Sanskrit in the Bhuvanakośa:
Between Aiśa register and vernacular dynamics

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dharma

Bhuvanakośa

- Śaiva Tantric text in Sanskrit-Old Javanese of the *tutur* genre.

- Survived in some 20 palm-leaf manuscripts (*lontar*) from Bali and Lombok and typewritten romanised transcriptions kept in public and private collections in Indonesia and the Netherlands.

- It deals with doctrinal and yogic topics, micro-macrocosmic correspondences, sound/mantra mysticism, cosmology/geography, etc.

- Anonymous author (revealed scripture), framed as a dialogue between Śiva and the author - a Brahmanical sage (*muni*) referred to as Bhārgava ('descendant of Bhṛgu') - in the first five chapters, and between Śiva, Kumāra, and the Goddess in the last six chapters.

- Probably compiled in various stages in the period between the 700s and 1600s.

- Includes at least two distinct textual entities. Last 6 chapters : later?

Cap. 1 : iti bhuvanasāṃnidhyanāmaśāstram [°śāstre?] / brahmarahasyaṃ prathamaḥ paṭalaḥ //

Cap. 2–5 : iti brahmarahasyan nāma śāstram / dvitīyaḥ … pañcamaḥ paṭalaḥ //

Cap. 6 : Jñānasiddhāntaśāstram / prathamaḥ paṭalaḥ //
Cap. 7 : Bhasmamantrasakalavidhiśāstram / dvitīyaḥ paṭalaḥ //
Cap. 8 : Jñānasaṅkṣepam / tṛtīyaḥ paṭalaḥ //

Cap 9 : Bhuvanakośan / navamaḥ paṭalaḥ //
Cap. 10 : Siddhāntaśātraṃ / jñānarahasyam / daśamaḥ paṭalaḥ //
Cap. 11 : iti bhuvanakośan nāma / paramarahasyam / jñānasiddhāntaśāstram / śivopadeśaṃ samāptam //

- About 500 "translation dyads" + exegetical portions in Old Javanese.

Apology of Siddhāntajñāna

> *sarvaśāstram adhīyeta | tyajanti jñānam uttamam |*
> *jñānaṁ vāpi na vindeta | aho māyāvimohitaḥ || 4*

1 hana sira sādhaka maṅaji sarvaśāstra | ikā saṅ hyaṅ siddhānta uttama ināryakən-
2 ira | *jñānaṁ vāpi na vindeta* | ikā ta saṅ sādhaka maṅkana | tar vruh riṅ jñānaṅku
3 ikā | *aho māyāvimohitaḥ* | āpan kavnaṅ deniṅ bañcanaṅku ||

1   *sarvaśāstrasya yat param* | hana karih śāstra ləvih saṅkerikaṅ śāstra ka-
2 beh | *siddhāntajñānam uttamam* | saṅ hyaṅ siddhāntajñāna sira viśeṣanya | *adhī-*
3 *tya mānavo loke* | hana pva vvaṅ maṅaji saṅ hyaṅ siddhāntajñāna irikaṅ loka |
4 *saphalan tasya jīvitam* | ya ta saphala huripnyān haneṅ loka | liṅ bhaṭāra maṅ-
5 kana pva ya || 5

1   *ihatra ca mahādevi* | riṅ ihatrakāla pva ya | kapaṅguh taṅ sukha māgəṅ
2 denya | *paratra śivatāṁ brajet* | irikaṅ dlāha pva ya | sayojya pva sira lāvan bha-
3 ṭāra śiva saduga || 6

- The Sanskrit of Bhuvanakośa, whose features are comparable to those attested in most Tutur and Tattva texts, shares only some of the characteristics of the idiom that has been called "Archipelago Sanskrit", a kind of hybrid language that underwent a significant morphological, syntactic and lexical influence from Old Javanese, and that has been described mainly on the basis of hymns (*stuti*) in Sanskrit from Bali.

- The language of such hymns has been called "Archipelago Sanskrit" by Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971), since it contains some characteristic features that deviate from classical Sanskrit and cannot be traced, or can only be traced with difficulty, to defects in the manuscript tradition.

- More recently, Goudriaan (1996: 26) has proposed the expression "Indonesianised Sanskrit", which emphasises the influence/hybridisation with local languages and which is to be distinguished from other Sanskrit registers found in the texts of Java and Bali. This expression seems unfortunate because it superimposes the modern geopolitical concept of "Indonesia" on a pre-modern reality.

- The term Archipelago Sanskrit should be applied with due reservation, since the "incorrect", i.e. non-Pāṇinian (or Aiśa) type of Sanskrit found in Tutur/Tattva literature is also attested in most Śaiva and Buddhist Tantric scriptures from the Indian subcontinent, from which the ancient Javanese and Balinese authors probably drew.

- Although the parallels identified so far suggest that a significant portion of the Sanskrit verses preserved in an ancient text of the *tattva* genre, the *Vṛhaspatitattva*, may have been originally composed in the Indian subcontinent, the rarity of such parallels in the *Bhuvanakośa*, coupled with the fact that many of them exhibit rather unique metrical features and other irregularities, makes it likely that most of the Sanskrit verses are Javanese or Balinese creations or reworkings.

- As such, the non-standard features deserve to be studied in comparison to those found in Sanskrit Tantric texts from other areas of the Sanskrit cosmopolis, so as to identify indigenous features (or tendencies) from those shared in textual corpora from different regions.

- The linguistic peculiarities of the Sanskrit-vernacular texts of Java and Bali reveal an inextricable mix of (abstract) linguistic dynamics, belonging to the level of the *langue,* and concrete dynamics, belonging to the level of the *parole,* embedded in the Javanese-Balinese manuscript culture, its mechanics, materiality and social dimensions.

- Influence of scribal practices at the level of manuscript texts and literary languages. Influence of scribal practices on grammar over the centuries, constitution of a sort of "norm".

- Study of non-standard and corrupt Sanskrit forms can reveal facts that are relevant not only to the history of Sanskrit and its relationship with vernaculars, but also to the history of ideas, as they tell us something about the cultural environment of the scribes who handed down the texts in Java and Bali.

- **Vowel quantity:** practically non-existent, or at most marginal, in Old Javanese. Balinese manuscripts contain a number of orthographic variations in long and short vowels in both Sanskrit and Old Javanese words, but some seem to reflect certain "rules". For instance, many long irregular vowels in Sanskrit words are due to their presence before a consonantal group: *ārkkasya* for *arkasya*, *upapādyate* for *upapadyate*, *dātvā* for *dattvā*, *sādya* for *sadya*, *ācyutam* for *acyutam*, *brāhmā* for *brahmā*, etc.

- Cases of lengthening or shortening that might seem arbitrary are instead due to metrical dynamics (see similar irregularities in epic, tantric, Buddhist, prakrit texts, etc.). In general, principles of grammar can be sacrificed for the sake of metrical correctness (Goudriaan and Schoterman 1988: 98; Kafle 2020: 130; Hatley 2018: 30).

- Goudriaan and Hooykaas (1971: 11): "[in Balinese Sanskrit stutis] the poets invented new and ungrammatical procedures in order to obtain the required number of syllables".

- **Lengthening m.c.**: (Goodall et al. 2015: 119 §2.21; Kiss 2015: 84 §30; Kafle 2020: 131, 134; BHSG §3.5ff.), especially in the sixth or seventh position in odd *pāda*: *āsītaṁ* for *asitam* 1. 17c; *teja-bāhūnām* for *tejo bahūnām* 1.23c; *anādhikam* for *anadhikaṁ* 2.5b; *athobhāye* for *tathobhaye* 3.42c; *śarīriṇām* for *śarīriṇām* 3.70a; etc.

- **Shortening m.c.** (Kiss 2015: 84 §29; Kafle 2020: 131, 134; BHSG §3.5ff.), especially in the fifth position in even *pāda*: *viśvanyasottamam* for *viśvanyāsottamam* 2.11b; *ābhiharaṁ* for *ābhihāraṁ* 3. 33d; *śarīraniṣṭha-r-ucyate* for *śarīraniṣṭhā-r-ucyate* 4.2d; *tanmātrāhaṅkaro* for *tanmātrāhaṅkāro* 4.76c; *mayaṁ* for *māyāṁ* 5.2b; *tvaya* for *tvayā* 5.2d; etc.

- **Shortening m.c.** with *prātipadika*, especially in the fifth position in even and odd *pāda* (Goudriaan and Hooykaas 1971: 7; Goodall et al. 2015: 118 §2. 20; Oberlies 2003: xxxii; Kiss 2015: 75, 78 §1.}: *tiryagaivottha-nābhy eva* for *tiryagaivotthā nābhim eva* 1.13c; *ākhya-tal labhet* for *prototam ākhyaṁ tal labhet* 1. 21b; *teja-bāhūnām* for *tejo bahūnām* 1.23c; *mātrapañcaka-tadvījaṁ* for *mātrapañcakaṁ tadvījaṁ* 1.24c; *svaccha-paramaṁ* for *svacchaṁ paramaṁ* (*na-vipulā*) (2. 5c); *śiva-tiṣṭhati* for *śivaḥ tiṣṭhati* 3.8d; *bhava-saṁsmṛtaḥ* for *bhavaḥ saṁsmṛtaḥ* 3.9b; etc.

- **Elisione dei casi/*prātipadika*** (Kiss 2015: 78 §1, 75, 78-79 §1, §2, §3; Goodall et al. 2015: 126 §5.20, 132 §8.13; 134, §8.22):

- <u>*Visarga*</u>: *śiva-śūnya-nirindriyaḥ* 1.9b; *praṇaṣṭa-kramate* 1.22c; *aṣṭadeva-tathā sthāne* 2.16a; *utpatti-bhagavān* (m.c.) 2.71c; *śivātma-nirmalo* (tehmaticized nom. sing. *-aḥ*?) 3.1a; *acintya-durlabho jñeyaḥ* (ex em.; *jñeya* mss.) 3.2c; *sūrya-candro* 3.22a; *varavācya-te ... vṛhaspāla-mahātapaḥ* 3. 26ab; *udāna-byāna-m-eva* 3.49d; *byāna-sarvāṅgasandhiṣu* 3.51b; *pāṇīndrāpy* 3.59b; *sūrya-tṛptiḥ* 3.56b; *vṛkkādya* (ex em.; *vṛtādya* mss.)-*himavān* 3.67b; *śiva-jñātvādi-sarvataḥ* 3.70b; *utpatti-bhagavān* (m.c.) 3.71c, 7.25a; *paramātma-nirātmakaḥ* (for thematicized nom. sing. *-aḥ*?) 3.77b; ecc.

- <u>*Anusvāra*</u> (before m/n): *acintya-manasāgrāhyam* (ex em.; *manasāṅgṛhya* mss.) 2.9a; *sūkṣma-nityam* 3.2b; *antra-nāgas tu vijñeyaḥ* 3. 67c; *sajjīva-nirmmalañ* 4.7a; *rudra-mahābalam* 4.43b; *niralambha-nir°* 4.43d; *ukāra-nābhim* 11.10b; *pittasthāna-viṣa-naś°* 11.24a, *anta-nāsāgratattvañ* 11.95c;

- <u>*Anusvāra*</u> (before other consonants): *nitya-dṛṣṭo* 1.11c; *pramāṇa-syāt* 1.14c; *prayatna-dvijarājendra* 1.16c; *rakta trivarṇam* 1.17c; *trivarṇa-triguṇaṁ* 2.1c; *vīja-sambhavet* 2.3b; *raktavarṇa rajomayam* 3.3d; *kṛṣṇavarṇa-tamomayam* 3.4b; *pradhāna-prakṛtis* 4.30b; *abyakta-paramaṁ* for *abyaktaṁ paramaṁ* 4.30c; *vaiṣṇava-pañca saṁjñikam* for *vaiṣṇavaṁ pañca ...* 4.30d; *tamomaya-vaiṣṇavākhyaṁ* 4.34a; *dṛṣṭa-syāc* 4.39d; *parama-sūkṣmatvam* 4.42a; ecc.

- 'Multipurpose' -*am*/*aṁ*/an ending (often in lieu of locative or ablative).
- Nominative for accusative, etc.
- Pronominal declension and agreement.
- Aphaeresis of *a-* in initial position.
- *a*-thematicizations.
- *a*-stems treated as *-an* stems.
- Masculine nouns with neutre endings.
- Oddieties of word-formation.
    - Archipelago Sanskrit/influences from Old Javanese: *tṛptiḥ* for *tṛptaḥ* 3.56b, 3.58a (by influence of Old Javanese *tṛpti*, having the same meaning?); cf. *tṛptyaḥ*/*ṅ* for *tṛptaḥ*/*ṅ* 3.60b, 3.63a; *līnalīnaṅ kriyāśaktiḥ | vibhujñānan tathaiva ca*: reduplication to express plurality (glossed as *kapva līna ya*) 9.39a; *līnālīnam* (ex em.; *līnal līnav* mss.) *varānane*: reduplication to express emphasis (glossed as *līna pralīna ike bhaṭārī*) 11.18b.
- Peculiarities of *sandhi*.
- Irregular compounds (split, inverted, etc.)
- Syntactic irregularities (gender and number agreement, etc.)
- Irregular numerals.
- Verb morphology.

Rare/unattested Sanskrit expressions

- Cases of lexical influence from Old Javanese.

- Sanskrit words that appear to have acquired new meanings, adapting to local socio-cultural conditions and religious configurations.

- Sanskrit words that are rarely found in the Sanskrit literature of the subcontinent, and/or words whose meaning is attested in Sanskrit lexicographical works (indicated by 'L.' in MW). This does not necessarily (or only) reflect an 'indigenous' understanding of Sanskrit words, but rather (or also) the fact that local authors had access to a different lexicographic corpus than what was standard in the subcontinent:

- *Vinisṛta* used in the sense of 'scattered' in 1.19b; *anāśrava* (from *āśrava)* used in the sense of 'pristine' in 2.14 and in 3. 17d; 17d (probably a Sanskritisation of the Buddhist term Pali āsava?), a term found in the Mahāyāna and Abhidharmic literature, whose synonym is *ogha* or 'flows', i.e. the basic impurities that cause repeated rebirths (cf. the literal gloss tar ili 'does not flow'). Not found in Śaiva literature (as far as I know).

- *abhiyogatva* used in the sense of 'to yoke, stick together' in 3.8a; \

- *āsyāsava*, 'spit, saliva' (MW, L) in 3.8a. 46b;

- *pramāṇa* in the sense of 'oneness, unity' (MWLex) in 3.18bc, compare dyad 4.48;

- *nairātmyam* used in the sense of 'absence of body' (*ātman* = 'body') in 4.2c (with the gloss *tan pāvak kārikā sira*), 5.4d (with the gloss *niraṅga*), 5.11d and 5.16a (with the gloss *tar pāvak*); compare *ātman* = body in 8.34b;

- *nirmitaṁ* in the sense of *amitaṁ* (or amend with *nirmalaṁ*?) 4.9c;

- *meghajāla* 'collection of clouds, a mass of clouds, thick clouds' (MWL) in 5.41.

Some cases of 'semantic shift' may be due to the influence of Old Javanese:

- *aṅgapradhāna* referring to the main constituents or essential parts (*pradhāna*) of the human body (*aṅga*) in 5.1., 5.2., 5.3. and 5.4. 5c; *Tattvajñāna* (42) glosses it as the combination of mind (= *pradhānatattva*) and body (*ambək pva ṅaraniṅ pradhānatattva| ikaṅ ambək lavan śarīra| yeka sinaṅguh aṅgapradhāna ṅaranya maṅke riṅ mānuṣa*; cf. 46, 50);

- Brahmīśāna (norm.; Brāhmīśāna mss.), presumably used instead of Brahmeśāna, in 4.75 (Skt and OJ);

- *muktānta* used in the sense of 'final liberation' (?) in 7.11d;

- *paryāya* (Sanskrit and Old Javanese 'way, manner, method of proceeding') in the sense of 'conduct' (?) in 11.41a.

- The expression *prayatna dvijarājendra* in 1.16c, which I categorised as *prātipadika* for *prayatnaṁ dvijarājendra*, where the loss of *anusvāra* could be due to the influence of the Old Javanese imperative form *prayatna*, as suggested by the gloss *prayatnā ta kita dvijarājendra*;

- *icchānti* (for icchati) in the sense of 'at ease, content, in sovereign freedom, without constraint of any kind' (OJED, s. v. *icchā* 2) in 3.57d;

- *nūṣe ’pi* (nuṣa is the ancient Javanese word for 'island') 10.9c;

- *hima°* not in the sense of 'frost, frost, snow, ice' (MW) but of 'fog, low cloud' (OJED 627, s. *hima*) in 1.14b (*kṛṣṇahimaprabhā*) and 10.35c (*himani*, glossed as *megha*);

- *parimāṇaṁ* in the sense of 'limit' rather than 'measure, magnitude': cf. *parimāṇa* 2, 'going as far as..., as far as...' (OJED 1301). (OJED 1301) and MJ (literary register) *parimana* 'boundary, frontier' in 11.32a;

- *kṛtadaṇḍa* in the sense of 'criminal acts' (compare classical Sanskrit *dhṛtadaṇḍa*, which in legal context has the meaning of 'one who has received punishment') in 11.82a.

- A lexical influence from Old Javanese that could be the result of a corruption (i.e. the substitution of a Sanskrit word for a familiar Old Javanese word) are *kim advā → kiṁ mithyā* (the cluster *dvā* and *thyā* is easily confused), where *mithyā* 'falsely, deceptively, untruthfully Mn. [...] speaking falsely, telling a lie' has been interchanged with *adva* 'wrongly, untruthfully, untruthfully' (OJED 444) in 9.4c; etc.

- Almost all the grammatical 'irregularities' (morphological, syntactic, nominal and verbal forms) in the *Bhuvanakośa* can be found in many Tantric texts of the Indian subcontinent, which are characterised by the Aiśa register of Sanskrit.

- Preponderance of certain phenomena, such as *prātipadika* and vowel quantity adjustment.

- Great attention to metrics, which prevails over grammar (there are no instances of non-metrical *śloka*; on the contrary, there are many *vipulā*, also rare in Indian texts). Indigenous feature? (See contemporary tradition of singing/melodically reciting Old Javanese prose and verses; emphasis on metres in *kakavin*).

- Lexical influence from Old Javanese, or use by Javanese authors of meanings derived from Sanskrit lexicons.

- de Casparis (1992: 41): '[Sanskrit was] by no means a static language but, on the contrary, developed in a particular way in regions such as ancient Java.'