

A Study on the Marginalia in Some Nyāyamañjarī Manuscripts: The Reconstruction of a Lost Portion of the Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga*

I. Bhaṭṭa Jayanta's¹ major work Nyāyamañjarī (NM), "A Cluster of Flowers of Logic," is undoubtedly one of the most important and reliable textual sources for the reconstruction of philosophical and historical developments in Nyāya. Jayanta's productivity and versatile consideration of philosophical theories result in the presentation of a lively interaction between the Nyāya and other philosophical traditions, such as the Mīmāṃsā schools, the Buddhist epistemological tradition, the Cārvākas and so forth. The years since Frauwallner's treatment of some of these intellectual controversies, which may have taken place until the tenth century,² have witnessed a flowering of the historical study of the NM.³ Numerous references, both direct and indirect, are made in the NM

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¹ Cf. the Appendix.

² On his treatment of the NM as an important source for "earlier Nyāya" ("eine ungewöhnlich wertvolle Fundgrube für die Lehren des älteren Nyāya"), see Frauwallner 1936.

³ See, for example, Brahmānanda Gupta's dissertation (Gupta 1963). Cf. also the series of critical editions of selected portions of the NM by Kataoka, which are serious attempts to establish a more reliable text. The edition in Kataoka 2003b covers NM II 487,12-504,2, the *vijñānādvaitavāda* section; Kataoka 2004 covers NM I 629,14-649,11, the *āgamaprāmāṇya* section, Kataoka 2005 NM I 484,2-512,22, the *īśvarasiddhi* section, Kataoka 2007 NM I 1,1-12,13, the *śāstrārambha* section, and Kataoka 2008a NM II 14,15-21,15, the section on Kumāri's refutation of the *apoha* theory. Kataoka's ex-

to theories and discourses that can be verified in the extant philosophical literature; in many cases, however, the original works in which they appeared have been lost.

1.1 This aspect of the NM as a historically crucial witness of the thoughts of Jayanta's predecessors and contemporaries is corroborated and enhanced by Cakradhara's commentary on the NM, the Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga (NG), "The Solution to Difficult Points in the NM."

1.2 The date of Cakradhara has not yet been treated in detail and convincing evidence in general is lacking. Nagin J. Shah regards Cakradhara as a Kashmirian author and assigns him to the period between the tenth and twelfth century on the ground that "the Je[salmer] manuscript belongs to c. 13th century of the Vikrama Era."⁴ Shah's dating is followed by Dalsukh Malvania as "c. 10th or 11th century A. D." in his Preface to Shah's edition. However, since the Jaisalmer ms. used for the edition, hereafter abbreviated as J, is undated, Shah's dating, together with Malvania's assumption, appears to rest on the palaeographical or codicological assessment that was originally provided by Punyavijayaji in his descriptive catalogue of the Jaisalmer mss.: "*le. sam. anu.* (probably *lekhanā samvat anumānataḥ* is intended) 13mī śatābdī pūrvārdha,"⁵ that is to say, the date of copying is inferred to be the first half of the thirteenth century, most probably of the Vikrama era. If the dates of this period, approximately between 1201 and 1250, are converted, this corresponds to the second half of the twelfth century CE. Shah may have relied on this dating as the *terminus ante quem*, adding an interval of some fifty years. In the most recent catalogue of the Jaisalmer mss., Jambuvijayaji dates J to ca. "1300," probably following (or agreeing with) Punyavijayaji's estimate.⁶

Later, in one of his monographs on the NM, Shah dates Cakradhara to the "10th century A. D.," excluding the possibility of a later date in the

amination of the five printed editions of the work confirmed that two editions, namely, the Vizianagaram (cf. the Appendix) and Mysore (ed. K.S. Varadacharya, 1969 and 1983) editions, are indeed "based on manuscripts," but "can be improved with the help of manuscripts" (Kataoka 2003b: 317). Thus, after collating these two editions and recording their variant readings, Kataoka consulted the manuscript materials available to him, whose scripts range from Śāradā to Malayalam. Not consulted in Kataoka 2007 is the edition with an annotated Bengali translation by Pañcānana Tarkavāgīśa (Calcutta: Kalikātā Viśvavidyālaya, 1939-1941) which covers the first *āhnika*.

⁴ Cf. Shah's introduction (p. 2) to the edition of the NG.

⁵ Cf. Punyavijayaji 1972: 162, *kramāṅka* 386.

⁶ Cf. Jambuvijay 2000: 412, ms. no. (*gramthāṅka*) "ji.tā. 386."

eleventh century without giving a reason for this change of opinion.⁷ In the *EIP*,⁸ Cakradhara is dated to “1050” without further references; this dating is followed by a reference to *NCC* VI/282, where five independent entries for Cakradhara are found, but no information about the date of our Cakradhara, the son of Bhaṭṭa Śaṅkara, is provided.

The fact that Cakradhara mentions his *guru*, whom he calls Śaśāṅkadhara and Bhaṭṭaśrīśaśāṅkadhara,⁹ was already noted, but not taken into consideration in discussions of his date. Shah introduces Śaśāṅkadhara as the author of a commentary on Viśvarūpa’s *Ṭikā* on the *Nyāyabhāṣya*. He adds that this name is “not referred to in any other work.”¹⁰ However, as Theodor Aufrecht, the editor of the *Catalogus Catalogorum*, already pointed out,¹¹ a Bhaṭṭa Śaśāṅkadhara is referred to by Kṣīrasvāmin, a Kashmirian grammarian, as his *guru* in his *Kṣīratarāṅginī*. Kṣīrasvāmin mentions in this commentary on Pāṇini’s *Dhātupāṭha* that Bhaṭṭa Śaśāṅkadhara showed him the “fist of the *guru*” (*gurumuṣṭi*).¹² According to Cardona,¹³ Kṣīrasvāmin lived “no later than samvat 1100 (A. D. 1043/4),” following Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka’s suggestion.¹⁴ Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka further notes that Bhaṭṭa Śaśāṅkadhara had several students and that Puṅyarāja, a Kashmirian commentator on the *Vākya-padiya*, studied Bhartṛhari’s linguistic–philosophical work under some student of Bhaṭṭa Śaśāṅkadhara.¹⁵ The pandit evidently presupposed that the same Bhaṭṭa Śaśāṅkadhara is concerned.¹⁶ If the Bhaṭṭa Śaśāṅkadhara referred to by Kṣīrasvāmin were identical with the *guru* of Cakradhara, though there is no cogent evidence for this, it would follow that Cakradhara was a contemporary of Kṣīrasvāmin and that they studied under the same *guru* some time in the eleventh century CE. This assumption does not conflict with Puṅyavijaya’s above-mentioned assessment of J and would corroborate the localisation of Cakradhara’s

⁷ Cf. Shah 1992: Preface, p. 1.

⁸ Cf. *EIP* I,1/399, entry no. 604.

⁹ Cf. *NG* (S) 1,13 and 50,12.

¹⁰ Cf. *NG* (S), Introduction, p. 8, and Text, p.1, n. 1.

¹¹ Cf. *CC* I/638, s.v.

¹² Cf. *Kṣīratarāṅginī* 4,16-17: *bhaṭṭaśaśāṅkadharaḥ sva trāivaṃ gurumuṣṭim samādikṣat, yad āha – dvirūpo dhātvarthaḥ, bhāvaḥ kriyā ca* (see also Liebich’s introduction to his edition of the *Kṣīratarāṅginī*, p. 204).

¹³ Cf. Cardona 1976: 289.

¹⁴ Cf. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka 2057: 93-97, and *EIP* V/476, where the date “1050(?)” is given.

¹⁵ Cf. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka 2057: 445.

¹⁶ Cf. Yudhiṣṭhira Mīmāṃsaka, loc. cit.

literary activity in Kashmir as well as Nagin Shah's assumption that his native place was Kashmir.

1.3 The text of the NG was first edited by Shah in 1972.¹⁷ In his introduction, Shah describes the commentary as “having the nature of an annotation” rather than being “a commentary in the usual sense of the term explaining each and every term” (p. 4). He also points out its significance because of its informative character, namely, the explicit reference to sources of Jayanta's expositions. Cakradhara occasionally unveils the identity of unnamed personalities and philosophical traditions involved in the discussions presented in the NM; some of these personalities were hitherto unknown from other sources.¹⁸

Wezler critically examined Cakradhara's identifications and partially refined Shah's presentation. He could confirm Cakradhara's explicit identification of the Naiyāyika Adhyāyana with a certain Rucikāra belonging to the “Teachers” (*ācāryāḥ*); the identity of the “Commentators” (*vyākhyātāraḥ*), however, remained undetermined because of insufficient information.¹⁹ Thus Wezler acknowledges Cakradhara's independent knowledge of the earlier phase of the Nyāya tradition to some extent.²⁰ Furthermore, the textual materials which Cakradhara literally quotes display the NG's value as a secondary testimony in the context of the critical examination of extant texts; e.g., in the case of the Nyāyabhāṣya a reading found in the NG may be considered to reflect an earlier stage of the textual transmission of the NBh than the text found in the editions.²¹ This holds good also for the text of the NM as reflected in the *pratīkas* and quotations that can be extracted from the NG.²²

¹⁷ The text was also reproduced in Gaurinath Sastri's edition of the NM (*MM. Śivakumārasāstrī-granthamālā* 5.1, Varanasi 1982). However, there are some passages where significant emendations by Shah were eliminated by the editor.

¹⁸ They are briefly presented by Shah under “Important Authors and Works referred to in the Commentary” (NG [S], Introduction, p. 5-9).

¹⁹ For the most recent article on this topic, cf. Marui 2006.

²⁰ Wezler 1975: 138.

²¹ This case was exemplarily pointed out in Preisendanz 2000: 227, n. 28 and 29.

²² Shah already pointed out the unsatisfactory state of the Varanasi edition after a comparison of the text of the NM extracted from the *pratīkas* and other quotations (Shah calls them “chāyā-type *pratīkas*,” cf. Introduction, p. 4) in the NG (S) with the printed edition of the NM in the *Kaśhī Sanskrit Series* (ed. Sūrya Nārāyaṇa Śukla, KSS 106/15-16, 1st ed. Benares 1936-1934, 2nd ed. 1971-1969, 3rd ed. 1998); cf. Shah's Introduction to the NG (S), p. 9-10. A comparative list of selected readings in the Varanasi edition and the NG (S) is provided by him under the section “Important readings yielded by the Granthibhaṅga” (NG [S], Introduction, p. 10-14). Kataoka's critical edi-

2. From a text-critical point of view, however, the printed edition of the NG (S) is not free from a certain doubt about its reliability, as is often unavoidable in the case of texts edited on the basis of a *codex unicus*. For the edition two mss. were available, i.e., the Jaisalmer and Pune mss. (cf. NG [S], Introduction, p. 1), but the constituted text is virtually the reproduction of a text preserved in a single ms., since each ms. covers exactly one half of the text of the NG (S).²³ Thus, unless no further primary or secondary testimony, such as additional mss. or quotations of the NG in other, later works, is available, it is not easy to have even a rough idea of the stage of transmission of the NG. Especially when

tions (cf. n. 3 above) record the text quoted in the NG (S) in the apparatus containing readings found in secondary testimonia.

²³ It should be noted that Shah does not refer to a third manuscript of the NG previously preserved in the Jaisalmer Jain Bhandars. In the catalogue of the mss. in these collections first systematically compiled by C.D. Dalal, special mention of a manuscript of the NG is made in the prologue (Dalal 1923: Prastāvanā, p. 31, s.v. *kra.* 325[2]): “*iyam nyāyamañjarī jayantabhāṭṭakṛtā gautamasūtratātparyavṛttir avabudhyate | tasyā granthīnām viśamapadānām bhāṅgakartāyaṃ cakradharo bhāṭṭaśaṅkarātmaja ity ato ’dhīkam nāvagatam | asmīn aśvaghoṣasya rājyapālanāṭakakarṭṛtvam prādarśi.*” Dalal actually provides a brief description of the manuscript entitled “Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga [by Cakradhara]” under the serial number 325(2) on p. 40: “187-247 leaves, from 7th to 12th *āhnika*. At page [i.e., folio] 243 *kaḥ punar bhadaṃto śvaghoṣaḥ | yasya rājyapālanā nāma nāṭakam | kīdrśam ca rājyapālanāma nāṭakam iti prasamgam kṛtvā nāndyante tataḥ praviśati sūtradhāra ityādīkam paṭhen nṛtyec ca*”; this text which is quoted from Dharmakīrti’s Vādanyāya (Much 1991: I/19,12-16) is found in NG (S) 245,1-3 with the variants *bhadantāśvaghoṣaḥ* for *bhadamto* [’]śvaghoṣaḥ and *rāśtrapāla* for *rājyapāla*, and the omission of *gāyec*. — The Jaisalmer ms. used by Shah covers the text up to the end of the sixth *āhnika*. According to Shah, it ends on f. 185 (NG [S] p. 181); no information about the 186th folio, the last of a total of 186 folios, is supplied. The discrepancies between Shah’s presentation of J and my observations on the basis of the copies of this ms. accessible to me may be due to some editorial decisions Shah appears to have made in his edition, such as the renumbering of the folios or a different numbering of the fragmentary leaves. For example, my copies contain f. 186, and in fact the text ends on this folio clearly numbered 186, more precisely, on f. 186r,3 which is embellished with an ornamental picture, exactly reported by Punyavijayaji (“*sobhana*”); its backside is left blank. It can thus be inferred that the Jaisalmer ms. described by Dalal is the remaining half of a complete ms. (of which only the first half [ji. tā. 386] was consulted by Shah), because the Dalal ms. begins with the text of the seventh *āhnika* on f. 187 and J consists of 186 leaves. It may be that the Pune ms. covering the last six *āhnikas* is a direct or indirect copy of the ms. described by Dalal; most probably it is a direct copy which was collected, or possibly commissioned, by F. Kielhorn during the years 1873-1874; cf. Kielhorn’s brief description of the Pune ms. in Kielhorn 1881: 88 (Appendix, no. 88) for Cakradhara’s Nyāyamañjarīgranthibhaṅga: Fols. = 61, Lines = 23, Age = Do. (= N[ew], C[opy]). Place where bought = Jesalmīr, Remarks = Do. (= Complete [sic]). It is puzzling that the ms. described by Dalal is not mentioned in the subsequent two catalogues of the Jaisalmer mss. edited by Punyavijayaji and Jambuvijayaji. Thus it appears to be lost.

the NG is taken into consideration as a secondary testimony for readings in other earlier texts, its value for critical editions of such texts has to be carefully considered.

Despite the material limitation surrounding the edition of the NG, no grave doubts should be entertained concerning the constitution of the text. Shah has thoughtfully suggested innumerable emendations and, in the case of small corruptions and lacunae, supplements to the text.²⁴ Thanks to Shah's exhaustive attempt to improve the text transmitted in the mss., the edition provides the reader with a sufficiently readable text, except for the many places where the mss. were illegible or damaged, or parts of the leaves completely lost, all of which are noted accordingly or marked by a series of dots.

2.1 Concerning the damaged or lost parts of J, Shah informs us in his introduction (p. 1) that “[n]early 18 folios are missing and some are broken.” However, he supplies no further specification of the leaves concerned. If we rely simply on this report, J's missing leaves constitute nearly ten per cent of the total of 186 leaves, the number given in the catalogue. The precise number of broken leaves is not indicated.²⁵ The unfortunate condition of the ms., the brevity of Shah's description and the sheer fact that the text is reproduced from a *de facto* single ms. may evoke a certain chariness on the part of readers with a text-critical eye.

²⁴ With regard to the second ms. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, Shah remarks that it is full of corruptions. See his Introduction, p. 1. Unfortunately, Shah does not appear to explain his editorial conventions regarding the use of square and round brackets for the marking and correction of relevant *akṣaras*. However, from my collation of J it became clear that Shah used square brackets to indicate his filling of lacunae, and round brackets to enclose emendations made by him; the latter are placed immediately after the concerned *akṣara* or part of the text, sometimes accompanied by a question mark.

²⁵ According to Punyavijayaji's description (1972: 162), J consists of 186 leaves. In the relevant footnotes to his edition, Shah appears to properly note the missing leaves by stating “*nopalabhyate*” or “*nopalabdham*.” According to Shah, the following leaves are missing: f. 4, 5, 10, 34, 102, 105, 110, 115, 122, 130, 135, 136, 169, 170, 171, 172 and 178, altogether 17 leaves. This number is compatible with Shah's mention of “nearly 18 folios.” Illegible portions are indicated by the phrase “*avācyāny akṣarāṇi*”; according to Shah, they occur, e.g., on f. 21A, 121B, 151A, 152B, 168B, 179A and 180A. Shah also refers to broken, torn or damaged leaves by stating “*adhiko* (or: *mahān*) ’*mśo nopalabdhaḥ*” or “*khaṇḍitam*” with regard to f. 28, 131, 138 and 161. In the appendix (“1. Patrakhaṇḍāni”), he provides the transcription of twenty-three fragmentary broken or torn leaves. As for the missing leaves, Punyavijayaji (1972: 162) specifies nineteen missing leaves: f. 2-5, 10, 33, 34, 102, 115, 122, 131, 133, 135, 136, 139, 170, 172, 178 and 181.

In the spring of 2008, H.H. Muni Shree Jambuvijayaji kindly facilitated my access to copies of J. On close examination, it turned out that these xerox copies, which were prepared in 1998, show more lacunae than were recorded by Nagin Shah in 1972.²⁶ This leads me to assume that within only a few decades the ms. has unfortunately been subject to a natural and irreversible deterioration in spite of the fact that the Jaisalmer mss. are carefully preserved in the Jaisalmer Jain Bhandars. My collation furthermore points to not a few cases where Shah's edition of the text can be improved, as will be illustrated below in the critical apparatuses (cf. Section 4.1-4.14).

2.2 The edition of the NG can still receive further improvement if one pays attention to another kind of testimony for the text which I would like to present in this paper, namely, the marginal and interlinear glosses found in several mss. of the NM. A noteworthy feature is that sentences from the NG are incorporated into these marginalia. They are interspersed with the usual anonymous glosses. In some cases, the writers of the glosses refer to their source explicitly as *ṭīkā*, like in “*atha ṭīkā*,” “*iti ṭīkā*,” or “*iti ṭīkāyāḥ paryāyah*.” There are also a larger number of instances where the text of the NG is quoted without any specification of its source. These glosses can be used as primary textual witnesses by means of a thorough comparison of their readings with the readings found in the single ms. of the work.

Among the mss. of the NM accessible to me, four are of relevance because they contain extracts from the NG. Some passages quoted from

²⁶ On the huge project of replicating the Jaisalmer mss. by means of modern digitisation technology, cf. Wiles 1998 (reference obtained from Dr. Elliot M. Stern via Prof. Karin Preisendanz). The recent material status of J can tentatively be described as follows: a) Twenty leaves may be missing: f. *3, 4, 5, 10, 28 (damaged according to the edition), *33, 34, 102, 110, 115, 122, 130, *131 (damaged according to the edition), *132, *133, 135, 136, 169, 171 and *181. The asterisks mark six leaves that were still available to Shah when he prepared the edition. b) There are nine damaged or torn leaves, hereafter abbreviated as “J frag.,” whose pagination is still identifiable; they are placed towards the end of the ms. on xerox copies: f. 2 (= J frag. no. 9; the fragment is wrongly numbered 175A by a second hand), 98 (= J frag. no. 3), 105 (= J frag. no. 19, missing according to the edition), 134 (= J frag. no. 15), 138 (= J frag. no. 4, damaged according to the edition), 161 (= J frag. no. 23, damaged according to the edition), 170 (= J frag. no. 35, missing according to the edition), 172 (= J frag. no. 13), 178 (= J frag. no. 16, missing according to the edition). c) There are fifteen fragmentary leaves that require further scrutiny concerning their position in the ms.; four further fragments are treated in the present paper. d) The blank pages in the ms. (f. 80r, 81r, 124r, 125r and 186r) are not indicated in the edition, which leads to confusion concerning the actual folio numbers (e.g., 124 stands for f. 125v, 127 for f. 128, 128 for f. “128 hi,” and 181 for f. 182).

the NG are shared by some or all of the relevant mss., and some are retained in only a single ms. Furthermore, some “units” of Cakradhara’s commentary are supplied with independent comments by anonymous author(s). Whether more than one author, commentator or active reader was involved here cannot be determined with absolute certainty. However, the data in Table 1 (cf. p. 230ff. below) suggest a common source for some quotations and an interrelatedness of some glosses. It can nevertheless be assumed on the basis of the substantial variations between them that the glosses as well as the further comments on the NG were probably not composed by a single author at a specific point in time. It is more likely that the glosses were added, enlarged or modified by several persons during the transmission of the text of the NM.²⁷

2.2.1 There is a further point to be noted with regard to this new dimension opened up by the described excerpts from the NG. There are some passages that are referred to with the designation “*tīkā*” but are not found in Shah’s edition. Judging from the allocation of these passages in the NM mss., they belong to the lacunae recorded in the edition. Hence, it is possible to assume with some certainty that these hitherto unknown text passages, which most probably stem from the NG, are to be assigned to the text of J’s missing folios 4 and 5, whose lack is indicated in NG (S) 4,19 and the corresponding footnote. Thus some passages on lost parts of leaves in J can be restored and reconstructed, as will be shown in Section 4 below.

2.2.2 Attention should also be paid to Appendix 1 in Shah’s edition, entitled “*Patrakhaṇḍāni*,” where altogether twenty-three fragmentary leaves are transcribed by him with occasional text-critical suggestions²⁸ and the addition of punctuation; Shah refers to these torn and fragmentary leaves with the siglum “K.” On the xerox copies of J made in 1998, however, there are thirty-seven fragmentary leaves placed towards the end of the ms.,²⁹ most of which find their correspondences among the fragments listed under “*Khaṇḍitapatrāṇi*.”³⁰ Fragmentary leaves are of

²⁷ For similar observations about the marginal notes in some mss. of the *Yuktidīpikā* (YD), cf. Motegi 1997 and the introduction to the edition of the YD, section 5 (p. XXIV-XXV).

²⁸ Cf. n. 25 above.

²⁹ For some details, cf. b) and c) in n. 26 above.

³⁰ To present precise details about the correspondence between the fragments under “*Khaṇḍitapatrāṇi*” and the fragments on the xerox copies has to be deferred to another occasion.

high relevance to the present study, inasmuch as they contain text passages that can also be located in the NM mss.

2.2.3 A partial literal correspondence between text passages found as marginalia in the NM mss. and on the fragmentary leaves strengthens the hypothesis that the text restored in the following is *de facto* that of Cakradhara’s NG (cf. also Section 2.3.2 below). My comparison of the relevant marginalia with the fragmentary leaves designated as “K” by Shah shows that folio 4 of J – reported by the editor as missing or “not found” (*nopalabdham*) – corresponds to K13 and K15 as well as to J frag. f. 6 and 32 (my numbering). In Shah’s edition, these fragments are given without any indication of their relation to the text of the NM. I could determine that the recto side of folio 4 corresponds to K13B and K15A as well as J frag. f. 6r and 32r, the reverse side to K13A and K15B as well as J frag. f. 6v and 32v in this order. In the reconstruction of the available part of the first line on the recto side of folio 4 on the basis of K13B and K15A as well as J frag. f. 6r and 32r, for example, the text can be given as follows:³¹

- (K13B,1) *dena vāhuśrutyaśtutīra (K15A,1) [u]ttarārdhenoktā | tathā ca jartīlayavān* vā juhuyād iti jartīlayavā grho me*
- (J frag. f. 6r,1) \diamond *dena vāhuśrutyaśt(a)tīr./ (J frag. f. 32r,1) /⁺.ttarārthenoktā | tathā ca jartīla[vā]yavāgvā juhuyād iti jartīlayavāgvā homo |*

If one assumes the average number of sixty *akṣaras* per line calculated by Shah (Introduction, p. 1), the first line of folio 4 (Fragment 1 in Table 1 below, p. 230) may be reconstructed as follows:³²

[pravartsyatīty āśaṅkamāno vedo ’lpaśrutād bibhetīti, prakalpyavā]dena bahuśrutastutīr uttarārdhenoktā | tathā ca jartīlayavāgvā juhuyād iti jartīlayavāgvā homa[prati]

The portion of the text that has a correspondence in K13B and K15A as well as in J frag. f. 6r and 32r is underlined. The rest is supplemented

³¹ The asterisk indicates the *virāma* sign; the series of four dots (“....”) are taken over from Shah’s edition; square brackets in the reproduction of the K-transcriptions are in accordance with Shah’s usage (cf. n. 24 above); “/” indicates the beginning or end of a fragment; “ \diamond ” indicates a space for the string hole; square brackets in my transcriptions of the J-fragments indicate the deletion of an *akṣara*; a single dot (“.”) in my transcriptions indicates an illegible part of an *akṣara*, a superscribed plus sign (“+”) part of an *akṣara* lost because of damage to the leaf.

³² In this paper, I tentatively call each reconstructed passage “Fragment”; these “Fragments” are consecutively numbered.

from my reconstruction (cf. Section 4.1.1 below) and put between square brackets. The beginning, namely, *pravartṣyatīty ā*, can be determined because the immediately preceding words *prataraṇenānuṣṭhāne*, which appear at the end of the last line of folio 3 verso still available to Shah, can be found in the edited text.³³ The final *akṣaras*, viz. *prati*, are uncertain. This reconstruction shows that the text of K13B,1 and J frag. f. 6r,1 directly connects with K15A,1 and J frag. f. 32r, respectively, and the two fragments have to be joined. The space for the string hole visible on J frag. f. 6r,1 clearly indicates that the available portion of folio 4 of J contains in fact the text in the right-hand column of the leaf; this means that the text in the left-hand column is lost.³⁴

2.3 The author of the present paper has taken up the task of transcribing the glosses in the relevant NM mss., determining their relation to the NM and their mutual relation, collating their readings when they are the same or similar, and collecting the NG fragments preserved among them. The first and last tasks have been completed for the two Göttingen mss. (cf. Section 3.2). In this paper, as a first result of this engagement with the marginal notes, an attempt will be made to reconstruct the text of two leaves (f. 4 and 5) of J, as divided into fourteen units, Fragments 1 to 14.

2.3.1 For the identification of a marginal text in the NM mss. as a passage from the NG, the following two criteria were adopted: (1) the correspondence of (part of) the phrases to text found in Shah's K transcription and in J frag., and (2) the coherent sequence and allocation of the glosses with regard to the text of the NM. In practice, these two criteria operate interactively.

2.3.2 The first criterion serves to determine not only whether a gloss belongs to the text of the NG, but also the precise extent of the text of

³³ Since folio 3 is missing in the xerox copies of J available to me (cf. n. 26 above), in this case the only source is Shah's edition.

³⁴ It should furthermore be pointed out that K13B consists of three lines, K15A of six, K13A of four and K15B of seven, which is confirmed by the xerox copies. According to Shah's description, the average number of lines on a leaf is five or six (NG [S], Introduction, p. 1); my allocation of the two fragments K13 and K15, i.e., J frag. f. 6 and 32, shows that folio 4 obviously contained six lines on the recto side and seven lines on the verso side; in the case of folio 4 recto, three lines of K13B and J frag. f. 6r are lost, in the case of folio 4 verso, three lines of K13A and J frag. f. 6v. This calculation is based on the number of lines on the matching fragments, namely, K15A and J frag. 32r, and K15B and J frag. 32v.

a gloss possibly belonging to the NG. Here the fragmentary leaves of J play a decisive role. The selection of a gloss as belonging to the NG is confirmed when they retain part of it. The evidence of the fragmentary leaves also allows a judgment about where a unit of the commentary begins and ends, and where the subsequent unit begins. This judgment about the extent of commentarial units must be made meticulously and with much deliberation, especially when a gloss contains some text from the NG as well as a gloss on it or on the text of the NM – all the more so when direct evidence from the fragments and K transcriptions is lacking; in this latter case the determination of the extent of the text of the NG is extremely difficult. Without the fragments of J, the selection of a text as belonging to the NG can hardly be justified, except for the cases where a gloss is explicitly designated as *tīkā*.

2.3.3 The second criterion serves to determine the correlation of text found in the fragments and K transcriptions with a marginal gloss in the NM mss. and to identify its referent in the NM. Here the marginalia play the decisive role. This criterion is put into practice most efficiently when the text found in the fragments and K transcriptions consists in only a few phrases or *akṣaras*. Even if such phrases or letters are corrupt and meaningless or, in the case of the transcriptions, were interpreted differently by Shah, the coherent sequence and allocation of the marginalia with regard to the text of the NM make it possible to coordinate the text of the fragments and K transcriptions with that of the glosses.³⁵ The eminent and experienced editor had to decipher the severely damaged and torn leaves without any association to the relevant context in the NM; to some extent his transcriptions thus have to be considered provisional and preliminary.

2.3.4 Concerning my reconstruction, it has to be added that not all of the text expected to have been written on folia 4 and 5 could be restored. In two instances (Fragments 10 and 13), text preserved on the fragmentary leaves does not have a correspondence in the glosses and thus cannot be completely restored; the lost text may amount to approximately two lines, namely, around 120 *akṣaras*.

³⁵ There are also some substantial variant readings found in the fragments vis-à-vis the glosses. However, the discussion of the relation between the two apparently distinct lines of transmission of the NG is beyond the scope of the present study. Some examples will be provided in the critical apparatuses in Sections 4.1-4.14, but without discussion of the divergences.

2.4 Apart from the reconstruction provided in this paper, the project of studying the marginalia in the NM mss. is concerned with another perspective already addressed above (cf. Section 2). If the correspondence of part of the marginalia with the text of the NG can be verified on the basis of J's evidence, there arises the possibility of a comparison of the text constituted from one or several glosses with that of J from a text-critical point of view, that is, the basis for the critical and philological evaluation of the published text of the NG based only on the transmission in the Jaisalmer ms. can be enlarged. Most of the text recovered from the glosses is from the beginning part of the work.

3. Let us now turn our attention to the general picture of the glosses. Four mss. of the NM are currently of high relevance to the study of the marginalia: one from Calcutta, two from Göttingen, and one from Varanasi. Unfortunately, the most prolific source, namely, the Göttingen ms. G1 (Cod. Ms. Sanscr. Mu. I 95), breaks off in the middle of the first daily lesson (*āhnikā*) of the NM. The number of the glosses is, roughly speaking, around two hundred and seventy for the text up to NM I 55,4; the last gloss in G1 refers to this passage of the NM. With the termination of this ms., only the ms. from Calcutta remains relevant and the available textual material decreases in frequency of occurrence as well as in number.

3.1 Before introducing the individual mss., let me briefly describe the writing area and style, the way of allocating a gloss to its reference in the main body of the text of the NM, and the contents of the glosses.

3.1.1 The glosses to be discussed in more detail below are found in the peripheral margins, i.e., the top, right-hand, left-hand and bottom margins. In the case of the two Śāradā mss. from Göttingen, they are also written between lines. If the text is relatively long or not short enough to fit into the respective margin, it moves into another margin; some glosses thus run from the top into the right-hand or the left-hand margin, some from the left-hand margin into the interlinear space, and some from the bottom margin to the top margin on the next page.

Some glosses are clearly distinguished from others because they are written in a block with some distance from others; some are written very close to each other and without any graphical distinction, i.e., they occur simply in a sequence.

3.1.2 The spatial relation of the glosses to the main body of the text will be spoken of when the individual mss. are described. Generally, the

glosses are written close or parallel to the relevant text of the NM. Depending on the ms., the point of reference in the main text is marked with different signs, such as a small circle (G1 and G2) or a double stroke that looks like an equal sign (C). Yet, the referents are not marked consistently throughout a ms. In the absence of marking, the position where a gloss is written helps to infer its allocation, even though not always in a conclusive way.

3.1.3 The content of the glosses can be roughly classified as follows:³⁶

1. Indication of the referent of a pronoun
2. Grammatical analysis and dissolution of a compound, i.e., so-called *vigrahavākyas*, as well as clarification of the meaning of nominal endings or verbal suffixes
3. Clarification of the advocates of doctrinal positions, mostly identified as Mīmāṃsakas, Naiyāyikas or Buddhists; assignment of a position to an opponent (*pūrvapakṣa*) or the proponent (*uttarapakṣa*)
4. Explanation of the meaning of a word or phrase
5. Exposition on a philosophical tenet or its presuppositions

Because two of the relevant mss. of the NM are written in Śāradā script, we may be dealing here with the custom of adding abundant glosses, a notable feature of mss. produced in Kashmir. The other relevant mss. written in Devanāgarī script may thus be related to ancestral ms(s). originally written in Śāradā script. This situation is exemplarily shown with regard to the mss. of the *Yuktidīpikā* utilised by Wezler and Motegi. The glosses retrieved from the *Yuktidīpikā* mss. were taken into special account by them and adduced as “Ṭippaṇī” in a separate apparatus in their critical edition of the work published in 1998. In fact, the possible provenance, namely, Kashmir, of the glosses in the NM mss. is compatible with the provenance of the NM itself.³⁷

3.2 In the following, I provide a preliminary and brief description of the relevant mss. of the NM with special attention to the way in which their marginalia are related to the text of the NG.

³⁶ For the classification of the content of the marginal notes found in the mss. of the *Yuktidīpikā*, cf. YD, Introduction, section 5, p. XXIV-XXV, and Motegi 1997.

³⁷ On the provenance of the NM cf., for example, Raghavan 1964: i-ii; Wezler 1976: 344-345; Dezső 2004: v-xiii.

- C: Ms. preserved in the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Acc. No. G-10991. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Collections of the Asiatic Society (Government Collection)*, ed. by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, rev. and ed. by Narendra Chandra Vedantatirtha and Chintaharan Chakravarti, Vol. XI: *Philosophy*, Calcutta 1957, p. 105-108, Ser. No. 7532. Undated. “[C]ountry-made paper.” Folios 1-375 (f. 291 is missing). “Modern Nāgara” script. Incomplete; the ms. covers the text of the first through tenth *āhnika*. 31.1 × 15.2 cm. 11 lines to a page and ca. 50 *akṣaras* to a line. The last chapter colophon (f. 325v,1) reads: *bhatajjayaṃtakṛtau nyāyamamjaryām daśamam āhnikam samāptam** ||.

The collation was undertaken on the basis of a microfilm. The marginal notes are neatly written in Devanāgarī script, possibly by the scribe who also wrote the main text. They are found in the peripheral margins and are more extensive in quantity and cover more of the text than the glosses in the other mss. The first marginal note on f. 1r (*anyo* [sic] *vyācakṣate*) corresponds to a phrase in NG (S) 2,10-11. The last block consisting of two units of the commentary is found on f. 187v in the fourth *āhnika* of the NM, the first corresponding to NG (S) 126,27-127,3, and the second to 127,4-5; these glosses contain quotations from the NM, *govindasvāminah* (NM I 698,5) and *pratipattikartavyatāpi kutaḥ* (NM I 698,15), respectively.³⁸ The system of referring a gloss to the text in the main body of the ms. is basically that of placing a horizontal double stroke above an *akṣara* belonging to the word(s) to be commented upon; however, the referent is not consistently indicated in this way. Lacunae in the main text as well as in the marginal notes are indicated by a series of superscript dots, which suggests illegibility or the loss of text due to material damage to the exemplar used by the scribe.

- G1: Ms. preserved at the State and University Library, Göttingen (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen), Acc. No. Mu I 95 (Cod. Ms. Sanser Mu. I, 95). *Indische und Nepalische Handschriften*, ed. by K.L. Janert and N.N. Poti. [*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland II/2*]. Wiesbaden 1970, p. 229, Ser. No. 863. Undated. Paper. 18 leaves. Śāradā script. Incomplete; the ms. covers NM I 1,7 to 80,9 and ends on f. 15v. 25 ×

³⁸ The latter gloss is a problematic case with regard to the transmission of the text of the NM and the NG. The relevant text of the gloss on NM I 699,8 as found in C (f. 187v) runs as follows: *pratipattikartavyatāpi kuta itī pratipattikurvaty upadiśyate sā cet* jñātā bhavati tadā kartuśakya padārthānām**.

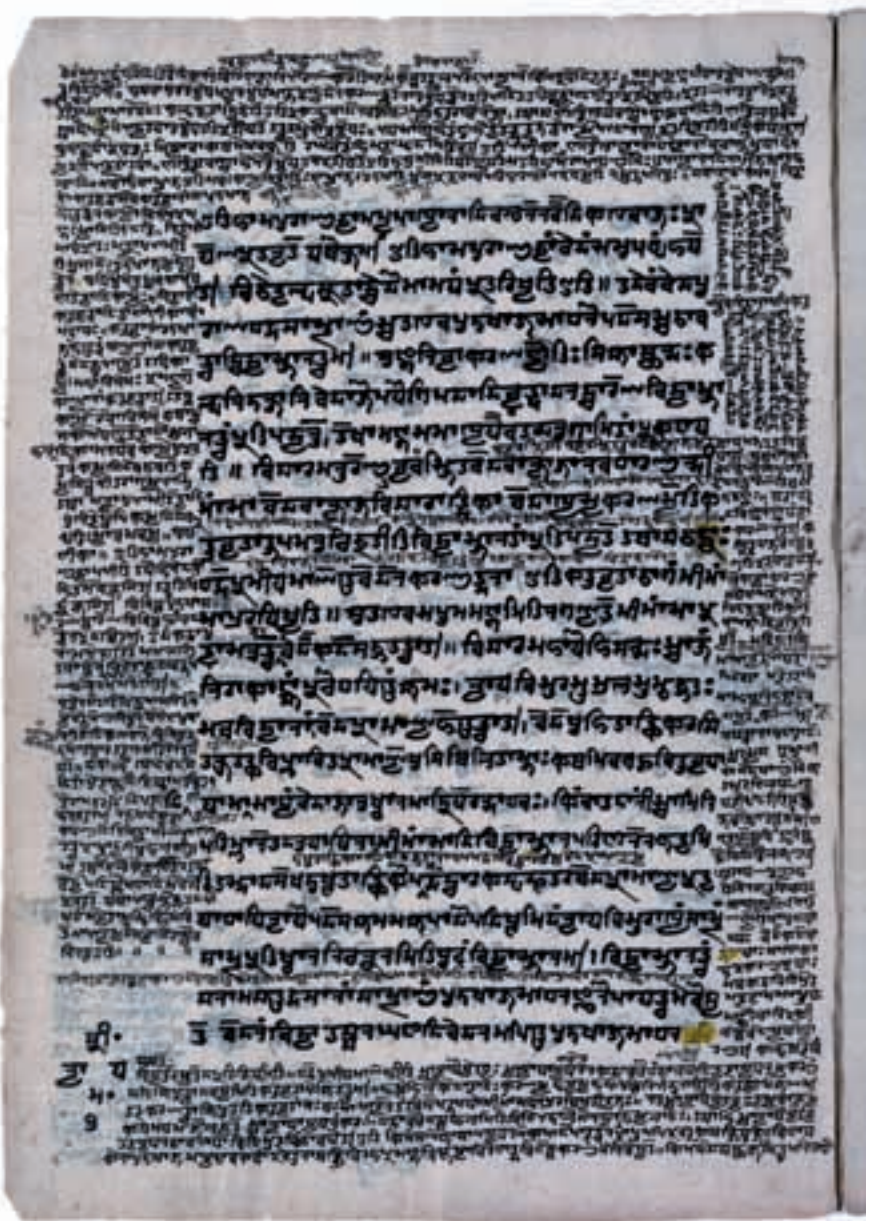


Figure 1: f. 2v of G1
 © Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen

17 and 17 × 11 cm. 20 to 28 lines to a page and ca. 30 *akṣaras* to a line. No colophon available.

Marginal notes (cf. Figure 1) are neatly written in Śāradā script probably by the scribe of the main text; they are written in the peripheral margins and interlinear space, and in some cases run slanted or vertical to the main text. They appear on both sides of the leaves up to folio 11 with the exception of f. 9r. The last gloss on f. 11v refers to *anavasthā bhavet* (NM I 55,4).³⁹ The allocation of the marginal glosses is mostly not indicated; sometimes a circle marks both the gloss and the text it refers to.

- G2: Ms. preserved at the State and University Library, Göttingen (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen), Acc. No. Mu II 26 (Cod. Ms. Sanscr Mu. II, 26). *Indische und Nepalische Handschriften*, ed. by K.L. Janert and N.N. Poti. [*Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland II/2*]. Wiesbaden 1970, p. 228, Ser. No. 862. Undated. Paper. 18 leaves. Śāradā script. Incomplete; the ms. covers NM I 1,7 to 45,6 and ends on f. 18r. 21.5 × 14 and 17 × 10 cm. 16 to 19 lines to a page and ca. 18 *akṣaras* to a line. No colophon available.

The marginal notes are written in Śāradā script seemingly by the scribe of the main text. The leaves are damaged at the edges and part of a gloss is occasionally lost. The glosses are mostly written in the peripheral margins, sometimes vertical to the main text, and in some cases in the interlinear space. The last interlinear gloss, i.e., *tadīyena* (f. 18r, i.l. 9), relates to *vārttikakṛtāpi* (NM I 44,4); it is shared by G1 (cf. 10r, i.l. 2). The allocation of the glosses to the main text is frequently not specified; normally, if they are written in either of the side margins, they are placed on the same level as the referred text.

- V: Ms. preserved at the Central Library, Banaras Hindu University, Acc. No. C1015. *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in Gaekwad Library, Bharat Kala Bhavan Library and Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya Library, Banaras Hindu University*, by Rama Shankar Tripathi, Varanasi 1971, Ser. No. 3C/2435. Undated. Paper. 114 leaves (“pp 160” according to the label sheet). Kashmirian Devanāgarī script. Incomplete. The ms. covers the text of the first through fourth *āhnika* and ends at NM II 15,13 (*tasyānu*) on f. 83v (83 leaves altogether); the text restarts with NM II 408,5 (*t* jñānānutpattiḥ*) in

³⁹ Since the tenth leaf of J is missing (cf. NG [S] 10, n. 4), it cannot be decided whether the gloss belongs to the NG.

the eighth *āhnikā* on f. 50r, and continues until the end of the tenth *āhnikā* on f. 80r (31 leaves altogether). Ca. 23 lines to a page and ca. 55 *akṣaras* to a line. 35.0 × 20.2 cm. The last chapter colophon reads (f. 80r,17-18): || || *iti śrībhāṭajayaṃtasya kṛtau nyāyamañjaryām* daśamam āhnikam samāpta|m** || (“|” functions as a line-filler).

The marginal notes are written in Devanāgarī script similar to that of the main body of the text, but seemingly by another hand. They are written in the peripheral margins. Occasionally they are allocated to the wrong part of the main text. The last gloss (f. 4v), which is of the more extensive kind, is made on *sādhakatama* in NM I 31,13-17; glosses thereafter are only occasional. All glosses are left without special allocation signs. In some cases, lacunae or possibly illegible *akṣaras* are indicated by a series of dots.

3.3 Table 1 below indicates the correspondence between Shah’s edition and the text of the NG as found in the marginal and interlinear glosses in the NM mss. As mentioned above (cf. Section 2.3), this table displays the occurrences of such quotations only up to the point where the text of G1 ends.

Abbreviations and Conventions

Fragment: indicates a recovered part of the text of the NG reported as missing in Shah’s edition.

The position of all blocks of text constituting a marginal note is indicated together with the line numbers of the individual blocks. For example, “1v, t.m. 1-3, l.m. 1-17, b.m. 1” indicates that the marginal note on f. 1v is distributed over three blocks: the first one is located in the top margin and extends over lines 1 to 3; the text continues in lines 1 to 17 of a block found in the left-hand margin (actually, the complete text in this margin) and ends with the first line of the block of text in the bottom margin.

i.l.: indicates the interlinear position of a gloss; the Arabic numeral refers to the line of the main text above which the gloss is written.

b.m.: indicates the position of a gloss in the bottom margin.

l.m.: indicates the position of a gloss in the left-hand margin.

r.m.: indicates the position of a gloss in the right-hand margin.

t.m.: indicates the position of a gloss in the top margin.

An Arabic numeral within round brackets indicates a block of text which is graphically separated from other text; the blocks are counted from the top; separate line numbers are given for each block.

A / B: used by Nagin Shah to indicate the recto and verso sides of the pieces transcribed in the appendix to his edition; the Arabic numerals subsequent to A / B were added by me and refer to the lines of a given piece. If a line contains (portions of) the text of more than one Fragment, this is indicated with lower case letters (a, b, c) following the line number.

TABLE 1: CONCORDANCE

NG (S) / Fragment	J frag.	K	C	G1	G2	V
1,16-19					1v, t.m. 1-2, r.m. 1-4	
2,10-3,15			1v, t.m. 1-3, l.m. 1-17, b.m. 1	1v, t.m. 1-7, r.m. 1-12		1v, t.m. 1-5, r.m. (1) 1-8
3,16				1v, i.l. 16	2v, i.l. 7	1v, r.m. (2) 1
3,17-4,4			2r, t.m. 1-2, r.m. 1-16, b.m. 1	2r, i.l. 14, r.m. 1-23, b.m. 1-4		1v, l.m. 1-25, b.m. 1-2
4,5-7				2v, t.m. 7, l.m. 1-3		1v, b.m. 4-5
4,8-16			2v, t.m. 1-2, r.m. 1-17	2v, l.m. 16-41		2r, t.m. 3-5, r.m. 1-14
4,16-19 and Fragment 1	6r,1; 32r,1; 6r,2; 32r,2; 6r,3	13B,1; 15A,1; 13B,2; 15A,2; 13B,3a		2v, t.m. 1-5		2r, b.m. 1-4
Fragment 2	6r,3; 32r,3-6; 32v,1	13B,3b; 15A,3-6; 15B,1		2v, r.m. (3) 2-38; b.m. 1		
Fragment 3	32v,2-3; 6v,1; 32v,4; 6v,2; 32v,5; 6v,3; 32v,6; 6v,4; 32v,7; 8v,1	15B,2-3; 13A,1; 15B,4; 13A,2; 15B,5; 13A,3; 15B,6; 13A,4; 15B,7; 8B,1		2v, b.m. 1-6; 3r, t.m. 1-2		
Fragment 4	37v,1; 8v,2; 37v,2; 8v,3	18B,1; 8B,2; 18B,2; 8B,3		3r, t.m. 2-4		

NG (S) / Fragment	J frag.	K	C	G1	G2	V
Fragment 5	37v,3	18B,3		3r, l.m. (1) 1, i.l. 3		3r, t.m. 1
Fragment 6	8v,4; 37v,4; 8v,5	8B,4; 18B,4; 8B,5		3r, i.l. 3, l.m. (1) 2-3, i.l. 4, l.m. (1) 4-6, i.l. 5, l.m. (1) 7-8		3r, t.m. 2-3
Fragment 7	37v,5	18B,5a		3r, r.m. 35-39		3r, r.m. (2) 1-6
Fragment 8	37v,5-6; 37r,1	18B,5b-6; 18A,1a		3v, l.m. 1-9		3r, l.m. (1) 1-14
Fragment 9	37r,1	18A,1b		3v, i.l. 17	5v, r.m. 1-3	
Fragment 10 ⁴⁰	37r,1; 8r,2; 37r,2	18A,1c; 8A,1; 18A,2a				
Fragment 11	37r,2; 8r,3; 37r,3	18A,2b; 8A,2; 18A,3	5r, l.m. 1-11	4v, l.m. (2) 1, i.l. 13, l.m. (2) 2-4, i.l. 14, l.m. (2) 5		3v, t.m. 1-2
Fragment 12	8r,4; 37r,4	8A,3; 18A,4a	5r, l.m. 11-17	4v, l.m. (3) 1-4	7v, l.m. 1-6	3v, t.m. 2
Fragment 13 ⁴¹	37r,4; 8r,5	18A,4b; 8A,4				

⁴⁰ No corresponding text for Fragment 10 is found in the NM mss. The text is known merely from J frag. and K. The available text portions and their sequence on the fragmentary leaves are the following (for the conventions, cf. Section 2.2.3 above):

- (K18A,1c) *arthasaṃśayāc ceti* | (K8A,1) *utāvāptis tu nāśaṃ ...* (K18A,2a) *śaṅkāyāṃ tv anarthasaṃśayaḥ* |
- (J frag. f. 37r,1) *arthasaṃśayāc ceti* || (J frag. f. 8r,2) *|(u)tāvāptis tu nāśa* ∆ | (J frag. f. 37r,2) *|.āśaṅkāyāṃ tv anarthasaṃśayaḥ* |

The phrase *arthasaṃśayāc ceti* in Fragment 10 may be considered a quotation of NM I 14,7-8. The approximate number of *akṣaras* missing between K18A,1c and K8A,1 is about fifteen, and there may have been about seventeen between K8A,1 and K18A,2a. The expected text would thus have consisted of approximately 55 *akṣaras*. It seems that no other comment is lost between Fragments 10 and 11, since *anarthasaṃśayaḥ* in K18A,2a is immediately followed by the quotation of *vyāpakānupalabdhyeti* which introduces the subsequent comment, i.e., Fragment 11.

⁴¹ The available text portions and their sequence in Fragment 13 are the following (for the conventions, cf. Section 2.2.3):

- (K18A,4b) *sāmā ...* (K8A,4) *... śeṣātmanā tvasya*
- (J frag. f. 37r,4) *sāmā* || (J frag. f. 8r,5) *|śeṣātmanā (tvasyu) ∆|*

These text portions have no correspondence in the marginalia of the NM mss. The approximate number of missing *akṣaras* of the text to be expected is difficult to estimate.

NG (S) / Fragment	J frag.	K	C	G1	G2	V
Fragment 14 and 4,20-21/ MS J f. 6r,1	37r,5; 8r,6; 37r,6	18A,5; 8A,5; 18A,6	6r, t.m. 1-2	5r, i.l. 16, r.m. (2) 1-12		3v, l.m. (2) 1-16
4,22-23			6v, l.m. 1-6	5v, r.m. (1) 1-6	9v, r.m. 1-6	4r, t.m. 3
4,23-5,9				5v, l.m. (2) 1-11; 5v, i.l. 20; r.m. (2) 1-8, b.m. 1-2		4r, t.m. 4, r.m. 1-20
5,9-11				5v, b.m. 2-3		4r, r.m. 21- 26, b.m. 1
5,9-11				5v, b.m. 3-7		4r, b.m. 1-3
5,12-15			6v, b.m. (1) 1-2	6r, l.m. (1) 1-4, i.l. 6, r.m. (1) 1-2		4r, l.m. (1) 1-12
5,16-17				6r, l.m. (2) 1, i.l. 20, l.m. (2) 2-7	10v, l.m. 1-10	4v, t.m. 2
5,18-20			7v, t.m. 1-2	6v, l.m. (1) 1-9	11r, t.m. 1-3	4v, t.m. 3-4
6,1-2			7v, b.m. 1-2	6v, r.m. (2) 1-7	11v, l.m. (2) 1-5	4v, r.m. (2) 1-3
6,3-14				7r, t.m. 1-6	12v, t.m. 1-4, l.m. 1-7, 12-23	4v, l.m. (5) 1-12; b.m. 1-13
6,15-17				7r, r.m. (2) 1-7	13r, t.m. 1-2, r.m. 1	4v, r.m. (4) 1-8
6,18-19				7v, r.m. 1-5	13v, t.m. 1-2, repeated on 13v, r.m.	4v, b.m. 3-4
6,20-21 (partially)				7v, i.l. 19	13v, b.m. 1-3	
7,1-2			9v, r.m. 1-5	7v, b.m. 1-2	14r, r.m. 1-6	
7,2-3 (partially)			9v, r.m. 5-10	8r, r.m. (1) 1-5	14r, r.m. 7-13	
7,4-6				8r, r.m. (2) 1-7	14v, l.m. (2) 1-10	
7,7-8				8r, l.m. (2) 1-3	15r, l.m. (2) 1-7	
7,9-15				8v, l.m. (3) 1-10, b.m. 1-3	15v, b.m. 1-3, r.m. (3) 1-3, r.m. (1) 1	

NG (S) / Fragment	J frag.	K	C	G1	G2	V
7,16-8,1					16v, t.m. 1-4	
8,3-15 ⁴²					17r, t.m. 1-5, r.m. 1-14, 17-25	
9,1-6					17r, l.m. (4) 5-6; b.m. 1-4	
9,7-13					17v, t.m. 1-4, l.m. (1) 1-7	
10,6-7					17v, l.m. (2) 1-5	

3.4 The analysis of the mutual relationship of the marginalia will have to take into consideration three text types: (1) glosses on the NM, (2a) citations from the NG and (2b) glosses on them. A detailed discussion is beyond the scope of this article; however, my collation so far suggests that the marginalia in mss. C, G1 and V go back to a common source.⁴³ G2 seems to represent a different stream of transmission as concerns the marginalia. In quite a number of examples, C, G1 and V share extensive glosses on phrases and expressions used by Jayanta (text type 1), as well as glosses on the NG (text type 2b). It may safely be said that these glosses, which occasionally also relate to expressions used by Cakradhara, were composed by anonymous author(s), even though it cannot be ascertained how and when they were composed, or whether the author of text type 1 is different from the author of text type 2b. Glosses of text type 2b are rare in G2 that is characterised by brief glosses on words and pronouns used in the NM; in fact, there is only one case where G2 attests a gloss on a quotation from NG (S) 5,18-20, which is shared with G1.

⁴² Part of the beginning text in this block appears again on f. 17r, t.m. (2) 1-2; it corresponds to NG (S) 8,3-4.

⁴³ This can be illustrated by a text passage in G1 (f. 6r, l.m. [1] 1-4, i.l. 6 and r.m. [1] 1-4) which is collated below with C (f. 6v, b.m. [1] 1-2) and V (f. 4r, l.m. [1] 1-15): *anyajñānānaupayikam iti svārthe vinayādipāthāt thak* hrasvas ca anyajñānasya vānu-pāyah | sa cāpavargasādhanam na punah pramāṇādijñānam iva prameyajñānopāyatayety arthaḥ upamānaṁ tu kvacit karmaṇi sopayogaṁ gavayam ālabhetetyādau iti tīkā | upāya evaupayikaṁ na aupayikam anaupayikam* |*. (Variants: *-jñānānaupayikam*] G1; *jñānānopāyikam* C, V - *-pāthāt thak**] G1; *pāṭās tak** C, V - *sa cāpavarga-*] G1; *sadapavarga* C, V - *kvacit*] C, G1; *kvacit* V - *ālabhetetyādau*] G1; *ālabhatetyādau* C, V - *anaupayikam**] C, G1; *anaupāyikam** V). This passage contains the text of the NG which is found in NG (S) 5,12-15.

3.5 As regards glosses of the first type and their possible date of composition, one gloss shared by C, G1 and V refers to a historically verifiable person and his work: *ity asya prapañcas tu śitikaṅṭhācāryaviracite bālabodhinīnyāse draṣṭavyaḥ* (“The details of this [discussion], however, should be looked up in the Bālabodhinī-Nyāsa composed by Ācārya Śitikaṅṭha”).⁴⁴ This statement appears as a concluding remark added after a grammatical discussion relating to the first *sūtra* of the Nyāyasūtra. The name of the “teacher” can be verified in some secondary sources.⁴⁵ Śitikaṅṭha is known to have written a commentary called Nyāsa on Jagaddhara’s Bālabodhinī, a commentary on the Kashmirian recension of the Kātantra; the text of the Nyāsa is hitherto unpublished. Because he is dated to the fifteenth century, his explicit mention in this gloss puts the date of its composition evidently after Śitikaṅṭha’s time. Whether this dating also applies to other relatively lengthy glosses must remain open.

There is a highly interesting coincidence revealed by the colophon of a NM ms. preserved at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (BORI), Pune (Ms. No. 390/1875-76). This birch-bark ms. written in Śāradā script and considered to be the oldest dated ms. of Jayanta’s *magnum opus* was utilised by Gangadhara Shastri for the *editio princeps*.⁴⁶ The colophon of this ms. originally procured by Georg Bühler⁴⁷ reveals that it was copied by Ācārya Śitikaṅṭhasvāmin in 1394 of the

⁴⁴ Cf. C f. 6r, r.m. 10-12 (written vertically to the main text) = G1 f. 5v, l.m. 6-9 = V f. 4r, t.m. 2-3.

⁴⁵ Witzel (1994: 27) reports that G.A. Grierson (in: *The Language of the Mahā-Naya-Prakāsa. An Examination of the Kāshmirī as written in the Fifteenth Century. [Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal XI/2].* Calcutta 1929) investigated another work of Śitikaṅṭha, the Mahānayaprakāsa. Cf. also CC II/153, with various entries on Śitikaṅṭha and the remark that he “lived under Hassan, son of Haidarashāh of Kāçmīr”; NCC III/317 (“a descendant of Jagaddhara of the 15th cent. A.D.”); EIP V/486; Sanderson 2007: 300f.

⁴⁶ According to *A Catalogue of the Collections of Manuscripts Deposited in the Deccan College* (Bombay 1888), the basic description of this ms. is as follows: “Author – Jayanta / fols – 435 / lines – 19 / age – [left blank] / material – bhūrja / character – Śāradā / place where bought – Kaśmīr / remarks – incomplete.” I owe this information to Takeo Kagaya, Kyoto/Pune, to whom I express my gratitude for his kind assistance. According to NM (V), Bhūmikā (p. 5, 6-8), Shastri appears to have thought little of this ms. which he considered full of questionable, impaired and unfamiliar characters: “*puṇyagrāma-stharājakyāpustakālayād gataṃ sāke 1394 bhūrjapatreṣu śāradākṣarālikhītam aparaṃ pustakam saṃdigdhariviluptāparicitalipibahulatayā nātyupayojayatā ...*” The extent to which the renowned pandit examined and employed its readings for the constitution of the text is unclear.

⁴⁷ Cf. Bühler 1877: no. 390 (p. xxv, purchased in 1875-1876): “Fols. – 435, lines – 19, age – O [= no date], material – Bhūrja., character – Śār., place where bought – Kaśmīr, incomplete.”

Śaka era, viz., 1472 CE.⁴⁸ In the same colophon, the scribe, who calls himself a son of Ācārya Arjunasvāmin, presents himself as a *guru* and one who knows the truth of the thought of Gautama (*gautamamata-tattvavid*), the legendary founder of the Nyāya school. He states that he copied the NM for the purpose of teaching his disciples (*śiṣyān adhyāpayitum*). Could this Ācārya Śitikaṅṭhasvāmin be identical with Śitikaṅṭha Ācārya, the author of the Nyāsa? Although their identity cannot be unequivocally clarified,⁴⁹ I tend to consider it plausible. In this case it may even be possible to speculate that the above-mentioned gloss referring to the Bālabodhinīnyāsa was composed by one of Śitikaṅṭha's disciples who was very involved in studying the NM and left his annotations and glosses on a ms. of this work, in the case of the specific gloss

⁴⁸ For the date of the copy, cf. NM (BORI), f. 280v,2. For the name of the scribe, cf. *ibid.*, f. 280r,18-280v,1: *ity ācāryārjunasvāmiputraśitikaṅṭhasvāmīlikhīlāyāṃ bhaṭṭajayantasya kṛtau nyāyamañjaryāṃ dvādaśam āhnikam* || OO || samāptā ceyaṃ nyāyamañjarī || OO || śiṣyān adhyāpayitum śitikaṅṭhasvāmīnā guruṇā | gautamamatattvavidā tvaritaṃ śrīnyāyamañjarī likhitā ||*

⁴⁹ Concerning the date of the author of the Bālabodhinīnyāsa, two conflicting pieces of information are currently known to me. The colophon of a Bālabodhinīnyāsa ms. speaks against the identity of the two Śitikaṅṭhas. *NCC III/317* records one ms. of this work preserved at BORI (Ms. No. 300/1875-76, birch-bark, 138 leaves, Śārādā script). According to the information kindly provided by Takeo Kagaya, the text of the colophon can be found under the corresponding entry in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Manuscripts Deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (Vol. II: *Grammar*, ed. by Shripad Krishna Belvalkar. Bombay 1983): *ācāryakṣīrasvāmiputraśitikaṅṭhasvāmīviracīte bālabodhinīnyāse dvīrvacanapādas turīyaḥ*. It should be noted that here Śitikaṅṭha is explicitly called the son of Ācārya Kṣīrasvāmin who may be identical with Kṣīrasvāmin, the author of the Kṣīrataraṅginī (cf. above, p. 215); for various other persons with the same name, cf. *NCC V/152*, where no connection to Śitikaṅṭha is found. However, the identity of the two Śitikaṅṭhas is suggested in the introduction to the Kāvyaṃālā edition of Jagaddhara Bhaṭṭa's *Stutikusumāñjali*. The editors Durgaprasad and Kashinath Pandurang Parab quote the opening verses of Rājānaka Śitikaṅṭha's commentary on the Bālabodhinī, called Nyāsa. The following hemistich of a verse in Śārdūlavikrīḍitā metre is of special relevance (cf. *Stutikusumāñjali*, Introduction, p. 2,11-12): *yodhācāryasuto 'rjuno 'jani mahālakṣmīnivāso yato jāto 'haṃ śitikaṅṭhako 'nva-yam ahaṃ prāpaṃ guroḥ śrīvarāt |* "Arjuna, the son of Yodha Ācārya, was born as one who resides with the [goddess] Great Fortune, from whom I, little Śitikaṅṭha, was born. The lineage [of instruction] I have obtained from [my] *guru*, Śrīvara." — Although I do not know whether the opening verses of Śitikaṅṭha's Nyāsa including the above statement are found in the BORI ms. of the Nyāsa or are extracted from another source, the above line clearly agrees with the information found in the colophon of the BORI ms. of the NM, namely, that Śitikaṅṭha's father was called Arjuna. This makes it plausible that the statement in the colophon of the BORI ms. of the Bālabodhinīnyāsa (Ms. No. 330/1875-76) is spurious. With regard to Śrīvara, called *guru* by Śitikaṅṭha, the editors of the *Stutikusumāñjali* note that he may be the author of the third Rājatarāṅginī, namely, the *Jaina-Taraṅginī*, a Kashmirian chronicle which treats the period from 1459 to 1486 CE (cf. Winternitz 1920: 92). Cf. further Sanderson 2007: 301, n. 219.

under discussion for his own future reference or for the purpose of stimulating others to expand their study of the NM.

4. In the following, the fourteen reconstructed passages (Fragments) of folios 4 and 5 of J are presented. The text has not been edited critically in the narrow sense of the word, but has rather been constituted by selecting the readings found in or reconstructable from mss. C, G1 and V. This method is followed when all three mss. (cf. Fragments 11, 12 together with G2, and 14) or two of them (cf. Fragments 1 and 5-8) share the same text. When only one of them, namely, G1, is available (cf. Fragments 2-4, and further 9, together with G2), the reading of G1 is adopted unless another witness reads against it or offers a better reading. This process of selection exclusively concerns the cases where the readings can be considered meaningful; when they appear to be corrupt, I have made emendations.

The constituted text together with its critical apparatus is preceded by some brief remarks on the material situation, Cakradhara's intention and the context of the relevant text of the NM. This is followed by a translation that clarifies my current understanding of the text of the NG on the basis of its transmission in the four NM mss.

The conventions for recording variant readings are as follows: (1) So-called *sandhi* variants as well as orthographical variations are not reported unless they are part of a substantial variant. (2) Punctuation found in the mss. is not reported unless they are part of a substantial variant. (3) The beginning and end of the text of a J frag. as well as a K fragment are recorded, even if the text does not constitute a substantial variant. Under sources, "n.a." denotes that the corresponding text is not available in the indicated witness.

The following signs are used in recording the variants: "*" indicates the *virāma* or *halanta* sign; "+" indicates a lacuna; ".." indicates an illegible *akṣara* and "." an illegible part of an *akṣara*; "/" indicates the beginning or end of a fragment; "†" generally indicates the non-availability of a witness; "|" indicates a line-filling *daṇḍa* before a space for the string hole or at the end of a line; "[x]" indicates that *akṣara* "x" has been cancelled; "<y>" indicates that the *akṣara* "y" has to be substituted for a cancelled *akṣara* or to be added; "om." indicates the omission of the lemmatised text; "(ac)" indicates the reading before a correction, and "(pc)" the reading after a correction; "(x)" indicates that the reading of *akṣara* "x" is uncertain.

4.1 The first reconstruction comprises two parts, namely, a text portion available in the edition of the NG and Fragment 1. The available portion in the edition runs from *vedam samupabṛṃhayet* to *prataraṇenānuṣṭhāne* (NG [S] 4,16-19) and connects to the missing folio 4r (or 4A according to Shah). What is supplemented by me as Fragment 1 is the text running from *pravartṣyatīti* to *itivat*. The gloss is concluded with “*iti tīkā*.”

Before introducing the very first *sūtra* or “initial statement” (*ādivākya*) of the Nyāyasūtra, Jayanta discusses the character and common purposes of the traditional sciences. In the course of explaining the fourteen traditional branches of learning or “domiciles of learning” (*vidyāsthāna*),⁵⁰ Jayanta refers to the sixth branch, namely, the ancient episodes (Itihāsa) and legends (Purāṇa). He characterises them as instruction about the means to achieve the human purpose (*puruṣārthasāadhanopadeśa*).⁵¹ In this context he quotes a verse known, e.g., from the Mahābhārata (1. 1.204) to demonstrate the close affiliation of this branch of learning with the Veda. According to this verse, as understood by Cakradhara,

by means of Itihāsa and Purāṇa, one ought to reinforce the Veda. The Veda is afraid of the one who has learned little, [out of fear that] this one (i.e., the person of little knowledge) may promote (lit.: “cross over”) it (i.e., the Veda).⁵²

4.1.1 NG (S) 4,16-19, followed by Fragment 1, both referring to NM I 6,4-5. Sources: J frag. (f. 6r,1; 32r,1; 6r,2; 32r,2; 6r,3); K (f. 13B,1; 15A,1; 13B,2; 15A,2; 13B,3a); G1 f. 2v, t.m. 1-5; V f. 2r, b.m. 1-4; C and G2 n.a.⁵³

⁵⁰ Cf. the introductory statement *lac* (i.e., *sāstram*) *ca caturdaśam, yāni vidvāṃsaś caturdaśa vidyāsthānāny ācakṣate* in NM I 5,2-3 = Kataoka 2007: 184,4.

⁵¹ Cf. NM I 6,6-7 = Kataoka 2007: 182,7-8.

⁵² NM I 6,4-5 = Kataoka 2007: 182,4-5: *itihāsapurāṇābhyāṃ vedam samupabṛṃhayet / bibhety alpaśrūtād vedo mām ayaṃ pratariṣyati || iti*. Cf. the translation by van Buitenen (1973: 31): “With both *Epic* and *Purāṇa* one should support the *Veda* – the *Veda* is afraid of one of little knowledge; me it shall ferry over!” This verse is found, for example, in Vāyupurāṇa 1.201, Padmapurāṇa 5.2.52, Vasiṣṭhadharmaśāstra 27.6, Śivapurāṇa 7.1.1.40 (also mentioned in *PW* III/262), and so forth; for these references, cf. MBh 985, Rocher 1986: 15 and n. 10 (with the variant *prahariṣyati*) and Kataoka 2007: 182 (testimonia). In *pāda* d, the BORI ms. of the NM reads *mamāyaṃ pracariṣyatīti* (f. 3v,13). The variant *mamāyaṃ* is reported by Kataoka *inter alia* for ms. G2. The reading *pracariṣyati* is not found in the mss. accessible to him; however, it is recorded in the critical apparatus on MBh 1.1.204d as a variant in a Kashmirian ms.

⁵³ Folio 3 of J is not available to me. Cf. n. 26 above.

Text:

[NG (S) 4, 16-19] “*vedaṃ samupabr̥ṃhayet*^a”⁵⁴ *iti*^b *vaidikāni vidhivākyaṇi paurāṇikair aitiḥāsikaiś*^c *ca*^d *tatphalaparair upākhyānair*^e *vimiśrayed ity arthaḥ*.

“*na ca samyānmadīyānuṣṭheyapadārthasatattvavid*^f *ayam, aha vānanuṣṭheyam apy anuṣṭheyasārūpyāt*^g ‘vedena karaṇabhūtenānuṣṭheyatvena pratipāditaḥ’ *iti buddhyā gr̥hītvā pratarīṣyati pratarānenānuṣṭhāne* [Fragment 1] *pravartṣyati*” *ity*^h *āsaṅkamāno vedo* ‘*lpaśrutād bibhetīti. prakalpyavādena*ⁱ *bahuśrutastutir*^j *uttarārdhenoktā*^k.

tathā ca “*jartilayavāgvā*^l *juhuyāt*”⁵⁵ *iti jartilayavāgvā*^m *homapratipādyatayānuṣṭheya*ⁿ *iti pratīyate. tattvatas tu nānuṣṭheyaḥ* “*payasāgnihotraṃ juhoti*” *itye-tatstuty*^p *arthatvenāsyopādānāt*.

“*pratarīṣyati*” *iti ca purāṇaśloke* ‘*yaṃ lṛḍ*^q *āsaṅkāyāṃ*^r *prayuktaḥ*^s “*mithyā vā katham eṣa vaksyati. raghor gotraṃ hi satyāspadam*”⁵⁶ *itivat*^u.

Variants: a. *samupabr̥ṃhayet*] G1, NG (S); *samupa(n)r̥ṃhayed* V – b. *iti*] G1, V; [*iti*] NG (S) (Shah’s emendation) – c. *aitihāsikaiś*] G1, NG (S); (*ai*)*hikahāsikaiś* V – d. *ca*] G1, NG (S); *ca* [...] V – e. *upākhyānair*] G1, NG (S); *upākhyāne* V – f. *-padārthasatattvavid*] V, G1 (pc); *padārth(ā)rtha(s)atattvavid* G1 (ac); om. NG (S) – g. *-madīyā-...-sārūpyāt*] G1, V; *madabhidheyānuṣṭhe*[*ya*sārūpyād NG (S) – h. *pravartṣyati*” *ity*] em.; *pravatsyatīty* G1, V – i. *prakalpyavādena*] G1, V; [*dena* J frag., K – j. *bahuśrutastutir*] V; *ba...śruta(stu)tir* G1; *vāhuśrutyast(a)tir*.⁺/ J frag.; *vāhuśrutyastutira* K – k. *uttarārdhenoktā*] G1; *uttar(ādh)enoktā* V; [⁺*ttarārthenoktā* | J frag.; <u>*ttarārdhenoktā* K – l. *jartilayavāgvā*] J frag. (pc); *jarttilayavāgvā* J frag. (ac); *jantilayavāgvā* G1; *jamtilayavāgvā* V; *ja(r)tilayavān** *vā* K – m. *jarttilayavāgvā*] em.; *jantilayavāgvā* G1; *jamtilayavāgvā* V; *jarttilayavāgvā* J frag.; *jarttilayavāgr* K – n. *homapratipādyatayānuṣṭheya*] G1 (pc), V (pc); *hemapratipādyatayānuṣṭheya* V (ac); *homapratipādyatayānuṣṭheya* G1 (ac); *homo*.⁺/ J frag.; *home*/ K – o. *payasāgnihotraṃ*] G1, V; [*sāgnihotraṃ* J frag.; [*sāmi hotraṃ* K – p. *juhoti*” *itye-tatstuty-*] em.; *juhotyetatstuty* G1, V; *juhoti*⁺(e)/ [*ty*⁺*tat*^{*}*stuty* J frag.; *juhoti*/ *bhan*śruty* K – q. *purāṇaśloke* ‘*yaṃ lṛḍ*] J frag., K; *p⁺rāṇe ś⁺oke yaṃ l⁺*/ V; *śloke yaṃ lṛ⁺*^{*} G1 – r. *āsaṅkāyāṃ*] G1, V; *āsamkā*/ J frag.; *ā sammā*/ K – s. *prayuktaḥ*] G1, V (pc); *prayuktāḥ* V (ac); † J frag., K – t. *satyāspadam*] G1, V; [*dam* J frag., K – u. *itivat*] J frag., K; *itivat** *iti tīkā* G1, V.

4.1.2 Translation:

“[One] ought to reinforce the Veda” means that one ought to blend the Vedic injunctions with the narratives in the Purāṇa and Itihāsa which

⁵⁴ NM I 6,4 = Kataoka 2007: 182,4.

⁵⁵ Cf. Taittirīyasamhitā 5.4.3.2. For related references to this *mantra* in the context of the Agnihotra ritual according to Jaiminīsūtra 10.8, Adhikaraṇa 4, see Harikai 1990: 449-450, n. 95.

⁵⁶ Source untraced.

are chiefly concerned with their outcome (i.e., the result realised by the appropriate performance of what is enjoined in the Veda).

“But this one here (i.e., the person who has learned little) does not correctly know the relevant things to be performed which belong to me (i.e., are expressed in/by me) and [their] true nature. Or he (i.e., the person of little knowledge) may promote even that which should not be performed, [i.e.] become active towards [its] performance by promoting [it], after [he] has understood, due to [its] similarity to that which should be performed, that ‘[this thing is] explained as something to be performed by the Veda which is an instrument [for realising this]’.” Fearing [these two alternatives], the Veda is afraid of the one of little knowledge. By means of stating something imaginary (i.e., the concern of the personified Veda) the praise of the one who has learned much is expressed with the latter half [of the verse].

And in this way it is understood [by one who knows little that a Vedic injunction such as] “one should offer [the oblation] with gruel of wild sesame (*jartilayavāgū*)” should be put into practice inasmuch as gruel of wild sesame should be explained as a burnt oblation (*homa*) [according to this injunction]. In reality, however, [this statement] is not [at all] something to be put into practice, because it (i.e., the statement *jartilayavāgvā juhuyāt*) is used [as an explanatory statement] having the purpose of praising the [injunction] “he performs the Agnihotra [ritual] with milk” (*payasāgnihotraṃ juhoti*).

Furthermore, [as much as] “he may promote” (*pratariṣyati*) [is concerned], the [affix] *ḷṭ* [that normally denotes the simple future] is employed in [this] *śloka* of the Purāṇa⁵⁷ in the sense of anxiety, just as [in the statement] “Or how may he speak wrongly? For the pedigree of the Raghur is the abode of truth.”

4.2 Jayanta next discusses the applicability of the concept of “domiciles of learning” (*vidyāsthāna*) to the six ancillary sciences of the Veda, namely, the science of grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), ritual (*kalpa*), astronomy (*jyotis*), phonetics (*śikṣā*), prosody (*chandas*) and etymology (*nirukta*). According to Jayanta, their status as “domiciles of learning” is justified because they provide the analytical exposition of words and sentences,

⁵⁷ Cakradhara does not further specify the source of the verse beginning with *itihāsapurāṇābhyām*, but assigns it to the genre of Purāṇa in general; cf. further n. 52 above.

etc., which is conducive to correctly understanding the meaning of the Vedic statements (*vedārthopayogipadādivyutpādāna*).⁵⁸

Here Cakradhara, instead of elaborating Jayanta's presentation, quotes a number of verses composed by some Bhaṭṭa, who may be Kumārila.⁵⁹ In this case, they would have to be quoted from one of Kumārila's lost works, such as the Bṛhaṭṭikā, because they are neither attested in the Śloka-vārttika nor in the Tantravārttika.

4.2.1 Fragment 2 referring to NM I 6,9-10. Sources: J frag. (f. 6r,3; 32r,3-6; 32v,1); K (f. 13B,3b; 15A,3-6; 15B,1); G1 f. 2v, r.m. (3) 2-38, b.m. 1 (beginning with *atha ṭikā*); C, G2 and V n.a.

Text:

“*vedārthopayogipadādivyutpādanadvāreṇa*”⁶⁰ *iti. yad āha^b bhāṭṭaḥ* —

yat tāvat padavijñānaṃ jñeyaṃ vyākaraṇena^c tat |
kaścit padārthabodhaś ca prakṛtipratyayānvayāt ||
lokavyākaraṇābhyaṃ ca yeṣāṃ^d artho na gamyate |
niruktadvārikā teṣāṃ^e arthābhivyaṅgīrīṣyate ||
sandihyate hi^f sāmānyarūpā^g yatrāpi devatā |
mantra tatrāpi sā spaṣṭam^h niruktād eva gamyate ||
karaṇasthānayatnānāṃⁱ udāttādeḥ svarasya ca |
grastādīnāṃ ca doṣānāṃ śikṣātas tatra nirṇayah^j ||
gāyatrībrhatvītriṣṭupkakubusṇiganuṣṭubhām |
jaḡatyādeś ca vijñānaṃ chandovicitilakṣaṇāt ||
uttarāyana^k punyāhatithinakṣatranirṇayah^l |
chāyāgaṇitamārgeṇa^m jyotiśāṃ udayādayahⁿ ||
vedaikadeśā yāḥ śākhāḥ^o kāṇḍaprakaraṇāśrayāḥ |
sarvakarmavidhistotramantranyāsa^p samāptayah^q ||
saṅkīrṇā viprakīrṇāś ca vedādhyayanadhāraṇāt |
kalpasūtrair vivicyante^r nyasyante^s ca pratikriyam ||

iti.

Variants: a. *-padādi-* J frag., K; *padārtha* G1 – b. *yad āha*] G1; *yathāha* J frag., K – c. *vyākaraṇena*] G1; *vyāka* | / J frag.; *vyāka* / K – d. *yeṣāṃ*] G1; /⁺ *ṣām* J frag.; /*ṣām* K – e. *teṣāṃ*] G1; *caiṣāṃ* J frag., K – f. *hi*] G1; *ti* J frag., K – g. *sāmānyarūpā*]

⁵⁸ Cf. NM I 6,9-10 = Kataoka 2007: 181,3-4: *aṅgāni vyākaraṇakalpapjyotiḥśikṣāchandaniruktāni vedārthopayogipadādivyutpādanadvāreṇa vidyāsthānatvaṃ pratipadyante.*

⁵⁹ Cakradhara does not refer to Kumārila with his personal name. However, he refers nine times to the statements of a certain Bhaṭṭa. In seven cases, these statements are identified by Shah with passages of the Śloka-vārttika or the Tantravārttika; according to Shah, two passages may be quoted from the Bṛhaṭṭikā. Cf. also Shah's index of proper names (NG [S] 262).

⁶⁰ NM I 6,9-10; cf. the previous note.

G1; *sā*/ J frag., K – h. *spaṣṭam*] em.; *spaṣṭa* G1; † J frag., K – i. *-yatnānām*] G1; /⁺.*trāṇām* J frag.; /*trāṇām* K – j. *-bṛhatī*-] G1; *vṛ* / J; *vṛ*/ K – k. *uttarāyaṇa*-] G1; /⁺*ārāyaṇa* J frag.; /*rāyaṇa* K – l. *-mārgeṇa*] J frag., K; *mātreṇa* G1 – m. *udayādayah*] G1; *ayanā*/ J frag., K – n. *vedaikadeśā yāḥ sākḥāḥ*] em.; *vedaikadeśā*[*bhūtā*]*yāḥ sākḥā* G1 (ac); † J frag., K – o. *-nyāsa*-] G1; /⁺.*sa* J frag.; /*sa* K – p. *vivicyante*] G1; *vivicyam*/ J frag., K – q. *nyasyante*] em.⁶¹; *naśyante* G1; † J frag., K.

4.2.2 Translation:

“By way of [their] analytical exposition of the words and so on which is conducive to [correctly understanding] the meaning of [the statements of] the Veda.” As the/a Bhaṭṭa says:

First, the [analytical] knowledge of words is to be known [as being achieved] by means of grammar. And a particular understanding of the meaning of a word [arises] from the connection (*anvaya*) of [verbal] basis and affix.

And for words whose meaning is not understood from common usage and grammar, it is held that their meaning becomes manifest through etymology.

Because, even in a Mantra where one is in doubt about a deity of a general nature, it (i.e., the deity) is clearly understood precisely because of the etymology [relating to the deity’s name].

There (i.e., with regard to the Veda) the definite knowledge of the instruments of speech, the places of articulation and [types of articulative] effort, and the accents beginning with *udatta*, and the faults beginning with the inarticulate pronunciation of vowels (*grasta*) [arises] from phonology.

Knowledge of [the metres such as] *gāyatrī*, *bṛhatī*, *triṣṭubh*, *kakubh*, *uṣṇih* and *anuṣṭubh*, and of *jagatī* and so on [arises] from the [ancillary science] characterised as the investigation of metres (i.e., prosody) (*chando-
vicitī*).⁶²

The definite knowledge with regard to [the period of the sun’s] progress to the north, auspicious days, lunar days and constellations [arises] by way of the calculation on the basis of the shadow [of a gnomon] (*[śaṅku-*

⁶¹ Emendation kindly suggested by Muni Shree Jambuvijayaji.

⁶² When describing the six ancillary sciences of the Veda, Kumārila uses the term *chandoviciti* instead of *chandās*; cf. TV 167,10 on JS 1.3.2. In Kauṭilya’s (or Kauṭalya’s) Arthaśāstra (1.3.3), the term *chandoviciti* is also preferred to *chandās*; cf. Tripathi 1977: 550, section I.I.2.2. For an elaborate study of the term *chandoviciti* as a general designation of the science of prosody or metrics, see Tripathi 1977.

chāyā).⁶³ [And] the first visibility and so on⁶⁴ of the celestial bodies [are also determined by means of such calculation].

The statements in a [specific] branch [of the Vedic tradition], which are parts of the Veda [and] found in sections and topical sub-divisions, that arrange and develop injunctions, praises [expressed by means of explanatory statements] and Mantras concerning all rituals,⁶⁵

[but are] mixed up and dispersed because of the [imperfect] study and mnemonic retention of the Veda, are [adequately] discriminated and arranged with reference to each ritual by the ritual Sūtras.⁶⁶

4.3 According to Jayanta, the Mīmāṃsā tradition finds its identity in the investigation of the meaning of the Vedic statements and texts (*vedavākyārthavicārātmikā*).⁶⁷ Because of this close affiliation with the Veda, the Mīmāṃsā is designated as one of the “domiciles of learning.” To illustrate this, Jayanta refers to a verse ascribed to some Bhaṭṭa. This epithet or appellation here apparently refers to Kumārila. The verse is also explicitly attributed to Kumārila; the source is supposed to be the Bṛhaṭṭīkā.⁶⁸ It runs as follows:

However, when *dharma* [in its form of a ritual to be performed] is being known by means of the Veda which by nature is an instrument [to know

⁶³ Cf. Pingree 1981: 57.

⁶⁴ Namely, the last visibility (*asta*), the conjunctions (*grahayuti*), etc.; cf. Pingree 1981: 20.

⁶⁵ Prof. Kei Kataoka suggested another understanding of this stanza with the conjecture of *nāma* for *nyāsa*. His interpretation rests on the assumption that besides the Mantra portion of the Veda, found in the Saṃhitā, the three types of statements found in the Brāhmaṇa portion are referred to here, namely, *vidhi*, *arthavāda* and *nāmadheya*: “Each *śākhā* (i.e., text in a Vedic tradition) that is part of the Veda rests on books and chapters (and) has as its purpose the injunctions, praises, Mantras and names regarding all ritual actions.” He refers to TV 105,18-19 on JS 1.2.1 (*avadhṛtaprāmānyasya vā vedasyedānīm samastasya vidhyarthavādamantranāmadheyātmakasya yathāvibhāgaṃ dharmam praty upayogaḥ pratipādyate*) and TV 159,27 on JS 1.3.1. For the division of the Veda into three types of statements, cf. TV 105,16-17 on JS 1.2.1 and Ślokovārttika, *vedanīyatādhikaraṇa*, 15cd (*ataḥ paraṃ tu pravibhajya vedam tredhā tato vakṣyati yasya yo `rthah ||*; cf. also Harikai 1990: 18, n. 24).

⁶⁶ My tentative understanding of the two stanzas rests on the assumption that *śākhā* can be used to refer to an individual statement in a branch of the Vedic tradition, similar to the use of the word *veda*.

⁶⁷ NM I 6,14.

⁶⁸ For the verse as quoted in later literature, cf., e.g., NVTṬ 52,7-8 and SvaK 24,12-13. For further occurrences, see the references collected exhaustively by Stern and his note *ka* (Svak, Avataraṇādi, p. 153), and Kanazawa 1991, with references to secondary literature. Cf. also Halbfass 1991: 33 and 45, n. 39-40.

dharmā], the Mīmāṃsā [in its turn] will fill in the [remaining] part of how [*dharmā*] is to be performed.⁶⁹

In contrast to the Veda which is equated with “a means to achieve the human purpose” (*puruṣārthasādhana*), the Mīmāṃsā is presented as supplying the “mode of operation” (*itikartavyatā*) of this means.

To clarify the philosophical background of the verse, Cakradhara adduces the theory of a set of three complementary divisions or a “triad of parts” (*aṃśatritaya*) involved in the statement of a Vedic injunction (*vidhivākya*).⁷⁰ The three parts are exemplified by way of three questions, namely, “by means of what” (*kena*), “what” (*kim*) and “in which manner” (*katham*). They respectively relate to the concept of an instrument-part (*karaṇāṃśa*), effect-part (*phalāṃśa*) and mode-of-operation-part (*itikartavyatāṃśa*). These three pragmatic concepts pertaining to a Vedic injunction and ritual are correlated with another triad. The part of the instrument is represented by the Veda, the effect by the cognition of *dharmā*, and the mode of operation by the Mīmāṃsā tradition. It appears to have been Kumārila who systematically refined this categorisation relating to the theory of *āsthī bhāvanā*, the productive force of an injunction relating to the purpose of the action enjoined by it. In the later part of his commentary, it is evident that Cakradhara’s comments rest solely upon Kumārila’s oeuvre. He even quotes relevant passages almost verbatim from the Tantravārttika. Cakradhara may allude in this way to Jayanta’s most probable association of the verse cited in the NM with Kumārila’s elaborate systematisation of the aforementioned hermeneutical dimension of the Vedic ritual and thus attempt to clarify the background of Jayanta’s exposition.

4.3.1 Fragment 3 referring to NM I 7,1. Sources: J frag. (f. 32v,2-3; 6v,1; 32v,4; 6v,2; 32v,5; 6v,3; 32v,6; 6v,4; 32v,7; 8v,1); K (f. 15B,2-3; 13A,1; 15B,4; 13A,2; 15B,5; 13A,3; 15B,6; 13A,4; 15B,7; 8B,1); G1 f. 2v, b.m. 1-6 and 3r, t.m. 1-2; C, G2 and V n.a.

⁶⁹ NM I 7,1-2: *dharme pramāṇyamaṇe tu vedena karaṇātmanā | itikartavyatābhāgaṃ mīmāṃsā pūrayiṣyati || iti*. The text quoted by Jayanta appears to testify to a variant *tu* instead of the otherwise documented *hi* (cf. the previous note). However, *tu* is not supported by Cakradhara’s quotation, at least as recorded in G1.

⁷⁰ For Kumārila’s concept of *bhāvanāṃśatraya*, cf. TV 14,13 on JS 1.2.7. For a brief explanation of this concept, see the commentary found in G1 (f. 3r, t.m.) and V (f. 2v, t.m.): *vidhivākyaḥ śāstritrayam: kena kim katham iti. keneti karaṇāṃśaḥ, kim iti phalāvabodhaḥ, katham itikartavyatāṃśaś* (em.; *itikartavyatāṃśaś* G1, V) *ceṭi*. For studies on the threefold division of the *bhāvanā*, cf. Jha 1964: 176-177, Kataoka 2001 and Yoshimizu 2004.

Text:

“*dharme pramāyamāṇe hi*”⁷¹ *iti*. “*svādhyāyo ’dhyetavyaḥ*”⁷² *svādhyāyādhyayanena*^b *karmāvabodhaṃ bhāvayed iti. atrādhyayanasya karaṇāṃśa’nikṣiptatvād avaśyam iti*^a *kartavyatāpekṣitatvam. drṣṭaṃ hi loke dātrādeḥ karaṇasya drṣyasya drḍhamuṣṭinipīdanādīti*^c *kartavyatāpekṣanam. tad atra*^d *karaṇatvākṣipta itikartavyatāmśo yaḥ sāmānyena*^e *taṃ viśeṣarūpayā mīmāṃsayā pūrayiṣyatīty arthaḥ.*

nanu^h “*svādhyāyo ’dhyetavyaḥ*” *ity asya vākyasya*ⁱ *katham ayam artho labhyate – svādhyāyādhyayanam karaṇam karmāvabodhaś ca phalam iti.*

vidhiparyālocanayārthasya lābhaḥ. tathā^k *hi “svādhyāyo ’dhyetavyaḥ” ity adhyayanabhāvanāyāṃ vidhiḥ. tatra kiṃ bhāvayed iti kimamśāpekṣāyām adhyayanam eka*^l *padopattatvena prāptam api pravartakaśaktiyuktena vidhāyakenāpuruṣārtha*^m *sādhyāyāṃ*ⁿ *bhāvanāyāṃ pravartanāśaktivihati*^o *prasaṅgāt kimamśān*^p *niṣkrṣya, avirodhāt*^q *sannidheś ca karaṇāṃśe niveśyate.*⁷³

kimamśe ca “yac chakyam” ity^r *upabandhād akṣaragrahaṇam prasaktam*^s *apy apuruṣārthatvād upekṣya*^v *padādiḥjñānadvāreṇāyātām dharmaḥjñānam nikṣipyate tasya jñānadvāreṇānuṣṭhāne sati svargāder*^w *avāpteḥ*^x *puruṣārthaparyavasāyitvāt*^x.⁷⁴

Variants: a. *hi*] G1; † J frag., K – b. *svādhyāyādhyayanena*] G1; */dhyayanena* K; */yayanena* J frag. – c. *karaṇāṃśa-*] G1; *karaṇāṃśa* J frag.; *karaṇāṃśa(śa)* K – d. *iti-*] G1; *i |*] J frag.; *i/* K – e. *-pīdanādīti-*] G1 (pc); *pīdanādīti* G1 (ac); */īdanādīti* J frag.; */danādīti* K – f. *tad atra*] J frag., K; *tatra* G1 – g. *sāmānyena*] G1; *sā |*] J frag.; *sām/* K – h. *nanu*] G1; */nu* J frag., K – i. *vākyasya*] G1, K; *(vākya)sya* J frag. – j. *karmāvabodhaś*] J frag., K (cf. also the commentary in G1⁷⁵);

⁷¹ NM I 7,1; cf. n. 69 above.

⁷² Cf. Taittirīyāraṇyaka 2.15.7 and NG (S) 122,1; cf. also Yoshimizu 1997: 63.

⁷³ The text following *tathā hi* is obviously an adaptation from Kumārila’s TV. In my translation, some phrases are supplemented on the basis of this source. Cf. TV 113,13-16 on JS 1.2.7 (= Harikai 1990: 490,7-12): *sakalasya tāvad vedasya svādhyāyo ’dhyetavya ity adhyayanabhāvanā vidhīyate. tatra kiṃ bhāvayed ity apekṣāyām adhyayanam ity āgatam api puruṣapravartanāśaktiyuktena vidhāyakenāpuruṣārthasādhyāyāṃ bhāvanāyāṃ pravartanāśaktiprasaktes tadamśān nirākriyate. tataś cādhyayanenety avirodhāt sannidheś ca karaṇāṃśe niveśate.*

⁷⁴ The text beginning with *kimamśe* is a modification of TV 113,16-19 on JS 1.2.7 (= Harikai 1990: 13-16): *tena kim ity apekṣite yac chakyata ity upabandhād akṣaragrahaṇam ity āpatati. tasyāpy apuruṣārthatvāt tena kim iti padāvadhāraṇam ity upatiṣṭhate, tenāpi padārthajñānam, tena vāk्यārthajñānam, tena cānuṣṭhānam, anuṣṭhānena svargādi-phalaprāptir ity etāvati prāpte nirākāṅkṣī bhavati.*

⁷⁵ G1 f. 3r, t.m. 9: *katham ayam artho labhyate iti svādhyāyādhyayanena karmāvabodhaṃ bhāvayed ity arthaḥ.* This *līppaṇī* reads *karmāvabodhaṃ*, the reading found in J frag., and thereby testifies to the coherence of Cakradhara’s phrasing within the context of his commentary. However, it evidently deviates from the relevant text of the gloss found in G1, i.e., the text to which it refers.

dharmāvabodhaś G1 – k. *tathā*] G1; *|thā* J, K – l. *eka-*] G1; *e/* J frag., K – m. *vidhāyakenāpuruṣārtha-*] G1; *|dhāyakenāpuruṣā.* *|* *|r(tha)* J frag.; *|dhāyakenāpuruṣā/* K – n. *-sādhyāyām*] J frag., K (cf. the commentary in G1 and V: *apuruṣārthasādhyāyām iti*); *sādhyā* G1 – o. *-vihati-*] J frag., K; *viraha* G1 – p. *kimaṃśān*] J frag., K; om. G1 – q. *niṣkṛṣya, avirodhāt*] G1; *niṣkṛṣyāviro* *|* *|* J frag.; *niṣkṛṣyāviro/* K – r. *ity*] G1; *|ty* J frag., K – s. *upabandhād*] J frag. K; *upanibandhād* G1 (cf. also the commentary in G1 and V⁷⁶) – t. *prasaktam*] G1; *praśaktam* J frag.; *praśa(sa)ktam* K – u. *upekṣya*] G1, J frag.; *upekṣa* K – v. *svargāder*] G1; *|r* J frag., K – w. *avāpteḥ*] J frag., G1; *avāptaḥ* K – x. *puruṣārthaparyavasāyitvāt*] G1; *puruṣārtha* *|* *|* J frag.; *puruṣārtha/* K.

4.3.2 Translation:

[It is said in the NM:] “When, indeed, the *dharmā* is being known.” [The injunction] “The Veda ought to be studied” (*svādhyāyo ’dhyetavyaḥ*) [means] that one should bring about the comprehension of an action (*karman*) by means of the study of the Veda (*svādhyāyādhyayana*). Here [in this statement] a mode of operation (*itikartavyatā*) is necessarily required because study is consigned to the part of the instrument (*kaṛaṇāmśa*). It is certainly experienced in the world that a visible instrument, such as a sickle and so on, requires a mode of operation, such as firmly pressing with the fist and other [manners of action]. Thus, here (i.e., in the injunction about the study of the Veda) it is meant that one will fill in the [remaining] part concerning the mode of operation which is generally implied by the instrumentality [that pertains to the study of the Veda], by way of a specific form of examination (*mīmāṃsā*). Thus the meaning [of the verse is explained].

(Question:) How can the [following] meaning of this statement “The Veda ought to be studied” be attained: The study of the Veda is an instrument,⁷⁷ and the effect is the comprehension of an action (*karman*)?

(Reply:) The attainment of [this] meaning [comes about] by means of deliberating on the injunction [“The Veda ought to be studied”]. To put it more precisely (*tathā hi*), “The Veda ought to be studied” is an injunction with regard to the bringing about (i.e., cultivation) (*bhāvanā*) of the study [of the Veda]. In that [injunction], with regard to the part of

⁷⁶ G1 f. 3r. r.m. = V f. 2v. b.m.: “*yac chakyaṃ*” *iti* “*yac chakyaṃ yad grāhyam*” *iti mahadbhīr upabandho vihataḥ. upa samīpe sthānam upanibandhaḥ*. This *ṭippaṇī* appears to presuppose the reading *upanibandhaḥ*, even though its author may well have been aware of the technical usage of the Mīmāṃsā term *upabandha* (“convention” or “adaptation”). Cf. also n. 79 below.

⁷⁷ For Cakradhara’s more detailed explanation of the study of the Veda, see NG (S) 129,6-10 on NM I 702,10.

“what” (*kimamśa*) [in the question] “What should one bring about (*bhāvayet*)?,” study (*adhyayana*) is obtained inasmuch as it is adopted through the same word (i.e., *adhyetavyaḥ*) [in the injunction]. Even so, in case of a cultivation through an injunctive [statement] endowed with the capacity to incite [the agent] to commence the action (*pravartakaśakti*) that does not serve a human purpose as that which should be accomplished by it, the undesirable consequence would occur that the capacity to incite [the agent] to commence the action would be annihilated. Because of this [undesirable consequence], [study] is extracted [from the part of “what”] and placed into the part of the instrument (*karaṇāmśa*) because there is no contradiction and because of [its] proximity.⁷⁸

Furthermore, the comprehension of letters concerning the part “what,” even though it follows from the adaptation (*upabandha*) [of the elders’ convention] that “what is possible [should be effected / attained],”⁷⁹ is disregarded because [it evidently] does not serve man, [and] the knowledge of *dharma*, which is attained by means of the knowledge of words and so forth, is consigned [to the part of “what”], because the attainment of heaven and so on when it (i.e., *dharma*) is performed by means of [its] knowledge amounts to the human purpose.

4.4 As briefly addressed in the previous section, Jayanta appears to presuppose two different dimensions of the Mīmāṃsā tradition. On the one hand, the Mīmāṃsā represents the “mode of operation” (*itikartavyatā*) (cf. Section 4.3) and methodically supplements and completes the Vedic injunctions.⁸⁰ This underlines its close affiliation with the Veda. On the other hand, the Mīmāṃsā is said to be one of the “domiciles of learning” (*vidyāsthānatā*).⁸¹ Now Jayanta brings forth the issue of the applicability of a third dimension to the Mīmāṃsā, namely, the status as one of the ancillary sciences (*aṅga*) of the Veda besides grammar and so on (cf. Section 4.2). He seems to refer to the idea that the Mīmāṃsā should be added to the six ancillary sciences. Jayanta, however, makes a rigid

⁷⁸ For recent translations into Japanese and German, cf. Harikai 1990: 325-326 and Yoshimizu 1997: 63, n. 49, respectively.

⁷⁹ *yac chakyate tat kuryāt* or *yac chakyaṃ tad grāhyam*. For this “theorem about action and capacity,” cf. TV 115,12: *yac chakyate tat kuryād ity upabandhāc ca*; cf. Harikai 1990: 447, n. 84. The commentary found in G1 and V instead adduces “*yac chakyaṃ tad* (recte for *yad*) *grāhyam*.” Cf. also n. 76 above.

⁸⁰ Cf. NM I 7,1-2 = Kataoka 2007: 180,5-6; cf. n. 69 above.

⁸¹ Cf. NM I 6,13-15 = Kataoka 2007: 180,2-4.

distinction between the Mīmāṃsā and the ancillary sciences. He states that

“for this very reason [as stated by Kumāṛila⁸²], the Mīmāṃsā is not counted as the seventh ancillary science because it is [practically] part of the Veda by virtue of its [special] proximity [to the Veda].”⁸³

To demonstrate Jayanta’s dependence on Kumāṛila’s basic framework, Cakradhara adds a corroborative quotation possibly from one of Kumāṛila’s lost works. The passage as a whole is untraced, but one verse has been attributed to Kumāṛila, specifically to his Bṛhaṭṭikā.⁸⁴ It has to be noted, however, that inasmuch as the quotation consists of prose and verses, its attribution to the Bṛhaṭṭikā is not very plausible.⁸⁵

4.4.1 Fragment 4 on NM I 7.3. Sources: J frag. (f. 37v,1; 8v,2; 37v,2; 8v,3); K (f. 18B,1; 8B,2; 18B,2; 8B,3); G1 f. 3r, t.m. 2-4 (on f. 2v12); C, G2 and V n.a.

Text:

“*ata eva saptamam aṅgam iti^a na gaṇyate mīmāṃsā*”⁸⁶ *iti. yad āha —*
aṅgamadhye^b mīmāṃsāyāś ca vedaika^cdeśatvād darśanasmaranayogā^d
mīmāṃsā^esañjñakas tarkaḥ sarvo^f vedasamudbhavaḥ |
so ’to vedo^g rumāprāptakāṣṭhādilavaṇātmatvat^h ||⁸⁷
kim ca,
vede varṇaparijñānamⁱ tālvādidhvanibhir yathā |
vākyakārtsnyaparicchedaḥ^j samyaṅmīmāṃsayā^k tathā ||

⁸² Cf. NM I 7,1-2; cf. also Section 4.3 and again n. 69 above.

⁸³ NM I 7,3-4 = Kataoka 2007: 180,7-8: *ata eva saptamam aṅgam iti na gaṇyate mīmāṃsā pratyāsannatvena vedaikadeśabhūtatvāt.*

⁸⁴ See n. 87 below.

⁸⁵ This presupposes that the Bṛhaṭṭikā was composed purely in verse. However, there are two cases where the Bṛhaṭṭikā is specifically referred to as the source of a passage written in prose and verse. See Parameśvara III’s commentary on the JS, namely, JaiSūASaṃ 13.14-17 and 18,3-7; cf. also Nārāyaṇapillai’s Introduction to his edition, p. 48-49. Cf. further Harikai 1989: 952.

⁸⁶ NM I 7,3 = Kataoka 2007: 180,7.

⁸⁷ This *śloka* is also found in Vācaspati’s commentary on *tarka* (“reasoning”) in NVT 52,2-3 on NS 1.1.1: *mīmāṃsāsañjñakas tarkaḥ sarvavedasamudbhavaḥ | so ’to vedo rumāprāptakāṣṭhādilavaṇātmatvat ||*. Halbfass translates this verse as follows (1991: 34): “[T]he reasoning which is called *mīmāṃsā* is derived from the Veda in its entirety. Therefore, it is (of the nature of the) Veda, comparable to the saltiness of a piece of wood extracted from a salt mine.” For a study of this verse with an exhaustive collection of further secondary testimonia in later Sanskrit literature and references to it in secondary literature, cf. Kanazawa 1990.

Variants: a. *aṅgam iti*] G1; [*m* ⁺*ti* J frag.; */nati* K – b. *aṅgamadhye*] G1; *aṅgamadhyet** | J frag.; *aṅgamadhyet** K – c. *mīmāṃsāyāś ca vedaika-*] G1; *mīmāṃsa ucyate*/ J frag. (*ucyate* may have been written by another hand); *mīmāṃsā ucyate*/ K⁸⁸ – d. *-smaraṇayogāt*] em.; *smaraṇayogāt** G1; [⁺*.neprayāt** | J; */ne prayāt** | K – e. *mīmāṃsā-*] G1; *mīmāṃ*| J frag.; *mīmāṃ*/ K – f. *sarvo*⁸⁹] G1; † J frag., K – g. *'to vedo*] G1; [*t. vedo* J frag.; */āvedo* K – h. *-lavaṇātmatvat*] em. (cf. the commentary in G1); *lakṣaṇātmatvat* G1, J frag., K⁹⁰ – i. *parijñānam*] G1; *pari*\| J frag.; *pari*/K – j. *-paricchedaḥ*] G1; |(r).*ccheda* J frag.; */ccheda* K – k. *saṃyagnīmāṃsayā*] G1; *saṃyagnīmāṃ*\| J frag.; *saṃyagnīmāṃ*/ K.

4.4.2 Translation:

“For this very [reason], the Mīmāṃsā is not counted as the seventh ancillary science [of the Veda].” As [he] says: Furthermore (*ca*), among the ancillary sciences the Mīmāṃsā is part of the Veda [and] connected with perception (*darśana*) and recollection (*smaraṇa*). Therefore

the entire reasoning called *mīmāṃsā* (“examination”) originates from the Veda. Because of this [origination from the Veda], it (i.e., Mīmāṃsā) is [practically] the Veda, similar to the case of the salty nature of wood and other [objects] that are obtained from a salt-mine.

Furthermore,

in the case of the Veda, just as [in grammar] the [analytical] knowledge of phonemes (*varṇa*) [is attained] by means of the sounds (*dhvani*) [produced] at the palate and so on, similarly [in the Mīmāṃsā] the determination of the whole of a statement [is attained] by virtue of proper examination.

4.5 After dealing with the distinctive features of the Mīmāṃsā and of Nyāya, here called *nyāyavistara* (detailed exposition of logic), Jayanta provides a bird’s-eye view of the concept of the “domiciles of learning”

⁸⁸ I am uncertain whether the texts of J frag. and K really correspond here.

⁸⁹ Against the reading in the NVT† and further later testimonia (cf. n. 87), I adopt the reading *sarvo* as found in G1. Cf. also the article Śāstrī 1994, entitled “Mīmāṃsābhīmatas tarkas sarvo vedasamudbhavaḥ”; its author Paṭṭābhiraṃa Śāstrī, however, does not refer to the source of this title, nor does he specifically elucidate the meaning of “the entire reasoning.”

⁹⁰ The reading *-lakṣaṇātma-* found in the two primary witnesses substantially deviates from that of the NVT† and may have to be traced back to an early stage of the transmission of the NG; the agreement of G1 and J frag. cannot be a coincidence. However, scribal error due to the confusion of *kṣa* with *va* could have also occurred at an early stage. The commentary in G1 (f. 3r, r.m. 31) and V (f. 2v, b.m. 3) reads: *so 'to veda iti mīmāṃsāsañjñākas tarkaḥ, ato vedasamudbhūtatvād vedo bhavati, katham, rumāyāṃ lavaṇākare prāptasya kāṣṭhāder lavaṇātmatvat*. After much deliberation, I have decided to reconstruct *-lavaṇātma-*.

(*vidyāsthāna*). For the purpose of authenticating the claim that the Nyāya tradition is included in it, he consults the Yājñavalkyasmṛti and the Viṣṇupurāṇa. In the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, it is said that

the [four] Vedas, blended with the Purāṇa, the [science of] reasoning (*tarka*), the Mīmāṃsā, the Dharmaśāstra [and] the [six] ancillary sciences [of the Veda] comprise the fourteen domiciles of [various kinds of] learning and *dharma*.⁹¹

Cakradhara does not elaborate on the original intention of Jayanta's treatment of the issue, but gives only a brief gloss on the term "learning" (*vidyā*).

4.5.1 Fragment 5 on NM I 8,5-6. Sources: J frag. (f. 37v,3); K (f. 18B,3); G1 f. 3r, l.m. (1) 1 and 3r, i.l. 3; V f. 3r, t.m. 1; C and G2 n.a.

Text:

"*purāṇa*" *iti*^a. *śloke*^b *parasya puruṣārthasya niḥśreyasasyopāya*^c *jñānaṃ vidyāśabdena*^d *vivakṣitam*.

Variants: a. *iti*] G1, V; /⁺*ti* J frag.; /*ti* K – b. *śloke*] J frag., K; om. G1, V – c. *niḥśreyasasyopāya*] G1, J frag.; *niḥśreyamasyopāya* V; *niḥśreyasyopāya* K – d. *vidyāśabdena*] G1, V; *vidyāśabde*] J frag., K.

4.5.2 Translation:

"The Purāṇa." In the stanza [Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.3] the knowledge about the means of [attaining] the highest human purpose, [namely] the highest good, is intended by the word "learning."

4.6 Turning to authoritative sources such as Yājñavalkyasmṛti (cf. Section 4.5) and the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Jayanta underlines the supposedly explicit mention of the Nyāya tradition therein. In spite of Jayanta's keen interest in the status of the Nyāya tradition, Cakradhara demonstrates concern about the usage of the term *dharma* in the singular in the Yājñavalkyasmṛti. According to him, it refers to the whole complex of Vedic rituals (*karman*).

⁹¹ Cf. NM I 8,5-6 = Yājñavalkyasmṛti 1.3 (with the variant reading *nyāya* instead of *tarka*): *purāṇatarkamīmāṃsādharmaśāstrāṅgamīśritāḥ | vedāḥ sthānāni vidyānāṃ dharmasya ca caturdaśa ||*. Cf. also Gerschheimer 2007: 243, and for an edited text and annotated translation 246-247; Kataoka 2008b: 22.

4.6.1 Fragment 6 on NM I 8,6. Sources: J frag. (f. 8v,4; 37v,4; 8v,5); K (f. 8B,4; 18B,4; 8B,5); G1 f. 3r, i.l. 3, l.m. (1) 2-3, i.l. 4, l.m. (1) 4-6, i.l. 5, l.m. (1) 7-8; V f. 3r, t.m. 2-3 (ending with *iti tīkā*); C and G2 n.a.

Text:

“*dharmasya ca*” *iti*⁹² *dharmā*^b *śabdena*^c *svargādīphalānām*^d *karmanām*^e *samudāyo*
’bhīpretah. tathā ca^f —

yajñena yajñam ayajanta^g *devās*^h *tāni dharmāni prathamāny āsan*ⁱ /⁹³
ity atra^j *karnasv eva*^k *dharmasābdo rūḍhaḥ. dharmasya ca sthānānīti dharmah*
svargādīphalājanakakarma^m *samūho*ⁿ *’py ebhyo jñāyata ity arthah.*

Variants: a. “*dharmasya ca*” *iti*] G1; *dharmasyeti ceti dharmasya ceti* V; † J frag., K – b. *dharma-*] V; *tu dharma* G1; † J frag., K – c. *-śabdena*] G1, V; /*bd*⁺*na* J frag.; /*bdana* K – d. *-phalānām*] G1, V; *phalā* | / J frag.; *phalā* | K – e. *karmanām*] G1; *karmānām* V; † J frag., K – f. *tathā ca*] G1, V; /⁺*ā ca* | | J frag.; | *ca* K – g. *ayajanta*] G1, J frag., V; *ajayanta* K – h. *devās*] G1, J frag., K; *devas* V – i. *āsan*] K; *āsam*^{*} | J frag.; *āsa* G1, V – j. *ity atra*] G1, V; om. J frag., K – k. *eva*] G1, V; *e* | J frag.; *a* | K – l. *svargādi-*] G1, V; /*rgādi* J frag.; [*sva*]*rgādi* K – m. *-jana-kakarma-*] G1, V; *janaka* | J frag., K – n. *-samūho*] G1; *sasūryo* V; † J frag., K.

4.6.2 Translation:

As regards “and of *dharma*,” the word *dharma* conveys [the meaning of] the aggregate of sacrificial rites [which produce] outcomes such as [birth in] heaven and so on. And [it is said] in a similar way:

The Gods performed the sacrifice by means of the sacrifice. Those were the first *dharmas*.

In this [verse], the [meaning of the] word *dharma* is a conventional one precisely in the sense of “sacrificial rites.” [In the Yājñavalkyasmṛti.] “[the Vedas, etc., are] also the domiciles of *dharma*” means that *dharma* as the aggregate of sacrificial rites which produce outcomes such as [birth in] heaven and so on, is also known from these [fourteen domiciles of learning beginning with the four Vedas].

4.7 When referring to the authoritative sources such as the Yājñavalkyasmṛti, Jayanta casts light on the various features attributed to Nyāya. Jayanta stresses its most predominant association with the concept of “reasoning” (*tarka*) among the orthodox and heterodox “sextet

⁹² NM I 8,6 = Kataoka 2007: 178,11.

⁹³ I.e., R̥gveda 1.164.50ab = 10.90.16ab, etc.; cf. Bloomfield 1906: 735 (for *pāda* a) and 422 (for *pāda* b). The same verse is also quoted in NM I 665,9 and Śābarabhāṣya 18,3-4 on JS 1.1.2.

of logical and dialectical traditions” (*ṣaṭtarkī*), which comprise Nyāya, Sāṃkhya, Jainism, Buddhism, the Cārvākas and Vaiśeṣika.⁹⁴ Furthermore, mention is made of *ānvīkṣikī* (“analytical investigation”) as another designation of the Nyāya tradition.⁹⁵ As is well known, “analytical investigation” (*ānvīkṣikī*) is one of the four major branches of learning, besides the three Vedas (*trayī*), politics (*daṇḍanīti*) and agriculture or economics (*vārttā*). Cakradhara provides brief paraphrases on each of the latter three branches, showing his dependence on Uddyotakara’s explanation in his Nyāyavārttika.⁹⁶

4.7.1 Fragment 7 on NM I 9.8. Sources: J frag. (f. 37v,5); K (f. 18B,5a); G1 f. 3r, r.m. 35-39; V f. 3r, r.m. (2) 1-6; C and G2 n.a.

Text:

agnihotrahavanādīprasthānā trayī. svāmyamātyabhedānuvidhāyinī daṇḍanītiḥ^a. pravṛttiprayojanā vidyā. kṛṣyādī^bparijñānaṃ vārttā^c.

Variants: a. *daṇḍanītiḥ*] G1, V; [+ḥ J frag.; † K – b. *kṛṣyādī-*] G1, J frag., V; *kṛṣpādi* K – c. *vārttā*] J frag., K; *vārttā iti* G1; *vīrtā iti* V.

4.7.2 Translation:

The three Vedas have as their method the Agnihotra oblation and so on. Politics regulates the distinction of master, minister [and so on⁹⁷]. Learning has the commencement of an action as its purpose. Economics is the knowledge of ploughing and so on.

⁹⁴ NM I 8,11-9,5 = Kataoka 2007: 177,4-176,9.

⁹⁵ As for the source utilised by Jayanta in his NM, see Kataoka 2008b: 88, n. 49, where reference is made to the Kāmandakīyanītisāra and its Ṭikā; Kāmanda is said to be a disciple of Cāṇakya in the preface of the edition. Kataoka identifies Jayanta’s source with KāmNītiSāra 2.2ab; cf. KāmNītiSāra 2.2 (p. 8): *ānvīkṣikī trayī vārttā daṇḍanītiś ca śāśvatī | vidyāś catasra evaitā yogakṣemāya dehinām |*. For other related references, cf. Kataoka 2007: 175, n. 3.

⁹⁶ Cf. NV 11,18-19: *agnihotrahavanādīprasthānā trayī. halaśakaṭāḍīprasthānā vārttā. svāmyamātyādībhedānuvidhāyinī daṇḍanītiḥ*. “The three [Vedas] have as their method the Agnihotra oblation and so on. Economics is [characterised by] procedures by means of a plough, cart and so on. Politics regulates the distinction of master, minister and so on.” Cakradhara changes the order in which Jayanta enumerates the three elements and places his own paraphrase for “agriculture” at the end. Furthermore, he inserts an explanation about learning (*vidyā*): its purpose is that a performer commences an action. The reason for this rearrangement and insertion is not clear.

⁹⁷ The text may have to be corrected to *svāmyamātyādībhedānuvidhāyin* in accordance with the NV.

4.8 After the examination of the *ṣattarkī*, Jayanta comes to the conclusion that the widely applicable terms *nyāyavistara* and *tarka* principally designate the traditional codified knowledge (*śāstra*) of Nyāya.⁹⁸ Jayanta now addresses the area where the Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā traditions overlap, namely, their commitment to the issue of the authority of the Veda (*vedaprāmāṇya*). The Nyāya tradition is presented as the leading guardian of the Veda or the “fundamental pillar” (*mūlastambha*) of all sciences.⁹⁹ An opponent argues that inasmuch as the Mīmāṃsā has established the authority of the Veda, there is no *raison d’être* for the Nyāya. Jayanta responds that this aspect of the Mīmāṃsā is secondary and collateral (*ānuśaṅgika*) and does not lie in the main area of its activity. The main subject of the Mīmāṃsā is the examination of the meaning (*arthavicāra*) of the sacred words in the Vedic scriptures and to provide their exact knowledge (*vākyārthavidyā*).¹⁰⁰ Thus the Mīmāṃsā philosophers, Jayanta adds, are not capable of discerning the proper “path” for “correctly protecting the authority of the Veda.”¹⁰¹ On the contrary, as Jayanta continues his metaphor, they are erring about on illusionary travel-paths which are covered (or: blocked) by a mass of thorns of “bad reasoning” (*kuṭarkakaṅṭakanikaraniruddhasaṅcāramārgābhāsaparibhrāntāḥ*).¹⁰² In the following commentary, Cakradhara makes mention of such an example of “bad reasoning”, citing a stanza from Dharmakīrti’s *Pramāṇavārttika*.

⁹⁸ NM I 9,5-6 = Kataoka 2007: 176,8-9: *evam asyāṃ janatāsuprasiddhāyām api ṣattarkyām idam eva tarkanyāyavistarāśabdābhyāṃ śāstram uktam*. In a footnote to his Japanese translation, Kataoka (2008b: 24, n. 48) reads *janatāsuprasiddhāyām* as a compound, whereas in both editions (cf. also Gerschheimer 2007: 247) the text reads *janatāsuprasiddhāyām*. Kataoka’s interpretation is corroborated by the commentary in G1 (f. 3r, i.l. 15): *saptamītatpuruṣo na tu bhinnam paunaruktya..yāt** (em.: *paunaruktyabhayāt*).

⁹⁹ NM I 7,7-8 = Kataoka 2007: 179,2-3: *nyāyavistarā tu mūlastambhabhūtaḥ sarva-vidyānām vedaprāmāṇyarakṣāhetuvāt*.

¹⁰⁰ NM I 10,2-3 = Kataoka 2007: 174,3-4: *nanu vedaprāmāṇyanirṇayaprayojanāś cen nyāyavistarāḥ, kṛtam anena mīmāṃsāta eva tatsiddheḥ*. “[Opponent:] If the expanse of logic [namely, the Nyāya tradition] has the purpose of determining the authority of the Veda, there is no need for it, since it (i.e., the determination of the authority of the Veda) is already established owing to the Mīmāṃsā.”

¹⁰¹ NM I 10,6-7 = Kataoka 2007: 174,8-9: *na ca mīmāṃsakāḥ samyagvedaprāmāṇyarakṣaṇakṣamām savaṇim avalokayitum kṣamāḥ*. Varadacharya’s edition reads *kuśalāḥ* (supported by C, G1 and V) instead of *kṣamāḥ* (supported by mss. G2 and NM [BORI]); for a critical note on these readings, cf. Kataoka, loc. cit., and Kataoka 2008b: 90, n. 55.

¹⁰² NM I 10,7-8 = Kataoka 2007: 174,9-173,1. For an English translation, cf. Kataoka 2003a: 270 and Dezsó 2004: xix (“Mīmāṃsakas are ‘rambling on an illusive path on which progress is blocked by the multitude of thorns of faulty speculation’”).

4.8.1 Fragment 8 on NM I 10,7-8. Sources: J frag. (f. 37v,5-6; 37r,1); K (f. 18B,5b-6; 18A,1a); G1 f. 3v, l.m. 1-9; V f. 3r, l.m. (1) 1-14; C and G2 n.a.

Text:

“*kutarkakaṅṭaka*”¹⁰³ *iti*^a. *mīmāṃsakā hi nityatayā vedaprāmāṇyam āhuh*, *ta ca tārkkikā nānumanyante. tārkkikā atra kutarkagrahaṇena*^b *vivakṣitāḥ*^c. *tathā hi ta āhuh*^d —

girām^e *satyatvahetūnām*¹⁰⁴ *guṇānām puruṣāśrayāt*^f |
apauruṣeyaṃ mithyārtham^g *kiṃ nety anye pracakṣate* ||¹⁰⁵
iti. tathāpy anyenāpy uktam^h — “*kiṃ hi nityaṃ pramāṇam dr̥ṣtam*” *iti*.¹⁰⁶

Variants: a. “*kutarkakaṅṭaka*” *iti*] J frag., K; om. G1, V – b. *-grahaṇena*] em.; / *haṇena* J frag.; / *ṇena* K; *grahaṇe bauddhā* V; *pramāṇe bauddhā* G1 – c. *vivakṣitāḥ*] G1, J frag., K; *vivakṣitāḥ* V – d. *ta āhuh*] G1, J frag., K; *tatr.ḥ* V – e. *girām*] G1, J frag., K; *satyatvaṃ kāmyāṃ girāṃ vairāgyānveśatādīnāt** *girām* V¹⁰⁷ – f. *puruṣāśrayāt*] G1, J frag., K; *puruṣāśayāt** V – g. *mithyārtham*] G1; *mithyātvaṃ* V; † J frag., K – h. *uktam*] G1; *aktam** V; † J frag., K – i. *pramāṇam dr̥ṣtam*] V; *pramāṇadr̥ṣtam* G1; /^{*} *dr̥ṣtam* J frag.; /*dr̥ṣtam* K.

4.8.2 Translation:

With regard to “thorns of bad reasoning,” [it is explained as follows]. The Mīmāṃsakas certainly assert the [self-sufficient] authority of the Veda due to [its] eternity, but the dialecticians (*tārkkikāḥ*) do not accept this. The dialecticians (i.e., the Buddhists) are implicitly referred to here by the expression “bad reasoning.” For instance, they say:

Others (i.e., we) maintain [as follows]: “Since the [good] qualities [such as compassion and the like] that are the causes for the verity of words are based on human beings, would it not be [the case that] an authorless [corpus of statements, such as the Veda] is erroneous in content?”

Furthermore, in a similar way it is also said by another [philosopher]: “For has one [ever] seen anything eternal as a means of knowledge?”

¹⁰³ NM I 10,7.

¹⁰⁴ Gnoli’s edition of the PV reads *satyārthahetūnām* for *satyatvahetūnām* (cf. the following note), while Omae (1988: 32, n. 4) and Eltschinger (2007: 491) adopt the latter reading.

¹⁰⁵ PV I,225: *girām satyārthahetūnām guṇānām puruṣāśrayāt | apauruṣeyaṃ mithyārtham kiṃ neti anye pracakṣate* ||. For translations of this verse, cf. Omae 1988: 17 and Eltschinger 2007: 240.

¹⁰⁶ This passage is quoted by Jayanta in his Āgamaḍambara; see Āḍ 69,11 = Āḍ (C) 3.194 (p. 178). As Kataoka pointed out (cf. Dezső 2004: “Notes,” p. 85, under “3.194”), Bhaṭṭa Umbeka ascribes the passage to Bhartr̥isvara in his Tātparyatīkā on the Śloka-vārttika; cf. ŚVTT 38,9-10.

¹⁰⁷ A similar text is also found as an interlinear gloss in G1, f. 3v, l.m. (1). Obviously, the scribe of V erroneously took this gloss as a corrective addition.

4.9 Jayanta next discusses the qualification or mandate (*adhikāra*) of the target group for the traditional codified knowledge of Nyāya or Mīmāṃsā. Inasmuch as righteous people consider the authority of the Veda well established, who requires the teaching of Nyāya or Mīmāṃsā? For whom is it intended? Jayanta holds that the body of codified knowledge, specifically of the Mīmāṃsā in this context, was not brought about for those who already know the meaning of the Veda (*viditavedārtha*), but for those who have doubts or wrong ideas about the authority of the Veda.¹⁰⁸ This entails that for the former group of people it is not necessary to approach the Mīmāṃsā which aims at correct determination of the meaning of Vedic statements. To emphasise this point, Jayanta quotes a hemistich from Kumārila's Śloka-vārttika. It runs: "The composition of the Sūtra or the commentary [on it] is not intended for those who [already] know [the meaning of] the Veda through other [means]."¹⁰⁹ The following gloss by Cakradhara is a grammatical explanation of the case-ending of the word *vedavidbhyaḥ* employed here.

4.9.1 Fragment 9 on NM I 11,13. Sources: J frag. (f. 37r,1); K (f. 18A,1b); G1 f. 3v, i.l. 17; G2 f. 5v, r.m. 1-3; C and V n.a.

Text:

"*nānyato*^a *vedavidbhyaḥ*" *iti*^b *tādarthyē*^c *caturthī*.¹¹⁰

Variants: a. *nānyato*] G1, J frag., K; om. G2 – b. *vedavidbhyaḥ*" *iti*] J frag., K; *vedavidbhya* <*iti*> G1; *vedavidbhyas ceti* G2 – c. *tādarthyē*] G1, G2, J frag.; *tādārthya* K.

4.9.2 Translation:

As regards "not for those who [already] know the Veda by other [means]," the fourth [case-ending is employed] in the sense of "being for the benefit of that/those."

4.10 Fragment 10. See n. 40 above.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. NM I 11,10-11 = Kataoka 2007: 172,10-11: *yasya hi vedaprāmāṇye saṃśayānā viparyastā vā matiḥ, taṃ prati śāstrārambhah*.

¹⁰⁹ NM I 11,13 = Kataoka 2007: 173,1: *nānyato vedavidbhyas ca sūtravṛttikriyeṣyate | iti*. This is quoted from Śloka-vārttika, *pratiñāsūtra*, 43.

¹¹⁰ Cf., for example, MBhāṣya 39,14, namely, Kātyāyana's *vārttika* 1 on Aṣṭādhyāyī 2.3.13 (*caturthī sampradāne*) = Kāśikā 109,30: *caturthīvidhāne tādarthya upasaṅkhyānam*. Cf. Joshi and Roodbergen's translation (MBhāṣya 107): "To the rule *caturthī* (*sampradāne*) (the word) *tādarthyē*: 'in (the sense of) being a thing for the sake of that' (should be) added."

4.11 After he has introduced the very first *sūtra* or “initial statement” (*ādivākya*) of the Nyāyasūtra, Jayanta does not yet enter into the specific topics of Nyāya, but discusses the purpose of this statement. More specifically, it has to be determined for what purpose the purpose of the traditional codified knowledge (*śāstraprayojana*) and its “objects to be stated” (*abhidheya*) or cardinal subject-matters is initially pronounced.¹¹¹ Jayanta maintains the position that the first *sūtra* gives rise to the “comprehension of the purpose of the traditional codified knowledge” (*śāstraprayojanaparijñāna*) among “listeners” (*śrotṛ*) or students and, inasmuch as it causes doubt about its meaning, practically incites students to study the traditional codified knowledge.¹¹²

In his treatment of the significance of the first *sūtra*, Jayanta refers to the opinion of some commentators on the NS or possibly some other treatise. They assume that somebody else (*para*) may object to the composition of a foundational treatise by reason of the “non-cognition of the pervader” (*vyāpakānupalabdhī*), one of the eleven kinds of “non-cognition as logical reason” (*anupalabdhīhetu*) defined by Dharmakīrti.¹¹³ This person presupposes the logical nexus that what is to be adopted necessarily has a purpose.¹¹⁴ In other words, he assumes an invariable concomitance between the properties “adoptability” (*upādeyatā*) as the pervader (*vyāpya*) and “purposefulness” (*prayojanavattva*) as the pervader (*vyāpaka*). According to the anonymous commentators referred to by Jayanta, if the initial statement states the purpose of the foundational treatise, it counteracts the objection of such a skeptic person, inasmuch as the “non-cognition of the pervader” is refuted and his doubt whether the initial statement should at all be composed is therefore removed.¹¹⁵

¹¹¹ Cf. NM I 13,2: *nanu kimartha 'yam ādivākyaṃrambhaḥ*, and NM I 13,7: *kim ādau tad*(scil. *śāstra*)*abhidheyaprayojanakīrtanena*.

¹¹² Cf. NM I 14,7-8: *ādivākyaḍ eva śrotuḥ śāstraprayojanaparijñānam arthasamśayā ca śravaṇe pravṛttiḥ*.

¹¹³ Cf. NB II,33: *vyāpakānupalabdhīr yathā nātra śiṃśapā vṛkṣābhāvād iti*. Cf. also NM I 15,2 with the reading of *vṛkṣānupalabdhēḥ* for *vṛkṣābhāvāt*.

¹¹⁴ The formal argument discussed here may be reconstructed as follows: **nātropādeyatā, prayojanavattvasyānupalambhāt, daśadāḍimādivākyaḍat* (cf. NM I 15,13).

¹¹⁵ NM I 16,2-4: *tad ihopādeyatāvvyāpakaprayojanāḍyanupalambhād anārambhanīyatvam* iḥi vyāpakānupalabdhīyā pratyavatiḥṭhamānaḥ paraḥ prayojanāḍyabhidhāyiniādivākyaḍena nirvṛttāśaṅkaḥ kriyate*. [*I prefer this reading over the one adopted by Varadaçharya. It is supported by G2 and NM (BORI); cf. NPVṛ 1,15: *nārabdhavyam*, and HBT 2,27-28: *na ... ārabhyate* (quoted in the following note). Varadaçharya reads *anāḍaranīyatvam*.] “Therefore, here, somebody else who objects by reason of the non-cognition of the pervader, [thinking that the foundational treatise] should not be composed because of the non-

In this context, Cakradhara makes a note on the term *vyāpakānupalabdhi*. His gloss unfortunately does not reveal the historical background and the identity of the commentators referred to by Jayanta.¹¹⁶ Here, he seems to address relatively elementary-stage readers of the NM to whom the basic explanation of the terminology of Buddhist logic would be of use.

4.11.1 Fragment 11 on NM I 16,2-3. Sources: J frag. (37r,2; 8r,2; 37r,3); K (f. 18A,2b; 8A,2; 18A,3); C f. 5r, l.m. 1-11; G1 f. 4v, l.m. (2) 1, i.l. 13, l.m. (2) 2-4, i.l. 14, l.m. (2) 5; V f. 3v, t.m. 1-2; G2 n.a.

Text:

“*vyāpakānupalabdhyā*” *iti. yo yasmin niyatasannidhiḥ^a sa tasya^b vyāpakāḥ, yathā śiṃśapāyāṃ vṛkṣatvam^c. niyatasannidhiḥ^d copādeyatāyāṃ^e prayojanavattvam^f. atas^g tadanupalabdhāv upādeyatāyā^h abhāvāḥ, vṛkṣatvānupalambha ivaⁱ śiṃśapātvasye-
ti.*

Variants: a. *niyatasannidhiḥ* C, G1, V; *niyatasa* | | J frag.; *niyatasa* | K – b. *sa tasya* | G1; *tasya sa* C, V; † J frag., K – c. *vṛkṣatvam* | C, G1, V; |⁺ *kṣatvam* J frag.; |*kṣatvam* K – d. *niyatasannidhiḥ* C, G1; *niyattasannidhiḥ* V; *niyatasanni-*

cognition of the purpose [of the treatise] and so on which pervade the adoptability [of the treatise], is relieved of his doubt by means of the initial statement which states the purpose and so on.”

¹¹⁶ The anonymous commentators referred to in the NM may have been the Kashmirian Buddhist *pramāṇa* philosopher Arcaṭa and his followers. In his HBT, Arcaṭa maintains that the statement of the purpose of a treatise should be presented at the beginning to expose the “illegitimacy” (Funayama 1995) or unprovenness (*asiddhatā*) of the reason “non-cognition of the pervader” to an objector to the composition of the treatise and the communication of its content by reason of this logical reason. Like in the NM, “the statement about ten pomegranates and so forth” (*daśadādimādivākya*) and “the examination of the teeth of a crow” (*kākadantaparīkṣā*) are employed to show that a statement or the referent of a statement devoid of a purpose should not be composed or communicated. These two illustrations correspond to the expressions “*daśadādimādivākyaiva*” (NM I 15,13) and “*sadasadvāyasadaśanavimarśavākyaṃ iva*” (NM I 16,1). For further references to the former illustration, cf. Dhruva’s “Notes,” p. 2-3 and Funayama 1995: 188, n. 34; for a German translation of Vātsyāyana’s commentary on NS 5.2.10 (which defines the *nigrahassthāna apārthaka*), where the former illustration also occurs (cf. NBh 314,6-8), cf. Much 1991: II/81, n. 352. Funayama (1995: 188, n. 35) suggests that Arcaṭa’s possible main opponents in this discussion are “some unknown teacher(s) of the Mīmāṃsā school.” Cf. HBT 2,27-3,3: *yat prayojanarahitam vākyaṃ tadartho vā na tat prekṣāvātārabhyate kartuṃ pratipādayituṃ vā. tad yathā daśadādimādivākyaṃ kākadantaparīkṣā ca. nīsprayojanaṃ cedam prakaraṇaṃ tadartho veti vyāpakānupalabdhyā prayavatiḥṭhamānasya tadasiddhatatobhāvanārtham ādau prayojanavākyaopanyāsaḥ*; for a critical text of this passage of the HBT and an English translation, cf. Funayama 1995: 186 and 188. Funayama does not refer to the similar discussion in the NM.

dhi | J frag.; *niyama* | K – e. *copādeyatāyām*] C, G1; *copādayatāyām* V; † J frag., K – f. *prayojanavattvam*] C, G1, V; *tvam* J frag.; † K – g. *atas*] C, G1, J frag., V; *s*K – h. *upādeyatāyā*] C, G1, J frag., K; *upādāmyatāyā* V – i. *vrkṣatvānupalambhaiva*] C, G1, V; *vrkṣatvānupalambha(h) di* | J; *vrkṣatvānupalambhādi* | K.

4.11.2 Translation:

As regards “by reason of the non-cognition of the pervader,” inasmuch as a thing (A) is constantly contiguous to a thing (B), thing (A) is the pervader of thing (B); for example, treeness [is constantly contiguous] to the Aśoka tree [and thus the pervader of the Aśoka tree]. And the constant contiguity [in the present case is the following]: purposefulness (*prayojanavattva*) [is constantly contiguous] to adoptability (*upādeyatā*). Therefore, when this [pervader, namely, the property “purposefulness”] is not cognised, adoptability [as the pervaded property] is [also] absent, [just] as when treeness is not cognised, being an Aśoka tree [is also absent].

4.12 Subsequently to the discussion on the purpose of the first *sūtra*, Jayanta refers back to another aspect of it, namely, the production of doubt (*saṁśaya*). Doubt about the meaning and intention of the first *sūtra* incites the listeners (*śrotṛ*) to begin the study of the traditional codified knowledge.¹¹⁷ In this context, Jayanta refers to the opinion of some anonymous scholars (*kecit*).¹¹⁸ They state that what is achieved by the initial statement of a foundational treatise is the arousal of doubt about the meaning of the statement which becomes the reason for commencing an action (*pravṛtīhetu*). As another motivating reason for study, they mention appropriateness (*aucitya*) presented as synonymous with reasoning (*tarka*). I did not succeed in verifying Jayanta’s reference to the synonymy of the two terms in secondary testimonia or other sources. Clarification of his conspicuous usage of the term *aucitya*, which is well established in poetics,¹¹⁹ requires a separate study. Cakradhara does not identify the anonymous scholars referred to by Jayanta; however,

¹¹⁷ Cf. NM I 14,7-8: *arthasaṁśayāc ca śravaṇe pravṛtīḥ*.

¹¹⁸ Cf. NM I 16,8-9: *yad api pravṛtīhetor arthasaṁśayasya tarkāparanāma aucityasya vā samutpādanam ādivākyaena kriyata iti kecid ācakṣate tad api prayojanābhīdhānadvārakam eva*. “Furthermore, some [scholars] state that the production of doubt about the meaning [of the initial statement] as the reason for going into action, or [the production] of appropriateness, whose other name is reasoning, is effected by the initial statement; this is also [coming about] precisely by way of the statement of the purpose [of the traditional codified knowledge].”

¹¹⁹ Cf., for example, Raghavan 1942.

his gloss suggests that for him the two terms and concepts are unquestionably associated.

4.12.1 Fragment 12 on NM I 16,8. Sources: J frag. (f. 8r,3; 37r,4); K (f. 8A,3; 18A,4a); C f. 5r, l.m. 11-17; G1 f. 4v, l.m. (3) 1-4; G2 f. 7v, l.m. 1-6; V f. 3v, t.m. 2.

Text:

“*tarkāparanāmnā^a aucityasya^b ity^b ucitaṃ yuktaṃ^c sambhāvyam idam iti yataḥ^d pratyaya^e udeṭi^f tad aucityaṃ^g. tarka^h ity api dvitīyanāmnā prasiddham.*”

Variants: a. *tarkāparanāmnā*] C, G1, V; om. G2; † J frag., K – b. *aucityasya^b ity*] C, G1, V; */tyasyeti* J frag., K; om. G2 – c. *yuktaṃ*] C, G1, G2, V; *yu/* J frag., K – d. *yataḥ*] C, G1, V; *yah* G2; † J frag., K – e. *pratyaya*] C, G1, G2, V; */ya* J frag., K – f. *udeṭi*] G1, J frag., K, V; *tad eti* C – g. *tad aucityaṃ*] C, G1, G2; *tad (au)-cityaṃ* J frag.; *tad o(dau)cityaṃ* K; *udaucityaṃ* V – h. *tarka*] G1, G2, J frag., K, V; *taka* C.

4.12.2 Translation:

As regards “[the production] of appropriateness whose other name is reasoning,” that from which the idea that something is appropriate, [i.e.] adequate [or] possible, arises is appropriateness. [It] is also commonly known as “reasoning” by [its] second name.

4.13 Fragment 13. See n. 41 above.

4.14 After considering the significance of the initial statement of the foundational treatise (cf. Section 4.12), Jayanta introduces the first *sūtra* that lists the sixteen fundamental topics (*padārtha*) of Nyāya, beginning with “means of knowledge” (*pramāṇa*) and ending with the twenty-two “points/cases of defeat in a debate” (*nigrahasthāna*). He then adduces the sixteen topics, together with laconic definitions for each of them. Cakradhara’s following commentary is concerned with one of these definitions, namely, that of a rejoinder by analogy (*jāti*).¹²⁰ Jayanta says: “A *jāti* is a counterargument chiefly [resorting to] a replication of the logical reason [that was presented by the proponent]” (*hetupratibimbanaprāyaṃ pratyavasthānaṃ jātiḥ*). Cakradhara’s gloss focuses on analysing the implication of the expression *prāya* (“chiefly consisting of,” “abounding in”).

¹²⁰ For recent studies on *jāti*, cf. Prets 2003 and Kang 2009.

In the case of Fragment 14, the text is partially available in the printed edition of the NG. It begins with the word *traikālyasamādīnām* within the commentary on *hetupratibimbanaprāyam* (NM I 18,15). The missing first part from *hetupratibimbanaprāyam* to *vācya iti* can be supplemented from the NM mss.

4.14.1 Fragment 14 and NG (S) 4,20-21 on NM I 18,15. Sources: J frag. (f. 37r,5; 8r,5; 37r,6) and J f. 6r,1; K (f. 18A,5; 8A,5; 18A,6); C f. 6r, t.m. 1-2; G1 f. 5r, i.l. 16 and r.m. (2) 1-12; V f. 3v, l.m. (2) 1-16.

Text:

“*hetupratibimbanaprāyam*”¹²¹ *iti svena duṣṭena*^b *hetunā vādyuktasya hetor yat pratibimbanam*^c *samīkaraṇam*^d *tat prāyo bāhulyena yatra pratyavasthāne*^e *parapakṣapratīṣedharūpe*^f. *yathā yadi ghaṭasādharmyāt*^g *kṛtakatvād anityatvam*^h *sādhyate śabdasya, tadākāśasādharmyān niravayavatvān*ⁱ *nityatvam kasmān na bhavati. viśeṣo vā vācya iti*^j. [NG (S) 4,20; J f. 6r1] *traikālyasamādīnām*^k *pratyavasthānānām*^l *hetupratibimbanarūpatvābhāvābhīprāyam*^m *prāyagrahaṇam*ⁿ.

Variants: a. *-bimbanaprāyam*] C, G1, V; /+*.prāyam* J frag.; /*prāyam* K – b. *duṣṭena*] C, G1, V; *du(st)ena* J frag.; *drṣṭena* K – c. *pratibimbanam*] C, G1, V; *pratibimba* | / J frag.; *pratibimba* / K – d. *samīkaraṇam*] C, G1; *samīkaraṇam* V; † J frag., K – e. *pratyavasthāne*] G1, J frag.; *pratyavasthāne* K; *pratyavasthānam* C, V – f. *parapakṣapratīṣedharūpe*] em.; *pakṣapratīṣedharūpa(m)* C, V; *pratīṣadhe* G1; *parapa* / J frag.; *paśpa* / K – g. *ghaṭasādharmyāt*] C, V; *ghaṭasādharmyā*. G1; /*r+āt* J frag.; † K – h. *anityatvam*] C, G1, J frag., V; *nityatvam* K – i. *niravayavatvān*] C, G1, J frag. and J, V; *ni* / K – j. *iti*] C, G1, V; *ityādi* J; om. NG (S) – k. *traikālyasamādīnām*] C, G1, J, V; *traikāly[āsiddher hetor ahetusamaḥ | ahetu] samādīnām* NG (S) – l. *pratyavasthānānām*] J, NG (S); *pratyavasthānam* C; *pratyavasthān(au)* G1; *pratyavasthāna* V – m. *-rūpatvābhāvābhīprāyam*] C, G1, J, V; *rūpatvābhīprāyam* NG (S) – n. *prāyagrahaṇam*] C, G1, J, V; *prāyograhaṇam* NG (S).

4.14.2 Translation:

As regards “chiefly [resorting to] the replication of the logical reason,” [it means the argument] in which (*yatra*), [namely,] in a counterargument having the form of a rejection of the position [of the other] (i.e., of the proponent), the replication, [namely,] the equalisation (*samīkaraṇa*),¹²² of the logical reason presented by the proponent by way of

¹²¹ NM I 18,15.

¹²² For the explanation about the usage and implication of the *sama* by use of the paraphrase by *samīkaraṇa*, cf. NV 498,9-10 on NS 5.1.1. On the usage of *-sama* in the names of *jātis*, cf. Kang 2009.

one's own faulty reason [constitutes] the chief [part, namely, is found] primarily (*bāhulyena*). For example, when [the thesis that] sound is non-eternal is proven from [its] similarity with a [non-eternal] pot, [i.e.,] from [its] being produced, why should it not [be proven] to be eternal from its similarity with [eternal] ether, [i.e.,] from [its] being part-less?¹²³

Or the distinction [of a certain kind of rejoinders from others] is what is referred to [by the expression *prāya*]. [That is to say,] the usage of “chiefly [resorting to]” means that [certain kinds of] counterarguments, such as the *traikālyasama* and so on,¹²⁴ do not have the form of a replication of the logical reason [that was presented by the proponent].

APPENDIX

In this paper, I follow the custom of referring to the philosopher as Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, and not Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (or Jayantabhaṭṭa), the designations which are frequently, though not unanimously, adopted by the editors of his works and in the secondary literature. In addition to the probably most crucial evidence, namely, the self-reference in the Āgaṃaḍambara with the designation Bhaṭṭajayanta pointed out by Kataoka (2003a: 249, n. 2), the following two points have to be taken into consideration: (1) explicit mention of this name in earlier Sanskrit literature, e.g., in Devasūri's or Vādideva Sūri's Syādvādaratnākara (I 64,1: *tathā ca samācaṣṭa bhaṭṭajayantaḥ pallave*; cf. Raghavan 1946: 258; IV 780,7-8: *tad uktam bhaṭṭajayantenāpi pallave*; cf. *ibid.*, p. 259), and (2) the convention found in the colophons of the NM mss. (see Section 3.2

¹²³ This is an example for the first type of *jāti* called “rejection on the basis of similarity” (NM II 651,10: *sādharmyasamaḥ pratiṣedhaḥ*). The supplementation of the adjective *sādharmyasama* with the substantive *pratiṣedha* is already corroborated by the NV; cf. NV 498,20 on NS 5.1.2.

¹²⁴ *traikālyasama*, here classified under the *jātis*, is not explicitly mentioned in the list of twenty-four kinds of *jātis* in NS 5.1.1. However, Uddyotakara makes mention of the term *traikālyasama* in his NV on NS 5.1.7. Although Vācaspati and Udayana do not mention the term here, Abhayatilaka regards this type of *jāti* as identical with *ahetusama*, the sixteenth *jāti*: *vāke* (i.e., *vārttike*). “*traikālyasamādyāḥ prayuktā* (read: *pratyuktā*)” *iti. traikālyasamāhetusamā, tadādyā ajātitvena codyamānā nirākṛtāḥ*; cf. NA 723, 9-10 on NV 502,14 (on NS 5.1.7). Jayanta does not give additional information on the meaning of the term *traikālyasama* when he refers to it in NM II 645,18-19 and 646,4. Cakradhara, however, also regards this term as synonymous with *ahetusama* (NG [S] 242,2-5): *traikālyasamādiṣṭv api yādṛśasya tādṛśasya sādharmyavaidharmyaprakārasya yojayitum śakyatvād iti. ahetuḥ kālātraye 'py asādhakāḥ, evam asya kālātraye 'py asādhakatvād ahetusādharmyam iti bhāṣyākṛtā prathamam sādhanābhāsa eva jātyuttarodāharaṇam darśitam iti.*

and n. 48 above). The majority of the colophons accessible to me evidently speak for “Bhaṭṭa Jayanta.” As can be seen already in the *editio princeps* of the NM, the Vizianagaram edition published in 1895, minor variations are found in the *āhnika* colophons: Bhaṭṭajayanta (NM [V] 426,22 for the sixth *āhnika*, 553,6 for the ninth and 585,18 for the tenth), Śrībhaṭṭajayanta (NM [V] 507,21 for the eighth *āhnika*), Śrīmadbhaṭṭajayanta (NM [V] 618,10 for the eleventh *āhnika*), Śrījāyanta (NM [V] 473,13 for the seventh *āhnika*), and Śrījāyantabhaṭṭa (NM [V] 659,22 for the twelfth and last *āhnika*). These references to the author in the colophons are all found in NM (SBhL) which appears to have served as the predominant basis for the Vizianagaram edition; cf. the corresponding remark by Gangadhara Shastri in his preface (“Bhūmikā”), p. 5. However, the question how the element “Bhaṭṭa” was understood by later Indian authors and scribes of mss. requires a separate study.

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- J frag. Fragmentary leaves of J.

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