



SAPIENZA
UNIVERSITÀ DI ROMA

Kingship, Poetry, and Devotion
in a Medieval *Kāvya* from Kashmir:
Mañkha and His *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*

Dipartimento Italiano di Studi Orientali

Dottorato di Ricerca in Dottorato in Civiltà dell'Asia e dell'Africa
Curriculum Subcontinente Indiano – XXXII Ciclo

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September 2020



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Preface and Overview

This dissertation is a contribution to the studies of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, the “Deeds of Śrīkaṇṭha”, a court poem (*mahākāvya*) in twenty-five cantos (*sargas*), composed by the Kashmiri poet (*kavi*) Maṅkha (or Maṅkhaka) at the court of king Jayasiṃha (1128–1155 CE) and commented by Jonarāja three centuries later (15th century CE).

After Bühler’s discovery of some manuscripts of the court poem (Bühler 1877) and the publication of a printed edition in the *Kāvyaṃālā* series (1887) the attention has been brought towards a study of Maṅkha’s court poem as a precious source of historical data.

The most extensive works dedicated to Maṅkha’s *mahākāvya*, namely those of Kreyenborg (1929), Bhatt (1973) and Mandal (1991), are now quite dated. We owe to Kreyenborg the first German translation of the last canto (25th), containing the description of the literary assembly (*sabhā*) at the house of Maṅkha’s brother Alaṅkāra, whereas Bhatt and Mandal elaborated a detailed outline of the contents of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* and a general socio-cultural overview. During a twenty year break after Mandal’s study, scholars seemed to have lost interest in the poem, in its manuscript tradition and, more importantly, in the role that the poem could have played at the court of Jayasiṃha. Finally, in 2001, Pollock’s article “The Death of Sanskrit” (Pollock 2001) revived the debate around a historical reading of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Maṅkha is there mentioned as part of the generation of poets who “turn out to be Kashmir’s last” (Pollock 2001, 396) when the relationship between the *kavi* and his patron was undergoing a series of societal changes (Pollock 2001, 399). Pollock’s interpretation of Maṅkha’s poem sparked a debate (Hanneder 2002) and fueled a new wave of studies on the text. Among these, Slaje’s translation of cantos 2, 3, 14, 15 and 25 (Slaje 2015), Luther Obrock’s remarks on Jonarāja’s commentary (Obrock 2015, 72) and Kashi Gomez’s work on the third chapter of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (Gomez 2016) are certainly the most recent and valuable works.

Major parts of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, however, remain understudied, and only a thorough analysis of the text in its entirety could shed light on the problematic issues of its interpretation within the historical context as well as of the text itself,

which at times requires a re-editing. As a matter of fact, a revision of the printed editions supported by the manuscripts is needed, since the text is at times not trustworthy. A close reading of the verses reveals misspellings, wrong readings, additional variants suggested by the commentator, missing parts in Jonarāja's commentary and the like, which could undoubtedly be elucidated by the joint forces of exegesis and textual criticism.

The scope of the present research is, therefore, twofold: to assess the historical context of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* and to critically study its *mūla* text. Placing the poem in the panorama of Medieval Kashmir is essential. It is Maṅkha himself—by delineating his family's background (canto 2) and by describing the Valley (canto 3), as well as the *sabhā* (canto 25)—who invites the modern reader to interpret the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* as interlaced with its historical context. And it is again the poet who hints at his own controversial relationship with the king (Pollock 2001, 399 and fn. 16), which fuels modern academics' assumptions on the degradation of the royal policies and on a courtly scenario free from Jayasiṃha's authority. Such hypotheses have their roots in the more "historical" cantos—the aforementioned 2, 3, and 25—which, although remaining poetic in style, are more related to cultural, religious, and political components. A deeper scrutiny of other *sargas* in the poem, however, reveals the possibility of expanding our knowledge on Maṅkha's ideology of kingship and courtly culture, echoed in the more poetic sections as well.

In addition, the studies on the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* require a more philological approach, which I pursue through the collection and study of the available manuscripts and the emendation of uncertain passages. The process of critically editing the text and its commentary is still *in fieri* and, at times, redundant (Hanneder 2017). However, a survey of the manuscripts is needed in order to set the premises for future research conducted on a sound basis.

Overview of this Dissertation

The present dissertation is divided into three parts. **Part I** is dedicated to a thematic itinerary into Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, and analyzes various aspects of the poet's life as reflected in his court poem, specifically in the four cantos which are the object of this dissertation (4, 5, 6, and 17). Chapter 1 contains a literature review, namely a survey of scholarly sources partially or completely dedicated to the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Chapter 2 consists of an overview of the poet's life at the court of king Jayasiṃha, and delves into the dating and contents of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Chapter 3 is a more speculative section, and analyzes Maṅkha's relation with locality, namely how material reality is the substratum of imaginary scenarios in the four studied cantos. Chapter 4 is dedicated to Maṅkha's ideology

of kingship as emerged from the fourth and sixth cantos of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, while Chapter 5 studies the poet's views on *kāvya* and how these are explicated in his court poem. Chapter 6 examines one of the most significant themes of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, namely Maṅkha's *śaiva* devotion. Some final considerations on the themes of locality, kingship, poetry, and devotion will be addressed in the conclusive Chapter 7.

Part II contains the translation of four selected cantos, namely the "description of Kailāsa" (*kailāsavarṇana*; canto 4, chapter 9), the "description of the Lord" (*bhagavadvarṇana*; canto 5, chapter 10), the "description of the universal spring" (*sādhāraṇavasantavarṇana*; canto 6, chapter 11), and, lastly, of the "description of Śiva's meeting with the gods" (*paramēśvaradevasamāgamavarṇana*; canto 17, chapter 12). Each canto is preceded by a synopsis and accompanied by explanatory footnotes.

Part III is devoted to the philological study of the text. Chapter 13 is dedicated to a preliminary survey of all the editions and manuscript of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Chapter 14 contains the critical edition of the four selected cantos, while Chapter 15 studies the missing sections and uncertain readings in Jonarāja's commentary as contained in the printed edition of the *Kāvyaṃālā*.

Abbreviations

AHS *Aṣṭāṅgahr̥dayasaṃhitā*

AK *Amarakośa*

AS *Alaṅkārasarvasva*

AŚ *Abhijñānaśākuntala*

BĀU *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*

Eds. Editions = Śrīkaṇṭhacarita of Maṅkha in Bibliography

HV *Haravijaya*

ISK *Sāṃkhyakārikā*

IPK *Īśvarapratyabhiñākārikā*

J. comm. Jonarāja's *ṭīkā*

KA *Kirātārjunīya*

KĀ *Kāvyaḍarśa*

KM *Kāvyaṃālā*

KMī *Kāvyaṃīmāṃsā*

KP *Kūrmapurāṇa*

KS *Kumārasaṃbhava*

KSū *Kāmasūtra*

MBh *Mahābhārata*

MMK *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*

Ms. / Mss. Manuscript / Manuscripts

NS *Nyāyasūtra*

NŚ *Nāṭyaśāstra*

PDS *Padhārthadharmasaṃgraha*

PS *Paramārthasāra*

PV *Pramāṇavārttika*
Rām *Rāmāyaṇa*
RT *Rājataranṅiṇī*
RaghV *Raghuvamśa*
SĀ *Subhāṣitāvalī*
ŚKC *Śrikanṭhacarita*
ŚV *Śisupālavadhā*
TĀ *Tantrāloka*
TS *Tantrasāra*
V *Viṃśikā*
VP *Vākyapādiya*

Part I

Thematic Itinerary

Chapter 1

An Understudied Court Poem

The poet Mañkha and his “Deeds of Śrīkaṇṭha” (*Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*) have been studied intermittently since Bühler’s discovery and publication of some manuscripts of the court poem in 1877.¹ What attracted Bühler’s attention was the twenty-fifth canto, as it is a good source of historical and social data on medieval Kashmir, an exceptional occurrence for a court poem. The *sarga* contains a poetic description of an “assembly” (*sabhā*) of learned men, who gathered at the house of Mañkha’s brother, Alaṅkāra, to assist the poet’s recitation of his own composition. Among the connoisseurs, one finds for instance the poet’s teacher Ruyyaka, some ambassadors from other Indian kingdoms, philosophers, and other literates (Bühler 1877, 50–52)

Bühler’s *Report* gave the impetus for the elaboration of a full edition of the text, resulting in the first complete printed edition of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, along with its commentary by Jonarāja (15th century CE). The edition, curated by Durgaprasad and Parab,² was published in 1887 in the third volume of the *Kāvyaṃālā* series of Nirṇaya Sagara Press.

The first histories of Sanskrit literature, however, did not seem to pay much attention to the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. The brief mentions to the poem, generally based

¹In his *Report* Bühler includes the critically edited text of ŚKC 1.1, 1.56, 2.58, 3.31–78, and the whole twenty-fifth canto (ŚKC 25.1–152), based on the four manuscripts he purchased in 1875–76 (Bühler 1877, c–cxx, appendix II, and Slaje 2015, 9 fn. 6). These manuscripts are those now preserved at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI) in Pune. See “Manuscript Survey” in the present dissertation (Part III).

²Durgaprasad and Parab’s edition has been revised by the same editors in 1900 and reprinted in 1983 by Motilal Banarsidass. See “Printed Editions” in the present dissertation (§ 13.2). Note also that in 1897 Theodor Zachariae edited in Vienna the other most well-known work by Mañkha, the lexicon *Mañkhakośa* (Zachariae 1897), an auto-commented dictionary of homonyms (*anekārthakośa*) possibly published after the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (see Slaje 2016, 17–18).

on Bühler's *Report*, seemed to be done *en passant*,³ and were mostly related to the historical cantos.

In the third volume of his *Geschichte der indischen Literatur* (1922, vol. 3) Moritz Winternitz mentioned Mañkha among the "important poets of the last centuries" (Winternitz 1922, 53). The information about the author, however, was confined to one sentence, and the only details provided come from Bühler's *Report*.

In his *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928), Arthur Berriedale Keith dedicated only a paragraph to this "interesting writer" (Keith 1928, 136). He specifies that Mañkha's twenty-fifth canto, a "happy transition" (*ibidem*), is the part that made up for the rest of his court epic, of which he gives a brief summary and defines "stereotypical" (*ibidem*).

In 1929, Elizabeth Kreyenborg published the first German translation of the much-celebrated twenty-fifth canto, but we must wait until 1959 to see an active research on the whole court poem, which however remains only marginal. In the end-notes of his *Sur la Structure du Kāvya* (1959), Louis Renou made large use of the *Śrīkañṭhacarita* for his grammatical and structural observations, and the quotations from Mañkha's court poem were, for the first time, not limited to the twenty-fifth canto.⁴

The studies on the text flourished again in 1973, when Bhagavatprasad Narvarlal Bhatt published his detailed study of the *Śrīkañṭhacarita*, and in 1976, when Bankim Chandra Mandal's article on dating and authorship of the Mañkakośa was issued. Thanks to the interest sparked by Bhatt and Mandal, Siegfried Lienhard could expand more on the *Śrīkañṭhacarita* in his *History of Classical Poetry* (1984), where he advanced observations on possible models (i.e. Māgha) and on Mañkha's "frequently striking" language (Lienhard 1984, 203).

In 1991, Mandal published his own study on the poem and its sociopolitical background, with additions and research of new topics (see preface in Mandal 1991, v-vii). Noteworthy is, for instance, the discussion on the influence of non-dual Śaivism from Kashmir on the composition of the *Śrīkañṭhacarita* (Mandal 1991, 170–72), derived from the study of the seventeenth canto.

In 2004, Anthony Kennedy Warder included Mañkha in the seventh volume of his *History of Kāvya Literature*, dedicating a very detailed section to the *Śrīkañṭhacarita* (Warder 2004, 78–98). It is the first time that a history of Indian poetry presents the non-historical cantos of the court poem. Not only does

³The first ever-written history of Sanskrit Literature in English (Macdonell 1900) does not even mention the *Śrīkañṭhacarita*, although we see Mañkha quoted as the lexicographer of the *Mañkhakośa* (Macdonell 1900, 433). The same year, Stein published the edition and translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (1900, 2 vols.), and mentioned Mañkha in the introduction to the first volume (1900, 12–14).

⁴See, for instance, the quotation of ŚKC 13.50 in Renou's end-notes (1959, 88).

Warder give a precise summary of the cantos, but also he gracefully translates into English some verses from various *sargas*. At the same time, he identified in Ruyyaka's *Alaṅkārasarvasva* (12th century) and in Vallabhadeva's anthology *Subhāṣitāvalī* (15th century) all the verses belonging to Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*.⁵

After Mandal and Warder, the first monography dedicated to Maṅkha was published in 2015 with Walter Slaje's *Bacchanal in Himmel*.⁶ Slaje's work, much appreciated by the scholarly community, solved some problems on dating (see Chronology below) and delved into the text, which had been studied but never translated or critically edited until then. With his German annotated translation of the second, third, fourteenth, fifteenth and twenty-fifth cantos of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* and his emendations of the text, Slaje injects new lifeblood in the long-abandoned Maṅkha's studies.

The same year, Luther Obrock discussed his Ph.D. thesis *Translation and History*, where he quoted Maṅkha in relation to Jonarāja, the author of the only known commentary on the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* and composer of a second *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* after Kalhaṇa's (see Slaje 2014).⁷ Obrock dedicated a paragraph of his dissertation specifically to Jonarāja's introduction to Maṅkha's court epic (2015, 79), which pointed to the fortune of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* not only during the poet's lifetime, but also as "a poem to be understood, in its most literal and basic sense" by the "Kashmiri elite culture" even "in Sultanate times" (Obrock 2015, 80).

More recently, Kashi Gomez has added her valuable contribution to the studies of Maṅkha's poem with her master thesis, in which she investigates Maṅkha's conception of Kashmir and his awareness of regional identity as reflected in the third canto of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* (Gomez 2016).

⁵In Ruyyaka's work Warder identifies the following textual loci: AS p. 30 = ŚKC 2.49; p. 111 = ŚKC 5.23; p. 113 = ŚKC 6.16; p. 108-109 = ŚKC 6.70. In Vallabhadeva's anthology: SĀ 172 = ŚKC 2.2; 173 = ŚKC 2.12; 176 = ŚKC 2.30; 178 = 2.42; 1600 = ŚKC 6.13; 1659 = ŚKC 6.51; 1661 = ŚKC 6.8; 1662 = ŚKC 6.9; 1663 = ŚKC 6.65; 1930 = ŚKC 10.19; 1119-27 (nine verses) = ŚKC 11.52, 54, 58; 1444-48 (five verses) = ŚKC 12. 87, 90; 2030 = ŚKC 14.20. Even though Bhatt and Mandal had already studied works on aesthetics and the anthologies containing Maṅkha's verses (see Bhatt 1973, Appendix VII, and Mandal 1991, 151-52), Warder added his valuable English translation and placed the verses in the literary context of the court poem. It is worth noticing that in his edition of Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* (1886) Peterson quoted Bühler's *Report* of 1877 while mentioning in a footnote the existence of a 1886 edition of four cantos of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*. These four cantos were edited by Durgaprasad and Parab and published in the January-February issue of the *Kāvyaṃālā*, which was back then "a new monthly journal for the publication of old Sanskrit poems" (Peterson 1886, 84 fn. *). I have yet to find a copy of this issue.

⁶Maṅkha is also cited by Pollock in his article "The death of Sanskrit" (2001) among the last *mahākavis* serving under a Hindu ruler. See § 4.1.

⁷Jonarāja is also known for his three commentaries, namely the one to Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, to Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (partially edited in Bhatt 2013), and to the *Prthvīrāvijaya* of Jayanaka, a text on the defeat of Muḥammad Ghūr by Prthvīrāj Chauhān (Obrock 2015, 80-83)

To date, however, most part of Mañkha's court poem remains understudied. Only approximately 1/6 of the *Śrīkañṭhacarita* is translated (in German by Walter Slaje), the printed editions require emendations, and a manuscript survey is needed for a philologically more accurate study of the text.

Chapter 2

Mañkha and His *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*

The present chapter discusses the historical figure of the poet Mañkha as described both in the third canto of the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita and in the eighth book of Kalhaṇa's Rājatarāṅgiṇī. The twenty-fifth canto is then considered for a reassessment of the dating of the court poem, while the contents of Mañkha's court poem and a discussion of its structure close the section.

2.1 A Poet's Political Life

Mañkha (or Mañkhaka) is one of the few court poets (*mahākavis*) to provide first-hand information on his life directly in his most well-known work, the court epic *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. From the third canto of the poem, for instance, it is possible to derive the name of the king that Mañkha is serving, namely Jayasiṃha of the Lohara dynasty (Kashmir, r. 1128–1155), but also details on the poet's family.

We find out his grandfather's name, Manmatha (ŚKC 3.31–34), and that his father Viśvavarta (ŚKC 3.35–44), a Brahmin from Pravarapura (ŚKC 3.21), the modern-day Śrīnagar, had three other sons; Śṛṅgāra (ŚKC 3.45–51), Bhṛṅga (ŚKC 3.52–55), and Alaṅkāra (or Laṅkaka) (ŚKC 3.56–62). All the brothers are anointed high roles at the court: Śṛṅgāra, Bhṛṅga, and Alaṅkāra served under Sussala, whereas Mañkha must wait for Jayasiṃha's reign to be elected judge.

Among his siblings, Mañkha seems to have a special bond with Alaṅkāra, who plays a crucial role in his brother's life. In the last canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, we read that it is Alaṅkāra who hosts at his house the literary assembly organized for the reading of Mañkha's court poem (ŚKC 25.15). There, a group of respected intellectuals from Kashmir and abroad gathers to listen to the first reading of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, thus enshrining Mañkha's poetical baptism (see Slaje 2015, 216–

87). Alaṅkāra is openly praised by the poet, but mutual respect does not seem enough to justify the deep relationship between the two, as opposed to the less intimate verses dedicated by Maṅkha to the other brothers (Slaje 2015, 14). A solution is provided in the third canto of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, where Alaṅkāra is called “maternal brother” (*sodara*, in ŚKC 3.63), thus stressing the double blood relation of the two, who shared the same mother (Slaje 2015, 16).¹

The year of the *sabhā* was crucial for Maṅkha; it marked, on the one hand, the success of the literary assembly and the subsequent publication of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*;² on the other hand, it brought some developments in his political career. As we learn from the third canto of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, while he was composing the poem Maṅkha was anointed “judge” (*prajāpālanakāryapūruṣa*, ŚKC 3.66) at the court of Jayasiṃha, while his brother Alaṅkāra was still holding the position of “minister of war and peace” (*sāṃdhivigrahika*, ŚKC 3.62) granted to him by the previous king Sussala:

*niveśite sussalabhūbidaujasā
svayaṃ garīyasy api saṃdhivigrahe |
vidhāya cakre svayośomayīm lipiṃ
sa lekhavargasya vimudram ānanam || ŚKC 3.62 ||*

As Sussala, god Indra on earth, on his own initiative
granted him the particularly high post of minister of war and peace,
Alaṅkāra, taking on a decorum fit for his [new] honor,
made some intellectuals proclaim [his merits],
and ordered to open the doors of the temples.³
(ŚKC 3.62, see also Slaje 2015, 120–21)

anantaraṃ sussaladevanandano

¹This is confirmed in Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as well, see RT 8.3354b.

²When I refer to “publication”, I intend the act of reciting the court poem before an audience, which ratifies its legitimate release. As Pollock states: “In his twelfth-century courtly epic Maṅkha describes how he read out his work from a written text (the act that in fact constituted its publication) before a large audience at his brother’s literary salon. Maṅkha’s depiction of the magic by which inscribed letters are transformed into sound (written with the description of the *purāṇa* reciter in his memory) serves well to suggest the fascination that literacy continued to exercise in a culture where orality remained, in some measure, alive” (Pollock 2003, 89–90). The whole discussion presupposes the concept of “aurality” outlined by Lo Turco as the “the predominant «use of the reading of a written text aloud to one or more people» (Coleman 1995, 64) as opposed to individual silent reading” (Lo Turco 2019, fn. 11), which is not limited to *mūla* texts, but can be applied to commentaries as well (see Lo Turco 2019, 2–6).

³For the double meaning of the last *pāda*, see J. comm. ad ŚKC 3.62: *lekhānāṃ paṇḍitānāṃ var-gasya mukhaṃ vimudraṃ maunamudrārahitaṃ yaś cakre* and *lekhānāṃ devānāṃ ca vargasya mukhaṃ vimudram cakre*.

*yam ādarāc chrījayasiṃhabhūpatiḥ |
vyadhāt prajāpālanakāryapūruṣaṃ
ruṣaṃ vitanvann avinītajantuṣu || ŚKC 3.66 ||*

The venerable king Jayasiṃha, son of the divine Sussala, spreading his wrath against the misbehaving subjects, respectfully appointed him, [Maṅkha], to the post of judge immediately after [his brother].
(ŚKC 3.66, see also Slaje 2015, 124)

If we cross-reference these two verses with Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatarāṅginī*, composed soon after the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* (ca 1148–49, Stein 1900, vol. 1, 15), we see that, at some point under Jayasiṃha’s reign, Alaṅkāra was promoted to the higher position of “supreme judge” (*rājasthānīya*) while Maṅkha became minister of war and peace:⁴

*alaṅkārabhidho bāhyarājasthānādhikārabhāk |
adhr̥ṣyo ’mānuṣair yuddhair viruddhān bahudhā ’vadhīt || RT 8.2557 ||*

Alaṅkāra, the minister holding charge of the outer royal court, undauntedly made superhuman attacks and killed many enemies (transl. Stein 1900, vol. 2, 201)

*sāṃdhivigrahiko maṅkhakākhyo ’laṅkārasodaraḥ |
samaṭhasyā ’bhavat praṣṭhaḥ śrīkaṅṭhasya pratiṣṭhayā || RT 8.3354 ||*

Alaṅkāra’s brother, Maṅkhaka, minister of foreign affairs (*sāṃdhivigrahika*), distinguished himself by erecting a shrine of Śrīkaṅṭha together with a Maṭha (transl. Stein 1900, vol. 2, 262)

This information about Maṅkha becoming minister of war and peace and Alaṅkāra supreme judge is nowhere found in the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*; therefore, one can assume that both Maṅkha and Alaṅkāra obtained their new offices only after the poem’s publication.

⁴As Stein observes, the title of *sāṃdhivigrahika* “was held by the latter (i.e. Alaṅkāra) when he wrote his *Kāvya*” (Stein 1900, vol. 2, 262 fn. ad 3354), under king Sussala.

2.2 When was the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* published?

The second large section offering first-hand chronological data on the life and production of the poet is the last canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. The *sarga* is certainly a *unicum*, as it contains the description of the literary “assembly” (*sabhā*) of real-life personages from Kashmir and abroad gathered for the reading of Maṅkha’s court poem (25.15–18).

Thirty-two intellectuals are present at the *sabhā*. When Maṅkha enters the assembly hall, he firstly describes Alaṅkāra, the host, as “the forehead jewel of the young council, well suited to the political path” (ŚKC 19–20, Slaje 2015, 224–25) and then bows before him. The praise of the poet’s older brother is continued by the erudite Loṣṭadeva, who pays tribute to Alaṅkāra in ten verses (ŚKC 25.37–47). From this section, we become aware not only of Alaṅkāra’s political talent—he is “crown of ministers” (ŚKC 25.40)—but also of his poetic skills (*nomen omen!*), for which he is even compared to Bāṇa (ŚKC 25.46). Two other relevant figures in the twenty-fifth canto are Ruyyaka, Maṅkha’s *guru*, the “embodiment of the life of all sciences” (ŚKC 25.27) and author of the *Alaṅkārasarvasva*, and Kālyāṇa (ŚKC 25.78–80), who has been identified with Kalhaṇa, the soon-to-be author of the *Rājararaṅgiṇī* (Slaje 2016, 250 fn.).

What stands out is, however, the attendance of two foreigners, the ambassador Suhala, sent to Kashmir by king Govindacandra of Kanyākubja, and Tejakaṇṭha, emissary of Aparaditya king of Koṅkan (Bühler 1877, 51–52). The presence of Suhala and Tejakaṇṭha is fundamental, since by cross-referencing their historical, it is possible to identify a plausible time-frame for the literary symposium.

Regarding Suhala, we read:

pāṇinīyātapatreṇa pavitraṃ yasya tanmukham |
saṅgaṃ svapne ’py avāpnoti nāpaśabdarajaḥkaṇaiḥ || 25.100 ||
svasyeśvarasya yo vyañjan maṅdale mantrasaṃskriyām |
dhatte sadāgamapṛītiṃ daiśikānām dhuri sthitim || 25.101 ||
anyaḥ sa suhalas tena tato ’vandyata paṇḍitaḥ |
dūto govindacandrasya kānyakubjasya bhūbhujah || 25.102 ||

Then Maṅkha greeted another Suhala, the scholar, emissary of Govindacandra king of Kanyākubja, whose pure mouth was not touched—not even when sleeping—by the dust-particles of non-grammatical words thanks to that parasol of Pāṇini’s grammar, and who, appointed in the empire of his ruler as counselor (*mantrasaṃskṛ*), took [here] a position above all the foreign guests, determined by the joy of the arrival of [such] a man of honor.

(ŚKC 25.100–02, see also Slaje 2015, 256–57)

According to Mañkha, Suhala’s visit to Kashmir as “emissary” (*dūta*) took place during the monarchy of the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra, which, as stated by Bühler, lasted up to the year 1144 (Bühler 1877, 51). Suhala, therefore, must have visited Kashmir before the year 1144. However, as confirmed by the first and the last inscriptions ascribable to the reign of Govindacandra,⁵ Bühler’s dating is incorrect. Govindacandra’s kingdom, in fact, started around 1114 and ended forty years later, in 1154 (and not in 1144, see Mandal 1991, 56), only one year prior to the end of Jayasiṃha’s kingdom, in 1155. The presence of Suhala at the *sabhā* is, therefore, not crucial in establishing the precise dates of this literary symposium, which we can only be vaguely placed earlier than 1154 CE, but not later.

Few verses later, Mañkha introduces Tejakaṅṭha, the second emissary:

kva na yaḥ sādhuvādeṣu nrtyadbhir daśanāṃsubhiḥ |
vidvajjanena sāmrājye sabhyānām abhyaścicyata || 25.108 ||
vacobhir nunude dantadyutiśrīkhaṇḍapāṇḍubhiḥ |
vādināṃ vādadarpoṣmā yena śūrpārakādvasu || 25.109 ||
yaṃ śrīmadaparāditya iti dūtyaprasiddhaye |
prajighāya ghaṇaślāghaḥ kāśmīrān kuṅkuṇeśvaraḥ || 25.110 ||
tena śrītejakaṅṭhena sotkaṅṭham anubadhnatā |
iti so ’dhikavaiśadyaniravadyam agadyata || 25.111 ||

Where would not he be anointed by scholars, with applauses, in the dominion over the members of the [literary] assemblies, through the dancing rays of [their white] teeth? In [the capital city of] Śūrpāraka [and its] surroundings, the [hot] steam of arrogance of the disputants’ speech was dispelled by [his] words, white for that [chill] sandalwood tree of [his] teeth’s light. The famous king of Koṅkan, the splendid Aparāditya, sent him to Kashmir, to fulfill the office of an embassy. This one, the honorable Tejakaṅṭha, insisting, addressed him, [Mañkha], with extraordinary clarity and in an impeccable manner. (ŚKC 25.108–11, see also Slaje 2015, 260–61)

According to Bühler, this “famous king of Koṅkan” is none other than Aparāditya II, the Śīlāhāra ruler of Koṅkan (modern-day Maharashtra) who is mentioned in two inscriptions of 1185 and 1186 (Bühler 1877, 52). This chronology, however, is inconsistent, since the kingdom of Aparāditya II started in 1184, almost thirty years later than the end of Jayasiṃha’s reign (1155).⁶

⁵The earliest dating of Govindacandra’s reign dates back to an inscription of the year 1114 (Niyogi 1959, 247), whereas the last available inscription is a grant found at Kamauli and dated 1154 CE (Niyogi 1959, 254).

⁶See the genealogy of the Śīlāhāra dynasty of Koṅkan in Schmiedchen 2014, 218, where

A study of the royal genealogy of the Śilāhāra kings (Schmiedchen 2014, 218), however, reveals the presence of another Aparadīya, Aparadīya I, who reigned in North Koṅkan approximately from 1120 to 1148/49, who might more likely have been responsible for the organization of the embassy (*dūtyaprasiddhi* in ŚKC 25.110b) to Kashmir. Given the dates of Aparadīya I's kingdom, we can assume, then, that Tejakaṅṭha's travel must have taken place before the end-date of that reign, which means that also the *sabhā's terminus ante quem* must be approximated to the year 1148/49.⁷

Having established the upper temporal limit of the *sabhā*, one faces an even harder task, namely the ascertainment of the absolute dates of the poet's life. When was Maṅkha born and, most importantly, when did he start writing his court poem? The most brilliant solution has been proposed by Walter Slaje, who determines with more accuracy Maṅkha's life dates (Slaje 2015, 13–14) and the beginning of the composition of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* based on the following three factors:

1. The relationship between Maṅkha, his family members, and the kings they served.
2. The date of the literary symposium, which he sets around 1140–1144.
3. The assumption that the proper age for being awarded the first prominent role at the court would be around 35 years.

Starting with Alaṅkāra, Slaje points out that he has served under both Sussala and Jayasiṃha (see § 2.1) for a period which spans from 1112 (the beginning of Sussala's kingdom) and 1144, when Maṅkha publishes his *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* (2015, 14). Halfway through this period of 32 years, Alaṅkāra, at approximately 35 years old, must have been anointed his first prominent post of “minister for war and

Aparadīya II is listed as reigning from 1106–1119 (in Śaka years), namely from 1184 to 1197 CE (+ 78 years).

⁷As noted by Schmiedchen (2014, 232), we have epigraphical evidence for Aparadīya I's kingdom: three copperplate documents (ŚiNoUr 19–21) and three stone inscriptions (ŚiNoSt 6–8) from the Śaka year 1042 to year 1070, namely from 1120/21 CE to 1148/49 CE. Mandal (1991, 59) firstly dates Aparadīya I to the years 1110–40 CE, then, a sentence later, re-dates him to the years 1118–39 CE, quoting the same inscriptions in the footnote, but resolving the whole chronology with an approximate date of 1149 CE.

We do not have enough evidence—or not convincing enough—to lower the date of the *sabhā* to the year 1144. Stein (1900, 12 fn. 14) hypothesized the year 1144 in light of the presence of an ambassador sent by Govindacandra, but we have seen that the end date of his kingdom is not in 1144. Mandal, on the contrary, tried to lower the date of the assembly to the year 1142 basing his arguments on the military campaigns attended by Alaṅkāra, in particular those of the biennium 1143–1144 (Mandal 1991, 60–62). A later date of the *sabhā*, however, would solve the problem.

peace” by Sussala (1144-16=1128). If we consider that Jayasiṃha’s reign started in 1128, we must hypothesize that Alaṅkāra obtained this position before the end of Sussala’s kingdom, i.e. before 1128. From this, we count backwards up to Alaṅkāra’s date of birth, approximately around *1095 (1128-35=1093; Slaje 2015, 14–15).⁸

If we apply the same method to Maṅkha, we realize that he must have held his first high post of “supreme judge” around the year *1135, namely in the middle of the 16-year time-span which goes from the beginning of Jayasiṃha’s reign (1128) and the publication of the court epic (1144). From this, we can establish that Maṅkha must have been approximately 44 years old at the time of the publication of the poem (1144-1135=9; 35+9=44), and that he was born around the year *1100 (1135-35=1100), which makes him five years younger than Alaṅkāra (see Slaje 2015, 14).

Slaje adds another element to the equation, namely the average time needed to finish a court epic and reach “literary maturity” (*prauḍhi*), which he sets between 10 and 20 years (Slaje 2015, 15). Maṅkha would have therefore started his *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* either around the year 1124 (when he was 24 years old), or around 1134. As suggested by Slaje (2015, 128 fn.), based on Jonarāja’s account of the poet being “without beard” (ŚKC 3.72)⁹ at the beginning of his enterprise, an earlier date seems the most likely.

Accordingly, if we conjecture that the author started composing his *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* before Jayasiṃha’s accession to the throne, then, we should also assume an intellectual independence of Maṅkha. His poem could not have been commissioned by the king—or, at least, not by Jayasiṃha. The poet, therefore, unbound to the public persona of a specific regent, could have benefited from another financing institution, possibly the court and its courtesans (see *infra* § 7).

The third and twenty-fifth cantos of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, however, contain some stanzas dedicated specifically to Jayasiṃha (ŚKC 3.66 and 25.61), and this defines the necessity of considering the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* as a work of art *in fieri*. It is probable, therefore, that Maṅkha started the composition of his *mahākāvya* with the more descriptive chapters, adding the introductory and final sections, namely those containing more recent historical references, only at a later stage. This consideration becomes even more obvious when considering the last canto; here, we find a picture of the intellectuals who revise the court poem around the year 1144, something that Maṅkha could not have elaborated before the end of

⁸Slaje approximates the absolute dates within five-years increments (i.e. 1095). In reality, two variables need to be considered. First, we do not know the exact year of Alaṅkāra’s first position (which might be in 1128, 1127 or before), and second, the “35 years old” milestone is only indicative (Alaṅkāra could have been younger).

⁹J. comm. ad ŚKC 3.72: *gaṇḍābhoge candrabimboktyāvagatābhyām udbhinnaśmaśrunirmalatvābhyām navavayastvam api sarasvatyāḥ sāksān mukhavāsitvam abhijātavam ca sūcitam.*

the revision itself.

This chronology is fascinating, even though far from being absolute. Firstly, one needs to consider the arbitrariness—although plausible—of a determination of a “proper age” for being awarded a political post; secondly, there are some doubts regarding the time of revision and publication process of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, which we have set closer to the quadrennium 1144–1148.¹⁰

2.3 Epic Plot in Semi-Historical Court Poem

The *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, Maṅkha’s most celebrated work,¹¹ belongs to the genre of “court poem” (*mahākāvya*). It is divided into twenty-five “cantos” (*sargas*) for a total of 1647 verses (Slaje 2015, 16) in almost thirty different meters (Mandal 1991, 131–37), and the background narration is based on the epic and *purāṇic* story of the “destruction of Tripura” (*tripuradāha*) (Mandal 1991, 21–22).¹²

According to the myth, the three demons (*asuras*) Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Vidyunmālin, after being denied the boon of immortality, obtain in exchange from Brahmā a minor grant: the possibility of building three cities (*tripura*), one in the sky, one on earth, and one in the netherworld. The demons, relying on the fact that these citadels could be destroyed only jointly and not one by one, start organizing an army to attack the Hindu pantheon. The gods, helpless, pray Śrīkaṇṭha (another name for Śiva)¹³ to intervene and, after the construction of a cosmic chariot whose parts are made of the gods themselves, the three cities fall under the shot of Śiva’s single arrow (see Bhatt 1973, 10–20, Mandal 1991, 99–107).

In most *mahākāvyas*, and to some extent in Maṅkha’s *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* as well, the mythical plot is used by the poet just as a pretext for the elaboration of further poetic ornamentation. The primary epic narrative is gradually confined to a few sections, whereas most part of the court poem is filled with highly standardized descriptions (*varṇanas*) often not related to the original plot (Smith 1992,

¹⁰This later dating would switch all Slaje’s dates to four years.

¹¹Maṅkha is the author of the already mentioned *Maṅkhakośa*, and, according to some, the co-author of Ruyyaka’s *Alaṅkārasarvasva*. For an extensive discussion on authorship and dating, see Mandal 1991, 64–92.

¹²For a comparison of this episode in the *Śivapurāṇa*, in the *Mahābhārata* (8.24), and in the ŚKC, see Bhatt 1973, 13–19. For Maṅkha’s innovations, see Bhatt 1973, 12–13 and Mandal 1991, 99–107.

¹³For the figure of Śiva-Śrīkaṇṭha in Kashmir, see RT 6.186 and RT 8.3354, where Kalhaṇa observes that Maṅkha financed the construction of “a shrine of Śrīkaṇṭha together with a Maṭha” (Stein 1900, vol. 2, 262). Further studies of this epithet for Śiva in Kashmir are a desideratum.

35) and elaborated in accordance with well-established structural and aesthetic conventions.

Even though, at first glance, the *Śrikanṭhacarita* complies with the general *mahākāvya* standards, Mañkha seems to willingly distance his poem from the model of his predecessors.

Already after the first benedictory canto (*namaskāraṅgarāna*, ŚKC 1, corresponding to *āśīrnamaskriyā* in KĀ 1.14), the poem shows its atypical structure with the “description of good and bad people” (*sujanadurjanavarāna*, ŚKC 2), a *sarga* dedicated to an analysis of the qualities of good and bad poets. In this canto, the classical “indication of the topic of the poem” (the *vastunirdeśa* in KĀ 1.14) is confined to the last verse, where we find both the poet’s declaration of intents—the creation of a poem in praise of Śiva—and the poet’s claim of intellectual property, as Mañkha seals the preface with the stamp of his own name (see *mañkhena mañkhāyate* in ŚKC 1.56, Slaje 2015, 38–39).

The uniqueness of the *Śrikanṭhacarita* continues in the third canto, where the topical “description of the [capital] city” (the *nagaravarāna* in KĀ 1.16) is replaced by a highly localized “description of the country” (*deśavarāna*, ŚKC 3). Not only does the poet introduce his wintry Kashmir and its capital Pravarapura (ŚKC 3.21), but, as seen earlier, he also gives an account of his personal history and the relation between his family members and the kings they served.

Mañkha’s interest in conveying real events is evident in the last canto, in which the poet describes the literary assembly, an original glimpse of courtly life in the twelfth century and a valuable source of information for the history of Medieval Kashmir (§ 2.1 and § 2.2).

Given the predominance of historicity in these less conventional sections and the poetic “deconstruction” of the plot (Smith 1992) in the most typical ones, the cantos can be divided into the following groups:

1. First Group: Historical and Local Frames.

The first group of cantos consists in the *sargas* which contain historical evidence not relevant to the plot but related to the life and work of the author, even though still drenched in mythological references: the salutation of the gods and of Śiva, which culminates in the poet’s declaration of intents (*namaskāraṅgarāna*, ŚKC 1); Mañkha’s considerations on good and bad people, of good and bad poets, and the poet’s manifesto (*sujanadurjanavarāna*, ŚKC 2); the description of the valley of Kashmir during the winter, followed by biographical accounts on the author’s family (*deśavarāna*, ŚKC 3); the description of the of the assembly (*sabhā*) held at the house of Mañkha’s brother Alaṅkāra, and organized for the reading of the poem in front of an audience of intellectuals, which are mentioned

by name and praised (*granthakarṭṛkavikālīna-kaviṇḍitādivarṇana*, ŚKC 25).

2. Second Group: The Deeds of Śiva Śrīkaṇṭha

a) Peacetime cantos: ŚKC 4–16.

The actual poem starts. This section corresponds to the description (*varṇana*) of mountain Kailāsa (*kailāsavarṇana*, ŚKC 4), of the hero-Lord (Śiva) (*bhagavadvarṇana*, ŚKC 5), of a universal spring season (*sādhāraṇavasanta-varṇana*, ŚKC 6), again of spring and of swing-games (*dolakrīḍāvarṇana*, ŚKC 7), flower plucking (*puṣpāvacayavarṇana*, ŚKC 8) and water-games (*jalakrīḍāvarṇana*, ŚKC 9), of twilight (*saṃdhyāvarṇana*, ŚKC 11), of the moon and moon-rise (*candravarṇana* and *candrodayavarṇana*, ŚKC 12, 13), of the celestial women's embellishment (*prasāghanavarṇana*, ŚKC 14), of banquets (*pānakelivarṇana*, ŚKC 15), love-games (*krīḍāvarṇana*, ŚKC 16), and of the waking up of Śiva and Pārvatī at dawn (*prabhātavarṇana*, ŚKC 16). The peacetime cantos are characterized by prolonged descriptions, which seem to overpower and delay the actual developments of the plot.

b) Wartime cantos: ŚKC 17–24.

The peaceful stillness of the first part of the poem is abandoned for the gods' action in wartime. Indicative, in this sense, are the dialogues between the gods (in cantos 17 and 19) which break the monotony of the still prevailing descriptions. This group is opened by Śiva's entrance at assembly of the scared gods, who praise him and inform of the demons' menace (*paramēśvaradevasamāgamavarṇana*, ŚKC 17); the troops agitate and the attack is planned (*gaṇakṣobhavarṇana* and *gaṇodyogavarṇana*, ŚKC 18, 19); the gods construct Śiva's chariot (*rathabandhanavarṇana*, ŚKC 20) and the army of the gods begins its march against the demons (*gaṇaprasthānavarṇana*, ŚKC 21); the three chief-demons prepare the counter-attack (*daityapurīkṣobhavarṇana*, ŚKC 22); the battle commences (*yuddhavarṇana*, ŚKC 23), and, finally, the three cities of the demons are burned down by the fire of Śiva's arrow (*tripuradāhavarṇana*, ŚKC 24).

In light of this division, it is possible to place the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* in an intermediate position between the more classical court poems, based on mythological episodes and without any openly declared historical purpose, and the so-called "historical *mahākāvya*s" (Prabhā 1976), designed for the celebration (*praśasti*) of the patron-king and his dynasty.

Although Maṅkha, in his literary project, clearly distinguishes the "imaginary" and the "historical/local", allotting to each different sets of cantos (i.e. group 1 and group 2 above), the two aspects are nevertheless overlapping. The

historical *sargas* are never purely historical, as references to the ever-present mythical imagery shape the locality of Kashmir; the imaginary cantos are never purely imaginary, as locality shapes their substratum.

Chapter 3

Mañkha and Locality

The present chapter explores Mañkha's relationship with locality, namely how Kashmir's geographical specificity and material reality influence and shape the non-historical cantos of his Śrīkañṭhacarita.

3.1 From Local Real to Trans-Local Imaginary

In Mañkha's *Śrīkañṭhacarita*, "geographical specificity" is conveyed through "aesthetic conventions and citational practice" (Gomez 2016, 3), as already observed by Kashi Gomez in her master thesis on the third canto of the *Śrīkañṭhacarita*:

Even in an imaginary scenario, the mythological collides with Mañkha's material reality and is transformed. While Mañkha imagines that the milk-ocean takes up residence in Kashmir, he is acutely aware of the fact that even if it were the same milk-ocean as the one in the Purāṇas, it is conditioned by its locality. The high-altitude and cold climate would turn the white liquid of the milk ocean into banks of snow. (Gomez 2016, 5)

This "material reality" which conditions "imaginary scenarios" is expressed in cantos which explicitly refer to existing places, to historical events and people, such as the third *sarga*.

It is possible, however, to find a sense of locality even behind the thick curtain of the imaginary, a reality that reflects the society in which the poet was living. As Pollock states, the almost congregational character of Mañkha's *mahākāvya* is evidence of its social value:

One last but by no means least significant feature of this oral-performative dimension, as Mañkha's account so dramatically demonstrates, is that it

rendered Sanskrit *kāvya* a preeminently social, almost congregational, phenomenon. There was a content to this form, too: whatever particular narrative concerns it might have, thematically a *kāvya* typically spoke to the concerns of the social collectivity as such—a collectivity that, accordingly, became a matrix of Sanskrit cultural theory as such (Pollock 2006, 85–86)

In the non-historical cantos, Mañkha speaks to this social collectivity in three ways: through “Kashmiri cultural signifiers invoked in the service of literary expression” (Kaul 2015, 128), namely through the employment of typically Kashmiri symbols which evoke local identity; through material realities or *realia*, namely through those objects that are related to everyday life and can be immediately recognized by the audience; through terminological choice, namely through the employment of words that are unquestionably “suffused with Kashmiri idiom” (Gomez 2016, 10 fn. 47).

One of the most apparent signifiers of Kashmiri imagined landscapes in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is the *hasantikā* or *kangri*, a portable clay fire-pot usually held under cloaks to warm oneself up during the winter. Gomez notices how the presence of this object is a trace of locality in the third canto (ŚKC 3.29, Gomez 2016, 9), in which the reference to this object aims at a re-evocation of love, which is present, in Kashmir, even during the winter.¹

One notices, however, that the typically wintry *kangri* appears, contrary to expectations, in the vernal scenario of the sixth canto, the “description of spring”:

vyaktānalolkākr̥timadhyamadhyasamucchadgucchagavākṣitāṅgī |
kaṅkellivallis tuhinātyaye 'pi babhāv anaṅgasya hasantikeva || 6.15 ||

Its lattice-like limbs with the blossoms' clusters
pushed out from the middle [of each opening]
and expanding in the form of burning torches,
the vine on the *aśoka* tree was like Love's portable fireplace,
even at the end of winter. (ŚKC 6.15)

The vine, interweaving over the *aśoka*, forms the fireplace's external woven basket, while the tree's red flowers peep out from its openings like the flames of the *hasantikā*'s embers. The uniqueness of the phenomenon becomes apparent in the phrase “even at the end of the winter” (*tuhinātyaye 'pi*),² which links the

¹*himāgame yatra gr̥heṣu yoṣitām jvaladbahucchidrasakhī hasantikā | vibhāti jetuṃ madanena śūlinam dhṛtā tatir vahnimayīva cakṣuṣām || ŚKC 3.29 ||*. “In the houses [of Kashmir], when winter arrives, the *hasantikās* of women glow, full of many little blazing sockets, as if Kāmadeva were wielding a host of fiery eyes with which to conquer Śiva” (transl. Gomez 2016, 9).

²See J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.15: *anaṅgasya himābhāve'pi [aṅgāra]śakaṭikeva hasantikā ca jālayuktā śastramayī magnāgniḥ*.

imaginary to a “concrete localized reference” (Gomez 2016, 14): the residents of the Valley would be surprised, as there is no use in holding a *kangri* during the warm vernal months.

The second most used symbol of Kashmir identity since Bilhaṇa’s time (see Cox 2016, Gomez 2016, 25)³ used in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is the red saffron flower (*kuṅkuma*). In one verse (ŚKC 6.52), Maṅkha imagines the red flowers of the forest-flame tree (*kiṃśuka*) as the saffron-paste embellishments (*kuṅkumapatrabhaṅga*) on the body of Śrī, Spring’s wife, a luxury worthy of the Kashmiri high-society, and often replaced by turmeric in other Indian regions.⁴ In another verse (ŚKC 5.31), the hero Śiva is ambiguously described as intent on removing all the signs which can have him mistaken for the women of the demons. Among these, the saffron *tilak* (*agniśikha*, J. comm. ad ŚKC 5.31: *kuṅkuma*) on his forehead, which corresponds to his own inflamed eye.

Realia regularly shapes Maṅkha’s imaginary. A practical reference to everyday manual work is, for instance, the mention of a “grindstone” (*gharaṭṭa*).⁵

prṣṭhabhramatsajavaṣaṭpadacakracihnaṃ
yatprocchvasatkusumam āvirabhūl latānām |
mānasya pakṣmaladrśāṃ sahasaiva peṣṭuṃ
tatspaṣṭamānmathagharāṭṭavilāsam āsīt || ŚKC 6.63 ||

When the sign the speedy bees’ circle appeared,
 roaming around over the blossomed bud of the creepers,
 this one became Love’s grindstone,
 as if to crush the pride of the long-lashed women. (ŚKC 6.63)

The poetic image becomes meaningful only if we think of the North Indian handmill, an agricultural tool which must have been familiar not only to Maṅkha, but

³See Bilhaṇa’s *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, 1.21: *sahodarāḥ kuṅkumakesarāṇām bhavanti nūnaṃ kavitaṭvilāsāḥ | na śāradādeśam apāsya drṣṭas teṣāṃ yad anyatra mayā prarohaḥ ||* “It seems that those who really delight in poetry are close kin to the saffron flower, for I haven’t seen a trace of them anywhere else since I left Kashmir, Sarasvatī’s country” (transl. Cox 2016a, 177)

⁴For the conceptual fusion of saffron (*kuṅkuma*) with turmeric (*Curcuma*), see Cox 2016a, 179–80. The usage of saffron ointment in Kashmir was not exclusive to women, and its value as the sign of male royal privilege is witnessed by both Kalhaṇa and Maṅkha. In the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, saffron used as unguent (for men!) was considered a royal privilege. See RT 8. 307: “The saffron flower (*kuṅkum*) is without a stem, the *kṣirīn* bears fruit without a blossom, so do high-souled men secede from desire without the passage of years (i.e., without aging)”. In RT 8.1119, in the narration of a minister newly appointed governor, saffron-ointments are listed among the honors. The same usage of saffron ointments is mentioned in RT 8.1897 and 8.3166 RT 6.120, where saffron paste is used to anoint the beard of illustrious personalities.

⁵See also the Kashmiri word *gharats* for “portable mill” in Grierson 1932, 305.

also to his audience.⁶ In reality, the muller (i.e. the upper stone of the quern) spinning over the lower and stationary stone grinds the cereal grains; in the poetic fancy, the moving stone is imagined in the bees flying in circle over the flower's open corolla, while the crushed pride of the women serves as the nourishment for the god of Love.

As observed in the previous examples, material culture often constitutes the underlying texture of the poem, and Mañkha seems to shape his verses guided both by mythical episodes, and by the inspiration of everyday objects. This is especially true for tools and materials related to the art of writing. In the last canto, for instance, soon before the recitation of the *Śrīkañṭhacarita*, the poet exquisitely describes his own manuscript, and the way in which it is unbounded:

*tad vistārya ca puṣṭakam paricitaṃ kīrṇair vacodevatā-
bhūṣāmecakamauktikair iva haṭhākṣiptekṣaṇair akṣaraiḥ |
vyāhāreṇa hṛdantarālaviharadvīyāvadhūnūpura-
dhvānabhrāntikṛtā tatas tad apaṭhat svam kāvyam avyākulaḥ || ŚKC 25.143*

And after he had opened his manuscript, filled with characters scattered on it with violence—black pearls on the necklace of the Goddess of Speech—his eyes were irresistibly drawn to them. Then, calmly, he read aloud his own poem in a recitation that sounded like the anklets of the Goddess of Knowledge as she danced inside his mind. (ŚKC 25.143)⁷

Mañkha's description of the reading set-up is highly evocative, as we can easily picture the gesture of spreading out the folios (*vistārya*, ger. from *vi+√str*, “to spread out, display”, i.e. “to open”), which marks the beginning of the recitation (*apaṭhat vyāhāreṇa*).⁸

⁶On this subject, Stein notes: “the working of water-wheels and hand-mills still offers a means of subsistence for the poor towns of Northern India” (Stein 1900, 364fn 1232), and the usage of *gharats* in remote mountain areas of Jammu and Kashmir is witnessed even to date (Slathia 2018). The medieval use of different kind of mills in Kashmir is common and well-attested also in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. See for instance, RT 7.1232: “Some of them ate cow's meat in the lands of the Mlecchas; others lingered on by working water-wheels, hand-mills and the like (*araghaṭṭagharattādi*)” (Stein 1900 vol. 1, 364). And again, later in the text: “Vaṭṭadeva and other exiled Dāmaras left off turning waterwheels, hand-mills and the like (*araghaṭṭagharattādi*) and joined him on the march” (Stein 1900, 369).

⁷My translation in consultation of Pollock (2006, 85) and Slaje (2016, 281).

⁸The physical object of the “book” (*pustaka*), which in early Medieval Kashmir consisted of loose sheets of birch-bark folios usually “wrapped up in a piece of cloth and fastened between two tablets of the same size”. The lines, running “parallel to the narrow side of the leaf” (Bühler 1877, 29), made it look like European books or *codices* (Formigatti 2015, 19). For the specific format of the *Śrīkañṭhacarita* manuscripts, we can observe that the birch-bark codices studied for this edition confirm Bühler's words (see pt. III)

The materiality of writing comes up also in the non-historical cantos. In the sixth *sarga*, for instance, we find references to materials employed for writing, surely part of the poet’s arsenal, such as ink and inkwells (*maṣībhāṇḍas*):⁹

indindirair nirbharagarbham
īṣadunmeṣavaccampakapuṣpam āsīt |
hiraṇmayam śāsanalekhahetoḥ
sajjam maṣībhāṇḍam iva smarasya || ŚKC 6.51 ||

The [yellow] *campaka* flower, blossomed just a little, and with its corolla filled with large black bees looked like a golden inkwell, prepared for the writing of Smara’s [royal] edicts. (ŚKC 6.51)

It is interesting to notice that the author of these “edicts” (*śāsanas*, commented by Jonarāja with *ājñā*, i.e. “order” or “command”) is not mentioned in the verse, although the nature of the writing itself points to the figure of a “scribe” or “writer” from the Kāyastha caste (also known as *śāsanika*, see Bühler 1896, 95).

Some verses later, a similar image relates the ink-bees to some of the technical writing of a Kāyastha or “scribe”:

madanagaṇanāsthāne lekhyaprapaṅcam udañcayan
vicakilaḥṣatpatṭranyastadvirephamaṣīlavaiḥ |
kuṭīlalipibhiḥ kaṃ kāyasthaṃ na nāma visūtrayan
vyādhita virahiprāṇeṣv āyavyayāv adhikaṃ madhuḥ || ŚKC 6.70 ||

Causing a profusion of letters to show up in Kāma’s expenses log through those ink-drops of the bees inserted on the large leafy pages of the *vicakila* tree, by confusing what scribe with [those] curly scripts Spring would not procure, then, a surplus in those incomes and expenditures of the distant lovers’ sighs? (ŚKC 6.70)

New details are here introduced: these “letters” (*lekhya*^o)—or “syllables”, as commented by Jonarāja (i.e. *akṣara*^o)—appear on the accounting book of Spring, whose folios (*patṭras*) are nothing other than the leaves of the Arabian jasmine tree (*vicakila*) filled with those “ink-drops” (*maṣīlavas*) which are the black bees.

⁹As Bühler notes in his *Indische Paleographie*, *maṣī* (or *maṣi*), the oldest name for the black ink, originally meant “grated powder”, and it is already attested in earlier authors such as Subandhu and Bāṇa, whereas the compound *maṣībhāṇḍa*, literally “ink-pot” (*maṣīdhāna*^o in Jonarāja’s commentary), appears already in the purāṇas (Bühler 1896, 91).

The verse is extremely fascinating if we consider the mention of the *kuṭīlalipi*, a “curled script” (Bühler 1896, 52)¹⁰ difficult to read and identifiable with the ornamental *siddhamātrkā* (Sircar 1966, 168). If we accept Al-Biruni’s account, the *siddhamātrkā* script was an alphabet used in Kashmir during his time (ca. 1030) and classified by Bühler under the category of the “acute type” (“der spitzwinklige Typus”, Bühler 1896, 50). The aspect of its characters, “placed obliquely from left to right” and showing “acute angles at the lower or right” (Bühler 1896, 49), might explain the difficulty in the reading, and the subsequent confusion derived from the mix-up of the syllables, different from the standard Śāradā in the twelfth-century Kashmir.

Mañkha’s underlying “realism” emerges not only when realia are concerned, but also through the choice of a terminology that is undeniably Kashmiri and clearly relates to his local experience. We notice, for instance, the instrumental *ṭhakena*¹¹ in the following verse:

*udbhūṣṇunā kasya na nāma yātrā vasantanāmnā ru(m)rudhe ṭhakena |
prāṇās tu kaṅṭheṣu cirāya cakrur viyogivargasya gatāgatāni || ŚKC 6.33 ||*

Of whom, then, that thriving brigand called Spring
would not block the journey?
The sighs of the group of distant lovers, however,
kept traveling [up and down their] throats, for a long time. (ŚKC 6.33)

It is noteworthy that Mañkha’s verse has been identified by the scholars of Thugs as the first literary occurrence of the word *ṭhaka* in the sense of “brigand” (Garbe 1903, 187, Pfirmann 1970, 6)¹² or, in Jonarāja’s words, as “a thief [who steals] with violence” (*haṭhamaṣaka*).

¹⁰According to Bühler, the *kuṭīlalipi* script appears as associated to Kayāstha caste in Bilhaṇa’s *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* 18.42: *kāyasthaiḥ kuṭīlalīpibhiḥ* »durch Schreiber, die krause Schriftarten gebrauchen«

¹¹The history of the word *ṭhaka* (“thug”) is particularly interesting. Probably entered in the North Indian Prakrits through the Sanskrit verbal root \sqrt{sthag} (“to conceal”) and the noun *sthaga* (“fraudulent, dishonest”), the term has been studied in its relation to the phenomenon of “thuggees”, namely the murderous robberies of travelers performed by gangs of Thugs, which lasted, especially in the North of India, until the nineteenth century (Pfirmann 1970, Wagner 2007). For the non Indo-European derivation of the Skt. *sthaka*, *ṭhaka*, and the Pkt. *ṭhaga*, see Kuiper’s review of Hiersche’s *Untersuchungen zur Frage der Tenues Aspiratae im Indogermanischen* (Kuiper 1965-66, 219).

¹²Garbe notes that Hermann Jacobi had informally shared with him the information that Mañkha could have been the first writer to use the word *ṭhaka* in the twelfth century: “denn in Wirklichkeit werden die Thugs nicht zum ersten Male im vierzehnten Jahrhundert, sondern schon etwa 200 Jahre früher erwähnt, nämlich—wie mir Prof. H. Jacobi freundlichst mitgeteilt hat—von dem Dichter Mañkhaka, der im zwölften Jahrhundert gelebt hat” (1903, 187). For other

The local flavor of such word in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is undeniable, and this is evidenced both by the footnote of the editors, who identify it as a regionalism for *vañcaka* (“a deceiver, a fraudulent man”),¹³ and from the later use in Kashmiri vernacular of the word *thag* to indicate a “deceiver, plunderer, assassin” (Grier-son 1932, 971). In Mañkha’s verse, however, the brigand turns out to be Spring himself, who first hides and then violently halts the travelers’ journeys—but not their longing sighs.

The poet seems to be unconsciously affected by such a traumatic reality in his “imaginary,” as the figure of a brigand return in another occasion:

*vaktraśriyo gaṇapater gativibhrame ca
devyā vibhāvya haṭhacauram asūyayeva |
yaḥ kalpitadvipatanuṃ danujaṃ cakāra
śliṣyan madakṣapaṇalolaśilimukhaugham || ŚKC 5.29 ||*

As if discovering the brigand
of the loveliness of Gaṇapati’s trunk
and of the grace of Devī’s movements,
out of rage he squeezed Danuja,
who was disguising himself into an elephant’s skin,
and made a swarm of whirling bees
burying the ichor of his arrogance (ŚKC 5.29)

The word “brigand” is expressed in this verse by the compound *haṭhacaura* with essentially the same construct (“*haṭha*+thief”) as Jonarāja’s commentary to ŚKC 6.33 (*haṭhamoṣaka*). The compound, likely intended as a synonym for *thaka*, is not common,¹⁴ but clearly highlights the violent component of the thugs’ ambushes, which, as witness by Kalhaṇa himself, were frequent in Kashmir during Jayasiṃha’s rule:

When, time and again, Kashmir had “no protection from the attacks of robbers [*taskaras*], and when the weak were slain by the strong”, it was, says Kalhaṇa, “as if the country had been without a king”. Since ambushes en route and brutal assaults by bands of outlaws on villages were common, a king was expected to guarantee his subjects their safety. There were indeed some rulers who successfully hunted bandits down and killed them,

earlier occurrences of the term, see Halbfass 1991, 102–107, who notices the usage of the word in two other twelfth century works, namely the *Kumārapālacarita* by the Jain author Hemacandra and in the comment by *Pūrnakalasaṅgani*. For Jain references to *thags*, see Dundas 1995.

¹³See Eds. “*thag*” *iti deśabhāṣāprasiddhena vañcakaviśeṣeṇa*.

¹⁴To date, I have not been able to trace any other occurrence of the compound.

making the valley in its entirety “so free from robbery [*acaurābhūt tathā bhūmir*], that at night the doors were left open in the bazaars, and the roads were secure for travelers (Slaje 2019, 14).

The dream of a safe Kashmir emerges from Mañkha’s imaginary as well. While describing the mountainous reign of Kailāsa in the fourth canto, for instance, the poet seems to project his hopes and fantasies onto the mythical city of Alakā, where both doors and windows are kept unlocked:

*yam adūratas trijagadekakautuka-
vyavahārasargavidhinavyavedhasam |
alakā vimudrabahusaudhasauhrdād
animeṣalocanacayeva vikṣate || ŚKC 4.60 ||*

As if covered in the watchful eyes of the several open palaces, Alakā observes, not from afar, him [Kailāsa], the new creator, performing the creation of wonderful activities, unique in the three worlds (ŚKC 4.60)

In this case, the meaning is provided by Jonarāja, which explains the reason for these unchained buildings with the ever-mild weather of the mythical Alakā—as opposed to the severe Kashmiri winters—and the absence of thieves (*taskaras*).¹⁵

Mañkha’s attention to Kashmir’s landscape and its lore seems to be in contrast with the mythical and standardized themes of *mahākāvyas*, in which the few local realia and vernacular words are the exception that proves the rule. The overall project of a court poem is usually related to a transregional common imaginary which adheres to what has been called the “Sanskrit cosmopolis” (Pollock 2006). As Pollock states for the transregional character of the *Mahābhārata*’s recensions, for instance,

All recensions of the epic transmit the epic’s transregional talk and thought and realia, as all recensions of the *Śākuntala*, whether Bangla or Malayali, transmit the talk and thought and realia of courtly culture. Norms of literary form and aesthetics that were universal in their self-understanding universally found application. The diversity and localism of scripts, editors, and recensions did nothing of significance to localize or diversify the cosmopolitan world of Sanskrit literary culture (Pollock 2006, 113–14).

Mañkha’s *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, as a product of courtly culture, is, on the one hand, built upon trans-local elements. Its plot is derived from epic and Purāṇic sources,

¹⁵See J. comm ad ŚKC 4.60: *taskaraśītādyabhāvān nityodghāṭitāni bahūni saudhāni rājagrāhāni. taskara°] taskara° J₂ L₂ P₄; tāpakara° Eds.; illegible in O.*

widespread throughout all South Asia; genre, style, and aesthetics are highly standardized, and constructed on the model of previous court poems, such as those of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, and Ratnākara (see Mandal 1991, 152–63); even the historical sections find some similarities in Bilhaṇa’s court poem and in the *caritakāvya*s.

On the other hand, however, Maṅkha’s references to the local are much more significant than what may appear at a first reading. To begin with, the last canto with its description of a poetic salon, and the third canto with its description of Maṅkha’s pedigree, show the tendency to zoom in on a landscape which is far from being translocal.

This need for localization becomes manifest also elsewhere in the poem, when certain images are clearly influenced by the poet’s Kashmiri perspective; Maṅkha’s imaginative inspiration is often rooted in the observation of the reality surrounding him (see, on this topic, Goldman 1990 vol. 1, 103).

Along with the most common *kāvya* themes we thus read about a milk-ocean which is frozen because of Kashmir’s rigid winters (Gomez 2016, 5), in a verse which balances the forces “between the region and the larger conceptual and cosmological universe of the Sanskrit cosmopolis” (Obrock 2020, 163); in the typical comparison of the blooming lotuses with the shining female eyes, we see the localization of those eyes in “the beautiful women of Kashmir” (see ŚKC 6.3), perhaps Maṅkha’s homage to his motherland and its specificity (see Obrock 2020, 163). As Luther Obrock states in his review of Kaul’s *The Making of Early Kashmir* (Kaul 2018):

For Kashmiri poets of Sanskrit, the valley was a site of nostalgia, history, politics, and self-presentation, yet it was not a stable Sanskrit identity speaking through them. Rather, descriptions of the valley were deployed by specific agents in specific contexts (Obrock 2020, 164).

Therefore, Maṅkha and his *Śrikanṭhacarita* will also be treated as specific agents in a specific context.

Chapter 4

Mañkha and Kingship

The present chapter delves into the relationship between Mañkha and king Jayasiṃha as emerged from the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, starting with Pollock’s considerations in his “Death of Sanskrit” and continuing with the description of the regent himself contained Kalhaṇa’s Rājatarāṅgiṇī. In addition, a section will be devoted to the analysis of kingship and courtly culture contained in the fourth and sixth cantos.

4.1 Mañkha and Jayasiṃha

The study of the relationship between Mañkha and the ruling king would be incomplete without an account of the political situation of Kashmir before Jayasiṃha (r. 1128–1155 CE), who “came to power on the wave of centuries of bloody, often interfamilial power struggle” (Knutson 2015, 281). The previous fights for the throne and the menace of local landlords had indeed heavily marked the poet’s perception of kingship and royal power, which ceased to be a secure port for intellectual activity.¹

On the one hand, we see the internal strife of the Lohara dynasty itself (1003–1339 CE),² whose members strive against each other claiming the throne of Kash-

¹One notable exception is the perception of Kashmir as “kingdom of learning” under Jayāpīḍa (see Bronner 2013).

²The Lohara dynasty takes its name from the foremost stronghold of their empire, Loharakoṭṭa (“the castle of Lohara”). The marriage between the king of Kashmir Kṣemagupta with Diddā, the daughter of the king of Lohara Siṃharāja, sealed the union between the two reigns. After Kṣemagupta’s death, Diddā managed the kingdom herself, choosing her nephew Saṃgrāmarāja as the first king of Kashmir coming from the Lohara dynasty (r. 1003–1028 CE, see Stein 1900, vol. 1, 106). The last Hindu king in Kashmir lasted until 1339, when the widow queen Koṭā was deposed by Shāh Mīr, who founded the first Muhammadan dynasty (Stein 1900, vol. 1, 130).

mir.³ The inter-familiar fights worsened under king Harṣa (r. 1089–1111 CE), guilty of the most tragic episode of Kashmir history, his mad temple-plundering and icon-confiscation (Pollock 2001, 399, Stein 1900, vol. 1, 113). After Harṣa’s death, the struggle for power continued between the two pretenders Uccala and Sussala. The latter, Jayasiṃha’s father, tried to secure the throne of Kashmir, but had to deal with continuous rebellions of other heirs until the end of his reign, in 1128.

The threat of this landed aristocracy, constituted of members of the royal family, was accompanied with that of the local class of feudatory landlords, the Ḍāmaras, “strong enough to neglect the commands of the king” (Stein 1900, vol. 2, 304). The presence of the Ḍāmaras, and their menace to the royal power, is reported in various episodes narrated in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, in which these “princes” are described as forming very powerful oligarchies, with their own attendees and their own internally organized reigns and strongholds (Stein 1900, vol. 2, 305). The power of the Ḍāmaras started growing and establishing itself as semi-independent during the Lohara dynasty in the twelfth century, to the extent that they even participated in the fights for royal succession as allied of Sussala, Jayasiṃha’s father (Stein 1900, 306).

In the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, the presence of controversial verses on the authority of kings and princes has given rise to a debate not only on the evolution of literary patronage in the wake of the second millennium, but also on the relationship between Maṅkha and the idea of kingship itself. At the beginning of his court epic, the poet seems to have a critical attitude towards the idea of poetry as subservient to the celebration of mortal regents; Maṅkha clearly states that the only royal figure worth praising is none other than the god Śiva:

*sarvaiḥ kaiścana dūṣitāḥ kavitr̥bhiḥ prastīrya pṛthvībhr̥tām
āsthānāpaṇasīmni vikrayatiraskārād anarghā giraḥ |
devasyādribhiduttamaṅgamakarīḍhāṅghrirenusrajah
kailāsādrisabhāpater iti mayā maṅkhena maṅkhāyate || ŚKC 1.56 ||*

All the poets have debased their language, that priceless treasure, by shamelessly putting it up for sale in those cheap shops—the royal courts. I, Maṅkha, however, am eulogist of the King whose court is Mount Kailāsa, the god whose feet-dust is gently touched by the monster which adorns Indra’s [bowing] head (ŚKC 1.56, transl. in consultation of Slaje 2015, 39)

Maṅkha’s aversion plays against whom we can call “poets of convenience”, who

³The first attempt at seizing the throne comes from Diddā’s nephew Vīgraharāja, who had been given the castle of Lohara but tried to conquer Śrīnagar in ca. 1028 (Stein 1900, vol. 2, 294).

obey to the market rules of the king’s patronage, and this emerges also in other verses of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. We see, for instance, a harsh condemnation of the poetic praise of princes at the very beginning of the twenty-fifth canto, where the poet not only insists anew on his devotion to Śiva alone (ŚKC 25.1, 5), but also on the “dirtiness” of those *kavis* who dedicate their lives to the celebration of royalty:

dhik tān kṛtaplutir yeṣāṃ bhāraty adhisarasvati |
svaṃ dūṣayati matteva nṛpacāṭukapāṃśubhiḥ || ŚKC 25.8 ||
dr̥ṣṭiḥ sārasvatī bhūrirajobhiḥ iha pāṛthivaiḥ |
vaśaṃvadīkṛtā satyaṃ kaveḥ kāluṣyaṃ aśnute || ŚKC 25.9 ||

But shame on those [poets] whose Linguistic Art, [the goddess Sārasvatī], plunges into such a river of speech, where she herself—as if went completely crazy—gets filthy in the dirt of the praises of princes. How true: Sārasvatī, the sight of the poet, dims, for having given herself too much to the dust of mortal rulers. (ŚKC 25.8–9)

Maṅkha’s “mortal ruler” Jayasiṃha is not even present at the *sabhā*, and although the king is mentioned by name twice in the poem, these references are always made in passing. The first time we read the name of Jayasiṃha is in the report of Maṅkha’s own election as minister in the third canto (ŚKC 3.66, see § 2.1). There the king is engendered only to dignify the poet’s role at the court, and no other verse is addressed to Jayasiṃha alone.

In the second occurrence, the short praise of Jayasiṃha is not even uttered by the author, who puts the words in the mouth of one of the salon’s attendees, the writer Devadhara. Here the real motive for the mention of Jayasiṃha is to praise, by comparison, Alaṅkāra, the real host of the *sabhā*:

ekaṃ śrījayasiṃhapāṛthivapatim kāśmiramīnadhvajam
tasyopāsitasamdhivigraham alaṅkāraṃ dvitīyaṃ stumaḥ |
bhūbharah prathamena pannagapateḥ kṣmāṃ rakṣatā vārīto
nīto ’nyena kṛtārthatāṃ pravacanair bhāṣyopadeśāśramaḥ || 25.61 ||

As a first thing, we praise the king of princes,
the venerable Jayasiṃha, the fish-bannered Kāma of Kashmir,
and then Alaṅkāra, who was honored by the latter
with the ministry of war and peace:
the weight of the earth was freed from the king of snakes
by the first one, protector of the kingdom;
by the other was led to success the effort
of teaching [Patañjali’s] Bhāṣya through [his] explanations

(ŚKC 25.61, my transl. in consultation of Slaje 2015, 245)

The absence of Jayasiṃha at the literary gathering and Maṅkha's harsh critiques of the poetic celebrations of kings have led some scholars to interpret the first verse as a declaration of the poet's independence from a corrupt court. Sheldon Pollock, for instance, states:

In such a world, shaken by unprecedented acts of royal depravity and irreligiosity, by the madness and suicide of kings, it would hardly be surprising if the court had ceased to command the sympathies of its subjects. It is as a direct consequence of this, one has to assume, that for poets like Maṅkha political power had not only become irrelevant to their lives as creative artists and to the themes of their poetry, but an impediment. [...] Alaṅkāra's group, meeting at his home, amounts to a kind of inchoate literary public sphere, made up of scholars, literati, and local and foreign men of affairs—but no king. (Pollock 2001, 399).

Pollock's considerations are based on the problematic history of the twelfth-century Kashmir, supported by Kalhaṇa's accounts on depravity and dissolution of kings. The figure of Jayasiṃha, however, does not seem to be criticized as much as the previous regents. On the contrary, a study of the occasions in which the king appears reveals Jayasiṃha's kingdom to be quite peaceful:

This king (Jayasiṃha) is as the ocean, which has shown its wonderful character by producing Lakṣmī, the nectar (*sudhā*), the treasures (*ratna*), the elephant (Airāvata) the horse (Uchchaiṣravas), the moon and other [wonders]. He shows in various ways his wonderful character which astonishes the world, and his power cannot be measured by anyone. He did not pride himself: "I have slain him whom my father could not reach", nor did he rejoice: "Destroyed is this thorn [in the side] of kings". He, being free from deceit in his nature and full of generosity, did not think with wrath [...] Thus thought the lord of the earth with rare generosity, and quickly gave orders that the last honors be paid to such an enemy (RT 8.1780-1787, transl. Stein 1900, 139).

This passage is a glaring example of the difficulty to provide a proper account on Jayasiṃha's reign. On the one hand, we see the results of the atrocities of previous kings in the continuous riots of vassals and Dāmaras, a legacy of centuries of misgovernment. On the other hand, Jayasiṃha seems to redeem himself with good government, a pious conduct, and rich grants. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* witnesses

that Jayasiṃha managed to restore the equilibrium of the Valley, becoming almost a role model for the population of Kashmir:

This jewel of a king attained a pleasing character in the course of his development, just as the vine [attains] greater sweetness as it grows to maturity. (RT 8.2386 transl. Stein 1900, 184)

But what use is to praise the construction of Maṭhas and other [buildings] by him who gave back again to the whole Kaśmir its villages and its City? He restores to this land which owing to the baseness of the times was like a decayed forest, wealth, population and habitations. (RT 8.2445-6, transl. Stein 1900, 191)

Even those who [before] lived wholly for fighting, acquired by the king's pious conduct an eager desire for good deeds, and devoted themselves to the acquisition of religious merits (RT 8.3345, transl. Stein 1900, 261)

In addition to the king's pious behavior, Jayasiṃha's love and support of the arts is well attested through his continuous financing of scholars, regardless of the political situation.

From morning to evening one does not see him do one act for which men of experience do not give the direction. In the black darkness of ignorance, learning had shown forth at intervals in the passing lightning-flashes of fortune [coming] from Jayāpīḍa and other [royal patrons]. He, however, has given permanent brilliancy to the picture of his virtue which is of wondrous variety, by bestowing wealth which lasts like the radiant light of a jewel. He has made scholar and their descendants owners [...] Safe is the journey for scholars who follow him as their caravan-leader on the path on which his intuition guides, and which has been found by his knowledge [...] (RT 8.2392-97, transl. Stein 1900, 185)

As a matter of fact, the process of detachment from royal patronage, which had been started before Jayasiṃha, must have influenced Mañkha's literary production. The celebration of a king was no longer requested for the success of a court poem. However, referring to royal power as an "impediment" (Pollock 2001, 399), as well as to Jayasiṃha as driven by "dissolution" and "depravity", is perhaps too bold.

As we read in the *Rājataranṅiṇī* all the intellectuals are made "owners" (see RT 8.2397 above) or ministers by the king himself, and owe part of their success to

the political careers granted by Jayasiṃha and his father. Śṛṅgara and Alaṅkāra, two of the poet's older brothers, are elected by Sussala "supreme judge" and "minister for war and peace" respectively (*brhattachantrapatitvakalpana* in ŚKC 3.50, and *saṃdhivigraha*, ŚKC 3.62, see § 2.1), and the tie between the author's family and royal power continues under Jayasiṃha as well.⁴

4.2 Kings and Courts in the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*

*Mahākāvya*s, as court poems, are entrenched with images related to monarchy, and the not-so-hidden allusions to kings, their kingdoms and endeavors is certainly the norm.⁵ Descriptions of councils, embassies, the marching of an army and its battles, the inevitable victory of the hero (*vīra*), human or divine, and sketches of courtly life are themes which are common to all *mahākāvya*s. Among those preceding Maṅkha's *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, we see in the *Kumārasaṃbhava* by Kālidāsa, as well as in the *Haraviḥaya* by Ratnākara, the immediate identification of Śiva with a regent; a royal dynasty is celebrated in the *Raghuvamśa*, and the *svayaṃvara* of princess Indumatī in the eighth canto is the occasion for the description of her suitors' kingdoms; Bhāravi opens his *Kirātārjunīya* with a war council at the court of the exiled king Yudhiṣṭhira; in his *Śiśupālavadhā*, Māgha expounds the deeds of the evil king Śiśupāla, ultimately killed by Viṣṇu-Kriṣṇa, the embodiment of kingly righteousness.

At the beginning of Maṅkha's court poem, too, one can identify Śiva with the hero-king (ŚKC 1.56), although the actual *mise-en-scène* of the protagonist's kingdom (*deśa*) is delayed to the fourth canto, with the description of the mountain, Śiva's court. The third canto, that editors and the manuscripts' final rubrics call "description of the region" (*deśavarṇana*), contains a lyrical depiction of the valley of Kashmir and of Śrīnagar, a "region" which is neither fictional nor part of the plot. Here, the mention of kings Sussala and Jayasiṃha is unrelated to the poetic fiction of the *mahākāvya*.⁶

One has to wait until later cantos to see a direct implementation of courtly

⁴*vitīrya puṣpasrajam unmadālibhiḥ puraskṛtām daivaśubhākṣarair iva | asūtrayad yasya sa susalākṣamāpatir brhattachantrapatitvakalpanam* || ŚKC 3.50 || This one, king Sussala, entrusted him, (Śṛṅgāra), with the office of supreme judge, handing him over a flower wreath, full of drunken black bees, as if they were the auspicious letters of Fate (ŚKC 3.50).

⁵See Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa* 1.17bcd: *kumārodayavarṇanaiḥ mantradūtaprayāṇajināyakābhyudayair api*.

⁶This differs, for instance, from what Bilhaṇa does with the figure of king Vikramāditya, which becomes the protagonist of his *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* (see Cox 2016a, 2016b, 122). For the ambivalence on the relationship between Bilhaṇa and his patron, see Bronner 2010 and McCrea 2010.

and kingly features connected to Śiva, since other descriptions and convivial scenes are protracted up to the sixteenth canto (see § 2.3). The actual description of the assembly hall, the war council, the dialogues between king and court (Śiva and the gods) is contained, after more than half of the poem, in the seventeenth canto.

If we examine the intermediate cantos, however, we notice that Mañkha's ideology of kingship resurfaces in various occurrences. Even in those sections that do not relate to Śiva as the highest ranking personage, various secondary characters with royal-like behavior, performing kingly duties and surrounded by their own courts populate the poet's imagination.

The most significant representations of lyrical kingship and courtly culture appear in the fourth canto with the description of Kailāsa, where the mountain is anthropomorphized in the persona of a regent, and in the sixth canto, where the description of spring provides a pretext for the poetic transposition of courtly and military imagery.

4.2.1 The Mountain-King in the Fourth Canto ⁷

The whole fourth canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, the “description of Kailāsa” (*kailāsa-varṇana*), seems to have the purpose of representing the mountain as a fully legitimate king, and this can be derived from two elements. The first and more immediate one is, of course, Mañkha's explicit use of a terminology related to royalty.

We find, for instance, the employment of the technical term “panegyric” (*praśasti*), the inscribed royal laudation (*praśastipaṭṭa*, or *praśastipaṭa*, see Schmidt 1928, 270), which evidently guides our interpretation in the identification of the mountain as the king in its own structured royal court:

yo madhya madhya saṃkrāntanavābhraṇaśāritaiḥ |
lauhitīkataṭair bhāti svapraśastipaṭair iva || ŚKC 4.24 ||

With his crystal slopes variegated by the rain drops
falling from the clouds [and] thickening
in the very center of the valleys,
Kailāsa appears like the slab

⁷Section partially based on Livio, Chiara. 2019. ‘Devotee, King and Creator: Kailāsa as ποιητής in *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* IV’. In Heleen De Jonckheere, Marie-Hélène Gorrise and Agnieszka Rostalska, eds., *Puṣpikā, Tracing Ancient India, through Texts and Traditions*, vol. 5, 69–94. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

for his own royal panegyric (ŚKC 4.24)

The role of the mountain as king is also evidenced by the recognition of Kailāsa's power by his subjects and allies. In one occasion, the personified Gaṅgā (*jāhnavī*) is described as performing a circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇa*) around the mountain. The river cannot compete with the mountain's victorious brightness, and is forced, therefore, to pay homage to Kailāsa.⁸

ābaddhapariveśasya raśmibhiḥ sphaṭikāśmanām |
pradakṣiṇapravṛtteva rājate yasya jāhnavī || ŚKC 4.10 ||

Gaṅgā, Jahnu's daughter, circling around [the mountain]
as if performing a *pradakṣiṇa*,
shines for Kailāsa, with his vest fastened
by the crystal luster (ŚKC 4.10)

The second element connected to royalty is the presence of a constant allusion to luminosity, whiteness, and reflections, which shapes the fourth canto and constitutes its underlying pattern. Almost every verse contains one or more synonyms or quasi-synonyms belonging to the semantic sphere of light. Among the verbal roots, we have √*bhā* (ŚKC 4.2, 30), √*śri* (ŚKC 4.3), √*cakās* (ŚKC 4.5, 61), and √*rāj* (ŚKC 4.10); among the nouns, *raśmi* (ŚKC 4.3, 10, 57), *śrī* (ŚKC 4.3, 30), *bha* (ŚKC 4.14,), *aṃśu* (ŚKC 4.4, 11, 34), *dyuti* (ŚKC 4.6, 13, 53), *dīpti* (ŚKC 4.47), *gabhasti* (ŚKC 4.6, 13), *tejas* (ŚKC 4.12, 48), *yaśas* (ŚKC 4.13), *lakṣmī* (ŚKC 4.23), *prakāśa* (ŚKC 4.57), and *ruci* (ŚKC 4.63, 64).

The reflections of these lights, namely those of moon and sun over the snowy and crystal slopes (*sphaṭika* in ŚKC 4.2, 12, 31, 57) which are then reflected back by Kailāsa, are expressed by the past participle *bimbita* (ŚKC 4.32, 48) and by the noun *pratibimba* (ŚKC 4.16, 25), and are often accompanied by adjectives indicating whiteness and purity, such as *sita* (ŚKC 4.6) and *śveta* (ŚKC 4.20). The whiteness of the mountain and its surroundings, however, is mostly conveyed through signifiers. Kailāsa is as white as a smile (*hāsa* in ŚKC 4.1, 64), as the milk-ocean waves (ŚKC 4.4), as a royal goose (*haṃsa* in ŚKC 4.23), as the moon (*śaśin* in ŚKC 4.2), as camphor (*karpūra*, in ŚKC 4.5), and the like, in a plethora of images which would be readily connected to royal power by the poet's learned audience.

⁸Jonarāja aptly advances two reasons for Gaṅgā's circumambulation: the river is either an enemy subdued by Kailāsa's victorious whiteness, or it expresses its homage in the quality of an ally (see J. comm. ad ŚKC 4.10: *śvetatvāvajayo bandhutvaṃ vā pradakṣiṇe hetuḥ | anyo 'pi jitaḥ sanpradakṣiṇaṃ karoti*).

The choice of elaborating a whole canto on whiteness and splendor—the leit-motiv of Mañkha’s *kailāsavarṇana*—is, on the one hand, related to that sentiment of wonder (*adbhutarasa*) that the poet wishes to instill in the audience through the description of astonishing phenomena taking place on the mountain (see § 5.2). On the other hand, the aesthetics of whiteness (*śauklya*), dear to *kāvya*, is undeniably connected to the theories explicated by Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Stchoupak and Renou 1946, 219–20), for which the association of an object or character to the white color expresses its glory and fame (*yaśas*).

Mañkha is certainly aware of this principle and seems to adapt it properly to king Kailāsa, as we can read in the following verse:

dikṣu dyutibhir eṇāṅkagabhastiprativastubhiḥ |
yaśāṃsi varṣatā yena rājanvanto mahībhṛtaḥ || ŚKC 4.13 ||

The mountains are ruled by a just monarch,
 who showers everywhere a rain of glory
 through [his] splendor, equal to moonbeams (ŚKC 4.13)

The *dharma* of a king is certainly to share glory with his subjects. Kailāsa, in this sense, is the exemplary model of a good king,⁹ whose white splendor is allotted to the mountain-vassals at his feet (*mahībhṛt*).¹⁰ In his identification of the luminous mountain with a royal figure, then, Mañkha clearly echoes an established tradition for which “famous kings are described as exceeding all beings in strength, outshining all in luster (*tejas*), transcending all in majesty” (Gonda 1966, 5). The strategy of applying royal attributes to a mountain is not unique to Mañkha, and can be found as early as in the *Kumārasambhava*, as already observed by Giuliano Boccali (2011, 81). In the *incipit* of Kālidāsa’s court poem, in fact, Pārvatī’s father Himālaya is “king of the mountains” with “supremacy over the other ranges” and possessor of “prosperous wealth”,¹¹ while luminosity and brightness determine his magnanimous royalty.

The splendid surroundings of a mountain-king reminds us of Bhāravi’s *Kirātārjunīya*, in which the *parvatavarṇana* is shaped around luminosity and prosperity. Not only does the poet describe the powerful king Himālaya (*acalādhipa* in KA 5.17) as completely immersed in a golden and bright scenery throughout the whole canto, but also he qualifies the king as the just regent joined by ever-present luminous “fortune” (*śrī* or *lakṣmī*), the “goddess or principle of material

⁹See J. comm. ad ŚKC 4.13: *kailāsaḥ śailānām surājety arthaḥ [...] rājño yaśovarṣaṇam ucitam.*

¹⁰Notice the ambivalence of the compound *mahībhṛt*, literally “earth supporter”, indicating both mountains and kings, in this case Kailāsa’s allies.

¹¹*nagādhirāja*° KS 1.1, *girirāja*°, KS 1.13, *bhūdharānām adhipa*° KS 1.22, *mahībhṛt*° KS 1.27. *śailādhipatyam*, KS 1.17, *saubhāgya*° KS 1.3.

prosperity and outward splendor connected with it, who is intimately related to kingship” (Gonda 1966, 52).¹²

Having attained the acme of excellence through their abundant virtues, the luminous herbs that grow on this mountain worshiped by the world shine continuously, day and night, like fortune steadily favoring a king who practices right conduct and just policy (KA 5.24, transl. Peterson 2016, 85).¹³

There is no doubt on the influence of Bhāravi on Mañkha’s *kailāsavarṇana* and on his imagination of the mountain as a royal figure.¹⁴ The variations on common themes, however, are often more interesting than their commonalities. We see, for instance, that Bhāravi’s description of Himālaya is much more delicate than that of Mañkha, with verses dedicated to the spring season on the mountain, to its lush vegetation and prolific fauna, and to sketches of love encounters, perhaps an echo to the pleasures of courtesans at the mountain’s court.

In the *kailāsavarṇana*, on the other hand, the more erotic and idyllic verses are reduced to just a few,¹⁵ while Mañkha’s predilection for powerful images of strength and conquest in a harsher wintry landscape emerge from the canto. Kailāsa, is, then, the protector of women, Kāma’s treasure, in case of calamities (ŚKC 4.19), a mighty thousand-eyed Indra (ŚKC 4.20), the victorious king intent on overcoming mountain Rohaṇa (ŚKC 4.11), and the ultimate destroyer of all

¹²Note that in Bhāravi’s *Kirātārjunīya*, the final verse of each canto ends with the word *lakṣmī*, while Māgha, in his *Śiśupālavadha*, adopts the same strategy and closes each final verse with *śrī* (see Lienhard 1984, 190).

¹³KA 5.24: *guṇasampadā samadhigamya paraṃ mahimānamatra mahite jagatām | nayaśālīni śriya ivādhipatau viramanti na jvalitum ausadhayaḥ ||*.

¹⁴Both Bhāravi and Mañkha find in Kālidāsa their poetic model, and therefore their descriptions of mountain-kings can be compared on various levels, starting with the tight structure of the verses, syntactically connected by relative pronouns—Kālidāsa’s legacy—and passing through common images and intents, namely the suggestion of wonder and the evocation of the mountain’s royal power (see Peterson 2016, fn. 1, 390-91). Note also that both the *Kirātārjunīya* and the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* have been commented by Jonarāja (see above § 1, fn. 7), which could indicate both the diffusion of the two texts in Kashmir and their vicinity. The brilliance of magical herbs and the reflected hues of the gems as related to kingship recur also in Māgha, who chooses the Raivataka peak for the mountain chapter of his *Śiśupālavadha*. The comparison between the mountain and a king, however, is less apparent. We can quote a verse from the *Śiśupālavadha* that seems to hint at the good qualities of mountain Raivataka, although they might be related to the more spiritual context of the good qualities of Śiva transferred in the devotee’s soul, as observed by Dundas (2017, 727n8): “Sunstones poured forth a fierce radiance when touched by the sun’s rays. Raivataka affirmed a general principle—attributes, when transferred, are altered in conformity to their recipient’s caliber” (ŚV 4.15).

¹⁵See, for instance, the erotic verse of Kailāsa drawing unguent curlicues on the directions’ faces (ŚKC 4.5), Śiva’s and Pārvatī’s amorous plays (ŚKC 4.21), and the six-verses sections dedicated to the Kailāsa’s offering of its own vegetation in a *pūjā* for Śiva (see below).

the other colors, which are absorbed into his mighty whiteness (ŚKC 4.53).

4.2.2 Kāma and Vasanta: the Feudal Pyramid of Love

The sixth canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, the “description of a universal spring” (*sād-hāraṇavasantavarṇana*), is perhaps the best example of the depiction of kings and courts in their feudal-like structure. Kāma, the utmost landlord of springtime, occupies the highest position in such hierarchy, while Vasanta, the male personification of Spring (also called Madhu and Caitra in the canto), is described in his function of vassal and ally.¹⁶

*navamasṛṇatrṇaughasīyāmalāyām ilāyām
atha śīśiram apāstodrekamudraṃ nidadrau |
abhajata ca vasanto 'naṅgasarvasvarakṣā-
vidhiṣu madhupanādāhaṃkrto yāmikatvam || 6.74 ||*

Resigned the seal of [his] predominance
Winter fell asleep on the earth,
dark for the [great] quantity of young and tender grass,
and Spring, exalted by the sounding praise of the honey-drinking bees,
granted the role of sentinel to the ones who were to defend
all Anaṅga's possessions (ŚKC 6.74)

The beginning of spring comes as a military victory over the previous king, winter, and as the inevitable incorporation of the latter's territories into the dominion of the newly established king, Kāma.¹⁷ In this case Vasanta, the actual perpetrator of the conquest, takes power and appoints the bees as the “sentinels” (*yāmikatvam*, J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.74: *jāgarūkatvam*), with the duty of patrolling Kāma's kingdom. The result is a suggestion of an authentic sketch of military life, with the soldiers-guards humming to keep themselves awake during their night watch.¹⁸

¹⁶To the best of my knowledge, the first occurrence in *kāvya* of Vasanta as a proper anthropomorphic character, friend and ally of Kāma, appears in Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* (KS 3.23).

¹⁷Jonarāja connects the end of the winter and the predominance of spring to the military conquest of the latter on the former, and observes that whoever is overpowered, this one is absorbed [in the kingdom of the winner] (*yaḥ paribhūtaḥ sa hi līno bhavati*), such as the ice disappears in the grass at springtime.

¹⁸The connection between humming bees and humming soldiers was noted by Jonarāja, for

While acknowledging the superiority of Kāma, Vasanta, in turn, is the “proud king of seasons” (*ṛtūnām adhipaḥ...sagarvaḥ* in ŚKC 6.50) and rules over his own valvassors—wind, moon, and birds.

*śrīkhaṇḍaśailānilarātrirājapuṃskokilādipravibhaktarājyaḥ |
haṭhād ṛtūnām adhipaś cakāra jagat sagarvaḥ smaravīrabhogyam || 6.50 ||*

With [his] kingdom equally distributed
among the Wind of the Sandalwood mountain,
the Moon, king of the night,
and the male Cuckoos,
Spring, the proud king of seasons,
inevitably made this world the enjoyable possession
of that hero who is Smara. (ŚKC 6.50)

The power of the god Kāma during—and with—Spring¹⁹ is, for Mañkha, an opportunity to display an incredibly rich series of military metaphors, which relate to the standard *kāvya* theme of “love as war” but stand out for their persistence if compared to spring-descriptions in other *mahākāvyas*.²⁰

*abhinavavibhavāptau bandhanān mānanāmno
nikhilaśaśimukhīnām mocayan mānasāni |
abhajata sahakārasyandasāndrābhiṣekair
adhiparabhṛtakaṇṭhaṃ sauṣṭhavaṃ rāgarājah || 6.58 ||*

After the conquest of a new dominion,
he released from those chains of pride

whom “during the night watches, one sleeps [while] another, awake, sings” (J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.74: *yāmikeṣu kaścīn nidrāti dvitīyo jāgran nādān muñcati*).

¹⁹Jonarāja specifies: “the meaning is: because of the royal power of Vasanta, everything became Kāma’s possession” (*vasantaprabhāvāt kāmasya viśvam āyattam abhūd ity arthaḥ*).

²⁰In the *Kumārasambhava*, Spring is described as involved in the preparation of Love’s flowery arrows (KS 3.27), while references to the military activities of spring appear in the *Rtusamhāra* (RS 6.1), in which the characteristics of Vasanta and Kāma blur to the point that the former becomes the latter (see Feller 1995, 92–93). In previous *mahākāvyas*, however, the reference to war and polity is not as insistent as in Mañkha’s sixth canto. In Māgha’s *Śiśupālavadha*, for instance, the section dedicated to Spring is limited to twenty verses (ŚV 6.2–21) and does not contain many references to bellicose interventions. In Bhāravi’s *Kirātārjunīya* the description of spring is contained in seven verses in the tenth canto (KA 10.29–35), of which only the last one refers to spring (*puṣpamāsaḥ*) as “having conquered the entire universe” (*avajitabhuvanas* KA 10.35). The only court poem which seems to resemble Mañkha’s depiction of a male high-ranked Spring with a role in the plot is Ratnākara’s *Haravijaya*, in which Vasanta, among all seasons, is the one who speaks to Śiva at the beginning of the war council gathered because of the menace of the demon Andhaka (HV 6.9–12) (see § 6.2).

the thoughts of all the moon-faced women;
through dense ablutions oozing from the mangoes
Kāma, king of passion, was sharing his power
with the throat of the chief of the cuckoos. (ŚKC 6.58)

The image of the general amnesty after a king's victory over a new territory is supported by the royal duties that come with it: the liberation of prisoners (J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.58: *bandhanasphoṭa*), in this case the women chained by pride, and the royal ritual aspersions (J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.58: *rājyābhiṣeka*), the juice spilling from the mature mangoes.²¹

Images of conquest and war extend over the whole sixth canto, and Kāma can pride himself with his vernal vegetation and fauna, metamorphosed into an array of soldiers through Mañkha's employment of the rhetorical figures (in the following cases, *arthalañkāras*) of puns (*śleṣas*) and metaphorical identifications (*rūpakas*, see Gerow 1971, 239–43).

The mango trees are then transformed into Love's riotous troops, who lift the sand—their pollen (*rajas*)—stepping on the battlefield, and display their terrific splendor through their chariots—their leaves (*pattra*)—while the cuckoos raise screams of war (ŚKC 6.11).

Vasanta's soldiers are the *aśoka* trees, who seem to bleed because of their red flowers, resembling some the wounds, covered in black bees, their dark bandage (ŚKC 6.61).²² The white jasmine flowers, in the literary play, become the white troops showing Kāma's glory (*yaśonuvāda*) and blinding the women's eyes, while the humming bees, sounding like kettledrums, pierce their ears with a cloud of arrows (ŚKC 6.72).

The presence of Vasanta is undoubtedly needed for Kāma's success, and the alliance between the two cannot be boasted about by the other seasons, since Spring alone knows how to operate Love's statecraft:

akhaṇḍaṣāḍḡguṇyapatheṣu vidvān vasanta eko rasapārthivasya |
anyartavo mānmathapustakeṣu na granthim unmoktum api kṣamante || 6.4 ||

²¹The explanation of the verse is given by Jonarāja, who glosses: “the king, after the conquest of a new territory, shares his excellence through the royal ritual aspersion and the liberation from chains” (J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.58: *rājā ca navarājyalābhe bandhanasphoṭam kurvan rājyābhiṣekaiḥ sauṣṭhavam bhajate*). This is confirmed in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*: “the king liberates all prisoners when a new country has been subdued, when the heir to the throne is consecrated, or when a royal prince is born” (Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* 56, and Gonda 1966, 97). In court poems, we see the similar image in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (3.20) and in Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* (11.60), where the newly risen sun releases from prison the bees held captive in the flower-buds (see Peterson 2017, 375 and note 26, 739).

²²Jonarāja comments the practice with “the soldiers fasten a bondage on the fresh bleeding wounds” (*yodhās ca rudhirārdreṣu vraṇeṣu paṭṭikāṃ grathnanti*)

Spring alone knows the paths
of the six royal policies of the king of passion;
the other seasons are not even able to unfasten
the knot on the books of Love. (ŚKC 6.4)

The “six royal policies” (*ṣāḍguṇya*), the root-measures of polity a king must master to become successful, namely those of peace, war, neutrality, march, alliance, and dual strategy (Olivelle 2013, 277), are here applied to the persona of Spring-time.²³ Kāma even anoints Vasanta as the new minister²⁴ who makes his appearance in the air through the bees, represented as his frowning and angry black eyebrows:

na mānabhaṅgāya babhūva keṣāṃ lolālimālābhrukūṭicchaṭābhiḥ |
viśvaikajiṣṇor madanasya navyasācivyaḥ madhur unmadiṣṇuḥ || 6.26 ||

To destroy the pride of which men
would not suffice [that] intoxicating Madhu,
because of [his] new ministry for Madana,
the sole conqueror of everything,
with the swarms of angry stares
of the waving bees’ garland? (ŚKC 6.26)

As stated earlier, Kāma’s superior kingship does not exclude the high royal rank of Spring who, in the sixth canto, is exalted as a benevolent “emperor of the seasons” (*ṛtacakravartin*) and described as performing rituals for the wealth of his own personal country. The prerogative of a king, as protector of the land, is “to see that the people were fed, not by making ‘social laws’, but by bringing fertility to the fields, by producing the life-giving water, by giving the country the normal seasons” (see Gonda 1966, 69), and this is accomplished by Vasanta:

divijādhirājena gavāṃ prasādāt pratikṣapaṃ kārītabhūmīsekāḥ |

²³The mention of the six royal policies in this verse is justified by the presence of a king, Kāma, as Jonarāja suggest (*pārthivatvāt ṣāṅguṇyoktaḥ*). With “books of Love” (*māmathapustaka*) Mañkha clearly refers to the difficulty of the instructions to achieve a fulfilling and sophisticated love life, as confirmed by the commentator (*apīśabdena daṇḍāpūpikayā kāmāśāstrāvabodho duṣkara iti sūcitam*). Needless to say, the author is likely thinking of Vātsyāyana’s *Kāmasūtra*.

²⁴The new ministry (*navyasācivya*, see J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.4: *navamantritvāt dr̥pto vasanto*), or simply, the new alliance, is that between Kāma, the king, and Vasanta, as suggested by Jonarāja: *navasacivaś ca bhrukūṭibhiḥ sarveṣāṃ mānakhaṇḍanaṃ karoti* (J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.4).

pānthapriyāṇam ṛtacakravartī netreṣv avagrāham apācakāra || 6.23 ||

Night after night, Spring, the emperor of seasons,
removed the obstacle [to the tears] in the eyes of the travelers' lovers,
with [his] earth made exceptional
by the moon through the brightness of its rays;
at the same time, He removed the obstacle [to the rains]
by sprinkling his reign with a prasāda of cow-milk
performed by the chief of the Brahmins. (ŚKC 6.23)²⁵

The royal character of Spring is also confirmed by his connection to the concept of *śrī* (or *lakṣmī*) in the sense of prosperity, fertility and wealth of a kingdom (Gonda 1966, 46; Kinsley 1988, 19). *Śrī*, or *Lakṣmī*, stands for “the embodiment of auspicious, particularly royal, qualities” (Kinsley 1988, 20), the goddess accompanying a male high-ranked character. As Kinsley notes for the earliest couple *Śrī*-Soma, for instance, the presence of the goddess at Soma's side after his acquisition of royal power is particularly interesting as “she demonstrates one of her main characteristics, that of bestowing royal authority or being present where royal authority exists” (Kinsley 1988, 23).

In Mañkha's case, the lush prosperity of king Spring is doubled by the presence of *Śrī*/*Lakṣmī*, which is not only the splendor and wealth of his thriving realm, but also his personified consort:²⁶

kaśmīrakāntānanakimkarāṇi pañkeruhāṇi kva na palvalesu |
athāvīr āsan sahasopagantuṃ vasantalakṣmyā iva viṣṭaratvam || 6.3 ||

²⁵Reference is here to the ritual practice of bathing the earth (*bhūmī*+°*seka*) with the offering (*prasāda*) of cow-milk in order to avert droughts in the kingdom (J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.23: *sa cakravartīm svadeśeṣu varṣapratibandham nihanti*). For the sprinkling of milk during the royal *abhiṣeka* see Gonda 1966, 88. For the practice of pouring cow's milk into the *tīrtha*-fountain at Jayavana (currently Zevan, in Kashmir) during springtime to secure the success of the crop see Stein 1900, 458.

²⁶Although some scholars have interpreted *śrī*/*lakṣmī* as a suffix added to a male noun to mark its female gender (Feller 1995, 94–95), in Mañkha's sixth canto *śrī* seems to be personified as Vasanta's beauty or consort, following the examples of the divine couples Soma+*Śrī*, Dharma+*Śrī*, Indra+*Śrī*, Kubera+*Śrī*, and, above all, Viṣṇu+*Śrī* (Kinsley 1988, 23–26). If we reduce *śrī* to a mere “feminizing device” (Feller 1995, 94), in fact, the whole concept of wealth and splendor associated to the realm of a universal spring fades into a less meaningful image. For the translation of *madhuśrī* as the goddess of Spring in other court poems see Renou's “déesse” in RaghV 9.45 (Renou 1928). *Madhuśrī* (or *Vasantalakṣmī*) appears as the personification of “Beauty of Spring” also in *Kumārasaṃbhava* 3.30 (*madhuśrī*), *Kirātārjunīya* 10.31 (*vasantalakṣmī*), and *Śiṣupālavadhā* 6.69 (*madhuśrī*).

Where else, then, if not in the ponds,
 appeared before the eyes the lotuses,
 servants of the faces of the beautiful Kashmiri women,
 as if they were becoming, at once,
 the seat of Spring's Lakṣmī? (ŚKC 6.3)²⁷

The figure of Śrī as associated to Vasanta appears three other times in the sixth canto. In one case, we see the description of the goddess spreading over the whole world and conquering it while dancing: her lifted leg is the *campaka* tree, her sounding anklet the buzzing bees around its top (ŚKC 6.27). A military metaphor of royal conquest is alluded between the lines.²⁸

In the second case, too, the heroic Lakṣmī of Spring (*madhoḥ...śauryalakṣmī* in ŚKC 6.27) is described as the splendid source for a kingdom's prosperity, facilitated by her intervention over atmospheric phenomena: the wind has died down, the water is not frosted anymore, the heat is bearable, and the grass tender. The third instance (ŚKC 6.52) supports our hypothesis of Śrī as a fully personified female character, by mentioning the saffron unguent drawings (*kuṅkumapatrabhaṅga*) on her skin. This is confirmed by Jonarāja's identification of *madhuśrī* with a heroin or courtesan (*nāyikā*).²⁹

As we have seen so far, verses that are specifically related to the official military duties of Vasanta as vassal of Kāma, as king of his own territory, and accompanied by the prosperous splendor of Śrī are occupying most of the sixth canto. Evidence of Spring's royalty, however, can also be detected in the description of his own court. The courtesan Śrī, as seen earlier, is then accompanied by other women and their picturesque retinue, the cuckoos, imagined not only as reaching a sort of perfect urban eloquence (*siddhasārasvata*) in the royal pleasure-gardens (*udyānalīlā* in ŚKC 6.14),³⁰ but also as the loquacious paṇḍits at the assembly hall (*āsthāna* in ŚKC 6.10 and, again, in ŚKC 6.47) of Vasanta:

ye tasthur udyānapathe 'tivelam anelamūkāḥ śísire 'nyapuṣṭāḥ |
ṛtukṣitīśasya ta eva citram āsthānavidyāpatayo babhūvuh || 6.10 ||

The Cuckoos, extremely deaf mute during the winter
 inside the royal gardens,

²⁷In iconography, the lotus is the seat of the goddess Lakṣmī (see J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.3: *lakṣmyā padmāsanatvāt*), as well as abode of "Spring's splendid beauty" (*vasantalakṣmī*).

²⁸The verse is explained by Jonarāja as follows: *viśvaṃ jītvā nrīyatyāś caitralakṣmyā daṇḍapādatvena campakaḥ sambhāvyate* (J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.27).

²⁹See J. comm. ad ŚKC 6.52: *madhuśrīr nāyikā sthānīyā*.

³⁰For studies on gardens and parks and their significance in *kāvya* and courtly practice, see Ali 2003 and Pieruccini 2014 and 2015.

marvelously became the chief scholars
in the assembly hall of Spring, king of seasons (ŚKC 6.10)

At the prosperous court of king Vasanta (*ṛtukṣitīśa*), the cuckoos assume the role of chief scholars (*vidyāpatis*),³¹ and it would not be out of place to perceive the poet's veiled criticism against those intellectuals who stay silent in adverse times and start praising the king when it suits them.³² The poetic reenactment of real-life courtly scenes continues with the representation of a public logical debate in which the cuckoo-*paṇḍit* results as the winner:

svapakṣalīlāḍitair upoḍhahetau smare darśayato viśeṣam |
mānaṃ nirākartum aśeṣayūnāṃ pikasya pāṇḍityam akhaṇḍam āsīt || 6.16 ||

The erudition of that *paṇḍit* of a cuckoo became complete:
he shows his talent when Kāma casts his arrows
through the playful flapping of his wings
to dispel the pride of all the young [women],
and when his memory brandishes his logical arguments
through the joyous gestures in support of his view
to refute the arrogance of all the young [adversaries] (ŚKC 6.16)

In conclusion, the description of spring composed by Mañkha develops on different layers. If, on the one hand, it remains highly conventional in its *topoi* and underlying aesthetic pattern of erotic suggestion (*śṛṅgārarasa*), on the other hand, the continuous reference to the king and his military endeavors does evoke exclusively to the interpretation of spring as the carefree love season. Rather, it corroborates Mañkha's tendency to emphasize images related to royal power, less sentimental and more martial, as already observed for king Vasanta in the sixth canto (see § 4.2).

Since some verses seem to ostensibly echo the multifaceted and troubled feudal system of medieval Kashmir (see § 5.2), and numerous snapshots of courtly life seem to be an exquisite representation of urban life, it would not be implausible to interpret the canto as partly based on the poet's perception and experiences at the Kashmirian royal court in the 12th century.

³¹See Jonarāja's commentary: *vidyāpatayah paṇḍitās citram babhūvuh*

³²See, again, the commentary of Jonarāja, who glosses: *rājānugūṅktir iyam*

Chapter 5

Mañkha and Poetry

The present chapter is dedicated to Mañkha's conception of poetry in the Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, and how the poet's aesthetics of the sentiment of marvelous (adbhutarasa) emerges from the fourth and sixth canto in association with royal figures imagined as poets.

5.1 The Poet as King

In the second canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, Mañkha explores the concepts of literary criticism and aesthetics, a theme that was so far just marginally touched. The *sarga*, titled “description of good and bad people” (*sujanadurjanavarṇana*), not only distinguishes between skilled and envious unprepared poets, but also constitutes an immersion into the poet's aesthetic principles (Slaje 2015, 19).

According to Mañkha, the main purpose of true poetry is to convey aesthetic savoring (*rasa*); this cannot be pursued only through figures of speech (*alaṅkāras*) or diction (*rīti*), but must be supported by indirect modes of expression (*vakrokti*). Innate talent (*guṇa* and *śakti*) expressed through inspiration (*pratibhā*) is only one of the prerequisites required to master poetry, but does not suffice, alone, as it needs to be complemented by training and good knowledge of the treatises (*vyutpatti* in the *sāstras*; see Slaje 2015, 20–21).

In order to enhance the figure of the skilled poet in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, Mañkha adopts a double strategy. On the one hand, he belittles those who think to be real poets but are in fact only composing meaningless art; on the other hand, he magnifies those he considers best of poets—he himself included—who are compared to kings.

One sees immediately how Mañkha ridicules other intellectuals through a *laudatio temporis acti*, in verses where he mourns the death of great poets of the

past, while despising the skills of contemporary bards. Only the good old poets were able to extract the sugar-cane juice (*rasa!*) to the last drop, and left to the others nothing but the leftover fibers: simple alliterations, stiff images, and bad puns—*yamakās* and *śleṣas* (see ŚKC 2.42; Slaje 2015, 68–69). To dispel any doubt, the names of these great poets are listed: Meṅṭha, Subandhu, Bhāravi, and Bāṇa. Although they have long left the world causing Sarasvatī’s utter dismay, the true poetry of a new skilled poet could revive the hope of *kāvya* connoisseurs (ŚKC 2.53, see Slaje 2015, 78–79).

The second strategy employed by Mañkha to exalt his own unique poetry is that of equaling the activities of the poet to the duties of a prince or regent:

abhraṃkaṣonmiṣitakīrtisitātapatraḥ
stutyah sa eva kavimaṇḍalacakravartī |
yasyecchayaiva purataḥ svayam ujjihīte
drāg vācyavācakamayah pṛtanāniveśah || 2.39 ||

Only the emperor of the country of poets is praiseworthy, with the white parasol of [his] glory shining in the sky; he himself, by his own will, at once brings forward an army of meanings and words (ŚKC 2.39, transl. in consultation of Slaje 2015, 67)¹

And again, along the lines of the previous verse:

śabdārthānām pariṣad akhilā nityam ājñāvidheyā
dāsyam yasya śrayati purato bhrūlatāspandanena ||
sa ślaghyaśrī jagati kathitaś cakravartī kavīnām
śvetacchatracchavir upacitā kiṃ ca tasyaiva kīrtiḥ || 2.55 ||

One praises as the emperor of poets the one of laudable splendor, before whom, at the [mere] twitch of his arched eyebrows, the whole audience of words and meanings always makes themselves servants at his command, and also, the fame of this one increases along with the splendor of his white parasol (ŚKC 2.55, transl. in consultation of Slaje 2015, 81).

The poet is encircled with splendor—that of the white royal parasol of fame or glory (*kīrtisitātapatraḥ* in ŚKC 2.39 and, again, *śvetacchatracchavir...kīrtiḥ* in ŚKC 2.55), which is also the “absolutely indispensable” (Gonda 1966, 37) emblem

¹See J. comm. ad 2.39: *vācyavācakamayo arthaśabdaprakṛtiḥ*, lit. signified and signifier.

of a king.² At the same time, words and meanings (*vācyavācaka* and *śabdārtha*) are both his special force (*pr̥tana*) and attendants (*dāsya*).

Sarasvatī, goddess of speech, joins words and meaning as the poet's subordinate, and enters the throne room offering the gift of eloquence:

*adhiṣṭhāyāśrāntaśrutavitatasimhāsanadhurām
aho vīraḥ kaścic chrayati kavisāmrājyapadavīm ||
vilāsaṃ gr̥hṇāno bhaṇitimayam kṣuṇṇam aparair
giro devyā viśrāṇitam abhinavaṃ prābhṛtam iva || 2.45 ||*

Oh, how wonderful is that to such an eminent man is given the rank of universal sovereign of the poets, whose burden is adorning that ample throne of tireless study! The goddess of speech offers [him], like a newly minted gift, the grace of eloquence, [still] used by no one else (ŚKC 2.45, transl. in consultation of Slaje 2015, 73).

In Mañkha's ideal monarchy of letters, the poet-king sits on the metaphorical throne of the knowledge of the *śāstras* (i.e., the "tireless study"),³ and the standard routine of gift-offering (*prābhṛta*) is maintained.⁴

Everything here seems to echo the society in which Mañkha lives, as the poet transposes both the hierarchy of king and vassals and the terminology related to royal power to the group of literates. It is no coincidence that the best of poets is said to be reigning over a "circle" of poets (ŚKC 2.39), where the word *maṇḍala* can mean both "group" and the physical "territory" of a real king.

And as a real king faces his enemies, the poet, too, needs to deal with envious rivals. These ones, however, not acknowledging the artistry of the most skilled among the poets (again, Mañkha) and publishing bad poetry regardless, are just utterly unprepared soldiers, who in battle brandish wooden swords:

vyutpattipratipatticañcuravacaḥsaṃcāravācamyamo

²See Gonda 1966, 37: "The paraphernalia or emblems of royalty were supposed to represent the sovereign authority. The five ensigns of royalty were a white umbrella, fly-whisks, shoes, turban, and throne (the *pañcakakudāni*) [...] The umbrella, i.e. the white sunshade of state, a residence of Lakṣmī (the goddess of fortune) and the pair of fly-whisks were absolutely indispensable, constituting the emblems par excellence. The sun should never be allowed to shine directly on the sacred person of the ruler, that is to say to bring its power into contact with his power, otherwise the state of *tejas* or *pratāpa* "heat" of the ruler would be neutralized".

³See J. comm. ad 2.45: *śāstram tad eva vitataṃ simhāsanam*.

⁴For the gift offering see Ali 2004, 116: Men of rank, or royal emissaries arriving at the court, typically brought gifts (*prābhṛta*) which were presented to the king. These could include some form of tribute either in money or a vast array of material goods and paraphernalia commonly transacted among kings to express their rank".

*vakreṇaiva kalālavena kurute yaḥ kāvyam avyākulaḥ ||
muktvā varma vihāya karma ca samitkāllocitaṃ so 'khilaṃ
viśvaṃ dārumayena jetum asinā saṃrabhato jṛmbhate || 2.46 ||*

He, who stay silent at the passage of the expert speech acquired through study,⁵ [and yet], unwavering, composes poetry with weak and dull puns,⁶ this one, having abandoned the armor and devoid of that warcraft skill needed at the time of battle, appears [as wishing] to win the whole world brandishing a wooden sword (ŚKC 2.46, transl. in consultation of Slaje 2015,73).

As seen earlier, Mañkha's obsession with royal and military metaphors, as well as the comparison between kings and imagined characters emerges at various times in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (see § 4). This certainly serves the purpose of enhancing the rank of these characters, as a sort of ultimate recognition of power: just like Kailāsa is the unsurpassed king of other mountains and Vasanta that of the other seasons (see § 4.2), the circle of poets must venerate as emperor (*cakravartin*) the best among them.

However, poetic skills are often also attributed to the personae of kings. As we shall see in § 5.2, Mañkha composes some verses in which the regents Kailāsa and Vasanta seem to become poets as well.

5.2 Poet Kailāsa and Poet Vasanta⁷

As observed earlier, mountain Kailāsa, the protagonist of the fourth canto, is depicted as a fully legitimate king, surrounded by a luminous scenery and attended by his vassal mountains. Mañkha, however, combines the figure of the mountain as sovereign, to that of Kailāsa as poet.

This is self-evident in the last verse of the fourth canto, undeniably the most important one. Not only does it summarize all the images previously expressed by the poet, but it also provides the audience with the key for interpreting them:

*dvirbhāvaś candrabhāsāṃ taruṇakumudinīnāthacūḍāṭṭahāsa-
anuprāsaḥ śailaputrīnavahasitasudhāvipruṣāṃ paunaruktyam |*

⁵Lit. the knowledge of the treatises on poetics and other literary sources as one of the factors of good poetry, along with “intuition” (*śakti*) and “constant practice” (*abhyāsa*).

⁶For of crooked” (*vakra*) as a type of *arthaśleṣa* see Gerow 1971, 260.

⁷Section partially based on Livio, Chiara. 2019. Devotee, King and Creator: Kailāsa as ποιητής in *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* IV. In Heleen De Jonckheere, Marie-Hélène Gorisse and Agnieszka Rostalska, eds., *Puṣpikā, Tracing Ancient India, through Texts and Traditions*, vol. 5, 69–94. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

*svargaṅgāvīcivīpsā rucir upacinate cāturīm yasya tasya
kṣoṇībhartur guṇeṣu pratipadapaṭhanaṃ ko vinirmātum iṣṭe || ŚKC IV 64 ||*

The repetition of the heavenly Gaṅgā’s waves,
the reduplication of Candra’s moonbeams,
the alliteration the loud laughter of Śiva,
who is carrying on his forehead the the husband of the female lotuses,
the repeated sound of the drops of the nectar,
the ones of Gaurī’s fresh smile...
Who could fully compose the recitation, word by word,
of every single element of this mountain,
whose light already enhances his dexterity? (ŚKC 4.64)

The first peculiarity of this verse is certainly the employment of four technical terms related to the sphere of the *śabdālaṅkāras*, which place the action of the mountain within the context of a poetic composition: “repetition” (*vīpsā*), “reduplication” (*dvirbhāva* or *dvitva*), “alliteration” (*anuprāsa*) and “repeated sound” (*paunaruktya*). Kailāsa, the best of poets, reduplicates by means of his light (*ruci*)—perhaps his splendid poetic genius (*pratibhā*)⁸—the elements on his slopes: Gaṅgā’s waves, Candra’s moonbeams, Śiva’s laughter and Gaurī’s smile.

The luminosity or light that accompanies Kailāsa throughout the fourth canto is then not only the mark of his royalty, but also the means through which the mountain is able to create a work of art, a poem in which the “sense of amazement” (*vismayabhāva*) stimulates the “savoring of marvelous” (*adbhutarasa*).⁹

As seen earlier, *rasa* is admittedly the core of Maṅkha’s poesy: conveying a sense of wonder and magnificence through images related to “light” (*ruci*), “splendor” (*prakāśa*, etc.) and “reflection” (*bimba*, *pratibimba*) is clearly one of the scopes of the fourth canto (see § 4.2). The mountain truly mesmerizes through its incredible actions, mirroring the verbal performance of a poet, and Kailāsa’s ability to create convoluted wonders (*kautuka* in ŚKC 4.2, 60) finds its equivalent in the poet’s circumlocutions, which affect the audience:

yatra sphaṭikatejobhir bhargasya ca galatviṣā |

⁸Maṅkha is not extraneous to the notion of *pratibhā* as “poetic genius” (see ŚKC 2.29, 43; Warder 1992, 83; Slaje 2015, 60–61, 70–71).

⁹The *rasa-bhāva* theory is firstly conceived for theater by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* and later extended to poetry. For *rasas* and *bhāvas* in *mahākāvya*s in particular, see Daṇḍin’s *Kāvyaḍarśa* 1.18 (*rasabhāvanirantaram*). As stated earlier, *rasa* is, according to Maṅkha, the foundation of true poetry. In my wording, I have implicitly hinted at Abhinavagupta’s interpretation of the *rasa* theory, but any discussion on the various interpretations of *bhāvas* and *rasas* is beyond the scope of the present chapter. For the most recent overall treatment of related issue, see Pollock 2016 and § 7.

rajany api dinam manyā rātrim manyam bhavaty ahaḥ || ŚKC 4.12 ||

Where, through the splendor of the crystals and the poison of Śiva's throat,
the night thinks to be day, while the day believes to be night (ŚKC 4.12)

As a poet before his peers (in Mañkha's case, the literates at the *sabhā*), Kailāsa, too, has his own audience. The best example is the already quoted verse in which the mythical city of Alakā (see § 3) attends Kailāsa's swarming display of wonder:

*yam adūratas trijagadekakautuka-
vyavahārasargavidhinavyavedhasam |
alakā vimudrabahusaudhasauhrdād
animeṣalocanacayeva vīkṣate* || ŚKC 4.60 ||

As if covered in the watchful eyes of the several open palaces, Alakā observes him [Kailāsa], not from afar, the new creator, performing the creation of wonderful activities, unique in the three worlds (ŚKC 4.60)

Alakā is here described with the doors and windows of its palaces unsealed, like wide-open eyes in thrilling excitement, and becomes the main spectator of the actions of poet Kailāsa.

In the verse, one can even perceive some phonetic references to the technical terms of *kāvya*: *kautukavyavahāra* in the first half-verse echoes *kavi* and *kāvya*; in the second half-verse, *sarga* is not only a "creation", but also the "canto" in a *mahakāvya*, while *sauhrda* in the third half-verse sounds like *sahrdaya*, the poetic connoisseur, a man of taste.¹⁰

The image of a king-poet appears almost in the same terms in the sixth canto, in which Vasanta is described as intent on the composition of a love poem (*śṛṅgārakāvya*, in ŚKC 6.5), and where springtime's vegetation and fauna contributes to the metamorphosis. With a metaphorical identification (*rūpaka*) covering the first three half-verses, Mañkha is then able to associate the trembling petals of a flower to the king-poet's semi-closed lips; the line of black bees to his eyebrows, contracted for the effort; the fully blown lotuses to his immobile eyes.

Few verses later, the image of Spring as intent on creating *kāvya* recurs again, this time with technical terms specifically related to the composition of a court poem:

¹⁰The comparison between the mountain and a poet is not unique to the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. Ratnākara, for instance, had already established the role of Mandara as that of a *kavi* in his *Haravijaya*, where the mountain's actions are paralleled to the process of composing a *kāvya* (see Smith 1992, 53–54).

*śanaiḥ śanair āttavatā navīna-
jagattrayollekhamahākavitvam |
caitreṇa cakre bata campakaughair
abhyastasaurabhyasuvarṇasargah || ŚKC 6.48 ||*

The golden creation of an exquisite canto,
whose perfumed sweetness was repeated
by the rows of campaka trees,
was composed, little by little, by Caitra,
who became—oh!—the court poet
of the splendid description
of an extraordinary universe (ŚKC 6.48)

The verse cannot be misinterpreted: the “court poet” (*mahākavi*) Vasanta is literally composing a “canto” (*sarga*) in that court poem which has as aim the “description” (*ullekha*) of an extraordinary universe. The creative power of Spring recalls the poetic dexterity of the luminous mountain (*ruci...caturī* in ŚKC 4.64) which builds its own dominion through rhetorical devices (in ŚKC 4.64, *śabdalaṅkāras*) and aesthetics. The product of their two compositions, too, is along the same lines: in both cases, the poet-king acts as a divine agent (*vedhas* in ŚKC 4.60) who is responsible for creating incredible worlds (*trijagadekakautukavyavahārasarga* in ŚKC 4.60, *navīnajagattraya* in ŚKC 6.48).

What Smith states for Kālidāsa’s Himālaya and Ratnākara’s Mandara, then, can also be applied to Maṅkha’s Kailāsa and Vasanta: “the labor the poet attributes to the Creator mirrors his own [...] The description, like creation itself, is a job of work” (1992, 51).

Evoking the identity of a *kāvya* composition with the action of a creator might be Maṅkha’s aim, but certainly not his invention. As Walter Slaje has already pointed out (2008, 216–18), the *topos* of the poet-creator is common in medieval Kashmir, and can be noticed in the first book of Kalhaṇa’s *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as well. There, *kaviprajāpatīs* and *kavivedhasas* are “distinguished for their charming creations” and are creators of “body of fame” for their patrons.¹¹

Both Maṅkha and Kalhaṇa, however, seem to look back to a precedent tradition that is well outlined in a well-known passage from Ānandavardhana’s *Dhvanyāloka*: “in the shoreless world of *kāvya*, the poet is the unique creator

¹¹RT 1.4: *ko ’nyaḥ kālam atikrāntam netum pratyakṣatām kṣamaḥ | kaviprajāpatīms tyaktvā ramyanirmāṇaśālinah*. “Who else would be able to make the past visible, if not creators, as are the poets? They are distinguished for their charming creations [of literature]” (transl. Slaje 2008, 216–18). RT 1.45: *tasmin kāle dhruvam teṣām kukṛtaiḥ kāśyapībhujām | kartāraḥ kīrtikāyasya nābhuvan kavivedhasaḥ*. “Certainly, it was due to the evil deeds of those kings of Kaśmir, that at their time there were no poets present, [who] as creators, [would have] created a body of fame [for them]” (transl. Slaje 2008, 216–18).

(*kavir ekaḥ prajāpatiḥ*), he revolves all this world exactly as it pleases him...A good poet, as he wishes, makes even the inanimate beings act as they were animate and the animate ones as if they were inanimate” (transl. Ingalls 1990, 639. See also Slaje 2008, 218, fn. 47).¹²

As we have seen in the previous chapters, it is often arduous—and rather unfruitful—to distinguish, for the same character, the roles of king, poet, and creator, as they often overlap in Mañkha’s ambiguous poetic imagination. We should add, however, that the characters that assume these three roles are always subject to the ubiquitous and supervising presence of Śiva, who, ultimately, is king, poet,¹³ and creator. In the end, Mañkha’s goal to celebrate the god, the king who has mountain Kailāsa as his court (ŚKC 1.56).

¹²DĀ III 42: *apāre kāvyasaṃsare kavir ekaḥ prajāpatiḥ | yathāsmāi rocate viśvaṃ tathedaṃ parivartate || [...] bhāvān acetanān api cetanavac cetanān acetanavat | vyavahārayati yatheṣṭa sukaviḥ kāvyē svatantratayā* (see Ingalls’s critical ed. 1990, 639).

¹³Two of the best examples of the action of Śiva as the cosmic *kavi* have been quoted by Daniele Cuneo (2016a, 43–45 and fn. 31–32) and derive from Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa’s *Stavacintāmaṇi*: “You have initiated the drama of the three worlds, containing in its womb the seed of the numerous entities emitted [by you]. Is there any other poet but you, O Destroyer [i.e. Śiva], who might be capable of bringing it to its conclusion?” (*Stavacintāmaṇi* 59); “O Lord, is there any sensible man who is not amazed by your power, capable to conceive, at every moment, the ever-new conditions of the world picture?” (*Stavacintāmaṇi* 80).

Chapter 6

Mañkha and Devotion

This chapter explores Mañkha’s relationship with religion. The devotion toward Śiva is particularly intense, as reflected by the description of the pūjā performed by Kailāsa in the fourth canto and by the gods in the fifth sarga, as well as by the religious-philosophical hymn in the seventeenth canto.

6.1 Cosmic Pūjās¹

Since the beginning of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, Śiva is the preferred deity, the *devadeva* to whom Mañkha dedicates his court poem, the hero-king whose deeds constitute the leitmotiv of the *mahākāvya*.

As such, Śiva becomes an object of “devotion” (*bhakti*): the characters inhabiting Mañkha’s poetic creation are oftentimes described as performing rites, *pūjās* in particular, in his honor.²

¹Section based on Livio, Chiara. 2018. ‘Cosmic Pūjā. Śivabhakti in Śrīkaṇṭhacarita V’. *Indologica Taurinensia* 43–44 (2): 261–84 and Livio, Chiara. 2019. ‘Devotee, King and Creator: Kailāsa as ποιητής in Śrīkaṇṭhacarita IV’. In Heleen De Jonckheere, Marie-Hélène Gorisse and Agnieszka Rostalska (eds.), *Puspikā, Tracing Ancient India, through Texts and Traditions*: 69–94. Oxford: Oxbow Books.

²For the most common steps of the *pūjā* ceremony, see below. For the etymology of the word, one is presented with two points of view, that of Jarl Charpentier (1927, 97), supporter of the Dravidian etymology of *pūjā*, derived “from a Dravidian verbal root occurring in Tamil as «*pūśu-*» and in Kannada as «*pūsu-*»” (Lidova 2020, 145) and meaning “to smear”; that of Paul Thieme (1939, 105–37), who proposed an Indo-European etymology of *pūjā* as deriving from the verbal root √*pūj* with the meaning of “to honor” (see Bühnemann 1988, 114, and Lidova 2020, 146). The lack of a satisfying and convincing etymology of the word is, however, noticed by Bühnemann 1988, 9–10, Falk 2005, 7493, and Lidova 2020, 145–48.

If we exclude the first canto, dedicated to Mañkha's personal salutation (*namaskāra*) to Śiva and the description of his paraphernalia (see Mandal 1991, 26), the first "royal attendant/worshiper" (*upacāraka* or *upacārika*, see Ali 2004, 120) appearing in the poem comes in the fourth canto. It is Kailāsa, who is already connected to Śiva in the first *śloka* of the *sarga*:

śaśīsubhrāḥ kiran bhāso hāso dhanapater diśaḥ |
girir astīha kailāso nivāso vṛṣalakṣmaṇaḥ || ŚKC 4.1 ||

Spreading lights which are bright for the moon,
smile of Dhanapati's direction,
here stands mount Kailāsa
abode of the god whose mark is the bull (ŚKC 4.1)

Mañkha certainly follows the long-established tradition of depicting Kailāsa as abode of Śiva, something which, given the subject matter of the poem, comes almost naturally.³ For Mañkha, however, Kailāsa is by no means an insentient object. We have already seen how the author, in the fourth canto, gave a human representation to the mountain, imagining it first as a king and then as a poet (see § 4.1 and 5.2); in the same *sarga*, the mountain assumes yet another role, humbling himself to that of the devotee-tailor of Śiva, and creates a celestial dress for his naked god-*yogin*:

viśvātmane svanāthāya digambaradaśājuse |
vayatīvāmbaram dikṣu yas tatair aṃśutantubhiḥ || ŚKC 4.34 ||

With the threads of his rays
spread across the celestial directions,
Kailāsa seems to weave a sky-garment
for his lord Viśvātman,

³It must be noted, however, that not all *mahākāvyas* narrating Śiva's deeds contain Kailāsa as the subject of their *parvatavarṇana*, and that the choice of a mountain rather than another is conditioned by intra-textual factors. In Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* (KS 1), for instance, the description of Himālaya king of mountains, comes soon before that of Pārvatī, his daughter and Śiva's spouse, and is therefore functional to the plot. In Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (KA 5), Himālaya is the mountain selected for Arjuna's wanderings, even though the name of the mountain is not specified in the original version of the episode (MBh 3). Ratnākara, on the other hand, the two cantos dedicated to mountain Mandara do not seem to be related to the plot, especially if we consider that even in the original episode of the churning of the ocean Śiva appears only as a secondary figure, a god among the gods. In the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, on the contrary, the choice of Kailāsa seems to be more pondered.

delighted in [his] nude condition (ŚKC 4.34)⁴

The best representation of Kailāsa's devotion for Śiva, however, comes halfway through the canto. Here, in a six-verse group of lines (*kulaka*) the purely human ritual of the *pūjā* is transposed into a poetic and cosmic ceremony through a long *rūpaka*:

dhaukitānantakusumaprakaraḥ pārśvapādapaiḥ |
kīrṇārgḥo girijāsiṃhakarajonmuktamauktikaiḥ || ŚKC 4.37 ||
dhūpadhūmam abhivyañjan bhairair navapayonmucām |
dattadīpālikaḥ śṛṅgaprajvalattapanopalaiḥ || ŚKC 4.38 ||
snānāni yacchann acchinnam ucchaladbhir itas tataḥ |
nityaniḥṣyandamānendudrṣatsūtibhir ambubhiḥ || ŚKC 4.39 ||
sadhātunirjharārabdhasamālabhanavibhramaḥ |
stuvan darīmukhair vātalahaṛīmukharikṛtaiḥ || ŚKC 4.40 ||
śubhopakalpitabalir nānāvidhaphalaraddhibhiḥ |
taṭaprustutasamgītabhaṅgīko divyacāraṇaiḥ || ŚKC 4.41 ||
yo bhasmasmerasarvāṅgo nibhṛtām sthitim aśnute |
nityasamnihitam devadevam abhyarcayann iva || ŚKC 4.42 ||

With the offer of a heap of blossoms,
endless for the trees on its sides;
with the reception tribute increased by the pearls,
fallen from the claws of the mountain-daughter's lion; (ŚKC 4.37)
displaying the incense smoke
through the abundance of the young clouds;
with the line of the lanterns,
the inflamed solar stones of its peaks; (ŚKC 4.38)
offering ablutions through the waters
which spring out tirelessly, here and there,
generated by the perpetually flowing lunar stones; (ŚKC 4.39)
with the grace of the [*tilaka*] unguent,
the [flowing] waterfall reddened by minerals;
raising hymns from the mouth of the caves,
through the sound of the wind howling; (ŚKC 4.40)
with the auspiciously prepared oblation
made of many kinds of diverse fruits;
tuning its own frequencies sung in chorus on its slopes
with the divine celestial singers: (ŚKC 4.41)

⁴The reference here to the Jaina school of the *digambaras*, the “sky-clad”, is here echoed but probably not intended by Mañkha, who uses the word in simply the sense of “naked”. Jonarāja does not suggest any relation to the Jainas either.

he, [Kailāsa], with the body fully covered in ashes,
silently reaches immobility,
worshiping the god of the gods
perpetually close to him. (ŚKC 4.42)

The snowy mountain is a devotee covered in ashes (*bhasma*), who offers vegetation, clouds, rocks, and the like as the materials for his offering. The *pūjā*'s ritualistic steps are followed almost entirely by Kailāsa: fruits and flowers (*kusumas* and *phalas*) are provided by the trees, the pearls (*mauktika*) by Gaurī's lion, the smoke of the incense (*dhūpadhūma*) by the clouds, the lanterns (*dīpā*) by the sun-stones, the red lac unguent (*samālabhana*) by the waterfalls reddened by gemstones, and the hymns (*stutis*) by the wind sounding in the hollow caves along with the praises of the mountain's divine inhabitants.

It is noteworthy that the elements that Kailāsa employs for the *pūjā* are actually part of his essence, that of a mountain, and a similar image occurs again in the opening verses of the fifth canto.

In the "description of the Lord" (*bhagavadvarṇana*), Mañkha's intention of showing his devotion toward Śiva emerges immediately.⁵ Śiva is here the recipient of a cosmic *pūjā* performed by the deities of the Hindu pantheon. In the section that covers the first four verses (ŚKC 5.1–4), three gods, namely Indra, Viṣṇu, and Brahmā, and a devotee, are each intent on a specific act of reverence, such as bowing, offering flowers, waving lights, or sprinkle water. Such as in Kailāsa's case, the materials of the *pūjā* are nothing but the personal attributes and objects belonging to the gods.

Indra (*vṛndārakādhipa*, lit. "the chief of the gods") is the first deity depicted as humbly bowing at Śiva's feet:

⁵Note that the *pūjā* is not the only ritual described in the fifth canto. Mañkha inserts also fire sacrifices of the Vedic *homa*-type, which deserve a separate discussion. In ŚKC 5.6, the poet describes Kāma's sacrifice in the fire of Śiva's third eye. Here, a *parisamūhana* (lit. "sweeping together", i.e. the sprinkling of water with a wet hand around the perimeter of the sacrificial fire, from left to right, in this case covered in sacrificial *kuśa* grass, as Jonarāja explains) is rendered through a *rūpaka*: the sacrificial fire of Śiva's third eye is surrounded by the *kuśa* grass of his eyelashes, and sprinkled by the water of the Gaṅgā. The god is the officiant, and Kāma his final oblation (*āhuti*). In ŚKC 5.42, the officiant is again Śiva, who provides the materials for fire sacrifices (*yajña*) by transforming the god Pūṣan (*abjabandhuḥ* in ŚKC 5.42, see J. comm. ad ŚKC 5.42: *arka*) into the cup for the oblations. Mañkha refers here to the myth of Dakṣa's sacrifice, during which Rudra (or Śiva) uprooted the teeth of the solar deity Pūṣan as a punishment for not being invited to the *yajña*, thus shaping the mouth of the god in the form of a cup (*bhājana* in ŚKC 5.42). For a study on the figure of Pūṣan as Vedic deity in the *Ṛgveda*, epics and Purāṇas, see Kramisch 1961 and Doniger 1973, 116. For a discussion on Vedic fire sacrifices and their relation to and differences from the *pūjā* ceremony see Einoo 1996, Lidova 2020 and Lubin 2015. On the necessity of fire as the sacrifice mediator of the gods, who are imperceptible entities and thus requiring a dematerialized offering, see Lidova 2020, 164.

*vṛndāarakādhipaśiroruhapārijāta-
sragbandhubhir madhukarair upavīṇitāṅghriḥ |
devaḥ svayaṃ jagadanugrahakelikāras
taṃ bālaśītakiraṇābharaṇo 'dhiṣete || ŚKC 5.1 ||*

With his feet played like a lute by the bees,
attracted by the garlands of the coral-tree flowers
on the head of [Indra], chief of gods,
the god himself, [Śiva], author of that pastime
which is the grace of the worlds,
and adorned with the crescent cold-rayed moon,
sleeps [there], on the mountain (ŚKC 5.1)

The buzzing bees, attracted by the fragrance of the white *pārijāta* flowers on Indra's garland, follow the bowing head of the god while reproducing the hypnotic sound of an Indian lute (*vīṇā*).⁶ The first elements of a *pūjā* ceremony, however implicit, are here introduced through the mention of flowers, music, and the ritual seat Kailāsa.⁷ Although the image is highly conventional, and can often be found in Indian hymnal literature, as well as in other *mahākāvya*s,⁸ the exceptionality of the episode—even the chief of the gods Indra bows before another god!—serves Mañkha's purpose: emphasizing Śiva's superiority, which is recognized even by the highest ranked character of the Hindu pantheon.⁹

The second verse continues with the image of another bowing devotee, this time human:

*yenāṅghripīṭhahaṭhasaṃtatagrṣṭiniryat-
tiryakkiṇā jagati kasya na bhālapālī |*

⁶For the type of instrument and its relation to the gods, see Te Nijenhuis 1977 and Coomaraswamy 1930.

⁷In the verse, *taṃ* must be interpreted as *kailāsaṃ*, the subject of the fourth canto, as Jonarāja suggests glossing it as *kailāsam āśrayati*.

⁸As Lienhard observes, some “stereotyped themes are used over and over again: in submission to the Almighty, the diadems of other gods touch the feet of mighty Śiva, or are compared to bees that swarm humming around Śiva's lotus-feet” (Lienhard 1984, 130–31). In *kāvya*, an instance of this can be found in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (RaghV 12.19), where the *pārijāta* flowers, shaken while Indra is bowing, are scattered at Śiva's feet (I am grateful to professor Marco Franceschini for bringing this passage to my attention). Even in the *Śrikanṭhacarita* itself, the motive is repeated when the sea monsters (*makaras*), ornaments on Indra's head, are described as kissing the dust at Śiva's feet as a gesture of submission (ŚKC 1.56, see § 4.1).

⁹The uniqueness of the episode is stressed also by the commentator Jonarāja through the use of the particle *api*: “even Indra bows before Śiva” (J. comm. ad 5.1: *indro 'pi taṃ namatīty arthaḥ*). For the gesture of bowing before a king in the courtly context as a means to express shades of political and palace hierarchy, see Ali 2004, 124–25.

*daivānadhītanavadivyaśubhākṣarāli-
nyāsecchayā nihitakākapadeva cakre* || ŚKC 5.2 ||

For whom in the world the Forehead Guardian
—that curved callus produced by the continuous,
obstinate rubbing against [his] foot-stool—
has not been made by him into a *kākapada*,
added for the sake of writing down a new, celestial, and splendid
line of syllables, still unread by the Fate? (ŚKC 5.2)

Śiva’s footstool (*aṅghripīṭha*), which is also the pedestal of the god’s idol, is venerated by the worshiper, who hits his forehead against its edges.¹⁰ The subject of the verse, the personified Bhālapālī (“the forehead-protectress”), is nothing but the scar or “callosity” (*kiṇā*) produced by this continuous bowing, in the form of a v-shaped “crow’s foot” (*kākapada*).

In order to stress both the intensity required by the worship and the god’s limitless power, Maṅkha plays with the function of *kākapada* as the symbol used by scribes in manuscripts to mark an omission in the text, in which the missing syllable, word, verse, or paragraph is usually inserted in margins or directly above the line.¹¹ In this case, it is the god who adds a “line of syllables” (*akṣarāli*) on the forehead of the fervent devotee, and takes over a destiny that not even the inexorable Fate (*daiva*) can control.¹²

The third bowing devotee is anew a god, Viṣṇu:

*bhaktiyā natena purato ’vanicumbimūrdhnā
puṣpotkaraṃ vikiratā vanamālayeva |
daityāriṇā caraṇayoḥ kacameghavidyud-
oghair adāyīṣata yasya balipradīpāḥ* || ŚKC 5.3 ||

Viṣṇu, the demons’ enemy,
who was scattering around sprinkles of blossoms
from his [own] forest-flowers garland
with his head touching the ground in front of him, bent in devotion,

¹⁰Jonarāja comments *aṅghripīṭha* with *pādapiṭhe*, the footstool, which can be interpreted both as part of divine and royal paraphernalia. A similar image of devotees rubbing their heads against a king’s footstool is present in Bāṇa’s *Harsacarita* ch. 7, p. 214, as Ali observes (2004, 126)

¹¹The image is part on the discourse of the materiality of writing in Maṅkha’s court poem (see § 3)

¹²Not many studies have been conducted on this folklorist belief. For an example of these studies, see Kent 2009, 2: “The destiny so inscribed often takes the form of a set of verses indicating the most important features of a person’s life”.

offered at his feet the ceremonial lanterns
through the streams of flashing thunders
coming from the clouds on his hair (ŚKC 5.3)

For the first time in the fifth canto, the keyword “devotion” (*bhakti*) makes its appearance in the *mūla* text, and Mañkha’s celebratory intent finds explicit confirmation: Viṣṇu respectfully salutes Śiva with devotion (*bhaktyā*) prostrating all his body to the ground.¹³

It is in the commentary that one finally finds the first explicit mention of the ceremony described so far. The god is performing a real *pūjā* (J. comm. ad ŚKC 5.3: *vidyudbhir eva pūjāpradīpā dattāḥ*), as he offers flowers (*puṣpotkara*) through his scattered garland (*vanamālā*) as well as lanterns (*pradīpa*) through the thunderbolts (*vidyut*) produced by the clouds flocking around his head.

Mañkha’s poetical strategy to depict a god offering its own attributes to perform a ceremony for Śiva becomes increasingly clearer. The fourth verse is, in fact, opened by the word *pūjā*, and immediately followed by *bhakti*:

pūjāsu bhaktirabhasātirasādhirūḍhas
tāmyann aśeṣakusumaprakaravyayena |
yasmai cikīrṣati punar druhiṇo ’pi
nūnam abhyarcanaṃ nijanivāsasaroruheṇa || ŚKC 5.4 ||

At the peak of the extreme emotion
born for the ardor of his devotion during the ceremonies,
exhausted for the expense of a heap of entire flowers,
even now, again, Druhiṇa wishes to perform for Śiva
a worship with the lotus, his own abode (ŚKC 5.4)

Brahmā here supports Indra and Viṣṇu in Śiva’s worship. Not only does he offer

¹³This is the *daṇḍapraṇāma* position, as suggested by Jonarāja, a prostration of the body at full-length, as opposed to the *aṣṭāṅgapraṇāma*, namely the prostration of the body that touches the ground with eight parts only. For the *daṇḍavat* position as the most extreme gesture of submission, see Ali 2004, 125 fn. 88, where the scholar quotes *Mānasollasa* 3.1235 for prostrating kings falling on the ground like staffs. The sentiment of *bhakti* as connected to Viṣṇu reminds us of the early medieval *bhakti* movement, born in South India around the 7th and 10th centuries CE with the vernacular devotional poetry of Tamil saints (see Peterson 1989; Nayar 1992). In Mañkha’s case, however, the mention of *bhakti* in relation to Viṣṇu can be explained by the heterogeneity of cults in Medieval Kashmir, which reflects even on the author’s family. Śṛṅgāra, like Mañkha, was a Śaiva, Bhṛṅga a Bauddha, while Alaṅkāra was a devotee of Viṣṇu. The most interesting episode is that of Mañkha’s father Viśvavarta who converted to the cult of Harihara (a joined form of Śiva and Viṣṇu) on his deathbed (see Slaje 2015, 16). Even in the studied cantos of the *Śrikanṭhacarita* we find some verses dedicated to the description of Śiva as Viṣṇu (see ŚKC 5.22, 5.37, 5.38).

heaps of flowers (*kuṣumaprakara*), but also he desires to sacrifice his seat-abode, the lotus (*saroruha*), although exhausted by the effort of his own devotion.

The verses presented above have been selected for their relation with the ceremonial aspect of the *pūjā*, which is not only performed by the divine characters of the *Śrikanṭhacarita*, but also, indirectly, by Mañkha himself, who shows in this way his *bhakti* to Śiva. This cosmic ritual is, in fact, rooted in reality, and can be compared to a human ceremony. To what extent, however, are the human “services” (*upacāras*) followed in the poetic transfiguration?

Anthropological or literary studies specifically regarding the *pūjā* ceremony in Medieval Kashmir have not been published yet, partly due to the heterogeneity of local traditions which makes the task harder. For this reason, I rely on Bühnemann’s and Einoo’s works on *pūjā* rituals to trace the most commonly performed steps (see Bühnemann 1988, Einoo 1996, Falk 2005, 7493-94, Lidova 2020, 166–67) and compare them to what we can call *kāvya-upacāras*, the “poetic services” described by Mañkha in his court poem.

Both Bühnemann and Einoo identify 16 standard *upacāras*, together forming the *ṣoḍaśopacāra pūjā*.¹⁴ In order to compare these 16 *upacāras* to those elaborated by Mañkha, a certain level of abstraction is required. When interpreting the description of *pūjās* in a court poem, in fact, it is necessary to keep in mind the non-normative nature of *mahākāvyas*, which are more evocative than instructive.¹⁵ As Table 6.1 pinpoints, however, 9 out of the 16 *upacāras* are also introduced by the poet, and one can even infer from the context all the steps for which we do not find an apparent correspondence. The bowing of the gods, for instance, acts as salutation (*namaskāra*), while the singing of celestial beings recalls the recitation of an hymn (*stotra*, or *stuti*).

Steps and additions	ṣoḍaśopacāras	ŚKC 4	ŚKC 5
1. Invocation	<i>āvāhana</i>	—	—
2. Seat	<i>āsana</i>	—	<i>aṅghripīṭha</i> 5.2

¹⁴1. invocation of the god (*āvāhana*); 2. offering of a seat (*āsana*); 3. offering of water for washing the feet (*pādya*); 4. offering of water for the respectful reception of a guest (*arghya*); 5. offering of water for sipping (*ācamanīya*); 6. water for the bath of the *liṅga*, if the god is Śiva (*snāna* or *mahāsnāna*); 7. offering of clothes and garments (*vastra*); 8. offering of the sacred thread (*upavīta* or *yajñopavīta*); 9. offering of sandalwood paste or unguents for smearing on the idol (*gandha* and *anulepana*); 10. offering of flowers and leaves (*puṣpa*); 11. offering of incense (*dhūpa* or *dhūpaka*); 12. offering of lamps (*dīpa* or *dīpaka*); 13. offerings of food (*naivedya* or *nivedana*); 14. offering of mouth perfume (*mukhavāsa*); 15. recitation of hymns (*stotra*) and prostration before the deity (*praśama*); 16. circumambulation around the statue of the god (*pradakṣiṇā*) and its dismissal (*visarjana*). See Bühnemann 1988, 63–64.

¹⁵On the difficulties and uncertainties in the interpretation of episodes containing references to religious practices in the Sanskrit epics, see Brockington 2020, 79.

Steps and additions	ṣoḍaśopacāras	ŚKC 4	ŚKC 5
3. Water for feet	<i>pādya</i>	—	—
4. Water for hands	<i>arghya</i>	—	—
5. Water for sipping	<i>acamanīya</i>	—	—
6. Bath materials	<i>snānīya</i>	<i>ambubhiḥ</i> 4.39	<i>sikta</i> ; <i>prṣat</i> 5.6
7. Clothes	<i>vastra</i>	<i>ambara</i> 4.34	
8. Sacred thread	<i>upavīta</i>	—	—
9. Unguents	<i>gandha</i>	<i>sadhātunirjhara</i> 4.40	—
10. Flowers/leaves	<i>puṣpa</i>	<i>kusuma</i> 4.37	<i>parijātasraj</i> 5.1; <i>vanamālā</i> 5.3; <i>kusuma</i> 5.4; <i>saroruh</i> 5.4
11. Incense	<i>dhūpa</i>	<i>payonmuc</i> 4.38	<i>megha</i> 5.3
12. Lamps	<i>dīpa</i>	<i>tapanopala</i> 4.38	<i>vidyut</i> 5.3
13. Food	<i>naivedya</i>	—	—
14. Perfume	<i>mukhavāsa</i>	—	—
15. Hymns	<i>stotra</i>	<i>vātalaharī</i> 4.40 <i>saṃgīta</i> 4.41	<i>upaviṇīta</i> 5.1
16. Circumambulation	<i>pradakṣiṇā</i>	—	—
* Prostration	<i>namaskāra</i>	—	5.1; 5.2; 5.3
* Gift	<i>dakṣiṇā</i>	<i>mauktika</i> 4.37 <i>nānāvidhaphala</i> 4.41	—

Table 6.1: List of *upacāras* as in ŚKC 4 and 5

By interpreting the table in the light of courtly practices, we notice that all the elements required for a religious ceremony are also employed as royal *upacāras*, namely those acts “performed in order to please, gratify and convey respect to another person generally of equal or superior rank” (Ali 2004, 120).¹⁶

“This term included not only gestures and words of respectful greetings, but the presentation of water and food, and gifts to gratify the senses like ornaments, clothes, incense flowers, unguents and even various entertainments (dance, song and music)” (Ali 2004, 120)

¹⁶For a discussion on the services (*upacāras*) of the *pūjā* as rooting in courtly practice (and not vice-versa), see Ali 2004, 121: “The collective performance of such courtesies was usually denoted by some form of the more embracing verbal roots $\sqrt{pūj}$ or \sqrt{arc} , meaning to honor, worship, or revere. Both these terms developed strong religious connotations, referring to the rites connected with honoring temple deities, which also consisted of set numbers of *upacāras*”. This had been noticed already by Charpentier 1927, 99: “In the Hindu temple service of our days the idols are treated like earthly monarchs and dignitaries”.

Those practices that Ali considers to be the most common to display to devotion¹⁷ and recognition of the royal power within a courtly environment (Ali 2004, 103–29) are also part of Mañkha’s description; the ambiguous overlapping of royal and religious *pūjās* certainly points to the ambivalent nature of Śiva, both king and god.

Whether Mañkha describes royal or religious *pūjās*, it is clear that his aim not that of instructing on ritual or protocols; rather, he purposely plays on this ambivalence in order to communicate his devotion for Śiva and to enhance the god’s encompassing power. This is accomplished through a description of services (*upacāras*) performed by extraordinary devotees, mountains, and gods, and through rites which fit both the court and the temple. In this manner, the poet endorses Śiva as the ultimate king, the only worth of celebration.

¹⁷For the word *bhakti* as part of the common political idiom in inscriptions from the fourth century, see Ali 2004, 126.

6.2 The Philosophical Hymn¹⁸

In the 67 verses of the seventeenth canto of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, the “description of Parameśvara’s meeting with the gods” (*parameśvaradevasamāgamavarṇana*), we find the longest praise (*stotra*, or *stuti*) composed by Maṅkha in the context of his court poem. Śiva has just entered the assembly hall,¹⁹ where the frightened gods have gathered to inform him about the uprising of the demons Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Vidyunmālin.

Śiva, the supreme deity, makes his grand entrance and sits on the throne (ŚKC 17.4–10), while the gods, both excited at their king’s arrival and pale at the impending danger, bow before him (ŚKC 17.11–16). At this point, the war council commences with the praise of Śiva by Indra and the other gods (*ity ūcur namu-cibhidādayaḥ*, ŚKC 17.17), who speak with voices as sweet as honey (*sudhāyāḥ saṃbandhād iva madhurodgamair vacobhiḥ*, ŚKC 17.17)

The speech of praise by the gods occupies sixteen verses (ŚKC 17.18–33), and each verse—or group of verses—is dedicated to a specific theological doctrine, to a philosophical school, or to an aspect of Śiva: the Sāṃkhya system (ŚKC 17.18–21), the Grammarians’ theories on language (ŚKC 17.22), the Nyāya logic school (ŚKC 17.23), Buddhism (ŚKC 17. 24–25), Jainism (ŚKC 17.26), Materialism (ŚKC 17.27), the Upaniṣads (ŚKC 17.28), pure *advaita* Śaivism (ŚKC 17.29), Mīmāṃsā (ŚKC 17.30), Vaiśeṣika (ŚKC 17.31), Śiva *aṣṭamūrti* (ŚKC 17.32), and the god’s twofold aspect of benevolent and terrific (ŚKC 17.33).²⁰ The commentator, Jonarāja, supplies the missing references with the exact names of religious and philosophical currents and sub-currents. For instance, the broader term *bauddha* (Buddhists) used by Maṅkha in ŚKC 17.24 and 17.25 can be narrowed down to the “Vijñānavāda” Buddhists in the first case (J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.24) and to the “Śūnyavāda” in the second (J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.25).

The internal verse-structure is for the most part consistent, and each verse is conceptually designed in two parts. The first half-verse contains the beliefs of

¹⁸Section based on Livio, Chiara. [forthcoming]. ‘A Poet with his Philosopher’s Hat On. A Preliminary Study of the Philosophical Section in the Seventeenth Canto of Maṅkha’s *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*’. *Religions of South Asia*.

¹⁹This canto is the best occasion for Maṅkha to describe all “gestural and verbal protocols” (see Ali 2004, 123–32) required for the interaction with a king, along with the presentation of royal paraphernalia: the jeweled foot-stool (ŚKC 17.1), the golden scepter (ŚKC 17.2), the flower offerings (ŚKC 17.3), and the fly-whisks (ŚKC 17.3) (see § 6.1 and Ali 2004, 125).

²⁰The section is metrically consistent with all the verses in Praharṣiṇī (see Mandal 1991, 136).

different philosophical currents, and the second recalls these beliefs to confirm or prove the supremacy of non-dual Śaivism from Kashmir.

The section is particularly interesting for two reasons: its genre—it is a “hymn of praise” (*stotra* or *stuti*) of the gods for Śiva, and thus linked to Mañkha’s devotionism—and its philosophical content, which is expounded following a strategy that can be called “inclusivistic” (Ratié 2013, 413).

6.2.1 Hymnic Structure and Non-Dual Inclusivism

As Mañkha himself specifies in the verse that follows the section (ŚKC 17.34), the verses are a devotional “praise” (*stuti*) directed by the gods to Śiva, and the section adheres to the genre of the *stotra* (Stainton 2019, 29). The vocative case is used in relation to the god, the number of verses (16) can be considered auspicious, and the motive for the praise is essentially the selfish attainment of material benefits (Bronner 2007, 114), in our case Śiva’s intervention in the fight against the three demons.

As already observed by Stainton, the inclusion of hymns in narratives such as the *mahākāvyas* reveals “the nature of *stotras* as a pivotal point of contact between religious traditions and the realm of literature and literary theory” (Stainton 2019, 109), as well as their paramount importance in the court epics themselves. These hymnic passages, in fact, usually occupy a strategic position in the development of the plot.

We notice, for instance, how Kālidāsa had already pioneered the inclusion of a *stuti* in the second canto of his *Kumārasambhava*, and how the occasion for the praise of the god is essentially the same as the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*: the impending danger of an attack by a demon, Tāraka, forces the other gods to ask Brahmā for aid. Later, in the ninth century, Ratnākara similarly embedded in his court poem an even longer poetic praise. A large part of the sixth canto of his *Haravijaya* is dedicated to a hymn to Śiva recited by the personified Spring, which—we find out at the end—has the ultimate goal of seeking help against the demon Andhaka (Smith 1985, 128; Pasedach 2017; Stainton 2019, 109–115).²¹

The relation between the *Haravijaya* and the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is especially significant. First, the two authors share their birthplace, Kashmir, and their Śaiva background. Second, not only do they write long *mahākāvyas* containing poetic hymns, but they also share a common strategy in developing their philosophical contents.²² This strategy, which consists of including notions derived from dif-

²¹The *Śivastotra* is not the only hymn in the *Haravijaya*: Ratnākara dedicates the whole forty-seventh canto to the praise of the goddess Caṇḍī (Smith 1985, 131, Stainton 2019, 109–115).

²²In the case of the sixth canto of the *Haravijaya* we find mention of other religious doctrines or philosophical schools (“others” in HV 6.86–87, 6.89–104) inserted in the Śaiva inclusive view:

ferent philosophical currents as parts of a broader revelation, follows the process that Hacker calls “inclusivism” (Inklusivismus in German):

“Inclusivism is a term that I use to describe facts from the field we call Indian religions, specifically Indian religious philosophy. Inclusivism means that a central notion of a foreign religious or ideological group is explained as identical with this or that central notion of the group to which one belongs. Mostly, inclusivism implies, implicitly or explicitly, that the foreigner’s notion, which is explained as identical with one’s own, is somehow subordinate or inferior. (transl. from Hacker 1983, 12) The opposing world view is not attacked directly, but its important concepts are accepted, perhaps even its most important concept [...] But at the same time the central concepts are subordinated to one’s own world view.” (p. 14)

Although applied in the hymnic-philosophical sections of both the *Haravijaya* and the *Śrikanṭhacarita*, inclusivism has different aims for the two poets. Ratnākara seems to prefer the dualism of the Śaiva Siddhānta, and this is confirmed by a verse in which the identity between Śiva and the individual souls is negated (HV 6.104; Pasedach 2017, 161 fn. 212). Conversely, Maṅkha uses this inclusivist strategy to propound the superiority of non-dual Śaivism.

In line with his time and influenced by the knowledge which flourished in Kashmir between the ninth century—Ratnākara’s epoch—and the twelfth century, Maṅkha could be inspired by Ratnākara himself, as well as by other sources. From an *advaita* perspective, we cannot overlook, for instance, the richness of the non-dual Śaiva tradition which developed with Somānanda, with the “didactic poetry of Utpaladeva” (Stainton 2019, 120), and with the great exegesis of Abhinavagupta. As already noticed by Hanneder, this process of “inclusivist hierarchy” is one of the key points of Abhinavagupta’s system:

“[while] the dualistic Siddhānta rejected the non-dualistic schools, the latter included the former as a lower form of revelation. The inclusivist hierarchy of Abhinavagupta’s school aimed at explaining the whole spectrum of ‘religions’, since it included not only the Pāsupatas and the Siddhānta, but also Buddhist philosophy, Yoga and the like.” (Hanneder 1998, 6)

In Abhinavagupta’s case, however, the other world-views are not exactly “hierarchized” but seen as “episodes” in his “universalistic approach” (Torella 2013, 471–76), while the hierarchization of the other *āgamas*

Sāṃkhya (HV 6.18–20), the Grammarians (HV 6.53–55), Nyāya (HV 6.78), Buddhism (HV 6.90, 94), Materialism (HV 6.97), the Upaniṣads (HV 6.39), Mīmāṃsā (HV 6.91), Vaiśeṣika (HV 6.83) and many more.

“is a way of saving the authority of the single *āgamas*, within their own limited domains: putting them on same plane would amount to creating a babelian tower, where conflicting *prasiddhis* would neutralize each other, and, as we have seen, men cannot do without them.” (Torella 2013, 476)

This process can be clearly observed in a passage from Abhinavagupta’s *Tantrāloka*, which can be compared to Mañkha’s way of discussing other traditions:

“There is but one revelation (*āgama*) within which all [religion] is grounded, from the mundane [Vedic religion] to Vaiṣṇavism, Buddhism, and Śaivism. And the ground of that revelation, the ultimate goal [of religion], is the Trika. Because of its consistent non-duality it is also called the Kula. Just as there is one vital breath in [all] the limbs of the body, though each is distinct and lower or higher, so the Trika is present in all scriptures.” (TĀ 35.30–32, transl. Sanderson 2005, 107)

Sāṃkhya, Yoga, Pañcarātra and Veda, as said in the *Svacchandatantra*, must not be despised as they are all originated from Śiva. These traditions, streams in the world, are nothing but isolated fragments extracted from a single doctrine, [and] by these ones the devotee, bewildered, is deceived (TĀ 35.36–37, transl. from Gnoli 1972, 766)²³

As witnessed in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* itself, Mañkha is certainly aware of Abhinavagupta’s doctrine. We find, for instance, a mention of the great exegete in the twenty-fifth canto of the poem, where Mañkha celebrates the philosopher Prakāṣa as a new Abhinavagupta (*abhinavaguptasya* in ŚKC 25.94–95; Slaje 2015, 254–55).

However, the extent to which the Pratyabhijñā corpus and its inclusivistic strategy influenced the composition of the philosophical section in the seventeenth canto is yet to be determined.

6.2.2 Including Sāṃkhya: Mañkha on *Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*

²³TĀ 35.30–32: *eka evāgamas tasmāt tatra laukikaśāstrataḥ | prabhṛty ā vaiṣṇavād bauddhāc chaivāt sarvaṃ hi niṣṭhitam ||30|| tasya yat tat paraṃ prāpyaṃ dhāma tat trikaśabdītam | sarvāvibhedānucchedāt tad eva kulam ucyate ||31|| yathordhvādaratābhākṣu dehāṅgeṣu vibhediṣu | ekaṃ prāṇitam evaṃ syāt trikaṃ sarveṣu śāstrataḥ ||32||. TĀ 36–37: *sāṃkhyam yogaṃ pañcarātram vedāṃś caiva na nindayet | yataḥ śivodbhavāḥ sarva iti svacchandaśāsane ||36|| ekasmād āgamāc caite khaṇḍakhaṇḍā vyapoddhṛtāḥ | loke syur āgamās taiś ca jano bhrāmyati mohitāḥ ||37||. The process has been also explained as ‘perspectivism’ by Isabelle Ratié (Ratié 2013, 414).**

Mañkha opens the gods' hymn with four verses dedicated to the cosmological doctrines of the universe (ŚKC 17.18–21), regulated by an inactive 'self' (*puruṣa*) and by an active 'nature' (*prakṛti*), and structurally organized in 'principles' (*tattvas*). To the contemporaneous audience, a connection with the Sāṃkhya system would have been readily apparent.

*viśveṣāṃ puri puri yat sadaiva śeṣe
vidvadbhiḥ puruṣa iti pratīyase tat |
kiṃ dhāmatritayamayānapāyadr̥ṣtes tasmāt
te jagati parokṣam asti vastu || 17.18 ||*

By the wise men you are recognized as Self (*puruṣa*), as you always lie ($\sqrt{\text{śi}}$) in everybody's fortress (*puri puri*); therefore, what real entity (*vastu*) is invisible in the world for you, whose indefectible sight embraces the three worlds (*dhāmatritaya*)? (17.18)

*nanv evaṃ kim api vinirmalaṃ prakṛtyā
tvadrūpaṃ surasaridambuvat punīte |
srotobhis tribhir atha kāraṇātmabhis tad
viśvātman kṛtakam api vyanakti bhedaṃ || 17.19 ||*

Thus, there is no doubt that your form, immaculate by nature, purifies, like the waters of the divine river; or else, through the three streams which are the causal forces (*kāraṇātmabhis*), O you who are [made of] everything, (*viśvātman*), you manifest differentiation (*bheda*), even if it is artificial (*kṛtakam*) (17.19)²⁴

*dhiṅ mūḍhā vitatham udāsanasvabhāvaṃ
bhāṣante puruṣa tava trilokabhartuḥ |
kartrī cet prakṛtir iyaṃ karotu kiṃcit
kaivalyaṃ bhavadadhiroham antareṇa || 17.20 ||*

O Puruṣa, shame on the fools who wrongly state that your essence, you who are the sustainer of the three worlds, is inactive (*udāsana*); if this Na-

²⁴In the first half-verse, Śiva's action is compared to the purifying waters of the Gaṅgā, whereas in the second half-verse the three streams can be identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, "the so-called Kāraṇas or Kāraṇeśvaras, the hypostases of Śiva situated on the various planes of reality in an order of increasing ontological dignity" (Torella 1994, 197 fn. 3). According to Abhinavagupta, the three hypostases are connected with "forms of knowledge, level of the word and location in the human body" (*ibidem*). The *advaita* perspective is supported by Jonarāja, who comments: *atha kāraṇātmabhir hariharabrahmādyais tribhiḥ srotobhis* (J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.19).

ture (*prakṛti*) is [really] the agent, let's see if she can do anything in a liberated state (*kaivalya*) without leaning on you! (17.20)²⁵

kiṃ mithyā hara mahadādiṣu prayunkte
loko 'yaṃ vikṛtimayeṣu tattvaśabdāṃ |
ekas tvam niravadhirūpabhr̥d dhi
*tathyaṃ tattattvaṃ puruṣa bibharṣi pañcaviṃśaḥ || 17.21 ||*²⁶

Why erroneously, O Hara, do these people employ the word 'principle' (*tattva*) to indicate mahat and the others, which are only derivatives [of Nature] (*vikṛtimaya*)? You alone, O Puruṣa, indeed holding an unlimited form (*niravadhirūpa*), you rightly bear the qualification of twenty-fifth (*pañcaviṃśa*). (17.21)²⁷

Reading this passage in the light of the *Sāṃkhyakārikā* by Īśvarakṛṣṇa,²⁸ one notices two opposed tendencies. First, Mañkha's acceptance of Sāṃkhya's basic concepts²⁹ and, second, an attack against the erroneous interpretation of these concepts. A clear distancing from the Sāṃkhya system is undeniable, beginning with the harsh names Mañkha gives to its followers—"naïve fools" (*mūḍha*) to be despised (*dhik*), "erroneously" (*mithyā*) interpreting the world's reality. Mañkha's critique, following a purely non-dual perspective, is an attack on Sāṃkhya's dualist concept of an isolated, indifferent and inactive *puruṣa* (ĪSK 19) as the spectator of an active *prakṛti*. From the *advaita* perspective, on the contrary, the "primal matter" (*prakṛti*) cannot be an "agent" (*kartrī*) unless it "leans" (*adhiroha*) on *puruṣa*. Only *puruṣa*, the transcendental "twenty-fifth principle" (*pañcaviṃśa*), can be the intentional actor who, in Mañkha's case, is none other than the all-pervasive Śiva. As Torella observes,

²⁵For *udāsanasvabhāvaṃ* see J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.20: *tavodāsīnasvabhāvaṃ*, with *-ana* as the *lyuṣ* affix added to the verbal root *ud+√ās* in the sense of agent, i.e. "the one who is inactive" (= *udāsīna*) following the example of the class of roots *nandyādi* (see J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.20: *nandyādītīvāl lyuṣ*, and Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.134, in which *√nand+ana* means "the one who rejoices" and *√mad+ana*, "passion, the god of love" etc.).

²⁶*niravadhī*° (em. with J. comm.)] *nirupadhī*° Eds. and B₂ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; *nirudhī*° L₁; missing folio in Ś₄. The adjective *nirupadhī*° ('blameless') in the Eds. and the Mss. could be emended with *nirupādhi*° ('absolute, without attributes'), but this emendation is here immetrical.

²⁷For a precedent of the verse, see HV 6.18: *puruṣa tvam eva kila pañcaviṃśakaḥ*.

²⁸See one recent translation by Pensa 2018.

²⁹As evidence of this acceptance, we may note that parallelisms can be found not only in the usage of Sāṃkhya's terminology—"differentiation" (*bheda*), "insentient state" (*udāsīna*), "isolation" (*kaivalya*) and "principles" (*tattvas*)—but also in more general ideas such as the Self abiding in that "fortress" (*pur*) which is the body, in the concept of "isolation" (*kaivalya*) as liberation (ĪSK 17, 19, 21, 68), or in the number of principles, twenty-five in both occasions (comm. ad ĪSK 2).

“The Śaivas would have no objection were it not for the fact that the *prakṛti* as conceived by the Sāṃkhya—i.e. *jaḍa*—has no right to assume this role [that of the agent of the action], which is the exclusive prerogative of the conscious being.” (Torella 1994, 185 fn. 31)³⁰

Despite all these critical remarks, the very existence of *puruṣa* and *prakṛti* is never questioned. This reminds us of that process of inclusion of Sāṃkhya ontology already started by the dualist Śaiva-Siddhāntins (Goodall 1998, li-lii), and later continued by the *advaita* thinkers of the Pratyabhijñā school (Gnoli 1972, 48).³¹ If we consider the discussion on the nature of the universe in Abhinavagupta’s works, for instance, we can see how the notions of Sāṃkhya, while being criticized, are not completely disregarded, but further developed. This is the case with the *Paramārthasāra*, where ample room is given to an *advaita* re-elaboration of Sāṃkhya concepts. As Bansat-Boudon explicates,

“the PS prefers to efface such differences in order better to bring out the relationship of one tradition to the other. The Sāṃkhya is not only a system that the Trika considers having stopped short in working out the aspiration toward enlightenment and liberation; it is also a system with which the Trika sustains an affinity.” (Bansat-Boudon and Tripathi 2011, 52)

The acceptance of Sāṃkhya, both by *advaita* philosophers and by a later *advaita mahākavi*, is indicative of the power of older traditions in the making of a new doctrine. In this case, the continuous influence of Sāṃkhya on the non-dual tradition and continuous confrontation between *advaita* and Sāṃkhya is inevitable, and this is apparent throughout the whole corpus of the Pratyabhijñā.

6.2.3 Including Grammar: Sound as Śiva’s Essence

kiṃ kartuṃ tava purato ’tha kiṃ nu vaktuṃ
śakṣyāmaḥ kṣitidhararājamūrdhaśāyin |
tvaṃ khaṇḍaṃ kvacid api no padaṃ vyanakṣi

³⁰Torella is here commenting on Utpaladeva’s ĪPK II.4.17–19 and *vṛtti*.

³¹The Kashmiri Śaiva Siddhāntins “added principles to the top, demonstrating that the Sāṃkhya had correctly grasped the nature of only the inferior levels of the universe, and they attempted to place worlds inherited from older Śaiva scriptures on the levels of these various principles. The latter change meant that tattva in some contexts approximates to a “reality level” of the universe in which various worlds are placed rather than a constitutive “principle” of the universe” (Goodall 1998, li-lii). For the inevitability of Sāṃkhya inclusion in later schools, see Torella 1999 and his rhetorical question: “Is it really possible to be outside, totally outside, Sāṃkhya?” (p. 554)

trailokyam dhvanivapuṣaś ca te vivartaḥ || 17.22 ||

What can we make or say now in your presence, O you lying on the top of the king of the mountains? You never manifest a fragmented word (*khaṇḍam no padam*), and the three worlds are [nothing but] your unreal transformation (*vivarta*), you who have Sound as your body (*dhvanivapus*) (17.22)

With the terms “word” (*pada*), “unreal transformation” (*vivarta*) and “sound” (*dhvani*) we are immediately led to a reading of the verse on a grammatical perspective (Mandal 1991, 168). In the verse, it is the “sound-bodied” (*dhvanivapus*) Śiva who, through his ‘word’ (*pada*) unfolds the three worlds, only apparently differentiated (*vivarta*).

If we follow Jonarāja’s interpretation, the “not fragmented word” (*akhaṇḍam padam*) corresponds to “the meaning-structure of the word” (*sphoṭa = pada*) and Śiva’s body to “sound” (*śabdabrahman = dhvanivapus*), while the worldly differentiation is nothing other than an “unreal alteration” (*asatyah pariṇāmah*).³²

The notions of *sphoṭa* and *śabdabrahman* occupy an important place in Bhartṛhari’s (fifth century CE) theory of language. It must be noted, however, that Maṅkha’s main concern is not the linguistic definition of the grammarians’ notions, but the inclusion of their theories in his non-dual metaphysical perspective, which is closer to the later receptions of the grammarians’ theories rather than to Bhartṛhari himself.³³ Nevertheless, even the very first definition of ‘ultimate principle’ in Bhartṛhari’s *Vākyapadīya* (VP 1.1) can be easily re-adapted to Śiva:

The Brahman who is without beginning or end (*anādinidhana*), whose very essence is the Word (*śabdattva*), who is the cause of the manifested phonemes, who appears as the objects, from whom the creation of the world proceeds (*vivartate ... prakriyā jagato*) (transl. Iyer 1965, 1).³⁴

³²J. comm. ad ŚKC 17. 22: *yatas tvam akhaṇḍam padam sphoṭarūpaṃ prakāṣyasi; śabdabrahmasvarūpasya ca te tribhuvanam asatyah pariṇāmah*.

³³For the interpretations of the concept of *sphoṭa* in Bhartṛhari see Bronkhorst 1991, 12–13, Cardona 1999, 266, Narayanan 2012, 96–99. For the receptions of a metaphysical *sphoṭa* after Bhartṛhari, see Saito 2020.

³⁴VP 1.1: *anādinidhanam brahma śabdattvam yad akṣaram | vivartate ’rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ*. It must be specified that in Bhartṛhari’s *Vākyapadīya* words related to the verbal root *vi-√vṛt* do not have any illusionistic meaning (see Biardeau 1964). See also VP 3.14.198ab: *śabdād arthāḥ pratāyante sa bhedānām vidhāyakaḥ*, i.e. ‘[words] create the distinctions [in the phenomenal world]’ (transl. Bronkhorst 2001, 481–83). See also Torella 1994, xxvi fn. 37: “the term *vivarta* (and related forms) seems to be used by Bhartṛhari to underline the continuity of Brahman in the manifold world of manifestation rather than to signify a de-realization of the latter”. In later times, however, *vivarta* assumed a different connotation which places it closer to something like “an apparent transformation”.

This metaphysical interpretation of reality based on grammar is not new in the non-dual Śaiva tradition, which was attracted by Bhartṛhari's *advaita* conception of the world. As already noticed by Gnoli (1972, 21–22) and Torella (1994, xxiii), Bhartṛhari's influence on the Pratyabhijñā school is evident if we consider the acceptance of his legacy by Utpaladeva, in his open break from Somānanda (Torella 2008b; 2014, 552).³⁵

Maṅkha is likely aware of Bhartṛhari's doctrine both from the grammarian's works and from Utpaladeva's and Abhinavagupta's treatises. However, he does not criticize Bhartṛhari—as he harshly did with the Sāṃkhya proponent—but includes the grammarian's ideas in his non-dual Śaiva view.

6.2.4 Including Logic: Nyāya and the Proof of Śiva's Pervasiveness

Maṅkha continues his reflection on the theme of Lord as 'sound' (*dhvani* in ŚKC 17.22), this time as 'physical sound' (*śabda*) as intended by the Logicians.

*kuṭrāpi pratihatim eti nāntarikṣam
śabdāḥ tadguṇapadaviṃ na cātiśete |
tanmūrtis tvam asi ca tad vibho jaganti
vyāpnoṣīty ayam upapattisampradāyaḥ || 17.23 ||*

The ether (*antarikṣa*) does not encounter any obstruction, and sound (*śabda*) never exceeds the status of ether's quality (*guṇa*); you have as manifestation (*mūrti*) this [sound], and, as such, O Vibhu, you pervade the worlds; this is the traditional way of reasoning [of Nyāya] (*upapatti*) (17.23)

Already at first reading, we notice the employment of the technical term “logical reasoning” or “argumentation” (*upapatti*) which belongs to the sphere of Nyāya, as also Jonarāja suggests (J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.23: *upapatter nyāyasya sampradāyaḥ*).³⁶ In particular, if one compares Maṅkha's verse with the Nyāyasūtras, a striking lexical similarity in the description of the qualities of ether can be observed: “the ether (*ākāśa*) is omnipresent (*sarvagata*) because of the pervasion with sound (*śabda*) and conjunction”, and it possesses three properties:

³⁵Somānanda harshly criticized the grammarian's concept of *vivarta* as presented in Bhartṛhari's *Ṣaḍdhatūsamīkṣā* (and not in the *Vākyapadīya*), while Utpaladeva dissociates from his teacher's critics (see Torella 1994, xxvi–xxvii). For Somānanda's lost work, see also Ratié 2018 and Torella 2008b.

³⁶As early as in the first available Nyāya text, Gautama's *Nyāyasūtras*, the manifold ways of the logical demonstration had been widely discussed by employing the example of the non-eternality of 'sound' (*śabda*, see NS 5.1 and comm. by Vatsyāyana; Jhā 1984).

it “is not indivisible... it does not obstruct (*aviṣṭambha*) and...it is all-pervading (*vibhutva*)”.⁸⁷

In Mañkha’s verse, the two attributes of ether, namely its lack of constraints and its pervasiveness, are reprised with the following phrases: ether is “never obstructed” (*pratihatim eti na = aviṣṭambha*, see also *nirodham* in J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.23), and “pervades the world” (*jaganti vy+√āp = vibhutva*). The author, however, takes a step further. Ether is qualified by sound, which is the proof of ether’s existence, but sound is also Śiva’s perceptible manifestation, his “sensible material form” (*mūrti*). Therefore, ether is nothing but Śiva, whom Mañkha wittily calls *vibhu*, the “all-pervading one”.⁸⁸

The identification of a supreme principle with Śiva is certainly a way of threatening the Nyāya realism, not new to the circle of Śaiva intellectuals that propounded a non-dual view of the worlds. Before Mañkha, Somānanda, Utpaladeva (Torella 1994, xxiii) and Abhinavagupta, while considering logic as a valid instrument for argumentation, had either discarded the “blind” Naiyāyikas’ views (TĀ 9.259–60; Gnoli 1972, 327; Ratié 2011a, 39–40) or accepted them—even though partially:

So—Utpaladeva seems to say, and later Abhinavagupta was to put this more explicitly, one might just as well accept the view of Nyāya in the sphere of *vyavahāra*, on condition that one sees through it the pervasive presence of Śiva as constituting its dynamism and internal coherence. (Torella 1994, xxiii)

For Śaiva *advaita* thinkers—and for Mañkha as well—what is needed is, therefore, a supreme principle to preside over nature, which justifies the whole process of logical reasoning. This principle is, of course, the god Śiva, whose perceptible

⁸⁷NS 4.2.21: *śabdasaṃyogavibhāvāc ca sarvagatam*; NS 4.2.22: *avyūhāviṣṭambhavibhutvāni cākāśadharmāḥ*. The discussion about ether and sound is also present in Kaṇāda’s *Vaiśeṣikasūtras* and in the commentary by Praśastapāda, where it is stated that ultimate bliss can be attained through the knowledge of all six categories (*padārthas*), our objects of knowledge. Among these six categories, there are nine “substances” (*dravyas*), i.e. the substratum (*dharmin*) or property-bearer, which possess “attributes, properties” (*guṇas*). These properties qualify the substances, but they are not essential for their self-existence. One of these nine substances is *ākāśa* (“ether”), which is *nitya* (“eternal”, VS 2.1.27); unitary, hence without parts and indivisible (VS 2.1.28); omnipresent (VS 7.1.28); *anāśrita* (“independent”, PDS 3.21); *sarvagata* (“all-pervasive”, PDS 3.22); and perceived only through *śabda*, its specific “attribute” (*guṇa*) (VS 2.1.24–28).

⁸⁸Contrary to what Mañkha states in the previous verse (ŚKC 17.23), where “sound” is intended as Śiva’s body or essence (*dhvanivapus*), here “sound” (*śabda*) is intended, just like in the Nyāya, as the physical attribute of ether, and it occupies a lower level in the Logic categorization system. Hence the usage of the term “sensible material form” (*mūrti*): here, sound is only Śiva’s impermanent perceptible form.

manifestation is sound and who can be identified, by extension, with the comprehensive ether.

6.2.5 Including Buddhism: ‘Non-Externality’ and ‘Emptiness’

*no kiṃcid bahir upapattim eti vastu
jñānāt tat prasaratī kiṃ tu citravṛtti |
jñānātmā prabhur iti viśvakartṛbhāvo
no bauddhair api bhavato bata vyapāstaḥ || 17.24 ||*

No thing (*vastu*) can be logically evidenced outside cognition (*bahir jñānāt*), but rather it flows in variegated ways (*citravṛtti*) [from this cognition]; thus, Prabhu is cognition. See! Not even by the Buddhists is your nature of world creator refuted! (17.24)

*śūnyam tair akathi na tuccham eva
rūpaṃ mādrkṣānadhigamanīyavṛtti kiṃ tu |
tādrkṣaṃ tava ca vapus tathā ca bauddhās
tvām eva kva na paramārthato grṇanti || 17.25 ||*

They did not say that emptiness (*śūnya*) is something trivial (*tuccham*), but a form with a condition (*vṛtti*) ungraspable by people like us [mere mortals], and so is your essence. And then, where do the Buddhists not truly chant you? (17.25)

For his *advaita* discourse, Maṅkha borrows the two Buddhist notions of ‘non-externality’ (*abāhyatā*) of the perceived object from cognition and of “emptiness” (*śūnyatā*), which Jonarāja relates to the two Buddhist traditions of the Vijñānavāda (J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.24: *bauddhair api vijñānavādibhir*) and the Śūnyavāda (J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.25: *śūnyavādino bauddhās*).³⁹

³⁹For the Vijñānavādins (or Yogācārins) and their concept of non-externality mentioned by Maṅkha, we can refer to Vasubandhu (ca. 350–430), founder of the Yogācāra school. In his *Vimśikā* the internality of objects is demonstrated, among other things, through a discussion on dreams. Since, while dreaming, we can represent real objects even in their absence, these real objects, therefore, must have been internal all along. “The Great Vehicle teaches that what belongs to the triple world is established as Manifestation-Only ... Mind, thought, cognition and manifestation are synonyms. And here this ‘mind’ intends the inclusion of the concomitants [of mind]. “Only” is stated in order to rule out external objects. This cognition itself arises having the appearance of an external object ... but there is no [real] object at all [*nārthaḥ kaścid asti*].” (V 1, transl. Silk 2016, 189, 203 and Frauwallner 2010, 366). The discussion on the

For Mañkha, both the Vijñānavādins’ “cognition” (*jñāna*) and the “real objects” (*vastu* and *citravṛtti*) which are differentiated by this cognition are identical with Śiva, the “supreme consciousness” (*jñānātmā prabhu* in ŚKC 17.24c). The poet’s re-elaboration is strikingly close to that of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta, who had already faced their Vijñānavādin rivals, and Dharmakīrti in particular. If, on the one hand, it is true that the Vijñānavādins were considered the foremost adversary of the Pratyabhijñā thinkers (see Ratié 2011a, 15 and 306–366), on the other hand, it is undeniable that many of their notions “heavily influenced” (Ratié 2011a, 18) Utpaladeva’s and Abhinavagupta’s thought, starting with non-externality:

The objects that are manifested in the present can be manifested as external only if they reside within.—Even in direct perception, however, the manifestation of objects as separate is admissible only if they were absorbed in the cognizer [i.e. Śiva] (ĪPK 1.5.1, *kārikā* in italics, *vṛtti* in roman. Transl. Torella 1994, 111, see also Ratié 2011a, 309).

External existence (bāhyatā) is to be considered an accessory condition (upādhiḥ) and not the very essence (ātmā) of the manifestation of being and non-being. These, therefore, insofar as they are inner manifestations, always exist (ĪPK 1.8.5, *kārikā* in italics. Transl. Torella 1994, 148)⁴⁰

As for the Śūnyavādin (or Mādhyamika) Buddhists, Mañkha is recalling the concept of ‘emptiness’ (*śūnyatā*) as the “true nature” (*svabhāva*) of all phenomena proposed by Nāgārjuna in his *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MMK 13.1–8; Garfield

objects’ non-*bāhyatā* is continued also by Dharmakīrti (ca. 600-660 according to Frauwallner (1961, 137–139); Krasser (2011) proposes moving his dates to the mid-sixth century. For a discussion of the date of Dharmakīrti, see Eltschinger 2010b, 98.) in his *Pramāṇavārttika*, where theorizations on “cognition” (*jñāna*) and “objects” (*arthas*) are widely discussed. According to Dharmakīrti, there is no such thing as “external reality”, since all the objects of knowledge, i.e., the phenomenal world, are already present inside the cognition that knows them: “how can it be proven that the object is distinct from the [cognition, if it is] necessarily experienced simultaneously with the cognition [itself]?” (PV 3.387, transl. Eltschinger 2010, 431). In other words, “there is no object without or outside a cognition, and there is no cognition without an object. Therefore, “it can hardly be avoided that the object, which [always] appears at the [same] time as the cognition, is not distinct from the cognition [itself]” (PV 3.390)” (Eltschinger 2010, 431, see also Ratié 2011b). The discussion, however, is continued in the *Pramāṇaviniścaya* (1.54): *sahopalambhaniyamād abhedo nīlataddhiyoḥ | apratyakṣopalambhasya nārthadrṣṭiḥ prasidhyati ||*. “There is no difference between the blue and its cognition, because they are necessarily perceived together. The vision of an object is not established for someone who does not directly perceive his perception.” I owe this suggestion to Dr. Serena Saccone.

⁴⁰ĪPK 1.5.1: *vartamānāvabhāsānām bhāvānām avabhāsanam | antaḥsthitavatām eva ghaṭate bahirātmanā*. ĪPK 1.8.5: *bhāvābhāvāvabhāsānām bāhyatopādhir iṣyate | nātmā sattā tatas teṣām āntarānām satām sadā*.

1995, 36–37).⁴¹

For his argument, Mañkha uses the Mādhyamika’s observations to his advantage and shapes the concept of *śūnya* in an *advaita* sense. Far from a nihilist perspective (Garfield 1995, 102; *na tuccham* in ŚKC 17.25a), the only all-pervading entity which could be equated to emptiness is Śiva himself, the very mode of existence (*tava vapus* in ŚKC 17.25c).

The *advaita* argumentation against the Śūnyavādins is already present in the Pratyabhijñā corpus (Ratié 2011a, 15, 89), but the notion of *śūnya* itself is not disregarded by the non-dual authors. On the contrary, it occupies a considerable position in their system, and this roots back to the tantric texts the Pratyabhijñā bases its doctrine on. As noted by Bäumer (2005), for instance, the concept of ‘void’ is prominent in the *Vijñāna Bhairava Tantra*, to the extent that this “void” is equated with god:

The unknowable, the ungraspable, the void, that which even pervades non-existence, contemplate on all this as Bhairava. At the end [of this contemplation] illumination will dawn (*Vijñāna Bhairava Tantra* transl. Bäumer 2005, 169)⁴²

In the same way, Mañkha twists the meaning of ‘emptiness’ itself: emptiness is not “non-existence” but “mode of existence”, which we cannot fully understand, and Śiva, who is not completely graspable, lies in all the existent.

6.2.6 Including Jainism: Śiva as Ātman

*bodhātmany anavadhitām tvayīha
jānanty anyāni trinayana santu darśanāni |
ātmā tvam tava ca vapus trayo 'pi lokās
tanmānaṃ tvam iti ca nārhatō 'sti garhā || 17.26 ||*

O three-eyed god, let there be, here, other doctrines that admit your unlimited nature, you who are Knowledge (*bodhātman*); you are the Self, the three worlds altogether are your body and you are the [same] size of these [three worlds]: there is no censure for a Jaina! (17.26)

⁴¹According to Nāgārjuna, real objects are “empty” (*śūnya*) of “intrinsic essence” (*svabhāva*), and emptiness is the “very mode of existence” (Garfield 2018, 433). Since emptiness is what characterizes all objects of perception, all objects share an identical nature and “in this emptiness, the diversity of the phenomenal world is removed” (Bronkhorst 2009, 132).

⁴²*Vijñāna Bhairava Tantra* 127: *yadavedyaṃ yadagrāhyaṃ yacchūnyaṃ yadabhāvagam | tatsarvaṃ bhairavaṃ bhāvyaṃ tadante bodhasambhavaḥ*. For the importance of ‘void’ in Śaiva meditation, see Bäumer 2005, 163–70.

The Jaina’s conception of a godless and manifold universe could not be any farther from Mañkha’s view, but inclusivism is once more the poet’s strategy. According to Jaina cosmology, the threefold universe (*loka* or *triloka*: upper level, mid-level, and netherworld) is manifold, composed of the “building-blocks” (Dundas 2002, 93) of ontological categories. “Self” (*jīva* or *ātman*), the first and foremost of these categories, corresponds to the knowing and feeling Soul which abides in the “material bodies” (*śarīra*) and eternally populates the “universe” (*loka*). *Jīva*, although remaining essentially the same, pervades each body in varying degrees, expanding or contracting based on the latter’s dimension: the bigger the *śarīra*, the wider the *jīva*, which is therefore body-sized (Dundas 2002, 94, 104; Bronkhorst 2000, 593).

To solve the problem of the Jaina’s manifoldness of reals, Mañkha renders their concepts applicable to his metaphysics. The knowing entity (*jīva* or *ātman*) is thereby Śiva (*tvam*), while his vessel—the material body (*śarīra* or *vapus*)—is the whole world (*trayo ’pi lokāḥ*). In doing so, Mañkha is proposing a perspective shift which can be macrocosmically understood with Śiva as a supreme and undivided *ātman*, who is the same “size” (*māna*) as the existent which he unifies.

Particularly interesting is Jonarāja’s commentary to the verse: the other views (*anyāni darśanāni*) should not be disregarded (*nāpāsyāni*) as they are completely encompassed by Śiva (*bhagavadekanilīnatvāt*). In other words, all the doctrines must be included in the non-dual Śaiva view of reality.

6.2.7 Including Materialism: Śiva as ‘Inherent Nature’

*trailokyam vibhajati yo vicitratantram
yasmāc ca prasarati sarvajīvalokaḥ |
cārvākās tam iha vadanti yat svabhāvaṃ
tad bhaṅgyā tvam asi śivorarīkṛtas taiḥ || 17.27 ||*

The one who allots the three worlds [their] differentiated texture, and the one from whom all beings spring forth: this the Materialists (*cārvāka*) claim to be the ‘inherent nature’ (*svabhāva*) of these, and in the guise of this you are accepted by them, O Śiva (17.27)

According to the Materialists, nothing else exists other than this “world” (*loka*), whose “inherent nature” (*svabhāva*) (Bhattacharya 2012) is constituted of the four elements of earth, water, fire, and air, namely the ultimate principles (see aphorisms 1.1–2; Bhattacharya 2009, 86).⁴³ As a result, *svabhāva* alone is the

⁴³ Although directly quoting from Cārvāka texts in their original form is almost impossible due to the scarcity of primary sources (Bhattacharya 2009), we can derive information on the Ma-

cause behind the “diversity” (*vaicitrya*; Bhattacharya 2009, 79) of all phenomena, which can be explained only through the four elements (Bhattacharya 2009, 149).

In Mañkha’s perspective, aligning the notion of “inherent nature” (*svabhāva*) with Śiva, the motor of creation and causality, is almost natural to continue the inclusivistic process.

The Cārvākas, frequently mentioned in the Pratyabhijñā corpus but never included in its system,⁴⁴ are not completely disregarded by Mañkha, who, on the contrary, does not stress their foolishness, but only the misinterpretation of ‘inherent nature’ as something independent from Śiva.

6.2.8 Including Vedānta: the ‘Neti Neti’

*yaṃ māyā kvacid anirudhyamānarūpā
na spraṣṭuṃ prabhavati neti neti santaḥ |
yasmimś ca vyavahṛtim ācaranti taṃ tvāṃ
tātparyād upaṇiṣado vibho gṛṇanti || 17.28 ||*

The Upaniṣads ultimately praise you, O Vibhu, as the one whom the illusion (*māyā*), with [its] unobstructed form, can never touch, and regarding whom the sages can [only apophatically] say ‘you are not this, you are not that’ (*neti neti*) (17.28)⁴⁵

With the terms “illusion” (*māyā*), “not this, not that” (*neti neti*) and “Upaniṣads” (*upaṇiṣadaḥ*), Mañkha explores the world of Vedāntic scriptures (J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.28: *vedāntāḥ*).⁴⁶ In Mañkha’s perspective, however, the one and supreme ruling principle is Śiva (*brahman* = *vibhu*, Śiva in ŚKC 17.27) which is not visually

terialists (*cārvākas*; J. comm. ad ŚKC 17.21: *lokāyata*) in the form of fragments (Bhattacharya 2009). We can argue, however, that the Materialists’ doctrines were quite alive in Kashmir before the twelfth century, and that secondary sources for the Lokāyatas theories could have been available to Mañkha. See, for instance, Bhaṭṭa Udbhaṭa and its commentaries on older materialists’ works such as the *Lokāyatasūtras* and the *Paurandarasūtras* as referred by Vādi Devasūri (1086–1130) and Cakradhara (c. 12th century CE). See Solomon 1977–1978, 985–92.

⁴⁴Their theories are considered as apt for children, women and idiots. See TĀ 6.16–18 and transl. Gnoli 1972, 209.

⁴⁵See also Ratnākara’s *Haravijaya* 6.39.

⁴⁶Although it is difficult to detect with certainty Mañkha’s specific source, we must refer to the *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* as the most cited work on the subject. According to this text, the “ruling principle” (*brahman*) cannot be comprehended through the phenomenal world—a mere illusion (Deussen 1908, 38–44)—and its hardly definable essence can be grasped only apophatically, namely by asserting what *brahman* is not (BĀU 4.2.4, 4.4.22, 4.5.15 and 3.9.26 in Deussen 1908, 147, 403–04). The never-ending process of negative analysis known as “not this, not that” (*neti neti*) (Slaje 2010; Acharya 2013, 20) further developed in Śaṅkara’s commentary to the BĀU (Suthren Hirst 2005, 143) fits well an *advaita* interpretation of the world. See Jonarāja’s

identifiable in the illusory world (*māyā* = *loka*, the phenomenological world in ŚKC 17.27), but can be understood only through the apophatic description of what he is not (i.e. the ‘*neti neti*’).

6.2.9 Positioning Śaivism: Śiva as *Advaita*

*ekas tvaṃ trinayana drśyase hi kartuṃ*⁴⁷
jñātuṃ ca tribhuvanam īśvaraḥ prakāśaḥ |
tādātmyaṃ vivṛtavatī vimarśasaktir
*dvaite ’pi*⁴⁸ *prathayati te na*⁴⁹ *bhedadoṣam || 17.29 ||*

O three-eyed [Śiva], you alone are seen, indeed, to cause and know the three worlds as ruler (*īśvara*) and light of consciousness (*prakāśa*); the power of reflective awareness (*vimarśasakti*), revealing the identity with that (*prakāśa*), does not manifest in you, even in [this] duality, the error of differentiation (*bheda*). (17.29)

For the first time since the beginning of the section, Mañkha explicitly refers to three concepts which constitute the main critical points of the non-dual view of Kashmirian advaita Śaivism: *īśvara*, *prakāśa*, and *vimarśa*. In Mañkha’s verse, Śiva is the “lord” (*īśvara*) and the all-pervasive, immanent “light of consciousness” (*prakāśa*), the agent and the knower of the ‘perceptible world’ (*tribhuvana*). Śiva, however, is also “reflective awareness” (*vimarśa*),⁵⁰ and this seems to entail a duality of the essence of the god, who is both *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*. Mañkha solves this “error” (*doṣa*) by stating that the god’s “power of reflective awareness” is not, in essence, differentiated from Śiva’s “light of consciousness”, but identical with it, as two aspects integrated in a superior dimension.

commentary ad ŚKC 17.28: “he is not breath; he is not body etc.” (*naivāyaṃ prāṇo naiva śarīram’ ityādi*). The *neti neti* phrase is already mentioned in Abhinavagupta’s *Tantrāloka* (TĀ 6.9–10; Gnoli 1972, 209), although, as Ratié observes, “there is no solid evidence to suggest that the Pratyabhijñā philosophers were familiar with Śaṅkara’s works” (transl. from Ratié 2011a, 257 fn. 5; see also Sanderson 1985, 210), whereas the mediation of Vācaspati Mīśra was more plausible.

⁴⁷ *hi kartuṃ* (em.)] *’dhikartuṃ* Eds. and B₂ J₂ L₁ P₄ Ś₄ Ś₅; *’dhigantuṃ* P₁ P₂ Ś₁. The emendation, although not strictly necessary, makes the construction of the verse more elegant. I owe this suggestion to Prof. Raffaele Torella.

⁴⁸ *dvaite* (em.)] *dvaite ’pi* noted in margin in B₂; *dvaidhe* Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅.

⁴⁹ *te na*] *tena* B₂. This manuscript comments *tena* in margin with *abhedakāraṇena*. If we follow Ms. B₂, a second interpretation and translation of the second half-verse is possible: “...the power of reflective awareness, revealing the identity with *prakāśa*, even in (this) duality exposes the error of the differentiation thanks to that (i.e. its identity with *prakāśa*)”.

⁵⁰For a discussion of the various translations adopted for *vimarśa*, see Torella 1994, xxiv fn. 32.

In order to have a clear picture of the verse, we must refer to Utpaladeva’s and Abhinavagupta’s explanations of the *prakāśa* and *vimarśa* duo, the essential elements of the supreme entity of *īśvara-Śiva*. According to Abhinavagupta, “the supreme reality of the cognizable is Śiva, who is the pure light of consciousness (*prakāśa*)” (TĀ 1.52ab⁵¹), while “reflective awareness” (*vimarśa*) is “the essential nature of light” (ĪPK 1.5.11a, transl. Torella 1994, 118), so as to say: Śiva, the light of consciousness *and* the active and spontaneous reflective awareness (see Ratié 2011a, 159) are nothing but the same intrinsically identical unity. As Torella explains,

“I am referring to the identification in Śiva of the dual *prakāśa-vimarśa* pole—the first understood as the motionless cognitive light that constitutes the basic fabric, the founding structure of reality, of the ‘given’; the second as the spark that causes this luminous structure to pulsate by introducing self-awareness, dynamism, freedom of intervention, of self-assertion.” (Torella 1994: xxiii)

The spark of *vimarśa* is essential both in the recognition of the non-duality and in the assertion of Śiva’s all-pervasiveness, of which Maṅkha seems to be aware.

Unfortunately, the lack of commentary in this verse and the following four⁵² does not allow us to know Jonarāja’s interpretation of the passage. Is this another verse dedicated to a philosophical school, or is it Maṅkha’s declaration of his own credo?

The terminology he employs is a clear reference to the theorizations of the great non-dual exegetes Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta, and the primary role played by the *advaita* view in this verse is undeniable. In addition, the concepts of *prakāśa* and *vimarśa* are inserted without any mention of opposing schools, which leads us to conclude that this might be the higher inclusive philosophy: ultimate and uncriticized.

6.2.10 Including Mīmāṃsā: Śiva as the Poet of the Vedas

*icchadbhiḥ śāsimukṣa kriyaikarūpaṃ
vaivaśyāpraṇayavidhāyinaṃ niyogaṃ⁵³ |
nirvyūḍhaśrutikavikṛtya viśvakartā tvam
hartābhyupagata⁵⁴ eva vedavidbhiḥ || 17.30 ||*

⁵¹*jñeyasya hi param tattvaṃ yaḥ prakāśātmakah śivaḥ*. See transl. Gnoli 1972, 75.

⁵²From ŚKC 17.29 up to ŚKC 17.33 neither the printed editions nor the manuscript tradition consulted so far contain Jonarāja’s commentary (see CRITICAL ED.)

⁵³*niyogaṃ*] *niyogaṃ* B₂ L₁ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅; *viyogaṃ* Eds. and P₁ P₂ P₄; *vigam* J₂.

⁵⁴*hartā*] *hartā* Eds. and B₂ J₂ L₁ P₄; *hantā* in P₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅.

O moon-crested one, you have accomplished the duty (*kr̥tya*)⁵⁵ of poet of the Vedas (*śrutikavi*)! Even the exegetes of the Vedas (*vedavidbhiḥ*) admit you as creator and destroyer of everything (*viśvakartā ... hartā*) since they accept the injunction (*niyoga*) which prescribes absolute surrender (*vaivaśya*) and lack of independent agency (*apraṇaya*) and which has as content only action (*kriyā*) (17.30)⁵⁶

Mañkha’s inclusivistic strategy proceeds in this verse, where the Mīmāṃsakas, the “exegetes of the Vedas” (*vedavidah*) par excellence, are embedded in his non-dual Śaiva view. The terminology of the verse leaves no room for doubt: the Vedic “injunction” (*niyoga*)⁵⁷ prescribes the “ritual action” (*kriyā*) to be performed (*kārya*), and these constitute the basis of the Mīmāṃsakas’ system (Freschi 2012, 19).

For Mañkha, a Śaiva, it is particularly inconvenient that the Mīmāṃsakas deny the existence of any creator of the world; but the author twists this to his advantage: when the exegetes of the Vedas subordinate human action to “duty” (*niyoga*) and propose as the quintessence of this duty “action” (*kriyā*), they implicitly accept the presence of an agent behind duty, which is the active god. In addition, Śiva is none other than the “author of the Vedas” (*śrutikavi*), the very texts the Mīmāṃsakas are building their doctrine on⁵⁸.

As already noticed by Ratié (2011a, 305 fn. 95), the very core of the *advaita* philosophy, namely the theorization of the world as pure manifestation of god’s consciousness, is constantly undermined by the emphasis given by the Mīmāṃsakas, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in particular (Taber 2010, 279–80), to ritual action. The reaction of the Pratyabhijñā theorists, however, is not far to seek: the sacrificial duty is purposeless if the real objects are only an illusion with no more reality than that of our dreams. On the contrary, the phenomena are part of Śiva, while the sacrifice is not denied, but its essence is conceived as an aspect of the divine, as Śiva’s power of action (*kriyā*).⁵⁹

⁵⁵I read *nirvyūḍhaśrutikavikr̥tya* (ŚKC 17.30c) as vocative connected with *śaśimukūṭa* (ŚKC 17.30a).

⁵⁶I am indebted to Dr. Elisa Freschi for her precious suggestions in the translation and interpretation of the present verse.

⁵⁷The term *niyoga* is used by Prābhākaras as a synonym for *vidhi*, “injunction” (see Freschi 2012, 113). Mañkha is aware of the two different Mīmāṃsāka views, as he sets out in detail in the last canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*. There, the scholar Trailokya is indicated as Kumārila’s follower (ŚKC 25.65; Slaje 2015, 246 fn. 25.65), whereas Śrīgarbha, Jinduka and Śrīgunna side with the Mīmāṃsāka philosopher Prabhākara (ŚKC 25.49, 71, 88; Slaje 2015, 238 fn. ad 25.49), Kumārila’s rival.

⁵⁸It is noteworthy that one of the core themes in the Mīmāṃsā mainstream is that of the authorlessness (*apauruṣeyatā*) of the Vedas, which are neither human nor divine.

⁵⁹For *kriyā* (“action”) in the Pratyabhijñā school see the triad of powers (*śaktis*) in Torella 1994,

6.2.11 Including Vaiśeṣika: There is No Insentience

*yacchāyāprṣadabhiṣekato 'pi sarve
tātparyād avasitajāḍyatām bhajante |
tasyātmaṃs tava jaḍatām udīrayantaḥ
kāṇādā bata na kathaṃcana trapante ||17.31||*

They all celebrate, ultimately, the end of your inertness (*jāḍyatā*) even if by just a sprinkle of water on [your] reflection. Ah! The followers of Kaṇāda shouldn't be in any way ashamed of enunciating your insentience, you who are the essence of this [reflection]!⁶⁰

The inclusivistic strategy proceeds with a critique of the concept of “insentience” (*jāḍyatā/jaḍatā*) as presented by the “followers of Kaṇāda” (*kāṇādāḥ*), the representatives of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika tradition, who theorize both material objects and *ātman* as “devoid of consciousness” (*jaḍa*) (Torella 1994, xviii, and Ratié 2011a, 87–88 fn. 138).

Maṅkha seems to overturn this view, affirming that phenomena are not insentient, as their underlying essence is the sentient Śiva (*tasyātman*) and stating that Naiyāyikas should not be ashamed in their theories, as they indirectly accept its essence with their practices.

The idea of an insentient *ātman* is obviously “untenable” (Ratié 2011a, 88), and this echoes Abhinavagupta's criticism of the earlier Naiyāyikas:

in the liberated state, the Self of Nyāya is certainly inert or inanimate (*jaḍa*) in the sense that it does not apprehend any object, but it does not cease to be manifestation, because it must remain a manifestation of self. (transl. from Ratié 2011a, 89–90)

Some of the later Naiyāyikas, however—in particular the Kashmiri Bhāsarvajña (10th century CE)—had already admitted an *ātman* conscious by nature, and this admission is the loophole the Pratyabhijñā authors use for their argumentation against a substantial ‘insentience’ (*jaḍatā*) of self (see Ratié 2011a, 90). As Ratié

xvii. In particular, the *kartr̥śakti* manifests reality as external (Ratié 2011a, 299–306, Torella 1994, 133).

⁶⁰The first *pāda* of the verse is not clear, and the lack of Jonarāja's commentary makes the interpretation even more problematic. In particular, the compound *yacchāyāprṣadabhiṣekato* requires further research. For my translation, I followed a marginal annotation contained in Ms. B₂, which comments *prṣadabhiṣekato* with *jalakaṇikā* (“a drop of water”) and *chāyā* with *chāyāleśataḥ* (“a portion of reflection”). The compound could also be read as a *dvandva* referring to the practice of waving lights and making ablutions during a *pūjā*: “even if by just a speckle of light or a sprinkle of water”.

observes (2011a, 90–91), Bhāsarvajña’s theories, popular in Kashmir from the tenth century onward and revolutionary if we compare them to those of his predecessors (Potter 1977, 399), must have led to further Nyāya theorizations in the direction of an *ātman* not completely devoid of consciousness.

These later theories seem to be taken into account by Maṅkha, for whom the “followers of Kaṇāda” are acceptable in the *advaita* view as they accept an underlying activeness of the phenomena.

6.2.12 Śiva, his Eight Forms, and the Benevolent-Terrific Aspect

The closing verses of Maṅkha’s philosophical section wind up the whole hymn with a final celebration of Śiva’s power, without any mention of the critiques and inclusion of other views that characterized the previous verses.

*kvāvatsyat katham ajaniṣyata prakāśam
prāṇiṣyat katham athavaīṣa jīvalokaḥ |
ā sargād akhilajagadgariṣṭha no cet kāruṇyāt
prabhur abhaviṣyad aṣṭamūrtiḥ || 17.32 ||*

Where could humankind abide, how could it illuminate, or, rather, how could it breathe, if, from the dawn of time, the eight-formed Lord had not existed out of mercy, O most venerable in the entire world? (17.32)

*cakre ’bhūt tava murajit pratigrahītā tvam⁶¹
grīvām sarasījanmano vyalāvīḥ |
itthaṃ te himakaraśekhara prasādaḥ kopo vā
kvacid ajaniṣṭa no mahatsu || 17.33 ||*

In the case of [his] discus, Mura’s slayer became the receiver [of your grace]; you [also] chopped off the head of the Lotus-born; in cases such as these, O moon-crested one, was grace or rage not born in you towards great ones? (17.33)⁶²

⁶¹ *cakre*] *cakre* B₂ J₂ L₁ P₄ Ś₄ Ś₅; *vaktre* Eds.

⁶² The interpretation of the second half-verse is dubious. I follow a marginal annotation in B₂, which suggests: *kākūktiḥ* (‘intonation’), which is “a type of *vakrokti* in which the rejoinder is not stated but is conveyed through an ironic inflection of the voice” (Gerow 1971, 261–162). Śiva’s grace and rage are directed toward the gods, why wouldn’t they be in the case of the great men?!

Śiva is here the compassionate cause of all the existent (ŚKC 17.32), and his power of conferring grace or punishments extends also over the gods (ŚKC 17.33), as exemplified by the cases of Viṣṇu and Brahmā respectively,⁶³ the “great ones” (*mahatsu*).

The verse seems to be the perfect concluding *captatio benevolentiae*. If we look at the plot, it is Brahmā—the same Brahmā who is among the gods now praying to Śiva—the cause for which the gods gathered. And, as Mañkha lets us know later in the canto, it is Brahmā who had foolishly fallen into the demons’ trap and granted them the construction of the three invincible cities (ŚKC 17.51–66).

This final section does not add anything doctrinally, but brings us back to the narrative context. Śiva is the only motor of the world, creating and pervading all the worldly entities in his omnipresent eight-fold form (*aṣṭamūrti* in ŚKC 17.32),⁶⁴ and yet capable of destroying them at his own will.

6.3 Some final remarks

The analysis of the stotric-philosophical section of the seventeenth canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* evidences the relation between Mañkha’s court epic and the *advaita* Śaivism from Kashmir, which emerged through the poet’s inclusivistic strategy. The whole passage is addressing Śiva as the main deity, the creative principle, from whom the worlds are emanated and by whom are pervaded. All the other conceptions of the world are, therefore, nothing but a partial truth, which need to be incorporated within the author’s *advaita* ontology.

In the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, the presentation of Śiva as the supreme god is certainly not surprising, as already diffusely discussed in the previous chapters (see § 6.1). A preliminary discussion of some critical points of the seventeenth canto’s philosophical section is, however, required.

The first point concerns the lack of cohesiveness of the passage. The verses are listed one after another in a deceptively non-teleological progression, with the line dedicated to *advaita* Śaivism (ŚKC 17.29) placed in a non-prominent position. This seems to weaken our thesis of the Pratyabhijñā school as the including view of the section, as well as its foremost influence on Mañkha’s thought. In this case both content and context must be considered. As per the content, we

⁶³Śiva’s donation of the discus (the *sudarśanacakra*) to Viṣṇu is attested in the *Saura Purāṇa* (Chapter 37, under the title “how Viṣṇu got his disk *sudarśanacakra* from Śiva” in Jahn 1908, 107–108), whereas the story of Śiva who cuts off Brahmā’s fifth head and becomes Kapālin is well known and present throughout the Purāṇic corpus (Doniger 1976, 278–279).

⁶⁴Reference is here to Śiva’s *aṣṭamūrti*, namely the eight manifestations of the god, which correspond to sun, moon, fire, air, earth, water, sound, and ether. See opening of Kālidāsa’s prelude of the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* (AŚ 1.1).

observe that the line is the only one in the whole canto which refers directly to the Pratyabhijñā's theories, mentioning concepts such as *prakāśa* and *vimarśa* and their ontological unity. If in the other verses a quite clear opposition between Śaivism and other doctrines, such as Buddhism or the Materialists, can be seen, in this line the discussion takes place within a Śaiva perspective. This *advaita* view—the backbone of our philosophical section—was the most successful in Kashmir after the tenth century thanks to the works of Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta (Sanderson 2009), of which Mañkha was certainly aware (see § 6.2.1).

On the other hand, the seeming incoherence of the section can be justified by the contest, namely the verse which precedes the passage (ŚKC 17.17), in which the speaking subject is the plural “worshippers” (*bhajantaḥ*), the divinities. The gods, both terrified by the upcoming battle and excited by Śiva's arrival, are voicing confusedly, and such confusion is reflected in their praise. Considering that each verse is pronounced by a different god, the section naturally appears as lively as a real-life hymn, with many voices overlapping.

The second point concerns the purpose of this philosophical hymn in the overall structure of the *Śrikanṭhacarita*. Following Ratnākara's lead, Mañkha uses the section not only to praise his personal divinity, but also to prove his mastery in the philosophical discussion, expanding on the more traditional themes of *mahākāvyas*.

Nonetheless, it appears that the author's display of literary ability is not the only reason for the elaboration of the section. As stated earlier, Mañkha's inclusivism echoes the one of the Pratyabhijñā's authors who, for two centuries before him, had successfully propounded the Śaiva *advaita* tradition through the incorporation of all potentially opposing views (TĀ 25.29–37). If, however, Utpaladeva and Abhinavagupta do not refrain from harshly criticizing other doctrines, Mañkha seems to prefer a milder judgment, and only in one case—when Sāṃkhya is despised—the author chooses to show a stronger stance (*dhik, mithyā* in ŚKC 17.20–21).

The passage must be therefore read in its historical context, and one finds no better witness than the last canto of the poem. In Mañkha's description of the literary assembly, which took place for the reading of the *Śrikanṭhacarita*, many participants are versed in the study of religious and philosophical texts. In particular, Vedāntins (ŚKC 25.22–25, 31–33), Mīmāṃsakas (ŚKC 25.48–50, 71–72, 87–88), Grammarians (ŚKC 25.62–64), Logicians (ŚKC 25.83–84, 108–111), Vaidikas (ŚKC 25.83–84, 89–91), and Śaivas (ŚKC 25.94–95, 100–103, 105) (see Mandal 1991, 176–84 and Slaje 2015, 216–87), who are all praised by Mañkha. We can argue, therefore, that the philosophical passage could be not only a revival of Utpaladeva's and Abhinavagupta's treatises, but also a celebration of the philosophical ideas circulating in Kashmir at the time. Given the superiority of

advaita Śaivism, which is never called into question, Mañkha's inclusivism can be read, therefore, as the most effective strategy to appeal a diverse audience of contemporaneous scholars.

Chapter 7

Conclusions

The present thematic itinerary began by stating that Mañkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* was widely studied in its most historical cantos, but almost ignored in the others, which nevertheless constitute the core of a *mahākāvya*. The chapters that followed elaborated a preliminary discussion on the poetic themes that could value the court poem not only as a literary genre, but also as a vehicle of the poet's locality.

As frequently reminded during the course of this study, there is no doubt that a *mahākāvya* is a highly standardized genre, which allows large use of almost worn-out tropes to the extent that the poet might become nothing but an impression of his predecessors. Nevertheless, the need for competing with these previous models forces the *kavi* to invent new strategies to stand out from the crowd. This is pursued, on the one hand, through the amplification of the traditional *kāvya* syntactical structures, themes, and images; on the other hand, through the elaboration of images which bespeak Mañkha's reality.

As per the structure of the cantos, one notices that the poet tends to enrich them with an elaborate syntax. In the fourth and fifth *sargas*, for instance, the logical subjects, namely mountain Kailāsa and Śiva, appear only in the first verse, and are recalled through relative pronouns (*yaḥ*, *yasya*, *yatra*, and the like, see Annotated Translation § 10.1 fn. 1 and 10.2 fn. 1) in the rest of the *sarga*. This syntactically connected structure is certainly modeled after the renowned *incipit* of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*, but Mañkha artfully extends it to the whole two cantos, with the result of a quasi-baroque style.

On the thematic level, some originality is expressed through a subtle shift in perspective. The typical mellow love-scenes of springtime, such as love in separation, sketches of romantic encounters, and the like, are inserted in a war-like and courtly scenario. The preponderance of images related to kings, their army, ministers and entourage make Mañkha's sixth canto weightier, and more

connected to the multifaceted society of medieval Kashmir.

Moreover, the persistence of certain recurrent themes, such as those of kingship, poetry, and devotion, which this study analyzed, seem to suggest societal implications.

As far as kingship is concerned, we noticed that Mañkha's depiction of royalty is ever-present, as shown by the swarm of royal characters populating the *Śrikanṭhacarita*. This can be related to the importance of royal figures in the feudal-like social system of Kashmir, where the king was always legitimated as a necessary authority, however contested. Nonetheless, king Jayasiṃha is not present at the literary assembly held at Alaṅkāra's house and described in Mañkha's court poem, and this requires further investigation.

As Luther Obrock pointed out (Obrock 2020, 162), the absence of the king and the private location of the *sabhā* is not surprising when placed in its historical and political context. According to the scholar, the occasion for the meeting must be traced to the presence of two emissaries, Tejakaṅṭha and Suhala, sent by allied kings and welcomed by Alaṅkāra as part of his duties as minister of foreign affairs (see § 2.1). The participants form a sort of intellectual milieu, independent from the official power yet not illegitimate, in which the supreme authority is attributed to the figure of the host, Mañkha's brother.

The role of Alaṅkāra in the organization of the reception is fundamental as it exposes a societal change for which a "sub-court" is complementary to the official royal court. In this sub-court, a "sub-regent", the minister, assumes almost royal duties and is endowed with personal powers and entourage, such as Vasanta in Kāma's kingdom (see § 4.2). The ability of ministers to manage their own political projects and obtain a retinue is witnessed, in the *Śrikanṭhacarita* itself, by the episode of the election of Alaṅkāra. In this case, the freshly anointed minister is described as celebrated by his own cohort of paṇḍits, who sing his praises around the capital (ŚKC 3.62, see § 2.1), a sign of power and political control.

In this perspective, as Daud Ali observed, "court" does not equal "king", and "the figure of king as embodiment of kingship" (Ali 2004, 5) must be de-emphasized to understand the pre-eminent role of the court as complex agent with various political agendas. The sub-court then transforms itself into the "arena of activity and knowledge" (Ali 2004, 5) of an urban *élite*, which to a certain degree replaces royal authority with other authorities.

Mañkha's independence from Jayasiṃha's patronage must be seen then as a natural consequence of his upbringing in the arena of the sub-court: not only was he the brother of a minister, but also a minister himself. One cannot state with certainty whether Mañkha's not so veiled critique against royal power (see § 4.1) is directed specifically to Jayasiṃha or more broadly to the misrule of the kings of the past. We must remember, however, that in both the verses in which Mañkha openly despises kings, he does it concomitantly with an extremely harsh

critique of servile poets and their trading poetic art for security and patronage.

What the poet intends to convey is perhaps a more profound declaration of the sacredness and power of true poetry—Sarasvatī must not get filthy!—which finds its legitimate place in a monarchy of letters, formed by Alaṅkāra and his literate guests (§ 5.1).

Maṅkha’s affirmation of the power of literary art as independent from the official royal patronage had already been proposed by Bilhaṇa in his court poem *Vikrāmaṅkadevacarita*, the biography of king Vikramāditya:

It is only the poet’s craft that matters. One may be a perfect ruler and be entirely forgotten if there is no true poet by his side (1.26). Moreover, the poet has the power to turn a hero into a villain and vice versa [...] Bilhaṇa spells out the necessary conclusion: “Kings better not rub their poets the wrong way!” (*na kopanīyāḥ kavayaḥ kṣitindraiḥ*, 1.27) (Bronner 2010, 464).

Such as Bilhaṇa, Maṅkha “maintains a distant, ambivalent stance” (see Bronner 2010, 474) with regards to the reigning king. Jayasiṃha, like Vikramāditya, is recognized as legitimate (see § 4.1) but never embraced wholeheartedly. On the contrary, Maṅkha prefers to celebrate the host Alaṅkāra, whose praise as the intellectual patron of the arts occupies a considerable section of the twenty-fifth canto (see 25.37–47).

Although Maṅkha’s role at the court and sub-court is well established and far from the insecurities of patronage of an itinerant poet such as Bilhaṇa, he experiences the same feeling of distance and diffidence. For Bilhaṇa, “kingship not only corrupts, but is also inimical to one’s core values and is on a par with heresy” (Bronner 2010, 476), and so is for Maṅkha, who clearly expounds his core values in the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*: what matters is showcasing his devotion toward Śiva (ŚKC 1.56) through his free poetic art.

Poetry and devotion are Maṅkha’s two main prerogatives. The poet is aware of his skills, knowledge, and talent in *kāvya*, and makes no mystery of it. In the second canto, for instance, the long tirade against the bad poets is nothing but a way of celebrating his own poetry which, like the pericarp of a lotus (see Slaje 2016, 12–13), surprises the audience with unexpected contrasts. In the poetic fiction, the *kavi* is even compared to a king, surrounded by all his royal paraphernalia and personal court of *kāvya* connoisseurs (see § 5.1).

If compared to the style of his predecessors, however, Maṅkha’s poesy strikes for his simplicity when it comes to rhetorical figures. Bhāravi, for instance, considered the ultimate benchmark for later poets in the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* itself (see § 5.1), elaborated the entire fifteenth canto of his court poem in *citrakāvya* as a conscious display of ability in verbal virtuosity (*pratīlomānulomas*, *anulomavilomas*, *gomūtrika*, and the like enrich his *mahākāvya*, see Lienhard 1984, 186

and Gerow 1971, 176–77). Māgha, too, successfully conveyed an enriched style through images complicated by rhetorical devices such as word plays (*yamakas* and the like, see Lienhard 1984, 190–91, Gerow 1971, 223–25).

Mañkha, on the contrary, abandons the over-ornate elaboration of the verses in favor of a more natural style, with the primary scope of conveying aesthetic savoring (*rasa*) rather than showing verbal virtuosity (see § 5.1). This is perhaps due to the influence of what Gerow called the “triumph of the *dhvani* theory” (Gerow 1971, 225), for which “*yamaka* comes to be considered the type par excellence of *citrakāvya*, the lowest of the three variety of poetry, which embodies nothing of poetic value and display mere verbal virtuosity” (*ibidem*).¹

The lack of extreme verbal virtuosity should enable the reader—or listener (see § 2.1 fn. 2)—to immediately perceive the meaning of the verses and the *rasa* conveyed through them. Mañkha’s preference for more common figures of speech of meaning (*arthālankāras*) such as “puns” (*śleṣas*), “metaphorical identifications” (*rūpakas*), and “ascriptions” (*utprekṣās*), however, does not simplify the interpretation of the text. The *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* still remains a challenging court poem, and this could be explained through what Mañkha posits as two of the cornerstones of true poetry, along with “poetic genius” (*pratibhā*): “indirect mode of expression” (*vakrokti*) and “erudition” (*vyutpatti*) (see § 5.1), which complicate the images and makes them oftentimes unintelligible without the commentator’s suggestions.

The final scope of Mañkha’s poetry, however, is clear: the celebration of Śiva. As addressed repeatedly in this thematic itinerary, the leitmotiv of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is the poet’s devotion (*bhakti*), which surpasses even the necessity of appeasing a patron. In the more descriptive cantos, this is expressed through the worship of poetic characters who perform *pūjās*, a ceremony intended in all its ambivalence of religious and royal rite, and through the philosophical hymn of praise recited by the gods gathered in Śiva’s assembly hall (see § 6.1 and 6.2). This is confirmed by the poet himself at the end of the poem, when Śiva is explicitly described as the guru of the three worlds (*trijagatīgurave harāya* ŚKC 25.150) and of the moving and immobile entities (*nihitaś carācaraguror* ŚKC 25.151). Mañkha even dedicates his literary endeavor to the god, and places his

¹The tradition of “evocative resonance” as the true essence of poetry was propounded first by Ānandavardhana in his *Dhvanyāloka* and then expanded upon by Abhinavagupta in his commentary, the *Locana* (Ingalls 1990). Ruyyaka, Mañkha’s teacher, accepted it and “defended it extensively in some of his works” (Reich 2020, 666). As Daniele Cuneo pointed out, “since the very first sentence of his work, Ruyyaka posits the existence of a *pratīyamānārtha*, an “implied meaning”, otherwise known as *vyāṅgyārtha*, the “manifested” or “suggested” meaning, first introduced in the revolutionary, essentialistic and functionalistic theory propounded by Ānandavardhana’s *Dhvanyāloka* in order to account for all poetical meanings that could not be explained” (Cuneo 2016b, 152). Needless to say, Mañkha was certainly aware of it.

manuscript as a “gift of knowledge” (De Simini 2016, 83) at Śiva’s feet (*tatkāvya-pustakam athārpayati sma tasmai pūjākṣaṇe* in ŚKC 25.150cd; *tenāgre...sa praudhiprabandho ’dhiṇot* in ŚKC 25.151–52).²

Further research is certainly needed to fully appreciate the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* and to compare Maṅkha’s court poem with other *mahākāvyas*. Particularly interesting would be to frame the influence of intellectual, social, and historical context on the poets’ imaginary, and to examine more in depth whether the *kavis*’ distancing from the structured norms and precepts of court poems could be related to external factors linked to the poets’ view of reality.

This study, however speculative, tries to make a contribution to the studies of Sanskrit classical poetry, and hopes to spark in the academic community a renewed interest in Maṅkha’s *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* and in court poems as contextual works of art.

²For the practice and description of offering a book before the god’s idol as a sign of respect and literary completion, see De Simini 2016, 83: “the gift of knowledge in the Purāṇic tradition is a ritual focused chiefly on manuscripts: the main steps of their production are ritualized and culminate in the public donation of the newly produced manuscript to a religious institution, usually a hermitage or a temple”.

Part II

Annotated Translations

Chapter 8

Preliminary Remarks

In the following chapters, I propose the first translation of the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventeenth cantos of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, accompanied by illustrative footnotes for textual exegesis and grammatical explanations. As can be observed in the footnotes, Jonarāja's commentary has been extremely useful in the interpretation of the meaning of the *mūla* text.

Many are the obstacles encountered while transposing Maṅkha's poetry into English. I could not, of course, respect the Sanskrit quantitative meter (see Ingalls 1982), and not even choose an equivalent in English such as Slaje does for his German translation in madrigals (see Slaje 2015, 33). This is not due to my discomfort in translating poetry in my non-native language, but to the difficulty of creating poetry in any language. I had to compromise, and I chose meaning over meter.

I opted, therefore, for the most intelligible rendition and the most literal translation. Needless to say, my work does not have the presumption of being definitive, but aims to provide scholars interested in Maṅkha and in comparative studies of *mahākāvya*s my contribution, with the awareness that future research on the text will certainly improve my translations.

Even though I could not even dare to echo the aesthetic relish (*rasa*) which is the soul of Maṅkha's poetry, I have nonetheless experienced it. After the slow and laborious process of going through the poet's tortuous and complicated verses, it comes as an unexpected reward, when suddenly the meaning discloses.

In this translation:

italics: for the second version of a verse in case of *śleṣas* and *rūpakas*.

[square brackets]: for my additions, not present in the Sanskrit text.

Chapter 9

Description of Kailāsa

9.1 Synopsis of the Fourth Canto

- [4.1] The luminous mountain Kailāsa is the northern abode of Śiva.
[4.2] His brilliance is like that of a heap of moons.
[4.3] The rays spreading from the mountain are as white as Brahmā's lotus.
[4.4] The streams of his rays are like the milky ocean waves refreshing Śiva's moon.
[4.5] His rays are like fingers tracing camphor drawings on the directions' faces.
[4.6] His splendor sustains the earth, his own kingdom.
[4.7] Even the black clouds are absorbed into his whiteness.
[4.8–9] He is equal to Śiva.
[4.10] The river Gaṅgā performs around him a circumambulation.
[4.11] Śiva's third eye defeat in redness the ruby mountain Rohaṇa.
[4.12] On Kailāsa, night and day merge into each other.
[4.13] Through his rays, the mountain spreads glory as a righteous king.
[4.14] His splendor is lifted by Nandin's hooves and it resembles stars.
[4.15] As Prajāpati, he creates thousands of Merus with the gold on his slopes.
[4.16] The reflection of Śiva's inflamed eye makes him artisan of forest-fires.
[4.17] His waterfalls are like the streams of moonstones at the sight of Śiva's moon.
[4.18] The Wind-god refreshes the mountain.
[4.19] His caves are Kāma's treasury hall, containing the women of the Kimpnaras.
[4.20] The black clouds make him look like a thousand-eyed Indra.
[4.21] Śiva embraces Pārvatī while Ravaṇa lifts the mountain.
[4.22] Kailāsa's moon wins against that of Śiva.
[4.23] He is like a white swan enjoying the world's splendor.

- [4.24] He is like a slab for his own royal eulogy.
- [4.25] He is like the white pile of ash of the burned worldly sins.
- [4.26–27] Kailāsa's natural and mythological aspects merge.
- [4.28] He armors himself against mountain Añjana.
- [4.29–30] His splendor is like the cast-off skin of the earth, which is a snake.
- [4.31] He carries inside him all the three worlds.
- [4.32] The sun, repeatedly reflected on his slopes, forms his flower garlands.
- [4.33] The peacock mirrored on his slopes awaits the snakes exiting Pātāla.
- [4.34] With his rays he waves Śiva's garments in the sky.
- [4.35] He releases tears of joy at the passage of Śiva's feet.
- [4.36] His peaks share the redness with Śiva's eye.
- [4.37–42] His own body provides the materials for Śiva's *pūjā*.
- [4.43] His ruby mouth opens against Ravaṇa.
- [4.44] He is the sum of anger and calmness with his sunstones and moonstones.
- [4.45] His refreshing nature is envied and begged even by the Malaya mountains.
- [4.46] The magical herbs do not miss their husband, the moon, during the day.
- [4.47] The black clouds mark the magical herbs as if with kohl.
- [4.48] The moon, repeatedly mirrored on his slopes, forms his skull-garlands.
- [4.49] His brilliance is raised by Nandin's hooves and enjoyed back by Kailāsa.
- [4.50] On the mountain the black bees are like Kāma's contracted eyebrows.
- [4.51] On Kailāsa, a thunderstorm scares Pārvatī, who embraces Śiva.
- [4.52] Kailāsa, mirrored on lake Mānasa, looks like the snake-king coming out of Pātāla.
- [4.53] On the mountain, the moonlight suppresses the differences of all colors.
- [4.54] Kailāsa is equaled to Pārvatī.
- [4.55] Kailāsa is equaled to an extraordinary woman.
- [4.56] The mountain's trees are like ascetics.
- [4.57] His light spreads even in the vicinity of Pātāla.
- [4.58] The shadows of the tree trunks are absorbed in the mountain's splendor.
- [4.59] The lines of bees worship the mountain while the wind blows.
- [4.60] The city Alakā watches Kailāsa creating wonders.
- [4.61] The red feet of the Vidyādhari prolong the twilight on the mountain.
- [4.62] Mountain Meru is afraid of Kailāsa, who owns the universe.
- [4.63] The mountain's light creates an illusory moonlight.
- [4.64] Kailāsa is the poet of his own description.

9.2 Annotated Translation

Spreading lights, bright for the Moon, as bright as the moon
smile of Dhanapati's direction,
here stands mountain Kailāsa,
abode of the God whose mark is the bull (4.1)¹

5 With the deer's shadows reflected with deers reflected on his crystal
on the vast crystal slopes, he shines, slopes , on the bright crystal slopes
as if the Creator had wonderfully generated [him] as if made by the Created by hips of
piling up a group of moons (4.2)² moon — marvelously

Whose rays, their splendor outstretched,
10 scraping the clouds,
look like the fibers and stalk
at the base of the lotus, Brahmā's seat (4.3)³ that it brahma's fit.

Although high on Śiva's head, the moon, In contact with... the moon, though high
in contact with the streams of his rays, on Śiva's head...
15 does not abandon the joy of its previous abode, is not deprived by the joy

¹Dhanapati's direction] The North, the female personification of the cardinal point associated to the "lord of riches" (*dhanapati*), Kubera. God...bull] Śiva and his *vāhana* Nandin. Here] *iha*, in Kashmir. The description of the bright mountain starts after the third canto, in which the Valley of Kashmir and the poet's pedigree are described. The fourth canto opens with a mention of the name of the mountain (*kailāsa*° in the second line), which is never repeated in the rest of the *sarga*, but reprised with relative pronouns. I decided to translate these pronouns as the Latin "relative nexus", and to refer them, for uniformity in English, to a male character, even when Kailāsa is not personified.

The mountain is placed into a luminous white landscape thanks to the presence of coloristic elements such as the lights, the moon, and the white smile of the god of riches Kubera. Worth noticing is the alliteration (*anuprāsa*) of *bhāso*–*hāso* in the first line and of *kailāso*–*nivāso* in the second line, in both cases positioned at the center of the line, right before and after the caesura (*yati*) of the *anuṣṭubh* or *śloka* meter.

²He] *yaḥ*, Kailāsa. A group of moons] The animals dot the mountain with their black shadows and make Kailāsa look like a heap of moons, the "deer-marked" (*mrgāṅka*) par excellence. This is the first occurrence of the past participle *bimbita*° (i.e. "reflected"), which comes back at various times in the fourth canto. Another fundamental term is *kautuka*°, the "wonder" (see J. comm. *kautūhala*°) connected to the sentiment (*rasa*) of *adbhuta* that Mañkha aims to evoke in the canto.

³Rays...fibers and stalk] Kailāsa is here indirectly metamorphosed into Brahmā's lotus through the similarity of his luminous rays with the fibrous roots of the lotus itself. See J. comm. *upakramotprekṣeyaṃ*, for the metaphorical identification of Kailāsa and the lotus.

utprekṣā that begins with an upamā-upaka-utprekṣā — Sahityadarpana check it

the milk-ocean's waves (4.4)⁴ be more consistent with the translation of the Śleṣa

Not only upward but in every direction
he shines, with his hand-like rays dancing
as if he was drawing on the directions' faces
20 curlicues of camphor unguent (4.5)⁵

śleṣa : with the hands that are his rays — (in brackets) — conventions

curlicues: elsewhere : drawing a tilaka —

With his white splendor overspreading the horizon line
through the large feet [of the surrounding peaks],
he cannot give up the weight of [his] prosperous earth
while the candid moon,
25 extending in the distance with its numerous rays
can release the burden of a new nectar (4.6)⁶

he, his radiance white (...) extends over
with his great foot slopes... (paryanta :
check the manuscripts—).

and he carries himself in such a way that
he cannot let go the burden of the

extends over the horizon

Even the monsoon cloud,
its blackness absorbed
by the mountain's radiant rays,
30 does not leave its nature
of white autumnal cloud (4.7)⁷

with the mountain rays...
spreading/smearing/coloring (limpad)
their lights on the moonsoon cloud,
and drinking up its blackness
it remains an [white] autumn cloud.

⁴Moon...his previous abode...the milk-ocean] The verse is another reference to the pervasiveness of Kailāsa's rays, which stretch up to the moon, ornament on Śiva's matted hair. The rays' "streams" (*srotas*) and their whiteness are identified with the waves and the color of the churned ocean of milk, from which Śiva's ornamental moon emerges among other objects. For a version of the myth, see the *Mahābhārata's Ādiparvan*, chapters 16 and 17.

⁵Not only upwards but in every direction] I follow Jonarāja's commentary, which interprets *api* in connection to the previous verse (*na kevalam upary eva, api tu sarvatrāpi*). The rays of the mountains are not only moving upwards up to the moon on Śiva's head (ŚKC 4.4), but also in every other direction. Drawing] The image revolves around the double meaning of the term *gabhasti*, which is used to indicate both the hands and moonbeams of the mountain. Faces] The Directions, i.e. the cardinal points, female in genre and imagined as women, see also ŚKC 4.1.

⁶The other surrounding peaks...rays] If one follows Jonarāja's interpretation, the verse must be read as a *śleṣa*, which includes the double image of the splendor of the mountain (*yaḥ sitadyutiḥ [=] śubhradīptir yo J. comm.*), and that of the moon (*yaḥ sitadyutiḥ [=] sitadyutiś candraś J. comm.*).

On the side of Kailāsa, *pādair mahadbhir* are the high peaks which surround the mountain (*un-nataiḥ pratyantaparvataiḥ J. comm.*), while the last *pāda* must be divided as follows: *moktuṃ na vasudhābharam*, i.e. the weight is that of the earth, the mountain's wealthy kingdom (*vasudhā yā bhūmer bharam tyaktuṃ na śaktaḥ J. comm.*). On the side of the moon, *pādair mahadbhir* are its numerous rays (*pādai raśmibhir J. comm.*), while the last *pāda* keeps the compound undivided and reads: *moktuṃ navasudhābharam*, i.e. the weight of a new or fresh nectar (*navam sudhārasaṃ muñcati J. comm.*).

⁷Monsoon cloud...autumnal cloud] The coloristic contrast increases the sense of wonder: Kailāsa's rays are so bright that turn the dark clouds during the moonsoon season into the white clouds typical of autumn.

- With his figure made of whole ridges having the form with caves and non-deficient sides, always reaching to the heavens, with footslopes (typo ?)
 opened with caves,
 approaching the sky,
 35 standing still with groups of mountains around his feet,
 assuming the state of a body whose physical form
 with white peaks pointing upwards,
 he obtained a status equal to that of Śaṃbhu,
 pleased with [this] service,
 40 *who displays bracelets of strong snakes,*
has the same appearance of Guha,
is always holding the bow,
stands still with the Gaṇas around his feet,
[and] grants the seer Śveta
 45 *the grace of a corporeal form (4.8–9)*⁸ for him, who is wrapped around by the rays of his crystal rocks, Ganga seems to perform a circumambulation, shines for him, who
 Gaṅgā, Jahnu’s daughter, circling around [him] has on a garment
 as if performing a circumambulation pradakṣiṇa,
 shines for him, his vest fastened
 by [his] crystal luster (4.10)⁹
 50 He carries his body, which came in contact
 with the fire-rays of Bharga’s eye,

He is the one who carries (dhatte) his body/form (mūrtim), which is colored/reddened with the rays of the fire of Śiva’s eye, as if made of ruby to overcome [mountain] Rohaṇa

⁸He...Śaṃbhu] The verse displays Mañkha’s predilection for the rhetorical device of the *śleṣa*, the double entendre he already used in ŚKC 4.6. In this couplet (*yugma*), the elements on the mountain are transformed into Śiva’s attributes (*īśvaro ’py evaṃvidho bhavati* J. comm.). The ridges become, then, Śiva’s bracelets (*ahīnakaṭaka° [=] prakatā ahīnā anyūnāḥ kaṭakāḥ śikharāṇi* and *ahīnāḥ sarpendrāḥ kaṭakā valayāḥ* J. comm.); the caves are nothing but Kumāra (*saguhāṃ [=] saha guhābhir* and *guhāḥ kumārah* J. comm.); the mountain approaches the sky for its altitude, while the god holds the bow (*sadāpinākam ākramya [=] nityaṃ svargam ākramya* and *pināko ’jagavaṃ dhanuḥ* J.); Kailāsa is surrounded by the groups of other ranges such as Śiva by his agitated troops of Gaṇas (*pādavaladgaṇaḥ [=] valantaḥ saṃcaranto gaṇā* and *valadgaṇaḥ* J. comm.); the mountain’s peaks turn into Śiva’s grace for Śveta (*adhigataśvetasānugraha [=] tathādhigataḥ śvetasānūnāṃ graho* and *śvete śvetākhye munau sānugrahaḥ saprasādaṃ śariraṃ* J. comm.).

The figure of the royal sage Śveta is here evoked, but we do not have any evidence of the precise source. Mañkha possibly refers to the episode contained in various Purāṇas, in which Śiva defeats Death in order to grant Śveta a longer life (see Bhatt 1973, 51 and Doniger 1976, 233–34).

⁹Circumambulation] *pradakṣiṇa*, the ritual circumambulation of the personified river Gaṅgā around Kailāsa, either as form of amicable veneration ([=] *bandhutvam* J. comm.) or as an act of homage from a conquered subject to the conquering mountain ([=] *anyo ’pi jitaḥ* J. comm.). See § 5.2.

because they look alike?



as if made out of rubies for the conquest of Rohaṇa (4.11)¹⁰

Where, for the [white] splendor of the crystals
and the [black] poison of Śiva's throat,
55 the night thinks to be day,
while the day believes to be night (4.12)¹¹

Thanks to him, showering in all directions
a golden rain of glory
through the brilliant rays of his light,
60 equal to moonbeams,
the mountains are ruled by a just monarch (4.13)¹²

Because he showers (yena varṣatā) in all directions (dikṣu) he showers glory (yaśāmsi), through his rays/lights (dyutibhiḥ) equal to moonbeams (enankagabhastī), the mountains are ruled by a good monarch.

The crystal particles on the earth,
stepped on by Bhava's dancing feet,
really, ~~night by night~~, worship the sky
65 [as they] resemble [its] stars (4.14)¹³

the specs of the dust of his earth
shattered by Bhava's dancing feet,
every night surely worship the sky by
their resemblance to its stars.

Through that shining gold,
unknown before the hooves of Śiva's vehicle,
he, the *prajāpati* of the mountains,
creates, in the twinkling of an eye, a thousand Merus (4.15)¹⁴



¹⁰Rohaṇa] Rohaṇa seems to indicate a mountain in Sri Lanka, present also in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (RT 3.72) as a mountain filled with manifold precious gems (Stein 1900, vol. 1, 78). Jonarāja does not specify whether Mañkha refers to Rohaṇa-the-mountain or not, but comments "the state (or, the relation?) of the conqueror and the conquered [king?] occurs because of a generic feature of sameness" (*tulyajātiyatvāj jetrjeyabhāvaḥ* J. comm.), i.e. Kailāsa and Rohaṇa share the redness derived from the precious rubies on their slopes.

¹¹Mañkha continues conveying the sense of *adbhuta* in a verse in which even the personified day and night cannot distinguish their nature anymore, which does not correspond, however, to reality (see J. comm. *na tu tāttvikam*). See § 5.2.

¹²For the interpretation of this verse in the light of Kailāsa's kingship, see § 4.2.

¹³Crystal dust] *reṇu* is here intended as a sort of luminous crystal dust which covers Kailāsa, as observed in Jonarāja's commentary (*sphaṭikakaṇa°* J. comm.).

As they resemble] °*nibhena*, lit. because of their similarity with o stars (*bha°* [=] *nakṣatra°* J. comm.). The commentator explains the meaning of the verse with a reference of the affection and veneration of Kailāsa for Śiva, for whom he makes the pollen droplets raise towards the sky (*reṇūnām ākāśagamanoktiḥ kailāsasya manoharatvād īśvarasya nṛtyarasadyotanārtham* J. comm.)

Worth noticing are the two sets of *anuprāsas*, namely of the consonants *kṣ*, *ṇ*, and *ṣ* in the first half-verse, and of *n* and *bh* in the second half-verse.

¹⁴Unknown before] The creation of gold on Kailāsa seems to be related to the passage of Nandin, Śiva's bull, on the slopes of the mountain, as Jonarāja suggests (*kailāso saṃcarato haravṛṣasya khurebhyah suvarṇotpattir iti prasiddhiḥ* J. comm.). Prajāpati] The creator as lord of creatures,

Kailāsa for the fire of the eye, Rohaṇa for its rubies, — Kailāsa wins as it is linked to Śiva

70 Where the fire of Śambhu's eye,
for [its] reflection on the jeweled ridges,
becomes the craftsman
of countless forest fires (4.16)¹⁵



By no means does he leave the friendship of the waterfalls,
75 as if they were the streams of moonstones
melting for the abundance of desire
for the moon on Rudra's head (4.17)¹⁶



Gently the wind refreshes [him],
leaving behind, afar, the antelope his vehicle:
80 is it perhaps for fear of Gaurī's lion
or out of respect for Dhūrjaṭi? (4.18)¹⁷



He is the one who, in the dread event of a fire,
gives shelter in [his] caves to the women of the Kīṃnaras,
as if they were deposited [there] by Anaṅga
85 as [riches] in his private treasury (4.19)¹⁸

With the circles of black clouds
sleeping inside [his white] caves,
he manifests a thousand eyes,



here Kailāsa. [=] *prajāpateś ca sṛṣṭir āyattā* J. comm. A thousand Merus] Mount Meru, the golden mountain par excellence.

¹⁵The craftsman] *śilpakṛt°*, the maker, the practical author, the cause of the fires (see Schmidt 1928, 345).

¹⁶The first half-verse contains a comparison (*upamā*) between the mountain's waterfalls and the moonstones (*candraśmas* or *candrakāntas*), in *kāvya* imagery a gem composed of frosted moon rays, which melts when in contact with the moonlight; the second half-verse a personification (*utprekṣā*) of these *candrakāntas*, who become the love-struck women of Śiva's male ornamental moon (see J. comm. *upamotprekṣā vā*).

¹⁷Antelope] Or deer (*mrga*), i.e. the carriage of Vāyu (°*anila*), the Wind-god. Dhūrjaṭi] Śiva, lit. the god who carries the burden of his twisted hair. Once again, Mañkha's preferred *alamkāra* is the *utprekṣā*, in this verse the ascription of human-like characteristics to the wind, who is described as paying homage to Kailāsa lightly as it is custom of the region, the North (see J. comm. *deśadharmatvān mandam vahato vāyor arthy utprekṣā*). The reason of the absence of wind's carriage, the antelope, is left to the imagination of the audience through the figure of speech of "doubt" (*saṃdeha*: is the animal scared of the lion, Pārvatī's vehicle, or does it stay afar as a sign of respect?

¹⁸Deposited] *nyāsī* + √*kr*. Treasure] *bhāṇḍāgāraṃ*, lit. the place where riches are kept, the store-house of the king ([=] *sthāpitaṃ nijam kośam iva* J. comm.).

like an Indra of the mountains (4.20)¹⁹

90 On this [mountain], shaken by Paulastya's arms,
Vibhu, firmly embraced by Devī,
experienced for an instant
the flavor of playing on a swing (4.21)²⁰



Not even Prabhu,
95 with the crest-jewel of [his] moon,
can compete with the real moon,
dangling during the nights
at the feet of this one, extremely elevated (4.22)²¹



With the hemisphere of his plumage
100 spreading [its] mighty light in all directions,
he stands by the lake Mānasa like a white goose
for the amusement of the worldly Lakṣmī
or in the mind like the soul
in that pastime of the splendor of the world (4.23)²²



105 He shines, with his crystalline slopes variegated by the fresh raindrops
sticking in the very center [of the valleys]
as if they were the slab-stones for his own panegyric (4.24)²³



¹⁹The verse plays on the comparison between the multiple cavities on the mountain and the one-thousand-eyed Indra.

²⁰Paulastya] lit. the descendant of Pulasti, a patronymic of the demon Rāvaṇa (also called Daśagrīva, “the ten-necked”), who, according to the myth, arrogantly uprooted mountain Kailāsa as an act of disrespect towards Nandin and his lord Śiva. For Rāvaṇa’s enterprise, see the *Rāmāyaṇa’s* Uttarakāṇḍa (Rām 16.1–31, transl. Goldman 2016, 264–66).

²¹Extremely elevated] The mountain is so high that the physical moon (*indu*), contrary to Śiva’s ornamental one (*candraśikhāmaṇi*), lays low on the surrounding peaks (see J. comm. *atyunnatavāt pratyantaparvateṣu luṭhatā candreṇā hetunā*). Jonarāja compares the position of the real moon to that of a man wagging his head when staying at the feet of someone eminent (see J. comm. *atyunnatasya pādāgre loṭhanoktir ucitā*). Mañkha plays with the double meaning of the adjective *atyunnata*, which is intended both as “extremely high” when referred to the physical altitude, and as “extremely eminent” when referred to the high-ranked character of Kailāsa.

²²The verse is centered on a word-play of the term *haṃsa*, which can be intended either as a “white goose” or as “soul”, and of *mānasa*, meaning both “mind” and the lake Mānasa (see J. comm. *mānase cetasi* and *atpākṣe mānasaṃ saroviṣeṣaḥ*). Kailāsa is here as white as the goose, steady in the splendor or steady for Lakṣmī, the deification of worldly wealth and prosperity (see § 4.2).

²³As if...panegyric] The verse openly admits the royal status of Kailāsa through the term *praśasti*. For the meaning of *praśastipaṭa* meaning the edict or panegyric inscribed on a stone-slab see

Through the reflections of the sun
bursting [like] fire sparks,
110 he appears like the pile of ash
of the worldly sins
scorched by Tryakṣa (4.25)²⁴



Vigorously ascending the lake Mānasa,
or over the Mind,
115 with the summit of his ridges expanding upwards
or with his immense beauty shaken,
with his pleasant valleys
or with his gorgeous appearance,
frequented by Siddhas, Sādhyas and Gaṇas
120 *or surrounded by groups of Siddhasādhyas,*
standing beautifully for the Sāla trees
or staying with the city Alakā within his borders,
being the pure abode of peacocks
or becoming Śiva's pure seat,
125 he shines, as if he were wonderfully venerated
not only by the lions, [*but*] *continuously by the Yakṣas* (4.26–27)²⁵



Schmidt 1928, 270 and § 4.2).

²⁴The white color of the mountain is compared to that of the white ashes (*bhasma*) of the sins of the world, burnt by the three-eyed god (*tryakṣa*) Śiva.

²⁵Mañkha elaborates in this couplet (*yugma*) a *śleṣa*, simultaneously representing the naturalistic aspects of the mountain and its mythical features.

Mānasa...mind] the lake or the mind, [=] *sarasaḥ* J. comm. and [=] *cetasah* J. comm. With the summit...expanding upwards...with the immense beauty shaken] [=] *uccaiḥ kaṭakāntāni* J. comm. and [=] *utkaṭa°...kānta°* J. comm. Pleasant valleys...gorgeous appearance] *su°+khada°* [=] *śobhanāḥ khadā droṇyo* J. comm. and *sukhadam* [=] *sukham dadātīti* J. comm. Frequented by Siddhas, Sādhyas and Gaṇas...Groups of Siddhasādhyas] *siddhaiḥ sādhyair gaṇaiś ca* J. comm., i.e. by seers and mythical creatures, or [=] *munikulair* J., i.e. by groups of accomplished ascetics. Sāla trees...with Alakā] *sālair devadārubhiḥ* J. comm., i.e. the Deodara pines, or *sahālakayā nagaryāntaḥsthiyā* J. comm., i.e. with the mythical city of Alakā within the mountain's dominion. Abode of the peacocks...Śiva's pure seat] *nilakaṇṭha°*, lit. the blue-necked [=] *mayūra°* J. comm., or *nilakaṇṭha°*, lit. the blue-necked [=] *hara°* J. comm. Not only by the lions...continuously by the Yakṣa] *a°+haryakṣāḥ* [=] *siṃhās°* J. comm., lit. the yellow ones, or *ahar°+yakṣais* [=] *dinaṃ yakṣaiḥ* J. comm., the mountain is venerated everyday by the Yakṣas, the semi-divine attendants of Kubera and for this reason related to the mountain Kailāsa or Himālaya (see, for instance, Kālidāsa's incipit to the *Kumārasambhava*). Jonarāja does not comment *citram*, which I intend adverbially with “wonderfully”, in the sense of “out of wonder”, in line with the curious and strange double nature of the mountain.

Armored here and there
 with flocks of dense rainy clouds,
 he is unsealing [his] caves,
 130 rivals of the pride of [the black] mountain Añjana (4.28)²⁶



A parting line between earth and heaven—the horizon limit,
 the linen veil of the directions—the sky,
 a mass of woolen cloth before the eyes of the sky-elephants' herd,
 —the eastbound mass of light beams,
 135 the shining foam of waters of lake Mānasa,
 Bharga's second essence:
 the abundance of his wonders shone forth,
 as the cast-off skin of that female snake which is the earth (4.29–30)²⁷



He carries the world
 140 reflected inside his crystal body,
 as if rightfully swallowed at the end of a cosmic era
 by the bull-marked Śiva. (4.31)²⁸



²⁶The color-contrast is between the black Añjana, a mountain (see J. comm. *añjanaśailasya kṛṣṇatvena*), and the blackness of Kailāsa's cloudy caves, which are personified as enemies or rivals (*druh*) wearing a black armor. Unsealing] *vimudrayati* from denominative *vimudray*, “to unseal”. Valleys] *droṇīr* acc. f. pl. of *droṇa*, corrected according to the manuscripts and J. commentary [=] *darīr*, i.e. the valleys or caves on Kailāsa. I prefer this reading to the Editions' *kṣoṇīr*, i.e. “earths”. The commentator proposes a variant for *kavacitaḥ* [=] *kavalitaḥ ity apapāṭhaḥ* J. comm., lit. “devoured by”, but I have not found any justification for Jonarāja's suggestion in any of the manuscripts.

²⁷The couplet (*yugma*) can be divided into two sections. The first section contains a list of attributes of the mountain, all in nom. sing. fem. because linked to “abundance” (*kāntisaṃtati*): we have the division between sky and earth marked by Kailāsa's peaks (*rodasyoḥ* from n. du. *rodas*, [=] *dyāvāprthivyoḥ* J. comm., i.e. the horizon between sky and earth, which looks like the parting line of the hair of the directions, [=] *śimantaḥ keśeṣu* ity *sādhuḥ* J. comm.); the linen veil (*kṣaumanīraṅgikā* [=] *paṭṭavastrāvaguṇṭhanapaṭaḥ* J. comm.) covering the faces of the women—cardinal points (*diśāṃ nāyikātva* J. comm.); the mass of rays turning into a cloth before the eyes of the elephants which traditionally guard the cardinal points (*kakupkuñjarayūtha* [=] *diggajavraja* J. comm.); the foamy lake Mānasa, and the second essence of Śiva, i.e. the mountain as a projection of the god. All these attributes of Kailāsa have in common their whiteness, which is used in the second section of the couplet for an identification of the mountain with the withering cast-off skin of a female snake, the earth itself (°*nirmoko* [=] *kañcuko* J. comm.; *bhū*° + °*pan*° + °*nagastri*° [=] *bhūr eva phaṇinī* J. comm.).

²⁸The crystal slopes of the mountain reflect the whole surrounding world (*etena kailāsasya kalpānte 'py avināśitvaṃ sūcitam* J. comm.), and, as such, Kailāsa functions as a second Śiva, who cyclically annihilates the world at the end of a *kalpa*.

Carrying the yellow body of the reflected sun,
he appears as if wreathed
145 with flower bundles and nectar-filled buds,
[ornaments] of the earth (4.32)²⁹



Where Guha's peacock stays,
reflected on the crystal rocks,
as if he was going to pull out
150 all the snakes lying in Hell (4.33)³⁰



With the threads of his rays
spread across the celestial directions,
he seems to weave a garment
for his Lord Viśvātman,
155 delighted in [his] sky-clad condition (4.34)³¹



With the moonstones' fluids
flowing incessantly for [their] desire of the moon,
he releases a storm of blissful tears
when Bhagavat stamps his feet (4.35)³²



160 With the form of [his] caves
made of the sun-stones of [his] inflamed peaks,
he is like bearing, during the day,
the inflamed glance cast by Bhavagat (4.36)

165 With the offer of a heap of blossoms,
endless due to the trees on its sides;

²⁹Of the earth] The manuscripts are unanimous and contain the genitive *kṣiteḥ* instead of the locative *kṣitau* reported in the Editions. Jonarāja, too, reads the verse with the genitive, and intends the flower garland as the ornament of the earth (*bhūmer bhūṣaṅārtham* J. comm.)

³⁰Guha's peacock] The vehicle of Kumāra (*kumāramayurāḥ* J. comm.). Lying] °*śāyinaḥ* em. with Mss., lit. "lying" with the idea of resting in tranquility. The variant proposed by Jonarāja and the editions, i.e. °*vāsinaḥ*, although possible, is surely less evocative. Hell] Pātāla, i.e. the netherworld, abode of snakes and demons.

³¹Nude condition] Śiva is depicted as a naked ascetics, lit. sky-clothed [=] *diśo 'mbaram vastram* J. comm. Although Mañkha is aware of the doctrines of the Jainas (see § 6.2), in this case the term *digambara* seems to be employed only for the purpose of the poetic image, namely the activity of Kailāsa, who becomes a sort of tailor of the god.

³²For the image of the moonstones and their affection for the moon, see ŚKC 4.17. For the similar image of Śiva stamping his feet while dancing and thus raising Kailāsa's crystal-dust, see ŚKC 4.14

with the reception tribute increased by the pearls,
 fallen from the claws of the mountain-daughter's lion; (4.37)
 displaying the incense smoke
 through the abundance of the young clouds;
 170 with the line of lamps,
 the inflamed solar stones of its peaks; (4.38)
 offering ablutions through the waters
 which spring out tirelessly, here and there,
 generated by the perpetually flowing lunar stones; (4.39)
 175 with the grace of the [*tilaka*] unguent,
 the [flowing] waterfall reddened by minerals;
 raising hymns from the mouth of the caves,
 through the sound of the wind howling; (4.40)
 with the auspiciously prepared oblation
 180 made of many kinds of diverse fruits;
 tuning its own frequencies sung in chorus on its slopes
 with the divine celestial singers; (4.41)
 he, with the body fully covered in ashes,
 silently reaches immobility,
 185 worshipping the god of gods
 perpetually close to him (4.42)³³

Even now he is like showing
 [his] enrage mouth, red for the rubies,
 over the ten-necked Rāvaṇa,
 190 guilty of the disrespect of lifting him up (4.43)³⁴

Burning with the fire of [his] sun-stones,
 with the streams of [his] moon-stones sprinkling water:

³³This group of six-verses (*kulaka*) describes, through the rhetorical figure of the *rūpaka* ("metaphorical identification", see Gerow 1971, 239–43), Kailāsa as a devotee performing a *pūjā* ceremony (*yaś ca bhagavataḥ pūjāṃ karoti sa evaṃvidhāvastho bhavati J.*).

This ceremony involves the natural objects possessed by the mountain and used as ritual materials: countless fruits and flowers (*°kusuma°* and *°phala°*), the ones produced by the trees; pearls (*°mauktika°*), offered through Gaurī's lion; incense (*°dhūpadhūma°*), provided, for their similarity in color and consistency, by the gray clouds; the ceremonial lanterns (*°dīpālīka°*), identified with the sun-stones of the mountain's peaks; the lac unguent for the *tilaka* (*°samālabhana°*), imagined in the waterfalls reddened by gemstones; the hymns (*°stuvan* and *°prastutasamgīta°*), sung by the wind howling in the caves and by the divine inhabitants of Kailāsa. For an in-depth analysis of these verses, see § 6.1.

³⁴Rāvaṇa...[lifting him up] For the myth of the demon Rāvaṇa uprooting and shaking Kailāsa, see ŚKC 4.21.

he is like a mixture of anger and calmness
of the one who set Anaṅga on fire (4.44)³⁵

195 Because of his alliance with [the immovable] Sthāṇu
destroyer of all the heat as well as of the snakes' embrace,
he makes [even] the Malaya, the sandalwood mountain,
begging for the same grace (4.45)³⁶

200 Even during the day, on [his] slopes
purified by the deer-marked moon,
watchful on Maheśa's head,
the magical herbs never practice
the vow of the women whose husband is afar (4.46)³⁷

the rainy clouds
, new friends of the peacocks,
205 thieves of splendor as the bees [of nectar],
condensed on the line of his peaks the [black] luster of kohl
for the embellishment of the beauty
of the radiant magical herbs (4.47)³⁸

³⁵The verse is interesting for the chiasmic structure of the first and second *pādas* (instrumental+participle and participle+instrumental respectively), which I attempt to maintain in the translation. The two elements of fire and water are then linked to anger and grace (*kopa-prasāda*) in the third *pāda*. Mixture] °*sambheda* [=] *samsarga* J. comm. Of the one...fire] Śiva, while burning Kāma with the fire of his eye.

³⁶The immovable Sthāṇu] Sthāṇu, lit. “the motionless”, i.e. Śiva on Kailāsa, but also the copped trunk of the sandalwood trees, traditionally thriving on the mountain Malaya (see J. comm. *malaye sthāṇuś candanacchedaḥ | tatra sthāṇur īśvaraḥ*). Heat] °*tāpa* [=] *nidāgha* J. comm., the summer season, as well as the burning sensation provoked by the embrace of the coils of a snake (*soraḡāśleṣa*). Begging] lit. “a beggar”, °*atithim* [=] *yācakam* J. comm.

In the verse, Śiva/Sthāṇu shares the same refrigerant properties of the sandalwood paste, usually employed to treat burns. Paradoxically, the sandalwood-mountain par excellence, the Malaya, is only a beggar in front of the refreshing and salvific power of Śiva, allied of Kailāsa.

³⁷The vow of the women whose husband is afar] *proṣitabhartṛkāvratam* [=] *kr̥ṣatvamalinatvādi* J. comm., i.e. the emaciation, bad mood, and the like. In this case, the vow (*vrata*) is not maintained by the magical herbs, the female *oṣadhis*, as their husband, the Moon (*kuraṅgaketu*), is ever-present on Kailāsa in the form of Śiva's moon-diadem.

³⁸Friends of the peacocks] °*kekibandhavaḥ* [=] *meghāḥ* J. comm., i.e. the clouds. Thieves] °*caurā* [=] *bhājo* J. comm., lit. “seeking” splendor like the bees the flowers' yellow nectar. Luster of kohl] °*kajjalaśriyam*. The beauty] °*dīpti* (Eds.), lit. “splendor, brilliance, beauty”; the manuscripts contain °*dīpa*, i.e. “light, lantern”, but this sense does not compile with the overall image. Jonarāja does not comment on the third *pāda*.

210 Night after night, his body encounters the brilliance of the moon
 through its disk repeatedly reflected on [his] peaks,
 as if he is carrying thousands of skull-garlands [as] his own,
 gifted by Bharga, whose personal joy is sustaining [their] weight (4.48)³⁹

The [many] suns reflected on the mosaics of his crystal ridges,
 enjoy the splendor of the gold
 215 risen at the contact with the hooves of Śarva's vehicle,
 renowned for his wanderings (4.49)⁴⁰

Where the variously scented billow
 of the wind of Kubera's garden
 comes [like] the eighth day of the month,
 220 a holiday for the study of that pride
 [against] the lovely-browed Śiva,
 who carries the infant life of the night.
 Because of [this breeze],
 fragments of the frowning brows
 225 of the utterly enraged Ratipati
 appear in the shape of rows of black bees
 swarming drunk, enslaved by its fragrance (4.50)⁴¹

³⁹Its disk repeatedly reflected] lit. "with its reflected shapes" (*mūrtibhiḥ bimbitābhiḥ*), i.e. the disk of the moon is mirrored on the slopes of Kailāsa. Skull garlands] *nṛkapālasraj*°, white and round as the moon-circle [=] *śvetatvaṃ vartulatvaṃ* J. comm. Bearing] °*vahana*°, "the act of sustaining, bearing" [=] *bharasya vahanena dhṛto* J. comm. The Eds. have °*sahana*°, "mighty, powerful".

⁴⁰The many suns] *kharatejasaḥ* n. m. pl., i.e. the many reflected disks of the sun, as in the previous verse the repeatedly mirrored moon-disks. Mosaics] °*kuṭṭīma*°, i.e. a pavement inlaid with mosaics. Brilliance] °*jātarūpaśobhām* Eds. and J. comm. The manuscripts present the variant °*jātarūparūpam*, which is perhaps a scribe's error of anadiplosis for the influence of the preceding °*jātarūpa*°. The splendor of the gold] For the image of Nandin, Śiva's vehicle, and his power of producing gold with the touch of his hooves, see ŚKC 4.15. The sun is here personified as enjoying Kailāsa's riches, perhaps because of its similarity in color with gold (see J. comm. *sūryapratibimbāni jātarūpatvena sambhāvayanta ity upamotprekṣā veyam*).

⁴¹Kubera's garden] *caitraratha*°, with *vana* implied, i.e. the name of the garden of Kubera, on Kailāsa (see J. comm. *caitrarathe vaiśravaṇodyāne* J.). A holiday for the study of] *mānānadhyanāṣṭamī* lit. "[the breeze] is like the eighth night of the lunar month (*aṣṭamī*), when there is an interruption of the learning of the pride". The image refers to the practice of interrupting the study of the Vedas (*anadhyanā*) during some specific days, among which the eighth night of the lunar month (see J. comm. *aṣṭamyāṃ hy adhyayanaparihārah*). In this case, the interruption is that of the pride of Gaurī, as suggested by Jonarāja (*gauryā mānasyānadhyanānrthamaśikṣaṇārtham aṣṭamī jāyate* J. comm.). The infant life of the night] *śiśu*° + *tamijīvātu*°, i.e. the crescent moon, Śiva's ornament (see Schmidt 1928, 192). Ratipati] Kāma as Rati's husband.

- On which the rumbling waves of the clouds,
 which managed to muffle at once
 230 Gaṇapati’s thunderous trumpeting
 [and] easily broke the seal of silence of the peacock,
 vehicle of Tāraka’s enemy,
 respectfully gifted Khaṭvāṅgin with the enjoyment
 of a pastime: Devī’s tight embrace (4.51)⁴²
- 235 Mirrored in the nearby excellent lake, the famous Mānasa,
 —friend of his nonexistent turbidity,
 shelter of a wild geese gaggle,
 fleeing for fear of the dense rainy season,
 [and] wearing [those] twisted hair of the waves crests
 240 openly rolling on its shores—
 he takes on the sinuous beauty of the king of snakes,
 wishing to raise up in his longing to contemplate
 the terrestrial world (4.52)⁴³

- Where [else, if not on Kailāsa]
 245 the majesty of his moonlight,
 day and night reaching the sky,
 doesn’t arm [itself] for the destruction,

⁴²Seal of silence] *maunamudrā*, lit. “the attitude of silence”. The image refers to the poetic convention for which the peacocks start screaming with the arrival of the monsoon season as it coincides with their breeding season. Tāraka’s enemy] The peacock is the vehicle of Skanda, i.e. Kumāra, enemy of the demon Tāraka and son of Śiva. Respectfully] °*sādara*° [=] adverbial *sādaram* J. comm. Gifted] °*saukhyadānapatitām āyānti*, lit. “became the donors (*dānapati*) of the enjoyment”, see J. comm. *saukhyadātrtvām prāpnuvanti*. Khaṭvāṅgin] lit. “the one who carries the club”, i.e. Śiva. Tight embrace] Devī, frightened by the upcoming storm and the thunder noises, clings to Śiva (*bhayavaśād devī* J. comm.).

⁴³Nonexistent turbidity] The potential muddiness of Kailāsa is eliminated by the nature of its limpid crystal slopes, and the lake Mānasa reflects the mountain’s transparency (see J. comm. *sphaṭikamayatvāt kālūsyasya malinatvasya yaḥ prāgabhāvaḥ*). Roaring on the open shores] The Eds. contain °*prakaṭataṭalūṭhad*°, lit. “rolling on the shores”, which is explained by Jonarāja with *yataḥ prakṭaṭam taṭe luṭhantyo yā vicilekhās tābhir jaṭāle jaṭādharma iva*. Jonarāja, however, proposes a variant reading, namely *prakaṭataṭaraṭad*° (see J. comm. ‘*raṭat*’ *iti vā pāṭhaḥ*) which is confirmed by the manuscripts. If we accept the second reading, we should translate “roaring on the shores”, with an image more focused on the sound effect. Wishing to raise up] °*ujjigamiṣad*° pt. desiderative from *ud* + √*gam*. Kailāsa, reflected inside the lake, is coming out the Mānasa such as the white king of snakes Śeṣa, who abides in the netherworld and peeps out to see the earth.

through absorption, of all the other colors? (4.53)⁴⁴

250 With the growth of multitudes of [rosary] beads
generously thriving everywhere;
able to extending over the sky;
innately luminous for its shining and charming rays:
[in such a way] he carries this luminous form, dear to Hara,

[as if he were] *Gaurī's body, Hara's wife,*
255 *born from Dakṣa's extremely noble family,*
who gives [her] lion the ability to stand rampant
[and] whose mighty dignity gives birth to Tāraka's slayer (4.54)⁴⁵

260 With the sharp rocks on the surface of [his] slopes,
[and] the presence of Alakā on the surrounding mountains;
with the lower part fit for the clouds' whirling
and his top [full of] dangling monkeys:
such a form he shows,

[as if it were that of] *an extraordinarily beautiful woman,*

⁴⁴Reaching...the sky] *upatiṣṭhamānā* pt. from *upa+√sthā*, lit. "going towards [or venerate] the sky" (see J. comm. *ākāśamākrāmanti*). Arm [itself] up] The moonlight is identified with a soldier getting ready for the battle. The denominative verb *kandalayati* (lit. "bringing forth") takes the accusative of the abstract substantive *saṃnaddhatām*, lit. "brings forth the appearance of being armed". Through absorption] *°apahnava°*, lit. "concealment": the white color of the mountain is so powerful that covers all the other colors and unifies them. Jonarāja seems to imply a political reading of the verse, in which *varṇa* is intended not only as "color" but also as "caste". According to the commentator, the powerful white color of Kailāsa makes all social differences disappear, starting from the caste of the Brahmans and so forth (see J. comm. *varṇāntarāṇām brāhmaṇādīnām apahnava ekavarṇatāpādanam iti leśato dhvanitam*).

⁴⁵Mañkha constructs a *śleṣa* around the acc. f. s. *tanum*, to which we must refer the demonstrative pronoun *tām* and the two relative pronouns *yā*. The verse, therefore, must be read in its double meaning: on the one hand, we have Kailāsa's "physical form" (*tanu*); on the other hand, *tanu* is Gaurī's "body" (see J. comm. *gaurīpakṣe*).

The compounds must be separated accordingly. For the luminous form of the mountain, we read: ŚKC 4.54a: *udātta°+°tarad°* ([=] *taranti* J. comm.) + *°akṣakula°* + *prasūtir*; 4.54b: *haripada°* + *°ākramaṇa°* (lit. "extending over the vernal equinox", see J. comm. *haripadasyākāśasyākramaṇe* and marginalia in Ms. B₂ *viyat*, i.e. the sky) + *°kṣamatvam*; 4.54c: *tāra°* ([=] *dīptāḥ* J. comm.) + *°kānta°* ([=] *manoharā* J. comm.) + *°kara°* ([=] *raśmayas* J. comm.) + *°janma°* + *°śubhānubhāvām* ([=] *śubhrām* J. comm., lit. "with its nature luminous because of the production of charming and rays").

For Gaurī's body, we interpret: 4.54a: *udāttatara°* + *°dakṣakula°* + *prasūtir*; 4.54b: *hari-pada°* ([=] *siṃhasya pādābhyām* J. comm.) + *°ākramaṇa°* ([=] *adhirohaṇe* J. comm.) + *°kṣamatvam*; 4.54c: *tāraka°* + *°antakara°* ([=] *tārakāsurasyāntakaro* J. comm., i.e. Kumāra as the slayer of Tāraka, see ŚKC 4.51) + *°janma°* ([=] *jananena* J. comm.) + *°śubhānubhāvām* ([=] *śubhaprabhāvām* J. comm.).

with teeth [marks] on the skin of her hips
 265 [and] the hair flowing down to the feet,
 with a belt circling around [her] waist
 [and] the tortuous lines of unguent drawings on her forehead (4.55)⁴⁶

Crested with *the heads* of their tops
 full of the *dangling skull-garlands* of their fruits,
 270 holding their *rosaries*, billows of bees,
 on their trembling leafy *hands*,
 with the *dreadlocks* of their roots
 growing with perseverance on [his] slopes,
 in the summer heat *of the ascetic*:
 275 these trees stand still
 even in the unrestrained winds *of their breaths*,
 bringing to an end the pollen maturation
of the worldly passions (4.56)⁴⁷

Where the loss of the lotus-maidens' youth never occurs,
 280 [and] the flock of partridges is never seen in need for food;
 what a rising of light there is, in an instant,
 even there, in the proximity of the region of the snake-king's city,

⁴⁶Mañkha uses again a double-meaning (*śleṣa*). On the one hand, the verse must be read as a description of the mountain. On the other hand, we see the depiction of a beautiful woman. For the mountain's side: Sharp rocks] *dantā* [=] *viṣamaṣāṅgāḥ* J. comm., i.e. the uneven stones. On [his] slopes] [=] *kaṭakasthāne* J. comm. On the surrounding mountains] *pādatale* [=] *pratyantaparvate* J. comm. With [his] lower part fit for the clouds] *mekhalā* [=] *budhnasthānaviṣeṣaḥ* J. comm.; Monkeys] °*valīmukhā* [=] *vānarā* J. comm. For the woman's side: Teeth] *dantā*. On [her] hips] *nitamba*°. Hair] [=] *alaka*° [=] *keśāḥ* J. comm. Breasts] *payodhara*°. Lines of unguent drawings] °*valī*°.

⁴⁷The verse shows once again the author's fondness for double images, here expressed by a *rūpaka* which transforms the trees on Kailāsa in groups of ascetics. Crested] *uttamsitā* [=] *bhūṣitāḥ* J. comm. Heads of their tops] *mūrdhabhiḥ*, meaning both "head" and "top of a tree". Skull garlands of their fruits] *muṇḍakhaṇḍāḥ* [=] *kapālamālās* J. comm., where the round fruits are imagined as skulls [=] *phalāny eva* J. comm. Leafy hands] lit. "on those hands which are their leaves" [=] *patrāny eva karās* J. comm. Dreadlocks of their roots] °*jaṭās*, meaning both "matted hair" and "roots" [=] *mūlāni* J. comm. Summer heat of the ascetic] *tapasi* [=] *māghamāse* J. comm., lit. "during the month of Māgha", i.e. in the summer, with the double meaning of *tapas*, both "heat" and "ascetic". Winds of their breaths] *marutām* [=] *prāṇādīnām* J. comm., with *marut* meaning both "wind" and "breath". Unrestrained] *anirodha* [=] *kumbhakābhāve* J. comm., i.e. the effect of the ascetic is maintained here even when the winds are blowing or the breaths are not controlled. Pollen maturation of the worldly passions] *rajas*, meaning both "pollen" and "passion" [=] *rāgam* J. comm.

through the multitude of crystal rays at his feet! (4.57)⁴⁸

285 Imitating in [his] pureness the heart of wise men,
with the reflection of the charming *tamāla* tree trunks,
he manifests his middle region as a belly
filled with the waves of darkness
drunk by his splendor, rival of the moonlight (4.58)⁴⁹

290 Shaken by the drizzling water-drops of the streams of ichor
springing from the temples of the pot-bellied god,
and frequented by the perfume of the pollen of the lotuses,
mark of the divine river,
this billow of wind strengthens on [his] slopes,
where a bee swarm appears, intent on his worship,
295 indifferent to the coral tree (4.59)⁵⁰

The city of Alakā, as if covered in watchful eyes
for [her] friendship with the numerous unlocked palaces,
observes—not from afar—him, the new Vedhas,
performing the creation of wonderful activities,
300 unique in the three worlds (4.60)⁵¹

⁴⁸Lotus-maidens] *ambujavatī* [=] *padminīnām* J. comm. The youth of the female lotuses is connected with the action of the sun which makes them thrive. In need for food] °*abhijñā*°, lit. “aware of”. For poetic convention, the partridges (°*cakorī*°) feed themselves with moon-rays. The region of the snake-king’s city] *ahicakravartī*° + °*nagara*° + °*uddeśa*° [=] *pātāle* J. comm., i.e. in Pātāla, the reign of Śeṣa, king of the snakes.

This verse is played on the notion that sun and moon are absent in the netherworld (see J. comm. *pātāle sūryapraveśābhāvāt* and *pātāle candrapraveśasyāpy ābhāvāt*). On the mountain, however, the light (*prakāśa*°) is so strong that extends even over Pātāla, where both lotuses and partridges can be nurtured at last.

⁴⁹He imitates] *tulita...yaḥ* lit. “he has the heart of the wise men mirrored” (see J. comm. *nirmalatvena tulito viḍambitaḥ*). Heart of wise men] *sādhujanāśayo*° [=] *sajjanaḥṛdayam*° J. comm. *Tamāla*] i.e. the name of a tree with a dark bark, which, reflected on the mountain, look like waves of darkness (see J. comm. *athas tatsāḍṛśyāt tamālapratibimbe tamaḥpānasambhāvanoktiḥ*). As a belly] *kuṣim*, lit. “cavity of the abdomen” or “middle part of a mountain, the trunk of the body” ([=] *madhyadeśam* J. comm.). Filled with] °*garbham*, lit. “whose interior/womb has”.

⁵⁰The billows of wind on Kailāsa are so strong and perfumed that the bees do not even pay attention to the coral tree (the *erythrina*), one of the five trees of Indra’s paradise. Pot-bellied god] The elephant Gaṇeśa. Mark of the divine river], i.e. lotuses as the attribute of the celestial Gaṅgā [=] *aṅkabhūtāni...pañkajāni* J. Indifferent...trees] °*mandādarah* [=] *niḥsprḥa*° J. comm., lit. “not longing for”.

⁵¹The marvelous activities of Kailāsa are here explicated by the word *kautuka* (see J. comm. *kautukavyavahārāṅgām adbhutakarmanām*), which had already appeared in ŚKC 4.2. Mañkha

The mark of the red lac unguent [left by] the feet
of the Vidyādhara's women,
running playfully on [his] ridges,
shines for Alakā, as if a twilight was constantly present
305 for the worship of sun and moon,
who inhabit the course of Śrīkaṇṭha's eyes (4.61)⁵²

For fear of the power of [his] base, which sleeps upon Pātāla,
even Indra's mountain does not dare competing with him,
who, *bon vivant* in the playful yet violent embrace
310 of all the women-directions, shapes with [his] body,
an antelope jumping throughout the sky,
that high shell which is the universe (4.62)⁵³

A milk-ocean in the sky;
a snowy mountain that cannot be won
315 by the splendid power of the sun;
stream of the divine river,
fallen down [but] not yet born:
he shines, spreading everywhere
an illusory moonlight,

seems to connect the image of Kailāsa's activity to the one of a poet, who displays his creation (*°sarga°*) before an audience. We do not have indication for this interpretation in the commentary, but the image of the poet as creator is alluded also in ŚKC 4.64 and elsewhere in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (see § 5.2). Palaces], i.e. the royal palaces *°bahusaudha°* [=] *rājagrāhāni* J. comm. Watchful eyes] *animesālocana°*, i.e. open eyes. The eyes of the city are nothing but its open doors and windows (see § 3). New Vedhas] lit. "a new creator" [=] *nirmāṇe °bhinavaprajāpatiṃ* J. comm.

⁵²Red lac] *°yāvaka°*. For Alakā] *yasyāś°*, lit. "for which", gen. f. of the relative pronoun referred to Alakā in the previous verse. Unguent mark left by the feet] *°caraṇa...mudrā°* i.e. the footprints (see J. comm. *padavī*), red because of the unguent placed on the soles of the women's feet. The Vidyādhara are supernatural beings living on Kailāsa. Twilight] The period of time between day and night, both at dawn and at dusk (see J. comm. *raktatvāt saṃdhyotprekṣaṇam*). Sun and Moon...eyes] For poetic convention, sun and moon are imagined as abiding in Śiva's right and left eyes. The verse echoes Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* 1.4, where the glare from the red minerals on mountain Himālaya creates a fictitious twilight, thus confusing the heavenly nymphs (*āpsaras*, see Smith 2005, 27).

⁵³Indra's mountain] *balabhidāḥ śaila°* [=] *sumerur* J. comm., mount Meru. Does not dare competing] *pratispardhavadhanasāhase...saṃnahyati*, lit. "does not arm [himself] in that growing boldness of the competition" against Kailāsa (*yasya*). Bon-vivant] *°viṭa°*, i.e. sensual. Cup] *utkarparam* [=] *ūrdhvakaṭāhaṃ* J. comm. Shell...universe] *brahmāṇḍam utkarparam*, lit. "the high hemisphere/shell which is Brahmā's egg", i.e. the cosmos (see J. comm. *brahmāṇḍam utkarparam utthāpitor dhvakaṭāhaṃ*).

320 rival of the [real] moon's splendor,
which makes the partridges' tongues
lapping [him] in vain (4.63)⁵⁴

The repetition of the heavenly Gaṅgā's waves,
the reduplication of Candra's moonbeams,
325 the alliteration of Śiva's loud laughter,
who is carrying on his forehead the female lotuses' husband,
the repeated sound of the drops of the nectar,
the ones of Gaurī's fresh smile:
who could fully compose the recitation, word by word,
330 of every single element of [this] mountain,
whose light already enhances [his poetic] dexterity? (4.64)⁵⁵

⁵⁴Fallen down...born] The white mountain is a yet undeveloped and frozen Gaṅgā. Lapping [him] in vain] The partridges lick the mountain as if it were the moon, their nourishment. For the same image, see ŚKC 4.57.

⁵⁵In the first half-verse, Maṅkha starts listing a series of attributes of Kailāsa, which are all white: the waves of the Gaṅgā, the moonbeams, the smile of the god, and the one of his consort. Each one of these attributes is associated with a technical term belonging to the dominion of poetic sound-ornaments (*śabdālaṅkāra*): repetition] °*vīpsā*; reduplication] °*dvirbhāvaḥ*; alliteration] °*anuprāsaḥ*; repeated sound] *paunaruktyam*. The second half-verse is dedicated to a final celebration of the mountain itself, whose light is, without any doubt, the author of a description that not even the poet can surpass (see § 5.2). The last verse of the canto is closed by the final rubric: "here ends the description of Kailāsa, the fourth canto of the court poem *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, [composed] by Rājānaka śrī Maṅkhaka, king of poets [and] son of śrī Rājānaka Viśvavarta, [together with] the commentary [composed] by śrī Jonarāja".

Chapter 10

Description of the Lord

10.1 Synopsis of the Fifth Canto

- [5.1–6] The gods bow before Śiva. Description of a cosmic *pūjā*.
- [5.7] Śiva causes the tears of the women of Tripura.
- [5.8] Rati is afflicted by Kāma's death.
- [5.9] Śiva carries the fire in his eye, which surpasses even that of doomsday.
- [5.10] Śiva's garments are covered in the Gaṅgā's water-drops.
- [5.11] The eight-eyed Brahmā venerates Śiva every day.
- [5.12] Śiva eats the world as if it were his sacrificial food.
- [5.13–15] Śiva is equaled to a divine elephant who kills the demon Gajāśura.
- [5.16] Śiva makes the blind demon Andhāsura see his terrific power.
- [5.17] He interrupts Dakṣa's sacrifice, but expands the ablutions with tears of fear.
- [5.18] His dancing leg crosses the sky.
- [5.19] Brahmā salutes Śiva while trying to gather his flock of scared geese.
- [5.20] Description of Śiva Ardhanārīśvara.
- [5.21] Śiva appeases his anger by killing Kāma.
- [5.22] Śiva is described as Viṣṇu.
- [5.23] After Kāma's death, Śiva is the lover of the Sky-goddess.
- [5.24] Śiva chops Brahmā's head and wears it as his garland.
- [5.25] Śiva is like a solid tree trunk (Sthāṇu).
- [5.26] The rays of his moon-diadem and the hands of the praying gods look like closed buds.
- [5.27] Śiva's skull shines through the rays which pierce it.
- [5.28] The moon on his head is like another wife.
- [5.29] Śiva defeats the elephant-demon Danuja.

- [5.30] His diamond-moon is thin because separated from the milk-ocean.
- [5.31] Śiva eliminates all the female attributes on his body, to distinguish himself from the women of the demons.
- [5.32] Śiva is the hunter before Arjuna.
- [5.33] Śiva's bull, creator of gold, surpasses even his lord.
- [5.34–36] Śiva capture the venom in his throat.
- [5.37] Śiva's chest carries the *kālakūṭa* poison as well as the *kaustubha* jewel.
- [5.38] Śiva assumes the aspect of Nārasimha bowing before Gaurī.
- [5.39] Gaurī spots the Gaṅgā on Śiva's head with her black teardrops.
- [5.40] Śiva as first among the knowers of the Mahānaya.
- [5.41] The diadem-moon lurks on his head to capture a monster in the Gaṅgā.
- [5.42] His moon is vessel for the smashed *caru* during the ceremonies.
- [5.43–45] Description of Śiva's eightfold form.
- [5.46] Śiva's luminous *liṅga* is infinite.
- [5.47] Śiva beheads Brahmā, the most ancient poet.
- [5.48] Kāma stages his death in Śiva's theatrical play.
- [5.49] Śiva's inflamed eye is like an inflamed banner of victory.
- [5.50] Description of Śiva Ardhanārīśvara.
- [5.51] Śiva dances spreading the sandalwood powder all around, like ash at doomsday.
- [5.52] Śiva is essential in the perfection of the world.
- [5.53] Śiva disguise himself as secure abode for the snakes.
- [5.54–57] Description of Śiva Ardhanārīśvara.

10.2 Annotated Translation

With his feet played as a *viṇā* by the bees,
attracted by the *pārijāta* flowers' garlands
placed on the hair of the chief of the gods,
the God himself, adorned with [his] crescent moon,
5 author of this [amusing] pastime, a grace for the worlds,
lies upon the mountain (5.1)¹

For whom in the world the Forehead Guardian,
—that curved callus produced by the continuous,
obstinate rubbing against the base of His pedestal—
10 has not been turned into a *kākapada*,
added for desire of inserting a new, celestial and splendid
line of syllables, still unread by Fate? (5.2)²

The lanterns for the oblation
were offered at His feet by Viṣṇu,
15 the demons' enemy,
through the streams of flashing thunders

¹The fifth canto opens with a description of a cosmic *pūjā* performed by the gods and other devotees for Śiva. Such as in the fourth canto, the subject (*devaḥ svayaṃ*, i.e. Śiva) is mentioned only once in the first verse and then recalled by relative pronouns throughout the fifth canto. For an analysis of the *pūjā* ceremony in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, see § 6.1.

Viṇā] The string instrument known as veena, the Indian lute, or, in the North of India, the stick zither (Te Nijenhuis 1977, 38). For the practice of associating the parts of a *viṇā* with the gods, see Te Nijenhuis 1977, 21. The feet of Śiva (*devaḥ svayaṃ*) resemble a *viṇā*, played by the moving bees and resounding through their buzzing. The chief of the gods] Even Indra, the chief of the gods, bows before Śiva [=] *indro 'pi taṃ namatīyarthāḥ* J. comm. Moon] *bālaśītakiraṇa* lit. the infant cold-rayed. Lies upon the mountain] Lit. sleeps upon it, *taṃ...adhiśete* [=] *kailāsam āśrayati* J. comm., i.e. on mountain Kailāsa. The verse connects the fifth canto to the preceding one, whose protagonist is mountain.

²The Forehead Guardian] *bhālapālī*, lit. “the female protector of the forehead”, personified. Possibly, the callus originated by the rubbing of the devotee's head against the pedestal of the god. *kiṇo māṃsasya ghanībhāvo yasyāḥ, sā bhālapālī* J. comm. Rubbing] I emended the editio princeps wrong reading °*vrṣṭī*° with °*ghṛṣṭī*° in line with Jonarāja's commentary ([=] *ghṛṣṭir gharṣaṇaṃ* J. comm.) and with the manuscripts. *Kākapada*] lit. “the foot of a crow”, a v-shaped symbol placed between the lines in a manuscript to mark missing syllables in the text, which are usually inserted in margin. [=] *patitākṣarābhijñānaviśeṣo* J. comm. Unread by the Fate] Reference is to the folkloric tradition of a personified Fate (*daiva* [=] *vidhinā* J. comm.) who writes destiny on people's foreheads (see Kent 2009 and § 6.1.). In our case, the devotion towards Śiva is so intense that the v-shaped callus on the devotees foreheads turns into a *kākapada*, implying that not even Fate can foresee the whole future of the god's servants.

coming from the clouds on [his] hair,
 [who], bent in devotion,
 [his] head kissing the earth before [him],
 20 was scattering around sprinkles of blossoms
 really [coming his] forest-flowers garland (5.3)³

Risen with extreme passion
 for the ardour of [his] devotion,
 [although] exhausted for the expense
 25 of an entire heap of flowers during the *pūjās*,
 even now Brahmā wishes to perform again, for him,
 an act of reverence with the lotus, his own abode (5.4)⁴

The treetops of the burning forest
 of mountain Mandara, Śiva's bow,
 30 [whose] snake-king coil served as bowstring
 equal to the fully frozen waterfalls,
 under the guise of inflamed arrows' shafts
 did not desist from the destruction of Tripura (5.5)⁵

³At His feet] *caraṇayoḥ*, i.e. Śiva's feet. Viṣṇu, the demons' enemy] *daityārīṇā* [=] *hariṇā* J. comm. Lanterns for the oblation...thunders] *balipradīpāḥ*, i.e. lights used during the *pūjā* [=] *pūjāpradīpā dattāḥ* J. comm. In this case, the lights detive from the thunders Viṣṇu is producing with the clouds on his head (*kaca*° [=] *svakeśa*° J. comm.). Scattering around] *vikiratā* pt. instr. *vi* + *√kr*. The garland on Viṣṇu's chest is destroyed by the position the god assumes during the *pūjā*, namely lying at full length with the body facing downwards [=] *daṇḍapranāma*° J. comm. Forest-flowers garland] *vanamālā*, i.e. the garland worn by Viṣṇu on his chest [=] *mālayā vakṣaḥsthitayā* J. comm. I correct the editio princeps, which reports *vanamālayeva* (i.e. *vanamālayā* + *iva*), with *vanamālayaiva* (i.e. *vanamālayā* + *eva*) in compliance with the manuscripts.

⁴Risen...devotion] *bhakti*° + °*rabhasa*° + °*atirasa*° + °*adhirūḍhas*. Jonarāja does not comment on the word °*atirasa*°, which can be therefore read both as “extreme emotion” and “very succulent”, i.e. the name for a plant. In the second case, the most sensible translation would be “mounted on the *atirasa* because of an excess of *bhakti*”. I chose to follow the first meaning for two reasons: first, it fits well with the co-text, which presents the words °*rabhasa*° (ardour) and *bhakti*° (devotion), which point to Brahmā's deep involvement into the *pūjā*; second, the compounds indicating the flowers are placed at the end in both hemistiches, unlike °*atirasa*°. On the other hand, reading “mounted on the *atirasa*” could clarify the second part of the verse, in which the god Brahmā, who now sits on the *atirasa*, is willing to sacrifice his own abode, the lotus (*saroruh*°).

⁵Of mountain Mandara...bow] *mandaragires...yaccāpatāṃ dhrtavato*, lit. “of the mountain Mandara, which was assuming the status of bow of this one, [the god]”. *dhanur bhūte mandarādrau* J. comm. As opposed to the Eds. °*cāpatāṃ dhrtavato*, notice the manuscripts' variant °*cāpatāṃ gatavato*, lit. “going in the state of a bow”, i.e. assuming the form of a bow. Whose snake-king coils] *bahuvrīhi* compound qualifying *mandaragires*. The king of snakes, i.e. Vāsuki, serves as a bowstring, white and rigid like the icy waterfalls on the mountain [=] *guṇo*

In the fire of his half-closed eye,
 35 sprinkled all around by the heaping up
 of the water drops of the Diadem-River,
 shaken and agitated on His head out of anger,
 with scattered heaps of *kuśa* grass
 —his eyelashes at the contraction of the brows—
 40 there he was performing the fire oblation of Manmatha (5.6)⁶

He is the one who caused the faces
 of the deer-eyed women of the city
 to be covered in dense streams of tears,
 as if they were filled with the flows
 45 of the mountain's waterfalls,
 raised like a bow-stick (5.7)⁷

As Smara's body was burned
 by the fire of His eye,
 thirsty for the raising of a new anger,
 50 Rati, in pain, whose condition
 was that of an uninterrupted affliction,
 did not even experience by name
 the symposia to drink the nectar
 of [Kāma's] lip juices (5.8)⁸

55 He is the one who carries
 the oblation's carrier,
 the unbearable fire of his eye,
 teacher, in [its] quivering,
 even of the fire of doomsday,

vāsukibhogo nirjharatvaṃ saṃbhāvyate J. comm. Fully frozen waterfalls] Ms. O reads *āstyā-nena°* instead of *āstyāna°*, but the instrumental is here immetrical. Did not desist from...Tripura] *tripuravyayāya...no viremuḥ* J. comm.

⁶Heaping up] *parisamūhana* [=] the action of scattering around the sacrificial fire some *kuśa* grass with a wet hand [=] *pāṇināgneḥ pradakṣiṇī karaṇam* J. comm. (see also § 6.1) Manmatha] i.e. Kāma as the object of the sacrifice, burned in Śiva's inflamed eye [=] *kāmāhutim* J. comm.

⁷The women of the city] i.e. Tripura's women [=] *tripurasundarīṇāṃ* J. comm. Streams of tears...bow-stick] The mountain, raised like a bow, provokes the fall of the waterfalls' streams over the faces of the women of the demons.

⁸Burned] *culakite* pt. loc. ass. [=] *culakite dagdhe sati* J. comm., from √*dah*. The pt. *culakite* might be a regionalism from Kashmir. Symposia...juices] *pānagoṣṭhyāḥ* [=] *rateḥ priyādhararasapānaṃ* J. comm.

60 initiated into being the gift of protection for Śveta
[and with its] brilliance like the Moon's,
whose face is like that of Māra's wife (5.9) ⁹

Through the formidable nature of the thick water-drops
of the Siddhas' river shaken by the wind
65 on the waving edges,
his elephant-skin garment glows at twilight,
during the performance of his dance,
as if it had not abandoned—not even now!—
the pearls on the elephants' temples (5.10) ¹⁰

70 Leading his eight eyes
to the splendor of a new opening,
as if wishing to see all at once
[Shiva's] eight manifestations,
this god, [Brahmā], even if [just] a mendicant
75 in that [house which is] the lotus
everyday follows [this] discipline before him (5.11) ¹¹

Śiva alone, in the excitement
during that symposium
of the destruction of the universe,
80 playfully swallows down

⁹Quivering] *viladīteṣu* [=] *vilasiteṣu* in the Eds. footnote, where *vi + √las* is presented as a variant of *vi + √lad*. Doomsday] *yugānta°*, i.e. the end of a cosmic era. Initiated...Śveta] Reference is to the myth of the sage Śveta, who was attacked by Kāla (i.e. the Time of death, [=] *yama°* J. comm.) while performing sacrifices for Śiva. The god burned Kāla to ashes to protect his devotee. For the *purāṇic* sources of the myth, see Doniger 1976, 234, and Bakker 2014, 209–11 for the story of Śveta in *Kūrmapurāṇa* 2.35.11–38 and in the *Skandapurāṇa*. Māra's wife] *mārāvarodha°* [=] *mārasya kāmasyāvarodho ratis* J. comm. The brightness of the moon is compared to the purity of Rati's face, Kāma's wife. For *°avarodha°* meaning “wife” see Schmidt 1928, 73, possibly connected to the plural sense of *°avarodha°*, i.e. the inner apartments of the women or wives of the king.

¹⁰Pearls...temples] *kavātamuktāḥ* [=] *kavātamuktāphalāny* J. The splendor of the elephant's pearls continues in the form of circular water-drops, the ones coming from the celestial Gaṅgā (*jalakaṇānām muktātvenotprekṣaṇam* J. comm.) and sprinkled over Śiva's elephant-skin, his mantle (*gajakṛtti* J. comm.).

¹¹Eight eyes] Two eyes for each of the four heads of Brahmā [=] *caturmukhatvād aṣṭau dr̥ṣo...brahmā* J. comm. Eight manifestations] *aṣṭau tanūr*, i.e. earth, water etc. (*kṣitijaladyā* J. comm.). The reference is here to Śiva's *aṣṭamūrti*, i.e. the eight manifestations of the god, namely those of sun, moon, fire, air, earth, water, sound, and ether, as Mañkha specifies in verses 5.43–45. Mendicant] *°kuṭīcaratāpaso°*, i.e. the ascetic mendicant who lives at someone's expenses. Brahmā's house is the lotus, whose landlord is, however, Śiva.

the three worlds, [His] whole sacrificial food
 carefully prepared by the obstinate care
 of the cook, [His] worshiper,
 [and] then checked by the executive chef, Mukunda. ¹² (5.12)

- 85 In his hand, a jar
 – *the prominence on his temples;*
 on his head, the Vārigati,
 – *the binding rope around the neck;*
 at his feet cling the liberated men
 90 – *the pearls fastened at his leg;*
 his wife, the Mountain-born, is by his feet
 – *the elephant without a wife;*
 his limbs are covered, one by one, in snakes
 with their mouths filled with venom,
 95 – *surrounded by [other] elephants*
with their mouth filled with rut-fluid:
 it is honored the extraordinary firmness
 of that divine elephant which is [Śiva] (5.13) ¹³

100 The mace of his tusk was crashed
 by the lightrays of [His] diadem-moon,
 the liquid of his rut–fluid dried up
 by the splendour of the fire of [His] inflamed eye,
 and the air of his flapping ears swallowed up
 by [His] snake-ornaments:

¹²The three worlds...food] *lokatrāyīm eva rasavatīm* J. comm. I correct *lokatrāyīrasavatīm* of the Eds. with *lokatrāyīm rasavatīm* as in Jonarāja's commentary and in the manuscripts. Cook] °*sūda* [=] *pācakas* J. comm. Executive chef Mukunda] i.e. Viṣṇu as the superintendent or director of the kitchen [=] *purogavaḥ sūdādhyakṣas* J. comm.

¹³The verse presents a pun (*śleṣa*) which allow us to double-interpret the line. On the one hand, we see a description of Śiva and his attributes, on the other hand the poet illustrates an image related to the natural world, where Śiva becomes an elephant. On Śiva's side: *kumbhaḥ* is [=] *sudhākalaśaḥ* J. comm., i.e. a jar for the water; *vārigatir* is [=] *gaṅgā* J. comm., i.e. the divine river around the god's matted hair; *muktāḥ* are [=] *viraktāḥ* J. comm., i.e. the liberated men; *nagajā* is [=] *śailaputrī* J. comm., i.e. Pārvatī, the mountain's daughter; *nāgair madolbaṇamukhair* are [=] *ca viṣamadakrūramukhaiḥ sarpair* J. comm., i.e. the snakes whose ferocious mouths are filled with venom. On the elephant side: *kumbhaḥ* is [=] *kavāṭaḥ* J. comm., i.e. the prominence on the elephant's temple during rut-season; *vārigatir* is [=] *gajabandhanaṃ* J. comm., i.e. the rope/binding tied around the neck of an elephant; *muktāḥ* are [=] *muktāphalāni* J. comm., i.e. the pearls fallen from the temples of an elephant; *nagajā* is [=] *gajā hastinī* J. comm., i.e. the female of the elephant; *nāgair madolbaṇamukhair* are [=] *samadair nāgair* J. comm., i.e. the elephants intoxicated with the rut–fluid.

105 how could Gajāśura perform a war-dance before Him? (5.14) ¹⁴

This Gajāśura became even more coward
just for throwing a glance
at [Śiva's] snake-ornaments,
which resembled iron chains,
110 at the half-moon of [His] diadem
which had the splendor of an unsheathed hook
and at [his] forearm, whose luster
looked like that of a binding pole' (5.15) ¹⁵

After he, the sole surgeon of the three worlds,
115 had grabbed the thick blade of His sword,
with the cataract of [his] unrestrained arrogance
cured by means of this,
Andhāśura, [the blind demon], fleeing the battlefield,
was able to see, in its entirety,
120 the true nature of fear (5.16) ¹⁶

After he, uninvited, had violated, out of anger,
the sacrifice efficacy
[and] its rule was interrupted
by the escaping group of priests,

¹⁴The verse and the following one (ŚKC 5.15) are dedicated to the figure of Gajāśura, the elephant-demon slayed by Śiva Gajāntakamūrti or Gajahāmūrti. There are various versions of the story in the Purāṇas, but the most well-known is contained in *Kūrmapurāṇa* (KP 1.30.16–18), where the origin of the *Kṛttivāśeśvara liṅga* in Varanasi is treated. In this city, a demon assumes the form of an elephant (*gajākṛtiṃ daityaṃ* in 1.30.18) to harass Śiva's devotees and is killed by the god who uses his skin as a robe. The theme of the killing of the elephant-demon by Śiva and the subsequent wearing of its skin as a garment (*kṛtti*, see also ŚKC 5.10) is common to all Purāṇas and widely used in figurative depictions (Rao 1916, 149–156), which cannot be excluded as one of Mañkha's source as well.

¹⁵Iron chains...unsheathed hook...binding pole] °*āyasaśṛṅkhaleṣu* [=] *lohamayyaḥ* J. comm., i.e. the metal chains used to tie the elephants; °*aṅkuśa* [=] *hastidamanārthāyudha*° J. comm., i.e. the elephant goad, a weapon used to tame an elephant, in the shape of a crescent moon; °*ālānadaṇḍa*° [=] °*stambha*° J. comm., i.e. the post or pillar to which the elephants are tied. Śiva's attributes appears as the elephant's most feared objects.

¹⁶Surgeon...blade of His sword] *karavālayaṣṭim*, lit. the blade of a sharp knife, possibly the surgery blade employed for the surgery of the demon's blindness [=] *khaḍgayaṣṭim* J. comm. (see below). The cataract...cured] °*paṭale śamite* pt loc. ass. [=] *netrarogaviśeṣe śamite saty* J. comm., i.e. the eye disease, in this case the demon's blindness, cured by Śiva's blade. By means of this] *prayogāt* [=] *vaidyenaūśadhaprayogāt* J. comm., i.e. by means of the doctor's medicament, or, perhaps, by the use of the blade and some other medicament.

125 Dakṣa’s ritual ablution became ginormous
thanks to the great lake of his own tears
[born through] the arising of a sudden despair (5.17) ¹⁷

His lifted leg quivers
in the excitement of the dance,
130 [and forms] the sign of a bridge
over the ocean of the sky,
where the stars, for a long time, lovingly observe
the scattering of countless water-drops
[born] for the effort of traversing
135 [such] a distant path (5.18) ¹⁸

After having saluted him,
[Brahmā], who abides on the lotus, sweating,
roams at length on the shore of the Mānasa,
inhabited by a numerous flock of swans,
140 to search for the group of [his own] chariot-geese,
which had quickly flown away [for fear] of the clouds
on Hari’s hair, sitting nearby (5.19) ¹⁹

While holding Gaurī on one half of the body
he carries the other half reddened

¹⁷After he...sacrifice] lit. “after the sacrifice was violated by Him”. Reference is here to the episode of the sacrifice of Dakṣa, who was performing rites in Śiva’s absence and was therefore punished by the god [=] *dakṣasya yajñe nāṣite sati* J. comm. See MBh 12.274, SP 32.1–200, Bakker 2014, 174 and Doniger 1073, 116. Rule] °*tantr*e i.e. the texture, the pattern of the ritual, its rules and steps.

¹⁸Lifted leg] *daṇḍapādo*°, i.e. the position of the leg lifted upwards during the dance. In *Natyaśāstra* 11.1–46, the *daṇḍapāda* is listed among the so-called aerial movements (*ākāśikī cārīs*), consisting of a combined movement of one leg going upwards and quickly stretched out. The poetic image of a *daṇḍapāda* is present in Ratnākara’s *Haraviḥaya* (1.45), where the commentaries by Utpala and Ratnakaṇṭha are more exhaustive than Jonarāja’s. Utpala ad 1.45: *anukāro nṛttaṃ daṇḍapādākhyacārī nirvartya upacārād daṇḍapāda ity ucyate*; Ratnakaṇṭha ad 1.45: *tayā utthitaś cāsau daṇḍapādaḥ daṇḍākāratayā ūrdhvam gataś caraṇaḥ ekapādapracāro yas sa*. See Pasedach 2011, 44. The *daṇḍapāda* image is repeated by Maṅkha in ŚKC 6.27. Waterdrops] i.e. the water of the god’s sweat scattered over the sky.

¹⁹Having saluted Him] *yam āpṛcchya*, i.e. having saluted Śiva. The commentator suggests another translation for the gerund *āpṛcchya*, connected with the infinite *vicetum*: “having asked Śiva to look for his geese” [=] *yam āpṛcchyān veṣṭum iti vā yojyam* J. comm. Sweating] *tāmyan* [=] *svidyamānaḥ* J. comm. Inhabited...swans] *pṛthuhamaṃsayūthe*, lit. “on which [shore there is] a numerous flock of swans”. I translate °*hamaṃsa* with “swans” and not with “geese” to distinguish it from °*marāla*° (“geese”) in the second *pāda*, namely Brahmā’s *vahanas*. Hari’s hair] Viṣṇu’s, whose hair is surrounded by clouds. See ŚKC 5.3.

145 by the lights of the snake-jewels
 –[His] armlets and bracelets—
 as if it was jealously occupied
 by Twilight, [his] ever-present mistress (5.20) ²⁰

He appeased the anger
 150 of his own enraged eye, oh!,
 red for the splendor of [its] fire,
 after he arranged the ascent of Smara in Yama’s land,
like the ascent of the liquids over a candle-wick of the same size,
 and provoked the liberation of thick tears
 155 from [Smara’s] lovely-browed [Rati] (5.21) ²¹

He is the one who bears the moon on his head,
or lies above the king of the twice-born,
 who is clad into his exquisite deerskin,
or into his ninth avatāra, the Buddha,
 160 who has the snake king sleeping [on his head],
or who sleeps above Śeṣa,
 with [this] extraordinary behavior,
 He, the best of all men, possesses
 the prominent line of [his] coils
 165 connected with [his] tremendous armlets
or the line of his multiple arms
abandoned together with his tremendous mace (5.22) ²²

²⁰Occupied] °*avaruddham*, lit. “obtained, kept back”. Twilight (*saṃdhī*), Śiva’s second lover, is stopping Gaurī from taking over the whole body. According to Jonarāja, “[Saṃdhī says]: I am blocking the other half...the meaning is: Saṃdhī overcomes Gaurī” ([=] *dvitiyam ardham ruṇadhṃti...saṃdhyayevākṛāntam ityarthah* J. comm.)

²¹He calmed the anger] *vikāraśāntiṃ cakre*, lit: “he made the appeasement of the anger” [=] *ivāraṇaṃ cakre* J. comm. Red for the splendour of [its] fire] *pāvakaṣaṇabhāsaḥ*, i.e. *bahuvrīhi* compound related to the gen. *caḥṣuṣaḥ* [=] *netrasya* J. comm. Yama’s land] *samavartin + rasā* [=] *yamabhūmi*° J. comm., i.e. Hell, referring to the death of Kāma caused by the fire of Śiva’s third eye. The commentator proposes another interpretation of the compound as “desire for Yama’s destruction”, i.e. *samavartirasa* [=] *samavartino yamasya rase saṃhārābhilāṣe* J. comm. A candle-whick] °*varti*° [=] *tūlikā* J. comm., i.e. the cotton wick used as a lamp, possibly switched off by pouring above some sort of liquid (*rasa*). Of the same size] Unclear. I followed Jonarāja’s commentary *samā samamātrā* J. comm.

²²The verse is a *śleṣa*, which sees the presentation of two gods, Śiva and Viṣṇu, perhaps as a reference to their joined form of Harihara, dear to Mañkha’s father (see Slaje 2015, 16 and 23, and Mandal 1991, 28). The moon...The king of the twice-born] On Śiva’s side, *dvijādhipam*, lit. “the twice-born”, is the moon [=] *candram* J. comm., while on Viṣṇu’s side the compound refers to the bird Garuḍa, his vehicle [=] *harer hi vāho garuḍo* J. comm. (see also Schmidt 1928, 219).

He embraced the Sky
 and quickly kissed the Directions' faces,
 170 who had their sky-veil withheld;
 with his [inflamed] fingernails
 he scratched the digit of a moon:
 what would not do this juvenile [and] brilliant eye-fire
 for the great downfall of the flower-arrowed god,
 175 who was already burning deep inside him? (5.23)²³

He highly honors Druhiṇa's skull,
 for which smoke-convolutions were hissing
 from the king of snakes densely whirling,
 [and] as if, even now, it was licked by the swarms of bees,
 180 [attracted by] the persistence of the scented particles
 of the lotus, his [own] abode (5.24)²⁴

Showing [his] mighty fame through the uneven eyes,
 with [his] unique vehicle, splendid and powerful
 in traversing the three worlds,
 185 with the appearance of [two] blooming [flowers]
 held in the path of his sight,

Exquisite antelope skin...the Buddha] On Śiva's side, we read *ajina°-°avatāram...anavamam* is the "beautiful form of deerskin", the god's mantle (see marginalia in Ms. B₂, *anavamam sundaram*). On Viṣṇu's side, the god is said to incarnate in his ninth form (*avatāram...navamam*), that of Jina (the Buddha, one of the ten incarnations (*dāśāvatāra*) of Viṣṇu, see Kumari 1968, 153, 176–78). For his interpretation, Jonarāja seems to eliminate the affix *a-* in both *a-navamam* and *a-jina°* (*navamaś ca buddhāvatāraḥ* J. comm.). The snake king... Śeṣa] On Śiva's side, the snake is sleeping on the god's head [=] *tathordhvam upari śayātur nivasāñ śeṣo yasya* J. comm., whereas on Viṣṇu's side, the god sleeps above the snake Śeṣa [=] *śeṣa śeṣe ca śete* J. comm. Coils...armlets] *bhīmena phaṇimayatvād aṅgadenāviraḥitāṃ sahitāṃ* J. comm. Or the line...mace] *śribhogārhatvāt komalān sagadāṃś catur bhujān dhatte; āṅga* means soft body, i.e. *komala*.

²³The Sky] i.e. the goddess of the sky, *dyām* femm. acc. sing. of *div*. Sky-veil] *°ambaram* [=] *nabho°* J. comm., i.e. the sky which serves as a veil. The flower-arrowed] i.e. the god of love, *puṣpaśaro°* [=] *kāmo°* J. comm. The fire of Śiva's eye is presented as a brilliant young man [=] *taruṇo yuvā* J. comm., consuming for the desire of women, namely the female Sky and the female cardinal points, as well as for the destruction of Kāma.

²⁴Highly honors] *mūrdhni dhārayati*, lit. "he bears on his head", i.e. he highly esteems. Druhiṇa] i.e. Brahmā. Reference here is to the mythical episode of Śiva chopping and taking possession of Brahmā's fifth head. See Doniger 1976, 278–279 for the myth's sources in the Purāṇas. Densely] *sāndra°* [=] *sāndram yathā bhavati tathā* J. comm., adverbial. Persistence] *°anuvṛtter* [=] *°anuvartanād* J. comm., i.e. concurring, persistence, echoed effect of something even after it ceased to exist. Lotus] *°tāmarasa°* [=] *°padmam* J. comm.

He, Sthāṇu, armed with an ax,
 annihilates the [worldly] sin,
[like] a tree trunk showing a solid growth
 190 *through [its] unequaled roots,*
with [its] unique foliage splendid and mighty
in the expansion over the three worlds,
with the shooting forth of flowers in the field of vision,
[and] badly lopped off by the blows of an ax (5.25)²⁵

195 The rays of his moon-diadem,
 whose brightness is similar to the jasmine's petals,
 bloom continually
 as if the [dark] lotus-hands of the gods,
 sitting [in veneration],
 200 [were closing] like buds
 before [the rays'] greatness (5.26)²⁶

Parted by the streams of rays coming from the hood-jewels
 of the king of snakes lying on [his] matted hair,
 [and then] issued through [its] face's cavities,
 205 the human skull [he is holding],
 surpassing [even his] inflamed forehead,
 shines intensely, like another open eye (5.27)²⁷

²⁵The verse contains a *śleṣa*, for which the god Śiva (here, Sthāṇu, [=] *sa sthāṇur haraḥ pāpaṃ nivārayati* J. comm.) is also seen as the lopped trunk of a tree ([=] *sa sthāṇur muṇḍavṛkṣas ca* J. comm.). I decided to elaborate two separate translations for each image (the second, in italics). On Śiva's side: Through his uneven eyes] *asamanetratayā*, lit. "the uneven essence of his eyes". Śiva's fame is due to the extraordinary possession of three eyes [=] *asamāni trīṇi netrāṇi* J. comm. Vehicle] *°ikapattraḥ*, i.e. the bull Nandin [=] *ekaṃ pattraṃ vāhanaṃ vṛṣabho* J. comm. Two blooming flowers...sight] i.e. the sun and the moon [=] *puṣpavator arkendvor* J. comm. Sin] Śiva/Sthāṇu is presented in his terrific form as destroyer of all sins.

On the tree's side: Showing a solid growth] *rūḍhiṃ dṛḍhām* [=] *prasiddhiṃ vahan* J. comm. Showing...roots] The word *°netra°* indicates the root of a tree [=] *asamāni netrāṇi mūlāni* J. comm. Unique foliage] *°ikapattraḥ* [=] *sa caikapattraḥ* J. comm. Which is badly...ax] lit. "whose ax badly chops it off".

²⁶Lotus-hands...were closing like buds] Lit. "they are like buds", i.e. closed [=] *saṃkucanti* J. comm. Maikha opposes the white color of the jasmine flower (*kunda*) with the blue/dark for the lotuses (*nīlotpala*), as well as the expansion ([=] *jayanti* J. comm.) of the jasmine with the closure ([=] *saṃkucanti* J. comm.) of the lotuses. The reference is here to the *añjalibandha*, the position of the palms joined in prayer, in the shape of a flower-bud [=] *sevānimitte 'ñjalibandhe* J. comm.

²⁷Through [its] face's cavities] *°patha°* is used here in its adverbial sense. Shines intensely] *yasya + ā-cakāsti*, with *ā* in an intensive sense. Another open eye] i.e. one more than Śiva's usual

He carries above his head
the brilliant digit of the moon,
210 *a chaste woman,*
whose rays nobody can eclipse
who cannot be violated by anybody's hands,
which cannot be wounded by Rāhu's teeth
or by the bite-marks of some "demon",
215 nor corrupted by the stain of the young hare
*nor touched by the kiss of some "hare" (5.28)*²⁸

As if discovering the brigand
of the loveliness of Gaṇapati's trunk
and of the grace of Devī's movements,
220 out of rage he squeezed Danuja,
who was disguising himself into an elephant's skin,

three [=] *caturtham apy āgneyaṃ netram* J. comm.

²⁸Mañkha elaborates a *śleṣa*, for which on the one hand we see Śiva's luminous ornamental moon [=] *satīm śobhanāṃ candralekhāṃ* J. comm., on the other hand the digit of the moon is identified with a chaste woman, a virtuous Satī [=] *atha ca satīm sādhvīm* J. comm.

Whose rays...hand] On the moon's side, *yasyāḥ paro na karapīdanakṛt°* means lit. "above which there is no maker of the eclipse (*°pīdana*)"; on the woman's side, *°karapīdana* refers both to the action of squeezing or pressing in an harassing way, and to the wedding/nuptials (Schmidt 192, 136). In this case, I follow the first meaning, which is explained in Jonarāja's commentary as well [=] *kareṇa pīdanaṃ kucādivimardam* J. comm., i.e. the pressure of the woman's breasts etc. by the hands of the lover.

Rāhu's teeth] The moon, which is just a digit, cannot be bitten by demon Rāhu's teeth [=] *lekhāmāt ratvād iti hetuḥ pratyeyah* J. comm.; the bite-marks of some "demon"] *rāhu* is also imagined as the male lover of a non-chaste woman, who leaves his bite-marks on her body [=] *anyena ratidantavraṇānām* J. comm. The myth of Rāhu, whose roots can be traced back to Vedic texts (Gansten 2019, 174), is ubiquitous in Sanskrit literature and connected with one of the most well-known episodes in Hindu mythology, the churning of the milk-ocean (*amṛtamanthana*). In that occasion, the demon Rāhu disguised himself as one of the gods to take advantage of the gifts (*ratnas*) emerged from the ocean, and managed to drink some of the nectar of immortality (*amṛta*). Sun and Moon, however, noticed the demon's presence and pointed it out to Viṣṇu, who immediately chopped his head off. Rāhu's head, immortal for the sip of *amṛta*, kept floating into the sky and swallowing Sun and Moon out of revenge, and thus provoking eclipses and lunar phases. For one version of the myth see MBh 1.16–17.

Young hare] For poetic convention, the shape of an animal—a hare (*śaśa*) or an antelope (*mrga*)—is visible on the moon surface and said to be spoiling the purity of its whiteness [=] *mṛgapotakasparśena* J. comm. In this case, the dark hare-silhouettes are not visible as the moon is crescent. By the kiss of some 'hare'] *śaśa* is considered a technical term in the *Kāmasūtra* (see KSū 2.1.1: *śaśo vṛṣo 'śva iti liṅgato nāyakaviśeṣāḥ*), where men are divided into three categories according to the dimensions of their fallus. Erotic terms such as *karapīdana*, *daśanakṣata*, *śaśa*, *cumba* and *satī* point towards the purity and chastity of both moon and woman.

and made a swarm of whirling bees
burying the ichor of his arrogance (5.29)²⁹

His nectar-rayed [moon],
225 lying on the side of his matted hair
[and] refreshed by the attendance
of the waves of the unrivaled heavenly river,
separated from the sign of his mark
which was growing in his heart,
230 does not leave his emaciate state
and increases his whiteness (5.30)³⁰

From the surface of his forehead
he removed the saffron mixture,
[and] destroyed the snake-bracelets
235 in which he was covered.
Then, he deprived his body
of any auspicious mark
as if to eliminate [any doubt of] resemblance
with the demons' women (5.31)³¹

²⁹The verse is not completely clear. The demon Gajāsura (or Danuja) seems to disguise himself as Gaṇapati in order to get close to Devī. Śiva, however, having noticed the unusual behavior of the two, squeezes the demon's elephant-body to the extent that his rut-fluids spray out and attract the bees like nectar.

Plunderer] *haṭhacauram*, i.e. a violent thief. Satisfied expression] *vaktraśriyaḥ* instr. fem. lit. "by means of the splendour of the face", or "splendour of the tusk". Outraged way] *asūyai*° dat. fem. of *asūyī* from adj. *asūya* [=] *krodhād* J. comm., i.e. out of anger. Disguising...skin] i.e. the demon Gajāsura who had assumed the form of an elephant [=] *gr̥hitā hastimūrtir yena tam danujaṃ gajāsuraṃ* J. comm. See also ŚKC 5.14–15.

The commentary proposes three interpretations for the verb *śliṣyan*: a) [=] *danujaṃ gajāsuraṃ śliṣyan yo* J. comm., i.e. "[he] who squeezes Danuja"; b) [=] *cakāra vikṣiptavān; tadā śliṣyan madakṣapaṇe dānāsvādane lampātabhramarasamūhaṃ tam iti vyākhyeyam* J. comm., i.e. the verb *cakāra* means "he scattered", and therefore the object is the swarm of bees, thrown by the god in savoring the rut-fluid and clinging to the fake elephant's body (with *śliṣyan*° in the compound); c) [=] *śliṣyataḥ saktasya madasya* J. comm., where *śliṣyan* is considered a *tatpuruṣa* compound with °*mada*°, i.e. the sticking rut-fluid.

³⁰The waning moon which lies on Śiva's matted hair is abandoned by the dark mark (*lakṣmī*) of his spot while his digit becomes increasingly thin. The comparison (*utprekṣā*) with the human behaviour of separated lovers is apparent: Moon is a man seeking relief on the Gaṅgā's shores [=] *śītale nadītaṭe śete* J. comm., whereas Lakṣmī represents the distant woman [=] *hr̥dayasthitayā ca striyā virahitaḥ* J. comm., cause of his thinness [=] *kṛśaḥ pāṇḍuś ca bhavati* J. comm.

³¹Saffron] *agniśikha*° [=] *kūṅkumasya* J. comm., i.e. both the red tilak made of saffron paste and the fire of Śiva's third eye. For an account of the saffron flower as native of Kashmir

240 The forehead's surface of this one,
 whose angry body was acting like that of the hunter
 before the white-horsed [Arjuna],
 showered a great quantity of sweat
 [while] the fire, sitting in the cavity of his third eye,
 245 vanished, as if for fear of the agitated water
 which would fall inside (5.32)³²

Making the world [a place in which]
 gold is produced in great quantity
 by the mere stamping of [his] hooves,
 250 careless and continuous,
 the bull, [his] vehicle, surpasses even him,
 who, with trouble, was producing a golden rain
 [only during the festival] of the seven days (5.33)³³

As if it was a [veil] of smoke released
 255 through the fire of the submarine mare,
 violently shaken in the confusion of that moment
 over the lotus-eyes of the long-lashed goddesses
 to block their usually free field of view... (5.34)

...[or] like a [sort of] darkness,
 260 accumulated for a long time,

confront Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* 1.21 and the consideration made by Withney Cox about the southern reception of Kashmir's Sanskrit culture on the basis of the history of Kashmir's saffron, which ended up to be identified with *kuṅkuma* (turmeric) in the South (Cox 2016a). Destroyed] *cakre...°vipralopam* [=] *vipralopaṃ nivāraṇaṃ cakre* J. comm. Note the variant °*viprayogam*, lit. "separation from", in Ms. O, meaning "he took off".

³²Kirāta...Arjuna] This verse refers to the episode of the encounter of Arjuna with the Kirāta, Śiva in disguise [=] *dāśavapuḥ kirātarūpaṃ yena sitāśve 'rjune* J. comm. When reporting the episode of Arjuna and the Kirāta, Maṅkha is probably thinking of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya*, if we think that the author himself cites the name of Bhāravi among the best poets (see 2.53 in Slaje 2015, 78–79). Vanished] Śiva manages to trick Arjuna by closing his third eye, whose fire was threatened by the hot water of his sweat [=] *gharmajalapātabhītir* J. comm. As if for fear] *bhiyā + iva*, instr. from f. *bhī*, "fear". Jonarāja seems to read °*bhītyeva* (*bhītyā + iva*), instr. from f. *bhīti*.

³³Surpasses even Him] *yaṃ...atīsete* i.e. Śiva's devotee surpasses even the god in the creation of golden wonders [=] *svabhaktān svasmād adhikān karotīty āśayaḥ* J. comm. For Nandin's hooves as producing gold, see also ŚKC 4.15. The festival of the seven days] *saptadivāsāni* [=] *īśvaro hi saptāhāni suvarṇaṃ vavaṛṣa* J. comm., possibly referring to a Śaiva sacrificial performance lasting seven days, or "only for a week", as opposed to the continuous creation made by Nandin. The commentator does not delve into this practice.

[and now] escaping the netherworld
 for fear of the stirring round
 of the churning [stick], mountain [Mandara],
 plunderer of the row of black bees,
 265 harbingers of the fully blown lotus,
 abode of Kamalā who desires to come outside... (5.35)

...with the firm iron chain
 of the black snake-king of [his] necklace,
 he tied up in the prison of his own neck
 270 this trembling poison
 which had just risen from the ocean,
 the place in which he was [once] deposited,
 fatigued for the destruction of the three worlds (5.36)³⁴

His chest, merged with the one of Kaiṭabha's slayer,
 275 indirectly shows an incredible prominence,
 on which the *kālakūṭa* poison obtains,
 along with his maternal brother, the *kaustubha* jewel,
 the enjoyment of a mutual courtesy (5.37)³⁵

³⁴As usual in the multiple-verses sections (here, a *tilakam*) of the *Śrikanṭhacarita*, the logical subject of the first two verses (5.34 and 5.35), i.e. the accusative *garalam*, appears only in the last verse (5.36).

The venom is presented like a captured plunderer and, therefore, sentenced to jail [=] *kārāgrhaṃ bandhanadhām* J. comm. Unclear is the compound °*glapanadurlalitam*, possibly a rogue [plunderer]. Reference is here to the episode of the churning of the milk-ocean and to the emergence of the *kālakūṭa* poison, swallowed by Śiva. See fn. ad ŚKC 5.28. Kamalā] i.e. Lakṣmī as residing in the lotuses [=] *yā kamalā śrīs* J. comm.

³⁵The verse describes the union of Śiva's and Viṣṇu's bodies in the Harihara form [=] *harihararūpasya* J. comm. Worth noticing is that Harihara played a role in the credo of the author's family, as Mañkha's father was one of its devotees (see also ŚKC 5.22 and Slaje 2015, 16 and 23) Kaiṭabha's slayer] i.e. Viṣṇu. Indirectly shows] *kaṭākṣayati*, den. from noun *kaṭākṣa*, lit. "looks sideways" [=] *darśayati* J. comm. An incredible prominence] *kaṃcana* [=] *kim apy* J. comm., i.e. incredible; *tuṅgimānam* gen. pl. *tuṅgiman*, i.e. height, eminence. The commentator adds a consideration related to the word *tuṅgiman*, noting: "it is proper, when two important people meet, the description of their prominence (*tuṅgatva*)" [=] *mahadbhiḥ saha saṃyogo mahatām tuṅgatvavarṇam ucitam* J. comm. Kālakūṭa poison] The verse is connected to the previous one through the image of the poison (*garala*, ŚKC 5.36) swallowed by Śiva during the churning of the milk-ocean. Kaustubha jewel] *mañinā* [=] *kaustubhena* J. comm., i.e. the jewel worn on the chest by Viṣṇu, one of the *ratnas* retrieved from the milk-ocean billows. Maternal brother] *ekodareṇa*, lit. "born from the same uterus". Both poison and *kaustubha* jewel are coming from the ocean of milk [=] *ekaṃ sādharmaṇam udaram utpattishānam* J. comm.

Carrying on his head, bent at Gaurī's feet, the heavenly river,
 280 [where] the face of her vehicle, the lion, is mirrored,
 he becomes bold in the destruction of Viṣṇu's great pride,
 as if, for his own pleasure, he was taking the form of Nārasimha (5.38)⁸⁶

With the line of [her] pride relaxed,
 for his repeated bowing,
 285 the mountain's daughter, facing downwards,
 draws with [her] tears, black for the kohl,
 a new [dark] stain for the cool-rayed moon on [his] head
 and fills the Gaṅgā,
 whose encounter with [this] Yamunā
 290 [is completely] unexpected (5.39)⁸⁷

Arranging [first] the destruction of [his] body,
 and then granting [him] a form without restrictions,
 as a memento of [his own] grace,
 he, first among the ones who know the Mahānaya,
 295 expanded, for Smara, destruction and creation (5.40)⁸⁸

As if to catch the sea-monster vehicle
 from the celestial diadem-river
 [and] make it the new emblem for his fellow Smara,
 the Moon, in [his] contracted shape,

⁸⁶The Bent] I follow the manuscripts and read *natam* as related to *uttamāṅgam*, as opposed to *nataś*° reported in the Eds. and in Jonarāja's commentary [=] *yo gauryās caraṇayor nataḥ* J. comm. Viṣṇu's great pride] Viṣṇu's pride (*garva*) is crashed by Śiva, who, through Gaurī's reflected vehicle, turns himself into the lion Nārasimha, one of Viṣṇu's *avatāras*.

⁸⁷Mañkha continues the image of Śiva bowing before Gaurī started in the previous verse. The line of her pride] *mantutantur*, lit. "the line of the thought", i.e. the frown, the furrowing of Gaurī's eyebrows. Repeated] °*asakṛt*°, lit. adv. "repeatedly" [=] *punaḥ punaḥ* J. comm. Gaṅgā...Yamunā] Traditionally, the celestial Gaṅgā is the pristine river on Śiva's head, white in color, whereas the Yamunā is darker, in the verse blackened by Gaurī's kohl. For the Yamunā's iconography see Sharma 2008, 128.

⁸⁸Mahānaya] Name of a philosophical school [=] *mahānaya vidāṃ darśana jñānām* J. comm. Some identify in Mahānaya the non-dualist Krama tradition of Kashmir centered on the cult of Kālī as "devourer of time" (*kālasamkarṣiṇī*, see Stainton 2019, 76, 76 fn. 42, and Torella 1994, 494), although it is not certain whether Mañkha refers to this doctrine or to another "great (doctrinal) system". The commentator could be helpful as he notes [=] *tasmin darśane hi samhārān antaraṃ sṛṣṭiḥ* J. comm., i.e. according to this doctrine, creation is within (or inherent) destruction [=] *tasmin darśane hi samhārān antaraṃ sṛṣṭiḥ* J. comm. Further studies on the matter are necessary to ascertain this reference. Expanded] lit. "made the expansion" °*vipañcanam* [=] *vistāraṇam* J. comm.

300 lies in wait on the surface of [Śiva's] head,
like a thief of the color of the face
of the mountain-king's daughter (5.41)³⁹

After he established, violently because of anger,
the prescription of a new custom
305 through [his] extremely fierce punishment,
the [sun], the moon's companion,
even now, during the ceremonies,
is considered the cup for mashed offerings
by the experts of the sacrificial rules (5.42)⁴⁰

310 He is [the sun], whose rays are enemies
of the full blue lotuses;
he is [the moon], friend of the comparison
on the faces of the deer-eyed women,
he is [the fire] which laps the oblation
315 companion of the unrivaled *mantras*
during the sacrifices;
he is the blowing [wind],
which leads the flowers' scented caravan; (5.43)

He is [the earth], which bears the parasol
320 of the hooded Śeṣa;
he is [the water], to obtain which
the distressed peacock begs for a cloud;
he is [the sound], who has a thin body
at the beginning of the initiation,
325 he is [the ether], whose royal path
is everywhere free from the obstacles of the sun-stones; (5.44)

³⁹Sea-monster] °*makaram*, a water creature which serves as vehicle for some deities, the river goddess Gaṅgā in particular. Kāma is related to the *makara* as it is his emblem (*ketu*). Contracted shape...lies in wait] The Moon is in its waxing phase and therefore it seems to be contracting for the scope of hiding himself, waiting to steal the *makara* from the Gaṅgā. Thief] °*cauraḥ* [=] *cauraś ca haraṇodyataḥ* J. comm. The thief which dims the light on the face of the frightened Gaurī, i.e. he makes her pale. This passage is not commented by Jonarāja.

⁴⁰Companion] i.e. the Sun [=] *arka* J. comm., intended as the oblations cup °*bhājanam* [=] *arkaḥ puroḍāśapātram* J. comm. The commentator links the round circumference of the sun to that of a cup, specifying that the sun can be compared to a cup because it is "toothless" [=] *unmūlitadantaviṣayā* J. comm. The image refers to the solar deity Pūṣan (*āditya*°), whose teeth were eradicated ([=] *dantabhaṅga*° J. comm.) by Śiva as a punishment. See also ŚKC 5.52 and Kramisch 1961, 104–122. Mashed offerings] *caru*, i.e. a rice offering. The experts of the sacrificial rules] °*tantravid*°, the priests who know the sacrificial rules.

Standing still even in the transformation
of [his] intrinsic manifestations,
obtained the unification of the three worlds
330 [and] maintaining a condition unaffected by birth, aging and death,
he announced his incomparable form
through the ones who are wise in the sciences (5.45)⁴¹

He manifested [his] inflamed *liṅga*:
wishing to see its ends,
335 Brahmā, moving upwards,
became [its] immeasurable spark;
Mukunda, going downwards,
suddenly took the swirling aspect of [its] smoke (5.46)⁴²

Making the celestial river
340 agitate his half-moon,
cause of beheading of the most ancient poet,
[and] surrounding his own truly luminous body
with [dark] snake-coils,
he enhances [his] insuperably venerable perfection,

⁴¹The series of verses (*tilaka*) describes Śiva's eight perceptible manifestations, namely sun, moon, fire, wind, earth, water, ether, and sound, already mentioned by Mañkha in ŚKC 5.11. Sun] Implied in the line [=] *vairakarāḥ so' rkaḥ* J. comm. Moon...faces] Moon] Implied in the line [=] *bandhuḥ...sa candraḥ* J. comm. In *kāvya*, the white surface of the moon is often compared to the women's beautiful faces through the figure of speech of *upamāna*, i.e. simile. Fire] Implied in the line [=] *āhutiṃ bhuñkte so 'gniḥ* J. comm. Wind] implied in the line [=] *sārthavāhaḥ so' rthād vāyuḥ* J. comm. Earth] Implied in the line [=] *chattram arthād bhūmiḥ* J. comm. Note the manuscripts' variant *bṛhat*^o, i.e. a big parasol, instead of *vahat*^o. Water] Implied in the line [=] *yad yācate tajjalam* J. comm. Thin] *°kṛṣam*, i.e. the *mantras*' sound must be low at the beginning of a ritual. Ether] Implied in the line [=] *panthā arthād akāśaḥ* J. comm. Incomparable form] *anaṣṭamūrṭiḥ*. The commentator suggests also to interpret *an*^o in *anaṣṭamūrṭiḥ* as a negative/ particle [=] *nāṣṭau* J. comm., lit. "nothing but his eight-fold manifestation".

⁴²Manifested] *āviraḥbhavat* instead of *āviraḥbhavat* in Eds. Third or reduplicated form of causative aor., from *āvira* + *√bhū*, i.e. becoming visible, manifest [=] *prakaṣayām āsa* J. comm. The verse refers to the episode of the challenge between Brahmā and Viṣṇu, who want to establish the superior and inferior limits of the luminous *liṅga* of Śiva. Brahmā flies upwards trying to reach the upper limit, whereas Viṣṇu attempts the same going downwards. The two gods, however, leave empty-handed as the *liṅga* is infinite (for sources and the earliest versions of the *Liṅgodbhava* myth, see Kafle 2013). In Mañkha's poetic fiction, Brahmā transforms himself in the sparks of the inflamed *liṅga*, while Viṣṇu in its smoke, as the first flies upwards and the second digs downwards, such as sparks and smoke spirals respectively (see J. comm. *brahmā sa evākalitaḥ sphuliṅgo vahnikaṇo yatra and nārāyaṇo 'vānmukhasya budhnagāmino dhūmasya bhaṅgim agrahī*).

- 345 *he who makes a group of Paṇḍits
shape the gesture of seizing the throat,
cause of strangulation of an old poet,
[and who] surrounds their own luminous bodies
with the swirls [of sacrificial smoke] (5.47)⁴³*
- 350 *Quickly setting in motion the action
during the five [theatrical] acts
as if they were his own [five] arrows,
[and] gradually showing the representation of the horrific
with all sorts of gesticulation that can occur,
355 after having acted in that final dramatic action
known as “his own death”,
entering with this intention the stage curtain
which is the line of flames of [his] inflamed eye,
the fish-banner bearer [Kāma] disappeared (5.48)⁴⁴*
- 360 *With quivering vibrations,
these troops of Agni’s flames
who move inside the eye on [his] forehead,
arrogant in the burning of Manasija and Ravija,*

⁴³The celestial river] *vāhinīm sumanasām* lit. “the river of the benevolent ones”, i.e. the Gaṅgā, the divine river of the gods. The most ancient *kavi*] i.e. Brahmā, beheaded by Śiva [=] *mukhabhaṅgasya śiraś chedasya hetuḥ* J. comm., through his half-moon which resembles an axe [=] *ardhacandra* J. comm. Snake-coils] *bhogair* [=] *sarpaśarīrair eva* J. A group of *paṇḍits*] *sumanasām* [=] *paṇḍitānām gaṇam* J. comm. Seize the throat] *ardhacandra* or *ardhacandraka*, the gesture of grasping someone’s throat with the hand in a half-moon shape [=] *ardhacandraḥ khalikārtham galahastikā yasyās tām karoti* J. comm. See Schmidt 1928 “*galahastikā* das am Halse Paken, Śrik. V, 47 (Ko.)”. Cause...poet] A strangulation out of disrespect [=] *purāṇasya kaver mukhabhaṅge ’vamāne hetuḥ* J. comm. Swirls of sacrificial smoke] *bhogair* [=] *mṛṣṭān napānādyair* J. comm., or by the pleasurable libations offered during the sacrifice.

⁴⁴Five theatrical acts] °*saṃdhiṣv*, i.e. the five *saṃdhis*, namely *mukha*, *pratimukha*, *garbha*, *vimarśa* and *nirvahaṇa*, which correspond to the divisions of a drama [=] *mukhādiṣu pañcasu saṃdhiṣv* J. comm., see NŚ 21.26–43. Horrific] *ārabhaṭīm*, i.e. in theater, the dramatic representation of supernatural and horrific [=] *ārabhaṭīm saṃrambham, raudravṛttiviśeṣam* J. comm. For *ārabhaṭīm* see NŚ 1.21–41 and 22.55–65. Gesticulation] *aṅgahāraiḥ karaṇaviśeṣaiḥ* J. comm., namely various movements or positions (*karaṇas*) of hands and feet when acting in the case of tumultuous anger (*raudra*). See NŚ 6.46–76. Acted...dramatic action] °*nāṭakavidhiṃ*, i.e. the performance of a specific role, in this case called *svavadha*°, i.e. the re-enactment of someone’s death. I intend “final” implied in the gerund *nirvāhya*, as connected with *nirvahaṇa*, the last of the five theatrical *saṃdhis*.

display the charm of a red banner of victory (5.49)⁴⁵

365 Let this festival, the overlapping
of left and right half
spontaneously performed for him by Gaurī,
enhance the joy and wonder of the worlds,
when, in a moment, the earth appears
370 with [its] numerous ornaments,
golden and studded with pearls,
oozed out from the stepping of the front hooves
of [their] two joined vehicles (5.50)⁴⁶

Quickly agitating [his] body
375 at the beginning of the dance,
he casts in all directions a net of ashy dust
violently risen from all [his] limbs,
[and] mixed with the water
of the river shaken on [his] head,
380 as if [it was thrown]
behind the worldly misfortunes
[thus] rapidly banished (5.51)⁴⁷

Even though he is the cause
in the harvest of that handful of seeds,
385 which are Dinapati's teeth,

⁴⁵Manasija and Ravija] i.e. the heart-born Kāma and the sun-born Yama. Charm] °*ṭaṅkam* [=] *bhaṅgiṃ* J. comm. See Slaje 2015, 48 fn.

⁴⁶Earth] °*urvarā* [=] *sā bhūmir* J. comm. Golden and studded with pearls] °*danturā*° possibly °*danturita*°, lit. “filled with, full of” [=] *muktādanturāṇi sa mauktikāni jātarūpaṇi* J. comm. Stepping] °*nyāsakriyā*°, i.e. impressing, as if of prints, the action of “putting down”. Their two joined vehicles] i.e. Gaurī's lion and Śiva's bull. The two vehicles are imagined as united and producing each one its own riches: the lion let loose on the earth the pearls it obtained from the elephant's temples [=] *siṃhasya karikavāṭapaṭanān mauktikāni* J. comm., whereas the bull produces golden regalia with his hooves [=] *haravr̥ṣasya vastudharmatvāt kāñcanāni* J. comm. For the concept of sense of wonder ([=] *kautuka* J. comm.) see the fourth canto.

⁴⁷Beginning...dance] *nāṭyārambhe* [=] *nrttārambhe* J. comm., or, perhaps the prelude (*pūrvaraṅga*) before the theatrical performance. Mixed with the water] °*pāthaḥsanātham* [=] *pātho jalaṃ tena sanātham yuktaṃ* J. comm. Banished] °*utsāritānām* [=] *niṣkālītānām* J. comm., pt. caus. pass. from *niṣ* + √*kal*, i.e. who have been forced to go away, banished (see *nirvāsana* or *niṣkrāmaṇa*, i.e. expulsion). Jonarāja refers to the custom of throwing a mixture of ash and water behind someone (*paścāt* + gen.) in order to prevent his further access to the kingdom [=] *duṣṭasya deśān niṣkālitasya punaḥ praveśābhāvārthaṃ paścād bhasmajalam kṣipyata ity ācārah* J. comm.

in the beheading of the Lotus-abiding [Brahmā],
 in the raising of [His] [inflamed] eye
 which consumed the lord of the demons' life,
 and, finally, in the complete destruction of Ratipati's body,
 390 there is no moment in which he is not at the service
 of the perfection of the whole body of the world (5.52)⁴⁸

Holding a stronger affection, as reddish itself,
 for the fire in his odd eye,
 [and with his] moon, lord of the *oṣadhis*,
 395 constantly eclipsed,
 [Śiva's] matted hair,
 a mongoose itself, friend of the peacock,
 takes on the charm of a calm refuge for the snakes:
 what a wonder for the mind of the three worlds! (5.53)⁴⁹

400 Having established, together with the mountain's daughter,
 that the end of [their] two bodies' duality
 [would be] the place of excessive deference
 for the grace [granted by] the flower-arrowed [Kāma],
 [there, on his body] abounding
 405 in the imperishable inebriating liquor known as "beauty",
 the amusement of a banquet was gently received
 by the sight of the deer-eyed goddesses (5.54)⁵⁰

⁴⁸Even though He is the cause] *kāraṇātvaṃ bhajann apy* [=] *apir virodha*° J. comm. The contrast (*virodha*) consists in the fact that both creative and destructive power coexist in Śiva. On the one hand the god makes the whole body of the world perfect, while on the other hand he mutilates the bodies of other gods or beings. Four examples (or episodes [=] *kathā* J. comm.) of Śiva's destructive power are here listed: 1) the eradication of Dinapati's teeth (*dinapater* [=] *sūryasya* J. comm. This is a reference to the solar god Sūrya or Pūṣan, whose teeth have been eradicated by Śiva [=] °*unmūlane* J. comm. See 5.42, MBh 10.18.1–26 and Kramisch 1961.); 2) the beheading of Brahmā's fifth head; 3) the destruction of the chief of the demons with the fire of his third eye; 4) the annihilation of Kāma's body.

⁴⁹Ichneumon...peacock] *babhrur*, meaning both "reddish" and "ichneumon" [=] *nakulaḥ* J. comm., whereas *śikhinā* means both "fire" and "peacock" [=] *mayūrena* J. comm. Charm] *patharīṭim* [=] *avasthānabhaṅgiṃ* J. comm., i.e. the manner or aspect of. What a full...worlds] Lit. "Having made, the matted hair (nom., subj.), a wonder (*kautuka*)". The wonder can be explained with the fact that the snakes on Śiva's head abide there peacefully along with their archenemies, the hair-mongoose (*babhru*), the fire-peacock (*śikhin*) and the *oṣadhis*-herbs, used to heal the wounds of snakes' bites.

⁵⁰The place...Kāma] Kāma stays on the unified body of Śiva and Gaurī even after his annihilation [=] *striṇuṃsayoḥ śarīraikyam hi kāmājñānuṣṭhānalakṣaṇam* J. comm., i.e. the unity of the bodies male and female is the visible result of the unintentional action of Love.

His body enhances the offer
of the mountains-king's daughter,
410 who carries the excelling female power of Love
on one half [of his body],
where, trembling upright in a female breast,
the left [part] of [his] chest,
mirrored inside the jewel of the snake Śeṣa,
415 is like manifesting, before the eyes,
a right [breast] as well (5.55)⁵¹

Whose eyes-assembly,
closed for a very long time out of anguish,
wouldn't he attract?
420 He moves [his] body unevenly
for [its] unity of feminine and masculine,
on which even the moon-diadem
share an Ardhanārīśvara state with his beloved Night,
with one half eclipsed by the rays of the emeralds,
425 ornaments on Vāmā's limbs (5.56)⁵²

Miraculously making with the mountain's daughter
an *ekaśeṣa* of bodies out of a *dvandva*,
he performs, at nightfall, that mystery
which is the dance performance,
430 when the snakes, decorations of [his] right half,
tired for [their] fully expanded hoods,

⁵¹Female power of Love] i.e. Kāma as Rati's husband. The divine female power (*śakti*) is of Gaurī's [=] *ratipateḥ kāmasya prabhuśaktitām* J. comm. A right breast] The enhancement of the female *śakti* on Śiva's left half is obtained with the feminization of the right half of his chest, where a female breast appears through the reflection of the left breast in one of Śiva's jewels [=] *dakṣiṇārdhābharaṇībhūtasya phaṇipateḥ phaṇaratnamadhye vāmastanaḥ pratibimbīto dakṣiṇastanatayā sambhāvyata ityārthaḥ* J. comm.

⁵²Closed...anguish] *nimeṣakleśāveśān*, lit. "from the possession (°*āveśāt*) of the anguish (°*kleśa*)" [which provokes] the shutting of the eyes (*nimeṣa*). Catch] *udaharat* pres. impf. 3 sing. from *ud + √hr̥*. The audience has sharp eyes for the extraordinary state [=] *lokottaratvād* J. comm. of the conjunction of Śiva with Gaurī [=] *gaurīśvararūpaṃ* J. comm. Unevenly] lit. "He who moves the body in a variegated pace". °*kalmāṣita* [=] *śabalitā* J. comm. Here, "variegated" is connected with the pace or gait of the god (*gati*) which is now half female and half male, and therefore to be intended in the sense of "uneven". His Moon...Night] The state of Ardhanārīśvara is doubled on Śiva's body, where the circle of the Moon (*cūḍāvidhur*, male) share one of his half with the Night (*rajanyā*, female).

enjoy that symposium of winds
at the beginning of spring
those charming sighs released
435 from the [left] part by the exhausted Vāmā (5.57)⁵³

⁵³An *ekaśeṣa* out of a *dvandva*] *dvandva* indicates the nominal compound of two nouns connected in sense by “and” (*ca*), while *ekaśeṣa* defines the unity, i.e. of two or more stems only one remains. In this case, the couple (*dvandva*) of Śiva and (*ca*) Gaurī is unified in the *Ardhanārīśvara* form (the *ekaśeṣa*). Worth noticing is Mañkha’s usage of grammatical terms in the last verse of a canto, a strategy he adopts at the end of the fourth canto as well (see ŚKC 4.64). Mystery] °*rahasyam*. Jonarāja does not comment on the term. We might assume the secrecy of the theatrical pastime by the fact that it takes place at nightfall, but no indication to this aspect is given in the commentary. Spring] °*surabhi*°, lit. “the fragrant one”. Note that the description of Spring (*vasanta*) is the subject matter of the following canto (ŚKC 6.1–74). For the interconnection between the last verse of a *sarga* and the first verse of the following one, see fn. ad ŚKC 5.1. The last verse of the canto is closed by the final rubric: “here ends the description of the Lord, the fifth canto of the court poem *Śrīkañṭhacarita*, [composed] by Rājānaka śrī Mañkhaka, king of poets [and] son of śrī Rājānaka Viśvavarta, [together with] the commentary [composed] by śrī Jonarāja.

Chapter 11

Description of a Universal Spring

11.1 Synopsis of the Sixth Canto

- [6.1] Introduction of the character Spring, Kāma's friend and ally.
- [6.2] The sun leaves the southern direction out of jealousy as she looks at another partner, the wind of the Malaya mountains.
- [6.3] During spring the lotuses bloom in the lakes of Kashmir.
- [6.4] Spring is well-versed in the six royal policies.
- [6.5] Spring is the author of a love poem.
- [6.6] The southern direction is refreshed by the Wind of Malaya mountains.
- [6.7] At springtime, the day becomes longer and the night shorter.
- [6.8] Spring is the lion which scares the elephant of pride.
- [6.9] The southern direction is abandoned by the sun, who travels North.
- [6.10] The cuckoos chirp like scholars at Spring's court.
- [6.11] The World, a traveler, is terrified of Spring and his warlike attributes.
- [6.12] The cuckoos, disputing in the forest, are unbearable for the distant lovers.
- [6.13] Description of the *karnikāra* as expression of *virodha*.
- [6.14] The cuckoos-scholars achieve the most excellent eloquence.
- [6.15] The creepers on the *aśoka* tree form the Kashmiri portable fireplace.
- [6.16] The cuckoos-scholars show their excellence in disputations.
- [6.17–19] The pollen of the *aśoka* reddens the world and dissipates the obscurity of the women's pride. The tree is like a mendicant. Kāma's sight reaches its foliage and turns it red.
- [6.20–22] Bees: they look like the syllables of Kāma's *praśasti*, like poisonous seeds for the distant lovers, and like a necklace for the creepers. They are turned into night's sawdust, shortened by Spring's saw. The bees are also Kāma's back-biters, who get the innocent travelers imprisoned.

- [6.23] Spring is emperor of the seasons, performing a *prasāda* through the rays of the Moon, a Brahmin.
- [6.24] The earth sprinkles around the melted snow and prolongs the cuckoos' cooing.
- [6.25–26] Bees: the bees perform an *ārātrika* ceremony before the mango tree, and become Spring frowning eyebrows, scaring away the women's pride.
- [6.27–31] Plants and flowers: the *campaka* tree is like the lifted dancing leg of Śrī; the *tilaka* tree is praised by the bees; men are stringing flower garlands for their lovers; the *aśoka* tree is Kāma's arsenal, and raises above all the other trees thanks to the stamp of the women's feet.
- [6.32] The cuckoos become priests and celebrate funerary rites of the distant lovers.
- [6.33] Spring, the brigand, hinders the travelers' journey.
- [6.34] The creepers-women become more beautiful thanks to the drops of water.
- [6.35] Death's palace is open by the moon for the distant lovers.
- [6.36] The study-pride is interrupted.
- [6.37] The splendor of spring makes the world prosperous.
- [6.38] A drunk bee, even if a priest, enjoys the company of women in Kāma's realm.
- [6.39] The moon is challenging the faces of the women from the South.
- [6.40] The bees play during spring.
- [6.41] Kāma appreciates the world.
- [6.42] The wind is Spring's guard, increased by the women's sighs.
- [6.43] Spring steals the women's splendor and assign it to the *campaka* tree.
- [6.44–46] Wind: Kāma builds an alliance with the winds and become the regent of the world; the bees and pollen, transported by the wind, make the women's eyes water; the leaves, shaken by the wind, seem to scold even the seers.
- [6.47] The young cuckoo is about to speak during an assembly.
- [6.48] Spring is the *mahākavi* of the world description.
- [6.49] The bees are the royal guards at Spring's court.
- [6.50] Spring distributes his kingdom to wind, moon, and cuckoos.
- [6.51] The flowers of the *campaka* tree looks like a golden ink-pot, ready for Kāma's royal edicts.
- [6.52] The bee performs the *prāṇāgnihotra* through the pollen of the *kiṃśuka* tree's flowers.
- [6.53] The *kuraba* tree, surrounded by bees, shines as if smeared with unguent.
- [6.54] Spring is a beggar who does not come back in the house of pride.
- [6.55] The bee plays with its consort in the bed made of *kiñjalka*'s flowers.
- [6.56–57] The *datura* flowers, like nymphs playing on their swings, almost reach the sky, and menace the moon with the beauty of their faces.

- [6.58] Kāma releases the women, chained with pride, and shares his power with the cuckoos.
- [6.59] The bent creepers become the bow of Kāma, who conquers the world.
- [6.60] The wind from the South, Kāma's ally, shows his insolence.
- [6.61] The black bees, clinging to the red flowers of the *ásoka* tree, looks like a patch over the soldiers' wounds.
- [6.62] The breezes of the South play with balls-the coconuts, daggers-the bees, and sand-the pollen.
- [6.63] Bees and flower's corollas look like the Kāma's grindstones to crush the women's pride.
- [6.64] The distant lovers are frightened by Spring's beard (the bees) and by the unleashed elephant which is Kāma.
- [6.65–67] Wind: arrogant, it takes over the men's minds; it looks like a stretched arm seizing the bow, full of calluses (the bees); it is bard of the fragrance of the South, and answers to Spring's authority; it leaves the North and goes South, but then, scared by the snakes on the Malaya mountains, it comes back North.
- [6.69] The bees, staying on the white jasmine flowers, are like causing the eclipse of multiple moons.
- [6.70] Spring adds expenses in the accountants' books through the insertion of new syllables, the black bees.
- [6.71] The heat of the sun becomes more intense.
- [6.72] The troop of jasmine petals and the kettle-drums of bees attack the women of the travelers.
- [6.73] The wind blows from the South to the North carrying the perfume of the trees and the chill embrace of the rivers' waves.
- [6.74] Winter falls asleep, and Spring, celebrated by the bees, anoints his guards.

11.2 Annotated Translation

There, all of a sudden, blossomed
the flower-bannered Season,
friend of Anaṅga's intoxicating honey,
who breaks the vow of fasting of the bees' swarm,
5 [and] ends that bitter curse of the women's pride (6.1)¹

The Sun, the lotus-women's lover,
expanding his body with the harsher heat
of a febrile jealousy,
abandoned the Southern direction
10 who was looking more and more
to [another] young man, the Wind,
friend of the Malaya mountain (6.2)²

Where else, then, if not in the ponds,
appeared before the eyes the lotuses,
15 servants of the faces of the beautiful women of Kashmir,

¹The sixth canto opens with the celebration of Spring, Love's friend and ally par excellence. Mañkha interrupts the syntactically connected structure of the two previous cantos, although verse 6.1 is still connected to both the last verse of the fifth *sarga* (see fn. ad ŚKC 5.57, where spring is mentioned), and to the fourth canto with *atha°* (in the sense of *tatra*, "there" [=] *athagrahaṇam tatraiveti pratipādanārtham* J. comm.), i.e. on mountain Kailāsa. The military metaphors which accompany Vasanta throughout the canto (see § 4.2) are alluded with the name Mañkha gives the season, which is here "flower-bannered" (*puṣpāvacūlaḥ samayo*, i.e. the one who has the flower as its standard-banner, [=] *vasanto* J. comm.). In my translation, I decide to address the figure of Vasanta as a male individual, to maintain Mañkha's personification of Spring (see also the personified Kailāsa in the fourth canto, § 4.2).

Friend...honey] Spring is friend—or, following the military metaphor, allied—of the ardent passion (*°mada°*) of love, i.e. Anaṅga or Kāma. Fasting of the bees' swarm] during the cold season ([=] *śiśire* J. comm.), the absence of flowers causes a lack of food, i.e. nectar, for the bees, which are forced to fast (*°anaśana°*). Curse of...pride] *māna°*, i.e. the pride of the women stops after the winter.

²Lotus-women's lover] *priyo°* i.e. the Sun [=] *nāyakaḥ sūryaḥ* J. comm. Expanding...jealousy] The image plays with the humanization of the Sun, perceived as a jealous lover. In this case, *°tāpam* must be interpreted both as the heat of the sun, which increases during the spring and as the fever of jealousy of a man. Southern direction] *avācīm*, acc. sing. implying *diś*, i.e. the cardinal point of the South, personified as woman [=] *nāyikāṃ* J. comm. To [another] young man, the Wind] *pavanam yuvānam*, i.e. both the newly risen wind of the South and a young man [=] *navavāyumuṃ* and *taruṇam* J. comm. The commentator stresses the fact that the Malaya mountain, on the human side, could play the role of a mighty character, perhaps the protector of the young man-southern wind [=] *mahataḥ kasyacid bandhuṃ taruṇam* J. comm.

as if they were becoming, at once,
the ritual seat of Spring's Lakṣmī? (6.3)³

Spring alone knows the paths
of the six royal policies of the king of passion;
20 the other seasons are not even able
to unfasten the knot on the books of Love (6.4)⁴

The space between the lips—*a trembling petal*;
the tremulous eyebrows—*a garland of quivering black bees*;
the immovable eyes—*fully blown lotuses*:
25 at once Spring stopped, focused
on the composition of a poem on love (6.5)⁵

As if wishing, for a long time, to strain the heat
intensified by her long-lasting friendship
with the ardent-rayed sun,
30 the Southern direction increased her intimacy
with the waves of fresh sandalwood-scented wind (6.6)⁶

³Lotuses] *pañkeruhāṇi*, lit. “mud-growing”, *aluksamāsa* compound. Ritual seat...Lakṣmī] In iconography, the lotuses are related to the goddess Lakṣmī, whose abode consists of these flowers [=] *lakṣmyā padmāsanatvāt. padmeṣv eva vasantalakṣmīr avasad ityarthah* J. comm. In the verse, Lakṣmī is both Spring's wife and his prosperity (see § 4.2).

⁴Six royal policies] °*śāḍguṇya*° [=] *saṁdhivigrahādī*° J. comm., i.e. “peace and war, and so forth”. Reference is here to the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* 7.1–19, where the six policy options are listed and explained, i.e. peace, war, neutrality, march, alliance and dual strategy (see Olivelle 2013, 277). King of passions] *rasapārthivasya*, i.e. the god of love [=] *kāmasya*° J. comm. The knot of the books] *pustakeṣu...granthim* [=] °*tanreṣu* J. comm., i.e. the bandage used to fasten the folios of the manuscripts. As suggested by the commentator, the word *api*, “even”, is used to stress the learning difficulty of the *Kāmasāstra*, i.e. the science of Love [=] *kāmasāstrāvabodho duṣkara iti sūcitam* J. comm.

⁵With a metaphorical identification (*rūpaka*) which occupies the first three *pādas*, Vasanta is identified with a poet, busy with the composition of *kāvya*. Stayed focused] *āsta...°unmukhadhīr*, lit. “stayed with his mind intent on”. Poem on love] *śṛṅgārakāvya*°, i.e. a poetic composition on the power of love (see J. comm. *śṛṅgārakāvye kāmavīryaprabandhe* and *anyaś ca kāvyam kurvann evaṁvidho bhavati*).

⁶The ardent-rayed Sun] °*uṣṇamayūkha*°, i.e. the Sun [=] *sūrya*° J. comm. The fresh wind decreases the burning heat such as the sandalwood paste, and the two are then associated through their refreshing properties. See, for instance, the first chapter of the Cikitsāsthāna section of the *Aṣṭāṅghrdayasaṁhitā* attributed to Vāgbhaṭa, dedicated to the therapeutic use of sandalwood paste in the event of fever, heat or snake bites (AHS 4.15: *viṣamadyotthite gr̥ṣme kṣataḥṣiṇe 'srāpittini | ghanacandanaśuṅṭhyambuparpatośīrasādhitam* || 15 ||). For the refreshing quality of the *candana*, see also ŚKC 4.45.

Along with the tepid sighs of a proud woman,
the day grew, slowly;
at the same time, the night became thin
35 expecting a life in separation (6.7)⁷

During Spring
—a roaring lion, his claws red and wet
for the [red] *palāśa* blossoms—
that elephant of the pride, scared,
40 having released those iron chains
in the guise of trickles of tears [blackened by] the kohl,
ran away from the elephant-women (6.8)⁸

The Southern direction can't give up the Sun,
but this one, [while staying] with her,
45 becomes less and less warm.
Who between the two then
committed injustice against the other?
—*I don't know!* (6.9)⁹

The cuckoos, who were staying extremely deaf-mute
50 during the winter inside the royal gardens,
those very [cuckoos] marvelously became the chief scholars
at the assembly hall of Spring, king of seasons (6.10)¹⁰

⁷A jealous woman] *mānavatī*° [=] *māninī*, i.e. a disdainful woman. At the same time] *sākam*, and not *sārdham* as in the Eds., perhaps a scribal error of anadiplosis for the influence of *sārdham* in the second *pāda*. Night] *niśīthinī* [=] *rātrir* J. comm. Became thin...separation] The night becomes short in springtime, such as the body of a woman when her lover is afar [=] *vasante rātriṣvalpī* J. comm.

⁸Spring a roaring lion] *kaṅṭhīrava*°, lit. “roaring from the throat”, i.e. the lion [=] *kaṅṭhīravaḥ siṃhaḥ* J. comm. The *palāśa* blossoms] The blossoms of the *palāśa* tree [=] *kiṃśuka*° J. comm., i.e. the “flame of the forest” tree (*butea frondosa*), whose flowers are red and therefore associated with the blood on the lion’s claws. Elephant-women] *aṅganābhyaḥ* [=] *hastīstrībhyaḥ*, a possible reference to the *hastinī*, i.e. a traditional category of women, more muscular and dark in complexion.

⁹The Southern direction and the Sun are personified as two lovers, the former too much attached, the latter too cold, as he is about to leave for the North at springtime. Against the other] *parasparam* lit. “a mutual injustice” [=] *anyonyam* J. comm.

¹⁰Cuckoos] *anyapuṣṭāḥ*, lit. “the reared by another”, i.e. the cuckoos as raised by another bird. Chief scholars] °*vidyāpatayāḥ* nom. plur. from *vidyāpati*, i.e. a chief scholar at a king’s court [=] *paṇḍitāḥ* J. comm. Assembly hall of Spring] *vasantasyāsthāne* J. comm. The line could imply a criticism of the Cuckoos-Paṇḍits, who stay silent when time is not in their favor.

With [their] pollen *like raising dust*,
 with the splendor of [their] thick leaves
 55 *like the arrays of chariots' one*,
 and with the cuckoos' chirping tormenting the space,
like extremely riotous war noises,
 [because of these] young mango trees,
 [standing] like the troops of Love,
 60 that Traveler who is the World
 was terrified of Spring (6.11)¹¹

Not even the separated lovers
 could tolerate [these] forests,
 with [their] cuckoos disputing for no reason
 65 [and their] ardor imitated
 by the coarsely-laughing comic actresses (6.12)¹²

The one increases that defect which is lack of perfume,
 the other touches the vow of the poet
 through the qualities of its color:
 70 for whom would not grow the contrast
 between smell and sight
 before the fully blown *karṇikāra*? (6.13)¹³

¹¹The verse explicitly refers to a warlike scenario, with Spring presiding over his chariots and soldiers. Pollen...dust] *rajobhir*. The pollen (*rajas*) of the young mango tree (*bālacūta* [=] *makarandah* J. comm., i.e. a type of perfumed mango tree) is compared to the dust of a battlefield [=] *dhūli*° J. comm. Leaves...chariots] *ghanapatrasobhair*. The brilliance of the mango trees' leaves (*pattra*), on the other hand, resembles the one of the chariots [=] *vāhanānām ca śobhā* J. comm. Cuckoos...war noises] The noises of the cuckoos (*parapuṣṭā* [=] *pikā*° J. comm.) recall the soldiers' loud and roaring sounds ([=] *param atyartham puṣṭair nādaiś* J. comm.) before a battle. That Traveler who is the World] *adhvanyalokaḥ...bibhāya* [=] *pathikaloko bhīto* J. comm.

¹²Could tolerate] *asahyanta*, 3 plur. pass. imp., lit. "the forests were not tolerated by the distant lovers". Arguing] *vaitaṇḍika*°, lit. "a person skilled in disputing", i.e. extremely loud and talkative [=] *bahujaḥpākāḥ* J. comm. For no reason] *akāṇḍa*°, i.e. without any motive, without anyone asking, or when they were not expected to sing, i.e. during the night [=] *tathākāṇḍe rātrāv api* J. comm. Imitated] *śikṣita*°, lit. practiced, exercised. The passionate sounds of the cuckoos are the object of imitation for the comic actresses. Comic actresses of Spring] *vāsantikā*°, f. from *vāsantika*, i.e. the jester in a drama, also called *vidūṣaka* or [=] *mādhavyas* i.e. the (female) flowers of spring. Coarsely-laughing] *procchvasadaṭṭahāsa*, lit. "whose loud laughter was raising".

¹³Defect of lack] *°rora*°, lit. "absence" [=] *°ābhava*° J. comm. (see also Schmidt 1928, 314). The editors of the editio princeps specify in footnote: *roraśabdo dāridryavācakaḥ*. "pātreṣu roraśikhibhāgiṣu" *iti Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 5 / 15., lit. "the word 'rora' means poverty of, lack of". I was not able to trace the locus in Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

This cuckoo, [once] unable to learn anything,
 not even [if] trained by the most excellent women,
 75 now, [at springtime], playing in the royal gardens,
 achieves the most perfect eloquence (6.14)¹⁴

With [her] lattice-like limbs
 having the clusters of blossoms
 pushed out from the middle [of each hole]
 80 [and] expanding in the form of burning torches,
 even at the end of the winter,
 the creeper on the *aśoka* tree
 became Love's portable fireplace (6.15)¹⁵

Contrast...fully blown *karṇikāra*] The *karṇikāra*'s flowers are said to be beautiful in color but odorless, such as in Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava* 3.26: *varṇaprakarṣe sati karṇikāraṃ dunoti nirgandatayā sma cetah | prāyeṇa sāmāgryavidhau guṇānāṃ prāṇmukhī viśvasrjaḥ pravṛttiḥ*. Slaje (2015, 12) translates *karṇikāra* with "Lotusblütensamenkapsel", i.e. the yellow pericarp of a lotus, which is without perfume and yet object of poetic imagination.

The verse was so popular in Jonarāja's time that the poet became known with the name of *karṇikāra*-Mañkha [=] *iti karṇikāramañkha iti prasiddhiḥ* J. comm. (Slaje 2015, 12 and Warder 2004, 84). The practice of attributing a poet a sobriquet based on its most effective verse is not unknown in Indian classical poetry, where we find various examples, such as *dīpaśikhā*-Kālidāsa (torch-flame-Kālidāsa, see RaghV 6.67), *ghaṇṭā*-Māgha (bell-Māgha, see ŚV 4.20) (Lienhard 1984, 35–36), and *ātapatra*-Bhāravi (parasol-Bhāravi, see KA 5.39, Peterson 2016, 393). See also the editors' footnote ad ŚKC 6.13: *etacchvekanirmāṇādeva mañkhasya 'karṇikāramañkha' iti nāma jātam. evam eva tattadapūrvakalpanāyuktaślekanirmaṇāt dīpaśikhākālidāsaḥ, cchatrabhāraviḥ, ghaṇṭāmāghaḥ, tālaratnākaraḥ, yamunātrivikramaḥ, ityadi viśiṣtanāmāni kavinām jātanīti jñeyam.*

¹⁴ The most excellent women] *varāṅganābhiḥ* [=] *varā uttamā* J. comm. The women, although they are excellent in courtly practices, cannot train the parrots (*upādhyāyakarmaṇi nīpunā* J. comm.) during the winter. The commentator proposes the variant *pura°* for *vara°* [=] *'purāṅganābhiḥ' iti vā pāṭhaḥ*, i.e. the "educated city women, the courtesans" as opposed to the "rustic girls of the villages" [=] *nagarastrībhiḥ | na tu grāmyābhir ityarthah*, which correspond to the reading of some manuscripts. The most perfect eloquence] *siddhasārasvatatām*, i.e. the most perfect eloquence, or "the eloquence of a Siddha", a supernatural being [=] *siddham svayaṃ niṣpannam na tu sādhyam sarasvatīsambandhi vāgbhavakauśalam yasya tadbhāvam prapede* J. comm., i.e. he obtained the state of the one whose skillfulness in speech is connected to Sarasvatī (the goddess of eloquence), which is established, self-generated and not attainable.

¹⁵ Lattice-like limbs...in the very middle] *°gavākṣita°*, lit. furnished with holes, perforated [=] *gavākṣitāni jālayuktāny aṅgāni* J, i.e. the limbs are like a net (*jāla*), i.e. they have a reticulated texture. Her] Connected to the female subject *°vallis*, the creeper. The red blossoms of the *Aśoka* tree (*kañkellī°*) peek out from its creeper (*°vallis*) and resemble the fire ([=] *agnijvālārūpatvena* J. comm.) which is visible under the perforated texture of a portable fireplace, the *hasantikā°* [=] [*aṅgāra*] *śakaṭika°* J. comm., i.e. the *kangri*, a closed perforated brazier, which can be carried around during the winter. See also verse 3.29: "as a brazier (*hasantikā*), which is full of holes

When Love, through the playful flapping of his wings,
 85 cast [his] arrows to dispel the pride of all the young [lovers]
and Memory, through the joyous gesturing [to support] his own view,
brandished [its] argumentation to refute the arrogance of all the young [rivals],
 [then] the erudition of the cuckoo-*paṇḍit*,
 who shows [this way] his excellence, became complete (6.16)¹⁶

90 The pollen of the *aśoka* tree,
 which reddened the trunk
 of that elephant which is Love,
 pervaded the worlds;
 [because of that,] this one,
 95 dissipating that obscurity
 which is the angry women's pride,
 raised arrogant against the tepid morning sun (6.17)¹⁷

The *aśoka* tree, *which does not experience pain,*
 for its proximity to those tawny vests
 100 of the groups of *monk-like sumanas* flowers
 which were densely expanding *in their uninterrupted proselytism,*
 accepted the vow of a mendicant,
 as if to teach the minds of the travelers
 the illusory nature [of things] (6.18)¹⁸

(°*chidra*°), from which [the flames] flicker" (my transl. of Slaje 2015, 101). See also Gomez 2016, 9, and Lawrence 1967, 250 (see § 3).

¹⁶Love] *smare* loc. abs. [=] *kāme* J. comm. Arrows...wings] *hetau* intended as loc. f. from *heti* [=] *āyudham* J. comm., i.e. the cuckoo's wings (°*svapakṣa*°), agitated, cast their feathers around and resemble Kāma's flying arrows. Pride] *mānaṃ* [=] *vanitopekṣāṃ* J. comm., i.e. the pride of the women. Memory] *smare*. His own view] *svapakṣa*° [=] *svapakṣe parapakṣād* J. comm., i.e. one's opinion as opposed to another's, often used in philosophical treatises and debates. Argumentation] *hetau* intended as loc. m. from *hetu*, i.e. logical reasoning. Arrogance] *mānaṃ* [=] *kasyacit paṇḍitānāṃ mānaṃ* J. comm., i.e. the arrogance of other young—thus inexperienced—paṇḍits.

¹⁷Raised arrogant...sun] *bālātapāhaṃkṛtim āruroha*, lit. grew in his arrogance, i.e. competing, against the newly risen sun.

¹⁸The vow of a mendicant] *bhikṣuvratam* [=] *bhikṣuvrataṃ śākyadarśananirdiṣṭam ācāram iva jagrāha* J. comm., i.e. the Buddhists (*śākyadarśana*°). Illusory nature] *śūnyatvam* or *śūnyatā*. According to the Buddhist school of Nāgārjuna, things are devoid of essential nature—therefore, they are empty (*śūnya*)—as they are nothing but conceptual constructs, thus illusory. For *śūnyatā* as Buddhist concept, see also ŚKC 17.25.

105 The splendor of Smara's eyes, glittering as if reddened
by the fury of a woman whose lover is afar,
having reached the foliage, shone forth on [the leaves],
freed, there, from theft of the praise
of the [red] tip of the parrots' beaks (6.19)¹⁹

110 A repetition of syllables
in Kāma's *praśasti*,
[or] a handful of seeds
of the [poisonous] *hālāhala* plant
for the distant lovers:

115 this black bees row shone forth,
an emerald garland, necklace for the creepers (6.20)²⁰

Truly the black bees
turned into the nights' sawdust
chopped off by the saw of Spring:
120 if not like this, how else could they enforce
that new prescription of blindness
for the sight of the travelers' wives? (6.21)²¹

Taking up the roles of Love's backbiters,
[those] black bees, which are growing bolder
125 [in their] plundering the nectar-treasures

¹⁹Smara's eyes] The courtly metaphor proceeds with the enraged king Kāma, whose wrath is addressed to the parrots-thieves [=] *steneṣu ca kraddhā rājadṛṣṭiḥ patati* J. comm. Unrestrained theft] °*steya*° [=] *steyaṃ haraṇam* J. comm., the act of taking, stealing. Praises...beaks] The parrots are scared away by Kāma's glance and therefore leave the foliage of the *aśoka* tree, which is the subject of the previous two verses. In this manner, their red beaks cannot distract the poet (or whoever is praising) from the original subject of the praise, the red glances of the enamored women [=] *yataḥ śukānām agracañcoś cañcagrasya raktatvena yā stutis tasyāḥ steyaṃ haraṇam; palāśānām naisargikaḥ raktatvaṃ nāsti, kiṃ tu māninīkrodhāruṇā kāmasya dṛṣṭiḥ palāśeṣu patitā* J. comm.

²⁰Syllables] °*akṣara*°, the black syllable as in a written text. Seeds of the poisonous...plant] °*hālāhala*°, plant of which the seeds (or poison-drops) are black. The commentator proposes another meaning of the word *hālāhala*, i.e. suffering, pain [=] *athavā hālāhalaśabdena duḥkham lakṣyate* J. comm.

²¹Nights' sawdust...saw of Spring] *śalkam niśānām*, i.e. the powder of the nights [=] *śalkam cūrṇam* J. comm. In this case, the powder is the one produced while sawing a tree. In this case, the trees are the vernal nights, which are chopped by the saw (°*krakaca*°) of Spring and therefore they become shorter [=] *kṣatānām tanūkṛtānām rātrīnām* J. comm. Blindness...wives] The black bees-sawdust enters the women's eyes and blinds them [=] *chūrṇam eva hi dṛṣṭer āndhyaṃ karoti* J. comm.

of hundreds of *sumanas*,
had the [innocent] travelers imprisoned (6.22)²²

Night after night, Spring,
the emperor of seasons,
130 removed the obstacle [for the tears]
in the eyes of the travelers' lovers,
with [his] earth made exceptional by the Moon
through the brightness of its rays;
[at the same time]
135 he removed the obstacle [to the rains]
by sprinkling [his] reign
with the *prasāda* of cow-milk
performed by the chief of the Brahmins (6.23)²³

Sprinkling around the water-drops
140 of melting snow
[and] prolonging the cuckoos' cooing,
why at that time would the earth provoke
the crying of the women

²²Backbiters] °*karṇejapa*° [=] *piśuna*° J. comm., lit. “the ones who whisper at the ears”, i.e. someone who spread false rumours at the expense of someone else. *rājño 'gre paiśunam* J. comm., i.e. saying malignities in the presence of the king. Growing bolder] *dhairyam adhītavantaḥ*, lit. “which are learning their boldness”, *dhairyam* [=] *dhṛṣṭabhāvaṃ* J. comm., i.e. how to be bold, or confident. Plundering the nectar-treasury] *viluptakośāḥ*, lit. “having the nectar-vessel [of the flowers] plundered” [=] *koṣo makarando* J. comm. Had...imprisoned] *acikaran nigraham* [=] *nigrahaṃ kārayanti* J. comm., lit. “made the imprisonment, imprisoned”. The verse is complicated by the double nature of such imprisonment, which is both mental and material. In the first case, we need to interpret *nigrahaṃ* as punishment, i.e. the recollection of pain which is derived from seeing the bees plundering the flowers [=] *panthānām duḥkhānubhavarūpaṃ nigrahaṃ* J. comm. In the second case, a courtly metaphor is implied, i.e. the black bees are falsely accusing the travelers of the treasure plundering they committed, and have the king send them to jail. To be noted is the word °*kośāḥ* commented with °*gañjāḥ* in J. comm., which corresponds to Persian *ganj*, treasury, and to Kashmiri *ganj*, m. (see Grierson 1932, 292), a store or treasure. See editors' footnote “*luṅṭhitakośāḥ*” ad J. comm. *hr̥tagañjā*.

²³The Moon] *dvijādhirajena* [=] *candreṇa* J. comm. The brightness of its rays] *prasādāt* [=] *nairmalyād* J. comm. and *gavām* [=] *raśmīnām* J. comm. The time-connector is not present in the text. I chose to insert it in the translation to distinguish more effectively the two images contained in the verse. Obstacle to the rains] *avagrāham* [=] *varṣapratibandhaṃ* J. comm., i.e. the obstacle which causes the lack of rain, i.e. the dry season. With the *prasāda* of cow-milk] *prasādāt*, i.e. libation, offering, and *gavām* [=] *dhenūnām* J. comm. The chief of the Brahmins] *dvijādhirajena* [=] *brahmaṇareṇa* J. comm.

whose lover is afar? (6.24)²⁴

145 Flying at the side of [his] true friend
[and] waving around and above [him]
rapidly, for a long time,
the line of bees shaped its very own body
as if to offer the mango tree

150 an *ārātrika* ceremony (6.25)²⁵

To destroy the pride of which men
would not suffice [that] intoxicating Madhu,
through the union of the new ministry of Madana,
the sole conqueror of everything,

155 with the swarms of angry stares
of the waving bees' garland? (6.26)²⁶

With its limbs fully covered in flowers
and the buzzing of a compact swarm of bees,
the projecting *campaka* tree in the pleasant forests
160 looked like the lifted leg of Caitra's Śrī
engaged in the dance
with the resounding ornament of [her] anklet (6.27)²⁷

Praised by the black bees,
guests of the blossomed flowers,

²⁴Prolonging] *dairghyaṃ nayantī* [=] *dīrgho kurvanti* J. comm. Provoke] *vyadhitopadeśam*, lit. "gave the example, served as a model, instructed".

²⁵True friend] *nirupādhibandhoś*, i.e. a friend who does not want anything in return [=] *upakāraṃ vinā* J. comm. An *ārātrika* ceremony] the bees are moving before the mango tree as if it were the idol for whom the *ārātrika* was performed. The *ārātrika* ceremony consist of waving lights before the statue of a god, in this case the shiny luster of the bees themselves.

²⁶Men] *keśāṃ* [=] *yatinām api* J. comm., i.e. of everybody, even the pride of the ascetics [=] *sarveṣāṃ mānakhaṇḍanaṃ karoti* J. comm. Madhu] lit. "sweet", i.e. Spring [=] *dr̥pto vasanto* J. comm. New ministry of Madana] *navyasācivya* [=] *kāmasya navamantritvād* J. comm., i.e. the alliance between Vasanta and Kāma, who makes him his counselor. Swarms of angry stares] lit. "groups of frowns", i.e. the frowning eyebrows which appear through the waving lines of bees [=] *bhramarapaṅktayas tā eva bhrukūṭiccatās* J. comm.

²⁷Lifted leg] For *daṇḍapādaḥ*, see fn. ad ŚKC 5.18 and § 4.2. Caitra's Śrī] *caitraśriyo* [=] *caitralakṣmyāḥ* J. comm., i.e. the female wife of Spring, his splendor and wealth. Resounding] *niḥsvana* [=] *śiñjat*° J. comm. The flowers on the *campaka* tree attract the bees which resound like an anklet shaken during the dance [=] *yataḥ puṣpair āvṛtāny aṅgāni yasya, tathā ata eva nibhṛtabhramaraśabdaḥ* J. comm.

- 165 the *tilaka* tree shone,
as if the morbidly craving glances
of the deer-eyed women
had smeared, [there],
[their] black kohl (6.28)²⁸
- 170 With blossoming flowers
the young men started
stringing garlands
for the lovely-eyed women;
there, Kāma, the flower-armed,
175 shot [his] arrows: no need for a bow (6.29)²⁹

With the women stamping their feet [on it],
the *aśoka* trunk, arsenal of the flower-arrowed Kāma,
was as if provided with a vermilion seal
for the transferred splendor of the fresh lac unguent (6.30)³⁰

²⁸Tilaka tree] *tilaka*° [=] *tilakadrumaḥ* J. comm. I chose to translate the second half-verse with the verb in active tense, lit. “as if the distribution of [their] kohl was placed on [there] by the lustful glances of the deer-eyed women. In this case, the glances—or the touch—cast by the women over the *tilaka* are causing the blossoming of the tree’s flowers [=] *vikāśopāyabhūtā ye dr̥ṣṭipātāḥ kaṭākṣās...tilakataror varanārikaṭākṣair dohada iti prasiddhiḥ* J. comm. Cfr. the editors’ footnote, which reports two similar verses. The first one is contained in Rādhākāntadeva’s *Śabdakalpadruma*, listed under the entry “*aśokaḥ*”: *pādāhataḥ pramadayā vikasatyaśokaḥ śokaḥ jahāti vakulo mukhasīdhusiktaḥ*. I was not able to find any reference to the second one (*ālingitaḥ kurabakaḥ kurute vikāsam ālokitastilaka utkaliko vibhāti*). For the word *dohada* as pregnancy-cravings see ŚKC 3.9 (Gomez 2016, 29 fn. 131), as well as for the image of the bees as guests: *sarojātithibhr̥ṅga*°.

²⁹Started] *prārebhire*, pf. 3 plu. ātm. from *prā* + *√rabh*. Stringing garlands] *ābharanaprayogaḥ* [=] *bhūṣaṇakaraṇād* J. comm., lit. “the joining together of ornaments”. Lovely-eyed women] *vāmadr̥śāṃ* [=] *ramaṇinām* J. comm. No need for a bow] *vinā karmukakarmasiddhiḥ* lit. “without the action of [his] bow”. I chose to turn the second half-verse to the active tense. Lit: “the liberation of arrows of the flower-armed was accomplished without the action of his bow”.

³⁰Stamping their feet] *padā* [=] *caraṇena* J. comm., lit. “through the women whose feet were hitting [it]”, i.e. the feet of the women are pressing the *aśoka*’s tree. Trunk] *tanūr* [=] *tanuḥ mūrtiḥ* J. comm., lit. “the body of the *aśoka*”, female as *Amarakośa* specifies (AK 2.5.671): ‘*striyām mūrtis–tanus–tanūḥ*’ *iti koṣaḥ* J. comm. Vermilion seal] *sindūramudrā*, i.e. a seal employed to close the doors of an armory hall, the °*astrāśālā* [=] *astrāśālāyām hi sindūramudrānyāso yuktaḥ* J. comm. The commentator suggests another interpretation: the subject *tanūḥ* is connected through the verb *cakre* to °*astrāśālā*, i.e. the body of the tree is made Kāma’s armoury by the stamping of women’s feet, and thus it is as if equal to the red-flowered *sindūra* tree. [=] *athavā padā ghnatibhiḥ strībhir aśokatanūḥ kāmāstrāśālā cakre iti yojyam | ata evālaktaśleṣāt sa sindūreveti ca yojyam* J. comm. Splendor] °*ṭaṅkāṭ* [=] *ṭaṅko bhaṅgis* J. comm., lit. “curvature”, i.e. charm. For *ṭaṅka* as *śobhā* see verses 2.11 and 12.59.

180 Since the giggling lotus-eyed woman
stamped their feet, jingling for the ankle-bells,
on the *aśoka* tree,
easily, then, this one really stomped
on the head—oh!—of all the other trees (6.31)³¹

185 After he created, out of banana leaves,
a bed of *darbha* grass
for the distant lovers who were lying
with their eyes half-closed,
the male cuckoo, chief of the birds,
190 sung [their] requiem (6.32)³²

Of whom, then, that thriving brigand called Spring
would not block the journey?
The sighs of the group of distant lovers, however,
kept traveling [up and down their] throats, for a long time (6.33)³³

195 The sprinkling of water expanded the charm
of the disdainful women-creepers;
but then—oh!—the contact with the stream of tears
smeared the unguent drawings
over [their] two cheeks (6.34)³⁴

³¹As in the previous verse, the *aśoka* tree blossoms at the touch of the women's feet [=] *pādāghā-tatphullaḥ* J. comm. Stomp on the heads] *cakre...mūrdhni padaṃ*, lit. "set foot upon the heads", i.e. became the best of all tree because fully blossomed.

³²A bed...leaves] *rambhādaladarbhaśayyām* [=] *kadalīpatradarbhāstaraṇam* J. comm., i.e. a layer of *darbha* or *kuśa* grass used for sacrificial purposes, which has been substituted here by banana leaves to serve the same function. Who were lying] *niṣeduṣiṇām* gen. fem. pl. pt. pass., *ni + √ṣad + vas*, fem. *ni + √ṣed + uṣa/ī*. With their eyes half-closed] i.e. as if dead. The male cuckoo...time of death] *puṃskokilenādhijage 'ntakālaḥ*, lit. "the time of death was sung by the male cuckoo" [=] *antakālo gīyate* J. comm. The line can be interpreted as follows: the the time of death is accompanied by the recitation of mantras (*mantrair* J. comm.) by the Brahmins (*dvija* [=] *brāhmaṇena* J. comm.) for the ones who desire to die (*mumūrṣor* J.), with their eyes half-closed and sitting or lying above the *darbha* grass ([=] *darbhōpariniveśitasya* J. comm.). The verse possibly refers to the first stages of funerary rites (*antyeṣṭi*), during which the body of the deceased is laid on a bed of *dharba* grass straws and *mantras* are recited by the officiant (for an example of the practice in early Śaiva scriptures, see Mirnig 2018, 60 fn. 63).

³³Powerful] *udbhūṣṇunā*, adj. from *bhūṣṇu*, i.e. growing, thriving [=] *balavatā* J. comm. Plunderer] *ṭhakena*. lit. "by that plunderer" [=] *haṭhamaṣakeṇa* J. comm., i.e. a thief who robs with violence, see § 3. Kept traveling up and down] *cakrur...gatāgatāni*, lit. "the actions of going and coming back", i.e. travel without restrictions.

³⁴Unguent drawings] *patravallīḥ* acc. fem. pl. [=] *kapollikhitāḥ pattralatā* J. comm., i.e. the *patrabhaṅga*, a decoration made with unguent on the cheeks. See also the marginalia in Ms.

200 Cast in the distance by the Moon,
the rays, having disclosed the cloud-curtains,
unlocked the doors of Death’s palace
for the men whose lover is afar (6.35)^{B5}

The group of eyes of the lovely-browed [women],
205 sitting next to their male friends
[and] about to interrupt the study of pride’s tenacity
had learned the traditional knowledge [of love], a game (6.36)^{B6}

Gentle the wind, limpid the sky,
pleasant the waters, mild the heat,
210 fresh the earth—oh!
Truly this extraordinary heroic Lakṣmī of Spring
was the one who provoked such transformation
in all the living entities! (6.37)^{B7}

With [his] extremely dark luster
215 [and] drunk of the flowers’ nectar,
he certainly enjoyed [the company]
of the blooming creepers:
such a bee—oh!—Caitra appointed

B₂, which comments *patravallīḥ* with *makarikā*, namely figures of crocodiles or sea-monsters drawn in gold dust on the women’s cheeks (for the term in epigraphy, see Sircar 1966, 193).

³⁵Moon] *atigmbhāsā* [=] *candreṇa* J. comm., lit. “the not hot-rayed one”, i.e. not the sun, but the moon. Unlocked the doors] °*dhānīm apāvṛtadvārapuṭām pracakruḥ*, lit. “made the abode having the keyhole of [its] door open” [=] *dvārapidhānām* J. comm., i.e. the door-bolt.

³⁶Next to their male friends] *dayita*° [=] *dayitānām* J. comm. I interpret the adjective as m. gen. pl., i.e. the male lovers, even though Jonarāja seems to change the gender of these friends, who become the “female friends” of the women in the second part of the commentary (dayitayā ramanyā (em.), dayitayā ramanyā Eds.). Traditional knowledge] °*kulavidyam*. The term *kulavidyā*, normally fem., is here a *bahuvrihi* compound with the neuter °*cakravālam* (lit. the group). The traditional knowledge is nothing but the play of love, which consists, as the commentator suggests, in the sidelong glances cast by the group of women to their male lovers-to-be [=] *ramaṇanikaṭe laṭabhāḥ kaṭākṣavikṣepaṃ cakrur ityarthah* J. comm. Game] °*lilākulavidyam* [=] *lilaiva kulavidyā yena* J. comm. The mention of the group of women intent on learning a *kulavidyā* and the word *cakra* used in this context echoes the clan-knowledge of the Tantric *yoginīs*. For a study of the *kulavidyā* and *kulavidyā mantras* with reference to the *yoginīs*, see, for instance, Hatley 2019, 20–22.

³⁷Extraordinary...Lakṣmī] *kācana śauryalakṣmīś* [=] *yā śauryalakṣmīr...sā kācana lokottarā* J. comm. In this case, heroism is the ability to make the earth—and thus, the kingdom—fertile, which is Lakṣmī’s prerogative. See § 4.2.

to the rank of chief priest
220 in Kāma's kingdom! (6.38)³⁸

Spreading a spotless beam of rays
as if cleansed by the streams of tears
of the travelers' women,
the Moon, his face smiling,
225 took up the challenge
of the Murala women (6.39)³⁹

Bereft of giving and receiving
because of the previous season,
[the Winter] miser of flowers,
230 how many games would not continually learn
this one, the black bee,
during the [time of] great opulence
of the *kiñjalka* tree? (6.40)⁴⁰

Measured the fire of his ardor
235 with the one of the *aśoka* trees,
whose [once] inert nectar
was scattered in all directions,
the fish-bannered Kāma,

³⁸Dark luster] *malīmasaśrīr* [=] *malīmasātīkṛṣṇā śrīr* J. comm. The extremely dark complexion of the bee determines its young age [=] *taruṇa ityarthah* J, as all things when they grow old lose their color [=] *vṛddhatve hi svasvavarṇāpacayo bhavati* J. comm. Caitra] Vasanta, i.e. Spring. Chief priest] *purodhāḥ* [=] *purohitaḥ* J. comm. The commentator notes that the expression *bata* indicates the surprise of having a drunkard and philanderer as the chief priest of a kingdom. Kāma's] *puṣpeṣu*° [=] *puṣpeṣoḥ kāmasya* J. comm.

³⁹Took up the challenge] *sāpatnakam ālalambe* [=] *spardhām jagrāha* J. comm., and [=] *ataḥ sāpatnakaśabdaḥ spardhāvācī* J. comm. The passage is not clear. The Moon is usually personified as a man, the husband of the *ośadhis*, while in this case it seems to be identified as a clear-faced woman, whose bright complexion competes with that of the Murala's women, i.e. those from the South of India known for their beauty [=] *muralanāmajanapada*° J. comm. For a reference of Murala as the epitome of beauty from the South in *kāvya*, see also Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* chapter 17. Renou (1946, 246) comments "[Murala] is identical to Kerala, or, more precisely, to the region on the banks of the Muralā". For a reference to the South and the women of Kerala see also ŚKC 6.60.

⁴⁰Giving and receiving] *saṃkocita + āyavyaya*, lit. the jabbing and countering during the fight, where *saṃkocita* is a manner of fighting and *āyavyaya* consists in striking and receiving blows. The image works with the following mention of the games (*lilāḥ* [=] *kriḍāḥ* J. comm.) played by the bee during springtime. Perhaps em. *saṃkocita*° Eds. with *saṃkucita*°, but *saṃkocita*° is present in J. comm. as well.

absorbed into his deep pride,
240 did not consider the worlds
as something worthless (6.41)⁴¹

That breeze, born under that king
which is the sandalwood mountain,
[and] Spring's first bodyguard,
245 rising up through the wind of sighs
of the women whose lover is afar,
magnified himself (6.42)⁴²

As if stealing it from the surface of the cheeks
of the travelers' [weak] women,
250 as usual performing the vow of paleness,
Caitra was distributing
that light, thief of the shining golden color,
on the young *campaka* trees (6.43)⁴³

Writing into *sūtras* [his] new rule of friendship
255 with the winds, experts in gallantry,

⁴¹Measuring] *kr̥ta*°...*sūtrapātaḥ*, i.e. to apply the cord for measurements, measure, compare (+ \sqrt{kr}) [=] *āsūtraṇikā* J. comm. The measure of Kāma's red ardor is based on the red pollen of *āsoka*'s flowers. Once inert] °*svāpa*° [=] *svāpe samkoce* J. comm., i.e. the nectar (*rasa*) of the flowers, during the time of sleep (*svāpe*) i.e. when it is still contracted (*samkoce*) or enclosed in the buds of the flowers. Worthless] *tr̥ṇāya* lit. "a blade of grass", i.e. he did not look down on the worlds [considering them] a blade of grass [=] *tr̥ṇavadanādarāṇi yāny akarod ityarthah* J. comm. The dative *tr̥ṇāya* is justified by Jonarāja with a *sūtra* from Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (2.3.17): '*manyakarmani-*' *iti caturthī* J. comm., i.e. when the verb \sqrt{man} is used to indicate contempt, the dative case (*caturthī* J. comm.) is optionally used for the object (of that verb), provided that this object is inanimate (*tr̥ṇāya* in the verse).

⁴²Sandalwood mountain] The Malaya in the South [=] *malayaparvatāt* J. comm. Bodyguard] *aṅgarakṣaḥ* [=] *śarīrarakṣitā* or *prāṇarakṣako* J. comm., i.e. the protector or guard of a king. Spring] *smerena*, see marginal note in B₂, which comments the instr. with *vasantena*. Raising up] *pratyudgato* [=] *pratyutthāno* J. comm., lit. "standing up, rise against", in this case the wind is increased by the sighs of the anguished women. Magnified himself] *gauravam āsasāda* [=] *gauravam mahatvam prāpa* J. comm., lit. "increased his greatness", i.e. became stronger. Jonarāja connects the line to the real-life figure of the king's protector, who is "first", i.e. honorable, and therefore respectable [=] *saṃmānena hi sarvasya vṛddhir bhavati. rājñās ca prāṇarakṣako gauravam mānyatām prāpnoti* J. comm.

⁴³Cheeks] *kapolamūlāt*, lit. "from the surface of the cheeks" [=] *gaṇḍataṭād* J. comm. As usual performing] *ācarīṣṇoḥ*, abl. m. sing. connected to abl. m. (or n.) sing. °*mūlāt*°. *ā* + \sqrt{car} with suffix *-iṣṇu*, which, according to Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.2.136, can be added to the root \sqrt{car} to denote habit. Caitra] i.e. the first month of Spring. Light...thief] *rucam...caurim* [=] *caurim rucam dīptim* J. comm. Campaka trees] A type of magnolia with golden-yellow flowers.

the god himself, triumphing over the whole world,
became [its] enamored regent (6.44)⁴⁴

At springtime, when the garlands of bees
[are] the image of the smoke of Smara's fire,
260 [and] the mango-scented wind
blows impregnated with pollen,
the tears were [running] easily in the lotus-eyes
of the travelers' lovers (6.45)⁴⁵

The forests shone bright,
265 with their leaves wildly shaking
for to the dexterity of Caitra's wind,
as if they were scolding, outraged,
even the seers' mind
which thought itself to be superior (6.46)⁴⁶

270 When the round-limbed creepers
playfully fetched [their] dark whisks
a mass of restless black bees,
[then] the throat of the young cuckoos
became the king of *rāgas*
275 intent on the gift [of speaking]
during the assembly (6.47)⁴⁷

⁴⁴Rule of friendship] *sāptapadīnatantram* [=] *sakhyam* J. comm., i.e. friendship acknowledged after seven steps. Expert in gallantry] *dakṣiṇya*, i.e. courtly manners. I follow Jonarāja and emend °*dakṣaḥ* with °*dakṣair* [=] *dakṣair marudbhiḥ* J. comm. If related to the southern winds, the word *dakṣiṇya* evokes the term *dākṣiṇa*, lit. “relating to the South” [=] *dakṣiṇadig*° J. comm. Triumphant] *gaṇḍūṣita*° pt. from den. *gaṇḍūṣa*, lit. “having the victory over the world sipped up”, i.e. obtained with facility.

⁴⁵Were running easily] *sulabho babhūva*, lit. “were easy”, i.e. the women were crying more easily because of the smoke and the pollen irritating their eyes.

⁴⁶Wildly shaking] *tāṇḍavita*° [=] *capalatvena nr̥ttapravṛttās* J. comm., lit. “dancing”, i.e. trembling, agitating. Scolding] *tarjayanti*. The movements of the leaves remind of someone moving their index finger left and right, in a gesture of denial or contempt, as if to scold [=] *yaś ca tarjanām karoti so 'ṅgulyādikaṃ taralayati* J. comm. Mind] *mano*, acc. n. sing. in the Eds., perhaps to be emended with *mānam* as in J. comm. [=] *munimāno 'pi*.

⁴⁷Whisks...bees] °*cāmarāsu*, the whisks shaken before the public of an assembly, which, on the natural side, is nothing but a swarm of bees. King of *rāgas*] *rāgarājaḥ*, i.e. the king of melodies (*rāga*). Jonarāja possibly misinterprets the term *rāgarājaḥ* and seems to think of the fifth *rāga* [=] *rāgarājaḥ pañcamākhyo rāgo* J. comm. In this case, however, the king of music is clearly the cuckoo's throat (*kaṇṭhaḥ*). Alternatively: the throat of the cuckoo really became Kāma, king of passion (*rāga*). See Schmidt 1928, 311 and ŚKC 6.58.

The golden creation of an exquisite canto,
 whose perfumed sweetness was repeated
 by the rows of *campaka* trees,
 280 was composed, little by little, by Caitra,
 who became—oh!—the *mahākavi*
 of the splendid description
 of an extraordinary universe (6.48)⁴⁸

As if each one of their members
 285 was carrying the luster
 of Kandarpa's unsheathed sword,
 the group of nectar-drinking bees,
 [royal guards] at the court
 of the mango tree fragrance
 290 increased their usual yelling (6.49)⁴⁹

With [his] kingdom equally distributed
 among the wind of the sandalwood mountain,
 the moon, king of the night,
 [and] the male cuckoos,
 295 [Spring,] the proud king of the seasons,
 inevitably made this world
 the enjoyable possession
 of that hero who is Smara (6.50)⁵⁰

⁴⁸Golden creation...exquisite canto] *suvarṇasargaḥ* [=] *sargaḥ sṛṣṭiś* J. comm. for the natural side of the verse, and *kavinā ca suvarṇaḥ sargaḥ* J. comm. for the image of Spring as poet. Perfume...fame] °*saurabhya*° [=] °*saugandhyam* J. comm. for the perfume of the flowers and [=] *sugandhi* J. comm. Splendid description] °*ullekha*° [=] *prajñollāsas* J. comm., i.e. that flashy poetic intuition which brings to the description of an unprecedented (*navina*° [=] *apūrva* J. comm.) world (*jagattraya*°).

⁴⁹Luster] °*dhāmnā* [=] *tejasā* J. comm., i.e. splendor, the shining of the bees and of a sword. Guards] *sabhyah*, lit. “the men staying in the *sabhā*”. I follow Jonarāja's commentary which consider the bees as Kāma's guards [=] *kāmaprānarakṣatvaṃ* J. comm. The commentator justifies his interpretation with the blackness of the bees, which have the same color of the god's sword and, by nature, carry weapons for his defense [=] *rājñās ca prānarakṣakaḥ khaṅgādikaṃ śāstram uddhṛtam* J. comm. Increased...yelling] *jalpākatotsekam iyāya*, lit. “undertook a surplus of noise”, i.e. they became louder.

⁵⁰Distributed] °*pravibhakta*° [=] *vibhāgena dattam* J. comm. The commentator seems to read *rājyam* (acc.) instead of *rājyah* (nom.) as in the Eds. If we follow Jonarāja's commentary, the noun *rājyam* must be referred to *jagat* (acc. n. sing.) and to *bhogyam* (acc. n. sing.), i.e. the world has its kingdom assigned to various kings. The manuscripts, however, agree on the from *rājyah*. Proud] According to Jonarāja's first interpretation, the adjective *sagarvaḥ* must

- The [yellow] *campaka* flower,
 300 blossomed just a little,
 [and] with its vessel filled with large black bees,
 looked like a golden inkwell
 prepared for the manuscript
 of Smara's royal edicts (6.51)⁵¹
- 305 A bee was inhabiting the buds of the *kiṃśuka* tree,
 saffron unguent drawings of Spring's Śrī,
 and thanks to [their] dense pollen
 it performed an entire sequence
 of the *prāṇāgnihotra* (6.52)⁵²
- 310 With his trunk surrounded by nets of bees
 attracted by [his] freshly blossomed flowers,
 the *kuraba* tree gleamed,
 as if it [was smeared over]
 by the nipple musk-unguent,

be connected with the subject of the verse, i.e. the king of seasons [=] *sagarvaḥ sāhaṃkāro ṛtupatir* J. comm. The commentator, however, proposes a variant: '*sagarvasmaravīrabhogyam' ity ekapadatayā paṭhe pravibhaktam iti karmakartari ktaḥ*, i.e. *sagarva* must be read as part of the compound and related to Smara, who is proud, and the compound is the object of the past participle *pravibhaktam*. The meaning of the line would change in this sense: Spring makes the world the enjoyable possession of that proud hero who is Smara, [world] whose kingdom has been equally distributed among wind, moon, and cuckoos. Enjoyable possession] '*bhogyam*, lit. "the object of enjoyment". Smara] Kāma.

⁵¹Blossomed just a little] *iṣadunmeṣavac°* [=] *iṣadvikāse* J. comm., i.e. the flower's bud at the beginning of his blooming, not completely open. Inkwell] *maṣībhāṇḍam* [=] *maṣīdhānam* J. comm., i.e. the container for black ink (*maṣi* or *maṣī*). Manuscript...royal edicts] *śāsanalekha°* [=] *ājñālekhā* J. comm., lit. "the writing of royal edicts". See Michaels 2010, 63–64.

⁵²The buds...saffron unguent drawings] *kuṅkumapaṭṭrabhaṅgān...°kuḍmalāni*, i.e. unguent drawings on body and face. Spring's Śrī] *madhuśriyaḥ* [=] *vasantalakṣmyāḥ*, i.e. the female consort of Spring and his splendor [=] *madhuśrīr nāyikā sthānīyā* J. comm. See also verses 6.27 and 6.37. Prāṇāgnihotra] The verse seems to refer to the *agnihotra*, i.e. a food offering, which is made to satiate the body's vital air and to be performed while eating [=] *kramam āsvādanaparipātīm* J. comm. In this case, the bee performs such a ritual by feeding himself flower's nectar [=] *grāsadātā ca kiṃśuka evābhūd ityarthāḥ* J. comm. See the *prāṇāgnihotra* ritual described in the homonymous *Upaniṣad* in Varenne 1960. See also Bentor 2000, 601: "We have encountered already the brahmin who is too old to perform the external *agnihotra* and therefore after depositing the sacred fire within himself, consumes the two ritual oblations. This literature expounds, as was noted above, a homology of the five *śrauta* fires with the five breaths (*prāṇa*) located within the human body. In this form of the interiorized fire ritual, offerings are made to the five breaths. Such offerings constitute the *prāṇāgnihotra* ritual in its strict meaning".

315 [there] adhering from a woman's sudden embrace (6.53)⁵³

That beggar of the month Madhu
whose robe was orange-tinted
for the pollen of the tawny flowers,
in front of a frowning woman
320 made sure that the journey of the pride,
which had exited the house of [her] mind,
was a one-time entrance (6.54)⁵⁴

With his wife tightly embraced,
bard in the recitation of the continuous description
325 of Anaṅga's pleasures,
the nectar-eating bee
played the game of diving and resurfacing
from the mango blossoms
into the pond of the *kiñjalka* flowers (6.55)⁵⁵

330 What a heavenly creation
—a second one, after that of Viśvāmitra—
had Madana displayed mid-air,
where young nymphs appeared
in the form of *datura* [flowers],
335 [like women] playing on [their] swings! (6.56)⁵⁶

⁵³Trunk] *mūrtyā*, lit. “with his member, limb”. Nipple musk-unguent] *kastūrikapaṅkayeva*, i.e. a dark unguent (*paṅka*) made out of musk (*kastūrika*), which reminds the blackness of the bees.

⁵⁴Beggar] °*bhikṣuḥ* [=] *madhumāsa eva bhikṣur vasantaśramaṇo* J. comm. A one-time entrance] *apunaḥ praveśām* [=] *rāmācittē mānaḥ punaḥ kadācin na praviṣṭaḥ* J. comm.

The beggar is spring, makes sure that the owner of the house (i.e. the pride in the women's minds) is not coming back from his journey? Jonarāja seems to connect the comment *grhān nirgatasya puruṣasya [saṃmukhe] vartamāno bhikṣur yātrām apunaḥ praveśām karotīti śakunajñāḥ*

⁵⁵Description...pleasures] *bhogāvali* [=] *upabhogavarṇanā* J. comm. Played the game of diving and resurfacing] *ajani...nimajjanonmajjanakelikāraḥ*, where *ajani* is the 3 sing. aor. from √*jan*, lit. “he produced the playful action of diving and resurfacing”. From the mango blossoms] *sāhakāre* possibly a typo in the Eds., to be emended with *sahakāre* in accordance with J. comm. *sahakāre*. Into the pond] °*talle* [=] *tallas taḍākas* J. comm. or [=] ‘*talpe*’ *ity apapāṭhaḥ* J. comm. The commentator proposes *talpe*, i.e. bed, as a variant for *talle*, “into the bed of the flower”, which evoke the love/play metaphor of the verse. The variant is attested in some manuscripts as well (see § 14.4).

⁵⁶A second...Viśvāmitra] *kauśikavaddvītiyaṃ* [=] *kauśikavadviśvāmitravaddvītiyāṃ...viśvāmitraḥ kila trīṣaṅkusnehena dvītiyaṃ svargaṃ nirmame* J. comm. Viśvāmitra, descendant of Kuśika and the lunar kings, was reknown for the creation of a second paradise

These girls, riding [their] glittering swings,
 at once reached the sky
 as if, because of their ascending assault,
 they were marching against the Moon,
 340 who was threatening the splendor of [their] faces (6.57)⁵⁷

After the conquest of a new dominion,
 releasing from those chains of the pride
 the thoughts of all the moon-like faces of the women,
 Kāma, king of passion, was sharing his power
 345 with the throat of the chief of the Cuckoos
 through dense ablutions oozing from the mangoes (6.58)⁵⁸

Bent for the additional weight
 of [their fully] blossomed flowers
 [and] with all [their] arrow-bees
 350 ready to strike,
 the creepers turned into the bow
 at the service of Ananyaja,
 intent on [his] constant practice
 for the victory over the worlds (6.59)⁵⁹

(*svarga*) for king Triśaṅku, rejected by the gods. The story of Triśaṅku spans over four cantos in the first book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rām 1.56–59), and the episode of the creation of the second *svarga* is, precisely, in *Rām.* 1.59.12–33. See transl. Goldman 2016, 237–38 and Doniger 1984, 103–104. Datura flowers] °*pramada*°, i.e. the *datura* tree, thorn-apple or jimsonweed, whose drooping flowers dangle in the air. Jonarāja does not mention any tree and seems to interpret *pramadās* simply as “women” playing on their swings. In this case, however, the natural side of the flowers mid-air fits the vernal context.

⁵⁷Ascending assault] *āskanda*°, meaning both ‘ascent’ and ‘assault’. Marching against] °*yātrāḥ*, meaning both “pilgrimage” and “march”, underlines the menace of the moon (°*droha*°), white as much as the distant women’s faces. Through their ascent, however, they get closer to the Moon and reclaim their superiority [=] *candrasya pūrvaṃ dūratayā mukhasādrśyaṃ niścitaṃ dolādhirohe tu pratyāsattiyā mukhena candro jita ityarthaḥ* J. comm.

⁵⁸King of passion] *rāgarājaḥ* is one of the names given to Kāma as he is king of love and passion. Jonarāja interprets *rāgarājaḥ* with [=] *pañcama rāgaḥ* J. comm., i.e. the fifth *rāga*, or musical note, as he does in 6.47. In this case, *rāgarājaḥ* can be interpreted as follows: the king of love (*rāgarājaḥ*) is sharing his own power by sprinkling the cuckoos’ throats with the red juice of the mangoes, a power that the bird carries out and extends through his own melodies. Chains...dominion...ablutions] *bandhanān...vibhava...abhiṣekair*. All the three words refer both to the natural side of Spring and to the human-like side of Kāma [=] *rājā ca navarājyalābhe bandhanasphoṭaṃ kurvan rājyābhiṣekaiḥ* J. comm.

⁵⁹Ready to strike] *bibhratyo...°unmukhatvam*, lit. “carrying the state of being in front, directed towards the target”, i.e. the arrows connected to bow and bowstring. Arrow-bees] *śilīmukha*°,

355 Rich in the fragrance of the Malaya mountains;
 creator of the intense excitement
 of the women from Kerala;
 author of the book of Love:
 the southern wind,
 360 confident in his friendship
 with the Lord of desire,
 spread his insolent knowledge
 all over the place (6.60)⁶⁰

A blooming flower garland, friend of the bleeding wounds,
 365 was held by the *aśoka* trees, soldiers of Anaṅga,
 fierce in the battle for the conquest of the world,
 above which, clinging in an extremely compact way,
 a line of black bees turned into [its] dark bandage (6.61)⁶¹

Throwing and catching the ball
 370 with the dangling coconuts,
 exercising various dagger thrusts
 with the thick rows of bees,
 [and] playing sand–billowing
 with the pollen of the *vāsantikā* flowers:
 375 what a game would not enjoy
 the Karṇāṭaka breezes! (6.62)⁶²

meaning both bees and arrows, [=] *bhramarās* J. comm. and *śilimukhānām śaraṇām* J. comm. Bent...carrying arrow-bees...bow...victory] The bent creepers (°*avanamrāḥ*...*vallatyaḥ*) assume the shape of Kāma's bow, *cāpatvaṃ* [=] *dhanurbhāvaṃ* J. comm. Ananyaja] Kāma.

⁶⁰Fragrance of the Malaya mountains] The perfume of the sandalwood paste, obtained from the *candana* trees on the Malaya's slopes (see *candanasya* J. comm.). Excitement] °*pulaka*°, lit. the raising of the body hair put of delight or pleasure. Author of the book] °*granthakāraḥ* [=] *varṇanīyas tān karoti*, i.e. the one who writes descriptions or verses or books about love. Southern wind] *prśadaśvo dākṣiṇātyaḥ* [=] *maruc*° J. comm. Lord of desire] *rasaparivr̥ḍha*°, another name for Kāma [=] *rasaparivr̥ḍhaḥ śṛṅgārāparanāmadheyaḥ kāmadevas* J. comm. Spreads...knowledge] *śisikṣe...cāpalāni*, lit. he taught [his] insolence, i.e. he is insolent and tattles [=] *rājavṛttāntaprakāśakaś capalāś ca bhavati* J. comm.

⁶¹Friend] °*sakhī* [=] *sakhī sadṛśatvāt* J. comm., i.e. the garland's flowers look like open wounds. Turned into] *samam aghaṭata*, i.e. it was making itself similar to; Bandage] *paṭṭikā* [=] *vraṇāc chādanam* J. comm., i.e. a patch made of bees, which covers the wounds-flowers of the soldiers-trees. [=] *yodhās ca rudhirārdreṣu paṭṭikāṃ grathnanti* J. comm.

⁶²Ball...coconuts] °*kanduka*°...*nārikelīphalair*, i.e. the round fruits of the coconut tree serve as balls. Dagger...row of bees] °*asidhenu*°...*bhramarormibhir*, i.e. the rows of bees are used as a replica for the daggers. Sand...pollen] °*pāṃsu*°...*reṇu*°, i.e. the white pollen of the flowers of th

When the sign the speedy bees' circle appeared,
 roaming around behind the blossomed bud of the creepers,
 this one became Love's grindstone,
 380 as if to crush the pride of the long-lashed women (6.63)⁶³

How could the men whose lover is afar
 possibly observe, without fear,
 this swarm of bees—oh!,
 which carries the luster
 385 of the fastened wide beard of Spring,
 arrogant in the destruction of all women's pride,
 [and is] earth for the charm of trembling metal chains
 of that elephant of Smara,
 unleashed from [his binding] pole? (6.64)⁶⁴

390 They were famous for the charcoal rain
 on the lotus-eyed women of the travelers,
 [and] honored by the sidelong glances
 of the young wives, extremely exhausted
 for the game of lovemaking:
 395 these ones, the arrogant Winds,
 coming from the inside of the house-caves
 of the sandalwood mountain,
 ascended over the men in love

vāsantikā (the hiptage, a sort of vine) provides the sand to play with.

The commentator divides the three games according to the proper of the player: playing with the sand is for children, practicing with the daggers is for older boys, while playing ball games is suitable for both categories [=] *pāmsukhelanaṃ hi bālye kriyante, churikākriyākrīḍā yauvane, tatsaṃdhau kandukādinirbandhaḥ* J. comm.

⁶³Grindstone] °*gharaṭṭa*°, from √*ghrṣ*, “to grind, crush”, i.e. a hand-mill, in this case formed by two stones, one being the circle of bees and the other the circumference of the open stem and petals of a flower. See § 3. To crush the pride] *mānasya...peṣṭum*, inf. vb. √*piṣ*, used figuratively with the gen. *mānasya* [=] *peṣṭum iti 'jāsiniprahaṇa-' iti karmaṇi ṣaṣṭhī* J. comm. The pride becomes flour after being crushed by the grindstone [=] *mānaḥ piṣṭaprāyo 'bhūd ityarthah* J. comm.

⁶⁴The men...observe...this swarm of bees] *virahibhir na prekṣituṃ cakṣame*, lit. passive: “how could the swarm of bees been observed by the men whose lover is afar”. Destruction...pride] °*mānāvasānakriyāgarvonmaddha*°, lit. “arrogant in that action which [consists in] the destruction of the pride”. Jonarāja suggests a variant, namely '*saṃdhā' iti vā pāṭhaḥ*, which, however, is not supported by the manuscripts. Earth for the charm] °*ullekhabhūr* [=] *ullekho bhaṅgis tasya bhūḥ* J. comm. The swarm of bees seems to be identified both with Vasanta's black beard and with the earth, i.e. the surface where the mass of unused chains rests.

with their luminous powers of [conferring] gifts or curses (6.65)⁶⁵

- 400 The Malaya's wind, coming forward,
shone like Anaṅga's arm, stretched in front of him
[and] engaged in seizing the bow,
on which the knots of the old calluses
[produced] by the string
405 appeared in the guise of a line of bees
fleshly assembled for the desire of [its] fragrance (6.66)⁶⁶

- The bard of the fragrance of the Malaya's trees,
giving the arm of the feather-arrowed god
an unexpected yearning,
410 this one, the southern breeze,
executing the orders [of Spring]
whose incomparable mark is the golden *ketakī* tree,
was blowing, death for the peace of the monks (6.67)⁶⁷

- After leaving the attendance of the North,
415 as if for fear of the exertion in swallowing
of the crow-bellied snakes,
ornaments on the head of Śaṃkara, sleeping on Kailāsa,
the Wind was then honoring the South.
Even from there, however, he quickly came back,
420 terrified by the licking tongues of a group of snakes,
hissing on the trunks of the sandalwood trees (6.68)⁶⁸

⁶⁵They were famous] *yayur...°prathām*, lit. *they got their fame* [=] *°khyātiṃ yayuḥ* J. comm. Charcoal rain] *aṅgāraṇavaṛṣā°*, i.e. a rain as hot as charcoal, and black as it consists of the women's teardrops mixed with kohl [=] *agnikaṇavaṛṣavadvirahiṇīnām vyathām cakrur it-yarthaḥ* J. comm. Game of lovemaking] *sambhogarasa°* [=] *sambhogarasena ratikrīḍayā* J. comm., lit. "for the passion of love in union". Luminous powers] *pranmiṣac°...°saktayo°* [=] *pranmiṣanty ullasantī* J. comm., i.e. the power of conferring the gift for the united lovers or curses for the separated ones [=] *saṃyogīṣu prasādaḥ, viyogīṣu nigrahaḥ* J. comm.

⁶⁶Knots...calluses...string] *°maurvikīṇagrathayaḥ°* [=] *jyāghātalekhā* J. comm., i.e. the archer's scars obtained by cause of the bow-string which hits the forearm [=] *virāṇām bhujēsu hi maurvikīṇā bhavanti* J. comm. Fragrance] *saugandhya°*. The wind-arm, which comes from the Malaya mountains, is sandalwood-scented, and thus attracting the bees.

⁶⁷The Southern Breeze] [=] *vināśakaḥ sa dakṣiṇavāto* J. comm., i.e. the wind from the south seems to be considered the commander of Spring's army. That...*ketakī* tree] *anehasaḥ kanakaketa-kīlakṣmaṇaḥ* [=] *vasante suvarṇaketakyo bhavanti* J. comm. Spring is the *ketakī*-marked.

⁶⁸He quickly came back] The wind of Spring goes from North (*°uttarasyaḥ diśaḥ*) to South (*dakṣiṇā-patham*) and vice-versa, blowing everywhere [=] *sarvatra prasaraṇaḥ vasantavāta āsīd ityarthaḥ* J. comm.

When the circle of bees,
 which approached the royal parasol
 of the blossomed [white] jasmine flowers,
 425 stopped on the trees,
 it caused, even at daylight,
 the real eclipse of multiple moons
 to openly show the travelers' lovers
 an unbearable sign of death (6.69)⁶⁹

430 Causing a profusion of letters to show up
 in Madana's expenses log
 through those ink-drops of bees
 inserted on the large leafy pages of the *vicakila* tree,
 by confusing what scribe with [those] illegible scripts
 435 Spring would not procure, then,
 a surplus in those incomes and expenditures
 of the distant lovers' sighs? (6.70)⁷⁰

The heat of the sun, foe of darkness,
 performer, in the sacrificial cup,
 440 of the incantation of snow
 [accomplished] through the deception
 of a dried-up mass of jasmine flowers,
 after taking off [his] mantle of clouds
 became [even more] intense (6.71)⁷¹

⁶⁹Stopped] *tasthau* [=] *tiṣṭhati sma* J. comm., i.e. stayed on the trees, without moving. Caused] *ajani* [=] *jātaḥ* J. comm., lit. "became". Eclipse of multiple moons] *°anekacandroparāgaḥ* [=] *anekacandragraho*, i.e. the moon-eclipse.

⁷⁰Expenses log] *°gaṇanāsthāne*, lit. "the place/book for calculations". Curled script] *kuṭīlalipibhiḥ*, i.e. a script that runs like a cursive, and therefore difficult to understand and recite [=] *tathā kuṭīlā vakrāḥ samastair vācayitum āsakyā yā lipayo* J. comm. (see § 3); Bees' ink-drops] *°dvirephamaṣīlavaiḥ* [=] *bhramarās taeva maṣīkaṇās* J. comm. The bees are nothing but the inkdrops in Kāma's expenses log. Inserted] *°nyasta*, meaning also "placed". Vicakila tree] Perhaps a type of jasmine, but still uncertain. A surplus] *adhikaṃ* adv., lit. "even more", i.e. a miscalculation with a higher result, due to the insertions of other syllables (or numbers) in the expenses log.

⁷¹The heat of the Sun] *timiradruho...mahasā*, lit. instrumental case, "by the heat of the Sun", with *kaṭhoratā* as the subject of the verb *jaḡṛhe* [=] *timiradruho raver mahasā tejasā kaṭhoratvaṃ* J. comm. Incantation of snow] I follow Jonarāja, who reads *°tuhinābhicāra* [=] *tuhinasya himasyābhicāre* J. comm., instead of *°tuhināpacāra*° of the Eds. By the deception...jasmine flowers] *chalāt* [=] *vyājāt*, lit. "fraud, pretence". In springtime, the snow only appears by resemblance with the masses of white petals of the jasmine flowers, which dry up because of the sun's inten-

445 A troop of the jasmine petals,
 experts in illustrating Kaṁdarpa's glory,
 and a multitude of buzzing bees,
 kettle-drums for the sighs' march
 of the women whose lover is afar:
 450 of these two, the first generated a strong acid
 for the eyes of the travelers' long-lashed women,
 the second pierced [their] ears with a storm of arrows (6.72)⁷²

With the rich charm of the smeared perfume
 of the buds of the high trees' lines
 455 on the top of the Trikūṭa mountain,
 which are busy playing without fear
 on the road [that leads] to the close-by Laṅkā,
 the wind, grateful for the Malaya's trees
 [and] fit for the fish-bannered Kāma,
 460 came back with extreme speed,
 carrying the wavy embrace
 of the Tāmraparṇī [river] (6.73)⁷³

Resigned the mark of [his] greatness
 Winter fell asleep on the earth,
 465 dark for the [great] quantity of young and tender grass,

sity. Mantle of clouds] *nicolagolakam* [=] *prāvaraṇamaṇḍalam* J. comm., i.e. the circle of clouds which were surrounding the sun like a winter cloak. Became...intense] *jaḅrhe...kaṭhoratā*, lit. "a state of sharpness was obtained by him (i.e. the heat of the Sun)"

⁷²Jasmine petals...Kaṁdarpa's glory] The white petals of the jasmine flowers proclaim the glory of Kāma. Reference is made to the white color, traditionally attributed to the concept of glory (*yaśas*) (see § 4.2). Kettle-drums] *ḡuñjā*, the kettle-drums employed during the military march. Strong acid] *krūraṁ viṣaṁ*, lit. "an harsh venom". Pierced their ears] *pa-prathe...bāṇāvalīdurḡinam*, lit. "a storm of arrows was raised".

⁷³Charm of the perfumed ointment] Following the manuscripts, I read *mukula°-parimala°-abhyaṅga°-saubhāgya°-baṅḡiḡ*, namely the beautiful charm which is created by the smearing ointment (*abhyaṅga*) through the perfume of the blossoms (see J. comm. *kuḡmalasaugandhyasaṁskāreṇa saubhāgyabhaṅḡir*). High trees' lines] *prāntaprotadrumālī°*, the rows of trees go towards the sky [=] *trikūṭaparvate protā svargād ānīya ropitā yā vrkṣpāṅktis* J. comm. Trikūṭa] lit. "the three-horned", the mountain on which the city of Laṅkā is situated. Tāmraparṇī] A river (see J. comm. *tāmraparṇyā nadyā*) originating in the South, on the Malaya mountains. The wind blows at springtime towards the North, after having acquired all the embellishments which characterize the South, namely the perfume of the blossoms, the slow-paced games of the trees, and the chill embrace of the river's waters (see J. comm. *vāyor viśeṣaṇaiḡ saugandhyamandavahanaśītalatvādayo guṇā varṇitāḡ*).

and Spring, proud for the sounding praise
of the honey-drinking bees,
anointed the night-watchers
with the duty of defending
470 all Anaṅga's possessions (6.74) ⁷⁴

⁷⁴Mark] °*udrekamudram*, a Bahuvrīhi compound (nom. neuter s.) connected with *śiśīram* (here, nom. neuter. s., see J. comm. *śiśīram kartṛ nidadrau*). Like a conquered king abandons his royalty (or greatness) after a defeat, so does the winter, melting on the grass at the arrival of spring (see J. comm. *yaḥ paribhūtaḥ sa hi līno bhavati | śiśīrasya ca vasantena parābhavakaraṇād bhūmilīnatvoktiḥ*). The commentator reads °*udrekamudrā mahimaṭaṅko*, where *ṭaṅka* means *śobhā* (i.e. grace, charm) such as in other verses of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (see ŚKC 6.30, 2.11, 12.59). Anaṅga] Kāma. The last verse of the canto is closed by the final rubric: “Here ends the description of the universal spring, the sixth canto of the court poem *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, [composed] by Rājānaka śrī Maṅkhaka, king of poets [and] son of śrī Rājānaka Viśvavarta, [together with] the commentary [composed] by śrī Jonarāja.

Chapter 12

Description of the Gods' Assembly

12.1 Synopsis of the Seventeenth Canto

[17.1–5] Description of the assembly hall of the gods.

[17.6–10] Śiva enters the hall with his feet standing over the heads of the Gaṇas. He kills with the venom of his snakes the men previously revived with his ambrosia, he fastens his hair and bulk up his arms. After observing the gods there gathered, he sits on the throne. The reflection of the emeralds makes his skin look darker.

[17.11–16] The bowing heads of the gods form Śiva's footstool, while the female attendants shake their whisks; Gaṇeśa breaks one of his tusks because of the contact with Śiva's half-moon; Nandin announces the gods who enter one by one and honor Śiva. All passions are removed from the gods' bodies.

[17.17] After the gods take their seats, Śiva ask them how they were feeling.

[17.18–33] Philosophical hymn of the gods containing verses related to Sāṃkhya, Grammar, Logic, Buddhism, Jainism, Materialism, Vedānta, Advaita Śaivism, Mimāṃsa, Vaiśeṣika, Śiva's mercy, grace and punishments.

[17.34] Śiva is flattered by the gods' praise and addresses them directly.

[17.35–44] Śiva's speech. The god notices the deities pale faces: Brahmā tries to be still in his meditation, but he is impatient; Viṣṇu's weapon, the *cakra*, lies immobile; Indra's eyes are wide-open, out of fear; the splendor abandons the sun, which looks like the moon, and the same happens to Śrī; Varuṇa, regent of the West, weeps; all the gods, usually innately splendid, are now pale and anxious.

[17.45] The gods stand still for a while, calmed down by Śiva's words.

[17.46] Brahmā takes the floor and speaks up for all the gods.

[17.47–50] Brahmā's speech. The three demons are menacing the worlds. After they performed their asceticism to curry favor with Brahmā, they ask for audience.

Brahmā releases the burning heat of their *tapas* with the air of his vehicle and start speaking to them.

[17.51–52] Direct speech: Brahmā asks the demons to interrupt their intense asceticism and to express their desires.

[17.53] The demons listen to Brahmā's words and humbly answer.

[17.54] Direct speech: the demons ask Brahmā for the boon of immortality.

[17.55] Direct speech: Brahmā does not allow the demons to be immortal, and asks them to opt for a more feasible reward.

[17.56] The demons ask then to be all killed by the shot of a single arrow.

[17.57] Brahmā grants them the second boon, and the demons start to think of how to escape their inevitable death.

[17.58–61] The three ask Maya, their architect, to build for each one a city. The first one, made of gold, is placed in the netherworld and ruled by Tārakākṣa; the second one, made of silver, is in the sky and governed by Kamalākṣa; the third one, in iron, is on earth and ruled by Vidyumālin.

[6.62–66] Each of the three demons starts tormenting the three worlds, and spreads sorrow, darkness and other calamities; the creepers, typically intolerant to heat, would prefer the fire of a burning forest to the demons' disrespect; the proud elephants of the directions become their pets; the whole world is conquered by chaos.

[6.67] Brahmā ends his speech, like a *sūtradhāra* the prologue of a theatrical play, and leaves the stage to that actor which is the gods' anger.

12.2 Annotated Translation

- With the foot-stool made of extraordinary gems
studded [there] by the sun-disk
mirrored on the crystal pavement,
[and] the repetition of white ceiling drapes
5 reaching manifestation through the nets of translucent rays
gliding forth from the moon on [his] head; (17.1)¹
- with the stick of the golden scepter
doubled in size, terrific
for the masses of sun-rays
10 piercing through the [windows] openings,
[and] the loud chants of the bards
muffled by the strongest roaring
of the rolling diadem-river's waves; (17.2)²
- with the fresh flower offerings
15 effortlessly scattered [on the ground]
thanks to the gems fallen
from the bowing head of the best of the immortals
[and] the waving of the palm-leaf fan
commenced by the swirling tail-tufts
20 of Guha's peacock: (17.3)³

¹The seventeenth canto opens with a four-verses *incipit* (ŚKC 17.1–4, called by the Eds. *cakkalaka* or *caturbhiḥ kulaka*), which describes the extraordinary assembly hall (*āsthānīm* in ŚKC 17.4) on Kailāsa, right before Śiva's entrance. The Eds. misplace in the second position ŚKC 17.4, which contains subject and the main verb and should, therefore, be placed in the final position of the *cakkalaka*, as both the manuscripts and other *kulakas* elaborated by Maṅkha in the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* confirm.

Extraordinary gems] lit. "never seen before", *pratinavāni* [=] *lokottarāṇi ratnamayāni* J. comm. Repetition] *paunaruktyam* [=] *dvidhā* J. comm. "doubling". Ceiling drapes] *vitāna* perhaps [=] *vitānaka*, drapes covering the pavilion of the hall or court or decorated ceiling. His head] i.e. Śiva's.

²Masses of sun-rays] *ahaskarām śukāṅḍair arkāmśubhir dviguṇitā* J. The rays are perceived as the sun's bamboo sticks (*kāṅḍa*), which replicate the strength of the king's scepter. Through the [windows] openings] *vairalya*° em. with J. comm. (*vairalyena*), *nairmalya*° Eds. If we follow the commentator, *vairalya* is the "open texture" of a surface, perhaps indicating latticework windows or openings in the ceiling drapes. If we follow the Eds. and Mss., *nairmalyapraveśat*° means "[the rays of the sun] which became pure". Diadem-river's waves] the Gaṅgā's waves, *athātibahubhir gaṅgāśabdair* J. comm.

³The best of the immortals] The gods, *amara*° [=] *surāṅḅam* J. comm. Waving] *vṛttām* [=] *caritrām* J. comm. The commentator notes a possible variant: '*nṛttam*' *iti vā pāṭhaḥ* | *nṛttam spandanam*, i.e. "the dance, quivering, sudden movement". No trace of *nṛttam*, however, has been found in

such an assembly hall the god entered,
 jealously observed by the mountain's daughter
 in [his] success with the morning twilight,
 [as] the marauder of saffron-blossoms,
 25 amusement of the women of Tripura (17.4)⁴

Displaying his body adorned with snakes,
without any sign of frost,
 [and] which has overcome the pain [of rebirth],
without any heat,
 30 showing [this] astonishing deed,
 Śarvāṇī's most beloved
 entered that extraordinary assembly,
 set with all the troops at daybreak
provided with all the roots,
 35 *but with its quintessence in div* (17.5)⁵

It was as if [his] foot, mounting over the surface of Pātāla,
 was constantly carried, for the ardor of devotion, on the head
 by groups of Gaṇas, whose bodies were all mirrored
 on the mosaic floor, whose upper layer was abounding in crystals (17.6)⁶

the manuscripts.

⁴The Mountain's daughter] Pārvatī. Twilight] Female goddess, personification of the morning twilight Saṃdhyā [=] *saṃdhyāyāḥ strīṅgatvāt* J. comm. Saffron] lit. "clusters of saffron flowers". *bāhlikastabaka* [=] *kuṅkumagucchās* J. comm. For *bāhlika* as synonym for "saffron", see *Amarakośa* 2.5.777: *kāsmīrajanmāgniśikhaṃ varam bāhlikapīṭane*.

⁵Pain of rebirth] i.e. the pain of the ones subjects to the *samsāra* is destroyed: *saluptaḥ saṃsāriṇām tāpo* J. comm. Śarvāṇī's most beloved] Śiva. At daybreak] *divādau* [=] *svargādau* J. comm., lit. "in the sky, in heaven". The commentator observes that *svargādau* is not grammatical (*tat tu na lakṣaṇikaṃ hṛdayaṅgamam* J. comm.) because unfit for the overall difficulty of the passage (*divāśabdasya mahākavibhir aprayuktatvāt* J. comm.), and interprets the word as [=] *prātar* (indecl.), lit. "at daybreak, in the morning". This observation is accurate on the narrative level, as the seventeenth canto is set at dawn, after the waking up of Śiva and Pārvatī described in the sixteenth canto.

Div] *Divādi*, lit. "the verbal root *div* and so forth", i.e. the class of roots of the fourth conjugation, headed by the root *div* (see Abhyankar 1986, 198 and J. comm. *gaṇair bhvādibhir yuktāḥ divādir eva dhātupāṭhacchedaviśeṣaḥ sāro*) and connected with brightness and divinity, perhaps evoking Śiva's luminous power.

⁶Carried on their heads] *ivohyamānapādaḥ* [=] *dhāryamānapāda iva* J. comm., from √*dhṛ* + *mūrdhni*, lit. "to be held on the head", i.e. figuratively "to be highly honored". Upper layer] °*viṭaṅka* [=] *unnatabhāgo* J. comm., or simply °*viṭaṅka* as "beautiful [mosaic floor]".

40 Again he turns into skulls
 those whose lives had been granted
 by the ambrosia flowing from the half-moon on his head
 melted by the fire flames of his eye,
 with their blessing taken away
 45 by the poisonous hissing of [his] golden snakes (17.7)⁷

He fastens tighter the lace of [his] high matted hair
 for the added weight of snakes,
 in the same way as his pair of lotus-feet;
 he makes his long arm
 50 take on a bulky form for the venom,
 in the same way as his everyday swollen throat (17.8)⁸

Observing from the corner of [his] eye
 the face of the immortal bards
 eagerly busy in [their] chattering,
 55 the Lord, then, entering that excellent assembly hall,
 sat on the throne of gracefulness (17.9)⁹

Black for that unguent
 of the emerald throne's radiance,
 all the limbs of Māra's enemy,
 60 adorned with extraordinary jewels,

⁷Blessing] *sampad*, lit. "wealth, prosperity", i.e. the life previously gifted. Half-moon...golden snakes] The double image of Śiva enlivening and destroying human beings is maintained, on the iconographic level, through the life-giving ambrosia, oozing from the moon-jewel on Śiva's matted hair, and through the dreadful golden snakes of his bracelets. See J. comm. *pratiprasavālaṃkāraḥ*, i.e. "a return to the original state", i.e. that of skulls, first enlivened and then destroyed again.

⁸Snakes] as before (ŚKC 17.7), perhaps an embellishment for the feet, anklets. Swollen throat] lit. "a swelling on the throat" caused by the venom swollen by Śiva during the episode of the milk-ocean churning. Here, the two *iva* seem to indicate more a double action than a comparison, i.e. not only does Śiva add to his dreadlocks the added weight of his snakes ([=] *dr̥ḍhataraṃ kṛtvāhīnām sarpāṇām upoḍho* J. comm.), but also to his feet with his snake-anklets ([=] *pādapakṣe dr̥ḍhataram apy upoḍho bhāro* J. comm.); not only does he make his arm bulky with venom ([=] *śritam viṣamāṃsalaṃ pīvaram* J. comm.), but also his throat (*grīvāpakṣe śritaviṣam māṃsala*° J. comm.).

⁹The immortal bards] *amartyamāgadhānām* = *surabandinām* J. comm. The bards of the gods. The commentary ends with the word *kulakam*. Jonarāja seems to group this and the previous three verses (ŚKC 17.6–9) into one logical unity, connected to the main clause "the lord sat" (*nātho...tasthau*) in the last verse of the *kulaka*, i.e. ŚKC 17.9).

became companions of [his] throat's skin (17.10)¹⁰

In vain, really, [his] servants,
desiring to honor him,
built before [him] a foot-stool:
65 the heads of the immortals,
bowing one after another,
[already] served that purpose (17.11)¹¹

The female servants were shaking
the tips of [their] chowries at his feet
70 almost with no strength at all,
fearing that the bowl of flames on [his] forehead,
[in its] sudden dance, would melt the moon on [his] head (17.12)¹²

Taking possession of the deer-marked moon
from the top of the matted hair of his own father,
75 [and] putting it in the place of [his] missing tusk,
Heramba, for the unctuous contact
with the large mass of [the moon's] rays,
caused the fracture of the intact one, too (17.13)¹³

Then all the gods entered, one by one,
80 with their heads genuinely showing humbleness,
[and] were announced almost with disdain

¹⁰Māra's enemy] Śiva, enemy of Kāma. Of [his] throat's skin] galasthalasya, lit. "of the surface of his throat", i.e. the blue-green emeralds project on Śiva's body blue lights, and makes it equal (*sāmyam āpuḥ* J. comm.) to his throat, blue for the swallowed venom.

¹¹The heads] *cikurabharā*, lit. "the masses of hair", [=] *keśās* J. comm.; Of the immortals] *nir-jarāṇām* [=] *devānām* J. comm. Served that purpose] lit. "obtain the foot-stool duty".

¹²At his feet] *upaśalye* [=] *nikāṭe* J. comm., lit. "by his side". The locative *upaśalye* seems to mark the lower position (*upa*) of the servants. Sudden dance] The fire in Śiva's third eye is described as fiercely dancing the destructive *tāṇḍava* ([=] *nāṭyasya* J. comm.), that caused by the air moved by the servants' chowries. The moon on his head] Note the contrast between fire and the melting moon already occurred in ŚKC 17.7.

¹³Missing tusk] lit. "the other tusk", *anyadanta*° [=] *dvitīyadaśana*° J. comm. Reference here is to Gaṇeśa's broken tusk, variously explained in different episodes. The most famous version is perhaps the one contained in the *Mahābhārata*, in which the god tears apart his tusk to continue writing the epic poem dictated by Vyāsa without interruption, after his stylus broke (see *MBh*, *Ādiparvan*). Heramba] Gaṇeśa. Cause the fracture] *truṭyantam...vyadhata*, lit. "he made it fractured", from impf. *vi* + √*dhā* + pt. pres. √*truṭ*; Intact] *prakṛtam*, lit. "real, genuine".

by Nandin, the corn-ears eater (17.14)¹⁴

After that, the nectar-drinking gods,
gathering together, saluted the odd-eyed god for a long time;
85 as his feet [walk] on the earth of the devotees' heads,
the whole world makes its surface [his] slippers (17.15)¹⁵

The line of [his] glances, abode of sun, moon, and fire,
cast impartially even by enemy of the triple city, oh!,
remove both burning anguish and frigid deprivation
90 from the body of all the gods (17.16)¹⁶

After [each one of them] took their own usual seat,
[and] the moon-crested god asked how they were doing,
with voices raising as sweet as nectar
the slayer of Namuci and the others said: (17.17)¹⁷

95 “By the wise men you are recognized as Self,
as you always lie in everybody's fortress;
therefore, what real entity is invisible in the world for you,

¹⁴All the gods] *sarve 'pi tridivasado*°, lit. “the ones who sit in the sky”, i.e. the gods; All] *sarve 'pi*, i.e. all the gods in their totality. Entered] *prāvīkṣan* aor. 3 plu. from verb *pra + √viś*. One by one] *śanakais*, adv., slowly and in turn. Nandin] *nandanena*, comm. by Jonarāja with *nandinā* (see also marginalia in B₂). The compound contains the word *śila*, lit. “gleaning”, perhaps evoking the posture of the gods humbly entering the assembly.

¹⁵The nectar-drinking gods] *te...suhāndhasaḥ*, i.e. the gods, whose drinks is ambrosia (see marginalia in B₂, *devāḥ*). Saluted] lit. “prepared a salutation”. Odd-eyed god] Śiva, with his three eyes. Of the devotees] *viracayatām*, gen. plu. from *vi√ + rac*, lit. “of the ones who act”, Śiva's human devotees. Makes...slippers] *pāduki karoti* [=] *pādapiṭhāni kurute* J. comm., i.e. the devotees are the earth for Śiva's feet, while the world constitutes his sandals

¹⁶Burning anguish and frigid deprivation] *saṃtāpaṃ jaḍimāparigrahaṃ*. I render the double meaning of hotness/pain and coldness/deprivation by inserting an adjective before the noun. The effect of Śiva's glances over the god is granted by the refreshing property of the moon, a remedy for the anguish, and by the hot sun and fire, which warm up the bodies of the gods. The image of the gods in distress and with pale faces is continued from ŚKC 17.35 onward in Śiva's speech (ŚKC 17.35–44). Enemy of the triple city] Śiva; As suggested by Jonarāja, the particle *api* (“even”) should be referred to *puraripu*°: *api śabdo bhinnakramaḥ puraripuśabdāt paro draṣṭavyaḥ* J. comm.

¹⁷The slayer of Namuci] i.e. Indra and the other gods. Voices as sweet as nectar] *sudhāyāḥ saṃbandhād iva madhurodgamair vacobhiḥ*, lit. “with voices that were raising sweet as if for the union with ambrosia” [=] *sudhāpānād* J. comm. Said] From the following verse it starts the praise of the gods, a philosophical hymn to the all-encompassing Śiva.

whose indefectible sight embraces the three worlds? (17.18)¹⁸

100 Thus, there is no doubt that your form, immaculate by nature,
purifies, like the waters of the divine river;
or else, through the three streams which are the causal forces
O you who are [made of] everything
you manifest differentiation, even if it is artificial (17.19)¹⁹

105 O Puruṣa, shame on the fools
who wrongly state that your essence,
you who are the sustainer of the three worlds, is inactive;
if this Nature is [really] the agent,
let's see if she can do anything in a liberated state
without leaning on you! (17.20)²⁰

110 Why erroneously, O Hara, do these people employ the word 'principle'
to indicate *mahat* and the others, which are only derivatives [of Nature]?
You alone, O Puruṣa, indeed holding an unlimited form,
you rightly bear the qualification of twenty-fifth (17.21)²¹

¹⁸Self] Mañkha open his non-dual (*advaita*) philosophical hymn with four verses dedicated to Sāṃkhya system. According to the poet, the inactive Self (*puruṣa*, 17.18–20–21) and the active Nature (*prakṛti*, 17.20) of the Sāṃkhya cannot be maintained as everything originates from an active Śiva, but all the existent is still structurally organized in principles (*tattvas*, 17.21), such as in the Sāṃkhya. As you always lie in everybody's fortress] Mañkha reports the traditional etymology of *puruṣa* ('self'), as *puri puri* + *√śi*, i.e. that which lies in the body/fortress of everyone (see § 6.2.2).

¹⁹In the first half-verse, Śiva's action is compared to the purifying waters of the Gaṅgā, while in the second half, the three streams are identified with Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra, as confirmed by Jonarāja's commentary (*atha kāraṇāt mabhir hariharabrahmādyais tribhiḥ srotobhis* J. comm.). For a detailed analysis of this verse in an *advaita* perspective, see § 6.2.2.

²⁰Inactive] Jonarāja comments the form *udāsanasvabhāvaṃ* with *tavodāsīnasvabhāvaṃ*, explaining Mañkha's usage of *-ana* as the *lyuṣ* affix added to the verbal root *ud* + *√ās* in the sense of agent, i.e. "the one who is inactive" (= *udāsīna*) following the example of the class of roots *nandyādi* (J. comm. *nandyāditvāl lyuṣ* and Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 3.1.134, in which *√nand+ana* means "the one who rejoices", *√mad+ana*, "passion, the god of love" etc.). Śiva is active and dynamic, and not at all indifferent as the followers of Sāṃkhya state. *etena sāmkyamatam nirākṛtam* J. comm. Nature is [really] the agent] According to the Sāṃkhya system, Nature or Matter (*prakṛti*) is the real agent (*kartrī*) of all the existent. As opposed to this view, Mañkha sides with the non-dual Śaivists from Kashmir, according to whom Śiva (the Puruṣa) is the cause and soul of the universe (see *viśvātman* above 17.19. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.2.

²¹Principle] *tattva*. According to Sāṃkhya philosophy, *tattvas* are the true principles founding reality, twenty-five in number. *Mahat* and the others] *mahat* [=] *mahad buddhitattvam* J. comm., lit. "the great principle", i.e. Intellect (*buddhi*). Only derivatives [of Nature]] *vikṛtimayeṣu* [=]

What can we make or say now in your presence,
115 O you lying on the top of the king of the mountains?
You never manifest a fragmented word,
and the three worlds are your unreal transformation,
you who have Sound as your body (17.22)²²

The ether does not encounter any obstruction,
120 and sound never exceeds the status of ether's quality;
you have as manifestation this [sound],
and, as such, O Vibhu, you pervade the worlds;
this is the traditional way of reasoning (17.23)²³

No material object can be logically evidenced outside cognition,
125 but rather it flows in a differentiated way [from this cognition];
thus, Prabhu is cognition. See!
Not even the Buddhists refute your nature of world creator! (17.24)²⁴

They did not say that emptiness is something trivial,
but a form with a condition ungraspable by people like us,

vikārarūpeṣu J. comm., lit. “in the form of a derivative form of *prakṛti*”. As of Sāṃkhya, the principles derives from Nature and not from the Self. Unlimited form] *niravadhi* J. comm. or *nirupadhi*, lit. “without any attribute”. Twenty-fifth] i.e. containing and summing up all the other *tattvas*, the supreme principle identified with Śiva. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.2.

²²After the Sāṃkhya system, Maṅkha proceeds with the inclusion of the grammarians' theories on words and language, specifically referring to the concept of *sphoṭa* and *śabdabrahman* (see J. comm. *akhaṇḍaṃ padaṃ sphoṭarūpaṃ* and *dhvanivapus*). Unreal transformation] *vivartaḥ*, i.e. revolving, transforming, manifesting (\sqrt{vrt}). In an *advaita* sense, the three worlds are “other” only because they are perceptively differentiated, but, in essence, are nothing but Śiva. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.3.

²³Never exceeds...quality] Sound possesses the same qualities of ether. Traditional way of reasoning] *upapatti* [=] *upapatter nyāyasya sampradāyah* J. comm., lit. “logical reasoning, argumentation” of Nyāya, in this case regarding the long-standing issue of the relation between of “ether” (*ākāśa*) and “sound” (*śabda*). Maṅkha appropriates the concept of Nyāya and twists them to the advantage of his syllogism: ether is qualified by sound, which is the proof of ether's existence, but sound is also the manifestation of Śiva. Therefore, transitively, ether is nothing but Śiva, whom the poet wittily calls *vibhu*, the “all-pervasive one”. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.4

²⁴Maṅkha dedicates two verses (ŚKC 17.12 and 17.24) to the inclusion of Buddhist notions, such as that of non-externality, and that of void/emptiness. This verse, in particular, refers to the theories of the Vijñānavādins (or Yogācāra) and their negation of “externality” (*bāhyātā*) of the object of cognition from cognition itself, as Jonarāja confirms (*bhaudhair api vijñānavādibhir* J. comm.). For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.5.

130 and so is your essence.

And then, where do the Buddhists not truly chant you? (17.25)²⁵

O three-eyed god, let there be, here, other doctrines
that admit your unlimited nature, you who are Knowledge;
you are the Self, the three worlds altogether are your body
135 and you are the [same] size of these [three worlds]:
there is no censure for a Jaina! (17.26)²⁶

The one who allots the three worlds [their] differentiated texture,
and the one from whom all beings spring forth:
this the Materialists claim to be the ‘inherent nature’ of these,
140 and in the guise of this you are accepted by them, O Śiva (17.27)²⁷

The Upaniṣads ultimately praise you, O Vibhu,
as the one whom the illusion, with [its] unobstructed form,
can never touch, and regarding whom the sages
can [only] say ‘you are not this, you are not that’ (17.28)²⁸

145 O three-eyed [Śiva], you alone are seen, indeed,
to cause and know the three worlds

²⁵Continuing on the inclusion of Buddhist theories, Mañkha recalls the concept of “emptiness” (*śūnyatā*) which, according to the Śūnyavādins (see J. comm. *evaṃ sati śūnyavādino bauddhās*), is the very mode of existence of real objects. Since emptiness is what characterizes all objects of perception, these objects share an identical nature and, therefore, their diversity is removed. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.5.

²⁶Mañkha introduces here the Jainas’ cosmology (*arhato* [=] *kṣapaṇakas* J. comm.) adapting it to his Śaiva view. The [same] size of these *tanmānaṃ tvam*. According to Jaina cosmology, the universe is composed of the “building-blocks” (Dundas 2002, 93) of ontological categories. Self (*jīva* or *ātman*) is the foremost of these categories, and it corresponds to the Soul which abides the material bodies (*śarīra*). Self pervades each body in varying degrees, expanding or contracting based on the latter’s size (Dundas 2002, 94, 104). For a detailed analysis of this verse, see see § 6.2.6.

²⁷The poet proceeds with the inclusion of the Materialists (Cārvāka or Lokāyata), according to whom nothing else exists other than this “world” (*loka*), whose “inherent nature” (*svabhāva*, see Bhattacharya 2012) is constituted of the four elements of earth, water, fire, and air. As a result, *svabhāva* alone is the cause behind the diversity (*vaicitrya*, see Bhattacharya 2009, 79) of all phenomena (Bhattacharya 2009, 149), and such is Śiva for Mañkha. Texture] *tantra* [=] *anekaparakāraṃ* J. comm. For the usage of the word *tantra* as ‘pattern, texture’, see also ŚKC 17.51. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.7.

²⁸With the terms *māyā*, *neti neti* and *upaniṣadaḥ*, Mañkha enters the territory of the Vedāntic scriptures [=] *vedāntāḥ* J. comm. For the poet, and for the gods through whom he is speaking, the supreme ruling principle is Śiva, who can be described only by stating what he is not (*neti neti*). For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.8.

as ruler and light of consciousness;
the power of reflective awareness,
revealing the identity with that,
150 does not manifest in you, even in [this] duality,
the error of differentiation (17.29)²⁹

O moon-crested one, you have accomplished
the duty of poet of the Vedas!
Even the exegetes of the Vedas admit you
155 as creator and destroyer of everything
since they accept the injunction
which prescribes absolute surrender
and lack of independent agency
and which has as content only action (17.30)³⁰

160 They all celebrate, ultimately, the end of your inertness
even if by just a sprinkle of water on [your] reflection (?).
Ah! The followers of Kaṇāda should not be in any way ashamed
of enunciating your insentience,
you who are the essence of this [reflection]! (17.31)³¹

²⁹From the present verse up to ŚKC 17.33, Jonarāja's commentary is missing. The reference to the *advaita* Śaivism, however, is made clear by Mañkha's explicit use of a specific terminology that can be linked to the theories of the Pratyabhijñā school. Not only do we see, in the verse, "lord" (*īśvaraḥ*) and "light of consciousness" (*prakāśaḥ*) attributed to Śiva, but also the identity between this *prakāśaḥ* and "reflective awareness" (*vimarśa*) (see Torella 1994, xxiv, fn. 32). This causes the recognition of the fault of the differentiation (*bhedadoṣam*) in Śiva, who is not lord or light of consciousness, but the unity of the two. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.9.

³⁰Mañkha introduces here the concept of Śiva not only as the poet of the Vedas, but also as the agent of the Vedic injunction of sacrificial action itself. In this verse, the "ones who know the Vedas" (*vedavidbhiḥ*) are the interpreters of the Vedic revelation par excellence, the Mīmāṃsakas, for whom "injunction" (*niyoga*) prescribes the "ritual action" (*kriyā*) to be performed (*kārya*) (see Freschi 2012, 19). The duty of poet of the Vedas] lit. "whose duty of poet of the Vedas has been accomplished", with *śrutikavikṛtya* as vocative connected with *śaśimukuta* and *vaivaśya*°, variant for *vivaśa*. Injunction] *niyogam* as in Mss. B₂ L₁ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅, as opposed to the Editions' *viyogam* ("separation"). For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.10.

³¹The verse explicitly mentions the representatives of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika tradition (the followers of Kaṇāda), who theorize both objects and Self as devoid of consciousness, inert (*jaḍa*). Mañkha tries to include their doctrines, but the first two *pādas* are not clear, and the lack of commentary makes the interpretation of the verse more difficult. Two marginal notes in Ms. B₂ seem to point to the direction of my tentative translation of the first half-verse: the copyist comments °*ṛṣadabhiṣekato*° with *jalakanikā* ("drop of water") and °*chāyā*° with *chāyāleśataḥ* ("a portion of reflection"). The compound could also be read as a *dvandva* referring to the practice of waving lights and making ablutions during a *pūjā*: "even if by just a speckle of light or

165 Where could humankind abide, how could it illuminate,
or, rather, how could it breathe, if, from the dawn of time,
the eight-formed Lord had not existed out of mercy,
O most venerable in the entire world? (17.32)⁸²

In the case of [his] discus,
170 Mura's slayer became the receiver [of your grace];
you [also] chopped off the head of the Lotus-born;
in cases such as these, O moon-crested one,
was grace or rage not born in you towards great ones?" (17.33)⁸³

Since the immortals were garrulous in such a praise,
175 the half-moon crested god,
with [his] overflowing new compassion,
started speaking to them with passionate words: (17.34)⁸⁴

"This perturbed behavior of yours,
you who came to me, reveals [your] unbearable affliction,
180 as your faces, dimmed of their customary glow,

a sprinkle of water". For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.11.

⁸²Mañka dedicates the last two verses of the philosophical praise of the gods to more general considerations on Śiva's nature. In this verse, the god's creative power and compassion stand out. Abide] *avatsyat*, cond. from √*vas*. Illuminate] *ajāṣyata*, cond. from √*jan* + *prakāśam*.. Breathe] *prāṣyāt*, cond. from √*prāṣ*. Eight-formed Lord] *aṣṭamūrtiḥ*, i.e. Śiva. In this case, the eight forms of the god must be identified with the five elements, sun, moon and the sacrificial priest, which ideally offer mankind all the necessary factors to thrive. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.12.

⁸³This is the last verse of the gods' *stuti*, which stresses Śiva's ability to confer grace or punishments over everyone, even the gods. Mura's slayer] *murajit*, Viṣṇu as conqueror of the demon Mura. The receiver of [your] grace] *pratigrahītā*, *nomen agentis* (*pratigrahītr*) for the one who receives (a favor or a grace), in this case the weapon of the disk donated by Śiva to Viṣṇu. The editions' *vaktre* is a wrong reading for *cakre*, as all the manuscripts confirm. Lotus-born] *Brahmā*. For a detailed analysis of this verse, see § 6.2.12

⁸⁴The verse is a watershed between the previous praise (*stuti*) of the gods and Śiva's speech. Since the immortals...garrulous] loc. abs., the gods at the assembly, i.e. Namuci and the others in ŚKC 17.17. In such a praise] *ityādistuti* [=] *evamādi* J. comm., lit. "in a praise of this kind". Overflowing new compassion] *pratyagraprasṛtakṛpārasātirekaḥ* lit. "with the excess of the sentiment of compassion newly risen (see J. comm. *navollasat*^o). Compassion] ^o*kṛpārasa*^o, the sentiment of compassion (id. *karuṇarasa*, see J. comm. ^o*karuṇa*^o). Worth noticing is the image of *rasa*, lit. "juice, nectar", as a liquid issued from the mouth of a god, such as, in ŚKC 17.16, where the words of the gods are "as sweet as nectar". Passionate words] *rabhasavaśamvadair vacobhiḥ*. I interpret *rabhasa*^o as "with passion" and not "with haste", as Jonarāja does (*satvara*^o J. comm.).

imitate the morning Moon, Night's husband (17.35)⁸⁵

O Lords, who desire the enemies' spoils,
why are your faces trembling in frailty and distress,
you, who are healers of diseases, misfortunes of the world?

185 Your fiery energy, getting over [your] affliction,
can truly outweigh the strength of the submarine fire (17.36)⁸⁶

Brahmā's absolute immobility during meditation
remained as a [self]-imposed devotion in [his] eyes;
in [this] moment of overgrowing anguish, [however]
190 [this] very [immobility], even though performed more intensely,
does not satisfy [him] anymore (17.37)⁸⁷

Why is the disk of Mura's enemy lying,
with the path of his past rays overcome by thinness,
[and] on which appeared the sinister charm
195 of Death's bowl, [filled with the food of]
the heads of the enemies, excitedly moving in battle? (17.38)⁸⁸

⁸⁵Śiva directly addresses the gods and his speech occupies ten verses (17.35–44). The whole section is dedicated to the description of the pale faces of the gods, and procrastinates the explanation of the actual cause of their anguish, namely the impending attack of the three demons. These ten verses remind us the second canto of Kālidāsa's *Kumārasaṃbhava*, in which Brahmā describes the paleness of the gods attending the war council with similar words in the same number of verses (KS 2.18–28). For this verse, compare Smith's translation of KS 2.19: "how is that your faces do not bear their customary glow? They're like the stars when their radiance is dulled by mist" (Smith 2005, 67).

Dimmed...glow] *viśliṣyannijamahasāṃ* lit. "who had their own splendor dissolved". Imitate] *viḍambayanti* denom. from *viḍamba*. The morning moon] The moon fading in the morning, like the faces of the gods at the assembly.

⁸⁶Diseases...world] *viśvāpadgada* [=] *āpad eva gado rogaḥ...viśvasyāpadgadabhiṣajo* J. comm. Getting over your affliction] *vilāṅghyadainyam*. I follow the commentator's second interpretation ('*vilāṅghyadainyam*' ity *ekapadam* vā J. comm.), and translate the term as a compound referred to *tejas*. As J. comm. proposes in his first reading, *vilāṅghya* could also be interpreted as [=] *ullaṅghya*, i.e. gerundive + acc. *dhanyam*. Sumbarine fire] *vāḍavam*. Mañkha refers here to the myth of the fire of doomsday, which assumes the form of a mare (*vāḍavā*) issuing perennial flames from its nostrils in the depths of the ocean. See Doniger 2014.

⁸⁷Overgrowing] *cintāyāḥ paricayane* lit. "in the heaping up of sorrow". Even...intensely] *sād-hikyakramam* adv., lit. "even if in a more intense way".

⁸⁸Sinister charm] *°bhaṅgiḥ* [=] *°ṭaṅko* J. comm., lit. "curve", to be interpreted, as usual, with "charm" (see Slaje 2015, 48 fn. 2.11). Death's bowl] According to Jonarāja, the bowl from which the god of death Yama eats (*yamāśanapātra*° J. comm.), perhaps a skull, thus similar to the heads of the enemies (see J. comm. *śatruśirāṃsi yamāśanabhāṅḍasamāni saṃpannānīyarthah*).

For whom wouldn't constantly raise the doubt,
all of a sudden indeed, the very body of Biḍaujas,
on which Śrī, resting on his constantly blossomed thousand eyes,
200 does not [even] remember [her] lotus-filled lake? (17.39)³⁹

Why, then, a combination of swiftness and bulkiness
does not generate again through the deep sighs of these ones,
the Winds, who show the frailty of their limbs,
peculiar in their unprecedented thinness? (17.40)⁴⁰

205 Why, after abandoning the mantle of [his] heat,
the body of the Sun is so much surrounded by paleness
that he is the cause of pain for the Cakravākas
by acting as the circle of the moon [even] without night? (17.41)⁴¹

Where did the splendor, which shares his nature with fire itself,
210 hide from Śrī, [usually] eager for all the three worlds?
Ah! You can immediately see the leftovers of this [splendor]:
the mere waves of sighs, burning out of pain (17.42)⁴²

Because of the spreading lights of the sun,
which everyday sets behind the western mountain,
215 the Lord of the West, holding [his] unsurpassed brilliance,

³⁹Biḍaujas] Indra. Blossomed] *vinidra* lit. “expanded, open”, such as the eyes of Indra for fear of the demons. Jonarāja notes that Indra’s wide-open eyes cannot be distinguished from the fully open lotuses (see J. comm. *padmasarovikāsasyānaikāntikatvāt*). This is the reason for the presence of Śrī, goddess of wealth and splendor, whose abode is the lotus (see also ŚKC 6.3). Doubt] *saṃdeham*, i.e. that of Śrī, who justifiably mistakes Indra for a lotus-filled lake. Jonarāja does not explain the more problematic second half-verse, or, as the editors suggest, the commentary itself existed but is missing from the manuscripts (Eds. *ādarśapustake ślokottarārdhatikā nāsti*).

⁴⁰Why then...again] *kiṃ tv eṣāṃ punar api jāyate* [=] *punar api kiṃ na jāyate* J. comm. A combination of swiftness and bulkiness] *analamāṃsalatvayogaḥ* [=] *analamatvaṃ cāturi māṃsalatvaṃ pīvaratā tadyogaḥ* J. comm., lit. “the union with the state of being bulky” (*pīvaratā*) and the “dexterity, swiftness” (*cāturi*) of the wind-gods, who, afraid of the demons, are emaciated but still emits strong sighs. Peculiar...thinness] lit. “with the excess of their emaciation rising unprecedented”; Peculiar] *°kraśimaviśeṣavadbhir* [=] *°kraśimādhikya°* J. comm.; Unprecedented] *citra°* [=] *abhūtapūrva°* J. comm.

⁴¹So much surrounded by paleness] *pāṇḍimnā paricitam...tathā*. Even the sun, out of anguish, abandons his heat, and becomes as pale as the moon (*sūryaś candravatpāṇḍur* J. comm.) even during the day (*vinā triyāmām* [=] *rātriṃ vinā* J. comm.). In doing so, it prolongs the cries of the Cakravākas, a kind of ducks whose couples, for *kāvya* conventions, are said to separate and loudly mourn during the night at the sight of the moon.

⁴²Splendor] Śrī’s wealthy luminosity, the goddess’s capability of generating prosperity, is like hidden from her.]You...see] *yuṣmākaṃ sapadi vilokyate*, lit. “it is immediately visible for you”.

was immediately showing his own female power,
in his eyes filled with tears (17.43)⁴³

Where did it end up, then, the past abundance
of the innate splendor of the other gods?

220 How can it be consumed by the wind streams
of [their] thick sighs, incessantly heaved from [their] mouths,
and in what manner by the illuminating calmness?" (17.44)⁴⁴

With the anguish of [their] minds
almost taken away by such [affectionate] words
225 of the sole sorcerer of Smara's sea monster,
their eyes averted out of despair,
[and] somehow raising their faces,
the gods stood [still] for an instant (17.45)⁴⁵

Then Brahmā, the poet of the revelation,
230 with distinguished words, whose sound arrangement
[was] contrasting the roaring clouds,
increasing for a moment the fear of the royal geese
which were agitating before his chariot,
respectfully said: (17.46)⁴⁶

235 "For whom wouldn't they cause a sort of pain,
the ones who are like the foundation of the gods' anguish?
O three-eyed god, these three demons,

⁴³Lord of the Western Direction] Varuṇa, god regent of the West (see J. comm. *īśvaro varuṇo*), blinded by the rays of the sun setting close-by, in the West. Female essence] *śaktim*, here related to the female characteristics of the male god Varuṇa, who is described while crying. Filled with tears] *dr̥ṣi vidhr̥tāmbhasi* lit. "in his eyes, where the water was restrained" (see J. comm. *sabāṣpeṇa netreṇa*).

⁴⁴Gods] *savanalihām*, lit. "of the ones who drink the libations [of soma]".

⁴⁵Almost taken away] *apahr̥takalpa°*, with *°kalpa°* at the end of a compound in the sense of "nearly", "almost". Affectionate] *īdr̥gbhiḥ* [=] *harasyedr̥gbhiḥ sasnehābhir uktibhir* J. comm. Of the sole sorcerer...monster] Śiva (see J. comm. *harasya°* and marginal note *śivasya* in Ms. B₂). Averted out of despair] I correct the Eds. *nirvedād abhimukhalocanam* with *nirvedānabhimukhalocanam*, with *°anabhimukha°* meaning "averted", in accordance with Jonarāja's commentary (*ata eva nirvedena duḥkhenānabhimukhāni locanāni*) and Ms. Ś₅.

⁴⁶Poet of the revelation] *śrutikavitā* (*śrutikavitṛ*) [=] *śrutikavitā devo brahma* J. comm. Brahmā as poet of the gods, therefore producing *śruti* (the sacred oral knowledge of the Vedas), and not *smṛti*, which is composed and written by humans. Royal geese...chariot] The white royal goose (*haṃsa*) is traditional vehicle of Brahmā. In this case, many of them are yoked at the god's carriage, agitated by the impending storm.

difficult to understand, enemies of the three worlds...
they are here. (17.47)⁴⁷

240 Firstly these ones, all together, surpassing even the divine Seers
in the intense performance of *yama*, *niyama* and so forth,
they practiced endless austerities to honor me
in an even more resolute way (17.48)⁴⁸

245 Since their asceticism was tirelessly harassing the three worlds
in the manner of the flames at the end of a *kalpa*,
then, with great respect [and completely] guilelessly,
I granted them audience (17.49)⁴⁹

250 As their bodies were tormented by the burden of the asceticism,
I relieved [it] with the air from the wings of my bird-vehicle,
[and], O Paṭu, manifesting my own form before them,
who had their hands joined in salutation,
I said aloud: (17.50)⁵⁰

255 «The whole warp of [your] limbs
has been thinned out now by the knife
of your extremely sharp asceticism.
Sons! Enough with [these] austerities!

⁴⁷Brahmā begins his speech, which lasts for twenty verses (ŚKC 17.47–66) and describes the request of the three demons to Brahmā, the boon the god granted them, the construction of their three cities, and the uprising of Tārakākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Vidyunmālin. Foundation] *pādāḥ*, lit. “the feet”, i.e. the very cause, the source. Difficult to understand] *duḥsahaprameyā* [=] *gahanasvarūpās* J. comm.

⁴⁸All together] *saṃhatya* [=] *militvā* J. comm., lit. “having gathered”. Divine Seers] the Ṛṣis. Intense performance] *māṃsalābhiḥ ceṣṭābhiḥ*, lit. “with their fleshy actions” (=] *māṃsalābhir ghanābhiḥ ceṣṭābhiḥ karmabhir* J. comm.). *Yama*, *niyama* and so forth] °*yamanīyamādī*°, the first two *āṅgas* in the eight-fold division of Yoga, and all the others (°*ādī*°). See Patañjali’s *Yogasūtras* 2.29–32 and Jonarāja’s commentary (*yamair ahimsādibhir...niyamaiḥ śaucādibhir* J. comm.). The three demons are here described as the perfect yogis, who accomplish all the possible austerities in order to please Brahmā and obtain his favor.

⁴⁹I granted them audience] *darśanam purastāt tebhyo ’haṃ vyataram* [=] *tabhyo darśanam adām* J. comm., lit. “I showed myself in front of them”, with abl. *tebhyah* + *purastāt*. Completely guilelessly] *nirvyājakramam* [=] *niṣkapaṭam*. Brahmā, at first, innocently trusts the demons’ *tapas*, without thinking they might have concocted the whole thing for their own profit.

⁵⁰I relieved it] *kurvan nirvāṇam* lit. “making the cessation of the burden”. My bird-vehicle] The royal goose (*haṃsa*), Brahmā’s *vahana*.

I will grant you the boon you desire! (17.51)⁵¹

Now, tell [me] [your] real desire,
to attain which you have revealed
260 the moves of a dice-player
through the gaming stake of such a great ascetic.
Don't hesitate [and] speak,
O jewels on the crown of Diti's family!» (17.52)⁵²

Pricked up their ears at my speech,
265 [and] with their eyes moistened by tears of joy close-by,
in this manner, with their heads bent, they spoke to me,
with words that showed their intentions
through their humble syllables: (17.53)⁵³

«O you who fulfill wishes,
270 there is no use for other boons, attained or not,
and there is no difference between them;
O all-pervading god, grant us, now, immortality,
through the nectar streams of words
flowing from your mouth!» (17.54)⁵⁴

275 I replied: «Īśvara does not certainly grant
such [a boon] so quickly. Ask for another one!»
Then, listened to my words,

⁵¹Brahmā directly addresses the demons in his dialogue within the dialogue. Warp of your limbs] *gātratantram* [=] *aṅgaprapañcas* J. comm., i.e. the texture of the limbs as the textile of the body (see also verse 17.27). By the knife] *vāsyā* [=] *kubjikayā* J. comm., lit. “the crooked one”, a knife (see Schmidt 1928, 149).

⁵²O jewels] *maṇḍanā* voc. pl., see J. comm. *he ditikulasya maulimaṇḍanāḥ*. Diti's family] *ditikula*, i.e. the family of Diti, mother of the demons. It is worth noticing the comparison between the demons' actions and those of a dice-player (°*durodara*°), who sets the stake (°*pañā*°) high.

⁵³Tears of joy] *pramadarasokṣita*° [=] *ānandajala*° J. comm. With their heads bent] *vinam-rakaṅṭham*, adv., lit. “with their necks bent” out of humility and devotion. Real intentions] *antarāṅgāṇi vivakṣitapratyāsannāni* J. comm., Through humble syllables] I follow Jonarāja's reading and correct the Eds. *vinayam apākṣarāntaraṅga*° with *vinayamayākṣarāntaraṅga*° (see J. comm. *vinayamayāny akṣarāṇi*), lit. “the intentions of their syllables, which consists in modesty”.

⁵⁴The demons deceitfully ask Brahmā for a boon they are sure he would not grant, in order to obtain the same result with a lesser gift. You who fulfill wishes] *varada*, i.e. Brahmā intended as the wish-fulfilling god, a sort of *captatio benevolentiae* of the demons. Grant us immortality] lit. “let there be, for us, immortality”. Now] *jhaḡiti*, lit. “at once, immediately”.

they once again answered this, respectfully: (17.55)⁵⁵

280 «O Lord, if you don't [want to] promise [this] to us,
who had been weakened by [our] intense asceticism,
then, [at least], allow one arrow only,
cast by an enemy in battle,
[to be the cause] of death for us all» (17.56)⁵⁶

285 After they received such a splendid boon from me,
these ones, even though they were ready to attack
the three worlds one after another,
they decided to accomplish a new deed
to artfully elude Death's design (17.57)⁵⁷

290 Knowing the real truth of that [enterprise],
Maya, then, whose inevitable duty [consisted in] numerous crafts,
built for them in each of the three worlds [three] cities,
which looked tremendous as made of gold, silver and iron (17.58)⁵⁸

295 Tārakākṣa, the star-eyed demon,
took command of the chief-city, the golden one,
whose latticework-windows were filled with waterlilies
through the glances of the demons' women
[and] whose inflamed ramparts were marked
by a new abounding splendor

⁵⁵Īśvara] Śiva. Having listened to my words] *asmadvacanam athocculumpya te 'tra śrotrābhyām*, lit. "sipping up my words with their ears" ([=] *ity asmadvākyaṃ sādaram śrutvā te* J. comm.)

⁵⁶The demons ask for a boon which is similar to that of immortality: no-one can destroy them separately, but their death can occur only if the enemy shoot them with a single arrow all together at the same time (*sarveṣāṃ bhavatu sahaiva*).

⁵⁷Although] *atha ca* [=] *°api cet* J. comm. They decided to accomplish] *vyadhiṣata...°siddhim*, aor. from *vi + √dhā*, lit. "they performed the accomplishment of". A new deed] *nūtnayatna°*, in which *nūtna* means "new" (see Jonarāja, who quotes the *Amarakośa* (AK 3.1.158): '*navīno nūyano navaḥ nūtnāś ca' iti koṣaḥ* J. comm.). Artfully] *yuktyā*, i.e. with a trick or by a ruse. Elude] *ativartitum*, lit. "in order to overcome". Death's design] *matim...yamasya*, i.e. in order to avoid their death.

⁵⁸Brahmā starts narrating to Śiva the new enterprise of the three demons, namely the construction of three citadels, each one in a different world, which would prevent them from being attacked by a single arrow. Maya] The architect of the demons. Which looked tremendous] *°vikatāiḥ prakāraiḥ*, lit. "with their aspects/natures which were tremendous". In the editions, Jonarāja's commentary contains *prākāraiḥ*, i.e. "by means of walls" or "by means of ramparts", which is, however, immetrical in the verse. As made of] *°ghaṭanā°*, lit. "in union with".

flashing up through the precious ruby gateways (17.59)⁵⁹

300 In the sky, now equaled in splendor,
laughing through the beaming rays of light
together with the dazzling white star-mansions,
Kamalākṣa, the lotus-eyed demon, measure of heroism,
spruced up the city as if he was doing it to himself,
305 encircling it with the splendor of a silver royalty (17.60)⁶⁰

Then, in the world of the humans,
Vidyunmālin, the cloud-demon,
effortlessly forged with streams of shiny blades
a city of black iron,
310 with its wholly black body throbbing
as if for the solid contact with the darkness of Hell
which spreads from the surface of the earth,
burst open for [its] weight (17.61)⁶¹

Having obtained a great fame thanks to these the three cities
315 [and] intent on tormenting the worlds one by one

⁵⁹Took command] *adhyarukṣat* aor. from *adhi* + √*ruh*. Lattice-work-windows filled with water-lilies] *kuvalayitagavākṣam* [=] the perforated windows of Tārakākṣa's palaces are compared to lakes, since the women, appearing behind the windows through the holes, fill them with the lotuses of their eyes. Through the...gateways] °*gopura*° [=] °*puradvāra*° J. comm., i.e. the doors of the city, its gates. Worth noticing is the double image of openings filled with splendor: in the first case, the lotus-eyes of the women; in the second case, the flames of the ramparts ('vapram) exiting from the gates. According to Jonarāja, Tārakākṣa's city is situated in Pātāla, and this can be observed by exclusion, since Mañkha explicitly locates the other two cities in the sky (ŚKC 17.60) and on earth (ŚKC 17.61) respectively (see J. comm. *vakṣyamāṇayor nagarayor dyāvāpṛthivyadhikaraṇatvāt pārīṣeṣyātsauvarṇanagarasya pātāle vidhiḥ*).

⁶⁰The second city of the demons, ruled by Kamalākṣa, is made of silver and situated in the sky. Laughing] Once again, the connection between smile and whiteness is connected to royal power (see § 4.2). Spruced up] *parikaram ādhād* [=] *parikaram cakāra* J. comm., i.e. made preparations, *parikaram* + ā √*dhā*. Splendor of a silver royalty] *rājatollāsa* [=] *rājatā rājabhāvaś ca* J. comm. There is a double meaning in *rājatā*, meaning both silver and kingship and rendered in translation with "silver royalty" (*rājatā rājabhāvaś ca* J. comm.).

⁶¹The third city, the earthly iron one, is Vidyunmālin's, the "cloud-demon", lit. "the thunder-wreathed". Effortlessly] *ayātnāj*° wrong reading for *ayatnāj*°; Forged] *asicat* [=] *siñcati* J. comm., from √*sic*, lit. 'sprinkling, pouring on', but also 'to cast/form anything' from molten metal; Shiny blades] The compound *asisalila*° is interpreted by the commentator as [=] °*asīnām salilam prabhā prabhāviśeṣas* J. comm., where °*salila*° is °*prabhāviśeṣas*°, i.e. a special radiance, brilliance (see "Glanz" in Schmidt 1928, 361). City] *janapadam*, i.e. a region, a dwelling place. In this case, the second city of the demons, made of iron. Its weight] The weight of Vidyunmālin's city [=] *nagarabhareṇa* J. comm.

with the power of a universal great danger going on for aeons,
 even at the mere mention of their name
 the bodies of the lovely-browed goddesses
 obtained the charm of the creepers,
 320 tossed by an excessive wind (17.62)⁶²

These three, then, spread, at once,
 burning sorrow, loss of light, and multiple damages
 as if they were the furious humors of the universe;
 If for this gathering of calamities [there is] a medicine,
 325 that would be your grace, O Bharga! (17.63)⁶³

The creepers of the *saṃtānaka* tree, which could not tolerate,
 in the middle of the day, not even the touch of a little bit of heat
 coming from the flames of the sun-stones' fire
 ornaments in the inner apartments of the women therein playing,
 330 in that moment, pulverized by the soldiers [of Tripura]
 even a forest fire is [more] desirable—it really is!—
 than the fever of [that] profound disrespect (17.64)⁶⁴

⁶²It is the first time in Brahmā's speech in which the three cities are addressed collectively with "Tripura". Aeons] *divyāni abdaśatāni*, lit. "divine centuries". Even...name] *yannamnāpy adhirohatā śrutipadam* lit. "even by the raising of their name at the base of [their] ears", i.e. of the goddesses. Goddesses] *gīrvāṇa* lit. "whose arrow is speech". Obtained the charm] *gāhante...sauhrdam [=] kāntim śrayanti* J. comm., lit. "entered deeply into the loveliness".

⁶³Mañkha exquisitely compares the three demons with the three humors of the body, unbalanced as they are furiously (°*utkupita*°) menacing the body-universe. These three, like Āyurvedic's *dhātus* (the *tridoṣa*, see J. comm. *dhātavaś ca vātapittakaphā iva vikurvate*), spread diseases: the alteration (*vātādikope* J. comm.) of the first one, *pitta* ("bile"), causes "sorrow-heat" (*tāpaṃ duḥkham, pittasaṃtāpaṃ ca* J. comm.); the modification of the second, *kapha* ("phlegm"), causes "lack of light-paleness" (*rucikṣatiṃ vicchāyatāmojobhaṅgāt, annaviṣayābhilāṣanivṛttiṃ śleṣmakṛtāṃ ca* J. comm.); the third one, *vāta* ("air"), brings about "damages-diseases" (*pīḍā janopadravāt, vātakṛtāḥ pīḍās ca* J. comm.). The only effective medicine (*bhīṣaj*) is, of course, Śiva's grace.

⁶⁴The demons, menacing the gods with burning heat and other calamities, distress even the trees in Indra's paradise. Saṃtānaka] One of the five trees (*pañcavṛkṣas*) of the gods' Svarga. Jonarāja does not comment further on the tree, but the Eds. insert a footnote with a similar verse from the lost work *Hayagrīvavadha* by Meṇṭha/Bhartṛmeṇṭha (see ŚKC 2.53), active at the court of the Kashmiri king Mātṛgupta (Stein 1900 (1), 84, 93 fn. 260, and Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* 3.260), and contained in the aesthetic work *Sāhityadarpaṇa* by the fourteenth-century author Viśvanātha Kavirāja (10.60, see Eds. fn. 'sprṣtā nandane śacyā keśasambhogalālītāḥ | sāvajñaṃ pārijātasya mañjaryo yasya sainikaiḥ ||' *iti hayagrīvavadham, sāhityadarpaṇe*). The verse, already quoted by Mañkha's teacher Ruyyaka in his *Alaṅkārasarvasva* as an example of "periphrasis" (*paryāyokta*, see Gerow 1971, 205–6), explicitly speaks about the *pārijāta* tree tormented in Nandana, the gods' celestial garden. Even a forest fire...disrespect] i.e. a fire in

With their necks tied up with snake-chains
 at the bottom of those posts of the trunks
 335 of the eradicated gods' trees,
 the flow of [their] rut-fluid dried up,
 the elephants of the directions,
 becoming the guard-elephants in the demons' yards,
 even if relieved of the earth's burden,
 340 deeply bow their heads
 because of the oppression of shame (17.65)⁶⁵

What else [can I say] now, then, O three-eyed god?
 With the universe conquered by chaos
 [and] the wind gust of the fly-whisks
 345 prolonged by the streams of sighs of the celestial women,
 these ones, realizing that the whole surface of the earth
 is deprived of heroes and so is the abode of the gods,
 soon will certainly leave, of us all,
 nothing but the mere name" (17.66)⁶⁶

350 Brahmā, the director, exposing in this manner
 the [opening] words [of his] prologue,
 quickly disappeared behind the stage-curtain
 of the extension of the luminosity of his mouth;
 [there], on the stage of the mind of the gods assembled,

a forest, i.e. an extreme danger, is better than the demons' offense [=] *dāvāgnir varam, na tu daityāvamāna ityarthah* J. comm.

⁶⁵Dryed up] *dānasalilāvagrāhiṇo* lit. having an obstacle in the flowing of their rut-fluids [=] *madajalasyāvagrāhaḥ śoṣo* J. comm. Elephants of the directions] *digdvipāḥ*, the celestial elephants which support the earth by standing in each of the eight cardinal points. Becoming the guard-elephants] *nītās yāmagajatā* lit. assuming the role of elephant-guardians in the courtyards of the demons (See Schmidt 1928, 307). Yards] *ajireṣu* [=] *aṅganeṣu* J. comm., a place to walk in, a courtyard. Even if relieved...burden] *sraste 'pi*, loc., lit. "even if the earth burden has been removed". The traditional cosmos is turned upside-down by the demons, who enslave even the elephants of the directions, who used to bend their heads not for shame, but to support the burden of the earth on their backs. The Eds. inserts anew an explanatory footnote, containing a verse from Māgha *Śīsupālavadha* (1.57), in which Yama's buffalo is forced to bow his head out of shame because the demon Rāvaṇa had stolen his horn (see transl. Dundas 2017, 25).

⁶⁶Brahmā concludes his speech. Celestial women] *svarvadhūbhīḥ*, [=] *nākanārībhir* J. comm. The Apsarases or the goddesses. These ones] The demons, see J. comm. *te daityā*. Conquered] *ākṛānta* [=] *jita* J. comm. lit. "conquered, subdued". Chaos] *vinayātikrama* lit. "a violation of order".

355 entered that actor who goes by the name of “Anger”
performing that emotion through the jerky movements
of [their] eyes and hands (17.67)⁶⁷

⁶⁷Director...Prologue] *sūtradhāre...prastāvanāyai*, theatrical technical terms which refer to the stage-manager who, first on the scene, describes the background of the story which is going to be performed. The extension...mouth] i.e. the god’s words?. Entering the stage] *vidadhadhi-manoraṅgapīṭhapraveśaṃ* lit. “performed the entrance on the stage”. Emotion] i.e. Anger performing anger (*krodha*) through the other gods, excitedly moving. The last verse of the canto is closed by the final rubric: “Here ends the description of Śiva’s assembly with the gods, the seventeenth canto of the court poem *Śrikanṭhacarita*, [composed] by Rājānaka śrī Maṅkhaka, king of the poets [and] son of śrī Rājānaka Viśvavarta and the commentary [composed] by śrī Jonarāja”.

Part III
Critical Edition

Chapter 13

Manuscripts Survey

13.1 Preliminary Remarks

The present chapter aims to provide scholars with an inventory of the existing editions and manuscripts of Mañkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, in order to elude the time-consuming process of the manuscripts' location and facilitate the philological study of the text. So far, modern studies and translations of Mañkha's court poem (Bhatt 1973, Gomez 2016, Kreyenborg 1929, Mandal 1991, and Slaje 2015) do not make any use of the manuscripts. The research is based on both Bühler's *Report* (Cat. Report 1877) and the editions printed in the *Kāvyaṃālā* series (KM 1887 and 1900, and the reprint by Motilal 1983), whose text at time lacks clarity and require emendations.¹ In addition, the printed editions do not contain any mention to the manuscripts that the editors Durgaprasad and Parab might have employed, which can be derived through philological work on the text itself (see below).

For this survey of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*'s manuscripts, I follow the intuitive and effective steps already described by Alessandro Graheli in his article on the *Nyāyamañjarī* manuscripts (Graheli 2012, 318): first, the consultation of *catalogi catalogorum* (here *Catalogus Catalogorum* = CC and *New Catalogus Catalogorum* = NCC); second, the consultation of individual catalogues. This second step is necessary as the *catalogi catalogorum* are far from being a reliable source of information (Graheli 2012, 318). The risk of error is higher: as a result the entries, at times, do not correspond to the physical manuscript (here in the case of Oudh XII,10, see § 13.3.1), a single manuscript is often recorded multiple times (as in

¹The necessity of a philological work on the printed editions of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is apparent in Slaje's *Bacchanal in Himmel* (2015), in which we can observe various emendations and corrections of the *mūla* text based on different readings in Jonarāja's commentary.

the cases H.88=Oxf. II.1234(2), see § 13.3.2, and BORI. 197-200 of 1875-76=BORI. D. XIII. II. 765-67=D. p. 83 (3 mss.), see § 13.3.2), and so forth. For these reasons, the over-concise information contained in CC and NCC (such as acronyms, numbers etc.) must be untangled and traced back to the source-catalogue, which may be decisive for providing descriptions and additional information about the manuscripts.

After the description of the printed editions, the disentanglement of information of the *catalogi catalogorum*, and of their source-catalogues, I provide a list of six manuscripts that have been excluded by the above-mentioned compilations and are preserved at the Oriental Research Library in Śrīnagar (see § 11.3.3).² One of these manuscripts is particularly useful as it might be one of the oldest extant manuscript, in Śāradā script and birch-bark, to include a colophon which has never been edited before (see § 13.4.10).

An in-depth description of codicological aspects of the manuscripts³ and their contents follows this preliminary list (see § 13.4). The structure of this section and the terminology employed to describe the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscripts has been derived both from Graheli's article on the *Nyāyamañjarī* manuscripts (2012) and from Camillo Formigatti's unpublished doctoral dissertation *Sanskrit Annotated Manuscripts from Northern India and Nepal* (2015).

The final section of the present survey is dedicated to the list of manuscripts which had been omitted from the description (see § 13.5), and to the synopsis of the described manuscripts (see § 13.6).

²I have been able to study a digitized copy of these manuscripts at the National Mission for Manuscripts at the Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts (IGNCA) in Delhi, during a field-trip to India in the early months of 2017. I thank the institution and its librarians for their time and courtesy.

³With "codicology", Formigatti intends Agati's "codicology *stricto sensu*" (2009, 30-1), i.e. the archaeology of the manuscript, its physical appearance (material, script, and so forth), as opposed to "manuscriptology and codicology *sensu lato*", or the life of the manuscript which goes beyond its creation, i.e. its public, fortune, trades, and the like (see Formigatti 2015, 10-13)

13.2 Printed Editions

All the three printed editions of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* contain both Maṅkha's text and Jonarāja's commentary. The oldest edition is the one edited by Durgaprasad and Parab and published by Nirṇaya Sagara Press in the *Kāvyaṃālā* series (vol. 3) in 1887. The second edition, revised by the same editors and published by Tukārām Jāvajī in 1900, does not contain any difference, similarly to the later reprint by Motilal Banarsidass in 1983.

KM 1887 = First edition by Durgaprasad and Parab, it contains the text of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* and the commentary by Jonarāja. Published in the third volume of the *Kāvyaṃālā* series by Nirṇaya Sāgara Press, Bombay 1887.

KM 1900 = Second revised edition by Durgaprasad and Parab, it contains the text of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* and of the commentary by Jonarāja. Published in the third volume of the *Kāvyaṃālā* series by Tukārām Jāvajī Bombay, 1900.

MOTILAL 1983 = Reprint of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, not specified whether of KM 1887 or of KM 1900. Published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1983.

None of these publications contain any reference to the manuscripts employed by the editors, which is quite common in poetic texts published in the *Kāvyaṃālā* series. The text itself, however, is preceded by a useful "index" (*sūcipatra*) containing "number of canto" (*sargāṅka*), "topic" (*varṇaviṣaya*), and correspondent "page" (*prṣṭha*), for a total of twenty-five cantos and 1649 verses.

The first canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is preceded by five introductory verses written by Jonarāja, in which the commentator introduces himself (he is son of Nonarāja, and grandson of Lularāja) and advances some methodological observations on the straightforwardness of his commentary (see Obrock 2015, 79). Each canto is closed by a final rubric, which runs as follows:

*iti śrījonarājakṛtayā ṭikayā sametaḥ śrīrājānakaviśvavartasūnor mahākavirā-
jarājānakaśrīmaṅkhakasya kṛtau śrīkaṇṭhacarite mahākāvye [name of the
canto] nāma [number of the canto] sargaḥ*

At the end of the volume, the editors include an alphabetical index of all the verses of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, which is useful for reference purpose .

13.3 The Manuscripts: A Preliminary List

13.3.1 Catalogus Catalogorum Records

In his *Catalogus Catalogorum* (= CC 1891, 1896, and 1903), Theodor Aufrecht records seven *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* entries, for a total of ten manuscripts:

Śrīkaṇṭhacarita kāvya by Maṅkha. **Report XIII. Oudh XII,10. H. 88.** C: by Jonarāja **Report XIII. H. 88** (CC 1891, 667).

Śrīkaṇṭhacarita kāvya, by Maṅkha. **Stein 75.** C: by Jonarāja **Stein 75 (inc.)** (CC 1896, 159).

Śrīkaṇṭhacarita kāvya by Maṅkha. **IO.2548.** C. by Jonarāja **IO.2033** (CC 1903, 138).

According to the *legendae* (see CC 1891, iii-viii, CC 1896, iii-iv, and CC 1903, iii-iv), the acronyms must be untangled as follows:

1. **Report XIII. Report** refers to the *Detailed Report of a tour in search of Sanskrit MSS. made in Kashmir, Rajputana, and Central India* by Georg Bühler; **XIII** to page 13. Four manuscripts of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* are listed and described here under numbers 197–198–199–200 (see Bibliography Cat. Report 1877-78).
2. **Oudh XII, 10. Oudh** refers to the *Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. existing in Oudh, Fascicles III-XIII*, compiled by Paṇḍit Devīprasāda; **XII** to the fascicle of year 1880; **10** to the page. According to **Cat. Oudh 1880**, this manuscript contains a poem in 600 *ślokas* on the life of Śrīkaṇṭha, an ancient king of Kashmir, by the author Rājāna Saṅkha, which I still have to trace and study (see Cat. Oudh 1880).
3. **H. 88. H.** refers to “Über eine Sammlung indischer Handschriften und Inschriften von E. Hultsch”, printed in the journal *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 40 (1), p. 14 (1886). **88** refers to two manuscripts of Hultsch’s collection: **88a**, “*Śrīkaṇṭhacarita. Verf. Maṅkhaka*”; **88b**, “*Śrīkaṇṭhacaritaṭīkā. Verf. Jonarāja. Bl. 157-361. Sam. 24, Śak. 1570, Śāradā, Bhūrja*”. This collection has been purchased by the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford (See Cat. Janert 1965, 69, 116, and Cat. Hultsch 1886).
4. **Stein 75 and Stein 75 (inc.)**. **Stein** refers to the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Raghunātha Temple Library of his Highness the Maharāja of Jammu and Kashmir*, prepared by Marc Aurel Stein in 1894, author of

the edition and translation of Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (see Stein 1900). **75** refers to the page in the catalogue. According to Aufrecht, the manuscript listed as **Stein 75** contains also Jonarāja's commentary (**Stein 75 (inc.)**) = included, see Cat. Stein 1894).

5. **IO.2548** and **IO.2033**. **IO** refers to the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office* compiled by Julius Eggeling. **2548** and **2033** correspond to the numbers of two manuscripts of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, recorded under the catalogue numbers **3848–3849**. On page 1445 of the seventh volume of Eggeling's catalogue (1904), it is stated that the manuscript 3849 (=2548) has been used for the edition of *Kāvyaṃālā*, vol. i (Bombay 1887). The manuscript collection of the India Office Library have been acquired by the British Library (see Cat. Eggeling 1904).

13.3.2 New Catalogus Catalogorum Records

The thirty-fifth volume of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* (= NCC 35, 261) records the entries of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscripts as follows:

Alph. List. Beng. Govt. p. 120. Baroda II 4396. 8212. BHU. 6553-54. BORI. 197-200 of 1875-76. BORI. D. XIII. ii. 765-67. D. p. 83 (3 mss.). Damodar. H. 88. IO 3848-49. Oudh XII. 10 Oxf. II. 1234(2). Ranbir II. p. 330 (inc.). RASB. VII. 5147. Report XIII. Stein 75 (inc.). Wien II. 23.

According to the NCC Abbreviations, the previous entries must be disentangled as follows:

1. **Alph. List. Beng. Govt. p. 120. Alph. List. Beng. Govt.** corresponds to "An alphabetical Index of Mss. purchased up to 1891", compiled for the Government of Bengal by Hariprasada Shastri. The only manuscript of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is listed under the number 1632 on page **120** and it contains Jonarāja's *ṭīkā*. Manuscript 1632 is also described in *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (see **RASB** below) by Hariprasada Shastri (see Cat. Shastri 1895 and Cat. Shastri 1934).
2. **Baroda II 4396. 8212. Baroda II** refers to *An Alphabetical List of Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, compiled by Raghavan Nambiyar in 1950. **4396** and **8212** are the account numbers of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscripts, described on pages 1050–51 under the catalogue numbers 819 and 820 (see Bibliography Cat. Baroda 1950).

3. **BHU. 6553-54.** **BHU** refers to the manuscripts preserved at the Central Library of the Banaras Hindu University in Varanasi, under numbers 6553 and 6554. I have not been able to trace neither the catalogue (perhaps that of the year 1971, which seems to be missing),⁴ nor the manuscripts.
4. **BORI. 197–200 of 1875–76.** **BORI.** refers to the list of manuscripts preserved at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. According to the NCC Abbreviations, v, **BORI** is a copy of the complete card index of the manuscripts prepared in 1940 (see Cat. BORI D.). **197–200** indicate the four manuscripts of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* listed under the catalogue numbers 197, 198, 199, 200. **1875-76** refers to the 1875–76 BORI collection, namely the four manuscripts which are the ones purchased by Georg Bühler on behalf of the Bombay Presidency. The manuscripts 197, 198, 199, 200 correspond to the ones in **Report XIII.** (see Cat. BORI, Cat. Janert 1965, 126, Cat. Biswas 1998, 226–27).
5. **BORI. D. XIII. ii. 765–67.** **BORI. D.** refers to the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collection of Manuscripts deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona* 4. **XIII** is the volume on *kāvya* and **ii** indicates the second part of such volume, by Parashuram Krishna Gode. **765–67** are the catalogue numbers of three manuscripts, indicated with the manuscript numbers 197, 198 and 200 on pages 455–59. The catalogue contains a description of these three manuscripts (see Cat. Gode 1942).
6. **D. p. 83 (3 mss.).** **D.** refers to *A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts deposited in the Deccan College* by Shridar Bhandarkar. Three manuscripts are listed under the title *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* on page **83**: 197, 198 and 199. In addition, a fourth manuscript is listed with the number 200, and it contains Jonarāja's *ṭīkā*. These four manuscripts correspond to the ones of **Report XIII** in the CC, and in **BORI.** and **BORI D.** above (see Cat. Bhandarkar 1888)
7. **Damodar.** It refers to a scroll in a manuscript containing the titles of Sanskrit works and authors. It was written by Pandit Damodar Shastri, perhaps from Kashmir. “The scroll was secured from the private library of the late H. Jacobi” (see NCC Abbreviations, viii).
8. **H. 88.** Same as **H. 88** in CC above.
9. **IO 3848–49.** Same as **IO.2548** and **IO.2033** in the CC. **3848–49** are the catalogue numbers for the two *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscripts.

⁴For the same problem in tracing the catalogue of the year 1971, see Graheli 2012: “For BHU C–1015 and BHU C–4666, I could not yet consult the catalogue of the Library, Cat. BHU 1971”.

10. **Oudh XII. 10.** Same as **Oudh XII. 10** above.
11. **Oxf. II. 1234(2).** **Oxf. II.** refers to the second volume (**II.**) of the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, begun by Moriz Winternitz, and completed by Arthur Berriedale Keith. The manuscript is described in detail on pages 169–70 under the catalogue number **1234(2)**. It belongs to the Sanskrit collection of 465 manuscripts sold by Eugen Hultzsch to the Bodleian Libraries in 1887 (see Nicholson’s preface to the *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1905, iii), and corresponds to **H. 88** above. This catalogue contains also a *Paleographical Index of Dated Mss. and of Undated Mss. before A.D. 1500* (p. xvii), which dates **Oxf. II. 1234(2)** (=MS. Sansk. d. 65) to the year 1648 (see Cat. Winternitz–Keith 1905).
12. **Ranbir II. p. 330 (inc.).** **Ranbir II.** refers to the second volume of *Descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in the Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute* in Jammu by M. M. Patkar, where two *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscripts are listed on pages **330–31**. According to the NCC Abbreviations, xxiii, the catalogue “contains many printed books with no indications to the effect”. The catalogue lists two manuscripts: catalogue number 198 (= manuscript number 753), and catalogue number 199 (= manuscript number 494(1), where (1) indicates the first work contained in the composite manuscript) (see Cat. Patkar 1973).
13. **RASB. VII. 5147.** **RASB.** refers to *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the care of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* by Hariprasada Shastri. **VII** indicates the volume on *kāvya* (1934) and **5147** is the catalogue number for the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscript on page 117, where it is listed under the catalogue number 1632. This manuscript corresponds to the one described under **Alph. List. Beng. Govt. p. 120** above (see Cat. Shastri 1895 and Cat. Shastri 1934).
14. **Report XIII.** Same as **Report XIII** in the CC, and as **BORI. 197–200 of 1875–76, BORI. D. XIII. ii. 765–67, and D. p. 83 (3 mss.)** in NCC 35.
15. **Stein 75 (inc.).** **Stein** refers to the *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Ragonatha Temple Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir* by M. A. Stein. On page 75, two *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscripts are listed, namely **Acc. No. 494 ka** and **Acc. No. 753**, which correspond to the ones in **Ranbir II. p. 330 (inc.)** (see Cat. Stein 1894, Cat. Patkar 1973).

16. **Wien II. 23.** In NCC Abbreviations, the identification of this catalogue is missing. The manuscript is most likely to be the one preserved at the Austrian National Library in Vienna as specified in Walter Slaje's *Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Sammlungen Marcus Aurel Stein und Carl Alexander von Hügel)*, pages 63–65. **II** does not seem to have any meaning. **23** is the catalogue number of the manuscript of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, belonging to Bühler's collection of **Indicus 86** (see Cat. Slaje 1990).

13.3.3 Further Catalogued Manuscripts

Six additional manuscripts of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* are listed neither in the CC nor in NCC, but in the online catalogue of the National Mission for Manuscripts at the Indira Gandhi National Center for the Arts in Delhi (Cat. IGNCA). These manuscripts belong to the Oriental Research Library in Śrīnagar, and can be listed as follows:

1. **ORL 846.I.** Ms. Acc. No. 846.I, preserved at the Oriental Research Library, University of Kashmir, Śrīnagar.
2. **ORL 996.** Ms. Acc. No. 996, preserved at the Oriental Research Library, University of Kashmir, Śrīnagar.
3. **ORL 1147.** Ms. Acc. No. 1147, preserved at the Oriental Research Library, University of Kashmir, Śrīnagar.
4. **ORL 1194.** Ms. Acc. No. 1194, preserved at the Oriental Research Library, University of Kashmir, Śrīnagar.
5. **ORL 1345.** Ms. Acc. No. 1345, preserved at the Oriental Research Library, University of Kashmir, Śrīnagar.
6. **ORL 1787.** Ms. Acc. No. 1787, preserved at the Oriental Research Library, University of Kashmir, Śrīnagar.

13.4 Description of the Manuscripts

The present section provides a description based on my examination of digital photographs, microfilms, and scans of the manuscript collected since 2017. As I have not yet been able to access the physical manuscripts, the codicological observations on measures and materials are limited to the data contained in the catalogues or in the pictures themselves.

I have been able to trace, view and describe 17 manuscripts of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (see § 11.4.1–17), while five additional manuscripts are listed in the section “Omitted Manuscripts” (see § 11.5). Among these, I have not yet been able to study the two manuscripts preserved at the Banaras Hindu University in Varanasi (i.e. BHU 6553 and BHU 6554) and the one belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (i.e. RASB 1632), possibly held in Kolkata, which I aim to investigate in future research.

The manuscripts have been divided into three groups based on their content: the first group consists of the manuscripts which contain only the *mūla* text of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*; the second group is formed by the manuscripts in which both *mūla* text and Jonarāja’s commentary are copied; the third group concerns the manuscripts of the commentary alone.

For the structure of this description, I follow, with some adjustments, Camillo Formigatti’s unpublished doctoral dissertation (2015). In the section “Place of preservation and identification number” I list the city and institution in which the manuscripts are preserved, the account or shelf number attributed by the institution, and the siglum I assign to the manuscripts. Thus, B stands for the Oriental Institute in Baroda, J for the Sanskrit Research Institute in Jammu, and so forth. If more than one manuscript is preserved at the same institute, a subscript number is added on the lower right side.

The way in which I have been able to see the manuscript (digitally, scans, pictures, etc.) is described in “Access”, while in “Content” I specify whether the manuscripts contains only *mūla* text, *mūla* text and commentary, or commentary alone.

“Material, format and size” contains a description of the manuscripts. For their format, I follow Formigatti’s terminology (2015, 16–20): “codex” is used for all the manuscripts, whether in birch-bark or paper, whose width is greater than their length (similar to western books), while I call “*pothī*” the paper manuscripts with oblong shape, whose length is greater than their width (similar to the format of palm-leaf manuscripts). In case of composite manuscripts, namely those with “distinct parts which clearly differ in the writing material employed even if containing one single text” (Formigatti 2015, 20), one has to deal, at times, with misplaced and/or duplicated folios. I call “codicological unit”, or, simply, “unit”,

each of the building blocks of the manuscript which can be distinguished and grouped on the basis of change in writing material (two different qualities of paper), different ruling, foliation, and change in handwriting (see Formigatti 2015, 24).

In “Script, foliation and layout” I describe the script, in this case only Devanāgarī and Śāradā, the location, and type of folio numbering.

In “Condition and date”, the number of the folios and correspondent verses of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* are listed, along with the condition of the manuscript itself and the date, when explicitly contained in the colophon.

If the manuscript contains Jonarāja’s commentary and/or marginal annotations, two sections are added in the description: “Link to commentary” indicates whether the *mūla* text is transcribed entirely or linked only through *pratīkas*; “Link to annotations”, describe how the copyst connects the annotations to the main text (symbols, placement, etc.).

Lastly, a final section contains the beginning and the ending of each manuscript. Following Graheli’s article (Graheli 2012), I distinguish between: “Rubric”, i.e. the scribe’s introductory and/or benedictory words; “Incipit”, i.e. the beginning of the *mūla* text (if the manuscripts contains Jonarāja’s introductory and final verses, a special section is dedicated to them); “Explicit”, i.e. the end of the *mūla* text or the commentary; “Final rubric”, i.e. the closing sentence with the name of the work, author, and number of the canto; “Colophon”, i.e. the additional final annotations of the scribe, containing date of the manuscript or additional benedictory verses.

Group 1

Manuscripts of the *mūla* text

13.4.1 Manuscript B₁ (Baroda II 4396)

Place of preservation and identification number. Baroda, Oriental Institute Maharaja Sayajirao, Baroda II 4396, Siglum: B₁.

Access. Digital scans, color, obtained by courtesy of the Oriental Institute Maharaja Sayajirao.

Content. *mūla* text of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, cantos 5 and 6.

Material, format and size. Paper, *pothī*, 23,5 cm x 16,3 cm. Composite manuscript consisting of two codicological units, with the same type of paper and vertical frame lines.

(1) The first codicological unit consists of the first 9 pages (4 folios and the last half recto); in Devanāgarī script, like the second part of the manuscript, but with a slightly bolder stroke, 11 lines per page, ca. 36 characters per line. Foliation beginning from 1 in the upper left margin of the verso, and ending with 5 in the lower right margin.

(2) The second codicological unit consists of the last 15 pages (7 folios and the last half recto); in Devanāgarī script, with a slightly thinner stroke by a different hand, 9 lines per page, ca. 27–32 characters per line. Foliation beginning from 3 on the upper left margin of the verso, and ending with 13 on the upper left margin (not all the pages are numbered).

Script, foliation and layout. Devanāgarī, two different hands, foliation not consistent.

Condition and date. Incomplete, 12 folios in total, second folio missing. First two folios of (1) damaged in the corners but with a still readable text, except for the case of some *akṣaras* covered in ink-drops. Unit (1) corresponds to the complete sixth canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, called in the last folio *kusumavarnaṇa*, and not *sādhāraṇavasantavarṇana* like in the *Kāvyamālā* editions (ŚKC 6.1–74). Unit (2) corresponds to the complete fifth canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* (ŚKC 5.1–57). Undated.

Rubric. [1r1] *śrīnīlakaṅṭhāya namaḥ* ||

Incipit. [1r1] *alivrajasyānaśanavratāto mānograśāpāvadhīr aṅganānām* || *athā-
ikadānaṅga*[2] *madānukūlaḥ puṣpāvacūlaḥ samayo jajṛmbhe* || 1 || *kramād avācīṃ
malayādribāṇḍhu(-)udikṣamāṅām pavanaṃ yuvā*[3] *naṃ* || (= ŚKC 6.1a–6.2a)

Explicit. [12r8] *śrāmyan*[9] *to dakṣinārdhabharaṇaphaṇabhṛto yatra phullat-
phaṇāgram klāmyadvāmāṅgani*[12v1] *ryat surabhimukhamarut pānagoṣṭhīm ju-
ṣante* || (= ŚKC 5.57)

Final Rubric. [12v1] *itī śrīśrīkaṅṭhacari*[2] *te mahākāvye bhagavadvarṇano nama
pañcamah sargaḥ* ||

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Cat. Baroda 1950, 1050–51.

13.4.2 Manuscript B₂ (Baroda II 8212)

Place of preservation and identification number. Baroda, Oriental In-
stitute Maharaja Sayajirao, Baroda II 8212, Siglum: B₂.

Access. Digital scans, color, obtained by courtesy of the Oriental Institute Ma-
haraja Sayajirao.

Content. *mūla* text of the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita*, cantos 1–25.

Material, format and size. Paper, *pothī*.

Script, foliation and layout. Devanāgarī, foliation written in the lower left
margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number of the *sarga*,
beginning with *pra.(thama) 1* in folio 1v, and ending with *pañcaviṃsa 220* in folio
220v; 7 to 8 lines on each page, ca. 28–30 characters per line. Rubrics and final
rubrics (*avataṇikās*), colophons, and verse numbers are all rubricated.

Running marginal title, *Śrī(kanṭha) ca(rita)*, written in the lower left margin
of each verso and followed by the canto number in letters and the number of the
folio.

Condition and date. Complete, 221 folios. First folio damaged on the right-
hand margin, some other folios damaged on the upper and lower right margin,
possibly the unbounded one. The black ink in the first two folios is worn out,

perhaps out of rubbing against the cover. Undated.

Link to annotations. Marginal annotations are written in Devanāgarī on the upper, lower and external margins, with interlinear shorter glosses. Almost every marginal annotation is preceded or/and followed by a number corresponding to the line in which the word or passage commented upon is placed. The commented word or passage is marked by a double stroke (in the form of the sign “=”) written between the lines. A small vertical stroke above the lines is used as word divider.

Rubric. [1r1] (– –)rti || śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ || oṃ namaḥ śivāya || śrībhavānyai namaḥ || ||

Incipit. [1r1] (– –)rti [1r2] (– –)yāt kṛtānaṅgapataṅgadāhaḥ khaṭvāṅgino ne-
traśikhipradīpaḥ || (= ŚKC 1.1a)

Explicit. [221v2] prabandham saṃdhāyety adhikavibudhaślā[3]dhyāniraghā-
kramam maṅkhaḥ saukhyam kim api hṛdaye kandalayati || (= ŚKC 25.152cd)

Final Rubric. [221v3] iti rājanaviśvā[4]vartakasūnor mahākavivararājānamāṅkha-
kasya kṛtau śrīśrīkaṅṭhacarite mahākāvye [5] pañcaviṃśas sargaḥ || || sampūrṇam
idam śrīkaṅṭhacaritam nāma mahākāvyaṃ || ||

Colophon. [221v6] śrīgurucaraṇakamalebhyo namaḥ || śrīsarasvatyai namaḥ ||
śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ || [7] śrīgaṇeśārpaṇam bhūyāt śivau vo trāyetām || ||

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Cat. Baroda 1950, 1050–51.

13.4.3 Manuscript J₁ (Stein 494ka)

Place of preservation and identification number. Jammu, Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute (formerly Raghunath Temple Library), Ranbir 494 (1) = Stein 494ka, Siglum: J₁.

Access. Digital scans, color, digitized by eGangotri.

Content. mūla text of the Śrīkaṅṭhacarita, cantos 1–25.

Material, format and size. Paper, codex, 21 cm x 34,8 cm. This manuscript has been bound together with two other manuscripts, which are all in the same format, and contain the *Vidvanmodatarāṅgiṇī* (494(3), see Ranbir 1973, 324–25) and Ratnākara's *Haravijaya* (494(2), see Ranbir 1973, 334–35).

Condition and date. Incomplete, 85 folios. One folio missing, corresponding to ŚKC 17.19a–39c. Missing text in folios 72r21–27, 72v10–13, and 79v19–20. Undated.

Script, foliation and layout. Devanāgarī, foliation written in the upper left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title (the number of the folio is repeated in roman numbers in pencil). 27–28 lines on each page, ca. 20 characters per line. Rubrics and final rubrics (*avataraṅikās*), colophons, and name of verse-groups (*yugmas*, *kulakas*, etc.) are rubricated.

Running marginal title written in the upper left margin of each verso and above foliation number, *Śrī. ka.(ṅṭha) ca.(rita)*, followed by the canto's number. Each verse is followed by its number, single *daṇḍas* are inserted after verse-groups, while double *daṇḍas* at the end of each canto.

Rubric. [1v1] *om śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ om śrīgurave namaḥ || śubhaṃ ||*

Incipit. [1v2] *om jīyāt kṛtānaṅapataṅgadāhaḥ khaṭvāṅgino netraśi [3] khipradīpaḥ (= ŚKC 1.1ab)*

Explicit. [85v10] *prabandham saṃdhāyety [11] adhakavibudhaślādhyāniraghakramam maṅkhaḥ saukhyam [12] kim api hṛdaye kandalayati || 26 || || (= ŚKC 25.152)*

Final Rubric. [85v13] *iti śrīrājānakaviśvāvartasūnor mahākavi [14] rājarājānakaśrīmaṅkhakasya kṛtau śrīkaṅṭha [15] carite mahākāvye pañcaviṃśaḥ sargaḥ | 25 | [16] samāptam idaṃ śrīkaṅṭacaritaṃ || ||*

Final Annotation. [85v17] *ślokaśaṅkhya 2500*

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Cat. Stein 1894, 75; Cat. Patkar 1973, 330–31.

13.4.4 Manuscript L₁ (IO 2548)

Place of preservation and identification number. London, British Library (formerly preserved at the India Office Library in London), IO 2548 = Eggeling 3848, Siglum: L₁.

Access. Digital scans, black/white, obtained by courtesy of the British Library.

Content. *mūla* text of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, cantos 1–25.

Material, format and size. Paper, *pothī*, 35 cm x 13,3 cm.

Script, foliation and layout. Devanāgarī, foliation written in the upper left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number of the folio; 9 lines on each page, ca. 47–50 characters per line. Vertical frame lines.

Running marginal title, *Śrīkaṇ.(thacarita)*, written on the upper left margin of each verso and followed by the number of the folio; the foliation numbers are repeated on the lower left margin of each verso. The auspicious syllable || *ba* || is inserted before the beginning of each canto.

Condition and date. Complete, 108 folios. Some folios are damaged on the right-hand margin, especially from folio 71 onward.

The manuscript is dated in the colophon to the year 1753 (see Colophon). Eggeling notes that the manuscript is in “a good Devanāgarī writing of A.D. 1696”, dating it to the 17th century CE (1753–58 *vikrama* era years, corresponding to 1695/1696 CE, Eggeling 1904, 1445–46).⁵

Rubric. [1v1] *namaḥ śivāya paramātmane* ||

Incipit. [1v1] *jīyāt kṛtānaṅgapataṅgadāhaḥ* (= ŚKC 1.1a)

Explicit. [107v8] *prabandham saṃdhāyety adhikavibudhaśladhyaniraghakramam maṅkhaḥ saukhyaṃ kim api hrdaye kandalayati* | 52 | (= ŚKC 25.152)

⁵Assuming that the manuscript had been copied in Kashmir (even though Eggeling’s catalogue does not mention the provenance of the Mss. of the India Office Library), and considering that paper manuscripts appeared in the Valley only after the 18th century (the *Devanāgarī* script was still largely unknown at the time of Bühler’s *Report* in 1877 and “in his time, the Pandits still could read even printed Devanāgarī only with difficulty” (Witzel 1994, 19), two are the possible scenarios. In the first case, Eggeling’s dating is incorrect and the manuscript must be re-dated with the *śaka* era to the year 1831/32 (1753 + 78); the second scenario could instead point to the hypothesis that the manuscript had been copied earlier, in 1695, but outside Kashmir.

Final Rubric. The rubric (and its numbering) is not present in the editions, and corresponds neither to the *mūla* text nor to the commentary contained therein. [107v8] | 53 | *kavinapadastan* [damaged] [9] *rātvayamantharānugatā* | *prauḍhāpi maṅkhakavitā kasya na (mu)dhā bhramaṃ tanute* | 54 | *abhinavarasam* (')*dhikā kavimukhatv* [damaged] [108r1] *yati manaḥ kavitā maṅkhasya madireva* | 55 | *iti rājanaviśvārtakasūnor mahākavivararājānamaṅkhakasya kṛtau śrī* [2] [damaged] *mahākāvye pañcaviṃśaḥ sargaḥ* ||| *ba* ||| *samāptam idaṃ śrīkaṅṭhacaritaṃ nāma mahākāvyaṃ* |||

Colophon. [108r2] *saṃvat 1753 varṣe mārge* [3] (*śiṛṣe*) *drśyāṃ likhitaṃ idaṃ* ||
|| *ba* || || *ba* || || *śrīr asru* || || *ba* || || *ba* || || *ba* || || *śrīḥ* || || *śrīḥ* || || *śrīḥ* || || || *śrīḥ* || || || *śrīḥ*
|| || [*śrī*] *r asru lekhakapāṭhakayoḥ* || *ba* || || *śrīḥ* || || *śrīḥ* || || *ba* || || *ba* || || *ba* || || *ba* ||
|| *ba* || || *śrīḥ* || || *ba* || || *ba* || || *ba* ||

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Cat. Eggeling 1904 (7), 1445.

13.4.5 Manuscript P₁ (BORI 197)

Place of preservation and identification number. Pune, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, BORI 197, Siglum: P₁.

Access. Digital scans, black/white, obtained by courtesy of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Content. *mūla* text, cantos 1–25.

Material, format and size. Paper, *pothī*, ca. 35 cm x 15 cm.

Script, foliation and layout. Devanāgarī, foliation written in the upper left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number (in letter) of the *sarga*, beginning with *pra.(thama)* 1 in folio 1v; ca. 12 lines on each page, ca. 45–52 characters per line.

Running marginal title, *Śrīka.(ṅṭha) ca.(rita)*, written in the upper left margin of each verso and followed by the canto number in letters and the number of the folio.

In his catalogue, Gode notes that yellow pigment is used for corrections (Gode 1942, 455).

Condition and date. Incomplete (folio 48 missing), 80 folios. Loose folios wrapped in cloth. Undated, but, according to Gode (1942, 455), a quite recent manuscript.

Link to annotations. Marginal annotations and corrections are written in Devanāgarī on the upper, lower and external margins, with interlinear shorter glosses. Vertical strokes between the lines mark the beginning and the end of the segment which is commented on the margins, while *kākapādas* (lit. “crow’s feet”, ^ or v symbol) are placed in line between the characters to insert fallen *akṣaras*. At times a double stroke (a = sign) marks both the annotation and the annotated segment.

Rubric. [1v1] *śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ* ||

Incipit. [1r1] *jīyāt kṛtānaṅgapataṅgadāhaḥ khaṭvāṅgino netraśikhipradīpaḥ* || (= ŚKC 1.1ab)

Explicit. [80v8] *prabandham sandhāyetyadhikavibudhaślādhyaniraghakramam maṅkhaḥ saukhyam kim api* [9] *hrdaye kandalayati* || (= ŚKC 25.152cd)

Final Rubric. [80v9] *iti śrīkaṅṭhacarite paṃcaviṃśaḥ sargaḥ 25 samāptam* ||

Colophon. [80v9] *samāptam i(dam) śrīkaṅṭhacaritākhyam kāvyam*

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Cat. Gode 1942.

13.4.6 Manuscript P₂ (BORI 198)

Place of preservation and identification number. Pune, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, BORI 198, Siglum: P₂.

Access. Digital scans, black/white, obtained by courtesy of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Content. *mūla* text, cantos 1–25.

Material, format and size. Paper, codex bound as a western book and covered in cloth, ca. 17 cm x 27 cm.

Script, foliation and layout. Śāradā, foliation written in the lower left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number (in letter) of the *sarga*, beginning with *pra.(thama) 1* in folio 1v; ca. 22 lines on each page, ca. 23–26 characters per line.

Running marginal title, *Śrīka. (ṅṭha) ca.(rita)*, written in the upper left margin of each verso and followed by the canto number in letters and the number of the folio. In his catalogue, Gode notes that some yellow pigment is used for corrections (Gode 1942, 457).

Condition and date. Incomplete (folio 72 missing), 81 folios. Loose folios wrapped in cloth. Undated, but, according to Gode (1942, 457), a fairly old manuscript.

Link to annotations. Few marginal annotations and corrections are written in Śāradā on the margins and in-line, by a different hand. Double *daṇḍas* mark the end of each verse. Rare *kākapādas* are placed in line between the characters.

Rubric. [1v1] *om śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ || om śrīgurave sarasvatīrūpāya namaḥ ||*

Incipit. [1v2] *om jīyāt kṛtānaṅgapataṅgadāhaḥ khaṭvāṅgino netraśikhipradīpaḥ* (= ŚKC 1.1ab)

Explicit. [81r8] *prabandham sandhāyety adhikavibudhaślādhyāniragha[9] kramam maṅkhaḥ saukhyaṃ kim api hṛdaye kandalayati || 26 ||* (= ŚKC 25.152cd)

Final Rubric. [81r10] *iti śrīrājānakaviśvāvartasūnor mahākavirājarājānakaśrī* [11] *maṅkhakasya kṛto śrīkaṅṭhacarite mahākavye pañcaviṃśaḥ sargaḥ || 25 ||* [12] *|| sarvam (grak)taṃ sahasram (3000) || śubham iti ||* [13] *samāptam idam śrīkaṅṭhacaritam mahākāvyaṃ || ||*

Colophon. [81r14] *śubham astu sarvajagatāṃ parihitaniratāḥ bhavantu bhūtagaṇāḥ doṣāḥ* [15] *prayāntu śāntiṃ sarvatra svākhī bhavantu lokāḥ || ||*

Bibliography. See P₁.

13.4.7 Manuscript P₃ (BORI 199)

Place of preservation and identification number. Pune, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, BORI 199, Siglum: P₃.

Access. Digital scans, black/white, obtained by courtesy of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

Content. *mūla* text, from ŚKC 1.28b to ŚKC 24.39.

Material, format and size. Birch-bark, codex. The loose sheets of birch-bark are stick on white paper and then bounded together in the same way as a western book, with the pages stitch with white thread and covered in cloth to form a volume. The broken folios are repaired with tape.

Script, foliation and layout. Śāradā, foliation not consistent, written in the lower left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number (in letter) of the *sarga*; ca. 15–16 lines on each page, ca. 31 characters per line.

The last folio (156) is added afterwards and belongs to a second codicological unit, as it differs in dimension of the birch-bark sheet, in number of lines per page, and in the scribe's calligraphy.

Running marginal title, *Śrī ka.(ṅṭha) ca.(rita)*, written in the lower left margin of each verso and followed by the canto number in letters and the number of the folio, even though this is not always maintained. The verses are not numbered, but separated by a double *daṅḍa*.

Condition and date. Incomplete, 156 folios. Undated.

Link to annotations. Few marginal annotations and corrections are written in Śāradā on the margins and in-line, by a different hand.

Incipit. [1r1] *nagadaṃ dadhānaḥ | yenānvahasyānaparam sahelam ānāyi sāyujyam ivāri[2]lokaḥ ||* (= ŚKC 1.28bcd)

Explicit. [156r17] *gīrvāṅānām tada[18]nu pṛtanā sā praharṣāntaraṅgair aṅgair udyadvipulapula kopas kriyā māhavahantī* (= ŚKC 24.39).

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Cat. Report 1877.

13.4.8 Manuscript Ś₁ (ORL 846.I)

Place of preservation and identification number. Śrīnagar, Oriental Research Library, ORL 846.I. Siglum: Ś₁.

Access. Pictures, color. I was able to consult this manuscript digitally at the IGNCA in Delhi during my field-trip in 2017. The National Mission for Manuscripts adds at the end of each manuscript from Śrīnagar (Ś₁, Ś₂, Ś₃, Ś₄, Ś₅, Ś₆) a paper sheet indicating the manuscript's details.

Content. *mūla* text, up to ŚKC 25.150a.

Material, format and size. Paper, codex, 16,5 cm x 24 cm. The paper folios are stick to other paper folios and bounded as a western book with two other manuscripts (see “Buchbindersynthese” type in Formigatti 2015, 48). The first one contains the *Paramārthasāravivṛtti* of Yogarāja wrongly attributed to Kṣemarāja by the IGNCA (ORL 846.II), while the second one the *Sāṃkhyatattvakāumudī* by Vācaspati Miśra (ORL 846.III, dated to the 18th century).

Script, foliation and layout. Composite manuscript consisting of two codicological units, written on different paper and in different handwriting.

(1) The first codicological unit consists of folios 2–130. Śāradā, foliation written in the lower left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number (in letters) of the *sarga*; 14 to 18 lines on each page, ca. 19–22 characters per line.

(2) The second codicological unit consists of folios 1 and 12. Śāradā, foliation written in the lower left margin of each verso, like in the first unit; 16 lines on each page, ca. 21–24 characters per line. The second codicological unit is an addition to the kernel-manuscript (= first codicological unit) and supplies the missing text.

Running marginal title, *Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita)*, written in the lower left margin of each verso and followed by the folio number.

Condition and date. Incomplete, 130 folios. Undated.

Link to annotations. Marginal annotations and in-line shorter glosses in Śāradā script.

Rubric. [1r1] *om śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ || om*

Incipit. [1r1] *jīyāt kṛtānaṅgapaṅgadāhah khaṭvaṅgino[2]netraśikhīpradīpaḥ ||*

(= ŚKC 1.1ab)

Explicit. [130v15] *ity ādibhir pra[16]karaṇair budhasādhuvādān ādaya cetasi dadhat pariṭoṣa* (= ŚKC 25.150a)

Bibliography. Cat. IGNCA.

13.4.9 Manuscript Ś₄ (ORL 1194)

Place of preservation and identification number. Śrīnagar, Oriental Research Library, ORL 1194. Siglum: Ś₄.

Access. Pictures, color. I was able to consult this manuscript digitally at the IGNCA in Delhi during a field-trip in 2017. The National Mission for Manuscripts adds at the end of each manuscript from Śrīnagar (Ś₁, Ś₂, Ś₃, Ś₄, Ś₅, Ś₆) a paper sheet indicating the manuscript's details.

Content. Composite manuscript, mainly containing *mūla* text, but also some folios with Jonarāja's commentary. See Table [13.1](#).

Material, format and size. Paper, codex, 16 cm x 29 cm.

Script, foliation and layout. Śāradā, foliation written in the lower left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and, at times, the number (in letters) of the *sarga*.

For details regarding the ten codicological units, their foliation and running title, and correspondent verses, see Table [13.1](#). In the table, the second column indicates the numbers of the pages in the volume, while the third column the actual foliation in the margins of the codicological units. These units have been gathered in a single volume following the numbering of the original foliation in the margins. There is no division mark between the units, and some folios within the units are missing.

In the case of folios 5, 6, 7 and 8, we see that folios 6 and 7 have been inserted in the kernel-unit (5) (= 5 and 8) because they supply the missing text that goes from ŚKC 2.41 to ŚKC 3.4. The folios 5 and 8, however, belong to a different codicological unit, as can be observed from the change of paper (reddish) and handwriting.

Codicological unit (10), covering approximately ŚKC 7.64–12.45, seems to belong to the same manuscript as Ś₃ (ORL 1147, see § 11.4.14).

Condition and date. Incomplete, 62 folios (first folio blank, here not considered as part of the manuscript). Composite manuscript consisting of ten codicological units (see Table 13.1), written on different types of paper and in different handwriting, bounded in the same volume. Undated.

I am providing below *incipit* and *explicit* of the whole volume, given that they do not reflect the complexity of the codicological unites contained therein.

Incipit. [1r1] *mukundakukṣoḥ kuharāmimrṣṭhasamastavṛttanta ivātimātram* (= ŚKC 1.25)

Explicit. [62v19] *mudro 'pi sudhārṇavatvaṃ kṣīrasamudratvam āpaprāptaḥ | tathā* (= ŚKC 12.45)

Bibliography. Cat. IGNCA.

Unit & Content	Folio n.	Foliation & title in Ms.	Verses
(1) <i>mūla</i> text	1	<i>Śrīḥ Śrī(kaṅṭhacarita)</i> <i>pra(thama sarga) 3</i>	ŚKC 1.25–39
(2) <i>mūla</i> text	2	damaged	ŚKC 12.45–54
(3) <i>mūla</i> text	3	<i>Śrīḥ Śrī(kaṅṭhacarita)</i> <i>pra(thama sarga) 3</i>	ŚKC 1.35–52
(4) <i>mūla</i> text	4	18 (?)	not identified
(5) <i>mūla</i> text (reddish paper)	folio 5	<i>Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita)</i> <i>dvi(tīya sarga)</i>	ŚKC 2.28–41
	folio 8	<i>Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita)</i> <i>tr(tīya sarga)</i>	ŚKC 3.4–18
(6) <i>mūla</i> text	6 and 7	<i>Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita)</i> <i>dvi(tīya sarga)</i> <i>and tr(tīya sarga)</i>	ŚKC 2.41–3.4
(7) <i>mūla</i> text (red paper)	folio 9	<i>Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita)</i> <i>pañ(cama sarga) 12 (?)</i>	ŚKC 4.56–5.3
(8) <i>mūla</i> text	10 to 25	<i>Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita)</i> <i>sa(ṣṭama sarga) 60</i> <i>to dvā(daśa sarga) 75</i>	ŚKC 7.48–12.45

Unit & Content	Folio n.	Foliation & title in Ms.	Verses
(9) <i>mūla</i> text	26 to 29	<i>Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita)</i> <i>sapta(daśa sarga) 65</i> to <i>aṣṭā(daśa sarga) 68</i>	ŚKC 17.22–18.14
	30	damaged	ŚKC 23.4–21
(10) <i>mūla</i> text and commentary	31	damaged	ŚKC 7.64–8.2
	32	<i>Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita) 97</i>	ŚKC 9.28–35
	33 to 62	<i>Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita)</i> <i>na(vama sarga) ṭī(kā) 100</i> to <i>dvā(daśa sarga) ṭī(kā) 129</i>	ŚKC 9.49–12.45

Table 13.1: Composite manuscript Ś₄ (ORL 1194)

13.4.10 Manuscript Ś₅ (ORL 1345)

Place of preservation and identification number. Śrīnagar, Oriental Research Library, ORL 1345. Siglum: Ś₅.

Access. Pictures, color. I was able to consult this manuscript digitally at the IGNCA in Delhi during my field-trip in 2017. The National Mission for Manuscripts adds at the end of each manuscript from Śrīnagar (Ś₁, Ś₂, Ś₃, Ś₄, Ś₅, Ś₆) a paper sheet indicating the manuscript's details.

Content. *mūla* text, from ŚKC 1.7 to ŚKC 25.152.

Material, format and size. Birch-bark, codex, bounded as a western book, with the birch-bark folios glued over paper; 22 cm x 24 cm.

Script, foliation and layout. Śāradā, foliation written in the lower left margin of each verso, starting from folio 187 up to folio 329⁶, under the running marginal title; ca. 11–13 lines on each page, ca. 28 characters per line.

⁶The preceding folios might have contained another text, but the catalogue does not mention it.

Running marginal title *Śrīka(ṅṭha) ca(rita) tī(kā)*, written in the lower left margin of each verso and followed by number of the canto in letters and folio number. The verses are not numbered, but followed by double *danḍas*. At times, a single vertical stroke under the line marks the word-division (in the transcription, I use the symbol : to replace the lower stroke).

Condition and date. Incomplete, 141 folios. Some paper folios (9, 12–14) are inserted in the birch-bark manuscript to supply the missing parts of the text. The long colophon, still unedited and transcribed below,⁷ contains the dating *saṃ 59 śrā(v natiṭha)*.⁸

Link to annotations. Marginal annotations and shorter interlinear glosses in Śāradā script, by a different hand. There are no links or reference symbols between text and annotations, as the scribe tends to place the gloss right next to the annotated segment.

Incipit. [1v1] *sakṛtprayunkte | āvartamālāvalanakramaṇa pradakṣiṇanīva sūras-ravantī* [2] *mālīnyadainyaṃ jagato harantu harasya pīyūṣarūco 'ṭṭhahāsāḥ dīśo* [3] *'pi śaivatvam iva sprśantyo yair grhṇte bhāsmānam aṅgarāgaṃ ||* (= from ŚKC 1.7b)

Explicit. [139v1] *hr̥daye kandalayati ||* (= ŚKC 25.152)

Final Rubric. [139v1] *iti śrīrājanakaviśvāvartasū[2] nor mahākavirājārājānaka-śrīmaṅkhasya krto śrīśrīkaṅṭhacarite mahā[3] kāvye pañcaviṃśas sargaḥ || || || [4] sam(pūrṇa)m idam śrīkaṅṭhacaritākhyam mahākāvyam || ||*

Colophon. [139v5] *oṃ namaś śrīpaṇḍitāgraṇīparamaguruvaraśrīnirmalapaṇḍī-ta guruśrī[6] matpraśastabhaṭṭapaṇḍitacaraṇakamalebhyaḥ || || [7] oṃ namaś śrī-nirmalagurave viśvagurave viśvagurave viśvagurave || [8] oṃ namaś sa śrīśāradā-*

⁷The edition and study of this colophon will be part of an article on the *Śrīkaṅṭhacarita* manuscripts I am currently working on.

⁸ORL 1345 was copied during the dark half of the month (*nati-ṭha*= the lunar disk which bends: falling moon?) of July/August (*śrāv=śrāvāṇa*) of the (*laukika*) year (*saṃ=samvat*) 59. As in many Kashmiri manuscripts, the century is not indicated. Considering, however, that the composition of birch-bark *śāradā* manuscripts in Kashmir can be roughly confined to the period running from the 14th to the 17th century (see Slaje 1993, 19, and Witzel 1994, 7, who dates the earliest and the latest known and preserved birch-bark manuscripts, which are respectively from the year 1419 CE and 1675 CE), it is possible to conjecture two dates for Ś₅: *śāka* year (15)59 = 1637 A.D.; *vikrama* year (16)59 = 1602 A.D. Of these two options, the *śāka* year seems to be the most valid if we compare manuscript Ś₅ to manuscript O (Oxf. II 1234(2)) which has been dated to the *śāka* year as well.

yai sarasvatyai sarasvatyai vitastāyai sakalaloka [9] pratyavāya samavāya dāvā-
nalabhūtāyai śrīnimnagāpaṭṭarājñī lala[10](ṭa)mallikāgucchabhūtāyai ca namaḥ
|| || [11] kāvyatrayī vijayate mahatī kavīnām:śrīmāghabhāravivicakṣaṇamaṅkha
[12]kānām yasyā nirīkṣaṇavaśāt prabhavanti yās te:śiṣyāsta dat(ta) likhitā

[140r1] guruśāmanena⁹ || || [2] oṃ śrīkaṣmīramaṇḍalamaṇḍa [space] nāya māna:
mānasamānasa:mānasa [3] ta(t)tvamānasatat(t)vamānasatat(t)vamānasā nama:
tat(t)vajijñāsamānasamāna:māna[4]vādismṛtivādismṛtināyaka:nāyakabhūṣita:
[space] [5] bhūṣitavadhajana:vadhajanakabhāsura:bhāsurasitāsitā (nana)jasa[6]
mūha:samūha vikasvarakasvarasvaraśrutiśrutikamalākara:kama[7]lākarakamala-
karaktānana:tānanavanavavigraha:graharājarāji[8]taguṇiganagunagunānikāvya-
gra:kāvyaagrahaṇa [space] [9] sajja:sajjana(grhya):grhyā yatasiddhā:yatasiddhāsa-
rādipūra [10]pūritapurapurāṇasannihitasannihitavāśyavācākāvāśya[11]vācakaca-
kāsitāsita varavarṇāvarṇanīyaparaparapāpiṣṭha[12]piṣṭhobhayaalokabhayaaloke drśa-
pāśapāśāṇḍi śaivādivivā

[140v1] divi(rdva)saka:sakalalākālāpālāpakalalalalaviṅkadi[2]dvijakalanā-
dadvijakalanādarādaśikṣitakṣitapratyavāyasa [3](sa)vāya samā(s) nāyā(s) nāya-
ṣa(da) paghanaghanāha(s)ahaghikā (s)amīkṣaṇa[4]kṣaṇaprāthaprāthamakalpika-
kalpa:sāṅkalpakalpavṛkṣī bhūt abhūta(s)ando[5]hadohadadohadakṣa(da)kṣajājāta-
(ntu)pajātīyajāta(ntu)pajātīyava(kṣa)[6](ntur) ābhi(ntu) pa(ntu) paka(m) ā(dha)ka-
varṇi(–)tapraṇavavarna varṇanīyava[7]rṇanīya(m)āna(sau)varṇa(s)umanas su-
manas sumana(h) pūjitajitakaliki[8]lviṣa pādām (pu)ruharuharuhikāśy(ā)naviśāra-
daviśāradaviśā[9]radaśāradaśāradan(sasa)bhagabhagavati śāradātanayanayanapra-
modi[10]tapramodita [space] pramoditāśu(rjā) [space] ṣasāṇa:mānāvamā(na)[11]m
asaktam: asakta(nāma) saktanāpaṇḍitapaṇḍitacakravartiacakravarti: cakra[12] var-
titavedāktavedāktāktāpi tāptāptāpta mahima: hima(gu)nirmalābhi

[141r1] khyā:nirmalābhikhyā:nirmalābhikhyāviśvaguruviśvaguru:gurvagurvā[2]
dyarcitopacitopakaraṇakara [space] ṅakaraṇāktakaraṇākta pa(ra)[3] parajara-
raṇaraṇīkācaracaraṇarajodyo namo namo namaḥ [4] iti nirmalagurupādarajasāṇ
namaskāraś śrīkhalayā likhitāḥ[5]oṃ namaś śrīnirmalagurave || jīyās (krī)nirmalo
bhāsvā || na [6] pūrvas sa trayīmayāḥ udaye dyotitāyena dvijarājās sahasraśaḥ ||
[7] lakṣaṇalakṣyavittānkikay(ājñi)kaḥ kavivarakanmaṭho ni [space] khi[8]lap(u)-
rāṇa (r)itī(r)na(r)gacatuṣṭhayī pauṣṭhi(–)rmakrj:jayati sa sarvataś (kṣa)ti[9]rava-
garvataḥ || tulitahimālayo (bu)dhagaṇasevitaḥ (spav)i[10] ta [space] sāgaras sar-
varasāśrayaḥ upamitacandramās saka[11]lakalānidhiḥ kutra na nirmalāś śrīgu-
runirmalāḥ || rakṣi (– – –)ś śi[12]kṣitāsaikṣako: bhūṣitasajjano (d)ūṣitadurjanah
(jyā)kṛtika (du)rghabhaś śro(t)riś (a)

⁹śāmanena] °śāmanāye i.m. Ś₅

[141v1] *vallabho: nirmalapaṇḍitav(g)osalapaṇḍitaḥ || yat pādapaḍmarajasā: (vak-tre?)* [2] *bhaktair alaṅkr̥te: rajas sarvaṃ kṣayaṃ nītaṃ: tasmai śrīgurave namaḥ ||*
|| [3] *śukadvijaṣyeva yathā (su)bhāṣitaṃ: grastaṃ nirastaṃ ca (mu)de prakalpate*
suka [4] *dvijasyāpi tathā (sv)abhā (– – – – –)ādāl likhitaṃ prakalpatām ||*
[5] *saṃ (59) śrāvati (1 ṭha) || || likhitaṃ śrīnirmalagurucaraṇarajo maṇḍi[6]tam*
astu kasya śukabhaṇḍhapaṇḍitasyeti bhadram || || [7] oṃ namad kamaladalavip-
ulanayanābhir āmāya nārāyaṇāya |

Bibliography. Cat. ORL, p. 342.

13.4.11 Manuscript Ś₆ (ORL 1787)

Place of preservation and identification number. Śrīnagar, Oriental Research Library, ORL 1787. Siglum: Ś₆.

Access. Pictures, color. I was able to consult this manuscript digitally at the IGNCA in Delhi during my field-trip in 2017. The National Mission for Manuscripts adds at the end of each manuscript from Śrīnagar (Ś₁, Ś₂, Ś₃, Ś₄, Ś₅, Ś₆) a paper sheet indicating the manuscript's details.

Content. *mūla* text, from ŚKC 4.39 to ŚKC 25.152. Jonarāja's final verses are included even though the manuscript does not always contain the commentary.

Material, format and size. Paper, codex, 14 cm x 23 cm. The manuscript is bounded as a western book.

Script, foliation and layout. Śāradā, foliation written in the lower left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number (in letters) of the *sarga*; ca. 25 lines on each page, ca. 15 characters per line.

Running marginal title, Śrī. *ka(ṇṭhacarita)*, written in the lower left margin of each verso and followed by the number of the canto in letters and by the folio number. There are no double *daṇḍas* at the end of the verses, but only at the end of the cantos. Each verse is followed by its number. The number of the verses and final rubrics are rubricated. The handwriting seems to change at times, but the codicological unit seems to be the same.

Condition and date. Incomplete, 111 folios. First folio worm-eaten on the lower margin. Undated.

Link between to annotations. Few marginal annotations and corrections in Śāradā script. Rare *kakapādas* to mark additions.

Incipit. [1r1] *nityanis śyandamānendudrśatsūtibhir ambhubhiḥ || sadhātunir-jharālabhdhasamālabhanavibhramaḥ stuvan darīmukhair vatalaharī mūkharī kṛ-taiḥ ||* (= from ŚKC 4.39cd)

Explicit. [110v21] *kandalayati || maheśaralo[111r1]kasthasya rājñāyā¹⁰ svapne śrutayā vibhudhastu[2]taṃ tacchīkaṅṭhacaritaṃ kāvyam bhagavate nive[3]dya sa mankhako manasi kam apy ānandaṃ prakā[4]śayati 149* (= J. comm. ŚKC 25.152)

Jonarāja's closing verses. [111r4] *kāle kalau vikasakheḥ¹¹ [5] kila jonarājas tatkāvyarājavivṛte[6]r bhajate purārim brahmādi cātu paṭu nāsyā [7] hi rañjanāya kā mādrśāstu gatir īśvara[8]sevane 'nyā 150 santo nayanti guṇatām kha[9]lu doṣa-jātaṃ jāteti cāpalakalāsu [10] mama pravṛttiḥ [space] vārām patistyaajati cet sva[11] kṛtaṃ vyavasthām kīrtiṃ kṣayam¹² śrayati kasya ja[12]gatpratiṣṭhā¹³ 151 || śrīkaṅṭha-kāvyavivṛ[13]tiṃ cirajāya¹⁴ jonerājas[sic!] sato namati panna[14]m¹⁵ atipratiṣṭhāḥ helās tu vas tad api yatna[15]m akārśamasyām dīpo bilāndhyaharaṇāt taraṇe[16]s sama¹⁶ kim ||*

Final Rubric. [111r16] *iti śrīkaṅṭhacaritaṭīkā[17]yām paṇḍitalolatanayaḥ paṇḍi-tasrījona[18]rājas tu syat anayaḥ paṇḍitaśrīśrījona[19]rāja kṛtāyām pañcav-iṃśaḥ sargaḥ samāpti[111v1]m a(?ā)sados iti*

Colophon. [111v1] *lekhayanti ca li[2]khanti yeṣv adhāt kāvyaratnam api yad ya(di[3]pri)taṃ [space] (iha yānti stabakatūṇādivam?) (bho)[4]gapūrām (api deha) bhuñjate || yad akṣara¹⁷[5]padabhraṣṭamātrā(-)īnaṃ ca yad gatam | kṣantum mahāmo vidvāmo likho 'nkanavi(h)[7]musyati || [8] (brahmarśi) kāvyāṅga ca tan(daśetra): pratāparā[9]jñya(ī): kṣośaninavendau svadarśanaḥ śa(tr)[10]am bhudaṭṭhity(asaṣde) likhat sudhīr vikrama[11](pākṣikasyaḥ) ||*

Bibliography. Cat. IGNCA.

¹⁰ *rājñāyā*] *pitur ājñāyā* Eds.

¹¹ *vikasakheḥ*] *vikasite* Eds.

¹² *kṣayam*] *sthithim* Eds.

¹³ *pratiṣṭhā*] *prasiddhā* Eds.

¹⁴ *cirajāya*] *viracayya* Eds.

¹⁵ *pannam*] *yatram* Eds.

¹⁶ *sama*] *samaḥ* Eds.

¹⁷ *akṣara* (em.)] *akṣara* Ś₆

Group 2

Manuscripts of *mūla* text and commentary

13.4.12 Manuscript J₂ (Stein 753)

Place of preservation and identification number. Jammu, Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute (formerly Raghunath Temple Library), Ranbir 753 = Stein 753, Siglum: J₂.

Access. Digital scans, color, digitized by eGangotri.

Content. *mūla* text and commentary of Jonarāja (from comm. ad ŚKC 1.22 up to comm. ad ŚKC 25.152), including the commentator's closing verses.

Material, format and size. Paper, *pothī*, 34,3 cm x 19 cm.

Script, foliation and layout. Devanāgarī, foliation written in the upper left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title (the number of the folio is repeated in roman numbers in pencil). Ca. 12 lines on each page, ca. 35–38 characters per line.

Running marginal title written in the upper left margin of each verso and above foliation number, *Śrī. ka.(n̄tha) ca.(rita) t̄i. (kā)*, followed by the folio's number. The foliation numbers are repeated on the bottom right margin of each verso. Each verse + commentary unit is followed by the verse number without any *daṇḍa*. Rubrics and colophons are inconsistently rubricated.

Condition and date. Incomplete, 310 folios, first five folios missing. Commentary often incorrect. Undated.

Link to commentary. Each verse of the *mūla* text is fully transcribed, and followed by Jonarāja's commentary.

Incipit. [1v1] *vatvāt padmāsanatvās ca sarvāṅgāṇāṃ saṃvāhanakṛtye bhṛtyaḥ sa padmaḥ vaḥ punātu [space] bhṛtyaś ca lavanādikarmaṇi niyu[2]ktas tat sadṛśīṃ bhṛtim arhati (= comm. ŚKC 1.22)*

Explicit. [310r8] *kandayati* [9] *maheśvaralokarsthasya pitur ājñayā svapne śrutayā vibhudhastataṃ tacchrikanṭhacaritaṃ kāvyam bhagavate nived*[10]*ya sa mañ-khakaso nasi kam apy ānandaṃ prakāśayati* (= comm. ŚKC 25.152)

Jonarāja's closing verses. [310r10] *kāle kalau vikasukī kila jonarājas tarkāvya-rāja*[11]*vivrter bhajate purārīm brahmādi cātu paṭu nāsyā hi rajñanāya kā māmdrśras ta gatiśvarasevane 'nyā santano yan*[12]*ti guṇatām khalu doṣajātaṃ jta cāpalakṛtāmsu mama pravṛtiḥ varām patisyajati cet svakṛtāvyavasthām kīrtiḥ* [310v1] *kṣayam śrayati kasya jagat prasiddhā śrikanṭhakāvyavivṛtiṃ cirajayya janarājas sato nasati pannas atiprati*[2]*ṣṭhaḥ helāsu vas tad api yatnam akārṣam asyām dīpe dhilāndhyaharaṇā taraṇes samaḥ kim* ||

Final Rubric and Colophon. Funnel-shaped and centered as follows:

[310v3] *iti śrikanṭhacaritaṭikāyām paṇḍitalo*
[4] *latanayapaṇḍitanarājanayaśrīja*
[5] *nerājakṛtāyām pañciviṃ*
[6] *śaḥ sargaḥ || samāpta*
[7] *m || śubham*
[8] *nārāya*
[9] *nā*
[10] *ya*
[11] *oṃ*
[12] *rāma oṃ*

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Cat. Stein 1894, 75; Cat. Ranbir 1973, 330–31.

13.4.13 Manuscript O (Oxf. II 1234 (2))

Place of preservation and identification number. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Oxf. II 1234 (2), Siglum: O.

Access. Pictures, black/white, obtained by courtesy of the Bodleian Library and Dr. Iris Iran Farkhondeh. I was able to study this manuscript only partially. My diplomatic transcriptions of *incipit* and *explicit* are derived from the detailed catalogue compiled by Winternitz and Keith (1905, 169–70)

Content. *mūla* text and commentary of Jonarāja (folios 157v–361v).

Material, format and size. Birch-bark, codex, ca. 18 cm. x 27 cm. This manuscript has been bound as a western book along with another manuscript containing Jonarāja's commentary to Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* (= Oxf. 1234(1), from folio 4r to 157r). They have both the same format and have been bound together sticking the loose sheets of birch-bark on paper and stitching the paper folios with white thread. The volume is extremely stiff and difficult to open, therefore the syllables close to the binding are often hard to read through picture.

Script, foliation and layout. Śāradā. The foliation number is placed in the lower left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number of the canto; ca. 23 lines on each page, ca. 30 characters per line. Running marginal title in the format *Śrī(kanṭha) ca(rita)* [first letter of canto's number] *ṭī(kā)*, written on the lower left margin of each verso, and followed by the number of the folio.

Condition and date. Incomplete, 204 folios (from 157v to 361v), protected by transparent paper. According to the catalogue, some folios are missing: folio 161, containing ŚKC 1.25–33; folios 202–3, containing ŚKC 6.29–49 (corresponding to ŚKC 6.31–45 in the Eds.); folios 218–19, containing ŚKC 7.64–8.12 (corresponding to ŚKC 7.65–8.12 in the Eds.).

Dated, according to the catalogue, to the year 1648 CE (“*saṃvat 24 kārtikavati trayodaśyāṃ budhe || śrīsākaḥ 1570*” in Cat. Keith 1905, 170). There is even a mention to the name of the scribe, Dāmodaraka (the same scribe as in Ms. Sansk. c. 54 = 1180 Oxf., i.e. a manuscript containing the Bhāgavata Purāna of A.D. 1642, see Keith 1905, xvii). This manuscript was bought by the Bodleian Library in 1887 from Dr. Eugen Hultsch (Mss. 53, 88 = H 88 in § 11.3).

Link to commentary. Entire verse followed by Jonarāja's commentary.

Rubric. [157v?] *svasti || śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ || oṃ namas sarasvatyai || śrīgurubhyo namaḥ ||*

Jonarāja's prologue. [157v?] *udeti yasyāṃ prakāṭibhavantyāṃ tirohitāyāṃ galatīva viśvaṃ |*

Explicit. [361v?] *kandalayati || maheśvaralokasthasya pitur ājñāyā svapne śrutayā | vibhudhastutaṃ tacchrīkanṭhacaritaṃ kāvyam | śrībhagavate nivedya | sa maṅkhako manasi | kam apy ānandaṃ prakāśayati || 147 || (= comm. ŚKC 25.152)*

Jonarāja's closing verses. [361v?] *santo nayanti guṇatāṃ khalu doṣajātāṃ jāteti cāpalakalāsu mama pravṛttiḥ vārāṃ patis tyajati cet svakṛtāṃ vyavasthāṃ*

|| *kīrtiḥ (krayaṃ)*¹⁸ *śrayati kasya jagat prasiddhā* || *śrīkaṇṭhakāvyavivṛtiṃ vira-*
cayya jonarājas sato namati santam atipratiṣṭhaḥ | *helā tu*¹⁹ *vas tad api yatnam*
akārṣam asyāṃ | *dīpo bilāndhyaharaṇāt taraṇes samaḥ kiṃ* || *kurvantu tatskhali-*
tayojanam atra santaḥ śrīkaṇṭhabhaktirabhasāt khaladarśanāc ca || *setuṃ khananti*
*salilāni hi randhralābhāt tan mārgam uñcati jano 'tha cirāyāyatam*²⁰ ||

Final Rubric. [361v?] *iti śrīpaṇḍitabhaṭṭaśrīnonarājātmaśrījonarājakṛtāyāṃ* |
śrīkaṇṭhacaritaṭīkāyāṃ | *pañcaviṃśas sargaḥ* || *lekhayanti ca likhanti ye* | &co. ...
samāptam cedam śrīkaṇṭhacaritākhyam mahākāvyaṃ iti śubham astu lekhakapā-
ṭhakayoḥ ||

Colophon. [361v?] *kāvya kartā ca kāśmīras śrīmadviśvāvartasūnuś śrīmaṅkhaka*
iti śubham ||

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Keith 1905, 169–70.

13.4.14 Manuscript P₄ (BORI 200)

Place of preservation and identification number. Pune, Bhandarkar
Oriental Research Institute, BORI 200, Siglum: P₄.

Access. Digital scans, black/white, obtained by courtesy of the Bhandarkar Ori-
ental Research Institute.

Content. *mūla* text and commentary of Jonarāja, cantos 1–25.

Material, format and size. Paper, *pothī*, ca. 35 cm x 15 cm.

Script, foliation and layout. Devanāgarī, foliation written in the upper left
margin of each verso, under the running marginal title; ca. 12 lines on each page,
ca. 49–50 characters per line.

Running marginal title, *Śrī(kanṭha) ca.(rita)*, written in the upper left margin
of each verso and followed by the canto number in letters and the number of the
folio. Few marginal annotations and corrections are written in Devanāgarī, on
the margins and in-line, by a different hand. *Daṇḍas* are not present, and the end

¹⁸Keith's catalogue states in footnote "perhaps *kṣayaṃ*, but certainly not *sthitim*, as in the edi-
tion", which is confirmed by L₂, see § 11.4.6.

¹⁹*helā tu*] *helās tu* Eds; *helātra* L₂

²⁰The verse *kurvantu...cirāyāyatam* is missing in the Eds. but present in L₂, see § 11.4.6.

of each verse is marked by the verse-number. In his catalogue, Gode notes that yellow pigment is used for corrections (Gode 1942, 458).

Condition and date. Complete, 222 folios. Loose folios wrapped in cloth. Undated. According to Gode (1942, 458), the manuscript is not very old.

Link to commentary. Entire verse followed by Jonarāja's commentary.

Link to annotations. The marginal annotations are marked by a double stroke (a = symbol) and/or vertical strokes, and so is the commented segment. At times, the second hand makes use of *kakapādas*.

Rubric. [1v1] *om śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ*

Jonarāja's prologue. [1v1] *om udeti yasyām prakāṭi bhavanyām tirohitāyām galatīva viśvam [space] raviṣrabhevāstu tamo harantī dṛśaḥ pra[2] bodhāya sarasvatī vaḥ [space] śrīlaularājasutapaṇḍitabhaṭṭanonarājātmajas sahr̥dayair vihitābhyanujñāḥ [space] kāvye purāricarite kurute 'bhi[3] yogam vācyārthamātravivṛtim prati jonarājāḥ [space] śeṣārthayor iha vihasitabālabodhaśraddhapratītir araṇīṣṭha²¹ -hutāsātulyā [space] kaṣṭena ya[4] sya sucirād upatiṣṭhate 'nnaṃ māṃsaspr̥hā bhavati tasya hi hāsahetuḥ [space] lakṣyādinā kvacana saurabhamārabheya tadvācyapośakatayety avase[5] yam eva [space] arthavyayam spr̥ṣati parvasu yaddaridrās tatkevalam bhavati maṅgalabhaṅgabhīteḥ [space] puropakāriṇas santo yaśaḥ-puṇyavivṛddhaye [space] sāva[6] dhānā bhavantv atra mama skhalitayojane [space] śrītripurāyai namaḥ²²*

Incipit. [1v6] *om jīyāt kṛtānaṅgapataṅgadāhaḥ khaṭvāṅgino netraśikhīpradīpaḥ yasyā (= ŚKC 1.1ab)*

Explicit. [222v5] *kandalayati [space, double daṇḍa inserted by second hand] maheśvaralokasthasya pitur ājñāyā svapne śrutayā vibhudhastutaṃ tacchrīkaṅṭhacari [6] tam kāvyam bhagavate²³ nivedya sa maṅkhako manasi kam apy ānandaṃ prakāśayati || (= comm. ŚKC 25.152)*

Jonarāja's closing verses. [222v6] *kāle kalau vikasite kila jonarājas tatkāvya- [7] rājavivṛter bhajate purārīm [space] brahmādi cātu paṭu nāsya hi rajñanāya kā mādr̥śas tu gatir īśvarasevane 'nyā santo nayanti guṇa[8] tām khalu doṣajā-*

²¹ *araṇīṣṭha*] *araṇīṣṭha* Eds.

²² *śrītripurāyai namaḥ*] missing in the Eds.

²³ *bhagavate*] *śrībhagavate* in Eds.

*taṃ jāteti cāpalakalāsu mama pravṛtīḥ [space] vārāṃ patis tyajati cet svakṛtāṃ
vyavasthāṃ kīrtiḥ kṣayaṃ²⁴ śrayati kasya ja[9]gat prasiddhā || śrīkaṇṭhakāvya-
vivṛtiṃ viracayya jonarājas sato namati yatnam atipatiṣṭhaḥ [space] helās tu vas
tad api yatnam akārṣa[10]ṃ asyāṃ dīpo bilāndhyaharaṇāt taraṇes samaḥ kim ||*

Final Rubric. [222r10] *iti śrīkaṇṭhacaritaṭīkāyāṃ paṇḍitalolatanayapaṇḍita-
nonarā[11]jatanayaśrījonarājakṛtāyāṃ pañcaviṃśaḥ sargaḥ samāptam*

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261, Gode 1942.

13.4.15 Manuscript Ś₂ (ORL 996)

Place of preservation and identification number. Śrīnagar, Oriental Research Library, ORL 996. Siglum: Ś₂.

Access. Pictures, color. I was able to consult this manuscript digitally at the IGNCA in Delhi during my field-trip in 2017. The National Mission for Manuscripts adds at the end of each manuscript from Śrīnagar (Ś₁, Ś₂, Ś₃, Ś₄, Ś₅, Ś₆) a paper sheet indicating the manuscript's details.

Content. *mūla* text and commentary of the first canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, readable from comm. ad ŚKC 1.1 (folio 2r1) to comm. ad ŚKC 2.2 (folio 14v19).

Material, format and size. Paper, codex, 15 cm. x 23 cm. The manuscript is bounded as a western book.

Script, foliation and layout. Śāradā, foliation written in the lower left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number (in letters) of the *sarga*; ca. 19 to 20 lines on each page, ca. 20–21 characters per line. Word-division marked by a single vertical stroke.

Running marginal title, *Śrīka(ṇṭhacarita) ṭī(kā)*, written in the lower left margin of each verso and followed by the folio number.

Condition and date. Incomplete, 14 folios. First folio damaged on the lower right corner and almost illegible, second folio damaged in the margins. Undated.

²⁴*kṣayaṃ*] second hand corrects it on the right margin with *sthitim*, as in the Eds.

Link to commentary. Entire verse followed by Jonarāja's commentary.

Link to annotations. Few marginal annotations and corrections in Śāradā script. Plus symbol (a +) to mark additions, at times horizontal double stroke (a = symbol) to link annotation and commented segment.

Incipit. [3r1] *kirīṭendor maulicandrasya karā raśmayo yasya netraśikhino* [2] *nikaṭe śubhradaśāyā varṇāntarasatidhānāc chvetatarā*[3]yā (= comm. ŚKC 1.1)

Explicit. [14v17] *kāvyaṃrtaṃ durjanarāhunītaṃ prāpyaṃ* [18] *bhavenno sumano-*
janasya | saccakramavyajavirājamānatai[19]*kṣṇyaprakaraṣaṃ yadi nāma na syāt*
|| *durjana eva rāhuḥ natena nītaṃ* (= comm. ŚKC 2.2)²⁵

Bibliography. Cat. IGNCA.

13.4.16 Manuscript Ś₃ (ORL 1147)

Place of preservation and identification number. Śrīnagar, Oriental Research Library, ORL 1147. Siglum: Ś₃.

Access. Pictures, color. I was able to consult this manuscript digitally at the IGNCA in Delhi during my field-trip in 2017. The National Mission for Manuscripts adds at the end of each manuscript from Śrīnagar (Ś₁, Ś₂, Ś₃, Ś₄, Ś₅, Ś₆) a paper sheet indicating the manuscript's details.

Content. *mūla* text and Jonarāja's commentary from ŚKC 12.61 to ŚKC 13.30ab.

Material, format and size. Paper, codex, 14 cm x 21 cm. The manuscript is bounded as a western book.

Script, foliation and layout. Śāradā, foliation written in the lower left margin of each verso, starting from folio 133 up to folio 143, under the running marginal title; ca. 18–20 lines on each page, ca. 27–28 characters per line.

Running marginal title, Śrīka(ṅthacarita) ṭī(kā) and Śrīka(ṅtha) ca(rita) alternatively, written in the lower left margin of each verso and followed by the folio

²⁵The beginning of the commentary is different from that of the editions. See comm. ŚKC 2.2 (editions, p. 15): *sataṃ cakram samūhaḥ sacchobhanaṃ cakram ca* etc.

number.

Condition and date. Incomplete, 13 folios. Undated.

Link to commentary. Entire verse followed by Jonarāja's commentary.

Incipit. [1r1] *bhām abhidgotayat yato madhye randhrāya māṇaṃ śyāmacchidra-
-vadācaran praviṣṭo*[2] *hariṇo yasya tathā pārśve nikaṭe rohanyo grahagaṇas tena
guṇitakṛto yatnena* [3] *ratnopacāro ratnaparikatatvaṃ yasya* (= comm. ad ŚKC
12.61)

Explicit. [12r18] *urarī cakāra suravāravadhūcīkurorkarāna* (= ŚKC 13.30a)

Bibliography. Cat. IGNC.

Group 3

Manuscripts of the commentary

13.4.17 Manuscript L₂ (IO 2033)

Place of preservation and identification number. London, British Library (formerly preserved at the India Office Library in London), IO 2033 = Eggeling 3849, Siglum: L₂.

Access. Digital scans, black/white, obtained by courtesy of the British Library.

Content. Jonarāja's commentary of cantos 1–25, including prologue and closing verses.

Material, format and size. Paper, *pothī*, ca. 34 cm x ca. 14 cm.

Script, foliation and layout. Devanāgarī, foliation numbers written in the lower left margin of each verso, under the running marginal title and number of the sarga; 11 lines on each page, ca. 50 characters per line.

Running marginal title, starting from *Śrī.(kaṇṭhacarita) pra.(thama sarga) ṭī.(kā)*, and continuing until the twenty-fifth canto, written on the lower left margin of each verso, and followed by the number of the folio; the foliation numbers are repeated in roman numbers and pencil on the upper right margin of the bounding paper. Some folios are misplaced, perhaps because of lack of verse numbers, which are, at times, inserted by a second hand. In some cases, the folios are illegible, as the ink of the other side of the page is passing through the paper. Corrections are placed on the margins, followed by the number of the correspondent line.

Condition and date. Complete, 176 folios. The folios are preserved under white paper sheets, which are cut through to make the text visible and are bounded on the long side. Undated. Eggeling notes in his catalogue: “very good Devanāgarī writing of A.D. 1600”. It belongs to the same collection of L₁ (i.e. previously of the Gaikawar of Baroda).

Link to commentary. *pratīka* (only the first word) of the *mūla* text followed by Jonarāja's commentary.

Rubric. [1v1] *śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ || śrīsarasvatyai namaḥ || namaḥ śivāya ||*

Jonarāja's prologue. [1v1] *udeti yasyāṃ prakāṭi bhavantyāṃ tirohitāyāṃ galatīva viśvam || raviṃprabhevāstu tamo harantī dr[2]śaḥ prabodhāya sarasvī [sarasvatī p.c.] vaḥ || || śrīlaularājasutapaṇḍitabhaṭṭanonarājātmajaḥ sahrdayair vihitābhyanujñāḥ || kāvyē purāricarite kurute 'bhiyogaṃ vācyārthamātravivṛ[3]tiṃ prati jonarājaḥ || śeṣārthayor iha vihastitabālabodhaśraddhapratītir araṇīsthahutāśatulyā || kaṣṭena yasya sucirād upatiṣṭhste 'nnaṃ māṃsasprhā bhavati tasya [4] hi hāsaheṭuḥ || lakṣyādīnā kvacana saurabhamārabheya tadvācyapośakatayety avaseyam eva || arthavyayaṃ sprśati parvasu yaddaridras tatkevalaṃ bhavati maṅgalabhaṅgabhi[5]teḥ || puropakāriṇas santo yaśaḥpuṇyavivṛddhaye || sāvadhānā bhavantv atra mama skhalitayojane ||*

Incipit. [1v5] *jīyāt || kirīṭendoḥ maulicandrasya karā raśmayo yasya netra [6] śikhino nikāte śubhradaśāyā varṇāntarasamnidhānāc cvetatarāyā avasthāya varteś ca niveśas taccobhāṃ śrayante sevante saḥ || (= comm. ŚKC 1.1)*

Explicit. [176v5] *śrutayā vibudhas tu taṃ tac chrīkaṅṭhacaritaṃ kāvyāṃ bhagavate nivedya sa maṅkhako manāse kam apy ānandaṃ prakāśayati || (= comm. ŚKC 25.152)*

Jonarāja's closing verses. [176v5] *kāle kalau vi[6]kasite kila jonarājas tatkāvyarājavivṛter bhajate purārīm | brahmādi cāṭu paṭu nāsya hi rajñanāya kā mādrśas tu gatir īśva[7]rasevane 'nyā || santo nayanti guṇatāṃ khalu doṣajātaṃ jāteti cāpalakalāsu mama pravṛtīḥ | vārāṃ patis tyajati cet svakṛtāṃ vyavasthāṃ [8] kīrtiḥ kṣayaṃ²⁶ śrayati kasya jagat prasiddhā || śrīkaṅṭhakāvyavivṛtīṃ viracayya jonarājaḥ sato namati sannam atipratiṣṭhah²⁷ | helā[9]tra²⁸ vastad api yatnam akār- sam asyāṃ dīpo bilāndhyaharaṇāttaraṇeḥ samaḥ kim || kurvantu tat svalitayojanam atra santaḥ śrīkaṅṭha[10]bhaktirabhasāt khaladarśanāc ca | setum khananti salilāni hi randhralābhāt tanmārgam ujḥhati jano 'tha cirāya khātam²⁹ || || ||*

Final Rubric. [176v11] *iti śrīkaṅṭhacaritakāvyasya paṇḍitalaulaputrapaṇḍitanonarājaputraśrījonarājakṛtā vivṛtīḥ samāptā || || ||*

Bibliography. NCC 35 2014, 261; Cat. Eggeling 1904 (7), 1445–46.

²⁶ *kṣayaṃ] sthitīṃ* Eds.

²⁷ *sannam atipratiṣṭhah]* *yatnam atipratiṣṭhah* (?) Eds.

²⁸ *helātra]* *helās tu* Eds.

²⁹ The verse *kuvantu...khātam* is missing in the Eds.

13.5 Omitted Manuscripts

This section presents five manuscripts additionally listed in CC and NCC 35. These are omitted from my study and description since I was able to obtain and/or trace them in any form.

1. **BHU 6553** and **BHU 6554**. These two manuscripts are listed in NCC 35 2014. I have not been able to trace either the manuscripts or their descriptive catalogue.³⁰
2. **Damodar**. It is listed only in the NCC 35 2014. The Abbreviations in the NCC state that the text has been found in Jacobi's library, and was written by the copyst Damodar. Hermann Jacobi's collection has been bought "in 1897 by the then British Museum, today housed in the British Library" (see Balbir 2017, 54). The only two *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscripts that I found at the British Library, however, are L₁ and L₂.
3. **RASB 1632**. The manuscript has been identified as belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (NCC 35 2014, 261, and Shastri 1985, 120), and is described in *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript in the Government Collection* (see Cat. RASB 1934) by Haraprasad Shastri. I have not yet been able to obtain this manuscript, but according to the catalogue, it is a paper codex written in "modern Kashmiri", bound in leather. Folios 61–80 are added at the end of the twenty-fourth canto, while the twenty-fifth canto covers seventeen folios. The catalogue states that this manuscript has been printed in the *Kāvya-mālā* series No. 3, 1889.
4. **Wien II 23**. This manuscript was identified as belonging to the Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien. According to the *Katalog der Sanskrit-Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Sammlungen Marcus Aurel Stein und Carl Alexander von Hügel)* (Slaje 1990, 63–65), this manuscript, with Acc. No. 23, is the second work (II) contained in the volume Indicus 86, along with Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* and Māgha's *Śīsupālavadha*. The cover was removed and wrapped separately in paper. According to Slaje, the manuscript is not readable as consisting of birch-bark crumbs.

³⁰*A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts, Acquired for and Deposited in the Sanskrit University Library (Sarasvati Bhavana), Varanasi, During the Years 1791-1950 by Sanskrit University Library. Staff of the Manuscripts Section, Varanasi 1960/1. The same problem has been faced by Alessandro Graheli (2012, 333).*

13.6 Synopsis

The following table (Table 13.2) provides an overview of the analyzed manuscripts.

The first and second columns indicate the same sequential order of the description and the place of provenance of the manuscripts (i.e. in alphabetical order according to the place of provenance, see § 11.4). The third column includes the content (i.e. either *mūla* text, commentary, or both) and the extent of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* covered (i.e. the actual verses contained in the manuscript). The fifth and sixth columns describe the material of the manuscript (i.e. P=Paper; BB=birch-bark) and the script (i.e. D=Devanāgarī; Ś=Śāradā). I have not included here the formats, for which see § 11.4. The seventh column contains, when present, the date of the manuscript. In case of ambiguity, I have provided both *śāka* (=ś) and *vikrama* (=v) years.

	Id.	Place	Content	Extent	Mat.	Script	Date
1	B ₁	Baroda	<i>mūla</i>	6.1–74; 5.1–57	P	D	no
2	B ₂	Baroda	<i>mūla</i>	1.1–25.152	P	D	no
3	J ₁	Jammu	<i>mūla</i>	1.1–25.152	P	D	no
4	L ₁	London	<i>mūla</i>	1.1–25.152	P	D	1753 v
5	P ₁	Pune	<i>mūla</i>	1.1–25.152	P	D	no
6	P ₂	Pune	<i>mūla</i>	1.1–25.152	P	Ś	no
7	P ₃	Pune	<i>mūla</i>	1.28–24.39	BB	Ś	no
8	Ś ₁	Śrīnagar	<i>mūla</i>	1.1–25.152	P	Ś	no
9	Ś ₄ (1–9)	Śrīnagar	<i>mūla</i>	see Table 13.1	P	Ś	no
10	Ś ₅	Śrīnagar	<i>mūla</i>	1.7–25.152	BB	Ś	saṃ 59
11	Ś ₆	Śrīnagar	<i>mūla</i>	4.39–25.152	P	Ś	no
12	J ₂	Jammu	<i>mūla</i> + comm.	1.22–25.152	P	D	no
13	O	Oxford	<i>mūla</i> + comm.	1.1–25.152	BB	Ś	1570 ś
14	P ₄	Pune	<i>mūla</i> + comm.	1.1–25.152	P	D	no
15	Ś ₂	Śrīnagar	<i>mūla</i> + comm.	1.1–2.2	P	Ś	no
16	Ś ₃	Śrīnagar	<i>mūla</i> + comm.	12.61–13.30	P	Ś	no
17	Ś ₄ (10)	Śrīnagar	<i>mūla</i> + comm.	see Table 13.1	P	Ś	no
18	L ₂	London	comm.	1.1–25.152	P	D	no

Table 13.2: Overview of the Analyzed Manuscripts

Chapter 14

Critical Edition: the *mūla* Text

14.1 About this Edition

This edition presents itself as an experiment with the scope of establishing whether or not a complete new critical edition of Mañkha's *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is needed for the comprehension of the *mūla* text. As stated earlier, even though the printed edition of Durgaprasad and Parab is already quite satisfactory, the text presents some inconsistencies that could be solved through manuscripts consultation.

I divide my philological work into two parts. The first part is dedicated to the critical edition of the *mūla* text of the fourth and fifth canto of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, for which I present in apparatus all the variants contained in all the available manuscripts, including those which are not meaningful or visibly erroneous. The two examined cantos are to be considered initial samples for the following observations on the quality of the manuscripts.

The second part of the edition is limited to some selected verses of the sixth and seventeenth cantos, marked with the symbol * in the edition. I consult the manuscripts and edit the *mūla* text whenever a verse meets one of the three following criteria:

1. its meaning is problematic and points to scribal errors or printing typos;
2. Jonarāja's commentary to the verse suggests a variant with the formula *iti pāṭhaḥ* and the like;
3. the marginal annotations in manuscript B₂ suggest a different reading of the *mūla* text.

14.1.1 Series of Footnotes

The edition has five different registers of the apparatus:

- (A) The first series of footnotes constitutes the positive apparatus criticus of the *mūla* text (see below).
- (B) The second series contains the diplomatic transcription of the marginal and in-line annotations of manuscript B₂.
- (C) The third series includes the variants ventured by Jonarāja in his commentary and marked with the siglum J. comm.
- (D) The fourth series includes observations on the changes in the verse-order and reports the footnotes inserted by Durgaprasad and Parab in their printed editions.
- (E) The fifth series contains the meters of the verses (based on Mandal 1991). In case of identical meter for large portions of text, the meter is specified only under the first verse of each portion.

14.1.2 The Apparatus Criticus

I opt for a positive apparatus, which means that for each single entry all the variants in the witnesses are reported. The list of witnesses used for the critical edition is given at the beginning of each canto in the first footnote.

Each entry in the apparatus is followed by a closed square bracket, by the variants and by the siglum of the witnesses in which the variant is attested. The witnesses are reported in alphabetical order, except for the siglum of the editions (Eds.) which is always noted first.

The following graphical features are systematically rectified without specific mention in the apparatus (see Lo Turco 2019, 25–26):

- (a) /ba/ and /va/, confused in manuscripts in Devanāgarī, are rectified in the edition;
- (b) *visargas* assimilated with the following sibilant ($h+ś > ś+ś$ and $h+s > s+s$) in manuscripts in Śāradā are maintained as non-assimilated;
- (c) the consonant group /ttra/ is restored into the ungeminated group /tra/;
- (d) /cca/ and /śca/, interchangeable in manuscripts in Śāradā, are rectified in the edition.

14.1.3 Symbols

(– –) between round brackets is one or more illegible or lost *akṣaras*, and each en dash stands for one non legible syllable; round brackets containing syllables indicate that the *akṣaras* are not completely legible.

corr. ex stands for “*LEMMA A* corrected from *LEMMA B*”, and indicates the corrections made by the scribe in line or in margin.

i.m. indicates the glosses written in upper, lower, right and left margins in B₂.

i.l. indicates the glosses written in line above the glossed lemma in B₂.

* marks the verses which have been edited in cantos sixth and seventeenth.

14.2 Kailāsavarṇana¹

caturthaḥ sargaḥ

śaśīsubhrāḥ kiranbhāso hāso dhanapater diśaḥ |
girir astīha kailāso nivāso vṛṣalakṣmaṇaḥ || 4.1 ||

5 bimbitair yo mṛṅgair bhāti sphuṭasphāṭikasānuṣu |
kautukena kṛto dhātrā rāśinā śaśinām iva || 4.2 ||

raśmayo 'bhraṃkaṣā yasya śrayante saralaśriyaḥ |
mūle mṛṅṇālanālatvam brahmāsanasaroruhāḥ || 4.3 ||

yadaṃśusrotasaḥ saṅgād uttamāṅge 'pi dhūrjateḥ |
nenduḥ kṣīrodakallolanivāsapṛitim ujjhati || 4.4 ||

10 sarvato 'pi pranṛtyadbhir yaś cakāsti gabhastibhiḥ |
likhanmukheṣu kakubhāṃ karpūrasthāsakān iva || 4.5 ||

pādair mahadbhir ākrāntadiganto yaḥ sitadyutiḥ |
bibharti kṣamam ātmānaṃ moktuṃ na vasudhābharam || 4.6 ||

15 jahāti yasya limpadbhiḥ karair ācāntakālimā |
jaladaḥ prāvṛṣeṇyo 'pi na śāradapayodatām || 4.7 ||

¹Manuscripts used for the critical edition of the fourth canto: B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ (only for verses from 4.56 to 4.64) Ś₅ Ś₆ (only for verses from 4.39 to 4.64). Edition: all the verses of the *mūla* text. Type: positive apparatus.

³ girir astīha] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; girir stīha J₁; girir astīha corr. ex giristīha P₂
⁵ kautukena] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₅; kauśikena J₁ Ś₁ ⁶ rāśinā] B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; rāśibhiḥ Eds. ⁸ śaśinām] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₅; +śa+śinām Ś₁
⁶ raśmayo] B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; śaśmayo J₁ ⁶ yasya śrayante] B₂ J₂ L₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₅; ya(s) aśrayante O; śriyante J₁ P₁ P₂ Ś₁ ¹¹ likhanmukheṣu] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅; likhanmukheṣu corr. ex likhamukheṣu P₄, likhamukheṣu corr. ex likhamukhe Ś₁ ¹¹ sthāsakān iva] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; sthāsakā(-) P₃ ¹² ākrānta] Eds. J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; utkrānta B₂ L₁ ¹³ vasudhābharam] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; vasvadhābharam P₂ ¹⁴ ācāntakālimā] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; acāntakālimā P₂ ¹⁵ prāvṛṣeṇyo] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁; prāvṛṣeṇyo J₁; prāvṛṣeṇyo corr. ex prāvṛṣeṇyo P₄; prāvṛṣeṇyo Ś₅

¹ caturthaḥ sargaḥ] oṃ śrīśivāya nāma oṃ P₂; namaś śānkara gurave P₃; śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ oṃ P₄

³ 4.1] 4.1–45 metre Anuṣṭubh. See Mandal 1991, 134.

saguhāṃ prakatāhīnakatakāṃ dadhadākṛtim |
 sadāpinākam ākramya sthitaḥ pādavaladgaṇaḥ || 4.8 ||
 dadhāno 'dhigataśvetasānugrahaśarīratām |
 svasāmyam iva yo nītaḥ sevāpṛitena śaṃbhunā || 4.9 || yugmam ||

20 ābaddhapariveśasya raśmibhiḥ sphaṭikāśmanām |
 pradakṣiṇapravṛtteva rājate yasya jāhnavī || 4.10 ||

dhatte 'mśubhiḥ samālabdhām bharganetrahavirbhujāḥ |
 yo mūrṭim rohaṇaṃ jetuṃ padmarāgamayīm iva || 4.11 ||

yatra sphaṭikatejobhir bhargasya ca galatviṣā |
 25 rajany api dinam manyā rātrim manyam bhavaty ahaḥ || 4.12 ||

dikṣu dyutibhir eṇāṅkagabhastiprativastubhiḥ |
 yaśāṃsi varṣatā yena rājanvanto mahībhṛtaḥ || 4.13 ||

nṛtyadbhavapadakṣuṇṇayatkṣoṇīreṇu vipruṣāḥ |
 bhanibhena nabho nūnaṃ naktam naktam upāsate || 4.14 ||

30 śivavāhakhuropajñajātarūpasamṛddhibhiḥ |
 kṣaṇān merusahasraṃ yaḥ sūte śailaprajāpatiḥ || 4.15 ||

[16] prakatāhīna] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; prakatām hīna J₁ [17] pādavaladgaṇaḥ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₅; pādavaladgaṇaḥ P₂; pādavaladgaṇaḥ Ś₁ [18] 'dhigata] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; 'dhigate J₁; 'pi gata J₂ [19] śvetasānugraha] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; śvetasānugraha J₂ [19] yugmam] Eds. J₁ O P₁; yugalakam B₂ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ [20] ābaddhapariveśasya] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; ābaddhapariveśasya L₁ [20] raśmibhiḥ] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; raśmibhiḥ J₁ [21] jāhnavī] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; jāhnavā L₁ [22] dhatte 'mśubhiḥ] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; dhatte śubhiḥ J₁ J₂ [23] mūrṭim] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; mūrṭi P₁ [23] rohaṇaṃ] Eds. J₂ O P₁ P₃ P₄; rohaṇaṃ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₅ [23] jetuṃ] (–) O [25] rātrim manyam] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; rātram J₁ [27] varṣatā] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₅; varṣitām J₁; varṣitā Ś₁ [27] rājanvanto] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; rājanvanto J₂ [28] kṣuṇṇayatkṣoṇī] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; kṣuṇṇayotkṣaṇī J₁ [28] vipruṣāḥ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₅; vipruṣāḥ P₂ Ś₁ [29] nabho] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; no J₁ [31] kṣaṇān] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; kṣaṇā J₁ P₂; kṣaṇān corr. ex. kṣaṇā P₁

[18] 'dhigata] ākṛtiṃ dadhānaḥ i.m. B₂ [22] samālabdhām] vyāptām i.m. B₂ [22] bharganetra] +bharga+netra i.m. P₃ [23] yo] kailāśaḥ i.m. B₂ [23] rohaṇaṃ] (e?)kārtrikayaṃ i.m. B₂ [26] prativastubhiḥ] sadrśābhiḥ i.l. B₂ [27] rājanvanto] rajatamayāḥ i.m. B₂ [28] vipruṣāḥ] rajaḥ kaṇaḥ i.m. B₂ [30] opajñajātarūpa] upajñāṃ kṣuṇṇ(n)āṃ jātarūpaṃ sūvarṇaṃ i.m. B₂ [31] śailaprajāpatiḥ] kailāśaḥ i.m. B₂

yatra netrānalaḥ śambhoḥ pratibimbāvalambanāt |
kalpate 'nalpadāvāgniśilpakṛd ratnasānuṣu || 4.16 ||

35 rudrottamaṣavidhūdrekadravaccandrāśmajanmabhiḥ |
pravāhair iva yaḥ sakhyaṃ kvacin nojjhati nirjharaiḥ || 4.17 ||

kiṃsvid gaurīharer bhītyā vinītyā kimu dhūrjaṭeḥ |
dūrād rathamṛgaṃ tyaktvā yaṃ mṛduḥ sevate 'nilaḥ || 4.18 ||

darīṣu kiṃnarīlokaṃ dhatte yaḥ ploṣaviplave |
nyāsī kṛtam anaṅgena bhāṇḍāgāram iva svakam || 4.19 ||

40 śvetāśmakuharair madhyasuptaśyāmābhramaṇḍalaiḥ |
vyanakti yaḥ śailavṛṣā sahasram iva cakṣuṣām || 4.20 ||

avagūḍho tṛḍham devyā paulastyabhujanartite |
yatra kṣaṇaṃ vibhur lebhe dolākelirasajñatām || 4.21 ||

45 atyunnatasya pādeṣu kṣapāsu luṭhatendunā |
yasya prabhur api spardhām naiti candraśikhāmaṇiḥ || 4.22 ||

dikṣu prasāritabṛhatprabhāpakṣatisamputaḥ |
yo mānase jagallakṣmikelihaṃsa iva sthitaḥ || 4.23 ||

[32 netrānalaḥ] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; netrānala J₁ J₂ [32 pratibimbāvalambanāt] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; pratibimbāvalambanāt J₁; (prati)bimbāvalambanāt O [34 dravac] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; dravaś J₂ O P₁ P₂; dravaccandrā corr. ex dravandrā P₄ [34 candrāśmajanmabhiḥ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅; candrāśmajanmabhiḥ corr. ex candrāśmanmabhiḥ P₄ [35 pravāhair] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; pravāhar J₁ [35 yaḥ] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; ya J₁ [35 nojjhati] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; nojjhāti J₁ [36 kiṃsvid] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; kisvid J₁ [37 rathamṛgaṃ] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; rathamṛga J₂ [37 sevate] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; sevavate J₁ [38 lokam] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; lekaṃ J₂ [39 anaṅgena] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; anaṅgīna J₁ [40 śyāmā] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; śāmā P₄ [41 sahasram] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; sahasras P₄ [42 tṛḍham] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; tṛḍham P₂ P₃ [42 paulastyabhujanartite] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; paulasti bhujanartite J₁ [44 atyunnatasya] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₄; abhyunnatasya J₂; (abhy)unnatasya O but not really legible; abhyunnatasya corr. ex atyunnatasya P₁; (abhy)unnatasya or (aty)unnatasya in P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅ [44 luṭhatendunā] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; luṭhatenmunā J₁ P₄; luṭhater munā J₂ [45 prabhur] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; prabhur corr. ex prabhu P₁

[32 pratibimbāvalambanāt] pratibimbāśrayāt i.m. B₂ [34 rudrottamaṣa] [-]drottamaṣa O [36 gaurīharer] śiṃhasya i.m. Ś₅ [36 kimu dhūrjaṭeḥ] haraś i.m. Ś₅ [37 rathamṛgaṃ] rathamṛgaṃ danam i.m. B₂ [37 yaṃ] kailāsam i.m. B₂ [37 mṛduḥ] mṛdu(r) L₁ [38 ploṣaviplave] himavāha(?)ṣe i.m. B₂ [40 kuharair] gartaiḥ i.l. B₂ [41 śaila] kailāsaḥ i.m. B₂ [42 avagūḍho] line 21 and 22 are inverted in B₂, J₁, L₁, P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₅ [43 yatra] kailāse i.m. B₂

yo madhyamadhyā saṅkrāntanavābhṛakāṣāritaiḥ |
lauhitikataṭair bhāti svapraśastipaṭair iva || 4.24 ||

50 sphuliṅgabhaṅgibhir bhānoḥ pratibimbair ya ikṣyate |
rāśir bhūter iva tryakṣapluṣṭānām viśvapāpmanām || 4.25 ||

mānasāskandanapaṭuḥ spṛśann utkaṭakāntatām |
dadhānaḥ sukhadaṃ rūpaṃ siddhasādhyagaṇāśritaḥ || 4.26 ||
sālakāntasthitir nilakaṇṭhādhyāsanapāvanaḥ |

55 ya ivābhāti yaccitram aharyaḥśais tu sevyate || 4.27 || yugmam

kvacit kavacitaḥ sāndranavāmbudakadambakaiḥ |
yo vimudrayati droṇīr añjanādrimadadruhaḥ || 4.28 ||

sīmantarekhā rodasyoḥ kṣaumanīraṅgikā diśām |
kakupkuñjarayūthasya puromukhapaṭacchaṭā || 4.29 ||

60 dvitīyabhūtir bhargasya phenaśrīr mānasāmbhasām |
bhūpannagastrīnirmoko bhāti yatkāntisantatiḥ || 4.30 || (yugmam)

saṅkrāntaṃ yo vahaty antarvapuṣi sphāṭike jagat |
ācāntam iva kalpānte śikṣayā vṛṣalakṣmaṇaḥ || 4.31 ||

[48] madhyamadhyā] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; madhyamadhyamadhyā L₁ [48] śāritaiḥ]
Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; śāritaḥ P₃ [49] lauhitikataṭair] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃
P₄ Ś₅; lohite kataṭer J₁; lohitekataṭair P₂; lohite kataṭair Ś₁ [49] paṭair] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂
P₃ P₄ Ś₁; paṭair corr ex pa(n̄tha)ir B₂; paṭer Ś₅ [50] bhaṅgibhir] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄
Ś₁ Ś₅; bhaṅgibhi tvaur J₁ [50] bhānoḥ] Eds. J₂ O P₄; bhānu B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅ [51] rāśir
bhūter] Eds. J₁ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; rāśibhūtair B₂ L₁; (rāśibhūtair) O [51] tryakṣa] Eds. B₂
J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; bhrūkṣa J₁ [52] spṛśann utkaṭa] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ P₄ Ś₅; spṛśan utkaṇṭa
J₁; (spṛśan utkaṇṭa) O; spṛśan utkaṭa P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁; spṛśann ukāṭa corr. ex spṛśann ukāṭa P₄ [53]
siddha] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; siddhi J₁; saddha P₃ [54] ādhyāsana] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂
L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅; ādhyāsanapa corr. ex ādhyāsapa P₄ [54] pāvanaḥ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁
P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; pāvakaḥ P₃ [55] yaccitram] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ Ś₅; yaccitram B₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ [55]
yugmam] yugalakam B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ [56] kavacitaḥ] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₄; kavacitāḥ
J. comm. J₁ P₁ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅ [56] navāmbudaka] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; navāmbuka
J₂ [57] droṇīr] B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₅; sadroṇīr P₂; droṇīr corr. ex sadroṇīr Ś₁; kṣoṇīr Eds.;
sakṣoṇīr J₁ [61] panna] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; patna P₁ [61] strī] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁
O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; srī P₁ [61] bhāti] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; bhānti J₁ [62] vapuṣi]
Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; vapuvi P₁

[48] śāritaiḥ] karburitaiḥ i.m. B₂ [61] pluṣṭānām] dagdhānām i.m. B₂ [54] sālakā] nagarī i.m.
B₂ [57] droṇīr] chidrapaṭī i.m. B₂ [61] (yugmam)] Eds. J₂ O P₂ P₄; yugalakam B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁
P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅ [63] ācāntam] pītam i.m. B₂

[56] kavacitaḥ] kavalitaḥ ity apapāṭhaḥ J. comm.

bimbitārkadhṛtāpāṇḍuśārīro yo virājate |
65 sāndrerāmañjarīpuṣpagucchottaṃsa iva kṣiteḥ || 4.32 ||

sphaṭikāśmasu yatrāste bimbito guhabarhiṇaḥ |
datta yātra ivākraṣṭum ahīn pātālavāsinaḥ || 4.33 ||

viśvātmane svanāthāya digambaradaśajuṣe |
vayatīvāmbaram dikṣu yas tatair aṃśutantubhiḥ || 4.34 ||

70 yo 'śrāntaśaśabhṛtsaṅgadravaccandrāśmaśīkaraiḥ |
vyanakti bhagavatpādapātānandāśru durdinam || 4.35 ||

yo bibharti jvalatūṅgapataṅgāśmaguhātmanā |
dattam bhagavatā drṣṭim ahni vahnimayīm iva || 4.36 ||

ḍhaukitānantakusumaprakaraḥ pārśvāpādapaiḥ |
75 kīrṇārgḥo girijāśimhakarajonmuktamauktikaiḥ || 4.37 ||
dhūpadhūmam abhivyañjan bharair navapayomucām |
dattadīpālikaḥ śṛṅgaprajvalattapanopalaḥ || 4.38 ||
snānāni yacchannacchinnam ucchaladbhir itastataḥ |
nityaniḥṣyandamānendudrṣatsūtibhir ambubhiḥ || 4.39 ||
80 sadhātunirjharārdhasamālabhanavibhramah |
stuvan darīmukhair vātalahaṛīmukharikṛtaiḥ || 4.40 ||
śubhopakalpītabalir nānāvidhaphalarddhibhiḥ |

[65] sāndrerā] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; sā[-]rā J₁ [65] mañjarī] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; mañjare J₁ [65] ottamaṃsa] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; otuṃsa J₁ [65] kṣiteḥ] B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; kṣitau Eds. [67] datta] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; catur J₁ [67] ahīn] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅; ahīn corr. ex ahī P₄ [67] vāsinaḥ] Eds. J₂ O P₃ P₄; śāyinaḥ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₅ [68] svanāthāya] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; śvanāthāya dhi Ś₁ [70] śaśa] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; śaśi L₁ [70] candrāśma] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; candrārkaśma J₂ [71] āśru] Eds. L₁ Ś₅; āśru B₂ J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ [73] mayīm iva] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅; mayīm iva corr. ex mayīśiva P₄ [75] onmukta] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; onmukta corr. ex omukta P₁ [76] payomucām] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; payonsucām J₁ [77] dipālikaḥ] Eds. J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; dipāvalikaḥ corr. ex dipāva B₂; dipāvaliḥ L₁ [77] tapanopalaḥ] taponapalaḥ J₁; tupanopalaḥ J₂ [79] niḥṣyan] Eds. B₂ J₂; niḥṣyan J₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁; niḥpan L₁; niḥṣyan O Ś₅ Ś₆ [80] ārabdha] ālabdha Ś₆ [80] samālabhanavibhramah] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; samālabhanavibhramah L₁ [82] balir] Eds. B₂ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; balin J₁ J₂; valir L₁ P₁; ddali? Ś₆

[66] bimbito] pratibimbah i.m. B₂ [66] guhabarhiṇaḥ] kārtikeyamayūrasya i.m. B₂ [67] datta] (a?)taprasyāna iva i.m. B₂ [69] vayativā] nirmātivā i.m. B₂ [72] jvalatūṅgapataṅgā] suryakānta i.m. B₂ [74] ḍhaukitā] prahr̥t na (?) i.m. B₂ [74] prakaraḥ] prakāraḥ i.m. J₁ [78] chinnam] nirantaram i.m. B₂ [80] samālabhanavibhramah] aṅgarāgavilāsaḥ, tilakaśobhā yena i.m. B₂

taṭaprastutasamgītabhaṅgīko divyacāraṇaiḥ || 4.41 ||
 yo bhasmasmerasarvāṅgo nibhṛtāṃ sthitim aśnute |
 85 nityasaṃnihitaṃ devadevam abhyarcayann iva || 4.42 || kulakam ||

dhātupāṭalam utkṣeparibhūtyaparādhini |
 yo 'dyāpīva mukhaṃ dhatte sakopaṃ daśakandhare || 4.43 ||

sūryagrāvāgninā dunvan siñcann indūpaladravaiḥ |
 kopaprasādasambheda iva yo 'naṅgadāhinaḥ || 4.44 ||

90 soragāśleṣaniḥśeṣatāpaghnasthāṅusamgateḥ |
 śrikhaṇḍaśailaṃ kurute yaḥ sāmyānugrahātithim || 4.45 ||

divāpi pūtāsu maheśāsekharaprajāgarūkeṇa kuraṅgaketunā |
 kadācana proṣitabhartṛkāvrataṃ śikhāsu yasyauśadhibhir na śikṣitam || 4.46 ||

śikharādhvani yasya ṣaṭpadadyuticaurānavakekibandhavaḥ |
 95 jvaladośadhīpasampadāṃ dadhate sambhṛtakajjalaśriyam || 4.47 ||

83 prastuta] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; pratastuta Ś₆ 84 sarvāṅgo] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; sarvāṅga L₁ 85 nityasaṃnihitaṃ] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; nityam sannihitaṃ J₁ J₂ P₂ 85 kulakam] ṣadbhiḥ kulakam J₁ L₁ P₄ Ś₆; ṣadbhiḥ kulakam B₂ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ 86 dhātupāṭalam] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; dhātupāṭam J₂ 86 utkṣepa] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; atkṣepa J₁; atkṣepa P₂ 86 paribhūtya] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; paribhūti J₁ P₂ Ś₆; paribhṛtya J₂ 87 'dyāpīva] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; 'dyāpeva Ś₆ 87 mukhaṃ] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; sukham J₂ P₁; (mu)kham P₂) 88 grāvāgninā dunvan] Eds. J₂ O P₄; grāvāgninā dunvan corr ex grāvōṣmaṇā dunvan P₃; grāvōṣmaṇā dhunvan B₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ Ś₁; grāvōṣmaṇā [- -]n Ś₅; grāvōṣmaṇā dhurdha J₁; [- -]dāvanvan Ś₆ 88 siñcann indū] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; siñcan irdū P₁ 90 soragā] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; sarogā Ś₆ 90 niḥśeṣa] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; niḥśeṣa P₂ Ś₁ 90 tāpaghna] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; tāpa J₂; tāpagna P₁; (tāpaghna) O 90 saṃgateḥ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; saṅgataḥ corr. ex santatiḥ P₃ 91 yaḥ sāmyā] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; yasmāsyā J₁ 92 śekhara] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; śikhara J₁ 92 garūkeṇa] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; gurūkeṇa J₁; garvyakeṇa J₂ 92 kuraṅgaketunā] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; kuraṅgaketanā J₁ 93 vrataṃ] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; brataṃ J₂ 93 śikhāsu] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; śakhāsu Ś₆ 93 bhir na] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₄ Ś₅; bhinna J₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₆ 93 śikṣitam] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; śakṣitam Ś₆ 94 yasya] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; ya Ś₆ 94 caurā] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; caura O 95 dipa] B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; dīpti Eds.; line not legible in Ś₆

86 utkṣepa] utkhāta i.m. B₂ 86 parādhini] āndolāparādhini i.m. B₂ 91 śrikhaṇḍa] malayā i.m. B₂ 92 kuraṅgaketunā] sarvadoditacandrena i.m. B₂ 93 proṣitabhartṛkā] niśabhojarūpaṃ i.m. B₂ 93 śikhāsu] śikhareṣu i.m. B₂ 94 kekibandhavaḥ] meghāḥ i.m. B₂

93 4.46] 4.46 metre Vaṃśasthavila. See Mandal 1991, 134. 95 4.47] 4.47 metre Viyoginī. See Mandal 1991, 134.

tanur anusarati śrīsamstavam yasya śrṅgeṣv
 anurajani sudhāmśor mūrtibhir bimbītābhiḥ |
 bharasahanabhṛtāntastoṣabhargaprasādī-
 kṛtanijanṛkapālasraksahasrāñciteva || 4.48 ||

- 100 sphatikakaṭakakuṭṭimeṣu yasya pratimitayaḥ kharatejaso juṣante |
 vicaraṇacaṇaśarvavāhapādapraṇayasamudgatajātarūpaśobhām || 4.49 ||

- yasyāḥ saurabhakimkarīkṛtamilanmattālimālānibhād
 vyajyante 'navadhikrudho ratipater bhrūbhaṅgavicchittayaḥ |
 citrā caitrarathānilasya laharī sā yatra saṃjāyate
 105 mānānadhyanāṣṭamī śīśutamījīvātubhṛtsubhruvaḥ || 4.50 ||

nihnotuṃ kṣaṇam īsate gaṇapater ye 'tyūrjitaṃ garjitaṃ
 svairam tārakavairivāhaśikhino ye maunamudrābhidaḥ |
 te yatra stanitormayo jalamucāṃ devīhaṭhāliṅgana
 -krīdāsādarasaukhyadānapatitām āyānti khaṭvāṅginaḥ || 4.51 ||

- 110 kālūṣyaprāgabhāvapraṇayini nibīdapravṛdātānkanaśyadd-
 haṃsaśreṇīśaraṇye prakatataṭaraṭadvīcilekhajāṭāle |

[97] anurajani] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₅; anirajani J₁; anvirajani P₂; anvarajani Ś₁; anarajani Ś₆ [97] sudhāmśor] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; svadhāmśor J₁ Ś₆ [98] bharga] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; bharga corr. ex bharva P₃ [101] praṇaya] praṇayu J₂ [101] śobhām] Eds. J₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁; śobhām corr. ex rūpam P₄; rūpam B₂ J₂ L₁ O Ś₅ Ś₆ [102] yasyāḥ] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; yasyā J₁ P₄; yasyām P₃ [102] saurabha] saubha Ś₁ [102] milan] Eds. J₂ O P₄ Ś₆; valan B₂ L₁ P₁ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅; vala J₁ P₂ [103] ratipater] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; ratipate J₁ [104] saṃjāyate] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; saṃjāyete J₁; sajjāyate P₁ [105] bhṛt] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; bhyat J₂ [106] gaṇapater] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; gaṇapate J₁ [106] 'tyūrjitaṃ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; 'tyūrjite P₂ [108] haṭhāliṅgana] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; haṭhāliṅgara P₄ [109] sādara] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; sādara J₁ [111] taṭaraṭad] B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; tararaṭad J₁ P₂ Ś₁; taṭaluṭha Eds.

[96] śrīsamstavam] śobhām i.m. B₂ [100] pratimitayaḥ] pratibimbāni i.m. B₂ [100] kharatejaso] sūryasya i.l. B₂ [101] caṇa] catura i.l. B₂ [101] vāha] vṛṣabha i.m. B₂ [101] jātarūpa] suvarṇaśobhām i.m. B₂ [102] yasyāḥ] laharī i.m. B₂ [102] nibhād] chālāt i.m. B₂ [103] chittayaḥ] chedāḥ i.m. B₂ [104] caitrarathānilasya] kuverodyānam uttaradik; vāyupa(ralī? i.m. B₂ [108] stanitormayo] gaṇapati[illegible]rti[illegible]ni i.m. B₂ [108] haṭhāliṅgana] gāḍāliṅgam i.m. B₂

[101] jātarūpa] rūpaśobhām iti vā pāṭhaḥ i.m. B₂ [111] taṭaraṭad] raṭat iti vā pāṭhaḥ J. comm.

[99] 4.48] 4.48 metre Mālinī. See Mandal 1991, 134. [101] 4.49] 4.49 metre Puṣpitāgrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [105] 4.50] 4.50–51 metre Sardūlavikrīdita. See Mandal 1991, 134.

yo mukhye mānasākhye parisarasarasi prāptasamkrāntir antar
bhūlokālokanecchojjigamiṣaduragādhiśabhaṅgiṃ bibharti || 4.52 ||

115 kva yasya naktam dinacandrikā na dyutir dyuvīthīm upatiṣṭhamānā |
sannaddhatam kandalayatya aśeṣavarṇāntarāpahnavaṅgiplavāya || 4.53 ||

yā kvāpy udāttataradakṣakulaprasūtir
yā sevate haripadākramaṅakṣamatvam |
tām tārakāntakaraṅjanmaśubhānubhāvām
gaurīm tanuṃ vahati yo dayitām harasya || 4.54 ||

120 dantā nitambabhūvi pādātale 'lakāptir
yogyā payodharavivṛttiṣu mekhalā ca |
yasyās taraṅgitavalīmukhapṛṣṭhatā ca
yas tām samudvahati mūrtim apūrvakāntām || 4.55 ||

125 udvellatphalamuṅḍaśaṅḍasacivair uttamsitā mūrdhabhiḥ
preṅkhatpattrakarāśritālilāharīrudrākṣamālābhṛtaḥ |
rohaddīrghajaṭās taṭeṣu tapasi sthemneva yasya drumās
te tiṣṭhanty anirodha eva marutām antam nayanto rajaḥ || 4.56 ||

[112] parisara] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; parasara J₁ P₂ [113] bhūlokā] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; bhūtokā J₁ [113] eccho] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; eccha B₂; ecchau P₂ [114] naktam] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ Ś₁; naktan OP₃ Ś₅ Ś₆; taktgan? P₄ [114] dina] Eds.; diva B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆ [114] candrikā] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; candrikām B₂; ndrikām L₁ [114] na] J₂ om. na [116] udāta] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; udātu J₁ [117] padā] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; pada J₁ [117] kṣamatvam] kṣasatvam J₂ [118] bhāvām] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; bhāvā J₂ [119] gaurīm] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; gaurī J₂ [119] tanuṃ] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; tanu J₂ [120] nitamba] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; nitaśva J₁ [120] 'lakāptir] 'kālaptir P₃ [121] vivṛttiṣu] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; vivṛttiṣu J₁ [122] yasyās taraṅgita] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; yasyāptirāṅgita J₁ [124] udvellat] Eds. L₁ P₁ P₄ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; udvelat B₂ J₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁; tadvellat J₂; (udvellat) O [124] ṣaṅḍa] ṣaṅḍa B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; khaṅḍa Eds. [125] pattra] Eds. O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₆; patra B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ Ś₅ [125] bhṛtaḥ] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; bhṛtāḥ J₁ [126] jaṭās] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; jaṭā J₁ P₁ P₂ [126] sthemneva] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; sthemnaiva Ś₁ [127] tiṣṭhanty anirodha] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; tiṣṭhate niradho J₂ [127] marutām antam] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; marutām mantam J₁; marutā santa J₂

[112] yo] kailāsaḥ i.m. B₂ [117] hari] viyat i.m. B₂ [119] gaurīm] śvetām i.m. B₂ [119] yo] kailāsaḥ i.m. B₂ [120] dantā] viśamapāṣāṅḍāḥ i.m. B₂ [125] preṅkhat] calat i.m. B₂ [127] 4.56] etena sūryacandramaso pracaro nāstīty arthaḥ i.m. B₂

[113] 4.52] 4.52 metre Sragdharā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [115] 4.53] 4.53 metre Upajāti. See Mandal 1991, 134. [119] 4.54] 4.54–55 metre Vasantatilaka. See Mandal 1991, 134. [127] 4.56] 4.56–57 metre Sardūlavikridita. See Mandal 1991, 134.

130 yasmiñ jātu na jāyate 'mbujavatikaumāradharmakṣatir
 dṛṣṭo yatra na vā kadācid aśanābhijñāś cakorījanaḥ |
 tasminn apy ahicakravartinagaroddeśopakaṇṭhe kṣaṇaṃ
 yanmūlasphaṭikāśmaraśmipaṭalaiḥ ko 'pi prakāśodayaḥ || 4.57 ||

135 nairmalyatas tulitasādhujanāśayo yaḥ
 saṃkrāntakomalatamālataruprakāṇḍaḥ |
 jyotsnāsapatnarucipītatamastaraṅga-
 sandarbhaḡarbham iva kuḡṣim abhivyanakti || 4.58 ||

yo lambodarakumbhasaṃbhavamadasrotaḡsirāśīkara-
 kṣuṇṇaḡ svaḡsaridaṅkapaṅkajarajaḡsaugandhyabandhuś ca yaḥ |
 vapreṣu prasaraḡ sa yatra marutām oḡyate jāyate
 yatsevāpravaṇo gaṇo madhulihāṃ mandāramandāraḡ || 5.59 ||

140 yam adūratas trijagadekakautukavyavahārasargavidhinavyavedhasam |
 alakāvimudrabahusaudhasauhr̥dād animeṣalocanacayeva vikṣate || 4.60 ||

145 yasyāś cakāsti kaṭakeṣu sahelakhelad-
 vidyādharīcaraṇayāvakapaṅkamudrā |
 śrīkaṇṭhanetrapathajānapadārkaśoma-
 sevākṛte satatasannihiteva sandhyā || 4.61 ||

[130] nagaroddeśo] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; nagaroddaśo J₁ [130] kṣaṇaṃ]
 Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; sphuṭaṃ P₃ [131] sphaṭikā] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃
 P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; ṭikā J₂ [131] paṭalaiḥ] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; paṭale J₁ P₂ [134]
 sapatna] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; supatna J₂ [135] abhivyanakti] Eds. B₂ J₁
 J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; abhivyanikti P₂ [136] kumbha] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁
 Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; ttambha O [136] sirā] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; śirā L₁ [136] śīkara]
 B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; śīkara Eds. [137] kṣuṇṇaḡ] Eds. B₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁
 Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; kṣuṇṇaḡ or kṣusmaḡ J₁ J₂ [139] mandāra] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆;
 sandāra J₂ [140] vedhasam] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; vedham J₂ [142] yasyāś]
 Eds. B₂ L₁ P₄ Ś₆; yasyā J₁ J₂ O P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅ [142] sahelakhelad] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄
 Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; sahela O

[130] nagaroddeśo] padmanāganagare i.m. B₂ [134] sapatna] andhakāraṃ (utthy?)alakati (sro?)
 i.m. B₂ [138] prasaraḡ] auśadhyam uraḡ i.m. B₂ [138] jāyate] uttejate i.m. B₂ [140] yam]
 kailāsam i.m. B₂ [141] alakā] nagarī i.m. B₂ [141] vimudra] prakāśita i.m. B₂ [144] pathajā-
 napadārkaśoma] sūryacandramasoḡ i.m. B₂

[135] 4.58] 4.58 metre Vasantatilaka. See Mandal 1991, 134. [139] 5.59] 4.59 metre Sardūlavikrīdita.
 See Mandal 1991, 134. [141] 4.60] 4.60 metre Mañjubhāsiṇī. See Mandal 1991, 134. [145] 4.61]
 4.61 metre Vasantatilaka, missing in Mandal 1991, 134.

vyomollaṅghanajāṅghikena vapuṣā niḥśeṣakāṣṭhāhaṭha-
krīdāśleṣaṣaṣya kalpitavato brahmāṇḍam utkarparam |
pātālādhiśayālumūlamahasah śāṅke na yasya prati-
spardhavadhanasāhase balabhidaḥ śailo 'pi sannahyati || 4.62 ||

150 divi kṣīrodanvān himagirirajayyo 'rkamahasām
ajātādhaḥpātastridaśasaridoghaḥ kacati yaḥ |
vamañ jyotsnājālaṃ diśi diśi sapatnaṃ śāśirucām
cakorijihvābhir viracitavṛthālehanavidhiḥ || 4.63 ||

155 dvirbhavaś candrabhāsām taruṇakumudinīnāthacūḍāṭṭahāsa-
anuprāsaḥ śailaputrīnavahasitasudhāvīpruṣām paunaruktyam |
svargaṅgāvicivīpsā rucir upacinate cāturim yasya tasya
kṣoṇībhartur guṇeṣu pratipadapaṭhanam ko vinirmātum iṣṭe || 4.64 ||

[146] vyomollaṅghana] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; vyomolansaighana J₁ [148] mahasaḥ] Eds. B₂ J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; mahasuḥ? J₂ [148] śāṅke] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; śeṅke J₁ [149] spardha] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; spardhā P₂ Ś₆ [149] balabhidaḥ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; balibhidhaḥ Ś₆ [150] rajayyo] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; rajayo J₁ [150] mahasām] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; sahasām J₁ [152] vamañ jyotsnā] Eds. B₂ J₂ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; vamañ jyomnir J₁; vamat jyotir L₁; vamañ jyotir P₂ Ś₁ [152] diśi] di J₁ [152] rucām] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; ruci J₁ [153] jihvābhir] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; jihvābhi J₁ [153] lehana] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; lihanavi J₁ [155] vipruṣām] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; vipraṣām J₁

[146] jāṅghikena] saprathena (?) i.m. B₂ [149] balabhidaḥ] hemādriḥ i.m. B₂ [149] sannahyati] sannaddhāḥ i.m. B₂ [151] kacati] śobhate pravāhayati i.m. B₂ [155] anuprāsaḥ] (ṛtīya?) rūpodhiṇī yaḥ samudāyaḥ i.m. B₂ [155] vipruṣām] amṛtabindūnām i.m. B₂ [156] vīpsā] paramparāḥ i.m. B₂

[149] 4.62] 4.62 metre Sardūlavikrīdita. See Mandal 1991, 134. [153] 4.63] 4.63 metre Śikhariṇī. See Mandal 1991, 134. [157] 4.64] 4.64 metre Sragdharā. See Mandal 1991, 134.

14.3 Bhagavadvarṇana²

pañcamaḥ sargaḥ

vṛndārakādhipaśiroruhapārijāta
sragbandhubhir madhukarair upavīnitānghriḥ |
devaḥ svayaṃ jagadanugrahakelikāras
5 taṃ bālaśītakiraṇābharaṇo 'dhiśete || 5.1 ||

yenānghripīṭhahaṭhasaṃtataghrṣṭiniryat-
tiryakkiṇā jagati kasya na bhālapālī
daivānadhītanavadivyaśubhākṣarāli-
nyāsecchayā nihitakākapadeva cakre || 5.2 ||

10 bhaktyā natena purato 'vanicumbimūrdhnā
puṣpotkaraṃ vikiratā vanamālayaiva |
daityāriṇā caraṇayoḥ kacameghavidyu-
doghair adāyīṣata yasya balipradīpāḥ || 5.3 ||

pūjāsu bhaktirabhasātirasādhirūḍhas
15 tāmyan naśeṣakusumaprakaravyayena |
yasmai cikīrṣati punar druhiṇo 'pi nūnam
abhyarcanaṃ nijanivāsasaroruheṇa || 5.4 ||

āstyānanirjharasanābhiguṇāhirāja-
bhogasya mandaragires tripuravyayāya |
20 yaccāpatāṃ dhṛtavato 'pi śarāgnipuṅkha-

²Manuscripts used for the critical edition of the fifth canto: **B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄** (for verses from 5.1 to 5.3) **Ś₅ Ś₆**. Edition: all the verses of the *mūla* text. Type: positive apparatus.

² vṛndārakādhipa] Eds. **B₁ B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₃ P₄ Ś₄ Ś₆**; vṛndārakādhihīpa **P₁ Ś₁**; vṛndārikādhipa **J₁ P₂ Ś₅** ⁶ ghrṣṭi] **B₁ B₂ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆**; grṣṭi **P₁**; santativṛṣṭa **J₁**; vṛṣṭi Eds. ⁷ kiṇā] Eds. **B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆**; kaṇā **O** ⁸ āli] **B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆**; āli Eds. ¹¹ vanamālayaiva] vanamālayaiva **B₁ B₂ J₁ O P₃ Ś₅**; vanamālayeva Eds. **J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₆** ¹⁴ ādhirūḍhas] Eds. **B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆**; ātirūḍhas **P₃** ¹⁸ āstyāna] Eds. **B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆**; āstyānena **O** ²⁰ dhṛtavato] Eds. **J₂ O P₄ Ś₆**; gatavato **B₁ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅**

⁷ kiṇā] kiṇo maṃsaghanābhāvaḥ i.m. **B₂** ⁹ kāka] haṃsa i.l. **B₂** ⁹ 5.2] The part of the verse which goes from °pīṭhahaṭha° to daivāna° is inserted by the same hand in the upper margin in **B₂** ¹² daityāriṇā] vidhunā i.m. **B₂** ¹⁶ druhiṇo] brahmā i.m. **B₂**

⁵ 5.1] 5.1–47 metre Vasantatilaka. See Mandal 1991, 134.

vyājād davānalaśikhā iva no viremuḥ || 5.5 ||

krodhottamāṅgadhuṭilakiriṭasindhu-
pāthaḥpṛṣatparisamūhanasiktadikke |
ruddhāntike bhrukuṭipakṣmakuśastaraughair
25 yo manmathāhutim adatta vilocanāgnau || 5.6 ||

nīrandhrabāṣpalaharīparivāritāni
vaktrāṇi yaḥ purakuraṅgadṛśām cakāra |
kodaṅḍadaṅḍapadavīm adhiropitasya
śailasya nirjharajalair iva pūritāni || 5.7 ||

30 yasyodghatābhinavakopapipāsitenā
netrāgninā culakite vapuṣi smarasya |
khedād viveda ratir akṣatatāpabhūmir
nāmāpi nādhararasāsavapānagoṣṭhyāḥ || 5.8 ||

mārāvarodhamukhaśītakaraprabhātaṃ
35 śvetasya dīkṣitam athābhayadakṣiṇāyai |
adhyāpakaṃ vilāḍiteṣu yugāntavahner
yo duḥsahaṃ vahati locanahavyavāham || 5.9 ||

lolāñcalānilavinirdhutasiddhasindhu-
nīrandhraśīkarakarālatayā cakāsti |
40 sāyāhnatāṅḍavavidhau gajarājakṛttir
yasyādhunāpy ajahatīva kavāṭamuktāḥ || 5.10 ||

[26 vāritāni] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; vāritāni corr. ex vārivāritāni B₂ [28
adhiropitasya] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; adhiropitasya corr. ex adhiropita B₁
[30 yasyodghatā] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; yasyodgatā O B₁ [36 vilāḍiteṣu] Eds.
B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; vilāḍiteṣu B₂ [38 siddha] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄
Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; siddha corr. ex sapta B₂ [38 sindhu] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; sindhor
B₁; sindhor corr. ex sindhu B₂ [39 śikara] B₁ B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; cikara J₁; sikara
Eds. [39 karālatayā] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; karālitayā B₂ [41 ajahatīva]
Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; ajahatīva B₁

[26 vāritāni] śiva i.m. ? B₂ [27 yaḥ] śiva i.m. B₂ [29 5.7] In P₃ the verse seems to be inserted
by another scribe. We have a lacuna of three folios—perhaps misplaced or lost—which runs from
the second half of 5.7 (from kodaṅḍa°) to the first half of 5.39 (before °vaṃ likhati). [35 śvetasya]
cūrṇasya i.m. B₂ [36 vilāḍiteṣu] vilasitesu in footnote Eds. [39 karālatayā] vyāptatayā i.m.
B₂ [41 kavāṭamuktāḥ] daśāprotamuktāḥ cancelled, kumbhamuktāḥ i.m. B₂

aṣṭau tanūr api didṛkṣur ivaikakālam
nītvā dṛśo navavikāsavilāsam aṣṭau |
devaḥ kuśeśayakuṭīcaratāpaso 'pi
45 yasyāgrato 'nudevāsam vinayaṃ prayuṅkte || 5.11 ||

siddhāṃ cireṇa vidhisūdahaṭhaprayatnāt
samrakṣitām atha mukundapurogavena |
yaḥ kevalo 'vagirate nikhilāṃ salilāṃ
lokatrayīrasavatīm pralayotsaveṣu || 5.12 ||

50 kumbhaḥ kare śirasi vārigatiḥ śrayanti
muktāḥ padaṃ caraṇayor nagajākalatram |
nāgair madolbaṇamukhair vṛtam aṅgam aṅgam
yasyādbhutasthitimataḥ surakuñjarasya || 5.13 ||

pusphoṭa dantamusalaṃ mukuṭendubhāsā
55 dānāmbu dīpranayanāgnirucā śuśoṣa |
hārāhibhiḥ śravaṇatālarut pape ca
yasyāgrataḥ katham avalgi gajāsuraṇa || 5.14 ||

bhūṣorageṣu tulitāyasaśṛṅkhaleṣu
vyaktāṅkuśāśriyi kirīṭaśaśāṅkakhaṇḍe |
60 ālānadaṇḍarucidoṣṇi cakṣuḥ ca yasya
kṣiptvaiva kātaraṭaḥ sa gajāsuro 'bhūt || 5.15 ||

lokatrayaikabhiṣajā vicaran raṇorvyāṃ
yenāvalambya nibiḍāṃ karavālayaṣṭhim |
durvāradarpapaṭāle śamite prayogād
65 andhāsuraḥ sakalam aikṣata bhītitattvam || 5.16 ||

yena kṣatāyūṣi makhe vimukhena kopānn-
aṣṭārtvijīnamunilokaviluptatantre |

[42] api] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; iva O [42] didṛkṣur] di+dṛ+kṣur pc (+dṛ+
i.m.) B₁ [43] vikāsa] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; vikāśa B₁ [48] 'vagirate] Eds.
B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; 'vagirate corr. ex 'nigirate B₂ [49] lokatrayī] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂
L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; lokatrayīm B₁ B₂ [54] pusphoṭa] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁
Ś₅ Ś₆; prasphoṭa B₁ [54] musalaṃ] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; musalaṃ O B₂; muśalaṃ
B₁ [55] dīpra] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; dīpa B₁; dīpta B₂ [59] śriyi] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂
L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; śiyi B₁ [60] cakṣuḥ ca yasya] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅
Ś₆; ca yasya cakṣuḥ O B₁ B₂ [66] kopānn-] B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; kopān- Eds. Ś₆
[44] kuśeśaya] kamalabhūḥ i.m. B₂ [46] sūda] paktā i.m. B₂ [62] bhiṣajā] mṛtyuṃ jayatvāc
chivena i.m. B₂

dakṣasya tatkṣaṇaviṣādabhuvā nijena
bāṣpahradena pṛthunāvabhṛto vivavre || 5.17 ||

70 nṛttotsave sphurati yasya sa daṇḍapādo
yasmin gate gaganasāgarasetumudrām |
dūrādhvalaṅghanaghanaśramavāribindu-
-vr̥ndaprathāṃ ciram uḍūni kaṭākṣayanti || 5.18 ||

pārśvopaviṣṭaharikeśapayodayogād
75 dṛāgvidrutam rathamarālakulam vicetum |
āpṛcchya yaṃ kamalabhūḥ pṛthuhamsayūthe
tāmyan bahu bhramati rodhasi mānasasya || 5.19 ||

gaurīmayaikavapurardhabhṛd āttarāgam
keyūrakaṅkaṇaphaṇīndramaṇiprabhābhiḥ |
80 serṣyam dvitīyam api bhāgam ivāvaruddham
yaḥ saṃdhyayā satatavallabhayā bibharti || 5.20 ||

yaś cakṣuṣaḥ prakupitasya vikāśāntiṃ
cakre nijasya bata pāvakaśoṇabhāsaḥ |
kṛtvā smarasya samavartirasādhiroham
85 tatsubhruvaś ca viracayya ghanāśrumokṣam || 5.21 ||

dhatte dvijādhipam uparyajināvatāram
svam gāhate 'navamam ūrdhvaśayāluṣeṣaḥ |
bhīmāṅgadāviraḥitāṃ ca bhujāgravīthiṃ
puṣṇāty apūrvacaritaḥ puruṣottamo yaḥ || 5.22 ||

90 dyām ālilinga mukham āśu diśāṃ cucumba
ruddhāmbaram śāsikalām alikhat karāgraiḥ |
antarnimagnacarapuṣpaśaro 'titāpāt
kiṃ kiṃ cakāra taruṇo na yad ikṣaṇāgniḥ || 5.23 ||

yo mūrdhni dhārayati sāndravalatphaṇīndra-
95 phūtkāradhūmalaharidruhiṇasya muṇḍam |

[92] 'titāpāt] B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; 'tipātāt Eds. 'titapāti O; 'tipātāt corr. ex 'tipāt
Ś₁ [93] kiṃ kiṃ cakāra] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; kiṃ cakāra O

[74] hari] vidhuḥ i.m. B₂ [84] samavarti] vaktisvarūpaṃ i.m. B₂ [86] dvijādhipam] candram
garuḍam i.m. B₂ [86] jināvatāram] buddhāvatārām i.m. B₂ [87] 'navamam] anavamaṃ sun-
daram i.m. B₂ [89] yaḥ] śivaḥ i.m. B₂ [92] puṣpaśaro] kāmaḥ i.m. B₂ [95] lahari] tejaḥ i.m.
B₂ [95] druhiṇasya] brahmaṇaḥ i.m. B₂

āvāsatāmarasagandhalavānuvṛtter
adyāpi śatpadakulair iva lihyamānam || 5.24 ||

rūḍhim ḍṛḍhām asamanetratayā vivṛṇvaN
llokatravākramaṇaśauṇḍaśubhaikapattrah |
100 ālokavartmadhṛtapuṣpavadudgamo yaḥ
sthānur gṛhītaparaśur duritaṃ chinatti || 5.25 ||

te kundakuḍmalasagotraruco mayūkhā
yasyāvācūlaśāsino 'nīsam ucchvasanti |
āsīdatāṃ diviśadāṃ mukulī bhavanti
105 yadvaibhavād iva puraḥ karapuṣkarāṇi ||5.26 ||

jūṭahirājaphaṇaratnamarīcipūraiḥ
sīmantitaṃ vadanarandhrapathapravṛttaiḥ |
yasyācakāsti nṛkapālam atītya bhālam
āgneyam anyad iva locanam ujjihānam || 5.27 ||

110 yasyāḥ paro na karapīḍanakṛn na nītā
yā rāhuṇā viśayatāṃ daśanakṣatānām |
yā dūṣitā na śāśāśāvākacumbanena
yas tāṃ satīm adhiśiro vahatīndulekhām || 5.28 ||

vaktraśriyo gaṇapater gativibhrame ca
115 devyā vibhāvya haṭhacauram asūyay eva |
yaḥ kalpitadvipatanuṃ danujaṃ cakāra
śliṣyan madakṣapaṇalolaśilimukhaugam || 5.29 ||

na kṣāmatāṃ tyajati puṣyati pāṇḍimānaṃ
hṛdrūḍhayā pariṇamad viraho 'ṅkalakṣmyā |
120 yasyāmṛtāṃśur asamadyusarittaraṅga-
śītopacāravati jūṭataṭe śayāluḥ || 5.30 ||

[100] āloka] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; āloka(m) B₁ [101] chinatti] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂
L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; chinnatti B₂ [111] viśayatāṃ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅
Ś₆; viśavatāṃ P₁ [120] asama] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; atanu B₁

[96] tāmarasa] kamalaṃ i.m. B₂ [96] ānuvṛtter] sevanataḥ i.m. B₂ [99] pattraḥ] vāhanaṃ i.m.
B₂ [107] randhra] bimba i.m. B₂ [110] karapīḍana] arkādih jāta ity adhāryaṃ i.m. B₂ [117]
madakṣapaṇa] madamakṣikāḥ i.m. B₂

bhālasthalād aharad agniśikhānuṣaṅgaṃ
cakre valadbhujagakaṅkaṇavipralopam |
niḥsarvamaṅgalam athāracayaccharīraṃ
125 hartuṃ svasāmyam iva yo 'surasundariṇām || 5.31 ||

yasyāttadāśavapuṣaḥ saruṣaḥ sitāśve
bhālasthalaṃ śramapayaḥprakaraṃ vavarṣa |
havyāśano viṣamanetrapuṭopaviṣṭo
yatpātasambhramabhiyeva tirobabhūva || 5.32 ||

130 śāśvatsahelacaraṇārpaṇamātrakeṇa
kurvaṅ jagaj janitanirbharajātarūpam |
kleśena saptadivasāni suvarṇavarṣam
yaṃ kṣiptavantam api vāhavṛṣo 'tiśete || 5.33 ||

ālokaṃmārgam uparoddhum abhagnasāraṃ
135 svarlokapakṣmaladr̥śāṃ nayanotpaleṣu |
tatkālasambhramahaṭhaksūbhiteṇa dhūmam
udgīryamāṇam iva vāḍavapāvakena || 5.34 ||
manthādriḡhaṭṭanabhiyeva palāyamānaṃ
pātālataḥ sucirasambhṛtam andhakāram |
140 luṅṭhākam ujjigamiṣat kamalānivāsa-
vyākośapaṅkajapuraḥsarabhṛṅgarīteḥ || 5.35 ||
yo 'mbhonidher uditam āhitadhāṃni hāra-
-kāloragendranibiḍāyasaśṛṅkhalābhīḥ |
lokatrayaglapanadurlalitaṃ svakaṅṭha-
145 kārāgrhe garalam uttaralaṃ babandha || 5.36 || (tilakam)

[123 vipralopam] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅; vipralopam corr. ex viprayogam P₄; viprayogaṃ J₂ O Ś₆ [129 sambhramabhiyeva] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; sambhramabhiyaiva B₁ [138 manthādri] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; munthādri B₁; muktādri B₂ [142 hāra] Eds. J₂ O P₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₆; kālahāro B₁ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₅ [143 nibiḍāyasa] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₆; nigāḍāyasa J₁ L₁ O P₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₅ [144 loka] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; lola O [144 durlalitaṃ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; durdhalitaṃ B₁

[122 agniśikhānuṣaṅgaṃ] agniśikhasya kuṅkumasyānuṣaṅgaṃ saṅgaṃ i.m. B₂, cfr. *agniśikhasya kuṅkumasyānuṣaṅgaṃ aharat* in J. comm. [123 bhujaga] bhujagaṃ bhujaprāptaṃ i.m. B₂ [123 vipralopam] vipralopaṃ nivāraṇam J. comm. [124 maṅgalam] rudrapakṣe sarvamaṅgālā gaurī i.m. B₂, cfr. *sarvamaṅgālā gaurī tatsahitaṃ śarīraṃ vahati* in J. comm. [125 yo] śivaḥ i.m. B₂ [131 jātarūpam] suvarṇam i.l. B₂ [133 yaṃ] suvarṇam i.m. B₂ [137 5.34] tribhir garalam viśinaṣṭi agnim aśloke nānyayaḥ i.m. B₂ [138 manthādri] manthā i.m. but only as variant B₂

tad yasya kaiṭabhajitā ghaṭitaikyavṛtter
vakṣaḥ kaṭākṣayati kaṃcana tuṅgimānam |
yasmin parasparasabhājana saukhyam āpad
ekodareṇa maṇinā saha kālakūṭaḥ || 5.37||

150 gauryā nataś caraṇayor dadhad uttamāṅgam
saṃkrāntatadrathamṛgendramukhadyusindhu |
yaḥ praudhim eti gurugarvaśamāya viṣṇoḥ
rūpaṃ rasād anasarann iva nārasimham || 5.38 ||

155 yasyās akṛtpraṇamato dhṛtamantutantur
namrānanā girisutā āśrubhir añjanāṅkaiḥ |
maulau navam likhati śītaruceḥ kalaṅkaṃ
puṣṇāty akāṇḍayamunāpraṇayāṃ ca gaṅgāṃ || 5.39 ||

160 prān nigrahaṃ viracayan vapuṣaḥ svarūpaṃ
paścād anugrahadṛśā ca diśann aśeṣam |
yaḥ sargasamhṛtivipaṅcanam akrameṇa
cakre mahānayavidāṃ prathamāḥ smarasya || 5.40 ||

165 sakhyuḥ smarasya navaketukṛte kirīṭa-
-svaḥsindhuvāhamakaraṃ sahaseva hartum |
yasyottamāṅgabhuvi puñjitamūrtir indur
āste nagendratayanānavarṇacaurāḥ || 5.41 ||

yasmin vinirmitavati prasabhaṃ prakopād
atyugranigrahanavānubhavopadeśam |
udghoṣyate kratuṣu yājñikatantravidbhir
adyāpi piṣṭacarubhājanam abjabandhuḥ || 5.42 ||

[150] nataś] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₆; natam B₁ B₂ O Ś₅ [158] prān nigrahaṃ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; praṅgranigrahaṃ B₁ [159] anugraha] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₃ P₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; anugraha J₁ P₁ P₂ Ś₁ [163] sahaseva] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; sahasaiva B₁ [168] yājñikatantravidbhir] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; yājñiyatantravidbhir P₃

[146] yasya] hariharamūrteḥ i.m. B₂, cfr. harihararūpasya yasya J. comm. [148] sabhājana] kuśalapraśnamukhaṃ i.m. B₂ [149] maṇinā] kaustubhena i.m. B₂ [153] rasād] bhūmeḥ i.m. B₂ [154] mantutantur] mānatantuḥ i.m. B₂ [160] vipaṅcanam] viraṅcanam i.m. B₂ [161] vidāṃ] ayaḥ [illegible] bhāvahavidhi i.m. B₂ [162] navaketukṛte] navinakṛīḍārthaṃ i.m. B₂ [164] puñjita] saṃkucitā i.m. B₂ [168] yājñikatantravidbhir] yājñakarmakuśalaiḥ i.m. B₂ [169] abjabandhuḥ] puṣā i.m. B₂

- 170 yasyāṃśavaḥ sakalakairavavairakārā
vaktreṣu yo mṛgadṛśām upamānabandhuḥ |
liḍhe makheṣv asamamantrasakhaṃ havir yo
yaḥ procchvasat kusumasaurabhasārthavāhaḥ || 5.43 ||
śeṣasya yatphaṇabhṛto bṛhadātapatraṃ
- 175 yadyācate jaladharaṃ vidhuro mayūraḥ |
dikṣāpraveśakṛśam arhati yaḥ śarīraṃ
yaḥ sarvatā rakanirargalarājamārgaḥ || 5.44 ||
yas tanmayībhir api mūrtivivartanābhis
tiṣṭhan prapadya bhuvanatrayasāmarasyam |
- 180 puṣṇan padaṃ janijarāmarānābhijñam
śāstreṣv agādi matimadbhir anaṣṭamūrṭiḥ || 5.45 || (tilakam)

- ūrdhvaṃ vrajatkamalajākalitasphuliṅgaṃ
liṅgaṃ tadagnimayam āvirabībhavad yaḥ |
gacchann adho `vadhididṛkṣu tayā mukundo
- 185 yatrāgrahīn muhur avān mukhadhūmarekhām || 5.46 ||

- yo vāhinīm sumanasām ghaṭitārdhacandrām
kurvan purāṇakavitur mukhabhaṅgahetuḥ |
bhogair vapuḥ paricaran nijam eva citraṃ
puṣṇāti sevyaguṇasaṃpadam advitīyām || 5.47 ||
- 190 drāk saṃdhiṣv iva pattriṣu vyavahṛtiṃ saṃcārāyan pañcasu
vyañjann ārabhaṭiṃ śanair upanamatsarvāṅgahārākulaḥ |
nirvāhya svavadhākhyānātakavidhiṃ mīnāvācūlo viśa-

[174] bṛhad] B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; vahad Eds. [176] kṛśam] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; kṛtam B₁ [179] trayasāma] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; trasāma B₁ [180] puṣṇan] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; puṣṇat B₁ [182] ūrdhvaṃ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; ūrdhva O [183] āvirabībhavad] āvirabībhavad J₂ Ś₅ Ś₆; āviravībhavad Eds.; āviratībhavad O; āvirabhībhavad B₁ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₃ P₄ Ś₁; āvira[-]bhavad P₁ [185] yatrāgrahīn] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; yatrāgrahan B₂ [188] paricaran] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; paricayaran P₃ [190] pañcasu] pañca+su+ pc (+su+ i.m.) B₁ [191] ākulah] ākulah B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; ākulaiḥ Eds.

[170] yasyāṃśavaḥ] sūryasya i.m. B₂ [170] sakalakairava] candraḥ i.m. B₂ [172] liḍhe] āsād [illegible] yati i.m. B₂ [172] havir] vahniḥ i.m. B₂ [173] vāhaḥ] vāyuḥ i.l. B₂ [174] yat] śirasi dhṛtvāc chātrārūpabhūmiḥ? i.m. B₂ [176] dikṣāpraveśa] jalaṃ i.m. B₂ [177] mārgaḥ] ākāśaḥ i.m. B₂ [185] yatrāgrahīn] agrahīt i.m. B₂ [186] sumanasām] devānām B₂ [186] ghaṭitārdhacandrām] devasenām i.m. B₂ [188] bhogair] sarpaiḥ i.m. B₂ [190] saṃdhiṣv iva pattriṣu] [illegible] mukhaprati [illegible] khādipañcasu dha[illegible] i.m. B₂ [190] pañcasu] pattriṣu pañcabāneṣu i.m. B₂ [191] ārabhaṭiṃ] tāpanādibāṇasyārabhaṭiṃ sauṣṭhavaṃ i.m. B₂

nyan netrāgniśikhāvalijavanikāṃ tātparityato 'ntardadhe || 5.48 ||

195 taralavivalanābhiḥ paṅktayas tāḥ śikhānāṃ
yadalikanayanāntarvartinaḥ pāvakasya |
ravijamanasijādiploṣaśauṭīryabandhor
aruṇajayapatākāṭaṅkam unmīlayanti || 5.49 ||

200 sa prītiṃ ca kutūhalaṃ ca jagatāṃ puṣṇātu yasya svayaṃ
vāmārdhakramaṇotsavo girijayā yatra kṣaṇaṃ jāyate |
saṃbhinnobhayavāhanāgrimakhuranyāsakriyāniḥsara-
nmuktādanturajātarūpavipulālaṃkāravatyurvarā || 5.50 ||

205 nāṭyārambhe kṣubhitam abhito yo dadhānaḥ śarīraṃ
sarvāṅgebhyaḥ prasabham udayadbhāsmanaṃ reṇujālam |
paścāl lokatritayavipadāṃ drāg ivotsāritānāṃ
dikṣu nyasyaty anibhṛtaśiraḥsindhupāthaḥsanātham || 5.51 ||

dantodanta tilāñjalau dinapater ambhojayoneḥ śiro-
dāridrye nayanoddhatau bhagavato liḍhāsurenḍrāyuṣaḥ |
kiṃ cāśeṣavapurvyaye ratipater yaḥ kāraṇātvaṃ bhajann
apy āyāti na kutra nāma jagataḥ sarvāṅgasiddhy aṅgatām || 5.52 ||

210 svayaṃ babhrur bibhradviṣamanayanasthena śikhinā
draḍhīyaḥ sauhārdaṃ satatam anuruddhausadhipatiḥ |
jaṭājūto yasya tribhuvanamanaḥkautukakṛtaḥ
sa dhatte viśrabdhā vasathapatharītiṃ phaṇabhṛtām || 5.53 ||

[193] nyan] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; viśanan corr. ex. viśadyan P₃, second scribe
[198] puṣṇātu] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; puṣṇātu corr. ex. puṣṇāti P₃ [201]
urvarā] Eds.; urvarī B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆ [211] sauhārdaṃ] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁
O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; sauhārdaṃ corr. ex. saurdaṃ B₁ [213] viśrabdhā] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂
P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; viśrabdhā B₁ B₂ P₃ [213] rītiṃ phaṇabhṛtām] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅
Ś₆; rītiphaṇabhṛtām O B₁

[193] tātparityato 'ntardadhe] yathā śailūṣa [anāntar]bhūmikā na 'pi tvānyaprar(s)natha nārtham
javanikaṃ praviśati tad vadanaṅgo pīti bhāvaḥ i.m. B₂ [196] ravijamanasijādiploṣaśauṭīrya-
bandhor] yamānaṅgayor apūrvasakhyaghaṭakaḥ i.m. B₂ [199] girijayā] bhūmau i.l. B₂ [201]
urvarā] bhūmiḥ i.m. B₂ [206] dantodanta] dantasya udanta utkṣepaṇaṃ i.m. B₂ [206] ambho-
jayoneḥ] brahmaṇaḥ i.m. B₂ [207] nayanoddhatau] nayanotpātane i.m. B₂ [209] aṅgatām]
aṅgabhāka ac, aṅgatām i.l. second scribe in P₃ [210] babhrur] piṅgalaḥ i.m. B₂ [213] vasatha-
patha] viśvāsam(śca?)naṃ i.m. B₂

[193] 5.48] 5.48 metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita. See Mandal 1991, 134. [197] 5.49] 5.49 metre Mālinī. See
Mandal 1991, 134. [201] 5.50] 5.50 metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita. See Mandal 1991, 134. [205] 5.51]
5.51 metre Mandākrāntā. See Mandal 1991, 134. The last half-verse is not legible in O [209] 5.52]
5.52 metre Sārdūlavikrīḍita. See Mandal 1991, 134. [213] 5.53] 5.53 metre Śikharīṇi. See Mandal
1991, 134.

215 dvaidhasyāntaṃ vyadhita vapuṣor yas tam adrīndrapuṭryā
 sākaṃ sthānaṃ kusumadhanuṣo 'nugrahātyādarasya |
 saundaryākhyānavadhimadirānirbhare yatra netrair
 lebhe vṛndārakamṛgadṛśāṃ svairam āpānakeliḥ || 5.54 ||

220 bibhratyā prabhuśaktitāṃ ratipater ekatra bhāge kṛta-
 pratyādeśam agādhirājasutayā yas tadvapuḥ puṣyati |
 vāmo yatra kucordhvavisphuraduraḥ śeṣāhiraṭnāntare
 samkrānto nayatīva dakṣiṇam api pratyakṣasam lakṣyatām || 5.55 ||

225 strīpuṃsaikātmyakalmāṣitagati ghaṭayan yo vapus tan nimeṣa-
 -kleśāveśān na keśāṃ suciram udaharat parśadam locanānām |
 vāmā ṅgottaṃsagārutmatamaṇikiraṇāpahnūtārdho rajanyā
 preyasīyā yatra cūḍāvidhur api vahatīvārdhanārīśvaratvam || 5.56 ||

dehadvandvaikaśeṣaṃ samam avanibhrtaḥ kanyayā nirmimāṇo
 yastaṃ śastaṃ prayuṅkte pratirajanimukhaṃ nāṭyalīlārahasyam |
 śrāmyanto dakṣiṇārdhābharaṇaphaṇabhṛto yatra phullatphaṇāgraṃ
 klāmyadvāmārdhaniryatsurabhimukhamarutpānagoṣṭhīm juṣante || 5.57 ||

[214] adrīndra] B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; andrīndra Eds. P₁ [215] 'nugrahā] Eds. J₁
 J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; 'nigrahā B₁ B₂ [216] saundaryākhyānavadhi] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂
 L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; saundaryākhyānavadhi corr. ex. saundaryānavadhi P₃ [216] nirbhare]
 nirbharai(r) P₃ [220] kucordhva] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; kucordha B₂ [224]
 āpahnūtā] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; āpahnūtā corr. ex āpahnu B₁ [225] cūḍā]
 Eds. B₁ B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₃ P₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; jūtā J₁ P₁ P₂ Ś₁ [228] phullatphaṇāgraṃ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁
 O P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; phullekṣaṇāgraṃ P₃ [229] klāmyad] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅
 Ś₆; (kra)myad O [229] vāmārdha] Eds. J₁ J₂ L₁ O P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; vāmāṅga B₁ B₂ [229]
 juṣante] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₂ L₁ O P₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; juṣante corr. ex bhajante P₂; bhajante J₁ P₁ P₃ Ś₁

[214] dvaidhasyāntaṃ] ekaṃ i.l. B₂ [215] 'nugrahā] nigraheṇa kurvantiyā i.m. B₂ [216] ya-
 tra] aikye vapuṣi i.m. B₂ [217] āpānakeliḥ] darasya bhayasya, sādāraṇalokanakautukaṃ i.m.
 B₂ [218] ekatra bhāge] ekapārśve i.m. B₂ [219] tadvapuḥ] śivaḥ i.m., erased and substituted
 with vāmo bhāgaḥ i.m. B₂ [220] yatra] vapuṣi i.m. B₂ [224] vāmā] pārvatī i.m. B₂ [225]
 yatra] vapuṣi i.l. B₂ [226] dehadvandvaikaśeṣaṃ] ekās yat vāmāṅgam ity anena yathā ekaśeṣe
 dvandvasamāse pūrvam(adasyo?) bhopānte(?) uttarapadaśiṣyate atra nu vāmāṅgasya dakṣi [il-
 legible] dāni bimbavatsamāropāt apūrvatāḥ aikaśeṣe dhvanyate hṛdaya(m) kaveḥ i.m. B₂ [228]
 śrāmyanto] śrāntāḥ i.m. B₂

[217] 5.54] 5.54 metre Mandākṛantā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [221] 5.55] 5.55 metre Sārdūlavikṛīḍita.
 See Mandal 1991, 134. [225] 5.56] 5.56–57 metre Sragdharā. See Mandal 1991, 134.

14.4 Sādhāraṇavasantavarṇana³

saṣṭhaḥ sargaḥ

alivrajasyānaśanavratānto mānograśāpāvadhīr aṅganānām |
athaikadānaṅgamadānukūlaḥ puṣpāvacūlaḥ samayo jāṛmbhe || 6.1 || *

5 kramād avācīm malayādribandhum udikṣamāṇām pavanaṃ yuvānam |
upoḍhatāpaṃ prathayañ śarīraṃ priyo 'mbujinyāḥ śīthilī cakāra || 6.2 ||

kaśmīrakāntānanakimkarāṇi paṅkeruhāṇi kva na palvaleṣu |
athāvīr āsan sahasopagantum vasantalakṣmyā iva viṣṭaratvam || 6.3 || *

akhaṇḍaṣāṅguṇyapatheṣu vidvān vasanta eko rasapārthivasya |
anyartavo mānmathapustakeṣu na granthim unmoktum api kṣamante || 6.4 ||

10 sphuratpalāśoṣṭhapuṭo viloladvirephamālātaralīkṛtabhrūḥ |
phullābjaniḥspandardg āsta nūnaṃ śṛṅgārakāvyonmukhadhīr vasantaḥ || 6.5 || *

cirānubhūtoṣṇamayūkhasakhyapravṛddhatāpaglapaneccchayeva |
digdakṣiṇā candanasaurabhārdramarut taraṅgapanāyamaṃ pupoṣa || 6.6 ||

15 śanaīḥ śanaīr mānavatikavoṣṇaśvāsormibhiḥ sārdham avardhatāhaḥ |
niśīthinī kārsyadaśaṃ viyogijīvāśayā sākam api prapede || 6.7 || *

palāśaraktārdranakhe vasantakaṅṭhīrave mānagajo 'ṅganābhyāḥ |
bhīto yayau sāñjanabāṣpapaṅkticchalād vimuktāyasaśṛṅkhalālīḥ || 6.8 || *

³Manuscripts used for the critical edition of the sixth canto: B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆.
Edition: verses of the *mūla* text marked with the symbol *. Type: positive apparatus.

2 śāpā] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; pāpā P₁ 7 lakṣmyā] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; lakṣyā P₁ 10 palāśoṣṭha] Eds. Ś₆; palāśauṣṭha B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ 15 sākam] B₁ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅; sārdham Eds. J₂ P₄ Ś₆ 16 kaṅṭhī] kaṅṭhī Eds. B₁; kaṅṭhe B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆

4 kramād avācīm] dakṣiṇām i.m. B₂ 5 priyo] sūryaḥ i.m. B₂ 8 vasanta eko] vasantaś tanur eva i.m. B₂ 11 āsta] abhūt i.m. B₂ 12 oṣṇamayūkha] sūryaḥ i.m. B₂ 15 sākam] saha i.m. B₂ 16 raktā] rudhira i.m. B₂

3 6.1] 6.1 metre Upajāti. See Mandal 1991, 134. 5 6.2] 6.2 metre Upendravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. 7 6.3] 6.3–10 metre Upajāti. See Mandal 1991, 134.

digdakṣiṇārkam na śāsāka hātum tatsaṃgataḥ so 'pi sadālpātāpaḥ |
parasparam kiṃ tu tayos tadāniṃ na vedmi kaḥ paśunam ācacāra || 6.9 ||

20 ye tasthur udyānapathe 'tivelam anelamūkāḥ śisīre 'nyapuṣṭāḥ |
ṛtukṣitīśasya ta eva citram āsthānavidyāpatayo babhūvuḥ || 6.10 ||

udyadrajobhir ghanapattrasobhai rundhadbhir āśāḥ parapuṣṭanādaiḥ |
adhvanyalokaḥ surabher bibhāya kaṃdarpasainyair iva bālacūtaiḥ || 6.11 ||

viyogibhiḥ procchvasadaṭṭahāsavāsantikāśikṣitasāhasāni |
25 akāṇḍavaitaṇḍikakokilāni kair apy asahyanta na kānanāni || 6.12 ||

vivṛṇvatā saurabharoradoṣaṃ bandivratam varṇaguṇaiḥ spṛśantyāḥ |
vikasvare kasya na karṇikāre ghrāṇena dṛṣṭer vavṛdhe vivādaḥ || 6.13 ||

śāsāka no yaḥ kimapi grahītum adhyāpyamāno 'pi varāṅganābhiḥ |
udyānalīlānyabhṛtas tadāniṃ sa siddhasārasvatatāṃ prapede || 6.14 || *

30 vyaktānalolkākṛtimadhyamadhyasamucchalaḍgucchagavākṣitāṅgī |
kaṅkellivallis tuhinātyaye 'pi babhāv anaṅgasya hasantikeva || 6.15 || *

svapakṣalīlāḍitair upoḍhahetau smare darśayato viśeṣam |
mānaṃ nirākartum aśeṣayūnāṃ pikasya pāṇḍityam akhaṇḍam āsīt || 6.16 ||

sindūritānaṅgamataṅgajāsyam yad vyānaśe 'śokarajo jaganti |
35 tanmāninīmānatamo 'nka(ṅta)kāraṃ bālātapāhamkṛtim āruroha || 6.17 || *

nīrandhraniryatsumanonikāya kāṣāya paṭṭapraṇayād aśokaḥ |
jagrāha bhikṣuvratam adhvagānāṃ manaḥsu śūnyatvam ivopadeṣṭum || 6.18 || *

28 'pi varāṅganābhiḥ] Eds. J₂ P₄; 'pi purāvadhūbhiḥ B₁ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₅; 'pi purāṅganābhiḥ
corr. ex purāvadhūbhiḥ P₃; 'pi avarāṅganābhiḥ Ś₆ 31 kaṅkelli] Eds.; kiṅkilla J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂
P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; kiṅkilla B₁; kiṅkilla B₂ 35 'nka(ṅta)kāraṃ] Eds.; 'nkakāraṃ B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁
P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆ 37 manaḥsu śūnyatvam] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; manaḥsv
aśūnyatvam P₁

20 anelamūkāḥ] aneḍomūkavakṣi [illegible] i.m. B₂ 25 vaitaṇḍikakokilāni] akasmāt sārya
lūṅṭākāḥ i.m. B₂ 26 saurabharoradoṣaṃ] saurabhasya rora atyantābhas(t?)adoṣaṃ i.m. B₂
27 vikasvare] praphullite i.m. B₂ 28 'pi varāṅganābhiḥ] varāṅganābhiḥ i.m. P₁; śisīraratau
i.m. B₂ 31 kaṅkelli] kaśmire prasiddhā i.m. B₂ 35 'nka(ṅta)kāraṃ] andhakāraprasaraḥ i.m.
B₂

28 'pi varāṅganābhiḥ] 'purāṅganābhiḥ' iti vā pāṭhaḥ J. **comm.**

23 6.11] 6.11 metre Indravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. 25 6.12] 6.12–16 metre Upajāti. See
Mandal 1991, 134. 35 6.17] 6.17 metre Indravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. 37 6.18] 6.18–26
metre Upajāti. See Mandal 1991, 134.

viyoginīroṣakaṣāyiteva netradyutir visphuritā smarasya |
prāptā palāśeṣu babhau śukāgracañcustutisteyanirañkuṣeṣu || 6.19 ||

40 kāmpraśastyakṣarasampradāyo viyogihālāhalabījamuṣṭiḥ |
dvirepharājī ruruce latānām graiveyagārutmataratnamālā || 6.20 ||

satyaṃ vasantakrakacakṣatānām śalkaṃ niśānām alayo babhūvuḥ |
na cet kathaṃ pānthanitambinīnām vyadhur dṛśor āndhyanavopadeśam || 6.21 ||

45 kaṃdarpakarṇejapabhūmikāsu madhuvratā dhairyam adhītavantaḥ |
viluptakośāḥ sumanaḥśatānām acikaran nigraham adhvagānām || 6.22 || *

dvijādhirājena gavāṃ prasādāt pratikṣapaṃ kārītabhūmisekaḥ |
pānthapriyāṇam ṛtacakravartī netreṣv avagrāham apācakāra || 6.23 ||

galattuṣārāmbukaṇān kirantī dairghyaṃ nayantī pikakūjitāni |
viyoginīnām avanī tadānīm kiṃ rodanāya vyadhitopadeśam || 6.24 ||

50 sapakṣapātā nirupādhibandhoś cirāya vegād upari bhramantī |
akalpayac cūtataroḥ svadeham ārātrikāyeva madhuvratāli || 6.25 || *

na mānabhaṅgāya babhūva keṣāṃ lolālimālābhrukūṭicchaṭābhiḥ |
viśvaikajiṣnor madanasya navyasācivyayogān madhur unmadiṣṇuḥ || 6.26 ||

55 puṣpāvṛtāṅgo nibiḍālinādaḥ kelivaneṣūnnatacampako 'bhūt |
caitraśriyo nūpuraniḥsvanāñko nṛtodyatāyā iva daṇḍapādaḥ || 6.27 ||

niṣpannapuṣpātithibhir dvirephair upāsyamānas tilakaś cakāse |
eṇīdṛśāṃ dohadadrṣṭipātair ivāñjanenāhitasamvibhāgaḥ || 6.28 ||

[45] kośāḥ] B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; kośāḥ Eds.; kośāḥ B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆ [51] svadeham] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; svadeham corr. ex śarīram B₂

[41] 6.20] B₂ seems to add in margin an additional verse: guñjāravodārajayaprovādāḥ sambhra-
ntadikkā bhramarā virejuḥ | mākandasimhāsanasaṃsthitasya (ru?)khāvacūlasya puraḥ sarā iva.
[42] śalkaṃ] krakacavidāryamānadāharajaḥ i.m. B₂ [44] bhūmikāsu] (kha?)leṣu i.m. B₂ [47]
avagrāham] aśrurodhaṃ i.m. B₂ [50] nirupādhibandhoś] mahajabandhoḥ i.m. B₂ [53] mad-
hur] vasantaḥ i.m. B₂ [54] kelivaneṣū] udyāneṣū i.m. B₂ [55] daṇḍapādaḥ] nṛtyodyātapāda
i.m. B₂ [56] niṣpanna] praphulla i.m. B₂

[55] 6.27] 6.27 metre Indravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [57] 6.28] 6.28–34 metre Upajāti. See
Mandal 1991, 134.

puṣpodgamair ābharāṇaprayogaṃ prārebhire vāmadrśāṃ yuvānaḥ |
tato vinā kārmukakarmasiddhiṃ puṣpāyudhasyāgamad agramokṣaḥ || 6.29 ||

60 tanūr aśokasya padā ghnatībhiḥ puraṃdhribhiḥ puṣpaśarāstraśālā |
śliṣyannavālaktakapaṅkaṭaṅkāt sindūramudrāsaciveva cakre || 6.30 ||

yan nyasyati sma smayavatyaśoke padaṃ nadannūpuram utpalākṣī |
svairam sa cakre tata eva mūrdhni padaṃ batāśeṣamahīruhāṇām || 6.31 ||

anunmiṣaddrṣṭi niṣeduṣiṇām āsthāya rambhādadaladarbhaśayyām |
65 viyoginīnām dvijapuṃgavena puṃskokilenādhijage 'ntakālaḥ || 6.32 ||

udbhūṣṇunā kasya na nāma yātrā vasantanāmnā ru(m)rudhe ṭhakena |
prāṇās tu kaṅṭheṣu cirāya cakrur viyogivargasya gatāgatāni || 6.33 || *

seko 'mbunā sauṣṭhavam ātatāna pratāninīnām atha māninīnām |
saṅgo 'srupūrair bata patravallīḥ kapolayor ākulayāṃ cakāra || 6.34 ||

70 prasāritā dūram atigmabhāsā karā nirīyābhratiraskariṇyāḥ |
vivyoginām antakarājadhānim apāvṛtadvārapuṭam pracakruḥ || 6.35 ||

mānagrahānadhyayanonmukhīnām āseduṣiṇām dayitopakaṅṭham |
vāmabhruvām locanacakravālam abhyastalīlākulavidyam āsīt || 6.36 || *

75 sukho 'nilaḥ kham viśadaṃ jalāni ramyāṇi tejas taruṇam navā bhūḥ |
aho madhoḥ kācana śauryalakṣmīś cakāra bhūteṣv api yā vikāram || 6.37 ||

malīmasaśrīr madhupānasakto bheje latāḥ puṣpavatīḥ sphuṭam yaḥ |
sa eva caitreṇa bata dvirephaḥ puṣpeṣu rājye vihitaḥ purodhāḥ || 6.38 || *

[66] udbhūṣṇunā] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; udbhūṣṇunā P₁; tadbhūṣṇunā J₂ [66] ru(m)rudhe] rurudhe P₁ [72] dayito] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; caryato P₁ [76] bheje latāḥ puṣpavatīḥ] Eds. J₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; bheje malāḥ puṣpalatāḥ B₁ B₂; bhaje malāḥ puṣpalatāḥ L₁ J₂; bheje malāḥ corr. ex bheje latāḥ Ś₆

[62] smayavatyaśoke] praphullite i.m. B₂ [64] anunmiṣad] pihita i.m. B₂ [66] udbhūṣṇunā] luṅṭakena i.m. B₂ [66] ṭhakena] viśvastacaureṇa i.m. B₂ [68] sauṣṭhavam] pragalbhatām i.m. B₂ [69] patravallīḥ] makarikā i.m. B₂ [70] atigmabhāsā] candreṇa i.l. B₂ [70] nirīyābhra- raskariṇyāḥ] nirgatya i.m. B₂; abhrarūpajavanikayāḥ dvitīyārthe (śaṣṭhī?) i.m. B₂ [73] cakravālam] samūhaṃ i.m. B₂ [74] viśadaṃ] nirmalaṃ i.m. B₂ [76] malīmasaśrīr] aṅgalakṣmyaḥ(?) i.m. B₂ [77] caitreṇa] vasantena i.m. B₂ [77] puṣpeṣu rājye] kāmarājye i.m. B₂

[71] 6.35] 6.35 metre Upendravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [73] 6.36] 6.36 metre Indravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [75] 6.37] 6.37–43 metre Upajāti. See Mandal 1991, 134.

śuddhaṃ dadhat pānthapuramdhribāṣpapūrair iva kṣālitam aṃśujālam |
smereṇa candro muralāṅganānāṃ mukhena sāpatnakam ālalambe || 6.39 || *

80 saṃkocitāyavyaya eva yaḥ prāganehasā puṣpamitaṃpacena |
tadā sa kiṃjalkamahāsubhikṣe līlāḥ śīśikṣe kati na dvirephaḥ || 6.40 || *

dikṣu kṣatasvāparasair aśokaiḥ kṛtapratāpānalasūtrapātaḥ |
gāḍhābhīmānagrahilo jaganti trṇāya mene na jhaśāvacūlaḥ || 6.41 || *

85 samīraṇas candanaśailarājajanmā smarasya prathamo 'ṅgarakṣaḥ |
viyoginīniḥśvasitānilena pratyudgato gauravam āsasāda || 6.42 ||

hṛtvevapāṇḍuvratam ācariṣṇoḥ kapolamūlāt pathikābalānām |
rucam kacatkāñcanavarṇacaurim vyadhata caitro navacampakeṣu || 6.43 || *

dākṣiṇyadaḥkṣaiḥ pavanair navīnam āsūtrayan sāptapadīna tantram |
gaṇḍūṣitāśeṣajagajayo 'bhūd devaḥ svayaṃ kāmukalokapālaḥ || 6.44 || *

90 smarāgnidhūmapratimālimāle vahadrajorūṣitacūtavāyau |
pānthapriyāṇaṃ nayanotpaleṣu bāṣpo vasante sulabho babhūva || 6.45 ||

vanāni caitrānilacāturibhiś cakāśire tāṇḍavitacchadāni |
sasauṣṭhavaṃ manyam asūyayeva mano munīnām api tarjayanti || 6.46 ||

95 latānatāṅgiṣu sahelam āttalolālīpuṅjāsītacāmarāsu |
babhūva kaṅṭhaḥ kalakaṅṭhayūnām āsthānadānonmukharāgarājaḥ || 6.47 ||

[79 smerēna] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; smareṇa P₁ [81 tadā] sadā Eds.; tadā B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆ [83 mene na] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; sene na P₁ [86 hṛtveva] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; kṛtveva L₁ [88 dakṣaiḥ] B₁ B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; dakṣaḥ Eds. J₂ P₄

[79 smerēna] vasantena i.m. B₂ [80 prāganehasā] kālena i.m. B₂ [80 puṣpamitaṃpacena] śīśireṇa i.m. B₂ [81 kiṃjalkamahāsubhikṣe] vasante i.m. B₂ [82 svāparasair aśokaiḥ] nidrārasaiḥ praphullitaiḥ i.m. B₂ [83 jhaśāvacūlaḥ] kāmāḥ i.m. B₂ [86 pāṇḍuvratam] pāṇḍimām i.m. B₂ [87 kacat] sphurat i.m. B₂ [88 sāptapadīna] vivāhaḥ (?) i.l. B₂ [89 gaṇḍūṣitā] culakī(kta?)ptaḥ pītaḥ i.m. B₂ [89 devaḥ] kāmāḥ i.m. B₂ [92 tāṇḍavita] nartita i.m. B₂ [93 sasauṣṭhavaṃ] samarthaṃ i.m. B₂ [95 āsthānadāno] svaradāna i.m. B₂ [95 rāgarājaḥ] vasantarāgaḥ i.m. B₂

[89 6.44] 6.44 metre Indravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [91 6.45] 6.45 metre Upajāti. See Mandal 1991, 134. [93 6.46] 6.46 metre Upendravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [95 6.47] 6.47–55 metre Upajāti. See Mandal 1991, 134.

śanaiḥ śanair āttavatā navīnajaḡattrayollekhamahākavitvam |
caitreṇa cakre bata campakaughair abhyastasaurabhyasuvarṇasargaḥ || 6.48 ||

vikoṣakaṃdarpakṛpānadhāmnā vyañjan samalabdham ivāṅgamaṅgam |
jalpākatotsekam iyāya cūtasaurabhyasabhyo madhupāyilokaḥ || 6.49 ||

100 śrīkhaṇḡaśailānilarātrirājapuṃskokilādipravibhaktarājyaḥ |
haṡḡād ṛtūnām adhipaś cakāra jagat sagarvaḥ smaravīrabhogyam || 6.50 || *

inindirair nirbharagarbham iṣadunmeṣavaccampakapūṣpam āsīt |
hiraṇmayam śāsanalekhahetoḥ sajjam maṣībhāṇḡam iva smarasya || 6.51 ||

105 madhuśriyaḥ kuṅkumapattraḡhaṅgān adhyāvasat kiṃśukakuḡmalāni |
alis tadīyais ca ghanai rajobhiḥ prāṅḡgnihotrakramam anvatiṡṡṡat || 6.52 ||

rarāja mūrtyā kurabo navodyatpūṣpopahūtair vṛtayālijālaiḥ |
sadyo 'ṅganāliṅgataḥ prasaktakucāgrakastūrikapaṅkayeva || 6.53 || *

natabhruvo 'gre 'ruṅapūṣpareṅkāśyapaṡṡo madhumāsabhikṡuḥ |
mānasya cetogṛhanirgatasya cakāra yātrām apunaḥpraveśām || 6.54 ||

110 rasāyur utsaṅganilinajānir anaṅgabhogāvalipāṡṡabandī |
kiṃjalkatalle 'jani sāhakāre nimajjanonmajjanakelikāraḥ || 6.55 || *

madhyenabhaḥ kauśikavaddvitīyam kiṃ svargasargaṃ madanas tatāna |
dolādhirūḡḡhapramadāpadeśād yasmin navā apsaraso virejuḥ || 6.56 ||

115 āruḡḡhavatyah kṡaṅgam antarikṡam yānti sma dolās taralās taruṅyah |
vaktradyutidrohaviddhātur indor āskandahetor iva dattayātrāḥ || 6.57 ||

[100] rājyaḥ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; rājyaḥ corr. ex rājyaṃ P₃ [107] sadyo] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; samyo P₁ [109] apunaḥ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; upunaḥ P₁ [111] talpe] Eds. B₁ P₁ P₃ P₄; talpe corr. ex talpe B₂; talpe J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ Ś₅; talpe corr. ex talpe Ś₁ Ś₆

[97] saurabhyasuvarṇa] surabhī suvarṇī i.m. B₂ [99] jalpākatotsekam] bahuvatkṛtvagarvam i.m. B₂ [99] madhupāyilokaḥ] bhramaraḥ i.m. B₂ [100] rātrirāja] candraḥ i.m. B₂ [102] in-dindirair] bhramaraiḥ i.m. B₂ [102] iṣadunmeṣavac] ardhonmilitam i.m. B₂ [103] śāsanalekha-hetoḥ] ājñāpatralekhārtham i.m. B₂ [105] prāṅḡgnihotrakramam] prāṅḡhulikramam i.m. B₂ [106] kurabo] kurabakah i.m. B₂ [110] rasāyur] bhramaraḥ i.m. B₂ [110] nilinajānir] jāyārthe jānīpratyayah i.m. B₂ [114] āruḡḡhavatyah] dolām i.m. B₂

[111] talpe] 'talpe' ity apapāṡṡah J. comm.

[113] 6.56] 6.56–57 metre Indravajrā. See Mandal 1991, 134.

abhinavavibhavāptau bandhanān mānanāmno
nikhilaśāsimukhīnāṃ mocayan mānasāni |
abhajata sahakārasyandasāndrābhiṣekair
adhiparabhṛtakanṭhaṃ sauṣṭhavaṃ rāgarājaḥ || 6.58 ||

120 unmīlatkusumabharādhikāvanamrā
bibhratyo nikhilāśīlīmukhonmukhatvam |
cāpatvaṃ bhuvanajayābhiyogabhājaḥ
sevāyai jagṛhur ananyajasya vallyaḥ || 6.59 ||

malayaparimalāḍhyaṃ bhāvukaḥ keralīnāṃ
125 vipulapulakavedhā mānmathagranthakāraḥ |
diśi diśi pṛśadaśvo dākṣiṇātyaḥ śīśikṣe
rasaparivṛḍhasakhyāhamkṛtaś cāpalāni || 6.60 ||

viśvākrāntyāhavasaraḥsānaṅgayodhair aśokair
dadhre sāsravraṇamukhasakhī procchvasatpuṣpamālā |
130 āsīdanti nibīdanibīdaṃ paddhatiḥ ṣaṭpadānām
agre yasyāḥ samam aghaṭata śyāmālā paṭṭikeva || 6.61 ||

rohatkandukakelayas taralitair ye nārikelīphalair
ye śliṣyadbhramarormibhir bahuvīdhābhyastāsīdhenukriyāḥ |
ye kallolitapāmsukhelanarasā vāsantikāreṇubhis
135 te karṇāṭasamīraṇāḥ kam iva na krīḍārasaṃ cakrire || 6.62 ||

pṛṣṭhabhramatsajavaṣaṭpadacakracihnaṃ
yatprocchvasatkusumam āvirabhūl latānām |
mānasya pakṣmaladr̥śāṃ sahasaiva peṣṭuṃ
tatspaṣṭamānmathagharatṭavilāsam āsīt || 6.63 || *

140 paṅktiḥ puṣpalihām aśeṣavanitāmānāvasānakriyā-
garvonnaddhavasantabaddhavitataśmaśruśriyaṃ bibhratī |

[138] peṣṭuṃ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; preṣṭuṃ P₁

[116] mānanāmno] mānasya i.m. B₂ [118] sahakārasyanda] namaḥ i.m. B₂ [119] rāgarājaḥ]
vasantaḥ i.m. B₂ [123] ananyajasya] citrajamnanaḥ kāmasya i.m. B₂ [124] bhāvukaḥ] an-
taraṅgaḥ i.m. B₂ [126] pṛśadaśvo] vāyu i.m. B₂

[119] 6.58] 6.58 metre Mālinī. See Mandal 1991, 134. [123] 6.59] 6.59 metre Praharsīṇī. See
Mandal 1991, 134. [127] 6.60] 6.60 metre Mālinī. See Mandal 1991, 134. [131] 6.61] 6.61 metre
Mandākrāntā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [135] 6.62] 6.62 metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita. See Mandal 1991,
134. [139] 6.63] 6.63 metre Madhyakṣāmā. See Mandal 1991, 134.

ālānāpasaratsmarebhaividhutāyaḥ śṛṅkhalollekhabhūr
visrabdhamaḥ kathamaḥ apy aho virahibhir na prekṣitumaḥ cakṣamaḥ || 6.64 || *

145 ye gātre yayuraḥ adhvagotpaladrśāmaḥ aṅgāravaraṣapraṭhamaḥ
ye sambhogarasālasālasavadhūnetrañcalair aṅcitāḥ |
śṛikhaṇḍādriguḥāgrhāntarabhuvāḥ śṛṅgāriṣu pramiṣac-
chāpānugrahaśaktayo vavṛdhire te 'hamyavo vāyavaḥ || 6.65 ||

150 āgacchanmalayānilaḥ sa ruruce kodaṇḍadaṇḍagraha-
vyagrimṇā purataḥ prasārita ivānaṅgena dīrgḥo bhujāḥ |
saugandhyasprhayālumāmsalamiladbhṛṅgāvalivyājato
vyaktimaḥ yatra jagāhire pariṇamaṁmaurvikīṇagrathayaḥ || 6.66 ||

155 cirād asamapattriṇo bhujamaḥ akāṇḍakaṇḍulatāmaḥ
nayan malayavīrudhāmaḥ parimalasya vaitālikāḥ |
nideśakṛd aneḥasaḥ kanakaketakīlakṣmaṇaḥ
sa dakṣiṇasamīraṇo muniśamāpamṛtyur vavau || 6.67 ||

kailāsādhiśayāluśamaḥkaraśirolamaḥkarakākodara-
grāsāyāsabhayād ivānucaratāmaḥ hitvottarasyā dīśaḥ |
vāto 'sevata dakṣiṇāpathamaḥ atha śṛikhaṇḍakhaṇḍocchvasat-
sarpālīrasanāvalehacakitaḥ tūrṇamaḥ tato 'py āyayau || 6.68 || *

160 vikasitasitapuṣpacchattraṁ āsādyā tasthau
taruṣu yad alicakraṁ proṣitapreyasīnāmaḥ |
piśunayitumaḥ asahyamaḥ durnimittamaḥ dine 'pi
sphuṭamaḥ ajani sa evānekacandraparāgaḥ || 6.69 ||

[142] ālānāpasaratsmarebhaividhutāyaḥ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁; ālānāya saraḥsmarebha°
L₁; °smarebhavitata° Ś₅; °aśeṣāvanitā° Ś₆ [158] khaṇḍo] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₃; ṣaṇḍo P₁ P₂ P₄
Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆ [159] nāvāleha] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; nāvāliha B₂

[150] māmsala] bahu i.m. B₂ [152] asamapattriṇo] kāmasya i.m. B₂ [154] ketakīlakṣmaṇaḥ]
ketakīcīhnasya i.m. B₂ [156] kākodara] sarpāḥ i.m. B₂ [157] ivānucaratāmaḥ] sevakatāmaḥ vas-
antakālasya i.m. B₂ [158] dakṣiṇāpathamaḥ] dakṣiṇadīśamaḥ i.m. B₂ [159] nāvāleha] āsvāda i.m.
B₂ [160] sitapuṣpa] vicakila i.m. B₂ [162] piśunayitumaḥ] ka[illegible]tumaḥ i.m. B₂

[143] 6.64] 'samdhā' iti vā pāṭhaḥ J. comm.

[143] 6.64] 6.64 metre Meghavistūrjitā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [147] 6.65] 6.65–66 metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita.
See Mandal 1991, 134. [155] 6.67] 6.67 metre Pṛthvī. See Mandal 1991, 134. [159] 6.68] 6.68
metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita. See Mandal 1991, 134. [163] 6.69] 6.69 metre Mālinī. See Mandal 1991,
134.

madanagaṇanāsthāne lekhyaprapañcam udañcayan
165 vicakilabṛhatpatranyastadvirephamaṣilavaiḥ |
kuṭilalipibhiḥ kaṃ kāyasthaṃ na nāma visūtrayan
vyādḥita virahiprāṇeṣv āyavyayāv adhikaṃ madhuḥ || 6.70 || *

ghanakundakuḍmalaviśoṣaṇacchalāt tuhināpacāracarubhāṇḍayajvanā |
timiradruho 'mbudanicola golakaṃ mahasā vihāya jagṛthe kaṭhoratā || 6.71 ||

170 yatkaṃdarpayaṣonuvādaividuṣāṃ mallidalānāṃ kulāṃ
guñjadbhṛṅgabharas ca yo virahinīprāṇādhvaguñjā tayoh |
ekenā jani pānthapakṣmaladrśāṃ krūraṃ viṣaṃ cakṣuṣor
anyenātha ca paprathe śravaṇayor bāṇāvalīduridinam || 6.72 ||

abhyastāśāṅkalaṅkāparisarasaraṅnikṛīḍitāttrikūṭa-
175 prāntaprotadrumālīmukulaparimalābhyaṅgasaubhāgyabhaṅgiḥ |
āśvasto mātariśvā malayaviṭapinām āyayāv ātmanīno
mīnāṅkasyāṅkapālīm dadhad atirabhasād arṇasāṃ tāmraparṇyāḥ || 6.73 ||

navamasṛṇatrṇaughāśyāmalāyām ilāyām
atha śīśiram apāstodrekamudraṃ nidadrau |
180 abhajata ca vasanto 'naṅgasarvasvarakṣā-
vidhiṣu madhupanādāhaṃkrto yāmikatvam || 6.74 ||

[165] maṣilavaiḥ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; maṣibharaiḥ L₁ [166] kaṃ] Eds. J₁ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; kaṃ corr. ex kiṃ Ś₁; kiṃ B₁ B₂ L₁ [170] malli] Eds. J₁ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; salli B₁ B₂ L₁ [172] viṣaṃ] Eds. B₁ B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; vidhaṃ P₁ [175] parimalābhyaṅga] B₁ B₂ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; parimalābhṛṅga Eds. J₁ P₄ [177] atirabhasād] Eds. B₁ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; atirabhasād corr. ex aratibhasād corr. ex gratibhasād P₁; atirabhasām B₂ [181] vidhiṣu] Eds. J₁ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₆; nidhiṣu B₁ B₂ L₁ Ś₁ Ś₅

[166] kaṃ] (?)ṣana kuśalaṃ i.m. B₂ [167] madhuḥ] vasanta i.m. B₂ [168] tuhināpacāra] nāśaḥ i.m. B₂ [169] timiradruho] sūryeṇa i.m. B₂ [169] nicola] abhravastrād ambaraṃ i.m. B₂ [170] malli] vallīviṭapānām i.m. B₂ [170] kulāṃ] samūhaḥ i.m. B₂ [171] tayoh] kathakayoḥ i.m. B₂ [172] ekenā] vallīdalena i.m. B₂ [173] anyenātha] bhramareṇa i.m. B₂ [174] krīḍitā] krīḍā i.m. B₂ [174] trikūṭa] trikūṭaparvata i.m. B₂ [176] ātmanīno] ātmani hitaḥ i.m. B₂ [177] arṇasāṃ] śvetasāṃ i.m. B₂ [179] śīśiram] ranu (?) i.m. B₂ [181] yāmikatvam] pratipraharaḥ jāgarūkatvam i.m. B₂

[167] 6.70] 6.70 metre Nardāṭaka. See Mandal 1991, 134. [169] 6.71] 6.71 metre Mañjubhāṣiṇī. See Mandal 1991, 134. [173] 6.72] 6.72 metre Śārdūlavikrīḍita. See Mandal 1991, 134. [177] 6.73] 6.73 metre Sragdharā. See Mandal 1991, 134. [181] 6.74] 6.74 metre Mālinī. See Mandal 1991, 134.

14.5 Parameśvaradevasamāgamavarṇana⁴

saptadaśaḥ sargaḥ

- galvarkakṣitalabimbitārkabimba-
pratyuptapratinavaratnapādapiṭhām |
cūḍendupravismṛmarāccharaśmijālair
5 unmīlad dhavalavitānapaunaruktyām || 17.1 ||
nairmalyapraviśadahaskarāṃśukāṇḍair
uccaṇḍadviguṇitahemavetradaṇḍām |
baṃhiṣṭhair apihitabandivṛndanādām
udgarjan mukuṭasarittaraṅgaghosaīḥ || 17.2 || *
- 10 bhraśyadbhir damarendramauliratnair
niryatnaprakaṭitanūtanopakārām |
velladbhir guhaśikhinaḥ śikhaṇḍakhaṇḍair
ārabdhapravitatatālavṛntavṛttām || 17.3 || *
āsthānīm acaramasāṃdhyakarmasiddheḥ
15 sāsūyaṃ girisutayā vilokyamānaḥ |
devo 'tha tripurapuramḍhrilokalilā-
bāhlika stabaka malimluco viveśa || 17.4 || (cakkalakam) *

⁴Manuscripts used for the critical edition of the seventeenth canto: **B**₂ **J**₁ **J**₂ **L**₁ **P**₁ **P**₂ **P**₃ (some folios are missing, noted in the apparatus) **P**₄ **Ś**₁ **Ś**₄ (only for verses from 17.22 to 17.67) **Ś**₅ **Ś**₆. Edition: verses of the *mūla* text marked with the symbol *. Type: positive apparatus.

⁶ nairmalya] **J. comm.** **J**₁ **P**₁ **P**₂ **P**₃ **P**₄ **Ś**₁ **Ś**₅ **Ś**₆; nairmalyam **B**₂ **L**₁; vairalya° **Eds.** ¹¹ niryatna] **Eds.** **J**₁ **J**₂ **L**₁ **P**₁ **P**₂ **P**₃ **P**₄ **Ś**₁ **Ś**₅ **Ś**₆; nyantra **B**₂ ¹² khaṇḍair] **Eds.** **L**₁; ṣaṇḍair **B**₂ **J**₁ **P**₁ **P**₂ **P**₃ **P**₄ **Ś**₁ **Ś**₅ **Ś**₆ ¹³ vṛttām] **Eds.** **B**₂ **J**₁ **L**₁ **P**₁ **P**₂ **P**₃ **P**₄ **Ś**₁ **Ś**₅ **Ś**₆ (see variant in **J. comm.** below)

² galvarka] candrakānta ujalasphaṭika i.m. **B**₂ ⁸ baṃhiṣṭhair] bahalaiḥ nibḍaiḥ [illegible] i.m. **B**₂ ¹¹ niryatna] sāhajika i.m. **B**₂ ¹¹ opakārām] °upacāraviśeṣām i.m. **B**₂ ¹³ vṛttām] vyajanācaraṇām i.m. **B**₂ ¹⁷ bāhlika] (drigula?)viśeṣa can[illegible] i.m. **B**₂ ¹⁷ stabaka] racanā i.m. **B**₂

¹³ vṛttām] 'nṛttam' iti vā pāṭhaḥ **J. comm.**

¹⁷ 17.4] The order of the first four verses in **B**₂ **J**₁ **L**₁ **P**₁, **P**₂, **P**₃, **Ś**₁ **Ś**₅ **Ś**₆ is the following: ~~is the~~ 17.1=*galvarka* (...); 17.2=*nairmalya* (...); 17.3=*bhraśyadbhir* (...); 17.4=*āsthānīm* (...). This verse-order is in line with Mañkha's usual location of the main clause in the final verse of a multiple-verses sections (see, for instance, ŚKC 4.37–42), whereas the order given in the editions and in Ms. **P**₄ seems unfitting. A marginal annotation in **B**₂ states that verse from *āsthānīm* to *viveśa* (i.e. our 17.4) follows verse 17.1 (*āsthānīm viveśa iti śloka anuṣṭhayanāvaya B₂), even though in the same manuscript verse 2 is correctly placed at the end of the group.*

⁵ 17.1] 17.1–57 metre Praharṣiṇī. See Mandal 1991, 136.

bibhrāṇo vapur ahimāli luṭtatāpaṃ
 pratyuptām akhilagaṇair divādisārām |
 20 āścaryaṃ caritam udañcayann
 apūrvāṃ śarvāñīdayitatamaḥ sabhām avāpat || 17.5 ||

sasphārasphaṭikaviṭaṅkakauṭṭimāntaḥ-
 samkrāntākhilatanubhir gaṇair gaṇānām |
 pātālasthalam adhiruhya mūrdhni bhakter
 25 utsekāt satatam ivohyamānapādaḥ|| 17.6 ||

netrāgnijvalanaviliyamānacūḍākhaṇḍendu-
 sravadamṛtopajātajivān |
 bhūyo 'pi pramuṣitasampado nṛmuṇḍān
 kurvāṇaḥ śvasitaviṣeṇa kaṅkaṇāheḥ || 17.7 ||

30 cinvāno dṛḍhataram ahyupoḍhabhāram
 pādābjadvitayam ivocajūṭabandham |
 grīvāyā valayam ivānvahaṃ dadhāno
 dordāṇḍaṃ śritaviṣamāṃsalasvarūpam || 17.8 ||

vyagrāṇāṃ caṭughaṭanāsu vikṣamāṇo
 35 netrāntair vadanam amartyamāgadhānām |
 nātho 'tha prathamāsabhāṃ prapadya
 tasthāv āsīnaḥ śīrasi vilāsaviṣṭarasya || 17.9 || *

mārārer marakataviṣṭaraprabhāṇām
 abhyaṅgād anusṛtanīlimodgamāni |
 40 sarvāṅgāṇy abhinavabhūtibhūṣaṇāny
 apy āseduḥ saharatāṃ galasthalasya|| 17.10 ||

mithya iva vyadhiṣata tasya pādapiṭhaṃ
 sotkaṅṭhāḥ paricarituṃ puro bhujīṣyāḥ |

[18] vapur] sarvābharaṇaṃ i.m. B₂ [19] pratyuptām] vyāptām i.l. B₂ [19] divādisārām] svargādi
 saptate kādapi biladaṇāmany(?) athaḥ i.m. B₂ [22] sasphāra] prathulaḥ i.m. B₂ [22] viṭaṅka]
 mahat i.m. B₂ [23] gaṇair] samūhaiḥ i.m. B₂ [26] jvalana] dipti i.m. B₂ [28] pramuṣitasam-
 pado] viṣaṃjñān i.m. B₂ [28] nṛmuṇḍān] śṛkkapālān i.m. B₂ [30] cinvāno] ciñ cayano i.m.
 B₂ [34] caṭu] sutiracanā i.m. B₂ [35] amartyamāgadhānām] devabandīnām i.m. B₂ [39] ab-
 hyaṅgād] anupravesāt i.m. B₂ [42] vyadhiṣata] aicchata i.m. B₂

[37] 17.9] Verse 17.9 is followed by the word *kulakam* in J₂ P₄ and Ś₆, and by *cakkalakam* (four--
 verses *kulaka*) in B₂ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ and Ś₅. It is possibly the last verse of a four-verses *kulaka*
 corresponding to ŚKC 17.6–9, with the verb *tasthāu* forming the main clause in the last verse.

namrāṇām cikurabharā hi nirjarāṇām
45 tatkr̥tyagrahaṇam anukrameṇa cakruḥ || 17.11 ||

sāvegamaṁ katham api tasya nopaśalye
kiṁkaryo vidudhvur agracāmarāṇi |
cūḍenduglapanakṛto viśāṅkya pātraṁ
lālāṭajvalanam akāṇḍatāṇḍavasya || 17.12 ||

50 herambo nijapitur āpya jūṭakūṭād eṇāṅkaṁ
vinidadhad anyadantadhāmi |
abhyaṅgād atha pṛthutatkaracchaṭānām
truṭyantaṁ prakṛtam api vyadhata dantam || 17.13 ||

prāvīkṣann atha śanakair akaitavena
55 vyañjanto vinayavinamratām śirobhiḥ |
sarve 'pi tridivas ado nivedyamānāḥ
sāvajñaṁ kim api śilādanandanena || 17.14 ||

dūrāt te tadanu sudhāndhaso vivavruḥ
saṁhatya praṇatim ayugmalocanāya |
60 tatpāḍau viracayatām hi maulibhūmau
svān mauliṅ jagad api pāḍukī karoti || 17.15 ||

caṇḍāṁśujvalanatuṣāradhāmamayyo 'py
avyājaṁ puraripuṇā vikīryamānāḥ |
ḍṛglekhā bata vapoṣo 'khilāmarāṇām
65 saṁtāpaṁ jaḍim aparigrahaṁ ca jahruḥ || 17.16 ||

aucityān nijanijam āsanaṁ bhajantas
te pṛṣṭāḥ kuśalam athenduśekhareṇa |
ity ūcur namucibhidādayaḥ sudhāyāḥ
saṁbandhād iva madhurodgamair vacobhiḥ || 17.17 ||

70 viśveṣāṁ puri puri yat sadaiva śeṣe
vidvadbhiḥ puruṣa iti pratīyase tat |

[46] nopaśalye] pārśve i.m. B₂ [49] tāṇḍavasya] vṛddhaiḥ i.m. B₂ [50] herambo] gaṇeśa i.m. B₂ [50] āpya] prāpya i.m. B₂ [50] eṇāṅkaṁ] candraṁ i.m. B₂ [51] dhāmi] sthāne i.m. B₂ [54] prāvīkṣann] viśapraveśane i.m. B₂ [54] akaitavena] akāpaṭena i.m. B₂ [56] tridivas] devāḥ i.m. B₂ [57] sāvajñaṁ] (sa?) prārthanaṁ i.m. B₂ [57] śilādanandanena] nandinā i.m. B₂ [58] sudhāndhaso] devāḥ i.m. B₂ [66] aucityān] yathā yogyaṁ (?) i.m. B₂; ucitasya bhāvotpraucityaṁ B₂ [71] puruṣa] puri vasate saupuruṣaḥ pratiśarīravartamānaḥ i.m. B₂

kiṃ dhāmatritayamayānapāyadr̥ṣṭes
tasmāt te jagati parokṣam asti vastu || 17.18 ||

nanv evaṃ kim api vinirmalaṃ prakṛtyā
75 tvadrūpaṃ surasaridambuvat punīte |
srotobhis tribhir atha kāraṇātmabhis
tadviśvātman kṛtakam api vyanakti bhedaṃ || 17.19 ||

dhiṃ mūḍhā vitatham udāsanavabhāvaṃ
bhāṣante puruṣa tava trilokabhartaḥ |
80 kartrī cet prakṛtir iyaṃ karotu kiṃcit
kaivalyaṃ bhavadadhiroham antareṇa || 17.20 ||

kiṃ mithyā hara mahadādiṣu prayunkte
loko 'yaṃ vikṛtimayeṣu tattvaśabdāṃ |
ekas tvam niravadhirūpabhṛddhi tathyaṃ
85 tat tattvaṃ puruṣa bibharṣi pañcaviṃśaḥ || 17.21 || *

kiṃ kartuṃ tava purato 'tha kiṃ nu vaktuṃ
śakṣyāmaḥ kṣitidhararājamūrdhaśāyin |
tvam khaṇḍaṃ kvacid api no padaṃ vyanakṣi
trailokyaṃ dhvanivapuṣaś ca te vivartaḥ || 17.22 ||

90 kutrāpi pratihatim eti nāntarikṣaṃ
śabdāḥ tadguṇapadavīm na cātīṣete |
tanmūrtis tvam asi ca tad vibho jaganti
vyāpnoṣīty ayam upapattisaṃpradāyaḥ || 17.23 ||

no kiṃcid bahir upapattim eti vastu
95 jñānāt tat prasaratī kiṃ tu citravṛtti |
jñānātmā prabhur iti viśvakartṛbhāvo

84 niravadhi] J. comm.; nirupadhi° Eds. B₂ J₂ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆; nirudhi° L₁

76 srotobhis tribhir] pravāhair sūtribhiś (ca?) bhagīrathī bhogavat(pal?)anandye 'ti brahmav-
iṣṇurudramūrtibhiḥ i.m. B₂ 77 kṛtakam] ayathārthaṃ i.m. B₂ 78 vitatham] akart tāraṃ
i.m. B₂ 79 puruṣa] he i.l. B₂ 80 kaivalyaṃ] sambandhaṃ vinā i.m. B₂ 81 bhavadadhiro-
ham] kevalasya bhāvaḥ kaivalyaṃ eva kākinī i.m. B₂ 82 hara] he i.l. B₂ 83 vikṛtimayeṣu]
upādhirūpeṣu i.m. B₂ 84 śakṣyāmaḥ] samarthābhavāmaḥ i.m. B₂ 85 kṣitidhararājamūrd-
haśāyin] he giriśa i.m. B₂ 86 khaṇḍaṃ] apūrṇam ākāśavat pūrṇa ity arthaṃ i.m. B₂ 87
vivartaḥ] atātaviko 'nyathā bhāvo vivartaḥ i.m. B₂ 88 na cātīṣete] atiriktaḥ na tyajyate i.m. B₂
89 tanmūrtis] āsamūrtikā i.m. B₂ 90 tad vibho] he i.m. B₂ 91 ayam] vyāpakamūrtitvena
vyāpakatvaṃ yukti siddham(?) ity arthaḥ i.m. B₂

no baudhair api bhavato bata vyapāstah || 17.24 ||

śūnyam tair akathi na tuccham eva
rūpaṃ mādrkṣānadhigamanīyavṛtti kiṃ tu |
100 tādrkṣaṃ tava ca vapus tathā ca bauddhās
tvam eva kva na paramārthato grṇanti || 17.25 ||

bodhātmany anavadhitāṃ tvayīha jānany
anyāni trinayana santu darśanāni |
ātmā tvam tava ca vapus trayo 'pi lokās
105 tanmāna tvam iti ca nārhatō 'sti garhā || 17.26 || *

trailokyam vibhajati yo vicitratantṛam
yasmāc ca prasarati sarvajīvalokaḥ |
cārvākās tam iha vadanti yat svabhāvam
tadbhaṅgyā tvam asi śivorarikṛtas taiḥ || 17.27 ||

110 yaṃ māyā kvacid anirudhyamānarūpā na
spraṣṭuṃ prabhavati neti neti santaḥi |
yasmimś ca vyavahṛtim ācaranti taṃ
tvam tātparyād upaniṣado vibho grṇanti || 17.28 || *

ekas tvam trinayana drśyase 'dhikartuṃ
115 jñātuṃ ca tribhuvanam īsvaraḥ prakāśaḥ |
tādātmyam vivṛtavatī vimarśāsaktir dvaidhe 'pi
prathayati te na bhedadoṣam || 17.29 || *

icchadbhiḥ śāsimukūṭa kriyaikarūpaṃ
vaivaśyāpraṇayavidhāyinaṃ niyogam |

[105] ca nārhatō 'sti garhā] Eds. Ś₆; na cārhatō 'pi garhā B₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅; ca nāhatō
'sti hāvo J₂ [110] anirudhyamāna] J. comm. B₂ P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₄; aniruddhyamāna° Eds. J₂ L₁
P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅ Ś₆ [117] te na] Eds. Ś₄ Ś₅; tena B₂; not distinguished in J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₆ [119]
niyogam] B₂ L₁ Ś₄ Ś₅; viyogam Eds. P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₆; vigam J₂

[97] vyapāstah] na dūrībhūtaḥ i.m. B₂ [99] mādrkṣānadhigamanīyavṛtti] matsadr(kṣā?) i.m.
B₂; aprāpanīyavṛtti B₂ [100] tādrkṣaṃ] tādrśaṃ i.m. B₂ [102] anavadhitāṃ] na avadhītā
'navadhītātām i.m. B₂ [103] darśanāni] sāstrāni i.m. B₂ [105] ca nārhatō 'sti garhā] na lajjā
i.m. B₂ [106] vicitratantṛam] vicitrasvarūpaṃ i.m. B₂ [109] śivo] he i.m. B₂ [111] san-
taḥi] vedāḥ i.m. B₂ [113] tātparyād] vicaśīt(?) i.m. B₂ [113] vibho] he i.m. B₂ [114] tri-
nayana] he i.m. B₂ [114] 'dhikartuṃ] svādhānaṃ i.m. B₂ [116] tād] abhedam i.m. B₂ [116]
vimarśāsaktir] jñānacicchaktiḥ i.m. B₂ [116] dvaidhe 'pi] dvaitē 'pi i.m. B₂ [117] te na] ab-
hedakāraṇena B₂ [118] śāsimukūṭa] he i.m. B₂ [118] kriyaikarūpaṃ] yatsvarūpaṃ i.m. B₂
[119] vaivaśyāpraṇayavidhāyinaṃ] viśeṣeṇa vaśyasya bhāvīm(?) vaivaśyam i.m. B₂

120 nirvyūḍhaśrutikavikṛtya viśvakartā
tvam hartābhyupagata eva vedavidbhiḥ || 17.30 || *

yacchāyāpṛṣadabhiṣekato 'pi sarve
tātparyādavasitajāḍyatām bhajante |
tasyātmams tava jaḍatām udīrayantaḥ
125 kāṇḍā bata na kathamcana trapante || 17.31 ||

kvāvatsyatkatham ajaniṣyata prakāśam
prāṇiṣyat katham athavaiṣa jīvalokaḥ |
ā sargād akhilajagadgariṣṭha no cet
kāruṇyāt prabhur aviṣyad aṣṭamūrṭiḥ || 17.32 ||

130 cakre 'bhūt tava murajit pratigrahītā
tvam grīvāṃ sarasi jajanmano vyalāvīḥ |
itthaṃ te himakaraśekhara prasādaḥ kopo
vā kvacid ajaniṣṭa no mahatsu || 17.33 || *

ityādīstutimukhareṣu nirjareṣu
135 pratyagraprasṛtakṛpārasātirekaḥ |
tān itthaṃ kathayitum indukhaṇḍacūḍaḥ
prārebhe rabhasavaśamvadair vacobhiḥ || 17.34 ||

prāptānām mama savidham vidhūtadhairyā
caryāsau vipulam upaplavaṃ vyanakti |
140 viśliṣyannijamahasām mukhāni yad vaḥ
prātastyam rajanipatiṃ viḍambayanti || 17.35 ||

viśvāpadgadabhiṣajo 'pi kiṃ bhavanto
vaiklavyavyasanavisamsthulānanāḥ stha |

[130 cakre] B₂ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; vaktre Eds.

[120 śrutikavikṛtya] vedānām i.m. B₂ [121 vedavidbhiḥ] yajñikaiḥ i.m. B₂ [122 chāyāpṛṣad] jalakaṇikā, chāyāleśataḥ i.m. B₂ [123 tātparyādavasitajāḍyatām] ajñān(ā?) naṣṭam tāṃ i.m. B₂ [126 kvāvatsyatkatham] kutra sthitiḥ i.m. B₂ [127 prāṇiṣyat] prāṇavān i.m. B₂ [128 akhilajagadgariṣṭha] he amūrta i.m. B₂ [130 cakre] cakrapratigrahītā i.m. B₂ [130 murajit] viṣṇuḥ i.m. B₂ [131 jajanmano] brahmaṇaḥ i.l. B₂ [131 vyalāvīḥ] luñj chedate i.m. B₂ [133 mahatsu] kākūktiḥ i.m. B₂ [135 pratyagra] sadya i.l. B₂ [138 savidham] samīyam i.m. B₂ [139 caryāsau] ācaraṇam i.m. B₂ [141 prātastyam] prātabha(r?)vam i.m. B₂ [141 viḍambayanti] anukaroti i.m. B₂ [143 visamsthulānanāḥ] śīthilā i.m. B₂ [143 stha] sthitiḥ i.m. B₂

[133 17.33] Missing commentary from 17.29 to 17.33 marked in the Eds. with fn. 'ekas tvam' ityādi ślokaṇcakasyādarśapustake ṭikā trūṭitāsti

145 pratyarthipradhanarasā vilaṅghya dainyaṃ
tejo vas tulayati vāḍavaṃ hi dhāma || 17.36 ||

dhyānena stimitatamatvam abjayoner
āsīd yat praṇihita dikṣam ikṣaṇeṣu |
cintāyāḥ paricayane tad eva sadyaḥ
sādhikyakramam api nādhikaṃ dhinoti || 17.37 ||

150 sāvegaṃ yudhi valatāṃ dviṣāṃ śirobhir
yasyāgre samajani mṛtyubhāṇḍabhaṅgiḥ |
taccakraṃ kraśimavaśaṃvadāgrimārciḥsaṃcāraṃ
kim iti muradviṣo 'dhiśete || 17.38 || *

155 yatra śrīr anīśavinidradṛksahasre
viśramya smarati na paṅkajākarasya |
so 'kāṇḍe kim iti biḍaujaso 'sya dehaḥ
saṃdehaṃ muhur iva kasya na vyanakti || 17.39 ||

160 citrodyatkraśimaviśeṣavadbhir aṅgair
vaiklavyaṃ vivṛtavatāṃ samīraṇānām |
kiṃ tv eṣāṃ punar api jāyate mahadbhir
niḥśvāsair analasamāṃsalatvayogaḥ || 17.40 || *

165 paṇḍimnā paricitam ujjhitapratāpaprāvāraṃ
kim iti tathā vapuḥ kharāṃśoḥ |
śubhrāṃśubhramaghaṭanād vinā triyāmām
ātaṅkaṃ sṛjati yathā rathāṅganāmnām || 17.41 ||

niḥśeṣatribhuvanaghasmaraśritatvāt
tadvahneḥ sahaḥjam apahnutāṃ kva tejaḥ |

[150 valatāṃ] Eds.; valato B₂ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆ [153 'dhiśete] Eds.; 'tiśete B₂ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆ [160 kiṃ tv] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; kim na J. comm.

[144 pradhana] saṃgrāmaḥ i.m. B₂ [145 vāḍavaṃ] vāḍavanalasaṃpraśaṃ i.m. B₂ [146 stimitatamatvam] atīśaye na stimitaḥ stimitabhūmas tasya bhāvastavyaṃ(?) i.m. B₂ [147 praṇihita] dhyānekr̥tā i.m. B₂ [150 valatāṃ] parāvartimāṇasya i.m. B₂ [151 yasyāgre] cakrasya i.m. B₂ [151 bhaṅgiḥ] racanā i.m. B₂ [153 'dhiśete] vicchāyam iva bhāti i.m. B₂ [154 yatra] dehe i.m. B₂ [155 viśramya] sthānaṃ laścā(?) i.m. B₂ [155 paṅkajākarasya] paṅkajākarasya (rasraṃ?) adhyāharyaṃ i.m. B₂ [164 śubhrāṃśu] ca(n)dra i.l. B₂ [165 ātaṅkaṃ] bhayaṃ i.m. B₂ [165 yathā rathāṅganāmnām] rātriḥ cakravākānām i.m. B₂ [167 apahnutāṃ] kena ā(pā?)ditāṃ i.m. B₂

[145 17.36] yatra śrīr... = 17.39 inserted after 17.36 in P₁ P₂ P₃ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ [157 17.39] Missing part of commentary marked in the Eds. with fn. ādarśapustake ślokottarārdhaṭikā nāsti; Ś₅ places line 17.37 and 17.38 after line 17.39.

yuṣmākaṃ sapadi vilokyate 'sya hā
dhik śokoṣṇasvasitataraṅgamātraśeṣaḥ || 17.42 ||

170 krāntābhiḥ pratidivasāstaśailasīdac-
caṇḍāṃśudyutibhir ivesvaraḥ praticyāḥ |
yas tejo durabhibhavaṃ babhāra sadyaḥ
svāṃ śaktiṃ dṛṣi vidhṛtāmbhasi vyanakti || 17.43 ||

175 anyeṣāṃ savanaliḥāṃ api prayātaḥ sa
prācyāḥ kva nu nijatejaso 'tirekaḥ |
nīrandhrapraviṣṭmarānanānilaughaiḥ kiṃ
liḍhaḥ katham api dīpavac chamena || 17.44 ||

180 iḍṛgbhiḥ smaramakaraikamāntrikasya
vyāhārair apahṛtakalpacittapīḍāḥ |
nirvedānabhimukhalocanaṃ kathamcit
protkṣipya kṣaṇam avatasthire mukhāni || 17.45 || *

185 devo 'tha śrutikavitā payodaṇādapratyarthi-
svanaracanañcitair vacobhiḥ |
haṃsānāṃ rathapathavartināṃ muhūrtaṃ
tanvāno bhayam iti sādaraṃ jagāda || 17.46 ||

saṃtāpaṃ kim api vivṛṇvate na keṣāṃ
ye pādā iva diviṣanmanojvarasya |
santy atra trinayana duḥsahaprameyā
daiteyās tribhuvanaśatras trayas te || 17.47 ||

190 prāg udyadyamaniamādimāṃsalābhiś
ceṣṭābhis tridivamunīn vīlaṅghayantaḥ |
saṃhatya sthīrataraniścayena te mām
āraddhuṃ niravadhi tepire tapāṃsi || 17.48 ||

[180] nirvedānabhimukhalocanaṃ] J. **comm.** Ś₅ Ś₆; nirvedād abhimukhalocanaṃ **Eds.** B₂ L₁
P₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₄; nirvedād abhimukhalocanaṃ corr. ex nirvedābhimukhalocanaṃ P₄; nirvedaḥdab-
himukhalocanaṃ J₁; nirvedābhimukhalocanaṃ J₂

[168] 'sya] vahneḥ i.m. B₂ [171] praticyāḥ] candraḥ parśvām adika(?) i.m. B₂ [174] savanal-
ihām] devānāṃ i.m. B₂ [178] makaraikamāntrikasya] śivasya i.m. B₂ [181] avatasthire]
pravāk tasthu i.m. B₂ [182] śrutikavitā] brahmā vedapraṇayitā i.m. B₂ [182] pratyarthi]
pratisvanaḥ i.m. B₂ [184] rathapathavartināṃ] brahmaṇaḥ rathavāhakanām i.m. B₂ [185]
bhayam] meghāśaṅkaye 'tibhāvaḥ i.m. B₂ [188] prameyā] abhiprāyaḥ i.m. B₂ [189] daiteyās
tribhuvanaśatras trayas te] tripūrasurabāndhavāḥ i.m. B₂ [191] ceṣṭābhis] triyābhiḥ i.m. B₂

trailokyam tapasi viśankam eva teṣāṃ
195 kalpāntajvalananayena bādhamane |
nirvyājakramam atha darśanam purastāt
tebhyo 'ham vyataram anuttarānurodhaḥ || 17.49 ||

saṃtapte vapuṣi tapobhareṇa kurvan
nirvāṇam vahanapatattripattravātaiḥ |
200 sāvegam paṭu ghaṭitāñjalīn purastāt
tān āviṣkṛtanijamūrtir ity avocam || 17.50 ||

saṃtaṣṭam niśitatapoviśeṣamayyā vāsyā
vaḥ sakalam apīha gātratantram |
yuṣmabhyam varam aham īpsitam pradāsyē
205 bho vatsā khalu viracayya tadvratāni || 17.51 || *

īdr̥kṣapratatapaḥpaṇaprayuktyā yaṃ
prāptuṃ vivṛtadurodarakriyāḥ stha |
artham taṃ kathayata tatra kāpi mā bhūd
āśankā ditikulamaulimaṇḍanā vaḥ || 17.52 ||

210 ity asmadgiram adhiropya karṇavīthim
nedīyaḥ pramadarasokṣitekṣaṇās te |
mām evam vinayamayākṣarāntaraṅga-
pronnīlatpadam agadan vinamrakaṇṭham || 17.53 || *

anyaiḥ kiṃ varada varāntarair avāptair
215 aprāptair atha ca na ko 'pi yair viśeṣaḥ |
tvadvaktraprasṛtavacomṛtaughalābhād
asmākam bhavatu vibho jhaḥ iti amṛtyuḥ || 17.54 ||

[202] saṃtaṣṭam] B₂ J₁ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₃ P₄ Ś₆; samtuṣṭam Eds. J₂ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ [210] vīthim] Eds. B₂ J₂ L₁ P₄ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; °vethim J₁ P₁ P₂ Ś₁ [211] pramadarasokṣitekṣaṇās] Eds. B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₅; pramadarasokṣitikekṣaṇās Ś₄; pramadarasokṣitekṣiṇās Ś₆ [212] vinayamayākṣarāntaraṅga] B₂ J₂ P₁ P₄ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; vinayamayākṣayāntaraṅgo J₁ P₂; vinayamākṣa [illegible] L₁; vinayam apākṣarāntaraṅga Eds.

[199] nirvāṇam] saityatām i.m. B₂ [202] saṃtaṣṭam] prasannam (?śam) i.m. B₂ [202] vāsyā] sevayā i.m. B₂ [206] īdr̥kṣapratata] īdr̥s(vīsrata?) i.m. B₂ [207] vivṛta] āgrahaḥ vistāritakriḍāḥ i.m. B₂ [211] nedīyaḥ] nikaṭayamānamadarasāpūritanetrāḥ i.m. B₂

[211] pramadarasokṣitekṣaṇās] 'rasokṣaṇakṣaṇāḥ' iti vā pāṭhaḥ J. **comm.**

naivedaṃ vataritum īśvaro 'sti kaścin
niścīya drutam itaraṃ varam vṛṇīdhvam |
220 ity asmadvacanam athocculumpya te 'tra
śtrotrābhyaṃ punar idam ādarād avocan || 17.55 ||

naivaṃ cet pratiśṛṇute bhavān akasmād
asmabhyaṃ dṛḍhatapasāpi niḥsahebhyaḥ |
tarhy eko yudhi ripuṇā śaro 'rpyamāṇaḥ
225 sarveṣāṃ bhavatu sahaiva mṛtyave naḥ || 17.56 || *

mattas taṃ varam iti dīptam āptavantas
te yuktyā matim ativartitum yamasya |
trīṃllokān atha ca pṛthakpṛthān niroddhum
saṃnaddhā vyadhiṣata nūtnayatnasiddhim || 17.57 ||

230 tattattvam āntaram avetya tataḥ suvarṇa-
durvarṇalohaghaṭanāvikaṭaiḥ prakāraiḥ |
tebhyaḥ pṛthak triṣu jagatsu purīr analpa-
śīlpāvikalpasamayaḥ sa mayaś cakāra || 17.58 || *

aruṇamaṇigariyogopuraprojjihāna-
235 dyutinivahanavīnoṭṭāṅkitāgreyaavapram |
puravaram atha haimaṃ daityanārīkaṭākṣaiḥ
kuvalayitagavākṣaṃ tārakākṣo 'dhyaruḥṣat || 17.59 ||

dhavalabhavanayogād āptaparyāptasāmya-
śriṇi nabhasi hasantyā ullasadbhir mayūkhaiḥ |
240 puri parikaram ādhād rājatollāsabandhau
svaka iva kamalākṣaḥ prakramo vikramasya || 17.60 ||

[222] pratiśṛṇute] Eds. J₂ P₁ P₄ Ś₆; prativṛṇute B₂ L₁ P₂ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅; prativṛṇvate J₁

[220] athocculumpya] [illegible] cāsadaram [illegible] śrūtvā i.m. B₂ [222] pratiśṛṇute] nety
ucyate i.m. B₂ [227] ativartitum] atikramitum i.m. B₂ [229] vyadhiṣata] kratavantaḥ i.m. B₂
[230] āntaram] māna(su?) gataṃ i.m. B₂ [231] durvarṇa] rūpyam i.m. B₂ [233] mayaś] dā-
navaśīlpi i.m. B₂ [237] 'dhyaruḥṣat] arohitavāt i.m. B₂ [240] parikaram] bahuracanākalpane
kilpanārahita. kalau yasya sa tathā mane(?) cintitam eva karotīty arthaḥ i.m. B₂ [241] ka-
malākṣaḥ] nāma i.l. B₂ [241] prakramo] cihne i.m. B₂

[229] 17.57] Missing folio in P₁ from verse 17.57 to verse 17.65.

[233] 17.58] 17.58 metre Vasantatilaka. See Mandal 1991, 136. [237] 17.59] 17.59–60 metre
Mālinī. See Mandal 1991, 136.

bharatruṭyatkṣoṇītalavisṛtapātālatimira-
 sthirāsaṅgeneva sphuradasitaniḥśeṣavapuṣam |
 nṛṇām loke kālāyasamayam ayatnāj janapadaṃ
 245 tato vidyunmālīty asisaliladhārābhir asicat || 17.61 || *

te prāpya tripuraprathām atha pṛthag lokān rujantaḥ sthitā
 divyāni abdaśatāny upanamadviśvāpamṛtyuśriyaḥ |
 yannamnāpy adhirohatā śrutipadaṃ gīrvāṇavāmabhruvām
 gāhante tanavo 'tivelapavanodvellallatāsauhr̥dam || 17.62 ||

250 tāpaṃ rucikṣatim atho vividhās ca pīḍā
 viśvasya dhātava ivotkupitās trayas te |
 ātanvate sapadi duḥsahasamnipāte
 tasmin bhiṣaktu yadi bharga bhavatprasādaḥ || 17.63 ||

yāḥ krīḍadvibudhāvarodhanapariṣkārārkakāntānala-
 255 jvālātāpalavāvaleham api no madhyedinaṃ sehire |
 tāḥ saṃtānakavirudho vidhunitās tatsainikaiḥ sāmpratam
 dāvāgnir yadi nāma rakṣati tato nīcāvamānajvarāt || 64 ||

pāśair baddhaśirodharāḥ phaṇimayair utkhātanākidruma-
 skandhālānataleṣu dānasalilivagrāhiṇo digdvipāḥ |
 260 nītās tair ajireṣu yāmagajatām sraste 'pi viśvaṃbharā-
 bhāre vrīḍanipīḍanena dadhate dūrāvanamraṃ śiraḥ || 17.65 ||

[244] ayatnāj] ayatnāj B₂ J₁ J₂ L₁ P₂ P₄ Ś₁ Ś₄ Ś₅ Ś₆; ayātnāj Eds.

[243] sthirāsaṅgeneva] lepena yogeneva i.m. B₂ [244] kālāyasamayam] lohamaya i.m. B₂ [244] janapadaṃ] nagaram i.m. B₂ [245] vidyunmālīty] daityanāma i.m. B₂ [245] asicat] [illegible]tikṣṇam i.m. B₂ [249] 'tivelapavanodvellallatāsauhr̥dam] śarīre kampabharo jñāyate iti bhāvaḥ i.m. B₂ [251] dhātava ivotkupitās trayas te] jvaram saṃtāpaṃ ruciḥ kāntiḥ vātapitakaphā(kśāḥ) i.m. B₂ [253] bhiṣaktu] bhaiṣajyam (?)akarot i.m. B₂ [254] ārkakāntānala] sūryakānta(dr̥ṣada?) i.m. B₂ [259] digdvipāḥ] gājāḥ? pāṭhaḥ i.m. B₂ [261] vrīḍanipīḍanena] atipīḍanena i.m. B₂

[256] tāḥ] Fn. in the Eds quoting a verse from the Hayagrīvavadha of Meṅṭha as contained in the aesthetics treatise of Viśvanātha Kavirāja (ca. 13th–14th century), the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*: 'spr̥ṣtāstā nandane śacyā keśasaṃbhogalālītāḥ | sāvajñam pārijātasya mañjaryo yasya sainikaiḥ ||' iti haya-grīvavadham, (*sāhityadarpaṇe*). [261] bhāre] Fn. in the Eds. quoting Māgha's *Śīsupālavadha* 1.57: 'hr̥te 'pi bhāre mahatastrapābharāduvāha kṛccheṇa bhr̥śānataṃ śiraḥ' iti māghaḥ.

[245] 17.61] 17.61 metre Śikhariṇī. See Mandal 1991, 136. [249] 17.62] 17.62 metre Śārdulāvīkriḍita. See Mandal 1991, 136. [253] 17.63] 17.63 metre Vasantatilaka. See Mandal 1991, 136. [257] 64] 17.64–65 metre Śārdulāvīkriḍita. See Mandal 1991, 136.

kiṃ vānyat te tathādya trinayana vinayātikramākrāntaviśvā
niḥsvāsaughena dīrghikṛtacamaramaruḍḍambarāḥ svarvadhūbhiḥ |
sarvaṃ nirvīram urvītaḥ atha nilayaṃ nākināṃ manyamānāḥ
265 kartāro nūnam asmatparikaram acirān nāmamātrāvaśeṣam || 17.66 ||

itthaṃ prastāvanāyai vivṛtavati vacaḥ padmabhūsūtradhāre
tūrṇaṃ vaktraprasādaprasarajavanikām agrato 'pāsya dūram |
krodhākhyāḥ parśadānāṃ vidadhadadhimanoraṅgapīṭhapraveśam
śailūṣo dṛṣṭahastādyasamavikṛtibhiḥ saṅgam aṅgīcakāra || 17.67 ||

265 parikaram] sṛṣṭyudyamaṃ i.m. B₂ 266 sūtradhāre] raṅgācāryo i.m. B₂

265 17.66] 17.66–67 metre Sragdharā. See Mandal 1991, 136.

14.6 List of Corrections

- 4.2 *rāśinā* corr. ex *rāśibhiḥ* Eds.
- 4.28 *dronīr* corr. ex *kṣonīr* Eds.
- 4.32 *kṣiteḥ* corr. ex *kṣitau* Eds.
- 4.47 °*dīpa*° corr. ex °*dīpti*° Eds.
- 4.53 °*taṭaraṭad*° corr. ex °*taṭaluṭha*° Eds.
- 4.56 °*ṣaṇḍa*° corr. ex °*khaṇḍa*° Eds.
- 5.2 °*ghṛṣṭi*° corr. ex °*vrṣṭi*° Eds.
- 5.2 °*āli*° corr. ex °*ālī*° Eds.
- 5.3 *vanamālayaiva* corr. ex *vanamālayeva* Eds.
- 5.10 °*śikara*° corr. ex °*sikara*° Eds.
- 5.17 *kopān naṣṭa*° corr. ex *kopānaṣṭa*° Eds.
- 5.23 'titāpāt corr. ex 'tipātāt Eds.
- 5.44 *bṛhad*° corr. ex *vahad*° Eds.
- 5.46 *āvirabībhavad* corr. ex *āviravībhavad* Eds.
- 5.48 °*ākulaḥ* corr. ex °*ākulaiḥ* Eds.
- 5.54 *adrīndra*° corr. ex *andrīndra*° Eds.
- 6.7 *sākam* corr. ex *sārdham* Eds.
- 6.22 *kośāḥ* corr. ex *kosāḥ* Eds.
- 6.40 *tadā* corr. ex *sadā* Eds.
- 6.44 °*dakṣaiḥ* corr. ex °*dakṣaḥ* Eds.
- 6.73 °*parimalābhyaṅga*° corr. ex °*parimalābhrṅga*° Eds.
- 17.3 *nairmalya*° corr. ex *vairalya*° Eds.

- 17.26 *na cārhatō 'pi garhā* corr. ex *ca nārhatō 'sti garhā* Eds.
- 17.21 *niravadhi°* corr. ex *nirupadhi°* Eds.
- 17.30 *niyogam* corr. ex *viyogam*
- 17.33 *cakre* corr. ex *vaktre* Eds.
- 17.45 *nirvedānabhimukha°* corr. ex *nirvedād abhimukha°* Eds.
- 17.51 *saṃtaṣṭam* corr. ex *saṃtuṣṭam*
- 17.53 *vinayamayākṣara°* corr. ex *vinayam apākṣara°* Eds.
- 17.61 *kālāyasamayam ayatnāj* corr. ex *kālāyasamayamayātnāj* Eds.

Chapter 15

Editing Jonarāja

15.1 Missing Commentary

In the edition (see § 14.2–5), I studied the manuscripts only insofar as the *mūla* text of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* is concerned, considering Jonarāja’s commentary only when the commentator proposes some variants.

By looking at the printed editions of the *Kāvyaṃālā*, however, one notices that some sections of the commentary are missing, and are marked by the editors with continuous dotted lines. At the same time, the editors accompany the lacuna with footnotes stating roughly “this [second/first] part of the [comment] is not present in the manuscript”, which can be useful in the identification of the manuscripts employed by the editors.

The present chapter provides, therefore, a complete list of all the missing sections of Jonarāja’s commentary as noted in the editions (see Table 15.1), followed by a verse-by-verse study of these sections in all the witnesses containing the *ṭikā* and glosses to the *mūla* text.

Canto	Verse	State
11	2	final part missing
17	29–33	missing
17	39	final part missing
20	28	final part missing
20	45	missing
22	26–27	missing
22	41	final part missing
25	74	section missing

Table 15.1: Missing commentary in the editions.

15.1.1 List of witnesses

- B₂** containing marginal annotations and interlinear glosses to the whole ŚKC
J₂ containing the commentary to the whole ŚKC
L₂ containing the commentary to the whole ŚKC
O containing the commentary to verses from ŚKC 4.1 to ŚKC 5.57
P₄ containing the commentary to the whole ŚKC
Ś₃ containing the commentary from ŚKC 12.61 to ŚKC 13.30
Ś₄(10) containing the commentary to ŚKC 7.64–8.2, 9.28–35 and 9.49–12.45

15.1.2 Commentary ad ŚKC 11.2

*yatkalā kila jhaṣāṅkapulindaspandamānabaḍiśavratam ādhāt |
maṅḍalo 'mṛtaruco 'jani cakram sa krameṇa rasarājarathasya || ŚKC 11.2 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *yasya candrabimbasya kalā jhaṣāṅkaḥ kāma eva virahiṇī hiṃsakatvāt pulindaḥ śabaras tasya saṃbandhi spandamānaṃ kampamānaṃ yadbaḍiśaṃ matsyavedhanavālakaṃ tasya vrataṃ sādrśyam adhāt | kalāmātra evodita āsīd ity arthaḥ || [.....] ||*

Footnotes in the editions. *ādarśapustake ślokottarārdhaṭikā nāsti.*

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [128r4] *yasya candrabimbasya kalā jhaṣāṅkaḥ eva virahiṇī hiṃsakatvāt pulindaḥ kāma śabaras tasya saṃbandhi* [5] *spandamānaṃ kampamānaṃ yadbaḍiśaṃ matsyavedhanavālakaṃ tasya vrataṃ sādrśyam adhāt kalāmātra evodita* [6] *āsīd ity arthaḥ.*

L₂: [77r3] moves *kāma* after *pulindaḥ*; second half: *sacandrasya bimbaḥ krameṇa śrgārara(sa)sya cakram jātaḥ saṃpūrṇam indur udagād ity arthaḥ.*

P₄: [92r10–11] same as **J₂**.

Ś₄(10): [44v14–19] same as **J₂**.

Annotations in **B₂**. *yat°* *vidhukalā* on left margin in [84r]. *°pulinda°* *kāmaniṣādaḥ* on lower margin in [84r]. *°baḍiśa°* *matsyavedhanaṃ* on lower margin in [84r]. *rasarāja°* *kāmasya* in line in [84r].

15.1.3 Commentary ad ŚKC 17.29–33

*ekas tvam trinayana drśyase 'dhikartuṃ
jñātuṃ ca tribhuvanam īśvaraḥ prakāśaḥ |
tādātmyaṃ vivṛtavatī vimarśaśaktir
dvaidhe 'pi prathayati te na bhedadoṣam || ŚKC 17.29 ||*

[up to]

*cakre 'bhūt tva murajitpratigrahītā tvam
grivāṃ sarasījanmano vyalāvīḥ |
itthaṃ te himakaraśekaraśekhara prasādaḥ
kopo vā kvacid ajaniṣṭa no mahatsu || ŚKC 17.33 ||*

Commentary in the editions. [.....]

Footnotes in the editions. 'ekas tvam' ityādi ślokaṇcakasyādarśapustake
ṭīkā truṭitāsti.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [208v4–11] contains only *mūla* text.

L₂: [123v9] *pañcabhiḥ kulakam*. It adds on the upper margin *ekas tvam ity
ādayaḥ pañcaśāḥ ślokā ādarś(e)na patitāḥ āsan tenātra na likhitāḥ*.

P₄: [154r3] it leaves a half-page blank in order to mark the missing commentary.

Annotations in B₂. See marginal annotations in critical edition pp. 265–66.

15.1.4 Commentary ad ŚKC 17.39

*yatra śrīr anīśavinidradrksahasre
viśramya smarati na pañkajākarasya |
so 'kāṇḍe kim iti biḍaujaso 'sya dehaḥ
saṃdehaṃ muhur iva kasya na vyanakti || ŚKC 17.39 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *nityavikasitasahasradrṣṭau yatra viśrāntim
āpya lakṣmī padmasaraso na smarati | padmasarovikāsasyānaikāntikatvāt [.....]*

Footnotes in the editions. *ādarśapustake ślokottarārdhaṭīkā nāsti*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [209v6–7] same as in Eds.

L₂: [125r6–7] same as in Eds.

P₄: [155r3] same as in Eds.

Annotations in B₂. *yatra*] *dehe* on left margin in [147v]. *viśramya*] *sthānaṃ labdhā* on upper margin in [147v]. *pañkajākarasya*] *pañkajākarasya (ra)sraṃ adhyāhāryaṃ* on the right margin in [147v].

15.1.5 Commentary ad ŚKC 20.28

*tadā navanyādaghanāśanāya
mr̥tyupranṛtyatdrasanāsapatnyaḥ |
kampaṃ dadhus tasya ca vaijayantyaḥ
svān teṣu vairibhya iva pradātum || ŚKC 20.28 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *niḥśeṣenādanaṃ nyādaḥ, tad rūpaṃ ghaṇaṃ yad aśanaṃ tadarthaṃ | sāmānyaviśeṣābhāve yojana | mr̥tyor yamasya pranṛtyantaḥ prasarpantyo yā rasanā jihvās tāsāṃ sapatnyaḥ sadṛśyaḥ | tasya rathasya vaijayantyaḥ patākāḥ kampaṃ dadhuḥ | yatrotprekṣyate—śatrubhyaś citteṣu datum iva | vidyamānasya deyatvāt | niḥśeṣenādyate iti katmasādhano ‘nau ṇa ca’ ity ader ṇaḥ | tatra hi bhāve ‘kartari ca kārake dvayasyāpy anuvṛtteḥ | tathā ca dṛśyate—[.....]*

Footnotes in the editions. *atra kim api truṭitaṃ bhāti.*

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [240r8–12] same as in Eds.

L₂: [141v1–4] same as in Eds.

P₄: [178r2–5] same as in Eds.

Annotations in B₂. *tasya*] *rathasya* on left margin in [172r].

15.1.6 Commentary ad ŚKC 20.45

*somo ‘pi somārdhabhṛtaḥ śarasya
proṭṭaṅkayāmāsa nivāsam agnau |
vilāyitābhiḥ savidhāgnidhāmnā
sudhābhir āpyāyitajīvalokaḥ || ŚKC 20.45 ||*

Commentary in the editions. [.....]

Footnotes in the editions. *ādarśapustake 'sya ślokasya ṭikā nāsti.*

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [242v9–12] The comment attributed to verse 20.45 in this manuscript is the one of verse 20.44. The commentary to 20.45 is missing.

L₂: [142v11]. same as in **J**₂.

P₄: [179v12] same as in **J**₂.

Annotations in **B**₂. *vilāyitābhiḥ*] *vilīyamānakāntibhiḥ* on upper margin in [174r]. °*vidhāgni°*] *saptāya vartrā vahni te jayā* (?) on right margin in [174r].

15.1.7 Commentary ad ŚKC 22.26–27

*sāndratūryaninadā vipāṇḍurac-
chattrasamhati satī patākinī |
nirjarapratibhuvāṃ tadā
babhāv antakāṭṭahasitāñciteva sā || ŚKC 22.26 ||
koṇabāhubhir uraḥ sthalaśriyas
tāḍayantyalasamandrādubhīn |
sā dhvajiny atata tūryaniḥsvan-
akranditāny upanamat prabhukṣatiḥ || ŚKC 22.27 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *vakṣaḥ sthalaśobhān paṭahāndundubhi paṭalavā-
danadaṇḍabhujais tāḍayantī sā senā tūryaniḥsvanā eva kranditāni vyadhāt | yata
upanamantī prabhukṣatī svām ikṣatir yasyāḥ | dhvajiny atra nāyikāsthānīyā ||*

Footnotes in the editions. *ādarśapustake 'sāndratūrya-' ityādi ślokasya ṭikā
nāsti.* (missing commentary to the first verse of the couplet)

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [258v4–9] it skips the last part of commentary to ŚKC 22.40 and the first part of the mūla text of ŚKC 22.41 (from *prakriyām* to *hati satī patākinī*). The commentary is full of mistakes and ends as in Eds.

L₂: [152r1–3] it quotes first word of verse 22.26 and the first half-verse of 22.27 with its commentary (no commentary to verse 22.26).

P₄: [190v11–12 to 191r1] same as in Eds.

Annotations in B₂. *nirjarapratibhuvāṃ*] *devapratibhaṭānāṃ* on right margin in [187r].

15.1.8 Commentary ad ŚKC 22.41

*te ku karmanidhayo jagāhire
svair vapurbhir asipattrayogitām |
sammukhaṃ tad api nirjaradviśaś
cakrire ciramarau ravagraham || ŚKC 22.41 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *te daityāḥ svaiḥ śarīrair asipattrasya khaṅ-
gasya narakaviśeśasya ca saṃgrahaṃ cakruḥ* | [.....]

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [260v3] The commentary is full of mistakes and ends with *cakruḥ* as in Eds.

L₂: [153r3–4] same as in Eds.

P₄: [192r12] same as in Eds.

Annotations in B₂. °*asipattra*°] *narakaḥ* on lower margin in [188v]. *rava*°] *śabda* in line in [188v].

15.1.9 Commentary ad ŚKC 25.74

*prakramair haṭhavakrimṇo murārim anudhāvataḥ
śrīrajaśekharagiro nīvī yasyoktisāmpadām || ŚKC 25.74 ||*

Commentary in the editions. [.....] *rajaśekharoktayah
panthāḥ* |

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₁: [211r7] [.....] *jaśekharoktayah paṭūḥ*.

L₂: [170v9] *tathā haṭhena dhmarādhirūḍhatvena yo vakrimābhaṅgyārthaṃ pratipā-
danaṃ tasya prakramair ārambhaiḥ murārināmānaṃ* [10] *kavivaram anu-
dhmacataḥ
tulayato yasyoktisāmagrīṇaṃ śrīrajaśekharoktayah panthāḥ*.

P₄: [215r11] [.....] [12] *rajaśekharoktayah panthāḥ*.

15.2 Uncertain Readings

Along with the missing commentarial passages listed above (see § 14.1), Durgaprasad and Parab mark with the symbol (?) and with syllables added in parentheses the uncertain readings in their editions, both in the *mūla* text and in Jonarāja's commentary. In Table 15.2, all the problematic passages of Jonarāja's commentary are listed, and a diplomatic transcription of these passages as contained in all the witnesses is provided (for the list of witnesses of Jonarāja's commentary, see § 14.1.1).

Canto	Verse	Commentary
1	44	<i>dhaksyamānatvāt</i> (?)
2	53	<i>raṃhate</i> (?)
3	11	' <i>āstyānam iva</i> ' <i>ity āṛṣaḥ pāṭhaḥ</i> (?)
6	17	(<i>nta</i>) in parentheses
7	65	<i>kamalanālam</i> (?)
12	24	<i>smarapṛakāśitam</i> (?)
14	10	<i>pānadvāreṇa</i> (?)
14	24	<i>praviśati</i> (?)
15	22	<i>purobhāgaiḥ</i> (?)
16	10	<i>āyānamaśvātamba</i> (?)
16	13	(<i>da</i>) in parentheses
16	35	(<i>dala</i>) in parentheses
16	56	<i>vairamṛti</i> (?) <i>r itthaṃ</i>
17	5	<i>samāno 'sti</i> (?)
18	2	(<i>ñji</i>) in parentheses
18	3	<i>sakalaloko</i> (?)
18	28	<i>dhārājalamagni</i> (?) <i>gata</i>
18	53	<i>raṅgacchalā</i> (?) <i>dibhir</i>
19	46	<i>harikañcukanyāyena</i> (?)
20	25	<i>karmodyan tṛtā</i> (?)
21	53	<i>prasādo 'bhāvaḥ</i> (?)
24	31	<i>ulkābādhavyasanāni</i> (?)
25	66	<i>vivaraṇatvābhāvaprasaṅgāt</i> (?)
25	152	<i>yatnam atipraṭiṣṭhaḥ</i> (?)

Table 15.2: Uncertain readings in the editions.

15.2.1 Commentary ad ŚKC 1.44

*jñānān apekṣiṇy apavargavīthī jño vinaivārthakadarthanābhiḥ |
payaś cchaṭā nāstikapannagānām jayaty asau śaṃkarabhaktiarcā || ŚKC 1.44 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *bhagavadbhaktiarcāśravanena iva dhakṣya-
māṇatvāt (?)*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [9v10] *bhagavadbhaktiarcāśravanena iva dakṣyamāṇatvāt*.

L₂: [6v2] *bhagavadbha[3]kticarcāśravanena iva dakṣya- māṇatvāt*. **P**₄: [8r2] *bha-
gavadbhakti v ᳵ carcā jayati 44*, while on the right margin: *carcāśravanena iva
dakṣyamāṇatvāt īśvarabhakti v ᳵ*.

Ś₂: [11r12] *bhagavadbhaktiarcāśravanena iva dahyamāṇatvāt*.

Annotations in B₂. °*arthakadarthanābhiḥ] dravyavyayaṃ rūpābhiḥ* on up-
per margin in [6v]. *payaś cchaṭā] paryacchaṭā* B₂; [illegible] *ryaccha* [illegible]
jalasecanarūpa on upper left margin in [6v].

On upper and right margin in [6v]: (*nāstika*) *sarpāṇām amṛtavṛṣṭir ayam arthaḥ
nāstikāḥ sarpāyadacchadayam bhajante dharmādipraṇā baktānām bhoktuṃ tad
ābhakta raktā karā bhaktopariḥ amṛtavṛṣṭiḥ śivabhaktir udhārasārdrebhyo nāsti
kānī trāsem abhakter eva tad upadrāvāt(vaṃ) bhaktā nāmā ktāratat[missing
piece of folio]yeti*.

15.2.2 Commentary ad ŚKC 2.53

*meṅthe svardviradādhirohiṇi vaśaṃ yāte subandhau vidheḥ
śānte hanta ca bhāravau vidhaṭite bāṇe viśādaspraḥ ||
vāgdevyā viramantu mantuvidhurā drāg drṣṭayaś ceṣṭate
śiṣṭaḥ kaścana sa prasādayati tāṃ yadvāṇisadvāṇinī || ŚKC 2.53 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *yataḥ sa kaścana śiṣṭhaś ceṣṭate raṃhate (?)*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [24r12] *yataḥ [24v1] sa kaścana śiṣṭhaś ceṣṭate raṃhante*.

L₂: [14v8] *yataḥ sa kaścana śiṣṭhaś ceṣṭate (deha?)te*.

P₄: [18v4] *yataḥ sa kaścana śiṣṭhaḥ ceṣṭate raṃhante*.

Annotations in B₂. *meṅthe*] *kaver nāma* on right margin in [16r]. *mantuvidhurā*] (*na*)*prokālavarah, sarasvatī māśovatv ity arthaḥ* on right margin in [16r]. *kaścana*] *kaścaney u(dhvā)e svātmānaṃ vayati kenāpy atra* on lower margin in [16r]. *yad vāṅisadvāṅinī*] *yad vāṅiḥ saiva sadvāṅinī dūtī tāṃ sarasvatī prasādayati* on lower margin in [16r].

15.2.3 Commentary ad ŚKC 3.11

*pinākino mūrṭiṣu sarpir arpitam na yatra netrāgnibalād vilīyate |
kirīṭakoṭīgrhamedhino vidhoḥ prabhābhir āśyānam ivottarāyaṇe || ŚKC 3.11 ||*

Commentary in the editions. ‘*āstyānam iva*’ *ity ārṣaḥ pāṭhaḥ* (?).

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [28r1] *āstyānam ivety ārṣaḥ pāṭhaḥ*.

L₂: [16v7] *āstyānam ivety ārṣaḥ pāṭhaḥ*.

P₄: [21r4] *āstyānam ivety ārṣaḥ pāṭhaḥ*.

Annotations in B₂. *mūrṭiṣu*] *a(str)iṣu* on left margin in [18v]. *āśyānam*] *saraḥ* on left margin in [18v].

15.2.4 Text and Commentary ad ŚKC 6.17

*sindūritānaṅgamataṅgajās yaṃ yad vyānaśe ’śokarajo jaganti |
tan māninīmānatamo ’nka(nta)kāraṃ bālātapāhaṃkṛtim āruroha || ŚKC 6.17 ||*

Text in the editions. *mānatamo ’nka(nta)kāraṃ*.

Commentary in the editions. *mānatamaso ’nka(nta)kāraṃ*.

Text in the manuscripts.

J₂: [66v7] *mānatamo ’nkakāraṃ*.

L₂: no text.

P₄: [48r5] *mānatamo ’n[ka]kāraṃ*, with *ta* written in-line above [ka] (‘*ntakāraṃ*’).

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [66v9] *mānatamaso ’nkakāraṃ*.

L₂: [38v4] *mānatamaso ’nkakāraṃ*.

P₄: [48r6] *mānatamo ’n[ka]kāraṃ*, with *ta* written in-line above [ka] (= ‘*ntakāraṃ*’).

Annotations in B₂. Folios 45 and 46 missing.

15.2.5 Commentary ad ŚKC 7.65

*yas tasyāḥ śramanīrasīkarabharaḥ krīḍāti rekakramād
āsīt taṃ javano jahāra pavano lolāḥ kapolasthalāt |
helānartitajāgarūkakanakāmbhojādhivāsākaraṃ
svargaṅgājalabinduvṛndam amucat tan niṣkrayā yeva ca || ŚKC 7.65 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *lolaś ca harati kamalanālam (?)*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [94r8] *lolaś ca harati kamalanām udvelānartitāni*.

L₂: [57r1] *lolaś ca harati kamalanālātvā*.

P₄: [67v1] *lolaś ca harati kamalanālam*.

Ś₄(**10**): [31r6] *lolaś ca harati kamalanālam*.

Annotations in B₂. °jāgarūka°] *prakū(tbh?a)* on lower margin in [61v].

15.2.6 Commentary ad ŚKC 12.24

*sanayaiḥ sabhayaiś ca vistarair vacasām ity aruṇatsmaram ratih |
sa tu tat karatoṃ 'śukāñcalaṃ drutam ākrṣya madena nirayau || ŚKC 12.24 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *sa tu tat karata iti prauḍhoktyā smaraprakāśi-
tam (?)*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [144r11] *sa tu tat karata iti prauḍhoktyā smaraprakāśitam*.

L₂: [87r11] *sa tu tat karata iti prauḍhoktyā smara[86v1] prakāśitam*.

P₄: [105v3] *sa tu tat karata iti prauḍhoktyā smaraprakāśitam*.

Ś₄(**10**): [59v18] *sa tu tat ka[60r1]rata iti prauḍhoktyā smaraprakāśitam*.

Annotations in B₂. °aruṇat°] *vijavyayat (?)* on left margin in [96r].

15.2.7 Commentary ad ŚKC 14.10

*madhuḍambareṇa sumanaḥśilīmukha-
praṇayoddhatena ghanarāgayoginā |
hr̥dayapraveśakalanāikacañcunā*

lalanājano 'dharadaleṣv acumbyata || ŚKC 14.10 ||

Commentary in the editions. *tathā hr̥daye udare praveśaracanā pānadvāreṇa* (?)

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [171v11] *tathā hr̥daye udare praveśaracanā pānadvāreṇa*.

L₂: [103r1] *tayā hr̥daye udare praveśaracanā pānadvāreṇa*.

P₄: [125r10] *tathā hr̥daye* [11] *udare praveśaracanā pānadvāreṇa*.

Annotations in B₂. °*ekacañcunā*] *dakṣeṇa* in line in [115v].

15.2.8 Commentary ad ŚKC 14.24

*বাদানাং বিশান্মৃগাদৃশাম্‌ সুরাভরারহ
শুশুভে 'গ্রাসাংঘানাবহ্রংগাসাম্‌হতিহ |
অধারাম্‌র্তাসাবারাসাভহুতেক্সাণা-
ত্রাপ্যাপুরো মুখপাতাম্‌ বাহান্ন ইবা || ŚKC 14.24 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *sajātīyādhiguṇadarśanāl lajjamāna paraś ca tam adhikaguṇamukhapāṭalam vahati praviśati*. (?)

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [174v3] *sajātīyādhiguṇada*[4] *rśanāl lajjamāna paraś ca tam adhikaguṇadarśanāl lamukhapāṭalam vahati praviśati*.

L₂: [104r11] *sajātīyādhikaguṇadarśanāl lajjamānaḥ paraś ca tam adhikaguṇamukhapāṭam* [103v1] *vahati praviśati*.

P₄: [127r6] *sajātīyādhikaguṇadarśanāl lajjamānaḥ paraś ca tam adhikaguṇamukhapāṭalam va*[7] *hati praviśati*.

Annotations in B₂. °*adbhutekṣaṇa°*] *alaukikadar*[ś] *ana lajjayā* on upper margin in [117v].

15.2.9 Commentary ad ŚKC 15.22

*রোমাঁচাকাঁচুকাতানুত্রাভ্রতো যায়ুস তে
শ্রঁংগারিণাং‌ সুরাতাসাং‌রারাবীরাগোঁধিম |
যেঁসাম্‌ সামাং‌ শিতারাসমারাকাঁচাপাত্রািস*

cakre padaṃ hr̥di vadhūkucamaṇḍalāgraiḥ || ŚKC 15.22 ||

Commentary in the editions. *maṇḍalāgrai rāgopapurobhāgaiḥ* (?).

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [182v10] *maṇḍalāgrai rāpopopurobhāgaiḥ*.

L₂: [109v8] *maṇḍalāgrair ābhogapurobhāgaiḥ*.

P₄: [135v5] *maṇḍalāgrai rāgopapurobhāgaiḥ*.

Annotations in B₂. °*saṅgara*°] *saṅgrāmaḥ* on left margin in [127r]. °*kaṅkapattraiḥ*] *bāṇau* on left margin in [127r].

15.2.10 Commentary ad ŚKC 16.10

*ciram acinuta svarlokaḥ trīvisāritakausuma-
prakarakaṇṭhīm tārācakram yad ambarakuṭṭime |
sapadi samadāyānaklāmyatpataṅgaturaṅgama-
śvasitapavanāsaṅgeneva svadāttadapāsyate* || ŚKC 16.10 ||

Commentary in the editions. *āyānam aśvātamba* (?) *ity kecit*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [205r10] *ayānam aśvādamba*.

L₂: [115r8] *āyānam aśvādamba*.

P₄: [141v7] *āyānam aśvātamba*

Annotations in B₂. *āyāna*°] *gamana* in line in [113v3].

15.2.11 Commentary ad ŚKC 16.13

*paśyārāḍhumayaṃ tviṣāṃ parivṛḍhaḥ pūrvor varībhṛcchikhāṃ
prastautyaprativastuvegasuhr̥dam prasbandayan syandanam |
yasyottuṅgarathāṅgasadgavigaldrāvāgrasamghaṭṭajam
śrutveva svanitaṃ javena nalinīkhaṇḍo 'yam udbudhyate* || ŚKC 16.13 ||

Commentary in the editions. *viga(da)laṃś cūrṇībhavanyo* .

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [206r3] *vigalaṃś cūrṇībhavanyo*.

L₂: [114v7] *vigalaṃś cūrṇībhavanyo*.

P₄: [142r7] *vigalaṃś cūrṇībhavanyo*.

Annotations in B₂. *parivr̥dhaḥ*[°]] *sūryaḥ* on right margin in [114r]. *pūrvair]* *udayāṃcalā* [illegible] *rā* [illegible] *kharām* on upper right margin in [114r]. *prastautya*[°]] *vayuvegaṃ* on left margin in [114r]. *°prativastu*[°]] *prāpto* 'ti on upper margin in [114r].

15.2.12 Commentary ad ŚKC 16.35

*yah prollaṅgayati sma tārakabhuvam svarvāhinī nirgama-
proccaṅḍena nirargalena ca raṅollāsena śaktyekabhūḥ |
ārūdhah sa bhujāṅgavairiṇam ayaṃ tvad dvāri pāriplavaḥ
sevāvāptidhiyā sthitim vivṛṇute skando mukundo yathā || ŚKC 16.35 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *prolla(dala)ṅghayat*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [211r4] *pradollaṅghayat*.

L₂: [117v8] *pro[9]dallaṅghayat*.

P₄: [146r2] *prollaṅghayat*.

Annotations in B₂. *tārakabhuvam]* *ākā(m)śam daityabhūmiṃ ca* on lower margin in [137v]. *°vāhinīnirgama*[°]] *vegasadr̥śena 1* on lower margin in [137v]. *bhujāṅgavairiṇam*[°]] *garuḍam mayūram* on upper margin in [138r]. *pāriplavaḥ]* *avanatas cchitaḥ* on upper right margin in [138v]. *skando] kārtikeya(kat)vat* on upper margin in [138r].

15.2.13 Commentary ad ŚKC 16.48

*ito rudrāḥ paśya trinayana bhavantaṃ samam amī
namasyanti kṣonītalavalanapāriplavajaṭāḥ |
haṭhanyañcajjūṭas khalitaśaśilekhāsu vadanam
vidher haṃsā yeṣāṃ nidadhāti mṛṇālāṅkur adhiyā || ŚKC 16.48 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *namas tapo(namo) varivaś citraṅḥ kyac*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: missing folios (from comm. ŚKC 16.45 to comm. ŚKC 16.59).

L₂: [119v4] *namas tapo varivaś citraṇaḥ kyac.*

P₄: [148r9] *namas tapo varivaś citraṇaḥ kyac.*

Annotations in B₂. °*pariplavajaṭāḥ*] *avanatā* on lower margin in [140r].

15.2.14 Commentary ad ŚKC 17.5

*bibhrāṇo vapur ahimāli luptatāpaṃ
pratyuptām akhilagaṇair divādisārām |
āścaryaṃ caritam udañcayan na pūrvām
śarvāṇī dayitatamaḥ sabhām avāpat || ŚKC 17.5 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *yac ca divaśabdo samāno 'sti (?) tan na tathā matam.*

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [214v11] *yaś ca divaśabdocchasamāno 'sti iti ta na tathā matam.*

L₂: [121v8] *yaś ca divaśabdocchasamāno 'sti iti ta na tathā matam.*

P₄: [151r3] *yaś ca divaśabdocchasamāno 'sti iti ta na tathā matam.*

Annotations in B₂. °*vapur*] *sarvābharaṇam* on right in [143r]. *pratyupta°* *vyāptām* in line in [143r]. *divādisārām*] *svargādisaptate kādapi vilada*[piece missing] *ṇām ity arthaḥ* on right margin in [143r].

15.2.15 Commentary ad ŚKC 18.2

*te kṣibhruvabhramikarālatarālikāgra-
mājagnire karatalair ghanamaṃsakūṭam |
yatsambhrameṇa vidalatkanakormikottham
cakre rajaḥ pṛthuvilocanakūṇitāni || ŚKC 18.2||*

Commentary in the editions. *tad uktaṃ trilocanapaṅkti(ṇji)kāyām.*

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [224v9] *tad uktaṃ trilocanapaṅktikāyā.*

L₂: [128r1] *tad uktaṃ trilocanapaṅktikāyām.*

P₄: [159r3] *tad uktaṃ trilocanapaṅktikāyā.*

Annotations in B₂. °kanakormika°] ābharaṇaviśaprāṇi on upper margin in [152v]. °vilocanakūṇitāni] āktanetrāntāni saṃkocitāni on left margin in [152v].

15.2.16 Commentary ad ŚKC 18.3

*prātham yataḥ pramathavīrajanaḥ sakopa-
niṣpiṣyamāṇavividhābharaṇāgracūrṇaiḥ |
uddāmadānavajanasya purandhridrṣṭer
āsruprathārtham iva dhūlibharaṃ puṣa || ŚKC 18.3 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *sakopaṃ kṛtvā niṣpiṣyamānānām vividhānām ābharaṇānām agracūrṇaiḥ sakalaloko (?)*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [224v11] *sakopaṃ[12]kṛtvā niṣpiṣyamānānām vidhinām ābharaṇānām ma-
gracūrṇais sakala(mṇa loko)*.

L₂: [128r2] *sakopaṃ kṛtvā niṣpiṣyamānānām vividhānām ābharaṇānām agracūrṇaiḥ
sagaṇaloko*.

P₄: [159r3] *sakopaṃ kṛtvā niṣpiṣyamānānām vividhānām ābharaṇānam agracūrṇaiḥ
sakalaloko*.

Annotations in B₂. °prāthamyataḥ] *prathamataḥ* on upper margin in [152v]. °āsruprathārtham] *āsrupravṛty[illegible]thaṃ* on right margin in [152v].

15.2.17 Commentary ad ŚKC 18.28

*dhārājalahnadapathābhinavaprārūḍha-
raktotpalavyatikar eva kṛpāṇalekhā |
kenāpy amantharam aracyata mucyamāna-
roṣāruṇāruṇanirāṅkuśadrṣṭipātaiḥ || ŚKC 18.28 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *kenāpi khaṅgalekhā dhārājalam agni(?)gatas-
nigdhaprabhāviśeṣas*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [229r3] *kenāpi khaṅgalekhā rājajalam agnigatasnigdhaprabhāviśeṣaḥ*.

L₂: [130r4] *kenāpi [5] khaṅgalekhā dhārājalam āsrīgatasnigdhaprabhāviśeṣaḥ*.

P₄: [162r6] *kenāpi khaṅgalekhā dhārājalam agnigatasnigdhaprabhāviśeṣaḥ*.

Annotations in B₂. °*amantharam*°] *satvaram* on right margin in [155r].

15.2.18 Commentary ad ŚKC 18.53

*autsukyato vivṛtaśaityavipakṣakhaḍga-
dhārājāplutiṣu rūkṣavaconubandhi |
tat tadvikāraviśarārutayā puras tāt
kasyāpi vaktram atanotpavanaprakopam || ŚKC 18.53 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *dhārājaleṣv āplutayas tāsṽ autsukyato 'tise-
vanāttais tair vikārair aṅgacchalā(?)dibhir.*

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [233r10] *dhārājaleṣv āplutayaḥ tāsṽ ātsukyato 'tisa[11]vānāttais tair vikārair
aṅgacchalādibhir.*

L₂: [v3] *dhārājaleṣv āplutayaḥ [4] tāsṽ autsukhyato 'tisevānāttair tair vikārair aṅ-
gaśūlādibhir.*

P₄: [165v2] *dhārājaleṣv āplutayaḥ tāsṽ au[3]tsukyato 'tisevānāttais tair vikārair
aṅgacchalādibhir.*

Annotations in B₂. °*viśara*°] *prasara* on lower margin in [159v]. *pavanaprakopam*
vayujanitavaktratām on lower margin in [159v].

15.2.19 Commentary ad ŚKC 19.46

*teṣāṃ pramodasuhṛdāṃ dyusadāṃ tadānīm
ānītadhair yam adhigamya vacaḥ purāreḥ |
vaktram maho muhur avāpnuvad anyad eva
nirmuktavaiśasamayavag ivābabhāse || ŚKC 19.46 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *harikañcukanyāyena* (?).

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [241r1] *harikañcakanyāyena.*

L₂: [137r6] *phañikañcukanyāyena.*

P₄: [171r9] *harikañcukanyāyena.*

Annotations in B₂. *purāreḥ] smarāreḥ iti pāṭhaḥ* on upper left margin in [165v]. °*vimuktavaiśasamayavag°] duḥkhamayatvak* on upper right margin in [165v].

15.2.20 Commentary ad ŚKC 20.25

*niratya yaḥ satyataporthakarmamayaiḥ svayaṃ raśimabhir ābabhāse |
sa vipralambhavratalopahānikausīdyakṛt tad dviṣatāṃ babhūva || ŚKC 20.25 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *karmodyanṛtā (?)*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [249v9] *karmodyant(bu)tā*.

L₂: [142r6] *karmodyanṛtā*.

P₄: [177v6] *karmodyanṛtā*.

Annotations in B₂. *niratyyas] kālaḥ* on right margin in [171v].

15.2.21 Commentary ad ŚKC 21.53

*itthaṃ sainye dharitrīdharavaraduhitrprāṇanāthasya tasmin
nāsanne dānavānāṃ puri paricitatāmāsasāda prasādaḥ |
yenākāṇḍaparakampākulitatanulatāḥ paurapāriplavākṣyas
trāsenevopabhuktā dadur adhikatarasvedaromāñcacarcām || ŚKC 21.53 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *gaurīpateḥ kaṭake evaṃ nikaṭaṃ prāpte sati
prasādo 'bhāvaḥ (?) paricayaṃ prāpat*.

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [265r11] *gaurīpataḥ kaṭake eva nikaṭaṃ prāpte sati purāṇāṃ nagare prasādaḥ
abhāvaḥ pari[12]cayaṃ prāpat*.

L₂: [150r8] *gaurīpateḥ kaṭake evaṃ nikaṭaṃ prāpte sati purāṇāṃ nagare prasā-
daḥ abhāvaḥ paricayaṃ prāpat*.

P₄: [188v3] *gaurīpateḥ kaṭake evaṃ nikaṭaṃ prāpte sati purāṇāṃ nagare prasā-
daḥ abhāvaḥ paricayaṃ prāpat*.

Annotations in B₂. *yena] aprasādena* in line in [184r]. *paurapāriplava°] puras-
triya(h)* on left margin in [184r].

15.2.22 Commentary ad ŚKC 24.31

*bhaṅgir lebhe caturamarutā dikṣu vistāryamāṅair
gīrvāṅaripravaravapuṣām unmiṣadbhūtilekheśaiḥ |
tat tat kallolitarajagadviplavātāṅkaśāṅkā-
saṅkocotkatribhuvanagurukṣipyamāṅākṣatānām || ŚKC 24.31 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *te te kallolitarāḥ ullāsitapūrvā ye vīplavā
ulkābādhavyasanāni (?) teṣāṃ.*

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [298r11] *te te kallolitarāḥ tallāsitapūrvā ye vīplavāḥ ulkābādhavyasanā[12]ni
teṣāṃ.*

L₂: [162v6] *te te kallolitarā ullāsitapūrvā ye vīpla[7]vāḥ ulkāvyādhavyasanāni
teṣāṃ.*

P₄: [206r6] *te te kalloli[7]tācarāḥ ullāsitapūrvā ye vīplavāḥ ulkābādhavyasanāni
teṣāṃ.*

Annotations in B₂. *bhaṅgir*] *racanā* on lower margin in [213v]. °*bhūtileśaiḥ*] *bhasmalekhāvābhiḥ* on upper margin in [214r]. °*utka°*] (*vid*)*kilam* on upper margin in [214r].

15.2.23 Commentary ad ŚKC 25.66

*taṃ śrītrailokyam ālokya gaṅyaṃ satkarmināṃ dhuri |
yayau muhur adhijyasya karmukasya sadharmatām || ŚKC 25.66 ||*

Commentary in the editions. *anyathā vivaraṇatvābhāvaprasaṅgāt | satkar-
miṅāṃ sadā cārāṅāṃ.*

Commentary in the manuscripts.

J₂: [310r10] [...] *athā vivaraṇatvābhāvaprasaṅgat sakadam kaṅāṃ saca[11]rāṅāṃ.*

L₂: [171r6] *anyathā vivaraṇatvābhāvaprasaṅgāt sakarmakāṅāṃ sadā carāṅāṃ.*

P₄: [214v6] *anyathā vivaraṇatvābhāvaprasaṅgāt satka[7]rmakāṅāṃ sadā cārāṅāṃ.*

15.2.24 Jonarāja's final verses after comm. ad ŚKC 25.152

Verse in the editions. *yatnam atipraṭiṣṭhaḥ* (?)

Verse in the manuscripts.

J₂: [329v1] *pannas atipraṭi[2]ṣṭhaḥ*.

L₂: [176v8] *sannam atipraṭiṣṭhaḥ*.

P₄: [222v9] *yatnam atipraṭiṣṭhaḥ*.

Chapter 16

Conclusions

16.1 Evaluation of the manuscripts

My exploratory edition is still in an embryonic state, and a *stemma codicum* of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* manuscripts collected so far is not yet possible. Therefore, I limit my remarks on general observations on the state of the witnesses and their peculiarities, as emerged from (1) the preliminary survey, (2) the complete critical edition of the fourth and sixth cantos, and (3) the partial edition of cantos six and seventeen.

Among the witnesses containing the *mūla* text, we can safely state that the two manuscripts preserved at the Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute in Jammu, namely J₁ and J₂, in paper and Devanāgarī script, are the worst in terms of quality: *anusvāras* and *visargas* are oftentimes omitted or inserted twice, groups of consonants that should present geminations are frequently not geminated, at times the same syllables are repeated, and the like.

The three manuscripts in codex format, birch bark and Śāradā script are most likely the oldest: P₃, preserved at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune and containing the *mūla* text; Ś₅, preserved at the Oriental Research Library in Śrīnagar and containing the *mūla* text; O, preserved at the Bodleian Library and containing both *mūla* text and commentary.

Among these three, I could not consult Ms. O in its entirety, which I plan to do in my future research. I can only speculate on the fact that Ms. P₃ might be the oldest manuscript employed by Durgaprasad and Parab in their *editio princeps*, as it belongs to the same group of manuscripts brought by Georg Bühler from Kashmir to Pune in the late 1880s. Manuscript Ś₅, on the other hand, seems to have remained in Kashmir all along. I believe that Ms. Ś₅ requires a more attentive study, since it contains a long unedited colophon which could shed light not only on the dating of the codex itself, but also on scribal practices.

Among the manuscripts containing Jonarāja’s commentary, manuscript L₂, coming from the collection of the Gaiwakar of Baroda, is, together with Ms. O, the most precise when it comes to edit Jonarāja’s commentary (see below), together with Ms. O.

Manuscript B₂, on the other hand, contains not only what seems to be the most accurate *mūla* text, but also valuable marginal and in-line annotations added by a second scribe, which are extremely useful in case of missing commentary or uncertain readings. One of the best examples is the case of missing commentary to the five verses ŚKC 17.29–33, for which B₂ not only provides interesting insights on the meaning of the verses, but also on word-divisions and intonation in case of rhetorical questions (see § 14.5).

16.2 Remarks on the edition of the *mūla* text

First and foremost, it can be safely argued that an *akṣara-by-akṣara* consultation of the witnesses is not necessary for the comprehension of the *mūla* text of the four cantos treated above, given the already good printed edition published by Durgaprasad and Parab. In my exploratory critical edition, the most significant corrections made on the *mūla* text of the *Kāvyaṃālā* (see § 14.6) are only a few, and some mistakes contained in the *editio princeps* could have been avoided by simply consulting Jonarāja’s commentary.

In ŚKC 4.2, for instance, one can see that the masculine instrumental singular *rāśinā* is preferred to the plural *rāśibhiḥ*, in accordance with all the witnesses. The reading *rāśinā* improves both the meaning of the verse—mountain Kailāsa is “a heap of moons”, and not “heaps of moons”—and maintains the alliteration (*anuprāsa*) with the following *śāśinām*. An emendation, however, could have been proposed by reading the commentary of Jonarāja, who uses the masculine accusative singular *candrarāsim* in his explanation of the verse.

The same can be observed for verse ŚKC 4.32, in which the genitive singular *kṣiteḥ* is preferred to the locative singular *kṣitau* in accordance with the manuscripts, but could have been emended by consulting Jonarāja, who comments the word with the genitive singular *bhūmeḥ*.

In ŚKC 5.3, *vanamālayaiva* (i.e. *vanamālayā° + °eva*), and not *vanamālayeva* (i.e. *vanamālaya° + °iva*) can be seen in Jonarāja’s *eva vanamālayā*, while in ŚKC 5.48, the nominative singular *°ākulaḥ* (and not the instrumental plural *°ākulaiḥ*) appears twice in the commentary (*hāreṇākulaḥ* and *karaṇaviśeṣaiś cākulaḥ*).

In ŚKC 6.44, the wrong reading *°dakṣaḥ* can be replaced with the instrumental plural *°dakṣaiḥ* coordinated with *pavanair* as suggested by Jonarāja’s *dakṣair*

marudbhiḥ.

In addition, other types of minor errors encountered in the printed editions do not require manuscript consultation and can be treated as simple typos: the wrong transcription of the sibilant palatal /ś/ with the sibilant dental /s/ in ŚKC 5.10 (wrong *sikara* for *śikara*) and ŚKC 6.22 (wrong *kosāḥ* for *kośāḥ*); long vowel in the place of short vowel and vice versa in ŚKC 5.2 (wrong *ālī* for *āli*), ŚKC 17.58 (wrong *prakāraiḥ* for *prākāraiḥ*) and ŚKC 17.61 (wrong *ayatnāt* for *ayāt-nāt*); wrong insertion of consonant /n/ in ŚKC 5.54 (*andrīnda* instead of *adrīndra*).

On the contrary, the consultation of the witnesses is advised whenever Jonarāja ventures a variant, for instance in ŚKC 4.53, where the °*taṭaraṭad*° proposed by Jonarāja is actually attested in some of the witnesses.

The manuscripts are also useful whenever the meaning of the verse is unclear, as they help in the correct interpretation of the verse. This is the case of ŚKC 5.23, in which the ablative *atipātāt* (“because of the transgression”) is a wrong reading for *atitāpāt* (“because of the intense affliction”), which fits the context of a young man—Śiva’s inflamed eye—who embraces the women of the directions and provokes intense jealousy in another man—the already burning Kāma.

In ŚKC 5.46 we find another case in which the manuscripts help in the detection of a *lectio difficilior* in *āviraḥbhavad*, the third person singular of the aorist of *āvira*+√*bhū*, and not, as in the Eds., the wrong reading *āviraḥbhavad*, which, as stated earlier, can be justified by the confusion between /b/ and /v/ in Devanāgarī manuscripts (see § 14.1.2).

Two are the most obvious instances that show the necessity to consult the witnesses in order to clarify the meaning of a verse in the absence of Jonarāja’s commentary: in ŚKC 17.30, one can find the correct reading *niyogam* (“duty”) for the wrong *viyogam* (“separation”), while in ŚKC 17.33, the locative *vaktre* (“in the mouth”) is a wrong reading for *cakre* (“as per the disk”).

In conclusion, a philological work on Mañkha’s *mūla* text is desirable insofar as the time-consuming process of collating the manuscripts is aimed at improving the text, rather than at the mere making of a critical edition for the sake of publishing a critical edition.

16.3 Missing commentary

The critical edition of Jonarāja’s commentary deserves a separate discussion. The preliminary study of the missing passages in the commentary demonstrates that the text in the *Kāvyaṃālā* editions can be improved through the consultation of the witnesses.

If we take a closer look at the correspondent passages in the witnesses belonging to group 2 and 3 (i.e. those of both *mūla* text and commentary, and of the commentary alone), namely J₂, L₂, O, P₄, Ś₃, and Ś₄(10) we are presented with three scenarios.

In the first case, the editors postulate some lacunae that are not marked in the manuscripts, and which can be attributed either to a common defective exemplar or to the fact that Jonarāja did not write that part of commentary at all.

This can be seen in the commentary to ŚKC 17.29–33 (see § 15.1.3), ŚKC 17.39 (see § 15.1.4), ŚKC 20.28 (see § 15.1.5), ŚKC 20.45 (see § 15.1.6), ŚKC 22.26–27 (see § 15.1.7), ŚKC 22.41 (see § 15.1.8), for which J₂, L₂, and P₄ coincide with the editions and do not present any commentary.

In the second scenario, the lacunae do exist, and the missing commentary can be found in the manuscripts. This is the case of the second part of Jonarāja’s commentary to ŚKC 11.2, which is contained in L₂ (see § 15.1.2) and of the large missing section in the commentary to ŚKC 25.74, which can be found, again, in L₂ (see § 15.1.9).

In the third case, the lacuna is not marked by the editors, who, however, notice an awkwardness in the passage and mark it with a question mark in parentheses. This can be seen in the commentary to ŚKC 21.53, which I place in the chapter “Uncertain Readings” but can be considered a case of missing commentary. All the manuscripts consulted (J₂, L₂, and P₄), in fact, insert few extra words that are not present in the editions (see § 15.2.21).

16.4 Uncertain readings

As far as the uncertain readings are concerned, we notice that manuscript L₂ is the one containing the most significant variants, and can be set as the benchmark for an improved future edition of Jonarāja’s commentary, together with Ms. O.

In the commentary to ŚKC 1.44, for instance, we see that the editions’ *dhakṣyamāṇatvāt* is nothing other than a typo for *dakṣyamāṇatvāt* (i.e. the ablative of the abstract substantive derived from the passive participle of the verb √*dakṣ*), as confirmed by Ms. L₂ and Ms. J₂ (see § 15.2.1).

Manuscript L₂ is useful in four other cases. In the commentary to ŚKC 15.22, the variant *ābhogapurobhāgaiḥ* differs from the editions’ uncertain reading *rāgopapurobhāgaiḥ* (see § 15.2.9). In the commentary to ŚKC 18.3, the compound *prathamavīrajanah*, explained in the editions with the uncertain reading *sakalaloko*, is correctly interpreted as *sagaṇaloko* in L₂ (see § 15.2.16). In the commentary to ŚKC 18.53, L₂ differs from the editions’ reading (*aṅgacchalādibhiḥ*) and contains *aṅgaśūlādibhir* (see § 15.2.18), while in ŚKC 19.46 it contains the com-

pound *phaṇikañcukanyāyena* as opposed to the editions' uncertain compound *harikañcukanyāyena* (see § 15.2.19).

The variants proposed in L₂, however, are not always correct. In ŚKC 6.17 (see § 15.2.4), for instance, the insertion of the syllable (*nta*) in the third *pāda* (°*mānatamo 'nka(nta)kāraṃ*) makes the verse immetrical, as the Indravajrā metre would not be respected. None of the manuscripts suggest that an extra syllable should be inserted, except for P₄. In this manuscript, however, the syllable [ta] is written above the *pāda* only as a possible replacement of the syllable [ka] (°*mānatamo 'nkakāraṃ => °mānatamo 'ntakāraṃ*), and not as an insertion. Moreover, Jonarāja's commentary in P₄ contains °*mānatamo 'nkakāraṃ*, as opposed to the wrong reading °*mānatamaso 'nkakāraṃ* contained in the editions, in J₂, and in L₂.

16.5 Further avenues of research

The present study proposes a preliminary survey of the manuscripts of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, so far never collected or described. The critical edition is that of the four cantos I have treated in my translations, and is accompanied by a diplomatic transcription of the marginal annotations contained Ms. B₂. All the passages of Jonarāja's commentary marked as missing or uncertain by the editors of the *Kāvyamālā* edition are here separately, in a dedicated chapter.

Nonetheless, there is still a great deal of work to be done with the manuscripts of the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* and its commentary.

The first step for future research will be an in-depth study of the manuscripts that are omitted, whether completely or partly, from this edition. As stated earlier, I could not study the complete manuscript preserved at the Bodleian Libraries in Oxford (Ms. O), which deserves a firsthand consultation as it might solve some inconsistencies, especially in Jonarāja's commentary.

Three manuscripts still need to be traced and studied, namely those belonging to the Banaras Hindu University in Varanasi (BHU 6553 and BHU 6554, see § 13.5) and the one identified as belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (RASB 1632, see § 13.5). I unsuccessfully contacted the two holding institutions, and other attempts should be made in order to have a clear picture of all the available manuscripts.

A second objective shall focus on the dating, however approximate, of the manuscripts, and the creation of a *stemma codicum*. This will allow not only to reconstruct the relationship between the witnesses, but also to understand the history of their diffusion and to streamline the study of Mañkha's court poem.

A deeper scrutiny of the marginal annotations in the manuscript preserved

in Baroda (Ms. B₂) is also required, alongside with the emendations of all the glosses in case of uncertain readings.

Finally, I intend to edit and study the long unedited colophon that closes one of the manuscripts of the Oriental Research Library in Śrīnagar (Ms. Ś₅), which I managed to consult only at the National Mission for Manuscripts in Delhi.

Chapter 17

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