




## Notes on the Manuscripts of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*

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**Abstract:** The *Alaṃkāraratnākara*, a treatise on Sanskrit rhetorics (*alaṃkāra*), is the only accessible work by Śobhākaramitra (Śobhākara for the sake of brevity), a Kashmirian Sanskrit rhetorician active in the middle or late 12<sup>th</sup> century. In order to understand Śobhākara's doctrine on Sanskrit rhetorics, a critical edition based on both the non-critical edition published in 1942 and other available manuscripts is required. This paper is devoted to an analysis of the physical features of the seven Sanskrit manuscripts of this text, serving as a preparation for the composition of the critical edition and as an attempt to help scholars understand the transmission history of this text. Among the seven manuscripts, **J<sub>A</sub>**, **J<sub>O</sub>**, **K<sub>O</sub>** and **P<sub>D</sub>** are presumably copies of an apograph because they all contain the reference to the same scribe. If only the selected sections of *anumāna* and *hetu* are taken into consideration, **J<sub>A</sub>**, **K<sub>O</sub>** and **P<sub>D</sub>** can form a separate group in the transmission of the text. **O<sub>x</sub>** and **V<sub>A</sub>** can form the second group based on the similarity of their features. **J<sub>O</sub>** and **P<sub>s</sub>** are difficult to group for the time being, but their positions in the stemma of manuscripts will be revealed after further investigations. The mysteries of the manuscripts of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara* can be solved only after the relation between the witnesses is discovered, especially by collating other parts of the text and finding more similar connecting errors.

**Keywords:** *Alaṃkāraratnākara*, Sanskrit rhetorics, Śobhākara, manuscript studies

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## 1. Introduction

The *Alaṃkāraratnākara*, a treatise on Sanskrit rhetorics (*alaṃkāra*), is the only accessible work by Śobhākaramitra (Śobhākara for the sake of brevity), a Kashmirian Sanskrit rhetorician active in the middle or late 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup> Śobhākara is the key figure for understanding the scholarly polemics on different rhetorical theories and traditions in that very historical period, especially the scholarly interaction between him and two other Sanskrit rhetoricians: Ruyyaka (the author of the *Alaṃkārasarvasva*), the target of Śobhākara's criticism, and Jayaratha (the author of the *Alaṃkāravimarsinī*), who defends Ruyyaka's viewpoints against Śobhākara. Amidst those Sanskrit rhetorical traditions in Kashmir, Śobhākara was particularly concerned with clarifying the epistemological underpinnings of aesthetic theory.<sup>2</sup>

There is already a printed edition of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara* published by Devadhar in 1942, which Parthasaradhy Rao (1992) follows as the basis of his analysis of the whole text. However, Devadhar's edition is not a critical one. Therefore, a critical edition based on it and other available manuscripts is required for further studies of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*. This paper is devoted to an analysis of the physical features of the 7 Sanskrit manuscripts of this text, serving as a preparation for the composition of the critical edition and as an attempt to help scholars understand the transmission history of this text.

## 2. Information on the available manuscripts

Before analyzing each manuscript, it is necessary to introduce the structure of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*. The treatise consists of individual *sūtra*s defining each rhetorical figure. The *sūtra* section is then followed by an auto-commentary discussing theoretical issues concerning the definitions of rhetorical figures, and examining both positive example verses and negative counter-examples. The whole section of the auto-commentary ends with verses summarizing the key ideas underlying these figures, which are called *saṃgraha* or *saṃkṣepa*. I will designate the auto-

1 On the active period of Śobhākara, see De 1960, Vol. 1, p. 309, and Vasudeva 2016, p. 495.

2 This is one of the topics of my PhD thesis.

commentary and *saṃgraha/saṃkṣepa* together as *vṛtti*. As the function of the *vṛtti* is to legitimize Śobhākara's own viewpoints, it also contains critical evaluation of the doctrines of other Sanskrit rhetoricians, especially that of Ruyyaka.

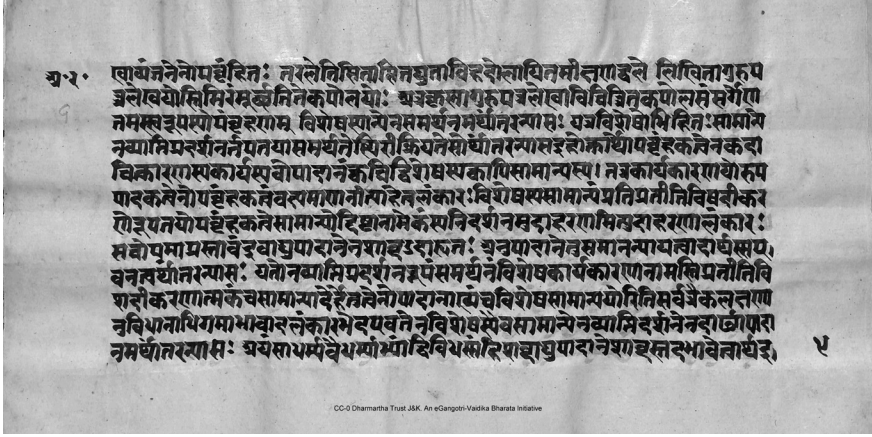
So far, I have collected photocopies of seven manuscripts of the *Alaṃkāratnākara*, designated as  $J_A$ ,  $J_O$ ,  $K_O$ ,  $O_X$ ,  $P_D$ ,  $P_\xi$  and  $V_A$ . Overviews are given as follows:

### 2.1 $J_A$ : MS preserved at the Raghunath Temple, Jammu

The title of this manuscript given on the cover is *Alaṃkāratnākaraḥ*. It is documented in Patkar (1973), pp. 266–267, index code 805 Gha. According to the information therein, its size is 35.5×19.2 cm and it consists of totally 128 folios, but folio 12 and 16 are missing. Each folio contains 12 lines, and each line contains 29 or 30 *akṣara*-s (syllables) (folios 1 to 6), or 36 *akṣara*-s (starting from folio 7). The manuscript is incomplete, and the pagination ends at 74, then a separate pagination starts and continues up to 54. It is a paper manuscript written in what can be called “Jammu-Devanāgarī” script (Picture 1). The final rubric reads *kṛtir mahopādhyāya-bhaṭṭatrayaiśvaramantraputrasya tatrabhavataḥ paṇḍitabhṭṭaśrīśobhākaramitrasya*. The colophon after the final rubric reads *śrīśrīvaśarmaputreṇa prajñālavavatā mayā ratnākaraḥbidhaḥ pauṣe laṃkāro likhitaḥ śubhaḥ*, so we know that the scribe is the son of a Śrīvaśarman, and he copied this text in Pauṣa month. The manuscript is well preserved and contains both *sūtra*-s and *vṛtti*-s. The date of copying is unknown, but we may suppose that it was produced in late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

In  $J_A$ , *sa* and *ma* appear similar in many occasions, and we can only determine the correct one with the help of the context. In some cases, *pa* is also written in a similar way as that of *sa* and *ma*. The “Jammu-Devanāgarī” script with thick strokes also makes the identification of each letter more difficult. The sign of the vowel *e* and *o* can be misplaced in some cases, as in the sentence *anayoś ca hatverthasya yadāder upadānāc chābdam sādhanatvam*, where *hatverthasya* should be corrected to *hetvarthasya*. *Akṣara*-s of nasal consonants are in most cases replaced by *anusvāra*. Full stop of sentence is denoted by blank space in most places, as we can see in the first, second, eighth, ninth and twelfth lines

of Picture 1, and in the remaining cases denoted by single or double *daṇḍa*-s (vertical strokes denoting the end of a sentence). The omission of initial vowel is not denoted by *avagraha* or any other sign. When a line ends with an independent vowel *akṣara* which is the initial of an independent word, this vowel is denoted with a short vertical stroke on its lower right, as we can see at the end of the eighth and the twelfth lines.



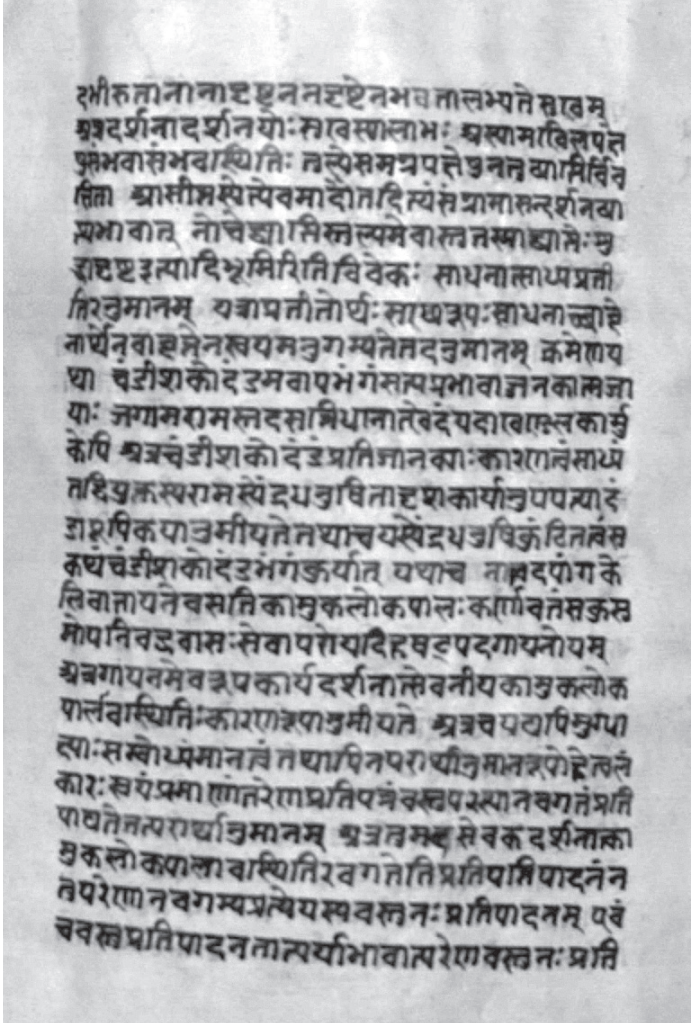
**Picture 1:** Folio 9v2 (83v) of *J<sub>A</sub>*. Content: The rhetorical figures of *samādhi* (promotion) and *arthāntaranyāsa* (poetical substantiation)<sup>3</sup>.

## 2.2 *J<sub>0</sub>*: MS preserved at the Rajasthan Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur

The title of this manuscript given on the cover is *Alaṅkāraratnākara*. It is documented in Jinavijaya (1968), pp. 370–371, catalogue number 7043 E, deposit number 11105. According to the information provided by Jinavijaya, its size is 17.4×24.9 cm and it consists of totally 121 folios. Each

3 This term is difficult to translate. Gerow 1971 suggests the translation “introduction of another matter” or “apodixis”, but both do not thoroughly cover the extent of this figure. For Śobhākara, the core of this figure is a substantiation (*samarthana*) of a general case by means of a specific one, so only the appellation “substantiation” is not enough to fully describe it. Here I translate it as “poetical substantiation”, but it may be better to keep it untranslated. As a matter of fact, different figures of speech have different meanings for different authors, so it is impossible to find a translation that fits all versions of a single figure.





Picture 2: Folio 83r of  $J_0$ . Content: The ending of the section of *vyāpti* (universal pervasion), the definition and explanation of *anumāna* (poetical inference).

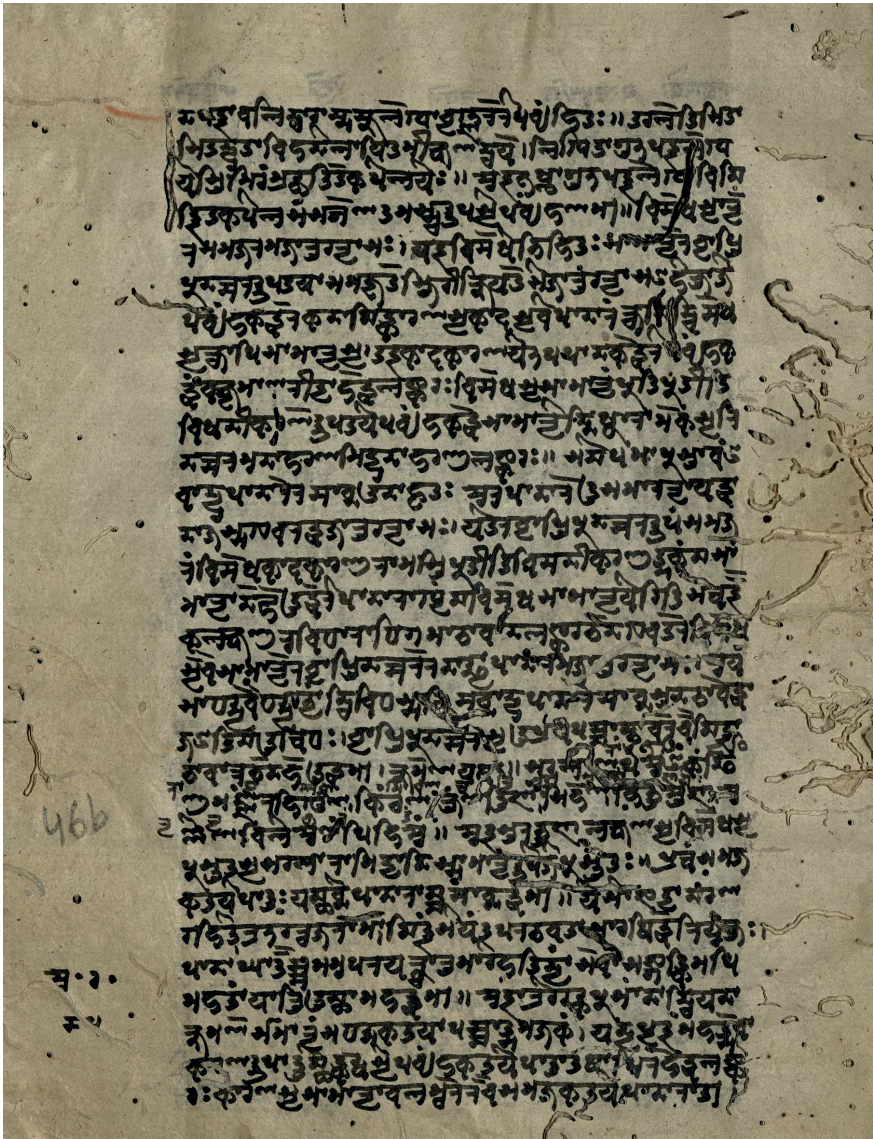
folio contains 24 lines, and each line contains 18 to 20 *akṣara*-s. The manuscript is complete. It is a paper manuscript written in Devanāgarī script. The final rubric reads *kṛtir mahopādhyāyabhaṭṭatrayīśvaramitraputrasya tatrabhavataḥ paṇḍitabhaṭṭaśrīśobhākaramitrasya*. The colophon after the final rubric reads *śrīśrīvaśarmaputreṇa prajñālavavatā mayā ratnākarābhidhaḥ poṣe laṃkāro likhitaḥ śubhaḥ*. The manuscript is well preserved and contains both *sūtra*-s and *vṛtti*-s. The date of copying is unknown, but Jinavijaya suggests that the text was copied in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The catalogue documents the name of the scribe as Śrīvaśarmaputra.

Like the situation in  $J_A$ , *sa*, *ma* and *pa* are also mixed up in  $J_O$ . The Devanāgarī script in this manuscript shows thick strokes, which also makes the identification of similar *akṣara*-s difficult (Picture 2). The sign of the vowel *e* and *o* can be misplaced in some cases. *na* and *la* can also be mistaken in some cases. *akṣara*-s of nasal consonants are in most cases replaced by *anusvāra*. Full stop of sentence is denoted by blank space. Omission of initial vowel is not denoted with *avagraha* or any other sign.

### 2.3 $K_O$ : MS preserved at the Asiatic Society, Kolkata

The title of this manuscript given on the cover is *Alaṅkāratnākarah*. It is documented in Shāstrī (1931), p. 429, catalogue number 4855, deposit number G 1553. Shāstrī mentions that “Yaśaskara wrote the Devī-stotra for illustrating each of the *sūtra*-s of Śobhākara; and Ratna-kaṇṭha in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century explained how a verse of the hymn explained a *sūtra*.”<sup>4</sup> According to the curator’s record and the information in the catalogue, its size is 17×25.5 cm and it consists of totally 72 folios. Each folio contains 30 lines, and each line contains 30 *akṣara*-s. The manuscript is complete. It is a Kāśmīrā paper manuscript written in mediaeval Kāśmīrī (Śaradā) script. The final rubric reads *kṛtir mahopādhyāyabhaṭṭatrayīśvaramantraputrasya tatrabhavataḥ paṇḍitabhaṭṭaśrīśobhākaramitrasya*. The colophon after the final rubric reads *śrīśrīvaśarmaputreṇa prajñālavavatā mayā ratnākarābhidhaḥ poṣe laṃkāro likhitaḥ śubhaḥ*. The manuscript was damaged by worms, as visible in the margins of the folio shown in Picture 3, and it contains both *sūtra*-s and *vṛtti*-s. The date of copying is

4 Shāstrī 1931, p. cccxxv.



Picture 3: Folio 46v from K<sub>o</sub>. Content: The ending of the section of *samādhi*, the definition and explanation of *arthāntaranyāsa*.



unknown, but seems old. For the time being, I can only roughly give the date of copying as the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This manuscript contains plenty of marginal notes. It may have been used for studying the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*, since the marginal notes include quotations from the *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, auto-commentaries to its difficult phrases and words, corrections of *akṣara*-s, and partial *chāyā*-s (Sanskrit paraphrase) for the Prakrit verses<sup>5</sup>. Two *citrakāvya*-s (figurative poetry)<sup>6</sup> are drawn on the front cover, one being in the form of a sword, and the other in the form of a lotus. Two passages containing discussion on grammatical topics are written in the blank area between the two *citrakāvya*-s. *ḥihvāmūlīya* (the *visarga* appearing before the consonants *k* and *kh*) and *upadhmanīya* (the *visarga* appearing before the consonants *p* and *ph*) appear before *k/kh* and *p/ph* respectively instead of the normal *visarga*.

The two *citrakāvya*-s (Picture 4) are actually the first two examples of the rhetorical figure *citra* (pictorial poetry) in the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*. I decode the text contained in them as follows:

*khaḍgabandha* (sword):

*sādarā pāpahaṇe saṃcārajitasārasā |*  
*sā rātu hāsabhāsā tu mukhapadmā rasāvahā ||*  
*sā durgā pātu vo dhairyadhūtadānavasāhasā |*  
*sārasābhamukhacchāyā jitasamṭatatāmasā ||*<sup>7</sup>

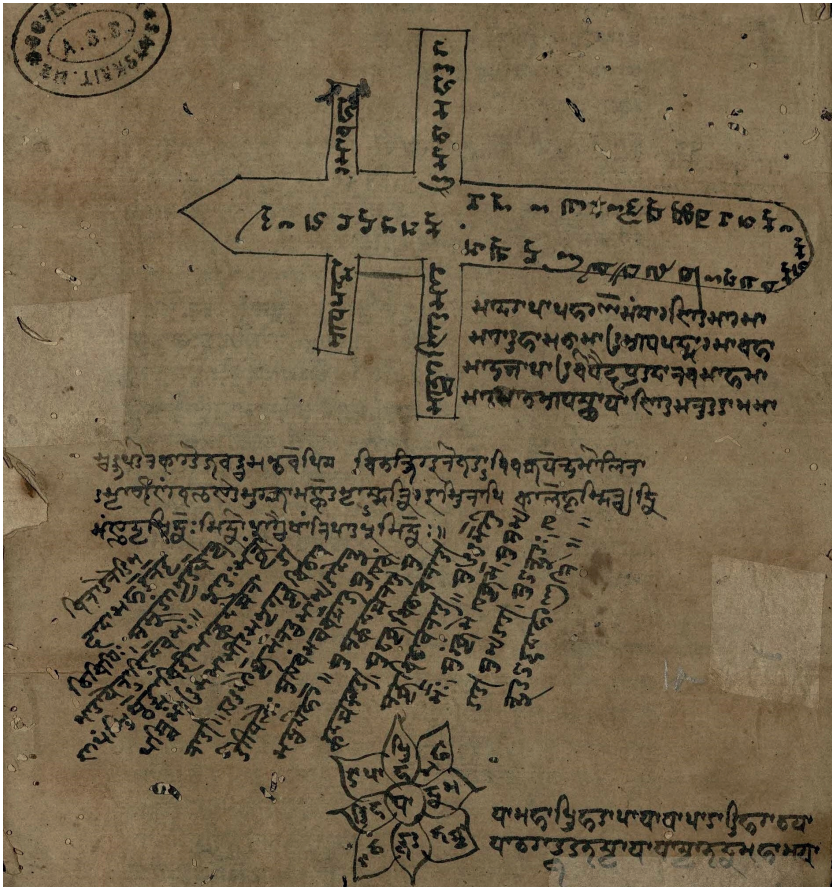
*padmabandha* (lotus):

*yā mahāptihatāpāyā yā pātārtiharābhayā |*  
*yā bharāt kṛtarucyāyā yāñcāruddhamahāmayā ||*

5 The *chāyā*-s usually appear between the lines of the main text, as we can observe in Picture 3, but in some places, they appear in the margins.

6 This term has several alternative expressions: *citra*, *citrabandha*, *bandhacitra* or simply *bandha*. Lienhard translates it as *carmen figuratum* and observes its two characteristics: one is “limiting the number of phonemes (usually consonants) in a stanza to one, two or only a few”, the other is “arranging the syllables in a definite, predetermined order” (Lienhard 1984, p. 154). Battistini states that it “can indicate both word plays in general (riddles, palindromes, tongue-twisters) and pictorial stanzas in a narrower sense” (Battistini 2014, p. 21, Śobhākara 2). In this paper, *citrakāvya* is used to denote pictorial stanzas.

7 Śobhākara puts *pāda* c and d first in the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*.



Picture 4: Front cover of  $K_0$ .

As for the *khadgabandha*, first we need to rotate it by 90 degrees with its blade directed downward. We start from the *sā* in the center of the sword, then move upward and read *da rā pā pa ha ra ṇe* on the hilt; then start from the left tip of the longer cross-guard and read *sa ṅcā ra ji ta sā ra* and come back to the centric *sā*. In this way, we get the first *pāda*. The second step also starts from the centric *sā* and continues from the right tip of the longer cross-guard, reading *rā tu hā sa bhā sā tu*, then move to the left tip of the shorter cross-guard and read *mu kha pa dmā ra sā va hā* until the right tip. In this way, we obtain the second *pāda*. The third step starts again from the centric *sā*, then we read the left side of the

blade downward until the *sā* on the tip of the blade as *sā du rgā pā tu vo dhai rya dhū ta dā na va sā ha sā*. In this way, we get the third *pāda*. The last step starts from the *sā* on the tip of the blade and reading the right side of the blade upward as *sā ra sā bha mu kha cchā yā ji ta saṃ ta ta tā ma*, and finally ends at the centric *sā*. In this way, the fourth *pāda* is also obtained.

Leveille (2017) discovers the way of deciphering the lotus graph. According to the method he explained, we need to start from the *yā* in the center, then turn to the pedal on the top right with *ma hā*, next turn to the pedal on the top middle and read *pti ha*, next turn to the pedal on the top left and read *tā pā*, and next come back to the *yā* in the middle. In this way, we obtain the first *pāda* of the *padmabandha*. The second step also starts from the *yā* in the center, then we need to move back to the pedal with *tā pā*, but read it in an opposite direction as *pā tā*; next move to the pedal on the middle left and read *rti ha*; next move to the pedal on the lower left and read *rā bha*, and move back again to the *yā* in the center. In this way, we obtain the second *pāda*. The complete procedure of reading *akṣara*-s is given in Picture 5, though the position of each pedal is different from that in Picture 4.

The two *citrakāvya*-s are constructed as separate verses, but they form one unified text. The whole text depicts a pious devotee to the goddess Durgā. In the following translation, I put the lotus-formed *citrakāvya* before the sword-formed *citrakāvya*, and place the second part of the sword-formed *citrakāvya* before the first part, as Śobhākara does in the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*.

Leveille only provides the translation of the verse contained in the lotus graph, which runs as follows:

She who kills misfortune by means of her auspiciousness  
 She who fearlessly removes pain with a strike<sup>8</sup>  
 She, the one who fully manifests the arrival of light  
 And she, the one who hinders great sickness by means of her  
 inclination<sup>9</sup>

8 Leveille's interpretation of *pātārtiharābhayā* is presumably as a compound: *yā pātānām ārtihare abhayā* (with *abhayā* as an adjective). This should be translated as follows: she who is fearless in the removal of suffering from calamities. One could also read *pātārtiharābhayā* as two words.

9 Leveille 2017, p. 18.





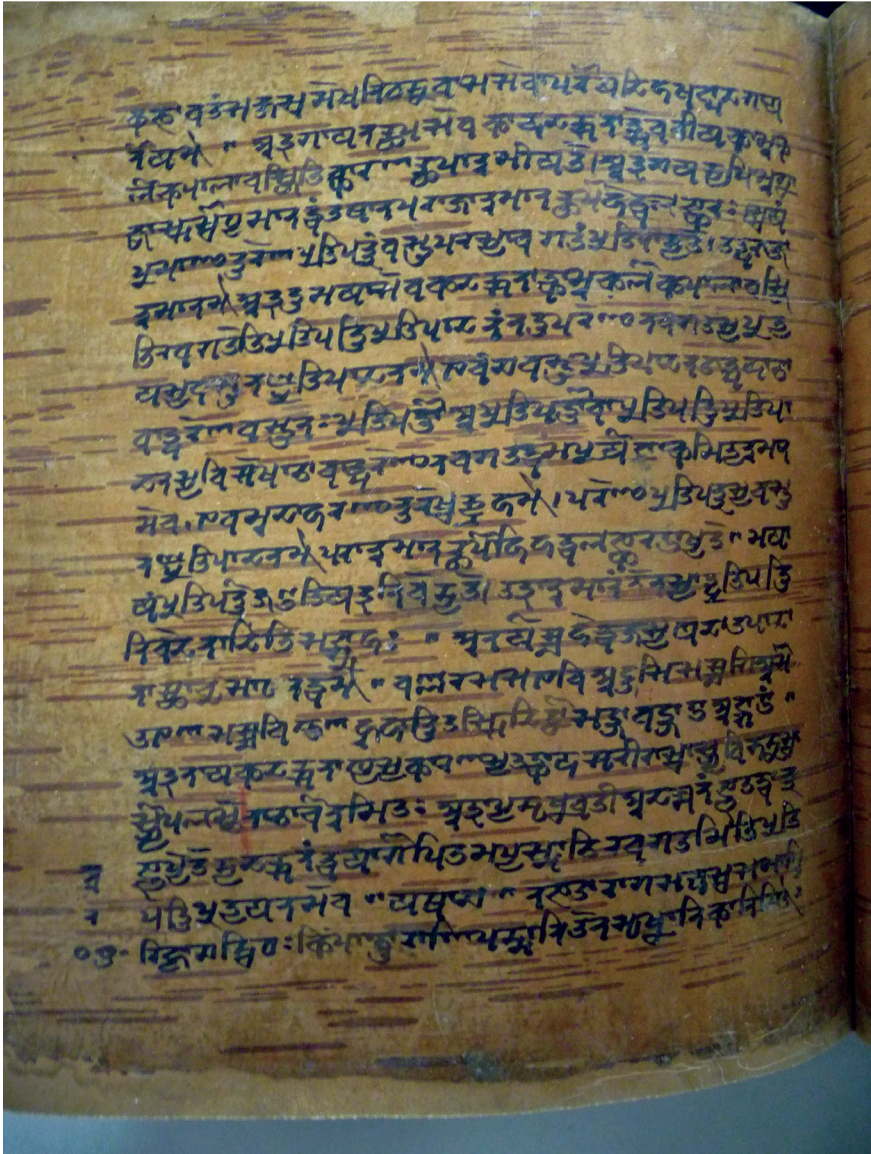
## 2.4 O<sub>x</sub>: MS preserved at the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, England

The title of this manuscript given on the spine is Śobhākareśvaramitra's *Alaṅkāratnākara*. It is documented in Winternitz and Keith (1905), pp. 142–143, catalogue number 1162 (1–5), shelf number MS Sansk d. 87. The manuscript forms the main part of a larger collection which consists of five different texts: a fragment of the seventh act of the *Abhijñānaśakuntala*; the *Alaṅkāratnākara*; a fragment of the *Kāmasūtra* and a commentary; a fragment of the *Śabdavyāparavicāra* of Mammaṭa; and part of the *chāyā* for the Prakrit verses in the *Alaṅkāratnākara*. This last section starts from the Prakrit verses under the twenty-fourth figure *pratīpa* to those under the sixty-eighth figure *udreka*. According to the information in the catalogue, the size of this manuscript is 8.75×9.625 inches (circa 22.2×24.5 cm). Folio number are written up to 163, but folios 1 to 41 are lost, and folio 79 is doubled, so it really consists of totally 127 folios. Several folios are seriously damaged. Each folio contains 21 lines, and each line contains 25 *akṣara*-s (Picture 6). The *Alaṅkāratnākara* starts from folio 49v and ends on folio 156r, and it is complete. The manuscript is made of birch bark and written in Śāradā script. The final rubric of the *Alaṅkāratnākara* reads *ḥrtir mahopādhyāyaṇḍitabhāṭṭa-trayīśvaramitraputrasya tatrābhavataḥ ṇḍitabhāṭṭaśrīśobhākareśvaramittrasya*. The colophon after the final rubric reads *iti śubhaṃ | śrīr astu || aśuddhatvam ādarśadoṣāt | śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ || om namas sarasvatyai*. The manuscript is generally in good condition and it contains both *sūtra*-s and *vṛtti*-s of the *Alaṅkāratnākara*. The date of copying is written on the last line of folio 49r, which reads *saṃ 52 pau śuti 11 gurau*. This corresponds to January the 14<sup>th</sup>, 1677 A.D.<sup>10</sup> Winternitz and Keith give 1676 A.D. as the time of copying.

This manuscript has been discussed and analyzed in Vasudeva (2016). Judged from the handwriting style, the *Abhijñānaśakuntala* and the *Alaṅkāratnākara* seem to have been written by one hand, the *Kāmasūtra* and the *Śabdavyāparavicāra* seem to have been written by another hand, and the *chāyā* for the Prakrit verses was written by a third hand.<sup>11</sup>

10 Vasudeva 2016, p. 500. See Sewell & Bālkriṣṇa Dīkṣit 1896 and Sircar 1965 for the rules of date calculation.

11 See Vasudeva 2016, pp. 499–500; Winternitz and Keith 1905, p. 142.



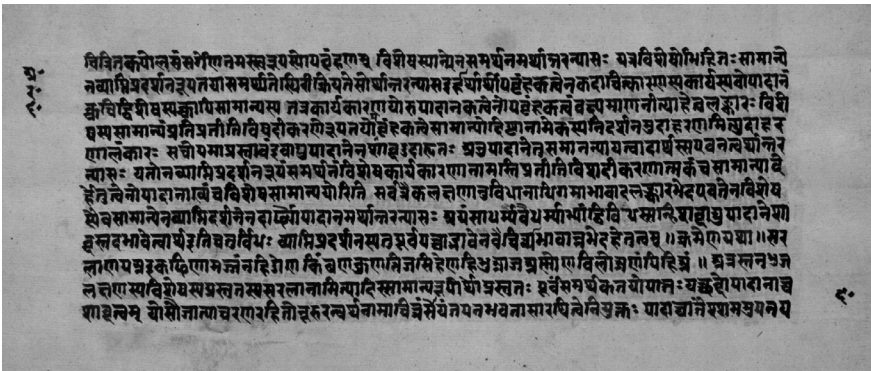
Picture 6: Folio 120v from O<sub>x</sub>. Content: The examples and explanations of *anumāna*.

*Jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* appear before *k/kh* and *p/ph* respectively instead of the normal *visarga*.

2.5 P<sub>D</sub>: MS preserved at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune

The title of this manuscript given on the cover is *Alaṃkāraratnākara*. It is documented in Gode (1936), pp. 15–16, catalogue number 227/1875–76. According to the information therein, its size is 14×6 inches (around 35.6×15.2 cm) and it consists of totally 94 folios. Folios 92 to 101 are missing. Each folio contains 12 lines, and each line contains 52 *akṣara*-s (Picture 7). The manuscript is incomplete. It is a paper manuscript written in Devanāgarī script. The final rubric reads *kr̥tir mahopādhyāyabhaṭṭatrayīśvaramantraputrasya tatrabhavataḥ paṇḍitabhaṭṭaśrīśobhākaramitrasya*. The colophon after the final rubric reads *śrīśrīvaśarmaputreṇa prajñālavavatā mayā ratnākaraḥbidhaḥ poṣe laṃkāro likhitaḥ śubhaḥ*. The manuscript is well preserved and contains both *sūtra*-s and *vṛtti*-s. The date of copying is unknown, but Gode believes that it is not old. I presume that the date of copying may be late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This manuscript is used by Devadhar as the main source of his edition. It also contains plentiful marginal notes. The *akṣara*-s *sa*, *ma* and *pa* may confuse readers and curators of the manuscript because of their similar appearance, but not as frequent as the conditions in J<sub>A</sub> and J<sub>O</sub>.



Picture 7: Folio 60v from P<sub>D</sub>. Content: The rhetorical figure of *samādhi* and *arthāntaranyāsa*.

## 2.6 P<sub>5</sub>: MS preserved at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune

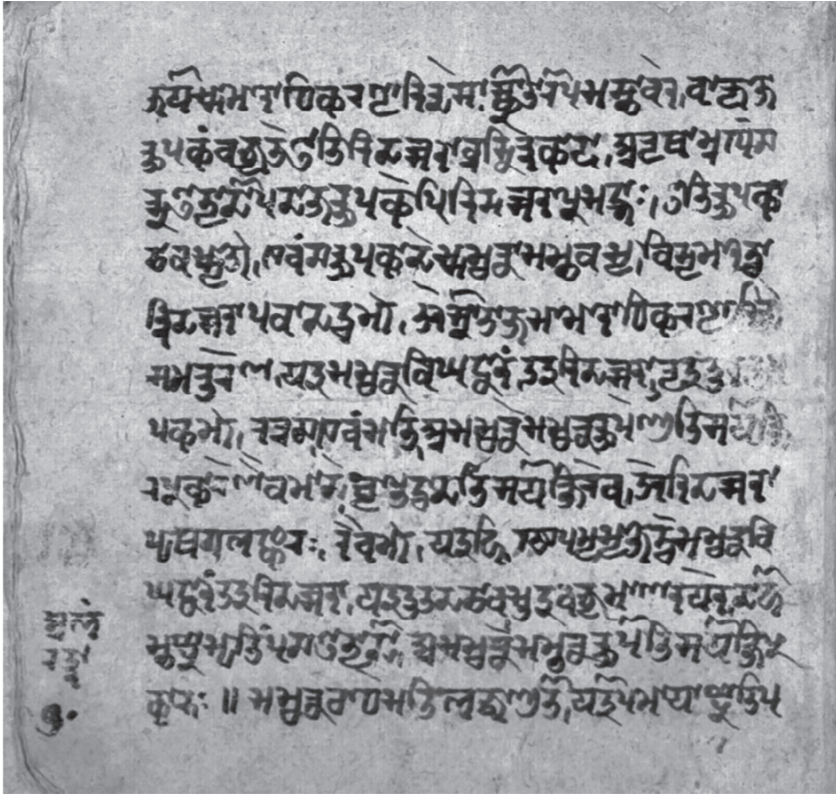
The title of this manuscript given on the cover is *Alaṃkāraratnākara*. It is documented in Gode (1936), p. 15, catalogue number 227A/1875–76. The manuscript forms one part of a larger collection which consists of the following rhetorical treatises: *Alaṃkārasarvasva* (1v–110r), *Alaṃkārasarvasvasūtrāṇi* (110v–113v), *Alaṃkāraratnākarasūtrāṇi* (113v–117v), *Alaṃkāraratnākaraṣṭakāṅkṛtagāthāsaṃskṛtikaraṇam* (118r–134v), *Alaṃkāravimarśinī* (separate pagination 1v–255r), and *Alaṃkāraratnākara* (separate pagination 2v–23r). The *Alaṃkāraratnākara* in this collection is fragmentary, starting from the middle of the *vṛtti* of the first rhetorical figure *punaruktavadābhāsa* (“seeming tautology”) and ends with the first sentence of the *vṛtti* of the twentieth rhetorical figure *vinoda* (“relief of eagerness”). According to the information in the catalogue, the size of this manuscript is 7.25×7.25 inches (circa 18.4×18.4 cm). The manuscript is made of country paper and written in Śāradā script. The explicit reads *anyāsaṅgāt kautukavinodo vinodaḥ || asannihite ’nubhūte ’nanubhūte ’pi vābhilaṣyamāne rthe praticchanda*. The manuscript is generally in good condition, but some passages are comparably vague due to the fade of ink. All manuscripts in the collection are combined together with a leather cover. The date of copying of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara* is not mentioned, but the explicit of the *Alaṃkāraratnākarasūtrāṇi* gives the date as *saṃvat 15 śrāvati aṣṭamyāṃ śanivāsare*. This era is presumably the *Saptarṣi* era widely used in Kashmir. Characteristically, this era does not indicate centuries. By using the *Pancanga* 3.14 provided by M. Yano,<sup>12</sup> we arrive at three possible dates: August the 2<sup>nd</sup> in A.D. 1439, August the 21<sup>st</sup> in A.D. 1639 and September the 1<sup>st</sup> in A.D. 1839. If one judges from Picture 8 given below, the last date seems the most probable.

The *Alaṃkārasarvasvasūtrāṇi* and the *Alaṃkāraratnākaraṣṭakāṅkṛtagāthāsaṃskṛtikaraṇam* were utilized by Devadhar for reconstructing the lost passages in P<sub>D</sub>,<sup>13</sup> but it seems that he was not aware of the rest of the whole collection. Two *citrakāvya*-s are attached after the explicit on the last folio (Picture 9), which are generally the same as those in K<sub>O</sub>.

12 <https://www.cc.kyoto-su.ac.jp/~yanom/pancanga/>.

13 See Devadhar 1942, p. iii.



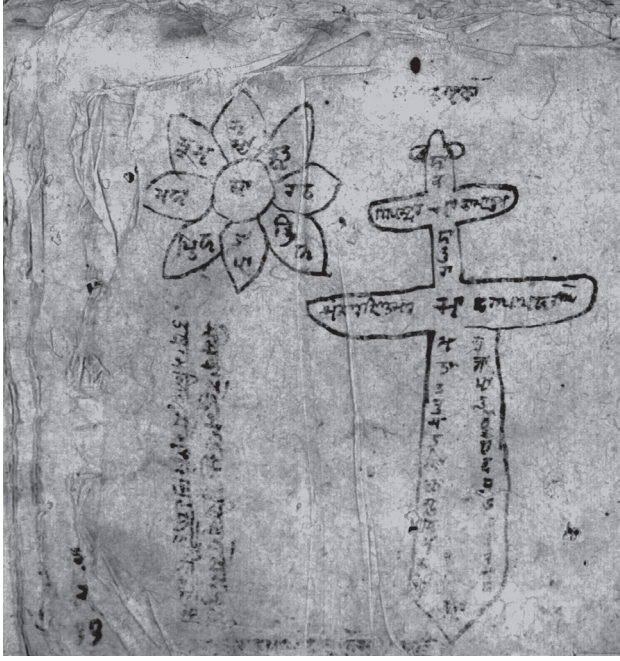


Picture 8: Folio 20v from P<sub>5</sub>. Content: The examples and explanations of the figure *nidarśanā* (negative illustration<sup>14</sup>).

2.7 V<sub>A</sub>: MS preserved at the Sarasvati Bhavan Library, Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi

The title of this manuscript given by the curator is *Alaṅkāraṭnākarah*. It is documented in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Acquired for and Deposited in the Sanskrit University Library (Sarasvati Bhavana), Varanasi, during the years 1791–1950*, Vol. 11, pp. 78–79, catalogue number 41264. According to the information therein, its size is 91×4, without unit of length. It consists of totally 253 folios, but folio 1

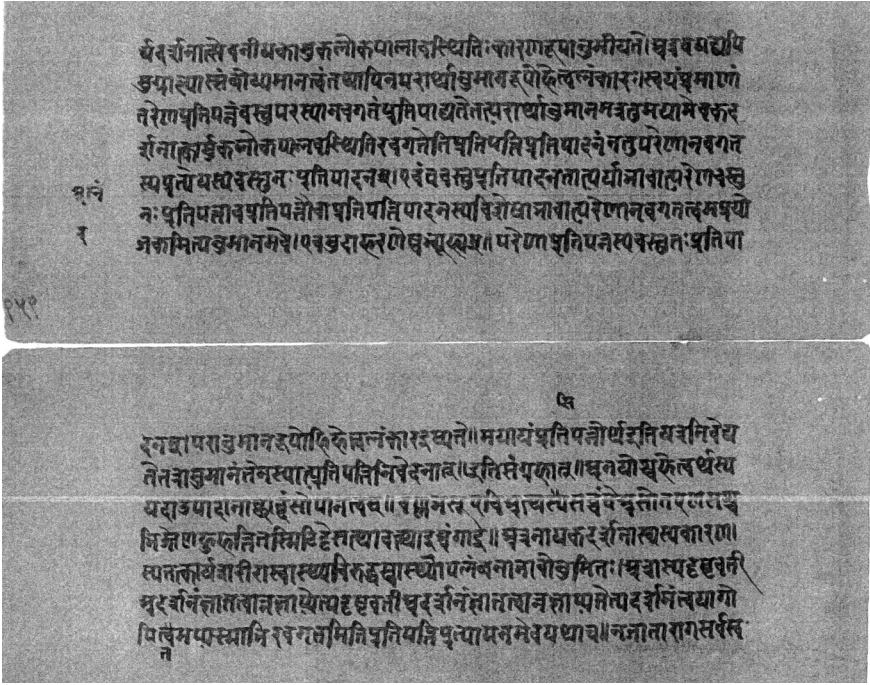
14 I follow the translation of this rhetorical figure in Gerow 1971, p. 202.



**Picture 9:** The last folio of  $P_s$ , containing the same two *citrakāvya*-s as in  $K_o$ .

and folios after 254 are missing. Each folio contains 7 lines, and each line contains 29 to 32 *akṣara*-s (Picture 10). The manuscript is incomplete. It is a paper manuscript written in Devanāgarī script. The explicit reads *vipphu || visphuritāratnena kaustubhena śobhā yasya taṃ visphuritaratnaśobham | vilāsenā pītam aṃbaram yasya taṃ vilāsapītāmbaram | sahavanamālayāmuṣyapattram ayyāvartate yas taṃ sava*, which is the *chāyā* and explanation for Prakrit verses in the *Alaṃkāratnākara*. The manuscript is well preserved and contains both *sūtra*-s and *vṛtti*-s, but some folios show traces of water stains. The date of copying is unknown, but we may suppose it to be late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This manuscript contains marginal notes and corrections. The *Alaṃkāratnākara* in this manuscript does not contain its first folio. Its final rubric on folio 237r reads *kṛtir mahopādhyāyapaṇḍitabhaṭṭaśrītrayaīśvaramitraputrasya tatrabhavataḥ paṇḍitabhaṭṭaśrīśobhākareśvaramittrasya*. After the *Alaṃkāratnākara*, I find the following additional contents: 6 verses praising Viṣṇu and Śiva (237v to 238r), a complete *sūtrapāṭha* of the



Picture 10: Folios 151v and 152r from V<sub>A</sub>. Content: The examples and explanations of *anumāna*.

*Alaṃkāraratnākara* (238v to 242r), and an incomplete *Alaṃkāraratnākare prākṛtagāthānām saṃskṛtikaraṇam* (“Sanskrit translation of the Prakrit verses given in the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*”) which ends in the middle of the commentary to a Prakrit verse under the rhetorical figure *vikalpa* (option from two opposite alternatives). I transliterate and translate the 6 praising verses as follows:

*yasyaikasyaiva doṣṇām jayati daśaśatī sāvayō dvāri rudraḥ  
 kāragāre surāṇām patir api ca śacī cāmaravyagrahastā |  
 kanyā tasyaivam ekā rajanīcarapater eṣa śuddhāmtam eko  
 bālo niḥśaṃkam asyāḥ praviśati ca namas tejase vaiṣṇavāya<sup>15</sup>  
 || 1 ||  
 (Metre: Sragdharā)*

15 This verse can be found in the *Alaṃkāravimarśinī*, within the commentary to the rhetorical figure *parikara* (entourage of attributes).



The unique one (i.e., Bāṇāsura), whose one thousand arms are triumphant, he at whose door Rudra together with retinue is [standing guard], he in whose prison [languish] the lord of gods (i.e., Indra) and Śacī, turning the chowrie in her hand; this lord of *rākṣasa*-s (i.e., Bāṇāsura) has one daughter (i.e., Uṣā); and one boy (i.e., Aniruddha) fearlessly enters her harem.<sup>16</sup> Homage to the glory of Viṣṇu!

*vajraṃ mālyati kuṭṭimaty atha sarinnāthaḥ phaṇī hārati  
śrīkhaṇḍaty analo marud vipinaty dhvāṃtaṃ tamīkāṃtati |  
pīyūṣaty apī kālakūṭam upalo ratnaty arir mitrati  
śvabhraṃ harmyati yady asau bhava bhavatpādāravindha(sic!)  
stutiḥ || 2 ||*

(Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍitam)

Lightning is like a garland, the ocean looks like stucco (resembling milk-ocean because of white color), serpents act like [pearl] necklaces, fire resembles sandalwood, storm wind behaves like a swaying forest, darkness acts like the moon, even poison acts like nectar, rock looks like jewel, enemies act like friends, cliffs look like palaces. If, oh Śiva, this praise to your lotus-feet (*pādāravinda*) [is recited], then [these miracles will take place]!

*paryāṃke gahane vane sapavane kūle jale sīmani  
vyomni svairiṇi yāṃni<sup>17</sup> dhanvani phale mūle dale kandale |  
vyāle maṃtriṇi potriṇi dviradane kiṭe kva tena sthitis  
tenodgaccha kuto pi darśaya mukhaṃ śambho nibaddho ṃjaliḥ  
|| 3 ||*

(Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍitam)

On a bed, in an abyss, in a forest, in the wind, on a shore, in the water, on the boundary, in the sky, in an independent process of going/independent invocation, in a fruit, in a root, on a leaf, on the cheek, in a tiger, in a minister/an enchanter,

16 The story of Uṣā, daughter of Bāṇāsura, and Aniruddha is narrated in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Skandha 10, Chapter 61–63. See also Mani 1975, p. 43.

17 Should be corrected to *dhāṃni*?

in a boar, in an elephant, in a worm: where do you not exist?  
Therefore, come forth from wherever you are and show your  
face, oh Śambhu! [My] hands are formed in salutation [to you].

*kaḥ śrīkhaṇḍataruṃ vihāya bhajate saktiṃ karīrāmtike  
kas tyaktvā pīkahumkṛtāni kurute kākadhvaniṃ karṇayoḥ |  
kaṃthe kācalalantikāṃ diśati ko nirmucya muktāvaliṃ  
hitvā tvāṃ śāsikhaṇḍaśekhara paraṃ lokaḥ śrayaty atra kam  
|| 4 ||*

(Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍitam)

Who, scorning the sandal wood tree, enjoys being near the  
*karīra*-shrub?

Who, turning away from the cooing of cuckoos, gives ear to  
the sound of crows?

Who, discarding a pearl necklace, displays a necklace of glass  
beads on his neck?

Except you, on whom the whole world depends, oh you whose  
crown is the digit of the moon?

*āsvādagandhadhavalatvaguṇā yathaiva  
nābhedato na ca pṛthag ghanasārakhaṇḍe |  
nityas tathā paramadhāmani poṣhurīti  
ko py eṣa devagurumaṃtramayas taramgaḥ || 5 ||*

(Metre: Vasantatilakam)

This eternal, inconceivable wave consisting of gods, precep-  
tors and sacred words (*mantra*), shines forth repeatedly in the  
supreme domain, neither [three elements] in amalgam nor  
separately, just as the qualities of refreshing power (literally  
tasting), fragrance and whiteness [existing] in the wood of the  
camphor tree.

*ekayā dve viniścīya trīṃś caturbhir vaśīkuru |  
pañca jītvā vīditvā ṣaṭ sapta jītvā sukhībhava || 6 ||*

(Metre: Anuṣṭubh)

*ekayā prajñayā dve kāryākārye viniścīya trīn śatrumitra-  
madhyasthān catu*

Discriminating the two (Right and wrong) by means of the one (Intellect), bring under thy subjection the three (Friend, stranger, foe) by means of four (Conciliation, gift, disunion and severity), and also conquering the five (Five senses) and knowing the six (Treaty, war, etc.), and abstaining from the seven (Women, dice, hunting, harshness of *speech*, drinking, severity of punishment, waste of wealth), be happy.<sup>18</sup>

Discriminating by means of the one, *i.e.*, by intellect, the two, *i.e.*, right and wrong. The three [means] friends, stranger, and foe. [By means of] four...

### 3. Observations

Here I provide some observations concerning the relationship between these manuscripts according to my experience in making a critical edition of selected sections of the *Alaṃkāratnākara*.

#### 3.1 Similarity of $J_A$ and $J_O$

In comparison to other manuscripts, these two share similar readings in most passages. Both manuscripts mix up *sa* and *ma* on many occasions, and in some cases even mix them up with *pa*. As for the different readings between  $J_A$  and  $J_O$ , a number of them are due to the similarity of cursive writing of letters (e.g., *na* and *la*), wrong placement of vowel signs and the loss of *anusvāra*. The scripts used in these two manuscripts with thick strokes also makes the identification of each letter more difficult. It is possible that they come from one group of the transmission of the *Alaṃkāratnākara*.

#### 3.2 Common points of $K_O$ and $P_D$

Except for *akṣara*-s and ligatures with similar appearances, which have been pointed out by Slaje,<sup>19</sup>  $K_O$  shares in most places the same marginal

18 I use the translation and the interpretations given in Sternbach 1980, p. 1881. See there for its source.

19 Slaje 1993, pp. 43–45.

notes as those in  $\mathbf{P}_D$ . The content includes the explanation of the current text, the demonstration of other relating figures and Ruyyaka's opinion in the *Alaṃkārasarvasva*. I take the following two pictures (11 and 12) as examples:

As is visible in the two pictures, there are three different marginal notes to the main text. I transliterate them as follows (Picture 12):

*anyatra **saṅkhyāniyame pūrvam chekānuprāsaḥ** || (*Alaṃkārasarvasva* 4)*

***sarpa sarpa liṅga liṅga** ity atra arpa arpa iṅga iṅga iti **dva-yoḥ dvayoḥ svaravyanjanasamudāyayoḥ sāmīyam** || (*Alaṃkāraratnākara* 3)*

***vyañjanamātrasamudāyayor veti vāśabdodāharaṇam āha** | **kim vāṣpeti** atra binduvṛnde ity atra vyañjanamātrasamudāyayor va sāmīyam | na tu (Picture 11 reads tu na) vyañjanasamudāyayoḥ | yataḥ pūrvadvike ikāra ukārayoḥ svarayoḥ samudāyaḥ | dvitīyadvike ṛkāra ekārayoḥ iti svaravaisādrśyam | vyañjanadvayasamudāyasya tu na kiñcid sādṛśyam | bindu ity atra yathā nakāra vakārayoḥ samudāyaḥ tathā vṛnda ity atrāpi anayoḥ eveti bhāvah ||*

Content in bold is directly quoted from the *Alaṃkārasarvasva* and the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*. The first marginal note quotes from the *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, and the second and the third are commentaries to the rhetorical figure *chekānuprāsa* (alliteration of similar pair sounds) in the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*. These notes imply that their author is probably a learned scholar well-versed in Sanskrit rhetorics. In addition, the readings in  $\mathbf{K}_O$  and  $\mathbf{P}_D$  usually agree with each other, though in some cases we observe differences such as wrong spelling of vowels or consonants. Therefore, on the basis of these two points, we can make a supposition that  $\mathbf{K}_O$  and  $\mathbf{P}_D$  form a separate group in the transmission of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*.

### 3.3 Features of $\mathbf{O}_X$ and $\mathbf{V}_A$

$\mathbf{O}_X$  is quite unique with regard to other manuscripts because of the following two features: firstly, it is the only manuscript made of birch bark, which means that it is comparatively old; secondly, it contains extra contents which can help improve the readings in Devadhar's edition and reconstruct lost passages therein, although it sometimes does not help



much and even makes mistakes. The common point of  $O_x$  and  $V_A$  is that when editing the sections of *arthāntaranyāsa*, *anumāna* and *hetu* (poetical reason), I find that  $V_A$  and  $O_x$  usually provide the best candidate readings to improve Devadhar's edition when these two manuscripts read the same or similar. This demonstrates the possibility that they come down to scholars from the same "ancestor". Therefore, they can also form a separate group in the transmission of the text. Here I take the last part of the section on *hetu* as the example.

In my critical edition, this passage should read *kvacit tu parimlānaṃ pīnastanetyādaṃ nāṭakādiṣu nūnam ityādyabhāve 'pi prakaraṇādīvaśena svayaṃ parāmarśaniścayād anumānam eva | evaṃ ca na jātā rāgasarvasvetyādaṃ svaparāmarśaniścaye hetvalaṅkāro 'yukta iti ||*.  $O_x$  and  $V_A$  read exactly the same, except that  $V_A$  mistakes *pīnastanetyādaṃ* as *pīnastanetrādaṃ*.  $J_o$  reads basically the same, but with more minor mistakes.  $J_A$ ,  $K_o$ ,  $P_D$  and Devadhar's edition do not contain the content from *nāṭakādiṣu* to *rāgasarvasvetyādaṃ*.<sup>20</sup> The extra content here actually has a close connection to its previous context because there Śobhākara is explaining the difference between *anumāna* and *hetu*. For examples of *anumāna*, the use of words such as *nūnam* (now, at present) and *jāne* (I know) is optional, and the key point is that these examples must contain an ascertainment of one's own reflection (*svaparāmarśaniścaya*). If this ascertainment does not exist, such example can only be a case of *hetu*. The verse starting with *parimlānaṃ pīnastana*<sup>21</sup> does contain the ascertainment of the speaker's

20 The skipped portion is a "saut du même au même" from *pīnastanetyādaṃ* to *rāgasarvasvetyādaṃ* because both contain *-etyādaṃ*, which can easily cause eye skip. This is a good reason to consider grouping  $J_A$ ,  $K_o$ ,  $P_D$  together. I would like to appreciate the anonymous reviewer for his/her suggestion of the term "saut du même au même".

21 *Ratnāvalīnāṭikā* 2.13: *parimlānaṃ pīnastanaḥḥaṇasaṅgād ubhayatas tanor madhyasyāntaḥ parimilanaṃ aprāpya haritaṃ | idaṃ vyastanyāsaṃ ślathabhujalātākṣepavalanaiḥ kṛśāṅgyāḥ saṃtāpaṃ vadati nalinīpatraśayanam ||*

This bed of lotus-leaves, withered on both sides owing to the contact of her stout breasts and hips, green (in the middle), not having come in close touch with her slender waist, and with its arrangement disordered by the tossings and turnings of her drooping creeper-like arms, tells of the torment of the slim-bodied one. (Translated by Kále, 1925, p. 25 of the English translation section.)



reflection;<sup>22</sup> so is the verse starting with *na jātā rāgasarvasva*,<sup>23</sup> quoted in the main text of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*. Therefore, even though we do not find words such as *nūnam* and *jāne* in these two verses, they are definitely cases of *anumāna*, not of *hetu*. However, Devadhar's edition reads *kvacit tu parimlānaṃ pīnastanetyādaḥ svaparāmarśāniścaye hetvalaṅkāro yukta iti*, which is a wrong analysis of the verse.

### 3.4 Features of P<sub>5</sub>

This collection of the six manuscripts is particularly valuable in that it includes the polemics among the three aforementioned texts, the *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, the *Alaṃkāraratnākara* and the *Alaṃkāravimarśinī*. However, as has been mentioned previously, Devadhar only utilized the *Alaṃkāraratnākarasūtrāṇi* and the *Alaṃkāraratnākaraṣṭāgāthāsamskṛtikaraṇam* in this collection to reconstruct the missing passages and improve the readings in the P<sub>D</sub>.

Consequently, an important point that has not been noticed by Devadhar is that if one carefully compares the subtly different handwriting, it is clear that this collection is made up of three sections, each copied by a different scribe. The *Alaṃkārasarvasva*, the *Alaṃkārasarvasvasūtrāṇi* and the *Alaṃkāraratnākarasūtrāṇi* form the first section, and they share a continuous pagination. The *Alaṃkāraratnākaraṣṭāgāthāsamskṛtikaraṇam* and the *Alaṃkāravimarśinī* can be grouped together as the second section due to their graphic similarity. The *Alaṃkāraratnākara* alone form the third section.

The first folio of the *Alaṃkāravimarśinī* provides us with a specific date of copying, *saṃ 6 āṣāḍha śuti 12 bhau re*, i.e., in the year 6 of the *Saptarṣi* era, on the twelfth day in the waxing fortnight of Āṣāḍha month, Tuesday. This corresponds to June the 27<sup>th</sup>, 1730 A.D. (June the 16<sup>th</sup> in Julian). This date is different from any of the three possible dates of copying given in the description of P<sub>5</sub> (August the 2<sup>nd</sup> in A.D. 1439,

22 The context is that the Vidūṣaka tells the king his analysis of the heroine's love-sickness according to the situation on her bed, and the king, already aware of the Vidūṣaka's speech and the situation on the bed, makes a detailed self-ascertainment. Therefore, it is a case of *anumāna* for Śobhākara.

23 *Alaṃkāraratnākara* 78, v. 419: *na jātā rāgasarvasvasamāptir iha ced vidheḥ | kim pāṇḍurāṇi padmāni tena sṛṣṭāni kānicit ||*.



August the 21<sup>st</sup> in A.D. 1639 and September the 1<sup>st</sup> in A.D. 1839). Therefore, I presume that the three sections were copied separately, then the combination of the three sections happened at some time after Devadhar produced his edition.

#### 4. Conclusion

On the basis of the above analyses and observations, it is clear that  $J_A$ ,  $J_O$ ,  $K_O$  and  $P_D$  all contain the reference to the same scribe: the son of Śrīvaśarman. I presume that the passage with the reference to the scribe was copied from an apograph by all these manuscripts or one of them is the apograph for the others, either directly or indirectly. As for  $J_O$ , however, it is not a copy of this apograph because it contains the extra part of the *anumāna* section skipped by the other three. Its position in the stemma of manuscripts remains unclear for the time being, but it is no doubt crucial for reconstructing the stemma. Therefore, if we only take the sections of *anumāna* and *hetu* into consideration,  $J_A$ ,  $K_O$  and  $P_D$  can form a separate group in the transmission of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara*.  $O_X$  and  $V_A$  can form the second group based on the similarity of features described above. Yet, to locate  $P_Ś$  has not been an easy task so far, since its features deserve further investigations. I presume that since the *Alaṃkārasarvasva* and the *Alaṃkāravimarśinī* are transmitted together with the *Alaṃkāraratnākara* in the collection that includes  $P_Ś$ , this collection was probably intended for studying the theoretical difference between all the three Sanskrit rhetorical treatises by organizing them together chronologically for remembrance and comparison. The mysteries about the manuscripts of the *Alaṃkāraratnākara* can be solved only after the relation between the witnesses is discovered, especially by collating other parts of the text and finding more similar connecting errors. This will be one of the goals of my future research.

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