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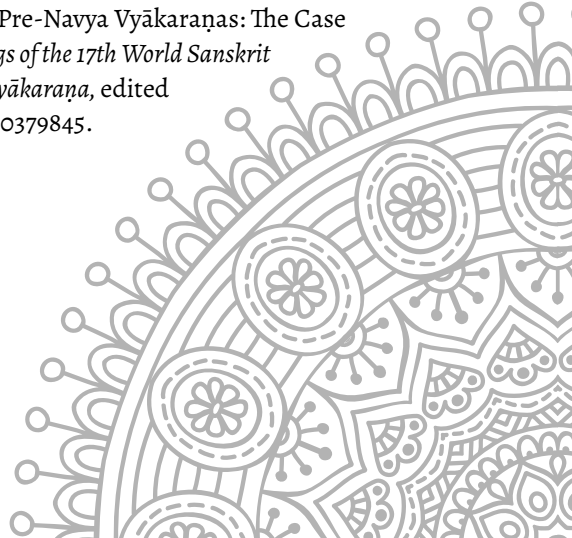
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Bitextual Meaning in Two Pre-Navya Vyākaraṇas: The Case of Rāmacandrācārya and Jīva Gosvāmin

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Abstract

Rāmacandrācārya's *Prakriyākaumudī* (15th century) and Jīva Gosvāmin's *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa* (15th-16th centuries) are the first two grammars in the Brahminical context to include verses with bitextual meaning (*śleṣa*). In those verses, the authors simultaneously talk about grammar and the divine, often expressing their Vedāntic views. They make extensive use of religious examples and invocation (*maṅgala*) verses like the 13th century *Mugdhabodha* and many 17th-18th century Navya ("new school") grammar texts. What is new is their use of *śleṣa*.

Śleṣa in these texts correlates with the authors' project of religious assimilation in Sanskrit grammar. It provides a useful commentary on Rāmacandra's and Jīva's attitudes towards grammatical correctness and authority and can indicate their religious and grammatical positions. Both Rāmacandra and Jīva, who was one of the first to critique Rāmacandra's grammar, innovated with *śleṣa* to further the process of theologization of grammar, which commenced with Vopadeva's *Mugdhabodha*. Their grammatical *śleṣa* aims to produce not only more than one meaning, but also more *puṇya* (religious merit) and bears a striking correspondence with these authors' desire to grammatically sanction a wider variety of Sanskrit words than does the later Navya school. The texts under discussion will be Rāmacandra's *Prakriyākaumudī* with Viṭṭhala's and Śeṣaśrīkṛṣṇa's commentaries and the *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa* with its commentaries. In addition to exploring the role of *śleṣa* in the history of grammar, this paper responds to Belvalkar's critique of "sectarian" grammars and discusses the implications of the absence of *śleṣa* in Navya grammars.

Keywords: *vyākaraṇa*, *śleṣa*, *prāmāṇya* (grammatical authority), Navya school, *bhakti*.

Introduction: Śleṣa in Grammar

When speaking of paronomasia in Sanskrit literature, the term we use most often is *śleṣa*, “embrace of two meanings.” This literary trope first got its designation in the field of poetics in the sixth century CE.¹ However, unlike much other Sanskrit terminology that tends to stay in its own discipline, *śleṣa* was destined for application beyond strictly literary texts.

This paper focuses on the general phenomenon of paronomasia, or intended double meaning, in the context of Vyākaraṇa, as well as more specifically on the use of the literary trope of *śleṣa* in grammatical texts. Arguably, the former presents itself in various forms since the dawn of the discipline of Vyākaraṇa, but not the latter. For example, when Patañjali says that the grammatical term *vṛddhi* in *vṛddhi ādaic* (Pā. 1.1.1) is *maṅgalārtha* (has auspiciousness as its purpose), he in fact takes into consideration the other, non-grammatical register of the word *vṛddhi* (prosperity, success, auspiciousness). However, neither he nor his commentators use the term *śleṣa* or in fact any other literary term to describe this situation. Of course, Patañjali lived much before the term *śleṣa* was coined, but even later grammarians avoid the term when they want to say that Pāṇini intended double meaning, and the trope itself hardly ever figures in grammatical literature. After all, this is an *alaṅkāra* which belongs in *kāvya*, not in Vyākaraṇa, right?

This attitude was about to change in the 15th century. The two grammars that did incorporate *śleṣa* for the first time in the Brahminical context are the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandrācārya in the 15th century and the *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa* of Jīva Gosvāmin in the 16th. Why did they do that? The most defensible reason among many is their desire to further the project of religious assimilation in grammar started by the 13th century grammar of Vopadeva, the *Mugdhabodha*. While the *Mugdhabodha* introduces an abundance of religious examples as well as *iṣṭadeva*-oriented maṅgala verses, it does not contain a single *śleṣa* verse. It appears reasonable that in an age when *śleṣa* becomes one of the most popular *alaṅkāras* in *kāvya*, Rāmacandrācārya decides to write a maṅgala verse with bitextual meaning that talks about grammatical and Vedāntic Prakṛti simultaneously. While the *Prakriyākaumudī* uses *śleṣa* only in two verses, Jīva’s *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa* takes a step further: it contains *śleṣa* in more than ten verses, as well as in many of its sūtras, thanks to Jīva’s *śleṣa*-yielding terminology.

¹ See Bronner 2010: 20–23.

In spite of many similarities, these authors are categorically different. Although both are invested in bringing a Vaiṣṇava Vedānta (albeit two different brands of Vaiṣṇava Vedānta) into their grammars through śleṣa, one is a Pāṇinīya, while the other is not. To many modern scholars this means that Jīva's is a sectarian grammar, while Rāmacandra's is not. The categorization of Vyākaraṇa as cosmopolitan or sectarian is at least as early as S.K. Belvarkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, and I want to bring your attention to the difficulties of this approach as well as Belvarkar's critique of sectarian grammars and of the *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa* in particular. He writes:

As is to be expected, beyond the introduction of this sectarian element [i.e. religiously inflected technical terms] no other improvement on the existing texts of grammar is here to be met with. The whole subject is presented to us in a dull uninteresting manner ... We may suppose that the beginning having been once made by Bopadeva who was a *hariharā-dvaitavādī*,² little remained but to stretch the thing still further ... It is clear that works which carry things to such an extreme can claim the only merit of doggedly carrying an idea through. It may therefore be excused if no further attempt is made to sketch out the history of such schools, for the simple reason that they have no history. (Belvarkar 1976: 95)

I believe that the examples that we are about to analyse here will address many aspects of this critique, but we can already agree that the *Harināmāmṛta*'s project is not limited to the sectarian element alone: it is also dedicated to naturalizing śleṣa in the grammatical context to an unprecedented degree. Also, the problematic of categorizing the *Harināmāmṛta*, but not the *Prakriyākaumudī*, as a “sectarian” grammar should become more apparent as we now turn our attention to religious elements in the *Prakriyākaumudī*.

² I.e., one who believes in the non-duality of Śiva and Viṣṇu.

1. *Prakriyākaumudī*

The first śleṣa verse of the *Prakriyākaumudī* is a maṅgala verse from its second half, the Uttarārdha.³ Both major commentaries, *Prasāda* and *Prakāśa*, agree that this verse contains śleṣa, but this is also visible to the naked eye because of potent words like *prakṛti*, *dhātu*, *śabda*, *rūpa*, *para*, and *pratyaya*. It is important to note that in the 17th century Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa writes a maṅgala verse in his *Prakriyāsarvasva* with a similar play on words, but Bhaṭṭoji Diksita and other authors of *kaumudī* works in the Navya school resist the temptation of śleṣa in their grammars. We will later discuss possible implications of this, such as attitude towards grammatical optionality and the authority structure.

After expounding the Vyākaraṇa register of the verse, Viṭṭhala, Rāmacandra's grandson and author of the *Prasāda* commentary, takes great pains to interpret the Vedānta register in accordance with what he understands to be Rāmacandra's conception of Vedānta. He warns the reader against a Sāṅkhya reading in spite of its being yielded by śleṣa as facilely as the Vedānta meaning. His primary reason is that "the Ācārya only intended the meaning belonging to the school of Vedānta."⁴ He then quotes two verses from Rāmacandra's theological work, *Vaiṣṇavasiddhāntadīpikā*, to prove his allegiance with a tradition of Vedānta. The first verse mentions Rāmacandra's family deity, Viṭṭhala, Brahminical initiation in accordance with the tradition of Hariharāgama, and finally the non-duality of Brahman.⁵ The second verse shares more information about Rāmacandra's religious tradition (*sampradāya*), mentioning the worship of

³ *prakṛtiḥ sāvjayatī ādyā yayā dhātvādirūpayā | vyajyante śabdarūpāṇi parapratyayasannidheḥ || 1 ||*
(Grammatical register): Glorious is the grammatical base (*prakṛti*), which always comes first (in respect to the suffix). Possessing many forms such as the verbal root (*prātipadika*, *nyanta*, *ābanta* etc.) it manifests word forms with the help of proximity of the posterior ending.

(Vedāntic register): Glorious is the primeval Prakṛti! Having manifested itself as material elements (*dhātu*) etc., it manifests words and forms because it has proximity to Him who possesses absolute knowledge. (My own translation based on the *Prasāda* commentary, PK part 2, 1).

⁴ *vedāntaśāstrārthasyaivācāryāṇām abhīpsitatvāt | (Prasādaṭīkā, PK part 1, 2-3).*

⁵ *kule yasmin daivaṃ sakalaphaladaṃ viṭṭhalavibhuḥ
smṛtā yasmin dikṣā hariharamanuṣyāgamayutā |
ratir brahmādvaite tad amalāṃ anantāgamapathāṃ
budhāḥ saṃsevāntāṃ kathitam asakṛd rāmagurubhiḥ || (Prasādaṭīkā, PK part 1, 3).*

Viṣṇu “which is in accordance with the Āgamas that do not contradict the Veda.”⁶ At the end of his *Prasāda* commentary, Viṭṭhala provides even further detail about Rāmacandra’s lineage, describing it as following Vedic ritual, pleasing the deity Viṭṭhala with proper Vaiṣṇava conduct, and demonstrating great talent for expounding the *Pāñcarātrāgama*, which, according to Viṭṭhala, is the “essence of all sacred texts beginning with the *Rgveda*.”⁷ So, Viṭṭhala safely concludes that the Prakṛti that Rāmacandra invokes in this śleṣa verse of the *Prakriyākaumudī* is the śakti of Parameśvara, the original (*ādya*) cause of the five elements (*dhātus*), or, alternatively, it is *īśvaramāyā* (illusory potency of god) of the Vedāntins. Although Śeṣaśrīkṛṣṇa is skeptical about Viṭṭhala’s rejection of the Sāṅkhya-*pakṣa*, he also interprets Prakṛti as *īśvarādhiṣṭhitavidyāśakti* (knowledge potency of god) of the Vedāntins.⁸ Thus, both commentators agree that śleṣa here has a theological purpose: it introduces the author’s religious views into grammatical content to a greater degree than the *udāharaṇas* and *pratyudāharaṇas*, grammatical examples and counterexamples, do alone. It also suggests a comparison between the Prakṛtis of the two registers.

Other reasons to use śleṣa, like pedagogical and aesthetic, become apparent from verse 2.2. of *Prakriyākaumudī*.⁹ The prominent alaṅkāras here are *rūpaka* and *samāśakti*, which depend on śleṣa readings of words like *kaumudī*, *candra*, and *prakāśitā*. Again, as with the two Prakṛtis, these alaṅkāras suggest a comparison: just as the light (*kaumudī*) manifested (*prakāśitā*) by the moon (*can-*

⁶ *sadā yatra vedāvīruddhāgamokta-
prakāreṇa viṣṇoḥ saparyāvidhānam |
matir yatra vedāntasiddhāntavarye
budhaḥ sampradāyaṃ kathaṃ nāśrayet tam ||* (Ibid).

⁷ *yasmin vaidikadharmajātam anīśaṃ jāgarti yadvaiṣṇavā-
cārānuṣṭhītituṣṭaviṭṭhalaprabhuḥ sarvārthadaḥ sarvadā |
rgvedādisamastaśāstranicayaśrīpāñcarātrāgama-
vyākhyānaḥ samapūruṣo vijayate vaṃśo’ndhradeśodbhavaḥ || 3 ||* (*Prasādaṭīkā*, PK part 2, 796).

⁸ *Prakāśaṭīkā*, PK part 1, 2.

⁹ *prakriyākaumudī seyaṃ rāmacandraprakāśitā |
asaadvacastamo vadhyāt saccakorapriyā ciram || 2 ||* (PK part 2, 794).

“May this *Prakriyākaumudī* (also moonlight of *prakriyā*) which was written by Rāmacandra (also shed by the Rāma-moon) annihilate the darkness of incorrect speech, and may it be ever dear to noble, *cakora*-like scholars.”

dra) dispels darkness, may the light of *Prakriyākaumudī*, composed by Rāmacandra, dispel the darkness of incorrect words.¹⁰

In Viṭṭhala's view, multiplicity of meaning is what makes Rāmacandra's style highly praiseworthy. He says: "May my work delight the experts (*marmavedin*) in the *Bhāṣya*, *Vṛtti*, *Vākyapadīya*, and their commentaries, while making their minds overcome by pleasure/wonder/interest/entertainment (*kautukākṛāntamanasaḥ*). The words of Rāmacandrācārya, though clear, have multiple meanings (*spāṣṭārthatve 'pi citratā*).¹¹ Just like an object seen through a crystal, the meaning of the *Prakriyākaumudī* cannot be grasped by those who are not experts (*amarmajñā*)."¹²

I believe that *citratā* or *vicitratā* here refers not only to śleṣa in the maṅgala verses that we saw. To a great degree it must refer to *Prakriyākaumudī*'s elements that can be pleasing to scholars, such as entertaining, *kautuka*-inducing examples and unique, even surprising grammatical interpretations. However, if there is a way to make grammar entertaining to "children" (or beginners, *bāla*) as much as to scholars, then it is through combining grammatical content with the non-grammatical with the help of śleṣa and udāharaṇa. This is exactly what Rāmacandra does: he innovates not only with the prakriyā rearrangement of Pāṇini's grammar for increased ease, but he also imports "entertaining" and religious elements of other text genres into his grammar. He had some famous predecessors who combined to various degrees grammar, poetry and religious didactic in a single work, the most notable being Bhaṭṭi (circa. 7th century, CE). However, a crucial difference between Bhaṭṭi's retelling of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Rāmacandra's grammar is that the former is only a supplement to a standard grammar, while Rāmacandra's *Prakriyākaumudī* is a free-standing grammar text book. Another important predecessor whose example Rāmacandra emulates is Vopadeva (13th century, CE), who was first to introduce "religious" udāharaṇas in his grammar.

¹⁰ *yathā candraprakāśitā kaumudī cakoraṇapriyā satī tamo nāśayati, tatheyam api satpriyā satyapaśabdān nāśayatv iti bhāvaḥ* | (*Prasādaṭīkā*, PK part 2, 795).

¹¹ Mss. Dc2, Bc1, Dc3 read: *spāṣṭārthatve vicitratā*.

¹² *bhāṣyavṛttiharigranthatadvyākhyāmarmavedinaḥ | kautukākṛāntamanasaḥ pramodayatu matkṛtiḥ || 1 || śvīrāmacandrācāryokteḥ spāṣṭārthatve'pi citratā | nāmarmajñaiḥ prayojyorthaḥ sphaṭīkākārago yathā || 2 || pade vākye pramāṇe ca tattvajñāṇaṁ jñāṭṛsammatam | rāmacandrācāryasūrer anyam nopalabhāmahe || 3 ||* (*Prasāda*, *Pūrvārdhopasaṃhāra*, PK part 1, 965).

However, Rāmacandra substantially proliferates the udāharaṇas in his grammar and also employs śleṣa to create an intersection of grammar, theology, and poetic elements.

One such udāharaṇa of the *Prakriyākaumudī* illustrates the use of the causative in the passive construction (*karmaṇi ṇijanta*): “A *gopī* was brought to a secluded place by Ananta; she was kept awake by Ananta; she was intoxicated by Ananta; she was begged for union by Ananta; she was caused to experience the festival of love (*hāva*) by Ananta. Expression of emotion was caused in her by Ananta.”¹³

Evidently, the choice of example here aims beyond simply illustrating the grammatical rule that *ṇyādi* (ditransitive) verbs, *ṇijanta* intransitive verbs and motion verbs apply the *karmapratyaya* (object-ending) to the principal object (*mukhya/pradhāna karman*); verbs in the *duhyādi* list apply the *karmapratyaya* to the secondary objects (*gauṇa/apradhāna karman*), and other verbs can optionally apply the *karmapratyaya* either in the principal object or the secondary object.¹⁴ In this verse, “a *gopī* was brought to a secluded place by Ananta” illustrates the use of ditransitive verbs, where the *gopī* is the principal object (*mukhyakarman*); “she was kept awake by Ananta” illustrates *ṇijanta* intransitive verbs; “she was intoxicated by Ananta” illustrates *ṇijanta* motion verbs; “she was begged for union by Ananta” illustrates the *duhyādis*, where the *gopī* again takes on the first case ending, but now she is the secondary object, since it is *sambhoga* (union) and not she that is the principal object of Ananta’s begging, i.e. it is *sambhoga* here that is *īpsitatama* (the most desired object).¹⁵ Finally, “she was caused to experience the festival of love (*hāva*) by Ananta” and “expression of emotion was caused

¹³ *ninye vijanam ajāgari rajanim agami madam ayāci sambhogam |
gopī hāvam akāryata bhāvaś cainām anantena || 2 ||* (PK part 2, 443).

¹⁴ *ṇyādayo ṇyantaniṣkarmagatyarthā mukhyakarmani |
pratyayaṃ yānti duhyādir gauṇe 'nye tu yathāruci ||* (PK part 2, 442).
... *ṇyādiṇyantaniṣkarmagatyarthaduhādibhyo 'nye gatibuddhītyādisūtreṣu paṭhitā yathāruci
rucim anatikramya yathecchaṃ mukhye gauṇe vā karmani karmapratyayaṃ yānti |* (*Prasāda*,
ibid).

¹⁵ For further discussion of principal and secondary objects and *īpsitatama* see Deshpande 1991: 22: “In the Sanskrit grammatical tradition, the following distinction is made: the *īpsitatama* ‘most desired’ object is the principal object (*pradhānakarman*), and the *akathita-karman* ‘the object with an unspecified kāraka role’ is the secondary object (*apradhānakarman*). Especially in the context of passivizing these constructions, the tradition offers us a list of verbs with two objects.”

in her by Ananta” illustrate the optional application of karmapratyayas in the secondary object (*gopī*) and the primary object (*bhāva*).

Despite the technical nature of the present discussion, Rāmacandra’s verse maintains a playful tone, unlike the many standard examples such as *gargāḥ śataṃ daṇḍyantām* (“Let the Gargas be fined one hundred.”). Through this udāharaṇa verse, Rāmacandra accomplishes the goal of explaining grammar while entertaining the listener/reader and reminding him of the divine, or more exactly, of Rāmacandra’s own deity of choice.

Rāmacandra introduced the śleṣa alānkāra strictly within the domain of maṅgalaśloka in the *Prakriyākaumudī*, but the *citratā/viciratā* of grammatical content, too, should not be ignored: this is where the connection between “double meaning” and grammatical optionality and grammatical variety/diversity can be traced. Even before Rāmacandra’s time, the interpretative genius of the commentators of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* had come up with several terms to describe situations where Pāṇini intended more than what is visible to the naked eye of non-experts (*amarmajñā*). The *praśleṣa* (coalescence) of *g* in *knīti ca* (Pā. 1.1.5) is one such example; so is the *praśleṣa* of *u*, *ū*, and *u3* in *ūkālōjjhṛasvadīrghaplutaḥ* (Pā. 1.2.27). *Citratā/viciratā* can also refer to the *vaicitrya* (wondrous variation) ascribed to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by the *Kāśikā*, *Nyāsa*, and *Padamañjarī*. The *Mahābhāṣya* describes the *taddhita* rules as full of wondrous variety (*vicitrās taddhita-vṛttayaḥ*),¹⁶ and the *Kāśikā* also repeatedly characterizes Pāṇini’s sūtras as such (*vicitrā hi sūtrasya kṛtiḥ pāṇineḥ*),¹⁷ While K.V. Abhyankar defines *vaicitryārtha* as something that is done in grammar “simply for the sake of variety without any specific purpose in view” (Abhyankar 1961: 342), in the *Kāśikā*, *Nyāsa*, and *Padamañjarī* it also becomes a rationalization for cases when Pāṇini apparently could have taken an easier route but did not, and somewhere it is also equated with optionality. The *Kāśikā* on sūtra 4.1.160 (*prācām avṛddhāt phin bahulam*) asks, “since the words *prācām*, *bahulam*, etc. all indicate optionality, it would suffice to use just one. The word *prācām* here expresses respect; the word *bahulam* expresses *vaicitrya*, multiplicity of options; therefore the *taddhita* suffix *phin* is not used

¹⁶ Mbh. 1.3.56, 2.4.32, 6.1.99.

¹⁷ K. 7.2.78, 1. 2.35, 2.2.14, 4.1.166, 3. 3.96, 4. 1.148, 153, 160.

in *dākṣi* and *plākṣi*.”¹⁸ Also, the *Kāśikā* on *karmavyatihāre ṇac striyām* (Pā. 3.3.43) asks why the *ḥ* suffix *ṇac* is not used in the words *vyatikṣā* and *vyatihā* but is used in *vyātyukṣī*, referring to this deviation as *vaicitrya*: why does this variation take place (*tad etad vaicitryam katham labhyate*)? The answer is that this is made possible by *ḥṛtyalyuṭo bahulam* (Pā. 3.3.113), and later the *Padamañjarī* and Viṭṭhala’s *Prasāda* also refer to this situation as *vaicitrya* caused by *bahulagrahaṇa* (the use of the word *bahula*, meaning “variously [applied]”).¹⁹ Also, in the discussion of *vṛddhāt ṭhak sauviṛṣu bahulam* (Pā. 4.1.148), *Nyāsa* equates *vaicitrya* with variegatedness of conditions/qualifiers (*upādḥinām viśeṣaṇānām vaicitryam nānāprakāratā*) and explicitly states that the purpose of the word *bahulam* in the sūtra is to enable this variegatedness, which is not possible simply by the use of the word *vā* (or), which refers only to optionality.²⁰ In all the above examples, *vaicitrya* is expressly seen as the purpose of *bahulagrahaṇa*.

The grammatical *citratā/vicitratā* of the *Prakriyākaumudī* and its commentaries may well correspond to their tendency for this kind of optionality and grammatical variety within the Pāṇinian school as well as optionally accepting forms of many other grammatical authorities, for which they were later harshly criticized in the Navya school. In fact, the terms *vaicitrya* and *vaicitryārtha* become nearly absent in the *Siddhāntakaumudī* and its commentaries, being often replaced with words like *bhāṣyavirodhād upekṣyam* (“this is to be rejected because of contradiction with the *Bhāṣya*”). For Viṭṭhala, however, grammatical authority (*prāmāṇya*) is not a closed system: in the commentary on *ī ca gaṇaḥ* (Pā. 7.4.97), he defends the form *naujaḍhat* by saying: this option has been elevated to an authoritative status by the scholar Vopadeva in a long discussion in his *Kāvyaakāma-*

¹⁸ *udīcām prācāmanyatarasyām bahulam iti sarva ete vikalpārthāsteṣāmekenaiva siddhyati | tatra ācāryagrahaṇam pūjārtham, bahulagrahaṇam vaicitryārtham | kvacin na bhavati, dākṣiḥ plākṣiḥ |* It is important to note here that the interpretation of the commentators flattening these words into the meaning “optional” is in contrast to their interpretation by modern scholars according to whom *udīcām* and *prācām* mean “of the northerners” and “of the easterners” and indicate dialects of the northern and eastern regions.

¹⁹ *ḥṛtyalyuṭo bahulam iti | evaṃvidham vaicitryam kartum bahulagrahaṇam eva bhavati bhāvah || (Padamañjarī).*
ḥṛtyalyuṭo bahulam iti bahulagrahaṇādidaṃ vaicitryam | (Prasāda).

²⁰ *vāgrahaṇād vikalpamātram labhyate, na tūpadhāvaicitryam | bahulagrahaṇe tu tadapi | tasmād upādḥinām viśeṣaṇānām vaicitryam nānāprakāratā yathā syād ity evam artham bahulagrahaṇam |*

dhenu.²¹ New grammarians would indeed not grant someone like Vopadeva this privilege of elevating a word to an authoritative status, and this has been one of the main aspects of their critique of the *Prakriyākaumudī* and its commentaries, especially *Prasāda*. Both the grammatical and poetic *citratā/vicitratā* of the *Prakriyākaumudī* had little appeal to the sensibilities of this new wave in the grammatical discipline, which was becoming increasingly orthodox and resistant to grammatical flexibility.²²

2. *Harināmāmṛtavvyākaraṇa*

Moving on to the *Harināmāmṛtavvyākaraṇa*, we cannot but note its strong predilection for optionality, grammatical variety and a rather open authority system. Here “correct” forms are not only those condoned by the three munis. For example, Jīva appeals to Cāndra alongside the *Bhāṣya* for authority and accepts *vikalpa* of the forms *priyacatasṛ* and *priyacatur* in the neuter, condoned by Vistara.²³ However, I would argue, contrary to Belvalkar’s and some other scholars’ assessment, that his preoccupation with *śleṣa* and favor for *vikalpa* do not equate to lack of care for grammatical content. In fact, the *apāṇinīya* Jīva often criticizes the *pāṇinīya Prakriyākaumudī* for contradictions with the *Kāśīkā* and the *Bhāṣya*. For example, he writes: “The endorsement of forms *he sa* and *he asau* by *Prakriyā* is wrong, since it contradicts the examples in the *Bhāṣya*.”²⁴ He defines an error as that which is not accepted by anyone, while that which is not accepted by many is the opinion of “some.”²⁵ This approach definitely allows more optional forms than does the closed authority structure of the later Navya school, but it does not mean that anything is optionally correct to Jīva, or that his only objective is the “sectarian element” in his grammar, or that he was not invested in “improving on the existing grammatical texts,” as opined by Belvalkar.

²¹ *ayaṃ ca pakṣo vopadevapaṇḍitaiḥ kāvyakāmadhenau mahatā prabandhena pramāṇapadavīmārohitaḥ* | (*Prasāda*, PK part 2, 297).

²² For a more detailed discussion of this tendency in the new school, see Houben 2008.

²³ *priyacatasṛ | vistarakāras tu vikalpayati | tena priyatri priyacatur ity api* | (HNV *sūtravṛtti*, 2.93).

²⁴ *he sa he asau iti bhāṣyodāharaṇāt prakriyā tu cintyā* | (HNV *sūtravṛtti*, 2.183).

²⁵ *sarveṣāṃ amatam yatsyāt sa bhramaḥ paricīyate | bahūnāmamatam yat tat keṣāñcin matam iṣyate* || (HNV *sūtravṛtti*, 1.75).

One example of his engagement with a major grammatical debate is sūtra 2.22, which defines adverbs: an adverb is an object, and it is neuter, singular and always unexpressed.²⁶ Here Jīva expands on Sīradeva's paribhāṣā 54,²⁷ discussed in detail in Cardona 1973 and Gombrich 1978: adverbs are objects and neuter in gender (*kriyāviśeṣaṇānāṃ karmatvaṃ napuṃsakaliṅgatā ca*). Unlike Hemacandra, Jīva believes that a word like *śīghram* (fast) is a *karman* (object), not just a *dvitīyānta* (word with second case ending). Furthermore, he categorizes adverbs as *tu-lyādhikaraṇa* and *vyadhikaraṇa* (having and not having case agreement),²⁸ so in his system, unlike the Pāṇinīya system, the category “adverb” (*kriyāviśeṣaṇa*) includes *sukhena* (happily) in *sukhena bhajati* (he worships happily), which gets the third case ending by sūtra 4.114 (*viśeṣalakṣaṇāt tṛtīyā*). The convenience of the category “adverb,” which is absent in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, allows Jīva to create sūtras like *kriyāviśeṣaṇasya na ṣaṣṭhī* (4.40) to get *sādhu pācakaḥ* (person who cooks well). Furthermore, this rule is necessitated solely by the acceptance of adverbs as objects in HNV sūtra 2.2: since adverbs are objects, the unwanted consequence of the sixth case is made possible by *karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ kṛti* (Pā. 2.3.65) or *karṭṛkarmaṇoḥ ṣaṣṭhī kṛdyoge* (HNV 2.39). Apart from expressing here his own grammatical convictions, Jīva critiques the *Prakriyākaumudī*, thus providing a missing link in the history of the debate. Jīva says that according to the *Prakriyākaumudī* adverbs are singular, but not *karman* or *dvitīyānta*, and he puts much effort in disproving that (*atra kevalam ekavacanam iti tasyāṃ bhramah*). Despite his general favor for *vikalpa*, he respects here Kātyāyana's wish to prohibit *vikalpa* in *anvādeśa*, an anaphoric situation, and provides a counterexample in line with Sīradeva's and Hemacandra's argument.²⁹ His treatment of adverbs provides insights not only

²⁶ *kriyāviśeṣaṇaṃ karma, tac ca brahmaikavacanam sadānuktañ ca |*

²⁷ Sīradeva's 12-13th century *Bṛhatparibhāṣāsavṛtti* is discussed in Abhyankar, *Paribhāṣā-saṅgraha*, Poona, 1967: 29-30, 268.

²⁸ Examples are *śīghram* and *sukhena*, respectively.

²⁹ Jīva's counterexample (“he walks towards you, so he sees you quickly” – *yāti yuṣmān atho paśyati śīghram vaḥ*), like Sīradeva's (“So in the village he cooks softly for you” – *atho grāme saḥ pacati mṛdu te/tava*) and Hemacandra's (“You are rich, so your wife cooks well” – *dhanavān asi atho pacati śobhanaṃ te bhāryā*) illustrates an anaphoric situation where the adverb, if having a first case ending, will enable *sapūrvayāḥ prathamāyā vibhāṣā* (Pā. 8.1.26) to make the alternation type *te/tava* optional. This optionality is an unwanted consequence, since it contradicts Kātyāyana's *vārtika* on 8.1.26 (*yuṣmadasmador anyatarasyām ananvādeśe*). For more detail, see Cardona 1973 and Gombrich 1978.

about his own grammatical convictions but also about his level of engagement with the larger world of grammar. It also demonstrates that our understanding of the debate can be enhanced by analyzing his contribution.

Let us now move on to Jīva's engagement with śleṣa, which, unlike Rāmacandra's, extends way beyond the maṅgala verses. His reasons to use it also span more than just religious and pedagogical. While his śleṣa-laden grammatical terms (*saṃjñās*) work as mnemonic devices, much like Vararuci's fourth-century astronomical "moon-sentences" (*candravākyas*),³⁰ Jīva also uses śleṣa to redefine the purpose of vyākaraṇa for the new social context of the emerging Vaiṣṇava "bhakti-networks," as John Hawley calls them.³¹ His vyākaraṇa, which claims that it is meant for *all* the Vaiṣṇavas, cannot maintain the traditional purposes (*proyajana*) of grammar, like preservation of the Veda, etc.,³² since many who are not twice-born males would then be excluded. Jīva had an intuition directly opposite to that of the early Buddhists, Jains and the Mahānubhavs, who, instead of making Sanskrit "for all," turned to other languages, among other reasons, because of the ideological conflict with the social orthodoxy of caste (*varṇa*) associated with Sanskrit. This rejection of Sanskrit, according to Christian Novetzke,³³ was an acceptance of its taxonomic world. Jīva's democratizing Sanskrit and relegating its Veda-associated elite status to the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is both an acceptance and a revision of that taxonomy: if Kṛṣṇa's name is for everyone, then Sanskrit equated with Kṛṣṇa's name should also be for everyone. He uses śleṣa to inscribe a new value system throughout his grammar, which is not just about accruing merit and avoiding demerit by using correct words. Jīva's grammar is a living illustration of his theological position that everything created by Kṛṣṇa, including grammar and language itself, is inevitably about him and his glory. He states the purpose of his vyākaraṇa to be worshipping Kṛṣṇa (*kṛṣṇam upāsītum*); it

³⁰ For example the sentence *rudras tu namyaḥ* (Rudra is to be paid respect to) is actually a collection of numbers related to the motion of the moon in its orbit around the earth. See Raja 1946. One representative example is HNV *sūtra* 2.7 (*viṣṇubhaktisiddham viṣṇupadam*), which simultaneously yields through śleṣa a grammatical and a theological statement, one serving as a mnemonic for the other: 1) a word is made complete by a (case or verb) ending; 2) the abode of Viṣṇu is attained by devotion to him. For more detailed examples of mnemonics in HNV, see Manring 2008.

³¹ Hawley & India International Centre 2009.

³² *raḥṣohāgamalaghvasaṃdehāḥ prayojanam* | (Mbh. Vol.1, p. 1. 38).

³³ Novetzke 2016, op. cit., ch. III, "The Mahanubhav Ethic."

is the bliss of literature about Kṛṣṇa and the bliss of being close to him (conveyed through śleṣa in *tatsāhityādiijāmodam*);³⁴ it is reminding about him (*smārakaṃ vakṣye*),³⁵ it is about the avyayībhāva of bhakti, the never declining of devotion (again a pun on avyayībhāva compounds).³⁶ The purpose of all the sūtras is said, again through śleṣa, to express Viṣṇu-bhakti.³⁷ There are many more śleṣa examples where the grammatical prayojana is fused into bhakti-prayojana. Finally, according to two concluding verses of the *Harināmāmṛta*, the purpose of this vyākaraṇa is to make the entire discipline of grammar *dhanyam*, *praśastam*, (blessed, praiseworthy, auspicious, pleasing, wholesome, virtuous) by Jīva's using language in such a way that She, Language, meets Govinda.³⁸ It is important to note that in the phrases *govindaṃ vindamānāṃ* and *govindaṃ vindatīm*, which express Jīva's central purpose, instead of the second-class *vid* of the Veda (*vid jñāne*, "to know"), which is the standard prayojana, we have the sixth class *vidḌ* *lābhe*: to obtain, meet, marry Kṛṣṇa. Apart from repetition of *vidḌ* and *anuprāsa* (alliteration) in each of the final pādas, there is *prakṛti-śleṣa* and *vacana-śleṣa* here, too (i.e. punning based on the grammatical stem, and punning based on "speech," which may include more than one grammatical element).³⁹ Consequently, Jīva's words can be interpreted in various ways: "If I do not speak you, O Goddess [of language], in such a way that you meet with, find, marry Govinda,

³⁴ *kṛṣṇamupāsītum asya nāmāvaliṃ tanavai |*
tvartitaṃ vitared eṣā tatsāhityādiijāmodam || (HNV 1.1).

³⁵ *kṛṣṇasya vigrāhe bhāti samāsenākhilam jagat |*
itīva smārakaṃ vakṣye samāsapadavigraham || (HNV 6.1).

³⁶ *sabahuvrīhidvigutāmātre lubdho 'smi sadvandvaḥ |*
tatpuruṣa karma dhārāya bhakter yenāvyayībhāvaḥ || (HNV 6.2).

³⁷ *ato bālakabodhāya padaṃ vicchidya mūrdhani |*
aṅkā deyaḥ viṣṇubhaktivyaktyarthaṃ sarvasūtrataḥ || (HNV 1.8).

³⁸ *hānīyaṃ pāṇinīyaṃ rasavad arasavat kākalāpaḥ kalāpaḥ*
sārapratyāgi sārāsvatam apahatagīr vistaro vistaro 'pi |
cāndraṃ duḥkhena sāndraṃ sakalam avikalam śāstram anyan na dhanyaṃ
govindaṃ vindamānāṃ bhagavati bhavatīm vāṇi no ced bravāṇi ||
pānīyaṃ pāṇinīyaṃ rasamṛdu rasavan mutkalāpaḥ kalāpaḥ
sāraśrīsāri sārāsvatam adhimadhugīr vistaro vistaro 'pi |
cāndraṃ saukhyena sāndraṃ sakalam avikalam śāstram anyat praśastam
govindaṃ vindatīm tvāṃ yadi bhagavati gīrvāṇi vāṇi bravāṇi || (HNV upasaṃhāra, 7.3-4).

³⁹ See *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6.4-7 for more detail.

the Master of Language, the protector of Language, he who meets, subdues language, ... all the śāstra (discipline of grammar), though faultless, is not blessed; however, if I succeed in speaking you, O Language, in such a way that you meet, marry Govinda, then ... all the faultless śāstra is blessed.”

These śleṣa-laden statements of prayojana once again affirm Elaine Fisher’s idea that “from the gaze of early modern India, sectarianism and pluralism were not opposites.”⁴⁰ Arguably, just like Puṣpadanta in *Śivamahimnastotra* 7, Jīva adopts here a model of inclusivism (of the Pāṇinīya, Kātantra, and other schools of grammar, all the “faultless śāstra”) which “appears to welcome with one hand while excluding with the other”⁴¹ through affirming the supremacy of his own religion. Quite in line with Halbfass’s definition of inclusivism as the “subordinating identification of the other, the foreign, with parts or preliminary stages of one’s own sphere,”⁴² Jīva points out what in his view is a crucial lacuna in the discipline while also maintaining that the discipline is flawless, and that his purpose is actually not to diminish the importance of other grammars. Whether or not we choose to interpret his statement as hubristic or egalitarian towards other grammars,⁴³ it defines the way he sees his contribution to the discipline, which, according to him, is not blessed without pleasing Sarasvatī by marrying Language and Kṛṣṇa, jñāna and bhakti; and śleṣa plays a major role in expressing this message throughout his grammar.

Conclusion

Prakriyākaumudī and *Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa* employ śleṣa for grammar pedagogy in unprecedented ways, flipping the narrative where usually it is grammar that is the indispensable tool for poetry and poetic analysis. While generally the function of śleṣa is to bring into a text semantic/syntactic optionality, the functions that Rāmacandra and Jīva systematically prioritize the most are as follows: i. to bring about the virtue (*puṇya*) of remembering and reminding the students of their deity of choice by creating the non-grammatical register, and ii. to make

⁴⁰ Fisher 2017: 193.

⁴¹ Fisher 2017: 191.

⁴² Halbfass 1988: 411; Fisher 2017: 191.

⁴³ After all, Jīva is not offering redactions to any of these grammars. Rather, he maintains that they all are flawless/complete (*avikala*) and all will become equally blessed if he succeeds in his project.

grammar (relatively) easy and accessible to beginners,⁴⁴ and entertaining through śleṣa and udāharaṇas which are capable of producing wonder (vaicitrya) and a whole other array of aesthetic emotions.⁴⁵ This intersection of grammar, theology and aesthetic elements perceptible in both grammars suggests that, despite many differences, Rāmacandra and Jīva had a similar interest in bringing śleṣa into grammatical texts and infusing their grammars with religious elements to a greater degree than their predecessors. Another similarity between the two authors is that neither author claims to have given an exhaustive account of grammar. Rāmacandra includes far from all of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* in his prakriyā-centered rearrangement of its sūtras (since some of the sūtras' meaning was clear and did not require a commentary, according to Viṭṭhala 1.8). Jīva excludes the description of Vedic usages from the body of his grammar to focus solely on *bhāṣā*, i.e. Classical Sanskrit. Both authors prioritized not exhaustiveness of presentation, but rather pedagogical innovation in the form of prakriyā-based organization of grammar. Furthermore, we have explored the tentative correlation between śleṣa, aesthetic enjoyment, religious merit and grammatical optionality and variety (vaicitrya) in these texts—a vaicitrya which in the end also yields more “grammatical merit” in the form of greater diversity of sanctioned word forms. This approach to grammar pedagogy, adopted by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa in the 17th century but rejected by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, offers valuable and surprising insights on the history of Vyākaraṇa and widens the standard understanding of what can be done in this discipline.

⁴⁴ For a more detailed discussion of greater ease and accessibility of the PK's prakriyā-based approach, see Houben 2008, as well as PK *Prasāda* 2.7, p. 797: *yenānekaprabandhāḥ kṣitipatisamitikhyātavidvatprabodhodbodhārthaṃ cakrire yair bhavati ḥṛdikṛtaiḥ kovidaḥ prakṛto'pi* (“[Rāmacandra] ... wrote texts which make even an ordinary person who internalizes them an expert.”) For Jīva's innovation with mnemonic terminology, see Manring 2008, and for another pedagogical method aimed at making grammar more accessible, see HNV 1.43: *asiddharūpaṃ na tyājyaṃ pratijñeyaṃ kṛdantikā* (“A word form will not be left incomplete in this grammar—this promise holds until the section on kṛt suffixes.”)

⁴⁵ In *Sāhityadarpaṇa* 6.8, *vaicitrya* itself is said to be an *alanākāra*, and *śleṣa* is often described as having *vaicitrya* as its purpose.

Abbreviations

HNV	<i>Harināmāmṛtavyākaraṇa</i>
K	<i>Kāśikā</i>
Mbh	<i>Mahābhāṣya</i>
PK	<i>Prakriyākaumudī</i>

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