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# VIVAKSĀ IN THE VĀKYAPADĪYA

## Anna Radicchi, Cagliari

Vivakṣā's terminology occurs frequently in the kārikās of Bhartrhari's Vākyapadīya¹; vivakṣā changes meaning and implications according to context.

The first context in which the term *vivakṣā* appears, in the I Kāṇḍa, is clearly a phonetic one.

It is found in a  $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$  quoted from the Pāṇinīya Śikṣā,² the last in a series following VP.I.110 (the series, numbered I.111-119 in W. Rau's edition, is missing in the southern branch of the  $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}s$ ' manuscript tradition), which reviews opinions of the śikṣākāras regarding the production of articulated sound, the śabda. This review is certainly not complete but is important nevertheless.

Whether the basic element of the śabda lies in the air, vāyu, the atom, anu, or knowledge, jñāna, the setting in motion of the prime matter, prāna vāyu anu, and then the arrival of the flow at the points of articulation, sthāna, remains a constant in the various representations. The mind, manas, takes on the impulse and guides the movement. Above and beyond the manas, the buddhi or a jñātr, an internal knower, is mentioned. There are also terms indicating heat: these are less technically associated with sound production than is prayatna, which basically means the articulatory effort or the predisposition of the organs, karana, to the articulatory effort.

It is in this context that the term *vivakṣā* appears in the Pāninīya Śikṣā's *kārikā* (I,6), included in the review. It is said that after the *buddhi* has formed its vision of things, the desire of the individual to express

VP.I.119 in the numbering of the above-cited edition by W. Rau. This numbering is followed unless otherwise specified.

All occurrences of vivaksā terminology in the kārikās of the Vākyapadīya have been considered, verifying them in W. Rau's edition, "Bhartrharis Vākyapadīya. Die mūlakārikās nach den Handschriften hrsg. und mit einem pāda-Index versehen", Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes XLII 4, Wiesbaden 1977 & "Bhartrharis Vākyapadīya. Vollständiger Wortindex zu den mūlakārikās", Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur, Mainz, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse Jg. 1988, Nr. 11. In Rau's Index the occurrences are listed under vivaksā, "vivaksā (also separately under anyaśabdavivaksā, samkhyāvivaksā, etc.), vivaksāniyamāśraya, vivaksita, vivaksitanibandhana, vac (for vivaksyate and vivaksyante), avivaksā, "avivaksā (also separately under upamānāvivaksā), avivaksātas, avivaksita, prativivaksita.

himself resorts to the *manas*, which stimulates the energy needed for articulation; thus *marut* is produced.

The  $vivaks\bar{a}$  in this  $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$  seems to be the equivalent of the vaktur  $icch\bar{a}$ , the 'desire to speak', the expression used in another  $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}$ , VP.I.111, of the same series, which simply explains that, moved by the effort resulting from the desire to speak, air,  $v\bar{a}yu$ , beats against the points of articulation, producing articulated sound.

The specificity of the opinions reviewed in this series of  $k\bar{a}rik\bar{a}s$  is clarified by the *vrtti*, which repeats that they are viewpoints of the *sikṣākāras*, the phoneticians. On the other hand, the *vrtti* itself extends the investigation beyond the immediate, contingent speech organs; following a course opposite to that of exhaled air, it attempts to reach what appears to be the beginning of the motion of the air itself. Important stages which were part of traditional physiology are mentioned: first *nābhi*, the navel, and also *kostha*, the abdomen, then *kantha*, the throat.

Under VP.I.121 the *vrtti* speaks of the *prāna* which, penetrated by the *buddhi*, rises like a flame in the direction of the organs of articulation.

This motion of the *prāna* does not seem to be distinguishable from what the first tāntric texts call the motion of the *kundalinī*. The *kundalīśakti* according to Ahirbudhnya-Samhitā (XVI,55 foll.)<sup>3</sup> moves up from the *mūlādhāra*, first reaches the navel, then proceeds to the heart; from there, 'desiring to express the *vācya*', *vācyavivakṣayā* (XVI,63), turns towards the throat where phonemes are produced.

The motion of the *prāṇa-kuṇḍalinī* is spontaneous, just as man's speech is a spontaneous phenomenon coming before its acoustic, grammatical or philosophical interpretation.

In the phonetic context, the *vivakṣā* is simply a datum of experience. Without the natural function of speech, which man naturally wants to exercise, there would be no production of articulated sound.

However, correct speech is the subject-matter of grammar.

Proceeding with the *kārikās* of the I Kānda, in I.152 we encounter that sato'vivakṣā - if that is the correct reading - which immediately refers to the Mahābhāsya.

Ed. M.D. Ramanujacharya, under the supervision of F.O. Shrader, rev. V. Krishnamacharya, Vol. I, second ed., first rep., Adyar, Madras 1986, pp. 147-149.

The Mahābhāsya is the first of the two known fundamental stages through which grammatical tradition reached Bhartrhari; the other is the Cāndravyākarana.<sup>4</sup>

It is with the Mahābhāsya that the *vivaksā* appears in the history of grammar; it certainly existed before Patañjali because it occurs in the formulation of *vārttikas* he commented on.

B.A. Van Nooten presented a paper on *vivakṣā* especially in the Mahābhāṣya some time ago.<sup>5</sup> The investigation, on Pathak and Chitrao's Index, is far from definitive; on the contrary, it does not hit the mark in important points.

It is first necessary to distinguish vivakṣā in Kātyāyana's vārttikas from vivakṣā in Patañjali's dialectics.

For the few occurrences in the *vārttikas*, one could simplistically say that *vivaksā*, or rather (a) *vivaksitatva*, is resorted to only in the attempt to resolve difficulties in the interpretation and application of Pānini's *sūtras*. For example, *sūtra* 1.4.24 which gives the *samjñā* of *apādāna*, contemplating a fixed point, *dhruvam*, from which the movement of departure begins, would seem to have no validity for moving objects, in which there is no fixed point. *Vārtt*. 3 under the *sūtra* eliminates the difficulty: the speaker may not wish to present the object in motion but only the separation from that object. Pā. 1.4.24 remains valid also in these cases.

On the other hand, in Patañjali's dialectic vivakṣā enters at times with a vitality demanding revision of F. Kielhorn's old opinion,<sup>6</sup> never denied, i.e., vivakṣā, like anabhidhāna, is an artifice "of no value whatever".

Patañjali is still far from the medieval scholasticism of the Bhāṣāvṛtti and the Durghatavṛtti, which will reduce vivakṣā to a pure expedient, even if often ingenious, used to justify difficult forms which would otherwise be aberrant with respect to the rules.

From Patañjali comes the formula, quasi paribhāsā: itikaranah kriyate tataśced vivakṣā, "iti is there, from it vivakṣā is deduced". That is, only in Pāṇini's sūtras, in whose formulation iti appears, the vivakṣā can

See also the recent Th. Oberlies, "Studie zum Candravyakarana. Eine kritische Bearbeitung von Candra IV.4.52-148 und V.2", Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien hrsg. Institut für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets an der Universität Hamburg, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 11-14, "Die Datierung Candragomins und Dharmadasas".

<sup>5 &</sup>quot;Vivakṣā-, or intention to speak, as a linguistic principle", Proceedings of the International Seminar on Studies in the Astādhyāyī of Pānini, Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class E 9, University of Poona, 1983, pp. 43-52.

<sup>6</sup> F. Kielhorn, "Notes on the Mahabhashya, 7. Some devices of Indian grammarians", Ind. Ant. 16 (1887), pp. 244-252.

legitimately be invoked; there the *vivakṣā* dispenses with additions or modifications.

Omitting arguments regarding rules and grammatical technique, two points about *vivaksā* seem particularly interesting in Patañjali's remarks.

The first has been misunderstood in Van Nooten's paper. It is what Patañjali explains under 5.1.16 (Vol. II, pp. 342-43); he says there are two types of *vivaksā*: *prāyoktrī* and *laukikī*.

The *prāyoktrī* is present when one uses 'tender, affected, slippery' words, yielding to an individual taste for speech. The series of adjectives Patañjali uses, *mrdūn snigdhān ślaksnān*, seems to reach with a crescendo that 'corrupt', *apabhramśān*, with which Kaiyata's comment below the passage<sup>7</sup> frankly annotates the series. They are clearly individual affectations which others must not and cannot imitate; there is no limit, Kaiyata says, to personal freedom.

The laukikā vivaksā is of a different type: there we have majority consent, prāyasya sampratyayah; that is, it expresses a generally perceived tendency and so its established use regards the general run of language users. Grammatical tradition, Kaiyata further states, has its roots in usage: prayogamūlatvād vyākaranasmrteh. Here the vivaksā goes well beyond that spontaneity accorded it by phoneticians. A strictly linguistic factor has been added: the recognition of tendencies that assert themselves in language.

The other interesting point about *vivakṣā* in Patañjali's discourse is found under 1.4.24, after the above-cited *vārtt*. 3 and then passim, under 2.3.50, etc. Patañjali says that one may not wish to communicate things that objectively exist, just as one may wish to express things that do not exist: *sato'py avivakṣā bhavati....asataś ca vivakṣā*.

Bhartrhari's kārikā I.152 follows Patañjali's wording.

The ocean may seem a basin and the Vindhya a large pile of rice: that is to say that fantasy is free and the language following it must not be questioned. The stylistic and rhetorical implications deriving from this are remarkable.

There have been contrasts and errors in evaluation on the part of scholars concerning the use the Cāndravyākarana makes of *vivaksā*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Vedavrata, Haryānā Sāhitya Samsthāna, Gurukula Jhajjar (Rohatak), Vol. IV, 1963, p. 21.

<sup>8</sup> See M. Deshpande, "Candragomin's syntactic rules, some misconceptions", Indian Linguistics, Vol. 40 (1979), pp. 133-145, which criticizes S.D. Joshi and J.A.F. Roodbergen,

An index of all occurrences of the term and connected terminology in the *sūtras* and the *vrtti* must still be compiled.<sup>9</sup>

The theory of the *kārakas* in the Cāndravyākarana is interesting. Candra reunified in Ca. 2.1.43-98 Pānini's two sections 1.4.23-55 and 2.3.1-70, in addition to including the treatment of the *upapada*.

Pā. 1.4.23-55 had roughly sketched out sectors of activity, which make themselves known in language through verbs and syntactic operators, kārakas, while Pā. 2.3.1-70 had given the related detailed use of case endings, vibhaktis. Reunifying Pāṇini's two sections, Candra directly connected cases of the declension with actions that are carried out and require an accusative in language to indicate the object, an instrumental to indicate the agent or the instrument, and so on.

The speaker may wish to express the object - this is the *vyāpyavivakṣā* - or an instrument - this is the *karanavivakṣā* - and thus uses a particular ending. The *vivakṣā* does not violate the rules. These are useful for learning the correct usage, only by using the correct cases can we express what we mean. But the use of cases serves the speaker, who wants to express events in his own way. This is the meaning of the well-known *paribhāṣā*, in the form presented under Ca. 2.1.49: *vivakṣāto hi kārakāni bhavanti*. <sup>10</sup>

We would rather emphasize the freedom the *vivakṣā* allowed, according to Cāndravyākarana, freedom in using the rules, and stylistic freedom.

That dichotomy between reality, *kārakas*, and language, *vibhaktis*, not resolved in Pāṇini's two sections and overcome in Candra by simple superimposition, is philosophically systematized in Bhartrhari.

In the Sādhanasamuddeśa in the III Kānda of the Vākyapadīya, as well as elsewhere in this great work, the sādhana-kārakas are clearly seen to

<sup>&</sup>quot;Patañjali's Vyākarana-Mahābhāsya: Kārakāhnika (P.1.4.23-1.4.55)", Publications of the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Class C 10, University of Poona 1975, "Introduction".

<sup>9</sup> I plan to read a paper on this subject at the 9th World Sanskrit Conference in Melbourne.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Vivaksātah kārakāni bhavanti" is the title of a chapter Cārudevaśāstrī dedicated to vivaksā in "Prastāvataranginī", Haridāsa-Samskrta-Granthamālā 201, Benares 1950, pp. 188-196. There a valid philological discussion on vivaksā had already been set out, meant to constitute orthodox teaching rather than supply elements of historical criticism on the evolution of the concept among grammarians. As far as I know, there are no other later monographic studies on vivaksā untill the above-cited article by Van Nooten. The scholar who seems to have shed more light on the subject is L. Renou, with his edition of "La Durghatavrtti de Śaranadeva. Traité grammatical en sanskrit du XIIe siècle", Collection Emile Senart, I 1-3, II 1-3, Paris 1940-1956.

act on the level of mental activity. There is an interior vision of things which is individualistic and free; in it action is represented in various ways and the elements of reality assume the roles of the various *kārakas*.

When the desire to translate the interior vision into words comes with the *vivakṣā*, at that point grammar acts as a guide and the *vibhaktis* are used. The *vibhaktis* are on the level of the *śabda*, the translation of mental representation into words.

Thus the *vivakṣā* acts as a link between the mental plane of the *kalpanā*, *buddhikalpanā*, where the *kārakas* operate and the plane of expressed words, which use the *vibhaktis*.

There is another *paribhāsā* in the Cāndravyākarana which we briefly wish to call attention to: *vivaksāvyāpter istāvasāyah*. It is what one wants to express that commands the desiderata of grammar, that indicates what forms we want to see regularized by grammar.

Here the field is that of word formations, śabdasamskāra, in which the vivaksā will have a long way to go before arriving at medieval scholasticism and beyond.

The way the Cāndravyākarana presents the process is clearly seen from the *vrtti* under 5.2.44; see also the Kāśikā under 6.3.45. How can we justify the form śreyastarā which the rule accepting śreyasitarā and śreyasītarā does not sanction? It is justified because one does not want to express the feminine form with it, and this choice occurs before the suffix denoting the degree of comparison is added. In terms of the *vrtti*: *prakarsayogāt prāk strītvasyāvivaksitatvāt siddham*.

In Bhartrhari as well, in the Vrttisamuddeśa in the III Kānda, the kāri-kās repeatedly point out that forms - see the use of the suffix vat, compounds, the expression of upamāna, etc. - are explained as grammatically correct only by considering the vivaksā. Why mrgadugdhā, for example?: because the first member does not mean to express the feminine form (419). Surely here vivaksā appears channeled into normative grammar to correctly and efficiently unfold itself according to rules valid for everyone.

It is also conditioned by the cultural milieu. Children inherit a linguistic patrimony at birth (VP.I. 129, foll.). Their organs are already predisposed for articulating words.

It is Bhartrhari the philosopher, not a linguist, who is speaking. From time to time his discourse is tinged with psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics and linguistic speculation; it is never purely linguistic.

The idea emerging in Patañjali's dialectics on the *laukikā vivakṣā*, of the language as an autonomous organism in which tendencies develop, disappears in the philosopher Bhartrhari.

In the II Kānda of the Vākyapadīya, which presents and debates the two fundamental themes of grammar, vākya and pada, we find sections containing interesting cues regarding textual and stylistic analysis.

Verses 64-87 contain a sequence of objections that padavādins raised against the akhandavādins, based on specific observations: a word, for example vrīhi, which must be substituted in the prescription of a rite, when that material is not available; an unfamiliar word like pika, which is taken out of context for explanation; the difference between direct statement and syntactical connection; attention paid to secondary clauses; finally, a number of elements in a clause from which are understood the sequence, the primary action, etc., elements depending on the reading of the text, important because their correct interpretation involves the fruit, phala (named in 83), of the sacrificial act itself. The padavādins argued that it was impossible to deny the pada a meaning independent of that of the vākya.

In these twenty-four verses the terminology of vivaksā, or here rather of non-vivaksā (69: avivaksitāh, avivaksā; 80: na vivaksitah; 83: avivaksitah), appears quite conspicuously, considering the total number of appearences in the II Kānda. Other terminology used is also interesting. An important part is played by the śruti, direct statement; in contrast there is sāmarthyam, what is gathered from context, which is indicated, laksita, or contained in an indication, laksanā, derived from context, sāmarthyalaksana. The abhidhā, or more precisely the śabdo'bhidhāyakah, the śabda having denotative power, also appears.

Understanding the *vivakṣā*, which is what the text wants to convey, means interpreting it correctly and acting accordingly.

Other instances of vivaksā terminology in the II Kānda (301: vivaksite, avivaksitam; 304: avivaksitam) are found in the final part of a long section, II.250-324, presenting theories and opinions on the meaning of the word and above all on the difference between the primary meaning, mukhya, and secondary meaning, gauna.<sup>11</sup>

It is stated (298) that, just as a lamp reveals not only the objects it is meant to illuminate but also others nearby, in the same way a word used in one meaning involves others along with the desired one. *Vivaksita* is the desired meaning; other meanings automatically involved are *avivaksita* (301).

<sup>11</sup> There is an article by K.A. Subramania Iyer, dealing in detail with passages contained in this section of the II Kānda, which never mentions *vivakṣā* at all: "Bhartrhari on the primary & secondary meanings of words", Indian Linguistics, Vol. 29 (1968), S.M. Katre Felicitation Volume Part I, pp. 97-112.

Further on (314 and 315) are two lists of determining elements for assigning meaning to a word: the clause in which it is found,  $v\bar{a}kya$ , the context, prakarana, the meaning of the other words, artha, the propriety, aucitya, place, deśa, and time,  $k\bar{a}la$ . The second list which follows is broader, repeating two elements, artha and prakarana, already considered in the first one. The subject had evidently been debated.

The accepted conclusion, in simple terms, is that the word has many meanings which are used according to context. Here  $vivaks\bar{a}$  is the intention of conveying one meaning rather than another.

There is also an indirect way of making oneself understood, and this seems the most interesting stylistic suggestion. This occurs when one does not simply wish to use the primary or one of the secondary meanings. For instance, the "crows" from which the boy is asked to protect the sarpis also means "dogs" or similar animals (312). The dhātu bhuj, used in the sense of "to feed", also implies washing the dishes in which the food was eaten and the pots in which the food was cooked (313). It is said that the sacred texts expressing praise or blame, this being the only way to incite or dissuade from action, should not be taken literally, ayathārthām (319).

The discourse presented in these passages of the II Kānda of the Vākyapadīya is one of textual criticism, using specific terminology and examining Vedic texts.

Before Bhartrhari, the meaning of the *mantra* had long been an object of criticism, at times hostile. Kautsa's judgement stated in Nirukta I.15 was categorical: *anarthakā hi mantrāh*, "mantras have no meaning at all". Kautsa's objections and their refutations will have broad repercussions long after Bhartrhari.

The meaning Kautsa could not find in the *mantras* was in effect the common meaning, difficult to extract from an archaic, at times obscure language which often expressed itself in contradictory terms.

The meaning of the mantras, or more precisely the mantravākyārtha (Nirukta VII.3), was considered in another context: that of hymns of praise to the divinity. These varying visions of the mantras, rsīnām mantradrstayah, were broadened and consolidated in a list of thirty-six different vākya, vividhāni vākyāni, that the Brhaddevatā exemplifies in I.46-60. They are modes of expression, whose purpose is to praise the divinity but which sometimes directly express nindā, blame, or samśaya, doubt, praise to the divinity remaining a matter of inference.

Here the analysis of the meaning of the  $v\bar{a}kya$  had already become a stylistic-rhetorical investigation linked, in the type of texts under examination, to the expression of praise to the divinity.

Nirukta and Brhaddevatā are far from Bhartrhari, but they are the first well-known texts in which the meaning of the *mantra* undergoes an investigation oriented toward the textual and stylistic criticism we will later on find in Bhartrhari. Moreover, the texts investigated are at least in part the ones Bhartrhari himself will consider.

The vivakṣā which is read in the Vākyapadīya in these contexts of the II Kānda returns in what are properly regarded the first texts on rhetoric.

The vivakṣita artha, "the understood meaning", already appears in the analysis of the dosa bhinnārtha in that schematic compendium of the essentials of poetic art given by the Nātyaśāstra and concluding with their use in the presentation of the rasas. 12 It is the first sign of that familiarity with the vivakṣā constantly found in the first alamkārikas, in Bhāmaha, Dandin, Udbhata, where the vivakṣā is resorted to in order to enter into the intricacies of the figures. In Vāmana as well (4.3.27), the vivakṣā is used to define an alamkāra, the alamkāra ākṣepa; then in the last adhyāya of the Kāvyālamkārasūtrāni, in a strictly grammatical context, that of śabdaśuddhi.

Ānandavardhana emphasized the presence of the vivakṣā as a stylistic and poetic element. The two broad categories of true poetry, dhvani kāvya, already contain vivakṣā in their own definitions of avivakṣita-vācya and vivakṣitānyapara-vācya. Ānandavardhana is certainly a long way from Bhartrhari; he reconciled the contrasts of the various schools: of the systems of the rasa, alamkāra, rīti. In any case the indebtedness of Ānandavardhana to Bhartrhari has been pointed out several times.

Even without definitively ascertaining Bhartrhari's date, we can say that Bhartrhari lived more or less between Bharata and Bhāmaha, in a period relatively lacking in documentation on rhetorical studies. His historical position is extremely interesting as his field is still the Vedic. From this point of view, the dramatic texts Bharata deals with and above all the  $k\bar{a}vya$  texts from which Bhāmaha and the other rhetoricians take their examples are traditionally considered more modern. But Bhartrhari is certainly near to them, in the use he makes of the term  $vivaks\bar{a}$ .

<sup>12</sup> Adhyāya 16, v. 91 in "Nātyaśāstra with the commentary of Abhinavagupta", ed. M. Ramakrishna Kavi, Vol. II, Gaekwad's Oriental Series LXIII, Baroda 1934, p. 332. The line was overcorrected by V. Raghavan, "Bhoja's Śrngāra Prakāśa", p. 222 in the first edition, Madras 1963. However vivaksita- can be read unequivocally.

Two conclusions can clearly be drawn from the observations on the above-examined occurrences of *vivakṣā* terminology in the II Kānda of the Vākyapadīya.

The first is that the sections considered should by right be included among Indian works on rhetoric. Seeing the scarcity of such documents for the period preceding Bhāmaha, it would be reasonable to treasure them.

The second conclusion regards the term *vivaksā* and is a corollary of the first. The occurrences of *vivaksā* terminology in these sections assume their full meaning only in light of the Indian rhetorical theories of the period.

Phonetics, grammar, stylistics: they represent three different currents which carry the idea of *vivaksā* and a terminology for *vivaksā*.

However, Bhartrhari's discourse is principally philosophical; phonetics, stylistics and normative grammar are only secondarily involved. The grand design running from the first to the third Kānda of the Vākyapadīya moves from the Śabdabrahman of the first Kānda, through the two great themes, vākya and pada, in the second Kānda, to the detailed review of linguistic aspects and principles to which the third Kānda is dedicated. It almost follows the Vāc - the observation has been made several times - which descends from the level of paśyantī, through the madhyamā, to the world level with the vaikharī.

The vivaks $\bar{a}$  enters into this grand design even if it is not the object of particular attention. There is a turning point in the madhyamā vāc, this Vāc being of an ambivalent nature precisely because it is intermediate. It is the moment when the vāc madhyamā, even with the sequence suppressed or contracted, according to how one interprets "samhāra" in the expression kramasamhārabhāve in the vrtti under I.159, despite resorting to a motion of subtle prāna, sūksmaprānavrttyanugatā, is yet according to some vyaktaprānaparigrahā, that is, as Iyer nicely translates, "it has distinct functioning of breath in it". Vrsabha explains that this is made clear when one recites something silenty to oneself: svayam apy asyopāmśutaram pathatah tat spastam. This vāc madhyamā is interior and in a certain sense contains sequence, and the buddhi is its sole foundation: madhyamā tv antahsamniveśinī parigrhītakrameva buddhimātropādānā (vrtti). Vrsabha says that the madhyamā is interior because it is the form of the word in the buddhi before it is pronounced: na karanasthā kim tv enam śabdam samuccārayāmīti buddhau yah śabdākārah, "it is not in the articulatory

organs, but it is the form of the śabda which is in the buddhi, when the intention is to pronounce those particular words". 13

This is the turning point: the moment in which the madhyamā vāc prepares itself to be translated into the vāc vaikharī which will be articulated by the speech organs. This translation, substantially unbiased in literary production, is also the common source of action. Because one desires to intervene or decides to intervene depending on "how he views reality", samdarśana (VP.III.7.16). Then one action develops from another and determines activity. Regardless of whether the articulated word is accompanied by an action or whether there is only the word, it is this desire to express oneself that constitutes the vivaksā. It is due to this desire that the constructions of the buddhi are translated one after another into language.

VP.III.7.17 states that it is *caitanya*, "sentience", that is the means to the "vision" of things and as such comes before all activity and "vision" itself. With the *caitanya* one finally arrives at that life principle of which is to be recognized "the ultimate identity with *brahman*, the postulated starting point of the world of our experience".<sup>14</sup>

It is true that Bhartrhari has not reserved particular treatment for that epistemology whose elements he accepts and uses in his discourse. However, it seems certain that for him it is the *buddhi* that constructs images of the reality; these images the listener comprehends. This clearly means, in another context, VP.III.3.32: "the word is understood (by the listener) with the meaning present in the *buddhi* (of the speaker)".

Somānanda was not mistaken, proposing his precious testimony at the beginning of the II āhnika of the Śivadrsti. Summing up before proceeding to the confutation, the position of the vaiyākaranas, i.e., substantially that of Bhartrhari, regarding levels of reality, gives paśyantī, which is for them the parā sthitih, corresponding to the level of Sadāśiva, then madhyamā which is śabda on the mental plane of vijnāna, ready to express things, finally vaikharī. Somānanda uses the term vivaksā in this context: āste vijnānarūpatve sa śabdo'rthavivaksayā / madhyamā kathyate saiva. And

<sup>13</sup> See "Vākyapadīya of Bhartrhari with the Vrtti and the Paddhati of Vrsabhadeva. Kānda I", ed. K.A. Subramania Iyer, Deccan College Monograph Series 32, Poona 1966, p. 214 & K.A. Subramania Iyer, "The Vākyapadīya of Bhartrhari with the Vrtti. Chapter I. English translation", Deccan College Building Centenary & Silver Jubilee Series 26, Poona 1965, p. 125.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted from A. Aklujkar: "Bhartr-hari's concept of the Veda", p. 7, Panels of the VIIth World Sanskrit Conference, Vol. V, Pānini and the Veda, Leiden 1991, pp. 1-18.

again, about the grammarians' *madhyamā*: "It is the *madhyamā* that is united with the *buddhi*, whose nature is that of constructing images".<sup>15</sup>

Bhartrhari will have great influence on Indian thought in the following centuries.

The paragraph in the *vrtti* under VP.I.159 relative to *paśyantī* will be entirely quoted by Abhinavagupta in the Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivrttivimarśinī and attributed to Bhartrhari himself.<sup>16</sup>

Of all Abhinavagupta's speculations regarding  $V\bar{a}c$ , here it is interesting to recall and compare what is contained in ten verses at the end of the III  $\bar{a}$ hnika of the Tantr $\bar{a}$ loka.<sup>17</sup>

After having developed the theme of the emanation of phonemes, which is also the unfolding of creation, Abhinavagupta presents multiplicity as a triple body, vapus, named paśyanti, madhyamā and vaikharī. Each of these three Vāc has a triple nature: sthūla, sūksma and para.

Sthūlā paśyanfī is the nādarūpinī of music consisting only of notes, without the harshness of distinct phonemes. Sthūlā madhyamā is dhvani in the music made, for example, by drums, which also knows how to be sweet when imitating singing. Sthūlā vaikharī is that of spoken language, with its phonemes and clauses.

The stage preceding the *sthūla* for each, *paśyantī*, *madhyamā* and *vaikharī*, is the *sūksma*. This consists of an *anusandhāna*, planning, let us say an intention. It can be formulated with the words of common experience: now I am going to make music, now I am going to play an instrument, now I am going to talk.

Beyond this level, for the three  $V\bar{a}c$ , is the supreme, para, which reaches Siva.

It is the sūksma stage that interests us here.

Jayaratha's comment on the meaning of anusandhāna expresses no doubts. It has the nature of desire; in its three varieties, corresponding to paśyanfi, madhyamā and vaikharī, it is respectively the desire to sing, jigāsā, to play an instrument, vivādayisā, and finally to speak: vivakṣā.

In Abhinavagupta's conception, the three stages, *sthūla*, *sūkṣma* and *para*, constitute a stairway within each of the three *Vāc*, which descends

<sup>15</sup> Cf. ed. Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī, KSTS LIV, Srinagar 1934, pp. 36-42 and p. 59.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. ed. Madhusūdan Kaul Shāstrī, KSTS LXII, Bombay 1941, Vol. II, p. 226.

<sup>17</sup> See "The Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta with the Commentary of Jayaratha", ed. R.C. Dwivedi and Navajivan Rastogi, enlarged edition, Delhi 1987, Vol. II Chapters 1-3, pp. 577-584.

from heaven to earth and then reascends. The *paśyantī* does not remain outside the world but descends there and is incorporated into sublime music, and the *vaikharī* is not only in the world but goes beyond it, as far as Śiva.

If we look for the *vivakṣā* in this grandiose conception, in which all conflicts and polemics about  $V\bar{a}c$  levels are overcome, we find it at the point in which the  $V\bar{a}c$  is about to present itself in the world, just before the  $sth\bar{u}la$  stage of the  $vaikhar\bar{\iota}$ .