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Materials for a Critical Edition of the Kuṭṭanīmata*

The Kuṭṭanīmata of Dāmodaragupta is a masterpiece of satirical-humorous literature with definite didactic aims.¹ It is also a rich mine of information about life and culture in early medieval Northern India.² A critical edition of the text is still a *desideratum*. The chief aim of the present paper is to provide a survey of materials for a critical edition.

PRINTED EDITIONS

Kāvyaṃālā edition (KM)

The *editio princeps* of the Kuṭṭanīmata was brought out by Pandit Durgaprasad of Jaipur in Bombay in 1887.³ The text was constituted by Durgaprasad with the help of two manuscripts procured by him in Jaipur.⁴ Although he took notice of the palm-leaf manuscript (Stam)⁵ discovered by P. Peterson in 1883 that bears the title Śambhalīmata,⁶ a perusal of his edition shows that he did not utilize it. This edition is incomplete and very corrupt from verse 486 onwards. The last verse bears the number 927 and corresponds to verse 950 of the Bombay edition (Bo).⁷ The verses 445-454, 641-644, 646, 649 and 651 as found in Bo are missing. Without making exact reference to the manuscripts

* My special thanks are due to Dr George F. Baumann and Dr Gabriele Zeller for constant help in procuring rare publications preserved in the Library of the University of Tübingen.

¹ S.N. Dasgupta – S.K. De, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. Vol. I. Calcutta 1975, p. 197; cf. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*. Vol. III/1. Delhi – Varanasi – Patna 1963, p. 169.

² Shastri 1975 and Moti Chandra, *The World of Courtesans*. Delhi 1973, p. 232-242.

³ Durgaprasad 1887.

⁴ Shastri 1975: 3 and Tripathi 1924: 31.

⁵ I use the designation as given in Tripathi 1924: 30.

⁶ Durgaprasad 1887: 32, n. 1.

⁷ Together with the editors of *EDS* I regard this edition as the best one and follow its numbering of verses.

used, Durgaprasad gives variant readings in the footnotes. These are certainly of value and T.M. Tripathi has taken them into consideration in his edition.

Bombay edition (Bo)

The Bombay edition was published by Tanasukharam Manasukharam Tripathi in the city of the same name in 1924.⁸ Tripathi prepared this excellent edition basing himself on a modern Devanagari manuscript (Go), a transcript of manuscripts N and N₁,⁹ one manuscript from Patan (Pa),¹⁰ and from verses 739 to verse 1045 on the manuscript from Cambay (Stam) and the KM. His attempts to obtain information about manuscripts in Kashmir failed. He was able to utilize the brief commentary (*tippaṇa*) written by Ratnagopāla Bhaṭṭa from Benares, which was placed at his disposal by Babu Govindadas, Benares, together with Go.¹¹ This is a critical edition of its own kind: Tripathi gives the variant readings of the manuscripts in an *apparatus criticus* in footnotes. He also wrote a new commentary called Rasadīpikā, which he put in square brackets and inserted into Ratnagopāla Bhaṭṭa's commentary. The edition contains 1059 verses: Tripathi rightly considers verse 78 to be authentic because the old and valuable manuscript N₂ attests its genuineness. Moreover, the readings offered by this edition very often agree with those of N₂. The Rasadīpikā is an elaborate and lucid commentary and a very useful tool in the interpretation of rare words and *termini technici* in which the text abounds. Ratnagopāla's interpretations are mostly genuine and display his wide knowledge of Sanskrit sources. The number of problems that remain unsolved is limited; one such problem is the theory of drama presented in stanzas 940-947, a curiosity of the Kuṭṭanīmata. Appendices make this edition even more valuable; one of them presents a list of Kuṭṭanīmata verses quoted in other Sanskrit works (p. 472-473) and another gives the most important words in alphabetical order with reference to the verse(s) in which they occur (p. 493-536).

⁸ Tripathi 1924.

⁹ I use the designations as given in Tripathi 1924: 29.

¹⁰ I use the designation as given in Tripathi, loc. cit.

¹¹ Tripathi 1924: 29-32.

Calcutta edition (Ca)

The Calcutta edition was published by Pandit Madhusudan Kaul in Calcutta in 1944.¹² Kaul prepared the press copy on the basis of two excellent manuscripts from Nepal (N and N₁), but he actually established the text on the basis of N, referring to N₁ and the variant readings of KM in the footnotes. More exactly, Kaul prepared the edition as far as p. 112 together with a portion of the notes, while Chintaharan Chakrabarti completed the editorial work. The editors of the *Bibliotheca Indica* series intended to bring out a critical edition, but alas, their repeated efforts to do so failed. Although some scholars have called Ca a critical edition,¹³ it does not meet the requirements for such a designation: Kaul did not use all the manuscripts known at his time;¹⁴ there is no real *apparatus criticus* and the references to variant readings run only up to verse 949; the critical notes planned for the second fascicule never came out. The edition contains 1058 verses because Kaul regarded verse 78 as an addition, a view for which he does not give any explanation. His regarding it as such is curious because he mentions that he saw the verse in two manuscripts.¹⁵ In comparison with KM, however, “nearly a fourth of Madhusudan’s work is absolutely new.”¹⁶ To sum up, Ca remained an unfinished edition and is clearly inferior to Bo.

*Benares edition (Be)*¹⁷

The Benares edition is in fact an inadequate re-edition of the text as established in Bo, accompanied by a free Hindi translation by Atridev Vidyānkar. The translator himself confesses that being a specialist of Āyurveda he was not really competent to carry out this task.¹⁸ Accordingly, his translation is philologically unreliable and at places even haphazard. The preface to the volume written by the late Professor Suryakanta of B.H.U. is a useful research guide meant for Hindi-speaking scholars.

¹² Kaul 1944.

¹³ For instance Shastri 1975: 4.

¹⁴ Especially the omission of ms. Pa is regrettable; cf. especially the striking case of verses 167-177 (Bo 168-178).

¹⁵ Kaul 1944: 9, n. 7. A possible explanation is offered by Tripathi 1924: 18, n. on verse 78: “This Śloka is corrupt in the manuscripts utilized in KM.”

¹⁶ K. Nag in Kaul 1944: ii.

¹⁷ Vidyānkar 1961.

¹⁸ Vidyānkar 1961: 6.

Allahabad edition (Al)

This volume contains a text edited by N. Caturvedi and a Hindi translation by J. Pathak.¹⁹ The text reproduces the text established in Bo, although rather unreliably. The translator expresses his great indebtedness to T.M. Tripathi's commentary.²⁰

There are two editions with Bengali translation: one was published by T. Ray in Calcutta in 1953;²¹ the other was brought out by C. Datta in Calcutta in 1998.²²

TRANSLATIONS

Besides the above-mentioned Bengali and Hindi translations there exist English, French, German, Hungarian and Japanese ones.

J.J. Meyer's German translation was printed in Leipzig in 1903.²³ Although it is based on the incomplete and corrupt text of KM, it is a scholarly work of high order. It is very unfortunate that fate prevented Meyer from preparing a revised edition once Van Manen recommended Bo to him and sent him the pages of Ca that had been printed by 1931.²⁴ Some years later Meyer stated that he had finished the revision of his former translation of the *Samayamātrkā* and the *Kuṭṭanīmata* years earlier under the title *Mores et Amores Indorum* but that the publisher was going to wait for better days to publish the work and that it was stored with him.²⁵ Unfortunately, this manuscript has been lost. The *Lotus Verlag* ceased to function after WW II, and I was not able to find any trace of the manuscript in Meyer's bequest kept at the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft in Halle when I visited there in 1988.

Out of the 927 verses of KM, Meyer rendered 851 verses (= up to Bo 874) into German and carried out painstaking work in order to remark-

¹⁹ Caturvedi [n.d.].

²⁰ Caturvedi [n.d.]: 31.

²¹ S.C. Banerji, *A Companion to Sanskrit Literature*. Delhi – Varanasi – Patna 1971, p. 229.

²² *Kuṭṭanīmata Dāmodarabiracita*. Sampādana o bhāṣāntara Caitāli Datta. Kālikātā 1998.

²³ Meyer 1903.

²⁴ Kaul 1944: iii. I have tried in vain to find documents concerning his translation work in his bequest.

²⁵ J.J. Meyer, *Trilogie allindischer Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*. Vol. III. Zürich – Leipzig 1937, p. 284.

ably restore the hopelessly corrupt text. He elegantly tackled the double entendres and other figures of speech and produced a superb German version. The footnotes, with plenty of references to Sanskrit literature involved in the explanation, reveal Meyer's extraordinarily wide reading; even his conjectural emendations should not be totally dismissed during the preparation of a new critical edition of the text. Meyer's translation was the book that made Dāmodaragupta's *opus* known in the western world. His interpretations of rare and special words in the Kuṭṭanīmata have become part of Sanskrit lexicography²⁶ and can safely be relied on in textual studies in the future, too.

The French version by de Langle published in Paris in 1920²⁷ is likely a free rendering of Meyer's German translation.²⁸ De Langle himself says that he has taken over the preface to Meyer's work. The first English version, published by Powys Mathers and printed in London in 1927, is incomplete and translated from de Langle's French text by Charles Tournier and an anonymous English gentleman.²⁹ Both are luxuriously designed editions for bibliophiles but worthless for any philological research.

The second English translation, made by B.P.L. Bedi, who makes sure to refer to himself as a Humboldt scholarship-holder, is a loose rendering of the text and obviously meant for light reading. It can make no claim to philological accuracy and cannot even be seen as a popularization of the work at a high level. The title of the translation, "The Art of the Temptress", is sensational; the text itself is at places haphazard and even absurd. The translator does not bother to mention the edition upon which his translation is based, remarking in an apologetic manner that in the translation "certain liberties have been taken so as to make it understandable to the modern mind."³⁰ Because he did not translate verse 78, he may have used the Calcutta edition.

²⁶ PWN *passim*.

²⁷ *Le livre d'amour de l'orient*. Quatrieme partie ... *Les leçons de l'entremetteuse par Damodaragupta* ... traduits en français ... par Louis de Langle. Paris 1920.

²⁸ L. Sternbach, *Subhāṣita, Gnostic and Didactic Literature*. [*A History of Indian Literature* IV]. Wiesbaden 1974, p. 79, n. 378.

²⁹ *The Lessons of a Bawd and Harlot's Breviary* ... by Powys Mathers. London 1927, p. i-iii.

³⁰ *The Art of the Temptress*. Translation of the 1200-year old Sanskrit classic *The Kuttni Mahatmyam of Damodar Gupta*. Translated by B.P.L. Bedi. Bombay 1968; cf. especially the Preface.

My own Hungarian translation,³¹ based on Ca, is the only one to comprise the whole text. It is an artistically illustrated edition with an introduction for connoisseurs. The explanatory notes have been kept to a minimum. It is a pity that I did not have Bo at my disposal when I prepared this translation.³²

The first half of the text was rendered into Japanese by Otoya Tanaka in 1985. The translation is accompanied by copious explanatory notes.³³

MANUSCRIPTS

Go According to Tripathi, Go is a Devanagari transcript of an old Nepalese paper manuscript written in Newari characters, which belonged to Babu Govindadas, Durgakund, Varanasi, a collector of rare manuscripts. According to Tripathi, it has 144 folios. He further states that some variant readings were noted interlinearly.³⁴ Go seems to be a transcript of manuscripts N and N₁ together with the *tippaṇa* composed by Ratnagopāla Bhaṭṭa. It is at present to be found in the library of the Sampurnanand Sanskrit University, Varanasi, with the serial number 45428; the number of leaves preserved are 1-131, 131-141, and 143-152.³⁵

J and J₁ These are the incomplete manuscripts discovered by Pandit Durgaprasad of Jaipur.³⁶ It is a pity that a closer description of these manuscripts is not available, for there is practically

³¹ *Dāmódaragupta, A kerítőnő tanítása*. Hungarian translation by Gyula Wojtilla. Budapest 1988.

³² The 1924 edition of the text was not to be found in continental Europe at all until the reprint was published in Varanasi in 1991. I was able to obtain a copy some years later.

³³ *Yujonotebiki*. Tokyo 1985. For useful informations concerning this edition my sincere thanks are due to Prof. A. Yuyama (Tokyo) and to Imre Hamar, reader in Sinology at the Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

³⁴ Tripathi 1924: 29.

³⁵ *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Acquired for and Deposited in the Sanskrit University Library (Sarasvati Bhavan, Varanasi) During the Years 1791-1950*. Vol. XII. Varanasi 1965. It is likely identical with the item indicated in *NCC IV/175* as Sanskrit College Benares 1918-30, p. 72 (no. 600). A thorough investigation on the spot is required.

³⁶ Durgaprasad 1887: 32, n. 1; cf. Shastri 1975: 3. I was not able to see the publication *Jainagranthāvalī* referred to in *NCC IV/175*.

no hope of ever gaining access to them again. Even Tripathi was not able not see them and had to be satisfied with the printed text in KM.³⁷

- L This is an incomplete manuscript kept in the library of the late Panjab University, Lahore, under the signature No. 4270. The manuscript contains 32 leaves, with leaves 1-2 and 7 missing. There is no information available about its age and script.³⁸ Despite several attempts, I failed to obtain fresh information about the existence of the manuscript. From the lack of mention of date and script I infer that it may well be a modern transcript; however, this remains a hypothetical assumption. It is remarkable that neither Tripathi nor Kaul utilized it.
- N This is an excellent complete palm-leaf manuscript discovered by Haraprasad Shastri in Nepal in 1897-1898. It is written in old Bengali characters and dated N.S. 292 = 1172 A.D. Its size is 12,5 x 2 inches and it contains 39 leaves with 8 lines to a page. Its appearance is old and discoloured. The four verses following the colophon are written in a Newari hand and must be a later addition. The manuscript is kept in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the signature Ms No. 5086.³⁹
- N₁ This is a palm-leaf manuscript that was also discovered by Haraprasad Shastri in Nepal in 1897-1898. It is written in Newari characters and dated from the thirteenth century. It is incomplete at both its beginning and end. Its size is 12 x 2 inches and it contains leaves 2 to 53 with 6 lines on a page. Leaves 1, 10, 12, 18 and 24 are missing. The text ends with verse 1055. Its appearance is old and discoloured. The leaves are marked by letter numerals only. The manuscript is also kept in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, under the signature Ms No. 5085.⁴⁰
- N₂ This is a palm-leaf manuscript kept in the National Archives, Kathmandu, Nepal. Its signature is Ms No. panc. 862 / vi.

³⁷ Tripathi 1924: 31.

³⁸ *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Panjab University Library*. [Lahore] 1942, p. 252.

³⁹ Shastri, 1934: 75.

⁴⁰ Shastri 1934: 74.

kāvya 11. N₂ became known to the scholarly world when it was microfilmed in 1970 by the Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project.⁴¹ The manuscript is undated, but according to its script, which resembles that of Cambridge Ms No. 1691, it can tentatively be dated to the thirteenth century. Its size is 21 x 5 cm. It contains 64⁴² leaves with 7 lines to a page. The right margin is damaged in places and the last 5 leaves are broken, resulting in a loss of text. As a peculiarity verses 208 and 209 are interchanged. Leaf 45v's text is faint and thus verses 742-750 are practically illegible. The manuscript contains 1055 verses and has a colophon. It also contains the dubious verse 78. As a first survey shows, about forty per cent of the verses are identical with those of the Calcutta edition while the proportion of correspondences with the Bombay edition is higher. N₂ presents a considerable number of variant readings, a circumstance that makes it valuable for the preparation of a new critical edition of the text.

Pa This is a palm-leaf manuscript kept in the Saṅghavinā Pādāno Bhandar at Patan, Gujarat. According to Tripathi, it is “a nearly complete manuscript from which only the last four verses and the colophon are missing. It has in many places supplied very good and probably the correct readings, though different from Go manuscript. In the latter part of the original manuscript many letters have become faint and some five leaves at the end have become broken giving rise to lacunae.”⁴³ According to the catalogue, the manuscript No. 154 contains 183+2+15 leaves, its size is 15 x 2 inches, the number of verses 1039. The last 3 leaves are fragmentary and leaves 2-12 are decayed. The number of lines on a page is not given.⁴⁴ From a fragment of the last leaf we know that the *granthāgra* of the work is 1290. At many places the manuscript gives better readings than KM.⁴⁵

⁴¹ My thanks are due to Prof. Albrecht Wezler (Hamburg) and Prof. Harry Falk (Berlin) for procuring a microfilm copy.

⁴² In the short title provided on the microfilm by the Nepal–German Manuscript Preservation Project the number of leaves is given as 58, but after having examined the microfilm copy I found 64 leaves.

⁴³ Tripathi 1924: 29-30.

⁴⁴ Gandhi 1937: 99.

⁴⁵ Gandhi 1937: 51.

- Stam⁴⁶ This is a palm-leaf manuscript written in about the thirteenth century and kept at the Shantinath Temple Bhandar at Cambay, Gujarat; a transcript was partially utilized by Tripathi for his edition. The title of the work here is Śambhalīmata. The manuscript was discovered by P. Peterson in 1883. The text is incomplete because leaves 13 to 19 are missing. Leaves 20 to 26 are defective and the text becomes legible again only on leaf 27.⁴⁷ According to Tripathi, the manuscript measures about one hand in length and about two inches in breadth. Its readings generally agree with those of ms. Pa “and perhaps one was copied from the other or both were separately copied from one original. This manuscript has, in course of time, lost some of its ending pages and therefore is available only up to the 1045th verse.”⁴⁸ According to C.D. Dalal it contains about 300 verses.⁴⁹
- T This is a manuscript belonging to the library of the Shri Venkateshwara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati, Andhra Pradesh, stock no. 7506, serial no. 8211. It is complete and contains 1058 verses.⁵⁰ Despite several attempts I failed to obtain detailed information about the manuscript. I think that it is a modern transcript because it contains the verses after 1055.

At the present stage of research it is too early to make a definitive statement about the relation between the manuscripts. It is noteworthy that not a single manuscript contains the last four verses, without which the story together with the didactic conclusion of the author remains incomplete. Being a later addition in N only, it may come from an

⁴⁶ I use the designation as given in Tripathi 1924: 30.

⁴⁷ P. Peterson, *A Second report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Circle. April 1883 - March 1884. JBRAS* 17 [extra number] (1884) 23 ff. Aufrecht 1891: 108 and NCC IV/175 refer to a catalogue abbreviated as Camb; however, this item does not figure in their lists of abbreviations! NCC refers separately to Peterson I., which appears to be his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Circle 1882-1883. JBRAS* 16 [extra number], which I was not able to consult.

⁴⁸ Tripathi 1924: 30.

⁴⁹ Gandhi 1937: 51.

⁵⁰ *Sri Venkateśwara Oriental Res. Institute Library. An Alphabetical Index of Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil manuscripts (Palm-leaf and paper)*. Tirupati 1956, p. 278.

older manuscript, perhaps from Kashmir(?), that seems to be lost forever. The popularity of the work sufficiently explains the wide spread of manuscripts. As to provenance, the important old manuscripts fall into two distinct groups: the Nepalese group and the Gujarati group. Since the Gujarati manuscripts neither contain the last four verses nor are older than manuscript N, they can be regarded as early copies of a north Indian manuscript. As Tripathi has pointed out,⁵¹ Pa and Stam have many common readings and yet at the same time in many places differ from those of N, so that the latter cannot be their exemplar. The determination of the relation of N to Pa or Stam still requires a proper collation of the manuscripts concerned.

TESTIMONIA

The external evidence for the text of the Kuṭṭanīmata consists mainly in the quotations of its verses in Sanskrit anthologies and in Alamkāra works, and to a much lesser extent in other works. The following verses have been quoted in other texts: 1, 41, 64, 98, 103, 312, 393, 399, 441, 442, 695, 698, 765, 767, 769, 776, 780, 786, 820, 822, 934, and 975, of which the Subhāṣitāvali of Vallabhadeva quotes fifteen.⁵² This list is still incomplete: I could not verify verses 817 and 833 in the Pañcatantra recorded by Tripathi.⁵³ Meyer states that although Professor Zachariae suggested that he should search for quotations of our text in the Sanskrit lexicon Śabdakalpadruma, it was too late for him to be able to follow this advice.⁵⁴ Upon skimming through the bulky volumes I did not find any quotations.

THE KUṬṬANĪMATA AND ITS SOURCES

As A.M. Shastri points out, stories of the Kathāsaritsāgara and Bṛhatkathāmañjarī that may have been included in the original Bṛhatkathā of Guṇādhyā “appear to have contributed their own share towards the formation of the story of the Kuṭṭanīmata.”⁵⁵ At the same

⁵¹ Tripathi 1924: 29-30.

⁵² *The Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva, ed. by P. Peterson and Pandit Durgāprasāda, second edition by Raghunath Damodar Karmarkar. Poona 1961, p. 44-45; cf. L. Sternbach, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Poets Quoted in Sanskrit Anthologies and Inscriptions*. Vol. I. Wiesbaden 1978, p. 409-410.

⁵³ Tripathi 1924: 472-473.

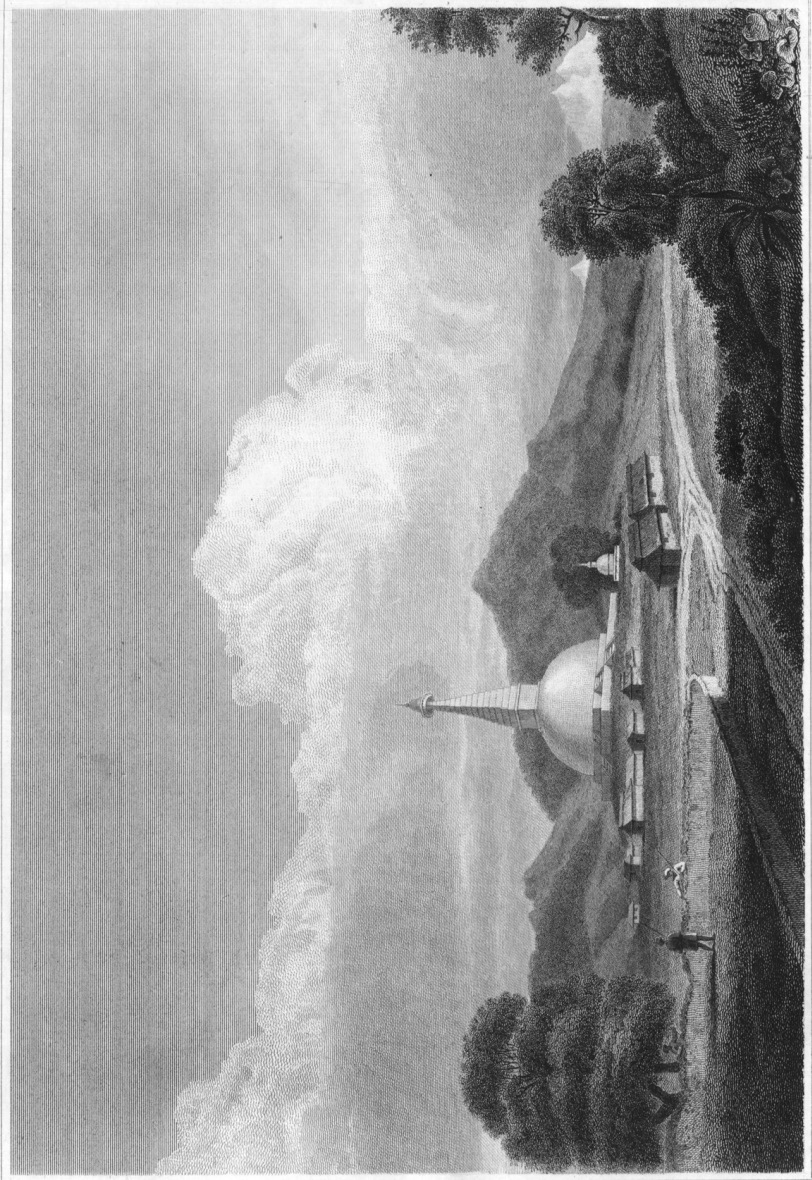
⁵⁴ Meyer 1903: iii.

⁵⁵ Shastri 1975: 30.

time there is not a single verse in it that may have been borrowed from any other Sanskrit text.

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Engraved by J. Hancock

View of the Temple of Boudhama in Kasachit.