Jürgen HANNEDER

The Indian Inculturation of European Textual Criticism

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The Indian Inculturation of European Textual Criticism

Jürgen Hanneder
Marburg University

1. In Kālidāsa's play *Vikramorvaśī* we find in the second act an interesting passage, where Urvaśī uses her divine power to create a love letter to be found by the king. The king reads it, finds his love confirmed, and is excited. Fearing that his sweaty hands might efface the writing, he asks the Vidūṣaka to hold the letter.

The magical creation of a letter in literary fiction may not be the obvious place to hunt for realia, but the passage contains an interesting technical term relevant for textual criticism. For when the king asks the Vidūṣaka to take the letter from his sweaty hands, we read — in the first edition of the text by Bollensen: [1]

> *vayasya aṅgulīsvedena me lupyante 'kṣarāṇi* |
> *dhāryatām ayaṃ svahaste nikṣepaḥ priyāyāḥ* |

Bollensen translates:

> Freund, durch den Schweiss meiner Finger werden die Schriftzüge verwischt. Bewahre Du in Deiner Hand dies Pfand der Geliebten.
> (Friend! The sweat from my fingers is erasing the words. Keep this pledge of my beloved in your hand.)

The sentence seems fine, but the edition stands on somewhat shaky grounds. There are other competing versions, one in the South-Indian recension edited by Pischel, which reads: [2]

> *vayasya aṅgulīsvedena dūṣyerann akṣarāṇi* |
> *dhāryatām idaṃ priyāsvahastalikhitam* | [3]

1. Bollensen (1846: 27).
2. Pischel (1875: 633).
3. There is a variant given in the edition: *ayaṃ priyāyāḥ svahastalikhitaḥ saṃdeśaḥ*.

Then we have the edition by Śankara Paṇḍuranga Paṇḍit, [4] which is based on a more extensive assessment of sources, *i.e.* eight manuscripts and two commentaries. There the line occurs in yet another form as:

> *vayasya aṅgulīsvedena dūṣyerann akṣarāṇi |*
> *dhāryatām ayaṃ priyāyāḥ svahastaḥ |*

Bollensen was not aware of this reading in the passage, but he translates the compound *dayitāsnehasvahasta* later in the text (verse 2.38) as "Liebesbriefchen der Geliebten" (p. 30), which is appropriate in the context, but somewhat evades the question what a *svahasta* actually is. For the word does not mean just "one's own hand", but as a technical term something written by one's own hand. This sense of *svahasta* as "autograph" is lacking in the larger Petrograde dictionary, [5] which is somewhat astonishing, given the close relationship between Böhtlingk and Bollensen. It is also not known to the first edition of the dictionary of Monier Williams, [6] which is perhaps less astonishing.

It first occurs in the smaller Petrograde dictionary (1879) [7], referring to *Viṣṇusmṛti* 7.13, as "Selbstgeschriebenes", and consequently in the second edition of Monier Williams' dictionary (1889) as "autograph" referring to the same text. Böhtlingk had received the vocabulary from Julius Jolly who is mentioned in the first volume. [8] The context of the word is here a legal one, namely, the establishment of the authenticity of a written document.

There are perhaps not many testimonia for this technical sense of the word. We find more regularly the full form *svahastalikhita*, and to determine whether a noun *svahasta* is really the correct reading in a given passage and used in the sense of autograph is somewhat difficult. It is one occurrence of the word that proves it beyond any doubt and even beyond the vicissitudes of textual transmission: In a copperplate inscription signed by Harṣa himself [9] the king authenticates the document by writing in the colophon: *svahasto mama mahārājādhirājasrīharṣasya.*

With this in mind and returning to Kālidāsa we can see that the shorter version of the line is convincingly idiomatic. It is a lively dialogue with no

4. Pandit (1901).
5. Böhtlingk (1855).
6. Monier Williams (1872).
7. Böhtlingk (1879).
8. His edition of the text appeared as *Institutes of Viṣṇu* (1880).
9. Solomon (1998: 70).

superfluous word: "Take this *svahasta* of my lover". If compared with this the other version emphasizing that the Vidūṣaka take it into "his own hand" seems unnecessarily laboured.

2. This brief example was adduced to show two things: Firstly, that there cannot be any doubt that we do find technical terms like "autograph" in Sanskrit, terms that are surely useful for textual criticism; but, secondly, that they are easily overlooked. The same applies to the whole field of pre-modern textual criticism in Sanskrit. We have a considerable body of commentarial literature which abounds in discussions of correct, old, authoritative and other categories of readings, [10] discussions that show that some medieval Sanskrit commentators were well aware of text-critical criteria, the style of a particular author or of readings produced by later conjecturers, which were discussed and sometimes dismissed.

Such segments of Indian literature are at odds with wide-spread notions about the importance of orality in India. Captured in the announcement of this conference as "oraliture", there is a trend to understand pre-modern Indian literature by adducing current ideas on European medieval texts, where transmission implies rewriting. In other words, we may have variants, but these are not neccessarily errors. This reevaluation of textual criticism is paired with or implies certain assumptions about the intellectual background of the transmitters, who seem to entertain no concept of textual integrity, of an original text, or an individual author, and thus no authorial intention or style. There are striking counter-examples, [11] which show that in fact there was, not too surprisingly perhaps, a wide variety of approaches to copying and editing. [12]

One may even argue that there existed an *ars critica* in pre-modern India, but there was most probably no systematization of the various concepts. Sanskritic textual criticism has never made it into a *śāstra*. In the 19th century when European textual criticism took more distinct shape, in India neither the colonial setting nor the general state of Sanskritic learning was apparently in favour of such an endeavour.

But before congratulating ourselves on the supposed high sophistication of textual criticism in Europe, let us remind ourselves that even Lachmann, the 19th-century editor of Latin and German works, who is commonly viewed as the founder of modern textual criticism, did not

10. For the following, see Hanneder (2017).
11. See for instance the discussion of Kṣemarāja in Hanneder (2017: 79-83).
12. Hanneder (2017: 100f).

sufficiently explain his method. It had to be inferred from his scattered remarks. The same applies to early Indological criticism before Lachmann, that is, in the first half of the 19th century, and to ancient or medieval Indian textual criticism. [13]

Earlier formulations of ways to edit texts, especially those conceiving it as an art rather than a technique, were virtually forgotten. What was called in medieval literature the *ars critica* [14] is a precursor to modern criticism and it has long been observed that academic or "scientific" textual criticism evolved in an, albeit negated, continuity with its precursors. In Europe the developments in textual criticism came gradually and the *termini technici* derived from the classical languages became part of the technical vocabulary in European languages, either as direct loans, as "archetype" or "palimpsest", or as literal translations, as "reading" from *lectio*.

3. In pre-modern Sanskrit many technical terms used by commentators, like "correct reading" (*śuddhapāṭha*) or "inserted reading" (*prakṣipta-pāṭha*), were part of the normal vocabulary. Some more specialised terms, like *svahasta* for autograph, were not used frequently, but there clearly was a vocabulary to deal with textual variation, and there were maxims capturing the basic principles of how to deal with texts, ranging from strict non-intervention to more invasive forms of correction. From the 19th century onward we see that, with the advent of printing, European methods of editing are adopted. We find descriptions of manuscripts used and variant readings are given in the footnotes.

In many European editions in the early 19th century a standard way of editing would be what was called in German "Konjekturalkritik". The Indian idea of editing as *śodhana*, the purification of texts from errors, would at least theoretically fall into a similar category. A closer look at concrete editions, preferably (but unrealistically) with access to the sources used, would be necessary to determine the actual method employed. A considerable number of Indian editions from the later 19th century onward have introductions that describe or list the manuscript sources used, but the approach to editing is not disclosed. Occasional pronouncements of manuscripts as "correct" (*śuddha*) leads to the assumption that editors

13. See Hanneder (2017, *passim*).

14. This is at the same time the name of some works on the topic, as for instance the one by Johann de Clerq (Joannis de Clerici: *Ars Critica*. Londini MDCXCVIII.) For the genre, see Vanek (2007).

pragmatically identified the best manuscript or manuscripts, established a text based on them, and added (mostly silent) emendations.

In the 20th century the monumental project of editing the *Mahābhārata* seems to have initiated reflection on Indian editorial practices. The whole project started as a plan presented by the Prague Indologist Moriz Winternitz and taken up by various academies that formed an international comittee, in which Heinrich Lüders took a leading role. When the plans for an edition did not materialize in Europe, the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists held in Oxford 1928 recommended that all previous collations and attempts should be put at the disposal of the Project of a Critical Edition at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. The project was headed by V.S. Sukthankar, who had received his Ph.D. after studying in Berlin with Lüders and was therefore well-acquainted with current European methods. His method of editing was adapted to the *Mahābhārata*, a problem *sui generis* as he rightly states, and he defended his approach to adverse criticism by Ruben, but felt that he was still in accord with Winternitz and Lüders. [15]

Pune was certainly a center for critical editing at the time — with such unusual and versatile scholars as D.D. Kosambi contributing to furthering the method of critically editing Sanskrit texts. [16] So the time was certainly ripe to summarize the new method and produce a handbook or an introduction. The task fell to Sumitra Mangesh Katre, who published his *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism* in 1941. Katre was a linguist trained first in Madras, then London. He subsequently worked in Pune, and after retirement in Austin. [17] He was not a practising Sanskrit editor, but a specialist on grammar and linguistics. The book was intended as a stop-gap for a full-fledged handbook to be written by Sukthankar himself, but Sukthankar's death in 1943 prevented its realization. And thus the "introduction" in its 1954 reprint practically became the "handbook", a standard reference work, on which many others would be based.

Katre's introduction is a summary of European criticism but applied to Sanskrit. Judging from quotations and the bibliography it is based on a limited selection of works from classical studies. There is of course Paul

15. See, for instance, his elaborate retort to Ruben's fundamental criticism in Sukthankar (1944: 226-241). The reference to Lüders occurs on p. 224.

16. See his elaborate introduction to his edition *Epigrams Attributed to Bhartṛhari*. Bombay 1948.

17. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 42.3 (1999), p. v-vi.

Maas' small booklet *Textkritik* [18] and a number of other introductions to the criticism of Greek and Latin works. For Katre the method was well-established and he thought, as he states in the introduction, that there is nothing new in his work anyway. [19] Understandable as it is, the practical problem with this approach is that it creates the impression of a well-established and accepted technique, not one that is highly disputed and intrinsically insecure. And one does not get the impression that wider reading is useful.

The fate of Katre's book is not unlike that of other brief introductions that became standard reference works, as, for instance, the very brief introduction to *Textkritik* by Paul Maas. As a result the inculturation of European textual criticism for Sanskrit studies in India revolves around this book, which was in 2002 even translated into Sanskrit. [20] But from the same Poona based group, another formulation of the principles of textual criticism in Sanskrit has appeared, but seems not to have received much public attention.

4. In 1966 Venkatesh Laxman Joshi edited a grammatical text, the *Prauḍhamanoramā* with the commentary *Śabdaratna*, [21] from four manuscripts and made it clear that in his opinion the only way to produce a proper edition was by using modern methodology, which he describes in a 100-page introduction written in Sanskrit. The text of the introduction is indebted to Katre's book, but it starts in a traditional śāstric way by discussing the question whether this is an *apūrvaśāstra*, a new "science". Katre had spoken in his introduction of the "science of textual criticism as developed by Europeans" [22] and calls it the "modern methods of critical editing". [23] Thus, from a traditionalistic Indian point of view, in which innovation and "outside" influence are frowned upon, the question is understandable, but since Katre is writing in full knowledge of the prior fusion of European and Indian methods and in fact wants to defend

18. Maas (1960 [1927[1]]).

19. Katre (1941: xv).

20. Lakṣmīnarasiṃha Bhaṭṭa *et al.* (2002). We find a report of such a project in an article written in almost incomprehensible English, somehow underscoring the dire need for a translation: Shete (2011: 153-159).

21. Joshi (1966).

22. Katre (1941: xiv).

23. *Ibid.* This is not the place to criticize these "modern methods", that is, the fixation on the stemmatic method and the misunderstandings involved. See Hanneder (2017: 72ff and *passim*).

them, the question can also be interpreted as a kind of appeasement of traditionalism.

But perhaps the question is entirely rhethorical, for the solution is quite witty. Let us see what Joshi says in his introduction in the passage under the heading: *kim idam apūrvaṃ śāstram?*, where he describes the tasks of the editor:

> *tasya mūlagranthasya nirdhāraṇasamaye upalabdheṣu caturṣu hastalikhiteṣu katamat adhikaṃ pramāṇabhūtam? kutratyāḥ pāṭhabhedāḥ mūlagranthatvena svīkartuṃ yogyāḥ? katamasmin hastalikhite ca lekhanikapramādāḥ samadhikā upalabhyante? kutra ca prakṣiptāḥ pāṭhāḥ samadhikāḥ? upalabdhānāṃ sarveṣāṃ pustakānāṃ śākhāparamparā (kulaparamparā) ekā eva uta bhinnā? ityādayo bahavo viṣayāḥ haṃsakṣīranyāyāśritena sārāsāravivekena, cāturyeṇa, svakīyena buddhivaiśadyena ca vimarśanīyā bhavanti* | (p. 5)
>
> [...] Which one is the most authoritative of the four manuscripts we have for determining the *mūlagrantha*? The readings in which [of these] can be adopted as the *mūlagrantha*? In which manuscripts do we find more scribal blunders? Where are more additional passages? Is the relationship between the branches, or familial relationship, of all available manuscripts one, or is it divided? These and many other topics have to be thought about by discerning important from unimportant, like the *haṃsa* extracts the milk, cleverly, and by using one's own intelligence.

Joshi anwers the question by quoting the Cambridge textual critic Housmann saying that "a man who possesses common sense and the use of reason must not expect to learn from treatises or lectures on textual criticism anything that he could not, with leisure and industry, find out for himself. A textual critic engaged upon his business is not at all like Newton investigating the motions of the planets, he is much more like a dog hunting for fleas. If a dog hunted for fleas on mathematical principles, he would never catch a flea except by accident." (p. 5f.)

He gives only a summary in Sanskrit stating that this means that it is not a new science, and a quotation from Katre's *Introduction* is adduced to the same effect. Textual criticism is above all an application of common sense, whereas, here Joshi is quoting Katre, the "canons of criticism" "should be used with due recognition of their limited validity" (p. 7). To elaborate his point Joshi states that the *śāstra* can show the way, but does not allow predictions. One cannot say that since we studied the text, we can expect that there will be certain errors also in other manuscripts

(*anyeṣv api hastalikhiteṣu etair eva doṣair bhāvyam*), or that "these errors will be everywhere" (*etair doṣair sarvatra bhāvyam*), one always has to examine the evidence.

For Joshi the method to be followed for arriving at the original text, which he calls *mūlagranthasampādanaśāstra*, is the contemporary one. He says *imāṃ ca ādhunika-śāstrīyapaddhatim āsritya prācīnabhāratīya-granthānām avaśyaṃ sampādanaṃ kartavyaṃ bhavati* (p. 8). As he makes clear this method is not an undue novelty, *apūrvatva*, it is on the contrary (8:14ff) applicable to old texts, since they all suffer from the same type of alterations, as introduction of variants, loss or augmentation of passages, and so forth.

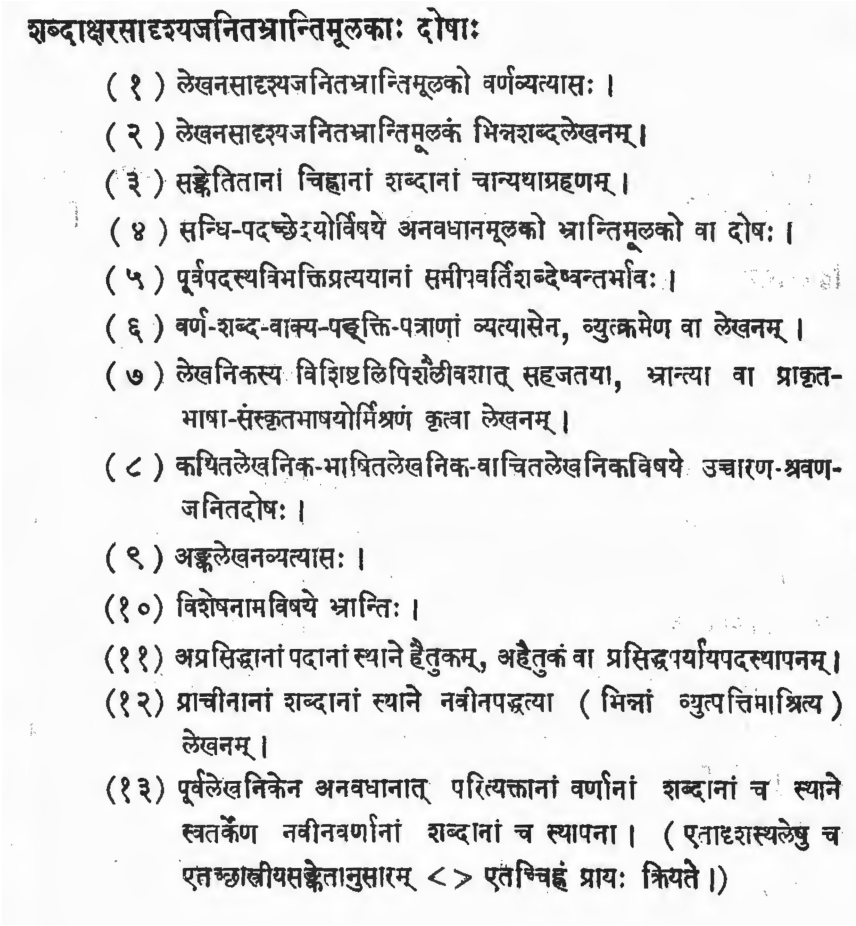
Here follows an enumeration of typical errors with appropriate Sanskrit terms, first through introducing the four main errors (*pradhānadoṣa-catuṣṭaya*, p. 12): loss of text (*truṭiḥ*), confusion of letters (*vyatyāsaḥ*), insertions (*prakṣiptāḥ pāṭhāḥ*), and emendations by later scribes, readers or commentators (*kalpitāḥ pāṭhāḥ*). All other errors are supposed to proceed from those.

Joshi now gives a list of errors based on a "similarity of śabdas and akṣaras" (p. 13), [24] which subsumes all kinds of confusions, partly paleographical, but also based on hearing (8), confused numbering (9), error about proper names (10), supplying more common words for rare ones (11), new orthography (12), emendation in the sense of filling of gaps (13).

Then we find a set of unnecessarily complicated definitions of the types of loss of text [25]. There is (14) loss of text based on specific causes called *lupti*. The otherwise unattested derivation is presumably employed to avoid wrong association with the grammatical term *lopa*. (15) When based on eyeskip due to similar letters it is termed *grāsa*. Both are apparently called also (?) *truṭi*. The third (16), which is accidental, is called *truṭi* proper, but is defined as *grāsa*. It seems Joshi, in an attempt to clarify the causes of error, has not been able to provide a transparent Sanskrit terminology.

The whole passage is heavily indebted to Katre, who is explicitly referred to. In a chapter called "Causes of Corruption in a Transmitted text", Katre gives a list called "Confusions and attempts made to remedy them", [26] which is in turn an adapted version of a list of the same name

24. See fig. 1, p. 503.
25. See fig. 2, p. 504.
26. Katre (1941: 55-56).



शब्दाक्षरसादृश्यजनितभ्रान्तिमूलकाः दोषाः

(१) लेखनसादृश्यजनितभ्रान्तिमूलको वर्णव्यत्यासः ।

(२) लेखनसादृश्यजनितभ्रान्तिमूलकं भिन्नशब्दलेखनम् ।

(३) सङ्केतितानां चिह्नानां शब्दानां चान्यथाग्रहणम् ।

(४) सन्धि-पदच्छेदयोर्विषये अनवधानमूलको भ्रान्तिमूलको वा दोषः ।

(५) पूर्वपदस्थविभक्तिप्रत्ययानां समीपवर्तिशब्देष्वन्तर्भावः ।

(६) वर्ण-शब्द-वाक्य-पङ्क्ति-पत्राणां व्यत्यासेन, व्युत्क्रमेण वा लेखनम् ।

(७) लेखनिकस्य विशिष्टलिपिशैलीवशात् सहजतया, भ्रान्त्या वा प्राकृत-भाषा-संस्कृतभाषयोर्मिश्रणं कृत्वा लेखनम् ।

(८) कथितलेखनिक-भाषितलेखनिक-वाचितलेखनिकविषये उच्चारण-श्रवण-जनितदोषः ।

(९) अङ्कलेखनव्यत्यासः ।

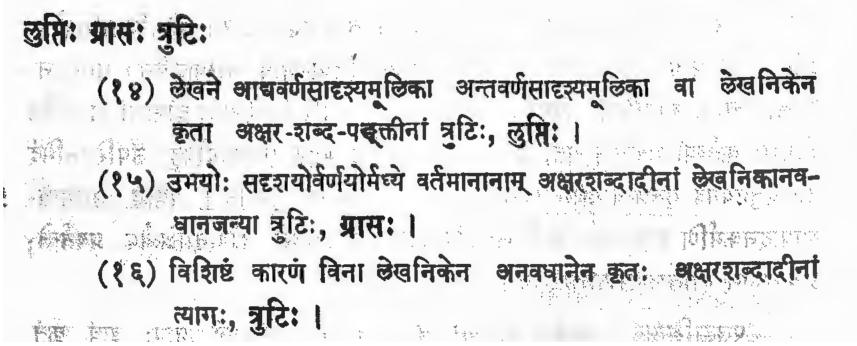
(१०) विशेषनामविषये भ्रान्तिः ।

(११) अप्रसिद्धानां पदानां स्थाने हैतुकम्, अहैतुकं वा प्रसिद्धपर्यायपदस्थापनम् ।

(१२) प्राचीनानां शब्दानां स्थाने नवीनपद्धत्या (भिन्नां व्युत्पत्तिमाश्रित्य) लेखनम् ।

(१३) पूर्वलेखनिकेन अनवधानात् परित्यक्तानां वर्णानां शब्दानां च स्थाने स्वतर्केण नवीनवर्णानां शब्दानां च स्थापना । (एतादृशस्थलेषु च एतच्छास्त्रीयसङ्केतानुसारम् <> एतच्चिह्नं प्रायः क्रियते ।)

Figure 1 – Joshi, *Prauḍhamanoramā*, p. 13


लुप्तिः ग्रासः त्रुटिः

(१४) लेखने आद्यवर्णसादृश्यमूलिका अन्तवर्णसादृश्यमूलिका वा लेखनिकेन कृता अक्षर-शब्द-पङ्क्तीनां त्रुटिः, लुप्तिः ।

(१५) उभयोः सदृशयोर्वर्णयोर्मध्ये वर्तमानानाम् अक्षरशब्दादीनां लेखनिकानवधानजन्या त्रुटिः, ग्रासः ।

(१६) विशिष्टं कारणं विना लेखनिकेन अनवधानेन कृतः अक्षरशब्दादीनां त्यागः, त्रुटिः ।

Figure 2 – Joshi, *Prauḍhamanoramā*, p. 14

in F.W. Hall's *Companion to Classical Texts*.[27] We can see that Katre has eschewed items that were not applicable, for instance number 7 in Hall "Mistranscription of Greek into Latin and vice versa" does not apply and is not mentioned, but no. 2 in Hall "Misinterpretation of contractions" reappears as no. 3 in Katre's list. But since there are no contractions in Sanskrit manuscripts as there are in Latin — like, for instance, *e* for *est*, or *p.r.* for *populus romanus* —, this item has no value.

Thus the list in Katre's version is already inconsistent, but Joshi adds to the confusion by giving as the new title of the list *śabdākṣarasādṛśya-janitabhrāntimūlakāḥ doṣāḥ*. The reader, who righly wonders why an identification of old emendations has crept into this list, needs to look at Katre and Hall to understand that this is itself a redactional error.

What is even more interesting is that with the identification of Hall as the ultimate source, we have also found the reason why the Indian *paramparā* based on it is so fixated on paleographical arguments for emendations. Hall is a supporter of this approach, he devotes much space to it and seems well aware of its pitfalls and the controversial discussions surrounding it.[28] Katre's formulation is actually quite balanced: emendation

27. The listing of errors appears on p. 153f. of the edition Oxford 1913.

28. He writes: "[...] we might well be spared a great deal of the 'paleographische Taschenspielerei' against which Schubart protested more than fifty years ago" (p. 155), which is a reference to Schubart (1855: 7), who explains one case as follows: "Es ist ein völlig willkürliches, bisweilen lächerliches Verfahren selbst namhafter Kritiker, die eine jede beliebige Konjektur dadurch einleuchtend zu machen glauben, wenn sei beide betreffende Wörter mit Uncialen schreiben [...]."

requires a "transcriptional probability" (p. 64), but preferably this has to coincide with an intrinsic probability, as he makes clear in the following discussion. But despite all this, the impression created by according such a prominent position to paleographical explanations for error, has been severly criticized by others, notably Housman, who wrote: "There is one foolish sort of conjecture which seems to be commoner in the British Isles than anywhere else, though it is also practised abroad [...] The practice is, if you have persuaded yourself that a text is corrupt, to alter a letter or two and see what happens. If what happens is anything which the warmest good-will can mistake for sense and grammar, you call it an emendation; and you call this silly game the palaeographical method." [29]

Katre, while thinking that he was merely summarizing the established (Oxford) method, unwittingly fell into one highly disputed camp of textual criticism.

5. Under the heading *sambandhavimarśa* (p. 30) we find a discussion of the stemmatic relationship between the manuscripts. First Joshi asks whether all his manuscripts are derived from the oldest, which is not the case. It is not entirely clear to me why Joshi initially raises this topic, but it seems that he wants to avoid some of the traps in textual criticism, that is, to use only the oldest, "best" manuscript and ignore the rest of the evidence. The English quotation adduced in the footnote also stresses the importance of *recensio*.

Then under the heading *sulabhataraḥ pāṭhaḥ svīkāryaḥ*? "Is the easier reading to be adopted?" he deals with the selection of readings according to their intrinsic merit.

> *yataḥ mūlagranthanirdhāraṇaṃ nāma na utkṛṣṭapāṭhasvīkaraṇaṃ; athavā kaḥ sulabhaḥ samīcīnaḥ pāṭhaḥ, kaś ca asamīcīnaḥ durbodhaś ca pāṭhaḥ, etādṛśasvarūpo vimarśo 'pi na | pratyuta bahuṣu sthaleṣu ca upalabdhayoḥ dvayoḥ pāṭhayoḥ kaṭhinatarapāṭhe eva mūlagranthatva-sambhāvanā kartuṃ yogyā bhavati |*
>
> For does not determining the original text mean to adopt the best reading? Or which one is the easy and correct reading, and which one is the incorrect reading that is difficult to understand — such deliberation is not [valid]; rather it is in many places appropriate to assume that the more difficult of two given readings is the original.
>
> *yataḥ āvṛttikaraṇasamaye mūlagranthasthaṃ kaṭhinaṃ pāṭhaṃvīkṣya tatsthāne kenāpi sampādakena, pāṭhakena athavā lekhanikena grantha-*

29. Housman (1972: 1064f.).

> *lāpanārthaṃ prāyaḥ sulabhataraḥ pāṭhaḥ saṃsūcyate sthāpyate ca ity asti anubhavaḥ | ataḥ granthakārasyābhimataḥ mūlaḥ pāṭhaḥ kaḥ, ity asmin viṣaye utkṛṣṭanikṛṣṭasulabhatarakaṭhinatarādiviṣayam anādṛtya pāṭhabhedacikitsāśāstrīyaprakriyānusāraṃ kriyamāṇo vimarśa evātrābhipretaḥ | evaṃ vimarśe kriyamāṇe mūlagranthatvena svīkriyamāṇaḥ pāṭhaḥ kadācit asamīcīnaḥ syāt |* [30]
>
> Since experience shows that at the time of copying, the editor (*sampādaka*), the reader or scribe, when facing a difficult reading in the original, may often indicate and settle on an easier reading for simplifying [31] the text. Therefore, regarding the question which is the original reading [32] intended by the author, we have to disregard what is better, worse, easier or more difficult, but follow the scientific method of healing the variation. According to this reasoning the reading accepted as the original can sometimes be the incorrect one.

The reader will at this point wonder, whether Joshi is really a Housmannian pragmatic textual critic, because this statement could also come from a devoted stemmatologist, who will adhere to his "objective" method mechanically, even if the resulting text (of the recontructed archetype) is *asamīcīna*. Classical philologists would then of course resort to the next step in editing which is *emendatio*, others — as Sukthankar [33] — would rather scan the rest of the transmission for viable readings.

The construction of the stemma is given much emphasis by Joshi, all stages are richly illustrated with examples. [34]

In his description of stemmatics Joshi had to coin many technical terms, or rather invest Sanskrit terms with a new technical meaning. The process is known from modern Sanskrit, where foreign or modern words are regularly adapted or translated in various ways. Sometimes such neologisms are not self-explanatory or consistent. In one recent publication [35] we find in the various prefaces two different translations of the word C[ompact]D[disk] into Sanskrit, first as *sāndramudrikā*, to which the French "(cederom)" is added for clarification, then as *gaṇanacakra*, to which the English "(CD-Rom)" is added. Given the appropriate context

30. p. 30f.

31. I am not exactly sure, what Joshi means by *lāpana*. Later (p. 40) he says that both manuscripts are helpful for *granthalāpane*, "correcting, establishing" (?) the text.

32. The text has *mūlaḥ pāṭhaḥ*, but he probably meant to print *mūlapāṭhaḥ* here.

33. Reported in Katre (1941: 67).

34. See fig. 3, p. 507.

35. Grimal *et al.* (2006).

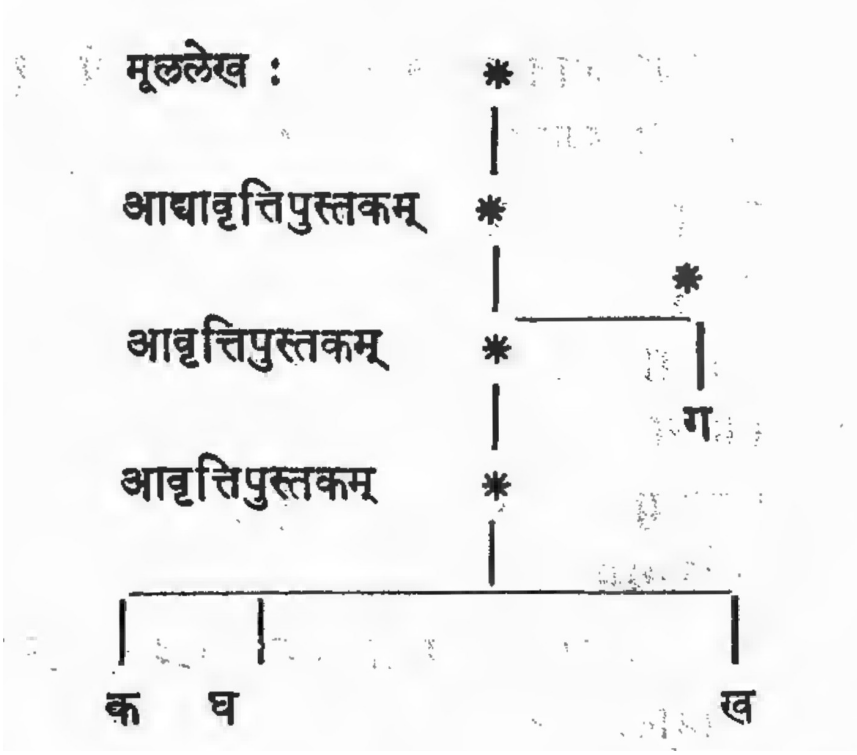


Figure 3 – Joshi, *Prauḍhamanoramā*, p. 37

the meaning "Compact Disk" can be understood, although perhaps not immediately. But it is clear that the reader does not search for a new, modern meaning when the compound makes sense in (classical) Sanskrit. So when Joshi uses *mūlalekha* for "archetype", there are two options: The word might mean the writing of the *mūla*-text, that is, the text that is the basis of a commentary. And it might denote the "original writing", which could be the "autograph" or the "archetype".

But since *mūlalekha* is followed by a "first copy" (*ādyāvṛttipustaka*) in the above, it is probably the autograph. But the usage is not really clear, because Joshi later uses the word *gṛhītamūlalekhādyāvṛttipustaka* (p. 44) explicitly for "autograph" and *gṛhītamūlalekhādyapustaka* for archetype (p. 45). The whole discussion remains terminologically somewhat unclear and one could have used the old terms like *svahasta* and thereby avoided some confusion.

Joshi's introduction spans a hundred pages, so what follows now is a rather long disquisition on the relationship between the four manuscripts. It is obvious from shared omissions and other errors that three form a group against one. The three share an unusual phenomenon, they use an unusual sign, a simple dot it seems, for the end of a verse, which Joshi calls *bindurūpaṃ virāmacihnaṃ*. The inquiry into the provenance of the manuscripts — they are kept in the *India Office* and stem from Colebrooke's manuscripts collection — leads to an explanation of their close relationship. They were apparently commissioned by Colebrooke when he was in Vārāṇasī.

Joshi adds a few speculations about the author's pupils and their supposed manuscript copies, and arrives at a more elaborate stemma. [36] It is called *vaṃśavṛkṣa* and incorporates much information on how Joshi reconstructs the transmission of the text. Such an elaborate stemma is always impressive, especially if it is backed up with all kinds of reconstructive efforts, for instance, the main division into branches (*śākhā*) is assumed to be marked by the copies of two disciples of the author. We find sub-branches (*upaśākhā*) that can already be dated more exactly, because we know when Colebrooke was active in Vārāṇasī. A practising textual critic will of course ask in more than one sense for the bottom line. How are the actual manuscripts, which are marked by consonants, related? The three Colebrooke manuscripts form one branch against the single

36. See fig. 4, p. 510.

ms. *ga* in a second branch. But here, unlike in the simplified version of the stemma given earlier in the book (see above), we have two additions: there is an assumed *upaśākhā ca* and a dotted line from *ga* to one of the Colebrooke manuscripts. Every editor knows these tricks of the trade. The dots mean that it is not possible to keep the two branches neatly seperate, there is contamination between two manuscripts from differing branches. The manuscript *ca* by the way does not seem to enter into stemmatic considerations.

Below the stemma we find the editor's summary verse on this Sanskritized stemmatology:

> *ūrdhvamūlam adhaḥśākhaṃ vaṃśavṛkṣaṃ vidur budhāḥ |*
> *lekha-pustaka-śākhopa-pra-śākhādyativistṛtam ||*

Before going any further let us first see how Joshi interprets the evidence and how he proposes to proceed in editing by discussing the question "Which manuscript has more authority": [37]

> Among our manuscripts *ka, kha, ga* and *gha*, ms. *ga* is historically the oldest. Furthermore, ms. *ga* was for the most part written by a student. Based on this, it is appropriate and necessary to accept that it has most authority among all manuscripts. Therefore ms. *ga* is our basis in every respect in case of incorrect readings and where a scribe's negligence has produced an error (in other manuscripts of which examples are found in abundance). But we must not forget that scribes learned in the matter, and scholars may show their own knowledge and erudition while writing, even in the middle of the work (or: in the main text), as occasion arises. Therefore in cases of insertions or simpler readings etc. where we find variants in different manuscripts, we have to be discerning when it comes to accepting the authority of learned scribes.

This is, as it were, the small print of textual criticism. According to strict stemmatic rules, once we diagnose the intervention of learned scribes, we should stop producing a stemma, at least if we take the cautionary remark in the manual of Maas seriously. Those who do are usually the proponents of another method, [38] whereas adherents of text-genealogy tend to react by modifying the method or its claim to objective stemmatic editing.

37. See fig. 5, p. 511.
38. Most notably that of "Kontaminationskritik". See Hanneder (2017: 135-149).

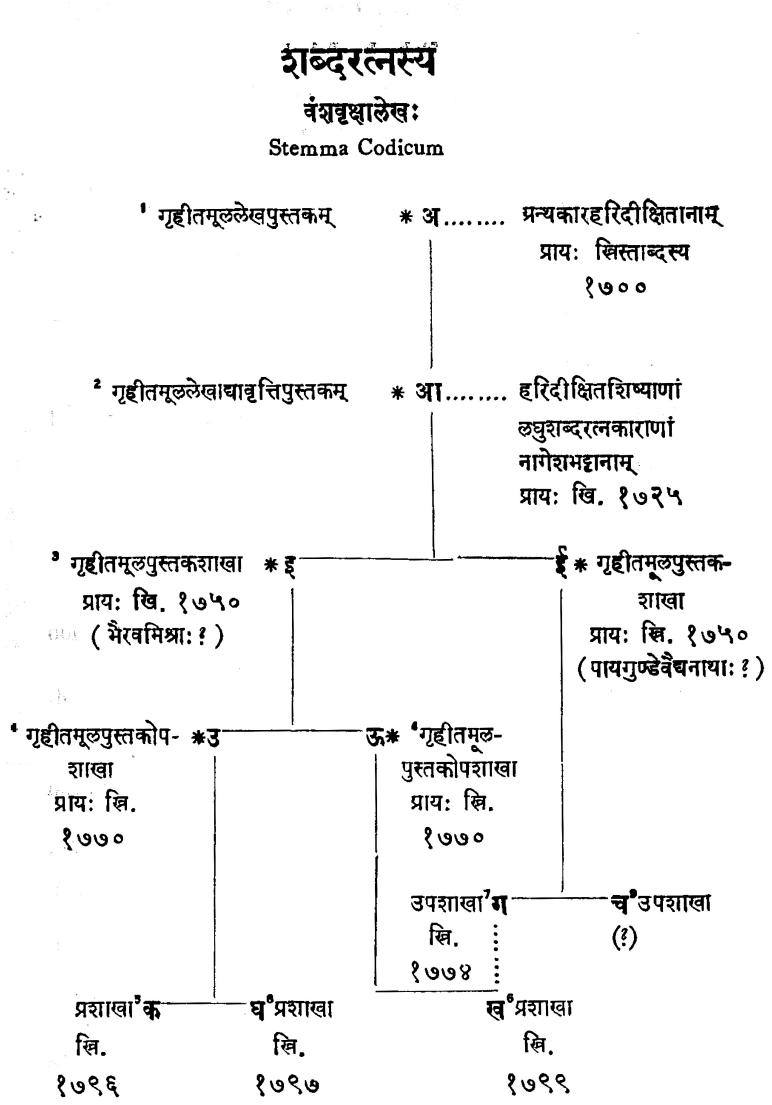
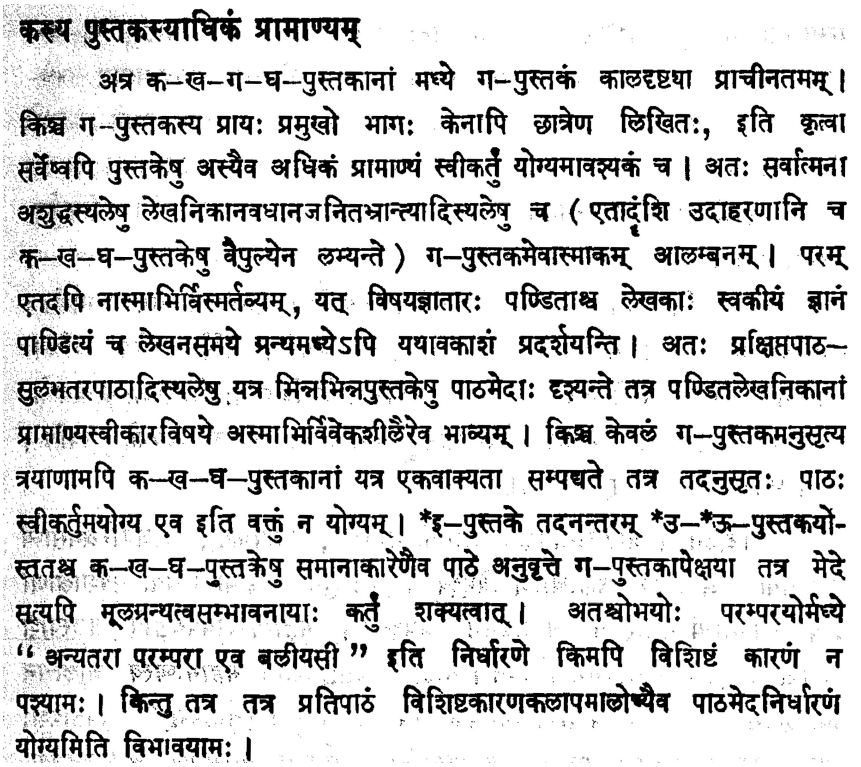


Figure 4 – Joshi, *Prauḍhamanoramā*, p. 1



कस्य पुस्तकस्याधिकं प्रामाण्यम्

अत्र क–ख–ग–घ–पुस्तकानां मध्ये ग–पुस्तकं कालदृष्टया प्राचीनतमम्। किञ्च ग–पुस्तकस्य प्रायः प्रमुखो भागः केनापि छात्रेण लिखितः, इति कृत्वा सर्वेष्वपि पुस्तकेषु अस्यैव अधिकं प्रामाण्यं स्वीकर्तुं योग्यमावश्यकं च। अतः सर्वात्मना अशुद्धस्थलेषु लेखनिकानवधानजनितभ्रान्त्यादिस्थलेषु च (एतादृंशि उदाहरणानि च क–ख–घ–पुस्तकेषु वैपुल्येन लभ्यन्ते) ग–पुस्तकमेवास्माकम् आलम्बनम्। परम् एतदपि नास्माभिर्विस्मर्तव्यम्, यत् विषयज्ञातारः पण्डिताश्च लेखकाः स्वकीयं ज्ञानं पाण्डित्यं च लेखनसमये ग्रन्थमध्येऽपि यथावकाशं प्रदर्शयन्ति। अतः प्रक्षिप्तपाठ–सुलभतरपाठादिस्थलेषु यत्र भिन्नभिन्नपुस्तकेषु पाठभेदाः दृश्यन्ते तत्र पण्डितलेखनिकानां प्रामाण्यस्वीकारविषये अस्माभिर्विवेकशीलैरेव भाव्यम्। किञ्च केवलं ग–पुस्तकमनुसृत्य त्रयाणामपि क–ख–घ–पुस्तकानां यत्र एकवाक्यता सम्पद्यते तत्र तदनुसृतः पाठः स्वीकर्तुमयोग्य एव इति वक्तुं न योग्यम्। *इ–पुस्तके तदनन्तरम् *उ–*ऊ–पुस्तकयोः-स्ततश्च क–ख–घ–पुस्तकेषु समानाकारेणैव पाठे अनुवृत्ते ग–पुस्तकापेक्षया तत्र भेदे सत्यपि मूलग्रन्थत्वसम्भावनायाः कर्तुं शक्यत्वात्। अतश्चोभयोः परम्परयोर्मध्ये "अन्यतरा परम्परा एव बलीयसी" इति निर्धारणे किमपि विशिष्टं कारणं न पश्यामः। किन्तु तत्र तत्र प्रतिपाठं विशिष्टकारणकलापमालोच्यैव पाठभेदनिर्धारणं योग्यमिति विभावयामः।

Figure 5 – Joshi, *Prauḍhamanoramā*, p. 55

Now Joshi's stemma, since it has two branches, does not help much, since there are no stemmatical grounds on which we could select one or the other branch. The only case where a stemmatic argument for selecting a reading could at all come into play would be if one of the group of three shares a reading with *ga*. According to textual criticism in non-contaminated recensions, we would have to accept this reading more or less mechanically. But as every editor knows this applies only to an ideal world and as every Sanskrit editor knows this paradise of stemmatics does not lie in India, where contamination is the norm. Joshi has also diagnosed contamination in his stemma, which means there cannot be such hard and fast rules. The outcome of the text-critical deliberations is thus the identification of ms. *ga* as the most "authoritative" ms. In other words, the text-genealogical method is used here to group manuscripts and identify

the better group, which happens to consist of a single manuscript. Readers of the handbook by Maas might be astonished, also given the controversy between the stemmatical method of Lachmann and the "best manuscript" method of Bédier. But Schmidt has shown that this opposition is treacherous, for in actual practice, Lachmann graciously eliminated so many manuscripts — sometimes he was left with only one — that the theoretical distance between the two methods dwindles away. [39] In a sense Joshi unwittingly follows the actual practice of Lachmann rather than the official "Lachmann" method. Here the famous Indian advice about what to do if the people teaching one thing act otherwise comes to mind: *yat te brūyus tat kuryāt* [40] "one should do what they say", and ignore what they actually do. Joshi has in a sense reversed this, he has followed the actual practice and ignored theory. But since in its Indian reception "Modern European Textual Criticism" appears as a single method, such details are not realized. Indian textual criticism of Sanskrit texts has, it seems, unconciously inherited the problems of European criticism.

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39. Schmidt (1988: 227-236).
40. *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, 31.4.

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