Patañjali’s Interpretation vs. Poetic Usage: 
Bhaṭṭi on Aṣṭādhyāyī 1.3.56 upād yamaha svakaraṇe

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1. Introduction

A 1.3.56 upād yamaha svakaraṇe provides that atmanepada affixes follow the verb yam preceded by the preverb upa when this verb signifies svakaraṇa. The Bhāṣya on A 1.3.56 shows that Patañjali (ca. 2nd c. BCE) interprets the concept svakaraṇa as “the act of making one’s own what did not originally belong to oneself” (asvaṃ yadā svam karoṇi tādā bhavitavyam). In the atmanepadādhihika (BhK 8.1–49a) of his Bhaṭṭikāvya, a poetic work intended as a textbook (kavyas’stra) to teach correct Sanskrit usage, Bhaṭṭi (ca. 6th–7th c. CE, before Kāśikāvṛtti) illustrates the rule with the following expression:

[1] BhK 8.33ab: kopaḥ kāścit priyaiḥ prattam upāyāṃsata nāsavam “Some women out of anger did not accept (upāyāṃsata) spirituous liquor offered by their beloveds.”

Post-Bhaṭṭi Pāṇinīyas explicitly state that this usage is accounted for by Patañjali’s interpretation of svakaraṇa (tadanugunapravṛgya). It is no surprise that Bhaṭṭi, when interpreting grammatical rules, follows Patañjali. Generally speaking, Patañjali is the highest authority with reference to correct speech (Pradīpa on MBh to A 1.1.29 [I.293.14]: yathottaram hi munitrayasya prāmāṇyam). However, the commentator Mallinātha (ca. early 15th c. CE) does not accept [1] as correct usage. For, according to the Kāśikāvṛtti (ca. 7th. c. CE), svakaraṇa of A 1.3.56 is not intended as svakaranamātra “svakaraṇa in general” (svakaraṇa 1) as in [1], but as pāṇigrahaṇaviśiṣṭa-svakaraṇa “svakaraṇa qualified by marriage” (svakaraṇa 2) as in the example bhāryām upayacchate “he takes a wife.” One cannot marry “spirituous liquor” (āsava).

In this connection it is important to note that in his work Bhaṭṭi employs atmanepada forms of upa-yam in the sense of svakaraṇa 2 also:
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[2] BhK 4.20a: saumitre mām upāyaṁsthāḥ “O son of Sumitrā (i.e., Lakṣmaṇa), marry me!”


It is evident that Bhaṭṭi, by giving [2]–[3], wishes to imply that svakaraṇa of A 1.3.56 can also be interpreted as svakaraṇa 2.

Now the question arises: What motivates Bhaṭṭi to give [2]–[3] in addition to [1], even though the latter will suffice to illustrate A 1.3.56? The aim of the paper is to consider this question.

2. Patañjali’s Interpretation

Let us first inquire into the Bhāṣya on A 1.3.56. The Bhāṣya begins with a discussion of the meaning of the word svakaraṇa in the rule. Consider the following utterance:

[4] svam śatākāntam upayacchati “She is taking hold of the hem of her own petticoat.”

On the assumption that the word svakaraṇa signifies the act of grasping what belongs to oneself (svatvena sthitasya grahaṇādikāṃ karaṇam), a questioner asks why A 1.3.56 does not apply in [4] (*upayacchate). Patañjali answers that āttmanepada affixes are allowed to occur after the verb yam on condition that an agent of the action denoted by upa-yam appropriates as his own what did not originally belong to himself. In [4], since the petticoat belongs to the agent of the act of grasping denoted by upa-yam, āttmanepada affixes are not introduced by A 1.3.56 after the verb yam. Later Pāṇinīyas point out that this argument developed by Patañjali clearly shows that he takes the word svakaraṇa to mean svakaraṇa 1.

Patañjali goes on to explain that the form svakaraṇa is equivalent in meaning to the form svikaraṇa, in which the taddhita affix Cvi is introduced after the nominal base sva “own” by A 5.4.50 kṛbhvastiyoge sampadyakartari cviḥ. This rule comes under the heading of A 4.1.82 samarthānām prathamād vā and hence the introduction of Cvi by the former is optional (vā).

3. BhK 4.20 and 4.28

Let us next consider Bhaṭṭi’s examples. As said, Bhaṭṭi illustrates A 1.3.56 with [2] and [3]. The demoness Sūrpaṇakhā, looking for a marriage partner (BhK 4.19b: patīyanti), found Lakṣmaṇa and Rāma in the forest, and then uttered [2]–[3]. There is no doubt
that the ātmanepada forms upāyāmsthāḥ (2nd sg. s-aorist Ā.) and upāyāmsta (3rd sg. s-aorist Ā.) in [2]–[3] are used in the sense of svakarṇa 2.

Note that [1] belongs to the adhikārakāṇḍa (on rules governed by headings, BhK 5.97–9.137) and [2]–[3] to the prakīrṇakāṇḍa (on miscellaneous rules, BhK 1.1–5.96). Here we must recall that in the Bhaṭṭikāvyya the prakīrṇakāṇḍa plays a role complementary to the adhikārakāṇḍa, that is to say, passages in the former sometimes serve to supply illustrations of grammatical rules which are not provided for in the latter (Kawamura 2014). We may say that [2]–[3] precisely play such a role.

4. Familiarity of a Meaning

We are now in a good position to consider the question mentioned earlier: What motivates Bhaṭṭi to give [2]–[3] in addition to [1]? The key to the question is found in a statement by Sāyaṇa (ca. 14th c. CE). In his Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti Sāyaṇa explains the reason why the Kāśikāvytti, going against the Bhāṣya (bhāṣyaviruddha),6 interpreted svakarṇa of A 1.3.56 as svakarṇa 2 as follows:

MDhV (282.29–31): atra vṛttikāraśivasvāmibhyām idām bhāṣyoktam avasasya svatvena karaṇaṁ prasiddhivaśāt pānigrahaśaviśeṣa upasamhṛtām /

The point is this: In the time of the Kāśikāvytti it is commonly established that ātmanepada forms of upa-yam are employed in the sense of marrying. This leads the Kāśikāvytti to restrict the meaning of the word svakarṇa in A 1.3.56 to marriage (prasiddhivaśāt). In this context, let us note CS 1.4.109 upayama udvāhe, which corresponds to A 1.3.56. This rule provides that ātmanepada affixes taN and the participial affix āna follow the verb yam preceded by the preverb upa if the verb denotes the act of marrying (udvāha). We should not overlook that Candragomin (ca. 5th c. CE) uses the unambiguous word udvāha instead of the word svakarṇa. It is likely that this preference also reflects actual usage in his time.

Indeed, we find many instances of ātmanepada forms of upa-yam employed in the sense of marrying in the following poetic works written in the period roughly between Candragomin and the Kāśikāvytti: Kālidāsa’s (ca. 4th–5th c. CE) Abhijñānaśakuntala, Rāghuvaṁśa, and Kumārasambhava; Daṇḍin’s (ca. first half of 7th c. CE) Daśakumāracarita; Kumāradāsa’s (ca. second half of 7th c. CE) Jñānikihaṇa; Māgha’s (ca. middle of 8th c.
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CE) Śiśupālavadha.

[5] AŚ (101.2–3): . . . mitahsamavāyād imāṁ madīyāṁ duhitaram bhavān upayome “You (i.e., Duḥṣanta) married this daughter of mine (i.e., Śakuntalā) by mutual agreement.”
[6] KS 1.18: sa . . . menāṁ vidhinopayome “He (i.e., Himālaya) married Menā in accordance with the rules.”
[7] RV 14.87a: sitāṁ hitvā daṇmukharipur nopayome . . . anyām “The enemy of the ten-headed demon (i.e., Rāma) did not marry another woman after he had abandoned Śītā.”
[9] JH 1.26cd: tenopayeme . . . vaheṁ samakṣam “In the presence of the sacred fire, she (i.e., Kausalyā) married him (i.e., Daśaratha).”
[10] ŚV 15.27b: udadhisutam upayathāḥ “You (i.e., Kṛṣṇa) married the daughter of the ocean (i.e., Śrī).”

On the other hand, instances of ātmanepada forms of upa-yam employed in the sense of svakaraṇa 1 are found only in the Bhāṭṭikāvya ([1]) among poetic works composed in the above-mentioned period. 8

All this shows that in Bhāṭṭi’s time the use of ātmanepada forms of upa-yam in the sense of svakaraṇa 2 must have been well established among poets, whereas their use in the sense of svakaraṇa 1 must have been extremely uncommon.

5. Poetic Flaw

At this point it may be worth mentioning that the poetician Vāmana (ca. 8th c. CE) argues that the use of a word in an unusual meaning (aprasiddhārthaprayuktaka) is deemed to be a poetic flaw (doṣa). A word employed in an unusual meaning is called gūḍhārtha “a word whose meaning is concealed” (KAS 2.1.13). Take for example the word go. Consider the following utterance quoted by Vāmana (source unknown):

[11] sahasragor ivānikam duhsaham bhavataḥ paraiḥ “It is difficult for the enemy to endure your army, which is comparable to that of Indra (sahasragu).”

In the compound sahasragu (“thousand-eyed”), the word go is used in the sense of “eye” (akṣi). To be sure, this meaning is given in a lexicon (abhidhānā) as one of the meanings in which the word go occurs (KDH on KASV to KAS 2.1.13 [53.10–12]). But this word is not commonly employed by poets in the meaning “eye” instead of the meaning
Paragraphs are separated by hard returns and each paragraph is only one line.

"cow, bull" (KASV on KAS 2.1.13 [14.14–17]).

The same is true of ātmanepada forms of upa-yam. Certainly Patañjali’s interpretation of A 1.3.56 permits the forms to be used in the sense of svakarana 1. However, in the time of Bhaṭṭi, the forms were not commonly employed by poets in the meaning svakarana 1 but in the meaning svakarana 2.

6. Conclusion

There are two uses of ātmanepada forms of upa-yam: one in the sense of svakarana 1 ([1]) and the other in the sense of svakarana 2 ([2]–[3]). The former was extremely uncommon in Bhaṭṭi’s time. His use of the ātmanepada form upāyaṃsata (3rd pl. s-aorist Ā.) in the meaning svakarana 1 in [1] might be considered to be a poetic flaw as Vāmana would have according to his rule. Despite this, he gave [1] as an example for A 1.3.56 on the authority of Patañjali’s interpretation of the rule. On the other hand, in the time of Bhaṭṭi the latter was well established among poets. Bhaṭṭi employed [2]–[3] as well as [1] in order to illustrate A 1.3.56 in conformity with the usage of poets current in his time. All this makes it clear that Bhaṭṭi holds that both uses of ātmanepada forms of upa-yam must be learned to become an expert in Sanskrit.

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Notes

1) PM on KV to A 1.3.56 (I.453.13–15): bhāṣye tu — asvasya sataḥ svatvāpādanam eva svakaranam ity uktam / bhāṭṭikāvyē’ pi tadanuguṇaprāyogah /

2) SP on BhK 8.33 (I.269.15–16): upād yamaḥ svakarana iti pāṇigrahane vidhānē ṣy atra svikarana-mātre taṇtraprāyogaś cintyaḥ / KV on A 1.3.56 (I.452.7–8): pāṇigrahanaśiṣṭam iha svakaranaṃ grhyate / na svakaranaṃatram / The word pāṇigrhaṇa is synonymous with the words upayamana, svikarana, vivāha, and dārakarman (KV on A 1.2.16 [I.289.3]).

3) The word bhavān “you” is to be supplied (SP on BhK 4.28 [I.100.8]). It is to be noted in passing that the forms upāyaṃṣṭhāḥ (2nd sg. s-aorist Ā.) and upāyaṃṣta (3rd sg. s-aorist Ā.) are accounted for by introducing lūn according to A 3.3.132 āśamsāyām bhāṭvavac ca.

4) MBh on A 1.3.56 (I.284.10–11): iha kasmān na bhavati / svam śāṭakāṃtam upayacchattiti / asvam yada svam karoti tadā bhavitavayam / Pradipa on MBh to A 1.3.56 (II.260.13–14): svasya svatvena sthitasya grahaṇādikām karāṇaṃ svakaranam grhyata iti matvā praśnāḥ — ihetī /

5) On A 4.1.82 and 5.450, see PWT: 111 and 347. MBh on A 1.3.56 (I.284.11–12): yady evaṃ svikarana iti prāpnoti / vicitrās taddhitavīttaḥ / nātās taddhita utpadyate / Clearly Patañjali bears in
mind A 4.1.82. BM on SK 2729 (III.568.11–13): asvasya satah svatvena parigrahah svakaraṇaśabdena
vivakṣita ity arthāh / cvipratyayas tu vaikalpikaḥ samarthānān prathamād vety ukter iti bhāṣye spasam / 6) ŠK (77.24–27): atra vṛttikārah pāṇigrāhaṇa evesya . . . iti / etac ca bhāṣyaviruddham / tatra
svikāramātra atmanepadasyayotvatvāt / tathā ca bhaṭṭih prayukta . . .
7) We have to note that this passage is not found in Vallabhadeva’s (ca. beginning of 10th c. CE)
version of Śiṣūpāla’s speech (ŚV 15.14–47) but is present in Mallinātha’s version (ŚV 15.14–38). The
latter version is more authentic. See Brönnor and McCrea 2012 for details.
8) We must note that, in addition to [1], Bhaṭṭi uses the following expressions, in which
ātmanepada forms of upa-yam are used in the meaning svakaraṇa: BhK 1.16b: śastrāry upāyamśata
jiṭvarāṇi “They obtained victory-giving weapons”; BhK 15.21c: upāyamśa mahaśtrāṇi
“[Kumbhakarṇa] obtained powerful weapons.”

Abbreviations

A Panini’s Aṣṭādhyāyī. See Appendix III (Aṣṭādhyāyīsūtrapātha) in Cardona 1997.
BhK The Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya or Rāvaṇavadha Composed by Śrī Bhaṭṭi. Ed. Kamalāśaṅkara Prāṇaśaṅkara
BM Vāsudevadīṣkītā’s Bālanamarā. Śrimadbhaṭṭojidikṣitaviracitavaiśyakaraṇasiddhānta-
Reprint, Nendeln: Kraus, 1966.
Book Depôt, 1887.
JH The Jānakīharanam of Kumāradasa. Ed. Gopal Raghuṇāth Nandargikar. Bombay: Indu-
Prakash Steam-Press, 1907.
von Hermann Dutt, 1875.
KASV Vāmana’s Kāvyālaṁkārasūtrasvārtti. See KAS.
KDH Kayālaṁkāra Sūtra of Ācharya Vāmana with the Kāvyālaṁkārakāmadhenu Sanskrit Commentary
Sanskrit Sansthan, 1976.
KS Vallabhadeva’s Kommentar (Śāradā Version) zum Kumārasambhavam des Kālidāsa. Ed. M. S.
MBh The Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya of Patańjali. Ed. F. Kielhorn. 3rd edition, revised and furnished
with additional readings, references and select critical notes by K. V. Abhyankar. 3 vols.

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Nyāsa Jīnendrabuddhi’s Nyāsa. See KV.

PM Haradatta’s Padamāriṇī. See KV.


SK Bhatṭoji Dikṣita’s Siddhāntakaumudi. See BM.

SP Mallinātha’s Sarvapathinā. See BhK.

Bibliography


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