Fragments of the earliest Eastern Prakrit Grammarians*
(Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila)

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At the top of the Eastern School mention may be made of Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila, the earliest reference to whom as Prakrit grammarians is found in the works of Puruṣottama, Rāmatarkavāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍeya, who occasionally adopt their views in their treatises of Prakrit grammar. Mārkaṇḍeya, while referring, with warm admiration, to his predecessors on whom he depended mentions not only Śākalya and Kohala but also Bhara, Vararuci, Bhāmaha and Vasantarāja in the preamble of his grammar Prākṛta-Sarvasva. Māṇḍavya is mentioned only by Rāmatarkavāgīśa. Kapila is referred to by both Rāmaśarmā and Mārkaṇḍeya. As all these authors belong to the eastern school, it is, therefore, possible to surmise

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1 For all these references, vide Appendix.
2 Śākalya - Bharata - Kohala - Vararuci - Bhāmaha - Vasantarājādyaiḥ/proktān granthān nānālaksyāni ca nipuṇam ālokya// avyākṛtāṁ
viśadaṁ sāram svalpāksara-grathītapadyam/Mārkaṇḍeya-kavindraḥ
Prākṛta-sarvasvam ārabhate//
that Sākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila may have also belonged to this school, or their views were accepted by the easterners.

We do not know anything of Sākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila as the authors of Prakrit grammar, nor do we know any Prakrit grammar, still extant, under their names. However, their views, culled out from the text of Puruṣottama, Rāmatarkavāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍeya with regard to some of the forms of Prakrit accepted and supported by them, are given below.

7.1. **Formative Suffixes:** (a) Consonantal feminine word is formed with ī (Sā. 10) only; otherwise, with ĭ or ā, e.g., māṇini, māṇamśini, but sohanā and sohani.

(b) “matup” is formed with ha (Sā³ & Mā³ 2); otherwise, alla or ella; e.g., ekkaho, but ekkallo, ekkello; puttaho, but puttallo, puttello.

(c) In the past participle (“kta”), in the infinitive (“tum”) and in the indeclinable participle (“ktvā”) ē or ĩ is added (Sā & Mā 5). (No example is given.)

2. **Declension of the Second Personal Pronoun.**

(a) Accusative plural—tumbhe (Sā & Mā 4), otherwise, tujjhe, tumhe.

(b) Locative plural—tumbhesu (m), tujjhesu (m) and tumhesu (m) (Sā 11)

3. **Future.** It is formed with <ssa> instead of hi; (Sā 1). (No example is given.)

4. **Gerund:** Ktvā is formed with tu, tum (or tumam) (Sā & Mā 3). (No example is given.)

5. **Verbal substitute:** (Sā 6 & 7)
   Skt. √ tvar > Pkt. tuvara-i.
   ,, √ bhid > ,, bhinda-i.
   ,, √ chid > ,, chinda-i.

6. **Śauraseni.** Two verbal substitutes of this dialect are given.
   Skt. √ bhu Šau. ho (Sā 9 & 12).
   ,, √ grah ,, gahi (not genha) (Ka³ 14 & 15) in tavya and kta.

7. **Māgadhī.** Māgadhī is spoken by demons (rākṣasas), by religious mendicants (bhikṣu), by the Jainas (Kṣapaṇaka) and by the menials (ceṭi) (Ko³ 13).

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3 Here Sā, Mā, Ko & Ka stand for Sākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila respectively; and the number after them refers to the text, for which, vide Appendix A.
Appendix A

[Views of Śākalya, Māṇḍavya, Kohala and Kapila as collected from the texts of Purusottama, Rāmatarkavāgīśa and Mārkandeya with their English Translation]

Purusottama on Śākalya.

   ssaśca Śākalyasya // VI. 14.

   Eng. Tr. According to Śākalya ssa is used in the future tense, while generally hi will come before the terminations.

Rāmatarkavāgīśa on Śākalya and Māṇḍavya and Kapila.

2. Svārthe matau kevalam alla-ellau
   Śākalya-Māṇḍavya-mate ha-kāraḥ// I. V. 19.
   cf. MK. IV. 48.

   Eng. Tr. In the sense of “matup” the suffixes alla or ella are used pleonastically; but according to Śākalya and Māṇḍavya ha can, however, be used in such a case. As for example:
   ekkallo, ekkello, but ekkaḥo,
   puttallo, puttelllo, but puttaho.

   Śākalya-Māṇḍavyamate vilokyā// I. V. 23.

   Eng. Tr. Following the teachings of Śākalya and Māṇḍavya, some grammarians prescribe tu or tum [or tumān if Dolci’s reading] in the sense of “ktvā”.

4. tujjhe ca tūṃhe śasi vo ca vācyāḥ
   Śākalya-Māṇḍavya-mate tu tumbhe// I. VI. 25.
   cf. Vr. VI. 28-29. MK. V. 83-84.

   Eng. Tr. tujjhe, tūṃhe and vo will be found in the accusative plural (śasi) [of the second personal pronoun]; but according to Śākalya and Māṇḍavya the form tūṃbe also will be used.

5. Śākalya-Māṇḍavya-mate tu eva
   bhavya kta-tūṃ-ktvāpara editau ca// I. VII. 14.

   Eng. Tr. According to Śākalya and Māṇḍavya e or i may optionally be used in the past participle (kta), in the infinitive (tumun) and in the indeclinable perfect participle (ktvā); [while in general the suffix will be avi].
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   Eng. Tr. According to Sákalya tvar will always be changed into tuvara.

7. kather hakāro’tha bhidi-cchidorndo
   bhede ca Sákalyamate tayoḥ syāt// I. VIII. 14.
   Eng. Tr. In the sense of ‘piercing’(bhide) the roots bhid and chid
   will take nda in place of da, so says Sákalya; e. g.
   ✓ bhid > bhindai,
   ✓ chid > chhindai.

8. Dhātu-svarūpayaparāṇi pakṣe
   Sákalya-Māṇḍavya-matānugāni/
   Kātyāyanasyāpi mate tathāiva
   jñeyāni lakṣyānubhavakramena// I. VIII. 42.
   Eng. Tr. Following the foot-steps of Sákalya and Māṇḍavya there
   are, on the other hand, other forms of these roots; and similarly
   according to Kātyāyana there are other forms too. These are to be
   known from the usage.

9. bho ho ca Sákalyamate bhuvāśca. II. I. 25.
   cf. hośca Sákalyamate syāt. MK. IX. 109.
   Eng. Tr. (In Sauraseni) bho is substituted for the root bhū; but
   according to Sákalya ho can also be used.

Mārkanḍeya on Sākalya.

10. halantād id eveti Sākalyaḥ. Vṛtti under V. 30.
   Eng. Tr. The feminine suffix i only takes place after a word
   ending in consonants—according to Sākalya; [otherwise, ā and i are
   irregularly interchanged as the final letter in feminine words ending
   in ā]. cf. The sūtra in which he is mentioned.
   āditau bahulam. MK. V. 30.
   striyāṁ nāmna uttare āditau bahulam syātām. sohaṇā sohaṇī/
   suppaṇahā suppaṇahī/ rāhā rāhi/ kvacid ādeva. piā/ vallahā/ asahanā/
   ahaṇā/ māṇīpi/ māṇamsiṇi/ halantād id eveti Sākalyaḥ//
   cf. Vararuci āditau bahulam. V. 24
   cf. also Vasantarāja’s commentary where a couplet is quoted :
   adantāt paramākāra ikāro vyaṅjanād api/
   ity evaṁ vyavatiṣṭhante bahulagrahaṇāt pare//

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11. tujjha-tumhau supi syātām Sākalyasyāta in mate. V. 96. 
cf. RT. I. VI. 29.

Eng. Tr. In the locative plural (of the Second Personal Pronoun),
the forms will be tujjheshu (m), tumhesu (m) and tumhhesu (m) (with
or without a final anusvāra). Then he adds—etat tu na bahusammatam.

12. hośca Sākalyamate syāt. IX. 109. (vide No. 9)

Mārkaṇḍeya on Kohala.


Eng. Tr. Māgadhī is spoken by demon (rākṣasa) by religious
mendicants (bhikṣu), by the Jainas and by the menials.

Rāmatarkavāgīśa on Kapila.


Eng. Tr. Kapila does not want the substitute for the root grah
into ġenha in the gerundive adjective (tavya) and in the past participle
(kta). Cf. MK. IX. 130 (vide No. 15).

Mārkaṇḍeya on Kapila.

15. na kia-ktavatu-tavyeṣu Kapile ġenham icchati. IX. 130.

Eng. Tr. Kapila does not want the substitute for the root grah
into ġenha in the gerundive adjective (tavya) and in the past participle
(kta) cf. RT. II. 1. 28 (vide No. 14).