A Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* Dated 1456 CE from Eastern India[*]

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In the year 2015, I established the date recorded in the colophon of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* manuscript dealt with in this paper as Wednesday, October 27, 1456 CE (Hori 2015: 1326), using a photo of the colophon reproduced by Moti Chandra (1971: fig. 405). Because the photo is not very clear and parts of the colophon are damaged or illegible, further efforts were necessary to investigate the original. Fortunately, I located the manuscript and had the opportunity to look at the original in Mumbai in January 2019. The purpose of this paper is to describe the Sanskrit manuscript from a codicological perspective and to examine the colophon, based upon the investigation of the original.

Present location
The manuscript formerly belonged to the private collection of Haridas Swali, Bombay,[1] and now belongs to the Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya,[2] Mumbai (hereafter CSMVS).

Format
In CSMVS two wooden covers[3] and only 7 folios (accession number: 2004.1/2 A–G; hereafter folio A–G) are preserved. Since the last folio with a colophon has the folio number 78, it can be assumed that the original manuscript consists of 78 folios except for folio F without text of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*. The location of the remaining folios is unknown. The writing support of the folios is leaves of talipot palm (*Corypha umbraculifera* L.).[4] The folios measure 53 mm long by 300 mm wide at maximum (folio 78: 48 × 300 mm). Each side has 5 lines of text, except for the blank *recto* of the first folio and folio F. Two string holes are bored and interrupt all the 5 lines of text on the illuminated sides or lines 2–4 on the not illuminated sides. Two thick vertical lines border the margins, the area

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[*] I am indebted to Prof. Dr. Florin Deleanu for revising my English text. This work was supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 19K00066.

[1] Chandra (1971: 241), Sarasvatī (1978: 54), Weissenborn (2012: 311). Pal calls it "the collection of Mr. and Mrs. H. K. Swali of Bombay" (1966: 267) or "the Swali collection, Bombay" (Pal & Meech-Pekarik: 1988, 75).

[2] The museum was called the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India from its foundation in 1905 until 2001 (Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya 2014: 9–10).

[3] Accession number: 2004.1/1 a, 2004.1/1 b. On one side of the two wooden covers, illustrations are drawn. Chandra (1971) reproduces the illuminated sides and the illustrations (figs. 407–413), adding descriptions for each illustration (241–242).

[4] For physical characteristics of manuscripts made from leaves of talipot palm, see Hoernle (1901: 94–97).

around the string holes, and the illustrations of the illuminated sides.

The illustrations are drawn in the centre of folios 1v, 2r, 76v, 77r, and the *recto* of folio A, and interrupt the text. The illustrations on 2r, 77r, and the *recto* of folio A are drawn upside down to the text.[5] Pal reproduces one side of three folios, 1v, 76v, and 77r (1966: fig. 1) and describes the illustrations (1966: 267). Folio F includes three illustrations on one side and no text of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*.

Folio numbers are written on the right-hand margin of the *verso* in figures. The last folio has its folio number 78 on both sides. Because the right part of folio A is lost, its folio number is unknown. However, the corresponding passage of the *recto* indicates that the folio belongs to the beginning of the second part (*dvitīya nirvyūha*), i.e., the middle of the whole text. It is presumed that the *verso* of the folio preceding folio A includes an illustration and the text from the end of the first part (*prathama nirvyūha*). The left part of folio B is lost. Since the *verso* of folio B is unavailable due to the state of conservation, its folio number is unknown. However, the folio must be the second one because of the continuation of text from folio 1v.

Contents of the folios

Table 1 shows corresponding passages in the editions of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*.

1: Accession number; 2: Folio number; 3: *recto* or *verso*; 4: Illustration.

S: Satyavrata Sāmaśrami Bhaṭṭācāryya's edition; V: P. L. Vaidya's edition; B: Buddhadev Bhattacharya's edition; M: Adelheid Mette's edition.

Table 1

1	2	3	4	S	V	B	
2004.1/2 E	1	r					blank
		v	□	1.1–10	258.3–11	41.5–14	
2004.1/2 B	2	r	□	1.11–18	258.11–15	41.14–19	
		v					unavailable
2004.1/2 A		r	□	51.17–52.1	284.12–17	85.15–20	M 48.21–25, 49.25–36
		v					unavailable
2004.1/2 D	76	r		97.4–19	307.23–308.1	115.23–116.5	
		v	□	97.19–98.5	308.1–8	116.5–12	
2004.1/2 C	77	r	□	98.5–15	308.8–15	116.12–.20	
		v		98.16–99.8	308.15–26	116.20–117.4	
2004.1/2 G	78	r		99.8–14	308.26–31	117.4–9	colophon
		v					*Raghuvaṃśa* 2.1[6]

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[5] For illustrations placed in the direction opposite to the text in illuminated Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts, see Kim (2013: 179–184, 200–207).

[6] On 78v reproduced by Chandra (1971: fig. 406), Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* 2.1 (Goodall & Isaacson 2003: 41.3–4) is written in larger ductus clearly different from the hand of the original scribe.

2004.1/2 F		a	□				
		b					

The first two folios 1 and 2, the last three folios 76, 77, and 78, as well as a folio around the middle of the whole text (folio A), are preserved.

Script
The manuscript is written in Old Bengali script.[7] Parts of the text are overwritten in thick black ink.[8] While some *akṣara*s are traced in the original script, others are overwritten in Nepalese script.[9] It can be assumed that the overwritten parts were traced for restoration later in Nepal (cf. Hori 2019: 50n6).

Colophon
Chandra (1971: 241) transcribes the colophon in Devanāgarī, and Sarasvatī (1978: 54) transcribes it in Bengali script. However, their transcriptions contain many misreadings. Based upon the investigation of the original in CSMVS, I transliterate folio 78r (2004.1/2 G; see Plate 1) including the colophon as follows:

r1   ca bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ sā ca sarvāvatī parṣat=sadevamānuṣāsuragaruḍa-gandharvaś=ca loko bhagavato bhāṣitam=abhyananda‹nni›ti ǁ āryakāraṇḍavyūhanāma-mahāyānasūtraratnarājaḥ samāptaḥ ǁ ※ ǁ ye dharmā

r2   hetuprabhavā hetuṃ teṣāṃ tathāgato hy=avadat* | te ○ ṣāñ=ca yo nirodha evaṃvādī mahāśramaṇaḥ ǁ deyadharmo 'yaṃ ○ pravaramahāyānayāyin[ā para]mo ǁ ※ ǁ pāsaka

r3   karaṇikakāyasthaśrī«pīrokasya vadhūśrī ○ vāsu[kāsyāḥ]» kāraṇḍavyūhamahāyāna-sūtraratnarāje li ; ○ khyāpite yad=atra puṇyaṃ ta[d=bha]vatv=ācā   ryopā

r4   dhyāyamātāpitṛpūrvaṅgamaṃ kṛtvā [sa]kalasattvarāśe ○ r=anuttarajñānaphala-prāptaya iti ǁ saṃ[10] 1512 kārttikabadi ○ 13 budhe | coindigrāmāvas[th]itaiḥ karaṇika-kāya

r5   sthaśrībhāskaradattair=likhiteyam=iti ǁ   ǁ

Donor
The donation formula includes several titles and personal names.

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[7] For the term "Old Bengali script," see Dimitrov (2002: 29).

[8] See Pal (1966: fig. 1, top) = 2004.1/2 E, folio 1v.

[9] One of the marked differences between Old Bengali and Nepalese script is an element common to the vowel signs for -*e*, -*ai*, -*o*, -*au*. While the element is placed on the left of a consonant in (Old) Bengali script (*pṛṣṭhamātrā*), it is represented as a wavy line above a consonant in Nepalese script.

[10] I had transliterated this *akṣara* as *sa°*, regarding it as *sa* plus a sign for abbreviation (Hori 2015: 1326, 1327; cf. Einicke 2009: 68–69, 274). However, this *akṣara* should be regarded as *sa* plus *anunāsika* (*candrabindu*), because the sign like a backslash with a small circle on the right of *sa* can be found also in the *akṣara* *oṁ* (see Hori 2018: 59, Plate 5, line 1).

r2–3   *deyadharmo 'yaṃ ○ pravaramahāyānayāyin[ā para]mo || ※ ||*
pāsaka(r3)*karaṇikakāyasthaśrī«pīrokasya vadhūśrī ○ vāsu[kāsyāḥ]»*

"This is the pious gift «of *śrī* Vāsukā/Vāsukāsī,[11] the bride of» *śrī* «Pīroka», the follower of the excellent Mahāyāna, the best layman, the administrative scribe."

The part *«pīrokasya vadhūśrīvāsu[kāsyāḥ]»* is overwritten in larger ductus clearly different from the hand of the original scribe (see Plate 1).[12] Although the original personal name is illegible, it would be possible to decipher the original text, using infrared photography (Hori 2019: 49n3). Personal names ending in *-oka-* such as Pīroka are often found in colophons written in Eastern India.[13] The original donor held the titles *pravaramahāyānayāyin-*, *paramopāsaka-*, and *karaṇikakāyastha-*. The first two titles show that the original donor (and perhaps also Pīroka) was a lay follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism. He was an administrative scribe (*karaṇikakāyastha-*). The scribe of this manuscript also held the same title *karaṇikakāyastha-*.[14]

Date

Line r4 records the year, the lunar month, the lunar fortnight (*pakṣa*), the lunar day (*tithi*), and the day of the week.

r4   *saṁ 1512 kārttikabadi ○ 13 budhe |*

"in the year 1512, in the dark fortnight of Kārttika, on the 13th [*tithi*], on Wednesday" "1512" is most likely a year in the Vikrama era. If the Vikrama year 1512 is taken as an expired (*atīta*, *gata*) year beginning with the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika (*kārttikādi*) and the month as ending with the full moon (*pūrṇimānta*), the date of the manuscript can be determined as Wednesday, October 27, 1456 CE, using the computer program *pañcāṅga* developed by Michio Yano and Makoto Fushimi and based upon the *Sūryasiddhānta*.[15]

   Since no *saṃkrānti* took place between the new moon on September 30 and the next new moon on October 29, 1456 CE, October 27 fell in an intercalary period. Table 2 shows the time of the new or full moon, or the *saṃkrānti*, in the local mean time at 85.7°E calculated with the *pañcāṅga*, and the month names in the *amānta* and two *pūrṇimānta* schemes between the middle of August and November, 1456 CE. The scribe must have used the calendar in the scheme *pūrṇimānta* 2 in the table, in which the intercalary Kārttika (Adhika-Kārttika) preceded not the bright fortnight (*śuklapakṣa*) of Kārttika, but the dark fortnight (*kṛṣṇapakṣa*) of *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika.[16]

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[11] The reading *[kāsyāḥ]* is uncertain und tentative.

[12] It can be presumed that this part was overwritten not in Nepal, but in Eastern India, because the script is Old Bengali script.

[13] Hori (2019: 49n4), Allinger & Melzer (2010: 410–411).

[14] For this title, cf. Sircar (1965: 84) and (1966: 146, "*Karaṇa-kāyastha*," "*Karaṇika*").

[15] For this computer program and the traditional Indian calendar, see Yano (2007).

[16] This calendar corresponds to "*Pūrṇimānta lunar months*; *By another system*; 5" in the table in Sewell & Dikshit (1896: 26). Cf. Sewell & Dikshit (1896: 30, 31, §51) and Yano (2007: 68).

Table 2

Time of the new or full moon or the *saṃkrānti* at 25.5°N, 85.7°E		*amānta*	*pūrṇimānta* 1	*pūrṇimānta* 2
Aug. 16, 3h 25m	full moon	Bhādrapada	Āśvina	Āśvina
Aug. 30, 12h 41m	*kanyā-saṃkrānti*	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*
Aug. 31, 10h 4m	new moon	Āśvina	Āśvina	Āśvina
		śuklapakṣa	*śuklapakṣa*	*śuklapakṣa*
Sep. 14, 12h 2m	full moon	Āśvina	Kārttika	Adhika-Kārttika
Sep. 29, 23h 16m	*tulā-saṃkrānti*	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*
Sep. 30, 0h 50m	**new moon**	Adhika-Kārttika	Adhika-Kārttika	Adhika-Kārttika
		śuklapakṣa	*śuklapakṣa*	*śuklapakṣa*
Oct. 13, 23h 39m	full moon	Adhika-Kārttika	Adhika-Kārttika	**Kārttika**
		kṛṣṇapakṣa	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*	**kṛṣṇapakṣa**
Oct. 29, 14h 16m	**new moon**[17]	Kārttika	Kārttika	Kārttika
Oct. 29, 20h 20m	*vṛścika-saṃkrānti*	*śuklapakṣa*	*śuklapakṣa*	*śuklapakṣa*
Nov. 12, 14h 29m	full moon	Kārttika	Mārgaśīrṣa	Mārgaśīrṣa
		kṛṣṇapakṣa	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*	*kṛṣṇapakṣa*

Place

On line r4, a village name is mentioned.

 r4 *coindigrāmāvas[th]itaiḥ*

 "resident in the village of Coindi"

This phrase modifies the following personal name Bhāskaradatta. Between the *akṣara*s *co* and *ndi*, an independent vowel *i* is written.[18] The first consonant of the village name is the voiceless unaspirated palatal which is usually transliterated as *ch* in the transcription of proper nouns in modern India, while the voiceless aspirated palatal is transliterated as *chh*, as in "Chhatrapati" for example. It should be noted that the *akṣara ndi* is not a retroflex, but a dental consonant cluster.[19] In the transcription of proper nouns in modern India, retroflex and dental consonants are not distinguished in general. These two points, the unaspirated *ch* and the dental *ndi*, must be taken into account in order to identify the village name in modern India. Using the database *India Place Finder* developed by the historian Tsukasa Mizushima in "Hamlet mode,"[20] a candidate can be found: Chondi

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[17] The *kārttikādi* expired Vikrama year 1513 began at local sunrise on October 30, 1456 CE after the new moon, regardless of whether the scheme is *amānta* or *pūrṇimānta*. Cf. Sewell & Dikshit (1896: 31, §51).

[18] Chandra (1971: 241) misreads the village name as *houndi* होउन्दि, and Sarasvatī (1978: 54) as *hauṇḍī* हौंडी.

[19] Although Chandi चण्डी/चंडी derived from a Goddess name is a common village name in Bihar, it must be excluded from the candidates due to the retroflex consonant.

[20] In "Census mode," no possible candidate is found in eastern India, except for the second candidate, Chaundi चौन्दी/चौंदी Village (26°9'0"N, 87°59'0"E), Kishanganj C.D. Block, Kishanganj District, Bihar State. For the two modes, see https://india.info-proto.com/index.php/default/howtoEn

चोन्दी/चोंदी area (25°28'26"N, 85°42'8"E) in the city (nagar parishad) of Barh, Patna District, Bihar State. The difference between *coindi* and *condī* can be explained as follows. The Middle Indo-Aryan hiatus *oi* developed to *o* in some New Indo-Aryan languages,[21] while *oi* is preserved in others. The final short vowel *-i* is lengthened in some dialects of Hindi (Kellogg 1938: 13, §15.b).

Chondi area is located on the right bank of the Ganga (Map 1). According to *Google Map*[22] (Map 2), there are three Hindu temples in the area. Although there is no evidence that the manuscript was copied in Chondi area except for the correspondence of the toponym, it can be regarded as a possible candidate for such a location.

Map 1

Map 2
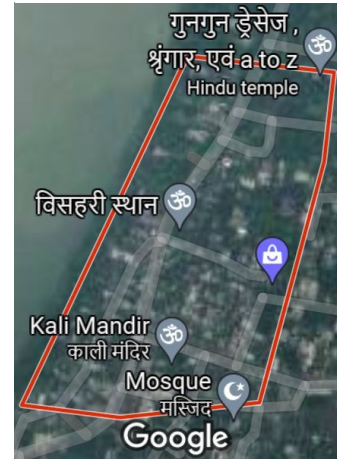
Scribe

Line r5 contains the scribe's name.

r4–5 *karaṇikakāya*(r5)*sthaśrībhāskaradattair=likhiteyam=iti || ||*

"This has been written by *śrī* Bhāskaradatta, the administrative scribe."

The scribe's name is Bhāskaradatta. He held the same title *karaṇikakāyastha-* as the donor. The plural form can be interpreted as an honorific usage (Speijer 1988: 15–16, §23).

As far as I know, this is the last Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript most likely copied in Eastern India which has a dated colophon. The manuscript clearly shows that Buddhist followers still survived and were copying and transmitting such Mahāyāna texts as the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* in Bihar until the middle of the 15th century CE.[23] This fact definitively

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[21] For Maithili see Jhā (1958: 99, §94). For Bengali see Chatterji (1926: xiv, 353, §172; 379, §184; 384, §186). For Hindi see Učida (1977: 118, §5.2). A plain example is Sanskrit *jyautiṣiká-*, Prakrit *joisia-*, Maithili/Bengali/Hindi *josī* (see CDIAL 5302).

[22] https://www.google.com/maps/place/Chondi,+Barh,+Bihar+803213,+India/?hl=en

Google Map also presents a picture of the signboard of a candy shop (Ramdhani Shah, Lai Shop), which confirms the spelling of the area in Devanāgarī चोन्दी.

[23] For the activities of Buddhists in 15th-century Eastern India, see Hori (2015 & 2018), McKeown

disproves the commonly accepted hypothesis that Buddhism vanished from Eastern India at the beginning of the 13th century CE.

Symbols used in the transliteration and Table 1

[ ]	damaged or unclear (part of an) *akṣara*
‹ ›	omission of (part of) an *akṣara* without gap in the manuscript
«»	overwritten part
=	a division of an *akṣara* into two parts for convenience's sake
*	*virāma*
ṁ	*anunāsika* (*candrabindu*)
'	*avagraha*
|	*daṇḍa*
||	double *daṇḍa*
;	a space filler
○	a string hole
□	an illustration
※	a decorative sign
r	*recto*
v	*verso*
a or b	if the *recto* or *verso* cannot be decided

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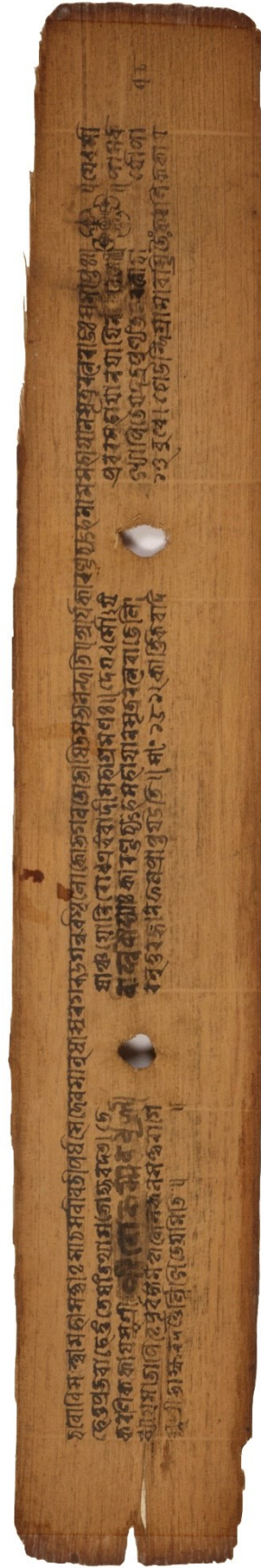Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya. 2014. *Treasures. Chhatrapati Shivaji*

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