meditated upon her form, oozing with nectar (*sudhāsyaṇḍi*) inside her abode [that is] the lotus of my heart, so that I may attain [mastery over] the truths expressed through language/literature.

May the Pāñcajanya conch, whose complexion is like the whisks of [white] autumn clouds, lying in Kṛṣṇa's hand that looks [as black] as a cloud [that is] like a heap of wet collyrium – [the conch] which is like a fragment of cuttle-fish-bone that has flashed [into view] from the ocean of milk when it was stirred up by the churning, and which makes the elephants of the directions roll about because it produces a terrible roar so dense that it congeals – be for your joy.

Bhaṭṭaśrī Śivarāja, flawless and possessed with an energy that eclipsed that of others like the sun [by which the night is dispelled and which has a radiance that puts all else in the shade], was born of Satyavatyā as the son of Vijayarāja. Even though he has become full [like the moon/mastered all the arts] (*pūrṇnakalo*), his limbs have no marks (*akalaṃko*) [unlike the moon's face], [and] his rays are like nectar on the surface of the earth. His younger brother and devoted servant is Vasantarāja. He [Vasantarāja] has composed this commentary, the *Prākṛtasamjivani*, on the sūtras of Vararuci, neither too short nor too long, in which the derivation of [speech] forms is perfectly clear.

Vasantarāja is certainly the same as the author of the *Vasantarājaśākuna*, a work on divination based on the observation of the flights of birds, which has the following very similar, if less elaborate, set of initial verses that among other things

197 Probably to be emended to *stimyat*^o.

198 Emend to *sthito*.

199 Probably to be emended to *śaradabhrakhaṇḍakachavis*.

200 Emend to *tatpāñcajanya*.

201 Emend to ^o*rājo gata*^o. *gatadoṣaḥ* is likely meant to be a pun meaning both 'flawless' and 'by which the night (*doṣa* = *pradoṣa*) is dispelled'.

202 Emend to *praśamitā*^o.

203 Emend to ^o*rājñah*.

204 Emend to *jāto*.

205 Emend to *sudhā*^o.

206 Emend to ^o*jīvi*.

detail his genealogy and mention the name of Candradeva who commissioned the work:

*bhaṭṭaḥ śrīśivarājo 'doṣorjitamūrtir atitejasvī |
sūrya iva satyavatyāṃ samajani sūnur²⁰⁷ vijayarājāt ||
pūrṇakalo 'py akalamko jāto vasudhātāle sudhākiraṇaḥ |
tatpādasamupajivī vasantarājo 'nujas tasya ||
abhyarthito 'bhiyatnāt kṛtabahumānena candradevena |
vyaracayad asau tadarthaṃ śākunam anyopakṛtaye ca ||²⁰⁸*

This Candradeva is identified as a king of Mithilā by the commentator Bhānucandraṇi (a Jaina pandit at Akbar's court).²⁰⁹ The Cambridge manuscript confirms that Vasantarāja was the son of Vijayarāja and Satyavati, and Śivarāja's younger brother, and it gives credibility to Bhānucandraṇi's assertion that Vasantarāja hailed from Mithilā, given the historical ties between this city and Nepal. The *Vasantarājaśākuna* is frequently quoted in king Ballālasena's *Adbhutasāgara*, which was begun in 1169 CE (he ruled until 1179 CE), as Kane notes, while the *Prākṛtasāñjivani* is quoted in the *Kavikāmadhenu* of Subhūticandra (c. 1060–1140 CE; see L. Deokar in this volume, p. 673), therefore Vasantarāja cannot be dated later than the early 12th century.

In Nepal the *Prākṛtaprakāśa* itself only survives in (presumably younger) paper copies. But another Prakrit grammar, the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* ascribed to the Buddhist Pāṇinian grammarian Puruṣottamadeva (early 12th c.), is preserved in NAK 4–150 (A 53/17[1]), a palm-leaf manuscript in Nepālākṣara, together with the *Apabhraṃśānuśāsana* of the same author. Its colophon reads:

*iti puruṣottamadevasya paiśācikaṃ sūtraṃ samāptaṃ || saṃ 385 jeṣṭhe likhitam ut-
tamaśrijñānena saptativarṣavayasā ||* (fol. 16v)

As the era is not specified, we cannot be sure about the exact year in which the manuscript was copied. The NGMCP catalogue entry gives LS (i.e. Lakṣmaṇa Samvat) in square brackets, which would correspond to 1515 CE, but it does not explain on what basis; if it were Nepāla Samvat, the manuscript would be much older, as the year would correspond to 1265 CE. Once again, only the direct inspection of the manuscript (or at least the microfilm) will make it possible to establish the date more securely on palaeographic grounds.

207 The edition reads *sanur*, certainly a misprint.

208 *Vasantarājaśākuna* vv. 3–5 (Jaṭāśaṅkara 1997, 4–5).

209 Bhānucandraṇi's *Ṭīkā*: ... *kena candradeveneti mithilādhiśenety arthaṃ* (Jaṭāśaṅkara 1997, 5). Cf. Kane (1977, 805–806 and n. 1309); and Śāstrī (1905, 7).

8 Conclusions

The data presented in the previous pages – albeit limited and incomplete – allow us, I believe, to draw a sufficiently clear and intriguing picture of the history of *vyākaraṇa* in medieval and early modern Nepal.

The Cāndra system appears to have been predominant in the early medieval period since virtually all the (admittedly few) grammatical manuscripts from the first millennium CE contain works of this school. While the presence of both Hinduism and Buddhism is attested in the Kathmandu Valley since the early centuries of the Common Era in inscriptions, sculptures, and architecture (temples, *stūpas*, *caityas*), it appears that, as far as grammar is concerned, the latter prevailed in the process of acculturation of the local population, predominantly of Newar stock and language. There is of course nothing intrinsically ‘Buddhist’ in the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa*, but there is little doubt that due to its origin the system thrived mainly in Buddhist circles and educational institutions. The Buddhist *vihāras* of the Kathmandu Valley must have been responsible for the importation and flourishing of the Cāndra grammar. They were part of an international network of religious and educational organisations that extended from Sri Lanka and southeast Asia to central and east Asia, with a hub in the great ‘universities’ located in eastern India (modern Bengal and Bihar), a region that was relatively close and accessible through the Nepalese Tarai. Moreover, the valley was a major stopover on the most direct route connecting Tibet to India. Nepalese monks must have travelled to the centres of learning of eastern India to pursue their education and returned to their homeland with manuscripts of the works they had studied, which were later copied again in the local script. All of the most ancient copies of Cāndra works appear to be in the ‘Transitional Gupta’ or old Nepālākṣara scripts, and thus they already represent an advanced stage in the process of circulation of these works.

Some of the Nepalese *mahāvihāras* certainly provided not only instruction to the local novices but also higher education, thus functioning as centres of intellectual and scholarly debate and production.²¹⁰ This is confirmed by the presence in the collections not only of copies of the basic texts (the Cāndra *sūtrapāṭha* with the *Vṛtti*) or the didactic manuals, but also of the sophisticated later commentaries and treatises, such as Ratnamati’s *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā* and *Śabdārthacintāvivṛti*. The accounts of Tibetan monks sojourning in the Valley, and the collaboration of Nepalese pandits to the translation of Sanskrit works into Tibetan that is attested

210 See Dimitrov’s conjecture that the author of the *Sumatipañjikā* may have been active in the Kathmandu Valley.

in Tibetan sources, are further proof of the scholarly fervour in medieval Nepal.²¹¹ For example, according to Verhagen (1994, 89, 98) Dpañ Blo-gros-brtan-pa (1276–1342), ‘indubitably one of the main exponents of Sanskrit linguistics in Tibet’, is known to have ‘made several visits to Nepal’, and two of his translations of grammatical treatises, namely the *Adhikārasaṃgraha* and the *Vibhaktikārikā*, both associated with the Cāndra school, were produced in Patan; and Yar-kluṅs-lo-tśā-ba (‘the translator from Yar-kluṅs’) Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (c. 1285/1295–died after 1378), who produced translations of the Kātantra *sūtrapāṭha* and Durgasiṃha’s *Vṛtti*, was active both in Nepal and his homeland. Around the same time (13th–14th centuries) we learn from Tibetan colophons that a Nepalese Brahmin grammarian named Jetakaṛṇa ‘served as an informant’ for the translator Ņi-ma-rgyal-mtshan, who studied with him near Kathmandu and produced Tibetan renderings of Cāndra works (including the *sūtrapāṭha*); and another, called Śrīmaṇika or Maṇika,²¹² is mentioned as the supervisor/tutor of the Tibetan translator of two Kātantra works, the *Tyādyantasya Prakriyā-vicārita* and the *Uṇādivṛtti* (Verhagen 1994, 85–86).

Despite the association of Cāndra grammar with Buddhism, the Nepalese and Tibetan sources do not seem to indicate that in the Kathmandu Valley its study was exclusively confined to Buddhist circles.²¹³ The number of extant copies of the various works is small, as may be expected after so many centuries, but they are numerous enough to suggest that these books were not meant just for a few erudite clerics, and that just like elsewhere in the subcontinent, grammar – in one or the other of its scholastic branches – was a key component of the education and culture of the local elites, as confirmed for example in the 15th century by the *Ākhyataratnaśoṣa* commissioned by Jayabhairavamalla, the king’s son-in-law, or the copy of the *Kātantravyākaraṇa* belonging to the minister Jayabrahma.

The decline of the Buddhist centres of learning of eastern India brought about by the Muslim invasions in the late 12th century may have initially given an even stronger impulse to the cultivation of the Cāndra system in the Kathmandu Valley, as a number of monks/scholars sought refuge there. Approximately one century later, in the late 13th/early 14th centuries, the core texts (*sūtra* and *vṛtti*) of both

211 On the regular contacts of Tibetans with Nepal, see e.g. Regmi (1965, 629–631).

212 His provenance is unspecified but the name (or some variant of it) was clearly popular in medieval Nepal: above we have met an early-15th-century scribe called Maṇika (or Māṇika)-raja (see above pp. 89 and 98); and the 14th-century court intellectual and polymath who composed the *Abhinavarāghavānandanātaka* (Cambridge Add. 1658.1), as well as works in Newari on lexicography and *dharmasāstra*, was called Maṇika (Māṇikya) (see Formigatti 2016, 56 ff.).

213 See for example the abovementioned role of the brahmin Jetakaṛṇa in the Tibetan translation of Cāndra works.

Kātantra and Cāndra were translated into Tibetan (Verhagen 2001, 210), often relying, as was mentioned above, on the collaboration of Nepalese scholars.²¹⁴ And the continued copying of many Cāndra works well into the 15th century shows that the scholarly community of the Kathmandu Valley, probably strengthened by the contribution of the north-Indian refugees, certainly sustained the tradition for a few more centuries. However, the drying-up of its original fountainhead, the Buddhist universities where it had flourished in the first millennium CE, combined with the changes Newar Buddhism underwent approximately at the same time, with the increasing secularisation of the *vihāras* and the virtual end of monasticism,²¹⁵ gradually caused the system to wither and eventually die out, as evidenced by the sharp decline in the production of new copies of Cāndra works after 1500.²¹⁶

Moreover, another factor may have concurred to the decline of the Cāndra school, namely the Brahmanical bias of the religious and cultural policy initiated in the late 14th century by king Jayasthitimalla, the founder of the late Malla dynasty, who was possibly of Maithili origins. Mithilā, the immediate southern neighbour to the Kathmandu Valley and a celebrated centre of Brahmanical learning, had always played a role in shaping the culture of the region, but after its conquest by the Muslims in 1324–1325 CE a new wave of Maithili refugees, including members of the aristocracy and the ‘Brahman intelligentsia’, as Slusser puts it, settled in the valley. Among them was the former queen Devaladevi, the wife of Harisimpha of Tirhut (who died in early 1326 during the northbound journey), with her son

214 In this respect E. Gene Smith (1968, 5) notes that ‘[t]he second and greatest transmission of Indic civilization to Tibet (11th–14th centuries) resulted from a coincidence. Hindu civilization was faced with a monumental crisis at a time when Tibet was at the beginning of a period of maximum cultural receptivity. It was this fortunate accident that produced modern Tibetan civilization.’

215 On this phenomenon Slusser (1975, 286–287) writes: ‘By the end of the 12th century, a change had come about in Nepalese Buddhist practice that would at length mean the end of monasticism and entrain the decline and virtual dissolution of Buddhism in the Kathmandu Valley. [...] Apparently, the principal catalyst that propelled the monks and nuns out of their *saṃghas* and back into the familiar and nearby secular milieu was the doctrine and practice of Vajrayāna. The conventual, celibate community ceased to have the same value it had as one of the Three Jewels, Dharma-Saṃgha-Buddha. Celibacy was nullified by the ritualistic practices associated with the female principles, *prajñā* [...]. The physical conditions and the doctrinal and social climate prevailing by the end of the Transitional Period provided almost irresistible conditions for channeling the monks and nuns back into the secular community.’

216 Something similar seems to have happened at the southern end of the subcontinent, in Sri Lanka. Like in Nepal, Buddhism kept thriving there, albeit in its Theravāda Pāli-medium form, but in modern times manuscripts of Cāndra works, which had originally nourished the local Pāli grammatical tradition, could no longer be found on the island, a clear sign that any active interest in the speculations of the ancient Buddhist Sanskrit grammarians had ceased.

Jagatsiṃha. After they settled in Nepal, Jagatsiṃha married Nāyakadevī, the last issue of the royal family of Bhatgaon. In 1347 a baby girl, named Rājalladevī, was born to them, but soon after her mother died, while her father was taken to prison and nothing more is heard of him.²¹⁷ Devaladevī assumed regency and somehow managed to assert herself as the protagonist of Nepalese politics in the following decades until her death in 1366, through troubled times marked by foreign invasions and unrest among the local nobility. She was instrumental in arranging the marriage in 1355 of her granddaughter Rājalladevī with the newcomer Jayasthitimalla, who acted as the de facto ruler during the reign of the ineffectual Jayājunadeva, until after the latter's death in 1382 he was officially enthroned. Petech (1984, 127–128) notes that Jayasthitimalla's 'lineage was surprisingly obscure' and conjectures that he may have come from an aristocratic family of Tirhut, on the basis of an old chronicle that claims he hailed from the south. He further remarks that 'the political career of Jayasthitimalla was accompanied by a certain measure of immigration from Tirhut; in the years after 1380 we find repeated mention in the chronicle of Ḍoya (Maithilī) residents in Nepal. And the rule of Jayasthitimalla certainly marked a strong revival of that kind of rigid brahmanical orthodoxy, which was always typical of Mithilā'.

If we turn now at the history of the other two main grammatical systems considered in the previous pages, the Kātantra and the Pāṇinīya, the data gleaned from the survey of the manuscript collections and the study of the colophons largely appear to confirm the broader historical picture, but at the same time raise further questions that for now cannot be easily answered. In the earliest period the two systems do not seem to have made significant inroads into Nepal, a fact which is in itself surprising. It is of course possible that the absence of early documents, and particularly of dated colophons, is the result of random loss. And there are undated palm-leaf manuscripts that should be inspected and dated as accurately as possible on palaeographic grounds, although overall their number is quite small. However, especially in comparison with the manuscripts of Cāndra works, it is indeed striking that there is only one single copy of a Pāṇinīya text that can be dated to the early second millennium (NAK 4/216, see above p. 105). And it may not be by chance that this happens to be a copy of the *Nyāsa*, Jinendrabuddhi's sub-commentary on the *Kāśīkāvṛtti*, namely a work that was composed by a Buddhist author who was pos-

217 On this complex and somewhat obscure chain of events see Regmi 1965, 288–293; Slusser 1982, 55–56; and Petech 1984, 115–121.

sibly active in the 8th century CE in one of the Buddhist universities of eastern India.²¹⁸ The odd copy of this or that Pāṇiniya work may well have made its way into Nepal in the earlier period, as there was no doctrinal bias against the system itself, but as far as we can tell this does not seem to have led to a sustained and widespread interest in Pāṇini's grammar.

The earliest dated manuscript of a Kātantra work is even younger than the *Nyāsa* manuscript, as it dates from the end of the 13th century. It is said to be in Nāgarī script, which suggests a foreign origin. But then, starting with two late-14th century manuscripts, a continuous and substantial number of manuscripts, mostly in Nepālākṣara, testify to the successful establishment of the Kātantra tradition in the region. It is noteworthy that from the colophons its followers appear to have been mostly high-ranking brahmins. Some of these may have been related to the court as the recurring references to the ruling kings (less frequent in Cāndra manuscripts) seem to suggest, and we saw above that in one case (NAK 1/1078) the copy is explicitly said to have belonged to a prince (*rājakumāra*). These few data cast an interesting light on the history of this tradition, which has received little scholarly attention after the early 20th century, despite its antiquity and the ubiquitous references to it in Sanskrit literature.²¹⁹ The Kātantra system was supposedly established as an alternative to Pāṇini and is believed to have been less interested in rigorous linguistic theory and more in the actual teaching of Sanskrit,²²⁰ and purportedly addressed to a socially broader readership.²²¹ Initially this grammar, ascribed to Śarvavarman (of whom nothing is known, but who is generally assumed to have been

218 On the likely identity of Jinendrabuddhi the author of the *Nyāsa* with Jinendrabuddhi the commentator of Diñnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, see Steinkellner's Introduction in Steinkellner, Krasser and Lasic 2005, xl ff. Note that one of the pieces of evidence that are used to support this identification is that in the internal rubrics of both works the author is referred to as *bodhisatvadeśīyācāryajinendrabuddhi* (cf. the rubric in NAK 4/216, quoted above, n. 164). Steinkellner thinks that Jinendrabuddhi may have been active at Nālandā (or a similar centre) c. 710–770 CE.

219 The oldest known fragments of the Kātantra *sūtrapāṭha*, from central Asia, date from around the 5th century CE (Scharfe 1977, 162). On the significance of Kātantra in the history of medieval India, see Pollock 2006, 169 ff.

220 Nevertheless, I suspect the *Kātantravyākaraṇa* was conceived not so much as a language primer but rather as a grammar handbook, meant to give a smattering of this all-important subject to anyone who – for a variety of reasons – did not wish to or could not embark in a full-blown brahmanical education, which implied studying Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

221 Cf. the following verses, said to be from Śaśideva's *Vyākhyānaprakriyā*: *chāndasāḥ svalpamatayaḥ śāstrāntararatās ca ye | īśvarā vācyāniratās tathālasayayutās ca ye | vaṅk-sasyādisaṃsaktā lokayātrādiṣu sthitāḥ | teṣāṃ kṣipraṃ prabodhārtham anekārthaṃ kalāpakam* || 'The Kalāpa has various purposes: it is aimed at teaching Sanskrit quickly to those who study the Vedic texts, those who are slow-witted, those who take delight in other śāstras, as well as to

a brahmin), must have been popular with the Buddhists, and through them propagated to central Asia, but later they seem to have preferred the *Cāndravvyākaraṇa* composed by their coreligionist Candragomin. As far as I know, no study exists of the later history of the Kātantra tradition, but we know that over the centuries the system spread across the subcontinent and further beyond, and its literature kept expanding. The evidence drawn from the Nepalese manuscript collections suggest that, in the wake of the historical events briefly outlined above – in short, the decline of the Cāndra school and the rise to power of the culturally ‘brahmanising’ Mallas –, the local scholarly circles first turned to the Kātantra, most probably with the contribution of newcomers from Mithilā. This in turn implies that in this renowned citadel of brahmanical learning (and perhaps in other areas of North India²²²) the Kātantra system enjoyed a position of prestige and could count on influential followers. To what extent these differed from the Pāṇinīyas, and what the factors and circumstances were that determined the affiliation to one or the other system, we simply do not know, but it would be definitely worth investigating.

If we turn now to the Pāṇinian school, its true beginnings in the region appear to go back to the late 15th century, at least one century later than Kātantra.²²³ This impression is corroborated by the fact that virtually all the early copies of Pāṇinian works are in Maithili script, and therefore they were probably imported to Nepal from Mithilā, as if there had been a dearth of local copies. It is of course well known that manuscripts in Maithili script were also produced by foreign scribes who had settled in the Kathmandu Valley, but the geographical references found in the colophons seem to be to Indian towns and villages, and none of them makes any mention of a Nepalese king. However, from the late 15th century onward the data show an increasing production of local copies of all the Pāṇinian works (with the remarkable exception of the *Vākyapadīya*), including those of the so-called *Navyavyākaraṇa*, the movement that effectively kicked off a revival of Pāṇinian grammar across the subcontinent. At the same time, the substantial number of late manuscripts of Kātantra works that were either copied locally or imported shows a continued interest also in this system.

rulers, to those who love talking (?), those who are slothful, those who are engaged in trade, farming, etc., and those who are busy with worldly affairs and the like’ (Dwivedi 1977, p. 3 *prāstāvika*; also quoted in Belvalkar 1976, 82, from which I take the reading *vaṇik-sasyādīsamsaktā*; here Dwivedi read *vaṇijas tṛṣṇādīsamsaktā*). For an overview of the state of the art in Kātantra studies, see Shen forthcoming.

222 On the rise of Kātantra in Bengal in the 15th–16th centuries see Belvalkar (1976, 75).

223 With the usual caveat: if the picture we get from the manuscript collections is not distorted by the fortuitous loss of all early Pāṇinian manuscripts.

Interestingly, Ruegg (1996, 221) and Verhagen (2001, 207) point out that the introduction of the Pāṇinian system into Tibet took place quite late in comparison to Cāndra and Kātantra, namely in the 17th century, and suggest various possible explanations, the main one, in Verhagen's words, attributing 'the impetus ... to the activities of a particular individual or a small group of associated individuals, which could be one or more Indian master(s) proficient in a certain system who was (or were) active in Tibet, or a Tibetan scholar-translator actively seeking tutelage in a particular tradition'.²²⁴ In light of the data presented above it seems reasonable to suggest that the historical events in Nepal – and their reflections on the local intellectual community – may have played a significant role in the transmission of the Sanskrit grammatical traditions to Tibet. It cannot be a coincidence that, broadly speaking, the chronological sequence of this transmission appears to reflect the state of the art in Nepal, with a delay of one or two centuries.

To conclude, it is tempting to relate the rise of both the Kātantra and the Pāṇinian grammatical traditions as testified in the manuscripts to the dynastic change that took place in the Kathmandu Valley in the second half of the 14th century, with the rise to power of the Malla dynasty founded by Jayarajasthitimalla, and the subsequent burgeoning of a more 'mainstream' Sanskritic culture that Formigatti and Cuneo have aptly dubbed 'the Malla Renaissance' (see Formigatti 2016), in a context that saw the once dominant Cāndra tradition decline as a consequence of the far-reaching changes Newar Buddhism, and Newar society at large, underwent at the same time.

²²⁴ Gene Smith (1968, 6) suggests that one factor of the 'revival of interest in Sanskrit' in Tibet in the 18th century 'might have been the Newar artisan-merchant community resident in Tibet', with its century-long Sanskritic heritage. He also remarks that 'when Si-tu and his contemporaries went outside Tibet for studies, they almost invariably went to the Kathmandu Valley where they found a considerable number of learned pandits'. This may already have been the case in earlier centuries.

Tab. 1: Cāndra manuscripts in Nepalese collections.(CV = Cāndravāyākaraṇa *sūtrapāṭha*; CVV = *sūtrapāṭha* with *Vṛtti*; Nep = Nepālākṣara; pl = palm leaf)

DATE (in CE)	SHELF MARK	TITLE	SCRIPT	MATERIAL
990	NAK 5/732, NAK 5/734	Sumatipañjikā	Nep	pl
before 1000 ?	NAK 4/26, NAK 1/1692	CV, CVV	Transitional Gupta	pl
1085	NAK 4/311	CVV, Śabdalaḥṣaṇavivaraṇapañjikā of Ratnamati	Nep	pl
1134	(kept in Tibet)	CVV	Nep	pl
1155	NAK 3/379	CVV	Nep	pl
1194	Kaiser 9/27	Śabdalaḥṣaṇavivaraṇapañjikā	Nep	pl
1199	Add.1657.2	Ratnamatipaddhati of Ānandadatta	Nep	pl
12 th – 13 th c.	NAK 5 /456 A, B, C, D, E	Kathmandu fragments of Ratnamatipaddhati	Nep	pl
12 th c.	Or.1278	Candrālaṃkāra of Sāriputta	Bhaikṣukī	pl
12 th – 13 th c.	NAK 1/1697	Sabdārthacintāvivṛti	Nep	pl
12 th – 13 th c.	Add.1657.1	CV-Pañjikā	Nep	pl
1225	NAK 5/729	CVV	Nep	pl
1243	Kaiser 17	CV-Pañjikā	Nep	pl
1257	NAK 1/1583	CV	Nep	pl
1259 (?)	NAK 5/724	CV	Nep	pl
13 th c.	Or.714	Nibandha of Ratnadatta	Nep	pl
13 th c.	Add.1705	Ratnamatipaddhati	Nep	pl
13 th – 14 th c.	Add.2121	Dhātupārāyaṇa of Pūrṇacāndra	Nep	pl

DATE (in CE)	SHELF MARK	TITLE	SCRIPT	MATERIAL
13 th – 14 th c.		Ratnamatipaddhati	Nep	pl
1356	Asiatic Society Calcutta 3823	CV	Nep	pl
1369	NAK 5/410	Uṇādisūtravṛtti	Nep	pl
1397 (?)	NAK 5/727	CVV	Nep	pl
14 th – 15 th c.	Cambridge UL	Various CV and CVV Mss	Nep	pl
1411	NAK 5/730	CV	Nep	pl
1412	Add.1691.4	CV	Nep	pl
1413	Kesar 582	Subantarātnākara of Subhūticandra	Nep	pl
1417	NAK 3/685	Ākhyātarātnakośa	Nep	pl
1420	Or.148	Subantarātnākara	Nep	pl
1420	NAK 3/361	Tiṅbheda	Nep	pl
1440	NAK 5/416	Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparīkrama of Subhūticandra	Nep	pl
1441	NAK 5/731	CV + Uṇādisūtra	Nep	pl
1454	NAK 5/407	Prādivṛtti	Nep	pl
1654	NAK 5/6210	Upasargavṛtti	Nep	pl

Tab. 2: Kātantra manuscripts in Nepalese collections

(K: Kātantra *sūtrapāṭha*; KV: *sūtrapāṭha* with Durgasiṃha's *Vṛtti*; KVP: Trilocanadāsa's *Pañjikā*; DN: Devanāgarī; Nep: Nepālākṣara; pl = palm leaf)

DATE (in CE)	SHELF MARK	TITLE	SCRIPT	MATERIAL
1286	NAK 3/397	KVP	DN	pl
1393	Kesar 14	Padarohaṇa of Utsavakīrti	Nep	pl
1396	NAK 5/418	Syādyantakośa	Nep	pl
1411	NAK 5/417	K	Nep	pl
1416	NAK 1/1078	Dhātupāṭha	Nep	pl
1425	NAK 3/383	Paribhāṣāvṛtti of Durgasiṃha	Nep	pl
1447	NAK 9/589	KVP	Nep	pl
14 th –15 th c. ?		Several Mss of K, KV, KVP, Paribhāṣāvṛtti, etc.	Nep, Maithili	pl
1497	NAK 1/1406	K (?)	DN	paper
1480 or 1500	NAK 5/5496	Triliṅgaprakaraṇa (section of Syādyantakośa)	DN (?)	paper
1500	Kesar 234	Syādyantakośasāra	Nep (?)	pl
1575–76	NAK 5/4274	KVP	DN	paper
1585	NAK 1/1528	K	Nep	paper
1587	NAK 1/1388	K (?)	Nep	paper
1635	Kesar 191	KV	Nep	paper
1682	not available	Dhātuvṛtti-manoramā	Nep	paper
1692	NAK 1/1351	KV	Nep	paper

Tab. 3: Pāṇinian manuscripts in Nepalese collections

(DN: Devanāgarī; Nep: Nepālākṣara; pl = palm leaf)

DATE (in CE)	SHELF MARK	TITLE	SCRIPT	MATERIAL
early 11 th c.	NAK 4/216	Kāśīkāvṛtti	Nep	pl
1209	NAK 4/755	Sambandhasiddhi	Nep	pl
1478	NAK 1/464	Kāśīkāvṛtti	Maithili	pl
1487	unknown	Rūpāvatāra	Maithili	pl
1494	NAK 4/326	Aṣṭādhyāyī	Maithili	pl
1496	NAK 1/1537	Nyāsa	Maithili	pl
1496	NAK 1/468	Kāśīkāvṛtti	Maithili	pl
after 15 th c.		Several Mss of Kāśīkāvṛtti, Nyāsa, Dhātupāṭha, Rūpāvatāra, Bhāṣāvṛtti, Vārarucasamgraha, etc.	Maithili, Nep, DN	paper
1503	NAK 4/764	Rūpāvatāra	Maithili	pl
1567	NAK 4/257	Aṣṭādhyāyī	Maithili	pl
1577	NAK 5/5497	Rūpāvatāra	Nep	paper
1595	NAK 1/1114	Ṣaṭkārakabālabodhinī	Maithili	pl
1630	NAK 1/1490	Vārarucasamgraha	Nep	pl
1652	NAK 4/40	Siddhāntakaumudī	Maithili	pl
1660	NAK 1/468	Aṣṭādhyāyī	Maithili	pl
1672	NAK 1/309	Prakriyākaumudī	Maithili	paper
1672	NAK 5/3559	Prakriyākaumudī	Maithili	paper
1678	NAK 1/1076	Prakriyākaumudī	Maithili	pl
1678	NAK 1/313	Prakriyākaumudī	Nep	paper
1685	NAK 6/495	Vārarucasamgraha	Nep	paper

DATE (in CE)	SHELF MARK	TITLE	SCRIPT	MATERIAL
1763	NAK 4/151	Prayogamukha	Nep	paper
1790/1791	NAK 5/3832	Mahābhāṣya	DN	paper

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What Information can be Gleaned from Cambodian Inscriptions about Practices Relating to the Transmission of Sanskrit Literature?

Abstract: This is a short attempt to gather together such epigraphical clues as can be found relating to writing for the purpose of the transmission of Sanskrit literature in the ancient Khmer-speaking world. What Sanskrit works were transmitted? What were the writing materials used? Where were manuscripts kept? Portions of both famous and little-known inscriptions have been adduced, involving fresh consultation of estampages and, where possible, of the stones themselves. The first evidence dates from around 600 CE, and snippets of relevant information may be found scattered throughout the pre-Angkorian and Angkorian epigraphical record, in other words up to the 13th century. Iconographic representations have also been considered. Although no pre-modern manuscripts transmitting Sanskrit works are known to have survived to the present day, it is no surprise to find that the manuscript transmission of Sanskrit works was not only widespread, but was accorded an attention in the surviving politico-religious documents of the Khmers that seems not typical of other areas where the Sanskritic thought-world held sway. As the almost exclusive use of variants derived from Southern forms of Brāhmī script suggests, poetic imagery that alludes to writing seems to confirm that the technology was predominantly that of meridional India: letters were engraved into the surface of palm-leaves.

1 Libraries and the copying of books

The existence of Sanskrit libraries in ancient Cambodia is attested to from an early period: an inscription of c. 600 CE records that a certain brahmin benefactor, who was connected by marriage to a kingly line, gave to the temple of a deity that he had installed there ‘the entire [*Mahā-*] *Bhārata*, along with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇa*, and he instigated a daily, uninterrupted practice of their recitation’ (K. 359, verse 4; for this reference-system, see the paragraph of explanation prefacing References). That these were physical books constituting a non-lending library is clear from the damaged concluding verse of imprecation directed at anyone who might damage the religious foundation. This inscription furnishes us with one of

the earliest epigraphical allusions to the creation of a brahminical library in the Sanskrit world. Since it is short and presents a few difficulties of interpretation, we shall begin this article by giving it in full.

The text, as read by Barth (1885:28–31), is given below, followed by a translation that differs from that of Barth on a few points and that is the fruit of discussion between Gerdi Gerschheimer and myself.¹

*śrīvīravarmmaduhitā svasā śrībhavavarmmaṇaḥ
pativratā dharmmaratā dvitīyārundhatīva yā ||
hiraṇyavarmmajananīm yas tām patnīm upābahat
dvijendur ākṛtīsvāmī sāmavedavidagraṇīḥ ||
śrīsomaśarmmārkayutaṃ sa śrītribhuvaneśvaram
atiṣṭhipan mahāpūjam atipuṣkaladakṣiṇaṃ ||
rāmāyanapurāṇābhyām aśeṣaṃ bhāratana dadat
akṛtānvaham acchedyāṃ sa ca tadvācanāsthitim
yāvat tribhuvaneśasya vibhūtir avatiṣṭhate
yo ya e [...]
dharmmañśas tasya tasya syān mahāsukṭakāriṇaḥ
[...]
itas tu harttā durbud(dh)ir yya ekam api pusta(kam)
[...]*

There was a daughter of Vīravarmaṇ, sister of Bhavavarman, devoted to her husband, devoted to duty, like a second Arundhatī, whom the moon among brahmins, Ākṛtīsvāmī,² foremost among those knowing the *Sāmaveda*, married, the mother of Hiraṇyavarman.

¹ A translation of mine of the first three verses has already appeared quoted by Bakker (2014, 142–143, n. 439), but without footnotes justifying the tricky points.

² Barth (1885, 31) took *ākṛtīsvāmī* to be an adjective (‘dont le seul aspect annonçait la noblesse’) qualifying the husband, whose name he assumed to be Somaśarmaṇ. We shall come to Somaśarmaṇ below, but it is clear that *ākṛtīsvāmī* does not naturally bear the sense that Barth gives it; Majumdar, in fact, notes, when speaking about this term (1953, 19, n. 1), that ‘the reading is clear but the sense is obscure’. This difficulty disappears if the expression is taken to be an anthroponym, and it is abundantly clear from the numerous names ending in -svāmī that are attested in pre-Angkorian inscriptions, as well as from many names of a comparable period that are known to us from Indian sources, that Ākṛtīsvāmī is likely to be the name of a brahmin. It may seem abundantly clear that the individual in question was considered to be a brahmin, not simply because he is qualified as *dvijenduh* (‘moon amongst the twice-born’) and married to a lady compared to Arundhatī, the wife of the brahmin sage Vasiṣṭha, but also because of the rare and intriguing circumstance that he knew the *Sāmaveda* (*sāmavedavidagraṇīḥ*). Nonetheless, the point needs to be spelled out fully since Vickery has called precisely this point into question, observing (1998, 261) that ‘[t]here is in fact no mention of the quality of Brahman or Kshatriya in that inscription, and we do not know that Indian caste names bore the same meanings, or that such caste distinctions were important’. Vickery tabulates the pre-Angkorian instances of names in -svāmī of

That [Ākṛtīsvāmin] installed [here the *liṅga* called] Śrī-Tribhuvaneśvara,³ together with a statue (*arka*)⁴ of Śrī-Somaśarman,⁵ along with elaborate worship and extremely generous benefactions.

which he was aware (1998, 201), unfortunately including also instances of governors of towns (-*purāsvāmin*) and theonyms, and he makes the interesting observation (1998, 200) that when individuals with names in -svāmin occurred in Khmer contexts, they bore the high-status title *mrātāñ*. We may add that one of the names that he cites, Dharmasvāmin (K. 725), occurs in a Sanskrit text in which its bearer is explicitly described as a *brāhmaṇa*. To his list of such Pre-Angkorian anthroponyms we may for the moment add Ākṛtīsvāmin (following Barth, Vickery had not realized this to be an anthroponym), Devasvāmin (*mrātāñ*, K. 1214), Śikharasvāmin (*dvija*, K. 1141), Kumārasvāmin (*mrātāñ*, K. 1029). (A handful of others may be added once the inscriptions in which they occur have been inventoried and published.)

3 As Éric Bourdonneau has pointed out to me in conversation, it is somewhat tendentious to assume that this theonym is Śaiva and refers to a *liṅga*. Certainly, theonyms ending in -īśvara typically are *liṅga*-names, but Tribhuvaneśvara is an exception: the only other pre-Angkorian instance that we know, in T. 1214, seems to name a Viṣṇu, a point that has been discussed at length by Griffiths (2005, 20–21, n. 34). Furthermore, all other pre-Angkorian theonyms in Tribhuvana may all be Vaiṣṇava. Nonetheless, later instances of this theonym are, as the form of the name leads one to expect, Śaiva (see Griffiths, *ibidem*), and the fact that this Tribhuvaneśvara is linked to what may have been a Pāśupata deity suggests to me that it is more likely to be Śaiva than Vaiṣṇava. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that Tribhuvaneśvara might instead be a Viṣṇu here.

4 We are not aware of epigraphical attestations elsewhere of *arka* in the sense of ‘statue or worship’, but we may note that Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary on the *Amarakośa* (3rd *kāṇḍa*, *nānārthavarga* 4d: *arkaḥ sphaṭikasūryayoh*) observes (p. 189): *arcyate ’rkaḥ, vṛkṣe ’pi*, ‘the word *arka* [is so formed because it means that which] is worshipped; [it is] also [used] in the sense of a [particular kind of] tree’. We have therefore proposed understanding it to mean the same as *arcā*, a statue that is worshipped. Barth (1885, 31) took it instead to refer to the Sun, which is of course not impossible: Ākṛtīsvāmin might have ‘installed Tribhuvaneśvara along with [statues of] Somaśarman and the sun’.

5 Barth (1885, 31), as we have remarked in an earlier footnote, took Somaśarman to be the name of the founder, and it is indeed attested as an anthroponym in an inscription of 930 śaka, namely K. 989, where the man in question is a *bhāgavata* servant with the Khmer title *chloñ*; but, as we have demonstrated above, the founder’s name here appears clearly to be Ākṛtīsvāmin. Furthermore, we now know that Somaśarman may be used as the name of a Brahmin form taken by Śiva in order to teach the Atimārga. Bakker (2014, 140–145) has set out clearly what little we know about Somaśarman as the notional ‘fountainhead’ of Pāśupata teachings according to a small handful of sources. As Bakker observes (2014, 142), ‘Statues of Somaśarman have not come to light, or have not been recognized as such yet’. Nonetheless, this is not the only passage in which one appears to be mentioned, for we find Somaśarman as the name for a deity in K. 1073 (of 847 śaka) and also in one other pre-Angkorian inscription, K. 54/55 (of 589 śaka). Once again, the passage (stanzas V and VI in Cœdès’ edition) is not easy to interpret:

*punas saṃskṛtya tenaiva śrī[maḍā]mrātakeśvare
yojitāśeṣavibhavaṃ śiva[li]ṅgadvayaṃ kṛta[m]]*

He gave the entire *Mahābhārata*, along with the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇa*,⁶ and he instigated a daily, uninterrupted practice of their recitation.

For as long as the wealth of Tribhuvaneśvara remains, whoever [...]

[...] just a part of the merit of such a person of great good deeds.

Whichever ill-thinking person should take even one book from here [will] [...]

The blessing and the curse for future supporters and violators of the foundation can no longer be reconstructed, so that we no longer know what punishment in which hell or hells was threatened to impious miscreants; but what remains gives us enough information to conclude that the gift of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇa* was a gift of physical books, presumably several manuscripts for each of these lengthy works, since we know that the curse was to blight the existence of anybody who should steal so much as a single book.

The materials with which these manuscripts were produced is not alluded to here, a point to which Barth draws attention (1885, 31–32, n. 2): ‘D’après la relation chinoise, les Cambodgiens se servaient, pour écrire leurs livres, de peaux de daim noircies. (*Nouv. Mélanges asiatiques*, I, p. 122) A présent, ils font usage des feuilles d’un palmier qu’ils appellent *treang*.’ We shall return to this question below, after pursuing the investigation of libraries in ancient Cambodia.

somaśarmā jaṭāliṅgaṃ hariś caite tathā ~ –

teṣāṃ tena ca dattaṃ yo devasvaṃ harttum iccha[ti ||]

Barth (1885, 58), who drily remarked ‘Comme il arrive parfois, la partie du texte restée intacte est ici plus embarrassante que celle qui est mutilée’, cautiously proposed ‘(Plus) un chignon où repose la lune, un *liṅga*’ for the first quarter of the second of these verses. Coëdès (1951, 162, n. 2) was able to improve upon this by recognizing that a *jaṭāliṅga* was very probably a sort of *mukha-liṅga* upon which, instead of a face, we see the ‘silhouette d’une coiffure’. He then assumed that Somaśarman was the name of a deceased Brahmin venerated in the *liṅga*: ‘Ceci admis, il n’y a plus aucune difficulté à considérer Somaçarman comme un nom propre, celui d’un brâhmane défunt, vénéré sous l’aspect d’un *liṅga* sur lequel il était représenté par son chignon (*jaṭā*)’. We now propose a further tentative advance upon the two earlier interpretations by translating as follows:

Having consecrated them again, the same man [scil. Vidyāvinaya] made two *liṅgas* of Śiva, equipped with all the requisite wealth [for their worship], in [the temple of] the venerable [Śiva called] Āmrātakeśvara; [he] also [put there] these: a [statue of] Somaśarman, a *jaṭāliṅga*, a [statue of] Viṣṇu. Whoever should steal the divine property given by this man to these [deities], [...]

⁶ Such early allusions to the one *Purāṇa* are probably to an early *Vāyupurāṇa*: see Vielle 2005, 545, who explains that references to multiple *Purāṇas* begin to appear in works of the late 7th century.

The mention in stone inscriptions of instituting the practice of reciting or expounding learned works in temple-premises is of course not uncommon in the Indian epigraphical record. Among the very many examples that could be cited, an endowment for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* (Tamil: *pāratam*) in a *maṇḍapa* of the Śaiva temple called the Vidyāvinitapallavaparamēśvaragṛha is recorded in lines 74–75 of the 7th-century Kuram Plates (Hultzsch 1890, 151 and 155), and, to cite a later example, a mid-11th-century inscription from the Varadarāja-Perumāḷ temple of Tirupuvaṇai (*Pondicherry Inscriptions* 102 in Vijayavenugopal 2006, 21f and 2010, 50) gives the details of endowments for the teachers and the students of numerous disciplines (Mīmāṃsā, Vedānta) and Sanskrit works (including the epics, the *Manuśāstra* and several Vedic texts), as well as for the reciters of Tamil devotional literature (*Tiruvāymoḷi*).⁷

But Indian allusions to the copying of specific texts or to the maintenance of manuscripts of them appear not only to be relatively rare, but also to date from some centuries later than this and they tend not to mention specific texts or even genres of texts. Thus of the half dozen such allusions mentioned by Chitra Madhavan in her book on Sanskritic learning in Southern India, the earliest (Madhavan 2013, 14) is a record from Gulbarga district dating from the 11th century (1058) that mentions the employment of six librarians (*sarasvatibhaṇḍāriḡa*), but most date from the 13th century or later (Madhavan 2013, 136, 138–139, 143–145), including the most detailed case, a pair of inscriptions of the late-13th-century reign of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I (Madhavan 2013: 108 and 132–135) that describe the activities of a library (*sarasvatibhaṇḍāra*) maintained in the Chidambaram temple. To these we may add hitherto unpublished inscriptional evidence of the 12th and 13th centuries edited by Veluppillai that appears to speak of the restoration of (manuscripts transmitting) Tamil devotional literature (*tirumuraikal*) stored in a part of Śaiva temples that is frequently called by the as yet unexplained name *tirukkaikkōṭṭi* (Veluppillai 2013, 140–141 and 296ff).

Chitra Madhavan herself remarks on the paucity of such references (2013, 132), commenting that '[r]eciting the Vedas by looking into books and writing the Vedic texts have always been looked down upon in ancient times and therefore the Veda *pāṭhaśālās* that imparted the knowledge of the Vedic text alone need not acquire or organize a library'. She notes however (ibid.) that the inscriptional corpus mentions *pāṭhaśālās* and *ghaṭikās* that taught also non-Vedic texts and that such establishments might therefore have maintained libraries, but that there is curiously no mention of these 'at the important educational centres at Eṇṇāyiram, Tribhuvanai, Tirumukkūḍal and the like'.

7 Further South Indian examples may be gleaned from Madhavan 2013.

In contrast, the rather smaller Cambodian corpus, of less than 1500 pre-Angorian and Angkorian inscriptions in Sanskrit and Khmer, provides several allusions to written transmission, and these allusions not only begin much earlier, but they tend to be more specific about the texts copied. Thus, to the early 7th-century allusion to manuscripts of the two epics and of the *Purāṇa* that we have examined above, we may add a handful of others. One of the single richest sources for information about Sanskritic learning in Cambodia is arguably the foundation inscription of its most exquisite surviving Śaiva temple, Banteay Srei (Pandāy Sṛī), namely K. 842 of 890 śaka. This beautifully engraved document explains at some length the erudition of the founder, Yajñavarāha, the non-brahmin *rājaguru* who gave Śaiva initiation to Jayavarman V (K. 842, verse XII).⁸ Such accounts, fascinating though they are, are not the subject of this paper, although we shall have occasion to quote something of Yajñavarāha's remarks about his education below, but what we shall examine briefly now is what is said about Yajñavarāha's education of his own younger brother Viṣṇukumāra. Here Yajñavarāha refers not merely to the disciplines that were taught, as one might expect from a conventional description of a Sanskritic education, but also to the copying by Viṣṇukumāra of two particular texts in manuscript.

K. 842/890 śaka (Pr. Pandāy Sṛī [=Banteay Srei], gopura IV est, face B)
XXVII.

(27) *tasya yajñavarāhasya vidyānām pāradṛśvanah
khyāto viṣṇukumārākhyas sodaryo yo jaghanyajah ||*
XXVIII.

(28) *tasyāṃṭamayīṃ vidyājyotsnām vaktrakumudvati*

8 Coedès describes Yajñavarāha as a brahmin (*IC I*, p. 148), presumably because verse XIV of K. 842 tells us that his father was a brahmin called Dāmodara; but in two other textually related inscriptions of Yajñavarāha, K. 619/620 and K. 662, he styles himself instead as a *brahmakṣatra*. The first of these inscriptions shares its first 26 verses with K. 842, but the 27th (numbered X of face B by Finot) reads:

(19) *vrahmakṣatreṇa tenedaṃ vidyānām pāradṛśvanā*

(20) *asmin yajñavarāheṇa sthāpitaṃ liṅgam aiśvaram*

Finot (1928, 55) translates: 'Ce brahmane-ksatriya, nommé Yajñavarāha, qui avait vu l'autre rive des sciences, édifia en ce [lieu] un liṅga d'Īcvara.'

Of K. 662, Coedès (1929, 292) quotes only fragments from the first 7 stanzas in a footnote, but more can be read with the help of K. 842 (which again contains identical passages), with the help of K. 619/620, and from the group of estampages in the EFEO in Paris that are numbered n. 791. Thus we may discover that its 30th stanza records the installation of a statue of Kātyāyini and that its 29th stanza may be plausibly reconstructed thus:

(21) *vrahmakṣatre[ṇa tenedaṃ vidyānām pāradṛśvanā]*

(22) *asmin ya(jñā)[varāheṇa sthāpitaṃ liṅgam aiśvara]m*

nirggatām guruvaktrendoḥ pāyaṃ pāyaṃ ajṛmbhata ||

Face B. XXIX.

(1) *kṛtsnāni śavdavidyādiśāstrāṇi sakalāḥ kalāḥ
śaivañ ca gauravaṃ yogaṃ bhrātur jyeṣṭhād avāpa yaḥ ||
XXX.*

(2) *vidyāsantatyavicchittiyai kṛtsnām vṛttiñ ca kāśikām
pārameśvarapūrvvāñ ca yo likhac chivasamhitām //*

Of this Yajñavarāha, who had seen the further shore of [the ocean of] knowledge, the younger uterine brother was called Viṣṇukumāra. The water-lily of his mouth opened wide, drinking in again and again the nectareous moonlight of knowledge that came forth from his guru's mouth. He received all the disciplines, beginning with that of grammar, from his elder brother, [as well as] all the arts and the [forms of] yoga taught by Śiva, [and] by the guru [Patañjali].⁹ So that there should be no interruption in the transmission of knowledge, he wrote out the whole *Kāśikāvṛtti* and the [text whose name is] *Śivasamhitā* preceded by [the qualification] *Pārameśvara-*.

One of the two texts referred to here is of course probably the celebrated grammatical commentary of Vāmana and Jayāditya known as the *Kāśikā*, and the other, given the Śaiva context, seems likely to be one of the Mantramārga scriptures that has *Pārameśvara* in its name, the most celebrated of which today is the *Mataṅga-pārameśvara-tantra*. It is to that text that Bhattacharya (1961, 48, n. 3) assumes this to be a reference. But given the absence of any qualifier other than *Pārameśvara-*, it seems more likely to be the early *Pārameśvaratantra* that survives in a fragmentary 9th-century manuscript in Cambridge (Add.1049) and that, from at least the 10th-century in Kashmir, began to be known as the *Pauṣkara[-Pārameśvara]*, no doubt in order to distinguish it from other texts that purported to be recensions of the *Pārameśvara* (see Fig.1).¹⁰

⁹ Cœdès interprets this to refer to just one form of yoga, which is both Śaiva and favoured by Viṣṇukumāra's brother: 'le yoga çivaïte (qui était) celui de son guru' (*IC I*, p. 154). This is indeed a possible interpretation, but it makes the qualification *gauravam* seem redundant, since the verse is in any case telling us about what he learned from his guru. If, however, *gauravam* is taken to mean 'of the guru [Patañjali]', then the verse is a testimony to the recognition that both Śaiva and Pātañjala yoga could be studied side by side, a state of affairs that was recognised early, for instance, in chapter 1 of the *yogapāda* of the *Mataṅgapārameśvara*, for which see the recent study by Jean-Michel Creisméas, which includes an edition and translation of the whole *yogapāda* of that work (2015).

¹⁰ See Goodall 1998, xli–xliv and Sanderson 2001, 5, n. 1.



Fig. 1: A leaf of the *Pārameśvaratantra* manuscript in Cambridge (Add.1049, fol. 5r), photographed by the University Library as part of the cataloguing project led by Vincenzo Vergiani whose successful completion is celebrated by this volume. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Besides the evidence of books that must have been kept in temple-libraries, it is well known that the small buildings on either side of the (Eastern) approach to many Cambodian temples are often referred to in secondary literature as ‘bibliothèques’. This uncertain identification was proposed before any inscriptional evidence had been discovered (Lunet de Lajonquière 1902, xxx–xxxii), but now reposes also upon the combined evidence of two 10th-century Sanskrit epigraphs recording the pious acts of a certain Hiraṇyaruṇi, namely K. 958 and K. 355. The first of these, dated to 869 śaka (947 CE) and found, according to Coédès, by Bernard Philippe Groslier in 1959 in an incomplete tower at Pràsāt Kôk Čak, just off the road between Phnom Penh and Siem Reap about 6 km from Siem Reap, records several religious foundations in several towns, including a *pustakāśrama*, ‘a resting place for books’ (Coédès 1964 [*IC* VII], 141–147).

K. 958 (869 śaka) stanzas XVI–XVIII:

- (31) *hiranyaruṇinā tena pure rudramahā[laye]*
- (32) *sthāpitaṃ vidhinā liṅgaṃ śrībhadrēśvarasaṃjñakam /*
- (33) *sa pinākipade śreṣṭhapure rudramahālaye*
- (34) *rudrāśramatribhuvanasthāneśānapurādiṣu /*
- (35) *liṅgāny arccās śivādināṃ nyadhāl liṅgapurādiṣu*
- (36) *śrāṅśrayaṅ ca śraminām āśramaṃ pustakāśramam /*

We may translate, following Coédès (1964, 145), as follows:

This Hiraṇyaruṇi erected, following the [appropriate] rites, in Rudramahālaya a *liṅga* named Śrī-Bhadreśvara. In Pinākipada, in Śreṣṭhapura, in Rudramahālaya, in Rudrāśrama, Tribhuvanasthāna, Iśānapura and other towns, he set up *liṅgas* and cult-statues of Śiva and other deities, a place [for distribution] of cooked food, an *āśrama* for [the repose of] the weary and a library (*pustakāśramam*).

It is not clear from this passage whether Hiraṇyaruṇi installed only one library or one in each or several of the towns listed.

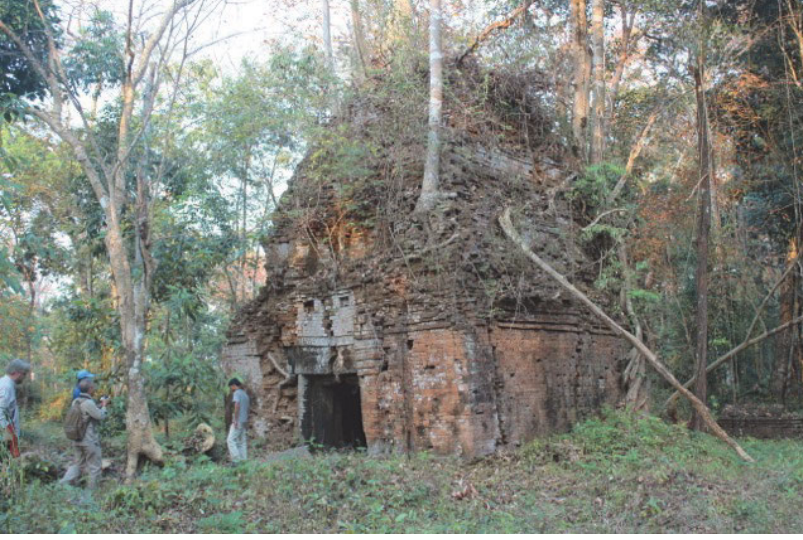


Fig. 2: View of the library (*pustakāśrama*) of Hiraṇyaruḥi at Phnom Khna, taken on the occasion of the visit of Dominique Soutif with a team from the Siem Reap Centre of the EFEO in February 2013. Photo: Julia Estève.

The second inscription, K. 355 (Coédès 1911, 405–406), is the more significant one, for it is inscribed on the badly damaged door-jamb of a building in the South East of a Śaiva temple compound at Phnom Khna and it identifies that particular building upon which it is inscribed as a library. I am most grateful to Dominique Soutif, Julia Estève and the epigraphic team of APSARA for visiting the site in February 2013 and for sending me invaluable photographs of the building (see Figs. 2 and 3), as well as of fresh estampages still pressed against the door-jamb (see Figs. 4 and 5). These enabled us to confirm, unsurprisingly, that almost nothing more can now be deciphered than was visible to Coédès more than a century ago.¹¹

11 In several places, rather less can be deciphered, but there are just one or two places where we can improve on Coédès' transcription. The first two visible *aḥṣaras* of the first line, namely *ścale*, have oddly not been read by him and these allow us better to understand the first verse:

(1) ***** § *cale jala ivāṅśumān*

bhedābhedātmane tasmai parameśāya no na(2)[maḥ //]

[[Who is]] like the moon [reflected] in moving water— to that Supreme Lord, who is [thus both] multiple and undivided, obeisance!



Fig. 3: View of the library (*pustakāśrama*) of Hiraṇyaruṇi at Phnom Khna, taken on the occasion of the visit of Dominique Soutif with a team from the Siem Reap Centre of the EFEO in February 2013. Photo: Julia Estève.

The moon divided when reflected upon ripples is an oft-repeated image for the paradoxical nature of God found in such Śaiva works as the *Parākhyatantra* (1.42) and the *Devāmata* (see Ślāczka 2016, 198, verse 86). In Cambodian sources, it is rather more common to find the moon reflected on the surfaces of multiple bodies of water rather than on moving water: see, e.g., K. 225, stanza 1 (where we must understand *naikanira*^o, perhaps faintly confirmed by EFEO estampage n. 321, in place of *naikanira*^o, as printed in *IC* III, p. 67), and K. 570, stanza IX, where a consultation of the stone today enables one to correct Finot's metrically impossible reading *vikalpa[n n]o dād* (which seems to be discernible in the EFEO estampage n. 421) to *vikalpa(bhe)dād*. (A discussion of that interesting stanza would cause us to stray too far from our topic here.)



Fig. 4: The epigraphic team of APSARA taking an estampage of K. 355, the inscription of Hiranyaruci on the doorjamb of the entrance to the library at Phnom Khna in February 2013. Photo: Julia Estève.

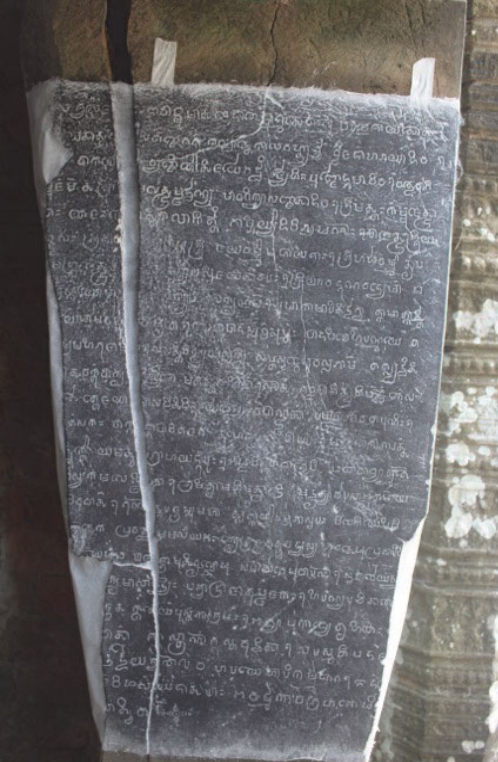


Fig. 5: The estampage of K. 355 taken in February 2013 before being removed from the stone. Photo: Julia Estève.

XXII. *hiraṇyaruṇā te(20)[na]* * * * * ~ ~ ~
 * * * * * *jñ[e]na kṛto¹²yaṃ pustakāśramah* //
 XXIII. *adhyāpakādhyeṭṭhitaiḥ* (21) * * * * ~ ~ ~
 * * * * * *vānām¹³ śāstrāṇām śastabuddhinā* //

That Hiraṇyaruṇi, of trained intellect (*śastabuddhinā*), who knew ... (...*jñena*), created this library (*kṛto 'yaṃ pustakāśramah*) [[filled]] with [[books]] beneficial for teachers and students [and] belonging to ... disciplines (...*vānām śāstrāṇām*).

It is conceivable that, qualifying these ‘disciplines’, the text might once have had the word *śaivānām* in XXIIIc, since it is clear from stanzas XIII and XVI that Hiraṇyaruṇi, like Yajñavarāha, laid claim to being a Śaiva preceptor of the Khmer royal family. Stanza XIII can be partly repaired, with the help of stanza VII of K. 958,¹⁴ to read as follows:

* * * * * *nottejayām āsa dhīnidhiḥ*
yo dhaumya [i]va pāṇḍunām raghūṇām iva vāruṇiḥ //

Who, a [veritable] treasury of intelligence, inflamed (*uttejayām āsa*) [[scil. the fiery energy of those kings]], just as Dhaumya did for the Pāṇḍavas and Agastya for the Raghus.

Stanza XVI is not echoed in K. 958 and we can decipher no more in it than could Coedès, but we may attempt a partial translation, assuming that it refers to Speech (Sarasvatī / Vāgīśvarī) residing in Hiraṇyaruṇi’s mouth, perhaps dancing upon his tongue:

aṣṭaviṇśatidhā śaivī pañcadhādhyātmanai(15) ~ *
 * * * * * *syakamale sthitā* //

12 Coedès prints *jñana* (?) *kṛto* in XXIIc, which would be unmetrical.

13 Coedès prints [*sar*]vānām in XXIIIc, which would be ungrammatical.

14 Stanza VII of K. 958 reads:

(13) *teṣām uttejakas tejojvalanasyeṣitā vidheḥ*

(14) *pāṇḍunām iva yo dhomyo raghūṇām iva vāruṇiḥ* /

Coedès translates (*IC* VII, p. 144) as follows:

Maître de la règle, il attisait le feu de leur tejas, comme fit Dhaumya pour les Pāṇḍava, et (Agastya) fils de Varuṇa pour les descendants de Raghu.

It seems not unlikely, however, that we are rather intended to take *iṣitāvidheḥ* as a compound referring punningly both to their consecration as kings and to their initiation as liberated souls, causing them to realise their innate Śiva-nature:

Who was the one who inflamed the fire of their energy by bringing about their [innate] Lord-ship (*iṣitāvidheḥ*), ...



Fig.6: Interior view of Hiraṇyaruṇi's library at Phnom Khna taken in February 2013, showing the lozenge-shaped holes in the sides of the building. Photo: Julia Estève

[[In whose]] lotus-mouth ([ā]syakamale) Speech [[danced]], twenty-eight-fold in her Śaiva form (*śaivī*); fivefold as [brahmanical] reflection about the self (?).¹⁵

Here Speech is presumably twenty-eight fold as the twenty-eight scriptures of the Saiddhāntika canon.¹⁶

Returning for a moment to the seemingly windowless building that Hiraṇyaruṇi's inscription labels as a library, it might appear that it was not intended as a well-lit space for sitting down and poring over books, but rather as a place of storage, for the small diamond-shaped holes in its sides (see Fig. 6) seem, at least to a modern viewer used to the overcast skies of Northern Europe, to be designed for ventilation rather than light. But Lunet de Lajonquière's account of the features typical of such library buildings across the Khmer world suggests that those small openings were in fact intended for lighting the large vaulted spaces within,

¹⁵ If *ādhyātma* refers to a branch of learning that embodies Sarasvatī, it could refer to Upaniṣads or, as in the *Niśvāsamukhatattvasaṃhitā* (4.42–69), to the philosophising of the Sāṅkhyas (see Kafle 2015, 27 and 268ff). It is not clear to me why either of these should be described as fivefold.

¹⁶ For the names of these twenty-eight scriptures in various old Śaiva sources, see Appendix III of Goodall 1998 (pp. 402ff).

and that they are, in other comparable buildings, replaced by windows screened by balustrades (1902, xxx):

Ils ne renferment qu'une seule salle également rectangulaire, ouverte à l'O., c'est-à-dire dans la direction du sanctuaire. Cette salle est souvent éclairée par des jours pratiqués dans les grandes faces. Ces jours sont, ou bien de petites ouvertures en losange, ou bien des fenêtres larges mais peu hautes et garnies de balustres, toujours ménagés à une hauteur telle qu'ils ne peuvent servir qu'à éclairer l'intérieur, sans permettre de regarder de l'extérieur à l'intérieur ou réciproquement.¹⁷

So these may really have been intended as spaces for study, sufficiently lit, given the strong sunshine of the region, by little more than slits in their sides. One other misapprehension should perhaps be touched upon. It has been mentioned to me, but I can unfortunately not remember by whom, that some comparable and similarly positioned (opening to the West on either side of the Eastern approach to the main sanctuary) buildings at other Khmer sites may bear signs of having had fires lit in them, which might seem surprising if they were really places for the storage and study of books. I do not know if this is true, but if any such buildings did regularly have fires lit in them (the South-East being after all the direction of Agni and the place of the kitchen in South Indian temples, such as in the great temple at Tanjore), this does not necessarily preclude their having been used for the storage of books, for hanging palm-leaf manuscripts above fireplaces, where smoke and dry warmth would minimise the attacks of insects and fungus, was evidently commonly practised in some parts of South India:¹⁸ manuscripts of Tulu-speaking areas kept today in the French Institute of Pondicherry, for instance, typically have blackened edges that appear to be the result of such storage-practices, e.g. RE 43228 (see Fig. 7).

17 Translation: 'These [buildings] enclose just one room, also rectangular, which opens to the West, in other words towards the sanctuary. This room often receives light from windows made in its long sides. These windows may either be small lozenge-shaped openings or windows that are broad but not tall and decorated by balusters, always arranged at a height such that they can only serve to give light to the interior, without allowing one to look from the inside to the outside, or vice versa.'

18 P. Perumal's thesis on manuscript conservation has information on this subject, including, as far as I recall, images of metal frames conceived for hanging manuscripts over kitchen fires, but I do not have access to this document. He mentions the practice in his blog of May 2013 (<https://drperumal.wordpress.com/2013/05/10/preventive-conservation-of-palm-leaf-manuscripts/>), consulted on 25th October 2015.



Fig.7: A palm-leaf manuscript in Tuḷu script, now in the collection of the Institut Français de Pondichéry: RE 43228. The blackened edges of the leaves are consistent with its having been kept above a fire. Photo: Dominic Goodall.

2 Inscriptional references to materials and scripts

Particular attention being accorded to the preparation and preservation of manuscripts, rather than simply to the texts that they transmit, as is common in the Indian subcontinent, is further attested to by inscriptions of the preceding and succeeding centuries. Of particular note are the late-9th-century inscriptions of King Yaśovarman. Among the numerous ashrams founded by this king, those in Angkor include in their inscription-charters (verse 87 of K. 701 and K. 279) the provision that students should be furnished with blank palm-leaves (*riktapattra*), ink (*maṣi*) and *mṛtsnā* (Cœdès 1932, 92 and 103), and the stipulation (verse 98) that each ashram should employ two scribes (*lekhakau*), two librarians (*pustakarakṣiṇau*, ‘book-protectors’) and six preparers of leaves (*pattrakārahāḥ*)

(Coedès 1932, 92 and 104).¹⁹ We shall return below to the question of why *mṛtsnā*, which Bergaigne (1893, 430) and, following him, Coedès (1932, 103) both take to be chalk ('craie'), should be supplied to students.

This same Yaśovarman may well have been personally interested in questions of transmission, for it is he who attempted, it seems, to bring about a change in official script in his kingdom. Alongside the alphabet regularly used in his day for both Sanskrit and Khmer that had gradually evolved from the script often dubbed 'Pallava Grantha' (although actually used across much of South East Asia, along the Eastern littoral of the Indian sub-continent and across a large swathe of the southern end of the Indian peninsula), Yaśovarman championed a new script of Northern type, related to the group of styles usually referred to as Siddhamātrkā, and it seems that he intended it to become a sort of national script.²⁰

K. 290, stance CIX.

*ambuje[ndrapratāpena ka]mvujendrena nirmitam
amvujākṣe[ṇa tenedaṇi] kamvujākṣaram ākh[ya]ayā //*

This lotus-eyed king of the Kambujas, who had the fiery energy of [the sun, who is] the lord of lotusses, created this [script], by name Kamvujākṣara.

Moreover, as Estève and Soutif remark in their discussion (2011, 341–342) of this attempt at an official change of script — an attempt which appears not to have outlasted this king's reign —, Yaśovarman vaunted himself, in the inscriptions he commissioned, not only for his śāstric learning, but also for his prowess in scripts.

K. 323 (*śaka* 811), verse 51 describing the king Yaśovarman
*yas sarvvaśāstraśastreṣu śilpabhāṣālipiṣv api
nṛttagītādivijñāneṣv ādikartteva paṇḍitaḥ*

19 For some of the latest discoveries and reflections relating to Yaśovarman's extraordinary campaign of *āśrama*-building, see Estève and Soutif 2011. The description of further archeological discoveries is to be expected in the doctoral thesis of Socheat Chea, '*Saugatāśrama*', *un āśrama bouddhique à Angkor (Ong Mong)*, to be defended at the university of Paris IV. For a discussion of the possibility that *patrakāra* might refer not to those who prepare palm-leaves for writing but instead to those who use leaves to prepare dishes for eating from, see Chhom 2016, 85–100.

20 For a discussion of this official script-change, see Estève and Soutif 2011, 341–342.

Who was, like the primordial creator, skilled in all disciplines of learning and in weaponry, in arts, languages and scripts too, [and] in such branches of knowledge as dancing and singing.

This emphasis on the written word again would, it seems to me, be surprising in the Indian subcontinent, where knowledge of numerous scripts seems often not to be especially prized today, and where I am not aware of having noticed such knowledge adverted to in royal lapidary proclamations.²¹ Nor is it the only such passage in the Cambodian epigraphical record: returning to the foundation inscription of the temple now called Banteay Srei, K. 842, we find that a similar claim is made for Yajñavarāha in stanza XXI:

(21) *ākhyāyikākṛtir abhūt svadeśe yadupakramam
nānābhāṣālipijñāś ca prayuktā nāṭakasya yaḥ ||*

In Cœdès' translation, this is rendered thus:

Dans son pays, il provoqua la rédaction de petits récits, lui qui connaissait diverses langues et écritures et composait des pièces de théâtre.

But it is possible that we should rather understand as follows:

Inspired by whom, the composition of an *ākhyāyikā*²² was produced in his native place; who, knowledgeable about various languages and scripts, acted in dramas.

21 A counter example brought to my attention by Melinda Fodor: a very much later boast in quite a different context may be found in verse 5 of the prologue to the *Ānandasundarī*, a Prakrit play about the 17th-century warrior-king Sivaji, which describes its author in these terms:

*īso jassa khu puvvao uṇa mahādevvo piḍā ajuḍā
kāśi jassa a suṇḍarī piāmā sāmbharī a ssaśā
sattaṭṭhottilivippahū guṇakhaṇi coṇḍājibālājino
potto bāvisahāṇo caūrahī jo savvabhāsākāi*

The *chāyā* of Bhaṭṭanātha reads:

*īso yasya khalu pūrvajaḥ punar mahādevaḥ pitā, ambā
kāśi yasya ca sundarī priyatamā śākambharī ca svasā |
saptāṣṭoktilipiprabhur guṇakhaṇiś caṇḍājibālājeḥ
pautro dvāviṃśatihāyanaś caturadhīr yaḥ sarvabhāṣākaviḥ*

We may translate :

Whose elder brother, as is well known, is Īśa, whose father is Mahādeva, whose mother is Kāśi, whose beloved is Sundarī, whose sister is Śākambharī, master of seven or eight languages and scripts, a mine of virtues, grandson of Cauṇḍājibālāji, twenty-two years of age, clever-minded, a poet in every language.

22 How exactly an *ākhyāyikā* is to be defined is something about which there has been disagreement from the time of Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin, and the only ancient surviving work agreed to be

3 Post-10th-century evidence

Moving forward in time to the 11th century, we find another donation of a physical book, this time not identified, to a religious foundation by a certain Śivavindu, whose grandfather received from Sūryavarman I the hereditary priesthood of a Kapāleśa temple (K. 278, stanza 23):

*śāstrasandarśsanābhyāsād vyatārid²³ rāmaṇīyakam
pustakaṃ yo vimānārthaṃ śrībhadreśālayeśvare ||*

Barth translates (1885, 116):

Appliqué à faire connaître les saints livres, il fit hommage à l'Īçvara du sanctuaire de Bhadreça d'un splendide volume au contenu vénéré.

Given the presence of the word *abhyāsa* here, it seems conceivable that the verse is intended to mean that Śivavindu himself copied a book (or books, if we assume a generic singular) before donating it, for we might interpret as follows:

Motivated [by a desire both] to cause [others] to see the *śāstras*/scriptures and to practise them [himself], he gave a beautiful book [that he had copied] to the Lord of the Bhadreśa temple, for [keeping in] the *vimāna*.

Finally, the 12th-century biographical poem of K. 364 from Ban That (Finot 1912), about a certain Subhadra who took the Śaiva initiation name Mūrddhaśiva, furnishes further evidence of the emphasis in Cambodia on the physical book rather than the discarnate text, for here too we find a reference to a library.

[...]Last face of K. 364 (continuous numeration of the stanzas is impossible because of damage):

*nīśeśaśāstrair likhitais sanāthā[n] (54) = ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ān |
sa pustakān adhyayanācchidārthaṃ tatrāśrame nekavidhān acaīṣīt ||*

Dans cet āçrama, pour que l'étude y fût poursuivie sans interruption, il réunit un grand nombre de manuscrits traitant de toutes les sciences... (Finot 1912, 28).

an *ākhyāyikā* is the *Harṣacarita*; what is clear is that it should be either an autobiographical Sanskrit prose poem or one based on facts that were directly experienced by the author (see De 1924, in particular p. 517).

23 We must of course understand *vyatārid*; Barth notes (1885, 107, n. 18) that 'L'i bref est ici parfaitement net'.

Furthermore, the same inscription offers us a fine four-verse vignette of the edifying spectacle of a scholarly debate in which the judges have their books laid out in front of them for reference.

XVIII.

(35) *dikṣāvidhau sati na kevalam eva somam*

āmantrito sakṛd apāyayad ānṛṣamsāt

(36) *yo nyāyasāmkyakanabhuñmataśabdaśāstra-*

bhāṣyārthasomam api sūrijanān pipāsūn (corr.; pipāsūr Finot)

When he accomplished a *dikṣā* [for performing a Vedic sacrifice], he caused, when invited to do so, thirsty learned folk to drink repeatedly (*asakṛt*), not only Soma-juice, but also, out of kindness, the juice that was the expounded meaning²⁴ of the disciplines of Nyāya, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika and grammar.

XIX.

(37) *vidyāpavarggavihitāpacitiprabandhe*

yasyāśrame 'navaratāhutidhūmagandhe

(38) *durggāgameṣu matibhedakṛtārthanīyā*

vidyārthinām vivadatām dhvanir utsasarppa

Above his *āśrama*, in which there was a constant stream of [donative] acts of honour performed [by graduating students] at the moment of concluding their studies, which was fragrant with the smoke of an uninterrupted sequence of sacrifices, there rose [constantly] the sound of students debating over difficult [passages of] transmitted texts (*durggāgameṣu*) in a fashion that was successful in accordance with the various schools (*matibhedakṛtārthanīyā*).²⁵

XX.

(39) *athādhvare śrijayavarmmadevas*

satkartukāmo guṇinān nikāyam

(40) *guṇānurodhena parikṣaṇāya*

niśeṣaśāstrārthavido nyayūnīkta

Now Śrī-Jayavarmadeva, desirous of honouring an assembly of persons of merit, appointed scholars of all the śāstras to examine, in accordance with his good qualities, [Mūrdhaśiva].²⁶

²⁴ Instead of taking °*bhāṣyārtha*° in this way, one could understand °*bhāṣya*° to refer to the *Mahābhāṣya*, as Finot has done (1912, 25).

²⁵ This expression seems not straightforward to me and I am not certain of having interpreted it correctly. Finot (1912, 26) translates: ‘discutant sur les textes difficiles avec la dextérité de contro-versistes éprouvés’.

²⁶ I have assumed that it was Mūrdhaśiva/Subhadra whom the king wanted to have examined for the amusement and edification of persons of merit, but Finot’s translation (1912, 26) suggests a

XXI.

(41) *teṣāṃ purassthāpitapustakānām* (corr.; *puras sthāpita*^o Finot)
saṃpraṣṭum udyuktavatān nikāmam(42) *ciccheda pakṣaṃ mativajrapātād*
yaḥ parvatānām iva vajrapāṇiḥ

With the thunderbolt of his understanding, he slashed their arguments (*pakṣam*) as they began eagerly to interrogate him, with their books placed in front of them, just as Indra [slashed] the wings (*pakṣam*) of the mountains.

4 Materials

Before bringing to a close this small collection of allusions to manuscripts and textual transmission in ancient Cambodia, we should return for a moment to consider the question of materials that were used. We saw above that the earliest reference to books tells us nothing about the materials of the books in which texts were written and that Barth, citing a Chinese source, mentioned blackened deerskin leather. We have no basis for excluding altogether the possibility that leather was used for text-transmission, but it would be culturally surprising; given the Southern script-type adopted in Khmer-speaking territory, we might reasonably expect other aspects of the writing-culture to be shared. Moreover, such later indications of materials as can be found invariably point to the use of palm leaf. These indications include textual references, such as those in the 9th-century *āśrama*-inscriptions of Yaśovarman that we have alluded to above, and sculptural representations of books: for an example in which the book seems clearly to be a regular bundle of palm-leaves tied together, see Fig. 8.²⁷

Sculptures can of course be deceptive, as many South Indian examples demonstrate, since the convention there seems typically to represent palm-leaf books as being so implausibly floppy that they hang down from the sides of the holder's hand (see Fig. 9). In other words, one might even ask oneself whether these 'palm

slightly different scenario: 'Un jour, dans un sacrifice, le roi Jayavarman, voulant honorer une réunion d'hommes de mérite, chargea des connaisseurs en toutes sciences de les examiner selon leur mérite.'

²⁷ As Brice Vincent has kindly pointed out to me, one of the nearly 2000 celestial ladies carved in bas-relief at Angkor Vat is described by Goloubew (1930, 8) as holding such a palm-leaf bundle: 'Elle tient, entre le pouce et l'index de la main droite un livre en feuilles de latanier sur lesquelles sont gravés des caractères.' But to me examining the images in question (Planches 223 and 224), it is not clear whether the sculptor has tried to represent a tablet or a book of palm-leaves or some other inscribed object.



Fig.8: Statue of Avalokiteśvara of the 11th or 12th century kept in the National Museum in Bangkok. In his upper hands he holds a rosary and a conch; in his lower hands he holds what looks like a custard apple, but is presumably a lotus-bud, and a palm-leaf book. The statue is on display with no indication of provenance beyond that it is an instance of ‘Khmer Art’. Photos: Dominic Goodall.

leaves’ could not after all have been straps of leather! Furthermore, such evidence does not show us whether the surface of the leaves was written upon with ink and using a nib, as in Nepal and Northern India and some parts of the Indonesian archipelago (see Gunawan 2015), or whether the surface was incised with a stylus and then inked, as in the South of India and along the Eastern littoral. But here too it seems reasonable to assume that the Southern technology of incision was followed from early on, not only because it is that tradition that was employed in Cambodia for writing on palm leaves until recent times, but also because Khmer script derived from ‘Southern Brāhmī’ and in the various pre-modern stages of its evolution seems never to display the thick and thin strokes that are typically associated with a nib rather than with a stylus. (The acquisition of thicks and thins in printed modern Khmer is paralleled in the printed forms of the South Indian scripts used for Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu, which all also lacked thicks and thins in their pre-modern manuscript forms.) Even the samples of ‘Northern’ Kamvujākṣara from the reign of Yaśovarman do not seem to display such thicks and thins (see Fig. 10). By way of contrast, well engraved inscriptions from regions in which writing on palm leaves does not involve incision do typically have broader and thinner strokes and often thickened serifs (see Fig. 11), with these features often forming part of the identity of the letters that have them.



Fig. 9: Dakṣiṇāmūrti, holding a book in his lower left hand, on the South side of the circa 9th-century Aṭṭahāseśvara temple in Tiruttāṇi. Photo: Dominic Goodall. Were the leaves really this floppy? Is this not actually a representation of the kind of palm-leaf manuscript we see today? Or is the apparent floppiness an artistic convention for conveying the flexibility of palm-leaves?

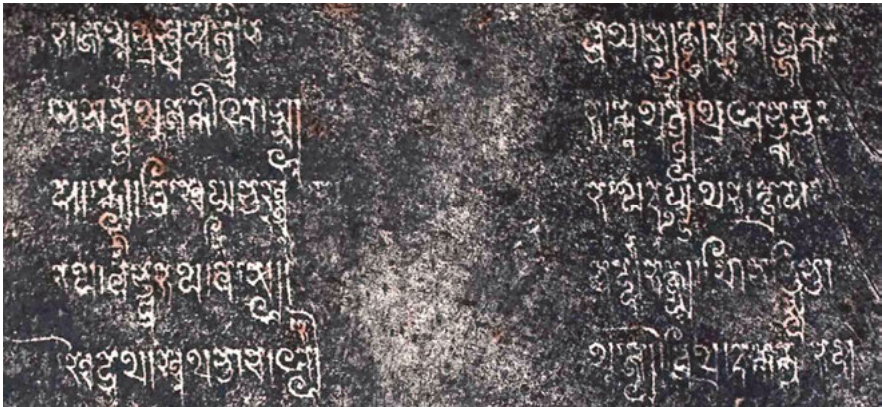


Fig. 10: Detail of an estampage of one of Yaśodharavarman's 9th-century āśrama-inscriptions in 'Kamvujākṣara': EFEO estampage No. n. 352-C of K. 279. Note that there are no thicks and thins and that rather than serifs the letters have the sorts of small volutes that are typical of scripts associated with incision in palm-leaves.

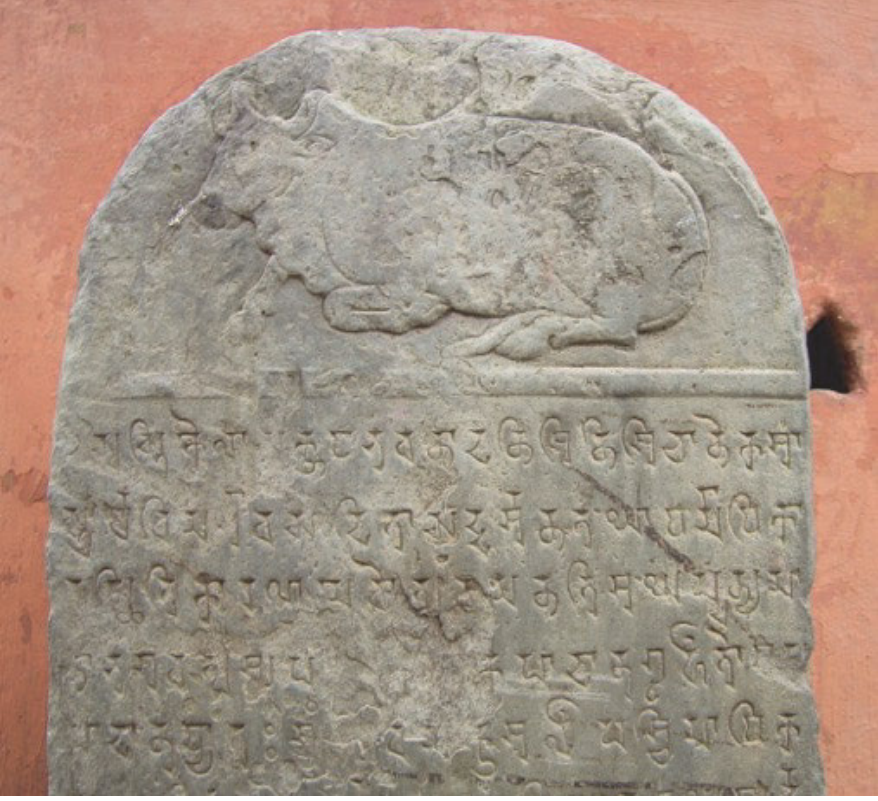


Fig. 11: Detail of a finely engraved Nepalese inscription that displays the serifs and the thick and thin strokes typically associated with writing on the surface of a document using a nibbed instrument. Note, for instance, the *bha* in the first line (which begins [*om*] *svasti kailāsakūṭa-bhavanād*): its serifs are an integral part of the letter; without them, we might not recognise it. Photo: Dominic Goodall. The inscription is that published as No. XLI by Gnoli (1956, 56 and Plate XLII).

I have just asserted that the 9th-century *āśrama*-charter inscriptions of Yaśovarman provide evidence of the use of palm-leaves, but it should be noted that this is not how the passage was interpreted when it was first printed. Here is the half-line in question as it occurs in K. 279:

LXXXVII ab.

(11) *riktapattraṃ maṣiṃ mṛtsnām dadyād adhyeṭṣādhave*

Bergaigne (1893, 430–431), translating a version of this in which the second *pāda* instead reads *adhyeṭṭṣu diśed api*, interprets as follows:

Des feuillets vides, du noir animal, de la craie, seront fournis aux étudiants.

And he adds a note (1893, 430, n. 8) that begins: ‘Du noir animal pour noircir les feuillets, de la craie pour y écrire.’ He then proceeds to refer back to the footnote of Auguste Barthe (1885, 31, n. 5) mentioned above that records that an ancient Chinese account refers to the use by the Khmers of blackened deerskin. This suggests that Bergaigne imagined that the *āśrama*-charter inscriptions referred to blank ‘leaves’ of deerskin that were blackened and written upon with chalk. Coëdès (1908, 222 and 1932, 103) follows Bergaigne’s translations of all three items with no further comment.²⁸ Now that we have more context than Bergaigne in the 1890s, the notion that ‘blank leaves’ referred to pieces of deerskin and that the *maṣī* was used for blackening the whole surface of those pieces of parchment seems rather less probable than that the ‘leaves’ were simply palm leaves and that the *maṣī* was a blackening agent for rubbing into incised letters. Furthermore, apart from the semantic stretching that would be required to allow ‘leaf’ (*pattra*) at this early date to mean parchment, there would also be the oddity that the charters would charge the students with blackening sheets of parchment even though the same charters inform us, as we have seen above, that a staff of six was to be engaged in preparing the ‘leaves’ (*ṣaṭ pattrakārahāḥ*). Assuming then that the leaves are after all unblackened palm-leaves, this leaves the question of the identity and purpose of *mṛtsnā*, which typically appears to mean ‘clay’, but for which Monier-Williams, although he does not mention chalk, also records the sense ‘aluminous slate’.

Until now, it seems to me, the scholarly literature has not focussed on this difficulty and has therefore not yet drawn into the discussion of this passage another verse, one from a royal panegyric engraved just 70 years later, that also refers to *mṛtsnā* and writing together. The verse in question is 134 on the huge 298-verse stela-inscription commemorating the foundation of the Śaiva temple known today as Pre Rup in 883 *śaka*. It is, of course, part of a description of a king, this time the tenth-century Khmer king Rājendravarman:

yadīyaṃ śaramṛtsnābhir yyaśaḥ kāmēna kāntijam

²⁸ Coëdès attempts, however, to respect number and syntax more literally, rendering the same reading from another charter inscription thus (1908, 222): ‘Qu’on fournisse aux étudiants un feuillet vide, du noir animal et de la craie’. His three other translations (1932, 103) similarly attempt to reflect closely the small differences in formulation in other charters.

hṛdyaṃ hṛdi varastrīṇāṃ lagnaṃ likhitam akṣaram

Following Cœdès interpretation (1937 [IC I], 124) we would understand:²⁹

The glory that was born of his beauty, and that was pleasing to the heart, was a written character (*akṣaram*) that Kāma had engraved indelibly (*akṣaram*) in the hearts of noble women with the powder of his arrows (*śara-mṛtsnābhīḥ*).

This is fine as far as it goes. The verse calls to mind several poetic ideas, such as the convention of heroes marking their arrows with names (usually their own) before shooting them, and the smearing of arrows with poisons,³⁰ and there is an elegant play on the word *akṣara* (letter/indelible). But there are two basic difficulties with this interpretation for me. What can the ‘powder of his arrows’ be? And how would the powder be involved in the writing process?

In Kāma’s case, this powder might be the pollen of the flowers that are his arrows. Sarva Daman Singh (1965, 172) recounts this anecdote about an extraordinary South Indian archer in modern times who was nicknamed Kaliyugī Arjuna:

He smeared exceedingly sharp arrow-tips with chalk dust and shot them at the bare backs of students with a perfect delicacy of control, so that they left only chalk marks on their tender targets without even grazing them.

Now this is not about ancient times, but if the trick was practised recently, then it might have been thought up long ago. So perhaps the pollen of Kāma’s flower-arrows is fancied to be similarly used here. Or perhaps Kāma is after all imagined simply to have dusted his arrows with chalk?

As for the use of powder in the writing process, one can imagine it being rubbed onto leaves to cure them or render them supple, or light-coloured powder being rubbed over certain letters to highlight them, or perhaps even being rubbed into the incisions forming certain letters instead of the soot or blackening agent and thus achieving a sort of ‘rubrication’. But none of these actions seems a natural parallel to powder from Kāma’s arrows producing written letters upon ladies’ hearts.

²⁹ ‘La gloire née de sa beauté, et plaisante au cœur, était un caractère d’écriture que l’Amour avait gravé d’une façon indélébile dans le cœur des nobles femmes avec la poudre de ses flèches.’

³⁰ Cf., e.g., *Mālavikāgnimitra* 2.13: *avyājasundarīṃ tām vijñānena lalitena yojayitā / upakalpito vidhātṛā bāṇaḥ kāmasya viśadigdhaḥ*, which Balogh and Somogyi translate (2009, 67): ‘When he imbued this innocent beauty with the discipline of coquetry, the creator crafted a poison-smearing arrow for the god of love.’

So perhaps another way of analysing this compound is worth exploring. Would not the compound *śaramṛtsnābhiḥ* fit rather better here if it were a *mukhacandra*-type comparison-compound? In that case *mṛtsnā* could designate a writing instrument such as a stick of chalk or of ‘alluminous slate’ or a sort of crayon of the kind that Aditia Gunawan supposes might be referred to with the expression *tanah* in Old Javanese (2015, 263–264). In that case we might instead understand:

Kāma fixed as indelible (the letter that was) the heart-enflaming fame of his beauty [by rendering it] engraved in the hearts of lovely women by means of the crayons that were his arrows (*śaramṛtsnābhiḥ*).

One might even go a step beyond this and assume that an expression whose primary meaning was ‘crayon’ (of slate, clay, steatite, tailor’s chalk or whatever) came to be generalised to refer to any writing instrument, a bit like the word ‘pen’, which no longer suggests the notion of ‘feathers’ to most people who use it, or the word ‘pencil’, which no longer calls to mind a brush. In other words, one might even hazard the guess that *mṛtsnā* might have come to mean ‘stylus’ in the Sanskrit of the Khmers in this period. In that case, we would have the leaves (*riktapattrāṇī*), the blackening agent (*maṣī*) and the writing stylus (*mṛtsnā*) all referred to together in the sentence of the *āśrama*-charters. But this, as Andrew Ollett has pointed out to me (email of 25.xi.2015) would probably be a step too far, ...‘since it would have been impossible for the king’s glory (and therefore also the letter drawn by Kāma’s arrows) to have been anything other than white’.³¹

I therefore propose that *mṛtsnā* may refer to a crayon of something like tailor’s chalk that was used for tracing preliminary non-permanent marks upon palm-leaves before beginning to incise them.³² Such non-permanent pale crayon marks paradoxically become indelible when traced by Kāmadeva’s arrows, in such a way that they mark the *yaśaḥ* of Rājendravarman, on the hearts of gorgeous ladies.

³¹ Andrew Ollett’s email was a reaction to an exchange of messages on the subject of *mṛtsnā* in these two passages that took place in November 2015 within a thread about ‘rubrication’ on the Indology Bulletin Board. I am grateful also to other participants in the discussion for their remarks.

³² One further possibility should be recorded, and that is that chalk was supplied in fact for writing on a sort of blackboard (*phalaka*), which is then curiously not mentioned among the supplies to be given to students, just as the writing-implement for writing on the palm-leaves is also curiously not mentioned. For attestations to the use of chalk (*khaṭikā*) and such boards in a wide range of Indian sources, see S.R. Sarma’s short but richly informative monograph on *Writing Material in Ancient India* (1985).

5 In lieu of a conclusion

Such a collection of gleanings perhaps does not require a conclusion, but if one is to be drawn, perhaps we may conclude from the above pages that there seems to be a greater attention paid to writing and the written word in the Khmer world than is typical in the Indian sub-continent, where books and learning are certainly revered, but the physical aspects of books often pass unmentioned and might even be said to be sometimes rather neglected.³³ We can produce no statistics for comparison and we are aware that there may be thousands of pre-modern inscriptions (among other relevant documents) from the Indian subcontinent that we have not examined, but it seems from what we have seen that the relatively small corpus of Cambodian inscriptions contains relatively frequent allusions to matters that seem to reflect this heightened attention: allusions to knowledge of scripts, for instance (rather than just to knowledge of languages and of genres of literature), as well as mentions of physical books, mentions of their being copied, and mentions of their storage in libraries. These inscriptions inform us principally about Cambodian court circles and so they suggest the prestige of writing in the ancient Khmer world. There is of course another minor consideration, too obvious and well-known to require treating at any length, that further suggests this. The care lavished upon writing stands out also in the superb execution of the inscriptions themselves, where we typically encounter fine calligraphy and a balanced layout that reveals at once the metrical structure of what is engraved; remarkable calligraphy may be found in the epigraphical traditions of the Indian subcontinent too, but such aesthetically pleasing features seem very much the exception rather than the rule.

³³ Of course this is not to say that care was never accorded to the details of written transmission in the Indian subcontinent or that it was never discussed. For an old account of book-production (and book-worship), see that of the *Śivadharmottara*, whose second chapter, devoted to the theme of *vidyādāna*, has recently been edited by Florinda De Simini 2016.

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Numbers, prefaced by ‘K.’ (for ‘Khmer’), are inventory numbers for Cambodian inscriptions. The inventory, as far as it had reached in 1966, was published by Cœdès in volume 8 of his *Inscriptions du Cambodge (IC)*, and from this it can be determined where the various inscriptions published before then had appeared. An online version, prepared by Dominique Soutif as part of the CIK project (‘Corpus des inscriptions khmères’) and periodically corrected is now available here: epigraphia.efeo.fr/CIK.

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Codicology (from Orality to Print)

Eva Wilden

Tamil Satellite Stanzas: Genres and Distribution

Abstract: In the Tamil and also the wider Indian tradition we find, among the multifarious types of paratexts that accompany and envelop a text in a manuscript, little (and sometimes not so little) stanzas that in one way or another have a bearing on the text and its transmission. Little work has been done so far in order to understand their function(s), and many of them do not even make it into the printed editions. However, the fact that they have verse form shows two things, namely on the one hand that some thought and effort has been put into their production, and on the other hand that it was deemed important that they should be easy to memorise, in other words, they stand on the threshold between an oral and a written tradition. This article, the third in a series, will try to map the positions such stanzas take up, to distinguish their genres and finally to understand how editors dealt with them when developing the standard layout of a Tamil literary edition. In order to demonstrate how widespread the phenomenon was, examples are taken firstly from one well-defined sub-group of classical Tamil manuscripts and secondly from the smaller Tamil manuscript collection in the Cambridge University Library.

1 Introduction

In recent years there has been some debate in order to adapt the conception of paratexts as developed by Genette with respect to the print presentation of early European books to the description of manuscripts.¹ From a manuscript perspective, the term paratext is first of all intended as a phenomenological reference to

This article, produced within the intellectual framework of the ERC-funded project NETamil, is the third in a series of so far three dealing with the Tamil satellite stanzas (cf. Wilden 2017a). It is based on a presentation in ‘The South Asian Manuscript Book: Material, Textual and Historical Investigations’, Cambridge, 26 September 2014, enhanced by a number of discussions within the Paratext group and the Terminology group of the Hamburg Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (Sonderforschungsbereich 950, funded by the DFG), and a presentation at the workshop ‘Distinguishing Paratexts from Texts. Orality. Commentaries. Genres’, Hamburg, 15 May 2015. My thanks go to all the participants who contributed to the discussion. Special thanks go to Jean-Luc Chevillard and Giovanni Ciotti for reading preliminary versions.

1 For some recent case studies centred on such a notion, see Ciotti/Lin 2016.

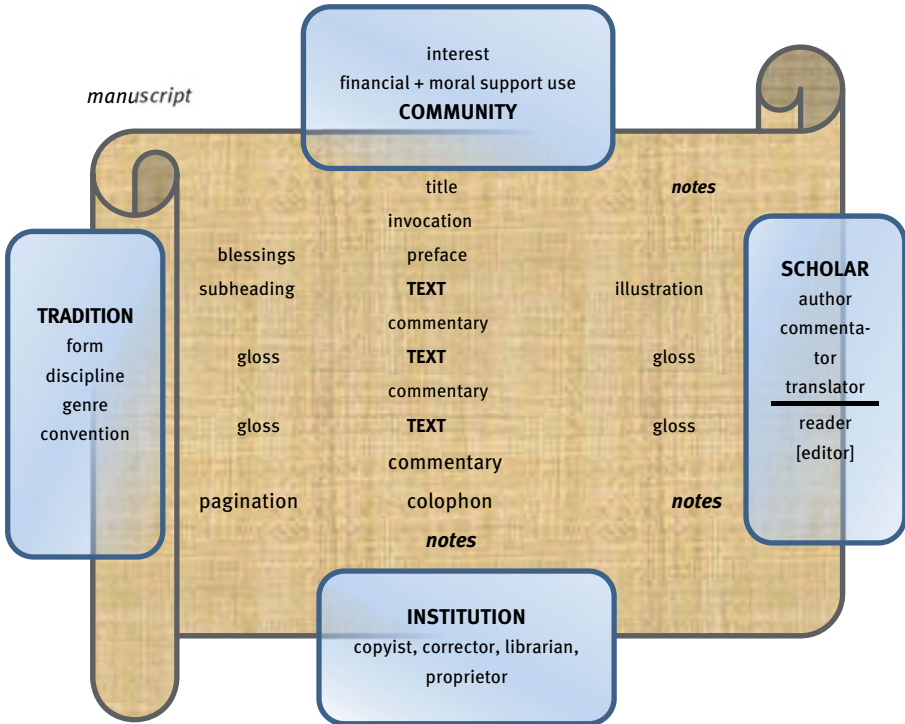
all the little texts that surround a text in a manuscript, or rather that embed a text in a manuscript and in its *Lebenswelt*, i.e., the whole is an interwoven texture that links a piece of human knowledge deemed worthy of further transmission with those who produced, transmitted and used it. Genette's famous metaphor is that of the threshold ('seuil'): paratexts would be the way that leads into a text.

We may think of different elaborations of that metaphor for the different types of paratexts. For the documenting type such as colophons, the threshold of a mere house may be too simple a model, but we may visualise an Indian temple town where one or several central shrines as the text(s) are surrounded by concentric walls which each have their separate gate. For the commenting type, i.e. glosses and commentaries we might rather choose a tree as a model, that is, the concentric year rings of growth that can be counted in an old tree (once it has been felled, to be sure) where the inner part becomes solid while on the outside there is green growth, adding a new layer every year as long as the transmission is alive. The hard inner core can even rot away, like a root text overtly still explained by a commentary, which in fact has long since taken over the function of the main text, as is the case in most Indian theoretical domains. Another aspect of the threshold is that usually it is not only one-way, but two-way. It is a means of going in, namely into the text, but also of going out into the community and culture that produced the manuscript. This may be more of a self-evident point for Genette, thinking about European book culture where the outside (mostly) is prettily mapped and well documented, but in many less well-known traditions the paratexts are our only way back into that world.

A basic definition of the term 'paratext' could be the following: a paratext is a textual element that mediates and mirrors the relationship between a textual artefact in a manuscript and its environment, that is, the people who conceived, produced and used it. Paratexts capture the threefold tie a manuscript has with time, namely, firstly, with the time prior to its production, when the text it carries was composed, secondly, the period when the individual manuscript was copied, and, thirdly, its more or less long history of storage and use. The word can be used as a cover term for a huge number of subcategories that partly overlap with literary sub-genres, which can be arranged by function (A) and by position within the layout of a manuscript (B). It does not make sense to divorce literary studies and manuscript studies with respect to paratexts. We have to understand how, why and when paratextual sub-genres developed in the respective literary traditions in order to make sense of the data encountered in the individual manuscripts, and in turn manuscript evidence can help us to reconstruct the processes of their evolution.

How would we want to describe the basic configuration of that world around a manuscript? On the one hand there are various agencies involved in conception,

production and storage, and use. On the other hand there is the individual physical incarnation of one text in a particular manuscript. The relationship between them is mirrored and often overtly negotiated in the paratexts that surround the text as it is copied. With yet another metaphor paratexts might be characterised as a doubly permeable membrane from environment to manuscript and manuscript to text. The whole fabric of text, paratext and manuscript can be depicted in the following diagram:



A manuscript as a physical object is the outcome of a complex process of production and transmission. It presupposes a *community* that lends financial and moral support to the fabrication and is interested in making use of the outcome, be it by mere storing, by reading in a wider sense or by specialised usages, for example in ritual. Usually the task of producing manuscripts is entrusted to an *institution* that procures writing support (palm leaf, etc.) and employs artisans such as scribes and correctors, and at the same time functions as a repository where the stock is collected, stored and safeguarded and, if necessity arises, recopied. This function of a librarian can be taken over, on a smaller scale, by individual proprietors. Form and content of a manuscript and/or a manuscript collection are predetermined by *tradition*. Tradition is made up by an implicit substratum of conventions about layout and genre on which can be superposed explicit schools of theoretical thinking about text and text forms. Its historical dimension is the mapping out of the intellectual universe into domains or disciplines. The intellectual work of either conceiving and composing new texts, or of explaining and transmitting older textual material is in the hand of *scholars* (teachers, priests, poets, specialists in a particular domain). They function as authors, commentators or even translators and they form the kernel of a readership viewed with benevolence or even actively supported by the wider community.

The manuscript is anchored in time in a triple way. As a copy, it is meant to record the state of a text prior to the copy's own period. As a physical object, it bears the testimony of its own production. As a historical artefact, it bears the traces of its transmission and reception, not to mention the visible signs of its more or less advanced physical deterioration. Questions of layout can be practically discounted in any South-Indian tradition. In this respect the real manuscript does not resemble the diagram above. The text lies in a massive block on the narrow palm-leaf; at first glance there is nothing much to be seen but a high-density data storage device. The *scriptio continua* does not encourage the differentiation of layers, and except for marginal titles, possibly inter-titles, and folio numbers, we find little mark-up. Marginal blessings can be seen in the beginning and at the end, and possibly a *pratīka* index with verse- or *sūtra* beginnings. Corrections and additions of phrases omitted on the page are rare. The intricate web of the actual text, its representation and its elucidation has to be discerned by the educated and attentive reader who ideally is already familiar with its wording.

The copy aims at preserving the text as it is at a given point in time but it is fairly free as to its embedding. Title and author are usually mentioned, if not in the margin then in a stanza composed for the purpose and transmitted in the wake of the text or in a colophon that belongs to the text and is recopied with it. If there is a commentary it means that the copy already incorporates a minimum of two distinct stages in the

life of the text, for few texts were composed along with a commentary. The need was felt after a certain time had passed. Comments range from simple glosses of difficult or rare words to elaborate paraphrases. They can be accompanied by more or less extensive discussions, and there is a point where one may ask whether what is framed like a paratext is not the actual text after all. Such is typically the case in many theoretical domains.

The physical object is shaped, within the limitations set by the material, according to the conventions of the genre, time, and place. The copyist may add explicit information to that extent, for example by writing a colophon. More often he does not. However, he leaves his mark on the text he copies, depending on his own degree of education and involvement. He may leave blanks in a text where he could no longer decipher the model he perused. He may simply close the gaps and thus produce at best a metrically faulty passage. Or at worst the passage in question is no longer comprehensible. He also leaves traces of his local or idiosyncratic spelling. He may alter the commentary, abridging or expanding it as he sees fit. He may bring in additional material. He may make partial copies, combining texts that traditionally do not belong together, in accordance with his own needs or preferences.

The historical artefact may appear more convoluted, for example by folios added at the beginning and/or the end, typically bringing in further glosses, tables of content, glossaries or additional verse material. Remarks and notes may appear, often not inked and thus hard to decipher. Readers may try to correct the text and even fill in blank space left by the original scribe in places where his source already was defective. Today's surviving palm-leaf manuscripts often contain pencil marks and secondary pagination applied by earlier editors of the text. The strings that bind the bundle probably had to be replaced several times. Libraries add their seals to the leaves and labels to the wooden covers. They also put successive shelf marks and inventory numbers.

One pervasive motif in all the three temporal strands that run together in this one object is the anxiety for its safety and continued transmission. Margins are left free, especially the right one where the leaf is turned, and spaces are left around the vulnerable holes. Invocation and colophon bracket the beginning and end of the text, blank folios precede and follow, because it is there that calamity, for example in the form of insects, strikes first. Mnemonic stanzas safeguard the structure of the text, its position within a corpus, its authorship and provenance. Commentaries try to ensure the continued comprehensibility of what may have been composed in a distant past. They are changing over time because the language of the copyists is changing, along with their degree of education and motivation. Colophon verses remind scribes as well as readers of their duty to preserve intact what has been transmitted. The first and most important lesson we can learn from the generations of

scribes we are looking back on is one of humility. We are not the end-point in a long process but we are just one link in the ongoing chain of transmitters.

The purpose of the present paper is to map out one significant element among the paratexts occupying this Tamil manuscript world, one ubiquitous not only in the South-Indian traditions but in the pan-Indian ones and beyond. The simplest designation for this element is the satellite stanza, consisting in a variety of little (and sometimes not so little) verses that surround a text as it is copied. We can basically distinguish three types, namely the anonymous one, that with a known author, and that which can be identified as a quotation from elsewhere. Their number, distribution and wording are variable from manuscript to manuscript, and often several varieties are found. The currently known text with the highest density may be the *Tirumurukāruppaṭai*: already Cāminātaiyar's standard edition comes with twelve additional verses, and some thirty-six have by now been collected by Emmanuel Francis for his critical edition.² The relation in which such a stanza stands to the manuscript and/or the text it is transmitted with has to be established in each particular case, although of course there are conventions.

2 Distribution and genres

After first stumbling across these stanzas when working on the manuscript transmission of the *Caṅkam* corpus³ I believed that they were a peculiarity of those very 'classical' texts, but since then the occupation with other groups of manuscripts brought home to me the fact that, firstly, they are ubiquitous, and, secondly, they have repercussions with several literary genres: they are threshold texts in yet another sense, in that they influenced the development of pre-modern notions on literary genres and the elements they are made of.⁴ In other words, we find ourselves in the slightly paradoxical situation of seeing some paratexts defined as subgenres of the texts they are supposed to mediate – some, but by no means all of them. This point is important since what I intend to show here is that in cases where a sub-genre came into being – a process linked to the creation of a Tamil term to denote the type in question – the

² Cf. Francis forthcoming.

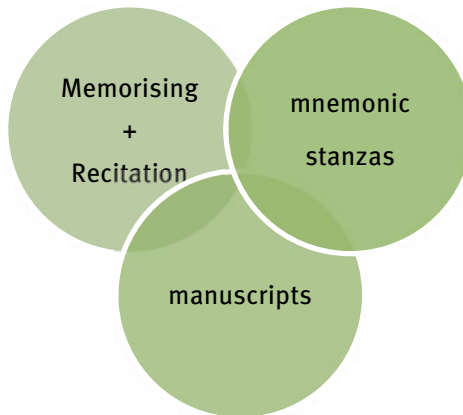
³ For a collection, collation and translation of the verses connected with the *Caṅkam* corpus, see Wilden 2014, 177–215.

⁴ This point ought to be examined in greater detail at some point, but here suffice it to say that some types of stanzas, such as the *kāppu*, find their place, if not a straightforward one, in the enumerations of *pirapantam*-s (< Skt. *prabandha*-, 'composition'), the current Tamil word that comes closest to a European notion of literary genre; cf. n. 9.

transmission is more stable and often led to the inclusion of the verse into the edition of the respective text. Where that was not the case, and this is true especially of one important type I am inclined to call colophon stanza, transmission tends to be more variable and the way such stanzas cross over to the print age is less predictable.

At this point the question arises how and why did they survive at all? The answer to this is best illustrated with one further, more general question: How to preserve knowledge on a precarious material basis? How is it possible to ensure a continuous transmission when palm leaf is fragile and times are dangerous, the political situation, hence the economy and the livelihood of scholars, and even religious institutions, unstable, as they were so often during the long course of Indian history? The standard answer here points to the parallel existence of an oral tradition. Yes, this certainly is one aspect. Texts were recited and, of course, they were taught. But it is not enough to know a text, or even many texts by heart. A scholar also has to memorise the domains and their interrelations, the composition and layout of text corpora, the names and credentials of poets and theoreticians – in other words, he has to know the precise position of everything and everybody in the dense network of intertextual relations that constitutes a major literary tradition. A significant role in transporting through time the vital pieces of meta-information on what was to be transmitted was played by mnemonic stanzas, put in verse so as to be easy to memorise.

oral tradition



Manuscripts were copied and collected, in monastery and palace libraries as well as by scholars. At the same time the teaching tradition ensured that students had the capacity to memorise and recite large chunks of text.⁵ The links between the two kinds of activity were the mnemonic stanzas, many of which survive in the margins of the manuscript transmission. They appear in a variety of metres, genres and positions.

The minimal coherence of the codicological unit of South-Indian palm-leaf manuscripts dictates the possible places for additional material. Thinking of a manuscript from one of the early classical corpora (*Caṅkam* and *Kiḷkkaṇakku*), we usually have manuscripts that contain more than one text and as a group make up the corpus or, more likely, a considerable portion of it. The folios are numbered, but often the manuscript contains one or more unnumbered extra folios, both at the beginning and at the end. Often such extra folios will contain stray stanzas, while almost always the folio 1a begins with an invocation stanza, the *kaṭavuḷ vālttu* ('praise of god'), named as such in the manuscript itself. This is the most straightforward type of stanza in that it has come to be regarded as part of the text itself – in many cases, such as the *Kalittokai*, the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and the *Tirukkural*, it is even included in the numbering of verses in the text, as poem number 1.⁶ This is directly followed by the text itself. The next possible place for insertions is the end of a section where we usually find a short intermediate colophon. It rarely goes beyond the final title, but occasionally further information interspersed with verse material is inserted here. The natural position, however, is at the end of the text, where we get the final title and the traditional colophon for text and/or commentary. This colophon is the preferred position for further stray stanzas, hence colophon stanzas. Here at least four types can be distinguished, namely poetological stanza, caveat, author stanza and patron stanza. Significantly, none of them seems to have acquired a Tamil designation. This, then, may or may not be followed by a scribal colophon, again possibly enhanced by further verses.

This first, unsystematic state of affairs seems to have influenced the shape of texts within the next set of classical collections, the bhakti anthologies. A large majority of bhakti texts is composed in decades that each end with a stanza which is at the same time a signature verse and a *phalaśruti* (an enumeration of the benefits to be derived from knowing and reciting the decade). The term developed to denote them is, in the Śaiva tradition, *tirukkaṭaikkāppu*, 'sacred end protection'. In

5 For a description of how written and oral education were carried out side by side in the training of a 19th-century poet-scholar (*pulavar*) see Ebeling 2010, 37ff.

6 For a detailed discussion of the invocation stanzas connected with the classical corpus, see Wilden 2017b (in print).

phraseology and spirit they seem related to the author stanzas found in the colophons of the earlier anthologies mentioned above. Although partly disputed as later additions, in general they are viewed as part of the textual transmission, not as paratexts. Moreover, in the Vaiṣṇava *Tivyappirapantam* we find a minimum of one author stanza per text, again modelled on one type of the earlier colophon stanzas. An important difference is, however, that now the authors of the stanzas, too, are known by name, which incidentally gives us a clue as to their age, since these authors are usually Ācāryas of the Śrīvaiṣṇava community – the sect that transmitted the Tamil bhakti corpus and linked it with the theology of Rāmānuja. This shows that an expectation has been raised and that a new type of subgenre has been created, although here the designation is still simply *taṇṇiyaṅ*, ‘solitary verse’.⁷ These seem to be the first instances where the author of a text is named and lauded in the beginning, not at the end.

The end point of this development can be seen in the early prints of the 19th century. The system found in place there can be shown to be based on a reorganisation of the additional material as it was found on the leaves of a manuscript. Its basic principle might be explained as a restructuring of the beginning and an unburdening of the end: in brief, the colophon is ejected and replaced by an elaborate pattern of prefatory materials. How this evolution actually took place and how long it took is difficult to say since Tamil manuscripts, with at best some 300 years of age, are just not old enough. Accordingly, the evidence presented in the practical part of this paper is based on a mixed argument: it seems that the patterns in place for the older texts do no longer work for the younger texts, so that in spite of the fact that material evidence roughly belongs to the same period certain tendencies can be observed. Moreover, what is badly needed, here as elsewhere, is manuscript statistics: while I can say that I have a fair idea of what remains of the manuscript transmission for texts from the first millennium, my knowledge for those of the medieval and early modern periods is restricted to snapshots such as the ones I give later from the Tamil manuscripts of the Cambridge collection. As far as early printed literature is concerned, the following six are sub-genres of verses prefixed to a text, although hardly a case could be found where all six would be present for a single text:

7 A preliminary count of *taṇṇiyaṅs* related to the *Tivyappirapantam* on the part of Suganya Anandakichenin (EFEO Pondy) comes up to 54, 13 in Sanskrit and 41 in Tamil.

1. *kāppu* ('protection')
2. *ciṛappuppāyiram* ('laudatory preface')
3. *varalāru* ('line of transmission')
4. *pāyiram* ('preface' of a treatise)
5. *patikam* ('preface' of a poetic text?)
6. *avaiyaṭakkam* ('submission to the assembly')

Part of the genesis can be explained with some confidence. The invocation stanza, named *kaṭavuḷ vālttu* in the early classical tradition, also referred to as *kaṭavuḷ vaṇakkam* in the medieval tradition, seems to make way for the *kāppu*. The early invocation never explicitly referred to the text it was added to, although there was an indirect relationship in that the metrical form of the *kaṭavuḷ vālttu* mirrored the form of the poetic text it belonged to, and was dedicated to the chosen deity of the poet or compiler. The *kāppus* did not follow the metrical imitation principle anymore, but often had the form of a four-line Venṇā – the most simple and predominant form of a mnemonic verse – and they had a tendency not only to refer to a deity (frequently Gaṇeśa), but also to allude to the title of the text and/or its author, in other words, many of them look like portmanteau stanzas for the earlier invocation combined with a colophon stanza. They may even contain *phalaśruti* phrases as were found in the signature verses of the bhakti corpus. The problem here is that it is not always easy to identify a *kāppu*. Ideally there is one verse that is put at the beginning of the first folio, along with the designation *kāppu*. But in many cases there are several verses prefixed, part of them on unnumbered folios, and a designation is not necessarily given. Many texts end up printed with several *kāppus*, and a detailed investigation into their respective manuscript traditions would be necessary. It is quite obvious that not all these verses appear in all the manuscripts. It looks probable that in subsequent copies there is a gradual process of integrating scribal and authorial invocation verses.⁸

⁸ This development seems to be reflected even in some recesses of theoretical literature in that some medieval works on genre, of the *Pāṭṭiyal* type, contain spurious verses on a *pirapantam* genre called *Kāppumālai*, 'garland of protection [verses]', made up of three, five or seven stanzas (cf. *Navanītap Pāṭṭiyal*, 14th c., comm. on s. 31: *kāppu mūnr' aint' eḷ kāppumālai ām*; the editor Vaiyāpurip Pillai gives an appendix with a concordance of *pirapantam* definitions where there are further references).

Talking about the series of further prefatory sub-genres loosely connected by the heading of ‘preface’ (*pāyiram*), then, means opening Pandora’s box.⁹ We have to distinguish three layers, namely centuries of theoretical discussion and definition,¹⁰ usage in the manuscript tradition (with differences between marginal and final titles, but also simply between local traditions and/or scribes), and finally the early prints. For our present purposes it is sufficient, however, to understand the rationale underlying the categories and conventions followed by early editors. First of all there is a dividing line between items 2 plus 3 and 4, 5, 6 in the above list. The laudatory preface (*ciṛappuppāyiram*) and the line of transmission (*varalāru*) are supposed to have been written by somebody who is not the author of the actual text. The former has been described as a key element in the ‘economy of praise’ among the *pulavar* (‘poet-scholars’ of the 19th century where it was of supreme importance for the promotion of a new literary work to secure such a preface from a poet already well established [Ebeling 2010, 73–84]). Here the emphasis lies on laudatory, and that might be one reason why the *ciṛappuppāyiram* has become the main slot for the relocation of colophon material to the beginning of a book. Where the name of a work or an author is mentioned in verse, there one finds at least a couple of ornamental attributes in order to fill the metre, and often more elaborate praise. Be that as it may, in any case, while there is not much evidence for laudatory prefaces in the preprint tradition except of the type described by Ebeling, the category is almost invariably present in any printed book.

The three categories that remain, *pāyiram* (‘preface’), *patikam* (‘introduction’) and *avaiyaṭakkam* (‘submission to the assembly’) are supposed to be composed by the author of a work. There is some evidence to suggest that *pāyiram* was the word for prefaces used with theoretical texts while *patikam* comes with poetic works such as the *Cilappatikāram*, but that ought to be further investigated. Interesting

9 To give just one example, the famous verse starting with *vaṭavēnkaṭam tenkumari* that customarily precedes the *Toḷkāppiyam Eḷuttatikāram* is identified as a *pāyiram* composed by Paṇampāraṇār in the commentary of Pērācīriyar on TPr 649, that is, in about the 12th century. In the palm-leaf transmission it is called a *pāyiram*, without the name of the author, or the *uraiyācīriyar pāyiram*, that is, the ‘preface by the commentary teacher’, i.e. by ḷampūraṇār who is the oldest commentator of the *Toḷkāppiyam* tradition. In some late paper manuscripts we find the first designation as *ciṛappuppāyiram*, as becomes the print standard, and in T.V. Gopal Iyer’s edition of 2003, then, the identical verse is headed as *ciṛappuppāyiram* as it precedes ḷampūraṇār’s commentary and as *potuppāyiram* (‘general preface’) as it precedes Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar’s commentary.

10 The two earliest discussions are found in Nakkīraṇ’s commentary on the *Ḳṛaiyaṇār Akapporuḷ*, in the beginning of the elaborate discourse after the first *sūtra* that functions as preamble to the commentary, in the prefatory material to the *Nannūḷ*, and then again in that treatise itself. Their distinction between a ‘general preface’ (*potuppāyiram*) and a ‘specific preface’ (*ciṛappuppāyiram*) does not seem to have much reflection in the manuscript tradition.

here is the last one, the *avaiyaṭakkam*, because here again we see a slot for relocation. While manuscripts often integrate caveat verses into their colophons, excusing the quality of the copy with the insufficient education of their scribes and asking the audience to keep the transmission up, now the same sentiment and often similar phrases are transferred to the poet who has to excuse himself in front of the assembly, the traditional venue to present new compositions, for any flaws that may remain in his work.

In order to substantiate the preceding rather theoretical exposition I will now present two sets of examples: one is a particularly instructive special case that still has to be termed ‘literary’, because only a very small part of the manuscript evidence has been inspected so far, the other is based on manuscripts I recently happened to look at with a view to cataloguing them, most of them from the collection of the Cambridge University Library.

2.1 Literary examples

Author stanzas are one of the two primary sources of information about a poet, theoretician or commentator. Often the stanza does no more than establish a link between a text and a name, but there are also cases where the place of birth or residence, the family, the caste and/or further works are mentioned. The only other source of direct information are the prose part of the colophon and marginal intertitles and final titles, usually quite terse and often in a rather loose correspondence to the stanzas. The stanzas connected with Nacciṅārkkīṇiyar, the celebrated commentator of the 14th century, constitute one extreme case since there are no less than six of them, five free-floating and one with an identifiable source. They are also instructive in their partial agreement and partial disagreement and in their metrical variety, which allows some educated guesses as to their respective ages. In the introduction to his edition of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, U.V. Cāminātaiyar has brought them together under the heading ‘history of Nacciṅārkkīṇiyar’ (*nacciṅārkkīṇiyar varalāru*), identifying the verses as ‘verses of laudatory preface to the commentary’ (*uraicciṟappupāyirac ceyyuṭka!*). He then simply heads five of them by the metre, as is also often done in manuscripts, namely two Veṅpā, one Ācīriyappā and two Ācīriya viruttam, while for one he mentions the source instead, namely the *Pāṇṭi Maṇṭala Catakam*.

Nacciṅārkkīṇiyar is an outstanding figure among the great medieval commentators in that he constitutes a link between no less than three great literary traditions, the poetic, the grammatical and the epic. His commentaries survive for two of the *Caṅkam* anthologies, the *Kalittokai* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* (hence the inclusion of verses for him in Cāminātaiyar’s preface to the latter), for the foundational text

of *ilakkaṇam*, the *Tolkāppiyam* (*Eḷuttu*, *Col* and six chapters of *Poruḷ*), and last but not least for one of the ‘Five Big Poetic Compositions’ (*aimperuṅkāppiyam*, Skt. *mahākāvya*) the celebrated *Cīvakacintāmaṇi*. All of this would comprise an enormous body of manuscripts to be checked, and since the transmission for both the grammar and the epic is more substantial than for the *Caṅkam* corpus, the foray into the jungle made by the *Caṅkam* project probably just reveals the tip of the iceberg.¹¹ Notable is, first of all, that not a single verse on the commentator has come down to us with any of the still extant *Pattuppāṭṭu* manuscripts. One likely explanation for this is the fact that few among them still have a beginning or an end: only one manuscript (UVSL 1074) still begins with the *Tirumuruḷāruppaṭai* and that starts directly on the first line of the poem (*ulakam uvappa...*). Of the two remaining manuscripts that cover the end of the last song, the *Malaipaṭukaṭām*, one (UVSL 279, palm-leaf) simply end with the *Veṅṅpā* that usually accompanies the poem, and the other, one of the emergency paper copies of disintegrating palm-leaves made in the GOML (D-269), ends with a special verse on the songs contained in the anthology that seems to mention the scribe and the patron for the manuscript (not the text).¹² Different is the situation with the *Kalittokai*. Three of the verses collected by Cāminātaiyar, among them the one in Āciriappā – highly unusual in that it does not content itself with the customary four lines, but runs up to a proud 57 lines – are found in one old palm-leaf manuscript (GOML D-210) and in a paper manuscript (GOML R-5754) that is probably its copy, since the stanza text and their sequence are in close agreement. They appear as integrated into the colophon, together with a caveat verse, at the end of the *Kali* text and its commentary. There is no means of ascertaining whether this row was firmly established in the *Kali* transmission since these two manuscripts are the only surviving ones that cover the end of the text.

Before looking into the verses themselves it might be useful to add a few observations on metre as an indication of age. Of course it is impossible to date an anonymous verse with any degree of certainty, but at least it is permissible, and perhaps useful, to weigh the probabilities. The four-line *Veṅṅpā* has to be regarded as the standard format for mnemonic stanzas. The metre developed in the 5th–6th century, and some stanzas might well go back at least to the late centuries of the first millennium; one of the verses accompanying the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, the one for the *Malaipaṭukaṭām*, for instance, is quoted in the *Yāpparuṅkala Virutti* (10th c.). This

¹¹ Note, however, that in the chapter on *Nacciṅārkkīṇiyar* contained in Cāminātaiyar’s earlier edition of the *Cintāmaṇi* two of the six stanzas are still missing, one *Veṅṅpā* and the Āciriappā. This suggests that neither of them was found in any manuscript of the *Cintāmaṇi* at his disposal.

¹² This poem is quoted and translated in Wilden 2014, 200.

means that probably the oldest surviving stanzas were composed in Veṅṅpā, and since Nacciṅārkkīṅiyar belongs to perhaps the 14th c., any verse dedicated to him might be seen as the continuation of a tradition. One should add, perhaps, that also attempts to rewrite (or re-substantiate) history more likely than not made use of this format.¹³ Their layout is terse, easy to memorise and where necessary supplemented by ornamental adjectives as metre fillers. Ācīriyappā is of course the metre of the oldest heritage. To have it composed in the second millennium almost certainly implies a political statement. In 14th or 15th centuries, the final period of glory for Maturai and classical learning under Pāṅṅṅiya aegis, it might be meant precisely to forge a link between Nacciṅārkkīṅar, the *Caṅkam* corpus and the second Pāṅṅṅiya dynasty. As for Ācīriya viruttam, it is one of the complicated later metres en vogue when after the fall of Vijayanagara and the independence of the Nayaks there was a resurrection of traditional Tamil culture, and thus was perhaps employed in the 17th or 18th centuries. It also comprises four lines, but far longer ones, which means the amount of information is not at all greater than in a Veṅṅpā but there is far more space for ornamentation and mere laudatory phrases, or, worded differently, that there is ample space to display poetic skills.

The first verse to be quoted¹⁴ is the memorable and informative standard Veṅṅpā, so far not found in any manuscript (that is, neither with the *Pattuppāṅṅu* nor with the *Kalittokai*). It was found, according to Cāminātaiyar, in a manuscript of the *Tirukkuraḷ* with Parimēlaḷakar's commentary from Tiruvāvaṅṅuturai Mutt in a series of further mnemonic stanzas, i.e., the ones enumerating the texts assembled in the *Eṅṅuttokai*, the *Pattuppāṅṅu* and the *Kiḷkkaṅakku*.¹⁵

pāra+ tolkāppiyamum pattuppāṅṅum kaliyum
āra+ kuruntokaiyuḷ aiṅṅāṅṅum – cāra+
tīru+ taku mā muṅi cey cintāmaṅiyum
virutti nacciṅārkkīṅiyamē.

13 A case in point is the author stanza of the *Kalittokai*, discussed in Wilden 2017a; see also the introduction to the new critical *Kali* edition by T. Rajesvari (p. li–lii).

14 In all transcriptions from Tamil that follow the plus sign (+) is used to indicate geminated consonants and a tilde (~) stands for the gliding consonants *y* and *v*.

15 This shows us, incidentally, that at least smaller collections of stanzas existed. An extant case in point is one of the *Kiḷkkaṅakku* mss. of the UVSL (885, fol. 1a) where on a prefixed folio we find the three standard Veṅṅpās connected with the three classical anthologies. In fact the back of this folio is blank and the next page again begins counting from 1. This means that either the folio has come from elsewhere or, perhaps more likely, that it was added as an afterthought and could be formally integrated only by being redundant on numbering.

On the weighty *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Pattuppāṭṭu* and *Kali*
and on five [times] four in the ornamental *Kuṟuntokai* and on the
essential *Cintāmaṇi* made by the brilliant great sage (Tirutakkatēvar)
[are] the elaborate commentaries [attributed] to Nacciṇārkkīyiar.

So here the stanza gives just the name of the commentator and the commentaries made by him, including one on 20 verses of the *Kuṟuntokai*. This latter one has never been seen in living memory, but its existence has always been taken for granted by the tradition, precisely on the strength of the Veṅṅpā. I have even heard, from my late and lamented teacher T.V. Gopal Iyer, that ‘some say’ once there was a commentary by Nacciṇārkkīyiar’s predecessor Pērācīriyiar on almost the whole of the *Kuṟuntokai*, except for the last 20 stanzas, which is why Nacciṇārkkīyiar had to take them up. This sounds like a trope imitating the story of the *Tolkāppiyam*, where Nacciṇārkkīyiar’s commentary on the *Poruḷ* section just covers the chapters that had been left off by Pērācīriyiar (with the famous exception of the *Ceyyūḷiyal* for which we have commentaries by both). However, what comes closest to a written source for this story is another verse, the 57-line Ācīriyappā.

The stanzas quoted in what follows are given as far as possible in the wording found in the *Kali* manuscripts; for a critical apparatus collating also the versions from Cāminātaiyar’s *Pattuppāṭṭu* edition and that from the early *Kali* editions, see Wilden 2014, 187ff. Since the full text and translation for the 57-line Ācīriyappā are also found there, suffice it here to quote the lines of interest to the current argument.¹⁶ In GOML D-210, fol. 332a, line 9, the Ācīriyappā just follows the final title of *Mullai* plus Nacciṇārkkīyiar’s commentary, i.e., the end of the text. Distributed over the first 40 lines we find praise for the known commentaries on *Tolkāppiyam*, *Pattuppāṭṭu*, *Kalittokai* and *Cintāmaṇi*. Lines 41–45, then, continue with the story about the *Kuṟuntokai* commentary.

nal +ariv’-uṭaiya tol pēr ācān
kalviyum kātciyum kāciṇi ~ariya+
poruḷ teri kuṟuntokai ~irupatu pāṭṭiṟk’
itu poruḷ enṟavan eḷutāt’ oḷiya
~itu poruḷ enṟatark’ ērpa ~uraittum

45

¹⁶ The amount of variation between the two *Kali* manuscripts and Tāmōtarampiḷḷai’s *editio princeps* show clearly that he must have had another source, i.e. *Kali* manuscripts lost or incomplete today. Cāminātaiyar’s version in the *Pattuppāṭṭu* edition, however, follows Tāmōtarampiḷḷai so closely that either he perused the same source(s) or copied from the former’s *Kali* edition (as was done by all the later *Kali* editors).

when scholarship and insight
of the old great teacher possessing good knowledge
was left unwritten, He, thinking this to be the meaning of the twice ten songs
in the *Kuṟuntokai* where meaning [yet] has to be understood, for the world to know,
made a commentary in order to take charge of expressing this meaning,

So here we see an allusion to at least some of the elements reported by T.V. Gopal Iyer. The *pēr ācaṅ* of the stanza evidently has been taken to refer to Pērācīriyar, the commentator, interpreting *ācāṅ* as a non-honorific and more contracted form of the same Sanskrit loan word *ācārya*. That part of that scholar's knowledge on the *Kuṟuntokai* was left unwritten might imply that the rest had been written down (but is now lost, which is of course perfectly possible). Finally, for the twice ten stanzas in the *Kuṟuntokai* that were left off Nacciṅārkkīṇiyar wrote the commentary (now also lost).

The rest of the Ācīriyappā fleshes out the information on the person of Nacciṅārkkīṇiyar:

taṅ tamīl terinta vaṅ pukaḷ maṟaiyōṅ
vaṅṭ' imir cōlai maturā puri taṅil
eṅ ticai viḷaṅka vanta vācāṅ
payiṅṟa kēlvi pāratuvācaṅ
nāṅ maṟai tuṅinta nārporuḷ ākiya 50
tūya ṅāṅam iṟanta civa+ cuṭar
tāṅē ~ākiya taṅmai ~āḷaṅ
naviṅṟa vāymai nacciṅārkkīṇiyāṅ
...
vāḷi vāḷi ~im maṅ-micai yāṅē.

the liberally praised **brahmin** to whom cool Tamil was clear,
inhabitant who came, for the eight directions to shine,
from **Maturai city** with groves where bees hum,
Bhāradvāja of practiced transmission,
who is the four meanings resolved in the four Vedas,
the man of a nature that is Śiva's glow
itself, who traversed pure knowledge,
Nacciṅārkkīṇiyāṅ, of practiced truthfulness,
...
may he live, may he live on this earth.

Where the Veṅpā gave the mere name, here we find a variation of the name, non-honorific and with a long vowel in the last syllable, Nacciṅārkkīṇiyāṅ – further variations are found in other verses and in the colophons – and he is identified as a Brahmin of Bhāradvāja gotra hailing from Maturai. What follows in the *Kali* manuscripts is one further Veṅpā:

tolkāppiyattin̄ tokutta poruḷ aṇaittum
ellārkkum oppa iṇit' uraittāṇ – col +ār
maturai naccin̄ārkkiniyaṇ mā maṛaiyōṇ kalvi
katirin̄ cuṭar erippa kaṇṭu.

He who pleasingly commented, agreeable to all,
 on the whole of the accumulated meaning/matter of the *Tolkāppiyam*
 [is] Naccin̄ārkkiniyaṇ from Maturai filled with words, a great Brahmin,
 having seen [it], for the lustre of the beams of [his] erudition to shine.

Here there is confirmation of the fact that Naccin̄ārkkiniyaṇ (here with short *a*) would have been a Brahmin from Maturai. What is interesting is that the verse does not mention the commentary on the *Kalittokai*, as one would expect in a *Kali* manuscript, but only the one on the *Tolkāppiyam*, and that, too, in slightly surprising terms, since we know well that it is not complete. To give the author the benefit of the doubt, however, we may assume that the ‘whole’ here refers to the fact that the commentary covers all three sections, *Eḷuttu*, *Col* and *Poruḷ*, even if the latter is incomplete.

One more stanza is added by the manuscript, this one in Āciriyaṅvīrutam:

paccai māl aṇaiya mēkam pauvam nīr paruki+ kāṇṇa
~eccin̄āl ticiayum uṇṇum amirteṇa ~eḷu-nā veccin̄
miccil nāl-nālum viṇṇōr nukarkuvar vēta pōtan̄
naccin̄ārkkiniyaṇ nāvil nal +urai navilavar nallōr.

Good people study the good commentary from the tongue of Naccin̄ārkkiniyaṇ,
 knowledgeable in the Vedas of the celestials, who daily enjoy the remainder
 from the heat of the one with seven tongues (Agni), like ambrosia, absorbed by all the direc-
 tions from the excess that drips after the green, Māl-like clouds have drunk from the ocean.

No further information can be gleaned from this, just an elaborate praise of the commentator, alluding to his Brahmin origin by emphasising his knowledge of the Veda, and to Vedic sacrifice that is drunk by the gods. As mentioned above, the four lines in this metre are far longer and leave ample space for poetic embellishment. In the *Kali* palm-leaf manuscript, this is followed by a brief final colophon clause stating that the commentary to the *Kali* made by Naccin̄ārkkiniyaṇ ended there. Afterwards we get a fourth verse, a *caveat* in the form of a *Veṇṇā* and then a final blessing. The paper copy follows suit, except that the *caveat* *Veṇṇā* is truncated and followed by another blessing.

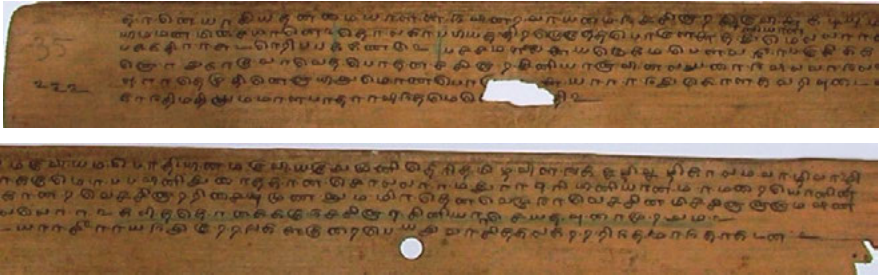


Fig. 1: GOML D-210, fol. 233b: end of the Ācīriyappā in line 2, Veṅṅā up to line 3, Ācīriyaviruttam up to middle of line 4, colophon clause, caveat beginning line 5, blessing line 6. © Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Chennai, India.

To sum up the situation, manuscript evidence for the verses connected with the name of Nacciṅārkkīyār has been surveyed from the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, where none of the extant manuscripts contains any verse on the commentator, and from the *Kalittokai*, where two manuscripts do. One palm leaf (GOML D-210, fol. 233a+b, see Fig. 1) is closely followed by one paper copy from the same library (GOML R-5754, image 250f.). Of the six stanzas collected by Cāminātaiyār in his *Pattuppāṭṭu* edition, three have been quoted there in the colophon, namely the long Ācīriyappā, one Veṅṅā and one Ācīriyaviruttam. If we now look at Tāmōtaram piḷḷai’s *editio princeps* of the *Kalittokai*, printed in 1887, we find all three of them included at the beginning. The Ācīriyaviruttam has become ‘praise of the commentary scholar’ (*uraiyācīriyār cīrappu*). The Ācīriyappā has become the laudatory preface (*cīrappuppāyiram*). The Veṅṅā has been relegated to the editor’s preface. The caveat has not been included at all.

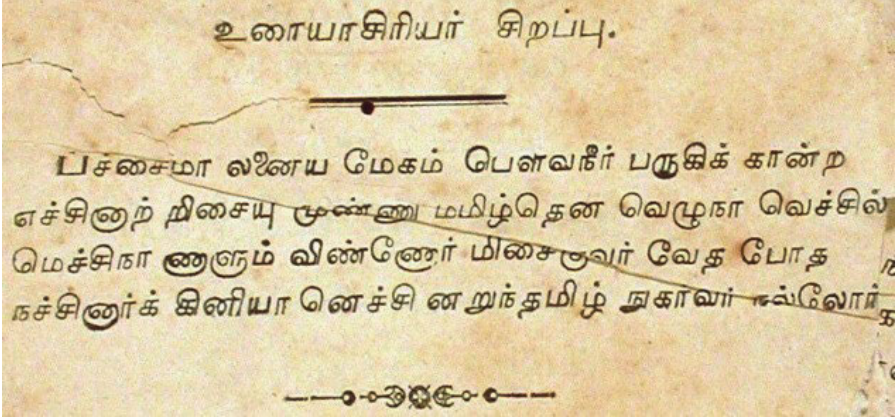


Fig. 2: Kalittokai edition, Tāmōtarampiḷlai 1887: the Ācīriyaviruttam as *uraiyācīriyar cīrappu*.

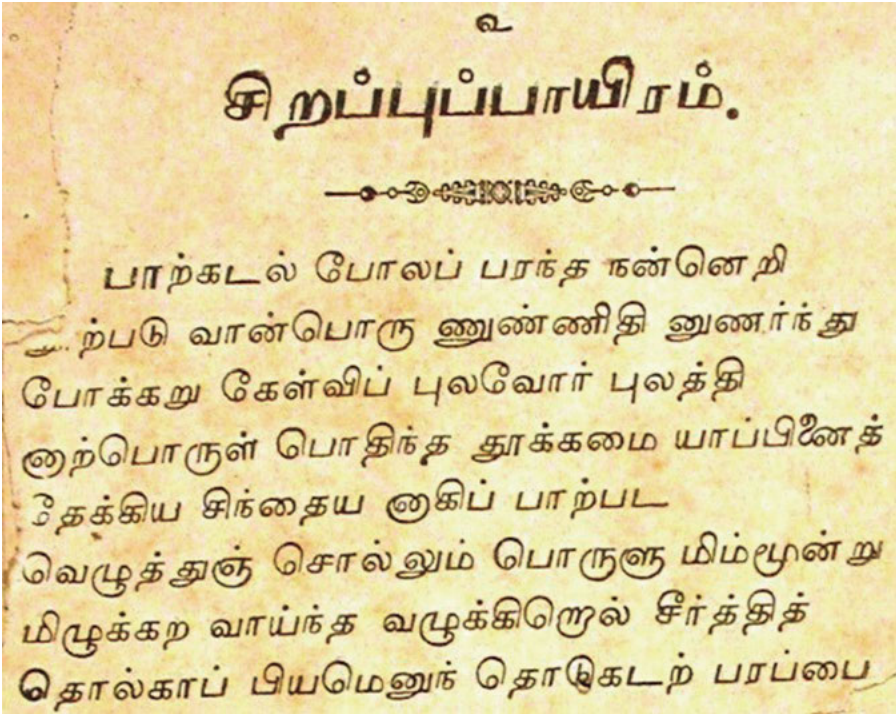


Fig. 3: Kalittokai edition, Tāmōtarampiḷlai 1887: the Ācīriyappā (beginning) as *cīrappupāyiram*.

2.2 Manuscript examples

In order to illustrate the variety of genres that are endowed with stanzas the third part of this paper will deal with examples from random manuscripts I chanced to come across in recent years, one from the Royal Library of Copenhagen and five from the Tamil manuscripts of the Cambridge collections (which are not very numerous – less than 50 items).

The first verse appears on an unnumbered folio prefixed to the Copenhagen manuscript of the earliest in a long line of poetic Thesauri from the Tamil literary tradition, the *Tivākaram*, of perhaps the 9th century, Royal Library Copenhagen Cod. Tam. 45 (Fig. 4):¹⁷

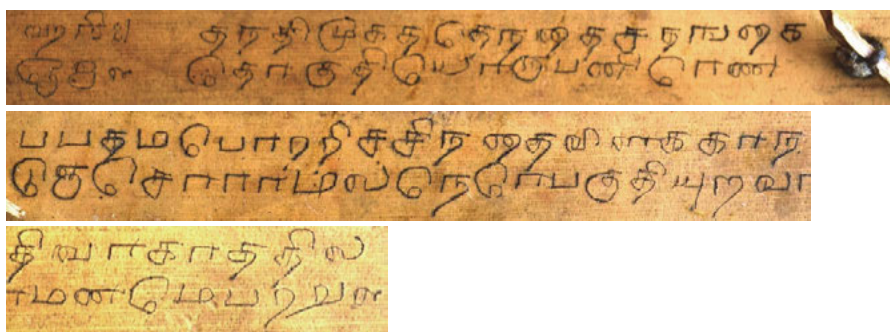


Fig. 4: Copenhagen Tam. 45, unnumbered head folio: Venṇpā. © Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen: Cod. Tamil. 45.

tantimukatt' entai cataṅkai+ patam pōrri+
cintai viḷakk' ām tivākarattil [l. 1] [vanta]
tokuti -oru pa[n]nirenṇum cōrāmal nēre
pakuti -uṟavar manamē parru.[l. 2]

Praising the bell-stringed feet of the elephant-faced one's father,
 straight, without relinquishing the unique twelve sections
 that come in the *Tivākaram* that is a lamp to the mind,
 grasp [it] o minds of those who will partake.

Here we are back again to the standard Venṇpā format. No author is mentioned, but the title is named along with the number of chapters, i.e. twelve. Moreover, there is

¹⁷ On the function and the history of such poet's dictionaries, see Chevillard 2010.

reference to a deity, in other words, we see here what I above termed a portmanteau verse fulfilling at the same time the functions of an invocation and of a colophon stanza. The god to be praised by the reader (addressed as *maṇamē*, ‘o mind’) is Śiva, described as the father of Gaṇeśa. The elephant god becomes a very popular addressee for *kāppu* verses, for the first time perhaps seen in the first *kaṭavuḷ vaṇakkam* of the roughly contemporaneous *Pārataveṇṇpā*.¹⁸ Although at least the manuscript referred to does not say so – to be sure, one would have to check many more manuscripts of this popular text – the verse is printed as a *kāppu* in the *editio princeps* of 1840.

A similar verse is found in the first numbered folio of Cambridge Add.2573 (Fig. 5), a multiple-text manuscript that begins with a *Paḷamoḷi Viḷakkam*, alias Taṇṭalaiyār Catakam, an 18th-century poem by Cāntaliṅkak Kavirāyar, this one not in *Veṇṇpā*, but something that might be Ācīriyaviruttam.

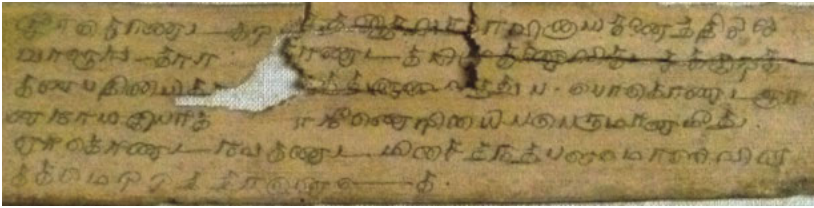


Fig. 5: Cambridge Add.2573 fol. 1 a: Ācīriyaviruttam. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

cīr koṇṭa karṇapakattai vātāvi ṇāyakaṇai+ tillai[1. 1] *vā*[l]um
kār koṇṭa karimukaṇai vikaṭa cakkura+ [1. 2] *kaṇapatiyai+ karuttuḷ vaittu*[m]
pēr koṇṭa ṇā[1. 3] *ṇam nāyaki pāka*[n] *nīḷ nerī ~[em]+ perumāṇ mītu*[1. 4]
ēr koṇṭa nava-kaṇṭam icai-tanta pa[l]amo[l]i *viḷa*[1. 5] *kkam ērra+ tāṇē*.¹⁹

18 Incidentally, the *Pārataveṇṇpā* is printed with three verses of *kaṭavuḷ vaṇakkam*, thus perhaps providing the first instance of what the theoreticians named a *Kāppumālai* (cf. n. 9). The first *Veṇṇpā* runs thus:

ōta viṇai akalum oṅku pukaḷ perukum
kātal poruḷ anaittum kaikkūṭum citap
paṇi kōṭṭu māl varai-mēl pāratap pōr tiṭṭum
taṇi kōṭṭu vāraṇattin tāḷ.

‘Bad karma departs, high fame increases,
 love [and] wealth all succeed –

at the feet of the elephant with the single tusk
 who writes about the *Bhārata* war on the vast mountain with cool dewy peaks.’

19 Here in the text a number of corrections are necessary, most of them obvious, with the exception of the third line where the manuscript reads *neriyai perumāṇ*, emended with the help of the printed text into *neri eṇperumāṇ*.

In our mind let us place the excellent wish-fulfilling tree, the lord of Vātāvi,
 the cloud[-coloured] elephant-faced one who lives in Tillai, Kaṇapati with the mischievous
 discus,
 so that the *Paḷamoḷi Viḷakkam* – sung on the nine beautiful continents, on our great lord
 of the long path who has as a part the famous lady of knowledge – may sound in praise.

Here the element of reception is missing. Gaṇeśa is indirectly implored to help the poet (speaking of himself in the 1st person plural) accomplish the poem to the honour of Śiva. This poem and the two following ones are printed as *kāppu*, again presumably constituting a minimal *Kāppumālai*. There is a *śleṣa* in the first line, namely either *vātāvi nāyakaṇ*, as read by the edition, or *vātā viṇāyakaṇ*, ‘the untorn Viṇāyaka’, as is suggested by the alveolar *ṇ* in the manuscript version.

The next verse is prefixed on an extra folio to a so far unidentified version of the *Pāratam*, a *Mahābhārata* in Tamil, Cambridge Add.299, again a simple four-liner, but in a longer metre (Fig. 6).

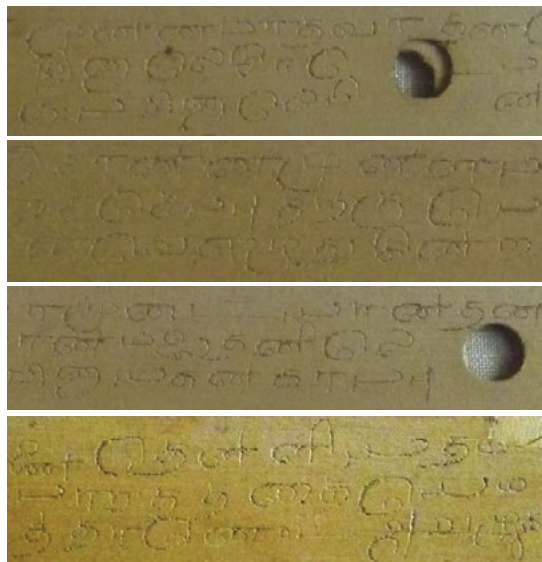


Fig. 6: Cambridge Add.299, unnumbered head folio; no soot left in the Ācīriyaviruttam. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

muṇṇa mā tavarkaḷ conṇa muḷḷa mā muṭaiyāṇ
taṇṇai teḷḷiya tami[1.]iṇṇālē cīrpera+ cepputarṅku
ponmalai taṇilē pāratattaiyē ma[1.]ruppiṇālē
miṇṇavē ~eḷutukinṇa viṇāyakaṇ kāppu+ tāṇē.

Protection itself [is] Viṇāyakaṅ who writes flashingly
 with [his] tusk the *Pāratam* on the golden mountain itself,
 in order to speak excellently in Tamil to make it clear to the one
 with a thorny big palm-leaf umbrella, spoken about by the great ascetics of old.

Here we have yet another verse dedicated to Gaṇeśa, clearly mirroring the one from the *Pārataveṅpā* cited in note 18. The person for whose benefit the elephant god writes is presumably the legendary author of the Sanskrit epic, Vyāsa, but it is not clear why he would be described as the one with the palm-leaf umbrella.

The same topos of the god writing with his tusk as a stylus is found yet again with the most famous Tamil version of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Villipāratam*, composed in the 15th century by Villiputtūrālvār. This popular text (or rather part of it) is preserved in two manuscript copies in the Cambridge collections. Both are quoted here to show the deviations between the two versions, the first from an unnumbered prefixed folio in Cambridge Add.1572 (Fig. 7), the other on the title folio itself of Cambridge Corpus Christi, Oriental Box 38, item 1 (Fig. 8).

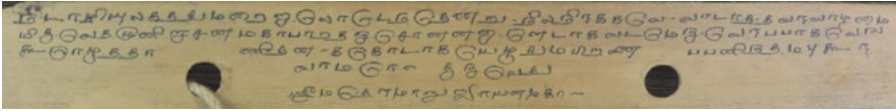


Fig. 7: Cambridge Add.1572, head folio. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

nīṭ' āli ~ulakattu maṟai nāloṭ' ēnt' enṟu - nilam nirkkavē
vāṭāta tavar vāṁmai [1. 1] miku vēta munīrācaṅ makāpāratam conṇa nāḷ
ēṭ' āka vaṭamēru verpp' āka vem [1. 2] kūr eḷuttāṇi taṅ -
kkōṭ' āka ~eḷutum pīraṇai+ paṇint' ampu kūr[1. 3]vām arē.

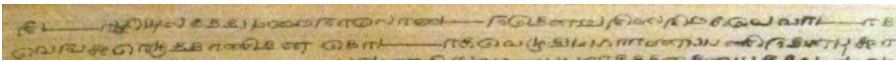


Fig. 8: Cambridge Corpus Christi, Box 38, item 1, title folio. © Cambridge Corpus Christi College.

nīṭ' āli ~ulakattu maṟai nāloṭ' aint' enṟu nilai nirkavē
vāṭāta tava vāṁmai miku vēta munīrācaṅ māpāratam conṇa nāḷ
ēṭ' āka vaṭamēru verp' āka[1. 1] vem kūr eḷuttāṇi taṅ
kōṭ' āka ~eḷutum pīraṇai+ paṇint' anpu kūr vām arō.

Ah, we are full of love, humbling ourselves before the lord who writes with his tusk
 as a cruel sharp stylus, while there is the Northern Mēru mountain as a palm-leaf,
 on the day the *Māpāratam* is told by the king of Veda sages ample in truthfulness, of unfading
 penance,
 so that it may stand fast as fifth with the four Vedas in the world [fenced] by the vast ocean.

Here it is obvious that the first version is full of copying mistakes and moreover betrays an oral substratum where the distinction between the two type of *r* consonant, *periya* and *cinna ra* (= *r* or *r̥*) is blurred. The only interesting deviation concerns the title of the text, the first a direct transposition of the Sanskrit word *mahābhārata*- into Tamil, the other a translation of the adjective Sanskrit *mahā* into Tamil *mā*. The tone is far more devotional and might be connected with an agenda, since it tries to establish the *Pāratam* as the fifth Veda. Its position in the transmission of the text, however, will need further study. It has been printed as the first of two *kāppu* in the *Villipāratam*.

The second of the two copies, the one from Corpus Christi with the verse on the title page, is prefixed with yet another stanza on an unnumbered folio:

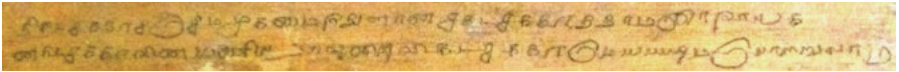


Fig. 9: Cambridge Corpus Christi, Box 38, item 1, head folio. © Cambridge Corpus Christi College.

tika| taca+ karam cem mukam aint' uḷān
cakaṭa cakkara+ tāmarai nāyaka[. 1]n
akaṭa cakkara ~iṅ maṇiyat' ā ~urai
vikaṭa cakkaram mey+ patam pōṛṛal ām.

He who is with five red faces [and] ten shining hands
 the lord with a chariot wheel in [his] lotus [hand],
 let us praise the bodily/true feet of [him with] the mischievous discus
 who dwells with the cow of sweet bells, with a belly wheel.

Here the meaning of the third line (the fourth in the translation) is not clear. If there is a link between the two verses, it does not seem to be the *Mahābhārata* anymore but just the praise of Gaṇeśa. However, this stanza does not originally belong to the transmission of the *Villipāratam*, but it is otherwise attested as the *kāppu* of the *Kantapurāṇam*.

To conclude with a completely different genre, the *Pañcapakṣicāstiram* is a treatise on bird omens. The Cambridge copy Add.3438 (Fig. 10), starts folio 1 with two prefixed *Veṅpās*, the first of them qualified as a *kāppu*:

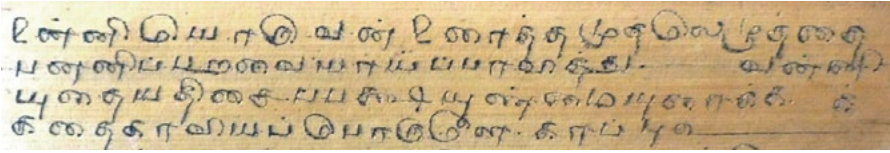


Fig. 10: Cambridge Add.3438, fol. 1a, l. 1–4: Venṇā. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

unṇi ~oruvan uraitta mutal eḷuttai [col. 3, l. 1]
panṇi+ paravai ~āy+ pāvittu – vanṇi [l. 2]
~utaiya ticai+ pakṣi ~uṇmai ~uraikka+ [l. 3]
katai kāviya+ poruḷē. [l. 4]

Uttering the first syllable spoken by the one to be meditated upon,
 contemplating it as birds, let the birds
 in the fiery(?) eastern direction tell the truth,
 so that the message carries meaning.

Here the reference to a deity is rather veiled; presumably the ‘one to be meditated upon’, who uttered the first syllable, is Śiva. The birds from the title are mentioned, and the function of the treatise is alluded to when those birds are exhorted to tell the truth. The library of the French Institute in Pondicherry holds two texts with the title *Pañcapakṣicāstiram* (with the shelf marks TA SC-MATH 0010 and 0047), old cheap brochure prints without title pages, one of which seems to correspond to the text of the manuscript.

The second stanza, which is not termed a *kāppu*, brings in an open reverence to Lakṣmī. Here there also is an allusion to the actual text, with the birds of five kinds:

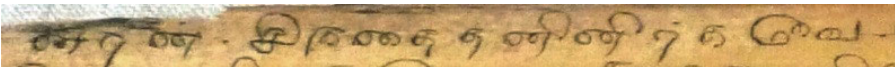
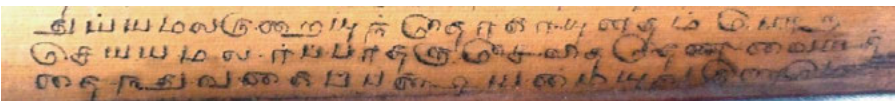


Fig. 11: Cambridge Add.3438, fol. 1a, l. 5–1b, l. 1: Venṇā 1. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

tuyya malar uṛaiyum tōkaiyu[m] tam poṇ [l. 5]
ceyya malar+ pātam cēvittēṅ – vaiyatt’ [l. 6]
aintu vakaip pakṣi ~amaiyum kuṇam [l. 7; f. 1b] *eṅ tan*
cintai taṇi niṅkavē.

I have served the gold-red feet of the peacock [lady]
 who dwells in the pure [lotus] blossom, so that my mind
 may stand in solitude [directed] to the characteristics that are fit
 for the birds of five kinds in the world.

When read together these two verses seem to suggest a double invocation by the author of the treatise, one to the birds whose voice is vital to his trade, the other to the goddess of wealth and luck. However, the *Pañcapakṣicāstiram* is the only text taken up here that does not come from one of the literary traditions, but from a practical domain. As such it may follow another set of conventions that have not been established yet.

3 Preliminary conclusions

The two practical parts of the present article discussed one genre of paratext to be found in manuscripts, i.e., of additional stanzaic material, from two different perspectives. The first proceeded from a collection of additional stanzas made by an earlier scholar (U.V. Cāminātaiyar in his edition of the *Pattupāṭṭu*) and the manuscript evidence that can be found for them. The second proceeded from the stray verses present in a series of manuscripts arbitrarily chosen from different literary domains (for the most part brought together by chance in one library in Cambridge). The foremost conclusion is that in order to fully judge and understand the development that led from a fairly simple arrangement with an invocation in the beginning and one or several colophon stanzas at the end of a text in a manuscript, via the creation of various layers by adding folios at the beginning and at the end, to an elaborate system of prefatory materials in the early Tamil prints, it would be necessary to survey far more extant manuscript material in all its peculiarities.

However, a few preliminary conclusions can be drawn with respect to the construction of Tamil literary history on the strength of the material shown on one of the greatest medieval Tamil scholars, the commentator Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar.

- Most of the information available on the commentator Nacciṇārkkīṇiyar directly or indirectly comes from the stanzas, beginning with his name, to be found in about five different spellings, if one includes marginal, inter- and end titles.

- A sideline to be followed up in future research is smaller regional texts such as the *Pāṇṭi Nāṭu Catakam*, which digest such information and presumably integrate them into their praise of the glories of the particular region.²⁰
- In print the verses are displaced and taken out of their original context, from the colophon to the beginning of the text. Some are delegated into the editor's prefaces (and some vanish altogether). At the same time literary history is written which retains and freely interprets the information but discards the sources.

Now, why would it matter whether a stanza found on the vestiges of a manuscript tradition was printed at the beginning or at the end? Because it changes our approach towards its interpretation. When a colophon stanza is relocated from the end of a manuscript to the beginning of a printed book as a laudatory preface (*ciṛappuppāyiram*), its function is re-defined. Genette might say it is transferred from a metatext into a peritext. The main function of a colophon stanza was to be a mnemonic verse, a poem composed in order to ensure the transmission of vital information in a semi-oral environment. It certainly included ornamental elements, on the one hand as metrical fillers, on the other hand as a means of paying proper respect to the text and its author. The main function of a *ciṛappuppāyiram*, however, was, as the name says, laudatory, at least in the 18th and 19th centuries, the period of the last *pulavar* productions, but also of the vast majority of manuscripts that remain – to establish and maintain a place of recognition for the author of a poetic work within a community of connoisseurs. The former was an anonymous stanza, the latter was a verse replete with the personality of its author.²¹

20 This verse does not add anything new, but on the contrary leaves off the commentary on the *Kali* and does not mention the *Kuṟuntokai*. Quoted from Cāminātaiyar's *Pattuppāṭṭu* edition it reads:

*karai peṟrat' ōr pañcalaṭcaṇamāṇa tolkāppiyamum
tarai muṟṟum pōṟriya cintāmaṇiyun tamīl caṅkattin
nirai peṟr' uyar pattuppāṭṭum viḷaṅka nica uraiyai
varai naccinārkkīṇiyaṅ aiyaṅ pāṇṭiya maṅṭalamē.*

'The lord of the Pāṇṭiya land [is] Naccinārkkīṇiyaṅ who wrote eternal commentaries on high *Pattuppāṭṭu*, getting a firm position(?) in the Tamil academy, on the *Cintāmaṇi*, lauded by the whole earth, and on the *Tolkāppiyam*, a [treatise on the] five categories of grammar that has seen the [other] shore (of the ocean of knowledge).'

21 In this respect the *taṇiyaṅ*-s of the Śrīvaiṣṇava *Tivyappirapantam* transmission might be seen as its predecessor. Although demonstrably continuing the form of the author stanza, they are already employed in a different manner in that they constitute the personal praise of an Āḷvār and his/her work uttered by persons important to the community.

Admittedly in practice such a distinction was not always easy and straightforward, as is demonstrated by the material in the third part. One factor is that we often find portmanteau stanzas at the beginning of a manuscript, often on folios outside the regular pagination, verses that integrate elements of the earlier colophon stanzas with information on the author and the text, with elements of invocation verses that address a deity. These in turn seem to trigger the addition of yet other verses of purely devotional content, often quoted from elsewhere. Another factor is the length of a transmission period, measured on the one hand by the centuries a text remains alive and important enough to copy to some people, on the other hand by the number of physical acts of recopying. If a verse on a text or scholar has already become part of the transmission, further readers/users/copyists of the text may want to add their own to what is already there, perhaps slightly altering the informative content according to the views of their own community, employing the metres in vogue at their own time or simply producing poetic variation. Thus stanzas accumulate.

A clearer picture might be gained from collecting and collating as great as possible a number of stanzas from a variety of domains.

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Giovanni Ciotti

Teaching and Learning Sanskrit through Tamil

Evidence from Manuscripts of the *Amarakośa* with Tamil Annotations (Studies in Late Manipravalam Literature 2)

Abstract: This paper investigates a specific aspect of Sanskrit education in 19th-century Tamil Nadu. In particular, it makes use of manuscripts containing copies of the Sanskrit thesaurus entitled *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* (also known as *Amarakośa*) that are accompanied by intralinear annotations composed in a particular register of highly Sanskritised Tamil, which for convenience's sake can be called Manipravalam. The fact that these manuscripts were used as educational tools by intermediate students of Sanskrit does not only emerge from the content of the work they contain, but also from the analysis of their paratexts. This study aims at reconsidering some of the common assumptions about the traditional Indic educational setting, which is often and most probably unfairly described as relying mostly upon memory to the detriment of the written medium.

1 Introduction

In this paper I attempt to study manuscripts as sources of information for reconstructing practices of teaching and learning. In particular, I concentrate on Sanskrit education in 19th century Tamil Nadu, focusing on the contexts in which a highly Sanskritised register of Tamil, which for convenience's sake can be called

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The research for the present work was carried out within the scope of (1) the SFB 950 'Manuskriptkulturen in Asien, Afrika und Europa' / Centre for the Study of Manuscript Cultures (CSMC), Hamburg, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG) and (2) NETamil 'Going From Hand to Hand: Networks of Intellectual Exchange in the Tamil Learned Traditions', Hamburg / Pondicherry, funded by the European Research Council (ERC).

Manipravalam, was used for scholarly communication.¹ The manuscripts I have selected for carrying out this inquiry are copies of the Sanskrit thesaurus entitled *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* (also known as *Amarakośa*) that contain intralinear annotations composed in Tamil.²

2 Learning Sanskrit in 19th century Tamil Nadu

At the beginning of the 19th century Sanskrit was considered a particularly useful language to be acquainted with for the young British civil servants appointed to the Madras Presidency.³ Since many words of Sanskritic origin can be found in the languages of South India, the study of Hindi, Bengali, or Persian was considered to be of very limited use for learning Tamil, Telugu, etc. Thus, many servants-to-be were taught Sanskrit already at the East India College (Hertford, UK), before venturing into the study of the languages of the Presidency taught at the Fort of St. George (Madras), especially after the foundation of its College in 1812 under the impulse of Francis Whyte Ellis. In order to familiarise themselves with Sanskrit, students would have had at their disposal not only grammars, but also the most famous Sanskrit thesaurus, namely the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* ('Teaching on Nouns and [their] Genders') of Amarasimha (Trautmann 2006, 116–135). A then new edition and partial translation in English of this work had in fact been published in 1808 by Henry Thomas Colebrooke.

At the same time, the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* kept playing what was its traditional role in those elite scholarly environments of Tamil Nadu, and of South Asia

1 This article is the outcome of an ongoing research on 'Late Manipravalam' and its literature, in particular as they emerge from the study of manuscripts produced in 18th–19th-century Tamil Nadu. The scope of this research is defined in Ciotti and Sathyanarayanan forthcoming (Studies in Late Manipravalam Literature 1), Preamble.

2 I use the term intralinear to specify that the annotations found in the manuscripts studied in this article are interspersed within the same lines where the annotated text is written. In other words, annotations are neither found on the margins of the folia, nor in between the lines of the *Amarakośa*, i.e. interlinearly. Furthermore, for the time being, I use the term 'annotation' to indicate a wide range of remarks, including glosses (*de facto* synonyms), succinct grammatical remarks, but also full-fledged commentaries. In §§ 6.4 and 6.5, I will more carefully distinguish among these categories.

3 At that time, the territory of the Madras Presidency corresponded to most of South India with a few exceptions constituted by some semi-independent native kingdoms (e.g. the kingdom of Tiruvitāṅkūr/Travancore), which were however subject to a strong British influence. The headquarters of the Presidency was in Madras, today Cennai/Chennai (Tamil Nadu).

in general, where Sanskrit was one of the main target languages. Since the time of its composition (or redaction) possibly around the 7th century CE, the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, also known as *Amarakośa* ('Amarā[simha]’s Thesaurus'), had in fact been a fundamental tool for teaching Sanskrit to young students, and a constant reference work for trained scholars.⁴ Owing to its importance in the traditional lore, it comes as no surprise that this work has been at the centre of a fervid commentarial activity with textual outputs both in Sanskrit (Vogel 2015, 24–34) and several of the local literary languages of the subcontinent. South Indian languages are certainly no exception: from the library catalogues we know of versions of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* accompanied by annotations – rather than full-fledged commentaries – in Kannada, Telugu, Malayalam, and Tamil. Hereafter, I will focus on the latter category, i.e. *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanas* annotated in Tamil.⁵

4 In his three reports dated 1835, 1836 and 1838 on the state of the 'native' education in Bengal and Bihar, William Adam described the use of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* for the instruction in Sanskrit of students who were native speaker of Bengali or Hindi (see Long's 1868 reprint). In the majority of cases, students would first study grammar, and would then move to 'lexicology' as well as other more demanding subjects, such as law, logic, etc. The average age at which students would study 'lexicology' ranges from 15 to 23 (Long 1868, 190, 193, 195, *passim*). Since these reports are, to the best of my knowledge, the most detailed accounts of the curricula in Sanskrit studies that were offered in 19th century India (or, at least, in its first half), I will at times rely on them for drawing patterns representing educational practices that *mutatis mutandi* could have been at work in 19th century Tamil Nadu, too.

5 Vogel's otherwise detailed 1979 study on Sanskrit lexicography—as well as the 2015 revised edition—does not account at all for Tamil commentaries and annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. This is easily explained by the fact that so far there have been no studies on this topic. For this article, I had the opportunity to study the following manuscripts: RE22704, RE34008, RE37121, RE43496, RE45807, and RE50420 of the Institut Français de Pondichéry; E00044 and E01272 of the École française d'Extrême-Orient (Pondicherry); ORI3117 and ORI3118 of the Oriental Research Institute of the Sri Venkateswara University (Tirupati); and AL69312, AL70200, AL70820, AL71010, and AL72614 of the Adyar Library (Chennai). The Adyar Library contains more copies I did not have the opportunity to check (see Krishnamacharya 1947). I also had access to some relevant manuscripts held at the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Chennai, but I could not include any of them in this study since their conservation state does not allow to work on them (see Kuppaswami Sastri and Subrahmanya Sastri 1938). Similarly, I could only have a glance at the last folio (containing the colophon) of UVSL 1365 of the U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library (Chennai), since this is also in a very critical state of conservation (see Anonymous 1977, 37–38). Other copies I could not assess are found at the Saraswathi Mahal Library of Tanjore (see Sastri 1930) and the University Manuscript Library of Trivandrum (see Raghavan Pillai 1965). As for the manuscripts belonging to the EFEO and the IFP, I refer to unnumbered pages according to the image number they correspond to in the .pdf or .jpg files that were produced by the two institutions.

3 Linguistic landscape and linguistic education

Language teaching in 19th-century Tamil Nadu mostly consisted in the training of native speakers of Tamil into the literary and scholarly registers of their language, as well as a number of second languages (L2), namely Sanskrit and, possibly, Telugu.⁶ In the context of this article, it is the curriculum combining Tamil and Sanskrit that matters.

As a general remark, before venturing any further, one should be aware that the number of (almost exclusively male) individuals who had access to even the lowest level of formal education was rather limited. Furthermore, the number of students who accessed higher forms of scholarly education, and in particular those who received instruction in Sanskrit, should be estimated in the order of a few hundreds in each generation.⁷

We do not know much about formal education in Tamil language in the period here taken into consideration. Sascha Ebeling (2010, 37–55) has produced a detailed account of the few direct and indirect sources that are presently at our disposal, in particular in the case of the education of Tamil *pulavars*, i.e. Tamil traditional scholars. Bhavani Raman (2012, 106–134) touches in part upon the same material, while also taking into consideration the reports on the state of education in the Madras Presidency that were produced under the aegis of the British colonial enterprise. In particular, Raman does not focus on those pupils who become *pulavars*, surely a minority, but on those who went into accounting, and for whom the ability of keeping records and making calculations were the required skills to master. What emerges from the pages of Ebeling and Raman is that we know relatively well how young students started their scholastic carrier, being initiated to the letters of Tamil script before or right after entering school; that we have a few witnesses listing the texts studied by intermediate students;⁸ and, finally, that we know very little of what was studied by advanced students,

⁶ One can imagine a similar situation for Telugu native speakers living in the area of Tamil Nadu, who were instructed in formal Telugu, and also in Sanskrit and Tamil (Narayana Rao 2004, 148–149, *passim*).

⁷ In particular his third report dated 1838, Adam offers some interesting figures concerning the number of Sanskrit students in Bengal and Bihar (Long 1868, 143ff.).

⁸ Works that were widely studied are the *Āticcūṭi* and the *Tirukkural* (both containing moral teachings), the *Kampa Irāmāyaṇam* (epic), the *Naṇṇul* (grammar), and some unspecified *Nikaṇṭus* (lexicography) (see Gover 1874, 54 and Raman 2012, 115).

U.V. Cāminātaiyar's autobiography being virtually the only source at our disposal.⁹

Much less we know about how Sanskrit was taught. Surely, a number of aspiring *paṇḍitas* ('scholars') populated the *pāṭhaśālās* ('schools') of Tamil Nadu: men of religion (e.g. Vedic reciters and temple priests), men of knowledge (e.g. court poets), and men of law (see Michaels 2001 and Davis 2009).¹⁰ In most cases, these categories were partly overlapping. As Sharfe (2002, 311) writes:

[...] the native Tamil speaker, if he happened to be a brahmin, would have learned Sanskrit in his early school years, probably by the direct method, i.e., by listening and imitating. [...] We found a similar approach to teaching in the acquisition of artistic and technical skills of musicians, warriors, etc.: the textbook may be in the hands of the teacher, but the student is introduced to it, if at all, only after he has mastered the practice.¹¹

We will return to the 'textbook' in the next subsection, but for now, I would briefly like to touch upon the linguistic background of the "brahmin". For certain Tamil native speakers, in fact, elements of the Sanskrit lexicon were not alien to their mother tongue. There are in fact certain registers of Tamil that are characterised by the presence of a remarkable number of words borrowed from Sanskrit. More

9 Cāminātaiyar's autobiography is certainly exemplifying, but cannot be taken as the epitome of every possible curriculum that advanced students of Tamil had to undertake. In this respect, for instance, one can notice that Cāminātaiyar himself was not familiar with the fact that the *Cīvakacintāmaṇi* (Jain epic) was at his time still studied within the Jain community of Tamil Nadu (see Zvelebil 1994, 372–5).

10 Contrary to Adam's reports (Long 1868), A.D. Campbell's report on the Bejjari/Bellary district (in the eastern part of nowadays Karnataka), which to the best of my knowledge is supposed to be the most detailed account of early 18th-century education in the Madras Presidency, does not take into account Sanskrit schools. As its author writes: '[...] there are 23 places of instruction attended by Brahmins exclusively, in which some of the Hindoo sciences, such as theology, astronomy, logic and law are still imperfectly taught in the Sanscrit language. In these places of Sanscrit instruction in the Hindoo sciences, attended by youths, and often by persons far advanced in life, education is conducted on a plan entirely different from that pursued in the schools, in which children are taught reading, writing and arithmetic only, in the several vernacular dialects of the country. I shall endeavour to give a brief outline of the latter, as to them the general population of the country is confined [...]' (Campbell 1823, see extract 1834, 350). For a study of epigraphic records about Sanskrit education in the area of Tamil Nadu during the 'ancient and medieval' period, see Madhavan 2013.

11 Note that Adam remarks that students of Sanskrit schools were instructed at home (Long 1868, 196), and that those who went to elementary schools, where writing and calculus were taught through Bengali and Hindi, mostly pursued careers as accountants. However, Adam also reports a few elementary schools, where elements of Sanskrit grammar and lexicography were taught to pupils (Long 1868, 167).

specifically, these registers see the combination of Sanskrit nominal and verbal stems with Tamil morphology (case and verbal endings). This is the case for the so-called Brahmin Tamil, a not so well-studied variety of Tamil spoken by communities of brahmins.¹²

Besides Tamil brahmins, among those who happen to be particularly familiar with Sanskrit are the learned scholars belonging to the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* branches of Tamil Nadu (and Karnataka). *Śrīvaiṣṇavism* is a multifaceted and widespread religious tradition that is embraced by both brahmins and non-brahmins. It also includes a community of scholars devoted to the study of *ubhayavedānta*, i.e. a specific corpus of texts composed both in Sanskrit and Tamil (see Venkatachari 1978). A great deal of *Śrīvaiṣṇava* literature is composed in Manipravalam ('gem and coral', spelled *maṇipravāḷam* in Sanskrit and *maṇippiravāḷam* in Tamil). This could be variously defined as a highly Sanskritised register of Tamil (as in the case of the abovementioned Brahmin Tamil), or as mixed language (see Mccann 2016).¹³

No matter which label we decide to attribute to it, the register of Tamil annotation found in certain copies of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsanas* is a highly Sanskritised one (see below §§ 5.4–5). It seems safe to assume that Tamil Brahmins and scholars belonging to the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* communities were the most probable audience for these annotations. However, one should not think of the latter as the only target for these works. Below in § 5.1, we will see that although a conspicuous number of paratexts, in particular of invocations, is in honour of Viṣṇu, other manuscripts pay homage to Śiva, and certain sets of annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* are meant to be for the benefit of students of any confession.

¹² A number of short descriptions of Brahmin Tamil and various references to its features can be found in, for instance, Burnell 1877; Bloch 1910; Bright 1960a, b; and Zvelebil 1959, 1960, and 1963. However, to the best of my knowledge, a comprehensive investigation of this register of Tamil remains a desideratum.

¹³ The ratio between Sanskrit and Tamil stems in Manipravalam is a prerogative of the stylistic inclination of each individual author. Indigenous definitions of Manipravalam can be found, but they can hardly be used to label *Śrīvaiṣṇava* literature. Two grammars, the *Līlātilakam* (see Gopala Pillai 1985, 95–109) and the *Vīracōḷiyam* (see Gopal Iyer 2005, 711), envisage a belletrist domain for the use of Manipravalam as it is said, respectively, to require either the presence of *rasa* ('aesthetic experience') or of some particular stylistic features, on top of a specific set of linguistic – mostly morphological – features. Thus, both works do not seem to include commentarial literature, such as that of the *Śrīvaiṣṇavas*, in their definitions. However, *Vīracōḷiyam* 182 also seems to suggest the existence of another possible phonological/graphic mix of the two languages called *virav'iyal* ('mixed nature'). The *Vīracōḷiyam* leads us to a further dimension of multilingualism, i.e. its graphic representation. In fact, it is quite common to find a mixture of Tamil script and Tamilian Grantha script both in manuscripts and inscriptions.

4 Retrieving information from manuscripts

In 2002 Hartmut Scharfe published the most up-to-date overview of the educational system in pre-modern India based on (mostly Sanskrit and, to a more limited extent, Tamil) textual sources. In this article I would like to stress the importance of another precious source of data that can be used to reconstruct the educational practices of India: manuscripts.

Virtually every complete manuscript contains textual elements that can be collectively called paratexts. These can accompany the main text of the manuscript by means of fixing the temporal and spatial coordinates of its reproduction (e.g. a colophon reporting date and place of production), or by recording the state of its reception and interpretation (e.g. a set of annotations commenting upon its content according to a specific school of thought). In a way, paratexts can be seen as the interfaces between texts and their material instantiations.¹⁴

One should notice that paratexts are usually not reported in printed editions. In this way, a number of precious indications about the history of texts in their actual contexts is overlooked.¹⁵ As a consequence, the intention underlying the production of a new copy of a text, i.e. a new manuscript, can be lost. In subsection 6, we will see how it is possible to argue that manuscripts of the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* with Tamil annotations were used as educational tools on the basis of their paratexts. This will also enable us to reconsider some of the general assumptions concerning the role played by manuscripts in teaching and learning.

In fact, what emerges from the modern or even contemporary literature on the topic of education in South Asia (in particular, education in Sanskrit and Tamil) is that students were generally discouraged, if not prohibited, to use manuscripts. This view can be found in ethnographic accounts as well as in colonial

14 The concept of paratext was first introduced by Genette 1987, whose focus was on modern Western printed books. For various examples of studies of paratexts in manuscripts, see Ciotti and Lin 2016. For an introduction to the study of manuscript as material objects, see Quenzer 2014.

15 This is not only the case for marginal invocations, but also for more conspicuous types of paratexts, such as such as intralinear annotations (see n. 2). A blatant case is that of commentaries (here also subsumed under the category of paratexts) of Sanskrit *kāvya*s, which contrary to the commentaries of, for instance, grammatical or philosophical works, have been object of a limited scholarly interest, at least until recently. A call for more attention to this kind of commentarial literature, which has in the case of certain works a prominent didactic function, is represented by Isaacson and Goodall's (2003–) ongoing edition of Vallabhadeva's *Raghupāñcikā*. For the relationship between various commentaries of *kāvya*s and how these are textualised in manuscripts, see Klebanov 2017, which also includes a survey of the secondary literature on the topic.

administrative reports. Even more strongly such a view is enhanced in the literature that regards Vedic education as representative of education in South Asia in general, thus putting an overemphasis on orality over writing (see references in Fuller 2001). The quotation from Scharfe in the previous subsection epitomises such a view: ‘the textbook [i.e. the manuscript] may be in the hands of the teacher, but the student is introduced to it, if at all, only after he has mastered the practice’.

However, from the same literature it is possible to gather data outlining a more lively connection between students and manuscripts. I refer here in particular to intermediate students, who would have reached enough intellectual maturity to be able to engage individually with texts, whether new ones, or those explained in class by the teacher.¹⁶ Furthermore, even in the case of Vedic education, the number and character of prohibitions against the use of manuscripts (see, for instance, Kane 1941, 347–349) can be easily understood as evidence of the fact that manuscripts were actually used.

As for *gurus* (‘teachers’), it is usually said that they would employ manuscripts as mnemonic aids only, recurring to them for refreshing their memories about texts they had previously familiarised with, or even fully learnt by heart (see, for instance, Gover 1874; Galewicz 2011, 141). However, high-profile teachers were also scholars who would have continued engaging with new texts, therefore acquiring new manuscripts on which to study (a practice that in this context also means exercising one’s own memory).¹⁷

These assumptions are however based on scarce evidence. One can more soundly argue that manuscripts, in particular those containing texts well-known for being part of the standard curriculum such as the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*, were not so far removed from the educational praxis of students and teachers by assessing their paratextual materials.¹⁸

16 For instance, while talking about students of Sanskrit in the Rajshahi district of Bengal, Adam (see Long 1868, 123) remarks that: ‘[h]is books he either inherits from some aged relative or at his own expense and with his own hands he copies those works that are used in the college as text-books. [...] most of the labor of copying is performed by night after the studies of the day have been brought to a close.’

17 A renowned example is that of U.V. Cāminātaiyar, who extensively toured Tamil Nadu between the late 19th and early 20th century searching for Tamil manuscripts (see Zvelebil 1994).

18 Galewicz 2011 employed a similar approach for studying manuscripts containing Vedic texts.

5 Multilingual manuscripts

Before moving to the analysis of the paratexts, it may be helpful to focus shortly on the nature of multilingual manuscripts, which are especially relevant for attempting a reconstruction of the educational practice of 19th-century Tamil Nadu. In this context, by the expression ‘multilingual manuscripts’ I refer to manuscripts containing Sanskrit texts accompanied by Tamil annotations. All together, they constitute a small group of manuscripts if compared to the oceanic amount of bundles containing just monolingual texts. However, their didactic scope seems to be clear: these are Sanskrit texts presented through vernacular lenses, i.e. in the language spoken by the students.¹⁹

Manuscript catalogues generally report whether a manuscript contains more than one script. Therefore, as Tamil language is written almost exclusively in Tamil script, when the latter is mentioned next to the indication ‘Grantha script’, we automatically know that that manuscript must contain texts in both Sanskrit and Tamil. As for which Sanskrit texts are more frequently accompanied by Tamil annotations, from a cursory view through some catalogues (Narahari 1951, Kuppuswami Sastri and Subrahmanya Sastri 1938, Parameshwara Aithal 1968, and Sastri 1933) it emerges that manuscripts containing lexicographical works (virtually almost exclusively copies of the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana*) are by far the most common.²⁰ These are followed by manuscripts with works on *nīti* (in particular the collection of *subhāṣitas* called *Nītisāra*), medicine (in particular the *Nānāvīdhavidya*), and astronomy/astrology.²¹ Anyway, this list serves only the purpose to offer an impressionistic view: a study – even a mere statistical evaluation – of the kinds of Sanskrit texts that can be found together with Tamil annotations is yet to be written. It seems evident that basic didactic purposes were the main concerns of the authors of these Tamil annotations: on the one hand, as already said, lexicography, but also easy-to-digest moral teachings (*nīti*), were at the founda-

19 A more frequent case of multilingualism is that of a manuscript containing a Sanskrit text and a colophon written in Tamil, or in a hybrid of the two languages (see Ciotti and Franceschini 2016).

20 It should be said though that the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* is overall one of the most copied texts in all of South Asia.

21 Also, one find sporadic occurrences of manuscripts with Tamil annotations to ritual texts (for which see in particular the catalogues of the manuscript collections of the Institut Français de Pondichéry – Varadachari 1986, 1987, and 1990; Grimal and Ganesan 2002), *kāvya*s, Jain works, *stotras* and a few other Sanskrit texts.

tions of any curriculum in Sanskrit studies, whereas medicine and astronomy/astrology were disciplines in which a superficial grasp of Sanskrit would have sufficed to most practitioners for their everyday activity.

What remains difficult to evaluate from the catalogues is what kind of Tamil register hides behind the indication ‘Tamil script’. Whether it is the highly Sanskritised register that is commonly used to comment on the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* or any other cannot be assessed. Furthermore, as a rule of thumb, one can get an idea of the nature of such annotations on the basis of the terms used in the title description found in the catalogues. For instance, if the annotations are just glosses to single words the term *nighaṇṭu* is sometimes inserted, whereas for more elaborated forms of vernacular commentaries other terms can be used, such as *ṭikā*, *vyākhyā*, and *pañcikā*. In the latter case, the identification of a manuscript containing a Sanskrit text annotated in Tamil is made easier, as an entry would be given as *Nāmaṅgānuśāsanam Drāviḍaṭikāśahitam* (see e.g. AL72614).

In this brief excursus I have not touched upon the vast corpus of the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* commentarial literature, of which a good deal is written in the above-mentioned highly Sanskritised register of Tamil called Manipravalam (see § 2 and Venkatachari 1978). The entries of these works are not only found in Sanskrit manuscript catalogues, but also in some Tamil catalogues (see, for instance, Olganatha Pillay 1964).

Multilingualism seems to be the feature characterising manuscripts with a well-defined intended audience, namely teacher and students. Surely, this kind of manuscript exemplifies how texts were widely manipulated by interspersing the *mūla* texts with glosses and annotations, possibly in order to make them useful for students. In terms of a purely speculative exercise, one could even argue that Tamil annotations were in competition with annotations composed in Sanskrit, which are in any case those found in the large majority of annotated manuscripts. One could speculate about pockets of Sanskrit education in which the vernacular medium was privileged, and possibly only advanced students were invited to engage with more complex commentaries composed in Sanskrit.

6 Engaging with paratexts

6.1 Religious affiliation

The close association between the copies of the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana*s with Tamil annotations – at least those I have been able to assess – and a *Vaiṣṇava* religious context can be convincingly argued on the basis of several paratexts. For instance, in the colophon of AL69312 [1r1–2] the name of the father of a borrower of the manuscript is given as Śrīnivācayyaṅkār from Pārācūr (= Pārācūr, Tiruvaṅṅāmalai district): Ayyaṅkār is a typical *Śrīvaiṣṇava* brahmanical name. Similarly, ORI3318 has an ownership tag attached to the verso side of its guard leaf reporting that this is the 9th in a series of manuscripts that belonged to a certain S. Kuruṣṇa Ayyaṅkār.

Particularly informative in terms of religious affiliation are the invocations found throughout the manuscripts. For instance, AL70820 [1r1] opens with a well-known verse addressed to Viṣṇu:

śuklāmbaradharaṃ viṣṇuṃ śaśivarmaṇaṃ caturbhujam |
prasannavadanaṃ dhyāyet sarvaviḅnopaśāntaye ||

One should meditate on the wearer of the white garment Viṣṇu, of moon-like complexion, four-armed, with a kind face, for the removal of every obstacle.

Furthermore, AL71010 [1r1] opens with the so-called *hayagrīva-stotra* (note that Hayagrīva is a manifestation of Viṣṇu):

jñānānandamayāṃ devayāṃ nirmalasphaṭikākṛtim |
ādhāraṃ sarvavidyānāṃ hayagrīvaṃ upāśmahe ||

We honour Hayagrīva, the god abounding in knowledge and bliss, with a spotless moonstone-like [bluish] complexion, the foundation of all sciences.

Praises for Viṣṇu are also found in marginal invocations, in particular in the rather common formula *hariḅ oṃ | śubham astu* ('Hari (= Viṣṇu) oṃ, may there be prosperity'). Examples are found in RE37121 [2r], EO1272 [GL1r] and ORI3317 [GLr]. On the margin of AL70820 [1r] one reads *śrīrāma jeyam* ('O śrī Rāma, victory!'). A marginal invocation to Hayagrīva together with Rāmānuja – the founding figure of Śrīvaiṣṇavism – is a few times repeated on the guard leaf of ORI3318; e.g. on its verso side it reads: *śrimate – rāmānujāya namaḅ | ?] hayagrīvāya namaḅ |* ('Honour to śrīmat Rāmānuja, honour to Hayagrīva').

However, it is indeed also possible to come across copies of the *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana* with Tamil annotations containing paratextual elements of a Śaiva character. In this respect, it may be interesting to compare two particular manuscripts, namely RE37121 and RE45807. Both offer glosses to the various words of the first verse of the *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana*:

yasya jñānadayāsindhor agādhasyānaghā guṇāḥ |
sevyatām akṣayo dhīrāḥ sa śrīyai cāmṛtāya ca ||

O sages! The imperishable one, the unfathomable ocean of knowledge and compassion, whose qualities are spotless, he should be worshipped for *śrī* and immortality.

We will come back in more detail on the interpretation of this verse (§ 5.5). For the time being, it is relevant to note the interpretation of the word *śrīyai* ('for *śrī*'). On the one hand, RE37121 [2r1] glosses it as *lakṣmīyīṇ aṭi poruṭṭum* ('for the sake of [worshipping] Lakṣmī's foot'), Lakṣmī being Viṣṇu's spouse. On the other hand, RE45807 [3r6] glosses *śrīyai ca* as *aiśvaryattum poruṭṭum* ('for the sake of [obtaining] divine power'), where *aiśvaryam* ('sovereignty') is a way to refer to Śiva's power. The Śaiva affiliation of RE45807 is further corroborated by the marginal invocation on the recto side of its second guard leaf, which reads *civamayam* ('Śiva in essence', 'all glory to Śiva').

6.2 Additional verses on the target of the Tamil annotations

That Tamil annotations to the *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana* were meant for the benefit of young students is not only clear from secondary sources stating the importance of this *mūla* text for learning Sanskrit, but also from evidence found in manuscripts. In particular, manuscripts containing two particular sets of such annotations, i.e. those authored by Vaidyanātha Yajvan and Veṅkateśvara, present some extra verses mentioning *bālas* (lit. 'boys', thus 'young students') as the intended audience.

Manuscripts AL72614 and RE50420 are two copies of Vaidyanātha Yajvan's annotations. They both contain, the former at its beginning [1r1–2] and the latter at its end [unnumbered folio r2–4] (corresponding to image 109 in the IFP file), the following couple of stanzas:

bālavayutpādanārthāya vaidyanāthena yajvanā |
kriyate 'marakośasya vyākhyā draviḍabhāṣayā |
padavākyapramāṇānāṃ pāragaiḥ pūrvasūribhiḥ |

nimīya likhyate yo 'rthaḥ sa evātra vilikhyate ||²²

The commentary (*vyākhyā*) of the *Amarakośa* is composed by Vaidyanātha Yajvan in Tamil language for the instruction of young students. The meaning of the means of knowledge of words and sentences, which is written by previous accomplished (*pāragaiḥ*) scholars after having ascertained it, is here exactly copied (?).

Similarly, E00044 [unnumbered r1] (corresponding to image 30 in the EFEO file) contains a small fragment of Veṅkateśvara's *Amarapañcikā* (the title is partly readable on the left margin of the damaged folio). Here I report the verse found just at the beginning of the text:

*śrīśailaveṅkaṭeśānāv ānamya śivakeśavau |
bālakānandajanānīm karomy amarapañcikām ||*

Having bowed to the lords (°iśāna) of the holy [abodes of] Śaila and Veṅkaṭa, [namely] Śiva and Keśava (= Viṣṇu), I compose the *Amarapañcikā*, bestower of happiness for young students.²³

Interestingly, Veṅkateśvara's *Amarapañcikā* also represents an example of a set of annotations that is meant for the benefit of both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva students.²⁴

²² RE50420 presents a slightly unmetrical reading of the beginning of the first verse as it reads *bālānām vyutpādanārthāya*.

²³ EO1272 contains a copy of the same set of Tamil annotations (with some variants) and mentions several times Veṅkaṭeśvara as their author; e.g. [7r1] *śrīmad ātreya veṅkaṭeśvaravi | ra/citāyām* [7r2] *amarapañcikāyām svargavivaraṇam* ('[This is] the explanation [on the names] of heaven in the *Amarapañcikā* composed by *śrīmad* Ātreya Veṅkaṭeśvara'). The last folio of UVSL 1365 (possibly 262r) – the only folio of the manuscript I could check – concludes what is probably a further copy of Veṅkaṭeśvara's annotations. It reads *iti śrīliṅgappasūritanujaśrīveṅkaṭeśvarabhāṭṭārakavikaviracitāyām ama[rapañci]kā samāptāḥ |* (Anonymous 1977, 38 emends and reads *iti śrīliṅgappasūritanujaśrīveṅkaṭeśvarabhāṭṭārakaviviracitām* [sic!] - *amarapañcikā samāptā* 'The *Amarapañcikā* composed (emend °*viracitām* into *viracitā* - GC) by Śrīveṅkaṭeśvarabhāṭṭāra, excellent poet son of Śrīliṅgappasūri, is completed'). Furthermore, the GOML catalogue lists three other manuscripts which are given the title of *Nāmaṅgānuśāsanavyākhyā Amarapañjikā* by Veṅkateśvara, but I could not inspect them. The catalogue of the Adyar Library lists nine works with the same title, among which I have inspected AL69312 and AL70200 (both with some variants). It is probable that the work of Veṅkateśvara enjoyed a certain degree of popularity.

²⁴ Another manuscript containing the name of the author of its Tamil annotations is n° 4971 of the Saraswathi Mahal Library in Tañjāvūr/Thanjavur. I have not been able to check this manuscript personally, but the second verse at its beginning is given in the catalogue (Sastri 1930, 3837) as: *kriyate śrīnivāseṇa yajvanā bālabodhinī | fīkā hy amarakośasya samyag āgastyabhāṣayā ||* ('The *Bālabodhinī* [Instruction for young students], a commentary (*fīkā*) of the *Amarakośa*, is thoroughly

6.3 A compendium of nominal declensions

RE45807, which contains a copy of the *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana* with Tamil annotations entitled *Amarapañcikai* (different from the *Amarapañcikā* mentioned above), also presents a kind of paratext that is unique among the manuscripts that I have been able to scrutinise. One could label such a paratext ‘appendix’. In fact, as the *Amarapañcikai* ends on folio 205, one then encounters two additional texts.

First, on an unnumbered folio (corresponding to image 212 in the IFP file) there is a list of Tamil case endings presented in a single column (see Fig. 1):

<i>avaṅ - yivaṅ - avaḷ - yivaḷ - atu yitu ā</i>	<i>pra</i>
<i>avaṅai yivaṅai avaḷai yivaḷai atai yitai ā</i>	<i>dvi</i>
<i>āle yoṭe</i>	<i>tri</i>
<i>koḷ poruṭṭu</i>	<i>ca</i>
<i>niṅṇuṅ kāṭṭilum nimittam āleyu[m]²⁵</i>	<i>pa</i>
<i>ikum²⁶ uṭaiya</i>	<i>ṣa</i>
<i>illum ile</i>	<i>sa</i>

Here the case endings are presented according to the traditional progressive order from the *pra*[*thamā vibhakti*] (‘first case’) to the *sa*[*ptami vibhakti*] (‘seventh case’), excluding the vocative case. Note that the first and second case, i.e. nominative and accusative respectively, are exemplified by third person singular pronouns (masculine, feminine, and neuter), which are also given according to the two deixes (e.g. *atu* ‘that’ and (*y*)*itu* ‘this’).²⁷

Thereafter, seven folios (corresponding to images 213–219 in the IFP file; with a double page number 5!) contain a *rūpāvali* (‘list of declensions’) arranged in columns.²⁸ For instance, the declension of *akārāntaḥ pulliṅgo rāmaśabdaḥ* (‘the word *Rāma*, ending in *-a*, masculine’), i.e. of the masculine nominal stem in short *-a*, is provided as follows on [unnumbered folio 1r, column 1] (corresponding to image 213 in the IFP file):

composed by Śrinivāsa Jayvan in the language of Agastya’). Note that Agastya is traditionally considered the founding figure of the Tamil grammatical tradition (see e.g. Chevillard 2009).

25 Most probably, this section should be understood as ‘[The endings] *-niṅ* and *-kāṭṭil* [indicating] cause, and *-āle*.’

26 Most probably, *ikum* (read *iku-um*) is a way to represent the ending of the Tamil fourth case, which would be usually indicated as *-(k)ku*. This ending is normally used to render the Sanskrit sixth case in Maniṭraṅgam.

27 Both lists of pronouns are followed by the syllable *ā*. In Tamil this syllable is also a word meaning ‘cow’. My tentative guess is that the two *ās* are examples of the nominative and accusative cases of an inanimate noun, which can be left morphologically unmarked.

28 In particular, these folios contain declensions of nominal and pronominal stems, exceptions such as the noun *sakhi* (‘friend’), and the number *dvi* (‘two’).



Fig. 1: List of Tamil case endings presented in a single column (RE45807-212.jpg).

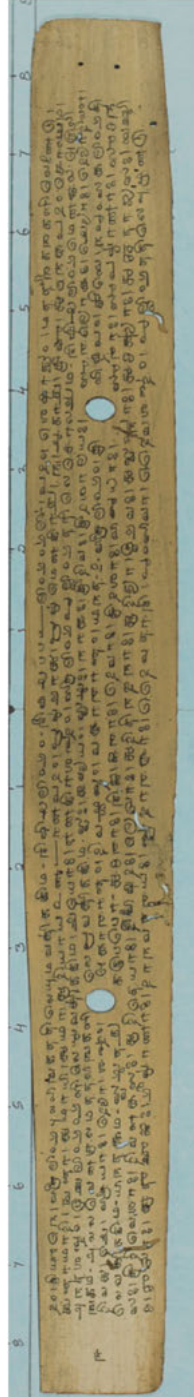


Fig. 2: RE45807 [3r] (RE45807-007.jpg).

akārāntaḥ pulliṅgo rāmaśabdaḥ

<i>rāmaḥ rāmau rāmāḥ</i>	<i>prathamai</i>
<i>he rāma he rāmau he rāmāḥ</i>	<i>saṃbuddhi</i>
<i>rāmaṇi rāmau rāmān</i>	<i>dvitīyāi</i>
<i>rāmeṇa rāmābhyāṇi rāmāiḥ</i>	<i>triti</i>
<i>rāmāya rāmābhyāṇi rāmebhyaḥ</i>	<i>caturthi</i>
<i>rāmāt rāmābhyāṇi rāmebhyaḥ</i>	[<i>pañca</i>]mi
<i>rāmasya rāmāyoḥ rāmāṇāṃ</i>	<i>ṣaṣṭhi</i>
<i>rāme rāmāyoḥ rāmeṣu</i>	<i>saptami</i>

Together with its appendixes, RE45807 constitutes what seems to be a reference work for the formation of nouns in both Manipravalam and Sanskrit. Manipravalam nouns can be formed by adding the required Tamil endings, which are listed in the first appendix, to Sanskrit nominal stems listed in the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. On the other hand, the same Sanskrit nominal stems can be declined according to the examples provided in the second appendix.

6.4 Glosses and annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*

Full-fledged Sanskrit commentaries to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* were most probably the object of interest of advanced students and scholars. If we consider those commentaries with a clear Southern Indian provenance, for instance, we can see that Liṅgayasūrin’s *Amarapadavivṛti* focuses mostly on etymological explanations of single lexemes, whereas Mallinātha Sūri’s *Amarapadapārijāta* offers etymological remarks and a number of quotations from other relevant texts, such as Pāṇini’s *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (Ramanathan 1971). On the other hand, Tamil annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* are rather simple. In most cases, we find one Tamil gloss for each lexical sub-group. An example of the latter case is found in RE45807 [3v7–8], where the list of names of *asuras* (‘anti-gods’) is presented as follows:

asurāḥ | daityāḥ | daiteyāḥ | danujāḥ | indrārayaḥ | dānavāḥ | śukraśiṣyāḥ | ditisutāḥ | pūr-
vadevāḥ | suradviṣaḥ | *yinta - 10 - asurāḥ per* |

Here the verse about the names for anti-gods is not reported, instead its word by word division is given, followed by the simple gloss *yinta 10 asurāḥ per* (‘these ten are the names of the anti-gods’).²⁹

²⁹ Note that the plural ending *-āḥ* in *asurāḥ* is a typical feature of Brahmin Tamil.

However, at times ampler annotation is provided for some lexical sub-groups. One more example from RE45807 [3r4–6] will clarify this point (see Fig. 2):

svaḥ | **avyayaṃ** | **svargaḥ** | **nākaḥ** | **tridivaḥ** | **tridaśālayaḥ** | **suralokaḥ** | dyoḥ³⁰ | **dyodivau**
| divat | **dve** | **striyāḥ** | dyo | *śabdaṃ* | *okārāntaṃ* | divach *śabdaṃ* | *vakārāntaṃ* | *yinta* - 2 -
strīliṅgaṃ | **triviṣṭapaṃ** | **klībe** | *napuṃsakaliṅgattile varttikim*³¹ - *yinta* 9m - *svargattukkup*
per -

I have marked in bold the words singled out from the *mūla* verse. I have left unmarked the two words composing **dyodivau**, which is split as dyoḥ and divat,³² preceding and following the compound, respectively. I have marked the Tamil annotations in italics. Apart from the final remark for the whole subsection, i.e. *yinta 9m svargattukkup per* ('these nine are the names of heaven'), one also finds some further annotations, contrary to the subsection seen before. On the one hand, we are here offered remarks about the stems of the words **dyo** and **div**, which are classified as ending in *-o* (*okārāntaṃ*) and *-v* (*vakārāntaṃ*), respectively. On the other hand, we find annotations to the Sanskrit terms used to indicate the feminine and neuter gender of certain words (as it normally happens in the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana*): **striyāḥ** as *strīliṅgaṃ*, and **klībe** as *napuṃsakaliṅgattile*.

In some manuscripts, one finds versions of these extended annotations characterised by a large use of abbreviations. An example is found in ORI3317 [3v1–2]:

svaḥ | a | **svargaḥ** | **nākaḥ** | **tridivaḥ** - **tridaśālayaḥ** - **suralokaḥ** | pu | **dyauḥ** - o - **dyauḥ** | va
- strī | **triviṣṭapaṃ** | na | *inta* | 9m - *svargattukkup peyar* |

Here, a stands for *avyaya* ('indeclinable'), pu for *puṅliṅga* ('masculine'), na for *napuṃsakaliṅga* ('neuter'), strī for *strīliṅga* ('feminine'), o for *okārānta* ('[nominal stem] ending in *-o*'), and va for *vakārānta* ('[nominal stem] ending in *-v*').

After analysing this as well as other similar passages, it seems to me that even in case two manuscripts share the same set of annotations, the amount of variant readings is remarkable. Changes in the order of words, omissions and synonyms are evidence of a rather fluid transmission (see example in Appendix 1). Such fluidity could suggest that these manuscripts were not intended to transmit a fixed text, but contained notes for teaching and learning the root-text (*mūla*). In other words,

³⁰ RE45807 originally reads *dvyoḥ*.

³¹ The word *varttikim* appears several times in similar positions in this manuscript. However, its precise meaning and etymology (cf. Skr. *vārttika* 'explanatory annotation?') escapes me.

³² Since the second nominal root should be *div-*, I am inclined to understand *-at* as a metalinguistic grammatical marker. However, I cannot trace such affix in the literature.

these manuscripts may have been an *aide-mémoire* for the *mūla*, but not for the annotations, which vary from copy to copy. Therefore, I would argue that, contrary to the *mūla* text, Tamil annotations, together with their educational bearing, were bound to the manuscript and not to memory, and that therefore manuscripts should have been actively used as educational tools, possibly by both teachers and learners. Further philological features can also be considered in order to account for the possibility that students were in fact active users of at least some of the manuscripts here under investigation. In particular, a number of scribal mistakes can be explained if one assumes that the scribes were still inexperienced Sanskritists. For instance, aspirated consonants are not rarely written down as unaspirated ones, a fact which could also hint to a Tamil speaking scribe; and colophons, when composed in Sanskrit, can present a rather broken variety of the language (see n. 21 and 22).

6.5 A commentarial leap

In most manuscripts, the annotations to the first five verses of the *Nāmalīṅgānuśāsana*, i.e. the invocation (verse 1) and the instructions on how to use the thesaurus (verses 2–4), are notably different from those to the other verses of the *mūla* text. There, we do not just find simple glosses, but we are presented with more or less lengthy commentaries. These are usually annotated according to a specific system known as *pañcalakṣaṇa* ('five explanations').

Given a verse, this pattern runs as follows: 1. the words of the verse are divided and the *sandhi* dissolved (*padaccheda*), 2. words are rearranged according to a syntax free of metrical constraints (*anvayokti*), 3. grammatical complexes such as compounds are analysed (*vigraha*), 4. the meaning of individual words is explained, i.e. glossed (*padārthabodha*), 5. and the gist of the verse is provided (*tātparya*).³³ The *pañcalakṣaṇa* system has a clear didactic nature (see also Goodall and Isaacson 2003, 1–11 for the case of commentaries on *kāvya*s). Students are taken step by step through the components of each verse. It is possible to assume that this system also corresponds to the way in which teachers orally instructed their pupils.

Not all the stages of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* are always present in the manuscripts I have investigated (often the *tātparya* is skipped). An example that presents four out of five of these stages is RE45807 [1r1–6]:

³³ For a short but informative report about *pañcalakṣaṇa* and the stanzas in which the five elements are listed together, see Formigatti (2015, 66–67). For more detailed information on the *pañcalakṣaṇa*, see Tubb and Boose 2007.

[*mūla*]

yasya jñānadayāsindhor agādhasyānaghā guṇāḥ | sevyatām akṣayo dhirās sa śriyai
cāmṛtāya ca |

[*padaccheda*]

yasya [[] jñānadayāsindhoḥ | agādhasya | anaghāḥ | guṇāḥ | sevyatām | akṣayaḥ | dhirāḥ |
saḥ | śriyai | ca | amṛtāya |

[*anvayokti*]

he dhirāḥ | jñānadayāsindhoḥ | agādhasya | yasya guṇāḥ | anaghāḥ | akṣayaḥ | saḥ | śriyai |
amṛtāya ca | ca | sevyatām |

[*padārthabodha*, including the *viḡraha* of the compound *jñānadayāsindhoḥ*]

he dhirāḥ | (*a*)*hoy vidvāṃsāle* | jñānadayāsindhoḥ | jñānā - *jñānattukkum* | dayā |
dayaikkum | sindhoḥ | *samudrarājanaiḥ poleyu[m]* - agādhasya | *agādhaḥdayam*
āyum - yasya - *yāt['] oru tevataiyāṇṭaiya* (guṇā)ḥ | *guṇāḥkaḷukkum* | anaghāḥ |
doṣarahitam ākavum - akṣayaḥ | *nāśarahitar āy iruppār āy* | saḥ | *anta devataikaḷai* |
śriyai ca | *aiśvaryattum poruṭṭum* | amṛtāya ca | *moṭcattum poruṭṭum* | sevyatām |
sevikkireṇ -

Often, *padaccheda*, *anvayokti*, *viḡraha*, and *padārthabodha* are merged together. For instance, in AL70820 [1r1–2] one just reads what corresponds to the *padārthabodha* section of RE45807 just mentioned above:

he dhirāḥ | *vāruṅko*³⁴ *vidvāṃsarkaḷe* | jñānadayāsindhoḥ | jñāna | *jñānattukkum* | dayā [[]
dayaikkum | etc.

In certain manuscripts the commentary to verse 1 is remarkably more complex than the commentaries to verses 2 to 4. I have come across two of such cases, namely ORI3317 and RE22704.³⁵ ORI3317 presents a conflated version of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* system following the *mūla*: a first stage joining *padaccheda*, *anvayokti*, *viḡraha*, and *padārthabodha*, and a second stage offering a relatively lengthy *tātparya* (the full text is given in Appendix 2 together with a tentative translation). In RE22704 too we find the *mūla* text followed by a conflated version

³⁴ The word *vāruṅkoḷ* is rather obscure. It could be a variant form of standard Tam. *vāruṅkaḷ* ('let's come') or of Brahmin Tamil *vāruṅkō*, here used in the sense of summoning the *vidvāṃsarkaḷ* ('sages').

³⁵ This is also the case for the Tamil annotations contained in an early printed edition of the *Nāmaḷiṅgānuśāsana* by a certain Rāmānujācāryyar (alias Citrakūṭaṃ Kandāḍai Śeṣādri), entitled *Amarapadakaḷpataru* and dated 1849. Annotations to verses 1 to 4 are also here rather lengthy. Interestingly, part of those to verse 1 are identical to those found in ORI3317.

of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* system, but in addition we also find an *avataraṇikai* (‘introduction’) inserted before each verse.

RE22704 is particularly notable for it makes an even bigger commentarial leap than ORI3317 thanks to its very sophisticated *tātparya* section at verse 1. It reports extensively on alternative meanings for selected words and the religious and sectarian bearing of such interpretations. Furthermore, this section seems to adapt and extend many remarks already found in the *Amarapadapārijāta*, the commentary of the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* composed by Mallinātha Sūri (Ramanathan 1971), who is explicitly mentioned in the text.³⁶

RE22704 clearly shows that Tamil annotations too can provide a platform for complex exegetical exercises. It also questions the boundary between Sanskrit and Tamil as access to more or less complex contents may have not been so strictly regimented by the language choice. Although, statistically, the opposition between Sanskrit vs Tamil annotations seems to correspond to that between sophisticated vs elementary annotations, manuscripts such as ORI3317 and RE22704 are witnesses of the fact that there was room for relevant exceptions. Unfortunately, at present I do not have enough elements in order to establish who accessed these more complex Tamil annotations, whether intermediate students, or more advanced ones and teachers.

7 Conclusions

In the Indian intellectual history memory was by far the most prestigious tool for learning, but not at all the only one. It is in fact not easy to make sense of manuscripts such as those containing the *Nāmaṅgānuśāsana* with Tamil annotations, if we do not understand them as learning and teaching tools. If a teacher had doubts or memory gaps, he could certainly turn to such manuscripts, but it is also

36 For an in-depth study of the commentary of the first verse of the *Amarakośa* as found in RE22704, see Ciotti and Sathyanarayanan forthcoming. A peculiarity of this manuscript is that some Sanskrit words are not only glossed in Tamil, but also in Telugu. Similarly, the very beginning of the manuscript [1r1] reads *amarasiṃhuṅḍ['] ane graṃdhakarṭta amarasiṃhan enkira graṃdhakarṭtā*, where the meaning ‘the author of the work, Amarasimha’ is repeated twice in Telugu and Tamil, respectively. The insertion of Telugu glosses throughout the manuscript seems rather idiosyncratic. We can make an educated guess and imagine its scribe, a certain Veḷḷaṅkoḷḷi Kuruṇātayyaṅ, to have been a Telugu speaking scholar, who worked in an environment, such as perhaps the *Śrīvaiṣṇava*, in which Sanskrit and Tamil were the main languages of intellectual exchange.

true that he could have checked *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*s with more sophisticated Sanskrit commentaries. Advanced students were expected to master enough Sanskrit to be able to access copies of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* with Sanskrit commentaries, which would have provided also contents of a level of complexity more suitable for their intellectual undertakings, such as remarks in *vyākaraṇa*- and *nirvacana*-style. On the other hand, students who could already read, but who were not yet fully proficient in Sanskrit, seem to be not only the most suitable recipients of the content of the manuscripts, but also the recipients of the object itself. What I argue is that given the kind of texts and paratexts found in the manuscripts analysed here, I would challenge the view that beginner students had no access to written materials. Facts were most probably rather variegated: schools with no manuscripts at all, either because too poor or because relying exclusively on oral education, and schools in which the access to manuscripts was not forbidden, at least during study hours after class.

I am aware of the partial limits of my inquiry. For instance, I am puzzled by the almost total absence – to the best of my knowledge – of Sanskrit grammatical works annotated in Tamil. Whether such differences are indicative of the nature of the curricula of students of Sanskrit, in other words of which texts could or could not be studied with the help of vernacular explanations, is a possibility to explore. Furthermore, the possibility to attribute a specific function to a manuscript is hampered by the lack of visual variety. In manuscripts from North India (Formigatti 2015, 79–80, *passim*), as well as in those of other manuscript cultures,³⁷ one could speculate, and at times convincingly argue, that different layouts reflect different functions. On the contrary, the typically monotone layout of Southern Indian palm leaves was not manipulated to reflect the function of the texts they contained.³⁸ At the commentarial level, instead, texts can be widely disassembled and rearranged in order to meet different educational requirements, as in the case of the application of the *pañcalakṣaṇa* system.

In conclusion, this article calls for a more disenchanting view on Indic education, which is often idealised as the realm of memory. Simply put, that was not

³⁷ For instance, the way in which annotations can be accommodated on the page helps identifying the educational function of a manuscript in the Islamic context (see Bondarev 2014, 129–145 for the case of West Africa) and elsewhere.

³⁸ There are basically two kinds of layouts in palm-leaf manuscripts from Tamil Nadu: (1) the single text block, where the *scriptio continua* is sometimes interspersed with a very light punctuation (*daṇḍas*, hyphens, etc.) and seldom, if ever, interrupted by short blank spaces, and (2) the much rarer parallel columns (usually from two to four) employed for lists, such as nominal declensions (see above RE45807) or *akarātis* ('alphabetically arranged lexicons'). A richer variety of layouts appeared in the domain of written Tamil only with the introduction of printing.

always the case. In this respect, while describing the figure of the *paṇḍita*, Aklujkar (2001, 45, n. 8) wrote an insightful remark about the relationship between orality and manuscripts:

[...] an intimate and wide connection with the older Indian way of preserving knowledge, coupled with an ability to impart that knowledge, is at the core of what *paṇḍita* means to us. The use of the term in performing arts also points in the same direction. It is based on the elements (a) of study in the presence of a teacher outside the Western-style academic institutions that have become common in South Asia and (b) of oral retention.

The above observation, however, does not imply that pandits do not build personal libraries, do not prepare manuscripts and editions, or do not make a significant contribution to the preservation and deciphering of manuscripts. Their association with reading, writing and printing is also close. Their distinction from ‘Western’ and ‘westernized’ scholars consists in the *manner* in which they relate to these latter activities.

Appendix 1

The transmission of Tamil annotations to the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* seems to be rather fluid. Even in case of AL72614 and RE50420, both containing sets of annotations ascribed to Vaidyanātha Yajvan, one comes across a remarkable number of variants (see § 5.4). Hereafter, one can observe the different arrangement of the annotations to verses 7 to 11 of the first book of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*. I have underlined some difficult readings.

AL72614 [4r3–5r4]:

amarā nirjarā devās tridaśā vibudhās surāḥ | suparvāṇas sumanasastridiveśā divaukasah | āditeyā diviṣado lekhā aditinandanāḥ | ādityā ṛbhavo [']svapnā amartyā amṛtāndhasaḥ | barhirmmukhāḥ ṛtubhujo gīrvāṇā dānavārayaḥ | vṛndārakā daivatāni - puṃsi vā devatā striyām | | ṭikā | amarāḥ - nirjarāḥ - devāḥ - tridaśāḥ - vibudhāḥ - surāḥ - suparvāṇaḥ - sumanasah - tridiveśāḥ - divaukasah - āditeyāḥ - diviṣadaḥ - lekhāḥ - aditinandanāḥ - ādityāḥ - ṛbhavaḥ - asvapnāḥ - amartyāḥ - amṛtāndhasaḥ - barhiḥ mukhāḥ - ṛtubhujaḥ - gīrvāṇāḥ - dānavārayaḥ - vṛndārakāḥ - daivatāḥ - daivatāni puṃsi - *napuṃsakaliṅgamuṃ uṇṭu* | ayaṃ puṃsa vā - daivataśabdaṃ vā - vikalpārthe - *orukkāl puṃlliṅgattile vargattikkum* – devatā striyām - | devatāśabdaṃ striliṅgaṃ | *yinta yiruvatti ārum devatayaḥ per* | 4 | **ādityaviśvasavastuṣitābhāsvarānilāḥ | mahārājikasādhyāś ca rudrāś ca gaṇadevatāḥ | vidyādharopsaroyakṣarakṣogandharvakimnarāḥ | piśāco**

guh yakas siddho bhūto [³⁹]mi **devayonayaḥ** | tīkā | ādityāḥ - *dvādaśāḍityākkaḥ* | 12 | viśve - *viśve devarkaḥ* - 10 - vasavaḥ - *aṣṭavasukkaḥ* - 8 - tuṣitāḥ - *ṣaṭtrimśattuṣitāḥ* - 36 | bhāsvarāḥ - 64 - anilāḥ | [?] mahārājikāḥ | 76 | sādhyāḥ - 12 - ca - gaṇḍapūraṇam | rudrāḥ - *ekādaśarudrāḥ* | 11 | ca - *yivarkaḥ* - *gaṇadevataikaḥ* | *oruy inam*⁴⁰ *āy iruppār* | vidyādharāḥ - apsarasāḥ - yakṣāḥ - rakṣāḥ - gandharvāḥ - kiṃnarāḥ - piśācaḥ - guhyakāḥ - siddhāḥ - bhūtaḥ ami⁴¹ - *yivarkaḥ devayonikaḥ* - devayonayaḥ - *yivarkaḥ devayoniviśeṣaṅkaḥ eṇṭu*⁴² *collukai* | 6 |

RE50420 [4r4-5r2] (corresponding to images 16–17 in the IFP file):

amarāḥ | nirjarāḥ | de(vāsv)āḥ | tridaśāḥ | vibudhāḥ surāḥ | suparvāṇaḥ | sumanasāḥ | tridiveśāḥ divaukasāḥ | āditeyāḥ | divaśadāḥ⁴³ | lekhāḥ | aditina(nda)nāḥ | ādityāḥ | ṛbhavaḥ | asvapnāḥ amartyāḥ amṛtāndhasāḥ | barhirmukhāḥ ṛtubhujāḥ | gīrvāṇāḥ dānavārayaḥ | vṛndāra(kāḥ |) daivatāni puṃsi vā - daivatā striyāṃ *inda 26m devatayaḥ per - daivatāśabdaṃ strīṅgaṃ* | puṃsi vā vikalpārthe *daivatāśabdaṃ pulliṅgattile vargattikkum* | --- ādityāḥ *dvādaśāḍityarkaḥ* - viśve *devarkaḥ* - 10 - vasavaḥ 8 - tuṣitāḥ⁴⁴ 36 - bhāsvāra⁴⁵ - 64 - anilāḥ - 39 - mahārājikāḥ 226 sādhyāḥ 12 - ca śraddhapūraṇam - ru(drāḥ 11) *ivarkaḥ gaṇadevataiyaḥ* *oru yeṇattāḥ*⁴⁶ *āy iruppāl* - vidyādharāḥ - apsarasāḥ yakṣāḥ - rakṣāṃsī - gandharvāḥ (kinrarāḥ |) piśācāḥ guh(y)akāḥ siddhāḥ bhūtaḥ ami⁴⁷ *ivarkaḥ devayonikaḥ devayoniviśeṣaṅkaḥ yeṇnum collukai* -

Appendix 2

Annotations to the first verse of the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* found in ORI3317 [1r1–1v5] (see 5.5 and Figs 3 and 4). I have underlined some difficult readings. The text is followed by a tentative translation.

³⁹ Emend to ami.

⁴⁰ Read *iṇam*.

⁴¹ Emend to ami.

⁴² Possibly, read as *viśeṣaṅkaḥ eṇṇu*.

⁴³ Emend to diviśadāḥ.

⁴⁴ Emend to tuṣitāḥ. Note that the rendering of Skr. ṣ into Tam. ḥ is rather common.

⁴⁵ Emend to ābhāsvarāḥ.

⁴⁶ *Yeṇattāḥ* is a colloquial form for *iṇattāḥ*.

⁴⁷ Emend to ami.

avighnam astu | **yasya jñānadayāsindhor agādhasyānaghā guṇāḥ** | **sevyatām akṣayo dhīrās sa śriyai cāmṛtāya ca** | 1 | jñānadayāsindhoḥ - samastārthaviṣayakam āna jñānam eṇṇa sarvarukkum upakarikkukaikki veṅṭiya dayai eṇṇa ivaittuku ādhāraṇā⁴⁸ āy iruppāṇ āy - agādhasya du(r)jñeyasvabhāvam ākīra gāmbhīryataiyuṭaiyaṇ āy - yasya lokavedavedāntatadupabrahmaṇādikaḷile guṇaviḡrahavibhūtyaiśvāryādiyuktaṇ āna parabrahmaparamāmaparamapuruṣapuruṣottamavāsudevanārāyaṇādiśabdavācyatvena prasiddhaṇ āna śriyaḥpatiyiṇuṭaiya | guṇāḥ āśrayaṇopayogikaḷ āy° āśritakāryopayogikaḷ āy° anubhavaparikaraṇkaḷ āyumu irunt['] uḷla vātsalyādyasamkhyeyakalyāṇaguṇaṇkaḷ anaghāḥ āśritaviṣa(ya)ṇkaḷile nirduṣṭaṇkaḷ āka prakāśikīratukaḷ aṇṇikke⁴⁹ - guṇāḥ adhyetākkaḷuṭaiya prakṛtagrandhārthajñānapradānopayogikaḷ āna niravadhikaniratiśayakalyāṇaguṇaṇkaḷ anaghāḥ āśritaviṣayattile doṣadarśitvam ākīra agham uṇṭu doṣaṇ at['] illātukaḷ - akṣayaḥ jñānapradatvam illāmai yākīra kṣayam uṇṭu⁵⁰ nāśaṇ at['] illātavaṇ āy irukkīra - saḥ kīl conṇapaṭi prasiddhaṇ āy irukkuṛa anta śriyaḥpatiyāṇavaṇ - he dhīrāḥ dhīyāramataḷ ativyutpatyār āśritavāñchitārthapradāṇkaḷ āna śriyaḥpatiguṇaṇkaḷile saṇdehamāra dṛḍhaviśvastāḷ āna vīvekikaḷ | śriyai ca prakṛtagrandhārthajñānapūrvakasakalavedata tvārddhajñānāya | amṛtāya ca - jñānavirodhiy ākīrav ajñānam ākīra mṛtiy uṇṭu maraṇaṇ at['] illāta avāṃtarapuruṣārthapūrvakaniratiśayāṇaṇdarūpamahāpuruṣārthāya ca - sevyatām uṇkaḷāle manovākkāyarūpatrividhakarāṇkaḷāle āśrayikkattakkavaṇ⁵¹ | ākavittāḷ prabandhādhyetākkaḷukku jñānasamṛddhyādyaiḥkāmuṣmikapuruṣārthapradānopayuktaniravadhikātiśayajñānadayāvātsalyādikalyāṇaguṇākarāṇa⁵² āy⁵³ - heyaguṇarahitaṇ āy° yirukkūra śriyaḥpatinārāyaṇane sarvakkum apekṣitasakalapuruṣārthattukk['] āka bhaktyādyu-pāyaṇkaḷāle āśrayaṇiyan eṇṇu collit talaikkaṭṭittu⁵⁴ |

48 Read *ādhāraṇ*.

49 Colloquial for *aṇṇikke*.

50 The word *uṇṭu*, which appears twice more in the text, has clearly the function of *eṇṇu*. However, its morphology and etymology are to me rather obscure (maybe a colloquial form?).

51 The structure of this sentence is ambiguous. From the point of view of Sanskrit syntax, one can understand *manovākkāyarūpatrividhakarāṇkaḷāle* as an apposition (possibly, a *bahuvrīhi* compound) qualifying *uṇkaḷāle*. In this respect, the whole sentence can be translated as: 'he is fit to be resorted upon by you, who have a threefold means in the form of mind, speech, and body'. On the other hand, one can recognise a Tamil syntactic construction, where *manovākkāyarūpatrividhakarāṇkaḷāle* is the instrument by which the action is performed. Hence, the following translation: 'he is fit to be resorted upon by you thanks to the threefold means in the form of mind, speech, and body'. Below I have followed the latter interpretation.

52 Emend °*samṛddhya*° to °*sāmṛddhya*°.

53 *Āy*° is a standard abbreviation for *āyumu*.

54 Colloquial for *talaikkaṭṭirru*.

‘May there be no obstacle. **O sages! The imperishable one, the unfathomable ocean of knowledge and compassion, whose qualities are spotless, he should be worshipped for śrī and immortality** (1). **Jñānadayāsindhoḥ** (‘of the ocean of knowledge and compassion’): him being the vessel for them, namely knowledge, which concerns all meanings, and compassion, which everyone needs for [their] assistance (? *upakarikkukaikki*). **Agādhasya** (‘unfathomable’): being of him whose deepness is difficult to comprehend. **Yasya** (‘whose’): of the husband of Śrī, known in the mundane world, the Vedas, the Vedāntas, their ancillary works (*upabrahmaṇas*), etc. because of the fact of being called with the words Parabrahman, Paramātman, Paramapuruṣa, Puruṣottama, Vāsudeva, Nārāyaṇa, etc., who has qualities, [divine] form (*vigraha*), manifestation (*vibhūti*), sovereignty, etc. **Guṇāḥ** (‘qualities’): the felicitous qualities to be counted from tenderness onwards, which are helpful for taking refuge [in god] (*āśrayaṇopayogika*), which are helpful for the protection of (lit. for the duty concerning) those who took refuge [in god] (*āśritakāryopayogika*), and which are instrumental for experiencing [god] (*anubhavaparikaraṅka*). **Anaghāḥ** (‘spotless’): those appearing as defectless (*nir-duṣṭa*) with regard to those who took refuge [in god] (?). Alternatively, **Guṇāḥ**: infinite, unsurpassed, and felicitous qualities, which are fit for teaching the knowledge of the foundational work [i.e. the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*] to the students. **Anaghāḥ** (‘blameless’): they are without that, [namely] the fault, i.e. (? *uṅṭu*) the blame, which is the fact of showing fault, with regard to those who took refuge [in god] (?). **Akṣayaḥ**: he is without that, [namely] destruction, i.e. (? *uṅṭu*) the decay, which is the incapacity (*°tvam illāmai*) of giving knowledge. **Saḥ** (‘he’): he, that husband of Śrī, who is known according to what was said before. **He dhīrāḥ** (‘O sages’): o wise ones who have a firm confidence without (*-ara*) [any] doubt in the qualities of the husband of Śrī, which provide the meanings that are relied upon and wished for.⁵⁵ **Śriyai ca** (‘for Śrī’): for the abundant (? *ārdha*) knowledge of the essence of all the Vedas, based on the knowledge of the meanings of the foundational work [i.e. the *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana*]. **Amṛtāya ca** (‘for immortality’): and for the great human aim [= *mokṣa*] consisting of unsurpassed bliss, which is based upon the various human aims [i.e. *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma*]; [*mokṣa*] that is without that, [namely] death (*maraṇam*), i.e. (? *uṅṭu*) death (*mṛti*), which is ignorance, the enemy of knowledge. **Sevyatām** (‘he should be worshipped’): he is fit to be resorted upon by you thanks to the threefold means in the form of mind, speech, and body.

55 I have left untranslated the passage *dhiyāramataḥ ativyutpatyar* as I am not sure about its meaning, nor whether this is the correct reading of the manuscript.

Therefore, Nārāyaṇan, husband of Śrī, being the receptacle of infinite auspicious qualities, such as preeminence, knowledge, compassion, and tenderness, which are fit for teaching to the students of [this] work the human aims of this and the other world, such as knowledge and wealth, and being deprived of bad qualities, [he] should be resorted upon by the followers of *bhakti*, etc. for the sake of all human aims [namely, *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* (and *mokṣa* ?)], which are looked for by all (*sarvakkum apekṣita*^o). Having said so, it is completed.’

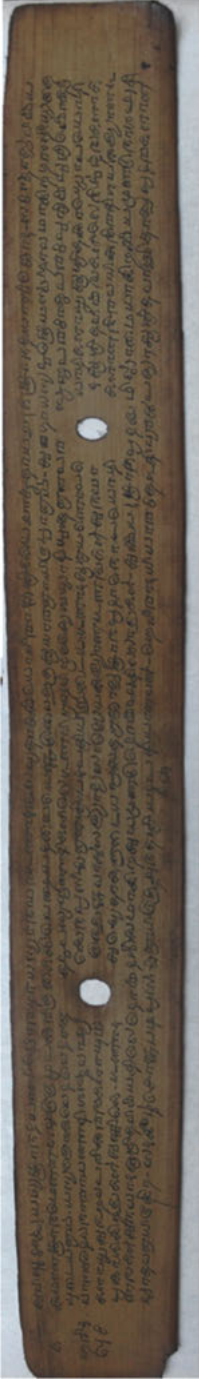


Fig. 3: Annotations to the first verse of the *Nāmalīṅgānūśāsana* found in ORI3317 [1r1–1v5].

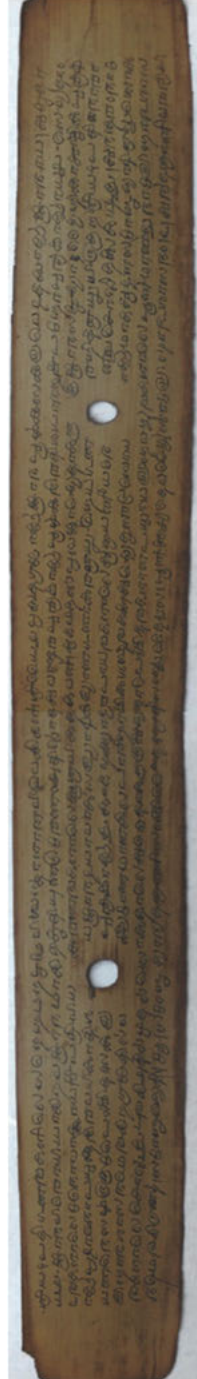


Fig 4: Annotations to the first verse of the *Nāmalīṅgānūśāsana* found in ORI3317 [1v].

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Jürgen Hanneder

Pre-modern Sanskrit Authors, Editors and Readers

Abstract: Fundamental assumptions in Sanskrit textual criticism hinge upon how we conceive of pre-modern Indian text production and transmission. Our information about these processes are highly deficient and theories about them must remain speculative. This paper will try to get hold of some hardly known actors in this process, as proof readers, or editors of literary bequests, through the traces left by them in pre-modern Kashmirian texts and manuscripts.

1 Introduction

After some decades of reading Sanskrit manuscripts, I noticed that two questions have regularly puzzled me. One is the fact that most manuscripts I could or wanted to read were not aesthetically or calligraphically pleasing, and the other is that many manuscripts were so full of errors that it makes one wonder how these texts were actually understood or used. In the case of the first, one is reminded of the astonishment of A. W. Schlegel who once mentioned that despite the fact that Indian artists were capable of such astounding masterpieces, one may—he once wrote—seek in Indian prints for everything but a straight line. But at that time Sanskrit printing in India had been practiced for merely a couple of decades. It may have to do with our search for uncommon texts, for which no one would have produced a calligraphic illuminated and aesthetically stunning apograph, that we usually do not encounter anything of the sort in our daily work. Often this perception has been distilled into a very critical view of the activities of Indian scribes. As always, there are exceptions to this, there are beautiful manuscripts, there is of course a Sanskrit calligraphy, and we now know more about scribal practices that show that there were sophisticated regional traditions.¹

I would like to add that any attitude of Western hubris would be entirely out of place here. Some time ago it was found out that a long standing manuscript preservation project in Germany had used microfilms that are now already dissolving. Some of you may remember the scene in the movie by Quentin Tarantino *Inglorious Basterds*, when a cinema filled with Nazis burns down because the film

¹ See Bhattarai forthcoming.

roll catches fire. The latter phenomenon was in fact not uncommon. At that time films were made of something closely resembling the explosive TNT. They caught fire easily, in the worst case they exploded through mere shock. As a result historical copies of films from that era are now kept in archives designed to hold explosives, especially after a regular archive indeed exploded and burned down, because one film had direct contact with metal and suddenly ignited. The historical solution for this problem was the acetate film, which replaced the old material, but it has the disadvantage of disintegrating after some decades, first by exuding a smell of vinegar, then by crumbling into small pieces. This seems to be also the fate of the microfilms for ‘preserving’ much older manuscripts.

It is only by continuous reiteration of the fact that manuscripts in India had to be copied frequently because the material would not survive too long in the climate, that we tend to forget that no modern reproduction method has been able to reach the life span of Indian manuscripts. If we think of Gandhāra manuscripts the acid paper of the late 19th and early 20th century does not cut a good figure, the acetate film is still worse and digital media are more short-lived than any other medium. It enthuses only as long as we ignore the task of copying and converting. When that fails—as with the digital results of some academic projects that have run out of funding—the rate of loss is quite spectacular.

Coming back to the apparent bad shape of our manuscripts, we all know the text-book explanation for it, namely, that in India the *mukhasthavidyā* was triumphant over mere book learning, and that there were illiterate, uneducated or uninterested scribes, who counted their 32 syllables merely for the single reason that they were paid in units of *granthas*. For Indian literati who had to read from such materials, this state of affairs was undoubtedly a nuisance, and their inevitable corrections are now populating the *apparati critici* of our editions. A practising editor grows accustomed to this state of affairs and thus may even become a little disinterested in the manuscripts themselves; precious and cherished, no doubt, for their texts, but not so much as material objects. No resistance to theory is needed to explain the fact that Sanskritists often do not care very much for the physical side of their sources, simply because it is difficult to explain why it would make sense to do so.

A similar development has taken place with anonymous literature, or literature about whose authors we know nothing but a name. We have almost stopped to ask the question, who wrote this, who copied a manuscript, who edited it, etc., simply because we do already know the answer in most cases: that we simply do not know and have no way of knowing it. This understandable attitude has not encouraged reflection on the roles of the author, of proof readers, editors, critics, readers and so forth.

All that is well-known and I mention it here, because when we do get a glimpse of such realia, we are confused by such concrete information beyond our expectation that we sometimes even fail to analyse it properly. In this article I shall try to interpret some such passages and investigate what they imply. In these passages we shall encounter editors, proof readers and individual readers, who are, as it turns out, also potential editors.

2 Authors

First, I would like to introduce one specialized but related topic, regarding which we have also been used to not noticing what we could call the realia around the texts. It is the vexed issue of the author's variant in textual criticism. In textual transmission we sometimes distinguish between variants introduced by scribes and variants that go back to the author. Our working hypothesis is that scribal variants are many and that they are of a lower quality, whereas the author's version is only one, and that it can be recognized through being the best variant. From modern philologies we know that authors often corrected and revised their texts. There may be a first print, a second edition and even a 'last hand edition'.² All of these go back to the author, of course there are errors by the printer but they might have been already corrected in the next edition. So why not print the last edition? This is not necessarily a good idea, because the editions that were read and reviewed are more interesting from the perspective of literary history, and these are usually the first, not the last editions. So even when we do have—unlike in Sanskrit editing—printed editions approved by the author, even his or her last will, it is difficult to edit such texts simply because we have all of them. Absurd as it may sound, we may be even forced to print a printer's error as the most authentic text.

To give you one telling example: There is a line in the opening of Goethe's *Faust*, surely one of the most-widely read pieces in German literature, where we simply do not know whether Goethe meant to say 'Mein Lied ertönt (my song sounds)', or 'Mein Leid ertönt (my suffering sounds)'. Since more man power has been spent in Germany on Goethe's works than on most of Indian Literature, this is by the way the only word in the whole work that is still in doubt.³

² 'Edition letzter Hand', the last edition produced by the author himself.

³ Johann Wolfgang Goethe: *Faust. Der Tragödie erster Teil*. Stuttgart: Reclam 1971. Editionsbericht, p. 141.

The line is: ‘Mein Lied ertönt der unbekanntten Menge’, which is literally: ‘My song sounds to the unknown crowd’. But in fact the first edition of Goethe’s *Faust* printed ‘Mein Leid (my suffering)’, to which Goethe’s secretary Riemer added a note in 1809⁴ ‘Leid lies: Lied’, which may seem obviously correct in the context, because a song resounds rather than suffering. But Goethe never corrected the line, it first appeared in an edition produced by the same Riemer and Eckermann after the poet’s death.

A second look shows that this reading is not so unlikely in the context:

Mein **Lied** ertönt der unbekanntten Menge,
Ihr Beifall selbst macht meinem Herzen bang,
Und was sich sonst an meinem **Lied** erfreuet,
Wenn es noch lebt, irrt in der Welt zerstreuet.

My **verse** is sounded to the unknown throng.
Their very praise my heart must anxious sway;
And those to whom my **song** delight could give,
err on the world dispers’d, if they still live.⁵

Here you see that ‘Lied’ occurs once more. But are the arguments for or against a repetition weightier? And is the first reading ‘Leid’ not more accordant with the general tone of the verses? Some scholars have argued that ‘Leid’ is original, and that ‘Lied’ is a kind of *lectio facillior* and so forth.⁶ The subsequent major editions until now print one or the other and are regularly followed by the lesser editions, as if this were a fashion choice. From 1903 in the jubilee edition we read ‘Leid’ for half a century, followed by almost all editions,⁷ then the ‘Akademie-Ausgabe’ in 1958 prefers ‘Lied’ and this is what we read at school. One almost forgets that Goethe’s contemporaries were not aware of a reading ‘Lied’.

But the main question is of course: was it an oversight, or did the author in the end prefer what is actually, or came into being originally, as a mere type-setting error. If you imagine the mirror-inverted *ie* in front of the type-setter, you can see that it can be confused with *ei*, although traditional type-setters would surely have protested.

This is not the only example to show that the author is not necessarily the solution to the problem of variation, but sometimes its source. But the readiness to accept such interventions by the author and those working with him decreases

4 Baumgart 1898, 171.

5 Translation by William Barnard Clarke (Freiburg 1865), p. 4.

6 Baumgart 1898, 171, ‘unzweifelhaft die richtige Lesart’.

7 Thus, the Editionsbericht.

when we go back in history. Despite noteworthy exceptions the standard answer to the problem of the author's variant in antiquity, as we find in text-books for criticism, is that there are practically no author variants. It seems that many classical scholars expect a good writer to work like Horace told his pupil in his *Ars Poetica*, to publish only when the work has come to perfection, show it to no one before and never change your mind afterwards. Common sense, the fact that this admonition had to be given in the first place, and examples from modern philologies show that this may be an honoured rule, but not necessarily a wide-spread practice. Some authors may have worked without leaving any trace of the production of texts, but it would be quite naïve to assume that all or even most of them did. It would also be unrealistic to assume that textual transmission itself, the copying of texts, would naturally weed out those traces. The problem with this observation is that its practical application remains difficult. If we shout author variant any time we encounter a second convincing variant we need not even start editing.

There are further issues to be borne in mind for the following examples from Indian literature. We tend to think that pre-modern authors were necessarily the only ones involved in the production of texts: a man or woman, a reed pen and a palm-leaf. What about the Goethe scenario: the author composing and dictating to a scribe. Is that inconceivable in India? I think not.

Then there is a further unsolved problem: How did authors publish works? Were they copied only privately by those interested? Did authors give their works to a publishing, that is, copying house, was there a copy editor? Were copies produced only after completion of the work? Was there a second edition? Sanskritists might reject all these deliberations as inapplicable: for many works we do not know the author, how could we know the scribe, or the publisher, if there was one. So what is the point of asking all these questions, when we cannot answer them? My argument here is that without being aware of the questions and the implications of the answers, there is the danger that crucial evidence is overlooked, since its implications are not realised. For instance, if we know that the text was written down from the start, we need not, for that time and region, speculate too much about the orality of literature. If we can prove that the author continued to work on a text after publication we cannot rule out author variants easily.

One of the most interesting documents in this respect⁸ is the last Sarga of Mañkha's *Śrīkañṭhacarita*, where the author describes how his work was read in the illustrious literary salon of the author's brother around the year 1144.⁹ Those

⁸ Some of the examples presented in this article are also discussed in Hanneder 2017.

⁹ See Slaje 2015.

present included his teacher Ruyyaka, Kalhaṇa and other well-known figures in Kashmirian literary history. Mañkha describes the assembly, all the scholars and poets present, then he opens his manuscript of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (*vyastārayat pustakam* 25.142) and reads his text. The audience is absolutely delighted and he offers the work to Śiva.

We can infer at least two things from this account: (1) The main text was not an oral, but a written one. (2) If we regard this public recitation as a sort of publication, we can deduce that Mañkha had worked on the text after publication, since he obviously added the last chapter, in which the *sabhā* is described. To regard this chapter as a literary fiction is I think unlikely because he would probably not make his contemporaries including his teacher part of such a fictitious meeting. The statement important for our topic is the following, it appears shortly before he introduces the participants individually:

*santaḥ tādrśāḥ santi gaṇitāḥ sūktibheṣajam
bhūṣaṇam yaiḥ svavaiduṣyāt saujanyena vitanyate* (25.14)

Such persons are counted as virtuous, who because of their learning and out of goodwill furnish [a poem] with embellishment in the form of the remedy for well-turned sayings.

The verse can be interpreted in a variety of ways, and I have tried to give a neutral rendering. The meaning given by Jonarāja in his succinct, but excellent commentary is much more specific. He says that *sūktibheṣajam* means the remedy for a Kāvya, in the present case for the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, and that it consists of the removal of errors through the kind experts present at its first recitation: *yaiḥ sadbhiḥ sūkteḥ kāvyasya bheṣajam doṣanivāraṇam saujanyena hetunā svavaiduṣyād vitanyate*. If we then regard the context, in which the participants of the literary circle, who are about to hear the work of Mañkha, are thus described, it would mean that these experts—please mind that the *Ālaṃkārika* Ruyyaka was among the listeners—were known or even expected to give hints and corrections to the author.

But if so, then the manuscript mentioned in the text to which these corrections were applied and the last *Sarga* added, would not have looked like an autograph, but like an exemplar that was corrected. Would all scribes know how to apply the changes and ignore the first version?

3 Editors

If this seems a far-fetched questioning of what is generally not problematised, I can assure you worse is yet to come. In one verse Somendra, who reports in his post-scriptum to his father's *Avadānakalpalatā*, tells the startled readers that he had given the work to one *ācāryaḥ*:

yasya hastagataṃ sarvaśāstram āyāti śuddhatām
ācāryaḥ so 'tra sūryaśrīr lipinyāsārtham arthita (E.15)¹⁰

We have asked Ācārya Sūryaśrī, in whose hands all Śāstra becomes pure, to commit the [text] to writing.

Now *śuddha*, when it comes to language and texts, means 'correct', often in the sense of grammatically correct. What Sūryaśrī was credited for was not to produce a nicely written copy, but to purify the text of errors, in other words he acknowledges, as we would do in a book, the help of an editor.

So far, we have not done badly. It seems, we could open the door behind some texts a little and could get the impression that on the other side there are some hitherto unknown characters silently involved in the production of literature. My argument was that Sanskritists, frustrated by the paucity of sources that could illuminate this background of particular texts, failed to notice it, even when it was staring into their face.

One such failure is connected with the famous *Śivastotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva, which has been edited¹¹ and also translated a few times.¹² The *Śivastotrāvalī* is a collection of Stotras attributed to the author Utpaladeva, who lived in Kashmir two generations before Abhinavagupta around the middle of the 10th century. It is available in a number of manuscripts, often with a commentary by Kṣemarāja, who is the third in a line of religious transmission from the author.

A study of the manuscript material of this text has been made by Constantina Rhodes-Bailly.¹³ She comes to the conclusion that 'there were no major variants in any of the manuscripts that I studied, and that the textual tradition of the *Śivastotrāvalī* remained intact, without varying recensions.'¹⁴ The actual variants, which include synonyms as for instance *śarīra* for *svarūpa*, are not reported by the editor

¹⁰ See Formigatti 2005, p. 31.

¹¹ In the following I refer to the text as edited by Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa 1964.

¹² Kotru 1985, Rhodes-Bailly 1987, Bonnet 1989.

¹³ Rhodes-Bailly 1987.

¹⁴ Rhodes-Bailly 1987, 3.

and the text of the first edition is made the basis. This is somewhat astonishing, since the edition of 1964 lists quite a few variants, also in the verses itself, and moreover the commentator Kṣemarāja himself mentions and comments upon variants readings.¹⁵

Rhodes-Bailley understands Utpaladeva's verses as a 'spiritual diary', and that we, the readers, are 'accompanying Utpala on the wanderings on a marvelous pilgrimage.'¹⁶ In this context, the opening verse is interpreted as marking the 'outset of the journey',¹⁷ the initial understanding. In other words, the interpretation of the work is biographical and it is at least implicitly suggested that the journey ends, when the accomplished devotee has become a *siddha*,¹⁸ and this is at the very end of the work.

While I have no objections to such an interpretation in general, I am quite astonished that the presupposition that the Stotras are autobiographical and chronological is taken for granted. This is all the more astonishing, since no reader of the Sanskrit text can avoid being told by the commentator Kṣemarāja in clear terms that Utpaladeva is not really responsible for the form, in which his text appears:¹⁹

Īśvarapratyabhijñākāro vandyābhidhānaḥ śrīmadutpaladevācāryo 'smatparameṣṭhī sata-tasākṣātkṛta-svātmamaheśvaraḥ svam rūpaṃ tathātvena parāmrāṣṭum arthijanānujighṛkṣayā saṃgrahasotrajayastotrābhaktistotrāny āhnikastutisūktāni ca kānicin muktakāny eva babandha |

The author of the *Īśvarapratyabhijñā*, whose name we have to honour, the glorious teacher Utpaladeva, our parameṣṭhi-[*guru*], who had realized his own self as Śiva for ever, composed a *saṃgrahastrotra*,²⁰ a *jayastotra*²¹ and a *bhaktistotra*,²² the verses of an *āhnikastuti* and some single verses.²³ [He did so] to reflect on his own self as Śiva²⁴ in order to bestow grace on those approaching him.

15 For instance, ad 18.7 and 19.4.

16 Rhodes-Bailley 1987, 2.

17 Ibid.

18 Rhodes-Bailley 1987, 23.

19 For the interpretation of this passage, see also Sanderson 2007, 399f.

20 Stotra 13 is called *saṃgrahasottra* and Kṣemarāja gives a separate introduction for this.

21 The fourteenth Stotra in the *Śivastotrāvalī* is one such, since every line begins with the word *jaya*.

22 The fifteenth is called *bhaktistotra*.

23 Sanderson takes the last two together: 'also a number of single-verse poetic hymns for his daily devotions.'

24 *tathātvena* 'being thus'.

But then Kṣemarāja continues:

atha kadācit tāni eva tadvyāmiśrāni labdhvā śrīrāmaḥ (var. śrīrāmarājaḥ) ādityarājaś ca pṛthak pṛthak stotraśayyāyāṃ nyaveśayat |

When Śrīrāma and Ādityarāja acquired them, they were mixed up and they placed them separately into Stotra compositions.

Two persons took care of the literary bequest of Utpaladeva, and they found his verses in disarray, at least not as ready-made Stotras. So these verses were placed separately into Stotras. In other words the mixed verses were arranged by the executors of the literary bequest of Utpaladeva and it appears that Kṣemarāja, despite living only few generations after the author, and in the same lineage, had no way of cleaning up the transmission. The arrangement of the verses is not one conceived of by the author, but by later redactors. If it reflects the author's spiritual biography, then the credit must go to the medieval editors, who arranged the materials.

And finally the same applies to the names of these Stotras, as Kṣemarāja further informs us:

śrīviśvāvarttas tu viṅśatyā stotraiḥ svātmotprekṣitanāmabhir vyavasthāpitavān iti kila śrūyate

But as has been handed down, Śrīviśvāvartta produced [from these] as twenty Stotras, the names of which he coined himself.

The editorial report by Kṣemarāja shows that no less than four persons were involved in the redaction of the so-called *Śivastotrāvalī*: Rāma and Ādityarāja ordered the literary bequest into twenty groups, Viśvārta named the resulting Stotras and Kṣemarāja made sense of the collection by commenting on them in their sequence. Neither the name of the text itself nor most of the names of Stotras are original.

But Kṣemarāja is, apart from the parts he considers authentic—as for instance the *Sanḡrahasotra*—, highly critical of the presentation of the transmitted text. Already in the second verse he stumbles upon an incongruity, which he blames on the redactor:

pūrvaśloke āmantraṇapadābhāvāt bhavadbhaktiṅ na saṅgatam eveti katham iyaṃ stotraśayyeti śrīviśvāvarta eva praṣṭavyaḥ (ad 1.2)

Since there is no term of address in the previous [i.e. first] verse the phrase *bhavadbhakti-* is not appropriate. Viśvāvarta has to be asked how this can be a Stotra composition.

Viśvāvarta is criticized more frequently in the long commentary and Kṣemarāja acts like an elegant reviewer by combining polemics with restraint. After commenting on some *ślokas* he considers inappropriate he says (ad 17.49) that this disarray is due to the ‘grace’ (*prasāda*) of Viśvāvarta and that there are many more instances he, Kṣemarāja, did not disclose, since he wants to comment on the verses.

In one place Kṣemarāja even doubts the ascription to Uṭpaladeva for reasons of style.

Kvacid apy asadṛśaśailīdarśanād anārṣa ivāyam ślokas tathāpi vyākhyāyate (20.21)

Since the style is in some places different this verse is not authentic, I explain it nevertheless.

Kṣemarāja says he has been sparse with his criticism, but what we infer from his statements is this: he regards the status of the edition of his predecessors, which really is a new composition of fragments, as problematic. The verses were often not intended to be part of Stotras and to treat them as if they were does not do justice to the author.

But as we know from more recent examples, such cautionary remarks never work. A printed text almost invariably creates its own history. It seems that Kṣemarāja mentions the history of the text in such unusual detail to alert the reader to the nature of the text, to caution him that the author was not responsible for the arrangement. This would be what we would expect from modern editors as well, but it seems that while we find such text-critical awareness a millennium ago in Kashmir, it is much harder to find it nowadays.

4 Readers

Up to now we have seen that a number of persons may have been involved in the production of texts even before scribes could add transmissional variants. But what would the function of the scribe actually be? It would no doubt differ considerably. Even if we do not know much about the context of manuscript production we know one thing. There was probably no market distribution for the texts Indologists typically read. It was more likely a copy on demand system. When Ranbir Singh of Kashmir sent scribes into the Srinagar archives to have many manuscripts transcribed into Nagari script, the collection which is now in Jammu, they were working for a royal library. But in other scenarios an individual, the future reader, would borrow a manuscript and have it copied. The copy then would be proof-read, maybe also by the later owner by comparing it with the original. Thus the owner and reader

potentially had much more influence on the product than in a modern publication scenario, but this as we all know has been changing rapidly. In 19th-century book-production the reader was left with no more than choosing the binding, whereas in the 20th century you could only individualize your books with your *ex libris* or if you write into them. Nowadays you have web-based printers who will produce simple or luxury versions of whatever scans you send them.

Bearing this in mind, it seems that the owners of manuscripts become very much part of the process of transmission, not, as in our modern view, passive recipients. The question would therefore not only be whether a manuscript was more correct or more faulty, but to whom it belonged, that is, who wrote or commissioned or corrected it. In some cases these people differed, in others they were one person. In such cases the reader was safeguarding the integrity of the text, by comparing it with the source etc., not so much the people producing the copy.

But how do we know about the activity of owners of manuscripts? I quote a case where the owner somehow makes his appearance through the variants he has produced. The following passage is from an unpublished ritual manual ascribed to Sāhib Kaul, the *Śyāmāpaddhati*,²⁵ written perhaps in the mid-17th century. It gives the mantras to be employed for the meditation on or worship of the gurus of one's lineage. For the present purpose I need not give much context. After the completion of one ritual action, the adept has to recite one *mūla-mantra* of the Śrīvidyā, then follows the passage under consideration, where the adept has to worship the sandals of his Guru. The text up to the *iti* has to be recited.

*oṃ aiṅ hrīṅ śrīm hasakhaphreṃ /
hasarakṣamalavaraya ūṅ /
sahakhaphreṃ sahakṣamalavarayaūṃ /
hsauṃḥ shaumḥ śrīmacchrīvidyādharakaulānandanāthaśrīpādukāṃ
śrībhavānyāṃbāśrīpādukāṃ pūjayāmi namaḥ /
iti daśadhā vimṣya manasā daṇḍapraṇāmaṃ kuryāt /*

An editor publishing the text from one manuscript would not have to change anything. But let us look at the middle portion in a second manuscript:

*hsauṃḥ shaumḥ śrīmacchryamukakaulānandanāthaśrīpādukāṃ
śryamukāṃbāśrīpādukāṃ pūjayāmi namaḥ /*

Now it seems that Bhavānī was like Vidyādhara a personal name. If we know that initiation names for Śrīvidyā initiates end in *-ānandanātha* for men and deduce

25 For details see my forthcoming edition of the works of Sāhib Kaul.

from the text that those of the spouses or tantric consorts end in *-ambā*, then the text gives the impression that it was the personal copy of someone whose tantric gurus bore those names. It was in other words an individualized prayer book. Naturally every such personal copy had to differ.

Before asking how one should edit such a text, we might first ask how such a text was copied for someone else. In a living tradition reproducing individual names of Gurus would not make any sense unless your guru's name was Prakāśānanda. One would have to indicate that this is to be filled in with one's own data. In one of the two manuscripts just quoted there is exactly such a correction and the corrected text reads as follows:

*hsauṃḥ shauṃḥ śrīmacchryamukakaulānandanāthaśrīpādukāṃ
śryamukāmbāśrīpādukāṃ pūjayāmi namaḥ /*

In fact, this is not so much a correction in the sense of the word, but a preparation of the manuscript for general reproduction. Here a personal copy used for one's daily ritual was turned into one for copying, possibly by the owner himself.

5 Dīlārāma, a reader, scribe and editor

My last example is one manuscript that highlights the activities of scribes vividly. It is Ms. Stein Or. g.1, kept in the Bodleian Library, a multiple-text manuscript containing several texts of Sāhib Kaul and his pupils or followers.

2r–2v	<i>Sahajārcanaṣaṣṭikā</i> 20b–24d (single folio that fits in the gap between fols 39 and 40)
11v–34r	<i>Cītsphārasārādvaya</i>
35v	<i>Saccidānandakandalī</i> 1–4c
36r–48v	<i>Sahajārcanaṣaṣṭikā</i> 3–62
48v–58v	<i>Svātmabodha</i>
–119r	Kashmiri texts
120	Postscriptum by Dīlārāma Kaula, partly Sanskrit, partly Kashmiri
134v–135r	verses ascribed to Sudarśana Kaul, Sadānanda Kaul, Cidrūpa Kaul
135v	Saccidānanda Kaul
136r	verses ascribed to Sāhib Kaul
137r	verses ascribed to Sudarśana Kaul

At first sight the manuscript is not particularly nicely written or arranged.

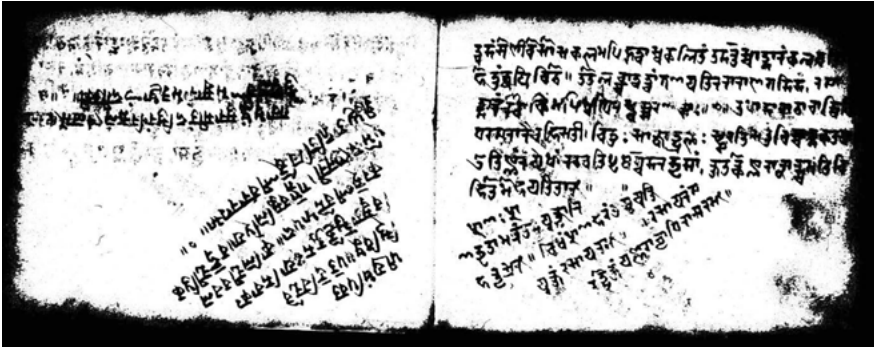


Fig. 1: Ms. Stein Or. g.1, fol. 6v–7r, kept in the Bodleian Library.

The pages are written on from all sides, it gives the impression of having been a sort of notebook with fragments of texts added. There is also a peculiarity in the manuscript which I have not yet encountered elsewhere. Many of the pages are covered with blue floral motives, against which the black ink is quite difficult to read. For an editor in the nineties the manuscript for that very reason was a nightmare, because it was impossible to read in a black and white microfilm copy.

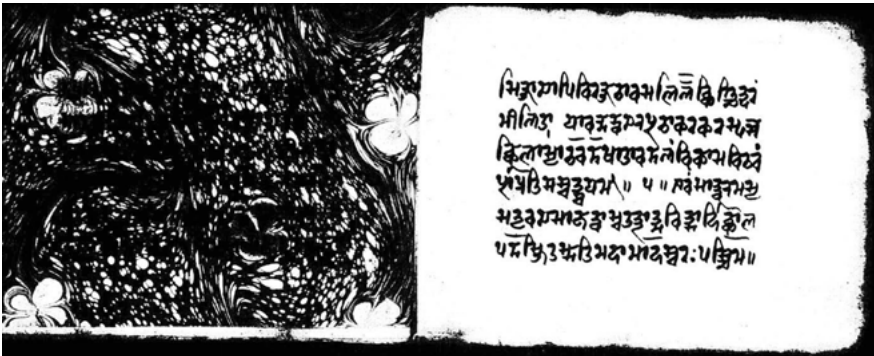


Fig. 2: Ms. Stein Or. g.1, fol. 12v–13r (= 2v–3r), kept in the Bodleian Library.

This is the same page processed through a filter, giving one the feeling of having recovered a palimpsest.

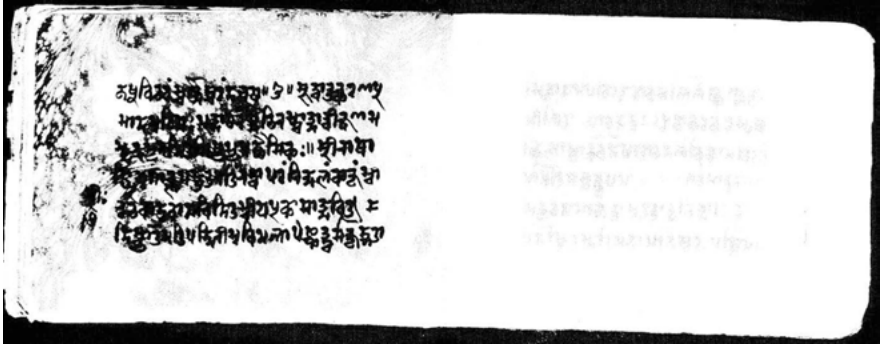


Fig. 3: Ms. Stein Or. g.1, fol. 12v-13r (= 2v-3r), kept in the Bodleian Library.

The manuscript was written by Dilārāma Kaul who says on folio 130 *mayādilārā-makaulena likhitam*. Presumably he was also the author of a personal statement added near the beginning of the manuscript.

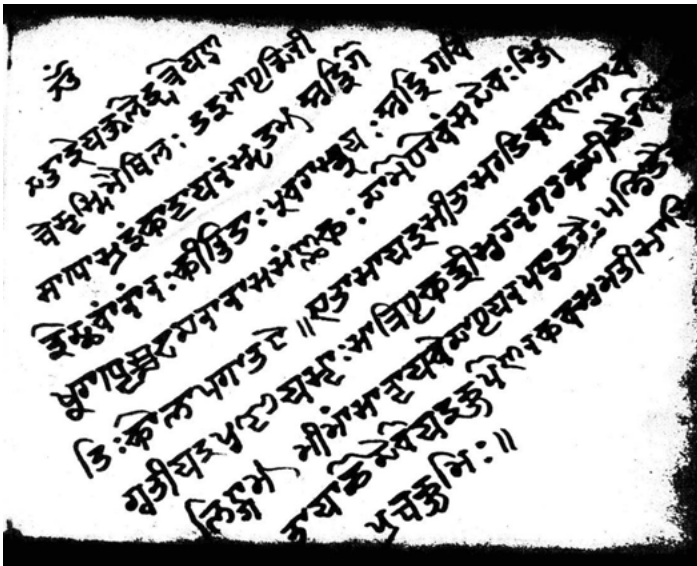


Fig. 4: Ms. Stein Or. g.1, fol. 10r, kept in the Bodleian Library.

*dattātreyakuloṭpannaḥ yajurvedy asmimāthilāḥ
tatra mādhyaṇḍīnī śākhā sūtraṃ kātyāyaṇam smṛtam*

Dīlārāma here states that he is a *maithila*, which of course does not imply that he was born there, but that his ancestry lies in Mithila, as he proudly says in the next verses, the land of Janaka, famous for scholars in Mīmāṃsā and Nyāya etc. and gives his Vedic affiliation.²⁶

When I encountered this piece of information searching for Sāhib Kaul's works I had no idea about its impact, so I showed it to my supervisor at the time, Alexis Sanderson, for whom it turned out to be one of the arguments to reconstruct the history of the Kashmirian Kaul clan. The Kauls of Kashmir were really Mithila Brahmins who had migrated to Kashmir and brought East-Indian Śāktism with them, which merged with older Kashmirian cults,²⁷ a fact that serves to explain some later developments of Śaivism in Kashmir.

But the scribe Dīlārāma, apart from accidentally supporting historical research, aimed at collecting scattered pieces of Sāhib Kaul's Stotras and verses, some of which are written on the blank pages between texts. Then there are works of disciples of Sāhib Kaul, mostly Guru-stotras directed to their teacher, and there are other similar collections in manuscripts. It seems these booklets were used for collecting and storing works connected to one famous author, and were the places to add all sorts of additional information, in the case of Sāhib Kaul even the etymology of his name. The owners of such manuscripts most likely were far more than readers, they were collectors, and—in a next step—could become potential editors.

I was hoping that with this you would be reminded of our first example, that of the edition of the Stotras of Utpaladeva, which were in fact single verses posthumously arranged and named by editors. In fact, our own modern approach would not be too different, we would collect the Muktakas and publish them together, some might even invent names for these pseudo-Stotras. But if such a collection was made by previous generations nearer to the author, we might argue, for instance, and in good text-critical company with Bédier and others, that the received text merits editing like it is, we would only add a note about the history of the collection and the contribution of intervening generations. This seems to be exactly what Kṣemarāja intended to do, when exposing the history of the collection as he received it. In this he proves to be more of a sound textual critic than some modern translators.

²⁶ Sanderson 2003–2004, 363.

²⁷ Sanderson 2007, 433.

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Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

The Poetic and Prosodic Aspect of the Page. Forms and Graphic Artifices of Early Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in a Historical Perspective

Abstract: Rules of page-setting appear, albeit rarely, in Indian inscriptional records dating to the 3rd c. BCE and reappear, even though not regularly, in the earliest (1st BCE – 1st CE) and later Indian Buddhist MSS and their translations into Khotanese, Tibetan, and Chinese. While continuing to be typologically identical, the function of these rules in the economy of the page, and the intellectual practice they reveal may, in some cases, be modified. This paper will focus on the variety of parallel patterns appearing in different historical and geographic contexts. The study of data indicates that at an early epoch religious and intellectuals from peninsular India transmitted the rules and principles governing the Buddhist institution in matters of architecture, religious teaching and monastic rules, chancery practice, etc., to the northwestern regions. At the same time, they might have adopted local use and techniques and introduced new elements in their narrative prose.

The data gleaned from the study of languages, monuments, artistic production, and artefacts of this period show a common cultural pattern in which foreign and local elements co-exist. The contribution of ‘mountain tribes’ (showing a marked ethnic and linguistic diversity) are found along with Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic components conveyed in the region long before. Practices of textual criticism and biblio-economy that were in use among the scribes of Buddhist texts indicate their concern for the aesthetic and intellectual use of the text, as for the systems of classifying the book in the conspectus of a large organized collection for the use of readers. The case of the Gandhāran use of counting the verses (*gāthā*-metrics) appears to stay in between the practice attributed to the Alexandrian school of philology, and attested in Greek and Graeco-Egyptian papyri (stichometric), and the practice adopted in Dunhuang, in the case of Chinese (*jie/song*-metrics) and Tibetan (*bam po*-metrics) translations of Buddhist Indian texts. These practices, as the case may be, preserve part of the original prosody, while the graphic disposition and marks, including blank space indicating the unvoiced tune, appear to the modern reader as if they were beating rhythm, if not time, upon the manuscript page. And all this shows the inseparability of textuality and materiality.

1 Legibility and intelligibility

*akāntir vyāghātaḥ punaruktam apaśabdaḥ samplava iti lekhadoṣāḥ ||
tatra kālapatrakam acāruviṣamavirāgākṣaratvam akāntitaḥ ||*
Arthaśāstra 2.10.57-58¹

Aesthetic concerns in matters of writing are attested quite early in India in the practice of styling official documents, and the lack of accuracy in displaying written texts on lithic supports prompted Aśoka (or his chancery), possibly as a consequence of the famous ‘oddities’ of the Erraguḍi major rock edict (MRE),² to recall some basic principles to be followed by the carvers, expressed in the 14th MRE:

*G. — ayaṃ dhaṃmalipī devānaṃpriyena priyadasinā r(ā)ñā l(e)khāpitā asti eva saṃkhit(e)na asti majhamena asti vistatena³ na ca sarvaṃ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṃ mahālake hi vijitaṃ bahu ca likhitaṃ likhāpayisaṃ ceva asti ca etakaṃ puna puna vutaṃ tasa tasa atthasa mādūrātāya kiṃti jano tathā paṭipajetha tatra ekadā asamāt[a]ṃ likhita[m] asa desaṃ va sacchāya [kā]raṇaṃ va [a]llo-
cetpā lipikāparadhena va.*

This escript [having the force of] *Dharma* has been engraved by order of the King Dear to the Devas, looking [over the world] with kindness. It exists in an abridged, medium and extensive (*vistriteṇa*) length as each clause has not been engraved everywhere. Since the empire is large, much has been engraved and much has yet to be engraved. This has been repeated again and again: for the sweetness [of my escript] will cause the people to regulate their life accordingly. In some places it may be inaccurately engraved, whether by omission of a passage or by lack of attention, or the error of the engraver.⁴

The publication of edicts or official documents and their wide circulation implies that the text was intended to be perfectly legible in order ‘to be known everywhere’ (see *Arthaśāstra* II.10.46d: *deśe ca sarvatra ca veditavyaḥ*). The attention given to the setting up of the text to favour its legibility contributes to the proper conveyance of the meaning, just as the locutory and social *praestatio* of poets and rhetoricians, for instance, expresses the intended meaning and message. Aśoka foresaw that in various

¹ *Arthaśāstra* 2.10.57-58, Kangle 1960, I, 51. ‘The defaults of writing are unattractiveness (*akānti*), contradiction (*vyāghāta*), repetition (*punaruktam*), incorrect use of words (*apaśabda*), and confusion (*samplava*). Among these, unattractiveness consists in [writing the documents on] a black leaf [and styling] graphemes that are unpretty, uneven, and faded’. The translation follows here Kangle 1960, II, 96, and Olivelle 2013, 122, with minor changes.

² See Scherrer-Schaub 2013, 139–170, 147 and n. 28.

³ See *vistriteṇa*, Shāhbāzgarhi MRE XIV, Hultzsck CCI I: 70A, 71.

⁴ See Hultzsck CII I, 25–26, 26; Bloch 1950, 133–134. The translation partially follows Shadakshari Settar 2003, 7.

instances his edict would be heard or learnt, i.e. read, as in the case of the 2nd MRE at Dhauli (Puri district, Orissa):

*iyaṃ ca lipi anucātuṃmāsaṃ tisanakhatena sotaviyā | kāmam cu khanasi khanasi aṃtalā pi tisenā
ekena pi sotaviya | hevaṃ ca kalataṃ tuphe caghatha saṃpaṭipādayitave aṭṭhāya ||*

This escript must be heard (or learnt) [by everyone] on [every day of the constellation] Tīṣya, every four months [or three times a year]. And, at will (*kāmam*), [the escript shall be read on command] and heard (or learnt) by a single person, or on the occasion of the intercalary days between the Tīṣyas. And in so doing, the escript will be enacted.⁵

In the following centuries, the existence of a large corpus of Buddhist manuscripts (MSS) spanning a period of several centuries raised a series of intriguing questions that are still of interest to philologists and historians today. On the one hand, this corpus maps part of the intellectual history of the Asian world, while on the other, it retraces the itinerary of textual transmission.



Fig. 1: Monks reading and commenting in a cenacle. Gandhāra relief attesting various scholarly practices (use of scrolls and gesture of argumentation). Repr. from Taddei 2003, I: 225 and fig. 3. Compare with the scene in Fig. 6.

⁵ See Alsdorf 1962, 5–38, 28 and 38: ‘Und diese Inschrift ist am (ersten) Tīṣya-Tage (jedes Jahresdrittels) (allen Beamten) zu Gehör zu bringen; und auch zwischen den Tīṣya(tagen) ist sie, sooft sich die Gelegenheit ergibt, auch einem Einzelnen zu Gehör zu bringen. Und wenn ihr dies tut, werdet ihr imstande sein, [meine Anweisung] vollkommen auszuführen’. See Hultzsch CII 1, 98 and 100; Bloch 1950 139. The translation here is not as literal (on purpose).

Drawing on collections of Indian and Indic Buddhist manuscripts dating back to around the 1st century BCE to the 8th century CE and which originated in regions that are now part of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Xinjiang and other areas of China, we will now take a look at some cases that represent the most ancient specimens of Indian manuscripts extant to date. The complexity of their page layout will be compared with some of the early manuscripts containing the first translations of Indian and Indic texts into Tibetan (c. beginning of the 8th to the mid-9th century), which were found in the oases of present-day Xinjiang and the Gansu area, particularly Dunhuang. Similar editorial practices are also attested in Chinese MSS from Dunhuang dating back to the period of the Tibetan administration and later (see below, 247 and n. 19).

As will be shown, some rules of page-layout appear – albeit rarely – in inscriptional records dating to the 3rd century BCE and reappear occasionally in early and later manuscripts dating to the period under consideration here. While continuing to be typologically identical, the function of these rules in the economy of the page and the intellectual practice that they reveal may change in some cases. In this article, the reader’s attention will be drawn to the variety of parallel patterns appearing in different historical and geographic contexts rather than focusing upon the origin (and even less the archetype) of a particular social, cultural, intellectual or religious practice. Taking the process into account in its multifarious aspects is only normal since, as so often noted,⁶ Buddhism in India has found itself in a dynamic state of continuous adjustment to various languages, scripts, political and cultural contexts, or social transactions from its very beginnings.

1.1 Questioning the economy of the page in light of intellectual practice

In the majority of the early inscriptional records and manuscripts, the text invades the writing surface or page in a sober, minimalistic way. The graphemes follow, one after the other, with few or no interruptions (*scriptio continua*),⁷ they creep unobserved into the lines, and the peculiarity of the text is its ability to be

⁶ The present author has been addressing this topic in various ways; see, for instance, Scherrer-Schaub 2009a. The best illustration of the process is given in the citation on p. 151, drawn from *Philosophie zoologique, Influence des circonstances sur les actions des animaux* by Jean-Baptiste de Monet, Chevalier de Lamarck – an inexhaustible source of inspiring models for philologists.

⁷ Incidentally, the fact that ‘some’ early MSS attest this practice does by no means claim that the *scriptio continua* is a marker of antiquity. See Eva Wilden’s contribution to this volume.

‘indistinct’. The intellectual life concealed in it must be conjectured upon: either the text was merely written down to be preserved – a simple and simplistic hypothesis – or it was destined to be read in a cenacle, a fact well confirmed, presumably in a loud and clear voice, obeying the various rules of enunciation, the scansion of the verse, a long-established Indian practice, substitute for critical or lectional signs.⁸ In this case, the recitation evicts/overcomes indistinguishability (see below p. 267), the surface/page is activated and the text acquires multi-dimensionality, revealing the actors participating in the process.

Early examples exist in which lectional signs have been introduced, albeit not always with clear criteria, at least in the contemporary reader’s view. In his study on the Gāndhāri MSS of the *Anavataptagāthā*, Richard Salomon draws attention to the fact that the punctuation in this text, as in many other Gāndhāri texts and indeed in Indic manuscripts generally, can be characterised as ‘casual’ or even ‘haphazard’.⁹ As this may well be the case, one cannot ignore the fact that at least occasionally, particularly in the case of epigraphs, it could possibly conceal a specific mode of reading or reciting on the part of the person who dictated the original text, eventually copied by the lapicide. It could also reflect specific social performances, such as the public declamation of the epigraph at special days of the year, or the reading aloud of the scroll, in cenacles, as mentioned above (Fig. 1). The fact that texts were ‘activated’ in specific circumstances is attested in literary documents. Besides mentioning the presumed existence of a chancery practice, the epigraph of the Sārnāth’s version of the so-called ‘Schism Edict’ addressed to the Saṃgha by Aśoka (Hultzsch CII I, 161–164) foresaw that a copy of the present written (act) (*ikkhā lipī*) would be deposited in the religious assembly hall (*saṃsalana*) and further prescribes the ‘re-enacting’ of the royal order (*sāsana*) on specific religious days. Finally, it orders the edict to be made known to people and circulated everywhere, including ‘all fortress districts/citadels’ (*savvesu koṭṭaviṣavesu*).¹⁰

8 See Gumbert 1989, 111–112: ‘Ce n’est qu’en lisant – à haute voix de préférence – que le sens et la structure du texte apparaissent; il n’y a aucun emploi d’un arrangement spatial pour clarifier la structure, les signes auxiliaires sont absents (ou peut s’en faut), il n’y a pas de différences entre les lettres, de ‘distinctions’, pour marquer des différences de fonction; seulement, dans les textes poétiques les lignes sont en général découpées pour correspondre à la structure métrique du texte’.

9 See plate 17, for instance, with examples of the use of a small and large circle in Salomon 2008, and idem 98, with contributions by Andrew Glass.

10 The interpretation of this text is not easy, and the general tenor suggested here is merely conjectural, mainly inspired by the diplomatic reading of what we may define as the *prescriptio* of this specific public act. See Bloch 1950, 152. Jules Bloch, possibly inspired by Arthur Venis (1908,

In the early Buddhist MSS, we see that some of the oldest MSS, besides displaying lectional (and even critical) signs, employ space according to specific rules. This is the case for the Gāndhārī version of the ‘Rhinoceros Horn Sūtra’ (**Khargaviṣaṇa-sūtra*, Khvs-G), whose MS is preserved at the British Library. In his seminal work, Richard Salomon gives a detailed description of the scroll (2000, 23–25), which he dates to the 1st century CE. Among other things, it includes punctuation marks, verse-line disposition and the presence of paratexts, such as the *uddāna*, or table of contents. One peculiarity of this type of MS, to which we will return later (see below p. 249 and 263), is pointed out by Salomon (2000, 25 and 116):

[T]he first verse line was laid out differently from the others, without spacing between the quarters, and it was put in the upper margin, separated from the following lines by a larger space (0.5–0.6 cm) than between the other lines. The special arrangement of the first line was presumably intended for decorative purpose and perhaps also to set it off as ‘title line’. The *uddāna* lines are also laid out differently from those of the text proper, with small dots serving as punctuation signs between each verse citation but without spaces between quarters, as in the first verse of the text.¹¹

Salomon notes that the Khvs-G MS presents another distinguishing characteristic (pertaining to codicology *stricto sensu*, for the purpose of conservation), which the MS shares with other scrolls such as the Khotanese *Dharmapada*, namely,

[T]he margins of the Khvs-G were apparently sewn along their entire lengths, although the only surviving traces of this are in the right margin next to *uddāna* lines 1 and 2, where three [thread holes are still visible (2000)]. Although this binding was presumably intended to

1–7), translated the word *saṃsalana* as ‘salle de réunion’, something that, hypothetically, may evoke Sanskrit **saṃ*[*gīti*?]-*śālā*. Note, however, that D. C. Sircar, following Senart quoted by Hultsch (CII I, 163, n. 5), reads *saṃsaraṇa* and translates it as ‘house or road’. The later Mahāvīyutpatti renders the Sanskrit terms *maṇḍapa* and *sabhāmaṇḍapa* with the Tibetan equivalents ‘*dun mkhañ* and *mdun khañ*, which may be translated as ‘assembly hall’. Sircar again takes *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (‘main hall in a shrine’, ‘hall in front of a shrine’) as a synonym for *raṅgamaṇḍapa* (‘inner hall of a temple’; same as Tamil *tiruv-araṅgu*); Sircar IEG 276. Sircar IE 99, in the footsteps of Émile Senart (The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik EI VIII: 82ff), who translated the word *phalakavāra* appearing in a Nasik inscription dating to the 2nd century (Tsukamoto III Nasik 12), suggests the word should be interpreted as ‘store-room of original grants in a king’s Akṣapaṭala’. The practice of depositing the copy of charters in specific ‘archives’ is attested in early Tibetan inscriptions; see Scherrer-Schaub 2003, 265 and n. 10.

11 A similar use of graphic artifice to enhance the item by putting it into the upper margin is attested, albeit in a literary different context, in Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts, see below p. 267 and n. 69. On the *uddāna*, see Salomon 2000, 33–37.

prevent the separation of the scroll into horizontal fragments (Salomon 1999, 94); it does not seem to have succeeded in this purpose in the case of the Khvs-G.¹²

More elaborate punctuation marks may also be introduced, not as much to give emphasis to the text itself, but to locate its position in a collection. An interesting 5th-century compendium of *mahāyānasūtras* (Schøyen Collection MS 2378/1) in poṭhī format on palm leaf,¹³ which reveals the existence of a system of foliation in the left-hand margin of the recto where the margins have been preserved, presents two elaborate marks besides the usual punctuation marks (simple and double *daṇḍa*): a circle with an inscribed four-petalled (?) flower at the end of the text, and again, after the explicit, a larger circle with an inscribed multi-petalled (?) flower,¹⁴ followed by what appears to be a flourish by way of a paraph.

[...] *te sarve bhagavato bhāṣitam abhinandeti* || ☉
samāpta(m) śrīmālādevīsīṃha[nāda]nirde[śa] ○ (*sūtram*) | *e](kāyāna)m [ma](h) [opā](ya)-*
vaitulye abhijñā[tam] śrī[mā]lā[sūtra]m etat || ☉ || ☒
 (Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādanirdeśa, fol. 392r, 3–4)¹⁵

12 Salomon 2000, 23–26, 25; and 1999, 94–96. Baums (2014, 200) mentions that ‘two of the BC scrolls (long-format BC 3 and short-format BC 5) do not feature margin threads, but have ink lines down the margins where a thread would have run’ and quotes Ingo Strauch, who noticed that ‘the margins’ threads had come to be perceived as an integral part of text layout’ (see Strauch 2008, 103–136, 107). See Fig. 9a, below 268, where the number of *gāthās* is followed by a series of signs that recall the diplomatic practice of ‘document closure’, granting security and avoiding alteration. If this is the case, it would give probability to the idea that the *gāthā* metric may in some cases hint at more ‘mundane transactions’; see 271 and n. 75–76. MS C equally shows the use of lectional signs, such as the small circle marking the beginning of the verse-line. Finally, the presence of sewn margins, here as elsewhere, functions as a borderline to mark the mirror page, indicating to the scribe that he must avoid writing into the margins of the scroll itself. This indication may be compared with the hatching lines that encircle the knot-hole of the birch-bark strip, which the scribe should avoid. On a document’s closure, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002, 269.

13 The compendium is ‘consistently written in a variant of the North Western Gupta Book Script, which can be dated to the 5th c. on paleographical grounds’; see Sander 2000, 64, and facsimile IV.

14 The circle with inscribed petalled or multi-petalled flowers and other punctuation marks evoke the figures of some *bractea*e in precious metal, generally gold, inlaid with semi-precious stones that circulated in Afghanistan and were found in very rich tomb deposits at Tillia tepe (1st c. CE): see Cambon 2006–30 avril 2007, 164–213, catalogue no. 36–145, 82, 90.

15 See Śrīmālādevīsīṃhanādanirdeśa (= SC 2378/1/3, SC 2379/3/2b) Kazunobo Matsuda BM I, 2000, 65–76, 67, and facsimile III.2.



Fig. 2a: Example of *siddham*-monogram on a copper plate, dated to c. 5th century, Schøyen Coll. (MS 2851); see L. Sander BM II 337–349. Copper plate, dated c. 5th cent. Repr. from Jens Braarvig and Fredrik Liland (eds) 2010, 86.

Besides lectional signs, traditional auspicious symbols (*maṅgala*) appear with various levels of functionality (punctuation, ornamentation, protection, and so on). The famous *siddham*,¹⁶ which is not included among the standard *maṅgalas*, although it may be taken as a sign of auspiciousness,¹⁷ appears as an incipit and is frequently attested in early inscriptions. During the Gupta Era, the *verbatim siddham* began to be replaced by (but initially co-existed with) a symbolic sign, the *siddham*-monogram' (Fig. 2a).

The movable 'ye dharmā' copper-plate inscription (Schøyen collection MS 2851) published by Lore Sander (BM II 2002, 340 and plate XVIII) shows that the symbolic sign, or 'Ganeśa's curl', replaced the auspicious *siddham* in some cases. The copper-plate's script is written in 'a North-eastern Indian Gupta type which flourished between the 4th and the 6th centuries'. This sign is less easy to retrace

¹⁶ Compare with the Chrismon/XP used as a symbolic invocation at the beginning of European mediaeval charters (like the cross was as well); see Guyotjeannin et al. 1993, 72.

¹⁷ See Sircar IE: 92, n. 4, 94–97, 127 and n. 3 and 4 quoting Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on the first *vārttika* (*siddhe śabdārtha sambandhe*) of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, saying 'that Kātyāyana employs the word *siddha* at the very outset for the auspicious completion of his scientific treatise'. The *siddham* is placed at the beginning of a text to ensure success, and may be replaced by the *siddham*-monogram or curl-like sign. See Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 17–19.



Fig. 2b: Sample of illustrated MS (SI P/11-1), from *The Lotus Sutra and Its World. Buddhist Manuscripts of the Great Silk Road. Manuscripts and Blockprints from the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg, 1998, 12.2, 35*, ‘Sanskrit MS of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra, end of chapter 5 to beginning of chapter 6’. Assumed to have been copied in Khotan, q.v.

in early fragmentary MSS, partly because these are frequently broken in the upper part of the folio where the text begins. It is found together with the *verbatim* ‘*siddham*’ at the beginning of the *Pravaraṇasūtra* in the compendium of *mahāyāna-sūtras* just mentioned, for instance. Incidentally, the curl-like symbol became an important marker in the typology of Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts. It also appears in a Chinese MS (P 2247, archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr)¹⁸, with interlinear annotations in Tibetan that may have been made by pupils of the monk Facheng/Chos grub, who is likely to have been teaching in Chinese and Tibetan, languages that he mastered equally well. Two MSS of this kind bear the title *Yuqie lun shouji* (‘Notes on the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*’) and *Yuqie shidi lun fenmen ji* (‘Notes [dealing with] the doctrinal categories of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*’), dating to the period of the Tibetan administration of Dunhuang (781–848).¹⁹

The page of the Indian and Indic MSS became richer progressively, though not necessarily from a diachronic perspective and not consistently either, gaining a set of marks, illustrations (Fig. 2b), and commentarial and editorial notes. In short, the practice evolves, showing that the manuscripts are possibly now used in a slightly different context, where they circulate among a larger community of scholars and possibly are part of a more or less structured corpus²⁰; it becomes both the instru-

¹⁸ Available online at: http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=945930659;bst=1;recnum=59328;index=1;img=1.

¹⁹ Moretti 2014a, 255–263, 255 and 260. Lectional signs are reproduced on p. 260 (Figs. 4, 5, 6); the sign in the middle (Fig. 5) may be seen as a variant of the *siddham*-monogram, in this case with a slightly different function.

²⁰ Whenever this is the case, it may be useful to distinguish between ‘signs’ that reveal a particular intellectual practice (lectional signs, punctuation, text divisions, subsidiary texts, comments, etc.)

ment and the mirror of learned intellectual life. In some cases, such as in early Tibetan translations kept in Dunhuang, the sole trace of its initial sobriety is the uniformity of the script, which does not employ capital letters (although tentative scrawls may be seen in the collection of Dunhuang Tibetan MSS): the MS keeps the art of ornamentation for the opening sign or curl-like symbol, the margins, the illustrations, the signs of punctuation, and later on to embellish the traditional string-holes appearing in the *poṭhī*-format MSS.²¹

The fact that one finds specimens among early Buddhist MSS that display the text according to specific forms and rules or introduce lectional signs or paratexts (i.e. rubrics, titles, etc., as well as longer texts such as lists of verses, chapters, tables of contents or indexes raisonnés) refers the reader to the peculiar use of the text and is evidence of the high intellectual standard of its users. It thus invites us to question some aspects of the historical and cultural factors that might have contributed to the subsequent encounters that Indian Buddhists had with the regions of North-western India.

2 Early Buddhist manuscripts in their historical context

While the earliest Buddhist MSS known to date originate from the present-day regions of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkestan and Xinjiang, it cannot simply be affirmed that Buddhist texts did not exist in written form in the same epoch in Central India or in Śrī Laṅka; what may be said, however, is that while the conditions of their effective production are certainly present, we nonetheless lack tangible evidence of it. It is interesting to investigate the composite hallmark of the cultural milieu of the north-western regions where these Buddhist texts were written or copied, studied and/or commented on, and to look at the question of how the refined philological practice behind the use of lectional and critical signs²², of subsidiary

and 'signs' that are to be studied in the framework of biblio-economy, such as the system of pagination, marginal titles, the measurement of text by means of fixed or average specific units, etc. — though, in some cases, the marker may admittedly refer to both practices. Lectional signs, and embellished punctuation marks may be followed from Gandhāra to Dunhuang/Tibetan manuscripts; see Baums 2009, pl. 21, and cf. IO 129 and 728 (<http://idp.bl.uk>) showing *zig-zag śads* with 'petalled 'head'.

²¹ See Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 17–19, and plate V; Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002, 191–193.

²² See the Greek terminology given in Pfeiffer 1968, 310 s.v.: ἀντίσημα, ἀστερίκος, διπλῆ, ὀβελός, σίγμα.

texts, entered cenobitic life, so to speak, and the conditions in which this practice flourished in these regions.

The inquiry benefits largely from the work of Richard Salomon and other scholars who have brought textual, epigraphical, artistic, and architectural documents to light over the last few decades or have directed their investigations at the historical and linguistic conditions of the introduction of the written word in the Indian sphere in general. The intent of the present author is very restricted in scope and concerns the layout of the manuscript page as a conveyor of textual meaning and the disclosure of the history of Indian/Indic philological and intellectual practices.

Let us start in the present-day regions of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Uzbekistan in the centuries around the beginning of the Common Era (1st century BCE – 1st century CE), when Buddhist MSS were possibly circulating in Buddhist monastic communities temporarily or permanently residing in religious centres where artistic production, in the form of reliquaries and other monuments, was flourishing under the Indo-Scythian and Śaka dynasties of Apraca and Oḍi-rāja, who were supporting the Buddhist institution to various degrees, and also in light of the fact that, as archaeology and epigraphy tell us, Buddhist sites already existed in these regions prior to this period.²³

The ‘Rhinoceros Horn Sūtra’ (Khvs-G) (see p. 244) stands out as one of the oldest specimens of MSS with a scroll format. Despite its antiquity, it displays a relatively rich layout and at the same time its physical appearance shows that the text was handled considerably (Salomon 2000, 23). Although its provenance is uncertain, according to Salomon (2000, xii)

there are strong indications that [it] came from one of the sites in or around Haḍḍa in the Jalalabad Plain of eastern Afghanistan, just west of the Khyber Pass.

The MS, which may be dated to the 1st century BCE – 1st century CE, reveals a refined learned intellectual milieu in which a plurality of cultures co-existed. Like the majority of the early MSS, it is written on strips of birch bark that are glued together to form a roll.²⁴ The disposition of the strips in the roll, as noted by Salomon (1999, 87),

²³ There is, of course, an important bibliography on the history of these regions. Close to the present topic, see Salomon 1999, 2–13, 180–182; and 2007; Callieri 2007; Faccenna 2007; Neelis 2007.

²⁴ In this case, the pieces of bark have the same function as *kollema*. In papyrology, the term *kollema* designates the individual folios or pages that, when glued together, composed the Greek roll, a practice which is attested in one of the earliest extant Greek papyri, the P.Derveni, dating to the 5th–4th c. BCE, and continues in the Hellenistic and Roman period. As is well known, the imprint of a Greek papyrus was found at Aī Khanoum (see pp. 255–257), and the practice of gluing together the standard folia that constitute the rolls, attested in China, may be equally observed in the Tibetan

attests the local / Gandhāran practice of reading the ‘book’²⁵ by unrolling the scroll vertically (as was the case for some of the Tibetan scrolls of Dunhuang), contrary to Greek papyri (or Chinese scrolls), which were unrolled horizontally.

In a recent and very informative article, Stefan Baums retraces the origin of the Gandhāran ‘scroll-type’ and returns to the practice of unrolling a scroll vertically, which he associates with the Aramaic tradition in an Achaemenid context. After carefully considering the peculiar physical characteristic of the documents, he concludes:

In view of this long list of detailed arguments in the way that short-format documents were prepared, inscribed and used in the Achaemenid empire and in early Gandhāra, and on the historical background of the Achaemenid administration of Gandhāra at the time when the Aramaic script was first adopted to the writing of the Gandhāran language, I therefore suggest that Aramaic manuscript formats and scribal habits as practised in the Achaemenid empire likewise formed the starting point for the Gandhāran manuscript tradition.²⁶

The question arises as to the actual historical and cultural context and conditions in which Gandhāran Buddhism originated. It is noteworthy that, in the first part of the 1st century CE, at the time when possibly the Khvs-G and the earliest Buddhist MSS were circulating, the Buddhist communities that existed in the regional Indo-Scythian and Śaka kingdoms were not beginners. This may be inferred from various sources, for instance from the highly developed and complex Buddhist phraseology

rolls of Dunhuang. Again, this does not mean that I subscribe to the idea of a linear and chronologically successive transmission of this MS format, but rather that the scroll is one of the oldest types of writing materials and that the practice – with unavoidable local variances, particularly with regard to the material used – was shared by cultures across a very large area of the ancient and medieval world.

25 For the sake of convenience, we shall use the term ‘book’ to designate that bibliothetic unit consisting of intellectual content (i.e. a text) and a material support with specific codicological format’s characteristics (roll, *poṭhī*, etc.). The terminology fluctuates according to the epoch and/or the context, and this is more or less universal in all cultures. One example in the Gandhāran context may be seen in the use of the term *pustaka*, which may also, self-referentially, designate a book written in roll-format. See Salomon 1999, 87: ‘All of the fragmentary manuscripts in the new collection are in the form of scrolls composed of strips of birch bark. From the fragmentary colophon in fragment 3B and from the verse written at the top of the KDhP scroll [...], we know that these scrolls were referred to as *postaka* or *postaga*, an Iranian loanword which appears in Sanskrit as *pustaka*, “book”’.

26 See Baums 2014, 218 and 220, where Baums distinguishes ‘three cycles of the introduction and adaptation of manuscripts traditions in Gandhāra and surrounding areas’, with the first cycle starting in the 6th c. BCE. See also the detailed description of Gandhāran rolls in Salomon 1999, 87–109; see Baums 2014, 192–199.

that appears in the (roughly) contemporary inscription of Senavarma.²⁷ Moreover, and via the links these petty kings had with the Śaka of Gandhāra, especially Taxila, the local Buddhists were in contact with their religious fellows in Mathurā.²⁸ Further elements come to compose the cluster of data that concerns Buddhism during the last part of the 1st century BCE and the first part of the 1st century CE. To illustrate the Indian presence in the region at this time, the new disposition of the Buddhist area at Butkara I may be mentioned as an example. Domenico Faccenna noted that this new disposition

transformed and adapted the new features to the peculiarly Indian monuments, namely the *vihāra* and, in particular, the *stūpa* with its *vedikā*.²⁹

This seems to indicate that, at that time, religious and intellectuals from peninsular India were transmitting to the north-western regions the rules and principles governing the Buddhist institution in matters of architecture, religious teaching and monastic rules, chancery practice,³⁰ etc., while, at the same time, they were possibly able to adopt local uses and techniques, for instance in the matter of writing implements and practices, and they were equally able to introduce local elements in their narrative prose. The art of composing literary texts was completely their own, however. This is amply demonstrated by the existence of the oldest Buddhist manuscripts in these regions, copied or put down in writing by local scribes.

As previously noted, the conditions for writing down the *buddhavacana* were theoretically present at the time of Aśoka since, as we have seen, Mauryan chancery practice made provision for a copy or the original of the edict written on stone to be deposited in the archives. We do not know whether the text was written on cloth or on any other support, but the fact remains that we have a testimony of the use of writing in the 3rd century BCE here. One century later or so, the monuments at Bharhut bear evidence of short legends recalling the Buddhist texts that were possibly recited to pilgrims and other visitors to the monastic site. Finally, and interestingly enough, both the Ceylonese Chronicles and the extant early Gandhāran MSS converge in assigning the writing down of the *buddhavacana* to the 1st century BCE,³¹ although we are tempted to think – following a narrative considered legendary up to now – that

²⁷ See Scherrer-Schaub (in press). Other inscriptions of this period are evidencing the fact; see Scherrer-Schaub 2016.

²⁸ See Neelis 2011, 121–123 and notes.

²⁹ Faccenna 2007, 170.

³⁰ See the earliest donative acts attested in inscriptions, for example.

³¹ For a Ceylonese conspectus, see von Hinüber 1990 (XIII), 63–66. On pre-Mauryan evidence, see Salomon 1998, 12 and notes.

the writing down of Buddhist texts, albeit on a reduced scale, may well have commenced in Mathurā sometime earlier. To return to the codicological investigation, we may note that while the palaeography of ancient Buddhist MSS is relatively well established on a sound basis, the systematic study of the layout, of the critical (σημεία) and lectional signs (accentuation, punctuation) and of the art of displaying the commentary – in short, of the various forms activating the text in their cultural and historical perspective – is less studied.

2.1 The disposition of text on a surface

In his inspiring *Footprints of Artisans in History. Some Reflections on Early Artisans of India*, Shadakshari Settar mentions the fact that the inscription in the minor rock edict of Aśoka at Brahmagiri (Chitradurga Dist. Karnataka, Hultzsch CII I, 175–178) ends with the word *lipikareṇa* written in Kharoṣṭhī from right to left. The same happens with the Siddhāpura and Jatiṅga Rāmeśvara minor rock edicts, both also located in the Chitradurga District. Settar (2003, 24–26) finely points out a series of so far unnoticed consequences of the Brahmagiri inscription, as the use of ‘Prākṛt language and Brāhmī script among the regional elite’, while Chapaḍa the carver uses the term *isila* (meaning a fortified town) in the three inscriptions, which is ‘a proto-Kannaḍa term probably derived from the Draviḍian root *iyal*, meaning “arrow shot”’.

Most interestingly, Settar (2003, 29–33, 32–33) notes that Chapaḍa was not only a skilled artisan, but also a fine ‘philologist’, who improved his skill in the course of carving the three minor edicts, producing ‘his best at Brahmagiri’. Besides making corrections and additions, Chapaḍa achieved a degree of perfection in setting the surface layout of the inscription.

First he carefully chose a massive boulder at the north-west base of this hill, which opened up a near-even surface of about sixteen feet in width and twelve feet in height, and composed this edict, balancing both its horizontality and verticality. This enabled him to gain better edges to the frame, sharper alignment of left-margin, greater uniformity in spacing letters and lines, and better configuration of characters. In just twelve and half lines he covered the entire text as against twenty two he had taken at the earlier two centres. Though he followed Siddhāpura version in general, he had rewritten the text for the third time, incorporating some more changes in its vocabulary, shuffling some sentences here and there (I, N-Q occurring in ll. 5, 9–12) and making expressions shorter and sharper. He corrects the opening sentence by restoring the three words before *vataṅgiyā*, opens the second adding few more words (*se hevaṃ Devāṅgaṃ piye ...*) and even goes to the extent of exhibiting the sophistication he had attained by playing with the verbs such as *hēvaṃ āha*, with *āṅgapayati*, *sāvite* with *sāvāpīte* and such others.

This tells us that at least some of the artisans who carved the Mauryan inscriptions in the north-western regions³² were itinerants, and the same may apply to their artisan fellows of peninsular India who were migrating or travelling in the opposite direction.³³ It equally tells us that the aesthetic concern that Chapaḍa demonstrates was possibly shared at large among those who were, like him, writing in Brāhmī. In this way, the case of Chapaḍa, who – we can assume for several reasons that would take us too far³⁴ – could also write in Kharoṣṭhī, leads us, once again, to the complexity of factors that should be taken into account when considering the intellectual, social and cultural practices in a historical perspective.

To return to the early Buddhist MSS mentioned before, and in the absence of tangible evidence of extant Buddhist MSS from peninsular India at such an early date (1st century BCE – 1st century CE), the question arises as to the possible role of local or itinerant scribes,³⁵ who may have contributed to transmitting their technique to migrants or natives Buddhist religious or lay masters. It is a well-known fact that a cluster of data gleaned from the study of languages, monuments, artistic production and artefacts of this period converge towards a common cultural pattern sharing a long distance and local elements that do not only refer to the ‘mountain tribes’ (showing a marked ethnic and linguistic diversity), but also to Indian, Iranian, and Hellenistic components conveyed in the region – long before, at times. Moreover, even though this has been said frequently, it should be stressed once again that Taxila, the capital city of

32 Settar (2003, 10) calls ‘Kharoshthis’, named ‘after Kshatrpa Kharahostes’, the artisans who were ‘more adventurous and more dynamic than the rest of the artisans of this time’ and who were ‘a displaced Iranian community, hungering for fresh outlets after the fall of the Achaemenid empire’ and who ‘had become as fluent in Kharoshṭī letters as in Prakṛt language’. Settar advances the hypothesis that Chapaḍa could have been a native of Karnataka ‘born in a family of migrants’; see 2003, 25.

33 See the *avadāna* staging the history of the artisan of North-west India, a wood-carver, inviting a skilled painter from South India. See Scherrer-Schaub 2009b, 32 and n. 18. Some unpredictable and uncontrollable factors have caused some distortions to the expectable presentation of Scherrer-Schaub 2009b that the magnanimous reader will no doubt excuse.

34 Some centuries later, the ‘Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī textual tradition was not, as it might once have appeared, an isolated and ephemeral provincial phenomenon, but rather was well entrenched, widely used, and highly influential over a vast area of south and central Asia’ (Salomon 1999, 137).

35 Salomon (1999, sections 6.6 and 6.7) noticed intrusions in inscriptions and early MSS, betraying local vocabulary (Dardic, etc.) and scribal habits. He further adds (1999, 136): ‘Since it can be assumed that our scribes learned to write through some formal training process, the preferences they show for particular orthographical alternatives presumably reflect those of their teachers. Thus, there must have been, in some form or other, different traditions of ways to write Gāndhārī’. We would add that their teachers might have been teaching to them in faraway places or might have come to the region from far away. Or they may even have learnt from MSS imported from distant countries and circulating in the region.

Gandhāra, was an important cultural centre frequented by Indian scholars, and that some of them, like Pāṇiṇi (4th cent. BCE), were native of the region.

That the north-western (and southern regions) were connected with Egypt and Alexandria is an equally well ascertained fact supported by the 13th MRE of Aśoka, where Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285–246 BCE) is mentioned together with four Hellenistic kings who maintained diplomatic relations with the Mauryan empire. Ptolemy II Philadelphus is the king who ‘excavated a canal connecting the Nile to the Red Sea and hence to the Indian ocean’.³⁶ He is also the king who majestically staged a *Pompa Bacchica*, on the occasion of which one could see ‘a cart representing the return of Dionysus [the evanescent ambassador of the Egyptian king] from India, with elephants, parrots, peacocks, Indian dogs and oxen, and some real Indians. Columns surrounding a dining salon were made of Indian marble.’³⁷

Without going into the fascinating history of the close relationship between India and Egypt following the campaign of Alexander the Great, it is worth mentioning here that Ptolemy II Philadelphus (although well known, it is certainly useful to recall that the Ptolemies were Macedonians!) instituted the Museum/Mouseion, the cultural and religious centre of Alexandria, and initiated a series of intellectual enterprises that were momentous for the dawn of Alexandrian philology, whose influence traversed the following centuries and is still perceptible nowadays.

In discussing a relief found in the Buddhist Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swāt, West Pakistan), Maurizio Taddei mentions the case of the statuettes and representation of Harpocrates that were found at Begram and Sirkap, dated ‘by Marshall to the 1st c. AD’.³⁸ Noting that the Harpocrates of Sirkap ‘seems to be a product of Alexandrian craftsmanship of the 1st c. AD’, Maurizio Taddei adds that the ‘reliefs from Swāt only provide us with a further confirmation of the close links relating Gandhāra to Alexandria’. Taking a step further, he stresses the following point:

If all these elements point toward a transference of cultural motifs from Egypt to Gandhāra, on the other hand one should not disregard the possibility that sometimes the same route was followed in a backward direction, as it seems to be the case with a figurine of Harpocrates seated in the “Buddha style” on a lotus flower,

examples of which are preserved in the Museum of Alexandria, among other places (Figs 3a, b, c).

³⁶ See Brancaccio 2007, 387 and n. 9.

³⁷ Karttunen 1997, 330 and n. 48.

³⁸ See Taddei 2003, 135 and n. 7, 136 and n. 15.



Fig. 3a: Harpocrates from Begram. Kabul Museum, Francine Tissot *Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan 1931-1985*. Paris, Unesco Publishing, 2006, 283, K.p. Beg. 712.452 (ex n° 153), bronze cast solid. Reproduced from Taddei 2003, I: 134–135 and Fig. 5.

Fig. 3b: Harpocrates from Hadra. Repr. from Breccia 1930, 55, no. 257 and Tav. XVI, 1. Height: 8.3 cm.

Further cultural links with Hellenistic Egypt closely connected with our concern are attested at Ai Khanoum on the bank of the River Oxus in Hellenistic Bactria (in present-day Afghanistan). In room 107 of the royal palace, which may have hosted the library, the exceptional discovery of the impression left on a lump of fine loam by some fragments of papyrus and two parchments of literary Greek

texts – a philosophical dialogue and a piece of drama, either a comedy or a tragedy³⁹ – help to confirm the intellectual ‘vivacity’ of the far provinces of the Hellenistic world in the 3rd century BCE. The philosophical fragment⁴⁰ that Cavallo dates to the mid-3rd century BCE is thus contemporary to Aśoka, Ptolemy II Philadelphus and to the library annexed to the Museum, instituted at Alexandria.



Fig. 3c: Harpocrates from Ibrahimieh, seated on a lotus. Repr. from Breccia 1930, 55, no. 265 and Tav. XVII, 6. Height: 8 cm.

³⁹ See Cavallo/Hadot/Rapin 1987, 244–249 and 256–257. According to the palaeographical study, Cavallo (236–237) dates the philosophical fragment to the mid-3rd century BCE and puts the fragment in the context of the Greek-Egyptian papyri and scripts.

⁴⁰ On the philosophical resonance between the Ai Khanoum fragment and the Indian philosophical conspectus of the time, see Scherrer-Schaub 2014, 167–171, and Scherrer-Schaub (forthcoming).

In her very ‘dotta’ analysis of this piece, Margherita Isnardi-Parente suggests with caution that we are possibly confronted here with a dialogue written by Aristotle in his youth, slightly Platonizing, and whose content could be added to the very fragile and hypothetical pieces of evidence that lead us to the lost doctrine of Xenocrates (339–314 BCE).⁴¹ We have also long known that those who were reading in Greek at Ai Khanoum (whether or not this was their mother tongue) were most likely in contact with Indians who were passing through or had migrated into the region (not necessarily all Buddhists).⁴² Naturally, the bibliography on this subject does not end here – in fact, it is amazingly vast. One element, however, may be of interest in helping us repaint the context: the discovery of ink-pots dating to the turn of the Common Era (1st century BCE–1st century CE) that were found at Ai Khanoum, Begram and Taxila (Scherrer-Schaub 2009b, fig. 5.4), which patently shows that these writing tools used by the scribes of early Buddhist MSS were possibly once imported from the Hellenistic world and eventually manufactured in the region by artisans skilled in the technique. It is worthwhile to read the description provided by Paul Bernard here, which has rarely been taken into consideration so far:

Le dernier objet que je tiens à vous présenter est un petit récipient de bronze en forme de copule, fermé sur le dessus par une plaque horizontale percée d’un trou central (fig. 21). À l’intérieur est adapté à ce trou un petit godet en plomb. Une anse verticale mobile permettait de porter le récipient. Nous avons là un encrier qui se rattache directement à un type d’encrier grec caractérisé par la présence d’un petit godet destiné à recevoir l’encre, fixé à l’intérieur d’un récipient plus grand, de forme variable, cylindrique ou à flancs arrondis. Les exemplaires les plus proches du nôtre par la forme sont ceux qui ont été recueillis dans la fouille de Délos. Des encriers analogues ont également été découverts à Bégram et à Taxila, où les couches du 1^{er} siècle av. J.-C. et du 1^{er} siècle ap. J. C. en ont livré une riche série. Ce modeste objet éclaire d’une vive lueur la très large pénétration de la culture grecque dans toute l’Asie centrale à partir de la Bactriane hellénisée, puisqu’il fut imitée par l’artisanat local d’une des grandes capitales du Nord-Ouest de l’Inde et que le sanskrit a emprunté au grec le nom de l’encre (*melā*) et celui de la plume (*kalama*).⁴³

41 Isnardi-Parente (1992, 188), remarks: ‘La conclusione di questo discorso non oltrepassa i limiti dell’ipotesi. Avanzo la congettura che ci troviamo di fronte a un frammento di dialogo giovanile platonizzante – ma nella forma più che nella sostanza – di Aristotele, dialogo che potrebbe essere identificato con il Zophistés; e che quanto vi è contenuto possa andare ad aggiungersi alle diverse, pur fragili e ipotetiche testimonianze che ci conducono sulle tracce della perduta dottrina di Senocrate’. Recently Ivanoe Privitera (2011, 132), while rejecting the hypothesis that Isnardi-Parente had advanced extremely cautiously, suggests, ‘rather speculatively’ as he says, that the fragment could ‘also be, for example, Heraclides Ponticus *Peri eidōn*’.

42 But they could equally see Indian artefacts at Ai Khanoum where Eucratides possibly ‘stored the booty from his expeditions in India’ in the royal treasury. See Rapin 1995, 277.

43 Bernard 1978, 462–463.

Almost a century later, Nāgārjuna (1st to 2nd century CE) mentions the writing practice in his *Ratnāvalī* and recommends the king to diffuse/donate the *buddhava-cana*, together with the writing material, book (*pustaka, glegs bam*), ink (*maṣī, snag tsha*) and wooden pen (*lekhanī, smyu gu*). And in order for knowledge to be accrued, says the Mādhyamika Master, the king should build a school or a hall for writing (*lipiśālā*).⁴⁴

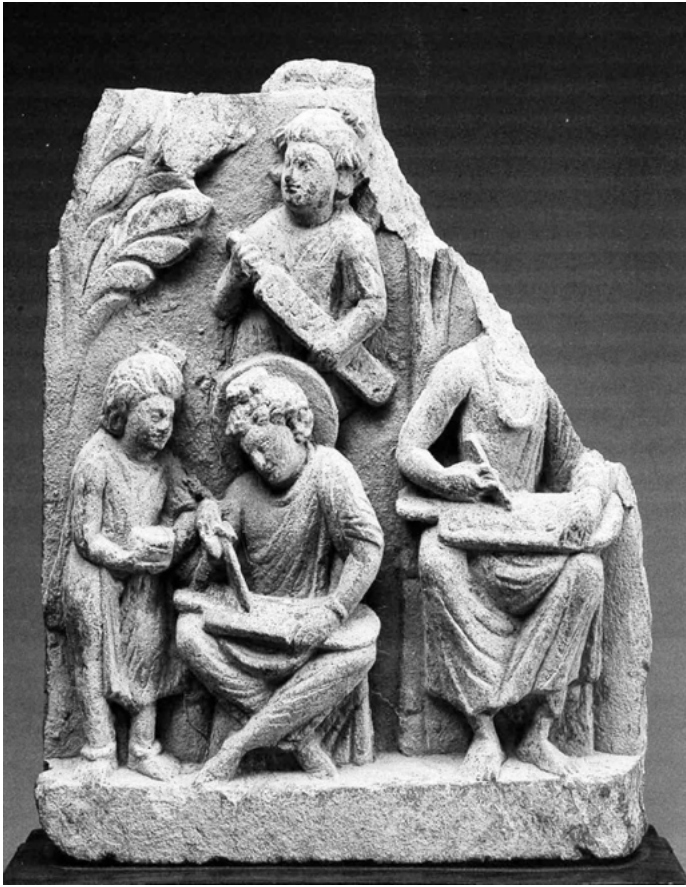


Fig. 4: Lipiśālā. Relief fragment (Gandhāra) 2nd–3rd c. CE, 25 × 22 cm, grey schist, Kamakura, Hiragama Collection. From *Sérinde. Terre de Bouddha. Dix siècles d'art sur la Route de la Soie*. Paris, 24 octobre 1995 – 19 février 1996, 235, fig. 179.

⁴⁴ See Scherrer-Schaub 2007, Part 2: 772.



Fig. 5: Fragment of a panel with a scene from a writing school (*lipisāla*): novices bearing ink-pots and writing slabs. Museum of Lahore, from Tissot 2002, fig. 258.

The episode of the writing school (*lipisāla*) in the life stories of Śākyamuni is frequently represented in plastic reliefs, as in Figs 4 and 5. In the first case, Śākyamuni is seated on a stool, with his dangling legs crossed, and is writing on a wooden tablet, some specimens of which have been found in Khotan. (The same type of wooden tablet was still in use in Himachal Pradesh more than twenty years ago.) Śākyamuni writes with a wooden pen and his young attendant bears an ink-pot like those displayed in the Taxila Museum. The central figure – possibly the teacher – holds a written tablet showing the Arapacana alphabet. The second relief, from Ostia (Fig. 6),⁴⁵ displays a scene where a central figure, who may

⁴⁵ The dating of this relief varies from the 2nd– 3rd to the 5th centuries CE; see Turner 1968, 189 ‘Notes on the Plates’ and Plate VI: ‘Published by G. Calza in *Le Arti* (Rassegna industriale dell’Arte, Firenze), I, 1939, opp. p. 391. Relief from a building in Ostia. Firm elements for dating are not known to me. The bearded figures would suit the 2nd/3rd c. CE, or after Julian. (...) Behind the scribe on the left are three men, one of whom is gesturing in dispute; behind the scribe on the right are two men, one of whom turns to look at his neighbour, whose hand is raised to attract attention. It has been suggested that the central figure is Christ, and that the scribes are the

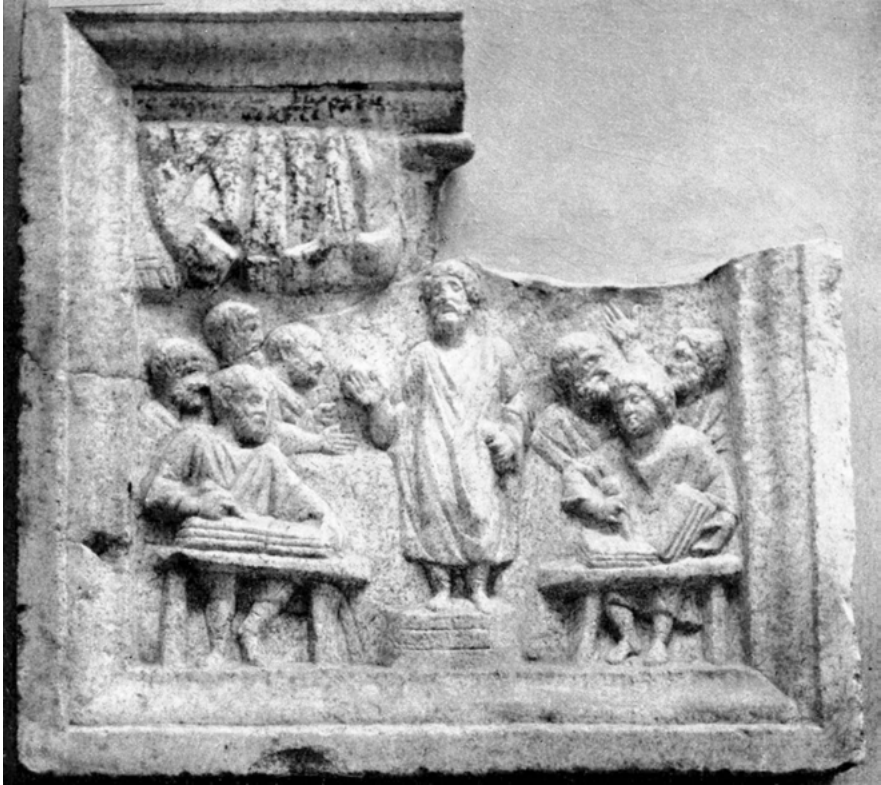


Fig. 6: Relief from Ostia, dating c. 2nd–3rd c. CE. Central figure with a roll in his left hand and his open right hand raised in a gesture; for the complete description, see n. 45. From Turner 1968, plate VI. Compare this with the scene in Fig. 1.

be a rhetorician or a teacher, stands on a platform, a roll in his left hand, his open right hand raised in a gesture. At either side a scribe seated at a low wooden table writes with a stylus (its blunt reverse end is readily identifiable) on wax tablets, the six wooden folds of which are supported on the table.

Anna Filigenzi's pregnant observation about Gandhāran painting helps to achieve a better understanding of the context of the intellectual production of literati, philosophers, and poets handed down to us thanks to the wealth of fragmentary MSS:

Evangelists writing down the Gospels. But the iconography is unusual and four Evangelists would be expected. (...) q.v. Compare this scene with that of Fig. 1 'Monks reading and commenting in a cenacle' above p. 241.

[If] Gandhara devised for painting — as indeed we are now able to judge for sculpture — an original, organic language of its own, it is nevertheless in the far vaster world of eastern Hellenism that it constructed a physiognomy for itself, and to this world it owed a number of features. Of course, there was nothing like uniformity in this world, but it did see certain common characteristics of Hellenistic origin blending with, but never overwhelming, other local characteristics in a continuous process of generation. Moreover, the spread of Hellenism came on top of other phenomena of cultural interaction, particularly evident in the specific case of Gandhara — a borderland where we sense a rich cultural substratum, fundamentally Indian but also Iranian and Central Asian.⁴⁶

Richard Salomon, after a careful critical review of the opinions concerning the origin of the scroll format, concludes:

If the new discoveries of numerous birch bark scrolls from the greater Gandhāra region weaken the hypothesis of a Chinese background for the scroll format, they support the argument for a Hellenistic source. (...) [W]e now can see that the birch bark scroll was the standard book format in a time and place — that is, in Gandhāra in the early centuries of the Christian era — which was still under a strong influence of Hellenistic culture. For example the discovery of a hybrid figure of Herakles-Vajrapāṇi at Tapa Shutur (Tarzi 1976, 396–7; Mustamandi 1984) illustrates the Hellenistic atmosphere of the Haḍḍa area itself, which is likely to be the original provenance of the new manuscripts. Thus the Greek papyrus scroll must be considered a priori the more probable inspiration for the Gandhāran scrolls, despite the difference in details of their construction noted by Janert.⁴⁷

What is most important here is the fact that Richard Salomon points to the structural pattern, which is much more indicative than the series of functional diversities, such as the use of the scroll in the horizontal position in Gandhāra versus the vertical one in the case of papyri.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Filigenzi 2006, 29.

⁴⁷ Salomon 1999, 100–104, especially 102–103.

⁴⁸ As noted by Turner 1968, 2, it is worth mentioning that ‘On Assyrian monuments rolls can be seen in the hand of counting scribes, though they were perhaps made of skins, the great rival of papyrus as writing material in the early period, even in Greece’. And also (ibid.: 4) ‘... it is worth emphasizing that the manufacturer’s and retailer’s unit is the made-up roll, and that the Greek word *χάρτης*, Latin *charta*, does not mean a sheet but a roll’.

3 Unveiling the page of early Buddhist MSS. Alexandrian philology and its diffusion

Ptolemy II Philadelphus passed away in 246 BCE. Aristophanes of Byzantium (255–180 BCE) was then a nine-year-old child destined for a brilliant future. Callimachus of Cyrene (the Hellenistic province governed by Magas/Māga, one of the five kings of Aśoka's 13th MRE mentioned above), who was to pass away in 250 BCE, had been ordered by Ptolemy II to make the library accessible by making a catalogue (pinakes) that would be a scientific inventory of Greek literature.⁴⁹ Aristophanes on his part would continue the work of his predecessors, and together with other scholars he would be in charge of reordering the collection of Greek texts that the father of Ptolemy II Philadelphus had started to gather. On this occasion, the team developed the first organised system of textual culture and critical edition of the textual corpus, which they were able to see in use in the Library of Alexandria for the very first time.

They introduced and/or established the use of critical and lectional signs, the practice of commenting (*hypomnemata*), taking a passage from the original text (*lemma*) and distinguishing it

by various methods of punctuation. Often it is made to project into the left-hand margin, or is separated by space, or by a single or double stop, or by a dash, both from what precedes and what follows.⁵⁰

As previously seen, the use of space to separate words or parts of sentences is known from the same epoch in Indian epigraphy, while the dash evokes the later Indian *daṇḍa*/Tibetan *śad*. And there is more. In cataloguing the titles of Euripides' plays, Callimachus arranged [them] in order of the initial letter.

In the most important of these papyri, which gives summaries of the plots, the title is followed by the formula οὗ (ῥίς, ὄν) ἀρχή and the citation of the first line.

When the texts had no title

the only way to register them, it seems, was according to the 'incipit', a method still applied in modern indexes of lyric poems of an author or of an anthology.⁵¹

⁴⁹ See Turner 1968, 102–103.

⁵⁰ Turner 1968, 114. See above p. 244 and n. 11, below p. 267 and n. 69.

⁵¹ Pfeiffer 1968, 129–130.

The Alexandrian system of textual criticism introduced the use of diacritics, of laying out the lyrical poems on the page following the metrical units, displayed in columns (colometry), and the recourse to critical signs. These practices were not *terra incognita* as some of them had been known earlier in philosophical circles and can be seen in ancient Greek papyri today. Diogenes Laertius (3rd century CE) mentions the existence of an *editio princeps* of the work of Plato (427–347 BCE), which had possibly been established in the context of the Academy after the philosopher passed away or at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, and explains to the reader how to interpret the diacritics, adding that the reference edition was accessible for a fee/consideration at Athenae.⁵²

3.1 Textual criticism and text semiotics

Various features contributed to the legibility and intelligibility of the page: the presence of lectional and critical signs, the specific practice of highlighting the beginning of a verse or the first verse of a poem by bringing it into prominence in the upper margin of the scroll⁵³ or in the lateral margins, the use of short and/or long subsidiary/ancillary sub-texts (paratexts) (p. 244 and 247–248), or the use of verse-line and blank space⁵⁴ to separate the metrical units and display them in columns, to quote but a few of the specific artifices seen in the Alexandrian tradition, which may also be observed in Buddhist MSS, as mentioned above. The scribes of Buddhist MSS show concern for the aesthetic and intellectual use of texts and for the system of classifying the physical item/book in the context of a large, organised collection for the use of readers. Sylvie Hureau⁵⁵ gives a perfect example of how the graphic devices used may betray the intention of directing the reader's attention. The fragmentary Dunhuang MS P. 2094 (www.archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr)⁵⁶ of the

52 However, this may be a post-factum narrative; see D. L. III, 66. On the use of a master copy in the process of editing, see Turner (1968, 112–113, and 184, n. 29), who notes the use of critical signs in '[a] papyrus of the middle of the second century B.C. (P. Tebt. 4) – [i.e. the papyri of Tebtynis in the Fayyūm, discovered in the cemetery of crocodile mummies; see Turner 1968, 31–32] – [that] contains part of *Iliad* ii marked with these signs, and is probable the earliest known example of them'. See del Corso 2011, 3–34, 29, and n. 118.

53 See the case of the Khvs-G MS in Salomon 2000, 25, above p. 244. On this practice, attested in Graeco-Egyptian papyri, see Caroli 2007.

54 A blank space, between verses or verse-lines, indicates the 'silent tune', see below 269.

55 Hureau 2014a, 221–229, 226. The *Jingang bore boluomi jing* (P. 2094) is dated by a colophon to 908.

56 Available online at: http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=1769466987;bst=1;recnum=59133;index=1;img=1.

Jingang bore boluomi jing or the Chinese translation of the *Vajracchedikā* use a series of lectional signs (point, circle and stroke in red ink) to mark various topics or achieve other functions. If these practices reveal the text semiotics, then from a historical point of view, forms and graphic devices function as markers indicating unseen or unsuspected parallel practices in different cultural milieus.

The scholarly practice of commenting on the ‘root’-text (*mūla*) or a passage, and the *hypomnemata*⁵⁷ or the practice of ‘taking notes’ common in Ancient Greece, are equally in use in Gandhāran MSS. In early scholastic Buddhist treatises, the beginning of the verse, the passage or the words (*pratīka*) that will be commented, is followed by the expression ‘*sūtra tatra nideśo*’, i.e. ‘[Thus], the sūtra; [now] the explication of it’ (Salomon 1999, 28–29). In later MSS, the commentarial practice that we just saw expressed *verbatim* is graphically converted and transposed into the layout.⁵⁸ The verse or the *pratīka* are then isolated from the rest of the text either by enhancing them in red ink (Fig. 7)⁵⁹ or by making use of larger fonts, while the commentary is inserted in small characters underneath the line (even, at times, invading the space). Examples exist among Buddhist MSS that seem to indicate that the original text was initially written⁶⁰ with wide spacing between the lines, which was supposed to be filled with the commentary eventually. This practice is attested over a large geographical area, and it is a marker of the work in progress in the case of large-scale textual production, as on the occasion of the two periods of translation of Indian/Indic Buddhist texts into Tibetan.⁶¹ In some instances, we find the *mūla*

57 Turner (1968, 113) notes: ‘The commentaries, *hypomnemata*, are complementary to the copy of the text. The Greek word (which carries us back to Plato’s *Phaedrus*) shows that they originate in the lecture room, as lecture notes of the scholar concerned. This oral origin is perhaps one reason why the persons who draw on them shorten them or add to them without compunction; it may also be why abbreviations are used regularly in them in an age when abbreviations are not normally admitted to library texts. They in fact consist of an interpretation (verbal, historical, rhetorical, etc. according to the commentator’s approach) of the author in the form of an explanation of selected passages – those marked by the critical signs’.

58 See Turner 1968, 114: ‘A considerable number of *hypomnemata* on papyrus survive, and it is worth pausing to note their form. The writer quotes a passage of the original and then comments on it. This quotation, the *lemma* or “what is taken” from the original, is carefully distinguished from the comment by various methods of punctuation. Often it is made to project into the left-hand margins, or is separated by space, or by a single or a double stop, or by a dash, both from what precedes and from what follows’.

59 The *rubrica* of the Classics; see Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 7 and n. 17.

60 This nicely fits in with rules of translating from Tibetan into Mongolian, which confirm a practice noted in Indian philosophical texts; see Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 23 and n. 84.

61 Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 3–36, 21–28 and plates X–XII; Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002, 187, fig. 15, 203–208. Referring to the roll of Pindar’s *Paeans*, Turner (1968, 95 and n. 61) notes: ‘This



Fig. 7: Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambhaṭkā*. Dunhuang MS Pelliot tibétain (P. Tib 553), Bibliothèque nationale de France. A particularly refined MS on high-quality paper, beautifully written; beginning of the 9th c. Reproduced from S. Breton-Gravereau and D. Thibault (eds), *L'aventure des écritures. Matières et formes*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1998, 105.

text displayed on the page with large intervals, mainly because of being written in large-format script (Fig. 8): in this case, a possible functional interpretation would be that the text was read and comments made on a separate MS (see below p. 278).

latter roll is also on a verso, has stichometric and critical notation, and seems to have been given especially wide spaces between the columns so that annotations could be made'.

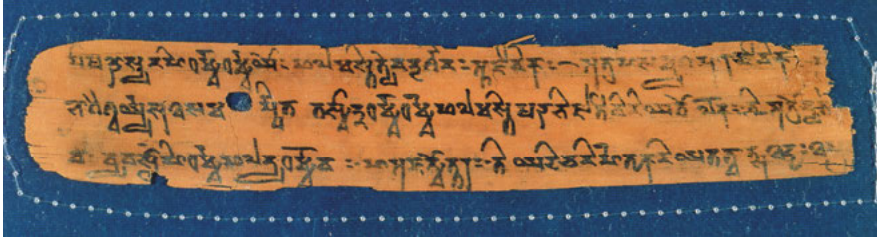


Fig. 8: Fragment of a scholastic treatise. Berezovsky Collection SI B/31. From *The Lotus Sutra and Its World. Buddhist Manuscripts of the Great Silk Road. Manuscripts and Blockprints from the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg*, 1998: 14, fig. 6 and p. 35, § 6.

To return to the role played by these specimens in Buddhist scholarly practice, as the art of translating or exegesis, the Chinese sources are extremely illuminating and precious records for us.⁶² Sylvie Hureau's study on several Dunhuang MSS in Chinese reveals a persisting model in the art of graphically distinguishing the passages cited from the original text, marked here by the commentator using the Chinese word *zhe*, and eventually enhanced by other devices, such as varying the size of the characters.⁶³

3.2 Stichometrics, *gāthā*-metrics, *bam po*-metrics, and *jie*-*/song*-metrics⁶⁴

There is a wealth of material that may be gathered from examining Greek (or Graeco-Egyptian) papyri and Buddhist MSS from North-western India and beyond. Our attention will now focus on a particular form, more specifically verse form, along with the *uddāna*, the table of contents⁶⁵ / 'mnemonic index', and the numeral mnemonics indicated by *ga* (= *gāthā*) followed by a number.⁶⁶

⁶² The organisation and procedure followed in Chinese translating scriptoria is well known. It is concisely and usefully sketched by Sylvie Hureau 2014b, 239.

⁶³ Hureau 2014b, 241.

⁶⁴ Costantino Moretti, whom I gratefully thank, informed me that the Preface to the Chinese translation of the *Dharmapada* (see below pp. 272–274) gives the number of the *jie*, in some cases the *song*, terms that both translate the Sanskrit '*gāthā*': 'Nella prefazione della versione cinese dei Dharmapada questi scritti sono definiti come composti da un certo numero di *jie* 偈 (talvolta definite *song* 頌) termini che in generale, in cinese, traducono precisamente il skr. *gāthā*.'

⁶⁵ Sanskrit *uddāna* (> ud- DĀ-) corresponds closely to the English 'content'; see Latin *contineo*.

⁶⁶ Lenz 2003, 19.

In early Buddhist manuscripts from North-west India, Khotan and Central Asia, one can see – albeit not very often – a form, and an important one, which stands out against the page: the verse form. In contrast to the ‘mute’ regular scriptio continua (see above p. 243), the metrical line beats time upon the page for its reader.⁶⁷

We have already noted the case of the Rhinoceros Horn sūtra (Khvs-G, *Khargaviṣṇasūtra*, Sanskrit *Khaḍgaviṣṇasūtra*) MSS that may be dated to the turn of the era, and whose text-layout presents various similitudes with the Graeco-Egyptian papyri. Besides presenting the peculiarity of laying the first verse line in the upper margin without any spacing between the quarters,⁶⁸ the following

verses are laid out one to a line, with small spaces between the quarters, so that the reconstructed scroll presents four parallel columns of text (Salomon 2000, 25, 116–117).

Although rare in Gandhāran MSS, the practice of placing the first verse or whatsoever specific item in a prominent position, known in the Hellenistic world and in Gandhāra, is equally attested in China. It appears in a different literary context on a fragmented version of the *Qieyun* or *Livre des rimes* composed by Lu Fayān in 601 CE and recently studied by Françoise Bottéro. The MSS of this text in the Dunhuang collection present quite a number of interesting devices used to enhance the legibility of the text. The copyist who wrote on an opisthographic MS in the form of a ‘livre en tourbillon’ (Bottéro 2014, 61) used various artifices to put a new item in a prominent position. Among other things, one may find the case where – very much like the verse in the Khvs-G and Greek papyri (see above p. 244 and 262) –

la nouvelle rime peut également débiter sur une nouvelle colonne et mordre dans la marge supérieure de manière à être encore plus visible, sans être nécessairement précédée de son numéro.⁶⁹

To return to the verse form it also appears in the Dharmapada MS ‘Dutreuil de Rhins’ (i.e. the Dharmapada Gāndhārī MS of Khotan, Dhp-G^K), possibly copied in Khotan, written on birch bark in Kharoṣṭhī script and dated to the 1st/2nd century CE. The MS presents the text following metrical units (Figs 9a, b), and the single *pādas* are separated by a blank space (*vacat*). This very famous MS was named after the geographer and ‘enseigne de vaisseau’ (sub-lieutenant) Jules-Léon Dutreuil de Rhins, who directed the

⁶⁷ See Matsuura 1996, 20–36, cited by Nattier 2008. See below, p. 273.

⁶⁸ Salomon 2000, 33 further notes: ‘Some of the features of the format of the uddāna verses, especially the absence of spaces between verse quarters and the use of a recut pen, resemble the special technique used by the scribe for the first verse of a poem itself at the top of the scroll, no doubt also to set it off from the rest of the poem’.

⁶⁹ See Bottéro 2014, 63.

French mission in ‘Haute Asie’ and was assassinated in Tibet in 1894.⁷⁰ The MS was eventually taken to Paris from the region of Khotan by his colleague François Grenard and presented to scholars by Émile Senart at the XIth Congrès international des orientalistes, an event held in Paris in 1897.⁷¹

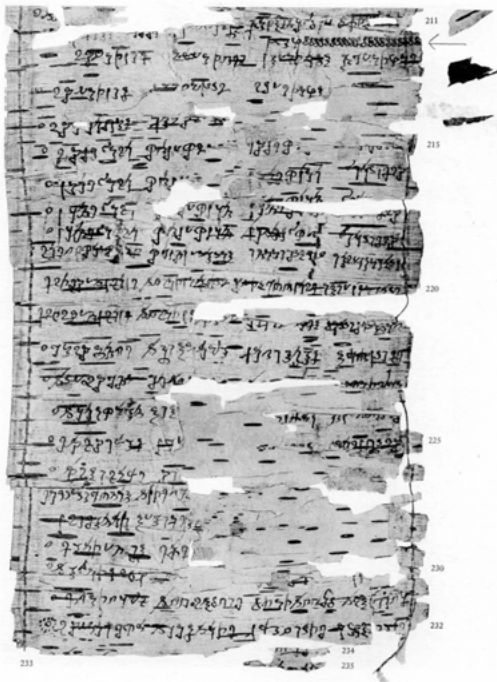


Fig. 9a: Dharmapada MS Dutreuil de Rhins (Dhp-K), Bibliothèque nationale de France. From Brough 1962, pl. X, ll. 211–235, l. 211 (= MS C recto / Senart verso), verse 223, last verse of Chapter X (*Jarā/Jarā*). This verse is followed by the number of *gāthās* in the chapter (written under line 211). The number ‘25’ is followed by a series of signs that recall the diplomatic practice of ‘document closure’, granting security and avoiding alteration; see n. 12 above.

70 See Grenard 1904. The reason for the hostility manifested by the Tibetans towards the mission was the fact that Dutreuil de Rhins, who wanted to ask for glowing embers, entered a tent despite the Tibetans’ warning not to do so. He actually broke a taboo, since the tent hosted a dying person and a lamb... (1904, 142). Grenard (1904, 165) records Dutreuil de Rhins’ last words: ‘Bandits!... Travail perdu... Beau temps pour partir’. Part of the MS Dutreuil de Rhins was given to the Library of the Société Asiatique and is now kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris; the other part was taken to Leningrad, now St Petersburg. See Brough 1962: xiii–xiv and 1–8.

71 *Journal asiatique*, Neuvieme serie, T. XII, 1898, 193–308.



Fig. 9b: Dharmapada MS Dutreuil de Rhins (Dhp-K), Bibliothèque nationale de France. From Brough 1962, pl. XII, ll. 255–275 (MS N recto), l. 269 = *uddāna* verse, whose beginning is separated from the preceding verse (line 268) by a multi-petalled flower. The verse indicates the titles of chapters I–XIII and is followed by the number of *gāthās* in chapter XIII (Yamaka), ‘22’ in all. The passage is once again ‘closed’ by a series of signs.

Besides attesting the use of the verse-line form, the Dhṛp-G^K (Figs 9a, b), the Gāndhāri London Dharmapada MS (Dhṛp-G^L) and the Khvs-G contain two additional devices that hint at the practice of memorisation and the use of recording a text or a group of texts in a collection, and possibly also the counting of verses in order to calculate the fees due to the scribe (see below). These are the *uddāna* verses already mentioned above, which may also be considered a ‘mnemonic index’ in some respects (Lenz 2003, 19), and ‘numeral mnemonics’, or *gāthā* metric.

These numeral mnemonics are signalled by the grapheme *ga*, which Timothy Lenz, following Brough, interprets as an abbreviation of *gatha/gāthā*, followed by a number that

‘represents the number of verses included in a chapter’ (Brough 1962, 196–197).⁷² One possible interpretation of these numerical notations is that they acted as a kind of mnemonic for a monk who wanted to memorise the *varga*. If so, the mnemonic would neither have specified individual verses nor their order, but simply the total number of verses there were. For example, the notation *ga* 10 4 4 1, which comes at the end of Dhṛp-G^K text’s *Theravarga*, would have reminded a monk to write or recite a set of nineteen verses.⁷³

While this may well be the case, the *uddāna* and the ‘*gāthā* metric’ (an expression coined on the basis of the Greek word *stichometric*) could equally have had more prosaic functions.

It thus appears that the Gandhāran use of counting the verses lies in between the practice attributed to the Alexandrian school of philology – and attested in Greek and Graeco-Egyptian papyri (*stichometric*) – and the practice adopted in Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist MSS (see below, p. 272).

Turner’s 1968 introduction to papyrology, still a valuable source of information, noted that the use of

stichometrical letters, usually placed in the left-hand margins of text to denote each hundred lines of verse (the word ‘letter’ rather than ‘figure’ is to be preferred, since for these signs the twenty-four letters of the Ionic alphabet are used, and it does not include *vau*, *ç*); at the end of the work, the sum total of verses is given, usually in Attic notation. Such *stichometrical* totals are of interest to us in indicating stages in the transmission of texts (e.g. through Athenian copies) and either certifying that no passages are omitted, or showing how the omissions occur.⁷⁴

⁷² See Brough 1962, 13–14, 24, and examples of *gāthā* numbering at the end of the *varga*: chapter I, after verse 50 (in the margin), after verse 90, etc., *ibid.* 125, 131.

⁷³ Lenz 2003, 18.

⁷⁴ Turner 1968, 94–95. See also Del Mastro 2011, 35–64, 38: ‘Le note sticometriche venivano apposte negli intercolumni ogni cento *stíxoi*, sotto forma di lettere consecutive dell’alfabeto: uno

It is interesting to note the opinion of Kurt Ohly here, who is mentioned by Turner (1968, 95 and n. 59), that the origin of the mode of counting verses may well be due to more practical usage and refer to work done by the professional copyist. Turner seems to agree and even adds that the presence of stichometrical notations implies that the 'copy was professionally made and paid for'. The present author has expressed a similar opinion elsewhere with regard to the use of counting *bam po* in Tibetan texts, where each *bam po* equals 300 *ślokas*. Further noting that the necessity of calibrating a text was certainly imposed in the case of placing an order of paper, a well-attested fact in Tibetan MSS from Dunhuang and surrounding areas, and for ordering copies that were subsequently charged for by professional scribes.⁷⁵ In investigating the various uses of the term *bam po* in the Tibetan early and classical tradition, Leonard van der Kuijp finds confirmation of these practices. Particularly interesting is the testimony of Gu ge Paṅ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1415–1486), the author of the biography of lHa bla ma Ye śes 'od (947–1019/24), where we may see that the work of copying and the performance of reciting (*klog pa*) the *Buddhavacana* were the object of commercial transactions.⁷⁶

This way of counting verses is structurally related (though possibly semantically alien) to the mode measuring the volume of a text or of a series of texts into a larger collection, which we may see in Tibetan MSS of Dunhuang and in the contemporary and earliest Tibetan Library's Indexes (*dkar chag*), where constant text-units are counted in *bam po* and *ślokas*. Structurally related to the mnemonic index (*uddāna*), i.e. the table of contents, are the lists that we find very early, though extremely rarely, in Dunhuang and Tabo, or in the lHan *dkar ma* and 'Phaṅ thaṅ ma catalogues, issued at the royal residences. These were thematically structured and sub-structured by title and measure of the volume calibration. But the interesting finding of a list of a group of *dhāraṇī/gzuñs* texts among the Tabo MSS has also permitted researchers to reorder a particular collection of *dhāraṇīs* kept in the monastery and supply the title of the missing texts.⁷⁷

stixos aveva la lunghezza standard di un verso omerico di 16 sillabe e, quindi, di 34–38 lettere. Alla fine del rotolo, sotto il titolo, troviamo in molti casi il calcolo totale degli *stixoi*, preceduto dal termine *arithmós* (per esteso o abbreviato), espresso secondo la numerazione attica. Ma nei papiri ercolanesi (più frequentemente di quanto non avvenga nei rotoli greco-egizi) troviamo spesso anche i numeri delle *selides*, delle colonne e, in qualche caso, dei *kollémata*, dei fogli che erano serviti a confezionare il rotolo'.

75 For the polysemy of the term *bam po* and its various uses in early Tibetan Buddhist manuscript and textual practice, see Scherrer-Schaub 1992, particularly 219–220.

76 See van der Kuijp 2010, 122–132.

77 See Harrison 1996.

As said before, the practice of counting verses is equally attested in Chinese MSS from Dunhuang. The 31 fragments of MSS of the *Shijing*, a collection of poems dating back to the 10th to 6th century BCE, have been studied by Olivier Venture.⁷⁸ The most complete examples of these MSS (S. 3951 + P. 2529, that according to Xu Jiangping could be dated to the end of the Tang)⁷⁹ are extremely valuable for studying the practice of textual criticism in Dunhuang. Our attention will focus upon the first part of the MS where the text of the *Shijing* is given without any commentary, in *scriptio continua*, and where Venture notes the presence of the practice of counting the verses and verse-lines:

À la fin de chaque poème figure son titre ainsi que le nombre de strophes et de vers qu'il comprend. Cette mention se détache du reste du texte grâce à la présence d'espaces blancs (avant et après) qui constituent les seules coupures visibles dans une mise en texte relativement compacte.

He further explains the meaning of this practice in the textual tradition of the *Shijing*, where it was central to the understanding of how the text had been interpreted by the editor:

La notation du nombre de strophes et de vers a une importance particulière dans la tradition du *Shijing*. En effet, comme le texte canonique est parfois obscur, il peut se prêter à différentes lectures et, en l'absence de ponctuation ou de strophes graphiquement délimitées, ces indications permettent au lecteur de saisir la manière dont l'éditeur découpait le poème et donc comment il le comprenait (Venture 2014, 23–24).

Very close to our concern is the case of the Dunhuang MS P. 2381 (www.archive-setmanuscripts.bnf.fr)⁸⁰, which contains several sections of the *Faju jing* (T. 210), in the opinion of Costantino Moretti one of the most popular Buddhist texts in China, and the oldest translation of the *Dharmapada*. In his catalogue, Sengyou (445–518) cites 'l'*upāsaka* indo-scythe Zhi Qian (?–252/257)' among the scholars

⁷⁸ Venture 2014.

⁷⁹ I sincerely thank Olivier Venture for the precious note about the dating of this MS that he kindly addressed to me: Olivier Venture very cautiously notes that 'La datation du texte repose principalement sur la présence et l'absence de certains caractères tabous. Mais la situation semble assez complexe, c'est pourquoi différentes datations ont pu être proposées entre le début et la fin des Tang. Xu Jianping propose, avec d'autres auteurs, une datation de la fin des Tang ou phase finale des Tang. Ses arguments me paraissent a priori convaincants. Voir : Xu Jianping 許建平, *Dunhuang jingji xulu* 敦煌經籍敘錄, Pékin, Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2006, p. 142'.

⁸⁰ Available online http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=18046729110;bst=1;recnum=59475;index=1;img=1.

who translated the text into Chinese.⁸¹ Born in Northern China, Zhi Qian studied in Luoyang and his teacher's teacher was Lokakṣema. Sengyou praises him for his excellence in the study of languages and his mastery of 'foreign writings'.⁸² Jan Nattier (2008, 116) tells us that 'a substantial number of his works are not original translations but revisions – produced with or without an actual Indic-language text – of the works of others'. And while '[i]t was long thought that all verses found in Buddhist translations were unrhymed' and despite the fact that 'many examples of unrhymed verse can indeed be found in [the Zhi Qian] corpus, in other cases it is clear that Zhi Qian was not only employing the use of meter, but of pattern of rhyme as well' (ibid. 117–118). The preface of his translation of the *Faju jing* (Nattier 2008, 125), written by Zhi Qian himself, shows that his temper was that of an expert in textual criticism rather than a mere translator. Be that as it may, what is of interest here is the fact that his translation-cum-revision of the *Dharmapada* (whose textual history is rather complex; its treatment far exceeds the scope of this paper) is very close in time to the MS Dutreuil de Rhins (see above p. 267). I do not claim that this was the juncture between the Gandhāran tradition and Chinese scholars, but rather that textual criticism is attested in early Buddhist MSS, and possibly also that the scribe's practice might have been 'carried to China' via various itineraries by representatives of the 'lineage' of the Indo-Scythian scholars as well as Kumārajīva (344–413).⁸³

To return to the *Faju jing*, Costantino Moretti⁸⁴ notes that among the Dunhuang MSS those that are dated or datable in all probability prior to the 5th century CE are particularly valuable for

l'étude du livre manuscrit chinois sur papier à cette période. Certains de ces manuscrits fournissent notamment des informations importantes sur les plus anciennes méthodes attestées d'organisation de l'espace et de découpage des textes dans les ouvrages bouddhiques comportant des passages versifiées (*gāthā*) (Moretti 2014b, 207).

While the MS P. 2381 may possibly be dated to the 4th century CE (see Moretti 2014b, 208, n. 8), it may have continued the tradition of displaying lectional and

81 Moretti 2014b, 208. On the multiple recensions of this text, see Brough 1962, 30–39, and 35–36 on the *Faju jing*.

82 The book by Jan Nattier (2008) is a mine of information. On Zhi Qian, see Nattier 2008, 116–148.

83 We have been dealing with this question in Scherrer-Schaub 2016; and 'The Quintessence of the Mādhyamika Teaching Blossoms Again. Some consideration in view of the 5th–7th c. A. D. (I). Reading the Alchons's document (Schøyen MSS 2241) in religious and political context' (forthcoming).

84 Moretti 2014b.

critical signs inherited from the Indo-Scythian tradition alluded to before. Indeed, the MS displays the practice of counting the *gāthā* or ‘*gāthā*-metric’, i.e. *jie/song*-metric, as at the beginning of the *pin* (ibid. 209) in the first column (from right to left), where the number of verse is indicated under the title, it even adds the sophisticated procedure of dividing the space in ‘registers’ that facilitates the counting.

Le décompte du nombre de *gāthā* dont se compose chaque *pin* [i.e. section] semble, en réalité, revêtir une certaine importance. En effet, sous le titre de chaque *pin*, qui est mis en évidence par un point noir tracé au-dessus de la réglure supérieure de la feuille, figure toujours une indication du nombre de stances contenues dans le *pin* lui-même. (Moretti 2014b, 209).

Moretti observes this practice in other cases, such as a MS of the translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* by Kumārajīva found in Kučā and in another Dunhuang MS (P. 4506) written on silk and dated to 471 CE, or a copy of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* whose translation is attributed to Dharmakṣema (385–433/436 CE), who was born in India and, like Kumārajīva, spent some time in Kāśmīr and then in Kučā.⁸⁵

The verse-form further arranged in columns that appears in Greek and Graeco-Egyptian papyri, in early Indic and in Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist MSS is equally present in Khotan (Fig. 10) before the 5th century CE, albeit with some variants, e.g. in fragmentary MSS of the *Book of Zambasta* studied by Mauro Maggi.

Manuscript Z¹ is peculiar in that each manuscript line contains a verse-line and the text is further arranged in columns so that each verse-line is divided into four equal sections mostly corresponding to metrical *pādas*. (...) Such an arrangement also characterizes a number of variant fragments of Z, so far as it is possible to judge from their fragmentary condition, but is not found in the manuscripts of any Khotanese work other than Z. On the other hand, a similar arrangement is found in early manuscripts of religious poetry in Gandhārī in Kharoṣṭhī script and in Sanskrit in Brāhmī script from Central Asia. Among the Sanskrit Manuscripts, there is an almost complete paper folio of the fourth/fifth century from Charkhlik, which contains a hymn to the Buddha in Sanskrit. On this folio each manuscript line contains exactly one *śloka* and the beginning of the second hemistich of each *śloka* is roughly aligned vertically so as to obtain a division of the text into two columns.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Moretti 2014b, 211.

⁸⁶ See Maggi 2004, 184–190, 187.



Fig. 10: MS Z of the Zambasta (SI P 6) kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg. From *On the Trail of Texts along the Silk Road. Russian Expeditions [and] Discoveries of Manuscripts in Central Asia*. Kyoto National Museum, 2009: 38. See Maggi 2004, 184, 187: verse-lines and columns.

The MS from Charkhlik referred to here was published independently in 1988 by Richard Salomon and Collett Cox, and by Jens-Uwe Hartmann. Salomon and Cox note the peculiar disposition of verses:

There are five lines of writing on each side, each line corresponding to a single verse in *anuṣṭubh* (*śloka*) meter, with a space in the middle between hemistichs. The verses, 10 in all, are not numbered.⁸⁷

Hartmann, while mentioning the graphic artifices of the MS, notes the affinities presented by the *stotra* with Mātṛceṭa’s *Prasādapatibhodbhava* – ‘[the Canticle] originating from the inspired serene disposition [towards the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha]’ – and suggests that despite the differences,

[d]as Stotra muss entweder dem Prasādapatibhodbhava als Vorbild gedient haben oder unter dem unmittelbaren Eindruck dieses Werkes verfasst worden sein: in jedem Fall besteht eine enge literarische Beziehung, die es als gerechtfertigt erscheinen lässt, das vorliegende Blatt mitzubearbeiten, obwohl es strenggenommen nicht als Mātṛceṭa-Fragment bezeichnet werden kann.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Salomon and Cox 1988, 141–153, 141.

⁸⁸ Hartmann 1988, 1–40, 88–89, 89 and n. 149.

4 On poetics and performance

Form is never more than an extension of content

Charles Olson, *Projective Verse* (1959)⁸⁹

Rhythm is a form cut into TIME, as a design is determined SPACE

In making a line of verse (and thence building the lines into passages) you have certain primal elements:

That is to say, you have the various ‘articulated sounds’ of the language, of its alphabet, that is, and the various groups of letters in syllables.

These syllables have differing weights and durations

A. original weights and durations

B. weights and durations that seem naturally imposed on them by the other syllable groups around them.

Those are the medium wherewith the poet cuts his design in TIME.

Ezra Pound, *Treatise on Metre* (1973)⁹⁰

While particular ways of displaying the page layout and the use of lectional signs and other artifices may facilitate reading, understanding, and recollection, they equally question the art of the poetic from the perspective of its performance. The fact that an interplay exists between orality and the written word is ‘obvious and trite’, and the written word does not necessarily supersede the first – far from that, in fact.

That Buddhist texts were read in cenacles, that they were recited or chanted, is an equally well-attested fact. Experts in recitation appear in early Buddhist inscriptions, for example in Bharhut (*dharmakathika*, *dharmabhāṇaka*) or Śrī Laṅka (*eka-uttirika*, *śayutaka*, *majhima*),⁹¹ and continue to be active even when the *Buddhavaṇana* is put down in written form.⁹² For its part, the practice of addressing eulogies to the Buddha is recorded in the oldest sources such as the last *sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* (*Piṅgiya Sutta*, vv. 1120–1149), where the Brahmin Piṅgiya praises the Buddha, accompanying his own recitation with tunes (v. 1132), and even spends his nights praising the Buddha (v. 1142). A Brahmin,

⁸⁹ See Olson 1959, 4. This formula expressed by Robert Creeley in a letter to Charles Olson on 5 June 1950 was incorporated into his manifesto by him (see Butterick, Olson and Creeley 1980, 79 and n. 83).

⁹⁰ Allen and Tallman 1973, 62.

⁹¹ See Endo 2014, 103–134, 124, n. 67, with reference to Paranavitana 1990: no. 407, 666, 708, 852 and 1061.

⁹² See Scherrer-Schaub 2009a, 166–167.

this time Paiṅgika by name, reappears in several versions of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* addressing verses of praise to the Buddha, and being rewarded by the Vṛji with munificent gifts for this pious act, the Brahmin in turn hastens to offer gifts to the Buddha.⁹³

In 1915, Sylvain Lévi published a pioneering article in *Journal asiatique* bearing the title ‘Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques’. Lévi followed the various versions of the episode of the Brahmin Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa/Kuṭīkaṇṇa,⁹⁴ which appears in *Vinayas* and in the *Divyāvadāna*, among other places. Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa is famous because he spends a night with the Buddha and, at dawn, is asked by him to recite the *Dharma*. Koṭīkarṇa consents to the Bhagavat’s request and entunes the recitation, that is, he recites it with a rhythmical succession of tune⁹⁵ – something that Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa certainly knew how to do since, as tradition has it, before entering religious life, he played the lute, a motif that is echoed in the hagiography of Aśvaghōṣa, who accompanied the recitation with chants and music.⁹⁶

After the recitation, Bhagavat congratulates Śroṇa Koṭīkarṇa for his excellent performance. The sources vary in their description of the vocal qualities of the reciter. The MSarvVin and the Sarv-Vin (Bechert 1990, 107) add an interesting detail in referring to the sober/restrained (*guptika*)⁹⁷ mode of intoning typical of the

93 Bareau 1995, 357. It is worth noting here that in the *Sutta Nipāta*, *Piṅgiya*, after reciting the *gāthās*, adds that his mind never departs from Gotama, and he spends days and nights with the Buddha in his mind.

94 See Lévi 1915, 402. See the entry on ‘bombai’, *Hōbōgirin* I, 93-II, 113. Lévi (1915, 401–417) analyses the various versions of the episode recorded in the Vinaya of the major ancient schools (Nikāya) and centres his inquiry on a terminological cluster related to the practice of prosody (in its wider sense). Some of these terms have been revisited in various ways recently, particularly the expression *chandaso āropema*; see David Ruegg 2000, 283–306. Gregory Schopen gives a comprehensive overview of the various occasions and liturgical events where the recitation took place; see Schopen 2004, 260–284.

95 Lit. ‘he recites with the intonation/tune’ (Sanskrit *svara*, Pāli *sara*), MSarvVin *svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ karoti* ‘accomplishes the recitation [of the sacred text] with tunes’.

96 See the episode of Aśvaghōṣa, Lévi 1915, 433 and *Hōbōgirin* I, 94a: Aśvaghōṣa, ‘[s]pontamment il battit la cloche et le tambour; il accorda le luth et la guitare; le son modérait la douleur, redressait la courbe; ses accords faisaient aussitôt régner l’harmonie. Il proclamait les dharmas, [et leur caractères, à savoir] douleur (*duḥkha*), vide (*śūnya*), absence de soi (*anātman*)’.

97 See Schopen 2004, 260–284, 265 and n. 26, quoting a passage from the *Kṣudrakavastu* where the ‘Buddha himself says that “the Proclamation of the Qualities of the Teacher [...] must be recited with measured intonation”, ‘di ltar ston pa’i yon tan yang dag par bsrag pa ...skad kyi gtang rag gis gdon par bya’o, which Guṇaprabha paraphrases as *kuryāt śāstrgūṇasaṃkīrtane...svaraguptim*’.

region of (A)parāntika (Divyā 20.23 *parāntikayā guptikayā udānāt*) and Avanti (Sarv-Vin).⁹⁸

To return to the early Buddhist MSS and the forms and graphic artifices that the Buddhists of the north-western regions introduced in their MSS, notwithstanding the alleged fact that they could have embraced the text-critical techniques current at that time in North-west India, the adoption of new writing practices must have been extremely easy for them, since it was but a matter of graphically transposing their own long tradition of recitation. And as happens with a change in technique, the beginning of the use of a script did simply take up the model of orality, at least for a while.⁹⁹ The Vinayas of the various schools bear evidence of the much-debated question of the ‘proper’ way of reciting or intoning the *Buddhavacana*; these passages are actually a mine of information on Buddhist scholarly practice. An interesting observation is made by the MSarvVin (see Lévi 1915, 431–432) when discussing the enthusiastic impulse shown by certain monks, who intoned the *Buddhavacana* while letting their emotions flow freely, or in doing several things at the same time. These monks recited without paying attention to accents or tunes, to pronunciation or rhythm, and they merely enounced one word/verse (*pada*) after the other. The Buddha sent them back to study the tune.¹⁰⁰

Further evidence of the consequences of improper recitation comes from the colophon of the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayottaragrantha*, preserved in the commentary of Kalyāṇamitra, which bears testimony to two important facts.¹⁰¹ The first is that the *mūla* text was put down in writing in order to be commented (see above p. 265). The second states that the corruption that crept into the various versions of the *Vinayottaragrantha* was due to the fact that the complete text was not available in Mathurā. The monks of Mathurā knew that a reciter of the *Vinayottara* lived in Kāśmīr, so they went there and learnt about the recitation. Then, considering that the word and meaning would have to be explained orally, they put the *mūla* text down in writing. The text then continues, and to make a long and interesting story short, our colophon concludes by saying that other monks, who were residing

98 See Lévi 1915, 407: ‘Quand il eut fini, le Bouddha le loua en disant : Très bien, ô moine; vous déclamez bien la Loi ; vous savez déclamer avec la prononciation du pays d'Avanti ; votre élocution est parfaitement claire et nette; elle est parfaitement facile à comprendre.’ And *ibid.*, 427–428.

99 See Scherrer-Schaub 2012, 2014 and 2016.

100 The concern about correct intonation and rhythm was – and still is – central to Buddhism; regarding Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, see the article on ‘bombai’, *Hōbōgirin* I, 93– II, 113, which has already been mentioned.

101 See Scherrer-Schaub 2009a, 166–167 and notes.

in other countries, started to intone the text differently. Subsequently, the *Vinayottara*, which had previously been collected correctly, was debased by usage. As a result, the text which had been recited/intoned differently ended up getting a different meaning.¹⁰² This tells us something that the poets always knew,¹⁰³ but that some of the enthusiastic paladins of cultural materiality may occasionally ignore.

Coming back to our theme again, we may note that the way of setting the layout, the verse-form and the counting of metrical units (*gāthā*-metric, *bam po*-metric and *jie-/song*-metric) seem to preserve at least part of the prosody in early Buddhist manuscripts, and the graphic disposition and marks, including blank space indicating the unvoiced tune, which, to a modern reader, appear to beat rhythm (if not time) upon the extant manuscript's page.¹⁰⁴

102 Close to our own concern, it is worth pointing out that, in his article (1989, 369–392, 380–382), K. R. Norman refers to Buddhaghosa, who ‘lists ten sound changes which he says must be avoided by anyone performing a *kammavācā*’ in his commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka. While noting the difficulty of the passage, Norman remarks: ‘The examples which Buddhaghosa gives make it clear that he is warning against types of pronunciation which actually produce incorrect forms, e.g. *bante saigo* instead of *bhante saigho*. It is, therefore, very appropriate that an expert in the Vinaya, when performing a *kammavācā*, should not commit any such fault’. In what follows (1989, 380–382), the problem developed by Norman taking his stand upon Buddhaghosa very much illuminates the context of the colophon of the *Vinayottaragrantha*. Equally interesting, Matsuura (1996, 22) distinguishes between ‘linguistic rhythm’ and ‘musical rhythm’ in a passage of his essay on ‘Rhythm in Chinese Poetry’ that is worth quoting at length: ‘Among the traps into which it is easy to fall when discussing poetic rhythm is that of confusing ‘linguistic rhythm’ and ‘musical rhythm’. In view of the general tendency of ancient poetry throughout the world to have been sung as songs, the question of poetic rhythm is frequently considered in relation to musical rhythm. But as it is evident from the fact that (i) the same words are often sung to different tunes and (ii) the continuity or discontinuity of the rhythm of verses of a song often changes under the influence of musical rhythm, song (or verse) rhythm and musical rhythm, although interrelated, clearly belong to different levels of discourse. In such cases, the rhythm of the all-important words of the song (or verse) themselves is determined by linguistic rhythm (viz. the rhythm of reading either silently or aloud) and not by musical rhythm (viz. the rhythm of singing and chanting). *It is linguistic rhythm that in terms of time (that is, historically) and space (that is, regionally) represents the most stable element and one that does not change or change only with difficulty* [This passage is put in italics by the present author, for easily comparison with the tenor of the just mentioned colophon of the *Vinayottaragrantha*]. Therefore, any examination of poetic rhythm must be undertaken with reference to, above all, linguistic rhythm, while musical rhythm should be discussed only to a limited degree as a secondary issue’.

103 See Bhāmaka (7th cent. CE): *śabdārthā sahitaū kāvyam, Kavyālamkāra* 1.16a, P. V. Naganatha Shastry. Tanjore, 1927. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, 6.

104 See Vinson 1915, 464: ‘Les poètes indiens ne s’astreignent pas à l’observation raisonnées des règles de la prosodie; ils s’y conforment d’instinct. Chaque espèce de vers a son ton, son rythme,

Abbreviations

Arthaśāstra	R. P. Kangle <i>The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra</i> . Part I: <i>A Critical Edition with a Glossary</i> . Bombay, 1960. Part II: <i>An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes</i> . Bombay, 1963.
BM I	Jens Braarvig (gen. ed.), <i>Buddhist Manuscripts</i> , Volume I. Oslo, Hermes, 2000. <i>Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection I</i> .
BM II	Jens Braarvig (gen. ed.), <i>Buddhist Manuscripts</i> , Volume II. Oslo, Hermes, 2002. <i>Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection II</i> .
BM III	Jens Braarvig (gen. ed.) <i>Buddhist Manuscripts</i> , Volume III. Oslo, Hermes, 2006. <i>Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III</i> .
Dhp-G ^k	John Brough, <i>The Gāndhārī Dharmapada Edited with an Introduction and Commentary</i> . Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
Dhp-G ^l	Timothy Lenz, <i>A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories</i> . <i>British Library Fragments 16 + 25</i> . With contributions by Andrew Glass and Bhikshu Dharmamitra. (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 3), Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2003.
Divyā	<i>The Divyāvadāna, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends</i> . First edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit MSS in Cambridge and Paris by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1886. Delhi, Indological Book House, 1987.
Hultzsch CII I	E. Hultzsch, <i>Inscription of Aśoka, New Edition</i> . <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> vol. I. Oxford, Clarendon Press, for the Government of India, 1925, 1969 (reprint).
Khvs-G	Richard Salomon, <i>A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra</i> . <i>British Library Fragment 5B</i> . Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 2000.
MSarvVin	Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya
Quaestio 11/2011	Luca del Corso and Paolo Pecere (eds), <i>Il libro filosofico. Dall' antichità al XXI secolo /Philosophy and the Books. From Antiquity to the XXI Century</i> . <i>Annuario di storia della metafisica /Annuaire d'histoire de la métaphysique/Jahrbuch für Geschichte der Metaphysik/ Yearbook of the History of Metaphysics</i> . Quaestio 11/2011.
Salomon IE	Richard Salomon, <i>Indian Epigraphy. A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages</i> . New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
Sarv-Vin	Sarvāstivāda Vinaya
Sircar IEG	D. C. Sircar, <i>Indian Epigraphical Glossary</i> . Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1966.
Sircar IE	D. C. Sircar, <i>Indian Epigraphy</i> . Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1996. ¹⁹⁶⁵

ou, si l'on veut, son air, sa mélodie propre, plus ou moins élastique, qui est un guide suffisant et un régulateur spontané. N'a-t-on pas ainsi fait dans tous les pays et dans tous les temps?"

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Michela Clemente and Filippo Lunardo

Typology of Drawn Frames in 16th Century Mang yul Gung thang Xylographs

Abstract: This article presents some preliminary results of the study of the drawn frames found in the title pages of 16th-century Tibetan xylographs from the kingdom of Mang yul Gung thang (South-western Tibet). Usually the title pages of Gung thang prints have very similar and characteristic drawn frames, which are typical of xylographs printed in this area in the 16th century. They may vary from a simple to a more elaborated design, which may differ even in xylographs produced at the same printing house. Title pages have been examined by the authors with the aim of understanding whether the different designs of drawings could be associated with a certain artist or a certain printing house. A description of identified types of drawings and minor variations is provided in the article. An appendix with information on artists working on title frames is also included.

1 Introduction

This essay has the aim of presenting preliminary results on one of the characteristic stylistic features of 16th-century Tibetan xylographs from Mang yul Gung thang, a small kingdom that played a significant role in the introduction and spread of printing into Tibet.¹ This research was carried out for the project *Tibetan Book Evolution and Technology* (TiBET), funded through a Marie Skłodowska Curie Fellowship granted to Michela Clemente (May 2013–April 2015) and hosted at the University of Cambridge (Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit). The Project collected and examined more than 200 extant Tibetan 15th- and 16th-century prints coming from the South-Western area of the country.² The research mainly focused on 16th-century

1 On the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom and its role in the Tibetan printing history, see Clemente 2016a; Clemente 2017; Diemberger and Clemente 2013; Clemente, Diemberger, Helman-Ważny and Lunardo (forthcoming); Ehrhard 2000a; Ehrhard 2000b; Ehrhard 2000c; Everding 2000; Everding 2004; Petech 1990, 52.

2 The TiBET Project, in collaboration with a correlated AHRC Project entitled *Transforming Technologies and Buddhist Book Culture: The Introduction of Printing and Digital Text Reproduction in Tibetan Societies* (Mongolia and Inner Asia Studies Unit, 2010–2015), developed a database which contains detailed description of prints, transliteration and mark-up of colophons, entries of personal and place names, and information on paper and pigments, if available. Michela Clemente

xylographs from Mang yul Gung thang, since the majority of the surviving prints were produced in this kingdom at that time.

One of the aims of the TiBET Project was the identification of characteristic stylistic features that may help locating the provenance of a certain xylograph, that is to say the printing house where this was produced. Mang yul Gung thang xylographs are recognisable through at least five distinctive features:

- (a) front page (i.e. the drawn frame of the title);
- (b) layout;
- (c) ductus;
- (d) orthographic peculiarities;
- (e) woodcut representations.³

This essay will focus on the drawn frame of title pages which were analysed in collaboration with Filippo Lunardo.⁴ Usually the title pages of Gung thang prints have very similar and characteristic drawn frames. They may vary from a simple to a more elaborated design, which may differ even in xylographs produced at the same printing house. This drawn frame is typical of xylographs printed in this area in the 16th century, although it is also possible to find Gung thang prints with a simple title page.

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The Indo-Tibetan Books and Technology (ITBT) database is available at <http://booksdb.socanth.cam.ac.uk:8080/exist/apps/TTBBC/index.html>, and also accessible from the website of the TiBET Project at www.thevoltech.socanth.cam.ac.uk. Michela Clemente would also like to thank all the people who helped her with the TiBET Project in many ways: Hildegard Diemberger, Libby Peachey, Elena De Rossi Filibeck, Franz-Karl Ehrhard, Marta Sernesi, Katie Boyle, Alessandro Boesi, Daniel Sterling, and Bruce Huett. On both the above-mentioned projects, see Clemente 2016a; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); Clemente (forthcoming a); Clemente, Diemberger, Helman-Ważny and Lunardo (forthcoming); Diemberger and Clemente 2013.

3 The art of decorating Tibetan books was first employed in manuscripts. All embellishments made to enrich manuscripts were later presented on xylographs, but, to our knowledge, a study of title frames in Tibetan manuscripts has not been carried out yet. Our research appears to be the first on this subject. Since an examination of title frames in Tibetan manuscripts in general, and a comparison with those produced in the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom in particular, goes far beyond the aims of the TiBET project, such study remains to be done. For information on the other characteristic stylistic features, see Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (forthcoming a).

4 On this subject, see Clemente and Lunardo (forthcoming); Lunardo (forthcoming a); Lunardo (forthcoming b).

Title pages of Mang yul Gung thang prints have been examined by the authors of this essay with the aim of understanding whether the different designs of drawings could be associated with a certain artist or a certain printing house. It seems that at least two artists were involved in the creation of title frames: the painter, who depicted the drawing, and the carver, who cut it into the wooden block. Artists involved in printing projects were often mentioned in Gung thang colophons and/or signatures placed under the last line of folios, usually on the verso side.⁵ Craftsmen were in fact allowed to sign their work, a peculiarity that was typical of the earliest stage of printing.⁶ By comparing the different signatures and patterns of carving, writing or drawing, we might learn to distinguish the diverse style of each artist. This would help us in identifying those who worked on xylographs that lack signatures and do not mention their names in the colophons. Unfortunately, colophons never refer to the craftsmen who depicted and carved the title frames. This might imply that the artists who drew and engraved the illustrations of a certain xylograph were also in charge of its title page. This may be true since each artist seems to have specialised in only one art, that is to say, calligraphy, drawing, carving of blocks, and carving of illustrations.⁷ Assuming that the craftsmen who worked on the illustrations of a certain print were also responsible for its title frame, by analysing the typology of the drawing and looking for the name of the artists in the colophon and/or signatures, we might be able to understand whether the style of a certain drawn frame is associated with the artists who created it. If this is not the case, we might suppose that the style of title pages is instead a characteristic feature of a given printing house, which could come from guidelines suggested by the promotor of the projects of that printery. In order to understand this, it is necessary to examine a certain amount of extant prints and to gather data on printing projects and their supervisors. This essay presents preliminary results obtained with the first stage of research. So far we have indeed analysed sixty 16th-century xylographs from the Mang yul Gung thang area. The research is ongoing, and further results will be provided in due course.

⁵ Only one signature has been found so far above the first line. Cf. NGMPP AT167/5-168/1, fol. 59b. See also Clemente (forthcoming b).

⁶ See Ehrhard 2000a, 69, 75; Eimer 1996, 12.

⁷ On this subject, see Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017.

2 Typology of title pages

So far we have identified three types of drawings for the title pages. Each type exhibits several minor variations. A description of the types with all variations is provided below.

TYPE 1

General description: title inscribed in a simple rectangular frame:

- **Variation 1a:** title inscribed in a rectangular frame consisting of two simple black lines with a simple base of lotus petals;
- **Variation 1b:** rectangular frame composed by an external thick line and an internal line (see Fig. 1):

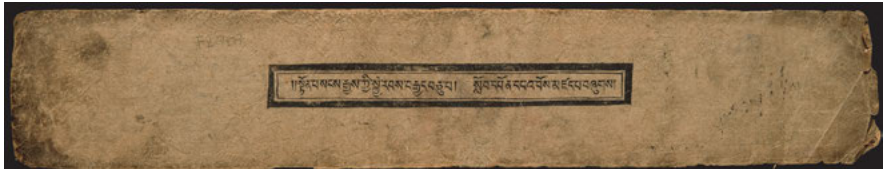


Fig. 1: Type 1b: *The Eightieth Life-story of Buddha Śākyamuni* written by Āryaśūra, Brag dkar rta so 1541 or 1553 (Tucci Tibetan Collection, Vol. 707, IIAO, Italy). Photograph by L&C Service.

- **Variation 1b1:** same features as 1b. Additionally, the frame is inscribed into a bigger one that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns, the outer one bigger than the inner;
- **Variation 1b2:** same features as 1b and 1b1. Moreover, both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 1b3:** same features as 1b. Additionally, the frame is inscribed into a bigger one that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has two lines. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns, the outer one bigger than the inner;
- **Variation 1c:** the rectangular frame is composed by an external simple line, an internal thick one, and another simple line. This frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an

external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns, the outer one bigger than the inner;

- **Variation 1d:** rectangular frame composed by two lines;
- **Variation 1d1:** rectangular frame composed by two lines. This frame is inscribed into a bigger one composed by a thick line.
- **Variation 1e:** rectangular frame composed by a single thick line. It exhibits an arch in the middle of the upper side;
- **Variation 1e1:** rectangular frame composed by a thick and a simple line. It exhibits a flame in the middle of the upper side;
- **Variation 1f:** rectangular frame composed by a single thick line.

TYPE 2

General description: title inscribed in a frame that exhibits phytomorphic patterns and a circular shape in the middle of the upper side, which may have plant elements or jewels surrounded by flames. Both sides of the frame may have two further decorations (plant elements with different decorations in the centre).

- **Variation 2a:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by a thick external line and a double line. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has four lines. Both sides of the bigger frame exhibit two columns and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2a1:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by a thick external line and a simple line. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has double lines. Both sides of the bigger frame exhibit two columns — the outer one bigger than the inner — and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2a2:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by two simple lines. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a thick external line and a simple internal one. Both sides of the bigger frame exhibit a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line. Leaves are drawn at the bottom of the bigger frame above the internal line;
- **Variation 2a3:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by two simple lines. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This

- bigger frame has a double simple line. Both sides of the bigger frame have a column;
- **Variation 2a4:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by a thick external line and a simple line. A base of lotuses is drawn underneath. The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a thick external line and a simple line. Both sides of the bigger frame exhibit a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line.
 - **Variation 2b:** inside the floral frame there is a rectangular frame composed by a single thick line;
 - **Variation 2c:** it exhibits a double simple line inside the phytomorphic frame;
 - **Variation 2c1:** same features as 2c. Additionally, the title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
 - **Variation 2c2:** same features as 2c. Additionally, the title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a double line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns, the former of which is bigger than the latter;
 - **Variation 2c3:** same features as 2c. Additionally, the title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a double line. Both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
 - **Variation 2c4:** same features as 2c. Additionally, the title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has a double line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns — the outer one bigger than the inner — and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
 - **Variation 2d:** it exhibits an external thick line and a simple internal line inside the floral frame (see Fig. 2). The title frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns - the outer one bigger than the inner — and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
 - **Variation 2d1:** it exhibits the same first three features as 2d. However, both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;



Fig. 2: Type 2d: *Nam mkha' rdo rje's Spiritual Songs*, Glang phug (La 'debs Valley), 1554 (Tucci Tibetan Collection, Vol. 709/3, ISIAO, Italy). Photograph by L&C Service.

- **Variation 2e:** it exhibits three lines — the central of which is thick — inside the floral frame. This frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger one that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns — the former of which is bigger than the latter - and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line;
- **Variation 2e1:** it exhibits three lines — the central one thick and split with a central empty space —inside the floral frame (see Fig. 3). This frame is inscribed in a rectangular bigger one that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have two columns — the outer one bigger than the inner — and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line.



Fig. 3: Type 2e1: *Nam mkha' rdo rje's Biography*, Glang phug (La 'debs Valley), 1554 (Tucci Tibetan Collection, Vol. 709/2, ISIAO, Italy). Photograph by L&C Service.

TYPE 3

General description: title inscribed in a frame that is similar to the second type but exhibits fewer plant decorations. This frame is placed upon a throne which is composed by two elements: the upper element presents lotus petals facing down; the lower element exhibits a sort of frame or platform which may have more or less elaborated decorations. Both sides of the frame may exhibit two further decorations (plant elements with different ornaments in the centre). The title frame is inscribed

in a rectangular bigger frame that almost covers the entire folio. This bigger frame has an external thick line and an internal line. Both sides of the bigger frame have a column and a floral decoration that covers the four corners of the internal line.

- **Variation 3a:** it exhibits three lines — the central one thick — inside the floral frame (see Fig. 4).



Fig. 4: Type 3a: *The Biography of lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal*, Brag dkar rta so (Tucci Tibetan Collection, Vol. 657/6, IsIAO, Italy). Photograph by L&C Service.

3 Examination of drawn frames in 16th-Century Mang yul Gung thang xylographs

We analysed the sixty xylographs taken into account according to the printing houses in which they were produced in order to locate the characteristic features that may help discovering the provenance of each print. We tried to identify the artists who worked on the title frames, compared their dating and also contrasted these data against the literary genre to which the works belong. The examined xylographs were produced in nine printing houses located within the kingdom. The exact location of most printing houses is still unknown and information on their history is still scarce. Only two of these printerries seem to have been located near a monastery, but the areas in which they were established appear to have had a direct or close access to materials for book production. We list the printing houses hereafter starting from the most productive (according to data gathered so far) in descending order:

- 1) Brag dkar rta so: 24
- 2) Kun gsal sgang po che: 12
- 3) rDzong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po: 7
- 4) gNas: 5
- 5) 'Tsho rkyen: 5
- 6) Chab rom phug: 3
- 7) Glang phug (La 'debs Valley): 2
- 8) Ati sha'i chos 'khor (La 'debs Valley): 1
- 9) mDzo lhas: 1.

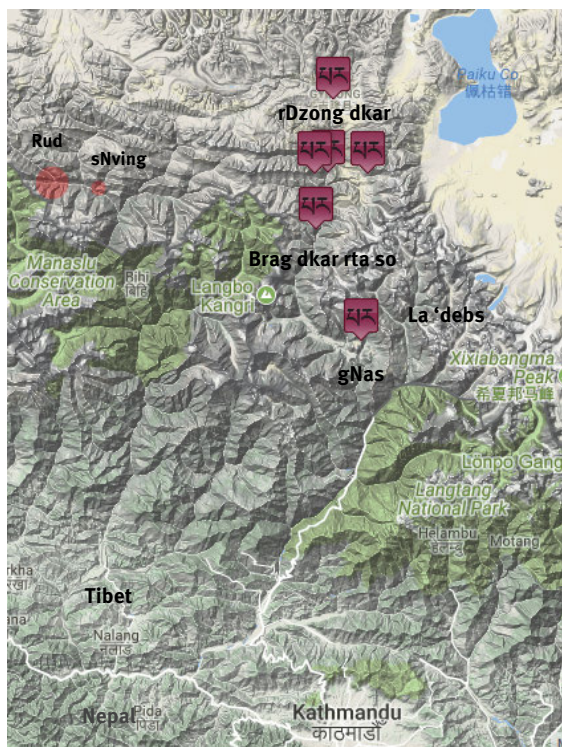


Fig. 5: Printing houses of the 16th-century Tibetan xylographs from the kingdom of Mang yul Gung thang (South-western Tibet). © Google Maps.

Brag dkar rta so

We were able to identify twenty-four prints produced at Brag dkar rta so, a printing house located between Mang yul and Gung thang, close to the small monastery with the same name. Both buildings were founded by a *bka' brgyud* master called lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557) who established his seat there in 1525 and, until his death, printed several works associated with his religious school. His literary activity was mostly sponsored by the Mang yul Gung thang rulers since he himself was a member of the royal family.⁸

⁸ On lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal and his activities at Brag dkar rta so, see Clemente 2007; Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014a; Clemente 2015; Clemente 2016a: 397–98; Clemente 2016c; Clemente (in press); Diemberger and Clemente 2013; Larsson 2012: 229–76; Schaeffer 2009: 58–63; Schaeffer 2011; Sernesi 2011; Smith 2001, 73–79.

Among the examined prints produced at Brag dkar rta so, twelve present a drawn frame belonging to the second type with ten different variations, namely 2a2, 2a3, 2b, 2c, 2c1, 2c2, 2c3, 2c4 and 2d. The frame of two xylographs, that is to say NGMPP E2518/11⁹ and L969/4,¹⁰ corresponds to variation 2c. The frame of vol. 1089/2 (Tucci Collection, IsIAO Library, Rome)¹¹ and NGMPP E2518/4¹² matches with variation 2c1. The drawn frame of two further prints, NGMPP E2517/6¹³ and L456/14,¹⁴ belongs to variation 2c3. Unfortunately, the names of the drawers of the illustrations in the first four xylographs are not mentioned in colophons or signatures. We know instead the name of the carver of the blocks of E2517/6 (printed in 1550), which corresponds to the artist who drew and engraved the illustrations of L456/14. This artist is bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan, who was active in Gung thang at least between 1533 and 1563. According to Clemente's research, rDo rje rgyal mtshan is one of the few artists who had three speciali-

9 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016a, 406; Clemente (in press b); Schaeffer 2011, 473. For a translation, see Stearns 2000. Cf. NGMPP L970/2 and L456/8; dPal brtsegs 2013: text no. 28. Images and detailed descriptions including the transliteration of colophons and information on people involved in the production of all xylographs cited in this article are available in the aforementioned database. Cataloguing entries of these prints are also available in the NGMPP database (Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, 1970–2001, and the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP, 2002–2014, both funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG)).

10 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente (in press); Schaeffer 2011, 470; Sernesi 2011, 201; Smith 2001, 77. Cf. also NGMPP L194/7 and E2518/2.

11 It is catalogued in De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 394. The IsIAO Library was shut down in 2011, and the Collection is no longer accessible. Fortunately, these texts were digitised before the closure thanks to the aforementioned AHRC project and are now available in the above-mentioned database. For the story of this work, cf. vol. 657/6: 22b4. See also Clemente 2007, 124–25, 138; Clemente 2015, 189; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente (in press); Cutillo and Kunga Rinpoche 1978; Cutillo and Kunga Rinpoche 1986; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 137; Roberts 2007, 37–38; Sernesi 2004; Sernesi 2011, 198.

12 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 192; Clemente (in press); Schaeffer 2011, 475; Smith 2001, 77; vol. 657/6: fols 22a5–22b4. Cf. NGMPP L970/5.

13 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente 2016b; Schaeffer 2011, 469; Smith 2001, 76. Cf. NGMPP L1107/4; dPal brtsegs: text no. 32; U rgyan rDo rje 1976, 37–83.

14 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press). See also NGMPP L969/4; dPal brtsegs (text. no 22_1); U rgyan rdo rje 1976, 85–105.

sations, namely as calligrapher, carver of blocks and carver of illustrations, therefore we may guess that he worked on both the above-mentioned prints as engraver of the title pages.¹⁵

The remaining six xylographs that the title frames match with the second type are NGMPP L512/8,¹⁶ L477/14,¹⁷ L969/4_1,¹⁸ E2518/6,¹⁹ L250/8-251/1²⁰ and vol. 706.²¹ We do not have any available data on L477/14. The carvers of the illustrations of vol. 706, which was printed in 1543, are dpon btsun Padma and bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. rDo rje rgyal mtshan is also mentioned as the carver of the blocks of L250/8-251/1, which was printed in 1555. The same artist is also cited as carver of E2518/6, while dpon btsun Padma is mentioned as engraver in both L512/8 (printed in 1561) and L969/4_1.

Ten xylographs from Brag dkar rta so exhibit instead a drawn frame belonging to the first type with four different variations (1a, 1b, 1e1, 1f). In particular, half of the frames in the xylographs belong to variation 1b. We are referring to vols 657/3,²² 707,²³ 1356²⁴ — all preserved in the Tucci Tibetan Collection of the IsIAO

15 Detailed files of all the artists mentioned in this article are available in the ITBT database. On this artist, see also Clemente 2007, 131, 132, 137, 146, 153; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Ehrhard 2000a, 73–79; Eimer and Tsering 1990, 71–72; Roesler 2000, 228; Schaeffer 2011, 470.

16 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 193; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2004, 593, n. 6; Schaeffer 2011, 476. Cf. NGMPP L194/9, L1219/3, L503/2 and L956/8.

17 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 192; Clemente 2016a, 406; Clemente (in press b); Schaeffer 2011, 471. Cf. NGMPP E1256/1.

18 For a translation of this work, see Guenther 1963. See also Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente 2016a, 406–07; Clemente (in press b); Sernesi 2004, 257; Smith 2001, 76. Cf. NGMPP L36/1; AT29/5. See also PBP 2007, 346.

19 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente 2016a, 406; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Schaeffer 2011, 472; Smith 2001, 76. Cf. NGMPP L194/11; L12/1; L581/5.

20 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Eimer 2010; Eimer and Tsering 1990, 71–72; Roesler 2000, 227–229; Schaeffer 2009, 62; Schaeffer 2011, 470; Sernesi 2011, 184, 188–89, 200, 225–26. Cf. BL 19999a3.

21 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 124, 135–37; Clemente 2015, 188; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente 2016b; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 341; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 134; Larsson 2012; Schaeffer 2011, 474; Vol. 657/5: fols 16a6–16b5.

22 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 125, 142–43; Clemente 2015, 189; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 330; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Roberts 2007, 7–9, 37. Cf. NGMPP E2518/3.

23 On this work, see Clemente 2011, 60–61; Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 341.

24 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 125, 141; Clemente 2015, 192; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 447; Schaeffer 2011, 476. Cf. NGMPP E1784/3; L567/5.

Library in Rome — and to NGMPP E2518/5²⁵ and L569/10.²⁶ By comparing the known dates of the analysed xylographs, we discovered that most prints with a drawn frame matching with variation 1b were produced during the last years of lHa btsun's life. These data can also be cross-checked with the available information about the craftsmen who worked on those prints. The importance of identifying artists involved in the production of 16th-century xylographs for locating the place of printing of Tibetan works has already been pointed out.²⁷ Unfortunately, the names of the painters and carvers who worked on the illustrations of the above-mentioned five prints are not cited in colophons and signatures of those works. We only know the name of the carvers who worked on the blocks of three of these prints, namely vols 707, 657/3 and NGMPP L569/10. We may therefore suppose that the carvers involved in the engraving of the blocks also worked on the title frames. As stated above, artists with different specialisations seem to have been extremely rare, but we know the names of some carvers who used to work on both blocks and woodcut illustrations. Two of these correspond to the carvers involved in the production of the above-mentioned three prints. We are referring to dpon btsun Padma and, again, bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. dpon btsun Padma worked on vol. 707 and L569/10, while rDo rje rgyal mtshan was employed in the production of vols 657/3 and 707. Both artists were also active during the years in which the other two xylographs belonging to variation 1b — E2518/5 and vol. 1356 — were produced, that is to say 1552 and 1556 respectively. So far we do not have any clues about the drawers of the title frames of the aforementioned four xylographs, but we are currently examining 16th-century Gung thang illustrations and trying to understand the style of painters, therefore we hope we will have a clearer picture when this research is completed.²⁸ As for the genre of the five examined prints, two are hagiographies (*rnam thar/rnam mgur*), two are Mahāmudrā instruction manuals, and the last one is a narrative of former lives (*skyes rabs*).

25 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 191; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente (in press); Schaeffer 2011, 472. Cf. NGMPP L194/13; L970/3; E693/4; U rgyan rDo rje 1976, 1–35.

26 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente (in press); Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 135; Schaeffer 2011, 476.

27 See Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017. Detailed information on the identified craftsmen is available in the database of the above-mentioned projects. Information on fifteen artists is also provided in the appendix of this essay.

28 On this subject, see Clemente and Lunardo (forthcoming); Lunardo (forthcoming a); Lunardo (forthcoming b).

The title frame of three further xylographs associated with the first typology, that is to say NGMPP E908/3,²⁹ L10/21³⁰ and L10/22,³¹ matches with variation 1f. Unfortunately, the last line of the last folio of E908/3 in which the artists' names appear is unreadable. Only one name is legible, i.e. Padma. We know the names of the carvers of the blocks of L10/21 and L10/22; nevertheless, only one carver mentioned in L10/21 and two cited in L10/22 have the appropriate specialisation, that is to say is skilled in carving both blocks and illustrations. The artist of the former print is also one of the two of the latter, namely *bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan*. The other is, once again, *dpon btsun Padma*.

Lastly, the frame of two xylographs, vols. 657/5³² and 657/6,³³ belongs to the third type. We know the name of the drawer of the illustrations of the former print, namely *mkhas pa dPal chen*, a famous Gung thang painter.³⁴ The carver of the illustrations is not specified, but the colophon mentions *dpon btsun Padma*, *mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis* and *bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan* among the carvers of the blocks. *bSod nams bkra shis* had two specialisations, as carver of blocks and carver of illustrations. He actually was a well-known engraver of illustrations and participated in many printing projects in Mang yul Gung thang at least from 1523 to 1555.³⁵ The drawers of the illustrations of vol. 657/6 are *mkhas pa Don bzang* and *mkhas pa Dri med*,³⁶ both renowned painters associated with

29 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 195; Clemente 2016a, 407; Clemente (in press).

30 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 193; Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 78; Schaeffer 2011, 476.

31 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 193; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b, 78; Clemente (in press); Roesler 2000; Roesler 2011; Schaeffer 2011, 476. Cf. NGMPP L813/2 and E2617/9.

32 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 124, 130–32; Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014a; Clemente 2015, 187–88; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); Clemente 2016c; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 331; Diemberger and Clemente 2013. Cf. NGMPP L477/13; *dPal brtsegs*, text no. 31.

33 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 124, 130–35; Clemente 2009; Clemente 2014a; Clemente 2015, 188; Clemente 2016a, 408; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2016c; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 331; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 123, 130, 131, 134–137. Cf. NGMPP L456/7.

34 On this master, see also Clemente 2017; Clemente and Lunardo (forthcoming); Ehrhard 2000a, 77, 79; Jackson 1996, 122; Lunardo (forthcoming a).

35 On this artist, see also Clemente 2016b, 87–88; Clemente 2017; Ehrhard 2000a, 71–73, 75, 79.

36 On this master, see Clemente 2016b, 85–87; Ehrhard 2000a, 71, 73–76; Jackson 1996, 122–25; Lunardo (forthcoming a); Sernesi 2016.

sman thang pa sMan bla don grub's tradition.³⁷ Again, the carvers of the illustrations are not cited in the colophon, but among the carvers of the blocks we find bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan.

To sum up, the Brag dkar rta so prints examined so far exhibit title frames belonging to all three types. The drawn frames belonging to the first type were carved by both dpon btsun Padma and rDo rje rgyal mtshan. The frames of the xylographs associated with the second type were probably carved by bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. Those belonging to the third type are associated with three famous painters, mkhas pa dPal chen, mkhas pa Dri med and mkhas pa Don bzang, as well as with three well-known carvers of illustrations, dpon btsun Padma, rDo rje rgyal mtshan and bSod nams bkra shis. Since we do not know the name/s of the artist/s who drew the title frames belonging to the first two types, we can only suggest that the more elaborated drawing of the third type is due to the involvement of different painters, or else that the innovation might have been favoured by the collaboration of the painters with bSod nams bkra shis, an artist who is never mentioned in the colophons and/or signatures of the prints belonging to the first two types.

Kun gsal sGang po che

We were able to locate twelve prints produced at Kun gsal sGang po che, near the village of gTsang, to the south-east of rDzong dkar, in Gung thang. This hermitage was one of the residences of bo dong Chos dbang rgyal mtshan (1484–1549),³⁸ a religious master who promoted many printing projects in the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom. All projects carried out here but one were supervised by him.

The drawn frame of seven examined xylographs belongs to the first type with two variations, that is to say 1b and 1c. Six frames match with variation 1c and are

³⁷ On sman thang pa sMan bla don grub's painting tradition, see Jackson 1996, chapt. 3. See also Clemente 2009, 3.7; Clemente 2016b, 85–86; Denwood 1996; Lo Bue-Ricca 1990, 27–28.

³⁸ On this master, see Ehrhard 2000a, 23–50.

those included in vols 361/1_1,³⁹ 361/2,⁴⁰ 361/3,⁴¹ 361/4,⁴² 363/2⁴³— preserved in the Tucci Tibetan Collection — and in NGMPP L560/23.⁴⁴ The first five were all printed in 1538–39 (the first four during the same printing project) and belong to the bka' gdams pa school. According to their colophons and signatures, mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis is the carver of the illustrations of vols 361/3 and 363/2. The name of the artist who drew the illustrations of the former xylograph is not mentioned, but we know the drawers who worked on vol. 363/2, namely mkhas pa Dri med, mkhas pa Chos dpal and mkhas pa sMon lam. The colophons and signatures of other two prints, that is to say, vols 361/1_1 and 361/3, tell us only the name of the scribe, mkhas pa sKyab pa, an eclectic artist who, according to Clemente's research, appears to have been trained in several specialisations. He seems to have worked as a master scribe, draftsman and carver of illustrations, so that he might have acted as drawer and/or carver of the frames of the above-mentioned xylographs. As for vol. 361/4, we only know the name of the carver of its blocks, namely bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan, who might have also been the carver of its title frame. The sixth xylograph, NGMPP L560/23, was instead printed in an unspecified Mouse Year, which may correspond to 1516, 1528, 1540, 1552 or 1564. According to the colophon, the scribe of the xylograph was mkhas pa sKyab pa and the drawer of illustrations mkhas pa dPal chen. From what Clemente has discovered so far, mkhas pa sKyab pa was active from 1521 to 1546, whereas mkhas pa dPal chen's worked as drawer of illustrations from 1546 until after 1555. Information gathered so far shows that mkhas pa sKyab pa worked as scribe between 1538 and 1540. We would therefore tend to exclude 1516, 1528 and 1564 as the date of printing of NGMPP L560/23. This xylograph was likely produced in 1540. As for the artists who drew and carved the title page, both mkhas pa sKyab pa and mkhas pa dPal chen could be the draftsmen. The carver may instead have been either mkhas pa sKyab pa or the carver of the blocks, namely gsol dpon Nam mkha' dkon mchog, but we

39 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente (in press).

40 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132. Cf. BDRC (= Buddhist Digital Resource Centre): W00KG09688.

41 On this work, see Clemente 2016a: 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132. Cf. BDRC: W00KG09688.

42 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132. Cf. BDRC: W1KG4473.

43 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 129–130, n. 67; Ehrhard 2000a, 118–129.

44 On this work, see Clemente (in press).

do not have any information regarding the work of this latter artists. So far he is only mentioned as an engraver of NGMPP L560/23.

The frame matching with variation 1b belongs to NGMPP L189/5-190/1. This xylograph was printed in 1531 by Chos dbang rgyal mtshan. We do not have any specific information on the artists who worked on the print. We only know that five carvers were involved in its production.⁴⁵

The frames of the remaining five prints, that is to say NGMPP AT53/17-54/1,⁴⁶ printed in 1533, vols 286/1⁴⁷ and 286/2,⁴⁸ produced in 1523–24 (during the same printing project), NGMPP L66/5,⁴⁹ printed in 1551, and vol. 363/1,⁵⁰ produced in 1539–40, belong instead to the second type with four different variations, 2a1, 2c, 2c2 and 2e respectively. The drawer of the illustrations of AT53/17-54/1 and vol. 286/1 is mkhas pa Dri med, while the carver of illustrations is bSod nams bkra shis. This latter also carved the illustrations of vol. 363/1. We do not have any information on the artists who were involved in the production of vol. 286/2 but they were probably the same found in the colophon of vol. 286/1. The carver of the illustrations of L66/5 is bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. L66/5 is the only one xylograph which was not produced by Chos dbang rgyal mtshan. This is one of the volumes included in his Collected works, which were printed after his death⁵¹.

To sum up, the frames of the twelve examined xylographs belong to the first and second types. Five of the seven prints with a first-type frame were produced in 1538–39. NGMPP L189/5-190/1 was printed in 1531 whereas L560/23 was likely printed in 1540. The drawers of the frames of these six prints were mkhas pa Dri med, sMon lam and Chos dpal—who worked together—, mkhas pa dPal chen, and mkhas pa sKyab pa. This latter artist may have acted as both drawer and carver. The frames of the five remaining xylographs belong to the second type and were drawn by mkhas pa Dri

45 On the story of the printing, see Ehrhard 2000a, 37.

46 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente 2016b; Ehrhard 2000c, IX. The printing colophon of this xylograph is provided in Ehrhard 2000a, 104–114. Facsimile edition in Ehrhard 2000c, 1–510. Cf. vol. 743 no. 2 (National Archives, Katmandu); NGMPP L1121/3–L1122/1.

47 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 131; Ehrhard 2000a, 29–30. Cf. NGMPP L755/4-L756/1; L211/2.

48 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2. Cf. NGMPP L755/4-756/1.

49 On this work, see also Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press). The colophon is provided in Ehrhard 2000a, 165–170.

50 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente 2016b; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 132; Diemberger and Clemente 2013, 129–130, n. 67.

51 See Ehrhard 2016, 225–228.

med (in 1523–24 and 1533) and carved by bSod nams bkra shis (in 1523–24, 1533 and 1539–40). The frame of one of the prints was carved by rDo rje rgyal mtshan in 1551.

rDong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po

We identified seven xylographs produced in the printing house of rDzong dkar/Khyung rdzong dkar po, close to the rDzong dkar chos sde monastery, located in the capital of the Gung thang area. The drawn frame of all these prints but one belongs to the first type with five variations, that is to say 1b, 1b1, 1b3, 1c and 1d. The frame of vols NGMPP AT61/21_1⁵² and L189/4,⁵³ both preserved at the National Archives of Kathmandu, matches with variation 1b. The former xylograph belongs to the bo dong pa school and is associated with the Mahāmudrā tradition. It was produced in 1521. The latter print is instead associated with the rnying ma pa school. It belongs to the literary genre of hagiographies and is later than the bo dong xylograph since it was produced in 1527. Both xylographs were printed by Chos dbang rgyal mtshan. The name of the artists responsible for the illustrations of these two prints can be found in the colophons of both texts. mkhas pa Dri med is cited as the drawer of the illustrations of both works. The carver of the illustrations of AT61/21_1 is not mentioned in the colophon, but we know the names of the carvers who worked on the blocks. Among these, only bSod nams rnam rgyal seems to have been trained also as a carver of illustrations, therefore he may be the engraver in charge of the drawn frame of this print. The name of the carvers of the illustrations in L189/4 are instead mentioned in the colophon, namely bSod nams bkra shis and lha ris sKyab pa. lHa ris should be an epithet of mkhas pa sKyab pa.

The other four prints that exhibit a frame matching with type 1 are vol. 671/7,⁵⁴ NGMPP L143/6-144/1,⁵⁵ vol. 671/5⁵⁶ and NGMPP E2934/3-2935/1.⁵⁷ These present the

52 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 409; Clemente (in press b); Ehrhard 2000a, 87. This text is reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 349–85. Cf. NGMPP L189/3; L390/4; vol. 754 no. 1 (National Archives, Kathmandu).

53 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 409; Clemente 2016b; Ehrhard 2000a, 32–33, 72–73, 101–103. Cf. dPal brtsegs: text no. 16; NGMPP L9/3.

54 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335–36. Cf. NGMPP L195/12.

55 The colophon of this work is provided in Ehrhard 2000a, 115–17. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 73.

56 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 410; Clemente 2016b; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335. Cf. NGMPP L195/10; L1208/4.

57 On this work, see Clemente 2014b; Clemente 2016a, 409; Ehrhard 2000d; Ehrhard 2013. Cf. Tibetan 149.

following variations respectively: 1b1, 1b3, 1c and 1d. We do not have any information on the artists who worked on vol. 671/7; we know instead the name of the carver of illustration involved in the production of vol. 671/5, namely mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis. These two xylographs were printed during the same project undertaken in 1540 by Nam mkha' rdo rje (1486–1553), a master belonging to the 'ba' ra bka' brgyud sub-school, with the help of Chos dbang rgyal mtshan.⁵⁸ The drawer of illustrations of L143/6-144/1, which was printed in 1537, is mkhas pa Dri med, whereas the carver of illustrations is mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis. The drawers of the illustrations of E2934/3-2935/1, which was produced in 1521, are instead mkhas pa Dri med and mkhas pa rDor mgon, while the carvers are Chos skyabs dpal bzang — a skilled engraver of blocks and also a carver of illustrations who was active at least from 1514 to 1525⁵⁹ — bSod nams rnam rgyal and mkhas pa sKyab pa. Both the above mentioned projects were supervised by Chos dbang rgyal mtshan.

The only print with a frame belonging to the second type, variation 2e, is vol. 671/1, printed in 1540 during the same project of vol. 671/7 and 671/5.⁶⁰ According to the signature, the carver of the illustrations is mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis. The drawer of the illustrations is not mentioned in the colophon or signatures. However, according to Lunardo's examination of the style of illustrations, it is possible that the painter is mkhas pa Dri med.⁶¹

To sum up, the drawn frame of six xylographs matches with the first type. mkhas pa Dri med is the drawer of four of these—associated with rDo rje mgon po in one of the prints—, bSod nams bkra shis is the carver of three of these, and bSod nams rnam rgyal and mkhas pa sKyab pa should be the carvers who worked on two of the frames each. The frame matching with the second type is also associated with mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis and, likely, with mkhas pa Dri med.

⁵⁸ See Ehrhard 2000a, 55–66.

⁵⁹ On this artist, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 70.

⁶⁰ On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 45 n. 38, 61–63.

⁶¹ On this subject, see Clemente and Lunardo (forthcoming); Lunardo (forthcoming a).

gNas

gNas is located in the vicinity of sKyid grong, in Mang yul, and is the birthplace of Rab 'byams pa Byams pa phun tshogs (1503–1581), a religious master who undertook many printing projects in the Gung thang kingdom starting from 1555.⁶²

Five examined prints were produced at gNas. The title frame of three of these works – NGMPP L109/11,⁶³ L535/5⁶⁴ and vol. 1355⁶⁵ – is associated with the first type, with three different variations, 1b2, 1d1 and 1e respectively. Unfortunately, we do not have any information about the artists who worked on these prints.

The drawn frame of the remaining two xylographs – vols 587⁶⁶ and 657/4⁶⁷ – belongs to the second type and matches with variation 2c1. The drawer of the illustrations of the former print produced in 1561 is mkhas pa Don bzang, while the carver should be bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan. The latter xylograph was printed in 1559, and the carver involved in its production is rDo rje rgyal mtshan.

'Tsho rkyen

Five identified prints were produced at the hermitage of 'Tsho rkyen, which should be located not far from Chab rom phug, in Mang yul Gung thang.⁶⁸ The drawn frame of all but one matches with the first type, variation 1b. The latter, NGMPP AT 150/7,⁶⁹ exhibits a frame belonging to the second type, variation 2c. All these xylographs actually belong to a unique printing project undertaken by bTsun pa Chos legs in 1514, during which he printed a textbook (*yig cha*) on Mahāmudrā he himself had written at Chab rom phug some years earlier, between 1501 and 1504.⁷⁰

62 On this master, see in particular Ehrhard 2012.

63 On this work, see Bacot 1954, 292; Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2012, 173; Schaeffer 2011, 473. Cf. dPal brtsegs: text no. 36; U rgyan rdo rje 1976, 451–501.

64 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 411; Clemente (in press).

65 On this work, see De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 447.

66 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente 2016b, 76–80; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 314; Ehrhard 2012, 163.

67 On this work, see Clemente 2007, 125–126, 143–150; Clemente 2016a, 411–12; Clemente 2016b, 79; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 330–331; Ehrhard 2012, 158; Roberts 2007, 40–47; Smith 2001, 76. Cf. Tibetan 155.1 (Cambridge University Library).

68 See Ehrhard 2000b, XIII–XV. See also Clemente (in press).

69 See Ehrhard 2000b, XIII–XIV. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000b, 1–20.

70 See Ehrhard 2000a, 24; Ehrhard 2000b, XIII–XV.

The four xylographs with the drawn frame matching with the first type, namely NGMPP AT61/21_2,⁷¹ AT61/21_3,⁷² AT61/21_4,⁷³ AT61/21_5,⁷⁴ share the same drawer of illustrations, namely ltas dga' Chos bzang, an artist associated with the bo dong pa monastery of lTas dga'/rTa sga.⁷⁵ The carvers of AT 61/21_2 were gnas brtan dge slong Seng ge and dge bshes Chos skyong. The former came from lHa mdun⁷⁶ and was active at least between 1514 and 1521;⁷⁷ the latter was involved in printing projects from 1514 up to 1555. Unfortunately, so far we have no evidence that they used to carve illustrations as well. The engravers of AT 61/21_3 were dpon yig dPal ldan rgyal po and bSod nams rnam rgyal. dPal ldan rgyal po was both a master scribe and an expert carver. He worked as an engraver at least from 1514 until 1546.⁷⁸ However, he did not work as a carver of illustrations, thus bSod nams rnam rgyal must have been responsible for the engraving of the illustrations and, likely, of the title page of AT 61/21_3. The engravers of AT 61/21_4 were instead Chos skyabs dpal bzang and dKon mchog. So far Clemente has found the latter artist mentioned only in this xylograph, therefore the carver of the illustrations – and of the drawn frame – was probably Chos skyabs dpal bzang. The wooden blocks of AT 61/21_5, the last print of this project, were carved by dpon yig dPal ldan rgyal po and bSod nams rnam rgyal, and the latter probably engraved the illustrations.

The carvers of the blocks of AT 150/7, which exhibits a frame matching with the second type, were gnas brtan Seng ge and dpon yig dPal ldan rgyal po. Neither of them seems to have been trained as a carver of illustrations. Since this xylograph also belongs to the same printing project as the prints described above, it also shares the same painter of the illustrations, namely Chos bzang.

71 On this work, see Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 70; Ehrhard 2000b, XIV, 21–96. This work was erroneously identified as a rDzong dkar print in Clemente 2016a, 409.

72 On this work, see Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 70; Ehrhard 2000b, XIV, 97–143. This work was erroneously identified as a rDzong dkar print in Clemente 2016a, 409.

73 On this work, see Ehrhard 2000b, XIV, 145–210. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 70. This work was erroneously identified as a rDzong dkar print in Clemente 2016a, 409.

74 On this work, see Ehrhard 2000b, XIV, 211–240. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 70. This work was erroneously identified as a rDzong dkar print in Clemente 2016a, 409; Clemente 2016b, 81.

75 This monastery is located in the Nub ris region, in Mang yul Gung thang. See Ehrhard 2000a, 70.

76 lHa mdun is located in the Nub ris region, in Mang yul Gung thang.

77 On this artist, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 70.

78 On this artist, see also Clemente 2017; Ehrhard 2000a, 70; Ehrhard 2013, 145.

4 Chab rom phug, Glang phug, A ti sha'i chos 'khor, and mDzo lhas

The number of identified prints from Chab rom phug, mDzo lhas and A ti sha'i chos 'khor analysed so far is extremely limited, therefore it is not possible to make significant remarks. However, here we can provide the available data in the hope of supplementing these with further information in the coming months.

Chab rom phug

Chab rom phug is a hermitage located near the village of Rud, south of Kun gsal sGang po che and west of rDzong dkar. It was established by bTsun pa Chos legs as one of his retreat places, therefore the works printed there seem to be associated with the bo dong pa tradition. Chos dbang rgyal mtshan also moved there in 1511.⁷⁹

So far we have identified three prints from Chab rom phug, vol. 286/3,⁸⁰ NGMPP AT 61/21_7⁸¹ and L18/3.⁸² The drawn frame of all prints belongs to the first type and to the same variation, 1b. The two first xylographs were printed in 1515 during the same project. The name of the drawer of the illustrations is not cited in any of these prints. Among the carvers mentioned in vol. 286/3, Chos skyabs dpal bzang and bSod nams rnam rgyal should be those who engraved the title frames. The carvers of the blocks of AT 61/21_7 were instead bSam grub seng ge and dPal ldan rgyal po.⁸³ Unfortunately, so far we have no evidence that they used to carve illustrations as well. The third xylograph was printed in 1525. The drawer of the illustrations is dpon chen Grags mgon, whose name appears only in this print. The carver is again Chos skyabs dpal bzang.

⁷⁹ See Ehrhard 2000a, 24.

⁸⁰ This text is also reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 241–321. See also Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente 2016b, 81–82; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 2; Ehrhard 2000a, 24, 71; Ehrhard 2000b, XV.

⁸¹ This text is also reproduced in Ehrhard 2000b, 323–47. See also Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 71; Ehrhard 2000b, XV.

⁸² The colophon is transliterated in Ehrhard 2000a, 95–100. See also Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente 2016b, 82; Clemente (in press); Ehrhard 2000a, 72.

⁸³ The name of the second carver is found in the biography of bTsun pa Chos legs. Cf. NGMPP L18/3, fol. 110a5.

Glang phug

We were able to locate only two prints from Glang phug (La 'de/'debs Valley), namely vols 709/2⁸⁴ and 709/3,⁸⁵ both produced in 1554 by Nam mkha' dpal 'byor, a disciple of Nam mkha' rdo rje. The frame of both xylographs matches with the second type with two variations, 2e1 and 2d respectively. The carver of the frame of the former print should be dpon btsun Padma. The drawer of the frame of the latter xylograph seems to be mkhas pa bSod nam 'od zer, who is actually a renowned scribe.⁸⁶ The carver is bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan.

A ti sha'i chos 'khor

So far we have identified only one print from A ti sha'i chos 'khor (La 'de/'debs Valley), that is to say vol. 1466,⁸⁷ which was produced in 1546 by Nam mkha' rdo rje and rtogs ldan dPal mgon. Its frame belongs to the second type, variation 2a. The drawer of the frame should be mkhas pa sKyab pa and the carver dpon btsun Padma.

mDzo lhas

mDzo lhas should be situated on the banks of the dPal khud mtsho, not far from Chos sdings, in Gung thang. So far we have been able to locate only one print from this place, vol. 671/6,⁸⁸ which was produced in 1540. Its frame belongs to the first type, variation 1c. The drawer of the frame should be mkhas pa sKyab pa and the carver bSod nam bkra shis.

84 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 412; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 342; Ehrhard 2000a, 55–66; Sernesi 2013, 205.

85 On this work, see Clemente 2016a, 412; De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 342; Ehrhard 2000a, 55–66, 77, 171–75; Sernesi 2013, 205.

86 On this artist, see also Ehrhard 2000a, 73–74, 76–78; Jackson 1996, 122; Roesler 2000, 229.

87 The text is available in U rgyan rdo rje 1976, 381–449. On this work, see also Clemente 2016a, 413; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 458–59; Ehrhard 2000a, 65, 162–64.

88 On this work, see Clemente 2015, 190; Clemente 2016a, 413; Clemente 2016b, 77; Clemente 2017; Clemente (in press); De Rossi Filibeck 2003, 335; Ehrhard 2000a, 75–76, 130–41.

5 Conclusion

This article has been undertaken with the aim of presenting the identified typology and variations of the drawn frames of 16th-century Mang yul Gung thang xylographs and making some preliminary remarks on sixty prints that have been examined so far.

Preliminary results show that the drawn frames matching with the first type can be found in xylographs produced in all the printing houses except Glang phug and Ati sha'i chos 'khor, although the number of prints from the latter places is too limited to provide us with the necessary amount of data. Xylographs with a title frame belonging to the second type come from all printing houses but Chab rom phug and mDzo lhas. Unfortunately, we do not have enough specimens even from the latter places. The third type is only present in prints from Brag dkar rta so, which is the most productive printing house in the Mang yul Gung thang kingdom.

It seems that the first type of drawn frames goes back to 1514 and is associated with 'Tsho rkyen. The first variation of this type appears to be 1b. In the following year a xylograph with the same variation was printed at Chab rom phug. The carvers of the illustrations seem to have been the same, namely Chos skyabs dpal bzang and bSod nams mnam rgyal. Both prints were produced by bTsun pa Chos legs. According to our study, the second type appears for the first time in the same year, 1514, at 'Tsho rkyen, during the same printing project of the above-mentioned xylographs under the supervision of bTsun pa Chos legs. The artists are therefore the same. However, it seems that this type starts to be widely used from 1523-24. It seems indeed comprehensible that the first type, which exhibits the simplest drawing, was the first to be adopted. The third type, which is the more elaborated, appears to have been developed many years later, after 1555; however, we do not have enough examples of this kind of drawn frame to hazard a guess.

While examining the colophons and signatures of these sixty prints, we noticed that most artists were employed in several printing houses, especially those who were specialised in two or more tasks. It appears that supervisors of projects used to summon the same group of artists for all their enterprises. Some of these supervisors, such as bTsun pa Chos legs and Chos dbang rgyal mtshan, had several residences, therefore they organised printing projects in different places. Only fifteen artists are mentioned as drawers and carvers of illustrations. As explained above, we think that the same artists were also responsible for the title frames. Among the fifteen artists, nine acted as draftsmen and five as engravers, only one craftsman was specialised in both arts. Five of the nine drawers, namely bSod nams 'od zer, dpon chen Grags mgon, rDo rje mgon po, mkhas pa Chos dpal and mkhas pa sMon

lam, worked in the production of one xylograph each. Information on the activities of these artists can be found in the appendix of this essay.

Since this field of research is completely new, at this stage of the research we are not able to suggest whether the typology of the title pages is associated with the specific style of a certain printing house or rather with a particular artist. Since the identification of the provenance of early xylographs was one of the aims of the TIBET project, and the location of characteristic stylistic features is one of the elements that may help discovering the origin of each print, all these features have been investigated according to place of production. This is also the reason why preliminary results on the study of title frames have been listed according to printing houses. Although these results seem not to indicate that the style of drawn frames depends on a certain place of production, the fact that several supervisors organised projects in different printing houses does not allow us to exclude this possibility. It is indeed likely that the style of drawn frames is associated to the guidelines given by the supervisors of these enterprises, therefore the fact that these organisers moved from one place to another makes our research much more complicated. This question will possibly find an answer only when further prints and projects of the same period and area are analysed. It is our hope to expand this research in the coming months.

Appendix

A chart with the available information on the activities of the above-mentioned fifteen artists is provided below. Names appear in Tibetan alphabetical order. The third column shows the printing houses where each artist was employed. Printing houses are indicated with abbreviations: BK for Brag dkar rta so; KS for Kun gsal sgang po che; ZK for rDzong dkar; GN for gNas; TK for 'Tsho rkyen; CR for Chab rom phug; GP for Glang phug; ACK for Ati sha'i chos 'khor; ZH for mDzo lhas. The fourth column shows the specialisation of each artist. In this chart we only took into account two specialisations, namely drawer and carver of illustrations and title frames. The specialisations are marked with D and C respectively. In case of an artist skilled in two tasks, the specialisation for which he is more renowned goes first. The fifth column indicates the types on which the artist worked.

Artist's name	Years of activity	Printing houses	Specialisation	Typology of drawn frame
mkhas pa sKyab pa	1521–1546	KS ZK ACK ZH	D & C	Type 1 & Type 2
dpon chen Grags mgon	1525	CR	D	Type 1
Chos skyabs dpal bzang	1514–1525	ZK TK CR	C	Type 1
mkhas pa Chos dpal	1538/39	KS	D	Type 1
ltas dga' Chos bzang	1514	TK	D	Type1 & Type 2
mkhas pa Don bzang	After 1557–1561	BK GN	D	Type 2 & Type 3
mkhas pa Dri med	1521–after 1557	BK KS ZK	D	Type1, Type 2 & Type3
mkhas pa rDo rje mgon po	1521	ZK	D	Type1
bcu dpon rDo rje rgyal mtshan	1538/39–1563	BK KS GN GP	C	Type1, Type 2 & Type3
dpon btsun Padma	1538 ⁸⁹ –1561	BK GP ACK	C	Type1, Type 2 & Type 3
mkhas pa dPal chen	1540/52–after 1555 ⁹⁰	BK KS	D	Type 1, Type 3
mkhas pa sMon lam	1538/39	KS	D	Type1
mkhas pa bSod nams bkra shis	1523/24–after 1555	BK KS ZK ZH	C	Type1, Type 2 & Type 3
bSod nams rnam rgyal	1514–1521	ZK TK CR	C	Type 1
mkhas pa bSod nams 'od zer	1554	GP	D	Type 2

89 dPon btsun Padma started to work as a carver of blocks in 1533. We know that he was responsible for the engraving of the xylograph of Nam mkha' rgyal mtshan's biography, which was produced in one of the printing houses of the La 'de Valley. Cf. NGMPP L18/14: fol.19b (carver's signature at the bottom of the folio) and fol. 48a6.

90 mkhas pa dPal chen also worked as the drawer of illustrations of a xylograph printed at bTsum in 1546. The data about this xylograph were not included in this essay because prints produced at bTsum are still under examination.

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- Vol. 657/3 = lHa btsun Rin chen rnam rgyal (1473–1557), *Tshe gcig la 'ja' lus brnyes pa rje ras chung pa'i rnam thar rags bsdu*s mgur rnam rgyas pa. Xylograph kept at the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–93a).
- Vol. 657/4 = rGod tshang ras chen (1482–1559), *rJe btsun ras chung rdo rje grags pa'i rnam thar rnam mkhyen thar lam gsal bar ston pa'i me long ye shes ky'i snang ba*. Xylograph kept in the Tucci Tibetan Collection, ISIAO Library, Rome (fols 1a–243a).
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Emmanuel Francis

The Other Way Round: From Print to Manuscript

Abstract: The *Tirumurukkāṟruppaṭai*, possibly dated to the 7th century, is one of the earliest Tamil texts to have been published in the first half of 19th c. in Tamil Nadu. It is a poem in 317 lines praising the god Murukaṅ and it has been popular in at least three different circles as one among the *Pattuppāṭṭu* of the so-called Caṅkam corpus, as part of the canon of devotional Tamil Śaiva texts (the *Tirumurai*), and as a devotional text of its own, independent of Śaivism. Among the more than fifty extant manuscripts from the *Tirumurukkāṟruppaṭai* that I have been so far able to examine, I had the surprise to find that four are in fact palm-leaf copies of earlier printed editions. This fact raises several questions that I will try to address in this paper. Why would one have ordered a manuscript copy of a printed book? Is it related to economical, religious or ritual preoccupations? Was *ōlai* (palm-leaf) cheaper than paper? Was the printed book no more available? What was the use of such a manuscript? Are there other such manuscripts in India?

1 Introduction

A systematic search, for a project of critical edition of the *Tirumurukkāṟruppaṭai* as well as for a study of the paratexts and commentaries of this possibly 7th-century devotional Tamil poem to Murukaṅ, has yielded so far more than 50 manuscript witnesses—all on palm leaves—of that text (*mūlam*) and/or its commentary (*urai*).¹ Among these, four stand in an interesting relationship with early printed editions. One has a title-page identical with that of a printed edition (mentioning the name of the editor-commentator, the date, and the year of publication). Another has a less explicit title-page, but nonetheless one of the print culture type, as opposed to briefer mentions of titles in the manuscript tradition. All have an introduction to the book that is similar in content. This introduction variously called *pirapantavaralāru* or *nūl varalāru*, ‘history of the work,’ is not found in other manuscripts, but appeared in several of the early printed editions. Even though some of these manuscript witnesses could theoretically be pre-print drafts sent to the press, there are

¹ I have accessed these manuscripts through digital photos and, for some among them, seen the physical objects in the libraries safekeeping them.

good reasons, expounded below, for assuming that they are indeed manuscript copies of printed editions.

The study of such manuscript copies of printed books is instructive in several respects. It puts the focus on the period of transition between manuscript and print culture, a slow process indeed, as print did not rapidly cause the disappearance of manuscripts. It also enables us to observe scribes' habits of writing and editing since we can compare the master printed version to the manuscript copy and see the transformations and additions made by the scribe when copying the printed edition (scribal blessings, colophons, headings). In the present case, the manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* raise questions that pertain to the history of that text only, but other issues concern also the whole Indian and Indic manuscript culture in the age of print culture.²

As for the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, how to account for such a proportion of manuscript witnesses (approximately one in ten) copied from printed books? Is it an exceptional proportion? What do we know about other manuscript copies of printed books in the Indian and Indic world? Is it a widespread phenomenon? Why would one have commissioned a manuscript copy of a printed book? Is the reason for having such a copy made linked to economic, technological, sociological, religious or ritual reasons? In the case of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, why was palm-leaf used and not paper? Was it cheaper? Was the printed book no longer available? What was the *raison d'être* of such a manuscript? The merit of the scribe and/or the commissioner? Its cultural value or symbolism? Was the handwritten palm-leaf book—that is a traditional book—considered different and more valuable than the modern book printed on paper?

These are just a few of the issues at stake and I am afraid I cannot even respond to most of the questions asked here, but I hope that the following discussion on the four examples of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* can throw a ray of light and suggest paths to explore.

I will describe these four examples, make codicological observations, compare their texts to those of the printed editions they were (or are suspected to be) copied from. I will check if some of the reasons that prompted, in these four particular cases, the creation of a manuscript copy of a printed edition, are assessable from an examination of the physical witnesses. I will then come back to the problem in the larger perspective of Indian and Indic manuscript culture. But to begin with, some more information about the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* might be useful.

² Under Indic I include other regional manuscript cultures (insular and continental Southeast Asia, central Asia) that have much in common with Indian manuscript culture (writing support, related scripts, sometimes same language and similar literary and religious culture).

2 The *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*

The *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* is one of the long poems of the so-called Caṅkam corpus of classical Tamil texts, itself comprised of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* ('The Ten Long Poems,' of which the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* is traditionally the first) and the *Eṭṭuttokai* ('The Eight Anthologies' of shorter poems). The root-text of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* dates maybe to the end of the 6th or the beginning of 7th century CE and has been the object of commentaries at least from the 14th century. The poem, in 317 metrical lines (*aṭis*), praises the god Murukaṅ, a name in fact attested only once in the work, while Muruku is used twice. This deity already combines in this text northern Sanskritic and southern features; in other words Murukaṅ is here already identified with Skanda.

The poem lauds Murukaṅ in six different abodes, most only vaguely described geographically. These abodes are identified with the major temples of the god in present-day Tamil Nadu (see Francis 2015). The division of the text into six sections is reflected in the inter-titles used in the manuscripts (most of which seem to date to the 19th century).

Besides being one of the Caṅkam poems, the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* is also part of another textual canon, as it is found in the eleventh *Tirumuṛai*. The twelve *Tirumuṛais* or the twelve books of *The Tirumuṛai* constitute the devotional Śaiva corpus in Tamil, compiled in the 12th century. Murukaṅ was accommodated in the *Tirumuṛai* because of his identification with Skanda, the son of Śiva.

It thus appears that the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* has been cherished in different circles. First, as one among the *Pattuppāṭṭu* of the so-called Caṅkam corpus, it was appreciated as a literary work. Second, as part of the eleventh *Tirumuṛai*, it was considered a devotional Tamil Śaiva text. The extant manuscripts however show that it is rarely transmitted in serial *Tirumuṛai* and *Pattuppāṭṭu* manuscripts. In fact, it is more often found either alone (whether *mūlam* only, *urai* only, or *mūlam* with *urai*) or in multiple-text manuscripts, some of which are compilations of Śaiva Tamil texts while, for some others, the rationale of the collection remains unclear. The manuscript history of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, which is mainly a history of the 19th century situation (the period of most of the manuscripts), shows that the text has been transmitted as a devotional text, sometimes in a Śaiva context, sometimes with no apparent relation to an exclusive Śaiva devotion.

This devotional quality of the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* explains why among the works of the Caṅkam corpus it is the one for which we have today the largest number of manuscripts.³ Additional stanzas to the root-text attest to the salvific or protective power of the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai*. Such is the case of the so-called *kāppu*—the most frequent of the ‘satellite stanzas,’ as Wilden (2014, 202, and see also Wilden in this volume) calls them, found in the manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai*. This stanza—which also appears in printed editions; see, for instance, *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* 1956, 82—may perhaps be read at the same time as an initial benediction, as it is mostly found in the beginning of the manuscripts, and as a *phalaśruti*, since it seems to imply that the recitation of the text will urge Murukaṅ’s help for his devotee:

orumuru kāvenre⁴ ṇuḷḷaṅ kuḷira vuvantuṭaṅē
varumuru kāvenru vāyveru vāṇiṟpak kaiyiṇṇaṅē
tarumuru kāvenru tāṇpulam pāṇiṟpat taiyaṇmunṇē
tirumuru kāṟrup paṭaiyuṭa ṇēvaruṅ cēvakaṅē

While my heart/mind cools saying ‘O unique Murukaṅ!’
 While my mouth keeps being in awe saying ‘Come, O Murukaṅ, as soon as pleased!’⁵
 While it keeps speaking grievingly saying ‘Give, O Murukaṅ, presently (in my) hand!’
 The warrior comes with the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai*, in front of the lady.⁶

This stanza, as I understand it,⁷ means that if one worships Murukaṅ with the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai*, the god will shower his grace. The text also gained wide popularity as Murukaṅ became an identity-marker of Tamilness (see Clothey 1978, 2). Furthermore the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* had—and still has—a marked devotional and ritual dimension, as a recited text. These particulars might explain the nature of its recent manuscript transmission (as a devotional text rather than a literary or strictly Śaiva text) and probably also account for the fact that it is one of the earliest Tamil texts to have been printed in the first half of the 19th century in Tamil Nadu (the first

3 For comparative figures of the extant manuscripts of Caṅkam works, see Wilden 2014, 42ff. (especially 43 and 139 concerning the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai*).

4 Printed editions have *kāvenra*, while most of the manuscripts have *kāvenre*, which I have thus adopted here.

5 Alternatively: While my mouth keeps being in awe and rejoicing at the same time saying ‘Come, O Murukaṅ!’

6 The warrior is Murukaṅ. The lady is Murukaṅ’s consort. One might equally understand that as soon as the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* has been recited, the god, correctly praised by the poetry, appears before the devotee, who, as suggested to me by Dominic Goodall, imagines him- or herself as the god’s consort.

7 For another translation, see Wilden 2014, 206.

edition known to me, by Caravaṇapperumāl, appeared in 1834). At the same time, this also means that quite early in the history of print-culture in Tamil Nadu several printed editions of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* were available as master texts for manuscript copies. The four witnesses of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* that I will describe were, I believe, probably such copies.

3 *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* manuscript copies of printed books

Table 1 provides a general overview of the four manuscripts that can be considered, with a varying degree of certainty, as manuscript copies of printed editions of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*. It shows the correspondence between the manuscripts and the supposedly master printed editions (when identified or suspected). The four manuscript witnesses are designated here and in the following pages as the Annamalai MS (A1) (Figs 1–2), the Pondicherry MS (I2) (Figs 3, 5–8), the Chennai MS (G9) (Fig. 4) and the Trivandrum MS (T4).⁸

Tab. 1: Manuscript copies of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* and their master printed editions.

Manuscripts	Printed books
Annamalai MS (internally dated to 1853/1854 or 1913/1914).	Edition (<i>mūlam</i>) by Caṇmuka Aiyar, probably published in the 1850s.
Pondicherry MS (internally dated to March 1864).	Edition (<i>mūlam + urai</i>) by Ārumukanāvalar, published several times (1853 ¹ , 1866 ² , 1873 ³ , 1881 ⁴ , 1886 ⁵ , 1906 ⁸ , 1911 ⁹ , 1913 ¹⁰ , 1917 ¹¹ , 1923 ¹² , 1935 ¹⁵).
Chennai MS (not internally dated).	
Trivandrum MS (not internally dated).	Undetermined edition.

⁸ The sigla are those used in Francis 2016, where the reader will find more information about the more than 50 manuscript witnesses of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* so far accessed. See ‘References: Manuscript Sources’ below for more details about these four manuscripts.

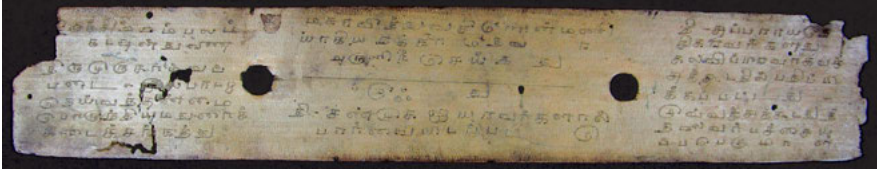


Fig. 1: Annamalai MS, fol. 1r: title-page. Photo: E. Francis.

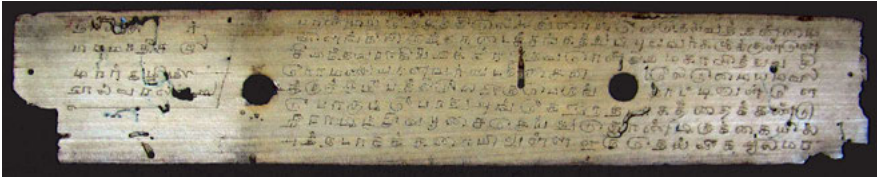


Fig. 2: Annamalai MS, fol. 1v: title-page and *nūl varalāru*. Photo E. Francis.

The Annamalai MS, with an internal date of 1853/4 (or, among other possibilities, 1913/4) is a copy of an edition of the root-text probably printed in the 1850s. The Pondicherry MS, internally dated to 1864, and the Chennai MS, undated, are copies of an edition of the root-text and commentary by Ārumukanāvalar, first published in 1853 and later republished several times. In the case of the Pondicherry MS, we know which edition was used since the title-page with the date of publication (Piramāṭica year of the Jovian cycle, Aippaci month, i.e. 1853) is reproduced. The Trivandrum MS has no internal date and I have not yet definitely identified the edition of which it may be a copy.

As for the two manuscripts with no internal date (the Chennai and the Trivandrum MSS), our knowledge of the palaeography of Tamil manuscripts is still too superficial to assess their age with confidence,⁹ but they might equally date to the second half of the 19th century.

Concerning these four manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāruppaṭai* of which the text closely follows that of printed editions, I see at first sight two possibilities. Either they are copies of these printed books or they are the final *ōlai* draft given to the press and as such an element of the chain that lead to the advent of the poem into the print culture. Several reasons make me believe that these four manuscripts belong to the first category.

⁹ I discuss below in detail the internal dates of the Annamalai MS and the Pondicherry MS.

Firstly, as far as we know, in the 19th century, when printing gradually became widespread in Tamil Nadu, drafts of printed books were written on paper, the usage of which spread at that period and the price of which became more affordable.¹⁰ The *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* might however be an exception to this pattern as none of its manuscript witnesses is paper.¹¹

Secondly, one would expect to find specific instructions for the press if our four manuscripts were pre-print drafts. I found none. Besides, the vertical format of paper being that of most printed book, the horizontal format of palm-leaf manuscript does not seem very suitable for a draft. Furthermore, the title-pages in our manuscripts, when there is one, are not particularly helpful in guiding the press towards the layout we find in the printed editions, as they are in *scriptio continua* with minimal punctuation. They look rather like typical title-pages of palm-leaf manuscripts.¹² But as they are longer than usual for manuscript titles, they look like the result of retro-conversion of printed title-pages into manuscript format. The Pondicherry MS looks friendlier to a printer, as it uses punctuation much more than the others, but its internal date indicates that it is later than the printed edition whose date is reproduced on the title-page. Finally, the Trivandrum MS, which does not use the *puḷḷi* to mark consonants that are not followed with a vowel, with the result that any consonant without *puḷḷi* could be read in two ways (either C [for consonant] or C + vowel *a*), would not be of great help to printers in an age when most printed books use the *puḷḷi* to dispel ambiguities.

Thirdly, I would presume that, given the relative affordability of paper and the technical skills required to write—that is actually incise—on palm leaf, the editor of a text would preferably use paper (although a traditional scholar might in fact be more at ease with a stylus than with a pen). And I see at first sight no reason why, once his work finished, an editor would have commissioned a professional scribe to write down on palm leaf the final draft (unless motivated by a conservative predilection for the traditional palm-leaf support).

10 On paper manuscripts or transcripts of Caṅkam texts, at the transition between palm-leaf manuscript and print, see Wilden 2014, 367ff.

11 On the lack of paper manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, Wilden (2014, 368) comments: ‘The most likely explanation for this situation is that a) the text was still so familiar that it was not necessary to experiment with transcribing it on paper, and b) print remained for quite some time either too expensive or questionable as a medium for a religious work that was meant to be used in daily worship.’

12 Only the Annamalai MS has the minimal characteristics of a printed title-page in the sense that it has a horizontal strike to separate the mention of the title of the book and that of the editor (Fig. 1) and isolates the word *iktu*, alone at the centre of a line. Note also the use of columns. Still *scriptio continua* is used and punctuation is minimal.

Fourthly, when such a manuscript is internally dated and when the details of the date are enough to obtain a corresponding date in the Common Era, the manuscript appears as later than the printed edition. Admittedly this is the case for only one out of the four manuscripts (the Pondicherry MS).

Such arguments are not fully conclusive, I must admit. For the sake of exposition, however, I will provisionally assume that the four manuscripts of the *Tirumurukāṛṛuppaṭai* dealt with below are indeed copies of printed editions. Let us now examine them individually, looking especially at the differences (missing parts, additions, variants) as compared to the printed editions.

4 The Annamalai MS

The Annamalai MS is an almost exact copy of an edition by Caṅmuka Aiyar, which probably appeared in the 1850s. I say 1850s because this edition does not contain any year of publication. This date in the 1850s is a guess by the compilers of the catalogue of the RMRL, from which I obtained a digital copy (which seems complete) of the book. The date approximation is seemingly based on the fact that Caṅmuka Aiyar published other books during this decade.

The Annamalai MS gives, like Caṅmuka Aiyar's edition in the form in which it is available to me, a title-page (fols 1r–1v1–3, left margin), an introduction (fols 1v–2v) referred to in the left margin as *nūl varalāru* (fol. 1v4, lm) (Figs 1–2), the so-called *kāppu* (fol. 3r), and the root-text (*mūlam*) (fols 3v–22r). The *Tirumurukāṛṛuppaṭai* is followed in the same manuscript by another text, still to be identified, and possibly also copied from a printed book.

Differences between the Annamalai MS and Caṅmuka Aiyar's edition are found in the title-page as shown in Table 2.¹³

¹³ I have not fully checked the manuscript, in which further possible scribal variants might occur.

Tab. 2: Text of title-pages of the Annamalai MS (fols 1r–1v3, lm) and Caṅmuka Aiyar’s edition (undated, p. 1). The title-page of the Annamalai MS (in *scriptio continua*) has been arranged so as to parallel the printed version. I have also introduced space between words. Differences are marked in bold.

Annamalai MS	Caṅmuka Aiyar’s edition
(fol. 1r1, c1) [t]irucciṛrampalam	(1) ᳚
(fol. 1r2, c1) kaṭavu! tuṇai	(2) kaṇapati tuṇai.
(fol. 1r3, c1) tirumurukāṛrup (fol. 1r4, c1)paṭai ᳚ [mūla]pāṭam ¹⁴	(3) tirumurukāṛruppaṭai (4) mūlapāṭam . ¹⁵ (small horizontal separation)
(fol. 1r5, c1) teyvattaṇmai (fol. 1r6, c1) poruntiya maturaik (fol. 1r7, c1) kaṭaiccaṅkattu (fol. 1r1, c2) makāvittuva	(5) teyvattaṇmaiporuntiya (6) maturaikkaṭaiccaṅkattumakāvitva
cirōṇmaṇi (fol. 1r2, c2) yākiya nakkīratēvar	(7) cirōṇmaṇiyākiya (8) nakkīratēvar
(fol. 1r3, c2) ° aruḷicceytatu (horizontal line)	(9) ° aruḷicceytatu . (long ornamented horizontal separation)
(fol. 1r4, c2) ° iḷtu	(10) ° iḷtu
(fol. 1r5, c2) ti – caṅmuka ° aiyaravarkaḷāl	(11) ti – caṅmuka ° aiyaravarkaḷāl
(fol. 1r6, c2) pārvaiyiṭappaṭtu	(12) pārvaiyiṭappaṭtu , (small horizontal separation)
(fol. 1r1, c3) ti – cupparāyatē (fol. 1r2, c3) cikara- varkaḷatu	(13) tiru – cupparāyatēcikaravarkaḷatu
(fol. 1r3, c3) kalvippiravākavac (fol. 1r4, c3) cuk- kūṭattil	(14) kalvippiravākavaccukūṭattil
patippi (fol. 1r5, c3) kkappaṭtatu –	(15) patippikkappaṭtatu .
(fol. 1r6, c3) ° ivvaccukkūṭatut	
(fol. 1r7, c3) talaivar paccaiya (fol. 1r8, c3) ppa- perumā!	
(fol. 1v1, lm) n[āyak]ar	
(fol. 1v2, lm) piramāṭica (varuṣam)	
(fol. 1v3, lm) mārkali (mācam)	

Note first that the *piḷḷaiyār cuḷi* (᳚, an auspicious symbol also used as punctuation mark) and the *kaṇapati tuṇai* blessing (‘Gaṇapati is help’) of the printed edition have been substituted by the words *tirucciṛrampalam*—that is Cidambaram, the temple of which is the Śaiva epicentre, so to speak, of Tamil Nadu—and by a more

¹⁴ The final *m* is in Grantha.

¹⁵ The final *m* is in Tamil script.

general blessing, that is *kaṭavuḷ tuṇai* ('God is help'). There are also minor orthographic variants: *makāvittuva* against *makāvitva*; [*mūla*]pāṭam, with final Grantha *m*, against *mūlapāṭam*, with final Tamil *m*; *ti* against *tiru*. The printed edition uses full stops, which are only sometimes reproduced, as dashes, in the manuscript. The title-page in the manuscript is immediately followed in the left margin by the intertitle *nūl varalāru* ௨ (fol. 1v4, left margin) while, in the printed edition, this intertitle appears as ௨ *varalāru*. on top of page 2.

More significant is an apparent addition in the manuscript, after the legal mention of the press' owner (fol. 1r6–8, c3 to fol. 1v1–3, lm):

ivvaccukkūtatut [i.e. ivvaccukkūṭattut] talaivar paccaiyappaperumāl n[āyak]ar pīramāṭica ((varuṣam)) mārkaḷi ((mācam))

'The head of this printing house (that is the *kalvippiravākavaccukkūṭam* mentioned in the preceding sentence) Paccaiyappa Perumāl Nāyakar. Pīramāṭica year, Mārkaḷi month.'

This addition consists in the name of an individual who was the head (*talaivar*) of the press—namely Paccaiyappa Perumāl Nāyakar, who is different from the owner of the press mentioned in the previous sentence, namely Cupparāya Tēcikar—and a date (*pīramāṭica* year of the Jovian cycle, *mārkaḷi* month).

As for the date, by want of further information (such as the day of the week and the number of the day), I cannot determine with certainty the correspondence with the Gregorian calendar. It might be any day between mid-December 1853 and mid-January 1854, or between December 1913 and January 1914 (or even between mid-December 1973 and mid-January 1974). The years 1793-1794 are impossible, because the press mentioned on the title-page was then not yet established.

This date in the manuscript seems at first sight that of the publication of the printed book copied. No date however appears on the title-page or elsewhere in the copy held in the RMRL (provided this is, as it indeed seems to be, a complete copy). One thus wonders if this date is that of the copy of the manuscript and if the manuscript was commissioned by Paccaiyappa Perumāl Nāyakar. A further issue is whether Paccaiyappa Perumāl Nāyakar, head of the press, was a contemporary of Cupparāya Tēcikar, owner of the press? Could the manuscript be a preprint draft with a mention of this second man of the press, a mention that somehow was left out in the print version? Or is Paccaiyappa Perumāl Nāyakar the successor of Cupparāya Tēcikar at the head of the press? Did he fail to find a print copy of this earlier publication of his press and did he commission a copy from a printed copy he had access to but did not own?

Some of these conjectures can be dismissed as, according to Ayyappaṅ (2009, 96–97), there is another edition of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* by the Kalvippiravākam Press dated to 1850, with the following title-page:

tirumurukārruppaṭai, mūlapāṭam, teyvataṅmai poruntiya, maturaik kaṭaic caṅkattu makāvit-tuva cirōmaṇiyākiya nakkiratēvar aruḷic ceytatu. iḷtu tamilppulavar, vētakiri mutaliyārāl pār-vaīyittaṭpaṭtu, pā. maturaimitaliyārāl, tiru. cupparāyatēcikaravarkaḷatu, kalvippiravākavac-cukkūṭattil patippikkappaṭtatu. ivvaccukkūṭattalaivar, paccaiyappa perumāl nāyakar, cātāraṇa varuṭam, aippaci. (text as in Ayyappaṅ; this edition not available to me)

In this publication, the editor of the text is not Caṅmuka Aiyar but Vētakiri Mutaliyār. We furthermore learn that Paccaiyappa Perumāl Nāyakar and Cupparāya Tēcicar were most probably contemporary people.

It thus appears that the Kalvippiravākam Press published at least two editions of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, each with a different editor for the text. The title-page of the Annamalai MS is a kind of mix of the title-pages of these two printed editions: the editor is Caṅmuka Aiyar, as in the copy held by the RMRL; there is a date and the mention of Paccaiyappa Perumāl Nāyakar, as in the edition mentioned by Ayyappaṅ.

In the present state of knowledge, we face different possibilities. The Annamalai MS could have been copied from the two editions and the date (1853/4?) given on its title-page would not be that of the master printed edition, but that of the copy of the manuscript. Or there was a third edition of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* by the Kalvippiravākam Press in 1853/4 and our manuscript is a copy of that. I have however not been able to trace the 1850 edition mentioned by Ayyappaṅ nor the putative 1853/4 edition in any of the resources available to me (RMRL, WorldCat). I cannot therefore reach definite conclusions concerning the Annamalai MS. Is it a copy mixing the respective editions of Vētakiri Mutaliyār and Caṅmuka Aiyar? Is it a copy of an untraced 1853/4 printed edition? And in that case it cannot be ruled out that this is the draft manuscript of this untraced third edition of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* by the Kalvippiravākam Press (whether it eventually was printed or not).

5 The Pondicherry MS and the Chennai MS

Two manuscript witnesses, the Pondicherry MS and the Chennai MS, are copies of Ārumukanāvalar's printed edition of the root-text of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* with commentary.

The Pondicherry MS is an explicit copy as it reproduces the text of the title-page of the printed edition with the date of the original publication (Fig. 3). This date



Fig. 3: Pondicherry MS, unfoliated fol. 1r: title-page. © IFP

being Piramātica year of the Jovian cycle, Aippaci month, we thus apparently know which among the several successive editions of the printed book was copied, namely the first edition of 1853.

Besides this date reproduced from the printed book, we also find, inside the manuscript, at the end of five of the six sections of the *Tirumurukāruppaṭai*, intermediary dated scribal colophons seemingly providing intermediary completion dates for the copying. Here are their transcriptions and correspondences in the Gregorian calendar, which I could establish only with the invaluable help of Marco Franceschini:

mutalāvatu | tirupparaṅkuṅṅamurum | (fol. 34v8) rudrotkāri varṣaṃ māsi ((mācam)) 22 ((nā!)) ௨¹⁶

‘First (section). Tirupparaṅkuṅṅam complete (literally: “wholly, entirely”) (i.e. end of section 1 of the *Tirumurukāruppaṭai*, which deals with the abode of Murukāṅ at Tirupparaṅkuṅṅam). Rudrotkāri year, Māsi month, 22nd day.’ The date corresponds to March 3, 1864 (a correspondence with 1924 can be ruled out as this date stands in a sequence with the last three dates, two of which can correspond only to 1864).

°iraṅṅāvatu • tiruccīralai(fol. 51b4)vāy muṅṅam ௨ rudronkāri [i.e. rudrotkāri] (fol. 51b5) varṣaṃ māsi ((mācam)) na na ga ((nā!)) virodhi varṣaṃ siṅha (fol. 51b6) māsaṃ na na ṭa ((nā!)) śa[n]ivāraṃ dīnaṃ °eḷutiya yadu śrī ௨

‘Second (section). Tiruccīralaivāy complete. Rudrotkāri year, Māsi month, 3rd/30th day, Virodhi year, Siṅha month 1st/10th day, Saturday, day when Yadu Śrī wrote (?).¹⁷’ The first date corresponds to February 13, 1864/February 15, 1924 or March 11, 1864/March 13, 1924. The

¹⁶ There are two *piḷḷaiyār cuḷis* here one after the other: the first one is an abbreviation for ‘day’, the second a punctuation mark.

¹⁷ As explained to me by Marco Franceschini, the *kaṭapayādi* expressions *na-na-ga* and *na-na-na-ṭa* can be interpreted either as 3 (0-0-3) and 1 (0-0-0-1), or as 30 (3-0[0]) and 10 (1-0[0-0]) respectively.

second date corresponds to Saturday August 15, 1829 or August 24, 1889 (as the weekday, Saturday, is stated, the corresponding year could not be 1949).

mūṅṛāvatu tiruvāṇaṅkuṭi muṅṛum • (fol. 66v3) **rudrotkāri** ((*varuṣam*)) *māci* ((*mācam*)) 26 ((*nā!*)) °*amāvāsai*¹⁸ – *śrī* |

‘Third (section). Tiruvāṇaṅkuṭi complete. Rudrotkāri year, Māci month, 26^(th) day, new moon, Śrī (wrote ?).’ The date corresponds to March 7, 1864 (this correspondence is certain because *amāvāsyā*, ‘new moon night,’ is the special name for ‘1st *tithi*’).

Kuṅṛutō(fol.78r5)*rāṭal muṅṛum* 62 **rudrotkāri** ((*varuṣam*)) *māśi* ((*mācam*)) 27 ((*nā!*)) *maṅkaḷavāram* 62

‘Kuṅṛutōrāṭal complete. Rudrotkāri year, Māśi month, 27^(th) day, Tuesday.’ The date corresponds to March 8, 1864 (this correspondence is certain because of the mention of the day of the week: *maṅkaḷavāram*, i.e. the Tamilised form of Sanskrit *maṅgalavāra*).

paḷamutircōlai muṅṛum - (fol. 106v1) **rudrotkāri varuṣam** [i.e. **varuṣam**] *māśi* ((*mācam*)) 28 ((*nā!*)) *muṅṛintatu* 62

‘Paḷamutircōlaimalai complete. Rudrotkāri year, Māśi month, 28^(th) day. Completed.’ The date corresponds to March 9, 1864 (a correspondence with 1924 can be ruled out as this date stands in the sequence of four dates, two of which can correspond only to 1864)

No date was given at the end of section 4, most probably because it is the shortest one (only 13 *aṭis*) and was thus written the same day as section 5 (on Kuṅṛutōrāṭal). After the fifth date, at the end of section 6, 20 more folios follow. We thus have five dates in Rudrotkāri (Tamil Rutirōrkāri, Rutrōtkāri) year of the Jovian cycle, in the Māśi month (Tamil Māci), four of which in ascending order (22, 26, 27, and 28). There is one date in Virodhi (Tamil Virōti) year of the Jovian cycle coupled with the only Rudrotkāri year that breaks the ascending order. These latter two dates attached to the section 2 are enigmatic and might refer to another event than simply the completion of copy of the section. Note that for these two dates only the number of the day is stated in ambiguous *kaṭapayādi* expressions, as opposed to Tamil figures. This double date in any case somehow pertains to the act of writing, as the word *eḷutiya* appears at its end. The details of some of the Rudrotkāri years in ascending order can correspond only, as pointed out to me by Marco Franceschini, to 1864 CE, which thus is most probably the year of copying of this manuscript (March 3, 7, 8 and 9 for the concerned sections). The intermediary dated colophons for completion of the sections 5 and 6 show that the copyist did write 10 to 20 folios per day.

18 Cf. Tamil *amāvācai*, from Sanskrit *amāvāsyā*, ‘new moon.’



Fig. 4: Chennai MS, fol. 1r: introduction. © EFEO

The Chennai MS (Fig. 4) is a ‘silent’ copy since the title-page is not reproduced (unless it was lost, even if the manuscript seems complete). It is not internally dated. This witness of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* is actually found in a multiple-text manuscript, that is one codicological unit, uniform in the size of its leaves and seemingly entirely written by the same hand, but containing three different texts. The bundle has an unfoliated title-folio that mentions the content of the manuscript:

(fol. 1a1–2, c1) *ta[t]tuvakkattalai mūlapāṭam*
 ‘Root-text of *Tattuvakkattalai*.’

(fol. 1a3, c1) *makāvākkiamūlapāṭam*
 ‘Root-text of *Makāvākkiam*.’

(fol. 1a1–2, c2) *tirumurukāṛruppatai* °*uraipāṭam* (fol. 1a1–2, c3) *mūla[m a]llāmil*
 [i.e. *illāmal*]
 ‘Commentary to the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai*, without root-text.’

We thus have here the root-text of *Tattuvakkattalai* (GOML catalogue No. R2686) and *Makāvākkiam* (GOML catalogue No. R2687), two Śaivasiddhānta works, followed by Ārumukanāvalar’s edition of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* with commentary (GOML catalogue No. R2688). The three texts are independently foliated. It is possible that the whole manuscript was copied from printed editions, but I have not been able to assess that concerning the two Śaivasiddhānta works. I found no internal date in the whole manuscript.

The Pondicherry MS and the Chennai MS are not exact copies of Ārumukanāvalar’s printed book. There are minor differences, such as the use of specific blessings in the manuscripts (see for instance the left-marginal blessings and *mantras śrī hrī[m*] °om hrīṃ śrī* on the unfoliated fol. 1r of the Pondicherry MS, which are probably specific to the scribe (Fig. 3)). Table 3 shows the most substantial differences.

Tab. 3: Content of Ārumukanāvalar's 1st edition of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* with commentary (1853), Pondicherry MS and Chennai MS compared.

Ārumukanāvalar's ed. (<i>mūlam</i> + <i>urai</i>) 1853	Pondicherry MS 1864	Chennai MS (undated)
Title-page	Title-page (unfoliated fols 1r–1v) <i>pirapantavaralāru</i> (unfoliated fols 2r–4v)	
[Preface] (pp. 1–5) <i>mūlam</i> and <i>urai</i> (6 sections) (pp. 5–80) °itaṇatu tāṛpariyam (pp. 80–83)	<i>urai</i> (6 sections) (fols 1r– 106v) <i>urai</i> (4 th section, repeated) (fols 107r–110r) [Preface] (fols 111–118r) °itaṇatu tāṛpariyam (fols 119r–124v)	[Preface] (fols 1r–4v) <i>mūlam</i> (incomplete) and <i>urai</i> (6 sections) (fols 5r–68v4) °itaṇatu tāṛpariyam (fols 68v4–71v)
Additional stanzas (pp. 83–84)	Additional stanzas (fols 125r–126v)	Additional stanzas (fols 72r– 73r)

From the likely hypothesis that it was copied from the 1853 edition, the Pondicherry MS of 1864 contains two additions.

First, after the title-page, four unfoliated folios provide a 'history of the poem' as the left-margin heading *pirapantavaralāru* indicates (Fig. 5). This introduction consists in a text almost similar to the *nūl varalāru* ('history of the book') found in other printed editions and manuscripts. But this introduction is not found in Ārumukanāvalar's edition of 1853, which however starts with a preface (pp. 1–5, not named as such however, that is without title) by Ārumukanāvalar. This preface is also found in the Pondicherry MS, but not at the place expected (in the beginning, as in the printed edition), for it comes after the commentary (fols 111r–118r). The *pirapantavaralāru* is however found from the second edition of Ārumukanāvalar (1866) onwards.

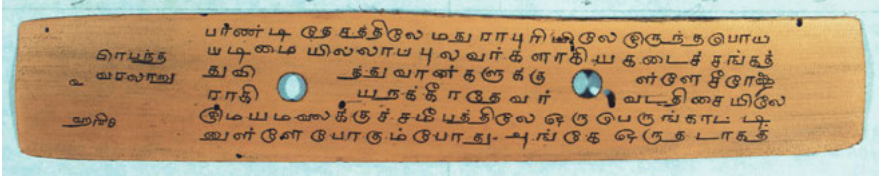


Fig. 5: Pondicherry MS, unfoliated fol. 2r: *pirapantavaralāru*. © IFP.

The second addition is found right before this original preface by Ārumukanāvalar that appears as a kind of post-face in the manuscript. We find there repeated in seven pages (fols 107r–110r) (Fig. 6) the commentary about the fourth section of the *Tirumurukāruppaṭai* (which concerns the abode of Murukaṇ at Ērakam). In fact this commentary is already found in the manuscript in the preceding folios at its expected place (fols 67r–70r) (Fig. 7). The difference is that in the repeated version there is no introductory sentence specifying the chain of words (*toṭar*) commented upon, that the text is now arranged in columns (two columns, sometimes three) and that the bits of the root-text are not systematically reproduced (if not reproduced, they are ‘indicated’ by an horizontal line, except when passing from one page to another, where no indication is made). Maybe this second version was an attempt at a different layout (the hand is the same as in the rest of the manuscript). The fourth section of the work would have been selected for this experiment because it is the smallest (13 *aṭis* only). And in any case it is a minimalist version, as the root-text is not fully quoted as in the original.

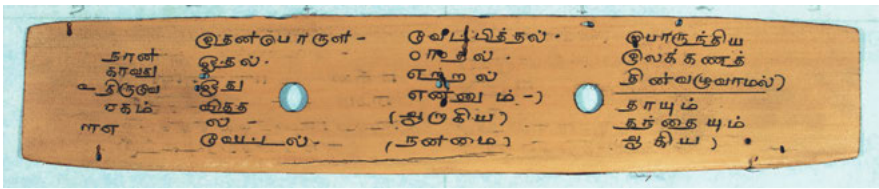


Fig. 6: Pondicherry MS, fol. 107r: beginning of the second version of the commentary on Ērakam section of *Tirumurukāruppaṭai*. © IFP.

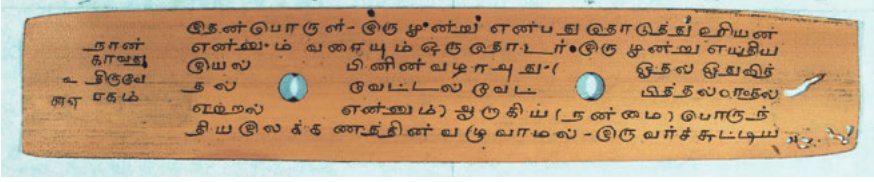


Fig. 7: Pondicherry MS, fol. 67r: beginning of the first version of the commentary on Ērakam section of *Tirumurukāruppaṭai*. © IFP.

The Pondicherry MS also differs from Ārumukanāvalar’s first edition by the fact that one portion of the commentary—namely the final concluding portion called *itaṇatu tāṟpariyam*, ‘explanation of this,’ where Ārumukanāvalar explains the meaning of the book—is found not directly after the commentary on the sixth and final section of the root-text, but after the repeated commentary on the fourth section on Ērakam and the original preface by Ārumukanāvalar now turned into a post-face.

There is one major difference between Ārumukanāvalar’s first printed edition and both our manuscripts. In the printed edition, Ārumukanāvalar provides first the continuous root-text (*mūlam*) of the first section of the work (describing an abode of Murukaṇ, which is a mountain west of Maturai), then the commentary (*urai*) on that section, then the root-text of the second section of the work, followed by its commentary, and so on, up to the sixth section. In the Pondicherry MS there is no continuous root-text given before the commentary (in which the root-text is at any rate quoted by bits), which, for the bits I checked, follows exactly Ārumukanāvalar’s edition. As for the Chennai MS, it reproduces the continuous root-text section by section only partially and for the first two sections only (in other words, we have approximately 15% only of the root-text). However, for the following sections, spaces and even entire folios have been left blank at the place of the missing root-text, allowing for the possibility of adding it later on. This is illustrated in Table 4.

Tab. 4: Content (*mūlam* and *urai*) of Āṛumukanāvalar's 1st edition of *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* with commentary (1853), Pondicherry MS and Chennai MS compared.

Āṛumukanāvalar's ed. (<i>mūlam</i> + <i>urai</i>) 1853	Pondicherry MS 1864	Chennai MS (undated)
1 st section, <i>mūlam</i> (pp. 5–9)		1 st section, <i>mūlam</i> (fols 5r–6v), but up to first <i>cīr</i> of line 48 only.
1 st section, <i>urai</i> (pp. 9–26)	1 st section, <i>urai</i> (fols 1r–34v)	1 st section, <i>urai</i> (fols 7r–22v)
2 nd section, <i>mūlam</i> (pp. 27–29)		2 nd section, <i>mūlam</i> (fol. 23r), but first 3 <i>cīrs</i> of line 78 only. fols 23v–24v left blank.
2 nd section, (pp. 29–38)	2 nd section, <i>urai</i> (fols 35r–51v)	2 nd section, <i>urai</i> (fols 25r–33r)
3 rd section, <i>mūlam</i> (pp. 38–40)		fols 33v–34v left blank.
3 rd section, <i>urai</i> (pp. 41–49)	3 rd section, <i>urai</i> (fols 52r–66v)	3 rd section, <i>urai</i> (fols 35r–43r)
4 th section, <i>mūlam</i> (pp. 49–50)		fol. 43v left blank.
4 th section, <i>urai</i> (pp. 50–52)	4 th section, <i>urai</i> (fols 67r–70r; fol. 70v blank)	4 th section, <i>urai</i> (fols 44r–45v)
5 th section, <i>mūlam</i> (pp. 52–53)		fols 46r–46v left blank
5 th section, <i>urai</i> (pp. 54–58)	5 th section, <i>urai</i> (fols 71r–78v)	5 th section, <i>urai</i> (fols 47r–51r)
6 th section, <i>mūlam</i> (pp. 58–62)		fols 51v–53v left blank
6 th section, <i>urai</i> (pp. 63–83)	6 th section, <i>urai</i> (fols 79r–106v)	6 th section, <i>urai</i> (fols 54r–71v)

From this observation one could conclude that the commissioner or copyist of the Pondicherry MS was not interested in the root-text so much as in the commentary (which however also contains the root-text, but not as a continuous text, since it is quoted piecemeal interspersed with the commentary), while having a continuous root-text, section by section, was also not a priority for the commissioner or copyist of the Chennai MS.

In both cases, it is quite plausible that the root-text was already available to the intended user of the manuscripts. As already mentioned the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* is among the earliest printed Tamil classical texts. In the 1850s, there were already several different printed editions of it. And Āṛumukanāvalar, before publishing the root-text with commentary in 1853, had already published the root-

text in 1851.¹⁹ Alternatively the root-text could have been available in manuscript form too.

If the Pondicherry MS is indeed dated to 1864, it makes sense that that very year someone ordered a manuscript copy of Ārumukanāvalar’s commentary. The first edition of this was published in 1853 and could then be out of stock. Its second edition appeared in 1866.

Furthermore, as we have seen, the Pondicherry MS contains material not found in Ārumukanāvalar’s first edition, namely the *pirapantavaralāru* (unfoliated fols 2r–4v), which is a slight variation upon the *nūl varalāru* known otherwise in several printed editions and only in manuscripts that are (surely or plausibly) copies of printed editions. The Pondicherry MS thus appears more clearly than the Chennai MS as the work of a copyist commissioner interested in any information or explanation about the root-text.

Another interesting feature of the Pondicherry MS is that at the end of the title-page, right after the Jovian cycle date equivalent to 1853 a price is mentioned (unfoliated fol. 1v2) (Fig. 8). One reads:



Fig. 8: Pondicherry MS, unfoliated fol. 1v: end of title-page, date and price. © IFP

°itan vilai • ((currency symbol)) 1 • |

‘Price of this: 1 Rupee/Ringgit (?)’

The currency is expressed by a symbol that might stand for Rupee (î in modern typed script). The symbol seems however to be based on the consonant ṅ. But, as pointed out to me by T. Ganesan, ṅ and ṇ̇ are often confused in script. Alternatively, as suggested to me by Jean-Luc Chevillard, the symbol could stand for

¹⁹ See Zvelebil (1992, 156) and Rajesh (2014, 101), who however do not provide details about this 1851 edition of the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* by Ārumukanāvalar. I surmise this is in fact his first edition of the 11th *Tirumuṟai* (not available to me), of which the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* is a part. This edition of the 11th *Tirumuṟai* was quickly reprinted (in 1851/2).

Ringgit, the name of the actual currency of Malaysia.²⁰ The history of the term Ringgit needs further investigation in order to assess when it started to be used as a currency name. Information in the records of the IFP concerning this manuscript is inconclusive as to its provenance, as indicated to me by Dominic Goodall.²¹

Whatever the currency indicated, it is noteworthy that there is no mention of price in the printed book of 1853 (unless the copy available to me is incomplete). But I have found at least one edition of *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* by Ārumukanāvalar with a price printed in the book itself, i.e. the 5th edition of 1886, sold for four Annas (*aṅā* – 4), i.e. a quarter of a Rupee.²²

So what is this price in the Pondicherry MS standing for? Is it the price of the manuscript? It seems not very common to have such mention by the scribe himself. This would be the only case in the more than 50 manuscripts of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* available to me. About prices of manuscripts, it seems they were quite high before the print culture became widespread.²³ Further investigations about the cost of manuscripts and books in Tamil Nadu is yet to be done, but if the Pondicherry MS is indeed dated to 1864 and if the price in it is its cost of one Rupee, it was indeed a high price.²⁴

20 Jean-Luc Chevillard directed me to a post in Jaybee's Notebook (<http://jaybeesnotebook.blogspot.fr/2012/02/tamil-accountancy-symbols-1.html>, accessed June 15, 2015) which shows Tamil accountancy symbols used in Malaysia until 1972. One of them, based on the consonant *ṛ*, for *rūpāy* (i.e. Rupee), is similar to the symbol of modern typed script. Another, based on the consonant *ṅ*, for *riṅkiṭ* (i.e. Ringgit), is strikingly similar to the one used in the Pondicherry MS.

21 The Pondicherry MS accession No. at the IFP is RE 25365. In the accessions' register, which Dominic Goodall kindly checked for me, from RE 25296 up to and including RE 25331 (at the top of p. 147) or possibly up to and including RE 25344 (at the bottom of p. 147) the manuscripts are all plainly marked as being those of a gift: 'don de Toṇḍamaṅḍalādhinam Jñānaprakāśa (svami-gal) Maṭham Coṅjeevaram.' They were all accessioned on 5th May 1970. All the following accessions are also manuscripts registered from 5th May 1970, up to and including RE 25410 on p. 151 of the register. They are also entered by the same hand and with the same blue ink, but there is no continuation of the ditto-marks in the columns devoted to provenance ('Source: Achat, don etc.', and 'Observations'), and so it is not made absolutely explicit (though it seems quite possible) that they, including RE 25365, were part of the same gift.

22 I have not been able to check all the editions of *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* by Ārumukanāvalar.

23 See for instance Naregal (2000, 277–279), for 18th-century Western India, and, as pointed out to me by Jonas Buchholz, Mayilai Ciṅi. Vēṅkaṭācāmi (*Pattonpaṭām nūṛṅṅiṭil tamil ilakkiyam*, Madras 1962, p. 114; also cited by Zvelebil 1975, 15) stating that before 1835, Reverend P. Percival had to pay 10 pounds, i.e. 150 Rupees for a manuscript copy of the *Caturakarāṭi*, while after the text had been printed, a printed copy would cost 2½ shillings (1 Rupee, 14 Annas).

24 A search in Murdoch (1865) about prices of books published in 1864 yielded no such a high price for a single book. See, for instance, p. 12 (Christian lyrics, 475 pages, 10 Annas), p. 26 (an

Unfortunately I cannot clear all the doubts concerning these two manuscript copies of printed *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, nor those concerning the last one to be examined.

6 The Trivandrum MS

The Trivandrum MS is less obviously a copy of printed edition, but some of its peculiarities make it a probable fourth instance of this. The manuscript starts with three pages that contain an introduction to the work (fols 1r–2r), that is the *nūl varalāru* ('history of the book') already mentioned, which is referred to as such in the left-marginal heading. Then on the fourth page (that is fol. 2v), which is divided into two columns, we find on the left column a title-page, the structure of which is reminiscent of print rather than of manuscript culture. It looks indeed in part like a copy of a printed title-page (with small variants, see Table 5) followed by blessings and other paratextual elements. In the second column, we find the traditional invocation (*kāppu*). Then we have the *mūlam* (fols 3r–6r).

The text of the title-page on fol. 2v appears very similar to that of two editions I am aware of, namely the first edition of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, published in 1834, and an edition published in 1845. Their respective title-pages are compared in Table 5.

Old Testament history, 278 pages, 6 Annas), p. 240 (*Tirukkuraḷ*, 94 pages, 8 Annas). NB: 1 Rupee = 16 Annas. Although some of these books were tools for proselytising and thus relatively cheap, the figures are nonetheless telling.

Tab. 5: Title-pages of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* edition by Caravaṇapperumāḷ (1834), of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* edition by Maḷavai Makāliṅkaiyar (1845) (not available to me) and of the Trivandrum manuscript. The segments of texts have been aligned for the sake of comparison. I have introduced spaces between words. Differences are marked in bold.

Caravaṇapperumāḷ ed. 1834	Maḷavai Makāliṅkaiyar ed. 1845	Trivandrum MS (undated)
(1) <i>tirumurukāṛruppaṭai</i> (2) <i>mūlapāṭam</i> . (small horizontal line)	<i>tirumurukāṛruppaṭai</i> <i>mūlapāṭam</i> .	(fol. 2v1) <i>tirumurukāṛruppaṭai</i> <i>mūlapāṭam</i>
(3) <i>teyvattaṅmai poruntiya</i>	<i>teyvattaṅmai poruntiya</i>	[t]eyvī(fol. 2v2) cattaṅmai poruntiya
(4) <i>maturaiikkaṭaic caṅkattu</i>	<i>maturaiikkaṭaic caṅkattu</i>	<i>maturaiikkaṭaic caṅka</i> (fol. 2v3)ttu
(5) <i>makāvittuvāṅākiya</i>	<i>makāvittuvāṅākiya</i>	<i>makāvittu[v]āṅākiya</i>
(6) <i>nakkīraṅṅār</i> (7) <i>°aruḷiccey-tatu</i> . (ornamented horizontal separation)	<i>nakkīraṅṅār aruḷicceytatu</i> .	<i>narkkīrar tēvar</i> °aru(fol. 2v4) <i>ḷicceytatu</i> –
(8) <i>nacciṅārkkīṇiyār uraippaṭiyē ...</i>	<i>nacciṅārkkīṇiyār uraippaṭiyē ...</i>	<i>nacciṅārkkīṇiyār</i> urai(fol. 2v5) <i>ppaṭiyē</i> - ...

Given that only the 1834 edition is available to me and that I know of the 1845 edition only thanks to WorldCat, I am not yet able to determine with confidence if one of these two printed books is the master copy of the Trivandrum MS.

There are slight differences between the Trivandrum MS version and the 1834 printed edition: the headings for the sections of the work consist in the name of the abode only in the manuscript as opposed to the number and name of the abode in the edition; furthermore the *nūl varalāru* is found at the end in the 1834 edition (pp. 13–14) and not at the beginning as in the manuscript (fols 1a–2r), where, strangely enough, it precedes the title-page and *kāppu* (fol. 2v) and the root-text (fols 3r–16v). These differences might be due to the scribe not copying exactly the 1834 printed book, but could also indicate that the 1845 printed edition is a better candidate for the model of the Trivandrum MS.

But the printed model might equally be another edition not yet available to me (as there are two printed editions with a very similar title-page, one may suspect that there are more), which would explain the small variants compared to the two printed title-pages known to me.

From the specificities of the Trivandrum MS arises another question. Why does the title-page come after the *nūl varalāru*, which is an introduction? The reason might be that it was not in the printed book taken as model for the root-text but imported from yet another printed book (or manuscript). If so, the Trivandrum MS

would be another instance—like the Pondicherry MS—of a manuscript made, like a patchwork, from different versions of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai*, in order to get a (more) complete version.

7 Conclusions

The four manuscript witnesses of the *Tirumurukārruppaṭai* described above are apparently copies of printed books, even though it cannot be ruled out that one or the other might in fact be the manuscript prepublication draft of a printed book. If we place ourselves in the wider context of Indian and Indic manuscript culture, there are other instances known of such manuscripts. I have given in an appendix a list of Indian and Indic manuscript copies of printed books compiled on the basis of feedback from colleagues.

Let us come back, in this broader context, to the reasons for which one might have a manuscript copy of a printed book made. When I asked this question to the Indology list (<http://listinfo.indology.info>), several colleagues kindly shared their insights with me (search the thread ‘Manuscript copies of printed books’). I can summarize the reasons put forward—which are not mutually exclusive—as follows.

A manuscript copy remained for a long time the *only way* of having a copy of a book, be it handwritten or printed. ‘In those days there was no coffee’ wrote Va. Ramaswamy Iyengar in 1943, reflecting on the 19th-century context (Venkatachala-
pathy 2006, 12). There were no Xerox-machines either. In case a physical copy of a printed book was needed, there were not many possibilities other than having a handwritten copy made.

A manuscript copy was also the *cheap way*. For instance, as pointed out by Matthew T. Kapstein, in the case of Tibetan books hiring a copyist was cheaper and easier than commissioning xylographic printing. It seems also that with the development of print culture, the cost of hiring a copyist decreased (very high prices, as mentioned above, belonged to a time when there were no printed books). Depending on place and time, printed books could simply be more expensive than manuscripts.

A manuscript copy could also serve the purpose of making a printed edition, considered as valuable, accessible to a reader not familiar with the specific script in which it had been printed. Dominic Goodall pointed out to me the case of a Devanāgarī manuscript copy (of the 20th century) of a Sanskrit text printed in Grantha characters, a script read mostly in South India (see appendix No. 8). A similar case might be that of the manuscripts of Ratnakīrti’s *Apoḥasiddhi* and/or *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* in the Nepal National Archives, which are, as pointed out to me

by Elliot M. Stern, copies in Nepālākṣara script of the Devanāgarī edition of Hara-prasād Shāstri (see appendix No. 2).

These last examples show that printed editions could simply be considered, like manuscripts, valuable exemplars. Furthermore, as Chris Clark and Whitney Cox pointed out to me, there are examples of manuscripts emended or collated by a later hand on the basis of printed editions.²⁵ As Judit Törzsök further suggested, it is also plausible that, depending on place and time, such valued printed editions were rare and thus worthy of being copied.

Finally, a manuscript copy was the traditional form of a book and as such could be preferred to modern printed books. In our own century, in Bali, written, type-written and published texts are transcribed on palm leaf (*lontar*), as Andrea Acri informed me, in the belief that these texts should be part of the Balinese manuscript heritage (Acri 2013, 72, n. 4, 75, n. 12; see appendix, Nos 3 and 11). This practice has to be understood in the context of a ‘revival of traditional forms’: books as manuscripts are considered ‘as sacred heirlooms inherited from ancestors’ and prized items of Balinese culture. But such practice is also part of the ‘anti-reactionary agenda of westernised Balinese urban intellectuals’ in an effort to ‘desacralize’ and ‘democratise’ the ‘production and sharing of knowledge,’ which are ‘activities involving *lontar* that were traditionally carried out by high-status people’ (Acri, forthcoming). The prestige of palm leaf is also attested in present-day Tamil Nadu, as Dominic Goodall pointed out to me: in functions such as marriages, guests are often given palm leaves printed (i.e. not incised, as traditionally) with verses from the *Kuṛaḷ* (Fig. 9). Richard Weiss (2009, 185ff.) demonstrated that the authority of manuscripts is central to contemporary Siddha medical discourse and practice. But it is noteworthy that this concerns unpublished medical texts, which the Siddha Medical Literature Research Centre proposes to collect, research and publish (p. 189). Bhoi (2005, 73–74) observes in contemporary Orissa a preference for palm leaf, instead of paper, for handwritten documents (most notably for noting down the horoscopes of new-born babies or as material support of the ‘ceremonial invitation sent to the bridegroom from the bride’s family’) and texts (otherwise available in printed form).²⁶

²⁵ Chris Clark pointed out a manuscript of *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, possibly dated to the 13th century, emended, in the process of its restoration, on the basis of a twentieth-century printed edition (see Emmrich 2009, especially pp. 146ff.). Whitney Cox indicated that one of the Śāradā manuscripts of Maheśvarānanda’s *Mahārthamañjarī* which he collated contained a considerable number of marginal annotations in a second Śāradā hand correcting the text according to the readings of Ganapati Sastri’s 1918 edition of the text in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

²⁶ See also Bhoi 2005, 77, for the example of a manuscript of *Nirvedasādhanāgītā* sold for a rupee and four Annas in 1916 ‘when the printed book would have been much cheaper.’



Fig. 9: *Kuralis* printed on palm leaves. Photo E. Francis, from an item kindly supplied by Dominic Goodall.

But one should be cautious not to read back into the 19th century (provided that the manuscript witnesses of the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* discussed here date to that period) contemporary practices, inspired by a revivalist or traditionalist approach. In another study, Richard Weiss (2015) argues that in the 1860s, as far as religious texts are concerned, the materiality of the printed object in which such texts appeared sustained assertions for authority. His example is that of the poems of a living author (the *Tiruvartupā*, a collection of devotional poems by Irāmaliṅka Aṭikal, who lived 1823–1874), not of one transmitted for centuries in manuscript form. Weiss convincingly contends that ‘the material form organization, and content of the 1867 publication’ of this work were adopted from the expensive and handsome printed volumes—that were produced at that time in an effort to re-establish the Śaiva canon—so as ‘to garner religious and textual authority’ for the poems of an author at the margins of influential and institutional Śaiva circles (p. 651). As for the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* it was among the first classical texts that appeared in print in the early decades of the 19th century. In a sense, its printing at an early date derives from its popularity and authority, not the reverse, although it doubtless enhanced its canonicity by a mass diffusion. Furthermore, as Rick Weiss pointed out to me, it remains possible that someone just saw the act of transcribing on palm leaf a text such as the *Tirumurukāṟruppaṭai* to be a devotional achievement, yielding religious merit.

To sum up, the absence of mechanical reproduction such as Xerox-machines, the availability at a relatively cheap cost of the skills of copyists, the need of a script conversion, the valued status of printed editions, the attachment to the traditional book form and the merit that derives from making a copy of a devotional work are all reasons that might explain why manuscript copies of printed books were made (whether the printed version was out of stock or not).

The four *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* witnesses might attest to other or complementary reasons, not exclusive of those just mentioned. The commissioner's intention could have been to compile or to supplement the printed editions. The Pondicherry MS of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* is based on an edition by Ārumukanāvalar, seemingly the first edition of 1853, but it reproduces only the commentary part, not the continuous root-text of each section, and it supplements this master edition with an introduction about the work (*pirapantavaralāru*) not found in Ārumukanāvalar's first edition. If this manuscript was really written before the second edition appeared, its commissioner wanted, it seems, to have in the same volume all relevant information and commentary about a text, the root-text of which was otherwise available to him. This is a valid reason also for ordering the copy of a manuscript. The difference here is that the work considered valuable, of which a copy was needed, was printed and not handwritten. In the case of the Pondicherry MS, the cheapest and only way to have such an enriched copy of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* edition by Ārumukanāvalar was to produce a manuscript copy. The Trivandrum MS might be a similar case.

A manuscript copy of a printed book could also be the work of a copyist in want of business, due to the success of printing and paper writing. Imagine that a popular edition, like that of Ārumukanāvalar, was out of stock or very expensive; a copyist could decide to make a copy of it, without being commissioned, as a commodity to be sold. Could the Pondicherry MS, which is an enriched version in some aspects of Ārumukanāvalar's first edition and thus a value-added edition, be such a case, as, quite exceptionally, its price is specified on its title-page?

Another issue concerns the choice of palm leaf, instead of paper, for the manuscript copy of a printed book. Was not paper easier for writing, increasingly available and reasonably priced? Was palm-leaf really cheaper than paper? Was the available paper not considered of good quality or seen as worthy material? Were professional scribes on palm leaf still largely available while people skilled in writing on paper were not? It seems that in South India, in contrast to North India, paper remained rare and more expensive compared to palm leaves.²⁷ As K. Nachimuthu pointed out to me, palm leaf was used in Kerala as government stationary till the middle of the 20th century. In that configuration, the selection of the material support of a book was not a matter of choice: paper was simply less available and more expensive than palm leaf. But one still wonders. Was palm leaf chosen instead of paper out of respect for the traditional material, like in the

27 On the use of paper in India, see Brac de la Perrière 2008, 87–101, Falk 1993, 312, Janert 1956, 75–87.

case of the modern Indonesian practice mentioned by A. Acri? Could the commission of a manuscript copy of a printed book on palm leaf be more often than thought linked to the prestige and status of the traditional book—or even the cult of the book? In other words, from a traditional point of view, a book should be a manuscript, and thus it was felt necessary to have a printed edition—the more so for a valuable work such as that of *Āṣumukanāvalar*—converted into manuscript form. Was the act of writing a text still considered a meritorious act?

I must admit that there is much speculation here. Unfortunately, no paratext in the four manuscript copies of the *Tirumurukāṛruppaṭai* can help us clarify the reasons of their existence. In fact these manuscripts raise more questions than they answer. Their value, for the time being, is that they brought forth these questions, which further investigations might help to answer.

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Appendix

Selected list of (proven, strongly suspected or possible) manuscript copies of printed books. This list is very basic, providing information (when available) concerning the name of the work, the language and script of the manuscript, its material, location, catalogue/access No. and internal date, the printed book copied, references (if any) and, if appropriate, the name of the scholar to whom I owe the first information about this manuscript.

- 1) *Aintiṇai Eḷupatu* — Tamil language and script — Palm leaf — Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswathi Viswa Mahavidyalaya, Kanchipuram — No. 903488 — Seemingly copied from a printed edition²⁸ — Information obtained from Jonas Buchholz.
- 2) *Apohasiddhi* and/or *Kṣaṇabhaṅgasiddhi* of Ratnakīrti — Sanskrit, Nepālākṣara script — Nepal National Archives, Kathmandu — All or some copied from *Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts in Sanskrit*, ed. Haraprasād Shāstri, Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1910 (Bibliotheca Indica, New Series; 1223) — Information obtained from Elliot M. Stern.
- 3) *Dharma Pātañjala* — Old Javanese (prose) and Sanskrit (a few verses), Balinese script — Palm leaf — In possession of Ida Dewa Gede Catra of Amlapura — Copy made in 2007 from an early draft of the edition of the text (in Roman script) established by Andrea Aciri and later published in *Dharma Pātañjala, A Śaiva Scripture from Ancient Java Studied in the Light of Related Old Javanese and Sanskrit Texts*, by Andrea Aciri, Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2011 (Gonda Indological Studies; 16) — See Aciri (2013, 72 n. 4; forthcoming) — Information obtained from Andrea Aciri.
- 4) *Kaivalliya Navanītam* — Tamil language and script — Palm leaf — Oriental Research Institute & Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, Trivandrum — No. 12491 — Dated to Malayalam Era 1016 = 1840/1 CE — See *Catalogue*, No. 1399: ‘copy from a printed book.’
- 5) *Kaḷavaḷi Nārpatu* — Tamil language and script — Palm leaf — Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswathi Viswa Mahavidyalaya, Kanchipuram — No. 903710 — Seemingly copied from a printed edition²⁹ — Information obtained from Jonas Buchholz.
- 6) *Kaṇakkatikāram* — Tamil language and script — Palm leaf — EFEO, Pondicherry — No. EO-0541 — Incomplete copy of *Kaṇakkatikāram*, ed. by Ārumukamutaliyār, [Ceṇṇai]: Vittiyaṅvilācamuttirākṣaracālai, Pirapava year, Paṅkuṇi month (i.e. March–April 1868) — Information obtained from Jean-Luc Chevillard.

28 Provenance and features shared with No. 10 in this appendix lead to consider that this manuscript is copied from a printed edition.

29 Provenance and features shared with No. 10 in this appendix lead to consider that this manuscript is copied from a printed edition.

- 7) *Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra* — Sanskrit, Devanāgarī — Material not specified — Nepal National Archives, Kathmandu — No. 4/211 — Dated to 1986 (of unspecified era) — Copied from *The Çrautasūtra of Kātyāyana, With Extracts from the Commentaries of Karka and Yājñikadeva*, ed. Albrecht Weber, Berlin: Dümmler & London: Williams and Norgate, 1859 — NGMCP: id: 119037 — Information obtained from Michael Witzel.
- 8) *Kriyākramadyotikā* of Aghoraśiva — Sanskrit, Devanāgarī — Paper — Transcript used by Richard Davis and made accessible to him as early as 1984 when working on that text at the Kuppusvami Sastri Research Institute, Chennai³⁰ — Copied from *Kriyākramadyotikā* of Aghoraśivācārya with the commentary (*Prabhāvyaḥkhyā*) of Nirmalamaṇi, ed. by Rāmaśāstrin and Ambalavānajñānasambandhaparāśaktisvāmin, Chidambaram, 1927 — Information obtained from Dominic Goodall and Richard Davis.³¹
- 9) *Patārttakuṇa Vaittiya Cintāmaṇi* — Tamil language and script — Palm leaf — Oriental Research Institute & Manuscripts Library, University of Kerala, Trivandrum — No. 12151A — Dated to Malayalam Era 1043 = 1867/8 CE — See *Catalogue*, No. 3417: ‘seems copied from a printed book?’
- 10) *Tiṇaimālai Nūṛraimpatu* — Tamil language and script — Palm leaf — Sri Chandrasekharendra Saraswathi Viswa Mahavidyalaya, Kanchipuram — No. 901659 — Copied from an edition later than 1936³² — Information obtained from Jonas Buchholz.
- 11) *Tutur Aji Sangkya* — Balinese language and script — Palm leaf — Pusat Dokumentasi Budaya Bali — No. T/I/12 = K31 — Copied from or model for one of the printed editions of *Aji Sangkya* by Ida Ketut Jelantik (first published, as a mimeographed pamphlet, in 1947) — See Aciri (2013, 75 n. 12),

³⁰ The e-text available on the Muktabodha site under catalogue number M00126 (http://muktalib5.org/DL_CATALOG/DL_CATALOG_USER_INTERFACE/dl_user_interface_frameset.htm) is based on that transcript.

³¹ Dominic Goodall also pointed out to me a partial *Pauṣkarasaṃhitābhāṣya* of Umāpati, transcribed into Devanāgarī, that Jayandra Soni used in the 1980s and guesses was prepared by someone at the Madras University Library. R.H. Davis 2010, 4 mentions a Devanāgarī transcript of the Grantha edition of Aghoraśiva’s *Mahotsavavidhi* published in Chennai in 1910, which was prepared at the Kuppusvami Sastri Research Institute.

³² Several features of the manuscript (unusual lay-out, with columns and line-splits; use of *pulli*; distinction between *rakaram* and *kāl*; use of single and double *kompū*; western punctuation such as exclamation mark; *sandhi* mostly resolved; lacunae in the text restored as per printed editions) have lead Jonas Buchholz to the convincing conclusion that this was copied from a printed edition.

who however informed me that he found out later that the present manuscript's provenance is Kasimpar, Abang, Karangasem; in other words his initial impression of 2013 that there were two different manuscripts copies of the *Aji Sangkya* (one in Pusat Dokumentasi Budaya Bali and another in a private collection in Kasimpar, Abang, Karangasem) proved wrong — Information obtained from Andrea Acri.

- 12) *Yogavāsiṣṭha* — Sanskrit, Śāradā script — Paper — Research and Publication Department, Jammu & Kashmir Government, Śrīnagar — No. 4797/2281 — Written over a period of four years, between 1934/5–1938/9 — Copied from *The Yogavāsiṣṭha of Vālmīki, With the Commentary Vāsiṣṭha-mahārāmayaṇātātparyaprakāśha*, ed. by Wāsudeva Laxmaṇa Shāstrī Paṇsīkar, Bombay: Nirṇaya-Sāgar Press, 1911¹, 1918², 1937³ — See Slaje (2005, 46) — Information obtained from Jürgen Hanneder.

Abbreviations

EFE0	École française d'Extrême-Orient
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Chennai, IFP: Institut français de Pondichéry
MS/MSS	manuscript/manuscripts
RMRL	Roja Muthiah Research Library, Chennai

Conventions

The sign ‘^o’ precedes initial vowels.

Tamil characters in Roman. Unless otherwise mentioned bold marks Grantha characters.

((mācam)): word *mācam*, ‘month,’ expressed by the abbreviation **𑌕𑌃**.

((nāl)): word *nāl*, ‘day,’ expressed by the abbreviation **𑌕𑌃**, which is identical to or very similar to the *piḷḷaiyār cuḷi*.

((varuṣam)): word *varuṣam*, ‘year,’ expressed by the abbreviation **𑌕𑌃**.

c = column.

lm = left margin.

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 Catalogue No. R2688.
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Palaeography

Kengo Harimoto

The Dating of the Cambridge *Bodhisattvabhūmi* Manuscript Add.1702

Abstract: Cecil Bendall gave special attention to two manuscripts, Add.1049 and Add.1702, as the oldest manuscripts in the Cambridge collections. He reckoned that those two manuscripts had been produced in the 9th century. This article is an attempt to update the dating of the manuscript Add.1702, a manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* section in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, relying on the knowledge we have gained after Bendall first reported about those manuscripts. We are much better informed than Bendall was in the 19th century, in particular in areas such as the chronology of the Licchavis, the calendars used in Nepal, and palaeography. We also have access to a greater number of old written documents comparable to Add.1702. The result of this re-evaluation is that we should assign the manuscript to the mid-8th century CE, a little earlier than Bendall thought.

1 Introduction

Cecil Bendall showed a particular interest in Add.1702, an old palm-leaf manuscript from Nepal. It is one of the two manuscripts he thought to be the oldest in the Cambridge collections (he dated it to the 9th century). Since then, we have gained much more knowledge about the history of scripts in the Kathmandu Valley. It is perhaps about time that such new insights contributed to a re-evaluation of Bendall's initial assessment. The conclusion put forward here does not contradict his evaluation very much, but we may now be able to assign the oldest part of the manuscript to the 8th century, a little earlier than what Bendall thought.

2 Add.1702

MS Add.1702 is a manuscript in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* section of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Bendall dedicated a chapter (pp. ixl–li) to that and another manuscript, Add.1049, in his *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* (1883). In the chapter entitled 'Excursus on Two MSS. of the IXth Century, ADD. 1049 and 1702,' he assigned the manuscripts to the 9th century. The manuscript is one of the rare artefacts containing the Sanskrit text of

the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Unrai Wogihara used the manuscript in his edition of the *Bo-dhisattvabhūmi* (Wogihara 1930–36).

Bendall (1883) discussed the age of the two manuscripts extensively. Add.1702 bears no date as such, while Add.1049 does include one, although the year is mentioned without specifying the era (he read the year as 252). Based on its archaic palaeography, he rejected the idea that the year was in the Nepāla Saṃvat, in which most other old Nepalese manuscripts are dated. As a consequence, Bendall assumed the era used there was that of Harṣa — which he considered to have started in 606 CE — and concluded that the year when Add.1049 was written was 857 CE.¹ Again, no separate mention of the date of Add.1702 is made. Bendall essentially treated the two manuscripts as coming from the same period. He acknowledged that one hand in Add.1702 is more archaic than the other (Bendall 1883, xliii), but nonetheless, no effort was made to evaluate the difference in time between the two hands or between the older hand of Add.1702 and the more modern one used in Add.1049. Understandably, this was due to the paucity of material available to him in the late 19th century. I speculate that, despite noticing that Add.1702 was possibly the more archaic of the two from a palaeographic viewpoint, Bendall did not think Add.1702 was created more than 57 years earlier than Add.1049, which would have meant dating Add.1702 to the 8th century. Another point of reference for him was the Paśupatinātha temple inscription that had been reported by Indrajī and Bühler (1880). The two read the year of the inscription — there is no mention of the era — as 153 and ascribed it, again, to the Harṣa era. Bendall followed them on both counts.² Thus, according to Bendall, the inscription must have gone back to around 758 CE. Having compared the palaeographical features of the two documents separated by about a hundred years (the year 153 of the Paśupatinātha inscription and the year 252 of Add.1049), he probably considered the palaeographical difference between Add.1049 and Add.1702 not big enough to date Add.1702 closer to the inscription. This, I think, was the reasoning on the basis of which he assigned Add.1702 to the 9th century as well.³

1 Bendall mentioned a view expressed by Cunningham regarding the beginning of the Harṣa era and noted the possible range of the date of the manuscript to be 857–859 (Bendall 1883, xli).

2 The inscription is No. 81 in Gnoli 1956, No. 148 in Vajrācārya 1973, and No. 142 in Regmi 1983. Indrajī and Bühler read the date as 153, but Gnoli (1956) read it as 159, and Vajrācārya (1973) and Regmi (1983) as 157.

3 Wogihara did not quite agree with Bendall's assessment and ascribed the manuscript to the late 8th or the early 9th century (Wogihara 1936, 6).

2.1 Things that have changed since Bendall's assessment

I do not see anything wrong in Bendall's observations or reasoning, given the state of knowledge at that time. But a few things have changed since he published his catalogue in the late 19th century. Most importantly, we have come to know many more Nepalese inscriptions and manuscripts. The most thorough collection of early (pre-Nepāla Saṃvat) inscriptions by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya (1973) includes 190 items. Bendall could only rely on the collection of Nepalese inscriptions by Indrajī and Bühler published in 1880, where just 15 inscriptions are from the same time period.

One fruit that these discoveries have borne is the recognition of the Aṃśuvarman (or Mānadeva) Saṃvat (era). There have been controversies⁴ surrounding the name and precise origin of this era, but now there is substantial agreement among historians concerned with Nepal that the same era was used in inscriptions by the Licchavis of the Kathmandu Valley from the beginning of the 7th century up to the 9th century – probably in between the use of the Śaka era and the Nepāla Saṃvat. This reckoning of years, started by Aṃśuvarman, commences on 14 March 576 CE⁵ and was probably devised by dropping 500 from the previously used Śaka. Its oldest surviving use is in an inscription dated saṃvat (year) 29. There was also a change from the *caitrādi* system to the *kārttikādi* system and from the expired year (*āgata*) to the current one (*vartamāna*). The material that proved most helpful in establishing the epoch of this calendar was a manuscript of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* preserved at the Kesar Library, Kathmandu;⁶ it records the day of the week, making the date verifiable.

Now, even if everything else stayed the same, Add.1049 would be thirty years older. We are also aware of three manuscripts whose dates are recorded in this calendar: that of the *Skandapurāṇa*, Add.1049 and the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. Their palaeography will now be compared to that of Add.1072 below.

⁴ See Petech 1988, 149 ff. and Malla 2005.

⁵ Petech 1988, 154.

⁶ For more on this manuscript and its colophon, see Regmi 1983, vol. 1, p. 162; vol. 2, pp. 162–3; vol. 3, pp. 250–51; Petech 1984, 29; Malla 2005, 7; Harimoto 2012, 87–8. The manuscript is often wrongly referred to as that of the *Sahottaratantra*, which is actually only part of the description of the manuscript's contents. Perhaps reflecting some awareness that the *Uttaratantra* (the 6th part) of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* was added material, the colophon of the manuscript refers to it as *sahottaram tantram*.

2.2 The two hands of Add.1702

Bendall (1883, xlii) notes ‘[...] Add.1702 is undated, but is in two hands, one of which especially is even more archaic than that of the MS. just noticed [Add.1049].’ The difference is easily noticed when two folios are compared, as in Figs 1 and 2.

The second hand (Fig. 2) may appear more recent because the top of the letters is more defined and appears to form a straight horizontal line. Letters having a more or less straight top line that appears to form a connected straight line are one of the most recognizable features of the Northern Brāhmī-derived scripts (or the descendant scripts of the Siddhamātrkā, since it reunites the Northern scripts once again in the 7th or 8th century). Most letters have a closed top. On the other hand, the letters written in the first hand (Fig. 1) appear more independent, and many letters have an open top. Another reason why the second hand gives us the impression of being more modern is that it neatly packs letters together, making the top of the letters appear more connected. As we will see below, however, when we compare each glyph, we can see that these two hands use more or less the same corresponding glyphs.

In addition, as Bendall notes, the two hands change mid-folio, as shown in Fig. 3.⁷ This indicates that the transition did not happen after centuries or decades, but more or less immediately. The first hand ended mid-text, and the second hand continued the writing from that point onwards. A change of hands mid-folio is unlikely to happen where a manuscript consists of original folios and replacements due to damage to the original folios, for instance. The two hands were most likely involved in the original production of this manuscript. Hence, even though one hand might appear more archaic than the other, we should not automatically assume that any significant gap in time existed between them.

Let us take a closer look at some of the letters now to illustrate the difference between the two hands. Table 1 compares some letters penned in the two hands. Those are the ones whose shapes vary more widely through the palaeographical history of Northern scripts.⁸ I will compare them with the oldest dated manuscripts from Nepal below.

⁷ Bendall himself included a reproduction of this folio in his catalogue as plate 1.

⁸ Ye 2008 is a comprehensive study of palaeographical changes in Nepal from the 5th century to the early 8th century. As will be seen below, the period we are concerned with regarding Add.1702, namely, the late 8th century, is not covered.

Tab. 1: Two hands of Add.1702

	First hand			Second hand		
i						
krā/kri/kra						
ḡ						
c						
ja						
jā						
ṇa						
ṇā/ṇo						
ta						
thā/r(t)tha						
dhaḥ/dhā						
naṃ/ni/na						
pa						
bhi/bhā						
bhū						
ma/mā						
ya						
r						
lā/laṃ/la/lāṃ						
ṣ						

The glyphs I would like to call attention to are *g(a)*, *c(a)*, *th(a)*, *dh(a)*, *y(a)*, and *l(a)*:

- *ga* The consonant sign standing for *g* looks archaic in both hands. However, if we compare the two hands, we can see a later development in the second one in that it was starting to be written with three strokes rather than two.
- *ca* Note that the upper stroke of the wedge-shaped part is almost horizontal rather than going down, starting from the vertical line in both hands. The first hand even writes the stroke as slightly going up from the vertical line and may seem rather more archaic than the second one in that sense. In other old manuscripts that have been dated, the top stroke of the wedge-part goes down.
- *tha* The second hand writes this sign in two different ways. The difference is in the way the stroke inside the enclosing stroke is written. In one style, the second hand is not clearly distinguishable from the first hand: the internal stroke appears as a horizontal line that goes across. In the other style, it looks like a curved internal stroke, effectively a small semicircle touching the top line inside the enclosing stroke. As we will see below, this is how 9th-century scribes wrote the same sign in manuscripts.
- *dha* This appears almost identical in both hands, but one can see that the first hand wrote the curved part with two strokes, while the second did so with just one. The sign was generally written with three strokes in Northern scripts – top, vertical, and a curve connecting the left side of the top stroke to the vertical stroke – until more modern forms appeared. The first hand shows remnants of that writing style.
- *ya* The notable thing about *y* in this manuscript is that neither hand uses the old tripartite *y*. Both hands show signs of archaism, retaining some features of the tripartite *y* without quite having reached the more Devanagari-like *y* shape.
- *la* Both hands write *l* with some variations. The first hand writes it in a more archaic shape, one upward loop and a bottom one connected to the vertical stroke from the left, but it is conceivable that this archaic shape anticipates the two-loop *l* of modern Devanagari. The second hand, while still maintaining the one loop and a flat bottom in some variations, tends toward the two-loop sign. Moreover, the first loop does not reach the height of the top horizontal stroke, further strengthening the impression of the modern Devanagari *l*.

To summarize, both hands roughly appear to belong to the same palaeographical developmental stage, but the second hand shows some degree of new developments. Interestingly, such new features are found in signs that are written in more than one way. The scribe employing the second hand used both old and new styles, i.e., an established/traditional one (for him) and possibly a more “fashionable”, modern style. At any rate, I do not think we should assume much of a gap in time existed between the two hands.

Having established that, I now would like to compare the writing with other examples whose dates are known to us.

3 Dated 9th-century manuscripts

The possible dated examples of writing are manuscripts and inscriptions. Since we are not always certain whether inscriptions and manuscripts of the same period shared the exact same palaeography, we would like to compare manuscripts to manuscripts if possible. The oldest dated Sanskrit manuscripts I am aware of are all from Nepal, and they are from the 9th century.⁹ Older dated examples of writing are inscriptions. The oldest dated manuscripts are the following:

- A manuscript of the *Skandapurāṇa* from 811 CE (National Archives Kathmandu, 2-229, photographed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project as B 11/4);
- that of the *Pārameśvaratantra* from 829 CE (Cambridge University Library Add.1049.1);¹⁰ and
- that of the *Suśrutasamhitā* from 879 CE (Kesar Library Accession No. 699, photographed by the Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project as C 80/7).

All these manuscripts have dates in the Aṃśuvarman (Mānadeva) Saṃvat mentioned above, although only the *Suśrutasamhitā* manuscript specifies the calendar. They are dated to 234, 252, and 301 respectively. All of them have their own problems regarding the date and palaeography.

⁹ Not to be confused with ‘the oldest manuscripts’. There are many more manuscripts that are older than them, but they are either not dated or the colophon (part) that mentions the date has been lost.

¹⁰ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01049-00001/1>

3.1 The three hands used in the *Skandapurāṇa* manuscript

The *Skandapurāṇa* manuscript records the earliest date among the three manuscripts. Figure 4 shows the page where the date is found.

This particular manuscript was written by at least three scribes. Figures 5, 6, and 7 show examples of the three different hands, which give quite different impressions at first glance, namely, the first hand being the best executed (esthetically most pleasing), the third appearing the least masterly, and the second in between. However, if we give them a closer look, the letter shapes that the scribes intended to produce are not much different. Nevertheless, the scribes had different ideas about how certain letters should be written. Table 2 shows some of the letters that display notable differences between the hands.

Tab. 2: Three hands of NAK *Skandapurāṇa* MS

	First	Second	Third
thā			
la(m/h)			
bhū			
ṇa/ṇi			
śa/śā			
ll			

Regarding the letter *th*, we can see that the first hand starts writing it with a counterclockwise outward spiral from top-left to lower-right where the loop is connected to the vertical stroke. The second and the third hands both appear to write the outside loop and the vertical stroke first and then the inside stroke. While they both appear to write the inside stroke as a loop that originates at the same point as the outside loop, the second hand writes it with stronger gravity from the bottom-left, and the third hand writes it almost directly from the top to the vertical stroke.

As for the letter *l*, the first and second hands retain the archaic form of the letter, while the third hand writes it in the shape closer to the later form (or simply more lazily).

The syllable *bhū* is written by the first hand as a combination of normal *bh* and the diacritic for the vowel *ū*, which could be attached to any other consonants. However, the syllable is highly stylized by the third hand. The way the second hand writes this syllable is in between: more stylized than the first hand, but not as much as the third hand.

We can distinguish the three hands by observing the distance between the top bar and the second horizontal bar for the sign ś. The second horizontal line is very close to the top bar in the first hand, but not as much in the second and third. The second and the third hands differ, in that the former writes the lower bar more or less horizontally, while the third hand gives the lower bar a slight downstroke from left to right.

The three hands differ in the way they write what we could call the double *daṇḍa*. The first scribe does not use it at the end of a stanza — he uses a single *daṇḍa* after every two *pādas*. The second hand writes a very distinguishable hook attached to the left of the first vertical stroke of the double *daṇḍa*, but the third hand only makes a triangular bulge to the left of the first vertical stroke.

I cannot draw any clear conclusions about the chronology from the observations made above. Based on the shape of the letter *ṇ* and *l*, I suggest that the third hand is the most recent one. What's more, since the first scribe made mixed use of the old style *ṇ* alongside the new style, the hand may be younger than the second hand. Thus, I tentatively propose the following sequence from the oldest to the youngest: (1) the second hand, (2) the first hand, (3) the third one.

We will now discuss the hand that records the date. This hand appears to be similar to the third hand, but its quality as handwriting is inferior to it. I suspect that it was produced as a replacement for the last folio, which got damaged. The scribe might have been an inexperienced calligrapher or trying to imitate an old style of writing he was not familiar with, or both. Hence, the date recorded by that hand is probably the date of the original, not of the time when it was written in the surviving folio. Accordingly, I am not going to assume that the palaeography found in this hand/folio was current in 811 CE; it is more likely that the earlier forms of writing found in that manuscript — the first or the second hand, especially the second one — were from that year.

3.2 The composite manuscript of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* in the Kesar Library

The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript in the Kesar Library records a verifiable date on folio 209v (Fig. 8). Again, however, some considerations need to be made before

comparing its palaeography with that of Add.1702. The *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript was also written by several hands, as figure 9 shows. In this case, it is quite possible that the leaves that now form one bundle may not have been originally conceived as a single manuscript. First of all, the manuscript is not complete; many portions are missing. With regard to folio numbers, the foliation covers the range from 1 to 219, but many folios in between are missing. Furthermore, various folios exist that share the same number; we have two folios each numbered 112, 113, 167, 168, 169, 187, 188, 189, 191, 192, and 193, for instance. Even the contents found in folios with identical numbers are duplicated in other places. As an example, there are two folios numbered 167 and another two numbered 168. One pair numbered 167–168 contains a text that continues from the folio numbered 166 and proceeds to the folio numbered 169 (only one of which exists in each case). We find that the contents of the other pair of folios numbered 167–168 partially appear in folio 176 (there are no folios numbered 177–186). These two series of folios come from different manuscripts of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā*. What makes matters even more complicated is that not all the folios with duplicate or alternate numbering¹¹ are written by the same hand; two different hands were involved, if not more.¹²

Now, the question is which hand is responsible for the date. In the case of the NAK *Skandapurāṇa* manuscript, I have postulated that the writing in which the date is written does not actually correspond to the date itself. I assigned the date to the older-looking writing found on different folios than the one recording the date. In the case of the Kesar Library *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript, I do not think such an assumption is necessary. That is, I consider the palaeography of the folio numbered 209 as indeed corresponding to the year 879 CE. This folio belongs to the main series of folios in the manuscript. The writing does not appear to be any different from what is found in the rest of the series. I see no reason to associate the date with the writing found in the other folios that do not share the same production backgrounds as the main series of the folios.

11 We could observe that the majority of folios are in a continuous sequence, but some of them break it. Some of the disruptions are clear because of the duplicate folio numbers, but not all the folios in the alternate series have a counterpart (i.e. folios with the same number) in the main series. Because of that, we cannot state that all the folios not found in the main series have duplicate folio numbers. The tell-tale sign of a folio *not* coming from the main series is the foliation itself: the folio numbers are written vertically in the main series of folios, but horizontally on the folios that do not belong to the main series.

12 See Andrey Klebanov, 'On the Textual History of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* (1): A Study of Three Nepalese Manuscripts', to be published in the proceedings for the conference entitled 'Asian Diversity in a Global Context' held in Copenhagen in 2009.

3.3 Palaeographical comparison between Add.1702 and other dated 9th-century Nepalese manuscripts

Having established which hands are responsible for the dates recorded in old dated Nepalese manuscripts, we will now compare the writing of Add.1702 with the hands that wrote those manuscripts. My overall impression is as follows: some letter shapes in Add.1702 appear to be just as archaic as those in the 9th-century manuscripts, while others look even more archaic than the same letters in the 9th-century manuscripts. (The remaining letter shapes do not appear significantly different in any of the manuscripts in question, and those similar shapes do not tell us much about their age — archaic or modern — as they were in use for a long period of time.) Those letters that attract my attention are *g*, *bh*, *m*, *y*, *r*, and *l*. Table 3 summarizes these comparisons:

Tab. 3: Comparisons of some letters between hands of Add.1702 and dated 9th century Nepalese MSS

	1st hand	2nd hand	811	829	878
g					
bh					
m					
y					
r					
l					

- *g* in Add.1702 is written in a different way than the same letter in the 9th-century manuscripts, in that its top and the right-hand vertical line are written in one stroke in Add.1702, while they are written with a separate top bar and downstroke in the 9th-century manuscripts. This one stroke, which first moves horizontally and then vertically, is common to both the older and younger hands in Add.1702. I see some variations in the way the hook at the bottom of the shorter vertical stroke on the left-hand side is written. The younger hand of Add.1702 and the oldest hand in the *Skandapurāṇa* manuscript write the hook in a similar fashion: they move the pen from the upper

left to lower right after drawing the vertical line. They may or may not completely lift the tip of the pen from the writing surface, but they clearly emphasize the short diagonal stroke. The scribes who worked on the other two 9th-century manuscripts may not have emphasized the last short stroke much, but they must have moved their pens slightly from the upper left to the lower right to produce the bottom hook. These may all be contrasted with the old hand in Add.1702, where the scribe simply moved the tip of the pen upward and to the left to produce the hook. It is these two features that make the old hand of Add.1702 appear quite archaic compared to the others.

- *bh* written by the first hand of Add.1702 shows an archaism in the circular movement of the pen the scribe used to produce the downward stroke of the letter. Other scribes used an almost straight line to produce the downward stroke on the right-hand side of the letter.
- A major difference in *m* is also apparent in whether its top is open or closed. With the exception of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript of 878 CE, all the others have the open-top *m*.
- As has already been noted above, *y* in Add.1702 is unique, being in between the archaic tripartite *y* and Devanagari-like *y*. All the dated old Nepalese manuscripts use the latter. I am not aware of this shape of *y* in Add.1702 being used anywhere else.
- The bulge toward the bottom of the vertical stroke in *r* is relatively inconspicuous in Add.1702. This is especially true of the first hand; it is almost a hook at the bottom. This gives the letter in Add.1702 a very archaic, Gupta-like appearance, in that it was an almost T-shaped letter with a small hook at the bottom of the vertical stroke.
- As noted above, the two hands write *l* differently in Add.1702. The first hand writes it in a more archaic manner, and the other one closer to modern Devanagari *l*. Now, if we look at the different versions of the letter in chronological order, we can clearly see how the letter developed; the first hand in Add.1702 is clearly in the earliest stage of development.

Thus, palaeographically, Add.1702 shows signs of being written before 811 CE. The archaism is slightly more pronounced in the first hand. Since the NAK *Skandapurāṇa* manuscript was written only ten years after the beginning of the 9th century, a manuscript made earlier than that could easily have been produced in the 8th century. I would like to assign Add.1702 to the 8th century on these grounds.

4 Comparisons with similarly dated inscriptions from Nepal

So far, I have compared the palaeography of Add.1702 with dated manuscripts from Nepal. Add.1702 appears to have been produced earlier than any of the surviving dated manuscripts, but we do not know how much earlier. Now I will turn to inscriptions.

It is reasonable to assume that the manuscripts we have looked at up to now can be dated in the same calendar, namely the continuation of the year-reckoning system started by Aṃśuvarman by dropping the hundreds (subtracting 500) from a Śaka calendar. These manuscripts recorded the year 234 (the NAK *Skandapurāṇa* manuscript), 252 (the Cambridge *Pārameśvaratantra* manuscript), and 301 (the Kesar Library *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript).¹³

There are two inscriptions that are of interest in the present context. We can be relatively certain that they record years in the Aṃśuvarman Saṃvat, and they are a little earlier than our dated manuscripts.¹⁴

4.1 The Paśupatinātha temple inscription of saṃvat 153/157/159

The first one is No. 81 in Gnoli's collection and 142 in Regmi's collection (Fig. 10). It is a famous inscription consisting of 35 stanzas found in the Paśupatinātha temple complex in Kathmandu and is significant in many ways.¹⁵ This inscription was

¹³ Perhaps the last date also corresponds to the last year (or is very close to the last year) in which this system of year reckoning was used in Nepal. The Nepāla Saṃvat is essentially Śaka minus 800, which is Aṃśuvarman minus 300. I do not think there is any other manuscript or inscription that records a year later than 301 in the Aṃśuvarman Saṃvat.

¹⁴ There are other inscriptions that were written even closer to the dates of the dated manuscripts. Using Vajrācārya's numbering (1973), nos 174–179 are dated saṃvat 182 to 250. I have been unable to glean any useful information by comparing them palaeographically with Add.1702 due to their length (they are too short), the quality of published rubbings or photographs (they could have been badly damaged in the first place), and so forth. The year in Vajrācārya's 180 is variously read as 171 (Gnoli), 271 (Vajrācārya), and 272 (Regmi). I cannot make any meaningful observations regarding this inscription either, using published rubbings in Gnoli 1956 and Regmi 1983. If Vajrācārya or Regmi is correct, this inscription would be the youngest of those that record the year in the Aṃśuvarman Saṃvat. I do not expect to find inscriptions that record a year in that calendar later than 300. See the previous note.






¹⁵ One reason is that it describes the lineage of the Licchavis, and another is that some of the stanzas that express devotion to Śiva are ascribed to Jayadeva, the king himself.

known when Bendall compared its palaeography with Add.1049 and Add.1702. The year of this inscription was read as 153 by Indrajī-Bühler, 159 by Gnoli and 157 by Vajracārya and Regmi.¹⁶

A few things can be observed when we compare the writing in this inscription with that of Add.1702. One point is that the inscription uses both styles of the letter *ya* (see Table 4), the old tripartite one and the more modern one, typically when it is part of *yā* or other ligatures such as *ryā*.

Another set of letters that attract one’s attention is the pair *ja* and *jā*. This pair is very noticeable when reading relatively old manuscripts written in northern Siddhamātrikā-derived scripts. For example, Table 5 lists *ja* and *jā* from Add.1702 and the old dated manuscripts from Nepal. They look essentially identical. On the other hand, in the Paśupatinātha temple inscription, *ja* is written in a more archaic form that resembles roman capital ‘E’ and *jā* is written in a similar way to the same letter in old Nepalese manuscripts (see Table 4).

Tab. 4: *y* and *j* in the Paśupatinātha temple complex inscription of the year 153/157/159

<i>ya</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>ryā</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>jā</i>
				

Tab. 5: *ja* and *jā* in old Nepalese manuscripts

	Add. 1702 (1st hand)	Add. 1702 (2nd hand)	Samvat 234 (1st hand)	Samvat 234 (2nd hand)	Samvat 234 (3rd hand)	Samvat 252	Samvat 301
<i>ja</i>							
<i>jā</i>							

¹⁶ See Indrajī-Bühler (1880, 183), Vajracārya (1973, 548), Regmi (1983, vol. 2, 95), Gnoli (1956, 115, 119).

4.2 The Jñāneśvara inscription

Another inscription of interest is the one from the Jñāneśvara (Gyaneshwar) area of Kathmandu. It is Vajrācārya's no. 150 and Regmi's no. 144. The date of the inscription has been lost, but it is likely to be close to the previous one. In the Jñāneśvara inscription, the *dūtaka* (messenger) is recorded as *yuvarāja* (Crown Prince) Vijayadeva, but the name of the king, who is usually mentioned before the *dūtaka*, is missing. The name Vijayadeva first appears simply as *bhaṭṭāraka* Vijayadeva in an inscription dated saṃvat 137. He is the *dūtaka* in that inscription, too, and the king is Jayadeva. Similarly, in another inscription dated saṃvat 148, Vijayadeva is *yuvarāja* and again the *dūtaka*. Jayadeva was still king in saṃvat 153/157/159, as we have seen above. By saṃvat 180, however, it appears that the era started to be referred to as that of “the kingdom of Mānadeva.”¹⁷ We do not know whether Vijayadeva ever became king, but it seems unlikely.¹⁸ Whatever happened to him, the period in which Vijayadeva may have been crown prince was between saṃvat 137 — when he probably had not been designated *yuvarāja* yet — and 180. Thus the Jñāneśvara inscription also falls into that time window.

Again, I have difficulty reading this inscription from the rubbing published in Regmi (1983), but a few observations are possible nonetheless. One is that the new form of *ya* is used even without the diacritics for vowels or without being part of a ligature (see Figure 11). This indicates that the non-use of the old-style tripartite *ya*, as seen in Add.1702, does not necessarily mean that the writing was done later than saṃvat 157.

4.3 The pedestal inscription of the Lokeśvara image in Patan

The last inscription to which I would like to draw attention comes from saṃvat 180 (Vajrācārya's no. 172 and Regmi's no. 156). This is a three-line inscription, and again I have difficulty reading it from Regmi (1983)'s reproduction of the rubbing (Figure 12). Still, the writing in this inscription generally seems very similar to that of Add.1702. I do not find anything significantly different from the writing

¹⁷ Vajrācārya's 172/Regmi's 156: *rājye śrīmānadevasya varṣe śityuttare śate*; cf. also the colophon of the Kesar Library *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript: *rājñi śrī[m]ānaeve pṛthusitayaśasi prodyadinduprakāṣe...* These references to King Mānadeva caused some controversy regarding how many kings named Mānadeva actually existed. I prefer the view according to which the reference to the name Mānadeva is intended as referring to the founder of the kingdom, the ancient Licchavi king, Mānadeva.

¹⁸ See Regmi 1983, vol. 3, 249.

in Add.1702 in this inscription, while there were a few points that distinguished Add.1702 from the Paśupatinātha temple inscription of saṃvat 153/157/159. Like the Jñāneśvara inscription above, this inscription does not use the old-style *ya*. Furthermore, the letter *ya* is written in a style somewhat similar to the unique *ya* of Add.1702, in that the stroke that comes from above creates an acute-angled corner by almost going up again rather than gently turning to the left, making a round corner. Table 6 shows all the instances of *akṣaras* that I can decipher as using *ya*. Compare them with those used in Add.1702 in Tables 1 and 3.

Tab. 6: *y* in Patan Lokeśvara pedestal

<i>ye</i>	<i>yā</i>	<i>yā</i>
		

By comparing it with the inscriptions, I find the writing in Add.1702 appears to be quite similar to the kind written in the 2nd century of the Aṃśuvarman Saṃvat (100s); certain features in Add.1702 point to the latter half of that century. This would allow the manuscript to be dated to the mid-8th century CE on palaeographic grounds.

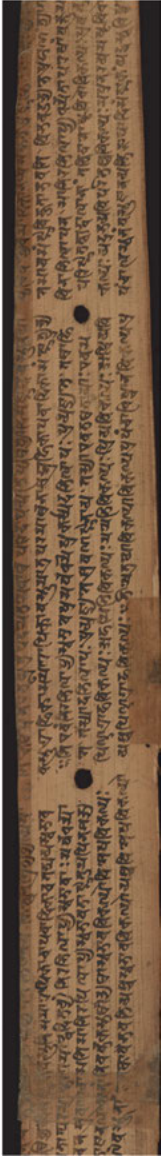


Fig. 1: The first hand of Add.1702.



Fig. 2: The second hand of Add.1702.

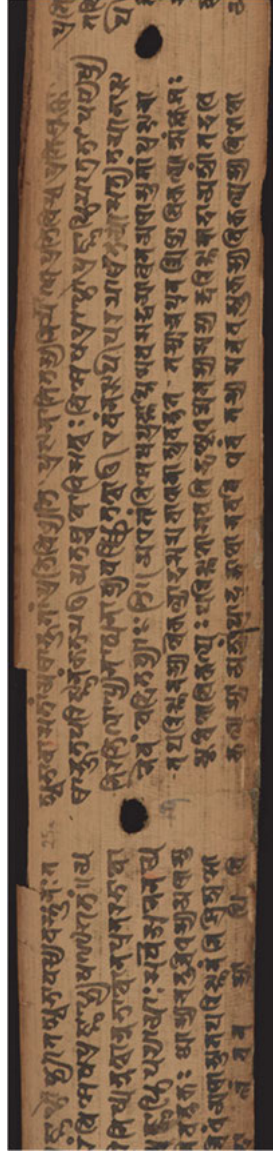


Fig. 3: Mid-folio hand change of Add.1702.



Fig. 4: Colophon page of the NAK Skandapurāṇa MS.

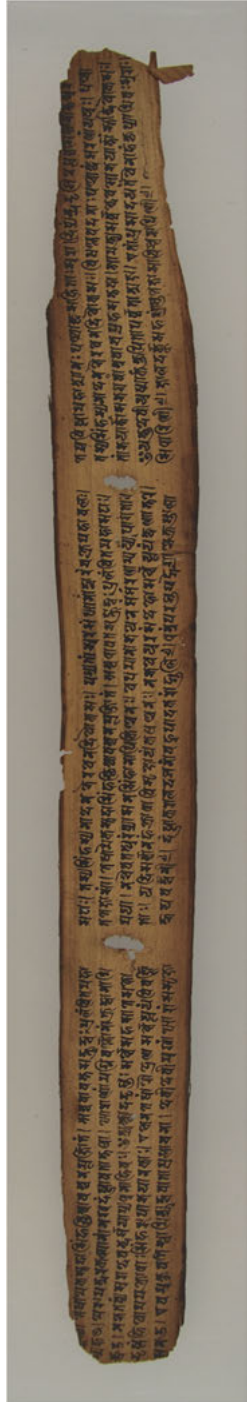


Fig. 5: A page written by the first hand of the NAK Skandapurāṇa MS.

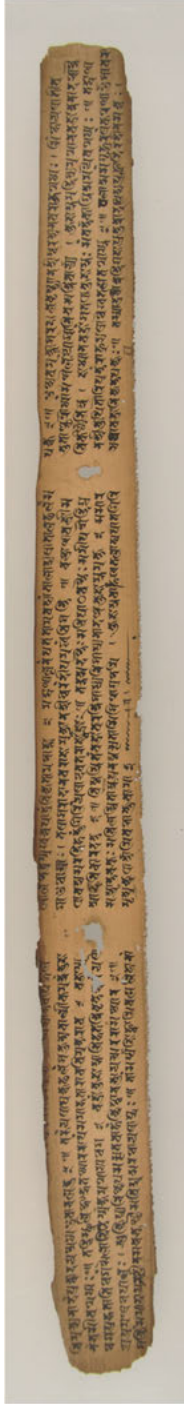


Fig. 6: A page written by the second hand of the NAK *Skandapurāṇa* MS.

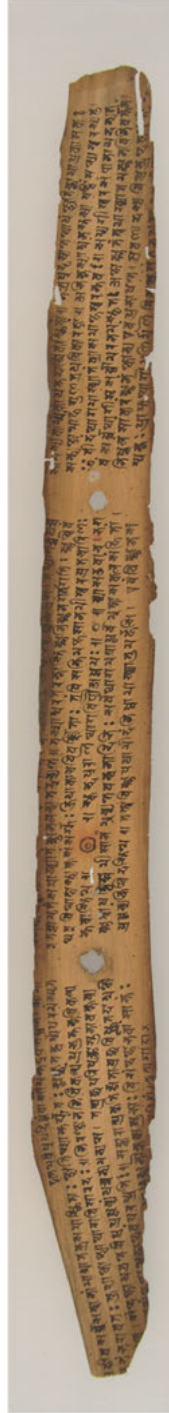


Fig. 7: A page written by the third hand of the NAK *Skandapurāṇa*.

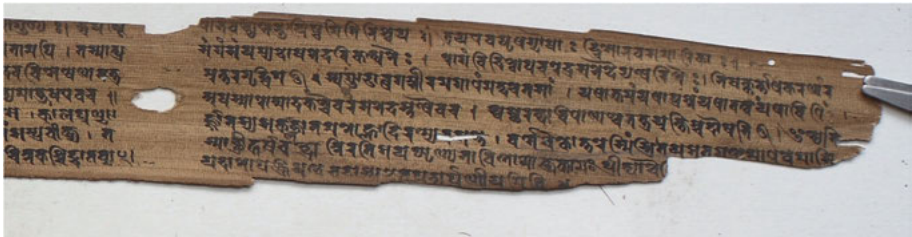
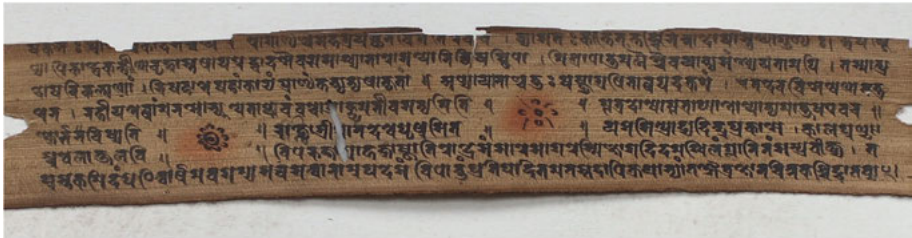
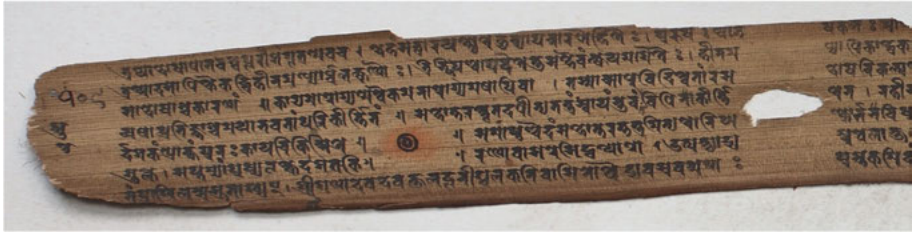


Fig. 8: Folio 209 verso of the *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript in the Kesari Library (acc. no. 669). The colophon starts in the middle of line 5.

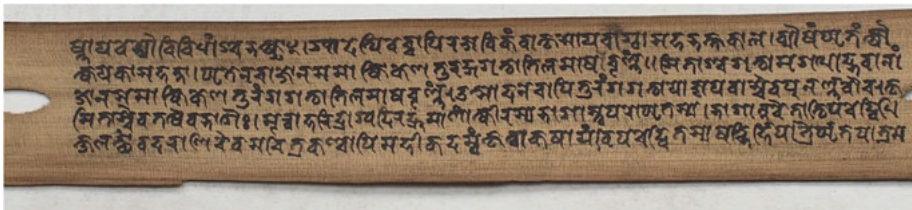


Fig. 9: Folio 192 recto of the Kesari Library *Suśrutasaṃhitā* manuscript.

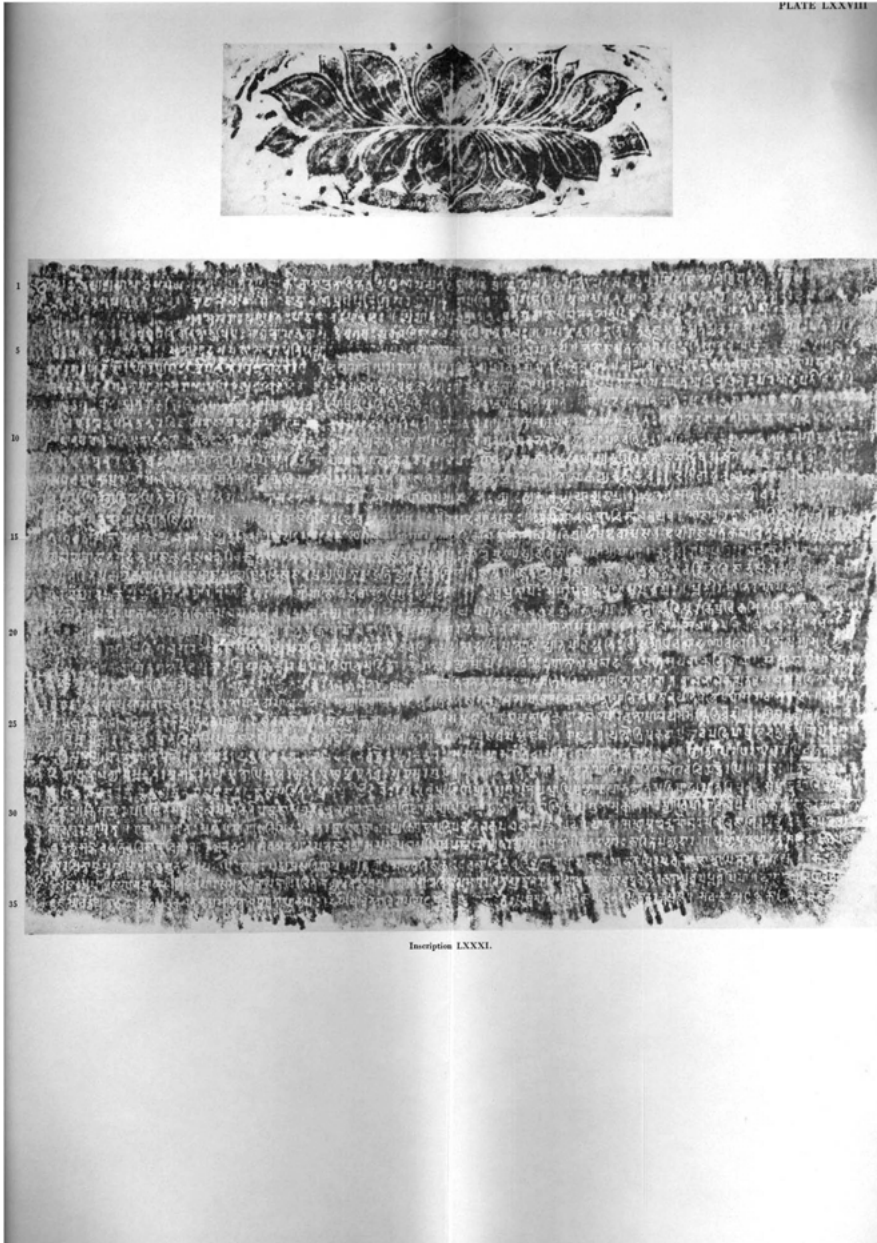


Fig. 10: Paśupatinātha temple inscription Regmi 1963, vol.3.

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Marco Franceschini

On Some Markers Used in a Grantha Manuscript of the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha Belonging to the Cambridge University Library (Or.2366)

Abstract: The present article deals with a peculiar system of markers used in a manuscript of the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha written in the Grantha script, belonging to the Cambridge University Library (Or.2366). In the northern ‘orthodox’ manuscript tradition of the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha, basically only four markers are used to analyse and rearrange the text of the Saṃhitāpāṭha, i.e. *danḍas* (for separating the words), *avagrahas* (for separating the members of the compounds), circles between *danḍas* (for marking the *galitas*), and the particle *iti*. Besides these four, however, in the Grantha manuscript a full system of additional markers is used. These markers, all illustrated in the article, apparently served the purpose of flagging peculiar or ‘irregular’ euphonic modifications and other alterations in the Saṃhitāpāṭha, possibly to provide the reciter with all the information needed to accurately convert the Padapāṭha into the Saṃhitāpāṭha.

1 Introduction

The present article deals with a group of unusual markers found in a manuscript written in the Grantha script transmitting the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha. The manuscript belongs to the Cambridge University Library and is part of its extremely rich collections of South Asian manuscripts: it consists of ninety-four palm leaves (including five guard-leaves) and covers the first two *aṣṭakas* of the *Ṛgveda*, corresponding to *sūktas* 1.1 to 3.6, in Padapāṭha form.¹

¹ The manuscript (shelfmark Or.2366, not dated) was examined and catalogued by the author of the present article – together with all the Grantha manuscripts belonging to the Cambridge University Library collections – in the course of his six-month collaboration (autumn 2013 and summer 2014) to the AHRC-funded project ‘The intellectual and religious traditions of South Asia as seen through the Sanskrit manuscript collections of the University Library, Cambridge’. The online catalogue entry of the manuscript is available at: <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-02366/1>.

The Padapāṭha, ‘word-for-word recitation’, is traditionally recognised as one of the three basic (*prakṛti*) forms of Vedic recitation, the others being the Saṃhitāpāṭha, ‘continuous recitation’, and the Kramapāṭha, ‘progressing (or step-by-step) recitation’.² In this article, the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha (henceforth also Pp.) and its relationship with the corresponding Saṃhitāpāṭha (henceforth also Sp.) will be discussed. The Kramapāṭha, important as it is, falls outside the scope of this work.³ The redaction of the only recension of the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* surviving to our days is ascribed to the Śākala school and especially to the clansman Śākalya, who is also credited with the composition of the Padapāṭha of the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā*. Śākalya lived during the late Brāhmaṇa period, possibly in Videha (present-day North Bihar) (Gonda 1975, 16; Witzel 1989, 135–138 and *passim*; Witzel 1997, 265–266, 322–324). Śākalya’s Padapāṭha is regarded as ‘an early commentary upon the Saṃhitā’ (Arnold 1905, 5), ‘the oldest surviving philological treatment of the *Ṛgveda*’ (Scharfe 2009, 73), and ‘the first linguistic analysis of the Saṃhitāpāṭha’ (Levy/Staal 1968, 5), in that it ‘avoids *sandhi* and includes pauses between the words, uses repetitions and deviations which serve to clarify the nature of compounds and it presents word forms unchanged by, for example, metrical requirements’ (Falk 2001, 181). This linguistic analysis is accomplished in Śākalya’s Padapāṭha by means of a few symbols and markers. In the northern manuscripts written in Devanāgarī, they are represented by *danḍas* (to separate words), *avagrahas* (to separate the members of compounds), circles between *danḍas* (to mark the *galitas*), and the particle *iti* (to mark the *pragṛhya* vowels and for other purposes).⁴ Symbols and markers serving these same purposes are found in the Cambridge manuscript as well, although in most of the cases their graphical representation differs from that in the Nāgarī manuscripts. Besides this, however, a peculiar system of additional markers is used in the Cambridge manuscript, which has no equivalent nor counterpart in Śākalya’s Padapāṭha as it is known from the northern, ‘orthodox’ manuscript tradition.

² The three *prakṛtis* were soon complemented by eight *vikṛtis*, ‘modifications, derivatives’. Of the *vikṛtis*, the Jaṭapāṭha is the oldest, the Ghanapāṭha the most complex. See Gonda 1975, 17; Aithal 1991, 5–6; Falk 2001, 181.

³ The *Ṛgveda* Kramapāṭha as we know it is ascribed to Bābhavya, and is later than the Saṃhitāpāṭha and the Padapāṭha. Other arrangements of the text of the *Ṛgveda*, such as the Jaṭapāṭha and the Ghanapāṭha, are based on it (Gonda 1975, 17). However, Falk (2001) assumes the existence of an earlier Kramapāṭha lost to us, ‘nothing more than a teaching technique’, which may possibly predate the Saṃhitāpāṭha and the Padapāṭha forms of the text.

⁴ For the different purposes served by the marker *iti* in the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha, see Rastogi 1970 and Jha 1975.

In the following pages, all the markers found in the Cambridge manuscript will be presented and illustrated, with the notable exception of those strictly relating to the Vedic accent.⁵ The present work consists of two sections. The first section deals with those symbols and markers in the Cambridge manuscript that have a counterpart in the northern manuscripts of Śākalya's Padapāṭha. The second section, by contrast, is devoted to the examination of those markers that are characteristic of the Cambridge manuscript, as they have no equivalent in the northern transmission of the text.

2 First section

2.1 Compound boundary marker

The analysis of compounds in the Padapāṭhas⁶ consists primarily in the separation of their members, which are always two and are, as a rule, given in their pausa form.⁷ In manuscripts, the separation is indicated by a 'compound boundary marker' (henceforth CBM), a special sign interposed between the two members of a compound. In manuscripts written in Devanāgarī, the symbol used for this purpose is the Nāgarī *avagraha* sign, and this practice is reflected in the printed editions since Müller's *editio princeps*. The term *avagraha*, 'separation', designates the interval between the two members of a compound in the Padapāṭha in such an early text as the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya*. However, it is difficult to decide whether the term refers there to the recited or to the written form of the text,⁸ and even if the latter is the case, we still do not know what graphic sign was intended by the word *avagraha*

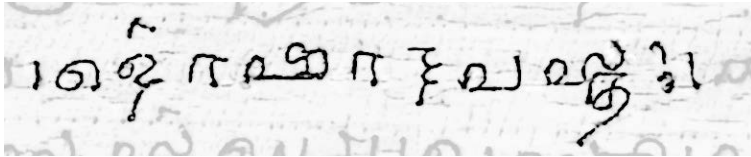
5 These latter will be dealt with in another article by the same author (forthcoming), together with the particular signs and the different methods used for marking the Vedic accent in manuscripts written in the Grantha script.

6 In the present article, under the term 'compound' are included all the pairs of words or word elements which are analysed (i.e. separated by an *avagraha*) in the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha, including those consisting in the stem with certain prefixes, suffixes and endings.

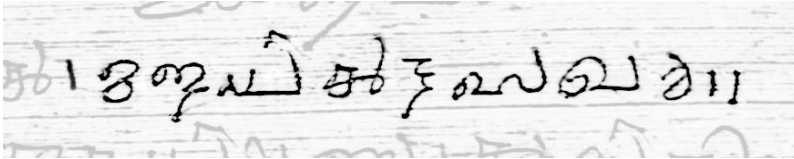
7 The exception to this rule is represented by the possible combination of the initial or final sound of a compound with the marker *iti*; see Rastogi 1970, 5–10.

8 There is no doubt that, at least in some occurrences, in the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* the term *avagraha* must refer (at least primarily) to the recitation of the Padapāṭha, since it denotes an interval of time, e.g.: *mātrā hrasvaḥ || tāvad avagrahāntaram ||* (I.27–28), 'A short vowel has one mora. That much is the interval of an Avagraha' (Shastri 1922–1937, II.36 [text], III.6 [translation]).

in the *Ṛgvedaprāṭiśākhya*, given that the first known written attestation of the *avagraha* dates from as late as the 9th century CE.⁹ Be that as it may, the sign used as CBM in the Cambridge manuscript is shown in the pictures below: it looks like a hybrid between the Grantha *avagraha* and the Grantha *pluta* (protracted vowel) marker (both of which, incidentally, are hardly ever found in manuscripts).¹⁰



| *doṣā-vastah* | (ṚV 1.1.7, Or.2366 [1r3])¹¹



| *mandayat-sakham* || (ṚV 1.4.7, Or.2366 [1v8])

2.2 *Pragṛhya* vowel markers

The term *pragṛhya*, ‘separated’, is used by the ancient Indian phoneticians to refer to those vowels that are not subject to the rules of sandhi and, as such, remain unchanged before any following sound. *Pragṛhya* vowels include *ī*, *ū* and *e*, when representing dual endings (both in declension and conjugation) and when expressing the Vedic locative case; the pronoun *amī* and some Vedic pronominal forms (*tve*, *asme*, *yuṣme*); the final vowel of an interjection; and the particle *ū*, also when combined with a preceding final *ā* resulting in *o* (e.g. *o* < *ā u*, *atho* < *atha u*, *uto* < *uta u*,

⁹ ‘The mark *Avagraha* [...] first appears in the Baroda Copper-plate of the Rāṣṭrakūta king Dhruva, dated A.D. 834–35’ (Pandey 1952, 109). On the contrary, the *daṇḍa* is already represented by a vertical line in the Aśokan inscriptions (Pandey 1952, 105).

¹⁰ For printed samples of the two signs, see Grünendahl 2001, 76 and the chart of the Grantha script in the Unicode Standard (Version 7.0) at: <http://www.unicode.org/charts/PDF/U11300.pdf>.

¹¹ In the present article, the CBMs are represented in transcriptions with a hyphen.

mo < *mā u*).¹² Although strictly speaking not a *pragṛhya* vowel, the *o* of the vocative singular of *u*-stems is nonetheless treated in Śākalya's Padapāṭha as if it were one.¹³ Turning to the written text, in the Padapāṭha of the *Ṛgveda* the *pragṛhya* vowels are marked by appending the particle *iti*¹⁴ to them; the *pragṛhya* particle *ū*, however, is peculiarly treated, being always lengthened and nasalised (Arnold 1905, 72 (§ 120); Macdonell 1910, 65 n. 13). For example:¹⁵

Sp.: *asme dhehi* = Pp.: || *asme iti* | *dhehi* | (ṚV 1.9.8)

Sp.: *kavi no* = Pp.: || *kavi iti* | *naḥ* | (ṚV 1.2.9, Nom. dual)

Sp.: *vāyav ā* = Pp.: || *vāyo iti* | *ā* | (ṚV 1.2.1, Voc. sing.)

Sp.: *imam ū su* = Pp.: || *imam* | *ūṁ iti* | *su* | (ṚV 1.27.4)

On the other hand, if the *pragṛhya* vowel is the final of a compound, the Padapāṭha first gives the compound followed by *iti* (marking the *pragṛhya* vowel), and then by the compound repeated in analysed form, i.e. with its two members separated by an *avagraha*.¹⁶ However, the so-called *devatā*-dvandvas, 'deity-dvandvas',¹⁷ are an exception, in that they are never analysed in the Padapāṭha and, therefore, they are treated as they were a single word: as such, if they have a *pragṛhya* vowel as their final, they are simply followed by *iti*, without being repeated. For example:

¹² On the *pragṛhya* vowels, see Whitney 1889, 48 (§ 138); Macdonell 1910, 59 n. 9, 63 (§ 69c), 65–67 (§ 71.2abc, § 72.1b, § 72.2abc, § 72.3b); Rastogi 1970, 2–5.

¹³ This fact was also acknowledged by Pāṇini: see Bronkhorst 1982, 184 (§ 2.4). Possibly the *o* of the vocative singular of *u*-stems was included under the *pragṛhya* category following the analogy with the final *o* of particles such as *o*, *atho*, *uto*, *mo*, which are actually *pragṛhya*, being the result of the combination of the final *ā* of *ā*, *atha*, *uta*, *mā* with the unchangeable particle *ū*: see Arnold 1905, 132 (§ 171b); Macdonell 1910, 67 (§ 72.3).

¹⁴ The *Ṛgvedaprātisākhya* (I.58) defines the particle *iti* used as a marker in the Padapāṭha as *anārṣa*, 'not coming from the *ṛṣis* (i.e. not belonging to the Vedic hymns)', to distinguish it from the same particle when it is part of the text of the *saṃhitā* (Rastogi 1970, 1). A clear and useful survey of the uses of *iti* in the Padapāṭha of the *Ṛgveda* is given in Rastogi 1970; see also Jha 1975.

¹⁵ In the present article, quotation from both the *Samhitāpāṭha* and the *Padapāṭha* of the *Ṛgveda* are based on Max Müller's edition (1877, 2nd edition). When it has been considered necessary, the readings have been checked against the Poona edition (Sontakke and Kashikar 1933–1951).

¹⁶ For layout reasons, in Müller's edition of the *Ṛgveda* the 'simple' *iti* and the *iti* followed by the analysed compound have been replaced with a dot and a circle respectively, both aligned to the top line of the Devanāgarī script (Müller 1877, vii–viii).

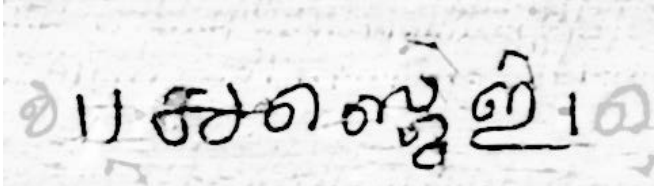
¹⁷ The *devatā*-dvandvas, also known as 'doubly dualized dvandvas' (Oliphant 1912, 46), are copulative compounds, whose two members refer to conventionally associated pairs of divinities, or other personages, or personified natural objects. See Whitney 1889, 486–487 (§ 1255); Oliphant 1912; Insler 1998 (according to whom the oldest – as well as the most common – type of *devatā*-dvandvas in the *Ṛgveda* are not real dual dvandvas, but pairs of independent words).

Sp.: *rudravartanī* || = Pp.: | *rudravartanī iti rudra-vartanī* || (ṚV 1.3.3, Voc. dual)

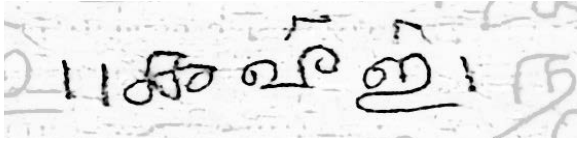
Sp.: *śatakrato* | = Pp.: | *śatakrato iti śata-krato* | (ṚV 1.5.8, Voc. sing.)

Sp.: *indravāyū ime* = Pp.: | *indravāyū iti | ime* | (ṚV 1.2.4, Voc. dual, *devatā*-dvandva)

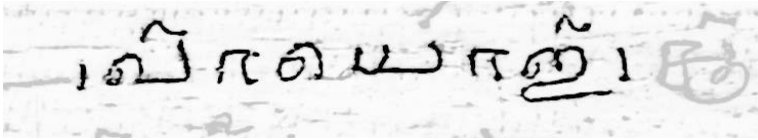
In the Cambridge manuscript, the *pragṛhya* vowels are indicated as in the northern manuscripts, but with two notable differences. The Grantha character for the independent (or initial) vowel *i* is used in place of the particle *iti* for marking a *pragṛhya* vowel at the end of a single word (and of a *devatā*-dvandva). Moreover, when a *pragṛhya* vowel occurs at the end of a compound, only the first member of the compound is repeated after *iti*, in pausa form and followed by the CBM; the second member is omitted in the repetition. The pictures below show how the words and the compounds given above as examples of the analysis in Śākalya's Padapāṭha are written in the Cambridge Grantha manuscript.



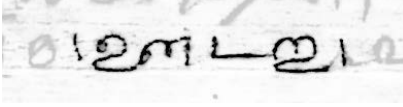
|| *asme i* | (Pp.: || *asme iti* | – Sp.: *asme*) ṚV 1.9.8 (Or.2366 [3r1])



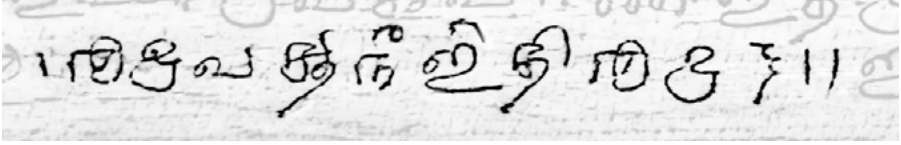
|| *kavī i* | (Pp.: || *kavī iti* | – Sp.: *kavī*) ṚV 1.2.9 (Or.2366 [1r8])



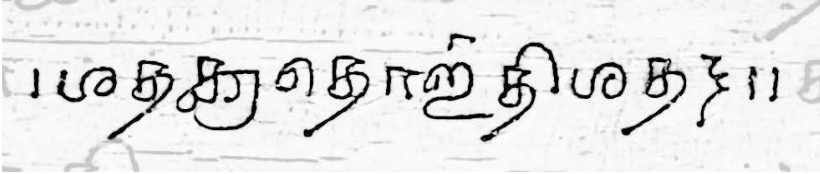
| *vāyo i* | (Pp.: || *vāyo iti* | – Sp.: *vāyav*) ṚV 1.2.1 (Or.2366 [1r5])



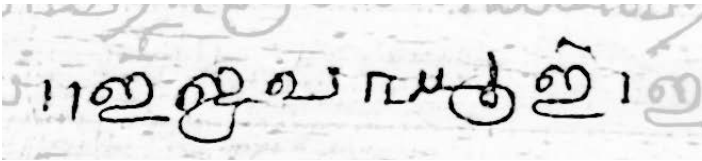
| *ūṁ i* | (Pp.: | *ūṁ iti* | – Sp.: *ū*) ṚV 1.27.4 (Or.2366 [7v10])



| *rudravarttanī iti rudra-* || (Pp.: | *rudravartanī iti rudra-vartanī* || – Sp: *rudrava-rtanī*)
ṚV 1.3.3 (Or.2366 [1r10])



| *śatakrato iti śata-* || (Pp.: | *śatakrato iti śata-krato* | – Sp: *śatakrato*)
ṚV 1.5.8 (Or.2366 [2r2])

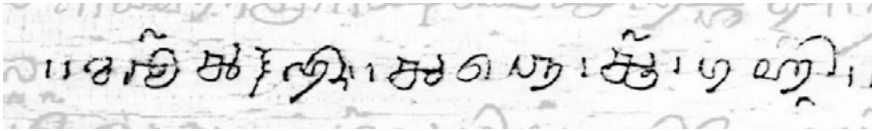


|| *indravāyū i* | (Pp.: | *indravāyū iti* | – Sp: *indravāyū*) ṚV 1.2.4
(Or.2366 [1r6])

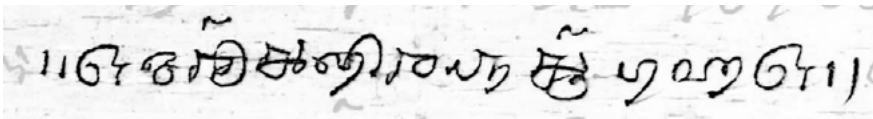
2.3 Galita markers

The *galitas* or *galantas* (or *samayas*, as they are called in the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya*) are conventional omissions from the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha of passages that have

previously occurred in the text.¹⁸ Without going into the intricate rules governing the use and structure of the *galitas*, it will suffice here to note that in the manuscripts in Devanāgarī, the sign marking the *galitas* (which is also called *galita*) is a circle between *danḍas* (Falk 2001, 183). However, in the Grantha manuscript under scrutiny two different signs are used to mark the *galitas*: the Grantha full (initial) vowels *o* and the plus-sign. It appears that the following pattern is followed in the manuscript: the first occurrence of a repeated passage is given without alteration or added symbols, in regular Padapāṭha fashion, whereas all the subsequent occurrences are enclosed by a pair of Grantha full vowels *o*¹⁹ and are given in Saṃhitāpāṭha form; on its second occurrence, the passage is quoted in full, whereas from the third repetition onwards, only the initial and final syllables are written, and a plus-sign (or the cursive form thereof) marks the omission of the missing syllables. For example:



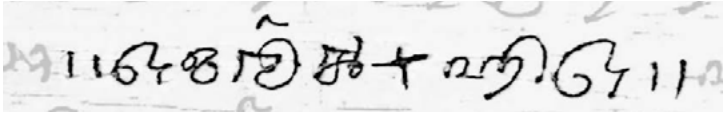
First occurrence: || marut-bhiḥ | agne | ā | gahi || ṚV 1.19.1 (Or.2366 [5r7])



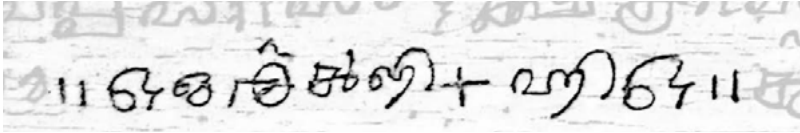
Second occurrence: || o marutbhir agne ā gaha [for gahi] o || ṚV 1.19.2 (Or.2366 [5r7])

¹⁸ An introduction to the *galitas*, as well as a detailed analysis of the *galitas* in the first four *maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛgveda*, are given in Falk 2001; see also Kashikar 1947 and Kashikar 1951. The *galitas* are not recorded in Max Müller's edition of the *Rgveda*, since the editor, disregarding their occurrence in the manuscripts, 'provided a Padapāṭha to every word of the Saṃhitāpāṭha' (Falk 2001, 183).

¹⁹ Occasionally one of the two *os* is missing, probably due to oversight.

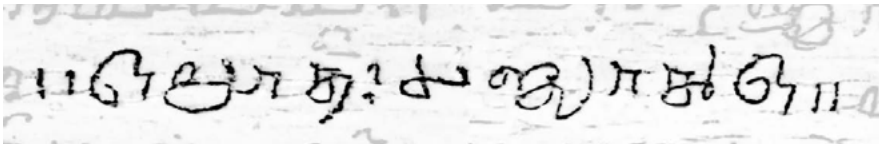


Fifth occurrence: || *o marut + hi o* || ṚV 1.19.5 (Or.2366 [5r8])



Seventh occurrence: || *o marutbhi + hi o* || ṚV 1.19.7 (Or.2366 [5r9])

The cursive form of the plus-sign is occasionally used, as in the picture below.



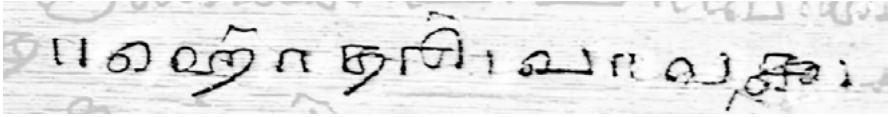
|| *o prātaḥ + mmyāt o* || ṚV 1.63.9 (Or.2366 [22r7–8])

2.4 Final *r* markers

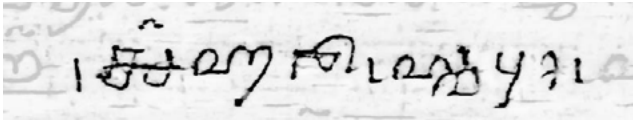
In some cases, words and compounds with an original final *r* are analysed in Śākalya’s Padapāṭha, although their treatment is not straightforward, being characterised by several inconsistencies and special cases.²⁰ By way of simplification, whenever in the Saṃhitāpāṭha an original final *r* is converted into any other sound (i.e. a sibilant or *visarga*) or is dropped (because of a following initial *r*), in the Padapāṭha the final *r* is restored and an *iti*-marker is appended to it; in cases where that *r* is the final of the last member of a compound, the compound is repeated in analysed form (i.e. with its two members separated by an *avagraha*)

²⁰ For the rules of sandhi concerning final *r*, see Whitney 1889, 61 (§§ 178–179). For a brief but quite accurate survey of the different cases and methods used for marking the final *r* in Śākalya’s Padapāṭha, see Rastogi 1970, 7–9 and Jha 1975.

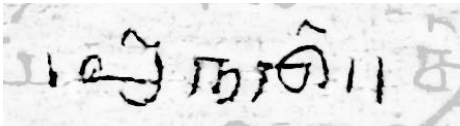
after the *iti*-marker. The Cambridge manuscript follows the same conventions, but with two differences: the *iti*-marker is reduced to a *mātra* (or ‘dependent’) short vowel *-i* and in place of the repetition of the whole compound in analysed form, only the first member is repeated after the marker *-i*, followed by the CBM.²¹



|| *hotar -i* | *pāvaka* | (Pp. | *hotar iti* | *pāvaka* | – Sp. *hotaḥ pāvaka*) ṚV 1.13.1 (Or.2366 [3v9])²²



| *ahar -i* | *svaYh* | (Pp. | *ahar iti* | *svaḥ* | – Sp. *ahaḥ svar*) ṚV 1.71.2 (Or.2366 [24r4])²³



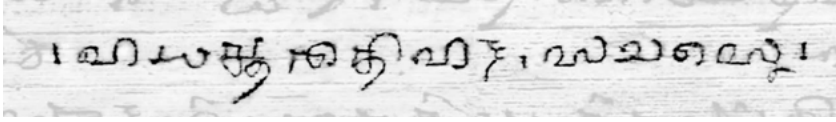
| *punar -i* || (Pp. | *punar iti* | – Sp. *punaḥ*) ṚV 1.140.8 (Or.2366 [53r3])²⁴

²¹ The ways the final *r* is marked in both Śākalya’s *Padapāṭha* and the Cambridge manuscript clearly mirror those used for marking the *pragṛhya* vowels.

²² In Müller’s edition, the analysis of the word *hotar* (| *hotar iti* |) is omitted: no doubt this is an oversight, since the analysis is regularly recorded in the Poona edition (Sontakke and Kashikar 1933–1951).

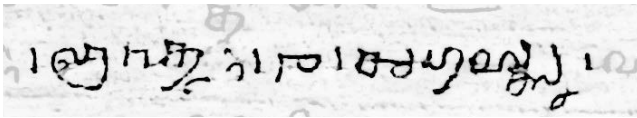
²³ The symbol transcribed here with ‘Y’, which actually looks more like a small Latin letter ‘h’ turned upside down, is used in the Cambridge manuscript for marking the independent *svarita* called *jātya* (‘genuine’) or *nitya* (‘invariable’).

²⁴ Here the final *r* is converted into *visarga* because it occurs at the end of a hemistich.

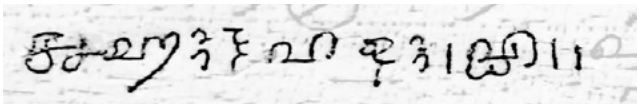


| *vidharttar iti vi-* | *sacase* | (Pp. | *vidhartar iti vi-dhartarḥ* | *sacase* | – Sp. *vidhartarḥ sacase*) ṚV 2.1.3 (Or.2366 [70v2])

In addition to the cases shown above, in which the original final *r* is converted into another sound in the Saṃhitāpāṭha, in the Cambridge manuscript (but not in the Śākalya Padapāṭha) the scribe has also marked cases in which an original final *r* appears unchanged in the Saṃhitāpāṭha, but is converted into a *visarga* in the Padapāṭha in accordance with the rules of permitted finals. This happens when the final *r* occurs in front of a voiced phoneme, which can be the initial sound either of the following word or of the second member of a compound. Apparently, when the combination occurs between words, a Grantha syllable *ra* between *danḍas* is used as a marker, whereas when it occurs between the two members of a compound the marker is represented by a ligature combining the final *r* of the first member with the initial syllable of the second member. Admittedly, however, these cases seem to be only occasionally marked.²⁵



| *bhrātarḥ* | *ra* | *agastya* | (Pp. | *bhrātarḥ* | *agastya* | – Sp. *bhrātar agastya*) ṚV 1.170.3 (Or.2366 [64r4])



aharḥ-vidarḥ | *rvi* || (Pp. | *aharḥ-vidarḥ* | – Sp. *aharvidarḥ*) ṚV 1.2.2 (Or.2366 [1r6])

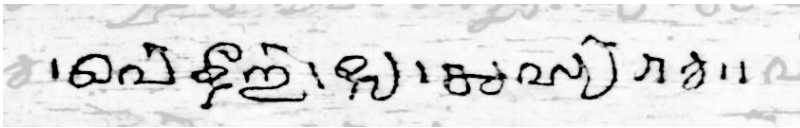
²⁵ For example, the following cases are not marked: Sp. *doṣāvastar dhiyā* = Or.2366 | *doṣāvastarḥ* | *dhiyā* | [1r3] (ṚV 1.1.7); Sp. *punar garbhatvam* = Or.2366 | *punarḥ* | *garbha-tvam* | [2r5] (ṚV 1.6.4); Sp. *punar dāt* = Or.2366 | *punarḥ* | *dāt* | [6v6] (ṚV 1.24.1); Sp. *punar eyuṣiṇām* = Or.2366 | *punarḥ* | *ā-īyuṣiṇām* | [46r7] (ṚV 1.124.4); Sp. *punar asmabhyaṃ* = Or.2366 | *punarḥ* | *asmabhyaṃ* | [69r7] (ṚV 1.189.3).

3 Second section

With the exception of the last cases illustrated above, the previous section dealt with devices of textual analysis which are found in both the northern written transmission of Śākalya's Padapāṭha and the Cambridge manuscript in Grantha script, although their graphical representation is often different in the two traditions. In this section, several additional devices of textual analysis will be presented which are found only in the Cambridge manuscript and, as such, have no counterpart in the northern manuscripts of the text. These devices are used to indicate some euphonic modifications and other alterations of the text which take place in the Saṃhitāpāṭha of the *Ṛgveda*, and which are left unnoticed in Śākalya's Padapāṭha.

3.1 Exceptional combination of a *pragrhya* vowel

In the previous section it has been shown that the *pragrhya* vowels are marked in the Cambridge manuscript with the Grantha independent vowel *i* or with the particle *iti*. However, in the Saṃhitāpāṭha there are few cases in which a *pragrhya* vowel is exceptionally combined with the initial vowel of the following word (Whitney 1889, 48, § 138g). These cases are marked in the Cambridge Grantha manuscript: the final *pragrhya* vowel is firstly regularly marked with a full Grantha vowel *i* or the particle *iti*; then an additional marker is added between *daṇḍas*, consisting of a ligature showing the combination of the syllable ending with the *pragrhya* vowel with the initial vowel of the following word.

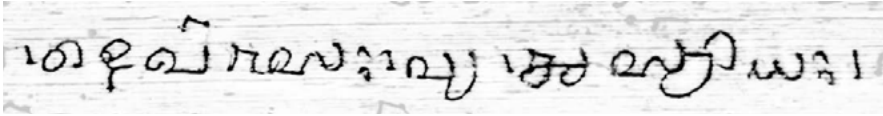


| *vedī i* | *dya* | *asyām* || (Pp. | *vedī iti* | *asyām* | – Sp. *vedy asyām*) ṚV 2.3.4 (Or.2366 [71v4])

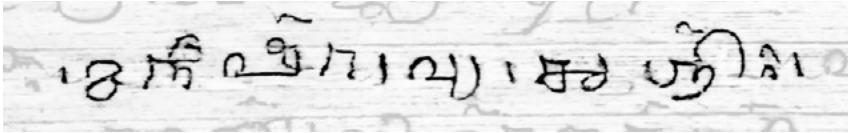
3.2 Hiatus markers

In general, hiatus is strongly contrasted by the euphony of classical Sanskrit. To avoid hiatus, the rules of sandhi prescribe that a final and an initial vowel coming

together are combined into one vowel, or one of the two is turned into a semi-vowel, or the latter of the two is elided (*abhinihita sandhi*).²⁶ In contrast, hiatuses were abundantly admitted in the earlier language of the Veda, as the evidence of the metre shows, although they were largely suppressed by the later application of the classical rules of sandhi.²⁷ Nonetheless, a good number of them survive in the Saṃhitāpāṭha of the *Ṛgveda*: in the Cambridge manuscript, they are marked with the Grantha syllable *vya* enclosed between *daṇḍas*, placed in the break between the two vowels.



| *devāsaḥ* | *vya* | *asridhaḥ* | (Pp. | *devāsaḥ* | *asridhaḥ* | – Sp. *devāso asridha*) ṚV 1.3.9 (Or.2366 [1v3])



| *maṇiṣā* | *vya* | *agniḥ* | (Pp. | *maṇiṣā* | *agniḥ* | – Sp. *maṇiṣā agniḥ*) ṚV 1.70.1 (Or.2366 [23v9])

3.3 The *anunāsika* sign and nasalisation markers

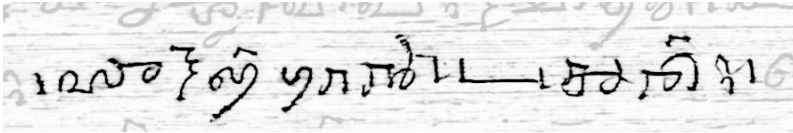
In the Cambridge manuscript, the *anunāsika* is represented by an ‘L’-shaped sign with the horizontal stroke longer than the vertical one.²⁸ It is employed to indicate a nasalised vowel, as in the representation of the particle *ū* shown above (| *ūm i* |). The sign for *anunāsika* is also used in the manuscript as a marker indicating the results of the combination (in the Saṃhitāpāṭha) of a final *n* preceded by a

²⁶ See Whitney 1889, 39 (§ 113), 42–48 (§§ 125–138); Macdonell 1910, 63–67 (§ 69–73).

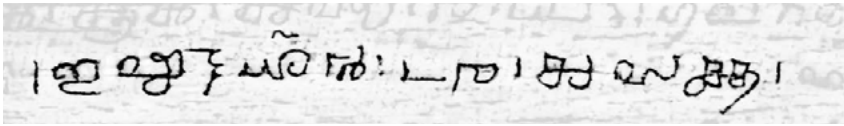
²⁷ See Whitney 1889, 39 (§ 113), 42 (§ 125c), 45 (§ 129e), 46 (§ 133abc), 47 (§ 135c); Arnold 1905, 5 (§ 14) and *passim*.

²⁸ In the present article, the *anunāsika* is represented by the letter *m̄*, to distinguish it from the *anusvāra* (*m̐*).

long vowel:²⁹ a final *ān* before an initial vowel is marked with a simple *anunāsika* between *daṇḍas*, indicating the resulting *ām*;³⁰ final *īn*, *ūn*, *ṛn* before voiced sounds are marked with an *anunāsika* and a Grantha syllable made of *r* and the initial voiced sound of the following word, indicating the resulting *īmr*, *ūmr*, *ṛmr*; a final *ṛn* before an unvoiced sound is marked with an *anunāsika* and a *visarga* between *daṇḍas*, indicating the resulting *ṛmḥ*.³¹



| *su-bhagān* | *m* | *ariḥ* | (Pp. | *su-bhagān* | *ariḥ* | – Sp. *subhagām arir*)
 ṚV 1.4.6 (Or.2366 [1v7])

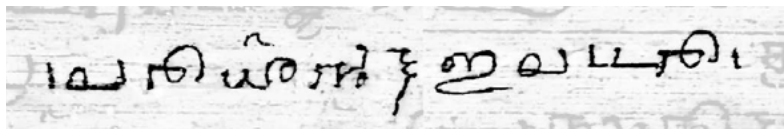


| *iṣu-dhīn* | *mra* | *asakta* | (Pp. | *iṣu-dhīn* | *asakta* | – Sp. *iṣudhīmṛ asakta*)
 ṚV 1.33.3 (Or.2366 [10r10])

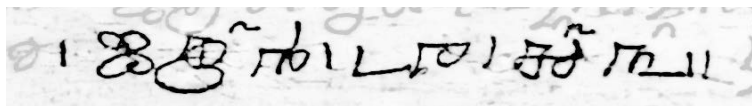
²⁹ See Whitney 1889, 70 (§ 209); Macdonell 1910, 68–69 (§ 77b).

³⁰ As noted by Winternitz (1902, 222–223), the same marker is used for the same function in manuscript No. 176 in the Whish collection (No. 165 in Winternitz’s catalogue), which, predictably, transmits the Padapāṭha text of the *Ṛgveda*. Incidentally, this is the only mention found so far in scholarly literature of one of the markers used in the Cambridge manuscript.

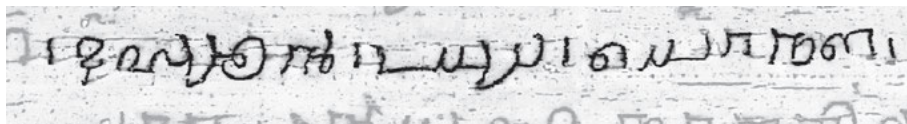
³¹ There is only one occurrence of this marker in the manuscript, namely | *nṛn* | *mḥ* | *pātram* | [44r1] (Pp. | *nṛn* | *pātram* | – Sp. *nṛmḥ pātraṇ*, ṚV 1.121.1). Unfortunately, the passage cannot be shown in the present article because the quality of the relevant picture is too poor for reproduction.



| *paridhīn-iva* | *m̐ri* | (Pp. | *paridhīn-iva* | – Sp. *paridhīm̐r iva*) ṚV 1.52.5 (Or.2366 [17v7–8])³²

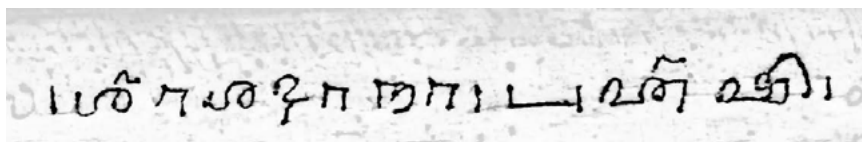


| *rtūn* | *m̐ra* | *anu* || (Pp. | *rtūn* | *anu* | – Sp. *ṛtūm̐r anu*) ṚV 1.15.5 (Or.2366 [4r11])



| *dasyūn* | *m̐ryya* | *yonau* || (Pp. | *dasyūn* | *yonau* | – Sp. *dasyūm̐r yonāv̐*) ṚV 1.63.4 (Or.2366 [22r3–4])

In the *Ṛgveda*, a small number of cases are found in which a final *ā* is nasalised to avoid the hiatus or contraction with a following initial vowel.³³ In the Cambridge manuscript, these nasalisations are marked with an *anunāsika* between *daṇḍas*.



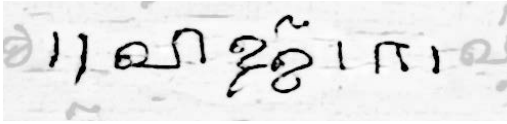
| *śāsādānā* | *m̐* | *eṣi* | (Pp. | *śāsādānā* | *eṣi* | – Sp. *śāsādānām̐ eṣi*) ṚV 1.123.10 (Or.2366 [46r1])

³² In the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha, the particle *iva* is regularly combined in a compound with the preceding word, and, thus, separated from it by an intervening *avagraha*.

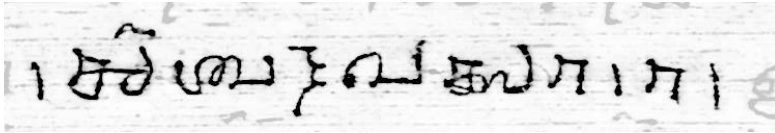
³³ See Macdonell 1910, 59–60 (§ 66.2).

3.4 Prolonged and shortened vowels markers

In the Saṃhitāpāṭha of the *Ṛgveda*, the final vowel of a word, that of the former member of a compound, and the vowel of the syllable of reduplication are prolonged in a good number of cases, the prolongations being mostly for prosodic reasons.³⁴ In Śākalya's Padapāṭha, all these words are recorded with their regular short vowel, and the prolongations are not indicated in any way. On the contrary, in the Cambridge manuscript these prolongations are regularly marked: the lengthening of a short *a* is marked with a *mātra* (or 'dependent') long vowel *-ā*, and that of a short vowel other than *a* is marked by repeating the whole relevant syllable with its vowel lengthened. All the markers are placed between *daṇḍas* after the relevant word or compound.

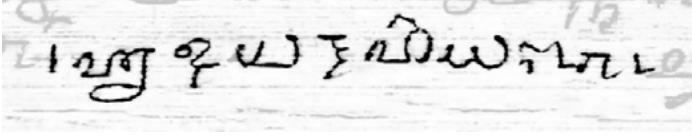


|| *vidma* | -ā | (Pp. | *vidma* | – Sp. *vidmā*) ṚV 1.10.10 (Or.2366 [3r7])

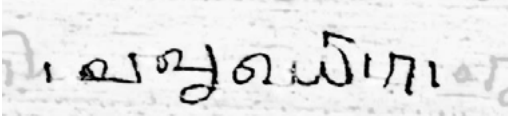


| *aśva-vatyā* | -ā | (Pp. | *aśva-vatyā* | – Sp. °*āśvāvatye*°) ṚV 1.30.17 (Or.2366 [8v9])

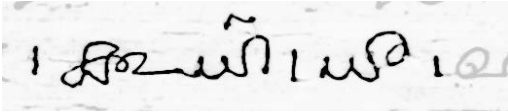
³⁴ See Whitney 1889, 84–85 (§§ 247–248); Macdonell 1910, 62–63 (§ 68). The topic is extensively discussed by Arnold (1905, xi–xiii, 6, 108–148), according to whom most of these final vowels were originally long and had been shortened in later times, in obedience to the rules set by classical Sanskrit grammarians. However, the primitive quantity must often be restored for metrical reasons. This being the case, what we call 'prolongation' is in fact 'restoration' of the original quantity, which is often necessary to match the requirements of the metre. The fact that the Padapāṭha usually gives short vowels in place of the original long ones 'is only evidence of the pronunciation of the word at the time when this commentary was composed' (Arnold 1905, 6).



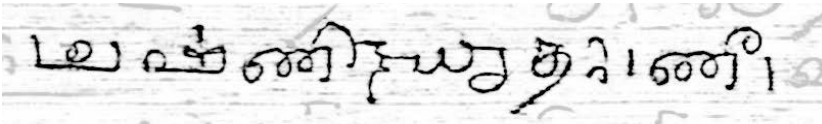
| *hṛdaya-vidhaḥ* | -ā | (Pp. | *hṛdaya-vidhaḥ* | – Sp. *hṛdayāvidhaś*) ṚV 1.24.8 (Or.2366 [6v10])



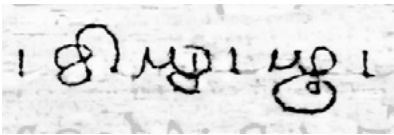
| *vavṛdhe* | -ā | (Pp. | *vavṛdhe* | – Sp. *vāvṛdha īṃ*) ṚV 1.167.8 (Or.2366 [63r8])



| *kṛdhi* | *dhī* | (Pp. / *kṛdhi* | – Sp. *kṛdhī*) ṚV 1.10.11 (Or.2366 [3r8])

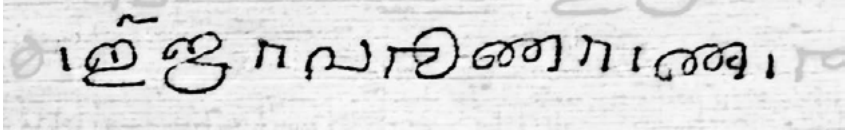


| *carṣaṇi-dhṛtaḥ* | *nī* | (Pp. | *carṣaṇi-dhṛtaḥ* | – Sp. *carṣaṇīdhṛto*) ṚV 1.3.7 (Or.2366 [1v2])

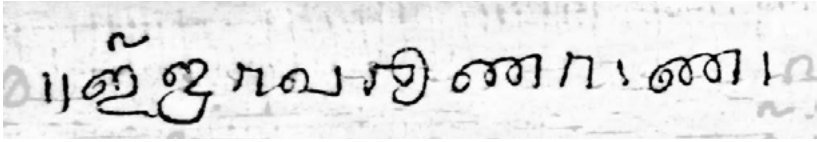


| *mithu* | *thū* | (Pp. | *mithu* | – Sp. *mithū*)
ṚV 1.162.20 (Or.2366 [59r9])

In a few cases, the opposite alteration occurs, i.e. the final long *ā* of a *devatā*-dvandva is shortened in the Saṃhitāpāṭha. In the Cambridge manuscript, this shortening is marked by repeating the final syllable of the compound with a short *a* between *daṅḍas*.³⁵



| *indrāvaruṇā* | *ṇa* | (Pp. | *indrāvaruṇā* | – Sp. *indrāvaruṇa*) ṚV 1.17.3 (Or.2366 [4v10])



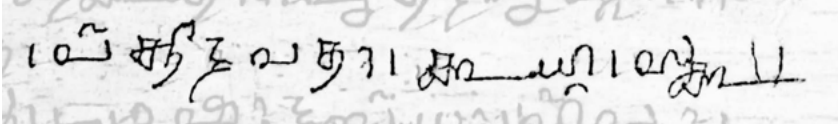
|| *indrāvaruṇā* | *ṇa* | (Pp. | *indrāvaruṇā* | – Sp. *indrāvaruṇa*) ṚV 1.17.7 (Or.2366 [5r1])

3.5 Final *s* markers

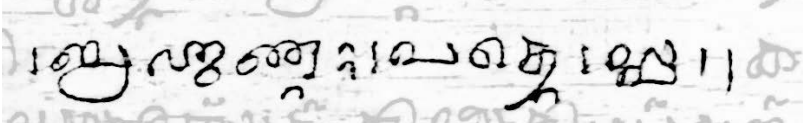
As a rule, a final *s* before voiceless velar and bilabial plosives *k(h)* and *p(h)* is turned into *visarga*. However, in a number of cases the *s* is retained or converted into a cerebral sibilant *ṣ* (Whitney 1889, 58, §§ 170–171). These cases are passed under silence in Śākalya's Padapāṭha; in the Cambridge manuscript, however, they are marked with a Grantha ligature joining the retained sibilant with the following initial plosive.³⁶

³⁵ In addition to the two examples shown here, other cases are found in ṚV 1.15.6b ([4r11][4v1]), ṚV 1.17.8 ([5r1]) and ṚV 1.17.9 ([5r1]), with the mark *ṇa* erroneously placed after the word following the compound). In all these cases, Arnold suggests reading *indra vāruṇa* (as two separated vocatives, each bearing its own accent) in place of the *devatā*-dvandva *indrāvaruṇa*, 'on the analogy of *varuṇa mitra* in i 122 7a' (Arnold 1905, 137, § 174 ii); see also Insler 1998.

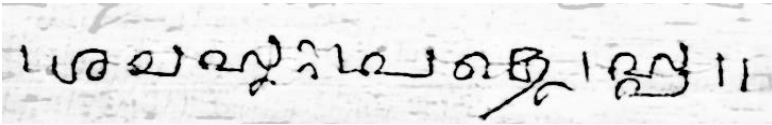
³⁶ In compounds, a final *s* before *k(h)* and *p(h)* is regularly retained in the Veda (Whitney 1889, 58, § 171) and, consequently, it is not marked in the Cambridge manuscript. No special signs for *jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmaniya* are found in the Cambridge manuscript.



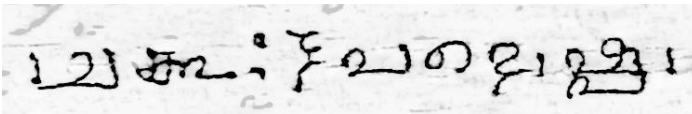
| *patnī-vataḥ* | *kṛdhi* | *skṛ* || (Pp. | *patnī-vataḥ* | *kṛdhi* | – Sp. *patnīvatas kṛdhi*)
 ṚV 1.14.7 (Or.2366 [4r6])



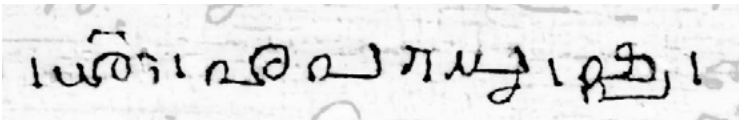
| *brahmaṇaḥ* | *pate* | *spa* || (Pp. | *brahmaṇaḥ* | *pate* | – Sp. *brahmaṇas pate*)
 ṚV 1.18.1 (Or.2366 [5r3])



| *śavasah* | *pate* | *spa* || (Pp. | *śavasah* | *pate* | – Sp. *śavasas pate*) ṚV 1.11.2
 (Or.2366 [3r10])



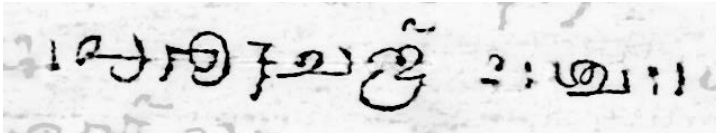
| *catuḥ-pade* | *spa* | (Pp. | *catuḥ-pade* | – Sp. *catuspade*) ṚV 1.114.1
 (Or.2366 [40r3])



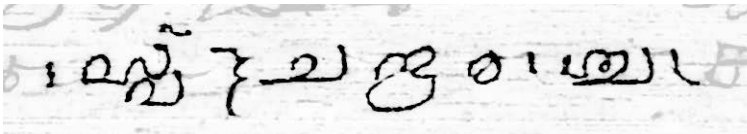
| *dhīḥ* | *pīpāya* | *spa* | (Pp. | *dhīḥ* | *pīpāya* | – Sp. *dhīḥ pīpāya*) ṚV 2.2.9
 (Or.2366 [71r9])

3.6 Sp. *ścandra* (vs Pp. *candra*) marker

In the Saṃhitāpāṭha of the *Ṛgveda*, the adjective *candra* ('bright, brilliant') occurs in a number of cases in its old form *ścandra*, especially where it is the second member of a compound.³⁷ In the Padapāṭha, the word is invariably recorded as *candra*: in the Cambridge manuscripts, however, the form *ścandra* of the Saṃhitāpāṭha is indicated with a Grantha syllable *śca* enclosed by *daṇḍas* placed after *candra*-.



| *puru-candraḥ* | *śca* || (Pp. | *puru-candraḥ* | – Sp. *puruścandraḥ*) ṚV 1.27.11
(Or.2366 [8r3])



| *sva-candram* | *śca* || (Pp. | *sva-candram* | – Sp. *svaścandram*) ṚV 1.52.9
(Or.2366 [17v10])

3.7 Retroflexion markers

An original dental nasal *n* or sibilant *s*, recorded as such in the Padapāṭha, is often changed to its corresponding retroflex (*ṇ* and *ṣ* respectively) in the Saṃhitāpāṭha, due to the rule of euphonic combination. These alterations are indicated in the Cambridge manuscript by placing the syllable with the altered (i.e. retroflexed) consonant(s) between *daṇḍas*, after the relevant word or compound. However, the original vowel of the syllable is occasionally replaced with a short vowel *a*.

³⁷ See Macdonell 1910, 74 (§ 81.2c); Macdonell 1916, 37 (§ 50a n. 5).

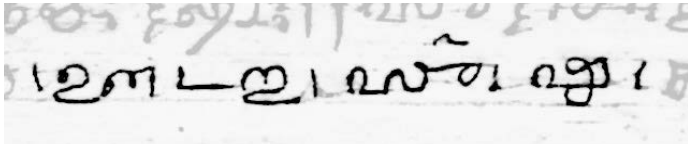
| *suteṣu* | *nah* | *ṇa* | (Pp. | *suteṣu* | *nah* | – Sp. *suteṣu ṇo*) ṚV 1.10.5 (Or.2366 [3r5])

| *vṛṣa-pāneṣu* | *ṇa* | (Pp. | *vṛṣa-pāneṣu* | – Sp. *vṛṣapāneṣu*) ṚV 1.51.12 (Or.2366 [17r10])

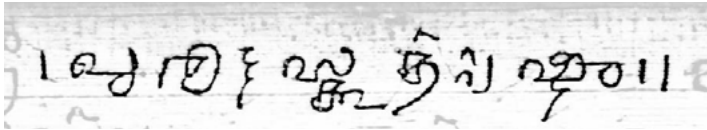
| *pra* | *nonumah* | *ṇo* | (Pp. | *pra* | *nonumah* | – Sp. *pra ṇonumo*) ṚV 1.11.2 (Or.2366 [3r10])

| *su-pranītiḥ* | *ṇa* | (Pp. | *su-pranītiḥ* | – Sp. *su praṇītīś*) ṚV 1.73.1 (Or.2366 [24v9])

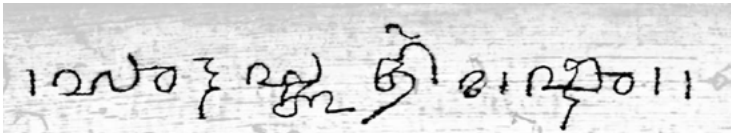
|| *ni* | *sasāda* | *ṣa* | (Pp. | *ni* | *sasāda* | – Sp. *ni ṣasāda*) ṚV 1.25.10 (Or.2366 [7r9])



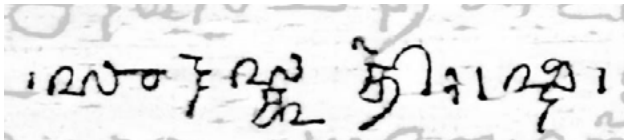
| *ūm̃ i | su | ṣu* | (Pp. | *ūm̃ iti | su* | – Sp. *ū ṣu*) ṚV 1.27.4 (Or.2366 [7v10])



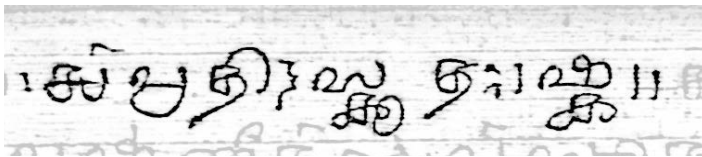
| *puru-stutaḥ | ṣṭu* || (Pp. | *puru-stutaḥ* | – Sp. *puruṣṭutaḥ*) ṚV 1.11.4 (Or.2366 [3v1])



| *su-stutim | ṣṭu* || (Pp. | *su-stutim* | – Sp. *suṣṭutim*) ṚV 1.7.7 (Or.2366 [2v1])



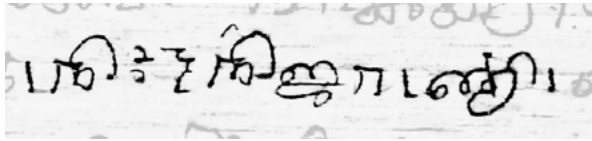
| *su-stutiḥ | ṣṭa* | (Pp. | *su-stutiḥ* | – Sp. *suṣṭutir*) ṚV 1.17.9 (Or.2366 [5r2])



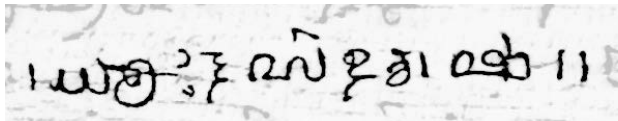
| *aprati-skutaḥ | ṣka* || (Pp. | *aprati-skutaḥ* | – Sp. *apratiṣkutaḥ*) ṚV 1.7.6 (Or.2366 [2v1])

3.8 Multiple markers

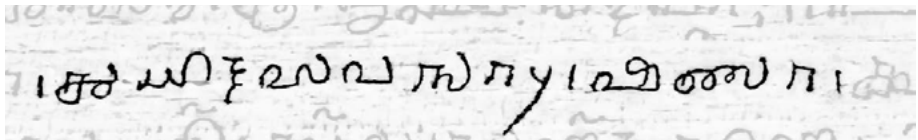
To conclude, it is worth noting that in the Cambridge manuscript there are cases in which multiple alterations affecting the same word or compound are also marked. In some of these cases, two different alterations are pointed out by one single mark. For example, in the first picture below, the syllable | *ṛṇi* | between *daṇḍas* marks both the conversion of the *visarga* into *r* (*niḥ* > *nir*) and the change of the dental nasal to the corresponding retroflex (*nijā* > *ṇijā*). Similarly, in the second picture, the syllable | *rṣa* | indicates both the conversion of the *visarga* into *r* (*dhūḥ* > *dhūr*) and the change of the dental sibilant to the corresponding retroflex (*sadam* > *ṣadam*). In other cases, however, two or more markers are appended to one single word or compound, each indicating a different alteration. For example, in the third picture below, the symbol transcribed with a capital ‘Y’ marks a *jātya* accent, and the Grantha syllables *ṣa* and *ṇyā* mark the change of the original dental sibilant and nasal (*s* and *n*) to their correspondent retroflex sounds (*savanyā* > *ṣavanyā*).



| *niḥ-nijā* | *ṛṇi* | (Pp. | *niḥ-nijā* | – Sp. *nirṇijā*) ṚV 1.162.2 (Or.2366 [58v5])



| *dhūḥ-sadam* | *rṣa* || (Pp. | *dhūḥ-sadam* | – Sp. *dhūrṣadam*) ṚV 2.2.1 (Or.2366 [71r3])



| *adhi-savanyā* Y | *ṣa ṇyā* | (Pp. | *adhi-savanyā* | – Sp. *ādhīṣavanyā*) ṚV 1.28.2 (Or.2366 [8r5])

4 Conclusions

In the previous pages, all the markers found in the Cambridge manuscript have been presented.³⁸ To conclude, some final observations will be given, aiming to answer the following five questions: (1) What is the function of the system of additional markers found in the Cambridge manuscript? (2) Are these markers commonly used in Grantha manuscripts transmitting the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha or does the Cambridge manuscript represent a *unicum* in this sense? (3) Are these markers found only in the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha or they are used in the Padapāṭhas of other *śākhās* as well? (4) Are they unique to manuscripts written in Grantha or do they have a counterpart in Padapāṭhas written in other South Indian scripts? (5) When did these markers come into use?

(1) With regard to their purpose, it seems clear that these markers function as a ‘code’ to provide the reciter with the information needed to convert the Padapāṭha into the Saṃhitāpāṭha. Furthermore, it seems natural to suppose that these markers, in an extremely compact fashion, encode the rules laid down in the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* concerning the conversion of the Padapāṭha into the Saṃhitāpāṭha. However, this conjecture needs further investigation. The assumption that historically the Padapāṭha precedes the Saṃhitāpāṭha and that the former is the basis on which the latter is formed goes back to Max Müller and has been adopted by several scholars since, but also rejected by others.³⁹ Similarly, the role played by the Prātiśākhya in the process of constructing the

38 With the exception of those relating to the Vedic accent, as pointed out in the Introduction. Moreover, for all the attention paid in the search, chances are that a few infrequent markers may have escaped notice.

39 According to Max Müller, the arrangement of the text in the Padapāṭha ‘bildet die prakṛti, die Norm, welcher die Saṃhitā, d.h. der verbundene Text des Veda, folgt. Die Saṃhitā ist demnach, für Grammatische Zwecke, als Vikāra des Padapāṭha (der Prakṛti) zu fassen’ (1856, xxxii; here Müller is commenting upon *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* II.1, *saṃhitā padapṛakṛtiḥ*). More recently, the same opinion has been maintained by Bronkhorst (1982, 185 and *passim*), who went so far as to postulate that ‘the Padapāṭha was originally the written version of the *Ṛgveda*’ (Bronkhorst 1982, 185). In his view, it ‘was written down from its beginning’ and, consequently, it is ‘not unlikely that the Padapāṭha of the *Ṛgveda* is the oldest surviving written book of India’ (Bronkhorst 1982, 184, 186). Bronkhorst reiterated his opinion twenty years later, although with some caution (2002, 806–808). On the other hand, the assumption that the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha precedes the Saṃhitāpāṭha is rejected by Scharfe, who argues that it ‘has long been laid to rest’ (2009, 103), probably alluding to the arguments he had adduced in Scharfe 2002, 10–11. On a possible influence of the scripts on the origins of the Padapāṭha arrangement of the Vedic texts, see Houben and Rath 2012, 30–31.

Samhitāpāṭha from the Padapāṭha is debated. Several scholars hold that providing the rules for converting the former into the latter is actually the primary purpose served by the *Prātiśākhya*s.⁴⁰ However, this view has recently been challenged by Scharfe (2009, 97–107), who contends that ‘no Prātiśākhya states it as its purpose to reconstruct the Samhitā-pāṭha’ (2009, 106).⁴¹ As important and interesting as this debate may be, it takes us beyond the scope of the present article. Turning back to the Cambridge manuscript, it seems clear that its additional markers constitute an aid for converting the Padapāṭha into the Samhitāpāṭha. Whether these markers encode the rules of the *Ṛgvedaprātiśākhya* or those of some other (local?) treatise is not clear at present, and deserves further investigation.

(2) and (3) The markers found in the Cambridge manuscript seem to be commonly used in the Grantha manuscripts of the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha. Furthermore, similar markers are also used in Grantha manuscripts transmitting other Padapāṭhas, particularly that of the *Taittirīyasamhitā*. In fact, it seems that the use of a system of additional markers is a regular feature in the Grantha manuscripts transmitting these two Vedic texts in Padapāṭha form: at least, this is the result of a survey of the manuscripts belonging to the Cambridge University Library (UL) and the Institut Français de Pondichéry (IFP), and of the examination of Winternitz’s catalogue of the Whish collection (1902). Systems of markers of the

40 This view was expressed by Whitney, according to whom ‘the Prātiśākhya[s] [...] take for granted, upon the whole, the existence of their *śākhās* in the analysed condition of the *pada*-text, and proceed to construct the *samhitā* from it’ (1868, 82); later, it was also expressed by Max Müller, who maintained that the Prātiśākhya[s] ‘start from the Pada text, take it, as it were, for granted, and devote their rules to the explanation of those changes which that text undergoes in being changed into the Samhitā text’ (1891, xlii). The same opinion has been reiterated, in a slightly different fashion, by Winternitz, who holds that the Prātiśākhya[s] ‘contain the rules by the aid of which one can form the Samhitā-Pāṭha from the Pada-Pāṭha’ (1927, 283), by Gonda, who maintains that the Prātiśākhya[s] ‘were composed for the purpose of exhibiting – in oral instruction – all the changes necessary for constituting the *samhitā* text on the basis of the *padapāṭha*’ (1975, 17), and by Bronkhorst, according to whom ‘the desire to construe the Samhitāpāṭha on the basis of the Padapāṭha also underlies the *Ṛgveda-Prātiśākhya*’ (1982, 185).
41 According to Scharfe, ‘the concerns of these texts [i.e. the Prātiśākhya[s]] are the qualities of the combined and separated words, i.e. as words appear in the Samhitāpāṭha and Padapāṭha – not the directed conversion of the Padapāṭha into the Samhitāpāṭha’ (2009, 99). On this argument, see also Scharfe 2002, 241–243.

sort described in the present article are used in all the manuscripts in these collections that transmit the Padapāṭhas of the *Ṛgvedasaṃhitā* (five manuscripts)⁴² and of the *Taittirīyasaṃhitā* (fourteen manuscripts).⁴³ It should be noted, however, that both the number and the graphical shape of the markers can vary considerably from one manuscript to another. For example, four distinct signs for *anunāsika* and as many as eight distinct CBMs have been found in the manuscripts. Moreover, it happens that different markers have the same function in different manuscripts, that the same marker serves different purposes in different manuscripts, and even that different signs have the same function in the same manuscript. For example, two or even three distinct CBMs are used together in the same manuscript, even if it was presumably written by one and the same scribe.⁴⁴ At a first perusal, it seems that the preference for one particular marker among several serving the same function is more a matter of personal choice on the part of the scribe than a characteristic connected with the text transmitted in the manuscript. In other words, different signs and different markers are used to convey the same information in manuscripts belonging to the same *śākhā*, and this also holds true with regard to the Vedic accent marks, which are not dealt with here, but which will be examined in a forthcoming article by the present author. Once again, however, this point needs further investigation.

(4) It is perhaps tempting to surmise that this system of additional markers, apparently so common in Grantha manuscripts, may also be found in Padapāṭhas written in other South Indian scripts, such as Telugu, Kannada and, primarily, Malayalam. At present, though, it has been possible to examine only two manuscripts in the Tīḷāri script,⁴⁵ transmitting portions of the *Ṛgveda* Padapāṭha. A

42 Two manuscripts belonging to the IFP collection (RE 45685 and RE 45710), two manuscripts belonging to the Whish collection (Nos 176 and 177, corresponding to Nos 165 and 166 in Winternitz's catalogue; see Winternitz 1902, 222–224), and the manuscript described in the present article (UL collection, Or.2366). With regard to the two manuscripts in the Whish collection, the presence of a system of markers similar to the one described in the present article can be evinced from the records in Winternitz's catalogue: in the former manuscript an *anunāsika* between *daṇḍas* is used for marking the results of the combination (in the Saṃhitāpāṭha) of a final *n* preceded by a long vowel and followed by a voiced sound (cfr. Section 3.3 above, and especially note 30); in the latter, the syllable *vya* enclosed between *daṇḍas* is used for marking a hiatus arising from the non-application of the *abhinihita*-sandhi (cfr. Section 3.2 above).

43 Of these manuscripts, four belong to the UL collection (Or.2356, Or.2357, Or.2362, Or.2369) and ten to the IFP collection (RE 20305, RE 30516, RE 38367, RE 38376, RE 39651, RE 40269, RE 46070, RE 49434, RE 50342, RE 50372).

44 Two different CBMs are used in RE 50342, RE 50372, RE 20305, RE 46070; three different signs in Or.2369.

45 Both manuscripts (RE 43176 and RE 43211) belong to the IFP collection.

cursory examination of these manuscripts shows that they mainly follow the marking system of the ‘orthodox’ northern manuscript tradition in Devanāgarī: they use the *anārṣa* marker *iti* in accordance with it, and none of the markers found in the Grantha manuscripts seem to be employed in them. However, in contrast with the northern tradition, no CBM is used in either of them, and a special marker is used to mark the *galitas*, which differs both from the circle between *daṅḍas* used in the northern manuscripts and the independent *o* used in the Grantha manuscripts.

(5) The available data is too meagre to speculate about the time when the system of additional markers observed in the Padapāṭhas written in the Grantha script entered into use. All that we know at present is evinced from the manuscripts themselves. One of the manuscripts listed above (i.e. Or.2369) bears a date corresponding to 1828 CE. On the other hand, we are led to assign some manuscripts of the IFP collection⁴⁶ tentatively to the 17th or the first half of the 18th century, on the basis of certain palaeographic features. Accordingly, all that can be said at present is that the system of additional markers was probably in use by the 17th or 18th century. However, we cannot expect to shed much more light on this point if we base our research merely on the data from manuscripts, even more so considering that manuscripts from South India dating from earlier than the 17th century are extremely rare. Rather, references to the use of these additional markers in secondary and commentarial literature (also in vernaculars) would be of great help in establishing the period when they came into use. In this respect, suggestions from colleagues working on the transmission of the Vedic texts in South India will be particularly valuable and most welcome.

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⁴⁶ They are RE 38367, RE 38376, RE 39651, RE 40269, RE 45710.

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Textual Criticism

Francesco Sferra

A Fragment of the *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra*: A Critical Edition of the Leaves Contained in Cambridge University Library Or.158.1

Abstract: The core of the paper consists of the *editio princeps* of a long fragment of the Sanskrit text of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, one of the earliest Buddhist Yoginītantras, preserved in a manuscript of the Cambridge University Library (MS Or.158.1). The introduction contains information on the text and on its translation and commentaries, as well a description of the manuscript used, a description of the linguistic and stylistic features of the work, and a detailed synopsis of its contents. When necessary, references to the unpublished commentary by Śrībhānu are given in the notes of the critical apparatus.

1 Introductory remarks

1.1 The *Vajrāmṛta*

The *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra* (aka *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, or simply *Vajrāmṛta*) is one of the main and earliest Buddhist Yoginītantras, probably datable to between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. This text, translated into Tibetan by Gyi jo zla ba'i 'od zer (10th to 11th cent.), has apparently survived in only two Sanskrit manuscripts: 1) a complete manuscript of the work that was seen by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana at the Źwa-lu monastery (Central Tibet) in 1934, and 2) a fragment kept in the Cambridge University Library, which was identified by Harunaga Isaacson in 1997 in the manuscript labelled 'Or.158'.

I read sections 1, 8, and 10 of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* during two seminars held in Cambridge in 2014 (January and June). I owe my sincerest thanks to my friend Vincenzo Vergiani, who kindly invited me there and organized these reading sessions, and to all those who attended and provided useful suggestions and insights, in particular (in alphabetical order): Daniele Cuneo, Elisa Ganser, Camillo Formigatti, Marco Franceschini, Malhar Kulkarni, Péter-Dániel Szántó, and Vincent Tournier. I also thank Florinda De Simini, Harunaga Isaacson, Péter-Dániel Szántó, and Ryugen Tanemura, who have read this paper and suggested several improvements. Kristen De Joseph has kindly revised the English.

Unfortunately, the *Vajrāmṛtamahātantra* does not appear among Sāṅkṛtyāyana's photographic negatives of Sanskrit manuscripts and, to the best of my knowledge, there are no records of the original manuscript he briefly described¹ in any of the published catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts. The leaves belonging to this important text that are kept in Cambridge enable us to study approximately one half of the work in its original language.² Or.158 is in fact not complete, although at first look the numbers of the leaves appear to be in the right sequence, and the manuscript ends with a colophon consisting of a metrical line and the date. For more details on the codicological features of this manuscript, see § 2 below.

The sole chapters that are entirely extant are the ninth, tenth, and eleventh, while chapters 2 to 3 are missing. The remaining chapters are only partially preserved: only one-third of the first chapter has survived, along with the second half of the fourth chapter. However, in the latter case, we can restore some of the missing stanzas with the help of quotations found in later works, so that the text that is actually lost only amounts to the first third of the chapter. Of a total of 21 stanzas, only two verses and one *pāda* from the fifth chapter are extant; the sixth chapter lacks the five initial stanzas. About one half of the text of the seventh chapter survives, including three stanzas that are available through quotations, while the eighth chapter has lost the first four stanzas.

The *Vajrāmṛta* must certainly have enjoyed some popularity, although it was less influential than other Yoginītantras, such as, primarily, the *Hevajatantra*, which was likely produced later. Of special importance must have been the fourth chapter, entitled *Homavidhinirdeśa*, considering that Bhūvācārya, the author of the still-unpublished *Samvarodayā nāma Maṇḍalopāyikā* (early 11th cent.?), refers to this work as one of the authoritative sources for the practice of the *homa* ritual,³ and that several verses from its fourth *nirdeśa* are quoted in the *Śuklakuṛukullāsādhana* (= *Sāadhanamālā* No. 180).⁴

The earliest quotations from the *Vajrāmṛta* can be found in works of the 10th century.⁵ The *Pradīpoddyotana* — the famous commentary on the *Guhyasamāja*—

1 Cf. Sāṅkṛtyāyana 1935, 30, No. X.3.32: 'Vajrāmṛtatantra [script:] *vartula* [leaves:] 8 complete'.

2 The entire text consists of c. 260 stanzas (*anuṣṭubh*) divided into 11 chapters; note that some verses contain six *pādas* and a few, apparently, five (see e.g. 9.6).

3 In the *bāhyādhyātmahomavidhīḥ*, the eleventh chapter of this work, he writes: *vajrāmṛtādim āśrītya bāhyahomaṃ samācāret* (st. 600cd, fol. 43r₄), that is: '[The practitioner] should perform the external sacrifice on the basis of the *Vajrāmṛta* and other [sources]'.

4 Cf. *Sāadhanamālā*, pp. 368–370. Stanzas 13–21, 23–24 of chapter 4 are quoted with some different readings and introduced with the word *apare*.

5 Further references to the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* in ancient lists are discussed in Szántó 2012, 37, 39.

tantra, composed by the tantric Candrakīrti — is perhaps the earliest source to quote the *Vajrāmṛta*, and contains the following two citations: 1) one from the first chapter: *amṛtaṃ śūkraṃ ity uktam tatprasūtaṃ jagattrayam* || (st. 6ef) (*Dhīh* 49: 130), which is also quoted in the *Catuspīṭhapañjikā* of Kalyāṇavarman (first half of the 10th cent.),⁶ and in Muniśrībhadrā's *Yogimanoharā*, attributed simply to a 'tantra' (p. 41); and 2) a further one from the third chapter: *svāhākāras tu māmakyāḥ sarvasiddhipradāyiketi⁷ vajrāmṛte vacanāt* (ed. Chakravarti p. 149).⁸ Stanza 7.15 is cited at least twice: by Ratnākaraśānti (11th cent.) in his *Guṇavati* (ed. p. 18), together with stanzas 13 to 14 of the same chapter, and, with only a small change (i.e. *devi* for *devo* in *pāda a*), by Rāmapāla (11th cent.) in the *Sekānirdeśapāñjikā* (ad st. 22, ed. p. 185).

The Tibetan translations of three Sanskrit commentaries on this *tantra* survive in the bsTan 'gyur. These commentaries are the short *Vajrāmṛtapañjikā* (*rDo rje bdud rtsi'i dka' 'grel*) by Vimalabhadrā (Dri med bzañ po) (Öta. 2521/Tōh. 1649), the **Vajrāmṛtatantraṭīkā* (*rDo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi bśad pa*) by *Guṇabhadrā (Yon tan bzañ po) (Öta. 2522/Tōh. 1650), and the *Vajrāmṛtamahātantrarājaṭīkā Amṛtadhārā* (*rDo rje bdud rtsi'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po'i rgya cher 'grel*) by Śrībhānu (Öta. 2523/Tōh. 1651).⁹ The first and third commentaries are also extant in the original Sanskrit, but remain unpublished. The *Vajrāmṛtapañjikā* is preserved in a manuscript that was kept at Žwa-lu at least until the 1990s,¹⁰ whereas

6 Cf. fol. 33r, introduced with the words *tathā coktam*.

7 Read *pradāyaka iti* ?

8 This line corresponds to st. 3.20ab: *swā hā yi ge mñam par ldan* || *dños grub thams cad rab sbyin nams* || (cf. D fol. 20r₄), which could be retranslated as **svāhākārasamāyuktāḥ sarvasiddhipradāyakāḥ*, with a clear difference in the reading of *pāda a*. This reading is in agreement with the Tibetan version of Vimalabhadrā's *pañjikā*: *svā hā'i yi ge mñam ldan pa* (cf. D fol. 10r₃), and with the Tibetan translation of *Guṇabhadrā's commentary, where *pāda a* is rendered and explained by the following words: *svā hā'i yi ge mam par ldan* || *žes pa ni* || *mtha' ma ni yi ge svā hā dan ldan pa'o* || (cf. D fol. 34v₄₋₅). As to be expected, the Tibetan translation of the *Pradīpoddyotana* is instead closer to Candrakīrti's reading of the quotation (*yi ge svā hā mā ma kī'i* || *dños grub thams cad rab ster ba'o* ||, cit. in Ōmi 2013, 149 [18]).

9 Note that in the Öta. and Tōh. catalogues, the name of this master is wrongly given as Bhago.

10 'Dge 'dun chos 'phel, Works (1990), vol. 1, p. 18 lists an Indian manuscript at Zha lu, although he gives the author as Vimalaprabha' (Martin 2014, s.v. *Vimalabhadrā [Dri med bzang po]). This manuscript is likely the one that was seen and briefly described by R. Sāṅkrītyāyana in July 1936 (1937: 45, Nos XXXV.7.303: 'Vajrāmṛtatantrapañjikā [author:] Vimalabhadrā [leaves:] 7 [lines:] 7 complete'). Of this work, Sāṅkrītyāyana also transcribes the initial stanza (one *sārdūlavikrīḍita*) and the two last verses (one *puṣpītāgrā* and one *anuṣṭubh*) with the colophon (see footnote 3). These lines are reproduced here with slight changes (the main differences are pointed out in notes a and b):

Beginning — *yo vidhvastasamastavastuvimalajñānodayānākulaḥ*

a palm-leaf manuscript (34 fols) containing the longer *Amṛtadhārā* is still preserved in the Nor bu gliñ kha.¹¹ As far as we know at present, the commentary by *Guṇabhadra is only available in Tibetan.

Fortunately, a photographic reproduction of the manuscript containing the *Amṛtadhārā* — which, among the three commentaries, seems to be the only one quoted elsewhere¹² — is also kept in Beijing, in the library of the China Tibetology Research Centre (henceforth: CTRC) in box 50, text No. 2.¹³ In 2014 I was allowed to transcribe it entirely within a project of cooperation that was initiated a few years ago between the CTRC and my institution, the University of Naples “L’Orientale”. A critical edition of this work will be published in the series *Sanskrit Texts from the Tibetan Autonomous Region*. For issues related to the doctrines and the practices described in the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* I refer the reader to the introduction to this forthcoming book. Suffice it to say that Jishō Ōmi, the only scholar who has published specific studies on the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* and its commentaries so far (cf. Ōmi 2013, 2014), has shown, on the basis of some quotations from the work and its Tibetan translation, that the system of practices described in the text closely resembles the teachings of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, whereas at a theoretical level it is close to the *Mahāmāyātana* and the Yogācāra.

prajñopāyamahākṛpāsamarasād^a eko dvayor^b dyotate |
māmakyādikaṭākṣaṣaṭpadagaṇair ādṛṣṭavaktrāmbujas
taṃ natvā paramaṃ sukhaṃ jinamayaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ likhyate ||

End — *iti likhitam anantatantragarbhaṃ*

paramasukhādvayabuddhisiddhihetoh |
guṇiṣu vimalabhadranāmna etad
yadi ruciraṃ priyam astu naḥ kṣamantām ||
anuṣṭupchandasā caitad gaṇyamānaṃ catuḥśatam |
ślokaīḥ katipayair yuktaṃ vajrāmṛtanibandhanam ||

Colophon — *śrīvajrāmṛtapañjikā samāptā || kṛtir iyam ācāryavimalabhadrapādānām |*

likhāpiteyaṃ pustikā pañḍitajinaśrīmitreṇa ||

^a *°mahākṛpā°* em. supported by the Tibetan trans. (D fol. 1r₂: *thugs rje chen po*)] *°matā kṛpā* Sāṅkṛtyāyana

^b *dvayor* em. (Isaacson)] *dvayo°* Sāṅkṛtyāyana

11 Sandhak, p. 29 (cf. also Luo 1985, 48).

12 Passages of Śrībhānu’s commentary have been embedded in the *Samputatantra* 7.4 (cf. Szántó 2016, 414–415).

13 Sandhak, p. 29 (cf. also Luo 1985, 48).

1.2. UL Or.158

An online description of the manuscript Or.158, along with high-quality colour reproductions of its leaves, is available on the website of the University of Cambridge Digital Library (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00158-00001/6>), to which I refer the reader for further details. The following information is to be considered an integration of what is already available there.

Firstly, we observe that Or.158 consists of 12 palm leaves from two different texts, both fragmentary: one containing parts of the *Vajrāmṛta* (Or.158.1) and the other one containing parts of the *Buddhakaṭāla* (Or.158.2), another important Yoginītantra, so far published only partially (cf. Luo 2010). Leaves of the two works have been mingled according to an apparently correct sequence of folio numbers:¹⁴ parts of the *Vajrāmṛta* survive in fols 1v, 6, 8 and 10 to 12,¹⁵ whereas fragments of the *Buddhakaṭāla* are found in fols 2 to 5, 7 and 9.¹⁶ Due to reasons that we cannot ascertain, at a certain point in the tradition, someone wrongly combined the leaves of the two texts, mistaking them for parts of the same work/manuscript. This mistake was possible due to a substantial homogeneity of the two sources: the ductus of the script is identical, as are the quality and shape of the leaves comprising the *Vajrāmṛta* and the *Buddhakaṭāla*. Moreover, each leaf contains six lines, one string hole, two writing areas of which the left one is smaller than the right one, and on average 64 to 65 *akṣaras* per line. One hypothesis concerning the formation of Or.158 could thus be that its two sections were part of two originally separated manuscripts, but were produced by the same scribe or at least in the same scriptorium.¹⁷

14 Folio numbers appear on both the left and right margins of each *verso* (figure numerals are on the left, letter numerals are on the right), but seem to belong to different hands. Cf. e.g. leaves 3, 8, and 9, where the difference in the ductus is significant; the number 6 to the right is even written in Arabic numerals, perhaps in pencil, a bit higher than usual, clearly because the number was added when the margin was already damaged; the numbers in the left margin look older and may be the original ones.

15 In particular: chapters 1 (partial), 4 (partial), 5 (partial), 6 (partial), 7 (partial), 8 (partial) and 9 to 11 (complete).

16 These leaves include parts of chapters 1 to 3 (cf. also Luo 2010, XLVIII).

17 See also Szántó's contribution in this volume.

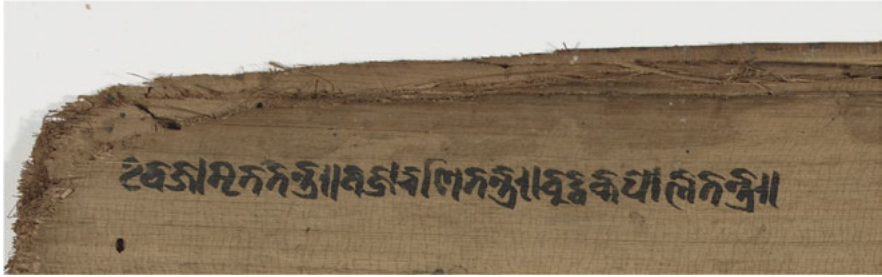


Fig. 1: Or.158, fol. 1r. © Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Another possibility, and a highly probable one, is that Or.158 is what remains of an original multiple-text manuscript (MTM), with independent foliation for each work. Besides the *Vajrāmṛta* and the *Buddhakapāla*, this manuscript would also contain at least a third work, namely the *Vajrāralimahātantrarāja*. There is in fact no doubt that, already at an early stage, this manuscript transmitted the three texts together. Proof is given by the short list of contents added by a different hand to the top left side of fol. 1r. There we read: (siddham sign) *vajrāmṛtatantra* || *vajrāraṇitantra*¹⁸ || *buddhakapālatantra* || (see the image above).¹⁹

MTMs with independent foliation for each block are frequent and it is not at all sure that the sequence of works we find on fol. 1r (1. *Vajrāmṛta*; 2. *Vajrārali*, which likely included also the *Rigyārali* (aka *Rigyaralli*);²⁰ 3. *Buddhakapāla*) reflects the original sequence at the time of the production of the manuscript. Sections of MTMs were temporarily used as independent works, for studying, copying, etc., and we can suppose that the different sections/blocks could easily have been misplaced after their use. According to Or.158 fol. 1r, the *Vajrāmṛta* appears to be the first text in the list; at the same time, this text has a dated colophon, which one would rather expect to find attached to the last work of the manuscript. The possibility that, before the list was compiled, the *Vajrāmṛta* could have been the final work in the manuscript indeed cannot be ruled out. However, it should

¹⁸ *Vajrāraṇitantra* (sic for *Vajrāralimahātantrarāja*) (*rDo rje ā ra li źes bya ba'i rgyud kyi rgyal po chen po*), Tōh. 426, sDe dge bKa' 'gyur, vol. ŃA, fols 171r₂–176r₂ (tr. by Kāyasthāpa Gayadhara and Śākya ye śes).

¹⁹ On the right of the same *recto* folio, we find some mantras that were likely written by the same hand (it is possible that the last two lines, which cover the whole length of the folio, were instead written by a third hand).

²⁰ See Szántó's contribution in this volume.

be observed that independent, dated colophons for each work in a MTM are a common feature,²¹ so it is also possible that the list of folio 1r is absolutely reliable.

Unfortunately, no leaves of the *Vajrāralitantra* have yet been found in the Cambridge University Library, but it is worth noticing that in another manuscript of the same collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, i.e. Add.1680, we find one leaf (item 12) of the *Rigyāralitantrarāja* (Tōh. 427), a work which is connected with the *Vajrāralimahātantrarāja* (support and ductus are the same as Or.158²²), and that two more folios of the *Buddhakaṭāla* from the same manuscript, now labelled as Or.158.2, are kept in another manuscript of the Cambridge University Library, namely Add.1680.13 (see Luo 2010, XLVIII).²³

The scribe does not give any information about himself or the place where he worked, although we can hypothesise that the manuscript was produced in Nepal because the script has the typical characteristics of the manuscripts produced there between the 12th and 15th century, such as the hook-shaped tops of the *aḥṣaras*, the vowel *e* marked as a waved *śīrorekḥā*, etc. As has been briefly observed before, the copyist reports the date on which the *Vajrāmṛta* was completed, which, according to the verification made by Luo Hong, corresponds to Saturday, 22nd September 1162 CE:²⁴

vajrāmṛtamahātatvaṃ buddhabodhiprasādhakam
i(O)ti || o || *samvat ā 80 2 aśvini śuklatrayodaśyāṃ* || *śaniścaradine* ||

1.3 Stylistic features of the *Vajrāmṛta* text

Judging from the portion of the text that is currently available in Sanskrit, the language of the *Vajrāmṛta*, as far as morphology and syntax are concerned, falls squarely into that of many tantras. Typical forms of classical Sanskrit go hand in hand with Middle Indic forms, in particular with the language of the so-called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit and of several non-Buddhist early tantric texts. We observe, for instance, several cases of the optative in *-e* (BHSG § 29.12) in the third person

²¹ The practice of writing dated colophons for each of the sections of multiple-text manuscripts is not rare in Nepal, as is shown in De Simini 2016, 257–258, n. 61.

²² A critical edition, diplomatic transcript, and English translation of Add.1680.12 is published by P.-D. Szántó in his contribution to this volume.

²³ That is, folio 13, which contains the end of chapter 4 and the beginning of chapter 5, and fol. 22, which contains chapters 8 (end), 9 (complete), 10 (beginning).

²⁴ Cf. Luo 2010, XLVIII: '[I]ts copying was completed sometime on a Saturday (*śaniścaradine* [= *śanivāra*], the thirteenth day of the light fortnight in the month of *aśvini* [= *āśvina*] in 1162 CE (282+880)', and n. 47. Cf. also Sanderson 2009, 315.

singular: *visarjaye* instead of *visarjayed* (4.35c), *vinaśye* instead of *vinaśyet* (6.19a), *kampe* instead of *kampen* (11.2a), *bhakṣaye* instead of *bhakṣayed* (11.9c); and one case of the optative in *-yā* (BHSG § 29.42): *dadyā* instead of *dadyād* (6.13c).²⁵ There are several cases of the vocative feminine in *-ī* (BHSG § 10.41): *māmākī* for *māmaki* (8.13b, 10.18b, 11.6b, 11.8b, 11.17d), *devī* for *devi* (11.16d, 11.19c);²⁶ and one case of the agentive genitive (cf. also BHSG § 20.17), namely *me* for *mayā* (1.7d), even though the latter also occurs in classical Sanskrit.

It is worth noting the use of variant spellings of the same word, such as *vetāla* (10.1b, 10.15c, 10.18c) and *vetāḍa* (8.5c), although this is not a peculiarity of this text; the occasional adoption of the neuter instead of the masculine, such as in the case of the word *bali* (4.22ab); and the employment of the personal name Amṛtakuṇḍali, as if belonging to the *i*-stems, instead of the more regular Amṛtakuṇḍalin (chapter 9).²⁷ We also register the irregular accusatives *mātrṃ* for *mātaraṃ*, and *duhitam* for *duhitāraṃ* (6.13cd).²⁸

In one case (11.11ab) we find a nominative instead of a genitive: *vajrodakaṃ puriṣan tu ātmavidyā tu bhakṣayet* instead of *vajrodakaṃ puriṣaṃ tu ātmavidyāyā bhakṣayet*, which would be metrically incorrect. The commentary by Śrībhānu clarifies the right interpretation: *svavidyāyāḥ vajrodakaṃ vairocanaṃ ca [...] bhakṣayet* (fol. 33v₃). In two cases we find unexpected verbal tenses or moods: the optative for a past in 7.1d; the imperfect for a present (or optative/future) in 10.15d.

Furthermore, we observe the use of morphological irregularities, such as the loss of case endings etc., in order to fit the metre. A few examples are: *vajrāmṛta namāmy aham* for *vajrāmṛtaṃ namāmy aham* (7.2–4, 6), *cāṇḍālī ḍombikā* for *cāṇḍālī ḍombikā* (8.7b); *śrīheruka namāmy aham* for *śrīherukaṃ namāmy aham* (8.9b); *dvaupada niyojayet* for *dvaupadaṃ niyojayet* (8.10d); *para{ma}ṃ samādhisam{ā}panno* for *para{ma}samādhisam{ā}panno* (11.2c); and *puna pṛcchati* for

²⁵ Cf. also Kiss 2015, 79.

²⁶ The instrumental *māmakyā*, apparently with the quite unusual value of vocative, probably *metri causa*, occurs in 3.15b (the Tibetan here has *mā ma kī* [D fol. 20r₂], but Śrībhānu's commentary confirms the reading *māmakyā*: *māmakyeti sambodhane* [fol. 16v₇]) and in 11.13a (see the text below).

²⁷ It should be noted, however, that Amṛtakuṇḍali instead of Amṛtakuṇḍalin is actually quite common in Buddhist tantric sources; cf. e.g. a verse from the [*Guhyasamāja*]vyākhyātantra cit. in *Pradīpoddyotana*, chapter 1 (*guhyapradeśe tiṣṭhati amṛtakuṇḍalis tathāgataḥ* ||, ed. p. 151) and the following words in Kumāracandra's *Pañjikā ad Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* 4.10: *amṛtakuṇḍalis tu kalaśe uttareṇa sthāpyaḥ* (ed. p. 91).

²⁸ The form *duhitam* occurs for instance in *Brahmayāmala* 61.24c (*putram vā duhitam vāpi*), fol. 246v₅ [= fol. 247v according to the numbers in the right margin].

punar pṛcchati (11.2d).²⁹ Another instance could be *amṛtaṃ sādhanopāyaṃ* for *amṛtasādhanopāyaṃ* or even *amṛtasya sādhanopāyaṃ* (1.2c), both unmetrical; in this case, however, we cannot completely rule out the possibility that the compound *sādhanopāyaṃ* is used in apposition to *amṛtaṃ*.

The adoption of words that are peculiar to Buddhist Sanskrit could also be explained as an attempt to respect the metre, in particular °*devata*° (BHSD: 270) instead of °*devatā*° (4.26d) and *anopamam* (BHSD: 37) instead of *anupamam* (7.5b), as well as — at least in one case — the adoption of the singular ablative in -*ā*, which is again a peculiarity of Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. BHSG § 8.46): in stanza 9.9bc, where we read *amṛtā amṛtam utthitam | amṛtā amṛtayogena*, the omission of the *d* in the word *amṛtād* was likely meant to render the following initial *a* silent. However, we should observe that the ablative in -*ā* also occurs in stanzas 8.10–11, where there are no metrical problems. Again, very likely in order to respect the metre, in stanza 4.22a we find *herukā*° instead of *heruka*° and in stanza 7.3b the *kokilā*° instead of *kokila*°.

It is very likely that in a few cases — for instance in st. 8.6d (*śriherukarūpam udvahet*) and st. 9.7a (*hasante kilikilāyante*) — the vowels *a* and *i* were intended to be silent or to be read quickly, a practice which is sometimes admitted, for instance by Ratnākaraśānti, who, while commenting upon *Khasamatantra* 5.1, points out that a quick pronunciation (*drutoccāraṇa*) of the word *abhāveṃ* allows the *mātras* to be reduced to four (*abhāveṃ iti drutoccāraṇāc caturmātraḥ*) (ed. p. 250). I have marked these cases with a breve (˘). In stanza 10.5b, we find an *i* that has to be considered long in pronunciation, and which I have conventionally rendered with *ī*.

Metrical irregularities remain, for instance, in stt. 1.10d, 4.27a, 4.31cd, 6.16b, 7.6a, 10.3c, 10.4, 10.5f, 10.11b, 10.15cd, 11.12b, 11.14d, 11.17a, 11.17c, and 11.18c.

Among the stylistic features that are visible in the portion of the text available in Sanskrit, we observe the use of *yadicchet* (or *yad icchet*) with the meaning of *yadicchet*³⁰ and the frequent use of *tu* as *pādapūraṇa* or mainly with the value of connective rather than that of oppositional particle (cf. e.g. 1.3c, 1.4a, 4.13d, 4.14bc, 6.6c, 11.11c), a feature that in any case is relatively common in Sanskrit and not exclusive to this text.

²⁹ Note that *puna* is a Middle Indic form, common for instance in Pāli.

³⁰ Cf. 4.35a, 6.12b, 6.14a, 11.20d. This use is quite frequent in tantric texts (cf. e.g. *Catuspīṭhatantra* 3.3.7d and *Brahmayāmala* 3.226b). See also Kiss 2015, 209, n. 226.

1.4 Synopsis of the work³¹

According to a pattern that is common to many tantras, the text consists of a dialogue between a questioner and a/the Buddha or Bhagavān (in this work called Vajrin, Vajrāmṛta, and Mahāsukha), who imparts the teaching. Following a well-established scheme, which here is probably modelled after the Śaiva tantras, in this text the questioner is identified with the female consort of the Bhagavān instead of one of the Bodhisattvas, who are usually the recipients of the tantric teachings.

After a prose preamble that strictly resembles the *vijahārapāda* of the *Guhyasamājatantra*, as well as the *Kṛṣṇayamāritatantra* and the *Hevajatantra*, the first chapter (*Guhyamaṇḍalakarāṇābhīnayanirdeśa*) begins, in the fashion of the ‘explanatory tantras’ (*vyākhyātatantra*), by stating that the actual teachings have already been imparted (2ab); the Goddess (*devī*) Māmakī then asks for insights on the means to achieve (*sādhana*) the supreme Nectar of the Vajra (*vajrāmṛta*), which is defined as ‘the knowledge concealed in all tantras’ (5a). This Nectar, corresponding to the ‘semen’ from which the three worlds arise, is said to be quickly achieved by means of amorous enjoyment, pleasure, sexual union, songs, music, dance, etc. (6). The practitioner is immediately freed from the chain of transmigration after having known the supreme Nectar of the meditation on the (*devatā*)yoga (8); this ‘great knowledge’ should not be revealed to the non-initiated (9a). The Nectar of the Vajra is produced by the unions of Vajra and Lotus. As the text instructs, the practitioner should kiss the Lotus, whereas Māmakī should kiss the Vajra (10). Māmakī then asks about the arrangement of the deities in the *maṇḍala*, as well as the way in which the *maṇḍala* should be worshipped, the nature of this worship, and the means of its realization (11–12). The answer of the Bhagavān starts with st. 14 and occupies the rest of the chapter. He states that, in this tantra, the *maṇḍala* is taught in order to realize the body, speech, and mind of Vajrāmṛta; in other words, the aim of teaching the *maṇḍala* is the attainment of the liberation from transmigration (14). Then follows a description of the *maṇḍala* (15, 18cd), along with a short description of Vajrāmṛta, which is hidden in the pericarp of the eight-petalled lotus and is endowed with three faces and six arms (16–18ab). Afterwards, the text describes the door-guardians (*dvārapāla*) (19) and the eight Wisdoms (*vidyā*) (Saumyā, Saumyavadanā, Candrī, Śaśinī, Śaśimaṇḍalā, Śaśilekhyā, Manojñā, Manohlādanakārī), which are located in the eight leaves of the lotus (20–22ab). The master, who is here identified with Vajrāmṛtamahāsukha, should accomplish, i.e.

³¹ I prepared this synopsis on the basis of both the Tibetan translation of the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* and the Sanskrit commentary by Śrībhānu. Words that are drawn from the commentary or, in a few cases, that are supplied by me to help the reader have been put between parentheses.

empower, the *maṇḍala*, that is the wheel of the goddesses, by means of music, dance and sexual enjoyment (23). The practitioner should worship the secret *maṇḍala* through the semen that is produced during sexual union with the *yoginīs* (Mother, Wife, Daughter, etc.) (24). Each female partner is connected to a different fruit (25–26ab). The practitioner should use his tongue to extract the semen that has fallen into the secret lotus of the *yoginīs* (26cd). The practitioner reaches perfection quickly, i.e. in this very life (27). During the practice of the *maṇḍala*, the five ambrosias (*pañcāmṛta*) (human flesh, blood, etc.) should be given to the disciple every day (most likely according to the procedures described in the last chapter of the tantra) (29). The practitioner is then able to perform all ritual actions, starting with subduing (*vaśya*). The chapter ends with the chapter rubric preceded by a metrical line that occurs at the end of all *nirdeśas* and represents a kind of “imprimatur” formula: ‘This was said by the Bhagavān, the Vajra-holder, the Great Pleasure of the Nectar of the Vajra’ (30).

The second chapter, called *Tattvayogajñānanirdeśa*, starts by describing the amorous play between Māmakī, who is satisfied with the teaching she has just received (1ab), and the Vajra-holder, who, full of passion, strongly embraces her, kisses her, penetrates her, makes love to her, arouses passion in her by means of gentle words, squeezes her breasts, etc. (1cd–5). Being satisfied in his turn, he is ready to give Māmakī whatever she desires (6–7ab). Stanza 7cd introduces the second question of Māmakī: she now wants to know how it is possible that the true nature of the Bhagavān, which is a transformation of the Bodhicitta, and which, being extremely subtle, is undecaying, ‘plays’, that is to say is active, in the world (8–9). The answer of the Bhagavān starts at stanza 10cd. He says that the knowledge that is connected with the manifestation and explanation of the (*devatā*)*yoga* is extremely subtle, secret, indestructible, etc.; it is devoid of any permanent object (*anitya*) (i.e. it shows that any permanent object is non-existent); it is without beginning, non-arisen, etc. (11–12). Beyond the reach of common beings’ understanding, this knowledge can be attained by means of the path of the (*devatā*)*yoga*, which is of two kinds, external and internal (13). The external yoga consists in the realization of the form, colour, and shape of the deity by means of the *utpattikrama* (14ab). The entire universe, including all the moving and unmoving entities that are in the three spheres of existence, is pervaded by one single nature, for everything is nothing but consciousness (*sarvaṃ vijñānam eva*) (14cd–15ab). Since the aggregate consciousness is totally based on itself, obfuscated people (like *naiyāyikas* who believe in the existence of the external world, made of discrete entities) do not attain awakening (15cd–16ab). Multiplicity of *dharmas* is not logically tenable. The water of the rivers is no more distinguishable when it enters the ocean; the *dharmas* are not distinguishable with respect to their unitary, true

nature (16cd–18). This nature can be obtained only through the direct teaching of the master, who explains the way it is present within the body (19). The Vajra-holder resides in the space that is in the middle of the Lotus, which is briefly described (20). The semen flows in the form of Nectar, being devoid of vowels and consonants, as well as of *bindu* and *nāda* (21). This is the substratum of all the elements (semen, bones, marrow, etc.), which pervades (the entire body) above and below (22ac). Stanzas 22d–26ab explain the way the Nectar is a pervader (*vyāpaka*) also by means of actions (seeing, hearing, etc.). Although the supreme, true nature (i.e. consciousness) has no form, it becomes endowed with many forms, assumes a gender, and becomes manifold in the same way that a jewel assumes different colours in accordance with the colours of the various objects that are nearby (26cd–28ab). Regarding this reality, there is no use for ordinary practices based on the muttering of mantras, breath control, fasting, etc. (28cd–29ab). After having worshipped the Lotus, the practitioner should eat the Nectar (29cd). In this way he realizes the true nature, the great pleasure of the Vajrāmṛta (30ab). The text goes on by referring to the channels (*nāḍī*) that have to be worshipped by the practitioner. The channel called Madāvahā is located in the pericarp of the lotus (30cd). It is the main channel in the middle of a group of 32 (31ab). The other nine channels, known here as Wisdoms (*vidyā*), have to be worshipped in their respective loci (i.e. in the nine doors of the body) (31cd–32ab). This supreme secret, which is called ‘yoga’, is not known by the Tathāgatas, such as Viśva (= Amoghasiddhi) and Vairocana (that is to say, they neither know nor have taught it) (32cd–34ab). It is due to the enjoyment of intense bliss that this yoga has been taught here by Vajrāmṛta to Māmakī after he had seen her secret lotus (i.e. after he had understood that she was the right receptacle of the Vajrāmṛta teaching) (34cd–35).

Chapter 3 (*Mantrapattinirdeśa*) starts with a further question from Māmakī. Delighted and adorned with bracelets (1), she gratifies and praises the Great Being with a song (2–3). With this song, the practitioner attains the awakening of the Buddha (4). After solving her previous doubts (5–6), now Māmakī wishes to know the origin of the *mudrās* (*samayamudrā* and so on) and the mantras of the *māṇḍaleyas* (7–8). The answer begins in stanza 9, where the Bhagavān states that the *mudrās* are of three kinds, based on body, speech, and mind (from which they arise or from which they are effected). Stanza 10 briefly lists and describes the three kinds of *mudrā*: *karamudrā* is connected with the body; *vāṇmudrā*, with the projection of the mantras, etc.; *cihnamudrā* (which includes *vajramudrā*, *ghaṇṭāmudrā*, etc.) is related to the mind. The practitioner should worship the auspicious deities’ lotuses, which are connected with (the *vajra*, i.e.) the source of all pleasures; he should also perform all ritual actions (the drawing of the *maṇḍala*, the *homa* ritual, etc.) by

means of the union of Vajra and Padma (11–12). In the same way that the wish-fulfilling tree (*kalpavṛkṣa*) is the source from which various desired fruits arise, so the channel called Madāvahā is the source of the deities, whose nature is the great pleasure, and of all mantras, the nature of which is the Bodhicitta (13–14). The following stanzas describe the extraction of the mantras: *oṃ haḥ vajrāmṛta svāhā*, *oṃ vajrāmṛtamahāsukhāya svāhā*, *oṃ ghī svāhā* (15–17); the eight mantras of the auspicious deities: *oṃ aṃ haḥ svāhā*, *oṃ uṃ haḥ svāhā*, etc. (18); the mantras of the door-guardians: *oṃ ṛ svāhā*, *oṃ ṝ svāhā*, etc.; and the four mantras of Puṣpā, Dhūpā, etc., i.e. *oṃ ṝ svāhā*, *oṃ ḹ svāhā*, etc. (19–21). The practitioner should worship the secret *maṇḍala* with all worship rituals (i.e. both external and private) (22).

Chapter 4 (*Homavidhīnirdeśa*) describes the *homa* ritual and the procedures of several magical rites (appeasement [*śāntika*], reinvigoration [*pauṣṭika*], etc.) as well as the *mantras* and *mudrās* connected with their execution. No question is asked by Māmakī, so the Bhagavān teaches all this without interruption from the previous section (1–3ab). The *maṇḍalācārya* (i.e. the *homācārya*, the master who celebrates the *homa* liturgy) should first identify himself with Vajrasattva; adorned with all embellishments and in the *ālīḍha* posture, he should then perform the Victory of the Three Worlds (*trailokyaviḷaya*) (i.e. he should identify himself with the Kro-dharāja deity) and eventually cleanse the ground (*bhūmiśaṃśodhana*) (3cd–5): the practitioner should drive away the obstacles (*vighnotsāraṇa*), pay homage to the *guru*, and attract the Deity of the Earth (*pṛthivīdevatā*) (6). Stanzas 7–12 describe the *vāhanamantra*, the projection of the mantric syllables into the *cakras* of the body, the throwing of flowers and other rituals that are necessary for the purification of the ground. The following verses give the shapes and measurements of the *kuṇḍas* that are needed for the performance of various rituals: appeasement (13–14), reinvigoration (15), hostile purposes (*abhicāruka*) (16), subjugation (*vaśya*), and attraction (*ākaraṣaṇa*) (17). The mantra-user should begin the appeasement ritual while facing north; the reinvigoration ritual should always be performed while facing east, and the hostile purposes ritual while facing south; attraction, destruction (*uccāṭana*) and the other rituals always require facing west (18–19ab). The text briefly mentions the colours (19cd) and the kind of offerings connected with the rituals described above (20–21). All offerings must be given with the *herukamudrā*, and whatever the *yogin* desires is always attained (22). The practitioner should perform the appeasement ritual in autumn, the reinvigoration ritual in winter, the hostile purposes ritual in summer (23); appeasement should be done in the evening, reinvigoration at dawn, hostile purposes at noon or at midnight (24). Stanzas 25 to 39 provide several details about the *homa* ritual (the realization of one’s deity by means of the syllable *hūṃ*, the meditation on this deity, the invocation of Agni, the offering of the sacred water, etc.) (25–28) and the mantras that have to be recited

during its performance, i.e. the mantra of the flower (29), the mantra of the lamp (30), the mantra of the incense (31), the mantra of the perfume (32), and also the mantra for the dismissal of the deity (36–37).

Chapter 5 (*Karmaprasaranirdeśa*) prescribes the way to produce the collyrium that is used for ritual purposes. The Bhagavān continues his teaching from the previous section. The collyrium is produced using human fat, lampblack, a skull, the head of an owl, human blood, etc. (1–3). It is used, together with a mantra that has to be recited ten thousand times, in order to neutralize demons, to destroy enemies, etc. (4–6). The mantra is given in stanza 7 (*hrīṃ hrīṃ hūṃ hūṃ aṃ aḥ a hā hām svāhā*). Afterwards, the text briefly describes the iconographical representation of Māmākī (8–9), the mantra that has to be recited after having filled the matrix of the woman with saffron (*oṃ ā i ū ṛ ḷ ai au aḥ amṛte phaṭ huṃ haḥ svāhā*), the way its extraction has to be performed, etc. (10–11), as well as other rituals, such as the production of a *tilaka*, the intoxication of the enemies, and the recitation of the *yamāntakamantra* (*oṃ hrīḥ ṣṛīḥ vikṛtānana sarvaśatrūn vināśaya stambhaya mārāya huṃ hūṃ phaṭ*) (12–15). The chapter ends with the description of the procedures for subduing the husband and thus making the wife happy (16–17ab), and the description of the ritual for killing the enemies (17cd–21).

In chapter 6, the *Vajrahūmkārasādhana**nirdeśa*, the Bhagavān explains in brief the *sādhana* of Vajrahūmkāra, as well as the procedures for drawing the *maṇḍala*s of Vajrāmṛta, Heruka, and so on (1). The shape and the measures of the *vajrahūmkāramaṇḍala* are given in st. 2. Vajrahūmkāra, who has three faces and six arms, has to be placed in the centre of this *maṇḍala*, surrounded by a halo of trembling lights (3), embellished with ornaments, and encircled by four *mudrās* (Kelikilā, Vajrāstrā, Vajragarvā, Sparśavajrā) (4). The text continues with a list, sometimes accompanied by iconographical descriptions, of the objects and the deities that have to be drawn in the *maṇḍala*; the latter include Umā, the Vidyās (Puṣpā, Dhūpā, etc.), the door-guardians, and the eight Bodhisattvas (Maitreya, Mañjuśrī, etc.) (5–10). By making oblations to deities (*bali*), by making offerings of food to living beings (*balya*), and by drinking liquors and juices, on the eighth and fourteenth days of the black fortnight, the practitioner should throw (an animal) made of powdered grains into the *maṇḍala* and offer it ritually (11). After having performed the oblation in the middle (of the *maṇḍala*), if the practitioner desires the supreme perfection, i.e. if he wishes to realize Vajrahūmkāra, he should recite the mantra of one single syllable (i.e. the sound *hūṃ*) (12). Subsequently, he should worship the master; and for this purpose he should offer himself to him, as well as his kingdom, mother, sister, wife, and daughter (13). (After this worship) the mantra-user who desires the realization of one's self as one's own deity should assume the tantric pledges (*samaya*) of the disciples (14). The *maṇḍala* of Vajrasattva,

which is connected with (the teachings of) the *Vajrāmṛta* (*tantra*), is endowed with the five ambrosias (*pañcāmṛta*), and implies the destruction of all the bad destinies (15). The realization of the glorious Vajrahūmkāra is a transformation of the Bodhicitta (16). The practitioner should have playful and variegated sexual intercourse with his Wisdom (namely with a young girl of low caste who, in her turn, has the nature of the Goddess) (17ab). With his tongue, he should kiss her Lotus and extract the semen from it with his fingers (17cd–18). After having extracted (the semen), he should not dispel the energy or the fruit (of pleasure, which is the source of strength and health). He shall realize the Buddhahood, namely the ambrosia, which consists in the semen (and corresponds to the *apraṭiṣṭhitānirvāṇa*) (19–20ab).

Chapter 7 (*Geyanṛtyābhīṣekatattvāvabodhanirdeśa*) starts with a praise of Vajrāmṛta sung by Māmakī, who is still involved in the love play with him, while joining her hollowed palms in reverence (1–8). This song contains a description of Vajrāmṛta, who is defined as a hero encircled by other heroes, who is joined by the group of Mudrās (2); he emits a sound similar to that of *kokilas* and bees, he is good-looking, and he experiences the pleasure of love (3); he is omniscient and friendly towards all beings (4); his body hair is bristled; and he makes love to the 24 Great Wisdoms (Tārā, Vitārā, etc.) in all three spheres of existence (5–6). The praise ends with two Apabhraṃśa stanzas, which read: ‘You, dark like a petal of a blue water-lily, are the Tathāgata, the Vajra-holder. Oh Pleasure of Sexual Delight, love me! By means of that you accomplish [your] duty in the three worlds (7). You are empty, pure, the supreme stage, the unchanging Vajra, beginningless. The living being — either moving or unmoving — who meditates on you, how can he be born again in the *saṃsāra*?’ (8). The characteristics of the dance and its movements (*gatipracāra*) are described in stanzas 9 to 11. After the dance, Māmakī should kiss the Vajra, while the Bhagavān should kiss the Lotus. The female partner shows her secret parts and the worship begins (12). The meditation of the Nectar is described in stanzas 13 to 15. When the Wisdom remains motionless, the practitioner should begin the concentration on the Nectar (i.e., he should meditate on Madāvahā, which contains milk and is flowing after having unified all the other channels [*nāḍī*]). The practitioner meditates on the supreme reality, that is the Nectar in the form of *bindu* (i.e. the syllable *ha*) (13). In the middle of the sky, similar to the moon, there is the true nature of emptiness, which corresponds to Vajrasattva, the “Unsounded” Reality, and which is indestructible, subtle, etc. (14). Located inside the navel, in the hidden space of the pericarp, it flows in the form of semen, residing in the middle between the *bhaga* and the *liṅga* (15). (With reference to the five *skandhas*) it is called the vital breath of living beings, the aggregate *vijñāna*; it is the Buddha, the Vajra-holder; (Brahmavādins, Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas call it respectively) Brahman, Viṣṇu, and Maheśvara (16). (With reference to the world of common experience) it

is the earth, the water, the fire, etc., everything that belongs to the three spheres of existence. It is the object on which the Bhagavān himself continuously meditates. In addition, he declares himself to have arisen from this reality (*tattva*) (in form of Vajrāmṛta) together with Māmakī (17). (The other deities) Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and so on, as well as the Bodhisattvas and the Tathāgatas, also (meditate on) this powerful reality, which consists of *jñeyas* (i.e. the *bhūmis*, *pāramitās*, etc.) and *jñāna* (i.e. a knowledge free from conceptualization and from the two [*advaya*], that is subject and object) (in order to realize their own nature, to reach the state of Vajrāmṛta, or to impart his teaching) (18). Believers of other traditions (Śaivas, Kālavādins, Puruṣavādins, Sāṃkhya, Vaiṣṇavas, Haritantrayogins, Gaṇakas, etc.) conceive this deity in different ways, that is according to specific aspects, as the Autogenous (*svayambhu*), as Time (*kāla*), as the Creator (*karṭṛ*), etc. (19–22). This teaching must not be transmitted to wicked people, to those who do not observe the tantric pledges, to the nihilists, etc. It can be imparted only to one who is devoted to the master, who is well-disciplined, who has been initiated (*guhyamaṇḍalapraviṣṭa*, lit. ‘who has entered the secret *maṇḍala*’), etc. (23–24). To such a disciple, the master can impart the initiation that is performed by means of sexual union with the *mudrā* (25).

Chapter 8 (*Śrīherukotpattinirdeśa*) contains the description of how to visualise Śrīheruka. Māmakī now asks why the Bhagavān assumes a wrathful aspect (1). The text does not provide any direct answer to this question. The Bhagavān starts by displaying his wrathful aspect: he is surrounded by a garland of flames, fierce, dreadful, a cause of fear; he has eight arms, four faces, and is embellished with a garland of skulls; he bears skulls and a *khatvāṅga*, is shaved, is endowed with a Vajra and a garland made of intestines, is fierce, and is encircled by his eight Wisdoms (*vidyā*); he dwells in the great cemeteries, roars while reciting mantras and the sound *phet*, and plays with groups of demons, *vetālas*, and beings that abide in burning grounds (4–5). The great Vajra-holder should summon the Glorious form of Heruka, who is devouring the Devas together with Indra, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva (6). Then the text lists the eight Wisdoms: Sotkaṭā, Vikaṭā, Cāṇḍālī, Ḍombikā, Piṅgalā, Kulinī, Ugrā, and Dāruṇī (7), expounds the words that the practitioner has to mutter when he is pushed by these Wisdoms: ‘I honour the glorious Heruka who, endowed with fangs, is extremely terrific, who is adorned with a garland [made] of intestines, who is devouring the great meat [i.e. human flesh]’ (8–9ab), and describes the extraction of the mantra of Heruka: *om jvala jvala hūṃ phaṭ bhyo svāhā* (10–12). The chapter ends with a reference to the advantages that derive from the recitation of this mantra (13–14).

Chapter 9 (*Śrī-amṛtakuṇḍali-utpattinirdeśa*) begins with the visualisation of Amṛtakuṇḍalin: he has three faces and six arms, is fierce and appears black like the newly split antimony (1); he is surrounded by a garland of flames, he is cruel, and

he is endowed with reddish-brown eyes; he is crushing the Great Obstacle(s) under his feet; his fist is raised, holding a hatchet (2); with his left hands he holds a club, a *vajra* and a noose. His forefinger is threatening all evil beings. The practitioner should visualize a sword in his hand (3); afterwards, he should visualize the eight Wisdoms along with the door-guardians; eventually he should project the eight Wisdoms into the petals (4). The text continues with the list of the eight Wisdoms (*Amṛtā*, *Amṛtavajrā*, *Amṛtā*, *Amṛtalocanā*, *Aprameyā*, *Surūpā*, *Vāruṇā*, and *Sukhasādhani*) and their description (5–7a). The last verses explain the extraction of the mantra *oṃ amṛtakuṇḍali mā maṃ svāhā* (7b–8) and mention the advantages that derive from the meditation on *Amṛtakuṇḍalin* (stt. 10–11).

Chapter 10 (*Vetālasāadhananirdeśa*) teaches how to resuscitate a *vetāla*. The practitioner should perform this ritual on the eighth day in the dark half of any month or on the fourteenth day of a lunar fortnight, in a field or a place in which (for a distance of five *krośas*) there is but one landmark, or alternatively in a place where four roads meet, where there is an isolated tree, in a cemetery, on a river bank or on a mountain (1–2). The text lists the characteristics that should be possessed by the corpse (3–4) and the ritual actions that the practitioner should perform on it (5–6ab); then it briefly describes the *maṇḍala* that is required for this ritual, the Wisdoms (*Sotkaṭā*, *Vikaṭā*, etc.) (6cd–7), and the door-guardians (*Gokaṛṇa*, *Hastikaṛṇa*, *Sumukhya*, and *Durmu-kha*) that have to be drawn outside the *maṇḍala* (8–10). The following stanzas prescribe the way the *maṇḍala* should be worshipped (11–13). While the practitioner is reciting the great mantra of the glorious Heruka, the *vetāla* will emerge, emitting a deep sound and pronouncing a cry, filled with anger (14). At that point the mantrouser should not be afraid and should remember the glorious *heruka*(*mantra*) (15ab). The *vetāla*, once arisen, asks the practitioner to indicate his task: ‘Oh Great Hero, what is the action (to be performed)? Give me the command!’ (15cd–16ab). The *vetāla* will help him attain whatever he desires: a sword, a collyrium (for invisibility), the capacity of moving in the sky, etc. (16cd–18ab). The chapter ends by declaring that this ritual is the main *sādhana* for the accomplishment of the body, the speech, and the mind (of the deities); it confers happiness on the practitioners (18cd–19ab).

The core of chapter 11 (*Pañcāmṛtasāadhanopāyanirdeśa*) describes the fruits deriving from the ritual eating of semen, menstrual blood, human flesh, urine, and excrements, i.e. the five ambrosias mentioned at the beginning of the text (cf. 1.29). The *Bhagavān* is silent, absorbed in the supreme *samādhi* (1–2). *Māmakī* asks the means to attain the Subtle *Vajra* (*sūkṣmavajra*) (i.e., the unbeaten heart of *Vajrāmṛta*) that resides in the heart of all beings (3). The *Bhagavān* laughs and starts to teach (4). The practitioner should always (i.e. every day) enjoy the ‘true reality’ (*tattva*), that is the Nectar in form of semen (produced by the union of the male and female organs), which is connected with the five ambrosias (5). First of all, the practitioner should eat

the semen, which is the accomplisher (i.e. the purifier) of knowledge and knowable (6). Subsequently, he should accomplish the 'great blood' (= human blood) in order to bring to perfection body, speech, and mind. As a rule, this (menstrual ?) blood should be taken from a young girl, or from a woman belonging to one of the traditional *varṇas* (7). The one who enjoys human blood accomplishes all duties. He should eat the 'great flesh' (= human flesh), after having taken it in a cemetery from the corpse of one who has died violently (e.g. one who was killed in a war or executed by impalement or hanging). Eating these substances involves an increase of life and health; it confers pleasure as well as the awakening of the Buddhas (8–10). Then the practitioner should consume the urine and excrements of his own partner (*ātma-vidyā*) (11ab). Details about the production of the pills needed for this ritual and about this ritual itself are given in stanzas 11cd–15: the practitioner should prepare a subtle powder with the substances mentioned above, and he should 'meditate' (i.e. mix them) with human blood (11cd). This rite, which also includes the drinking of urine, should be done thrice every day: at dawn, in the evening and at noon (12). The body of the practitioner who practices this ritual every day will become free from sickness and old age (13), handsome, etc. (14). The practitioner is at the same time a *yogin* and the Omniscient One, endowed with the qualities of Vajrasattva, free from attachment and aversion, and free from covetousness and envy. For him, the means of realization (*sādhana*), which involves the great pleasure of Vajrāmṛta, becomes perfect (15). The last verses of the text extol the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* (16–24). The entire Vajrayāna comes forth from it (16). This teaching has not been transmitted to others (not only common Buddhist practitioners, but not even those who have entered the *bhūmis*, i.e. the Bodhisattvas) (17). This is the supreme, delightful secret that resides in every being (i.e. this is the Bodhicitta that resides in form of pleasure in the matrix of the excellent women) (18). The *Vajrāmṛtatantra* is called Jewel of the Vajras (*vajracūḍāmaṇi*). The *yogin* should keep it well hidden; he should not even be confident in his ancestors (i.e. the Buddhas) and sons (i.e. the Bodhisattvas) (who have not 'entered the pledge' [*samayāpraviṣṭa*]) (19). The true teaching (*tattva*) of this tantra should be bestowed on one who desires the supreme awakening (*bodhi*)/perfection (*dīos grub*), one (by whom the mantra is kept) extremely secret, on a hero, one who is devoted to his master, one who firmly observes the vows (20). The practitioner should realize this *Vajrāmṛtatantra* which is at the same time easy to be realized and extremely difficult to be attained. It is mild, it is a collection of the essence (of Buddha's qualities) and of knowledge (21). The practitioner who is initiated in the great *Vajrāmṛtatantra* is worshipped by Buddhas, by Bodhisattvas, and by everyone in this world (22). After having paid homage to him three times, they say to him: 'You are the Lord, the means of saving all beings from transmigration' (23). The great *Vajrāmṛtatantra* is a receptacle

(i.e. a great treasure). Therefore, the Vajra-holder (i.e. the heart of the *Vajrāmṛta*) in its subtle form has been fixed in the space of the Bhaga (24).

1.5 About this edition

As regards orthography and sandhi, this edition has to be considered ‘conservative’, as the peculiarities of the manuscript have usually been retained, including the alternation in the use of *ś* and *s* for the same word, such as e.g. *āsana* and *āśana*. The layout takes the metrical division of lines into account; verse numbers are inserted between parentheses; hiatuses are marked with hyphens; Apabhraṃśa verses are in italic. The chapter titles, which have been drawn from Śrībhānu’s commentary and verified against the Tibetan translation, are inserted between square brackets. Stanzas quoted from the indirect tradition have been included, for the sake of completeness, within double brackets (cf. chapters 3 to 4, 7).

Although many doubts remain, for instance in stt. 4.27 and 10.13, and about some words of the verses in Apabhraṃśa (7.7–8), where we find terms paralleled in the language of the *Paūmacariu* by Kavirāja Svayambhūdeva, cruces are used only in the most unsolvable cases.

1.6 Symbols and abbreviations

(0)	string hole
<...>	contain additions
.	illegible part of an <i>akṣara</i>
..	illegible <i>akṣara</i>
(...)	enclose numbers not present in the MS
[...]	enclose pagination and titles
[[...]]	enclose verses quoted from other sources, not present in Or.158.1
{...}	enclose words, <i>akṣaras</i> or <i>daṇḍas</i> that should likely be omitted
]	separates the accepted reading, emendations or conjectures from other readings
◆	separates the commentary on different lemmas within the same compound or series of words that are graphically connected
†...†	<i>cruces desperationis</i>
]	<i>siddham</i> sign
❖	ornamental sign resembling a flower (perhaps a crossed- <i>vajra</i>)
<i>ac</i>	<i>ante correctionem</i>
MS	Or.158.1
<i>pc</i>	<i>post correctionem</i>
T	Tibetan

2 Text

[1v₁] } namaḥ śrīvajrasatvāya ||

[Chapter 1 – *Guhyamaṇḍalakarāṇābhīnayanirdeśa*]

evam mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavā(O)n sarvatathāgatakāyavākci-
ttahṛdayavajrāmṛtaguhyapadmeṣu vijahāra ||

kṛḍate bhagavān vajrī māmakyā sahitaḥ³² pure |
pṛccha[1v₂]te tatra sā devī rahasye tivyaavasthitā³³ || (1)

uktaṃ deva tvayā pūrvaṃ tantraṃ vajrāmṛ(O)tam paraṃ |
amṛtaṃ sādhanopāyaṃ kathayasva mahāsukha || (2)

ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ³⁴ |
acintyaṃ avyayaṃ sūkṣmaṃ amo[1v₃]ghañ ca nirindriyaṃ |

paraṃ śāntaṃ viśuddhaṃ tu vajrāmṛtam udāhṛtaṃ ||³⁵ (3)

tatas tu (O) bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtasamādhībhīḥ³⁶ |
māmakyā rāgayuktena rahasyaṃ prakāṭikṛtaṃ ||³⁷ (4)

gopitaṃ sarvatantreṣu jñānaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ paraṃ |

ta[1v₄]d ahaṃ kathayiṣyāmi gāḍhālīmṅganacumbanaiḥ <|> (5)

32 *sahitaḥ* em.] *sahite* MS

33 The Tibetan canonical translation (*gsaṅ chen źes bya cher gnas pa'i*) and the commentary by *Guṇabhadra (cf. D, fol. 21r₃₋₄; **gsaṅ chen źes bya ba źes pa ni | bde ba chen po gñis su med pa'i so so raṅ rig pa'i ye źes so || de la cher gnas pa źes te bde ba myoṅ ba'i bdag ñid ces pa'o** ||) confirm the odd reading *rahasye 'tivyaavasthitā* only in part (in fact *źes bya cher* seem to reflect a reading like *ity ati'* rather than *'tivyaava'*). Note that the commentary by Śrībhānu suggests a reading starting with *rahasye tu (rahasye tv ity anyabodhisa[2r₉]ttvādīdevatāpagate sthitā satī | tuśabdaḥ satyarthe [corr. satyārthe ?], fol. 2r₈₋₉)*, which however could be a secondary attempt (not necessarily of the commentator but perhaps of a previous copyist of the *mūla* text) to obtain a smoother text. One possible emendation, a kind of compromise that respects the evidence of Or.158.1, of Śrībhānu's commentary, and of the Tibetan translation (of the *mūla* text and of *Guṇabhadra's commentary) could be *rahasye tv ity atisthitā* (the word *atisthitā* is in any case quite unusual, and one would expect at least the explanation of the *upasarga ati* in the commentaries); other possibilities are, for instance, *rahasye tv ity avasthitā* or *rahasye tu vyavasthitā*. A further possibility is to keep the text as it is (*rahasye ti vyavasthitā*) and to interpret *ti* as *itī*, or to divide the text differently (*rahasyeti vyavasthitā*) and interpret *rahasyā* as an adjective. Another possibility could be to interpret *rahasye <'>ti* as *ārśa* formulation for *atirahasye*.

34 *mahāsukhaḥ* | MS^{pc} (cf. also below, 1.11b, 4.38d, 6.20d, 8.15d, 11.24b) | *mahāsukha* | MS^{ac}

35 || MS^{pc} || | MS^{ac}

36 *vajrāmṛtasamādhībhīḥ* MS | Śrībhānu's comm. suggests the reading *vajrāmṛtasamādhīnā* (*kim āhety āha — vajrāmṛtasamādhīnetyādi* | [...] **vajrāmṛtasamādhīnā** kartṛbhūtena he-
tubhūtena vā yad **rahasyaṃ tattvaṃ tat prakāṭikṛtam** |, fol. 3r_{2,4})

37 || MS^{pc} || | MS^{ac}

ratikrīdāsamāyogair gī(O)tavādyāvīkurvaṇaiḥ³⁸ |
 sidhyate acirād evaṃ³⁹ tantraṃ vajrāmṛtam paraṃ |
 amṛtaṃ śukram ity uktam tatprasūtaṃ⁴⁰ jagattrayaṃ⁴¹ || (6)
 tasyāhaṃ sādhanam⁴² [1v₅] vakṣye tvatprijārthaṃ⁴³ varānane |⁴⁴
 kathayāmi samāseṇa tat me nigaditaṃ śṛ(O)ṇu⁴⁵ <|> (7)
 sarvasatvāhitārthāya yogayogāmṛtaṃ⁴⁶ varaṃ⁴⁷ |
 yaṃ jñātvā mucyate kṣipraṃ yogī saṃsārabandhanāt <|> (8)
 aprakāśyaṃ mahājñānaṃ siddhi[1v₆]trailokyasādhanam⁴⁸ |
 kāyavākittasiddhyarthaṃ⁴⁹ sādhanānāṃ sukhāvahaṃ <|> (9)
 vajrapadma(O)samāyogair vajrāmṛtasamudbhavaṃ |
 cumbayed bhagapadmaṃ tu vajraṃ cumbayet māmakī || (10)
 ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |
 tadā⁵⁰ tu[fols 2–5 missing] [...]
 [...]

38 Read °vādyā° ?

39 The commentary by Śrībhānu suggests a reading *sevyate acirād devi*: [...] **sevyate** | *ebhiḥ kāraṇaiḥ niṣpa[3v₃]dyate* | *pratibhāśagocarō bhaved ity arthaḥ* | **acirād** *iti cumbanādyanantaram* | **devīti sambodhane** | *kiṃ sevyata ity āha* — **tantram** *ityādi* | (fol. 3v₂₋₃). Although the reading *evaṃ* is confirmed by the Tibetan translation (*de ltar*), the locution *acirād eva* (sometimes in connection with the verb *sidhyati*) is frequent in Sanskrit literature. One could conjecture that the original reading *acirād eva* was subsequently misinterpreted as *acirā deva* (*acirā* and *acirād* are possible alternatives in this register of the Sanskrit language) and then as *acirā(d) devi/devī*, which is found in Śrībhānu's *pratikas*.

40 *tatprasūtaṃ* em. (cf. above, introduction p. 413) | *tatprasūta*° MS

41 *jagattrayaṃ* em. (cf. above, introduction p. 413) | *jagattrayaṃ* MS (note, however, that this reading is attested in primary sources, although rarely [cf. e.g. *ad Śāradātilakatantra* 17.118, ed. p. 703], and could perhaps be retained)

42 *sādhanam* em.] *sādhanam ato* MS

43 *tvatprijārthaṃ* em. (see next note)] *tvatprijārthe* MS

44 Cf. the parallels in *Svacchandatantra* 5.2ab (ed. vol. 3, p. 2): *samāsāt kathayīṣyāmi tvatprijārthaṃ varānane*, in the *Niśvāsakārikā* (transcript, pp. 361, 366, 582): *tad ahaṃ saṃpravakṣyāmi tvatprijārthaṃ varānane*, and in *Viṇāśikhatantra* 339ab (ed. p. 83): *eṣa ekākṣaraḥ proktaḥ tvatprijārthaṃ varānane*.

45 *śṛṇu* MS^{pc}] *śṛṇuḥ* MS^{ac}

46 *yogayogāmṛtaṃ* MS and Śrībhānu's comm. (**yogeti devatāyogaḥ** | *tasmīn api yogo bhāvanā tadarthaṃ amṛ[4r₂]tam sāram* |, fol. 4r₁₋₂)] **yogavajrāmṛtaṃ* T (*šbyor ba'i rdo rje bdud rtsi*)]

47 *varaṃ* MS] *paraṃ* is the reading supported by Śrībhānu's comm.

48 *siddhi*° MS] *siddhaṃ* is the reading supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (**siddham** *iti prakṛtisiddham*, fol. 4r₃)

49 °*arthaṃ* em.] °*artha*° MS

50 *tadā* MS] *tatas* Śrībhānu's comm.

[Chapter 2 – *Tattvayogajñānanirdeśa*]

[...]

[Chapter 3 – *Manotropattinirdeśa*]

[...]

[[svāhākāras tu māmakyāḥ sarvasiddhipradāyikaḥ | (20ab)]]⁵¹

[...]

[Chapter 4 – *Homavidhinirdeśa*]

[...]

[[⁵²tatas tu vilikhen mantri⁵³ homakuṇḍaṃ⁵⁴ pramāṇataḥ |
 śāntikaṃ vartulaṃ kāryaṃ hastamātraṃ tu sūtrayet || 13 ||
 ardhaḥastaṃ khaṇed bhūmau śvetaraṅgaṃ tu dāpayet |
 pārśvayos tu samālikhya cakrākāraṃ samantataḥ || 14 ||
 pauṣṭikaṃ tu dvihastakaṃ ekahastaṃ tataḥ khaṇet |
 caturasraṃ samaṃtena lekhyāṃ ca pītagairikaiḥ⁵⁵ || 15 ||
 abhicārukaṃ⁵⁶ trikoṇaṃ tu viṃśatyāṅgulavistaram |
 khaṇitvā viṃśatyardhaṃ ca jvālāmālākulaṃ likhet || 16 ||
 ardhaçandraṃ samālekhyāṃ vaśyākaraṇayos tathā |
 homakuṇḍaṃ samuddiṣṭaṃ diśābhāgaṃ⁵⁷ vinirdiṣet || 17 ||
 uttarābhimukho bhūtvā mantri śāntikaṃ ārabhet |
 pauṣṭikaṃ tu sadā pūrve abhicāraṃ tu dakṣi]] [6r₁]ḥe | (18)

51 On this line see above, note 8 and Ōmi 2013, 150–149 [17–18].

52 Stanzas 13–21, 23–24 are quoted with some different readings in *Sādhanamālā* 180, pp. 368–370, introd. with the word *apare*. The same quote continues with the following stanzas, as if they belonged to the same source: *na hi homakarmaṇaḥ saṅkhyāṃ ye caiva vadanti ca | ta ācāryā mahāśāntā buddhaśāsanasaṃmatāḥ || rāgacetasaḥ tv anye ca dveṣiṇaḥ paradūṣakāḥ | garvitā mohayuktās te varjitā buddhaśāsanāḥ ||*

53 *mantri* em. based on T (*sṅags pas*)] *mantraṃ Sādhanamālā*

54 °*kuṇḍaṃ* em.] °*kuṇḍa*° MS

55 °*gairikaiḥ* em. on the basis of Śrībhānu’s comm.] °*gaurikaiḥ Sādhanamālā*

56 *abhicārukaṃ* em. on the basis of Śrībhānu’s comm.] *abhicārukaṃ Sādhanamālā*

57 *diśābhāgaṃ* em. on the basis of Śrībhānu’s comm. (*karmārthaṃ digvibhāgaṃ nirdeṣṭum āha – di*[19v₄]*śābhāgam ityādi | diśābhāgaḥ suprasiddhaḥ ||, fol. 19v₃₋₄)] diśo bhāgaṃ Sādhanamālā*

paścime vaśyam evoktaṃ ākarṣaṇoccātanān tathā⁵⁸ |
 ābhicārukaṃ sadā⁵⁹ (O) kṣṣṇaṃ pañcaramgeṇa⁶⁰ vaśyayoḥ | (19)
 tilataṇḍulakṣīreṇa⁶¹ ghṛtena madhunā saha |
 pañcāmṛtanīyuktena⁶² śāntike pauṣṭike⁶³ juhet⁶⁴ | (20)
 samidhāni [6r₂] ca sarvāṇi kṣīravṛkṣasugandhayoḥ |
 bhakṣyaṇ nānāvīdhaṃ⁶⁵ dadyāt baliṃ vā sarva(O)bhautikaṃ⁶⁶ | (21)
 dātavyaṃ herukāmudrāir baliṃ yat kiñcit sādhakaiḥ |
 sidhyate⁶⁷ yogino nityaṃ yat kiñcit mana-īpsitaṃ⁶⁸ | (22)
 śāntikaṃ śaratkāle tu⁶⁹ [6r₃] hemante pauṣṭikan tathā |
 grīṣme <'>bhicārukarmāṇi⁷⁰ kuryāt sarvāṇi sādhakāḥ⁷¹ | (O) (23)
 pradoṣe śāntikaṃ proktaṃ pratyūṣe pauṣṭikan tathā |
 madhyāhne arddharātre vā prakuryād abhicārukaṃ {sadā}⁷² | (24)
 hūmkāreṇa tu niṣpādyā kuṇḍama[6r₄]dhye svadevatāṃ <|>
 vaktraṃ prasāritaṃ⁷³ dhyātvā āhutiṃ tatra dāpayet | (25)
 lakṣyaṃ⁷⁴ tu ā(O)hutiṃ dadyāt pratyakṣam agrataṃ⁷⁵ bhavet |
 prathāmam āvāhayed agniṃ⁷⁶ sarvadevatapūjitaṃ |

58 *paścime vaśyam evoktaṃ ākarṣaṇoccātanān tathā* MS T] *paścime tu sadā proktaṃ ākarṣoccātanādīkam Sādhanamālā*

59 *sadā Sādhanamālā* T] *tadā* MS

60 °ramgeṇa em.] °ramgena MS *Sādhanamālā*

61 °taṇḍulakṣīreṇa *Sādhanamālā*] °taṇḍulākṣīreṇa MS

62 *pañcāmṛtanīyuktena* MS] *pañcāmṛtena yuktena Sādhanamālā*

63 *śāntike pauṣṭike* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (*etāni samidhāni śāntike pauṣṭike juhuyāt*, fol. 19v₉)] *śāntikaṃ pauṣṭikaṃ MS Sādhanamālā*

64 *juhet* MS T] *matam Sādhanamālā*

65 *bhakṣyaṇ nānāvīdhaṃ* MS] *bhakṣyaṃ nānāvīdhiṃ Sādhanamālā*; *bhakṣair nānāvīdhair Śrībhānu's* comm.

66 *sarvabhautikaṃ* MS Śrībhānu's comm.] *sārvabhautikaṃ Sādhanamālā*

67 *sidhyate* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (*tena kiṃ bhavatiṭy āha — sidhyata ityādi | evaṃ kṛte yogino manasepsitaṃ sidhyate sampadyate* ||, fol. 20r₅)] *sidhyante* MS

68 *mana-īpsitaṃ* MS] *manasepsitaṃ* Śrībhānu's comm. (perhaps better)

69 The letters *tkāle t* are partly damaged (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *śaratkāle 'śvinakārttikau*, fol. 26r₆).

70 'bhicāru° MS] 'bhicāra° *Sādhanamālā*

71 *sādhakāḥ Sādhanamālā*] *sādhakaiḥ* MS

72 *abhicārukaṃ sadā* MS (*contra metrum*, but *sadā* is represented in T)] *abhicārakam Sādhanamālā*

73 *prasāritaṃ* em.] *praśāritaṃ* MS

74 *lakṣyaṃ* MS] *lakṣaṃ* Śrībhānu's comm. (equally possible)

75 *agratam* (T: *mdun du*) sic for *agrato* ?

76 *agniṃ* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm.] *agni* MS

divyamālākulaṃ raudraṃ buddhabodhiprasādhakaṃ | (26)

oṃ⁷⁷ [6r₅]

ehy⁷⁸ ehi tvayāvaśyāgnau pratyakṣaṃ siddhidāyakaṃ |

trailokyapūjitaṃ raudraṃ bra(O)hmāviṣṇunamaskṛtaṃ |

gṛhītvā tv⁷⁹ idam arghaṅ ca pādyaṃ {ca} dravyaṃ⁸⁰ savajriṇaṃ | (27)

oṃ hūṃ hūṃ phaṭ phaṭ svāhā ||

arghan tu prathamam dadyāt paścā[6r₆]t puṣpan nivedayet || (28)

oṃ

divyapuṣpaṃ suraktaṅ ca {} divyagandhasuśobhanaṃ |

pra(O)ticcha adya me puṣpa asmin saṃnihito bhava⁸¹ |

puṣpamantraḥ || (29)

oṃ

dīpanaṃ jvalanaṃ⁸² dīptaṃ durgatīnāṃ bhayāpahaṃ |

divyacakṣukarāṃ⁸³ dhanyāṃ [6v₁] dīpam asmai praticchati |

dīpamantraḥ || (30)

oṃ

candanaṅ ca sakarpūraṃ dīpasaugandhikaṃ⁸⁴ (O) śubhaṃ |

sāṃnidhyakaraṇaṃ⁸⁵ dhūpaṃ⁸⁶ asmai praticchatu | sannihito bhava⁸⁷ |

dhūpamantraḥ || (31)

oṃ

nānādivyasugandhaṅ ca nānākarpūra{vi}bhūṣitaṃ |

nā[6v₂]nāhūmkārasambhūtaṃ idam gandhaṃ⁸⁸ praticchati || (32)

ādau pūjāvīdhānan tu agnīkṛta(O)suniścayaṃ |

paścād uccārayed vidyāṃ jāpya mantrasvadevatāṃ | (33)

geyanṛtyopahāreṇa kriḍayantam anekadhā |

gaṇaṃ⁸⁹ santoṣayet pūjā vi[6v₃]dyāṃ⁹⁰ sādhakam eva ca | (34)

77 oṃ conj. supported by T and Śrībhānu's comm.] damaged in MS

78 ehy damaged in MS

79 tv em.] tu MS

80 dravyaṃ] *savyaṃ T (g.yon)

81 saṃnihito bhava em.] sa vihito bhava MS

82 jvalanaṃ em.] jvālanaṃ MS

83 divya° em.] divyaṃ MS

84 °saugandhikaṃ em.] °saugandhika° MS (contra metrum)

85 sāṃnidhya° em.] sānidhya° MS

86 dhūpaṃ MS^{pc}] bhūpaṃ MS^{ac}

87 bhava em.] bhavaḥ MS

88 gandhaṃ em.] gandha MS

89 gaṇaṃ em.] gaṇa MS

90 vidyāṃ em.] vidyā MS

yadicchet siddhim ātmānaṃ kāyavākittasādhanam |⁹¹
 pūjya vi(O)sarjaye devaṃ agniṃ vajradharaṃ gurum | (35)
 oṃ
 agnaye⁹² sādhitam karmaṃ sarvasatvasukhāvahaṃ |
 kāyavākittasiddhyartham⁹³ devatānāṃ tu pālanam | (36)
 ga[6v₄]ccha⁹⁴ āgneya {su}saumyena śantiṃ kuru mahādhara⁹⁵ |
 sādhakānān tu sarveṣāṃ sthā(O)varāṇāñ ca jaṅgamaṃ |
 mama puṇyaphalam bhotu mantrasiddhiprado bhavet || (37)
 a ā | i ī | u ū ṛ ṝ | e ai o au | aṃ aḥ | hūṃ [6v₅] haḥ svāhā ||
 ity āha bhagavān⁹⁶ vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ | (38)
 sarvatathāga(O)takāyavākittavajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ ||
 vajrāmṛtamahātantre homavidhinirdeśo nāma caturthaḥ || o ||

[Chapter 5 – *Karmaprasaranirdeśa*]

uktaṃ homa[6v₆]vidhānañ⁹⁷ ca aṃjanaṃ kathayāmi⁹⁸ te |
 mahāmedena varttañ⁹⁹ ca kapāle ḡrhna (O) kajjalaṃ |<|> (1)
 ulūkasya śīraṃ¹⁰⁰ dagdhvā¹⁰¹ mahāraktena bhāvayet |
 niśāyān tu supīṣṭitvā¹⁰² sūkṣmacūrṇāni kārayet |<|> (2)
 ḡrdhrapādān¹⁰³ atipūrya [fol. 7 missing] [...]

91 The same line occurs below: 6.14ab.

92 *agnaye* Śrībhānu's comm. (*sarvakarmasā*[21r₆]mānyavisarjanamantram āha — **oṃ agnaye sādhitam karma sarvasattvasukhāvaham ityādi** |, fol. 21r₅₋₆)] *agneya* MS

93 °*siddhya*° em.] °*sidhya*° MS^{pc}; °*sādhya*° MS^{ac}

94 The *akṣara ga* is damaged.

95 *mahādhara* em.] *mahādhara* MS

96 *bhagavān* em. (see also below, chapters 6, 8, 10–11)] *bhagavan* MS

97 *homa*° supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (*adhunā karmaprasaram upakṣipann āha — uktaṃ homavidhānam ityādi*, fol. 28r₇)] unclear (damaged) in the MS

98 *kathayāmi* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (***te tava kathayāmi***, fol. 28r₇)] *kathayīṣyāmi* MS (*contra metrum*)

99 Sic for *varttiṃ* ?

100 Sic for *śiro* (*śīraḥ*) ? See below, next note.

101 *dagdhvā* em. supported by T (*bsregs nas*) and Śrībhānu's comm. (*ata ulūkaśiro mastakaṃ dagdhvā mahāraktena bhāvayitvā* [...], fol. 21r₉)] *dagdhā* MS

102 *supīṣṭitvā* em. supported by T (*btags nas*)] *supirhitvā* MS

103 *ḡrdhrapādān* em. supported by T (*bya ṛgod rje nar*) and Śrībhānu's comm.] *gradhrapādran* MS

[Chapter 6 – *Vajrahūmkārasādhananirdeśa*]

[...]

<catu> [8r₁]rbāhuṃ samālekhyam dvayor¹⁰⁴ bāhoḥ¹⁰⁵ kucagraham |
vidyās tu¹⁰⁶ trimukhā sarve dvāra(O)pālās¹⁰⁷ tathāṃkuṣaḥ <|> (6)
puṣpadhūpaṃ tathā dīpaṃ gandhañ cāpi¹⁰⁸ samālikhet |
lāśyā mālyam tathā gītaṃ nṛtyam caiva tu ṣaḍbhujam <|> (7)
vaṃśe¹⁰⁹ caiva [8r₂] samālekhyam sarvavīṇā makundayoḥ |
murāja vādyam tathā sarve samālekhyam (O) tu maṇḍale || (8)
vajrāmṛtamahātantre sthāpayed bhadrakalpikān¹¹⁰ |
dvibhujam ekavaktran tu bhadrakalpikam eva ca <|> (9)
agrataḥ¹¹¹ sādhamam likhet¹¹² [8r₃] sarvāṃkārabhūṣitaṃ |
akṣasūtram¹¹³ tathā vajram ghaṇṭāñ cāpi samālikhet (O) <|> (10)
balibalyopahāreṇa madyapānārasotsavaiḥ¹¹⁴ <|>
kṛṣṇāṣṭamyām caturdaśyām pātayec cūrṇi¹¹⁵ maṇḍale <|> (11)
caruṃ kṛtvā¹¹⁶ tu madhye tu yadicchet siddhi[8r₄]m uttamām |
sādhyed vajrahūmkāram mantram¹¹⁷ ekākṣaram vibhuṃ <|> (12)
ācārye pūjayet pa(O)ścād ātmānaṃ rājyam eva ca |
mātṛm dadyā bhaginyām¹¹⁸ tu bhāryām¹¹⁹ duhitam eva ca <|> (13)
yadicchet siddhim ātmānaṃ kāyavākittasādhanam |¹²⁰
sādha[8r₅]nīyam¹²¹ sadā mantrī trailokyoddharaṇam sadā || (14)

104 *dvayor* conj. supported by Śrībhānu's comm.] *dviṭīye* MS

105 *bāhoḥ* em.] *bāho* MS

106 *vidyās tu* corr. supported by Śrībhānu's comm.] *vidyābhis* MS

107 *dvārapālās* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm.] *dvārapālas* MS

108 *cāpi* em.] *capi* MS

109 *vaṃśe* is partly damaged and not clearly readable.

110 *bhadrakalpikān* corr. supported by Śrībhānu's comm.] *bhadram kalpitaṃ* MS

111 *agrataḥ* em.] *agrata* MS

112 *likhet* conj.] *likhy*. MS

113 *akṣasūtram* em.] *akṣasūtra* MS

114 *madyapāna*^o MS] *madyamāṃsa*^o is the reading suggested by Śrībhānu's comm.

115 *pātayec cūrṇi* (or *pātaye cūrṇi*) conj. (cf. T: *rdul tshon gdab*)] *pātaye* MS (*contra metrum*)

116 *caruṃ kṛtvā* conj. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *hūmkāreṇa paśuṃ piṣṭakamayam cchāgalam ma-*
hiṣam puruṣam vā pātayitvā [24r₂] *caruṃ kuryāt* |, fol. 24r₁₋₂)] *carutvā* MS

117 *mantram* em. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *mantram ekākṣaram iti hūmkāram japet*, fol. 24r₂)]
mantra MS

118 *bhaginyām* MS^{pc}] *bhaginyā* MS^{ac}

119 *bhāryām* em.] *bhāryā* MS

120 The same line occurs above: 4.35ab.

121 *°nīyam* MS^{pc}] *°nīya* MS^{ac}

maṇḍalaṃ vajrasatvasya vajrāmṛta(O)vinirgataṃ |
 pañcāmṛtasamāyuktaṃ sarvadurgatināśanaṃ <|> (15)
 vajrācchaṭasamāyogaiḥ¹²² śrīvajrahūmkārasādhanam |
 kathitaṃ yogayo[8r₆]gināṃ¹²³ bodhicittavikurvaṇaṃ <|> (16)
 kurvita maṇḍale kriḍāṃ¹²⁴ vidyāyā¹²⁵ cāpy aneka(O)dhā |
 bhagamadhye {tu} samāsvādya vīro yo mantrasamsthitaḥ¹²⁶ <|> (17)
 vaktreṇa cumbayet padmam amṛtaṃ śukram eva ca |
 na tatra-m-uddharet sthāne ka[8v₁]rasyāṅgulinaiva ca¹²⁷ <|> (18)
 uddharitvā vinaśye tu na vīryan na ca vai phalaṃ |
 uddhari(O)tvā mahāvidyā¹²⁸ cumbayitvā tu vajriṇaṃ <|> (19)
 sidhyate tasya buddhatvam¹²⁹ amṛtaṃ śukrarūpiṇaṃ ||
 ity āha bhagavān vajri vajrāmṛtamahāsu[8v₂]khaḥ || (20)
 sarvatathāgatakāyavākittavajri vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ | vajrāmṛ(O)tamahātantre
 vajrahūmkārasādhanaṇirdeśo nāma ṣaṣṭhaḥ || ||

[Chapter 7 – *Geyanṛtyābhiṣekatattvābodhanirdeśa*]

tatas tu māmakī devī ratikriḍāvvyavasthitā |
 kṛtāṃjalina[8v₃]maskārair idam gītam udāharet <|> (1)
 asitābjavapur vīraṃ vīrair anyaiḥ¹³⁰ pari(O)vṛtaṃ |
 mudrāgaṇasamāyuktaṃ vajrāmṛta namāmy aham¹³¹ <|> (2)
 śaradgagaṇasamprāptaṃ¹³² kokilābhṛṅganāditam <|>

122 °samāyogaiḥ em.] °sāmāyogaiḥ MS

123 °yogināṃ em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm.] °yoginyāṃ MS (sic for °yogināṃ ? cf. T: *mal 'byor pa dan' mal 'byor ma'i || byañ sems nam par sprul par gsuñs ||*, D 231₅₋₆)

124 kriḍāṃ em.] kriḍā MS

125 vidyāyā em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (**kriḍāṃ** iti suratakrīḍāṃ | vidyā prāg uktā caṇḍālādikanyā devatīrūpā tayā sahānekadhā nānāvidhāṃ suratakrīḍāṃ sampādayet sādhyed iti bhāvah ||, fol. 24v₁)] vidyāyā MS

126 vīro yo mantrasamsthitaḥ conj. (cf. T: *gañ dag dpa' bo śhags la gnas ||*, and Śrībhānu's comm.: **vīro** hakārātmakavajrāmṛtaṃ tatsthānavaktreṇa jihvayā sparśarāgāsvādanādikaṃ kṛtvā [...], fol. 24v₂)] vīrāveyai mantrasamsthitā MS

127 karasyāṅgulinaiva ca conj.] karābhyāṃ aṅgulim eva ca MS (contra metrum)

128 Note that according to Śrībhānu this compound has to be interpreted as a vocative: **mahāvidyēti sambodhane** | (fol. 24v₄).

129 buddhatvam em.] buddhatvaṃ MS

130 vīrair anyair conj.] vīramanyair MS

131 namāmy aham conj. (see below stt. 3–4, 6)] namāmye MS

132 śarad° em.] śaraṃ MS; cf. T: *ston gyi nam mkha' dan' dra ba*

subhagaṃ suratārūḍhaṃ¹³³ vajrāmṛ[8v₄]ta namāmy ahaṃ || (3)
 †sarvaṃ sarvā anārūpaṃ† sarvajñaṃ sarvasauhṛdaṃ |
 samyagindriya(O)mārgeṇa vajrāmṛta namāmy ahaṃ || (4)
 traidhātuka-m-aśeṣasya vajrāmṛtam anopamaṃ¹³⁴ |
 caturviṃśanmahāvidyā¹³⁵ atirāgeṇa rāgayet <||> [8v₅] (5)
 samapulakitāṃgo¹³⁶ hi {sarvabuddhakṛtālayet |
 sarvasiddhikaraḥ śrīmān}¹³⁷ (O) vajrāmṛta namāmy ahaṃ <|> (6)
*dala nīluppara*¹³⁸ *sāman* †*traā*† *tuhum* *tathāgatu vajju*¹³⁹ <|>
*mahuṃ*¹⁴⁰ *aṇurāi* *suratasuha*¹⁴¹ *jjeṃ*¹⁴² *tihuāṇe*¹⁴³ *sāhasi* [8v₆] *kajju* || (7)¹⁴⁴
*sunṇa nirañjana paramapadi*¹⁴⁵ *tuhum akkharu vajja aṇāi* <|>
jjo †*pacche* (O) *etti*† *sacarācara*¹⁴⁶ †*gaeti*† *tuhum kau samsāra hojāi* || (8)¹⁴⁷
 anena gīyamānena vajranṛtyavikurvaṇaiḥ |
 bhārati sāndhaki¹⁴⁸ caiva lu¹⁴⁹ [fol. 9 missing] [...] (9)
 [...]

[¹⁵⁰tiṣṭhate nīscalaṃ vidyā amṛtaṃ dhyānam ārabhet |
 dhyāyate paramaṃ tattvam amṛtaṃ bindurūpiṇam || (13)
 khamadhye śāsisamkāśaṃ śūnyatattvam udāhṛtam |

133 *suratārūḍhaṃ* em.] *suratārūṭaṃ* MS

134 *anopamaṃ* em. based on T (*dpe med*) and Śrībhānu's comm. (cf. BHSD p. 37)] *anomayaṃ* MS

135 °*viṃśan*^o em.] °*viṃśat*^o MS

136 °*pulakitāṃgo* em.] °*pulukitāṃge* MS

137 The two *pādas* 6bc are not translated into Tibetan and are not commented on by Śrībhānu.

138 The syllable *da* is *post correctionem*; the *ante correctionem* reading is unclear.

139 *vajju* em.] *vajja* MS

140 *mahuṃ* em.] *muhum* MS

141 °*suha* em.] °*subha* MS

142 *jjeṃ* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm. (**jem** *iti yena mamānurāgeṇa hetunā*, fol. 25v₂)] *jjo* MS

143 *tihuāṇe* MS^{pc}] *tuhuāṇe* MS^{ac}

144 Chāyā: *dalaṃ nilotpalasya śyāmaḥ* [...] *tvam tathāgato vajrī* | *mām anurāgaya suratasukha yena tribhuvane sādhasya karyam* ||

145 °*padi* em.] °*pati* MS

146 *sacarācara* em.] *sacarāera* MS

147 Chāyā: *śūnyaṃ nirañjanaṃ paramapadaṃ tvam akṣaraṃ vajram anādi* | *yaḥ sacārācaraḥ* [...] *tvam kathaṃ samsāre jāyate* ||

148 The letter *k* is not perfectly readable.

149 The syllable *lu* is hardly readable.

150 Stanzas 13 to 15 are quoted by Ratnākaraśānti in the *Guṇavati*, ed. p. 18 (*ad Mahāmāyātantra* 1.21). Cf. also Ōmi 2013: 140 [27] and above, introduction, p. 413.

akṣayam avyayaṃ sūkṣmaṃ vajrasattvam anāhatam || (14)
 nābhimadhye sthito devaḥ karṇikāgūḍhagocare |
 sravate śukrarūpeṇa bhagalingāntare sthitaḥ || (15)||
 [...]

[Chapter 8 – *Śriherukotpattinirdeśa*]

[...] [10r₁]vṛtaṃ <|> (4)
 mahāśmaśānanilayaṃ mantrapheṭkāranāditaṃ¹⁵¹ |
 bhūtavetāḍasaṃ(O)ghaiś ca kriḍamānaṃ śmaśānakaiḥ <|> (5)
 tatas tu sendrakān devān brahmāviṣṇumahēśvarān |
 bhakṣamānaṃ¹⁵² mahāvajrī śriherukārū[10r₂]pam udvahet <|> (6)
 sotkaṭā prathamā vidyā vikāṭā caṇḍāli ḍombikā | (O)
 piṅgalā kulinī ugrā dāruṇī cāṣṭamī smṛtā¹⁵³ <|> (7)
 japyamānam idaṃ mantraṃ nṛtyamānā tu gāpayet |
 daṃṣṭrotkaṭamahābhī[10r₃]maṃ¹⁵⁴ antraśragdāmabhūṣitaṃ <|> (8)
 bhakṣamānaṃ mahāmānsaṃ śriheruka namāmy¹⁵⁵ a(O)haṃ¹⁵⁶ |
 jāpyamantraṃ¹⁵⁷ pravakṣyāmi sādhakānāṃ hitāya vai <|> (9)
 ṛṭiyā ca ṛṭiyān tu saptamī ca caturthake |
 saptamā ca ṛṭiyān tu [10r₄] dvau¹⁵⁸ dvaupada niyojayet <|> (10)
 sakalaṃ tatvasaṃyuktaṃ phaṭkāreṇa vibhūṣi(O)taṃ |
 ṣaṣṭhā¹⁵⁹ caturthakoddhṛtya saptamādyena āsanam <|> (11)
 trayodaśasamākrāntam {antra} svāhāntaṃ mantraṃ uddharet |
 ādau vairoca[10r₅]naṃ dadyāt mūlamantraṃ tu heruke <|> (12)
 asyaiva mantrarājasya mähātmyaṃ śṛ(O)ṇu māmaki |
 sakṛjjaptaṇa mantreṇa trailokyan nāśayet kṣaṇāt <|> (13)
 traidhātukam aśeṣaṇ tu bhakṣayed aviśaṅkitaḥ |
 sarvakā[10r₆]maṃdadā hy eṣā śriherukasamo bhavet || (14)
 ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrā(O)mṛtamahāsukhaḥ | (15)

151 °nāditaṃ MS (cf. *Kālikākulapañcaśatikā* 1.5d)] em. °nādinam ?

152 bhakṣamānaṃ em.] bhakṣāmānaṃ MS

153 smṛtā em.] smṛtāḥ MS

154 daṃṣṭro° em.] daṃṣṭro° MS

155 namāmy MS^{pc}] ramāmy MS^{ac}

156 Verses 8cd–9ab are quoted in *Sādhanamālā* 239 (*Mahāmāyāsādhana*), ed. vol. 2, p. 462.

157 jāpya° MS] jāpa° is the reading supported by Śrībhānu's comm.

158 dvau em.] dvo MS

159 ṣaṣṭhā em.] ṣaṣṭhyā MS

sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittavajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ | vajrāmṛtamahātantre
śrīherukotpatti[10v₁]nirdeśo nāmāṣṭamaḥ || o ||

[Chapter 9 – *Śrī-amṛtakuṇḍali-utpattinirdeśa*]

athātaḥ sampravakṣyāmi rūpam amṛtaku(O)ṇḍalī¹⁶⁰ |
trimukhaṃ ṣaḍbhujam raudraṃ kṛṣṇabhinnāñjanaprabham <|> (1)
jvālāmālākulaṃ caṇḍam piṅgālākṣim piṅgaloj<j>valam <|>
mahāvighnasamā[10v₂]krāntam paraśūdyatapāṇinam¹⁶¹ <|> (2)
muṣalam vajrapāśaṃ ca vāmahastena da(O)rjini¹⁶² |
tarjayaṃ sarvaduṣṭānām pāṇau khaḍgan tu bhāvayet <|> (3)
vidyāṣṭakasamāyuktam dvārapālasamanvitam |
bhāvayed guhyapadmaṃ [10v₃] tu vidyā¹⁶³ cāṣṭau dale nyaset <|> (4)
amṛtā āmṛtavajrā ca amṛtā ā(O)mṛtalocanā |
āprameyā ca surūpā ca vāruṇā sukhasādhanī <|> (5)
trimukhā ṣaḍbhujā sarve diśāsu vidīśāsu ca |
paṃkajo[10v₄]dyatapāṇinā
nṛtyamānā ca te devyo viśvarūpadharapradāḥ¹⁶⁴ <|> (6)
hasante (O) kilīkilāyante mantrarājam anusmaret¹⁶⁵ |
punar vairocanaṃ dadyāt tat padaṃ paripūrayet <|> (7)
prathamā tu dvitīyam tu śūnyam ā[10v₅]śanasamūyutam |
śūnyam śūnyam¹⁶⁶ samākṛantam¹⁶⁷ mantraṃ¹⁶⁸ svāhāntayojitam <|> (8)
atyanta(O)suratāyogaiḥ amṛtā āmṛtam utthitam |

160 According to Śrībhānu’s commentary, this line runs more smoothly as follows: *athānyam sampravakṣyāmi rūpam amṛtakuṇḍaleḥ* (cf. fol. 30v₃). The form *amṛtakuṇḍaleḥ* for *amṛtakuṇḍalināḥ* is attested in for instance Abhayākaragupta’s *Vajrāvalī* (Kalaśādhivāsanaṅgī). For the reading *athānyam*, cf. also st. 10.1a.

161 *paraśū*^o em. supp. by T and by Śrībhānu’s comm. (*dakṣiṇe paraśukhaḍgavajram | vāme tarjjanikāmuṣalapāśam ca |*, fol. 30v₆)] *paraśū*^o MS (usually *paraśa*, ‘arrow’, is not part of Amṛtakuṇḍalin’s iconography, cf. Lokesh Chandra 2000, 325–328)

162 *darjini* sic for *tarjani*

163 *vidyā* sic for *vidyāś* ?

164 *°pradāḥ* em.] *°pradā* MS

165 *anusmaret* MS] read *samuddharet* ? Cf. T: *dbyuñ bar bya*

166 *śūnyam śūnyam* is also the reading supported by the commentarial literature (cf. Śrībhānu’s *ṭīkā*, fol. 31r; Vimalabhadra’s comm. D, fol. 15r₂₋₃; *Guṇabhadra’s comm. D, fol. 50v₁₋₂). In the canonical translation we read *steñ pas steñ nas* (D) / *ston pas steñ nas* (P), which could reflect a reading like *śūnyopari*. However, it is likely that *steñ* (*ston* in P) is a transmissional error for *stoñ*.

167 *samākṛantam* em.] *ākṛantam* MS

168 *mantram* em.] *mantra* MS

aṣṭavidyāsamāyuktaṃ kapālai[11r₅]r upaśobhitam | (7)
 asravā tu kapālāni sarvāḥ¹⁸⁴ khaṭvāṅgadhāriṇyaḥ¹⁸⁵ |
 trimukhā (O) raudrarūpās tu ṣaḍbhujāḥ¹⁸⁶ khaḍgapāṇayaḥ | (8)
 bāhyato maṇḍalasyāsya dvārapālān prakalpayet |
 gokarṇṇo¹⁸⁷ hastikarṇṇaś ca sumukhyo [11r₆] durmukhas tathā | (9)
 pāśāṃkuśadharā raudrā vikaṭotkaṭabhīṣaṇāḥ |
 dvibhujā (O) ekavaktrās tu puṣpapūjā samālikhet | (10)
 vidyā sā tu vicitrāṇi maṇḍalapūja samālikhet |
 tatas tu sādhamo viro¹⁸⁸ herukarū[11v₁]pam udvahet | (11)
 mahāśaṃkhair alaṃkṛtya kapālamālaśekharam |
 ḍamārukam vāha(O)yet tatra nṛtyamānaḥ¹⁸⁹ puraṃ viśet | (12)
 mantraiḥ †samudvahehas† tu phaṭkāraṃ¹⁹⁰ tatra jāpayet¹⁹¹ |
 pūjayet maṇḍalam divyaṃ¹⁹² mahāraktena prokṣayet¹⁹³ | [11v₂] (13)
 śrīherukamahāmantram japamānas tu sādhamo |
 krodhāviṣṭan tu garjantaṃ¹⁹⁴ ve(O)tāḍo¹⁹⁵ rāvam uccaret¹⁹⁶ | (14)
 {tasya} na bhetaṇyaṃ tadā mantrī śrīherukam anusmaret <>
 utthitatas tu vetālaḥ¹⁹⁷ sādhamo idam abravīt | (15)
 kiṃ karmaṃ [11v₃] tu mahāvira dehi {me} ājñāñ ca vajriṇaḥ |
 khaḍgam añjana pātālaṃ kheca(O)ratvaṃ jigīṣiṇaṃ¹⁹⁸ | (16)¹⁹⁹
 yad icchet sādhamo yāpi tat karmañ ca prasādhayet |
 tatas tu sādhamo brūyāt yasya yat manasepsitaṃ²⁰⁰ | (17)

184 *sarvāḥ* em.] *sarve* MS

185 °*dhāriṇyaḥ* em.] °*dhāriṇā* MS

186 *ṣaḍbhujāḥ* em.] *ṣaḍbhujā* MS

187 *gokarṇṇo* em.] *gokarṇṇam* MS

188 *viro* em.] *vira* MS

189 *nṛtyamānaḥ* em.] *nṛtyamāno* MS

190 Read *phaṭkāraṃ* ? Cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *praviśya tatra caturdikṣu phaṭkāraṃ dadyāt*, fol. 32v₁.

191 *jāpayet* (or *dāpayet*) em. (Isaacson)] *tāpayet* MS

192 *divyaṃ* em.] *divya* MS

193 The letter *t* is partly broken.

194 Read *garjanto* ?

195 *vetāḍo* em.] *vetāḍa* MS

196 *uccaret* em. supported by T (*sgrogs byed*) and Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* (*japamāneti sarṣapais tāḍyamāno vetālo rāvam uccaret*, fol. 32v₁)] *uddharet* MS

197 *vetālaḥ* em.] *vetālam* MS

198 *jigīṣiṇaṃ* em.] *jigīṣiṇaṃ* MS (the *anusvāra* is almost unreadable and could have been rubbed out)

199 Note that *pāda* 16d occurs several times in the *Brahmayāmala* (e.g. 11.76b, 74.188b).

200 *manasepsitaṃ* em. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *tato brūyād iti sādhamena manasepsitaṃ vak-tavyam*, fol. 32v₃)] *manepsitaṃ* MS

prasādha[11v₄]yet <tat> sarvan tu mūlapadmā²⁰¹ tu māmakī |
 vetālasādhanam mukhyaṃ vajrāmṛtavini(O)rgataṃ | (18)
 kāyavākcittasiddhyartham²⁰² sādhakānām sukhāvahaṃ ||
 ity āha bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ <|> (19)
 sarvatathāgatakāyavā[11v₅]kcittavajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ <|> vajrāmṛtamahātantre
 vetālasādhanā nāma (O) nirdeśo daśamaḥ || o ||

[Chapter 11 – *Pañcāmṛtasāadhanopāyanirdeśa*]

tatas tu bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |
 vajrapadmasamāyogais tūṣṇībhūtvā vyavasthitaḥ <|> (1)
 no[11v₆]śvasen²⁰³ na ca kaṃpe na nirikṣen na ca bhāṣate |
 paraṃ²⁰⁴ samādhisam[ā]panno²⁰⁵ mā(O)makī puna pṛcchati <|> (2)
 bhagavan²⁰⁶ sūkṣmavajraṃ²⁰⁷ tu sarvasatvahr̥di sthitam²⁰⁸ |
 katham kena prakāreṇa tat tatvam upalabhyate <|> (3)
 tatas tu bhagavā[12r₁]n²⁰⁹ vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |
 hasamāna²¹⁰ idaṃ vākyam netram udghāṭya cābravī(O)t || (4)
 pūrvaṃ tu²¹¹ kathitaṃ tatvam amṛtaṃ śukrarūpiṇam |
 svādayet sadā nityam pañcāmṛtasamanvitaṃ <|> (5)
 ekaikasya tu mātmyam dravyāṇām²¹² [12r₂] śṛṇu māmakī |
 prathamam pṛāsayec chakraṃ jñānajñeyaprasādhakaṃ²¹³ <|> (6)

201 *mūlapadmā* is not clearly visible.

202 °*siddhy*° em. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *devatānām kāyavākcittasiddhyartham*, fol. 32v₄)] °*sādhy*° MS

203 *nośvasen* em.] *nośvasem* MS (the syllable *no* is partly broken)

204 *paraṃ* em. (see next note)] *paramaṃ* MS

205 Note that the hypermetrical reading °*samāpanno* is confirmed by Śrībhānu's comm.: *asādhāraṇatvāt paraḥ samādhis taṃ samāpanno* [33r₁] *viśayikṛtavān*], fols 32v₉-33r₁.

206 *bhagavan* em. supported by Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* (*bhagavann iti sambodha*[33r₂]ne, fol. 33r₁₋₂)] *bhagavān* MS

207 *sūkṣma*° em.] *sūkṣma*° MS

208 *sthitam* em.] *sthitaḥ* MS

209 *bhagavān* em.] *bhagan* MS

210 *hasamāna* em.] *hasamānam* MS

211 *pūrvaṃ tu* MS] Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* supports the reading *pūrvaṃ te* (*pūrvaṃ iti prathamānirdeśe* | *te tava mayā kathitaṃ*, fol. 33r₄)

212 *dravyāṇām* em.] *dravyāṇā* MS (the edge of the folio is broken and it is possible that the *anusvāra* was originally present above the syllable *ṇā*)

213 *jñānajñeya*° em. (see st. 10b below)] *jñānajñeyaṃ* MS ♦ *prasādhakaṃ* em.] *prāsādhakaṃ* MS (*contra metrum*)

kāyavākci(O)ttasiddhyartham²¹⁴ mahāraktam prasādhayet |
 kanyāyās²¹⁵ tu sadā gṛhyam²¹⁶ yasya tasya priyāpi vā <|> (7)
 sarvakāryakaro hy eṣa mahāraktam tu māma[12r₃]ki |
 haṭhamṛtyuvanam²¹⁷ prāpya mahāmāṃsan²¹⁸ tu āharet || (8)
 śūlam udbaddhakam vāpi (O) raṇe vā yas tu ghātitaḥ |
 bhakṣaye dṛḍhagāmbhīra²¹⁹ āyurārogyavaraddhanam <|> (9)
 kāmadaṃ saukhyadaṃ caiva buddhabodhiprasādhakam |
 vajrasattva[12r₄]m²²⁰ ivāyuṣyam sarvakāmaphalapradaṃ <|> (10)
 vajrodakam puriṣan tu ātmavidyā tu bhakṣa(O)yet |
 sūkṣmacūrṇaṃ {tu} tataḥ kṛtvā mahāraktena bhāvayet || (11)
 pratyuṣe tu sadā kāryam pradoṣe madhyāhne tathaiva ca²²¹ |
 triṣkālam bhakṣaye[12r₅]d²²² yogī pibeḍ vajrodakan tataḥ <|> (12)
 dine dine tu māmakyā sādheyed yas tu sādhaḥ | (O)
 nirvyādhi²²³ tu bhavet kāyam jarārogavināśanam <|> (13)
 saubhāgyam suvapustejo²²⁴ rājadvāre jayāvaham²²⁵ |
 sarvakāmandadā hy eṣā²²⁶ pravaraṭa[12r₆]tvan²²⁷ tu prāpyate²²⁸ <|> (14)
 sa yogī sa ca sarvajño²²⁹ vajrasatvaguṇair yutaḥ²³⁰ |
 rāgadveṣa(O)vinirmukto lobha-irṣyā ca varjitaṃ²³¹ |
 sidhyate sādhanan tasya vajrāmṛtamahāsukham <|> (15)

214 °siddhyartham em.] °sidhyartham MS

215 kanyāyās em.] kanyāyā MS

216 gṛhyam em.] gṛhya MS

217 °vanam em. supported by Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* (*haṭhena balena mṛtyuprāptānām vanam* [33r₉] *śmaśānam*, fol. 33r₈₋₉)] °dhanam MS

218 mahāmāṃsan em.] mahāmāṃsan MS

219 °gāmbhīra em.] °gāmbhīram MS

220 vajrasattvam conj. based on T (*rdo rje sems dpa'*)] vajras. .. m MS

221 The *akṣara ca* is partly broken.

222 bhakṣayed Śrībhānu's *ṭikā*] bhakṣ. .. d MS

223 Read *nirvyādhi* ?

224 °tejo em.] °tejām MS

225 Cf. Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgasanġrahaḥ*, Uttarasthānam, 40.65b.

226 °dadā hy eṣā em. (cf. st. 8.14c)] °dad. ... hy eṣām MS

227 The *akṣara va* is partly broken. Note that the hypermetrical reading *pravaratatvan* (vs *pravaratvan*) is apparently supported by T (*mchog rab de ñid thob pa yin*).

228 The *akṣara pya* is partly broken.

229 sarvajño em.] sarvajña MS

230 yutaḥ em.] yutaṃ MS

231 Read *lobha-irṣyāvivarjitaḥ* ?

idaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ tantraṃ bahvarthaṃ²³² gūḍhavikramaṃ | [12v₁]
 nikhilaṃ vajrayānasya²³³ ato²³⁴ devī vinirgataṃ <|>| (16)
 kathitaṃ tatvan tu sadbhāvaṃ ati(O)rāgeṇa rāgitaṃ |
 na mayā kasyacid ākhyātaṃ sthūlapadmaṃ tu māmakī <|>| (17)
 idaṃ rahasyaṃ²³⁵ paramaṃ ramaṃ sarvātmani {sadā}²³⁶ sthitaṃ |
 bodhi[12v₂]satvena na²³⁷ vijñātaṃ arūpyaṃ śūnyaṃ akṣaraṃ <|>| (18)
 etat tantraṃ²³⁸ mahāvidye vajracūḍā(O)maṇiḥ²³⁹ smṛtaṃ |
 guptan tu²⁴⁰ dhārayed devī pitāputrair na viśvaset <|>| (19)
 atyantagupte vīre ca gurubhakte dṛḍhavrata |
 deyaṃ²⁴¹ tasya idaṃ ta[12v₃]tvam yadicched²⁴² bodhim uttamaṃ <|>| (20)
 idaṃ vajrāmṛtaṃ tantraṃ sukhasādhyāṃ²⁴³ sudurlabhaṃ | (O)
 sādhayet subhage saumyaṃ sārājñānasamuccayaṃ <|>| (21)
 vajrāmṛtamahātantaṃ yo 'bhiṣiktaḥ²⁴⁴ tu sādhaḥ |
 buddhās ca bodhisattvās ca taṃ vai²⁴⁵ [12v₄] sarvo 'bhivandati <|>| (22)
 namaskṛtvā tu triskālam ācāryaṃ²⁴⁶ subhagottamaṃ |
 tvam eva (O) sarvasatvānāṃ saṃsāroddharaṇaṃ prabhuḥ <|>| (23)
 idam avod bhagavān vajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |
 {sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittava[12v₅]jri²⁴⁷ vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ }²⁴⁸

232 *bahvarthaṃ* em. supported by Śrībhānu's comm.] *bahvāntaṃ* MS (the reading of the *akṣaras ātta* is in any case uncertain)

233 The *akṣara va* is partly broken

234 *ato* corr. supported by Śrībhānu's comm.] *atra* MS

235 *rahasyaṃ* em. (*bhaviṣṭulā*)] *rahasya*^o MS (*naviṣṭulā*)

236 *sadā* is not rendered in T and is not commented in Śrībhānu's *ṭikā*.

237 *bodhisattvena na vijñātaṃ* MS (*contra metrum*)] *bodhisattvair avijñātaṃ* is the reading suggested by Śrībhānu's comm.

238 *etat tantraṃ* Śrībhānu] *eṣa tatva* MS; read *etat tattvaṃ* ? **atha tattvaṃ* T (*de na de nīd*)

239 *°maṇiḥ* em. (cf. Śrībhānu's comm.: *vajrās tathāgatāḥ | teṣāṃ cūḍāmaṇiḥ | ratnabhūtatvād vajracūḍāmaṇir iti smṛtaṃ* |, fol. 34r₅)] *°maṇi* MS

240 *guptan tu* MS] *suguptaṃ* Śrībhānu

241 The *akṣara yaṃ* is partly broken.

242 Cf. above, n. 30.

243 *sukhasādhyāṃ* em.] *sukhasādhyā* MS

244 *yo 'bhiṣiktaḥ* em. supported by Śrībhānu's *ṭikā* (*yo vajrāmṛtatantrābhiṣekavidhinābhiṣiktaḥ sarvācārya[34v₃]tāṃ gataḥ*, fol. 34v₃₋₄)] *yoṣiktaḥ* MS (*contra metrum*)

245 *taṃ vai* conj. (cf. T: *de la kun gyis phyag byed de*)] *t. .* MS

246 *ācāryaṃ* em.] *ācārya* MS

247 *°vajrī* em.] *°va..* MS

248 Note that in accord with the previous parallels (cf. the final rubrics of chapters 4, 6, 8–10), the commentary by Śrībhānu, and the Tibetan translation, this line should be shifted after st. 24, before the last sentence of the text.

vajrāmṛtamahātantraṃ nikṣepaṃ kathitaṃ priye (O) |
 sūkṣmarūpaṃ tato vajri bhagākāṣe²⁴⁹ vyavasthitaṃ <|>| (24)
 <sarvatathāgatakāyavākittavajrī vajrāmṛtamahāsukhaḥ |> vajrāmṛtamahātantra
 pañcāmṛtasādhanopāyo nāma nirdeśa²⁵⁰ ekādaśa[12v₆]maḥ²⁵¹ samāptaḥ²⁵² || ❖ ||

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249 *vajri bhagākāṣe* em. based on Śrībhānu’s comm. (*na kevalaṃ tantraṃ samarpitam api tu hṛdayam api samarpitam ity āha — sūkṣmam ityādi | nāḍīśuṣirāṇurūpatvā*[34v₅]t **sūkṣmam** | **vajrī** | **vajrāmṛtahrdayam** | **bhagākāṣe yad vyavasthitaṃ tad hṛdayasamsthitaṃ iti bhāvaḥ** |, fol. 34v₄₋₅)] *vajrī bhagākāre* MS

250 *nirdeśa* em.] *nirdeśaṃ* MS

251 *ekādaśamaḥ* em.] *tantraikādaśamaṃ* MS

252 *samāptaḥ* em.] *samāptam* MS

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See also sGron *ma gsal bar byed pa žes bya ba’i rgya cher bśad pa*.

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Gergely Hidas

Mahā-Daṇḍadhāraṇī-Śītavatī: A Buddhist Apotropaic Scripture

Abstract: One of the *dhāraṇī* scriptures incorporated into the Sanskrit *Pañcarakṣā* collection is commonly referred to as *Mahāśītavatī*. On the basis of several palm-leaf manuscripts this article presents a new critical edition along with the first complete Western translation and shows that this widely used name reflects a seemingly later stage in the transmission. An early title is likely to have been *Mahā-Daṇḍadhāraṇī-Śītavatī* or *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*.

1 Previous research

A description of this scripture appeared in Mitra 1882, 164–165 with a brief summary of contents based on a modern *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript. A romanised edition using five paper manuscripts was published in Iwamoto 1937, 1–9.¹ The first careful study was given in Skilling 1992, 141–142 who noticed that there is a discrepancy between the Sanskrit and Tibetan *Pañcarakṣā* collections and listed and described the *Mahāśītavatī* and the *Mahāśītavana* as two different texts. A summary following a Newari redaction was provided in Lewis 2000, 150–151, a Devanāgarī transcript based on notes of various Vajrācāryas was published in Śākya 2004, 123–126, and short sections were translated in Davidson 2014a, 15, 18, 32.

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1 Four of these are *Pañcarakṣā* mss. and the fifth one is a modern *Mahāśītavatī* ms. The earliest one, used as the main piece in the edition, dates from the 16th century. Note that beside a list of the manuscripts the edition is presented without an introduction.

2 Sources

2.1 Sanskrit

The earliest Sanskrit witness of the *Mahā-Daṇḍadhāraṇī-Śītavatī* (MDDS) comes from Central Asia as a single manuscript folio.² The other surviving textual traditions³ have been transmitted almost exclusively⁴ in *Pañcarakṣā* manuscripts of which more than three hundred survive. A few of these originate from Eastern India from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries⁵ and the majority from Nepal from the eleventh⁶ to the twentieth centuries.⁷

2.2 Tibetan

The Tibetan translation, *be con chen po zhes bya ba'i gzungs* (*Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*), by Jinamitra, Dānaśīla and Ye shes sde dates from around 800 CE. It is listed under no. 373 in the *Lhan kar ma* catalogue compiled around the same time,⁸ and it has been included in various *Kangyurs*.⁹ As Skilling 1992, 138–144 noted, the MDDS is not among the *gzungs chen po lnga la* (*Pañcamahādhāraṇī*) ‘The Five Great Dhāraṇīs’ (probably an alternative name for the *Pañcarakṣā*) in the Tibetan tradition.¹⁰ The

² Guan 2012. Described as written in ‘Upright Gupta’ script without a reference to the material, date or location. On the basis of the photographic reproductions this appears to be a paper folio possibly dating from the second half of the first millennium. This fragment preserves parts corresponding to sections [6] and [7] in the present edition.

³ It seems that a single ‘original’ text is difficult to trace.

⁴ There are a few independent mss, too. See, for example, Tsukamoto et al. 1989, 90–91.

⁵ For a detailed study of Eastern Indian *Pañcarakṣā* mss. see Kim 2010.

⁶ Note that a *Pañcarakṣā* ms. dated NS 19 (899 CE) is listed in Wright 1877, 324. Thanks to Dr Camillo Formigatti it has been clarified that this manuscript is actually the one catalogued as Add.1688 in Bendall 1883, 175 (see siglum L in this edition). Wright must have read 19 for 14 in the colophon and taken this as Nepal Samvat instead of a Pāla regnal year.

⁷ The majority of these mss. are listed in Tsukamoto et al. 1989, 62–64, the Nepalese German Manuscript Preservation Project database and Mevissen 1989, 366–372. See also Kim 2010.

⁸ See Herrmann-Pfandt 2008. The 9th-century *Phang thang ma* catalogue lists the MDDS under no. 355 (Halkias 2004, 80 and Kawagoe 2005, 20). Both catalogues include this scripture in a section titled ‘Miscellaneous dhāraṇī, long and short’ (*gzungs che phra sna tshogs*).

⁹ E.g. Peking 308=583, Derge 606=958, Narthang 568. The later Mongolian translation, titled *Qutuy-tu yeke beriy-e neretü tarni*, is listed in the Mongolian *Kangyur* under nos 313 and 599

¹⁰ See Herrmann-Pfandt 2008 and Harrison 1996. Cf. also the collections of these five texts catalogued under IOL TIB J 397 and 399 in Dalton and van Schaik 2006.

scripture incorporated in place of the MDDS in this collection is the *bsil ba'i tshal chen mo* (*Mahāśītavana*) but it has no surviving Sanskrit or Chinese equivalent.¹¹

2.3 Chinese

The Chinese translation was done in 984 CE by Fatian (Dharmadeva), an Indian monk who arrived in China in 973 and died in 1001.¹² It is catalogued under T. 1392 as *Dahan lin sheng nanna tuoluoni jing* (*Āryamahāśītavana-daṇḍadhāraṇīsūtra*).¹³

2.4 Citations, references and commentaries

The spell-section of the MDDS is included in various *dhāraṇī* collections.¹⁴ The *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājī* lists *Śītavana*, *Mahāśītavana*, *Daṇḍadhara* and *Mahā-daṇḍadhara* in a longer enumeration,¹⁵ and the first *parivarta* of the *Mañjuśrī-yamūlakalpa* refers to the *Daṇḍadhāraṇī* in an inventory of spells.¹⁶ As for exegetical works, a commentary on the MDDS survives in Tibetan attributed to Karmavajra (Las kyi rdo rje) from the early 11th century.¹⁷

11 E.g. Peking 180, Derge 562, Narthang 495. *Lhan kar ma* 332, *'Phang thang ma* 319. For a ca. 10th-century Dunhuang manuscript see IOL TIB J 397/1 and 397/3 in Dalton and van Schaik 2006. Skilling 1992, 141 notes that this scripture shares features both with the *Āṭānāṭīka-sūtra* (see Sander 2007) and the *Āṭānāṭīya-sutta* (DN.III.9).

12 See e.g. Orzech 2011, 440, 448. The introductory sentence of the Chinese translation states that he comes from Nālandā, Magadha, and belongs to the 'Three Commentaries School.'

13 Nanjio 1883, 185 lists this text as *Mahāśītavānārya-daṇḍa-dhāraṇī-sūtra*. The Korean Buddhist Canon gives the Sanskrit title as *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī(sūtra)* under no. 1104 (Lancaster 1979, 379).

14 See, for example, manuscripts Add.1326, 1476, 1550 and Or.1811, 1812 kept in the Cambridge University Library. On the formation of the *Dhāraṇīsamgraha* genre see Davidson 2014b.

15 *Śītavānāya svāhā mahāśītavānāya svāhā daṇḍadhārāya svāhā mahādaṇḍadhārāya svāhā* (Takubo 1972, 37.17–18. Cf. Skilling 1992, 144 and Hidas 2003, 272). Note the variant reading, *śītavānāya svāhā mahāśītavānāya svāhā daṇḍadhāraṇīye svāhā mahādaṇḍadhāraṇīye svāhā*, listed in Oldenburg's 1899 edition.

16 1.12. *anekāś ca dhāraṇyaḥ samādhiṇiṣpandaparibhāvitamānasodbhavā duṣṭasattvanigrahadāṇḍamāyādayitāḥ tadyathā vajrānalapramohaṇī dhāraṇī meruśikharakūṭāgārādhāraṇī ratnaśikharakūṭāgārādhāraṇīmadharā sukūṭā bahukūṭā puṣpakūṭā daṇḍadhāraṇī nigrāhadhāraṇī ākarṣanādhāraṇī...*

17 This commentary is listed in the *Tengyur* as *rig sngags kyi rgyal mo chen mo bsil ba'i tshal gyi mdo'i 'bum 'grel zhes bya ba* (*Mahāśītavana* [Peking: Mahāśītavatī]-vidyārājī-sūtra-śatasahasra-ṭikā) under Derge 2693 or Peking 3517.

2.5 Auxiliary texts

There are few texts that appear to be auxiliary works of the MDDS. A *Mahāśīta-vatī-sādhana-nāma-dhāraṇī* and a *Śītavatī-stuti* survive in Sanskrit, and a number of *Mahāśītavatī-sādhana*s are extant in Tibetan.¹⁸

3 Title

The title of this text shows considerable fluidity.¹⁹ Both in religious traditions and scholarship this scripture has been widely known as *Mahāśītavatī*, perhaps to be translated as ‘The Great Cool One.’²⁰ It was first noticed by Skilling 1992, 142 that it bears a different name in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka: *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*, probably to be interpreted as ‘The Great Rod Dhāraṇī,’²¹ and it is not grouped together with the other *Pañcarakṣā* scriptures. As it was remarked in Hidas 2003, 264 the title of this text shows variations in Sanskrit sources with names including a *Mahāśītavatī-daṇḍa-dhāraṇī*, and a *Mahāśītavatī-vidyārājñī-daṇḍa-dhāraṇī*,²²

18 See Tsukamoto et al. 1989, 91–92 and Derge 3255, 3381, 3589 or Peking 4078, 4202, 4411 respectively.

19 As Nattier 2003, 26, 28 notes, ‘[o]f all elements of Buddhist sūtra literature in India, only the opening formulas of homage are more fluid than titles. (...) As to the titles themselves, Buddhist sūtras (especially those texts that would come to be identified as “Mahāyānist”) appear to have circulated in India under a variety of names.’ In the colophons of the mss. used in this edition the following titles appear: *ārya-mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī-śītavatī*, *ārya-mahāśītavatī-nāma-mahā-vidyārājñī-mahānuśaṃsā-rakṣāsūtra*, *ārya-mahāśītavatī-nāma-mahāvidyārājñī*, *ārya-mahāśītavatī-mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī-vidyārājñī*, *daṇḍadhāraṇī-ārya-mahāśītavatī*, *ārya-śītavatī-nāma-mahāvidyārājñī-rakṣāsūtra* and *ārya-mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī-ārya-mahāśītavatī*.

20 The morphology of *Mahāśītavatī* poses problems: this word appears to refer to the incantation related to the *Mahāśītavana* burning ground (‘The Great Śītavana Spell’) and perhaps comes from a similarly awkward *Mahāśītavani* form. It is not unlikely that this scripture was also called *Mahāśītavana*, ‘The Great Cool Forest’, at a certain phase before deification and then it gradually changed to the feminine *Mahāśītavatī*. Note the approximate words in the *dhāraṇī* of the *Jāṅgulimahāvidyā* in the *Sādhana-mālā: śīte śītavattāle hale halale tuṇḍe tutuṇḍe taṇḍite* (Bhattacharya 1925–1928, 250).

21 The word *daṇḍa* ‘stick, rod’ is widely used for legal authority providing justice and retribution, and it seems that this is primarily what this *dhāraṇī* offers against malevolent forces. Note simultaneously a line in the *Mahābhārata* describing the Śītavana forest: *punāti darśanād eva daṇḍenaikaṃ narādhipa* translated as ‘which alone purifies in one blow if one merely looks at it’ by van Buitenen 1975, 380.

22 Tsukamoto et al. 1989, 91–92. Further variant titles are given as *Mahāśītavatī-nāma-vidyā-dhāraṇī*, *Mahāśītavatī-mahāvidyārājñī/Śītavatī-nāma-vidyārājñī* and *Mahāśītavatī-daṇḍa-dhāraṇī-caturthamantra-dhāraṇī*.

and it was proposed that the original title of this scripture may have been *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī*, which later on changed to *Mahāśītavatī*.²³ In the present edition this proposal appears to have been confirmed, with the addition that there seems to have been a transitional phase when these two titles were used together, and in several cases it looks that the text itself is called *Śītavatī* and the *dhāraṇī* *Daṇḍadhāraṇī*.²⁴ It should also be noted that the *Mahāmāyūrividyārājñī* mentions *Daṇḍadhara* and *Mahādaṇḍadhara* ‘The (Great) Rod Bearer’ at one place, which reflects further fluidity.²⁵ The questions how much exactly all these titles are interconnected and how the completely different text of the *Mahāśītavana* (surviving only in Tibetan) replaced the *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī* in the Tibetan collection of The Five Great Dhāraṇīs remain to be answered.

4 Contents

[0] Obeisance²⁶

[1] Setting (*nidāna*): the Lord and Rāhula in Rājagṛha: Rāhula is disturbed by various beings in the Śītavana burning ground

[2] Rāhula visits the Lord

[3] Rāhula informs the Lord about being disturbed

[4] The Lord teaches Rāhula the Great *Daṇḍa-dhāraṇī* Spell

[5] The first part of the *dhāraṇī*

[6] The second part of the *dhāraṇī*

[7] Instructions for use and benefits

[8] Further instructions for use and benefits

[9] Conclusion

[10] Colophon

²³ Davidson 2014a, 15 suggests that this is an alternative title.

²⁴ As Skilling 1992, 142 observes, *Mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī* is the name of the *dhāraṇī* in the Tibetan translation.

²⁵ See n. 15.

²⁶ Skilling 1992, 142 notes that the MDDS is the only *Pañcarakṣā* text composed entirely in prose.

5 Contexts and date

The MDDS is an apotropaic, magical-ritualistic scripture of *dhāraṇī* literature. Skilling 1992, 143 classifies this text under the Śrāvākayāna adding that it has been used by practitioners of the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna, too. Some manuscript colophons in the present edition indeed refer to the Mahāyāna,²⁷ while another one has tantric allusions.²⁸ It is worth noting that the MDDS reveals affiliations with Brahmanism, for example, with regard to the presence of deities such as Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Daṇḍāgni and Brahmā. This text may also be linked to classical Brahmanical sources: the Śītavana is mentioned as a famous *tīrtha* in the *Āraṇyakaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*,²⁹ and the *Vāmanapurāṇa* lists this place among the seven blessed forests of Kurukṣetra³⁰ along with a brief description quite similar to that of the *Āraṇyakaparvan*.³¹

As far as dating is concerned, the *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of this scripture is 800 CE when the Tibetan translation was done. References to the *Daṇḍadhāraṇī* and *Śītavana*³² in the *Mahāmāyūrvidyārājñī*³³ and the *Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa*³⁴ cannot be traced to an earlier date than this. Nevertheless, the

27 The earliest of these colophons is from the 11th century. The reference to the manuscript donor as *pravaramahāyanāyāyin* ‘follower of the excellent Mahāyāna’ is found in mss. I, J, L, O and R.

28 See the colophon of the 11th century ms. N.

29 3.81.48–49. *tataḥ śītavanam gacchen niyato niyatāśanaḥ / tīrtham tatra mahārāja mahad anyatra durlabham / punāti darśanād eva daṇḍenaikaṃ narādhipa / keśān abhyukṣya vai tasmin pūto bhavati bhārata* ‘Thereupon he should go, restrained and of meager diet, to the Śītavana Ford: there is sanctity there unobtainable elsewhere, which alone purifies in one blow if one merely looks at it; by sprinkling one’s hair one becomes pure.’ (translation in van Buitenen 1975, 380)

30 13.3–5. *śṛṇu sapta vanāniha kurukṣetrasya madhyataḥ / yeṣāṃ nāmāni puṇyāni sarvapāpaharāṇi ca // kāmyakaṃ ca vanam puṇyam tathādīvanam mahat / vyāsasya ca vanam puṇyam phalakivanam eva ca // tatra sūryavanasthānam tathā madhuvanam mahat / puṇyam śītavanam nāma sarvakalmaṣanāśanam.*

31 14.44–45. *tataḥ śītavanam gacchen niyato niyatāśanaḥ // tīrtham tatra mahāvīprā mahad anyatra durlabham / punāti darśanād eva daṇḍakaṃ (daṇḍenaikaṃ?) ca dvijottamāḥ.*

32 See n. 15 and 16.

33 None of the Chinese versions of the *Mahāmāyūri* (T. 982, 984–988) dating from the 4th century onwards contain the references present in Takubo’s edition. I am grateful to Dr Gábor Kósa for checking these sources. The 6th-century Bower Manuscript does not contain these references either (Hoernle 1893–1912, 222–225, 236–237). For a recent study of the *Mahāmāyūri* see Overbey 2016.

34 On the date of the *Mañjuśrīyamūlakalpa* see Sanderson 2009, 129 and on available sources Delhey 2012. Note that the Chinese translation of its complete text (T. 1191) dates from the late 10th century.

MDDS shares a number of features with those scriptures of *dhāraṇī* literature that in all probability go back to the first half of the first millennium, and thus it is likely to belong to this period too.³⁵ At some point in time the MDDS became personified and the goddess representing this tradition has been known as Mahāśītavatī up to the present. When deification happened, it looks that the names Mahādaṇḍadhara or Mahādaṇḍadharaṇī did not come to be used.

6 Practice

While in section [8] recitation as a general practice is mentioned, according to the instructions in section [7], one should recite this spell into a knotted thread and wear it on the forearm or around the neck, and offerings should also be made for further protection.³⁶ The practice of using knotted threads is widespread in tantric Buddhism,³⁷ and this tradition appears to share features with the *paritta* rituals of the Theravāda too.³⁸ As far as the range of protection provided by the MDDS is

³⁵ Such as the *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī*. The presence of Vajrapāṇi and the Four Great Kings as main characters is likely to reveal an early formation. Cf. also the first-century **Manasvīnāgarāja-sūtra* in the Bajaur collection (Strauch 2014). The MDDS appears to be considerably earlier than, for example, the *Mahāpratisarāmahāvidyārājñī* which emerged latest in the 6th century (Hidas 2012, 21).

³⁶ For protective threads in various *dhāraṇī* texts see Skilling 1992, 166–167, 1994, 85 and Hidas 2012, 33–34. For enchanted and knotted cords in the *Kriyāsamgrahapañjikā* see Tanemura 2004, 276. See also Duquenne 1988, 343, Copp 2014, 79–87 and Davidson 2014b, 146 for such knotted incantation cords in Chinese Buddhism.

³⁷ Cf. *Amoghapāśakalparāja* 22b: *ekaviṃśatisūtrakagranthayaḥ karttavyaḥ śire bandhitavyaṃ yathā manasi varttayamānan tathā indrajālan darśayati; Sāghanamālā* Nos 93, 94, 110: *anena mantreṇa paṭāñcalaṃ saptābhīmantritaṃ kṛtvā granthiṃ baddhvā vindhyāyāṃ api gacchan na kenāpy avaliyate; No. 141: deśāntaragamane tu anena mantreṇātmiyottariyāñcalaṃ gṛhītvā yathāvad granthiṃ kṛtvā gacchet caurādibhir na muṣyate, Ācāryakriyāsamuccaya: tad anu kumārikartitasūtram śiṣyaśarīrapramāṇaṃ triguṇitaṃ amṛtakunḍalimantreṇa trigranthikṛtaṃ teṣāṃ savyabāhau strīṇāṃ vāve; Vajrāvalī: tad anu raktasūtraṃ śiṣyaśarīrapramāṇaṃ triguṇikṛtaṃ hūṃ-jaṃ tena kuṇḍalinā ca saptajaptaṃ trigranthikṛtaṃ ṣaḍgranthikṛtaṃ vā teṣāṃ savyabāhau vāmapāṇau vā tantrāntaroktāiḥ oṃ buddhamaitrī rakṣa rakṣa sarvān svāhā iti paṭhan svayaṃ baddhvā samyaksamrakṣyotsāhayet; Siddhaikavīratānta: uttariyāñcale granthiṃ kṛtvā mantram abhismarato mārge caurādīn stambhayati; Sarvavajrodaya: vajrarakṣābhijaptaṃ tataḥ samayaṃ nirbadhnyād vāmapāṇau tu sūtrakaṃ granthibhiḥ samuṣetaṃ vai tribhiḥ svayaṃ eva tu.*

³⁸ On *paritta* see de Silva 1981. It is not certain how early such practices go back to in South Asian religious traditions (quite likely as early as the *Atharvaveda*), but the use of enchanted and

concerned, in sections [7] and [8] there are stock-lists with the following items against which safeguard is granted: humans, non-humans, Vetālas, poison, weapons, sickness, spells, mantras, fire, water, sorrow, obstacles, discords, kings, thieves and dangers in the wilderness. On the basis of section [7] it appears that special protection is given against Grahas, spells and magical bonds.

7 A critical edition of selected Eastern Indian and Nepalese manuscripts

7.1 Sigla

A: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from ca. 19th century. Kept in a private collection in New Delhi. Reproduced in Lokesh Chandra 1981. Paper, modern Nepālākṣara script. The MDDS is the fifth text (fols 123v–126v) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 76–77.

B: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from 1810 CE. Kept in a private collection in New Delhi. Reproduced in Lokesh Chandra 1981. Paper, modern Nepālākṣara script. The MDDS is the fourth text (fols 177v–182v) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 77.

G: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from the 12th century. Ms. No. 1447, Hodgson 8 (R), kept in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Palm leaf, hook-topped Nepālākṣara script (Bhujimol). The MDDS is the fourth text (fols 123v–126v) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 81.³⁹

knotted cords is present in various Brahmanical texts as well. See, for example, the Śaiva *Kriyākālaguṇottara* in Slouber (forthcoming) and the entries *pavitṛaroṇa* and *pāśasūtra* in Goodall and Rastelli 2013.

39 As an addition to the previous description in Hidas 2012, note that at the end of the manuscript bundle there is a palm-leaf folio, most probably a later supplement, with an incomplete colophon written in a different hand with bigger *akṣaras* in four lines and numbered 132 on the right margin (note that all previous folios are numbered on the left side and have six lines written in earlier characters): *ye dharmā... || deyadharmmo yaṃ pravalamahāyānāyāyino paramadhārmnikaḥ śākyabhikṣuśrīratnakasya yad atra puṇyaṃ bhavatv ācāryopādhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvvaṃgamaṃ kṛtvā sakalāsatvarāśi nuttarajñānaphala prāpnotu || rājādhirājaparamēśvaraparamabhāttārakaśrī2pratāpamalladevasya...*

I: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from 1205 CE. Ms. Add.1644, kept in the Cambridge University Library.⁴⁰ Palm-leaf, hook-topped Nepālākṣara script (Bhujimol). The MDDS is the fourth text (fols 87v–89v) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 82–83.

J: An Eastern Indian *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from the second half of the 11th century. Ms. Or.3346, kept in the British Library. Palm-leaf, Eastern Indian script. The MDDS is the third text (fols 46v–48r) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 83–84.

K: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from the 12th–13th century. Ms. Add.1662, kept in the Cambridge University Library. Palm-leaf, hook-topped Nepālākṣara script (Bhujimol). The MDDS is the fourth text (fols 125v–128v) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 84.

L: An Eastern Indian *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from the mid-11th century. Ms. Add. 1688, kept in the Cambridge University Library.⁴¹ Palm-leaf, Eastern Indian script. The MDDS is the fourth text (fols 64v–67r) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 84–85. For a thorough iconographical study see Kim 2010, 270–279. For a recent description see Weissenborn 2012, 303–304 and note that both this work and Kim 2010, 269 read the donor’s name as Uddākā. See also Kim 2013.

N: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from 1063 CE. Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) B 30/45, kept in the National Archives, Kathmandu. Palm-leaf, early Nepālākṣara script. The MDDS is the fifth text (fols 148v–151v) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 86.

O: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from 1247 CE. Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) G 1/1, kept in the National Archives, Kathmandu. Palm-leaf, hook-topped Nepālākṣara script (Bhujimol). The MDDS is the third text (fols 88v–91v) in the collection. For a detailed description see Hidas 2012, 87.

⁴⁰ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01644/1>.

⁴¹ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01688/1>.

P: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from ca. the first half of the 12th century.⁴² Kept in the National Archives, Kathmandu, catalogued as number 4–1076. Photographed on 6 September, 1984, preserved on microfilm reel A 936/14, and imprecisely listed as ‘*Āryamahāmāyūrividyārājñī*’ by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP).⁴³ 41 palm leaves measuring 54 × 5 centimetres, with two stringholes and three, four or five lines on a folio. Hook-topped Nepālākṣara script (Bhujimol). Clear, balanced, bold handwriting. Incomplete: the beginning of the MDDS is not preserved.⁴⁴ The margins of most leaves are damaged and broken off in various degrees. No marginal or interlinear corrections. Foliation: three different sets of numbering, one with numerals under the left string-hole (this appears to be the newest) and two inconsistently written ones with letters or numerals on the left (this is probably the oldest) and right (this is probably the second oldest) margins on the verso. The MDDS is the third text (fols 72r–73v)⁴⁵ in the collection. Donor’s name inserted in the text: Mamuka. No colophon survives.

Q: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from 1117 CE.⁴⁶ Reproduced in Lokesh Chandra 2010,⁴⁷ where it is reported to have been kept in Tibet but the present location is not specified. 76 palm leaves with six lines on a folio, except for the end of certain sections with three, four or five lines. The manuscript appears to have once been illuminated. Nepālākṣara script. Clear and balanced handwriting. Complete: all folios of the MDDS are preserved without marginal or interlinear corrections. There are few corrections elsewhere and occasional notes in Tibetan script. Foliation: letter numerals on the left margin on verso side. The MDDS is the fifth text (fols 74v–76v) in the collection.⁴⁸ Colophon at the end of the manuscript.⁴⁹

42 Many thanks to Professor Diwakar Acharya for his help with establishing a date for this manuscript.

43 This identification was apparently done on the basis of the sub-colophon on an unnumbered folio misplaced at the very end of the bundle: *āryamahāmāyūrā (?) vidyārājñī samāptā*.

44 Note that from among the other *Pañcarakṣā* texts in this manuscript the folios containing the *Mahāmantrānusāriṇī* are lost.

45 As mentioned before, the folio with the beginning of the MDDS is lost.

46 Note that the preface dates this manuscript to the early 9th century.

47 Note that there is an incomplete illuminated *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* manuscript reproduced on pages 121–144 without being listed in the table of contents.

48 Note that the table of contents lists this text as the fourth one.

49 Many thanks to Professor Diwakar Acharya for his help with deciphering parts of this hardly legible colophon: *ye dharmā... || o || rāgādī... (a verse)... samvat 237* (written in letter numerals) *kārttikaśuklapañcamyām*.

R: A Nepalese *Pañcarakṣā* manuscript from 1234 CE, in the reign of King Abhayamalla.⁵⁰ In private possession in Kathmandu. Photographed on 1 November, 1984 and reproduced on microfilm reels E 1714/22 and 1715/1 by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). 142 palm leaves measuring 38.4 × 5.5 centimetres, with five or three lines on a folio. Hook-topped Nepālākṣara script (Bhujimol). Clear, balanced, bold handwriting. Complete, with folio 132 being a paper supplement. No marginal or interlinear corrections. Foliation: two different sets of numbering (one with numerals referring to the whole manuscript on the left margin, and one with numerals referring to the individual section on the right margin) on the verso. The MDDS is the fourth text (fols 131v–134v) in the collection. Donor's name inserted in the text: Śrībala.⁵¹ Colophon at the end of the manuscript.⁵²

S: Significant variants in Śākya 2004

W: Iwamoto 1937

W_{var}: Significant variants in Iwamoto 1937

Tib.: Tibetan translation in the Derge or Stog Palace Kangyur

Chin.: Chinese translation in the Taisho Tripiṭaka

7.2 Manuscript affinities

Nine out of the twelve manuscripts used in this edition were included in Hidas 2012 and their relation to each other examined on the basis of variants in the text of the *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājī*. This analysis had the following results:

⁵⁰ On Abhayamalla (1216–1255 CE) see Petech 1984, 83–88.

⁵¹ Note the discrepancy between the name inserted in the main text (Śrībala) and the one written in the copied colophon (Śrīdhara).

⁵² The colophon is written on a paper supplement folio: *ye dharmā... || || deyamdharmo yaṃ pravaramahāyāyina paramopāsakaḥ śrī-udayapāra-ācāryya-nāmnasya yat ada punya bhavativ ācāryopādhyāyamātrāpītrpūrvvagamaṃ kṛtvā sakarasatvarāsyar anurttarajñānapharaprāptaye iti || o || samvat 354 kārttikakṣṣṇa-ekādasyāṃ ādityavārah || rājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-raghuvamśāvātāra(ka-adhopaṭṭa-(read only by the NGMPP card)śrīśrī-abhayamalla-devasya vijayarājye riṣitam (read: likhitam) iti || o || śrī-maṃṣaradeva-kārita-śrī-sīhadeva-mahācāryya-bhikṣu-śrīdharasenasya likhitam itiḥ || || yathā dṛṣṭaṃ tathā likhita leṣako (read: lekhako) nāsti dokhaṃ (read: doṣaṃ) yadi surddhaṃṃ aśurddhaṃ vā sodhanīyaṃ guṇiskare (read: guṇākaraiḥ?) || o || śubham astu labhavantu savvadāḥ || o ||*

mss. GILN, JK and AB may be grouped together, while ms. O stands somewhere between the first two groups being slightly closer to the former one.⁵³

Here it has been investigated whether this grouping applies to the textual traditions of the MDDS too and how the three newly used mss. can be positioned in relation to these groups. A statistical analysis⁵⁴ of the significant variants of the MDDS in the twelve mss. has largely confirmed the groupings in the previous study with the following differences: ms. I belongs to the JK group here, while mss. AB and O do not stand apart but are also linked to this group. Among the three newly used mss. P and R belong to the first group, while Q to the second, with mss. BQ, (L)NR and GP showing closer affinities. Thus, there are two distinct manuscript groups with regard to the text of the MDDS: GLNPR and ABIJKOQ. As in the case of the *Mahāpratisarā*, these two groups reflect only approximate affinities because of the highly contaminated transmission.

7.3 Editorial policy

Comparing the variants belonging to the two manuscript groups established above, it appears that it is the GLNPR group which reflects a probably earlier and less inflated textual tradition. Therefore readings from this group have been preferred in most cases unless context, structure or grammar were against such choices. As for the subgroups GP and (L)NR, the latter often appears to reveal possibly more archaic strata; however, because of the enormous contamination it has not been straightforward to follow this group in numerous cases. Thus, some of the editorial decisions had to be necessarily subjective without a great amount of certainty; nevertheless, the apparatus always provides a database of other textual traditions preserved in the selected manuscripts for comparison.

⁵³ Hidas 2012, 88–89.

⁵⁴ Occurrences from highest to lowest numbers: BQ 29, GP 16, NR 16, GLNPR 15, LNR 14, ABIJKOQ 10, AIJKO 6, LN 6, ABIJKO 5, BQR 5, GLN 5, ABIJKQ 4, GL 4, GLP 4, GN 4, IK 4, LR 4, AB 3, ABG 3, AIJK 3, AJK 3, GNP 3, GNR 3, GLNP 3, GLNR 3, GQ 3, IJK 3, NP 3, PQ 3, ABIKOQ 2, ABQ 2, AIJKOQ 2, AIKO 2, AJKO 2, BGLNPQR 2, BGPQR 2, BL 2, GNPR 2, GLNPQR 2, IJKO 2, IKO 2, IO 2, JKO 2, JNR 2, LP 2.

7.4 Silent standardizations

- Geminations after *r* have been standardized
- Degeminations before a semivowel have been standardized
- Sibilants have been given in their standard form
- Variations between *ṅ/n* and *r/l* have been standardized
- Final *anusvāras* before vowels or at the end of sentences have been changed to *m*
- Homorganic nasals have been changed to *anusvāras* when needed
- Variations between sandhi and open sandhi have not been indicated
- The lack of *avagrahas* has not been indicated
- Variations between *i/ī* and *u/ū* have not been indicated
- *Daṇḍas* have been added or ignored without indication
- *Cha* and *ccha* are usually undistinguishable and have been given in their standard form
- Differences between numbered repetition (e.g. *curu* 2) or double forms (e.g. *curu curu*) have not been indicated and double forms have been kept in the main text

7.5 Symbols and abbreviations

Σ	all manuscripts except those listed separately
<i>corr.</i>	correction
<i>em.</i>	emendation
<i>conj.</i>	conjecture
<i>om.</i>	omission
^{ac}	ante correctionem
^{pc}	post correctionem
[1]	section number given by the editor
(...)	lacuna
Tib.	text reflected in the Tibetan translation
Chin.	text reflected in the Chinese translation
AJHITOKASYA	donor's name inserted in the text by the scribe

7.6 The textual traditions transmitted in the selected manuscripts

[0] [siddham] namaḥ sarvabuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ⁵⁵ |⁵⁶

[1] evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān rājagṛhe viharati sma⁵⁷ | śīta-vane mahāśmaśāne⁵⁸ iṅghikāyatana⁵⁹pratyuddeśe⁶⁰ | tatrāyusmān⁶¹ rāhulo ‘tīva⁶² viheṭhyate devagrahair nāgagrahair⁶³ yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair⁶⁴ garuḍagrahair⁶⁵ mahoragagrahair⁶⁶ manuṣyagrahair⁶⁷ amanuṣyagrahair⁶⁸ pretagrahair⁶⁹ bhūtagrahair⁷⁰ piśācagrahair⁷¹ kumbhāṇḍagrahair⁷¹

55 [siddham] namaḥ sarvabuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ] GKTib; [siddham] om̐ namo bhagavatyai āryamahāśītavatyai AB, [siddham] namo bhagavatyai āryamahāśītavatyai IOQR, *om.* JChin, namo buddhāya L, [siddham] namo buddhāya N, namo bhagavatyai āryamahāśītavatyai R, namo bhagavatyai āryamahāśītavatyai W

56 A123v, B177v, G123v, I87v, J46v, K125v, L64v, N148v, O88v, Q74v, R131v.

57 viharati sma] Σ; viharati sma | gr̥dhṛakūṭe parvate | tena khalu punaḥ samayenāyusmān rāhulo rājagṛhe viharati L

58 mahāśmaśāne] Σ]^{pc}; mahātā mahāśmaśāne J^{ac} (open sandhi)

59 iṅghikāyatana^o] Σ; iṅghikāyatane LS, iṅghikāyatana^o N

60 ^opratyuddeśe] Σ; ^opratyudeśe IJ

61 tatrāyusmān] Σ; tatra khalv āyusmān L

62 rāhulo ‘tīva] Σ; rāhulam atīva B, rāhulo (...) L, rāhulo ‘vatīva O. L65r.

63 nāgagrahair] Σ; (...) L, *om.* R. asuragrahair nāgagrahair Tib

64 yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair] *corr.*Tib; asuragrahai rākṣasagrahair mahoragagrahair marutagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair A, asuragrahair yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair marutagrahair BQ, yakṣagrahai rākṣagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair marutagrahaiḥ G, yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahair marutagrahair asuragrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair IJKW, (...) rākṣasagrahair gandharvagrahair asuragrahair garuḍagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair L, yakṣagrahaiḥ rākṣasagrahair kinnaragrahair NR, yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair marutagrahair asuragrahair O, asuragrahai yakṣagrahair mahoragagrahair marutagrahai kinnaragrahair S

65 garuḍagrahair] BGINR; garuḍagrahair gandharvagrahair AJKOQW, *om.* LChin, mahoragagrahair Tib

66 mahoragagrahair] Σ; *om.* S, gandharvagrahair Tib. G124r.

67 manuṣyagrahair] ΣTib; *om.* R

68 amanuṣyagrahaiḥ] Σ; *om.* NO^{ac}R, na manuṣyagrahaṃ O^{pc}, marutagrahair Tib

69 pretagrahair] ΣTib; *om.* GS

70 bhūtagrahair] ΣTib; *om.* AGS

71 kumbhāṇḍagrahair] ΣTib; kumbhāṇḍagrahaiḥ | B, kumbhāṇḍaiḥ G

dvīpibhiḥ kākair ulūkaiḥ⁷² kīṭaiḥ⁷³ sarīsrpaiḥ anyaiś ca manuṣyāmanuṣyaiḥ sattvaiḥ⁷⁴ |

[2] athāyusmān rāhulo⁷⁵ yena bhagavāms⁷⁶ tenopasaṃkrānta⁷⁷ upasaṃkramya bhagavataḥ pādaḥ śīrasābhivanditvā⁷⁸ bhagavantaṃ⁷⁹ tri⁸⁰pradakṣiṇīkṛtya bhagavataḥ purato rudann⁸¹ aśrūṇi pravartayati sma |

72 ulūkaiḥ] Σ; ulūkair rulūkaiḥ O, ullakaiḥ R

73 kīṭaiḥ] Σ; *om.* B

74 manuṣyāmanuṣyaiḥ sattvaiḥ] AGIJKW; sattvair manuṣyāmanuṣyaiḥ B, manuṣyāmanuṣyaiḥ sarvair iti L, manuṣyāmanuṣyaiḥ sarvair hāritibhiḥ N, manuṣyāmanuṣyā sattvaiḥ O, manuṣyāmanuṣyaiḥ sarvasattvaiḥ Q, manuṣyāmanuṣyai sarvair itibhiḥ R, *om.* Chin. B178r.

75 athāyusmān rāhulo] Σ; āyusmāms ca rāhulo G, atha khalv āyusmān rāhulo O, athāyusmān rāhulaḥ Q

76 bhagavāms] Σ; bhagavās A, bhagavān R

77 °krānta] Σ; °krāntaḥ JKO, °krāntar N

78 śīrasābhivanditvā] LNR; śīrasā vanditvā Σ, śīrābhivanditvā G

79 bhagavantaṃ] Σ; bhagavatta R

80 triḥ°] Σ; triṣ° J, tri° QW, *om.* R. N149r.

81 purato rudann] Σ; purataḥ sthitaḥ prāñjalir bhagavantaṃ namasyamānaḥ prarudann L, purato rudan R, purato rudanta W_{va}

[3] atha⁸² bhagavān⁸³ jānann eva⁸⁴ rāhulam āmantrayate⁸⁵ sma | kiṃ tvam⁸⁶ rāhula⁸⁷ mama purataḥ⁸⁸ sthitvā asrūṇi⁸⁹ pravartayasi⁹⁰ | evam ukte⁹¹ āyusmān rāhulo⁹² bhagavantam etad avocat | ihāhaṃ bhagavan⁹³ rājagrhe⁹⁴ viharāmi⁹⁵ | śītavane mahāśmaśāne⁹⁶ iṅghikāyatana⁹⁷ pratyuddeśe | so 'haṃ bhagavaṃs⁹⁸ tatra viheṭhye⁹⁹ devagrahair nāgagrahair¹⁰⁰ yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair¹⁰¹

82 atha] Σ; atha khalu BGQL

83 bhagavān] Σ; bhagavan K

84 jānann eva] Σ; *om.* GTibChin

85 J47r.

86 tvam] Σ; tva A, nu tvam BQ, tu tvam OW_{var}

87 rāhula] Σ; rāhulo LNR. O89r.

88 purataḥ] Σ; pura R. A124r. There is a longer gap between two double daṇḍas at the beginning of A124r and kiṃ tva rāhula mama purataḥ is repeated.

89 asrūṇi] Σ; cāsṛūṇi BQ, prarudann asrūṇi L, tyaśrūṇi R

90 pravartayasi] Σ; pravartayati O, pravartayati sma R

91 ukte] Σ; ukto A

92 rāhulo] Σ; rāhulaḥ B

93 bhagavan] Σ; bhagavān R

94 Q75r, R132r.

95 viharāmi] Σ; viharāmaḥ I, viharāmai R

96 K126r.

97 iṅghikāyatana^o] Σ; iṅghikāyatane LR

98 bhagavaṃs] Σ; bhagavan GN, (...) R

99 viheṭhye] AIJ^{ac}KOQW; viheṭhyate BW_{var}, viheṭhyāmi GLN, vihe_{thye} J^{pc}, (...) R, vihethate S

100 nāgagrahair] Σ; nāgagrahair asuragrahair B, asuragrahair nāgagrahair Tib

101 yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair] *conj.*Tib; yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahair marutagrahair asuragrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair AJKW, yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahair kinnaragrahair marutagrahair B, marutagrahair asuragrahair rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair G, yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahair marutagrahair asuragrahaiḥ I, suparṇagrahair yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahair gandharvagrahair asuragrahaiḥ garuḍagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair L, yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahair marutagrahair kinnaragrahair N, yakṣagrahair marutagrahair asuragrahai rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair O, (...)grahaiḥ P, marutagrahair asuragrahair yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahaiḥ kinnaragrahair Q, yakṣagrahaiḥ rākṣasagrahaiḥ marutagrahaiḥ (...) R, yakṣagrahai rākṣasagrahai marutagrahair garuḍagrahair kinnaragrahair S. The text of ms. P begins here. P72r.

garuḍagrahair¹⁰² mahoragagrahair manuṣyagrahair¹⁰³ amanuṣyagrahaiḥ¹⁰⁴ preta-
grahair bhūtagrahaiḥ¹⁰⁵ piśācagrahaiḥ¹⁰⁶ kumbhāṇḍagrahair¹⁰⁷ dvīpibhiḥ kākair
ulūkaiḥ¹⁰⁸ kiṭaiḥ¹⁰⁹ sarīṣṛpaiḥ¹¹⁰ anyaiś ca manuṣyāmanuṣyaiḥ sattvair iti¹¹¹ |

[4] atha khalu¹¹² bhagavān¹¹³ āyuṣmantam rāhulam āmantrayate sma | udgrhṇa
tvam¹¹⁴ rāhula¹¹⁵ imāḥ mahādaṇḍa¹¹⁶ dhāraṇīm¹¹⁷ vidyām¹¹⁸ | catasṛṇām paśadām¹¹⁹
rakṣāvaraṇaguptaye¹²⁰ bhikṣūṇām bhikṣuṇīnām upāsakānām¹²¹ upāsikānām ca¹²²
dirgharātram¹²³ arthāya¹²⁴ hitāya sukhāya¹²⁵ bhaviṣyati¹²⁶ |

102 garuḍagrahair] BGP; garuḍagrahair gandharvagrahair AIJKOQW, *om.* LNRSchin, gandhar-
vagrahair Tib

103 B178v.

104 amanuṣyagrahaiḥ] Σ; *om.* NR, marutagrahair Tib

105 bhūtagrahaiḥ] ΣTib; *om.* ABGS

106 piśācagrahaiḥ] ΣTib; piśācagrahaiḥ | bhūtagrahaiḥ G. L65v.

107 kumbhāṇḍagrahair] ΣTib; kumbhāṇḍagrahaiḥ | GQ, kumbhāṇḍaiḥ P, *om.* R. G124v.

108 ulūkaiḥ] Σ; ullūkaiḥ R

109 kiṭaiḥ] Σ; kiṭaiḥ J, kiṭai R

110 sarīṣṛpaiḥ] ΣR^{pc}; sarī marutagrahair asuragrahaiḥ kinnaragrahai ṣṛpaiḥ R^c

111 sattvair iti] GJOPSW_{var}; sattvaiḥ AKW, sarvasattvair iti BQ, (...) I, sarvair iti L, sarvair itibhiḥ
N, sarvair itibhiḥ R, *om.* Chin

112 khalu] Σ; *om.* BP. I88r.

113 bhagavān] Σ; bhagavān Q

114 udgrhṇa tvam] Σ; tena hi rāhula udgrhṇīṣva L, udgrhṇa tvam ānanda W_{var}

115 rāhula] Σ; *om.* L

116 mahādaṇḍa^o] LNR; mahāśītavatīm Σ, śītavatī^o S, mahāśītavatī^o W

117 °dhāraṇīm] LN^{pc}; °nāma dhāraṇīm ABGKOQW, °nāma dhāraṇī^o IJPS, °dhāraṇīm N^{ac}R.

118 vidyām] GIKLNOPRW; vidyā AS, mahāvidyām BQ, °vidyārājñīm J, vidyārājñī W_{var}

119 paśadām] Σ; pariśadām IJKW, paśadā W_{var}

120 rakṣāvaraṇaguptaye] Σ; rakṣāvaraṇaye P

121 upāsakānām] Σ; upāsikānām R

122 upāsikānām ca] Σ; upāsikānām ca P, upāsikānām Q, upāsakānām ca R

123 dirgharātram] GLNPRSW_{var}TibChin; sarvasattvānām ca dirgharātram AIJKOW, sarva-
sattvānām dirgharātram B. N149v, O89v

124 arthāya] Σ; *om.* P

125 sukhāya] GLNPTibChin; sukhāya yogakṣemāya ABIJKOQW, sukhāya loka R, sukhāya yo-
gasambhārāya kṣemāya S. A124v

126 bhaviṣyati] Σ; ca bhaviṣyati GP, bhaviṣyati devamanuṣyāṇām ceti L, viṣyati R

[5] tadyathā | aṅgā | vaṅgā¹²⁷ | bhaṅgā¹²⁸ | varaṅgā | saṃsāratarāṅgā¹²⁹ | sāsadaṅgā¹³⁰ | bhaṅgā¹³¹ | jesurā¹³² | ekatarā¹³³ | ara vīrā¹³⁴ | tara vīrā¹³⁵ | kara vīrā | kara kara vīrā¹³⁶ | indrā¹³⁷ | indrakisarā¹³⁸ | haṃsā¹³⁹ | haṃsakisarā¹⁴⁰ | picimalā¹⁴¹ | mahākiccā¹⁴² | viheṭhikā¹⁴³ | kālucchikā¹⁴⁴ | aṅgodarā¹⁴⁵ | jayā | jayālikā¹⁴⁶ | velā | elā | cintāli¹⁴⁷ | cili cili¹⁴⁸ | hili hili¹⁴⁹ | sumati¹⁵⁰ | vasumati | culu naṭṭe¹⁵¹ | culu culu naṭṭe¹⁵² | culu nāḍi¹⁵³

127 vaṅgā] Σ; *om.* Q

128 bhaṅgā] GLN; kaliṅgā bhaṅgā ABIJKOW_{var}, *om.* P, kaliṅgā raṅgā Q, bhaṅgā kaliṅgā bhaṅgā R, kaliṅgā bhaṅgā 2 S, kaliṅgā W

129 saṃsāratarāṅgā] Σ; saṃsārā taraṅgā N

130 sāsadaṅgā] Σ; sāmavādasā N

131 sāsadaṅgā | bhaṅgā] ABJNOQRSW_{var}; māmaṅgā G, sāsadaṅgā | bhagā IKW, sāmavedasā | bhaṅgā L, sāsadaṅgā P

132 jesurā] BLNP; asurā AIJKOQW, jāsurā G, yesurā R, asuravīrā W_{var}

133 ekatarā] GNP; ekatarāṅgā AIJKOW, ekacarā BQ, (...) L, ekavīrā R

134 ara vīrā] BGNOPQR; asuravīrā AIJKW, (...) L, suravīratarāṅgā W_{var}

135 tara vīrā] GLP; tara vīrā | tara tara vīrā AIJKNOW, tara vīrā | viheṭhikā | tara tara vīrā BQR

136 kara kara vīrā] Σ; kara kairā vīrā P, *om.* Q, kara kara vīrā | kuru vīrā | kuru kuru vīrā | curu vīrā | curu curu vīrā | culu vīrā | culu culu vīrā | hili vīrā | hili hili vīrā | sihilikā | mahāsihilikā L

137 indrā] Σ; *om.* J

138 indrakisarā] Σ; indrakisorā G, indraggikisarā L, indrakisarā N, indrakisarāḥ P. B179r, R132v.

139 haṃsā] Σ; haṅgā P

140 haṃsakisarā] Σ; haṃsakisorā G, haṃsaggikisarā L, haṃsakisarā N, haṅgākisarā P

141 picimalā] AGIKLN; piśācikā | cilimālā BQ, picimalā | lomā J, picimālā OPW, cirimārā R, picisarā S, picimālā | loma W_{var}

142 mahākiccā] Σ; mahāviccā G

143 viheṭhikā] Σ; heṭhavikā (...) viheṭhikā kaṭācchikā L, viheṭhi W_{var}. K126v.

144 kālucchikā] Σ; kālācchikā N, tālucchikā P

145 aṅgodarā] Σ; aṅgodarā amocarā yamodarā L

146 jayā jayālikā] Σ; jayā jayākilā G, jarā jarālikā S, jayālikā W

147 velā elā cintāli] AJKLOS; parā vittāli B, palā vittāli G, velā elā cittāli IN, palā vitāli P, velā cintāli QW, para cirtāli R

148 cili cili] KILOW; citi citi A, cili BQR, vali cihili G, vali vi JP, cici N, cali cicili W_{var}

149 hili hili] AIKLNOW; hili kili BQ, kisi G, hili cili 2 hili 2 kili 2 J, hili hasihi P, hili cili R, hili hili kili hili W_{var}

150 sumati] Σ; sumadhi GP, samavati N

151 culu naṭṭe] AGIKOQW; culu naṭṭe 2 B, culu naṭṭe JNR, (...) L, culu naṭṭe | culu naṭṭe | culu naṭṭe P

152 culu 2 naṭṭe] BLQRS; culu 2 naṭṭe | culu culu culu A, culla naṭṭe culu culu naṭṭe G, culu 2 naṭṭe culu 2 culu naṭṭe IK, culu 2 naṭṭe culu 2 culu naṭṭe J, culu 2 naṭṭe NP, culu 2 naṭṭe culu naṭṭe O, culu culu culu naṭṭe W, *om.* W_{var}

153 culu nāḍi] Σ; culla nāḍi G, culu nāti P, cullu nāḍi R

| kunāḍi¹⁵⁴ | hārīṭaki¹⁵⁵ | kārīṭaki¹⁵⁶ | gauri¹⁵⁷ | gandhāri¹⁵⁸ | caṇḍāli¹⁵⁹ | mātaṅgi¹⁶⁰ |
dharāṇi dhāraṇi¹⁶¹ | uṣṭrapālike¹⁶² | kaca kārike¹⁶³ | cala nāṭike¹⁶⁴ | kākālike¹⁶⁵ | lala-
mati¹⁶⁶ | rakṣamati¹⁶⁷ | varākule¹⁶⁸ | manmate utpale¹⁶⁹ | kara vīre¹⁷⁰ | tara vīre¹⁷¹ | tara

154 kunāḍi] Σ; kulati P, *om.* S, kuru nāḍi W_{var}

155 hārīṭaki] N; hārīṭaki 2 AJ, hārīṭaki tarihuki B, hārīṭaki G, hārīṭaki hārīṭaki IKOW, hārīṭaki L, hārīṭaki 2 hārīṭuki P, hārīṭaṅki tariṭaṅki Q, hārīṭuki R

156 kārīṭaki] BGQ; kārīṭaki kārīṭaki | karīṭaki karīṭaki AIKW, kārīṭaki karīṭaki karīṭaki J, karīṭaki kārīṭaki L, *om.* NP, kārīṭaki kārīṭaki karīṭaki O, tariṭuki 2 R

157 gauri] IJKNOW; gauri ABPQR, mauri G

158 gandhāri] IJKNOQW; gandhāri ABR, gāndhāri GL, gāndhāri P

159 caṇḍāli] GLNPS; caṇḍāli vetāli Σ

160 mātaṅgi] GNP; mātaṅgi | varcasi ABIJKQW, (...) L, varcasi | mātaṅgi O, mātaṅgīr cavasi R

161 dharāṇi dhāraṇi] GP; dharāṇi dhāraṇi | taraṇi tāraṇi AIJKOW, dharāṇi dhāraṇi | prajñāmālike | taraṇi tāraṇi BQ, (...) L, dharāṇi dhāraṇi 2 N, dharāṇi dhāraṇi | prajñāmālike | taraṇi tāraṇi R

162 uṣṭrapālike] GLN; duṣṭamālike ABIJ, uṣṭramālike KQW, (...) O, uṣṭramāli | ke P, uṣṭamālike R, draṣṭamālike SW_{var}, duṣṭa W_{var}

163 kaca kārike] GL; kaca kācike | kaca kācike A, kaca kācike 2 B, kaca kācike IP, kaca kācike | kaca cive J, kaca kācike | kaca kācive KQW, kaca kācike | kaca kācike 2 O, kaca kācike | kara kākālike R, kaca kārike | kaca kācive N, kaca kācive S, kaca kācike W_{var}

164 cala nāṭike] AJKW; kara nāḍike BQR, bala nāṣike G, cala nāṭike kaca kācive I, bala nāṭi L, vala nāḍi N, *om.* OW_{var}, balā nāṣike P, cala nāḍike S. G125r.

165 kākālike] Σ; kākālike G, kākālike P

166 lalamati] Σ; balamati L

167 rakṣamati] BGPQRS; lakṣamati AIKOW, *om.* J, kulākula L, nakṣamati N

168 varākule] GN; varāhakule ABKOQRSW, *om.* IL, varāhakulo^o J, balākule P

169 manmate utpale] P; matpale utpale AOW, utpale | bālākuli | pālākuli | manmate | unmatte B, satpate utpale G, matpale utpate I, °tpale utpale J, matpate | utpale K, anyate utpale L, man-
yate utpale N, utpale | dhārākuli | pārākuli | manmatte | unmatte Q, utpale | dhārākuli | manmatte
| utpatte R, manamate S

170 kara vīre] GLNP; kara vīre | kara kara vīre Σ

171 tara vīre] Σ; *om.* G, tara vi R. P72v.

tara vīre | kuru vīre¹⁷² | kuru kuru vīre¹⁷³ | curu vīre¹⁷⁴ | curu curu vīre¹⁷⁵ | mahāvīre¹⁷⁶ | iramati¹⁷⁷ | varamati¹⁷⁸ | rakṣamati¹⁷⁹ | sarvārthasādhani | paramārthasādhani | apratihate¹⁸⁰ | indro rājā | yamo rājā¹⁸¹ | varuṇo rājā¹⁸² | kuberō rājā¹⁸³ | manasvī¹⁸⁴ rājā | vāsukī rājā¹⁸⁵ | daṇḍāgni rājā¹⁸⁶ | brahmā¹⁸⁷ sahasrādhipati¹⁸⁸ rājā¹⁸⁹ | buddho bhagavān dharmasvāmī rājā¹⁹⁰ | anuttaro¹⁹¹ lokānukampakaḥ¹⁹² | mama¹⁹³ sarvasattvānāṃ ca rakṣāṃ¹⁹⁴ kurvantu¹⁹⁵ | paritrāṇaṃ¹⁹⁶ parigrahaṃ paripālaṇaṃ śāntiṃ¹⁹⁷ svastyayanaṃ daṇḍaparīhāraṃ śāstraparīhāraṃ viṣadūṣaṇaṃ viṣanāśanaṃ¹⁹⁸ sīmābandhaṃ¹⁹⁹ dharaṇibandhaṃ ca kurvantu²⁰⁰ | jīvatu²⁰¹ varṣasataṃ paśyatu²⁰² śaradāṃ śatam |²⁰³

172 kuru vīre] Σ; *om.* GI

173 A125r.

174 curu vīre] Σ; *om.* GN, (...) L

175 curu curu vīre] Σ; culu culu vīre A, curu curu vīre curu vīre curu vīre G, (...) L. B179v.

176 mahāvīre] Σ; *om.* R

177 iramati] Σ; (...) L, garamati N, irimati P, indramati R, iramati talamati W_{var}

178 varamati] GIJKORW; viramati AW_{var}, varamati taramati BR, (...) L, caramati N, *om.* P, varamati talamati Q

179 rakṣamati] Σ; (...) L, rakṣamati lakṣamati Q

180 apratihate] Σ; *om.* R. N150r.

181 yamo rājā] Σ; *om.* GS, somo rājā N, somo rājā yamo rājā Tib

182 J47v, O9Or, Q75v, R133r.

183 kuberō rājā] Σ; kuberō rājā | kumbhāṇḍo rājā BQW_{var}, (...) L, vāyu rājā kuberō rājā Tib

184 manasvī] Σ; manasi I. *om.* Tib

185 vāsukī rājā] GNR; vāsukī rājā | daṇḍakī rājā AIJKOW, vāsukī rājā | yamadagni rājā | daṇḍakī rājā B, vāsukī rājā | yamadagni rājā L, vāsukī rājñī | yamadagni rājā P, vāsukī rājā | yamadagni rājā | daṇḍakī rājā Q

186 daṇḍāgni rājā] NRTib; daṇḍāgni rājā | dhṛtarāṣṭro rājā | virūḍhako rājā | virūpākṣo rājā AJKW, daṇḍāgni rājā | dhṛtarāṣṭro rājā | virūḍhako rājā | virūpākṣo rājā B, daṇḍo ‘gnirājā G, daṇḍāgni rājā | yamadagni rājā | dhṛtarāṣṭro rājā | virūḍhako rājā | virūpākṣo rājā IO, daṇḍāgni rājā | daṇḍakārī rājā | jayo rājā | vijayo rājā | jayantā rājā | vijayantā rājā | dhṛtarāṣṭro rājā | virūḍhako rājā | virūpākṣo rājā | kuberō rājā L, *om.* P, dhṛtarāṣṭro rājā | virūḍhako rājā | virūpākṣo rājā Q, daṇḍāgni rājā | dhṛtarāṣṭro rājā | virūḍhako rājā | virūpākṣo rājā | vaiśramaṇo rājā W_{var}. I88v, L66r.

187 brahmā] Σ; buddho N

188 sahasrādhipati] IKNOPQRW; sahāmpati A, sahāpati BG, sahasrādhipati JL, sahāmpati S

189 rājā] Σ; *om.* S

190 rājā] Σ; *om.* G

191 anuttaro] Σ; anuttaro dharmarājā L

192 °kampakaḥ] AGIKOPQW; °kampako BL, °kampaka JNRS, °kampaka evam ājñāpayati W_{var}. K127r.

193 mama] ABGIOW; AJHITOKASYA J, ŚĀKYABHIKṢUŚRISOMABHADRASYA (note that this name is half-erased) K, UḍḍĀKĀYĀḤ L, rakṣa rakṣa mama saparivārasya N, MAMUKASYA P, mama saparivārasya Q, rakṣa 2 mām ŚRĪBALASYA R, mama saganaparivārasya W_{var}

[6] tadyathā²⁰⁴ | balavati²⁰⁵ | varamati²⁰⁶ | talamati²⁰⁷ | lakṣamati²⁰⁸ | rakṣamati²⁰⁹ | huru huru²¹⁰ | phuru phuru²¹¹ | cara cara²¹² | khara khara²¹³ | khuru khuru | mati mati²¹⁴ | bhūmicaṇḍe²¹⁵ | kālikeṭi²¹⁶ | akisalā | pīne²¹⁷ | sāmālate²¹⁸ | hūle sthūle | sthūlāśikhare²¹⁹ | jaya sthūle | jaya naṭṭe²²⁰ | cala nāsi²²¹ | culu nāsi²²² | vāgbandhani²²³

194 rakṣām] Σ; *om.* N, śarīraṃ rakṣām Q

195 kurvantu] AIJKOQSW_{var}; kuṃṛvatu B, kuru GP, karotu LW, *om.* N, karo jīvatu varṣaśatam paśyatu sattavarṣa R

196 paritrāṇam] AGNRWTib; guptim paritrāṇam BIJKLOQSW_{var}, *om.* P

197 śāntim] Σ; śānti° B

198 viśadūṣaṇam viśanāśanam] Σ; viśanāśanam W

199 B18Or.

200 kurvantu] Σ; karotu R

201 jīvatu] BGIKNOQRW_{var}; jīvantu AJLPW

202 paśyatu] BGIKNOR; paśyantu AJLQW, paśya P

203 Tib. omits this sentence.

204 tadyathā] GLNPR; tadyathā | ilā | milā | utpalā ABIJOQW, tadyathā | ili | milā | utpalā K

205 balavati] L; iramati Σ, bala balavati N, balamati R

206 varamati] GLOP; viramati AIJKW, valamati | kurumati B, caramati NR, varamati | valamati | kurumati Q

207 talamati] GLNPR; halamati ABIJKOW, halamati | talamati | kṣaṇamati BQ, halamati | talamati | kṣalamati W_{var}

208 lakṣamati] Σ; *om.* S

209 rakṣamati] N; rakṣamati | kuru kuru mati AJKW, rakṣamati | arumati | ārumati | kuru kuru mati B, arumati 2 G, rakṣamati | kuru mati 2 IO, *om.* L, ālumati 2 P, rakṣamati | arumati | arumati | ārumati | kuru kuru mati Q, rakṣamati | huru mati R, rakṣamati | huru huru mati W_{va}

210 huru huru] GIJKOPRW; huru huru mati A, huru mati | huru 2 BLNQ, hulu 2 mati S

211 phuru phuru] Σ; puru puru GJ, *om.* IS

212 cara cara] AIJKPRW; dhara 2 BQ, vara 2 G, cara cara śatrūn LN, curu 2 OW_{var}

213 khara khara] Σ; *om.* GLPW_{var}, khaḍga R

214 mati mati] Σ; khurumati GP, mati LS

215 bhūmicaṇḍe] Σ; bhūmicaṇḍi GPQ, bhūmicaṇḍike I

216 kālikeṭi] LNR; kālike ABGJOPQW, kākalike I, kālile K

217 akisalā | 469ine] NR; abhisamāpīte ABIJKQW, akisalā pīte G, akisalā pīna L, sukimalāpīte O, akisamāpīte P. A125v.

218 sāmālate] Σ; śārmalake G, sāmānate NR, sāmālate P, somarate W_{var}

219 °śikhare] Σ; °śikhale A, °śire BGP, °khare W_{var}

220 jaya sthūle | jaya naṭṭe] P; jaya sthūle | jayavate | vala naṭṭe AJKRW, jaya naṭi B, jaya sthūle | jala naṅge G, jaya sthūle | jayavate | vala naṭṭe | jaya naṭṭe I, jala nāṭi L, jaya sthūle | jala nāḍi N, jaya sthūle | jayavate | vala naṭṭe | jala naṭṭe O, jaya sthūle | jaya naṭi Q, jayavate | vala nate | jaya naṅge W_{var}

221 cala nāsi] GLP; cala nāḍi AIJKO, tala nāṭi BQ, cara nāḍi NW, *om.* R. G125v

222 culu nāsi] GL; culu nāḍi culi nāḍi AJKO, culu 2 nāḍi BQ, culu nāḍi culu 2 nāḍi I, culu nāḍi NR, culu culu nāsi P, culu nāḍi culu nāḍi W

223 vāgbandhani] Σ; vāgbandhani B, vāsamdhari G

| virohaṇi²²⁴ | solohite²²⁵ | aṇḍare | paṇḍare | karāle²²⁶ | kinnare²²⁷ | keyūre | ketumati²²⁸
 | bhūtaṃgame²²⁹ | bhūtamati²³⁰ | dhanye²³¹ | maṅgalye²³² | mahābalalohitamūle²³³ |
 acalacaṇḍe²³⁴ | dhuraṃdharā²³⁵ | jayālike²³⁶ | jayā²³⁷ | gorohaṇi²³⁸ | curu curu²³⁹ |
 rundha rundha | dhuru dhuru²⁴⁰ | khuru khuru²⁴¹ | khurumati²⁴² | bandhumati²⁴³ |
 dhuraṃdhare²⁴⁴ | dhare dhare²⁴⁵ | vidhare vimati²⁴⁶ | viṣkambhaṇi²⁴⁷ | nāśani

224 virohaṇi] Σ; virohiṇi GLOW_{var}, rohiṇi S

225 solohite] NQR; sālohite AJKW, molohite B, molohire G, gorohaṇi sālohite I, golohite LP, gorohiṇi O

226 karāle] Σ; karālike B, karālā R. N150v

227 kinnare] AGJKLNRW; nale | dūre B, vidūre P, kinnare vidūre IOQ, kinnare | vittarake W_{var}

228 ketumati] Σ]^{pc}; saketumati J^{ac}

229 bhūtaṃgame] Σ; *om.* W_{var}

230 bhūtamati] Σ; bhūtapatim B, bhūtamati bhūtapati L, bhūtapati P. R133v

231 dhanye] Σ; dhanya^o AW_{var}

232 maṅgalye] GNPRTib; maṅgalye| hiraṇye | hiraṇyagarbhe A, maṅgalye | hiraṇyagarbhe BIOQW, hiraṇyagarbhe J, maṅgale | hiraṇyagarbhe K, maṅgalye mahāmaṅgalye L. B180v. Cf. *Mahāmāyūrī*: maṅgale maṅgalye, hiraṇye hiraṇyagarbhe, ratne ratnagarbhe and maṅgale samantabhadre hiraṇyagarbhe, sarvārthasādhani

233 mahābalalohitamūle] LNR; mahābale | avalokitamūle AIJKOW, mahābale | mahābalābale | kitamūle B, mahābale mahābalāvalokite G, mahābale | mahābalalohitamūle P, mahābale | mahābalāvalokitamūle Q. O90v, P73r

234 acalacaṇḍe] AIJKOPW; abalacaṇḍe B, acalacaṇḍe GQ, culu culu culu naṭṭe L, acaluṇḍe N, acaluṇḍe R, acalacandre S

235 dhuraṃdharā] AIJKNOQW_{var}; burāṃdharā B, dharaṃdharā dharā G, dharāṃdharā L, dhuraṃdhare PW, dharaṃdharā R

236 jayālike] Σ; jayā jayālike AI, parājayālike B, pārājayālike Q

237 jayā] Σ; jaya BQ, *om.* I, jayabandhani L

238 gorohaṇi] IJKLNRW_{var}; gorohiṇi AGPQW, golohiṇi B, godohiṇi O

239 curu curu] LNR; culu culu | phuru phuru AJ, culu culu | huru huru BQ, curu curu | phuru phuru GIKOPW

240 dhuru dhuru] GP; phara 2 AJKOW_{var}, hara 2 BQ, pare 2 I, phuru 2 | muru 2 L, phuru 2 NR, phala 2 S, *om.* W

241 khuru khuru] KOP; khara 2 khuru 2 A, khara 2 BL, khuru G, khare 2 I, khara J, guru 2 | khuru NR, sphuru 2 Q, khala 2 | khulu 2 S, *om.* W, khulu 2 W_{var}

242 khurumati] Σ; khurumati svāhā B, (...) L, sphurumati Q, *om.* W

243 bandhumati] Σ; *om.* BW, (...) mati svāhā L, mandhumati svāhā Q

244 dhuraṃdhare] ABGJPQW_{var}; dharadhare | dhara 2 I, dharaṃdhare KO, dhuruṃdharu L, dhuruṃdharu 2 NR, *om.* SW

245 dhare dhare] Σ; dhara 2 G, dharu dhare dhare L, dhure 2 S, vare 2 W_{var}

246 vidhare vimati] Σ; vidhuṇu dhimati G, vidhare 2 vimati 2 L, vidhare vidhare vidhamati P, vidhare vidhare W

247 viṣkambhaṇi] Σ; viṣkambhiṇi NP, viṣkambhani | bhāvani vibhāvani O

vināśani²⁴⁸ | bandhani | mokṣaṇi²⁴⁹ | mocani²⁵⁰ | mohani²⁵¹ | bhāvani²⁵² | śodhani²⁵³ |
 saṃśodhani²⁵⁴ viśodhani²⁵⁵ | saṃkhiraṇi²⁵⁶ | saṃchindani²⁵⁷ | sādhu turumāṇe²⁵⁸ |
 hara hara bandhumati | hiri hiri | khiri khiri²⁵⁹ | kharali²⁶⁰ | huru huru²⁶¹ | piṅgale²⁶² |
 namo 'stu²⁶³ buddhānāṃ²⁶⁴ bhagavatāṃ²⁶⁵ svāhā²⁶⁶ |

248 vināśani] Σ; *om.* P. K127v.

249 mokṣaṇi] GLNR; mokṣaṇi vimokṣaṇi Σ

250 mocani] LP; mocani vimocani ABIJKOW, vimocani GNR, *om.* QW_{var}

251 mohani] GLNPR; mohani vimohani ABIKOQW, *om.* J

252 bhāvani] LNR; bhāvani vibhāvani ABIJKQW, *om.* GOP

253 śodhani] LNPR; sodhani śodhani A, sādhani | śodhani BGIJKQW_{var}, śodhani viśodhani OS,
 śodhani 2 W

254 saṃśodhani] Σ; *om.* AW_{var}

255 viśodhani] Σ; *om.* RSW_{var}

256 saṃkhiraṇi] RW; saṃkhiraṇi saṃkīraṇi AKOS, saṃkīraṇi sākīkīraṇi B, saṃsīraṇi saṃkīraṇi
 G, saṃkhiraṇi saṃkīriṇi I, saṃkhiraṇi saṃkīriṇi J, sakhiraṇi saṃkīraṇi L, saṃkhiraṇi rakīraṇi N,
 sakhīraṇi P, saṃkīraṇi | samīdani | sākīkīraṇi Q

257 saṃchindani] Σ; saṃchinnani G, saṃchindini I, saṃchāraṇi saṃchindani L, saṃchāraṇi
 saṃchīdani N, saṃchadanī R

258 sādhu turumāṇe] N; sādhattaramāṇe | tara taramāṇe AGIK, sādhattaramāṇe | tara tara-
 māṇe B, sādhattaramāṇe J, sādhattaramāṇe | tara tara māṇe | hara māṇe | hara hara māṇe L,
 sādhu turamāṇe | turu 2 māṇe O, sādhu turumāṇe tara taramāṇe P, sādhattaramāṇe | taramāṇe
 Q, sādhu turu māṇ 2 rakṣa 2 R, sādhu turamāṇe W, sādhattaramāṇe | tara taramāṇe W_{var}. I89r.

259 khiri khiri] Σ; miri 2 BQ, (...) L

260 kharali] Σ; *om.* BGPQW_{var}

261 huru huru] Σ; phuru phuru P, hurulu R, kuru 2 S

262 piṅgale] BGLNPQR; khuru khuru | piṅgale AIJOW, khuru piṅgale K

263 namo 'stu] Σ; namo R

264 buddhānāṃ] Σ; buddhānā A, buddhāya P. A126r

265 bhagavatāṃ] Σ; bhagavatāṃnāṃ G, namo 'stu bhagavatāṃ P

266 Q76r

[7] asyām²⁶⁷ khalu²⁶⁸ rāhula²⁶⁹ mahādaṇḍadhāraṇyām²⁷⁰ vidyāyām²⁷¹ antaśo ‘ṣṭot-taraśatapadānām²⁷² sūtram²⁷³ granthim²⁷⁴ baddhāyām²⁷⁵ hastena²⁷⁶ dhāryamāṇāyām²⁷⁷ kaṇṭhena²⁷⁸ dhāryamāṇāyām²⁷⁹ samantād²⁸⁰ yojanaśatasya²⁸¹ rakṣā kṛtā bhaviṣyati²⁸² | gandhair²⁸³ vā puṣpair vā²⁸⁴ mudrābhir vā naiva manuṣyo²⁸⁵ vāmanuṣyo²⁸⁶ vābhibhaviṣyati²⁸⁷ | na viṣaṃ na śāstram²⁸⁸ na rogo²⁸⁹ na jvaro²⁹⁰ na prajvaro²⁹¹ na vidyāmanthro²⁹² na vetāḍaḥ²⁹³ | na vyādhou²⁹⁴ nāgnau²⁹⁵

267 asyām] Σ; asyā GPQR, asyāḥ L

268 khalu] GLNPR; khalu puna ABIJKOQ, khalu punaḥ S, khalu punā W

269 rāhula] Σ; rāhulo LNR

270 mahādaṇḍadhāraṇyām] *corr.*Tib; mahāśītavati° Σ, mahāśītavināma° B, daṇḍadhāraṇyām L, mahādāraṇyām N, mahādaṇḍadhāraṇyā R. B181r.

271 °vidyāyām] Σ; °vidyāyā AR, °vidyā G

272 antaśo ‘ṣṭottaraśatapadānām] NR; daśottaraśatampadāyām A, daśottarapadaśatāyām BJKOPQW, daśottarapadaśatānām G, daśottaramantrapadāyām I, daśottaraśatapadāyām KW_{var}, antaśo ‘ṣṭottarapadaśatānām L

273 sūtram] LR; sūtre Σ, sūtra N

274 granthim] Σ; grantha N, granthi° R

275 baddhāyām] GLNPQR; baddhvā ABIJKOW, baddhā S

276 hastena] Σ; haste BQS

277 dhāryamāṇāyām] Σ; dhāryamāṇāyā K

278 kaṇṭhena] AIKNOPRW; kaṇṭhe BQS, *om.* G, kaṇṭhe vā J, kāyena dhāryamāṇāyām kaṇṭhena L

279 dhāryamāṇāyām] Σ; dhāryamāṇāyā A, *om.* G

280 samantād] Σ; samantādad J

281 yojanaśatasya] Σ; yojanaśatamsahasrasyām B, yojanaśatam tasya O, yojanaśatasahasrasya Q, yojanaśasasya Tib

282 kṛtā bhaviṣyati] Σ; tā bhaviṣyati R. In the Tibetan translation rakṣā kṛtā bhaviṣyati comes after mudrābhir. G66v, L66v.

283 gandhair] Σ; daṇḍair Tib

284 puṣpair vā] Σ; (...) L, puṣpair vā | dhūpair vā OW_{var}. N151r.

285 manuṣyo] Σ; manuṣyā ABQW_{var}

286 vāmanuṣyo] GIJKLOPW; vā ‘manuṣyā A, *om.* BQS, ‘manuṣyo N, amanuṣyo R

287 vābhibhaviṣyati] Σ; vā ‘bhibhaviṣyati AP, vā bhaviṣyati GL, vābhibhaviṣyanti Q. G126r.

288 na viṣaṃ na śāstram] ABIJKLNPRS; na viṣaṃ na śāstram na garam GOW_{var}, na viṣaṃ na śāstram na marā Q, na śāstram na viṣaṃ WTib

289 rogo] Σ; rogaṃ W_{var}

290 na jvaro] Σ; *om.* J, na jvaraṃ W_{var}

291 na prajvaro] Σ; *om.* R

292 na vidyāmanthro] LRW; na vidyā na manthro Σ, na vidyā P, (...) N

293 vetāḍaḥ] AIJKOW; vetāḍā BGPQR, vetāḍā na vyālā LTib, (...) N, vyāpādaḥ W_{var}

294 vyādhou] BGLQR; vyādhinā AIJKOW, (...) N, vyādhayo P, vyādher S

295 nāgnau] BGPQR; nāgninā AIJKOW, na graho nāgnau L, (...)gnau N, nāgni S. R134r.

na²⁹⁶ viṣodakena²⁹⁷ kālaṃ kariṣyati | vidyāmantra²⁹⁸ prayogānāṃ ca²⁹⁹ sarveṣāṃ
sādhuprayuktānāṃ³⁰⁰ ca³⁰¹ bandhanī | parabandhānāṃ³⁰² ca pramocanī³⁰³ | sarva-
roga³⁰⁴śoka³⁰⁵vighna³⁰⁶vināśanakarī | kali³⁰⁷kaluṣa³⁰⁸praśamanakarī | sarvagrahavi-
mocanakarī³⁰⁹ | yo graho na muñcet
saptadhāsyā³¹⁰ sphuṭen³¹¹ mūrdhā³¹² arjakasyeva³¹³ mañjarī |³¹⁴vajrapāṇīś cāsyā
mahāyakṣasenāpatir³¹⁵ vajreṇādīptena³¹⁶ samprajvālītena³¹⁷ ekajvālibhūtena

296 na] Σ; nāpi B. O91r.

297 viṣodakena] Σ; viṣadaśodakena R, udakena Tib

298 vidyāmantra°] AIKLNORW; na vidyānāṃ vidyāmantra° B, vidyāmantraśo° J, na vidyāman-
tra° GPW_{var}, na vidyānāṃ vidyā_mantra° Q

299 ca] Σ; *om.* BOR

300 sādhuprayuktānāṃ] Σ; sādhuprayuktānāṃ A, sādhuprayuktānāṃ ca B, sādhuprayuk-
tāṃ ca Q, sādhuprayuktā R. J48r.

301 ca] GP; cāsiddhānāṃ siddhakarī | siddhānāṃ ca saṃkṣobhaṇī | paraprāyuktānāṃ ca AJKW,
vardhaṇī | siddhānāṃ siddhanakarī | siddhānāṃ ca saṃkṣobhaṇī | paraprāyuktānāṃ ca B,
cāsiddhānāṃ ca siddhakarī | siddhānāṃ ca saṃkṣobhaṇī | paraprāyuktānāṃ ca I, cāsiddhānāṃ
siddha | paraprāyuktānāṃ L, *om.* NR, ca siddhānāṃ siddhakarī | siddhānāṃ ca saṃkṣobhaṇī |
paraprāyuktānāṃ ca O, vardhaṇī siddhānāṃ siddhamkarī | siddhānāṃ ca saṃkṣobhaṇī | para-
prāyuktānāṃ ca Q, cāsiddhānāṃ siddhakaram | siddhānāṃ ca saṃkṣobhaṇam | parayuktānāṃ S
302 parabandhānāṃ] LNR; parabandhanānāṃ ABIKQW, parabalānā G, parabandhanināṃ
JW_{var}, parabalānāṃ P

303 pramocanī] Σ; mocanī BLQ, mokṣaṇī GP. Chin omits vidyāmantraprayogānāṃ ca sarveṣāṃ
sādhuprayuktānāṃ ca bandhanī | parabandhānāṃ ca pramocanī

304 °roga°] Σ; *om.* R

305 °śoka°] Σ; °śokaśoka° G, (...) N

306 °vighna°] BGLPQRTib; °vighnavināyākānāṃ AIJKOW, (...) N

307 kali°] GLNR; °kalikalaha° Σ, kalaha° Tib

308 °kaluṣa°] Σ; *om.* P. K128r.

309 °praśamanakarī | sarvagrahavimocanakarī] AJKOR; °praśamanakarī | sarvagrahavimocanī
BQ, °praśamanakarmasarvagrahavimocanakarī GP, °pramardanakarī sarvagrahavimocanakarī
I, °praśamanakarī | sarvagrahavināśanī L, °praśamanakarī | sarvagrahapramocanakarī N,
°praśamanakarī | sakalagrahavimocanakarī S, °praśamanakarī W. B181v, P73v.

310 saptadhāsyā] Σ; saptadhā G

311 sphuṭen] Σ; sphuṭon GNR

312 mūrdhā] Σ; mūrdhnāṃ L, mūrdhnā R

313 arjakasyeva] Σ; arjakaseva J

314 Note the metrical line here.

315 mahāyakṣasenāpatir] Σ; senāpatir G, yakṣasenāpatir P

316 A126v

317 samprajvālītena] GLNPR; jvālītena prajvālītena samprajvālītena ABIJKOQS, prajvālītena W,
prajvālītena samprajvālītena TibW_{var}

dhyāyivā³¹⁸ mūrdhānaṃ³¹⁹ sphoṭayet³²⁰ | catvāraś ca³²¹ mahārājāno³²² ‘yomayena³²³
cakreṇa³²⁴ kṣuradhārā³²⁵ prahāreṇa³²⁶ vināśayeyuḥ³²⁷ | tasmād³²⁸ yakṣalokāc³²⁹ cya-
vanam³³⁰ bhavet³³¹ | aḍakavatyāṃ rājadhānyāṃ³³² na labhate vāsam |

[8] asyāṃ³³³ khalu³³⁴ rāhula³³⁵ mahādaṇḍadhāraṇyāṃ vidyāyāṃ³³⁶ sakṛt³³⁷ parivar-
titāyāṃ³³⁸ rājacaurodakāgni³³⁹ viśaśastrāṭavi³⁴⁰ kāntāraparvatadurga³⁴¹ madhyaga-
taḥ³⁴² sarvabhayebhyaḥ pratimucyate³⁴³ | iyaṃ khalu³⁴⁴

318 dhyāyivā] LNR; tāvad vyāyed yāvan AJTibW_{var}, avadhyāyatā yāvan B, avadhyāyatā G, tāvad vyāyed yātan I, tāvad vyāyādayed yāvan K, tāvad vyāyed yāvat O, avadhyāyan P, avadh-
yāyatāṃ yāvan Q, tāvad vyāyached yāvan W

319 mūrdhānaṃ] Σ; mūrdhnānaṃ L, mūrdhānaṃ ca N, mūrdhnāṃ ca R

320 sphoṭayet] AGIJKOW; sphālayet BQ, sphoṭaya L, sphoṭayati P, sphoṭaye N, sphoṭaye R

321 ca] Σ; cāsya BQ

322 mahārājāno] Σ; mahārājāna N, mahārājānaḥ R

323 ‘yomayena] Σ; ‘yomukhena P

324 cakreṇa] BLNRTib; cakreṇa mūrdhānaṃ sphoṭayeyuḥ AIKOW, cakreṇa mūrdhānaṃ sphoṭayet GQ, cakreṇa mūrdhānaṃ sphoṭayetayuḥ J, cakreṇa mūrdhānaṃ sphoṭayanti P

325 kṣuradhārā] Σ; khuradhārā J, kṣuradhāreṇa W_{var}

326 °prahāreṇa] BGKPRW; °prahāreṇa ca AIJLNOQ

327 vināśayeyuḥ] Σ; vināśayeyus GILW

328 tasmād] BNOR; tasmāc ca AGIJKPQW, sa yakṣas tasmāc ca L

329 yakṣalokāc] Σ; yakṣakulalokāc P

330 cyavanaṃ] Σ; cyāvanaṃ L, cyavavanaṃ O

331 bhavet] IKLNOPRW_{var}; bhava A, bhaved BGJQS, bhaveyuh W

332 rājadhānyāṃ] Σ; *om.* R

333 asyāṃ] Σ; asmāt AB, asyā GL, atha W

334 khalu] GLNR; khalu puna AIJOPQ, khalu punar B, khalu punaḥ SW_{var}, khalu punā KW

335 rāhula] Σ; *om.* B, rāhulo LN

336 mahādaṇḍadhāraṇyāṃ vidyāyāṃ] LNTib; mahāśītavatīṃ nāma dhāraṇyāṃ vidyāṃ A, mahāśītavatīnāmadhāraṇyāṃ vidyāyāṃ BPQ, mahāśītavatīṃ nāma dhāraṇyāṃ vidyāyāṃ G, mahāśītavatīmahāvidyāyāṃ IKW, mahāśītavatīmahāvidyārāyāṃ J, śītavatīmahāvidyāyāṃ O, mahādaṇḍadhāraṇyā mahāvidyāyāṃ R, mahāśītavatīnāmamahāvidyāyāṃ W_{var}

337 sakṛt°] Σ; *om.* AW_{var}, satkṛtya G

338 °parivartitāyāṃ] Σ; °parivartāyāṃ N, °parivārārtāyāṃ R

339 °āgni°] Σ; °āgnibhaya° O

340 °viśaśastrāṭavi°] Σ; °vistrāṭavi° R °śastrāṭavi° Tib

341 °kāntāraparvatadurga°] NTib; °kāntācadurgesu ABQ, °kāntāra° GPW, °kāntāradurga° IKOW_{var}, °kāntāradu° J, °kāntāraparvatadurgama° L, °kāntāraparvatadurgadurga° R, °kāntāca-
durga° S. B182r, I89v, N151v.

342 °madhyagataḥ] Σ; °madhyagata G, °madhyataḥ N, °madhyegatasya S

343 pratimucyate] Σ; parimucyate PSW. O91v.

344 khalu] GLNPR; khalu punar Σ. G126v.

mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī³⁴⁵vidyā³⁴⁶ ekanavati³⁴⁷gaṅgānadivālikā³⁴⁸samair buddhair³⁴⁹
bhāṣitā³⁵⁰ bhāṣyate bhāṣiṣyate³⁵¹ ca siddhā³⁵² paramasiddhā³⁵³ sarvadevanāga-
yakṣa³⁵⁴ gandharvāsuraḡarudakinnaramahoraḡābhir³⁵⁵ vanditā³⁵⁶ sarva-
jana³⁵⁷ gaṇaparivṛtā³⁵⁸ | sarvabhayopadraveṣu mama³⁵⁹ sarvasattvānām ca³⁶⁰ śivam
ārogyam³⁶¹ bhavatu³⁶² |

345 mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī°] LNTib; mahāśītavatīnāma° ABOPQW_{var}, śītavatīnāma° G,
mahāśītavatī° IJKW, mahādaṇḍadhāraṇī° R, mahatī śītavatī° S

346 °vidyā] ABGLNPQRWTib; °mahāvidyā IJKOSW_{var}

347 ekanavati°] AGLNPQR; ekanavati° B, ekanavatyām IKOW, ekanavatinā J. R134v.

348 °vālikā°] Σ; °vālukā° IORW

349 buddhair] GLNW_{var}; buddhair bhagavadbhir ΣTib, buddhair __ R

350 bhāṣitā] Σ; bhāṣi N

351 bhāṣyate bhāṣiṣyate] ABL; bhāṣyante bhāṣiṣyante GN, bhāṣiṣyante bhāṣyante I, bhāṣiṣyate
bhāṣyate JKOW, bhāṣante bhāṣiṣyante PQ, bhāṣyante bhāṣite ca R, bhāṣiṣyante bhāṣante S,
bhāṣiṣyate W_{var}. L67r.

352 siddhā] ABIJKOPW; siddhāḡ GLNQR. *om.* Tib

353 paramasiddhā] *corr.*; paramasiddhā | parākramā A, paramasiddhā | siddhaparākramā
BIJKOW, paramasiddhāḡ siddhaparākramāḡ GP, paramasiddhāḡ LNRChin, paramasiddhāḡ sar-
vasiddhaparākramāḡ QS

354 °yakṣa°] Σ; *om.* Tib, °yakṣarākṣasa° W_{var}.

355 °mahoraḡābhir] GL; °mahoraḡādibhir Σ, °mahoraḡābhi° P, °mahoraḡābhiḡ R. Tib omits
°asuraḡarudakinnaramahoraḡādibhir. Chin gives °gandharvāsuraḡarutamahoraḡābhir.

356 vanditā] Σ; vanditāḡ GN, vanditām L, vanditvā P

357 sarvajana°] GLNPRTib; sarvajina° Σ

358 °parivṛtā] Σ; °parivṛtāḡ GLNQR. K128v.

359 mama] ABGIQW; AJHITOKASYA J, ca ŚĀKYABHIKṢUŚRĪSOMABHADRASYA K, māḡ UDDĀKĀYĀḡ L,
om. NR, mama saparivārasya O, MAMUKASYA P, ca mama S

360 sarvasattvānām ca] Σ; sarvasattvānām P, *om.* GLQ, sarvasattvānām ca saparivārasya W_{var}

361 śivam ārogyam] *em.*; rakṣām śivam ārogyam abhayam ca sarvadā sarvathā sarvataḡ
sarvāvasthāsu ABJ, maitrī śivārogyam GP, rakṣā śivam ārogyam abhayam ca sarvadā sarvathā
sarvataḡ sarvāvasthāsu IK, śivam ārogyam ca mama sarvasattvānām ca NR, maitrīm rakṣām
śivam ārogyam abhayam ca sarvadā sarvathā sarvataḡ sarvāvasthāsu Q, śivam ārogyam sarva-
sattvānām ca L, abhayam ca sarvadā sarvathā sarvataḡ sarvāvasthāsu śivam ārogyarakṣā OW_{var},
rakṣām kuru śivam ārogyam abhayam ca sarvadā sarvathā sarvataḡ sarvāvasthāsu W, śivam
ārogyam abhayam Tib. Q76v

362 bhavatu] GKOPSW_{var}; bhavantu ABIJLQW, svāhā N, *om.* R

[9] idam avocad bhagavān āttamanā³⁶³ āyusmān rāhulo³⁶⁴ bhagavato³⁶⁵ bhāṣitam³⁶⁶
abhyandann³⁶⁷ iti |

[10] āryamahādaṇḍadhāraṇīśītavatī³⁶⁸ samāptā³⁶⁹ |

8 An annotated translation

[0] Veneration to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.³⁷⁰

363 āttamanā] Σ; *om.* GPTib

364 rāhulo] GLNPR; rāhulaḥ sā ca sarvāvati parṣat sadevamānuṣāsurasuragandharvas ca loko AJQW, rāhulaḥ sā ca sarvāvati parṣat sadevamānuṣāsurasuragaruḍagandharvas ca loko BO, rāhulaḥ sā ca sarvāvati parṣadā sadevamānuṣāsurasuragandharvas ca loko I, rāhulaḥ sā ca sarvāvati pariṣat sadevamānuṣāsurasuragaruḍagandharvas ca loko K

365 bhagavato] Σ; bhagavān° I, bhagavataḥ W

366 bhāṣitam] Σ; samyaksambuddhabhāṣitam W

367 abhyandann] Σ; abhyandann B. B182v

368 āryamahādaṇḍadhāraṇīśītavatī] N;

āryamahāśītavatināmamahāvīdyārājñīmahānuṣāsarakṣāsūtram AB,

āryamahāśītavatināmamahāvīdyārājñī IJKOW_{var},

āryamahāśītavatināmamahāvīdyāmahānuṣāsarakṣāsūtram Q,

āryamahāśītavatināmamahādaṇḍadhāraṇīvidyārājñī G, daṇḍadhāraṇīāryamahāśītavatī L,

āryaśītavatināmamahāvīdyārājñīrakṣāsūtram P, āryamahādaṇḍadhāraṇīāryamahāśītavatī R,

āryamahādaṇḍanāmādhāraṇī Tib, āryamahāśītavatināmāvīdyārājñī W

369 samāptā] BJLNRW; samāpta A, samāptaḥ GIO, samāptam PQW_{var}, samāptaḥ W_{var}

370 Note the variations of this opening formula. The Chinese translation does not include an obeisance.

[1] Thus have I heard. At one time the Lord was dwelling in Rājagṛha. In the Śītavana great burning ground,³⁷¹ in the Iṅghikāyatana quarter,³⁷² there the venerable Rāhula³⁷³ was excessively disturbed by Deva-Grahas,³⁷⁴ Nāga-Grahas, Yakṣa-Grahas, Rākṣasa-Grahas, Kinnara-Grahas, Garuḍa-Grahas, Mahoraga-Grahas, human-Grahas, non-human-Grahas, Preta-Grahas, Bhūta-Grahas, Piśāca-Grahas,

371 Note that the majority of the selected manuscripts transmit ambiguous information about the dwelling place of the Lord and Rāhula. While it is not completely unlikely that both of them were staying in the Śītavana cremation ground (in *avadāna* No. 92 of the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Jyotiṣkāvadāna*, No. 19 of the *Divyāvadāna*, the Buddha visits the Śītavana but does not stay there), it seems more probable that they were in two separate places and this is also supported by *tatra* in section [3]. Thus this textual tradition may reflect peculiar syntax, and it has been deliberately chosen to be included in the main text so as to problematize this passage. Most likely to clarify this ambiguity there exists an expanded textual tradition as well, transmitted in ms. L and the Tibetan translation and commentary: here it is stated that the Buddha was staying on the Gṛdhra-kūṭa (Tib. adds: with 1250 monks) and Rāhula in Rājagṛha proper. In the Chinese translation the Lord is in Rājagṛha and Rāhula in the Śītavana. Note that Mitra 1882, 164 curiously writes that the ‘Buddha was sojourning on the bank of a tank near a cremation ground at Rājagṛha.’

372 While interpreted as a toponym, Iṅghikāyatana may somehow be related to *indhana* ‘fuel’ referring to a place where firewood is stored. Note that the Tibetan translation indeed reads ‘next to the great firewood-pile-like place.’

373 Note that Rāhula is also a main character in the *Mekhalā-dhāraṇī*, and the *nidāna* is quite similar to the one in the MDDS. He and the Lord stay there in separate places, which reinforces the supposition that this must also be the case in the MDDS. See Tripathi 1981.

374 Graha can mean both ‘grasping/seizure/possession’ or, in a personified form, a ‘Grasper/Seizer.’ In our text it appears to be a personified reference (see section [7]) to a demonic being attached to various categories of other beings. Such compounds are found elsewhere in South Asian literature: there are references to *yakkhagaha* in *Dhammapada* and *Vinaya* commentaries, the *Mahāmāyūrī* lists *devagraha*, *nāgragraha*, *asuragraha*, *marutagraha*, *garuḍagraha*, *gandharvagraha*, *kinnaragraha*, *mahoragagraha*, *yakṣagraha*, *rākṣasagraha*, *pretagraha*, *piśācagraha*, *bhūtagraha*, *kumbhāṇḍagraha*, *pūtanagraha*, *kaṭapūtanagraha*, *skandagraha*, *umādagraha*, *chāyāgraha*, *apasmāgraha* and *ostārakagraha* with slight variations at three places (Takubo 1972, 3, 27, 57), and the *Asilomaprasara* lists *devagraha*, *nāgragraha*, *asuragraha*, *mārutagraha*, *garuḍagraha*, *gandharvagraha*, *kinnaragraha*, *mahoragagraha*, *pretagraha*, *pūtanagraha*, *kumbhāṇḍagraha*, *klāṭa* (read: *kaṭa*) *pūtanagraha*, *piśācagraha*, *kākhordagraha*, *vaitāḍa* (read: *vetāla*) *graha*, *śiṣagraha*, *hṛdayagraha*, *udaragraha*, *vastigraha*, *skandhagraha*, *bahu* (read: *bāhu*) *graha*, *uru* (read: *ūru*) *graha*, *jaṅghagraha*, *pādagraha*, *nakṣatragraha*, *uparigraha*, *ala-kṣmīgraha* and *vidya* (read: *vidyā*) *graha* (Waldschmidt and Sander 1980, 273). Mann 2012 discusses the often problematic characteristics of Grahas in detail from the *Atharvaveda* onwards and refers to *Āraṇyakaparvan* 219 of the *Mahābhārata* where *devagraha*, *pitṛgraha*, *siddhagraha*, *rākṣasagraha*, *gandharvagraha*, *yakṣagraha* and *piśācagraha* are mentioned and Slouber (forthcoming) writes about *skandagraha* ‘Skanda’s seizers’ in the *Kriyākālaguṇottara*.

Kumbhāṇḍa-Grahas, tigers, crows, owls, insects, creeping animals and other human and non-human beings.

[2] Then the venerable Rāhula went to the Lord³⁷⁵ and having approached him bowed his head down at his feet, circumambulated him three times and shed tears in front of him weeping.

[3] Then the Lord, already knowing [the answer], addressed Rāhula, ‘Why are you shedding tears, O Rāhula, standing in front of me?’ Addressed thus, the venerable Rāhula spoke this to the Lord, ‘O Lord, I have been dwelling here, in Rājagṛha, in the Śītavana great burning ground, in the Īṅghikāyatana quarter. I have been disturbed there by Deva-Grahas, Nāga-Grahas, Yakṣa-Grahas, Rākṣasa-Grahas, Kin-nara-Grahas, Garuḍa-Grahas, Mahoraga-Grahas, human-Grahas, non-human-Grahas, Preta-Grahas, Bhūta-Grahas, Piśāca-Grahas, Kumbhāṇḍa-Grahas, tigers, crows, owls, insects, creeping animals and other human and non-human beings.’

[4] Then the Lord addressed the venerable Rāhula, ‘O Rāhula, learn this Great Daṇḍa-dhāraṇī Spell. It shall be protection, shelter and safeguard for the fourfold assembly, advantage, benefit and comfort³⁷⁶ for monks, nuns, laymen and laywomen for a long time.

[5] Namely,³⁷⁷

aṅgā, vaṅgā, bhaṅgā, varaṅgā, saṃsāratarāṅgā, sāsadaṅgā, bhaṅgā, jesurā, ekatarā, ara vīrā, tara vīrā, kara vīrā, kara kara vīrā, indrā, indrakisarā, haṃsā, haṃsakisarā, picimalā, mahākiccā, viheṭhikā, kālucchikā, aṅgodarā, jayā, jayālikā, velā, elā, cintāli, cili cili, hili hili, sumati, vasumati, culu naṭṭe, culu culu naṭṭe, culu nāḍi, kunāḍi, hāriṭhiki, kāriṭhiki, gauri, gandhāri, caṇḍāli, mātaṅgi,³⁷⁸ dharaṇi dhāraṇi, uṣṭrapālike, kaca kārike, cala nāṭike, kākalike, lalamati, rakṣamati, varākule, manmate utpale, kara vīre, tara vīre, tara tara vīre, kuru vīre, kuru kuru vīre,

³⁷⁵ The Tibetan translation gives here again an expanded and unambiguous formulation about the dwelling place of the Lord: ‘...went where the Lord stayed on the Gḍhrakūṭa.’

³⁷⁶ Note the addition of *yogaṣemāya* in some mss. and the even longer expansion of this phrase in the *Vasudhārā-dhāraṇī*: ... *arthāya hitāya sukhāya ṣemāya subhikṣāya yogasambhārāya* ... (*Dhīh* 2007, 133.9–10).

³⁷⁷ Both *dhāraṇī* sections have been left untranslated except for the concluding sentences because of the difficulties of interpreting the majority of words.

³⁷⁸ Skilling 1992, 155 lists a number of Buddhist texts including these four vocatives as a common string of words.

curu vīre, curu curu vīre, mahāvīre, iramati, varamati, rakṣamati, sarvārthasādhani, paramārthasādhani, apratihate. May King Indra, King Yama, King Varuṇa, King Kubera, King Manasvin, King Vāsuki, King Daṇḍāgni,³⁷⁹ King Brahmā Sahasrādhipati,³⁸⁰ King Buddha, the Lord, the Master of the Doctrine, the Chief Compassionate One in the World, provide protection for me and for all beings. May they bestow shielding, fencing round, shelter, peace, good fortune, removal of punishment, defence from weapons, counteracting of poison, destruction of poison, sealing the boundary, sealing the ground. May I live for a hundred years, may I see a hundred autumns.³⁸¹

[6] Namely,

balavati, varamati, talamati, lakṣamati, rakṣamati,³⁸² huru huru, phuru phuru, cara cara, khara khara, khuru khuru, mati mati, bhūmicāṇḍe, kālikeṭi, akisalā, pīte, sāmālate, hūle sthūle, sthūlasīkhare, jaya sthūle, jaya naṭṭe, cala nāsi, culu nāsi, vāgbandhani, virohaṇi, solohite, aṇḍare, paṇḍare, karāle, kinnare, keyūre, ketumati, bhūtaṃgame, bhūtamati, dhanye, maṅgalye, mahābalalohitamūle, acalacaṇḍe, dhuraṃdharā, jayālike, jayā, gorohaṇi, curu curu, rundha rundha, dhuru dhuru, khuru khuru, khurumati, bandhumati, dhuraṃdhare, dhare dhare, vidhare vimati, viṣkambhaṇi, nāsani vināsani, bandhani, mokṣaṇi, mocani, mohani, bhāvani, śodhani, saṃśodhani viśodhani, saṃkhirāṇi, saṃchindani, sādhu turumāṇe, hara hara bandhumati, hiri hiri, khiri khiri, kharali, huru huru, piṅgale. Veneration to the glorious³⁸³ Buddhas svāhā.

379 Appears to be the name of a Lokapāla. Cf. *Vimalaprabhā: oṃ yāḥ vajrakrodharāja niladaṇḍāgneyyāṃ diśi rakṣāṃ kuru kuru svāhā*. The four/eight standard Lokapālas are Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūpākṣa, Virūḍhaka and Vaiśravaṇa/Kubera; Indra, Yama, Varuṇa, Kubera, Īśāna, Agni, Nairṛta and Vāyu.

380 Note the unusual Sahasrādhipati for Sahā(ṃ)pati. Note also the non-standard lengthening of short 'i'-stem nominative endings in this list. While Vāsukī, Agnī and Adhipatī are attested forms in various Buddhist texts, the present case may also reflect a process of assimilation resulting from the position of these words between Manasvī and Dharmasvāmī.

381 The *Mahāmāyūrīvidyārājñī* includes this sentence (a common phrase with slight variations from Vedic literature onwards) more than forty times.

382 Note that some of these words appear in the section [5] as well.

383 Note bhagavatāṃ for bhagavatānāṃ.

[7] O Rāhula, if one [recites and] ties this Great Daṇḍa-dhāraṇī Spell of an altogether³⁸⁴ hundred-and-eight *padas*³⁸⁵ into a knot³⁸⁶ on a thread and [it is] worn around the forearm or the neck, protection will be established all around up to one hundred *yojanas*.³⁸⁷ By [offering] fragrances, flowers or seals neither humans nor non-humans will come near, [similarly to] poison, weapons, sickness, fever, high fever, spells, mantras and Vetālas.³⁸⁸ One will not die from illness, fire, poison or water.³⁸⁹ It causes all uses of properly employed spells and mantras to be blocked.³⁹⁰ It releases from bonds made by the enemy. It destroys all diseases, sorrow, and obstacles.³⁹¹ It eliminates discord and agitation. It liberates from all Grahas. If a Graha does not release, his head will split into seven like the blossom of the Arjaka plant.³⁹² Vajrapāṇi,³⁹³ the great leader³⁹⁴ of the Yakṣas, will attentively³⁹⁵ break his head with a blazing, burning and single-flamed vajra.³⁹⁶ The Four Great Kings will

384 Or: ‘at least’.

385 Note the variations between *aṣṭottara*^o and *daṣṭottara*^o in the mss. *Pada* seems to refer to short sections of the *dhāraṇī* itself (cf. *mantra-pada*). Note that the *Uṣṇiṣavijayā-dhāraṇī* is divided into one hundred portions (Yuyama 1997, 732). The Tibetan translation gives *daṣṭottaraśatāyāṃ* excluding *pada*. The Chinese translation says that the spell should be recited a hundred and eight times.

386 It is not unlikely that *granthi* ‘knot’ carries a plural sense here.

387 A *yojana* is calculated to be a few miles, varying according to different sources. See Fleet 1906 and more recently and extensively Skilling 1998. Note that the Tibetan translation gives ten *yojanas* instead of a hundred.

388 On Vetāla/Vetāḍa see Skilling 2007 and Dezső 2010.

389 For various lists of dangers and advantages in *rakṣā* texts see Strauch 2008, 40–47.

390 Note the expanded form of this sentence in some mss: ‘It causes all unaccomplished uses of properly employed spells and mantras to be accomplished. It causes those accomplished to be disturbed. It causes those [spells and mantras] used by the enemy to be blocked.’ Cf. *Vajravīdāraṇī: asiddhānāṃ siddhakaraṃ siddhānāṃ cāpi vināśanakaraṃ* (Iwamoto 1937, 7).

391 Or: ‘Vighnas’ if ‘obstacles’ are considered here personified. Cf. the expanded ‘Vighnas and Vināyakas’ in some mss.

392 *Ocimum Gratissimum*, a kind of basil.

393 On the complex history, development and transformations of the Lord of the Yakṣas, a great protector, see e.g. Lamotte 1966 and Snellgrove 1987, 134–141.

394 *Senāpati* appears to have a more general meaning, ‘leader’ or ‘head,’ in this context (and elsewhere too in Buddhist literature), rather than the specific sense of ‘army general.’

395 Note the variant from *ava vdhyaī* ‘disapproving, rebuking’.

396 The Tibetan translation adds ‘like the Arjaka’. The breaking or bursting of one’s head as a punishment appears in several Buddhist and Brahmanical texts – in the former instances often by the intervention of Vajrapāṇi. For a detailed study of this phenomenon see Witzel 1987. The examples quoted there and further ones include various Pali sources (*Āṭānāṭṭiyasutta* DN.32: *api ssa naṃ mārisa amanussā sattadhā pi ssa muddhaṃ phāleyyūṃ*; *Ambaṭṭhasutta* DN.3. and *Cūlasaccakasutta* MN.35: *tena kho pana samayena vajirapāṇi yakkho mahantaṃ ayokūtaṃ (āyasaṃ*

destroy him with an iron discus and the stroke of a razor-edge.³⁹⁷ He will fall from that Yakṣa-world³⁹⁸ and not gain residence in the capital, Aḍakavati.³⁹⁹

[8] O Rāhula, if this Great Daṇḍa-dhāraṇī Spell is recited [even] once, one is released from kings, thieves, water, fire, poison, weapons and from all sorts of dangers in forests, woods, mountains or impassable places. This Great Daṇḍa-dhāraṇī Spell was, is and will be proclaimed by the Buddhas equalling the sand-particles of ninety-one Gaṅgā rivers.⁴⁰⁰ It is effective and highly accomplished. It is praised by

vajiraṃ MN) ādāya ādittaṃ sampajjalitaṃ sajotibhūtaṃ ambaṭṭhassa māṇavassa (saccakassa nigaṇṭhaputtassa MN) upari vehāsaṃ ṭhito hoti – sacāyaṃ ambaṭṭho māṇavo (saccako nigaṇṭhaputto MN) bhagavatā yāvativiyakaṃ sahadhammikaṃ pañhaṃ puṭṭho na byākarissati, ethevassa sattadhā muddhaṃ phālessāmi” ti); the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka: saptadhāsyā sphuṭen mūrdhā arjakasyeva mañjarī | ya imaṃ mantra śrutvā vai atikramed dharmabhāṅakam; Avadānaśataka: atha na paryeṣase, niyataṃ devasya saptadhā mūrdhānaṃ sphālayāmi; Mahāmāyūri: yas caimāṃ mahāvidyāṃ kaś cid atikramiṣyati saptadhāsyā sphuṭen mūrdhā arjakasyeva mañjarī and yaś cemāṃ ānanda mahāmāyūrividyaṃ rājñīm atikramet tasya vajrapāṇiḥ saptadhā mūrdhānam arjakasyeva mañjarīṃ sphoṭayiṣyati; Sādhanamālā: yaś cainam ahir daśet tasya saptadhā sphuṭen mūrdhā arjakasyeva mañjarī; Vajrāvalī: yo nāpakrāmati tasyāham anena prajvalitahūmkāravajreṇa dīptapradīptena mahatā jñānavajreṇa mūrdhānaṃ śatadhā vikirāmi; Kriyāsaṃgraha: tasyāham anena prajvalitahūmkāreṇa dīptapradīptena mahatā jñānavajreṇa mūrdhānaṃ śatadhā vikarāmi and yo nāpakramet tasya vajrapāṇiḥ jvalitaśatikāraṇavajreṇa mūrdhni śatadhā vikiret; Hevajratantra: yaḍi na varṣanti tadā mūrdhā sphuṭati yathārjakasyeva mañjarī or various Upaniṣads; the Brhātkaṭhāślokaṣaṃgraha: balāt kāmaya-mānasya niṣkāmaṃ kāṃ cid aṅganām | bhavataḥ śatadhā mūrdhā dagdhabuddheḥ sphuṭeḍ iti and Kathāsaritsāgara: jānan yaḍi na vadiṣyasi vidaliṣyati te śraḥ śatadhā.

397 The razor edge is likely to be that of the iron discus (cf. the Tibetan translation). Note that the Chinese translation interprets this section differently. It says that one should recite this spell fully concentrated when demons come to cause trouble and do not leave. Then those demons perceive the reciter as if he was Vajrapāṇi, the great Yakṣa leader, being a brightly blazing vajra. The Four Great Heavenly Kings drive the demons away with iron wheels and sharp swords. The demons' heads split into seven and their bodies are torn into small pieces.

398 It is possible that this reference to a Graha as a Yakṣa comes from the association of possession with Yakṣas from Vedic times onwards (DeCaroli 2004, 25–26). The category of Yakṣa otherwise appears to be rather fluid in *dhāraṇī* literature too: in the *Mahāpratisarā-Mahāvidyārājñī*, for example, even gods and goddesses are referred to by this denomination at one place (Hidas 2012, 242–243.18–21).

399 For similar and further punishments for Yakṣas cf. Ātānāṭiyasutta: *na me so, mārisa, amanusso labheyya ālakamandāya nāma rājadhāniyā vatthuṃ vā vāsaṃ vā. na me so, mārisa, amanusso labheyya yakkhānaṃ samitiṃ gantuṃ. api sso naṃ, mārisa, amanussā anāvayham pi naṃ kareyyuṃ avivayhaṃ. api sso naṃ, mārisa, amanussā attāhi pi paripuṇṇāhi paribhāsāhi paribhāseyyūṃ.*

400 Note that the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, for example, give various numbers of Gaṅgā rivers (usually up to eighty) with reference to their sand-particles.

all the Devas, Nāgas, Yakṣas, Gandharvas, Asuras, Garuḍas, Kinnaras and Mahoragas, and embraced by all assemblies of people. *May there be welfare and freedom from disease for me and for all beings in all dangers and troubles.*⁴⁰¹

[9] Thus spoke the Lord. Transported with joy, the venerable Rāhula⁴⁰² praised the words spoken by the Lord.

[10] The noble Great Daṇḍa-dhāraṇī-śītavatī ends here.

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Divyāvadāna: see Vaidya 1959.

401 This sentence may be a later addition to the text. Cf. the other invocations placed at the end of sections [5] and [6]. It may, however, also be possible that the MDDS actually ended with this sentence and not the usual concluding formula at an earlier stage of textual development.

402 Note the logically inconsistent expansion of this formulaic ending with ‘the entire assembly and the world with its Devas, humans, Asuras and Gandharvas’ in a number of mss.

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Minor Vajrayāna Texts IV. A Sanskrit fragment of the *Rigyarallitantra*

Abstract: This paper is centred on the first edition of a Sanskrit palm-leaf fragment of the *Rigyaralli* (Add.1680.12), a slightly obscure, late Buddhist *tantra*. The introductory study contains a description of the multiple-text manuscript the fragment is transmitted in, an examination of testimonia, a brief overview of the Tibetan translation of the tantra and some related literature, and a short note on the pantheon. I argue that the text must date from the early 11th c. CE. Accompanied by a tentative translation and some notes, the edition is given in two forms: critical and diplomatic.

1 Cambridge fragments Or.158 and Add.1680.12/13

The fact that the fragments under scrutiny here, Or.158 of 12 folios and Add.1680.12 plus 1680.13 of one folio each, originally formed part of the same multiple-text manuscript, as well as the fact that the texts contained therein are fragments of the *Buddhakapālatantra*, the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, and the *Rigyarallitantra*, were first determined by Harunaga Isaacson in 1997.¹

Manuscript Or.158² was purchased by Bendall during his 1898–99 tour (see Formigatti's contribution in this volume). The latter fragment of two folios has been described by Bendall (1883, 171), but he could not identify the contents. About Add.1680.12 Bendall stated that it is 'a leaf of a work on Buddhist mudrās'. He dated it to the 12th–13th century and gave two short transcriptions with one misprint or misreading in the first and two in the second. The first of these transcripts is from line 1 of the recto: *aṅkuśamudreti | karadvayasya kaniṣkā[sic!]bhyām anyonyam aṅkuśarūpaṃ*; whereas the second is from the line 2 on the verso, a final rubric: *svare[sic!]ya[sic!]buddhākhyāna(?)paṭalaś caturthaḥ ||*. Bendall added a short note after this: 'At the beginning of the next chapter occur the names of Çuddhodhana

¹ Isaacson, personal communication, 2008. Luo 2010 has used the *Buddhakapāla* fragment for his edition; a study of the *Vajrāmṛta* is currently under preparation by Francesco Sfera (see his contribution to the present volume).

² <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00158-00001/1>.

[sic!], Aralli, Rāhula, etc.’ About Add. 1680.13 he had nothing to say, except to conjecture a title ‘*Niruttara Tantra*’ and to describe it as ‘Non-Buddhistic’. The present paper will focus on Add.1680.12.

The document, of which for the time being unfortunately we have only the aforementioned fragments, was either created as a multiple-text manuscript, or was treated as such shortly after its copying. Suggestive of this fact is that on fol. 1r, or one might say the title page, of Or.158, in the upper left corner we find — in addition to some scribal exercises in Sanskrit and Newar — a short list rather similar to the main scribal hand. This list, or one might say table of contents, runs as follows: [siddham sign] *vajrāmṛtatantra* || *vajrāraṇitantra* || *buddhakaṭātantra* || (Cf. Sanderson 2009, 315, who silently corrects *vajrāraṇi-* to *vajrārali-*). However, if we reunite Or.158 and Add.1680.12 and 1680.13, the contents seem to be the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, the *Buddhakaṭātantra*, and one folio of the *Rigyarallitantra*; in other words, the *Vajrāralitantra* is either missing (but then the *Rigyarallitantra* is not recorded) or confused with the *Rigyarallitantra*.

Since it starts on fol. 1v, the first item in the multiple-text manuscript is the *Vajrāmṛtatantra*, but, curiously, this text also has a colophon at its end giving the date of copying as [Nepāla]samvat 282, the 13th of the bright fortnight of *āśvina*, day of *Śan[a]iścara* = Saturday, September 22, 1162 CE (See Luo *ibid.* n. 47, only the year is given in Sanderson 2009, 315). Had the scribe intended to go on to copy the other *tantras* into a multiple-text manuscript, he would have more likely given the date of copying at the very end and not after the first item of the collection. However, there can be little doubt that the scribe of the other texts is the very same or that there are at least two scribes writing in very similar ways, for which the most likely scenario is that they were trained in the same scriptorium. I therefore propose that either the original scribe or somebody working in the same environment continued copying the other scriptures as a kind of afterthought. Unfortunately, we do not have colophons for the other texts.

At first glance there seem to be good chances that the date for the copying of the other scriptures must be somewhere in the more or less immediate range of 1162 CE. However, we cannot be entirely sure. For manuscripts in the Indo-Nepalese world sometimes contain additions in the same hand as late as sixty years after the first colophon. A case in point is a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* now kept at the Asia Society, New York. The first colophon dates to the 15th regnal year of Vighrapāla, the son of Nayapāla (i.e. Vighrapāla III), whereas the second colophon recording some renovation dates from the 8th regnal year of Gopāla IV. Although the image I have at my disposal is not of a very high quality,³ I cannot

3 www.himalayanart.org, item no. 88677.

find any significant differences between the two scribal hands. We are therefore dealing either with the same scribe at the very beginning and presumably very end of his career, or with a hand from the same scriptorium.

Be that as it may, once we are ready to accept that all our fragments were part of the same manuscript, we face another problem. The texts in this multiple-text manuscript are individually numbered, but for the fragment containing the *Rigyarallitantra* the surviving folio number on the margin is 13. It is quite impossible that the content of the previous folios (up to fol. 13, which survives) was exclusively the *Rigyarallitantra*. The *Rigyarallitantra* in the Sde dge edition of its Tibetan translation numbers 68 lines. The single surviving folio accounts for eleven lines of Sde dge text. It follows that only about six and a half to seven folios of the kind we are presently dealing with are needed for the entire text. The best candidate to make up for the missing space would be the *Vajrārallitantra*, which is only slightly longer than the *Rigyarallitantra* (by two and two thirds of Sde dge line, to be exact), and would therefore also need about seven folios in our palm-leaf manuscript. Moreover, this would account for the ‘table of contents’ mentioned above. In this case, however, it seems that, although the *Vajrāmṛtatantra* and the *Buddhakapālatantra* were numbered individually, the two ‘*Arali*’ *tantras* were taken as one and copied as a continuous text.

2 Testimonia for the *Rigyarallitantra*

In surviving Sanskrit texts there is a single⁴ known attestation for the existence and currency of the *Rigyarallitantra*. This is a referenced quotation in Raviśrījñāna’s

4 During the editorial process, I became aware of another, very important, testimony, the fourth and the seventeenth chapters of Abhayākaragupta’s *Āmnāyamañjarī* (Tōh./D 1198): 1) D 53a: *ri gī a ra lli’i rgyud du gsungs pa | ri gī lha mo rol pa ni rdo rje ’dzin pa’o zhes so ||*; 2) D 151b–152a: *ri gī a ra lli’i rgyud du | shar lus ’phags po dang lho ’dzam bu gling dang nub pa glang spyod dang byang sgra mi snyan ni gnas te | gnas bzhir ni lha mo bzhi mams dang ri rab kyi rtse mo la ri gī gnas so zhes gsungs pa dang | [...]*. Very recently, the first seventeen chapters of this major work became available in a splendid bilingual manuscript published facsimile: Institute of the Collection and Preservation of Ancient Tibetan Texts of Sichuan Province (compilers), *Dpal yang dag par sbyor ba’i rgyud kyi rgyal po’i rgya cher ’grel pa by Pandita ’jigs med ’buying gnas sbas pa*, Rare and Ancient Tibetan Texts Collected in Tibetan Regions Series vol. 1, Sichuan Nationalities Publishing House & Guangming Daily Press. (I am grateful to Toru Tomabechi and Kazuo Kano for alerting me to this fact as well as to the Codrington Library of All Souls College for promptly purchasing a copy.) The passages read: 1) Ms 154r (p. 309) *uktam hi rigyarallitantrē | rigī devī arallir vajradhara iti* |; 2) Ms 430v (p. 864) *rigyarallitantrē ca | pūrvavideho jambūdvīpam* (em.,

commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti*, the *Amṛtakaṇikā* (ed. Lal 1994, 11). To my knowledge, the dates of Raviśrījñāna have not been satisfactorily settled. He must postdate the *Vimalaprabhā*, that is to say the mid-11th century, and he must predate c. 1200 CE, since Vibhūticandra (for whose dates see Stearns 1996) wrote a subcommentary, the *Amṛtakaṇikoddyota*, on the *Amṛtakaṇikā*. The testimony amounts to one and a half verses, the initial three hemistichs of chapter 5. Since this passage also survives in the present fragment, I will discuss the particulars below.

The same passage and its continuation, amounting to a total of four verses, are quoted in a long commentary on the *Hevajratantra*, the **Vajrapadasārasaṅgraha* of *Yaśobhadra.⁵ There is an as yet unsubstantiated suspicion that this text survives in Sanskrit. We do not know much about the author,⁶ but he must post-date the *Vimalaprabhā*, which he quotes and refers to. He too therefore cannot predate the mid-11th century.

jambūpam Ms) aparagodānīyam uttarakuruś ca pīṭhaṃ | catuṣpīṭhe caturdevyo merumūrdhni riḡ sthītety uktam |.

5 D 64b: *de bzhin du dpal ā ra lli chen po'i rgyud du yang gsungs pa | rgyal po chen po zas gtsang ni | | ā ra lli ru yang dag gsal | | sgyu ma chen mo ri gi d[e]r | | 'gro ba shes rab thabs bdag nyid | | rdo rje sems dpa' don kun grub | | mchog tu dga' ba bde ba che | | lha mo sa 'tsho phyag rgya che | | sgra gcan 'dzin bzang bde ba che | | sa 'tsho ma ni sgyu 'phrul che | | sgyu ma'i rang bzhin spros pa las | | lhan cig skyes dga' dga' rab bshad | | rdo rje sgyu ma'i rnam 'phrul gyis | | slar yang bcom ldan rdo rje can | | skyed pa por ni rab tu grags | | sgyu ma chen mo skyed mor 'gyur | | de nyid phyag rgyar rab tu grags || zhes so ||.* The quoted text is from the beginning of the fifth chapter (D 179b–180a). Somewhat curiously, the title of the source text is given as *Mahārallitantra. This must be a slip of the pen on the author's part, or perhaps an error of the translators. *Yaśobhadra quotes from the *Mahārallitantra at another point (D 60b), but the quoted text here is not from the Rigyarallitantra, but the Vajrārallitantra (beginning of the eighth chapter, D 175a).

6 This is in spite of the fact that his colophon (D 146a–146b) is quite informative. Here the author tells us that he was a Kashmiri monk living in Paṭṭikeraka (*pa ṭṭi ke ra ka*) at the *Kanakastūpa (*gser gyi mchod rten*) monastery, and that he finished his commentary in the 18th regnal year of one *Haribrahmadeva (*'phrog byed tshangs pa'i lha*), styled king of Vaṅga (*bhaṃ ga*). A ruler bearing a very similar name, Harikāladeva, is mentioned in the so-called Maināmati copperplate inscription dated Śaka year 1141 = 1220 CE (Bhattacharyya 1933). This document records a gift to the Durgottārā *viḥārī*, clearly a Buddhist institution, in the city of Paṭṭikerā. The matching toponym (which can almost certainly be located in the vicinity of present Comilla in Bangladesh), the possibility of a generally Buddhist environment, and the similarity in the royal names suggest some sort of connection, but it is one that cannot be determined more precisely for the time being. Another candidate for this ruler may be Harivarmadeva (Sanderson 2009, 82); perhaps the confusion in the Tibetan translation was due to an Eastern pronunciation: Harivarma > *Haribormo > *Haribrommo > *Haribrahma > 'Phrog byed tshangs pa. I know of at least three Buddhist manuscripts copied during his reign.

Another major commentary, this time on the *Herukābhīdhāna*, which can be suspected to have survived in Sanskrit (*Krung bod dkar chag*, p. 120, no. 134), but is not yet accessible, is the **Tattvaviśadā* of **Śāśvatavajra*. This author mentions the name of the text (together with the *Vajrāralli*) in a list of *yoga-* and *yoginītantras*,⁷ and quotes it at least once.⁸ We cannot determine the identity of the author for certain, but he too must postdate the emergence of the Kālacakra system, since he shows awareness of this deity and at least one of the cult's texts (cf. D 325b).

Among works that are now available only in Tibetan with no Sanskrit original in sight, a referenced quotation⁹ can be found in the **Piṭhādinīṛṇaya* of **Śākya-rakṣita*. There might have been several authors by this name; here we are most likely dealing with the disciple of Abhayākara-gupta, therefore not a very early author.

By far the longest quotation, roughly half of chapter three, is to be found in the **Lūyīpādābhisamayavṛtti* of **Tathāgatavajra*.¹⁰ While this is a very important

7 D 342a–342b: rgyud du ni shes rab dang thabs dag gis gzhung yang dag par spel ba mams su ste der rgyal bas gsal bar byed pa mams ni 'dus pa phyi ma la sogs pa mal 'byor gyi rgyud nyi shu rtsa bzhi dang rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud rnam kyang ste dpal he ru ka mngon par 'byung ba dang | mngon par brjod pa bla ma dang | nam mkha' dang mnyam pa dang | kun spyod dang || rdo rje mkha' 'gro dang | r gi a ri [!] lli dang || rdo rje a ra lli dang || dpal he ru ka mngon par brjod pa dang | rig pa rgya mtsho dang | gsang ba rgya mtsho dang | ral pa gyen brdzes phyi ma dang || kha sbyor 'byung ba'i rgyud mams su rtogs par bya'o zhes pa sgra ji bzhin pa'o ||. The titles in this passage are: *Samājottara*, *Herukābhyūdaya*, *Abhīdhānottara*, *Khasama*, [*Yoginī*] *saṃcāra*, *Vajradāka*, *Ṛgiaralli*, *Vajrāralli*, *Herukābhīdhāna*, **Vidyārṇava* (?), **Guhyārṇava* (?), **Ūrdhvaṛjottara* (?), *Saṃpuṭodbhava*.

8 D 348a: r gi a rallir yang | | mgo bo yang ni nyon mongs bdud | | thod pa nam mkha' dag pa zhes so |. The quoted text is from the surviving *viśuddhi* section in the fourth chapter (D 179b).

9 D (I) 320a and D (II) 133b: ri gi ā ra lli'i rgyud las kyang | shar gyi lus 'phags 'dzam bu gling | | nub kyi ba lang spyod dang ni | | byang gi sgra mi snyan yang gnas | | gnas bzhir lha mo bzhi mams te | | ri rab rtse mor ri gi gnas || zhes gsungs so ||. The quoted text is from the beginning of the first chapter (D 176a).

10 D 303a–303b: [...] ri gi a ra lli'i rgyud las de bzhin du yang | a ra llis zhus lha mo la | | ye shes mchog kyang ji lta bu | | gang zhig mam par shes tsam gyis | | sgrub pa po yis dngos grub thob | | lha mo rigs kyis [!] yang dag gsungs | | ye shes chen po bde ba mchog | kun mkhyen ye shes las byung ba | | bsrub bya srub byed las byung ba | | bsam pa thams cad yongs spangs te | | dbang po thams cad des bkag nas | | skye 'gro med pa'i dben phyogs su | | gnyis pa thams cad dang bral ba'i | | mig gnyis ma phyē ma btsums par | | smin ma'i mtshams su sems gtad nas | | mun pa mi bzad tshul yang ni | | sgrub pa po yis dang por mthong | | de nas g.yon pa'i rna ba ni | | dal bus dal bus g.yo bar byed | | shes rab ma yi bde ba gang | | de bzhin phyag rgya chen po'i bde | | nyes pa'i rang bzhin mi phyag rgya | | de yis shes pa'ang nyams pa yin | | de phyir ye shes phyag rgya bsgom | | bde ba chen po bsgrub bya'i phyir | | ye shes chen po 'di kho na | | rang gi rig bya'i rang bzhin te | | gzhan la bstan par mi nus pa | | gzhon nu ma yis bde myong bzhin | | sbyor ba 'di dang bcas pa yi | | sems can mgu byed sems kyis su | | snying rjes sems can thams cad la | | sbyor ba 'di ni bde bar byed | | 'di la goms pa'i sbyor ba yis | | mkha' dang mnyam pa'i sems kyis su | | snying rje chen po'i rdzu 'phrul can | |

witness, the author does not bring us any closer to a solution as far as dating is concerned, since he seems to be even later than Raviśrījñāna. At the end of the work (D 307b–308a) he gives the same story as the one found in the introduction of Raviśrījñāna's *Guṇabharaṇī* (ed. Sferra 2000, 73–74). Here too the lineage starts with Anupamarakṣita, but after Dharmākaraśānti it continues with one *Kirtideva (Grags pa'i lha) and one *Dharmodgata (Chos 'phags), *Tathāgatavajra's teacher, instead of Guṇaratnākara and Raviśrījñāna. The author was therefore either one generation younger than Raviśrījñāna or his junior by a few years.

It would therefore seem that we cannot gather any evidence from testimonies to date the *Rigyarallitantra* any earlier than the middle of the eleventh century. The scripture was apparently only moderately popular, as it is mentioned only by a handful of authors. All can be dated between c. 1050 and 1250 CE; in cases where they can be localized, most seem to have been active in East India.

3 The Tibetan translation of the *Rigyarallitantra*

The Tibetan translation was prepared by a famous duo, *Gayādhara and [’Brog mi] Shākya ye shes, whose activity is usually placed in the mid-11th century. When compared to the Sanskrit fragment and the identified testimonia, it becomes clear quite quickly that this was not their finest work. The translation is full of misunderstandings, omissions, and obscure renderings.

If the translation mirrors a Sanskrit original, and I do not see any reason to doubt that, then the *tantra* consisted of five chapters.

The first chapter opens with the usual *nidāna*: *evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye*. The Lord, who is here Aralli, resides in the vulva (?) of the goddess, Rigī; it is immediately pointed out that they form a non-dual entity. Somewhat unusually, the petitioner is Aralli; he first poses a set of questions related to the sacred sites beginning with the *pīṭhas* and ending in the *upaśmaśānas*. The goddess replies that the *pīṭhas* are the four continents (known from Abhidharma cosmogra-

rnal 'byor grub 'gyur the tshom med || dang por mun pa byed pa mthong || gnyis pa dkar po du ba bzhin || gsum pa srin bu me khyer mtshungs || bzhi pa dza ba'i me tog ltar || lnga pa sprin med nam mkha' ste || bdag dang gzhan gyi tshor ba bral || thams cad mkhyen pa'i rgyu de yang || sprin med nam mkha'i dpe dang ldan || rgyun du goms pa'i sbyor ba yis || rtse gcig sems dpa' 'di ltar byos || rtag tu ye shes bdud rtsi yis || btung bas bkres pa'i dgag bya med || rga dang nad kyis gdung ba med || thabs kyi sbyor ba 'di yis ni || rim gyis thams cad mkhyen par 'gyur || zhes so ||. The quoted text is the middle section of the third chapter (D 178b).

phy); these are the abodes of four goddesses (those in the first circuit of the pantheon), with Rigī on top of Sumeru in the middle. She then proceeds to describe the rest of the *maṇḍala* integrating the remaining sacred sites and giving some iconographical information on the deities, who are all female. There are three circuits of attendants, corresponding to body, speech, and mind. Between the first two, so the goddess teaches, one must install the hells.

The second chapter opens by picking up this matter. The answer of the goddess as to why one must install the hells is obscure: because all beings are burning or freezing in hells, and the *yogin* should visualize himself in the middle of the word *evam* and rescue them. A short visualization is taught whereby the *yogin* emerges as the deity. The section closes with a spell, presumably the **mūlamāntra*. The next passage teaches seven minor rituals, some of which are quite obscure; the identifiable ones are those for rainmaking, paralyzing, and attracting. The rest of the chapter teaches matters related to daily visualization and worship: protecting oneself and the place of practice, self-empowerment, attracting the so-called gnostic deities (with a mantra based on the second half of the famous *śatākṣara*), installing mantras on the body, the seed-syllables of the deities, initiation by the deities, and further details related to the *maṇḍala*.

The third chapter teaches the secret gestures (*brda*, **chommā*) which are usually to be employed by initiates for communication. Or at least that is what one would expect, but in fact here the term seems to be employed as a means of identifying the already mentioned sacred sites in one's body. The next passage describes a kind of meditation, which is to be performed in isolation. Success is heralded by a series of visionary signs; at the end the practitioner becomes the omniscient deity. A short section after this identifies the first four syllables of the *nidāna* with the four elements beginning with earth. The final passage explains the name Rigī and the first few rather obscure words of the tantra. Here Rigī is said to be the equivalent of *ḍākini*.

The fourth chapter opens with two minor rituals: the first is to draw the blood of an enemy who harms the Buddha, the Law, and the Community; the second is to destroy the images of (rival) deities. The Sanskrit fragment is from the next section, which seems to describe further details of daily visualization, a famous mantra used on the cusp of the preliminary rites and visualization of the deity proper, as well as two hand-gestures. The next section deals with *viśuddhi*, a 'mystical correspondence' of elements of the *maṇḍala* with Mahāyāna doctrinal terms. This is followed by a second *viśuddhi*, where parts of one's body are described in terms of a *stūpa*.

The fifth and final chapter continues in a similar vein: here, protagonists of the historical Buddha's life are identified with various tantric deities and the four

blisses. This is followed by further ‘mystical correspondences’. Thereafter two mantras are taught, these are called the heart-mantra and a ‘second’ auxiliary heart-mantra. The next section describes a variety of *samayās*: here the term seems to mean various kinds of meat, which are recommended for particular rites. However, the text points out, one must not kill in order to obtain any of the meats. The next section returns to the topic of the *maṇḍala*, this time the kind made of coloured powders for initiation. Various details are taught, such as precious materials that are to be used, the number of vases, the ritual sequence leading up to building the edifice, the ritual of offering food along with a mantra, and a protective ritual to take hold of the site. The tantra ends somewhat abruptly here.

4 The Pantheon

The structure of the *maṇḍala* is fairly simple: a pair of chief deities with three circuits of attendant goddesses. The central pair is formed by Rigī (also spelt Rigi), a goddess, and Aralli (also Āralli, Arali, Ārali), a male deity. The former is dark-blue (*nīla*) and holds a noose and a goad. Her legs are embracing the consort; therefore they are depicted in a sexual embrace. The latter is black and has six arms: with two he embraces the goddess, the others hold a *vajra*, a rattle-drum (*ḍamaru*), a battle-axe (*paraśu*), and a skull-bowl with a head. He is trampling on Bhairava. The first circuit of attendants, also called the circle of mind, is formed by *Sisā (also: *Sisi, *Śiśi, Śaṣi, Śaśi), Kāminī (or *Kāmalatā), *Ahosukhā (also: Ahosaukhyā), and *Saṃvarī. They hold a flaying-chopping knife (*karṭṛ*) and a skull-bowl (first described as a **yogapātra*, then *kapāla*); they are naked, with dishevelled hair, and standing in a dancing position. This set is clearly an inheritance from the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālaśaṃvara*. The second circuit, the circle of speech, is formed by Ghorā (or *Ghorī), Tikṣṇā, Mahāmāyā, and Utuṅgā. The third circuit, the circle of body, is made up by Jambukā (or *Jambukī), *Maḥiṣī, *Hayagrīvā, and a goddess whose name cannot be reconstructed with certainty, but must mean a she-elephant. As the names imply, they are most likely zoocephalic, a feature of door-guardians in other systems. The iconographic particulars are not given separately for the second and third circuits; it may be assumed that they are similar to the first set.

The names of the two central deities, Rigī and Aralli, are surprising and obscure. As far as I am aware, the earliest attestation of the word *aralli* is in the *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinijālaśaṃvara*, where, if not transcribed phonetically, it is usually translated into Tibetan as *mkha' 'gro ma*, i.e. the customary

rendering of *ḍākinī*;¹¹ this is also how the text itself seems to define the word.¹² As for *rigī*, the earliest occurrence known to me is the *Catuṣpīṭhatantra*; there, two commentators interpret the word as buddha(s) (Szántó 2012, I., 201–202). The reasons behind the words' becoming proper names and the deities' gender exchange are unclear.

5 Related literature

The related literature is quite small, consisting of merely two canonical works: a scripture, the *Vajrārallitantra* (Tōh. 426), and a *sādhana* (Tōh. 1658), both available only in Tibetan translation.

The *Vajrārallitantra* is most likely earlier than the *Rigyarallitantra*. Here the male deity, more often called Heruka and only thrice Ārali, appears without a consort, unless one tacitly assumes that Prajñāpāramitā, in whose vulva he is said to reside in the *nidāna*, has this role. More importantly, there is no mention of the system of Four Blisses, although it is possible that other echoes of the *Hevajratantra* are present.

The *sādhana* is anonymous. It was translated by [Bu ston] Rin chen grub, 'according to an Indian manuscript' (*rgya dpe ji lta ba bzhin du*), by which he presumably meant that he had only one witness available; the *sādhana* must therefore predate the first half of the 14th century. It is short and adds almost nothing to our understanding of the text, except some clarifications concerning the iconography and some variant translations of the goddesses' names.

¹¹ *Sarvabuddhasamāyogaḍākinījālaśaṃvara*, Ms 18r = D 163a (twice, *mkha' 'gro* perhaps *metri causa*), Ms 25r = D 168a.

¹² Ms lacuna, D 186a: | *mkha' 'gro ma yang a ra li* |

6 Edition

NB: no separate notes for *sandhi* and other customary standardizations.

-to herukodbhavaḥ | mantrasā ca om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmake 'ham ||

aṅkuśamudreti |

karadvayasya kaniṣṭhikābhyām anyonyam aṅkuśarūpam |
madhyadvayāṅgulī vṛddhāṅguṣṭhena pīḍayet ||

pāśam api tarjanīdvayena ||

viśuddhiṃ kathaiṣyāmi |

dharmajñānaviśuddhena Vajrārallir¹³ mahāyaśāḥ |
dharmajñānasya kṣāntyā ca Rigī caiva prakīrtitā¹⁴ ||
caturāryasatyarūpeṇa Śaṣyādyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ |
caturbrahmavihāreṇa Ghorādyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||
saṃgrahavastucatuṣkeṇa Jambukyādyāḥ prakīrtitāḥ |
ṣaḍ gatyāḥ ṣaḍ¹⁵ bhujāḥ proktās trinetraṃ tribhavaṃ matam ||
Bhairavam ātmacittaṃ tu¹⁶ pātitaṃ¹⁷ pādamūlataḥ |
muditādi daśa bhūmyas tu pīṭhādyāḥ¹⁸ saṃprakīrtitāḥ ||
ṣaṭ pāramitāḥ ṣaṇmātraṃ kapālaṃ gaganamaṇḍalam |
evaṃmayāmadhyastham ātmānaṃ vicintayet ||
astavyastasamasta¹⁹rūpeṇa sarvatantre vyavasthītam |
avidyācchedanā kartṛ karuṇā madyaṃ kapālake ||
mantrajāpaṃ bhaved ḍamarū hūṃ-phem-arallī-nādataḥ |

¹³ vajrārallir] *em.*, vajrāralli Ms

¹⁴ prakīrtitā] Ms *p. corr.* (*secunda manu*), prakīrtitā Ms *a. corr.*

¹⁵ ṣaḍ] *em.*, ṣaḍa Ms

¹⁶ °cittaṃ tu] *conj.*, °citta + Ms

¹⁷ pātitaṃ] *em.*, pātintaṃ/pātinta Ms

¹⁸ pīṭhādyāḥ] *em.*, pīṭhādyā Ms

¹⁹ °samasta°] *conj.*, ° + + sta° Ms

paraśur²⁰ dharmodayaṃ proktaṃ vajraṃ vajraṃ²¹ prakīrtitaṃ²² ||
muñḍaṃ ca kleśamārasya kṣṣṇaṃ vyomaviśuddhitaḥ |
aṅkuśaṃ Rigikiñjalkaviśuddhyā pāśaṃ mantramālāviśuddhitaḥ ||

samudāyaṃ caiva kāyaviśuddhyā |

paryaṅkaṃ²³ pīṭhikā jñeyā Jambudvīpaṃ bhagaṃ matam |
trivalī varaṇḍakaṃ nityam udaraṃ bimbakaṃ bhavet ||
grīvaṃ grīvakam ity uктаṃ skandhaṃ ca skandhakaṃ tathā |
vedikā mastakaṃ jñeyaṃ mūrdhnā cchattrāvalī tathā ||
candrasūryaṃ²⁴ dve netraṃ patākā mūrdhajaṃ bhavet |
buddhabimbaṃ tataḥ kāyaṃ nityaṃ pūjanti yoginaḥ ||
atthi sugatadhātuś ca adhiṣṭhānaṃ bhavet tataḥ ||

svarūpabuddhākhyānapaṭalaś caturthaḥ || ||

Śuddhodano mahārājā Aralliḥ²⁵ samprakāśitaḥ²⁶ |
Rigī tatra Mahāmāyā prajñopāyātmakaṃ jagat²⁷ ||
Vajrasattvas tu Siddhārthaḥ paramānando mahāsukhaḥ |
Gopādevī mahāmudrā Rāhulabhadro²⁸ mahāsukhaḥ ||
Gopaiva tu mahāmāyā māyāra + + pañcataḥ |
sahajānandas²⁹ tu Siddhārtho³⁰ vajramāyāvīkurvaṇaiḥ ||
punas tu bhagavān Vajrī vajrījanakaḥ prakīrtitaḥ |
Mahāmāyā bhavet janani saiva mudrā prakīrtitā ||
vṛddhāṅguṣṭhaṃ bhaved vajraṃ nābhīr³¹ dharmodayaṃ matam |
Siddhārtha eva jyotiṣko mahāmāyāvīkurvaṇaiḥ ||
svarūpeṇa jagad buddhaḥ Aralle śṛṇu madvacāḥ |

20 paraśur] *conj.*, pāśaṃ Ms

21 vajraṃ] *em.*, vajra Ms

22 prakīrtitaṃ] *conj.*, prakīrti + Ms

23 paryaṅkaṃ] *em.*, paryaṅka Ms

24 °sūryaṃ] *em.*, °sūrya Ms

25 aralliḥ] *em.*, 'ralli Ms

26 samprakāśitaḥ] *conj.*, samprakāśi + Ms

27 jagat] *conj.*, yatuḥ Ms

28 °bhadro] *em.*, °bhadra Ms

29 sahajānandas] Ms *p. corr.* (*secunda manu*), sahanandas Ms *a. corr.*

30 siddhārtho] *em.*, siddhārtha Ms

31 nābhīr] *conj.*, nā + r Ms

karmabhuktivikalpena dehināṃ bādhatē sadā ||
 ānandas tu Śaṣī proktā paramānandas tu Kāminī |
 viramānandas tv Ahoṣaukhyā sahaḥjānandas tu Saṃvarī³² ||
 Ghorā cumbanaṃ proktaṃ Tikṣṇāliṅganam eva tu |
 stanamardanaṃ Mahāmāyā Uttuṅgā³³dharacūṣaṇam³⁴ ||
 Jambukī ratika-

7 Tentative translation

[...] from the [...] the becoming of Heruka.³⁵ The mantra is:³⁶ Oṃ, I am identical to the vajra-nature of the gnosis of emptiness.³⁷

As for the goad-gesture: with the two interlocked little fingers of the two hands, [form] a goad-shape; the two middle fingers should be pressed down by the thumbs. As for the noose-gesture, [it is the same as above, except that one uses] the two index fingers.³⁸

I shall now teach the purification (*viśuddhi*):³⁹ Vajrāralli, he of great fame, symbolizes the knowledge of phenomena [as empty]. Rigī is taught to symbolize the tolerance [that puts up] with the knowledge of phenomena [as empty].⁴⁰ Śaṣī and the other [three goddesses of the mind-circle] are taught to symbolize the Four Truths of the Noble One[s]. Ghorā and the other [three goddesses of the speech-circle] are taught to symbolize the Four Abodes of Brahmā.⁴¹ Jambukī⁴² and the other [three

32 saṃvarī] *conj.*, satvarī Ms

33 uttuṅgā°] *em.*, uttūṅgā° Ms

34 °cūṣaṇam] Ms *p. corr.*, °bhūṣaṇam Ms *a. corr.*

35 The Tibetan does not mirror this sentence helpfully; instead it says: ‘From the *mudrā*, the deities arise.’

36 This introductory phrase is omitted in the Tibetan.

37 Naturally, this mantra is open for other interpretations.

38 The text amounting to this paragraph is entirely versified in the Tibetan, which adds the following, puzzling line at the end: ‘the vajra, the sword, and the great noose’ (alternatively: the vajra-sword).

39 This introductory phrase is omitted in the Tibetan.

40 The Tibetan translation of this hemistich is non-sensical; the corruption possibly started with an eye-skip.

41 The Tibetan has ‘the Four Self-confidences’ (*vaiśāradya*) instead.

42 The Tibetan has simply *wa*; *wa mo* or *lce spyang ma* would have been more helpful.

goddesses of the body-circle] are taught to symbolize the Four Means of Attracting [converts to the Path]. The six arms [of Aralli] are taught to represent the Six Realms. The triad of eyes⁴³ is taught to symbolize the Three Worlds. Bhairava, lain under the soles of [Aralli's] feet is one's mind. [The sacred sites] beginning with the *pīṭhas* are the Ten Levels beginning with the Joyful. The six [cremation ground] ornaments⁴⁴ are the Six Perfections. The skull-bowl is the expanse of the sky.⁴⁵ One should visualize oneself in the middle of the [syllables] *evaṃ mayā*.⁴⁶ All [this] is present [i.e. taught] in all the *tantras*, [but done so] in a scattered manner.⁴⁷ The chopping-flaying knife [represents] cutting through Ignorance. The liquor in the skull-bowl [symbolizes Great] Compassion.⁴⁸ The rattle-drum [represents] the recitation of mantras, by means of the sounds 'hūṃ', 'phem', 'aralli'.⁴⁹ The battle-axe⁵⁰ is taught to be the Source of Dharmas; the *vajra* is taught to be *vajra* [i.e. the non-dual essence of all things]. The head [in the skull-bowl held by Aralli] is that of the Māra of Taints. [The colour of Aralli's body is] black⁵¹ in order to symbolize the void.⁵² The goad [held by Rigi] symbolizes Rigi's filaments [i.e. her pudenda], [whereas] the noose symbolizes the mantra-garland.⁵³

43 Both the male and the female deity have three eyes, although judging by the context here it is probably Aralli's eyes that are referred to.

44 More usually, these are called *mudrās*: five bone-ornaments and ash. The term *mātra*, quite common in Śaiva texts of the Vidyāpīṭha class, is rare but not unattested.

45 The import of this sentence is obscure to me.

46 This sentence is also unclear. Being situated in the middle of *evaṃ* alone would make good sense, as the two syllables are frequently understood to form a six-pointed star on account of their shape, which often stands in the middle of a *maṇḍala*.

47 I have taken some liberty in interpreting this statement. The Tibetan rendering is quite obscure.

48 The Tibetan omits 'liquor', taking the skull alone to mean compassion. The chopping-flaying knife and the skull-bowl are the implements of the subsidiary goddesses, although the description does not specify that the bowl is filled.

49 The second half of this sentence is unclear. The Tibetan has something almost completely different: 'The sound Rigi-Aralli, the rattle-drum symbolizing the recitation of the mantras hūṃ he' or 'the rattle-drum is the syllable hūṃ, because it symbolizes the recitation of that'. Both seem non-sensical to me.

50 The Tibetan also attests battle-axe, as does the iconographical description of Aralli, hence I had no hesitation in making the conjecture.

51 Instead, the Tibetan has 'the skull', which is also attested in Śāśvatavajra's testimony. I nevertheless hesitate to make a conjecture here, as the meaning is not entirely inapposite.

52 Void here most likely stands for Emptiness.

53 Perhaps on account of a corruption the Tibetan does not have any reference to the mantra-garland.

As for the totality (?) symbolizing the body:⁵⁴ the crossed legs should be known to [represent] the base; the private parts⁵⁵ are taught to be the Jambu-continent; the triple fold [over the navel]⁵⁶ is always [to be seen as] the mound; the abdomen is the image; the neck is taught to be the neck [of *stūpa*] and the shoulders the shoulder [of the *stūpa*];⁵⁷ the head should be known [to represent] the pavilion and the forehead the row of parasols; the two eyes are the Sun and the Moon; hair stands for the banners. The body is therefore a reflection of the Buddha [and it is thus] that yogins constantly worship [it]. The bones are the relics of the Sugata [deposited in the *stūpa*] and it is thence that empowerment comes.⁵⁸

The [end of the] fourth chapter explaining one's form [as] the Buddha.

The great king Śuddhodana is revealed as Aralli [and] Rigī in that context [i.e. the historical Buddha's family] is [the queen] Mahāmāyā. The nature of the world⁵⁹ is [inseparable] Wisdom and Means. [The prince] Siddhārtha is Vajrasattva, Supreme Bliss, and Great Pleasure.⁶⁰ Gopādevī is the Great Seal, Rāhulabhadrā is Great Pleasure. Gopā, again, is Great Illusion, [...].⁶² Siddhārtha, by means of the manifestations of the vajra-illusion, is Innate Bliss. Again,⁶³ the Lord, the Holder of the Vajra, is taught to be the begetter of the holder of the vajra,⁶⁴ [whereas] Mahāmāyā is

54 Here I failed to make good sense of the Sanskrit; the Tibetan is equally obscure, including an extra quarter-verse.

55 I take this to refer to private parts in general and not just the female (*bhaga*, rendered into Tibetan with *snying po*).

56 This is unusual, as the triple fold, as far as I know, is a sign of beauty in women.

57 The last verse-quarter is omitted in the Tibetan, perhaps due to an eye-skip.

58 The Tibetan, not without good reason, gives the two lines in reverse.

59 This reading, which is here a conjecture, is attested by the Tibetan, by the Sanskrit testimony of the *Amṛtakaṇikā*, by the Tibetan translation of that, and by Yaśobhadra's testimony.

60 There is nothing in the Tibetan to correspond to *paramānando mahāsukhaḥ*.

61 These are the six *pādas* quoted in the *Amṛtakaṇikā* (ed. p. 11). A manuscript not used by the Sarnath editors is Cambridge University Library Add.1108, which reads (fol. 6r, l. 5-6): *yathoktam | (!) śrīgyavalli(!)mahātantre śuddhodano mahārājā aralliḥ samprakāśitaḥ | ṛgis tatra mahāmāyā prajñopāyātmakaṃ jagat || vajrasatvas tu siddhārthaḥ paramānando mahāsukha iti ||* (See <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01108/13>). As far as I can tell, this quotation is missing in another important witness not used by the Sarnath editors, the so-called Vanaratna codex (Royal Asiatic Society, London, Ms Hodgson 35).

62 The Tibetan would suggest **māyārūpaprapañcataḥ*, 'by means of the proliferation of forms [due to] illusion'; perhaps this is a synonym of *vajramāyāvīkurvaṇaiḥ* and *mahāmāyāvīkurvaṇaiḥ* below.

63 Instead, the Tibetan has 'the son' (**putras/sutas*).

64 This idea is somewhat strange. Perhaps *vajrī vajrī*^o is a dittography?

the mother; she is also taught to be the *mudrā* [i.e. the consort]. The thumb is the *vajra*, the navel is taught to be the Source of Dharmas.⁶⁵ Siddhārtha himself, by means of the manifestations of the Great Illusion, is the luminaries.⁶⁶

The world is innately enlightened – hear my word, oh Aralli⁶⁷ – and it is only through the dichotomy of deed and retribution that the incarnate are forever in bondage.

Śaśī is taught to be Bliss, Kāminī is Supreme Bliss, Ahosaukhyā is the Bliss of Cessation, Saṃvarī is Innate Bliss.⁶⁸ Ghorā is taught to be kissing, Tikṣṇā is the embrace, Mahāmāyā is fondling the breasts,⁶⁹ Uttuṅgā is the sucking of the lower lip. Jambukī is amorous quarrel, [...]

8 Appendix: diplomatic transcript of Add.1680.12

Although a diplomatic transcript is not entirely free of editorial decisions – one must decide when to write ba for va and vice-versa, etc. – I give here the text without corrections.

Conventions:

∅ - string-space

ñ - *candrabindu*-style *anusvāra*

<| |> - deletion

< > - addition

: - ‘alignment’ *daṇḍa*

[fol. 13r1]to herukodbhavaḥ | mantras ca | om śūnyatājñānavajrasvabhāvātmako
haṃ || ∅ aṃkuśamudreti | karadvayasya kaniṣṭhikābhyām anyonyam
aṃkuśarūpaṃ | madhyadvayāṃgulī vṛddhāṅguṣṭhena piḍayet || pā[2]śam api

⁶⁵ The order of ideas is unclear: why are suddenly two body-parts mentioned here?

⁶⁶ Again, the meaning is obscure.

⁶⁷ However, the Tibetan has the goddess Rigi addressed here.

⁶⁸ The series of four blisses is from the Hevajratantra. Their order suggests that the compiler/s of the tantra sided with what is called in Isaacson and Sferra 2014, ‘position B’, i.e. that held by authors such as Kamalanātha and Kālacakra followers.

⁶⁹ Tibetan has a corrupt rendering, ‘the begetting of illusion’.

tarjanīdvayena viśuddhiṃ kathayīṣyāmi | dharmajñānaviśuddhena ø vajrāralli
mahāyaśāḥ | dharmajñānasya kṣāntyā ca | rigī caiva pra<|kṛ|><kīr>⁷⁰ttitā | ca-
turāryasatyarūpeṇa śasyādyāḥ prakī[3]rttitāḥ | caturbrahmavihāreṇa ghorādyāḥ
prakīrttitāḥ || saṃgrahava: ø stucatuṣkeṇa jambukādyāḥ prakīrttitāḥ | ṣaḍ gatyāḥ
| ṣaḍa bhujāḥ proktāḥ trinetrāṃ tribhavaṃ mataṃ | bhairavam ātmacitta +⁷¹ [4]
pātinta⁷² pādāmūlataḥ | muditādi daśa bhūmyas tu pīṭhādyā saṃprakīrtti ø tāḥ |
ṣaṭ pāramitā ṣaṭ mātraṃ | kapālaṃ gaganamaṇḍalaṃ || evaṃmayāmadhyasthaṃ
| ātmānaṃ vicintayet | astavyasta + +⁷³[5]starūpeṇa sarvatantre vyavasthitāṃ |
avidyā⁷⁴cchedanā karttī⁷⁵ | karuṇā: ø madyaṃ kapālake | mantrajāpam bhaved
ḍamarū hūmhem⁷⁶ arallinādātāḥ | pāsaṃ dharmodayaṃ proktaṃ vajraṃ vajra
prakīrtti + + +⁷⁷ [6] muṇḍaṅ ca kleśamāryasya kṣṇaṃ vyomaviśuddhitāḥ |
aṃkuṣaṃ rigi: ø kiṃjalkaviśuddhyā | pāsaṃ mantramālāviśuddhitāḥ | sam-
udāyaṃ caiva kāyaviśuddhyā | paryaṅka pīṭhikā jñeyā jambu⁷⁸[f. 13v1]dvīpaṃ
bhagaṃ mataṃ trivalī varaṇḍakaṃ nityaṃ | udaraṃ bimbakaṃ bhavet | grīvaṃ
grī ø vakam ity uktaṃ | skandhaṅ ca skandhakaṃ tathā | vedikā mastakaṃ
jñeyaṃ | mūrhdhnā cchatrāvalī tathā candrasūrya dve netraṃ patākā
mūrddhajaṃ bhave[2]t | buddhabimbaṃ tataḥ kāyaṃ nityaṃ pūjanti yoginaḥ⁷⁹ ||
acchi⁸⁰ sugatadhā ø tuś cā⁸¹dhiṣṭhānaṃ bhavet tataḥ || svarūpabuddhākhyāna-
paṭalaś caturthaḥ || || śuddhodano mahārājā 'ralli saṃprakāśi +⁸² [3]ḥ rigī tatra
mahāmāyā prajñopāyātmakaṃ⁸³ yatuḥ | vajrasatvas tu siddhārtha ø ḥ |
paramānando mahāsukhaḥ | gopādevī mahāmudrā | rāhulabhadra mahāsukhaḥ

70 Correction in a second hand. The syllable kṛ (or kṣa?) is corrected to a ka with the -ī and the *repha* on the next syllable added.

71 Torn, only the sūtra is visible.

72 Possibly an *anusvāra* is added in fainter ink.

73 Torn, perhaps an i is just visible.

74 A very small part of the va, and a large part of the dyā is damaged due to a wormhole/tear.

75 Or should we read *kartī*?

76 Or should that be *phem*?

77 Torn, the second t in rtti is also lost.

78 Torn at the end, but only a small part of yā and mbu are lost.

79 Torn, but only an insignificant part of yo and gi are lost.

80 Or should we read *atthi*?

81 The half-syllable śc is the result of a correction, the pre-correction reading cannot be determined.

82 Torn, a small part of saṃ, the middle part of pra, a part of ka, the lower part of śi is lost, as is the next akṣara, only the hook-sūtra of which is visible.

83 The uppermost part of kaṃ is torn.

| gopaiva tu mahāmāyā māyār+ + + [4]pañcataḥ | saha<jā>⁸⁴nandas tu siddhārtha
 vajramāyāvīkurvaṇaiḥ | punas⁸⁵ tu bha: ø gavān vajrī vajrī janakaḥ prakīrtitaḥ |
 mahāmāyā bhavej janani saiva mudrā prakīrtitā vṛddhāṃguṣṭhaṃ bhaved va-
 jraṃ | nā + [5]r ddharmodayaṃ mataṃ | siddhārtha eva jyotisko
 mahāmāyāvīkurvaṇaiḥ | sva ø rūpeṇa jagad buddhaḥ | aralle śṛṇu madvacaḥ
 karmabhuktivikalpena dehināṃ bādhatē sadā | ānandas tu śāśī proktā: [6]
 paramānandas tu kāmīnī | vīramānandas tv ahosaukhyā sahañānandas tu ø
 sa⁸⁶ndarī | ghorā cumbanaṃ proktaṃ | tīkṣṇāliṃganam eva tu | stanamardanaṃ
 mahāmāyā | uttūṅgādharaḥṣaṇaṃ⁸⁷ | jāmbukī ratika-

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84 Correction/addition in a second hand. The syllable has a 4 added, which means that here the corrector was counting lines from above.

85 The syllable na is perhaps underlined. Is this a correction?

86 A faint trace of an -u is visible under the sa, possibly a deletion.

87 Possibly corrected to -cūṣaṇaṃ.

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Florinda De Simini

When Lachmann's Method Meets the Dharma of Śiva. Common Errors, Scribal Interventions, and the Transmission of the Śivadharma Corpus

Abstract: The tradition of the so-called Śivadharma corpus is still largely unexplored. Scholars have so far identified a large number of manuscripts, including some very early specimens, but the relationships between them, as well as the possibility of classifying these manuscripts into groups and families, still need to be systematically assessed. However, recent critical studies of some texts of the corpus have sparked interest in the topic of their transmission. On the basis of two case studies selected from the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Umāmaheśvaraśaṃvāda*, this article aims at presenting some of the advantages and limits of applying the genealogical-reconstructive method to the study of the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus.

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1 The Dharma of Śiva and the method of Lachmann

The ongoing critical edition of the works of the ‘Śivadharma Corpus’, as well as the reconstruction of their transmission history,¹ have confronted scholars with the study of a complex yet hitherto little-examined textual and manuscript tradition. Amid the progress of the first, current projects on this topic, several factors have emerged that highlight not only the relevance of this research to the history of early and medieval Śaivism (not to mention the Indian religious landscape in general), but also its contribution to our knowledge of the dynamics regulating the composition and transmission of texts, both locally and to geographically and culturally distant areas. The study of the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus can thus offer important methodological insights on how to select and apply the rules of textual criticism to the critical editing of texts that are transmitted and used in different regional contexts — where they nourished the local cults of Śiva and the growth of Śaiva institutions — and whose manuscripts have regularly served not just as carriers of texts, but also as supports of worship.²

For the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus is based on an imposing and varied body of manuscripts, counting ca. 85 specimens (according to a rough estimate), which were produced continuously from an early period — the earliest manuscript, N_{A12}^K, being palaeographically dateable to the 9th century — until the 20th century. Being particularly prominent in Nepal, this tradition is moreover strongly translocal, as it is attested in several different regions, such as (mainly) Kashmir, Bengal, and Tamil Nadu. This means that the texts were studied and transmitted in areas of different languages and manuscript traditions. Such consideration is not equally true of all the works, however, as the tradition presents a very clear-cut bifurcation between the two earliest works, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* — which were also studied and transmitted outside Nepal — and

1 For a brief introduction, I refer the reader to De Simini and Mirnig 2017 below. In-depth considerations on specific aspects of the Śivadharma corpus, especially concerning the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, are found in Bisschop 2014 and forth., De Simini 2016a and 2016b. The scholars who are active in this field recently discussed the initial results and prospective outcomes of their research during the ‘Śivadharma Workshop. Manuscripts, Editions, Perspectives’ (Leiden University, 26–30 September 2016).

2 I refer the reader to De Simini 2016a for considerations on the ritual uses of manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus (and, more generally, on the attestations of this practice in Sanskrit texts). Details on the manuscript tradition of the Śivadharma corpus, with special reference to the Nepalese materials, are given in De Simini 2016b, on which the following introductory lines are mostly based.

the remaining six (seven if we also include those attested only in one manuscript), which have so far been found, with rare exceptions, exclusively in Nepal and, at least in the earliest phases of their transmission, only in multiple-text manuscripts (henceforth MTM) transmitting the entire corpus. Such manuscripts were thus most likely the contrivance of the communities inhabiting the Kathmandu Valley. A further element that is emerging as a key factor in achieving a historical understanding of the transmission of these works is the scope of their secondary tradition, which finds expression in numerous quotations and reuses. From this point of view, the *Śivadhamottara* in particular is proving to have enjoyed a high level of popularity, as attested by the multiple reuses, with or without attribution, that have been traced so far in the main areas where the text was transmitted.³ Moreover, the composition of Śivadharmas works also entailed the reuse of other works, as shown by the many borrowings from the *Niśvāsa* that are evident in the *Śivadhar-masaṅgraha*,⁴ or by the parallels between the *Umāmaheśvarasaṁvāda*, the *Lalitavistara*, and the *Mahābhārata* that are now emerging.⁵

Making sense of this vast array of primary sources, to which the preceding lines have just provided a brief and partial introduction, is the challenge faced by those who work on these texts, and who must necessarily do so with a philological approach. Such an approach, as firmly established by a long tradition of scholarship, requires — among other things — that a systematic *recensio* help clarify inasmuch as possible the genealogical links between the manuscripts, in order to select the appropriate specimens in preparing an edition. This genealogical-reconstructive technique, based on the method of identifying common ‘monogenetic’ errors — namely, the non-original readings that cannot be produced independently by different scribes⁶ — is what is typically designated by the widely debated but still rightly iconic expression ‘the method of Lachmann’.⁷ My use of this expression in

3 On the reuses of the *Śivadhamottara*, see De Simini 2016a, especially Appendix 2, containing tables of parallels between the *Śivadhamottara* and the *Atharvavedapariśiṣṭas*, the *Devīpurāṇa*, the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*, and the *Uttarakāmika*.

4 See Kafle 2015.

5 On this topic, cf. below and De Simini and Mirnig 2017 in this volume.

6 The distinction between monogenetic and polygenetic errors — the latter of which are variants that do not really account for the genealogical relationships of the manuscripts, and are therefore to be disregarded in a reconstructive study — can be credited to Pasquali; see Trovato 2014, to which I refer the reader for a general introduction to genealogical textual criticism, with both a historical and a descriptive approach, as well as further bibliography on related subjects.

7 On this, see Timpanaro 2003, which gives an account of the debate regarding what constitutes this method, as well as the actual contribution of Karl Konrad Lachmann (1793–1851) and his contemporaries to the method.

the title and throughout the article is not meant to suggest that this is the most suitable approach in our case, but only to evoke the necessity of making the *recensio* phase the pillar of a philological study also in the case of the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus. This is crucial with respect to critically editing the texts, not least because it provides a fundamental tool for a more detailed reconstruction of the history of the tradition.

In this essay, I will present two case studies, selected from different parts of the Śivadharma corpus, in which the presence of macroscopic inconsistencies — the ‘separative’ and ‘conjunctive’ errors of the European tradition of textual criticism — suggests the possibility of tracing families of manuscripts, and thus speculate on their genealogical links and transmission history. In the first case (2), the study of the last chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* allows us to consider the parallels and discrepancies characterizing the different regional traditions in which the text has been transmitted, and to assess their contribution to the reconstruction of the work; on the other hand, the analysis of the final part of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (3) enables us to shift the focus to the Himalayan region, and to the work of composition and preservation that surrounded the Śivadharma corpus in the intellectual communities of medieval Nepal. At the same time, these two case studies will also highlight the limits of applying the genealogical-reconstructive method to the study of a textual tradition that, because of our still-limited knowledge of the materials, and because of certain features inherent to this and other South Asian manuscript traditions, escapes mechanical reasoning and unambiguous categorization.

2 Rudra's descents to earth

The 12th and last *adhyāya* of the *Śivadharmasāstra* is a miscellaneous chapter that sets out the behavioral norms of Śaiva devotees and *śivayogins*.⁸ Since this is the concluding chapter of the text, it also gives a brief account of the transmission of the Śivadharmasāstra's teachings, as well as exhortations concerning the preservation, recitation, and worship of the manuscripts of the *Śivadharmasāstra*. Moreover, this chapter devotes ten stanzas to listing the so-called 'five ogdoads' (*pañcāṣṭaka*), five groups of eight extramundane worlds (*bhuvanas*) that correspond to pilgrimage sites on earth. Besides being relevant to the assessment of some doctrinal points emerging from the *Śivadharmasāstra*, chapter 12 also offers a strong case for examining the textual transmission of this work, for a study of its internal consistency allows us to identify at least two relevant cases in which the sequence of the stanzas is disrupted, and which a broader knowledge of the manuscript tradition enables us to classify as monogenetic errors. Attempting to reconstruct the genesis of these mistakes allows us not only to surmise what could most likely have been the archetypical stanza arrangement of chapter 12, but also to better appraise the position, in the history of the textual transmission, of the later layers of the tradition — represented by the Kashmiri and South Indian manuscripts — compared to the bulk of the early Nepalese materials.

From a reading of chapter 12 on the basis of Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts ranging from the 11th and 12th century to more recent specimens, we can derive the sequence of topics reported in the summary below. More specifically, this arrangement is reflected (with small differences concerning a few missing or added *pādas*) by N₈₂^K (dated to 1069 CE), N₄₅^C (dated to 1138–39 CE), N₇^K (dated to 1170 CE), N₉₄^C (undated, 12th century), N₃^K (dated to 1201 CE), N₁₁^K (dated to 1396 CE), and N₂₅^K (dated by the catalogue to 1928–29 CE, though this date is unverified and seems unlikely, as the manuscript looks much earlier). These are also among the manuscripts that I used for the first collation of this chapter, which resulted in the following sequence of topics:⁹

8 The manuscript tradition calls this 'Chapter on the Primary and Secondary Branches of the Devotion to Śiva' (*śivabhaktyādyasākhopasākhādhyāya*): the first verse of the text refers to these two 'branches', although nowhere in the chapter is it specified what they really consist of. Note that a very similar title is given to chapter 28 of the *Lalitavistara* as transmitted in N₇₇^K, which however deals with different topics (see De Simini and Mirnig 2017, 615).

9 See De Simini 2013, Appendix 1. Although I had checked most of the palm-leaf materials to verify several dubious points, the only manuscripts that I consistently used in collating the

Stanza 1	Introduction
Stanzas 2–27	Miscellaneous rules of conduct for Śaiva devotees on the topics of <i>liṅga</i> worship, specific food and drinks to avoid, as well as rules of purity (such as rules on impure acts to avoid, or correct behaviour during rituals)
Stanzas 28–40	Characteristics and conduct of the <i>śivayogins</i> . Aspects of their asceticism
Stanzas 41–46	Main characteristics of <i>dāna</i> ; different types of gifts
Stanzas 47–48	Rules for fasting
Stanzas 49–51	Definition of <i>tīrthas</i> as the ‘places of Rudra’s descents’; merits of those who donate and finance construction works at these sites
Stanzas 52–84	Miscellaneous section on <i>dāna</i> : definition of the <i>śivabhakta</i> as the main recipient of gifts; praise of the donation of food to the Śaiva devotees; merits of those who give several everyday objects to the <i>śivayogins</i> , or offer services to them (see this section at stanzas 66–84)
Stanzas 85–91	Powers of Rudra’s rosary
Stanzas 92–95	Merits of donating and/or offering services to the <i>śivayogins</i>
Stanzas 96–103	Rules for the veneration and recitation of the Śivadharmā. Merits of those who listen to the teachings of the Śivadharmā and venerate its manuscripts
Stanzas 104–109	Concluding remarks: five typologies of people within the Śaiva community. Merits of those who protect the gifts; merits of those who teach, practice, and protect the Dharmā
Stanzas 110–19	The ‘five ogdoads’
Stanzas 120–121	Praises of those who donate and finance construction works at the <i>tīrthas</i> ; characteristics of the recipients
Stanzas 122–123	Concluding remarks: the exposition of the ‘fivefold Śivadharmā’ is declared to be over.

This is also the arrangement found in later Nepalese paper manuscripts, such as N₅₇^K (dated to 1742–43 CE), N₄₂^K, and N₁₆^W (both undated), as well as in the edition by

whole chapter were N₄₅^C (then C45); N₅₇^K (then N/C57), which is a Nepalese paper manuscript; N₁₂^K (then N/B12); and P₃₂^T (then T32), a Devanāgarī paper transcript of the IFP.

Naraharinatha 1998, based on the most recent Nepalese tradition, and in the Bengali paper manuscript B₉₉^C, dated to 1682–83 CE. When I first collated the manuscripts of chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, I could not access the manuscripts from the collection of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta in their entirety, but I can now confirm that the text of chapter 12 is also transmitted in this order by N₅₂^{Ko}, whose date can be traced to the 12th century on palaeographical grounds.¹⁰ The table of contents given above is thus supported by a significant number of testimonia, among which the majority of the Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts. However, on closer inspection, this structure turns out to be only one of the possible variants in which chapter 12 has been transmitted, one that is most likely secondary with respect to the order that the stanzas must have had in their archetypical version. From this point on, I will refer to the structure given above as ‘version A’ of chapter 12, and append the siglum A to the stanza numbers that refer to this arrangement.

One of the main problematic points in this chapter is the position of the ten stanzas containing the list of the ogdoads, which corresponds to 12.110–119_A. Here the stanzas follow a first set of concluding remarks (12.99–109_A), and seem to introduce the very final verses of the whole work, which ends at stanza 12.123_A.¹¹

10 For information on this manuscript, see Shastri 1928, 723–744.

11 The text of chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmasāstra* reproduced in this article is a transcript from manuscript N₄₅^C. I chose this manuscript because I wanted to account for the state of the text in the 12th century, since many of the early specimens transmitting version A are dateable from the 12th century onward, when this had apparently become the best-known arrangement of the topics in chapter 12. Manuscript N₄₅^C, which is dated to 259 NS (1139 CE) on fol. 247r_[L6], transmits this chapter on fols. 34v_[L4]–38r_[L3]; high-quality pictures of this manuscript and a full catalogue record are available on the website of the Cambridge Digital Library, at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01645/1> (last accessed: 10/10/2016). I have standardized the text of my transcripts to reflect the orthography usually adopted in the edition of Sanskrit texts, thus for instance avoiding the use of homorganic nasals or that of double plosives after -r-.

Śivadharmasāstra 12.110–123_A: (fols 37v_[L3]–38r_[L1]) *bhastrāpadam rudrakoṭīr avimuktaṃ mahālayam | gokarṇaṃ bhadrakarṇaṃ ca suvarṇākṣo 'tha dīptimān || 110_A [L4] sthānviśvaraś ca vikhyātas triṣu lokeṣu viśrutah | sthānāṣṭakam idaṃ jñeyaṃ rudrakṣetraṃ mahodayam | bhastrāpadādīsthānvantaṃ rudrasāyojyakāraṇam || 111_A chagalaṅḍo duraṅḍaś ca mākoṭaṃ maṅḍaleśvaram | kālāñjaraṃ śaṃkukarṇaṃ sthaleśvaraḥ sthuleśvaraḥ || 112_A pavitrāṣṭakam ity etan mahāpūnyābhivardhanam | mṛtāḥ pra_[L5]ṃyānti tatraiva śivasya paramaṃ padam || 113_A gayā caiva kurukṣetra<ṃ> nakhalaṃ kanakhalaṃ tathā | (c.m.) vimaleśvaro 'ṭṭahāsaṃ mahendraṃ bhīmaṃ aṣṭakam || 114_A etad guhyāṣṭakam nāma sarvapāpavimocanam | gatvā tu puruṣaḥ śrīmān prāpnoti śivamandiram || 115_A śrīparvataṃ hariścandraṃ jalpam āmratikeśvaram | madhyamaṃ ca mahākālaṃ kedāraṃ bhairavaṃ tahā || 116_A etad guhyātiguhyaṃ ca aṣṭakam parikīrtitam | saṃtārya tu piṭṛn sa_[L6]ṃvān śivaṃ yānti paraṃ padam || 117_A amreśvara<ṃ> prabhāsaṃ ca naimiśaṃ puṣkaraṃ tathā | āśāḍhiḍiḍimuṅḍiś ca bhārabhūtiṃ bhavāntakam | nakulīśvaro <'>tha*

Bhastrāpada, Rudrakoṭi, Avimukta, Mahālaya, Gokaṃṇa, and Bhadrakaṃṇa, as well as the splendid Suvarnākṣa, (110_A) / And that one known as Sthāṇvīśvara, famous in the three worlds: this ogdoad of sites (*sthānāṣṭaka*) has to be known as the field of Rudra, conferring great fortune. [The group] that begins with Bhastrāpada and ends with Sthāṇv[īśvara] causes the [attainment of] identity with Rudra. (111_A) / Furthermore, Chagalaṇḍa and Duraṇḍa, Mākoṭa, Maṇḍaleśvara, Kālañjara, Śaṅkukaṃṇa, Sthaleśvara, Sthuleśvara: (112_A) / This [has to be known as] the pure ogdoad (*pavitrāṣṭaka*), where great merits are more and more increased. Those who die right there go to the supreme seat of Śiva. (113_A) / Moreover, the ogdoad [including] Gayā, Kurukṣetra, Nakhala, as well as Kanakhala, Vimaleśvara, Aṭṭahāsa, Mahendra, Bhīma: (114_A) / This [has to be known] as the secret ogdoad (*guhāyāṣṭaka*), [which] enables liberation from all sins. Having gone [there], a fortunate person reaches the abode of Śiva. (115_A) / Śrīparvata, Hariścandra, Jalpa, Āmratikeśvara, along with Madhyama, Mahākāla, Kedāra, as well as Bhairava: (116_A) / This is renowned as the extremely secret (*guhāyāṭiguhya*) ogdoad. Having saved all the ancestors, [those who die there] go to the supreme abode of Śiva. (117_A) / Amareśvara and Prabhāsa; Naimiśa, as well as Puṣkara; Āśāḍhi and Diṇḍimuṇḍi; Bhārabhūti, which annihilates transmigration, as well as the one known as Nakulīśvara, the great inner [place]: (118_A) / [This] inner ogdoad (*pratyātmikāṣṭaka*) [is] the field of Rudra connected with the desire of good; all those who die there go to the supreme abode of Rudra. (119_A) / The one who makes these things — [such as] gifts, a dwelling place, a pit well, a park, a temple — in the *tīrthas* will gain an undecaying fruit. (120_A) / Patience, absence of envy, pity, truthfulness, generosity, morality, asceticism, learning: this is indicated as the supreme eightfold feature of the recipient. (121_A) / Thus this fivefold *Śivadharmā* has been expounded, for the sake of Dharma, wealth, desire, and liberation, out of compassion towards all beings. (122_A) / Everybody in all situations sees auspicious things [that are] very difficult to attain, [but] everyone obtains a positive destiny, and happiness will be there for everyone. (123_A)

Mentions of *aṣṭakas* as groups of eight supramundane worlds (*bhuvana*) are very frequent in tantric literature. Among these, the *pañcāṣṭaka* represents the lowest level, its worlds corresponding to actual pilgrimage sites on earth; the lay devotee who dies there will reach the corresponding eponymous paradise after death.¹² According to Goodall, the *pañcāṣṭaka* is actually an earlier, not exclusively tantric feature.¹³ Among the evidence that he quotes in support of his hypothesis is that the *Sarvajñānottara* distinguishes the nature of these five groups by stating, only for the names of the *pañcāṣṭaka*, that they also correspond to *tīrthas* on earth; and that

vikhyātas tathā pratyātmiko mahān || 118_A (c.m.) *pratyātmikāṣṭakam* ^[38r11] *kṣetraṃ rudrasya hitakāmikam* | *tatra yānti mṛtāḥ sarve rudrasya paramaṃ padam* || 119_A *dānāny āvasathaṃ kūpaṃ udyānaṃ devatālayam* | *tīrtheṣv etāni yaḥ kuryāt so 'kṣayaṃ phalam āpnuyāt* || 120_A *kṣamāspṛhā dayā satyaṃ dānaśīlaṃ tapaḥ śrutam* | *etad aṣṭāṅgam uddiṣṭaṃ paraṃ pātrasya lakṣaṇam* || 121_A *iti pañcaprakāro <->yaṃ śivadharmāḥ prakīrtitaḥ* | *dharmārthakāma*_[1,2] *mokṣārthaṃ sarva-bhūtānukampayā* || 122_A *sarvatarāṃ tu durgāṇi sarvo bhadrāṇi paśyati* | *sarvaḥ sugatim āpnoti sarvasya ca bhavec chivāḥ* || 123_A.

12 See Goodall 2004, 314, n. 620, and Sanderson 2003, 403–404.

13 Goodall 2004, 315–316, n. 620.

the non-tantric *Śivadharmasāstra*, in the above-mentioned passage, does not link these sites to *bhuvanas*, most likely because this account is archaic and predates the notion of a correspondence between *tīrthas* and supramundane paradises. Sanderson also observes that ‘there is nothing specifically Mantramārgic about the list itself’, arguing that at least six of the sites of the *pañcāṣṭaka* are clearly Pāsupata.¹⁴ On the basis of the evidence provided by the original *Skandapurāṇa*, a text that is culturally and chronologically close to the *Śivadharmasāstra*, and by other textual sources, Bisschop has argued that possibly all of the sites mentioned in the *pañcāṣṭaka* originally belonged to the Pāsupata tradition.¹⁵

A first textual problem arising from the passage quoted above is that the stanzas immediately following the text on the ogdoads are redundant with respect to other stanzas in the same chapter: stanza 12.120_A is almost identical with 12.51_A,¹⁶ and stanza 12.121_A is perfectly identical with 12.52_A. Stanza 12.120_A (≈ 12.51_A) is closely connected with the preceding list of holy sites, since it refers to the high merits gained through the performance of *dāna* and the building of artifacts in the *tīrthas*. The purpose of listing the characteristics of the proper recipients at 12.121_A could, at the same time, be related to the topic of *dāna*, which has just been brought up. The same contents admittedly seem to blend much better into the general context of the stanzas surrounding 12.52_A, since there the verse was inserted within a section illustrating the features of *dāna* and its components. At any rate, stanzas 12.110–121_A do not appear to connect seamlessly with the following 12.122–23_A, but rather seem to break the continuity between the latter stanzas and those immediately preceding the passage on the ogdoads. Verse 12.122_A, which opens with a concluding *iti* (note that *iti* had already occurred with the same function at 12.99_A), introduces the proper end of the work, where the Śivadharmā — which here corresponds to the title of the work — is defined as *pañcāprakārah*, ‘[endowed] with five aspects’, and the devotees are assured that happiness is awaiting them. This reference to a fivefold classification of the Śivadharmā could be puzzling to a reader, as there are no other mentions of this in the whole text. While in the

¹⁴ Sanderson 2003, 405 and n. 201. Here he identifies Āṣāḍhi, Diṇḍimuṇḍi, Bhārabhūti, Lakuliśvara/Nakuliśvara, Amareśvara, and Prabhāsa as Pāsupata sites. The first four, used as toponyms in the text, actually correspond to the proper names of the last four incarnations of Śiva at Kārohaṇa (modern Kārvān, Gujarat), the alleged site of the Pāsupata revelation.

¹⁵ Bisschop 2006, 27–34. In his survey, Bisschop also highlights, among other things, that the lists of the *pañcāṣṭaka* sites occurring in textual sources are arranged in different orders; moreover, the original *Skandapurāṇa* does not present the *pañcāṣṭaka* as a structured list, yet still mentions the majority of these sites.

¹⁶ *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.51_A: (fol. 35_r[112–3]) *ārāmāvasathaṃ kūpa_{l3}m udyānaṃ devatāgṛham | tīrtheṣv etāni yaḥ kuryāt so ’kṣaya<ṃ> labhate phalam || 51.*

Śivadharmottara the doctrine of the ‘five great sacrifices’ (*mahāyajña*) — a Śaiva revision of those of the Brahmanical tradition — becomes a rather relevant doctrinal point (see especially chapter 3 of the work),¹⁷ which could therefore justify a possible (though never expressly attested) attempt to include it in the definition of the work itself,¹⁸ this categorization does not seem to have emerged yet in the *Śivadharmasāstra*. There are only a few possible explanations why the *Śivadharmasāstra* is defined as ‘fivefold’ — if, that is, we rule out the possibility that the ‘five aspects’ in 12.122_A consist of the four *puruṣārthas* and the ‘compassion towards all beings’ mentioned in the same stanza, which function respectively as the objectives and the motivation that prompted the composition of the work. In stanza 12.40_A the text lists the five characteristics of asceticism (*tapas*), which, however important, do not seem relevant to the definition of a text mainly addressed to lay practitioners.¹⁹ Two more references to a fivefold classification occur in close proximity to the conclusion of chapter 12_A: one is precisely the list of five ogdoads, which in version A of the chapter occurs closest to the definition of the Śivadharmas as *pañcaprakāraḥ*, while the other is the reference to the ‘five categories’ that, according to stanza 12.105_{Aff.}, reflect the main social roles in the spreading and practice of Dharma within the community of *bhaktas*. These five categories include those who teach, those who give advice, those who practice the Dharma, those who enable these activities, and those who are in charge of their protection. This subdivision, centred on the practice of dutiful behaviors, seems much more fitting as a reference for the concluding definition of the Śivadharmas as being divided into five categories, and induces us to shift our attention to the verses immediately preceding the passage on the ogdoads:²⁰

17 The ‘five great sacrifices’ according to chapter 3 of the *Śivadharmottara* are: the *karmayajña*, also known as *karmayoga*, corresponding to ritual; *tapas*, namely ascesis; *svādhyāya*, here identified with the repetition of the *śivamantra*; *dhyāna*, the continuous meditation on Śiva; and, finally, the *jñānayajña/jñānayoga*.

18 The *Śivadharmottara* defines the *jñānayoga*, one of the five great sacrifices, as *pañcaprakāraḥ* (3.14), since it consists of five different activities, namely teaching, studying, explaining, listening, and meditating (*adhyāpanam adhyayanam vyākhyā śravaṇacintanam, Śivadharmottara* 3.14ab).

19 *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.40_A: (fol. 35_v[L₅]) *brahmacaryaṃ japo maunaṃ kṣāntir āhāralāghavam | ity etat tapaso rūpaṃ sughoram pañcalakṣaṇam || 40; ‘Chastity, muttering prayers, silence, patience, continence as regards food: this is the fivefold aspect of asceticism, difficult to perform. (40)’*

20 *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.103–109_A: (fol. 37_v[L₁₋₃]) *yāvad asyopadeśena śivadharmam samācaret | tāvat tasyāpi tat puṇyam upadeṣṭam na saṃśayaḥ || 103_A upadeṣam vinā yasmād dharmo jñātum na śakyate | na ca kartum avijñāya tasmāt tulyam phalam tayoh || 104_A upadeṣṭānumantā ca ka_[L₂]rtā kārayitā ca yah | kṛtānupālakaś caiva pañca tulyaphalāḥ smṛtāḥ || 105_A kartur atyadhikam*

As long as one practices the Śivadharmā in accordance with his teaching (*scil.* that of Candrātreyā), so long is his merit also taught, there is no doubt [about it]. (103_A) / Since the Dharma cannot be known without teaching, nor [is it possible] for one who ignores [the Dharma] to do [anything], for this reason these two (*scil.* the one who teaches Dharma and the one who acts according to it) gain a similar fruit. (104_A) / The teacher and the adviser, the agent and the one who provokes the action, as well as the one who protects what has been done:²¹ according to tradition, [these] five share a similar fruit. (105_A) / [The one] who protects what has been done [gets] a merit [that is] superior to [that] of the performer. Since a temple disappears quickly if it is not protected, for this reason [one] has to protect [it] with every effort (106_A) / And protection would [even] be superior to the gift of the objects taught above, [like] land, jewels, horses, elephants, cattle, gold, and so on, [or even] clothes. (107_A) / And [the one] who protects the gift [will get] a merit superior to [that of] the donor, because what is left unprotected disappears quickly. (108_A) / For this reason, [one] should teach the Dharma and practice it oneself, should cause [others] to practice [it], give advice, as well as protect what has been done by others. (109_A)

This section, due to its generic character and the exhortations to teach the Dharma and protect the results of dharmic actions, could serve perfectly as the conclusion of the entire text and, as such, could easily be connected with the last two stanzas, 12.122–23_A. In stanza 12.99_A the particle *iti* introduces the typical final statements (12.99–102_A) that state the title of the work, its approximate length, and the identity of its mythical expounders.²² Related to this are the exhortations to teach and protect the Śivadharmā, as already stated in stanzas 12.97–98_A. It is at this point that the *Śivadharmāśāstra* inserts the small group of stanzas translated above (12.103–109_A), dealing with the great merits conferred on one who protects somebody else's actions, a possible reference to the lay sponsors who are supposed to protect the Śivadharmā and promote its spreading. The transition from the preceding stanzas

puṇyaṃ tat kṛtaṃ yo 'nupālayet | yasmād āyatanaṃ kṣipraṃ nāśaṃ gacchaty apālitaṃ | tasmāt sarvaprāyatnena kurvīta anupālanaṃ || 106_A bhūmiratnāśvanāgānāṃ gohiraṇyādivāsasām | bhavet pūrvopadiṣṭānāṃ dānāc chre_(1.3)yo 'nupālanaṃ || 107_A dātur atyadhikaṃ puṇyaṃ dattaṃ yaś cānupālayet | apālitaṃ tu tad yasmāc chighraṃ eva praṇāsyati || 108_A tasmād upadiśed dharmāṃ svayaṃ cāpi samācāret | kārayed anumanyeta kṛtaṃ anyaiś ca pālayet || 109_A.

21 The first two *padās* of this stanza are very closely reminiscent of *Bhagavadgītā* 13.22: *upadraṣṭānumantā ca bhartā bhoktā maheśvaraḥ | paramātmeti cāpy ukto dehe 'smin puruṣaḥ paraḥ || 22*. In the *Bhagavadgītā*, this corresponds to the definition of the functions of the supreme *puruṣa* within the material body, where the *puruṣa* is said to be 'Supervisor and adviser, supporter, enjoyer, great overlord, as well as supreme self'. Although the first *pāda* of stanza 105_A is almost identical with *Bhagavadgītā* 13.22a, and the construction of the *pādas* is similar overall, I don't believe it possible also to connect the two stanzas thematically, as the contexts appear to be very different.

22 For a digression on the traditional accounts of the transmission of the *Śivadharmāśāstra* and other works of the corpus, see De Simini 2016b, 263–268.

happens smoothly, mediated by the reference to Candrātreyā, the alleged compiler of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, and to the duty of disseminating and protecting the text whose composition has just been evoked. It thus seems possible, although admittedly not compelling, to connect the *pañcaprakāraḥ* of 12.122_A with this sketch of the different functions in the practice of Dharma within the community that the *Śivadharmaśāstra* is addressing, rather than to the following five ogdoads. The whole group of stanzas, 12.110–21_A, when read in the context of the preceding and following verses, starts and ends quite abruptly, with no clear connection with what precedes or follows. Given the miscellaneous nature of this chapter, the absence of straightforward links with the surrounding verses does not, in and of itself, constitute evidence for the misplacement of a portion of the text. To this purpose, it is more relevant to observe that some of the scribes who copied the manuscripts transmitting version A of the chapter — for instance N₈₂^K, N₇^K, or N₉₄^C — marked the starting point of the list of ogdoads with a symbol, or a pair of double *daṇḍas*, separating this passage from the rest of the chapter.²³ This can be read as a hint that somebody, at a certain point, felt that the *pañcāṣṭaka* passage did not fit in, at least not with the preceding stanzas. Among the Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts, there is one that even drops this passage completely, namely N₁₂^K, which omits not only the list of *aṣṭakas*, but also the two redundant stanzas 12.120_A and 121_A (see fol. 48_[L1]). This manuscript is not dated, but a note found immediately after the end of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* states that it was copied from an exemplar produced in 1194–95 CE (315 NS).²⁴ It is not entirely surprising that, with respect to the passage on the ogdoads, this manuscript stands out as an exception among the Nepalese tradition, for ongoing critical work on the texts shows that, in several cases, the readings of N₁₂^K are in agreement with those attested in the later South Indian manuscripts. In the study of the transmission of Śivadharma works, the passage on the ogdoads falls into the category of those significant, though not yet systematically known, inconsistencies whose study can help scholars bridge the two opposed sides of the manuscript tradition, thus proving extremely important in the attempt at a genealogical reconstruction.

The southern tradition of the Śivadharma corpus is still little known, with several specimens having been identified only very recently. Their total number has

²³ See, for instance, N₈₂^K, fol. 40v_[L4]ff.: the beginning of the list is marked by a pair of double *daṇḍas* with an *aṣṭara* in between. This symbol occurs again at the very end of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, fol. 41r_[L2]ff., marking the end of the chapter as well as the beginning and the end of a short succession of praises to the deities. 12.121 is omitted; see also N₇^K, fol. 44v_[L4], or N₉₄^C, fol. 40v_[L6], which mark the starting point of the list with pairs of double *daṇḍas*.

²⁴ See De Simini 2016b, 256, n. 57.

grown to ca. 20 manuscripts transmitting either the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* together, or only one of the two, alone or together with texts that are not included in the Nepalese corpus, or even just a chapter or a fragment from these texts.²⁵ As the first phase of locating and identifying the materials is still ongoing, our study must therefore necessarily be limited only to some representative examples; in spite of this, the selected cases allow us to make important deductions concerning the transmission of the text, which will have to be verified against those manuscripts that prove significant in the history of the Śivadharmā tradition. Of the manuscripts to which I have access, I have selected two as case studies for the southern tradition. One is G_{40}^L , a Grantha manuscript from the former van Manen Collection of the Leiden University Library, dated to 1830 CE. The other is the Pondicherry paper transcript P_{32}^T , deriving from a palm-leaf manuscript in Grantha script preserved in the library of Sri Nataraja Gurukkal in Kilvelur (Tamil Nadu). Occasionally, I will examine other paper transcripts with reference to specific points.

If we compare the order of the stanzas in version A to the one attested in G_{40}^L and P_{32}^T , to which I will refer as version D, two major differences emerge. One is that stanzas 12.110–121_A, just like in N_{12}^K , are not in fact located in the end of the chapter. However, while N_{12}^K lacks these stanzas completely, the two South Indian manuscripts place them immediately after 12.50_A. A second difference from the Nepalese tradition lies in the addition and omission of stanzas, with the most substantial addition being located at the very end of the chapter (and of the work). These two manuscripts, while inserting the passage on the ogdoads in the middle of the chapter, also avoid the redundancies of stanzas 12.51–52_A, which are completely omitted here. The arrangement of chapter 12 according to the two manuscripts is summed up in the following table, where additional stanzas are marked with a star, their number corresponding to the actual position that these hold in each individual manuscript:

²⁵ An introduction to the non-Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharmā can be found in De Simini 2016b, Appendix II. The ongoing work of Marco Franceschini, presented at the 'Śivadharmā Workshop. Manuscripts, Editions, Perspectives' (Leiden) on September 30, 2016, as well as of those scholars active at the Pondicherry Centre of the EFEO — Dominic Goodall, S. A. S. Sarma, and R. Sathyanarayanan — continues to reveal new specimens.

P₃₂^T**G₄₀^L**

12.1-5_A
12.6ab*
12.6-8_A
12.10ab*
12.9-19ab_A
12.20-22ab_A
12.23cd*
12.22cd-35ab_A
12.37cd*
12.35cd-44_A
12.48cd-49ab*
12.45-49_A
12.54cd-55*
12.50_A
12.110-121_A
12.54-55_A
12.53_A
12.56-59ab_A
12.77ab*
12.59cd-60_A
12.73ab_A
12.62cd-64ab_A
12.82ab*
12.65-72_A
12.76_A
12.74-75_A
12.77-82_A
12.84_A
12.100cd-102ab*
12.83_A
12.85-87_A
12.89cd-97ab_A
12.115ab*
12.97cd-106cd_A
12.107-109_A
12.122_A
12.129*-148ab*
12.123_A

12.1-50_A
12.110-119_A
12.60ef*
12.51-81_A
12.86-99ab_A
12-57cd_A
12.105cd-106cd_A
12.107
12.108cd-109_A
12.122_A
12.115-132*
12.123_A
12.134-137*

Even just a cursory glance suffices to show that P₃₂^T is the most aberrant of the two, due to its larger number of additional stanzas and omissions. However, despite these omissions, both manuscripts follow the order of the topics as found in version A, with one substantial difference in the position of the ten stanzas on the ogdoads, which in the southern manuscripts follow immediately after 12.50_A. This position of the ogdoad passage is not surprising once we recall that, in version A, stanzas 12.120–21_A, concluding the ogdoad list, were identical or almost identical with 12.51–52_A. Moreover, stanzas 12.49–50_A, immediately after which the two southern manuscripts insert the group of stanzas starting with 12.110_A, contain a reference to the sacred places of Rudra's descents:²⁶

A water flow visited by seers — knowers of all the treatises, intent on asceticism, whose senses are subjugated — and by gods: this is called a *tīrtha* on Earth. (49) / [One] should define the places of the descents of Rudra as sacred places. Identity with Rudra [is granted] to the people who die in these fields of Śiva. (50)

As pointed out by Bisschop,²⁷ the notion of the *śiva*^o or *rudrāvatāras* originated in a Pāśupata milieu and was not widely known in Indian religious literature, with the exception of Pāśupata-influenced Purāṇas and the Pāśupata work *Ātmasamarpaṇa* of Viśuddhamuni: these texts list 28 *avatāras* of Śiva occurring in different time periods, and ending with Nakulīśa/Lakulīśa, additionally giving for each of them the names of the pupils who spread the Śaiva teachings imparted in those places. According to this view, the complete list of 28 *avatāras* is a later doctrinal evolution than the story of the four incarnations of Śiva at Kārohaṇa, for all the sources attesting the complete list of *avatāras* are later than the original *Skandapurāṇa*.²⁸ The *Śivadharmaśāstra* lacks any lists of *rudrāvatāras*, but still shows knowledge of them in these two stanzas, which might be a hint that the text reflects a phase in

²⁶ *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.49–50_A: (fol. 35r_{1,2}) *ṛṣibhiḥ sarvaśāstrajñais taponiṣṭhair jitendriyaiḥ* [em.; jitendriyaḥ Cod.] | *devaiś ca sevitaṃ toyaṃ kṣitau tīrthaṃ tad ucyate* || 49 *rudrāvatārasthānāni puṇyakṣetrāni nirdiśet* | *mṛtānāṃ teṣu rudratvaṃ śivakṣetreṣu dehinām* || 50.

²⁷ Bisschop 2006, 41–44, points to the following Purāṇic occurrences of lists of *rudrāvatāras* (p. 41): *Vāyupurāṇa* 23.127–130; *Kūrmapurāṇa* 1.51.5d; *Liṅgapurāṇa* 1.7.31c and 1.24.35cd–39ab; *Śivapurāṇa Śatarudrasaṃhitā* 4.27–30, and *Vāyavyasaṃhitā* 2.9.2d.

²⁸ The only exception is the *Vāyupurāṇa*, as an early version of this work was certainly known to the redactors of the *Skandapurāṇa* (Bisschop 2006, 18), although the section on the *avatāras* in the *Vāyupurāṇa* was apparently a later adjunct. The occurrence of the names of the four incarnations of Śiva at Kārohaṇa as toponyms may be a hint that the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, like the original *Skandapurāṇa*, ignored the later theology of the 28 *avatāras*, while it was aware of the more archaic story of the spread of the Pāśupata teachings.

which this doctrine was still undeveloped. The only information that the text provides is that the ‘places of the descents of Rudra’ had become *tīrthas*, and that dying there was considered very auspicious — just as it was in the case of the *pañcāṣṭaka*. Therefore, placing the stanzas on the ogdoads after the mention of the *rudrāvātārasthānas*, like the South Indian manuscripts do, would be perfectly suitable to the context. This, along with the repetition of 12.51_A and 12.52_A as 12.120–21_A in the Nepalese tradition, can be considered an indication that the most likely place for the 10 stanzas on the *pañcāṣṭaka* to occur is exactly between 12.50_A and 12.51_A, which is where the two southern manuscripts have them. This means that two late manuscripts, one of which is a Devanāgarī paper transcript, preserve the text in what seems to be a more pristine condition, at least as regards this specific point. The corruption that had interfered with most of the Nepalese tradition from the 11th century until modern times does not appear in these much later specimens, which however have features that clearly distinguish them from all northern manuscripts, such as the addition of the final stanzas, which mostly consist of invocations to Śiva. Nevertheless, the southern tradition is very diversified: among the paper transcripts of the *Śivadharmasāstra* we find some that confirm this arrangement, like P₅₁₄^T, a paper transcript copied from T₁₅^A, a manuscript in Telugu script now preserved in Adyar;²⁹ and others that are rather aligned with version A, like P₇₂^T and P₈₆₀^T, which are nonetheless endowed with characteristics that are specific to the southern transmission.³⁰

29 This manuscript starts the enumeration of the *aṣṭakas* at its stanza 12.52cd, soon after the mention of the *rudrāvātārasthānāni* (12.51). The list concludes with a hemistich (12.64ab in P₅₁₄^T) missing both in the Nepalese manuscripts and in P₃₂^T, but available in G₄₀^L (see P₅₁₄^T, p. 144): *puṇyāṣṭakam idaṃ jñeyam śivakṣetrasya lakṣaṇam*. The last *aṣṭaka* is thus called a *puṇyāṣṭaka*. This addition may depend on the corruption of verse 12.119a_A (12.62c in P₅₁₄^T), where the name *pratyātmikāṣṭaka* is given as *pratyāṣṭakam idaṃ*. Like in G₄₀^L, this additional hemistich (*puṇyāṣṭakam idaṃ ...*) is connected with 12.51_{Aff.}, while 12.122_A (*iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ [...]*), at the end of the chapter, is preceded by 12.109_A (*kārayed anumanyeta [...]*).

30 P₇₂^T, copied from the Grantha manuscript G₂₉^A, reproduces the list of *aṣṭakas* at the end of the chapter, in the same position as version A. On the other hand, 12.119_A is followed by other stanzas, not all of which are available in the manuscripts transmitting version A (P₇₂^T, p. 153): *pratyāṣṭakam idaṃ kṣetraṃ rudrasyāpi ca kāmadam* || 122 *tatra yānti mṛtās sarve rudrasya paramaṃ padam* | (=12.119_A) *puṇyāṣṭakam idaṃ jñeyam śivasāyujyakāraṇam* || 123 *tirtheṣv eteṣu yaḥ kuryac chrāddhaṃ yajñaṃ tapo japaḥ* | (=12.120cd_A) *snānaṃ dānaṃ vratam karma sokṣayam phalam āpnuyāt* || 124 *kṣamā sprhā dayā satyaṃ dāna śīlaṃ tapaḥ śrutam* | *etaḍ aṣṭāṅgam uddiṣṭaṃ paraṃ pātrasya lakṣaṇam* || 125 (=12.121_A) *dharmārthakāmamokṣārthaṃ sarvabhūtānukampayā* | (=12.122cd_A) *kartā kārayitā mantā prerakaś cānumodakaḥ* || 126 *iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ śivadharmah prakīrtitaḥ* || (=122ab_A). Note that the addition of hemistich 12.126cd, immediately before the definition of the Śivadharmas as *pañcaprakāra*, contributes to understanding the latter as a reference to the five functions that had been described in the stanzas immediately preceding the passage on the ogdoads,

On the other hand, the Nepalese tradition too is not consistent in the transmission of chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmasāstra*. The study of the earliest testimonia of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, still unavailable during the first collation of chapter 12, has permitted significant advances in the understanding of this chapter's transmission, and thus of the work in general. One of these early manuscripts is N₂₈^K, a multiple-text manuscript (MTM) that only transmits a limited number of works of the corpus; this manuscript is not dated, but its script suggests the late 10th to early 11th century as the most likely period for its production.³¹ A further crucial piece of evidence for the transmission of the text is provided by N₇₇^{Ko}, dated to 1036 CE (156 NS),³² and thus the earliest dated manuscript transmitting the *Śivadharmasāstra* corpus, though also in this case in a slightly different version.³³ N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}, although transmitting the same stanzas as Version A, attest to a completely different arrangement of the verses of chapter 12, both as regards the position of the passage on the ogdoads (where N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko} are much closer to the late southern transmission), and that of the numerous stanzas on *dāna* in the same chapter. While these two manuscripts respect the stanza sequence

and which are now summed up in this hemistich. This is not the end of the chapter, as 12.127ab (=12.22ab_A) is followed by the same benedictory verses that we find in G₄₀^L and P₃₂^T. This transcript therefore shares one feature with all of the southern manuscripts, and another feature only with some of them, namely G₄₀^L and P₅₁₄^T, that is the adjunct of the final hemistich on the *puṇyāṣṭaka* (note that the variant reading attested in P₇₂^T also adds the information that this *puṇyāṣṭaka* is the cause of the attainment of identity with Śiva), along with the corruption of *pratyātmikāṣṭakam* into *pratyāṣṭakam idam* (see 12.122c = 12.119a_A). Moreover, P₇₂^T reproduces the verse *iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ* (=12.122a) twice, once after the list of *aṣṭakas* and once immediately before it, as 12.112ab. This happens also in P₈₆₀^T, copied from G₄₂^{Ch}, which, like P₇₂^T, can be associated with version A, from which it is however separated by this and other variants in the arrangement of the stanzas. The list of ogdoads in P₈₆₀^T ends as follows: *pratyātmikāṣṭakam idam kṣetraṃ rudrasya kāmikam | tatra yāti mṛtāḥ sarve rudrasya paramaṃ padam ||* (=12.119_A) *puṇyāṣṭakam idam jñeyam śivakṣetrasya lakṣaṇam | dānāny āvasathaṃ kūpam udyānaṃ devatālayam || tirthesv eteṣu yaḥ kuryāt so 'kṣayaṃ phalam āpnuyāt |* (=12.120_A) *kṣāntiḥ sprhā dayā satyaṃ dānaṃ śīlaṃ tapaḥ śrutam || etad aṣṭāṅgam uddiṣṭaṃ paraṃ pātrasya lakṣaṇam |* (=12.121_A) *iti pañcaprakāro 'yaṃ śivadharmah prakīrtitaḥ ||* (=12.122ab_A). This transcript, therefore, does attest a correct reading for 12.119_A, since it gives *pratyātmikāṣṭakam* instead of the *pratyāṣṭakam idam* attested in P₇₂^T and other manuscripts. In spite of this, it preserves the verse *puṇyāṣṭakam idam [...]*, introducing an anomaly in the transmission of the names of the *pañcāṣṭaka*. Like the manuscripts transmitting version A, P₈₆₀^T preserves the redundancy of 12.120–121_A.

31 On the peculiarity of this manuscript as regards the number of works it transmits and further considerations on its earliness, see De Simini 2016b, 244ff. as well as below, § 3.

32 See De Simini and Mirmig 2017 for text and translation of the colophon; Petech 1984, 36, verifies the date given in the final colophon as July 6, 1036.

33 The particular version of the *Śivadharmasāstra* corpus transmitted by this manuscript is the main topic of De Simini and Mirmig 2017.

12.1–41_A, they connect 12.41_A directly to 12.58_A; at this point the text proceeds uninterrupted until 12.74_A, then goes back again to 12.42_A. This means that in manuscripts N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}, the passage on the ogdoads (vv. 12.110–121_A) follows 12.50_A and is followed by 12.53–54_A, just like in the South Indian manuscripts. The sequence 12.53–57_A is respected, with small omissions, but these stanzas are then followed by 12.75_A–109_A, after which in both manuscripts the text ends with stanzas 12.122–23_A.

As dry and little appealing this whole discussion of stanza arrangement may sound, it helps in disclosing an important aspect of the transmission of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. Before reviewing the structure of chapter 12 according to N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}, we should observe that this arrangement is not only attested in these two earliest specimens of the corpus but also, with a few minor differences, in a late-12th century Nepalese manuscript, namely N₁₅^o, dated to 1187 CE (307 NS).³⁴ Among the vast array of Nepalese manuscripts attesting the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, these three are the only ones in which the topics of chapter 12 are given in the order shown in the table below:

N ₂₈ ^K	N ₇₇ ^{Ko}	N ₁₅ ^o
12.1–41 _A	12.1–41 _A	12.1–5 _A
12.58–63cd _A	12.58–72 _A	12.5ef*
12.64–74 _A	12.74 _A	12.6cd _A
12.42–44 _A	12.42–44 _A	12.7–41 _A
12.62*	12.61*	12.58–74 _A
12.45–50 _A	12.45–50 _A	12.42–43 _A
12.110–121 _A	12.110–121 _A	12.46ab _A
12.53–54 _A	12.53–57 _A	12.44 _A
12.56–57 _A	12.75 _A	12.62*
12.75–106ab _A	12.78–109 _A	12.45–50 _A
12.108cd–109 _A	12.122–123 _A	12.110–121 _A
12.122–123 _A		12.53–54 _A
		12.56–57 _A
		12.75–96cd _A
		12.106ab*
		12.96ef–106cd _A
		12.107–109 _A
		12.122–123 _A

³⁴ On this manuscript and its dated colophon, see De Simini 2016b, 253–254. Please, note that in this publication the manuscript was wrongly referred to as Or. B 125; thanks to Yuko Yokochi, I am now aware of the proper shelf mark, which is reported below (see References).

Although N₁₅^O omits more stanzas, the sequence of the verses and of the topics remains mostly the same as in manuscripts N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}. These three manuscripts present the reader with a different version of chapter 12, to which I will refer as version P. The variation in the arrangement of the stanzas, and at the same time the consistency shown by the three manuscripts, is such that it cannot simply be arbitrary, but is revealing of the existence of a direct genealogical link between these manuscripts. Therefore, along with the position of the stanzas on the ogdoads, the arrangement of the stanzas on *dāna* constitutes another significant separating error in the transmission of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*. Now, while the stanzas on the ogdoads seem to be in good order after 12.50_A, the structure of version P breaks the inner coherence of the stanzas about gifting, especially because it interrupts the sequence of donations addressed to the *śivayogins* in 12.66–84_A. This is evident if we compare the text of the stanzas corresponding to the points at which the two versions differ:³⁵

Version A	Version P	Version A
[He] who would feed a Śaiva devotee, the best among the twice-born, during the <i>śrāddhā</i> rituals and so on, having saved seven members of his lineage, is exalted in the world of Śiva. (57 _A) / At this point, what's the use of so much talking? Donate food to the Śaiva devotee! When the Śaiva devotee is fed, in that case Śiva is actually fed. (58 _A)	[He] who would feed with devotion a twice-born Śaiva devotee, during the <i>śrāddhā</i> rituals and so on, having saved seven members of his lineage, is exalted in the world of Rudra. (57 _A =74 _P) / Having donated a <i>yogapaṭṭa</i> and the sacred thread to the <i>śivayogin</i> , [he] obtains the fruit of the gift of one hundred pairs of garments. (75 _A =75 _P)	Having donated the required toothbrush to a <i>śivayogin</i> , in Heaven he will be granted a beautiful town furnished with gorgeous women and enjoyments. (74 _A) / Having donated a <i>yogapaṭṭa</i> and the sacred thread to the <i>śivayogin</i> , [he] will obtain the fruit of the gift of one hundred pairs of garments. (75 _A) / Having donated to the <i>śivayogins</i> a vessel for alms, well made, [consisting] of clay,

35 *Śivadharmaśāstra* 12.57–58_A: (Fol. 35_I[LL4–5]) *śivabhaktaṃ dvijaśreṣṭhaṃ yaḥ śrāddhādiṣu bhojayet | kulasaptakam uddhṛtya śivalo<ke> ma_[L5]hiyate || 57_A bahunātra kim uktena śivabhaktaṃ tu bhojayet | śivabhakto yadā bhunkte sākṣād bhunkte tadā śivaḥ || 58_A.*

Śivadharmaśāstra 12.57_A; 75_A = 74–75_P: (N₂₈^K fol. 47_I[L5]) *śivabhaktaṃ divjaṃ bhaktyā yaḥ śrāddhādiṣu bhojayet | kulasaptakam uddhṛtya rudraloke ma_[L5]hiyate || 57_A yogapaṭṭopavitāni nivedya śivayogine | vastrayugmasahasrasya dattasya phalam āpnute || 75_A.*

Śivadharmaśāstra 12.74–76_A: (Fol. 36_V[LL4–5]) *dantadhāvanam uddiṣṭaṃ nivedya śivayogine | divyastribhogasaṃyuktaṃ divi ramaṃ puraṃ labhet || 74_A yogapaṭṭopavitāni nivedya śivayogine | vastrayugmasahasrasya dattasya phalam āpnuyāt || 75_A mṛdvaṃśālābudārvādisukṛtaṃ bhaiṣṣabhājānam | nivedya śivayogibhyaḥ sadā_[L5] sattraphalaṃ labhet || 76_A.*

Version A	Version P	Version A
		bamboo, bottle-gourd, wood, and so on, [he] will always obtain the fruit of a Soma sacrifice. (76 _A)

Both stanza 12.57_A and stanza 12.75_A are much better connected with their contexts — which are the importance of donating food to Śaiva devotees and the list of objects to donate to *śivayogins* — in the arrangement given by version A. This last section amounts to 19 contiguous stanzas in version A. The same is true if we observe the position of stanza 12.58_A, which according to version P should immediately follow 12.41_A.³⁶

Version A	Version P
What is both desired and excellent, and what could be obtained in a proper manner, this is exactly what has to be donated to a [person] endowed with good qualities; thus is the [main] rule about gifting. (41 _A) / [When one] would give land measuring one thousand <i>nivartanas</i> and so on, bestowing all kinds of grains, furnished with water, this is called a gift of land (<i>bhūmidāna</i>) (42 _A)	What is both desired and excellent, and what could be obtained in a proper manner, this is exactly what has to be donated to a [person] endowed with good qualities; thus is the [main] rule about gifting. (41 _A) / At this point, what's the use of so much talking? Give food to the Śaiva devotee! Because the Śaiva devotee eats, after eating he directly becomes Bhava. (42 _P =58 _A)

The arguments asserting the misplacement of stanzas 12.110–121_A on the ogdoads are admittedly more compelling than those concerning the position of the stanzas on *dāna*. However, if we accept that the order of these verses in version P is indeed less consistent, as it seems to break the internal sequence of some groups of stanzas, we come to the conclusion that version A preserves the stanzas on *dāna*

³⁶ *Śivadharmasāstra* 12.41–42_A: (Fol. 35_V[_{LL}5–6]) *yad yad iṣṭam viśiṣṭam ca nyā_[L6]yaprāptam ca yad bhavet | tat tad guṇavate deyam ity etad dānalakṣaṇam || 41_A nivartanasahasrādyāṃ sarvasasyapraroḥinīm | dadyād bhūmiṃ jalopetām bhūmidānaṃ tad ucyate || 42_A.*

Śivadharmasāstra 12.41–42_P: (N₂₈^K, Fol. 35_V[_{LL}5–6]) *yad iṣṭam ca viśiṣṭam ca nyāyaprāptam ca yad bhavet | tat tad guṇavate deyam ity etad dānalakṣaṇam || 41_A bahunātra kim uktena śivabhaktam prabhodayet | śivabhakto yato bhūṅkte bhūṅktvā sāḥsād bhaved bhavaḥ || 42_P.*

in a (seemingly) correct order, though not the stanzas on the ogdoads; version P, on the contrary, transmits the stanzas on the ogdoads in what should have been their pristine position, while introducing some illogical changes to the order of the stanzas on *dāna*. Version D, for which we have so far identified only southern specimens, is the version that seems to have preserved the most accurate stanza sequence for chapter 12, as regards both the passage on the ogdoads (where it complies with version P) and the order of the stanzas on *dāna* (corresponding to the one given in version A). These deductions are drawn exclusively on the basis of the previous considerations regarding these two separating errors, without considering the further question of omissions and adjuncts that characterize version D more distinctively than any other version of the chapter identified so far.

There is a further question that we need to address before drawing any conclusions, albeit provisional, on this point of the transmission of the text, namely what role to assign to the two known Śāradā manuscripts. The Śāradā tradition so far consists only of these specimens, which do not show significant internal variation. In brief, their main characteristics with reference to chapter 12 is the addition of stanzas, both in the middle and at the end of the chapter, which are not available in other specimens — neither those from Nepal nor those from the South — and can therefore be considered specific to the Śāradā tradition; barring a few omissions, the two Śāradā manuscripts reproduce the same arrangement as in the Nepalese manuscripts of version P, as illustrated by the table below:

Ś ₈₇ ^B	Ś ₆₇ ^S
12.1*	12.1*
12.1–41 _A	12.1–41 _A
12.58–59ab _A	12.58–59ab
12.44cd*	12.44cd*
12.60–61 _A	12.60–61 _A
12.47*–50*	12.47*–50*
12.62–63cd _A	12.62–63cd _A
12.64–66ab _A	12.64–66ab _A
12.67cd–68 _A	12.67cd–68 _A
12.66cd _A	12.66cd _A
12.69–71 _A	12.69–72 _A
12.74 _A	12.74 _A
12.42–44ab _A	12.42–44 _A
12.63*	12.65*
12.45–50 _A	12.45–50 _A
12.110–114ab _A	12.110–114ab _A
12.74cd*	12.76cd*

Ś₈₇^BŚ₆₇^S

12.114cd–116 _A	12.114cd _A
12.77ab*	12.117ab _A
12.117ab _A	12.115cd _A –116ab _A
12.118–119 _A	12.79*
12.80*–81*	12.117ab _A
12.120–121 _A	12.118–119 _A
12.53–57 _A	12.82–83*
12.75–80ab _A	12.120–121 _A
12.82–83 _A	12.52–57 _A
12.96*	12.75–83 _A
12.84–90ab _A	12.98*
12.103cd–104*	12.84–90 _A
12.91ab _A	12.106*
12.105cd*	12.91ab _A
12.91cd–96ab _A	12.107cd*
12.96ef–98 _A	12.91cd–96ab _A
12.113–125*	12.96ef–98 _A
12.101–106ab _A	12.115–126*
12.106ef–108 _A	12.101–106cd _A
12.134–137*	12.107–108 _A
	12.135–137*

The stanzas on the ogdoads are characterized by the insertion of extra verses, in which different *tīrthas* are also mentioned; verses that are shared with the other versions are at times rephrased, a rephrasing that in certain cases is clearly the result of corruption.³⁷ These two manuscripts can therefore be associated with

37 Following is a diplomatic transcript of the relevant stanzas as transmitted in Ś₈₇^B. The variant readings attested in Ś₆₇^S are noted in square brackets; additional verses that are not available in versions A, P, and D are marked with a star following the *daṇḍa*: [L₆] *rudrāvatārassthānani puṇyakṣetraṇi nirdiśet* | *mṛtānām teṣu rudratvaṃ śivakṣetreṣu dehi*[L₇] *nām* | *bhastrāpadaṃ rudrakṣi avimuktaṃ mahāpadam* [mahālayaṃ Ś₆₇^S] | *gokarṇaṃ rudrakarṇaṃ ca suvarṇākṣo tha* [°ākṣaś ca Ś₆₇^B] *dīptimān* | [L₈] *sthāneśvaram tu vikhyātam triṣu lokeṣu viśrutam* | *sthāṇvaṣṭakam idaṃ jñeyam tatra kṣetraṃ mahodayaṃ* | *bhastrāpadādi*[L₉] *sthāṇvādirudrakṣetrādikārakam* [rudradayoija° Ś₆₇^S] | *chāgalāṇḍam durāṇḍam ca sahā vā maṇḍaleśvaram* | *kālāñjaram sāṅku*[L₁₀] *karṇaṃ sthāneśvaram iti smṛtam* | *pavitrāṣṭakam etat śrīmahāpuṇyābhivardhanam* | *mṛtāḥ prayānti tatraiva* [L₁₁] *śivasya paramaṃ padam* | *gayā ca kurukṣetraṃ ca tathānyā nikhīlābhisuḥ* | *tatra kanakhalaṃ daivaṃ bhukti*[L₁₂] *muktiphalaśucam* [°pradam Ś₆₇^S] | *vimalaṃ cāṭṭhāsaṃ ca māhendram bhī ...* [... bhī Ś₆₇^S] *māṣṭakam* | *etat guhyātiguyākhyam aṣṭakam pari*[L₁]

version P, but the addition of a substantial number of new verses that are not attested anywhere else induces us to consider this a Kashmiri variant of version P, just like we had a southern variant of version A.

The misplacement of the passage on the ogdoads must have been an early error, since it appears in the Nepalese tradition already in the 11th century: our manuscript from the second half of the century, N₈₂^K, attests to this interference, while the manuscripts from the first half do not. This is not to suggest that the mistake necessarily originated in this century, but only to give a time frame for its attestations. We should also recall that the two manuscripts attesting version P that are dated or datable up to the first half of the 11th century each transmit a different variant of the corpus that won't be attested in the later tradition. Thus, both versions A and P are attested in the earlier manuscripts of the collection, with N₁₅^O being the only post-12th century Nepalese manuscript attesting version P. This version, while transmitting a seemingly correct arrangement of the stanzas on the ogdoads, also differ from version A as far as the order of the stanzas on *dāna* is concerned; as observed above, the order of the stanzas on *dāna* in version P appears to be illogical with regard to the organization of the contents, to the point that one might argue that this particular arrangement had originated, in its turn, as a misplacement. Regardless of the fact that the order of stanzas in the section on *dāna* as given in version P is incorrect, this situation suggests that the manuscripts transmitting the two versions could go back to two different models. The Nepalese manuscripts that fall into these two groups behave rather consistently: those that transmit the stanzas on the ogdoads in the end of the chapter do not attest to the misplacement of the stanzas on *dāna*, and vice versa, the three that correctly preserve the stanzas on the ogdoads after the reference to the *rudrāvatāsthānas* propose a different arrangement — or, better, a disarrangement — of the stanzas on *dāna* in the same chapter. Such consistency in the transmission of two extensive variant readings can only imply the existence of two distinct models.

kīrtitam | udgatvā puruṣaḥ śrīmān prāpnoti śivamandiram | śrīparvataṃ hariścandraṃ mahākālacanaṃ [°kālardhanaṃ Ś₆₇^S] [1.2] *tathā | ādārūkeśvaraṃ [āmṛātakeśvaraṃ Ś₆₇^S] caivaṃ kedarabhairavaṃ tathā | janmeṣaṃ saptam eṣaṃ [saptadaiśaṃ Ś₆₇^S] ca sarvaduḥkhaṇyaṃ saram |* atī[1.3]guhyāṣṭakaṃ vidyād etam mokṣapradāpakam | amareṣaṃ prabhāsaṃ ca naimiṣaṃ puṣkaraṃ tathā | aṣāḍhaṃ ḍiṇḍipinḍa[1.4]khyam bhārabhūtim [°bhūmim Ś₆₇^S] ataḥ param | nakuleśam athākhyātaṃ vidyāś cātrāṣṭakaṃ śivam | guhyāṣṭakam iti khyātaṃ rudra[1.5]syāmitatejasam | tatra yānti mṛtās sarve rudrasya paramaṃ padam | sthānāny etāni yatna vrajed yogi śiva[1.6]vratī |* itūmā sāsyā te yena rudrāṇāṃ kṣetram uttamam |* yatra yatrāthavā deśe yena yena maheśvaraḥ |* rūpeṇāste [1.7] mahāpuṇyaṃ tat tat kṣetram sumokṣadam |* dānāny āvasathaṃ kūpam udyānaṃ devatāgṛham | tīrtheṣv etāni yaḥ ku[1.8]ryād akṣayaṃ labhate phalam |.*

If we accept that the correct order of the stanzas on the ogdoads is the one reflected in versions P and D, while a more correct arrangement of the section on *dāna* is reflected in versions A and D, it turns out that the latter, only represented by southern specimens, is the only version to have preserved both sections in what could be their proper position. We are therefore faced with a situation where, with regard to the two variants in question, late Grantha and Telugu manuscripts transmit a version that could be closer to that of the archetype, prior to the emergence of the two interferences that would have heavily affected the transmission of chapter 12 since its early history. This consideration only applies to the general structure of the contents, as a common pattern of omissions and additions closely links the manuscripts transmitting version D to the regional southern tradition. One possibility is that the Indian regional transmissions and the Nepalese transmission separated early, before the first manuscript(s) reached Nepal, thus certainly before the 9th century. The most significant evidence that so far seems to suggest that the Nepalese and the Indian traditions must have developed independently after the first split is the flourishing of the corpus, of which we find no trace outside Nepal, where it played by contrast a key role also in the manuscript transmission. While it is possible that the stanza order of version D may depend on an older hyper-archetype, given its commonalities with versions A and P, only an accurate study of the variant readings in the text will enable scholars to confirm and enrich this reconstruction, or on the contrary to draw a completely different picture. At the same time, the hypothesis of a scribal conjecture that restored the correct position of the stanzas on the ogdoads in manuscripts following version D might always remain unconfirmed; as I will try to argue with the next example, the ghost of contamination has haunted the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus since early times, getting in the way of modern philological studies.

3 *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the making

The ‘Conversation between Umā and Maheśvara’ (*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*) is typically transmitted as the fourth work in the Nepalese MTMs of the Śivadharma corpus. It is first attested in two early 11th-century specimens, N₂₈^K and N₇₇^{Ko}, and since then transmitted uninterruptedly in palm-leaf and paper manuscripts of the

Śivadharmā corpus up to modern times.³⁸ Like the other works of the corpus, with the exception of the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* appears to only be attested in Nepal. The study of its transmission thus offers the opportunity to narrow our focus from the vast South Asian area, with its diverse local traditions and scripts, to the Nepalese region. The case that will be examined in the next pages suggests that the composition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was still in progress during the first stages of its manuscript transmission, thus providing a clue that this work may indeed have been composed in Nepal; at the same time, scribes have not only facilitated the transmission of this text, but also seem to have modified it significantly, for reasons that might have been connected to the contexts in which the text was used.

As I have already pointed out elsewhere,³⁹ a relevant disruption in the transmission of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* consists in how the Nepalese manuscripts appear to have divided the work into an uneven number of chapters. As a matter of fact, several manuscripts transmit the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as a work divided into 22 chapters, the final chapter consisting of only 16 stanzas that usually lack the explicit designation of 'chapter 22', being set off simply with final *iti*. Such is the division of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* according to N₄₅^C (which however has significant lacunas in this point), N₉₄^C, N₀₂^C, N₈₂^K, N₇^K, N₁₀^K, N₁₁^K, and N₂₅^K, to which I will hereafter refer as 'group V'. Note that all these manuscripts also turn out to transmit version A of *Śivadharmasāstra* chapter 12, although this information cannot be verified for N₀₂^C and N₁₀^K, which lack the *Śivadharmasāstra* entirely. In this group we should also include Naraharinatha 1998. Once we compare the structure of the final portion of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as in group V with the one attested in N₂₈^K, possibly the earliest manuscript to attest the corpus and, thus, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* itself, some major differences

38 The works of the Śivadharmā corpus have also been used independently of the MTMs in which they are transmitted, a practice that in later times resulted in some of these works being transmitted as single-text manuscripts originating from the dismemberment of a former MTM (see De Simini 2016b, 260ff.). The title list of the NGMPP enumerates only four paper manuscripts with the title *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* that don't seem to be part of a larger manuscript. These are (listed by microfilm number): A 305–4, of only ten folios; E 723/14, of 33 folios; A 471–40, of 25 folios; and F 6–8, of eight folios. The catalogue information provided is too scarce to let us conclude beyond doubt that this *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* was indeed the same work (or a fragment of the same work) as in the Śivadharmā corpus. As a matter of fact, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is a very generic title, which could rather denote a category or subgenre of texts, as shown by its various attestations in the *New Catalogous Catalogorum*.

39 Some of the considerations contained in the following lines are alluded to in De Simini 2016b, 246, n. 34.

emerge. In the following lines, I will describe this comparison by using one manuscript as representative of the entire group V, namely N_7^K , a complete palm-leaf manuscript dated to 1170 CE.⁴⁰ The first relevant discrepancy emerging from a comparison between N_7^K and N_{28}^K is that the latter, in which the *Umāmaheśvaraśaṃvāda* is also positioned as the last work in the corpus, concludes the work at chapter 20. The contents of chapter 20 in the two manuscripts are otherwise consistent, barring a few concluding verses absent from N_{28}^K :

N_{28}^K : (fol. 191_{V(L3)}) *prakāśitāni sarvāṇi dharmāṇi vividhā • ni ca | eṣa te paramaṃ yoga<ṇi> mayā tatvam udāhṛtam || ○ || iti mahābhāratasāntīparvaṇi dānadharmaeṣu u_(L4)māmaheśvarasamvāde viṃśamo <'>dhyāyāḥ samāptaḥ || * || samāptaṃ umāmaheśvarasamvādaṃ (sic!) ||; [...]* and all the manifold teachings have been disclosed. That supreme *yoga* has been illustrated by me to you according to truth. Thus ends the 20th chapter in the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, belonging to the teachings on gifting in the *Śāntīparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* is concluded.'

N_7^K : (fol. 185_{r(L2-3)}) *prakāśitā • ni sarvāṇi dharmāṇi vividhāni ca || yo <'>sau ca rati-dharmātmā sa yāti paramaṃ gamiṃ | rudra • jñānāni puṇyāni bhāṣitāni purāṇi ca || arcitā vācakā ye ca likhāpayā_(L3)ti śraddhayā | sarve {yā} yānti pāraṃ sthānaṃ yatra vāso [vā a.c., vāso p.c.] niraṃjanaḥ || etan te paramaṃ yogaṃ ma • yā tatvaṃ udāhṛtam || || umāmaheśvarasamvāde viṃśatimo <'>dhyāyāḥ ||; [...]* and all the manifold teachings have been disclosed. / And the one who finds pleasure in the Dharma, he heads to the supreme path. The meritorious and ancient [fields of] Rudra's knowledge have been expounded: / The worshipper and [those] who recite, [as well as the one who] has [knowledge] copied with faith, all go to the supreme seat, where the pure abode is. / That supreme *yoga* has been illustrated by me to you according to truth. / [Thus ends] the 20th chapter in the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*.'

The general tenor of these verses, which declare that all the teachings have been disclosed and, in the version given by manuscripts of group V, praise the role of those who worship and disseminate the text, seems to comply perfectly with the concluding remarks of the work. However, N_{28}^K is the only extant manuscript in which chapter 20 actually concludes the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*. A further peculiarity of N_{28}^K is that the colophon of chapter 20 mentions the 'teachings on gifting' of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Śāntīparvan*, which is a phrasing actually used to refer to the so-called 'Section on the Teachings on Gifting' (*Dānadharmaparvan*), corresponding to chapters 1 to 166 in the critical edition of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the 13th division of the *Mahābhārata*. This attribution, which does not have parallels

⁴⁰ On this manuscript, see De Simini 2016c.

in any of the extant chapter rubrics of the work, therefore seems to reconnect the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* with the *Mahābhārata*, which does contain a section that depicts a dialogue between Umā and Maheśvara exactly in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, in chapters 127 to 134 of the critical edition, that is still within the *dānadharma* section. As Mirnig and I have argued in a further contribution to this volume (see chapter 18, 587ff.), the composition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, along with that of the *Lalitavistara* transmitted in N₇₇^{Ko} (containing substantial parallels with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*), seems indeed to have taken inspiration from the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. In particular, we have shown that chapter 20 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, parallel to chapter 25 of the *Lalitavistara*, contains a parallel of about 14 verses to the so-called *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, a text that is transmitted in the South as a sub-portion of the *Āśvamedhikaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (see De Simini and Mirnig 2017, p. 628). However, in NGMPP A 27/2, the early Nepalese manuscript that preserves the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* dated NS 169 (= 1049 CE), the title of the text is indeed given as the *Dānadharma*. This would indeed comply with the attribution that we find in the final rubric of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 20 in N₂₈^K, which thus shows that the agents involved in the transmission of the work were aware that part of this chapter derived from a different work, and that the reference to the 'teachings on Dharma' is meant to indicate the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* rather than the modern sub-division of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*.

The chapter rubrics of the manuscripts belonging to group V miss this connection, while on the other hand they link the contents of chapter 21, which is absent from N₂₈^K, to another work:

(N₇^K, fol. 187v_[1.3]) || || *bhagavato gītapurāṇe dharmaguhyā* (sic!) *gajendramokṣaṇam umāmaheśvarasaṃvāde*: • *ekaviṃśatimo <'>dhyāyaḥ samāptaḥ* || ||

[Thus ends] the freeing of the king of the elephants [expounded] in the secret of Dharma (read: *dharmaguhye*), [which is] the *Purāṇa* of the hymns of the Lord; the 21st chapter in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is concluded.

While the first part of chapter 21 (stanzas 1 to 63) centres on the topic of musical notes (*svara*), the last part (corresponding to stanzas 64 to 78) indeed recounts the story of the liberation of the king of the elephants (*gajendramokṣaṇa*).⁴¹ This

⁴¹ According to this story, the king elephant, after leading his herd into a lake, gets his foot caught by a crocodile. They are thus engaged in a fight for a thousand years until the elephant, showing his devotion to Viṣṇu by offering a lotus flower to the god with the tip of his trunk and

famous episode of Vaiṣṇava inspiration is also narrated, in a more comprehensive form, in other Purāṇas, most notably in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8, with which the scribal tradition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* most likely reconnects this chapter of the work.⁴² However, no notable textual parallels can be traced between this section of chapter 21 and the *gajendramokṣaṇa* episode as expounded in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, while on the other hand direct textual borrowings connect this part of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* with *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194, where the same story is narrated.⁴³ Other selections of Vaiṣṇava inspiration include the few stanzas that form the next and final chapter, chapter 22, as found in the manuscripts

chanting a *stotra*, is freed by the direct intervention of the god. In his previous life, the king elephant had been the king Indradyumna, a great devotee of Viṣṇu who had been cursed by the sage Agasti. The version of the story narrated in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is rather short, and proceeds from the story of another curse and animal rebirth, namely that of the crocodile that assaults the king elephant. This crocodile is actually the *gandharva* Hahāhuhū who had been cursed by the sage Devala and turned into a crocodile. The chance to recount this story is given by the mention of the seven *gandharvas* in stanza 21.63 in connection with the seven musical notes (*svara*), which are the topic of the preceding stanzas in chapter 21. The brief account of the *gajendramokṣaṇa* episode is concluded with the liberation of the king elephant and the crocodile, each under the curse of a different sage.

42 The *gajendramokṣaṇa* episode of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is also transmitted as a separate text: see, for instance, manuscripts NAK 6/99, NGMPP A 1114–17, or NAK 6/2124, NGMPP A 1117–2. The catalogue of the NGMCP lists 71 microfilms under the title *gajendramokṣaṇa*, although it is possible that they contain texts belonging to different Purāṇas. *Gajendramokṣaṇa*, for instance, is also the title of a short work that presents itself as part of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Śāntiparvan*, and is transmitted either as a single work (UP Coll. 390, item 2664) or together with other devotional works (see Cambridge UL Or.1818). However, this episode cannot be traced in the current edition of the *Mahābhārata*. I managed to verify that the text transmitted in the Cambridge manuscript Or.1818 mostly corresponds to chapter 67 of the *Viṣṇudharma*. The catalogue information and the color pictures of this manuscript can be found at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-01818/1> (last accessed: 5/1/2017).

43 The following textual parallels can be identified by comparing the corresponding sections of the two works:

- 1) *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194.18ab: *tasmin sarasi duṣṭātmā virūpo 'ntarjaleśayaḥ* | = *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 21.68cd (N^k 187_{1[1.4]}): *tasmin sarasi duṣṭātmā virūpo 'ntarjaleśayaḥ*;
- 2) *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194.22cd–23: *salilam pañkajavane yūtamadhyagato vrajam* || 22 *gr̥hītas tena raudreṇa grāheṇāvyaktamūrtinā* | *paśyataḥ sarvayūthasya krośataś cātīdāruṇam* || 23 = *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 21.70ab, 71 (N^k 187_{1[1.5–6]}): *salile pañkajavane yūthamadhye gatas sukhi* | [...] _[1.6] *gr̥hītas tena raudreṇa grāheṇādṛśyamūrtinā* || *paśyantīnām kareṇūnām krośantīnāś ca dāruṇam*;
- 3) *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194.26cd: *vyathitaḥ sa nirudyogaḥ paścimām āgato daśām* || 26 = *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 21.72cd (N^k 187_{1[1.6]}): *vyathitas anirudvegaḥ paścimām āgamad diśām*;
- 4) *Viṣṇudharmottara* 1.194.27cd–28ab: *jaḡāma śaraṇam viṣṇum tuṣṭāva ca parantapaḥ* ||

of group V: in this short chapter, Maheśvara refers to the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu (22.7–13), and praises Viṣṇu as the maintainer of the triple world. These verses then conclude with a further request from the Lord to the Goddess as to what else she would like to hear from him. His spouse poses no further questions, but a conversation between the two again provides the frame narrative for the next work in the corpus, variously called *Uttarottarasamvāda*, *Umottarasamvāda*, and the like. As shown in De Simini and Mirnig 2017, the verses forming chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* are also traceable in *Umottarasamvāda* 7 and *Lalitavistara* 33, where they are inserted in a context that seems more suitable to the understanding of these stanzas. Chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* thus seems to have been composed entirely on the basis of pre-existing materials, and thus to belong to a second phase in the composition of the work, in which this has been expanded by the addition of two more chapters.

In the case examined in the preceding paragraph, we observed a clear chronological split between the two earliest manuscripts, N_{28}^K and $N_{77}^{K_0}$, and the rest of the Nepalese tradition, with the sole exception of the 12th century Oxonian manuscript N_{15}^O , which could be associated with the two early 11th-century specimens. This situation changes radically as concerns the final chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda*, for $N_{77}^{K_0}$ transmits the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* in 22 chapters, corresponding to those of N_7^K . However, as pointed out above and argued in full detail in De Simini and Mirnig 2017, the same manuscript also contains an additional work, the *Lalitavistara*, which partly reproduces the text of the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* (only up to chapter 19), while also showing contaminations from the *Mahābhārata* and *Umottarasamvāda*. This can be interpreted as a further sign that, in manuscripts from the first half of the 11th century, both the formation of the corpus and the composition of some of its works — particularly the *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* — were still regarded as an ongoing process. Concerning N_{15}^O , this manuscript is also consistent overall with the manuscripts of group V, although it adopts a different criterion for the division of the chapters, which number 23 here. However, the variation in the numeration of the chapters depends in the first place on a different internal subdivision of the contents of

27 *grhītvā sa karāgreṇa sarasaḥ kamalottamam* | = *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* 21.73 (N_7^K 186r_[L6]–187v_[L1]): *jagāma manasā* _[187vL1] *devaṃ śaraṇaṃ madhusūdanaṃ | pragrhya puṣkarāgreṇa kāñcanaṃ kamalottamam* ||;

- 5) Viṣṇudharmottara 1.194.50cd–51ab: *mokṣayāmāsa ca gajaṃ pāśebhyaḥ śaraṇāgatam* || 50 *sa hi devalaśāpena hāhā gandharvasattamaḥ* | = *Umāmaheśvarasamvāda* 21.76 (N_7^K 187v_[L2]): *mokṣayāmāsa ca gajaṃ pāśebhyaḥ śaraṇāgataḥ | sa hi devalaśāpena hāhā gandharvasattamaḥ* ||. Note that the last *pāda* also has a loose parallel in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8.4.3cd: *mukto devalaśāpena hūhūr gandharvasattamaḥ* || 3.

chapter 9,⁴⁴ and not on the insertion of new materials; furthermore, the scribe of N_{15}^O mistakenly labelled ‘chapter 23’ what should have been chapter 22. As a consequence, chapter 23 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in N_{15}^O corresponds to chapter 21 in N_7^K , including the colophon with the reference to the ‘*bhāgavato gīta-purāṇam*’ (see N_{15}^O , fol. 197r_[L3]). After chapter 23, N_{15}^O adds the same 16 stanzas as N_7^K , on the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu, and likewise simply concludes the work with *iti*. A reader of the text, or a scribe who used this manuscript, must have found this solution annoying, or must have seen another manuscript of the corpus in which those 16 stanzas were designated as ‘chapter 22’; therefore, he added a final rubric to this portion where he mistakenly designates this section as ‘chapter 22’ (fol. 197v_[L4]), unaware (or forgetful) of the fact that the previous chapter of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in this manuscript already bore the number 23. Another possibility is that this is a clumsy attempt made by the scribe in order to somehow fill the gap existing in N_{15}^O between chapter 21 and 23.

Therefore, as concerns the structure of the final chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the case of manuscript N_{28}^K is truly unique, since this manuscript turns out to be the only one transmitting an earlier version of the corpus, as well as of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, lacking some of the materials found in all the other specimens. On closer inspection, though, N_{28}^K might be regarded as slightly less exceptional in the history of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*’s transmission, since at least one other manuscript stands out from the bulk of the Nepalese tradition precisely due to the peculiarities concerning the composition and transmission of the final portion of this work. This is N_3^K , a palm-leaf manuscript dated to 1201 CE, the first year of the reign of Arimalla (1200–12016 CE),⁴⁵ which transmits the eight standard works of the Śivadharmā corpus. Various factors make this manuscript relevant to the transmission history of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and, more generally, to the philological study of the composition of the Śivadharmā corpus. Firstly, N_3^K divides chapter 9 into two shorter chapters, just like N_{15}^O , breaking the text approximately at the same point.⁴⁶ As a consequence, the numeration of the following chapters is altered, so that group V’s chapter 20 corresponds to chapter 21 in N_3^K . The copyist of N_3^K — whose name was Haricandra, as we learn from the final colophon (fol. 276r_[LL3-4]) — appends to chapter 21 the same rubric that was only available for chapter 20 in N_{28}^K , in

⁴⁴ See fol. 175v_[L5], where chapter 9 is split into two at stanza 9.25.

⁴⁵ On this king, see Petech 1984, 80–82.

⁴⁶ See fol. 166r_[LL1-2]. The chapter is interrupted at stanza 9.26. I take the opportunity here to correct my earlier observation, according to which it was chapter 20, not chapter 9, that had been divided into two parts in this manuscript (see De Simini 2016b, 246, n. 34).

which the *Umāmaheśvarasaṅvāda* was linked to the 'Dānadharma of the Śāntiparvan'.⁴⁷ The two manuscripts thus share a peculiarity that is not attested anywhere else in the tradition, a circumstance that makes one suspect that they could indeed be somehow linked, just like we might hypothesize a connection with N₁₅^O due to the unique chapter division that it shares with N₃^K. Most likely, manuscript N₃^K was the product of a complex contamination of different branches of the tradition, while at the same time reflecting strong authorial intervention. This becomes clear when we consider the case of group V's chapters 21 (on music and the liberation of the king elephant) and 22 (on the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu) as transmitted in manuscript N₃^K.

Immediately following N₃^K's chapter 21, which corresponds to chapter 20 in group V, we encounter a short chapter 22, called *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* (see colophon at fol. 183r_[12]), which is not available in any of the other manuscripts. This additional chapter is certainly the most macroscopic variant distinguishing N₃^K from the entire tradition, and we might thus surmise that this chapter was either composed by the copyist Haricandra specifically on the occasion of the production of N₃^K, or that it belonged to N₃^K's lost exemplar, which has also remained disconnected from the rest of the tradition. Moreover, as shown by the table in the Appendix containing the diplomatic transcription of this chapter, 26 out of the 29 stanzas forming the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* have literal parallels in three chapters of the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata*. Barring a few blunders and grammatical inconsistencies, which characterize this manuscript overall, the parallels of the Śāntiparvan are so close that one might assume that the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* was in fact modelled on the former. In this case, too, the *Mahābhārata* thus functioned as a direct source of content and stanzas for the composition of a new chapter of the work.

Haricandra's work did not finish with the insertion of this new chapter, for the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* is followed by chapter 23, which is nothing but an abridged version of group V's chapter 21, extending only up to stanza 21.30. After this, the text skips everything else up to the conclusion at 21.78, which means that it also skips the story of the *gajendramokṣaṇa* and, coherently, avoids any reference to it in the final rubric. Moreover, Haricandra also avoided copying the concluding chapter of group V, namely the short chapter 22 mentioning Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, which we suspected to be a later addition to the work. In brief, most of the textual materials that were absent from the early N₂₈^K, but attested everywhere else, are carefully avoided by those who were responsible for the production of manuscript

47 Fol. 182r_[12]: *iti mahābhārate śāntiparvāni dānadharmaḥ || • iti umāmaheśvarasaṅvāde ekaviṃśatīmo <'>dhyāyaḥ ||*.

N₃^K. The professional who worked on this manuscript or on its exemplar, given its date and features, must have certainly been aware of other manuscripts of group V, but then decided to intervene in a very prominent way by deleting some materials, introducing new ones, and thus altering the conclusion of the text. In the vast body of Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharmā corpus, I could so far identify only one that presents the same chapter division, and transmits the same text as N₃^K, namely a rare case of a single-text manuscript of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, identified with the NGMPP reel-number E 1804-9. This is a late paper manuscript in Devanāgarī script that almost certainly belonged to a former MTM, as we can deduce from the *siglum śi-dha-ca* (=śivadharmacarita) running on the left margin. N₈₄^K shares exactly the same chapter divisions of N₃^K, including the reference to the *Śāntiparvan* in conclusion of chapter 21, the addition of the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*, and the shortened version of chapter 21 transmitted as chapter 23. Before the final stanza of this chapter, N₈₄^K adds c. 3 stanzas that are not available in N₃^K.

The reasons behind such a choice must remain speculative for now, as we still know little of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s textual history. One would be tempted to argue that a copyist might have found the presence of the Vaiṣṇava materials in group V's chapters 21 and 22 to be inappropriate for the conclusion of a Śaiva work, such as the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is purported to be, and thus set about deleting and replacing them. We know that the coexistence of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava materials is one of the most striking features of the *Lalitavistara*, and to a certain extent also characterizes the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, to the point that one could surmise that the two works were composed precisely with the idea of balancing the two cults (see De Simini and Mirnig 2017). At any rate, N₃^K retains without problem the contents of other Vaiṣṇava chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* — such as, for instance, chapter 4, on the *vaiṣṇavayoga* — so we cannot hypothesize that the copyist of N₃^K conducted a systematic purge of all the Vaiṣṇava materials contained in the work. On the other hand, one could also surmise that the reasons underlying the removal of portions of text from the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* transmitted in N₃^K — or in its lost exemplar — were merely philological. We observed how the verses forming chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are also attested in chapter 7 of the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, where they seem to be in their original context, with respect to both their internal references and syntactical connections. At the same time, the scribal tradition had consistently attributed the story of the *gajendramokṣaṇa* to a *bhagavato gītāpurāṇa*, possibly identifiable with the *Bhagavatapurāṇa*, a text that, unlike the *Mahābhārata*, is not used as a source of verses and topics in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and that — at least in the version known to us today — does not actually have literal parallels to that portion of the Śivadharmā corpus. A scribe

might thus have expunged the final chapters of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of apparent interferences in the transmission of the text; at the same time, the philological zeal of the person who intervened in the text did not restrain him — or one of his colleagues — from introducing a chapter that, in light of our current knowledge of the manuscript tradition, is not attested anywhere else, and thus seems to have been composed with the purpose of replacing the missing chapter. However, unlike the portions that were removed, this chapter had been duly composed following the model of the *Mahābhārata*, coherently with further examples from the same work.

One last factor to consider in order to fully assess the production of this manuscript and the editorial choices that might have been made by its copyist Haricandra (or the copyist of the exemplar he was using) is that, as observed above, N₃^K was penned in the first year of the reign of Arimalla, the founder of the early Malla dynasty, who is praised in the colophon with his full royal titles, including explicit statements of his devotion to Śiva Paśupati.⁴⁸ The same colophon also specifies that the manuscript was produced with the aim of granting material and immaterial benefits to its sponsor, called Somadeva, and his family. Therefore, N₃^K was not only charged with the responsibility of transmitting the texts of the Śivadharmā corpus, but was also endowed with two main kinds of agency: on the one hand, the celebration of a political power whose coming marks a significant change in the political history of medieval Nepal; on the other, the protection and spiritual welfare of a wealthy sponsor, a function that Nepalese manuscripts have served since early times. Those who were responsible for the production of N₃^K were thus well aware that their work was not just aimed at the transmission of the Śivadharmā corpus, but that their choices in dealing with the manuscript as a carrier of text must also be assessed against the ideology that surrounded the manuscript as an object of power and a protective tool.

48 For a transcript and study of the colophon of this manuscript, see De Simini 2016b, 255, and Petech 1984, 80.

4 Conclusions: ‘Gegen die Kontamination ist kein Kraut gewachsen’⁴⁹

Two main types of conclusions can be drawn from the above case studies with respect to the linkage of the different manuscripts and the methodological consequences this has. In the first place, the case of *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter 12 highlights the existence of regional variants in the transmission, characterized by the inclusion or omission of specific groups of stanzas that might be absent from other variants, as well as by different internal arrangements. The general consistency of the Nepalese tradition is affected either by the presence of subgroups that transmit a certain variant — such as the case of version P, variously linked to the Kashmiri tradition — or by a deliberate alteration that can be attributed to a scribe or other party involved in the transmission process. Moreover, the links that connect the manuscripts within a subgroup may become weaker as we extend our analysis to other parts of the corpus. Therefore, when we work on different sections of the corpus, we find that there are different links to be established. For instance, while manuscripts N_{28}^K , N_{77}^{Ko} , and N_{15}^O can certainly be considered related on the basis of their common errors and shared variants in the arrangement of the stanzas of *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter 12, this connection dissolves once we observe the structure of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. On this point, N_{77}^{Ko} and N_{15}^O can be associated with the ‘mainstream’ version of the Nepalese corpus, while N_{28}^K again diverges. The latter manuscript indeed qualifies as very unique, since once we dig into it we are able to find other cases in which its stanza arrangement does not comply with any of the other manuscripts. One such example is the structure of chapter 11 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*: N_{28}^K skips from stanza 28 of the mainstream version to 69, moving back to stanza 29 only after stanza 106. If the uniqueness of this manuscript, which also transmits a shorter version of the corpus, may also somehow be related to its earliness, of which we have no further proof than its script, then we must also accept that N_{28}^K may belong to a different branch than the entirety of the Nepalese tradition. The fact that in chapter 12 of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* N_{28}^K shares with N_{77}^{Ko} and N_{15}^O both a correct reading (the position of the stanzas on the ogdoads) and a likely wrong one (the arrangement of the stanzas on *dāna*), while not sharing the other macroscopic variants that we took into consideration, makes one suspect that there are cases of contamination internal to the Nepalese tradition.

This is also hinted at by the case of N_3^K , a manuscript that respects version A in the transmission of *Śivadharmaśāstra* chapter 12, and that one would easily discard

⁴⁹ Maas 1957, 31.

from a collation due to the high number of corrupted readings and overall bad state of the text it transmits. Nonetheless, this manuscript turns out to provide an illuminating example of the open attitude that a scribe could have towards this tradition, to which they felt entitled, under certain conditions, to add and subtract text as they pleased. Although in many cases we notice that the scribes of the Śivadharmā corpus were copying mechanically from their exemplars, the possibility that the text could be altered on purpose, or on the basis of the reading transmitted by another exemplar, was certainly there, and it is the principle that inspired and authorized somebody to add two more chapters to the 20-chapter *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of N_{28}^K , or to divide chapter 9 of the same text into two chapters, as we see in N_3^K and in N_{15}^O . These examples suggest that we are likely to encounter many more such interventions in the tradition as we proceed with our critical work on the corpus.

A mechanical copying process thus alternated with a non-mechanical one in which copyists assessed the text and made decisions concerning its transmission. Philologists know that this attitude leaves the door open to the horizontal contamination of the tradition, which is one of the reasons why some manuscripts appear to be very close, to the point of suggesting a genetic link, but only inasmuch as we consider just one single segment of text. Another option that we should consider is that contamination might also have occurred if the scribes working on a MTM copied the works from different manuscripts. We don't know much about the copying process of these manuscripts, but we do know from codicological and paratextual features that the works belonging to the MTMs of the corpus could and were used independently of each other,⁵⁰ so we cannot rule out the possibility that single blocks from different MTMs were also employed as exemplars for the production of a new block of another MTM. The genealogical-reconstructive method will help us clarify this and other points, especially once we are able to systematically extend our considerations to all the works of the corpus.

The extant southern manuscripts, produced at a much later date due to the well-known defects that undermine manuscript transmission in such a hot and humid climate, otherwise prove immensely useful in the reconstruction of the history of the tradition, once again confirming that the latest layers in the transmission might in fact still preserve traces of a much earlier text. If we were to consider the southern materials as just ancillary to the Nepalese manuscripts, we would no longer be able to apply the criterion of the 'peripheral areas'⁵¹ to philology in order to evaluate a reading.

50 See De Simini 2016b and 2016c.

51 On Lachmann's introduction of this linguistic criterion in his edition of the New Testament — a concept later theorized by Bartoli and the proponents of neolinguistics at the beginning of the 20th century — see Pasquali 2014, 8.

From a methodological point of view, the so-called ‘method of Lachmann’, with its rebuttal of some of the practices that were widespread in Humanist philology — such as the acceptance of a vulgate version of the text, as well as the criterion of the *codex optimus*, and its focus on a rigorous *recensio* of the manuscripts — certainly offers some principles that turn out useful also in the study of the transmission of the Śivadharma corpus. At the same time, the features of this tradition, from the abundance and chronological distribution of its attestations to the likelihood of horizontal contamination, make it less suited to a process of mechanical *recensio* — of the sort that the reconstruction of a stemma presupposes — and better suited to a so-called ‘open’ or non-mechanical one. Scholars are thus presented here with a situation that is closer to the one envisaged by the post-Lachmannian philologist Pasquali, who highlighted the role played by the study of the history of the tradition that accompanies the reconstruction of a stemma. The author, in his analysis of contaminated traditions (see his 1934 study, reedited in 2014), proposed to rely on what he calls an open recension, a technique that proves useful in the case of traditions for which no definitive stemma can be proposed — as the tradition of the Śivadharma will probably prove to be. This is based on the principle that, during *recensio*, all manuscripts must be collated, while in the phase of *editio* the choice of the best reading cannot happen mechanically — nor on the basis of fixed criteria such as the genealogical stemma, the majority rule, or that of the ‘best’ manuscript — but necessarily has to happen by assessing each reading in terms of the principles established by the editor on the basis of the history of the tradition. The collation of the manuscripts and the choice of the best reading must therefore be preceded by a precise assessment of the place that can be assigned to each manuscript or group of manuscripts in the transmission of the text, and the impossibility of reconstructing a complete stemma can be replaced by the awareness of which forms the text assumed at different stages of its transmission. Thus the combined application of the genealogical-reconstructive method and the method of the open recension to the study of the complex transmission of the Śivadharma corpus — whose ‘vulgate’ text (Naraharinatha 1998) is furthermore deeply unreliable — not only promises the possibility of achieving a better understanding of the texts and the production of better critical editions, but also offers an important methodological contribution to the way we study Sanskrit texts and their transmission, enriching our knowledge and practice of philology and textual criticism.

References

Abbreviations

ALRC	Adyar Library and Research Centre
ASC	Asiatic Society of Calcutta
BHU	Benares Hindu University
Bodl.	Bodleian Library
CUL	Cambridge University Library
GOML	Government Oriental Manuscript Library (Chennai)
IFP	Institut Français de Pondichéry
LU	Leiden University
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project
ORL	Oriental Library of Srinagar
UP	University of Pennsylvania
WL	Wellcome Library

Manuscripts*

Sigla	Accession Number	Date
B ₉₉ ^C	CUL Add.1599	1682—83 CE
G ₂₉ ^A	ALRC 75429	
G ₄₂ ^{Ch}	GOML 2442	

* For the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, I have used the system of sigla that was agreed upon during the 'Śivadharma Workshop. Manuscripts, Editions, Perspectives'. According to this system, the first letter in the siglum denotes the script in which the manuscript is written (N for Nepālākṣara, G for Grantha, etc.); the first superscripted letter is for the place where the manuscript is kept (K stands for Kathmandu, C for Cambridge, Ko for Kolkata, L for Leiden, O for Oxford, A for Adyar), while the subscribed number indicates the last two figures of the microfilm or accession number.

Note that the Śivadharma manuscripts held at the Cambridge University Library are all photographed and catalogued in Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti 2011–14. Information on some of the manuscripts catalogued by the NGMPP can be found at the following link: http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/Main_Page (last accessed: 20/12/2016). The paper transcripts of the IFP can be downloaded from the website of the Muktabodha library (http://muktalib7.org/IFP_ROOT/access_page.htm; last viewing: 12/1/2017). The manuscript of the Wellcome Institute is described in Wujastyk 1985. The two Śāradā and the Telugu manuscripts are just mentioned in the lists of the holdings of the respective libraries, without description. Neither the Leiden nor the Bodleian Śivadharma manuscript are described in catalogues.

G ₄₀ ^L	LU II.40	April 22, 1830 CE
N ₀₂ ^C	CUL Add.2102	*12 th century
N ₅ ^C	CUL Add.1645	1139–40 CE
N ₉₄ ^C	CUL Add.1694	*12 th century
N _{A12} ^K	NAK 5-892 (NGMPP A 12/3)	*9 th century
N ₃ ^K	NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3)	January 4, 1201 CE
N ₇ ^K	NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3)	January 4, 1170 CE
N ₁₀ ^K	NAK 1/1261 (NGMPP A 10/5)	
N ₁₁ ^K	NAK 5–738 (NGMPP A 11/3)	1395–96 CE
N ₁₂ ^K	NAK 5–841 (NGMPP B 12/4)	date of the exemplar: 1194–95 CE
N ₂₅ ^K	Kesar 218 (NGMPP C 25/1)	
N ₂₈ ^K	NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4)	*late 10 th /early 11 th century
N ₄₂ ^K	NAK 2–153 (NGMPP A 1042/1)	
N ₅₇ ^K	Kesar 597 (NGMPP C 57/5)	1742–43 CE
N ₈₂ ^K	NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3)	May 24, 1069 CE
N ₀₄ ^K	E 34612 (NGMPP E 1804-9)	
N ₅₂ ^{Ko}	ASC G 3852 (cat. No. 4085)	*12 th century
N ₇₇ ^{Ko}	ASC G 4077 (cat. No. 4084)	July 6, 1036 CE
N ₁₅ ^O	Sansk. A 15 (R)	June 1187 CE
N ₁₆ ^L	WL 8 16 (I–VIII)	
P ₃₂ ^T	IFP T32	June 26, 1959
P ₇₂ ^T	IFP T72	March 9, 1963
P ₅₁₄ ^T	IFP T514	
P ₈₆₀ ^T	IFP T860	
Ś ₆₇ ^S	ORL 1467	
Ś ₈₇ ^B	BHU C1087 (cat. No. 7/3986)	
T ₁₅ ^A	ALRC 66015	

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Appendix: The Text of the *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya* alongside Parallels from *Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan*

Manuscript N₃^K, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 22, *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*. Diplomatic Transcription

Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan

22.1–6 ≈ *Mahābhārata* 12.242.12–17

Fol.182r_[L2] *idaṃ śāstra*<ṃ> *likhi*_[L3]*tam paṭhitan datta*<ṃ> *vyākhyāta*<ṃ> *śrotavyan kartavyam | sarvveṣāṃ ślokaśaṃkhyānāṃ navaśata-ṣoḍhādhika*<ṃ> *likhitam ||*

vyāsa uvāca

[...]

tān nadīśatasrotyāni mithyālobhapravāhinī | pañcendriyagrāhavatī manaḥsaṃkalparodhasām || 1

sarvataḥsrotasaṃ ghorāṃ nadīṃ lokapravāhinīm | pañcendriyagrāhavatīṃ manaḥsaṃkalparodhasam || 12

*bhūtradumas tṛṇaś cchanna kāmakrodhasarīṣṛpā | satyatīrthānṛtaḥ kro*_[L4]*dhaḥ ṣaḍkāśaridvarāṃ || 2*

lobhamohatṛṇacchannāṃ kāmakrodhasarīṣṛpām | satyatīrthānṛtakṣobhāṃ krodhapāṅkāḥ saridvarāṃ || 13

avyaktam aprabhā śighraṃm ahorātrāṇ ga-vāhiṇīṃ | pratar aśvanadī buddhyā durastarātmākṛtātmabhiḥ || 3

avyaktaprabhavāṃ śighrāṃ dustarāṃ akṛtātmabhiḥ | pratarasva nadīṃ buddhyā kastarāgrahasamākulām || 14

saṃsārasāgarāmāyāṃ yonipātanadustarāṃ | tato marjjanadīn tāta jihvāvarttān durāsadām || 4

saṃsārasāgaragamāṃ yonipātāladustarām | ātmajanmodbhavāṃ tāta jihvāvarttām durāsadām || 15

*yā taranti kṛtā prajñā dhṛtimantro maṇīṣiṇaḥ | nātīrthasarvatomuktā vipūtātmātma*_[L5]*vīśuci || 5*

yām taranti kṛtaprajñā dhṛtimanto maṇīṣiṇaḥ | tāṃ tīrṇaḥ sarvatomukto vipūtātmātmaṃvichuciḥ || 16

uttamā buddhim āsthāya brahmabhūto bhaviṣyati | saṃkīrṇṇasarvaśe kleśā prasaṃnātmā na kalāṣaḥ || 6

uttamāṃ buddhim āsthāya brahmabhūyaḥ gamiṣyasi | saṃtīrṇṇaḥ sarvasaṃkleśāṃ prasaṃnātmā vikalmaṣaḥ || 17

Manuscript N₃^K, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 22, *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*. Diplomatic Transcription

Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan

v. 22.7 ≈ *Mahābhārata* 12.290.55

<p><i>krodhaḥ satvena cchidyanti kāmaṃ saṃkalpavarjanāt satvasaṃsevanā nidrām aprasādā bhayaṃ tathā chidanti pañcamāsvāsaṃ laghvāhāratayā-ṣarā 7</i></p>	<p><i>chindanti kṣamayā krodhaṃ kāmaṃ saṃkalpavarjanāt sattvasaṃśīlanān nidrām apramādād bhayaṃ tathā chindanti pañcamaṃ śvāsaṃ laghvāhāratayā nṛpa 55</i></p>
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vv. 22.8–18 ≈ *Mahābhārata* 12.29.60–70ab

<p><i>rāgyajanasubhāgatvāṃs tāmasāś ca yathā- vi_[Fol.182vL1]dhim anyāś ca satvatāgaṃdhāṃ svargadehaṅgam āśritāṃ 8</i></p>	<p><i>rājasān aśubhān gandhāṃs tāmasāṃś ca tathāvidhān puṇyāṃś ca sāttvikān gandhān sparśajān dehasaṃśritān </i></p>
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<p><i>cchitvetāj jñānaśāstreṇa tapodaṅḍena bhārataḥ atha duḥkhodakaṃ ghoraṃ cintāsokamahāhradam 9</i></p>	<p><i>chittvāśu jñānaśastreṇa tapodaṅḍena bhārata 60 tato duḥkhodakaṃ ghoraṃ cintāsokamahāhradam </i></p>
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<p><i>vyādhimṛtyumahāgrāhyatamamoham apāragam tamaścakraraḥomīnaṃ velācāryam anuttamaṃ 10</i></p>	<p><i>vyādhimṛtyumahāgrāhaṃ mahābhayamahoragam 61 tamaḥkūrmaṃ rajomīnaṃ prajñayā saṃtaranty uta </i></p>
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<p><i>snehapañkajarāduḥkhasparśadīpam anuttamaṃ karmāśāyaṃ satyavi_[L2]riṃ sthīravratatirakṛtaṃ 11</i></p>	<p><i>snehapañkaṃ jarādurgam sparśadvīpam arimḍama 62 karmāgādhaṃ satyatīraṃ sthīvatratam idaṃ nṛpa </i></p>
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<p><i>hiṃsādeśānānāratnamāyāmohamahoragam nānāprītimahāratnan duḥkhajvarasamīraṇam 12</i></p>	<p><i>hiṃsāśīghramahāvegam nānārasamahākaram 63 nānāprītimahāratnaṃ duḥkhajvarasamīraṇam </i></p>
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<p><i>naikatikṣṇamahāvarttantikṣṇavyādhijarārujam asthisamghātasamghāt śleṣmaḥphenam arindamah 13</i></p>	<p><i>śokatṣṇāmahāvartaṃ tikṣṇavyādhimahāgajam 64 asthisamghātasamghātaṃ śleṣmaḥphenam arimḍama </i></p>
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<p><i>dānamuktodakaṃ bhīmaśronidahradadhidhrumam amitokraṣṭanirghoṣaṃ nānāratnasu_[L3]dustarāṃ 14</i></p>	<p><i>dānamuktākaram bhīmaṃ śoṇitahradavidrumam 65 hasitotkraṣṭanirghoṣaṃ nānājñānasudustaram </i></p>
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<p><i>romanāśrujalekhāraṃ saṅgabhyām a- parāyaṇam punar ājamaṇālokaṃ putrabandhanapatṛṇam 15</i></p>	<p><i>rodanāśrumalakṣāraṃ saṅgatyāgaparāyaṇam 66 punar ājanmalokaugham putrabāndhanapatṛṇam </i></p>
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Manuscript N₃^K, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 22, *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*. Diplomatic Transcription
Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan

ahiṃsāsatyamaryādaṃ prāṇatyāgamahormiṇaṃ | velātyāgam anātitaṃ sarvvabhūtagadadhiṃ || 16

*ahiṃsāsatyamaryādaṃ prāṇatyāgamahormi-
ṇam || 67 vedāntagamanadvīpaṃ sarvvabhūta-
dayodadhim |*

mokṣadurllābhaviṣayaṃ vaṭavāmukhagauravaṃ | taraṃti svatayaḥ sukhāyā na yānena bhārataḥ || 17

*mokṣaduṣprāpaviṣayaṃ vaṭavāmukhasāga-
ram || 68 taranti munayaḥ siddhā jñānayogena
bhārata |*

*tatvā ca dustaraṃ sa_[L4]rīvavisanti vimalaṃ nab-
haḥ | atha tāsu kṛtīsakhyāsūryo vihati rasmibhiḥ || 18*

*tīrtvā ca dustaraṃ janma viśanti vimalaṃ nabhaḥ
|| 69 tatas tān sukṛtīn sāmkyān sūryo vahati
raśmibhiḥ |*

vv. 22.19–26 ≈ *Mahābhārata* 12.179.8–15

*nasyaṃdhyai<r> yo hi nīhārād vāyur ucchvasi
sigrahā | nasyete koṣṭhabhedatvād agni<r>
paśyaty abhojanāt || 19*

*naśyanty āpo hy anāhārād vāyur ucchvāsani-
grahāt | naśyate koṣṭhabhedāt kham agni
naśyaty abhojanāt || 8*

*vyādhivraṇaṇ ca viśleṣair medhanī cāśaryate |
pīḍyate <'>nyatare teṣāṃ saghātaṃ yadi
pañcadhā || 20*

*vyādhivraṇaparikleṣair medinī caiva śīryate |
pīḍite 'nyatare hy eṣāṃ saṃghāto yāti
pañcadhā || 9*

*tasmin pañcatvam āpaṃno jīvakam anu_[L5]dhāvati
| kiṃ veda yadi jīvitaṃ śṛṇoti ca bravīti vā || 21*

*tasmin pañcatvam āpanne jīvaḥ kim anudhāvati
| kiṃ vedayati vā jīvaḥ kiṃ śṛṇoti bravīti vā || 10*

*eṣo gau paralokeṣv ātārayisyanti mām iti | yo
dattvā mṛyate jantuṃ sa gau kān tārayiṣyati || 22*

*eṣā gauḥ paralokasthaṃ tārayiṣyati mām iti | yo
dattvā mṛyate jantuḥ sā gauḥ kaṃ tārayiṣyati ||
11*

*gau capratigṛhīṣaś ca dātāś caiva samaṃ yadā |
iheva vilayaṃ yānti kutas teṣāṃ samāgamaṃ || 23*

*gauś ca pratigrahītā ca dātā caiva samaṃ yadā
| ihaiva vilayaṃ yānti kutas teṣāṃ samāgamaḥ
|| 12*

*vihagair upayuktasya śailāgrapatitasya kā | nag-
ninā yo pa_[Fol.183L1]yuktaś ca kutaḥ saṃjīvina
punaḥ || 24*

*vihagair upayuktasya śailāgrāt patitasya vā |
agninā copayuktasya kutaḥ saṃjīvanaṃ pu-
naḥ || 13*

*yadi chinṇasya vṛkṣasya mūlaṃ na pratirohati |
bījānasya pravarttante mataḥ kva punar eṣyasi || 25*

*chinṇasya yadi vṛkṣasya na mūlaṃ pratirohati
| bījāny asya pravartante mṛtaḥ kva punar
eṣyati || 14*

*bījāmātraṃ purā sṛṣṭiṃ pade parita varttate |
mṛtāmṛtā praṇaśyanti bījābijaṃ vivarddhati || 26*

*bījāmātraṃ purā sṛṣṭaṃ yad etat parivartate | mṛtā
mṛtāḥ prāṇaśyanti bījād bijaṃ pravartate || 15*

Manuscript N₃^K, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 22, *Bhīṣaṇādhyāya*. Diplomatic Transcription

Mahābhārata's Śāntiparvan

duṣkramā durāścaivamalasadvyāsanākulāḥ |
viṣayādibhir mātrāntā tamasā gādhaḡamiṇī || 27

ahaṃkārāva_(L2)rttamūḡhā buddhijñānavisarppinī
| tṛḡuṇaṃmīnaharaṇī bhūtendriyapuṭīkṛtā || 28

taṭaiś ca suviśāleś ca avyaktaḡ kṛtamekhalāḡ | evaṃ
sā parikhā bhūmi śivatattveṣu saṃsthitāḡ || 29

iti umāmaheśvarasaṃvāde bhīṣaṇādhyāyaḡ dvā-
viṃśatimaḡ ||



Cultural Studies

Daniele Cuneo

Vivid Images, Not Opaque Words

UL Add.864, the so-called Cambridge Kalāpustaka manuscript from early modern Nepal

Abstract: The article focuses on a masterfully illuminated manuscript from early 17th-century Nepal preserved in the Cambridge University Library (Add.864), which was possibly produced by a thriving atelier in Bhaktapur. This accordion book consists of one hundred and forty-four polychrome miniatures of extremely vivid grace and exuberant character, accompanied by Sanskrit captions. Among its many themes, it depicts several narratives of both sacred and secular nature —mostly taken from Brahmanical sources such as the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, but also including scenes from the Buddhist story of Sudhana and the Kinnarī. The article examines the iconographic programme of Add.864, suggesting that it may have been conceived as a didactic visual tool for the elites that partook in the high culture of early modern Nepal.

1 Introduction

Exactly half a century ago, Pratapaditya Pal, a leading scholar of Himalayan art history and former curator of South Asian art in many prominent US museums, published a brief, pioneering article entitled ‘A Kalāpustaka from Nepal’ in the *Bulletin of The American Academy of Benares*.¹ The important paper was dedicated to Add.864, a masterfully illuminated manuscript from early 17th-century Nepal, preserved in the Cambridge University Library, and possibly produced by a thriving atelier in Bhaktapur.² Now that Add.864 features among the almost 600 manuscripts that have been fully digitised and made freely accessible online by the efforts of the AHRC-funded

I am deeply grateful to Vincenzo Vergiani, Camillo A. Formigatti, Nirajan Kafle and Imma Ramos for their precious remarks and suggestions. All mistakes, of course, are mine alone.

¹ Pal deals with portions of the same manuscript in two other works: *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal* (1970, 22–26; 44–46; 90; 93–99; and *passim*) and *The Arts of Nepal* (1978, 97–100; 118–119; and *passim*). The present contribution is an attempt at improving on Pal’s findings as well as a tribute to his pioneering scholarship.

² See the Conclusions.

Sanskrit Manuscripts Project (2011–2014), the time is ripe for an updated study on this so-called Kalāpustaka manuscript and for a reassessment of its significance, paired with a hypothesis on its possible function as didactic, visual aid for the elites within the high culture of pre-modern Nepal.

Add.864 is an accordion book consisting of seventy-two handmade paper folios (7.3 cm high, 22.3 cm wide) painted on both sides, for a total of one hundred and forty-four polychrome pictures of an extremely vivid grace and an exuberant, expressionistic character. Simply put, it is an unparalleled artwork, an *objet d'art* of incalculable value.³

Beside the mainly figurative nature of this manuscript, most of the images are accompanied by one line of Sanskrit or Newari caption written in Nepālākṣara characters carefully, or sometimes less carefully, traced in golden ink.⁴ The information the caption provides is of great help in understanding and identifying the depicted scenes, which are often linked together in longer narrative sequences spanning across several folios.

The manuscript was bought in Nepal by Daniel Wright towards the end of the 19th century. According to Bradshaw's *Notes* on the Cambridge collections, its date of acquisition is 26 February 1873, and the University Library stamp marks the date 21 July 1873.⁵ The physical object is in good general condition, although the drawings on some pages are slightly damaged, quite possibly from before the journey to Europe, and as a consequence some captions are not easily legible.

Its precious illuminated folios are protected by two artfully decorated wooden covers (see, for instance, the front cover in Fig. 1).

³ For the whole digitized manuscript and a currently in-progress, image-by-image description of it, see the website of the Cambridge University Digital Library (<http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-00864/1>).

⁴ I will just mention here the highly political nature of the very naming of the language that is now commonly known as Newari. Its earlier, official name was Nepālabhāṣā and served as the administrative language of Nepal from the 14th to the 18th century. Incidentally, one of the first instances of the name *nepālabhāṣā* (or *nepālavāc*) and the first uses of Newari as a literary/scholarly language can be found in an unpublished commentary by Maṇika to the *Amarakośa* preserved in the Cambridge manuscript collections (Add.1698). See Formigatti 2016, for a preliminary study of its significance and a historiographical working hypothesis of a 'Nepalese renaissance' —being both Sanskrit and Newari in nature— that would stretch from approximately the time of this *Amarakośa* manuscript up to the whole of the 17th century, thus including the so-called Cambridge Kalāpustaka as one of its highest points of visual-cum-literary as well as Sanskrit-cum-Newari achievement.

⁵ For a short and updated history of the Sanskrit collections kept in the Cambridge University Libraries and detailed references to the numerous individuals who contributed to the formation of the collections, see the article by Formigatti in the present volume.



Fig. 1: Wood cover, Add.864. © All images in this article are reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Their description by Pal is worth quoting in full for the way it highlights the connections between Nepal and Inner Asia:

The edge of each cover has painted petals of lotus; and then, within two borders in gold, a bright green dragon motif, borrowed no doubt from Chinese art through Tibet, stretches along the entire edge. In the remaining space inter-twining lotus tendrils from circular medallions, within each of which is sketched in black outline, hardly visible, a figure of a divinity. The vegetal motifs and the figures are set off against a background of light red, and the entire surface of the cover is glossed over with a lacquer slip which enhances the cover's dazzling quality (Pal 1967a, 23).⁶

The scenes presented in the illuminations are drawn from a variety of sources, of both a sacred and secular nature, mostly Brahmanical works such as the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*,⁷ the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*

⁶ A further hint to a date oscillating between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century is the general similarity between the wooden covers of Add.864 and the decorated cover of a *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti* dated to 1570 CE and preserved among the Oxford collections with the shelfmark Bodleian MS Sansk. d. 346(R.). One more hint towards the same date range are the Nepalese Temple Banners and a Paubhā that are described in a catalogue of the Rubin Museum of Art, New York, by Vajracharya (2016, 106–110, 139–145, and *passim*). Not only do they present similar iconographical features, but they also use the Napālākṣara captions in a comparable way for identifying the various scenes. I thank Camillo Formigatti for these precious references.

⁷ The crucial presence of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, and especially its tenth canto, quoted and depicted at both the beginning and the end of Add.864, remained only partially noticed by Pal. He does implicitly recognize the importance of Vaiṣṇava myths and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* within the pictorial project presented in the manuscript, as it is testified by the focus he puts on them

along with scenes from the Buddhist story of the prince Sudhana and the Kinnari named Manoharā. As suggested by Pal (1967a, 23), this ‘strange medley of Brahmanical and Buddhist legends in the same document is not commonly found even in Nepal, where the line of distinction between them is indeed very thin.’ However, the presence of Buddhist narratives is not as noteworthy and central as Pal seems to be assuming, since the aforementioned story of Sudhana and the Kinnari is the sole unquestionable reference to Buddhism and only occupies fifteen pages of depicted scenes, i.e., circa one tenth of the whole manuscript.⁸

Due to time constraints, the difficulty of deciphering and understanding some of the captions, and the shortages in knowledge of the present author, a small number of scenes still need to be properly identified and the present essay is far from being an exhaustive study of Add.864.⁹ However, thanks to the work done during the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project, not only is it possible now to try and identify several new scenes, to correct some erroneous identifications, and to present problematic cases, but also to discuss the larger narrative sequences, and to attempt to situate the artwork within its wider cultural framework. As a preliminary warning, since I am no art historian, the present paper will not focus at all on the pictorial style of the depicted scenes, for the peculiarity of which a couple of paragraphs of the seminal article by Pal (1967a, 28) will have to suffice:

The most striking feature of the style is the manner of the delineation of the background, which is conceived as a sort of a stage back-drop, decorated with a florid pattern of scroll work. This not only adds to the exuberance of the style but also enhances its decorative quality. The design of the scroll-work shows a remarkable variation, from stylized floral

in his book *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal* (Pal 1970, 23ff and *passim*), but he probably did not identify the several verses quoted in the captions that are taken from that very text (see below).

8 It might be argued that the figures of the Mahāsiddhas, which occupy 12 pages of the manuscript (see below), are indeed liminal figures that fall over and beyond any watertight religious division, but are mostly worshipped in Himalayan Buddhism. But even so, the total count of Buddhist and liminal depictions would occupy less than one fifth of the whole manuscript. Furthermore, I would maintain not only that Add.864 is mostly ‘Brahmanical’ in content, but also overtly Vaiṣṇava in intent, as the Viṣṇu-centred myths found both towards the beginning and the end of the manuscript seem to suggest (see previous note). The presence of Śiva at the beginning of both sides of the accordion book seems to offer evidence for the opposite, but here I do share Pal’s opinion: ‘This invocation to Śiva, at the beginning of a manuscript given largely to the illustration of Vaiṣṇava themes is not surprising in Nepal, where he is esteemed the country’s patron god’ (1967a, 24).

9 In virtue of its sheer interest and beauty, Add.864 would certainly deserve a book-length monograph with complete high-quality reproduction of the whole manuscript in print. For the time being, such a project is bound to remain a desideratum, but the present contribution is a first step in that direction.

motifs, tracery-like light arabesques, swaying flame or cloud patterns to naturalistic lotuses, curving and voluting on slender and inter-twined tendrils. Generally, the colours employed for this ornate and delicately rendered background are red and blue, but occasionally green is also used [...]. The psychology of the style is determined as much by the dramatic content of the paintings as by the ornamental devices so effectively employed as is the background. It is essentially a linear and decorative style, acquiring its exuberant quality from the gay and vivacious delineation of the rich scroll-work. The rhythm of the scroll appears to imbue the figures with an added sense of movement and grace [...]. The purpose of the style is no doubt to achieve a picturesque and decorative effect [...]. Despite the almost frivolous and playful character of the florid scroll-work, a heroic quality is apparent in the style, evident particularly in the illuminations of the two epics.

2 Where to start

In order to try and unveil the rationale of the choice of scenes and their sequence, with the final aim of better understanding the purpose of the artwork as a whole, the very first task is simply to determine where the manuscript starts, and hence which side is the recto of the accordion book and which is the verso. Pal starts his study by assuming that what is now digitised as page 73 is the beginning of the artwork (see Fig. 2). He writes that ‘the illustrations begin with a hieratic representation of a multi-armed Śiva dancing on his bull and attended by two companions. The lighter figure on Śiva’s right is identified as Nandi, but the inscription below the dark and fierce-looking figure to Śiva’s left is illegible. But there is little doubt that it is Mahākāla, one of the many *pratihāras* [“guardians”] of Śiva.’



Fig. 2: Dancing Śiva with attendants, Add.864, page 73.



Fig. 3: The Opening Scene, Add.864, page 1.

However, I would argue that the hints given by the general structure of the narrative sequences seem to point at what is now digitised as page 1 as the actual opening scene (see Fig. 3). That is an auspicious representation of five deities with their respective consorts and mythical vehicles (*vāhanas*), seated in five niches in a sort of highly decorated arched porch, probably representing a royal palace or a royal hall within a palace. In the middle, we find Śiva with Umā, on Nāndin, here clearly represented as the main deities insofar as they are depicted in the centre and in larger scale than all the other figures in the page. To their right, Brahmā sits with his consort on the Haṃsa. Further to their right, Gaṇeśa sits on the mouse. To their left, Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī sit on Garuda. Further to their left, Skanda sits on the peacock. To have such a complete array of Brahmanical deities in what would otherwise just be the middle of the manuscript seems to me less likely than having the figure of the dancing Śiva with his attendants as the image for the middle of the work, contrary to what Pal seemed to have assumed.

Moreover, the pages that follow this auspicious scene in the royal porch represent well-known mythological events that refer to the beginnings of time and the previous eons, foundational myths that indeed find their ideal place at the beginning of the seemingly motley composition of different narratives that Add.864 is made of. A brief description of some of these scenes will show their ideal position as opening. The second page is actually divided in two sub-scenes, an illustrative stratagem which will be deftly used throughout the whole manuscript, sometimes with divisions in three or even four sub-scenes. In this case, to the left, we find the representation known as *paramātmān*, also called *viṣṇunyaḡrodhaśāyīn* (see Fig. 4): Viṣṇu is reclining on a Banyan tree while the seer (*ṛṣi*) Mārkaṇḡeya is represented twice, first as an emaciated sage adoring



Fig. 4: *viṣṇunyangrodhaśāyin* and *śeṣaśayana*, Add.864, page 2.

the supreme god and then jubilant in the water after discovering the whole universe in Viṣṇu's mouth. To the right, we find the representation known as *yoganidrā*, also called *śeṣaśayana*: Viṣṇu is lying on Ananta, before the manifestation of the entire cosmos, with the 'creator god' Brahmā seated on a lotus coming out of Viṣṇu's navel. Here on the second page one finds the first among the numerous captions in Nepālākṣara characters, which are more often than not drawn from the Sanskrit texts that the various scenes represent. This closely corresponds to verse 12 of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.87, in which both episodes are referred to.¹⁰

From the third to the sixth page, we have the first short narrative sequence,¹¹ centred on another mythical, foundational episode of origin, the churning of the

¹⁰ The almost entirely legible text reads: *svasṛṣṭam idam āpiya, śayānaṃ saha śaktibhiḥ | tadante bodhayāṃ cakru, s talliṃgaiḥ śrutayah [-1-]raṃ [||]*. It corresponds to 10.84.12 in the critical edition. (NB: for the transliteration of the captions, I have adopted the conventions laid down for the Sanskrit Manuscript Project and recorded in the project blog: <http://sanskrit.lib.cam.ac.uk/materials/conventions>, without however bothering to note the instances in which the images interrupt the continuity of the text). The only missing *akṣara* cannot but be the *pa* as found in *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, and the text can be rendered as 'After he has withdrawn this [universe] that had been emitted by himself, as he was lying asleep together with his powers, the Vedas awakened him at the end of that [cosmic period] by [chanting] his signs.'

¹¹ As argued by Pal (1970, 23), the previous image could also be interpreted as linked to the episode of the *samudramanṭhana*, as it was the sleeping Viṣṇu who, awakened by the gods, advised them to churn the ocean of milk together with the *asuras*.



Fig. 5: *samudramanathana*, Add.864, page 3.

ocean of milk on the part of *devas* ('gods') and *asuras* ('demons') and its immediate consequences. As it is clear from the caption on page five,¹² this could also be considered as the beginning of the scenes from the *Mahābhārata*, the longest narrative sequence in the manuscript, ending with page forty-eight of what I am considering the recto of the accordion book, and therefore practically occupying almost one third of the whole manuscript. Thus, page 3 features the *samudramanathana* proper (see Fig. 5): the mount Mandara is in the middle functioning as the churning stick, the serpent Vāsuki functions as the rope, while gods and demons are forcefully pulling on the two sides. Pages 4, 5 and 6 represent, respectively, some of the gems (*ratnas*) coming out of the milk ocean including the deadly poison being swiftly drunk by Śiva, the seizing of the *amṛta* ('the elixir of immortality') on the part of the gods thanks to the intervention of Viṣṇu disguised as the stunning Mohinī, and the final defeat of the demons.¹³ In the following forty-two pages the whole story of the *Mahābhārata* is narrated by way of only representing some crucial events, most probably with a conscious focus

¹² The caption in Nepālākṣarā characters reads: ṛ *manthānaṃ mandaraṃ kṛtvā, tathā netraṃ ca vāsukiṃ, | devā mathitum ārabdhā,ḥ samudraṃ nidhim ambhasāṃ* ||. It corresponds closely to *Mahābhārata* 1.16.12 (verse numbering always from the Critical Edition, unless differently stated). In Van Buitenen's translation (1973, 73), the verse translates as: 'Thus the Gods made Mount Mandara the churning staff; and using the Snake Vāsuki as a twirling rope, started to churn the ocean, treasury of the waters.'

¹³ For a more detailed description of these and all the other pages, see the online description of the manuscript.

on the figure of Bhīma, whose massive, red figure features prominently in many action-packed and often gruesome events.¹⁴

Before describing the general composition of the various narrative and non-narrative sequences in the manuscript and thus devoting some more space to the storyline of the Great War, let's briefly rehash and conclude my argument regarding the identification of the actual beginning of the manuscript. I am well aware that the presence of the five main 'Hindu' deities with their consorts and vehicles, followed by foundational mythological scenes such as Viṣṇu sleeping on Ananta and the churning of the milk ocean, are no knockout argument for the identification of the recto. However, the hints for this side being the initial page outweigh those for the other side, i.e. the dancing Śiva and the presence of Gaṇeśa, 'god of beginnings', in the following image.¹⁵

3 Outline of the manuscript contents: the recto

Now that the issue of the beginning has been tackled, at least tentatively, it is possible to give a general but accurate overview of the content of the manuscript, along which I will focus on some images, chosen for their beauty, interest or problematic nature. After the opening page (1) and the initial scenes on various foundational myths (2–6),¹⁶ we have forty-two pages (7–48) dedicated to the main storyline of the *Mahābhārata*.

14 It is relatively safe to postulate, or at least hypothesize, a connection between the prominence of Bhīma in the *Mahābhārata* as depicted in this manuscript and the centrality of the cult of Bhīmasena as a form of Bhairava from the second half of the second millennium in Nepal (see, for instance, Bühnemann 2013).

15 Moreover, after these two clearly introductory folios, the second longest narrative sequence of the manuscript starts (thirty pages of length), the *Rāmāyaṇa*, for which the narration commences *in medias res* with the sad (and possibly inauspicious) scene of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa bidding farewell to their parents, Daśaratha and Kaikeyī. In my opinion, this would be no ideal moment to be represented as the hypothetical first narrative snippet of the manuscript, as Pal assumed in his article.

16 As the captions for pages 5 and 6 are already quotations from the *Mahābhārata*, one might include the *samudramanthana* sequence already within the larger narrative sequence of the *Mahābhārata*. However, the rest of the pages dedicated to the epic are clearly focused on the adventures of the Pāṇḍava brothers and do not depict any of the numerous digressions and subplots contained within the larger narrative. Therefore, it also makes sense to divide the structure of the manuscript as I have just proposed, with a small section on foundational myths and then a larger one on the story of the Great Battle. In any case, the general analysis is not impeached by this interpretive choice.



Fig. 6: The 'second Hiḍimba-episode', Add.864, page 21.



Fig. 7: The encounter with Hiḍimbā and Hiḍimba, Add.864, page 9.

By relying on the evidence of both the depictions and the Nepālākṣara captions, the images can be subdivided according to the books of the *Mahābhārata* from which the scenes are drawn. Thus, pages 7 to 16 depict episodes from the first book, starting with the snake sacrifice by Janamejaya narrated in the framework narrative of the epic (7), and ending with the depiction of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa helping the fire god to destroy the Khāṇḍava forest (16).¹⁷ Pages 17 to 20 depict four

¹⁷ The other episodes are the conflagration of the lacquer house (8); the encounter with the Rākṣasas Hiḍimba and Hiḍimbā, the defeat of Hiḍimba, the union of Bhīma and Hiḍimbā and the salutation of their son, Ghaṭotkaca (9–10); the defeat of the Rākṣasa Baka by the hand of Bhīma (11); the episode of the Gandharva chieftain Citraratha (12); the *lakṣyabheda* scene at

among the most dramatic and crucial episodes from the second book: the killing of Jarāsandha (17) torn apart by Bhīma, the killing of Śiśupāla (18) beheaded by Kṛṣṇa’s discus, the fateful game of dice that sets the whole nefarious plot in motion (19), and the scathing humiliation of Draupadī on Duṣṣāsana’s part (20).

Page 21 is extremely anomalous (see Fig. 6). The painting is divided in three sub-scenes. To the left, the powerful and menacing forest-dweller Hiḍimba faces the five Pāṇḍava brothers and Draupadī; in the centre, Bhīma fights with him; to the right, Bhīma finally subdues and chokes Hiḍimba. What is utterly surprising about this folio is that this scene seems to be nothing but a repetition of what has already been portrayed in a different fashion between the right subdivision of page 9 (see Fig. 7), in which we see Bhīma wrestling with Hiḍimba, and the left subdivision of page 10 (see Fig. 8), in which we see Hiḍimba subdued by Bhīma. The episode is thus out of sequence here, as the killing of Hiḍimba occurs in the first book and here the story has moved to the second book. The identification of the depicted Rākṣasa as Hiḍimba seems to be safe, as it is based on the Nepālākṣara caption, which closely corresponds to *Mahābhārata* 1.142.31¹⁸ and mentions the joy of the



Fig. 8: Hiḍimba defeated and Bhīma’s family, Add.864, page 10.

Draupadī’s *svayamvara* when Arjuna hits the target with his arrow (13); the battle of the Pāṇḍavas against the other princes at the end of the *svayamvara* (14); and the meeting with the Fire god that precludes the destruction of the Khāṇḍava forest (15).

¹⁸ It reads *hiḍimbaṃ nihitaṃ dṛṣṭvā, saṃhṛtās te tarasvinaḥ | apūjayan naravyāghraṃ, bhīmasenam arindamaṃ ||*. Van Buitenen (1973, 299) translates ‘When they saw Hiḍimba dead, they were wildly excited and complimented the tigerlike, enemy-taming Bhīma.’ Moreover, the

Pāṇḍava brothers at the sight of Hiḍimba's death. Therefore, the simplest interpretation of the conundrum is that the misplaced scene is nothing but a mere mistake on the part of the artist.

However, a bolder interpretation for this interesting anomaly might prove more interesting: it is perfectly possible that the artist and the scribe were two different people who carried out their respective tasks one after the other, first the depiction of the scene and then the writing of the caption. It is, therefore, also possible that the artist intended to represent in this page the ill-fated encounter with the Rākṣasa Kirmīra —the brother of Baka whom Bhīma killed on page 11— occurring at the beginning of the third book (*Mahābhārata* 3.12). According to this alternative interpretation I am proposing, we have the Pāṇḍava brothers and Draupadī facing Kirmīra on the left of the page. In the middle, it is then Kirmīra that Bhīma is fighting. To the right, Bhīma subdues and finally kills Kirmīra. In this way, the depicted episode is in the right sequence with the preceding images, with a distinct implicit connection with the killing of Baka that is the reason of Kirmīra's furious rage, and also with the following pages of the manuscript that describe events happening in the third book. Therefore, the mistake is not to be attributed to the artist in the depiction of the events, but only to the scribe who mistook the scene for the fight between Bhīma and Hiḍimba and accordingly chose a Sanskrit *śloka* from that episode. Obviously, this interpretation remains speculative, but it does seem more plausible than a simple but unlikely case of extreme forgetfulness on the part of an artist who had the full and exclusive responsibility of each and every aspect of the production of this astonishing manuscript.¹⁹

Pages 22 to 31 depict episodes from the third book, starting with the killing of the Daitya Mūka (22), who had assumed the form of a boar and is simultaneously hit by the arrows of Arjuna and the Kirāta (Śiva in disguise), and ending with the episode of Karṇa warned by his father, the Sun God, not to give away his magic earrings and armour, but convinced by Indra to finally do so in exchange of a

verse that precedes this one, that is, *Mahābhārata* 1.142.30, is the one quoted as caption for page 10: *ī bāhubhyām yokramitvā(!) taṃ,, valavān_ pāṇḍunandanaḥ | madhye bhaṅktvā mahābāhu,,r harṣayām āsa pāṇḍavān_ ||*. Van Buitenen (1973, 299) translates 'The powerful son of Pāṇḍu racked the body on his knee and bent it till the spine broke, to the delight of the Pāṇḍavas.'

¹⁹ Excluding this very anomaly that I am tentatively trying to explain here and a later anomaly (page 45) that I even find less troubling, Pal's statement regarding the lack of sequentiality in the episodes of the *Mahābhārata* is indeed inaccurate. ('Unlike the representations of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, where a sequence of events is followed, the artist does not seem to have cared to observe any such order in illustrating the *Mahābhārata*.' Pal 1967a, 25).



Fig. 9: The *viśvarūpadarśana*, Add.864, page 35.

never-failing weapon that he intends to use on Arjuna.²⁰ Pages 32 to 34 depict episodes from the fourth book, the killing of Kīcaka, Virāṭa's lustful marshal, whose very extremities get literally pushed into his trunk by the mighty Bhīma (32); Arjuna is ready to fight and retrieve the cattle that had been raided by the Kauravas (33); and the Pāṇḍava brothers give up their disguise and identify themselves to king Virāṭa (34). Pages 35 and 36 depict episodes from the sixth book: the *viśvarūpadarśana*, the crucial episode of the *Bhagavadgītā* (see Fig. 9),²¹ and

20 The other depicted episodes are the fight between Arjuna and the Kirāta ending with the subdued Arjuna who recognizes and venerates Śiva in disguise (23); Draupadī carried by Ghaṭotkaca to the next hermitage, followed by the Pāṇḍava brothers, in their tour of sacred fords (24); Bhīma trying to lift the tail of Hanumān who has the form of a small monkey (25); Karṇa fighting against Citrasena and his army of Gandharvas (26); the breaking of Karṇa's chariot and the capture of Duryodhana by the Gandharvas (27); the captured Duryodhana set free and put to shame by the Pāṇḍava brothers (28); the lustful Jayadratha of Sindhu abducts Draupadī, but is followed by the ṛṣi Dhaumya (29); and, finally, the Pāṇḍavas reach Jayadratha who gets thrashed by Bhīma, so that Draupadī is rescued (30).

21 Pal has a very suggestive description of the scene that is worth quoting in full: 'The battlefield is indicated by the confronted chariots of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa on the one side and of the Kauravas on the other. The dark central figure with many arms and legs, multiple heads and faces, some of them awesome and painted even on his belly and chest, represents the universal manifestation. On the chariot to the left, the bewildered and frightened Arjuna shrinks away from the manifestation with enjoined palms. The human Kṛṣṇa is seated in front of the chariot, assuring Arjuna with his right hand, and holding the reins of the horses with the left. The insignia on the Pāṇḍava standard behind Kṛṣṇa is a monkey in a flying posture. This is no doubt Hanumān who, on an earlier occasion, had told Bhīma that he would be present at the battle of Kurukṣetra. On the other side of the manifestation are the Kauravas, led by Duryodhana, and they also seem

the battle that ensues after Kṛṣṇa finally convinces Arjuna to fight and annihilate his enemies. Pages 37 to 39 depict episodes from the seventh book: the fight between Arjuna and the king Bhagadatta (37), whose great elephant has just trampled upon the mighty Bhīma; the killing of Ghaṭotkaca (38); and the treacherous beheading of Droṇa on Dṛṣṭadyumna's part (39).²² Pages 40 and 41 depict episodes from the eighth book, the fight between Bhīma and Duḥśāsana (40) that famously ends with the former drinking the latter's blood, and the final duel between Arjuna and Karṇa, who is killed while trying to set free the wheel of his chariot that was stuck in the ground (41).

Pages 42 to 46 depict events from the ninth and tenth book, starting with Duryodhana hidden in a tank after the battle, while his allies urge him to return to fight (42). Then, on page 43, Duryodhana's hideaway is discovered by Bhīma who drags him out, forces him into a fight, and finally defeats him by treacherously smashing his thighs. Page 44 depicts Aśvatthaman, Kṛtavarman and Kṛpa sitting by a banyan tree and observing a ghastly scene: a nocturnal bird of prey is swooping on sleeping crows and slaughtering them in their slumber (Fig. 10).²³

wonder-struck, although only Arjuna was supposed to have beheld the manifestation. The insignia on their standard appears to be a lion' (Pal 1970, 97–98). The barely legible caption in Nepālākṣarā characters reads: [ॠ anekabāhūdarava]ktranetraṃ paśyāmi tvāṃ sarvato nantarūpaṃ | [nāntaṃ na ma]dhyam na puna[s tavā]diṃ paśyā[mi vi]śveśvara viśvarūpaṃ ||. It corresponds to *Bhagavadgītā* 11.16, which in the recent translation by Flood and Martin (Flood 2015, 57) is rendered as 'I see your many arms, your bellies, faces; / I see you everywhere, whose form is boundless, / endless, with no beginning and no middle, / Lord of the Universe, whose form your own is.'

22 The caption reads: *dṛṣṭadyumno vadhīd dronāṃ rathatalpe naraṣabha | śonitena pariklinno rathād bhumim arindamaḥ || lohitāṅga ivādityo, durdarśaḥ pratyapadyata ||*. It closely corresponds to *Mahābhārata* 7.165.52cd and 7.165.53. It can be rendered as 'O foremost of men, Dṛṣṭadyuma slew Droṇa on the deck of his chariot. [Then] the tamer of enemies jumped down from the chariot on the earth, as he was drenched in blood, hard to look at, like the red sun.'

23 Pal's identification of the episode as 'the end of the battle, when the ravens and the vultures sweep down on the battlefield as Yudhiṣṭhira and others mourn the death and destruction around them (Pal 1967a, 25)' cannot be right, as shown by the caption that starts in the preceding page and reads: *saṃnipatya tu śākhāyām, nyagrodhasya vihaṃgamaḥ | suptāṃ jaghāna subahū, n vāyasān vāyasāntakaḥ || upadeśaḥ kṛto nena, pakṣiṇā mama saṃyuge | śatrūnām kṣapaṇe yukta, ḥ prāptaḥ kālaś ca me mataḥ ||*. It closely corresponds to *Mahābhārata* 10.1.39 and 10.1.44, which Crosby (2009, 13) renders as: 'Now that rider of the sky, falling upon the banyan bough, killed many a crow in slumber, bringing the crows their end.' and 'This winged bird has given me a lesson in the art of war tailored to my enemies and I deem the time has come.'



Fig. 10: The owl and the crows, Add.864, page 44.

The episode gives Aśvatthaman the idea of stealthily attacking the Pāṇḍava camp during the night, in order to avenge the unjust murder of his father Droṇa and the death of the hundreds of warriors who were fighting on the Kaurava side. The following page (45) presents one more problematic issue regarding the sequentiality of the events: Aśvatthaman, Kṛtavarma and Kṛpa converse with the dying Duryodhana, while he is surrounded by crows, vultures and scavengers, ravenously waiting for his death. The caption²⁴ seems to indicate that this is the episode taking place at the end of the ninth book, and therefore before the massacre of the crows at the banyan trees depicted in the previous page and narrated at the beginning of the tenth book. To resolve the conundrum, one might argue that the close succession of the two events prevents any illogicality in the admittedly inverted narrative as presented in the manuscript. Thus, unlike the more troublesome case of the ‘second Hiḍimba-episode’ (see above), no particular reason needs to be postulated to account for this small anomaly, but a small oversight on the part of the artist, which in any case does not disrupt the intelligibility of the storyline. Alternatively, one might argue that this scene actually represents the second meeting between the three Kaurava warriors and the dying Duryodhana, the one occurring in the tenth book after the night massacre in the Pāṇḍava camp. Accordingly, only the caption would be misplaced, just as in the case of the second interpretation for the ‘second Hiḍimba-episode.’ Furthermore,

²⁴ The caption reads: *ṛvṛttam bhūtagaṇair ghoraiḥ kravyādaiś ca samantataḥ | yathā dhanam lipsamanai, r bhṛtyair nṛpatisattamaḥ ||*. It closely corresponds to *Mahābhārata* 9.64.7, which Meiland (2007, 391) renders as ‘[the long-armed hero] was surrounded on all sides by terrifying hordes of spirits who feed on flesh—just as an eminent king is surrounded by dependents who covet wealth.’

verse 9.4 in the tenth book somewhat mirrors the *śloka* from the ninth book quoted as caption here.²⁵ The two verses might have easily been swapped willingly or just used interchangeably in the version of the *Mahābhārata* that the scribe was using. In page 46, as retold in *Mahābhārata* 10.6, Aśvatthaman, Kṛtavarman and Kṛpa try and fight against a huge, monstrous incarnation of the God Śiva, here represented as Mahākāla or Bhairava, before they manage to propitiate the great God, and then enter the enemy camp and slaughter the Pāṇḍava army in their sleep, as graphically depicted in the right portion of the image.

Page 47 represents the *śaraśayana* episode from the twelfth book: Bhīṣma is lying on his deathbed of arrows and is intent on instructing Yudhiṣṭhira and the other Pāṇḍavas about the subtleties of *dharma*. Nevertheless, the caption quotes a passage from the sixth book,²⁶ illustrating the very moment that Bhīṣma, pierced by a shower of arrows, falls on the ground and is defeated, although thanks to a boon (the *svecchāmṛtyu*) bestowed by his own father he can choose the moment of his death and so decides to postpone it until after the fateful end of the Great War. Unlike the misplaced and unduly repeated episode/caption of Hiḍimba that is found on page 21 or the somewhat problematic case of page 45, this alleged case of apparent misplacement undoubtedly refers only to the caption and can be satisfactorily explained by assuming the intention to choose a Sanskrit passage laden with pathos over and above any of the numerous prosaic, didactic passages that could have been gleaned from the twelfth book. Therefore, in my opinion, there is no need to hypothesize any complicated scenario as it was proposed for the two previous cases.

Page 48 carries the last depiction from the storyline of the *Mahābhārata*: the royal ablution of Yudhiṣṭhira after the victory of the Great War. However, the caption is drawn from the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, which in a way encapsulates the narrative of the *Mahābhārata* by being cited both at the beginning

²⁵ The verse reads: *vṛtaṃ samantād bahubhiḥ śvāpadair ghoradarśanaiḥ | śālāvṛkagaṇaiś caiva bhakṣyayiṣyadbhir antikāt ||*. Crosby (2009, 99) translates it as ‘He was circled on all sides by a great gathering of gruesome wild beasts, with packs of jackals and wolves closing in, in anticipation of their approaching meal.’

²⁶ It reads: *ṛ śarasaṃghakṣataṃ vīraṃ, sāśrukaṅṭhas tato vṛṣaḥ | bhīṣma bhīṣma mahābāho., ity uvāca mahādyutiḥ ||*. It corresponds closely to *Mahābhārata* 6.117.4. It can be rendered as ‘[When he saw] that hero pierced by a shower of arrows, the immensely glorious Vṛṣa with tears flowing down to his neck said “Oh Bhīṣma, great-armed Bhīṣma.”’ It is the touching moment when Karṇa realizes that Bhīṣma is doomed.

and at the end of the storyline, possibly adding a further religious layer of interpretation to the already Viṣṇu-focused narrative of the Sanskrit epic.²⁷

After the long pictorial sequence centred on the *Mahābhārata*, two other narrative sequences occupy the rest of the recto of the Kalāpustaka manuscript: the Buddhist story of the prince Sudhana of Hastināpura and the Kinnarī named Manoharā (49–64)²⁸ and the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* (65–72). I will postpone the treatment of these two narratives to a forthcoming dedicated study, as both stories exist in a plurality of recensions²⁹ — even in multiple languages as far as the Buddhist story is concerned — and therefore present a different and more complex set of problems for the identification of the scenes and the study of the connections between the depictions, their textual sources and the ingenuity of the artist in selecting and representing the episodes.³⁰ Let's move then to the verso of the accordion book.

4 Outline of the manuscript contents: the verso

As already discussed and argued for above, the verso starts with pages 73 and 74, introductory images depicting a dancing Śiva with his attendants (73) and a multi-armed Gaṇeśa (74) accompanied by female attendants and a male figure

²⁷ The caption reads: ॠ *rājasūyāvabhṛthena, snāto rājā yudhiṣṭhiraḥ | brahmakṣatrivīṣāṃ madhye, śuśubhe surarāḍ iva* ||, which can be translated as ‘Bathed through the ablution of the royal consecration, the king Yudhiṣṭira shone among Brahmins, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas as if he were the king of the gods’. It closely corresponds to *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.74.51.

²⁸ Pal (1967a, 27) already identifies a few episodes of the story. In particular, page 57 represents Sudhana scaling mountains and facing dangers in search of Kinnarapura, where his beloved Manoharā lives; page 63 represents Sudhana finally reunited with Manoharā and back in his kingdom. Page 64 represents, on the left, the ascension to heaven of Sudhana and Manoharā, while on the right it represents the court of king Vikramāditya, as an introduction to the following pages where scenes from the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati* are illustrated.

²⁹ Pal (1967a, 27) traces some similitudes between the story of Sudhana and Manoharā as depicted in our manuscript and the version narrated in the *Mahāvastu*, although he postulates that we are probably faced with a version specifically elaborated in Nepal. For a short but comprehensive review of the different versions of the story of Sudhana and the Kinnarī as transmitted both in texts and artistic representations, see Straube (2006, 3–7). For a brief and updated survey of the different versions of the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, see Sathaye (2011).

³⁰ An additional difficulty in analyzing this portion of the manuscript is the Newari language that is found in most of its captions. Furthermore, the rationale behind the linguistic choice of Newari over Sanskrit also deserves a concerted reflection on multilingualism in early 17th-century Nepal that cannot be pursued in the present study.

who might be a Gaṇa as suggested by Pal (1967a, 24), or possibly a Rākṣasa, if one compares the depiction of his face with the other Rākṣasas portrayed in the *Rāmāyaṇa* storyline. And after these two initial images, one finds precisely the beginning of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the second longest narrative sequence of the manuscript, starting with page 75 and ending with page 104, for a total of thirty pages, more than one fifth of the whole accordion book.³¹ The crucial importance of the two epics in the artist's pictorial project appears evident by the brute fact that together they occupy practically half of the pages of the entire manuscript.

Just as in the case of the *Mahābhārata* storyline, it is convenient to organize the scenes according to the books of the epic they are drawn from. The story starts *in medias res* with page 75 that marks the passage from the second to the third book, from the *Ayodhyākāṇḍa* to the *Āraṇyakāṇḍa*: to the left, the farewell of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to Daśaratha and Kaikeyī; in the centre, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa proceeding to the forest together with Sītā; and, to the right, the forest has been reached and Rāma and Sītā are seating on a lotus-throne, in what seems to be a cave (Fig. 11). The third book is then represented by two extremely theatrical scenes: the episode of the golden deer — already described in detail in Pal (1967a, 24) — that lures away Rāma and then Lakṣmaṇa, so that Rāvaṇa in the guise of an ascetic can approach Sītā (page 76); the episode of Jaṭāyu, a demi-god who has the form of a giant bird of prey and who tried to save the kidnapped Sītā from Rāvaṇa's clutches (page 77). For its intense vividness, the scene deserves to be shown here (Fig. 12): on the left, holding Sītā with one of his arms, Rāvaṇa on his flying chariot is battling against Jaṭāyu, who is represented twice, once flying high in the heat of the fight and then falling down mortally wounded by Rāvaṇa; in the centre, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa are talking to the dying Jaṭāyu; to the left, a scene probably representing the desperation of Rāma over the kidnapping of Sītā: he is standing with an arm raised to the sky and a languid expression on his face, while Lakṣmaṇa kneels down in front of him with the hands in an *añjali*.³²

³¹ I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Mary and John Brockington who helped a great deal in the identification and analysis of the scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* storyline.

³² The caption reads: [sa] bhinnapakṣaḥ sahasā rākṣasā bhīmakarmaṇā | nīpapāta hato | gr̥dhro dharanyām alpajīvitaḥ ||. This closely corresponds to *Rāmāyaṇa* 3.49.37, which is translated by Pollock (1984, 195) as 'The moment the savage *rākṣasa* cut off his wings, the vulture fell stricken to the ground, barely alive'. The caption then continues: *evam uktvā citāṃ dīptā, m āropya patageśvaram | dadāha rāmo dha[r̥mā]tmā, patatrīm[dr̥m̄ jaṭāyu]ṣaṃ ||*. This closely corresponds to *Rāmāyaṇa* 3.64.31. On the basis of Pollock (1984, 229), it can be translated as 'So righteous Rāma spoke, and placing the lord of birds upon the pyre, he lit it and cremated Jaṭāyus, the king among flying creatures.'



Fig. 11: *Rāmāyaṇa*'s opening scene, Add.864, page 75.



Fig. 12: The episode of Jaṭāyu, Add.864, page 77.

Only page 78 is dedicated to the fourth book, the *Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, to its most central and dramatic events: the alliance between Rāma and Sugrīva sealed by Hanumān; and the duel between Sugrīva and his elder brother Bali, won by the former only thanks to the help of Rāma who deceitfully shoots Bali with his arrow while he is wrestling with his younger brother (Fig. 13).³³ Pages 79 to 83 depict

³³ The caption reads: *sugrīvo rāghavaś caiva, vayasvatvam upāgato prahr̥ṣṭamanasau virau tāv ubhau naravānarau || tataḥ śareṇābhīhato, rāmenākṣṭamanā | papāta sahasā bhūmau [ni]kṛta iva pādapaḥ ||*. The first part corresponds to *Rāmāyaṇa* 4.5.16cd–17ab. It can be translated, on the basis of Lefeber (1984, 64), as ‘Then Sugrīva and Rāghava entered into an alliance, delighted at heart, both Hari and the monkey’. The second śloka closely corresponds to *Rāmāyaṇa* 4.17.1.



Fig. 13: The killing of Bali, Add.864, page 78.

episodes from the fifth book, the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. The sequence starts with Hanumān's heroic leap across the ocean, depicted in the moment preceding it, as he is surrounded by other monkeys (79), and it ends with Hanumān's fiery havoc in Lañka and his return back to Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the camp of the monkeys in Kiṣkindhā (83).³⁴

All image from page 84 up to and including page 104 are dedicated to episodes from the sixth book, the *Yuddhakāṇḍa*. Therefore, way more than half of the pages dedicated to the *Rāmāyaṇa* describe events narrating the final conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, a clear choice on the part of the artist who presumably wanted to represent the culminating moments of the narrative and chose many of them among the pathos-laden scenes narrated in the prolonged war among Rāma's and Rāvaṇa's armies. As stated by Goldman (Goldman et al. 2009, 3), the Battle Book represents 'the guts, as it were, of the poem' and 'nearly twice the length of the next-longest *kāṇḍa*, concerns itself with what, from an important perspective, may be considered the real business of the *Rāmāvatāra*', i.e. the *dharmic* elimination of the world-threatening Rāvaṇa.

It can be translated, on the basis of Lefebvre (1984, 87), as 'Then struck by the arrow, his heart taken away by Rāma, he fell suddenly on the ground like a tree cut down.'

³⁴ The other depicted episodes are Sitā tormented by Rāvaṇa while Hanumān is spying on them; Rāvaṇa is then summoned away (or maybe held back) by two Rākṣasas (or, possibly, he is quarreling with Vibhiṣaṇa, represented twice), and Sitā is consoled by a woman, presumably Trijaṭā or Saramā (80); Rāvaṇa menacing Sitā again, Hanumān's encounter with Sitā, and Hanumān smashing the ladies' grove (81); Hanumān defeats a Rākṣasa (possibly, Akṣa), but is defeated by Indrajit, who captures him and takes him in front of Rāvaṇa (82).



Fig. 14: Illusionary Hero and Heroine, Add.864, page 88.

The first page of this long sequence (84) represents the well-known episode of the *setubandha*, the construction of the bridge that joins Bhārata to Laṅkā: Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa and the monkey army are about to cross the ocean, while Rāvaṇa is represented flying in his *vimāna* on the other side of the body of water that is being bridged by the causeway (84). The page that closes the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (104) depicts Rāma's lavish royal consecration ceremony in Ayodhyā. Two Brahmins (one of them should be the great ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha) are pouring water over Rāma and Sītā, while Lakṣmaṇa, Hanumān and other monkeys surround them.³⁵

Among the many remaining images,³⁶ I will focus on two more episodes, one for its intrinsic interest, and the other one for correcting a misidentification on

³⁵ The caption reads: *rāmaṃ ratnamaye pīṭhe, prāṇmukhaṃ saha sītayā | upaviṣṭa(!) mahātmānaṃ, maharṣir abhyaṣecayat_ ||*. It could be rendered as 'The great sage was consecrating Rāma, the great-souled one, as he was sitting with Sītā on a gemmed throne with his head leaning forward.' The verse vaguely resembles *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.116.54 and is anyway a summary of the main theme of *sarga* 116, which closes the sixth book of the epic.

³⁶ The other depicted episodes are: Aṅgada delivers Rāma's message of war to Rāvaṇa in his court (85); the Rākṣasas fail at capturing Aṅgada, then he is back in the monkeys' camp in front of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa (86); the killing of Kumbhakarna, Rāvaṇa's gargantuan brother (87); the severed head of the fake Rāma and the illusory Sītā being slain (88, see below for a discussion of it); the illusions are revealed: Sītā shows the illusory severed head of Rāma to Hanumān, and then Hanumān shows Rāma's illusory head in front of Rāma and his allies while the body of the illusory Sītā (?), slain, still lies on the ground (89); Lakṣmaṇa and the monkeys attack Indrajit and disrupt his magical rite (90); the death of Indrajit (91); Rāvaṇa is informed of the death of his son Indrajit and decides to enter the battlefield (92); Rāvaṇa fights against Lakṣmaṇa (93, see below for a discussion of it); Lakṣmaṇa, unconscious after the fight with Rāvaṇa, lies on the lap

Pal's part. After the frantic battle scene depicting Kumbhakarṇa's death (87), page 88 represents a change in Rāvaṇa's strategy to win the war against Rāma and the monkey army (Fig. 14). The image is divided in two sub-scenes: on the left, the magician Vidyujjihva presents an illusory severed head of Rāma to Sītā, in order to break her resolve, while Hanumān is watching the scene hidden above in a tree; on the right, a flying, green demon is cutting the throat of an illusory Sītā (*māyāsītā*), in front of a distressed party that includes Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa, Hanumān (?), Aṅgada and two other monkeys. The events continue on page 89 (Fig. 15), where Rāvaṇa's illusions are dissolved: on the left, Sītā (or possibly Saramā) shows the illusory severed head of Rāma to Hanumān; on the right, Hanumān has taken the fictitious head in front of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa and the monkeys, all struck with utter amazement, while what is possibly the body of the illusory Sītā, slain, still lies on the ground. What is peculiar about these two pages is how the artist is heavily reinterpreting the story as retold in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or how he might be following a different (possibly Nepalese) version I have not been able to track down yet.³⁷ In the *Rāmāyaṇa* as critically edited, the episode of the illusory severed head of Rāma occurs way before the killing of Kumbhakarṇa, towards the beginning of the book. And it is not some

of Vibhīṣaṇa, while the monkeys inform Rāma about his brother's defeat (94); a broken-hearted Rāma seats with the wounded Lakṣmaṇa on his lap (95); Hanumān flies back, carrying the mountain Gandhamādana, seat of magical medicinal herbs. Then, still on Rāma's lap, Lakṣmaṇa is restored to life by the elixir (96); Lakṣmaṇa is restored to life and is warmly greeted by Rāma (97); Rāvaṇa's great sacrifice is disrupted (98); the final duel between Rāma and Rāvaṇa (99); Sītā's repudiation and ordeal by fire (100); Rāma and Sītā are happily re-united (101); Vibhīṣaṇa is consecrated king of Laṅkā (102) and the return journey to Ayodhyā (103).

37 In a personal communication, Mary Brockington confirmed the as-yet untraceable nature of the original traits of the storyline as represented in these two pages. Moreover, she suggested that the female body to be seen on page 89 could originally derive from a motif found in Rājaśekhara's *Bālarāmāyaṇa*: Rāvaṇa attempts to demoralise Rāma and prevent him building and crossing the causeway by throwing to the northern shore the severed head of a counterfeit Sītā. A much-developed and narratively different version of the same motif is found in the eighteenth-century Thai *Ramakien* and in other Southeast Asian versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which the female corpse is impersonated by Vibhīṣaṇa's daughter or some other character. For a discussion of this specific motif and some crucial methodological remarks on 'visual texts' and 'verbal texts' in the historical reconstruction of narrative motifs, see Brockington 2012.



Fig. 15: Illusions revealed, Add.864, page 89.

green demon, but Indrajit himself who conjures up the illusory Sitā and slaughters her in front of his enemies. Furthermore, what is crucially missing in the version of the critical edition is the connection between the two episodes based on the double-edged power of *māyā*. By juxtaposing the two episodes, the artist (or the version he follows) manages to have the magic power of the Rākṣasas defeat itself in a cunning twist in the plot: it is by the very illusory head of Rāma, brought to his attention by Hanumān, that Rāma realizes the trick, overcomes his dependency and is now ready to fight again.

Let's move on to the other episode I wish to focus on. Page 93 (Fig. 16) represents a furious multi-headed and multi-armed black Rākṣasa flying on a *vimāna* and on the verge of attacking Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa and the other monkeys. Pal (1967a, 24) identifies this scene as the famous struggle between Indrajit and Lakṣmaṇa, 'one of the most dramatic and poignant incidents relating to the great battle. Hidden in the clouds, Indrajit (or Meghanāda) fatally strikes Lakṣmaṇa with the divine weapon *śaktiśel* [sic!].' However, the series of events narrated in the previous images clearly shows that the flying multi-headed Rākṣasa must be Rāvaṇa himself, who indeed strikes down Lakṣmaṇa with his mighty javelin in the 88 *sarga* of the sixth book.³⁸ In fact, page 91 depicts the killing of Indrajit and page 92 sees Rāvaṇa receive the terrible news and rush into battle.

³⁸ Moreover, the caption that starts on page 92 and also occupies the first part of page 93 corresponds to *Rāmāyaṇa* 6.88.35 and reads: *tato rāvaṇavegena, sudūram avagāḍhayā, śa[page-break]ktyā nirbhinnahṛdayaḥ papāta bhūvi lakṣmaṇaḥ ||*. Together with Goldman et al. (2009, 414), it can be rendered as 'Then Lakṣmaṇa, his heart pierced by that javelin, so deeply embedded through Rāvaṇa's strength, fell to the ground.'



Fig. 16: *Rāvaṇa* strikes back, Add. 864, page 93.

It is interesting to remark that, after the long sequence of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the remaining forty or so pages of the accordion book are occupied by a plurality of other themes in which the sequential order of the scenes seems to lose the centrality that it had in the four narrative pieces that occupy the first hundred pages of the manuscript. No general, explicit pronouncement can be made at this stage of the research on the significance of this overall organization. For the time being, before trying to draw some tentative general conclusions, a sheer description of the remaining pages will have to suffice.

The following six pages (from page 105 to 110) are devoted to the representation of twenty-one among the eighty-four Mahāsiddhas, semi-historical figures of Buddhist tantric masters venerated in North India, Nepal and Tibet, usually cutting across sectarian divides and worshiped also within Hindu traditions.³⁹ As in the rest of the manuscript, the Nepālākṣara captions and the iconographic representations are of great but not always definitive help in identifying the various depicted characters. The first page of the sequence (105) represents Ādinātha and Pārvati seated on Nandi and ensconced in a cave; Macchendraṇātha, one of the patron saints of Nepal ('first seen appearing from a fish with his arms raised. Then he is seated with a *yogapaṭṭa* tied around his knees, and surrounded by four fishes. He is also given the horizontal third-eye.' Pal 1967a, 26); and Cauraṅgī, seated on a tiger skin. The last page of the sequence (110) shows Camāripā killing

³⁹ The most well known book on the tradition of the Mahāsiddhas is Dowman (1989). For the detailed descriptions of some of the depicted Mahāsiddhas, see Pal (1967a, 26–27), from which the final sentence is worth quoting here: '[...] the majority of the *siddhas* portrayed here are accompanied by females carrying skull-cups in their hands, in keeping with the legends associated with these sages, who invariably took a female partner before attaining *siddhi*.'



Fig. 17: Four Mahāsiddhas, Add. 864, page 110.

a boar, accompanied by a female partner; Kukkurīpā carrying a dog, accompanied by a female attendant; Ghaṇṭāpā dancing with a female partner; and Godhiyāpā with birds and a female partner (Fig. 17).⁴⁰ It remains a desideratum to understand the significance of the choice of these particular twenty-one Mahāsiddhas out of the normal list of eighty-four, and to connect — beyond any reasonable, scholarly doubt — their iconographic representations with their names and life stories.

After the pages dedicated to the Mahāsiddhas, a single image, page 111, is devoted to Sūrya: the sun god is represented on his flying chariot drawn by seven horses and depicted within a circular golden frame; he is accompanied by two

⁴⁰ The other pages can be sketchily described as follows: page 106 depicts Vamśāpā, playing the flute; Gorakṣanātha, seated on a bull and overpowering another; Lūyipā (commonly known as Luipa) eating entrails of fish in front of Dānirāja, king of Orissa; and Indrabhūti with an elaborate crown, accompanied by a female partner. Page 107 represents Virūpā carrying a skull in his right hand and pointing at the sun and the moon with his left, accompanied by a female partner whose caption seems to read Śauṇḍinī; Vyākipā (probably the character usually known as Vyālipā) with a female partner; and Nāgārjuna seating on a serpent, whose hoods form a canopy over his head, as he is being addressed by a disciple. On page 108 the first Mahāsiddha is seated on a *nāga* and accompanied by a female partner, but his caption is illegible; the second one is feeding a monkey and accompanied by a female partner, but also his caption is damaged and illegible; the third Mahāsiddha represented is identified by the caption as Gorakṣanātha (he is seated on a bull and overpowering another, accompanied by a female partner). However, the same Mahāsiddha was already represented on page 106. Page 109 depicts Jñānākarapā, with a bull and a female partner; Kāmālipā working metal with a female partner; Karṇapā with two attendants; and Bhānrepā Bahuli (uncertain reading and identification) while beating a female character.



Fig. 18: Random Horses, Add. 864, page 125.

attendants who are throwing arrows at Rākṣasas on the background of a lush forest. The image bears no caption. After the representation of Sūrya, fifteen pages (from 112 to 126) are dedicated to horses of different kinds, often accompanied by captions with their names (see, for instance, Fig. 18, bearing as caption for the three horses the terms ‘*kaṃcukīdoṣa*’ ‘*uturuṃ*’ and ‘*manahi*’, the second one being uncertain as it is hard to read, and all preceded by the *siddhi* sign). Pal (1967a, 25) connects this section of the manuscript with the *Āśvaśāstra*, a veterinarian text, and refers: ‘There is a whole manuscript illuminating this text and rendered in the same style in the Palace Museum at Bhaktapur in Nepal. The horses are often labelled in this Cambridge manuscript as in the folios illustrated here [...].’ Nevertheless, I have not been able to locate this manuscript yet. Moreover, the rationale behind the choice of the various horses, their outlines, colours and postures as well as the significance of the names in the captions exceeds the knowledge of the present author. This portion of the manuscript deserves a separate study by an expert of horse husbandry in premodern and early-modern South Asia and Nepal.

The following four pages (from 127 up to 130) are illuminated with what seem to be scenes of hunting, sports of animals, and flocks of birds. Pal (1967a, 30 and *passim*) briefly lingers on these scenes in describing the pictorial features of the composition, and he also proposes a possible narrative reading of the last image (Fig. 19): ‘The scenes with the birds appear to represent some sort of tale, probably from the *Hitopadeśa*. Along the left we see a man discoursing with two birds, one of them white (a dove?) and the other a raven. To the right the white bird with



Fig. 19: Mysterious Birds, Add. 864, page 130.

a raven biting its neck arrives before the same man, and again he appears to be instructing them.’ As these images have no caption, I have no further evidence to either support or counter his interpretation.

The following nine pages of the accordion book (from 131 to 139) are dedicated to Vaiṣṇava legends, drawn from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and mostly connected with the figure of Kṛṣṇa. The series starts with the famous episode known as *gajendramokṣa*: on the left, the king of elephants, Gajendra, and several other elephants are sporting on a river bank, while a crocodile, or some aquatic monster, is approaching from below. On the right, Viṣṇu appears in the skies riding Garuḍa and rushes to save his devotee, Gajendra, as the crocodile has caught its foot (Fig. 20).⁴¹ The last image dedicated to Vaiṣṇava legends depicts the *kuvalayāpīḍavadha*⁴² and the defeat of Kāṃsa, Kṛṣṇa’s evil uncle: on the left, Kṛṣṇa

⁴¹ The caption reads: *so ntaḥsarasy uruvaśena gṛhīta ārtto dṛṣṭvā garutmati hari[ṇi] kha upāttacakraṇ | utkṣīpya sāṅvujakaraṇ śirasātīkṛcchrāt nārāyaṇākhilaguro bhagavan namas te*. It closely resembles *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 8.3.32. Together with Tagare (1976, 1113), it can be rendered as ‘Beholding in the sky Lord Hari, seated on Garuḍa and with his discus upraised (in his hand), the elephant, though greatly distressed, as he was seized with great strength [by a crocodile] inside the lake, lifted up his trunk holding a lotus (as an offering) and uttered with great difficulty the words: “Oh glorious Nārāyaṇa, preceptor of the whole universe, I bow to you.”’

⁴² As indeed signaled by the caption: *kuvalayāpīḍavadhaḥ ||*.



Fig. 20: *gajendramokṣa*, Add. 864, page 131.

defeats the gigantic elephant Kuvalayapīḍa; on the right, while a number of wrestlers (?) are engaged in an acrobatic feat, Kṛṣṇa defeats, and dances over, his evil uncle Kaṁsa,⁴³ in front of his warriors and, probably, his wife.⁴⁴

⁴³ The rest of the caption reads: *pragṛhya keśeṣu caratkirīṭam, nipātya raṅgopari tuṅga-mamcāt_ | tasyopariṣṭāt_ svayam abjanābhah, papāta viśvāśraya ātmanatrah ||*. It closely corresponds to *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 10.44.37. Together with Tagare (1978, 1523), it can be rendered as ‘Toppling down his crown and catching Kaṁsa by his hair, the Lord hurled him down from the high dais to the groundfloor of the arena. And on him jumped the absolute willed, (the weighty) support of the (heaviest of the heavy) universe, the veritable Lord Viṣṇu (the lotus-navelled God) himself.’

⁴⁴ As shown by their respective captions, the other seven pages depict various scenes drawn from the myths narrated in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*: the episode of the dwarf-*avatāra* Vāmana and his Viṣṇu Trivikrama form (132); Kaṁsa and his attempts to avert the prophecy that a son of his sister’s daughter would kill him: on the right, he first tries to kill his own sister’s daughter Devakī. Then dissuaded by her husband, he accepts to just kill all her sons (the scene in the middle). But, as he is about to smash the last baby on a stone altar (scene on the right), the goddess Māyā appears in the sky and reveals that the child is just a substitute and that the real son is safe and sound (133); the episode known as *putanāvadhā*: Kṛṣṇa jumps out of Yaśodā’s arms and suckles the murderous demoness Putanā, and thus kills her (134); the episode known as *kāliyadamana*: by dancing on his flaming hoods, Kṛṣṇa subdues the *nāga* Kāliya, who had poisoned the river Yamunā (135); the episode known as *vastrāharaṇa*: the naughty young Kṛṣṇa playfully steals the clothes of the bathing cowgirls (136); and a two-page-wide *maṅḍala*-like representation of the episode known as *rāsaliḷā*, the joyful dance and amorous sport among Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs on the night of the full moon in the month of Kārttika (137–138).

As a further proof of the work-in-progress nature of the present article, the last five pages of the manuscript (140–144) remain as yet only partially identified. As suggested by the hardly legible *śloka* in Sanskrit⁴⁵ in the caption, the left section of the first image (page 140) represents the episode narrated at the beginning of the *Mahābhārata*, in which Takṣaka, the lord of snakes, bites and kills Parikṣit, the grandson of Arjuna and the father of Janamejaya, whose failed attempt at vengeance towards all snakes (the *sarpasattra*) is depicted on page 7 of Add.864. The other subsections of page 140 and the remaining four images seem to be connected as a continuous story, in which significant roles are played by a king,⁴⁶ a minister and a lion on whose back the ocean is crossed, as well as dancers, white elephants, a deer that is being hunted and a cobra that is killed by the minister.⁴⁷ A full understanding of the sequence will have to wait for a future in-depth study.⁴⁸

As a last general remark before moving to some tentative conclusions and pointers to avenues of further research, I would like to draw attention to the ways in which the blended assortment of Brahmanical and Buddhist stories and characters that the Add.864 contains presupposes the existence of a class of intellectuals who were conversant with both religious and narrative cultures in early modern Nepal, something that was long lost in the Indian subcontinent during the same period.

45 The Sanskrit verse reads: [ve]ṣṭayitvā tu bhogena, vinadya ca mahāsvanaṃ | adaṃśata pṛthivī[śvara]ṃ takṣakah pannaḡeśvaraḡ ||. It is a verse expunged from the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*, marked as 411* and to be found after *Mahābhārata* 1.39.33. It can be rendered as ‘Subduing him with his coils and uttering a great noise, Takṣaka, the lord of snakes bit the lord of the earth.’

46 In the first caption of page 143, the word *hāla* that follows the terms *rāja* and *śrī* might be a proper name and thus a reference to well-known Śatavāhana king. This might be connected with the story of the romance between king Hāla and the queen Lilāvati of Siṃhaladvīpa, or with one of the many other stories narrated about this celebrated monarch. But it is also possible that *hāla* is no proper name, but it only stands for a Newari word also spelled as *hāra* or *hare* and meaning ‘to shout’, and hence ‘to order’.

47 The remaining captions are in Newari language. I thank Bal Gopal Shrestha and Nirajan Kafle for helping me with a preliminary understanding of the captions (see, for instance, the previous note).

48 The last folio is damaged in a peculiar way: a one-centimeter band at the bottom of the page looks as if it had been torn away. It is possible that the damaged portion contained a further (possibly final) caption, particularly on the left side of the page where the yellow frame seems to be conceived to be encapsulating a piece of writing.

5 Conclusions: cultural rationale, doubts, and avenues of further research

As stated at the very beginning of this article, Add.864 is in many ways unique, a masterpiece of pictorial technique and dramatic pathos, exceptional in the composite choice of narratives as different and varied as the two Sanskrit epics, a Buddhist story, the Vaiṣṇava myths from the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, and so forth. Nevertheless, its date has been established by Pal precisely by considering other Nepalese manuscripts (and artworks) that do share some pictorial traits with Add.864, but are more or less safely dated on account of their colophons around the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century.

Here follows a list of these other manuscripts, three already mentioned by Pal, and one added here by the present author: 1) a *Hitopadeśa* manuscript (an accordion book) kept in the Bir Library of Kathmandu (Reel No. A 1169-7) and dated 1594 CE, the closest one to the Cambridge Kalāpustaka in its exuberant style and expressionistic flair, although the Sanskrit text occupies most of the manuscript, and the actual illuminations are in a relatively small number;⁴⁹ 2) a *Pañcatantra* manuscript kept in the J.P. Goenka Collection and also dated by Pal around 1600;⁵⁰ 3) the *Aśvaśāstra* manuscript mentioned by Pal (1967a, 25) and probably painted for the king of Bhaktapur, which I have not been able to locate yet;⁵¹ 4) a *Devimāhātmya* palm-leaf manuscript (Or.14325) preserved in the British Library, dated 1549 CE and coming from Bhaktapur, also illuminated in a strikingly similar style.⁵² The manuscript is currently on display in a BL exhibition, and an example of its stunning drawings can be seen online on the British Library website.⁵³

49 For a black-and white image, see Pal (1978, figure 176). For a colour reproduction of the same pages, see Kramrish 1964, 96.

50 For a black-and-white image, see Pal (1978, figure 177). For a colour reproduction of a different page, see Goswamy (1999, 197), a prestigious catalogue of the paintings in the Goenka Collection, in which the manuscript is — mistakenly, I think — attributed to the mid-18th century. A close examination of this manuscript is a desideratum, especially because the few published pages seem to attest that this is the only other specimen that shares with the Cambridge Kalāpustaka the absolute predominance of the images over the textual portion of the manuscript.

51 There are relatively few candidates for its identification to be found in the NGMCP website, but their analysis will have to wait for the expert of horse husbandry I evoked earlier on.

52 I heartily thank Camillo A. Formigatti for recognizing the importance of this manuscript for my present research and inspecting the text, the images and the colophon.

53 http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/sacredtexts/devimahatmya_ig.html, last accessed 31/01/2017.

Moreover, Pal (1967b) investigates three long scrolls of Buddhist tales belonging to the early seventeenth century (dated 1610, 1617 and 1619 CE), which are also in a remarkably similar pictorial style. Accordingly, the article dedicates several pages (13–17) to identify and describe the principal characteristics of the style that unites these scrolls, the *Hitopadeśa* manuscript and the Cambridge Kalāpustaka.⁵⁴ To conclude this list, Pal (1967a, 32) mentions murals that ‘were also executed at about the same time and in the same style’ in the palace of Bhaktapur. Therefore, considering also the additional evidence offered by the BL manuscript, Pal’s speculation (1967b, 13) that ‘all these paintings were done by the artists belonging to the same atelier, probably in Bhaktapur’ seems now a quite likely conclusion.

As to its origin and social function, Pal (1967a, 32) draws assumptions that go beyond the mere date of the manuscript around the very beginning of the 17th century. He convincingly argues that given ‘the richness and superb qualities’ of its paintings, it is likely that this manuscript had ‘been a royal commission’, especially considering the artistic and technical capabilities necessary for its production, not to speak of the economic capital needed for commissioning an atelier⁵⁵ to create an object for which the demand would have necessarily been extremely low, if not unprecedented. In this regard, I would tentatively argue that it is possible to build upon this conclusion by moving past his interpretation that Add.864 is ‘an anthology of pictures’ and that the aim of the artist was merely ‘to achieve prettiness in decoration as well as pictorial vividness in narration.’ Pal’s clue is his statement (1967a, 23) that Add.864 was ‘made both for the *edification*

⁵⁴ As the present article does not focus on the pictorial aspects of the Cambridge manuscript, I will just summarize and appropriate here Pal’s characterizations of the commonalities in style within what we might call the ‘early modern school of Nepalese painting’, or ‘early modern school of Bhaktapur. painting’ if the hypothesis about the identification and location of the atelier is accepted. He lists ten characteristics: 1) continuous narration divided by trees, architectural motives, etc. (‘comic strip’ effect); 2) functional importance of central figures shown by their larger size and central placement; 3) presence of a decorative stage back-drop; 4) floral scroll in shades of red as background; 5) thick and broad proportions of the figures, and especially large faces (unlike in the earlier styles found in Nepal); 6) heavy and vivacious drawing style; 7) rhythmic animation and graceful mobility in the theatrically depicted narrations; 8) lack of verisimilitude in natural elements (trees, rocks, ocean, etc.) in favour of an expressionistic application of joyous colours and the delineation of imaginative geometrical shapes; 9) remarkable variety of dress and textile designs; and 10) free and expressive style of gestures, facial complexion and physiognomy to convey emotional moods. The continuities of this style with the previous narrative paintings from Nepal are dealt with by Pal (1978, 97–100; and *passim*).

⁵⁵ I do not think that the legitimate question as to whether Add.864 is the work of a single artist or a group of painters can be satisfactorily answered at the present state of research.

and the delectation of the patron (emphasis mine)'. In his book on *The Arts of Nepal*, Pal briefly deals with the use of depicted scrolls in Ancient India and their very remote origin in time, and he also relates how these sorts of portable drawings were called *caraṇacitras* or *yamaṇaṭas* and 'were used by bards and storytellers who went about from village to village recounting their tales and sagas of ancient lore and mythology as well as of life in the realm of Yama, the king of death (Pal 1978, 96).' Along these lines, I would like to propose an interpretation of the function of Add.864 as going beyond the mere aesthetic value, on which so much focus has been laid. As a royal commission, its main purpose might well have been that of an aide-mémoire and the most appealing visual aid for the royal preceptors of the young aristocracy. These royal pundits would have to educate and *edify* the often very young princes and noblemen, precisely by narrating the stories of the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Buddhist story of Sudhana and Manoharā as well as the Vaiṣṇava legends and the like. I am postulating for the Cambridge Kalāpustaka the role of a sort of 'mirror for princes' not in opaque words but in vivid and colourful images. The pictures would then not only encompass the most crucial narratives widespread in early modern Nepal but also, and most importantly, aim at visually conveying their core values with regard to ethical conduct, knowledge and behaviour,⁵⁶ such as the eventually unwavering martial heroism of Arjuna, the unmistakably *dharmic* conduct of Rāma, the utter devotion towards Kṛṣṇa, etc. A further, general clue to its connection with the royal durbar and its educative function is precisely the crucial importance that the two epics and the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* play in the manuscript, likely to be seen as apt reflections of the well-known identification of the Nepalese monarchs with Viṣṇu and his incarnations.

What better instrument to shape and regiment the young minds and bodies of the future rulers into the moral dispositions and the cultural *habitus*⁵⁷ of early modern Nepalese courtly life? According to the lines sketched in this hypothesis, Add.864 should be studied at the vibrant intersection of ethics and aesthetics as a piece of courtly cultural technology geared at the preservation, reinforcement

56 For such an interpretive proposal to make sense, one should entertain a Foucauldian 'expansive sense of ethics as a practice of remaking oneself as a moral being, reaching far beyond the domain of moral rules and abstract judgments (Pandian and Ali 2010, 5).'

57 For the concept of *habitus* in this wide cultural and social sense, see Bourdieu (1990, 53): the *habitus* is composed of 'systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures pre-disposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them.'

and reproduction of social norms, political conventions and cultural values.⁵⁸ Therefore, for the contemporary scholar, the so-called Cambridge Kalāpustaka represents a most privileged window on the courtly culture and ethical life of early 17th-century Nepal along with its explicit and implicit disciplinary ideals of social normativity and worthy kingship. Although this hypothesis of the Cambridge Kalāpustaka as an ideally didactic instrument of visual culture for the Nepalese elites cannot be proved *per se*, the same goes with the hypothesis of its being simply an *objet d'art*, whose only purpose was aesthetic appreciation on the part of the high-status courtiers. For the corroboration of this second hypothesis, one would need a thorough understanding of the ideas of aesthetic fruition and sensibility of Nepalese courtly culture that is simply beyond our reach given the current state of research. Some light on this currently hazardous functional hypothesis might well be shed by further exploration into the understudied sections of the manuscript (for instance, the depictions of horses, an animal often connected with nobility and rank, and the partially identified final pages that again have clear regal resonances) and a thorough investigation into the few similar manuscripts that have been identified so far (the BL *Devīmāhātmya*, for instance). It is worth noticing that the *Hitopadeśa* and the *Pañcatantra* contained in the other two illuminated manuscripts that pictorially resemble Add.864 can by and large be included within the genre of *nīti*, 'political policy' or the 'prudent and wise behavior in the context of public life' (Ali 2010, 24). It is a kind of didactic literature customarily aimed at the education of the elites and the development of their ethical sensibility and character in pre-modern South Asia, the very same function that I am proposing for the Cambridge Kalāpustaka.

To conclude in a more concrete fashion, I would like to rehash some of the possible avenues of further research I have partly hinted in the paper. The various narrative and non-narrative sections of the manuscript deserve separate in-depth studies, especially the Buddhist story of Sudhana and Manoharā and the *Vetālapañcaviṃśati*, to which even Pal dedicated very little attention. The longer sections of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are better analysed now, especially thanks to the full, in-progress transcription of all the captions and the identifications of all the various episodes. In this connection, more than half of the captions have already been identified as identical or slightly modified verses

58 The close imbrication between moral practices and aesthetic notions (the 'cross-pollination of beauty and virtue' Ali 2010, 25) as one of the most distinctive characteristics of the courtly culture and political life in Medieval South Asia is the object of the ground-breaking book by Ali (2004), which directly inspired some of the reflections voiced in the present paper.

from the critical editions of the two epics. Moreover, a preliminary cursory perusal of the critical apparatuses has shown that it is possible to further identify the Sanskrit captions as coming from different manuscript recensions, both at the level of whole verses expunged from the critical editions and at the level of word-long variants relegated to the apparatus. For instance, numerous verses quoted in the captions dedicated to the episodes of the fifth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* correspond very closely to variants found in the Nepalese manuscripts dubbed as Ñ1 and Ñ2, to the Northern recension and, more specifically, to the Northeastern recension.⁵⁹ A very promising avenue of research would therefore be the attempt at identifying the manuscripts, the groups of manuscripts, or the manuscript recensions of both the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* that are closer to the verses found in the captions of Add.864.⁶⁰ Understandably and interestingly, this initial cursory investigation points at what might be considered Nepalese recensions of the two epics.

59 Ñ1 is the oldest manuscript used for the critical edition, dated 1020 CE. Ñ2 is a recent paper manuscript dated 1675 CE. For detailed information on these and the other manuscripts whose sigla will be mentioned later, see the Introduction to the Critical Edition of the *Sundarakāṇḍa*. For an impressionistic example of the pattern to be investigated, the *ślokas* quoted as captions for pages 79 and 80 appear in the following form: *sa sāgaram anādhr̥ṣyaṃ, vikramya haripuṅgavaḥ | citrakūṭataṭe laṃkāṃ, sthitaḥ svastho niraiḡṣataḥ || kapir mandodarīm tatra,, śayānaṃ śayane śubhe* [start of page 80] *dadarśa nilajalade, jvalantim iva vidyutaṃ || jagāma madanonmatto, daśagrīvo mahābalaḥ | kāṃcanī dḍīpikās citrā, jagr̥hus tatra yoṣitaḥ ||*. The first verse loosely corresponds to *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.2.1, but the reading *haripuṅgavaḥ* is attested in manuscripts Ś1, Ñ1, Ñ2, D1.2.4.10.11, the reading *citrakūṭataṭe* is only attested in Ñ2. The first part of the second verse loosely corresponds to *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.8.48cd, but the reading *śayane śubhe* is specifically attested in Ñ1 and D11. The second part of the second verse is a half verse expunged by the edition (marked as 283*) that is attested in this precise form in Ñ1, D1 and D4. The first part of the third *śloka* is an expunged half verse (marked as 465*) that is attested after verse 5.16.10 in Ñ, V2, B, D2.3.6, while the second part of the *śloka* corresponds *Rāmāyaṇa* 5.16.11ab, particularly in the form attested in Ś1, Ñ, V2, B, D2-4.6.10.11. Obviously, no definitive conclusion can be drawn from this restricted set of data, but they do represent a promising avenue of further research.

60 I wish to express my sincerest thanks to John Brockington, who agreed to help me to pursue this line of research and identify the other captions within the manuscript transmission of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The results will be included in the online description of Add.864.

6 Appendix: Table summary of the manuscript contents

Recto	
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Florinda De Simini and Nina Mirnig

Umā and Śiva’s Playful Talks in Detail (*Lalitavistara*): On the Production of Śaiva Works and their Manuscripts in Medieval Nepal

Studies on the Śivadharma and the *Mahābhārata* 1

Abstract: This article offers insights into the processes and context of production, in medieval Nepal, of the so-called ‘Śivadharma-corpus’, a collection of eight works revolving around topics related to the practices and beliefs of lay Śaiva householders and the establishment of a Śaiva social-religious order. Our focus is on the earliest extant manuscript containing a version of the entire corpus, namely manuscript G 4077 of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, dated to 1036 CE. What is exceptional about this manuscript is that it contains a unique work called *Lalitavistara* as the final member of the corpus, while missing the *Dharmaputrikā*, which from the second half of the 11th century onwards was always transmitted as the last work in ‘mainstream’ versions of the Śivadharma corpus. While giving some insights into the production of the corpus shortly before it reached its stable form by the 12th century, we also offer an overview of the contents of the *Lalitavistara*, as well as a study of its topics and sources, proving its connections with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the Śivadharma corpus. We also show how both works heavily draw on and are inspired by the *Mahābhārata*, and how the compositional strategies may reflect the socio-religious and cultural milieu of the Kathmandu Valley at the time.

1 Early stages of corpus formation

The Śivadharma corpus is a collection of eight early Śaiva works whose study is proving to be crucial for our understanding of the formation of lay Śaiva religion in the early medieval period. Their titles, following the arrangement given by the manuscript of the Cambridge UL Add.1645, are: *Śivadharmaśāstra*, *Śivadharmottara*, *Śivadharmasaṃgraha*, *Śivopaniṣad*, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*, *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, and *Dharmaputrikā*. Mainly addressing the sphere of lay householders, these works provide rules of behaviour in the practice of rituals and towards religious institutions, setting out a normative and doctrinal system

that defines the lay devotees' adherence to the Śaiva religion. Systematic studies of these texts, including critical editions, have only recently been initiated, and deal particularly with the earliest of them, namely the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. In this article, we will focus our attention on the emergence and shaping of the Śivadharma corpus through the analysis of its earliest dated manuscript, preserved at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, with the accession number G 4077. Dated 1036 CE, this palm-leaf manuscript, according to the catalogue of Shastri (1928), contains nine works, instead of the eight that typically comprise the mainstream version of the corpus that is most widely attested in Nepalese sources from the second half of the 11th century onwards. This additional work, titled *Lalitavistara*, can be deemed particularly unsuccessful, as it was never again transmitted in any of the numerous Nepalese manuscripts of the corpus, nor seems to be attested anywhere else in the vast body of South Asian manuscripts that have come down to us. It thus appears that something must have gone wrong in the composition of the *Lalitavistara*, and in the attempt made by the producers of manuscript G 4077 to include it in the corpus. While the story of the *Lalitavistara* is thus one of failure, this point of rupture offers us the opportunity to examine a specific moment in the textual production linked to the assemblage of a fixed Śivadharma corpus, in which we may more closely trace key aspects and motivations that have led to the composition of more works on Śaiva topics following the model of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. In particular, we aimed at assessing the structure of the *Lalitavistara* and identifying its possible sources, as well as understanding the social and religious dynamics that underpinned its composition and determined its fate. This study was made possible by the direct inspection of manuscript G 4077, but above all by the recent acquisition of high-quality colour pictures that enabled us to see more clearly through the *Lalitavistara*, and thus make some well-grounded considerations concerning its contents, models, and historical context.¹

1 It took three trips to Calcutta and a good dose of persistence before we managed to get a hold of the pictures of all the folios of the *Lalitavistara* of manuscript G 4077, plus those of a few more works transmitted in the same manuscript. During the first trip, in January 2012, Florinda De Simini was only allowed to see manuscript G 4077 from a distance, and to have a quick look at the microfilm of the same. Later on, a few digital reproductions of that microfilm, limited only to the folios of '*Lalitavistara* 9' (see below), had been kindly made available by Anil Kumar Acharya, and reached the authors of this article via Alexis Sanderson; we are deeply grateful to both for sharing their material so generously. Things have changed for the better in the management of the library and of the museum section of the Asiatic Society, so that the visit that Florinda De Simini and Nina Mirnig paid to this institution in February 2016 was more fruitful than the previous one, and led to the

We have no detailed knowledge concerning the time frame of the composition of the works of the Śivadharma corpus. We know that the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* must have reached Nepal some time between the 7th century, a possible date for their emergence in northern India, and the 9th, to which the earliest manuscript of the *Śivadharmottara* can most likely be dated. We assume that the remaining six or seven works were composed in Nepal, as they are attested and known for most of their transmission history solely in this region. Further, in the earliest phases of their manuscript transmission, they feature exclusively in multiple-text manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus.² Even though we don't know exactly when these works were composed, we can still attempt a

acquisition of pictures of the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, the *Śivadharmottara*, and of *Lalitavistara* 8 of manuscript G 4077, as well as the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* of manuscript G 3852. In large parts, we owe this success to the new curator of the museum section, Keka Banerjee, to whom we are extremely grateful for having offered us guidance and support during our research in the library. We are also grateful to the former General Secretary of the Asiatic Society, the late Manabendu Banerjee, who was very supportive of our work. Finally, a third trip in January-February 2017 resulted in the acquisition of colour pictures of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and *Lalitavistara* 9 of manuscript G 4077, which allowed us to form a much better understanding of the text than the digitized microfilm pictures we had been using until then. Again, the support of Mrs Banerjee and of the entire staff at the reprographic office, as well as the authorization that was kindly provided by the current General Secretary, Satyabrata Chakrabarti, have proved immensely helpful in pursuing our research objectives. We thus express our deepest gratitude to the library and museum sections of the Asiatic Society, without which we would never have been able to properly study these materials.

We would also like to use this opportunity to thank the members of the team of the AHRC-funded *Sanskrit Manuscripts Project* (2011–2014), Vincenzo Vergiani, Daniele Cuneo and Camillo Formigatti, for assisting us in our study of the Śivadharma manuscripts preserved in the collection of the Cambridge University Library, and inviting us to give lectures and participate in the workshops organized in the frame of this project, as well as for funding within the project for three months (March–June 2014) in the case of Nina Mirnig. We are happy that our research on the *Lalitavistara* and the early stages in the formation of the Śivadharma corpus can now appear in this volume, and grateful to its editors for all the work they have done. Our thanks also go to Harunaga Isaacson, Yuko Yukochi and Somadeva Vasudeva for their comments on some points of this article, as well as to Kristen de Joseph for her help in revising and proofreading the English text.

Further, we would like to thank our respective funding bodies, which enabled us to do the research and travel undertaken for this article: in the case of Florinda De Simini, the project was funded by the Italian Ministry for Education and Science at the 'Orientale' University of Naples and titled 'Political Power and Religious Groups in Early Medieval India: A study of epigraphic materials and unpublished manuscripts concerning the Śaiva traditions (VI-XII cent.)'; in the case of Nina Mirnig, the research was funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF): P 27838–G15 'Śivaliṅga Worship on the Eve of the Tantric Age', hosted in the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

² On this, and for more information on the Nepalese manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, see De Simini 2016b, to which we will give more specific references throughout this introduction.

rough estimate for the time frame of the corpus's formation, since we can trace the process in the earliest extant manuscripts of the collection. With all due caution—as our observations only take into account the limited number of surviving specimens—we can state that, beginning in the second half of the 12th century, manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus started to take on the homogeneous shape that they would preserve throughout the centuries; in comparison, the three manuscripts that we can place before that period all contain some peculiar features that are absent from subsequent manuscripts. These three early specimens are (1) N_{A12}^K,³ which transmits only the *Śivadharmottara* and has been dated to the 9th century on the basis of its palaeographic features; (2) N₂₈^K, which is also undated, but possibly constitutes our earliest attestation of a multiple-text manuscript of the corpus, if the current estimate of its dating towards the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century is confirmed; and (3) manuscript G 4077, which is the first one to have a dated colophon. The difference between these first attestations, on the one hand, and the version of the corpus that later becomes mainstream in the dated (or datable) specimens from the second half of the 11th century onwards is easily illustrated by the following table, in which we have collected basic data on the five earliest manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus that have so far been identified, all of which are from Nepal:

3 Throughout this article, we have partly adopted the system of sigla that was agreed upon during the 'Śivadharma Workshop: Manuscripts, Editions, Perspectives' at Leiden University, 26th–30th September 2016. According to this system, the first letter in the siglum denotes the script in which the manuscript is written (N for Newari, G for Grantha, etc.); the first superscripted letter is for the place where the manuscript is kept (K stands for Kathmandu, C for Cambridge, Ko for Kolkata, L for Leiden, O for Oxford, A for Adyar), while the subscribed number indicates the last two figures of the microfilm or accession number. Here we have only used this system in order to refer to the manuscripts microfilmed by the Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project, in order to avoid the use of overly long sigla. Manuscripts from the Asiatic Society of Calcutta and from the Cambridge University Library are referred to by means of their usual accession numbers.

N_{A12}^K (9 th cent.)	N_{28}^K (10 th -11 th cent.)	G 4077 (1036 CE)	N_{82}^K (1069 CE)	Add.1645 (1138-39 CE)
<i>Śivadharma-</i> <i>mottara</i>	<i>Śivadharma-</i> <i>śāstra</i>	<i>Śivadharmaśāstra</i>	<i>Śivadharmaśāstra</i>	<i>Śivadharma-</i> <i>śāstra</i>
	<i>Śivadharmottara</i>	<i>Śivadharmottara</i>	<i>Śivadharmottara</i>	<i>Śivadharmottara</i>
	<i>Śivadharma-</i> <i>saṃgraha</i>	<i>Śivadharma-</i> <i>saṃgraha</i>	<i>Śivadharma-</i> <i>saṃgraha</i>	<i>Śivadharma-</i> <i>saṃgraha</i>
	<i>Umāmaheśvara-</i> <i>saṃvāda</i>	<i>Umāmaheśvara-</i> <i>saṃvāda</i>	<i>Umāmaheśvara-</i> <i>saṃvāda</i>	<i>Śivopaniṣad</i>
	—	<i>Śivopaniṣad</i>	<i>Śivopaniṣad</i>	<i>Umāmaheśvara-</i> <i>saṃvāda</i>
	<i>Śivopaniṣad</i>	<i>Umottarasamvāda</i>	<i>Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha</i>	<i>Uttarottaramahā-</i> <i>saṃvāda</i>
		<i>Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha</i>	<i>Dharmaputrikā</i>	<i>Vṛṣasārasaṃ-</i> <i>graha</i>
		<i>Lalitavistara</i>	<i>Uttarottaramahā-</i> <i>saṃvāda</i>	<i>Dharmaputrikā</i>
		<i>Lalitavistara</i>		

The difference between G 4077 and N_{28}^K , the other early manuscript of the corpus, is striking. N_{28}^K encompasses only the first four works up to the *Umāmaheśvara-samvāda*, with the *Śivopaniṣad* most likely being a later addition to the manuscript, at least based on what we can deduce from its codicological features.⁴ In the case of G 4077, the corpus has expanded to the extent that it not only ‘legitimately’ includes the *Śivopaniṣad*, but also four more works that are attested for the first time in this manuscript. Besides the increased number of works, what also catches the observer’s attention is the presence of two texts bearing the same

⁴ See De Simini 2016b, 245–248. It is most likely that the position of the *Śivopaniṣad* within the Śivadharma corpus was a debated issue, as also another manuscript, UL Add.1694.1, possibly written in the 12th century, originally lacked the *Śivopaniṣad*; a unit containing the *Śivopaniṣad*, severed from another, yet unidentified manuscript, was then added to the end of this specimen, and is now catalogued as Add.1694.1². See De Simini 2016b, 248–250; a detailed description of Add.1694.1, accompanied by digital colour pictures, is available at this link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01694-00001/1>.

title, namely *Lalitavistara*, a ‘Detailed Account of the Playful [Conversation]’. For reasons of clarity, we will distinguish these ‘two *Lalitavistaras*’ by adding to their titles the numbers by which they are identified in the catalogue, namely 8 and 9, throughout this article.

The case of the *Lalitavistaras* is unique inasmuch as these are the only texts that are attested in such an early manuscript of the corpus that later appear to have been rejected by the entire subsequent tradition. In comparison, all the other works transmitted in the two early manuscripts N₂₈^K and G 4077 went on to have a long transmission history as part of the Śivadharma corpus, with only some of them appearing as separately transmitted works at a later time.⁵ For instance, the *Umottarasamvāda* of G 4077, titled *Uttarottaramahāsamvāda* in the other manuscripts, is also attested for the first time in this manuscript but—unlike the two *Lalitavistaras*—continued to be transmitted. The same applies to the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*. However, the pre-mainstream version of the corpus reflected in N₂₈^K and G 4077 still lacks one further work that would become a stable element of the corpus from that point onwards, namely the *Dharmaputrikā*, attested for the first time only in N₈₂^K. Manuscript N₈₂^K is thus the first point in the extant manuscript tradition at which we can consider the composition of the works of the corpus of the Śivadharma and the formation of the corpus itself to be closed: in spite of the variation in the number of works attested in the different manuscripts, no other works would be added, and later colophons expressly confirm that the Śivadharma is made of ‘eight members’,⁶ almost as if to purposely fix the number of texts in order to avoid and contrast possible attempts to further expand the corpus.

The general concluding colophon of manuscript G 4077 not only dates the manuscript to a specific day, but also places its production under the reign of a specific king, namely Lakṣmīkāmadeva, who is praised in the colophon with his full royal titles (see below). G 4077 thus belongs to that group of manuscripts that, by establishing a firm connection with the political power, help us glean more historical information on the context of their production, and gain a better understanding of the manuscript culture of the time. Petech lists the colophon of G 4077 among the sources that contain a reference to king Lakṣmīkāmadeva,

⁵ On the creation of single-text manuscripts of works of the Śivadharma corpus from the dismemberment of original multiple-text manuscripts, see De Simini 2016b, 261 and n. 72.

⁶ This expression (*aṣṭakhaṇḍa*) is found in the colophon of N₅^K, a palm-leaf manuscript dated 1201 CE, but similar expressions have also been found in the colophons of later paper manuscripts (see De Simini 2016b, 254ff.).

whose rulership he dates to c. 1010–1041 CE.⁷ The earliest reference to him features in a manuscript belonging to the collection of the Cambridge University Library, namely Add.1643, an illustrated manuscript—‘the earliest illustrated manuscript from Nepal’⁸—containing the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* along with two shorter texts,⁹ and whose date Petech verifies as March 31, 1015 CE.¹⁰ In the colophon of this manuscript, Lakṣmikāmadeva is mentioned next to two other kings, namely Bhojadeva and Rudradeva. By tallying this information with an inscription in Patan, Petech deduces that in this year all three kings ruled over Nepal, with Rudradeva from Patan as the senior partner of his successor Bhojadeva, while Lakṣmikāmadeva ruled the other ‘half of the kingdom’ (see Patan inscription), which could possibly correspond to the modern Kathmandu area. However, in later manuscripts, Lakṣmikāmadeva is mentioned independently from other monarchs, namely in (1) NAK 3-359, transmitting the *Bhagavatyāśvedāyā yathālabdhatanrarāja*, dated NS 1044, second day of the bright fortnight in the month of Śrāvaṇa (July 10, 1024 CE, following Petech);¹¹ (2) NAK 5-877, of the *Kulālikāmnāya*, dated NS 158, i.e. 1037/1038 CE, just one year after our Śivadharma manuscript;¹² and (3) Cambridge UL Add.1683, containing the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, dated NS 159, thirteenth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Vaiśākha (March 30, 1039 CE, according to Petech’s reading).¹³ This situation reflects a tendency of this period by which the production of Buddhist

7 The scant extant information on the king Lakṣmikāmadeva, and the study of the sources documenting his kingdom, can be found in Petech 1984, 37–39.

8 Kim 2013, 48. Note that this statement is true only if we limit our considerations to the illustrations on the folios, excluding the paintings decorating the covers. For if we also consider the latter, then the earliest example of manuscript painting from Nepal must be attributed to the early *Śivadharmottara* manuscript N_{AIZ}^K, provided that we also establish that the decorated wooden covers encasing this manuscript are contemporary with the manuscript—something that we have not yet managed to verify beyond doubt.

9 On the contents of this manuscript and its features, see the detailed description given by Formigatti in Vergiani, Cuneo and Formigatti 2011–2014, available online, along with the colour pictures of the manuscript, at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01643/446>.

10 Petech 1984, 37.

11 The microfilm identification number of this manuscript is A 47/16; its description can be found at the following link: [http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_47-16_Bhagavat\(%C4%AB\)_sved%C4%81_y%C4%81_yath%C4%81labdhatanrar%C4%81ja](http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_47-16_Bhagavat(%C4%AB)_sved%C4%81_y%C4%81_yath%C4%81labdhatanrar%C4%81ja). (last accessed 18/2/2017)

12 This manuscript, microfilmed by the NGMPP as A 41/3, is described at the following link: http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_41-3_Kul%C4%81lik%C4%81mn%C4%81ya. (last accessed 18/2/2017)

13 Colour pictures of this manuscript are available at the following link: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01683/1>.

manuscripts—at the time preciously illustrated objects used for worship and produced for accruing religious merit—was flanked by the production of manuscripts of Śaiva works, with Śaivism being the main religious current with which monarchical power was identified. This does not mean that there is no trace left of the manuscripts of Vaiṣṇava works produced in the 11th century. We have, for instance, three manuscripts of the *Viṣṇudharma* dated to this time,¹⁴ as well as a unique manuscript of the so-called *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, dated NS 173 (1051–52 CE), to which we will call attention later.¹⁵ Further, we have the earliest extant samples of Vaiṣṇava Pāñcarātra works, which substantially contribute to our understanding of the earliest phase of this stream. One of these, the manuscript of the *Svāyambhuvapañcarātra* (NAK 1-648, NGMPP A 54/9), which also interpolates part of the *Aṣṭādaśavidhāna*, is dated NS 147 (1027 CE), and thus also during the reign of Lakṣmikāmadeva.¹⁶

Returning to manuscript G 4077, according to the catalogue information,¹⁷ and as direct inspection has confirmed, the manuscript contains the following nine works, for a total of 345 extant folios: 1) *Śivadharmasāstra* (47 folios); 2) *Śivadharmottara* (65 folios); 3) *Śivadharmasaṅgraha* (58 folios); 4) *Umāmaheśvarasaṅvāda* (35 folios); 5) *Śivopaniṣad* (22 folios); 6) *Umottarasaṅvāda* (24 folios); 7) *Vṛṣasārasaṅgraha* (52 folios); 8) *Lalitavistara* (25 folios); 9) *Lalitavistara* (17 folios). Note that the *Umottarasaṅvāda* lacks three folios, corresponding to folios 43 to 45, two of which can be identified in exposures 23B/24A and 24B/25A of *Lalitavistara* 8. At least two of the 25 folios of this work thus belong to a different text, so that the total number of extant leaves for *Lalitavistara* 8 drops to 23. Shastri counted 30 folios for the same work, seven more than those extant today, while he only had 11 leaves for *Lalitavistara* 9.

Both the ductus of the script and other codicological features, such as the scribal decorations, the constant number of lines on a page (five), as well as the

¹⁴ These are microfilmed by the NGMPP as B 5/8 (NAK 1-1002), dated NS 167 (see Petech 1984, 40, and the information at: http://134.100.29.17/wiki/B_5-8_Viṣṇudharma); C 1/2 (Kesar 2), dated NS 197 (see Petech 1984, 49, and the information at: http://134.100.29.17/wiki/C_1-2_Viṣṇudharma); A 1080/4 (NAK 1-1002/2), dated NS 210 (see http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_1080-4_Viṣṇudharma). (last accessed 18/2/2017)

¹⁵ See NGMPP A 27/2, http://134.100.29.17/wiki/A_27-2_Mah%C4%81bh%C4%81rata. (last accessed 18/2/2017)

¹⁶ Acharya 2015, xvi-xvii.

¹⁷ Shastri 1928, 718–723; this manuscript is numbered 4084.



Fig. 1: Asiatic Society G 4077, original wooden covers (inner sides).

habit of reporting the total number of stanzas at the end of each work, confirm the unity of production of the different blocks forming this manuscript. The measures of a folio are, on average, 52.5×4.4 cm, with *c.* 107 *akṣaras* per line. Each of the texts transmitted in ms. G 4077 is now divided into separate bundles, wrapped together in the same envelope, and identified by paper slips with the numbers that Shastri (1928) had attributed to the works based on their sequence in the manuscript. However, at a certain point, *Lalitavistara* 8 and 9 were separated from the main bulk and preserved, along with the decorated wooden covers that must have originally belonged to the whole manuscript (Fig. 1), in a different envelope, as if forming a separate manuscript, which is now identified as G 4077 R.¹⁸ No note of the wooden covers is made in Shastri's catalogue. The separation of the two texts can probably be attributed to the initiative of a curator, or of a scholar who was puzzled by the occurrence of the two *Lalitavistaras*. For if one were to compare the list of works contained in G 4077 with the one transmitted by all the other manuscripts in the tradition of the Śivadharmā corpus as known so far, one would quickly notice that neither of the two *Lalitavistaras* has actually been accepted. Our Calcutta manuscript is in fact the sole attestation of these two works; their being foreign to all the other known versions of the Śivadharmā corpus is what must have prompted a zealous scholar to alter the actual composition

¹⁸ Note that in the catalogue there is no trace of this separate manuscript, which is just a portion of the original G 4077. The split must certainly have occurred after the compilation of the catalogue, but also after (or maybe on the occasion of) the microfilming, since the old microfilm reproductions in our possession still describe *Lalitavistara* 9 as part of G 4077. Therefore, when the authors of this article were granted access to manuscript G 4077 for the first time, in February 2016, they found themselves in front of a rather anomalous case, as the manuscript was lacking the last two works described in the catalogue, and nobody in the library seemed to know what had happened with them. Fortunately, after a day-long search, the librarians were able to identify the remaining portion, manuscript G 4077 R, which is now preserved together with G 4077, although they are still divided and kept in two different envelopes.

of the manuscript, even despite the information provided by the catalogue, and split one manuscript into two. Moreover, the title *Lalitavistara* itself may have called into mind the popular Buddhist work of the same title, and caused further confusion.

A certain hesitation about the constitution of G 4077 may also be deduced from Shastri's description of the manuscript, which is not as detailed and uniform as the one of G 3852 (entry no. 4085), which largely serves as the basis for the catalogue record of G 4077. For instance, Shastri transcribes all the final rubrics of the twelve chapters of the *Śivadharmasāstra*, while referring the reader to the following entry for analogous information concerning the other works of the manuscript. By contrast, in the case of manuscript G 3852, Shastri also transcribed the beginning and concluding portions of each chapter of the eight works contained in that manuscript, and gave the exact folio numbers corresponding to the beginning and end of each work. This was not entirely possible for manuscript G 4077 because, as he states, in this manuscript 'many leaves have lost their leaf marks'. However, the overall impression we had while examining the manuscript is that the loss of many folio numbers is not only due to the natural deterioration of the margins, as Shastri seems to imply, but also because the right and left margins were intentionally cut during restoration. This process consisted in the lamination of the manuscript, whose string-holes were closed, while the most fragile leaves were restored, and the margins made uniform by cutting. As a result, folio numbers are absent in many cases, while being partially or completely visible in others.

From the little we are able to see of the extant folio numbers of this manuscript, we can deduce that the foliation was not continuous, as is the case in manuscript G 3852 and other early manuscripts of the *Śivadharmā* corpus, but was started anew with each work. The works were thus separated by leaving a blank space and a blank page after the concluding colophon of each text and before the beginning of the next one, starting at fol. 1v. The only exception is the sequence *Śivopaniṣad-Umottarasamvāda*. The *Śivopaniṣad* ends at fol. 23v, with the final rubric of the last chapter in lines 1–2. No general colophon applying to the whole work is extant; the final rubric of the last *adhyāya* on line 2 (after the word *samāptaḥ* ||) is followed by line fillers occupying almost one third of the page, corresponding to the first block of text before the first string-hole. Following the string-hole and a flower decoration, the *Umottarasamvāda* begins, its conclusion on fol. 49v_[L5] marking the end of this block of text. The next work in the corpus is the *Vṛṣasārasaṃgraha*, which is separated from the preceding ones by a blank page and the interruption of the foliation, as is the practice for all the other works. However, upon closer inspection, fol. 23v, containing the end of the *Śivopaniṣad*

and the beginning of the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, shows clear traces of having been partially reused, as the first one and a half lines—those occupied by the conclusion of the *Śivopaniṣad* and the line fillers—used to host a different text, which was erased and then covered by the one that is still readable today. This also justifies the use of line fillers, which in this case have no decorative purpose but were just meant to cover the pre-existing text. The direct inspection of the manuscript allowed us to identify a few of the *akṣaras* belonging to the first layer of text, but not enough to help identify the text. This situation is only limited to the first one and a half lines, since neither the remaining part of the page, containing the first chapter of the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, nor the preceding page show any signs of being a palimpsest.

The use of a non-continuous foliation, despite the above-mentioned exception, makes G 4077 the earliest example of a manuscript of this corpus in which the works were clearly distinguished from each other, viz. by the use of an interrupted foliation, and suggests that the different texts could be used independently. In this respect, ms. G 4077 can be associated with the only other manuscript of the Śivadharmā corpus dated to the 11th century, N₈₂^K, so far the only known example of a palm-leaf manuscript of these texts to use non-continuous foliation. The device of interrupted foliation is thus limited to the specimens produced in the 11th century: N₂₈^K, of uncertain date but most likely earlier than these two, used a continuous foliation, which in this manuscript is also the only feature that allows the reader to understand that the four works of the corpus transmitted there are conceived as a unitary block, since the manuscript lacks a general concluding colophon. In N₂₈^K, the foliation starts anew with the *Śivopaniṣad*, a circumstance that most likely indicates that this text had been added to the main bulk of the manuscript after this was produced.¹⁹ On the other hand, in the case of G 4077 and N₈₂^K, a final colophon asserts the internal coherence of the works contained in these manuscripts, despite the lack of unity in the foliation, which allowed for removing and adding works without creating visible gaps in the production of the manuscript.

The general concluding colophon of G 4077 is located at the end of *Lalitavistara* 8, immediately following the final colophon of the individual work (Figs 2 and 3). This general colophon is transcribed in its entirety by Shastri 1928, as well as partially transcribed and translated by Petech 1984. Since neither transcript is devoid

¹⁹ On this manuscript and its characteristics, as well as the terminology used in the description of the multiple-text manuscripts, see De Simini 2016b, 245–248ff.

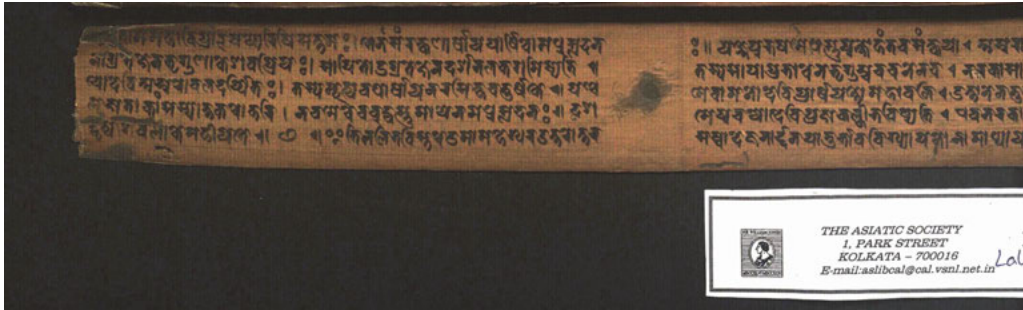


Fig. 2: Asiatic Society G 4077, ‘Lalitavistara 8’, exposure 26B.

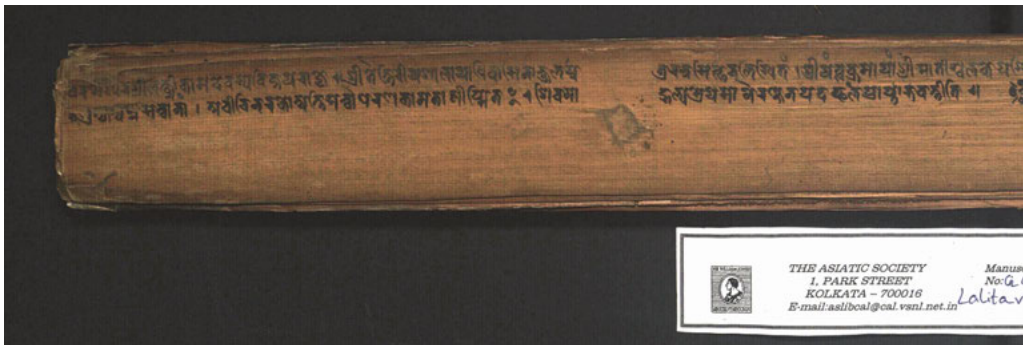


Fig. 3: Asiatic Society G 4077, ‘Lalitavistara 8’, exposure 27A.

of misreadings, we offer here a new diplomatic transcription and interpretation of the colophon:²⁰

²⁰ Since colophons often reflect a less standardized and more contaminated use of the language, we have not emended the text of this and other transcriptions of colophons and chapter rubrics. The necessary corrections are noted in the following translation.

Manuscripts No. G. 4077/8. *ta-vistarah* Copyright photograph not to be reproduced photographically without permission of the Asiatic Society

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[exp. 26B₁₅] || Q || • *samvat 156 śrāvaṇaśukladvādaśyām | paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*^[27AL1] *param* <e>*śvaraśrīlakṣmīkāmadevasya vijayarājye || śrītaittiriyasālāyādhivāsina kulapu • traratnasinhena likhitam | śrīyaṃbūkamāyām*²¹ *śrīsātīśvalake paścimarathyāyā nivāsina rajakagādādharasinhena*²² *ka • raṇiyam pustakaṃ*²³ *śivadharmaṃ || tasya puṇyasambhāreṇa yāvantaka sarvasatva atītānāga*^[12] *tapratyūtpannasatvānām*²⁴ | *avīcinarakotpattīsatvodharaṇakāmanām īpsitam | śivamā • ṅgalyasreyasā nairāñjanapadaphalam prāpto bhavanti* || ❖ ||

21 Note that the two existing transcripts of this colophon substantially disagree at this point. Shastri (1928, 721) reads *śrīpañcakramāyām* instead of *śrīyaṃbūkamāyām*, while Petech 1984, 38, reads *śrīyambukramāyām śrīpañcakramāyām*, thus *de facto* adding one word to the text of the colophon.
 22 Both Shastri 1928 and Petech 1984 read *rajakarādādharā*^o.
 23 Petech’s transcription stops here, dropping the word *śivadharma*.
 24 This compound is incorrectly given in Shastri as *atītānāgatapratyāsanna*^o.

The manuscript had thus been ‘copied in the year [NS] 156, on the twelfth [lunar day] of the bright [fortnight] of the [month] Śrāvaṇa, during the victorious reign of the supreme lord, paramount king, highest sovereign, the glorious Lakṣmikāmadeva, by Ratnasimha, son of a respectable family, a resident of the glorious Taittirīya school. The book of the Śivadharma has been commissioned (read: *kāraṇīyaṃ*) by the prince (read: *rājaka*^o) Gadādharaśimha, who resides along the western road (read: *paścimarathyāyā<ṃ> nivāsinā*) ...’. The date is verified by Petech as July 6, 1036 CE.²⁵ The remaining text of the colophon gives further geographical details, in a syntactically and morphologically irregular Sanskrit, while also dwelling on the motives that prompted the production of this manuscript, namely the accumulation of merit, through which the sponsor wishes to benefit all creatures, including those that lived in the past, those that would be born in the future, and those that existed at the present time. The production of this manuscript was moreover urged by a desire to save those who are born in the *avīcina* hell: ‘thanks to the highest good, which is Śiva’s favour, they earn the fruit of the immersion in the [river] Nairāñjanā’. Parallel to many of the Buddhist manuscripts that are extant from this historical period, and some of the Śivadharma manuscripts,²⁶ the final colophon thus emphasizes the apotropaic and salvific agency of the manuscript, which helps to channel the grace of the God towards all living beings.

The function of transmitting texts was thus enhanced by the specific powers attributed to this manuscript by those who sponsored its production and possibly made use of it. Given the widespread dissemination of the manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus, and their popularity especially in medieval Nepal, it is remarkable that one of the earliest specimens—the earliest one whose date we can ascertain—comes with an explicit declaration of the meritorious functions attributed to its production, which could be one of the main factors accelerating the copying of a high number of Śivadharma manuscripts in this and the following

²⁵ Petech 1984, 38.

²⁶ A colophon expressly mentioning the attainment of merit, for the sponsor or the sponsor’s family, as a reason for the production of the manuscript, is found in N₃^K, dated 1201 CE (see De Simini 2016b, 255–256, and 2017, § 3). A further manuscript, N₅^K, dated 1170 CE, contains a short panegyric of the king Rudradeva in the colophon, suggesting that he might have sponsored the production of the manuscript and been the person who would benefit from it (De Simini 2016b, 256–260, and De Simini 2016c). On the wooden cover of an unspecified Śivadharma manuscript of the 12th century, Pal (1978, 123, fig. 52) discerns a portrait of a royal couple, who could be the sponsors supporting the production of this particular manuscript. On the production of manuscripts for cultic and propitiatory purposes, both in Śaiva and in Buddhist sources, see De Simini 2016a.

centuries. At the same time, this colophon exhibits another of the features that would firmly characterize the transmission of the Śivadharma in Nepal, namely its association with monarchical power. King Lakṣmikāmadeva is praised in the colophon of G 4077 with his full royal title, and the same will happen with future monarchs of Śaiva faith, such as Rudradeva, Guṇakāmadeva and Arimalladeva, all of whom are praised in various manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus.²⁷ The importance attributed to the manuscript as a salvific tool for the donor and all living beings is probably what justified the production of the two richly decorated wooden covers which, following a trend that is typical of the covers of the Śivadharma manuscripts, display several scenes of *liṅga* worship (Fig. 1).

Unfortunately, the colophon of G 4077, which makes reference to the ‘manuscript of the Śivadharma’ as a single unit, does not specify how many smaller parts this unit was composed of, leaving room for doubt as to whether *Lalitavistara* 9, whose extant folios follow the colophon, was in fact originally included in the manuscript. This doubt is reinforced by the unlikely circumstance that the same manuscript would transmit two works with the same title, one after the other, at least judging from the order in which the works comprising G 4077 have been transmitted and preserved. At the same time, the block containing *Lalitavistara* 9 is by all means identical to those transmitting all the other works, thus pointing to the unity of production of the parts that form this manuscript. This suggests that *Lalitavistara* 9 was produced at the same time, possibly by the same hand, as the other works constituting the corpus, but does not imply that it was actually meant to be included in the manuscript right from the start. The almost complete absence of folio numbers, and the use of a non-continuous foliation, contribute to making it very hard, if not impossible, to establish beyond a doubt the actual composition of G 4077 solely on the basis of its codicological features, especially as far as *Lalitavistara* 9 is concerned. Only a study of the two controversial works could help us understand whether it is possible that just one of them had been conceived of as part of the Śivadharma corpus by those who compiled this manuscript, and why both of them were ultimately rejected by later tradition.

The relevant information found in the existing catalogue is indeed rather suspicious. Concerning *Lalitavistara* 8, Shastri transcribes 18 final rubrics of as many chapters, ranging from 1 to 23; the missing rubrics correspond to chapter 3 and to chapters 6 to 10. The final chapter of the work, the one immediately followed by the dated colophon referring to the whole manuscript, is numbered 23. However, this number is not coherent with the sequence of the extant chapters reported by Shastri, as this alleged chapter 23 is preceded by another chapter 23. Therefore,

²⁷ See De Simini 2016b, 268–272.

either the final chapter of the work does not correspond to chapter 23, or it must belong to a different work. This question is crucial because, as we have just pointed out, it is the colophon immediately following the final chapter that contains both the date and the information concerning the ruling king and the sponsorship of the manuscript. Thus, by resolving the discrepancy pertaining to the sequence and numeration of the chapters of *Lalitavistara* 8 we will be able to safely interpret the information contained in the final general colophon. Before shifting our attention to the information that Shastri gives for *Lalitavistara* 9, we must observe that all the rubrics of *Lalitavistara* 8 attribute titles to their chapters. This does not happen regularly with the works of the corpus composed after the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara*. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, for instance, only gives titles to its chapters in very few cases. We may take the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as an example, since this work is evoked in the rubric of the final chapter of the *Lalitavistara*, the supposed chapter 23, in which the work is actually called *Lalitavistara Umāmaheśvarottarottarasamvāda* (Fig. 2):

[exp. 26B₁₅] || Q || iti lalitavistare umāmaheśvara uttarottara • saṃvāde janārddanap[r]ādurbhāvavikhyāpano nāmādhyāyaḥ trayoviṃsatimo²⁸ parisamāptam iti || Q || •

The other rubrics, in contrast, always refer to the text simply as *Lalitavistara*. This might sound like one more reason to believe that the final colophon does not belong here—the title of the work is different, and the chapter number does not make sense in the order—but if we look closely, we will notice that the mention of the dialogue between Umā and Maheśvara is in fact less random than it appears. To start with, this rubric calls the work an *uttarottara* dialogue, which could mean two things: firstly, that it comes after the *Umottarasamvāda* (in turn a continuation of, or just a later addition to, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*); and, secondly, that the conversation consists of a sequence of replies by the Lord to the questions asked by the Goddess. This is indeed the structure of all the chapters that in the preceding rubrics are attributed to the *Lalitavistara*. Moreover, if we compare the titles of the chapters of the *Lalitavistara* to those surviving for the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the same manuscript, we can easily observe that the titles of the first and fifth chapters are the same for both works. There must indeed be a connection between the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* that goes beyond the simple frame narrative of the two works, and that may justify why the same work can sometimes be called *Lalitavistara* and at other times *Uttarottarasamvāda*.

²⁸ For our emendation concerning the correct reading of this word see below.

Shastri presents *Lalitavistara* 9 as a fragmentary work, of which only ‘leaves marked from 28 to 38’ survive. Again, he transcribes all the extant chapter rubrics of this other *Lalitavistara*, which in this case range from 24 to 32. The numeration of the chapters of *Lalitavistara* 9 thus seem to perfectly reconnect with the one of *Lalitavistara* 8, which had stopped at 23, as if one were the extension of the other, or as if the two were, in fact, the same work. The latter would indeed seem the easiest and most intuitive way to interpret the two *Lalitavistaras* transmitted in manuscript G 4077 according to the available catalogue. In order to take this supposition into consideration and make it our working hypothesis over the next pages, we need to find a solution for the double chapter 23, which so far seems to be the only obstacle to reading these 32 chapters in sequence as belonging to the same work. Luckily, the acquisition of new colour pictures has enabled us to inspect that concluding colophon more closely, and identify one essential detail that allowed us to propose a solution to the issue of the repetition of chapter 23. For the *akṣaras* that Shastri reads as *trayoviṅsa*^o have clearly been written on other *akṣaras* that appear to have been rubbed out, or which had just faded away, becoming less legible. Although the first layer of text is now completely covered by the newly inscribed *akṣaras*, the trace of a short vertical stroke extending from the *akṣara* -*va*- is still visible. Our hypothesis is that this stroke belongs to a pre-existing -*tra*-, that the current -*i*- has been inscribed on a preexisting -*s*-, and that the fading stroke seemingly (and wrongly) connecting what is now the long -*a*- with the syllable -*vi*- is nothing but the still visible trace of a former -*i*- which would indicate that the original reading here was *trayastriṅsati*, namely 33, instead of *trayoviṅsati*, 23. This would solve all the contradictions in the chapter sequence of the ‘two’ *Lalitavistaras*, as we could thus avoid the repetition of chapter 23 and, at the same time, identify the final chapter of the work as chapter 33, which would comply perfectly with the sequence that Shastri reports for *Lalitavistara* 9, extending up to 32 (but then continuing into a new chapter). Moreover, the correction of -*yovi*- to -*yastri*-, for whatever reason it happened, is palaeographically very easy, as it only requires closing the open left side of the *akṣara* -*tra*- and connecting the top vertical stroke to the *s*- on the left. The following pictures show a detail of the final rubric of what we assume was chapter 33, compared to the rubric of chapter 31, which highlights the similarity between the two *akṣaras*, as well as the evident signs of corrections in the case of the colophon of chapter 23/33:



Fig. 4: Asiatic Society G 4077, exp. 26B, final colophon of chapter 33, detail: *trayo(yas?)-vi(tri?)ṅsatimo*



Fig. 5: Asiatic Society G 4077, exp. 51A(L1), final colophon of chapter 31, detail: *ekatriṅsatmaḥ*

On this basis, we could thus hypothesize that the two *Lalitavistaras* identified by Shastri in manuscript G 4077 are actually one single work in 33 chapters, which was titled both *Lalitavistara* and *Umāmaheśvarottarottarasamvāda*. The codicological features of the folios belonging to the two bundles are perfectly consistent, just like the general structure of the text, which in both cases is designed as a dialogue between the Goddess and the Lord. Now that we have found a possible solution for the formal contradiction concerning the presence of two chapters labelled 23, we can proceed to a systematic analysis of this work, which will allow us to confirm or reject our hypothesis on the reconstruction of the text, as well as clarify several aspects regarding the composition of this and other works of the corpus amidst the cultural context of medieval Nepal.

2 The *Lalitavistara*: An outline

Our attempt at reconstructing the *Lalitavistara* on the basis of the extant folios preserved and catalogued as two different works has proven successful. We can thus confirm that the two bundles actually contain the same text, which in its current form only lacks the beginning, one folio belonging to chapter 2 and a folio or two for chapter 26. On the other hand, some of the folios that are found among those of the *Lalitavistara* must actually be discarded, since they belong to other works in the same manuscript, or to unidentified works that are not in this manuscript.²⁹ The work is thus mostly complete. As for the chapter rubrics that Shastri had not identified in his catalogue, we were able to find what must have been the final colophon of chapter 3 in the folios collected as *Lalitavistara* 9; the rubrics of chapters 6 and 7 were contiguous with the other folios of this chapter, in the bundle containing *Lalitavistara* 8. The situation is more complicated for chapters 9 and 10, not simply because the folios with the final rubrics of these chapters are missing, but because this work seems to lack these chapters altogether, skipping from chapter 7 straight to chapter 11. We cannot account for this sudden change in numbering, since the beginning of chapter 11 is on the same folio as the end of chapter 7, and we have checked the consistency of the whole chapter so as to exclude the possibility that folios had gone missing. Although there are no folio numbers to confirm the correct arrangement of the pages, we do have extensive parallel passages in other works, as we will point out shortly, that have helped enormously in reconstructing the correct sequence of the stanzas. This numbering is also reflected in the numbering of the chapters from now on, thus moving the chapter numbers up three. The work thus contains only 30 chapters, but we will keep referring to them with the number by which each of the chapters is identified in the extant rubrics.

²⁹ As pointed out in the preceding paragraph, exposures 23B/24A and 24B/25A correspond to two of the three missing folios from the *Umottarasamvāda* contained in the same manuscript. Other folios that do not belong to the *Lalitavistara* are a folio in Bengali script, corresponding to our exposure 57B/58A, as well as exposure 42A/41B. The latter contains the beginning of a Śaiva work, and is written only on one side (corresponding to exp. 42A), the other one left blank. Shastri transcribes it in its entirety in his catalogue (1928, 722), rightly pointing out that this folio does not belong to the *Lalitavistara* nor, we can add, to any other work contained in the same manuscript. The script is very similar, though not exactly identical, to the one used in the *Lalitavistara*, while the material features of the leaf seem to be perfectly consistent with those of the other leaves of the manuscript (although, after restoration, our understanding of the material aspects of these pages has been deeply altered). This folio might thus belong to a manuscript that was copied in the same period, maybe in the same scriptorium, as our G 4077.

The most relevant trait emerging from the study of the contents and structure of the *Lalitavistara* is the imposing number of verses that can be identified in other works. More specifically, chapters 1 to 25 of the *Lalitavistara* parallel, in due sequence, chapters 1 to 20 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, another work of the Śivadharmā corpus. While we were not able to identify any parallels to *Lalitavistara* chapters 27 to 28, chapters 26 and 29 to 32 show extensive literal borrowings from the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the thirteenth book of the *Mahābhārata*. Chapter 33, concluding the work, has parallels to chapter 7 of the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, yet another work of the corpus that is attested for the first time in this manuscript. The passage that the *Lalitavistara* shares with the *Umottarasaṃvāda* is moreover partly featured in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as chapter 22. Before moving on to a more in-depth analysis of the contents and nature of these parallels, as well as of the compositional techniques that this intricate textual situation seems to hint at, we should stress that also some passages contained in both the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* can ultimately be traced to the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. It is not entirely surprising that, of all 18 books of the *Mahābhārata*, the composers of the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chose to draw materials exactly from the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, since this book contains a whole section that is presented as a conversation between the Lord and the Goddess. This ‘*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*’ provides a model and functions as a source of textual material for the composition of the later works of the Śivadharmā corpus that adopt the same frame-narrative and deal with identical or similar topics as their epic antecedent. These texts can thus be placed at the crossroad of the Śivadharmā corpus and the Sanskrit epics; as a consequence, the activity of selecting, borrowing, and rearranging sources transcends the technical aspects of textual composition, and suggests a more complex cultural operation aimed at establishing the Śivadharmā as part of a broader Brahmanical—not necessarily nor exclusively Śaiva—tradition. We will come back to this point in the following paragraphs, after completing a first sketch of the contents of the *Lalitavistara/Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. Despite the textual variants emerging from the comparison between these chapters of the *Lalitavistara* with the corresponding sections in the current critical edition of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the texts are so close that manuscript G 4077 can in fact be counted among the earliest manuscript evidence of the circulation and transmission of the *Mahābhārata*.

Our work of reconstruction of the *Lalitavistara* has been complicated by the absence of folio numbers for this section, although Shastri in his catalogue still seems to be able to read folio numbers at least for the pages of *Lalitavistara* 9.

Nevertheless, with some patience, and thanks to the help of the parallel passages,³⁰ we have been able to produce the following table, which illustrates the chapter sequence and the contents of the *Lalitavistara*, with reference to the folios preserved for each chapter, a transcript of the extant chapter rubrics, and the parallel texts. We reproduce it here for the benefit of the readers, and as a device to foster further discussion in the coming pages. For practical reasons, we have used the superscript numerals 8 and 9 in order to indicate whether the chapters or exposures are to be found in *Lalitavistara* 8 or 9. We know that this makes less sense now that we have established that these actually form one single work, but nevertheless we thought that preserving some traces of the catalogue record might be helpful for scholars who would like to go back to the original manuscript, as well as show the reader how the text is actually distributed in the manuscript. Note that the summaries of chapters 1 and 2 of the *Lalitavistara* are partly based on the parallel of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (UMS), which helps integrate the contents of the *Lalitavistara*'s missing folios.

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
Chapter 1 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 3A _[L5] ❖ <i>iti lalitavista • re cātu- rvarṇṇavibhāgo nāmādhyāyaḥ prathamah</i> ❖	UMS 1	The first chapter opens with the description of the God and Goddess sitting on the Himavat mountain, where he conveys his teachings to her. The Goddess asks him about the <i>dharmas</i> and goals pertaining to the various classes and types of religious practitioners: Brahmins, <i>kṣatriyas</i> , <i>vaiśyas</i> , <i>śūdras</i> , ascetics (<i>tāpasa</i>), those who desire initiation (<i>dīkṣābhikāṅkṣin</i>), those who survive off grain left over from the harvest (<i>uñchavṛttī</i>), seers (<i>ṛṣi</i>), divine sages (<i>devarṣi</i>), and women. Further, she asks how Brahmins attain Brahmaloaka. The God obliges and conveys his teaching, describing the various categories; however, he doesn't explicitly address the <i>dīkṣābhikāṅkṣin</i> nor the <i>ṛṣi</i> and <i>devarṣi</i> categories. Instead, he introduces the wandering religious mendi-
Exps. 2A–3A; incomplete.		

³⁰ We thank Anil Kumar Acharya for having produced and circulated an e-text of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* based on the Naraharinath edition (1998). This resource has been extremely helpful in the process of identifying parallel passages, despite the flaws of the edition itself that, as we will have to point out several times throughout this article, has changed its text in several crucial passages as if to make it sound more Śaiva-oriented. After realizing this, we double-checked the text of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* edition against the one attested in the earlier manuscripts.

Lalitavistara	Parallels	Topic
		cant (<i>parivrājaka</i>), who is said to attain <i>mokṣa</i> . It is noticeable that none of the material is specifically Śaivite or refers to Śaiva principles. Brahmaloaka, an auspicious rebirth (in the same <i>varṇa</i>), and eternal Brahman seem to be the main objectives.
Chapter 2 ⁸⁻⁹ . Rubric: exp. 4A _[L1] Q iti <i>lalitavistare duritabhedavibhāgo nāmodhyāya dvitīya</i> • ḥ ❖	UMS 2	This chapter is dedicated to the fate of those who do bad deeds, namely those who injure (<i>hiṃsaka</i>), steal (<i>paradravyahārin</i>), behave badly in romantic matters (<i>kāmamithyopacārin</i>), slander (<i>durbhāṣin</i>), are overcome with envy (<i>maṣarāpahata</i>), neglect their service to others (<i>aśuśrūṣākārin</i>), are affected by pride (<i>mānahata</i>) and those who have made minor mistakes (<i>alpāparādhakṛt</i>).
Exps. 3A, 5B, 54B, 55A, 3B, 4A; incomplete.		
Chapter 3 ⁸⁻⁹ . Rubric: exps. 54A _[L5] –5B _[L1] ❖ iti <i>lalitavistare suśrūṣa</i> _[SAL1] + + +... <i>gā nāmādhyaḥya tṛtīyaḥ</i> Q	UMS 3.1–43	In contrast to the preceding chapter, this section talks about meritorious actions that lead to spiritual gains: not hurting others (<i>ahiṃsaka</i>), behaving in accordance with the norms (<i>nyāyavṛttin</i>), always telling the truth (<i>satyavādin</i>), abstaining from drinking alcohol (<i>madyapānavivarjita</i>), serving the Guru (<i>guruśuśrūṣaka</i>), and not stealing (<i>anasteya</i>). It is noteworthy that the rewards are again not particularly connected to Śaivite goals, but rather contain generic prescriptions for reaching heaven and enjoying an auspicious rebirth once one's merit in heaven is exhausted.
Exps. 4A, 53B–54A, 5B; complete.		
Chapter 4 ⁸⁻⁹ . Rubric: exp. 7A _[L4] ❖ iti <i>lalitavistare dhyānadhāraṇādhyaḥya ca-turthaḥ</i> _[L5] Q	UMS 3.43–56 + chapter 4	The chapter begins with general remarks praising virtues, in particular emphasizing the importance of <i>ahiṃsā</i> , which is said to confer eternal Brahman. The following stanzas contain a <i>phalaśruti</i> , praising the merits of hearing and reciting the scripture's teaching, here even referred to as the secret <i>śāstra</i> (<i>śāstraṃ rahasyam</i>). Note that in the <i>Umāmaheśvaraśaṃvāda</i> , this portion, 3.43–56, forms the end of chapter 3. Hereafter follows a discourse on the topic of meditation (<i>dhyāna</i>). The Goddess asks about what is prescribed for those who have committed bad deeds or not performed religious activities such as austerities or <i>śrāddha</i> rituals. The God's answer is that meditation has the power to remove all bad deeds, so that at death they are freed of them and attain heaven, just as those who have carried out
Exps. 5B–7A; complete.		

Lalitavistara	Parallels	Topic
		<p>good deeds. After that, the Goddess wishes to know the procedure for meditation and what kinds of meditation there are, upon which the God essentially teaches her two kinds. Of these, the first is referred to as <i>adhyātman</i> and <i>vaiṣṇava</i>, which has the power to open the doors to liberation (for a description of the procedure, see § 3). The second one is a meditation that has to be performed in secluded places. There follows a description of the <i>saṃsāra</i>, possibly being the object of meditation (see also chapter 30, which contains the same procedure). Referring to this, the text stresses both the possibility of achieving liberation from <i>saṃsāra</i> and the attainment of the <i>brahmaloka</i>.</p>
<p>Chapter 5⁸. Rubric: exp. 8A_[L1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare tīrthayā-</i> <i>trādhyā • ya pañcamah</i> Q </p>	<p>UMS 5</p>	<p>The fifth chapter starts by praising the merit of sacred sites (<i>tīrtha</i>) and lists various sacred places, including standard locations such as Prayāga and Kanakhala, as well as a long list of holy rivers, featuring also those specific to the Kathmandu Valley, such as the Vagmatī. Then follows a short description of the procedure of bathing and meditation at the sacred water sites and their purificatory qualities. At the same time, offerings (<i>ijyā</i>), austerities (<i>tapas</i>), fasts and observances (<i>sopavāsavrata</i>) are also given as options. The God also teaches about the possibility to attain the supreme <i>siddhi</i> through constant meditation on him, as well as the eventual attainment of liberation (<i>mokṣa</i>), described as the supreme state pertaining to Śiva (<i>śaivaṃ paraṃ padam</i>). The chapter closes on a cosmological note, describing how everything is emitted by the <i>liṅga</i> and reabsorbed by Viṣṇu.</p>
<p>Exps. 7A–8A; complete.</p>		
<p>Chapter 6⁸. Rubric: exp. 9A_[L4] Q <i>iti lalitavistare ekaika-</i> <i>dharma • vibhāgo</i> <i>nāmodhyāya ṣaṣṭhamah</i> Q </p>	<p>UMS 6; AP, ap- pendix no. 15, lines 779–803</p>	<p>This chapter deals with various topics. At the beginning, the God condemns any form of slandering, particular of Brahmins, as well as egotism, all of which leads to hell. He also makes the point that his devotees should not slander <i>viṣṇubhaktas</i>. At the same time, it is stated that those who are of a singular devotion attain particular merits and reach heaven even if they have carried out bad deeds. Then follows a discourse on the importance of catering to guests, particularly when they arrive in some unfortunate condition, such as afflicted by hunger or thirst. A large part</p>
<p>Exps. 8A, 9A; complete.</p>		

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		then revolves around the obligation to take care of post-mortuary procedures should a guest die, regardless of his social background. Then follows a discourse on the merit of giving and the importance of doing so with a happy mind. This leads to a long list of different meritorious categories, such as the gift of land, the adherence to truth, and respect for one's parents, eventually arriving at the praise of the <i>grhāśrama</i> , stating that, of all the <i>āśramas</i> , it is the best. This gives rise to the God's announcement that he shall teach about the merits of the <i>grhāśrama</i> .
Chapter 7 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 10A _[L1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare bhūmī(?)dānagrhāśramo varttanodhyāya saptam</i> _[L2] Q	UMS 7; AP, appendix no. 15, lines 803–855	Picking up from the previous chapter, the Goddess asks the God about the conduct, observances and rules of the householder. He first commends obedience to one's parents and family and praises the importance of worshipping one's ancestors. Then the Goddess asks what is prescribed to those who have no parents or are widows. The God answers with a list of virtuous characteristics and deeds, such as non-violence, giving, feeding cows and certain processes of bodily purification. The chapter also includes a section on abstinence on certain occasions. The final section revolves around declaring the <i>grhāśrama</i> to be the foundation for all living beings and the entire system.
Exps. 9A, 8B, 10A; complete.		
Chapter 11 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 10B _[L2] Q <i>iti lalita • vistare kaliyugavarṇṇano nāmādhyāyikaśamaḥ</i> Q	UMS 8	This chapter describes the inadequate behaviour that constitutes defects of the cosmic age and the decline of <i>dharma</i> . The Goddess wants to know how the <i>kaliyuga</i> comes about and what happens once the cosmic cycle reaches this point. In reply, the God alludes to the <i>Mahābhārata</i> war and further describes the conditions of the <i>kaliyuga</i> .
Exps. 10A, 9B, 11A, 10B; complete.		
Chapter 12 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 12A _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare yugāntani<r>deśodhyāya dvādaśamaḥ</i> Q	UMS 9	The ninth chapter continues the topic of the <i>kaliyuga</i> and describes various faults of that age (<i>yugadoṣa</i>), which include the terrible behaviour of people as <i>dharma</i> declines. Much of the chapter also revolves around the various inauspicious signs that will forebode the end of the <i>yuga</i> , with the constellations collapsing, kings raging war and various unsettling natural phenomena such as huge, dark, thundering clouds approaching and forest animals entering the city.
Exps. 10B, 11B–12A; complete.		

Lalitavistara	Parallels	Topic
<p>Chapter 13^B. Rubric: exp. 13A_[L4] Q <i>iti lalitavistare yugāntādīlakṣaṇo nāmādhya tra • yodaśamaḥ</i> ❖ </p> <p>Exps. 12A, 25B–26A, 13A; complete.</p>	UMS 10	<p>The Goddess asks how it is possible that some men and women, as the corruption of time (<i>yugadoṣa</i>) progresses, can lose their sense of shame (<i>luptalajjā</i>). The God replies that, in this most unfavourable of aeons, the world works the other way around: old people are under the influence of the youth, while the young and inexperienced are consulted as teachers. Thus, during the <i>kaliyuga</i>, even vile, old men long for young wives, just as old women wish for young husbands. However, in this <i>kaliyuga</i>, all those who respect <i>dharma</i>, even just a little, will gain enormous fruits, like becoming wealthy, rightful people, generous and hospitable. Then, after practising <i>tapas</i> for a hundred years, men will return to the <i>kṛtayuga</i>. At the end of the <i>yuga</i> there is general, widespread corruption: medicines and alchemic preparations lose their powers, so that people become weaker, and old age, ailments and death start spreading. The heterodox rise to prominence, and they teach their way to liberation as if they were teachers, and live in monasteries. However, the offerings made to them are fruitless due to the faults of the recipients (<i>pātradoṣa</i>). The God remarks that, for this reason, one should always donate to the proper, orthodox recipients, whose conduct will quickly lead to emancipation, and who alone are worthy of devotion. On the contrary, the heterodox will lead to the corruption of <i>dharma</i> and the confusion of <i>varṇas</i> (<i>varṇasaṃkara</i>). Prompted by a question of the Goddess, the God explains which actions are appropriate for each <i>varṇa</i>, and which ones are not.</p>
<p>Chapter 14^B. Rubric: exp. 14A_[L3] ❖ <i>iti lalita • vistare mṛtyuvañcano nāmādhya caturdaśamaḥ</i> ❖ </p> <p>Exps. 13A, 12B, 14A; complete.</p>	UMS 11	<p>The topic of this chapter is the origin of the <i>jīva</i>, how it enters the womb and develops into an embryo, then a body, and so on. After replying to this request from the Goddess by explaining the process of conception, growth and birth, the God—here generically called Devadeva, which in chapter 24/19 is a synonym for Viṣṇu—shifts the focus of the conversation to the inevitability of death, listing the possible causes and circumstances for somebody’s passing. At the end of the chapter, the God remarks that the destiny</p>

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		(<i>gati</i>) of the <i>jīvas</i> in the realm of transmigration is caused by the fruits of their actions
Chapter 15 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 14B _[L2] : Q <i>iti lalitavistare rasā</i> • <i>yananī<r>deśo nāmādhyāya pañcadaśamaḥ</i> Q	UMS 12.1–31	The first question of the Goddess concerns the purposes of appeasement spells, medicines, herbs and <i>mantras</i> , provided that the course and length of one's life is entirely determined by their previous actions. The God replies that there are thousands of remedies and spells, and the gods are pleased by the doctors who manage to apply the right remedy to extend a patient's life. But all these remedies, like herbs, benedictions and appeasement spells, can also make one perish, as it is the <i>karman</i> that is ultimately responsible for the ailments of the body and, thus, for the length of the lives of humans and animals. After this, the Goddess asks about those who practice alchemy (<i>rasāyanika</i>). The God praises the proper use of the 'divine <i>rasāyanas</i> ': if one is protected by these remedies, he will have a long life even if he eats unproper food or drinks poison.
Exps: 14A, 13B, 14B; complete.		
Chapter 16 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 15A _[L1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare kālavañcano nāmādhyāya śaṣṭyādasamaḥ</i> Q	UMS 12.32–42	The Goddess now asks about the topic of untimely death (<i>akālamṛtyu</i>). The God answers that time is impartial towards everybody; nobody is dear or despicable to <i>kāla</i> . Therefore, once their time has elapsed, it is not possible for a person to live any longer. Death is thus 'untimely' (<i>a-kāla</i>) for all living beings.
Exp. 14B; complete.		
Chapter 17 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 16A _[L4] Q <i>iti lalitavistare citraguptavyākhyāno nāmādhyāya saptadaśamo</i> • <i>dhyāyaḥ</i>	UMS 13	Chapter 17/13 starts with a request by the Goddess to learn the ways of obtaining a long life; the God replies that this can only happen by the grace of God or of the <i>ṛṣīs</i> , while contemplation of the Lord will grant immortality. The discussion then moves on to the nature and origin of time—which ultimately derives from Maheśvara—the cycles of creation and reabsorption of the universe, as well as the destiny of human beings after death. The mention of Yama's servants, who lead the souls to the after-life, and Citragupta, who will judge them, provides the title for this whole chapter of the <i>Lalitavistara</i> .
Exps. 15A, 16A; complete.		
Chapter 18 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 17A _[L5] <i>iti lalitavistare yatheṣṭāṅgabhūta</i> _[1.7BL1] <i>dhi</i>	UMS 14	The chapter is dedicated to explaining the origins of various celestial and demonic beings: <i>yakṣas</i> , <i>kiṃnaras</i> , <i>gandharvas</i> , <i>piśācas</i> , <i>nāgas</i> , <i>raṅgasas</i>

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
<i>nāmādhyāya aṣṭādaśamaḥ</i> Q		and <i>gaṇeśvaras</i> . The original question of the Goddess had stressed the richness of these figures, asking by means of which actions they ended up being born rich and prosperous.
Exps. 16A, 15B, 16B-17A; complete.		
Chapter 19 ^B . Rubric: exp. UMS 17B _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare</i> <i>narasinhādīvavarṇṇa</i> <i>nāmādhyāya</i> : _[exp.18AL1] <i>m e-</i> <i>konaviṣṭatimaḥ</i> Q	15.1–15	The first stanzas of chapter 19/15 deal with the origins of lion-men (<i>narasiṃhas</i>), who dwell in the mountains and other remote places.
Exps. 17A-17B; complete.		
Chapter 20 ^B . Rubric: exp. UMS 19B _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare</i> <i>nirayārṇṇavavañcano</i> <i>nāmādhyāya</i> _[L4] <i>vinsatimaḥ</i> Q	15.16–97	In this section the God, prompted by a question of the Goddess, describes the eight hells (<i>avīci</i> , <i>raurava</i> , <i>kālasūtra</i> , <i>kumbhīpāka</i> , <i>yamalaparvatau</i> , <i>kūṭaśālmalivṛkṣa</i> , <i>asipatṛavana</i> , <i>mahāaurava</i>), specifying who are the sinners who head to each of them after death, and what happens to them once their sin is redeemed.
Exps. 18A-19B; complete.		
Chapter 21 ^B . Rubric: exp. UMS 16 20B _[L1] Q <i>iti lalita</i> _[L2] <i>vistare</i> <i>śrāddhāvidhināmādhyāyam</i> <i>ekaviṣṭatimo dhyāyaḥ</i> Q		The Goddess asks how the sinners, after burning in hell, can again perform good actions, and how one manages to save their ancestors. The God's reply is that one can save his or her own ancestors by donating certain gifts to the Brahmins or to the Lord, by the performance of <i>bhakti</i> , which includes ritual gifting, as well as by the performance of <i>śrāddha</i> ceremonies in Kurukṣetra, Prayāga and in the residences of Rudra (16.13). The following verses are devoted to detailing the performance of the <i>śrāddhās</i> , while the chapter concludes with a praise of the well-behaved <i>brahmacārin</i> .
Exps. 19B-20B; complete.		
Chapter 22 ^B . Rubric: exp. UMS 17 21B _[L3] O <i>iti lalitavista</i> • <i>re</i> <i>svapnottaranirdeṣo dhyāya</i> <i>dvāviṣṭatimaḥ</i> Q		The Goddess wants to hear about the good actions that allow people not to go to hell, but rather to move towards an auspicious destiny after death, and what these auspicious destinies are in the first place. The God first lists the rightful behaviours; the discussion then moves on to the impurity of a house in which somebody has died at night. The Goddess further asks about the phenomenology of dreams, to which the God replies that it is the mind (<i>manas</i>) that moves places while dreaming, as the <i>jīva</i> stays and protects the body. The following stanzas are
Exps. 20B–21A, 22A, 21B; complete.		

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		devoted to the topic of inauspicious dreams (<i>duḥsvapna</i>).
Chapter 23 ⁸ . Rubric: exp. 23A _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare pañcavedaprasaṃso nāmādhyāya trayoviñsati-maḥ</i> Q	UMS 18	Chapter 18 is a praise of the <i>Mahābhārata</i> as the utmost scripture and source of all knowledge. The <i>Mahābhārata</i> , the fifth Veda, has been created for the benefit of the <i>śūdras</i> ; the constant recitation of this text will allow them to be reborn either as Brahmins or as kings on earth after spending time in <i>brahmaloka</i> . As this scripture is worthy of worship and meditation, <i>śūdras</i> become worthy of worship as well.
Exps. 21B, 22B-23A; complete.		
Chapter 24 ⁸⁻⁹ . Rubric: exp. 43A ⁹ _[L4] Q <i>iti lalitavistare trai • guṇyavarṇṇano nāmādhyāya caturviṃsatimo dhyāyah</i> Q	UMS 19	The Goddess asks how it is possible to satisfy Viṣṇu, the <i>ṛṣis</i> and Vyāsa. This question is not answered by Maheśvara, but by Viṣṇu, with a brief interruption by Dharma. Viṣṇu says that he is upset about any offence caused to the Brahmins, while on the contrary, what pleases him are acts of devotion towards Brahmins, as well as towards himself and his own <i>avatāras</i> , of which Vāmana and Vārāha are expressly mentioned. The knowledge that has been imparted by Vyāsa is celebrated as the utmost Veda, capable of destroying the sins of those who recite it and meditate upon it. Actions are classified into different groups based on their capacity to lead to different ultramundane realms. Towards the end of the chapter, Viṣṇu briefly illustrates the doctrine of the two paths of transmigration: the path of the ancestors (<i>pitṛyāna</i>), associated with the moon, and the path of the gods (<i>devayāna</i>), associated with the sun.
Exps. 23A, 42B-43A; complete.		
Chapter 25 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 44A _[L1] <i>iti lalitavistare śāntidhyāne pitarāṃ tu prasambho nāmādhyāya pañcaviṃsatimaḥ</i> • Q	<i>Vaiṣṇava-dharma-śāstra</i> (ĀŚP, appendix no. 4, lines 1688-1717); UMS 20	This brief chapter contains a list of the corporal faults (<i>vṛṣāla</i>) of the different <i>varṇas</i> , that are 6 for the Brahmins, 7 for the <i>kṣatriyas</i> , 8 for the <i>vaiśyas</i> , and 25 for the <i>śūdras</i> . This is followed by a eulogy of the Brahmins, whose faith and devotion satisfy their parents and ancestors, as well as the gods. The chapter ends by stating that all the various secret teachings have now been revealed.
Exps. 43A-44A; complete.		
Chapter 26 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 45A _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare</i>	AP, appendix no. 15, lines	The first passage preserved on exp. 44A parallels much of the beginning of Maheśvara's speech in the <i>Mahābhārata</i> about the king and hunting, stressing

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
<p><i>m</i>_[L.4]<i>gavyādhapaśubandha-vidhi nāmādhyāya śa-ḍviṃsatimaḥ</i> Q </p> <p>Exps. 44A, 45A; incomplete.</p>	<p>lines 1268–1281; and 1253</p>	<p>that in this case no sin is incurred and the deer go to heaven if killed by the king. The last stanzas of chapter 26 preserved on 45A may contain verses concerning <i>rājadharmā</i>. The very first preserved stanza uses a common idiom to express the merit one attains from listening to some recitation with devotion, which suggests that the previous context is that of recitation and listening to some work. Then follow some verses on the <i>rājadharmā</i>, and how important it is that the king guards his subjects and worships Brahmins who keep up their duties. It is stressed that only if he keeps up his <i>svadharmā</i> will all the subjects in his kingdom follow his good conduct.</p>
<p>Chapter 27⁹. Rubric: exp. 46A_[L.2] Q <i>iti lalitavistare saptaviṃsatimo dhyāyah</i> Q </p> <p>Exp. 45A, 44B, 45B, 46A, complete.</p>	<p>No parallels identified</p>	<p>This chapter is dedicated to the question of animal sacrifice and the eating of meat, especially during the sacrifice for the ancestors, which is the only context in which eating meat appears acceptable. Even though not direct parallels could be established so far, note that this topic also features in the AP, even though in a section which contains a dialogue of Yudhiṣṭhira and Bhīṣma rather than in the <i>Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda</i> section.</p>
<p>Chapter 28⁹. Rubric: exp. 48A_[L.1] Q <i>iti lalitavistare śākhopasākhādhyāya aṣṭāviṃsatimaḥ</i> </p> <p>Exp. 46A, 46B, 47A, 48A, complete?</p>	<p>No parallels identified</p>	<p>This chapter is dedicated to descriptions of the fate of those who killed cows, Brahmins and women, or took the property of Brahmins and women etc. Their fate includes hell, but also a range of terrible rebirths, which the chapter expounds upon. Note that the title of the rubric is puzzling, especially as it is the same as given to <i>Śivadharmasāstra</i> chapter 12, but is of different content.</p>
<p>Chapter 29⁹. Rubric: exp. 48B_[L.3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare vaiṣṇavayogo prathamānām ādhyāyam ekonatrimṣatmaḥ</i> Q </p> <p>Exps. 48A, 47B, 48B; complete.</p>	<p>UMS 4.1–31</p>	<p>The Goddess asks what is the best religious conduct (<i>vrata</i>) to assure the destruction of sins. She mentions a few (<i>tapas, caraṇa, dāna</i> and <i>ahyāyana</i>, but also <i>ahiṃsā, satyavākya</i> and <i>guruśuśrūṣaṇa</i>); the God replies that of all the <i>vratas</i>, the best one is <i>dhyāna</i>, which has no equal on earth. In his long praise of <i>dhyāna</i>, the God stresses its role as a remover of all sins and as a practice conducive to heaven. After this, the Goddess asks for more details on how to practice this <i>dhyāna</i>, to which the God replies by detailing what the text calls both</p>

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		<i>dhyānayoga</i> and <i>vaiṣṇavayoga</i> (see the contents of chapter 4, as the two texts are identical).
Chapter 30 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 50A _[L3] Q <i>iti lalitavistare trikarāṇaya • jñādhikāro nāmādhyāya trīṣatmaḥ</i> Q	UMS 4.32–39; AP 132.1–29	The God now describes a second type of meditation, that of the <i>vanastha</i> , who, in a secluded place, should meditate upon <i>samsāra</i> and his personal experiences with it, both the positive and the negative ones. One should meditate on transmigration as being an ocean of greed, ignorance and fear. As the God announces that he will now expound on the third type of meditation, the Goddess asks him to explain how one can be freed from the bonds that are created by actions, mind and words. The God replies to this question by listing, in due order, the rightful behaviours, as well as the correct uses of speech and thought that will lead men to heaven.
Exps. 48B–50A; complete.		
Chapter 31 ⁹ . Rubric: exp. 51A _[L1] <i>iti lalitavistare cāturmukhapinākatri-ṇetrādhyāyam ekatriṣatmaḥ</i> Q •	AP 131.40–47, 127.51, 128.1–12	The Goddess asks about the purpose of the God's third eye on his forehead, and why the big mountain—presumably Mount Kailāsa, where Śiva and the Goddess reside and have their conversations—burnt down and was then restored to its natural condition. The God expounds on the powers of his third eye, then recounts that the mountain had been destroyed by the heat that emanated from his third eye, only to be restored by Śiva for the sake of the Goddess. The reference to the four faces (of the mountain) also occurs in the title of this short chapter, and allows a comparison with the four-faced <i>liṅga</i> . However, following a further question of the Goddess, the Lord narrates the story of Tilottamā, and how he developed his four faces in order to look at her from all directions. The Goddess then asks why he chose the bull as his mount, and Śiva replies that his bull is a calf of the cow Surabhī, donated to him by Brahmā.
Exps. 50A–50B; complete.		
Chapter 32 ⁹ . No extant rubric.	AP appendix 15, lines 4.325–27	The Goddess asks the Lord about the ways in which devotees can please him. The God replies first by mentioning offerings of food (<i>naivedya</i>), as well as of <i>mantras</i> and different incenses, and then by proclaiming a <i>stotra</i> to Harihara. Following this, the Goddess asks for more details about the practice of fasting (<i>vratopavāsa</i>). The God first explains to her the offerings to make on the eighth and fourteenth days of each fortnight, those associated with ritual
Exps. 51A–52A; complete.		

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	Parallels	Topic
		fasting. In the second part of his reply, the Lord praises the worship of cows as the mothers of all beings, as well as the supreme purifiers and the sources of <i>yajña</i> . Their cult is associated with that of the Brahmins. The next topic brought up by the God is that of the gift of the cows.
Chapter 33. ⁹⁻⁸ Rubric: exp. 26B _{L5} : <i>iti lalitavistare umāmaheśvara uttarottara • saṃvāde janārddanap[r]ādurbhāvavikhyāpano nāmādhyāyaḥ trayastriṅsatimo parisamāptam iti Q •</i>	US 7; UMS 22	The Goddess asks the reason for her existence as Sītā. The God explains that Sītā existed in order for Ravaṇa to be killed by a Vānara, thus fulfilling the curse that Nandi had placed on him. After this, the Goddess asks who Rāma and his father were, as well as who the most eminent of the Vānaras were. The God tells the story of the birth of Rāma, along with his brothers Lakṣmaṇa, Śatrughna and Bharata. In order to kill Ravaṇa for having kidnapped Sītā, they were joined by the most powerful of the Vānaras, like Vāli, Sugrīva and Hanumān. When the Goddess asks why there was a need for a human being (such as Rāma), if Viṣṇu is the Lord of the world, the God replies by narrating the story of the birth of Viṣṇu as Janārddana following the curse put on the ṛṣi Bhṛgu, as well as the story of Viṣṇu's ten <i>avatāras</i> .
Exps. 53B–54A, 26B; complete.		

3 Patterns of texts and devotion

The table on the preceding pages shows that the parallels between the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are extensive, and in fact concern the vast majority of the stanzas of those *Lalitavistara* chapters for which it was possible to establish a direct equivalent. These parallels are literal, although the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* systematically adds stanzas that are not present in the *Lalitavistara*, while the latter shows variant readings that do not belong to the tradition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. The nature of these parallels is crucial to the understanding of the reciprocal connections between the two works, and between them both and the *Anuśāsanaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*. At the same time, along with the differences and inconsistencies that occur between these sources, the textual connections account for the specific cultural aims that the authors and redactors of these texts seemed to have, and give us clues as to how the composition of these texts might have proceeded.

By way of example, consider the incipit of *Lalitavistara* chapter 17—a chapter on the possibility of obtaining a long life, the nature of time and what happens when a person dies—which is transcribed below. This chapter is parallel to *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13. We have compared the text of *Lalitavistara* 17 with that of the corresponding chapter in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* transcribed from the same manuscript; in this case, we have also collated the text against the evidence of other early manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, namely N₂₈^K (fol. 181r_[LL2-4]) and N₈₂^K (fol. 19v_[LL2-5]), whose variants are reported in the footnotes. The text of the *Lalitavistara*, in this and in the following transcriptions, is based on a diplomatic edition of manuscript G 4077. We have not corrected the text as far as orthographical and grammatical inconsistencies are concerned, but have tried to make it more readable by silently reintroducing the correct sibilants (as the three varieties are often confused), replacing homorganic nasals with *anusvāras*, and by reintroducing the missing *anusvāras* and *visargas*, marked in angle brackets. The peculiar arrangement of the lines, here and in the other tables included in this article, is due to the attempt to place parallel stanzas at the same level:

<i>Lalitavistara</i> chapter 17	<i>Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda</i> chapter 13 (G 4077)
Exp. 15A _[L1] <i>devy uvāca</i> <i>garbhasambhavamānasya yathāpūrvakṛtena vaiḥ karmapratyayiko hy āyur alpadīrghaś ca dehināḥ</i> LV 17.1 <i>alpāyuso • naro yas tu nīrvānenaiva nirmite śrotum icchāmi dīrghāyu<ḥ> katham bhūyo bhaviṣyati</i> LV 17.2 <i>bhaga</i> _[L2] <i>vān uvāca</i>	Exp. 20A _[L5] <i>apī cālpāyusā kaścid bhaved dīrghāyuso naraḥ</i> ³¹ <i>garbhasambhavamā</i> _(22L1) <i><nasya yathā>pūrvakṛtena vai karmapratyayikaṃ</i> ³² <i>hy āyur alpadīrghaś ca dehināṃ</i> UMS 13.1 <i>alpāyuso naro • yas tu nīrmāṇenaiva</i> ³³ <i>nirmite śrotum icchāmi dīrghāyuh katha<ṃ> bhūyo bhaviṣyati</i> UMS 13.2 <i>deva uvāca</i> ³⁴

31 N₂₈^K, like the *Lalitavistara*, drops these two *pādas* and starts the chapter with: *devy uvāca* || *garbha*^o. N₈₂^K, on the other hand, is analogous to G 4077, except that it does not drop the reference to the Goddess: *devy uvāca* || *apī cālpāyusā kaścid bhaved dīrghāyuso naraḥ* |.

32 *pratyaikā* N₂₈^K

33 *nirmāṇyaṃ yoga* N₂₈^K

34 *maheśvara uvāca* N₂₈^K, *devadeva* N₈₂^K

Lalitavistara chapter 17

Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda chapter 13 (G 4077)

śrūyatā<ṃ> karmaṇā yeṇa tathā dīrghāyūṣo
naraḥ | dīrghāyūṣatva<ṃ> prāpnoti • naranārī
yaśasvini || LV 17.3

śrūyatām karmaṇā • kena³⁵ yathā dīrghāyūṣo
narāḥ | dīrghāyūṣatvaṃ prāpnoti naro nārī³⁶ ya-
śasvini || UMS 13.3

yasya brahmavaran dadyād indrognivaruṇo
yamaḥ | trailokyādhipativiṣṇu<ṛ> ṛṣayaś ca ta-
po • dhanāḥ || LV 17.3

yasya_(L2) brahmavaran dadyād indrognir³⁷ var-
uṇo yamaḥ | trailokyādhipatir viṣṇur ṛṣayaḥ ca
tapodhanāḥ || UMS 13.4

teṣāṃ varaprāsādena yathā dīrghāyūṣo
narāḥ | ātmabhāvena māṃ paśye<n> nā_(L3)ṛī
vā yadi vā naraḥ | LV 17.4

teṣāṃ varapradādena³⁸ yathā dīrghāyūṣo narāḥ
| anyathā tan na paśyāmi yas tu kālaṃ vyatikra-
met ||³⁹ UMS 13.5 ātmabhā • vena māṃ paśyen
nārī vā yadi vā naraḥ |

devy uvāca ||

anudhyā yo ca⁴⁰ māṃ devi bhavanti⁴¹ hy ajarā-
maraḥ⁴² || UMS 13.6
de_(L3)vy uvāca ||

sakālo dānavo devo gandharvā<ḥ> ragarākṣa-
sā<ḥ> | pi • Sācā kinnaro vāthaḥ kṛtakālasya
sambhavaṃ || LV 17.5

kaḥ⁴³ kālo dānavo devo gandharvo⁴⁴ ragarākṣa-
sāḥ | piśācā⁴⁵ kinnaro vātha • kṛtaḥ kālasya sa-
mbhavaḥ || UMS 13.7

pitā mātā ca kālasya ki<ṃ> vā kālo hy ayojitaḥ
| etad icchā • mi vijñātum bhagavāṃ vaktum
arhasi || LV 17.6

pitā mātā ca kālasya kiṃ vā kālo hy ayonijaḥ | e-
tad icchāmy ahaṃ śrotum⁴⁶ bhagava<n> • va-
ktum arhasi || UMS 13.8

bhagavān uvāca ||

bhagavān uvāca ||⁴⁷

35 yeṇa N₂₈^K N₈₂^K

36 naranārī N₂₈^K

37 indrogni° N₂₈^K N₈₂^K

38 prasādena N₂₈^K

39 vyatikramaṃ N₂₈^K

40 anudhyāto ya N₂₈^K anudhyā ya N₈₂^K

41 bhavate N₂₈^K bhavati N₈₂^K

42 ajarāmarāḥ N₈₂^K

43 sa N₂₈^K

44 gandharvo N₈₂^K

45 piśāca N₈₂^K

46 vijñātum N₂₈^K

47 maheśvara N₂₈^K

The two texts are nearly identical, but still show important differences. The most evident of these is the presence of six more *pādas* in the version of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* contained in G 4077, which however are not confirmed by manuscript N₂₈^K, whose starting point is identical with that of the *Lalitavistara*. As a matter of fact, this manuscript shares more variant readings with the *Lalitavistara* than the others, such as *varaprasādena* in G 4077 *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.5a (*varaprasādena* in *Lalitavistara* 17.4), where other manuscripts have *varapradānena*, as well as *sa°* instead of *kaḥ* in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.7a, or *vijñātuṃ* (*Lalitavistara* 17.6) instead of *aham śrotum* (G 4077 *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.8). Some of the variant readings belonging to the parallel text of the *Lalitavistara* are thus also part of the tradition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which makes the connection between the two works even tighter.

In the incipit of *Lalitavistara* 17, the Goddess asks how men can obtain a long life, and the God's first answer is that this is only possible by the grace of the gods. The additional stanzas of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* do not add different content, but are only meant to reinforce the previous or following statements of the text. One therefore has the impression, here as well as at other points, that these are secondary additions made by the authors of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which could reflect a slightly later text than that of the *Lalitavistara*. In the example above, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* transmitted in G 4077 does not expressly attribute the first stanzas to the Goddess; here the *Lalitavistara* has thus preserved a more original arrangement of the stanzas, as have the other early manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, N₂₈^K and N₈₂^K. However, these two use different names to refer to the God, who in the introduction of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.6 is designated as *maheśvara* by N₂₈^K, *devadeva* by N₈₂^K, while in G 4077 he is called *deva* (*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*) and *bhagavan* (*Lalitavistara*). This reflects a tendency attested so often in the parallels between the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* that we believe it really constitutes a pattern, namely that the God is typically called *bhagavan* or *devadeva* in the *Lalitavistara*, while the manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* may replace this with *maheśvaraḥ*. This last appellation, very frequent in the manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as a designation of the divine male speaker, is on the contrary hardly found in the *Lalitavistara*. The same applies to the Goddess, who in the *Lalitavistara* is regularly called *devī*, while the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* more often designates her as *Umā*. In brief, the names used in the *Lalitavistara* allow for greater ambiguity in identifying the two speakers with either Śiva and Umā, or Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī. It is very likely that this ambiguity in the identification of the divine couple is linked to a specific strategy to weaken the differences between the two main gods, and thus blend the two figures into one

single deity. As we will point out in more detail in the following pages, the text offers support for this interpretation, in light of which the use of the names designating the speakers also appears less random but rather a systematic choice.

The promotion of the unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu is a trait that also emerges from the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. If we move on from the first stanzas of chapter 17/13 to read the words of Bhagavan, we will be able to find an initial confirmation of this statement. The God briefly illustrates the nature of time and, in verses that are only partly attested in the *Lalitavistara*, states:⁴⁸ *śarīram arddhaṃ viṣṇoś ca mama cārdha*<ṃ> *yaśasvini* ||⁴⁹ UMS 13.9 *dvāv etāv*⁵⁰ *ekasaṅghāt*<au>⁵¹ *rūpa*<ṃ> *kālasya nirmitaṃ* | *mahākālasya rūdrāyaṃ*⁵² *yasya sarvagataṃ jagat*⁵³ || UMS 13.10. The *Lalitavistara* lacks both 13.9cd and 13.10cd; the other two manuscripts have variants that do not alter the main point, namely that the body that constitutes time is half Śiva and half Viṣṇu. The Nepalese printed edition, which is still the only resource that makes this text accessible to readers, has completely corrupted the text of these stanzas in order to reject the role of Viṣṇu, without any basis in the manuscript transmission. The stanzas thus read (Naraharinath 1998, pp. 482–83): *śarīram ardhmaṃ te devi mama cārtham yaśasvini* || *dvāv etāv ekasaṅghātam rūpam kālasya nirmitam* | *mahākālasya tadrūpam yasya sarvagataṃ jagat* || 13.10. The modern editor must have found the attribution of a prominent role to Viṣṇu abnormal, and thus replaced it with the Goddess. Another example of the modern Śaiva normalization of what was a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava hybrid is offered by *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 13.13ab, two *pādas* that are also attested in chapter 5 and 17 of the *Lalitavistara*. Here Viṣṇu is expressly mentioned as the God who reabsorbs all creatures, who were previously emitted by the *liṅga*: *liṅga*<ḥ> *ṣṛjati bhūtāni viṣṇuḥ saharate punaḥ* |. Again, the current printed edition has replaced *viṣṇu* with *rudra*, introducing a reading that is not confirmed by any of the known specimens, not even the most recent paper manuscripts.

The table of contents of the *Lalitavistara* shows that the textual materials shared with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are rather evenly distributed, with an almost perfect chapter-to-chapter correspondence, although the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* has significantly more stanzas in each chapter. However, there are

48 These verses are transcribed from ms G 4077, exp. 22A_[LL3-4]. See also N₂₈^K fol. 181r_[LL4-5], and N₈₂^K fol. 19v_[LL5-6].

49 *śarīradharmaviṣṇoś ca mayā cārdha yaśasvini* N₂₈^K. These two *pādas* are lacking in the *Lalitavistara*.

50 *etāv* N₂₈^K

51 *ekasaṅghātam* N₈₂^K

52 *mahāraudraś va tad rūpa* N₂₈^K

53 *Lalitavistara* om. the sequence from *mahākālasya* to *jagat*.

three relevant cases in which the verses are distributed differently, one being that of chapter 3 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, corresponding in part to chapter 3 of the *Lalitavistara*, and in part to chapter 4, where however it forms a whole unit with *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4. What constitutes the last section of chapter 3 in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, namely stanzas 3.43–56, forms the beginning of *Lalitavistara*'s fourth chapter, though counting only eleven-and-a-half stanzas instead of 14. There are various scenarios that could have led to this situation. If we look at the structure of the floating passage in question and its immediate context, it is possible to see why a redactor may have been confused about the beginning and the end of the chapters. *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.42 appears to end one discourse (3.42c *etat te sarvam ākhyātam*), which may cause a redactor to see this as the end of the chapter. The next stanza, 3.43, appears to introduce a new topic, since the God calls upon the Goddess to listen again, a feature that we would expect at the beginning of a section (3.43ab *śṛṇu devi rahasyaṃ te manuṣyāṅāṃ sukhāvaham*). The passage in question contains what Śiva proclaims to be the secret that brings happiness to men, mainly focusing on the virtue of non-violence (*ahimsā*), but also featuring other categories such as obedience and abstention from drinking. The final verses of this passage then proclaim that reading out and listening to this teaching leads to heaven and an auspicious rebirth, the sort of *phalaśruti* we would expect at the end of a chapter. On the other hand, if we turn to the stanzas that constitute the beginning of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*'s chapter four, we find that to a redactor this may have not been an obvious starting point, as the first three verses have the God plunge straight into the next topic, namely the supreme quality of meditation (*dhyāna*, *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.1–3). Only after this follows a question from Umā, which at first appears unrelated, since she asks how people who have committed bad deeds may attain freedom from sins (*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.4–5). Only with the God's answer at this point can the reader realize the connection to Śiva's first three stanzas, since the answer to Umā's question is that meditation has the power to purify even those who have committed crimes. Thus, one can see how the boundaries between chapter 3 and chapter 4 could have been perceived as unclear, and how a redactor may have been tempted to start a new chapter with the God's new discourse on the 'secret' in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.43.⁵⁴ However, it seems that this section fits better in chapter 3, where the overall topic is

54 Note that the section on the happiness-yielding secret of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.43–47ab could have been inspired and loosely modeled on another section of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, namely the text of the appendix to 13.15, lines 1020–1033, which contains a similar discourse and in which one can locate echoes of the text of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3.43–

that of meritorious activities, while chapter 4 deals with meditation only. Nevertheless, neither chapter division is absolutely compelling, so one could put forward arguments for both solutions.

Similar arguments can be made for chapter 12 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, whose text is split between chapters 15 and 16 of the *Lalitavistara*. While the first two topics on which the God is questioned in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 12—namely the use of medicines and curative spells and the merits of alchemists (*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 12.1–31)—are substantially coherent with each other, the connection with the third topic brought up by the *devī*, that of untimely death, is slightly less consequential. It is at this point that the *Lalitavistara* starts a new chapter; however, given the typically miscellaneous nature of these texts, the beginning of a new topic is no compelling reason to account for an alternative chapter division. We can only observe that the authors/redactors of the *Lalitavistara* preferred to arrange the text in shorter chapters, and this stylistic choice might have prompted the different arrangement of the text. A similar case is that of *Lalitavistara* 19/20, paralleling *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 15. The break happens at stanza 15.16, corresponding to a point at which the God had completed his exposition of the first topic—the origins of the lion-men—and the Goddess questions him on a completely different issue, namely the number and types of hells. At stanza 15.15, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* adds two *pādas* that lack in *Lalitavistara* 19, and whose function is that of concluding the exposition of the first topic (*sambhavo narasiṃhānām eṣa te parikīrtitaḥ*). This is immediately followed by the next question of the Goddess, which is reproduced with some variants by both texts without additional *pādas*, namely in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as stanzas 15.16–18 and the *Lalitavistara* as stanzas 20.1–3.⁵⁵ *devy uvāca || yadā śarīram⁵⁶ utsrjya mṛtyulokam upadyate [prapadyate UMS] | • śrūyate [śrūyatā UMS] narakās tatra pāpakarmakarāś [°ka-*

56. In the *Mahābhārata*, this teaching of the God is, in fact, the answer to Umā's question, which explains why the God asks for the Goddess' attention in the first stanza (thus 13.15.1020 *rahasyaṃ śrūyatām devi mānuṣāṅgāṃ sukhāvaham*). However, the parallel discourse would in that case only be restricted to this short section, as in the *Mahābhārata* this passage leads to a longer discourse on how various aspects of *dharma* that require killing, such as the king's waging war, may be reconciled with the teaching of non-violence. In such a scenario, the oversight of failing to remove the structural feature of the God demanding the Goddess' attention in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda/Lalitavistara* could be taken as an argument that the section is slightly awkwardly placed, thus easily giving rise to the intervention of a redactor on the side of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* or the *Lalitavistara*.

55 The text in the next lines is a transcript of *Lalitavistara*, exp. 18A₁[L.1], collated with *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, ms. G 4077, fol. 25r_[L.5]–25v_[L.2]. The folio numbers are still preserved in this section of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*.

56 *śarī*^o cod.

rmaratās UMS] *ca ye* || *kīdṛśā narakās tatra pāpaṃ yatra kṣayīyate* [pāpakarmaratās *ca ye* UMS] | *kiṃ tatra* [kim eko UMS] *nara • kā hy ete bahavo vā na saṃśayaḥ* || *etad icchāmy ahaṃ śrotu<ṃ> bhagavāṃ* [bhagavan UMS] *vaktum arhasi* | *bhagavā*_[1,2]*n* [maheśvara UMS] *uvāca* || *aṣṭau te narakā devi mṛtyuloke yaśasvini* [vidhīyate UMS] ||. The version of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* shows a clear case of dittography, with the repetition of the final clause *pāpakarmaratās ca ye*. However, besides the typical replacement of *bhagavān* through *maheśvara*, there are no significant variants that could change our understanding of the text, especially none that would account for the different arrangement of the text in the two works. Again, we can speculate that if the borrowing happened from the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* to the *Lalitavistara*, the redactor of the latter may have felt that stanza 15.16 was the beginning of a completely different topic, and must therefore have started a new chapter at this point. Otherwise, the redactors of both works may have drawn materials from a common source, and opted for different arrangements. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* also has a section on hells, prompted by a question of Umā: *bhagavaṃs te kathaṃ tatra daṇḍyante narakeṣu vai* ||.⁵⁷ The contents are comparable to those of *Lalitavistara* 20/*Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 15, but there are no direct parallels between the latter and the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. Therefore, this portion of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* can have surely inspired the composition of the corresponding chapters in the two works, but was not the direct source of their textual material.

On the other hand, in at least two cases we can prove that there was an external source being used in the composition of the text that both the *Lalitavistara* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* share. In one of these cases, the source was precisely the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. As a matter of fact, the Śivadharma's *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 6.8–27 and the *Lalitavistara* 6.7–22, in both cases the last verse of the passage constituting the end of the chapter, as well as the entirety of chapter 7 of both works, are based on the text of the supplement to the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, appendix no. 15, lines 779–855, with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* containing more verses paralleled with the *Anuśāsanaparvan* than the *Lalitavistara* (see additional verses of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in the footnotes). In terms of structure, the parallel passage of chapter 6 starts with the last part of a longer speech of the God in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. The chapter eventually ends with the statement that the *gṛhāśrama* is the best of *āśramas* and that Śiva wishes to teach the Goddess about it, which sets up the topic for the following chapter 7, which is entirely occupied with the immediately following text of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Mahābhārata*:

⁵⁷ See *Anuśāsanaparvan* 13.15.2682–83.

Anuśāsanaparvan, appendix no. 15, lines
779–803

Lalitavistara 6.7–22⁵⁸

bubhukṣitam pipāsārtam atithim śrāntam [exp. 8A_[L3]] *kṣudhārtto vā tṛṣārtto vā* [L4] *atithim*
āgamam | arcayanti varārohe teṣām api phalam *ārttam āgataḥ | ye bhavanti varārohe mahāpu-*
mahaḥ | *ṇyaphalam labhet* |⁵⁹

pātram ity eva dātavyam sarvasmai dharmā-
kāṅkṣibhiḥ |

āgamiṣyati yat pātram tat pātram tārayiṣyati | āga • miṣyati yat pātram tat pātra<ṇ> tārayiṣya-
ti ||
pātram eva hi dātavyam kāle kālāgato 'tithi | vi-
sṛṣṭam iva ma • nyante viśeṣānām [sic!] tu cinta-
*yet ||*⁶⁰

kāle saṃprāptam atithim bhoktukāmam upa-
sthitam | cittaṃ saṃbhāvayet tatra vyāso 'yaṃ
samupasthitaḥ |

tasya pūjāṃ yathāśakti saumyacittaḥ prayoja- *tasya pūjā yathāśaktya saumyacittaṃ tu bhāva-*
yet | cittaṃ bhaved dharmo dharmamūlam *yet |* [L5] + + + *lo bhaved dharmāḥ dharmam*
bhaved yaśaḥ |

tasmāt saumyena cittena dātavyam devi sa- *tasmāt saumyena cittena dātavyam • devi nitya-*
rvadā | *śaḥ ||*⁶¹

saumyacittas tu yo dadyāt tad dhi dānam anu-
tتامam |

dāna<ṇ> pradīyate yatra ta<d> dānam iti cotta-
maḥ | putradāradhana<ṇ> dhānyam mṛtānām
anutiṣṭha • ti ||

58 In the footnotes, the readings as well as additional passages of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* are given following the manuscript N₈₂^K, fols 10V_[L6]–11V_[L1]. The readings of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as preserved in our G 4077 could not be included here, as thus far we were only able to acquire the second half of the work in the manuscript.

59 Note that the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, as preserved in N₈₂^K, has two further *pādas* at this point: *pātram uddiśya dātavyam dharmam ity eva nityaśaḥ*.

60 N₈₂^K has two additional *pādas* at this point: *na pṛcched gotracaraṇam svādhyāyam deśajanmani || cittaṃ + bhāvayet etad vyāsaḥ svayam ihāgataḥ |*

61 Note that the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as preserved in N₈₂^K has the following four *pādas* at this point, echoing *Anuśāsanaparvan*, lines 788 and 793: *saumyacittas tu yo dadyāt tad dhi dānam anuttamam | āpīḍayaṃs tu dārāṇām bhṛtyānām atha bandheṣu*.

Anuśāsanaparvan, appendix no. 15, lines 779–803 **Lalitavistara 6.7–22⁵⁸**

*yathāmbubindubhiḥ sūkṣmaiḥ patadbhir me-
dinītale | kedārās ca taṭākāni sarāṃsi saritas
tathā |*

*toyapūrṇāni dṛśyante apratarkyāṇi śobhane |
alpam alpam api hy etad dīyamānaṃ viva-
rdhate |*

*pīḍayāpi ca bhṛtyānāṃ dānam eva viśiṣyate |
putradārā dhanam dhānyam na mṛtān anuga-
cchati |*

*śreyo dānam ca bhogaś ca dhanam prāpya ya-
śasvini |*

*śreyo dātuṃ ca bhoktuṃ ca dhana<ṃ> prāpya
yaśasvini |*

*dānena hi mahābhāgā bhavanti manujādhi-
pāḥ |*

[exp. 9A_[L1]] + + + + dīyantam ahany āhani va-
rddhate |⁶² tathā puṇyena pūrṇās te svarge krī-
ḍanti māna • vā<ḥ> ||

*mānuṣyam āgatā bhūyo bhavanti bahusaṃca-
yaḥ [sic!] |*

*nāsti bhūmisamaṃ dānam nāsti dānasamo
nidhiḥ | nāsti satyāt paro dharmo nāṅtāt
pātakaṃ param |*

*nāsti bhūmisamaṃ dānam nāsti dānasamo nid-
hiḥ || nā • sti satyasamo dharmāḥ nāṅtaṃ pāta-
kaṃ param |*

*mātāpitr̥samo bandhu<r> na ca rājasamo gu-
ru<ḥ> ||*

[L2] *nāsti krodhasamo śatru mitraṃ vidyāsamo
na ca | duḥkha<ṃ> kṣudhāsamo nāsti na cāhā-
rasama<ṃ> su • khaṃ ||*

62 Note that in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* N₈₂^K adds six *pādas* at this point; these parallel the text of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* lines 789ff: *yathāmbubindavo devi patantiha mahitale | kedārās ca tadāgās ca saramsi vananimnagāḥ || toyapūrṇāni dṛśyante avagāhyāni strivare.*

Anuśāsanaparvan, appendix no. 15, lines
779–803

Lalitavistara 6.7–22⁵⁸

*na cārogyasamo bhogya vyādhiś ca nidhanopa-
maḥ | na cāpatyasamo sneho na ca daivā<t> pa-
raṃ balam ||*⁶³

*brāhmaṇe • bhyaḥ paraṃ nāsti tapo nāśānā<t>
param | gṛhāśramasamo devi āśramo neha vi-
dyate ||*

āśrame yas tu tapyeta tapomūlaphalāśanaḥ | [L3] *āśrame ye tu tapyante tapo mūlaphalāśana |
ekapādena ya<s> tiṣṭhed ūrdhvābāhur avacchi-
raṃ || •*

ādityābhimukho bhūtvā jaṭvāvalkalasaṃvṛtaḥ | *ādityam abhivardhantā cīravalkaladhāriṇaḥ |
maṇḍūkaśāyī hemante grīṣme pañcatapā maṇḍūkayogī hemante grīṣmapañcā tapās
bhavet |* *tathā ||*

*samyak tapaś carantīha śraddadhānā vanā-
śrame |* *ye yathokta • ṃ cariṣyanti śraddhā vā varjiten-
driyaḥ |*

gṛhāśramasya te devi kalām nārhanti ṣoḍaśīm *gṛhāśramasya ya<d> devi phalaṃ vakṣyāmi tatt-
vataḥ ||*

va[L4]*rṣe dvādaśame devi*⁶⁴ *tat phala<ṃ> pratipa-
dyate*⁶⁵

Another portion of the *Lalitavista/Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* for which we can *ra* identify a direct parallel with the *Mahābhārata* is *Lalitavistara* 25, paralleling the short chapter 20 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. This time the source is not the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*; rather, a substantial parallel of about 14 verses is shared with the so-called *Vaiṣṇavadharmasāstra*, a text framed

⁶³ The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, as represented in N₈₂^K, adds the following four *pādas* at this point: *na vijñānasamaṃ cakṣur nna bhāratasamaṃ śrutih | nāsti gaṃgāsamaṃ tīrthan na bhūtaṃ keśavāt paraṃ*.

⁶⁴ The manuscript is not very legible at this point, reading something along the lines *svādaśa*[bhiiyena?]; the text supplied is conjectured on the basis of the parallel passage in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as represented in N₈₂^K.

⁶⁵ These two *pādas* are found at the end of the passage in the *Mahābhārata*'s *Umāmaheśvara-
rasaṃvāda* that parallels the Śivadharmas' *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in chapter 7.

as a conversation between Yudhiṣṭhira and Viṣṇu, and associated with some recensions of the *Mahābhārata*. Amounting to 1723.5 verses in the Poona edition, the text is recorded to have been added after the last chapter of the fourteenth book, the *Āśvamedhikaparvan*, in the so-called ‘southern transmission’ (i.e. the Telugu, Grantha and Malayālam versions). However, as Grünendahl has pointed out,⁶⁶ the text is not only preserved in the south but also exists in an as-yet single palm-leaf manuscript dated NS 169 (= 1049 CE), thus almost contemporary with manuscript G 4077 of the Śivadharmā corpus. The *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* manuscript was microfilmed by the NGMPP with the reel number A 27/2, and was first recorded by Shastri, even though he had not identified the text as the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, since the colophon of the manuscript proclaims it to be the *Dānadharma*, that is to say the first sub-*parvan* of the modern *Anuśāsanaparvan*.⁶⁷ On the basis of these two different traditions of placing the text within the *Mahābhārata*, neither of which are particularly meaningful regarding the immediate context, Grünendahl argues that the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* should be considered as a separate tradition.⁶⁸ As such, it appears to have been a rather influential text and part of the Vaiṣṇava literary world; the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* also integrates 20 chapters of the *Viṣṇudharma*, as Grünendahl shows in his edition.⁶⁹

Without a certain dating of the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* we cannot be sure whether the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and *Lalitavistara* used the text as a direct inspiration or whether both shared a common source, though the former seems more likely. As of yet we have only identified this single passage, which is however substantial. An indicator that may point to the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* as the source could be that the *pādas* that mention the vocative *pāṇḍava*, ‘son of Pāṇḍu’ (see table), are rewritten in our works, thus removing the contextual indication that this is a conversation featuring Yudhiṣṭhira. As for the structural framing of the text, we can note that the beginning appears rather abrupt, with no introduction or question from the Goddess to prompt Śiva’s teaching, nor any dialogue following. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* even lacks the indication of the speaker, which is, however, added in the *Lalitavistara* (*bhagavān uvāca*).

Regarding the topic of the parallel passage, which comprises more than the first half of the chapter, the text moves on to the different vices of human beings, in particular those related to the various *varṇas*. In the context of the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*, the passage appears in the middle of Viṣṇu’s answer to Yudhiṣṭhira’s

66 Grünendahl 1984, Part II: 52–54.

67 Grünendahl 1984, Part II: 52–54.

68 Grünendahl 1984, Part II: 52–53.

69 Grünendahl 1984, Part II: 53.

question about the qualities of the devotees, in which he explains the different observances his devotees adhere to and their virtuous behaviour, followed by a discourse on the various types of people that exist according to the *guṇas* (i.e. *sāttvika*, *rājasa* and *tāmasa*). This leads to the passage on the vices. The choice of using a Vaiṣṇava text as source for this chapter matches the position of the chapter within the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and *Lalitavistara*, since it follows the chapter dedicated to Viṣṇu's teaching about his devotees, in line with the immediate context of the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*. The last verse that parallels the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* passage teaches that a Brahmin of the purest sort, i.e. the *sāttvika* kind, is one that particularly pleases the ancestors. The context is presumably that of the *śrāddha* rites, so the text advocates such a Brahmin as the ideal recipient for *śrāddha* offerings. In fact, while the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* continues with a different question of Yudhiṣṭhira, on religious giving, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda/Lalitavistara* use the opportunity to present seven more verses related to the *śrāddha* procedure before ending the chapter.

As of yet, we cannot definitively establish the direction of influence between the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Lalitavistara*. However, the current chapter offers some observations that indicate an important fact, namely that it is unlikely that our *Lalitavistara* manuscript contains the original composition, but is rather a copy, probably produced by a less knowledgeable scribe. As is common and noted above, the *Lalitavistara* contains fewer verses than the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in this chapter, even though the difference here is less than in other chapters. However, some of the stanzas that we can trace in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* but not in the *Lalitavistara* indicate that the latter contains some defective text that is likely to be the result of scribal errors, and unlikely to have occurred on an authorial level. Thus, when the passages give the various list of vices connected with the different *varṇas*, all three sources state that there are 8 in the case of the Vaiśyas and 25 in the case of the Śūdras, though the individual items on this list differ in some places between the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda/Lalitavistara* and the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*. Within the two lists immediately leading up to these numbers, the *Lalitavistara* lacks crucial *pādas* for both groups, and thus ends up with shorter lists that don't add up to the final number of vices announced in both cases. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, on the other hand, contains the full lists. It does appear that the scribe had difficulties in understanding some passages or had a bad copy in front of him. For instance, the phrase *ity ete dehe ṣaḍ vṛśalāḥ smṛtāḥ* in both the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* and the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* is given as *ity ete deva ṣaḥ vṛśalaḥ smṛtaḥ* twice in the *Lalitavistara*, concluding the list of six vices. This mistake is most likely due to an error in reading combined with a poor understanding of the text. We can note

that this mistake appears to have also caught the attention of a later reader, as the second instance is marked in red in the manuscript. In establishing further patterns based on the number of verses in both texts, we must therefore keep in mind that our copy may also be defective in some places due to scribal error. The following table illustrates connections and divergences characterizing the parallel passages of these three texts.

Mahābhārata 14, Vaiṣṇavadhar- maśāstra, Appendix no. 4, lines 1688–1717	Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 20⁷⁰	Lalitavistara 25
<i>ekastambhe navadvāre trishūṇe pañcadhātuke </i>	[exp. 33B _[L1]] <i>ekastambhe navadvāre triṣṭhū- ne_[L2] pañcaśākhike </i>	[exp. 43A _[L4]] <i>bhagavān ekastambhānavadvāre • ṣṭhūne pañcaśākhike (un- metr.) </i>
<i>etasmīn dehanagare rājasas tu sadā bhavet </i>	<i>etasmīn antare devi sadvṛtyas⁷¹ tu sadā vaset </i>	<i>etasmīn antare devi savṛtas tu sadā bhavet </i>
<i>udite savitaryasya kriyāyuktasya dhīmataḥ </i>	<i>uditoditavipra • sya kriyāyukta- sya dhīmataḥ </i>	<i>uditodi_[L5] + yuktasya kriyā- yuktasya dhīmataḥ </i>
<i>caturvedavidaś cāpi dehe ṣaḍ vṛṣalāḥ smṛtāḥ </i>	<i>vindanti⁷² sakhilān vedāḥ dehe ṣaḍ vṛṣalāḥ smṛtāḥ </i>	
<i>kṣatriyāḥ sapta vijñeyā vaiśyās tv aṣṭau prakīrtitāḥ niyatāḥ pāṇḍa- vaśreṣṭha śūdrāṇām ekaviṃsatīḥ </i>	<i>kṣatriyāś ca smṛtā sapta vaiśyā • ś cāṣṭau samāvṛtāḥ pañca- viṃśas tathā śūdrā yac cheṣa⁷³ so 'tra brāhmaṇaḥ </i>	<i>kṣatriyā smṛtā sapta vaiśyā cāṣṭau samā • smṛtāḥ pa- ñcaviṃśa tayā śūdrā yac cheṣa so 'tra brāhmaṇā </i>
<i>kāmaḥ krodhaś ca lobhaś ca mo- haś ca mada eva ca </i>	<i>kāma_[L3]ś ca lobhaś ca⁷⁴ rāgo dveṣaś ca pañcamaḥ [c.m.] </i>	<i>kāmakrodhāś ca lobhāś ca rāga dveṣaś ca pañca- • [exp. 43B_[L1]] • maḥ ⁷⁵</i>

⁷⁰ In addition, the readings of N₈₂^K fols. 28r_[L1]-[L6] are reported in the footnotes.

⁷¹ *sadvṛtas* N₈₂^K

⁷² *vidanti* N₈₂^K

⁷³ *cheṣaṃ* N₈₂^K

⁷⁴ *kāmaḥ krodhaś ca lobhaś ca* N₈₂^K

⁷⁵ There is a dittography regarding the last two stanzas, probably caused by an eyeskip after the last syllable. The text as reproduced in the table omits the dittography for better reading,

Mahābhārata 14, Vaiṣṇavadhar- Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 20⁷⁰ Lalitavistara 25
maśāstra, Appendix no. 4, lines
1688–1717

mahāmohaś ca ity ete dehe ṣaḍ mahābhogaś ca⁷⁶ ity ete dehe mahābhogaś ca ity ete deva
vṛṣalāḥ smṛtāḥ | ṣaḍ vṛṣalāḥ smṛtā • ḥ || saḥ vṛṣala smṛtaḥ |

kāmaḥ krodhas tv ahaṅkāra ab- kāmakrodham ahaṅkāraṃ
himānas tv amatsaraḥ | abhimāni tv amatsaraḥ |

garvaḥ stambho hy ahaṅkāra ī-
rṣyā ca droha eva ca |

pāruṣyaṃ krūrātā ceti saptaita pāruṣya<ṃ> krūrātā caiva pari- [L2] paribhuktvā ninidrā ca pai-
kṣatriyāḥ smṛtāḥ | vṛttiś ca kakṣayoḥ⁷⁷ || śunīyāmā nṛśaṃsatāḥ | aśra-
dadhānā śaṭhā ātmāślāghyā •
praśa<ṃ>satāḥ ||

tikṣṇatā nikṛtir māyā śāṭhyam ḍa- ślakṣṇatā ni • kṛti<ṃ> māyā
mbho hy anāṛjavam | 'sūyā śāṭhyam anāṛjavam⁷⁸ |

nṛśansatā⁷⁹ vai kāṛppaṇyam nṛśaṃsṛtā paribhūtā vaiśā-
vaiśyasyāṣṭau⁸⁰ pra ++[L4]tāḥ⁸¹ ṣṭau parikīrtitāḥ ||
||
tṛṣṇā bubhukṣā nidrā ca

paiśunyam anṛtaṃ caiva vaiśyās paiśunyam anṛtan tamaḥ | [L2] paribhuktvā ninidrā ca
tv aṣṭau prakīrtitāḥ | aśradadhānaṃ śaṭhatā ātma paiśunīyāmā nṛśaṃsatāḥ |
• ślāghyā⁸² praśaṃsatā || aśradadhānā śaṭhā
ātmāślāghyā •
praśa<ṃ>satāḥ ||

tṛṣṇā bubhukṣā nidrā ca ālasyaṃ
cāghṛṇādāyā |

restoring the missing syllable ‘ñc’, which does feature after the right stringhole on exp. 43A_[L5], complementing the ‘pa’ to the left of the stringhole, giving ‘pañcamaḥ’; whereas on exp. 43B_[L1], due to the dittography only ‘ma’ right of the stringhole is preserved, with ‘pañca’ on the left of it.

76 mahāmohaś ca N₈₂^K

77 kṣatriyāḥ N₈₂^K

78 anāṛjavaḥ N₈₂^K

79 nṛśatā N₈₂^K

80 vaiśyās caṣṭhau N₈₂^K

81 prakīrtitāḥ N₈₂^K

82 ātmāślāghya N₈₂^K

Mahābhārata 14, Vaiṣṇavadhar- Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 20⁷⁰ Lalitavistara 25
maśāstra, Appendix no. 4, lines
1688–1717

ādhiś cāpi vivādaś ca pramādo anivṛttaviśādaś ca pramādo hī-
hīnasattvatā | nasattvatā |

bhayaṃ viklabatā jāḍyaṃ pāpa- bhayaṃ viklavatā kṣudraḥ pā-
kaṃ manyur eva ca | patām anyase • vatā⁸³ ||

āśā cāśraddadhānatvam anava-
sthāpy ayantraṇam |

nilajānāśakāhiṃsā anavasthā nilajjatāś ca hiṃsāś ca
na yantratā | anavasthā na yantraṇā |

āśaucaṃ malinatvaṃ ca śūdrā hy ete śudrā<ḥ> pañcaviṃśat ti- ete śudrā pañcaviṃśa
ete prakīrtitāḥ | ṣṭha_(L5)nte deham āśritāḥ | tiṣṭhante deham āśītāḥ • |

yasminn ete na dṛśyante sa vai yasminn ete na dṛśyante sa vi-
brāhmaṇa ucyate | dvān brāhmaṇaḥ smṛtaḥ ||

yeṣu yeṣu hī bhāveṣu yatkālaṃ yeṣu • yeṣu ca bhāveṣu yatkā-
vartate dvijaḥ | la<ṃ> varttate dvijaḥ | la varttate dvijaḥ ||

teṣu teṣu ca tatkāla<ṃ> na li- teṣu teṣu ca tatkā<e>na
ṅgatir⁸⁴ ucyate | liṅgaṃ matir ucyā_(L3)te |

yāva<d> juhoti japati tāva • <d> yāva juhoti japate yāva
dānaṃ prayacchati || dāna prayacchati ||

tattatkālaṃ sa vijñeyaḥ
brāhmaṇo jñānadurbalaḥ ||

brāhmaṇo bhavate tāva śe- brāhmaṇo bhavate tāva śe-
ṣaṃ⁸⁵ kālam yathetaraḥ || ṣaṃ kāla • yatherataḥ⁸⁶ |

prāṇān āyama yatkālaṃ yena
māṃ cāpi cintayet | tatkāle vai

83 anyasevakāḥ N^K₈₂

84 Eyeskip for liṅgagatir.

85 tāvac cheṣa N^K₈₂

86 Read yathetaraḥ.

**Mahābhārata 14, Vaiṣṇavadhar- Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda 20⁷⁰ Lalitavistara 25
maśāstra, Appendix no. 4, lines
1688–1717**

*dvijo jñeyaḥ śeṣakālo hy athe-
taraḥ ||*

*tasmāt tu sāttviko bhūtvā śuciḥ
krodhavarjitaḥ | mām arcayet tu
satataṃ matprijatvaṃ yad ic-
chati ||*

*alolajihvaḥ samupasthito dhṛtir | alolajihvā sa_[35AL1]maloṣṭakā- alolajihvā sa-
ñcanaṃ⁸⁷ | gataspr̥ho • rāga- maloṣṭakāñcana || gata-
vivarjito vaśī || spr̥ho rāgavivarjito vaśī |*

*nīdhāya cakṣur yugamātram eva
ca ||
manaś ca vācaṃ ca nigṛhya ca-
ñcalaṃ |*

*jīhendriya saṃgavimuktadoṣa- jīhendriyo saṅgaviva • rjito
vān | sadā ||*

*bhayān nivṛtto mama bhakta u- bhagāṃ nivṛtto bhagavāṃn i- bhagā nivṛto bhagavān
cyate || hocyate || ihocyate |*

*īdṛśādhyātmino ye tu brāhmaṇā īdṛśādhyānayukte⁸⁸ • hi brā- īdṛśaṃ dhyānayuktena
niyatendriyāḥ | hmaṇāḥ⁸⁹ _[L2] saṃśritavratāḥ⁹⁰ | brāhmaṇa saṃśrī_[L4]tav-
rataḥ ||*

*teṣāṃ śrāddheṣu tṛpyanti tena tṛ- yeṣāṃ śrāddhe niyujyante teṣāṃ śrāddhe niyujyante
ptāḥ pitāmahāḥ || tṛptās teṣā<ṃ> pitāmahāḥ || tṛptā teṣā pitāmahāḥ |*

The influence of the *Mahābhārata* was therefore far-reaching, and systematically impacted the composition of the *Lalitavistara/Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. If we shift our analysis to the chapters of the *Lalitavistara* that are not shared with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, we can observe that direct parallels with the *Anuśāsanaparvan* become more frequent, extensive and literal. Far from being

87 *kāñcano N^K₈₂

88 *yukto N^K₈₂

89 brāhmaṇāḥ N^K₈₂

90 *vrataḥ N^K₈₂

just a model of inspiration and source of topics, portions of the text of Śiva and Umā's conversation from the *Anuśāsanaparvan* are firmly embedded in chapters 30 to 32 of the *Lalitavistara*, as well as a part of chapter 26 (note that the same also applies to chapters 6 and 7 of the *Lalitavistara* and *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, as discussed above). However, the *Lalitavistara*'s use of the text of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, though faithful, turns out to be more productive when compared to the parallels with the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. In the latter case, the *Lalitavistara* shows a simpler, less convoluted text, at times even missing important pieces of information. In the case of the parallels with the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, we see that the *Lalitavistara* may add pieces that are not in the *Mahābhārata*, as well as combine stanzas from different, non-consecutive chapters of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, as is the case of *Lalitavistara* 31, or even join the *Anuśāsanaparvan* with other texts.

The topics of the text borrowed from the *Anuśāsanaparvan* in chapters 26 and 30 to 32 are rather miscellaneous, although from a more general look at this section it is possible to detect the broader motive underpinning their selection. Chapter 26 contains a more general discourse on *rājadharma*, particularly in connection with hunting,⁹¹ while *Lalitavistara* chapter 31 is deeply Śaiva in nature: the stanzas of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* that form this chapter—131.40-47, 127.51, 128.1-12—deal with such etiological myths as the reason for Śiva's third eye, the appearance of his four faces and the choice of Nandi as his mount. There is no room here for any hybrid form of a half-Śaiva, half-Vaiṣṇava god, nor is any other deity given prominence. This situation is symmetrical to that of *Lalitavistara* chapter 24 (parallel to *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 19) and 33 (parallel to *Umottarasaṃvāda* 7 and *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 22), which deal with topics that are solely related to Vaiṣṇava devotion. When we read these chapters in the broader context of the work, the textual material loses its sectarian exclusiveness, and contributes to the construction of the amalgam of Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism that this text seems to promote. This applies perfectly to chapter 31, whose significance can truly be assessed by examining the contents of that portion of text in which it is inserted, which forms a sort of triad with chapters 30 to 32.

⁹¹ Chapter 26 parallels 17 *pādas* of the *Mahābhārata*'s *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, in the passage between the appendix to 13.15, lines 1268-1281 in the Poona edition. It appears that the topic of *rājadharma* is not addressed in such a systematic manner in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the text of the *Lalitavistara* that runs parallel to it. These chapters may have been designed to integrate the topic into the work, and were either rejected by the former or added by the latter.

The most intricate case from the point of view of the construction of the text and its being intertwined with other parts of the work is offered by chapter 30. This chapter is unique inasmuch as it joins some stanzas that are paralleled by chapter 4 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* together with a long portion of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. Moreover, the stanzas that are also found in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 4 actually continue a longer parallel with this chapter that had already started in chapter 29 of the *Lalitavistara*, which is entirely parallel to *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4. The two chapters 29 and 30 of the *Lalitavistara* must therefore be read together, the text of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 4 flowing into that of *Anuśāsanaparvan* chapter 132. This situation is further complicated by the circumstance that the *Lalitavistara* had already used the text of chapter 4 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* in its own chapter 4; however, that time the text was not followed by anything else, but preceded by the final part of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 3, which the *Lalitavistara* had included into the same chapter (cf. below).

To sum it up: the *Lalitavistara* twice uses the same text, which also corresponds to *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4 (but which has not been identified in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*), in three different chapters, chapter 4 and chapters 29 to 30; the first time, this text is contained in one single chapter, while the second time it is split into two, the second part being joined with a text from the *Mahābhārata*. This circumstance seems to speak in favour of the idea that the *Lalitavistara* is a compilation of pre-existing materials drawn from different sources. However, even though it is the same text that is used twice in the same work, it is also clear that this portion, while redundant, serves different purposes in the two distinct loci.

The text used in chapter 4 and in chapters 29 to 30 deals with the topic of *dhyāna*, of which the God describes two main types. In the first one, referred to as *adhyātman* and *vaiṣṇava*, the process starts with perceiving the various parts of the body with the divine eye, gradually moving inward until reaching the heart. In the middle of that, within the moon and sun disk, the soul rests on the flame of the sacrificial fire. Then one is to visualize the process of the soul leaving the body at death, for which a very graphic description is given, starting with the hissing sounds the soul makes while travelling through the throat and eventually leaving through the palate. Having seen the state of things, the *yogin* resorts to meditative *yoga* (*dhyānayoga*), in which he is constantly meditating on Viṣṇu, and constantly perceives himself through his Self. This leads to the attainment of supernatural powers. This description corresponds to the text of *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.1–31. This form of meditation is thus expressly centred on Viṣṇu, and for this reason the text, in a stanza featured in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* as well as in the two chapters of the *Lalitavistara*, also calls it *vaiṣṇavayoga* (exp. 6B_[L5]): e • *tat me paramaṃ dhyānaṃ vaiṣṇavaṃ parikīrtitaḥ* ||. Barring a few

grammatical inconsistencies, these *pādas* also suggest that the speaker of this chapter is Viṣṇu in person; however, the same *pāda* in chapter 29 has *te* instead of *me* (exp. 48B_[L3]), while the text transmitted in manuscripts of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* confirms the use of *me*.

The text of *Lalitavistara* 4 and *Lalitavistara* 29 is not exactly identical, presenting variants that, despite not altering the main contents of the text, still seem to point at a different transmission, as though they were drawn from different sources, or at least presupposed the use of different manuscripts. As a general rule, the text transmitted as chapter 4 has proved to be closer to that of the manuscript tradition of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. The discrepancies, as we observed, do not change the nature of the text, as the modern Nepalese editor does once again, changing a Vaiṣṇava form of *yoga* into a purely Śaiva one.⁹² At the same time, there is one key point in which the two texts of the *Lalitavistara* differ. In chapter 29 (exp. 48B_[L2]), the *pādas* *dhyānayoga*<ṃ> *samāśṛtya tanmana*<s> *tatparāyaṇaḥ* are followed by *pradīpenaiva dīpena paśyaty ātmā • nam ātmanaḥ*; in chapter 4, these two hemistichs are reworded and non-contiguous, being separated by two more *pādas* expressly prescribing meditation on Viṣṇu (exp. 6B_[L4]): *dhyānayoga*<ṃ> *samāśṛtya dhyātavya*<ḥ> *yaḥ tapasvini || dhyāyeta bhagavā*<n> *viṣṇu*<s> *tanma • <nas> tatparāyaṇaḥ | pradīptenaiva dīptena paśyaty ātmātmānam ātmanā*. This is the version of the text that is also featured in *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* chapter 4, confirming again that the two texts are closer. In light of the omission of Viṣṇu as an object of meditation in chapter 29, one could perhaps speculate that the occurrence of *te* instead of *me* in the *pāda* quoted above (*e • tat te paramaṃ dhyāna*<ṃ> *vaiṣṇava*<ṃ> *parikīrtitaḥ*) is not coincidental, but is consistent with this version of the text, in which Viṣṇu is not expressly mentioned as the focus of meditation—and, therefore, the ‘supreme *dhyāna*’ is not qualified by the possessive ‘my’. At the same time, the text of chapter 29 confirms that this meditation is called *vaiṣṇava*, so we are not dealing with a text of a different religious orientation. We could however hypothesize that, given also its lesser length, chapter 29 may reflect an earlier version of the text, to which a later redactor made the additions that are attested in *Lalitavistara*

⁹² Without any basis in the manuscript tradition, Naraharinath’s edition deletes all references to Viṣṇu, and replaces them with Śaiva-related expressions. For instance, in 4.31cd, this form of *dhyāna* is not called *vaiṣṇava*, but *māheśa: evaṃ me paramaṃ dhyānaṃ māheśaṃ parikīrtitam*. The mention of *bhagavān viṣṇu* as the focus of meditation (see *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4.28a) is replaced with a reference to Śambhu: *dhyāyate bhagavān śambhus tanmanās tatparāyaṇaḥ |*. Similarly, the *viṣṇuloka* mentioned as one of the rewards for the practice of this form of *yoga* is turned into a *śivaloka*. As we stressed before, the editorial choices made by our modern Śaiva editor are relevant inasmuch as his edition, and the e-text based on it, is still the only resource available to readers and scholars for easy access to this text.

4 and *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 4, including the reference to Viṣṇu as the focus of *dhyāna*.

The definition of the supreme *dhyāna* as *vaiṣṇava* ends chapter 29, while chapter 4 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* goes on with the topic of the ‘second meditation’, which in the *Lalitavistara* marks the opening of chapter 30. The redactors thus once again preferred to start a new chapter with the beginning of a new topic. As for chapter 4 of the *Lalitavistara*, the second type of *dhyāna* is dealt with in the same chapter, but the verse that initiates this new topic (*dhyānaṃ dvitīya<ṃ> vakṣyāmi*, exp. 6B_[L5]) is separated from the preceding one ([...] *vaiṣṇava<ṃ> parikīrtitaḥ*) by two pairs of double *daṇḍas* framing a circle-like sign of punctuation, which is used in this manuscript before and after the concluding rubrics of the chapters. This is a clue that those who copied or composed the text felt that there was an interruption at that point, or that this text was copied from a version in which it was divided into two chapters, the break between the two being still recorded by the use of punctuation.

The second type of *dhyāna* is instructed to take place in some deserted spot in the woods or elsewhere. By constantly meditating there, one destroys all sins. The chapter then ends with a description of the process of *saṃsāra*, and how it is desire (*tṛṣṇā*) that sets this cycle in motion. The final stanzas reiterate how meditation liberates the soul from *saṃsāra* and leads to the attainment of the *brahmaloka*. This is the end of the chapter both in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and in chapter 4 of the *Lalitavistara*, while in chapter 30 the God announces that he will now teach a third type of *dhyāna*. The verse revealing the God’s intention to disclose further teachings (*dhyāna<ṃ> tṛtīyaṃ vakṣyāmi śrūyatāṃ dharmavā • riṇi | śrotukāmo mahādevi dhyāyeta manasā naraḥ* ||, exp. 49A_[L3]) also serves as a junction between the preceding passage, parallel to the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* (or to an unidentified common source) and the next one, parallel to the *Anuśāsanaparvan*. However, the passage to the latter is abrupt, and its contents unrelated to the topics of the preceding pages. The text of the *Anuśāsanaparvan/*

Lalitavistara no longer refers to a ‘third *dhyāna*’, nor in fact seems to describe one, but teaches about good conduct and what sins to avoid and deeds to perform ‘through actions, mind and speech’ for those who want to reach heaven (the latter formula given as a sort of refrain throughout the chapter). The sole line that refers to this as a form of *dhyāna* was thus the introductory verse quoted above, which is not extant in the *Anuśāsanaparvan*; given its faint connection with the context, this stanza looks like a crude device that the redactors of the *Lalitavistara* used to smooth out the beginning of the next topic and the transition to another source. The implication of this stanza, and of this whole section being included in a chapter that started with a discussion on the meditation of the *vanastha* (we now know that the redactors of the *Lalitavistara* preferred to break different topics into different chapters, and keep similar topics together), is that the correct behaviour of laypeople as described below equaled a form of *dhyāna*.

The occurrence of a long textual reuse of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* offers an opportunity to assess which version of it was known to the redactors of the *Lalitavistara*, and how far removed this was from the current critical edition, which was not realized on the basis of such early materials. In the following lines, we have given a transcript of the relevant stanzas of the *Lalitavistara*, compared to the corresponding text of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*'s edition:

<i>Lalitavistara</i>	<i>Anuśāsanaparvan</i>
[exp. 49A _[L3]] <i>devy uvāca</i> <i>bhagavāṃ bhūtabhavyeṣu sarva- bhāvabhavēśva • raḥ</i>	132.1 <i>umovāca</i> <i>bhagavan sarvabhūteśa surā- suranamaskṛta</i> <i>dharmādharme nṛṇāṃ deva brūhi me saṃśayaṃ vibho</i>
<i>karmaṇā manasā vācā trividho ye naraḥ sadā</i> <i>badhyate bāndha vā pāsaiḥ mucyate</i> _[L4] <i>ca ka- tha punaḥ</i>	132.2 <i>karmaṇā manasā vācā trividhaṃ hi naraḥ sadā</i> <i>badhyate bandhanaiḥ pāsair mucyate</i> 'py <i>atha vā punaḥ</i>
<i>kena śilāpado deva karmaṇā kīdṛśena vā</i> <i>sa- mācārāguṇaiḥ vā • <'>pi svargīyānti narā bhuvī</i>	132.3 <i>kena śīlena vā deva karmaṇā kīdṛśena vā</i> <i>samācārair guṇair vākyaiḥ svargaṃ yāntīha mānavāḥ</i>
<i>bhagavān uvāca</i> <i>devi dharmārthatatvajñe sa- rvabhūtadayopare</i> <i>sarvaprāhiṇiḥi • ta pathya śrūyatā dharmavāriṇi</i>	<i>bhagavān uvāca</i> 132.4 <i>devi dharmārthatatt- vajñe satyanitye dame rate</i> <i>sarvaprāhiṇitah praśnaḥ śrūyatāṃ buddhivardhanaḥ</i> [...]
<i>adṛṣṭāparadāreṣu te narā svargagāmiṇaḥ</i>	132.11 <i>mātrvat svasṛvac caiva nityaṃ duhitṛvac ca ye</i> <i>paradāreṣu vartante te narāḥ svargagāmi- naḥ</i>
<i>stenyā</i> <n> _[L5] <i>nivṛttāḥ satata</i> <ṃ> <i>saṃtuṣṭā ye na nityaśaḥ</i> <i>svadeham upajīvanti te narā sva- rggagāmiṇaḥ •</i>	132.12 <i>stainyān nivṛttāḥ satataṃ saṃtuṣṭāḥ svadhanena ca</i> <i>svabhāgyāny upajīvanti te na- rāḥ svargagāmiṇaḥ</i>
<i>sarvendriyāni manasya gopayanto vyavas- thitāḥ</i> <i>yasyātmāna</i> <ḥ> <i>paraloka</i> <ṃ> <i>mukhyaṃ yānti maṇīśīṇaḥ</i>	
<i>sva • dāreṣv abhisamtuṣṭā ṛtukālābhigāmiṇaḥ</i> <i>abhagnavanayogās ca te narā</i> <ḥ> <i>svargagā- mī</i> <naḥ>	132.13 <i>svadāraniratā ye ca ṛtukālābhigāmiṇaḥ</i> <i>agrāmyasukhabhogās ca te narāḥ svargagāmi- naḥ</i>

Lalitavistara

Anuśāsanaparvan

[Exp. 49B]

[L1] *prāṇābhī<r> pāpaniratā<h> śīlavarttasamāhi-
tāḥ | saṃyatā<h> niyatā<h> dāntās te narā sva-
rgagā • minah || sarvabhūtagāyānto viśvāsā
sarvakarmasu | paraśve nirmalā<h> nityaṃ vā
nityam avalopamāḥ ||*

*jitendri • yā svargaparās te narā
svargagāminah | eṣa kāye kṛto dharma se-
vitavyo tu śrayakaiḥ ||*

132.14cd *yatendriyāḥ śīlaparās te narāḥ svarga-
gāminah || 132.15 eṣa devakṛto mā-rgaḥ sevi-
tavyaḥ sadā naraiḥ | akaṣāyakraś caiva mārgaḥ
sevyāḥ sadā budhaiḥ ||*

132.16 *dānadharmatapoyuktaḥ śīlaśauca-da-
yātmakaḥ | vṛtyarthaṃ dharmahetor vā sevita-
vyaḥ sadā naraiḥ |*

[L2] *svargalokam abhīpsantā ninditam tatva<ṃ>
uttamaṃ |*

*svargavāsam abhīpsadbhir na sevyas tv ata u-
ttaraḥ ||*

*devy uvāca || vācayā badhyate deva • mucyate
vā katha<ṃ> punaḥ | tāni karmāṇi me deva ka-
thayasva mahāvratāḥ ||*

132.17 *umovāca || vācātha badhyate yena mu-
cyaṭe 'py aṭha vā punaḥ | tāni karmāṇi me deva
vada bhūtapate 'nagha ||*

*bhagavān uvāca || ātmaheto<h> parārthe • vā
dharmahāsyakriyāsu va | mṛṣāvādaṃ na bhā-
ṣyante te narā svargagāminah ||*

132.18a *ātmahetoḥ parārthe vā na-
rmahāsyāśrayāt tathā | ye mṛṣā na vadantiḥa te
narāḥ svargagāminah ||*

*dravyārthe kā<ṃ> maheto vā dveṣarāgākṛtena vā |
anṛta<ṃ> ye na bhāṣyanti te narā svargagāmi-
nah || •*

132.19 *vṛtyarthaṃ dharmahetor vā kāmākārāt
tathaiḥ ca | anṛtaṃ ye na bhāṣante te narāḥ
svargagāminah ||*

132.20 *ślakṣṇāṃ vāṇīm nirābādhām madhurām
pāpavarjitām | svāgatenābhībhāṣante te narāḥ
svargagāminah ||*

*paruṣa<ṃ> ye na bhāṣyanti niṣṭhurā<h> kaṭu-
kan tathā | anudvegakarā nityaṃ te narā svarga-
gāminah ||*

132.21 *kaṭukām ye na bhāṣante paruṣām ni-
ṣṭhurām gīram | apaīṣunyaratāḥ santas te narāḥ
svargagāminah ||*

*svāgatety abhībhā • ṣyanti te narā svargagāmi-
nah |*

Lalitavistara

Anuśāsanaparvan

- piśunā*<ṃ> *na prabhāṣante mitrabhedakarīn ṛ-ṇe | rājamāna*<ṃ>_[L4] *prabhāṣanti te narā svargagāminah |* 132.22 *piśunām ye na bhāṣante mitrabhedakarīm giram | ṛtām maitrīm prabhāṣante te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*
- śuśkavāñī*<ṃ> *na bhāṣante + + duṣkṛtavādīnī | •* 132.23 *varjayanti sadā sūcyam paradroham ca mānavāḥ | sarvabhūtasamā dāntās te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*
- śaṭhāpralāpād viratā viruddhavarivarjitā | viratā bhedavākyaena te narā svargagāminah ||* 132.24 *śaṭhāpralāpād viratā viruddhavarivarjakāḥ | saumyapralāpino nityam te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*
- amṛta*<ṃ> *niṣṭhura*<ṃ> • *caiva tyaktadharmam adharmivan | kāle ca samprabhāṣyante te narā svargagāminah ||* 132.25 *na kopād vyāharante ye vācam hṛdaya-dāraṇīm | sāntvam vadanti krudhāpi te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*
- eṣa vā*_[L5] *ñikṛto dharmah sevīavyo ṛṣi sadā | devyo nityaguṇopetā sadā bhṛtavivarjī • taiḥ ||* 132.26 *eṣa vāñikṛto devi dharmah sevyaḥ sadā naraiḥ | śubhaḥ satyaguṇo nityam varjanīyā mṛṣā budhaiḥ ||*
- devy uvāca || manasā bandhate yeṇa karmaṇā puruṣā sadā | tāni me pāśakarmāṇi devadeva pinā • kadhṛk ||* 132.27 *umovāca || manasā badhyate yena karmaṇā puruṣaḥ sadā | tan me brūhi mahābhāga devadeva pinākadhṛk ||*
- bhagavān uvāca || apratītamano yas tu calacitto nirākṛti*<ḥ> | 134.57/15.3717 *duṣpratītamanā yas tu calacitto nirākṛtiḥ |*
- manobandhā*_[50AL1] *ni sāmasya śṛṇu devi viṣeṣataḥ |* 132.28 *maheśvara uvāca | mānaseneha dharmeṇa samyuktāḥ puruṣāḥ sadā | svargam gacchanti kalyāṇi tan me kīrtayataḥ śṛṇu ||*
- 132.29 *duṣpraṇītena manasā duṣpraṇītatārākṛtiḥ | badhyate mānavo yena śṛṇu cānyac chubhānane ||*
- araṇyajanasaṃstham ca parahyā nābhinandati || • manasā karmaṇā vācā te narā svargagāminah |* 132.30 *araṇye vijane nyastam parasvam vīkṣya ye narā | manasāpi na hiṃsanti te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*

Lalitavistara

Anuśāsanaparvan

grāme gr̥he vā yaṃ dravyaṃ parāhya<ṃ> vijane sthitam || nābhinanda • ti manasā te narā svar-ggagāminah | malāṣṭakāñcanā nityaṃ parāhya-paravarjakāḥ ||

132.31 *grāme gr̥he vā yad dravyaṃ pārakyaṃ vijane sthitam | nābhinandanti vai nityaṃ te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*

132.32 *tathaiva paradārān ye kāmavṛttān raho-gatān | manasāpi na hiṃsanti te narāḥ svarga-gāminah ||*

132.33 *śatruṃ mitraṃ ca ye nityaṃ tulyena ma-nasā narāḥ | bhajanti maitrāḥ saṃgamyā te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*

132.34 *śrutavanto dayāvantaḥ śucayaḥ satya-saṃgarāḥ | svair arthaiḥ pariśaṃtuṣṭās te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*

132.35 *avairā ye tv anāyāsā maitracittaparāḥ sadā | sarvabhūṭadayāvantas te narāḥ svarga-gāminah ||*

^[L2] *sarvabhūṭadayāvanto cākṣās cākṣa janapri-yāḥ | dharmādharmavido nitya te narā sva • rga-gāminah ||*

132.36 *śraddhāvanto dayāvantaś cākṣās cākṣa-janapriyāḥ | dharmādharmavido nityaṃ te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*

132.37 *śubhānām aśubhānāṃ ca karmaṇāṃ phalasaṃcaye | vipākajñās ca ye devi te narāḥ svargagāminah ||*

nyāyopetaḡuṇopetā svargamārgahiteṣiṇā | sa-tyathaparimārganti te narā svarga • gāminah ||

132.38 *nyāyopetā ḡuṇopetā devadvijaparāḥ sa-dā | samatāṃ samanuprāptās te narāḥ svarga-gāminah ||*

132.39 *śubhaiḥ karmaphalair devi mayaite pari-kīrtitāḥ |*

ukta<ṃ> dharmā<ṃ> yatho devi damai<s> te ku-śalam mayāṃ |

svargamārgopamā ^[L3] proktāḥ ki<ṃ> bhūya<ḥ> śrotum icchasi || Q ||

svargamārgopagā bhūyaḥ kim anyac chrotum i-cchasi ||

Chapter 30 of the *Lalitavistara* ends here, while chapter 132 of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* proceeds with a further question from the Goddess, who asks by means of which actions a person can obtain a long life, and by means of which ones the lives of others are destroyed. There are so many opposing types of men, the Goddess observes, and she now wants to hear about the ways *karman* ripens for them. The two texts of chapter 30 and chapter 132 thus run parallel until 132.38; the *Anuśāsanaparvan* has more stanzas that are not in the *Lalitavistara*, especially towards the end of the parallel passage, while the latter follows the correct stanza sequence of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, and adds a few more stanzas that are not available in the model. Variant readings include the use of proper paraphrases (see *Lalitavistara*, *adṛṣṭāparadāreṣu te narā svargagāmināḥ*, against *Anuśāsanaparvan* 132.11, *māṭṛvat svasṛvac caiva nityaṃ duhitṛvac ca ye | paradāreṣu vartante te narāḥ svargagāmināḥ*).

This text has nothing specifically Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava, being limited to a list of good actions that allow men to go to heaven, with some further considerations; it is rather presented as a lay form of *dhyāna*, after the more complex forms of the preceding chapters on which this one depends. As the text paralleled in chapter 29 and in the first half of chapter 30 is permeated with Vaiṣṇava devotion, the following chapter 31, as already observed, is purely Śaiva in inspiration. The authors/redactors of the *Lalitavistara*, unlike the modern editor of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, must not have found this problematic, as they allowed these materials to coexist side by side. The reason for this is clearly stated in chapter 32, which closes the sequence of chapters modelled after paragraphs of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, and almost seems to epitomize the core teachings of the whole work. This chapter opens with three *pādas* that have a parallel in a supplement of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* (13.15.4325–27). This parallel is short and isolated, as the text of chapter 32 is, for the rest, independent of any model, or at least any that has been possible to identify. The Goddess addresses a God that, given the epithets through which she refers to him, can only be Śiva. In the initial verses he is called, among other expressions, ‘three-eyed’ (*triyakṣa*, *triyambaka*), ‘destroyer of Dakṣa’s sacrifice’ (*dakṣayajñapramathana*), ‘spear-holder’ (*śūlapāṇi*), as well as ‘dressed in a tiger’s skin’ (*vyāghracarmanivāsana*). The Goddess asks him how he wants to be pleased by his devotees. After listing the usual substances for worship (food offerings, incenses, ghee), the God, who is here still simply identified as Bhagavan, instructs his devotees to worship him with a *stotra* whose initial words are: (exp. 51A_[L3]) *namo <’>stu • te mahādeva namo <’>stu bhaktivanmalaḥ || 6 trailokyādhipate viṣṇu namo hariharāya ca | namaḥ śrīvatsadharāya • nama tṛptabhujāya ca || 7 arddhamāheśvararūpaṃ hared arddhahasya ca | dvav etā<v> hy ekarū_[L4]peṇa prasīdatu mamekataḥ || 8*. The God to whom the *Lalitavi-*

stara addresses the devotion of lay *bhaktas* is thus Harihāra, the fusion of Viṣṇu and Śiva that also symbolizes an attempt at harmonizing the two main devotional currents animating the religious landscape of the Kathmandu Valley, as attested from the earliest epigraphical evidence in the 5th century. This is likely to be the reason why the redactors of the text have juxtaposed Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava materials, or have used more ambiguous designations in referring to the God and the Goddess. The same motivation underlay the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the Śivadharmā corpus, although the authors frame it more clearly as a Śaiva work by being more consistent in addressing the gods as Umā and Maheśvara. However, besides these last few chapters, the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* uses exactly the same mixed Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava materials as the *Lalitavistara*, since it was possibly pursuing the same agenda.

There is a third work that the final colophon of the *Lalitavistara* evoked, and that we have not yet had the opportunity to involve in our discussion, namely the *Umottarasaṃvāda*, also known in other manuscripts as the *Uttarottaramahāsaṃvāda*. Fashioned as a dialogue between Maheśvara and Umā, several stanzas of its chapter 7—starting with 7.113 and ending with 7.163, which is also the end of the chapter—form the body of the thirty-third and final chapter of the *Lalitavistara*. As shown in the table of contents in the preceding paragraph, this chapter also has a strong Vaiṣṇava inspiration, evoking the story of Rāma and ending with Viṣṇu's *avatāras*, a topic that thus also concludes the *Lalitavistara tout court*. The peculiarity of these stanzas lies in the fact that the section from *Umottarasaṃvāda* 7.144 until the end, opening with the Goddess's question that prompts the God's narration of the ten *avatāras*, also forms the final chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*. This chapter is not available in the earliest manuscript (N₂₈^K ends the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* with chapter 20, while G 4077 also includes chapters 21 and 22), and will eventually be expunged by at least one other manuscript of the early palm-leaf transmission.⁹³ Barring a few variant readings and the typical omissions characterizing the *Lalitavistara*, the final section of its final chapter thus equals *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* 22, which in its turn has a parallel in *Umottarasaṃvāda* 7. In synthesis, the same text is used thrice, in three works transmitted in the same manuscript. The most natural position for these stanzas is the one they have in the *Umottarasaṃvāda/Lalitavistara*: following the story of Rāma, the Goddess asks what is the purpose of having 'this son of man' (*putro <'>yaṃ mānuṣasya*, *Umottarasaṃvāda* 7.144), if Viṣṇu is the Lord of the world. In chapter 22 of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, this verse comes at the very beginning of the chapter, so the reader completely misses the reference to 'this' human being

93 On this topic, see De Simini forthcoming.

mentioned by the Goddess, as chapter 21 is on a completely different subject (mainly on music, as well as a few myths connected to the Gandharvas).

The stories of Rāma and Viṣṇu thus conclude this work which, coherently with its purposes, proclaims to be part of the Śivadharma in the same general concluding colophon that is attached to the stanzas recounting Viṣṇu's *avatāras*. The inclusion within the Śivadharma corpus, whose earlier and best known works were authorities on Śaiva devotion, and which established the basis for the social behaviour of lay Śaiva *bhaktas*, was probably seen as the ultimate step towards the recognition of this blended form of religion in which Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava devotion were tentatively intermingled and kept faithful to the Brahmanical socio-religious order.

4 Conclusions: The Śivadharma between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism in the Kathmandu Valley

From our analysis of the *Lalitavistara* of G 4077 as well as the *Umāmaheśvaraśaṃvāda*, we have seen that both texts—or their still unidentified common source—pursue a twofold agenda, namely the integration of mainstream Brahmanical values related to the *varṇāśrama* system, as well as elements of Vaiṣṇava devotion, into the Śaiva corpus. These two agendas can be considered to be closely linked, since Vaiṣṇava devotional literature from its earliest layers onwards tends to propagate a system that is strictly interwoven with the Brahmanical socio-religious order, laying more emphasis on performing one's *svadharmā*, a line of discourse completely missing in the early Śaiva works.⁹⁴ A similar tendency can already be observed, though with a lesser level of pervasiveness, in the earliest works of the Śivadharma corpus, the *Śivadharmaśāstra* and *Śivadharmottara*, that attempt to integrate the teachings on the *varṇāśrama* into the Śaiva world view by creating a parallel system of 'Śaiva life-stages' (*śivāśrama*), whose members correspond to those of the traditional post-Vedic normative literature, but are qualified by adjectives and compounds specifying their Śaiva affiliation.⁹⁵ However, this idea seems to be more mature in the *Śivadharmottara* than in the *Śivadharmaśāstra*, which follows an agenda of propagating a Śaiva social order

⁹⁴ See Mirnig forthcoming.

⁹⁵ See *Śivadharmottara*, chapter 12, as well as *Śivadharmaśāstra*, chapter 11. For more details, see De Simini 2016a, 52ff.

that more radically transcends the Brahmanical norm.⁹⁶ The *Śivadharmottara*, by contrast, has some clear connections to the *Mahābhārata* and, thus, to the Vaiṣṇava milieu in which the latter was composed, by using, in its chapter 3 on the *jñānayoga*, verses and notions that are also traceable in the *Bhagavadgītā*. This trend towards a broader inclusivism into a Śaiva world view, which the *Śivadharmottara* had developed in a more systematic way also for reasons of proselytism, is thus especially discernible in these later works that form the Śivadharma corpus, such as the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and the *Lalitavistara*, reflecting a cultural context that saw each work complementing the more radical Śaiva position by providing a scriptural layer that linked the Śaiva ritual sphere with the Vaiṣṇava one.

The choice of the *Mahābhārata* as the main source of inspiration suits this agenda on several levels. The *Mahābhārata* itself is a text that is closely linked to Vaiṣṇava devotionalism; however, in the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* of the *Anuśāsanaparvan*, the epics accommodate Śaiva precepts and myths in a broader Vaiṣṇava context. This text thus provides an ideal template for a reverse operation in the Śaiva corpus. The core of this process is the incorporation of Vaiṣṇava devotional material, such as that of the *Anuśāsanaparvan* or the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra*. The juxtaposition of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava materials within these works is striking, and is epitomized in chapter 32 of the *Lalitavistara* in the propagation of devotion to Harihara, which also characterized the religious landscape of the Kathmandu Valley. It is in this area that we locate the composition of our texts, and it is thus to this context that we have to link the religious and cultural facets emerging from them.

Already from the earliest layers of recorded history, the Licchavi period (c. 4th–8th centuries CE), we find a strong presence of both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religious communities in the Kathmandu Valley. Thus, for instance, the earliest major temples—the Śaiva Paśupatināth and Vaiṣṇava Chāṅgu Nārāyaṇa temples—are both sites of royal inscriptions as well as recipients of the same amount of funding from the royal budget in the late 6th century, suggesting that they are somehow considered on equal footing.⁹⁷ While these pieces of evidence precede the composition of our texts by centuries, we can already see a similar attempt to foster some sort of harmony between the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava religious communities

⁹⁶ Thus, for instance, the first chapter of the *Śivadharmaśāstra* explicitly asserts the superiority of the *śivadharma* over the Vedic religious sphere, claiming that even as a *mleccha* or dog-eater one may attain the status of the highest Brahmin by following the Śivadharma. See Mirmig forthcoming.

⁹⁷ Cf LA 77. See also Mirmig 2013, 340.

amongst the earliest records in the Valley, using the same theme of the combined deity Harihara that we find alluded to in our text. Thus, in *saṃvat* 487 (565 CE), a certain Svāmivarta established a sculpture of Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa (i.e. Harihara) in the area of the Paśupatiṅāth temple, describing the fusion of the two deities into one body while their wives Parvatī and Lakṣmī look upon them,⁹⁸ and referring to this combined deity as the ‘cause of the origin, maintenance and annihilation of the entire universe’,⁹⁹ similar to the cosmic principle advocated in our texts. The motivation of bridging the communities that we suspect behind our text is made more explicit in Svāmivarta’s record, in which he claims that Śiva and Viṣṇu have become one single body in order to remove the confusion that arises by having to choose one over the other.¹⁰⁰

On the basis of art-historical material, the argument had been put forward that on a popular devotional level, Viṣṇu was at times even more prominent than Śiva,¹⁰¹ and thus Vaiṣṇavism constitutes an integral part of the religious life in the Valley despite Śaivism’s predominance on a political level. We have many images produced in the Licchavi period and after, besides the Harihara image, that relate scenes or themes of Viṣṇu iconography and can also be linked to our texts. For instance, an extremely popular motive is the Jalāśayana Viṣṇu, depicting the God in his cosmic sleep;¹⁰² when comparing this to our texts, we find that the theme of Viṣṇu at the end of the cosmic cycle and the reabsorption of all the worlds into him is a common motive. Śiva, on the other hand, is given the role of producing the world.

The field of iconography may indeed provide some further evidence for the phenomenon analyzed in the preceding pages. The manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus were not solely conceived as carriers of text, but also as objects of art, and as such they offer a relevant contribution to the knowledge and study of religious iconography. Unlike contemporary Buddhist manuscripts, the iconographic program of the Śivadharma manuscripts is not developed through illustrations painted on the folios, but is exclusively focused on the inner space of the wooden covers in which the manuscripts are encased. In the few cases in

⁹⁸ LA 50, lines 1–2: *patyor nnau paśya he śrīr yyugalam amithunaṃ śūlabhṛcchārṅgapāṅyor ekai-kasyātra kin tan na sukaram anayos tau yad ekatra pṛktau | mūrṭtityā<gena> nūnaṃ sakhi mada-naripor evam uktvā bhavānyā yo dṛṣṭo jātu tasmai satatam iha namos tv arddhaśaurīśvarāya ||*.

⁹⁹ LA 50, line 5: *sakalabhuvanasambhavashitipralayakāraṇam [...] śaṅkaranārāyaṇasvāmīnaṃ*.

¹⁰⁰ LA 50, lines 7–8: *bhīnne puṃsām jagati ca tathā devatābhaktibhāve pakṣagrāhabhramita-manasām pakṣavicchittihetoḥ ity arddhābhyām samuparacitam yan murārīśvarābhyām ekam rūpaṃ śaradi jaghanaśyāmagauram [...]*

¹⁰¹ Slusser 1982, 239.

¹⁰² Slusser 1982, 241–243.



Fig. 6: UL Add. 1645, original wooden cover, inner side, scene with Śiva, Pārvatī, and Nandin.



Fig. 7: UL Add. 1645, original wooden cover, inner side, scene with Viṣṇu, Lakṣmī, and Garuḍa.

which these have survived,¹⁰³ as is also the case of our manuscript G 4077, we observe that the main decorative motifs are represented by scenes of *liṅga* worship and/or representations of lay devotees worshipping deities, among which Śiva, along with his consort Pārvatī and his mount Nandi, is assigned a central position. This would thus qualify our manuscripts as preeminently Śaiva objects, with the cult of Śiva being clearly identified with the veneration of both the God's iconic and aniconic forms. At the same time, traces of Vaiṣṇavism are not absent from the iconographic programs of the surviving covers, as there are at least two specimens in which the cult of Viṣṇu is attributed either equal or even greater importance than the one of Śiva. One such example is the manuscript of the Cambridge University Library Add.1645, dated NS 259, whose original wooden covers have a very peculiar design in comparison to the other extant specimens: instead of decorating the entire oblong space of the covers, dividing them into panels, this manuscript only has one central illustration on each cover, with the rest of the surface being painted in red. These illustrations consist in the group of Śiva, Pārvatī and Nandi on the inner panel of the front cover (Fig. 6), and Viṣṇu being worshipped by Garuḍa and Lakṣmī on the inner face of the back cover (Fig. 7). Thus Add.1645 symbolizes a Śaiva-Vaiṣṇava unity in the devotional practice by representing the two deities equally as objects of devotion, although one might argue that the God represented on the front side may be the one who is attributed

¹⁰³ For a brief survey, see De Simini 2016a, 206–207.

higher importance. Another case that is worthy of mention, but on which we cannot be so specific because we could not directly inspect the object, is that of the wooden covers of ‘a Śivadharma manuscript’ mentioned by Pal without further attribution, and generically dated by him to the 13th century.¹⁰⁴ These covers, of which we can see some partial black and white reproductions as figures 27–28 in Pal 1970, represent the ten manifestations of Viṣṇu. Unfortunately, we do not know to which manuscript they used to belong, and considering the fact that Pal calls this manuscript a *Śivapurāṇa* in the text¹⁰⁵ (but *Śivadharma* in the captions of the pictures), we have to be very careful in dealing with this piece of evidence. If the attribution of these covers to a *Śivadharma* (or a *Śivapurāṇa*) manuscript could ever be confirmed, this would be a case of a manuscript of a Śaiva work being decorated with Vaiṣṇava iconography, thus achieving the synthesis at which works such as the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, the *Umottarasamvāda* and the *Lalitavistara* aimed. The study of the iconographic program of these manuscripts is still in progress and might reveal more relevant clues in the future. A big interpretive obstacle is represented by the possibility that the covers might actually be later than the manuscripts themselves,¹⁰⁶ or not originally have belonged to those manuscripts, but were mistakenly associated with them by library curators. While the latter case would hopelessly affect our interpretation, the case of the covers being produced later than the manuscripts, though at any rate intentionally realized for encasing a certain object, would only have an influence on the dating, and not on the general hermeneutic framework. Since these manuscripts are also objects of private and public devotion, we expect to see in the decorations of their covers, the most external part and thus the one that is also physically most exposed to the devotion of the *bhaktas*, a program that furthers or is at least coherent with the (perceived) aims of its texts.

Despite the strong presence of Vaiṣṇavism and its relevance in some of the texts forming the Śivadharma corpus as well as in contemporary iconography, we know that, on an institutional level, it was the sphere of Śiva that maintained close links with the ruling elite from the time of Aṃśuvarman onwards,¹⁰⁷ as can also be traced through the centuries in inscriptions as well as manuscript colophons.¹⁰⁸ This may account for the robust production of manuscripts of the Śivadharma corpus (while texts such as the *Vaiṣṇavadharmaśāstra* appear to

104 Pal 1970, figs 27–28.

105 Pal 1970, 65.

106 Losty 1980, 21.

107 Mirnig 2013.

108 Petech 1984.

have gotten lost), but it could also explain why some Vaiṣṇava groups were trying to disguise their own cults within the framework of the *dharma* of Śiva. The incorporation of this important aspect of Vaiṣṇava devotionism, an operation that was planned and fulfilled by some of the Nepalese works of the Śivadharm corpus, may be one of the key aspects that contributed to the success of the corpus, but may also be one of the reasons why the corpus emerged at all. We know that the *Śivadharmasāstra* and the *Śivadharmottara* had an autonomous transmission in India, being associated in some rare cases, but mostly transmitted as independent works. The reasons why more texts were associated with them once they reached the Kathmandu Valley, some possibly composed expressly to become part of a broader collection of works, are still largely unknown. The study of the *Lalitavistara*, along with that of the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda* and, partly, the *Umottarasamvāda*, seems however to suggest that the formation of the Śivadharm corpus might also have responded to the need local Nepalese communities had of harmonizing Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism, though within a framework that could still clearly be identified as Śaiva, given that this was ultimately the cult associated with monarchical power.

Within this broader framework, we can thus clearly see what could have been the mission of our *Lalitavistara*. Drawing from pre-existing sources, this was one of several contemporary works pursuing the objective of harmonizing aspects of Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *dharma*, although this synthesis is often simply achieved by juxtaposing diverse materials in an unsystematic combination. On the other hand, in the 10th and 11th centuries, the Śivadharm corpus was still being systematized. One of the redactors must have included this work, which was judged coherent with the general purposes of the composition of the corpus, only to be rejected by all the other agents in the vast manuscript production and transmission of the Śivadharm corpus. On the basis of the study presented in the preceding pages, we can speculate that this rejection came to pass because the work was too close to the *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, but its structure less coherent. At the same time, the higher level of ambiguity that we have observed in the *Lalitavistara* might have played an important role in the choice of rejecting this work from the Śivadharm corpus. The *Umāmaheśvarasaṃvāda*, which uses most of the materials included in the *Lalitavistara*, adopted a more unequivocal Śaiva frame, even just by more systematically identifying the two speakers as Umā and Maheśvara throughout the work. This must have been very evocative in the minds of contemporary readers, as one of the most popular images of the Valley bears exactly the same imagery as expressed by our text, namely that of *Umāmaheśvara*, depicting Śiva and Parvatī in embrace on the mountainside (Fig. 8). Once



Fig. 8: Umāmaheśvara image located in the Paśupatināth temple area, Kathmandu, Nepal.

again, the cultural milieu of medieval Nepal provides themes and motifs that interact and complement its rich textual production.


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Abbreviations and sigla

AP	<i>Anuśāsanaparvan</i>
ĀśP	<i>Āśvamedhikaparvan</i>
LA	Vajracharya 1973
LV	<i>Lalitavistara</i>
NAK	National Archives of Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepalese-German Manuscript Preservation Project
N _{A12} ^K	Manuscript NAK 5-892, (NGMPP A 12/3)
N ₅ ^K	Manuscript NAK 5–737 (NGMPP A 3/3=A 1081/5)
N ₇ ^K	Manuscript NAK 1–1075 (NGMPP B 7/3=A 1082/2)
N ₂₈ ^K	Manuscript NAK 6–7 (NGMPP A 1028/4)
N ₈₂ ^K	Manuscript NAK 3–393 (NGMPP A 1082/3)
NS	<i>nepālasaṃvat</i> = year given according to a lunisolar calendar attested in Nepal, starting in the month of Kārtika (October–November), 878 CE
UL	Cambridge University Library
UMS	<i>Umāmaheśvarsamvāda</i>
US	<i>Umottarasamvāda</i>

Conventions and Symbols

< >	enclose expected letters
[]	enclose foliation and line numbers; in the collated texts, square brackets enclose variant readings
+	in the transcriptions, it indicates unreadable <i>akṣaras</i>
wavy underline	in the transcriptions, it indicates damaged <i>akṣaras</i>
	<i>daṇḍa</i>
	double <i>daṇḍa</i>
•	stringhole
:	linefiller
❖	<i>puṣpikā</i>
?	uncertain reading

Q decoration: 

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Lata Mahesh Deokar

***Subantarātnākara*: An Unknown Text of Subhūticandra**

Abstract: The Buddhist monk-scholar Subhūticandra (c. 1060–1140 CE) is known as the author of the commentary *Kavikāmadhenu* (c. 1110–1130 CE) on the *Amarakośa*. He appears to have also written a grammatical text called *Subantarātnākara*. There are altogether twelve manuscripts entitled *Subantarātnākara*: ten in Nepal and two in Cambridge. Out of these, six are indeed of the *Subantarātnākara*, while the remaining six are of four different texts, which are somewhat related to the *Subantarātnākara*. There are two Tibetan translations of the text. Many of these manuscripts mention Subhūticandra as the author of the text. There also exists a commentary on the *Subantarātnākara*. The article discusses the contents of these manuscripts, and the Tibetan translations and their mutual relationship. It also deals with the issue of the authorship of the different texts available in these manuscripts. In this connection, the article also discusses the issue of Subhūticandra's common authorship of the *Subantarātnākara* and the *Kavikāmadhenu*.

1 Introduction

The Buddhist monk-scholar Subhūticandra (c. 1060–1140 CE) is known to us from his *Kavikāmadhenu* commentary¹ (c. 1110–1130 CE) on the *Amarakośa*.² He was one of the teachers of Pa tshab Lo tsā ba Tshul khriims rgyal mtshan (d. after 1130), who had studied the *Āryasaddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra* with Subhūticandra at Vikramaśīla. According to Pa tshab Lo tsā ba, Subhūticandra was ‘a scholar of grammar, poetics, and “the modality of the Sanskrit language”, (*legs par sbyar ba'i skad kyi lugs la mkhas pa*), whereby the latter phrase may, but only may, be a clumsy way of designating lexicography’ (van der Kuijp 2009, 8). An analysis of the citations from Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu* substantiates Pa tshab Lo tsā ba's statement. Out of at least 228 texts from which Subhūticandra quotes, fifty-three are grammatical works, six are on poetics, and thirty-three lexicons.

¹ The work of a critical edition of this text has been undertaken by Prof. Mahesh A. Deokar and myself.

² For a detailed discussion on Subhūticandra's date and place and his *Kavikāmadhenu* commentary, cf. Deokar Lata 2014, 1–91.

In the field of Sanskrit grammar, Candragomin's *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, and its commentarial literature, namely, the *Cāndravṛtti* of Dharmadāsa, the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* of Ratnamati, and the *Śabdalakṣaṇavivaraṇapañjikā* of Pūrṇacandra, are the principal authorities for Subhūticandra. On some important grammatical issues, he also brings in the discussions taking place in the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition. Apart from the main texts belonging to this tradition such as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* and the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, Subhūticandra cites from the *Bhāgavṛtti* of Vimalamati (625 CE)³ and the *Anunyāsa* of Indumitra (before 1100 CE).⁴ Being a junior contemporary of Puruṣottamadeva, Subhūticandra cites from the former's *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, the *Jñāpakasamuccaya*, and the *Lakṣyalaṣaṇadurghaṭa*. One more important grammarian whom Subhūticandra quotes is his senior contemporary Maitreyarākṣita. The third important grammatical tradition, namely, that of Śarvavarman's *Kātantravyākaraṇa* has also found its way in to the *Kavikāmadhenu*. Subhūticandra cites from Śarvavarman's and Vararuci's *Kātantravyākaraṇa* as well as from the commentarial literature which includes the *Durghaṭikā* and the *Kātantraviśeṣākhyaṇa*. Among the Prakrit grammarians, he quotes from Hevvara's commentary on Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* and the *Prākṛtasamjivani* of Vasantarāja. There are two more grammars of Prakrit that Subhūticandra has referred to, one of which is the *Prākṛtānuśāsana*. Subhūticandra refers to the author of this text by the honorific title Gomin. The rule he has cited from this text is found in the *Prākṛtānuśāsana* of Puruṣottama.⁵ The second text is *Samśkṛtabhavaprākṛtānuśāsana*, which Subhūticandra has ascribed to Candragomin. Sanskritists until this date do not seem to be aware of any such text composed by Candragomin. Apart from these, Subhūticandra also quotes from a number of texts related to lists of verbal roots (*dhātupāṭha*), handbooks on grammatical gender (*liṅgānuśāsana*), and manuals on phonetics.

On the background of Subhūticandra's in-depth knowledge of the Sanskrit and the Prakrit grammatical traditions, I was curious to find out if there was a grammatical text ascribed to him. This curiosity brought me to the reference to a text entitled *Subantarātnākara* ascribed to Subhūticandra in J. P. Dwivedi's book *Samśkṛt ke bauddh vaiyākaraṇ* ('Buddhist Grammarians, Commentators and Tibetan Translators of Sanskrit Grammar'). According to the description of one of the manuscripts given by the NGMCP, namely, B 35–23 (NAK 4/148), this text deals with 'the declension of nouns and adjectives (*subanta*), following the Cāndra school of grammar.'⁶

3 For a detailed discussion on Vimalamati and the *Bhāgavṛtti*, cf. Dwivedi 1987, 194–202.

4 For a detailed discussion on Indumitra and the *Anunyāsa*, cf. Dwivedi 1987, 231–232.

5 *ādīdūtām alope samyoge hrasvaś ca* | (IV.7 [= 126], p. 5).

6 <http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki>.

Bruno Liebich (1895, 7, 34–35) was probably the first modern scholar to mention and discuss the *Subantarātnākara* based on its Tibetan translation (*Sup mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas*). Unfortunately, he had an incomplete translation at hand. As a result, he could not obtain any information regarding the author of the text. More than a century later, Verhagen (2001, 132–136) discussed this text in greater detail based on the revised translation of the *Subantarātnākara* preserved in the collected works of Si tu paṅ chen. In 2001, in an article entitled ‘Bhikṣu Haribhadra’s *Vibhaktikārikā*. An Unknown Grammatical Text Edited with a Brief Introduction (First Part)’, Wezler (2001, 249) commented: ‘CG 37 and 38 (*Subantarātnākara* / *Vyākaraṇa-Subanta*): The author’s name, I should like to add, is Subhūti.’ However, Wezler has not clearly mentioned the reasons for ascribing both these texts to Subhūti(candra).

Dwivedi (1987, 289), who is probably the first scholar to discuss the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Subantarātnākara*, informs us that there exist five manuscripts of this text in Nepal. Since I was already working on Subhūticandra’s *Kavikāmadhenu*, I decided to collect and edit the manuscripts of the *Subantarātnākara* as a sequel to my ongoing research. Thanks to the Nepalese German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP), it has been possible to have access to all the available manuscripts of the *Subantarātnākara* in Nepal. I am grateful to the late Dr Albrecht Hanisch, the then Resident Representative of the NGMCP, for promptly providing me with all the necessary information and making arrangements to send the digital copies of all the available manuscripts through Namraj Gurung, who deserves special thanks for the same. In 2013, in an article ‘Subhūticandra: A Forgotten Scholar of Magadha’, I briefly introduced the manuscript materials and recorded some of my early impressions of the text. In the meanwhile, after completing the first volume of the *Kavikāmadhenu*, I began reading afresh the manuscripts of the *Subantarātnākara* and the *Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama*, another work also ascribed to Subhūticandra. This reading proved some of my earlier remarks obsolete, which made it necessary for me to present the analysis of the manuscripts material in a revised form. Here in the following pages, I wish to present to the scholarly world my fresh analysis of the same. I will start this analysis with a description of altogether six manuscripts:

2 Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Subantarātnākara*

1. NAK 1/468 (Reel No. A 1311-5 = A 1162-10) is a palm-leaf manuscript (33 × 5 cm) containing 60 folios with 4–7 lines per folio. The manuscript is written in the Nepālākṣara. Although there is no real physical damage to the manuscript, some folios are not clearly legible. At a few places, *akṣaras* are partly rubbed off, while at some other places the text is not readable due to the spreading of ink.

The name of the text *Suvantarātnākaraḥ* in both the Nāgarī as well as the Roman script appears on a piece of paper pasted on the outer side of the wooden cover. On this paper, we also find the number assigned to the manuscript, namely, *Pra. 468* (in the Nāgarī script) and No. A 468 (in Roman letters and Arabic numerals). We also find the date of the manuscript, namely, *viśaṁ 112* (in the Nāgarī script). The inner side of the wooden cover contains a didactic verse written in the Nepālākṣara script:

dhanadhānyaprayogeṣu tathā vidyārjjanēsu⁷ ca |
āhāravavyahāreṣu tyaktalajjo (! 'lajjah) sadā bhavet ||

(Cāṅkya-rājānitiśāstra 3.21)

This side also preserves the date of the manuscript, namely, *viśaṁ 112* written by a different hand in the Nāgarī script.

In the top margin of fol. 1r, we find the following inscriptions: *Pra. 468*, *patra 60*, *Subantarātnākara* and *vi. saṁ. 112* (all written in the Nāgarī script). The folio contains two verses. The handwriting of these verses is different from the handwriting of the inscriptions on 1r as well as that of the text of the *Subantarātnākara*. The first three lines of this portion contain the following verse:

āsā (!) nāma nadī manoharajalā tṛṣṇātaṁ(!)raṅgākulā
rāgrāhvatī vitakra(!)vāhagā dhikyam mahābhoga(2)niḥ (!) |
mohāvarttasudu(s)sahātigahanā yā tuṅgacimtāṭaiḥ
tasyā[h] pāragatā visu(!)dhamana(3)sā naṁdatī (!) nandati jāgesvarā(h) (!) || (fol. 1r 1–3)

This verse is found in Bhartṛhari's *Śatakṛayī* (verse 173). It reads:

āsā nāma nadī manorathajalā tṛṣṇātarāṅgākulā
rāgrāhvatī vitarkavihagā dhairyadrumadhvaṁsinī |
mohāvartasudustarātigahanā prottuṅgacintāṭaiḥ
tasyāḥ pāragatā vibudhamanaso nandantu yogīśvarāḥ ||

7 The printed edition reads *vidyāsamgrahaṇeṣu*.

The River of Hope having Desire for its water, Greed for agitating waves, Passion for its sharks, Sceptic reasoning for birds, Patience for the tottering trees on its sides, and worldly Care and Anxieties for its lofty banks, is very difficult to be crossed on account of its total whirlpool of Illusion. Those pure-minded Yogi-s who have swum over to the opposite bank of this mighty stream are therefore leading a safe and happy life. (P. G. Nath's translation; Sternbach III, 1304)

This verse is followed by one more verse, which I am unable to read at present. Isaacson suggests that 'someone at some point wrote [these] two verses on the originally blank 1r.' (email correspondence dated 29/01/2017)

The actual text of the *Subantarātnākara* begins on fol. 1v with the benedictory verse paying homage to Śākyamuni Buddha. This is preceded by homage to Vāgīśvara (*namo vāgīśvarāya*), which, in all probability, is the homage paid by the scribe. The manuscript is incomplete. The last word derived in this manuscript is *gorakṣa*. The text ends on fol. 60 with the words *gorakṣaśabdāt supaḥ so(r) lopaḥ | padānta-*. The last folio preserves an inscription *atha* preceded by an auspicious sign written in the Maithili script. Most folios are foliated with both letter-numerals as well as numerals. The majority of folios have letter numerals in the left-hand margin and numerals in the right-hand margin of the verso side of the folio, but in the case of some folios these are inverted. Other folios only have numerals in either side of the verso. The title of the text is found on fol. 19r1 in a final rubric to the section:

*uktāḥ (!) ajantā halantās ca puṃsi |
iti subantarātnākare puliṅgakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ |*

The other three manuscripts of the *Subantarātnākara* do not mention the name of the text in the corresponding final rubric.⁸

2. NAK 4/148 (Reel No. B 35–23) is a palm-leaf manuscript (31.5 × 5 cm) containing 77 folios with 5–7 lines per folio. The script is Nepālākṣara. On a few folios, the writing is partially rubbed off. In quite a number of instances, the scribe has indicated lacunas by filling up these portions with auspicious signs. The manuscript begins with a benediction to Daśabala (*[na]maḥ śrīdaśabalāya*) and a benedictory verse paying homage to Śākyamuni Buddha. The manuscript is complete. It ends

⁸ *uktā ajantā halantās ca puṃsi saviśeṣāḥ | pula(!)liṅgakāṇḍaḥ (puliṅga° NAK 4/148) prathamāḥ samāptaḥ | NAK 4/148 (20r5), Or.148 (25v2–3); uktā'jantā halantās ca puṃsi (!) viśeṣaḥ (!) | puṃliṅgakāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ prathamāḥ | C 54-7(1) (Kesar 582) (27b3–4).*

with three concluding verses, followed by the final rubric to the text⁹ and the colophon.¹⁰ According to the latter, the manuscript was copied for a certain monk bearing the title Śrījñāna of the Śrīdharmadhātu Mahāvihāra. The foliation consists of letter-numerals in the middle of the left-hand margin and numerals in the middle of the right-hand margin of the verso (only on folios 1–12). From folio 13 onwards, only the numerals appear in the left-hand margin of the verso. Exposures 2 and 79 show the back of folios 1 and 77 respectively, which are used as flyleaves, showing some other inscriptions in Nepālākṣara characters. In the bottom of fol. 77r, another hand has added: *namaḥ śrīdasa(!)balāya* | preceded by an auspicious sign in the Nepālākṣara script.

3. NAK 5-7989 (Reel No. B 35-30) (30 × 5 cm) is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 12 folios with 5 lines per folio. The script is Nepālākṣara. The manuscript is incomplete and damaged. At many places, the *akṣaras* are rubbed off. The text preserved in this manuscript is not continuous. These are stray leaves. The second image of the exposure 2771 preserves a final rubric to the first section:

cāndravyākara(5) yādhyāyasya prathamah pādah samāptaḥ |

Most probably, based on this final rubric, the NGMCP has listed this as a manuscript of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*. In the bottom margin of the first image of this exposure, we find an inscription by a second hand in Nāgarī script:

cāndravyākaraṇasambandhiśabdarūpāvalīpada(..)(..)

While discussing this manuscript in his *Verschiedene neu-entdeckte Texte des Cāndravyākaraṇa und ihre Verfasser* (Studien zum Cāndravyākaraṇa II), Oberlies as named this text as *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa-sambandhi-śabda-rūpāvalī* apparently based on the above-mentioned inscription. He has quoted two passages from this manuscript, which I reproduce below (Oberlies 1992, 177–178):

etasya cānvadeśaḥ (sic!) dvitīyāyāñ caina iti etacchabdasya ya etaśabdas tasya kathitānu-kathanaviśaye dvitīyāyāñ ṭākāre osi ca (! sic) enādeśo bhavati | etaṃ cchātraṃ vedam adhyāpaya / || aṭho enaṃ vyākaraṇam adhyāpaya / iha kasmān na bhavati / etaṃ ātaṃ nītaṃ vidyād iti pūrvavad anvādeśābhāvāt / tathā hi iṣadathe kriyāyoge [/] maryādābhividhau ca ya itiṣa || dādiṣv ākārasya nirdeśaṃ kṛtvā etaṃātaṃ nītaṃ vidyād iti vedanakriyāyām āhuḥ / karm-abhāvo vidhyate / aṭho etau aṭho enān [/] aṭho enat / aṭho enāñ / [svaṃ] / a || tho enayā ... hri /

9 *kṛtir iyaṃ paṇḍitasthavirusubhūticandrasya | granthapramāṇa[m a]sya sahasra 1 śata 4 grantha 30 likhitam idam | (77r2–3).*

10 *śrīdharmadhātumahāvihārasya | kramasrījñānasya bhikṣu(h) pustako 'yaṃm (!) idam likhitam iti | (77r2–3).*

striyām / etā ene [ʃ] enā / enayā / enayoḥ / napuṃsake / dvitīyāyām iti viṣayasaptamī .. [na] pūrvavad ... ty enādeśānivr̥tti...k. [t(y)ad]ādyatvā || [bh]āvaḥ / vā virāme [C 6.4.149] iti dasya (sic! [lies: jhasya?]) cartvaṃ / enat ene enāni / enena enayoḥ // [2r1–5]

etasya cānvadeṣe dvitīyāyām caina idamśabdasyānvādeśaviṣayasya dvitīyāyām ṭausi ca enādeśaḥ / i.. / gurupūja.. / a.. ena[m] /// || [bh]ojaya / atho enau / atho enān / anena chāttreṇa chando 'dhītaṃ / atho enena vyākaraṇam adhītaṃ / iha kasmān na bhavati / ayaṃ daṇḍo harāneneti yatra kiñcid vidhāya vākya /// || ..]ṇa nukaraṇānyad (sic!) upadiśyate so 'nvādeśaḥ / iha tu vastunirdeśamātraṃ kṛtvā ekam e(va vī)dhānaṃ tathā hi ayaṃ daṇḍa ity aneneti haraṇakriyāyā[n ca] daṇḍasya karaṇabhāv[o] /// / [5r2–4]

I was able to trace these passages to folios 68r3–68v2 and 67r3–6 respectively of the manuscript NAK 4/148. Verhagen (2001, 133) had already identified these passages in the Tibetan translation of the *Subantarātnākara* as preserved in the collected works of Si tu paṅ chen (60r6–60v3; 59v1–4). However, being misled by Oberlies' (1992, 176–179) identification of this manuscript as *Cāndravvyākaraṇasambandhiśabdarūpāvalī*, Verhagen (2001, 133) remarked:

[a] manuscript of the Sanskrit original, bearing the title *Cāndra-vyākaraṇa-sambandhi-śabdarūpāvalī*, has been brought to light (...).¹¹

I wonder why Verhagen did not raise any question about this identification even after tracing the said passages to the Tibetan translation of the *Subantarātnākara*. The fact that the above-mentioned passages match with the manuscripts of the *Subantarātnākara* and its Tibetan translation proves beyond doubt that these are the stray leaves of a manuscript of the *Subantarātnākara*, and not those of a previously unknown text as was earlier thought by Oberlies.

As mentioned earlier, this manuscript contains altogether 12 folios. The respective exposure numbers are from 2760 to 2772. Out of these, 2760 and 2772 have only one image while the rest of the exposures have two images. Here follows a table of folios and their corresponding images along with the word(s) discussed in them and their approximate parallels in NAK 4/148:

¹¹ MS-no. 5-7989, Reel-no. B 35/30, 11.5 ff., 5 lines per side (Verhagen 2001, 133, n. 533).

Fol. no.	Exposure no.	Word(s) discussed	Approximate parallels in B 35–23 (NAK 4/148)
	2760		
	2761a		
	2771a	pitṛ-	9v
	2770b	pitṛ-, nṛ-, praśāstr-	9v, 10r, 10v
	2770a	uktā ṛdantāḥ rai-	10v
	2769b	go-, glau-	11r, 11v
	2769a	bhūbhuk-	12v
	2768b	parivrāt-	13v
	2767b	śikharalū-	41r
	2768a	śikharalū-	41r
	2767a	pratyañc-	46r4
	2766b	tiryak-, viśvadryañc-	46v
	2763b	bhavat-	53r1
	2764a	adan-	53v
	2766a	gaganarudh-	54v6
	2765b	pīvan- (?)	55v1
	2763a	bahvap-	56v
	2762b	bahvap-, arituph- (?)	56v
*69	2765a	adas-	66v2
70 (?)	2764b	etat-	67r3–6
	2762a	etat- (f.)	67v6
*71	2761b	eka-	68v2

The second image of the exposure 2771 reads as follows:

-viṣyati | yasya punar aṅantaṃ nāma tat(r)āṅ eva | namatuv (?) ity āha | **bhāgīrathīyādi** | tasmād divāyāpi (?) matupaṃ vyavasthārthaṃ tan nāmnīti śrayitavyaṃ | tathā vā (2) (na)dyāṃ deṣe matub iṣṭaḥ | madhūni sthāna(!)vo 'smin deṣe santi madhumān | sthānu(!)mān | atvasor iti dīrghaḥ | puṃsuṭy ugīta iti num | sor lopaḥ | saṃ (3) kasyādīny api matvantānīti saṃjñā(!)yām asaṃjñā(!)yām vā sāmānyena vidhāsyamāno matup atra saṃjñāyām (!) bhaviṣyatīti | si (4) ity āśaṃkyāha | mādharma ityādi | tato **noṇ** m arthād a(tra) **bhaviṣyati** | tan nāmnīti niyamo['tra (?) | cāndravāka(raṇe ṭṭi)(5)yādhyāyasya prathamāḥ pādāḥ samāptaḥ | samba(...) prathamāṣāḍha (...) saptamāṃ likhitam idaṃ puṃsaka-

This appears to be a part of some commentary on the Cāndravṛtti on *vuñcha-ṅkaṭhajīlaseniraḍhañnyayaphakphīññīnyakakṭhakchakiyaḍmatupḍvalacaḥ* (CV 3.1.68):

... *Udumbarāvati, Ikṣumatīti matvantarīn nadīnāma. Bhāgīrathī, Bhāimarathī, Sauvāstavitṛyaṇantam api dṛṣyate. Madhumān, Sthāṇumān ityādīny api matvantāni deśanāmāni. Mādhava ityādīni tu na deśanāmāniti nāto 'ṅ bhaviṣyati.*

When I requested Dragomir Dimitrov to crosscheck CVṛ on CV 3.1.68 with Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, he compared it with the photographs of the manuscript of the Pañjikā taken by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana. In an email dated 23.12.2015, he confirmed that '[s]o we have one more tiny fragment of this commentary'.

4. Kesar 523 (Reel No. C 49-2) (31.6 × 4.4 cm) is a palm-leaf manuscript. It is written in Nepālākṣara script. This is a multi-text manuscript, which includes altogether five portions of four texts. These are:

- a. *Amarakośa* (31.3 × 4.3 cm), 4 folios; palm-leaf; incomplete, damaged; Nepālākṣara
- b. *Amarakośa* (31.3 × 4.3 cm), 34 folios; palm-leaf; incomplete, damaged; Nepālākṣara
- c. *Kātantravyākaraṇa* (31 × 4.5 cm), 1 folio; palm-leaf; Nepālākṣara
- d. [Vyākaraṇa] (32.3 × 5 cm), 16 folios; palm-leaf; incomplete, damaged; Maithili
- e. *Subantarātnākara*: This is a palm-leaf manuscript (31.6 × 4.4 cm) containing 40 folios with 4–5 lines per folio. The script is Nepālākṣara. The manuscript is damaged. A few folios are illegible because the letters are rubbed off. The manuscript is incomplete. It begins with the words (*dvijihvā*)t *padaracanāyāṃ bhayaṃ bhavati* (2r) which is a part of the second introductory verse of the *Subantarātnākara*. The manuscript ends with the derivation of the word *prasū*: *prasūḥ | prasvau | prasvaḥ | ityādīḥ | (...)* (46r5). The foliation consists of letter numerals written in the left-hand margin as well as numerals in the right-hand margin of the verso side. On some folios, the numerals are not visible either due to the rubbing off of *akṣaras* or the physical damage to the folio. The last folio (46v) preserves two inscriptions: *idaṃ sustakaṃ (! pustakaṃ) idaṃ pustakaṃ, ra 523, kātantraṭīkāyāṃ* (..). A close scrutiny of the exposures belonging to the *Amarakośa* ('b' above) revealed that images 7924b, 7925a, 7926b and 7927a are, in fact, the exposures of two folios of the *Subantarātnākara*, which correspond to folios 24v6–25r7, and 25v4–26r1 of B 35–23 (NAK 4/148). These folios contain the declensions of the words *jāyā, jarā, and niśā*. After the analysis of these two folios, I came to the conclusion that these are the missing folios 37 and 38 of the present manuscript of the *Subantarātnākara* (Kesar 523e). Thus, we now have a text of the *Subantarātnākara* including folios 2–32, 34, 36–38, 40, 42–43, and 46.

5. **Kesar 582 (Reel No. C 54-7 and C 55-1) (= C 102-39)** (33.1 × 4.5 cm) is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 118 folios with 5 lines per folio. The script is Nepālākṣara. The manuscript is damaged. Some folios are partially rubbed off while others suffer from the spreading of ink. At many places one image is partly imposed upon another. The manuscript is complete. Before the benedictory verse paying homage to Śākyamuni Buddha, we can read the *akṣaras -devāya*. Folios 117r4–117v2 contain three concluding verses, the final rubric to the text¹² (117v2–3) as well as the colophon¹³ (117v3–118r2). According to the colophon, the scribe's name was Māṇikarāja. He copied this manuscript during the reign of king Śrījyotimalla, i.e. Jayajyotirmalla (1408–1428). The folios have double foliation: letter-numerals in the left-hand margin and numerals in the right-hand margin. The year of the copy is Nepāla Saṃvat 533, which corresponds to 1413 CE. After the colophon, there are three folios, the contents of which are unclear.

Apart from these manuscripts from Nepal, one manuscript of the *Subantaratnākara* is preserved in the Cambridge University Library (Or.148).¹⁴

6. **Or.148 (31 × 5 cm)** is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 89 folios with 5 lines per folio. It is written in the Nepālākṣara. The first and the ninth folios of this manuscript are missing. The manuscript begins with *kīrtitāḥ | tatrādau tāvad vipraśabdāt* (2r). It ends with the three concluding verses (88r3–6), the final rubric to the text,¹⁵ and colophon.¹⁶ The foliation consists of letter-numerals written in the left-hand margin and of numerals in the right-hand margin of the verso side of a folio. The manuscript, which is dated Nepāla Saṃvat 540 (= 1420 CE), was copied by a certain Buddhist monk Dharmaraṣika (sic!) in the Śrīṣaḍakṣarīmahāvihāra in

12 *kṛtīr iyam̐ subhūticandrasya | granthapramāṇam asya sahasra 1 śata 4 grantha 30 |*

13 *bhīmasyāpi bhaved gaṅge vyāsasya mativibhramah | yathā dṛṣṭan tathā likhitam̐ lekhako nāsti doṣakaḥ | vahnau vahnau hi vānābde māse phālguṇa(!)kṛṣṇake | tithau (..)dābhīdhāne (.. ..) rīṣebhe śe (..) sūte | rājādhīrā(ja)parameśvaradevamūle vidyākālāśa(!)kalanītisuveeditasya | (.. ..) śa(!)kālāśāstrapraveditata(..)śrījyotimallanṛpate khalu liyato (!)[']yam | saṃlikhyate māṇikarāja iti prasiddho mātāpitāsahita(..)āmramake nivāsaḥ | śāstrisuvala(.. ..)guṇiṇām̐ pra(.. ..) jñānarucirapadanṛmām̐ | śubham̐ astu jagatām̐ |*

14 I am thankful to Vincenzo Vergiani for bringing this manuscript to my notice.

15 *kṛtīr iyam̐ paṇḍitasthāvirasubhūticandrasyaḥ (!) | granthapramāṇa (!) sahasra 1 śata 4 grantha 30 | iti subaṃtagrantha(h) saṃpūrṇa(h) | (89r6-89v1)*

16 *bhagnaprṣṭ(h)akati(!)grīvam̐ (!) taptadṛstīr (!) adhomukham̐ | kastena (!) likhitam̐ śāstram̐ jīvatat pratīpālayet | nepālahāyanaḥ samvat 540 bhād(r)apadaśukla(2)pañcamyān titho (!) budhavāśa(!)re svātinakṣatre brahmayoge | rājādhīrājaparamēśvaraparamabhaṭṭārakaḥ śrīmatmāneśvarāva(!) pa)ralabdhaprasā(!)ādaśrīśrījayajyotimalladevasya (3) vijayarājye | śrīmadgaṅgūlapatanake śrībaṭakṣarīmahāvīhāre śrīśrīśrīlokeśvaraścaraṇasevitabhīksunā (!) dharmaraṣikena (!) svapustakam̐ likhitam̐ śubham̐ astu | (4) sarvvajagatāḥ (!) | (89v1–4).*

the reign of the king Jayajyotirmalla. After the colophon, on folio 90, we find the following stray scribbles related to grammar:

(fol. 90r) *āgamo* (‘) *nupaghātī syād ādeśas copamardakaḥ* |
pratyayaḥ paradekaś (!) *ca upasargaś ca pūrvagaḥ* ||
kriyā karttā tataḥ karma paścād vai kārakāntaram |
yojaneṣām (!) (2) *tu vijñeye* (!) *gadeṣu* (!) *ca padeṣu ca* ||
saṃjñā ca paribhāṣā ca vidhir niyama eva ca |
pratiśedho (‘) *dhikāraś ca ṣaḍvidhaṃ sūtralakṣaṇam* ||
(90v) *mahān uttamaḥ vṛhan vi(sta)ra vṛṣan mṛga*
dau (!) *nañau ca samākhyotau* (!) *pratyudāśaprasajyakau* (!) |
pratyudāśa (!) *sadr̥ggrāhi prasajyas tu niṣedhakaḥ* ||

This manuscript was purchased by Prof. Bendall during his 1898–99 tour in Nepal (see Formigatti’s contribution in this volume).

3 Tibetan Translations of the *Subantarātnākara* (Tibetan: *Sup’i mtha’ rin chen ’byung gnas*)

While working on the *Kavikāmadhenu*, I had already searched through the Tibetan Tanjur for any other translated work of Subhūticandra. However, that was in vain. Now, with the availability of the titles of his works and so much manuscripts material at hand, it became possible to search the Tibetan Tanjur once again. The Sna Tshogs section of the Derge edition preserves an incomplete translation of the *Subantarātnākara*.¹⁷ The translation bears the title *Sup’i mtha’ rin chen ’byung gnas zhes bya ba Supadmākarānāma* (sic! *Subantarātnākaranāma*). The text abruptly ends while explaining the derivation of the word *veman*, which belongs to the second section dealing with masculine nouns ending in consonants.

In volume tha of the collected works of Si tu Paṅ chen (1699?–1774) there is a complete translation of the *Subantarātnākara*. It consists of 68 folios. According to the colophon found in this revised translation, the size of the text is 1420 ślokas and its author is Pa ṅḍi ta chen po gnas brtan zla ba (*Mahāpaṅḍitasthāvira-candra?).¹⁸ We are further informed that the canonical translation was done by Chos kyi rgyal

¹⁷ Derge: no. 4430, Fol. 122b³–134a⁶; Peking: Vol. 149, Mdo-ḥgrel, Ņo-tshar, 5894, 446b7–460b1.

¹⁸ *sup’i mtha’ rin chen ’byung gnas zhes bya ba ’di ni paṅḍi ta chen po gnas brtan zla bas mdzad pa’o* || (fol. 68r3) ‘This (treatise) entitled “Source of jewels” (on the derivation of forms) ending in a sUP (suffix) has been written by the great scholar Gnas-brtan-zla-ba [*Sthāvira-candra?].’ (Verhagen 2001, 134).

mtshan dpal bzang po.¹⁹ The title page of the scanned copy of the text available on the website of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center erroneously records the translator as Zhwa lu lo tsā ba Chos skyong bzang po.²⁰ According to Verhagen (2001, 132), this revised translation was done by Si tu Paṅ chen. However, from the reading of the colophon, I understand that it is not Si tu paṅ chen who actually revised the work himself, but rather it was Yon tan rgya mtsho who corrected the canonical translation as far as possible following the instructions of Si tu paṅ chen.²¹ Be lo has also provided important assistance in the entire process of revising the earlier translation.²² Karma Tshe dbang kun khyab prepared the printing blocks of the text in the monastery of Dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling. Talking about the awful state of the canonical translation, Yon tan rgya mtsho remarks that it suffers from 'very great errors of translation and at intervals there were some gaps remaining and also [widely diffused =] throughout (the work) there was a multitude of orthographical errors.'²³ (Verhagen 2001, 135). About his own corrections, Yon tan rgya mtsho says:

If one [could] find an Indian manuscript [of this text] it would be possible to make the final corrections, but as [I] did not [manage to] find [one], [I] did not have the means to do so (...?).

19 *de ltar brda sprod pa tsa ndra pa'i sup mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas 'di lo tsā bā chos kyi rgyal mtshan dpal bzang pos bod skad du bsgyur pa la 'gyur ...* (fol. 68r4). 'The preceding (treatise), this sUB-anta-ratnākara, belonging to the Cāndra (system of) grammar, had been translated into Tibetan by the translator Chos-kyi-rgyal-mtshan(-dpal-bzañ-po).' (Verhagen 2001, 134). Verhagen (2001, 134, n. 538) says that this translator is 'thus far unidentified.'

20 www.tbrc.org.

21 'jam mgon bla ma'i gsung gi legs bshad ltar legs par bcos shing rje'i tsa na ṭig chen mo'i yan lag zhabs 'degs su dpal spungs thub bstan chos 'khor gling gi chos grar par du bkod pa'i byed pa po ni ka rma tshe dbang kun khyab ces pa'i da ri dra yis so || ... *slad du'ang skyabs rje'i bka' ltar yon tan rgya mtsho bdag gis zhu dag lam tsam bgyis mod* | 'According to the aphorisms of the words of 'Jam-mgon-bla-ma [i.e. Si-tu Paṅ-chen] these (errors) have been corrected. And as [lit. a foot-support, i.e. an aid scil. for interpretation] auxilliary to the great ṭikā on Cāndra by the master [i.e. Si-tu Paṅ-chen] printing blocks [of the present text] have been prepared in the monastery of Dpal-spuñs Thub-bstan-chos-'khor-gliñ by Karma Tshe-dbañ-kun-khyab. ... Again, in accordance with the words of the master who is our refuge, I, Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, have roughly made corrections.' (Verhagen 2001, 135)

22 *gzhi nas 'gyur skyon che zhiṅ dpe ngan rgyun 'byams mang ba'i thog | par 'di'i ma dpe ma dag che ba la 'be lo kyang zhib cha mdzad grub 'dug cing* | 'But, as there were great errors in the initial translation [or: great fundamental errors in the translation] and a great multitude of bad [i.e. erroneous] examples [in the translation], while moreover grave corruptions [had entered] the original copy of this xylograph, 'Be-lo has also thoroughly worked through [the text].' (Verhagen 2001, 135)

23 *skyon shin tu che zhiṅ bar skabs 'gar hol khong 'ga' re las 'dug pa dang | yig nor rgyun 'byams yang ches mang bar 'dug pa nams* |

[Therefore?] [I] have made the corrections that were certain [i.e. evidently necessary] in accordance with the contents of the basic texts on grammar.²⁴ (Verhagen 2001, 136)

4 About the text of the *Subantarātnākara*

Benediction

The benedictory verse of the *Subantarātnākara* pays homage to Śākyamuni Buddha:

*maināke hariṇā svakuṣivasater ādāya toyākarāt
kṣipte kokanadībhavatsmaracamūśastrapratichhāyayā |
yaṃ devendram iva pratītya saruṣaṃ {vy}āvarttamāne (‘mānair ?) bhayāt
bodhau mārabhaṭaiḥ palāyitam asau śākyo muniḥ pātu vah ||* (fol. 1v1–2) (Metre: Śārdūla-
vikrīḍita)

The exact meaning of this verse is not clear. It seems to refer to the event of Śākyamuni Buddha’s fight with Māra’s army just before the enlightenment. Here is a tentative translation of the verse, which certainly needs revision:

May this Śākyamuni protect us whom the withdrawing army of Māra considered like the angry king of gods and fled out of fear at the time of enlightenment, when Hari took mount Maināka from the ocean, in whose womb he had made (his) own residence, (and) hurled it as a return cast (*pratichhāyayā*) of those weapons of troops of the god of love (*smaracamū*), which turned into red water-lilies (*kokanadībhavat*).²⁵

I was unable to find a similar mythological reference about mount Maināka in the Sanskrit literature. There is one reference in Kṣemendra’s *Daśāvatāracarita*:

²⁴ *rgya dpe rnyed na zhu dag dpyis phyin nus par ’dug kyang ma rnyed pas bya thabs bral sgra gzhung nams kyi bstan don bzhin sngar las dag nges su bcos yod do ||*

²⁵ I am thankful to Harunaga Isaacson (email correspondence dated 15/7/2015 and 30/12/2016) for suggesting this translation, which is so far the best translation one can offer. He suggests reading *kokanadībhavat*² as one compound, without which ‘it will be impossible (or nearly so) to construe the verse at all.’ He drew my attention to a verse in the *Buddhacarita* (13.42): *tadbodhi-mūle pravikīryamāṇam aṅgāravaraṣaṃ tu savisphuliṅgam | maitrīvihārād ṛṣisattamasya babhūva raktopalapattravaraṣaḥ ||*. Here the weapons of Māra, in the form of a rain of coals with sparks, turn into red-*utpala* petals. About the image in the second half, Isaacson suggests: ‘[w]hen Maināka is thrown by Hari, the army thinks that the Buddha is the lord of the gods (Indra, being defended by Hari = Upendra), and flees.’ In my opinion, this is a brilliant innovative explanation, which I accept thankfully.

*mānāya mainākam athāṛṇavena viśrāntaye ratnagirim viśṛṣṭam |
kareṇa saṃsprṛṣya sa laṅghitābdir laṅkākaśailasya taṭe papāta || (7.190)*

Here the ocean is said to have sent forth the mount Maināka with jewel peaks for Hanumān to rest on it. Hanumān touched the mountain with his hand and, having crossed the ocean, landed on another mountain on the shore of Laṅkā. This story originally occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (5.56.8ff). However, these references do not match with the present narrative.

Purpose

The benedictory verse is followed by a verse that explains the purpose of the *Sub-antaratnākara*:

*santy eva nātra sudhiyāṃ kim u supprabandhās
te kin tu vistaratayālpadhiyām agamyāḥ |
tatsāraleśam apagrhya tataḥ kṛto [']yam
avyāsataḥ smaraṇamātraphale [']bhyupāyaḥ || (1v2–3) (Metre: Vasantatilaka)*

Is it not the case that here indeed exist compositions about *sup*-[*anta*]s composed by excellent scholars? However, due to the sheer vastness (of these texts), they are difficult to understand for those who are of limited intelligence (*alpadhis*). (Therefore,) after taking the essence of those texts, this (work) is composed as an excellent means (for achieving) the goal of mere memorization without being verbose.

Thus, the text is a pedagogic guide meant for beginners, which would help them in learning the vast ocean of declensions of nouns and adjectives (*subantas*), as the name of the text suggests.

The author's confidence in the merits of his own composition is evident in the next verse:

*mama parapadāvicālituḥ
sadvidyopāsanaikanipūnasya |
kṛśam api kuto dvijihvāt
padaracanāyāṃ bhayaṃ bhavati || (fol. 1v2–3) (Metre: Āryā)*

With respect to (this) composition, for a person like me, who does not fall down from the highest (spiritual) position and is extremely skilled in good lore (of taming snakes like the *jāṅgulividya*), from whence can there be even a little fear of a slanderer who is like a double-tongued snake?

This verse speaks of the author's higher spiritual attainments. The intended pun on the words *parapada*, *sadvidyā*, and *dvijihva* is worth noting. These three verses are testimonies to the author's poetic skills.

Contents

Next comes a verse explaining the contents of the Subantarātnākara:

rūḍhiśabdā nigadyante puṃsi śaṅḍhe striyām api |
*guṇadravyakriyāyogā[s] triliṅgās tadanantaram ||*²⁶ (fol. 1v4) (Metre: Anuṣṭubh)

Words that convey their meaning by usage (i.e. conventional words) are enumerated in the masculine, in the neuter, (and) also in the feminine. Thereafter (follow those words,) which have three genders and are associated (either) with the quality, the substance, or the action (that is to say, qualifying words).

Each of these sections is further sub-divided into nouns ending in vowels and consonants. There are two more sections, which are not mentioned in this verse. These are of pronouns and numerals. It seems that for the author they are included in the section dealing with qualifying nouns (*triliṅgas*). Thus, altogether there are six sections:

1. The masculine nouns ending in:
 - a. vowels²⁷ (fols 1v5–11v5)
 - b. consonants²⁸ (fols 11v5–20r5)
2. The neuter nouns ending in
 - a. vowels²⁹ (fols 20r5–22v1)
 - b. consonants³⁰ (fols 22v1–24v2)
3. The feminine nouns ending in

²⁶ The NGMCP records a text entitled *Syādyantakoṣa* (A 54–3) of unknown authorship. Just as the *Subantarātnākara*, it deals with nominal declensions following the Kātantra system of grammar. Interestingly, this text, after its benedictory verse, also contains this and the next verse, namely, *rūḍhiśabdā nigadyante ... and viprāgnī*²⁷. According to the NGMCP, '[t]his text, styled *Syādyantaprakriyā* [Si la sogs pa'i mtha'i bya ba, Derge 4287] and attributed to a certain Mañju(śrī)kīrti or Mañjughoṣakīrti [']am dpal grags pa], is equally following the Kātantra system and might very well be the translation of the original Sanskrit version preserved on (sic!) A 54/3.'

²⁷ *uktāḥ puṃsy ajantāḥ |* (fol. 11v5)

²⁸ *uktā ajantā halantās ca puṃsi saviśeṣāḥ | pulaliṅga(!)kāṅḍaḥ prathamah samāptaḥ |* (fol. 20r5)

²⁹ *idānīm napuṃsakaliṅgā ucyante |* (fol. 20r5–6)

³⁰ *halantā ucyante |* (fol. 22v1), *napuṃsakakāṅḍo dvitīyaḥ samāptaḥ |* fol. (24v2–3)

- a. vowels³¹ (fols 24v3–33r3)
- b. consonants³² (fols 33r3–37r4–5)
4. Adjectives ending in
 - a. vowels³³ (fols 37r5–44r6)
 - b. consonants³⁴ (fols 44r6–61v1)
5. Pronouns³⁵ (fols 61v1–72v4)
6. Numerals (fols 72v4–76v5)

Method of explanation

Each of these sections begins with a list of words to be dealt with in that particular section. Cf. for instance, the beginning of the first section dealing with masculine nouns ending in vowels:

*viprāgnisakhipatyamśukroṣṭṛpratibhuvah pitā |
nā praśāstā ca raigāvau puṁsy ajantāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||* (1v4–5) (Metre: Anuṣṭubh)

In the masculine, (nouns) ending in vowels (such as) *vipra*, *agni*, *sakhi*, *pati*, *aṁśu*, *kroṣṭṛ*, *pratibhū*, *pitṛ*, *nṛ*, *praśāstṛ*, *rai*, and *gau* are explained.

The order within each of these sections is alphabetical, that is to say, nouns are arranged according to their last vowel or consonant.

After this list, the noun under discussion is mentioned. For instance, at the beginning of the section dealing with masculine nouns ending in vowels, we find:

tatrādau tāvad vipraśabdāt ... (fol. 1v5)

There, at the outset, after the noun *vipra* ...

Many a time, the author provides a derivation of these nouns. For instance, cf. the derivation of the word *hāhā* (fols 3v7–4r1):

ādanto gandharvvanāma hāhāśabdaḥ | heti kṛtvā jahāti | hāhā | ‘kv(i)b-vic-manip-kvanip-vani-paḥ’ iti vic | cakāraḥ sāmānyagrahaṇārthaḥ | “ikāro ‘ver anaca’ iti cihnārthaḥ”³⁶ vakāra-syānenaiva lopāḥ | ‘kārakaṁ bah(u)lam’ iti samāsaḥ |

31 *idāniṁ strīliṅgā ucyante* | (fol. 24v3), *uktāḥ striyām ajantāḥ* | (fol. 33r2–3)

32 *halantā ucyante* | (fol. 33r3), *strīliṅgakāṇḍas tṛtīyaḥ samāptaḥ* | (fol. 37r4–5)

33 *idāniṁ vācyaliṅgā ucyante* | (fol. 37r5), *uktā ajantāḥ* | (fol. 44r6)

34 *uktā halantāḥ* | (fol. 61v1)

35 *idāni(ṁ) sarvādaya ucyante* | (fol. 61v1), *uktāḥ sarvādayaḥ* | (fol. 72v4)

36 Cf. CVṛ on CV 1.2.53: *ikāro ver anaca* (5.1.64) *iti cihnārthaḥ*.

The noun *hāhā* ending in the vowel *ā* is the name of a *gandharva* ‘celestial musician’. (He is called) *hāhā* (because) he leaves by making (the sound) *hā*. (The suffix) *vic* (is added by the rule) *kvibvicmanipkvanipvanipaḥ* (CV 1.2.53). The (indicatory letter) *c* (in the suffix *vic*) is for the sake of common reference. The (vowel) *i* is for the sake of marking it distinctly (as in the rule) *ver anacaḥ* (CV 5.1.64). The (phoneme) *v* is elided by this very (rule). The compound (*hāhā*) (is formed by the rule): *kāraḥ bahulam* (CV 2.2.16).

The author then proceeds to derive various declensions of that particular noun. For this, he relies on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*. Cf. for instance, the derivational procedure for various declensions of the masculine noun *hāhā* ending in the vowel *ā*:

svādayaḥ | *so rutvavisarggau* | *hāhāḥ* | ‘*prathamayor aci*’ iti *dirghatvasya* ‘*dirghāj jasi ca*’ iti *pratiṣedhe ākāraukārayor* ‘*eci*’ ity *aūkārah* | *hāhau* | *adantayor* ‘*ako*’ ki *dirghaḥ*’ | *hāhāḥ* | (fol. 4r1–4)

(The case terminations) *su* etc.³⁷ (The suffix) *su* is replaced by *ru* (which is further substituted by) *visarga*. (Thus, the nominative singular form) *hāhāḥ* (is derived). When the lengthening (of the vowel) by the (application of the rule) *prathamayor aci* (CV 5.1.109) is prohibited (by the rule) *dirghāj jasi ca* (CV 5.1.112), (the substitution of the vowel) *au* in the place of (the vowels) *ā* and *au* (together) (takes place) by the rule *eci* (CV 5.1.84). (Thus, the nominative dual form) *hāhau* (is derived). Both *a* (which is the initial letter of the suffix *as*) and the final letter (of the noun *hāhā*, i.e. *ā*) are substituted by the long (vowel) (by the rule) *ako* ‘*ki dirghaḥ*’ (CV 5.1.106). (Thus, the nominative plural form) *hāhāḥ* (is derived).

Authorities

The author of the *Subantarātnākara* appears to be an erudite scholar well versed in various genres of Sanskrit literature. This is evident from occasional citations scattered in his work. Noteworthy is his expertise in the Cāndra grammatical tradition. He cites not only from the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* but also from its commentarial literature, such as the works of Ratnamati (fols 17v5–7, 17v6, 21v4, 27r5 and 28v4), and Pūrṇacandra (fols 21v4, 28v4 and 47r3). Apart from these two authorities, the author has also cited from ‘verses on gender by the master [i.e. Candragomin?]' (67r7) (Verhagen 2001, 134). At times, he also refers to the other two important grammatical traditions, namely, the Pāṇinian and the Kātantra (51v4). From the former, he has cited Maitreyarakṣita and Puruṣottamadeva’s *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (35v5, 39v6). At a few places, we find citations from the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (37v5). At one place, the author has

37 Cf. *svaujasamauṭchaṣṭābhyāmbhisnebhyāmbhyasāsibhyāmbhyasāsosāmīyos sup* (CV 2.1.1).

cited from a hitherto unknown text called *Yid bzhin nor bu'i bstod pa'i rgya cher 'grel* (**Cintāmaṇistutiṭīkā*) composed by a certain Śākya'i blo gros (18r4).³⁸

Concluding verses

The text concludes with three verses:

*iti ghaṭitam idaṃ mayā s(uvarṇṇaiḥ
sulalīta)*³⁹*kṣaṇaratnabhūṣitaṃ ca |
sravasi (!) vinihitaṃ dhṛtaṃ ca kaṅṭhe
śiśumukhamaṇḍalamaṇḍanaṃ dadhātu ||* (Metre: Puṣpitaḡrā)

Thus, with gold-like excellent letters, I have fashioned this (ornament-like treatise), which is decorated with jewels of extremely charming marks in the form of very beautiful jewel-like aphorisms. When put on ears and wore around the neck by way of paying an (attentive) ear and learning it by heart may it decorate the face of children.

*aye kumārā vibudhaśriyaṃ parā(ṃ)
d(rutaṃ bhavanto yadi labdhum icchava)*⁴⁰*ḥ |
punaḥ punaḥś (!) cintanamantarāḍiṇā (! °mandarāḍriṇā)
subantaratnākara eṣa mathyatām ||* (Metre: Vaṃśastha)

O young men! If you want to achieve quickly the divine glory, that is to say, the fame of a learned person, then (you) should churn again and again this ocean of nouns (ending in a SUP suffix), that is to say, the treatise *Subantaratnākara*, with the mount Mandara of (your) contemplation.

*śubham abhavad idaṃ vidhāya yan me
vacanarucā jaḡa(tas)*⁴¹*tamo nihatya |
mihira iva tataḥ sadartharāśer
aḡam upadarśayitā sadā bhaveyam ||* (fols 76v5–77r2) (Metre: Puṣpitaḡrā)

38 Verhagen 2001, 134. Śākya'i blo (*Śākyaobodhi) (!) is the author of *Āryadaśabhūmisūtra-nidānabhāṣya* (P 5500). He is also the author of the *Pramāṇavārttikaṭīkā* (P 5718). Śākya'i blo gros (*Śākyaamati) is the author of the *Āryagayāśirśasūtramiśrakavyākhyā* (P 5493).

39 Since the folio of NAK 4/148 is damaged, this portion is supplied on the basis of Or 148 (89r3–4).

40 *parāṃ drutaṃ bhavanto yadi labdhum icchavaḥ* (Kesar 582–1, 117r5). Since the folio of NAK 4/148 is damaged, this portion is supplied on the basis of Kesar 582. *padāṃ* (p.c.; *parā* (a.c.)) *druta bhavanto yadi labdhum icchavaḥ* (Or 148 (89r4–5))

41 So reads Or 148 (89r5).

Whatever merit has occurred to me after composing this (ornament-like treatise), on account of that (merit), having destroyed the darkness (of ignorance) of the world with the light of words may I become one who always illuminates the heap of excellent things like the Sun.

The issue of authorship

Neither in the introductory nor in the concluding verses of the *Subantarātnākara* we come across the name of the author of this text. It appears only in the colophon:

ḳṛtir iyaṁ paṇḍitasthāvirasubhūticandrasya | (fol. 77r2)

This is a composition of the scholar-monk Subhūticandra.

Not a single final rubric mentions either the name of the text or its author. The two commentaries on the *Subantarātnākara* (discussed below) ascribe this text to Subhūticandra. The colophon of the Tibetan translation records the author of this text as Pa ṅḍi ta chen po gnas brtan zla ba (*Mahāpaṇḍitasthāviracandra).⁴² Although Verhagen (2001, 135, n. 542), while discussing the Tibetan translation of the *Subantarātnākara*, mentions that ‘in the introductory section [of his commentary on the Cāndra grammar], Si-tu enumerates the many grammatical treatises he investigated, including a sUBanta-ratnākara by Subhūti (su-bhū-tis-mdzad-pa’i-sup-mtha’-rin-’byuñ, vol. 1 fol. 6v3)’, he does not seem to conjecture that Pa ṅḍi ta chen po gnas brtan zla ba should, in fact, point to Pa ṅḍi ta chen po gnas brtan [Rab ’byor] zla ba (*Mahāpaṇḍitasthāvirā[Subhūti]candra). The facts that a) the three Sanskrit manuscripts in which the end of the text is preserved unequivocally mention Subhūticandra as the author of the text, and b) the Tibetan translation of the *Subantarātnākara* matches with these Sanskrit manuscripts prove the identity of Gnas brtan zla ba and Sthāvira Subhūticandra beyond any doubt.

The question whether Subhūticandra, the author of the *Subantarātnākara*, is the same as the author of the *Kavikāmadhenu*, however, needs further consideration. Unfortunately, I have not come across any reference to the *Subantarātnākara* in later works. In spite of that, the following external evidence is worth considering. As mentioned above, Subhūticandra, the author of the *Kavikāmadhenu*, had a scholarly command over all the three important Sanskrit grammatical traditions.

⁴² *sup’i mtha’ rin chen ’byung gnas zhes bya ba ’di ni paṇḍi ta chen po gnas brtan zla bas mdzad pa’o* || ‘This (treatise) entitled “Source of jewels” (on the derivation of forms) ending in a sUP (suffix) has been written by the great scholar Gnas-brtan-zla-ba [*Sthāviracandra?].’ (Verhagen 2001, 134)

There are at least 288 citations from as many as 53 grammatical texts in his commentary. Pa tshab lo tsā ba has referred to Subhūticandra as a scholar of grammar (van der Kuijp 2009, 8). This statement would make more sense if we accept that the same author had composed a grammatical work.

Besides this, there are internal evidences, which prove the identity of both the authors. From the benedictory verses of both these texts paying homage to the Buddha, it is clear that their author was a Buddhist.⁴³ Both these benedictions express a wish that the Buddha may protect and bestow his grace on the mankind.

As I have shown in the introduction to the critical edition of the *Kavikāmadhenu* (2014, 58–61), this commentary was composed sometime between 1110 and 1130 CE. It is interesting to note that the latest authority referred to in the *Kavikāmadhenu* as well as in the *Subantarātnākara* is Puruṣottamadeva, who, according to Vogel (2015, 53), flourished in the first half of the 12th century. Thus, both the texts share the same lower limit. In this connection, it is worthwhile to note that in the *Kavikāmadhenu*, Subhūticandra has referred to many grammatical texts and authorities while deriving a particular word. However, despite being an important text in the Cāndra tradition, there is not a single reference to the *Subantarātnākara* or its author. As far as I have studied the manuscript material, there is no reference to the *Kavikāmadhenu* in the *Subantarātnākara*. This evidence, though negative, is important, as it at least does not prove the antithesis.

43 The initial portion of the original Sanskrit text of the *Kavikāmadhenu* is missing. I have attempted at translating the Sanskrit behind the not always correct Tibetan rendering of Si tu's Tibetan translation of these verses (1b–3b):

*sa chen po yi rtser gshegs shing || rdzu 'phrul 'dab ldan bdud rtsi brnyes || thams cad mkhyen pa'i dpag bsam shing || khyod la me tog 'bras dud shog || gang gi thugs rje lam gsum 'gro || mtho ris las 'bab ga ngā bzhin || dpal mtsho bdud rtsi'i gter srid pa'i || zla phyed rab sbyin der bdag 'dud || srid pa'i mtsho chen sgrol bar byed pa chos kyi gru || snying rje'i dpag bsam ljon pa'i shing las grub khyod kyis || rab dangs sems kyi tshogs chen skya bas rab bskul nas || pha rol phyin te mngon 'dod rin chen thob par mdzod || 'May the Wish-Fulfilling Tree, the Omniscient one (the Buddha), standing at the summit of the great *bhūmis* (i.e. who has attained all the stages of a Bodhisattva), endowed with the leaves of supernatural powers, and has attained immortal state (*nirvāṇa*) bend down for you with its flowers and fruits. I bow unto him whose compassion, like the river Ganga that originated from heaven, has gone three ways, who is an ocean of prosperity, and the reservoir of immortality, and dispeller of worldly existence. May you reach the other shore and acquire the most desired jewel (of enlightenment) by the ship, the Dharma (teachings) carrying one across the great ocean of worldly existence, which has been accomplished from the Wish-Fulfilling Tree of compassion; being propelled by the great multitude of the oarsmen with a perfectly serene mind.' (Deokar Lata 2014, 97, 301). For the benedictory verse of the *Subantarātnākara*, cf. the section on the benediction.*

In the *Kavikāmadhenu*, the principal grammatical authority for Subhūticandra is Candragomin's grammatical aphorisms and the Cāndra grammatical lineage. In the same way, the *Subantarātnākara* is also based upon the Cāndra grammatical tradition. Both these works draw upon common authorities such as the grammarians Maitreyarākṣita, Puruṣottamadeva, and Śārvavarman, the lexicographers Rudradāsa and Rudra, and literary works like the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* and the **Cintāmaṇi-stuṭiṭīkā*.

There are a number of passages in the *Kavikāmadhenu* and the *Subantarātnākara* that show a close affinity. Two instances may be cited in this regard:

i. *sarvo 'nayā lakṣaṇīyaḥ syād iti lakṣmīḥ | 'lakṣer muṭ ca' iti ipratyayaḥ | (lakṣmī, AK I.1.27, Deokar Lata 2014, 143)*

(She is called) Lakṣmī since Sarva, that is, Lord Viṣṇu is to be marked by her. The suffix *ī* (is added) by the rule *lakṣer muṭ ca* (Cāndra Uṇādi 1.89)

sarvo 'nayā lakṣaṇīyaḥ syād iti lakṣe(r) muṭ ceti ... (lakṣmī, Subantarātnākara, NAK 4/148, 27r2)

(She is called) Lakṣmī since Sarva, that is, Lord Viṣṇu is to be marked by her. Thus, by the rule *lakṣer muṭ ca* (Cāndra Uṇādi 1.89) ...

ii. *niśyati tanūkaroti sarvavyāpāram | 'ātaḥ prādībhyaḥ' iti kaḥ | (niśā, AK I.4.4a, Deokar Lata 2014, 284)*

(She is called *niśā* since) she reduces, i.e., lessens all the activities. (The suffix) *ka* (is added by the rule) *ātaḥ prādībhyaḥ* (CV 1.1.142).

niśyati tanūkaroti sarvavyāpāram ity 'ātaḥ prādībhyaḥ' iti kaḥ | (niśā, Subantarātnākara, NAK 4/148, 25v3)

She reduces, i.e., lessens all the activities. (The suffix) *ka* (is added by the rule) *ātaḥ prādībhyaḥ* (CV 1.1.142).

From the literary point of view, the opening verses of the *Kavikāmadhenu* and the opening and the concluding verses of the *Subantarātnākara* exhibit a special liking for *śliṣṭarūpakas*. The following two verses from the *Kavikāmadhenu* and the *Subantarātnākara* are worth considering from the stylistic point of view:

Kavikāmadhenu:

I will prepare in the manner of decoration and accomplishment (*rab tu sgrub byed cho ga*) this well-arranged 'Necklace of the Wise Ones' using this treasure (lexicon), which is full of word-

jewels gathered from the infinite ocean of treatises, with the help of the excellent strings (*sūtras* ‘aphorisms’) of the illustrious Candragomin.⁴⁴

Subantarātnākara:

Thus, with gold-like excellent letters I have fashioned this (ornament-like treatise), which is decorated with jewels of extremely charming marks in the form of very beautiful jewel-like aphorisms. When put on ears and wore around neck by way of paying an (attentive) ear and learning it by heart may it decorate the neck of children.⁴⁵

In these verses, the author is talking about his own composition. Their parallel structure is quite striking. In both the texts, the composition is compared to an ornament decorated with jewels. Similarly, there is a pun on the words *sūtra* and *lakṣaṇa* while referring to the aphorisms of the Cāndra grammar.

It is quite unlikely that two persons bearing the same name flourished around the same period and had so much in common. Hence, in all likelihood, one and the same Subhūticandra composed both the treatises. In the concluding verse of the *Subantarātnākara*, the author expresses his wish to become an illuminator of a heap of good meanings. This may well be taken as an indirect reference to the composition of the *Kavikāmadhenu*, which, being a commentary on the *Amarakośa*, actually clarifies the meanings of the words occurring in it. This might be an indication that Subhūticandra first composed a comparatively simpler text in the form of the *Subantarātnākara* and then at a mature age wrote the *Kavikāmadhenu*, which is much profound than the former.

5 Commentarial literature

The *Subantarātnākara* was commented upon at least twice. The first reference to its commentary is found in a collection of 1820 entitled ‘Hodgson’s Private Papers at the British Library’. The corresponding entry reads as follows:

44 *mtha' yas gzhung lugs rgya mtsho'i mngon brjod rin chen gang || mdzod 'dis mkhas pa'i mgrin pa'i do shal nam bkod pa || dpal ldan tsa ndra go mis byas pa'i mdo mchog gis || de ni rab tu sgrub byed cho ga sbyar bar bgyi ||* (Deokar Lata 2014, 302).

45 *iti ghaṭitam idaṃ mayā s(uvarṇṇaiḥ sulalitā)kṣaṇaratnabhūṣitaṃ ca | sravasi (!) vinihitam dhṛtaṃ ca kaṅṭhe śīsumukhamāṇḍalamaṇḍanaṃ dadhātu ||* (*Subantarātnākara*, NAK 4/148, 76v 5–6).

[t]he manuscript is written on machine-made paper. Colophon of a commentary on a Buddhist scripture known as Suvantarātnākara of Subhūticandra written by Pandit Abhayaraj during the reign of King Yaksha Malla of Nepalmandala (c. 1428–1482).

The said manuscript is neither found in the Hodgson’s collection nor listed in the catalogue of the NGMCP. The second reference to a commentary on the *Subantarātnākara* is found in Hara Prasad Shastri’s catalogue of the palm-leaf manuscripts belonging to the Durbar library, Nepal. Shastri (1905, 128) has described the manuscript as:

1076 | kha | Rūpasādhanaṃ. By Subhūticandra. 10 × 1½ inches. Folia, 96. Lines, 6 on a page. Extent, 2160 ṣlokas. Character, Newāri. Date, (?). Appearance, old. Prose. Incorrect. Beginning. Oṃ namo vāgīśvarāya |

*natvā śivaṃ vidhuviriñcikaṅdravakraṃ
vāgīśvarīṃ gurupadaṃ janakaṃ kaviṅ ca |
cetaḥ śīṣor jaḍaruḅāntakajāyu divyaṃ
śrīrūpasādhanaṃ vimalaṃ pravakṣye ||
maināka ityādi | pātu rakṣatu kau(!)sau muniḥ sarvvākāreṇa sarvvapadārthānāṃ yathāvad
bodhanātmanāṃ muniḥ | athavā akathyakathane maunayogān munir bhagavān samyaksam-
buddhaḥ || kathambhūtaḥ | śākyaḥ śākeṣu bhavaḥ śākyaḥ | athavā śākyaśāpatyaṃ pauṛādi-
kaṃ śākyaḥ | ityādi |*

The *pratīkas* commented upon in this opening portion reveal beyond doubt that the *Rūpasādhana* is a commentary on the *Subantarātnākara*. Interestingly, the derivation of the word *muni* found in this commentary and in Subhūticandra’s *Kavikāmadhenu* is almost identical. Cf. the *Kavikāmadhenu* on the Buddha’s epithet *muni* (AK I.1.14):

sarvvākāreṇa sarvvadharmāṅāṃ mananād adharmāvavādeṣu vā maunān muniḥ | (Deokar Lata 2014, 124)

However, from the benedictory verse, which pays homage to the lord Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahman, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, teacher, father and poet, this does not appear to be the commentary written by Subhūticandra described by Shastri.

The manuscript of the *Rūpasādhana* appears to be incomplete. For, Shastri (1905, 128) further says:

End. *uktārtheyādi | un lopaḥ | akāreṇa sandhiḥ | manas śabdārūpasādhanaṃ | 62 ||
hakāraḥśakārantāny aprasiddhāni ||
Colophon. iti subhūticandramahākaver viracite supprakaraṇe napuṃsakakāṅḍāni dvitīyāni
paricchadāni samāptāni (!) || (?)*

In the *Subantarātnākara*, the last neuter noun ending in a consonant is *vetas* and not *manas*. However, we do come across a comment in the *Subantarātnākara* at the end of the section dealing with the neuter nouns similar to the one mentioned above:

hakāraḥsakārāntā aprasiddhāḥ | (*Subantarātnākara*, NAK 4/148, 24v2)

It is worthwhile to note that this manuscript mentions Subhūticandra as the author of the root text. However, the latter is called *Supprakaraṇa* instead of *Subantarātnākara*. This tendency of using a generic name instead of a specific one seems to be in vogue. I am particularly reminded of Subhūticandra's *Kavikāmadhenu*, which is mostly referred to as *Subhūtiṭikā*. (Deokar Lata 2014, 67). This is probably the first time where Subhūticandra is referred to as a great poet (Mahākavi). At other places, he is mentioned as a great monk-scholar (Mahāpaṇḍitasthavira).

Apart from the six manuscripts of the *Subantarātnākara* discussed above, there are six more manuscripts with the title *Subantarātnākara*. Out of these, four are listed by the NGMCP, and one each by the Cambridge University Library and the Durbar library:

1. NAK 1/813 (Reel no. A 585-4 (= A 1211-3)) is a paper (?) manuscript (22.3 × 7.2 cm) containing 154 folios with 6–7 lines per folio. The website of the NGMCP mentions 'Folio number 131 is missing but the text is continuous. Fol. 151 is missing.' However, the said information is incorrect since both the folios are available. The script is Nepālākṣara; the first folio is written in the Rañjanā script. The manuscript is illegible at many places due to the spreading of ink. The foliation figures are written in the middle of the right-hand margin on the verso side of a folio. The manuscript was copied by a scribe named Kāśirāma in NS 737 (= 1617 CE) during the reign of King Jagajjyotirmalla. This description matches with the one found in Dwivedi (1987), according to whom, the number of this manuscript is *pra.* 813 with the subject code (*viṣayāṅka*) 361.

About the text

Benediction

The manuscript begins with the benediction to the All-knowing one (*oṃ namaḥ sarvajñāya*) and the benedictory verse, which is the same as that of the *Rūpāvatāra* of Dharmakīrti:

sarvajñam anantaḡuṇaṃ praṇāmya bālaprabodhanārtham aham |
rūpāvatāram alpasukalāpam ṛjuṃ kariṣyāmi || (fol. 1v2-3) (Metre: Āryā) (*Rūpāvatāra* p. 1)

After paying homage to the All-knowing one, who has infinite qualities, I shall (now) elucidate the *Rūpāvatāra* in a brief and well-classified manner with the purpose of enlightening the ignorant ones.

Purpose

The benedictory verse is followed by a verse describing the purpose of this work. It is apparently not written by Dharmakīrti himself:

*kṛtā sukṛtinā ceyaṃ prakriyā dharmakīrtinā |
potānā(ṃ) potavat kṣipraṃ śabdābdhau pāragāminām ||* (fol. 1v3) (Metre: Anuṣṭubh)
(*Rūpāvatāra* Intro. ii)

The learned Dharmakīrti has prepared this boat-like (treatise) dealing with the derivational process for the (benefit of the) young ones who wish to quickly cross over the ocean of nouns.

Rangacharya, the editor of the *Rūpāvatāra*, who has quoted this verse in his introduction (p. i–ii) to the text, informs us:

In the catalogue of the manuscripts published by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Śāstrī, it can be found that the *Rūpāvatāra* is one of the texts available in the manuscripts collection in the royal palace of Nepal. Moreover, at the beginning of the text printed there, the following verse occurs: *kṛtā sukṛtinā ceyaṃ prakriyā dharmakīrtinā | potānām potavat kṣipraṃ śabdābdhau pāragāminām ||*⁴⁶

The statement of Rangacharya is indicative of the fact that the text listed by Haraprasāda Śāstrī differs from the text of the *Rūpāvatāra*, at least as far as the opening verse is concerned.

Contents

A close comparison of our present text with that of the *Rūpāvatāra* shows that the present text is either a commentary on or some text based upon the *Rūpāvatāra*. Cf. for instance, the initial portions of both texts. The edited text of the *Rūpāvatāra* reads:

⁴⁶ Translation mine. The original Sanskrit reads: *nepālarājabhavanasthalikhitagranthasamudaye rūpāvatāro 'py ekatama iti mahāmahopādhyāyahasaprasādaśāstriprakaṭitāyāṃ tatsūcīkāyāṃ dṛśyate | api ca tatramudritaitadgranthādau śloko 'yaṃ vartate - kṛtā sukṛtinā ceyaṃ prakriyā dharmakīrtinā | potānām potavat kṣipraṃ śabdābdhau pāragāminām ||*

atha saṃjñāvatārah || *tatrādau tāvat pratyāhāras śāstre saṃvyavahārajñāpanārtham anuvaryate | tadyathā* || aiuṅ, ṛḷk, eoñ, aiauc, hayavaraṭ, laṅ, ṅamaṅanaṅam, jhabhañ, ghaḍhadhaṣ, jabagaḍadaṣ, khaphachaṭhathacaṭataṣ, kapay, saṣasar, hal | *iti pratyāhārasūtrāṇi* || *tatra prathamam aṅ ity eṣa pratyāhāro gṛhyate | kathaṃ? aiuṅ ity atra ṅakārasya, upadeṣe*ḥ anuṅāsika it (I.3.2.) *ity ataḥ upadeṣe it iti anuvartamāne, halantyam* (I.3.3.) – *upadeṣe yad antyaṃ hal tad itsaṃjñāṃ bhavati | ke punar upadeṣāḥ? āgamādeṣadhātugaṅapāṭhapratyayapratyāhārasūtrāṇy upadeṣāḥ -*

dhātusūtragaṅoṇādivākyaliṅgānuśāsanam |
āgamapratyayādeṣā upadeṣāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||

itisaṃjñāyāṃ; svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā (I.1.68.) *ity ataḥ svaṃ rūpaṃ iti anuvartamāne, ādir antyena sahetā* (I.1.71.) - *ādivarṇo*ḥnyena itā saha gṛhyamāṅas tanmadhyapātītānāṃ varṇānāṃ grāhako bhavati svasya ca rūpasya | *iti aṅ ity akārekārokarā ucyante | evaṃ ak ik uk ityādayo grāhyāḥ* || ... *aṅdayaṣ ca pratyāhāra ekacatvāriṃṣat* | (p. 1–2)

NAK 1/813:

tatrādau tāva(2)t pratyāhārah sā(!)stre saṃjñāsaṃvyavahārajñāpanā(rtha)ḥ anuvaryate | tadyathā | aiuṅ | ṛḷk eoñ aiauc (3) hayavaraṅ ṅamaṅanaṅam jhabhañ ghaḍhadhaṣ jabagaḍadaṣ khaphachaṭhatha caṭataṣ kapay saṣasar hal iti pratyāhāra (!) | aṅ | a ā a3 i ī i3 u ū u3 | ak | a ā a3 (fol. 2r1) i ī i3 u ū u3 (... ..) || ik ... (3b5) ... upadeṣe ḥ anuṅāsika it ity a(6)dhikṛtya tatropadeṣe (..) dhātusūtragaṅoṇādivākyaliṅgānuśāsanam | upad(e)(... ..) ti pā(..) rūpā(fol. 4r1)deṣavicaṣaṅāḥ | upadeṣe ḥ anuṅāsika ita⁴⁷ i(..)ṣ)i | upadeṣā(d a)supy āṅ yo ac anuṅāsi(2)kaviṣiṣṭaḥ sa itsaṃjñāko va (!) (deleted) bhavati | halantyam | upadeṣe yad antyaṃ hal tad itsaṃjñākaṃ bhavati | itsa(3)ṅjñāyāṃ svaṃ rūpa(ṅ) śabdasyāśabdasaṃjñā ity ataḥ svaṃ rūpa(ṅ) ity anuvartane ādir antyena sahetā | ādir vā(4)(..)'kena itā itsaṃjñākena saha gṛhya(m)āṅas tanmadhyapā (!) tināṃ varṇānāṃ grāhako bhavati | (5) i(..)ti pratyāhāragrahaṅavi(bh)āgaḥ | kathaṃ punar ihānupa(..)i(.. ..) savarṇa(6)sya grahaṅāt k(ār)ya(r)thaṃ anudīt savarṇasya cāpratyayah | anandvad (!) it(..) uccāryamāṅaḥ savarṇasya grāhako (7) bhavati | svasya ca rūpasya ca rūpasya pa(..)yaṃ varjyavitā | taparas tatkālasya bhavaro (?) yasmāt samayenaḥ (?) (fol. 4v1) (..)paro (... ..) g(r)āhako bha(va)ti | kiṃ punaḥ savarṇa(.. ..) (2) savarṇa(ṅ) tu (... ..) (sthā)naṃ prayatnaḥ spṛṣṭatā (..)i (... ..) ete yathākramam hrsvadīrghaplutasamjñākā bhavati (!) | (fols 1v3–4v5)

As can be seen, both the texts bear a considerable similarity. An interesting point worth noting here is that the *Rūpāvatāra*, following the Pāṇinian tradition, has two *pratyāhāras*, namely, *hayavaraṭ* and *laṅ* whereas following the Cāndra school, the author of the present text has only one *pratyāhāra*: *hayavaraṅ*.

After this explanation of *pratyāhāra* formation, we come across an explanation of the *Saṃjñā* and the *Saṃhitā* sections of the *Rūpāvatāra*.⁴⁸ At the end of the

47 ita p.c.] ikata a.c.

48 *iti saṃjñāvatārah* | (fol. 6v1), *atha saṃhitāvatāra ucyate* | (fol. 6v1).

Samhitāvatāra,⁴⁹ the author announces the beginning of the next section, namely, the *Vibhaktyavatāra*:

atha vibha(ktya)vatāra ucyate | (fols 22r6 – 22v1)

Now, the *vibhaktyavatāra* will be taught.

What one would expect next is a brief explanation of the *Vibhaktyavatāra*. However, this is not the case. Instead, we find homage to Mañjuśrī (*om namaḥ mañjuśriye* |) followed by the benedictory verse of Haribhadra's *Vibhaktikārikā*:

mañjuśriyaṃ praṇamyādau bālānāṃ pratibodhaye |
bhikṣuṇā haribha(2)dreṇa kṛtā vibhaktikārikā ||⁵⁰ (fol. 22v 1–2)

After paying homage to Mañjuśrī in the beginning, the monk Haribhadra has composed (the text called) *Vibhaktikārikā* for the understanding of the ignorant ones.

Instead of continuing with the *Vibhaktikārikā*,⁵¹ our author provides an explanation of seven cases based on the *Vibhaktyavatāra* section of the *Rūpāvatāra*:

dve vibhakti (|) kā (?) supaś ca tīnāś ca | *vibhak(t)is cety anena supān tīnā(3)ñ ca vibhaktisaṃjñā*
(..)(i)(..)(ā)(..)(te | *supaḥ sapta vibhaktayaḥ sarūpeṇopadiśyante* | *kāḥ punas tāḥ* | (4) (*svau*)*jasa iti*
p(r)athamā | *am(au)ṭa(!)śas iti dvitīyā (|) ṭābhyāma(!)bhis iti tṛtīyā* | *ñebhyāma(!)bhyas iti* (5)
catu(r)thī (|) ṇasibhyāma(!)bh(y)as iti pañcamī (|) ṇasosām iti ṣaṣṭhī | *ṇiosa(!)sup iti saptamī* |
etāś ca sapta (6) *vibhaktayaḥ iti paṭhitā daś (?) ca bhavanti* | *dvivi(..)dhañ ca prātipadikaṃ* |
ajantaṃ halantañ ca (|) tada t(r)īṣu (fol. 23r1) *(..)ividha(m) (tat trividhañ ?) (p)u(mli)ṅgaṃ*
(na)puṃsakaliṅgañ ceti | (fols 22v2–23r1)

Cp. the *Vibhaktyavatāra* of the *Rūpāvatāra*:

atha vibhaktyavatāraḥ ||
ajantapumliṅgaprakaraṇam ||

⁴⁹ *iti samhitāvatāraḥ samāptah* | (fol. 22r6).

⁵⁰ That this is a benedictory verse of the *Vibhaktikārikā* is confirmed by its Tibetan translation (Derge 4272, 46a–65a): *thog mar 'jam dbyangs phyag 'tshal te* || *byis pa'i blo can rnam kyī phyī* || *rnam dbye'i tshig ler byas pa dag* || *dge slong 'phrog byed bzang pos bya* ||.

⁵¹ The introductory portion of the *Vibhaktikārikā* (fols 46r7–46v2) reads as follows: *su | au | dzas* | *am | auṭ | śas | ṭā | bhyām | bhis | ñe | bhyām | bhis (!) | ṇa si | bhyām | bhyās (!) | ṇas | os | ām | ṇi* | *os | sup* | *'dī mams su la sogs pa'i mam dbye'o* || *gang las pha rol du 'gyur na* | *don gcig nyid la sogs pa'i tshig gi sgra las pha rol du'o* || *de la | don tsaṃ la dang po'o* || (CV 2.1.93) *zhes pa rnam dbye dang por 'gyur ro* || *gang yang dang po'i mam dbye su au dzas zhes pa dang po'o* || *de la gcig gnyis mang po'i tshig rnam las don gcig la gcig gi tshig su* | *don gnyis la gnyis kyī tshig au* | *don mang po rnam las mang po'i tshig dzas zhes pa 'dī mams ni mam dbye dang po'o* ||.

dve vibhaktī | tīnaś trīṇi trīṇi prathamamadhyamottamāḥ (1.4.101.), *supaḥ* (1.4.103.), *ity anuvartamāne, vibhaktīś ca* (1.4.104.) – *suptīṇau pratyāhārau; supaḥ tīnaś ca trīṇi trīṇi vibhaktisanjñāś ca bhavanti | evaṃ supāṃ tīnāñ ca vibhaktisanjñāvidhānāt tatra trīṇi trīṇity anena supaḥ sapta vibhaktayaḥ | kāḥ punas tāḥ? svaujas ityādiṣu – su au jas iti prathamā; am auṭ śas iti dvitīyā; ṭā bhyām bhis iti ṭṛtīyā; ṇe bhyām bhyas iti caturthī; ṇasi bhyām bhyas iti pañcamī; ṇas os ām iti ṣaṣṭhī; ṇi os sup iti saptamī | etāḥ sapta vibhaktayaḥ prātipadikāt pare bhavanti | dvidvidham prātipadikam ajantaṃ halantaṃ ca | tat punaḥ trividham pratyekaṃ pumliṅgam strīliṅgam napuṃsakaliṅgam ceti |*

From here onwards, our text takes another turn and starts following the *Subantarātnākara*. This would be clear from the following passages from both the texts, which deal with the derivation of the nominative singular of the noun *vīpra*:

tatrājanteṣu pulliṅgeṣu p(r)athamam akārāntād vipraśabdā(2)(t sa)pta (vibha)ktayaḥ prada(r)śyante | tatrādau tāvad akārād vipraśabdāt ‘mid aco ’ntyāt paraḥ’ (CV 1.1.14, P 1.1.47) | ‘yuṣmadi madhyama(3)traya(m)’ (CV 1.4.146)⁵² (. ..) ‘ekadvibahuṣu’ (CV 1.4.148) iti cānuvartamāne svādisūtreṇa⁵³ sahekavākye (!) kṛte yā tata svauja(4)samau(ṭchaṣ)ṭābhyāmbhisṇebhyāmbhyasṇasibhyāmbhyasṇasos-ām(ṇyos)sup | i (... ..) (vi)(5)bhakta(yo) bhavanti | tata arthamātre prathameti (CV 2.1.93)⁵⁴ a(rth)ātri(!)rikte śabdārthamātre prathma vibhaktir bhavati | kā puna(6)(ḥ) p(r)athamā (!) svaujas iti p(r)athamā (!) tatraikasminn arthe ekavacanam su (!)

Cf. *Subantarātnākara*:

tatrādau tāvad vipraśabdān ‘m(i)d aco ’ntyāt paraḥ’ (CV 1.1.14) | ‘yuṣmadi madhyamatrayam’ (CV 1.4.146) ity etābhyāṃ paran trayam ity adhikṛtya ‘ekadvibahuṣu’ (CV 1.4.148) iti cānuvartamāne svādisūtreṇa sahaikavākyā(6)tayā arthamātre prathameti (CV 2.1.93) prathamā vibhaktir bhavati | tatrekasminn (!) arthe ekavacanam su | (1v5–6, NAK 1/468)

Thus, this text (NAK 1/813), although certainly different from the *Subantarātnākara*, is definitely based upon it. The order of nouns, the nouns themselves, and the division of the text is also similar in both the texts. Cf. for instance, the final rubrics of our present text:

*iti halantāḥ (!) pumliṅgakāṇḍaḥ prathamāḥ samāptaḥ | (fol. 62v2)
iti subantagranthe napuṃsakakāṇḍo dvitīyaḥ samāptaḥ | (fol. 70v4)
iti subantagranthe strīliṅgakāṇḍas ṭṛtīyaḥ samāptaḥ | (fol. 90v5)
idāni(ṃ) vācyaliṅgā ucyante | (fol. 90v5), uktā halantāḥ | (fol. 132r3)*

52 *yuṣmady upapade samānādhikaraṇe sthāniny api madhyamaḥ* (P 1.4.105).

53 *svaujasamauṭchaṣṭābhyāmbhisṇebhyāmbhyasṇasibhyāmbhyasṇasosāmīyossup |* (CV 2.1.1).

54 *prātipadikārthaliṅgaparimāṇavacanamātre prathamā* (P 2.3.46).

idāni(ṃ) sarvvādaya ucyante ⁵⁵ (fol. 132r3–4)

From these final rubrics, the name of the text appears to be *Subantagrāntha*, a text dealing with *subantas*. The text ends with the first two concluding verses, namely, *iti ghaṭitam idaṃ ...* (fol. 153v3) and *aye kumārā ...* (fol. 153v5), and the colophon of the *Subantarātnākara*:

(fol. 153v6) *iti* (fol. 153v7) *subhūticandrakṛto(')yaṃ subantarātnākara(h) samāptaḥ |*

Thus ends this (text called) *Subantarātnākara* composed by Subhūticandra.

Concluding verse

This is followed by the concluding verse:

śuddhād bhāvād aśuddho 'pi (fol. 154r1) *yatnena likhito (mayā) |*
ayaṃ śu(!)bantasā(!)st(r)aṅ ca śodhaṇi(!)yo vidujanāṃ (!) ||

Even though (this text or manuscript?) is incorrect, I have written it with pure inclination and with (great) effort. The wise ones should correct this treatise, which deals with nouns.

This concluding verse, either corrupt or written in bad Sanskrit, talks about the corrupt state of the manuscript. It calls this text by the name *Subantaśāstra*, which, like the other title *Subantagrāntha* mentioned in the final rubrics, is general in nature. It can be taken to refer to the *Subantarātnākara*. It may be noted that the *Rūpasādhana* (mentioned above) refers to the *Subantarātnākara* as *Supprakaraṇa*.

Colophon

The colophon of the manuscript mentions that in the reign of king Jagajyotirmalla, a certain Kāśirāma copied this text for the benefit of his son Rāma on Thursday, the second day of the bright half of the lunar month of Caitra in Śaṃvat 737.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Cf. corresponding final rubrics of the *Subantarātnākara* (mentioned above).

⁵⁶ *akhilabhūva(2)nasāraṃ trailokyamallanarendraḥ bhūvaḥ patiratnaṃ ca jagajyotirmalla(!)-nṛpendraḥ | ga(3)ganodayacandravantaḥ sarvvaḥ sā(!)strārthapāṇau etat samaya (!) likhitaṃ tam nābhidha(4)k (!) kāśirāmaḥ | caitramāse śukrapakṣe | dviti(!)yāyāṃ tithau bṛ(ha)spativāre taddine (5) likhitaṃ | kāśi(rā)masya ātmaputraḥ | santerāmaḥ bodhanārthaṃ asmimṃ puṣṭaka likhi(6)taṃ tasya śubham astu punaḥ punaḥ | sambat 7037 (! 737) | śrī śrī śrī paśupatiḥ (!) bhaktir a(s)tu |.*

Issue of authorship

The text in its present form, although complete, is not entirely that of the *Subantarātnākara* and cannot be ascribed to Subhūticandra. As mentioned above, Kāśīrāma compiled this text for the benefit of his son. He must have brought together portions related to nouns, namely, *saṃjñā*, *sandhi*, *vibhakti*, and nominal declensions from the *Rūpāvatāra* and the *Subantarātnākara*. It is possible that the NGMCP has designated this manuscript as that of Subhūticandra's *Subantarātnākara* solely on the basis of the colophon of this work (mentioned above) found in the manuscript. While describing the manuscript of the *Subvīdhānaśabdamaṭāparīkrama*, also ascribed to Subhūticandra, the NGMCP remarks:

Subhūticandra (11th/12th c.), its author, is known to have commented in his *Kāmadhenu* on Amarasīṃha's *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* and in his *Subantarātnākara* on Dharmakīrti's *Rūpāvatāra*.

As our enquiry has already proved, this information is partly incorrect as what we find in this manuscript is a compilation from two different texts.

2. Kesar 528⁵⁷ (Reel No. C 49-6) (19.5 x 4.3 cm) is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 26 folios with 5 lines per folio. The script is Nepālākṣara. The manuscript is damaged. This incomplete manuscript begins with the derivation of the word *upānah*, which is the last word discussed in the section dealing with feminine nouns ending in a consonant. The manuscript ends abruptly while explaining the derivations of the word *kaṭacikīrṣ-* (?), which belongs to the adjectives ending in consonants, with the words: *kakāra kitkāryārthaḥ* | (.. .. .) (fol. 52v). The foliation numbers appear in the right-hand margin of a folio. The website of the Kaiser library records this manuscript as that of Vyākaraṇa (*Sarvaliṅgakāṇḍa*).

A comparison of this manuscript with that of the *Subantarātnākara* reveals the fact that the former is not a copy of the latter:

upap(ū)rvvaṃ | *upanaḥyatīti* | *kvip* | *nahivṛtivrṣi(i)tyādinā pūrvvapadasyātvam* | *upānahaśabdaḥ* | (.. ..) ... (fol. 17r1–3)

Cf. *Subantarātnākara*:

upapūrvvasya naheḥ kvip | *nahivṛtivrṣi(i)tyādi(2)nā pūrvvapadasya dīrghatvam* | 'nahāho dhaḥ' (CV VI.3.65) *iti padānte* ... (NAK 4/148, 37r1–2)

⁵⁷ The website of the Kesar library records this manuscript as that of Vyākaraṇa (*Sarvaliṅga*). The NGMCP, however, records it as a manuscript of the *Subantarātnākara*.

The present text also differs from NAK 1/813, which reads:

upānahśabdaḥ | nahāh(o) dha iti padānte ... (fol. 90r6)

About the text

Name of the author

The manuscript in its present form preserves the last word of the section dealing with feminine nouns and an incomplete next section, which deals with adjectives. Thus, there is only one final rubric available. It reads:

ī(ti) (..) (5) (śrī)mahāgurubhūticandraviracite strīliṅgakāṇḍe tritīyaḥ paricchedaḥ | (fol. 17r 4–5)

Thus (ends) the third part of the section dealing with feminine nouns composed by the great teacher Subhūticandra.

The name of the text, however, does not appear anywhere in the manuscript.

3. NAK 1/1078 (Reel no. B 35–29) (24 × 4.5 cm) is a palm-leaf manuscript containing 10 folios with 4–5 lines per folio. It is written in the Nepālākṣara script. The manuscript is complete. The writing on fol. 1v, and 6v/7r is partly rubbed off. Foliation figures appear in the middle of the right-hand margin of the verso; on fol. 1–2 letter numerals occur in the middle of the left-hand margin. On the right-hand margin of 1v, a modern hand has written in Devanāgarī characters: *pra 1078 subantaratnākara*.

About the text

Benediction

The text begins with a benediction to Kṛṣṇa:

*praṇamya devakīputraṃ lakṣmīvāgīśvarīpriyaṃ |
vakṣe (!) (°)haṃ śabdaśloka 'yaṃ ligam(!)trayādisaṃgrahaḥ || (fol. 1v1)*

After paying homage to the son of Devakī (i.e. Kṛṣṇa), and to the one who is the favourite of Lakṣmī and Vāgīśvarī, I (now) teach this compendium of three genders etc. composed in the form of a *śabdaśloka* (i.e. a verse consisting of nominal stems).

Title and contents

On the basis of the benedictory verse, the text can be tentatively called *Līngatrayādi-saṅgrahaḥ Śabdaślokaḥ* ‘A Compendium of the Three Genders etc. [composed in the form of a] *śabdaśloka* (i.e. a verse consisting of nominal stems).’ The NGMCP has recorded this as a manuscript of the *Subantarātnākara*, the title being ‘drawn from a verse (cited below),⁵⁸ which also occurs in B 35/23 (*Subantarātnākara*).⁵⁹

Contents

Regarding the contents of the text, the NGMCP remarks:

... the contents of this MS are, however, different from B 35/23. Thus, this MS might be really another specimen of Subhūticandra’s works.

The text only gives lists of nouns and adjectives, which are grouped into masculine, neuter, and feminine stems, in the same sequence as that of the *Subantarātnākara*. These stems are given again in the alphabetical order of the final sound. That the division of this text is similar to that of the *Subantarātnākara* is evident from the final rubrics:

pumliṅgaḥ kāṇḍaḥ | (fol. 3v5)
subhūticandraviracite dvitīyo napuṃsakaḥ (!) kāṇḍo dvitīyaḥ | (fol. 5v3–4)
sū(!)bhūticandraviracitāyāṃ tṛtīyaḥ paṭalaḥ | (fol. 8v1)

The fourth section dealing with adjectives is not marked by a final rubric. There is no section dealing with numerals.

Each section begins with a mnemonic verse providing a list of nouns ending in a particular vowel or a consonant. Cf. for instance, the mnemonic verse occurring at the beginning of masculine nouns ending in the vowel *a*:

ghaṭamaṭhakaṭabādhagrāmasaṃgrāmakāmaḥ
praharakarasamīraḥ sarggasvarggāpa(va)rggāḥ (!) |
paṭapaṭahacakorāsvādadevodayārthaḥ
kṣayabhujagabhujā(ṛ)go (!) rāmakumbhīrakumbhāḥ ||
śārdūlakramaśikaradrumasuronmādapramādayayo
vyādhabrāhmaṇamāraśarkaraśarakrośapradośagrahāḥ || śiṃgha(!)vyāghraturaiṅgabhāṅga-
subhaṭasvāsāśvadantādhaka-drohaḥ krodhakuṭhārakaṇṭhakamaṭhagrāsapravāsāśramāḥ ||
paṇḍītaḥ plavaḡakūpakuberaślokaḥkasukasāvakahṛṅgāḥ

58 *iti ghaṭitam idaṃ mayā suvarṇṇaḥ ...* (fol. 10r1).

59 http://catalogue.ngmcp.uni-hamburg.de/wiki/Main_Page.

saṃganādamadamanmathanāthaḥkvāthadantacaṭakaviṭapās ca ||

After this mnemonic verse, we find single words in their stem forms together with their synonym:

vīpraḥ | brāhmaṇa(h) | [akārāntaśabdah] || 1 ||

Name of the author

The name of the author is found in two final rubrics:

subhūticandraviracite dvitīyo napuṃsakaḥ (!) kāṇḍo dvitīyaḥ | (fol. 5v3–4)

(Thus ends) the second section dealing with neuter (nouns) composed by Subhūticandra.

sū(!)bhūticandraviracitāyāṃ tṛtīyaḥ paṭalaḥ | (fol. 8v1)

(Thus ends) the third section composed by Subhūticandra.

4. Or.133 (30 × 4 cm) is a manuscript from the Cambridge University Library.⁶⁰ It is a relatively recent palm-leaf manuscript (14th–15th century CE) containing 33 folios. It is written in medieval Bengali. According to a modern inscription on the manuscript, ‘it agrees with HP Shastri Nepal cata. I. p. 38’. The text preserved in this manuscript does not seem to be continuous. Rather, these appear to be stray leaves. Folios 1–7, 11–12, 14–16, 19–27, 29–31, 33, 35, 39–41, and 43 seem to be available. However, it should be noted that this conclusion is still tentative as more work needs to be done on the manuscript. The manuscript begins with a homage to Nārāyaṇa (*oṃ namo nārāyaṇāya*) and a benediction to Sarasvatī:

*namaḥ sarasvatīpādapaṅkajāya hitaiṣiṇe |
yat prasādāj jagat sarvvaṃ amyakam (?) upajāyate || (fol. 1v1–2)*

Salutation to the lotus-like benevolent feet of Sarasvatī, due to the grace of which the entire world becomes ... (?).

This benedictory verse is followed by the second and the third introductory verses, namely, *rūḍhīśabdā nigadyante ...*, and *vīprāgnī*, found in the manuscripts of the *Subantaratnākara*. The last word described in this manuscript seems to be *div-*, which belongs to the feminine nouns ending in consonants.

⁶⁰ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-00133/1>.

Within each section, we find derivations of words following the Cāndra system of grammar. However, that this is not a manuscript of the *Subantarātñākara* is clear from a comparison of the derivation of the declension of the word *pathin* from this manuscript with that of NAK 4/148:

NAK 4/148

pathinśabdasya 'pathimathyrbhukṣām ād' (CV 5.4.38) iti sor akārasyātvam | (fol. 16v1–2)

Or.133

pathinśabdāt svādayaḥ | 'pathimathyrbhukṣām āt' (CV 5.4.38) iti nakārasyātvam | (fol. 19r1)

The first section dealing with masculine nouns ends on fol. 20v (*prathamah kāṇḍaḥ samāptaḥ*). As is evident from this final rubric, neither the name of the text, nor its author are mentioned. I have so far been unable to find any other final rubric in this manuscript.

5. The catalogue of the palm-leaf and selected paper manuscripts from the Durbar Library, Nepal, records **1152 (nga)** as a manuscript of the *Subantarātñākara* (Shastri 1905, 38).⁶¹ This manuscript is written in the Maithili script. Its benedictory verse is the same as that of Or.133. Just like Or.133, the benedictory verse is followed by the third introductory verse of the *Subantarātñākara*, namely, *rūḍhiśabdā nigadyante* From this, it appears that 1152 (nga) is a copy of Or.133 or vice versa. Dwivedi (1987, 189) might have referred to this manuscript, which has the number Pra. 1152 with the subject code (*viṣayāñka*) 364. So far, I have not been able to locate this manuscript.

6. **NAK 1/1152 (Reel No. B 35–15)** was originally recorded as a palm-leaf manuscript of the *Subantarātñākara* (31.5 × 5 cm) containing 63 folios. The manuscript is written in the Maithili script. It is incomplete, and damaged. The NGMCP has now identified this text as that of the *Prajñāvistārikā*, a sub-commentary on the *Kātantravyākaraṇa* written by Billeśvara.

The NGMCP records one more text ascribed to Subhūticandra. It is entitled as *Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama*. This palm-leaf manuscript is numbered **NAK 5/416 (Reel No. B 34-16)** (21 × 4 cm) and contains 18 folios with 4 lines per folio. It is written in the Nepālākṣara script. The letter-numerals appear in the middle of the left-hand margin and numerals in the middle of the right-hand margin of the verso side of a folio. Folios 3–11 are slightly damaged; the writing on fols 6v, 7r, 9v, and

⁶¹ I am grateful to Prof. S. S. Bahulkar for bringing this manuscript to my notice.

10r is partly rubbed off. The manuscript is dated Nepāla Saṃvat 560 (= 1440 CE). It, in fact, contains two texts ascribed to Subhūticandra:

- a. *Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama* (fols 1–11). The manuscript begins with a homage to Vāgīśvara:

(fol. 1v1) *oṃ namo vāgīśvarāya* |

Homage to the Lord of Speech.

This is followed by a homage to Subhūticandra:

namo mā(!)hāsubhūticandragurave |

Homage to the great teacher Subhūticandra.

The text begins with a verse introducing the first section that deals with a list of masculine nouns ending in the vowel *a*. This verse also mentions the name of the teacher Subhūti as the author of this text:

prathamapuliṅgakāṇḍe ajantā śabdāmālikā(2)ḥ |
kathitāś ca akārādiṃ (!) sū(!)bhūtiguruṇā kṛtāḥ || (fol. 1v1–2)

In the first section dealing with masculine nouns, lists of nouns ending in vowels composed by the teacher Subhūti are explained starting with the sound *a*.

nlke other texts concerned with nominal declensions in the widest sense, this text does not give any paradigms of declension, but only enumerates the respective *sub-antas* in the form of the nominative singular, stating in what kind of final vowel or consonant the stem ends. For instance, *vīpraḥ* | *ākārāntaḥ śabdaḥ* || 1 || *hāhāḥ* | *ākārāntaḥ śabdaḥ* || 2 ||.

Division

There are five sections in this text, namely, those dealing with masculine,⁶² neuter,⁶³ and feminine genders,⁶⁴ adjectives,⁶⁵ pronouns, and numerals. Numbers 1 to 100 are given in full. Within the first four sections, nouns are arranged alphabetically according to their stem final.

Authorship and title

The name of the text, namely, *Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama*, as well as the name of its author Subhūticandra, are found in the colophon:

iti subhūticandraviracitaḥ subavidhānaḥ śabda(2)mālāparikrama saḥ pūrṇṇabhūtaḥ samāptaḥ | saṃkṣepamātraḥ | samvat 560 dīnāśāḍhavadī 3 | (fol. 11v1–2)

Thus (ends) the (text entitled) *Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama* composed by Subhūticandra. It is completed, i.e., has come to an end. (It is) an abridgement only. (It was composed in) *saṃvat 560* (= 1440 CE) on the *Āśāḍha* day (?).

After the colophon, there is an inscription listing eight metals:

*suvaṃṇarajataṃ kāśyaṃ (!) āraṃ śulvasavaṃgakaṃ |
ayaḥ śisakaṃ ity aṣṭau lohāni kāṣṭakuṭake (!) ||
śubha || śubha || (fol. 11v3)*

Gold, silver, bronze (*kāśya*), brass (*āra*), copper (*śulva*), together with tin (*savaṃgaka*), iron, lead (*śisaka*) – these are eight (kinds of) metals in the *kāṣṭakuṭaka* (?).
(May) auspicious (be everywhere), (may) auspicious (be everywhere).

The NGMCP remarks:

This text is styled *Suvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama* on the index card of the NAK. Subhūticandra (11th/12th c.), its author, is known to have commented in his *Kāmadhenu* on *Amarasiṃha*'s *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* and in his *Subantarātnākara* on *Dharmakīrti*'s *Rūpavātāra*.

62 *iti sū(!)bhūticandraviraci*(fol. 3v)*tāyāṃ puliṅgakāṇḍasagaṇaḥ prakaraṇaḥ prathamāḥ | (fols 3r4–3v1).*

63 *iti (3) sū(!)bhūticandraviracitāyāṃ dvitīyanapuṃsakakāṇḍaḥ sagaṇaḥ dvitīyāḥ | (4r2–3).*

64 *ity etat subhū*(fol. 6r)*ticandraviracitāyāṃ striligaṃ(!) kāṇḍe paripūrṇṇaḥ paṭalatrayaḥ | (fols 5v4–6r1).*

65 *iti vācyaligaṃ(!)kāṇḍaḥ subhūticandraṃdraviracito (')yaṃ caturthaḥ paricchedaḥ (!) | (fol. 9r4).*

It appears that the mention of a commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Rūpāvatāra* is probably a reference to manuscript NAK 1/813, which shares the benedictory verse of the *Rūpāvatāra*.

- b. *Liṅgatrāyādīsaṅgrahaḥ śabdaślokaḥ* (fols 12–18). This appears to be an incomplete copy of NAK 1/1078 mentioned above. The text is available up to the section dealing with adjectives. In this manuscript, homage is paid to Vighneśvara:

om namo vighnesvarāyaḥ (!) | (fol. 1v1)

This is followed by the word *vipraḥ* and the mnemonic verse found in NAK 1/1078, namely, *ghaṭamaṭha*⁶⁶ (fol. 1v1–3) As is evident from the final rubrics, this text is also divided in a way similar to that of the *Subantarātnākara*.⁶⁶

In the Derge edition, immediately after the *Sup mtha' rin chen 'byung gnas*, there occurs a text called *Lung du ston pa su ba nta zhes bya ba* (**Vyākaraṇa-subanta nāma*).⁶⁷ The text is not handed down to us in its entirety. The first section dealing with the masculine nouns ends on fol. 141b. The first noun dealt with in the next section of neuter nouns is *mana* (?). The text ends abruptly while describing the nominative plural of this noun. As a result, we do not know either the author or the translator of this text. While *Subantarātnākara* starts with the declensions of the word *vipra*, this text starts with that of the word *rudra*. From the noun *hāhā* onwards, the sequence of words in the **Vyākaraṇasubanta* and in the *Subantarātnākara* is the same. From the derivations given for all the nouns, it also becomes clear that, just like the author of the *Subantarātnākara*, the present author has also followed the Cāndra system of grammar. On the basis of these similarities, we can probably say that the **Vyākaraṇasubanta* is also somehow related to the *Subantarātnākara*.

It appears from the foregoing discussion that NAK 1/813 is a compilation from various texts, and its last part is related to the *Subantarātnākara*. The remaining six manuscripts, except NAK 1/1152, preserve four texts ascribed to Subhūticandra: 1. *Śabdasaṅgrahakāṇḍa* (Kesar 528), 2. *Liṅgatrāyādīsaṅgrahaḥ Śabdaślokaḥ* (NAK 1/1078, NAK 5/416b), 3. *Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama* (NAK 5/416a), and 4. the text preserved in Or.133 and 1152 (nga) from the Durbar library. Interestingly, in all these texts, the division of the text and the nouns dealt with in each of the sections remain the same. We find salutation to Subhūticandra at the beginning of NAK 5/416a. It also mentions Subhūticandra in the first verse. The

⁶⁶ *prathamaḥ puliṅgaḥ* | (fol. 4v1); *dvitīyaḥ kāṇḍanapuṃsaka(4)ṃ* | (fol. 5v3–4); *striliṅgakāṇḍas tṛtīyaḥ* | (fol. 7v3); *vācyaliṅgaḥ samāptaḥ* || (*ity ete*) (2) *ślokā(s te)* | (fol. 8v1–2).

⁶⁷ Derge no. 4431, fols 134a⁶–141b⁷; Peking no. 5895 460b1–470a6.

other three texts, just like the *Subvidhānaśabdāmālāparikrama*, are basic in nature. From the abridged and enumerative nature of all these texts, it appears that these are later handbooks based on the *Subantarātñākara* prepared by those belonging to Subhūticandra's lineage. It should be kept in mind, however, that these conclusions are still tentative. It will be possible to say something more conclusive only after a diplomatic edition of all these texts is prepared.

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Mahesh A. Deokar

The *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*: An Important Tool for the Study of the *Moggallānavuttivivaraṇapañcikā*

A Case Study Based on a Cambridge Fragment of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* with Special Reference to CV 2.2.1 and MV 3.1

Abstract: The 12th-century Pali grammar by the Sinhalese elder Moggallāna called *Moggallānavyākaraṇa* and its auto-commentary *Vutti* are heavily indebted to the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* and its *Vṛtti*. Similarly the *Moggallānapañcikā* written by the same author is closely linked to the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* composed by the Sinhalese monk-scholar Ratnamati in the 10th century. In order to demonstrate the close relationship between the two Pañjikās, and to highlight the importance of studying them side by side, a sample text of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* on CV 2.2.1 from the Cambridge Add.1657.1 and the *Moggallānapañcikā* 3.1 are presented in this article with an English translation. The subsequent discussion exemplifies how the study of these two texts together is not only useful, but also mandatory for ensuring any further progress in their textual study. It underlines the importance of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* in understanding the text of the *Moggallānapañcikā* and Moggallāna's grammatical ideology in the broader context of the changing trends in the Pali grammatical literature of Sri Lanka. It also suggests the utility of such a study for the understanding of the methodology adopted by Moggallāna to translate scholastic Sanskrit into Pali.

Candragomin's *Śabdalaṅkāra* (5th century CE),¹ popularly known as the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*, is an attempt to revise Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Soon this new grammar became popular and evolved into a full-fledged grammatical school independent of the Pāṇinian system. The major known commentarial works of the Cāndra tradition are:

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1 For the date of Candragomin, see Oberlies 1989, 11–14; 1996, 269–275.

1. Dharmadāsa's *Cāndravṛtti* (c. 6th century CE)² on the *Cāndrasūtras*
2. Three *Pañjikās* on the *Cāndravṛtti*:
 - a. Ratnamati's (c. 900–980 CE) *Cāndravṛtyākaraṇapañjikā* (c. 920s–930s)³
 - b. Pūrṇacandra's *Śabdalaṅkāraṇapañjikā* (sometime between the 6th and the beginning of the 12th century CE)⁴
 - c. Sumati's *Sumatipañjikā* (second half of the 10th century CE)⁵
3. Three commentaries on the *Cāndravṛtyākaraṇapañjikā*:
 - a. Sāriputta's *Candrālaṅkāra* (first quarter of the 12th century CE)⁶
 - b. Ānandadatta's *Ratnamatipaddhati* (middle of the 12th century CE)⁷
 - c. Ratnadatta's *Nibandha* (after the 10th century CE)⁸

2 Cf. Oberlies 1989 and 1996. For an overview of the controversy regarding the authorship and date of the *Cāndrasūtra* and the *Cāndravṛtti*, see Vergiani 2009.

3 For a detailed discussion on the date of this erudite Sri Lankan monk-scholar and his *Pañjikā*, see Dimitrov 2016, esp. 599 ff.

4 Being a commentary on the *Cāndravṛtti*, the lower limit of the *Śabdalaṅkāraṇapañjikā* is 6th century CE. Since Pūrṇacandra as well as his *Śabdalaṅkāraṇapañjikā* and the *Dhātupārāyaṇa* are mentioned in Subhūticandra's (c. 1060–1140 CE) *Kavikāmadhenu* commentary (c. 1110–1130 CE) on the *Amarakośa* and in Ānandadatta's *Ratnamatipaddhati* (cf. below), the upper limit of Pūrṇacandra can be safely assumed to be the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth century (Deokar Lata 2014, 58ff, Dimitrov 2016, 664). After comparing a number of passages from the *Śabdalaṅkāraṇapañjikā* of Pūrṇacandra with the parallel passages in Ratnamati's *Cāndravṛtyākaraṇapañjikā*, Dimitrov (2016, 687) expresses doubt regarding the exact chronology of the two works. He says: 'Neither the passage quoted above [see *ibid.*, p. 684] nor any other passage from the *Śabdalaṅkāraṇapañjikā* consulted by us so far permits us to determine confidently whether Pūrṇacandra's work has been influenced by Ratna or whether it was written before him.' According to Dimitrov (2016, 688) '[t]he question of Pūrṇacandra's date, therefore, needs to be investigated further, and more evidence is required.'

5 Dimitrov 2016, 690: '... this commentary was composed by a scholar from the Kathmandu Valley less than a century, perhaps just a few decades, after Ratna had written his *Cāndravṛtyākaraṇapañjikā*.'

6 A detailed discussion on the date of this learned Sinhalese monk can be found in Dimitrov 2010, 46; 2016, 601, n. 8.

7 For a detailed discussion of Ānandadatta's date, cf. Dimitrov 2016, 626, 676, and 687.

8 In the absence of a manuscript of the *Cāndravṛtyākaraṇapañjikā* on the portion for which the text of the *Nibandha* is available, Dimitrov compared the available portion of the latter with the corresponding portion in Ānandadatta's *Paddhati*. After comparing the two texts, Dimitrov (2016, 696) remarks that '[i]t is safe to reach this conclusion after observing that, for example, in the commentary on Cān. 1.4.34 and 1.4.39 both Ānandadatta's *Ratnamatipaddhati* and the work contained in the Cambridge fragment share the same *pratīkās* (!) which prove that both authors have been commenting upon the same text, namely, the *Cāndravṛtyākaraṇapañjikā*.' Regarding

The textual and inscriptional evidence indicates that the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* was well-received and was also quite influential in the Buddhist academia in Sri Lanka, Tibet, and Myanmar. In Sri Lanka, Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* gave an impetus to the creation of new scientific treatises based on the *Cāndravyākaraṇa*. Besides the composition of *Candrālamkāra* by Śāriputta mentioned above, it inspired a simplified pedagogical handbook of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* called *Bālāvabodhana* written by Mahākassapa (12th century CE).⁹ Another Sinhalese monk Buddhānāga, about whom very little is known, wrote a commentary called the *Linārthadīpa* or *Pātrikaraṇaṭīkā* some time between the middle of the tenth and the middle of the fifteenth century.¹⁰ It is a Sanskrit commentary on another abridged version of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* namely the *Pātrikaraṇa* written apparently by a Mahāyāna Buddhist of Indian origin named Guṇākara.¹¹ This Sri Lankan scholarly lineage of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* prepared a solid foundation for the advent of a new school of Pali grammar based on the Cāndra system.

Moggallāna, who flourished during the reign of King Parakkamabāhu I (r. 1153–1186 CE) in the second half of the twelfth century, was a junior contemporary of Śāriputta. He composed all by himself three major works on the Pali grammar, namely, the grammatical aphorisms (*suttas*) known as *Saddalakkhaṇa* or *Moggallānavyākaraṇa*, their gloss named *Vutti*, and the commentary called *Vuttivivaraṇapañcikā*. This threefold composition replicates the Cāndra grammatical lineage consisting of the *Cāndrasūtras*, their *Vṛtti*, and the *Pañjikā*.

As early as 1890, H. Devamitta brought out the first edition of the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa* along with its commentary, the *vutti*, printed in Sinhalese script. In this publication, the editor pointed out the relation between the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa*, on the one hand, and the Pāṇinian, the Cāndra, and the Kātantra

the date of the *Nibandha*, Dimitrov (2016, 695) says: 'Ratna's date supplies, therefore, the *terminus post quem* for Ratnadatta who cannot have composed his *Nibandha* any earlier than the middle of the tenth century and may have been a close contemporary of Ānandadatta. The question of Ānandadatta's and Ratnadatta's relative chronology, however, still remains unanswered.'

9 Cf. Gornall 2013, 46, Dimitrov 2016, 565.

10 Based on the information provided by Pannasara (1958, 86–97), Dimitrov (2016, 566) states: '... it is possible to establish that Buddhānāga has quoted anonymously the seventh stanza from the introductory part of the *Śabdārthacintā*.' This implies that Buddhānāga certainly flourished later than Ratnamati. Following Bechert (1987, 11) and Wijesekera (1954–55, 96), Gornall (2013, 190–191) mentions: 'It is uncertain whether this work was also produced during the reforms though it must have been before 1458 since Śrī Rāhula quotes it in his *Moggallāna-Pañcikā-Pradīpaya* (Mogg-pd). Wijesekera, though, has tentatively linked this Buddhānāga with Śāriputta's disciple of the same name, who authored the *Vinayatthamañjūsā* (Kkh-ṭ), a commentary on the *Kaṅkhāvitarāṇī* (Kkh).' For Śrī Rāhula's quote, see also Dimitrov 2016, 565, n. 1.

11 Cf. Pannasara 1958, 88–90, and Dimitrov 2016, 565.

grammars, on the other. Soon after this publication, in 1902, R. Otto Franke published an excellent monograph on the history of Pali grammar and lexicography entitled *Geschichte und Kritik der einheimischen Pāli-Grammatik und Lexicographie*. In the subsequent years, he wrote two important articles concerning Moggallāna's grammar. In the first of the two articles, Franke, for the first time, discussed in detail the relationship between the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa* and the Cāndra grammar. He prepared an elaborate concordance of parallel rules from the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa* and the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* and also pointed out a partial correspondence between the *Moggallānavutti* and the *Cāndravṛtti* (Franke 1903, 71–95). In spite of this early breakthrough in the comparative study of these two grammatical systems, no further advances were made for more than a century.

In 2008, in a book entitled *Technical Terms and Technique of the Pali and the Sanskrit Grammars*, I presented my observations on Moggallāna's indebtedness to the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* in terms of technical terminology, and the technique of writing a grammar. In the following year, I published a brief comparative survey of the *samāsa* sections of these two grammars in an article *The Treatment of Compounds in the Moggallānavyākaraṇa vis-à-vis Cāndravyākaraṇa*.

Alastair Gornall, in his doctoral dissertation *Buddhism and Grammar: The Scholarly Cultivation of Pāli in Medieval Laṅkā*, presented a dialogical analysis of the Pali grammatical literature of the twelfth century Laṅkā. In this connection, he undertook a serious comparative study of the treatment of cases in the *Cāndravṛtti* and the three above-mentioned works of Moggallāna. By focusing on the immediate texts and personalities that inspired Moggallāna, Gornall claimed that Ratnamati's commentarial lineage influenced the creation of the new Moggallāna school of Pali grammar, and that 'Moggallāna's use of the Cāndra was facilitated by Ratnamati's *Cāndra-Pañjikā* and its commentary the *Candrālaṃkāra* of Sāriputta' (Gornall 2013, 136). He also speculated about the possible correlation between the *Moggallānapañcikā* and the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* on the basis of a quotation from Śrī Rāhula's *Buddhippasādiniṭṭikā*¹² on the *Padasādhana* of Piyadassī and from some other references to Ratnamati and his work found in the *Moggallānapañcikā* and its commentaries *Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā* by Saṅgharakkhita and *Moggallānapañcikāpradīpaya* by Śrī Rāhula. Gornall could not, however, fully determine the exact scope of this correlation due to the unedited and incomplete nature of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* (Gornall 2013, 89).

In November 2012, during my short visit to Germany, I had a chance to meet Dr Dragomir Dimitrov of the University of Marburg. He was then busy working on

¹² *Padasādhanaṭṭikā* 6, 13–14 quoted and translated in Gornall 2013, 53.

his habilitation thesis entitled *The Legacy of The Jewel Mind* focused on the Sanskrit, Pali, and Sinhalese works written by Ratnamati. By that time, he had already noticed the close affinity between Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* and the *Moggallānapañcikā*. Due to our common interest, we decided to read together selected portions of these texts. In the spring of 2013 and 2014, we further studied the two texts along with the relevant portions from Pūrṇacandra's *Śabdalaṅkāṣanavivaraṇapañjikā* and Ānandadatta's *Paddhati*.

Our study of this important material confirmed Dimitrov's following conclusions:

1. Just as the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa* and its *Vutti* are heavily indebted to the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* and its *Vṛtti*, similarly the *Moggallānapañcikā* is closely linked with the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*.
2. Pūrṇacandra's *Śabdalaṅkāṣanavivaraṇapañjikā* is an independent commentary on the *Cāndravṛtti*.
3. Ānandadatta's *Ratnamatipaddhati* is a direct commentary on Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*.

In his *Legacy of the Jewel Mind* Dimitrov has discussed at some length the influence of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* on the *Moggallānapañcikā*. He (2016, 606ff) has presented three passages from the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, namely, CV 2.1.85, 2.1.87, and 2.2.23, along with their parallels from the *Moggallānapañcikā*, namely, MV 2.32, 2.28, and 3.10 and demonstrated (2016, 22) that 'on many occasions the Pali commentary contains nothing less than a very precise translation of carefully selected passages from Ratna's seminal work.'

In the following pages, I propose to cite a sample text of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* on CV 2.2.1 from Add.1657.1.¹³ The text that I am going to present is based on the excerpt provided for the first time by Dimitrov in his book, which also includes an edition of the corresponding part of Ānandadatta's *Ratnamatipaddhati* on this section (2016, 650–658). I will then supply the corresponding portion from the *Moggallānapañcikā* 3.1 in order to demonstrate the close relationship between both texts. This will substantiate Dimitrov's claim that

¹³ <http://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01657-00001>. As summarized by Dimitrov 2016, 675, this fragmentary manuscript of fifty-five folios preserves Ratnamati's commentary on *Cāndravyākaraṇa* 2.2.1–18, 2.2.19–23, 36–46, 48–81, and 83–87 covering the *samāsa* section. The last one or two folios of this manuscript are missing, which initially made its identification difficult. When Bruno Liebich (1862–1939) examined the said manuscript, he thought that it also contains a part of Ānandadatta's *Paddhati*, like the other three manuscripts of the said text. Dimitrov (2016, 645 ff.) has provided evidence for the correct identification of the Cambridge fragment. By juxtaposing the text of *Cāndravyākaraṇa* 2.2.1 of this manuscript and Ānandadatta's *Paddhati*, he has shown that this is a text of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*.

the two works can be mutually helpful in the process of editing them. It will clearly underline the important role of the *Cāndravṛttikā* in understanding the text of the *Moggallānapañjikā* and Moggallāna's grammatical ideology in the broader context of the changing trends in the Pali grammatical literature. Apart from this, the comparison of the two passages will demonstrate Moggallāna's methodology of adopting and adapting materials from the Cāndra tradition.

Cāndrasūtra:

sup supaikāṛtham (2.2.1)

[A word ending in] a siglum *sup* together with [another word ending in] siglum *sup* forms a single integrated meaning.

Cāndravṛtti:

subantaṃ subantena sahaikāṛthaṃ bhavatīy etad adhikṛtaṃ veditavyam. sa ca pṛthagarthānām ekārthibhāvaḥ samāsa ity ucyate.

'A word ending in the siglum *sup* together with another word ending in the siglum *sup* forms a single integrated meaning.' This should be understood as a heading phrase (*adhikāra*). Furthermore, this formation of a single integrated meaning out of words having separate meanings is called 'a compound'.

Cāndravṛtyākaraṇapāñjikā:

sub iti prathamaikavacanam ārabhya saptamībahuvacanapakāreṇa pratyāhāragrahaṇam. vidhigrahaṇanyāyena tadantagrahaṇam ity āha: **subantaṃ** ityādi.

Sup is accepted as a siglum starting from the nominative singular suffix [su] and ending with the letter *p* of the locative plural suffix [*sup*]. As per the maxim concerning the understanding of a grammatical injunction, *sup* is accepted as the word ending in it. Therefore, [the *Vṛttikāra*] says *subantaṃ* ('a word ending in the siglum *sup*'), and so on.

sāmānyoktāv api yasya yena saṃbandhas tena saha tad ekārthaṃ bhavatīti saṃbandhād vijñāyate. tadyathā: mātari vartitavyaṃ pitari śuśrūṣitavyam iti. na cocyate svasyaṃ svaminn iti. atha ca yā yasya mātā yaś ca yasya piteti saṃbandhāt pratīyate. tadvad ihāpi. tenāniṣṭaṃ na kiṃ cid ihāpadyate. ata eva vyapekṣāsāmarthyaparigrahāya samarthavacanāṃ nāśritam. ekārthibhāvas tv ekārthavacanenaiva saṃgrhītaḥ. tenātra vṛttāv ekārthibhāva eva, na vākye vyapekṣābhēdādīlakṣaṇe.

Even though it is a general statement [describing the compound of two unspecified *subantas*], due to a relation, it is understood that a *subanta* forms a single integrated meaning [only] with that *subanta* which is related to it. For instance, [it is said,] 'One should attend

to the mother' (*mātari vartitavyam*), 'One should obey the father' (*pitari śusrūṣitavyam*). However, it is not said 'to one's own mother' and 'one's own father'. Rather, due to the relation, it is understood that [the respective act is related with] the one who is one's mother and the one who is one's father. It is the same here too. Hence, nothing undesirable is likely to happen here [in the context of the present aphorism]. Therefore, [the Sūtrakāra] has not resorted to the word *samartha* [in the aphorism] so as to imply the semantic connection in the sense of mutual expectancy [between words]. The formation of a single integrated meaning is rather implied by the word *ekārtham* itself. Therefore, here in a compounded word-formation, only the formation of a single integrated meaning is present, but not so in an un-compounded expression, which is characterized by mutual expectancy [between word-meanings] as well as by differentiation [of word-meanings], etc.

tathā hi rājñah puruṣa iti rājā svāmyantarād bhedakah, puruṣaḥ svāntarād iti bhedah. saṃsargo 'trārthagṛhītaḥ. na hi vyāvṛttasya saṃbandhyantareṇāsaṃbaddhasya svāder avasthānam asti. yadā rājā mamāyam ity apekṣate, puruṣo 'ham asyeti ca tadā saṃsargaḥ. vyāvṛttir arthagṛhīta. na hy avyāvartamānayoḥ saṃbandhyantarebhyaḥ saṃsarga upapadyate. yadā tūbhayam api prādhānyenocyate tadobhayabhedasaṃsargo vākārthaḥ.

Thus, as for the expression *rājñah puruṣaḥ*, the king differentiates [himself] from other owners [of the servant], and so does the servant [who differentiates himself] from other owned things [of the king]. This is the differentiation. Here the association [between the two word-meanings] is discerned by reasoning. Because, an owned thing, etc., cannot be so distinguished, if it is unrelated to another related [word-meaning]. When the king expects 'he is my [servant]', and when the servant expects 'I am his [servant]', then there is an association. The distinction [of both the word-meanings from other similar word-meanings] is discerned by reasoning, because the association [between these word-meanings] cannot take place unless both are being distinguished from other related [word-meanings]. Furthermore, when both [the differentiation and the association] are expressed primarily, then both, the differentiation as well as the association [among the word-meanings] is the meaning of an un-compounded expression.

ekārthibhāvasya samāsavyapadeśa iṣyate cārthasamāsa ityādau [cf. Cān. 4.1.149: cārthasamāsamanojñādibhyaḥ] vyavahārārthaḥ. sa katham ity āśaṅkyāha: sa cetyādi. anvākhyānāya rājapurūṣādau buddhyā pravibhajya yāni padāni pṛthagarthāni prakalpitāni rājan as puruṣa su ityādīni teṣaṃ pṛthagarthānām bhinnārthānām ekārthibhāvāḥ sādharmaṇarthatā viśeṣaṇasya svārthaparitāyāgena viśeṣye vṛttau saṃpadyate. tataś caikārthibhavanam samasanam iti kṛtvānugatārthatayā samāsa ity ucyate.

[The Vṛttikāra] wishes to designate the formation of the single integrated meaning as *samāsa* with the purpose of using [the said designation] in the expressions *cārthasamāsa* ('a compound having the copulative sense'), etc. [Anticipating the objection], 'How is it [justified]?', [the Vṛttikāra] says, *sa ca* ('Furthermore, that'), and so on. For the sake of explanation of the words *rājapurūṣa* ('a royal servant'), etc., the words *rājan as puruṣa su*, etc. are mentally analyzed and considered to possess a separate meaning; the formation of a single integrated meaning, [that is to say] the compositeness of meaning, out of those words having separate meanings [that is to say] isolated meanings is accomplished, when a qualifier, by abandoning its own meaning abides in the sense of a qualificant noun. Thus, since the

formation of a single integrated meaning is [equal to] compounding, it is called ‘a compound’ (*samāsa*) because of the similarity of meaning.

nanu ca jahatsvārthāyāṃ vṛttau śrīyamāṅāyāṃ rājapuruṣam ānāyety ukte puruṣamātra-syānayanam prāpnoti, na jātu cid rājavīśiṣṭasya? naitad asti. jahad api rājaśabdaḥ svārtham nātyantāya hāsyati. tadyathā: takṣā rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svaṃ takṣakarma rājakarmavirodhī jahāti, nāvīruddham hasitakaṇḍūyitādi. tathā rājaśabdo 'pi viśeṣyārthavṛttivirodhinam artham hāsyati, na tu viśeṣanam. athavānvayad rājavīśiṣṭasya grahaṇam. tadyathā: campakapuṭo mallikāpuṭa iti niṣkrāntāsv api sumanaḥsu vyapadeṣo 'nvayād bhavati. tathehāpi. tena rājavīśiṣṭasyānayanam, na puruṣamātrasya.

[The opponent argues:] If one resorts to the type of formation where [a qualifier] loses its own meaning, then, when one asks ‘Bring a royal servant!’, it may result in the bringing merely of a servant, but certainly not of the servant qualified by [the adjective] royal. [The proponent responds:] It is not the case. Even while abandoning its own meaning, the word *rājan* will not abandon it in the absolute sense. For instance, a carpenter, while performing a royal duty, abandons his own duty of a carpenter, which is in conflict with the royal duty; but not [the acts of] laughing, scratching etc., which are not in conflict [with the royal duty]. Similarly, the word *rājan* will also abandon that meaning which is in conflict with the meaning of a qualificant noun (*viśeṣya*), but not the qualifying meaning. Or alternatively, due to [their former] association, the comprehension [of the meaning ‘servant’] qualified by [the adjective] ‘royal’ is possible. For instance, the designations, namely, ‘a wrapper of *campaka* flowers’ (*campakapuṭa*), ‘a wrapper of *mallikā* flowers’ (*mallikāpuṭa*) are used on account of their [former] association, even when the flowers are no longer there. The same is also valid here. Hence, only that servant who is qualified by [the adjective] ‘royal’ is brought, and not someone who is merely a servant.

Moggallānasutta:

syādi syādinekattham (3.1)

Moggallānavutti:

syādyantaṃ syādyantena sahekattham hotīti idam adhikataṃ vedītabbaṃ; so ca bhinnat-thānam ekatthībhāvo samāso ti vuccate.

Moggallānavuttivivaraṇapañcīkā:

si ādi yassa so syādi – si yo aṃ yo nā hi sa naṃ smā hi sa naṃ smiṃ su ti idaṃ vidhig-gahaṇāñāyena tadantaggahaṇam icc āha: syādyantaṃ iccādi.

sāmaññena vutte pi yassa yena saṃbandho tena saha tad ekattham bhavati ti saṃbandhato viññāyati. taṃ yathā: mātari vattitabbaṃ pitari sussusitabban ti. na coccate sakāya sake ti. atha ca yā yassa mātā yo yassa pitā ti saṃbandhato patīyate. tathehā pi. tenāñiṭṭham kiñci pīha na hoti. ato yeva vyapekkhāsāmatthiyapariggahāya samatthavacanaṃ na kataṃ. ekatthībhāvo pana ekatthavacanen’ eva saṃgahīto. ten’ etha vuttīyam ekatthībhāvo. vākye vyapekkhā bhedādīlakhanā.

*tathāhi rañño puriso ti rājā sāmyantarato bhedako, puriso sāntarato ti bhedo. saṃsaggo ettha atthagahīto*¹⁴. *na tu vyāvuttassa saṃbandhyantareṇāsambaddhassa sādino avatthānam atthi. yadā rājā mamāyan ti apekkhate, puriso ahaṃ asseti tadā saṃsaggo. vyāvutti atthagahīta*¹⁵. *na hi avyāvuttānaṃ saṃbandhyantarehi saṃsaggo uppajjate. yadā tūbhayam api padhānatāya vuccate tadobhayaṃ bhedasasaggo vākyattho.*

ekatthibhāvassa samāsavyapadeso abhimato catthasamāse ti ādo [cf. MV 2.143] *vyavahārattho. so kathaṃ icc āsaṅkiy' āha so ca iccādi. anvākyānāya rājapurisādo buddhiyā pavibhajja yāni padāni puthagatthāni pakappitāni rāja sa purisa si iccādiṇi tesam puthagatthānaṃ bhinnatthānam ekatthibhāvo sādharmaṇatthatā visesanassa sakatthapariccāgena visesse vuttiyam saṃpajjate. tato c' ekatthibhavanaṃ samasanaṃ iti katvā anugatthatāya samāso ti vuccate.*

*nanu ca jahamānasakatthāyaṃ vuttiyam upādiyamānāyaṃ rājapurisam ānaye ti vutte purisamattassānayaṃ pappoti, na kadāci rājavisitthassa. nedaṃ atthi. jahanto api rājasaddo sakattham nāccantāya jahāti. taṃ yathā: tḥapati rājakamme pavattamāno sakaṃ tacchakammaṃ rājakammaviruddhaṃ (jahāti, nāvīruddhaṃ) hasitakaṇḍuyatādiṃ. tathā rājasaddo pi viessatthavuttiviruddham attham jahāti, na pana visesanaṃ. athavā 'nvayato rājavisitthassa gahaṇaṃ. taṃ yathā: campakapuṭo mallikāpuṭo ti niṭṭhitesu pi kusumesu vyapadeso anvayato bhavati. tathehā pi. tena rājavisitthass' ānayaṃ, na purisamattassa.*¹⁶

The main topics discussed in these passages are as follows:

1. An explanation of the words *subanta* or *syādyanta*.
2. Proving the futility of the Pāṇinian metarule *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (A. 2.2.1).
3. Three views about the meaning of an uncompounded expression (*vākyārtha*).
4. Justification for accepting the technical term *samāsa* used in the Pāṇinian school.
5. The problem in accepting the type of compounded word-formation where the qualifier loses its own meaning (*jahatsvārthā vṛtti*) and the solutions thereby.

When we compare the above two passages, it becomes evident that the Pali text is a literal translation of the Sanskrit original as in some of the other cases demonstrated by Dimitrov (2016, 606 ff.). In view of such a close affinity, the comparison of these texts proves helpful with regard to the textual study of the *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā* and the *Moggallānapañcikā* alike. As far as the progress of the textual study of both these texts is concerned, we are not in a very happy position.

14 °gahīto em.] °gahito Printed text

15 °gahītā em.] °gahitā Printed text

16 Dharmānanda 1931, 138–139. Here the orthography of the text has been standardized, and the *pratikas* and the quotations are marked distinctly for the sake of convenience.

As Dimitrov reports, the available manuscripts material of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā* suffers from its fragmentary nature and partly poor quality.¹⁷ Moreover, although the text of Ānandadatta's *Ratnamatipaddhati* is helpful in some cases, it cannot be used for editing the entire text of the *Pañjikā*, since the former is a commentary only on some selected rules of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇa*. Thus, it is a challenging task to edit the text of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā*.

In the case of the *Moggallānapañcikā*, the situation is equally gloomy. Although we have a printed text of this work in Sinhalese and Burmese scripts published in 1931 and 1954 respectively, these are not critical editions. As Ven. Dharmānanda (1931: Preface ii), the editor of the Sinhalese publication, informs us, the text presented by him is based on a single manuscript preserved in the library of the Asgiri Vihāra. There is no information available on the date and the condition of this manuscript. The Burmese edition of the *Pañcikā* seems to be based on the Sinhalese edition with a few corrections made by its editor Bhadanta Aggadhamaṃbhavaṃsa Thera. Obviously, these printed texts should be used with great caution, since they are not entirely reliable.

On the background of these inconveniences, it will be worthwhile studying the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā* and the *Moggallānapañcikā* in close juxtaposition in order to achieve further progress in the textual study of these two texts. Dimitrov (2016, 622) has already pointed out that '[b]ecause [...] Moggallāna's partial rendering of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā* is so close and reliable, the Pali *Pañcikā* may be regarded as an additional incomplete textual witness of Ratna's work.'

There is one instance in our present passage that can illustrate how the text of the *Moggallānapañcikā* can indeed help us to verify reliably the reading of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā*. In the above-mentioned passage of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā* the manuscript reads: *rājan as puruṣaḥ su*. In this case, the *visarga* in the word *puruṣaḥ* is unwarranted. Ānandadatta in his *Ratnamatipaddhati* has preserved the correct reading:

tad ekārthaṃ vidhīyamānam ekārthibhāvayogyānāṃ rājan as puruṣa su ityādīnāṃ samāsāyopakalpitānāṃ eva vidhīyata iti tadarthākṣepo labdha iti. (Dimitrov 2016, 656).

Here, the parallel Pali text reads *rāja sa purisa si*, which further confirms the absence of the *visarga* after the word *puruṣa*. In the light of these witnesses, the Sanskrit text should be emended to *rājan as puruṣa su* despite the evidence of the

¹⁷ For an overview of the fragmentary manuscripts of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā* identified until now, see Dimitrov 2016, 623ff.

manuscript. Although in this particular case it is possible to emend the text on the basis of our general knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and grammatical conventions, it suffices to prove the utility of the *Moggallānapañcikā* as one of the witnesses to verify readings of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*.

Apart from this, there is another instance where the text of the *Moggallānapañcikā* helps us to verify the reading of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* against the *Ratnamatīpaddhati*. While commenting on the word *subantaṃ* in the *Cāndravṛtti*, Ratnamati says: *vidhigrahaṇanyāyena tadantagrahaṇam*. However, Ānandadatta seems to have had a different reading before him, for he begins his comment on this portion of the *Pañjikā* with the following words:

*paravidhinyāyēti. parādhikāravihitasya vidher nyāyaḥ. kevalasyāsaṃbhavāt pratyaya-grahaṇe yasmād asau vihitas tadādes tadantasya grahaṇam iti yas tena tadantagrahaṇam.*¹⁸

‘As per the maxim concerning a grammatical injunction under [the head-word] *para*’ means a maxim concerning a grammatical injunction prescribed in the section headed by the word *paraḥ* (‘follows’, i.e. ‘a suffix’). Since it (i.e. a suffix) does not occur alone, *sup* is accepted as the word ending in it; as per this maxim, namely, whenever there is a mention of a suffix [in a grammatical injunction,] it is accepted as a word beginning with that to which the suffix is prescribed and ending with that [very suffix].

Moggallāna, on the other hand, in his *Pañcikā*, confirms the reading of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* by using the same words in Pali: *vidhiggahaṇañāyena tadantaggahaṇam*. Here it is interesting to note that Saṅgharakkhita in his *Ṭīkā* reproduces the reading of the *Pañcikā*, but explains the said *nyāya* exactly as Ānandadatta does in his *Paddhati*. He says:

vidhiggahaṇañāyēnā ti paccayaggahaṇe yasmā so vihito tadādino tadantassa ca gahaṇanti nāyena.

‘As per the maxim concerning the understanding of a grammatical injunction’ means, according to the maxim, namely, whenever there is a mention of a suffix [in a grammatical injunction], it is accepted as a word beginning with that to which the suffix is prescribed and ending with that [very suffix].

This implies that the text of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, which was available to Moggallāna, must have been the same as the one preserved in the Cambridge manuscript. The probable source of Saṅgharakkhita’s comment is, however, unclear for the want of sufficient evidence. It is quite possible that Sāriputta’s *Can-drālamkāra* was Saṅgharakkhita’s direct source of this *Paribhāṣā*. However, this

¹⁸ Dimitrov (2016, 653, n. 130) has attested this *Paribhāṣā* in Puruṣottamadeva’s *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*.

cannot be proved with certainty, since the corresponding part of the *Cāndrālaṃkāra* is not available.

During our joint reading of these two texts, Dimitrov and I strongly felt that just as the *Moggallānapañcīkā* can be used to verify readings of the *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā*, the latter text too will be helpful when re-editing the text of the *Moggallānapañcīkā* by rectifying the possible corruptions in the text. These corruptions are either of the nature of obvious printing mistakes, or that of faulty readings. In order to give some illustrations let us turn once again to the passage discussed above.

There are two instances of minor corruptions in the corresponding passage of the *Moggallānapañcīkā*. In the first instance, the printed Pali text reads *atthagahito* and *atthagahitā*. It is quite obvious that here *ī* is required instead of *i*, and the long vowel has indeed been retained at another place, namely, *saṃgahito*. The parallel Sanskrit text has the correct reading in both places. At another instance, the Pali text has the reading *kaṇḍūyata*. In the corresponding passages of the *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya* and the *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā*, we find the correct form *kaṇḍūyita*. Although once again these are simple cases of correcting the typographical errors, they are sufficient to prove our point.

Besides these two cases of minor corruptions, there is one instance in which the printed text of the *Moggallānapañcīkā* indicates a different reading than that of the *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā*. The Sanskrit text reads as follows: *na hi vyāvṛtasya saṃbandhyantareṇāsaṃbaddhasya svāder avasthānam asti*. The corresponding Pali text, on the other hand, says: *na tu vyāvuttassa saṃbandhyantareṇāsaṃbandhassa sādino avatthānam atthi*. The use of the particle *tu* in the Pali portion, which might be a result of misreading, does not make much sense. The *Moggallānapañcīkāṭīkā* is of no help in this regard, since Saṅgharakkhita has not commented on this particular sentence. Based on the parallel Sanskrit passage, however, it is possible to emend the Pali text as: *na hi vyāvuttassa saṃbandhyantareṇāsaṃbaddhassa sādino avatthānam atthi*. It is noteworthy that a couple of sentences later we have a similar statement in Pali where the correct reading *na hi* can be found: *na hi avyāvuttānaṃ saṃbandhyantarehi saṃsaggo uppajjate*.

Let us now turn to another interesting and complex textual problem. While explaining the difference between the compounded and un-compounded expressions, the text of the *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā* reads *tenātra vṛttāv ekārthibhāva eva, na vākye vyapekṣābhedaḍilakṣaṇe*. Here the corresponding Pali text differs considerably, for it reads: *tenettha vuttiyaṃ ekatthibhāvo. vākye vyapekkhā bhedaḍilakkhaṇā* ‘Therefore, here, the formation of a single integrated meaning is present in a compounded word-formation. [However,] in an un-compounded

expression, there is mutual expectancy [among word-meanings], which is characterised by a differentiation [of word-meanings], etc.’

Here Ānandadatta’s gloss confirms the reading of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*. He says:

evakāro bhinnakramaḥ. vṛttāv ity asmād anantaraṃ draṣṭavyam. tenāyam artho vṛttāv eva vṛttyartham upakalpitavākya evaikārthibhāvo nānyatra vākya iti. vyapekṣābhedādīlākṣaṇa iti. vyapekṣā parasparaṣaṃbandhalakṣaṇaḥ samsargaḥ. bhedo ’nyato vyāvṛtīḥ. ādisabdāt tad ubhayam padāntarasambandhādīś ca. sa eva lakṣaṇam svabhāvo ’syeti vīgrahaḥ. (Dimitrov 2016, 656)

The word *eva* is misplaced and should be read after the word *vṛttau*. Thus, the meaning is as follows: The formation of a single integrated meaning is present only in a compounded word-formation, that is to say, only in a sentence imagined with respect to a compounded word-formation, [but] not elsewhere in an uncompounded expression. The analysis of the compound *vyapekṣābhedādīlākṣaṇe* is as follows: The mutual expectancy [among word-meanings] means an association [between word-meanings], which is characterised by a mutual relationship. Differentiation means distinguishing from others. The word ‘etc.’ implies these two together [namely, the association and differentiation] as well as the relation with another word, and so on. This is the characteristic, that is to say, the nature of that [uncompounded expression].

On the other hand, Saṅgharakkhita in his *Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā* confirms the reading of the *Moggallānapañcikā*. He says:

evakāro na vākyae tathā ti dīpeti,¹⁹ vākyae kathaṃ ti āha – vākyae ti ādi. vākyae ti vīggahavākyae. ... kāyaṃ byapekkhā ti āha – bhedādīlakkhaṇā ti. ādisaddena saṃsaggabhedasamsaggānaṃ ca gahaṇaṃ. (Moggallānapañcikāṭīkā²⁰ on Moggallānavyākaraṇa 3.1)

The word *eva* indicates that it is not so in an uncompounded expression. [Anticipating the question] ‘How is it with respect to an uncompounded expression?’, [Moggallāna] says: ‘In an uncompounded expression (*vākyae*)’, and so on. ‘In an uncompounded expression’ means in a sentence presenting an analysis of a compound. ... [Anticipating the question] ‘What does this mutual expectancy mean?’, [Moggallāna] says ‘It is characterized by differentiation etc.’ By the word ‘etc.’ association as well as both the differentiation and association together are understood.

¹⁹ It is noteworthy that the word *eva*, which is necessary in this context, is missing from the printed text of the *Moggallānapañcikā*. Based on the reading of the *Ṭīkā*, the text of the *Pañcikā* should be emended as: *tenettha vuttīyaṃ ekatthibhāvo va*.

²⁰ In the online version of the Chaṭṭha Saṅgāyana edition, the text is wrongly titled as *Moggallānapañcikā*.

Thus, the above-mentioned testimonia leave no doubt with respect to the readings of both the *Pañjikās*. However, this leads us to the next question, namely, what might have caused the difference between the two texts at this point. Did Moggallāna have a different reading of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* before him or did he modify the text for some reason? Or is the text of the *Moggallānapañcikā* as we have it today somehow corrupt?

As shown above, the difference between the two readings under consideration is observed in the latter half of the sentence. In the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, the said portion begins with negation, namely, *na vākye*. It is followed by the expression *vyapekṣābhedādilaṣaṇe* ('characterized by the mutual expectancy [among word-meanings] as well as differentiation [of word-meanings] etc. '), which Ānandadatta explains as a *bahuvrīhi* compound qualifying *vākye*. In the *Moggallānapañcikā* the negation before *vākye* is missing, and the portion beginning with *vākye* forms an independent sentence describing the nature of an uncompounded expression. Although *na* is missing in the *Moggallānapañcikā*, according to Saṅgharakkhita, *na vākye* is rather implied by the particle *eva* used earlier in the sentence. He further explains *vyapekkhā* and *bhedādilakkhaṇā* as two separate words, where the latter is explained as a *bahuvrīhi* compound qualifying the former. It is very likely that due to the missing *na* in the manuscript of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* used by Moggallāna, he was forced to separate *vyapekkhā* from the rest of the compound and also to convert the locative *bhedādilaṣaṇe* in Sanskrit into a nominative *bhedādilakkhaṇā* in Pali. With respect to this adaptation, one may further ask whether these changes are sensible, and whether Moggallāna's modified text is in agreement with the understanding of this issue in the overall tradition of Sanskrit grammar.

In this regard it is worthwhile to examine other similar passages in the Sanskrit grammatical works. A careful survey of the commentarial literature of the Pāṇinian and the Kātantra systems reveals that Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and the *Durgaṭikā* on the *Durgavṛtti* on the *Kātantravyākaraṇa* have a close affinity with our present passage of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*. Before turning to the parallel passages in the *Nyāsa* and the *Durgaṭikā*, let us first examine the text of the *Mahābhāṣya*, which is the primary source of this entire discussion. In the *Mahābhāṣya*, the concerned discussion begins with the definition of *sāmarthya* in the sense of *ekārthībhāva* proposed by Kātyāyana in his *Vārttika*. Here, the text reads as follows:

prthagarthānām ekārthībhāvaḥ samarthavacanam | *prthagarthānām ekārthībhāvaḥ samartham ity ucyate* | *kva punaḥ prthagarthāni kva ekārthāni* | *vākye prthagarthāni* | *rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ iti* | *samāse punar ekārthāni rājapuruṣa iti* | (Joshi 1968, 9, nos 42–44)

Samartha is said to be the formation of a single integrated meaning out of [words having] separate meanings [of their own]. [When] we say *samartha* [it means] formation of a single integrated meaning out of [words having] separate meanings [of their own]. But where [do words] have separate meanings [of their own], [and] where [do they] have a single integrated meaning? In an uncompounded expression [words] have separate meanings [of their own], like in *rājñah puruṣaḥ* ('king's servant'). But in a compound, [words] have a single integrated meaning, like in *rājapurusaḥ* ('royal servant').²¹

This explanation of *sāmarthya* has been accepted by later grammarians of the Paṇinian, the Kātantra, and the Cāndra schools alike.²² Further, in the *Mahābhāṣya*, Patañjali defines *vṛtti* as *parārthābhīdhānaṃ vṛtṭiḥ*.²³ This definition presupposes the view that the compounded word-formation is derived from its components (*kāryaśabdikapakṣa*).²⁴ He then brings up a discussion on the probable difficulties in accepting either the *jahatsvārthā* or the *ajahatsvārthā* types of *vṛtti*, and possible solutions thereby. He first talks about problems posed by the *jahatsvārthāvṛtti*, and then provides three different solutions to them. The discussion of the first two solutions goes as follows:

yadi jahatsvārthā vṛtṭiḥ rājapurusaṃ ānāyety ukte puruṣamātrasyānāyanaṃ prāpnoti | aupagavam ānāyety ukte apatyamātrasyeti | ... evaṃ hi dṛśyate loke puruṣo 'yaṃ parakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svakarma jahāti | tadyathā | takṣā rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svaṃ takṣakarma jahāti | evaṃ yuktaṃ tad yad rājā puruṣārthe vartamānaḥ svaṃ arthaṃ jahyāt | upaguṣ cāpatyārthe vartamānaḥ svaṃ arthaṃ jahyāt | nanu cuktam – rājapurusaṃ ānāyety ukte puruṣamātrasyānāyanaṃ prāpnoti | aupagavam ānāyety ukte apatyamātrasyeti | naiṣa doṣaḥ | jahad api asaṃ svārthaṃ nātyantāya jahāti |

21 All the translations of the quoted passages of the *Mahābhāṣya* are based on Joshi (1968) and are modified by me for the sake of consistency with the translation of parallel passages from other grammatical works quoted in this paper. — Based on Joshi 1968, 50–52.

22 Cf. the *Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikā* on A. II.1.1: *ekārthībhāvaś ca pṛthagavasthitānāṃ bhinnārthānāṃ padānāṃ samāse sādharāṇārthatā nāma avasthāviśeṣaḥ |*, and the *Durgatikā* on the *Durgavṛtti* on Kt 2.5.1: *pṛthagarthānāṃ ekārthībhāvaḥ samāso bhavati |*

23 Kaiyaṭa in his *Bhāṣyapradīpa* (p. 328) explains it in the following terms: *parasya śabdasya yo 'rthas tasyābhīdhānaṃ śabdāntareṇa yatra sāvṛtṭir ity arthaḥ | yathā rājapurusa ity atra rājaśabdena vākyāvasthāyām anuktaḥ puruṣārtho 'bhīdhīyate |* 'Where the meaning of one word (viz. the main member of the compound) is conveyed by another word (viz. the subordinate member), that is compounded word-formation, such is the meaning of the passage. Just as in the word *rājapurusaḥ* ("royal servant") the word *rāja*-conveys the meaning of (the word) *puruṣa*, which is not (so) expressed in the stage of the uncompounded expression.' (Joshi 1968, 75)

24 Cf. Kaiyaṭa's *Bhāṣyapradīpa* (p. 328): *kāryaśabdikā vākyād eva vikalpena vṛtṭiṃ niṣpādyāṃ manyamānāḥ kiṃ vṛtter lakṣaṇaṃ kurvantīti praśnaḥ ||* 'How do those grammarians, who hold the view that words are to be produced, (i.e. words are not eternal), and who consider the *vṛtti* as something created out of an uncompounded expression, define *vṛtti*? This is the question.' (Joshi 1968, 74)

yah parārthavirodhī svārthas taṃ jahāti | tadyathā | takṣā rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svam takṣakarma jahāti na tu hikkītahasitakaṇḍūyitādi | na ca ayam arthaḥ parārthavirodhi- viśeṣaṇaṃ nāma | tasmāt tan na hāsyati | athavā anwayād viśeṣaṇaṃ bhavati | tadyathā ... | yathā tarhi mallikāpuṭaś campakapuṭaś ceti | niṣkīrṇāsv api sumanaḥsu anwayād viśeṣaṇaṃ bhavati | ayam mallikāpuṭaḥ, ayam campakapuṭaḥ iti (Joshi 1968, 13–14, nos 75, 78, 80–81, 83)

If [we take the view of] *jahatsvārthā vṛttih*, [then,] when we say *rājapurūṣam ānaya* ('bring the royal servant'), [the result is that] any man might be brought [and,] when we say *aupagavam ānaya* ('bring the offspring of Upagu'), [the result is that] any offspring might be brought. ... For thus we observe in daily life: the man when he takes on a job [assigned to him] by somebody else, abandons his own work. Take an example: a carpenter, when he takes on a job [assigned to him] by a king, abandons his own carpenter's job. In the same way, it is proper that [the word] *rājan* ('king'), when it is used in the sense of *puruṣa* ('servant'), should abandon its own meaning. And [the proper name] *Upagu*, when used in the sense of 'offspring', should abandon its own meaning [too].

But still, was it not pointed out that, when we say *rājapurūṣam ānaya* ('bring the royal servant'), [the result is that] any man might be brought? And when we say *aupagavam ānaya* ('bring the offspring of Upagu') [the result is that] any offspring [might be brought]? No difficulty here. Although this [i.e. the subordinate member] gives up its own meaning, it does not do so entirely. That meaning of its own, which is incompatible with the meaning of the other [word, i.e. the main member] is abandoned. Take an example: a carpenter, when taking on a job [assigned to him] by a king, abandons his own carpenter's job, but he does not stop hiccupping, laughing, and scratching. And this [subordinate] meaning, which, in fact, acts as a qualifier, is not incompatible with the meaning of the other [i.e. main word]. Therefore, it will not abandon that [i.e. its own meaning]. Or rather, it [i.e. *rāja-* in *rājapurūṣa*] will act as a differentiating [word], because of [its] connection [with the following member *puruṣa*]. Take an example ... Then take this example: jasmine- [or] *campaka-* flower wrapped up in leaves. Even when the flowers are scattered from [the wrappers], [still] they act as differentiating, because of their [former] connection [with jasmine- or *campaka-* scent]: 'this is the jasmine- wrapper', 'that is the *campaka-* wrapper'. (Based on Joshi 1968, 74–80)

It can be observed that just as the above-mentioned definition, these solutions have also been accepted by Patañjali's successors in the Kātantra and the Cāndra grammatical schools. While providing the third alternative solution to the problem caused by the acceptance of the *jahatsvārthā vṛtti*, Patañjali says:

athavā samarthādhikāro 'yaṃ vṛttau kriyate | sāmartyaṃ nāma bhedaḥ saṃsargo vā | apara āna – bhedaṃsaṃsargau vā sāmartyam iti | kaḥ punar bhedaḥ saṃsargo vā ? iha rājña ity ukte sarvaṃ svaṃ prasaktam, puruṣa ity ukte sarvaḥ svāmī prasaktaḥ | ihedāniṃ rāja- puruṣam ānayet²⁵ ukte rājā puruṣaṃ nivartayati anyebhyaḥ svāmibhyaḥ, puruṣo 'pi rājānam

25 *rājapurūṣa ity ukte* Kielhorn

anyebhyaḥ svebhyaḥ | evam etasminn ubhayato vyavacchinne yadi svārthaṃ jahāti²⁶ kāmaṃ jahātu, na jātu cid puruṣamātrasyānayanam bhaviṣyati | (Joshi 1968, 14–15, no. 84)

Or rather, this *adhikāra*-rule: *samartha* etc. is framed with regard to compounded word-formation. Semantic connection means [either] differentiation or association. Some other [grammarian] says: semantic connection means both differentiation and association. But what [do you mean by] differentiation or association? When we say *rājñāḥ* ('king's') any [word denoting a] thing owned has a chance to be supplied here [in connection with the word *rājñāḥ*]. When we say *puruṣaḥ* ('servant'), any [word denoting] owner has a chance to be supplied [in connection with the word *puruṣaḥ*]. When we say now: *rājavuruṣam ānaya* ('Bring the royal servant') then, [the word] *rājan* keeps the servant away from other owners [and the word] *puruṣaḥ* on its part, keeps the king away from other things owned. When delimitation is made in this way on both sides, if that [word *rājan*] gives up its own meaning, let it do so. In no case whatsoever will just any servant [without relation to a king] be brought. (Based on Joshi 1968, 80)

It is noteworthy that here Patañjali talks of *sāmarthya* in the context of compound-formation (*vṛtti*). According to him, when *sāmarthya* in the sense of differentiation (*bheda*) and association (*saṃsarga*) is there between the constituents of a compound, then it does not really matter whether such well-defined constituents abandon their meanings or not. Further in the text, Patañjali explains *sāmarthya* in the sense of mutual expectancy among word-meanings (*vyapekṣā*), as follows:

parasparavyapekṣām sāmarthyam eke | parasparavyapekṣām sāmarthyam eke icchanti | kā punaḥ śabdāyor vyapekṣā ? na brūmaḥ śabdāyor iti | kiṃ tarhi | arthayoḥ | iha rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ ity ukte rājā puruṣam apekṣate mamāyam iti puruṣo 'pi rājñam apekṣate aham asyeti | (Joshi 1968, 16, no. 98)

Some [say that] semantic connection [is] mutual expectancy. Some prefer [to take that] semantic connection as mutual expectancy. But what [do you mean by] expectancy between two words? We do not say: 'between two words'. What then? Between two meanings. When we say *rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ* ('king's servant'), [the meaning] *rājan* ('king') expects [the meaning] *puruṣa* ('servant'), saying: 'he (i.e. servant) is mine (i.e. king's)'. [The meaning] *puruṣa* also expects [the meaning] *rājan*, saying: 'I (i.e. servant) am his (i.e. king's)'. (Based on Joshi 1968, 87).

One can easily notice that the material from these last two passages of the *Mahābhāṣya* forms the basis of Ratnamati's discussion of the three-fold *vākyārtha*. In order to understand the transmission of these ideas, and their adaptation in the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, let us now turn to the parallel portions found in

²⁶ *jahāti* Kielhorn | *jahātu* Joshi, which does not make a good sense.

the *Nyāsa*. The *Nyāsa* brings up the said discussion, while explaining the two alternative definitions of *sāmarthya* given in the *Kāśīkāvṛtti*, which reads as follows:

samarthaḥ śaktaḥ. vīgrahavākyārthābhīdhāne yaḥ śaktaḥ sa samartho vedītavyaḥ. athavā samarthapadāśrayatvāt samarthaḥ. samarthānām padānām saṃbaddhārthānām saṃsṛṣṭārthānām vidhīr vedītavyaḥ.

Samartha means able. That which is able to denote the meaning of the hypothetical word-structure at the base of the compounded expression should be known as *samartha*. Alternatively, [a grammatical operation concerning *padas* is called] *samartha*, since [that grammatical operation] depends on the *padas*, which are syntactically connected. [*Samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*] should be understood to be a grammatical operation involving those *padas*, which are syntactically connected, that is to say, which have related or composite meaning.

Thus, out of the two definitions of the word *samartha*, the first is based on the primary (*mukhya*) or the conventional (*rūḍha*) meaning of the word *samartha*, whereas the second relies on its figurative (*upacarita*) or etymological (*yaugika*) meaning. In the context of the first definition, the *Nyāsa* understands the *vīgrahavākya* as an uncompounded word-structure underlying a compounded word-formation (*vṛttyarthaṃ yad vākyam upādīyate ...*). It further elaborates the three-fold meaning of the *vīgrahavākya* as follows:

sa punar arthaḥ saṃsargaḥ bhedaś ca bhedaṣaṃsargau vā. tatra svaviśeṣasya svāmīviśeṣeṇa svāmīviśeṣasya ca svaviśeṣeṇa yaḥ saṃbandhaḥ sa saṃsarga ākhyāyate. svāntarasya svāmīyantarebhyaḥ svāmīyantarasya svāntarebhyaḥ vyāvṛtīḥ bheda ākhyāyate. tatra saṃsargavādinō mate saṃsarga eva śabdārthaḥ. vyāvṛtīḥ tu arthasaṃgrhītā. na hi avyāvarttyamānayoḥ svasvāmīnoḥ saṃbandhyantarebhyaḥ saṃsarga upapadyate. Bheda-vādinā tu vyāvṛtīr eva padārthaḥ, saṃsargo 'rthasaṃgrhītā, na hi vyāvarttyamānasya saṃbandhyantareṇāsaṃbaddhasya svāmīyāder avasthānam asti. ubhayavādinā tu ubhaya eva śabdārthaḥ. (Vol. II, p. 5)

Further, that meaning [of an uncompounded expression] is association, differentiation or both association and differentiation. Among these, whatever relation is there between a particular servant and a particular master, or between a particular master and a particular servant, that is called an association. The distinction of other servants from other masters, and of other masters from other servants is called differentiation. Here, in the opinion of the proponents of association, association alone is denoted by the word, whereas the distinction [of both a king and a servant from other similar objects] is discerned by reasoning. Because the association [between these objects] cannot take place unless both the owned and the owner are being distinguished from other related objects. On the other hand, for the proponents of differentiation, distinction alone is the meaning of the word, [whereas,] the association [between the two] is discerned by reasoning. Because the words master etc. cannot be so distinguished, if they are unrelated to other related words. For the proponents of both [association and differentiation,] both are denoted by the word.

It may be noted that in the *Nyāsa*, views regarding the *vākyārtha* are discussed in the context of *vigrahavākya*, and are presented in the order: *saṃsarga*, *bheda*, and both. However, it is not the same order that we find in the *Mahābhāṣya* or in the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*. Moreover, the *Nyāsa* passage also differs from the latter in the structure of its presentation of the three views. Jinendrabuddhi further elaborates upon the second definition of *samartha* given in the *Kāśikā* in the following words:

samarthānām ity anena vākye vyapekṣālakṣaṇaṃ sāmartyam āha. tathā hi rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ ity atra vākye rājā puruṣam apekṣate mamāyam iti puruṣo 'pi rājānam apekṣate aham asyeti. saṃsṛṣṭārthānām ity anena samāse padānām ekārthībhāvalakṣaṇaṃ sāmartyam darśayati. (Vol. II, p. 6–7)

By the expression ‘of the syntactically connected [words]’, [the *Vṛttikāra*] denotes the syntactic connection characterised by mutual expectancy among the word-meanings in an un-compounded expression. For instance, when we say *rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ* (‘king’s servant’), [the meaning] *rājan* (‘king’) expects [the meaning] *puruṣa* (‘servant’), saying: ‘he (i.e. servant) is mine (i.e. of the king)’. [The meaning] *puruṣa* also expects [the meaning] *rājan*, saying: ‘I (i.e. servant) am his (i.e. of the king)’. By the expression ‘of the [words] having a composite meaning’, [the *Vṛttikāra*] points out the syntactic connection characterised by the formation of the single integrated meaning of the constituent words in a compound.

Thus, according to the *Nyāsa*, the two secondary meanings of the word *samartha*, namely, *saṃbaddhārtha* and *saṃsṛṣṭārtha* signify mutual relation among word-meanings (*vyapekṣā*) and formation of the single integrated meaning (*ekārthībhāva*) respectively. Out of these two, the former is available in an un-compounded expression, whereas the latter is present in a compound. It is sufficiently clear that the above discussion has a direct impact on our concerned passage in the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*. As shown by Dimitrov (2016: 650–659), Jinendrabuddhi’s *Nyāsa* is the immediate reference point of the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition for Ratnamati. The latter heavily draws upon the *Nyāsa*, and at times even criticizes it. The *Nyāsa* has also been used by Ānandadatta and Saṅgharakkhita in their commentaries.

If we turn to the two sentences before our problematic line in the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, we can clearly see that this portion is Ratnamati’s refutation of the Pāṇinian *paribhāṣā samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ*, and the position of the *Kāśikā* and the *Nyāsa* thereupon. According to Ratnamati, in the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* the word *samartha* is not required to govern the compound-formation, since the expected relation (*saṃbandha*) between the constituent members of a compound can take care of *sāmartya* in the sense of *vyapekṣā*, and the word *ekārtham* (‘single integrated meaning’) in the *Cāndrasūtra* can very well denote the

ekārthībhāvasāmarthya. In the following sentence, Ratnamati concludes this argument by saying that *ekārthībhāva* is there only in *vṛtti*, whereas *vyapekṣā* as well as *bheda* etc. are available in a *vākya*.

Ānandadatta treats this concluding remark of Ratnamati to be a refutation of the first definition of *sāmarthya* mentioned in the *Kāśikā*.²⁷ According to him, by this statement Ratnamati distinguishes *vṛtti* from *vākya*, and since both are distinct entities, the view that a *vākya* turns in to a *samāsa* is rejected.²⁸ Here, Ānandadatta interprets the word *vṛtti* as an imaginary linguistic structure presupposed for the formation of a compound, which is equivalent to *vigrahavākya*.²⁹ He further differentiates this imaginary linguistic structure, which he refers to as a *samāsavākya* (= *vṛttivākya*) from a conventional sentence (*vyavahāravākya*),³⁰ and rejects the view of the *Kāśikā* that a compound has a capacity to denote the meaning of an uncompounded expression. Ānandadatta's interpretation of the word *vṛtti* is unique, and does not agree with its explanation found in the works of Patañjali, Kaiyaṭa, etc. (ref. above). It may be noted that Saṅgharakkhita in his *ṭīkā* attributes the meaning *vigrahavākya* to the word *vākya* instead of *vutti* in a manner similar to that of the *Nyāsa*.

Immediately after the concerned sentence, Ratnamati proceeds to discuss the three views about the meaning of an uncompounded expression (*vākyaṛtha*) in the following order: *bheda*, *saṃsarga*, and both *bheda* and *saṃsarga* together. As indicated above, this particular sequence is certainly contrary to the one proposed by Ānandadatta in his explanation of the compound *vyapekṣābhedaḍilakṣaṇe*. According to his explanation, the word *vyapekṣā* in the compound signifies *saṃsarga* ('association'), with which the list of the three views begins. Thus, according to Ānandadatta in the sequence of these views, *saṃsarga* precedes

27 *vigrahavākyaṛthābhīdhānaśaktīlakṣaṇasya ṛtīyasya sāmarthyasya kā vārtety āha: tena ityādi*. (Dimitrov 2016, 656) 'As for the question "what about the third meaning of the word *sāmarthya*, which is defined as an ability to denote the meaning of the hypothetical word-structure at the base of the compounded expression?" [Ratnamati] says: 'tena ("therefore"), and so on.''

28 *anena vākyaṃ eva samāsībhavatīti pakṣaṃ nirasyati, anayor atyantabhedāt* | (Dimitrov 2016, 656) 'By this [statement,] [Ratnamati] rejects the view that the uncompounded expression itself turns into a compound, because there is an absolute difference between the two.'

29 *yaṃ tūpakalpitam vṛtīyāi vṛttivākyaṃ tad iṣyate | viśeṣagrahahetuvāt vīgraho 'pi nirucyate* || (*Ratnamatīpaddhati* as quoted in Dimitrov 2016, 653) 'Moreover, a linguistic structure underlying a compounded word formation (*vṛttivākya*) is accepted to be that which is imagined for the sake of forming a compounded expression. The same is also explained (etymologically) as *vīgraha* on account of being a cause of special knowledge.'

30 ... *anyad dhi samāsavākyaṃ anyac ca vyavahāravākyaṃ* | (Dimitrov 2016, 654) 'Because a linguistic structure underlying a compound (*samāsavākya*) is different from a conventional sentence (*vyavahāravākya*).'

bheda and both *bheda* and *saṃsarga* together. This is the same sequence, which we find in Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyāsa*. Here, Ānandadatta's interpretation of the compound *vyapekṣābhedaḍilakṣaṇe* in general and that of the word *vyapekṣā* in particular seems to have been misled by this very sequence found in the *Nyāsa*. Moggallāna's text, on the other hand, is consistent with the order of the three views as found in Ratnamati's *Pañjikā* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*.

It is interesting to note that in the *Durgaṭikā*, the views on *vākyārtha* occur exactly in the same order as that of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* in almost identical words. The text of the *Durgaṭikā* reads:

idam api prakriyājālaṃ. 'rājñah puruṣaḥ' iti vākye rājā svāmyantarād vyavacchidyate puruṣaś ca svāntarād iti bhedaḥ. saṃsargo vātrārthagṛhītaḥ³¹. na hi vyāvṛttasya saṃbandhyantareṇāsambaddhasya svāmyāder avasthānam iti. yadā rājā mamāyam ityapekṣate, puruṣo 'py aham asyeti, tadā saṃsargaḥ vyāvṛttir arthagṛhītā.³²na hi avyāvṛttya-mānayoḥ saṃbandhyantarebhyaḥ saṃsarga iti. yadā tūbhayam api prādhānyenocyate, tadobhayaḥbhedasasṃsargo vākyārtha iti | idaṃ darśanam āśrityāha - abhidhānāt kvacid vikalpa ityādi. (Durgaṭikā on Kt II.5.1, Dwivedi II.2, p. 257)

In the *Durgaṭikā*, one finds a discussion only of the first two solutions to the problems arising from accepting the *jahatsvārthā vṛtti* on the lines of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Thereafter, it deals with the problem of the *ajahatsvārthā vṛtti*, and then proceeds with the above-cited explanation of the three positions on the meaning of an uncompounded expression (*vākya*). However, it is not clear as to why here this position is singled out from the other two positions regarding the *jahatsvārthā vṛtti*. It is interesting that the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* also singles out the explanation about the three views on *vākyārtha* from the rest of the discussion about the *jahatsvārthā vṛtti*, and uses it to describe the nature of *vākya*. Although we do not know much about the exact chronology of the *Durgaṭikā* and the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, their relationship is beyond doubt.

Scholars like Haldar, Keith, and Dwivedi believed that the *Durgaṭikā* was also written by the same Durgasiṃha who composed the *Vṛtti* on the *Kātantrasūtras*. However, Yudhiṣṭhir Mīmāṃsak in his *Saṃskṛt vyākaraṇaśāstra kā itihās* argued against these scholars. In the *ṭikā* on the opening verse of the *Durgavṛtti*, the Ṭikākāra refers to the *Vṛttikāra* as *bhagavān*.³³ On this basis, Mīmāṃsak estab-

31 *vātrārthagṛhītaḥ* em.] *vātrānugṛhītaḥ* Dwivedi II.2, p. 257

32 *saṃsargaḥ, vyāvṛttir arthagṛhītā* em.] *saṃsargavyāvṛttir anugṛhītā* Dwivedi II.2, p. 257

33 *tatra śāstraprastāvād vācanika eva namaskāro nyāyā iti bhagavān vṛttikāraḥ ślokaṃ ekam kṛtavān - 'devadevam' ityādi* | (Kt. vol. 1, p. 1)

lished that the author of the *Durgavṛtti* and that of the *Durgaṭikā* are different persons. Based on a reference to Śrutapāla, a commentator of the *Dhātupāṭha* composed by Devanandin and a citation from the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* found in the *Durgaṭikā*, Mīmāṃsak proposed the 9th century CE as a probable date of its author (1994: I.653–654). D. G. Koparkar (1952: Intro. p. ix) in the introduction to Durgasimha's *Liṅgānuśāsana* also considered the author of the *Durgavṛtti* and that of the *Ṭikā* as two different persons and assigned to the latter a date between 700 and 950 CE. He fixed this lower limit for the *Ṭikā* on the basis of Ugrabhūti's (about 1000 CE.) *Śiṣyahitānyāsa*, which is a commentary on the *Durgaṭikā*. According to Koparkar, Alberūni in 1030 CE. knew Ugrabhūti's commentary by the name *Śiṣyahitāvṛtti*.

Besides the passage cited above, there are other parallel passages, which not only speak in favour of the relationship between the *Durgaṭikā* and the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇapañjikā*, but also suggest the posteriority of the former to the latter. I shall now cite two parallel passages from the *Durgaṭikā* in support of this assumption. The first such passage occurs, when, while explaining the aphorism *nāmnām samāso yuktārthaḥ* (Kt 2.5.1), the ṭikākāra interprets the word *yuktārtha* as signifying the *vyapekṣā* type of syntactic relation. According to him, in this sense, the word *yuktārtha* is redundant, since the said meaning can be indicated well enough by the expected relation between the constituent members of a compound. The *Durgaṭikā* reads:

athavā nāmnām samāsaḥ saṃkṣepo bhavati | yuktārtha iha saṃbandhārtho viśeṣaṇaviśeṣyabhāvalakṣaṇa ucyate | yukto 'rtho yeṣāṃ padānām tāni yuktārthāni | yuktārthāśrayatvād yuktārthaḥ samāsa ucyate | tadā tu yuktārthagrahaṇam sukhārtham eva |

yasmāt sāmānyoktāv api yasya yena saṃbandhas tasya tena saha samāso bhavatīty arthād evāvāsīyate | yathā mātari pravartitavyam, pītari śuśrūṣitavyam | na cocyate svasyām svasminn iti | yasya yā mātā yasya yaḥ pītetī gamyate | tathehāpīti | (Durgaṭikā on Kt 2.5.1, Dwivedi II.2, p. 255)

As mentioned above, the first two solutions to the problem arising from the acceptance of the *jahatsvārthā vṛtti* are discussed in the *Durgaṭikā* on the line of the *Mahābhāṣya*. However, the affinity of this portion with the one in the *Cāndra-vyākaraṇapañjikā* is indeed worth noting. The text of the *Durgaṭikā* reads:

parārthābhīdhānam vṛttir iti | parasyānātmīyasyārthasya yad upasarjanapadenābhīdhānam sā vṛttir ity arthaḥ | tatra parārthābhīdhāne kalpanāmātrakṛtānām upasarjanapadānām svārthatyāgena jahatsvārthavṛttir bhavati prakriyāvāde | yathā takṣā rājākarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svaṃ takṣakarma rājākarmavirodhi jahāti na tu viśeṣaṇam | athavā anvayād rājaviśiṣṭasya grahaṇam | yathā campakapuṭo mallikāpuṭa iti niṣṭhyūteṣv api

*nistr̥ṭṣeṣv api*³⁴ *puṣpeṣv anvyād viśeṣaṇaṃ bhavatīti* | *tena rājavīśiṣṭasyānayaṇaṃ na tu puruṣamātrasya* | (*Durḡaṭikā* on Kt 2.5.1, Dwivedi II.2, p. 256)

Thus, the three passages in the two texts cited above exhibit striking similarities. In Ratnamati's *Pañjikā*, these portions occur as parts of systematically formulated arguments and hence appear to be organic elements of the text. However, the passages in the *Durḡaṭikā* seem to be sporadic, and often give an impression of being borrowed from some other sources, and somehow put together to suit the context. For instance, in the *Durḡaṭikā* the three views about *vākyārtha* are presented without their proper context. Ratnamati uses the argument '*sāmānyoktāv api*, and so on' to justify the lack of use of the word *samartha* to signify *vyapekṣā* in the *Cāndrasūtra*. However, in the *Durḡaṭikā* it is put forth simply to indicate futility of the word *yuktārtha* in an alternative explanation of the *Kātantrasūtra*. Furthermore, just as Patañjali, Ratnamati first presents the difficulty in accepting the *jahatsvārthā vṛtti*, and then offers its solution. But, in the *Durḡaṭikā*, these solutions are provided without mentioning the problem. Moreover, in this commentary, one can witness a conscious attempt to alter the original text, either by abridging it or by replacing its vocabulary with different words. For example, in the third passage cited above, the sentence from the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, namely, *tad yathā: takṣā rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svaṃ takṣakarma rājakarmavirodhi jahāti, nāviruddhaṃ hasitakaṇḍūyitādi* is abridged as *yathā takṣā rājakarmaṇi pravartamānaḥ svaṃ takṣakarma rājakarmavirodhi jahāti na tu viśeṣaṇam*. Similarly, words from the *Pañjikā*, namely, *bhedakaḥ* and *sumanaḥsu* are replaced with *vyavacchidyate* and *puṣpeṣu*. Finally, the phrase *iti darśanam āśrityāha*, which occurs at the end of the afore-mentioned first passage of the *Durḡaṭikā*, is a clear testimony to the fact that here the Ṭikākāra is quoting an opinion of some former authority. Although, the first known occurrence of the three views regarding *vākyārtha* can be traced back to the *Mahābhāṣya* and then its more systematic formulation in the *Nyāsa*, the exact wording of their presentation matches with Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*. On the basis of this evidence it is justified to believe that the author of the *Durḡaṭikā* has borrowed these passages from the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* with some deliberate modifications, unless the manuscript of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* available to the Ṭikākāra read slightly differently from the Cambridge manuscript. There is also a possibility that some corruptions have occurred later in the transmission of the *Durḡaṭikā* resulting in minor deviations. Since Ratnamati flourished in the 10th

34 The use of these two synonymic expressions is puzzling. The editor does not make it clear whether one of them is a variant.

century CE (cf. Dimitrov 2016, 745), it would be safe to place the anonymous author of the *Durgaṭikā* in the eleventh century or later.

I shall conclude the present discussion by pointing out that in the problematic sentence under discussion, Moggallāna in all probability had a faulty reading of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*, which he wisely emended to suit the context in the light of the entire tradition of the Sanskrit grammar. Although both Ānandadatta and Saṅgharakkhita do not agree with each other in their own explanations, there is no doubt that Moggallāna has maintained the spirit of Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* in his own work. Thus, the above discussion makes it clear that the parallel study of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* and the *Moggallānapañcikā* is not only useful, but is rather mandatory for ensuring more reliable results.

Besides its importance for text-critical purposes, a comparative study of such passages is also interesting from the point of view of the transmission and reception of ideas. Śrī Rāhula in his *Buddhippasādinī* mentions a number of grammatical works that Moggallāna either studied or memorized. These works include, apart from the Pali grammatical treatises in the Kaccāyana tradition, the texts belonging to the Pāṇinian, the Cāndra, and the Kātantra schools along with the grammars of Āpiśali and Śākaṭāyana.³⁵ How far Moggallāna used these grammatical works as his source material and how he adopted, modified or rejected the grammatical ideologies from these texts could be known only through a serious comparative study of Moggallāna's grammar and these works. For instance, the passages under consideration reveal that Ratnamati's *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā* was the exact source of Moggallāna's discussion, and that he has adopted the Cāndra ideology without alteration. Furthermore, Moggallāna's adherence to the Cāndra tradition can, in turn, be looked upon as one of the many instances of his rupture from the Kaccāyana school. This ideological shift in Moggallāna's grammar can be explained as follows:

Pāṇini's metarule (*paribhāṣā*) *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* (A. 2.1.1) states that a grammatical operation concerning a *pada* takes effect only when there is a semantic and syntactic coherence and compatibility in the meaning (*samarthaḥ*).³⁶ It regulates grammatical operations such as compounding, formations of secondary derivatives etc. Patañjali has discussed this *paribhāṣā* in detail in the *Samarthāhnikā* section of his *Mahābhāṣya*. According to him, *sāmarthya*, that is to say, semantic and syntactic coherence or compatibility of meaning is a precondition

35 *Padasādhanatīkā* 1908, 6, 13–14 as quoted in Gornall 2013, 53, n. 109.

36 This is my own modified translation of the rule based on Katre 1987.

for compounding. Patañjali emphasizes the inevitable role of this *paribhāṣā* in regulating the compound formation.

As shown above, the Cāndra grammatical school argues that if the rule defining the compound formation is modified as *sup supaikārtham*, one can do away with this *paribhāṣā*, since the word *ekārtham* captures the sense of the word *sāmarthya* in an appropriate manner. The said idea, which is implicit in the *Cāndrasūtra* and in the *Vṛtti* thereupon, is made explicit in the *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā* and the *Ratnamatipaddhati*. The Cāndra grammarians hold that since the compounded and un-compounded expressions are principally two distinct entities, the view that the un-compounded expression is transferred into a compound is untenable.³⁷ According to this school, only *sāmarthya* in the sense of the formation of a single integrated meaning (*ekārthibhāva*) is relevant to compounding, but not the one in the sense of mutual expectancy among word-meanings (*vyapekṣā*), and since *sāmarthya* in the sense of the formation of a single integrated meaning is already denoted by the word *ekārtham*, the meta-rule *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* is not necessary to regulate the compound-formation.

In this particular case, Moggallāna incorporates the entire discussion available in the Cāndra tradition in his *Sutta*, *Vutti*, and *Pañcikā*. Although he has not contributed anything new to the ideological standpoint of the Cāndra school, his non-acceptance of the position of the *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* and, through it, of the *Kātantra* certainly marks an ideological shift in the context of the Pali grammatical tradition. The position of the Kaccāyana and the Kātantra schools can be elucidated as follows: as is well-known, Kaccāyana's *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa*, which is modeled after the Sanskrit grammar *Kātantra*, is the earliest available text on Pali grammar composed in the 6th or the 7th century. The *Kaccāyanavyākaraṇa* and the *Vutti* explain the compound formation on the same lines as that of the *Kātantra* and the *Durgavṛtti*. Kaccāyana defines a compound as:

nāmānaṃ samāso yuttattho. (318)

³⁷ Cf. the following verses quoted in the *Ratnamatipaddhati*: *padāntareṇa sambandho vyavadhānaṃ viparyayaḥ | samkhyā vyaktiś cayogaś ca vākye syān naiva vṛttiṣu || ata evānayoḥ bhedāt saṃsargādyarthabhedataḥ | vākyam eva samāsīsyād ity ayuktam pracakṣate ||* (Dimitrov 2016, 653) 'Relation with another word [outside the compound], intervention [of another word], change in the sequence [of words], [comprehension of specific] number, clear manifestation [of meaning], and the use of the particle ca are possible in an un-compounded expression, but never in those that are compounded. Therefore, since there is a difference between the two on the basis of a difference in the meanings such as association etc., [the view that] an un-compounded expression turns into a compound is declared to be unreasonable.'

A conjoined meaning of nouns is called a compound (*samāsa*).

The *Vutti* explains it in the following words:

tesaṃ nāmānaṃ payujjamānapadatthānaṃ yo yuttattho so samāsasañño hoti.

A conjoined meaning of those nouns, that is to say, the word meanings that are being used, is called a compound (*samāsa*).

Cf. *Kātantra* (2.5.1): *nāmnāṃ samāso yuktārthaḥ*.

Durgasiṃha, in his *Vṛtti*, explains the said aphorism as follows:

vastuvācīni nāmāni, militaṃ yuktam ucyate. nāmnāṃ yuktārthaḥ samāsasaṃjñō bhavati.

Nouns are the words that denote a thing. The word ‘conjoined’ (*yukta*) means ‘combined’. The conjoined meaning of nouns [denoting things] is designated as ‘compound’.

The *Kātantra* school favours the *nityapakṣa*, that is to say, the position that words are eternal and not created (*kārya*) by a speaker.³⁸ According to this position, a compound is an ever-existing indivisible word and not something that is created by combining constituent words. In other words, a compound word like *rāja-puruṣaḥ* and its parallel uncompounded expression, namely, *rājñāḥ puruṣaḥ* are two independent entities. According to the Pāṇinian position expressed in the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, the compound primarily appears to be *kārya*, that is to say, it is formed by putting together the constituent words.

It is Bhartṛhari, who in his *Vākyapadīya*, explicitly advances the *nityapakṣa* in the context of compound. He says:

*abudhān praty upāyās ca vicitrāḥ pratipattaye |
śabdāntaratvād atyantabhedo vākyasamāsayoḥ || (3.14.50)*

Many methods are adopted in order to make the ignorant understand. Being different sets of words, the sentence and the compound are quite different from each other. (Iyer 1969, 148)

*upāyamātraṃ nānātvaṃ samūhas tv eka eva saḥ |vikalpābhyuccayābhyāṃ vā bhedasamśar-
gakaḥ || (3.14.97)*

The splitting-up is only a means, the compound is one whole. Difference and connection can be understood either as alternatives or together. (Iyer 1969, 170)

³⁸ Cf. Trilocanadāsa’s *Kātantravṛttipañjikā* and Suṣeṇaśarman’s *Kalāpacandra* on *Kātantra* 2.5.1.

*vṛttiṃ vartayatām evam abudhapratipattaye |
bhinnāḥ sambodhanopāyāḥ puruṣeṣv anavasthitāḥ ||* (3.14.98)

Those who explain complex formations in order to instruct the ignorant adopt different and variable methods of explanations. (Iyer 1969, 171)

This position of Bhartṛhari has been accepted by both the Kātantra as well as the Cāndra schools. The above-mentioned verses from the *Vākyapadīya* are quoted in the *Durḡaṭikā* on *Kātantra* 2.5.1 in support of the *nityapakṣa* (Dwivedi II.2, p. 255). Thus, as per the primary position of the *Kātantra* school, the rule *nāmnām samāso yuktārthaḥ* is a *saṃjñā-sūtra*, which simply describes the nature of a compound word and does not teach its formation.³⁹ Hence, the school does not require the meta-rule *samarthaḥ padavidhiḥ* like the Pāṇinians. However, according to the *Durgavṛtti*, as an alternative explanation, it is possible to say that the term *samāsa* in the said *sūtra* implies its formation even in this grammar. While commenting on it, the *Durḡaṭikā* maintains that this alternative favours the view that an uncompounded expression turns into a compound.

Moggallāna distances himself from both the ideological positions, namely, that of the Pāṇinians and of the Kātantra school by incorporating the ideas from the Cāndra system, particularly from Ratnamati's *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā*. By taking such a stand, he suggests his departure from the Kaccāyana school, and his adherence to a new grammatical ideology.

Apart from this, the value of a comparison of the *Moggallānavāyākaraṇa* with the Cāndra grammatical works could even be judged from its utility in understanding the methodology adopted by Moggallāna for translating the scholastic Sanskrit parlance into Pali. As shown by Gornall (2013, 90), such adaptations of the Sanskrit material could give us much deeper insights into the processes of familiarization with a foreign literature by restructuring its strangeness in order to establish a dialogue between the two different traditions. I will now analyse the above two passages in order to highlight the peculiarities of Moggallāna's Pali rendering of the Sanskrit text.

The passage from the *Moggallānapañcikā* quoted above is, to use Dimitrov's words (2016, 622), 'nothing less than a very precise translation' of the *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā* with some modifications wherever necessary. The first major modification is seen in the non-use of abbreviated terms (*pratyāhāras*). Like Pāṇini, Candragomin makes use of *pratyāhāras* in his grammar. In this particular instance, there is the *pratyāhāra sup*, which denotes all the nominal case endings. Unlike Candragomin, Moggallāna avoids the use of *pratyāhāras*. In this

³⁹ Cf. the *Durḡaṭikā* on *Kātantra* 2.5.1.

case, he follows his predecessor Kaccāyana and uses the term *syādi* to represent all the nominal endings. Thus, Ratnamati's comment on the *Cāndravṛtti* begins with the explanation of the *pratyāhāra sup*, whereas Moggallāna starts his *Pañcikā* with the elaboration of the word *syādi*:

si ādi yassa so syādi – si yo aṃ yo nā hi sa naṃ smā hi sa naṃ smiṃ su ti idaṃ vidhigahaṇāñāyena tadantaggahaṇam icc āha: syādyantam iccādi.

Syādi means the set of nominal case endings, which begins with *si*, that is to say, *si, yo, aṃ, yo, nā, hi, sa, naṃ, smā, hi, sa, naṃ, smiṃ, and su.*

The second type of modification can be observed in Moggallāna's Pali rendering of Sanskrit vocabulary. He occasionally replaces unfamiliar Sanskrit expressions by relatively better known Pali words, for example, *nāśritam* is replaced by *na kataṃ*, *śrīyamāñyāṃ* is replaced by *upādiyamānāyaṃ*, *iṣyate* by *abhimata-*, and *sumana* by *kusuma*.

Similarly, when the compounded Sanskrit form could not be rendered conveniently in Pali, Moggallāna prefers to use an uncompounded expression, for example, the compound *sāmānyoktau* is rendered into Pali as *sāmāññena vutte*. Barring these few cases, Moggallāna generally sticks to the hardcore technical terminology of the Sanskrit grammar and uses mere Pali versions of the same, for example, *ekārthībhāva* is rendered as *ekatthībhāva*, *vyapekṣā* as *vyapekkhā*, and *samsarga* as *samsagga*. At places, Moggallāna's Pali rendering, although close to the Sanskrit, hints at a different underlying form. For example, *upapadyate* (*upa + pad*) is rendered as *uppajjate* (*u = ut + pad*), which, in spite of being a synonym, differs in its derivation.

Sometimes Moggallāna is not consistent in his Pali rendering of the Sanskrit. Three instances may be cited in this connection:

- 1) The word *prthagartha* occurs once in the *Cāndravṛtti* and twice in the corresponding passage of the *Pañjikā*. Moggallāna in his *Vutti* renders it as *bhinnattha*. However, in the *Pañcikā*, the word *prthagartha* has been translated as *puthatattha*. Out of the two occurrences of *puthatattha*, on the second occasion it is paraphrased as *bhinnattha* on the line of the *Cāndravyākaraṇapañjikā*. It is puzzling, since Moggallāna has in fact used the word *bhinnattha* in the *Vutti*, which he is expected to paraphrase in the *Pañcikā*. It seems that Moggallāna's use of *bhinnattha* in the *Vutti* instead of *puthatattha* is inspired by a similar usage found in Buddhapiya's *Rūpasiddhi*:

etena saṅgatathena yuttatthavacanena bhinnatthānaṃ ekatthabhāvo samāsa-lakkhaṇan ti vuttaṃ hoti. (Rūpasiddhi as quoted by Tiwari and Sharma 1989, 150)

This expression *yuttattha*- ('conjoined meaning') in the sense of coherent meaning implies that a formation of a single integrated meaning out of the [words having] separate meanings [of their own] is the characteristic of a compound.

This refers back to the *Vārttika* quoted in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* mentioned above:

prthagarthānām ekārthibhāvaḥ samarthavacanam |

However, the more direct source of Buddhapiya's explanation seems to be either our current passage of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā* or its parallel found in the *Durgaṭikā*:

prthagarthānām ekārthibhāvaḥ samāso bhavati pūrvottarapadayor arthasya saṃsṛṣṭarūpasya pratīteḥ |

The compound is a formation of a single integrated meaning out of the [words having] separate meanings [of their own], since one observes [from it] a united form of meaning out of [the two, namely,] initial and final words.

- 2) Similarly, there is no consistency in the usage of the verbal form *hoti*. Although in the *Vutti*, we find the use of *hoti* as a usual parallel form for Sanskrit *bhavati* used in the *Cāndravṛtti*, in the *Pañcikā* Moggallāna uses *bhavati* in the expression *sāmaññena vutte pi ... tena saha tad ekatthaṃ bhavatīti ...* exactly in the same manner as that of the *Cāndravvyākaraṇapañjikā*.
- 3) The third inconsistency is found in Moggallāna's Pali rendering of the Sanskrit word *takṣan* in the sentence *takṣā rājakarmaṇi...* Here it is rendered in Pali as *ṭhapati*, which Saṅgharakkhita glosses as *vaḍḍhakī* 'a carpenter'. Surprisingly, later in the same sentence, Moggallāna retains the word *taccha-* in *tacchakammaṃ*, which, otherwise, could have been easily translated into Pali as *ṭhapatikammaṃ*.

Another peculiarity of Moggallāna's translation is his free use of Sanskritisms, that is to say, forms that are akin to Sanskrit. Examples of such Sanskritisms in our passage are *vyavahārattho* and *anvākyānāya*. A comparison of the current passages from the *Moggallānavutti* and the *Pañcikā* shows that the tendency to use Sanskritisms is greater in the latter than in the former. Moreover, given the

fact that both works are composed by the same author, one does not find deliberate efforts to standardise the Pali vocabulary for rendering the Sanskrit equivalents. One more instance of Moggallāna's use of peculiar Pali expressions is the rendering of *niṣkrāntāsv api sumanaḥsu* by *niṭṭhitesu pi kusumesu*. Here, it is clear that *niṭṭhita* is in no way parallel to *niṣkrānta*. Furthermore, Moggallāna has rendered *sumana* into equally less familiar *kusuma* instead of the more known *puppha*. It is interesting to know that the parallel expression in the *Mahābhāṣya* reads *niṣkīrṇāsv api sumanaḥsu*, whereas in the *Durgaṭikā* it reads *niṣṭhyūteṣv api nistṛteṣv api puṣpeṣu*. It is difficult to point out with any certainty the exact motivation behind Moggallāna's peculiar Pali rendering of the concerned Sanskrit phrase. These observations are mere glimpses into Moggallāna's project of introducing scholarly material available in Sanskrit to his Sinhalese audience in Pali. A further comparison between Moggallāna's grammatical works and the treatises in the Cāndra grammatical tradition can provide us substantial data to understand more precisely Moggallāna's methodology of translating Sanskrit material into Pali.

The above discussion illustrates in unambiguous terms the role of the *Cāndravākyakaraṇapañjikā* as an important tool to study the *Moggallānavyākaraṇa*. I fully agree with Dimitrov's suggestion (2016, 622) that 'due to its specific dependency, Moggallāna's work should be studied along with Ratna's original which will certainly prove helpful, not least when preparing a new critical edition of the Pali text.' Apart from facilitating critical editions of both the texts, a comparative study of these works can prove important from the point of knowing the exact relation of Moggallāna's grammar to the Cāndra tradition in terms of transmission of grammatical ideas and methodology. Moreover, such a study can provide valuable information on the technique used by Pali scholars to translate and adapt śāstric literature in Sanskrit, and can thereby improve our understanding of larger issues concerning the new era of the Pali literature based on the Sanskritic models.

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Hugo David

Towards a Critical Edition of Śaṅkara's 'Longer' *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*: a Preliminary Report based on two Cambridge Manuscripts

Abstract: This article presents a fresh assessment of evidence for the existence of Śaṅkara's 'longer' commentary on the *Aitareyopaniṣad*, a sub-section of the *Aitareyāranyaka* (AiĀ). While most printed editions of the *Bhāṣya* consider that it covers only three *adhyaayas* of the *Āraṇyaka* (AiĀ 2.4-6/7), a much more comprehensive work, bearing on the whole of AiĀ 2 and 3, is preserved in manuscripts. In the first part of the article, I argue that the ascription of this 'longer' gloss to Śaṅkara is likely to be justified, building on previous scholarship (A.B. Keith, S.K. Belvalkar) as well as on my own inspection of two manuscripts of the work, newly identified in the Cambridge University Library. Questions are also raised as to the constitution of the Upaniṣadic canon(s) and the role of commentaries in that process. The second part of the essay provides a comprehensive survey of the material (manuscript and print) available for a first critical edition of this important, though mostly neglected work by the great Vedāntin.

Research for the present study was started during my stint in Cambridge in 2013–14, for which I benefitted of the generous support of the British Royal Society (Newton International Fellowship), and during which I had the privilege to participate as a regular external collaborator in the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project. I thank the three editors of this volume for facilitating me access to the Cambridge collection in innumerable ways, for sharing their knowledge and expertise of Sanskrit manuscripts, and for allowing me to take part in their endeavour. I am also grateful to Andrew Ollett for providing the copy of a rare document kept in Harvard, to the authorities of the Vadakke Madham Brahmaswam in Thrissur (especially Mr. P. Parameswaran) for opening me the doors to their precious collection of manuscripts, as well as to the following public libraries for their kind cooperation: the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Chennai and the Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library in Trivandrum (Kariavattom).

1 Introduction

In an article published in 1930 in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, the great Maharashtrian Indologist S.K. Belvalkar drew the attention of scholars to what he called ‘an authentic, but unpublished work of Śaṅkarācārya.’ That work was a commentary (*Bhāṣya*) by the great Advaita Vedāntin Śaṅkara(-ācārya), the author of the *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, on the *Aitareyopaniṣad* (AiU), a portion of the *Aitareyāraṇyaka* (AiĀ).¹ Of course, Belvalkar was well aware that a commentary by Śaṅkara on the *Upaniṣad* bearing that name had been published as early as 1850 by Edward Röer together with Ānandagiri’s gloss (Calcutta, Bibliotheca Indica 6), and again in 1889 by the *paṇḍits* of the Pune Ānandāśrama with the same sub-commentary (Ānandāśramasaṃskṛta-granthāvaliḥ 11).² Yet the work he was describing was very different in extent and character. The AiU is usually thought to be a work in three sections (*adhyāya*), corresponding to *adhyāyas* 4–6/7³ of the second book (also called *āraṇyaka*) of the AiĀ, which is made of five *āraṇyakas* altogether. These three *adhyāyas* are again divided into six sub-sections (*khaṇḍa*), hence the name *Ātmaṣaṭka* (‘Hexade on the Self’) often used to refer to that Upaniṣad.⁴ Śaṅkara, in turn, is generally believed to have commented only on these three *adhyāyas*, ‘the Upaniṣad properly so-called’ to use F. Max Müller’s phrase.⁵ The three manuscripts discussed by Belvalkar, however, all kept in British and German libraries,⁶ contained

1 As is well-known, the *Aitareya-upaniṣad* and ^o*āraṇyaka* belong to the *Ṛgveda*-tradition, where they are closely related to the Āśvalāyana school. See Renou 1947, 25–26.

2 This is to name only the two most important editions of the text, i.e. those that are surely based on manuscripts. Karl H. Potter, in his *Bibliography of Indian Philosophies* (online version, last consulted on 10th April, 2017), counts no less than fourteen editions of the AiUBh before 1930, in various Indian scripts (including Tamil, Telugu, etc.), as well as two translations of the text into English and one into Tamil. See <https://faculty.washington.edu/kpotter/ckeyt/txt2.htm>. The *NCC* 3 (p. 86) also lists early translations into Bengali (Calcutta, 1881) and Marathi (Pune, 1892).

3 The seventh and last *adhyāya* of the second *āraṇyaka* consists only of a brief invocation (*śānti-pāṭha*). Standard editions of the AiĀ give it as a seventh *adhyāya*, but it is usually found in printed editions of the AiU as a mere appendix to the third section of the Upaniṣad, not as a separate section. The AiU is therefore generally considered to be a work in three *adhyāyas*.

4 This is what we find, for instance, in the standard edition of eighteen ‘principal’ Upaniṣads by V.P. Limaye and R.D. Vadekar (Pune 1958, 62–67). For an overview of the contents of these three *adhyāyas*, see Schneider 1963.

5 See Müller 1879, xcvi.

6 For more details on these manuscripts, see below, Section 2. Although Belvalkar refers to three manuscripts in his article (London, Oxford and Berlin), he could examine only one of them, namely the one kept in London. See Belvalkar 1930, 243–244.

a commentary also ascribed to Śaṅkara, but on a considerably larger amount of text (partly redundant with the other, shorter, commentary), namely the totality of *āranyakas* 2 and 3 (eight *adhyaṅgas* in total, nine if we include the *sāntipāṭha*, on which Śaṅkara did not comment). A similar work had been briefly described twenty years earlier by A.B. Keith (1909, 11) in his monumental study of the *Āraṇyaka*, using the same manuscripts. A lithograph of the work, apparently unknown to Keith and Belvalkar, had also been produced in Benares as early as 1884 on the basis of one or several North Indian manuscript(s), of which it scrupulously imitates the layout.⁷ This commentary, which both Keith and Belvalkar considered without hesitation to be the work of Śaṅkara, is two or three times as bulky as the published versions of the AiUBh, and deals with a much wider range of topics, including speculations on elements of the ritual akin to what we find in the first books of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*^o and *Chāndogyopaniṣads*. For easy reference, I will speak here of the 'shorter' and 'longer' versions of the *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (AiUBh-S and AiUBh-L).

Given the extreme popularity and historical importance of Śaṅkara's Upaniṣadic commentaries, one would expect that Belvalkar's '(re-)discovery' would have attracted massive attention from Indologists and specialists of Vedānta, and would at least have motivated a first publication of the text on the basis of manuscripts in the following years. This is especially true in India, where the article was published in a well-known periodical, and where Śaṅkara is still revered as a major religious figure among Hindus. This, however, was not the case: countless new editions of Śaṅkara's 'shorter' *Bhāṣya* were printed in the last ninety years – including many reprints of the two 19th-century editions mentioned above (when at all they mention their sources) –, but the only version of his 'longer' gloss available in print today remains the 1884 Benares lithograph, the text of which was reprinted by Laxmanshastri Joshi in vol. 2.2 (pp. 525–626) of his *Dharmakośa (Upaniṣatkāṇḍa)*, published in Wai in 1949. As far as I can see, both publications remained practically unnoticed by scholars of Vedānta.

7 To the best of my knowledge, the only surviving copy of that lithograph, which also includes Ānandagiri's commentary for the Upaniṣad 'proper,' is found in the Harvard University Library. I was able to secure a scanned copy of this valuable document through the kind efforts of my colleague Andrew Ollett, to whom I am especially grateful. The only other copy I know of is the one that was used in the 1940s by Laxmanshastri Joshi while compiling the *Dharmakośa*, which he says he obtained from his teacher, the famous Mīmāṃsaka Kevalānanda Sarasvatī (vol. 2.2 p. 525). For a more precise description, see below, Section 2.

This is surprising indeed, as this commentary is not only a presumably major work by one of the most famous ancient Indian writers, but it also raises interesting questions as to the nature of the AiU itself. Already F. Max Müller, in the introduction to his English translation of the *Āraṇyaka*, felt the necessity to distinguish the AiU from what he named the ‘Mahaitareya-upanishad, also called by a more general name *Bahvrika*-upanishad, which comprises the whole of the second and third *Āraṇyakas*’ (1879, xcvi).⁸ And in fact, some authors in the Śāṅkaran tradition seem to consider that the Upaniṣad consists of the whole of *āraṇyakas* 2 and 3, not only the small portion usually found in printed editions (especially when they include Śāṅkara’s commentary).⁹ It should also be noted that Madhva (12th c.), the founder of the dualist Vedāntic tradition bearing his name, commented on the ‘longer’ version of the Upaniṣad,¹⁰ and that the 17th-century Persian translation of the same included most of the second *āraṇyaka*.¹¹ It is therefore unclear whether there existed one AiU (then again, in three or nine *adhyaṅgas*?), two (the ‘larger’ encompassing the ‘shorter’, or the *Bahvṛca*^o and *Samhitopaniṣad*?), three (as F. Max Müller seems to suggest), or if asking such a question is even legitimate without further specification (for whom, for what tradition, in what period, etc.?); yet it is easy to see that answering this question has considerable bearing on the comprehension of the Upaniṣad, as well as on the chronology of the older, ‘Vedic’ Upaniṣads.¹²

8 In his earlier *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature* (1859), Müller already distinguished between the shorter *Aitareyopaniṣad* (AiĀ 2.4–7) and the larger *Bahvṛcōpaniṣad* (AiĀ 2–3). The name *Bahvṛca*-[*brāhmaṇa*]-*upanishad*, ‘the Upaniṣad of the *Brāhmaṇa* belonging to the *Bahvṛca* (= the Veda ‘of many hymns,’ a common designation of the *Ṛgveda*),’ is found in Śāṅkara’s commentary on AiĀ 2.1 (see below, Section 1), to which Müller may have had access through manuscripts. The title *Mahaitareyopaniṣad*, ‘The Greater *Aitareyopaniṣad*,’ taken up by Keith (1909, 11), is found in the colophon of some manuscripts, though this is by no means the rule and may be limited to works in the Mādḥva tradition (as suggested by K.S. Narayanacharya [1997, iii]). See for instance Keith & Winternitz, *Bodleian* No. 1011 (p. 77), a Mādḥva sub-commentary on the ‘longer’ AiU by Viśveśvaratīrtha (see also below, n. 56). Earlier in his introduction (p. xciii), Müller spoke of *three* Upaniṣads, the ‘first Upaniṣad’ corresponding to AiĀ 2.1–3, the second to what is generally known as the AiU (AiĀ 2.4–6/7), and the third being the *Samhitopaniṣad* (AiĀ 3). In fact, the colophons of some manuscripts differentiate between the *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣad* (corresponding to the whole of AiĀ 2) and the *Samhitopaniṣad*, a distinction which finds some support in Śāṅkara’s commentary (see below, Section 1). On this problem, see also the discussion by Keith (1909, 39), who rightly concludes that ‘the nomenclature was not definitely fixed’ even in the late medieval period. Max Müller’s divisions of the *Aitareya*-corpus are taken up in the classical monograph by Renou (1947, 45), as well as in the recent study of older Upaniṣads by S. Cohen (2008, see especially p. 133).

9 Consider for instance the following statement by Sāyaṇa, the famous 14th-century commentator on the Veda, in the introductory verses to his commentary on AiĀ 2 (verse 4): *āraṇyakam*

My interest in Śaṅkara's text was awakened by the identification, in 2013, of a complete manuscript of Śaṅkara's 'longer' commentary unknown to Keith and Belvalkar in the Cambridge University Library (UL Add.2092).¹³ This was immediately followed by the discovery, in 2014, of a second complete manuscript of the text (UL

dvitīyaṃ ca tṛtīyaṃ ca tadātmakam | jñānakāṇḍam tataḥ sopaniṣad ity abhidhiyate ||; 'The second and third *āraṇyakas* [of the AiĀ], since they consist in [knowledge], are the 'section on knowledge' (*jñānakāṇḍa*); this is why they are called an 'Upaniṣad' (p. 81 – quoted by Belvalkar [1930, 243–244] and Laxmanshastri Joshi [*Dharmakośa – Upaniṣatkāṇḍa* vol. 2.2, p. 525]). The 'etymological' link between *jñāna* and *upaniṣad* is directly inspired from Śaṅkara's commentary (see below, Section 1). The 18th-century commentary on AiU by the Advaitin Upaniṣadbrahmayogin, first published in 1935 in Madras (Adyar Library and Research Centre; second edition Madras, 1984), also deals with the whole of *āraṇyaka* 2. The editor of the text, C. Kunhan Raja, remarks that '[it] follows more or less the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkarācārya' (preface p. vii).

10 See the short notice by B.N.K. Sharma (2000, 168–170); remarkably, the great historian of the Dvaita school acknowledges the existence of Śaṅkara's 'longer' commentary, which he still considers unpublished, and takes it as an argument against the common view that Madhva, by commenting on the whole AiĀ 2–3, would have departed from earlier commentarial tradition. The Viśiṣṭādvaita tradition of Upaniṣadic commentary is relatively late as far as the AiU is concerned. The oldest commentary available in print, by Raṅgarāmānuja (around 1630 according to Potter, see <https://faculty.washington.edu/kpotter/ckeyt/txt4.htm>), was published in 1951 in Tirupati (reprint: Madras, 1973) and deals with the 'shorter' version of the Upaniṣad. The same holds for all four commentaries in that tradition (including that by Raṅgarāmānuja) published in 1997 by the Academy of Sanskrit Research in Melkote.

11 According to F. Max Müller (1879, xcvi), the translation made in the mid-17th century for Dārā Shikoh, that would be the basis for Anquetil Duperron's translation into Latin in the early 19th century, covers AiĀ 2.1.1–2.3.4 and 2.4–2.7, equivalent to the whole second *āraṇyaka* with the exception of AiĀ 2.3.5–8. On this translation, see also Keith 1909, 14.

12 The question whether or not to include the beginning of AiĀ 2 into the text of the Upaniṣad is considered in detail by A.B. Keith (1909), who concludes after a lengthy discussion (pp. 40–43) that AiĀ 2.1–3 may well be 'the oldest longer Upaniṣad,' while AiĀ 2.4–6/7 would represent a further development. On this point, see also the critical remarks by E.J. Rapson (1910, 894–895), who mentions the opposite views of Deussen. It is not my purpose to engage here in a full discussion of Keith's arguments, mainly based on the evolution of doctrine. I find it surprising, though, that recent studies of Upaniṣadic literature, like that by S. Cohen (2008), do not even take this possibility into account. While Cohen rightly claims that 'chronological considerations are necessary in order to analyse the text of the Upaniṣads' (p. 1) and that 'the philosophical discussions in the Upaniṣads can[not] be fully understood without a chronological perspective,' Chapter 5 of the book, devoted to the AiU, still takes as a matter of fact that 'the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* is a short prose text in three chapters (...) commonly regarded as one of the oldest Upaniṣads, though younger than the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* or the *Chāndogya Upaniṣads*' (p. 133). Unsurprisingly, Cohen's linguistic and doctrinal analysis of the 'short' Upaniṣad (pp. 133–137) confirms this common view, without however raising at any moment the issue of its inscription into the AiĀ–*corpus*, or even mentioning Keith's views on the subject.

13 Online description (with images): <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-02092/1>.

Or.2400) by Elisa Ganser, who was then cataloguing a group of palm-leaf manuscripts from Kerala acquired in the 1990s by the UL.¹⁴ The fact that the Cambridge University Library alone possessed two hitherto unknown manuscripts of the work, bought in very different circumstances and clearly unrelated (one a late 16th-century copy from Benares, the other a modern South Indian manuscript), made me think that it may be more diffused than originally thought by Belvalkar, and that the latter's claim that 'there does not exist [...] even a single manuscript of the work in India'¹⁵ might not be entirely true. Regular visits to South Indian libraries following my affiliation to the Pondicherry Centre of the *École française d'Extrême-Orient* (EFEO) in 2016 confirmed this intuition, leading to the identification of three more manuscripts, one incomplete (Madras, GOML D-331 / SD 183), the other two complete, kept in the Vadakke Madham in Thrissur and in the ORIML in Trivandrum (No. 6312), the last two either uncatalogued or wrongly catalogued (see below, Section 2). The material collected so far, for the most part in the form of digital images, includes eight manuscripts in four different scripts (Devanāgarī, Telugu, Grantha and Malayalam),¹⁶ and points to a fairly large diffusion (though without comparison with that of the 'shorter' version¹⁷) in a wide geographical area, predominantly Benares and the far South (including the Andhra region); I have no doubt that more research in Indian collections will lead to the discovery of further copies of the text.

The purpose of this essay is to present a temporary state of the art on Śaṅkara's 'longer' *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, based on past scholarship as well as on my own cursory inspection of the two Cambridge manuscripts and the two editions of the text. This is meant as a preliminary to its complete critical edition, which I plan to achieve in the next few years in collaboration with other researchers of the Pondicherry EFEO Centre. The article is divided in two parts: first of all, I will address the issue of the 'authenticity' of the 'longer' *Bhāṣya*, and the (very limited) debate to which it gave rise among Indian scholars. Having concluded that the ascription of the text to Śaṅkara is likely to be justified, I will then survey the material so far available for the study of this important, though badly neglected piece of Indian traditional scholarship.

14 Online description: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-OR-02400/1>.

15 Belvalkar 1930, 242.

16 Unless the Benares lithograph was based on the Cambridge manuscript, and was realised before its acquisition by the UL – which remains possible – it is unlikely that any of these manuscripts has been used to establish the text of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya*.

17 The NCC 3 (p. 88) lists about a hundred manuscripts of Śaṅkara's 'shorter' *Bhāṣya*. It is, of course, by no means excluded that some of the records actually 'hide' the long version of his commentary, as was the case with the Trivandrum manuscript of AiUBh-L (see below, Section 2).

2 On the authenticity of Śaṅkara's 'longer' *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*

The question of authenticity is almost inevitably raised while speaking of a work attributed to Śaṅkara, to whom hundreds of Sanskrit texts (philosophical treatises, *stotras*, etc.) have been ascribed over the centuries. This is even more the case for a text like the 'longer' AiUBh, which goes against a long, well-established tradition. In this first section, I will summarize the debate as it now stands, and argue that, until otherwise proved, the text under consideration should be regarded as a work by the great Advaitin, indeed as a more complete version of his commentary on the AiU, of which AiUBh-S is just a fragment, or, possibly, as the conflation of two separate commentaries on AiĀ 2 and 3.¹⁸

The authenticity of AiUBh-L has rarely been put into question, mostly because so few scholars seem to have been aware of its existence. In a Sanskrit note to his recent edition of Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣyas* (*Upaniṣadbhāṣyam* vol. 1, p. 630, n. 1), S. Subrahmaṇya Shastri nevertheless challenges the attribution to Śaṅkara of AiUBh-L, which he knows only from its reprint in the *Dharmakośa*. As he rightly observes, the prose introduction of the text contains an extensive discussion on the relation (*saṃbandha*) of the Upaniṣad – the 'section on knowledge' (*jñānakāṇḍa*) – with the 'section on rites' (*karmakāṇḍa*) of the Veda, which exactly matches that

¹⁸ The question of the 'authenticity' of works ascribed to Śaṅkara is complex, and has been the subject of a number of studies in the past. An argument generally considered decisive in favour of the authenticity of Upaniṣadic commentaries ascribed to Śaṅkara is the existence of an old sub-commentary, like the *Vārttikas* by Sureśvara, which is missing in the present case. Most discussions of disputed works are otherwise based on their comparison with Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, considered the cornerstone of any further attribution, especially on the use of certain concepts like *māyā*, *avidyā* and the like. See for instance the discussion of the two versions of the *Kenopaniṣadbhāṣya* by S. Mayeda (1968), who concludes on this basis that both commentaries should rightly be ascribed to the great Advaitin. My purpose here will be more limited, as I temporarily take the authenticity of the commentary on AiU for granted. Given that this text has been transmitted in two versions (the 'longer' and the 'shorter'), the only purpose of the present enquiry is to decide whether the 'longer' version, relatively marginal in the transmission, is the result of later accretions, or whether it is rather the 'shorter' version, normally found in printed editions, which is incomplete. This, of course, does not exclude further investigations on the concepts used by the author of this commentary while dealing with the *Aitareya*-corpus. It is my hope, however, that these preliminary remarks will help us doing so on a more solid textual basis.

found at the beginning of Śaṅkara's *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya*.¹⁹ This redundancy leads him to doubt the attribution of the text to Śaṅkara: 'of course', he says, 'it is not proper [for Śaṅkara] to say the same thing here as well, for we see that [he] writes different introductions for different Upaniṣads.' Such a weak argument, especially when coming from a renowned Indian paṇḍit, mainly proves, in my opinion, the tenacity of reading habits when a text has become 'well-known everywhere in India' (*sarvatra bhāratadeśe prasiddhaḥ*), that is, after one has become accustomed to seeing it printed in books. Repetition of the same passage in various works of the same author is a daily observation in Sanskrit scholastic literature, and Śaṅkara's writings are no exception to that rule, as can easily be seen from his other Upaniṣadic *Bhāṣyas*. The parallel pointed out by Subrahmaṇya Shastri could therefore be used to prove exactly the contrary, namely that both introductions were written by one and the same person.

In fact, the proximity between the introduction to AiUBh–L and other reputedly authentic Upaniṣadic commentaries by Śaṅkara is striking. As Belvalkar already noted, the 'vulgate' version of AiUBh starts 'abruptly' with the statement *parisamāptaṃ karma saḥāparabrahmaviṣayavijñānena*; 'The [discussion of the] rite (*karman*) is [now] over, as well as the [discussion of] the knowledge of the inferior *Brahman*.' Other Upaniṣadic commentaries ascribed to Śaṅkara, on the other hand, usually start with a rather stereotyped introduction including typical elements such as the first words of the Upaniṣad,²⁰ the title of the work commented (or an indication of the corpus to which it belongs),²¹ a statement of the author's intention to write something 'brief' (*saṃkṣepataḥ, alpaganthā, etc.*),²² a semantic analysis (*nirvacana*) of the word *upaniṣad*,²³ and a general discussion of the relation

¹⁹ See *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya* p. 2sq. I refer, throughout this article, to the text of Śaṅkara's Upaniṣadic *Bhāṣyas* as it is printed in the three volumes entitled *Upaniṣadbhāṣyam*, edited by S. Subrahmaṇya Shastri and published together with Ānandagiri's sub-commentaries by the Mahesh Research Institute in Benares.

²⁰ Together with the discussion of *sambandha*, this is perhaps the most stable feature of the introductions to Śaṅkara's Upaniṣadic commentaries; it is found at the beginning of his *Bhāṣyas* on BĀU, ChU, ĪsāU, KeU, MuU and MāU. The only exceptions to this rule are the *Bhāṣyas* on KāU and PraU, as well as that on TaiU, which starts in a very unusual way with a *maṅgala*, followed by the discussion of *sambandha*.

²¹ *Bhāṣyas* on BĀU (*vājasaneyibrāhmaṇopaniṣad*), ChU (*aṣṭādhyāyī chāndogyopaniṣad*), TaiU (*taittirīyakasāra*), KāU (*kāṭhākopaniṣadvallī*) and MāU (*ātharvaṇopaniṣad*).

²² *Bhāṣyas* on BĀU (*alpaganthā vṛttir ārabhyate*), ChU (*saṃkṣepato 'rthajijñāsubhyo vivarāṇam alpagantham ārabhyate*), KāU (*sukhārthaprabodhanārtham alpaganthā vṛttir ārabhyate*).

²³ *Bhāṣyas* on BĀU, TaiU and KāU (where this *nirvacana* is dealt with in great detail; see below); the absence of this element in ChUBh is indeed remarkable.

(*sambandha*) of the Upaniṣad with the 'section on rites' (*karmakāṇḍa*).²⁴ This is exactly what we find at the beginning of the introduction of AiUBh–L.²⁵ Let us quote only its initial part, which precedes the long discussion of *sambandha*²⁶:

eṣa panthā ityādyā bahṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣat | tasyā idam vivaraṇam alpagantham sukhāvabodhārtham^a ārabhyate^b | upaniṣad ity upanipūrvasya sadeḥ kvibantasya viśaraṇagatyavasādanārthasya rūpam ācakṣate | viśeṣeṇa copaniṣacchabdavācyaṭmavidyā^c | tādarthyād grantho 'py upaniṣat | ye hy asyām ātmavidyāyām tātparyeṇopātmatayā vartante ātmavidyāniṣṭhās teṣām avidyādisaṃsārabijadoṣam^d avasādayati vināśayati | param cātmānaṃ nigamayaty avabodhayati | garbhajanmajarōgādīṃś ca niśātayati^e | ata iyam^f ātmavidyopaniṣat | tadupakāratvāt prāṇādividyānām apy upaniṣattvam | so 'yam ātmavidyāviśkaraṇāyāiṣa panthā ityādigrantho vyācikyāsitaḥ |

^a °*avabodha*° C Ed¹ Ed²: °*bodha*° C^M

^b *ārabhyate* C Ed¹ Ed²: *ārabhate* C^M

^c *ca* C Ed¹ Ed²: ∅ C^M

^d °*bījadoṣam* C C^M: °*bījam* Ed¹ Ed²

^e *niśātayati* Ed¹ Ed² C^M: *niśādayati* C

^f *iyam* C Ed¹ Ed²: *idam* C^M

With the words *eṣa panthāḥ* ('This is the path') begins the *Bahṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣad*. We [now] undertake [to compose] a gloss (*vivaraṇa*) of it, in few words (*alpagantham*), for an easy understanding. They say that *upaniṣad* is a form of the root *vsad*, which has the sense of either dissolution (*viśaraṇa*), motion/intellection (*gati*) or perishing (*avasādana*),²⁷ preceded by [the preverbs] *upa* and *ni* and followed by [the zero *kṛt*-affix] *kṛp* (A 3.2.61). Specifically, what is referred to by the word *upaniṣad* is the knowledge of the Self (*ātmavidyā*). A text that has [such a knowledge] as its [main] topic is therefore also called [an Upaniṣad]. To explain: for those who only aim at this knowledge of the Self, for whom it has become a second nature (*upātmatā*), who are abiding in the knowledge of the Self, it [i.e., the *upaniṣad*] annihilates (*ava-vsad*^{caus}), [which means that it] destroys (= *vi-vnaś*^{caus}) the defect that is the seed of *saṃsāra*, [namely] nescience and the like. Moreover, such a [text] transmits scripturally (*ni-vgam*^{caus}) the supreme Self, [which means that] it makes it known (= *ava-vbudh*^{caus}). Finally, it lays to rest (*niśātay-*) the birth into a womb, old age, illness, and the like. Therefore, this knowledge of the Self is [literally] *upaniṣad*. Since they assist it, knowledge (*vidyā*) about the breath (*prāṇa*), etc. are also *upaniṣad*.²⁸ It is to reveal this knowledge of the Self that [we] intend to comment on the text beginning with [the words] *eṣa panthāḥ*.

24 *Bhāṣyas* on BĀU, ChU, TaiU, ĪsāU and KeU.

25 The beginning of the text could not be examined by Belvalkar, as it was missing in the only manuscript to which he had access. Our observations, however, essentially confirm his conclusions.

26 For a precise correspondence of sigla, see the table at the end of the article.

27 Cf. *Dhātupāṭha* 1.907 / 6.133: *śad(ṛ) viśaraṇagatyavasādaneṣu* (see Böhntlingk 1998).

28 This may be a reference to the AiĀ 2.2, which extensively deals with the doctrine of *prāṇa*, or to the whole of AiĀ 2.1–3, where *prāṇa* plays a prominent role.

A strikingly close parallel to this introduction is found in Śaṅkara's commentary on BĀU, which contains essentially the same items²⁹:

uṣā vā aśvasya ityevamādyā vājasaneyibrāhmaṇopaniṣat | tasyā iyaṃ alpāgranthā vṛttir ārabhyate saṃsāravivṛtsubhyaḥ saṃsārahetunivṛttisādhanabrahmātmaikatvavidyāpratipattaye | seyaṃ brahmavidyopaniṣacchabdavācyā, tatpārāṇāṃ sahetoh saṃsārasyāntāvasādanāt, upanipūrvasya sadeḥ tadarthatvāt | tādarthyād grantho 'py upaniṣad ucyate |

With the words *uṣā vā aśvasya* ('Dawn, to speak the truth, is [the head] of the horse [of the sacrifice]') begins the *Vājasaneyibrāhmaṇopaniṣad*. We [now] undertake [to compose] a gloss (*vṛtti*) of it, in few words, in order to convey the unity of the Self with *Brahman*, which leads to the cessation of *saṃsāra* and its cause, for the sake of those who wish *saṃsāra* to come to an end. This knowledge of the *Brahman* is what is referred to by the word *upaniṣad*, for *saṃsāra* together with its causes is annihilated (*ava-vsad/kaus.*) for those who only aim at this [knowledge of the Self], and such is the meaning of the root *vsad*, which [in that case] is preceded by [the preverbs] *upa* and *ni*. A text that has [such a knowledge] as its [main] topic is therefore also called an *Upaniṣad*.

Impressive similarities with the introduction to Śaṅkara's other *Upaniṣadic Bhāṣyas* could be shown for any of the typical elements enumerated above. Consider, for instance, the analysis of the term *upaniṣad* found in his commentaries on KāU and TaiU:

Bhāṣya on KāU³⁰

sader dhātor viśaraṇagatyavasādanārthasyopanipūrvasya kvippratyayāntasya rūpam upaniṣad iti | upaniṣacchabdena ca vyācikyāsitāgranthapratipādyavedyavastuviṣayā vidyocyate | kena punar arthayogenopaniṣacchabdena vidyocyata iti | ucyate | ye mumukṣavo dṛṣṭānuśravikaviṣayavitrṣṇāḥ santa upaniṣacchabdavācyāṃ vakṣyamāṇalakṣaṇāṃ vidyām upasadyopagamyā tanniṣṭhatayā niścayena śīlayanti, teṣāṃ avidyādeḥ saṃsārabhijasya viśaraṇād dhiṃsanād vināsanād ity anenārthayogena vidyopaniṣad ity ucyate |

[The word] *upaniṣad* is a form of the root *vsad*, which has the sense of either dissolution (*viśaraṇa*), motion/intellection (*gati*) or perishing (*avasādana*), preceded by [the preverbs] *upa* and *ni* and followed by [the zero *kṛt*-]affix *kvip*. What is referred to by the word *upaniṣad* is the knowledge of that object [= the Self], worthy to be known, which is conveyed by the text that [we] are about to explain. [One may ask:] by which semantic connection (*arthayoga*) does the word *upaniṣad* refer to 'knowledge' (*vidyā*)? The answer is [as follows: this is because,] considering those [people] who, desirous of liberation, do not crave for objects which are either seen or heard of [in Scriptures], come near (*upa-vsad*), i.e. approach (*upa-vgam*) that knowledge which is referred to by [the word] *upaniṣad*, the characters of which we are about to explain, [and having done that] cultivate it decidedly (*niścayena śīlayanti*) by abiding in it

29 *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣadbhāṣya* pp. 1–2.

30 *Kāthakopaniṣadbhāṣya* pp. 55–57.

(*tanniṣṭhatayā*), for them the seed of *saṃsāra*, [namely] nescience and the like, gets dissolved, [in other words it] gets killed (*himsana*), destroyed (*vināsana*); such is the semantic connection by which 'knowledge' is called *upaniṣad*.

Bhāṣya on TaiU³¹

upaniṣad iti vidyocyate, tacchīlinām garbhajanmajarādiniśātānāt, tadavasādanād vā, brahmaṇo vopaniṣagamayitṛtvāt, upaniṣaṇṇam vāsyām paraṃ śreya iti | tadarthatvād grantho 'py upaniṣat |

The word *upaniṣad* means knowledge (*vidyā*), for those who cultivate it lay to rest (*niśātay-*) the birth into a womb, old age, etc., or because it annihilates [these ills] (*ava-vsad/caus.*), because it leads to the knowledge (*upani-vgam*) of *Brahman*, or because the Supreme Good is residing (*upaniṣaṇṇa*) in it. A text that has [such a knowledge] as its [main] topic is therefore also called an *Upaniṣad*.

External evidence also points in the direction of Śaṅkara's authorship of AiUBh-L. Two sources need to be taken into account here: the testimony of Sāyaṇa (14th c.), and the paratextual elements found in editions and manuscripts of AiUBh-L.

In the opening verses of his commentary on AiĀ 2, Sāyaṇa states that he composed his work 'following the path [laid down by] Śaṅkarācārya' (*śaṅkarācārya-vartmanā*).³² And in fact, his *Bhāṣya* on AiĀ 2.1–3, at least, shows evident debt to the commentary attributed to the great Vedāntin. This is not only true of the long 'philosophical' introduction on *saṃbandha*, where Sāyaṇa follows Śaṅkara at every step (beginning with the gloss of the word *upaniṣad* found at the very start of his commentary³³). He is also indebted to the 8th-century Advaitin in the detail of

³¹ *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya* p. 371, l. 3–4.

³² Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* on AiĀ 2 (introductory verse 5ab): *karomy upaniṣadvyākhyām śaṅkarācārya-vartmanā |*; 'I compose this commentary on the *Upaniṣad*, following the path of Śaṅkarācārya' (p. 81). This fact was already noted by Belvalkar (1930, 244). Recall that by 'the *Upaniṣad*' Sāyaṇa means the whole of *āranyakas* 2 and 3, not only the 'shorter' AiU (see above, n. 9).

³³ See Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* on AiĀ 2.1.1: *upaniṣacchabdo brahmavidyām ācaṣṭe | sā hi vivitsum puruṣam upetya nitarām avidyām sīdati viśīrṇām karoti, yad vā brahmatām gamayati, atha vā rāgadveṣāv avasādayati śīthilikaroti | tataḥ 'śadḥ viśaraṇagatyavasādanēṣu' iti proktaṃ dhātor arthatrayaṃ tasmīn upaniṣacchabde <em: °chabdo ed.> vidyate. tathāvidhāyā brahmavidyāyā utpādakatvād grantho 'py upaniṣad ity ucyate |*; 'The word *upaniṣad* expresses the knowledge of *Brahman*. For [such a knowledge], having approached a person desirous to know, exhausts (*vsad*), i.e. dissolves (*viśīrṇām karoti*) nescience; or, it leads (*gamay-*) [that person] to the state of *Brahman*; or [finally] it causes passion and aversion to perish (*ava-vsad^{caus}*), i.e. it loosens their ties. Therefore, the three meanings spoken of [in the Dhātupāṭha when it says] 'the root *vsad* [is used in the sense of] dissolution, motion and perishing' are present in the word *upaniṣad*. Since it generates such a knowledge of *Brahman*, the [corresponding] text is also called an 'Upaniṣad' (p. 81, l. 11–15).

his explanation of the Āraṇyaka. Consider, for instance, the two commentators' explanation of the beginning AiĀ 2.1.1:

AiĀ 2.1.1³⁵

eṣa panthā etat karmaitad brahmaitat satyam | tasmān na pramādyet tan nātīyāt | na hy atyāyan pūrve, ye 'tyāyaṃs te parābabhūvuḥ |

This is the path, this is the sacrifice, this is Brahman, this is truth. Let no man diverge from it; let no man transgress it; of old, they did not transgress it; those that did transgress it were overcome.³⁶

Śaṅkara

[...] *tasmād* *asmād ātmajñānamārgān^a na pramādyet* *pramādo na kartavyaḥ | pramādas tadatikramaḥ | atas taṃ na^b kuryād ity arthaḥ³⁷ | pramādyataḥ^c kiṃ syād ity ucyate | taṃ panthānaṃ nātīyān nātigacchet | tadatigamaṇaṃ^d ca doṣaḥ | tasmāt taṃ^e na kuryāt, yasmād dhi pūrve 'tikrāntā brāhmaṇā na hi taṃ mārgam atyāyan^f nātigatavanta ity arthaḥ | ye 'smān mārgād bhraṣṭā atyāyaṃs te^g parābabhūvuḥ parābhūtāḥ karmajñānānuṣṭhānaṃ praty ayogyāḥ saṃvṛtā ity arthaḥ |*

^a *ātmajñāna^o* C C^M: *ātmaviśayañāna^o* Ed¹ Ed²

^b *taṃ na* C^p C^M Ed¹: *tan naṃ* C^{ac}: *tan na* Ed²

^c *pramādyataḥ* C Ed¹ Ed²: *pramādayataḥ* C^M

^d *atigamaṇaṃ* C C^M: *atigamane* Ed¹ Ed²

^e *taṃ* C C^M: Ø Ed¹ Ed²

^f *atyāyan* C^M Keith: *atītyāyan* C Ed¹ Ed²

^g *atyāyaṃs te* C^M Ed¹ Ed²: *atyāyaṃs tye* C

Let no man diverge; [this means:] one should have (*√kr*) no divergence **from it**, i.e. from that path [leading to] the knowledge of the Self. 'Divergence' (*pramāda*) means stepping beyond (*atikrama*) the [path]. One should not undertake (*√kr*) to [step beyond] the [path]; this is the meaning.³⁸ [If one asks] what will happen to those who diverge from it, the answer

34 Keith (1909, 199, n. 1) notes a similar proximity between Sāyaṇa's introduction and Śaṅkara's *Taittirīyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (ad TaiU 1.12).

35 The text of the Āraṇyaka is given in accordance with its critical edition by A.B. Keith (1909).

36 I slightly modify the translation by Keith (1909, 199), reading *pūrve* with *atyāyan* as Śaṅkara and Sāyaṇa recommend; Keith's choice to read it with what follows is, of course, also possible. I also suppress 'therefore' in order to avoid a double use of *tasmād*.

37 The whole gloss following *na pramādyet* in C and the editions, namely *pramādo na kartavyaḥ | pramādas tadatikramaḥ | atas taṃ na kuryād ity arthaḥ* | is entirely missing in C^M. Instead, after *na pramādyet* we find the simple addition of the phrase *tasmāt pathaḥ*. This does not seem to be explicable by a simple slip of the pen.

38 Although this might not be entirely clear from my translation, Śaṅkara's main intention here is to gloss the rather vague term *pramāda* ('divergence' in Keith's translation, or simply 'erring')

is that **no man** should **transgress**, i.e. go beyond (*ati-vgam*) **that** path, and that going beyond [that path] is a fault. One should not do that, because it is well known that **of old**, the ancient Brahmins **did not transgress it**, i.e. they did not go beyond it; this is the meaning. **Those that**, fallen down (*bhraṣṭa*) from that path, **did transgress it were overcome**, they have been overcome, that is, they became unable to perform either the rites or [salvific] knowledge³⁹; this is the meaning.

Sāyaṇa⁴⁰

tasmād ubhayavidhād āmnāyamārgāt pramādaṃ na kuryāt | karmānuṣṭhānabrahmajñānāyor asaṃpādanaṃ pramādaḥ | nātīyāt [...] nātīkrāmet | [...] pūrve maharṣayo vyāsava-siṣṭhādayas tam uktaṃ panthānaṃ naivātyāyan nātyakrāman | ye tu nāstikā atyakrāmaṃs te parābbhūvuh parābhūtāḥ puruṣārthād bhraṣṭāḥ |

[**Let no man diverge**] **from it**; [this means that] one should not diverge from the two-fold path [described] in the Scriptures [i.e. the path of the rites and the path of knowledge].⁴¹ 'Divergence' (*pramāda*) means the fact of not achieving (*asaṃpādana*) the performance of the rites and the knowledge of *Brahman*. **Let no man transgress** [...], [this means:] let no man step beyond (*ati-vkram*) [the path]. [...] **Of old** the great Sages like Vyāsa or Vasiṣṭha **did not transgress** the mentioned path at all, i.e. they did not step beyond it. But **those** heretics (*nāstika*) who went beyond it **were overcome**, they have been overcome, [that is] they fell down (*bhraṣṭa*) from the goal of man.

There are no doubt minor differences between the two texts, which might as well be significant from the point of view of the history of ideas.⁴² But the structure of the explanation and the glosses of specific terms are obviously the same, and this remark can be extended to large parts of Sāyaṇa's commentary on AiĀ 2–3. Thus it seems certain that Sāyaṇa was drawing his inspiration from a text he, at least, believed to be by Śaṅkara, and that this text corresponds to the one transmitted in our manuscripts of AiUBh–L.

by the more precise term *atikrama* ('stepping beyond', 'transgression'), and also to link it syntactically with the ablative *tasmād*, which in principle could also be interpreted as 'therefore', as in Keith's translation of the Āraṇyaka.

39 As we can see from the passage quoted below, the slight oddity in speaking of *karmajñānānuṣṭhānam* ('The performance of the rites and [salvific] knowledge') is suppressed by Sāyaṇa, who chooses to mention separately *karmānuṣṭhāna* ('the performance of rites') and *brahmajñāna* ('the knowledge of *Brahman*').

40 Sāyaṇa's *Bhāṣya* on AiĀ 2.1.1, p. 86, l. 26 – p. 87, l. 4.

41 Interestingly enough, the two-fold path is described in a slightly different way in Śaṅkara's commentary, as consisting of the path of the rites and the path of Yoga.

42 The mention of 'heretics' (*nāstika*), for instance, seems to be an addition by Sāyaṇa, who also alludes to the typically Buddhist practice of 'revering reliquaries' (*caityavandana* – p. 86, l. 29), thus giving to his commentary a more neatly apologetic flavour.

In addition to Sāyana's testimony, paratextual elements found in editions and manuscripts (title pages, rubrics, etc.) offer another kind of external evidence, if not directly for Śaṅkara's authorship,⁴³ at least for the unity of the old *Bhāṣya* on AiĀ 2–3.

The Benares 1884 lithograph mentions the work under the name *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*, found on the title page (fol. 1v) as well as in rubrics concluding *adhyāyas* 1–5, which are numbered continuously.⁴⁴ The rubric of the sixth *adhyāya* mentions it under another title, *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣadbhāṣya*, and considers the work bearing that name to be 'finished' (*samāpta*) with that *adhyāya* (recall that *adhyāya* 2.6 is the last commented on by Śaṅkara in the second *āraṇyaka*).⁴⁵ The rubric found at the close of the commentary on AiĀ 3.1 introduces yet another title, *Samhitopaniṣadbhāṣya*, thus speaking of 'the first book of the *Samhitopaniṣadbhāṣya*, [which is part] of the *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇa*⁴⁶ [corresponding to] the third *āraṇyaka*' (*bahvṛcabrāhmaṇe samhitopaniṣadbhāṣye tṛtīyāraṇyake prathamō 'dhyāyaḥ* – fol. 64v1). The final rubric of the work wrongly numbers the second *adhyāya* 'third,' but is otherwise quite similar to the preceding one, except that it calls the *brāhmaṇa Aitareya*^o, not *Bahvṛca*^o (the two terms may be synonym in that context).⁴⁷ To summarise, the first 'edition' of the text (which, as we shall see, is little more than the printed copy of a North Indian

43 It is remarkable, still, that *all* consulted sources agree in attributing the work to 'Śaṅkara Bhagava(n)t,' the disciple of 'Govinda Pūjyapāda.' This, according to P. Hacker (1995, 41–56), is one of the decisive criteria in favour of the authorship of a given work by Śaṅkara. For a more precise formulation of Hacker's criteria, leading to the same conclusion, see Harimoto (2014, 242–243).

44 The rubric that concludes the commentary on AiĀ 2.1 reads as follows: *iti śrīgovindabhagavatpūjyapādaśiṣyaparamahaṃsaparivrājākācāryaśrīmacchaṃkarabhagavataḥ kṛtāv aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣye prathamō 'dhyāyaḥ* (fol. 10v12–13). Similar rubrics are found with minor variations on fol. 14r7–11 (no mention of Govinda) and fol. 22v12 (abbreviated, no title given). The rubric closing the fourth *adhyāya* gives a different title, *Aitareyabhāṣya* (without ^o*upaniṣad*), but does not break the continuity in the count of *adhyāyas*: *ity aitareyabhāṣye dvitīyāraṇyake caturtho 'dhyāyaḥ* (fol. 42v8–10). The rubric following the fifth *adhyāya* (fol. 52v11–12) is identical in structure, but has the 'full' title *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (instead of *Aitareyabhāṣya*).

45 The full rubric reads as follows: *iti śrīmatparamahaṃsaparivrājākācāryaśrīgovindabhagavatpādapūjya[sic]śiṣyaśrīmacchaṃkarācāryabhagavataḥ kṛtau bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣadbhāṣyaṃ samāptam* (fol. 57v7–10).

46 It is not impossible that the expressions *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* and *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇa* should be understood as abbreviations of *Aitareya*^o/*Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇa*-**upaniṣad**. The *Samhitopaniṣad* would then be the last part of that *Upaniṣad* in the mind of the editor.

47 AiUBh–L (Ed¹) fol. 70v14–15, *iti śrīgovindabhagavatpūjyapādaśiṣyaparamahaṃsaparivrājākācāryasya śrīmacchaṃkarabhagavataḥ kṛtāv aitareyabrāhmaṇe samhitopaniṣadbhāṣye tṛtīyo 'dhyāyaḥ. samāptā ceyaṃ bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣat*.

manuscript) provides us with three titles – *Aitareya[-upaniṣad]-bhāṣya*, *Bahvṛcopaniṣadbhāṣya* and *Samhitopaniṣadbhāṣya* – applied without consistency to parts of the work and (with the exception of the last) also to the whole. Given this confusing situation, it is quite understandable that Laxmanshastri Joshi, in the 1949 reprint of the *editio princeps*, felt the need to ‘normalise’ the rubrics by uniformly speaking of ‘the *Bhāṣya* on the second / third *āranyaka* of the *Aitareya[-āranyaka]*’ (*aitareya-dvitiya*^o/ *tṛtīyāranyakabhāṣya*), still numbering the *adhyāyas* continuously from 1 to 6 (for AiĀ 2), then from 1 to 2 (for AiĀ 3). What is clear, in any case, is that the first editor of the work, no doubt relying on manuscript evidence, did not consider AiĀ 2.4–6 to be a separate work, distinct from AiĀ 2.1–3. His main hesitation is whether the title *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣadbhāṣya*, taken up from Śaṅkara’s introduction (see above), applies to the whole work or only to the second *āranyaka*.

This globally corresponds to the information provided in manuscripts. The older of the two Cambridge manuscripts, Add.2092, also numbers *adhyāyas* continuously from 1 to 6, without break with *adhyāya* 4, and marks the end of the first five with the brief mention *aitareyopaniṣadi prathamo [, dvitiyo..., pañcamo] ’dhyāyaḥ* (fol. 16v5; fol. 21v5; fol. 34v6; fol. 43v8; fol. 48v5). AiĀ 2.6 has a more elaborate rubric, which closely corresponds to that found in the Benares lithograph, especially because it also mentions the text under the title *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣadbhāṣya*.⁴⁸ Leaving aside the brief *Śāntipāṭha*, on which Śaṅkara did not comment, the following *adhyāyas* clearly mark a rupture; the indication at the end of the commentary on AiĀ 3.1 looks corrupt (*aiṃtasyopaniṣadi [?] prathamo ’dhyāyaḥ*), but the commentary on AiĀ 3.2 ends with a rubric very similar to that on AiĀ 2.6, where the work is named, however, *Samhitopaniṣadvivaraṇa*.⁴⁹ Thus it seems that the author of the Cambridge manuscript, unlike that of the Benares lithograph, considered that the text consisted of two partly independent works called *Bahvṛcopaniṣadbhāṣya* (ad AiĀ 2.1–6) and *Samhitopaniṣadvivaraṇa* (ad AiĀ 3.1–2), nevertheless integrated enough to form a single,

48 AiUBh–L (C) fol. 50v10 – fol. 51r1: *śrīmadgovimḍabhadgavatpūjyapādaśiṣyaparamahaṃsaparivrājakācāryasya śaṅkarabhadgavataḥ kṛtau bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣadbhāṣya[m] samāpta[m]*. I emend the aberrant reading ^o*bhāṣyataḥ samāptā* of the manuscript.

49 See AiUBh–L (C) fol. 70r5–6: *śrīgovimḍabhadgavatpūjyapādaśiṣyaparamahaṃsaparivrājakācāryasya śrīmacchaṅkarabhadgavataḥ kṛtau samhitopaniṣadvivaraṇam samāptam |*

continuous gloss on AiĀ 2–3.⁵⁰ If some manuscripts confirm this view,⁵¹ others lead us to think that the title *Bahvṛca[-brāhmaṇa-]upaniṣadbhāṣya/°vivarāṇa* rather applies to the whole work, not a part of it, and come closer to the Benares print.⁵²

It seems to me that the main reason for such hesitations lies nowhere but in Śaṅkara's text itself. We have already seen that the title *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇo-paniṣadvivarāṇa* is given, following Śaṅkara's well-established habit, in the introduction to his 'longer' *Bhāṣya*. What is more surprising is to find the same kind of typically Śaṅkaran introduction, including the mention of a different title and the familiar etymological digression on the word *upaniṣad*, at the beginning of his commentary on AiĀ 3.1⁵³:

*athātaḥ saṃhitāyā upaniṣad ityādyā saṃhitopaniṣad | asyāḥ^a saṃkṣepato vivaraṇaṃ kari-
ṣyāmo mandamadhyaabuddhīnām api tadarthābhivṛtyakṛtiḥ syād^b iti | [...] upanipūrvasya
sader viśaraṇagatyavasādanārthasya kvibantasya rūpam upaniṣad iti | upaniṣadvijñānaṃ
cedaṃ tātparyeṇa | upaniṣannā ye, teṣāṃ vākkāyamanobhir buddher^c anarthapratipattihe-
tubhūtāyā viśaraṇād upaniṣat | vaksyamāṇaphalaprāpayitṛtvāc copaniṣat |
saṃsārābijāvidyāvasādanāc copaniṣat |*

^a *asyāḥ* C C^M Ed¹: *tasyāḥ* Ed²

^b *°abhivṛtyakṛtiḥ syād* Ed¹ Ed²: *°abhivṛtyakṛtiḥ syād (!)* C C^M

^c *°manobhir buddher* C Ed¹ Ed²: *°manobuddher* C^M

With the words *athātaḥ saṃhitāyā upaniṣad* ('Now begins the Upaniṣad of the *saṃhitā*') begins the *Saṃhitopaniṣad*. We [now undertake] to compose a gloss (*vivarāṇa*) of it, in a

⁵⁰ Since all these titles are likely to be directly extracted from the text of Śaṅkara himself (see below), I do not think much weight should be given to the variations between the titles *bhāṣya*, *vivarāṇa* (the word used in both cases by Śaṅkara), and *ṭikā*.

⁵¹ The colophons of the London manuscript described by Winternitz (*Asiatic Society* No. 158 [p. 216–217]) also distinguish between a *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣatṭikā* (ad AiĀ 2.1–6) and a *Saṃhitopaniṣadvivarāṇa* (ad AiĀ 3).

⁵² This is what we find, for instance in the GOML manuscript described in *MD* 1.3 under No. 331 (pp. 315–317). From its description in the catalogue, it appears that the manuscript numbers *adhyāyas* continuously and names the work *Aitareyopaniṣadvivarāṇa* in the rubrics (examples are given for *adhyāyas* 3 and 4), except for the final rubric of *adhyāya* 6, where it is named *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣadbhāṣya*; this last rubric is almost identical to that of the Cambridge manuscript (see above, n. 48), with mention of Govinda and 'Śaṃkarabhaḡava(n)t', but a slightly different conclusive formula (*bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣadbhāṣye dvitīyāraṇyakaṃ samāptam* – p. 317), which leaves the possibility that *āraṇyaka* 2 could be a *part* of the *Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇopaniṣadbhāṣya*, not the whole of it.

⁵³ The passage is found on fol. 59r1–7 in Ed¹, on p. 597 in Ed², on fol. 51v9 – 52r6 in C and on fol. 111v8 – 112v5 in C^M.

concise way (*saṃkṣepataḥ*), so that its meaning becomes fully manifest even to people with a weak or average understanding. [...] [The word] *upaniṣad* is a form of the root *vsad*, which has the sense of either dissolution (*viśaraṇa*), motion/intellection (*gati*) or perishing (*avasādana*), preceded by [the preverbs] *upa* and *ni* and followed by [the zero *kṛt*-affix] *kvip*. But essentially (*tātparyeṇa*), it is the knowledge [consisting in] *upaniṣad*. Considering those who have come near (*upaniṣanna*) [that knowledge], their soul (*buddhi*), which is the cause for apprehending what is unwished, together with their speech, body and mind, is subject to dissolution (*viśaraṇa*), so [for them there is] *upaniṣad*. [That knowledge] is also *upaniṣad* because it leads (*prāpay-*) to the [expected] result we are about to explain. Finally, it is *upaniṣad* because nescience, which is the seed of *saṃsāra*, is annihilated (*avasādana*).

In view of this, there is indeed ground for hesitating whether to regard the *Bahvṛca[-brāhmaṇa-]*^o and *Samhitopaniṣad* (and the corresponding *vivaraṇas*) as distinct texts, or the latter as just a sub-section of the former. I find it significant, though, that such a problem does not arise for the *Bhāṣya* on AiĀ 2.4–6 (the 'vulgate' *Upaniṣad*), which our sources unanimously consider to be part of the larger commentary on AiĀ 2.

Now, there is no doubt some logic in considering that the 'shorter' version is the only one authentic. Śaṅkara's statement that a given *Upaniṣad* begins only after the investigation of rites (*karman*) and inferior *Brahman* (*aparabrahma*) has been completed (*parisamāpta*), quoted in the beginning of this section, inevitably recalls the opening portion of other *Upaniṣadic* commentaries by the great Advaitin, beginning with that on the *Chāndogya*^o, where we find the same sentence almost word for word.⁵⁴ One could also argue that the portions of AiĀ 2–3 which are generally not considered part of the AiU found their way into Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*, but in very limited proportions.⁵⁵ This is surprising if the AiU is to be included in the group of older, major *Upaniṣads*, which are otherwise quoted by Śaṅkara at every page. A further argument is that no sub-commentary has so far been discovered on the 'longer' version of the *Bhāṣya*,⁵⁶ and that

54 *Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya* (introduction): *samastam karmādhigatam prāṇādidevatāvijñāna-sahitam*; 'The rite (*karman*) has been entirely dealt with, together with the knowledge of deities such as the breath (*prāṇa*), etc.' (p. 2).

55 The fairly exhaustive index of quotes found at the end of Anantakrishna Shastri and Vasudev Laxman Shastri Pansikar's edition of Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya* (p. 1035–1061 in the 2000 reprint) records only five quotes of AiĀ 2.1–3 and AiĀ 3: AiĀ 2.1.2 (two quotes), 2.1.3, 2.3.3 and 3.2.3. Adding quotes from the *Upaniṣad* 'proper' (AiĀ 2.4–6/7), we reach a total of about twenty quotations. This is certainly not negligible, but still without any comparison with, for instance, the hundreds of quotes from the ChU and BĀU found in Śaṅkara's *opus magnum*.

56 In their 1905 catalogue of the Bodleian manuscripts (*Bodleian* No. 1011.3 – p. 77), Keith & Winternitz mention a potentially significant manuscript (Wilson collection No. 401.3), which they de-

Ānandagiri's standard gloss, as we find it in many printed editions (including the Benares 1884 lithograph) only extends to *adhyāyas* 4–6.⁵⁷ Similarly, one cannot overlook the fact that the manuscript tradition of AiUBh–S is absolutely overwhelming.⁵⁸

Thus, although I remain convinced by the evidence presented above that the 'longer' version is the only one representing the complete work of Śaṅkara, I also think it would be misleading to interpret the spread of AiUBh–S only in terms of an editorial 'error' or of a mistaken reading habit. It may rather be the case that both versions of the text were transmitted simultaneously, possibly for different purposes and audiences, and not unlikely in a community of readers who were conscious of their coexistence.⁵⁹ The task of a critical edition of the 'longer' *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya* will of course be, first of all, to recover an almost forgotten

scribe as 'Viśveśvaratīrtha's commentary on Ānandatīrtha's commentary on Śaṅkara's commentary on the second and third *āraṇyakas* of the *Aitareyāraṇyaka*.' Although I have not seen the manuscript, this identification seems clearly erroneous to me, and in any event is directly contradicted by the authors' subsequent affirmation that 'this Ms. contains from the first *adhyāya* of the second *praghaṭṭaka* to the second *adhyāya* of the third *praghaṭṭaka* of Ānandatīrtha's *Mahaitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*.' Though the name 'Ānandatīrtha' is sometimes used to refer to Ānandagiri, it certainly refers here to Madhva, an assumption confirmed by the use of the word *praghaṭṭaka*, which is not common in the Advaita tradition. The same confusion is made again by Keith in his 1909 book, where he maintains that the commentator on Śaṅkara and the dualist Vaiṣṇava thinker both known by the name 'Ānandatīrtha' are one and the same person (Keith 1909, 11–12). On this confusion, see *inter alia* the remarks by B.N.K. Sharma (2000, 168–169, n. 3). To go back to the Bodleian manuscript, the colophon quoted in the catalogue speaks of a commentary (*vivarāṇa*) on 'the *Bhāṣya* [...] composed by the Reverend Master Ānandatīrtha Bhagavatpāda' (*śrīmadānandatīrthabhagavatpādācāryaviracita[...]bhāṣya*), which excludes any relation to Śaṅkara. The authors of the catalogue might have been misled by the fact that the same bundle contains commentaries by Śaṅkara on two other ancient Upaniṣads (*Kena*^o and *Chāndogya*^o).

57 It is nevertheless remarkable (though, of course, not necessarily significant) that Ānandagiri's gloss on Śaṅkara's AiUBh–S starts without a *maṅgala*-verse. The only similar case I know of among Ānandagiri's Śaṅkaran commentaries is his gloss on Śaṅkara's *Praśnopaniṣadbhāṣya*, which directly starts with a prose explanation. All his other sub-commentaries start with a *maṅgala*: that on BĀU has four verses, those on ChU and MĀU two verses, while those on ĪśāU, KeU, KāU, MuU and TaiU have only one auspicious verse.

58 If we rely on catalogues and what has been discovered so far, the ratio between manuscripts transmitting the 'longer' and 'shorter' versions of AiUBh is approximately from one to ten.

59 We may imagine, for instance, that a commentary on the *Ātmaśaṭka* alone would better serve the needs of a popular or 'ecumenical' diffusion of Advaita doctrines, while a more extensive commentary on the *Āraṇyaka* would be more suited for scholars specifically devoted to the study of the Vedas, or specialized in the recitation and interpretation of the *Ṛgveda*.

piece of early medieval exegesis, but also better to understand the historical vicissitudes that lie behind this remarkable divergence in the way the Śaṅkaran Advaita tradition dealt with the *Aitareya*-corpus.

3 A preliminary survey of available editions and manuscripts

Previous scholarship on AiUBh–L, which generally ignores the existence of two editions of the text,⁶⁰ knows mainly of two manuscripts of the work, for which I will use the sigla **O** (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mill Collection No. 120) and **L** (London, Whish Collection No. 164).⁶¹ Manuscript **O**, a paper Devanāgarī manuscript (40 fols), undated but maybe produced in the 18th century, is briefly described by Keith & Winternitz (*Bodleian* No. 1014.1 – p. 79);⁶² it contains Śaṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on AiĀ 2.1–3 and a fragment of his commentary on AiĀ 2.4; according to the authors of the catalogue, it is 'inaccurate and carelessly written.' Manuscript **L** is described in more detail by Winternitz (*Asiatic Society* No. 158 – pp. 216–217);⁶³ it is in Malayalam script (150 fols), possibly copied in the 17th century, and contains the whole of Śaṅkara's commentary on AiĀ 2–3 with the exception of the beginning of 2.1 (2 folios are missing at the start of the bundle). This is the manuscript examined in 1930 by S.K. Belvalkar, who reproduces a limited number of passages and adds a few elements of description (pp. 244–245). This document was already 'in very bad condition' (Winternitz), 'much damaged' (Keith) or at least 'somewhat damaged' (Belvalkar) in the beginning of the last century. To this we must add one more recent Devanāgarī copy (69 fols) kept in Berlin (= **B**), unknown to Keith but pointed out by Belvalkar (1930, 246) following its brief description by A. Weber (*Verzeichniss* No. 90 – p. 21). According to the latter's record, it contains a complete commentary by Śaṅkara on AiĀ 2–3, but this information is judged 'doubtful' by Belvalkar (1930, 246), who therefore considers that 'there is extant only one complete manuscript of [the] commentary by Śaṅkarācārya on *Aitareya Āraṇyaka* II and III,' namely **L**.

⁶⁰ The only exceptions I know of are the brief reference to the *Dharmakośa*-reprint by S. Subrahmaṇya Shastri (discussed above, Section 1), and of course, Laxmanshastri Joshi's work itself, alone in acknowledging the existence of the 1884 Benares lithograph.

⁶¹ I have not been able to consult directly these two manuscripts so far, nor the Berlin copy mentioned below. This paragraph is thus entirely based on catalogues and secondary literature.

⁶² It is also mentioned by Keith (1909, 5) and Belvalkar (1930, 245), who do not add any particular information.

⁶³ See also Keith 1909, 8.

In addition to these three manuscripts, we now have at our disposal a fairly considerable number of other sources, including two editions of the text (**Ed¹** and **Ed²**) – the second a mere reprint of the first – and five newly identified manuscripts, here labelled **C** (Cambridge, UL Add. 2092), **C^M** (Cambridge, UL Or. 2400), **M** (Chennai, GOML D 331 / SD 183),⁶⁴ **T** (Trivandrum, ORIML No. 6312) and **V** (Thrissur, Vadakke Madham Brahmaswam, uncatalogued). Adding these documents to those discussed by our predecessors, available sources can be roughly divided into two groups: a ‘Northern’ group possibly centred on Benares, including paper Devanāgarī manuscripts, the 1884 lithograph and its reprint (**Ed¹**, **Ed²**, **C**, possibly **O** and **B**), and a ‘Southern’ group composed exclusively of palm-leaf manuscripts written in various South Indian scripts (**L**, **C^M**, **M**, **T** and **V**).

The first edition of the text (**Ed¹**) is in itself a remarkable document, that somewhat blurs the frontier between ‘manuscript’ and ‘printed edition.’ The only reason why I use the latter term is because the lithography-technique by which it was produced (named *śilākṣara*, ‘stone-letters’ in the colophon) allows (in theory, at least) the existence of several rigorously identical copies, even though in the present case only one could be located.⁶⁵ The presentation of the book is otherwise exactly similar to that of a Northern paper *pothi*, with initial invocation (*śrī gaṇeśāya namaḥ* – fol. 1r, l. 1), rubrics and a colophon in Sanskrit and Hindī. It is in *scriptio continua* with the root-text (*mūlagrantha*) in the middle of the page, surrounded by Śaṅkara’s commentary artificially divided into two halves. For the section of the work reproducing also Ānandagiri’s sub-commentary, the page is sometimes divided into five parts, with the root-text (*mūlagrantha*) in the centre, encircled by the commentary and sub-commentary, each split into two halves written in letters of decreasing size.⁶⁶ The book is arranged in 70 folios written on both sides, continuously numbered on the verso (1–70). The recto of the first folio bears the ‘title’ *atha pūrvottarāruṇabhāṣyasahitaṃ saṅkaraṃ aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣyaṃ prārabhyate*. Sections (*khaṇḍa*) within each *adhyāya* are numbered in the *mūla*-part and marked in the gloss by a brief rubric (*iti prathamah khaṇḍah*, etc.). Rubrics are found at the end of each *adhyāya* both in the *mūla* and the *Bhāṣya* (see above, Section 1). The book is

⁶⁴ This manuscript had already been described in vol. 1.3 of the *Descriptive Catalogue* published by the GOML in 1905 (*MD* 1.3), but this description has apparently remained unnoticed.

⁶⁵ See above n. 7.

⁶⁶ The text of Ānandagiri’s gloss starts on fol. 22v12. It is graphically undistinguishable from the preceding *Bhāṣya*, and immediately follows the final rubric of the third *adhyāya* (*iti śrīmacchaṅkarabhāṣyapādakṛt[au] [...] tṛtīyo ’dhyāyaḥ*). The text of the *Bhāṣya* continues in the centre of the same page (l. 8) with the initial rubric *athaitareyaṣaṅkabhāṣyaprārambhaḥ*, ‘Here begins the *Bhāṣya* on the *Aitareya*-hexade.’ The ‘five-fold’ layout is found on fols 31r–58v.

concluded by an elaborate colophon, including the following Sanskrit stanza (fol. 70v16):

vārāṇasīprasādasya niyogena tu yatnataḥ |
kāśīsaṃskṛtamudrāyām aṅkito 'yaṃ śilākṣaraiḥ ||

This [text] was printed with care on the order of Vārāṇasī Prasād(a), using lithography, in the Kāśī Sanskrit Press.

The Hindi colophon that follows (l. 16–17) confirms the name of the person who ordered the copy, Vārāṇasī Prasād(a), and also indicates the place where the book can be bought, the shop of a certain Pratāp Singh (*pratāpasimha jī ke dukān*) situated in Caurī Galī in Kāśī (= Benares); it gives the date of printing as 1941 Vikrama (= 1884 CE). The second edition of the *Bhāṣya* (**Ed**²), as part as of vol. 2.2 of Laxmanshastri Joshi's *Dharmakośa (Upaniṣatkāṇḍa)*, merely reproduces the text of the first in a more 'edited' form, and does not constitute an independent source. It is mostly aimed at making the text accessible to a wide audience of scholars, 'as it has become difficult to access in manuscript or print' (*asya durlabhatvāl likhitasya mudritasya vā*).⁶⁷ In accordance with the encyclopaedic mind that pervades the enterprise of the *Dharmakośa*, Śaṅkara's text is printed there along with Madhva's commentary, a welcome initiative that greatly facilitates comparison between the two major *Bhāṣyas* on the 'longer' Upaniṣad.

The first Cambridge manuscript (**C**) is also quite exceptional. Probably produced in a Jain scriptorium, it is dated 1650 Vikrama (= 1593–94 CE), which makes it presumably the oldest surviving manuscript of the text, and no doubt one of the most valuable. Being a manuscript of Śaṅkara's text alone, which it transmits in its entirety, it does not present the same confusion in rubrics and layout as **Ed**¹. Thus, although both documents were produced in Benares, and even though chronology allows it,⁶⁸ I find it unlikely that this manuscript served as the basis for the *editio princeps*. It is in excellent state of conservation, and the text is copied in a clear writing with relatively few scribal errors. A detailed description of the manuscript is now available online, which I will not reproduce here.⁶⁹

If we now turn to our second group of sources, we see that they testify to a large diffusion of the text in the far South in the last centuries, spanning from the Śaṅkaran institutions of central Kerala to Andhra Pradesh, through Tamil-speaking

⁶⁷ Laxmanshastri Joshi's note on p. 525 of his edition.

⁶⁸ The manuscript was bought in Benares by Cecil Bendall for the Cambridge University Library in 1885, thus possibly the year after **Ed**¹ was produced in the same city.

⁶⁹ See above n. 13.

regions where Grantha script is used. The GOML Manuscript (**M**) has been described in some detail in *MD* 1.3 under No. 331 (pp. 315–317); it is written on palm leaf in Telugu script (58 fols), and contains Śaṅkara’s complete commentary on AiĀ 2.⁷⁰ It starts directly with the beginning of the ‘longer’ *Bhāṣya*, only preceded by a brief invocation (*om*). For the seventh *adhyāya*, which has not been commented on by Śaṅkara, the later commentary by Sāyaṇa has been tacitly introduced, following what seems to be a well-spread practice.⁷¹ The manuscript is complete, ending with what appears to be a date, which I have unfortunately been unable to decipher so far. In any case, it bears no sign that it ever contained a commentary on the third *āranyaka*.⁷² The Cambridge palm-leaf manuscript of AiUBh–L (**C^M**), on the other hand, transmits Śaṅkara’s full commentary on AiĀ 2–3. Written on palm leaf in Malayalam script (150 fols), it is the work of a man named Govinda, otherwise unknown, and appears to have been copied in the 19th or early 20th century. A detailed description of the manuscript has been made by Elisa Ganser and myself, which is now available online.⁷³ The last two manuscripts (**T** and **V**) have been identified only recently, and deserve a few more words.

Manuscript **T** is listed under No. 2912 in the first volume (A–Na) of the Trivandrum *Alphabetical Index* (p. 115), under the title *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣyam* by Śaṅkarācārya. The information provided by the catalogue, however, does not allow to differentiate it from a group of three manuscripts of AiUBh–S listed just above (Nos 2909–2911), and to identify it as a copy of the ‘longer’ *Bhāṣya*; in particular, the given extent of the bundle (550 *granthas*) is clearly erroneous, and was probably copied from the preceding line. The identification of the manuscript was only possible through the inspection of the whole group of *Bhāṣyas*, a time-consuming procedure, but likely to bear fruit in other Indian libraries as well. The manuscript is on palm leaf, written in Grantha script (53 fols recently numbered on each page from 1 to 106; the original numeration is not readable on my copy of the manuscript), and transmits the complete text of Śaṅkara’s commentary on AiĀ 2–3. The text of the ‘longer’ *Bhāṣya* begins directly on the top of the first folio, after a brief auspicious invocation (*om śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ*), and ends on p. 106 with the usual

70 The indication, found in the catalogue, that the manuscript contains 115 pages applies to the whole bundle, which also contains other Vedāntic texts. The leaves in that bundle have been numbered in modern times using Arabic numerals from 1 to 114 (no number on the last folio). Following this numeration, AiUBh–L starts on the top of fol. 55r and ends on the bottom of fol. 112r (the verso is blank). The folios containing Śaṅkara’s text are numbered from 1 to 58, using Telugu numerals.

71 The Benares lithograph, for instance, also introduces Sāyaṇa’s commentary at that point.

72 I thank S.L.P. Anjaneya Sarma for his assistance while examining this manuscript.

73 See above n. 14.

rubric marking the end of the '*Samhitopaniṣaddivaraṇa*'.⁷⁴ The bundle is still in relatively good shape, but many folios are damaged or worm-eaten, a situation that calls for urgent measures of conservation.⁷⁵

Manuscript **V**, on the contrary, is in a perfect state of preservation, and also has the complete 'longer' commentary by Śaṅkara. It is kept in the library of the main hall (locally known as the 'Auditorium') of the Vadakke Madham Brahmaswam in Thrissur (Central Kerala), where it was kindly made available to me for consultation and photograph in July, 2016. The Vadakke ('Northern') Madham is a well-known Keralan institution devoted to the teaching of the Vedas, and is also one of the three remaining 'monasteries' (Sk. *maṭha*, Mal. Madham) of the Thrissur Śaṅkaran tradition, together with the neighbouring Thekke and Naḍuvil Madhams. Its library gathers manuscripts that once belonged to all four Thrissur Madhams, and may contain today around 800 bundles of palm leaves.⁷⁶ The library does not have a proper 'catalogue' so far, but several hand-lists have been produced in the last century (some of them have been used in the compilation of the *NCC*), and a new list has recently been started by students of the University of Kalady.⁷⁷ The copy of Śaṅkara's 'longer' *Bhāṣya* could be identified with the help of this list, where it is found under No. 119 under the title 'Balavṛca Brāhmaṇopaniṣaddivaraṇam' by 'Śaṅkaran'. The manuscript is on palm leaf, in Malayalam script (166 fols, preceded by a blank folio and followed by a stray leaf), and was probably copied in the 19th or early 20th century. In that, and in many other aspects, it is very similar to **C^M**, the Keralan manuscript of AiUBh–L kept in Cambridge. A few pages are left blank (fols 79v, 148v, 152v, as well as the verso of fols 159–161), but this does not correspond to divisions in the text itself, and may rather reflect peculiarities of the manuscript from which **V** was copied. The text starts directly on the top of fol. 1r, after a brief invocation (*hariḥ, śrīgaṇapataye namaḥ, mahāgaṇapataye namaḥ, om*), and ends

⁷⁴ See fol. 53v2–3 : *iti śrīgovindabhaḡavataḡpūjyapādaśiṣyasya paramahaṡsaparivrāja-kācāryasya śrīśaṅkarabhaḡavataḡ kṛtau saḡhitopaniṣaddivaraṇaḡ samāptam*.

⁷⁵ During my visit to Trivandrum in July, 2016, I was allowed to see the manuscript, but not to take photographs. The present description is therefore based on my notes, as well as on the black and white photocopies provided by the library in the following weeks. Unfortunately, only a few folios of the bundle are actually legible with the help of these photocopies. I hope the authorities of the ORIML will allow the EFEO to take digital pictures of the document in the near future, as this would allow both a better conservation of the material (avoiding further damage by operations of photocopying) and a greater accessibility to scholars.

⁷⁶ The manuscripts are currently piled up in two large cupboards, which are literally packed with bundles, so that it is extremely difficult to estimate their exact number.

⁷⁷ I thank Mr Murali Krishnan, one of the compilers of the new list, as well as the authorities of the Brahmaswam Madham, for granting me access to two versions of the list, as well as to other important documents related to this collection.

on the *recto* of fol. 166 with the final rubric concluding the commentary (*vivaraṇa*) on the *Samhitopaniṣad*, followed by a brief homage to the *gurus*.⁷⁸

The results of this preliminary survey are summarised in the following chart, which lists, for the various sources, *adhyāyas* which are transmitted (yellow), incompletely transmitted (light grey) or not transmitted (dark grey); the thick line differentiates sources that were known to Keith and Belvalkar (upper half) from those that were discovered more recently (lower half):

	2.1	2.2	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.6	3.1	3.2
'Vulgate' editions of AiUBh								
O								
L								
B								
Ed ¹								
Ed ²								
C								
C ^M								
M								
T								
V								

In view of this, it is clear that Belvalkar's statement that 'a satisfactory edition of the work cannot be issued unless more manuscript material becomes available' (1930, 246) does not really hold anymore. It is thus high time for researchers and scholars of Vedānta to make this valuable work accessible again to its readers in an edition worth the name, and to investigate what seems to have been an unexpected turn of events in the history of the non-dualistic tradition of commentary on the *Aitareyopaniṣad*.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ See fol. 166r5–6: *iti śrīgovindabhaḡavatpūjyapādaśiṣyasya paramahaṡsaparivrājakācārya-śaṅkarabhaḡavataḡ kṛtau saṃhitopaniṣadvivaraṇaṡ samāptam, hariḡ, śrīgurubhyo namaḡ.*

⁷⁹ This article was already in proof stage when I came to know of one more edition of Śaṅkara's commentary on AiĀ 2.1-3, published in 2008 by the Adhyatma Prakasha Karyalaya in Holenarasipur (ed. M.R. Keśavaḡ Avadhānī - I thank S.L.P. Anjaneya Sarma and Pt. Mani Dravid for drawing my attention to that edition). The book is in two parts, the first one comprising the text of AiUBh-L up to 2.3, the second reproducing the text of AiUBh-S as it is found in the Ānandāśrama

4 Table of sigla

4.1 Manuscripts of AiUBh–L

B = Berlin, No. 90 in Weber's *Verzeichniss*.

C = Cambridge, UL No. Add. 2092.

C^M = Cambridge, UL No. Or. 2400.

L = London, Whish Collection No. 164.

M = Madras (Chennai), GOML No. D-331 /SD 183.

O = Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mill Collection No. 120.

T = Trivandrum, ORIML No. 6312.

V = Manuscript of AiUBh–L kept in the Vadakke Madham Brahmaswam, Thrissur.

4.2 Other sigla

AiĀ = Aitareyāraṇyaka

AiU = Aitareyopaniṣad

AiUBh = Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya (Śaṅkara)

AiUBh–L = 'longer' version of the *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*

AiUBh–S = 'shorter' version of the *Aitareyopaniṣadbhāṣya*

BĀU = Bṛhadāraṇyokopaniṣad

ChUBh = Chāndogyopaniṣadbhāṣya (Śaṅkara)

ChU = Chāndogyopaniṣad

UL = Cambridge University Library

GOML = Government Oriental Manuscripts Library (Chennai)

ĪśāU = Īśāvāsyopaniṣad

KeU = Kenopaniṣad

KāU = Kāṭhakopaniṣad

MāU = Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad

MuU = Muṇḍakopaniṣad

ORIML = Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library (Trivandrum)

PraU = Praśnopaniṣad

TaiU = Taittirīyopaniṣad

edition, with emendations and notes. The manuscript used as a basis for the first part is described in the English introduction in very generic terms as 'a hand written manuscript titled "Sri Shankaracharya Kṛita Bhashyam," comprising a Bhashya on all the six chapters' (p. iii). More research will be needed to determine if this manuscript corresponds or not to any of those described in this section. In any case, the editor does not show any awareness of further manuscripts or earlier editions of Śaṅkara's commentary on AiĀ 2.1-3, nor does he seem to know the existence of his commentary on AiĀ 3.

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Vol. 2: *Bhāṣya* on ChU.

Vol. 3: *Bhāṣya* on BĀU.

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⁸⁰ As the edition does not have a title page, I reproduce here, for easy reference, the information found in the Harvard library catalogue.

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Emmanuel Francis is research fellow at the CNRS and is affiliated to the CEIAS in Paris. He is an historian of Tamil Nadu using inscriptions and manuscripts for his research on the social and cultural history of Tamil language. He has published a two-volume study on the Pallavas of South India entitled *Le discours royal dans l’Inde du Sud ancienne. Monuments et inscriptions pallava (IV^{ème}–IX^{ème} siècles)*.

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