

REVIEWS

Sumitra Mangesh Katre, *Dictionary of Pāṇini*. Three volumes. (Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series, vols. 53, 62, 63.) Poona, Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, 1968, 1969. Pp. 716 Rs. 30.

This dictionary of Pāṇini is the second of Prof. Katre's *Pāṇinian Studies*, the first of which (Poona, 1967) consisted of a transliterated text of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. The present work is to be followed by an English translation of Pāṇini's grammar. This dictionary is intended to meet the needs of those scholars who deal with the interpretation of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* with reference to modern linguistics (p. 9). It differs from previous works of similar nature¹ in that the vocabulary in question has been dealt with on three levels. First, all the words used by Pāṇini in his sūtras are listed with translations and references. Secondly, Katre gives items which are derived by these rules and the constituent members of which are directly given therein. And thirdly he includes items used to illustrate the operations of these rules in the *Kāśikāvṛtti*.² Moreover, "... no specific reference is made in the dictionary to the operational side of the rules which will form part of the intended English translation". (p. g)³

¹ The most closely comparable index is that of V. S. Pathak and V. S. Chitrao, *Word Index to Pāṇini-Sūtra-Pāṭha and Pariśiṣṭas*, (Poona, 1935). Cf. also, O. Böhtlingk, *Pāṇini's Grammatik* (repr., Hildesheim, 1964), pp. 146*-192* (Erklärung der grammatischen Elemente), 193*-296* (Pāṇini's Wortschatz). K. V. Abhyankar's *A Dictionary of Sanskrit Grammar* (Baroda, 1961) neither limits itself to Pāṇini nor gives full references. Renou's *Terminologie grammaticale du sanskrit* (Paris, 1957) is the most compendious terminological treatment of Indian grammar but does not deal with Pāṇini's *its* or the vocabulary derived by his rules in any detail.

² Prof. Katre places particular reliance on the *Kāśikā*, saying (p. 10) that it, "... seems to have preserved the original tradition from Patanjali downwards". This is a very strong statement in view of what we know of the vicissitudes of Pāṇinian grammar before Bhartṛhari (*Vākyapadiya* 2.478, cf. Kielhorn, *Indian Antiquary* 3.285-7 [1874] = *Kl. Schr.* 154-7) and of the *Kāśikā*'s modification of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* following Candra (see Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* 15.183-5 = *Kl. Schr.* 244-6). I think it would have been sufficient to express confidence in the need to use *vṛttis*, the most commonly used one of which is the *Kāśikā*.

³ For example, *ñit* (p. 226) is merely glossed "containing *ñ* as an exponential marker" without saying for what operations items are so marked. But Prof. Katre does not always follow this convention. For example, on p. 261 the entry *ḍit* is followed by "containing *ḍ* as exponential marker; before an affix containing this marker, final vowel and following consonants are elided".

I have no doubt that this dictionary will prove extremely useful to scholars interested in Indian grammarians. I offer the following comments on individual entries in the hope that they will enhance its usefulness.⁴

3: *a-karṭr-* 'not an agent'. On the same page, *a-karmadhāraya-* is glossed 'other than a *karmadhāraya* compound'. The two compounds *a-karṭr-* and *a-karmadhāraya-* do not differ in formation; and they are commonly paraphrased in the same way (e.g., *Kās.* 3.3.19: *karṭr-varjite kārake*, 6.2.130: *karmadhāraya-varjite*).

3: *a-karma-ka* 'intransitive'. Among the references given are 3.4.69 (*laḥ karmaṇi ca bhāve cākarmakebhyah*) and 1.4.52 (*gati-buddhi-pratyavasānārtha-śabda-karmākarmakānām a-ni-kartā sa nau*). The first states that L-members (abstracts to be replaced by finite verb endings and participial affixes, see below re p. 486) are introduced after verb roots (3.1.92: *dhātōḥ*) when either an agent (*karṭr*) or an object (*karman*) is to be denoted and also, after verbs which are *a-karmaka*, when the base meaning of the verb (*bhāva*)⁵ is to be denoted by the form derived. 3.4.69, on the other hand, provides that the agent of a noncausal verb (of an action denoted by a root not containing the causal marker *ñic*) is classed as the object of a causal when the verbs in question are: those denoting movement (*gati*), thought (*buddhi*), eating (*pratyavasāna*), those whose object is a sound (*śabda-karman*), and those which are *a-karmaka*. Now, as far as rule 3.4.69 is concerned, *a-karmaka* refers to verbs which, in a given utterance being derived, are not accompanied by an object. For example, *pac* 'cook' can be accompanied by an object or not; to denote that someone is cooking a rice gruel one may say either *odanam pacati* or *odanaḥ pacyate*, with the verb endings (*ti, te* as replacements of the L-member *laḥ*) denoting either an agent or an object. But one may also say 'cooking is taking place', in which case the impersonal *pacyate* is used, with the verb ending introduced to denote *bhāva*. But now consider the following causal sentences: *pācayati devadattena* 'he has Devadatta cook', *āsayati devadattam* 'he has D. remain seated'. In the second sentence Devadatta, the agent of the noncausal action (*āste devadattaḥ* 'D. is seated') is classed as object of the causal action by 1.4.52, since *ās* 'be seated' is intransitive (*a-karmaka*). But for the derivation of a sentence such as *pacyate devadattena* 'D. is cooking' (lit. 'it is being cooked by D.') *pac* is equally *a-karmaka*, so that one might derive **pācayati devadattam*. This is avoided if *a-karmaka* in 1.4.52 refers to verbs denoting actions which never are accompanied by a direct object. See *SK* 540 and, for further references, *Lingua* 25.221(1970). I may note here that on p. 543 Prof. Katre glosses *śabda-karman* as 'sound making; a sound or noise'. But in both rules given as references (1.4.52 and 1.3.34: *veḥ śabda-karmanaḥ*) *karman* means not 'making' or 'action' but 'object'; cf. *Kās.* 1.3.34: *karma-śabda iha kārakābhidhāyī na kriyāvacanah* 'The item *karman* here denotes (a) *kāraka* (i.e., object), it does not denote an action (as it does in some sūtras).'

⁴ Page references to the work under discussion are followed by Prof. Katre's glosses, in single quotation marks. I have modified the typographic conventions to the following extent: entries which appear in the work in bold face appear here in italics; neither bold face nor italic capitals, which Prof. Katre uses to indicate markers (*its*) and sounds used for ease of pronunciation, respectively, are here shown. In Sanskrit items other than Prof. Katre's entries, roman type is used to indicate markers. Three arabic numerals separated by full stops (e.g., 1.1.1) refer to rules of Pāṇini's grammar. The following abbreviations are used: Bhāṣya or Bh.: Patanjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (references made to volume, page, and line of Kielhorn's edition), *Kās.*: *Kāśikā-vṛtti* (whose numerotation is also followed in referring to Pāṇinian rules), *Nyāsa*: Jinendrabuddhi's *Kāśikā-vivaraṇa-pañjikā*, *PM*: Haradatta's *Pada-mañjarī*, *Pr.*: Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* (volume and page of the edition published by Motilal Banarsidass [Delhi, 1967], the only edition available to me when writing this), *SK*: Bhaṭṭoji's *Siddhānta-kaumudī* (rules cited according to the serial numerotation).

⁵ See Katre, 422; for a discussion of the term *bhāva* see also *Lingua* 25:214-20 (1970).

6: *agati*-1 'absence of movement'. A reference is given to 7.3.42 (*śader a-gatau taḥ* [ṇau 36, *aṅgasya* 6.4.1]). This rule states that the -*d* of the presuffixal base (*aṅga*) *śad* is replaced by *t* when the causal affix *ṇi* follows, provided *śad* is used in a meaning other than movement (*a-gatau*); e.g., *śātayati* 'crushes, destroys' but *śādayati gāḥ* 'drives the cows'. Cf. *Kāś.*: *śader aṅgasyāgatāv arthe varttamānasya takārādeṣo bhavati ṇau parataḥ*.

10: *aṅga*-1 'base, stem'. It would have been better and more precise to follow the definition given in 1.4.13 (*yasmāt pratyaya-vidhis tadādi pratyaye'ṅgam*): given a unit *X* after which (*yasmāt*) an affix is introduced (*pratyaya-vidhiḥ*), the unit beginning with *X* and followed by the affix is called *aṅga*. For example, the ending *mas* (replacing the L-member *lṛt*) is introduced after *kr* 'do', then, between this ending and the root is introduced the affix *syā* augmented with *iṭ* (*-iṣya-*): *kar-iṣya-mas*. Since the affix *mas* was introduced after *kr*, the unit beginning with it, that is, *kariṣya-*, is the *aṅga* relative to *mas*. Therefore, rule 7.3.101 (*ato dirgho yañi* [sārvadhātuke 95, *aṅgasya* 6.4.1]) applies, whereby the final vowel -*a* of an *aṅga* before such an affix is replaced by a long vowel: *kariṣyāmas* (1st pl. fut.). I may note here also that on p. 390 under *pratyaya-vidhi* Prof. Katre glosses 'the operation or rule set up for applying the suffix'. This could be improved. For *vidhi* in *pratyaya-vidhi* clearly means 'introduction by rule', so that the phrase *yasmāt pratyaya-vidhiḥ* is equivalent to *yasmāt pratyayo vidhiyate* 'after which an affix is introduced (by rule)'. And this is indeed the way the rule is generally paraphrased; see, e.g., *Kāś.* 1.4.13.

14: *a-ñ-it* 'other than the exponential marker *ñ*, in the expression *a-ñ-ñ-it* 1.2.1'. *a-ñ-ñ-it* 'other than the exponential markers *ñ* and *ñ* 1.2.1'. It would be useful to make clear that *aññit* is a *bahuvrihi* compound referring to affixes (*pratyaya*). The rule in question (*gāṇ-kutāḍibhyo'ññin nit*) states that after certain roots affixes which are not marked with *ñ* or *ñ* are treated as marked with *ñ*.

15: *aṭ*² 'the augment *a-* prefixed to verbal stems in imperfect, pluperfect, aorist and conditional', *aṭ*³ 'the augment *a* before personal endings -*s* and -*t* of *leṭ*'. On p. 109 there is an entry *iṭ*² 'the augment -*i-* added at the beginning of *ārdhadhātuka* suffixes'. I think it would have been better to gloss *aṭ*² and *aṭ*³ in a similar way. For, in the Pāṇinian system such augments are indeed considered the initial of the resultant augmented sequence, not merely items prefixed to and occurring before items. This is provided by rule 1.1.46 (*ādy-antau ṭa-k-itau*), which states that augments marked with *ṭ* and *k* respectively are initial and final of the items to which they are added. Consider, for example, the derivation of the agent noun *lav-itṛ-* (*lū* 'cut'). The affix *ṭṛc* follows the root: *lū-ṭṛ*. Since *ṭṛc* is classed as an *ārdhadhātuka* (3.4.113: *ārdhadhātukam śesah*) and begins with one of the sounds denoted by the term *val*, it receives the augment *iṭ* (7.2.35: *ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*): *lū-itṛ-*. Now, the -*ū* of *lū* should be replaced by *guṇa*, that is, *o* (7.3.84: *sārvadhātukārdhadhātukayoḥ* [guṇah 82]) and then this *o* should be replaced by *av* (6.1.78: *eco'y-av-āy-āvaḥ* [aci 77]) in order to arrive at *lav-itṛ-*. But, for 7.3.84 to apply, the root must occur immediately before the *ārdhadhātuka* affix. Unless the augment *iṭ* actually constitutes part of the affix, this is not true.

16: *a-tad-artha-* 'not having the same meaning'. Two references are given, to rules 6.2.156 (*ya-yatoścātarthe* [naṇo guṇa-pratiśedhe 155, *antaḥ* 143]) and 6.3.53 (*pad yaty a-tad-arthe* [pādasya 52]). The first is a complex accentual rule which I will not discuss except to say that *a-tad-arthe* has the same value there as in 6.3.53. This rule states that *pāda-* 'feet' is replaced by *pad-* before the affix *yat*; *a-tad-arthe* states a condition under which this replacement does not take place. Now consider two other rules: 4.4.83: *vidhyaty a-dhanuṣā* (*tad* 76, *yat* 75), 5.4.25: *pādārgbhāhyām ca* (*tādarthyē yat* 24). These are rules for deriving secondary nominal bases by *taddhita* affixation. 4.4.83 states that the affix *yat* occurs after a nominal + accusative ending (*tad*)⁶ to

⁶ Nominal endings (sup) contained in derived nominal bases (and also in derived roots) are deleted by 2.4.71: *supo dhātu-prātipadikayoḥ* (luk 58).

derive a nominal meaning 'pierces *X*' (*tad vidhyati*). Hence, giving *pāda-* as the value of *X*, we obtain a *taddhita* derivative *pāda-ya-* which is equivalent in meaning to *pāda vidhyanti* (*śarkarāḥ*) '(pebbles) which cut the feet'. Rule 5.4.25 provides that *yat* is affixed to *pāda-* + dative ending to form a derivative meaning 'intended for ...' (*tādarthyē*); thus *pāda-ya-* is equivalent to *pādārtham* (*udakam*) '(water) for the feet'. 6.3.53 applies to the result of 4.3.83 to yield *padya-* (*padyāḥ śarkarāḥ*), but it also forbids replacing *pāda-* by *pad-* in the derivative obtained by 5.4.25 (*pādyam udakam*).⁷ For 6.3.53 states that this replacement does not occur when the affix *yat* has been introduced in the meaning "intended for *X*"; *a-tad-arthe* thus means 'except in the (meaning condition) 'intended for ...'". Prof. Katre correctly translates *tādarthyā-* on p. 274 as 'the being intended for that'.

16: *a-taddhita-luk-* 'an elision unconnected with a *taddhita* suffix'. This occurs in 5.4.92: *gor a-taddhita-luki* (*ṭac* 91), which states that the affix *ṭac* occurs after a *tatpuruṣa* compound ending in *go* 'cow, bullock' and gives as an additional part of the rule *a-taddhita-luki*. Now, by 2.1.51 *taddhitārthottarapada-samāhāre ca* [*dik-samkhye*] is derived the *tatpuruṣa* compound *daśa-go-* 'conglomerate of ten cows', which, by 5.4.92, receives the affix *ṭac* to yield *daśa-gava-*. The unit *daśa-go-* is further classed as a subtype of *tatpuruṣa* compound, namely the type called *dvigu* (2.1.52: *saṃkhyā-pūrvo dviguḥ*). Consider now another derivation. Rule 5.1.37 (*tena kṛitam* [*ṭhak* 19]) provides for affixing *ṭhak* to a sequence *X* + instrumental (*tena*) to form a *taddhita* derivative meaning 'bought with *X*'. And 5.1.28 (*adhyardha-pūrva-dvigor lug a-saṃjñāyām*) states that a *taddhita* affix introduced by a rule under the section headed by 5.1.19 is deleted under certain conditions, among them that it occur after a *dvigu*. Hence, with the deletion of *ṭhak*, we obtain *daśa-go-* 'bought for ten cows'. And it is such a derivative which is referred to by *a-taddhita-luki* in 5.4.92: the compound is such as contains at one stage a *taddhita* replaced by zero (*luk*), so that *ṭac* is not added to it. Thus *daśa-gu-*⁸ contrasts with *daśa-gava-*.

19: *a-darśana-* 'non-appearance, dis-appearance'. Though this gloss is correct for three of the four rules given as references, it is not correct for 5.4.76 (misprinted as 5.4.96), where *a-darśana-* means 'other than eye'. The rule in question (*akṣṇo'darśanāt* [*ac* 75]) provides for adding *ac* to a compound ending in the item *akṣi-* when it is used in a meaning other than 'eye'. This is noted by commentators, e.g., *Kāś.* *caṣṭh-paryāya-vacano darśana-śabdaḥ* 'The item *darśana* here is (used as) a synonym of *caṣṭus* ('eye').'

20: *ad-upadeśa-* 'an expression terminating in short *a*'. This gloss is more appropriate for the Skt. *ad-anta* and fails to take note of the term *upadeśa*. *ad-upadeśa-* should be 'which ends in short *a* at the stage of teaching (*upadeśa*)', that is, before grammatical operations apply to an item.

21: *a-dravya-prakarṣa-* 'non-excellence or non-prominence of matter'. From this gloss it appears that Prof. Katre analyzes the compound as *dravyasyāprakarṣaḥ* instead of *a-dravyasya* (= *dravya-bhinnasya*) *prakarṣaḥ* 'excellence of a non-thing (other than a thing)'. The latter alone is correct. The rule in question (5.4.11: *kim-et-tiṇ-avyaya-ghād āmv a-dravya-prakarṣe*) states that the affix *ām* is introduced after certain items terminating in *tarap*, *tamap* (denoted by the term *gha*) and states a semantic condition. The items are: *kim* (interrogative pronoun), items ending in *e-*, verb forms (terminating in a finite verb ending, denoted by *tiṇ*), and indeclinables (*avyaya*, see below re p. 69).

⁷ The *-a* of *pāda-* is deleted before the *taddhita* affix *-ya-* by 6.4.148 (*yasyeti ca* [*lopaḥ* 147, *taddhite* 144]).

⁸ By 2.4.1 (*dvigur ekavacanam*) a *dvigu* compound such as *daśa-gava-*, *daśa-go-* is treated as singular; and by 2.4.17 (*sa napuṃsakam*) it is also neuter. 1.2.47 (*hrasvo napuṃsake prātipadikasya*) then states that the final vowel of a neuter nominal base is replaced by a short vowel: *daśa-go* → *daśa-gu-*.

Now consider two forms: *uccaistamām* 'very high up', *uccaistamaḥ* (*parvataḥ*) 'highest (mountain)'. The latter is an adjective here referring to a mountain, so that the excellence involved is relative to a thing (*dravya*). This is not true of *uccaistamām*, an adverb. The rule states *a-dravya-prakarṣe* to prevent the affixation of *ām* in cases like *uccaistamaḥ*. This is the way commentators have interpreted the rule. For example, *Kāś.* 5.4.11 asks *a-dravya-prakarṣa iti kim* 'To what end (does Pāṇini say) *a-dravya-prakarṣe*?' and answers by citing examples where *ām* is excluded by this: *uccaistaraḥ* ('a higher ...'), *uccaistamaḥ*. Similarly, *Nyāsa* on 5.4.11 introduces a possible objection to be explained away; the objection is: *nanu ca dravyasya na prakarṣo'stī| tathā ca bhāṣya uktam na vai dravyasya prakarṣo'stī| ataḥ pratiśedho 'narthakaḥ* 'But there is no excellence of a thing; thus it is said in the Bhāṣya (cf. ad 5.3.55: II.413.7), "Indeed, there is no excellence of a thing (only of properties of things);" hence the negation [*a-dravya prakarṣe*] is useless.'

22: *adhikaraṇa*⁻¹ 'government, case relationship'. *adhikaraṇa*⁻² 'sense of the locative case; receptacle; support'. *adhikaraṇa*⁻³ 'substance, thing, object'. *adhikaraṇa*^{-vācīn} 'indicating case relationship'. 'Locus' is the technical meaning of *adhikaraṇa*, as defined by 1.4.45: *ādhāro'dhikaraṇam* 'A locus (substratum: *ādhāra*) is (assigned the name) *adhikaraṇa*'. This technical usage appears in rules such as 2.3.36 (*saptamy adhikaraṇe ca*), which states that the seventh triplet of nominal endings (*saptamī*) is introduced after a nominal base when a locus is to be denoted; e.g., *kaṭa āste* 'he is seated on a mat', with the locative ending *-i* after *kaṭa* (*kaṭe*). The term *adhikaraṇa* is also used by Pāṇini in a nontechnical sense, meaning 'thing' (*dravya*). Thus rule 2.4.13 (*vipratīṣiddham cān-adhikaraṇa-vācī* [*ekavacanam* 1, *dvandvāḥ* 2]) provides that a *dvandva* compound consisting of items denoting opposites (*vipratīṣiddham*) is optionally treated as singular provided the items do not denote things (*an-adhikaraṇa-vācī*); e.g., *śītoṣṇam* 'hot and cold' (nt. sg.) but *śītoṣṇe* (*udake*) 'hot and cold (waters)' (nt. du.). In his commentary on 1.1.23, Patañjali (Bh. I.81.11-15) directly contrasts these two usages using rules 2.3.36 and 2.4.13 as examples of the use of a term in both technical or artificial (*kṛtrima*) and nontechnical or nonartificial (*akṛtrima*) values: *tathādhāro'dhikaraṇam iti kṛtrimādhikaraṇa-samjñā| adhikaraṇa-pradeśeṣu cobhaya-gatir bhavati: saptamy adhikaraṇe ceti kṛtrimasya grahaṇam, vipratīṣiddham cān-adhikaraṇa-vācīty akṛtrimasya*. This eliminates one example for Katre's entry *adhikaraṇa*^{-1-vācīn}; though on p. 22 he gives this as a case where *adhikaraṇa* means 'case relationship', on p. 27 he correctly glosses *an-adhikaraṇa-vācīn* 'not signifying a substance' and refers to 2.4.13. The other two references for *adhikaraṇa*^{-1-vācīn} are also to be eliminated. The rules in question are 2.2.13: *adhikaraṇa-vācīnā ca* (*śaṣṭhī* 8, *na* 10) and 2.3.68: *adhikaraṇa-vācīnaś ca* (*śaṣṭhī* 50). In connection with these another rule has to be considered: 3.4.76: *kto'dhikaraṇe ca dhrauvya-gati-pratyavasānārthebhyāḥ*. This states that the affix *kta* is introduced not only when agent or *bhāva* is to be denoted but also (*ca*) when a locus (*adhikaraṇa*) is to be denoted, *kta* being affixed to roots which are intransitive (*dhrauvya* 'fixedness') and those which denote movement (*gati*) or eating (*pratyavasāna*). Rule 2.3.68 then provides that, when a participial such as *āsita* (*ās* 'be seated') derived by 3.4.76 is used, the sixth triplet of nominal endings (*śaṣṭhī*) — the genitive endings — is introduced after a nominal to denote an agent: *idam eṣām āsitam* 'this is where they (gen. pl. *eṣām*) sit'. And 2.2.13 states that a genitive form by 2.3.68 does not form a compound with such a participial. These references clearly belong under the entry *adhikaraṇa*⁻². For *adhikaraṇa*⁻¹ 'government, case relationship', in the compound *samānādhikaraṇa*-, one reference is given on p. 22, rule 1.2.42. An additional six references appear in the addenda (p. 650): 2.1.49, 2.2.11, 3.2.124, 6.3.34 (misprinted as 6.1.34), 6.3.46, and 8.1.73. On p. 586 appear the entries *samānādhikaraṇa*⁻¹ 'grammatical agreement in case with', for which the references are 3.2.124 and 6.3.34 (the misprint 6.1.34 appears here again), and *samānādhikaraṇa*⁻² 'being in the same case relation with', for which the references are 1.4.105, 1.2.42, 2.1.49, 2.2.11,

6.3.46, and 8.1.73. There are thus eight rules in which the meanings ‘government, case relationship’ are attributed to *adhikaraṇa*-. Rule 1.4.105 (*yusmady upapade samānādhikarane sthāniny api madhyamaḥ*) is one of a series of rules stating cooccurrence restrictions whereby a proper set of endings is chosen among all the finite verb endings (see *IJJ* 12.229 [1970]). The set of endings called *madhyama* (see below, re p. 122: *uttama*-) is selected if the *kāraka* (see below, re p. 173: *kāraka*-, *kāraka-madhyama*-) denoted by the verb ending(s) is the same as that of a potentially used (*sthāniny api*) cooccurring (*upapada* ‘subjoined item’, see below, re p. 133) pronoun *yusmad* (2nd person pronoun). That is, if an agent (*kartr*) or object (*karman*) denoted by verb endings in general is also denoted by *yusmad* the *madhyama* endings are selected; e.g., *tvam gacchasi* ‘you are going’ contains the *madhyama* ending *-si* denoting the same agent as *tvam* (which replaces *yusmad*). Commentators are clear on this point: Bh. I.354.6: *yusmadi sādhanē* ‘when (if) *yusmad* is the *sādhana* (i.e., *kāraka*), *Kāś.* 1.4.105: *samānādhikaraṇe samānābhidheye tulya-kārake* ‘(By) *samānādhikarane* (is meant) “when (the verb ending and the *upapada*) have the same denotation (*samānābhidheye*)”, (that is,) “when they (refer to) the same *kāraka*.” Clearly there is no question here of anything but coreference. If by ‘case relationship’ Prof. Katre here means the role played by a given thing with respect to an action this is acceptable. But it is not overly clear, since *adhikaraṇa*- ‘substance’ is listed separately. Again, let us consider rule 1.2.42 (*tatpuruṣaḥ samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhārayaḥ*), which defines the class of compounds called *karmadhāraya*. A *tatpuruṣa* compound which is *samānādhikaraṇa* is a *karmadhāraya*; e.g., *nilotpala* ‘blue-lotus’ equivalent to *nilam utpalam* ‘blue lotus’. In this case one can speak of the same case: both the adjective *nilam* and the noun *utpalam* are nominative singular neuter. But now consider what is said in the Bhāṣya regarding rule 1.2.42. Kātyāyana here argues against the definition, claiming it is improper, and he argues on the basis of meaning. For the relation of *samānādhikaraṇa* to obtain it is necessary to have two items with distinct meanings, which are then *samānādhikaraṇa* with each other. But a *tatpuruṣa* compound has a single meaning. Therefore, if the rule states, ‘a *tatpuruṣa* which is *samānādhikaraṇa* is (termed) *karmadhāraya*’ it is an improper definition; vt. 1: *tatpuruṣas samānādhikaraṇaḥ karmadhāraya itī cet samāsaikārthatvād a-prasiddhiḥ*. The second vārttika proposes to set things in order by stating: *siddham tu pada-samānādhikaraṇyāt* ‘All is in order, since (we will state that) there is *samānādhikaraṇa* of *padas* (syntactic items which enter into composition).’ In his commentary on the Bhāṣya ad 1.2.42 Kaiyaṭa also clearly states what is at issue (*Pr.* I.2.37b): *bhinna-pravṛtti-nimitta-prayuktasyānekasya śabdasyaikasminn arthe vṛttiḥ samānādhikaraṇyam ucyate*. ‘(By) *samānādhikaraṇa* is meant the occurrence of more than one item referring to a single thing, each item having a distinct base meaning.’⁹ In its comments on 1.2.42 the *Kāś.* also reflects the view that *samānādhikaraṇa* means ‘having the same denotatum (in a context)’: *adhikaraṇa-śabdo* ‘*bhidheya-vācī*’ *samānādhikaraṇaḥ samānābhidheyaḥ*; similarly, *Nyāsa*, *PM* ad 3.2.124. And in *Kāś.* ad 2.1.49 we find a statement almost identical with that cited above from the *Pradīpa*: *bhinna-pravṛtti-nimittasya śabdasyaikasminn arthe vṛttiḥ samānādhikaraṇyam*. Finally, consider a statement made by Patañjali in a discussion having nothing to do with case. In the discussion of 1.3.1 it is suggested that a verb root (*dhātu*) be defined semantically as that which denotes an action (*kriyā-vacana*, Bh. I.254.13: *kriyā-vacano dhātuḥ*). Patañjali then asks how one knows that roots such as *pac* ‘cook’ denote actions (Bh. I.(254.20): *katham punar jñāyate kriyā-vacanāḥ pac-ādaya itī*), to which the answer is: such items are *samānādhikaraṇa* with *kṛ*

⁹ I use the term “base meaning” here to render the Skt. *pravṛtti-nimitta*-, lit. ‘cause (*nimitta*) of (an item’s) occurring (as denoting a given thing)’. This generally refers to the generic property (*jāti*); for example, the *pravṛtti-nimitta* of *nila* ‘blue’ is *nilatva* ‘blueness’, that of *ghaṭa* ‘jug’ *ghaṭatva*.

'do' (whence *kriyā*); for example, if one asks, 'What is he doing?', one answer is, 'He is cooking'; Bh. I.254.20-21 : *yad eṣaṃ karotinā sāmānādhikarāṇyam| kiṃ karoti| pacati*. What is clearly meant is that all verb roots denote particular actions, while *kr* denotes activity in general, so that all roots can be said to have a denotation in common with *kr*. In effect, in all the instances of Prof. Katre's *adhikaraṇa*-¹ 'government, case relation' it is proper to say that the gloss should be 'thing denoted' and that *sāmānādhikaraṇa* refers to items which, in a given context, refer to the same thing. To be sure, in the case of adjectives and the nouns they qualify, *sāmānādhikaraṇa* entails an identity of endings. But this is more properly viewed as the linguistic expression of *sāmānādhikaraṇa*. This term is thus most closely comparable to *abheda* 'identity' of Nyāya grammatical works. For example, in his *Vyutpattivāda* Gadādhara notes that identity appears (*bhāsate*) to the cognition through a linguistic expression as obtaining between that which is brought to cognition (*upasthāpitasya*) by a syntactic item *X* (*padena*, e.g., *nilaḥ* 'a blue ...') and the denotatum of a nominal base *Y* (*prātipadikārthe*, e.g., *jug*, the denotatum of *ghaṭa*) on condition that *X* have the same ending as *Y* (*sva-samāna-vibhaktikena*) or that *X* immediately precede *Y* (*svāvyaḥita-pūrvavartinā*);¹⁰ e.g., *nilo ghaṭaḥ* '(A) blue jug', *nila-ghaṭaḥ*.

23: *adhiṣṭa* - '=*satkārapūrvako vyāpāraḥ Kāś.* 'instruction given by a teacher solicited for it'. In rule 3.3.161 (*vidhinimantraṇāmantraṇādhiṣṭa-sampraśna-prārthaneṣu liṅ*), misprinted as 3.3.61, the proper meaning for *adhiṣṭa* is 'respectful command', one of the meanings which condition the use of optative endings. That the term denotes a type of command is clear from the Bhāṣya, where Patañjali asks what is the distinction between *adhiṣṭa* and *vidhi* 'injunction, command'; he notes that *vidhi* is a mere charging of someone to do something, while *adhiṣṭa* is a respectful command; Bh. II.165.10-11: *vidhy-adhiṣṭayoh ko viśeṣaḥ| vidhir nāma preṣaṇam| adhiṣṭaṃ nāma sat-kāra-pūrvikā vyāpāraṇā* '... *adhiṣṭa* is a respectful causing to do.' This is the meaning of *adhiṣṭa* also in 3.3.166 (*adhiṣṭe ca [loṭ 165]*), which provides for the use of imperative endings when *adhiṣṭa* is to be denoted and the particle *sma* is used. The *Kāś.* gives as one example for this rule *aṅga sma rājan māṇavakam adhyāpaya* 'Do teach the lad, oh king' and *vyāpāraḥ* of the *Kāś.*'s gloss ad 3.3.161 is properly interpreted as an action noun of the causative *vyāpārayati* 'has do ...', as noted in *PM* ad loc. (*ny-antād er ac*). In rule 5.1.80 (*tam adhiṣṭo ... [kālāt 78]*) *adhiṣṭa* is a participle referring to one who has been respectfully commanded, and *Kāś.* glosses accordingly: *adhiṣṭaḥ sat-kṛtya vyāpārītaḥ*.

28: *an-abhyāsa* - 'lacking reduplication, non-reduplicated'. The term is thus taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound referring to a root (*dhātu*). Though this is possible, it should be noted that this is not the interpretation found in commentaries which give detailed explanations and paraphrases of rules. *Kāś.* ad 6.1.8 glosses *anabhyāsasya dhātor avayavasya* 'of that part of a root which is other than a reduplicated syllable'; similarly *SK* 2177, commenting on which the *Bālaṃanoramā* explicitly says *abhyāsa-bhinnasya*.

33: *an-udātta* - 'accentless'. There should actually be three entries in accord with Prof. Katre's procedure in the rest of this book: *anudātta*-¹ 'a low-pitched vowel', *anudātta*-² '(an item) which contains (a) low-pitched vowel(s)' [*anudātto (-ā) yasmin*], and *anudātta*-³ '(an item) which contains no high-pitched vowel' [*nodātto yasmin*]. The first term is the technical term defined by 1.2.30: *nicair anudāttaḥ* [ac 27]. The second appears, for example, in 7.2.10: *ekāca upadēśe'nudātītāt (neṭ 8)*, which con-

¹⁰ *Vyutpattivāda*, ed. Jayadeva Miśra, 3rd ed. (Allahabad, 1953), pp. 7-8: *abhedaś ca prātipadikārthe sva-samāna-vibhaktikena svāvyaḥita-pūrvavartinā ca padenopasthāpitasyaiva saṃsarga-maryādāyā bhāsate yatha nilo ghaṭo nila-ghaṭam ānayety ādau ghaṭādau nilādeḥ*. Note that I say *sāmānādhikaraṇa* 'is most closely comparable to *abheda*', not that the former is identical with the latter. The former as discussed here is a relation between linguistic items, the latter is a relation between the denotata of such items.

travenes 7.2.35 (see above, re p. 15). One of the provisions of the rule is that after a root which is taught as containing a low-pitched vowel an *ārdhadhātuka* affix does not receive the augment *it*; e.g., from *ḍukṛñ* the agent noun comparable to *lav-itr-* is *kar-itr-*. An example of *anudātta*-³ is 6.1.190 (*anudātte ca*). This is an accentual rule stating that the first vowel of reduplicated forms of roots (*abhyastānām ādih*, 6.1.189) is high pitched (*udātta*, 6.1.159) before a verb ending replacing an L-member and which does not contain a high-pitched vowel; e.g., *dādāti* 'gives' (root *dā*). As Patañjali notes (Bh. III.113.21-22) *anudātta* in 6.1.190 is to be interpreted as meaning 'in which an *udātta* vowel does not occur' (*avidyamānodatte' nudātta iti vaktavyam*). Otherwise, in a form such as *dādāt* (as in *mā hi sma dādāt* 'let him not put') one could not get the proper accentuation by the rule, since *-t* does not contain a low-pitched vowel.

33: *anu-deśa*- 'one to one correspondence'. This gives the import of the rule in which the term occurs rather than an accurate gloss of the term itself. The rule in question is 1.3.10: *yathā-saṃkhyam anudeśaḥ samānām*. This states that, when two sequences of items are stated in connection with an operation and both contain the same number of items, the subsequent enumeration is related to the former in order. For example, 6.1.78 (see above, re p. 15) uses the term *ec* to denote the vowels *e*, *o*, *ai*, *au* and states the substitutes *ay*, *av*, *āy*, *āv*; *substituenda* and *substitutentia* are related in order, so that *ay* replaces *e*, etc. *Anudeśa*- means 'subsequent enumeration' with reference to items such as the substitutes of 6.1.78.

39: *antādivat* '(simultaneously) serving as the word-final (of the preceding) and word-initial (of the following) expressions'. The term is used in 6.1.85 (*antādivac ca*) and has to do with rules which provide a single replacement for two contiguous items (6.1.84: *ekaḥ pūrva-parayoh*). But there is no limitation to word-final contexts. For example, given *pā-a-anti* (root *pā* 'drink', presential affix *śap* and 3rd pl. ending *-anti*), rule 6.1.97 (*ato guṇe [apadāntāt 96, para-rūpam 94]*) applies so that *-a₁-a₂* yields *-a₂-: pā-anti*. At this stage, 7.3.78 (*pā ... piba ... [śiti 75]*) should apply to replace *pā* with *piba*: *piba-anti* → *pibanti*. But this rule applies when the root occurs before an affix marked with *ś* (*śit*) such as *śap*. By letting the single vowel *-a₂-* be treated as though it were the final (*antavat*) of the previous unit, *-anti* resulting from *-a-anti* is treated as marked with *ś*. But there is no word final involved.

42: *a-pañcamī*- 'other than the ablative (case)'. But on p. 346 *pañcamī*- is glossed 'endings of the fifth or ablative case'. I think it would be preferable to give a single gloss which is strictly in accord with Pāṇinian usage. The terms *prathamā* '1st', *dvitīyā* '2nd', *trītiyā* '3rd', *caturthī* '4th', *pañcamī* '5th', *ṣaṣthī* '6th', and *saptamī* '7th' refer only to triplets (*trika*) of nominal endings; e.g., *prathamā* refers to the endings *su*, *au*, *jas*, *dvitīyā* to *am*, *aut*, *śas*, etc. Some modification in this direction is desirable for all the entries of this nature.

47: *a-pūrva-nipāta*- 'other than occupying the first place'. Reference is made to 1.2.44. But on p. 336, *sv. nipāta* 'particle', again 1.2.44 is referred to. This rule has nothing to do with particles. It provides that certain items are classed as *upasarjana* (see below, re p. 135) except with respect to occurring in prior position (*a-pūrva-nipāte*), that is, though they are *upasarjana*, they do not, like others of this class, occur as prior members of compounds.

52: *abhyāsa*- 'the first syllable of a reduplicated verbal base'. Though this is the technical meaning of *abhyāsa*, valid in most rules, the term has a nontechnical meaning in rule 1.3.71, which is given as a reference. Here it means 'repetition'; cf. *Kāś.* ad loc.: *abhyāsaḥ punaḥ punaḥ karaṇam āvṛttiḥ*.

69: *avyaya*- 'an indeclinable word'. This gloss is in accord with the definition of an *avyaya* as an item which does not undergo modification for gender, cases denoted by different endings, or number (Bh. I.96.13: *na vyetity avyayam*, I.96.16-17: *sadṛśam triṣu liṅgeṣu sarvāsu ca vibhaktiṣu vacaneṣu ca sarveṣu yan na vyeti tad avyayam*). But this is not true in Pāṇini's system. For the compound type called *avyayibhāva* (Katre,

p. 70: 'an indeclinable compound') also belongs to the *avyaya* class (1.1.41: *avyayibhāvaś ca* [avyayam 37]). After an *avyayibhāva* in *-a*, nominal endings of the fifth triplet of endings are not deleted or replaced by *-am*, as are other endings in this environment (2.4.83: *nāvyaibhāvād ato'm tv a-pañcamyāh*); and *-am* replaces the third and seventh triplets only optionally (2.4.84: *trīyā-saptamyor bahulam*); e.g., abl. *upakumbhād ānaya* 'bring (it) from near the pot', loc. *upakumbhe dhehi* 'put (it) near the pot' from the *avyayibhāva* *upakumbha*. I would accept the use of 'indeclinable' as a term sanctioned by usage, but some clarification is in order.

75: *a-saṁdhi-* 'want of euphonic union or connection'. However, in the rule referred to, 6.2.154, the meaning is rather 'contract, agreement'. Prof. Katre correctly glosses, p. 582, *saṁ-dhi-* 'agreement on oath'.

76: *a-sūrya-* 'sunless'. 77: *asūryam-paśya-* 'not seeing the sun'. The negative *a-* in *a-sūryam-paśya-* is syntactically connected with the verb, the compound being an equivalent of *na sūryam paśyanti* 'do not see the sun'. *a-sūrya-* is an example of what is called an *a-samartha-samāsa*, a compound (*samāsa*) whose members are not (*a-*) syntactically and semantically connected (*samartha*); normally composition takes place only with items so related. I think it would have been better to leave *a-sūrya-* without a gloss, merely referring to the entry *a-sūryam-paśya-*.

77: *a-stri-* 'other than feminine'. In 3.3.94 (*striyām ktin*) *stri-* means 'femininity' with respect to gender; the rule states that *ktin* is affixed to roots to form feminine action nouns, e.g., *kr-ti-*. In 1.4.4, on the other hand, *stri-* is used to refer to the item '*stri-*' (*Kāś. stri-sabdām varjayitvā* 'excepting the item *stri*'). And in 3.1.94 *stri-* is used to refer to a section heading; see *Pratidānam* (Festschrift F. B. J. Kuiper), pp. 451-2. On p. 620 Prof. Katre does make two separate entries: *stri*¹ 'feminine gender' and *stri*² 'the expression *stri*'.

78: *asmad-* 'base of the first person pronoun plural'. Similarly, p. 470, *yuṣmad-* 'base of the second person pronoun in pl. number'. It is worth noting that in Pāṇini's system *asmad-* and *yuṣmad-* are simply the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which, after various replacements, yield the singular forms also. See below, re p. 148.

88. *ātmane-pada-* 'the middle voice'. But on p. 353 the term *parasmai-pada-* is glossed 'the personal endings of the active voice'. The latter is correct; both these terms denote sets of verb endings.

91: *ā-deśa-* 'substitute morpheme'. This term should rather be glossed simply 'substitute' or 'replacement'. For example, the *au* which replaces the *-v* of *div-* 'heaven' (7.1.84: *diva aut*) is an *ādeśa*; see *IJJ* 12.233 (1970).

92: *ādyanta-vat-* '1. (mfn.) having beginning and end; 2. ind. as if it were the beginning and end'. A single rule is given as reference, 1.1.21: *ādy-anta-vad ekasmin*. Consider rule 7.3.102: *supi ca (ato dīrgho yañi 101, aṅgasya 6.4.1)*. This states that *-a* is replaced by the long vowel (*dīrgha*) *-ā* before one of the sounds denoted by *yañ*, among them *y*, these sounds being initials of nominal endings (*sup*). This rule comes under the heading of 6.4.1, so that it applies to a presuffixal base. Now, rule 1.1.72 (*yena vidhis tad-antasya*) provides that an item *X* used (as a qualifier) in stating an operation denotes both itself and the unit ending in it (*tad-anta*). Hence *at* of 7.3.102 denotes the presuffixal base ending in *-a*; e.g., *puruṣa-ya* → *puruṣāya* 'to the man'. Now consider the derivation of the inst.-dat.-abl. du. *ābhyaṁ* '... them'. At one stage of derivation we have *a-bhyaṁ*. In order for 7.3.102 to apply so that *a-* be replaced by *ā-* a special provision has to be made, since *a-* is not here the final of a larger unit. This provision is made by rule 1.1.21, which states that a single sound (*eka*) is treated as though it were the initial (*ādī*) or final (*anta*) of a larger unit. Prof. Katre's two glosses are incompatible. The first apparently takes *vat* to be the possessive affix (*matup*, with replacement), the latter interprets *vat* as the affix *vari*. Only the latter is correct; rule 5.1.116 (*tatra tasyeva [vatiḥ 115]*) allows for introducing *vati* after a nominal + locative ending (*tatra*) to obtain a derivative meaning 'as there' (*tatreva*), and this is

the rule invoked to explain *-vat* of 1.1.21 by commentators; *Kāś. saptamy-arthe vatih.*

96: *ā-mreḍita*- 'reduplication'. This is not strictly in accord with Pāṇini's definition. Rule 8.1.1 (*sarvasya dve*) is a heading which provides that, under the conditions given in subsequent rules, an entire item (*sarva*) is doubled. 8.1.2 (*tasya param āmreḍitam*) then states that the second (*param* 'subsequent') of the two items thus obtained is termed *āmreḍita*; e.g., in *jalpati jalpati* 'constantly chatters' and *puruṣaḥ puruṣo nidhanam upaiti* 'all men go unto death' (see below, re p. 335) the second *jalpati* and *puruṣaḥ* are *āmreḍita*.

122: *uttama*-² 'the first person'. But *prathama*-² (p. 391) is accompanied by the gloss 'the endings of the first person' and on p. 436 *madhyama*-² is glossed 'the endings of the second person'. The first entry should be modified to accord with the last two: these are all terms denoting sets of verb endings. See below, re p. 148.

123: *upa-pada*- 'a word standing near or accompanying another to which it is subordinated'. Though 'cooccurring item' is a perfectly justifiable gloss for this item (cf., e.g., *Kāś. 1.3.77: samipe śrūyamānaṃ śabdāntaram upapadam*) and is valid in rules such as 1.3.77, 1.4.105 (see above, re p. 22), it should be noted that it is also a technical term defined by Pāṇini. Rule 3.1.92 (*tatropapadam saptamī-stham*) provides that what is stated in the locative (*saptamī-stha*) in rules of the section headed by 3.1.91 (*dhātoḥ* 'after a root') is termed *upa-pada*. For example, 3.2.1 (*karmany aṇ*) contains the locative *karmaṇi* of *karman* 'object'; it provides that *aṇ* is affixed to a root construed with an *upa-pada* denoting an object. And rule 2.2.19 (*upa-padam a-tiṇ*) then provides for compounding such a nominal *upa-pada* with the syntactically related verb derivative, the compound not alternating with a sentential expression containing the same items (2.2.17: *nityam*). Thus, by 3.2.1, *aṇ* is affixed to *kṛ* to yield *kār-a*- 'maker', which forms a compound with, e.g., *kumbha* + acc.: *kumbha-kāra*- (with deleted acc., see fn. 6) 'pot maker'; this is equivalent to *kumbhān karoti* 'makes pots' but does not have an alternant expression **kumbhān kāraḥ* consisting of *kumbha* + acc. and *kār-a*.

135: *upa-sarjana*- 'subordinate, secondary'. Here again, though this gloss is perfectly justified, it should be noted that Pāṇini both uses the term in this sense and defines a class of *upa-sarjanas*. The two such definition rules are 1.2.43 (*prathamā-nirdiṣṭaṃ samāsa upasarjanam*) and 1.2.44 (*eka-vibhakti cāpurvanipāte*). The first states that what is stated in the nominative (*prathamā-nirdiṣṭa* 'stated with the first triplet of nominal endings') in the section of rules for compounds (*samāsa*) is *upa-sarjana*. The second rule provides for classing as *upa-sarjana* an item which, in the derivation of a compound, always has the same set of nominal endings (*eka-vibhakti*). This rule also has a qualification: such an item is *upa-sarjana* except with respect to occupying prior position (*a-pūrva-nipāta*). Now, by 2.2.30 (*upasarjanaṃ pūrvam*) an *upa-sarjana* generally occurs as prior member of a compound. For example, 2.2.8 (*śaṣṭhi*) provides for a nominal + genitive (*śaṣṭhi*) to compound with a syntactically related item; further, *śaṣṭhi* is a nominative form, so that the nominal + genitive is *upa-sarjana*, hence occurs as prior member; thus, to *tad-* + gen. and *puruṣa-s* (*tasya puruṣaḥ*) corresponds the compound *tat-puruṣa-*. 2.2.18 (*ku-gati-prādayaḥ*) provides for a compound from items such as *niṣ* and syntactically related items; e.g., *niṣ-kausāmbi*- 'gone from Kauśāmbi' (*kausāmbiḥ niṣkrāntaḥ*). Since *kausāmbi-* is always followed by the ablative ending in whatever sentence corresponds to the compound, it is *upa-sarjana*- by 1.2.44. But by the same rule it does not occupy prior position; this is preserved for *niṣ*, which is also *upa-sarjana*, since *prādayaḥ* 'pra etc. (including *niṣ*)' is stated in the nominative. The reason for classing *kausāmbi-* is to allow *-i* to be replaced by the short vowel *-i*: *niṣ-kausāmbiḥ*; see *Pratidānam*, p. 451. Now consider the derivation of compounds of the *dvandva* type. 2.2.29 (*cārthe dvandvaḥ [anekam 28]*) provides that multiple syntactically related items may be compounded to form a derivative in the meaning '... and ...', such a compound being termed *dvandva*. Thus is derived, for

example, *āpiśala-pāṇinīyāḥ* 'students of Āpiśali and students of Pāṇini'. Accentual rules are formulated to show which of the vowels in a compound is high pitched. One such rule is 6.2.36 (*ācāryopasarjanaścāntevāsi* [*prakṛtyā pūrva-padam* 1]), which states that the prior syntactic item (*pūrva-pada*) of a *dvandva* retains its original accentuation (*prakṛtyā*) if the compound consists of items denoting *antevāsins* who are *ācāryopasarjana*. This can only mean (cf. *Nyāsa* ad loc.) that the principal meaning of a compound such as that cited above is a conjunction of *antevāsins* while the subordinate (*upasarjana*) meaning is certain teachers (*ācārya*), that is, the compound denotes *antevāsins* qualified as being students of certain teachers. The technical meaning of *upa-sarjana* by 1.2.43, 44 is not appropriate here.

148: *eka-vacana*- 'the singular number'. *dvi-vacana*- (p. 315) is glossed 'the dual and its endings' and *bahu-vacana*- has the gloss (p. 409) 'the plural number'. Here again a distinction should have been made between the two distinct values of these terms. By 1.4.101 (*tiṅas triṇi triṇi prathama-madhyamottamāḥ*) each set of three verb endings (*tiṅ*) within the *parasmaipada* and *atmanepada* sets of endings is called, in order, *prathama*, *madhyama*, and *uttama*. The first three endings, *tip*, *tas*, and *jhi* are thus termed both *parasmaipada* and *prathama*. Within such a triplet the first, second, and third endings are respectively called *ekavacana*, *dvivacana*, and *bahuvacana* by 1.4.102 (*tāny ekavacana-dvivacana-bahuvacanāny ekaśaḥ*); thus, *tip* is *ekavacana*, *tas* is *dvivacana*, and *jhi* (which yields *-anti*, *-ati* by 7.1.3, 4) is *bahuvacana*. Rule 1.4.102 (*supaḥ*) further states that within each of the seven triplets of nominal endings (denoted by *sup*) the first, second, and third are respectively termed *ekavacana*, *dvivacana*, and *bahuvacana*; thus the endings *su*, *au*, *ja*, which constitute the first triplet, bear these respective names. These terms are used in their technical value in various rules which need not be taken up here; see IJ 12.229 (1970) for examples. But now consider the following rules: 7.2.92: *yuvāvau dvivacane*, 7.2.97: *tva-māṃ ekavacane*, 7.2.98: *pratyayottara-padayoś ca*. The first rule pertains to the derivation of dual forms such as nom.-acc. *yuvām*, *āvām* (1st person, 2nd person); e.g., *yusmad-au* → *yusmad-am* (7.1.28) → *yuva-ad-am* (7.2.97) → *yuva-aā-am* (7.2.87, 88) → *yuvaāam* (6.1.97) → *yuvām* (6.1.101) → *yuvām* (6.1.107); similarly, *āvām* < *asmad-au*. The second rule pertains to the derivation of forms such as the acc. *tvām*, *mām*; e.g., *yusmad-am* → *tva-ad-am* → *tva-aā-am* ... → *tvām*. In these rules one could say, possibly, that *dvivacane* means 'before a *dvivacana* ending' and *ekavacane* means 'before an *ekavacana* ending'; the replacement of the *yusm-*, *asm-* of *yusmad-*, *asmad-* by *yuva-*, *āva-*, *tva-*, *ma-* would then occur before such endings. But the third rule being considered speaks against this. For this rule states that the replacements provided in 7.2.97 also (*ca*) take effect when the items in question occur before an affix (*pratyaya*) or a subsequent member of a compound (*uttara-pada*); e.g., *tvad-īya*- 'yours', *tvat-putra*- 'your son'. Here the items *yusmad-*, *asmad-* do not occur before *ekavacana* endings, since these have been deleted within the derivative nominals (see above, fn. 6 and *Journal of Indian Philosophy* 1.72, fn. 65 [1970]). The term *eka-vacana* which carries into 7.2.98 from 7.2.97 is, then, to be analyzed as a compound (as shown) meaning 'expression of one'; similarly, *dvi-vacana* in 7.2.92 means 'expression of two' and *eka-vacana* in 2.4.1 (see above, re p. 22) also has a value distinct from that assigned by 1.4.102, 103.

164: The reference to 3.1.17 belongs under the entry *karāṇa*-² 'doing, making, effecting' rather than under *karāṇa*-¹ 'idea expressed by the inst. case; instrumentality, the means or instrument by which an action is effected'.

165: *kartr*-¹ 'the agent of an action; subject of a sentence'. This is apt to lead to confusion, hence it would have been better to give only the first gloss.

173: *kāra*-³ 'a suffix added after a phoneme'. No reference is given. In vt. 3 ad 3.3.108 (*varṇāt kāraḥ*) Kātyāyana states that the affix *kāra* is introduced after a sound (*varṇa*) to form a nominal which denotes that sound; e.g., *a-kāra* 'the sound a'. Similarly, vt. 2 (*ik-śtipau dhātu-nirdeśe*) states that *ik* and *śtip* are affixed to roots, yielding derivatives

which refer to the roots; e.g., *ad-i* (*ad* 'eat'), *as-ti* (*as* 'be'). Though Pāṇini does in fact use *ad-i* (2.4.72), *as-ti* (2.4.52), and other such forms, he does not formulate a rule to introduce the affixes *ik*, *śtip* for such derivatives. Hence, these affixes are properly not listed in Prof. Katre's dictionary. But neither should *kāra* be listed.

173: *kāraka-madhyā*- 'between two cases'. On the same page *kāraka*- is accompanied by the gloss 'instrumental in bringing about the action denoted by the verb; the notion of a case'. Together these entries leave unclear exactly what is meant by *kāraka-madhyā*-; see *IJJ* 12.238 (1970) for the rule in which the term occurs and an example of the usage for which it accounts.

187: *kṛtya*-¹ 'the class of affixes forming the future passive participle'. Although *kṛtya* affixes generally are introduced in derivative nominals denoting direct objects (*karman*) or *bhāva* (3.4.70), it should be noted that such affixes occur in other types of derivatives also. For example, *yat* occurs in *vah-ya*-, which denotes a means of transportation (3.1.102: *vahyaṃ karanam*); this item does not mean 'fit to bear or to be borne, fit to draw or to be drawn' (thus Katre, p. 507).

216: *gotra*-¹ 'technical term for an affix used for forming patronymics or matronymics; the grandson and his descendants'. I think it would have been useful to separate the references for the two glosses. Strictly speaking, *gotra*- need be interpreted as denoting affixes only in three rules, 4.1.94, 4.2.39, 4.3.80. 4.1.162 (*apatyaṃ pautra-prabhṛti gotram*) defines *gotra* as denoting a descendant starting from the grandson. And this usage applies in 2.4.63, 4.1.78, 89, 93, 98, 4.2.111. In 4.3.126, 5.1.134 *gotra*- is used to denote nominal bases which are patronymics, and in 6.2.69 the term is used with reference to a second member of a compound having this meaning. Moreover, in 4.2.39, 4.3.80, according to commentators, *gotra* does not have the meaning assigned it by 4.1.162 but rather denotes any descendant.

245: *jani-karṭṛ*- 'progenitor, procreator, bringing into being; the agent of *jani*'. In the only rule given as reference (1.4.30) the appropriate meaning is 'agent of coming into being'.

246: *jayya*- 'to be conquered or gained'. In the rule referred to (6.1.81, misprinted as 6.1.87) and the one given in the addenda (5.1.93, p. 689) this item means 'which can be conquered'. On p. 199 *kṣayya*- is correctly glossed '(anything) that can be destroyed or removed' and reference is made to 6.1.81, where Pāṇini explicitly says that *jayya*-, *kṣayya*- are used in the meaning 'which can be ...' (*śakyārthe*).

270: *ta-para*- 'followed or preceded by the phoneme *t*'. The twofold interpretation of this term as 'followed by *t*' (*taḥ paro yasmāt*) and 'following *t*' (*tāt paraḥ*) is, to be sure, entertained in all the major commentaries. But it is equally clear that the only interpretation which does not lead to great difficulties and overly subtle argumentation to avoid these (e.g., claiming that what is taken to be *t* is really *d*) is the first.

335: *nitya*- 'fixed, necessary, obligatory'. One of the references given is 8.1.4: *nitya-vīpsayoḥ*, which provides for the doubling of items under the condition that the meanings *nitya* and *vīpsā* are to be conveyed by the speaker. This rule serves for deriving such sequences as *jalpati jalpati*, *puruṣaḥ puruṣo nidhanam upaiti*, for which see above, re p. 96. But here *nitya* does not mean 'permanent, fixed'; as Patañjali notes (ad 8.1.4, III.364.26) it means here 'constant repetition' (*ābhikṣṇya*); the rule thus refers to actions which an agent constantly performs (*Kāś.* ad 8.1.4: *yām kriyām kartā prādhānyenānuparaman karoti tan nityam*). Nor does *vīpsā* in 8.1.4 mean simply 'repetition' (thus Katre, p. 525). The term is used with reference to the total pervasion (*vi-āp*) of objects by properties or actions, which pervasion the speaker wishes to convey, as in the example 'all men go unto death'; cf. *Bh.* ad 8.1.4 (II.365.2-6).

486: *lañ* 'the personal endings of the imperfect'. *laṭ* 'the personal endings of the present tense'. Similarly, p. 488: *lin* 'the personal endings of the Potential (Optative) and Benedictive moods'. *liṭ* 'the personal endings of the Perfect; the Perfect Tense'. p. 490: *luñ* 'the personal endings of the Aorist'. *luṭ* 'the personal endings of the Peri-

phrastic Future'. p. 491: *lṛṭ* 'personal endings of the Future'. *leṭ* 'the personal endings of the (Vedic) Subjunctive'. *loṭ* 'the personal endings of the Imperative'. On p. 491 should be added *lṛñ* (3.3.139), the L-member introduced in deriving conditionals. All such L-members are replaced by personal endings, themselves subject to further substitutions depending on which L is at their origin (3.4.77-112). And Pāṇini does indeed use such L's to denote endings which replace them. For example, 3.4.113 (*tiñ śit sārva-dhātukam*) assigns to the class of *sārvadhātuka* those post-radical affixes which are marked with *ś* and the finite endings denoted by *tiñ*; 3.4.114 (see above, re p. 15) classes as *ārdhadhātuka* the remaining (*śeṣa*) post-radical affixes. And 3.4.115 (*liṭ ca*) is a particular rule contravening 3.4.113; it states that *liṭ* also (*ca*) is *ārdhadhātuka*. Obviously, here *liṭ* must then denote the endings which replace it; cf. *Kāś.*: *liṭ-ādeśas tiñ ārdhadhātuka-samjño bhavati*. But this is certainly not always the case. Rule 3.2.124 (*laṭaḥ śaṭṛ-śānacau ...*)¹¹ states that *laṭ* is replaced by *śaṭṛ* or *śānac*, participial affixes. Now, these are marked with *ś*, which must have a purpose. And the only purpose possible is the classification of the affixes as *sārvadhātuka* by 3.4.113. But, if *śaṭṛ*, for example, were a replacement of a finite ending such as *tīp*, it would be marked with *ś* merely by virtue of having replaced an ending so marked (1.1.56: *sthānivad ādeśo'n-alvidhau*); it is for this reason, for example, that Pāṇini specifically states that the imperative ending *hi* replacing *sip* is not marked with *p* (3.4.87: *ser hy a-pic ca*). Moreover, considering *śaṭṛ* to be a replacement of endings such as *tīp* raises insurmountable problems regarding accentual rules. In general, the first vowel of an affix (*pratyaya*) is high pitched (3.1.3: *ādy-udāttaśca*); thus, *-āt-* (*śaṭṛ*). But nominal affixes (*sup*) and affixes marked with *p* (*pit*) have low pitched vowels (3.1.4: *anudāttau sup-pitau*); thus, *tā* (inst. sg. ending), *tīp*. Now consider the derivation of a participial form such as *lūnatā* 'cutting'. If *śaṭṛ* replaces *laṭ* directly and not an ending such as *tīp*, *lūnat-* is derived as follows: *lū-laṭ* → *lū-āt* → *lū-nā-āt* (3.1.81) → *lū-n-āt* (6.4.112). This base is then followed by the affix *ā*, which is low pitched. Rule 6.1.173 (*śatur a-numo nady-aj-ādi*) then applies to let the ending *ā* be high pitched: *lūnatā*. This rule provides that such an ending is high pitched if it follows a unit ending in *śaṭṛ* which has not been augmented with *num* (*-ant-*) and whose last vowel is high pitched (*antodāttāt* 6.1.169). *lū-n-āt-ā* meets these conditions. If, on the other hand, *śaṭṛ* replaces *tīp* etc., we immediately run into a problem. Given *lū-laṭ* → *lū-ti*, we have to decide whether *ti* should condition the introduction of *śnā* (as in the 3rd sg. pres. *lūnāti*) or should be replaced by *śaṭṛ*, which, since it is also *sārvadhātuka*, will also condition the introduction of *śnā*. The decision to have *ti* replaced by *śaṭṛ* first must be arbitrary. Further, once we progress to the stage *lū-nā-at* (with low pitched *-at* replacing *tīp*) → *lū-n-at*, we must invoke an additional rule to let *-āt* be accented as shown; 6.1.161 (*anudāttasya ca yatrodāttalopah*) provides for replacing an *anudātta* by an *udātta* if it conditions the deletion of a high pitched vowel. Though we can thus arrive at *lū-n-āt-*, it is only at a cost; the alternative derivation involves an arbitrary decision and prolixity. But this is not all. For it is impossible to follow the alternative derivation if one is to correctly arrive at a form such as *sunvatā* 'pressing'. Even making the arbitrary decision noted above, so that we can somehow arrive at *su-nī-at*, we cannot reach the required *su-nv-āt*. For here rule 6.1.161 cannot apply. The only rule which could possibly apply is 8.2.4 (*udātta-svaritayor yaṇaḥ svarito'nudāttasya*); and this only provides for replacing, in the present instance, the low pitched vowel of *-at* by a circumflex vowel after the semivowel *-v-* which has replaced *-ū-*. From the above it follows necessarily that *laṭ* in 3.2.124 cannot denote finite verb endings.

532: *vaiyākaraṇa-* 'relating to grammar, grammatical'; (m) a grammarian'. In the only rule given as reference (6.3.7) the term means 'grammarian'. It occurs as part of

¹¹ See *Lingua* 25.214. (1970), where I inadvertently left out a note stating that *śaṭṛ*, *śānac* were there treated as replacements of finite forms only for purposes of presentation.

the compound *vaiyākaranākhyā*, which Prof. Katre glosses (p. 532) 'a technical term in grammar'. A more precise gloss would be 'a term which (only) grammarians use (normally)'; cf. *Kāś.* ad loc.: *yayā saṃjñayā vaiyākaraṇā eva vyavaharanti. vaiyākaraṇa* is derived in the meaning 'who studies (knows) grammar' by 4.2.59: *tad adhite tad veda*.

The task of a lexicographer dealing with a work such as Pāṇini's is extremely difficult, for it is at times impossible to give a brief yet fully accurate gloss for terms which have no exact counterparts in Western grammatical traditions. I personally think what is needed is an encyclopedic *kośa* similar to the magnificent multivolume *Mīmāṃsā-kośa* and *Dharma-kośa*, tracing the history of terminology with full textual citations from all major grammarians and English paraphrases. Such a massive work is possibly without the reach of a single scholar. In the meantime, I personally am and I think the whole scholarly community should be thankful to Prof. Katre for his effort to make a bit easier entry into the Pāṇinian tradition.¹²

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H.-O. Feistel, *Das Vorspiel auf dem Theater*. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des klassischen indischen Schauspiels. Diss. Tübingen 1969.

Diese Arbeit H.-O. Feistels, welche sich klugerweise auf einen einzigen Themenkreis, den des *pūrvaṃga*, beschränkt, führt uns deutlich die Schwierigkeiten vor Augen, die sich der Text- und Inhaltsanalyse des Bhārata-Nāṭyaśāstra¹ entgegenstellen. Behindernd für unser Verständnis des NS sind nicht allein die weitgehend schlechte Überlieferung beider Rezensionen, die Aufsplitterung älterer Kontextschichten durch Interpolationen und weiter der Umstand, dass viele Fachbezeichnungen teils unzulänglich, teils überhaupt nicht erklärt sind. Noch schwerer wiegt, dass sich zwischen dem Textkern des NS und dem klassischen indischen Drama die zeitliche Kluft von Jahrhunderten auftut und eine Überprüfung der im NS u.a. gerade auch für das Vorspiel gegebenen Instruktionen nicht ohne weiteres möglich erscheint. Erschwert wird ein Vergleichen des *pūrvaṃga*-Abschnittes des NS mit den Gegebenheiten des klassischen Dramas vor allem dadurch, dass stets nur die zuletzt zur Aufführung kommenden Glieder (*aṃga*) des Vorspiels einen festen Bestandteil der Dichtung, d.h. des Werkes des jeweiligen Schauspielverfassers dargestellt haben, während die zahlreichen einleitenden Teile kaum jemals fixiert gewesen, sondern zur Gänze der Improvisationskunst des Theaterensembles und dessen Vorstands, des *sūtradhāra*, anheimgestellt waren. Im klassischen Drama umfasst der vom Dichter geschriebene Teil bekanntlich die *nāṇḍī*, das unmittelbar auf die *nāṇḍī* – *nāṇḍyante* – folgende Zwiegespräch zwischen Theaterdirektor und Schauspieler (*naṭī*) und die *prastāvanā*, doch verdient beachtet zu werden, dass, zum Unterschied von dem im NS skizzierten Vorspiel, in dieses "klassische" Zwiegespräch auch Glieder eingefügt wurden, die in älterer Zeit noch ganz deutlich dem Kompetenzbereich des *sūtradhāra* angehört hatten.

Wenn auch sicher scheint, dass in der Zeit nach Bharata die Grenze zwischen improvisiertem und gedichtetem Teil des *pūrvaṃga* langsam zugunsten des Schauspielverfassers verrückt worden war, schweben wir betreffend der ersten, einleitenden und auch im klassischen Drama noch vom *sūtradhāra* produzierten Vorspielglieder – einer Reihe grösstenteils musikalischer Vorbereitungen – noch so gut wie im Dunklen.

¹² This was written while I was a fellow of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, Stanford, California, to the director of which, O. Meredith Wilson, I express my sincere thanks.

¹ Im folgenden NS.

Während zu vermuten ist, dass Bhāsa, der viel Altes bewahrt hat, noch lange hinausgezogene technische Präliminarien kennt (Einsingen der Sänger und Sängerinnen, Stimmen der Instrumente usw.; Feistel II, § 25), dürfen wir beim eigentlich klassischen Schauspiel mit einer Einleitung rechnen, die nicht ganz so umständlich war (Feistel II, § 26) Meines Erachtens sind viele Kürzungen und Abweichungen von der Praxis des NŚ u.a. daraus erklärbar, dass das "Theaterstück", die zu betrachtende Dichtung (*drśya*), erst langsam und sicherlich erst nach Bharata in den Rang eines völlig selbstständigen, rein poetischen Genres aufgerückt war, was natürlich zur Eliminierung einer Reihe von altertümlichen, teils zeremoniellen, teils gesanglich-tänzerisch-musikalischen Elementen geführt hat. Von Bedeutung ist ferner, dass wir das klassische indische Schauspiel als grösstenteils höfische Dichtung einschätzen müssen. Es repräsentiert ein Theater, das zwar aus Volksstück, Posse, Tanzaufführung, Schattenspiel u.a. hervorgegangen war, sich in seiner endgültigen Ausgestaltung aber doch stark von diesen in teilweise ganz anderen Gesellschaftsschichten verankerten, vielfach mehr volkstümlichen Formen entfernt hat.

Die These Feistels, dass das Theatervorspiel innerhalb des Zeitraums zwischen NŚ und etwa Kālidāsa mehrere – seiner Ansicht nach vier – Entwicklungsstufen durchlaufen hat, ist somit durchaus plausibel, doch ergeben die wenigen Vergleichspunkte, die der Verf. zum Zwecke einer genaueren Periodisierung auszunutzen bestrebt war, kaum wesentlich Neues. Über bisher Bekanntes gehen seine Ausführungen zur absoluten Chronologie (II, § 40) der indischen Theatergeschichte eigentlich allein in der zeitlichen Einordnung der von ihm bearbeiteten Kap. V (1.-2. Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.) und Kap. XX (ca. Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.) des NŚ hinaus.

Seine sonst durchaus gründliche und wohlgedachte Untersuchung zerfällt in zwei Teile. Während der erste eine kritische Textausgabe und Übersetzung der das Vorspiel behandelnden Abschnitte des NŚ (V und XX, 25-36) zu bieten versucht, wertet der zweite Teil aus, was in den Anmerkungen zum ersten präzisiert werden konnte. Obwohl der Verf. als sein hauptsächlichstes Anliegen – vielleicht zu unrecht – die Konstituierung des Textes betrachtet, ist m. E. sehr zu bedauern, dass, insbesondere in Teil II ("Zusammenfassung und Auswertung der Ergebnisse", S. 111 ff.), fast sämtliche Gesichtspunkte in denkbar kürzester Form zur Darstellung kommen, der Erörterung die erwünschte grössere Spannweite fehlt und auch nirgends die Frage gestellt wird, wieweit die so spärlich fliessenden Quellen noch durch Angaben in anderen, gar nicht der Bühnentechnik gewidmeten Texten, etwa solchen der *kāvya*-Literatur (ich denke hier vor allem an Bāṇa) oder deren Kommentare, ergänzt werden können. Auch sind nicht wenige Feststellungen nur Nutzbarmachung bzw. Weiterführung von Erkenntnissen P. Thiemes, an dessen ausgezeichneter, hier oft zitierter Darstellung des indischen Theaters² Feistels Dissertation inspiriert worden war. Wirklich neu und in gewisser Weise bahnbrechend erscheint mir dagegen der Beitrag, den der Verf. zur Deutung von *utthāpāna* liefert. Während man bisher geneigt war, dieses Vorspielglied als die Aufrichtung des Banners Indras, des *jarjara*, zu interpretieren (so u.a. S. Konow und J. Gonda), bringt Feistel gewichtige Argumente gegen die Annahme vor, dass "der Jarjara fest auf der Bühne aufgestellt worden sei, und dass das Glied eben davon seinen Namen erhalten habe". Wie der Verf. in II, § 10 ausführt, "spielt der Jarjara als 'Vernichter der Widerstände' beim Vorspiel eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle, doch bleibt er nach den detaillierten Angaben von NŚ 5.59sq stets in der Hand, zeitweilig des einen Begleiters, zeitweilig in der des Sūtradhāra selbst, der mit ihm Bewegungen ausführt, ihn senkt und wieder aufrichtet (5.81, 113, 121). Nach 5.121 gibt er ihn dann wieder dem einen Begleiter zurück, und da eine gegenteilige Angabe fehlt, muss angenommen werden, dass dieser am Ende des Vorspiels mit dem Jarjara in der Hand abgeht." Dazu kommt, dass in NŚ V, 22 als Objekt des Verbs

² *Das indische Theater*, in: *Fernöstliches Theater*, hrsggb. v. H. Kindermann (Stuttgart, 1966).

utthāpayanti nicht *jarjaram*, sondern *prayogam* gebraucht wird, was nahelegt, dass *utthāpana* terminus technicus nicht für *jarjarotthāpana*, sondern *prayogothāpana* ist. Feistel behält im Deutschen den Ausdruck "Aufstellung" bei, doch entspräche "Antrieb" oder "Belebung" dem eigentlichen Sinn von *utthāpana* besser.³ Eine Aufführung kann schwerlich "aufgestellt", wohl aber vorangetrieben und in Gang gebracht werden. In der Tat spricht m. E. vieles dafür, dass mit *utthāpana* jenes Glied des Vorspiels gemeint ist, mit dessen Hilfe – nach allen vorausgegangenen weitschweifigen Präliminarien – die Aufführung des Schauspiels endlich in Gang kommt. Dabei wird verständlich, dass die zeremonielle Handhabung des die Befreiung von Hindernissen symbolisierenden *jarjara* gerade *im utthāpana*, einem relativ spät eingeordneten Vorspielglied, das als solches bereits in die Nähe des Spielanfangs (*raṅgadvāra*) gerückt ist, ihren rechten Platz finden musste.

Die in Teil I dargebotene Textgestaltung mit Lesarten, Übersetzung und Anmerkungen (S. 13ff.) verrät sehr viel Sorgfalt. Feistels Übertragung wirkt zwar sprachlich umständlich, weist sich jedoch als entschieden vollständiger aus als die von M. Ghosh,⁴ die sowohl lückenhaft als auch an zahlreichen Stellen bloss beiläufig ist. Volle Gewähr für die Richtigkeit kann allerdings auch Feistel nicht bieten. Sehr anschaulich bestätigt der im Anhang zusammengestellte "Index der technischen Benennungen und anderer wichtiger Sanskrit-Begriffe" (S. 143ff.), dass die Kapitel V und XX des NŚ an musikttheoretischen und übrigen Fachbezeichnungen⁵ geradezu wimmeln. Da ihre Bedeutung vielfach gar nicht bestimmt werden kann, stehen so manche Lesarten und nicht wenige Formulierungen des Verf. schon a priori in Frage und bleibt vieles Vermutung. Auch in der Frage der Textinterpolationen, die zweifellos zahlreich sind, gelangt Feistel nur selten zu sicheren Schlüssen.

Die Übersetzung sowohl der NŚ-Strophen als auch zahlreicher Zitate aus Abhinavaguptas *Abhinavabhāratī* ist so wortgetreu wie nur möglich. Allzu häufig überträgt der Autor "hyperkorrekt", indem z.B. fast jedes skt. *hi* als deutsch *ja* oder *allerdings*, jedes skt. *tu* als *aber* (in V, 102a, 102b und 103a gar dreimal hintereinander), jedes skt. *bhavet* als *dürfte sein/werden* usw. mitübersetzt wird. Wiedergaben dieser Art entstellen den Sinn und werden selbst der Aussage des Sanskrittextes nur in vereinzelten Fällen gerecht.⁶ An Übersetzungsfehlern bzw. Fehlinterpretationen seien hier nur berichtet:

hr̥ṣṭamānasāḥ (V, 1)

Feistel: zufriedenen Geistes.

Statt: frohen Sinnes.

*yathā nāṭyasya vai janma jarjarasya ca sambhavaḥ |
vighnānāṃ śamanāṃ caiva devatānāṃ ca pūjanam ||
tad asmābhiḥ śrutaṃ sarvaṃ gṛhītvā cāvadhāritam |
nikhilaṇa yathātattvam icchāmo vedituṃ punaḥ ||
pūrvaraṅgaṃ mahātejaḥ sarvalakṣaṇasaṃyutam |* (V, 2-4a)

Feistel: Die Geburt des Schauspiels, und Statt: Wie die Geburt des Schauspiels,
die Entstehung des Jarjara, ebenfalls die die Entstehung des *jarjara*, die Beruhigung

³ Zu beachten ist, dass *utthāpayati* auch *antreiben*, *in Gang bringen*, *beleben* bedeutet.

⁴ *The Nāṭyaśāstra (A Treatise on Ancient Indian Dramaturgy and Histrionics)* ascribed to Bharata-Muni, Vol. I (Chapters I-XXVII). Completely translated for the first time etc., (Calcutta, 1967²).

⁵ Hinsichtlich der Möglichkeit, diese termini eventuell aus der Praxis erklären zu können, s. Einleitung, S. 10f.

⁶ *tu* bezeichnet z.B. an vielen Stellen allein den Wechsel des Themas, übt also keineswegs eine immer so stark adversative Funktion aus wie *aber*; vgl. hierzu u.a. J. S. Speijer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, § 441.

Beschwichtigung der Widerstände und die Verehrung der Gottheiten – wie wir in der Tat das alles gehört haben, und es (jetzt) verstehen, nachdem wir es ergriffen haben, (so) möchten wir weiter vollständig und wahrheitsgetreu kennenlernen – das Vorspiel (pūrvaraṅga) zusammen mit allen (seinen) Kennzeichen, o Glanzvoller.

raudra° (V, 27 und 128)

Feistel: furchterregender (27), schrecklicher (128) (Geschmack).

der Hindernisse und die Verehrung der Gottheiten (vor sich gegangen), dies alles haben wir gehört und festgehalten. (Nun), o Glanzvoller, wünschen wir aber, ganz und wahrheitsgemäss, das Vorspiel (*pūrvaraṅga*), versehen mit allen Merkmalen, kennenzulernen.

Statt: (Stimmung des) Zorns.

upaḥsepeṇa ... *siddhena* (V, 29)

Feistel: mittels einer auspiziösen Anspielung.

Statt: mittels einer wirksamen (d.h. die Wirkung nicht verfehlenden) Anspielung.

yā gatir yac ca ceṣṭitam / *lokālokasya jagataḥ* (V, 57 B m u. K)

Feistel: was die Gehbewegungen, was die (sonstigen) Bewegungen der irdischen und der nichtirdischen Welt sind.

Statt: Lauf und Treiben der Welt und Nicht-Welt.

yathā hy apaprayogas tu prayukto dahati kṣaṇāt (V, 168)

Feistel: wie (ein Schauspiel, das als) falsche Aufführung aufgeführt wird, in einem Moment verbrennt.

Statt: wie ein schlecht in Szene gesetztes (Vorspiel), (wenn) aufgeführt, sofort verbrennt.

Eine bessere Lesart als das äusserst fragwürdige *ekapadām* gibt für V, 130 – im kritischen Apparat gar nicht erwähnt – *ekapade* (so bei Ghosh⁷). – Eine offensichtliche Entgleisung ist die Wiedergabe von °*ālāpākhyā ārambhaḥ* in einer zur Erklärung von V, 18a aus der Abhinavabhārati herangezogenen Stelle als “‘Anfang’ ist ... ein Sprechen von Vogelgezwitscher”⁸, das zu “*ārambha*, (auch) *ālāpa* genannt” korrigiert werden muss. Aus dem Zitat geht hervor, dass *ālāpa*, das “Einsingen” oder “Einspielen”, heute einer der auch im Abendland geläufigsten Termini klassischer indischer Musik, bereits Abhinavagupta als Synonym für *ārambha* bekannt war.

In Übereinstimmung mit dem eingangs Gesagten darf freilich nicht verkannt werden, dass der Bewältigung eines so schwer zu bemeisternden Themas wie das vom Verf. gewählte, welches sehr viel Scharfsinn, Belesenheit und nicht zuletzt philologische Vielseitigkeit fordert, schon von vorneherein Grenzen gesetzt sind. Die in Wirklichkeit unverkennbar ernsten Bemühungen Feistels werden erst an der Schwierigkeit seines Stoffes ermessbar. Seine Arbeit – eine Vielzahl von Hypothesen – stellt bloss einen Versuch dar, doch scheint mir wünschenswert, dass derselbe weitergeführt werden und zur Inangriffnahme ähnlicher Studien anregen möge.

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⁷ *The Nāṭyaśāstra ascribed to Bharata-Muni*. Vol. I (Chapters I-XXVII). Edited with an Introduction and Various Readings, (Calcutta, 1967).

⁸ Wohl nach Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dict.*, das s.v. auch *the singing or twittering of birds*, *Kathās*, anführt.

Adam Hohenberger, *Das Bhaviṣṣapurāṇa* (= *Münchener Indologische Studien*, Bd. 5), Wiesbaden, 1967. XV, 143 S. DM 24,—.

In unserem Jahrhundert hat sich die Zahl der durch Publikation zugänglich gewordenen altindischen Texte erheblich vermehrt, während die Fähigkeit der Philologen zur Lektüre grosser Textmassen im Durchschnitt erheblich zurückgegangen ist. Jeder Versuch, einen umfangreichen Text durch Inhaltsangaben zu erschliessen, muss also als sehr verdienstlich betrachtet werden. Im vorliegenden Falle sind wir nicht nur dem Autor für seine Arbeit zu Dank verpflichtet, sondern auch dem Herausgeber H. Hoffmann dafür, dass er sie posthum veröffentlicht hat.

Die Inhaltsangaben sind verschiedenartig. Buch I (Brāhmaparvan), Buch II (Madhyamaparvan) und Buch IV (Uttaraparvan) sind nur durch eine Liste von Ādhyāya-Überschriften erfasst, welche unter dem Titel 'Das Bhaviṣṣa-Purāṇa als Rechtsbuch' erscheint (pp. 107-125). Der Hauptakzent liegt auf dem später eingefügten überwiegend historischen Buch III (Pratisargaparvan), dessen Inhalt sehr ausführlich, teils in Form einer Prosaübersetzung, berichtet wird (pp. 9-106).

Wie aus den einleitenden Bemerkungen von H. Hoffmann (pp. I-XV) zu ersehen ist, liegt dessen Hauptinteresse auf gewissen Partien von Buch III, nämlich Umdichtungen der Genesis (III 1, 3, 95-1,5,21), einer Nennung des Moses als *Muṣa* (III 1,5,30), sowie mehrerer in den historischen Partien enthaltenen Erwähnungen von Jesus unter den Namen *Isaputra* (III 3,2,23 4,22,73), *Masiha* (III 3,2,25.30), *Isāmasiha* (III 3,2,31 3,3,32). Th. Aufrecht hatte die der Genesis entstammenden Passagen als Fälschungen des Autors der Edition von 1897 erklärt, desgleichen die historischen Teile, in welchen er die Namen von *Timiraliṅga*, *Akabara*, *Homāyus* als die von Timur, Akbar, Humāyūn identifizierte (ZDMG 57,1903, p. 276ff.). Aufrechts Identifikation wurde von J. J. Meyer ergänzt: "Wie hätte er [= Aufrecht] sich erst entsetzt, wenn er mehr gelesen und ... selbst die Königin Vikaṭāvatī (sicherlich Viktoria) gefunden hätte" (WZKM 43,1936, p. 1).

Die Arbeit von J. J. Meyer ist weder Hohenberger noch — was weniger leicht zu verstehen ist — H. Hoffmann bekannt geworden. Hohenberger, der die Herrscherliste des BhP nur bis auf den *Daitya Nādara* 'Nādir-Shāh' verfolgt (p. 25), glaubt, dass die jüdisch-christlichen Reminiszenzen bei einer letzten Bearbeitung im 18. Jahrhundert eingefügt worden seien (p. 7). Hoffmann jedoch bezeichnet das Urteil des berühmten Aufrecht überhaupt als "oberflächlich" (p. VI). Nach seiner Auffassung wären vielmehr die Jesus-Stellen des BhP das Produkt einer synkretistischen Saka-Religion, die stark durch iranischen Mithraismus beeinflusst sei, und sie liessen auch Beziehungen zur Gnosis und zum zentralasiatischen Manichäismus erkennen (p. IX, IX⁸; inzwischen weiter ausgeführt in dem Artikel 'Kālacakra Studies I', *Centr. As. Journ.* 13,1969, p. 68ff.).

Die Argumente für Verwurzelung im iranischen Mithraismus scheinen mit des *Isaputra*, d.h. Jesu, Aufforderung *pūjayed isam sūryamaṇḍale samsthitam* III 3,2,29 und mit dem auf die Religion der britischen Seefahrer bezüglichen *satyavratam ... sūryatatparam* III 4,22,73 erschöpft zu sein. Das ist aber nicht die einzige Schwäche von Hoffmanns Darlegungen. Aus der *Isaputramati*, der Lehre des *Isaputra* 'Jesus' (III 4,22,73) wird p. IX irrtümlich eine "Lehre des *Isa*, welche Namensform auch... im Kālacakra Tantra als Transkription von Jesus benutzt wird". Einfaches *Isa* bedeutet im BhP nicht 'Jesus', sondern vielmehr 'Gott, der Herr'. Mit *pūjayed isam* III 3,2,29 fordert *Isaputra* 'Jesus' den Menschen auf, *Isa* 'Gott' zu verehren. Das erkennt man leicht in III 3,3,24, wo sich der Geist Mohammeds bzw. Mahmūds auf den Befehl des *Isa* beruft, womit ohne Zweifel nicht der Befehl Jesu, sondern derjenige Allahs gemeint ist. Vom rein indischen *Isa* 'Gott' (mit *Isaputra* 'Jesus') zu trennen ist das semitische *Isā* 'Jesus'. Es tritt nur im Kompositum *Isāmasiha* 'Jesus Messias' auf, das bei Hoffmann a.a.O., p. 70ff. wiederholt falsch mit *a* statt *ā* geschrieben erscheint, was sehr irreführend wirkt.

Bedenklich ist die Interpretation von *Hūnadeśa* (III 3,2,22) als Bezeichnung von Zentralasien. Ein Text des Jahres 1880, in welchem *Hūnadeśa* im Sinne von 'Europa' gebraucht wird, im Gegensatz zu *Hindudeśa* 'Indien', findet sich in *JRAS* 1944, pl. XVIII (Text A). Nicht sehr einleuchtend ist schon aus diesem Grund Hoffmanns Versuch, von *Hūnadeśasya madhye ... śvetavastrakam ... Īsaputram* III 3,2,22f. eine Brücke zu alter zentralasiatisch-manichäischer Jesusverehrung zu schlagen. Der Vergleich mit dem einer wirklich alten Prophetenliste entnommenen *Mūśeśau śvetavastrī* 'Moses, Jesus und der Weissgekleidete' *Kālacakra* I 152 verbessert die Situation nicht, denn da bezieht sich *śvetavastrī* nach Hoffmanns eigener Darlegung auf Mani.

H. Hoffmann weist selbst darauf hin, dass das in den Purāṇas als Name einer fremden Dynastie geläufige *Guruṇḍa* (korrekt *Muruṇḍa*) im Bhp die Engländer bezeichne: Glossen wie *saṇḍe* 'Sonntag' und *sikṣatī* 'sechzig' (III 1,5,37) geben bereitetes Zeugnis von dieser Merkwürdigkeit. Doch legt Hoffmann andererseits grosses Gewicht auf den Umstand, dass die *Guruṇḍa* mit dem Attribut *bauddhamārgiṇaḥ* versehen werden (III 4,22,73.89). Das soll bedeuten 'dem Weg der Buddhisten folgend', und es soll in seiner Kombination mit *Guruṇḍa* in eine weit vor der englischen Periode Indiens liegende Zeit führen (p. IX f.). Doch hat der Autor des Textes das Wort sicher nicht auf die Buddhisten bezogen, wie sich aus seiner Stellung unmittelbar vor *Īsaputramate saṁsthāḥ* 'Christen' in III 4,22,73 ergibt. Vielleicht ist *bauddhamārgin* vielmehr als Synonym von *buddhimant* verwendet (cf. *mlecchadeśe buddhimanto narā vai mlecchadharmiṇaḥ* III 1,5,39). Mit der für einen Philologen naheliegenden Frage, ob das Wort anderweitig nachweisbar ist, hat sich Hoffmann offensichtlich nicht beschäftigt.

Der Verdacht, dass es sich bei den fraglichen Partien des Bhp um ein modernes Machwerk handelt, könnte höchstens durch den Nachweis handschriftlicher Quellen beseitigt werden. Doch dürfte ein solcher Nachweis unmöglich sein. Man braucht sich nur einmal die Belege des Namens *Vikaṭa* zu betrachten. Einmal steht *Vikaṭa* als Name des Landes der Königin *Vikaṭāvati* 'Victoria', also als Name von England (III 4,22,75). Ein anderes Mal erscheint er als Name eines Affen, des Vorfahren der *Guruṇḍāḥ ... Īsaputramate saṁsthāḥ* 'der christlichen Engländer' (III 4,22,73). Ein drittes Mal begegnet er uns in der Reihe der Insellaffen *Vikaṭa, Vṛjila, Jāla, Varalīna, Siṁhala, Java, Sumātra*. Hier ist *Varalīna* offensichtlich eine Reminiszenz an einen Kaiser Wilhelm, ähnelt es doch auffallend dem indischen Namen für Berlin (Hindi *Barlīn*, Skr. **Baralīna*). Nicht alles, was in Sanskrit geschrieben ist, muss alt sein!

Helmut Humbach

Klaus L. Janert und N. Narasimhan Poti, *Indische und Nepalische Handschriften*. Teil 2 (= *Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Band II, 2). Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH., 1970. 359 pp., 17 pl. (one in colour), 4°. DM 148.—.

The second volume of the catalogue of Indian manuscripts follows the same principles as the previously published volumes one (1962) and three (1967). The manuscripts described in this volume belong to the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Marburg und Berlin, the Linden Museum in Stuttgart and the Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen. The manuscripts are grouped under the following headings: 1. Vedische Literatur; 2. Epische Literatur; 3. Tantra; 4. Smṛti; 5. Formaler Kultus (Mantra, Nāmāvalī, Stotra); 6. Praktischer Kultus (Namaskāra, Pūjā, Vidhi); 7. Dharmanibandha; 8. Klassische Dichtung; 9. Historik; 10. Biographisches; 11. Philosophie; 12. Grammatik; 13. Lexikon und Worterklärung; 14. Poetik; 15. Metrik; 16. Medizin und Erotik; 17. Astronomie; 18. Astrologie; 19. Zeichendeutung; 20. Nālayira-prabandha. Several manuscripts contain more than one text. Each text is

separately catalogued. The texts are numbered from 496 to 1000. Many manuscripts are from Nepal and Kashmir. Some are important for the study of Buddhism and Kashmirian Śaivism. In many cases it is not easy to determine exactly the title and the author of a work. The authors have taken great pains to solve these problems as far as possible. Of great value are the detailed references to catalogues of manuscripts and to other works. For editions of texts, the authors generally refer to the catalogues of the India Office Library and the British Museum. The following references may be added: 644-646 Kumāratantra, cf. J. Filliozat, "Le Kumāratantra de Rāvaṇa", *JA*, 1935, I, pp. 1-66; id., *Le Kumāratantra de Rāvaṇa et les textes parallèles indiens, tibétains, chinois, cambodgien et arabe* (Paris, 1937) (cf. F. Weller, *OLZ*, 1939, pp. 181-187); 661 Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya, cf. R. O. Meisezahl, "The Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya-dhāraṇī", *Monumenta Nipponica*, XVII (1962), pp. 265-328; id., "The Amoghapāśaḥṛdaya Manuscripts formerly kept in the Reijunji temple and its collateral texts in Tibetan transliteration", *Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism* (Koyasan, 1965), pp. 179-216 (Seiren Matsumami's *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*, Tokyo, 1965, p. 187 refers to an article by Meisezahl in volume 3 of the *Proceedings of the Okurayama Oriental Research Institute*, but Meisezahl's article appeared in the *Monumenta Nipponica*); 685-686 Mahimnaḥstava, cf. W. Norman Brown, *The Mahimnastava or Praise of Shiva's Greatness* (Poona, 1965).

Janert's preface announces a fourth volume and comprehensive indices to the four volumes. One cannot but admire the energy and the scholarship of Janert and his co-workers, to whom all Indologists are greatly indebted. The Franz Steiner Verlag deserves high praise for the beautiful production of this volume.

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Journal of Indian Philosophy, Editor: Bimal K. Matilal, Volume 1, No. 1. (October 1970). Dordrecht, D. Reidel Publishing Company, 110 p.

The first issue of the *Journal of Indian Philosophy* announces its program in an editorial, from which I quote the following paragraph: "The field of our contributions will be bound by the limits of rational inquiry; we will avoid questions that lie in the fields of theology and mystical experience. Our method will be, in a very general sense, analytical and comparative, and we will aim at a rigorous precision in the translation of terms and statements." One may query the possibility of tracing the limits of rational enquiry without excluding what is perhaps the most valuable part of Indian thought. However, although the editors underline the importance of Indian analytical philosophy, they do not seem to be too exclusive, for the text on the flap of the journal declares that philosophy includes such subjects as the philosophy of language, ethics, religion and aesthetics as well as logic. Moreover, contributions in such fields as Jainism, Tantrism and Kashmir Śaivism are invited.

The issue contains three papers read at a symposium which discussed the problem of 'empty' subject terms in logic: Karl H. Potter, "Realism, Speech-Acts, and Truth-Gaps in Indian and Western Philosophy", pp. 13-21; A. C. S. McDermott, "Empty Subject Terms in Late Buddhist Logic", pp. 22-29; B. K. Matilal, "Reference and Existence in Nyāya and Buddhist Logic", pp. 83-110. The last article gives a penetrating analysis of the controversy on this point between Udayana and his Buddhist opponent Jñānaśrīmitra. George Cardona has contributed an article on "Some Principles of Pāṇini's Grammar" (pp. 40-74) in which he studies four basic principles applied by Pāṇini. Although this article cannot be said to fall within the field of the philosophy of language, one must be glad to see it included in this journal. It is much more important to understand how Pāṇini proceeded than to make philosophical statements about his grammar.

A rather neglected text is studied by C. D. C. Priestley in his "Emptiness in the *Satyasiddhi*" which examines the section of *nirodhasatya* in Harivarman's work. The exact title of this work is not known. Several scholars prefer *Tattvasiddhi* (cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *MCB*, V. 1937, p. 7).¹ Tuvia Gelblum contributes a review article of G. J. Larson's *Classical Sāṃkhya* (Delhi, 1969) in which he draws attention to the meaning 'whole, entire, perfect' for *kevala*: "Sāṃkhya and Sartre" (pp. 75-82). A. K. Warder takes Rājaśekhara's account of the divisions of *vāc* as starting point for his article on "The Description of Indian Philosophy" (pp. 4-12). Most articles in this issue are excellent; if this standard is maintained, one will look forward with great expectations to the future issues of this new journal.

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A. W. Macdonald et Marcelle Lalou, *L'œuvre de Jean Przyluski* (= *Collection Jean Przyluski*, Tome I). Paris, Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1970. xii + 139 pp.

Jean Przyluski (1885-1944) était un infatigable remueur d'idées. Ses premiers grands travaux portent sur le bouddhisme mais, en même temps il publiait une série d'articles sur les emprunts aux langues austro-asiatiques dans le vocabulaire indo-aryen. Le champ de ses recherches s'élargit ensuite de plus en plus: influences iraniennes dans la pensée indienne, la Grande Déesse, le symbolisme des monuments bouddhiques, l'hittite, etc. Son premier article parut en 1908. Son ouvrage posthume sur la Grande Déesse fut publié en 1950. La bibliographie analytique, compilée par M. A. A. Macdonald, comprend 185 numéros (pp. 1-68). Elle suit l'ordre chronologique de publication. Tous les livres et articles sont analysés dans des notices qui en résument le contenu. Beaucoup de travaux de Przyluski avaient déjà été analysés par M. C. Régamey dans sa *Bibliographie analytique des travaux relatifs aux éléments anaryens dans la civilisation et les langues de l'Inde* (BEFEO, 34, 1935, pp. 429-566). D'autre part, Marcelle Lalou avait consacré de nombreuses notices à ses publications, relatives au bouddhisme, dans la *Bibliographie bouddhique*. Toutefois, la tâche de M. Macdonald était loin d'être aisée. On doit lui savoir gré d'avoir consacré tant d'efforts à ce travail qui permet de s'orienter rapidement dans l'œuvre de Przyluski. La bibliographie analytique est suivie d'un index établi par Marcelle Lalou (pp. 69-133). On doit admirer une fois de plus la patience et la dévotion qui caractérisent les travaux bibliographiques de Marcelle Lalou. Son index est un répertoire complet de tous les thèmes étudiés par Przyluski. On ne peut qu'exprimer son regret que Marcelle Lalou n'ait pas pu voir la parution de cet ouvrage, consacré à la mémoire de son maître et ami.

Dans les abréviations il y a deux petites corrections à apporter: lire *Orientalistische* pour *Orientalische*, et *Revue hittite et asianique* pour *Revue hittite et asiatique*.

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¹ In some Tun-huang texts the title *Ch'eng-shih lun* is written with the radical 149 in *ch'eng* (cf. Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, London, 1957, No. 4332; Fukuhara Ryōgon, *Jōjitsuron no kenkyū*, Kyōto, 1969, p. 118).

Oskar von Hinüber, *Studien zur Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-piṭaka* (= *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Beiheft, Neue Folge, 2). München, J. Kitzinger, 1968. 340 pp.

Dr. Oskar von Hinüber's study of the syntax of the cases in the *Vinaya-piṭaka* fills an important lacuna in the field of Pāli grammar. It is certainly the most important publication to appear since Hans Hendriksen's *Syntax of the infinite verb-forms of Pāli* (Copenhagen, 1944). The studies by H. O. de A. Wijesekera and A. Fahs, mentioned by von Hinüber in his introduction, are not easily accessible. No use has been made by him of A. K. Warder's *Introduction to Pāli* (London, 1963) which pays more attention to syntax than other grammars. The choice of the *Vinaya* with the exception of the *Parivāra* is an excellent one because it contains probably more ancient parts than other Tipiṭaka texts. Moreover, the interpretation of the *Vinaya-piṭaka* is often far from easy. Von Hinüber intended his work to be at the same time a syntactic commentary on the *Vinaya* and, as such, it is of great use for a better understanding of this often difficult text. Although it is mainly based upon the *Vinaya*, other Pāli texts are also taken into account especially with regard to more difficult problems of Pāli syntax. Von Hinüber critically examines the translations of the *Vinaya* by Rhys Davids and Oldenberg and by Miss Horner; in quite a few places he arrives at a better understanding of the text. His text emendations are generally convincing as for instance the emendation of *papato* and *patitā* into *papatā* (3 p. sg.aor.) cf. pp. 45-46. Lexicographical problems are also studied by him, as for instance the meaning of *cirācīram* 'rarely' (p. 95).

In a few places von Hinüber refers to the Sanskrit fragments of other *Vinayas* but they have not been of much help to him. Apart from the *Prātimokṣas* of the Sarvāstivādin, the Mūlasarvāstivādin and the Mahāśāṃghika (badly edited by Pachow and Mishra), only some fragments of the *Vibhaṅga* of one school, the Sarvāstivādin, are available. However, the Chinese canon contains complete versions of the *Vinayas* of five schools. In many cases, the *Vinaya* texts of the different schools have much in common. It must have been of particular importance to transmit the *Vinaya* rules as faithfully as possible. In studying the Pāli *Vinaya* it is not possible to leave the other *Vinayas* entirely out of consideration. Of course, the Chinese versions can offer but little help in the study of the syntax of the Pāli *Vinaya*. However, in places which are difficult to understand because the text is evidently corrupt or the meaning of a word not very well known, it may be useful to compare the Pāli text with parallel passages in the Chinese versions of the *Vinayas*. An interpretation of a Pāli passage, which is not confirmed by parallel passages in other *Vinayas* cannot be accepted without reservations. One must of course be aware of the fact that the Chinese translations must be handled with extreme caution. Their usefulness resides in the fact that one can compare the texts of four *Vinayas* (Mahiśāsaka, Mahāśāṃghika, Dharmaguptaka and Sarvāstivādin). The *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādin is of lesser importance in this respect. Moreover, the Chinese versions, by the fact that they are translations, offer an interpretation of the text, which is quite often of greater value than the one to be found in Buddhaghosa's *Samantapāsādikā*.

In discussing the existence of an absolute nominative in Pāli, von Hinüber examines *Vin. II.167.15ff. vihāraggena gāhentā vihārā ussādiyaṃsu ... anujānāmi bhikkhave anubhāgaṃ pi dātuṃ* (pp. 28-30). Von Hinüber proposes to read *ussārayiṃsu* and to consider *vihārā* as a corruption for *vihāre*. His translation is as follows: "Nach der Zahl der Lager (die Mönche) ergreifen lassend, schicken sie (die Wohnplatzanweiser) (die Mönche) zu den Lagern weg." According to him *ussāreti* means 'vertreiben, weg-schicken' (*Vin. I.276.8*) or 'auswerfen' (*Vin. II.237.32*). He assumes the same meaning 'wegschicken' for *Vin. IV.99.9 khādaniyaṃ ussādiyittha* "das Essen wurde weggeschickt". Von Hinüber remarks that the manuscript tradition confuses *ussād-* and *ussār-* and

adds that, according to the lists of roots, both roots have the same meaning (*gati, gamana*). I do not think that the last argument is very strong because the *dhātupāṭhas* have the habit of explaining many roots by *gati*. In *Vin.* II.237.29-30 (*yaṃ hoti mahāsamudde mataṃ kuṇapaṃ taṃ khippaṃ ñeva tīraṃ vāheti thalaṃ ussāreti*) *ussāreti* seems preferable, cf. Thieme (*ZDMG*, 111, p. 116) who translates *samuddavicīhi thale ussāritaṃ* by “was von den Wogen des Meers ans Festland geschneilt (geworfen) ist”. Von Hinüber’s translation of *Vin.* II.167.15 ff. does not explain why, after the distribution of the *vihāras*, a supplementary portion (*anubhāga*) is distributed to the monks. As to his translation of *Vin.* IV.99.9 no *Vinaya* mentions the fact that the food is sent back. The food is being kept for Upananda and is not distributed to the other monks. In both places *ussād-* seems to have the meaning of ‘to put aside’ which corresponds quite well to Sanskrit *utsādayati*. Therefore I would like to suggest to read in *Vin.* II.167.18 *viḥāre ussādayiṃsu* “they put aside *viḥāras* (which were not distributed)”, and to translate *khādaniyaṃ ussādiyittha* by “the food was put aside”, rejecting Buddhaghosa’s explanation, quoted by von Hinüber (p. 30, n.1).

Von Hinüber studies at length a difficult passage relating to the *pātimokkhuḍdesa*: *Vin.* I.112.11-12 *nīdānaṃ uddisitvā avasesaṃ sutena sāvetabbaṃ* (pp. 176-177). It is not possible to explain *sutena*. In order to solve this difficulty von Hinüber reads *sute na* “der Rest ist nicht zu rezitieren, da er (bei früheren Uposatha-Feiern) gehört ist”. The same passage occurs in the *Posādhavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādinaya* (*Gilgit Manuscripts*, III, 4, p. 94.10-11): *nīdānaṃ uddiśya avaśiṣṭaṃ śrutena śrāvayanti*. I have not consulted the Tibetan version which probably would only give a literal translation. However, one would expect a negation to have left traces in the Chinese versions of the *Vinaya*. In three of them (*Mahīśāsaka*, *Mahāsāṃghika*, *Dharmaguptaka*) the text has “the rest is always heard by the *saṃgha*”; the *Sarvāstivādinaya* has “the rest was previously heard by the *saṃgha*”. I am afraid that the Chinese versions do not help us to understand the Pāli text but, in any case, one must draw attention to the fact that none of them contains a negation.

For *taṃkhaṇikā* (*Vin.* III.139.9) von Hinüber proposes a new interpretation ‘Augenblick’ and rejects the traditional interpretation ‘harlot, temporary wife, Hure’ (pp. 194-196). Von Hinüber adds that probably already the Vibhaṅga commentary has misunderstood the word. The Pāli text mentions as the tenth of ten kinds of wives the *muhuttikā* (139.25) and explains *muhuttikā nāma taṃkhaṇikā vuccati* (140.7).¹ There seems therefore no doubt that the commentary has understood *taṃkhaṇikā* to mean ‘a temporary wife’. This meaning certainly fits the context. In V.1 Udāyin acts as a go-between for two young girls. In V.2 he acts as go-between for a *vesiyā* and the rule adds to *jāyattane vā jārattane vā* the words *antamaso taṃkhaṇikāya pi*. In this episode the monks say: *kathaṃ hi nāma ayyo Udāyi taṃkhaṇikaṃ sañcarittaṃ samāpajjissati* (138.33). Von Hinüber translates: “Wie kann der Herr Udāyi in eine zeitweilige Vermittlung geraten.” The word *taṃkhaṇikaṃ* is absent from the same formula in the previous episode: *kathaṃ hi nāma āyasmā Udāyi sañcarittaṃ samāpajjissati* (137.29-30). There seems no reason for the addition of a word, meaning ‘temporary’, in 138.33. However, this difficulty does not arise if one translates as Miss Horner: “How can the venerable Udāyin act as a go-between for a temporary wife?” Etymologically the meaning ‘temporary wife’ for *taṃkhaṇikā* ‘one for that moment’ is unobjectionable. Von Hinüber refers to *tatkṣaṇa-* in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit as meaning a shorter period than *kṣaṇa*. However, the text of the *Divyāvadāna* is certainly corrupt because, according to other Buddhist texts, 120 *kṣaṇa* make one *tatkṣaṇa* (cf. T. Watters, *On Yang Chwang’s Travels in India*, I, London, 1904, p. 143; L. de La Vallée Poussin,

¹ Seven kinds of wives are enumerated in the *Vinayas* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādin* and the *Sarvāstivādin*, cf. *Mahāvīyutpatti* Nos. 9448-9454 and V. Rosen, *Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣaṃ der Sarvāstivādins* (1959) p. 61, n. 5, where one must omit *balena anupraskandya* and add *tatkṣaṇikā*.

L'Abhidharmakośa, III, Paris-Louvain, 1926, p. 179). Moreover *tatkṣaṇa* seems to occur only in enumerations of measures of time. The Chinese *Vinayas* render *tatkṣaṇikā* as 'a single meeting', 'a momentary one', etc. The text of the *Sarvāstivāda Vinaya* (*antatas tadkṣaṇam api*) is probably corrupt. In this case the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* has clearly preserved the true reading — (*antatas tat*)*kṣaṇikāyām api*.

A last remark concerning *dassanāya* (von Hinüber, p. 224). According to von Hinüber a gen.obj. is used in the case of a pl., an acc. in the case of a sg. This rule is not confirmed by the texts, cf. *DN* II.140.12-13 *te mayam labhāma manobhāvanīye bhikkhū dassanāya*; *AN* III.317-319 *cha samayā manobhāvanīyassa bhikkhuno dassanāya upasamkamitum*. It would be possible to consider that, in the first example, the acc. depends on *labhāma* (cf. von Hinüber, p. 193), but it seems more probable to admit that the acc. depends on *dassanāya* as in other examples.

Von Hinüber's book contains a wealth of information. The above remarks are only meant to show how it stimulates discussion with the author in the rare cases in which one cannot completely agree with him. It is to be hoped that von Hinüber will also undertake a study of the syntax of late Pāli, the desirability of which is mentioned in his introduction.

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Vladimír Miltner, *Theory of Hindi Syntax. Descriptive, Generative, Transformational*. The Hague-Paris, Mouton, 1970.

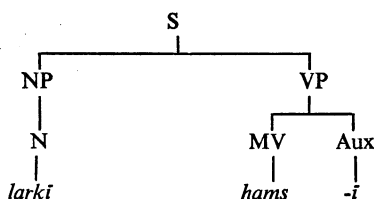
As the title shows, this short monograph of only seventy-two pages attempts to present a new system of Hindi syntax, which, as one might expect, would aim to fulfill theoretical as well as practical requirements. Although the present publication hardly can be considered to be more than a rough sketch drafted in a hurry, the author himself appears to be fully convinced that he has achieved a most extraordinary and revolutionary task. As a matter of fact, his theory of syntax was the product (or by-product, see p. 7) of merely three months of the hardships and pleasures which are unnecessarily depicted at large in the Preface. Here, and on numerous other places, the author exhibits a selfcomplacency which is both immature and painful.

Miltner's system of Hindi syntax pivots on the — in structural linguistics — well-known concept of the tagmeme (or sentence part). Interpreted as the Cartesian product of tagmemic function (F) and tagmemic functor (f), the tagmeme may according to Miltner in theory be symbolized as Ff, in practice, however, by formulae like S 31, that is 31 = adjectival participle, intransitive or passive functioning as S = subject, or P 82, that is 82 = substitute, substantival-adjectival (i.e. demonstrative, interrogative or indefinite pronoun) functioning as P = predicate. Thus Miltner's symbols indicate not only the specific lexical class like noun, pronoun, adjective etc. used in a given context, but also its syntactic role as subject, predicate or object of a sentence or sentence-part. The author distinguishes altogether four tagmemic functions (F), namely P (predicate), S (subject), O (object) and M (modifier) — the last badly defined as "any other tagmemic function which is not identic with the functions just delimited" — and nine classes (including many sub-classes) of tagmemic functors (f) expressed by figures as for example 2 = *non-participial verbal tenses and imperative*, 21 = *intransitive and passive*, 22 = *transitive* or 4 = *other nominal forms of verbs*, 41 = *verbal substantives (gerundia)*, 411 = *intransitive and passive*, 412 = *transitive*, 42 = *agent nouns*, 421 = *intransitive and passive*, 422 = *transitive*. In order to facilitate understanding, it would have been commendable to, at least at a later stage, rewrite the symbol Ff as

F {P,S,O,M} f {1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9}.

Miltner defines his syntactic devices as the "adequate interpretation and classification" of the syntactic units he recognizes, that is to say, tagmeme, syntagma and sentence. The syntagma, a doubtlessly very useful concept, consists of a pair of two tagmemes of one utterance, which, if related immediately, form an endosyntagma, or if related by means of one or more intermediary tagmemes, become an exosyntagma (not dealt with in this work). Much less convincing and, in fact, very vague is, however, the conception of sentence, the last and most complicated syntactic unit, which our author regards to be an interconcatenation of one tagmeme functioning as predicate (Pf) and at least one more tagmeme functioning differently.¹

A sentence like *laṛkī haṁsī*, "the girl laughed", is according to Miltner's system to be rendered as P 321 : S 1 (that is, P = adjectival participle in a non-ergative construction, S = substantive), whilst commonly accepted transformational-generative grammar would derive the same utterance from $S \rightarrow NP + VP$ by the extension of VP into $VP \rightarrow MV + Aux$ which, when represented graphically, would yield the diagram:²



The description of syntactic units as shown by the author benefits assuredly by the brevity of its tagmeme symbols, but suffers on many, in my estimation essential points. When adopting this system of sentence-analysis, generation and transformation, the student will have to be already beforehand wellversed in Hindi, and even then will find the method unwieldy, since the majority of operations requires the constant consultation of the list of tagmemic functors given on p. 20f. Though Miltner's monograph may, in a very general way, be of interest to linguists, the possibilities of using it practically for producing any possible and correct Hindi sentence appears to me utterly limited. A student conversant with Hindi and as such fully capable of distinguishing the lexical classes of the language and the syntactic functions performed by these classes, will scarcely deepen his insight by means of an interpretation of, for example, *donom mitra haīm*, 'the two are friends', as the syntagma P 1.21 : S 533 (that is, P = substantive + non-participial verbal tense, intransitive, and S = collective numeral), nor will a beginner, still-unable to apply the rules of this system, profit from it.

It is, of course, far from my thoughts to deny that new approaches to language description are feasible as well as desirable. What seems to be absolutely requisite to me is, however, that any new theory of syntax also, or perhaps above all, includes heuristic values. It is deplorable to state that Miltner's discussions do not offer such values. Thus the research-worker on Hindi will derive very little advantage from it. Moreover, Miltner's theory of syntax, though highly abstract, is deficient in depth. No scope is given to deep structure analysis, nor are the order of words, which is of much greater importance in NIA than in OIA and MIA, or verb-compounds and

¹ This fact is also expressed in other words as: *The set of sentences is the Cartesian product resulting from the interconcatenation of the set of Pf tagmemes and the set of Pf tagmemes or the syntagmas (both endosyntagmas and exosyntagmas) which do not contain Pf tagmemes, that is, any sentence = Pf (Pf)ⁿ* (p.36).

² Cf. Y. Kachru, *An Introduction to Hindi Syntax* (Urbana 1966), p. 95.

³ *The Structure of English* (London, 1957), reprint.

irregular constructions like anacoluthon, contamination etc. taken into consideration. In addition to that one more surprising fact is to be noted. For good reasons descriptive and transformational grammar does make a point of selecting for its purposes an as homogeneous corpus as possible, a procedure which naturally requires much care and most often restricts itself to material taken from only one period or only one type of language usage (one of the most consequent examples being Ch. C. Fries's analysis of Modern English⁸ based exclusively on telephone-conversations between educated Americans). To this Miltner attaches no value at all. His corpus, altogether "7000 sentences selected at random from ten representative Hindi texts" (p. 33), mixes prose with versified sources, passages from modern writers in Standard Hindi (*khaṛibolī*) with examples in *bāzārū hindī* and even quotations from works in (classical) *brajbhāṣā*. None of the sentences is translated, and no references are given as to verse number, page or edition.

To the more useful parts of the monograph belong the table showing the co-occurrence (Miltner: cooccurrence) of tagmemic functions and functors (p. 50) and the doubtlessly well-elaborated catalogue of functors presented on p. 20f. The latter is, like many other statements in this book, purely prescriptive, since the author has waived the discussion of possible operations and criteria on the basis of which the list was built up.

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D. L. Snellgrove, *Four Lamas of Dolpo. Autobiographies of Four Tibetan Lamas (15th-18th centuries)*, I: *Introduction and Translations*. Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1967. ix + 302 pp., 46 pl., 2 maps. 84/—: II: *Tibetan Texts and Commentaries. ibid.*, 1967. 345 pp. 130/— (Distributors: Luzac & Co., London.)

Dolpo in North-Western Nepal was first visited by D. L. Snellgrove in 1956 (cf. *Himalayan Pilgrimage*, 1961, pp. 70-162). He made a second visit to Dolpo during 1960 and 1961. It was part of Western Tibet until the end of the eighteenth century, but since its conquest by the Gurkhas it has become more isolated and religious life there has deteriorated. However, the four lamas, whose biographies are edited and translated by Snellgrove in these two volumes, lived during a period in which religious life in Dolpo must have been similar to that in other regions of Tibet. For this reason the interest of these biographies is not limited to the history of Tibetan Buddhism in Dolpo alone. Tibetan literature is rich in biographies, called *rnam-thar* 'deliverance' in Tibetan. W. Y. Evans-Wentz published in 1928 a translation of Milarepa's biography (*Tibet's Great Yogi Milarepa*, O.U.P.) and an abridged rendering of Bu-ston's life, accompanied by a reproduction of the Tibetan text, was published in 1966 by D. Seyfort Ruegg (*The Life of Bu ston rin po che*, Roma, 1966). Both Milarepa and Bu-ston are prominent figures in the history of Tibetan Buddhism whereas the four Dolpo lamas are only of local significance. As such, however, they are probably more representative of the many lamas whose deeds have been recorded by pious pupils, than Milarepa and Bu-ston.

The first volume contains an introduction which describes the geography and history of Dolpo (The Land and its People, pp. 1-16), a sketch of Tibetan Buddhism as immediately relevant to the four biographies (Philosophy and Religion, pp. 17-34), an account of Snellgrove's sojourn in Dolpo (Life in Dolpo 1960-61, pp. 34-68) and information on the four biographies (The Four Biographies, pp. 68-77). The introduction is followed by the translation of the four biographies (pp. 79-273), Tibetan indices of divinities (pp. 274-277), of texts and rituals (pp. 278-282), of personal names (pp. 282-

291) and a general index (pp. 292-302). Volume two contains a photographic reproduction of the Tibetan text in *dbu-med* script (pp. 11-290),¹ transliterated extracts without translation (pp. 291-295), transliterated extracts with translation (pp. 296-313), notes to the first volume (pp. 314-315), alphabet and system of transliteration (pp. 316-317), examples of abbreviated words (pp. 318-324) and a glossary (pp. 325-345).

The texts in volume two do not reproduce the original manuscripts used by Snellgrove, but are new manuscripts written by Tibetan scribes under his supervision. According to Snellgrove the original manuscripts contain many scribal errors which had to be corrected. A reproduction of a few pages of the original manuscripts would have been useful in showing the nature of these errors. However, it would have been impossible to reproduce completely the original manuscripts. Snellgrove's decision to reproduce rewritten manuscripts is undoubtedly the best solution even if sometimes one would like to compare the original manuscripts. In a few cases a correction seems required. To quote a few examples, taken from the first pages of the first biography:²

1.3.10 *sgro-'dogs spyad*. Read *sgro-'dogs bcad*, cf. I.10.8, 10.17, 31.10 etc.

1.4.2 *dgra-gñen sogs-kyi chags-sdai spañs-nas ldum-bu mdzad-pa'i tshul* "so abandoning attachment to friends and aversion to enemies, I acted the same towards all." (Note: "I made it all of one piece.") (S.). Vol. II, p. 314 S. proposes the translation: "I acted humbly towards all." Read *ldom-bu*, cf. I.21.1-2 *dgra-gñen sogs-kyi chags-sdai spañs-te ldom-bu mdzad-pa'i tshul* "avoiding hatred to enemies and attachment to friends, he lived the life of a beggar." (S.).

I.7.1 *bka'-drin la 'khor mtha' med-pa'i* "whose gracious kindness was unlimited." (S.). Read *'khor thabs med-pa'i*, cf. II.17.12-13 *bka'-drin la 'khor-ba'i thabs-med* "there can be no way of repaying his kindness." (S.). In I.36.14 the Ms has *thabs-med* but S. translates *mtha'-med*: "The graciousness of my lama would be seen to be quite boundless." In I.37.5-6 *bka'-drin-la 'khor mtha'-med-pa'i* one must make the same correction.

It is certainly necessary for Western scholars of Tibetan to have a good knowledge of the *dbu-med* script. When written by a careless writer, this script is often not easy to read. The manuscripts in volume two are carefully written and present few problems to the reader. In a few cases Snellgrove's readings have to be corrected: I.8.3 *chu—chu-bo* (vol. II, p. 291). I.9.14 *lnga-sña* (vol. II, p. 292). I.9.21 *rva—rva'i* (vol. II, p. 292). I.9.21 *rdzogs-par—rdzogs-pa* (vol. II, p. 292). II.33.21 *glu-ru len-ciñ*; S. "obtained from the serpents". S. seems to have read *klu-ru*. II.36.12 *bzhol—gzol* (vol. II, p. 302). II.56.20 *brkyed—bskyed* (vol. II, p. 310). III.7.17 *bka'-grel—dka'-'grel*. IV. 2.14-15 *bTsan-thang-sgo-bzhi—Btsan-thañ goñ-ma*. (The index has both names. Cf. vol. I, p. 289, nos. 529 and 530. In no. 530 *sgo* is mis-spelt *sgro.*, IV.4.1 *rTsod-ma—rTsod-mo*. IV. 29.22 *sGrags Yongs-rdzong—brag yañs-rdzon*. IV. 41.7 *Ling-brgyan—Min-brgyan*.

In the notes to the first volume (vol. II, pp. 314-315), Snellgrove draws attention to words and phrases omitted in translation. One must add the following passages: I.3.2-3 *gdul-bya mchog dan 'briñ-rnams la gzugs-sku rnam-gñis dan*||. I.5.18-19 *bla-ma grub-thob rnams-kyis kyañ mkha'-'gro dños yin-par lun-bstan-par gda'*. I.12.3-4 *ma-ñi bka'-'bum*||. I.24.13 *grub rgyal-ma*||. I.26.18-19 *bla-ma rin-po-che gu-ru drag-dmar dños-su mthoñ-zhi*||. I.36.2-3 *mgon-ser tshar bcu-gcig*||. I.63.3-4 *grub-thob mañ-po bzugs-pa'i gnas*|| *dpal mtha'-dkar gyi sgrub-gnas-su*. II.11.3 *snañ rtse-ba*. II.28.17-18 *lo-gsum soñ*

¹ I.62 (p. 72) and III.62 (p.234) must be interchanged.

² Roman figures refer to the four biographies, Arabic figures to page and line of the Tibetan text. The following abbreviations have been used: C.G. = Chos-kyi grags-pa's *Tibetan-Tibetan-Chinese Dictionary* (Peking, 1957); Das = S. C. Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary* (Calcutta, 1902); J. = Jäschke's *Tibetan-English Dictionary* (London, 1881); Mvy. = *Mahāvīyutpatti*; S. = Snellgrove; Sum. = Sumatiratna's *Tibetan-Mongolian Dictionary* (Ulaanbaatar, 1959).

mtshams-grol ston-gyi tshogs-'khor byas-ñin bsdad yod-pa'i/. II.63.1-2 *khyad-par sde-bdag sku-khams mi-bde 'dug-pa la*/. II.95.6 *g'zan-yañ glo-bo stod-smad se-rib yan dan*/. II.95.11 *phyi-rtan-gyi logs-re-la 'dom-pa lha-lha yod-pa'i*/. II.96.1 *sgrib-gñis byañ-ba'i phyir*/. II.96.4 *gzim-mal-du* (cf. III.65.8 *gzim-mal sku-'dra*, S. "a life-size image for his accustomed seat"). III.30.9 *nas de chañ-du tshos gsuñs*/. III.53.15 *gzigs-snañ mdzad-pas*/. III.65.5 *rdul-tshon dan ras-bris-kyi dkyil-'khor-du*/. IV.1.20-2.1. *ñion-bsags las-grub rkyen-gyis byed-pa las*/. IV.9.10-11 *nas 'brab-kyin 'dug-pas*/. IV.34.16-17 *de-nas tshe-dpag-med grub-pa'i rgyal-mo'i bñen-pa la zla-ba gsum*/. IV.37.21 *'gro-ba kun-sgrol*/. IV.39.14 *tiñ-kyu dan ši-min rnams-la*/. IV.49.8 *phyag-chen*/. IV.50.2 *rdor-sems brgya-rtsa'i sku-thañ gcig*/. IV.50.7-8 *rig-'dzin 'gyur-med rdo-rje'i rten-gter-'byuñ gi rnam-thar*/.

In reading Tibetan texts it is not always easy to distinguish proper names. It seems to me that *kha-rag*, *blo-ba* and *grol-mtshams* must not be explained as place-names.

I.12.11 *blo'o kha-rag bdud-kyi yul-der* "in the devil's own land, *Kha-rag* of Lo" (S.). Sum. translates *kha-rag* with *aman kürümüi* 'to speak against, vilify' (I, p. 163). Probably *kha-rag* is a variant of *kha-drag-pa*, Skt. *mukhara* (Mvy. 2481). I propose to translate this phrase as follows: "In Lo, the land of the devil of slander".

I.59.8-9 *blo-ba'i sna-dus dan mig-ltos* "the customs and conventions of Lo" (S.). Lo is never written *blo-ba* in the texts which have *blo-bo* or *blo'o*. Here *blo-ba* = *blo*. The text relates that the *Khang-dkar* officials were the cause of urging the thought of lama Merit Intellect to religion: "In the first place if they had not caused trouble, it would have been difficult to settle down to religion on account of the *sna-dus* and *mig-ltos* of my mind." Both *sna-dus* and *mig-ltos* occur only in this place. S. explains *sna-dus* as 'prevailing conditions, customs' and *mig-ltos* as 'conventions' (cf. Glossary, pp. 336 and 339). Sum. translates *mig-ltos* with *ñjemji* 'aspect, judgment' (II, p. 427). I do not know how to explain *sna-dus*.

IV.22.21-22 *dus-su dpyid-chos gñis-pa grol-mtshams druñ-ram-pa bkra-sis* "in the second spring term Doctor *bKra-shis* of *sGrol-mtshams*" (S.). IV.25.21-22 *dbyar-chos gñis-pa grol-mtshams 'or-rlon dbon-po don-grub* "Then in the second summer term the nephew *Aim-Winner* of 'Or-rlon of *sGrol-mtshams*" (S.). In both places the text has *grol-mtshams* and not *sgrol-mtshams*: "After the second spring term". "after the second summer term" (cf. 23.14 *mañ-ja grol-mtshams*: S. "at the end of the general tea-offering").

The biographies quote a great number of texts. Identification of Tibetan texts is often difficult because they usually possess several titles, and are generally quoted only by an abridged title. Snellgrove has identified some of them in the notes to the translation and others in the index of texts and rituals. However, many have been left without identification. For instance, the biographies quote twice the "Sūtra of the Briny River" (*Ba-tshva-can chu-kluiñ-gi mdo*). Snellgrove does not give any information on this text. One wonders whether he considered a note superfluous. Or is the absence of information due to the fact that this text was unknown to him and his informants? In several cases the information, given by Snellgrove, is incomplete or incorrect:

III.8.4. *'dul-ba luñ-sde bñi* "the 'Four Āgamas'" (S.). (See also vol. I, p. 281, no. 205). For the 'Four Āgamas of the Vinaya' see *Blue Annals*, II, p. 490.

III.8.5-6 *ñā-rñi-bus mdzad-pa'i bstan-bcos/ chos-kyi phuñ-po la sogs-pa mñon-pa sde-bdun* "the 'Treatise of Śāriputra', the Seven Sections of the *Abhidharma*, the Elemental Components and so on" (S.). Śāriputra's *Dharmaskandha* is the first of the seven *Abhidharma* treatises, cf. L. de La Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu* "Introduction" (Paris-Louvain, 1931), p. XXIX.

III.8.6-7 *mñon-pa kun-las btus-pa* "the '*Abhidharma* Compendium'" (S.). Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*.

III.8.8 *gtam-tshogs* "the 'Collection of Stories'" (S.). *Gtam* renders Skt. *parikathā*, cf. P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain*, 3e partie (Paris, 1915), pp. 422-423.

III.8.11 *sdom-gsum-kyi rab-tu phyebañ-ba'i bstan-bcos*. Omitted in S.'s translation.

Composed by Sa-skya pan-chen Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan (1182-1251), cf. *Blue Annals*, II, p. 607.

IV.8.7 *brgya-togser gsum dan gzuñs-chen sgra-lña* "canonical texts" (S.). For *brgya-tog-gser* see S., vol. I, p.236, n. 1: *sgra* is probably a mistake for *grva*, cf. *Blue Annals*, I, p. 107 (*gzuñs grva-lña* = Pañcarakṣā); C.G. s.v. *grva-lña*.

IV. 17.18-19: the text mentions four chapters of the *Abhidharmakośa*: *phuñ-po*, *kham*s, 'jig-rten and *phra-rgyas*; *phuñ-po* is probably a mistake for *dbañ-po*, the title of the second chapter. S. translates *phra-rgyas* as "the subtle and vast elements" but *phra-rgyas* renders Sanskrit *anuśaya*, the title of the fifth chapter.

IV. 25.3: *myañ-'das* "the state of *nirvāṇa*" (S.). *Myañ-'das* refers here to the *Mahāpari-nirvāṇasūtra* (Sde-dge, No. 120).

One reads Snellgrove's translation with great pleasure and profit. His rendering of religious terms is felicitous and his translation of complicated Tibetan phrases clear and precise. Snellgrove translates proper names and technical terms but the Tibetan terms are all listed in the indices. I have some doubts about the appropriateness of rendering *bodhisattva* as 'would-be buddha' and would have preferred 'future buddha' or 'potential buddha' but, usually, Snellgrove's English equivalents are unobjectionable. The Glossary contains a very useful list of words which are not well explained in the existing dictionaries. Snellgrove notes in each case when an explanation has been given by a Tibetan informant and which words belong to the Dolpo dialect. Some information could have been found in Sumatiratna's dictionary which he does not appear to have used. It is perhaps the most comprehensive of all Tibetan dictionaries and has the added merit of supplying Mongolian translations. For instance the word *keg* (Glossary, p. 325) is explained by Sumatiratna as indicating the element 'wood' (*modun maqabud*). Chos-kyi grags-pa explains it as a technical term in astrology indicating a critical juncture. *Sku-'gag* (Glossary, p. 326) is given in Sumatiratna as equivalent to *rin-'gag* (cf. J., p. 529). Perhaps Snellgrove could have supplied some additional information in his glossary. To quote one example: *chos-'brel* = 'sacrament' (Glossary, p. 331). One wonders what is meant with the term 'sacrament' in the context of Tibetan Buddhism. I was puzzled by the meaning of this term in studying Sagaster's translation of the *Subud Erike* (cf. *IIJ*, XIII, 1971, p. 219). Snellgrove's translation confirms the fact that this term has a religious meaning but it does not explain it sufficiently. However, one must be grateful to Snellgrove for a glossary which clearly makes a contribution to Tibetan lexicography.

One cannot but express the greatest admiration for Snellgrove's excellent translation. I have compared the Tibetan text from beginning to end and learnt much from his rendering of difficult passages. In a few places one can perhaps suggest a different interpretation. The following remarks contain a discussion of some passages in the four biographies. Perhaps they may be of some use in preparing a second edition of the translation which will certainly be required in due course.

I.3.8 *thun-moñ gi rnam-thar che-loñ tsam-ñig snañ-ba yi-ger bkod-na* "If my ordinary doings, which are quite brief, are set down in writing" (S.). In the glossary S. explains *che-loñ* as 'briefly, in essence'. C.G. has *che-loñ tsam* = *rags-rim tsam* 'in outline'. Here *che-loñ* refers to the writing of his life: "If my ordinary life-story is written out in outline", cf. III.66.2 *che-loñ-ñig yi-ger bkod-pa*.

I.20.13 *tsam-pa tshon-pa* "A fair supply of *tsamba*" (S.). For the meaning of *tshon-pa* S. refers to *tshon-po* 'fat' (Glossary, p. 340). More probably *tshon-pa* is a graphic variant of *mtshon-pa*, cf. J., p. 457a *mtshon-pa* 'a handful'.

I.26.20 *spu-śad* "a single hair" (S.). According to C. G. *spu-śad* = *gos-kyi spu smyug-śad* 'a brush made of bamboo for the hairs of clothes'. See J., p. 428b: *smyug-bśad* 'comb made of bamboo'.

I.31.11-12 'od-gsal snañ-ba'i ñin-mo "the clear light appeared as daylight" (S.) — "the day on which the clear light appeared".

I.41.15 *ces srid-thabs byas-tshe* "When I had reasoned thus." (S.) The preceding passage relates that lama Merit Intellect offers meat and *chang* to the chief men of the Khang-dkar and makes a speech to them. According to C.G. *sri-thabs* = *ser-sna'i sems-pas bza'-btuñ ñuñ-du gtoñ-ba* 'to offer little food and drink with an avaricious mind'. Perhaps one must correct *sri-thabs* to *sri-btab* which S. translates with 'commission, duty' (Glossary, p. 344).

I.42.20-21 *lab-phyi'i phyogs ño mi-śes-pa'i sa-phyogs gcig-tu 'gro-dgos* "Shall I go to Lab-phyi? Or shall I go to some unknown place?" (S.) – "Shall I go to some unknown place in Lab-phyi?"

I.56.18 *physis log-yoñ-ba'i chad-mdo byas* "afterwards I decided to come back to Dolpo." (S.) – "I agreed to come back later", cf. Sum. I, p. 617: *chad-mdo byas-so-bol-jibai*; F. D. Lessing, *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, p. 119: *bolju-* 'to agree on, make an appointment', etc.; Das, p. 408: *chad-mdo* 'to promise, contract'. See also IV.31.6 *'gro-dgos-pa'i 'chad-mdo*.

II.12.13 *dar-cig 'jam 'dug* "all was still for a moment." (S.). The same expression occurs in II.23.4 *dar-ñig 'jam*; S. "for a moment I was united with them." I do not understand the exact meaning of *'jam* in this context.

II.19.12-13 *'di-ltar byas-na mi-'grigs-pa'i thabs-med* "If one establishes ... in this way, it will not do." (S.) – "If one establishes ... in this way, it is not possible that it will not succeed."

II.22.5-6 *ñnar-med-pa'i ltad-mo yañ cuñ-zad mthoñ|| śes-kyi gnas-rnams la ñnar-bas mos-ñiñ yid-ches-par byuñ-ño* "we saw sights unseen before. The people of Shey believed in us more devotedly than ever." (S.) – "we saw some sights unseen before. More than before we devotedly put our trust in the holy places of Shey."

II.22.14 *bden-med-kyi ñams-kyis thams-cad la thog-rdzis byed-pa ñig byuñ-ño* "I had overwhelming confidence with regard to all states of non-substantial being." (S.) – "By means of the notion of non-substantiality I suppressed all (impressions of dread and fear)." See Sum., I, p. 943 *thog-brdzis-degere-eče daruqu* 'to suppress from above'. For S.'s explanation see Glossary, p. 333.

II.24.11-12 *'gro-'dug spyod-lam yañ bar-snañ la byed-pa 'dug-pas* "They moved in their seated posture and their course went up to the heavens." (S.) – "They were moving around and sitting in the air."

II.38.10 *'o-rgyal*. S. translates here *'o-rgyal* with 'inconvenient' (cf. also Glossary, p. 342). It is of course the same word as *'o-brgyal* which is given in the dictionaries. In IV.26.2 S. translates *'o-rgyal* accordingly with 'tiring'. It is rather misleading to list a word *'o-rgyal* 'inconvenient' in a glossary without pointing out that this meaning is required in a special context and that *'o-rgyal* is a variant of *'o-brgyal*.

II.41.7 *bsñen-bkur 'bul-ba'i spob-pa-med-med-kyi* "I have no ambition for the honour you do me." (S.) – "I have no courage (or eloquence) to offer respect."

II.47.13-14 *mi-yoñ-ba'i tshul-snañ phul-yañ*; "Although I submitted that there were too many people." (S.) – "Although I explained that it would not be possible."

II.61.2-5 *chañ dañ bud-med 'di-gñis| tshañs-spyod 'phrog-pa'i jag-pa| byams-kyañ dug-bzin riñ-du| spon-ba'i go-cha skyed-mdzod* "Wine and women, these two – Are the robbers who steal away your good conduct. – Keeping far off from loved ones like poison – Let this be your protective armour!" (S.) – "... your good conduct. Though they are dear to you – Keep far off from them as from poison – ..."

II.83.13-15 *śor-ba'i tshul mdzad-nas thog-gsum yod-pa'i sar brag-la brdabs| de-nas mar brag-roñ la bud* "[the pot] seemed to slip from his hand and striking on the cliffs (which descended) in three great steps, it went down to the gorge of the Red Crag." (S.) – "the pot slipped from his hand and hit the rock near the third storey; then it went down and fell in the gorge between the rocks."

II.84.2 *skun-ma bstan-na ni mñon-mtshan ches yoñ-bar 'dug* "If the theft were revealed our shame would be very great." (S.) – "If the theft were revealed, it would come out in

the open." See Sum., I, p. 529: *mñion-mtshan-can-ilerkei temdegtü* 'clearly marked'; C.G.: *mñion-mtshan-can-lkog-tu ma-yin-par mñion-sum-du gser-dñul sogs-kyi bya-ba byed-pa-po ste rnam-'byed las-so* "It is said in the *Vinayavibhaṅga*: 'Not secretly, but openly do gold, silver, etc. fulfill their function.'"

II.84.7-8 *kha-saṅ dge-sloṅ u-rgyan-la rgod chen-po byuṅ* "Yesterday a great disaster befell the monk Urgyan." (S.) – "Yesterday the monk Urgyan suffered a great loss." *Rgod* = *god* 'loss, damage'.

II.86.11 *ltag-tshan chuñ-ba* (*tshuñ-ba* in the text) "uncircumspect" (S.), cf. Glossary, p. 332. Sum. I, p. 863: *ltag-tshan-küčün* 'force'.

II.96.5 *bzañ-drug la-sogs sman sna-tshogs* "the six 'good things', various medicaments" (S.) – "various medicaments such as the six 'good things', etc." The six 'good ones' are listed by Sum., cf. II, p. 776.

III.22.12 *sna-len byas-pa* "gave me this escort" (S.). In III.49.16-17, IV.30.3 and IV.44.12 S. translates *sna-len* in the same way. In IV.19.21 he translates *sna-len bzañ-po* with "they looked after me very well." In all passages *sna-len* has the meaning 'welcome, reception' for which see Sum., I, p. 1228: *sna-len* – *uytuly-a* 'reception'; C.G., p. 487: *sna-len* – *bsu-ba* 'welcome'.

III.25.18-19 *de-nas bzauñ-ste/ gzugs-sku chos-dbyiñs-su ma thim-bar* "From then on his manifestation faded away into universal space." (S.) – "From then on until his body passed away into the absolute sphere."

III.31.2 *dgon-pa'i che-ba brjod-pa mañ-po mdzad 'dug-pa* "and that many great things had been told about these monasteries." (S.) – "and he greatly extolled these monasteries."

III.35.17 *rdo-che rdog-po gcig* "a heap of stones" (S.) – "a single stone", cf. III.44.9 *nas rdog-gcig* "a single grain of barley" (S.).

III.41.19 *sras-po* "your brother" (S.) – "your son".

III.46.18-19 *bslab-gsum la gces-spras-su mdzad-pa* "who were the adornments of the triple doctrine" (S.) – "who cherish the three teachings", cf. C.G. p. 234: *gces-spras byed* – *sems-la phañs-par byed* 'to cherish in one's mind'; Das, s.v. *gces-spres*; J., s.v. *spra-ba*.

III.48.12-13 *thugs-šin-tu 'phrañ-žin 'ga'-yañ* (MS. *yar*)-*gyis kun-sloṅ byed-pa byuṅ* "He himself was very upset and some of the others became excited" (S.) – "He was very worried but some (monks) reassured him", cf. Sum., II, p. 158: *sems-'phrañ* – *qarasun* 'to be chagrined', *emgenisün* 'to worry'; *kun-sloṅ* means 'causing to rise, to get up', here 'to encourage, reassure'.

III.50.6 *śes-kyi khyuñ-luñ-ma* "a woman of Khyung-lung" (S.) – "*Khyuñ-luñ-ma* from Śes".

III.50.13 *grod-pa la tog-tse brgyabs* "He was struck in the stomach" (S.) – "He was struck with a hoe in the stomach."

IV.1.7 *mñam-med thub-dbañ 'gyur-med dad-pas rab-tu mchod* "We worship you in faith, O changeless Sage without peer!" (S.) – "We worship you, O Sage without peer, with unchanging faith."

IV.5.17 *miñ-la bsod-nams miñ-'dzoms* "Her name was Sonam-dzom." (S.). The MS. has *miñ-'dzoms*. Perhaps this is a mistake for *g.yaṅ-'dzom*, cf. IV.7.7.

IV.14.18-19 *khyed-kyi char-ba de ña-la 'bor-ba mkhyen-mkhyen* "You have left your rug with me. Now have mercy!" (S.) – "Have mercy and leave your rug with me." cf. IV.51.7 *thugs-dam la bzugs-pa mkhyen-mkhyen* "please let your thoughts rest." (S.).

IV.31.17 *skar-ma'i so-ma rnams* "Some men and women from Karma" (S.) – "the novices from Karma", cf. 31.11.

IV.33.7-8 *rus-gšin-pa* "good" (S.) (cf. Glossary, p. 343). Sum., II, p. 933: *rus-šin ni sñiñ-rus-te sñiñ-stobs* 'energy'.

IV.39.8-10 *khyad-par-du rgyal-po śar-pas dgon-par dar-po che mañ-du btsugs-šin/| ña'i gzim-chuñ dañ bla-brañ-du 'bul-ba rgya-nom-pa dañ/| grva-ba rnams-la zañs-ñag*

re-re dan|| mtshams-pa rnams la zais-ñag do-do la sogs-pa gnañ-sbyin rgya-nom-pa gnañ-zin "The Eastern King in particular put up many flag-masts for the monasteries and made considerable offerings for my house and quarters, as well as giving a copper coin to each monk and two such coins to those who were in solitary meditation. We made large distributions with these and other gifts." (S.) – "The Eastern King in particular put up many flag-masts for the monasteries and made large gifts consisting of considerable distributions for my house and quarters, a copper coin to each monk and two such coins for those who were in solitary meditation, etc."

IV.45.1-2 *gur-žig gnañ byuñ-bas| bdagis kyañ lan-rnams rim-pa bzin-du žus-pas* "he recited a religious song. I asked him questions and received answers in an orderly manner." (S.) – "he recited a song. I supplied the answers in the right order."

IV.50.10 *dkar-po rgyañ-grags* "I gave presents to the keepers of the great conch" (S.) – "I presented a conch-shell, the sound of which carried up to two miles" (probably *dkar-po* = *duñ-dkar*, cf. J., s.v. *duñ*).

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The 'Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions' in Sogdian. Edited by D. N. MacKenzie (= *London Oriental Series*, volume 22). London, Oxford University Press, 1970. xiii + 77 pp. £3.25.

The Sogdian version of the 'Sūtra of the Causes and Effects' has been studied by many specialists. D. N. MacKenzie's new edition and translation takes into account the work done by his predecessors. The vocabulary includes new materials and interpretations. It is very convenient to have in one volume text, translation and a vocabulary. For the translation of the Chinese text it will still be necessary to consult R. Gauthiot and P. Pelliot's edition, *Le Sūtra des causes et des effets* (Paris, 1920, 1926, 1928). The Sogdian version is based upon the Chinese text, an apocryphal sūtra which was composed before 695 A. D. This sūtra must have been very popular. Several manuscripts of it have been found in Tun-huang. It has been translated not only in Sogdian but also in Tibetan by the famous Chos-grub who died about 865 A. D. (cf. P. Demiéville, "Récents travaux sur Touen-houang", *TP*, 56, 1970, pp. 49-50). Fragments of this translation have also been found in Tun-huang (cf. Louis de La Vallée Poussin, *Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts from Tun-huang*, O.U.P., 1962, Nos. 220-221 and 335,2). The *Kanjur* contains a second translation entitled *Dge-ba dan mi dge-ba'i las-kyi rnam-par smin-pa bstan-pa'i mdo*. According to Pelliot this translation is independent from Chos-grub's translation and adheres less closely to the Chinese text (*op.cit.*, Tome second, premier fascicule, pp. X-XI). The editors of the *Ōtani Kanjur Catalogue* (Kyōto, 1930-1932) remark that it is written in a clumsy style. It is also much shorter than Chos-grub's translation: eight folios as against twelve folios (in the Peking edition).

It must be left to Sogdian specialists to discuss the new interpretations proposed by MacKenzie. Several points have already been discussed by Martin Schwartz in his review (*BSOAS*, 34, 1971, pp. 411-415). There is still scope also for further study of the Chinese text and the two Tibetan versions. Pelliot has made use of the Chinese text in the *Zoku zōkyō* and of two manuscripts: MS. Pelliot 2922 and British Museum Stein 714 (cf. Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from Tunhuang*, London, 1957, p. 161, no. 5403). Pelliot has reproduced the text, printed in the *Zoku zōkyō*. The same text has been reprinted in vol. 85 of the *Taishō Daizōkyō* (No. 2881) with the addition of a few variants taken from a Tun-huang manuscript. As far as I know, no Tun-huang manuscript has been published. A critical edition of the Tun-huang manuscripts would be very welcome. Also the two Tibetan translations have yet

to be edited on the basis of the *Kanjur* editions and the Tun-huang manuscripts mentioned above. A careful study of the manuscripts of the Chinese text and of the two Tibetan translations will probably be useful for an understanding of difficult passages in the Sogdian version.

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Dravidian Linguistics (Seminar Papers), Proceedings of the Seminar on Comparative Dravidian, held at the Annamalai University, Annamalai-nagar, January 11-14, 1968. Ed. by S. Agesthalingom and N. Kumara-swami Raja (= *Annamalai University Dept. of Linguistics Publication*, No. 17), Annamalai-nagar, 1969, 279 pp.

K. V. Subbaiya and L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar are the two names of Indian scholars who, in the first half of our century, emerged as very outstanding contributors to comparative Dravidian studies and who, together with Western scholars – J. Vinson, J. Bloch, E. H. Tuttle, P. Meile, F. B. J. Kuiper, A. Master, and, above all, T. Burrow, and M. B. Emeneau – laid the foundations for solid comparative and historical scholarship in the field of Dravidian. This first stage of building up solid grounds reached its peak when Burrow and Emeneau published their *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* and its *Supplement* (Oxford, 1961, 1968). The cornerstones and the main points of departure were set to indicate basic trends of and directions for further studies.¹

In the late sixties, new names of a younger generation of Indian scholars emerged (many of them former students of Burrow, Emeneau, Bh. Krishnamurti and V. I. Subramoniam); most of them gathered round the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University. The collection under review represents the result of a seminar conducted under the auspices of the Centre in January 1968. As a whole, the collection is “most impressive and substantial”, as Emeneau says. However, it contains papers of different value and of varying impact. Some of them break new paths and represent lasting contributions to the field, like Krishnamurti’s “Dravidian Nasals in Brahui” or Subrahmanyam’s “The Central Dravidian Languages”; others are of more ephemeral nature, like Schiffman’s “Language Change and Language Distance” or Kameswari’s lexicostatistic approach to Dravidian.

In toto, there are eighteen papers in the collection. Five of them are dedicated exclusively to phonology (of Telugu, Yerukala, Koḍagu and Brahui). Seven papers deal with grammar – problems of morphology and syntax. There is a phonological plus morphological treatment of Parji. One of the papers is of a dialectological character, one deals with the classificatory problems, one describes “new” Dravidian languages, and two papers deal with chronological questions.

Of the phonological papers, probably the most important is Krishnamurti’s treatment of the reflexes of Dravidian nasals in Brahui (pp. 65-74). Br. *d-* is established as the regular reflex of PDr. **n-* in six definitive etymologies (**neytt V:r*/**nett V:r* ‘blood’, **ne:r* - **ner-V-nal* ‘yesterday’, **ne:r* : **ner-V-* ‘to cut off’, **ne:r* ‘sun, time’, **ni:r* ‘water’, **ne:r* ‘who’). In seven items, PDr. **n-* > Br. *n-*. The development **n-* > Br. *d-* is in

¹ Apart from linguistics, there are other aspects of “Dravidian” India which are at present being very actively studied (though undoubtedly linguistic interests are in the forefront), so that one may indeed speak nowadays of *Dravidology* as an important field of Oriental studies. Important “discoveries” were made and substantial contributions published in the fields of social anthropology, politology, history, but less interest has been shown so far in Dravidian textology, textual criticism and philology, not to speak of literary history and *Literaturwissenschaft* which are almost totally lacking.

complementation with **n-* > Br. *n-*: the former occurs before front vowels, the latter before non-front vowels. Thus these developments represent a split of the PDr. **n-* into *d-* and *n-* in CD in Brahui. According to Krishnamurti, the exception to the above – the 2nd pers.sg.pron. *ni:* – may be probably explained as **di:* > *ni:* by analogical restoration. PDr. **ñ-* > Br. *n-*, and, possibly, PDr. **m-* [front vowel > Br. *b-*, **m-* [non-front vowel > Br. *m-*. This second part of Krishnamurti's paper is rather tentative, but the hypothesis is attractive.

The other very important phonological paper is N. Kumaraswami Raja's "Post-Nasal Voiceless Plosives in Telugu" (pp. 75-84), which developed later into his extremely interesting monograph *Post-Nasal Voiceless Plosives in Dravidian* (Annamalainagar, 1969), and which contains his formula **NPP* developing into NP in Tamil, Malayalam, and NB in Telugu, Kannaḍa. Ta.-Ma. "drop the nasal before the plosive", while Te. and Ka. "simplify the geminate plosive as a single voiceless plosive". Though the formula as such is very tempting, I would – like P. S. Subrahmanyam – strongly object to the phonological pattern of the reconstructed sequence **NPP*, and the whole seems to me to be too 'neat' and regular – rather a device to oblige than the reflection of the actual state of affairs.

On pp. 187-204, G. Srinivasavarma gives a brief account of the phonology of Yerukalas, the basket weaving Koravas of Andhra, and P. Kothandaraman deals with Koḍagu vowels, specifically with the opposition centralized: non-centralized vowels (pp. 233-247). It is interesting to compare this good account of Koḍagu vowels with a more detailed and sophisticated treatment by Emeneau (*JAOS*, 90, 1, 1970, 145-158), and with a treatment of a similar feature in the Iruḷa language by the present reviewer (*III*, XIII-2, 113-122). While both above-mentioned authors agree that there are two centralized vowels, *i* and *ē*, both short and long, in Koḍagu, there seem to be four centralized vowel-phonemes, viz. *i* *ü* *ē* *ö*, in Iruḷa.

M. Kandappa Chetty traces the developments of PDr. **nr* in Telugu to *nd*, *nd*, *ṇḍr* and *r* > *r* in a very accomplished and solid paper, giving both rich synchronic data and historical insights.

S. Agesthalingom approaches the passive in Dravidian from the positions of the "classical" Chomskian transformational grammar, explaining the relation between active and passive sentences. I believe that the contention of TG that active and passive have the same "meaning" and can be derived from the same underlying sentence is valid not for the analysis of grammar, but only for the analysis of the extralinguistic, objective reality; there, indeed, *agens* and *patiens* have the same "meaning"; but this "sameness" exists only outside language proper, it is extragrammatical, "pre-linguistic". It depends on the attitude of the speaker (and *this* belongs to the sphere of language) whether the outcome is an active or a passive construction; some language may prefer passive to active, and there may be languages which "permit" only "passive" (Basque?)². However, apart from this criticism of the basic theoretical assumptions, I quite agree with the conclusion of the author of this paper that there is a basic difference between *paṭitta pāṭam* which is *not* passive, and *paṭikkappaṭta pāṭam*, which *is* passive. Not even in terms of TG could these two be considered the same, as the author has demonstrated. I would say that in the phrase *paṭitta pāṭam* 'the lesson which (someone) read', the logical and the grammatical object are the same, while in the phrase *paṭikkappaṭta pāṭam* 'the lesson that was read (by someone)', the attitude of the speaker may be expressed by '*patiens* → *agens*', that is, the logical ("pre-grammatical", "pre-linguistic") object is conceived as the grammatical subject. This may be demonstrated also by the grammatical agreement valid for the "underlying" sentences which according to Agesthalingom are different:

² Cf. E. Coseriu, *Einführung in die Transformationelle Grammatik* (Tübingen, 1970).

- ‘agreement’
- (1) (yārō) pāṭattaiṭṭ pāṭittārkaḷ → pāṭitta pāṭam
 agens patiens action (“logical” level)
 Subject Object Verb.Pred. (“grammatical” level)
- ‘agreement’
- (2) (yārālō) pāṭam pāṭikkappaṭṭatu → pāṭikkappaṭṭa pāṭam
 agens patiens action (“logical” level)
 [agens] Subject Verb.Pred. (“grammatical” level)

It is of course another matter that both phrases can become grammatical subjects if embedded in a higher structure. What is important is the relevance for the translation of such constructions (cf. the excellent Note 13 in the reviewed paper). While e.g. *nān pāṭitta pāṭam* should be translated “correctly” as ‘the lesson which I read’, *ēṇṇāl pāṭikkappaṭṭa pāṭam* should be translated “passively”, i.e. ‘the lesson read by me’.

S. V. Shanmugam’s “Inflectional increments in Dravidian” is a good inventory, well documented, one of the first solid studies in Dravidian derivational morphology. What we miss is a general summary discussion of the whole problem of “inflectional increments” (“empty morphs”, the *cāriyai* of native Tamil grammars). According to the author, it is necessary to reconstruct, for PDr, the ‘augments’ *-an-, *-ḷ-, *-in-, *-a- and *-t-.

The other grammatical papers deal with “evidence for a locative case in Telugu” (Andrée Sjöberg), adjectives in Kurukh (G. Vijayavenugopal), gender in Dravidian (A. S. Kedilaya), the classification of Tamil and Malayalam verb (R. E. Asher) and Dravidian numeral constructions (G. K. Panikkar). Panikkar’s paper does not aim at a reconstruction of Proto-Dravidian numerals, but investigates the underlying structure of numeral phrases. The paper is interesting, though I fail to see a number of points; why, e.g., bring the Soviet linguist Marr into the discussion (totally irrelevant). Asher deals very carefully and most ably with the intricate problem of Tamil and Malayalam verb-classification. The paper has, indeed, broader significance – the relationship between formal and informal Tamil and Malayalam is discussed. If sufficiently complex rules are accepted, the verbal roots of formal Tamil can be reduced to three groups (Lisker, 1951), and those of certain types of colloquial Tamil to two (Asher, 1966). It is interesting that A. K. Ramanujan and E. Annamalai have reached an analogical conclusion, eliminating “middle” verbs and setting up two classes of “weak” and “strong” verbs for colloquial Tamil (personal communication).

I have not found H. Schiffman’s short paper on “Language Change and Language Distance” very satisfactory. Most of it seems to me to be just a matter of using fashionable jargon for obvious truths (like the fact that Tamil and Malayalam are closer than Tamil and Kannada); and I find the last statement of the paper not only arrogant but untrue (“The task facing comparative Dravidianists is now to write generative grammars of the various languages, and compare them according to the above-mentioned criteria. All other methods of comparison are doomed to failure”). Generative grammars, i.e. transformational linguistics, has until now been far from demonstrating its usefulness in comparative and historical studies. On the contrary, *all other* methods of comparison (historical and genetic, typological) have at least produced *some* results. I do not think we are “doomed to fail” if we do not accept Schiffman’s criteria.

S. Bhattacharya deals somewhat vaguely and in very general terms with “new Dravidian languages” (pp. 139-161), i.e. newly “discovered” uncultivated Dravidian speeches. And T. M. Kameswari gives a lexicostatistic strategy for the chronology of Dravidian languages. One can hardly agree with some of the results: e.g. the approximate period of divergence of Tamil and Kannaḍa must have been much earlier than 400-1000 A.D.

One of the most important papers in the whole lot is P. S. Subrahmanyam's "The Central Dravidian Languages", published simultaneously in *JAOS*, 89, 4 (1969), 739-750. The *JAOS* version is slightly more careful and detailed. Subrahmanyam comes to a very convincing conclusion setting up two major Central Dravidian groups, Proto-Telugu-Kui and Proto-Kolami-Parji, with a different and "higher" node assigned to Gondi than in Krishnamurti's Central Dravidian family tree diagram (in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, 5, 1969, p. 327). Telugu, according to Subrahmanyam, split off first from the proto-stage of the seven languages (Telugu, Gondi, Konḍa, Kui, Kuvi, Pengo, Maṇḍa), and the other six remained together for a considerable period of time. Telugu and Gondi share an important and exclusive innovation; this Subrahmanyam explains as a result of the operation of the "wave process" after the separation of Telugu and Gondi (the two languages being still geographically contiguous even after their separation).

As a whole the volume is a very valuable contribution to Dravidian linguistics and manifests the lively activities of the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics at the Annamalai University. We do hope that this volume will soon be followed by another, which will contain the proceedings of the second seminar on Dravidian linguistics, held at Annamalai in 1969.

K. Zvelebil

International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics (IJDL), Vol. I, Number 1, January 1972. Edited and published by V. I. Subramoniam, Department of Linguistics, University of Kerala, Trivandrum. Pp. iii + 195. Single number \$3.00, annual subscription \$5.00.

In the First All India Conference of Dravidian linguists (University of Kerala, June, 1971) the need for an international journal for Dravidian linguistics was emphatically expressed, and less than a year afterwards, such journal actually appeared, a biannual expected to be published in January and June of each year.

The present reviewer had been among those who, as far back as in 1957, 1958, again in 1964, and in the subsequent years, raised their voice to express the need for a journal of this kind, for they rightly foresaw an unprecedented bloom of Dravidian studies in the second half of this century. It is therefore with great satisfaction that the first issue of this journal is reviewed, and in the hope that the energetic personality of the editor, with the support of an international editorial board and of the syndicate of Kerala University will guarantee smooth and regular publication of the journal and high quality of the contributions.

The first issue is promising enough. Apart from S. K. Chatterji's "Address to the Dravidian Linguists" (1-17), wise and rich in thought, there are nine research papers, two notes, and one review. The research papers deal with various aspects of linguistics, not only Dravidian. In fact, two of the papers have nothing at all to do with Dravidian directly: J. D. Singh's "Pāṇini's Theory of Language" (80-96), a paper which, I am afraid, does not belong to the best among the lot and contains a few doubtful statements (e.g. p. 84 bottom), and Ray S. Jackendoff's interesting "Speculations on Presentences and Determiners" (112-36), which attempts to explore the parallelisms between noun phrases and sentences. Zvelebil's paper (97-111) inspired by W. L. Chafe's semantic model, and Pike's and Gordon's paper developing further the tagme theory (56-79) are both theoretical papers but, unlike Singh and Jackendoff, the authors exemplify their statements with illustrations from Dravidian languages. For comparative Dravidianists, the most thrilling statement of Pike and Gordon is the one in footnote 1, p. 78: "Dhangar is a Dravidian language, and is a dialect of the Kudux

(i.e. Kūṛux, Kurukh, K.Z.) of India, but is spoken by people living in the Dhanusa district of Southern Nepal. About 10,000 persons in Nepal speak the language (National Census report, Part II, p. 20, Table 8, 1961)." Unfortunately, one does not see much of it in the very meagre illustrations which occur in this highly theoretical paper. From what one can see, though, it indeed looks like a Kūṛux dialect, cf. Kūr. *ās*: Dh. *aas* that man, Kūr. *āsgē* (Hahn) dat.: Dh. *aasge* id., Kūr. *kukōs* (Hahn) boy: Dh. *kukkōs* male child, Kūr. *allā* dog: Dh. *alla* (DED 2377), Kūr. *mankhā*, Malt. *mangu* buffalo: Dh. *manxa*, Kūr. *kheḍḍ* foot: Dh. *xeDD* (DED 165) id., Kūr. *khekkhā* hand: Dh. *xekk* (DED 1683) id., Kūr. *kīrā*, Malt. *kīre* (DED 1350): Dh. *kīRa* hunger, Kūr. *mandar* (Ta. *maruntu*, DED 3863): Dh. *mandar* medicine. Some of these items (e.g. DED 1350) occur only in Kūṛux, Malto and Dhangar, i.e. only in Proto-North East Dravidian. Cf. also such correspondences as Dh. *enghai* my: Kūr. *enghai*, and the agreement in verb-terminations, e.g. *-d-an* pres.1.m.s., *-d-as* pres.3.m.s.; and the plural marker — *guTThi* of Dh. and — *guṭhi* of Kūṛux.

Zvelebil quotes a few Tamil and Telugu examples in his effort to show that Chafe's 'balanced view' of language may be applied profitably to Dravidian structure.

T. Burrow (pp. 18-25) has discussed the Dravidian words for 'horse': *kutirai* (DED 1423), probably a South Dravidian item to be derived from *kuti* 'to jump, leap' (though Burrow does not discuss anywhere the derivational apparatus of this item; should we posit two derivative suffixes, *-r* and *-ai*?). DED 3268 Ta.Ma. *pari* is a verb-noun of *pari* 'to run, gallop'. DED 3917 Ta. *mā*, Te. *māvu* are specialized meanings of 'animal, beast'. Ta. *puravi* (classical poetry) has no cognates, and *killai* seems to be only lexical. Burrow then discusses at some length the Sanskrit *ghoṭaka* 'horse', and concludes that the word is of Prakrit origin (cf. its earliest form in the Jaina texts, viz. *ghoḍaga*), and that it has no connection with any of the above mentioned Dravidian items. While discussing the Te. *gurramu*, he suggests that this is likely to be a loan-word from Indo-Aryan. However, I still believe that a Dravidian etymology of this Telugu word cannot be dismissed, particularly if we proceed to derive it by a series of ordered rules from *kutirai*, i.e. **kutiray*. By rule nu. 1, we would get **kutiray* > **kutray* on account of accent. The second rule would be a monophthongization rule resulting in **kutra*. The third rule would account for the voicing (as in so many Te. words which manifest spontaneous voicing), resulting in **gudra*. An assimilation rule would produce **gurra* with an alternative **gurra*, and finally the addition of the very productive Te. suffix *-mu* would result in the actual form *gurramu*. This is of course not so simple and straightforward as an Indo-Aryan borrowing, but a lot more probable, with each step accounted for by a rule.

Burrow finally shows that the "primitive" Dravidian word for horse is the one occurring only in Old Tamil and Brahui, viz. Ta. *ivuḷi*, Br. *hulli*. The comparison of the two is not such "an obvious equation" as Burrow thinks (p. 24), but is indeed not ruled out. If he is right, two important conclusions may be drawn from his paper: first, it would once again show that we must regard ancient Tamil literary texts as an invaluable mine of linguistic information; second, it would support the North Western 'origins' of the Dravidians, for the horse is not native to South India, and if Dravidian had "originated" in the South we would expect it not have a word for 'horse'.

Bright's paper "The Enunciative Vowel" (26-55) sums up very ably one of the more complicated problems of Dravidian phonology. According to his conclusions, from an early period, a rule has operated in most languages which adds a vowel after "most consonants" when a consonant or pause follows. The quality of this vowel is "basically" non-front, non-low, and unrounded. It is usually not basic, but predictable by rule. In my book *Comparative Dravidian Phonology* (1970, 53, 1.13-1.41) I have characterised the final *u* as non-morphemic, obligatory "and therefore fully predictable". Bright's approach is, however, generative, while mine was traditionally structuralist. V. I. Subramoniam (137-43) has dealt with rules of nasal assimilation in Malayalam.

A minor detail which I may offer as comment: on p. 140, the author writes that he "could not locate any genuine instance for regressive assimilation of *nt* > *nt* in Ta". I have found a few instances in Ta. dialects, e.g. in Dindigul Ta. *cariyeṇṇu* realized as [səri:nti].

In a lucid, excellent paper, L. Lisker again discusses the complicated question of stops and gemination in Tamil (144-50). Finally, there is a very interesting paper on "phonological formulae for verbal suffixes in Malayalam" by V. R. Prabodhacharan Nayar (151-59). S. M. Kamil Al-Quadri's "All About Brahui", reprinted obviously from the Pakistan Quarterly, is indeed rather curious. It contains some valuable(?) information mainly on modern Brahui literature and on the folk-poetry of the Brahui minstrels; on the other hand, it makes such very odd statements as "Brahui may or may not be descended from Dravidian" (161). It is as amusing as its title suggests. Its author quotes his own "voluminous research work on Brahui Language and Literature", which is under print in Quetta. Let us wait and see.

Pity that there are so many misprints in this issue of the journal! They are almost countless. But we believe that Prof. V. I. Subramoniam, with the resoluteness which is so characteristic of him, will, with the help of the other editors and of the printers succeed in eliminating these shortcomings, as he has promised in the preface.

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MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

SCHMIDT, HANNS-PETER, sec vol. I, p. 180, Now Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles. Publication: *Bṛhaspati und Indra, Untersuchungen zur vedischen Mythologie und Kulturgeschichte* (Wiesbaden, 1968).

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