

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR

Grammar can be compiled for a language in two ways: one way is to observe closely the inflections and interrelationships of the basic units of the language at a particular period and arrive at certain conclusions regarding the same. This has as its base *Aabhyūha* (inference) and is called the *Ābhyūhika* (inferential) way.¹ The other way is to trace the history of the language from its origin, find out the changes it underwent at the various stages of its development and formulate rules to suit them. This being dependent on *Āgama* (history) is called the *Āgamika* (historical) way. The former is easier to compile, but the latter is more useful. If grammar is to be treated as a science, it should be historical. The real function of grammar is to instruct how a form should be used.

The Sanskrit language in its earliest phase was the medium of communication inside the household and within the society of the ancient Indians. Very naturally, it soon became the medium of their literary composition also. The elasticity of expressions was later required to be regulated in order to put a stop to the growth of variations that usually

develop during the course of time and even during the same period, over a larger area of their usage. This standardization was done in the monumental grammar of Pāṇini, the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.

The history of Sanskrit grammar can be divided into three periods namely- pre-Pāṇinian, Pāṇinian, and non-Pāṇinian.

1. Pre-Pāṇinian Period

The earliest speculations of a grammatical nature are to be seen in the Vedic literature which is very vast. In the *Rgveda* itself references to this effect are there. Patañjali's explanation of चत्वारि शृङ्गा as नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपाताः or his explanation of सप्त सिन्धवः as सप्त विभक्तयः may be too subtle for the Vedic bards.² All the vedic passages can be interpreted to have a grammatical significance. According to many scholars of Indian literature, colloquial languages developed from the Vedas.³ There are many words in the Vedas which stand for different meanings. This is because of their nearness and proximity to many other words used in different meanings in the Vedic language as well as other languages which were existing in those days. In the formation of a word in a particular sense, many factors exert influence. The most important factor is how the word is used in the society, in what sense it has been appropriately used? Although in the Vedas all nouns and verbs are not available, it can

be said that some nouns and verbs are not basically formed for the use of all.

The Vedic rituals called for the recitation of words in the original Vedic. Therefore, as language changed, the original form, the *saṃhitāpāṭha* or continuous recitation, was divided into the *padapāṭha*, the word for word recitation, producing a full analysis of the phonemic level of a fixed body of text. Later, linguistic efforts expanded the rules to form the *Prātiśākhya*s. In due course, linguistic analyses developed from Vedic utterances (*Chandas*) towards the spoken language (*Bhāṣā*). In this way there originated a wide range of Sanskrit literature for dealing with linguistic particulars for common use. The Sanskrit grammar developed during the period of the Vedas is enshrined in the *Prātiśākhya*s. The *Prātiśākhya*s are considered to be the earliest formulations of Sanskrit grammar.

Along with the *Prātiśākhya*s, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the *Upaniṣads* and *Nirukta* also were being composed. Through all these writings, the Sanskrit language was developing along with its grammar. When Sanskrit became a standard language, its grammar also became a regular branch of Sanskrit knowledge. For the same reason, Sanskrit grammar was never an artificial construct, but a naturally developed one. Another salient feature of Sanskrit grammar is its philosophical thrust. No language other than Sanskrit has a developed grammatical philosophy.

Brāhmaṇas

The main interest of the *Brāhmaṇas*, however, was sacerdotal. They are busy themselves with the details of the ritual and try to discover a rationale, that is to say, a mythological justification for every act of the priest and every element of the sacrifice. If they discuss questions of grammar or phonetics at all, they do so mainly by way of illustration and also when no other equally cogent explanation of the *saṃhitā* passage in question is at hand. ⁴

Brahman

Brahman is said to be the first elucidator of all learnings, because of this, he is considered to be the founder of the Sanskrit grammar also. So according to the traditional belief Brahman is the elucidator of Sanskrit grammar.⁵

Following are the subjects believed to have been uttered by Brahman:

- 1 Knowledge of the Vedas
- 2 Knowledge of Brahman
- 3 *Yogavidyā*
- 4 Medical science
- 5 *Hastyāyurveda*
- 6 *Rasatantra*
- 7 Archery
- 8 Physics

- 9 Ethics
- 10 Economics
- 11 Sexual science
- 12 Grammar
- 13 Alphabatical knowledge
- 14 Astronomy
- 15 Mathematics
- 16 Science of building house
- 17 Architecture
- 18 Hippology
- 19 Dramatic science
- 20 History (*Purāṇa*)
- 21 *Mīmāṃsā* Philosophy
- 22 *Śivastava*⁶

Br̥haspati

Br̥haspati is the next elucidator of the Sanskrit grammar . Br̥haspati is the son of Aṅgiras, because he is addressed as Āṅgirasa. According to Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, the respected Br̥haspati taught the grammar (*Śabdapārāyaṇa*) to Indra.⁷

Śiva or Maheśvara

Śiva is considered to be a pioneer grammarian as well as physician. It is believed that Panini conceived fourteen very distinct sounds from the sound of God Śiva's *ḍamaru* (small hand-drum) which he holds in his hand and created the entire

Sanskrit grammar based on them.⁸ The fourteen aphorisms of Maheśvara or Māheśvarasūtras are the base of Pāṇini's grammar.

Bharadvāja

Bharadvāja was also an elucidator of the Sanskrit grammar. He is the son of the revered Br̥haspati. Bharadvāja taught grammar to many sages. Bharadvāja was also well versed in Śikṣā and medical science. He wrote *Bhāradvāja Śikṣā*.

Indra

Indra was one of the greatest grammarians. His father was Kāśyapa Prajāpati and Aditi was his mother. There were at least five teachers to teach Indra. They are Prajāpati, Br̥haspati, Aśvinīkumāra, Yama and Kauśika Viśvāmitra. Indra studied metaphysics and philosophy from Prajāpati. He learned grammar from his famous teacher Br̥haspati. He studied prosody also from Br̥haspati. He learned medical science from Aśvinīkumāra.

The Sanskrit grammar written by Indra is called *Aindra*. *Aindra* treatise was actually known to and quoted by Pāṇini and others. It is referred to in the *Prātiśākhya*, *Kātantra* and similar works.⁹ From the references it can be understood that the technical terms used by the *Aindra* grammar are simpler and more primitive than those of Pāṇini.

Vāyu

Vāyu was a great Sanskrit grammarian. Indra was assisted by Vāyu in forming the voice. A grammar was written by the mutual co-operation of Indra and Vāyu. The *Vāyupurāṇa* presents us with evidence to the effect that Vāyu had great command over Sanskrit grammar.¹⁰

Gālava

Gālava was a great grammarian. Bābhavya has been said to be the propounder of *Kramapāṭha* and *Śikṣā*. *Śikṣā* is related to grammar. The great grammarians Āpiśali, Pāṇini and Candragomin also have elucidated their own texts of *Śikṣā*. Following are the works of Gālava:-

- 1 *Brāhmaṇa*
- 2 *Kramapāṭha*
- 3 *Śikṣā*
- 4 *Nirukta*
- 5 *Daivatagrantha*
- 6 *Śālākyatantra*
- 7 *Kāmatantra*
- 8 *Bhūvarṇana*.¹¹

Bhāguri

Bhāguri was a great grammarian. He also elucidated *Dhātupāṭha*. He wrote *Brāhmaṇa*, rhetoric, dictionary, *Sāṃkhyadarśanabhāṣya*, *Manubhāṣya* and a text on political science.

Bhāradvāja

Bhāradvāja was also a great grammarian. Pāṇini mentions his name in *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Bhāradvāja wrote several *Vārttikas*. They are similar to Kāśyapa's *Vārttika* and in comparison with those *Vārttikas*, Bhāradvāja's *Vārttikas* are more comprehensive and clear. His explanatory notes are more comprehensive than those of Kātyāyana.¹²

Pauṣkarasādi

Pauṣkarasādi was a great grammarian. One explanatory line regarding the opinion of Pauṣkarasādi, we find in the *Mahābhāṣya*. He was a contemporary of the respected Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana.

Cākravarmana

Cākravarmana was a great Sanskrit grammarian. Pāṇini mentions his name in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.¹³ Cākravarmana's date must be earlier than that of Pāṇini and Āpiśali, because these two authors have quoted the views of Cākravarmana.

Kāśakṛtsna

The respected Kāśakṛtsna elucidated certain Sanskrit grammar. His several grammatical rules which are explained in the ancient grammatical books, are evidences to his erudition. At the end of the first chapter of the *Mahābhāṣya*, along with the grammars of Āpiśali and Pāṇini, the grammar of Kāśakṛtsna has been mentioned.¹⁴ Bopadeva has admitted the fact that the respected Kāśakṛtsna was one of the eight

reputed grammarians.

Śākalya

Śākalya was a popular grammarian. Pāṇini has also illustrated the opinion of Śākalya four times in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*.¹⁵ *Śālākyatantra*, *Vedamitraśākalya*, *Śākalacaraṇa* and Śākalya's *Padasaṃhitā* are the main works of Śākalya.

Āpiśali

Āpiśali was a great grammarian . Āpiśali lived earlier than Pāṇini, because Pāṇini has quoted the opinion of Āpiśali directly in his grammar . Āpiśali wrote a grammar which contained eight chapters . His grammar was complete and systematic like Pāṇini's grammar . His grammar contained both type of words - colloquial and *vaidika* .

Kāśyapa

Kāśyapa was another grammarian . Pāṇini has cited Kāśyapa's views twice in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. In Pāṇini's grammar where we find the name Kāśyapa the views are indebted to him.¹⁶

Śākaṭāyana

In the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* the views of Śākaṭāyana have been quoted thrice.¹⁷ Śākaṭāyana's grammar is not available today and so it can not be said what type of grammar it was. We find several illustrations of his grammar in different books. There were descriptions of common Sanskrit words and

vaidika words in his grammar . But, Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa has taken in his '*Bhāṣyapradīpa*' the view that in Śākatāyana's grammar only common Sanskrit words were used . There is no doubt that Śākatāyana was a famous and popular grammarian.

Sphoṭāyana

Pāṇini has quoted the views of Sphoṭāyana in his book.¹⁸ As we find his name in Pāṇini's grammar he was a predecessor of Pāṇini . The respected Yāska has also cited the view of Sphoṭāyana . He was the first *ācārya* who founded the *Sphoṭatattva* .

Vyāḍi

The name of Vyāḍi is not found in the grammar of Pāṇini. The name of Vyāḍi is mentioned along with Śākalya and Gārgya in the *Ṛk- Prātiśākhya* . Pāṇini has referred to Śākalya and Gārgya in his grammar. Vyāḍi wrote a grammar . His father's name was Vyāḍa and mother's name is not known. Vyāḍi wrote also a '*Līṅgānuśāsana*' .

2. Pāṇinian Period

The Pāṇinian period seems to be the most important and epoch making in the history of Sanskrit grammar. It was not because of Pāṇini's personal enterprise alone, but because the period witnessed enormous growth in the field of Sanskrit grammatical studies.

Pāṇini

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini holds an unrivalled position in the history of Sanskrit grammar. A striking characteristic of Pāṇinian grammar is that it does not teach ready-made forms and paradigms, but rules of a particular kind by which forms can be generated. A correct application of these rules results in acceptable Sanskrit words ready for use in a sentence. Pāṇini's grammar is the most authentic grammar. Pāṇini's grammar influenced other grammarians and it became, actually the most influential school of Sanskrit grammar for which no successful rival has not appeared even today.

Pāṇini's date

Different authors have their different views. They have fixed Pāṇini's age in different ways. The dates given for Panini are pure guess works. Experts give the dates to be the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th century B.C. and there is also no agreement among historians about the extent of the work which he undertook. Historians have gone about many ways trying to pinpoint the date when Panini lived.

One theory was put forward by B. Indraji in 1876. He claimed that the Brahmi numerals developed out of using letters or syllables as numerals. Then he put the finishing touches to the theory by suggesting that Panini in the eighth century BC (earlier than most historians place Panini) was the first to come

up with the idea of using letters of the alphabet to represent numbers.¹⁹

There are a number of pieces of evidence to support Indrajī's theory that the Brāhmi numerals developed from letters or syllables. However it is not totally convincing since, to quote one example, the symbols for 1, 2 and 3 clearly do not come from letters but from one, two and three lines respectively. Even if one accepts the link between the numerals and the letters, making Panini the originator of this idea would seem to have no more behind it than knowing that Panini was one of the most innovative geniuses that world has known so it is not unreasonable to believe that he might have made this step too.

Max Muller puts Pāṇini down to about 350 B.C., thereby making Pāṇini almost the contemporary of Kātyāyana the author of the *Vārttikas* to Pāṇini's *sūtras* and this opinion prevailed for a time until it was assailed by Gold Stucker and Bhandarkar who have succeeded in proving that Pāṇini can not have flourished later than 500 B.C.

Paṇdit Satyavrata Śāmaśāstri in the introduction to his *Nirukta* makes Yāska a successor of Pāṇini. The date he assigns to Pāṇini is cir. 2400 B.C.²⁰ Dr. Vāsudevaśaraṇa Agrawala has accepted that Pāṇini was born in 400 B.C. which is supported by the view of Goldstucker.²¹

There has been no lack of work on this topic, so the fact

that there are theories which span several hundreds of years is not the result of lack of effort, rather an indication of the difficulty of the topic. The usual way to date such texts would be to examine which authors are referred to in and which authors refer to the work. One can use this technique and see whom Panini mentions.

There are ten scholars mentioned by Panini namely Āpiśali, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Cākravarman, Bhāradvāja, Śākaṭāyana, Śākalya, Senaka and Sphoṭāyana. One can assume from the context that these ten have all contributed to the study of Sanskrit grammar. This indicates that Panini was not a solitary genius but, one who stood on the shoulders of giants . Panini must have lived later than these ten but this is absolutely no help in providing dates since we have absolutely no knowledge of when any of these ten lived.

What other internal evidence is there to use? Well, of course, Panini uses many phrases to illustrate his grammar. These have been examined meticulously to see if anything is contained there to indicate a date. Let us illustrate with two actual examples from the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which have been the subject of much study. The first is an attempt to see whether there is evidence of Greek influence. Would it be possible to find evidence which would mean that the text had to have been written after the conquests of Alexander the Great? There is a

little evidence of Greek influence, but there was Greek influence on this north east part of the Indian subcontinent before the time of Alexander. Nothing conclusive has been identified.

Another angle is to examine a reference Panini makes to nuns. Some argue that these must be Buddhist nuns and therefore, the work must have been written after Buddha. A nice argument, but there is a counter argument which says that there were Jaina nuns before the time of Buddha and Panini's reference could equally well be to them. Again the evidence is inconclusive.

There are references by others to Panini. However, it would appear that the Panini to whom most refer is a poet and although some argue that these are the same person, most historians agree that the linguist and the poet are two different people. Again this is inconclusive evidence.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is written in the *sūtra* style and contains nearly four thousand *sūtras* as it exists today. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, as that term indicates, is a work in eight chapters each of which is further divided into four *pādās*. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is not a catalogue of facts about Sanskrit, but a set of rules which express the grammatical regularities of the language.

Panini gives formal production rules and definitions to

describe Sanskrit grammar. Starting with about 1700 basic elements like nouns, verbs, vowels, consonants he put them into classes. The construction of sentences, compound nouns etc. is explained as ordered rules operating on underlying structures in a manner similar to modern theory. In many ways Panini's constructions are similar to the way that a mathematical function is defined today.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* contains a section of *Samjñās* (technical terms) and *Paribhāṣās* (grammatical conventions), a *Kāraka* section dealing with the case subsystem of language, a *Kṛt* section describing primary noun formation of feminine words, an *Aṅga* section containing rules regarding the form of the (verbal or nominal) stem before suffixes, a section dealing with accent, both word accent and sentence and a sandhi section. It is reasonable to suppose that in this latter section a division was introduced between a part of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* known as *Siddhakāṇḍa* and the other part known as *Asiddhakāṇḍa*.

Traditionally the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is taken to consist of *sūtrapāṭha*, the actual body of rules, a *dhātupāṭha* and a *gaṇapāṭha*. The *dhātupāṭha* is a collection of verbal bases which have been provided with a short meaning. The *gaṇapāṭha* is a collection of lists of nominal bases each of which comes under a particular rule of the *sūtrapāṭha*.²²

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini is considered to be the best reference work for correct Sanskrit and is one of the most remarkable works that the world has ever seen.

Kātyāyana

Kātyāyana alias Vararuci the grammarian who wrote the *Vārttikas* on Pāṇini's grammar. Kātyāyana's *Vārttikas* are generally prose though some of them are verses also.

The characteristic feature of a *vārttika* is criticism in regard to that which is said, omitted and imperfectly expressed in the *sūtra*.²³ Kātyāyana's work, the *Vārttikas* are meant to correct or modify the rules of Pāṇini wherever they were or had become partially or totally inapplicable. Of the nearly 4000 *sūtras* Kātyāyana noticed over 1500 in about 4000 *vārttikas*.

The *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana fall chiefly into four categories viz, supplements, emendations, explanations and refutations. Each of these may again be divided into two classes, namely, historical and academic. Those *vārttikas* which are correlated to linguistic changes may be called historical and those that do not account for any linguistic change, but are concerned only with such academic matters as *gaurava*, *lāghava* etc, may be called academic. The respective functions of these types of *vārttikas* are as implied by their etymologies, too well known to need any explanation.²⁴

His date

The *Kathāsaritsāgara* makes Kātyāyana the contemporary of Pāṇini or more accurately, the senior of the two; and this tradition has been accepted by so great an authority like Max Muller.

The nature of the changes in the forms of language of Pāṇini and Kātyāyana show that much time must have elapsed between both, and unless we assume that language and customs were in an extraordinarily volatile condition in ancient times, about two to three centuries would not by any means be too great an interval that we can suppose to have elapsed between them. In the present state of our knowledge we cannot, therefore, arrive at a greater approximation than 500- 350 B.C.; nearer to the latter limit if the relation of Kātyāyana with the Nandas mentioned in *Kathāsaritsāgara* has any basis in fact.²⁵

***Vārttikakāras* before and after Kātyāyana**

Kātyāyana was not solitary as a *vārttikakāra*. There were many *vārttikakāras* before and after him.

Sunāga

Paṇḍita Śrī Gurupāda Hāladāra has said that Sunāga was born earlier than Pāṇini.²⁶ In comparison with the *Vārttika* of Kātyāyana, Sunāga's *Vārttika* was more comprehensive. Therefore, in course of explaining the *vārttika* written by Kātyāyana, the great scholiast Patañjali

has expressed his own views about the *Vārttika* of Sunāga.²⁷

Kroṣṭr

Kroṣṭr's work is not available today. But Patañjali refer to his name in *Mahābhāṣya*.²⁸ He was an exponent and wrote some *Vārttika-pāṭha* which was based on *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. His name is not mentioned in any other work of Sanskrit literature.

Vādavama

Kuṇaravāda alias Vādavama was another *vārttikakāra*. He was born near about 1450 B.C. His work has not come down to us. His name is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya*.²⁹

Patañjali

Patañjali is the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* written on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. He is popularly known as the *Bhāṣyakāra*. An important feature of the work is that it explains many rigid and recondite *śāstraic* rules in terms of maxims derived from everyday life which makes it higher and wider than a *śāstraic* commentary and enables it to throw a flood of light on the religious, social and other various aspects of contemporary life. All these excellences entitle it to occupy the first place in the grammatical commentarial literature.

Mahābhāṣya, like Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, is divided into eight *adhyāyas* of four *pādas* each, each *pāda* being

further subdivided into *āhnikas* the number of which range from one to nine. It does not notice all the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, but only such as were noticed by Kātyāyana, as also such others as Patañjali himself considered incomplete and capable of improvement.

His date

About the personal history of Patañjali very little or little is known. He was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. The date of Patañjali the author of *Mahābhāṣya* is not subject to as vague a guess-work as that of Kātyāyana and Pāṇini. At one time scholars were inclined to make him a contemporary of Christ, but Dr. Bhandarkar has fought through the pages of the 'Indian Antiquary' for an earlier date; and it has been now accepted by scholars all around, and formed, infact, until the recent discovery of the *Kauṭīliya*, the one definite landmark in the history of ancient Indian literature, by a reference to which the dates of Patañjali's predecessors and successors could be approximately determined. 150 B.C. is the date generally ascribed to Patañjali. The main arguments for assigning him 150 B.C. are these:

1) The instance "*iha puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ*"; in such a context that the event must have occurred within the life time of Patañjali.

2) Similarly, the instances *aruṇadyavanaḥ sāketam* and

aruṇadyavano mādhyamikām, which refer to a siege by Menander .

3) As a collateral evidence , the mention of a financial expedient of the Mauryas.³⁰

Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali are traditionally known as *munitrayam*, who made the laws of the science of grammar . Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, for a time, marked the highest point in the development of the science of grammar.

Jayāditya and Vāmana

Jayāditya and Vāmana jointly wrote the *Vṛtti* which is known as *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini's system of Sanskrit grammar. It holds an important place in among the works of Sanskrit grammar. *Kāśikāvṛtti* is an authentic book which is honoured by all the grammarians . *Kāśikā* is a running commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāī* and its merit consists in the lucid manner in which it has explained the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, clearly indicating all the *anuvṛtties* and giving numerous illustrations for each rule. Sometimes, the *Kāśikā* gives us information which we would not possibly have obtained from any other source.

Chandragomin and his work

Chandragomin was a Bauddha and one of his objects in writing a new grammar must have been to supply, for the benefit of the members of his church, a grammar that would

be free from the traditional Brahmanical element . The more orthodox grammarians, however , were not willing to accept his innovations . They accordingly tried to invent new maxims of interpretation tending to show after a very diligent analysis of the works of the three great sages, that such defects as Chandragomin and others tried to find in the *Pāṇiniya* grammar, were in it already implicitly provided for.³¹

The object of the *Kāśikā* was to embody in the *Pāṇiniya* system all the improvements that were made by Chandragomin. The text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* as given in the *Kāśikā* differs in the case of fifty eight rules from the text known to Kātyāyana and Patañjali. Ten of these fifty eight rules are altogether fresh additions; nine are a result of separating the original eight sūtras into seventeen. Some of these changes had been already suggested by Kātyāyana or Patañjali especially in the matter of *yogavibhāga* . Most of the new matter found in the *Kāśikā* can, however, be traced to Chandragomin, from whose work diligently materials are drawn without anywhere acknowledging the source.³²

Jinendrabudhi's *Nyāsa* on the *Kāśikā*

Jinendrabudhi wrote the foot-note on the *Kāśikā* which is called *Kāśikāvivaraṇapañjikā* or *Nyāsa* . He was a follower of Buddhism. The *Nyāsa* follows closely on the

lines of *Kāśikā*.

Haradatta

Another valuable commentary on the *Kāśikā* is called the *Padamañjari*. Its author Haradatta was a typical Indian writer. Haradatta was a *Śaiva* by religion. He enters into the debates in a delightful mood and his authority on grammar is not challenged by any. His commentary, *Padamañjari* welcome by the Paṇḍits, attained wide popularity. He wrote three books on grammar - *Padamañjari*, *Mahāpadamañjari* and *Paribhāṣāprakaraṇa*.

Bhartrhari

Bhartrhari is the author of the *Vākyapadīya* and also the author of a commentary on the *Mahābhāṣya*. The following are the works of Bhartrhari - *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā*, *Vākyapadīya*, *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, *Bhāgavṛtti*, *Śatakatrayī*, *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya*, *Śabdadhātusamīkṣā* etc.³³ The *Vākyapadīya* is a metrical discourse on the Philosophy of grammar.

Kaiyaṭa

Kaiyaṭa was a great grammarian. He has written an explanatory note on the *Mahābhāṣya*. His work is known as *Pradīpa*. Maheśvara was the name of his teacher. Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* is an old explanatory book which is accepted as an authentic one.

Dharmakīrti

Dharmakīrti, the well-known Buddhist philosopher is

the author of *Rūpāvatāra*. He is accredited with the initiation of a new style of treatment of the *sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, viz. the *Prakriyā* style. It was Dharmakīrti who framed the first recast of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* which played an important role in the study of *Aṣṭādhyāyī* afterwards. *Rūpāvatāra* is the first work composed in the *Prakriyā* style .

Ramacandra's *Prakriyākaumudī*

The *Prakriyākaumudī* is of Ramacandra, a writer who probably belonged to the first half of the fifteenth century. He was the son of one Kṛṣṇācārya, and was eminently versed in grammar, *Vedānta* and astronomy. The *Prakriyākaumudī* is supposed to have been the model for Bhattoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī*. There are several commentaries extant on Ramachandra's *Prakriyākaumudī* of which the most famous is the *Prasāda* of Vitthalācārya.

Bhattoji's *Siddhāntakaumudī*

The *Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhattojīdīkṣita is a work which is remarkable not only by reason of the host of commentaries and subcommentaries that it called into being but also because it is at present practically the most popular introduction to Pāṇini's grammar . The work is too well known to need any detailed exposition .

Bhattoji himself wrote a commentary on his *Siddhāntakaumudī*, called *Praudha Manoramā* to distinguish

it from an abridgement of the same called *Bāla Manoramā* also by the same author. He also wrote the *Śabdakaustubha* which is a voluminous commentary on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* similar in plan to the *Kāśikā*.

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa

Nāgeśabhaṭṭa is well known as the most reputed prolific writer and interpreter of Pāṇini's grammar. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa's time has been fixed in the later half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century. He was a profound scholar, versatile genius and a prolific writer. He composed quite a few masterly commentaries on various authoritative and significant works of the different branches of Sanskrit *Śāstras*. The total number of Nāgeśa's small and big works together may exceed hundred.³⁴ Besides fourteen great works on *Dharma*, one on *Yoga*, three on *Alaṅkāra* and about a dozen on *Vyākaraṇaśāstra*, he has been rated as the author of extensive commentaries on *Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa* and *Adhyātma-Rāmāyaṇa* as also on *Saptaśāstrī*, *Gītagovinda*, *Sudhālaharī* and other works.³⁵

3. Non-Pāṇiniyan systems

Pāṇini himself makes mention about other schools of Sanskrit grammar which were considered earlier as pre-Paniniyan. And so, here what is intended is to deal with post-

Paniniyan schools of Sanskrit grammar.

Cāndra School

The Buddhist Chandragomin, the author of the *Cāndravyākaraṇa* was the founder of the *Cāndra* school. Chandragomin must have lived at least some time before the authors of the *Kāśikā*, which has borrowed, always without acknowledgement, such *sūtras* of *Cāndra* as have no parallel either in Pāṇini or in Kātyāyana. This gives us 650 A.D as the period of Chandragomin.³⁶ The total number of the *Cāndrasūtras* is about 3100 as against 4000 of Pāṇini. The work consists of six chapters of four *pādas* each. The object of *Cāndravyākaraṇa* was to rearrange the grammatical material with the object of bringing together all the rules that deal with the same grammatical operations as well as the same part of speech. The *Cāndra* terminology with slight changes is that of Pāṇini. The grammar goes by the nickname of *Asaṃjñaka*, perhaps because the *saṃjñas* are not treated here separately.

Chandragomin is credited with the authorship of a religious poem called *Śiṣyalekha* and a drama called *Lolananda*.

Jainendra school

Mahāvīra the last *Tīrthaṅkara* was the founder of *Jainendra* school. The *Jainendra* grammar is altogether wanting in originality. It is nothing but Pāṇini's *sūtras* and

the *vārttikas* condensed as much as possible. The merit of the work solely consists in the number of ingenuous shifts resorted to for the purpose of securing the maximum economy of words. The *Pāṇinīyapratyāhāras* are retained without change, though the fourteen *Śivasūtras* together with the section on Vedic grammar are omitted.

There are two versions in which the *Jainendra* grammar has come down to us. The shorter one which consists of about 3000 *sūtras* is followed by Abhayanandi in his gloss on the grammar while the longer one which, besides other minor differences in the wording and the arrangement of the *sūtras*, gives over 700 *sūtras* not found in the shorter version. This is followed by Somadeva in his commentary called *Śabdārṇavacandrikā*, which, as he himself tells us was composed in A.D. 1205.

On the *Jainendravyākaraṇa* only two commentaries have been preserved : one by Abhayanandi whose date is probably 750 A.D and the other called *Śabdārṇavacandrikā* by Somadeva.³⁷

Śākaṭāyana school

Besides the other grammarians such as Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Patañjali and Chandragomin, Śākaṭāyana has freely drawn upon the work of Pūjyapāda as the author of the *Jainendravyākaraṇa* is known. Many *sūtras* of Śākaṭāyana are identical with those of Pāṇini and in cases where

they differ the object has been to say in shorter and fewer words what was already intended by Pāṇini.

The *Śākaṭāyanaśabdānuśāsana* consists of four *adhyāyas* of four *padas* each, the total number of *sūtras* being about 3200. *Śākaṭāyana śabdānuśāsana* gives thirteen *pratyāhāra-sūtras*. It does not treat the Vedic grammar. He has used चादि, सर्वादि, तङ् and अतङ् instead of निपात, सर्वनाम, आत्मनेपद and परस्मैपद of Pāṇini.³⁸

The *Śākaṭāyana* school has two periods - the period of commentaries and subcommentaries and the period of digests and manuals. The best commentary of the *Śākaṭāyana* grammar is the *Prakriyāsaṅgraha* by Abhayacandrācārya. In course of time the *Śākaṭāyana śabdānuśāsana* came to be fairly ousted from the field by a powerful rival in the shape of Hemachandra's *Śabdānuśāsana*.

Hemachandra school

Hemachandra was born on the fullmoon night of the month of Kārttika in the year of Vikrama 1145 at a place called Dhunduka.

Hemachandra's grammar consists, like Pāṇini's grammar, of eight *adhyāyas* of four *pādas* each, the total number of *sūtras* being about 4500. He wrote a commentary on his own *sūtras* called *Śabdānuśāsanabr̥hadvṛitti*. To illustrate the rules of his grammar, he has composed a poem.

resembling *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, which is known as *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*.

***Kātantra* school**

The first post-Pāṇinian Sanskrit grammar in *Aindra* tradition is *Kātantra*. The author of *Kātantravyākaraṇa* is Sarvavarman. According to Belvelkar the date of *Kātantravyākaraṇa* is 4th c A.D.³⁹ *Kātantravyākaraṇa* is a small but important grammatical work which appears as a systematic abridgement of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, though they differ in their models of representation. The name *Kātantra* means a short treatise or a handbook. The second word *tantra* has the meanings model, system etc. 'ka' indicates enjoy or satisfy. Thus the combination *Kātantra* can also be interpreted as an enjoyable model or a satisfying system to the requirements of the students of grammar.

Kātantravyākaraṇa is also in *sūtra* style. The first part of the *Kātantravyākaraṇa* (first three chapters) written by Sarvavarman consists of 855 *sūtras* and the second part having the fourth chapter has 557 *sūtras*. Thus the total number of *sūtras* in *Kātantra* is 1412. The appendix having 730 *sūtras* is believed to be a later addition by one Śrīpatidatta. In course of time some more additions to the original text might have taken place. As it stands now, *Kātantravyākaraṇa* is a complete grammar of the Sanskrit

language . It deals with technical terms, *sandhi* rules, declension, syntax, compounds, *taddhita*, affixes, conjugation, voice and verbal derivatives in a systematic order. *Kātantravyākaraṇa* has some other names too such as *Kalāpa*, *Kalāpaka* and *Kumāra*. *Kātantravyākaraṇa* is more popular in Bihar, Bengal and Gujarat.

Sārasvata school

Sārasvatavyākaraṇa is generally ascribed to Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya of the 13th century A.D. It treats the whole subject in about 1500 aphorisms only. The language of the *sūtras* is easy and in their interpretation we have not to follow the guidance of any *paribhāṣā*.

Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya, in his old age, in a certain conference of the scholars, uttered the word *puṇṣu* instead of the word *puṇkṣu*. As he was old while trying to pronounce the word *puṇkṣu* the incorrect pronunciation *puṇṣu* came out of his toothless mouth. Scholars present in the conference began to criticize him. Anubhūtiśvarūpācārya with a view to prove the pronunciation as correct, prayed the Goddess Sarasvati. She being pleased with him, gave him seven hundred formulae . On the basis of these formulae obtained from the Goddess Sarasvati, he wrote a grammar . He called his work *Sārasvata* grammar.⁴⁰ So is the story.

School of Bopadeva

Bopadeva wrote a short grammar named *Mugdhabodha*.

Keśava was his father . His teacher's name was Dhaneśvara. Bopadeva collected the roots from the work "*Kavikalpadruma*" and wrote a book on *Dhātu* . He wrote the commentary named "*Kāmadhenu*" on the *dhātupāṭha* .

In *Mugdhabodha* , Bopadeva adopted Pāṇini's *pratyāhāra sūtras* making in them the changes necessary for their adoption to his own system.

Jaumāra school

Karmadīśvara was the founder of *Jaumāra* school. His work is called *San̄kṣiptasāra* , indicating by it that it was an epitome of some larger grammar; and as it could be the abridgement of no other grammar than Pāṇini's, it is possible that this was the first of its kind, prior to the *Prakriyā* and *Siddhāntakaumudī* . He composed his grammar on the model of Bhartṛhari's *Mahābhāṣyadīpika* , and he has taken most of his illustrations from the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* . The work meant as an epitome of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* , is about three-fourth as large as that work . The work is divided into seven *pādās* , the eighth dealing with Prākṛt being added later.

This grammar has the widest circulation at present in western Bengal, where it struggles with *Mugdhabodha* for supremacy.

Saupadma school

The founder of the *Saupadma* school is Padmanabhadatta. The work of Padmanabhadatta is based on Pāṇini, some of

whose *sūtras* and technical terms as also *pratyāhāras* he has, retained verbatim. He has, of course, remodelled a greater part of Panini's rules and arranged them in a somewhat more methodical form, adding a short explanation of his own after each *sūtra*. His treatise is divided into two chapters, the first containing the suffixes that end in a vowel and the second containing those ending in consonants. They are all arranged alphabetically. Some of the *paribhāṣās* of the *Saupadma* school are word for word Pāṇini's, while others are modelled on that basis. At present the influence of the school is limited to parts of central Bengal.⁴¹

Kerala's Contribution

Kerala has a Sanskrit grammatical tradition of its own. Melputtur Narayana Bhattathiri stands at the head of this tradition. His contribution to Sanskrit grammar has been appreciated by veterans. His *Prakriyāsarvasva* opened a new way to the study of Paninian grammar. His *Dhātukāvyā* is also very much useful. Bhattathiri has developed the Paninian grammar to new vistas too. His *Apāṇinīyaprāmāṇyasādhana* is the best example for this. Coming to very recent times, namely the twentieth century, A.R. Rajaraja Varma who is well known as *Keralapāṇini*, contributed a lot to the study of Sanskrit grammar. His *Laghupāṇinīya* is a novel attempt to introduce Paninian grammar. His *Maṇidīpika*, though in Malayalam, also

is very much useful, especially for the new entrants to the field of Sanskrit grammar.

Resume

Vyākaraṇa is the first and foremost of all *śāstras*. It is one of the six *Vedāṅgas*. It deals with the correct form of language the knowledge of which is the primary requisite for the study of every other object. The word *vyākaraṇa* literally means "analysis" and it is applied to linguistic analysis in general. In common parlance, Sanskrit grammar very often signifies Pāṇini's grammar. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini is considered to be the best reference work for correct Sanskrit and is one of the most remarkable works that the world has ever seen. Pāṇini also mentions earlier authorities and his work is of such pre-eminent merit that it supersedes all of them. Kātyāyana, through his *vārttikas*, makes necessary changes upon the original rules of Pāṇini. Patañjali, the author of *Mahābhāṣya* wrote his commentary on the *sūtras* of Pāṇini and the *vārttikas* of Kātyāyana and added his well known *iṣṭis*. With Patañjali the treatment of language became more up to date.

In addition to the Pāṇinian system there are other systems of Sanskrit grammar. The other writers have attempted to simplify Pāṇini's grammar. The Cāndra, Jainendra, Śākaṭāyana, Hemacandra, Kātantra, Sārasvata, Bopadeva.

Jaumara and Saupadma are important nonPāṇinian schools of Sanskrit grammar. Kerala's contribution to Sanskrit grammar also is significant. Among the Kerala Sanskrit grammarians Melputtur Narayana Bhatta with his *Prakriyāsarvasva* stands first.

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