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Upanisads and grammar: On the meaning of anuvyākhyāna

The word anuvyākhyāna occurs four times in Vedic literature, three times in the Bṛhadāranyaka Upaniṣad, once in the Maitrāyanīya Upaniṣad, and nowhere else. It always occurs in the following enumeration of literary works:

rgvedo yajurvedaḥ sāmavedo 'tharvāngirasa itihāsaḥ purāṇaṃ vidyā upaniṣadaḥ ślokāḥ sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni

Paul Horsch discussed some of the terms of this enumeration in his Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur. The terms anuvyākhyāna and vyākhyāna, he argues (1966: 32), cannot but refer to texts that explain (vyākhyā-). They must be predecessors of the later commentatorial literature. With regard to anuvyākhyāna he expresses the opinion that this can only be an additional or extended vyākhyāna (p. 32). ²

This opinion is not unproblematic. The position of anuvyākhyāna between sūtra and vyākhyāna suggests rather that, if anything, the vyākhyāna is secondary to the anuvyākhyāna, which in its turn might conceivably be some kind of commentary on the sūtra. The enumera-

^{1.} BAU 2.4.10, 4.1.2, 4.5.11 (= \pm B 14.5.4.10, 14.6.10.6, 14.7.3.11) and MaiU 6.32.

^{2.} The standard dictionaries offer the following translations: 'eine besondere Klasse von Schriften' (PW), 'eine best. Klasse von exegetischen Texten' (pw), 'that portion of a Brāhmaṇa which explains or illustrates difficult Sūtras, texts or obscure statements occurring in another portion' (MW), 'That which comments on and explains Mantras, Sūtras &c. ...; especially, that portion of a Brāhmaṇa which explains difficult Sūtras, texts &c. occurring in another place' (Apte), 'n[om] de portions explicatives des Brāhmaṇa' (SNR). Professor D. Seyfort Ruegg has made the suggestion — in a private communication — that anuvyākhyāna might be a graded vyākhyāna, just as anuśāsana is a graded śāsana, adapted to the needs of the person taught. While this may be true, I am not sure that it would solve the difficulty to be discussed below.

tion, moreover, seems to display a hierarchical structure, beginning as it does with the 'five *Vedas*' (*itihāsa* and *purāṇa* being occasionally referred to as 'the fifth *Veda*'; see Bronkhorst, 1989: 129f.) which supports the idea that *anuvyākhyāna* is 'higher' than *vyākhyāna* and 'lower' than *sūtra*.

A search for occurrences of the term *anuvyākhyāna* in post-Vedic literature does not help to solve the problem. Śaṅkara comments on the three words *sūtra*, *anuvyākhyāna* and *vyākhyāna* in the following manner under BAU 2.4.10:

sūtrāṇi vastusangrahavākyāni vede yathā <u>ātmety evopāsīta</u> (BAU 1.4.7) ityādīni/ anuvyākhyānāni mantravivaraṇāni/ vyākhyānāny arthavādāḥ/ athavā vastusangrahavākyavivaraṇāni anuvyākhyānāni/ yathā caturthādhyāye <u>ātmety evopāsīta</u> ity asya yathā vā <u>anyo 'sāv anyo 'ham asmīti na sa veda yathā paśur evam</u> (BAU 1.4.10) ity asyāyaṃ evādhyāyaseṣaḥ/ mantravivaraṇāni vyākhyānāni/.

The fact that two different explanations are given for the words anuvyākhyāna and vyākhyāna shows that Śaṅkara was not at all certain about their meaning. According to him, anuvyākhyāna is either the explanation of a mantra (mantravivaraṇa) or the explanation of a concise statement of (ultimate) reality (vastusaṅgrahavākyavivaraṇa). In the latter case, vyākhyāna is the explanation of a mantra. In other words, the distinction between anuvyākhyāna and vyākhyāna is not clear to Śaṅkara.

The term anuvyākhyāna occurs in some other contexts, too, but always, as far I am aware, in passages that are clearly indebted to the Upaniṣadic enumeration. Horsch (1966: 32) already refers to the scholiast on Yājñavalkyasmṛti 3.189, who explains bhāṣyāṇi with anuvyākhyānāni and vyākhyānāni. Since Yājñavalkyasmṛti 3.189 contains partly the same enumeration as the one we are studying, putting however bhāṣyāṇi where our passage has anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni, we can be sure that Horsch's scholiast copied our passage here. The term is also used by Nīlakaṇtha in his comments on savaiyākhya in Mahābhārata 1.1.50 (= Cr.Ed. 1.1.48). Nīlakaṇtha states:

savaiyākhyāḥ vyākhyānam adhikṛtya kṛto grantho vaiyākhyas tadyuktāḥ/ yathā <u>brahmavid</u> <u>āpnoti param</u> iti sūtrasya vyākhyā <u>satyam</u> jñānam iti mantrah/ anuvyākhyānam tasmād vā etasmād ityādi brāhmanam/ evam atrāpi prathame 'dhyāye sūtritasyārthasya dvitīyatṛtīyābhyām vyākhyānam uttaragranthenānuvyākhyānam ca/.

This refers to TA 8.1.1 (8.2 in the edition accessible to me, see the note on p. 591; this passage is identical with TU 2.1), which reads, with extracts of Sāyaṇa's commentary:

... dvitīyasyānuvākasyādau kṛtsnopaniṣatsāram saṃgraheṇa sūtrayati <u>om</u>
<u>brahmavid āpnoti param</u> iti /... idānīm tasya sūtrasya saṃkṣiptavyākhyānarūpām kāmcid rcam udāharati ... <u>satyam jñānam anantam brahma ...</u> iti/ ...
tām etām ānantyopapādanopayuktām sṛṣṭim darśayati <u>tasmād va etasmād</u>
ātmana ākāśah sambhūtah ... iti/.

Interestingly, Sāyaṇa cites in this context the above enumeration from *itihāsa* onwards, then explains the terms that interest us as follows (p. 563):

<u>brahmavid</u> ityādikam <u>sūtram</u>/ <u>satyam jñānam</u> ityādikam <u>anuvyākhyānam</u>/ anukrameṇa sūtragatānām padānām tātparyakathanāt/ tasminn upasamkhyāne yo bubhutsito 'rthaviśeṣas tasya vispaṣṭam āsamantāt kathanam <u>vyākhyānam</u>/ tad idam atra tāvat <u>tasmād</u> <u>vā etasmād</u> ity ārabhyānnāt puruṣa ityantena granthenābhidhīyate/.

Note that Sāyaṇa and Nīlakaṇtha use the terms $vy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$ and $anuvy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$ differently. (Śaṅkara on TU 2.1 uses the word $s\bar{u}tra$ in connection with the line brahmavid $\bar{a}pnoti$ param, but does not refer to $anuvy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$ (p. 360):

sarva eva vallyartho <u>brahmavid āpnoti param</u> iti brāhmaṇavākyena <u>sūtritah</u>/ sa ca <u>sūtrito</u> 'rthaḥ saṃkṣepato mantreṇa <u>vyākhyātah</u>/ punas tasyaiva vistareṇārthanirṇayaḥ kartavya ity uttaras tad<u>vṛtti</u>sthānīyo grantha ārabhyate <u>tasmād</u> vā <u>etasmād</u> ityādiḥ/). ³

How do we deal with the problem presented by anuvyākhyāna in the Brhadāranyaka and Maitrāyanīya Upaniṣads? Two observations are to be made here. The first one concerns the date of the enumeration in its present form, the second its correct shape.

First the date. The portion of the Maitrāyaṇīya Upaniṣad that contains our enumeration is considered — by J.A.B. van Buitenen, who dedi-

^{3.} The expression anuvyākhyāsyāmah occurs in the Sadvimśa Brāhmana (ed. B.R. Sharma, 5.6.1, p. 187) in a phrase which throws no light on our question; anuvyākhyāsyāmi at Ch-Up 8.9.3; 10.4; 11.3 clearly means "I will explain further", as Hume (1931: 270f.) translates correctly.

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cated a study to this Upanisad (1962: 34) — an accretion to an accretion to an insertion into the original Maitrāyanīya Upanisad. This raises the question whether the enumeration containing anuvyākhyāna might not be late, perhaps added, or completed, by a late redactor.

With regard to the Brhadaranyaka Upanisad, which is part of the Śatapatha Brāhmana, it is worthwhile to quote the following observation made by Michael Witzel (1987: 399 n. 76):

The final compilation of [the Śatapatha Brāhmana], made up of several independent portions, is probably a comparatively late one; yet the compiler was able still to put cross-references into the Vedic text; ...; the compilator still knew Vedic well enough to produce ... sentences referring forwards and backwards in the text. On the other hand: the compiler was different from the (much later) redactor who seems to have lived many generations after Yājñavalkya, even according to the various Vamśas found in [the Śatapatha Brāhmana] and [the Brhadāranyaka Upanisad]. I suspect that he was a contemporary of the Kanva dynasty or the Satavahana dynasty. (This problem will have to be treated separately). It is only the redactor that was responsible for glorification of Yājñavalkva and for his authorship of the White [Yajurveda]; note that this information is added as the very last words of [the Satapatha Brāhmana] ...; note that the redactor already describes Janaka as presenting land to Yājñavalkya Yet even the Satakarni inscription, 2nd cent. A.D., ... still mentions only presents of cows given as daksinā to Brahmins, and not a donation of land ...

Janaka is described as presenting land to Yājñavalkya at the end of BAU 4.2.4 (so Witzel, op. cit., p. 409 n. 99), not therefore at the very end of the Upanisad. This means that, according to Witzel, the redactor has made additions and modifications in other places than only at the end of the SB and of the BAU. The enumeration of texts containing the term anuvyākhyāna might therefore conceivably be late, too.

Let us next look at the exact form of the term anuvyākhyāna. This term occurs only at the above indicated places of the Brhadāranyaka and Maitrāyanīya Upanişads, always in the same enumeration, and in passages that implicitly or explicitly refer to this enumeration, so far as I am aware. This may mean that one single editorial hand, or even one scribal error, may have been responsible for this word, and for its occurrence in this enumeration. And the possibility cannot be discarded that this single editorial hand 'corrected' some other word into anuvyākhvāna under the influence of the following vvākhvāna.

If we accept this last hypothesis, the most likely candidate for the original form underlying anuvyākhyāna is, no doubt, anvākhyāna. This word occurs a few times in Vedic literature, once, at GB 1.2.10, in another enumeration of literary works. The fact that one ms. of the Gopatha Brāhmana has sānvyākhyānāh instead of sānvākhyānāh confirms our impression that anvākhyāna could easily be 'corrected' into anuvyākhyāna.

We arrive, then, at the hypothetical conclusion that our list originally contained the three terms sūtrāny anvākhyānāni vyākhyānāni, in this order. Does this help us to reach some form of understanding?

Consider first the pair sūtra - anvākhyāna. This reminds us of the manuscripts of the Vādhūla Śrautasūtra, which contain both sūtra and anvākhyāna. Anvākhyāna is here the term used for the brāhmaņa-portion accompanying this Śrautasūtra. For, as Willem Caland (1926: 5 (307)) observed,

[d]ie Texte der Vādhūlas ... haben ... dieses Merkwürdige, dass zu dem Sūtra ein eigenes Brāhmana gehört, eine Art Anubrāhmana, ein sekundäres Brāhmana, das neben dem alten Brāhmana der Taittirīyas (oder vielleicht richtiger: neben einem alten Brāhmaṇa, das mit dem der Taittirīyas aufs engste verwandt ist) steht: eine noch nie in einem vedischen Sūtra angetroffene Eigentümlichkeit.

This secondary Brāhmaņa of the Vādhūla Śrautasūtra calls itself 'Anvākhvāna'. 4

It is, in view of the above, at least conceivable that the author of our enumeration had the Vādhūla Śrautasūtra in mind while adding anvākhvāna after sūtra (supposing that he actually did so).

Interestingly, there is another set of texts that appears to be referred to by the terms sūtra and anvākhyāna. More precisely, this set consists of three texts, which are, it has been argued, referred to by the terms sūtra, anvākhvāna and vyākhvāna respectively, i.e., by the very three terms that occur in this order in our enumeration. What is more, these texts were already referred to in this manner well before the beginning of our era. I am speaking about Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī, a

^{4.} See Caland, 1928: 210 (510), 218 (518); Witzel, 1975: 102 n. 47. Witzel argues (1975: 82) that, in spite of the joint occurrence of Anvākhyānas and Vādhūla Śrautasūtra in the same manuscripts, "Eine Zuordnung zum Śrautasūtra ist damit ... nicht notwendig gegeben."

Sūtra-work on grammar commented upon in Kātyāyana's vārttikas, which in their turn are discussed in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya. The Mahābhāṣya is to be dated in the middle of the second century B.C.E.

In order to substantiate the above claim, I now cite from an article by R.G. Bhandarkar, written more than a century ago (1876: 347):

... it seems that the verb anvācaste is used by Patañjali as characteristic of the work of Kātyāyana His own work Patañjali calls vyākhyāna, and frequently uses the verb vyākhyāsyāmah.

Since khyā replaces the root cakş before ārdhadhātuka suffixes by P. 2.4.54 (cakṣinaḥ khyāñ), the noun corresponding to the verb anvācaṣṭe is anvākhyāna. If then Bhandarkar is correct, Kātyāyana's vārttikas form an anvākhyāna, and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya a vyākhyāna, also in Patañjali's own terminology. It is clear that Patañjali's choice of words deserves to be subjected to a closer examination.

(i) The word anvācaṣṭe in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya occurs most often in the expression ācāryaḥ suhṛd bhūtvā anvācaṣṭe, which expression appears to refer in all cases but one — where it refers to Pāṇini ⁵ — to Kātyāyana (see Bronkhorst, 1987: 6f.).

In four of the five remaining cases ⁶ it can reasonably be argued that anvācaṣṭe has Kātyāyana as (understood) subject, even though Kielhorn's edition of the Mahābhāṣya contains no indication to this effect. They all occur in the following general context:

'x' iti vartate/ evam tarhy anvācaste 'x' iti vartate iti/

The first part 'x' iti vartate is commented upon in the immediate sequel and can therefore be considered a vārttika. This is confirmed by the fact that on one occasion Patañjali explicitly claims that the

next $v\bar{a}rttika$ is meant to show the purpose of this $anv\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$, which makes no sense if the $anv\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$ does not derive from Kātyāyana. And on another occasion Patañjali ascribes the sentence under consideration to the $\bar{a}c\bar{a}rya$, and repeats it in a slightly modified way, as he often does with $v\bar{a}rttikas$.

In the one remaining case Patañjali uses the word anvācaṣṭe in order to describe the activity of the author of the preceding vārttika (P. 1.1.44 vt. 16), who, thinking that words are eternal, teaches (anvācaṣṭe) the correctness of words actually in use. 10

The terms anvākhyeya and anvākhyāna are sometimes used in immediate connection with anvācaṣṭe. So in Mbh II p. 83 l. 20 - p. 84 l. 1 (evaṃ tarhy anvācaṣṭe 'nupasarga iti vartate iti/ naitad anvākhyeyam ...), III p. 27 l. 15 (the same with yani instead of anupasarga), III p. 349 l. 4-5 (same with upasargād), II p. 265 l. 12-13 (evaṃ tarhy anvācaṣṭe pautraprabhṛtīti vartate iti/ kim etasyānvākhyāne prayojanam/).

At Mbh I p. 209 l. 1 and 4 anvākhyāna refers back to anvācaṣṭe on p. 208 l. 16, which here however refers to Pāṇini.

In one passage on P. 2.1.1 the sense 'additional communication' suffices for anvākhyāna (Mbh I p. 363 l. 12, 13 and 27). An additional communication regarding their meaning is given (in sūtras like P. 2.2.24 anekam anyapadārthe, P. 2.2.29 cārthe dvandvaḥ, etc.) to words which are naturally endowed with those meanings, by way of condition of application. ¹¹ And later it is said that there is no use for an additional communication regarding the meaning of something whose meaning is known. ¹²

The sense of anvākhyāna and anvākhyāyaka in the Bhāṣya on P. 1.1.62 vt. 1 (I p. 161 l. 17-18) is not relevant in the present investiga-

^{5.} At Mbh I p. 208 l. 16f. the expression refers to the author of P. 1.2.32. This sūtra (tasyādita udāttam ardhahrasvam) gives supplementary (anu) information concerning precisely how much of the svarita is udātta, how much anudātta.

^{6.} Mbh II p. 83 1. 20 (on P. 3.1.106 vt. 1), p. 265 1. 12 (on P. 4.1.163 vt. 1); III p. 27 1. 15 (on P. 6.1.20 vt. 1), p. 349 1. 4 (on P. 7.4.24).

^{7.} It is not printed as such in Kielhorn's edition on any of the four occasions.

^{8.} See Mbh II p. 265 1. 12-15: pautraprabhtīti vartatel evam tarhy anvācaste pautraprabhtīti vartate itil kim etasyānvākhyāne prayojanaml tac ca daivadattyartham (vt. 2).

^{9.} Mbh III p. 349 l. 4-5: upasargād iti vartate/ evaṃ tarhy ācāryo 'nvūcaṣṭa upasargād ity anuvartata iti/.

^{10.} Mbh I p. 104 1. 22-23: yasya punar nityāḥ śabdāḥ prayuktānām asau sādhutvam anvācaste.

^{11.} svabhāvata eteşāṃ śabdānām eteşv artheşv abhinivişṭānāṃ nimittatvenānvākhyānaṃ kriyate.

^{12.} na khalv api nirjñātasyārthasyānvākhyāne kimcid api prayojanam asti.

tion because the $Bh\bar{a}sya$ follows here the use of $anv\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$ in the preceding $v\bar{a}rttika$.

We can conclude from the above that anvākhyāna and anvācaṣte carry the meaning 'additional communication' wherever Patañjali uses these terms in his own right (i.e., where he does not borrow these words from the vārttika he is explaining). This 'additional communication' is in the vast majority of cases embodied in the vārttikas of Kātyāyana.

(ii) The word vyākhyāsyāmah occurs always, i.e. no fewer than 11 times, in connection with the Paribhāṣā vyākhyānato viśeṣapratipattir na hi samdehād alakṣanam "The precise (meaning of an ambiguous term) is ascertained from interpretation, for (a rule), even though it contains an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach (something definite)" (tr. Kielhorn, 1874: 2). In all these cases the vyākhyāna, i.e., 'interpretation' or 'explanation', is given by Patañjali himself. It can here be said that the Mahābhāṣya embodies the vyākhyānas.

But in Mbh I p. 170 l. 17 vyākhyāyate is used to show how a sūtra is explained or interpreted in a vārttika, viz. in P. 1.1.65 vt. 5. And Mbh I p. 11 l. 21-23 contains a brief discussion in which vyākhyāna is explained to be not just the separation of the words of sūtras, but to include, 'example, counterexample, and words to be supplied'. ¹³ Mbh I p. 12 l. 23-27 again rejects this position and returns to the view that separation of words of sūtras is vyākhyāna. ¹⁴ None of these characteristics apply to the Mahābhāṣya.

We must conclude that $vy\bar{a}khy\bar{a}na$ for Patañjali means 'interpretation' or 'explanation' in general, and that he applies the word most often, but by no means always, to refer to his own $Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}sya$.

We see that Bhandarkar's remark to the extent that Kātyāyana's vārttikas were known by the designation anvākhyāna, and Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya by the name vyākhyāna, is justified, but only to a certain extent. It is therefore at least conceivable that the terms anvākhyāna and vyākhyāna in our Upaniṣadic passage (supposing that the first of these two actually belongs there) refers to two-layered commentaries on Sūtra works like what we find in the case of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī.

Here it must be observed that it is out of the question that the word $s\bar{u}tra$ in our enumeration refers only to the $Ast\bar{u}dhy\bar{u}y\bar{\imath}$. There are many other $S\bar{u}tra$ works connected with Vedic literature, and there may have been even more when our list was made. Nor can we believe that no other commentaries were known to the author of the list. However, one can reasonably raise the question whether other two-layered commentaries were known to him. Suppose there weren't. Suppose further that our author had such a two-layered commentary in mind when he enumerated the three items $s\bar{u}tra$, $anv\bar{u}khy\bar{u}na$, $vy\bar{u}khy\bar{u}na$. In that case we cannot but conclude that he lived after Patañjali, i.e., after the middle of the second century B.C.E.

All this should not blind us to the fact that the present interpretation of the terms *anuvyākhyāna* (*anvākhyāna*) and *vyākhyāna* is no more than a conjecture. But even though a conjecture, it proposes an explanation for an otherwise obscure term.

ABBREVIATIONS

Apte V.S.	Apte, Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 3 vols., Poona 1957-1959.				
BAU	Bŗhadāranyaka Upaniṣad				
Ch-Up	Chāndogya Upaniṣad				
GB	Gopatha Brāhmaṇa				
MaiU	Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad				
Mbh	Patañjali's <i>Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya</i>				
MW	Monier Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English				
	Dictionary, Oxford 1899.				
P	Pāṇinian sūtra				

^{13.} nanu ca tad eva sūtram vigṛhītam vyākhyānam bhavati/ na kevalāni carcāpadāni vyākhyānam vṛddhiḥ āt aij iti/ kim tarhi/ udāharaṇam pratyudāharaṇam vākyādhyāhāra ity etat samuditam vyākhyānam bhavati/.

^{14.} yad apy ucyate sabdāpratipattir iti na hi sūtrata eva sabdān pratipadyante kim tarhi vyākhyānatas ceti parihtam etad tad eva sūtram vighītam vyākhyānam bhavatīti/ nanu coktam na kevalāni carcāpadāni vyākhyānam vrddhih āt aij iti kim tarhi udāharaṇam pratyudāharaṇam vākyādhyāhāra ity etat samuditam vyākhyānam bhavatīti/ avijānata etad evam bhavati/ sūtrata eva hi sabdān pratipadyante/ ...

PW	Otto Böhtlingk, Rudolph Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, 7 Bde., St. Petersburg 1855-1875.
pw	Otto Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung, 4 Bde., St. Petersburg 1879-1889.
ŚB	Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
SNR	N. Stchoupak, L. Nitti, L. Renou, Dictionnaire sanskrit-français, Paris 1932.
TA	Taittirīya $ar{A}$ raṇyaka
TU	Taittirīya Upanişad

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans la littérature ancienne, le terme anuvyākhyāna ne se rencontre que dans une énumération d'ouvrages littéraires qui est répétée trois fois dans la Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad et une fois dans la Maitrāyaṇīya,Upaniṣad. Cette énumération a la forme suivante:

rgvedo yajurvedah sāmavedo 'tharvāngirasa itihāsah purāṇaṃ vidyā upaniṣadah ślokāh sūtrāṇy anuvyākhyānāni vyākhyānāni

La forme anuvyākhyāna suggère qu'il s'agit d'un vyākhyāna additionnel ou étendu; sa position entre sūtra et vyākhyāna suggère le contraire: que le vyākhyāna est secondaire à l'anuvyākhyāna, qui, à

son tour, pourrait vraisemblablement être une sorte de commentaire sur le *sūtra*. De plus, en commençant par les 'cinq *Vedas*' (on se réfère occasionnellement à *itihāsa* et à *purāna* comme 'le cinquième *Veda*'), l'énumération semble montrer une structure hiérarchique qui sous-tend l'idée qu'*anuvyākhyāna* est 'plus haut' que *vyākhyāna* et 'plus bas' que *sūtra*.

Une tentative de solution à ce problème est ici présentée à la lumière de l'ancienne littérature grammaticale.