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कृति रक्षा

राष्ट्रीय पाण्डुलिपि मिशन की द्वैमासिक पत्रिका

Kriti Rakshana

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"One of our major misfortunes is that we have lost so much of the world's ancient literature – in Greece, in India and elsewhere... Probably an organised search for old manuscripts in the libraries of religious institutions, monasteries and private persons would yield rich results. That, and the critical examination of these manuscripts and, where considered desirable, their publication and translation, are among the many things we have to do in India when we succeed in breaking through our shackles and can function for ourselves. Such a study is bound to throw light on many phases of Indian history and especially on the social background behind historic events and changing ideas ."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, *The Discovery of India*

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Address by the Director, National Mission for Manuscripts

Annual Day Celebrations of the National Mission for Manuscripts

24th March, 2014

11 Mansingh Road, New Delhi – 110 001

It feels my heart with inexplicable joy to find me among such an august gathering and have the opportunity to address you. This is my first presence in the NMM Annual Day programme as its Director. It is not that, I was not aware of the NMM or did not attend its programme before I have joined NMM as its Director. Because being an ardent devotee of Sanskrit language and literature, I availed myself of a number of opportunities to attend different functions organized by the NMM.

On this auspicious occasion of Annual Day celebrations of the NMM I like to welcome you all who have taken all troubles to grace this occasion. I am especially thankful to Shri V. Srinivas, J.S. of the Ministry of Culture, Govt. of India, who has accepted our invitation to be the Chief Guest and despite his busy schedule spared his precious time for the NMM. I am also grateful to Dr. Subas Pani, who was not only an able administrator in his four decade long career, but is also a scholar par se; a rare combination of administrator and scholar. Dr. Subas Pani has been related to the NMM almost since its inception and served its purpose during different occasions and indeed at certain critical moments. I feel honoured to find Dr. Pani as the president and express my heart-felt gratitude for his kind presence here. Today, we have among us another scholar of repute and indeed a veteran in the field of Indic studies, Prof. Satyapal Narang. A voracious reader with inquisitive mind and authoritative knowledge; his service to the NMM is unparalleled in more than one way. We find in him a friend, philosopher and guide. I take this opportunity to welcome Prof. Narang and express my gratitude for accepting our invitation. On behalf of the NMM I also like to welcome all the erudite scholars,

honoured ladies and gentlemen in the audience, who have taken all troubles to be among us and make this occasion a memorable one by their kind presence.

I am thankful to the officials of the Ministry of Culture, Govt. of India and people of this nation as a whole for giving me a scope to serve the nation. To confess freely, this is an interesting as well as a challenging assignment to me. Interesting, because all throughout my career in academics, my mission was to explore the hitherto unexplored aspects of Indian literary heritage and inspire people to unearth and preserve the cultural and literary heritage of this great nation. In my study and research, manuscripts were not untouched. Infact, I believe no study into the scientific, cultural or literary traditions of India is complete without an intimate consultation of manuscripts, which are happened to be the store house of Indic knowledge. My quest for knowledge not only brought me in close contact with manuscripts available in India but also attracted me towards Indian manuscripts preserved in collections abroad. Most of my foreign visits were in one way or other related to the study of Indian manuscripts in repositories abroad.

As you know, with an estimated ten million manuscripts, India has the biggest manuscript reserve in the world. Unlike Western countries, manuscripts in India are scattered not only in institutional repositories but also in private collections, in temples, in monasteries, in libraries and private households as well.

National Mission for Manuscripts (NMM) was established by the Department of Culture, Ministry of Tourism and Culture, Govt. of India through a gazette notification in 2003 and it came into

existence on 7th February, 2003. Since then, NMM has been engaged in documentation, conservation, digitization, publication and dissemination of manuscripts. It has the mandate of identifying, preserving, conserving and making accessible the manuscript heritage of the country; creating awareness about manuscripts among scholars and public at large; publication of unpublished manuscripts and creating a national manuscripts library. It is the first such national level unified initiative in the world which strives to conserve and disseminate the manuscripts available in the length and breadth of the country. We the Indians are proud to have not only the largest number of manuscripts in the world but also to have this unique organization and be the forerunner in the field of comprehensive conservation initiative.

Since its inception, NMM has been working at multiple levels and involved in diverse activities. Up to 31st December, 2013, NMM has collected information about 36,89,000 manuscripts from 23 states it surveyed. As you may be aware, Information about manuscripts are collected through survey and post-survey activities and also through a network of more than 50 centres (MRCs) located at nook and corner of the country. The information on 22,20,000 manuscripts are already available in the NMM website. In addition to these, information on additional 1,19,565 manuscripts is being released in the website today.

Under conservation programme, 723 awareness campaigns, 173 preventive workshops and 20 curative workshops have been conducted so far to train 4,991 persons in the science and art of conservation. So far 117.84 lakh folios of 5.05 lakh manuscripts have been treated in preventive way and another 35 lakh folios of 1.44 lakh manuscripts have been conserved in curative way. In the year 2013 – 2014 (Since 1st April) itself, through 50 manuscript conservation centres (MCCs) 2,10,75,241 folios of manuscripts have been conserved in preventive way and 41,36,925 folios have been conserved following curative method.

Under the digitization programme, 1.85 crore pages of 1.49 lakh manuscripts have been scanned and their images have been stored in server as well as DVDs. The aim is to establish national digital manuscript library, the most prominent initiative of the NMM.

Though India has the largest number of manuscripts in the

world, there are very few scholars who can decipher what are written in them. As ill luck would have it, the number of manuscriptologists is dwindling day by day. In this context I like to mention that there are only 4 persons alive now who can read manuscripts written in Gunjala Gundi script. Last year NMM has taken an initiative to organize an workshop to teach young scholars this script, which was once upon a time used by the Gundi tribes. To face the challenge of paucity of scholars workshops on manuscriptology and paleography are organized in different parts of the country. So far 52 basic level and 18 advance level workshops have been organized to train 2,270 scholars. Besides these, 42 seminars on different topics and 130 public lectures have been organized.

Swami Vivekananda says in Future of India (Lecture),

“My idea is first of all to bring out the gems of spirituality that are stored up in our books (Manuscripts) and in the possession of a few only, hidden as it were, in monasteries and in forests – to bring them out; to bring the knowledge out of them, not only from the hands where it is hidden, but from the still more inaccessible chest, the language in which it is preserved, the incrustation of centuries of Sanskrit words. In one word, I want to make them popular, I want to bring out these ideas and let them be the common property of all, of every man in India, whether he knows the Sanskrit language or not”

- Page 290, (Lectures from Columbo to Almora), The Complete Works of Vivekananda, vol III, Mayavati Memorial Edition, Calcutta

If we consider in the light of this comment by Swamiji, NMM's efforts cannot be limited to document, conserve and digitize manuscripts. Until and unless common people come to know and be benefitted from what are written in manuscripts, NMM's efforts cannot be complete. Therefore, publication and dissemination deserve utmost importance. Under its publication programme, NMM publishes compilation of lectures, proceedings of seminars, critical editions of manuscripts and rare unpublished manuscripts, besides catalogues and policy documents. 37 volumes of books have been published by the NMM so far, of which 11 volumes have been published since 1st April, 2013. This is indeed a great achievement, when we have only one scholar to look after entire activities related to publication. NMM also sponsors the NCC project of the Madras University, Chennai.

Besides books, NMM publishes an internationally reputed bi-monthly journal, 24 issues of this journal have come out so far.

Annual Day is organised to celebrate the achievements, find out the loopholes, if any in the functioning of the NMM and to chalk out the future direction of the organization. Therefore the day of celebration is not only a day of rejuvenation but also a day of evaluation of past activities and a day to re-ignite our commitment and enthusiasm.

Since its beginning, NMM has travelled a long distance and achieved a lot. But there is no room for complacency. I think the achievement is only a minuscule of what had been aimed at originally.

In our scheme of things, we have touched only 23 states so far. In these states also, documentation is far to be completed and a fraction of the total number of manuscripts available there were touched by the 'kalyan hasta' of trained conservators. For example, before 2010 no one was aware of the presence of manuscripts in Mizoram. Credit goes to the NMM for exploring manuscripts in this remote state of the North-East. But we are yet to start the process of documentation, conservation or digitization of manuscripts there.

Among different challenges faced by the NMM, the most important one is the stream-lining of the different centres, MRCs and MCCs, to make them more performance oriented. A beginning in this respect has already been made.

So far as the digitization of manuscripts is concerned, we have in our possession the digitized copy of more than one lakh forty nine thousand manuscripts. But in comparison to the available manuscripts, it is only one and half per cent. If only one and half per cent has been completed in 10 years then in this pace, it will take more than 600 years to complete the job of digitization of estimated one crore manuscripts. I doubt, whether any

manuscript will survive until then. Therefore to make the digitization reasonable and effective, which is indeed the demand of the day, we have to multiply our efforts. Shri. V. Srinivas inspires us in this regard.

One aspect which has its mention in the Project Document of the NMM, has not been touched so far. As per the mandate, NMM is to strive towards documenting and digitizing Indian manuscripts available in repositories abroad. We may think anew and pay heed to this dimension also. When we are going to establish National Digital Manuscripts Library, it is sure to remain incomplete if we cannot make available the digital copies of the Indian manuscripts available in foreign repositories. Besides these, as South Asian and South-East Asian countries share a common cultural and literary heritage, an initiative may be taken to establish a mutually beneficial cooperation with these countries to conserve and share the literary heritage available in the manuscripts of these countries.

A lot may be said. But I believe it is better to do than to say a lot. I take this opportunity to appeal to all who present here and all who are directly and indirectly related to NMM but absent from here today, come forward with your help. Let us make a history by preserving the past for the generations to come. At this moment a couplet from a Robert Frost's poem is peeping in my mind:

Woods are dark and deep;

But I have promises to keep.

Miles to go before I sleep;

Miles to go before I sleep.

Thank you

(Prof. P. K. Mishra)
Director, NMM

Editorial

There were two chance discoveries in Kashmir: one added to our knowledge of the history of Kashmir and another was a design to unmake the history of Kashmir. Only similarity lies in the fact that both were noticed for the first time by shepherds. In 1931 when shepherds discovered a large cache of manuscripts in Gilgit (now in PoK) a new chapter on Buddhist Kashmir unfolded before us and in 1999 when shepherds discovered the intrusion of Pakistani infiltrators, Kargil war followed. Gilgit manuscripts, if not the oldest manuscripts, are among the oldest surviving manuscripts in India.

Sharadadesha (means land of the goddess of leaning) as it is called, Kashmir was the seat of leaning since the time immemorial. It appears to be the head, in the body of mother India where all thinking and imagination took place and knowledge generated and stored.

When suggestions to publish region-based and topic-based special issues started to pour in, Kashmir was the first name peeped into my mind. I decided to make the very first issue of this type a special issue on Kashmir; not without reason. Then I started to look for the scholars who are actively engaged in the study of intellectual heritage of Kashmir.

I feel honoured to have an article from none other than Dr. S. S. Toshkhani. His approach to study manuscripts from different perspectives with interdisciplinary approach is a lesson for the students of manuscriptology in general and scholars of Kashmir Studies in special.

Dr. Virendra Bangroo has delved deep into Kashmiri architecture and culture through *bahi*, the neglected treasure house of history. In this way he points towards another source of history - the *bahis* or record books maintained by the priests. On the other hand, Dr. Mayank Shekhar has brought to light the works of a Kashmiri thinker from different sources.

Dr. Sushma Jatoo informs us that research and publications done so far on or about Gilgit manuscripts are less than expected. These are still buried in different collections waiting for exploration on war footing.

In fact time is ripe to launch an all-encompassing war to explore the intellectual heritage of Kashmir and retrieve the lost glory of this land of learning. This issue in your hand is an effort in this direction.

Editor

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NMM: Summery of Events

Avatāra Bhatta's Bānāsūr Kathā and Its Linguistic Peculiarities



Dr. Shashi Shekhar Toshkhani

Bānāsūr Kathā is an unpublished 15th century Kashmiri poetic work of great excellence. It was written in the Shāradā script by Bhattāvatāra or Avatāra Bhatta during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420 – 70). It is a narrative poem of haunting beauty based on the well-known love legend of Usha and Aniruddha given in the *Harivamśa Purāṇa* – as the poet himself reveals in the opening lines. Revolving around the twin axels of love and war, the work brings to light an entire lost world of Kashmiri poetic forms, metrics, and linguistic situation prevailing at the time of its composition. Apart from its poetic values, which can undoubtedly be described as superb, *Bānāsūr Kathā* is an extremely valuable work for the immense light it sheds on the diachronic history of the development of the Kashmiri language, shattering many a myth about the evolution and affiliation of the language.

About the Manuscript

Only a single manuscript of the work is available, which was discovered in Bikaner by the famous German Indologist Georg Bühler during the course of his “Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Kashmir, Rajputana and Central India” about which he published his report in 1877, in a special supplement of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay. Bühler, however, wrongly gave its name as “*Bānāsūr Vadh*”, and so did Grierson, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and other scholars who followed him, when the name “*Bānāsūr Kathā*” is very clearly mentioned in the colophon at the end of the work:

Iti Lahare Srgālapurī Bhattāvatāra viracitā Bānāsūr Kathā samāptā / Śubhamastu lekhakapāthakayo śubhamastu //

The scribe too has scribbled the words *Hiqāyate Bānāsūr* in Persian script on the last page of the manuscript just below the colophon, which means the same as *Bānāsūr Kathā*. The date he has given of the manuscript copy is 1020 Hegira, which comes to around 1658 CE.

The text of the manuscript is written, mostly in black ink on very old Kashmiri paper, which has become quite fragile now. The use of vermilion-coloured ink has also been made at some places to indicate the name of the metre used, name of the character or, at a few places, for indicating action of the characters.

There are interlinear glosses, in Sanskrit as well as Kashmiri, added perhaps by the scribe to help the reader to understand meanings of some difficult words and expressions, at several places in the manuscript. It shows that the language had undergone considerable change by the time the manuscript copy was made in the 17th century. The attempt has, however, been given up after some pages, perhaps because the text may have become too obscure for the scribe himself to understand. Of a

total of 93 folios that the manuscript has, only 80 exist now. Folio numbers 25 to 37 and folio number 86 are missing. There are 10 lines on the average to every page and the size of each page is 15 X 12 cms. approximately.

Bühler not only got the title of the work wrong, but he also admitted that he could not make much of its contents even though he showed it to several Kashmiri scholars, who in turn were not able to decipher it. The work was acquired by the Deccan College, Pune, along with other Sanskrit and Kashmiri manuscripts from Kashmir discovered by Bühler, and later transferred to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI) for preservation, where it lies today on the shelves of the institute's manuscript library for the benefit of scholars. Sadly, however, no attempt was made to study this masterpiece of early Kashmiri literature by any scholar, except making some stray and superficial references to it and that too under the wrong name of *Bānāsūr Vadh*, till the present author took it up for his doctoral thesis in 1970. This was the first attempt ever made by anyone to critically study the work and to this day no other scholar has cared to examine it.

The author of the work, Bhattāvatāra or Avatāra Bhatta, does not disclose much about himself except that he composed his work *Bānāsūr Kathā* in the village Shrigālapurī, modern Shālpur, of the Lahar (modern Lār) *parganā* or subdivision of the Kashmir Valley. The place finds mention at several places in Kashmir's medieval history for the role it played in several historical events. He also tells us about his preceptor whose name he gives as Salhan Acharya and calls him “an erudite scholar, a virtual ocean of knowledge, who has acquired great fame”. More importantly, he gives the exact date of its composition – the twenty-sixth year of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's rule, which comes to 1446 CE: *Zainanni pāne vimale rājye / Śaḍvīmśe varṣe Sarswat pūzyeth ājye //* The author has followed the convention of praising the ruler of the times, namely Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, describing his rule as “unblemished”. This adds to the historical significance of *Bānāsūr Kathā*, as for the first time we have a clearly dated work of early Kashmiri literature penned down at a definite point of time. Though we know nothing more about Bhattāvatāra's preceptor than what his talented disciple tells us, we learn from Shrivara, the court chronicler of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin and the famed author of *Jaina Rajatarangini*, that Avatāra Bhatta, or Bhattāvatāra, was a much respected poet at the Sultan's court.

Shrivara tells us that besides being a great Sanskrit scholar, Avatāra Bhatta had also acquired a good knowledge of the Persian language and literature. He describes him as “*Śāhnāmadesa granthābdhi pāragah*”, or one who had crossed

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the oceanic vastness of Firdousi's Persian classic, the *Šāhnāmā*. According to Shrivara, Avatāra Bhatta was the author of a work in Kashmiri entitled *Zaina Vilās* in which he had eulogized Zain-ul-Abidin and quoted his "wise sayings". Ironically though, this work is not available today and Avatāra Bhatta's fame today rests solely on *Bānāsūr Kathā* of which Shrivara has made no mention at all. Other Kashmiri works of Zain-ul-Abidin's time mentioned by Shrivara, like Yodhabhatta's play *Zaina Prakāśa* and Somabhatta's *Zaina Carit*, probably a biographical profile of the Sultan, too are lost. Shrivara's reference to these works however highlights a strange paradox that characterised the linguistic situation of Kashmir in the 15th century. At a time when Kashmir was passing through a very crucial phase of transition in its political history, its literary culture appeared to be restless for what Sheldon Pollock calls "the historic dynamic of vernacularism" and experimenting with new forms and genres of expressiveness in the native language even as its people were having an encounter with an absolutely alien belief system and ethos expressing itself in a totally unfamiliar civilizational idiom.

Though we do not get enough information from *Bānāsūr Kathā* or other sources to help us draw a well-recognizable biographical profile of Avatāra Bhatta, the work does project an impressive image of his poetic creativity. Avatāra Bhatta calls it "*kāvya prabandha*" or a narrative poem and admits that its theme is taken from the romantic legend of Usha and Aniruddha and the battle of Krishna and Bānāsūr as given in the *Harivamśa Purāṇa*. He very confidently claims that *Bānāsūr Kathā* is his original creation: "*Pānāy rachom iha kāvya pabandh* / (I have myself composed this poetic narrative). He further claims that it is "a charming narrative poem" (*ramaṇī ākhya*) that he has composed, its poetry "flowing like river of sweet ambrosia". And surely it is in its rich poetic values and the aesthetic heights scaled by the poet that the appeal of this still unpublished work lies. Dr. Mohib-ul-Hassan calls it the "first secular poem" in the Kashmiri language. *Bānāsūr Kathā* is replete with beautiful and imaginative passages describing acts of passionate love and war, its lilting cadences and soft music and melody of words, along with excellence in narration, making it a masterpiece of early Kashmiri literature. The poet seems to revel in depicting the psychology and physiology of erotic love and displays at places a sense of beauty reminiscent of poets like Jayadev and Vidyapati. Avatāra Bhatta appears to be at his poetic best when describing the physical charms of the feminine body, especially the ravishing beauty of the heroine Usha, as can be seen in these mellifluous lines:

*Sā Uṣa amar nipendas dullabh
Varakāmini vadanā zan śaśi pabh
Lata zan kṣāvun pikē*

Puṣkara gav adā nirēt kṣaṇi ake

[The enchantingly beautiful Usha was difficult
For even the king of gods to obtain
Her face attractive as the radiant moon
He (Aniruddha) enjoyed her charms
As the cuckoo bird enjoys a flowering creeper
And then in a moment he went away]

While the poet excels most in describing female charms and in

evoking tender moods of the erotic sentiment, he is equally impressive when he depicts the valour and courage that heroic men display in trying circumstances. With passion inflaming his heart, Aniruddha's valiant behaviour and his sense of manly pride is depicted by him with tremendous effect. Thus, in a poignant passage he is shown telling Usha that he would rather go straight like a man and take head on the ferocious bodyguards deputed by her father to protect her, than hide like a coward in her beautiful tresses:

Dhik-dhik myānes Yādav jammās

Vanati atsā majja kacān

Yuddha karā namet svakammās

Uṣe, atha chhon iha thān

[Shame upon my Yādava birth

If I hide behind your beautiful tresses, O lady!

I would rather fight unarmed at this very place

Bowing to my karma, O Uṣā!]

Avatāra Bhatta displays consummate skills of a fully conscious artist in his description of various situations and high and low points in the story and in his delineation of character. In fact he creates parallel worlds through different descriptive devices – our familiar everyday world and the world of imagination and myth, engaging us in absorbing details even as the story advances through interesting twists and turns to its denouement. He portrays human emotions and states of mind with great sensitivity, building up an intense drama of human passion and desire, showing great innovative talent and imagination in handling episodes taken from the *Harivamśa Purāṇa*. His artistic ingenuity flashes forth in all its brilliance not only when he describes the super-sensuous physical charms of the heroine Usha or the masculine deportment of Aniruddha, but also when he outlines Bānāsūra's valorous belligerency and the wisdom and sagacity of his minister Kumbhānda or describes the role that Krishna plays to uphold the cosmic order.

Another aspect of *Bānāsūr Kathā*'s importance as a poetic work lies in fact that we find in it the earliest and most beautiful examples of the Kashmiri short lyric form, the *vatsun*, long before Habba Khatun appeared on the scene. Avatāra Bhatta's poetic ingenuity shows itself in making an imaginative use of this form to depict human feelings and moods in different situations within the structural framework of a *prabandha kāvya* or narrative poem. He chooses intensely dramatic moments in the narrative to punctuate descriptive passages with beautiful and melodious lyrics. Long before Habba Kahtoon made her appearance on the Kashmiri literary scene, Avtāra Bhatta had already emerged as the pioneer of the *vatsun* lyric, composing some of the most enthralling songs in the language, expressive of tender feelings of love and longing. Some of these songs exhibit the poet's exquisite sense of verbal music, as for instance: "*kar iya so piya mē nikaṭo*" (When will my love come near me?), or "*Piyā ma gatsh māranay*" (Don't go my love, they are out to kill you), or "

Some linguistic features of *Bānāsūr Kathā*

While poetic qualities make *Bānāsūr Kathā*, an exquisitely beautiful work of early Kashmiri literature, it is from the linguistic point of view that it is a document of rare importance. Together



with *Sukha–dukha Charit* (S.D.C.), another important manuscript discovered by Bühler, it sheds a flood of light on the state of the Kashmiri language as it was spoken, or rather written, in the 15th century, when it had just evolved from the Mid-Indic Prakrit-Apabhramsha stage into a modern Indian language. We could call it Old Kashmiri, an appellation that is usually reserved for the language of the verses of Lal Ded, the great Kashmiri saint-poetess of the 14th century. Better known as *vāks*, Lal Ded's verses, however, were passed on to us through oral tradition and in their present form their language is very close to the Kashmiri as it is spoken today. Having undergone changes in every generation in the six hundred years since they were composed in the 14th century, her *vāks* despite retaining some archaic word forms are nevertheless not available to us in the language they were actually composed in.

Writing in the 13th century, Shitikantha claims the language of his work *Mahānaya Prakāśa*, yet another evidence of the initial state of development of Kashmiri, to be *sarvagocara deśa bhāṣā* or the regional language intelligible to all. About two centuries later, we find Avatāra Bhatta too using the term *deśya* to describe the language in which he has composed the *Bānāsūr Kathā*. In the colophon at the end of the work, he writes: “*Deśyo Avatāra Bhatta viracon ramaṇī ākhya*” – in the *deśī* dialect Avatāra has composed this charming narrative. The term *deśī* or *deśya* has been used by some grammarians to define words which cannot be categorised either as *tatsama* or *tadbhava* as they cannot etymologically shown as based on the Sanskrit stem-suffix system, and appear totally to be of local origin. This is the sense in which Bharata has used it, and so has Hemachandra. Most Prakrit grammarians have used the term *deśya* to denote the local or regional dialects, as pointed out by Dr. Tagare, who is of the view that most *deśī* words can be actually shown as derived from Sanskrit. Pādalīpta, gives the name '*deśī vāyana*' to the Prakrit in which he has composed his narrative poem *Tarangāvāī Kahā*. Several other medieval poets, like Svayambhu, the author of *Pauma Cariu*, Lakshmandeva, who has authored *Nemināha Cariu* and Padmadeva who has composed the *Pāsanāha Cariu*, too have described the language of their respective works as *deśī* or *deśa bhāṣā*. Kohūhala describes the Mahārashtī Prakrit of his narrative work *Līlavāī Kahā* as “*deśī bhāṣā*”. Similarly, the great 13th century Marathi saint-poet Jñāneshvar claims the Mahārashtī Prakrit of his celebrated work *Jñāneśvarī* to be the *deśī* or the local dialect. In fact, the trend of using the term for the language of vernacular works was predominant right from the 9th century. Prakrit works by Jain authors are replete with references to eighteen such regional dialects or “*atthārasa deśa bhāṣā*” of which the Kashmiri of *Bānāsūr Kathā* surely must have been one. It is in this context that we must understand the term *deśya* used by Avatāra Bhatta.

A record of Kashmiri as it was written and spoken in the 15th century, *Bānāsūr Kathā* (B.K.) is suffused with linguistic elements of Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit origin. Though Persian had already been declared at that time as the court language of Kashmir and Avatāra Bhatta himself was a scholar of the language, we find hardly two or three Persian or Persian-derived words in the work. This shows that Persian had not made much impact on the

language of common parlance as yet. What is interesting is that there are quite a number of word forms used by the poet where he has simply attached Kashmiri suffixes to Sanskrit or Sanskrit-derived words. For instance, we have constructions like *pitās* (*pitā*+*as*, to father), *vadis* (says to him), *varvanitan* (to the beautiful damsels), *vekṣavān* (observing) and so on. At several places both *tatsam* (Sanskrit loan word used in the same form) and *tadbhav* (Sanskrit-derived word) forms of words are used, for example: *sahasra-sās* (a thousand), *smaret-saret* (having remembered), *tyajet-trāvet* (having left, having given up), *sahasāte* (with, along with, in the company of), *madhye-majja* (in, inside, in the middle), *kope-tsakhi* (angrily), *vano-nigado* (said), *upari-piṭṭha* (on, above) etc.

Another linguistic trait noticeable in the work is the occurrence of words in more than one form. For instance, we have *tāv* and *tām* (till, up to), *kṣo, kṣyo, cho* and *chhu* (is), *ko* and *kus* (who), *i* and *yi* (this). One of these forms appears to be older and unstable and the other relatively new and stable. This seems to indicate that the language at that time was more or less in flux and word forms had not yet crystallised.

While there is a large number of words in *Bānāsūr Kathā* that are used in the same or somewhat modified form in Modern Kashmiri (Mod. Ksh.), there are also many words that are no longer used and have become totally obsolete. For instance nobody today uses the word *jave* for quickly or *bhut* for much or a lot. Similarly words like *kākhēt* or *kangāt* (how, in what manner), *yākhēt* (just as, in the manner of, in the way in which), *kalet, kalo* (having seen, seeing) have totally disappeared from usage. Similarly, several words commonly used in modern Kashmiri are not at all visible in *Bānāsūr Kathā*. In their place alternative usages are seen which bear similarity to words in use in Hindi and other modern Indian languages. Thus we have words showing Prakrit influence like *sabba* and *sabbav* used in the work in the sense of 'all', instead of the modern Kashmiri *sōrī* (Hindi *sāre*). Similarly we have Avatāra Bhatta using forms of both *shun* and *boz* used for 'hearing', whereas in modern Kashmiri only the latter usage is in vogue. An interesting feature of the work that needs to be noted is that its author has used some words which are very akin to Hindi and other Modern Indian Languages, but are not used in Modern Kashmiri. For example we have in *Bānāsūr Kathā* words like *jalo* (Hindi *jalā*), *caḍos* (Hindi *carhā*), *piyā* (Hindi *piyā*) and *gauḍe* (Hindi *ghore*).

While throwing much useful light on the medieval development of Kashmiri, *Bānāsūr Kathā* is also greatly helpful in tracing earlier forms of a good number of Kashmiri words. For instance the Kashmiri auxiliary verb *chu* is found in several forms in the work, occurring as *kṣo, kṣi, kṣem, kṣoh, kṣiyiy, etc.*, suggesting that these have originated from the Sanskrit root *kṣi*, meaning 'to be'. Similarly we find the original 's' retained in words like '*śiki*', '*śit*', '*śiton*', of which the corresponding modern forms are *hēki, hyath* and *hyōtun*, Sanskrit *ś* changing to *h* being an important linguistic feature of Kashmiri. *Diṭṭho* (Mod. Ksh. *ḍyūṭh*), Skt. *drṣṭvā* and *ditto* (Mod. Ksh. *dyut*) are among the many intermediary forms of Modern Kashmiri words that occur in *Bānāsūr Kathā*.

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Bānāsūr Kathā is helpful in constructing an authentic phonological history of the Kashmiri language together with earlier works like *Chumma Sampradāya* and *Mahānaya Prakāśa* and a slightly later work, *Sukha-dukha Carit*, showing that the language has developed much in the same manner as other Modern Indo-Aryan Languages. The tendencies that appear in a nascent form in the *Chumma Sampradāya* verses take a more developed and distinct form in it. Many of these changes have crystallised to form words that are in use in present day Kashmiri after undergoing a process of re-Sanskritisation like other MIA languages. Thus, vowel changes take place in these works as in Prakrit and Apabhramsha. Some examples from *Bānāsūr Kathā* (B.K.) are given below to illustrate important linguistic features of the work:

- (1) Elision of initial vowel *a*: *avāptam*>*vāto* ; elision of initial *i*: *īti*>*ti*; elision of *u*: *upaviṣṭa*>*biṭṭho* (Prakrit *upaviṭṭhā*, *biṭṭhā*; Apabhramsha *baīṭhā*, Maitthali *baīṭhab*, Hindi *baīṭhā*, modern Kashmiri *byūṭh*); elision of *e*: *ekādaśa*>*kāh* (as in Mod.Ksh.).
- (2) *a*>*ā*: *sahasra* > *sāss*, *saphal* > *sāphul*, *abhra* > *abharā*, *rakṣakā* > *rākṣe*, *sahit* > *sāte*, *priya* > *piyā*, *naśyate* > *nāhen*.
- (3) *a* > *u*: Medial *a* often tends to change to *u* in B. K. as in Mod. Ksh.: *janaka* > *januk*, *anala* > *anul*, *nandan* > *nandun*, *Nārada* > *Nārud*, *Mādhava* > *Mādhuv*, *tapodhana* > *tapodhun*, *āścarya* > *āścūr*, *cañcal* > *cañcul*, *vinaya* > *vinuy*. The same tendency can be seen in Mod. Ksh. also, especially in nominative singular nouns: *bālaka* > *bāluk*, *takṣaka* > *takhyuk*, *Rāvaṇa* > *Rāvun*, etc.
- (4) *ā* > *a*: Like Mahārashtrī, Ardhamāgadhī Prakrits and Apabhramsha *ā* > *a* in fem. nom. sing. in B. K. . Mod. Ksh. also exhibits this tendency. Examples: *pūjā* > *pūj*, *kathā* > *kath*, *sudhā* > *sudh*, *bālā* > *bāl*, *Uṣā* (proper name) > *Uṣa*, *Girijā* > *Girij*, *duhitā* > *duhit*, *latā* > *lat*, *sutā* > *sut* etc. The tendency is present in *Sukha-Dukha Carit* also and continues in Mod. Ksh.
- (5) *a*>*ā*: Many examples of this change can be noticed in B. K. Thus we have: *saphal* > *sāphul*, *sahasra* > *sās*, *rakshaka* > *rākshē*, *nashyate* > *nāhen*, *sahit* > *sāte*, *dussaha* > *dusāye*, *priya* > *piyā*. I was pleasantly surprised to find the word *piyā*, a form of addressing the lover in colloquial Hindi, occurring in the B. K. Significantly, the word has been used by the 14th - 15th century saint-poet Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, also in his verses. However, there are exceptions to this and in several cases the original *ā* is retained.
- (6) *a*>*e*: *dada* > *detam*, *ayam* > *em*, *tatra* > *tatte*, *atra* > *atte*, *nirgataḥ* > *niret*, *samasta* > *samaste*, *viśama* > *viśame*, *tameva* > *temay*, *gopayet* > *gupet*, *mārit* > *māret*) *kr̥tvā* > *karet*. It must be noted the 'e' here is quite weak and quite near *i*, not just due to expediency of metre, the tendency is quite common in Kashmiri in its spoken form even today.
- (7) *i* > *a*: *narapati* > *narpat*, *dinapati* > *dinapat*, *rāśi* > *rās*, *sameti* > *samet* (Pā. *sameti*, Pkt. *samet*, Shina *samoiki*, Mod. Ksh. *samith*), *buddhi* > *buddh* Mod. Ksh. *bvad*), *śakti* > *śatta*, *raśmi* > *raśma*, *agni* > *agna* etc.

- (8) *ī* > *a*: The fem. marker suffix *ī* shows a tendency to change to *a*, e.g. *Sarasvatī* > *Sarasvath*, *ramaṇī* > *ramaṇ*, *Gaurī* > *Gaur*, *sakhī* > *sakh*. In Mod. Ksh. There is no change in the vowel.
- (9) *ī* > *u*: *jīva* > *juv* (pronounced generally as *z* in Kashmiri: Punj. *jiu*, Kum. *jiyū*. Jīu, Bang. *jīu*. Mara. *jiu*, Mod. Ksh. *zuv*).
- (10) *u* > *a*: *tribhuvan* > *tibhavan*, *Śambhu* > *Śambha*, *mṛtyu* > *mitya*, *ripu* > *ripa*, *kutaḥ* > *katto*, *asur* (plurial) > *asar*, *śatru* > *śatra*, (Mod. Ksh. *śathur*).

Phonetic changes related to vocalic *ṛ*

Elision of Old Indo-Aryan vocalic *ṛ* had started as early as the time of Ashokan edicts. After studying these edicts and the primary Prakrits, Jules Bloch came to the conclusion that *ṛ* > *a* was a peculiarity of the South-Western country. Pischel, quoting Prakrit grammarians, has discussed the phenomenon of *ṛ* changing to *a*, *i* and *u* in detail. According to Dr. Tagare, like Pali and the Prakrits *ṛ* changes to *a*, *i* and *u* in Apabhramsha as well. In his view, *ṛ* > *a* is a peculiarity of the eastern Apabhramsha. In the western Apabhramsha also this tendency had increased from 43 to 66 per cent. These tendencies of change in the vocalic *ṛ* had in fact started in the Vedic period itself. In *Bānāsūr Kathā* too several instances of *ṛ* > *a*, *i*, *u* can be noted. , but at many places *ṛ* has also been retained. There also are some instances where *ṛ* has been retained without any change. At one place we find *ṛ* written as *ri* in the word 'riṣi'. At one another place we have *ṛ* written interestingly as *ri* in *trin* instead of *trṇa*. Here are some examples of the transformation of *ṛ* in B. K.:

- (1) *ṛ* > *a*: *dṛḍha* > *dadho*. In Maharashtra, Ardhamagadhi, Jain-Maharashtri, Shaurseni and Magadhi, we have examples of *dṛḍha* > *daḍha*, while the Mod. Ksh. form is *dōr*; *nṛtyanti* > *nacchan* to be pronounced as *natsan* (Pa. *nacchatī*, Pkt. *nacchai*, Pan. *nachchanā*, Ma. *nāchṇen*, Guj. *nāchṇun*, Hindi *nāchnā*).
- (2) *ṛ* > *ā*: *gr̥hītvā* > *gāhet*, *apahr̥taḥ* > *hāro*.
- (3) *ṛ* > *i*: *Kṛṣṇa* > *Kishnā*, *tr̥ṇa* > *tin*, *mṛtyu* > *mitya* (Av. *mīchu*), *nṛpa* > *nipa*, (*mṛdanga* > *midanga*, *mṛdu* > *midu*, *nṛpa* > *nipa*, *kr̥pā* > *kip*, *dṛṣṭi* > *diṭṭho* (Hindi *dīṭha*, *dīṭhi* and *dīṭha*, Panj. *diṭṭha*, Guj. *diṭa*, Ma. *dīṭha*), *gr̥ha* > *giha*, *vṛthā* *vithā*, *utkr̥ṣṭa* > *ukiṣṭa* (Ma. Pkt. *ukkiṣṭa*. These examples indicate like eastern Apabhramsha, there is a strong tendency of *ṛ* changing into *i* in B. K.
- (4) There is a lone example of *ṛ* > *u*: in B.K. -- *śṛṇu* > *śun* (Hindi *sun*) in the work.

Sharada Orthography

Due to limitations of Sharada orthography, the scribe has not represented vowel sounds peculiar to Kashmiri in the available manuscript copy of *Bānāsūr Kathā*. The same is the case with the three Kashmiri palatal consonant sounds *ṣ*, *ṣh* and *z*. As no diacritic marks have been used to express them, they can be assumed to have been modified to suit the Sharada script in which the manuscript is written and their presence can be made out by taking recourse to conjecture only. There is much confusion between 'i', 'yi' and 'i' and 'e' and also between 'u' and 'o', for

instance, leaving it to the reader to distinguish between them. The scribe also shows a tendency to unnecessarily double medial consonants in some words. At some places the scribe has allowed the doubled form in a word and other places simplified it, e.g. *akk* and *ak*, *akkes* and *akes*, *bhujjet* and *bhujet*, *chaṭṭen* and *chaṭen*, *sabb* and *sab*. Again, though Kashmiri does not possess the voiced aspirated consonants *gh*, *bh*, *dh*, *jh*, which are generally pronounced without aspiration, the scribe has used words containing these in their aspirated form at one place and non-aspirated form at another. For example: *gari* and *ghari*, *bu* and *bhu*, *dhāret* and *dāret* etc. These and other problems of orthography are common to Kashmiri manuscripts written in the Sharada script and need more space to explain them.

Phonetic changes in consonants can also be seen to take place in B. K. generally along the same lines as in Prakrit and Apabhramsha. One of the most important of these is the elision of independent consonants *c*, *t*, *d*, *p*, but interestingly not *k*, except in the initial position. The elided consonants are replaced by the glides *y* or *v*. Some examples are given below:

- (1) Elision of *c*: *vacan* > *vayan* (Pkt. *vayan*, Bang. *bain*, Mai. *bain*, Old Av. *bayan*, Old Gu. *vayan*, Hindi *bain*, *vayan*). *Locan* > *loyan* (Pkt. *loyan*, Hindi *loyan*).
- (2) Elision of *g*: *gataḥ* > *gav* (*gau*); *arpitaḥ* > *appū*; Here *p* is doubled and *t* replaced by *ū*.
- (3) Elision of *d*: *vāda-*, *vādyā-*: *vāy-* (*vāyān*, *vāyon*, *vāyet*).
- (4) Elision of *p*: *prāpyati* > *pāveh*, *pāvūv*, (Pa. *pāpeti*, Pkt. *pāvah*, Old Av. *pāvai*, Gu. *pāvun*, Ma. *pāvaṇen*, Hindi *pānā*, Mod. Ksh. *prāvun*), *sthāpayitvā* > *thāvet* (here initial *s* has also been elided).

There are several instances of phonetic changes in medial and final independent constants in B.K. –

- (1) *k* > *kh*: *śankā* > *śankh* (Mod. Ksh. *śenkh*)
- (2) *-ṭ* > *ḍ*: *caṭū* > *caḍū*
- (3) *-ṭh* > *ḍ*: *haṭh* > *haḍū*
- (4) *-t* > *d*: This change is seen in the present participle, e.g. *karanti* > *karand*, *paṭhanti* > *paṭhand* etc. (Mod. Ksh. form of the participle is *-ān*, e.g. *karān*, *parān* etc.)
- (5) *-t* > *c* (pronounced as *ṭs*): This change occurs in feminine singular nouns. Some examples from B. K. are as follows: *lalitā* > *lalitsū*, *valitā* > *valitsū*, *kheditā* > *kheditsū* [cf. Mod. Ksh. *bārōts* (pregnant), *chāts* (blanched, white), *rōts* (auspicious, good), Lal Ded (*bākhūts* (female devotee))]
- (6) *th* > *h*: in Prakrit and Apabhramsha languages aspirated sounds like *kh*, *th*, *ph*, *bh* generally change to *h*, but this tendency does not exist in Kashmiri. In B. K., however, we have an example of this change at one place – *nātha* (master, lord) > *nāha* as in (*so zi nipe nāho ulmatte* – He said O Lord, the king is mad.) At other places the word *nāth* does not change.
- (7) *n* > *l*: *n* often changes to *l* in colloquial Kashmiri in illiterate speech – *note* > *loṭh* (currency note), *nyōm* > *lyōm* (lemon) .

In B. K. we have one example of this change – *unmattaḥ* > *ulmat* (mad).

The sibilants *s*, *ś* and *ṣ* are all present in *Bānāsūr Kathā*. Of these *ṣ* has been used only in *tatsama* or loan words from Sanskrit only. The tendency of Sanskrit *ś/s* changing to *h* is very strong in Kashmiri, which Grierson attributes to Iranian or Persian influence on it. But not many instances of this occur in B. K., initial, medial or final *ś* generally remaining unchanged in it. A few examples of *ś* > *h*, however do occur in it, some of which are: *dasha* > *dāh*, *ekādaśa* > *kāh*, *nāśan* > *nāhen*. Nothing can be said conclusively about this happening due to Iranian influence. It may be noted that *ś* > *h* is a tendency present in Prakrit also – *daśamukha* > *dasamuho* – as well as Modern Indian Languages like Assamese and Marathi. This tendency is at work in Hindi numerals *gyārah*, *bārah* etc. also. Like Prakrit and Apabhramsha, in B. K. too consonant clusters have not remained stable. Generally, the first member of the conjunct elides and gets assimilated into the second. Sometimes it is the second consonant which is elided and gets assimilated into the first giving rise to the tendency of doubling of consonants. Some examples of conjunction in B. K. are given below:

- (1) *k* + *t* > *tt* / *tth*: *śakti* > *śatti*, *śatta*; *bhakti* > *bhatti*; *rakta* > *ratta*, *ratthā* (Mod. Ksh. *rakta* > *rath*, *bhakta* (cooked rice) > *batta*, *saktu* > *sōt* (parched rice)
- (2) *p* + *t* > *tt* / *t*: *sapta* > *satta*, *supta* > *sutto*, *avāptam* > *vāto*
- (3) *g* + *dh* > *ddh* : *dagdha* > *daddho*, *daddhos* (Mod. Ksh. *dōd*, *dōdus*)
- (4) *g* + *n* > *gg*: *lagnaḥ* > *laggo* (Mod. Ksh.)
- (5) *g* + *n* > *nn*: *nagnaḥ* > *nanno* (Mod. Ksh. *nōn*)
- (6) *ḍ* + *g* > *gg*: *khaḍga* > *khagg*
- (7) *t* + *m* > *p*: *ātman* > *pān* (Pkt. *appā*, Hindi *āp*, Si. *pāṇ u*)
- (8) *t* + *k* > *k*, *kk*: *utkrṣṭa* > *ukiṣṭe*, *ukkiṣṭ*

Conjuncts with sibilants:

In conjuncts with sibilants, the sibilant generally elides, particularly in the initial position. In certain cases the second member elides and a vowel is inserted.

- (1) *s* + *t* > *th*, *tth*: *stan* > *than* (Mod. Ksh. *than*), *hastāt* > *athā* (Mod. Ksh. *athū*)
- (2) *s* + *th* > *th*: *sthal* > *thal* (Pa. *thal*, Pkt. *thal*, Punj. *thal*, Ku. *thal*, A. *thal*, Ban. *thal*, Guj. *thal*, M. *thal*, Hin. *thal*, Mod. Ksh. *thal*); *sthān* > *thān* (Pa. *thān*, Pkt. *thān*); *sthāpayitvā* > *thāvet*
- (3) *s* + *n* > *n* : *snehe* > *nehe* (Pkt. *ṇeha-*, Si. *nehu*, Punj. *nenh*, *nīnh*, Mai. *neh*, *nehu*, Bhoj. *neh*, Hin. *neh*, Guj. *neh*)
- (4) *s* + *p* > *p*: *sparśyati* > *parśet*
- (5) *s* + *ph* > *ph*: *spḥoṭayati* > *phoṭiy*, Mod. Ksh. *phuṭi*
- (6) *s* + *m* > *s* : *smar-* (to remember) > *sar-*, *saret* (Pa. *sar*, Pkt. *sar*)
- (7) *ṣ* + *t* > *tṭh* : *drṣṭa-* > *diṭṭho* (Pa. *diṭṭhā*, Pkt. *daṭṭhā*, *diṭṭho*, Pā. *diṭṭho*, Pkt. *diṭṭho*; *prṣṭha* > *piṭṭha* (Mod. Ksh. *pyaṭh*), *niṣṭha* > *niṭṭha*)
- (8) *ṣ* + *p* > *ṣ*: *puṣpa* > *puṣ* (Mod. Ksh. *poś*)



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Elision of 'r' in 'r'-conjunction –

As in Prakrit and Apabhramsha, there is a tendency of elision of *r* in *Bānāsūr Kathā*. (In Modern Kashmiri *r* is generally retained.)

- (1) *k+r>k* : *krodhe>kodhe, krūr>kūr*
- (2) *k+r>kk* : *cakra>cakka,*
- (3) *j+r>jj* : *vajra>vajja*
- (4) *t+r>t, tt* : *trāseṇa>tāse, tri->ti-, tatra>tatte, tati*
- (5) *d+r>d* : *candra>canda, Indra>Inda, nāgendra>nāgenda*
- (6) *d+r>dd* : *nidrāyati>niddi (Pa.niddāyati, Pkt. niddāi, Mod. Ksh. nēndri)*
- (7) *p+r>p* : *prakāreṇa>pakāri, praṇamāmi>paṇamā, prabhā>pabh, priya>piya, piyā, pralāpe>palāpe, prasange>pasange, prasiddhaḥ>pasiddho, prahāra>pahār*
- (8) *bh+r>bh* : *bhrama>bhami,*
- (9) *ś+r>śśa* : *miśra>miśśo, śruṇu>śun*
- (10) *r+k>kk* : *arka>akka*
- (11) *r+g>gg* : *mārgē>māgge*
- (12) *r+J>jj, j* : *durjanaḥ>dujjan*
- (13) *r+th>tth* : *samarthaḥ>samattho, anartha>anatttha*
- (14) *r+nasal ṇ>nna* : *varna>vanna (Pa. vaṇṇa, Pkt. vaṇṇa), suvarna>sūvanna, varnana>vanno, vannāy, suparna>supanna*
- (15) *r+p>pp* : *darpa>dappa, arpit>appū*
- (16) *r+m>mm* : *karma>kamma, marma>mamma, durmadaḥ>dummad*
- (17) *r+l>ll* : *durlabha>dullabha*
- (18) *r+ś=śś* : *vimarśa>vimaśśa*

The consonant *r* is, however, generally retained in Modern Kashmiri initial, medial and final positions. The doubled consonants formed as a result of its elision have been simplified in course of further development of the language.

The compound consonant *kṣ* changes mostly to *ch* or *cch* and sometimes to *kh* in *B. K.* as happens in Modern Kashmiri also. Examples:

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- (1) *kṣ>cch* : *kṣuṭ>cchoṭ (Mod. Ksh. tshoṭ), akṣi>acchi, kāñkṣayati>kāñchān*
- (2) *kṣ>kkh* : *tīkṣṇa>tikkho*

Consonant clusters with semivowels *y* and *v*:

(a) The semi-vowel *y*:

- (1) *t+y>cc* : *ṛṭya->nacc (pronounced form nats), naccet, naccand (Pa. nacca, Pkt. ṇ acca, Pan. nacca)*
- (2) *d+y>jj* : *adya>ajja (Pa. ajja, Pkt. ajja, Ap. ajju, Panj. ajja, Bhoj., Av., H. Kharī Bolī āj); nadyāḥ>najju, vādyā->vajjan, vajjet (Pa. vajjati, Pkt. vajjai, Ku. bājanā, A. bāzino, Ban. bājā / bājinnā, Mai. bājnā, Av. bājai, Gu. vājju, Ma. bajan en), d+y>jj :dahyate>dajji, dajjet (Pronounced form in Mod. Ksh, dazi, dazith*
- (3) *dh+y>jj* : *madhya>majj (Pkt. majjha, H. māñjh / mañjh, Mod. Ksh, manz); budhyate>bhujjet, bhujje (pronounced form buzzet, buzze), bhjjom, bhujjon etc., Mod. Ksh. būzith, boz, būzum, būzun),*

(b) The semi-vowel *v*:

- (1) *t+v>t, c* (pronounced form ts) : *tvam>tū, cū (tsū), tvā>ci, tsi (Mod. Ksh. tsē–)*
- (2) *d+v>b* : *dvītyāḥ>bhiya, bhiha (Pkt. beiya, bhiha, Mod. Ksh, bēyi)*
- (3) *d+v>du* : *dvijano>dujjane*
- (4) *dh+v>dhu* : *dhvajagṛha>dhujaḡiha*

I will have to confine this brief introduction of *Bānāsūr Kathā*, which is still lying in manuscript form only, to phonological changes alone, though a description of its morphological features would have completed the picture it presents of Mid-Indo-Aryan developments in Kashmiri language. That, I am afraid, is not possible as that would enhance the volume of this article far beyond the available space. This article has been written only with the purpose of drawing the attention of scholars to its importance to the study of the historical phonology of Kashmiri. I propose to deal with the different linguistic questions to which the work may help to provide answers in detail in my book on the beginnings of Kashmiri language and literature on which I am at present working.

Hither to Unknown *Bahis*: Important Archival Records of Kashmir

Shri Virendra Bangroo



In India, there is an age old tradition of visiting holy places and registering names there. In the holy places, it is still being followed by a sect of Brahmins (*pandas*) to maintain the genealogy of the families. The *pandas* since remote past have been engaged in this work and the records maintained are updated from time to time. At Haridwar, Prayag (Allahabad), Kurukshetra and the Char Dham (in Uttarakhand), pilgrims make it a point to register their visit and also add new born in the *bahi* (register). *Pandas* also used to visit their *jazmans* (*clients*) and update the records. The treasure trove of information in these *bahis* has not been fully explored. These records inform us about the history of clans, their families, migration and their achievements. The focus in this article is on Kashmir, which has remained centre of learning and attracted pilgrims and scholars from far and wide and the records maintained by the *pandas* of Martand, one of the principal holy places in Kashmir.

While in Jammu, I was told that there is a Sun temple in Jammu, named as Martand, built by the villagers of Martand after migration. The temple was built in 2007 and houses an idol of Surya seated on a chariot drawn by seven horses. It was here the journey of revisiting the keepers of *bahis* started which you will read in the successive pages.

To trace the past it was necessary to rekindle the faded memories in order to reveal the method, methodology adopted by the keepers of this valuable treasure. Let us visualize the past and try to recreate picture of the Martand tirtha in Kashmir when it was at its full glory.

Some five kilometers from the district headquarters of Anantnag in Kashmir, is a sacred Hindu shrine called Mattan (also called Bhawan). This sacred site, which was well-known in ancient times as Martand tirtha, is located at the foot of table land plateau, locally called Vudar and Kereva.

Martandtirtha

The sacred place (*tirtha*) of Mattan lies beneath the mountain called Devi Bal. This Bhawan (meaning sacred habitation) is marked by two springs - Vimala and Kamala. These springs contain limpid water and are filled with abundance of fish. Stream which comes out of the springs is called Chaka-Nadi. In this shrine complex are the temples of Surya, Mata Durga, Radha-Krishna, Shri Ram and Ganesha. In the middle of Kamala Kund is the Shiva temple. Spring water flows down through a channel made of stones and collects in a stone lined tank where devotees take bath. The other temple at Mattan is Bargshikha, which is situated on the top of a mountain above the Martand shrine. The mountain is locally known as Devi Bal or Bhawani Bal and the sacred shrine

on top of it is called Adi Shakti Barshikha. There is a sacred rock (*Shilla*) in the temple which is worshipped. The temple can be reached either from the Bumzoo or from the Mattan village.

The Martand Tirtha is managed by a committee named Martand Tirtha Purohit Sabha, Martand Bhavan, J&K. The area of the Tirtha is 97 kanal (38 kanal-Martandtirtha, surrounding and Jalkund and 49kanal comprises extension of Chaka-Nadi, ghats, and temples)

Martanda Mahatmya

The *tirtha* of Martanda is mentioned in *Martanda Mahatmya*, *Nilmat Purana* and in *Bringish Samhita*. The legend in the *Martanda Mahatmya* connects the springs with the story of the birth of the sun from the lifeless egg, which Aditi, first wife of Kasyapa, had brought forth as her thirteenth child.

Vishnu Surya, under the form of Martanda is worshipped here. In this temple built during the Dogra regime is a stone idol of Vishnu Surya, seated on a Chariot and drawn by seven horses. This *tirtha* is one of the most sacred pilgrimages in Kashmir. This *tirtha* attracts visitors from other parts of the country and also from abroad. It is visited at frequent intervals by crowds of pilgrims. On account of its sacred origin, Hindus from all parts of India visit this place to gain blessings and happiness in the next world. Hindus also perform religious rites (*shraddha*) for the salvation of their dead relatives, so that their souls attain ease and comfort in the next world. Every year on *Magh Shukla Paksh Saptami* devotees throng this shrine in thousands.

In the Hindu lunar calendar, there is an addition of one month after two and a half years. This month is called *bana-mas* or *purushottam-mas* or *Aditi-mas*. This month holds a special importance, from the point of view of the Hindu religion. In this month, Mattan wears a festive look. In this month, pilgrims from far off places come here and perform religious rites.

Sun temple Martand

A kilometer and a half from the sacred springs on the table land is the elegant and imposing ruins of the temple. The temple at Martand was the most impressive of all the ancient structures of Kashmir. Dedicated to the Sun god, Surya this magnificent edifice is located on a Kerewa or table land. Its picturesque situation at the foot of a mountain on a Kerewa bed enhanced its grandeur. Martand reveals a great depth of thought, the delicacy of execution and the balanced proportion of figures.

Reign of Karakota rulers in 7th and 8th centuries mark the culmination of art in Kashmir. Lalitaditya Muktapada (724-761 A.D.) ushered in an era of glory and prosperity in the kingdom.

Kriti Rakshana



After gaining victories over Punjab, Kannauj and Bihar, he turned his attention to the bordering territories of Kashmir. He led the victorious army of Dardistan, Ladakh and Tibet. In the art form of this period, we observe a profound Chinese influence, apparent from faces and dresses, which are typically Mongoloid. The building art was a product of the influences of different schools viz. Greko-Roman and Gandhara, while the sculpture of the iconography reflects a tremendous Central Asian impact.

Karakota King Lalitaditya Muktapida founded many towns and adorned them with temples and Mathas. Pandit Kalhana writes in his *Rajatarangini* (Chronology of Kings) "There is no town or village, no river or lake, no island where the king did not lay a sacred foundation". Lalitaditya built the famous and elegant temples at Martand and Parihasakesava at his Capital Parihaspora.

This Temple was built by Lalitaditya-Muktapida in honour of the Sun god Martanda. This Temple is built on the ruins of earlier Temple, built by King Ranaditya. The Temple is superb and fascinating and is in complete harmony with the natural surroundings.

The temple stands in the middle of a large courtyard (220 X 142 ft.) enclosed by a cellular peristyle, once having 86 fluted columns. The temple proper contains *garbhagriha*, *antarala* and closed *mandapa*, approached by grand flight of steps. The plinth supporting the central shrine has two tiers, both with niches. The upper row has large niche, with figures of 37 divinities including Surya, Siva, Vishnu, Parvati, Ganga, Yamuna and the Dikpalas. Exterior of the sanctum is *tri-ratha* in plan.

The quadrangular peristyle of Martand is among the largest in Kashmir with 25 cells on north and south, 19 on the east and 12 on the west. It is entered on the west through a double chambered gateway that shares the width of the main temple. The gateway is an imposing structure accessible by steps from both sides and double chambered. This temple, built of huge limestone ashlar, is one of the largest monuments of Kashmir.

The Temple built by Lalitaditya came under the hammer of Sultan Sikander, the iconoclast, and this beautiful Temple was changed to a heap of boulders and stone. Weathering and earth quakes contributed in the process of destruction. The ruins are still imposing and show the architect, artistic touch and the dedicated work of the past.

Close to Bhawan, at Bamzu, are two Temples and a rock cut Temple. Both the temples are now converted into Muslim Ziarat. Bigger Temple is now the ziarat of Baba Bamdin Sahib and the smaller one is of Baba Rukun-u-din. The cave Temple is untouched by the destructive hands. Inside the cave is a temple with square base and the pyramidal roof. On both sides of the entrance to the cave are beautifully carved niches. Inside the main Sanctum is a Shiva-Linga.

Jonaraja, in *Rajatarangini* mentions this place during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. Zain-ul-Abidin turned the dry Mattan Plateau into a fertile land by irrigation. Abul-Fazal in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, has left a short note on Mattan.

Emperor Akbar also went to Martanda and made Gift of cows and gold to the Brahmins. Historian Sukha also mentions it in *Rajatarangini*. Another reason for the popularity of this spring is

that it comes on the way to the holy cave of Amarnath. In the holy cave of Amarnath, an ice *lingam* is formed which waxes and wanes with the appearance of moon. On the full moon month of Shravana, Lingam attains its full length. Thousands of visitors came here from different parts of the country and abroad in the month of Shravana, to see the nature's miracle and beauty.

The *bahis* and their keepers

Pandas or *purohits* maintain the record of pilgrims visiting Mattan and help them to perform religious rites. Pilgrims on the first day of their visit stay at the houses of *pandas*. They provide them the food and accommodation. After performing the religious rites, pilgrims start the return journey. During the chill winter season, a lean season for the inflow of visitors to Mattan, the *pandas* move towards the plains and visit their clients (*jajmans*). In every winter season, *pandas* from Mattan, wearing *firan*, white turban and a big *tilak* mark on the forehead, used to visit *jajmans* to note down the new arrivals and deaths in the family to update their records in *bahis*. They were received well by their clients and paid money for their travel expenses.

Bahis are store house of important information about the visitors to Mattan from time to time. *Bahis* record the address of the pilgrims, *gotra*, caste and occupation. The rituals performed and the donation made by the pilgrims visiting the shrine was also recorded. *Pandas* are engaged in this very job. At present many *pandas* have given up this job and are engaged in service or business. Due to change of profession by the *pandas* and for a number of other reasons many valuable *bahis* have been lost. At present few families are engaged in maintaining the record books.

Many a *panda* are well educated and have knowledge of the occult sciences. The *pandas* are well behaved and are good hosts. During my visit to Mattan in 1988, I met the keepers of the *bahis* and they were happy to share the information recorded in them.

The old record books are of handmade Kashmiri paper and the cover is generally made of cloth. Length of a *bahi* is about 27 to 30 inches and the width varies from 8 to 10 inches. *Bahis* are generally kept folded, so as to minimize the size of them. The ink for writing was prepared from soot of the lamp and other ingredients were added to it to make it water-proof. It may be noted that the same ink was also used to write manuscripts. Kashmir was famous for its paper industry. There is still a *mohalla* by the name of Kagazgari Mohalla in Srinagar, where paper was manufactured.

According to Pt. D.N. Kachroo, "in the past Martand was used as a battle ground. Muslim rulers were always cruel to us. Many a time owing to the fear of Muslim invasions, we had to vacate this holy place, and to take refuge in the hills. Our houses were burnt. Many *bahis* were lost in this way".

These *bahis* or record books of Hindu genealogies are a reliable source to the student of history. Details regarding the visitors and pilgrims visiting the shrine are written in the *bahis* in different languages and scripts; for example, Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, Dogri, Persi, Punjabi, Pahari, Gujarati, Marathi, Nepali and Chinese. I found many royal stamps on these *bahis*. Each *panda* family has a specific area and specific family. I live to mention the names of

well-known pandas and the area allotted to them from generations. The data given below were collected during the visit to Mattan in September, 1988 and again in January, 2014. A comparison between the information collected in these two visits has been made in the following points:

- Pandit Dinanath Kachroo was maintaining the *Bahi* of Dogra rulers. After his death in 1993, his son Pandit Badrinath handed over the *Bahi* to his son-in-law Pandit Mohan Lal Bhawanu. Going through the lineage of the pandits maintaining the *bahis* it was found that the generation which got educated in the post 1947 turned to govt. services and only the unemployed in terms of not getting the salaried govt. service opted for carrying ahead the traditions of the family. The division of *bahis* among the successors was done on area and clan basis.
- Pandit Balakeshwar whom I met in 1988 was very kind not only to interact but also introducing me to other pandas. He died in 2000 and the *bahi* maintained by him is not traceable. He was having the *bahi* containing the entry of Nehru family and Jodhpur State.
- Pandit Shyamal Mukhi was maintaining the records of Bikaner estate and the pilgrims visiting from that area to Martand. After his death there was no taker for his profession as his son opted for a job in a bank. *Bahis* are not traceable now.
- Pandit Sham Lal and Badrinath Tikoo maintain the record book of royal family of Bharatpur, Jaipur and Amber. Both of them are octogenarians and stay in Jammu.
- Pandit Balakeshwar maintained record of Jodhpur and Udaipur.
- Pandit Laxminath Bhan was in possession of the *bahi* related to Alwar. He died in 2007 and is survived by his daughter and grand-children.
- Pandit Laxminath Gora maintained the record of Chamba. He died in 1995 and his sons Shri Pradhumann and Shri Komalji are in possession of the records.
- Pandit Shivaji Madhusudan maintained the record of royal Kangra estate and the pilgrims from that region. He died in 2000 and is survived by his son Shri Tejkishan.
- Sham Lal Lamba maintained the record of pilgrims which include the European travelers, Ladakhis and Chinese. He was also maintaining the *bahi* of Hari Singh Nalva, the minister in Ranjit Singh's Court. He was having the record of their genealogy (Family Tree). He died in 1980 and is survived by his two sons, Shri Pawan Kumar and Shri Sanjay, who stay in Muthi, Jammu.
- Pandit Bhaskar Nath was maintaining the *bahi* of Darbhanga and Nepal. He died in 2012 and is survived by his three sons, who are staying at Nagrota Migrant Camp, Jammu.
- Pandit Somnath Mussa maintained the *bahi* of Mysore and Birla family. In his *bahi* was the record and signatures of Nizam of Hyderabad and royal family members of Mysore.
- Pandit Jai Lal Khah was maintaining the *bahi* of Baderwah,



Folio of a *bahi*

Jammu. During my visit to Mattan, Kashmir in 1988, he showed the signature of Rabindranath Tagore on his *bahi*. According to him Tagore visited Mattan during the reign of M. Pratap Singh. He stayed in a tent at Martand and his visit was unknown to State officials. He also showed the record of the visit of G. R. Das, brother of freedom fighter C.R. Das. He also recorded the visit and signature of Dr. Rajendra Prasad during his and his wife Smt. Raj Bans Devi's visit to Mattan in 1955. They performed puja at Martand.

The following eminent personalities of Dogra regime visited Bhawan and performed religious reties and Puja etc.

- Mia Surat Singh, Maharaja Gulab Singh's Grandfather, visited this place in the year 1876 Bikrami.
- Wazir Lakhpat of Kishtiwari visited Mattan in the year 1878 Bik. He performed sharad for his grandfather, Soba Ram.
- Maharaja Gulab Singh visited this place on 26 Sawan 1899 Bik. He performed Puja and sharad. Details about his visit are in Persian.
- Maharaja Rambir Singh visited Mattan on 29 Haar, 1907 Bik. Raja Amar Singh visited this place on 26 Haar, 1956 Bik. He stayed at Mattan for three days.
- Maharaja Pratap Singh visited this place on 17 zeth, 1961 Bik. He performed sharad for Maharaja Rambir Singh and Maharaja Gulab Singh.
- Maharaja Sukh Dev Singh, son of Raja Baldev Singh of Poonch visited this place on 2 zeth 1976 Bik. He performed religious rites for his father and grandfather.



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Pandit Shamlal Tikoo, in Conversation with the author of this article

- Gopal Swami Ayangar, Prime minister of J&K, visited Bhawan on 6th may, 1937. He was on an official visit.

Following personalities from Royal house of Nepal, visited Mattan:

- Maharaja Veer Vikram Tribhuvan Jang Bahadur Shah visited this place in the month of Baisakhi, 1985 Bik. He was on a tour to Kashmir.
- Maharaja Veer Vikram Shah Mahendra visited this place in the year 1963 A.D. He was on a pilgrimage to holy cave Amarnath.
- Maharaja Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana from Royal house of Nepal visited this place on 4 Aug, 1936A.D
- Jagat Shemsher Jang Bahadur Rana from Royal house of Nepal visited this place on 3 Aug, 1938.
- Maharaja Daman Shamsher Jang Bhadur Rana, consular general for Nepal in India visited Mattan on 13th June 1945. He was on a tour to Kashmir valley.
- Maharaja Gajinder Bahadur Raj Bahadur, Minister of foreign offices, Nepal visited Mattan on 3 May 1969A.D.
- Kirti Bahadur Bisht, Prime minister of Nepal, visited Mattan on 1st May 1972.

Names of the Maharajas of Indian states who visited the shrine:

- Maharaja Bhawani Singh of Jalwar state, Rajputana, visited Mattan on 17 May 1900A.D.
- Maharaja Babu Ram Narayan Singh of Badri state visited

Mattan in the year 1943 Bik. He was on a Pilgrimage to Amarnath

- Raja Baldev Singh of Kamaka state visited Bhawan in the year 1943 Bik.
- Maharaja Gopal Singh of Khurva state, Ajmer, visited Mattan on 10 Asuj, 1957 Bik.
- Maharaja Bajrang Bahadur Singh, s/o M. Krishen Prasad of Badri state, visited Mattan in the month of Zeth, 1987 Bik
- Maharaja Jawan Singh, s/o Prithvi Singh of Kishengarh state, visited Mattan in the month of Sawan 1959 Bik.
- Maharaja Rameshvar Singh of Darbhanga (Bihar) visited Mattan in the year Shaka 1842.
- Rani Girija Devi, Rajkumari of Ajar Garh, visited Mattan in 1926A.D.
- Sardar Hari Singh, chief of Wehali, Distt. Jehlum, visited Mattan in the month of Haar 1969 Bik.

Members of the Royal family, used to stay in their own tents and not with the pandas.

It is remarkable to note the **references of Nehru family** in these *bahis*. Pt. Motilal Nehru visited Mattan on 19 September. He signed the *bahi* in urdu. Bansi Dhar Nehru visited Mattan in 1945 Bik. Pt. Nandlal Nehru visited Mattan in the month of Asuj 1960 Bik. Koer Bahadur Nehru, Judge, Chief Court of Punjab, visited Mattan in Asuj 1961 Bik. Details about him have been written in Urdu. Pt. Hriday Narayan and Kailash Narayan from Gwalior visited Mattan in the month of Zeth, 2022 Bik. Ranjit, son-in-law of Pt. Motilal Nehru, visited Mattan in Zeth 1991 Bik. Rameshwari

Nehru, D/o Brijlal Nehru, visited Bhawan in the year 2008 Bik. Shanti Dhar Nehru came here many times, visited Mattan during the years, 1983 Bik, 1981 Bik, 1988 Bik, 1988 Bik, 1941 Bik and Maagh 2001 Bik. Krishna Devi Nehru, d/o Pt. Motilal Nehru, visited Mattan in the year 2002 Bik. Pt. Brijlal Nehru and Shobha Nehru visited Mattan on 11th August, 1940 A.D. Smt. Sarojvati Nehru visited Mattan on 15th June, 1941 and Radha Mohan Nehru visited Mattan in the month of Shravan 1988 Bik. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru visited Mattan on 23 Feb, 1940. Smt. Komala Nehru visited Mattan on 8th June, 1940. She was on a tour to Pahalgam. Pt. J.L. Nehru and Feroz Gandhi visited Mattan in the year 1996 Bik. Pt. J.L. Nehru, Feroz Gandhi and Indira Gandhi visited Mattan on 15th June 1942. Smt. Indira Gandhi again visited Mattan in the year 2002 Bik. Indiraji, Feroz and Jawaharlal visited Mattan in the year 2008 Haar. Pt. Jawaharlal, Indiraji and Sanjay Gandhi visited Mattan on 11th July 1962. On the same day they went to see the ancient ruins of the Temple, built by king Lalitaditya. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru visited Mattan many times. But he never performed any religious rite or puja.

The above lineage of Nehru family was shown to the author by Pandit Balkeshwar Shar, during the visit to Mattan in September, 1988. He used to maintain the *bahi* of Nehru family. According to him the lineage (Family Tree) written in English was drawn by Shri B. K. Nehru. He further elaborated that Pandit J.L. Nehru visited Mattan a number of times and he never did any religious rites whereas the other members of Nehru clan including Smt. Indira Gandhi worshipped in the sacred complex. The visits and religious rites performed by the Nehru family members are recorded in the *bahi*, which are duly attested by the signatures of the visiting members. Pandit Balkeshwar during winter used to visit his *jazmans* (clients) of Nehru family in Delhi and Allahabad and was welcomed on his visit and was reciprocated with gifts in cash and kind.

Pandit Samlal Tikoo, an octogenarian was kind enough to share information about *bahis* with the author. Turning the pages of *bahi*, he showed me the lineage of rulers of Basohli. Basohli is famous world over for its miniature paintings which were patronized by its rulers and its impact is seen in the nearby Pahari painting schools. Basohli paintings are proud possession of museums housing Indian and Oriental art and are valued because of their colours, compositions and the themes these paintings carry.

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Below is the lineage of the Basohli rulers, who were Pindal Bhalluria Rajput and were from Attri Gotra.

- | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Bhag Pal | 2. Jamrud Pal |
| 3. Arjan Pal | 4. Abul Pal |
| 5. Daulat Pal | 6. Gajindra Pal |
| 7. Jaspal | 8. Kisen Pal |
| 9. Bhupat Pal | 10. Sangram Pal |
| 11. Hardal Pal | 12. Kripal Pal |
| 13. Dheeraj Pal | 14. Mani Pal |
| 15. Jeet Pal | 16. Anant Pal |
| 17. Vijay Pal | 18. Maninder Pal |
| 19. Bhupinder Pal | 20. Raja Kalyan Pal |

(Raja Kalyan Pal visited Mattan in 1906 Bikrama Era and again on 1917 Bikrama Era.)

On my recent visit to Jammu to trace the *bahi* and its keepers, who have migrated to Jammu and other parts of India, it was noticed that Pandit Balkeshwar expired in Jammu in 2000 and is survived by his wife and daughter. Whereabouts of the Nehru family *bahi* maintained by him is not known.

Another copy of the Nehru *bahi* was maintained by Shri Sohan Lal Khar. His son Pandit Ramji Khar is residing at Mattan, Kashmir and in possession of the *bahi*.

The *bahis* and their keepers have left their home and hearth ever since the outbreak of communal violence in 1990. The *pandas* are now mostly concentrated in Jammu, some are in Hardiwar and Kurukshetra also. The *bahis* are at present in great danger of being totally lost forever because the *pandas* have taken to other occupations. The *pandas* of Martand maintained the records, which are in dire consequence of getting extinct. What was once a flourishing village, with the record keepers has now been left to a few families due to terrorism in the Valley. The arsons and vandalism in the peak of terrorism in nineties in Kashmir forced the record keepers to flee. Some were able to carry the *bahis* with them to safer destinations but a bulk of it was left in the Valley unattended, which over a period of time got destroyed.

(Note: I am thankful to Pt. Dinanath Kachroo, Pt. Balkeshvar, Pt. Sham Lal, Pt. Sham Lal, Pt. Balkeshvar, Pt. Lakshmi Nath Gora, Pt. Shivji Maksuda, Pt. Sham Lal Lamba, Pt. Bhaskar Nath, Pt.S.N. Musa and Pt. Jai Lal Khah for proving me information and access to the *bahis*.)



Kriti Rakshana

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Formation of Buddhist Sanskrit Literature in Kashmir and Its Dissemination Abroad

Dr. Advaitavadini Kaul

The vast Buddhist literature which has been conventionally divided into two classes of the Hinayana and the Mahayana could remain preserved only outside the frontiers of India. The original literature was composed either in Pali or in Sanskrit whereas the translations were mainly in Chinese and Tibetan, although Buddhist texts were also translated into the languages of the regions to which Buddhism was introduced. Pali canon remained preserved in Sri Lanka, Myanmar and Thailand. A few Sanskrit texts belonging to the vast Sanskrit canon were discovered in Nepal. The fragments of the manuscripts of this canon were discovered in dilapidated Buddhist grottos of Afghanistan and the ruins of Buddhist temples in the deserts of Central Asia. But the entire Sanskrit canon remained preserved only in large collections of Chinese and Tibetan translations. These collections also contain a vast literature that was translated from various Indian sources. This literature includes commentaries and exegetical texts which are otherwise lost in their original form. The collections also include dictionaries which were compiled in order to facilitate translations. The role of Kashmiri scholars has been immense in building up of these collections as will be seen in the following description.

Sarvastivada and other schools of Buddhism in Kashmir

Buddhism was formally introduced in Kashmir by Majjhantika, who belonged to the Sarvastivada school. This school was an offshoot of the Theravada school. The Sarvastivada gained proficiency in Kashmir and it was the Abhidharmapitaka of this school that attracted a large number of scholars from distant places to gain the knowledge. The history of this school begins from the time of King Asoka (240 BCE). In order to stop the addition of new sects within the Theravada school, King Asoka convened a council under the leadership of Moggaliputta Tissa who was a Theravadin. Moggaliputta questions some of the basic tenets of the Sarvastivadins in the Kathavatthu. The monks who supported the views of the Theravada were known as the Theras or the orthodox and the rest as unorthodox. The latter left Magadha and went to Kashmir-Gandhara where they established themselves as Sarvastivadins. Xuan Zang, (c.602-664 CE) the well-known Chinese traveler and scholar, records that during Asoka's reign there was in Magadha a subtle investigator of *nana-rupa* (i.e. Sarvastivadin) who put his extraordinary thoughts in a treatise which taught heresy. He further says that an attempt was made to drown into the Ganges the Sarvastivadin monks. But these monks somehow managed to save themselves and settled on the hills and the valleys of Kashmir. On learning about this Asoka became regretful and requested these monks to return, but all in vain. Xuan Zang says, the king then built five hundred

monasteries for these monks at the banks of river Vitasta and gave up all Kashmir for the benefit of the sangha. In this way King Asoka became a patron of the Sarvastivadin monks. Taranatha (1575-1634CE) the Tibetan historian also records Asoka's lavish gifts to the Sarvastivadin monks of Aparantaka, Kashmir & Tukhara.

The Kushana King Kanishka (c.1st cen. CE) was the next great patron of the Sarvastivadins. In the fourth Buddhist council convened by him in Kashmir, the majority of the participant monks were the Sarvastivadins. The main object of the council was to prepare commentaries on the canon. These commentaries called *Vibhasas* bear witness to the literary and religious activities of the Sarvastivadin school. It was with their reliance upon the *Vibhasas* that the Sarvastivadins were later known as the Vaibhasikas. The *Vibhasas* were written in Sanskrit. The manuscripts discovered in Eastern Turkestan and Gilgit corroborate this fact. According to the Tibetan historian Bu-ston (1290-1364 CE), the founder of this school was Rahula Bhadra who belonged to the kshatriya caste. The members of this school wore the mantle having twenty five to twenty nine fringes. Their badge was an utpala (lotus), a jewel and a leaf of a tree. According to a tradition, the Sarvastivadin school was divided into seven sects viz, Mulasarvastivada, Kashyapiya, Mahisasaka, Dharmagupta, Bahusrutiya, Tamrasatiya and Vibhajjavada. The Mulasarvastivada had its links with Kashmir and the neighbouring regions.

It was mainly through the activities of the Sarvastivadins that Kashmir became a seat of Buddhist philosophical studies in Northern India. Subsequently this school became most widely recognized in India. It was through this school that the Hinayana doctrines were propagated in Central Asia and further to China. A few inscriptions dating from the 2nd to the 4th cen. CE attest to the presence of this school in Mathura, Peshawar, Kashmir and Baluchistan.

There are evidences to prove that besides the Sarvastivada other schools of Buddhist thought also found a place in Kashmir side by side. According to Xuan Zang a work entitled *Tattvasamgraha* written by a Kashmiri scholar named Bodhila expounded the philosophy of the Mahasanghikas. The scholar composed this work in a Mahasanghika monastery in Kashmir. *Satyasiddhisatra* or *Tattvasiddhi sastra* is an important work in the Chinese *sastra* collection. It was composed by Harivarman - a famous Sarvastivadin teacher of Kashmir in 253 CE. He is reported to have composed this work keeping in view all the divisions of Buddhism that had arisen till his time. The original work is lost. But it is preserved in Chinese translation done by Kumarajiva who introduced the Satyasiddhi school based on this

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NMM: Summery of Events

(1st April, 2013 – 31st March, 2014)



A brief outline of the NMM activities in 2013 – 2014 is presented below:

DOCUMENTATION

Total No. of data (information about the manuscripts) collected during 2013 – 2014 = 1,56,779

Total No of data uploaded on the NMM Website, www.namami.org in 2013 – 2014 = 1,19,565

DIGITIZATION

Digitization Done in the First Phase

Sl. No.	Name of the Institute	No. of Manuscripts Digitized	No of Pages Digitized
1	Odisha State Museum , Bhubaneswar, Odisha	1,749	3,50,000
2	Jain Manuscripts, Lucknow (O.P. Agrawal collection)	180	42,951
3	Kutiattam Manuscripts, Kerala	340	38,260
4	Oriental Research Library, J&K	10,147	19,73,816
5	Allama Iqbal Library, J&K	365	97,648
6	Sri Pratap Singh Library, J&K	74	28,536
7	Siddha Manuscripts, Chennai	1,938	78,435
	Total No.	14,798	26,09,646



Prof. P.K. Mishra, Dr. Subas Pani and Shri V. Srinivas, J.S., Ministry of Culture at the NMM Annual Day Celebration, 24th March, 2014

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Digitization Done in the Second Phase

Sl. No.	Name of the Institute	No. of Manuscripts Digitized	No of Pages Digitized
1	Krishnakanta Handique Library, Guwahati	2,091	1,56,170
2	Odisha State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Odisha	6,255	13,96,433
3	Dr. Harisingh Gour University, Sagar	1,010	1,17,603
4	Anandashram Sanstha, Pune 7,939	92,1667	
5	Bharat Itihas Sanshodhak Mandal, Pune	4,683	6,60,730
6	French Institute of Pondicherry, Puducherry	506	1,70,629
7	Institute of Asian Studies, Chennai	500	34,505
8	Kundakunda Jnanapitha, Indore	7,506	11,56,373
9	Bhogilal Leherchand Institute of Indology, Delhi	22,907	10,64,900
10	Akhil Bhartiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow	12,887	4,58,376
11	Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, Allahabad	550	1,94,336
12	Himachal Academy, Shimla	225	55,751
13	Vrindavan Research Institute, Vrindavan	20,075	15,61,864
	Total No.	87,134	79,49,337

Digitization done in the Third Phase (2012 – 2014)

Sl. No.	Name of the Institute	No. of Manuscripts Digitized	No of Pages Digitized
1.	Bharat Itihas Samshodhana Mandal, Pune	22,873	14,50,375
2.	Anandashram Samstha, Pune	6,734	3,27,484
3.	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune	35	22,679
4.	Allahabad Sanskrit Sansthan, Varanasi	35,020	25,76,879
5.	Jamia Hamdard, New Delhi	4,200	10,10,273
6.	VVBIS, Hosiarpur	1,500	1,14,376
7.	Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Odisha	3,175	6,03,950
8.	NMM Collection, New Delhi	562	1,21,329
9.	Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur	28,813	17,92,864
	Total No.	1,06,697	80,39,407

Total Number of pages digitized up to 31st March 2013

(Including first, second and third phases) = 26,09,646 + 79,49,337 + 80,39,407 = 1,85,98,390

Digitized images of 1,85,98,390 pages of manuscripts are available with the NMM as on 31st March, 2013

SEMINAR

Seminars Held in 2013 – 2014

Sl. No.	Date	Collaborating Institution/ Venue	Topic
1	21st to 23rd November, 2013	APGOML & RI, Hyderabad	Unpublished Manuscripts on Medicine
2	13th to 15th February, 2014	Shri Guljarilal Nanda Centre for Ethics, Philosophy, Museum and Library, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra (Haryana)	Manuscript Heritage of Haryana
3	13th to 15th March, 2014	Shri Jagannath Sanskrit University, Puri (Odisha)	Indian Culture as Reflected in the Manuscripts of Odisha
4	19th to 21st March, 2014	Braj Sanskriti Shodh Sansthan, Brindavan (UP)	बैष्णवसम्प्रदायों की अल्पज्ञात- अज्ञात पाण्डुलिपि सम्पदा
5	27th to 29th March, 2014	DAV Post-Graduate College, Jalandhar (Punjab)	Awakening Among People Through the Lens of Manuscripts
6	28th to 30th March, 2014	Centre for Professional Studies in Urdu, Jammu University (J & K)	Importance of Research and Manuscripts in Literature



MANUSCRIPTOLOGY

Manuscriptology Workshops Held in 2013 – 2014

Date	Title of the Workshop	Name of the Collaborating Institution/ Venue	Scripts Taught	No. of Persons Trained
15th March to 4th April, 2013	Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology & Paleography	Kashmir University, Srinagar (J & K)	Kofiq, Naskh, Nastaliq	46
22nd March to 11th April, 2013	Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology and Paleography	Dept. of Library & Information Sciences, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi (UP)	Brahmi, Sarada, Newari	37
24th June to 14th July, 2013	Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology and Paleography	Institute of Asian Studies, Chemmancherry, Chennai	Brahmi, Grantha, Modi, Vatteluttu	34
4th March to 24th March, 2014	Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology and Paleography	Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri Rashtriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, New Delhi	Brahmi, Sarada, Newari	30
10th March to 24th March, 2014	Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology and Paleography	Shri Shankaracharya University of Sanskrit, Kalady (Kerala)	Brahmi, Grantha, Tigelari	32
18th April to 22nd May, 2013	Advance Level Workshop on Manuscriptology and Paleography	Dept. of Urdu, University of Bombay, Mumbai	Kofiq, Naskh, Nastaliq	35
6th November to 11th Dec., 13	Advance Level Workshop on Manuscriptology and Paleography	Oriental Research Institute, Shri Venkateswar University, Tirupathi	Brahmi, Grantha	35

CONSERVATION

Conservation Workshops held in 2013 – 2014

Sl. No.	Date	Collaborating Institution/ Venue	Workshop Held
1	10 – 15 March 2014	Kund Kund Jnanpitha, Indore (MP)	Preventive Workshop on Manuscript Conservation
2	18 – 22 Feb 2014	AP State Archives & Research Institute (HYD)	Preventive Workshop on Manuscript Conservation
3	8 -13 March 2014	Patna Museum, Patna	Preventive Workshop on Manuscript Conservation
4	11– 15 Nov 2013	Manipur State Archives , Imphal, Manipur	Preventive Workshop on Manuscript Conservation
5	15 – 15 Dec 2013	INTACH ICI, Bhubaneswar, Odisha	Curative Workshop on Manuscript Conservation
6	17 – 15 Mar 2014	INTACH, Lucknow, UP	Curative Workshop on Manuscript Conservation



Dr. G. P. Panda addressing the inaugural session at the Preventive Conservation workshop, held at Indore, 10th March 2014



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RESEARCH & PUBLICATIONS

In total eleven volumes of books were published during the year 2013 – 2014. These are:

1. KRITIBODHA, VOLUME – IV: *Śrījonarājakṛta Kirātārjunīyaṭīkā*
2. PRAKASHIKA, VOLUME VI (Part I & II): Tazkira-e-Ilahi of Mir ImaduddinIlahi Hamdani (Facsimile Edition)
3. PRAKASHIKA, VOLUME X: *Abhijñānaśakuntalam* with Sandharbhādīpika of Chandrasekhar Chakravarty
4. PRAKASHIKA, VOLUME XI (Part I&II): JaiminiyasamavedasamhitaText of Kerala Tradition (Arcika, Sama and Candrasama Portions)
5. PRAKASHIKA, VOLUME XII: Sanskrit Manuscripts of Kuṭṭamatt Family of Kasargad
6. PRAKASHIKA, VOLUME XIV (Part I & II): *Ācārya Āryadāsapranītā Kalpāgamasamgrāhakyā Vādhūlaśrautasutasūtravyākhyā*
7. KRITIBODHA VOLUME – V: *Dravyaguṇaśataślokī* of Trimallabhaṭṭa
8. A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF PERSIAN TRANSLATIONS OF INDIAN WORKS

OUTREACH

Public lectures under Tattvabodha Series were held at

1. Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow
2. APGOML, Hyderabad
3. Keladi Museum, Dist,- Simoga, Karnataka
4. Shri Lal Bahadur Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan, New Delhi
5. Tripura University, Tripura, and
6. NMM, New Delhi

Exhibition of Manuscripts were held at

1. Shriram College of Commerce, New Delhi
2. DAV College, Jalandhar (Punjab)



Curious students at the Manuscript exhibition held at Sriram College of Commerce, D.U.

sastra in China. This school was introduced further in Japan also.

Chinese and Tibetan Collections

The collections of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist texts record the names and details of considerable number of Kashmiri Buddhist scholars and monks who undertook the translation of different Buddhist texts individually or in collaboration with other Indian scholars and also native scholars from each region. Kashmiri scholars contributed to the greatness and importance of Kashmir in the history of Buddhist propagation until the last centuries of its decline. Their work and virtues were respected by the Buddhists of other countries. Many Kashmiri scholars were invited by the Chinese and Tibetan rulers and scholars to their countries. What is most important is that all these details come to us from the documents found in the areas where Buddhism was propagated.

In my book titled *Buddhist Savants of Kashmir - their Contributions Abroad* the focus has remained upon recording the contributions made by Kashmiri scholars through the development of Buddhist literature. As such these contributions are classified in different categories of Early Buddhism (viz. Hinayana), Mahayana, Buddhist Logic and the Tantrism or the Esoteric Buddhism. It is not possible to give details of these categories here.

The famous Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary titled *Ching-yuT'ien Chu Tzu-Yuan* was a compilation produced by the Imperial Institute for Transmission of Buddha-Dharma in Sung China. This dictionary was jointly compiled by Dharmapala - a monk of Kashmir and Wei-Ching, who was a nephew of Li-Yu (937-978 CE) the dispossessed king of Southern Tang Kingdom. This work was accomplished in 1035 CE. It is recorded that the king gave a title to this dictionary and also wrote a preface to it.

Buddhist Kavya Literature of Kashmir

Sarvajnamitra was a well-known poet of Kashmir during the 8th cen. CE. We find his mention in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* (IV.210) also. He has written a number of Buddhist poems. All available poems are written in praise of the Buddhist Goddess Tara. One of his well-known poems is titled as *Srgdhara stotra* composed in Srgdhara meter. The Goddess Tara is known as Srgdhara also. There are three Tibetan translations of this *stotra* available in *Dstan-gyur*. Jina Rakshita has written a commentary on it. S C Vidhyabhushan edited this poem along with two Tibetan translations of the above commentary. It was published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series as first part of the 'Baudha Stotra Sangraha' in 1908.

The other three available stotras composed by Sarvajnamitra are titled as: 1. *Devi Tara kuvakyadhyeshananama stotra*, 2. *Arya Tara sadhana*, and 3. *Astabhayatrana Tara sadhana*. The last one was translated into Tibetan by a Buddhist scholar of Kashmir named TathagataBhadra during his stay in China. The Tibetan historian Taranatha has also written about Sarvajnamitra.

There are two poetical compositions - one is the *Kapphinabhyudaya* of Shivasvamin (9th cen. CE) and the other is the well-known Avadanakalpalata of Ksemendra (11th cen. CE). It seems that both these compositions were written in Sanskrit at the instance of some specific personalities. *Kapphinabhyudaya* being a contribution to Sanskrit literature in general is a contribution to

Buddhist Sanskrit literature produced in Kashmir in particular. It deals with a Buddhist legend of King Kapphina, well known in both Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist literature. Although the original manuscript is lost, the text was critically edited for the first time based on the transcripts by Pandit Gauri Shankar. He published it with an introduction in 1937 from Lahore. This edition was based upon three manuscripts. The first one is preserved in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras (Chennai) in three transcripts. The first one is a palm leaf manuscript written in Odiya. There are two copies of this transcript in Telugu and Devanagari. A microfilm of the Odiya transcript is available in the IGNC microfilm collection.

The second manuscript that was available to Pandit Gauri Shankar was based upon a transcript in Devanagari of the original on palm leaf in Odiya script from the Mukti Mandapa Library of the Jagannath Temple at Puri in Orissa. A copy of the Devanagari transcript was available with Prof F. W. Thomas and the same copy was used by Pandit Gauri Shankar for his edition.

The third manuscript used by Pandit Gauri Shankar was again based on an incomplete manuscript on palm leaf available in the National Archives of Nepal in Kathmandu. Pandit Gauri Shankar had got a transcript of this manuscript in Devanagari from Rajguru Hemraj Pandit.

In the year 1987 Prof Michael Hahn of Germany found 17 partially damaged leaves out of the 21 missing leaves of the Kathmandu manuscript in the Sanskrit manuscripts collection of the Ryukoku Library in Kyoto, Japan. These leaves were published as facsimile in *Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Buddhist Sutras from Nepal* edited by Taijun Inokuchi in 1990 from Kyoto, Japan. The National Archives of Nepal has another transcript which contains 113 folios and is dated 1528 CE. This transcript was made from the presently incomplete manuscript in Kathmandu when it was available in complete form.

Prof Michael Hahn revised the earlier edition of Pandit Gauri Shankar by appending corrected readings in an appendix with the help of 17 leaves found by him in Japan. This edition was brought out in 1989 from Delhi.

Prof Hahn also translated the revised text of the 20th chapter and got it published in Prof Beshert Felicitation volume from Germany in 1997. In the year 2006 the Newari manuscript available in two parts in Kathmandu and in Kyoto was got published by Prof Hahn as facsimile in Japan. This edition is appended with the complete edited text and the English translation of the 8th chapter.

At the end of his work the poet Shivasvamin has given an account of himself. According to this account he belonged to Kashmir and his father was Bhattarkasvamin. The poet says that he wrote his composition at the instance and encouragement of his Buddhist preceptor Candramitra. He dedicates his poem to Siva which clearly shows his equal respect for Buddhist faith though he himself was a Saiva. It also proves his mastery in the Buddhist lore that made it possible for him to write on the subject with such authority. This also throws significant light upon the healthy existence of composite culture of the contemporary period. The Buddha is invoked in the benedictory verse of the poem. Mount Malaya is compared to the calm and sublime image of the Buddha. In one of the verses the Buddha preaches a sermon on



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the hetumala, 'the chain of causes' which binds a person to the mortal world. The poet particularly emphasizes detachment from the material world as a prerequisite for the achievement of salvation. The same point is discussed in detail in the *Avadanasataka*.

Ksemendra's *Avadanakalpalata* is a contribution to traditional *Avadana* literature. His son Somendra added one more *avadana* to his father's work in order to make it a collection of 108 *avadanas* (an auspicious number). He also wrote an introduction to his father's work. As is evident, Ksemendra has drawn up the traditional *avadanas*, but in a poetical form. The title *Kalpalata* is really a wish yielding creeper of the great achievements of the *Bodhisattva*. Its sub-divisions are also metaphorically given the name *Pallava* (leaves) under which one can repose in a contented state.

No complete collection of these *avadanas* was available in India for several centuries. In the collection of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts brought from Nepal there appeared only the second half of the work. In an invocatory verse in this collection the non-availability of the first half of the *avadanas* was indicated. But during the middle of 1882CE, S.C. Das discovered a clean block-printed copy in the Potala printing establishment at Lhasa (Tibet). It was printed during 1662-63 CE and contained 620 folios with a transliteration of Sanskrit text in Tibetan script and also a Tibetan translation side by side. The manuscript of this work was presented by Sakya Sri Pandita of Kashmir in 1202 CE to the Sakya Pandita kun-dgah-rgyal-msthan. It was translated into Tibetan seventy years later by Sonton lo-tsa-ba under the auspices of Phags-pa - the spiritual guide of the emperor Kublai Khan. Illustrious Sonton lo-tsa-ba translated this work under the guidance of Indian Pandita Mahakavi Lakshmikara at the monastery of Dge-hdum bshi sde in Manyul (Kirong). Then the work along with its translation was first made in block print by celebrated Shwalu lo-tsa-ba Rin chen chos Skyon bson-po. S.C. Das and Harimohan Vidyabhushan published the Tibetan-Sanskrit bilingual edition of the text in *Bibliotheca Indica Series* (1888-1913 CE). The Sanskrit text was again edited by P.L. Vaidya and it was published from Mithila Vidhya Peetha in Darabhanga in 1959; but it is not a complete one.

In his introduction to the *Avadankalpalata*, Somendra says that it was first of all a Brahmana called Sajjanananda who requested Ksemendra to write the *avadanas*. Then, Nyakka a learned friend also put forth the same request. Subsequently Ksemendra undertook the task of writing his *Avadanakalpalata*. He discontinued after writing only the three *avadanas*. Somendra says that the Buddha himself in a dream further initiated Ksemendra to complete the *avadanas*. Acarya Viryabhadr, an authority on treatises of Buddhism came to assist him and Acarya Suryasri was the scribe. Somendra further records the date of the completion of this work as the 27th year (1052 CE) at the beginning of Vaisakha, the birthday of the Buddha.

Ksemendra who belonged to the line of the ministers of Kashmir has many works to his credit, some of which are known by name only. He had a variety of interests and has written on different subjects. Being influenced by Buddhism also he must have studied it very deeply. Finding him well acquainted in the lore he might have been requested to write the *avadanas* which he could accomplish successfully. Further, being impressed by the faith he included the Buddha, among the ten incarnations of Visnu in his *Dasavataracarita*.

A large number of Tibetan translators as well as scholars devoted their attention to the study of this work which contained the largest number of *avadanas* among all the works of this class. Each *avadana* contains a distinct story of an incident in the life of the Buddha illustrating a particular moral. The Buddhist propensity of self-sacrifice is brought to a climax here. In the last chapter the author has illustrated very well the six perfections (*paramitas*) viz. charity, moral character, patience, diligence, contemplation and wisdom of the *Bodhisattva*.

Somendra also records the merits of his father's work. It would be apt to conclude this article by quoting these self-explanatory and thought provoking merits:

"Those well-known viharas, gorgeous with the array of pictures, pleasing to the eye, have passed away in the cause of time. But the viharas of moral merits, excellent and delightful, erected by my father, in whom the *avadanas* with weighty meanings underlying them, are carved out, as it were painted in variegated colours by the pencil of the goddess of learning, will

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Hṛdayadarpaṇa of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka: a lost masterpiece of Indian Aesthetics

Dr. Mayank Shekhar



The capacity to experience relish makes the qualification for art, not the seekers of knowledge or morality.

-Hṛdayadarpaṇa, Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka

What is of value for one person only has no value. This is the iron law of literatureⁱⁱ.

-Paul Valéry

As our innovative mind climbs higher and higher and sees the truth without feeling tiredness it is only due to critical stair of thoughts built by our predecessorsⁱⁱⁱ.

-Abhinavagupta

Indian aesthetics (more accurate terminology used in Sanskrit is *alaṅkāraśāstra*) finds its first seed in hymns of Vedas and passing through a deep and wide ocean of thinkers culminates in the masterly contributions of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta, both belongs to Śāradā Deśa (modern Kashmir). In the long and cumulative chain of thinkers it is unfortunate that three masterpieces of Indian aesthetics, which influenced profoundly an entire generation and thus would occupy a central place in tradition if they were extant, have been lost. They are the *Bhāmahavivaraṇa* of Udbhaṭṭa (800 A.D.), *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka (900 A.D.) and *Kāvyaakautuka* of Bhaṭṭa Tauta (950 A.D.). In this paper the main focus will be on *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, who flourished in the early 10th century A.D., in Kashmir.

Udbhaṭṭa (800 A.D.) has written four texts in which *Kāvyaālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha* and *Bhāmahavivaraṇa* are known to us although *Bhāmahavivaraṇa* is not available. Third text, a small poem named *Kumārasambhava*^{iv} contained the same theme as of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*. The fourth text was in the form of a gloss on the Nāṭyaśāstra which is also not available; but Abhinavagupta occasionally refers that text in his *Abhinavabhāratī*.

In the introduction to his published book^v *Udbhaṭṭa's Commentary* on the *Kāvyaālaṅkāra* of Bhāmaha, Raniero Gnoli has mentioned that "two years ago, there have come to light in the vicinity of Kafirkoth a certain number of fragmented leaves and minor fragments of a manuscript in birch-bark, written in śāradā characters. The period to which this manuscript belongs is probably the 9th-11th century. After restoration of this manuscript, he recognised two different works - a commentary to Bhāmaha's *Kāvyaālaṅkāra*, which is, in all probability, the of Udbhaṭṭa, one which was lost, and the *Raghuvamśa* of Kālidāsa. Although V. Raghvan has doubted the identity of this work to Udbhaṭṭa's

Bhāmahavivaraṇa. It seems to be an elaborative one and inspires the followers. The text has been quoted by many thinkers with great respect. It is a great loss to the students of Indian aesthetics. Pratihārendurāja in his commentary^{vi} on *Kāvyaālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha* indicates clearly about the text. A few beautiful lines from this lost masterpiece may be mentioned:

एकदेशवृत्तित्यत्र हि एकदा अन्य दाईशः प्रभुविष्णुर्योसौ
वाक्यार्थस्तद् वृत्तित्वं रूपकस्याभिमतम्। विशेषोक्ति-लक्षणे च
भामहविवरणे भट्टोद्भटेन एकदेशशब्द एवं व्याख्यातो यथे
हास्माभिर्निरूपितः। Laghuvṛtti, च.13

तदाहुः

रसोल्लासी कवेरात्मा स्वच्छे शब्दार्थदर्पणे।

माधुर्यौजयुतप्रौढे प्रतिविन्द्य प्रकाशते॥

संपीतस्वच्छशब्दार्थद्राविताभ्यन्तरस्ततः।

श्रोता तत्साम्यतः पुष्टिं चतुर्वर्गे परां ब्रजेत्॥ Laghuvṛtti, p-74

Desirous to blossom the relish (*rasa*) element the poet's heart gets reflected in mirror of *śabda* and *artha*, impregnated with the qualities of sweetness (*mādhurya*), floridity (*ojas*) and lucidity (*prasāda*) which melt the heart of people with alert sensibility due to sympathetic identification.

It is a matter of great concern that we have not access of this text. Bhaṭṭa Tauta was the teacher of Abhinavagupta in the field of dramatic sciences. He wrote a work titled *Kāvyaakautuka*, but now this masterpiece has been lost in its entirety. Abhinavagupta quotes some fragments as a reference. Going through some glimpses of *Kāvyaakautuka*, we find so richness in its contents and its brevity on subject that it heightens our sorrow. Abhinavagupta has written a commentary *Kāvyaakautukavivaraṇa* upon this. This proves the importance of the text *Kāvyaakautuka*. We are not going to the details of the fragments of *Kāvyaakautuka*.

In the Journal of the *Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Apr., 1909) an article title 'What is *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*?' V. V. Sovani, mentioned a few features of *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* with authenticity. Siva Prasad Bhattacharya (1964) in his article, 'Three lost masterpieces of *Alaṅkāraśāstra*' reveals some features of the three masterpieces. Sheldon Pollock has written about Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka and his contributions in length in his article 'What was Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka Saying? *The Hermeneutical Transformation of Indian Aesthetics*'. But unfortunately nothing else or very few has been written on Nāyaka after that who is an important figure with

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stunning voices on aesthetics.

P. V. Kane has the opinion that if a vigorous search were made, a manuscript of *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* may be retrieved. I have tried my best in this direction but still fruitless. My future research pursuit aspires to re-construct this masterpiece with the help of fragments available in later writings in the form of commentaries.

In the following pages I have attempted a brief characteristic of *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* (Hence HD), 'The Heart's Mirror' of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. The text HD was an independent treatise which makes a sharp critique of Ānandavardhana's theory of dhvani. As Ruyyaka makes it clear in his commentary of *Vyaktiviveka* of Mahimabhaṭṭa: *darpaṇo hṛdayadarpaṇaākhyo dhvanidhvamsagrantho 'pi.*^{vi} The text had been disappeared by the 11th century; as Mahima Bhaṭṭa (1050 A.D.) regrets that he had unable to look 'into the mirror before seeking fame in form of criticising the theory of *dhvani*'^{vii}.

From the evidences it has been established that Nāyaka (900-1000 A.D.) flourished in Śāradā Deśa between Ānandavardhana (855-883 A.D.) and Abhinavagupta (950-1025 A.D.). Kalhaṇa mentions in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* that "The king put in charge of his two new Śiva temples a Brāhmaṇa named Nāyaka, who was at once learned in the four Vedas and himself a veritable temple for poet."^{ix} He was a versatile scholar of different streams of knowledge.

HD of Nāyaka deeply influenced Abhinavagupta. It is attested by the fragments mentioned in his writings particularly in *Abhinavabhāratī* (commentary on *Nāṭyaśāstra*) and *Locana* (commentary on *Dhvanyāloka*). We are grateful to Abhinavagupta for his true acknowledgement to Nāyaka. It is Abhinava's writings through which we come across the brevity and perspicacity of contents of HD. Here one point is important; commenting on *Dhvanyāloka*, Abhinavagupta (in *Locana*) refers HD while in his *Abhinavabhāratī* he refers *Sahṛdayadarpaṇa* of Nāyaka. Are they two different texts of Nāyaka or they are the one? Dr. K. C. Pandey has the opinion that these are two different texts, one (HD) is commentary on *Dhvanyāloka* and other (*Sahṛdayadarpaṇa*) is commentary on *Nāṭyaśāstra*. But this view seems illogical. Since there is no proof in favor of this; we can safely conclude that Abhinavagupta might have the habit of calling a single work by different names. Therefore it seems convincing to accept these two texts as one ascribed to Nāyaka.

Abhinavagupta often quotes him in his writings. It seems that Abhinavagupta seriously takes his views about literature. However, it is very difficult to conclude in what way Nāyaka influenced Abhinavagupta. Nāyaka expounded many critical issues regarding aesthetics. It is very interesting to read his views independently.

Now, it would be pertinent to quote some fragments of HD available in later writings particularly in *Abhinavabhāratī* and *Locana* of Abhinavagupta.

Bhatta Nayaka on Art, Aesthetic Value and Comparison with Supreme Bliss:

On Art (kāvyā/nāṭya)

In Indic tradition, there is no contradiction between aesthetics and

ethics. Here all forms of arts promote human welfare through moral edification. If all forms of art focuses on moral edification then where lies the peculiarities of an art? Here, Abhinavagupta talks about the role of art towards this end. He says that a poet/artist although seeks fame (*kīrti*) but in reality this fame certainly circulates a vibration of delight (*ānanda*) in his heart; that is why it has been said that fame has heavenly reward. For the sensitive readers/audiences, although knowledge and delight are goals but delight is the main goal otherwise what would be the basic difference between the three modes of instructions; namely *prabhusammita* such as Vedas which instructs people like a master or king, like a *mitrasammita* such as Itihāsa which instructs like a friend and finally *jāyāsammita* such as poetry (*kāvya*) which instructs like a beloved lady. In this context there lies the speciality of art which instructs people like a beloved lady. Thus a piece of art does not instruct like a teacher or friend but refines our intellect like a loving wife.

In this way Abhinavagupta prefaces his ingenious theory about the role of art. Now let us see Nāyaka's views on this issue. Abhinavagupta quotes a stanza of Nāyaka's HD which says-

तेन यदाह भट्टनायकः -

शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः।

अर्थतत्त्वेन युक्तं तु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः।

द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यधीर्भवेत्॥ *Locana*, p- 87

The same verse has been quoted by Śrīdhara with some variation in his commentary *Viveka*^x on *Kāvyaaprakāśa*:

(तदुक्तं) हृदयदर्पणे-

शब्दप्राधान्यमाश्रित्य तत्र शास्त्रं पृथग्विदुः।

अर्थे (अर्थ)तत्त्वेन युक्तेतु वदन्त्याख्यानमेतयोः।

द्वयोर्गुणत्वे व्यापारप्राधान्ये काव्यधीर्भवेत्॥

Viveka commentary, p-5

"Because of the overriding importance of the words used, people classify the śāstra apart from poetry and stories. They give the name *ākhyāna* [historical tale] to compositions in which the sense conveyed by words is possessed of paramount importance. When both [word and meaning] are subordinated and all importance is given to the manner [*vyāpāra*] then it is called poetry"^{xi}.

If we compare the explanations of Nāyaka and Abhinavagupta regarding art work then it becomes quite clear that Abhinavagupta has taken brilliantly the views of Nāyaka or at least inspired by him. Here is the beauty of *Hṛdayadarpaṇa*.

Nāyaka has the opinion that all the different streams of knowledge whether it be grammar, meaning, logic, or *kalā*, has no value in itself unless they become part of a poetry. Really a great responsibility lies on the shoulders of poets.

न स शब्दो तद्वाक्यं न सा विद्या न सा कला।

जायते यन्न काव्याङ्गमहो भारो गुरुः कवेः॥

Viveka commentary, p-8



On aesthetic value:

To define 'value' is really a difficult task. Because the term connotes various meanings as one interprets this. But at least everyone would accept one thing about this and that is 'value' overlaps with our desire (*iṣṭa*). Our traditions have framed four goals/desires of life i.e. *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa*. Here, every knowledge system has been checked on the basis of its capacity to promote this end.

Indian aesthetics is also not the exception in promoting our four goals of life. Nāyaka has explained how an art becomes a means of our desired end. In the very first verse of Nāṭyaśāstra Bharatamuni says us that he is going to utter this text which has been spoken by Brahmā.

The term *udāhṛtam* in the verse, which simply means 'spoken', has been taken adroitly by Nāyaka who interprets it as *udāharanīkṛtam*. The whole stanza has been quoted by Abhinavagupta before putting his own views.

भट्टनायकस्तु ब्रह्मणा परमात्मना

यदुदाहृतमविद्याविरचितनिस्सारभेदग्रहे यदुदाहरणीकृतं तन्नाट्यं
तद्दृश्यामि। यथा हि कल्पनामात्रसारं तत एवानवस्थितैकरूपं
क्षणैः कल्पनाशतसहस्रसहं स्वप्नादिविलक्षणमपि सुष्ठुतरां
हृदयग्रहनिदानमत्यक्तस्वालम्बनब्रह्मकल्पनटोपरचितं
रामरावणादिचेष्टितमसत्यं कृतोऽप्यभूताद्भुतवृत्त्या भाति। तथा
भासमानमपि च पुमर्थोपायतामेति। तथा तादृगेव
विश्वमिदमसत्यनामरूपप्रपञ्चात्मकमथ च श्रवणमननादिवशेन
परमपुपर्थप्रापकमिति लोकोत्तरपरमपुरुषार्थसूचनेन
शान्तरसोपक्षेपोऽयं भविष्यति।
'स्वं स्वनिमित्तमासाद्य शान्ताद्भावः प्रवर्तते' इति। (ना०शा०
६)। तदनेन पारमार्थिकं प्रयोजनमुक्तम्। इति सहृदयदर्पणे
पर्यग्रहीत्। यदाह-

नमस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकवये शम्भवे यतः।

प्रतिक्षणं जगन्नाट्यप्रयोगरसिको जनः ॥

Masson and Patwardhan^{xiii} have translated the whole segment in a very lucid way. I am quoting their translation with some variation as follows:

"I shall now expound that drama which has been promulgated by *brahman*- the highest self- as an illustration so that people might understand that worldly objects are insubstantial (*nissārabhedagrahe*), which are fabricated by our own ignorance. Just as the unreal actions of Rāma, Rāvaṇa, Sītā and others, which are essentially a figment of one's imagination and hence do not possess a single fixed form, but in a moment assume hundreds and thousands of forms; which though different (in their unreality) from dreams, etc., still attracts our heart, which are enacted by actors who are almost like the creator of the world and who have not relinquished their separate identities (as in their real life) - those actions of Rāma, Rāvaṇa appears to us in a most

wondrous way. And though appearing like that, drama becomes the means of attaining the four ends of life.

In exactly the same way this universe consists of a display of unreal names and forms (*nāma-rūpa*), yet through listening (*śravaṇa*) meditating (*manana*) and contemplating (*nididhyāsana*) on spiritual instructions, it leads to the realisation of the highest goal of human life. Thus this stanza, by suggesting (the attainment of) the other-worldly highest goal of human life introduces *śāntarasa*.

Depending on their respective causes the different *bhāvas* originate from *śānta*. Thus this verse of *Nāṭyaśāstra* conveys the highest purpose of drama. This explanation has been given by Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka in his *Sahṛdayadarpaṇa*. As he said- I pay my homage to Śiva the cosmic poet who has created all the three worlds and thanks to him from whom the sensitive people are able to attain bliss by watching the display of play".

It seems that through this stanza Nāyaka wants to convey the principle of Vedānta philosophy which looks this world as an illusion created by our own ignorance. Vedantic philosophers have written uncountable pages to make this point clear; whereas Nāyaka conveys this idea beautifully in just a few lines. He tries to say that a piece of art has the capacity to convey the ultimate knowledge; hence an art must be seen at par with philosophy. In fact there is no contradiction between art and philosophy. They are two sides of one living principle. Philosophy imparts knowledge through intellect and reason whereas art through beauty. Drama inevitably [*balād*] makes us understand the ways of attaining the goals of life. For if one is by his very nature [*svarasata*] sensitive to beauty, and thus unmoved by the Vedas, the Purāṇas and philosophical works, it is drama, an object of beauty, that will appeal to one's heart.^{xiii} The psychological/mental states blossom from art works are congenial to the heart and are the source of the sentiment pervades the whole body just as fire spreads over dry wood.

Co-relation between *rasāsvāda* and *brahmāsvāda*:

In Indic tradition almost every branch of knowledge tries to link itself with divinity. That is why art is seen here as a sacred knowledge. The credit to relate the enjoyment of aesthetic relish (*rasāsvāda*) with the enjoyment of spiritual realisation (*brahmāsvāda*) goes to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. In fact, he was the first thinker who assumed that *rasāsvāda* is superior to *brahmāsvāda*. Quoting his view Abhinavagupta mentions,

यदाहः भट्टनायकः

वाग्धेनुर्दुग्धं एतंहिरसं यद्बालतृष्णया।

तेननास्य समः स्याद् दुह्यते योगिभिर्हि यः॥

Locana, first chapter

"The *rasa* (aesthetic pleasure) is poured forth spontaneously by the word which is like a cow, for love of her children; for this reason it is different from that which is laboriously milked by the yogins".^{xiv}

The point of this verse that aesthetic *rasa* is definitely superior to bliss that the yogins achieve, because they have to go through an elaborate exercises like *yama*, *niyama*, etc. But responsive readers experience that *rasa* without any effort.

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In *Vyaktiviveka*^{xx}, Mahima Bhaṭṭa quotes two verses of someone which surely belongs to Nāyaka because the content therein is very similar to the above verse.

यदाहुः

पाठ्यादथ ध्रुवागानात् ततः सम्पूरिते रसे।

तदास्वादभरैकाग्रो हृष्यन्तर्मुखः क्षणम्॥

ततो निर्विषयस्यास्य स्वरूपावस्थितौ निजः।

व्यज्यते ह्लादनिष्यन्दो येन तृप्यन्ति योगिनः॥

“Dramatic performances and the music accompanying them feed the *rasa* in all its fullness; hence the spectator, absorbed in the tasting of this, turning inward, feels pleasure through the whole performance. Sunk into his own being, he forgets everything (pertaining to practical life). There is manifested in him that flow of inborn pleasure, from which the yogins draw their satisfaction.”^{xxi}

In fact, Nāyaka was the first thinker who associates aesthetic experience with spiritual experience. Our consciousness remains no longer limited at the time of aesthetic enjoyment rather it destroys its surrounding veil and becomes unlimited and thus infusing the whole objective phenomena. The same process occurs in spiritual enjoyment.

On this foundation of Nāyaka, Abhinavagupta establishes beautifully the relation between the two layers of bliss, namely aesthetic layer (*saudaryasattā*) and supreme layer (*brahma sattā*).

From the above fragments of *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* available in later writings it becomes clear that the Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka recorded some original voices on aesthetics and inspired later generation profoundly. Abhinavagupta who is, of course, a central figure of Indian aesthetics has taken many key issues from *Hṛdayadarpaṇa* but presents in a true spirit otherwise we could not even imagine about the brevity of this masterpiece which unfortunately has been lost.

Let me end by offering my deep obeisance to Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, a veritable temple for people with alert sensibility:

“Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka is like a dazzling sun in the sky of knowledge, whose illuminating rays cause to burst the contractions of our lotus-heart and spread its fragrance in all directions and makes all things to illuminate.”

(**Note:** I must acknowledge here my Gurus Prof. Biswanath Bhattacharya of Banaras Hindu University, Prof. Parul Dave Mukherji, School of Arts and Aesthetics, Jawaharlal Nehru University and Dr. Hari Ram Mishra of Special Centre for Sanskrit Studies, JNU for their valuable inputs in preparing the article. I am also grateful to my institution Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts for providing its sound research base.)

Endnotes:

- (i) काव्ये रसयिता सर्वो न बोद्धा न नियोगभाक्। *Dhvanyāloka with Locana of Abhinavagupta and Bālapriyā of Rāmasāraka*, ed. Pattabhirama Shastri, Banaras: Haridas Sanskrit Series, 1940., p-39
- (ii) Paul Valery, *Poetry and Abstract Thought, The Art of Poetry*, trans. Denise Folliot (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958), p. 76.
- (iii) *Nāṭyaśāstra with commentary Abhinavabhāratī of Abhinavagupta*, ed. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1956
- (iv) *Udbhaṭṭa, Kāvyaśāstrakārasaṅgrha of commentary of Pratihārendurāja*, (p-15) ed. Mangesh R amkrishna Telang, Bombay: Tukaramjavaji, 1915
- (v) Raniero Gnoli, *Udbhaṭṭa's Commentary on the Kāvyaśāstrakāra of Bhāmaha*, Roma: Is.M.E.O., 1962.
- (vi) Udbhaṭṭa, *Kāvyaśāstrakārasaṅgrha of commentary of Pratihārendurāja*, ed. Mangesh Ramkrishnan Telang, Bombay: Tukaramjavaji, 1915.
- (vii) *Vyaktiviveka*, ed. Rewaprasāda Dwidēdī, p-5
- (viii) *Vyaktiviveka* 1. ed. Rewaprasāda Dwidēdī
- (ix) *dvijas taylor nāyakākhyo gaurīśasurasadmanoh | cāturvidyaḥ kṛtastēnavāgdevīkulamandiram || Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, 5/159
- (x) ---, *Kāvyaśāstrakāra with commentary of Śrīdhara*, (unpublished) ed. S. Bhattacharya, Calcutta: Sanskrit College Research Series, no.7, 1959.
- (xi) J.L. Masson and M.V. Patwardhan, *Śāntarasa and Abhinavagupta's Philosophy of Aesthetics*, p-86
- (xii) *Ibid*, p-22
- (xiii) *Abhinavabhāratī.*, vol-1, p-4.
- (xiv) Gnoli, Raniero. *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*, pp-48
- (xv) *Vyaktiviveka* p-100 (ed. Rewaprasāda Dwidēdī)
- (xvi) Gnoli, Raniero. *The Aesthetic Experience According to Abhinavagupta*, pp-XXVI

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Literary Heritage of Jammu and Kashmir

Dr. Sangeeta Sharma



Jammu is known as the City of Temples on account of the scores of shrines with soaring golden *shikhars*. It is located on a Shivalik hillock with river Tawi flowing at the foot-hill, all with the back-drop of the imposing peaks of the Himalayas. Many peregrinators have spoken highly of the beautiful location of the city commanding an excellent view. The sun-rise and sun-set on the Tawi valley offer views of outstanding charms.

The great Dogra ruler Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1830 – 1885) was not only a great Temple builder and administrator but also a notable patron of scholars. He was a great researcher of classical Persian and was also well versed in Pashtu, Sanskrit and English. During his reign several distinguished western scholars visited Jammu and Srinagar and interacted with local scholars. The Maharaja provided rich endowments for the funding and maintenance of Sanskrit library (i.e. Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Library) within the temple area. Under his guidance a special effort was made to collect valuable manuscripts from the State and other parts of India, and as a result, the library was steadily enlarged during his reign. These manuscripts represent a very valuable resource for Indological studies, and constitute an important part of the cultural heritage of India. Library contains rare and valuable manuscripts which are on Vedas, Upanishad, Kosha, Kamasutra, Kavya, Nataka, Dharmashastra, Ayurveda, Jyotisha, Ramayana, Mahabharata and Tantra. Most of them are in Devanagari and some in Sharada script.

Like Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Library, Dogra Art Museum has become successful in saving this property to a great extent. This Museum was established on 18th April 1954 and was inaugurated by the President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad. There is heap of Devanagari and Sharada manuscripts in this museum. Some manuscripts have been donated by their possessors and some have been purchased. Rare manuscripts of *Shahanama* and *Sikandarnama*, written in Persian do exist in Dogra Art Museum. The way of writing of these volumes with fascinating pictures is worth seeing. Saiyyad Jalaludin Bukhari wrote it by hand. The peak of this epic is the dual of Rustam and Sohrab. This battle is very much popular in Persian poetry. It also contains 40 pictures.

Sikandarnama manuscript is very rare. It was written by Inayatulla Sheerazi in 1556 A.D. *Sikandarnama* is also called as Panjanjizamiviz (five treasures) which consists of five different stories i.e. *Hafat Paiker*, *Sheerin Farhad*, *Laila Majnu*, *Maikzani-Asrar* and *Sikandarnama*. There are two parts of *Sikandarnama* in which land journey and sea voyage of Sikandar has been described. This manuscript contains 25 illustrations.

Besides this, there is manuscript on Mahabharata weighing 22 Kg having 370 leaves. This bulky manuscript is good and complete in all respects. The volume of *Lalvakh* is written in Sharada on birch-bark. This is another rare manuscript.

Complete Skanda Purana written in Devanagari in 16th Century on tar leaves is also lying in the Dogra Art Museum. Many account book manuscripts written in Takri are also in pile. *Gurmahima* and several other volumes, written in Gurmukhi are present in this Museum. These Manuscripts have been preserved in a very good manner so that litterateurs and scholars may derive full benefit out of these.

The valley of Kashmir is a blessed valley because of its indescribable beauty. Its other blessing is its rich and perfect climate. All the seasons are well marked. The blessing of the valley is that, its people appear to be the product of the environment prevailing over here. Its lakes, rivers, lush green landscape, verdant hills, against the backdrop of lofty snow covered Himalayan ranges. The old silk route to central Asia passed through this valley; this helped in the introduction of new ideas and fresh cultural element from central Asia. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* and *Neelmata Purana* can safely be depended upon as the most authentic sources of the history of ancient Kashmir.

Many ancient scholars appeared on the literary firmament of Kashmir to make lasting contributions to knowledge and culture. Kashmir has been the home of Sanskrit learning and master pieces of history, poetry, fable and philosophy were originated from this small valley. The knowledge of Sanskrit seems to have reached its zenith here in Kashmir. The scholars developed their own alphabets called the Sharada which is entirely different from the Devanagari script. Before the introduction of paper in Kashmir, people used birch bark as writing material. Scholars and students from other parts of India visited Kashmir to complete their studies in Sanskrit.

The valley of Kashmir has been a famous seat of learning which is also known as Sharadapeeth. In ancient times, Kashmir had, at least, two big Universities: - One at Sarada, another at Chakdar (Bijbehara). Thousands of manuscripts were written in these Universities at that time. Kashmir is the homeland of rare manuscripts and has contributed a lot to *Paratyabhijna* system of Kashmir Shaivism.

The Kashmir research department was founded in the reign of Late Maharaja Pratap Singh (1848-1925). Its aim was to carry out the researches into ancient history and literature of the country. It contains a collection of rare and ancient manuscripts. In 1875

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A folio from a Persian manuscript preserved at Dogra Art Museum, Jammu

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Dr. Vuhler was deputed by government of India to collect manuscripts in Kashmir. He discovered a manuscript named, *Shaiva Shastra*.

There are many magnificent and rare manuscripts in Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar on many subjects. In order to make research on Sharada manuscripts many scholars from other parts of the country as well as from abroad visit here. Besides, there are some private collectors who possess good and rare manuscripts, which they have preserved in a very good way.

The manuscripts available in J & K are storehouse of knowledge on art, culture, science, ayurveda, tantra, mantra, religion and philosophy. In a nutshell, it can be summarised that J&K was a

literary hub since time immemorial and it continues to rule the roost in this sphere even in modern times. But now-a-days this heritage is neglected by the modern society due to the information of machine-made paper and printing machines. The manuscripts, which are the sources of knowledge are hidden treasures for the modern human society. Steps on war footing should be taken to trace and preserve them scientifically and initiate research and publication activities related to manuscripts. Moreover in order to preserve these manuscripts for posterity, we need to take recourse to modern technology so that the common people get more interested to know the things contained in these manuscripts and get benefitted in return.

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Gilgit Manuscripts: Wisdom frozen in time

Dr. Sushma Jatoo



namoratnatrayaya/ namovichchinnabandhanaya/ namahsarvatirthikamarasenamardanaya// namobodhipraptaya// Pravrajyavastu (Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. III, Part IV. Ed. Dutt, Nalinaksha, Calcutta, 1950).

The land of Kashmir is renowned for its intellectual traditions and also for safeguarding the heritage available in the form of manuscripts; of which the Gilgit manuscripts are an integral part. Gilgit manuscripts are repository of texts concerned with Buddhism and belong to the 5th or 6th Century A.D. This collection is called the Gilgit manuscripts as they were discovered in 1931 in a place called Gilgit (which is now in Pakistan occupied Kashmir). Historically, Gilgit was an important city on the Silk Road, along which Buddhism travelled from South Asia to the rest of Asia. According to their accounts, two famous Chinese Buddhist travelers, Faxian (337-422 A.D.) and Xuan zang (602-644 A. D.), traversed Gilgit.

The region of Gilgit experiences a cold desert climate and its weather conditions are dominated by its geographical location, a valley in a mountainous area, southwest of Karakoram ranges. The prevalent season of Gilgit is winter, occupying the valley for about eight to nine months a year. These climatic conditions played a vital role in preservation of these fragile (Gilgit) manuscripts discovered in a stupa. The manuscripts were written on birch bark in Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit language in the Gupta Brahmi and Post Gupta Brahmi scripts, covering a wide range of subjects such as religion, ritual, philosophy, iconometry, folk tales, medicine and several related areas of life and knowledge. The language of the texts is similar to those of the early Mahayana texts and is a mixed Sanskrit of peculiar type, using largely Sanskrit words with Prakrit inflexions and Prakrit words with Sanskrit inflexions. Prof. F. M. Hassnain states, "these manuscripts deal with 6 different schools of Mahayana. Some contain Jataka tales and some deal with the Kalachakra. The alphabet is a mixture of the Tibetan, the Brahmi and the Kashmiri Sarada, of the 5th century A.D." (Hassnain: Buddhist Kashmir, p. 30, Delhi: 1973). The importance of these manuscripts is justified by the fact that these manuscripts are perhaps the only corpus of Buddhist manuscripts discovered so far, in undivided India.

The discovery

The discovery of Gilgit manuscripts is quite legendary by itself. It so happened that way back in 1931, a group of herdsmen chanced upon a box containing these precious manuscripts, in a ruined *stupa* in the region and they took their cherished find to the erstwhile Maharaja (king) of Jammu and Kashmir. By the order of the Maharaja of Kashmir, his minister sent them to Srinagar. In the

early days of its recovery, these manuscripts were examined by Sir Aurel Stein on his way back from an archaeological mission in Central Asia. He was the first to announce the discovery of these manuscripts in the newspaper, The Statesman, on the 24th of July, 1931. He reported that "some boys watching flocks above Naupur village, about two miles west of Gilgit Cantonment, are said to have cleared a piece of timber sticking out on the top of a small stone-covered mound. Further digging laid bare a circular chamber within the ruins of a Buddhist stupa filled with hundreds of small votive stupa-s and relief plaques common in Central Asia and Tibet". This lot of manuscripts was delivered to the Government of Kashmir for preservation.

Further some eleven folios which had been retrieved from local inhabitants of that area by Stein were delivered to the British Museum. Those folios were submitted to Prof. Sylvain Levi. After examining the folios, Levi reported on the contents of the folios in *Manscripts Sanscrits provenant de Bamiyan (Afghanistan) et de Gilgit (Cachemire)*, *Journal Asiatique*, CCXXI/1932, p.p. 1-45.

In 1938, Pandit Madhusudan Kaul unearthed yet another bunch of manuscripts during the course of his brief excavation in Gilgit. Pandit Kaul published a short report on these manuscripts in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Bangalore (vol. xxx, pp. 1-12). The number of works and their titles has not yet been ascertained. But it is almost certain that they contain some Buddhist writings. One important feature of this collection is that there are two manuscripts which have painted covers.

In 1956, Prof. Giuseppe Tucci was able to procure a bunch of old manuscripts of the same class containing three vinaya texts of the *Mulasarvastivadins-Sayanasanavastu*, the *Adhikaranavastu* and the *Sanghabhedavastu* and a portion of the *Astadasahasrika-prajnaparamita*. One photocopy of these manuscripts are available with Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.

The corpus and date

The Gilgit collection contains a complete manuscript of the *Samadhirajasutra*, one of the important Mahayana canonical texts which are collectively called *Navadharmas*. As a *Mahayana Vaipulyasutra*, the *Samadhirajasutra* had been well known throughout ancient Buddhist world, particularly where Mahayana Buddhism was adhered to. The alternative name of this sutra is *Arya Candrapradipasutra*. According to Prof. Lokesh Chandra, eminent scholar on Buddhism and the cultures of the South and South East Asia and the Director of International Academy of Indian Culture, the text has references of the three Buddhist conclaves (meetings of religious heads). This suggests a date

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sometime around or after the time of Emperor Kanishka (78-128 A.D.). According to the Sanskrit texts, the third conclave was held during Kanishka's reign.

Gilgit Manuscripts were translated into Tibetan by Shailendra Bodhi and Dharmatasila as early as in the 9th Century A.D. As mentioned earlier, while examining these manuscripts, Stein identified these to be Buddhist Sanskrit texts dating back to 5th century A.D. Oskar Von Hinuber holds that "the Gilgit manuscripts can be dated to seventh century in general." (Oskar von Hinuber, the Patola Sahis of Gilgit – A Forgotten Dynasty, typescript with Lokesh Chandra).

Editions & researches

A full edition of the Gilgit manuscripts has not been done so far. Although several researchers and scholars have attempted to transcribe, edit and study these texts but till date the manuscripts have not been deciphered completely.

Prof. Nalinaksha Dutta, a scholar of Buddhist Studies was commissioned by the then government of J&K to bring out editions of some texts contained in the Gilgit manuscripts, which he brought out successfully with the assistance of several scholars. In his preface to volume I, Prof. Dutta writes, "the Texts published here are only a small fraction of the whole collection. The manuscripts were written in the 5th or 6th A.C. and as such they are some of the earliest so far discovered in India, similar to the Bower ms. and to those discovered in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. Most of the mss. were known to us only through their Chinese and Tibetan translations and no one dreamt of the discovery of their Sanskrit originals." (Preface, Vol. I, pp. ii). He also presented some analytical studies of the language of the Gilgit texts and brought out the linguistic peculiarities of these texts. He noticed that the language is a form of Sanskrit highly laden with Prakrit vocabulary and inflexion. He also pointed out that the idiom of the verses widely differed from that of the prose portions and the former extensively flouts the rules of Sanskrit grammar and prosody. He has also tried to explain the origin of the manuscripts as well as their presence in the stupa by concluding that "well to-do persons seeking merit by propagating the *dharmasastras* ..." had the sacred texts copied out for them and deposited in a sacred place like the stupa." (vide -- Preface, vol. I, pp. iii-iv). The edition and publication of portions of the manuscript collection with the title Gilgit Manuscripts in Devanagari script (with Tibetan parallels of the portions which could not be deciphered in the original manuscript), was brought out in four volumes nine physical parts from Srinagar and Calcutta (beginning from 1939– 1959).

Prof. Lokesh Chandra has put in several years of research on Gilgit manuscripts. He has brought out facsimile editions of the manuscripts housed at the National Archives of India at Delhi. (Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts: Facsimile edition; by Raghuvira and Lokesh Chandra - New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1959 – 1974; 10 Vols.).

The Prajnaparamita portion of Gilgit Manuscripts was edited and translated by Edward Conze (The Gilgit Manuscript of the Astadasahasrikaprajnaparamita: chs. 55-70 corresponding of

the 5th Ahisamaya text (edited) and English translation (by Edward Conze) Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1962).

Professor Tucci's student and eminent scholar Prof. Raniero Gnoli, has worked on the text Sanghabhedavastu, a Buddhist vinaya text. (The Gilgit Manuscript of the Sanghabhedavastu: being the 17th and last section of the Vinaya of the Mulasarvastivadin/ Edited by Raniero Gnoli; with the assistance of T. Venkaacharya; Rome: Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente 1977-1978; 2 (xxviii, 234p, 26 ill; xi, 310p.)- (Serie Orientale Roma; Vol. xlix, 1-2).

In 1982, Oskar von Hinuber published A New Fragmentary Manuscript of the Saddharmapundarikasutra from Tokyo, The Reiyukai.

The painted covers discovered by Pt. Madhusudan Kaul have been studied, in great detail, by Dr. P. Banerji (ex-Director General of the National Museum) in his article "Painted wooden covers of two Gilgit Manuscripts..." in his New Light on Central Asian Art and Iconography, New Delhi: Abha Prakashan 1992, pp. 141.147.

Dr. Sudha Gopalakrishnan, former Director of the National Mission for Manuscripts, prepared a comprehensive report on these manuscripts and mainly because of her efforts; this collection has been declared a national treasure by the Government of India and recommended for inclusion in UNESCO's Memory of the World Register in 2006, which was not accepted.

In 2012, the Soka Gakkai International, in collaboration with the National Archives of India and the Institute of Oriental Philosophy (IOP), published the 14th work in its Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series: The facsimile edition of Gilgit Lotus Sutra Manuscripts.

Cataloging & conservation

The Gilgit manuscripts have not been catalogued in entirety. The first part of the Gilgit manuscripts is presently housed in the National Archives of India, New Delhi. It is written on birch bark and covers several Buddhist texts. These have been shifted during the Indo-Pak conflict to the National Archives with special instruction from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the then Prime Minister of India. There are several texts in the corpus of Gilgit manuscripts housed herein. These have been put together, but a complete catalogue is yet to be made and published. This lot in the National Archives contains sixty-two manuscripts and the titles have been tentatively identified, interalia, as follows: Pratimoksa-sutra, Karma-vacana, Ekottaragama, Pravrajya-vastu, Vinaya-vibhanga, Visvantaravadana, Astasahasrika, Bhaisajya-vastu, Mahapratishara, MahasannipataRatnaketusutra, Buddhiabaladhana-pratiharya, Mandhatavadana and Dharmachavadana, Kutagara-sutra, Tathagata-bimba-karapana-sutra, Anna-pana-vidhi, Sanghata-sutra, Saddharama-pundarikasutra, Pranama-stava and Darika-gath. The manuscripts kept in the National Archives have been kept in a rather good condition. A preliminary conservation treatment has been given to the corpus of manuscripts, with information that 3,366 pages or fragments have been laminated. The brittle and damaged pages have been



A folio of Gilgit Manuscript, preserved at Shri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar

given curative treatment, encased in covers, and kept safely inside cupboards. The access is highly restricted, and it requires permission from the authorities.

The other collection of Gilgit Manuscripts is now preserved in the J&K State Government Libraries and Research Department, Jammu & Kashmir.

Conclusion

About the invaluable wisdom enshrined in these beautiful manuscripts, Prof. Lokesh Chandra remarks: "These manuscripts are the offspring of untrammelled inspiration, luminous calligraphy, and lively symbols of the piety of royal patrons. They were edification of life in the stillness of the written logos, commissioned as pious works to bring merit to both the

donor and the scribe. As acts of worship, they made the beauty of the mind and the dynamics of action in the world of experience a radiant manifestation." He also observes that it will probably take another 50 years to understand the corpus completely.

Presently, scholars from all over the world right from India, Germany, Japan, Korea, etc., are working towards the decipherment, understanding and editing of this rich intellectual heritage of not only of India, but of the entire humanity. It is hoped that the decipherment of this complete corpus might unravel newer vistas of learning and knowledge base of the ancient past along with new insights into the fields of traditional iconographic and medicinal sciences, folk narratives, etc.

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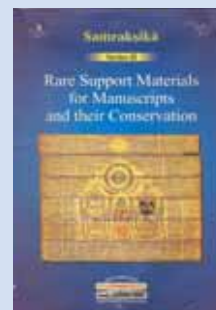
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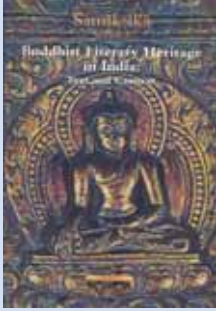


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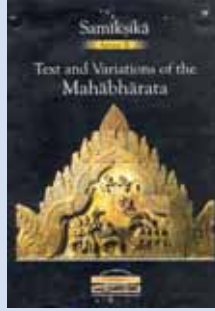
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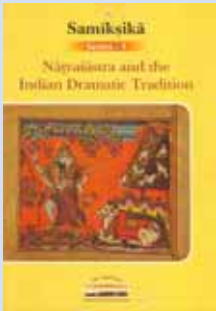
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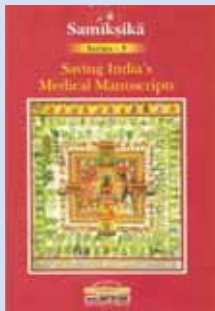
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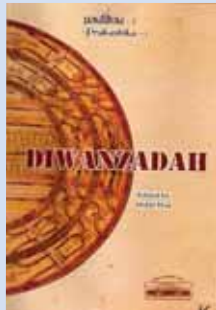
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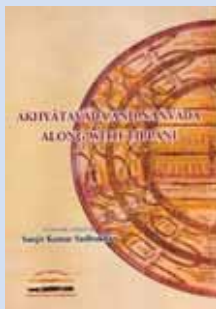
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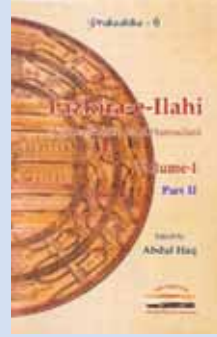


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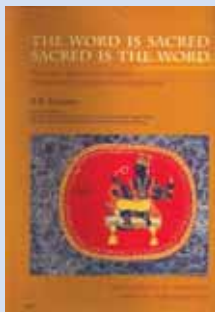


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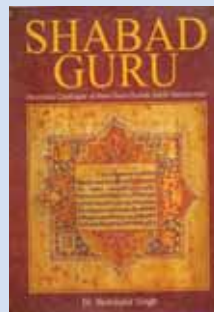


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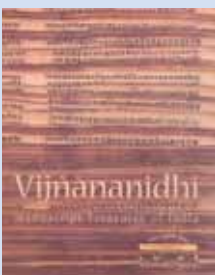
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