

National Mission for Manuscripts

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राष्ट्रीय पाण्डुलिपि मिशन की द्वैमासिक पत्रिका

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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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Celebration of the marriage ceremony of Prince Dara Shikoh, son of Emperor Shahjahan: an illustration from *Padshahnama*, preserved at Royal Library, Windsor Castle, London (Photo curtsey: Dr. Gulfishan Khan, Associate Professor in History, AMU)

The views, opinions and suggestions expressed in the *Kriti Rakshana* are strictly those of the authors and not necessarily those of the editor or the publisher.



िदिशक की कलम से

राष्ट्रीय पाण्डुलिपि मिशन का द्वितीय चरण समाप्ति की ओर अग्रसर हो रहा है। पिछले अंक में मैं यह संकेत कर चुकी हूँ कि द्वितीय चरण का कार्यकाल व्यावहारिक रूप में केवल सवा दो वर्षों का हो पाया है। सम्पूर्ण काल की भरपाई तो पूरी तरह से सम्भव नहीं है किन्तु मिशन ने यथाशक्ति इसे पूरा करने का प्रयास किया है। इस वर्ष नियमित सूचीकरण के अतिरिक्त, मिशन का बल, पाण्डुलिपियों में निहित ज्ञान को विद्वानों एवं शोधकर्ताओं के लिए सुलभ बनाना रहा है। पाण्डुलिपियों का प्रकाशन समयसाध्य लम्बी प्रक्रिया है। सबसे पहले तो पाण्डुलिपियों को एकत्र करना ही भगीरथ प्रयत्न की अपेक्षा रखता है। एक प्रति से सम्पादन का काम नहीं हो सकता और अनेक प्रतियों को एकत्र करने में कई बार कई दशक लग जाते हैं। मेरा अपना अनुभव मैं सहृदय पाठकों के साथ बाँटना चाहूँगी। सन् 1986 में ऑक्स्फोर्ड विश्वविद्यालय में व्याकरण दर्शन की एक पाण्डुलिपि मुझे उपलब्ध हुई। यह ग्रन्थ इससे पहले प्राय: अज्ञात था। प्राय: शब्द का प्रयोग इसलिए कर रही हूँ कि इसकी चर्चा न तो इस विषय के ग्रन्थों में आयी थी और न ही शोध कार्यों में इसका उल्लेख कहीं देखा गया था। पाण्डुलिपि देखने पर लगा कि यह ग्रन्थ प्रकाश में आना चाहिए। अतः मैंने उसकी माइक्रोफिल्म बॉडलियन पुस्तकालय से ले ली। उसके सम्पादन के लिए जब मैंने अन्य प्रतियों की खोज आरम्भ की तो सर्वत्र निराशा ही हाथ लगी। 20 वर्षों के निरन्तर शोध के बाद सन् 2006 में मुझे इस ग्रन्थ की दो और पाण्डुलिपियाँ उपलब्ध हो सकीं। इन दो प्रतियों को देखने के बाद यह स्पष्ट हुआ कि ऑक्सफोर्ड में उपलब्ध प्रति पर्याप्त सदोष थी। 20 वर्षों की लम्बी और श्रमपूर्ण प्रतिक्षा के बाद जब अन्य प्रतियाँ उपलब्ध हो गयीं तो उनके सम्पादन का कार्य आरम्भ किया जा सका। यह व्यक्तिगत अनुभव पाठकों के साथ बाँटने का एकमात्र लक्ष्य यह है कि वे पाण्डुलिपि सम्पादन की प्रक्रिया में आनेवाली समस्याओं से कुछ अवगत हो सकें। प्राय: ऐसा होता है कि कार्य सम्पन्न हो जाने के बाद उसका फल देखने वाले कार्य की पूर्ति में आयी बाधाओं से अवगत नहीं हो पाते।

पाण्डुलिपियों के प्रकाशन की प्रक्रिया प्रतियाँ उपलब्ध करने से आरम्भ हो कर सम्पादन की कठिन परीक्षा से गुजरती है, जो अपने आप में श्रमसाध्य कार्य है। इन सारी समस्याओं एवं बाधाओं के बावजूद हमें सन्तोष है कि मिशन पाण्डुलिपियों के प्रकाशन में सफलता प्राप्त कर रहा है। इसके लिए विभिन्न क्षेत्रों के विद्वानों का जो सहयोग प्राप्त हुआ है उसके लिए मैं उनकी आभारी हूँ।

अज्ञात/अल्पज्ञात पाण्डुलिपियों को प्रकाश में लाने के प्रयास में मिशन ने निरन्तर प्रगति की है। इसके लिए अनेक प्रकार की युक्तियों को अपनाना पड़ता है। पाण्डुलिपियों के प्रति वर्तमान युग में उपेक्षा भाव का परिणाम है कि हमारी शिक्षा प्रणाली में पाण्डुलिपियों एवं पाण्डुलिपि विज्ञान को कोई महत्व नहीं दिया गया है। भारतवर्ष में लिपि बाहुल्य के साथ भाषा की विविधता प्राचीन काल से ही विद्यमान रही है। अत: जो शोधार्थी / विद्वान् इस क्षेत्र में कार्य करना चाहते हैं उनका विशेष प्रशिक्षण अनिवार्य होता है। पाण्डुलिपि विज्ञान के अध्ययन के बिना सम्पादन का कार्य नहीं हो सकता और लिपि ज्ञान के अध्ययन के बिना सम्पादन का कार्य नहीं हो सकता और लिपि ज्ञान के बिना तो पाण्डुलिपि को पढ़ा ही नहीं जा सकता। इन दोनों क्षेत्रों में प्रशिक्षण का अभाव होने के कारण मिशन ने यह दायित्व भी अपने ऊपर लिया है। वैसे भी बिना इस प्रशिक्षण के मिशन अपना शासनादेश पूरा नहीं कर सकता इसलिए मिशन शैक्षणिक संस्थाओं एवं पाण्डुलिपि संसाधन केन्द्रों के सहयोग से प्रशिक्षण की व्यवस्था करता है।

आधार कार्यशालाओं में प्रशिक्षुओं को पाण्डुलिपि विज्ञान के मूलभूत सिद्धान्तों का परिचय कराने के साथ तत् तत् क्षेत्र की प्रचलित लिपि का ज्ञान कराया जाता है। पाण्डुलिपि की प्रगत कार्यशालाओं में लिपियों में प्रशिक्षित लोगों को सम्पादन का शास्त्रीय ज्ञान एवं व्यावहारिक अनुभव प्राप्त करने का अवसर प्रदान किया जाता है। मिशन द्वारा आयोजित प्रगत कार्यशालाओं के फलस्वरूप कतिपय महत्वपूर्ण पाण्डुलिपियों का सम्पादन सम्भव हो सका है जिन्हें यथासमय प्रकाशित किया जायेगा।

मिशन द्वारा पाण्डुलिपियों में निहित ज्ञानविषयक संगोष्ठियों को विद्वानों एवं शोधकर्ताओं ने अत्यधिक सराहा है। व्याकरण की अल्पज्ञात पाण्डुलिपियों / सिद्धान्तों एवं स्वयं व्याकरणों पर एक संगोष्ठी पुणे में आयोजित की गयी उसमें आधाुनिक काल के मूर्धन्य वैयाकरणों के साथ युवा विद्वान भी सम्मिलित हुए। केरल विश्वाविद्यालय के प्राच्य विद्या शोध संस्थान में आयोजित स्थापत्य विषयक संगोष्ठी के द्वारा केरल की विशिष्ट स्थापत्य शैली एवं उससे सम्बन्धित पाण्डुलिपियों को सबके समक्ष लाने का प्रयत्न विशेषज्ञों ने पसन्द किया। मिशन के इस प्रकार के प्रयत्नों की विशेषता है कि यह केवल इसमें भाग लेने वाले लोगों तक ही सीमित नहीं रहते बल्कि पुस्तक के रूप में प्रकाशित होने के बाद सबों के लिए सुगमता से उपलब्ध हो जाते हैं। भारतीय पाण्डुलिपियों में निहित ज्ञान परम्परा को उद्घाटित करने का कार्य दुष्कर तो है लेकिन बिना इस ज्ञान परम्परा से जुड़े भारत अपनी खोयी हुई गरिमा को प्राप्त करने में समर्थ नहीं हो सकता। आवश्यकता इस बात की है कि इस ज्ञान परम्परा से प्रेरणा लेकर हम वर्तमान में देश की समस्याओं के समाधान निकालने का यत्न करें। मिशन इस उद्देश्य के प्रति सजग भी है और उसे प्राप्त करने के लिए सक्रिय भी।

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Editorial

If Indian heritage is alive unblemished, it is there in certain pockets which are least affected by modernization. One such spot is Tawang district of Arunachal Pradesh. The entire district is so situated, as if mighty Himalayas embrace Tawang and all its riches with intense affection. Monasteries on the lap of the Himalayas, elephantine manuscripts in the custody of the monasteries and meditating monks, all are in perfect harmony. A sublime spirit encompasses both man and nature in this land of salvation. In this fast changing world of IT revolution and artificial intelligence, people in Tawang produce hand-made paper and write manuscripts and documents. Dr. Maltesh Motebennur in his article on the 'Mahayana Buddhist Manuscripts of Tawang District' unfolds the literary heritage hidden in the manuscripts preserved for centuries in different Buddhist monasteries of Tawang and thus opens the doors of some treasure troves for our readers.

In another article, Dr. Gulfishan Khan presents us with a Mughal recipe in *shahi andaz*. Seems to be written in *fursat*, it explores the beauty in and facts about *Shah Jahan-Nama*. Her article itself is a piece of art, a Mughal miniature in words with every detail presented meticulously and with exceptional dexterity.

Dr. Vijaypal Shastri's inquisitive and analytical approach and a young scholar S. Visalakshi's effort to unearth a less known text are indeed praiseworthy. India boasts of the richest tradition of grammar in the world. But, there are few who take care of preserving and promoting this tradition. Dr. Visalakshi's attempt to critically edit an unpublished text on grammar is in complete harmony with what NMM strives to achieve.

In Indian gourmet affair, every meal must end with a sweet dish. The issue in your hands ends with a melodious plot from the southernmost part of Assam. I think, these unheard songs of the cowboys will find in you a listener and you will find something sweeter to relish.

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Book Review



Shah Jahan-Nama and Imperial Views of History

Gulfishan Khan

The reign of Mughal emperor Shahjahan (r. 1628-1658 AD), has been considered the most glorious epoch in the annals of the history of the pre-modern South Asia. (B.P. Saxena, History of Shahjahan of Dihli, Allahabad, 1932). What rendered the period a golden era of medieval India is Shahjahan's contribution to the development of art and architecture. Architecture, the imperial art par excellence was the focus of emperor's attention, but other arts and letters also flourished under his patronage. Yet one such flourishing branch of knowledge was historiography, the art of history writing. Historiography was aimed at propagating imperial ideology and was purposefully utilized to record the imperial patronage and contribution to the promotion of art and letters. The court historians were appointed by the emperor after careful considerations. (T British Library Ms. Or. 1676)

The official historiographers composed their narratives under the close royal supervision of the patron-emperor. The emperor made all possible efforts to create official documentation of his reign so that generation to come would know him and his achievements. The emperor was fully aware of the uniqueness and greatness of his reign. Therefore, he saw to it that every deed and event of his reign was to be set down in elaborate details for posterity. His brain, honed by some of the most well-read minds of the era, clearly understood the role of historiography as a powerful tool to propagate imperial ideology.

It is to be noted that Mirza Jalala Tabatabai (died in 1636), a learned Persian scholar of Isfahan, who arrived in India in 1634, was the first court

chronicler of Shahjahan. The narrative which covers only five years of the brilliant reign beginning with the fifth solar regnal year to the end of the eighth is called Padshahnama and is preserved in the British Library, London. (British Library Ms. Or. 1676). Muhammad Amin bin Abul Qasim Qazwini (1646), an outstanding prose-writer and excellent narrator, was the second official historian whom the emperor appointed as his official historiographer in 1636. He composed a history of first ten years of the same magnificent era. The literary outcome of Qazwini's painstaking and beautiful penmanship is also called Padshahnama, a name decided upon by the emperor himself. (British Library Ms. Or. 173). Abdul Hamid Lahori (died in1655), a historian trained in the Abul Fazl School of penmanship (Insha) and historiography and an accomplished historian and an elegant prose-writer, was the successor of the abovementioned distinguished literary figures. The standard text of Lahori's Badshahnama is divided into three volumes, the third was completed by his disciple Muhammad Waris (died in 1680). (Waris, Padshah Nama, Vol. 3 British Library MS Add. 6556). Each volume describes a decade of his rule. Each decade was to be treated as separate volume, because ten was considered auspicious by the Emperor who was also the tenth Timurid ruler. Consequently Padshahnama or Shahjahan-nama is also called Tarikh-i-Shahjahani Dahsala, i. e., History of Shahjahani Decades. An abridgement (mulakhkhas) of the three volumes of Lahori's official history was prepared by Muhammad Tahir Ashna entitled Inayat Khan, the royal librarian of Shahjahan. (The Shah Jahan Nama of Inayat Khan, An Abridged history of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, compiled by



his Royal librarian, ed. And completed by W. E. Begley, and Z. A. Desai, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1990.) There is yet another Shahjahannama written by Muhammad Sadig Khan. (Muhammad Sadiq Khan, Tawarikh-i-Shahjahani, BL. Ms. OR. 174). Another major historical work, a detailed Shahjahannama also known as Amal-i-Saleh or 'work of Saleh' describing the splendid reign of the emperor Shahjahan was written by Muhammad Saleh Kambo¹. There also exist three unfinished versified histories, which were commissioned by the emperor. The first was composed by the court poet-writer Haji Muhammad Jan Mashhadi Qudsi (died in 1646). (Zafarnama-i-Shahjahan, British Library MS. Ethe 1552). The other two versified accounts of the reign, both called Padshahnama (Padshahnama or Badshshnama literally means 'chronicle of the king of the world'), were composed by the poet-laureates Abu Talib Kalim Kashani (died in 1652) who was entrusted with the task of the versification of Padshahnama and for the purpose he was sent to the peaceful and serene valley of Kashmir, (Padshahnama British Library Ms Ethe 1570), and the third was composed by Mir Muhammad Yahya Kashi. (Padshahnama British Library Ms. Or 1852).

Unfortunately most of these priceless literary treasures remain unedited to-date which otherwise would have brightened many unread pages of Indian history.

Shah Jahan-Nama (Book of Shahjahan) is one such rare work preserved in the Library of Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad (Andhra Pradesh). The manuscript containing 944 folios documents only the first of the three decades of the Shahjahani era (from 1037 A.H. to 1047A.H./1628-38 A.D.) As befitting the official history of Shahjahan's royal reign the paper itself carries sheen of gold and the headings throughout made out of pure gold. The manuscript is an excellent specimen of nastalig form of calligraphy practiced under the Mughal court's patronage, but neither the name of the author nor that of the calligrapher/ scribe is mentioned. A colophon on the last page of the volume states that the manuscript was presented to the emperor Shahjahan on 14 Ziqadah 1054 A.H./2 January 1645 at Akbarabad (Agra), the seat of Caliphate. A close perusal of the manuscript reveals that it is the first of the three volumes of Badshahnama of Abdul Hamid Lahori, the above mentioned

Kriti Ralpan

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Folios from Shah Jahan-Nama, preserved at Salarjung Museum, Hyderabad

official historian of Shahjahan². Another marvellous manuscript covering the first decade of the reign of Shahjahan, lavishly illustrated with forty-four full page paintings, copied by Muhammad Amin al-Mashhadi in 1656-57, is preserved in the Windsor Castle Library, London. Its superb narrative paintings reflect the glory of the reign. The emperor is portrayed in full imperial majesty in the midst of his noblemen reflecting his high stature and taste³.

Being a formal official chronicle the narrative is full of hyperbolic praise for the patron-emperor. Nevertheless the author effectively portrays the



complex personality of the suave and urbane emperor of India, as well as the multifaceted character of his reign. Despite the employment of effusive prose and hyperbole, the author successfully conveys zeitgeist, the true spirit of the Shahjahani era. Being the official history the text presents an image that the emperor desired to communicate of himself and that of the vast empire of Hindustan which extended from Kabul in the present-day Afghanistan to Aurangabad, and from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. The language is ornate but lucid. The author cites verses from the poetry of the Persian poet-moralist Sadi Shirazi, the lyricist Shamsuddin Muhammad Hafiz of Shiraz (1315-1390), and the classic Persian poets Anwari and Khagani.

The work begins with the accession (julus) of Shahjahan to the imperial throne. Prince (Shah) Khurram (1592-1666), (means, Joyous) son and successor of the Emperor Nuruddin Jahangir (r. 1605-27), ascended the Mughal throne on 8 Jumada al-sani 1037/Monday, 14 February 1628, with the lofty title Abul Muzaffar Shihab al-Din Muhammad Sahib Qirani-Sani Shahjahan Padshah Ghazi which means 'Father of Victory, Star of Religion, Lord of the auspicious planetary conjunction, King of the World, emperor, Warrior of the Faith.' The public ceremony took place in the Diwan-i-am, the Hall of Public Audience in the royal citadel of Akbarabad consisting of the grandees, ministers and the distinguished men of sword and pen (arbab-i-saif wa galam) of the realm, amidst singers reciting melodious ghazals. Poets and men of letters composed felicitous chronograms and were richly rewarded.

However, an account of the illustrious ancestors of the emperor as narrated in the introduction of the first volume of the final version of Lahori and Qazwini is excluded from the present version.

The preface also contains emperor's horoscope (*zaicha*) drawn by Mulla Fariduddin Masud ibn Ibrahim Dehlawi (died in 1629) the Astronomer Royal and the author of *Zich-i-Shahjahani* the

Tables of Shahjahan. The detailed enumeration of the royal horoscope is followed with the text of the royal order (farman), dated 1037 A.H./1628, addressed to Abul Hasan Asaf Khan (died in 1641) father in law of the emperor, now exalted with the dignified titles of Yaminuddauala (Right Hand of the Empire) and addressed affectionately as *Ummu* (uncle) in addition to the above dignified titles. The royal order proclaims his appointment to the position of wakil us saltanat the highest office in the Mughal government, with the official rank called mansab of 8,000/8,000 zat (personal status, pay) and sawar (mounted troopers), along with the *du aspa sih aspa*, and an additional grant of the port city of Lahri Bandar⁴. The emperor wrote with his own hands: "God the Almighty has bestowed upon me by the grace of His infinite bounteousness, the vast kingdom of entire Hindustan (badshahi *kul Hindustan*). And in this eternal sovereignty I deem you a partner and together we and our kingdom will ever flourish with the blessings of the most compassionate Almighty."

Most significantly perhaps, the work contains a detailed listing of the offerings, honour and promotions of the nobles who occupied various political, military, administrative and diplomatic positions in the vast bureaucratic apparatus of the empire. The work constitutes an important source for the reconstruction of the careers of the Mughal administrative elite, as it depicts personal and collective trajectories of those whose fortunes were bound with the empire. It contains the most comprehensive information of the high profile nobles such as Asaf Khan down to many lesser known officials of the state.

Promotions and bequests made to the imperial family are most diligently recorded. The lunar weighing of his Majesty was held in celebration of the completing forty-eight years of his life on Rabiul Awwal 1047 Hijri August 1637. On this occasion the mansab of his Royal Highness Prince Dara Shikoh who held the *mansab* of 12,000/8,000 was fixed at 15, 000 *zat* with 9,000 *sawar*. The *mansabs* of the



Princes Muhammad Shah Shuja Bahadur and Muhammad Aurengzeb Bahadur by an increase of 2,000 and 1,000 were each raised to 12,000 *zat* with 7000 *sawar*.⁵

It noted the formal royal visits of the emperor to the mansions (*manzil*) of his grandees, such as that of Asaf Khan and Jafar Khan, where the emperor was sumptuously entertained along with his family. It carefully recorded the births and deaths of children and grandchildren in the imperial household, illness and death of the important nobles of the empire such as the sad news of the death of Mir Jumla, *Mir bakhshi* (Head of Personnel) due to paralysis,⁶ and of Mahabat Khan in 1634, and sudden demise of the Central Asian (*Turan*) envoy Khwaja Abdur Rahim Juibari⁷.

The work provides authentic descriptions of various aspects of the Mughal court culture under Shahjahan. It contains meticulous literary representations of the royal court, with very minute portrayals of details of the formalities observed at the Shahjahani court. The work unfolds a rich spectacle of the reign by bringing to life the splendour and magnificence of the court. It provides panoramic views of Shahjahan's darbarsettings, royal audiences with nobles, foreign travellers and ambassadors, all full of pageantry and an integral part of court life. Most of all, it provides rare glimpses into the lives of the ruler and his family. Arranged chronologically within the text are detailed accounts of virtually every important public activity of the emperor, from undertaking an important military campaign to the valuable offerings such as a chandelier (gandil) sent to the Holy cities in Hejaz. It describes the carefully choreographed royal audiences at which the emperor announced major promotions and appointments, especially on the occasion of the annual *nauroz* (new day) and the weighing against gold on the occasion of royal birthdays according to both solar and lunar calendars and the great public displays at the time of marriages of the princes. Therefore, a major part of the text describes various public events at the court and elaborates court ceremonials. It provides graphic description of the splendid receptions in the *Diwan-i-am* and on the special days marked out by the court for special rejoicings such as the anniversary of emperor's birthdays, recovery of emperor from illness, reception of an envoy. It describes innumerable royal audiences at which the emperor received homage of the assembled nobles and aristocrats of his realm, who stood in the order of precedence. The splendour and pageantry of court comes to life especially in the wedding ceremonies of the four sons of the emperor. The author successfully conveys monumentality and splendour of royal the imperial court mainly due to painstaking concern for details.

Subject matter

The volume represents not only a saga of the pomp and splendour rather it also shows a genuine concern for the common populace of the empire as is evident in the description of the famine in Deccan and Gujarat in 1630-2. Similarly it describes flood relief measures undertaken in Thatta, and especial prayers offered by the emperor and nobles to stave off the calamity in the face of oncoming draught in the regions around the capital. It is reported that Lord did hear as soon after the lands were graced with rains. Besides the manuscript provides wide-ranging information of Mughal court's international contacts, as well as political developments in the other parts of the empire mainly the Deccan called *junubi mamalik* i.e., the southern states and Kabul and Kashmir. Additionally, the invaluable volume contains transcripts of royal decrees and documents, copies of letters exchanged with ambassadors and regional Indian and foreign heads of the state. It provides views of the Central Asian policy of the emperor Shahjahan, relations with the Astarkhanid rulers Nazr Muhammad Khan and Imam Quli Khan (1611-41), called Wali, internal conditions of Transoxiana called Turan, unsuccessful siege of Kabul by Nazr Muhammad Khan (June-August 1628), and the



defensive measures undertaken by Lashkar Khan, the Mughal governor of the province, and Hakim Hazig Gilani's ambassadorial mission to the court of Bukhara in Nov 1628⁸. Nevertheless relations with Persia occupies prominent place, and the author describes reception of Persian ambassador Bahri Beg by Mutamid Khan, (folios 217-8), notice of the death of Shah Abbas (r. 1587-1629) on Jan 9, 1629, accompanied with a detailed obituary describing Persian monarch's rise to power and his major military conquests. It describes internal conditions of the Safavid Empire, mainly the political instability of Persia after the death of Shah Abbas I, followed with the event of accession of Shah Safi (r.1 629-1642). Significantly, the detailed narrative of the Mughal foreign relations especially with Persia and Central Asia called "Iran wa Turan" also represents rulers' view of their mutual relationship. Although the wars and conquests received marginal treatment in this volume, nevertheless important military campaigns and political events are dealt in ample details.

Architecture

Among his many accomplishments the emperor Shahjahan was most conscious of his architectural achievements, therefore, along with the portrayal of the opulent splendour of the Shahjahani court the official historiographers provided fascinating and indepth descriptions of the imperial buildings and majestic grandeur of his numerous architectural monuments While other arts and letters also flourished under Shahjahan's patronage his most outstanding and enduring artistic achievement belongs to the realm of architecture. Shahjahan's reign represented an era of great architectural awareness too, when designing and construction of new buildings was a fashion at the court⁹.

The author provides the extensive details of imperial architectural projects for the future historians of architecture in the most absorbing manner. It contains the most exact details about the planning, designing (*tarh*), ground-plan and the layout of most of the royal monuments. It provides a fascinating description of the Agra fort complex, and its three main palace court yards built by the emperor in the opening years of the first decade of his reign, and the main imperial residence until 1648 when the court moved to the new capital in Delhi renamed Shahjahanbad. It contains rich profile of all the royal monuments secular as well as religious buildings which had been completed in the first decade of the imperial rule. However, among the royal monuments of the capital-city it does not refer to the construction of Moti Masjid (Pearl Mosque) made from the translucent marble completed in 1063A. H./1653 A.D. However, the Jami Masjid, the congregational Mosque of the capital (completed in 1647) for which the work of construction began in 1637 is mentioned as a project sponsored by the Princess Jahanara.

The author represented the Shahjahani buildings a unique blend of elegance and architecture. It contains precise details of the measurement of the various buildings, as well as the material used in the construction such as the dazzling white marble (*sang-i-mar mar*) red stone (*sang-i-surkh*), *chunah*, *chunah Patiali* quicklime, the precious or semi-precious stones, pearls, red gems (*aqiq wa marjan*), as well as the exact figures of the expenditure involved in construction. It refers to the new innovative decoration techniques *sanat-i-ayina kari*, mosaic work, *munabbatkari* stone relief work, *parchinkari*, stone intarsia, *girahbandi* the geometrical ornamentation.

The author[Abdul Hamid Lahori] graphically portrays the newly completed *Diwan-i-am* the heart of the palace called *Dawlat khana khass u amm* literally "Palace building for the special one and for the wider Public," commonly referred as *Diwan-i-amm* or Hall of Public Audience where the emperor held his court twice a day and personally attended the administration of the empire. The emperor remained prodigiously busy with large scale building projects. Shahjahan made the



personal overseeing of his artists a part of his daily routine thus acting as his own artistic director in a manner typical of Shahjahani perfectionism. Emperor's daily morning session with his artists in the *Dawlat Khana-i-Khass wa amm*, also included the close inspection of the work of his artists and architects. The emperor is invariably referred as *daqiqahshinas* meaning subtleties-knowing-emperor and one who had a vision of an alchemist (*nazr kimiya asr* literally, eyes effective like that an alchemist), and one difficult to please.

A number of nobles and officials of the state were employed in the planning and realization of the imperial architectural enterprises mainly as the superintendents (*sarkar*). Asaf Khan, the premier noble of the empire, was also a gentleman architect, well versed in the subtleties of this craft (*sanat*). "Yaminddaula knows the intricacies of the craft." He acted as a close advisor of the emperor on most of the architectural projects. The foremost noble's architectural patronage included supervision, sponsorship as well as designing of various building projects.

"And each of the finally approved design (*tarh*) is submitted to that strong pillar of the state and firm arm of sovereignty Yaminuddaula Asaf Khan who writes down the explanation of the imperial instructions which ultimately serve as a guide (*dastawez*) for the building overseers (*mutasaddiyan*) and architects of buildings. In this peaceful reign, the art of building has reached such a point that it astonishes the widely-travelled connoisseurs and undoubtedly is a source of envy of the engineers (*muhandisan*) of this incomparable craft."¹⁰

Above all, *Shahjahannama* is shrouded in an atmosphere of sadness and gloom due to the death of Arjumand Bano, daughter of Asaf Khan, born to be a legend, known to history as Mumtaz Mahal, in child-birth at Burhanpur on night of Wednesday, the 17 of Ziqadah 1040 A.H./16 June 1631, only three years after the accession of her husband to the

ancestral throne. It describes annual *urs*, the gathering on the anniversary of death on the site selected for her burial, and distribution of charities by the emperor. Despite the opulence of the narrative and all encompassing grandeur of Mughal life and courts there is a persistent undercurrent of sadness in every proceedings. This sadness perhaps is a mere figment of the bleakness surrounding the emperor's private life. The lost love and desperation might have been the driving force which spawned a rainbow of events all celebrating joy but having their true source in tragedy.

On closer inspection the multitude of events which took place around the empress's death anniversary was a "celebration of life". Maybe the loss of the one he loved the most led him to appreciate the worth of life more and the emperor sought to spread a little joy in all his subjects. But despite all his attempts to the contrary his life was deeply steeped in the guagmire of sadness. He was like a monk who used to do annual pilgrimage to the shrine of his wife, the empress in order to find some shred of solace. Maybe peace and heartfelt happiness still eluded him for he remained till the last day of his life a very faithful disciple to the shrine the Taj Mahal. But being the great king as was he, he had found a way to camouflage his eternal sadness in a garb of gaiety.

Epilogue

I do not think in all the Seven regions There is any city of the grandeur and beauty of Lahore. (Talib Amuli)

The epilogue called *Khatima* at the end of the volume contains an account of notable intellectual and spiritual personalities of the period, in the form of biographical accounts called *tazkira*. This section containing biographical notices is divided into four categories called *tabaqa*. The first division consists of the famous Sufi-saints (*mashaikhs*), the second is concerned with the scholars (*fuzala*) men of pen and letters, who excelled in learning and knowledge, the third category



consisted of the famous physicians and the fourth deals with the poets and litterateurs, who flourished under the liberal patronage of Shahjahan and adorned his court. Significantly, the epilogue shows that the heavy braindrain in the form of poets, litterateurs, artists, musicians, historians, architects and diplomats from Iran and Central Asia to the liberal Mughal court continuously enriched the cultural land-scape of Mughal India. Lahore the second capital of the empire, and the seat of government had emerged as a vibrant centre of learning and cultural activities, and the city definitely enjoyed greater prominence than Delhi, only next to Agra. Many sufi saints chose to reside in the same city such were the prominent Qadiri saints Mulla Shah Badakhshi, (1585-1661), a successor (khalifa) of Mian Mir, (1550-35), the most revered personality of the period, Shaikh Bilawal Qadri, (d.1637) and Mulla Khwaja (1662) of Bihar, who arrived in Lahore to acquire traditional learning from Mian Mir and chose to live in Lahore and spent days and nights in remembering God the Almighty.

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Mahayana Buddhist Manuscripts of Tawang District

Maltesh Motebennur

North East India is the melting pot of various cultures since pre-historic time. Before British occupation, it consisted of independent kingdoms of Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Cachar, et al. The area is notable for its rich cultural heritage in the form of temples, monasteries, stupas, traditional arts and crafts, dances, festivals, rituals and so on. During medieval period, Hindu kings ruled the states of Assam, Manipur and Tripura.

With the coming of the Ahoms in Assam (13th Century), a number of Buronijes (manuscript on history) were written. Simultaneously with the growth of Neo-Vaishnavism propounded by great saint, Shrimanta Shankar Dev, the cultural heritage of Assam was given a new flip. One of the finest contributions of the Ahom kings as well as Shankar Dev was to popularise the writing of manuscripts. The largest river island of Asia, Majuli (Assam) is the home of a number of satras (Vaishnav monasteries) which have thousands of manuscripts in their collections. The satras at Bardoa and Barpeta are also rich in such Vaishnava manuscripts. Besides these a number of manuscripts are preserved in the museums, libraries and individual collections in the north-east. The writing of manuscripts as well as painting of manuscripts were also patronised in the Buddhist monasteries. Mahayan Buddhist monasteries in Tawang area as well as Theravad Buddhist manuscripts in the eastern part of Arunachal Pradesh and some parts of Assam as well, were in the forefront of writing, copying and illustrating manuscripts. In Tripura, the Manikya kings were great patrons of literary activities. Similarly in Manipur, after the introduction of Vaishnavism in 17th century, writing of manuscripts was patronised by the rulers.

In the present scenario, it is estimated that in Tawang monastery alone there are more than five thousand rare Buddhist manuscripts which contain knowledge on religion, philosophy, medicine, Lord Buddha's original preaching, etc. Besides Tawang, there are at least five dozens of old Mahayan monasteries in Arunachal Pradesh where hundreds of Buddhist manuscripts written in Bodic and other scripts are preserved. In the Theravad monasteries of Arunachal Pradesh located in the districts of Lohit and Changlang, thousands of such manuscripts written in Monai scripts are preserved.

Though thousands of manuscripts, both Vaishnava and Buddhist, are available in the North-East, scientific preservation, conservation and restoration technique had not been practised until the establishment of the National Mission for Manuscripts due to lack of well-trained manpower. Many a manuscript was destroyed due to the humid climatic conditions, lack of preservation and lack of interest as well. Thus a considerable number of manuscripts, which are the store house of history and culture of the people of the region, lost forever. The importance of Buddhist manuscripts available in the region cannot be overlooked because of the fact that these manuscripts contain information regarding cultural interaction of North-East India with Tibet and parts of South East Asia. On the other hand, Vaishnava manuscripts contain the history and culture of medieval Assam. Undoubtedly, the loss of these manuscripts is a great blow to the Indian literary and cultural heritage. It is in this context documentation



of manuscripts and digitization process should be taken at the right earnest to preserve and protect these manuscripts for posterity. When I registered as Ph.D. scholar, my research topic was 'Buddhist Manuscripts with special reference to Arunachal Pradesh: Restoration, Utilisation and Digitisation'. I surveyed the manuscripts scattered in and around Tawang Monastery and its adjacent *gonpas*. The present paper is an outcome of my research findings. In this write up, manuscript writing and availability of manuscripts in Tawang district are discussed in brief.

Mahayan Buddhist manuscripts

Mahayan monasteries of Arunachal Pradesh are called gonpa or gompa in Monpa dialect. These gonpas are generally located at some distance from villages and on the face of a cliff, or spur of a hill, offering a commanding and picturesque view of the valley below. The village monasteries are generally built at a higher location than the habitation area. The monastic architecture does not differ much from the architecture of the local houses of the area, except with respect to magnitude. Generally, the monastic buildings are bigger than the house of the laity. The monasteries are built of stones, wooden pillars and planks. In Buddhist inhabited areas, every gonpa, monastery, stupa or household should have manuscript in it. These manuscripts, which are called *peichas* in local Monpa language are preserved tightly wrapped in a yellow silken or cotton cloth, sandwiched between two wooden pieces. Every family has a small chapel in the shape of an altar called *chosam* at the rear part of the house. It is wooden and has a few shelves on which are kept images of several divinities and ritual articles. The rich have a separate room for the altar. Religious books, manuscripts (peichas) are stacked in the pigeonhole along shelves, beside the altar. Every village in Monpa area has a gonpa and according to the size of the gonpa the collection of manuscripts (peichas) varies.

Tawang Monastery

Perched atop a hill, overlooking the ridge and surrounded by thick clouds, the legendary 17th century Tawang Monastery is the fountain head of spiritual life of the followers of the Gelugpa sect of the Mahayan school of Buddhism. Majestically seated on a ridge that overlooks the Tawangchu (Tsosum) valley of Kameng division of Arunachal, at a strategic point where trade routes from Tibet, Bhutan and Eastern Kameng meet, the Gonpa is the heart and soul of the Monpas. Being the biggest monastery of Arunachal and perhaps the second largest of Asia, the monastery is locally known as Tawang Gaden Namgyal Lhatse or the celestial paradise of the divine site chosen by horse. Tawang monastery situated at about 10,000 feet above the sea level. The monastery is surrounded on all sides except on the east by mountains with snow-capped peaks and coniferous forest below. Viewed from a distance, it appears like a fort as if guarding the votaries in the wide valley below. This impression is not devoid of substance in view of the hostility its founder faced from the Karmapas and Nyingmapas, the then dominant Buddhist sects in the area and more so, from the Dukpas of Bhutan, who are said to have attempted to capture Tawang. This explains well the strategic location as well as the structure, which are purely defensive in nature. The layout of the Monastery proves that it is not only a strong base for propagation of religion but in the past was also a military post against the Dukpa attacks. It is apt to know that the founder of the Gonpa gave so much importance to defence aspect that he lifted all prohibitions against the military activities from the inmates of the Monastery. It is important to note that out of monthly ration of thirteen bras of cereals, as much as ten were given as inducement to actively joining the defence of the monastery. The spur on which the Monastery is situated has rivers in the south and west, a narrow ridge on the north connecting it with the range and



gradual slope on the east. Thus, the position of the Gonpa is very strong as it is difficult to approach the Monastery from the north along the ridge. Even now, one can see many holes in the boundary wall of the Monastery, in which guns were fixed to repulse the attack of the enemy and to watch the activities of the advancing enemies. The Monastery covering an area of 135 mts. in length can be approached from the North along the ridge. The Monastery accommodates 500 to 800 lamas and is the largest of its kind in India.

A three-storied building stands on the western side of the court, known as *Par-Khang* (Library) and is of the size 15.3m x 15m x 9m. Tawang Monastery Library is housed in a big square hall of this building, which covers the entire first floor. Heavy curtains bearing Buddhist symbols are hung over the balcony. An altar with images of divinities and rituals stands on the western side of the hall. The chief image is that of Tsongkhapa. The sacred manuscripts (*peichas*) are kept on pigeonholed racks on both the sides of the altar as well as on the northern and southern sides of the hall.

Tawang Monastery Library contains two printed sets of *Tanjur*, three sets of *Kanjur* and five volumes of *Changia Sungbum*. Each set of *Tanjur* contains 225 volumes. Among the three sets of *Kanjur*, two sets are hand written and one set printed. The printed set extends to 101 volumes. One hand-written set has 131 volumes and the other 125 volumes. The letters of these one hundred twenty-five volume set are washed in pure gold. Some of them are written with silver. There are three pages of the religious text, called *Gyetongpa*, embossed throughout in letters of gold is kept in the museum. Besides other scriptures were Gyetng, Sangdui, Seroodramba, Sungdrenga, Kangso, Choiche, Manlha, Doduipa, Sungdui and Jirje. Many of these valuable manuscripts are brittle and edges are broken. The wood protections on both the sides of these manuscripts are eaten by wood borer insects and some of these manuscripts have got bores or holes in between, caused by these wood borers. Origins of these manuscripts are not ascertained since there are no records. On interview of *Parkhang* incharge, the facts were collected about these rare manuscripts (Tashi Choephel Lama: 2008). Incharge has an opinion that these manuscripts probably were brought during construction of Tawang monastery itself, and perhaps more than four hundred years old. The hand written manuscripts are very fragile in nature, some of them are almost in ramshackle conditions. These manuscripts need curative conservation, preservation and digitisation before further decay. The main Tawang Monastery (Gonpa) and other adjacent monasteries have been surveyed and information collected about the present conditions of those manuscripts. The information so collected are presented in a tabular form.

SI. No.	Monastery with address	Number of Manuscripts in possession	Remarks
1	Tawang Monastery (<i>Tawang Gaden Namgyal Lhatse)</i> Tawang Dist. Tawang	807 volumes	Two printed sets of <i>Tanjur</i> , three sets of <i>Kanjur</i> and five volumes of <i>Changia</i> <i>Sungbum</i> . Each set of <i>Tanjur</i> contains 225 volumes. Among the three sets of <i>Kanjur</i> almost all are partially or wholly are damaged. There are three pages of the religious text, called <i>Gyetongpa</i> , embossed throughout in letters of gold are kept in the museum.

Buddhist Manuscripts in the monasteries of Tawang district



2	Taktsang Gompa North of Tawang Tawang Town Dist Tawang	2 printed sets of <i>Tanjur,</i> 3 sets of <i>Kanjur</i>	Some other sacred books of Buddhism are on display.
3	Bigha Gompa Tawang Town Dist Tawang	101 volumes of <i>Tanjur</i> and <i>Kanjur</i> manuscripts	These manuscripts are in very brittle condition.
4	Changparong Gompa Tawang Town Dist Tawang	3 sets of <i>Kanjur</i> and 5 volumes of <i>Changia</i> <i>Sungbum</i>	These manuscripts are partially damaged due to wood bores and mis-handling.
5	Dirdar Gompa Village - Cheggar Dist Tawang	225 volumes of <i>Bum,</i> <i>Gyetong</i> and <i>Dorjee</i>	Manuscript edges are broken.
6	Karso Gompa Village – Rho, Dist Tawang	1 set of <i>Tanjur</i> and 2 printed sets of <i>Kanjur</i>	Some manuscripts are in good condition.
7	Gonpaphu Gonpa Dist Tawang	1 volume of <i>Bum, Gyetong</i> and <i>Dorjee</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition.
8	Yubar Gonpa Village - Seru Dist Tawang	101 printed set volumes of <i>Tanjur</i> and 225 Volumes of <i>Kanjur</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition. Some are getting damaged.
9	Namyik Lhakan Gonpa Village - Khartoot Dist Tawang	101 volume scriptures like <i>Gedung, Sungdu, Bom and</i> <i>Tosung</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition. Edges of a few manuscripts are getting damaged.
10	Dharma Bumgha Gonpa Village - Paidar Dist Tawang	225 volume manuscripts such as <i>Gedung, Sungdu, Bom,</i> <i>Tosung</i>	Many manuscripts are brittle and may be damaged due to mis-handling.
11	Gangkhar Dong Gonpa Village - Kharotoot Dist Tawang	101 volumes of <i>Tanjur</i> and two sets of printed <i>Kanjur</i>	Mostly brittle.
12	Sarong Conpa villages of Roh & Jangda Dist Tawang	1 volume each of Dorjee, <i>Cyetong, Sungdu, Kanjur</i> and <i>Tanjur</i>	Mostly brittle.
13	Thengmak Khar Gonpa Village – Roh Dist Tawang	1 set of handwritten <i>Tanjur</i> and 2 sets of printed <i>Kanjur</i>	Mostly brittle.
14	Sangeyling Gonpa Tawang Town Dist Tawang	<i>Cui Bum (Nyingmapa Bum),</i> 48 bundles in total, are kept in a wooden showcase	All are in good condition.
15	Lhagyala Gonpa Shergaon-Domkho Road, Tawang Dist. – Tawang	1 volume set of <i>Dorjee,</i> <i>Gyetong, Sungdu, Kānjur</i> and <i>Tānjur</i>	All are in good condition.
16	BOHA GONPA Village – Boha Dist W. Kameng	1 set each of <i>Kanjur</i> and <i>Tanjur</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition. Some are getting damaged.
17	Dontsi Gonpa Moham Camp Bomdila Tawang Road Dist W. Kameng	1 Volume set of <i>Dorjee, Gyetong, Sungdu, Kānjur</i> and <i>Tānjur</i>	A number of manuscripts are in dilapidated state.





18	Gonpas of Nyokmodung Village: I, Gewa Jamba Gonpa: II, Zhim Gonpa: III Norbuling Gonpa	<i>Dorjee, Gyetong, Sungdu, Kanjur</i> and <i>Tanjur</i> are preserved in these <i>gonpas</i>	Many of these manuscripts are in very bad condition.
19	Zembu Conpa 65 kms. From Bomdila Dist.: W. Kameng	101 volumes of <i>Tanjur</i> and <i>Kanjur</i>	Zembu <i>Gonpa</i> is an ancient monument in the Sherdukpen area.
20	Gonpatse Monastery Upper Bomdila Dist W. Kameng	2 sets of hand written <i>Tanjur</i> and 3 sets of <i>Kanjur</i>	His Holiness Dalai Lama performed recitation from these manuscripts during his visit and stay.
21	Gyuto Tantric Monastery Vill - Tenzingaon, Dist W. Kameng	Many manuscripts related to Buddhist Tantricism are on display	These manuscripts are brittle and deserve extra care during handling.
22	Zangdo Peri Gonpa Kalaktang Circle Dist - W. Kemang	1 volume each of <i>Tanjur</i> and <i>Kanjur</i>	During important festivals and rituals the manuscripts are taken out and read. These manuscripts are relatively in better condition.
23	Rupa Gonpa Rupa, Bomdila Dist W. Kameng	116 volumes of medico- religious book are on display	This medico-religious book was compiled by eight Lamas.
24	Gorcham Stupa Near Zemithang Lumla sub-division Dist Tawang	108 sets of <i>Kanjur</i> , each containing 108 volumes and three sets of <i>Tanjur</i> .	Most of them are in good condition.
25	Bramadung Chong Conpa (Nunnery), 8 Kms. To the north of Tawang	108 volumes of <i>Tanjur</i> and 225 volumes of <i>Kanjur</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition.
26	Kyipney Gonpa Near village Jung Dist Tawang	<i>Gyetong, Sangdui, Sungdrenga, Kangso, Choiche</i> etc. are on display	These scriptures are in good condition.
27	Drakar Gonpa Village - Lhou Dist Tawang	<i>1 volume set of Dorjee, Chu Bum and Gyetong</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition. Some are getting damaged.
28	Aryadung Gonpa 2 kms. from Lhou Bazaar Dist Tawang	101 Volumes of <i>peichas</i> , like <i>Bum, Gyetong and Dor</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition. A few of them have broken edges.
29	Thongmein Gonpa Village - Khrimu Dist Tawang	Bum, Gyetong and Dorjee	All are in good condition.
30	Thromten Gonpa Tawang Town Dist Tawang	<i>Chu Bum, Gyetong, Dorjee</i> and <i>Suingda</i>	All are in good condition.
31	Sharmang Gonpa Tawang Town Dist Tawang	<i>Dorjee, Gyetong,</i> and <i>Mela</i> <i>Ringochi Sumbum</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition. Some are getting damaged due to wood borers, and miss-handling.
32	Shakti Gonpa Village - Shakti Lumala Circle, Dist. – Tawang	<i>Dorjee, Gyetong and Chu Bum etc.</i>	Manuscripts are in good condition. Some are getting damaged.

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33	Tsangbu Gonpa 2 kms. from Tawang Town, Dist. – Tawang	1 Volume each, of <i>Tanjur,</i> <i>Kanjur</i> and <i>Bums</i> .	All are in good condition.
34	Urgyeling Gonpa 5 kms. from Tawang Town, Dist Tawang	12 sets of <i>Bum,</i> 3 sets of <i>Getongpa,</i> 1 set of <i>Zongde</i> and 1 set of <i>Niythi.</i>	All are in good condition.
35	Talung Gonpa Taklungzor Near village Sangkem Dist W. Kameng	Dorje, Bum and other manuscripts (one volume each)	Many of these manuscripts are in very bad condition.
36	Namshu Gonpa Village - Namshu Near Muna Camp Dirang Area Dist W. Kameng	3 sets of <i>Getongpa,</i> 1 set of <i>Zongde</i> and 1 set of <i>Niythi</i>	All are in good condition.
37	Gaingong Ane Gonpa 14 Kms. from Tawang Dist. – Tawang	1 sets of <i>Getongpa,</i> 1 set of <i>Zongde</i> and 1 set of <i>Niythi</i>	All are in good condition.
38	Kasherdung Gonpa Village - Dirang Dist W. Kameng	101 Volume <i>Chos</i> (manuscripts) belonging to <i>Kanjur</i>	Many of these manuscripts are in very bad condition.
39	Sangejong Gonpa, Village - Sangejong Dirang, Dist W. Kameng	101 volumes of religious manuscripts	All are in good condition.
40	Jangcho Choling Gonpa Jyotinagar, Dirang Dist W. Kameng	101 volumes of <i>Tanjur</i> and <i>Kanjur</i> are on display	All are in good condition.
41	Thembang Gonpa Village - Thembang Dirang Dist W. Kameng	101 volume of manuscripts are on display	Many of these manuscripts are in very bad condition.

Conclusion

National Mission for Manuscripts (NMM), New Delhi had organised seminar cum workshop in the month of February 2005, under a seminar series called *Samrakshika*, The indigenous method of handmade paper making by Monpa Tribes of Tawang district was an attraction of the seminar. The sale of hand-made paper to the delegates and participants was an additional flavour. Buddhist manuscripts written on such hand-made paper also were on display. Despite the efforts made by the NMM, the condition of the manuscripts in monasteries and household possessions in Tawang district of Arunachal Pradesh are still in piteous condition and need immediate attention. To conserve and preserve these documents of immense historical and religiocultural importance, the NMM needs to have a dedicaed system in place.

Maltesh Motebennur is Librarian, Rajiv Gandhi University, Itanagar, Arunachal Pradesh





Siddhānta Ratnākara

S. Visalakshi

Daņdin in his treatise Kāvyādarśa says thus:

इदमन्धं तमः कृत्स्नं जायेत भुवनत्रयं। यदि शब्दाह्वयं ज्योतिः आसंसारं न दीप्यते।।

(The three worlds would surely be plunged in blinding darkness, if not for the luminosity of word that shines as a beacon to the universe).

Importance of language and communication is probably the most understated subject in this world. From the humdrum of daily living to the most exciting branch of study, be it technical or otherwise, language occupies a prime position. Study of ancient languages like Latin, Greek and Sanskrit enable people to peep into the wonderful rich cultural heritage of our world. Deep insights into the intellectual minds of our ancestors can be gleaned from a study of the treasure trove of literature left behind.

Study of any language is incomplete without an indepth study of its grammar. Sanskrit is no exception to this. In fact, study of Sanskrit grammar can actually help understand the grammar of most other languages in India. This is due to the fact that Sanskrit grammar is universal in nature. Pāṇinī's Aṣṭādhyāyī is the perfect example of a comprehensive and scientific grammar, largely independent of the language itself. Nowhere does Pāṇinī say that his text is a treatise on 'Sanskrit' grammar. Modern day linguists certify Pāṇini's grammar to be the world's first well defined system of abstract thought.

In later days, Aśṭādhyāyī gained popularity largely because of the rearrangement made by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in his Siddhānta Kaumudī. Siddhānta Kaumudī has further been embellished by many commentaries. Among those, Siddhānta Ratnākara is an unedited work written by Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa.

Siddhānta Kaumudī must have been a very popular work even during the time of its author Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita. This can be assumed because of the fact that Siddhānta Kaumudī has been embellished by several commentaries, some of the commentaries have been written within a century of Dīkṣita's time. One such commentary on Siddhānta Kaumudī, Siddhānta Ratnākara has been authored by Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, son of Tirumala Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Veṅkaṭādri. This is of great importance for the study of Siddhānta Kaumudī because it is one of its earliest commentaries.

Manuscript details

This work is available as paper manuscript at several libraries. A perusal of the details given at NCC reveals that the only manuscript, complete with both pūrvārdha and uttarārdha is available at Sarasvati Mahal Library. Language constraints and incomplete nature of manuscripts have prompted the edition of this work based on only the following six manuscripts.

1. A - The Adyar Library and Research Centre, PM1182, Paper Manuscript, Size 13³/₄x6¹/₂ inches, Folios 109, Lines 11 per page, Size9x4 inches, Script Devanagari, Incomplete – from beginning to middle of ajantapumlinga.

(Continues on Page 17)

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NMM: Summary of Events 1st August-30th November, 2011



In the field of heritage conservation, National Mission for Manuscripts (NMM) occupies the centre stage, of course for not without reason. It was established to take care of the literary heritage of India, which happens to be the largest in the world. NMM is the first such centralized effort in the world to conserve manuscript heritage of a country. Since 2003, the year in which it came into existence, NMM has been striving hard to document, conserve, digitize and disseminate the knowledge contained in Indian manuscripts. In its well-knit scheme of things every aspect is important and complementary to other aspects. A brief sketch of the events organized by the NMM



Director, NMM, Prof. Dipti S. Tripathi addressing Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology & Paleography, held at MRC, Kannada University, Hampi (13th to 27th September, 2011)

during 1st August to 30th November, 2011 is presented below:

Date	Collaborating Institution & Venue	Topic	Speaker	Chairperson
8 th August, 2011	Deptt. of Sanskrit, Gauhati University, Assam Venue : Phanidhar Dutt Seminar Hall, Gauhati University	The Works of Anandaram Baruah: A Reappraisal	Prof. Ashok Kumar Goswami Former Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, G.U., Assam	Prof. Mohammad Tahar Former Head, Deptt. of Geography, G.U., Assam
28 th August, 2011	Deptt. of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit, Vishwa Bharati University, West Bengal Venue : Lipika Auditorium, Vishwa Bharati University	Some Important Manuscripts at the Disposal of Kshitindranath Thakur Centre of Rabindra Bharati University	Prof. Karunasindhu Das V.C., Rabindra Bharati University, Kolkata	Prof. Arun Kumar Mondal Head, Deptt. of Sanskrit, Pali & Prakrit, Vishwa Bharati University
9 th November, 2011	NMM, New Delhi Venue : Gandhi Darshan, Raj Ghat, New Delhi	Representation of Knowledge in the Sanskrit Tradition: Texts, Formats and Trends	Prof. R. N. Sharma Deptt. of Indo-Pacific Languages and Literature, Hawaii University, USA	Prof. R. I. Nanavati Former Director, Oriental Research Institute, M.S. University, Vadodara
18 th November, 2011	Centre for Heritage Studies, Hill Palace, Tripunithura, Kerala Venue: Darul Huda Islamic University, Chemmad, Kerala	Anti-colonial Aspects in Arabic Manuscripts and Arabi-Malayalam Literature in Kerala with Special Reference to 16 th to 19 th Centuries	Prof. N.A.M. Abdul Khader Deptt. of Arabic, University of Calicut, Kerala	Dr. Bahauddeen Muhammad Nadwi V.C., Darul Huda Islamic University

Public Lecture under Tattvabodha Series





Manuscriptology Workshop

Date	Name of the Workshop	Collaborating Institution & Venue	Details of the Training
13 th –17 th September, 2011	Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology & Paleography	Deptt. of Manuscriptology, Kannada University, Hampi, Karnataka	Scripts taught: Kannada, Modi, Tigelleri & Amaragannada
1 st –21 st November, 2011	Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology & Paleography	Akhil Bharatiya Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh	Scripts taught: Sarada, Newari & Brahmi
10 th –30 th November, 2011	Basic Level Workshop on Manuscriptology & Paleography in Persi, Arabic and Urdu	Deptt. of Urdu, University of Mumbai, Maharashtra	Scripts taught: Kufic, Naskh, Suls, Nastaliq & Shikasta
12 th Oct.–13 th Nov., 2011	Advance Level Workshop on Manuscriptology & Paleography in Persi, Arabic & Urdu	Deptt. of Arabic, University of Calicut & Centre for Heritage Studies, Deptt. of Cultural Affairs, Govt. of Kerala, Kerala	Scripts taught: Nafkhi, Sulusi, Kufic, Diwani, Rainani, Ruq'i, Sunnani & Malayalam

Within the spectrum of deliverables, conservation commands principal focus for multiple reasons. Conservation of manuscript in original is done through preventive and curative methods. For that purpose a standard methodology comprising the positive aspects of both traditional Indian practices and modern scientific methods has been formulated and followed.Conservation of manuscripts is carried out through 46 Manuscript Conservation Centres (MCCs), besides organizing preventive and curative conservation workshops at different locations of the country as per priorities. Manpower development in the field of manuscript conservation, another objective of the NMM is also taken care of during workshops. Conservation workshops aim at



Basic Level Manuscriptology and Paleography Workshop on Urdu, Persian and Arabic, organized in collaboration with Department of Urdu, University of Mumbai, Mumbai (10th to 30th November, 2011)

fulfilling dual objectives of conservation of manuscripts and generate trained manpower in the field of manuscript conservation.

Conservation Workshop

Date	Name of the Workshop	Collaborating Institution & Venue
1 st –5 th August, 2011	Preventive Workshop on Conservation	Oriental Research Institute, Shri Venkateshwara University, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh
24 th –28 th August, 2011	Preventive Workshop on Conservation	Akalank Shodh Sansthan, Kota, Rajasthan
26 th –30 th September, 2011	Preventive Workshop on Conservation	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, Maharashtra
9 th –13 th October, 2011	Preventive Workshop on Conservation	Government Museum Chennai, Egmore, Chennai, Tamil Nadu

Date	Name of the Workshop	Collaborating Institution & Venue
17 th -21 st October, 2011	Preventive Workshop on Conservation	Manuscript Library, University of Calcutta, Kolkata, West Bengal
8 th –12 th November, 2011	Preventive Workshop on Conservation	K.K. Handique Library, Gauhati University, Guwahati, Assam
22 nd –25 th November, 2011	Preventive Workshop on Bio-deterioration (New)	INTACH Lucknow, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh
2 nd –6 th November, 2011	Preventive Workshop on Conservation	A.P. State Archives and Research Institute, Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh

Semina

Date	Collaborating Institution & Venue	Торіс
16 th -18 th	ORI, University of Kerala,	National Seminar on 'Manuscripts Related
November, 2011	Thiruvananthapuram, Kerala	to Architecture'
28 th -30 th	CASS, University of Pune, Pune,	National Seminar on 'Less-known Grammati-
November, 2011	Maharashtra	cal Manuscripts, Grammarians and Theories'

Book Review

Diwanzadah

Reviewer: Prof. Taugeer Ahmad Khan

Prof. Abdul Haq is well-known in India and Pakistan as an eminent expert on Iqbal. The reason is not far to seek – his attention has been focused since his thesis on Iqbal and till today he has added many books to his favourite poet.

However as a teacher, research on Urdu literature has been his another forte and he has delivered numerous lectures to M.Phil students on research methodology, textual criticism etc. Interest in research and criticism has been an important part of his life for the last forty years.

Diwanzadah is a research masterpiece by Prof. Abdul Haq, which has now been published by National Mission for Manuscripts (NMM). This is worth appreciation and has proved beyond doubt that Sheikh Zahooruddin Hatim is indeed North India's first Urdu poet. This *diwan* includes his poetry upto 1195 H., and, as Hatim passed away in 1197 H., this Diwan contains poetry written two years before he left for his heavenly abode.

Prof. Abdul Haq has included ghazals written after 1195 H. too. Hatim compiled his collection in 1142 H., long before Aabru and Faiz. He has written a long preface, running into 104 pages which sifts the literary criticism on Hatim till now. The preface also painstakingly includes biographical details of Hatim from his birth in 1111 H. to his death in 1197 H. The preface itself can be published as a complete research work on Hatim's life and works. *Diwanzadah* was actually compiled after the old Diwan and therefore contains poetry from the earlier version which he thought fit to retain and deleting what he did not like and also new additions.

The new Diwan consists mostly of Ghazals and Prof. Abdul Haq possesses their original manuscripts and these hand-written samples from the manuscripts collected from Delhi and Lahore in Nastaleeq have been published here. The book also contains a Foreword in English written by Prof. Dipti S. Tripathi, Director, NMM.

The Diwan contains ghazals in the beginning, alongwith rhyme scheme, year, occasion etc. Other poetic forms appear: *Mutzad, Rubal, fardiyat, Mukhammas, sadas, tarjeeh-band, mathnavi*, etc. An interesting feature of this Diwan is that it includes a dictionary of difficult or obsolete words. This was very necessary as words since Hatim's time have changed or have acquired newer nuances and Hatim would not have been understood without this help in vocabulary. Thus this publication by NMM is a unique effort in present times.

Translated by Kamal Abdul Nasir



National Mission for Manuscripts



Indian Textual Heritage

Reviewer: Dr. Khaleeque Anjum

There were many manuscripts in various languages – Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Hindi etc. in India. Unfortunately, most of them have been lost because the newer generations do not appreciate their deserved value.

Govt. of India has established National Mission for Manuscripts (NMM)a few years ago precisely for this reason. The experts from this organization scout for these manuscripts in various libraries in India and think of ways to preserve them. This organization also provides grants to private and Government libraries. **NMM has recently started publishing Urdu and Persian manuscripts. I congratulate the Director, Prof. Dipti S. Tripathi for her efforts to preserve the intellectual heritage of India.**

I would like to express my views on Dr. Chander Shekhar's new book 'Indian Textual Heritage'.

Dr. Chander Shekhar has extraordinary mastery over Persian language. He has published many books in Persian and has translated Nawab Dargah Quli Khan's "Muraqqa-e-Dehli" into English. He is also Incharge for preparing a 12-Volume dictionary "Farhang-e-Aryan", in Khana Farhang-e-Iran, New Delhi. Two volumes of this Persian-Urdu-Hindi-English dictionary have already been published. The first volume from *Alif* to *Bay* consists of 400 pages and second volume, upto *pay*, *tay* and *say* has 300 pages. Dr. Chander Shekhar has also written articles on different topics in Persian.

The tradition of preserving manuscripts is quite old in India. When the British introduced press in India, a printed copy of Bible was presented to King Akbar. He did not like the printed version as his eyes were used to beautiful calligraphy. If Akbar had liked the printed version, thousands of Persian, Arabic and Urdu manuscripts would have been preserved after printing.

Our intellectuals have given attention to this after a long time. In the 20th century, Imtiaz Ali Khan Arshi, Qazi Abdul Wadood, Hafiz Mehmood Sheerani and others compiled and printed some manuscripts and thus a tradition started.

Dr. Chander Shekhar has recently compiled the book under review which contains some important articles about manuscripts. The first paper is by Mahesh Prasad which introduces Persian translations of 'Bhagwad'. The second paper is called 'Persian translations of Ramayana' by Maulvi Mehfooz-ul-haq. Syed Hasan Askari's dissertation 'Some manuscripts on History of Kashmir" mentions the manuscripts written on the history of Kashmir. Hasan Askari has provided important references at the end too. Syed Hasan Askari has written an illuminating article about manuscripts in Bihar, a land which boasts of a number of luminaries of literature. Hasan Askari has found a manuscript in which Jaisi and other Muslim poets' works are included. Hasan Askari was an expert in Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages as is evident in the article.

This book is in two parts: the first part is in Urdu and second in English, consisting of 133 pages. There are some important articles in English about Urdu texts. Karim Najafi has introduced 'Dabistan-e-Mazahib' in detail. Who is the real author of this book? This question has been discussed for the last 200 years. Mr. Karimi has dwelt in detail about the author. Mansoora Haider's dissertation 'Music in the sphere of Sufism', discusses Sufi music. Maria Bilquis has reviewed the manuscript of 'Shah Nama' in Rampur Raza Library. National Museum has several manuscripts of 'Shah Nama' and Dr. Chandar Shekhar has written about them. Jalal-ud-Din has written an article about Akbar's Persian 'Ramayana' and Khan-e-Khana's personal manuscript.

Thus this book provides important information about many Indian manuscripts and also encourages the Persian, Urdu and Arabic students to find the manuscripts in private and Government libraries and throw light on them.

The book is important in many respects and both NMM and Dr. Chander Shekhar deserve to be thanked. The attractive printing of this stunning book is exemplary.

Translated by Kamal Abdul Nasir



- A1 The Adyar Library and Research Centre, PM 1185.1, Paper Manuscript, Folios 811, Lines 9, Script Devanagari, Incomplete – from paribhāşā to end.
- Ba Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, Acc. No. 11660, Paper Manuscript, Folios 29, Script Devanagari, Granthas 800, Incomplete – from beginning to middle of acsandhi
- Ba1 Oriental Research Institute, Baroda, Acc. No. 9162, Paper Manuscript, Folios 62, Script Devanagari, Granthas 1800, Incomplete – from beginning to end of acsandhi
- P Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune – No. 170, 189/1882-83, Paper Manuscript, Size 10 ½ x 4 ½ inches, 197 leaves, 14 lines per page, 36 letters per lines, Script Devanagari.
- T Tanjore Maharaja Serfoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, TD 5657, Paper Manuscript, Size 13 ³/₄ x 6 ¹/₂ inches, Sheets 357, Lines 13 per page, Script Devanagari, Granthas 17500, Complete.

I have restricted myself to edition of the text upto Kāraka Prakaraņa with the help of the available manuscript copies mentioned above.

The text and its chapters

Siddhānta Ratnākara, being a commentary on Siddhānta Kaumudī, follows its source in the arrangement of text and analysis of aphorisms. The course of discussions is highly influenced by Śabda Kaustabha, again written by Bhaṭtoji Dīkṣita.

This text Siddhānta Ratnākara is hence, divided into the following chapters.

- 1. Samjñā dealing with nomenclature specific to the branch of vyākaraņa.
- Paribhāṣā dealing with the method of applying rules that need to be followed.
- 3. Acsandhi sound change between vowels.
- 4. Halsandhi sound change between consonants.
- 5. Visargasandhi dealing with rules pertaining to visarga.
- 6. Svādisandhi sound change involving the class of words beginning with *su*.

विवेधमाकर्तकर्माग्यानम्यूले प्रयम्ने नविष्टोध्युक्तवी खोगी कारान्। जावारयाने त्रवे ातवाभने करहेकर्गात्मा वस्त्रात्म व स्वता म्बराख्यम् भाषात्माकोराना जिस्ति निवृध्वे बिलाक्सीसने इसारी आवर्थविद्याप्पकेए बाइख्यांगतानात् निवसाण्माने मधावर्थात रुपहोत्तने वेष्ट्रकृतेरुक्तलात् स्वतेवार इयं वीर्धार्गाका रात्काविद्याप्पका वत्त्वीर्धे स्मुएक्सुजीवन इत्यवकर्म कत्व्यप्रेति कुहुर्द्धाः प्रतीयीजी जेदः। इतिवीज्यक्षा वत्त्रीया स्मुएक्सुजीवन इत्यवकर्म कत्व्यप्रेति कुहुर्द्धाः प्रतीयीजी जेदः। इतिवीज्यक्षा 393 त्रधेवना वा स्टेनजनियों गित्रि। सचने शस्त्रवृद्धियां में मावपाल का राष्ट्रनिते। त्वा त्रवादनो (मेरे नजनियों गित्रि। सचने शस्त्रवृद्धियां में मावपाल का राष्ट्रनिते। त्वा रह्यो। सचनदेनों दन इति तजा चोर्ता जिल्ला प्रियों गिक में रस्त्रमात्व चिकर रणलिय भारत प्रतिवाद्यप्रित्वाद्यपानिः अधीदन इति वा प्रति रस्य नाम्य स्वत्र भाषत यामीय तो नेव लेखन में वस्थ दिफ आज पत मा का प्रत्य वा च ता स्पात श्रिष्ठ व पारसमा ता भिवलर ल क रता का यो में व रति के जब में क का चा च म रति वो भ्या ल व च मति वो ना भ्येलर ल क रता का यो में व रति के जब में क का चा च म रति वो भ्या ल व च मति वो ភាគ जितीविवान्सना मानशप क A 7 211 डननाडराधतात्रेकसुरप्रसंगीकारात्एख्यूनग्रंतात्रातिपटम्पस्ततेयादीमविषयसायौ निक्षणिप्रसनुषीर्गदिवीयाघयो विभवित्वेतन्द्रम्णाः आग्यात्रस्य वाष्ट्रस्वेष्ठवेव प्रयक्तमा स्वय्थ्ये वद्यनिर्वायं इत्याक्तः। अनेदंदरुत् में। एता वन्धिसन्या पारस्य धानुपालस्य विभीषार्थ इसिलस्पकदद्रीप्कतिः ज्वयोधीका गदेकरेकदेव्यालयसङ्ख्याद्रीया मन्त्रवे चेवस्पन प्रसादानि बगाद्वरात्वयीमदीषायेतिवाच्ये।परंपरासंबधरगप्रध्यप्रविनेष्क्रदेशास्यस्पतवानावात् रजयफात्वभाषारयाः ध्रथ्येववव्याकरणातानिवधानाः गानिः।तर्वितित्वरं फतस्यावस्त्रे रकवंशामाधात्मर्थवामारधतित्रकारत्वमेवतिवित्रात्राच्यामारत्वेऽतिमासिधकाशीमम्य तिसेनमेन्द्रसजगतनस्प्रधालधेतातगढेरकमिनतलापिना प्रयोजस्पकर्मकातायहेश्री नयणितर्वव्यिषय्वय्ययस्थरसम्। । न्यत्राचलेदकलमर्त्यवेत्रियाव्यापाच्यतिवेत्रे।

Folios from Siddhānta Ratnākara manuscript, preserved at Adyar Library and Research Centre



- 7. Ajantapumlinga masculine words ending in vowels.
- 8. Ajantastrīlinga feminine words ending in vowels.
- 9. Ajantanapumsakalinga neuter words ending in vowels.
- 10. Halantapumlinga masculine words ending in consonants.
- 11. Halantastrīlinga feminine words ending in consonants.
- 12. Halantanapuńsakalińga neuter words ending in consonants.
- 13. Avyaya rules pertaining to indeclinables.
- 14. Strīpratyaya suffixes that influence formation of feminine words.
- 15. Kāraka semantics and syntax.

The author – Śrī Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa

Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, son of Tirumala Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Veṅkaṭādri, has authored Siddhānta Ratnākara, a commentary on the Siddhānta Kaumudī written by Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. There are many Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭas mentioned in the records of NCC. Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa mentioned here has written another work called Madhvatantracapṭikā. The date of the author from his colophon¹ is understood to be somewhere between late 17th century and early 18th century. This ought to be the earliest of commentaries on Siddhānta Kaumudī.

There are several authors by the name Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. The New Catalogus Catalogorum (NCC) has information on nine other Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭas –

- 1. Father of Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa who is the author of Ācāradīpa.
- Son of Bhațța Nārāyaņa and father of Dinakara and Kamalākara – author of Ubhayatomukhīvidhāna.

- 3. Father of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa who has authored Āhitāgnimaraṇadāhādi.
- 4. Son of Nīlakaņţha Bhaţţa who has written Rasaratnamālā.
- 5. Son of Tirumala who is the author of Uttaracarita.
- Son of Kendra Bhațța and grandson of Prayoga Bhațța – author of Tattvaprakāśikā.
- 7. Author of Āhnikakamalākara.
- 8. Author of Candikāprayoga.
- 9. Author of Vijayadaśamīnirņaya.

The author of Siddhāntaratnākara cannot be the first, second and third Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. If the son had a father who had authored such a great work in grammar, then he would have made a significant mention of either his authorship or his expertise.

He cannot be the second, fourth and sixth Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa because of the difference in the father's name. Tirumala Bhaṭṭa is the father of SR's author.

Again, he cannot be the seventh, eighth and ninth Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. If he has authored any of these books there would be a mention of it in either Ratnākara or in his other work Madhvatantracapeṭikā.

About the fifth Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of Uttaracarita whose father is also Tirumala – it is clear from the various colophons in the work that Tirumala is proficient in Veda, Shastra and their meaning. If he had authored any text at all, Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa would have mentioned it.

The author's father also shares his name with several others, NCC mentions 15 Tirumalas. The information regarding some of them is as follows –

 Tirumala alias Timmappa of Parāśaragotra who has written two works namely, Dharmasetu and Śrāddhanirņayadīpikā

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- Son of Annamācārya of AD 15th century who has authored many works like Udāharananītišataka, Cakravālamaijarī, Bhagavadgītā, Repharakāranirnaya, Śrngāradandaka and Śrngāraśataka
- 3. Tirumala Dīkṣita, brother of Yajïeśvara Dīkṣita who is the author of Pañcapādikāvivaraņojjīvanī
- 4. Tirumala Yajvan or Dvādaśādhvarin, son of Venkaţayajvan of şaddarśana family, pupil and younger brother of Sarveśvara Yajvan (author of Mahābhāşyapradīpasphürti) and brother of Abbana Puņdarīka. Identity with father of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaţţa not certain. Authored commentary Sumanoramā on Siddhāntakaumudī
- Tirumalācārya of meligiri of Rāghavasomayāji family, father of Annambhaţţa
- Tirumala Bhațța son of Venkațādri bhațța and father of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhațța (a. of Siddhāntaratnākara on Siddhāntakaumudī and Madhvatantracapețikā)

A possibility has been raised by NCC that the fourth Tirumala mentioned could possibly be the father of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa. There are several points based on which this possibility cannot arise.

- 1. It is a well known fact that people of Andhra are very proud of their family and the village which they belong to. They make it a point to always mention that in their works. Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa does not say anything about his family apart from his father's and grandfather's name. Whereas Tirumala the author of Sumanoramā mentions that he belongs to ṣaḍdarśana family.
- Siddhānta Ratnākara by Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa and Sumanoramā authored by Tirumala are both commentaries on Siddhānta Kaumudī. If his father had written a commentary on grammar,

Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa would have at least mentioned his father's expertise in grammar if not the work Sumanoramā. He has merely stated that his father is well versed in the Vedas, Shāstras and their meaning.²

3. There is no confusion between the surnames of Bhaṭṭa and Yajvan. It is clear from the different colophons in Siddhānta Ratnākara that the author's surname is only Bhaṭṭa.

Due to absence of any conclusive evidence, it is assumed that Tirumala, father of Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa has not written any work. Thus, the present author is the son of Tirumala Bhaṭṭa and grandson of Veṅkaṭādri Bhaṭṭa who has written two works – Madhvatantracapeṭikā and a commentary on it and Siddhāntaratnākara – a commentary on Siddhāntakaumudī.

The text – its simplicity and depth

The language adopted by the author in his commentary is very simple and easy to understand, yet, approaches indepth every important issue at hand. Some of the important issues discussed in several texts like Mahābhāṣya, Pradīpa, Udyota and Śabdakaustubha are dealt here in the same extensive manner, yet presented in simple words.

Some sections of samjñā and kāraka are cited here to emphasize the simplicity of the commentary, Siddhānta Ratnākara.

While discussing why conjunction is not present in the first Māheśvara Sūtra, Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa very beautifully summarizes the views of Kaiyaṭa and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and presents his view in the following manner:

The question here is why yaṇādeśa has not occurred between अ and \overline{s} in the first





Māheśvara sūtra. It is argued by most that the sūtras आदिरन्त्येन सहेता (१.१.७१) and अक: सवर्णे दीर्घ: (६.१.१०१) have not yet been read at the time of Māheśvara sūtras. Here, Rāmakṛṣṇa puts forth his siddhānta as –

"अ इ उ णित्यादि। नन्वत्र सन्धिना भाव्यमिति चेत्, सन्धिशास्त्रस्य एतदुपदेशकाले अनुत्पन्नत्वात् स न, इति कैय्यटः। तन्न, सन्शास्त्रोत्पत्यनन्तरम् उद्देश्यतावच्छेदककोटिनिविष्टत्वेन 'रमेशो नायकः' इत्यादौ प्रवृत्तिवत् अत्रापि तत्प्रवृत्तेः दुर्वारत्वात्। अन्यथा 'तुल्यास्य' इत्यादौ सवर्णदीर्धः प्रातिपदिसंज्ञावत् न स्यादिति दीक्षितः। तन्न, कैय्यटाशया अनवबोधनात्। उपजीव्यविरोधात् सन्धिर्नेति तात्पर्यम्। शास्त्रयोः पौर्वापर्येऽपि आनुपूर्व्यंशे उपजीव्योपजीवकभावाभावात्, संज्ञायाः तत्रोपजीव्यत्वात्। तस्मात् उपजीव्यविरोधान्न यणादयः इति दिक्।"

"The letters अ, इ, etc would cease to exist had sandhi been employed in the first aphorism."

The author explains his siddhānta with the help of उपजीव्य-उपजीवक-भाव. उपजीव्य is that by which something exists. उपजीवक is that which depends on something for its existence. In the present context, the letters of the Māheśvara sūtras are the basis upon which the entire system of grammar unfolds. If the letters were to be combined, then we would only know the resultant letter - vikṛta. The original letter – prakṛta or avikṛta would be absent at the time of the sutras आदुण:, वृद्धिरादेच्, etc.

Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa, in presenting his analysis of the माहेश्वरसूत्र - ऋऌक्, closely follows Bhattoji Dīksita's Śabda Kaustubha. Focus here is on why ऌ is taken separately when वार्तिककार says that both ऋ and ऌ are सवर्ण - similar. Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa sets out by saying that सावर्ण्य or similarity between ऋकार and ऌकार is necessary for some of the forms to be achieved. For example, the sutra वा सुप्यापिशले:।। (६-१-९२) enjoins वृद्धि for ऋ at the beginning of a verb when preceded by prefix ending in अ. Owing to similarity the same rule is applied for verbs beginning with ऌ too, प्राल्कारीयति, उपाल्कारीयति. While this similarity is needed to explain some forms, we cannot altogether remove लकार from Māheśvara sūtras and say that ऌकार is represented by ऋकार. The

commentator proceeds further to illustrate his view on ন্তৰূম's position –

"यत्कार्यं प्रति लत्वं न असिद्धं तदर्थ: स:"

"To which purpose $\overline{0}$ is not invalid, that is the purpose of it (ত্ৰুকা c." In other words, if there are actions given for ত্ৰুকা c. then it can become invalid.

Both Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa agree upon the fact that one cannot take वार्तिककार as an authority over Pāṇinī.

"न तावद्वार्तिकं दृष्ट्वा सूत्रकृतः प्रवृत्ति"³ "वार्तिकं दृष्ट्वा सूत्रकृतोऽप्रवृत्ते":⁴

Many such instances give us an understanding of the text, commentary and the subject at hand. Therefore, owing to its chronological placement and ease of understanding, this commentary has a great value so far as the study of Siddhānta Kaumudī is concerned.

Footnotes

- Colophon at the end of pūrvārdha in the copy of BORI manuscript चन्द्रर्षिभूमीषुयुवारव्यवत्सरे कौवेरदिग्भाजि रवौ मधौ सिते। श्रीरामकृष्ण: प्रतिपत्तिथौ बुधे रत्नाकरं पूर्णमचीकरद्वरम्।। Śrī Ramakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa completed Ratnākara in the year Yuva (1755 AD)
- 2. Benedictory verse at the beginning of the commentary

वेदशास्त्रार्थनिष्णातं तातं तिरुमलाभिधं

शेषाशेषार्थसिद्धान्तकौमुदीम् अतिगह्वराम्।।

- 3. शब्दकौस्तुभ: by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, Vol. 1, pg. 39
- 4. सिद्धान्तरत्नाकर:

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मुकुलभट्ट की रचना का वास्तविक नाम-'अभिधामातृका'

विजयपाल शास्त्री

काश्मीरी विद्वान् मुकुलभट्ट (9वीं ईस्वी) की शब्दशक्ति-विषयक रचना का वास्तविक नाम 'अभिधावृत्तिमातृका' अथवा 'अभिधावृत्तमातृका' न होकर 'अभिधामातृका' है। यह तथ्य इस शोधलेख में सप्रमाण प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है।

संस्कृत-काव्यशास्त्र के क्षेत्र में मुकुलभट्ट की यह एकमात्र विशिष्ट रचना उपलब्ध हुई है, जो अभिधावृत्तिमातृका व अभिधावृत्तमातृका इन दो नामों से प्रकाशित है। इसमें ग्रन्थकार ने अभिधा के व्यापक स्वरूप का निरूपण करते हुए उसे सम्पूर्ण वाग्व्यवहार की जननी किंवा सभी वृत्तियों (लक्षणा आदि) की जननी के रूप में प्रस्तुत किया है। ग्रन्थ में कुल 15 श्लोक हैं, जिन पर ग्रन्थकार ने अतीव प्रौढ, वैदुष्यपूर्ण एवं सुललित संस्कृतभाषामयी व्याख्या लिखी है।

मूलग्रन्थ की कुल सहित व्याख्या पृष्ठसंख्या निर्णयसागर-संस्करण के अनुसार 22 है। इसका कलेवर तो इतना ही है, पर विषय की महत्ता व विवेचन की प्रौढता ऐसी है कि मम्मट, हेमचन्द्र आदि प्राय: सभी परवर्ती काव्यशास्त्रियों तथा रुय्यक, सोमेश्वर, माणिक्यचन्द्र आदि काव्यप्रकाश-व्याख्याताओं ने इसे उपजीव्य बनाया है व उद्धत किया है। मम्मट ने यद्यपि इसके कुछ अंशों का प्रत्याख्यान किया है, परन्तु अधिकांश भाग को अपनाकर काव्यप्रकाश-द्वितीयोल्लास में इसी के आधार पर षड्विधा लक्षणा व्यवस्थापित की है। अभिधामातृका को बिना पढ़े मम्मट के द्वितीय उल्लास को पूर्णतया समझना सम्भव नहीं है। इस प्रकार यह रचना काव्यशास्त्र के क्षेत्र में आकर ग्रन्थ के रूप में सम्मानित है।

हमारी जानकारी में अब तक इसके पाँच संस्करण प्रकाशित हो चुके हैं। सबसे पहले निर्णयसागर मुद्रणालय मुम्बई द्वारा यह ग्रन्थ मूल रूप में मम्मट के शब्दव्यापारविचार के साथ सन् 1916 ई. में प्रकाशित हुआ था। इसके सम्पादक मंगेशरामकृष्ण तैलंग थे। इन्होंने पुण्यपत्तनस्थ राजकीय पुस्तकालय में उपलब्ध मुकुलभट्ट की इस रचना व मम्मट के शब्दव्यापारविचार की एक-एक मातृका के आधार पर इनका सम्पादन किया था। मुद्रण के समय इन्होंने निर्णयसागर मुद्रणालय के अधिपति के संग्रह में उपलब्ध एक अन्य हस्तलेख के आधार पर कतिपय स्थलों में अपने मित्र वासुदेव शास्त्री पणशीकर की सहायता से पाठशोधन किया था, ऐसा इन्होंने अपने संस्करण की प्रस्तावना में लिखा है। इस प्रकार सर्वप्रथम निर्णयसागर से छपी इस पुस्तक में रचना का नाम **अभिधावृत्तिमातृका** लिखा है। इसके अनन्तर 1973 ई. में इस ग्रन्थ का एक संस्करण चौखम्बा विद्याभवन वाराणसी द्वारा डॉ॰ रेवा प्रसाद द्विवेदी – रचित हिन्दीभाष्यानुवाद के साथ प्रकाशित हुआ है। इस संस्करण में द्विवेदी जी ने ग्रन्थ का नाम अभिधावृत्तमातृका माना है तथा ग्रन्थ के अन्तिम श्लोक की व्याख्या में इसे ही उचित ठहराया है।

यह ग्रन्थ राष्ट्रीय-संस्कृत-संस्थान, जनकपुरी, नई दिल्ली को साहित्याचार्य परीक्षा के द्वितीय वर्ष में 100 अंक के एक स्वतन्त्र पत्र के रूप में वर्षों तक पाठ्यक्रम में निर्धारित रहा था। एतदर्थ प्राय: आचार्य रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी का संस्करण ही पठन-पाठन में प्रयुक्त होता रहा है। परन्तु विगत 2 वर्षों से यह ग्रन्थ उक्त पाठ्यक्रम से हटा दिया गया है।

सन् 1977 ई. में इस ग्रन्थ का हिन्दी अनुवाद के साथ एक अन्य संस्करण इन्दु प्रकाशन, 8/3 रूपनगर दिल्ली–110007. द्वारा प्रकाशित किया गया। इसका सम्पादन व हिन्दी व्याख्या डॉ॰ ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी ने की है। इसमें भी आचार्य द्विवेदी का अनुसरण करते हुए ग्रन्थ का नाम **अभिधावृत्तमातृका** ही माना है।

डॉ॰ निरुपमा त्रिपाठी ने – अभिधावृत्तिमातृका एवं शब्दव्यापारविचार (तुलनात्मक विवेचन) शीर्षक से प्रयाग विश्वविद्यालय के डॉ॰ सुरेशचन्द्र पाण्डेय के निर्देशन में संस्कृत डी.फिल् उपाधि हेतु शोधप्रबन्ध प्रस्तुत किया है। इसके अन्त में अभिधावृत्तिमातृका व शब्दव्यापारविचार का मूलपाठ भी दिया है। इस शोधप्रबन्ध का पुस्तक रूप में प्रकाशन सन् 2007 ई. में ईस्टर्न बुक लिंकर्स, 5825, न्यू चन्द्रावल, जवाहर नगर, दिल्ली-110007. से हुआ है। इस प्रबन्ध की लेखिका ने प्रस्तुत रचना का नाम अभिधावृत्तिमातृका के रूप में मानना उचित ठहराया है। इस रचना का एक अन्य संस्करण डॉ॰ सुज्ञानकुमार माहान्ति द्वारा रचित सुबोधिनी संस्कृतवृत्ति व संगमनी हिन्दीवृत्ति क साथ सन् 2008 ई. में चौखम्बा कृष्णदास अकादमी, वाराणसी द्वारा प्रकाशित हुआ है। इसमें भी ग्रन्थनाम के



रूप में अभिधावृत्तिमातृका को ही उचित सिद्ध करते हुए स्वीकार किया गया है।¹

इस प्रकार मुकुलभट्ट की इस रचना का नाम-अभिधावृत्तिमातृका एवं अभिधावृत्तमातृका इन दो रूपों में आधुनिक काल में प्रचलित हो गया है। आचार्य रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी व श्री ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी ने अभिधावृत्तमातृका तथा मंगेशरामकृष्ण तैलंग, डॉ॰ निरुपमा त्रिपाठी व डॉ॰ सुज्ञानकुमार माहान्ति ने अभिधावृत्तिमातृका नाम स्वीकार किया है।

इन संस्करणों व इनके उपजीव्यभूत हस्तलेखों को देखने से विदित हुआ कि इस प्रकार के द्विविध नाम के पीछे प्रस्तुत रचना के अन्तिम श्लोक का पाठभेद ही आधारभूत कारण है। यह श्लोक इस प्रकार है-

भट्टकल्लटपुत्रेण मुकुलेन निरूपिता। सूरिप्रबोध नायेयमभिधावृत्तिमातृका॥²

इस श्लोक के अन्तिम चरण में निर्णयसागर-संस्करण में **'वृत्ति'** शब्द छपा है तथा उसके अनन्तर पुष्पिका में भी **'भट्टमुकुलविरचिता अभिधावृत्तिमातृका समाप्ता'** ऐसा पाठ प्रकाशित है। यद्यपि निर्णयसागर-संस्करण का आधारभूत हस्तलेख हमने नहीं देखा, परन्तु अनुमान है कि उसमें उक्त दोनों स्थलों पर **वृत्ति** शब्द रहा होगा, तभी सम्पादित पुस्तक में वैसा छपा है।

इसके अतिरिक्त चौदहवीं शताब्दी में लिखे तथा वर्तमान में जिनभद्रसूरि ज्ञान भण्डार जैसलमेर में उपलब्ध हस्तलेख (Jes-331-510-1) में उपर्युक्त श्लोक के अन्तिम चरण में तो 'वृत्त' शब्द मिलता है, परन्तु उसके अनन्तर पुष्पिका में वृत्ति शब्द के साथ- भट्टकल्लटात्मजमुकुलभट्टविरचिता अभिधावृत्तिमातृका समाप्तेति। श्रीमज्जिनपतिसूरीणाम्। पुस्तिकेयम्॥ ऐसा लेख मिलता है। इस हस्तलेख की प्रतिकृति हमारे संग्रह में विद्यमान है।

इसके अतिरिक्त भाण्डारकर प्राच्यविद्या शोधसंस्थान, पूना में उपलब्ध हस्तलेख संख्या 63/1873-74 में भी उपर्युक्त श्लोक में 'वृत्त' शब्द है तथा उसके अनन्तर पुष्पिका में 'वृत्ति' शब्द है - भट्टकल्लटात्मजमुकुलभट्ट-विरचिता अभिधावृत्तिमातृका समाप्तेति। समस्तु॥ सं. 1930 माघसुदि 14।

इनके अतिरिक्त कुछ अन्य हस्तलेख हमें उपलब्ध हुए हैं, जो अपेक्षाकृत इनसे अर्वाचीन हैं, उनमें उक्त श्लोक के चतुर्थ चरण में भी वृत्त शब्द है तथा इसके अनन्तर उपलब्ध पुष्पिका के अन्दर ग्रन्थनाम में भी अभिधावृत्तमातृका इस रूप में वृत्त शब्द ही लिखा है। इन हस्तलेखों का विवरण निम्न है-

रघुनाथ मन्दिर पुस्तकालय, जम्मू में उपलब्ध हस्तलेख (सं०-477, अलंकार-विभाग)। इसका पाठ- ...वृत्तमातृका। इतिश्रीभट्टकल्लटपुत्रमुकुल-विरचिताभिधावृत्तमातृका समाप्ता शुभाय भवतुतरां लेखकपाठयोरों तत्सत् भद्रं पश्येम प्रचरेम भद्रम्। लालचन्द शोधपुस्तकालय डी.ए.वी. कालेज, सैक्टर-10, चण्डीगढ़ से भी इस रचना का एक हस्तलेख (एम. 2940) प्राप्त हुआ है। इसका पाठ भी उक्त दोनों स्थलों पर वृत्त शब्द ही दिखाता है-वृत्तमातृका। इति श्रीकल्लटात्मजमुकुलविरचिताभिधावृत्तमातृका समाप्ता। यहाँ निर्दिष्ट इन चारों हस्तलेखों की प्रतिकृतियाँ हमारे संग्रह में उपलब्ध हैं। इन्हें सामने रखकर ही उक्त पाठ यहाँ प्रस्तुत किए हैं। इन उद्धृत पाठों से स्पष्ट है कि पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट दो श्रेणियों के हस्तलेखों के आधार पर प्रस्तुत रचना का द्विविध नाम प्रचलित हुआ है।

निर्णयसागर-संस्करण के आधारभूत हस्तलेख (जिसे हमने नहीं देखा है) के अतिरिक्त जैसलमेर व पूना वाले दोनों हस्तलेखों में उक्त श्लोक के अन्तिम चरण में तो वृत्त शब्द ही है, परन्तु तदनन्तरवर्तिनी पुष्पिका में वृत्ति शब्द मिलता है, जबकि जम्मू व चण्डीगढ़ के हस्तलेखों के उक्त श्लोक व पुष्पिका में भी वृत्त शब्द ही मिलता है। आचार्य रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी ने 'अभिधावृत्तमातृका' के हिन्दीभाष्य की प्रावेशिकी में सूचित किया है कि एशियाटिक सोसायटी कलकत्ता में उपलब्ध हस्तलेख (क्रमांक 1824) में भी उक्त श्लोक के चतुर्थ चरण में वृत्त शब्द ही लिखा हैंगे। इससे स्पष्ट है कि उक्त हस्तलेख में भी श्लोक व पुष्पिका में वृत्त शब्द ही लिखित है।

हमारी दृष्टि से अभिधावृत्तिमातृका व अभिधावृत्तमातृका दोनों ही नाम, जो अन्तिम श्लोक के पाठभेद के आधार पर माने हैं, उचित नहीं हैं तथा ग्रन्थकार को ग्रन्थनाम के रूप में अभीष्ट नहीं हैं। यह तथ्य उक्त श्लोक का उचित अन्वय करने से स्पष्ट हो जाता है। हमारे मत में इस श्लोक का उचित अन्वय इस प्रकार है:

भट्टकल्लटपुत्रेण मुकुलेन सूरिप्रबोधानाय वृत्तिमातृका इयम् अभिधा निरूपिता। इस अन्वय के आधार पर श्लोक का शुद्ध पाठ इस प्रकार है:

भट्टकल्लटपुत्रेण मुकुलेन निरूपिता। सूरिप्रबोधानायेयमभिधा वृत्तिमातृका॥

अब तक के प्रकाशित संस्करणों में 'अभिधा' शब्द को 'वृत्तिमातृका' से जोड़कर ग्रन्थकार के वास्तविक भाव को अन्यथा रूप में प्रस्तुत किया जाता रहा है। यदि श्लोकगत अभिधा शब्द को वृत्तिमातृका के साथ समास कर (जोड़कर) प्रचलित अन्वय को मान लिया जाए तो अर्थ होगा- यह अभिधावृत्तिमातृका निरूपित की है। इस अर्थ में स्पष्टतया यह विसंगति है कि पुस्तक या उसके नाम को निरूपित नहीं किया जाता, प्रत्युत उसके प्रतिपाद्य विषय को निरूपित किया जाता है। यहाँ प्रतिपाद्य विषय अभिधा है, अत: ग्रन्थ के अन्त में उपसंहार के रूप में ग्रन्थकार का यह वाक्य हमारी दृष्टि से इसी रूप में ही संगत होता है कि- वृत्ति अर्थात् क्याहर की मातृका (माता) यह अभिधा निरूपित की है।

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उक्त श्लोक के प्रचलित अन्वय में एक बड़ी विसंगति यह भी है कि अभिधावृत्तिमातृका इस समस्तपद में अभिधा चेयं वृत्तिमातृका यह कर्मधारय मानने पर 'अभिधा' की अपेक्षा 'वृत्तिमातृका' इस विशेषण का पूर्वनिपात होना चाहिए। अत: यह कर्मधारय नहीं माना जा सकता। ऐसी स्थिति में इसे पूर्वोक्त प्रकार से असमस्त मानने के अतिरिक्त अन्य कोई चारा नहीं है। अन्य किसी समास की कल्पना कर भी लें तो 'निरूपिता' पद की संगति नहीं लग पायेगी। यहां ऐसी ही समास विषयक एक कल्पना डॉ॰ निरुपमा त्रिपाठी ने की है, परन्तु उनके कथन को मानने पर श्लोकगत निरूपिता पद असंगत हो जाता है। उनका कथन इस प्रकार है:

''अभिधावृत्तिमातृका का समास विग्रह करने पर इसका अर्थ होगा 'अभिधावृत्ति है माता जिसकी'। इसका विग्रह इस प्रकार होगा– **अभिधावृत्तिः एव माता** यस्याः सा, 'देवमातृकाः देशाः' के समान यह पद भी अन्य पद का विशेषण है। विचार करने पर यह साहित्य विद्या का विशेषण प्रतीत होता है''⁴

इस प्रकार डॉ॰ श्रीमती त्रिपाठी के अनुसार अभिधावृत्ति है मातृका जिसकी, ऐसी साहित्यविद्या इस ग्रन्थ में निरूपित की है, ऐसा अर्थ होगा। परन्तु ऐसा मानना तो प्रकट में ही मुकुलभट्ट का सीधा विरोधा करना है। वे तो स्पष्ट कह रहे हैं:

इत्येतदभिधावृत्तं दशधात्र निरूपितम्, यो योजयति साहित्ये तस्य वाणी प्रसीदति॥^s

अर्थात् यहाँ हमने दशविध अभिधावृत्त का निरूपण किया है। इसे जो साहित्य में संयोजित करता है, उसकी वाणी निर्मल हो जाती है। इससे सर्वथा स्पष्ट है कि यहाँ दशविध अभिधावृत्त का निरूपण है, न कि साहित्य का। साहित्य में तो इसका प्रयोग करने का परामर्श दिया गया है। अत: डॉ॰ श्रीमती त्रिपाठी का उक्त मन्तव्य संगत नहीं है।

यदि अभिधावृत्तेः मातृका अभिधावृत्तिमातृका ऐसा षष्ठीतत्पुरुष समास करके इसे पुस्तिका या रचना का विशेषण मानें तो फिर वही विसंगति आती है, जिसका हम पहले निर्देश कर चुके हैं कि इसके साथ 'निरूपिता' पद का अन्वय नहीं बन पायेगा, क्योंकि ग्रन्थ में निरूपण तो प्रतिपाद्य विषय का किया जाता है, रचना के नाम का नहीं।

आचार्य रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी इस ग्रन्थ के अन्तिम श्लोक की व्याख्या के अनन्तर विमर्श में लिखते हैं कि- ''अभिधा के ऊपर लिखे इस ग्रन्थ को ग्रन्थकार ने अभिधावृत्तमातृका कहा है। जबकि प्रसिद्धि है 'अभिधावृत्तिमातृका' नाम की। एशियाटिक सोसायटी के पाण्डुलेख में वृत्त शब्द ही मिलता है। मम्मट ने इसके विरोध में जो ग्रन्थ लिखा है उसमें व्यापार शब्द अपनाया- 'शब्दव्यापारविचार' इस प्रकार। इससे लगता है कि यहाँ मूल में वृत्त शब्द ही रहा होगा। वृत्ति शब्द देने से उसका अभिधा के साथ कर्मधारय प्रमुख हो जाता है''6। इस मन्तव्य के विषय में हमारा कहना है कि जब अभिधा शब्द का आगे वाले अंश से समास ही नहीं है तो दोनों में से किसी को भी ग्रन्थनाम मानना निराधार है। हम पहले कह चुके हैं कि ऐसा मानने पर 'निरूपिता' पद का अन्वय संगत नहीं हो पाता है। आचार्य द्विवेदी जी का जो यह कथन है कि- विवेच्य श्लोक में वृत्ति शब्द मानने पर उसका अभिधा के साथ कर्मधारय प्रमुख हो जाता है, इस पर भी हमारी वही पूर्वोक्त दोनों आपत्तियाँ हैं। प्रथम तो यह कि वृत्ति की अपेक्षा वृत्त शब्द रखकर भी इसे ग्रन्थनाम मानने पर 'निरूपिता' पद का अन्वय नहीं लगेगा, क्योंकि निरूपण नाम का नहीं, प्रतिपाद्य विषय का किया जाता है। और द्वितीय यह कि यहाँ कर्मधारय होता तो 'वृत्तिमातृका' इस विशेषण का पूर्वप्रयोग होना चाहिए था। अत: यहाँ कर्मधारय की संभावना बताना उचित नहीं है।

इस प्रकार उक्त हेतुद्वय के कारण इस विवेच्य श्लोक के अन्तिम चरण में **'अभिधा वृत्तिमातृका'** यह समास रहित व **वृत्त** के स्थान पर **वृत्ति** वाला पाठ ही उचित है। जैसा कि हम पहले कह चुके हैं कि **वृत्ति** शब्द का अर्थ व्यवहार है- व्यवहारो हि वृत्तिरुच्यते⁷, अत:-वृत्तिमातृका यह अभिधा निरूपित की, ऐसा अर्थ सम्यक् संगत हो जाता है।

मीमांसाशास्त्रनिष्णात मुकुलभट्ट की मूल दृष्टि भी यही है कि वे सकल वाग्व्यवहार का मूल अभिधा को ही मानते हैं। अत एव वे लक्षणा को भी षड् अभिधावृत्तों के रूप में ही प्रस्तुत करते हुए अभिधा से भिन्न मानने को तैयार नहीं हैं तथा मीमांसकत्व-वासना से वासितान्त:करण होने के कारण व्यंजना को भी स्वीकार नहीं करते हैं। इस प्रकार उक्त श्लोक में उन्होंने अभिधा को वृत्ति=व्यवहार की मातृका के रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हुए **'वृत्तिमातृका'** विशेषण से विभूषित कर गौरवान्वित किया है।

मुकुलभट्ट द्वारा प्रस्तुत इस विशेषण की एक संगति यह भी लगाई जा सकती है कि यहाँ निरूपित की हुई यह अभिधा ही अन्यों द्वारा स्वीकृत सभी वृत्तियों की माता है। अर्थात् तात्पर्यावृत्ति, लक्षणावृत्ति, गुणवृत्ति व व्यंजनावृत्ति, जो अन्यों द्वारा स्वतन्त्र वृत्तियों के रूप में मान्य हैं, उन सबकी जननी यह अभिधा ही है, जिसे हमने यहाँ निरूपित किया है। इस प्रकार यहाँ मीमांसकशिरोमणि मुकुलभट्ट का यह आग्रह व्यञ्जित होता है कि उक्त वृत्तियों को स्वतन्त्र न मानकर उनकी जननी अभिधा को ही मानने से ही सकलप्रयोजनसिद्धि हो जाती है। अत: उक्त पद्य में ग्रन्थकार लक्षणादि वृत्तियों किंवा सम्पूर्ण वृत्ति=वाग्व्यवहार की मातृका (माता) के रूप में अभिधा को ही मानने पर बल देते हुए दिखाई पड़ते हैं।

अपने इस भाव को वे इस श्लोक के ठीक ऊपर वाले इन शब्दों में प्रस्तुत कर रहे हैं- दशविधेनानेनाभिधावृत्तेन समग्रस्य वाक्परिस्पन्दस्य व्याप्तत्वाद् व्याकरण-मीमांसा-तर्क-साहित्यात्मकेषु चतुर्षु शास्त्रेषूपयोगात्







तद्द्वारेण च सर्वासु विद्यासु सकलव्यवहार-मूलभूतासु प्रसरणादस्य दशविधास्याभिधावृत्तस्य सकलव्यवहारव्यापित्वमाख्यातम्। वस्तुत: ये पंक्तियाँ उपर्युक्त अन्तिम श्लोक की अवतरणिका के रूप में हैं और इनके भाव को श्लोक में वृत्तिमातृका अभिधा निरूपिता इन पदों से प्रकट किया है।

इस विवेचन से स्पष्ट है कि प्रस्तुत श्लोक में प्रतिपाद्य विषय का निर्देश किया है, न कि ग्रन्थ के नाम का। अत: अनुचित अन्वय के आधार पर इसे ग्रन्थ का नाम मानना भ्रान्तिमूलक है। अब रही बात वृत्त और वृत्ति रूप पाठान्तर की, तो इसमें हमारी सम्मति है कि यहाँ वृत्ति शब्द ही मूल पाठ के रूप में मानना उचित है। क्योंकि वृत्ति शब्द वाग्व्यवहार के लिए अधिक प्रसिद्ध है तथा इसके भाव को ध्यान में रखते हुए ही मुकुलभट्ट पूर्वनिर्दिष्ट अवतरणिका में **वाक्यरिस्यन्द** एवं **सकलव्यवहार** इन शब्दों का प्रयोग करते हैं।

वृत्ति शब्द को यहाँ मूलपाठ मानने के पक्ष में दूसरा अन्तरंग साक्ष्य यह भी है कि ग्रन्थकार की दृष्टि में दशविध अभिधावृत्त के द्वारा सकल वाक्परिस्पन्द को व्याप्त किया हुआ बताया है। यहाँ दशविध अभिधावृत्त से व्याप्त वाक्परिस्पन्द वाग्व्यवहार ही है और उसके लिए यहाँ वृत्ति शब्द ही समुचित हो सकता है, न कि वृत्त शब्द। इत्येतदभिधावृत्तम्, तथा दशविधोनानेनाभिधावृत्तेन में वृत्त शब्द का अर्थ चरित या आचरित है:

वृत्तं स्वरूपे चरिते वृत्तौ छन्दोविधासु च[®]।

यद्यपि उपर्युक्त दोनों स्थलों में चरित अर्थ में प्रयुक्त वृत्त शब्द वृत्ति (व्यवहार) अर्थ में भी प्रयुक्त होता है। तथापि यह चरित अर्थ में ही व्यवहार अर्थ की अपेक्षा अधिक प्रसिद्ध है। अत: अर्थसांकर्य न हो, एतदर्थ ग्रन्थकार ने चरित अर्थ में वृत्त शब्द का प्रयोग कर व्यवहार अर्थ में पुनः उसी का प्रयोग न कर वृत्ति शब्द का प्रयोग किया है। यदि वृत्ति के स्थान पर पुनः वृत्त का प्रयोग करते तो उसे इत्येतदभिधावृत्तं इस पूर्व प्रयोग से भिन्नार्थक अर्थात् व्यवहारार्थक बताने के लिए पृथक्श: व्याख्या करनी पडती। यदि उसे पूर्वार्थ में ही प्रयुक्त करते तो यह दोष होता कि जब अभिधा का दशविध वृत्त बता ही चुके हैं, तो पुन: उस अभिधा को उक्त वृत्त की मातृका बताना तुरन्त की हुई खटकने वाली पुनरुक्ति होती। अत: ग्रन्थकार ने अन्त में जानबूझ कर ही व्यवहारार्थक वृत्ति शब्द का प्रयोग किया है तथा इसका संकेत प्रकृत श्लोक की अवतरणिका में वाक्परिस्पन्द व सकलव्यवहार पदों से किया है।

अत: श्लोक का यह अर्थ सर्वथा स्पष्ट हो गया है कि ग्रन्थकार ने यहाँ- वृत्तिमातृका अर्थात् सर्वविध वाग्व्यवहार की माता अभिधा निरूपित की है। मातृका शब्द माता के पर्यायवाची के रूप में कोषों में निर्दिष्ट है:

'मातृका धातृकामात्रोर्देवीभिद्वर्णमालयोः''

इसका भाव यह है कि मातृका शब्द धातृका (धाय, उपमाता), माता, षोडश मातृकाओं के रूप में प्रसिद्ध देवियों तथा वर्णमाला के लिए प्रयुक्त होता है। विवेच्य श्लोक में यह शब्द माता के अर्थ में ही प्रयुक्त समझना चाहिए। इस आधार पर श्लोकगत वाक्य का अर्थ सुतराम् स्पष्ट हो गया कि यह अभिधा जो कि वृत्ति (वाग्व्यवहार) की माता है, यहाँ निरूपित की गई है। मुकुलभट्ट के इस सम्पूर्ण ग्रन्थ की शैली से भी यही अर्थ पुष्ट होता है, क्योंकि वे अभिधा में ही लक्षणा आदि वृत्तियों को समाहित करते हुए दिखाई देते हैं।

अब प्रश्न होता है कि जब उक्त श्लोक में ग्रन्थनाम का निर्देश नहीं है तो ग्रन्थ का नाम क्या है? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर हमें जैनमुनि आचार्य माणिक्यचन्द्र सूरि (13वीं शती) की काव्यप्रकाश-संकेत टीका से मिलता है। काव्यप्रकाश के द्वितीय उल्लास में 'लक्षणा तेन षड्विधा' पर वे लिखते हैं - 'संक्षेपेणैवात्र लक्षणाविचार: कृतः। विस्तरेण तु मुकुलादि - विरचिताभिधामातृकादिग्रन्थेभ्यो ज्ञेय:'।¹⁰ इस उद्धरण से यह तथ्य सर्वथा स्पष्ट है कि मुकुलभट्ट की रचना का नाम अभिधामातृका है। इसकी निष्पत्ति इस प्रकार समझनी चाहिए- अभिधा मातृका एव अभिधा-

मातुका, अर्थात् अभिधा ही सकल वाग्व्यवहार की माता है। इसे 'मुखं चन्द्रः' के समान समझना चाहिए और उसी के समान यहाँ अभिधा इस उपमेयभूत विषय पर मातुका इस उपमानभूत विषयी का आरोप होकर गौणी सारोपा में अभिधामातृका यह समस्त रूप बना है। यहाँ अभिधा विशेष्य तथा मातृका विशेषण है। 'विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम्'11 के अनुसार विशेषण-विशेष्य समास की रीति से तो 'नीलोत्पलम्' के समान यहाँ भी विशेषण मातृका शब्द पहले आना चाहिए था एवं अभिधा शब्द बाद में। परन्तु क्योंकि विशेषण-विशेष्य भाव होते हुए भी यहाँ मुखं चन्द्रः मुखचन्द्रः के समान रूपक समास है। और रूपकस्थल में विशेषण के परनिपात व विशेष्य के पूर्वनिपात के लिए **'मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च'**12 से समास माना जाता है। इस प्रकार मुखचन्द्रः के समान यहाँ भी विशेषण का पूर्वनिपात न होकर विशेष्य का पूर्वनिपात है। इस रीति से अभिधामातुका यह समस्त शब्द बना है।

यहाँ प्रतिपक्षी द्वारा यह प्रश्न भी किया जा सकता है कि – यदि अभिधामातृका में मुखचन्द्र: की तरह रूपक समास किया जा सकता है तो– अभिधावृत्तिः मातृका अभिधावृत्तिमातृका यह रूपक समास भी हो सकता है। फिर 'अभिधा वृत्तिमातृका' इस असमस्त स्थिति के लिए ही आग्रह क्यों? तो इसका उत्तर है कि इस प्रकार भी यह समास किया जा सकता है, परन्तु ऐसा करके इसे आपके अनुसार पुस्तक का नाम मानने पर वही 'निरूपिता' पद की असंगति वाली पूर्वोक्त समस्या आ जाती है। अत: – वृत्तिमातृका अभिधा निरूपिता यह असमस्त रूप मानना ही श्रेयस्कर व निर्दुष्ट है। इस प्रकार यह निश्चित हुआ कि

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यहाँ प्रतिपाद्य विषय का ही निर्देश है, ग्रन्थनाम का नहीं। अभिधामातृका नाम के पीछे काश्मीर शैव दर्शन का प्रभाव भी स्पष्टतया परिलक्षित होता है। इस दर्शन के आद्य आचार्य वसुगुप्त ने वाक्तत्व के विषय में कहा है - **ज्ञानाधिष्ठानं मातृका**¹³, इस प्रकार वाक् को सकल पर-अपर (सूक्ष्म-स्थूल) ज्ञान का मूल मानते हुए मातृका नाम दिया है। अभिधामातृका नामकरण करते हुए मुकुलभट्ट भी इसी भाव को प्रकट कर रहे हैं। यहाँ परम्परा का प्रभाव तो है ही, साथ में यह भी स्प्फुटतया द्योतित हो रहा है कि अभिधा को ही मातृका रूप में प्रस्तुत करते हुए मुकुलभट्ट ने ग्रन्थ को यह नाम दिया है। अत: यहाँ मध्य में **'वृत्त' या 'वृत्ति'** रखना सर्वथा निराधार है।

मुकुलभट्ट, वसुगुप्त की रचना के रूप में मानी जाने वाली स्पन्दकारिका के व्याख्याता सुविदित काश्मीरी विद्वान् भट्ट कल्लट के सुपुत्र थे। अत: इन पर काश्मीर शैवदर्शन की परम्परा का पैतृक प्रभाव सहज एवं अपरिहार्य था।

मातृका शब्द वर्णमाला के लिए भी इसीलिए प्रयुक्त होता है कि वह सम्पूर्ण वाङ्मय की मातृरूप है, मूल उपादान है। संस्कृत का यह मातृ शब्द लेटिन में MATER रूप में माता के अर्थ में ही प्रयुक्त होता है। यही इंग्लिश में MATERIA, MATERIAL तथा MATTER के रूप में विस्तार को प्राप्त हुआ है। वर्तमान में इंग्लिश में MATTER शब्द पदार्थ या मूल उपादान के अर्थ में प्रयुक्त होता है। इस प्रकार संस्कृत का मातृ शब्द ही लेटिन से होते हुए इंग्लिश में उक्त रूप में परिणत हुआ है। इससे स्पष्ट है कि मातृ शब्द लेटिन में माता (MATER) व इंग्लिश में मूल उपादान (MATTER) के अर्थ में आज भी प्रचलित है।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ में भी अभिधा सम्पूर्ण वाग्व्यवहार का मूल उपादान होने से मातृका रूप में कही गई है। मातृका शब्द उक्त अर्थ में काव्यों में भी प्रयुक्त हुआ है:

तत्र राजपुरी नाम राजधानी विराजते। राजराजपुरीसृष्टौ म्रष्टुर्या मातृकायते॥14

इस प्रकार उक्त विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट हो गया है कि ग्रन्थ के प्रचलित नाम के स्थान पर काव्यप्रकाश-संकेतकार आचार्य माणिक्यचन्द्र सूरि के प्रमाण से अभिधामातृका को ही ग्रन्थनाम मानना उचित है। आचार्य माणिक्यचन्द्र सूरि एक महान् कवि, उच्चकोटि के समालोचक व अगाध शास्त्रीय पाण्डित्य से विभूषित प्रौढ विद्वान् थे। वे पार्श्वनाथचरितम् व शान्तिनाथचरितम् महाकाव्य एवं काव्यप्रकाश-संकेत जैसी गम्भीर रचनाओं के रचयिता हैं। उनके लेख को अश्रद्धेय मानने का कोई कारण नहीं दिखता।

जैन आचार्यों की परम्परा में बड़े ही समृद्ध ग्रन्थभण्डार रहे हैं। अत: माणिक्यचन्द्र सूरि द्वारा प्रत्यक्षदृष्ट मूलग्रन्थ के आधार पर ही अभिधामातृका नाम लिखा प्रतीत होता है। यहाँ श्री हेमचन्द्राचार्य ज्ञानभण्डार पाटण (गुजरात) से उपलब्ध माणिक्यचन्द्र सूरि के काव्यप्रकाश-संकेत के उन दो भिन्न-भिन्न हस्तलेखों की उस पंक्ति को भी स्कैन करके प्रस्तुत किया जा रहा है, जिसमें मुकुलभट्ट की इस रचना को 'अभिधामातृका' नाम से निर्द्ष्ट किया है:

हस्तलेख-विवरण- डा॰ - 5912, पत्र-150, काव्यप्रकाश-संकेत (35वें पत्र पर)

हस्तलेख-विवरण- डा॰ - 169, ग्रन्थ-6651, काव्यप्रकाश-संकेत

यहाँ उपन्यस्त दोनों हस्तलेखों की यह पंक्ति प्राचीन देवनागरी में लिखी है, जिसमें कुछ अक्षरों की बनावट व मात्रा आज की देवनागरी से भिन्न है। अत: वाचनसौकर्य के लिए यहाँ हस्तलिखित पंक्ति के नीचे टंकित रूपान्तर दे दिया है।

हमारा विचार है कि माणिक्यचन्द्र सूरि (13वीं शती) तक मुकुलभट्ट की इस रचना के प्रारम्भ में ग्रन्थनाम के रूप में 'अभिधामातृका' ही लिखा जाता था। परन्तु अनन्तरवर्ती काल में पूर्वचर्चित अन्तिम श्लोक का भ्रान्त अन्वय कर तदनुसार श्लोकगत अभिधावृत्तिमातृका/ अभिधावृत्तमातृका शब्द को ही साक्षात् ग्रन्थकार द्वारा निर्दिष्ट नाम मानकर प्रचलित कर दिया गया, जो कि गतानुगतिकतया आज भी चल रहा है। पूर्वप्रस्तुत विवेचन के आलोक में इसका संशोधन अपेक्षित है। एतदर्थ ही विवेकशील विद्वज्जनों की सेवा में यह शोधनिबन्ध विनम्रतापूर्वक प्रस्तुत है।

अन्त में अभिधामातृका के पाठ के विषय में कुछ निवेदन करना अप्रासंगिक नहीं होगा। अब तक प्रकाशित संस्करणों का पाठ अनेक स्थानों पर दोषग्रस्त व विपर्यस्त है। हमने उपलब्ध हस्तलेखों के आधार पर महत्त्वपूर्ण पाठशोधन कर इसका समीक्षात्मक-संस्करण तैयार किया है, जो यथासम्भव शीघ्र ही राष्ट्रिय-संस्कृत-संस्थान, वेदव्यास-परिसर, बलाहर (कांगड़ा) हिमाचल प्रदेश से प्रकाशित किया जाएगा। इसमें पाठशोधन के अतिरिक्त अन्त में कछ शोधोपयोगी परिशिष्ट भी रहेंगे।

हमारा विचार है कि **अभिधामातृका** की एक पंजिका (विषमपदभंजिनी टीका) लिखी जाए, जिससे ग्रन्थ के विशिष्ट स्थलों के अवबोधन में सहायता मिल सके। यदि सुयोग रहा तो भगवत्कृपा से इस संकल्प के पूर्ण होने की आशा है।

विजयपाल शास्त्री प्रचेता

साहित्य विभागाध्यक्ष, राष्ट्रिय-संस्कृत-संस्थान वेदव्यास-परिसर, बलाहर, कांगड़ा हिमाचल प्रदेश





Songs of the Cowboy Melody that Enthralled Southern Assam for Centuries

Mrinmoy Chakraborty

N. Howard Thorp, nick named Jack Thorp (1867-1940) collected cowboy songs and poems across western USA for nearly twenty years and published his first book, Songs of the Cowboys in 1908. Thorp travelled more than 1,500 miles in New Mexico and Texas, seeking out cowboy songs at ranches, immigrant camps, saloons, medicine shops, and variety of theaters. He seldom met anyone who could recite all the verses to a particular ballad, but he faithfully jotted down what he could find in a small notebook. By the end of his journey, he had pieced together such cowboy classics as Sam Bass, The Grand Round-up, Top Hand, The Gal I Left Behind Me and Bucking Bronco. Jack Thorp was cowboy music's first collector and thus he made a significant contribution to western music history (www.cowboypoetry.com).

This is the tale of the exploration of cowboy songs by an inquisitive mind in western America. The author of this piece made one such endeavor to trap the dying rhythm of songs of the cowboys in the easternmost part of India. In his endeavour to explore and comprehend the songs which nourished the sense of people of this south Assam region of Barak Valley, he came across written documents, a few of which are more than 75 years old and for good reasons can be considered as 'manuscript'. As most of the manuscripts are either lost or decayed to the extent of making it hardly possible to decipher, he had to rely mostly on oral sources. Before going into analyzing Ahi or the songs of the cowboys of this region

a brief survey into the cultural background of the region where these songs developed would be appropriate.

Barak Valley region of the North-East State of Assam, for most of the time during known history, has maintained a distinct identity. Therefore the culture developed there, which for convenience may be identified as indigenous culture of the Barak Valley, had the features of an island culture. This culture has its unique flavor, distinctly different from the two predominant cultures – Bengali and Assamese – of Eastern India, though it has assimilated in it the cultural elements of both of them.

Cultural history of Barak Valley can be divided intotwodistinctperiods-pre-independence and post-independence. In the pre-independence era the present Cachar and Hailakandi districts were part of Cachar district which also included Dima Hasao district. In the post-independence period, three and half *thana* areas of the then Sylhet district have been joined together to form the Karimgunj subdivision and later on Karimgunj district and a part of Cachar district has been developed as a separate district of Hailakandi. The present Barak Valley owes its name to the river Barak and comprises three districts of Cachar, Hailakandi and Karimgunj.

Ahi or songs of cowboy

A very interesting ritual of Barak Valley worth mentioning, though not directly related to Ahi, is offering of *swad* to the peddy land on



the last day of Asvin. This is solemnized on the last day of Asvin, the preceding month of Kartik. This is the special offering given to the paddy, pregnant with new corn. The offering, the *guis* as it is called, is prepared out of *sunda* (the aromatic root of a aquatic plant), *methi* and *bel pata*. All the ingredients are put inside *chailta pata* and folded and pierced with a *kush* stick in a particular way. This *guis* is offered to the paddy field by a boy child just after the sunset uttering the following lines:

Sunda methi beler pat Chada mele adai hat Asvin jaite kartic aite, Bhui mage devi pute Chailta patai dharche kadar Ek dhane nai bhadar

The wish of farmers is embodied in this, which is purely in local dialect. Through this, farmers wish that there would be prolific growth of grains and a rich harvest. Here the paddy is treated at par with a pregnant lady. *Guis* is also offered to coconut trees and other trees from which the farmer expects a rich harvest. It is believed that this ritual ensures rich harvest and thus adds to the prosperity of the farmer household.

Ahi is a particular type of ballad or fable sung by the cowboys of the Barak valley. In Barak Valley, the month of Kartik (Kati in Assamese) is the month of pleasant morning, golden red sun, paddy field in dream for the forthcoming crop and aroma of dried mud. The Valley rises with the *Prabhati* tunes and plunges into evening siesta with Ahi or Ayi. The cowboys sing:

Hai hai Lakhinder, kiba karma kaile Kartika mashera dine, chaul kadi magaile

(What a misdeed done by you, Lakhinder. We are begging for rice and money in the month of Kartik.)

When thin mist heralds sweet cold weather, flocks of cowboys tread the cow dung coated yards of the rural households. The cowboys of a village form a troupe and visit house to house, generally after the fall of evening till mid-night. Their objective is to collect rice, coconut and money for organizing *Rakhal Seva* on the last day of Kartik. One group generally covers all the households of a village in a single evening. In this way, a group may cover ten to fifteen villages during the second half of Kartik. On the other hand, a household is visited by three to five groups in one evening. They sing:

Nanda gela bathane Yashoda gela jale Sunya griha paiya bacha lani churi kare

Ke khailo ke khailo lani bole Nandarani Gopale uthiya bole aamito na jani

Haste badi Nandarani nilore khadaiya Lampha mari uthe bacha kadam dal baiya

Lamo lamo ore bacha paida dimu phul Gachthaki padile bacha majaibay gakul

Age maa satya karo pajain thaiya pache Lamile khadaiya nibay tomar mane aache

Aaore rakhal bhai aar badite jai Ayi badir garu mahish bhalo thake sadai

(Nanda is gone to the cowshed, Yashoda has gone to fetch water Finding the home lonely, Gopal steels cheese

"Who usurped the cheese", Nandarani enquires Gopala responds, "I don't know"

Nandarani, with a stick in her hand chases him He jumps and climbs a kadam tree

"Come down, come down", shouts Nandarani "I will pluck you flower", my dear

Make promise to discard the stick You have a hidden intent to chase me, when I climb down

This is a piece, rich in motherly affection of Nandarani for her little child, Gopal. The term 'gopal' has two meanings: *go* means earth and therefore 'gopal' means protector of the



earth or king. But there is another meaning to this term. '*Go*' means cow and '*pal* means protector or 'Gopal' means protector of cow or cowboy. Gopal or Shrikrishna, believed to be the incarnation of Lord Vishnu, was a king and a cowboy at the same time. Cowboys feel proud of Shrikrishna, who, besides being a cowboy, was also a king and regarded as the incarnation of the Lord.

In Indian literature, most talked about personality is undoubtedly, Lord Krishna. In Indian music, whether it is classical or folk, Shri Krishna is the most prominent figure. Songs of Indian cow-boys are for obvious reasons replete with eulogies of their hero Gopal or Shrikrishna in one way or the other. In the Southern Assam region, there is a popular perception that a song devoid of Krishna is unthinkable.

So far as the subject matter is concerned, Ahi reflects the thoughts and imaginations of the rural farmers, who give utmost priority to their cattle. The songs are replete with the well wishes for the cattle and sung by the *rakhals* or cowboys who look after the cattle all the year round. After every Ahi (song) they express their well wishes for the health and fertility of the cattle:

Aao re rakhal bhai aar badite jai Eyi badir garu mahish sukhe thake sadai

(Come 'o' cowboys! let us move to another home. We wish the cows and buffaloes in the possession of this family live happily forever.)

They also envision prosperity and express it in their songs. As prosperous life is far away from their reach, desire towards pomp and glory has a strong influence on their imagination. They long for prosperous life in their own way and visualize this aspiration in these songs:

1. "Shiki lade Shiki lade Jhar jharaiya teka pade Ekta teka pailam re Baigna badi gelam re Baigna badir chaular macha Ek chaule nai macha Nai machay nai man Aamay dila katek dhan Aami to khujia khai Aami to magia khai Lamar gram bedaiya jai ----"

2. Sonar langal, heiyo Roopar phal, heiyo

3. Ai re ai, baner bhai Ban jale, lakkhmi phale Hale langale jiban chale Ek raite nai kiyar phale Dainar aashan bauye thaiya Air janam dilam kaiya

4. Aamurutu, jamurutu chanchala bhai Aamar rakhal bhai Aimani Rai Aimani Rai nare bidyaro sagar Bidyaro sagar nare roope Lakhinder

Ahis are not free of obscene contents in them. In the couplet here under, cowboys enjoy something which may be considered obscene.

Aar bagh, aar bagh, aar bagh haiya Aar baghe khay tar maugar buchi chuiya

Ahi also contains expression of self-respect. They pronounce the words of caution for them who cherish ill-will towards the cowboys, in this way:

Rakhal jania tare jeba kare hela Nicchay janiya tar kabhu nai bhala

(Considering cowboys if any one looks down upon them, it will not bring any good to him.)

This shows that they are suspicious of the intent of the society and think that discrimination may be meted out to them. So they warn people of the consequences that may follow, in their song itself.

Ahis are the sources of enjoyment, self respect and inspiration for the cowboys. These



are anonymous songs, sung in chorus, where one completes a line followed by all others repeating the same line. Ahis are mostly in local dialect, language of the agrarian society of Barak Valley. Far from the madding crowd, cowboys sing their song in their own language, to express their ideas and aspirations and enjoy themselves.

Rakhal Seva

The last day of Kartik is an auspicious day in Assam as Kati Bihu or Kangali Bihu is celebrated on this day. In the Barak Valley region of the State, this day brings to an end the *Niyam Sabha* month solemnized mainly among the Vaishnavites and thus ends the Mangalarati songs sung during evening and dawn.

As mentioned above, on the last day of Ashvin, rituals are observed for rich harvest. On the last day of the next month certain rituals are observed for the well being of the cattle. On that day, cattle are well-bathed and well-fed. Round shapes are made with rice paste on their bodies. It is thought that through this imprint cattle are offered with *pitha*, the indigenous cake prepared and eaten during festivals. Then, in the afternoon cattle, decorated with garlands, are taken to Rakhal Seva sight of the village.

All the cowboys who travelled from door to door throughout the month, congregate on a patch of land. A simple structure is made out of banana leaf and offerings of fruits and nuts are spread. Farmers bring their cattle and Ahis are sung in chorus. Then after dismantling the *holy* structure, cattle are beaten with banana leaf. They believe such beating with banana leaf adds to the fertility of the cows. Then the food items offered are distributed among the cowboys. The entire arrangements are made out of the collections of the month.

Decline of Ahi

Ahi is performed by the cowboys belonging to the lower strata of the social system, though they perform on the yard of every house irrespective of caste or class. Here the important thing is, as the Ahi was the domain of the lower class people, change in socio-economic status of the lower class has made this culture more and more obsolete. Educated and prosperous people with TV at their homes consider it shameful to celebrate a tradition which is related to cowboys. Lack of self respect and respect towards age old tradition also played havoc. The songs of cowboys, which ruled the sense of Barak Valley people in full spirit even a couple of decades ago are almost extinct now. A question lurks in conscious mind: Is it the sheer negligence towards culture of the common people which is the real culprit?

For the example of retrieval of folk songs of this type, we need not look towards the West. Dr. Bhupen Hazarika and Smt. Pratima Barua (Pandey) explored the songs of *mahuts* (people who take care of elephants) in the Goalpara district of Assam and popularized them all over the world. Such other examples are not rare in our country. For Ahi also, one exemplary effort is badly needed, else songs of the cowboys, which gave voice to the wills, aspirations and fascinations of the downtrodden of the agrarian society will die unheard, unappreciated.

Kriti Ralphun

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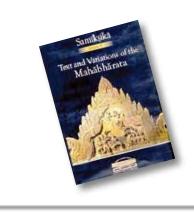
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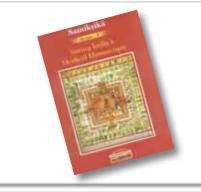
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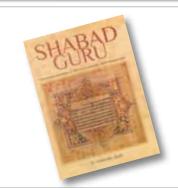


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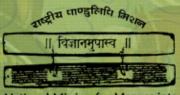


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