

ALESSANDRO GRAHELI

HISTORY AND TRANSMISSION OF THE NYĀYAMAÑJARĪ

Critical Edition of the Section on the Sphoṭa

ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

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History and Transmission of the Nyāyamañjarī

Critical Edition of the Section on the Sphoṭa

Alessandro Graheli



VERLAG DER
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN
AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

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Introduction

Bhaṭṭa Jayanta's *Nyāyamañjarī* (henceforth NM) is a rich compendium of ontological, epistemological and linguistic issues. Due to its clear prose and thorough exposition, it is an invaluable tool to reconstruct the history of ideas of Nyāya, Mīmāṃsā, Vyākaraṇa and other traditions, and as such it has become one of the most quoted and studied Sanskrit philosophical works.

Why a new edition of the Nyāyamañjarī (NM)?

The NM has been edited and studied in multiple forms. Most importantly, the two editions based on manuscript sources are those by Gangadhara Shastri Tailanga and K.S. Varadacharya. These pioneering works are both extremely valuable and deserve utmost respect, since they paved the way for most later researches on the NM, including the present one. Yet, these two editors obviously worked with a restricted number of manuscripts and could not avail themselves of the present technology. Moreover, neither of them appears to have followed a consistent editorial method, so there is still room for improvement on their work.

Gangadhara mostly based his edition on a single manuscript, with the sporadic assistance of a second one. Varadacharya improved Gangadhara's edition by means of some additional manuscripts and was capable of reconstructing a much more complete text. In both editions, however, the manuscripts are barely mentioned and not described in any detail. Also, neither editor clarified the criteria used in the editorial choices.

The impact of Nagin J. Shah's writings on the present edition

should be mentioned. He edited the only extant commentary of the NM, the *Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga*, with remarkable accuracy, lucidity, and historical perspective. Furthermore, he contributed important studies on the NM itself, besides editing and translating the NM into Gujarati.

In the last decade, Kei Kataoka has edited thematic passages of the NM on the basis of previously unedited manuscripts, thus improving the quality of the text and in the process shedding further light on the NM manuscripts and editions. His editorial work, however, has so far not covered any part of the sixth *āhnika* of the NM, which is the target of the present book.

In general, there is no NM edition based on a genealogical study of the sources and with a focus on the history of the transmission. Notwithstanding the intellectual debt to all the scholars who have previously worked on the NM, the intention is to contribute here in the following areas:

- identification, location and detailed description of all the witnesses;
- collation of all the relevant witnesses, including some previously never used ones;
- study of the genealogy of the sources, culminating in a *stemma codicum*;
- elimination of apographs (*codices descriptii*);
- elaboration of a pragmatic editorial strategy;
- documentation of all the substantive variants;
- improvement of the text on the basis of the *stemma codicum* and, when needed, of internal criteria;
- study of the indirect transmission (secondary testimonia).

Reasons for the choice of NM 6

The sixth *āhnika* of the NM (NM 6) is structured in three conceptually independent sections, dealing, respectively, with the object of words (*padārtha*), the object of sentences (*vākyārtha*), and the object of the Veda (*vedārtha*).

The first of these three sections was the topic of my *Laurea* (MA)

thesis at the University of Rome “Sapienza” (Graheli, 2003). At that time my research was limited to the printed editions, in which I found some passages that were difficult to interpret on the basis of the printed texts alone. At that time I began to sketch a survey of the known manuscripts of the NM and to gradually realize the importance of building an accurate inventory and description of both the printed and manuscript sources. Once accomplished a fairly exhaustive version of this survey (see Graheli, 2012a), it dawned to me that some crucial yet mutilated manuscripts covered NM 6 but lacked other chapters of the NM; for this reason, in order to develop a stemmatic method to edit the NM, the obvious choice was to focus on this very section of Jayanta’s work.

In short, the first section of NM 6 is for the present purposes the ideal choice because conceptually self-contained, extensive enough to provide statistically meaningful hypotheses on the genealogy of the manuscripts, and documented in all the key witnesses of the transmission.

The structure of this book

This book is divided into two major parts: the study of the history of the transmission and the critical edition of the *padārtha* section of NM 6.

The first part includes all the propaedeutic steps in view of the critical edition. Briefly said, it consists of the *recensio* of the NM sources, including their inventory, description, collation of their variants, and study of their genealogy. The sequence of the chapters largely conforms to the method and the heuristic process followed in the course of the research. This part begins with a general presentation of the NM and its author, about whom there is, in comparison to many other Indian works and authors, a more extensive amount of historical and chronological information. There is here a deliberate choice to pay full attention to the printed sources as well, to facilitate an evaluation of their respective merits and to further clarify the needs of better editions. Hence, the survey of the editions precedes that of the manuscripts. This part continues with a detailed study of the genealogy of the editions only after the description of the manuscripts, be-

cause the assessment of the relation among the editions is better understood in the context of the number and quality of the manuscripts on which the editions are based. The genealogy of the manuscripts is then studied on the ground of the collation of NM 6, resulting in the *stemma codicum* on which the choice of the variant readings has been largely based during the editing process.

The second part of this book contains the edition of the first third of NM 6, which concerns a presentation and rebuttal of the *sphoṭa* theory of word-meaning. The decision to publish this part separately from the two other sections of NM 6 is eminently pragmatic, since it is extensive enough to allow for statistically meaningful considerations, but also short enough to be single-handedly manageable in the present publication. The publication of the complete NM 6 would have been difficult to manage in a single book; thus the decision to divide it into three segments according to its natural division in the three sections of *padārtha*, *vākyaārtha* and *vedārtha*. One of the main goals of this research was to devise a method to edit NM passages that could be feasible for individual enterprises, without the demand of formidable resources in terms of time, man-power, and funds.

The plan is to complete the edition of NM 6 in two more volumes, on the strength of the method and the editorial principles established in the present publication.

The choice of Devanāgarī

The present edition is typeset in Devanāgarī characters. There are two reasons behind this choice: the first is pragmatic, related to aspects of dissemination, and the second heuristic, related to a personal approach to stemmatics and critical editing.

The advantage of Devanāgarī characters is that it makes the book widely accessible to Indian scholarship. In fact, while most seasoned Sanskritists in the West are accustomed to read Sanskrit in either Devanāgarī or Roman transcription, Indian scholars who are comfortable with romanized Sanskrit are comparatively rare.

Furthermore, the study of the history of the transmission and of the genealogy of the sources is a central aspect of the present research. During the editorial processes I found that studying the NM

in Roman characters was a step away from the linguistic universe of Jayanta, Cakradhara, the scribes, and the Indian editors: even if some of these personalities wrote in other Indic scripts, all of them reasoned in terms of *akṣara*-s, or *abugida* scripts, rather than Roman letters. Though Devanāgarī is in a sense also an arbitrary choice, I found that this script was more conducive to my inferences about the genealogy of errors, and thus heuristically productive in terms of stemmatic hypotheses, because its visual representation helped my judgement on the weight of variants, on specific typologies of errors such as dittography and haplography, on the likelihood for errors to be genetically or polygenetically derived, etc.

The Romanization of Sanskrit offers the advantage of facilitating a more detailed analysis of the text, due to the graphical division of vowels and consonants and to a more frequent separation of words. Moreover, machine-readable texts are certainly more useful in Roman Unicode characters, rather than in Devanāgarī ones. For such purposes the interested reader can profit from the full documentation, in Roman characters, of the collated variants on which this edition is based and that has been made available online, presently at <http://homepage.univie.ac.at/alessandro.graheli>.

Part I

The history of the transmission

1 Bhaṭṭa Jayanta

1.1 His life

Bhaṭṭa Jayanta flourished in Kashmir, in the last quarter of the 9th century, under the rule of king Śaṅkaravarman (r. 883–902 CE) of the Utpala dynasty.

Jayanta was a Śaiva and a brahmin of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. His ancestor, Śakti, migrated six generations before from Gauḍa, probably Bengal, to Darvābhisāra (South-West of the Kashmir valley). There are also textual passages that connect Jayanta and his family to Gauṛamūlaka, a village that may have also been in Darvābhisāra.

Biographical sketches have already been written,¹ so the following paragraphs are mostly devoted to some problematic aspects.

Jayanta's son, Abhinanda, mentioned his father both in the colophon and the introductory verses of KKS.² In the colophon Abhinanda refers to himself as the “son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, the emperor of savants”,³ and in the introductory verses he describes him in the

¹See, in particular, ĀD^{Ra}, Introduction, Hegde, 1983, ĀD^{De}, Introduction, and Slaje, 2012. The introduction in ĀD^{De} and its online version (Dezső, 2004) are rich in insight into Jayanta's personality, and Slaje, 2012 addresses important historical and chronological aspects. Further evidence about the date and other biographical information can be found in Frauwallner, 1936, 267–8; Hacker, 1951; Oberhammer, 1962, 146; Gupta, 1963, 9–12; Matīlal, 1977, 92–4; Potter, 1977, 345–6; Slaje, 1986, 245 *et passim*; Kataoka, 2007b.

²According to Raghavan, 1980, 83, in the DhV, 142,23–24, Abhinava Gupta seems to ascribe the KKS to Bhaṭṭa Jayanta: *kathātātparye sargabandho yathā bhaṭṭajayantakasya kādambarīkathāsāram*. But, as acknowledged by Raghavan himself, one could interpret the *ka* suffix in *bhaṭṭajayantakasya* as a diminutive, thus referring to Bhaṭṭa Jayanta's son.

³*iti śrīśakalavipāścicakravartīśrībhaṭṭajayantasūnor abhinandasya [...]*

context of his family lineage:⁴

(5) Once upon a time there was a *gauḍa* brahmin of the Bhāradvāja clan, Śakti, who married after settling in Dārvābhisāra.

(6) His son was called Mitra (“sun”), a treasure of brilliant qualities, whose birth was saluted by those who were awake after darkness.

(7) He (Mitra) begot a well-educated son, Śaktisvāmin, the minister of king Mukṭāpīḍa of the Karkoṭa dynasty.

(8) His son, called Kalyānasvāmin, became like Yājñavalkya, who had shaken off the impurity of existence by the power of pure yoga.

(9) From him, who had a profound mind, a beloved son, Candra (“moon”), the ornament of Parameśvara (Śiva), was born, as if from the ocean of milk.⁵

(10) He generated a son, Jayanta, who made everyone’s happiness. His poetry and eloquence were the embodiment of the Goddess of Speech.

(11) He was known by a second name, “the commentator” (Vṛttikāra), was well versed in the Veda and its accessory disciplines, and was capable of debating topics in every discipline.

(12) From the wise Jayanta a son, well-read in the essence of belles lettres and known as Abhinanda, was born.⁶

⁴In this book Sanskrit terms and passages are in general hyphenated according to Sanskrit prosodic rules, i.e., by *akṣara*-s, defined as either a vowel at the beginning of a word or a consonant, or a consonants’ cluster ending with a vowel.

⁵Here the editor of KKS, verse 9, p. 2, as well as Borsani Scalabrino, 1962, 150, interpreted Kānta, and not Candra, as Jayanta’s father’s name. But Jayanta himself, in NM^{Va}, II 718,7, NM 12, explicitly describes himself as “the son of Candra, whose fame is all-pervading” (*sūnur vyāptadigantarasya yaśasā candrasya*).

⁶*śaktināmābhavad gauḍo bhāradvājakule dvijaḥ / dārvābhisāram āsādyā kṛtadāraparigrahaḥ //5// tasya mitrābhīdhāno ’bhūd ātmajas tejasām nidhiḥ / janena doṣoparamaprabuddhenārcitodayaḥ //6// sa śaktisvāminam putram avāpa śrutaśālinam / rājñāḥ karkoṭavaṃśasya muktāpīḍasya mantriṇam //7// kalyānasvāmināmāsyā yājñavalkya ivābhavat / tanayaḥ śuddhayogarddhinirdhūtabhavadakalmaṣaḥ //8// agādaharḍayāt tasmāt parameśvaramaṇḍanam / ajāyata sutaḥ kāntaś candro dugdhodadher iva //9// putram kṛtajanānandaṃ sa jayantaṃ ajījanat / āsīt kavivavakṛtvaphalā yasya sarasvatī //10// vṛttikāra iti vyaktaṃ dviṭīyaṃ nāma bibhrataḥ / vedavedāṅgaviduṣaḥ sarvaśāstrārthavādināḥ //11// jayantanāmmaḥ sudhiyaḥ sādhusāhityatattvavit / sūnuḥ samudabhūt tasmād abhinanda iti śrutaḥ //12//* A slightly different translation of these verses with a discussion on some subtler nuances can be found in Dezső, 2004, Introduction, 5.

To better understand Jayanta's ancestry it is important to extract from these verses the historical and geographical coordinates. In this connection, one must keep in mind that the value of this testimony may be conditioned by the fact that the KKS is not a critical edition and is thus not necessarily reliable, as noted by Slaje (2012, 121).

Slaje (2012, 123) assumes that Śakti may plausibly have settled in Darvābhisāra at the time of the surge to power of the Kārkoṭa dynasty, i.e., in the first half of the 7th century. His reasoning is based on Jayanta's link with king Śaṅkaravarman, who is known to have ruled from 883 to 902 CE, and on Śaktisvāmin's one with king Muk-tāpīḍa, as mentioned in verse 7 above.

Slaje also suggests that Śakti might have settled in Darvābhisāra at the dawn of the Karkoṭa dynasty (ca. 650 CE). In Cat. Stein 1894, Introduction, xix, Stein had noticed how another manuscript ("MS. 304") of the KKS reads *candrāpīḍasya* in place of *muktāpīḍasya*, in verse 7. Slaje (2012, 123) favours the *candrāpīḍasya* reading, arguing with good reason that a corruption of the text from the famous Muk-tāpīḍa to the relatively unknown Candrāpīḍa is less likely than the reverse. One may add that a mechanical error causing a shift from *mu* to *ca*, in Śārādā script, is not unlikely, but a mistake from *kta* to *ndra* seems far-fetched, so the *candrāpīḍasya* reading would indeed seem the original one. As for the dates of these two kings, Candrāpīḍa and Muk-tāpīḍa ruled in 713–720 and 724–760, respectively.⁷

While Slaje's reasoning has philological merit, it is chronologically difficult to explain Śaktisvāmin as a minister of Candrāpīḍa, while the date of Muk-tāpīḍa's reign better fits the genealogy given by Abhinanda. Slaje tries to find a consistent explanation by calculating an average of about 44 years per generation, obtained after dividing by the number of generations (4) the longest (189 years) and short-

⁷The chronologies of the Karkoṭa kings are obtained by Stein after adding a correction of 25 years to Kalhaṇa's chronology on the basis of Chinese records (Stein, 1989a, Introduction, 67, and Book IV, 125, fn. 45, and 131, fn. 126). The necessity of a correction was originally noticed by Alexander Cunningham (see Cunningham, 1871, 91), and endorsed in Cat. Report 1875, 43, 55. For an explanation of the 25 years correction, see also Witzel, 1990, 51, fn. 103, quoted in Slaje, 2012, 123, fn. 12.

est (163 years) possible lapses from Candrāpīḍa's reign (713–720) to Śaṅkaravarman's (883–902):

$$(189 / 4 + 163 / 4) / 2 = 44$$

Following Slaje's reasoning, it would indeed be possible that Śakti settled in Darvābhisāra around 650 CE, close to the rise of the Karkoṭa dynasty. Yet, this is inconsistent with Śaktisvāmin's ministry under Candrāpīḍa as early as in 720. The fixed point from which the calculation starts is 883–902, let's say 890, when we assume that Jayanta, as a mature adult, was writing the NM and was an advisor of Śaṅkaravarman. There seems to be a problem in Slaje's calculation: if we start from 890 and move back to the time Śaktisvāmin's adulthood, when he would have been a minister of Candrāpīḍa, there are three intervening generations, not four, and therefore instead of 44 years we would obtain an average of 57 years per generation:

$$(189 / 3 + 163 / 3) / 2 = 57$$

Therefore, only by 57-years intervals it would have been possible for Śaktisvāmin to be a minister of Candrāpīḍa, as argued by Slaje, but by the same logic Śakti would have then been an adult in 605 CE, before the rise of the Karkoṭas. Now, an average interval of 44 years across six generations in a patrilineage, although not impossible, would be surprisingly long, while an average of 57 years would be close to impossible. A likely average of patrilinear generations could be, instead, of 35 years.⁸

The chronologies shown in Fig. 1.2 can be sketched by applying, respectively, the hypotheses of spans of 57, 44, and 35 years. The assumption is that Jayanta was an adult in 883–902, since he is repeatedly referring to Śaṅkaravarman in the NM, his mature work. 890 CE, the middle of Śaṅkaravarman's reign, is chosen as the starting point of the calculation from Jayanta back to his ancestors. To

⁸A well known example is the patrilineage of Elizabeth II, present Queen of England, that can be traced back to Theodoric I (c. 916 – c. 976), lasting one thousand years across thirty patrilinear generations.

have Śaktisvāmin as a minister of Candrāpīḍa, the 57-year span of generations should be adopted. With the span of 44 years per generation, applying Slaje’s argument with the correct divider of three intervals from Jayanta back to Śaktisvāmin, the latter would be linked to last years of Mukṭāpīḍa’s reign. With the more plausible span of 35 years per generation, however, Śaktisvāmin would have lived during Jayāpīḍa’s reign (773–806), thus conflicting with Abhinanda’s narration. There are no other names of Karkoṭa kings that can be associated with either “Candrāpīḍa” or “Mukṭāpīḍa” found in the manuscripts of Abhinanda’s work (see Fig. 1.1).

Hegde (1983, 15) is apparently unaware of the *candrāpīḍasya* variant in ms. 304. He does an inverse calculation, from the starting point of 760 CE, the latest time in which Śaktisvāmin could have been a minister of Mukṭāpīḍa (also known as Lalitāditya):

If Kalyānasvāmin took birth in 760 A.D. by the time Śaktisvāmin became the minister of Lalitāditya, then 790 may be the probable date of Candra’s birth. Consequently Jayanta might have been born in 820 A.D. [...] Thus the date of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta falls, beyond any doubt, between 820 A.D. and 900 A.D.

To conclude, there is no easy solution to account for the connection of Śaktisvāmin with either Candrāpīḍa or Mukṭāpīḍa. In any case, common sense dictates that family memories beyond one’s great-grandfather’s times are not always accurate, so in principle the historicity of Abhinanda’s notions about the early stages of his patrilineage should be cautiously evaluated and confirmed by external evidence, as far as possible.

From Abhinanda’s verses some information about the geographical roots of Jayanta’s family can also be derived, starting from the mention of Darvābhisāra, where Śakti settled after his marriage, in KKS, verse 5. Darvābhisāra is the region “between the Vitastā and the Candrabhāgā” (Stein, 1989a, vol. I, 32, n. 180), i.e., the Jhelum and the Chenab rivers, separated by the Pir Panjal range from the Kashmir valley. Furthermore, Jayanta himself mentions the homeland of his ancestors in the NM^{Va}, I 653,10–12, NM 4. In a discussion about

Figure 1.1: Karkota and Utpala dynasties up to Jayanta's time, following Stein's reconstruction

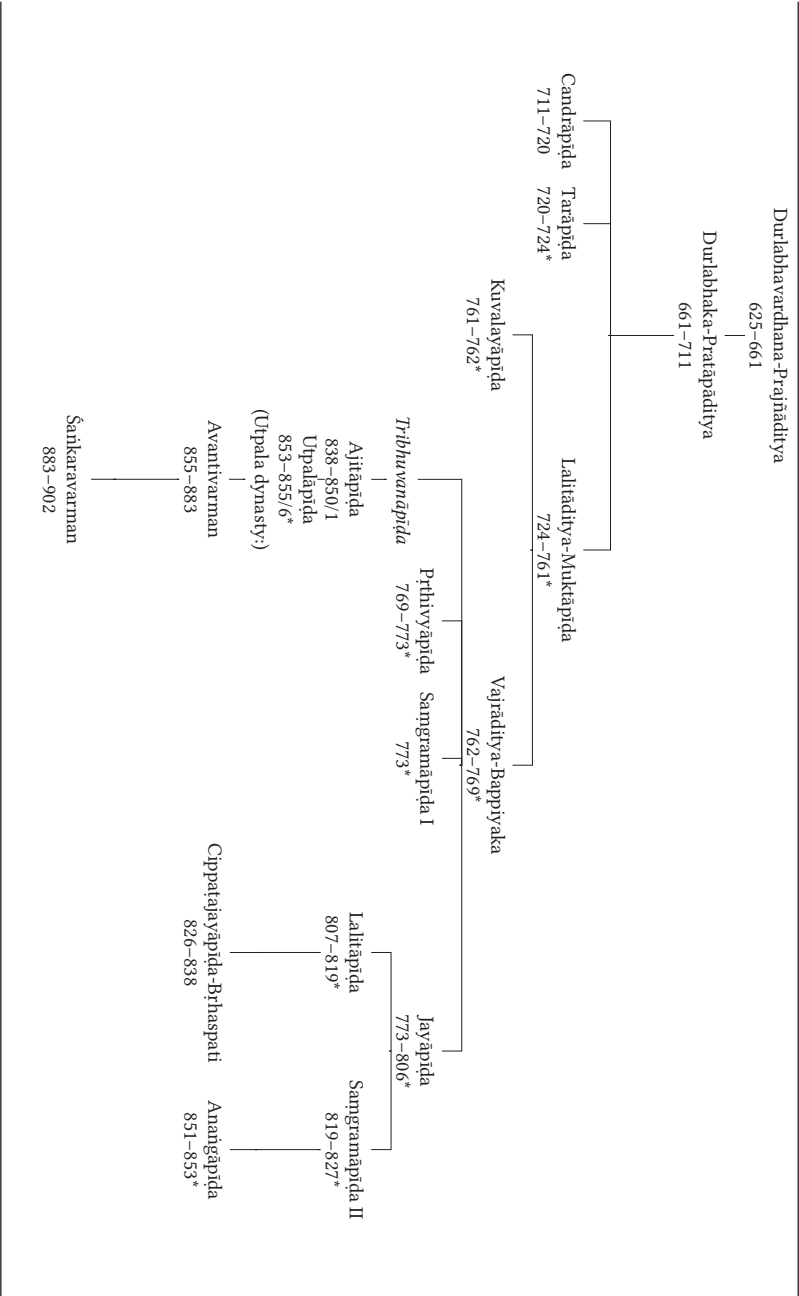
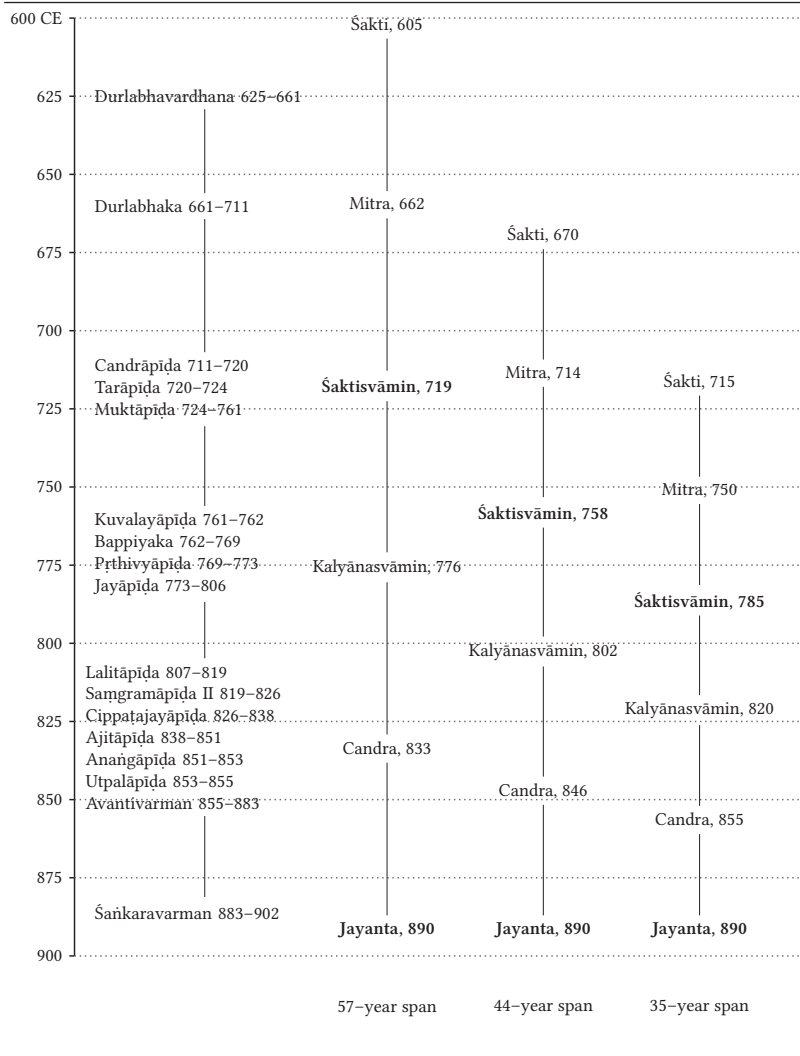


Figure 1.2: Hypothetical chronologies of Jayanta’s patrilineage



the likelihood of achieving the result of a sacrifice right after its performance, he tells a personal anecdote:

My grandfather, who desired a village, performed a Sāṃgrahaṇī sacrifice.⁹ He obtained the Gauramūlaka village right after the end of the sacrifice.¹⁰

Moreover, Gauramūlaka also occurs in examples made by Jayanta in two distinct philosophical contexts: on *abhāva* (NM^{Va}, I 132,2–4, 142,4, 142,10, 143,11, NM 1), and on the ontology of *śabda*, specifically in relation to the absurdity of a sound pronounced in Kanyakubja and heard in a distant place such as Gauramūlaka (NM^{Va}, I 536,4, NM 3). In Stein, 1989a, 8.1861, a Ghoramūlaka site in the Rajauri (Rājapurī) area, i.e., in Darvābhisāra, is mentioned. Stein connected it with the Gauramūlaka of the NM, although he was unable to positively locate the place.

At the time of the composition of the NM the ruler was Śaṅkaravarman (883–902, see Stein, 1989a, 202ff.) of the Utpala dynasty, as we know from direct references to the king in the NM and in the *Āgamāḍambara*, where he is also called Yaśovarman.¹¹ Jayanta (NM^{Va}, I 388,25–26, NM 2; I 649,6–7, NM 4) writes of him as “King Śaṅkaravarman, knower of dharma” (*dharmatattvajñaḥ rājā śaṅkaravarmā*). There and elsewhere Jayanta refers to the king in flattering terms, in stark contrast to the criticism of Śaṅkaravarman’s rule found in the RT. Kalhaṇa reports that Śaṅkaravarman’s greedy and oppressive policies gradually increased with time.¹² In the NM (NM^{Va}, II 199,9–10, NM 6), however, there is also a passage in which Jayanta reveals that he was imprisoned, exiled, or for whatever reason was living in some sort of isolation, under the king’s order.¹³ One may

⁹ Cf. *Baudhāyanaśrautasūtra*, Ch. 13, Par. 30, Verse 140.8, *vaiśvadevīm sāmgrahaṇīm nīrvaped grāmakāmaḥ*.

¹⁰ *asmatpitāmaha eva grāmakāmaḥ sāmgrahaṇīm kṛtavān sa iṣṭisamāptisamanantaram eva gauramūlakaṃ grāmam avāpa*.

¹¹ See ĀD^{De}, Act IV, p. 204,3. See also Kavi, 1940.

¹² *atha krameṇa nṛpatir lobhābhyāsenā bhūyasā / ādhīyamānacitto ’bhut prajāpīdanapaṇḍitaḥ* (RT, V.165).

¹³ For a discussion of this passage, see Slaje, 2012, 128 *et passim*.