



Newsletter of the NGMCP, Number 3

January-February 2007

Editorial and News from the NGMCP

The third number of our Newsletter has been delayed a little, for which I offer apologies to readers and contributors alike. In compensation, I am glad to be presenting an issue that is particularly rich in content, half as large again as either of its predecessors. Even at that, some contributions have had to be held over for the following issue, which should be available online by early May.

We begin this Newsletter with two reports. Dragomir Dimitrov presents an illustrated survey of the work and activities at the Nepal Research Centre in the period April 2005 to September 2006, while Dominic Goodall and Harunaga Isaacson report briefly on a workshop held in January 2007 which brought together scholars from all over the world to study one of the unique manuscripts in the National Archives, Kathmandu. There follow two contributions with critical editions. Oliver Hahn gives us the concluding part of his edition of Maheśvara's *Ūṣmabheda*; and it is a pleasure to welcome Csaba Dezső, of ELTE University, Budapest, to these pages for the first time with Part 1 of an edition of the hitherto unknown Nepalese recension of the first act of the play *Kundamālā*, in parallel with the South Indian recension of the same. We have an announcement of a recent book-publication, and a brief contribution by Diwakar Acharya drawing attention to a manuscript, not hitherto used, of Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha*. This issue then concludes with another contribution by Dragomir Dimitrov, this time together with Kashinath Tamot: a fine piece on Kaiser Shamsher and the 'Kaiser Library'.

This is an opportunity to thank Dr. Dragomir Dimitrov not only for his contributions to this Newsletter, but for his years of dedicated service to the NGMCP and NRC. As of February the 1st, 2007, he has been succeeded as Local Director of both institutions in Kathmandu by Dr. Albrecht Hanisch. I am happy to welcome Dr. Hanisch, already in station in Kathmandu, most warmly; and equally warmly wish Dr. Dimitrov all success. We anticipate that he will continue to stay in close contact with the NGMCP, and it is our hope that our readers will soon encounter him again in the Newsletter of the NGMCP.

Harunaga Isaacson

The Work at the Nepal Research Centre from April 2005 to September 2006

Dragomir DIMITROV

The activities of the Nepal Research Centre (NRC) carried out in the period from April 2005 to September 2006 were based on an agreement of cooperation between the Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, and the German Oriental Society, which was signed on August 30, 2002. In the recent period of turbulent and troublesome political developments, which repeatedly brought life in Nepal to a standstill, the NRC established itself as a safe haven where researchers involved in Nepalese studies were able to pursue their work undisturbed by the ongoing political imbroglio in the country.



The NRC in the evening of Lakṣmī Pūjā

Infrastructure At present the NRC is accommodated in a beautiful building situated in peaceful surroundings in Baluwatar, in the northern part of Kathmandu (P.O.

Box 180, Icchunadi Marga 127, Baluwatar-4). The building houses the offices of the NRC, working rooms equipped with computers and microfilm readers, the library of the NRC, as well as a comfortable lounge. In the courtyard a nice garden was arranged in August 2005, which provides further space for studies and discussions in the open.



Staff members of the NRC and the NGMCP

Staff Until March 2006 Deputy Director General of the NRC was Prof. Michael Friedrich (University of Hamburg). In April 2006 Prof. Harunaga Isaacson (University of Hamburg) took the position of Director General on a long-term basis. Acting Director of the NRC during the whole period was Dr. Dragomir Dimitrov. General Manager of the NRC was Navraj Gurung. Throughout this period many Nepalese and foreign scholars were affiliated with the NRC.

Progress Report of the NGMCP

(October 2006) By the beginning of October 2006 over 16,250 catalogue entries have been processed by the NGMCP. They are in various stages of completion, depending on the particular procedures involved. Over 8,070 entries may be termed completed. Approximately 400 entries are in process at any one time. Over 3,580 entries done by hand are now digitized and await further processing. Over 4,200 entries are still in a handwritten form. As a whole, the work is running smoothly and the project is doing good progress.

Activities

Support for the NGMCP Since April 2002 the NRC hosts the office of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) in Kathmandu. Serving as a base of support for this long-term academic project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG) is not only prestigious, but also vitally important for the NRC, since the NGMCP's staff members contribute actively to

maintaining and developing the services provided by the NRC. The NRC, on its part, ensures the best possible conditions for the realization of the NGMCP in Nepal. During the period under review a large number of catalogue entries were prepared by NGMCP's personnel at the NRC.



Researchers from Germany at Paśupatināth

Support for individual scholars Apart from hosting the NGMCP, the NRC endeavoured to provide as much assistance as possible to all visiting researchers by supplying working facilities, information and other help. Many Nepalese and foreign scholars, graduate and post-graduate students were welcomed and assisted at the NRC. Gergely Hidas, MA (University of Oxford) consulted Nepalese manuscripts of the *Pañcarkaṣā*. Astrid Krause, MA (Universität Leipzig) examined all the available Nepalese manuscripts of the *Puṣpacintāmani*, while preparing a new critical edition of the text. Christof Zotter, MA (Universität Heidelberg) studied Nepalese manuscripts containing various texts about the Vratibandha ritual. Kathleen Gögge, MA (Universität Heidelberg) researched on ritual texts such as the *Lakṣmīpūjāvidhi*, the *Satyanārāyaṇapūjāvidhi* and others. Dr. Johanna Buss (Universität Heidelberg) focused her work on the Nepalese mortuary rites. The NRC assisted Isabell Johne, MA (Freie Universität Berlin) during her research stay dedicated to the Buddhist deity Vasundharā. Shaman Hatley, MA (University of Pennsylvania) was helped while studying texts of the Tantric Śaivism. Michael Slouber, MA (University of California, Berkeley) spent six weeks studying Classical Newari at the NRC and read texts such as the *Agastyavratākathā*, the *Haraganakathā*, the *Nāgasādhanavidyā*, the *Pratāpamallaśāntipurapraveśā*, the *Kuśopadeśanītisāra* and the *Bālacikitsā*. Dr. Alexandra Leduc-Pagel (School of Ori-

ental and African Studies, London) explored a Nepalese manuscript of the *Tathāgataguhyaka*. Prof. Gudrun Bühnemann (University of Wisconsin-Madison), a regular visitor of the NRC, continued her studies on Nepalese iconography. Yogesh Mishra, MSc. (Bhaktapur, Nepal) carried on his research on texts in Classical Newari.



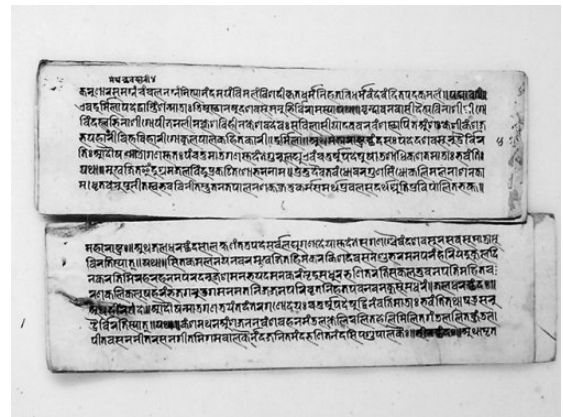
Tibetans and a Fullbright student at Bodhnāth

During the period under review the NRC was visited by quite a large number of American PhD candidates and holders of Fullbright fellowships. Jessica Birkenholtz, MA (University of Chicago) studied Sanskrit and Newari manuscripts of the *Svasthanivratākathā* and was assisted by Dr. Kashinath Tamot, an affiliated Newari specialist at the NRC. Nancy Lin, MA (University of California, Berkeley) conducted research towards her dissertation and examined Tibetan manuscripts and xylographs of texts in literary genres. Cameron David Warner, MA (Harvard University) studied Tibetan historiographical texts concerning the Jo-bo-Śākyamuni statue and explored the huge collection of Tibetan material microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP). In the course of his study on the Indrajatra festival, Michael Baltuis, MA (University of Iowa) consulted the vast collection of historical documents also microfilmed by the NGMPP.

Many other scholars, among them Prof. Paul Harrison (University of Canterbury), Dr. Anne MacDonald (Universität Wien), Prof. Patrick Olivelle (University of Texas), Prof. Sheldon Pollock (University of Columbia), Prof. Akira Saito (University of Tokyo) and

Prof. Francesco Sferra (Università degli Studi di Napoli L'Orientale), were assisted in their search for copies of particular Nepalese manuscripts.

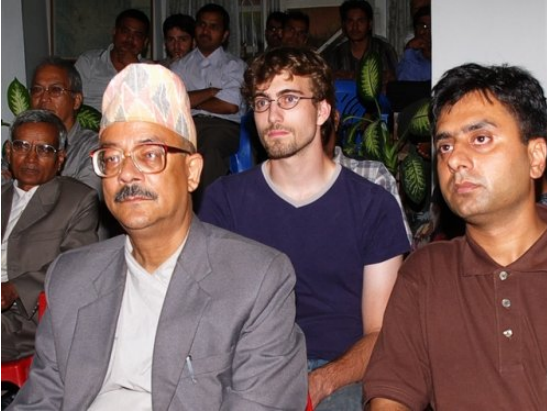
Besides this, the NRC further supplied its services in handling of orders for microfilm copies from the National Archives in Kathmandu. This service was particularly appreciated by scholars during the difficult times when the state institutions in Nepal could hardly function, crippled by political conflict and the unpredictable strikes. The NRC was successful in securing a speedy and reliable processing of the orders at the National Archives. More than fifty orders for microfilm copies were processed in this period.



Digital photo from a microfilm copy of a manuscript of the *Chandoratna*

Maintenance of the NRC Library The reference library of the NRC was well visited in the period under review. In order to ensure efficient and secure handling of the material kept in the library, specific rules for the use of the NRC Library were introduced. Due to the very limited funds available to the NRC, there were unfortunately only few new acquisitions. Nonetheless, some valuable publications were acquired, not least thanks to the donations by generous publishers and authors as well as owing to the book exchange programmes which the NRC is maintaining with other institutions.

Organization of lectures In August 2006 a new series of lectures was initiated at the NRC. Prof. Harunaga Isaacson delivered the first lecture entitled “Reflections on the *Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇatantra* and its place in the history of Vajrayāna Buddhism”. In September 2006 Dr. Dragomir Dimitrov presented the second lecture entitled “Philological Archaeology (Notes on some recently discovered manuscripts of the *Ratnaśrīṭīkā* and the *Viṃśatyupasargavṛtti*)”. The third lecture in this series is due to be continued in 2007.



At a lecture in the NRC

Publishing With the assistance of the NRC the next volume of the Nepalese National Bibliography (NBB) for the years 1997–1999 was published by the Tribhuvan University Central Library in 2005. In February 2006 a reprint of Klaus-Dieter Mathes' book *'Gos Lo tsā ba gZhon nu dpal's Commentary on the Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* (Nepal Research Centre Publications, No. 24) was prepared at the NRC. In July 2006 Diwakar Acharya's *Vācaspatimiśra's Tattvasamīkṣā, The Earliest Commentary on Maṇḍanamīśra's Brahmasiddhi* (Nepal Research Centre Publications, Nr. 25) was published. Apart from this, the long-expected new volume of the *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* (vol. XIII) is well advanced in preparation and will appear in 2007.



Kaiser Library

Collaboration The NRC maintained its traditionally good connections with the Department of Archaeology and the National Archives in Kathmandu. It also had contacts with the Valmiki Campus, the Sanskrit University, the Social Science Baha, the branch office of the South Asian Institute at the University of Heidelberg, the Guthi Samsthan, the National Library and some other institutions in Kathmandu. New contacts were established with Dr. Yoshiko Abe (Cultural Affairs Depart-

ment, Kokusai Kogyo Co., Ltd., Tokyo), Augustin de Benoist ("Towards a Global Orientalist Open Library" Project), Mr. Bholā Nath Shrestha (Kaiser Library, Kathmandu), Ms. Naoko Takagi (Maritime Museum, Istanbul) and Prof. Yusho Wakahara (Ryukoku University). In the past few months it became possible to intensify contacts with the German Embassy in Kathmandu. The NRC also collaborated with German students of Indology and Tibetology, who worked at the NRC on voluntary basis and gained practical experience.

In short, despite the difficulties encountered in this period of historical changes in Nepal, the NRC continued its efforts to assist scholars, facilitate research, and make the results of academic projects reach the public. It remains to be hoped that in the not too distant future better times will come in Nepal, when the NRC will be able to broaden its activities and make an even stronger impact in the field of Nepalese studies.

Workshop on the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*: The Earliest Surviving Śaiva Tantra?

Dominic GOODALL and Harunaga ISAACSON

From 2nd to 12th January of this year, a *Workshop on Early Śaivism: the Testimony of the Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* was held in the Pondicherry Centre of the Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient ('French School of Asian Studies').

The *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā*, a fundamental tantra of the Śaiva Siddhānta, is a lengthy, unpublished, text of great antiquity that is full of unparalleled material of great importance for the early history of the Śaiva religion. The work is in many respects very different from the other ancient Siddhāntatantras, and is often difficult to interpret. It is now transmitted to us in a single beautiful Nepalese manuscript of perhaps the 9th century,¹ one of the unique treasures of the National Archives, Kathmandu, microfilmed by the NGMPP (NGMPP A 41/14). But it was once widely known across the Indian subcontinent; and even beyond it, for it is mentioned in tenth-century inscriptions in Cambodia.² We now have grounds for supposing the *Niśvāsātattvasaṃhitā* to be the earliest Saiddhāntika scripture to survive complete, and perhaps even the earliest surviving scripture of Tantric Śaivism. It is thus a source of major importance for the early history

¹There are also two Nepalese apograph copies of the 20th century: NAK 5-2406, NGMPP A 159/18, and Wellcome Library MS Indic δ 41. These both reproduce the foliation of the original and often have a few more *akṣaras* at the edges than now survive on the folios of the old manuscript.

²Cf. e.g. SANDERSON 2001, pp. 23–24, n. 28.

of tantrism; but it also contains unparalleled information about more archaic forms of Śaivism followed by Pāśupata groups.³



Participants of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* Workshop

The two-week meeting in Pondicherry brought together scholars of Śaivism from around the world to study this important document. The workshop took the form of daily all-morning reading sessions, led by Alexis SANDERSON, in which we discussed the constitution and interpretation of the text, followed by an afternoon lecture by one of the participants.

A complete electronic text of the *Niśvāsa*-corpus was circulated among the participants before the workshop,⁴ and we now plan a printed volume, to be ready in 2008, that will contain a first critical edition of the three oldest of the five major sections of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, namely the *Mūlasūtra*, the *Uttarasūtra* and the *Naya-sūtra*. Introductory material, notes, and a few contextualising essays—drawn from or drawing upon the lectures and discussions that took place at the workshop—will accompany the Sanskrit text.

³On this information cf. especially SANDERSON 2006.

⁴The electronic text of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* was prepared over a number of years by Dominic GOODALL, Peter BISSCHOP (University of Groningen; now University of Edinburgh), Diwakar ACHARYA (NGMCP; now Kyoto University) and Nirajan KAFLE (NGMCP). A voluminous “appendix” of uncertain date is mentioned in the last lines of the ancient manuscript and often cited from the tenth century onwards: the *Niśvāsakārikā*. This appendix, which explains and elaborates the teachings of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā*, is transmitted in three corrupt transcripts that are quite different from each other, preserved at the French Institute of Pondicherry (among the manuscript holdings there that have just been recognized by UNESCO as constituting a “Memory of the World” collection). Dr. S.A.S. SARMA, Dr. Nibedita ROUT and Dr. R. SATHYANARAYANAN (all of the Pondicherry Centre of the EFEO) prepared electronic transcripts of these sources (IFP T. 17, 127 and 150).



A reading session at the workshop

The peculiarities of the *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* adverted to in the course of the workshop are too numerous to discuss, but a few notable ones may be mentioned here.

- The *Niśvāsa* devotes more attention than any other known tantra to the Atimārga (i.e. Pāśupata) context from which tantric Śaivism emerged, and reveals how close it is to this Pāśupata milieu.
- Many of the lists of theologemes or other entities fall short of expectations formed by reading other Śaiva literature: thus, in the *Niśvāsa*, we encounter only 4 *kalās* where we expect 5, thirty-two tattvas where we expect thirty-six, 2 *nāḍīs* where we expect minimally 3, and so forth.
- Several doctrinal positions that are now thought of as defining characteristics of the Śaiva Siddhānta are entirely absent from the text: there is no discussion about duality or non-duality, nor is there a single mention of the innate impurity (*mala*) that is held to cling to every soul, removable only by initiation.
- The *Niśvāsa* recognises itself as belonging to the Mantramārga (the ‘path’ of tantric Śaivism), but it does not declare itself to be a Siddhāntatantra or distinguish its own brand of tantric Śaivism from any other: it seems possible that the label ‘(Śaiva) Siddhānta’ was not known at the time of the redaction of the text.
- An unusual, and seemingly primitive, classification of three levels of *siddhi*, the attainment of which can be known by whether some object becomes warm, emits smoke, or bursts into flame, is shared by the *Niśvāsa* and, apparently alone among other Śaiva tantras, the *Brahmayāmala* (which like the *Niśvāsa* is as yet unpublished, but survives in an early Nepalese manuscript, microfilmed by the NGMPP on reel A 42/6); the same levels, and sometimes identical or nearly identical *siddhis* associated with them, are found in some Buddhist tantras, such as the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.

- Unlike most other Siddhāntatantras, and in a manner uncharacteristic of the Śaiva Siddhānta as idealised by its theologians, the *Niśvāsa* gives a great deal of space to magic recipes for attaining supernatural powers.
- The Eastern face of the five-faced Sadāśiva is, throughout the Śaiva traditions, almost invariably that of Tatpuruṣa, but in the *Niśvāsa*'s archaic iconography it is that of Ardhanārīśvara.
- The first chapter of the *Niśvāsa*'s *Nayasūtra* explains how the *sādhaka* can shape his body to form the graphs for each of the letters of the Sanskrit syllabary: we agreed that the script presupposed appeared to be North Indian of between the 5th and 7th centuries AD.

On the basis of our reading so far, we are inclined to place the earlier parts of the text between 450–550 AD. Stratification was discussed intensively; a final conclusion has not been reached on this complex topic, but there was general agreement that the *Mūlasūtra* must be the most ancient core of the text.

The following papers were delivered:—

Alexis SANDERSON (All Souls College, Oxford) ‘The *Niśvāsatattvasaṃhitā* and its Śaiva Context’ (Wednesday 3rd January)

Dominic GOODALL (EFEO, Pondicherry), using summaries supplied by Kei KATAOKA (Kyushu University, Fukuoka) ‘The Structure of the *Niśvāsa*-corpus’ (Thursday 4th January)

Jun TAKASHIMA (Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies) ‘Early History of Śaiva *mathas*—8th to 13th Century’ (Friday 5th January)

Harunaga ISAACSON (Asien-Afrika Institut, University of Hamburg) ‘Language and Formulae in the *Niśvāsa*-corpus’ (Monday 8th January)

Shaman HATLEY (University of Pennsylvania) ‘The *Brahmayāmala* and Early Śaiva Literature with Special Reference to the *Niśvāsa*’ (Tuesday 9th January)

Peter BISSCHOP (University of Edinburgh) ‘“Purāṇic” Topography in the *Niśvāsa*’ (Wednesday 10th January)

Andrea ACRI (University of Leiden) ‘Inclusivism in the *Niśvāsa* as illustrated by Chapter 12 of the *Guhyasūtra*’ (Thursday 11th January)

Diwakar ACHARYA (University of Kyoto) ‘*Pratiṣṭhā* in the *Niśvāsuḥya* and in the *Svāyambhuva*, an early unpublished source of the *Pāñcarātra*’ (Friday 12th January)

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— 2001 ‘History through Textual Criticism in the Study of Śaivism, the *Pāñcarātra* and the Buddhist Yoginī-tantras’ in *Les sources et le temps. Sources and Time. A*

colloquium. Pondicherry 11–13 January 1997, ed. François GRIMAL. Publications du département d’indologie 91. Pondicherry: IFP/EFEO. pp. 1–47.

— 2006 ‘The *Lākulas*: New Evidence of a System Intermediate Between *Pāñcārthika* *Pāśupatism* and *Āgamic Śaivism*’ in *Indian Philosophical Annual* 24 (2003-2005), pp. 143–217.

The *Ūṣmabheda* of Maheśvara (Part 2)

Oliver HAHN

In our last Newsletter (no. 2, October 2006) I presented the first part of a new edition of Maheśvara’s *Ūṣmabheda*, based on two unpublished manuscripts from the NAK and KÜMMEL’s edition. This text – which teaches the correct spelling and pronunciation of words containing the sibilants (*uṣman*) *śa*, *ṣa* and *sa* – is the third of four sections constituting the *Śabdabhedaprakāśa*, a supplement to Maheśvara’s lexicographical work *Viśvaparakāśa*.⁵ Now the second part of the *Ūṣmabheda* is presented, which covers the remaining sections of the text, listing words containing the sibilants *ṣa* and *sa*. These two portions can be analysed as follows:

i) *ṣa* as part of an initial, middle and final *akṣara* of a word (1–13); *śa* and *ṣa* occurring in a word (14); *sa* and *ṣa* occurring in a word (15–16)

ii) *sa* as part of an initial, middle and final *akṣara* of a word (1–15); *sa* in combination with consonants (16–17); twice *sa* in a word (18–19).

Thus, the words listed in the *Ūṣmabheda* are ordered according to phonetic principles.⁶ Regarding the subject matter of this little *kośa*, it can be noticed that there is quite a number of rare or even “unknown” words. Moreover, many an unknown meaning we learn from Jñānavimalagaṇi’s commentary.⁷ To mention a few examples: according to the commentator, the word *kaṣa*

⁵This text was composed in *śākasamvat* 1033, i.e. 1111 A.D. I should like to add a few facts about Maheśvara’s life and background, as given in VOGEL 1979 p. 329f.: “Maheśvara Kavi, son of Śrī Brāhma and grandson of Keśava alias Kṛṣṇa, traces his family back to one Haricandra, who was the court physician of King Sāhasāṅka and author of a lost commentary on the *Carakasamhitā*; another forefather, Śrī Kṛṣṇa by name, served as doctor to the royal household at Gādhipura. Besides the present work, he wrote a *Sāhasāṅkacarita*, which has not been handed down to us. His sources were Bhogīndra, Kātyāyana, Sāhasāṅka, Vācaspati, Vyāḍi, Viśvarūpa, the Amara- or Amalamaṅgala, Śubhāṅga, Vopālita, and Bhāguri.”

⁶Similarly, the other three parts of the *Śabdabhedaprakāśa*, namely the *Dvirūpakośa* (the *Śabdabhedā* proper), the *Oṣṭhyadantauṣṭhyavakārabhedā*, and the *Liṅgabhedā*, as well as the *Viśvaparakāśa* itself, are all arranged according to phonetic principles in the first place.

⁷Cf. VOGEL p. 331: “As the *Śabdabhedaprakāśa* seldom goes into details of meaning and the *Viśvaparakāśa* often does not help

m. (verse 11 sub *ṣa*) refers, besides its common meaning “touch-stone”, to the “world” or “cycle of rebirth” (*saṃsāra*).⁸ Two words not occurring in our dictionaries are *gīṣpāśa* n. and *dhūṣpāśa* n. (16 sub *ṣa*), meaning “bad language” and “a bad yoke” respectively.⁹ The word *sārasvata* n. (18 sub *sa*) has the additional meaning “splendour, beauty” (*tejas*).¹⁰ Moreover, a distinction is drawn between the spelling *śūrpa* n. (part 1, 7 sub *śa*) “winnowing basket” and *sūrpa* m. (4 sub *sa*), to the latter of which the meanings “snake” and “a kind of fish” are added.¹¹ Finally, the following example (4 sub *sa*) shows a striking divergency of our dictionary entries from the meanings as given by Jñānavimalagaṇi: whereas Monier-Williams (following Böhtlingk) has for *sr̥ṇi* m. “elephant-goad” (also f.), “moon” and “enemy”, and for *sr̥ṇi* f. “sickle”, the commentator assigns to this word the meanings “thunderbolt”, “sun”, “wind”, “elephant-goad”, and “fire”.¹²

Edition of the *Ūṣmabheda*, Part 2:¹³

ṣaṇḍālikāśādāvabhūṣaṇoṣaṇam¹⁴
pāṣānaroṣāṇaviṣāṇabhīṣaṇam |
pāṣaṇḍakūṣmāṇḍaniṣekamūṣikam
gaveṣitam¹⁵ niḥṣamaduhṣameṣikam¹⁶ || 1 ||

puṣpābhīṣekaūṣadhayoṣidīṣat¹⁷-

out of the problems posed thereby, numerous passages would be quite unintelligible but for the excellent scholia of Jñānavimala Gaṇi, a Śvetāmbara Jaina of the Kharataragaccha and disciple of Bhānumeru Gaṇi, who lived at Vikramanagara or Bikaner under the reign of King Rājasimha (1573–1611).¹⁸ Moreover, KÜMMEL (pp. 387–397) adds to her edition a useful index of words and meanings not occurring in the Petersburg Dictionary (and consequently not in Monier-Williams dictionary).

⁸Cf. KÜMMEL p. 156: *kaṣyate hīṃsyate 'nena kaṣaḥ, śāṇaḥ saṃsāras' ca*.

⁹Cf. KÜMMEL p. 161: *kutsitā dhūr dhūṣpāśam, kutsitā gūr gīṣpāśam*. For this use of the word *pāśa* (technically called *pāśap*) cf. also Pāṇ 5.3.47.

¹⁰Cf. KÜMMEL p. 182f.: *sarasvatyā idaṃ sārasvatam, ... tejo vyākaraṇam ca*.

¹¹Cf. KÜMMEL p. 126: *śūryate 'nena sūrpaṃ, ... dhānyādiniṣpavanabhāṇḍam* as well as p. 168: *sriyate sarati vā sūrpaḥ, bhujamgamō dhānyādiniṣpavanabhāṇḍam matsyajātiś ca*.

¹²Cf. KÜMMEL p. 166: *sarati sr̥ṇiḥ, vajram ādityo 'nilo 'rikuśo 'gniś ca*. Besides the examples mentioned here, the substantial body of words in the *Ūṣmabheda* representing botanical names and other materia medica, diseases and parts of the body, might indeed point to the medical background of Viśveśvara's family.

¹³The following abbreviations and symbols are used in the critical apparatus: N = Newari (A 18/6 and B 34/26); M = Maithili (B 14/21); E = Edition KÜMMEL; a.c. = ante correctionem; p.c. = post correctionem. A single dot (.) represents an illegible or otherwise indeterminable part of an *aḥsara*. For details regarding these manuscripts see part 1 of this edition (Newsletter no. 2, October 2006).

¹⁴°śādava° N] °śāṇḍava° E; °śāda° M.

¹⁵gaveṣitam E M] niveṣitan N.

¹⁶niḥṣamaduhṣameṣikam E M] niṣṣamaduhṣamaiṣikam N.

¹⁷°auśadha° E N] °auśadhi° M.

dr̥ṣatturāśādviṣuvanniṣedhāḥ¹⁸
duḥṣedhabhaiṣajyakaṣāyaghoṣaṇam¹⁹
hr̥ṣīkam īr̥ṣyā ca viṣādavaṣane²⁰ || 2 ||

aīṣamovarṣmabhīṣmoṣmaniṣādāśādḥagoṣpadam²¹ |
abhīṣaṅgo 'nuṣaṅgaś ca duṣkhaṃ vārdhuṣiko dviṣan || 3 ||

iṣikā²² caṣakaḥ preṣyo²³ bhāṣyam ca dhiṣaṇeṣane²⁴ |
pṛṣataḥ pariṣat parṣat tuṣāroṣaramarṣaṇam²⁵ || 4 ||

vāstoṣpatir diviṣado duṣpīdam ca bahiṣkṛtam |
niṣkuṭam²⁶ kiṣkumastiṣkam²⁷
puṣkaram duṣkareṣirau || 5 ||

turuṣkamuṣkaviṣkambhaniṣkaniṣkalapuṣkalam |
bastiṣkam baṣkayanyā²⁸ ca laṣṭeṣṭapruṣṭaviṣṭaṇam²⁹ || 6 ||
iti³⁰ madhyamūrdhanyāḥ || ||

peyūṣayūṣapīyūṣagaṇḍūṣāṅgūṣavipruṣaḥ³¹ |
vātarūṣo varūṣas³² ca khalūṣārūṣapūruṣaḥ³³ || 7 ||

hanūṣaḥ kalmaṣaḥ pūṣo 'bhīyūṣas cūṣā³⁴ manīṣayā |
heṣā hreṣā jigīṣā ca snuṣā tamiṣayā³⁵ saha || 8 ||

rohiṣo³⁶ mahiṣonmeṣapramoṣāmiṣamāriṣam |
kalmāṣoṣṇīṣakulmāṣamāṣameṣamiṣam mṛṣā³⁷) || 9 ||

kiḷbiṣam kaluṣam coṣas tāviṣam cāviṣo³⁸ viṣam |
bhaviṣi³⁹ trapuṣī roṣatr̥ṣātoṣatūṣatviṣaḥ⁴⁰ || 10 ||

abhilāṣo bhaṣo⁴¹ 'bhreṣaḥ paruṣāvyathīṣeṣavaḥ⁴² |
mañjūṣā nikaṣā dveṣo doṣa koṣaḥ⁴³ kaṣaḥ kṛṣiḥ || 11 ||

¹⁸dr̥ṣatturāśādviṣuvanniṣedhāḥ E] *dr̥ṣatturāśādviṣuvanniṣedhāḥ* M; *tr̥ṣṇatturāśā* [7 *aḥsaras* illegible] N.

¹⁹°kaṣāyaghoṣaṇam E N] °kaṣāyūṣaṇam M.

²⁰°varṣane E M] °dharṣaṇam N.

²¹°varṣma° E M] °varṣya° N. °āśādha° E N] °ādha° M.

²²iṣikā M N] *dūṣikā* E.

²³preṣyo E] *preṣo* M; *praiṣyo* N.

²⁴dhiṣaṇeṣane N] *dhiṣaṇaiṣane* E; *viṣaṇeṣane* M.

²⁵°marṣaṇam E M] °marṣaṇāḥ N.

²⁶niṣkuṭam M N] *niṣkuṭaḥ* E.

²⁷kiṣkumastiṣkam M Np.c.] *kiṣkumastiṣka°* E; *kaṣkumastiṣkam* Na.c.

²⁸baṣkayanyā em.] *baṣkayinyā* E; *baṣkayanyāś* M; *baṣkayamnyā* N.

²⁹laṣṭeṣṭapruṣṭaviṣṭaṇam M] *loṣṭeṣṭapluṣṭaviṣṭaram* E; *laṣṭeṣṭapruṣṭaviṣṭaṇam* N.

³⁰iti E N] om. M.

³¹°gaṇḍūṣāṅgūṣa° M N] °gaṇḍūṣajūṣa° E.

³²vātarūṣo varūṣas E] *vātarūṣo varūṣas* M; *vātarūṣas ca rūṣas* N.

³³°ārūṣa° E N] °ārūṣa° M.

³⁴cūṣā M N] *cūṣo* E.

³⁵snuṣā tamiṣayā M] *snuṣātiviṣayā* E; *tuṣā tamiṣayā* N.

³⁶rohiṣo M N] *rauhiṣo* E.

³⁷mṛṣā E M] *miṣā* N.

³⁸coṣas tāviṣam cāviṣo em.] *coṣas tāviṣas taviṣo* E; *coṣapṛaviṣam cāviṣo* M; *ṣeṣas tāviṣam cāviṣo* N.

³⁹bhaviṣi M N] *taviṣi* E.

⁴⁰roṣatr̥ṣā° M N] *roṣas tr̥ṣā* E.

⁴¹bhaṣo E M] *jhaṣo* N.

⁴²paruṣāvyathīṣeṣavaḥ E] *paruṣāvyathīṣevaḥ* M; *paruṣāvyaśriṣeṣavaḥ* N.

⁴³mañjūṣā nikaṣā dveṣo doṣa koṣaḥ M] *mañjūṣānikaṣadveṣadoṣaḥ koṣaḥ* E; *mañjūṣā nikaṣā doṣa dveṣo doṣaḥ* N.

uṣābuṣavṛṣavyoṣaveśās⁴⁴ tarṣajhaṣarṣayaḥ⁴⁵ |
 harṣo varṣas⁴⁶ ca saṃgharṣaḥ⁴⁷
 karṣaḥ karṣūḥ prūṣaḥ pluṣaḥ || 12 ||

ambariṣas tariṣaṃ ca kariṣaṃ⁴⁸ ca puriṣavat |
 niṣpeṣo 'lambuṣaḥ pauso ghoṣas ceṣaḥ palaṅkaṣaḥ⁴⁹ || 13 ||
 ity⁵⁰ antamūrdhanyāḥ || ||

śiṛṣaṃ⁵¹ śiṛiṣaṃ śuṣiṛaṃ śleṣaḥ śleṣmā ca śemuṣi |
 viṣeṣaḥ śoṣaṇaṃ śaṣpaḥ śiṣyaśailūṣaśauṣkalāḥ⁵² || 14 ||
 iti⁵³ tālavyamūrdhanyāḥ || ||

tālavyaśādayaḥ proktāḥ kathyante dantyaśādayaḥ |
 suṣūtiḥ suṣamā sarpiṣkulyaṃ cāpi⁵⁴ suṣuptakaḥ || 15 ||

suṣiṃmaṃ ca suṣeṇas ca suṣandhiḥ sarṣapo⁵⁵ 'pi ca ||
 iti dantyaṃmūrdhanyāḥ⁵⁶ || ||

tālavyāntās ca dhūṣpāśagīṣpāśavṛṣadamśakāḥ⁵⁷ || 16 ||
 iti tālavyāntamūrdhanyāḥ⁵⁸ || ||

iti mūrdhanyaṣakāranirdeśaḥ⁵⁹ || ||

sadyaḥ sudhāsalilasundarasinduvāra-
 sindūrasāndrasikatāsītasetusūtāḥ |
 sālūrasūrasarakasvarusaurisūri⁶⁰-
 smerasmarāḥ samarasārasamīrasīrāḥ⁶¹ || 1 ||

sauvīrasāgarasaritsutasārameyāḥ
 samvit samit sakalasilhakasauvidallāḥ⁶² |
 svādaḥ sadāsapadisūdasaraṇdasādāḥ⁶³
 svedaḥ svarāḥ savanasīvanasatrasūtram⁶⁴ || 2 ||

svāmī samaḥ samayasāmajasāmideni-

⁴⁴uṣābuṣa° N] *uṣāpūṣa°* E; *uṣāvṛṣa°* M.
⁴⁵jhaṣarṣayaḥ E] °*jhaṣajharṣayaḥ* M; °*bhaṣarṣayaḥ* N.
⁴⁶varṣas E M] *varṣas* N.
⁴⁷saṃgharṣaḥ M] *saṃgharṣaḥ* E N.
⁴⁸ambariṣas tariṣaṃ ca kariṣaṃ M] *ambariṣaṃ kariṣaṃ ca tariṣaṃ* E; *antarīṣān tariṣāṇ ca kariṣāṇ* N.
⁴⁹ceṣaḥ palaṅkaṣaḥ E]; *ceṣaḥ palaṅkaṣāḥ* M; *ceṣapalaṅkaṣāḥ* N.
⁵⁰ity E N] om. M.
⁵¹śiṛṣaṃ E N] *śiṣaṃ* M.
⁵²śaṣpaḥ śiṣya° N] *śiṣyaḥ śaṣpa°* E; *śaṣpaḥ śiṣyaḥ* M.
⁵³iti E] om. M N.
⁵⁴suṣūtiḥ suṣamā sarpiṣkulyaṃ cāpi em.] *suṣūtiḥ suṣamā sarpiṣkalpaṃ cāpi* E; *suṣūtiḥ suṣamā sarpiṣkulyaṃ cā* M; *suṣūtiṣu-māsarpiṣkulyaṃ cāpi* N.
⁵⁵suṣandhiḥ sarṣapo N] *suṣavī sarṣapo* E; *suṣandhiḥ sarṣapo* M.
⁵⁶iti dantyaṃmūrdhanyāḥ E] *dantamūrdhanyāḥ* M; *iti dantamūrdhanyāḥ* N.
⁵⁷gīṣpāśa° E N] °*śiṣpāśa°* M.
⁵⁸iti tālavyāntamūrdhanyāḥ E] *tālavyāntamūrdhanyāḥ* M; om. N.
⁵⁹iti mūrdhanyaṣakāranirdeśaḥ N] *iti mūrdhanyabhedaḥ* E; *mūrdhanyānirdeśaḥ* M.
⁶⁰sālūra° E M Np.c.] *sālūra°* Na.c. °*svaru°* M N] °*svara°* E.
⁶¹samīra° E M] °*sarīra°* N.
⁶²sauvidallāḥ E M] °*sauvidarlāḥ* N.
⁶³sadaḥsaraṇdāḥ E] °*saḥsaraṇdāḥ* M; °*saraṇdasādāḥ* N.
⁶⁴svedaḥ svarāḥ savanasīvanasatrasūtram] *svedaḥ svarāḥ savanasīvanasatrasūtram* N.

somāḥ⁶⁵ samūhasamavāyasamudrasāmi⁶⁶ |
 sīmantasīmasīmasūmasamānasuhmāḥ⁶⁷
 sūkṣmaṃ samūḍhasaraṭasvanasāntasūnu⁶⁸ || 3 ||

sāyaṃ⁶⁹ sṛṇiḥ saraṇisārathisikthasakthi-
 svārthāḥ⁷⁰ sahācarasamājasamikasūryāḥ⁷¹ |
 svairam saraḥ sacivasūcanasūcisavya⁷²-
 sevyāni⁷³ sadmasadanam⁷⁴ syadasūpasūrpāḥ⁷⁵ || 4 ||

syālah⁷⁶ smitaṃ sāyakasaktusetu⁷⁷-
 sindhutsarusruksahadevasargāḥ⁷⁸ |
 sekasrajau sevakasevasantaḥ
 sattvaṃ ca sātīś ca sakhā sukham⁷⁹ ca || 5 ||

sanātanasyanandanasādhanāni
 saṅkārāsairayakasarpasarpīḥ⁸⁰ |
 sasāvarau sūnṛtasamparāyau⁸¹
 sarvvaṃ ca sāksī savitā ca sṛkvi⁸² || 6 ||

sairandhrī⁸³ ca sinīvalī sāmpratam svapnasāikatam⁸⁴ |
 snāyuh snehaḥ snuḥi⁸⁵ saṃghaḥ
 saraghā⁸⁶ saurabham sabhā || 7 ||

ity⁸⁷ ādyadantyaḥ || ||

vāsarāsārakāsārakesaratrasarāsūrāḥ⁸⁸ |
 vesavāraḥ parisaro masūrāḥ kusumāsanam || 8 ||

prāsādāpasadāsandīvyāsaṅgāsravadasyavaḥ⁸⁹ |
 prasūnam prasavo⁹⁰ vāsyam⁹¹
 āsyam prasabharāsabhau || 9 ||

⁶⁵somāḥ E M] °*somaḥ* N.
⁶⁶sāmi E] °*sāli* M; °*sāmīḥ* N.
⁶⁷sīma° E N] om. M. °*suhmāḥ* E N] °*svargga°* M.
⁶⁸svanasāntasūnu em.] °*stanasānusūnu* E; °*svanasāntasūnuḥ* M; °*svanasāntasūnuḥ* N.
⁶⁹sāyaṃ M N] *sphālah* E.
⁷⁰svārthāḥ M N] °*sārthāḥ* E.
⁷¹samikasūryāḥ N] °*sāmīkasūryāḥ* E; °*samikasūrpāḥ* M.
⁷²savya° M N] °*sāci°* E.
⁷³sevyāni M N] °*savyāni* E.
⁷⁴sadanam N] °*sadana°* E M.
⁷⁵sūpasūrpāḥ E] °*sūpasarpāḥ* M; °*sūyasarpāḥ* N.
⁷⁶syālah M N] *sāyah* E.
⁷⁷setu° M N] °*senā°* E.
⁷⁸sindhutsarusruk° M] *sindhutspharasruk°* E; *sindhutsarusrū°* N.
⁷⁹sahadeva° E N] °*sahedeva°* M.
⁸⁰sattvaṃ ca sātīś ca sakhā sukham E M] *satvaṃ ca sātīśavakaś ca sukhāsukhaṇ* N.
⁸¹sarpa° N] °*sajja°* E; °*sarja°* M.
⁸²samparāyau M N] °*saṃkulau* ca E.
⁸³sṛkvi E] *sṛkviḥ* M; *sṛkṣiḥ* N.
⁸⁴sairandhrī E N] *sairindhrī* M.
⁸⁵sāmpratam svapnasāikatam M] *sāraṅgasvapnasāmppratam* E; *sāmpratam svapnasāikatam* N.
⁸⁶snehaḥ snuḥi E] *snehaḥ snūḥi* M; *snehasnuḥi* N.
⁸⁷saṃghaḥ saraghā N] *sahyaḥ saraghā* E; *saṃghaḥ sarabhyā* M.
⁸⁸ity E N] om. M.
⁸⁹āsāra° E N] °*āsārasa°* M. °*kesaratrasarāsūrāḥ* M] °*kesaraprasarāsūrāḥ* E; °*kesaratrasarāsūrāḥ* N.
⁹⁰āpasadā° E N] °*āyasadā°* M.
⁹¹prasūnam prasavo E M] *prasūdanaṃsavo* N.
⁹²vāsyam M] *lāsyam* E N.

avasannaṃ⁹² kisalayaṃ⁹³ kusūlaṃ ca vikasvaram |
masṛṇaṃ prāsani vāsi⁹⁴ bhasmākasmikaghasmarāḥ || 10 ||
amāvasyā⁹⁵ pratisaraḥ prasāro 'vasaro 'pi ca |
vasantaś ca musāras⁹⁶ ca prasaraś⁹⁷ ca rasāñjanam || 11 ||
vasudhā vyavasāyāsravasanavyasanāni⁹⁸ ca |
tamisraṃ vāsrghasrosrājasravISRambhavasītāḥ⁹⁹ || 12 ||
iti¹⁰⁰ madhyadantyāḥ || ||
kailāsalālasakilāsavilāsalāsa¹⁰¹-
karpāsahāsakṛkalāsanivāsanāsāḥ |
nyāsāmsamāmsamasikikasakaṃsahamsa¹⁰²-
dhvamsabhakumsapanasāsuvaprayāsāḥ¹⁰³ || 13 ||
niryāsaprāsabībhatsottamśālasamalīmasāḥ¹⁰⁴ |
kumbhīnasas¹⁰⁵ tāmarasaṃ vāsaś camasacikkasau || 14 ||
vyāsāvabhāsadivasasurasārasavāyasāḥ¹⁰⁶ |
vāhasaḥ paṭṭisocchvāsamāsāsīmīpukasāḥ¹⁰⁷ || 15 ||
iti antyadantyāḥ¹⁰⁸ || ||
mṛtsnācīkītsāpsaraso¹⁰⁹ bubhutsur
viditsitaṃ matsaravatsaraṃ ca |
vātsyāyanotsāraṇamatsyaditsu-
gutsotsavotsāhavidhitsukutsāḥ || 16 ||
kṛtsnaṃ ca lipsur utsrṣṭam utsanirbhartsanotsavaḥ¹¹⁰ |
bībhatsā vipśitābhīrtsusamutsekotsukā¹¹¹ api || 17 ||
iti saṃyuktadantyāḥ¹¹² || ||
saṃsārasārasasarīrīpasasyasāsnā¹¹³-
sārasvatāni sarasī ca¹¹⁴ samañjasaṃ ca |

⁹²avasannaṃ N] avasāyāḥ E; avasannaḥ M.

⁹³kisalayaṃ E M Np.c.] kasalayaṃ Na.c.

⁹⁴masṛṇaṃ prāsani vāsi E] masṛṇaṃ prāsani vāsi° M; aṣṛṇaṃ prāsani vāsi N.

⁹⁵amāvasyā E N] amāvasyāṃ M.

⁹⁶musāras N] masāras E; susāras M.

⁹⁷prasaraś N] māsurī E; masāras M.

⁹⁸vasudhā vyavasāyāsravasanavyasanāni M] vasudhādhyavasāyāsravasanavyasanāni E; vasudhā vyavasāyāsravasanam vyasanāni N.

⁹⁹vāra° E] vāsa° M; vārasa° N. °ghasrosrā° E N] °ghasro 'srā° M.

¹⁰⁰iti E N] om. M.

¹⁰¹kailāsa° E N] vailāsa° M.

¹⁰²nyāsāmsa° E N] vyāsāsa° M.

¹⁰³prayāsāḥ E N] °pravāsāḥ M.

¹⁰⁴bībhatsottamśā° N] °vītamśottamśā° E; °bībhatsauttasā° M.

¹⁰⁵kumbhīnasas N] vāsā vīsaṃ E; kumbhīrasas M.

¹⁰⁶surasārasavāyasāḥ N] °sārasaurasavāyasāḥ E; °surasārāsavāsarasāḥ Ma.c. °surasārāsavāyasāḥ Mp.c.

¹⁰⁷paṭṭisocchvāsa° M N] paṭṭiseṣvāsa° E. °pukasāḥ M N] °bukkasāḥ E.

¹⁰⁸iti antyadantyāḥ E] antyadantyāḥ M; iti antadantyāḥ N.

¹⁰⁹mṛtsnā° E] mṛtsā° M; vāsas N.

¹¹⁰utsanirbhartsanotsavaḥ E] atsunirbhartsanotsavāḥ M; atsunirbhartsanotsadāḥ N.

¹¹¹bībhatsā vipśitābhīrtsusamutsekotsukā E] bībhatsavīpsitāsavatsamutsekotsakāḥ M; vatsas cārīpsitātīyutsamutsekotsakā N.

¹¹²iti saṃyuktadantyāḥ E] saṃyuktadantyāḥ M; iti saṃyuktadantyāḥ N.

¹¹³°sasarī° E N] °sarasī° M. °sāsānā° E N] °sāsānā° M.

¹¹⁴ca E N] va M.

svasrā ca¹¹⁵ sāhasasahasrasahaḥsamāsa¹¹⁶-
sāmastyasamsaraṇasīsakasamsanāni¹¹⁷ || 18 ||

sasyakaḥ sādhyasaṃ saṅkasukaḥ sārāsanaṃ tathā |
amī dantyadvayopetā ūsmabhede 'tra darśitāḥ¹¹⁸ || 19 ||

ity ūsmabhedaḥ samāptaḥ¹¹⁹ || ||

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A Parallel Edition of the Nepalese and South Indian Recensions of the First Act of the Kundamālā (Part I)

Csaba DEZSÓ*

The Manuscripts of the two Recensions The *Kundamālā*, a play in six acts based on the *Uttarakāṇḍa* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was first published by M. Ramakrishna Kavi and S. K. Ramanath Sastri in 1923. The editors used two manuscripts from Tanjore and two from Mysore, and they also consulted two more fragmentary manuscripts in private collections (these fragments, however, cannot be traced today). Four more editions appeared until 1955, all based on the *editio princeps*, and an English translation by A. C. Woolner was also published in 1935.

Kali Kumar Dutta's critical edition was printed as No. XXVIII of the Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series in 1964 (reviewed by J. R. A. Loman in *JAOS* 86.2, 1966). For his edition Dutta could use the same manuscripts that had been available to the first editors (except for the two fragments that could not be located):

¹¹⁵ca E N] va M.

¹¹⁶°sahaḥsamāsa° E N] °samāsasāma° M.

¹¹⁷°sīsakasamsanāni M] °sīsakasamsanāni (which is unmetrical) E; °sīsakasamsanāni N.

¹¹⁸amī dantyadvayopetā ūsmabhede 'tra darśitāḥ E M] amī dantyadvayo py etā ūsmabhedapradarśitāḥ N.

¹¹⁹samāptaḥ N] om. E M. The colophon of N reads thus: *śreyo 'stu || samvat 541 dvirāṣāḍhaśuddhi 15 tad eva tithau sampūrṇaṃ yathā dṛṣṭam tathā likhitam lekhako nāsti doṣaḥ ||* ❀ *|| śubham astu sarvāvānītam ||* ❀ *||*. This date corresponds to the full moon day, July the 15th, 1421 A.D. (for the calculation of this date I am grateful to Dragomir Dimitrov, Marburg).

*I thank Prof. Harunaga Isaacson for commenting on an earlier draft of this paper.

- T₁: Tanjore MS in Grantha script (cat. no. 10676)¹
- T₂: Tanjore MS in Telugu script (cat. no. 10675)
- M₁: Mysore MS in Grantha script (cat. no. SP 2763)
- M₂: Mysore MS in Kannada script (cat. no. SB 758)

Both of the Tanjore MSS lack the *prastāvanā* and a portion of the first act. Dutta thinks the Telugu MS may be a copy of the Grantha one.² The Mysore MSS are also incomplete: the last part of the first act, the whole of the second and portions of the third and sixth acts are missing. The Kannada MS might be a copy of the Grantha one, or both might be copies of a third manuscript, at least according to Dutta.³

In September 2000 I ordered microfilm copies of manuscripts of various dramas from the National Archives in Kathmandu. Among these was one entitled *Kuṇḍamālānāṭaka* (sic) (reel no. B 15/6), which turned out to be an incomplete manuscript of the first act of the *Kundamālā*. It is a palm-leaf MS written in Newari script, consisting of twelve folios (ff. 2–13; fol. 1 is missing) with four lines per page. It lacks most of the *prastāvanā*, the last few words of the first act and the colophon (if there was one). I have given this manuscript the *siglum* N₁.

There are two more relevant entries in the title-list of the NGMPP which escaped my attention in 2000: one *Kuṇḍamālā* (sic), reel A 1027/11, classified as *stotra*, and another one *Kundamālā*, reel A 24/13. When I was able to consult them a few months ago, it turned out that they are actually independent microfilms of the same palm-leaf manuscript in Newari script, which contains a bundle of various works written down by a scribe called Rāmagupta. A 24/13 has 63 folios (ff. 1–63), while A 1027/11 only contains the last fourteen leaves (ff. 50–63). The following works make up the manuscript: Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgyasataka* (ff. 1–18r), *Mohamudgara* (ff. 18r–31r), *Vyāsaśukasamvāda* (ff. 31r–50r), *Kundamālā* Act One (ff. 50r–60v), *Hariharastava* (ff. 60v–63r), and *Pañcavaktrastuti* (ff. 63r–63v). My *siglum* for this manuscript is N₂.

Two separate colophons give us as the date in which Rāmagupta copied the MS N.S. 551,⁴ during the reign of Jayayakṣamalla,⁵ in the town of Śikharā (Pharping), where Nāthasiṃha was the lord.⁶ He seems to have copied the first act of the *Kundamālā* upon the request of Nāthasiṃha.⁷

¹I could collate this manuscript directly since a (not easily legible) microfilm copy is available to me. The readings of the other Southern MSS I quote from Dutta's apparatus.

²DUTTA p. 10.

³DUTTA *ibid.*

⁴F. 49r: *nepāle vatsaragate śaśivāṇabhūte jyēṣṭhe*: May–June 1431 A.D., f. 60r: *nepāle śaśivāṇabhūtasahite yāte ca samvatsare āṣāḍhe*: June–July 1431 A.D.

⁵F. 49r: *śrī-śrīmaj-Jayayakṣamalla devasya vijayarājye*.

⁶F. 49r: *tasyāṃ nagaryāṃ suvī*śuddhakṛtīḥ* (em. : °śuddhaḥ kṛtīḥ ms.) *śrīNāthasiṃho madanāvatarāḥ*...

⁷F. 60v: *ājñāvacanam ākarṇya (?) Nāthasiṃho nareśvaraḥ*

Collation of the two manuscripts reveals them to be very closely related. In fact N₂ may well be an apograph of N₁; or both may have been copied from the same exemplar. Since N₂ contains the closing words of Act One (which are missing from N₁), but nothing after that, N₁ (or their common hyparchetype, if they had one) might have only contained the first act of the play, which would mean that only the first and last folios of N₁ are missing. Rāmagupta is not the most careful of scribes; he often omits one or two *akṣaras*, but he also often corrects his mistakes. We should be grateful to him, however, for copying the text, since in this way the Prologue has been preserved, and as one expects in the case of a classical Indian drama, the *prastāvanā* provides important details about both the play and the playwright.

The Author of the Play: Dhīranāga from Anurādhapura

The name of the author of the *Kundamālā* has been the subject of debate since the publication of the *editio princeps*. According to the text of the Mysore MSS the *sūtradhāra* announces the play as follows: *ādiṣṭo 'smi pariṣadā — tatrābhavato 'rārālapuravāstavyasya kaver Diṇnāgasya kṛtīḥ Kundamālā nāma, sā tvayā prayoktavyeti*.⁸ This means the author was called Diṇnāga, and he was from Arārālapura. On the strength of this reading, and on the basis of a manuscript of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* in which the *juvālevordhvavisarpiṇī*-verse of the *Kundamālā* is quoted and attributed to Diṇnāga, Kavi and Sastri, the first editors of the play, concluded that the author's name was Diṇnāga.⁹ Dutta also brings up exhaustive (though not necessarily convincing) arguments in favour of the name "Diṇnāga".¹⁰

Though the Prologue has not been preserved in the Tanjore MSS, their colophons supply information about the author. The colophon of T₁ reads: *āndhrapuristhastā¹¹ kaveḥ Dhīranāgasya kṛtī¹² Kundamālā nāma nāṭakaṃ samāptam*; T₂ has the following colophon: *anūrādhāsya kaveddhīranāgasya kṛtī Kundamālā nāma nāṭakaṃ samāptam*.¹³ Following this evidence several scholars (P. P. S. Sastri, M. Krishnamachariar, A.C. Woolner, etc.) were inclined to ascribe the play to Dhīranāga.

As for Arārālapura, the first editors could not identify it with any known place, and, taking also into consideration the colophons of the Tanjore MSS, they suggested that it might be an erroneous reading for Anurādhapura in Ceylon.¹⁴

(read: *Nāthasiṃhān nareśvarāt?*) | *likhitam Rāmaguptena Sītānirvāsaśāstrakaṃ* ||

⁸DUTTA's ed., p. 1.

⁹KAVI-SASTRI p. iii.

¹⁰DUTTA pp. 19ff.

¹¹This is what Dutta reports. I can read (with difficulty) the following on the microfilm: *anra(?)purastha(?)sya*.

¹²One can perhaps see a *ḥ* after *kṛtī* on the microfilm.

¹³DUTTA's ed., p. 110.

¹⁴KAVI-SASTRI p. vi.

The matter is further complicated by the testimonia of works which refer to or quote from the *Kundamālā*. The *Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa* cites verse 20 of Act Four and ascribes it to Dhīranāga.¹⁵ The *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* mentions a *Kundamālā* “composed by Vīranāga”.¹⁶ The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* quotes the *jvālevordhvavisarpiṇī*-verse and attributes it to Ravināga.¹⁷ If we compare all these names, there is a possibility that through progressive corruption Dhīranāga was changed to Vīranāga and that to Ravināga.

Rāmagupta’s manuscript throws new light upon this matter. The above quoted sentence of the Prologue reads in N₂ as follows: *ājñāpito ’smi pariṣadā — *tatrabhava-to (conj. : bhavato N₂) ’nurādhapuravāstavyasya kaver Dhīranāgasya kṛtīḥ Kundamālā nāma, sā tvayā prayoktavyeti*. The beginning of N₂’s colophon after the first act of the *Kundamālā* confirms the information given by the Prologue: *iti Kundamālānko nāma *saṃdarbhaḥ (em. : sandabbhaḥ N₂) samāptaḥ. kṛtir iyaṃ kaver Dhīranāgasya*.

Thus we have the evidence of a Nepalese MS, the Tanjore MSS, and the *Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa*, possibly corroborated (though in an indirect way) by the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, against that of the Mysore MSS and a certain, unidentifiable MS of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*. On the whole it seems more probable that the author of the *Kundamālā* was called Dhīranāga rather than Diñnāga, and, accepting the evidence of N₂, he might indeed have been a Ceylonese from Anurādhapura, as the first editors suggested.¹⁸

The date of the *Kundamālā* has also been a subject of controversy. Since Bhoja quotes verse 20 of Act Four in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*,¹⁹ the first half of the eleventh century might be regarded as a *terminus ante quem*.²⁰ Woolner and others (e.g. S. K. De, V. V. Mirashi) consider the *Kundamālā* later than Bhavabhūti’s *Uttararāmacarita*.²¹ Dutta, on the other hand, argues for a much earlier date and places Dhīranāga in the fifth century.²²

Differences Between the Two Recensions; the Prologue In the title of this paper I refer to two recensions of the *Kundamālā*, which requires some comment. As the parallel edition will show, the text of the *Kundamālā* as

¹⁵SRK verse 764, cf. MIRASHI p. 288.

¹⁶*Nāṭyadarpaṇa* p. 43: *Vīranāganibaddhāyāṃ Kundamālāyāṃ*.

¹⁷*Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (ed. Banerji) verse 56 (p. 18); this edition of the SKA reads *tarunāṃśu*, which is probably a typo.

¹⁸F. W. Thomas, and, following him, K. K. Dutta also pointed out stylistic similarities between Kumāradāsa’s *Jānakīharāṇa* and the *Kundamālā* which might also suggest a Ceylonese authorship of the latter (cf. DUTTA, p. 44f).

¹⁹Raghavan’s ed. p. 480.

²⁰An earlier testimony might be that of the *Mahānāṭaka* which quotes the same verse in both of its recensions. The date of the *Mahānāṭaka*, however, is also controversial, it might have been redacted in the court of king Bhoja.

²¹Cf. DUTTA Part I, p. 52, MIRASHI pp. 292ff.

²²Cf. DUTTA Part I, p. 154.

transmitted by the Nepalese MSS differs in many places from the text as edited by Dutta on the basis of South Indian MSS. The majority of these differences cannot be explained away as mere corruptions resulting from scribal errors, and the parallel passages that diverge both in the choice and the arrangement of words stand as independently interpretable alternatives.

As Dutta’s edition is based on Grantha MSS and on other manuscripts written in Southern scripts probably based on them, we may regard his text as representing the Southern recension of the *Kundamālā*. The recension transmitted by N₁ and N₂ is termed “Nepalese” in this paper. N₁ is altogether a more reliable witness, and N₂’s readings are of real use only for reconstructing the passages missing from N₁, i.e. most of the Prologue and the last few words of the first act. In some cases I could not extract a satisfactory meaning from the text transmitted by the Nepalese MSS and had to suppose that N₁ and N₂ share an error or an omission: in such instances I resorted to emendation, taking into consideration the reading of the other recension.²³

In two cases Dutta also rejected the readings offered by the manuscripts and adopted the readings of the testimonia as better ones: verse 1 (v. 2 in his numbering): *saha*^o instead of *sadā*^o, and verse 5 (v. 6 in his numbering): *vānīra*^o instead of *nīvāra*^o. Since he aimed to reconstruct the text of the *Kundamālā* as its author had composed it, his decisions were probably justified. Nevertheless, since I am reproducing the text of the *Kundamālā* as it was transmitted in the South, in both cases I have restored the readings of the manuscripts, because they have an interpretable meaning. This policy is certainly debatable, especially since in each case it is not difficult to trace how the reading changed through mistakes made in the course of transmission, and thus it is possible that the reading of the manuscripts does not reflect the intention of the transmitters. On the other hand, even though these readings may well have resulted originally from scribal error, they are meaningful, and they might have been part of the text of the play as it was known in the South.

Since we are dealing with a literary work composed by a single author there is a question that necessarily arises: is it possible to determine which recension is closer to the

²³E.g. in verse 2 I cannot interpret *adhigarvvagurvūṃ*, the reading of the Nepalese MSS, while the Southern recension gives a satisfactory reading: *api garbhagurvūṃ*, which in fact might have been corrupted to what we have in N₁ and N₂. In 2+ (just before verse 3) both MSS read *kriyamānam*, a shared mistake which also shows how closely they are related. Similarly in verse 4 both N₁ and N₂ read ^o*kanikā*. In 4+ the Nepalese MSS read *tat pramādam* ^{*}*āsthāyāvataratv* (N₁ : *āsthāvataratv* N₂) *āryā*, where *pramādam* is probably an error for *prapādam*, which is the reading of the Southern recension; similarly in 5+ the reading *asahāyaparicchadāḥ* of the Nepalese MSS has probably been corrupted from *asamhāryaparicchadāḥ*. In verse 6 the Nepalese MSS read *vīramati*, which seems incapable of yielding appropriate meaning, while the *ramayati* of the Southern recension suits the context well.

text of the drama as it was composed by Dhīranāga? If we compare the texts of the two recensions with quotations from the play found in *subhāṣita*-collections and in works on dramaturgy and poetry we will find that the readings of these *testimonia* either agree with or are at least closer to the text of the Nepalese recension.²⁴ This means that the text of the Nepalese recension is probably closer to the text of the *Kundamālā* as it was known to Vidyākara, the compiler of the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* (c. 1100 A.D.), to Śrīdharadāsa, the compiler of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (1205/6 A.D.), to Śāradātanaya, the author of the *Bhāvaprakāśana* (13th century), to Sāgaranandin, the author of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (13th century?), and to Viśvanātha, the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (14th century) than that of the Southern recension. Considering the places of composition of the above mentioned works their authors were possibly acquainted with a Northern / North-Eastern recension of the play, which was probably not far removed from the text of the *Kundamālā* as it was transmitted in Nepal. But this does not answer the question whether the Nepalese recension is closer to the original composition of a Ceylonese playwright than the Southern one.

I am not certain that this question can be answered in a general way, but by comparing the texts of the two recensions we might make a few observations concerning certain passages. To begin with the Prologue, we find that the Nepalese recension conforms to the convention found mostly in manuscripts from the Northern regions of South Asia, inasmuch as it begins with a benedictory verse (*ḥvāle-vordhvavisarpiṇī...*) which is followed by the stage direction *nāndyante sūtradhāraḥ*, introducing the opening speech of the Director, whose first words are *alam ativistareṇa*.²⁵ This kind of Prologue is usually called *prastāvanā* (sometimes *āmukha*) in the texts, and the Nepalese recension also uses this term.

The Southern recension, not surprisingly, follows the tradition of its own provenance: the Director, whose entry is introduced with the stage direction *nāndyante tataḥ*

²⁴Cf. verse 1 (*ḥvāle-vordhvavisarpiṇī...*) and 1+ (*ko nu khalv āryāhvānena...*), 3+ (*vaccha Lakṣhaṇa, adisaagarua...*), verse 5 (*vāmena vānīram*), verse 11 (*guṇānviteti*). Cf. however verse 1, where the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* reads °*tuṅga*° instead of °*toya*° read by both recensions and by the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, and verse 2, where the reading of the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* (*vijane vane 'smin*) differs from both recensions. It is interesting to note that the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa* refers to the first act of the *Kundamālā* with the title *Sītānirvāsa* (§§ 1644, 3089f.), just as the colophon of N₂ (f. 60v: *Sītānirvāsaśāstrakam*).

²⁵Cf. the northern recensions of Kālidāsa's, Viśākhadatta's, Haṛṣa's, and Bhavabhūti's plays. As for the phrase *alam ativistareṇa*, STEINER (p. 80) concludes that it was not part of the original text of the *Nāgānanda* (though it occurs in the Northern recension and can be traced in the Tibetan translation; the Nepalese MS lacks this part); it is also missing from the oldest MSS of the *Mālatīmādhava*, and COULSON remarks (p. 234) that it is "a phrase which copyists might introduce even if it were not there".

praviśati sūtradhāraḥ, recites the benedictory verse (*ḥvāle-vordhvavisarpiṇī...*), and then continues without saying *alam ativistareṇa* (he would actually cut short himself with this expression).²⁶ What makes the Prologue of the Southern recension unusual is the presence of a verse before the stage direction *nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ*. This verse, an invocation to Gaṇeśa, does not appear in the Nepalese recension and its introduction in the Mysore MSS (the Tanjore MSS are not available for this part) upsets the expected structure of the Prologue. It seems conceivable that it was not part of Dhīranāga's original work but was added later in the course of transmission; it might have been inserted by a scribe as a *maṅgala*-verse appropriate at the commencement of his task.

To decide whether the Nepalese or the Southern version of the Prologue is Dhīranāga's would involve a long digression into the vexed question of the origin and structure of the *prastāvanā*, which I would prefer to avoid in this paper. There is one additional point, however, which may be worth considering. The kind of Prologue we find in the Southern recension is usually called *sthāpanā* in other texts.²⁷ Yet the Mysore MSS of the *Kundamālā* call it *prastāvanā*. This might suggest that an originally "prastāvanā-style" Prologue (like that of the Nepalese recension) was recast in the course of transmission according to the Southern conventions.

There are several Sanskrit passages after the Prologue which differ and are worth comparing in the two recensions, and I am going to return to some of them in the second part of this paper.

The Prakrit of the Two Recensions Sītā, in accordance with the rules of *nāṭyaśāstra*, speaks Śaurasēnī in the *Kundamālā*, but her Prakrit passages differ in several respects in the two recensions:

— The Nepalese MSS show certain features of Śaurasēnī to a greater extent than the Southern recension. In Old Śaurasēnī intervocalic *-t-* and *-th-* were not dropped²⁸, similarly to Pali in which intervocalic mutes are retained.²⁹ Unvoiced consonants in free positions are found in such forms as *kathaṃ*, *ssakaṃ* and °*mettakeṇa* in the Nepalese MSS, while the Southern recension reads *kahaṃ*, *saṃ* and °*mettaeṇa*. The Prakrit grammarians prescribe

²⁶Cf. for example the Prologues of the so-called Bhāsa-plays, the *Caturbhāṇī*, the *Vīṇāvāsavadattā*, the *Mattavilāsaprahasaṇa*, as well as the Southern MSS of Kālidāsa's plays, the *Nāgānanda* (cf. STEINER p. 77), etc.

²⁷There are exceptions, e.g. in certain MSS of the *Karṇabhāra* we find the term *prastāvanā* at the end of its Prologue (the other so-called Bhāsa-plays use *sthāpanā*). On the other hand, in other MSS of the same play the entire Prologue is omitted, and the *Abhijñānaśākuntalacarcā* also confirms there was no introductory scene in the original *Karṇabhāra* (cf. UNNI, pp. 54f).

²⁸Cf. VON HINÜBER §86.

²⁹Cf. GEIGER §35.

the change of Sanskrit intervocalic *-t-* and *-th-* into *-d-* and *-dh-* in Śaurasenī (cf. PISCHEL §203, (Pseudo-)VARARUCI 12.3, HEMACANDRA 4.260, 267). Accordingly we find forms like *bhaavadī*, *Bhāvradhī*, °*sīdalassa*, *jādo*, *tadhā*, *jadhā*, *kadhehi*, *aṇādhā*, °*kosalādhiva* in the Nepalese MSS, while in the Southern recension we read *bhaavaī*, *Bhāvraī*, °*sīalassa*, *jāo*, *taha*, *jaha*, *kahehi*, *aṇāha*, *kosalāhiva*. Hemacandra, however, also permits such forms as *kahedi*, *ṇāho* and *kahaṃ* (beside *kadhedi*, *ṇādhō* and *kadhāṃ*), and in the Śaurasenī passages of the so-called Bhāsa-plays we also find e.g. *kahedi*.³⁰

— Intervocalic consonants are often retained at the boundaries of words in compounds in the Nepalese MSS, e.g. *jalakaṇiā*, *ssajaṇa*, *uttarakosalādhiva*, *pādajuapari-ssamassa*.³¹

— Another peculiarity of the Śaurasenī passages of the Nepalese MSS is the reappearance of an initial consonant group in an assimilated form at the beginning of a word,³² e.g. *ssajaṇa*, *ppavāso*, *ssadhamme*, *ppaḍimāgado* (in these cases the double consonants are preceded by short vowels or *-o*); the corresponding words begin with a single consonant in the Southern recension (*saṇa*, *sadhamme*, *paḍimāgado*). The same kind of double initial consonants can be observed in the Prakrit passages of the fourteenth-century palm-leaf MS in Newari script of the *Rāmāṅkanāṭikā* (reel no. C 6/9, NAK accession no. 9/73), a play written by Dharmagupta, a fourteenth-century Nepalese court-poet,³³ and in the fourteenth-century Nepalese MS of the *Sundarasena*, a play probably written in Nepal in the same century.³⁴ The same phenomenon can be observed in some compounds in both recensions, thus we read *taṭappadesādo* in the Nepalese recension and *taḍappapādādo* in the Southern. This can be compared with Hemacandra's optional rule (2.97), according to which both *naigāmo*, *kusumappayaro*, *devathuī* and *naigāmo*, *kusumapayāro*, *devathuī* are acceptable forms. Interestingly in one case it is the Southern recension which reads °*ppariṣa*° while in the Nepalese MSS we find °*pariṣa*°, though in the latter case it follows a word ending in a long vowel (°*kaṇiā*°) which might explain the lack of reduplication.³⁵

³⁰Cf. VON HINÜBER §§ 86, 187.

³¹Interestingly in one case the Souther MSS show a reading where the intervocalic consonant is retained in a compound: *itthījanassa*, while it is dropped in the Nepalese MSS: *itthīṇassa*.

³²Cf. VON HINÜBER §162: "Im Anlaut können im M[jittel]i[ndisch] nur einfache Konsonante stehen. Doppelkonsonanten werden wie im Inlaut assimiliert (§225f.) und vereinfacht. [...] Umgekehrt kann in enger syntaktischer Verbindung auch im Anlaut Doppelkonsonanz erhalten bleiben: *na-ccaje*, Ja V 340,5*; *na-ssarati*, Vin IV 4,5; *na-kkhamati*, Vin I 56,24." Further examples from Pali are cited in GEIGER §74.

³³E.g. fol. 5v: *ppiasahi* (first word of the sentence!), fol. 6r: *tattha ppadhāṇa*°, *āgamaṇe ppaḍivāḍe*, *abbhantare ppaḍivāḍemha*, etc.

³⁴Cf. DEZSŐ 2005(2), p. 185: *ppaṇāmo*.

³⁵Actually T₁ reads °*pariṣuha*°. Cf. PISCHEL § 195: JM. *namō-*

— Sanskrit *eva* becomes *jjeva* after *-o* and *-a*, and *jeva* after *-ṃ* in the Nepalese MSS of the *Kundamālā*, similarly to the Nepalese MS of the *Caṇḍakauśika* (written in Newari script in 1250 A.D.), the Nepalese MS of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (dating from 1376 A.D.),³⁶ and the above mentioned fourteenth-century MS of the *Rāmāṅkanāṭikā*, which read *jjeva* in the majority of cases besides *jeva* in a few instances. As for the Prakrit grammarians, Pseudo-Vararuci teaches in 12.23 *evasya jjeva* (v.l. *jjeva*), and Mārkaṇḍeya prescribes the form *jjeva* (9.153), or *jeva* / *jeva* when it follows and *anusvāra* (9.154);³⁷ Hemacandra, Puruṣottama and Namisādhu, however, teach *yyeva*,³⁸ and the same form predominates in the twelfth-century Nepalese MS of the *Nāgānanda*,³⁹ as well as in the Jaina *nāgarī* MSS of the *Āgamaḍambara*.⁴⁰ Steiner considers *yyeva* as the older form, which, however, was gradually replaced by *j(j)eva*, as the plays preserved in inscriptions dating from the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, which only know the forms beginning with *(j)j-*, also indicate.⁴¹

In the Southern recension of the *Kundamālā* we find *evva* and *eva* in the Prakrit passages, which accords with Trivikrama's (a Southern grammarian's) rule *evārthe evva* (3.2.18). In the so-called Bhāsa-plays *evva* prevails beside *eva*.⁴²

— In the Nepalese MSS *ajjāutta* is the Śaurasenī equivalent of Sanskrit *āryaputra*, while the Southern recension has *ayyautta*.⁴³ The so-called Bhāsa-plays also read *ayya* in the Śaurasenī passages.⁴⁴ The North and Central Indian recensions of the *Nāgānanda* print *ajja*, while the Southern one knows only *ayya*, which is also the predominant form in the twelfth-century Nepalese MS of

kkāra Ś. *sassirā*; § 196: M. *mahisakkhandha*, Ś. *pariggahida*; § 311: AMg. *dupparisa*, M. AMg. JM. Ś. *parōppara*.

³⁶Cf. STEINER p. 206f.

³⁷Cf. STEINER p. 200.

³⁸Cf. STEINER pp. 199f.

³⁹Cf. STEINER p. 200.

⁴⁰Cf. DEZSŐ 2005(1), Full Annotation, p. 3 (note to 1.42.)

⁴¹Cf. STEINER p. 206.

⁴²Cf. STEINER *ibid*.

⁴³As Dutta reports (Part One, pp. 144ff., Appendix I, p. 5) the Southern manuscripts actually write a small circle between two *a*-s. "°*a* *auttassa*" stands evidently for the Skt. 'āryaputrasya', says Dutta, and continues: "Evidently this word represents either 'ayyautta' or 'ajjautta' available in Skt. dramas. But it is not clear which one was actually used by the playwright. Instead of running the risk of taking liberty with the text, we retained the word as it has been found in the mss. though apparently it seems to be meaningless." (DUTTA, Appendix I, p. 5.) Actually Dutta prints *amaūtta* with an *anusvāra* in the text which is surely misleading. Esposito encountered the same orthographical peculiarity in the MSS of the so-called Bhāsa-plays, and pointed out the following: "PISCHEL § 284 nimmt an, daß die Schreibweise *a°a* einen Laut zwischen *ajja* und *ayya* bezeichnen soll [...]. Die Lesart *ayya* für *a°a* kann aber durch die Schreibweise der ersten Art von Mss. als gesichert gelten." (ESPOSITO p. 95, note 17.) Accordingly I changed Dutta's *amaūttas* to *ayyaūttas* in the text of the Southern recension.

⁴⁴Cf. STEINER p. 175.

the play.⁴⁵ On the other hand, the early thirteenth-century inscription of the *Pārijātamañjarī-nāṭikā* has only *ajjāutta*, just as the Nepalese MSS of the *Caṇḍakauśika* from the same century,⁴⁶ and the above mentioned fourteenth-century Nepalese MSS of the *Sundarasena* and *Rāmāṅkanāṭikā*. As Steiner points out, “Spätestens im 13. Jh. scheint sich jedoch — zumindest im Norden — -jj- im Schauspiel-Prakrit bzw. in dessen Überlieferung durchgesetzt zu haben.”⁴⁷

— For Sanskrit *hā dhik* we find the standard Śauraseni form *haddhī* in the Southern recension of the *Kundamālā*.⁴⁸ The Nepalese MSS, however, consistently write *haddī*, which might be another Nepalese peculiarity, since we find the same *haddī* in the above mentioned fourteenth-century MS of the *Rāmāṅkanāṭikā* (e.g. fol. 34r).

To sum up, both recensions seem to follow the characteristic features of the MSS of their provenance in the transmission of the Prakrit passages. I did not mention the practice of *yaśruti* in the above comparison since its occurrence or omission in a particular MS does not seem to depend on the age of the play or that of the MS or on the recension.⁴⁹ There is a very close relation between the two Nepalese MSS of the *Kundamālā*, N₂ is possibly a direct copy of N₁, nevertheless N₂ shows a distinct preference for *yaśruti*, while N₁ avoids it. Since N₁ (when available) practically always gives better readings, I have also adopted its “no *yaśruti*” policy.

Though it is difficult to say whether Dhīranāga himself preferred *yyeva* to *jjeva*, *kadhehi* to *kahehi*, or *ayya* to *ajja*, in some of the Prakrit passages we can determine which recension gives a better reading. In 3+ Dutta rejects *kedūre*, the reading of the Tanjore MSS and the *Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa*, as “definitely a corrupt reading”.⁵⁰ The Nepalese MSS, however, also support *kedūre*, which is in fact a possible form on the analogy of *kēcciraṃ*, in which *ke* stands for Sanskrit *kiyat*.⁵¹

In 4+ Sītā says she has been refreshed by the wind blowing from the Ganges. The Nepalese recension reports her words as follows: *suṭṭhu vuttam, edassa jalaka-ñiāparisasuhasīdalassa Gaṃgāmarudassa āvādamettaeṇa jjeva pādajuaparissamassa parikkhao jādo*. This reading

⁴⁵Cf. STEINER p. 173.

⁴⁶Cf. STEINER p. 176.

⁴⁷Cf. STEINER p. 177.

⁴⁸Cf. PISCHEL § 71.

⁴⁹Pace Dutta who writes (Part One, p. 149): “[T]here is a preponderance of *ya-śruti* in the *Kundamālā* though forms without *ya-śruti* are not unknown to it. The existence of doublets, i.e. the same word spelt with ‘y’ and also without ‘y’ eliminates the possibility of these being the doings of scribes. Because, in that case they could do it uniformly either way. It, therefore, seems to be highly probable that the author of the *Kundamālā* flourished at a time when the practice of doing away with the *ya-śruti* in the MSS. of dramas was not yet firmly established though it had set out to work.”

⁵⁰DUTTA Appendix I, p. 4.

⁵¹Cf. PISCHEL § 149.

is simple and easily interpretable. In the Southern recension the corresponding passage runs as follows: *saṃpadaṃ jaṇaṇīkarapparisasuhāsīdalassa Bhāīraītarāṃgamārudassa pariṣeṇa pariṣsamassa via pāvassa parikkhao jādo*. This reading contains two comparisons: the wind from the Ganges is “as gentle and cool as the touch of a mother’s hand”, and due to the touch of the wind “misfortune, like fatigue, has dissolved”. The Southern MSS seem to offer a more poetic reading which might be regarded as more suitable for a good *kavi*. The readings *jalakañiā°* and *jaṇaṇīkara°* seem to be close enough to suppose that textual corruption (e.g. the transposition of the *akṣaras ka* and *ṇi/ī*) might have also taken part in the change of one reading to the other. The wind spraying around cool droplets has just been mentioned in the preceding verse (*śītās taraṅgakaṇīkā vikirann*), and later in verse 6 we again read about breezes cooled by droplets of water (*salīlakaṇīkāśītamarutas / sajalakaṇīkāḥ śītamarutas*). Sītā’s words according to the Nepalese MSS would fit perfectly in this context. On the other hand, the simile of the Southern recension might also seem appropriate if we recall that Sītā is going to become a mother soon (it was her *dohada* to visit the Ganges).

The other comparison in the Southern recension (*parissamassa via pāvassa*) is not as easy to interpret.⁵² The cool wind has relieved Sītā’s weariness, but what *pāpa* has it removed? Sītā is still unaware of her banishment. It is perhaps conceivable that *pāvassa* resulted from the change of a reading similar to the *pāda°* of the Nepalese recension, the meaning of which suits the context well (“the weariness of my feet has been relieved”).

Thus refreshed, Sītā would like to descend to the river and asks Lakṣmaṇa for help. Again the reading of the Nepalese MSS appears to be more logical: *tā imādo taṭappadesādo jadhā aparissantā vāvadaramī tadhā ādesehī me maggaṃ*, vs. *tā imādo taḍappapādādo jaha pariṣantā odarāmī taha ādesehī me maggaṃ* in the Southern recension.⁵³

When Lakṣmaṇa finally comes forward with the message that Rāma has ordered someone to be banished (6+), Sītā most logically asks in the Nepalese recension whose banishment he is talking about (*kassa?*). Dutta follows the Mysore MSS in reading *kahaṃ samādiṭṭho*, but the Tanjore MSS have *kaṃsa* which supports the reading of the Nepalese recension, especially if the circle read as *ṇ* by Dutta actually doubles the following *s*.

In 10+ *viṇā vi ṇānuggihida mhi*, the reading of the Nepalese MSS, is again supported by the Tanjore MSS (*vi-ṇānugahida hmi* T₁, *vinānugahīdasi* T₂). Dutta probably adopted the reading of the Mysore MSS, but it is perhaps conceivable that *viṇā ṇigahida* was a correction of *viṇā-*

⁵²T₁ actually seems to read °*sāla* □ *sa vi pāvassa* (*p* cancelled?) *vi*.

⁵³T₁ actually reads *jahāpari* □.

ṇugahida, which in turn had arisen through haplography from *viṇā vi ṇānugahida*.⁵⁴

In verse 12 Lakṣmaṇa assures Sītā that she has been completely exonerated in front of the sages, guardian deities, her husband and Lakṣmaṇa himself, but there is still something which results in Sītā's banishment and which, according to the Nepalese recension, he is ashamed to speak about (*lajjāṃ nāṭayati*). Sītā presses him to tell her what this "but" is (*kadhehi kiṃ kiṃ tu?*), and finally Lakṣmaṇa blurts it out: "People are uncontrollable (*loko nirāṅkuṣaḥ*)". In the Southern recension it is Sītā who appears to be ashamed when she urges Lakṣmaṇa, but her bashfulness does not really match her behaviour. On the other hand Lakṣmaṇa has every reason to be embarrassed and fall silent in mid-sentence.

In Sītā's following lamentation the Nepalese recension reads *vaccha, jāi evaṃ uvālaṃbhīa ajjāṭṭeṇa pariccattā ahaṃ tā suṭṭhu pariccatta mhi*, while the text of the Southern recension seems to be *evaṃ pariccattā supariccattā mmi*. Dutta actually prints *evaṃ pariccattā! ṇu pariccattā mmi*, but if we examine his apparatus we find some readings which, on the one hand, make more sense, and, on the other hand, are relatively closer to the Nepalese recension: the Tanjore MSS also read *vaccha* as the first word of the sentence, and the Mysore MSS have *supariccattā*, comparable with *suṭṭhu pariccattā* above.⁵⁵ It is perhaps conceivable that Dhīranāga originally wrote something like *vaccha, evaṃ pariccattā su(tṭhu) pariccattā mhi*, which was later supplemented with what we have in the Nepalese recension, but this is just hypothesizing.⁵⁶

According to the Nepalese recension Sītā considers it appropriate to give up her life once her husband has abandoned her, but then she thinks she should protect the child of that merciless man, and consequently spare her defamed self as well. In the Southern recension Sītā first seems hesitate whether it is appropriate to put an end to herself, and then she raises the question if she should spare herself in order to see Rāma's child.⁵⁷ Since Lakṣmaṇa's reaction in both recensions is "I am obliged", it is more probable that Sītā finally decided to spare herself.

Then Lakṣmaṇa conveys Rāma's message to Sītā, in which Rāma assures his wife of his fidelity (verse 13). She replies that even the pain caused by her abandonment has been removed by this message. The reason she gives for this has been interpreted in several ways.⁵⁸ Dutta reads *ṇa hi taha aṇṇā sattā paṇṇo itthiāṇassa dukkhaṃ uppā-*

dedi jaha aṇṇāsatto, and interprets as follows: "It is quite in the fitness of things according to the Indian genius that any other woman devoted to or enamoured to the husband does not cause so much affliction to a woman as it causes an unbearable heartburn to the wife when the husband becomes himself attracted to another woman."⁵⁹

I am not that confident about what suits more the "Indian genius", but perhaps the reading of the Nepalese MSS offers another possible interpretation: *ṇa tadhā aṇṇāttā paṇṇo itthiāṇassa dukkhaṃ uppādaanti jadhā aṇṇāsattā*, that is "husbands dependent on others do not cause so much pain to women as those attached to other [women]." With this Sītā seems to say (perhaps with a hint of irony) that although Rāma can be influenced in his decisions by what other people think and say, at least he is not attached to another woman.

Lakṣmaṇa asks Sītā what kind of message she will send back to Rāma. She first asks him to request the ladies in the court to give her their blessing: *āsīsappadāṇeṇa ajjāhiṃ aṇugahidavva mhi*, as we read in the Nepalese MSS. The Southern recension, at least as it is printed, has at this point *a savvahā hīaṇa ayyāhiṃ aṇugahidavvetti*. T₁, however, seems to read *āsīsappadaṇeṇa ayyāhiṃ aṇugahidavvetti*, which is not very far from the Nepalese recension.

Sītā is not too willing to send any message to her husband, but Lakṣmaṇa's request should not be denied, at least she does not have the courage to refuse it, as the Nepalese recension reads: *ṇa hi Sīdāe dhiṭṭhattaṇaṃ*. This reading perhaps suits the context better than that of the Southern recension: *ṇa Sīdāe dhaṇṇattanaṃ*, "Sītā is unfortunate". In the Nepalese recension Sītā sends Rāma the following words: *maṃ maṃdabhāiṇiṃ aṇusoamto vaṇṇāssamaparivālaṇamahagghaṃ appāṇaam mā *bādhehi* (conj. : *bādhesi* N₁ N₂), "You are a very important person because you protect the [order of] castes and life-stages, so do not torment yourself with mourning me, an unfortunate woman." In the Southern recension we read: *maṃdabhāiṇiṃ aṇusoamto vaṇṇassamaparipālaṇaṃ ahigghaṃto attāṇaṃ ṇa bādhehi*, "Do not torment yourself with mourning an unfortunate woman, thus frustrating the protection of the [order of] castes and life-stages". The reading *maṃ maṃdabhāiṇiṃ* is perhaps better, the Southern version can be explained with haplography. As for the difference between °*mahagghaṃ appāṇaam* and °*m ahigghaṃto attāṇaṃ*, the readings of the Southern MSS are worthwhile to have a closer look: T₁ is hardly legible at this point, but perhaps it reads *mahagghaṃ(?) a(?)ttāṇaṃ*. Dutta reports T₂ as *mabhassaṃ attāṇi*, and M₂ as *mahaṃghatta*, which all point in the direction of the Nepalese reading.⁶⁰

⁵⁴Cf. PISCHEL § 564.

⁵⁵Dutta actually reports that the sentence *ṇu pariccattā mmi* is omitted in the Tanjore MSS, which means that the reading he adopted might be his own emendation.

⁵⁶In the same passage *ugghosiādi*, the reading of the Nepalese recension, is supported by the Tanjore MSS' *ubbosiādi* / *uposīadi* (Dutta reads *uvvādiādi*, probably with the Mysore MSS).

⁵⁷This is the reading the Tanjore MSS seem to suggest, but one could select differently from the *ṇus* and *ṇas* of the MSS.

⁵⁸Cf. DUTTA Appendix I, pp. 5f.

⁵⁹DUTTA Appendix I, p. 6.

⁶⁰In the same sentence T₁ reads *sarīre* with the Nepalese recension. Dutta prints *sasarīre* and reports no variants.

In the following parallel edition of the first half of Act One of the *Kundamālā* (the second half will appear in the second part of this paper), the left column contains the text of the Nepalese recension and the right column the text of the Southern recension. From Dutta's critical apparatus I have only reproduced the testimonia and those variant manuscript readings which might be important for the reconstruction of Dhīranāga's work.

I have also pored over a microfilm copy of T₁, one of the Tanjore MSS. Unfortunately this manuscript has turned out to be full of errors and *lacunae*, and the copy I have is also not an easily legible one. Nevertheless I have noticed some readings which differ from what Dutta reports in his apparatus and which are comparable with the readings of the Nepalese recension: these are recorded in the apparatus below the text of the Southern recension. As for the readings of the other Southern MSS I have relied upon Dutta's apparatus.

Jambhārimaulimandāra-
mālikāmadhucumbinaḥ
pibeyur antarāyābdhim
Herambapadapāmsavaḥ.

0

(*nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāraḥ.*)

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ:

jvālevordhvavisarpiṇī pariṇata-
syāntastapastejaso
Gaṅgātoyatarāṅgasarpavasatir¹
valmīkalakṣmīr iva
sandhyevārdramṛṇālakomalatanor²
indoḥ sadāsthāyini²
pāyād vas taruṇāruṇāṃśukapilā³
Śambhor jaṭasantatiḥ.⁴

1

¹jvālevordhvavisarpiṇī pariṇata-
syāntastapastejaso
Gaṅgātoyatarāṅgasarpavasatir
valmīkalakṣmīr iva
sandhyevārdramṛṇālakomalatanor²
indoḥ sahassthāyini
pāyād vas taruṇāruṇāṃśukapīśā
Śambhor jaṭasamḥatiḥ.

(*nāndyante*)³ SŪTRADHĀRAḤ:

alam ativistareṇa. ājñāpito 'smi pariṣadā — tatrabhavato⁴ 'nurādhapuravāstavyasya kaver Dhīranāgasya kṛtiḥ
N₂:50v Kundamālā nāma, *sā tvayā prayoktavyeti. tad asya sandarbhasya sāvicyavidhāyinīm āryām āhūya raṅgabhūmim avatarāmi. (*iti parikramati.*)

(*nepathye:*)

ita ito 'vataratv⁵ āryā, ita itaḥ.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ (*ākarmya*):

aye! ko nu⁶ khalv āryāhvānena sāvāyākam iva me sampāda**yati*?⁷ (*vilokya sakaruṇam*) kaṣṭam atikaruṇam⁸ vartate.

Laṅkeśvarasya bhavane
suciraṃ sthiteti
Rāmeṇa lokaparivā-

ādiṣṭo 'smi pariṣadā—tatrabhavato 'rārālapuravāstavyasya kaver Dīnnāgasya kṛtiḥ Kundamālā nāma, sā tvayā prayoktavyeti. tad yāvad asya sandarbhasya prayoga-sāvicyavidhāyinīm āryām āhūya raṅgabhūmim avatarāmi.

(*nepathye:*)

ita ito 'vataratv āryā.

SŪTRADHĀRAḤ:

aye! ko nu khalv āyam āryāsamāhvānena sāvāyākam iva me sampādayati? (*vilokya*)⁵ kaṣṭham bhoḥ! kaṣṭam bhoḥ! atikaruṇam vartate.⁶

Laṅkeśvarasya bhavane
suciraṃ sthiteti
Rāmeṇa lokaparivā-

¹*N₂ incipit*: om namo nāṭyeśvarāya. jvālevorddha°... (Nepalese manuscripts from all periods usually write *urddha* rather than *urdhva*.)

²°ārdra°] *em.*, °ādra° *N₂*

³nāndyante] *em.*, nādyante *N₂*

⁴tatrabhavato] *conj.*, bhavato *N₂*

⁵'vataratv] *em.*, bhavataratv *N₂*

⁶ko nu] *conj.*, tat ko 'nu *N₂*

⁷The first folio of *N₁* is missing, fol. 2 begins with *yati. vilokya...*

⁸atikaruṇam] *conj.*, ati° *N₁* *N₂*

¹°toya°] *mss.* SKA DUTTA, °tuṅga° SRK

²sadā°] *mss.*, saha° SRK SKA DUTTA

³°kapilā] *mss.* SKA DUTTA, °kapīśā SRK

⁴°santatiḥ] *mss.* DUTTA, °samḥatiḥ SRK SKA

⁵ko nu khalv...] *cf.* SD (p. 338): ko 'yam khalu āryāhvānena sāvāyākam *apī (*v.l.* iva) me sampādayati? (*vilokya*); NLRK (quoted by DUTTA): ka eṣa āryāhvānena me sāvāyākam ivācarati? (*nirūpya*)

⁶kaṣṭam...] *cf.* SD (p. 338) NLRK (quoted by DUTTA): kaṣṭam atikaruṇam vartate.

dabhayākulena
nirvāsītām janapadād
apī garbhagurvīm⁹
Sītām vanāya parika-
rṣati Lakṣmaṇo 'yam.

(*iti niṣkrāntaḥ. prastāvanā.*)

(*tataḥ praviśati sūtādhiṣṭhitarathaṃ Sītām āropya La-
kṣmaṇaḥ.*¹⁰)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: ita ito 'vataratv āryā, ita itaḥ. etāni nitā-
ntagahanatarulatāpratānasamruddhatayā na rathaprave-
śayogyāni Bhāgīrathīkānanāni.

SĪTĀ: vaccha Lakkhaṇa, adisaappaūttaturamgamaveasa-
muddhure¹¹ edassim radhavare kkhaṇaṃ pi ṇa sa*ma-
ttha¹² mhi āsaṇaṃ dhāreduṃ. kiṃ¹³ uṇa avataridum.¹⁴
N₂:51r (vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, atīśayapravṛttaturamgamavegasamu-
ddhura etasmin rathavare kṣaṇaṃ api na samarthāsmy
āsaṇaṃ dhārayitum, kiṃ punar avataritum.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: ārya Sumantra, atirabhasapravṛddhavega-
tayā alakṣitasamaviṣamās tu*raṅgamā Gaṅgāprapāte ka-
dā cit syandanam api pātayanti. tat turaṅgamaniyame
N₁:2v yatnaḥ kriyatām.

SUMANTRAḤ: ete kriyamāṇam¹⁵ api yatnam ativarta-
nte¹⁶ gāndharvapriyā vājinaḥ. paśya—

amī patadbhiḥ śravaṇeṣu mandam
vikṛṣyamāṇāḥ kalahaṃsagītaiḥ¹⁷
anāśravāḥ pragrahasaṃyamasya¹⁸
turaṅgamās tūrṇataram prayānti.

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: tathāpi sarvātmanā kriyatām yatnaḥ.

SUMANTRAḤ: yathājñāpayati¹⁹ kumāraḥ. (*iti rathāka-
rṣaṇam abhinīya*) āyuṣman, eṣa sthito rathaḥ. avataratu
devī.

(*iti Sītā-Lakṣmaṇau rathāvataraṇaṃ nāṭayataḥ.*)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: ārya Sumantra, dīrghādhvapariśrāntās tu-
raṅgamāḥ, tad etān viśrāmaya. (*iti samjñāṃ dadāti.*)

N₂:51v SUMANTRAḤ: ya*thājñāpayasi. (*iti*²⁰ *niṣkrāntaḥ.*)

dabhayākulena
nirvāsītām janapadād
apī garbhagurvīm⁷
Sītām vanāya parika-
rṣati Lakṣmaṇo 'yam.

(*iti niṣkrāntaḥ. prastāvanā.*⁸)

(*tataḥ praviśati rathādhirūdhā Sītā sārathir Lakṣmaṇas
ca.*)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: ita ito 'vataratv āryā. etāni gahanatarula-
tāpratānasamruddhatayā rathāpraveśayogyāni Bhāgīra-
thītirākānanāni. tad avataratv āryā.

SĪTĀ: vaccha Lakkhaṇa, adippaūttaturamgamaveakaṃ-
piadehā ettha ṇa pāremi samṭhādum, kiṃ puṇa oda-
ridum. (vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, atīpravṛttaturamgamavegaka-
mpitadehātra na pārayāmi samsthātum, kiṃ punar ava-
taritum.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: Sumantra, nanu turaṅgamaniyamane kri-
yatām yatnaḥ.

SUMANTRAḤ: kriyamāṇam api⁹ yatnam ativartante gā-
ndharvapriyā vājinaḥ. tathā hi—

amī patadbhiḥ śravaṇeṣv amandram¹⁰
vikṛṣyamāṇāḥ kalahaṃsanādaiḥ
anāśravāḥ pragrahasaṃyamasya
turaṅgamās tūrṇataram prayānti.

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: Sumantra, atirabhasapravṛttavegatvād a-
nālakṣitasamaviṣamās turaṅgamā Gaṅgāprapāte syanda-
nam vinipātayanti, tat sarvātmanā kriyatām yatnaḥ.

(*Sumantraḥ rajjvākarsaṇam abhinayati.*)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: eṣa sthito rathaḥ. tad avataratu devī.¹¹

(*Sītā avatārya parikrāmati.*)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: Sumantra, dīrghamārgapariśrāntā ete tu-
raṅgamāḥ. tad viśrāmayaītān.

SUMANTRAḤ: yad ājñāpayati devaḥ. (*iti ratham adhi-
ruhya niṣkrāntaḥ.*)

⁹api garbhagurvīm] *conj.*, adhigarvvagurvīm *N₁ N₂*

¹⁰lakṣmaṇaḥ] *N₁*, lakṣmaḥ *N₂*

¹¹°samuddhure] *N₁*, °samuddhare *N₂*

¹²samattha] *N₁*, samastha *N₂*

¹³kiṃ] *N₁* ki *N₂*

¹⁴avataridum] *N₁*, avatadam *N₂*

¹⁵kriyamāṇam] *em.*, kriyamānam *N₁N₂*

¹⁶ativartante] *N₁*, ativartate *N₂*

¹⁷kalahaṃsa°] *N₁*, kalaha° *N₂*

¹⁸°saṃyamasya] *N₁ N₂^{pc}*, °saṃyasya *N₂^{ac}*

¹⁹yathājñāpayati] *N₁*, yathājñāpati *N₂*

²⁰°payasi. iti] *em.*, °payasiti *N₁ N₂*

⁷nirvāsītām... °gurvīm] *mss.* SD (p. 338), nirvāsītām patigrhād
vijane vane 'smin NLRK (quoted by DUTTA)

⁸prastāvanā] *M₁ M₂* DUTTA, sthāpanā *previous editions*

⁹kriyamāṇam api] "Tanjore mss. begin herefrom." (DUTTA) [T₁
begins with *ṇam api*.]

¹⁰amandram] DUTTA (*M₂*), amadam *M₁*, mantrata *T₁*, mantram
T₂. "The text here is mutilated in Tanjore scripts." (DUTTA)

¹¹*Sumantraḥ ... devī*] DUTTA (*T₂?*), SUMANTRAḥ (*rajjvāka-
rṣaṇam abhinīya*): eṣa sthito rathaḥ. tad □ *T₁*, SUMANTRAḥ (*ra-
jjvākarsaṇam abhinīya*): eṣa sthito rathaḥ. tad avataratu devī. *M₂*,
Sumantraḥ rajjvākarsaṇam abhinayati *M₁*, "the port[ion] following
it is mutilated" (DUTTA)

N₁:3r LAKṢMAṆAḤ: i*ta ita āryā. ita itaḥ. (*iti parikrāmataḥ.*)
 LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*svagatam*): ādiṣṭo 'ham āryeṇa, athavā svāminā: "vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, devyāḥ kila Sītāyā Rāva-
 ṇabhavanāvasthānād acāritryam utpannam. tataḥ pau-
 rāṇām anyādṛśā eva pralāpāḥ śrūyante. tan na yuktaṃ
 kalatramātrasya kṛte 'smākaṃ śaraccandra-nirmalasye-
 kṣvākuvamśasya kalaṅkam utpādayitum. Sītayā cāhaṃ
 gurviṇībhāvasulabhena²¹ dohadena Bhāgīrathīdarśanaṃ
 praty abhyarthitaḥ.²² tasmāt tvam anenaiva vyājena Su-
 mantrādhiṣṭhitaratham āropya kutra cid vanoddeśe²³ tām
 parityajya nivartasveti." so 'ham idāniṃ mandabhāgyaḥ
 svajanabandhunirviśāṅkāṃ devīm ādāya gṛhaharīṇīm iva
N₁:3v vadhyabhūmiṃ parityāgāya vanam u*pagataḥ.

N₂:52r SĪTĀ: vaccha Lakkhaṇa, adisaagaruagabbhabharuvvaha-
 ṇaparissantā ṇa vahanti me ca*laṇā.²⁴ tā aggado bhavia
 niruvehi dāva kedūre bhaavadi²⁵ Bhāiradhi tti.
 (vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, atīśayagurukagarbhabharodvahanapa-
 riśrāntau na vahato me caraṇau. tad agrato bhūtvā nirū-
 paya tāvat kiyaḍḍure bhagavatī Bhāgīrathīti.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: ārye, nanv āsannataravartiniṃ Gaṅgeti
 rathād avatāritāsi. tad alaṃ viśādena. saṃprāptā eva
 vayam. paśya,

ādāya paṅkajavanān
 makarandagandhaṃ²⁶
 karṣan²⁷ nitāntamadhurān
 kalahaṃsanādān
 śītās taraṅgakaṇikā²⁸
 vikirann upeto
 Gaṅgānilas tava sabhā-
 janakāṅkṣayeva.

N₁:4r SĪTĀ (*sparśaṃ nāṭayanti*): suṭṭhu vuttam, edassa jalaka-
 ṇīpāparisasuhasīdalassa²⁹ Gaṃgāmarudassa āvādamettae-
 ṇa jjeva pādajuaparissamassa³⁰ parikkhao jādo. tadhā vi
 dohadaku*dūhaleṇa Gaṃgāvagāhane adhiṃ samucch-
 hedi me sarīram. tā imādo taṭappadesādo jadhā aparis-
 santā vāvadarāmi tadhā ādesehi me maggaṃ.
 (suṣṭhūktam, etasya jalakaṇikāsparsāsukhaśītalasya Gaṅ-
 gāmarutasyāpātāmātreṇaiva pādāyugapariśramasya pari-
 kṣayo jātaḥ. tathāpi dohadakutūhalena Gaṅgāvagāhane
 adhikaṃ samutsukayati (?) me sarīram. tad asmāt taṭa-
 pradeśād yathā aparīśrāntā vyāvatarāmi (?) tathādesāya
 me mārgam.)

²¹gurviṇī°] *N₁* *N₂^{pc}*, gurvi° *N₂^{ac}*

²²praty abhyarthitaḥ] *N₁* *N₂^{pc}*, pratyarthitaḥ *N₂^{ac}*

²³vanoddeśe] *conj.*, vanopadeśe *N₁* *N₂*

²⁴calaṇā] *N₁*, calanā *N₂*

²⁵bhaavadi] *N₁*, bhayavadi *N₂*

²⁶gandham] *N₁*, °gandha *N₂*

²⁷karṣan] *N₁*, karṣam *N₂*

²⁸kaṇikā] *em.*, °kanikā *N₁* *N₂*

²⁹kaṇiā°] *N₁*, °kaṇiyā° *N₂*

³⁰jua°] *N₁*, °juyala° *N₂*

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*parikramya ātmagatam*): samādiṣṭo 'ham
 āryeṇa, athavā svāminā: "vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, devyāḥ kila
 Sītāyāḥ Rāvaṇabhavanāsamsthānāc cāritram prati sam-
 utpannavimarśānām paurāṇām anyādṛśāḥ pralāpāḥ pra-
 vartante, tan na śaknōmi Sītāmātrasya kṛte śaraccandra-
 nirmalasyekṣvākukulasya kalaṅkam utpādayitum. Sītayā
 cāhaṃ garbhīṇībhāvasulabhena dohadena Bhāgīrathīdar-
 śanaṃ praty arthitaḥ.¹² tasmāt tvam anenaiva Gaṅgā-
 gamanavyājena Sumantrādhiṣṭhitaṃ ratham āropya kas-
 miṃś cid vanoddeśe parityajya nivartasveti." tad aham
 api svajanavisrambhanirviśāṅkāṃ devīm ādāya gṛhahari-
 ṇīm iva vadhyabhūmiṃ vanam upanayāmi.

SĪTĀ: vaccha¹³ Lakkhaṇa, adisaīdagabbhabharuvvahaṇa-
 parissantā¹⁴ ṇa ppahavaṃti me calaṇā. tā aggado bhavia
 niruvehi kīsadūre¹⁵ bhaavaī Bhāiraī vaṭṭadi tti.
 (vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, atīśayitagarbhabharodvahanapariśrā-
 ntau na prabhavato me caraṇau. tad agrato bhūtvā nirū-
 paya kiyaḍḍure bhagavatī Bhāgīrathī vartata iti.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: nanv āsannaiva bhagavatī Bhāgīrathī, tad
 alaṃ viśādena. saṃprāptā eva vayam. paśya,

ādāya paṅkajavanān
 makarandagandhān
 karṣan nitāntamadhurān
 kalahaṃsanādān
 śītās taraṅgakaṇikā
 vikirann upaiti
 Gaṅgānilas tava sabhā-
 janakāṅkṣayeva.

4

SĪTĀ (*sparśaṃ nāṭayati*): saṃpadam¹⁶ jaṇaṅkarappari-
 sasuhuśālassa¹⁷ Bhāiraītaraṃgamārudassa parisēṇa pa-
 rissamassa via pāvassa¹⁸ parikkhao jāo, taha vi dohada-
 kudūhalaṃ Gaṅgāvagāhane maṃ samussāhedi. tā imādo
 taḍappapādādo jaha parissamṭā¹⁹ odarāmi taha ādesehi
 me maggaṃ.

(sāmprataṃ janāṅkarasparśāsukhaśītalasya Bhāgīrathī-
 taraṅgamārutasya sparśeṇa pariśramasyeva pāpasya pa-
 rikṣayo jātaḥ. tathāpi dohadakautūhalaṃ Gaṅgāvagāha-
 ne māṃ samutsāhayati. tasmāt taṭaprapātād yathā pari-
 śrāntāvatarāmi tathādesāya me mārgam.)

¹²praty arthitaḥ] *M₂*, pratyasthitaḥ (?) *T₁*, prārthitaḥ DUTTA (*M₁* *T₂*?)

¹³vaccha...] cf. NLRK (quoted by DUTTA): vaccha Lakkhaṇa, adisaam garuam gabbhabharam vahanacchamā ṇa (*v.l.* vahanam macchana / manthapa(?) ṇa) vahanti me calaṇā. tā aggado bhavia niruvehi dāva kedūre bhaavadi Bhāiradhi tti.

¹⁴adisaīda°] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), adisaā°] *T₁*

¹⁵kīsadūre] DUTTA (*M₁* ?), kedūre *T₁* *T₂*, kedrute *M₂*

¹⁶saṃpadam] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), ettha *T₁*

¹⁷pparisasuha°] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), °parisuha° *T₁*

¹⁸sīala°... pāvassa] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), °sīala ⊔ sa vi pāvassa (*p* cancelled?) vi *T₁*

¹⁹jaha parissamṭā] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), jahāpari ⊔ *T₁*

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*puro nirdīśya*): ārye, atyantavihitaduḥṣaṅcāratayā³¹ duravatāro 'yaṃ taṭapradeśas,³² tat prapadam³³ āsthāyāvataratv³⁴ āryā. paśya,

N₂:52v *vāmena vānīram imaṃ kareṇa
jānuṃ samālambya ca dakṣiṇena
pade pede me padam ādadhānā
śanaiḥ śanair etu muhūrtam āryā.

SĪTĀ (*yathoktam parikramya*): suṭṭhutarāṃ pariṣaṃta³⁵ mhi, tā pādavadale muhuttaṃ uvavisia³⁶ viṣamissaṃ. (suṭṭhutarāṃ pariśrāntāsmi, tat pādapatāle muhūrtakam upaviśya viśramiṣyāmi.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: yad abhirucitaṃ devyai.

(*ity ubhāv upaviśataḥ. Sītā viśrāmaṃ nāṭayati.*)

N₁:4v LAKṢMAṆAḤ: a*ho! asaṃhāryapariśchadāḥ³⁷ sukṛtinaḥ. tathā hi,

taraṅgā vījante
salilalakaṇikāśītamārutas,³⁸
tathaite saṅgītaṃ
dadhati kalahaṃsāḥ kalagiraḥ,
sakhīva cchāyeyaṃ
ramayati³⁹ pariśvajya hr̥dayaṃ:
vane śūnye 'py asmin
parijanavatīvātrabhavati.

SĪTĀ: jadhā⁴⁰ bhaṇidaṃ kumāreṇa, ssaṇamajjjhagadāe⁴¹ via ettha ahiramadi me hiaaṃ. (yathā bhaṇitaṃ kumāreṇa, svajanamadhyagatāyā ivātrābhīramate me hr̥dayam.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*svagatam*): eṣā viśrāntā sukhopaviṣṭā devī. tad ayam evāvasaraḥ. bhavatu, yathāsthitaṃ āvedayāmi.

N₂:53r (*i*ti pādayoḥ praṇipatyā prakāśam*) ayam anavaratasvajana-pravāsaduḥkhasaṃvibhāganirlakṣaṇo Lakṣmaṇo vijñāpayati, tat sthīrīkriyatām⁴² hr̥dayam.

N₁:5r SĪTĀ (*sasambhramam*): vaccha, avi kusalaṃ⁴³ *ajjaūttassa?

(vatsa, api kuśalam āryaputrasya?)

LAKṢMAṆA (*nirdīśya*): atyantaviśrāntamanuṣyasamcāratayā duravatārās taṭapradeśāḥ. tasmāt prapadam āsthāya samyak

vāmena nīvāralatām²⁰ kareṇa
jānuṃ samālambya ca dakṣiṇena
pade pede me padam ādadhānā
śanaiḥ śanair etu muhūrtam āryā.

5

SĪTĀ (*yathoktam avatīrya*): vaccha,²¹ suṭṭhu pariṣaṃtaṃmi. etassiṃ pāvaccchāyāe²² muhuttaṃ upavisia viṣsamissaṃ.

(vatsa, suṭṭhu pariśrāntāsmi. etasyāṃ pādapaccchāyāyāṃ muhūrtam upaviśya viśramiṣyāmi.)

LAKṢMAṆA: yad abhirucitaṃ devyai.

(*Sītā upaviśya viśrāntiṃ nāṭayati.*)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: aho! asaṃhāryapariśchadāḥ sukṛtinaḥ. tathā hi,

taraṅgā vījante,
sajalakaṇikāśītamārutas,
tathaite saṅgītaṃ
dadhati kalahaṃsāḥ kalagiraḥ,
sakhīva cchāyeyaṃ
ramayati pariśvajya hr̥dayaṃ:
vane śūnye 'py asmin
parijanavatīvātrabhavati.

6

SĪTĀ: jaha bhaṇidaṃ kumāreṇa, saaṇamajjjhagadāe via ettha ahiramadi me hiaaṃ. (yathā bhaṇitaṃ kumāreṇa, svajanamadhyagatāyā ivātrābhīramate me hr̥dayam.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*ātmagatam*): eṣā viśrāntā sukhopaviṣṭā ca devī. tad ayam evāvasaro yathāsthitaṃ vyavasitum. (*prakāśam, sahasā pādayoḥ nipatyā*) ayam anavaratapravāsaduḥkhabhāgi nirlakṣaṇo Lakṣmaṇo vijñāpayati, sthīrīkriyatām hr̥dayam.

SĪTĀ (*sasambhramam*): avi kusalaṃ ayyaūttassa?
(api kuśalam āryaputrasya?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*vanam nirdīśya*): evaṃ gate kīdr̥śaṃ kuśalam āryasya?

³¹°duḥsaṅcāratayā] *N₁*, °duḥssaṃcāritayā *N₂*

³²°deśas] *N₁*, °deśa *N₂*

³³prapadam] *conj.*, pramādam *N₁* *N₂*

³⁴āsthāyāvataratv] *N₁*, āsthāvataratv *N₂*

³⁵parissaṃta] *em.*, parissatta *N₁* *N₂*

³⁶uvavisia] *N₁*, uvaviśia *N₂*

³⁷asaṃhārya°] *conj.*, asahāya° *N₁* *N₂*

³⁸salilalakaṇikā°] *N₁*, salilikaṇikā° *N₂*

³⁹ramayati] *conj.*, viramati *N₁* *N₂*

⁴⁰jadhā] *N₁*, yathā *N₂*

⁴¹gadāe] *N₁*, °gadāye *N₂*

⁴²°kriyatām] *N₁*, °kṛtā *N₂*

⁴³kusalaṃ] *em.*, kuśalam *N₁* *N₂*

²⁰nīvāra°] *mss.*, vānīra° DUTTA, cf. BHP (quoted by Dutta): vāmena vānīram ityādy anugatis smṛtā.

²¹vaccha] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), *om.* *T₁*

²²etassiṃ pāvaccchāyāe] DUTTA (*M₂* *T₂*?), etassaṃ pāvaccchāyāe *M₂*, edassi pādavaccāe *T₁*

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*vanam nirdiśya*): evaṃ gate kīdrśam⁴⁴ ku-
śalam āryasya?⁴⁵

SĪTĀ: kiṃ puṇo vi samādiṭṭho vaṇavāso ambāe Kekaīe?
(kiṃ punar api samādiṣṭo vanavāso 'mbayā Kaikeyyā?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:⁴⁶ samādiṣṭo vanavāso, na punar ambayā.⁴⁷

SĪTĀ: keṇa uṇa?
(kena punaḥ?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: āryeṇa.

SĪTĀ: kassa?
(kasya?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*bāṣpastambham nāṭayitvā*):

āryasyādeśa ity evaṃ⁴⁸
vaktum icchāmi yatnataḥ
taveti hrdayaṃ gatvā
kaṇṭhaṃ⁴⁹ badhnāti⁵⁰ bhāratī.

SĪTĀ: vaccha, kiṃ mama samādiṭṭho vaṇavāso?
(vatsa, kiṃ mama samādiṣṭo vanavāsaḥ?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: na kevalaṃ tavātmano 'pi.

SĪTĀ: kathaṃ via?
(katham iva?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:
prakāmabhuktakṣitivittapūrṇe⁵¹
suhṛjjanenāhitayāgavahnau⁵²
āryasya ramye bhavane 'pi⁵³ vāsas⁵⁴
tava pravāse vanavāsa eva.

N₂:53v SĪTĀ: paripphu*ḍam kadhehi, *kadham mama vaṇavāso
N₁:5v ajjaüttassa ppavāso tti.

(parisphuṭaṃ kathaya, kathaṃ mama vanavāsa āryapu-
trasya pravāsa iti.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: ārye, kim aparaṃ⁵⁵ kathayāmi manda-
bhāgyaḥ?⁵⁶

parityaktā tvam āryeṇa,
cāritryaguṇasālīni,
mayā ca kila gantavyaṃ

SĪTĀ: ajjūe²³ Kekaīe puṇo vi samādiṭṭho vaṇavāso?
(āryayā²⁴ Kaikeyyā punar api samādiṣṭo vanavāsaḥ?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: samādiṣṭo vanavāso, na punar ambayā.

SĪTĀ: keṇa uṇa samādiṭṭho?
(kena punaḥ samādiṣṭaḥ?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: āryeṇa.

SĪTĀ: kahaṃ²⁵ samādiṭṭho?
(kathaṃ samādiṣṭaḥ?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*bāṣpastambham abhinīya*):

āryasyādeśa ity eva²⁶
vaktum icchāmi yatnataḥ
taveti hrdayaṃ gatvā
granthim badhnāti bhāratī.

SĪTĀ: kiṃ mama samādiṭṭho vaṇavāso?
(kiṃ mama samādiṣṭo vanavāsaḥ?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: na kevalaṃ tava, ātmano 'pi.

SĪTĀ: kahaṃ via?
(katham iva?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:
prakāmabhukte svagrābhīmānāt
suhṛjjanenāhitayāgavahnau
āryasya ramye bhavane 'pi vāsas
tava pravāse vanavāsa eva.

SĪTĀ: vaccha, paripphuḍam kahehi, ajja²⁷ kahaṃ mama
vaṇavāso ayyuttassa vaṇavāso²⁸ tti.

(vatsa, parisphuṭaṃ kathaya, adya kathaṃ mama vana-
vāsa āryaputrasya vanavāsa iti.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kim aparaṃ kathayāmi mandabhāgyaḥ?

tyaktā kila tvam āryeṇa
cāritraguṇasālīnā,
mayāpi kila gantavyaṃ
tyaktvā tvām iha kānane.

⁴⁴kīdrśam] *N₁*, kīdrśā *N₂*

⁴⁵āryasya] *N₁*, rāmasya *N₂*

⁴⁶lakṣmaṇaḥ] *N₁*, om. *N₂*

⁴⁷ambayā] *N₁*, ambāyā *N₂*

⁴⁸evaṃ] *N₁*, eva *N₂*

⁴⁹kaṇṭhaṃ] *N₁*, kaṇṭha *N₂*

⁵⁰badhnāti] *N₁* *N₂^{pc}*, badhnā *N₂^{ac}*

⁵¹°bhukta°] conj., °bhukti° *N₁* *N₂*

⁵²°vahnau] *N₁* *N₂^{pc}*, °hnau *N₂^{ac}*

⁵³'pi] *N₁* *N₂^{pc}*, om. *N₂^{pc}*

⁵⁴vāsas] *N₁*, vāsa *N₂*

⁵⁵aparaṃ] *N₁* *N₂^{pc}*, araṃ *N₂^{ac}*

⁵⁶°bhāgyaḥ] *N₁*, °bhāgya *N₂*

²³ajjūe] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂*), kī (kiṃ?) aāe *T₁*, aṃae [? read: ayyae?] *T₂*

²⁴āryayā] *previous eds.*, ambayā DUTTA

²⁵kahaṃ] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂*), kassa *T₁*, kaṃsa [read: kassa?] *T₂*

²⁶eva] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂?*), eṣa *T₁*

²⁷ajja] DUTTA (*M₁* *T₁* *T₂*), om. *M₂*

²⁸vaṇavāso] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂?*), bh(h?)aṇavāso *T₁*

tyaktvā⁵⁷ tvām iha kānane.

SĪTĀ (*sāśram*): hā tāda, hā Uttarakosalādhiva, ajja uvarado si. (hā tāta, hā Uttarakosalādhiva, adyoparato 'si.) (*iti moham upagatā.*)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*sasambhramam*): hā hā dhik kaṣṭham. nirghātapātadāruṇenāmunā tyāgavārtāśravaṇena nūnam uparatā devī. tat ko nu khalu samāśvāsane 'bhyupāyaḥ? (*viśādam nāṭayati.*)

*Sītā samāśvasiti.*⁵⁸

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*Sītām dr̥ṣṭvā saharṣam*):

Bhāgīrathīśīkaraśītalena
saṃvījyamānā vanamārutena
madbhāgyaśeṣeṇa ca bodhyamānā
pratyāgatā rājasutā katham cit.

N₁:6r SĪTĀ: *vaccha Lakkhaṇa! kiṃ gado si?
(vatsa Lakṣmaṇa! kiṃ gato 'si?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: ārye, eṣa tiṣṭhāmi mandabhāgyaḥ.⁵⁹

SĪTĀ (*utthāyopaviśya*): vaccha Lakkhaṇa, kitti uvālam-
bhia ajjaūttena ahaṃ pariccattā?
(vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, kim ity upālabhyāryaputrenāhaṃ par-
ityaktā?)

N₂:54r *LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kīdr̥ṣo devyā upālabhah?

SĪTĀ: aho me adhaṇṇattaṇaṃ,⁶⁰ jaṃ⁶¹ keṇa⁶² ci uvā-
lambhamettaṇa viṇā vi ṇaṇuggihida mhi. vaccha, atthi
mama kiṃ pi teṇa saṃdiṭṭham?
(aho me 'dhanyatvaṃ yat kena cid upālabhamātreṇa
vināpi nānugr̥hītāsmi. vatsa, asti mama kim api tena
saṃdiṣṭam?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: asti.

SĪTĀ: kadhehi.
(kathaya.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:
tulyānvayety anuguṇeti guṇānveteti
duḥkhe sukhe ca suciraṃ sahaśāsini⁶³
jānāmi, kevalam ahaṃ janavādabhītyā
Sīte tyajāmi bhavatīm na caritradoṣāt.

SĪTĀ: jaṇāvavādabhaeṇa? kiṃ vaanīyaṃ pi me atthi?
(janāpavādabhayena? kiṃ vacanīyam api me 'sti?)

SĪTĀ: hā tāda, ayya²⁹ Kosalādhiva, ajja uvarado si. (hā tāta, ārya Kośalādhiva, adyoparato 'si.) (*moham gaccha-
ti.*)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ (*sasambhramam*): kaṣṭam bhoḥ! kaṣṭam
bhoḥ!³⁰ nirghātapātadāruṇenānena parityāgavārtāśrava-
ṇena nūnam uparatā devī. (*nirvarṇya*) diṣṭyā śvasiti. tat
ko nu khalv asyāḥ pratyānayane 'bhyupāyaḥ? (*viśādam
nāṭayati.*) āścaryam āścaryam—

Bhāgīrathīśīkaraśītalena
sambhāvyamānā mṛdunānilena
madbhāgyaśeṣeṇa ca bodhyamānā
pratyāgatā rājasutā katham cit.

10

SĪTĀ: vaccha Lakkhaṇa! kiṃ gado si?
(vatsa Lakṣmaṇa! kiṃ gato 'si?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: ājñāpaya, tiṣṭhāmy eṣa mandabhāgyaḥ.

SĪTĀ: kiṃ uvālambhia aṃmi pariccattā?
(kim upālabhyāsmi parityaktā?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kīdr̥ṣo devyā upālabhah?

SĪTĀ: aho me adhaṇṇattaṇaṃ! kiṃ³¹ uvālabhametta-
eṇa viṇā ṇigahida hmi.³² kiṃ atthi kiṃ vi deṇa saṃdi-
ṭṭham?
(aho me 'dhanyatvaṃ! kim upālabhamātreṇa vinā ni-
gr̥hītāsmi? kim asti kim api tena saṃdiṣṭam?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: asti.

SĪTĀ: kahehi kahehi.
(kathaya kathaya.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:
tulyānvayety anuguṇeti guṇonneti³³
duḥkhe sukhe ca suciraṃ sahaśāsini
jānāmi, kevalam ahaṃ janavādabhītyā
Sīte tyajāmi bhavatīm na tu bhāvadoṣāt.
ayam āryasya sandeśaḥ.

11

SĪTĀ: kahaṃ jaṇāvavādabhayenetti? kiṃ vi vaanīyaṃ me
atthi?
(katham janavādabhayeneti? kim api vacanīyam me 'sti?)

⁵⁷tyaktvā] *N₁*, tyaktvās *N₂*

⁵⁸samāśvasiti] *N₁*, samāśvāsyati *N₂*

⁵⁹°bhāgyaḥ] *N₁*, °bhāgya *N₂*

⁶⁰adhaṇṇa°] *em.*, adhaṇa° *N₁* *N₂*

⁶¹jaṃ] *N₁*, jīm *N₂*

⁶²keṇa] *conj.*, kiṃ *N₁* *N₂*

⁶³saha°] *N₁*, saṃha° *N₂*

²⁹ayya] *M₁* *M₂* DUTTA, ayyaṭṭa *T₁* *T₂*

³⁰kaṣṭam bhoḥ] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), kaṣṭam bhoḥ
kaṣṭam *T₁*

³¹kiṃ] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), ja *T₁*

³²viṇā ṇigahida hmi] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂*), viṇānugahida hmi *T₁*,
vinānugahidasi *T₂*

³³guṇonneti] *mss.* DUTTA, guṇānveteti *NLRK* (quoted by
DUTTA)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kīdrśam devyā vacanīyam?

*N*₁:6*v* munīnām⁶⁴ lo*kapālānām
 āryasya mama cāgrataḥ
 agnau śuddhiṃ gatā devī
 kiṃ tu — (*lajjām nāṭayati*)⁶⁵

SĪTĀ: kadhehi kiṃ kiṃ tu?
 (kathaya, kiṃ kiṃ tu?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:
 — loko niraṅkuśaḥ.

*N*₂:5*4v* SĪTĀ: haddī haddī. aggisuddhisamkittaṇeṇa sumārā-
 vida⁶⁶ mhi. Rāvaṇavuttanto kkhu eso ugghosiadi⁶⁷ Sīdāe
 vi nāma īdisaṃ sambhāvīadi.⁶⁸ savvadhā alaṃ⁶⁹ mahi-
 lattaṇeṇa. vaccha, jāi evaṃ u*vālaṃbhiā ajjaūtteṇa pa-
 riccattā ahaṃ tā suṭṭhu pariccatta⁷⁰ mhi. tā juttaṃ
 ajjaūttapariccattaṃ attānaṃ pariccaidum.⁷¹ kiṃ tu
 tassa jjeva niraṅkosassa samāṅkīdī sa gabbho pari-
 rakkhidavvo. teṇa vaṇṇakalaṅkovaḥadaṃ attānaṃ pari-
 rakkhāmi.⁷²

(hā dhik, hā dhik. agnīśuddhisamkīrtanena smāritāsmi.
 Rāvaṇavṛttantaḥ khalv eṣa udghoṣyate. Sītāyā api nā-
 medrśam sambhāvyaṭe. sarvathālaṃ mahilātvena. va-
 tsa, yady evaṃ upālabhyāryaputreṇa parityaktāhaṃ, tat
 suṭṭhu parityaktāsmi. tad yuktam āryaputraparityak-
 tam ātmānaṃ parityaktum. kiṃ tu tasyaiva niraṅkośā-
 śasya samāṅkīrtī sa garbhaḥ parirakṣitavyaḥ. tena va-
 canīyakalaṅkopahataṃ ātmānaṃ parirakṣāmi.)

*N*₁:7*r* LAKṢMAṆAḤ: anugr̥hīto 'smi. idam aparam ā*ryeṇādi-
 ṣṭam ādarāt.

SĪTĀ: kiṃ ṇu kkhu bhavissadi?
 (kiṃ nu khalu bhaviṣyati?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:
 tvam devi citranihitā⁷³
 gr̥hadevatā me,
 svapne tathā śayanama-
 dhyagatā sakhī tvam,
 dārāntarāharaṇani-
 spr̥hamānasasya⁷⁴
 yāge 'pi te pratikṛtir
 mama dharmapatnī.

⁶⁴munīnām] *N*₁, munīnām na *N*₂

⁶⁵lajjām nāṭayati] *N*₁, om. *N*₂

⁶⁶sumārāvida] *N*₁ *N*₂^{pc}, sumārāvida *N*₂^{ac}

⁶⁷uggho°] *N*₁, uggo° *N*₂

⁶⁸sambhāvīadi] *N*₁, bhāvīadi *N*₂

⁶⁹alaṃ] *N*₁, ala *N*₂

⁷⁰pariccatta] *N*₁ *N*₂^{pc}, paricca *N*₂^{ac}

⁷¹pariccaidum] *N*₁, pariccayidum *N*₂

⁷²pari°] *N*₁, piri° *N*₂

⁷³citra°] *N*₁, ci° *N*₂

⁷⁴dārāntarāha°] *N*₂^{pc} *N*₁, dārāntāha° *N*₂^{ac}

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kīdrśam āryāyā vacanīyam?

r̥ṣīnām lokapālānām
 āryasya mama cāgrataḥ
 agnau śuddhiṃ gatā devī
 kiṃ tu —

SĪTĀ (*lajjām nāṭayati*): kahehi kiṃ?³⁴
 (kathaya, kiṃ?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:
 — loko niraṅkuśaḥ.

12

SĪTĀ: aggisuddhisamkittaṇeṇa paḍibodida hmi. Rāvaṇa-
 bhavaṇavṛttantaḥ puṇo vi uvvādiadi.³⁵ Sīdāe vi nāma
 evvaṃ sambhāvīadi tti savvadhā alaṃ mahilattaṇeṇa.³⁶
 evvaṃ pariccattā supariccattā mmi.³⁷ kiṃ ṇu khu juttaṃ
 mama³⁸ ayyaūttapariccattaṃ attānaṃ pariccaidum? kiṃ
 ṇu³⁹ khu tassa eva niraṅkosassa samāṅo eso pasavo
 pekkhidavvo tti vaṇṇakalaṅkopahidaṃ jīvidaṃ⁴⁰ pari-
 rakkhāmi?

(agnīśuddhisamkīrtanena pratibodhitāsmi. Rāvaṇa-
 bhavanavṛttantaḥ punar apy udbādhayati. Sītāyā api nā-
 maivaṃ sambhāvyaṭe iti sarvathālaṃ mahilātvena. evaṃ
 parityaktā suparityaktāsmi. kiṃ nu khalu yuktam ma-
 māryaputraparityaktam ātmānaṃ parityaktum? kiṃ nu
 khalu tasyaiva niraṅkośāśasya samāna eṣa prasavaḥ pre-
 kṣitavya iti vacanīyakaṅṭakopahitaṃ jīvitaṃ parirakṣā-
 mi.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: anugr̥hīto 'smi. *utthāya praṇamati*. idam
 aparam āryeṇa sandiṣṭam.

SĪTĀ: kiṃ ṇu khu bhavissadi?
 (kiṃ nu khalu bhaviṣyati?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ:
 tvam devi cittanihitā
 gr̥hadevatā me,
 svapnāgatā śayanama-
 dhyasakhī tvam eva,⁴¹
 dārāntarāharaṇani-
 spr̥hamānasasya⁴²
 yāge tava pratikṛtir

³⁴kahehi kiṃ] DUTTA (*M*₁ *M*₂), kahehi kiṃtu *previous eds.*, om. *T*₁, “*T*₂ reads: Sītā (*lajjām nāṭayati*) Loko niraṅkuśaḥ, and then again begins with Sītā’s speech.” (DUTTA)

³⁵uvvādiadi] DUTTA (*M*₁ *M*₂), ubbosadi *T*₁, uposadi *T*₂

³⁶mahilattaṇeṇa] DUTTA (*M*₁ *M*₂), mahakkaṇeṇa. vaccha *T*₁, mahilakaṇeṇa. vaccha *T*₂

³⁷supariccattā mmi] *M*₁ *M*₂, ṇu pariccattā mmi DUTTA, om. *T*₁ *T*₂

³⁸kiṃ ṇu khu juttaṃ mama] *conj.*, kiṃ ṇu khu jutta mama *T*₁, si—ṇu khu jutta mama *T*₂, kiṃ ṇa khu juttaṃ mama DUTTA (*M*₁), ṇa khu jattaṃ mma *M*₂

³⁹ṇu] DUTTA (*M*₁ *T*₁ *T*₂), ṇa *M*₂ *previous eds.*

⁴⁰jīvidaṃ] DUTTA (*M*₁ *M*₂ *T*₂?), om. *T*₁

⁴¹madhyasakhī tvam eva] DUTTA (*M*₁ *M*₂ *T*₂?), °madhyagatatā

sakhī tvam *T*₁^{ac}, °madhyagatatā sakhī tvam *T*₁^{pc}

⁴²nispr̥ha°] *mss.*, °niṣpr̥ha° *ed.*

SĪTĀ: evaṃ sandisaṃteṇa pariccādukkhaṃ⁷⁵ pi me ava-
nīdam. na tadhā aṇṇātaṭṭā paṇo itthiāṇassa dukkhaṃ⁷⁶
uppādaanti jadhā aṇṇasatta.

(evaṃ saṃdiśatā parityāgaduḥkham api me 'panītam. na
tadhā anyāyattāḥ patayaḥ strījanasya duḥkham utpāda-
yanti yathānyāsaktāḥ.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kaḥ pratisandeśaḥ?⁷⁷

N₂:55r SĪTĀ: evaṃ gade vi paḍisaṃdeso? ajjāṇaṃ uṇa pāda-
vandaṇaṃ kadua viṇṇavesi — eṣā dāṇi ahaṃ *aṇādhā
aṇavaraddhā⁷⁸ sāvadasamāiṇṇe mahāraṇṇe eāiṇi paḍi-
vasaṃtī āsīsapadaṇeṇa ajjāhiṃ aṇugihidavva mhi.
(evaṃ gate 'pi pratisaṃdeśaḥ? āryāṇaṃ punaḥ pāda-
vandaṇaṃ kṛtvā vijñāpayasi — eṣedānīm ahaṃ anāthā-
naparāddhā śvāpadasamākīrṇe mahāraṇya ekākinī prati-
vasanty āśihpradānenāryābhir anugrahītavasyāmi.)

N₁:7v LAKṢMAṆAḤ: *pratigṛhīteyam ājñā.⁷⁹ āryasya na kiṃ
cid api saṃdeśavyam?

SĪTĀ: niṭṭhuro⁸⁰ vi saṃdisiadi? tadhā vi appaḍihada-
davaṇo kkhu Saumittī, na hi Sīdāe⁸¹ dhiṭṭhattaṇaṃ.
evaṃ mama vaṇṇādo viṇṇavesi taṃ jaṇaṃ⁸² — maṃ
maṃdabhāiṇiṃ aṇusoṃto vaṇṇāssamaparivālaṇamahā-
ggaṃ appāṇaṃ mā⁸³ bādhehi,⁸⁴ ssadhamme sarīre sāv-
adhāno bhavissasi. vaccha Lakkhaṇa, kiṃ uvālahāmi⁸⁵
mahārāmaṃ?

(niṭṭhuro 'pi saṃdiśyate? tathāpy apratihatavacanaḥ
khalu Saumitriḥ, na hi Sītāyā dhṛṣṭatvam. evaṃ mama
vacanād vijñāpayasi taṃ jaṇaṃ — māṃ mandabhāginīm
anuśocan varṇāśramaparipālanamahārgham ātmānaṃ
mā bādahaya, svadharme śarīre sāvadhāno bhaviṣyasi.
vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, kim upālabhe mahārājam?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kim etāvaty api prabhavati na devī?

⁷⁵pariccādukkhaṃ] *N₁*, pariccāyaduḥkham *N₂*

⁷⁶dukkhaṃ] *N₁*, duḥkkham *N₂*

⁷⁷°sandeśaḥ] *N₁*, °saṃdeśa *N₂*

⁷⁸aṇavaraddhā] *N₁*, avaraṇaddhā *N₂*

⁷⁹ājñā] *N₁*, āryā *N₂*

⁸⁰niṭṭhuro] *conj.*, niṭṭhure *N₁* *N₂*

⁸¹sīdāe] *N₁* *N₂^{pc}*, sīe *N₂^{ac}*

⁸²jaṇaṃ] *N₁*, jjaṇaṃ *N₂*

⁸³mā] *N₁*, mām *N₂*

⁸⁴bādhehi] *conj.*, bādhesi *N₁* *N₂*

⁸⁵uvālahāmi] *N₁*, uvālahāmi *N₂*

mama dharmapatnī.

13

SĪTĀ: evvaṃ saṃdisaṃteṇa ayyāutteṇa pariccāadu-
kkhaṃ mayi ṇiravasesaṃ avanīdam. na hi taha aṇṇā satta
paṇo itthiāṇassa dukkhaṃ uppādedi jaha aṇṇasatto.

(evaṃ saṃdiśatāryaputṛeṇa parityāgaduḥkhaṃ mayi ṇi-
ravaśesaṃ apanītam. na hi tathānyā saktā patyuh strīja-
nasya duḥkham utpādayati yathānyāsaktāḥ.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kaḥ pratisandeśaḥ?

SĪTĀ: kassa?

(kasya?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: āryasya.

SĪTĀ: evvaṃ gade vi paḍisaṃdeso? ajjāṇaṃ⁴³ uṇa mama
vaṇṇādo pādavaṃdaṇaṃ kadua viṇṇavehi — evvaṃ ṇi-
rakkhā sāvadasamāiṇṇe vaṇe paḍivasantaṭṭī a savvahā
hiaṇa⁴⁴ ayyāhiṃ aṇugahīdavvetti.

(evaṃ gate 'pi pratisaṃdeśaḥ? āryāṇaṃ⁴⁵ punar mama
vacanāt pādavaṃdaṇaṃ kṛtvā vijñāpayasi — evaṃ ahaṃ
nīrakṣā śvāpadasamākīrṇe vaṇe prativasantaṭṭī ca sarvathā
hṛdayenāryābhir anugrahītavyeti.)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: pratigṛhīteyam ājñā. āryasya na kiṃ cit
sandiṣṭam?

SĪTĀ: taha niṭṭhuro nāma saṃdisiadi tti appaḍihada-
vaṇṇadā eṣā Lakkhaṇassa,⁴⁶ na Sīdāe dhaṇṇattaṇaṃ.
taha mama vaṇṇādo taṃ jaṇaṃ viṇṇavehi — maṃda-
bhāiṇiṃ aṇusoṃto vaṇṇāssamaparipālaṇaṃ ahigghaṃto
attāṇaṃ na⁴⁷ bādhehi, saddhamme sasarīre⁴⁸ sāvadhāno
hohi tti. vaccha Lakkhaṇa, kiṃ uvālahāmi mahārāmaṃ?
(tathā niṭṭhuro nāma saṃdiśyata ity apratihatavacana-
nataiṣā Lakṣmaṇasya, na Sītāyā dhanyatvam. tathā
mama vacanāt taṃ jaṇaṃ vijñāpayasi — mandabhāginīm
anuśocan varṇāśramaparipālanam abhignann ātmānaṃ
na bādahaya, saddharṇe svaśarīre sāvadhāno bhaveti.
vatsa Lakṣmaṇa, kim upālabhe mahārājam?)

LAKṢMAṆAḤ: kim etāvaty api na prabhavati devī?

⁴³ajjāṇaṃ] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂*), ajjāṇa *T₁*, ajjāṇa *T₂*

⁴⁴a savvahā hiaṇa] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), āsīsapadaṇeṇa *T₁*

⁴⁵āryāṇaṃ] ambāṇaṃ DUTTA, śvaśrūṇaṃ *previous eds.*

⁴⁶lakkhaṇassa] *em.*, lakkhaṇasya DUTTA

⁴⁷°paripālaṇaṃ ahigghaṃto attāṇaṃ na] DUTTA (*M₁*), °varivāla-
namahagghaṃ(?) a(?)ttāṇaṃ na *T₁*, °paripālaṇamabhassaṃ attāṇi
na *T₂*, parivākhaṇaṃ mahagghatta (...?) *M₂*

⁴⁸sasarīre] DUTTA (*M₁* *M₂* *T₂*?), sarīre *T₁*

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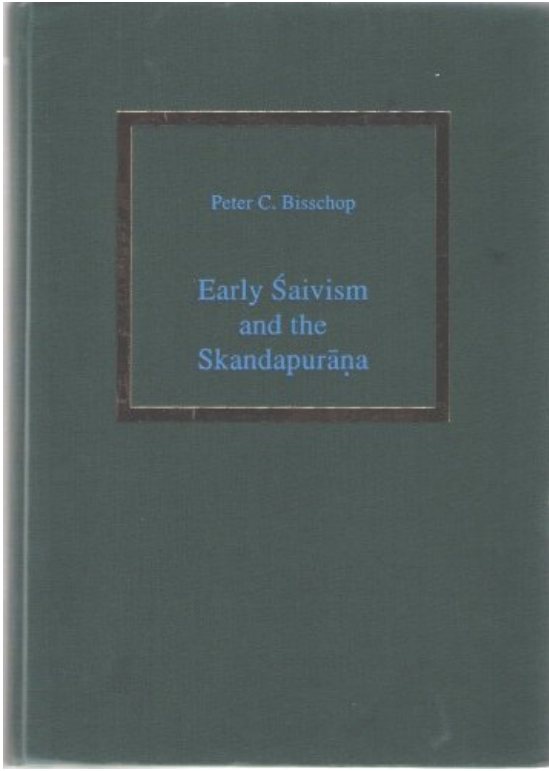
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Book announcement



Early Śaivism and the Skandapurāṇa: Sects and Centres. Peter C. Bisschop. Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2006. Groningen Oriental Studies, 21. ISBN 90-6980-150-7.

For quite some time now, a group of scholars at the University of Groningen and elsewhere has been working on the earliest known work that identified itself as the Skandapurāṇa. In its oldest surviving manuscripts, all Nepalese, this work calls itself simply that; manuscripts of what appear to be two later (closely related) recensions call themselves respectively the Revākhaṇḍa (R) of the Skandapurāṇa and the Ambikākhaṇḍa (A) of the Skandapurāṇa. Two volumes of a new critical edition of this text (first published by Kṛṣṇa Prasāda Bhaṭṭarāi in 1988) have been published so far, in 1998 (eds. R. Adriaensen, H.T. Bakker, and H. Isaacson) and 2004 (eds. H.T. Bakker and H. Isaacson), as supplement volumes to the Groningen Oriental Series; numerous articles have also been dedicated to the work (some are collected in *Origin and growth of the purāṇic text corpus: with special reference to the Skandapurāṇa*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004. Papers of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. 3,2, while others have appeared in various journals and felicitation or other collective volumes). Peter Bisschop (currently Lecturer in Sanskrit Studies at the University of Edinburgh) has now published a monograph (revised from his doctoral dissertation at the University of Groningen, 2004) containing a detailed study of the evidence of the Skandapurāṇa for the sacred topography of early

Śaivism. The core of the book is again a critical edition, this time of chapter 167 of the text, which contains a list of Śiva's sanctuaries (*āyatanas*). New is that in fact not one but two editions of the same chapter are presented: one gives the recension represented by the early Nepalese manuscripts (two are available for this chapter, S₁ = NAK 2-229 = NGMPP B 11/4; S₂ = NAK 1-831 = NGMPP B 12/3), while the other is based on the manuscripts of the R and A recensions, attempting to reconstruct a common ancestor thereof. Each edition receives its own synopsis, and its own detailed annotation.

The choice to present two editions is discussed in detail (see especially pp. 47-49); it is chiefly justified by the fact that in this chapter the R and A recensions contain much additional matter, including an additional frame story and more elaborate accounts of most of the sacred places. Since the manuscripts of these recensions are in the main rather bad, reconstructing an intelligible text was no easy task. The tentative nature of this second edition is clear from the numerous crux marks and wavy lines. Further progress should be possible in the future; but Bisschop's edition makes available for the first time some material of considerable interest (not included in the edition of the Skandapurāṇa published by Bhaṭṭarāi), and his extensive annotation, discussing both the (numerous) textual difficulties and the significance of the revisions and additions that we find in the R and A recensions, will doubtless be appreciated.

It is clear that much more remains to be done on the old Skandapurāṇa, a work which might have languished unpublished and unknown to scholars had it not been for the fortunate circumstance that it survived in old Nepalese palm-leaf manuscripts first noticed more than a century ago by Haraprasad Shastri. This handsomely produced and well-indexed book gives a good example, particularly in its rich annotation of the edited text, of the fruits that can be won from the careful study of this text. The importance of this ancient Purāṇa, not merely for our understanding of the processes by which Purāṇic literature was composed and transmitted, but also as a remarkable source for the study of the history of Indian religions, in particular Śaivism, is becoming steadily clearer.

(Harunaga Isaacson)

One more Manuscript of the Śiṣyalekha

Diwakar ACHARYA

One more paper manuscript of the Śiṣyalekha of Candragomin not known to the editor and translator of the text, Prof. Michael Hahn, has been found in the National Archives, Kathmandu. It is a copy of the origi-

nal Nepalese palm-leaf manuscript now preserved at Cambridge. This manuscript appears older than the other two paper manuscripts known to the editor, as the scribe has apparently read one or two extra *akṣaras* at the damaged edges of the original palm-leaves. It bears manuscript no. 5-7848, and has been microfilmed on NGMPP reel no. B 315/11.

I checked the edition against this new manuscript in places where the editor uses brackets in order to suggest that the text is lost, dropped or partially damaged in the manuscript, or an asterisk to mark his emendation to the text. I present here the cases where the new reading might necessitate a reconsideration of the text.

Verse	Edition	New Manuscript
7c	<i>tāpā(pa)(hāri pa- ra)ni(r)(v)(rt)i- kāraṇaṃ ca</i> ¹	<i>tāpāpanodanam iwa ...</i>
8c	{ ... <i>hradāya</i> }	... <i>h</i>
11a	<i>śikṣā(padeṣu)</i>	<i>śikṣābalena</i>
16b	<i>nirayāś ca ghorāḥ</i>	<i>nirayā(!) sughorā(!)</i>
21b	<i>ba(ha)logra°</i>	<i>bahalogra°</i>
22b	° <i>bh(āvaḥ)</i>	° <i>bhāvaḥ</i>
23d	<i>la(l)i(taṃ)</i>	<i>lalitaṃ</i>
25a	<i>balā(d a)nicchataḥ</i>	<i>balād anicchataḥ</i>
26c	{ <i>karo</i> } <i>ti</i>	<i>karoti</i>
28a	{ <i>tato</i> } <i>'sya</i>	<i>tato sya</i>
29c	<i>upa(ga)cchati</i>	<i>upagacchati</i>
31a	<i>iti (ce)(ti ca)</i>	<i>iti ceti ca</i>
32c	<i>vijahāti (nijaṃ)</i>	<i>vijahāti nijam</i>
39a	* <i>tuhinānilo 'pi</i>	<i>tuhinānilo pi</i>
41a	<i>cañcaj*jaṭānikara*</i>	° <i>caṃcacchatā(!)nikara°</i>
42d	° <i>hāsa*nicitāntaka°</i>	° <i>hāsanicitāntaka°</i>
51c	* <i>kartum kartum</i>	
54c	°* <i>śakalāvali°</i>	° <i>śakalāvali°</i>
57c	* <i>ghāṭitaṃ</i>	<i>ghaṭṭitaṃ</i>
63b	* <i>āropayanti *śivam uttama*bodhi°</i>	<i>āropayanti subham anantasubodhi°</i> (unmetrical)
97c	* <i>tā vatsalāḥ*</i>	<i>tanniṣphala</i>
100a	{ <i>na yānāiḥ</i> } (<i>kṣe- mair</i>) <i>naiva ca</i>	<i>na mārasyodyāne na ca(!)</i>
109a	* <i>nityākṛṇān</i>	<i>nityākṛṇān</i>
110d	{ <i>bhava</i> } <i>bhava°</i>	<i>bhavabhava°</i>
114b	° <i>kamali(nī)°</i>	° <i>kamalinī°</i>

Most of the above cases confirm the editor's restorations and emendations, but the instances of 7c, 8c, 11a, 57c, 63b, 97c and 100a are different. In verse 7c, it seems that the author used *apanodana* not *apahārin*. In verse 11a, *śikṣābalena* might possibly be considered, though this reading may ultimately be unsatisfactory. In verse 57c, *ghaṭṭitaṃ* fits well and gives a little more alliteration. In 63b, it is possible to accept *śubham* as found in the new manuscript. In 97c, the palm-leaf manuscript reads *tanniṣphalaḥ*, and the new manuscript further drops the *visarga*. Both of these readings are corrupt, but perhaps

¹There is a minor typo in the edition; brackets are wrongly placed. It should be *tāpā(pa)(hāri para)ni(r)(v)rt(ikāraṇaṃ ca)*

the original might have been *tannirbharāḥ*. In 100a, the reading of the new manuscript does not fit in the context but might help to guess at the original reading, for which *na yānair nodyānair na ca* may be a possibility. The two *akṣaras* at the broken edge of the palm-leaf are closer to *dyānair* in the new manuscript, and cannot be read *kṣemair* as in the edition.

References

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Kaiser Shamsheer, his Library and his Manuscript Collection

Dragomir DIMITROV and Kashinath TAMOT (Kathmandu)*

Kaiser Shamsheer Kaiser Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana (1892–1964) was one of those bright minds in the era of the much disparaged Rana regime (1846–1951) in Nepal who made significant contributions to the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage of Nepal.

Kaiser Shamsheer was born as the third son of the Rana prime minister Chandra Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana (1863–1929) and Loka Bhakta Lakshmi Devi (1867–1905) on 8 January 1892 at Thapathali in Kathmandu.¹ He received his education at the Durbar High School. In 1908 Kaiser Shamsheer went to Britain together with his father and remained there for a year – an experience which made a deep impression on his young mind.

During his lifetime Kaiser Shamsheer occupied various posts and had many responsibilities both in the civil and the military administration. In 1901 he was appointed major general.² In 1920 Kaiser Shamsheer became a lieutenant general.³ In 1922–30 he served as the chairman of the Kathmandu municipality. Later he was the southern commanding general (1934–45) and eastern commanding general (1945–47). Kaiser Shamsheer worked as director general of various institutions, such as the Royal Museum (1928–39), the Archaeology Department (1931–39), and

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¹See D. PANT 1998, p. 44 (No. 123) and p. 48 (No. 137); D. PANT 1999, p. 18 (No. 325); cf. NGMPP, A 405/22.

²See RAJ 1994, pp. 46–48 for photographs of young Kaiser Shamsheer from the early 1900s.

³See LANDON 1976, vol. I, p. 252.



Portrait of Kaiser Shamsheer (Kaiser Library)

the Foreign Affairs Department (1932–37). As a foreign minister of Nepal, he attended the coronation ceremony of George VI on 12 May 1937 at Westminster Abbey in London.⁴ In 1947–48 Kaiser Shamsheer was appointed as Nepal’s ambassador to Britain.⁵ In 1951–53 he was commander-in-chief. He also served as minister of defence (1951–55) and minister of finance and administration (1952–53). In 1956 Kaiser Shamsheer was promoted to field marshal.

For his good services Kaiser Shamsheer received various orders and awards. He was decorated with the Star of Nepal First Class (Supradīpta Mānyavara), the Order of Om Ram Patta, the Order of Tri Shakti Patta First Class, the Order of the Gurkha Right Hand First Class, and the Order of Ojaswi Rajanya, to name only a few of his Nepalese decorations. On 23 May 1934, in Kathmandu the French Government bestowed upon Kaiser Shamsheer the distinction of Grand Officer of the Order of the Legion of Honour of France.⁶

As for his family life, Kaiser Shamsheer married twice and had five sons and five daughters. On 20 April 1904 he married his first wife Lakshmi Rajya Lakshmi Devi (1895–1954), the eldest daughter of King Prithvi Bir Bikram Shah Dev (1875–1911).⁷ Hemraj Sharma (1878–1953) “collected certifications and other [necessary items] from

⁴Cf. KĀRKĪ 1979, p. 104; here the year is given misleadingly as 1934.

⁵See KĀRKĪ 1979, p. 134.

⁶See KĀRKĪ 1979, p. 105.

⁷Cf. D. PANT 1999, p. 23 (No. 344).

the sacred scriptures and arranged the marriage”.⁸ In 1943 Kaiser Shamsheer married Krishna Chandra Devi, daughter of Mukunda Bahadur Singh of Bajura. Kaiser Shamsheer was undoubtedly a remarkable intellectual who was deeply respected by his contemporaries. Perceval Landon, the author of a two-volume work on the history of Nepal published in 1928 during the rule of Chandra Shamsheer (1901–29), was highly impressed by Kaiser Shamsheer:

The third son is General Kaiser, who combines an astonishing width of reading, knowledge of the world, and general culture with a reputation as a first-class shot and an expert knowledge of the fauna of Nepal. He has been commissioned to make the arrangements for the great big game shoots which take place from time to time in honour of distinguished visitors, and if the organization of the camps and general sporting strategy of that which was attended by the Prince of Wales in 1922 is an indication of General Kaiser’s capacity, his future career will be watched with no little interest not only by India, but by Western Asia.⁹

Kaiser Shamsheer had a keen interest in zoology. His contributions on the study of rhinoceroses were published in the *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society*.¹⁰ He also collected animals for research purposes. In this connection Landon remarks:

General Kaiser had been chiefly concerned with making this collection, and King George expressed to him his great pleasure and satisfaction in becoming thus the owner of so many of the animals that were destined to fill needed gaps in the collection in the Zoological Gardens in London.¹¹

Kaiser Shamsheer was also interested in astronomy. His correspondence with the pundit Hemraj Sharma in the 1920s includes queries about the subject.¹²

Further, Kaiser Shamsheer had notable literary contributions to his credit. He translated Kālidāsa’s play *Vikramorvaśī* in 1925 and published it himself. This is one of the earliest translations of Sanskrit literature in modern Nepali. The language was corrected by Hemraj Sharma, the prescriptive grammarian of Nepali,¹³ whose grammar *Candrikā* (*Gorakhābhāṣā-vyākaraṇa*) was published in 1912. Kaiser Shamsheer is also known for his contributions in the field of Nepalese historical literature. In 1951–64 he was patron and treasurer of the Nepāla-Sāṃskṛtika

⁸See GARZILLI 2001, p. 132.

⁹LANDON 1976, vol. II, p. 98.

¹⁰See LANDON 1976, vol. I, 292.

¹¹LANDON 1976, vol. II, p. 135.

¹²See N. PANT 1967, pp. 78–88.

¹³See BHATṬARĀI 1999, pp. 717–718.



Portrait of Kaiser Shamsheer (Kaiser Library)

Pariṣad (Nepal Cultural Council), which brought out a number of publications with his support.¹⁴

Kaiser Shamsheer was, then, a man of varied interests. As Saphalya AMATYA remarks, “[t]he Late Kaisher was essentially a man of artistic taste. He was very much interested in paintings, photographs and gardening. He himself was a good photographer and a competent gardener.”¹⁵ Mahes Raj PANT rightfully describes him as “the great connoisseur of books”.¹⁶ Salil SUBEDI and Anagha NEELAKANTAN sum him up in the following words: “By all records, Keshar Sunshere loved the good life, books, botany, good food and wine, and beautiful women”.¹⁷

Kaiser Shamsheer passed away on 7 June 1964 at the age of 72.

The Kaiser Library The most significant legacy left by Kaiser Shamsheer is undoubtedly his private library, which embodies its owner’s passionate and lifelong efforts in collecting books from both Europe and Asia. From his trips to Britain Kaiser Shamsheer, a bibliophile par excellence, inevitably brought back many new books for his

own collection. He also used his good connections and high positions to gain access to rare printed and handwritten material from Nepal and India. The history of the library can be traced back to 1909, when Kaiser Shamsheer started putting his own stamp on the books in his possession.¹⁸ Within about half a century the number of his books grew to such an extent that it may now safely be considered one of the largest private libraries in South Asia, and certainly the largest one in Nepal. The collections kept in this library, though neglected for a long time, are of great importance and deserve much more attention and closer study.

Since its beginnings the library has been accommodated in a building which was constructed in 1895 by order of Bir Shamsheer and which Chandra Shamsheer purchased in 1908 for his son. After Kaiser Shamsheer’s demise in 1964, in accordance with her husband’s will his second wife Krishna Chandra Devi donated 190 ropanis (9.67 hectares) of land to His Majesty’s Government of Nepal, at a special ceremony on 11 September 1968.¹⁹ The donation consisted of the Kaiser Mahal (the Kaiser Palace), the Kaiser Pustakālaya (the Kaiser Library)²⁰ and the Kaiser Bāga (the Kaiser Garden, recently reopened under the name of “Garden of Dreams”). Each of these assets has its own glorious history. Here we are concerned, however, only with the Kaiser Library.

When it was donated, Kaiser Shamsheer’s private library contained approximately twenty-eight thousand printed books in various languages and covering a large number of subjects, such as history, religion, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, hunting, gardening, and travelling.²¹ The Kaiser Library is very important for its early “Nepal Collection”. In 1974 Thakurlal MANANDHAR published a detailed bibliography of the works on Nepal in the Kaiser Library. One highlight of this library is its collection of rare English books, especially publications from the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Among scholars, the Kaiser Library is particularly famous for its collection of Nepalese manuscripts. Besides this, many noteworthy paintings, photographs, sculptures, maps and press cuttings are also part of the library and attract public interest. The portraits of various Nepalese and foreign personalities are especially worth seeing. As AMATYA points out, the Kaiser Library is “not a mere library but also a rich art gallery” and “a small Museum by itself”.²²

¹⁸See AMATYA 1989, p. 147.

¹⁹See AMATYA 1991, p. 95.

²⁰As AMATYA notes, people started referring to the Kaiser Library under this name only after 1951 (see AMATYA 1989, p. 147).

²¹According to AMATYA, in the 1980s the Kaiser Library contained approximately 35,000 books, 2,000 issues of periodicals, 4,000 back numbers of daily newspapers, 50 press cuttings, 10 photo albums, and 700 manuscripts. About 90% of the books are considered to be in English (see AMATYA 1989, pp. 148–151). The library is estimated to have nowadays more than fifty thousand volumes.

²²See AMATYA 1991, p. 97.

¹⁴These are the first five volumes of the *Nepāla-Sāmskr̥tika Pariṣad Patrikā* (*Journal of the Nepal Cultural Council*), vol. 1 (1952), vol. 2 (1953), vol. 3 (1957; *Aitihāsika Patrasaṃgraha*, part 1), vols. 4–5 (1964, *Aitihāsika Patrasaṃgraha*, part 2), the *Jayaratnākaranāṭaka* (1957) and the *Triratnasaundaryagāthā* (1962).

¹⁵AMATYA 1991, p. 97.

¹⁶M. PANT 1993, p. 18.

¹⁷SUBEDI/NEELAKANTAN 2001, p. 10.



The Kaiser Library in 2006

Indeed, no visitor of Kathmandu interested in Nepal's history and culture should miss the chance to visit this extraordinary library-cum-museum, "the perfect souvenir of a rather bizarre chapter in the history of Nepal Mandala, a chapter not without residual values nor altogether without charm, as Kaisher Mahal attests".²³

Azhar ABIDI, an Australian writer of Pakistani origin, who did not miss his chance to admire the riches of the Kaiser Library, gives the following report of his recent visit to this treasure house:

I WRITE my address in the clerk's register and enter, with trepidation. The library of Kaiser Shamsheer Jung Bahadur Rana is the oldest library in Kathmandu—and it is pickled in time. The reading room has a Railway and Canal Map of India drawn by George Philip and Son Ltd, 32 Fleet Street, London. Railways have been updated to October 1906, canals to August 1905. There is a rolled-up map of Africa, a map of Asia, and a 'heliozincographed' map of Nepal, printed by the Survey of India Offices, Calcutta, and based on a 1924–25 survey. Mt Everest is shown here as 29,002 feet high.

Eyes agape, I walk down the hall. Timber floor, high ceiling, musty smell. On the walls, black and white photographs of dead nobles. Two portraits of glaring British Army officers. A stuffed Bengal tiger with a spider web between its jaws. Further down, there is a bust of Napoleon and a painting of an Englishwoman. The newer titles include hardbacks by Alistair Maclean, Irwin Shaw, Jean Renoir and Anthony Burgess. They are over forty years old. [...]

The Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary*, supervised by Mr Isaac K. Funk, is lying on an oak table. [...]

²³SLUSSER 1998, p. 209.

The hunting books are more flamboyant, and after sitting for more than half a century on these shelves they are still ripe with bravura that is rare these days—the sort where the author lights his pipe and sets out to follow the paw marks of a tiger into the bush.

I open the almirahs. Hobbes' *Leviathan* bound in cloth by J.M. Dent & Sons, 1924, stares back. Row upon row of Elizabethan drama books. *The Rights of Man* by T. Paine; an illustrated edition of *The Arabian Nights*, translated by Sir R.F. Burton, and published by H.S. Nichols & Co., 3 Soho Square W, in 1894; *Don Quixote* illustrated by Gustave Doré, the *Memoirs of Casanova*, *The Best Flying Stories* from the days of flying boats, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, a Sumer–Aryan dictionary. [...]

I return to my oak table. I have a leather-bound volume of Dante's *Inferno*, illustrated in ink by Gustave Doré, printed by Cassell and Company, 1912, and a notepad. There are no other visitors. So I spend the rest of the afternoon planning the great Kaiser Library Robbery.²⁴

Initially Kaiser Shamsheer's collection was accessible only to members of his family and some other notable Nepalese and foreign visitors. Eventually, though, Kaiser Shamsheer actually allowed the interested public access to his private library even during his lifetime. It all began on 12 May 1951, when the Nepal Cultural Council was established under his patronage.²⁵ At the first meeting held in the house of the Poet Laureate Lekhnath Paudyal, the historian Balchandra Sharma proposed Kaiser Shamsheer as

²⁴ABIDI 2003, pp. 49–51.

²⁵Kaiser Shamsheer provided selfless support to the Nepal Cultural Council. He donated one hundred thousand rupees to the Nepal Cultural Council and offered it a house within his own compound, and even a motorcar (see BARALA 1952, p. 56). In an entry dated VS 2008, 12 Mangsir [i.e. 27 November 1951] in his diary, Naya Raj PANT, a contemporary of Kaiser Shamsheer and renowned scholar, praised the benefactor's great generosity in three verses composed in Sanskrit (see N. PANT 2003, p. 61; M. PANT 2006, p. 57 offers a Nepali translation of these verses):

श्रीकेशरो जनहिताय कदापि किञ्चित्
चक्रे पुरेति कथनं तु वयं न विद्यः।
दारान् सुतांश्च सममेव निगृह्य कामा-
चारत्वमेव विदधे स इति स्फुटं नः॥
एवंविधोऽपि स जनः पुनरत्र राज्यं
राणाकुले जहति शत्रुगणैः प्रयुक्ते।
सव्याश्रिते शुभविधौ पठनैकसाध्ये
द्रव्यं ददाति बहुलं तृणवत् प्रहृष्टः॥
राणाकुलस्य यशसैव हि वंशजानां
मन्त्राधिकारविधुरोऽपि च मन्त्रिवर्गे।
स्थानं महत् स लभते रिपुहस्तदत्तं
चैतन्निरीक्ष्य किमु ना हृदये दधीत॥



The entrance of the Kaiser Library

Chairperson and introduced him with the following words:

हामी उपस्थित भएका मात्र कलाविषयक ज्ञाता धेरै भए तापनि श्री केसरजस्तो प्रत्येक कला-स्कन्धको समानरूपेण पारखी अरु अहिले पाइनु मुश्किल छ।²⁶

At the end of the meeting, Kaiser Shamsheer graciously remarked:

मैले आफ्नो जीवनभरी साहित्य र कलाका जति सामग्री एकत्र गर्न सकेको थिएँ त्यसमा तपाईंहरूको यस महान् प्रयत्नले गर्दा गतिशीलता र साथै राष्ट्रिय उपयोगिता पनि थपिन आएकोले मलाई साह्रै प्रसन्नता छ।²⁷

In this way Kaiser Shamsheer opened his library to the scholars affiliated to the Nepal Cultural Council. The general public was given access to the valuable collections only later, at the end of 1968. Since then the Kaiser Library has continued to be used as a reference library, and is open to all readers and visitors.²⁸ Nowadays, the library operates under the Ministry of Education and Sports of the Government of Nepal, which occupies a few wings of the same building.

The Kaiser Manuscript Collection The most valuable treasure stored in the Kaiser Library is its collection of old and rare Nepalese manuscripts. In his pur-

²⁶“Although among us who attend [this meeting] there are many experts in a particular field, it is now hard to find somebody else like the Honourable Kaiser [Shamsheer] who is expert equally in every field.” (BARĀLA 1952, p. 53).

²⁷“I am extremely happy that thanks to your great efforts the literary and art materials which I have been collecting during all my life will be actively used and will become objects of national utilization as well.” (BARĀLA 1952, p. 55).

²⁸See <http://www.klib.gov.np>.



Manuscripts stored in the Kaiser Library

suit of collecting manuscripts, Kaiser Shamsheer was inspired by Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1896), who in 1820–43, during his stay at the British Residency in Kathmandu, did pioneer scholarly research and collected over five thousand Nepalese manuscripts, now kept in the British Library. Kaiser Shamsheer was also influenced by the efforts of other early researchers, in particular by Cecil BENDALL (1856–1906)²⁹ and Haraprasāda ŚĀSTRĪ (1853–1931).³⁰ Kaiser Shamsheer saw scholars coming to Nepal in search of the lost ‘Indian’ civilization, and he came into personal contact with many of them. He had friendly relationship with Sylvain LÉVI (1863–1935)³¹ and was well acquainted with Giuseppe TUCCI (1894–1984). Portraits of both scholars are still hanging on the walls in the Kaiser Library. Kaiser Shamsheer enabled LÉVI, TUCCI and other scholars to gain access to many valuable Nepalese manuscripts and significantly facilitated their scholarly work.³²

Thus, for example, Luciano PETECH, who in the late 1950s came to Nepal to do research on the history of medieval Nepal, discovered in Kaiser Shamsheer’s collection a very important Sanskrit chronicle, which he appended in his *Medieval History of Nepal* (1958), naming it “the Kaisher fragment of ‘Vamśāvalī’ (Kaisher Library, n. 171)”.³³ PETECH considered the discovery of this manuscript very fortunate.³⁴ The text trans-

²⁹See his *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*. With Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palæography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal. Cambridge 1883 and *A Journey of Literary and Archæological Research in Nepal and Northern India, during the Winter of 1884-5*. Cambridge 1886.

³⁰See his *A Catalogue of Palm-leaf & Selected Paper MSS*. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal. Calcutta 1905 and 1915.

³¹See RAJ 1994, p. 58 for a photograph of Kaiser Shamsheer, Sylvain Lévi and Hemraj Sharma from “circa 1923”.

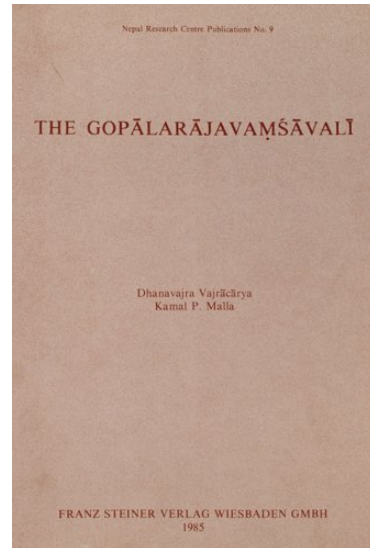
³²See GARZILLI 2001, p. 120.

³³See PETECH 1984, Appendix III, pp. 225–231.

³⁴This manuscript was microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project on reel nos. C 106/18 and C 107/2.



Portrait of Sylvan Lévi

The NRC edition of the *Gopālarājaavamśāvalī*

mitted in the manuscript is now famous as “the Kaiser *Vamśāvalī*”. Interestingly, it was Kaiser Shamsheer who originally intended to publish the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* for the first time and commissioned the work on it in 1959. Five researchers from the Nepal Cultural Council studied the text on each Saturday for six months.³⁵ However, the text could not be published during Kaiser Shamsheer’s lifetime. About twenty years later, the seed of the plan for a publication of the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* sown by Kaiser Shamsheer was helped along by Dhanavajra VAJRĀCĀRYA, who in 1980–81 initiated a project on the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* at the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies of the Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu. The fruit was eventually reaped in 1985 when VAJRĀCĀRYA and Kamal P. MALLA published the edition of the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* in the series of the Nepal Research Centre.³⁶

The high value of Kaiser Shamsheer’s manuscripts was obvious to scholars, so it was quite natural that the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) decided to include the collection within the scope of its activities. The NGMPP microfilmed the whole collection of manuscripts housed in the Kaiser Library under the reel letter C. The microfilming activities at the Kaiser Library took place in two phases. The first phase was initiated on 28 October 1975 beginning with reel no. C 1/1, and it lasted until 31 August 1976. Seven years later, on 30 October 1983 the second phase started, and the work was completed on 31 January 1984, finishing at reel no. C 124/6. On altogether 124 microfilm reels 1,168

manuscripts with more than 100,000 folios containing approximately 1,350 separate texts were microfilmed.

The original negative films are kept at the National Archives in Kathmandu, together with a set of positive copies. Another complete set of positive copies is stored at the State Library in Berlin. At the time of microfilming, the NGMPP prepared index cards for each processed manuscript. The information from these index cards was incorporated into the “Preliminary List of Manuscripts, Blockprints and Historical Documents Microfilmed by the NGMPP, Part 1 (excluding Tibetan Material and Historical Documents)” published on a CD in June 2003. The NGMPP database, which includes the relevant information concerning the manuscripts at the Kaiser Library, has meanwhile become easily available over the Internet.³⁷ A preliminary descriptive catalogue of Kaiser Shamsheer’s manuscripts has been prepared by Dinesh Raj PANT and Yogesh MISHRA; however, this catalogue has not been published yet. Within the ongoing Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project (NGMCP) funded by the German Research Foundation a comprehensive descriptive catalogue of these manuscripts is being prepared.³⁸ By the beginning of October 2006 more than one hundred manuscripts had been described in full detail.

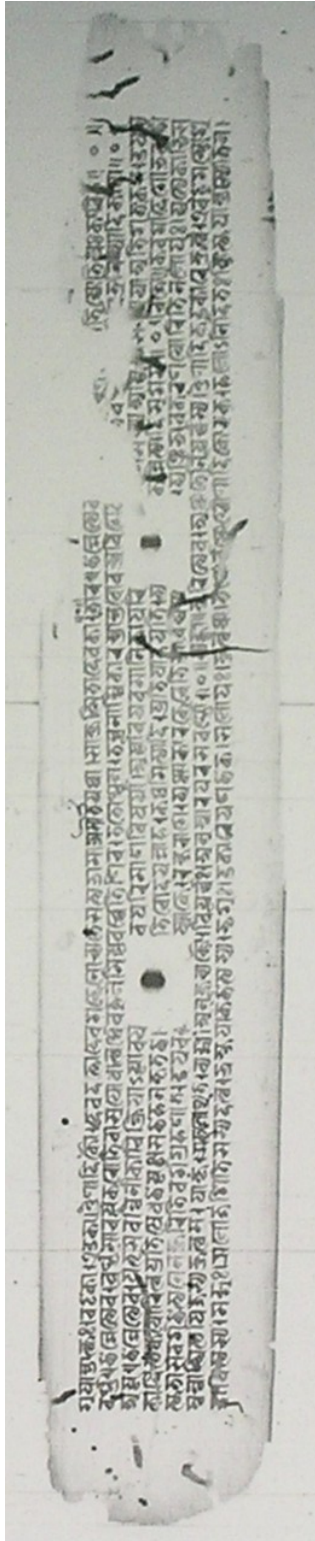
About forty percent of the material collected by Kaiser Shamsheer are old palm-leaf manuscripts (486 MSS). Two thirds of the manuscripts in the collection are written in various forms of the Newari script (868 MSS). There are also manuscripts written in Devanagari script, and a few more in Bengali, Maithili, Tibetan and Kutila (Transitional Gupta) scripts. The bulk of the manuscripts con-

³⁵See TEWĀRĪ 1964.

³⁶See VAJRĀCĀRYA/MALLA 1985 and MALLA 1985, pp. 75–101; cf. M. PANT 1993, pp. 17–76.

³⁷See <http://134.100.72.204:3000>.

³⁸See <http://www.uni-hamburg.de/ngmcp>.



Microfilm copy of a palm-leaf manuscript of Ratnamati's Cāndravyākaraṇapāñjikā



A damaged palm-leaf manuscript in the Kaiser Library

tain texts in Sanskrit. Apart from them, the collection includes texts in Newari and Nepali, and some few in Hindi, Maithili and Prakrit. The texts are devoted to various subjects. Most widely represented is the hymnal literature (268 MSS); there are many Buddhist texts on various subjects (218 MSS), ritual texts (176 MSS), tantric texts (130 MSS), and astronomical texts (98 MSS).

The manuscript collection housed in the Kaiser Library is extremely valuable, not least because the codices kept there have been selected specifically on the basis of their importance. There are hardly any accidental acquisitions, and generally there are not many copies of the same title. The core of the material was formed probably around a traditional Rana collection, to which Kaiser Shamsheer zealously added many more manuscripts. The older generation of Newar scholars used to talk about rare pieces of art and manuscripts which Kaiser Shamsheer collected from local intellectuals. By acquiring the manuscripts for his own library, Kaiser Shamsheer has prevented invaluable cultural items of Nepal from being irreversibly lost or illegally taken out of the country. The majority of the manuscripts acquired by Kaiser Shamsheer for his collection are still available in the Kaiser Library, although some precious documents have unfortunately been lost. Apart from this, from a note written by Ramesh Prasad Dhungana on 28 April 1971 it is known that before Kaiser Shamsheer's collection was handed over to His Majesty's Government of Nepal, 42 manuscripts from the Kaiser collection were taken on loan by the Bir Library. It is difficult to establish how many manuscripts exactly were available in 1968 when ownership of the Kaiser Library was transferred.³⁹

³⁹GARZILLI's note that "Kaiser Shamsheer gave 600 palm-leaf manuscripts to the Royal Library, which in 1976 were filmed by Michael Witzel for the NGMPP on films numbered C1 et seqq." (GARZILLI 2001, p. 120, fn. 18) is not very accurate. All manuscripts microfilmed by the NGMPP on C reels, with the exception of those lost or stolen, are still kept at the Kaiser Library.

Kaiser Shamsheer's collection includes many remarkable and truly unique manuscripts. It may suffice here to mention only a few rarities to give an impression of the great importance of this exquisite depository. A very old incomplete palm-leaf manuscript of the *Jātarūpaṭīkā*, the earliest commentary on the *Amarakośa*, dated NS 239 [AD 1119] is preserved in Kaiser Shamsheer's collection (NGMPP, C 121/1).⁴⁰ A palm-leaf manuscript dated NS 494 [AD 1374] was found in it which contains the earliest known Newari translation of the Sanskrit version of the *Haramekhalā*, a medical work in Prakrit (NGMPP, C 80/11 = C 106/5).⁴¹ Historians have repeatedly been denying the story told in the vernacular chronicles about an attack on the Kathmandu Valley by Mukunda Sena, the king of Palpa in Western Nepal. In Kaiser Shamsheer's collection a manuscript of the *Nāradaśmṛti* (NGMPP, C 40/2a) dated NS 631 [AD 1511] was found, which contains undeniable evidence that Mukunda Sena did indeed attack the Kathmandu Valley in NS 645 and 646 [AD 1525 and 1526].⁴² We know about the Licchavi King Maṇadeva IV from a very old palm-leaf manuscript of the *Suśrūtasaṃhitā*, a medical treatise, which was copied in Deopatan (Gvala) in MS 301 [AD 877] and is now kept in the Kaiser Library (NGMPP, C 80/7). Only recently an old palm-leaf manuscript of the *Nyāyavikāśinī*, a Newari commentary on the *Nāradaśmṛti* written by Maṇika in NS 500 [AD 1380], was identified in the Kaiser manuscript collection (NGMPP, C 5/2). This codex was copied in NS 672 [AD 1552] at the time of the Patan king Viṣṇusimha (1536–58). Until now only a modern copy of this old manuscript was known to exist (NGMPP, B 415/20 and a better retake in A 1313/14).

In the first half of the twentieth century a number of erudite private collectors and institutions in Kathmandu were competing with each other in collecting Nepalese manuscripts. Among those particularly active, besides Kaiser Shamsheer, was Hemraj Sharma, who established an even bigger collection, which he kept in his private house, the Bharatī Bhavan, at Dhoka Tole in the centre of Kathmandu. There the second biggest manuscript collection in Nepal of the time was accommodated.⁴³ The largest collection of Nepalese manuscripts was stored in the Bir Library. The Bir Library was first called Nepālā Rājakiya Pustakālaya (Royal Nepalese Library) and was established at the time of King Girvan Yuddha Bikram Shah Dev (1797–1816) in 1812. It became popular un-

der the name Bir Pustakālaya (Bir Library) when in 1900 Bir Shamsheer (1852–1901) moved the library to the newly constructed Ghantaghar and reorganised it. In 1967, when the National Archives in Kathmandu was established within the Department of Archaeology, itself founded in 1952, the library was transferred to its present location at Ram Shah Path near Babar Mahal. The collection contains now more than 35,000 manuscripts and documents.

Hemraj Sharma and the custodians of the Bir Library were aware that Kaiser Shamsheer was in possession of extremely rare and important manuscripts embellishing his superb library, and made efforts to arrange modern copies for their own collections. Hemraj Sharma, in particular, had many occasions to explore Kaiser Shamsheer's collection and commission new copies. Both intellectuals were well-acquainted, moreover Kaiser Shamsheer esteemed Hemraj Sharma and even called him respectfully his guru.⁴⁴ Kaiser Shamsheer's old manuscript of the *Tribhūmikavidyāpīṭha* dated NS 406 [AD 1286] was copied in VS 1980 [AD 1923], and the Devanagari copy was included in Hemraj Sharma's collection under the title *Tribhūmikavidyā*. Later this modern copy came into the possession of the National Library of Nepal and eventually was brought to the National Archives (Acc. No. 5/2231).⁴⁵ The NGMPP

⁴⁴A letter from Kaiser Shamsheer is preserved in which it becomes clear that he was involved in the nomination of his learned contemporary for the prestigious title Vidvacchiromaṇi "Crest-jewel of the Learned Persons". The decoration was offered to Hemraj Sharma at the suggestion of Kaiser Shamsheer or at least with his active support. The letter dated VS 1992, 10 Baishakh [22 April 1935] reads:

हजुर, विद्वच्छिरोमणि नै बेस जस्तो लाग्यो हुन त नेपाल मा पण्डितराज चलेके हो. पण्डितज्यू को ठाम्मा पण्डितराज हुनु बेसै जस्तो लाग्छ. Poet-Laureate जस्तो राज मा मुख्य एक विद्वान लाइ पण्डितराज हुनु राम्रै कुरा हो. भरे बार बजे जाउलाखेल दरवार पुगिबक्सन्यै छ त्यसै बेला कुरा गरूला. पण्डितराज र विद्वच्छिरोमणि मा कु बेस होला भने डेगान लाउला. डाइरेक्टरी फीर्ता चढायाको छु. सदा हजुरको शिष्य, केसर.

"Dear Sir, ([the title] Vidvacchiromaṇi 'Crest-jewel of the Learned Persons' seems to be better, though Paṇḍitarāja 'King of Scholars' is indeed in vogue in Nepal. Instead of Paṇḍitajyū 'Respectable Scholar' it seems better [to say] Paṇḍitarāja 'King of Scholars'. It is a good idea to offer [the title] Paṇḍitarāja to the foremost learned person in the Kingdom, as is the case with [the title] Poet Laureate. I hope you will reach Jawalakhel Durbar at 12 o'clock today. Let us discuss then which [title] will be better, Paṇḍitarāja or Vidvacchiromaṇi. I have returned the directory. Your student forever, Kaiser." (See RAJ 1978, p. 98, Appendix 9 where a facsimile of this letter in Kaiser Shamsheer's own handwriting can be seen.)

The nomination took place on the occasion of the sixty-first birthday of the then prime minister Juddha Shamsheer Jang Bahadur Rana (1874–1952); the Lalmohar of the title, however, was provided only four years later in VS 1996, 16 Bhadra [1 September 1939] (see RAJ 1978, Appendix 1).

⁴⁵Cf. REGMI 1965, p. 232. PETECH had access to these manuscripts and referred to the text under the title *Kumārīpūjāvidhāna*. This title was extracted from the sub-colophon of the last chapter

⁴⁰See M. PANT 2000, pp. 57–68.

⁴¹See SHAKYA/VAIDYA 1970, pp. 23–24.

⁴²See M. PANT/D. PANT 1979, pp. 101–102.

⁴³In 1955, soon after Hemraj Sharma's death, 8,043 manuscripts from his library were sold by his family to His Majesty's the Government of Nepal, and the material was transferred to the National Library of Nepal. After the foundation of the National Archives in Kathmandu, this precious collection of manuscripts was moved there.

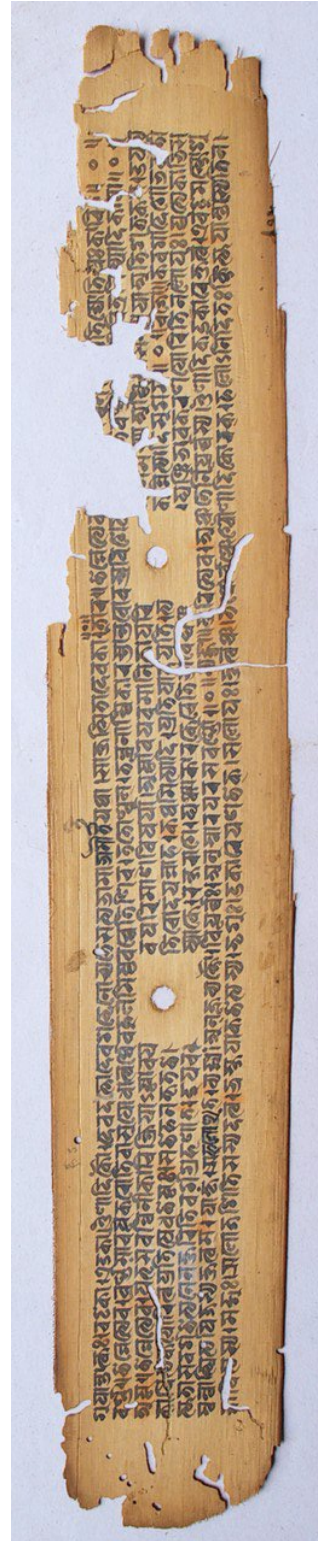
microfilmed both manuscripts, Kaiser Shamsheer's old one under the title *Vidyāpīṭhapraṭiṣṭhāvidhi* (NGMPP, C 106/3) and the modern copy under the title *Tribhūmikavidyāpīṭhapraṭiṣṭhā* (NGMPP, A 865/2, A 1231/8, B 520/4).

Another noteworthy example is Kaiser Shamsheer's manuscript of Ratnamati's sub-commentary on Dharmadāsa's *Cāndravṛtti* on the *Cāndravāyākaraṇa*, Candragomin's famous Sanskrit grammar. The importance of this old manuscript dated NS 363 [AD 1243], of which only 79 folios are preserved, was clearly recognized by Kaiser Shamsheer. The National Archives owns two modern copies of two different parts of the old manuscript. Both modern copies were prepared by order of Kaiser Shamsheer's nephew Mṛgendra Shamsheer (1906-?), who was at the time Chief of the Department of Education. The first copy was written by Divyaratna Vajrācārya in VS 1989 [AD 1932], while the second copy was prepared by Yajñānanda Vajrācārya (1917-1997), most probably years after Divyaratna Vajrācārya copied his part. The NGMPP microfilmed all three manuscripts, the old one in the Kaiser Library (NGMPP, C 2/9) and the two modern copies in the National Archives (NGMPP, A 1286/14 and B 460/16).

In this way, even when there were no microfilms, photocopying machines, scanners or digital cameras, enthusiastic and praiseworthy efforts were being made to preserve the invaluable knowledge contained in the Nepalese manuscripts by safely storing them and preparing modern copies on their basis. Thanks to the huge technological advancements at the turn of the twenty-first century, it has become now significantly easier to preserve manuscript material in a very efficient and economical way. At the same time, even when the manuscripts are locked in a storage room under proper conditions, images of them can easily be made available in digital form, so that researchers and the interested public all over the world can have immediate online access to the contents of the manuscripts. The responsibility of today's generation of scholars and conservators is all the more greater to make every possible effort to ensure proper preservation and study of the material which has survived the whims of past centuries.

Despite the efforts of some few individuals, it is no secret that since Kaiser Shamsheer's private collection was handed over to the public in 1968, no significant improvements have been made in the preservation of the precious manuscript collection. On the contrary, since 1968 the manuscripts, which are kept bound in cloth and piled on shelves in ordinary metal cupboards placed in an environmentally unmonitored room, have been exposed to ever more risk of damage and loss. Not only creatures such as insects, mice and irresponsible humans may get access

of the text (see PETECH 1984, p. 98).



Palm-leaf manuscript of Ratnamati's *Cāndravāyākaraṇapañjikā* (Kaiser Library, MS No. 17)

to the material, but also fungus and the increasing atmospheric pollution in Kathmandu are irreparably affecting the material. Not even the fact that the collection has been microfilmed by the NGMPP and the contents of the manuscripts are thus preserved can serve as a consolation, for some of the microfilms prepared at the Kaiser Library are unfortunately of poor quality and either hardly or not legible at all. Further, the microfilms which are more than thirty years old are already showing the ravages of time, and it is not certain for how much longer they will last.

Until very recently another of Kaiser Shamsheer's legacies, the Kaiser Bāga, an exquisite English-style Edwardian garden built in the 1920s was lying in ruins, neglected for decades. It is only thanks to a project funded by the Austrian Development Aid and directed by the Austrian architect Götz Hagmüller that the Kaiser Garden was rescued from imminent demolition. After six years of restoration and renovation the garden was triumphantly reopened on 8 October 2006.⁴⁶

The unsuitable "manuscript room" where Kaiser Shamsheer's unique collection of Nepalese manuscripts is currently kept, is only a one-minute walk from the "Garden of Dreams". It will be unpardonable not to follow the example set by the restorers of the Kaiser Garden. The establishment of an environmentally controlled storage room for the safe preservation of the invaluable manuscripts in the Kaiser Library is an urgent need and should not be postponed any further. The first necessary step has already been taken by the Nepal Research Centre, which is working on a proposal for a new project at the Kaiser Library. The Kaiser Library Manuscript Collection Project will try to establish a modern storage room, a professional conservation studio and a fully equipped reading room. Within this project the manuscript collection of the Kaiser Library will be digitized by means of the newest technology and reorganized in accordance with the comprehensive descriptive catalogue being prepared by the NGMCP. It remains to be seen whether the Nepal Research Centre will be able to overcome all the obstacles lying ahead so as to allow the Kaiser Library Manuscript Collection Project to be started in the near future. Its successful completion will not only save one of Nepal's most remarkable manuscript collections from damage and loss, but should also serve as a model for the preservation of many other invaluable textual witnesses and bearers of Nepal's great immaterial wealth.

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The present "manuscript room" in the Kaiser Library

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