The Silence of the Commentaries: *Pradeśā*^{*h*} in the Text of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*

MALHAR KULKARNI Indian Institute of Technology, Bombay

and

EIVIND KAHRS

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

As is well known, the $K\bar{a}sik\bar{a}vrtti$ is the oldest extant rule-by-rule commentary on the Astadhyajv of Pāṇini. Two major commentaries on it are available, the $Ny\bar{a}sa$ from the eighth century and the Padamañjar, most likely from the eleventh century. In this article we focus on the term pradesa, which is a familiar feature of the printed editions of the $K\bar{a}sik\bar{a}vrtti$ on the sañjña sutras of the Astadhyajv. A closer examination, however, shows that the sentence " $Xpradesah - X \dots ity$ evamādayah" (where X is the sañjña) is not met with in either of the two commentaries. This has consequences for our understanding of the textual transmission of the $K\bar{a}sik\bar{a}vrtti$.

As is well known, the $K\bar{a}sik\bar{a}vrtti$ (KV) is the earliest extant rule-by-rule commentary on Pāṇini's famous grammar of Sanskrit, the Astadhyayi (A). It was probably composed in the seventh century CE. Two major commentaries on it are known—the Nyasa (Ny) from the eighth century and the *Padamañjari* (Pm), most likely from the eleventh century.

What is less well known, however, is that some features very familiar to any student of the KV appear not to be met with in the two commentaries. This article will show that the sentence "*Xpradeśā* $h - X \dots$ *ity evamādaya*h" (where X is the *sañjñā* under discussion at a particular rule of the A) is not read in the Ny and Pm. This has consequences for our understanding of the textual transmission of the KV.

Since the KV was first printed in 1876, throughout all the printed editions up to 1969 it seemed to be a text that was one, homogeneous, synchronic composition with very little room for variations and heterogeneity. The 1969 Hyderabad edition of the KV presented for the first time the text of the KV together with an apparatus containing information collected from eight manuscript sources and gave rise to the thought that there is an ample amount of variation that could illuminate the composition of the text. This edition could not, however, show whether there existed any stages of development in this process of the text's composition. Kulkarni 2005 and 2012 presented evidence and argued that the composition of the KV can be shown to have undergone various stages of development. Kulkarni 2005 presented a sample critical edition of the KV on A 2.2.6 and asserted that a *vārttika* statement was added to the text of the KV on this *sūtra* in the nineteenth century. Kulkarni 2012 studied the composition of a list of words, called a *gaṇa*, as stated in A 2.2.31, and established that this list of words can be shown to have come into existence in various stages, namely, (i) pre-Ny, (ii) post-Ny and pre-Pm, and finally (iii) post-Pm. These stages of development can be shown to exist on the basis of evidence available to us in the form of commentarial statements,

Authors' note: We would like to thank the British Academy for providing a generous grant, which helped start our investigations into the textual transmission of the KV afresh, and the Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge, for a subsequent research grant.

Journal of the American Oriental Society 140.3 (2020)

quotations of the KV available in the later Pāṇinian grammatical literature, and manuscripts of the KV. Kulkarni 2012 concluded that the source of the extant manuscript material can be shown to have existed in the pre-Pm period. Kulkarni et al. 2016 demonstrated that the current manuscript tradition of the KV can be shown to have close relations with a version of the text of the KV that was available to the Ny as well as to the Pm.

In this article we focus on the $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}\bar{a} s\bar{u}tras$ in the A and the KV on them (as found in the printed editions), and we present evidence from both commentaries, the Ny and the Pm, as well as manuscripts of the KV. Our main focus is $adhy\bar{a}ya$ 1, $p\bar{a}da$ 1 of the A, but we have also taken into account the $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}\bar{a} s\bar{u}tras$ in other parts of the A and have collected the comments of the Ny and the Pm on them. As far as the manuscript material is concerned, we have used it wherever it was available.

I

The KV on sixty-five of the $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}a$ $s\bar{u}tras$ in the A displays the *pradeśa* sentence, as outlined above. The sentence does not occur in the KV on all $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}a$ $s\bar{u}tras$; for example, it does not occur in the KV on the $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}a$ $s\bar{u}tra$ A 1.1.73 vrddhir yasyacam adis tad vrddham. Out of these sixty-five $s\bar{u}tras$, twenty occur in A 1.1.¹ Our main focus is on the KV on these twenty $s\bar{u}tras$. Below we present the text of the KV on A 1.1.1 as a sample, analyze it, and show how it is structured.

A 1.1.1. vrddhir $\bar{a}d aic^2$

1.1.1.1 (१) vṛddhiśabdaḥ sañjñātvena vidhīyate pratyekam ādaicām varņānām sāmānyena tadbhāvitānām atadbhāvitānām ca. (२) taparakaraņam aijartham. (३) tād api paraḥ taparaḥ iti khaţvaidakādiṣu trimātracaturmātraprasaṅganivṛttaye.

1.1.1.2 (8) āśvalāyanaḥ. (4) aitikāyanaḥ. (4) aupagavaḥ. (9) aupamanyavaḥ. (4) śālīyaḥ. (9) mālīyaḥ.

1.1.1.3 (१°) vrddhipradeśāh sici vrddhih parasmaipadeşu iti evamādayah.

In the text just presented we have added two sets of numbers, standard Western ("Hindu-Arabic") and Devanagari. The numbers in the format 1.1.1.1 indicate the meaningful, functional parts in the text of the KV. The numbers in Devanagari were added at the beginning of what we will call "sentences."³ Thus structurally there are three parts of the text of the KV presented above and there are ten sentences in this text.

The first three sentences form the first part of this text, the next six the second part, and the last, the tenth sentence, the third part. The first part involves identifying the $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}a$ and the $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}in$ (in sentence 1) and explaining a detail of the wording of the $s\bar{u}tra$ (in sentences 2 and 3). The second part involves actual examples of words in which a result of the application of a rule involving the present $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}a$ is visible. Thus sentences 4 to 7 are examples where the vowels \bar{a} , ai, and au, which are effected by rules containing the word vrddhi, are visible (*tadbhāvita*).⁴ Sentences 8 and 9 are examples of \bar{a} , which is not effected by any rule

1. Only the first of a group of *sañjñā sūtras* is counted here. Thus, for example, the full definition of the *sañjñā pragrhya* is given by eight *sūtras*, namely, 1.1.11–18. Similarly, the *sañjñā sarvanāman* is given in ten *sūtras*, namely, 1.1.27–1.1.36. Only the first *sūtra* is counted here, not the rest.

2. The Sanskrit text presented below is quoted without strictly applying sandhi for reasons of clarity.

3. This "sentence" unit corresponds to the unit of text that appears between two *dandas* in the Devanagari text of the KV as printed in the 1969 Hyderabad edition.

4. In fact, sentence 4 is an example of \bar{a} , 5 of ai, and 6 of au. What the need is for offering another example of au in sentence 7 is not clear. Both the Ny and the Pm try to clarify by saying that this example is given to suggest

but is still an example of the present *sañjñā* (*atadbhāvita*). The third part of the text provides examples of the *sūtras* in which the present *sañjñā* is used by Pāṇini.

All the passages in the KV on the sanjna $subscript{ind} subscript{ind} subscritt{ind} subscript{ind} subscript{ind} subscr$

A 1.1.8 mukhanāsikāvacano 'nunāsikah

1.1.8.1 (१) mukhasahitā nāsikā mukhanāsikā tayā ya uccāryate varņah sa anunāsikasamjño bhavati.

1.1.8.2 (R) āno 'nunāsikas chandasi. (R) abhra ām apaḥ. (R) gabhīre ām ugraputre. (G) na ca ām indraḥ.

1.1.8.3 (ξ) mukhagrahaṇam kim anusvārasyaiva hi syāt. (૭) anunāsikagrahaṇaṃ kim kacaṭatapānām mā bhūt.

1.1.8.4 (*C*) anunāsikapradeśāķ āno 'nunāsikaś chandasi iti evamādayaķ.

In this text of the KV on A 1.1.8, we find eight sentences but four parts, an additional part (1.1.8.3) providing counterexamples where questions are asked about the presence of every word in the *sūtra*. Faults that would arise in the absence of each word are identified.

Out of the twenty $s\bar{u}tras$ mentioned in Appendix 1, nine have three sections in the text of the KV: 1.1.1, 2, 22, 26, 27, 42, 44, 60, and 64. Nine have four sections: 1.1.7, 8, 9, 20, 23, 24, 37, 61, 65. Two have five sections: 1.1.11 and 45.

All the *sūtras* quoted above that have three sections follow the pattern demonstrated above in A 1.1.1. All the *sūtras* that have four sections follow the pattern demonstrated in A 1.1.8, except A 1.1.23 and A 1.1.37.

In A 1.1.23 section three does not contain a counterexample. Rather it contains an injunctive statement taken directly from the $Vy\bar{a}karana Mah\bar{a}bh\bar{a}sya$ (Mbh). As for A 1.1.37, it actually follows the pattern of A 1.1.1 with an additional statement from the Mbh added in section 4. We will deal with this statement later.

Of the two $s\bar{u}tras$ quoted above that have five sections, 1.1.11 follows the pattern shown above in A 1.1.8 with an additional statement from the Mbh added in section five. A 1.1.45 has a different pattern, as it contains examples in section two, an explanation of different interpretations of A 1.1.45 in section three, and another explanation that is close to a counterexample in section four.

In all these twenty cases there appears a section, generally at the end (except in A 1.1.11 and A 1.1.37), that identifies a $s\bar{u}tra$ in which the $sa\tilde{n}j\bar{n}\bar{a}$ is used and refers to such $s\bar{u}tras$ as prades $\bar{a}h$.

In addition to these twenty cases, we observe that the text of the KV on two *paribhāṣā* $s\bar{u}tras$ in A 1.1—A 1.1. 46 and 47—also displays similar structures. We have included them in the table below (17, 18).

As mentioned above, the text in this section can be prototypically described in the following manner: "Xprades $\bar{a}h - X \dots ity$ evam $\bar{a}dayah$ " (where X is the sa $\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}\bar{a}$). The purpose of this sentence is to state the example/s where the sa $\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}\bar{a}$ introduced by that s $\bar{u}tra$ is used. A 1.1.1 states the technical term vrddhi; therefore 1.1.1.3, cited above, cites the s $\bar{u}tra$ A 7.2.1 sici vrddhih parasmaipadesu, in which the technical term vrddhi occurs. Similarly, A 1.1.2 aden gunah states the technical term guna and therefore cites the s $\bar{u}tra$ A 7.3.84 mider gunah, in which the technical term guna occurs.

that the domain of the sūtra is manifold (prāyenānyeşv api ca sāmānyalakṣaṇeşu vināpi nimittabhedenādhikodāhara nopanyāsa upalabhyate [Ny] and lakṣaṇasya bahuviṣayatvasūcanārtham caturthasyodāharaṇasyopanyāsaḥ [Pm]).

The word *pradeśā*h is used in a technical sense and is explained by Abhyankar and Shukla (1977: 268) as follows: "Lit. district; sphere of application, place of the application of a rule. The word is frequently used in this sense in the *Kāśikāvṛtti*" This dictionary entry clearly mentions the KV as a source and assumes that the sentence containing this word is an integral part of the KV.

Can we answer the question "which KV—a pre-Ny KV, a post-Ny and pre-Pm KV, or a post-Pm KV"? Our answer is yes, and to do so we present below the complete data from both the commentaries, the Ny and the Pm, and the analysis. After that we present the data from available manuscripts. Then we try to correlate these data and reach some conclusions.

In the table below we note the relevant text of the KV. The sentence " $X prades\bar{a}h - X \dots$ ity evamādayah" is simply not commented upon in the Ny or the Pm at all.

Π

Below is a list of all occurences of the *pradeśa* sentence in the text of the KV on the *sañjñā sūtras* and two *paribhāṣā sūtras* in A 1.1.

	<i>Sūtra</i> No.	Text ⁵
1	1.1.1	vrddhipradeśāḥ sici vrddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu iti evamādayaḥ.
2	1.1.2	guṇapradeśāḥ mideḥ guṇaḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
3	1.1.7	saṃyogapradeśāḥ saṃyogāntasya lopaḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
4	1.1.8	anunāsikapradešāḥ āṅaḥ anunāsikaḥ chandasi iti evamādayaḥ.
5	1.1.9	savarṇapradeśāḥ akaḥ savarṇe dīrghaḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
6	1.1.11	pragrhyapradeśāḥ plutapragrhyāḥ aci nityam iti evamādayaḥ. ⁶
7	1.1.20	ghupradeśāḥ ghumāsthāgāpājahātisām hali iti evamādayaḥ.
8	1.1.22	ghapradeśāḥ gharūpakalpacelaḍbruvagotramatahateṣu nyaḥ anekācaḥ hrasvaḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
9	1.1.23	saṅkhyāpradeśāḥ saṅkhyā vaṃśyena iti evamādayaḥ.
10	1.1.24	satpradeśāḥ sadbhyaḥ luk iti evamādayaḥ.
11	1.1.26	nisthāpradeśāḥ śvīditaḥ nisthāyām iti evamādayaḥ.
12	1.1.27	sarvanāmapradeśāḥ sarvanāmnaḥ smai iti evamādayaḥ.
13	1.1.37	avyayapradeśāḥ avyayāt āpsupaḥ iti evamādayaḥ.7
14	1.1.42	sarvanāmasthānapradeśāḥ sarvanāmasthāne ca asambuddhau iti evamādayaḥ.
15	1.1.44	vibhāṣāpradeśāḥ vibhāṣā śveḥ iti evamādayaḥ.

Table 1. Text of the KV on the relevant sañjñā sūtras and two paribhāsā sūtras in A 1.1

5. The Sanskrit text presented in this column is quoted without applying sandhi for reasons of clarity.

6. The Ny comments on a passage that occurs after this sentence in the text of the KV, but it omits this sentence for comments. The same is true of the Pm. In fact, the Pm even quotes the text of the KV that occurs after this sentence: *tatra manīvostrasya lambete ityatra vāsabdasyopamānārthasya prayogah. rodasīvetyādau chāndasatvād iti nirvāhah.* (Bold refers to the quoted words.)

7. Again, both the Ny and the Pm comment on a passage that occurs after the sentence " $X prades\bar{a}h - X \dots ity$ evamādayah" in the text of the KV. Both the Ny and the Pm quote words from that passage.

16	1.1.45	samprasāraņapradeśāḥ vasoḥ samprasāraṇam iti evamādayaḥ.
17	1.1.46	țitpradeśāḥ ārdhadhātukasya iț valādeḥ iti evamādayaḥ. kitpradeśāḥ bhiyaḥ hetubhaye ṣuk iti evamādayaḥ.
18	1.1.47	mitpradeśāh rudhādibhyah śnam iti evamādayah.
19	1.1.60	lopapradeśāḥ lopaḥ vyoḥ vali iti evamādayaḥ.
20	1.1.61	lukśluluppradeśāḥ luk taddhitaluki, juhotyādibhyaḥ śluḥ, janapade lup iti evamādayaḥ.
21	1.1.64	țipradeśāḥ țitaḥ ātmanepadānām țeḥ e iti evamādayaḥ.
22	1.1.65	upadhāpradeśāḥ ataḥ upadhāyāḥ iti evamādayaḥ.

It is clear that, as a pattern, the *pradeśa* sentence has not attracted the attention of the two most important traditional testimonia, namely, the Ny and the Pm. We also note that these two commentaries have invariably commented upon the section of the KV immediately preceding the sentence in question, and yet they have remained surprisingly silent throughout about an important part of the text that informs the reader about the range of application of the *sañjñā*. It is also noteworthy that there are at least two cases (A 1.1.11 and A 1.1.37) where this sentence does not occur at the end of the relevant section of the text of the KV. In each of these cases there is a further passage following the sentence. Each of these passages contains a verse, and on A 1.1.37 the verse is clearly a borrowing from the Mbh. The Ny and the Pm both comment on and quote those verses and words in those final passages, but are silent about the *pradeśa* sentence found between the text before it and the quoted verse. From this gap it becomes clear that a distinctive element in a pattern innocently assumed to belong to the KV was in fact absent from the text of the KV as received by the Ny and the Pm.

In other words, the conclusion to be drawn from a study of the two commentaries is unambiguous: Such a sentence was not part of the main body of the text of the KV known to the Ny and the Pm. Forty-five further similar cases from elsewhere in the A (as detailed in Appendices 1 and 2) display the same pattern, strongly confirming our conclusion.

We now study the same cases in the light of the manuscript evidence that we present below. This evidence will help illuminate the relation between the existing manuscripts of the KV and the Ny and the Pm.

III

For all the twenty-two cases presented in Table 1 above, we consulted seventy manuscripts, which are described in Kulkarni et al. 2016. They are found in manuscript libraries from many parts of India (BORI, Pune; ORI, Baroda; ORI, Thiruvananthapuram; GOML and Adyar, Chennai; Hoshiarpur, Jammu, Srinagar, etc.) and also outside India (IOL, London; Göttingen, etc.), written in Bengali, Devanagari, Grantha, Kannada, Malayalam, Sarada, and Telugu scripts. The oldest available manuscript dates back to 1408 CE.

The text found in all seventy manuscripts with minor variations⁸ is the same as the twentytwo sentences presented in Table 1 above; that is, an overwhelming majority of manuscripts have this sentence as a part of the text of the KV. Thus, the common ancestor of all the manu-

^{8.} In addition to these minor variations, manuscript Hss (Hindī Sāhitya Sammelana, Allahabad, No. 7247/4102 cat. 1398, Devanagari script) does not read *samyogapradešāh samyogāntasya lopah iti evamādayah* on A 1.1.7, manuscript a7 (Adyar Library, Chennai, No. 69214, grantha script) does not read *saṭpradešāḥ ṣaḍbhyaḥ luk iti evamādayaḥ* on A 1.1.24, and manuscripts Io2 (India Office Library, London, No. 4064, Devanagari script) and Jm2

script sources we used appears also to have had this sentence as part of the text of the KV. This observation is further strengthened by the data that are presented in Appendix 2, where all the available manuscripts on the other $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}a$ $s\bar{u}tras$ in the A agree on the existence of the *pradeśa* sentence as part of the text of the KV. So the question arises: What is the relation between the common ancestor of all of our manuscripts and the two commentaries?

When a *sañjñā sūtra* was explained in a commentary, it is possible that the most easily understood part of the resulting text could have been the mention of other *sūtras* where the *sañjñā* occurs. Accordingly, this part of the commentary might not have appeared to require any further elucidation. Also, as this section almost always appears at the end of the relevant section of the text of the commentary, it is possible that it was overlooked, or disregarded, and did not receive due attention. These two reasons, simplicity of understanding and final position, might explain the absence of these sentences in the commentaries. However, these suggestions are perhaps lacking in strength, given the strong pattern on the part of the commentaries consistently and throughout to omit this sentence from their comments, even when it appears in the pre-final position in the text.

IV

The only plausible answer to the question posed above is that the common ancestor of all our manuscripts is post-Pm, and when Abhyankar and Shukla refer to the KV as a source in their dictionary, they are primarily referring to the text of the KV that came into being in the post-Pm period. The present evidence points to the existence of a textual tradition that caused the addition of this material to the text of the KV after the Pm. This addition was indeed crucial in shaping the form of the text of the KV as we see it today, in the form of printed editions. But there are strong reasons to assume that these sentences were not part of the text of the KV in the pre-Pm period. In Kulkarni and Kahrs 2019: 40 we classify the indirect evidence available from the Ny and the Pm into two broad categories, namely, *parokşa* and *atiparokşa*, and we count the patterned absence discussed above as part of *atiparokşa* indirect evidence, displaying it visually as a separate category of evidence in the Textual History Tool, as described in Kanojia et al. 2019. This investigation also suggests that there must be a single archetype of all the manuscripts of the KV that we have studied, from which a hierarchical tree can be drawn to show the transmission of the text of the KV, and that this archetype must be later than the Pm.

APPENDIX 1

Other *sañjñā sūtras* from the *Astādhyāyī* where the Ny and the Pm fail to comment on KV passages containing the word *pradeśā*h

The data presented in the table below show that neither the Ny nor the Pm comment on this sentence on $sa\tilde{n}j\tilde{n}a$ sutras in other parts of the A as well, thereby confirming the observation that this is consistent behavior on the part of the commentaries.

⁽Shri Ranbir Sanskrit Research Institute, Jammu, Devanagari script) do not read *avyayapradeśāḥ avyayāt āpsupaḥ iti evamādayaḥ* on A 1.1.37.

	Sūtra No.	KV text
1	1.2.27	hrasvadīrghaplutapradešāh hrasvah napumsake prātipadikasya akrtsārvadhātukayoh dīrghah vākyasya teh plutah udāttah.
2	1.2.29	udāttapradeśāḥ ādyudāttaḥ ca iti evamādayaḥ.
3	1.2.30	anudāttapradeśāh anudāttau suppitau iti evamādayah.
4	1.2.31	svaritapradeśāh tit svaritam iti evamādayah.
5	1.2.41	aprktapradeśāķ veķ aprktasya iti evamādayaķ.
6	1.2.42	karmadhārayapradeśāḥ karmadhāraye aniṣṭhā iti evamādayaḥ.
7	1.2.43	upasarjanapradeśāḥ upasarjanam pūrvam iti evamādayaḥ.
8	1.3.2	itpradeśāḥ āditaḥ ca iti evamādayaḥ.
9	1.4.7	ghipradeśāh dvandve ghi iti evamādayah.
10	1.4.10	laghupradeśāḥ pugantalaghūpadhasya ca iti evamādayaḥ.9
11	1.4.11	gurupradeśāḥ guroḥ ca halaḥ iti evamādayaḥ. ¹⁰
12	1.4.13	angapradeśāḥ angasya iti evamādayaḥ.
13	1.4.14	padapradeśāḥ padasya padāt iti evamādayaḥ.
14	1.4.45	adhikaraṇapradeśāḥ saptamī adhikaraṇe ca iti evamādayaḥ.
15	1.4.49	karmapradeśāḥ karmaṇi dvitīyā iti evamādayaḥ.
16	1.4.54	kartrpradeśāḥ kartṛkaraṇayoḥ tṛtīyā iti evamādayaḥ.
17	1.4.55	hetupradeśāh hetumati ca iti evamādayah.
18	1.4.57	nipātapradeśāḥ svarādinipātam avyayam iti evamādayaḥ.
19	1.4.59	upasargapradeśāh upasarge ghoh kih iti evamādayah.
20	1.4.60	gatipradeśāḥ kugatiprādayaḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
21	1.4.83	karmapravacanīyapradeśāḥ karmapravacanīyayukte dvitīyā iti evamādayaḥ.
22	1.4.99	parasmaipadapradeśāḥ sici vṛddhiḥ parasmaipadeṣu iti evamādayaḥ.
23	1.4.100	ātmanepadapradeśāḥ anudāttanitaḥ ātmanepadam iti evamādayaḥ.
24	1.4.101	prathamamadhyamottamapradeśāḥ śeṣe prathamaḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
25	1.4.104	vibhaktipradeśāḥ aṣṭanaḥ ā vibhaktau iti evamādayaḥ.
26	1.4.109	saṃhitāpradeśāḥ saṃhitāyām iti evamādayaḥ.
27	1.4.110	avasānapradeśāḥ kharavasānayoḥ visarjanīyaḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
28	2.1.3	samāsapradešāḥ tṛtīyāsamāse iti evamādayaḥ.
29	2.1.5	avyayībhāvapradeśāḥ avyayībhāvaḥ ca iti evamādayaḥ.
30	2.1.22	tatpuruşapradeśāh tatpuruşe kṛti bahulam iti evamādayah.

9. The Pm neither comments upon nor quotes this sentence. It does, however, mention the word $prades\bar{a}h$ three times while commenting on this $s\bar{u}tra$.

10. There is no Pm on this *sūtra*.

	<i>Sūtra</i> No.	KV text
31	2.1.52	dvigupradeśāḥ dvigoḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
32	2.2.23	bahuvrīhipradeśāḥ na bahuvrīhau iti evamādayaḥ.
33	2.2.29	dvandvapradeśāh dvandve ca iti evamādayah.
34	2.3.48	āmantritapradeśāḥ āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat iti evamādayaḥ. ¹¹
35	2.3.49	sambuddhipradeśāḥ eṅ hrasvāt sambuddheḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
36	3.1.92	upapadapradeśāḥ upapadam atiṅ iti evamādayaḥ.
37	3.1.95	kṛtyapradeśāḥ kṛtyaiḥ adhikārthavacane kṛtyānām kartari vā iti evamādayaḥ.
38	3.4.113	sārvadhātukapradeśāḥ sārvadhātuke yak iti evamādayaḥ.
39	4.1.76	taddhitapradeśāḥ kṛttaddhitasamāsāḥ ca iti evamādayaḥ.
40	4.1.162	gotrapradeśāḥ ekaḥ gotre iti evamādayaḥ.
41	4.1.174	tadrājapradeśāḥ tadrājasya bahuṣu tena eva astriyām iti evamādayaḥ. ¹²
42	5.3.119	tadrājapradešāķ tadrājasya bahusu iti evamādayaķ. ¹³
43	6.1.4	abhyāsapradeśāḥ tu atra lopaḥ abhyāsasya iti evamādayaḥ.
44	6.1.5	abhyastapradeśāḥ abhyastānām ādiḥ iti evamādayaḥ.
45	8.1.2	āmreḍitapradeśāḥ āmreḍitam bhartsane iti evamādayaḥ.

APPENDIX 2

Sañjñā Sūtras in the Astādhyāyī and Further KV Manuscript Information

For passages 1–31, 34, 35, 38, 42, 43, 44, and 45 in the table above, no manuscript information is available to us. For passages 32 and 33, data from seventy manuscripts are available, described in Kulkarni 2000. For passages 36 and 37, data from seventy manuscripts are available, described in Deo 2001. For passages 39–41, data from forty-five manuscripts are available, described in Dash 2004. It is clear from an examination of the available manuscripts that almost all of them read the *pradeśa* sentence as part of the main body of the text of the KV, thereby confirming the observation made earlier that the common ancestor of all the manuscript sources we used had this sentence as part of the text of the KV.

ABBREVIATIONS

Texts

A: Aşţādhyāyī KV: Kāśikāvŗtti Mbh: Vyākaraņa Mahābhāşya Ny: Nyāsa

11. Here the Ny mentions the word pradesa twice, but does not comment on this passage.

12. The Ny and the Pm both read *tadrājasya bahuşu tenaiva astriyām ityatra kāryāśrayam udāhṛtam*. Could the word *udāhṛtam* indicate that both commentators are aware of the *pradeśa* sentence?

13. Not commented on in either of the commentaries.

Pm: Padamañjarī

Library Names

BORI: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune ORI: Oriental Research Institute GOML: Government Oriental Manuscript Library IOL: India Office Library

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

- *Kāsikāvṛtti, together with the Nyāsa and the Padamañjarī*, ed. Dwarikadas Shastri and Kalika Prasad Shukla. 6 vols. Varanasi: Sudhi Prakashan, 1983–85. (First ed. 1965–67.)
- Kāśikā, a Commentary on Pāņini's Grammar by Vāmana and Jayāditya, ed. Aryendra Sharma, Khanderao Deshpande, and D. G. Padhye. Hyderabad: Osmania University, vol. 1 (adhyāyas 1–4), 1969; vol. 2 (adhyāyas 5–8), 1970. (Rpt. in one vol., 2008.)

Secondary Sources

- Abhyankar, K. V., and J. M. Shukla. 1977. A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar. Baroda: Oriental Research Institute.
- Dash, Sasmita. 2004. Critical Edition of Kāśikā (4.1). PhD diss., Univ. of Pune.
- Deo, Puja. 2001. Critical Edition of Kāśikā (3.1). PhD diss., Univ. of Pune.
- Kanojia, Diptesh, Malhar Kulkarni, Pushpak Bhattacharyya, Sayali Ghodekar, Irawati Kulkarni, Nilesh Joshi, and Eivind Kahrs. 2019. An Introduction to the Textual History Tool. In *Proceedings of the* 6th International Sanskrit Computational Linguistics Symposium, IIT Kharagpur, ed. Pawan Goyal. Pp. 167–81. Kharagpur: Association of Computational Linguistics.

Kulkarni, Malhar. 2000. Critical Edition of Kāśikā (2.2). PhD diss., Univ. of Pune.

- ——. 2005. A Sample of the New Edition of the *Kāśikāvṛtti*: 2.2.6. *Bharatiya Vidya* 65 (ed. J. H. Dave and S. A. Upadhyaya): 116–27.
- ——. 2012. Some Issues in Editing the Ganapathas in the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. In *Studies in Sanskrit Grammars: Proceedings of the Vyākaraņa Section of the 14th World Sanskrit Conference*, ed. George Cardona, Ashok Aklujkar, and Hideyo Ogawa. Pp. 213–58. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld.
- Kulkarni, Malhar, Anuja Ajotikar, Tanuja Ajotikar, and Eivind Kahrs. 2016. Discussion on Some Important Variants in the pratyāhārasūtras in the Kāśikāvrtti. In Vyākaraņapariprechā: Proceedings of the Vyākaraņa Section of the 16th World Sanskrit Conference, ed. George Cardona and Hideyo Ogawa. Pp. 209–36. New Delhi: D.K. Publishers.-
- Kulkarni, Malhar, and Eivind Kahrs. 2019. Some More Reflections on the Role of the *Nyāsa* and the *Padamañjarī* in Reconstructing the Textual History of the Transmission of the *Kaśikavrtti. Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Sambhāṣā* 35: 35–48.