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Āpastamba and Gautama

Bühler (S.B.E. 2, intro.) declared that Gautama is the oldest Dharmasūtra now extant and Jolly in his "Recht und Sitte" has accepted this theory (p. 6). I differ on this point and will try to show that excepting the dubious evidence of the Carañavyūha there is nothing to prove that Gautama is older than Āpastamba; all probabilities on the contrary seem to indicate rather just the opposite—that Āpastamba is older than Gautama.

First and foremost, the fact must not be lost sight of, that Āp. was pre-Pāṇinian. His work must have been written at a time when the Sanskrit language was not in that state in which it was found by Pāṇini. Secondly that he was not far removed in time from Śvetaketu, the celebrated teacher of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. He might have been an older contemporary even, for Āp. rejects his theory about the study of the Veda after marriage without the slightest show of ceremony (I, 4, 13, 20) and Bühler has proved that this Śvetaketu is without doubt the Śvetaketu of Śat. Br. (S.B.E. 2, xxxviii). Now the Aitareya Br., even on the most conservative computation, cannot be dated later than 800 B. C. Taking this to be the *terminus a quo* for the date of the Śat. Br. and the age of Kātyāyana as the *terminus ad quem* (see his Vārttika to Pāṇini iv, 3, 105), the Śat. Br. cannot be dated later than 600 B. C. and all things considered, Āp. must be dated about 500 B. C. Bühler too arrived at practically the same result (S.B.E., 2, XL, 111). Āp.'s contiguity to the age of the Brāhmaṇas may also be inferred from another peculiar feature of his Dharmasūtra—its very frequent references to the various Brāhmaṇas. This is seen in no other Dharmasūtra.

Regarding Baudhāyana's priority to Āp. it may safely be said that the alleged references to Baudhāyana in Āp., upon which the whole theory is based, are in no way convincing. It requires not a small amount of ingenuity to discover them. Āp. labours to controvert the authority of a Vedic passage which has been quoted in Baudh. Can it reasonably be concluded from it that Āp. is posterior to Baudh.? Āp. mentions by name not a few authorities on Dharma, of which some Dharmasāstras in revised version, are still in existence. Why not then assume—if it is at all necessary—that one of these authors had quoted this Vedic passage as well? As for the second alleged

quotation it may safely be said that it carries not an iota of proof. If the "wording of Baudhāyana's sūtras is not opposed to the doctrine to which Āp. objects" (S.B.E. 2, XXII), it is by no means proved thereby that Baudh. is older than Āp.

Moreover if this kind of argumentation is allowed it may be easily shown that Gaut., whom Bühler has proved to be older than Baudh. (S.B.E., 2, XLIX ff.) has quoted Āp. Gaut. (XV. 18) in his long list of persons who defile a company mentions the bald man but makes a special group of the persons in the list headed by the bald man, who, apparently, in his own opinion, were not so unholy as to be excluded from a company, but he had been compelled to include them in the list because it was the opinion of 'some' (cf. Gaut., XV, 30; also XVIII, 18 and XXI, 11). Now this 'some' may easily refer to Āp., II, 7, 17, 21, where the bald man is mentioned immediately after the leper in the list of persons who defile a company. In the same manner another sūtra of Gaut. may be made to yield an indirect reference to Āp. According to Gaut. (XVI, 45) "*some* (declare, that the recitation of the Veda is) always (forbidden) in a town." Now, it will not be very wrong, I think, if following Bühler's line of arguments it is assumed that Āp., I, 11, 32, 21—where he lays down that Snātakas should not visit towns frequently—might have had anything to do with it!

Much has been made out of Āp.'s stricter code of morality; it has been taken to indicate his late origin. But are we authorised to say that a high standard of chastity and morality is incompatible with the civilization of the Brāhmaṇas—of course without taking into consideration the mythical and mystical passages which are scattered in them? As Bühler has pointed out (S.B.E., 2, XIX—XX), Aupajaudhani, mentioned in the Śat. Br. and quoted by Baudh. opposed the practice of taking substitutes for a legitimate son, let us say, about 600 B.C. Bṛhaspati (XXIV, 12) on the other hand, about 600 A.D., condemned the practice of Niyoga (S.B.E. XXXIII). All the Dharmasāstras which came into existence during the intervening period, recommended, at least, did not oppose this practice. Contiguity to any of these two sages would explain the extraordinary law of Āp. forbidding Niyoga,—if indeed age is to be determined in that way. It is however apparent that Aupajaudhani and not Bṛhaspati in this case has a better claim to be the zeitliche Nachbar of Āp. Thus Āp.'s condemnation of Niyoga is not necessarily a proof of his posteriority. Again, Āp.'s non-mention of the two forms of marriage—Prajāpatya and Paisāca—has been interpreted as an indication of his late origin. It may be

conceded, for the sake of argument, that Āp., the champion of a strict code of morality, characteristic of a comparatively later age, wanted to ignore the hateful Paiśāca marriage. But how can his non-mention of the Prājāpatya marriage which has nothing objectionable in it may be explained on this hypothesis? It must be admitted therefore that the Prājāpatya marriage had not yet come into vogue in the days of Āp. and of the Paiśāca marriage too, it may safely be said, that custom had not yet confirmed it into law when Āp. wrote his Dharmasūtra. Moreover it must not be forgotten that Vasiṣṭha too, who is certainly older than Manu, Yājñavalkya etc. gives only six forms of marriage and not the traditional eight.

All these arguments however afford us no direct proof of Āp.'s priority to Gaut. But direct proof is not lacking. If there is any doubt on this score, it is sure to be set at rest if the contents of the two Dharmasūtras are compared with each other. At a glance it will appear that the relation between Āp. and Gaut. is much the same as that between Manu and Yājñavalkya. The sūtras of Āp. are loose and vague while those of Gaut. are pithy and compact. Āp.'s style is distantly reminiscent of the rambling disquisitions of the Brāhmaṇas; Gaut. is the Sūtra-work par excellence. On very numerous topics, the sūtras of Āp. seem to depict a society to which many of the later complexities were still unknown. Like all other works on Dharma, Gaut. gives a masterly description of the mixed castes (XV. 16 ff.). But strange as it may appear, Āp. has nothing to say on this point—one of the most important topics dealt with in the works on Dharma. Incidentally he mentions the Ugra (I, 2, 7, 20; 21; I, 6, 18, 1), but never gives his lineage. This fact, I think, may be explained only on the hypothesis that at the time of Āp., Brahmanical authors did not yet feel the necessity of making that desperate effort to include within the fold of Hinduism all peoples in every grade of life. Even the Yavana has been allotted a place in Gaut.'s system of mixed castes (IV. 21), though after all it is no decisive proof of his posteriority. Gaut. (VIII. 14-21) gives an elaborate list of the forty saṃskāras, but Āp. seems to relegate them to the Gṛhyasūtras. On the other hand Āp. fully recognises the vedic practice of beef-eating (I, 5, 7, 30), but Gaut. (xvii, 30) positively forbids it. It should also be noticed that among the various kinds of meat to be offered to the Manes, Āp. (II, 7, 16, 27-28) mentions beef as well as buffalo's meat, but Gaut. in his corresponding chapter (XV) omits both, though he mentions various other kinds of meat, also recommended by Āp. Coming

down to the field of law we find that the legal concepts of Āp. are strangely meagre and puerile. Gaut. (x. 31) solemnly lays down the law of ownership, also found in later Dharmasāstras, but nothing of the kind is known to Āp. Gaut. (xii, 29ff.) gives various laws about different rates of interest, pledges and deposits, closely resembling those of later Dharmasāstras and he has even no objection to a Brāhmaṇa lending out money at interest, provided that he does it through an intermediary (x, 6), but Āp. uncompromisingly prescribes punishment for one who "lends money at interest" (I, 9, 27, 10) and declares the food offered by a usurer unacceptable (I, 6, 18, 22). One of the most striking features of Āp. is that the custom of imposing fines for crimes is not known to him. Punishments prescribed by him mostly amount to mere threats of hell and damnation; Daṇḍanīti proper is a sealed book to him. But Gaut. on the other hand prescribes various fines (xii, 8ff.) and gives the correct grammatical derivation of the word *daṇḍa* (xi, 28). In conformity with the principles of later Dharmasāstras, Gaut. gives laws as to how long a wife should have to wait for her absent husband (xviii, 15ff.); Āp. is absolutely reticent on this point. The fact that Āp. depends much more upon custom than any other Dharmasūtra is a proof of his early date. His last sūtra speaks volumes in favour of his high antiquity, in which he frankly confesses that the remaining duties should be learnt from men and women of all castes. Gaut. (xxi, 7) once refers to Manu, Āp. never. Gaut. (xix, 14) knows various places of pilgrimage but Āp. is quite innocent of them.

Arguments may thus be multiplied, but I think sufficient has already been said to prove the priority of Āp. to Gaut. Now, if the theory of interpolation is carried so far as to cover all these points, it amounts to saying that the Gaut. which had preceded Āp. is no longer extant but there is nothing to show that there actually was any such, and at all events it must be admitted that the Gaut. as we have it is later than Āp.

Lastly I beg leave to point out that the supposed acquaintance of Āp. with the division of Hindu learning as taught in Madhusūdana Sarasvatī's Prasthānabheda,—taken by Bühler to be an indication of his late origin (SBE, 2, xxix-xxx), is but a myth. Āp. II, 11, 29, 11 is one of the passages in translating which Bühler has been led astray on account of his excessive reliance on the interpretation of the commentator. This Sūtra declares that "the knowledge which Śūdras and women possess is the completion (of all study)." The commen-

tator takes this knowledge of Śūdras and women to be "the knowledge of dancing, acting, music and other branches of the Arthaśāstra" and according to Bühler, this interpretation is "without doubt, correct" (SBE, 2, XXIX). Now, Arthaśāstras, as they are known to us, do not teach dancing and music and it is the unanimous verdict of Gṛhya and Dharmasūtras that members of the upper castes should never devote themselves to these profane arts, whether before or after the study of the Veda. Moreover even without any help from outside it may be proved that what Āp. here has in view is ācāra and not dancing and music. In the sūtra immediately following he declares, "this knowledge is a supplement of the Atharvaveda" and in the next says: "It is difficult to learn the sacred law from (the letter of) the Vedas (only); *but by following the indications it is easily accomplished.*" Now who can doubt that in the Sūtra no. 11 Āp. lays down that on completing the study of the Veda one should learn ācāra from Śūdras and women? Very probably the specific mention of the despised Śūdras and women in this connection thus sadly misled the great savant. But as Āp. (II, 6, 15, 10) expressly declares that rites for the dead should have to be learnt of women and that duties must be learnt from women and *men of all castes*" (II, 11, 29, 15), there can be no doubt that Āp. in the passage concerned has nothing but ācāra in view.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

Max Müller's Introduction to the Ṛgveda-prātisākhya*

As I am now going to offer to the friends of the Vedic literature the text of the Śākala Prātisākhya with translation and annotations in a separate edition, I have hardly to repeat what I have said elsewhere about the importance of this work. I have tried to show in the preface to the English translation of the Ṛgveda, of what historical importance it is for the verification of the two texts of the Ṛgveda, the Pada and the Saṃhitā texts; considering that the Prātisākhya not only quotes thousands of passages from the two texts, but also registers most accurately the seemingly very trivial variations of the one from the other, and that in all essential points our best manuscripts of the two texts agree with the data in the Prāti-

* Translated from German.

śākhyā, we may prudently conclude that the text of the Ṛgveda we possess is the same as was seen by the authors of the Prātiśākhya more than 2000 years ago. The date of the composition of the Śākala Prātiśākhya has not yet been, so far as it is incumbent on me to give an opinion, swayed by anything out of the chronological limits which I assigned to it in my history of the Ancient Sanskrit Literature. I have drawn these limits as high and as low as possible and naturally have made no effort to bring the date of Śaunaka and his relation with Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, and, through these grammarians, also with Pāṇini, into limits narrower than allowed by the scanty data. If Kātyāyana lived in the fourth century, Śaunaka might well have lived in the fifth century and the date of Pāṇini would therefore fall at the juncture of the two centuries. Śākalya however who is reputed to have drawn up the Pada text and to have laid the foundation to the manual of phonetics, which was brought to completion and perfection in the shape of our Prātiśākhya by Śaunaka, must have lived at a still earlier date and carried on his scientific activities. If we could corroborate the view of Professor Goldstücker who assigns to Pāṇini a much earlier date than I and others dare to ascribe to this learned Grammarian, the date of Śākalya would therewith have been pushed back to still earlier times. For Śākalya has been quoted not only by Pāṇini in direct connection with phonetic points, which have been dealt with in the Śākala Prātiśākhya, but also Yāska, who, as even Professor Goldstücker admits, is older than Pāṇini, quotes Śākalya and criticises the splitting up of a word and the reading of a vedic passage on the strength of it, as it has been given by Śākalya in his Pada text. In x, 29, 1, Śākalya has treated the two syllables vā yā as two words. Now Yāska finds fault with this (Nir. vi. 28), takes vāyāḥ to be one word and remarks that if like Śākalya yāḥ is taken to be a relative pronoun, the verb adhāyi should have been accented. Śākalya's splitting of the word does not give a good sense either.

Although it may be concluded on the strength of this passage of the Nirukta that Yāska knew the pada text of Śākalya, it does not follow on that account however that Yāska also knew the Prātiśākhyas, and particularly the Śākala Prātiśākhya whose composition, as is well known, is attributed to Śaunaka. We must take this opportunity to mention here another passage of far reaching importance from Nirukta I. 17, where Yāska says, that the saṃhitā is the close setting (of the Padas), and then continues: the saṃhitā comes out of the Pada, the Pārsada-manuals of all the schools come out of the Pada. These

manuals (Pārṣadas) are however the Prātiśākhya, and the solemn words—*Padaprakṛtiḥ samhitā* are simply a quotation from our Prātiśākhya, sūtra 105.

Neither Yāska nor Pāṇini quotes the name of Śaunaka as an authority in connection with Śikṣā or phonetics and the bare fact that Pāṇini, IV, 3, 106, teaches the formation of the name Śaunakinaḥ attributed to those who learn the sacred hymns of Śaunaka, and that he in IV, 1, 102, calls some of the descendants of Śaunaka (the Vātsyas) by the name Śaunakāyana and others by the name Śaunaka,—all this certainly does not conclusively prove that Pāṇini must have known also Śaunaka as the author of the Śākala Prātiśākhya.¹

Also in connection with Yāska it would be hazardous to conclude that Pāṇini had known the author of Nirukta on the strength of the fact that Pāṇini in II, 4, 63, teaches the formation of the family name Yāska of the descendants of Yaska. The formation of such a name proves in itself only this that at the time of Pāṇini there were more than one descendants of Yaska and we must look for further support in order to prove the priority of Yāska, the author of the Nirukta.²

Now, in spite of the objections which have been raised, I stick to my old view as firmly as in the History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, that Śaunaka, the author of the Prātiśākhya as well as Yāska the author of the Nirukta is older than Pāṇini. I regret that a somewhat inaccurate expression in that work has given rise to the misunderstanding as if I hold Yāska to be later than Kātyāyana and *a fortiori*, later than Pāṇini. As in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature I was comparing the theories of language as they are found in the Prātiśākhya and the Nirukta, I had made the remark that a classification taken as fundamental in the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is *no more* sufficient in the Nirukta. As Yāska's Nirukta is a work on etymology, it follows naturally from above that my statement is about etymological problems which are hardly touched in the Prātiśākhya, and I have nothing to do with the question that Yāska must be younger than the author of the Prātiśākhya, and as I have attempted in several passages to prove that Śaunaka in his Prātiśākhya actually quotes Yāska and not the hypothetical Vaiyāska (see p. 142, 148 etc.), I could hardly imagine

1 Cf. Goldstücker, Pāṇini, p. 208.

2 Cf. Goldstücker, l. c., p. 222.

that my representtion of the more or less advanced ideas of Yāska and Kātyāyana about the origin and classification of the language should be used as argument against my own view about the age of these two scholars.* Although from inner grounds I hold the work of Yāska to be older than the work of Pāṇini, yet I must admit that till now the only convenient argument is Pāṇini I, 4, 109 which may be taken to be a literal quotation from Yāska's Nirukta. Yāska says :—*paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā* (*saṃninakarṣaḥ* of Roth must be a printing mistake) ; and Pāṇini says : *paraḥ saṃnikarṣaḥ saṃhitā*. Such an agreement cannot be accidental and until it is explained in another way we must consider it, henceforth as before, to be an important element in the chronological articulation of the ancient Sanskrit literature.

Turning to Śaunaka's Prātiśākhya and its relation to Pāṇini's grammar, we see that Professor Goldstücker remarks quite rightly that the Prātiśākhya is no grammar and I myself have expressed this view, as he himself has mentioned. Because the level of the Grammatical knowledge of Pāṇini is much higher than that of the Prātiśākhya, it does not follow at all on that account that Pāṇini, not only in point of knowledge but also in point of date, should stand higher. So far I think Professor Goldstücker agrees with me completely. Now what are his objections to my view that the Śākala-Prātiśākhya belongs to an older period than Pāṇini, or to put it more clearly, that Yāska and the Prātiśākhya quote one another, while Pāṇini is quoted neither by Yāska nor by the Prātiśākhya, but himself howevr quotes Yāska as well as the Prātiśākhya ? His opposite arguments (Gegengründe), or, as he calls it, his refutation, runs from page 183 to page 213 ; however it principally deals with the Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya and offers against my view that our Prātiśākhya is pre-Pāṇinic, only two sharply formulated objections. I shall repeat these objections in his own words and produce my arguments against them without presuming to give them the name of a refutation or to judge for myself the weight (Tragkraft) of my arguments, for, to say with Kant, "the author can very well adduce arguments, but can not pass opinion on their effect upon his judges." I confine myself here

* But it is quite probable that there were more than one Vedic authors of the name Yāska. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa XIV.7. 27 mentions a Yāska ; Taittiriya Kāṇḍānukramaṇikā III. 25 mentions a Paiṅgī Yāska ; even Piṅgala (Chand. Sūt. III. 30) knows a Yāska, G.(= Ghosh).

to a survey of the arguments regarding the age of Śākala Prātiśākhya, for, as regards the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, I fully agree with Professor Goldstücker, and his penetrating researches have only still more strongly confirmed me in my conviction that Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātiśākhya, and Kātyāyana the author of the Vārtikas on Pāṇini's Grammar, must be one and the same person, and that Kātyāyana, just as the later tradition speaks of him, must have been a contemporary, and a rival of Pāṇini and a continuer of his work. Before I enter upon a close examination of the objections raised by Professor Goldstücker, it will be necessary to explain my view somewhat more fully than done before and to add a few materials, gathered since then, to strengthen my position.

The occurrence of quotations in ancient Sanskrit works has unfortunately been less fruitful for historical results than could have been expected, but still, if we compare the names which occur in Yāska, Śaunaka, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana we can affirm this with certainty that those must be the oldest authorities who are uniformly quoted by every one of them. Now the only one who is uniformly quoted in the Nirukta, in the Śākala-Prātiśākhya, in Pāṇini, in the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya and in the Bṛhaddevatā is Śākaṭāyana.* With the exception of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, Gārgya too has been quoted in the same sources and Śākalya lacks the guarantee of the Bṛhaddevatā also. Gālava is known to Pāṇini and the authors of the Nirukta and the Bṛhaddevatā, Kāśyapa is known to Pāṇini and the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, the Prācyas are known to Śaunaka and Pāṇini, and Yāska is known to Śaunaka, the author of the Śākala Prātiśākhya and the Bṛhaddevatā. Two names of the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya have also been referred to elsewhere, namely, Pauṣkarasādi (Pāṇ. VIII., 4, 48 ; Vārt. 3) and Bhāradvāja (Pāṇ. VII., 2, 63). The latter, whose name is wrongly written as Bharadvāja, is also the author of what seems to be a work on Śikṣā which belongs to the Taittirīyas. That most of the authorities quoted by Yāska are not known to the authors of the Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini is mainly to be ascribed to the difference of the subject-matter and does not prove that Yāska was unknown in the sphere of the scientific activity of Śaunaka, Āśvalāyana, Pāṇini and Kātyāyana.

* It is a significant tradition recorded in the Kāśikā on Pāṇini I, 4, 86,—अनुशाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः, G.

The names of Āgrāyaṇa, Audumbarāyaṇa, Aupamanyava, Aurnāvābha, Kāthhākya, Kautsa, Krauṣṭuki, Carmaśiras, Taiṭiki, Vārṣyāyaṇi, Śatabalākṣa, Maudgalya, Śākāpūṇi, Sthaulaṣṭhīvi are indeed not mentioned by the authors of the Prātiśākhya and Pāṇini; this is however to be noticed that four of them, Aurnāvābha, Kāthhākya, Krauṣṭuki and Śākāpūṇi are referred to in the Bṛhaddevatā, a work which is ascribed to Śaunaka and whose subject is to some extent closely connected with the Nirukta.

First of all let us take as well-founded the fact that while Yāska is mentioned by Śaunaka, Śaunaka by Kātyāyana and the author of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, Pāṇini has never been mentioned in the Nirukta and the Prātiśākhya. Now, with regard to Yāska, Professor Goldstücker (p. 225) says "not knowing the grammar of Pāṇini is tantamount to having preceded it," and I think the same is applicable to Śākala Prātiśākhya in a much higher degree. Regarding Yāska it may rather very well be urged that he who is concerned with etymology and interpretation need not necessarily refer to grammatical authorities and particularly to the system of Pāṇini. As regards Śikṣā however which is the main subject of the Śākala-Prātiśākhya, there is no such excuse. Vyākaraṇa and Śikṣā, grammar and phonetics are and were from time immemorial inseparable and it is a great advantage of Indian grammar that from the very beginning it received firm support from Śikṣā or phonetics.

Now let us go one step further, and while on the one hand we never find Pāṇini's phonetic or grammatical theories quoted in the Śākala-prātiśākhya, we see on the other hand that Pāṇini, when he comes to speak on points of Śikṣā, refers to earlier authorities and particularly quotes Śākalya, the founder of the Śākala Prātiśākhya, exactly on those points which are dealt with in this Prātiśākhya.

Before we discuss this subject more minutely, we must first try to render the relation of Śākalya to our Prātiśākhya a little clearer. We must attribute the composition or the final redaction of our work to Śaunaka according to the Indian tradition.¹ About the question, in what form this branch of instruction existed before the time of Śaunaka, the opinions of various scholars naturally differ, according as they admit of the existence of an oral tradition in a larger or smaller quantity. Śākalya always remains the recognised founder of the phonetic discipline for the Śākalas and the work of Śaunaka gives us the final form of the science founded by Śākalya and developed by his followers.

1 Already in Gaṇa Kārtakaujapau we find Śākalaśunakāḥ.

Śākalya is already known to Yāska (VI. 28) as the Padakāra of the Ṛgveda. If then the present word-division of the Pada text goes back to him, it is not at all surprising that those rules also should belong to him according to which the Pada text has been converted into the Saṃhitā text. The book, which contains these rules and whose authorship is attributed to Śaunaka, is called Śākalam and the people who follow this Śākala manual are called Śākālas. These three words, Śākalyaḥ, Śākalam and Śākālāḥ should be studiously differentiated.

If we now first examine the phraseology of the Prātiśākhya, we find that Śaunaka uses all the three words.

Śaunaka quotes Śākalya (Sūtra 199) as authority for a rule, that, when two short *i* s are joined and also in all Kṣaipra and Abhinihita sandhis, the resulting syllable will have the Svarita, provided the first vowel is Udātta. This shows that Śākalya's rules were not confined only to the Pada text but also touched points which were of significance only for the Saṃhitā text. Now Śaunaka however goes further and says that another teacher, Māṇḍūkeya (this is the correct spelling of the name and not Māṇḍukeya, as it appears in the text), recommends the Svarita not only on the occasion of two short *i* s, but in all Praśliṣṭa joinings.* Thus it is clear that already before the time of Śaunaka various views about the accentuation of the text in the Saṃhitā were prevalent and that Śākalya was only one of the many teachers who fixed the text in the shape as we have it to-day.

With regard to accentuation Śākalya is again quoted by name in sūtra 208, and here he appears along with Ānyatareya, while in sūtra 739 where he has been mentioned as authority for a technical term, namely for the word Samāpādyā, which covers a number of phonetic changes such as ṣatva, ṇatva, the Sāmavaśa sandhis and the upācāra, he again appears along with two other teachers, Vyāli and Gārgya.

Judging by these passages we should then take our Śākalya to be an ancient scholar who had not only fixed the Pada text but also had made a number of rules about the accents and phonetics in general, which were propagated in the school of the Śākālas from teacher to pupil and were finally brought into that form by Śaunaka in which we possess it to-day. Now however it should be noticed that this

* The Māṇḍūkī Śikṣā (ed. by Bhagavaddatta) contains no such rule, but some of the verses of this Śikṣā and the Ṛk-prātiśākhya are very much alike (see *Ibid.*, introd., p. 10). G.

Śākalya in one passage (sūtra 185) has been called *sthavira*, i. e. the ancient or the most ancient. It is said there that in the opinion of revered Śākalya, the second vowel is assimilated to the first, where, *o* and *a*, and *e* and *a* form the so-called Prācyā-pañcāla-hiatus, but Śaunaka does not approve of this assimilation. This is at least the interpretation of Uvaṭa, though some other interpretation too would not be injurious to our arguments. Here then we have Śākalya as the representative of a theory which Śaunaka does not approve, and this leads us to another passage where the ancient Śākalya or as he is called there, the father of Śākalya, seems to be pitted against another Śākalya, so that we would have to accept not one but two Śākalyas as authorities on Śikṣā. In Sūtra 223 it is said that the father of Śākalya changes every *ś* into *ch* when any one of the first letters of vargas (i. e. *k, c, ṭ* etc.) follows, while in Sūtra 232 it is said that Śākalya does not allow the change of *ś* into *ch* after *c*, if this *c* represents an original *t*. If this interpretation is correct, we must at all events accept two Śākalyas. I must however admit that without further support such an assumption must remain problematic in the first place. If we had no commentary before us, it would have appeared most natural that sūtra 223 contains the general rule and that Sūtra 232 is to be regarded as a necessary limitation which could however be given only after the change of a *t* into *c* had been prescribed by Sūtra 230. (See Sūtra 392). It seemed to me even better to take the Sūtras 231 and 232 to be one, in which case the purport would be that Śākalya, although he allows the change of *ś* to *ch* after one of the firsts (i. e. *k, c, ṭ*, etc.), forbids this change when final *c* is secondary and the outcome of a *t*. Only the quite extraordinary mention of Śākalya in Sūtra 223 is a stumbling block in the way of this interpretation which in that case would have to be taken as a compound, father Śākalya, like Kaṭhadhūrta.

Now it is difficult to see why Śākalya is referred to by name only in these few passages; yet it seems to occur only there where, after the foundation of the phonetic rules by Śākalya, later difference of opinion had arisen among the ancient teachers, and where it was thus of particular importance for the Śākālas to know with certainty the opinion of Śākalya.

Going further, we find the word Śākalam used as the name of the Prātiśākhya. This appears most clearly in Sūtra 633, where it is said that in the Krama text, groups of two words are not sufficient for the purposes of the Krama, and there it is further said that one can refer to the Śākāla which expressly prescribes Kramas of three

or more words. This passage is found in the Paṭala called Kramahetu whose later origin renders all the more understandable such a reference to the Śākalam as authority.

In other passages where the word Śākala is used, we must take it in a somewhat wider sense, namely as Śākala theory or Śākala school. Thus we read in Sūtra 76 that the *u* is lengthened by Śākala; *śūkalena drāghitāḥ*. Here one would be inclined to take Śākala to be a synonym of the Pada-text, for the lengthening described there takes place only in the Pada-text. This sense would however be too narrow for the other passages. In sūtra 390 for example, Śākala refers to phonetic changes, a few of which, at least if we accept the first interpretation by Uvaṭa of S. 390, may be of significance only for a Saṃhitā text, and there the word thus must necessarily be taken to mean Śākala theory or Śākala school. Again we find it in S. 396, where it is said that according to Śākala, between *l* and *Ūṣmans*, and, if we accept the Anuvṛtti of the commentator, between *k* and *kh* (in *khyāti*),¹ and between *ṣ* and *ś* (in *rāṣāti*), a pause takes place; also that all final Sparśas excepting² *m* take pause when they are followed by initial *y*, *r*, *v*, or *Ūṣmans*. This paused pronunciation is then again defined in Sūtra 400 as belonging to the school of the Śākalas and according to Sūtra 403 it is extended by other teachers also over other cases.

Now that this Śākala actually signifies the school of the Śākalas may be clearly seen from a passage, where in the same connection the Śākalas are mentioned in the plural. Thus in Sūtra 673 (again of Kramahetu Paṭala) it is said that the Śākalas follow the system of Sthitopasthita, which so far as I can see, refers to the Pada-text as well as to the Krama text. In Sūtra 631 however the Śākalas are mentioned with unambiguous reference to the Krama text. Finally in Sūtra 65 it is said that the Śākalas particularly advocate the nasalisation of a final vowel of three Mātrās, *ūcāryaśūstrāparilopahetavaḥ*, so that the work of their master may not suffer any harm, i. e. they had to specially mention the case in RV. X, 146, 1, because the *ī* of three mātrās is not included among the eight vowels of the manual

1 In Krama a *k* will have to be supplied before the *kh* of *khyāti*, G.

2 Though the literal translation would be *preceding*, I have dared to use the word *excepting* in its place in order to get a clear sense. The purport of course remains unaffected, *m* being the last of the sparśas,—G.

of Śākalya, and its nasalisation too is not provided for by the general rule in Sūtra 64.

This Ācārya or teacher is also mentioned in another passage of the Śākala-Prātiśākhya, namely in Sūtra 52. Here it is said that the teacher defines the root of the tongue and the palate to be the proper place for *ḍ* and that his *ḍ* becomes *ḷ* between vowels, his *ḍh* becomes and *ḷh*. This teacher is here called Vedamitra or the friend of the Veda.

This much appears from these passages that Śākalya, the author of the Pada-text was the chief authority of the Śākalas, even where in course of time difference of opinion had arisen and that our Prātiśākhya was meant for these Śākalas for whom Śaunaka, as he clearly says, also composed his Anukramaṇi.

Besides Śākalya, only a very few teachers are mentioned by name in this Prātiśākhya, none so often as Śākalya. Only Śākaṭāyana, Gārgya and Vyāli are mentioned more than once and we may very well consider these three to be the most important authorities of that time after Śākalya.

We learn but very little about Śākaṭāyana, namely, that at the end of words he recommended the first letters (of vargas) (Sūt. 17), and that in splitting up the diphthongs into their elements, he always made *a* the first member and *i* or *u* the second.

Of Gārgya we learn that he preferred the third letters (of vargas) at the end (Sūtra 16) and that he had made rules about krama-groups (S. 629, 638), and agreed with Śākalya and Vyāli regarding the use of samāpādyā (S. 739).

Besides this agreement with Śākalya and Gārgya it is further said about Vyāli, that he had made rules about the accent (S. 214), specially about the accent in the Pada or Krama text (S. 209); that, he had his own views about Abhinidhāna or the pause between two consonants (S. 419); and finally, that, he recommended two different pronunciations for the Anusvāra, not only the regular one, i.e. in the nose alone, but also another, in the nose and the mouth (S. 745).

The other teachers who are further mentioned in the Prātiśākhya occupy a much inferior place. Bābhavya has been once quoted as the teacher of the Krama (S. 676) where the commentator calls him Pañcāla¹. Yāska appears in the well-known passage (S. 993) as a metrical authority²; Māṇḍūkeya is once referred to on account of his

1 Cf. Pāṇ, IV, 1, 106. Bābhavyaḥ Kauśikyah.

2 Presumably this Yāska has been quoted by Piṅgala, *Chand. Sūt.*, III, 30.—G.

difference of opinion with Śākalya regarding the accent of Praśliṣṭas (S. 200); and Ānyatareya is once mentioned as agreeing with Śākalya about a rule of accent (S. 208). As regards Prācyas and Pañcālas, they occur only in the terminus technicus Prācyā-Padaṽṛtti and Pañcāla-Padaṽṛtti (S. 137, 186); yet we can see clearly, that this grammatical technical term is ascribed to the Pañcālas and Prācyas by the author of the Prātiśākhya, and it depends on our interpretation of Sūtra 186 whether we should consider that the Śākala deviates from the general rule in the pronunciation of this Prācyā and Pañcāla Hiatus.

Now turning to Pāṇini we find, as said before, that he once quotes the Prātiśākhya verbatim and indeed for a theory upon which the Prātiśākhya is based,—namely that the Saṁhitā owes its origin to the Padas, i.e. the rules of forming the Saṁhitā are taught in such a manner that the padas are considered as primary and the rules according to which they must be changed in order to form the Saṁhitā as dependent on them. This however is not all. Pāṇini quotes Śākalya four times by name and every time for things which are very closely connected with Śikṣā. I have already spoken about these quotations in my History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p. 140) and have shown there that their wording resembles rather the Prātiśākhya of the Atharva-veda than our Prātiśākhya. I admit that it is not yet quite clear to me how this is to be explained. At all events however I am quite sure of this about our Prātiśākhya that it contains all the rules for which Pāṇini quotes Śākalya as authority. This requires a closer examination.

Pāṇini I, 1, 16 says *sambuddhau Śākalyasyetāvanūrṣe* i. e. the vowel *o* in the vocative, remains unchanged, when the non-vedic *iti* of Śākalya follows. This appears to me to be the best interpretation though with the commentators we may translate it thus: According to Śākalya, i. e. not necessarily, not universally, *o* in the vocative remains unchanged before the non-vedic *iti*. This rule reappears in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya (I, 81) as I showed before, partly with the same words,—*āmantritām itāvanūrṣe*, and had not Pāṇini mentioned Śākalya by name, it would have appeared as if he has intentionally chosen the same word which is found in the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya. Although not in the same words, yet to the same effect in substance, Śākalya also teaches in our Prātiśākhya, first in S. 69, that the *o* of the vocative is called Pragṛhya; then in S. 155, that Pragṛhyas remain unchanged when *iti* follows. Now that according to Śākalya, the final *o*, although called Pragṛhya, remains unchanged only before this non-vedic *iti*, is clearly seen in S. 157, when compared with S. 132, 135, 138.

Pāṇini refers to Śākalya for the second time in VIII, 3, 19 with reference to the elision of the final *y* or *v*, allowed by him, when it is preceded by a short *a* and an initial vowel† with the exception of *a* follows. § This is likewise found in our Prātiśākhya. It is said (1) in S. 129, that *ai* and *au* become *ā* when they are followed by an initial vowel, i.e., their last element, *y* or *v*, is dropped; (2) in S. 132, that *e* and *o* become *a* when an initial vowel with the exception of *a* follows, i.e., similarly again, their last element, *y* or *v*, is dropped. So far therefore Pāṇini was quite right in quoting Śākalya as authority for the elision of the final *y* or *v*, and the fact, that the Prātiśākhya provides for the insertion of *v* after the *a* and *ā* of *o* and *au* by Sūtra 135, excepting when the following vowel is a labial, does not affect the statement of Pāṇini, specially as he is concerned only with the various possible treatments of the diphthongs *e*, *ai*, *o* and *au* §§. At all events this objection would be valid against the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya which by II, 21 provides for the elision of *y* and *v* under similar circumstances, then however by II, 22, makes an exception of *v* after *ā*, and indeed before all vowels, while our Prātiśākhya would not have allowed the retention or the insertion of this *v* before the following *u* (S. 135, compare Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, V, 125).

It is remarkable that our Prātiśākhya which often quotes Śākaṭāyana, does not do so in the passage we are concerned with. Śākaṭāyana taught, as we know from Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 18, that these final semivowels should not be dropped but should be softly pronounced. The commentary explains this soft pronunciation (*laghuprayatna*) by a relaxation of the tip, the side, the middle and the root of the tongue. This theory of Śākaṭāyana is so well-known to the author of the Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya that among the possible terminal sound of words dealt with in I, 9, he specially mentions the *adhisparsa* sound when the semivowels *y*

† *Anslautender* in the text must be a typographical mistake for *anlautender*. G.

§ The rule of Pāṇini is manifestly somewhat different. Pāṇini sometimes drops the final *y* or *v* preceded by *a* or *ā* when a letter of the *aś* pratyāhāra follows and not merely vowels excepting *a* as Max Müller puts it. G.

§§ It is quite clear that both Śākalya and Pāṇini had the diphthongs in view though of course Śākalya's treatment is infinitely clumsier and it cannot therefore be denied that Śākalya in S. 135 actually strikes a discordant tune. G.

and *v* are not padya in their usual pronunciation. This adhisparśa is then explained in the Prātiśākhya, II, 24 by leśavṛtti and is ascribed to Śākaṭāyana just as Pāṇini ascribes the *laghuprayatna* to him (see Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya, IV, 125 ; Ātharvaṇa Prātiśākhya, I, 9, and II, 24).

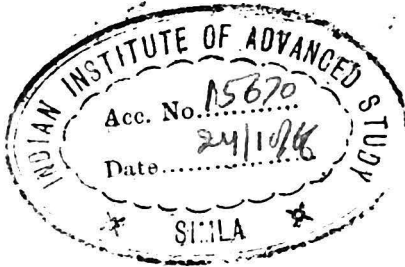
For the third time Pāṇini mentions Śākalya in VI, 1, 127. Here he says that according to Śākalya the final *i*, *u*, *r*, before dissimilar vowels remain unchanged, and adds that these vowels become short. Now, for this shortening no authority is found in the Prātiśākhya. If we admit that Pāṇini wished to ascribe to this grammarian only this unchangeableness of the vowel, inasmuch as he placed the word *hrasvaḥ* after *Śākalyasya*, then he was quite right in quoting Śākalya, for no other Prātiśākhya has more exhaustive rules by which the final vowel remains unchanged before the initial vowel than our Prātiśākhya, from Sūtra 155 on words.¹ It should also be considered herewith that the Sūtra immediately following, Paṇini VI, 1, 128, according to which certain vowels before *r* remain unchanged and, if long, are shortened, is presented by the commentator under the authority of Śākalya and that for this sūtra too analogies are found in the Śākala Prātiśākhya in Sūtras 136, 168.

Now we come to the last and the most important passage in which Pāṇini quotes Śākalya. It was thought until now that there is nothing corresponding to what is here ascribed to Śākalya in the Prātiśākhya. In VIII, 4, 51, Pāṇini says that according to Śākalya reduplications of consonants in compound letters may be omitted everywhere. Now if we examine the Sūtra 390 of the Prātiśākhya, it appears as if the Śākala school allowed the omission of the varṇakrama only when the compound letter is initial and the preceding final vowel is a long one. But I think that Pāṇini's rule shows us the right way in which the sūtra is to be interpreted and, in any case, Pāṇini interpreted it as if that the anuvṛtti of *padādiḥ* and *dirghena* is suspended and consequently it becomes that the Śākalas omit the reduplication of a consonant in a saṃyoga in all the cases which are mentioned in Sūtras 378 and the following. Here Pāṇini serves us just like a commentary to the Prātiśākhya and authorises us to give preference to that of the two interpretations of the later commentators which

¹ Passages such as 163, 4, 8, 9, 13 one of course beyond the scope of Pāṇini.

the ancient Grammarian himself approved. Moreover there is no reason at all to take the word Śākala here in the sense of the Fada text for Śākala in no other passage has such a narrow sense, and specially in this sixth paṭala it occurs twice where it is impossible to interpret it in that way.

Partly to prove this and partly to present clearly the object of this whole paṭala, I give here a short sketch of the same. Though this paṭala seems at first sight to have little to do with the main question we are concerned with, yet it will prove to be not altogether useless for our purpose, inasmuch as it clearly presents before our eyes the high degree of development of the science of phonetics in the ancient Paṛiṣads and thus affords us a comparison of the same with meagre phonetic aphorisms of Pāṇini.



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