

ON THE KIRĀTĀRJUNĪYA 2.45: YĀPAYATI RECONSIDERED

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Since I encountered vt. 3 *rañjer nau mrgaramaṇe* on P. 6.4.24, I have been interested in the usage of the causative. In Pāli canonical literature, *yāpeti*, among others, occurs, in almost all cases, as an intransitive, while in post-canonical literature it appears not only as an intransitive but also as a transitive. In both of them it figuratively means ‘to keep going, to keep up, esp. to keep oneself going or alive, to live by’,¹ except for few examples.² In Sanskrit literature, *yāpayati* corresponding to *yāpeti* seems to be employed only as a transitive, and a direct object (*karman-*) construed with it is, in not a few cases, time (*kālam*),³ such as the day (*divasam*),⁴ the night (*rātrim*)⁵ or the like. In this paper I consider the causative construction *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam yāpayanti* taking into account three types of causation, P. 5.4.60, the Pāli usage, Mallinātha’s commentary and Roodbergen’s interpretation.

1 PED 554.

2 Ja VI 458 *Vedeham sasenāvāhanam yāpesi*, Pj II 184 *devalokam* [someone] *yāpetum*, Att 25 *kālam yāpetvā*.

3 Pañcat III 9 (p. 165) *kasmimścīn nagare bhikṣāṭanam kṛtvā mahati devālaye kālam yāpayati*, Kārta 8.98 *yamaniyamataḥpobhir yāpayām āsa kālam*, Gaṅgavaṃśa 109 *sakhi, idānīm tarhi kas tava sakhyāḥ kālayāpanopāyah?*, Tapatī 4.7 prose *vayasya, kenedānīm vinodena sahabarīvīpravāsamaḥmasam kālam yāpayāmi*, Kṛṣṇa 2.47 prose *ciraṃ vanavīhāreṇaiva samayo yāpītaḥ*, Koṭi 43 *vakrālāpaiḥ kamapi samayam yāpayām cakratus tau*.

4 Mālav III 2 prose *athemam divasaśeṣam ucitavyāpāravimukhena cetasā kva nu khalu yāpayāmi*, Bhāminī 7 *tāvat kokila virasān yāpaya divasān vanāntare nivasan*, Subhadra 3.1 prose *vāsarasavyāsa yāpanasādhanam*, Vicāratilaka ad loc. *sakḥā narmālāpādīnā kālayāpanadaksah*.

5 Megha (uttaramegha) 29 *nītā rātriḥ kṣaṇa iva mayā sārḍham icchāratair yā, tām evosṇair virahamabatim aśrubhir yāpayantīm*, Nemī 97 *rātrim saṃvatsarasātasamām vikṣate sannagātrī, tām evosṇair virahajanitair aśrubhir yāpayanti*, Bhāva 14 *yasmin dātari yāpayanti ta ime bṛeṣasvanair bṛmhitair vāmānām karakaṅkaṇadhvanibhir apy ujjāgarā yāminīḥ*, 42, 64, 66; Vik pp. 33, 51, 173, 198; Bṛpp. 4, 47, 115, 180, 276, 295, 342, 372, 410, 494, 514, 532.

I.

The present stanza runs as follows:

*subṛdah sahajās tathetare matam eṣām na vilaiṅghayanti ye,
vinayād iva yāpayanti te dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam ātmasiddhaye.*

The allies, natural and otherwise (of the Vṛṣṇayas), who do not betray (them), cause the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra to pass time by obliging him, so to speak, for the sake of their own survival. (Roodbergen)⁶

Mallinātha comments: ... *ātmasiddhaye* [i.e.] *ātmajīvanārtham*, *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam* [i.e.] *dur̥yodhanam*, *vinayād* [i.e.] *ānukūlyād iva*, *yāpayanti* [i.e.] *kālam gamayanti*. *kāryakāle tu vṛṣṇipakṣapraveśina evety arthaḥ*.

Roodbergen translates: ... *Yāpayanti* (means) *kālam gamayanti* ‘they make (him) pass (his) time’. This is to say that when, however, the time of action has come, they will definitely choose the side of the Vṛṣṇayas.⁷

He notes as follows:

Here the non-causative construction is (1) *kālo gacchati* ‘time goes’. The complete corresponding causative construction is (2) *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajaḥ kālam gamayati* ‘the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra causes time to go’, i.e. he passes time. Here *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmaja* represents the agent of the causative construction and *kāla* the non-causative agent which has become the causative object (P. 1.4.52). It is perhaps worth noting that *kāla* here functions as the real object, not as an accusative word indicating the duration of the action like in *māsam āsayati devadattam* ‘he makes Devadatta stay for a month’ (*Bh.* No. 15 on *Vt.* VIII on P. 1.4.52, see *KARA*, p. 249). The double causative construction is (3) *subṛdo dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajena kālam gamayanti* ‘the allies cause the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra to pass time’. Here the word representing the agent of the causative construction is put in the instrumental by P. 2.3.18 (*kartari*). If this is correct and if what holds for *gam-* holds for *yā-* too, the question is why Bhāravi, rather ungrammatically, chose to say *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam* instead of *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajena*. The answer can only be: *metri causa*.⁸

6 Roodbergen 1984: 133.

7 Roodbergen 1984: 134.

8 Roodbergen 1984: 436, note 352.

What attracts our attention is that he interprets Bhāravi's usage *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajan̄ yāpayanti* as ungrammatical, that is, deviate from the grammatical double causative construction *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajena yāpayanti* taking into consideration Mallinātha's paraphrase, and that, consequently, he attributes it to the *metri causa*.⁹

II.

The causation (*hetumat-*) expressed by *-i[ṅic]*, in other words, the activity of the inciter [of an independent agent] (*prayojakavyāpāra-*) is classified into three types: (1) a command (*preṣaṇa-*), (2) an entreaty (*adhyeṣaṇa-*) and (3) any act fit for that (*tatsamarthhācaraṇa-*). One is an incitation of an inferior by a superior, while another is that of a superior by an inferior or an equal. The other is any conduct favorable for the activity of the one to be incited (*prayojyavyāpārānukūlacaraṇa-*).¹⁰

Yajñadatta commands or entreats Devadatta to go on: Go on (*yāhi*) or please go on (*yātu bhavān*). And D goes on (*yāti devadattaḥ*). In this case, with regard to Y, one says: He causes D to go on (*devadattam yāpayati*). Remaining silent without commanding or entreating D to go on, Y provides D with, e.g. food and drink (*devadattāyānnapānam dadāti*), while D goes on (*yāti devadattaḥ*) owing to it. Or, if both D and Y are kings and if D is more powerful, Y does not attack D (*devadattasyābhiyogam na karoti*) or Y falls under D's control (*devadattasya vaśam yāti*) or Y curries favor with D (*devadattam anukūlayati*) on account of his survival while D goes on (*yāti devadattaḥ*). That is to say, Y plays for time (*kālakṣepam karoti*) while D goes on (*yāti devadattaḥ*). Each of these is nothing else but any act favorable for D's going on. In this case also, with regard to Y, one says: He causes D to go on (*devadattam yāpayati*).

Next, Y commands or entreats time to go on: Go on or please go on. If time went on (*kālo yāti*) according to Y's intention, with regard to Y one would say: He causes time to go on (*kālam yāpayati*). But, in reality, time goes on (*kālo yāti*) independently of Y's intentions or activities. As for Y, he does a certain act during the time. For example, he walks (*gacchati*), stands (*tiṣṭhati*), sits (*āste*) and lies down

9 The present metre (◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡ ◡, - / ◡ ◡ ◡, - ◡ ◡, - ◡ ◡, ◡ ◡, -) is called *lalitā*, *viyoginī*, etc. Cf. Roodbergen 1984: 81. This is a variety of *vaitāliya* (6 moras, ◡ ◡ ◡, ◡, - / 8 moras, - ◡ ◡, ◡, -). Cf., e.g. Piṅgala 4.32 *vaitāliyam dviḥsvarā* [7 × 2] (*l-aḥ* 12) *ayukpāde*, *yugvasavo* [8 × 2] 'nte *r-l-g-aḥ*; 1.15 *aṣṭau vasava iti*; 1.3 *kā gu-hā r*; 1.9 *gr l*; 1.10 (*gr* 9) *g ante*; 11 *ghr-ādi-paraḥ* (*gr* 9, *g* 10); 12 *be* (*g* 10); 13 *l-au sa-ḥ* [= *g*]; the word *svara-* means "7" according to the commentary on 4.14. Cf. also Amara 1.8.1 *niṣadarṣabha...sapta...svarāḥ* and the commentaries on 1.1.10 *āditya-viśva-vasavaḥ...*

10 Cf. P. 1.4.55, 3.1.26; Kaiyaṭa on Bh III on 3.1.26; Nāgeśa ad loc.; Cardona 1997: 187–188, 192 §288.

(*śete*), that is, lives (*varate*); or, he carries favor with D (*devadattam anukūlayati*), in other words, he plays for time (*kālakṣepam karoti*). Each of these amounts to any act favorable for the going on of time. And so, with regard to Y, one says: He causes time to go on (*kālam yāpayati*). Therefore, in a certain context, the phrase *devadattam yāpayati* corresponds to *kālam yāpayati*. The trouble is that what specific meaning is intended by such a phrase as *devadattam yāpayati* ‘he causes D to go on’ or as *kālam yāpayati* ‘he causes time to go on’ depends entirely on the situation in which it is uttered.¹¹

III.

The Kāśikā comments on P. 5.4.60 *samayāc ca (ḍāc 57) yāpanāyām (kṛñāḥ 58, yoge 50)* as follows: *kṛñā ity eva. kṛṣāv iti nivṛttam. kartavyasyāvasaraprāptiḥ samayaḥ. tasyātikramaṇam yāpanā. samayaśabdād yāpanāyām gamyamānāyām ḍāc pratyayo bhavati kṛñō yoge. samayā karoti. samayam yāpayati kālakṣepam karotīty arthaḥ. yāpanāyām iti kiṁ. samayam karoti.*

The wording *kṛñāḥ* only [is recurred]. The wording *kṛṣau* is ceased to recur. The word *samaya-* ‘time’ means ‘the arrival of an opportunity [i.e. the time proper] for a task’. The word *yāpanā-* does ‘the passing over of that [proper time, i.e. procrastination]’. When procrastination is understood, the [secondary] suffix *ā{ḍāc}* occurs after the word *samaya-* on condition that the word is construed with the root *kṛ-*. [The motivation of providing the present rule is the phrase] *samayā karoti* ‘he passes over the proper time’, which means ‘he causes the proper time to go on, that is, he allows the proper time to pass away’. What [is the motivation of] the wording *yāpanāyām*? [It is the phrase] *samayam karoti* ‘he makes an agreement’.¹²

The present rule is introduced into, among others, Candragomin’s grammar as follows: C 4.4.44 *samayād (ḍāc 4) yāpanāyām (kṛñā 42, yoge 35)*. The interpretation of the Kāśikā is substantially the same as that of Candragomin.¹³ And their interpretation is followed by Pāṇinians and Non-Pāṇinians. This suggests, I think, that *yāpana-* ‘causing to go on’ corresponds, in a certain context, to *kālayāpana-* ‘causing time to go on’, and that, as for Pāṇini, the feminine *yāpanā-*

11 Cf. Tattvabodhinī on SK 2576 (on 3.1.26); *sarvānugataṁ pravartanāsāmānyam ṇico ’rthaḥ, viśeṣās tv arthaprakaraṇādīgamyāḥ*.

12 Cf. Amara 3.3.149 *samayāḥ śapatha-ācāra-kāla-siddhānta-sainvid-aḥ*; a certain commentary ad loc.; *śeṣe, sainkete samayaḥ prokto niyame ’vasare ’pi ca iti*.

13 *Samayād yāpanāyām gamyamānāyām ḍāc bhavati karotīnā yoge. samayā karoti. kālaharaṇam karotīty arthaḥ. yāpanāyām iti kiṁ samayam karoti.*

is a special case of *kālayāpana-*, that is, procrastination. Thus *kālayāpana-* means, on the one hand, ‘delay, procrastination’, ‘frittering away the time’, ‘killing time’ or ‘biding one’s time, gaining time, playing for time’.¹⁴ On the other hand, taking into account causation (3) above in II, it implies ‘any act favorable for the going on of time’ (*kālayānānukūlācaraṇa-*), say ‘the sustenance of oneself, one’s body or one’s life’ (*ātmayāpana-*, *dehayāpana-*, *prāṇayāpana-*),¹⁵ which corresponds to ‘the subsistence of one’s body or one’s life’ (*dehayātrā-*, *śārīrayātrā-*, *prāṇayātrā-*).¹⁶ In the same way, *devadattayāpana-* ‘causing D to go on, i.e. subsist’ implies *devadattayānānukūlācaraṇa-* ‘any act favorable for D’s subsistence’, say *kālayāpana-/kālākṣepa-* ‘playing for time, biding one’s time’.

IV.

In Pāli canonical literature, *yāpeti*¹⁷ generally occurs as an intransitive, figuratively meaning ‘to keep going, i.e. to subsist’ in contrast to *atināmeti* or *vītināmeti*¹⁸ construed, in most cases, with a direct object (*karman-*) referring to the notion of time, while, in post-canonical literature, such a commentator as Buddhaghosa or Dhammapāla paraphrases it with *attabhāvaṃ gameti/pavatteti*¹⁹ (he keeps his body going) besides employing *yāpeti* as a transitive such as *sarīraṃ/attabhāvaṃ/jīvaṃ yāpeti*²⁰ (he keeps his body or his life going). With regard to *yāpeti* as an intransitive, Edgerton thinks that it is originally *kālaṃ yāpeti*²¹ (he keeps time

14 Cf. notes 3–5; Kām 9.14.1 (= Śukran 4.7.237 = Hit p. 103), 18.27.31; Hit p. 41 *kālayāpanam*, p. 76 *kālayāpaḥ*; Nalod 2.18 *navadāmasamāpanayāpanayā*, the commentary *ad loc.* *yāpanā kālaharaṇaṃ*.

15 The Jayamaṅgalā on Kāmas 1.4.2 *yātrāvaśād veti: yatra vā syād yāpanaṃ* [, i.e.] *śārīrasthitiḥ*, on Kāmas 4.1.32 *tadanurūpaṃ* [, i.e.] *āyānurūpaṃ* [*vyayaṃ kuryāt*] *kālayāpanārthaṃ*. Cf. Pañcat II 6 (p. 126) *kandailḥ phalair munivarā gamayanti kālam* (= ŚārīgP p. 49, but *kṣapayanti* instead of *gamayanti*); Mbh 3.246.6, 12.206.17, 12.15.24–25; Daśak 197, commentaries and subcommentaries on P. 6.1.146 *āspadaṃ pratiṣṭhāyām*.

16 Cf. Mbh 12.205.14 *yātrārtham adyād āhāraṃ vyādbito bheṣajam yathā*, Śrīk 7.31, Kathās 52.101, Bhag 3.8, BhāgP 4.23.20, Mālat pp. 23–24, Suśr sū 1.4; Cakrapānidatta on Caraka śā 5.12; Aruṇadatta on Aṣṭah sū 5.51–52. Cf. also Med p. 128 *yātrā tu yāpane* [i.e. *vartane*] *’pi syād gamanotsavayoḥ striyām*, p. 90 *yāpanaṃ vartane* (living on, subsisting) *kālākṣepe* (procrastination) *nirasane ’pi ca*.

17 Cf., e.g. AN V 270 *yo manusānāṃ āhāro, tena so tattha yāpeti, tena so tattha tiṭṭhati*, etc.

18 Cf., e.g. AN I 206 *divasaṃ atināmeti*, Vin I 155 *so taṃ sattāham bahiddhā vītināmeti*, etc.

19 Pj I 212 *yāpenti* [i.e.] *attabhāvaṃ gamenti*, Pv-a 29 = Thī-a 208 *yāpenti* [i.e.] *attabhāvaṃ pavattenti*.

20 Cf., e.g. Sv III 852 *attanā ca jīvāhī ti sayañ ca jīvaṃ yāpehī ti attho*, Th-a III 99 *so ... āhārena sarīraṃ yāpetuṃ*, Ud-a 330 *attabhāvaṃ yāpento*, etc.

21 BHSD 446.

going), while Buddhaghosa and Dhāmapāla, among others, are of the opinion that its origin is *attabhāvaṃ yāpeti*²² (he keeps his body going). Because the causation is (3) in both cases, *kālaṃ yāpeti* (he keeps time going) means, in a certain context, *yāti* (he keeps going), *jīvati* (he is alive) or the like, while *attabhāvaṃ yāpeti* (he keeps his body going) means *āhāraṃ āhāreti* (he takes food), *udakaṃ pivati* (he drinks water), etc. in short, *yāti*, *jīvati*. Thus *kālaṃ yāpeti* amounts, in a certain context, to *attabhāvaṃ yāpeti*. Therefore *yāpeti* is equivalent to both of them.

The question is which of these two interpretations is on the mark. 1) In canonical literature, *yāpeti* occurs, in almost all the cases, as an intransitive.²³ 2) There are a few cases in which it is construed with an accusative word expressing the notion of time,²⁴ which may refer to a direct object or may be an adverbial expressing the entire connection of time with an action, etc.²⁵ 3) In view of the wording *samayāt*, the word *yāpanā-* in P. 5.4.60 refers, without any doubt, to time, not to a person nor to his or her body. 4) This causes us to presuppose such a phrase as *kālaṃ yāpayati* (he keeps time going), not *śarīraṃ yāpayati* (he keeps his body going). From these I would like to suggest the following working hypothesis. i) 1 and 2 correspond to or reflect 3 and 4 respectively. ii) Therefore the accusative word expressing the notion of time in 2 is a direct object (*karman-*), not an adverbial expressing duration. iii) Such a phrase as *kālaṃ yāpeti* (he causes time to go) is used side by side with *kālaṃ atināmeti/vītināmeti* at onea stage, but the latter becomes dominant at the stage of canonical literature.²⁶ iv) As for the phrase *kālaṃ yāpeti*, it comes to exclusively imply *yāti* (he keeps going, i.e. subsists); and so, one says only “*yāpeti*”²⁷ without taking the trouble to say “*kālaṃ yāpeti*”; consequently, *yāpeti* amounts to a stereotyped expression, and is employed as if it were an intransitive denoting ‘he keeps himself going, i.e. subsists’; it is, in almost all the cases, this *yāpeti* that we meet in canonical literature. That is to say, the string is “*kālo yāti* (time keeps going) > *kālaṃ yāpeti* (he keeps time going) > *yāpeti* (he keeps himself going)”, not “*kāyo yāti* (his body keeps going) > *kāyaṃ*

22 Sp II 481 *yāpetuṃ* [i.e.] *gametuṃ*. Cf. notes 19–20, Sd (677) *gamu gatiyam*, Sd (680) *yā gatipāpuṇesu*, Sd (1547) *yapa yāpane: Yāpanaṃ pavattanaṃ*.

23 Cf. note 17.

24 Pv III. 5.1 *aṅguṭṭhasnehena yāpesi rattiṃ*, DN III 73 *te ... sattāhaṃ vanamūlaphalāhārā yāpeyyanti* and MN I 151 *imaṃ me nivāpaṃ nivuttaṃ migajātā paribhuñjantā dighāyuko vaṇṇavanto ciraṃ digham addhānaṃ yāpentu*.

25 P. 1.4.52 *gati- ... -akarmakānāṃ aṅikartā sa ṇau* (*karma* 49), 2.3.2 *karmaṇi dvitīyā*, Sd 587 *gati- ... sayādīnāṃ kārite vā* (*dutiyā* 580); P. 2.3.5 [*kuriyāguṇadravyaiḥ*] *kālādhvanor atyantasaṃyoge* (*dvitīyā* 2), Sd 581 *kālāddhānaṃ accantasāmyoge* (*dutiyā* 580).

26 Cf. note 18.

27 Cf. As 404 (= Nidd-a II 344) *yātrā ca me bhavissatī ti yāpanā ca me bhavissati*.

yāpeti (he keeps his body going) > *yāpeti* (he keeps himself going)”, nor “*kāyo yāti* > *kāyam yāpeti* > *kālam kāyam yāpeti* (he keeps his body going during the time) > *kālam yāpeti* (he keeps himself going during the time) > *yāpeti* (he keeps himself going)”. v) In post-canonical literature, side by side with the employment of such a phrase as *sarīraṃ/attabhāvaṃ/jīvaṃ yāpeti*, commentators paraphrase *yāpeti* (he keeps himself going, i.e. subsists) by *attabhāvaṃ yāpeti* (he keeps his body going, i.e. sustains his body) so that one can easily understand the meaning of the apparently ungrammatical expression. Therefore I think that Edgerton’s interpretation is on the mark.

To sum up, what holds for *kālam yāpayati* does for *kālam yāpeti*, too. “He causes time to go” means ‘he delays, procrastinates²⁸ [fritters away the time, kills time, bides his time, gains time or plays for time as the case may be]’. In addition, it exclusively implies *attabhāvaṃ yāpeti* (he causes his body to go, i.e. to subsist),²⁹ which connects, I believe, to *devadattaṃ yāpayati*³⁰ (he causes D to subsist, i.e. he allows D to subsist).

V. CONCLUSION

As I have quoted above in I, according to Roodbergen, Bhāravi could not help saying *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajāṃ yāpayanti* due to the *metri causa* though he should have employed the double causative construction *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajāna yāpayanti* (= *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajāna kālam gamayanti*). As for the double causative construction itself, it is correct. The Kāśikā on P. 1.4.52 says: *any(antānām) iti kiṃ gamayati devadatto yajñadattaṃ; tam aparahaḥ prayunkte: gamayati devadattena yajñadattaṃ viṣṇumitraḥ*.

What is [the motivation of] *aṇi* [in the wording *aṇikartā*]? [To begin with, D says to Y: Go (*gaccha*). And Y goes (*gacchati yajñadattaḥ*). With regard to D,

28 Att 25 *vaṇkamaggena gacchanti komalatāya sīghaṃ gantum asakkonti kālam yāpetvā*.

29 Cf. Mp I 328 *pabbajitvā kālam vītināmessāmi*.

30 Cf. Suśr sū 14.3 *sa* (= *rasaḥ*) ... *kṛtsnaṃ śarīraṃ abarahas tarpayati vardhayati dhārayati yāpayati cādṛṣṭabetukena karmaṇā*, Ḍalhaṇa ad loc. [*śarīraṃ*] *yāpayati* *vṛddhaṃ* [*yāpayati tasya*] *kṣīyamānadehatvāt*; ni 1.12 *prāṇodānau ... mārutāḥ pañca yāpayanti śarīraṇam*, Ḍalhaṇa ad loc. *yāpayanti* [i.e.] *dhārayanti*; śā 9.5 *etābhir* (= *ūrdhvagadhamanībhir*) *ūrdhvaṃ nābber udara...* *bāhavo dhāryante yāpyante ca*; śā 9.7 *etābhir* (= *adhogamadhamanībhir*) *adho nābheḥ pakvāsāya...* *saktīni dhāryante yāpyante ca*; Caraka vi 1.4 *te* (= *śaḍrasāḥ*) ... *śarīraṃ yāpayanti*; Aruṇadatta on Aṣṭaḥ sū 1.7 *avikṛtāḥ punar dehaṃ vartayanti* [i.e.] *yāpayanti*; Aṣṭas sū 2.24 *sa* (= *vaidyaḥ*) *pādabhinān apy ārtān guṇavān yac ca yāpayet*; śā 6.93 *tena* (= *amena*) *eva ca ... śarīrayantram ... svāsthyabalopacayayuktam ... yāpyate*; Divy 498–499 *tayā sa dārako yāpitaḥ pālito vardhitaḥ*; Loka-n 177 *manussā ... sakaraṇṇo puttabhariyā vā itthāgāre vā amacce vā nāgare vā yāpenti*, 180 *tumbe ... nāgare ca amacce ca yāpetha*.

one says:] D causes Y to go. Someone else [, say V,] incites [, in his turn,] him [to cause Y to go in such a way as this: Cause Y to go (*gamaya yajñadattam*)]. [And D causes Y to go (*gamayati devadatto yajñadattam*) in the same way. In this case, the wording *aṇi* prevents the technical term *karman-* “direct object” from being applied to such a causal agent as D. And so, the causal agent D is put in the instrumental by P. 2.3.18. Consequently, with regard to V, one says:] *gamayati devadattena yajñadattam viṣṇumitraḥ* [(V causes D to cause Y to go). Thus the present motivation is such a double causative construction].³¹

To return to the subject, Roodbergen seems to take it for granted that the present direct object is *kālam*, not *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam*, partly because he keeps in mind “The *PW*, s.v. *yā-*, Caus. *yāpayati* 2), records the meaning *verstreichen lassen, zubringen (eine Zeit)* [...] BHSGD, II, s.v. *yāpayati*, records sub (2) an intransitive usage, with ellipsis of *kālam* which in Skt means *spends time* [...] Cappeler’s rendering [...] with reference to the *Divyāvādāna* in the sense of ‘to cause to subsist, maintain’, s.v. *yā-*. Here [...], see BHSGD, II, s.v. *yāpayati*, (1) trans., *nourishes, maintains*”, and partly because, in his opinion, Mallinātha paraphrases *yāpayanti* by *kālam gamayanti*.³²

1) As far as the causative construction is concerned, not only *kālam yāpayanti* but also *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam yāpayanti* is correct. From the definition of a causal agent (*hetu-*) given by P. 1.4.55 *tatprayojako hetuś ca (kartā 54)*, it is clear that both of them premise *kālo yāti* (time goes on) and *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajo yāti* (the son of Dh goes on, i.e. subsists) respectively. 2) The former causative construction, equivalent to *kālayānānukūlācaraṇam kurvanti*, implies, in a certain context, *kālakṣepam kurvanti* (they play for time; they bide their time), and the latter, equivalent to *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajayānānukūlācaraṇam kurvanti*, does the same, e.g. *kālakṣepam kurvanti*. 3) In the present stanza, there is nothing to reveal to us that Bhāravi intended the double causative construction *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajena [kālam] yāpayanti* with the causative construction *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam yāpayanti*. 4) It is, I believe, not *yāpayanti*, but *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam ... yāpayanti* that Mallinātha paraphrases with *kālam gamayanti*.³³ In other words, he does not, in my opinion, regard the present causative construction as a double causative due to the *metri causa*. If it were a

31 The interpretation of the *Kāśikā* is followed by Bhaṭṭoji and Nāgeśa without any objection. Cf. SK 540 (on P. 1.4.52) and Nāgeśa on SK 540.

32 Roodbergen 1984: 436, note 352.

33 Cf. Mallinātha, e.g. on Kir 2.2 *parito vīkṣya, samantato vivicya*, where it is not *vīkṣya*, but *parito vīkṣya* that he paraphrases with *samantato vivicya*; 2.6 *nirūdhim āgatā, prasiddhim gatā*, 2.15 *viśādena samam, anutsāhena saha* and 1.8 *bhūtiṃ samunnayann, utkarṣam āpādayan*. The same is true with the present case, though a few words intervene between *dhṛtarāṣṭrātmajam* and *yāpayanti*.

double causative construction due to the metri causa, he would paraphrase it with, for example, *dhṛtarāṣṭrāmajam duryodhanam vinayād ānukūlyād iva yāpayanti*, [i.e.] *tena duryodhanena kālam gamayanti* (they cause that very Duryodhana to cause time to go on), because, unlike Bhāravi, he is free from the restrictions of the metre. Therefore against Roodbergen, I interpret Mallinātha’s paraphrase *dhṛtarāṣṭrāmajam duryodhanam ... yāpayanti, kālam gamayanti* as follows: They allow the son of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, i.e. Duryodhana to subsist; in short, they bide their time. This smoothly connects to his following comment *kāryakāle tu vṛṣṇīpakṣapraveśīna evety arthaḥ*, and to his introduction to the preceding stanza as well: *nanu titikṣayā kālakṣepe duryodhanaḥ sarvān rājño vaśīkuryād ity atrāha* “But if there is a lapse of time due to forbearance, wouldn’t bring Duryodhana all (other) kings under his control? With regard to this (question the speaker) says:” (Roodbergen 1984).

ABBREVIATIONS³⁴ AND LITERATURE

a	aṭṭhakathā.
Amarā	Amarakośa (A.A. Ramanathan, Amarakośa with the Unpublished South Indian Commentaries, pts 1–3, Madras, 1971–1983).
an	Aṅguttaranikāya.
As	Atthasālinī.
Aṣṭah	Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya (Pt. Hariśāstrī Parādkar, Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya of Vāgbhaṭa with Aruṇadatta’s Sarvāṅgasundarā & Hemādri’s āyurvedarasāyaṇa, Varanasi, 1982).
Aṣṭas	Aṣṭāṅgasamgraha (R. Kinjavadekara, Aṣṭāṅga-Samgraha with Indu’s Śāsīlekḥā Commentary, Delhi, 1990).
Att	Hatthavanagallavihāraṇṣa.
Bh	Mahābhāṣya (S. Sharma & R.K. Shastri, Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya of Patañjali with Kaiyaṭa’s Pradīpa & Nāgeśa’s Uddyota, vol. III, Delhi, 1988)
Bhag	Bhagavadgītā (S.J. Shambhu Sadhale, The Bhagavadgītā with Eleven Commentaries, vol. I, Delhi, 1985).
BhāgP	Bhāgavatapurāṇa (J.L. Shastri, Bhāgavata Purāṇa with the Commentary of Śrīdhara Svāmin, Delhi, 1983).
Bhāminī	Bhāminīvilāsa (E.V. Dapade & D.G. Apte, Bhāminīvilāsa of Jagannath Pandit, Delhi 1994).
Bhāva	Bhāvavilāsaḥ (in The Kāvyaṃālā 2, ed. P. Durgāprasād, K.P. Parab & V.L.S. Panshīkar, Varanasi, 1988).
BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary.

34 With regard to the abbreviations of Pāli texts (PTS), I follow von Hinüber 1997, except for Sd (Saddanīti).

- Bṛ Bṛhatkathāślokaśaṁ graha (R.P. Poddar & N. Sinha, *Buddhasvāmin's Bṛhatkathā Ślokaśaṁgraha*, Varanasi, 1986).
- C Candragomin's sūtra (in *Cāndravyākaraṇa* of Candragomin, pts. 1–2, ed. K.C. Chatterji, Poona, 1953–1961).
- Caraka Carakasamhitā (V.J. Trikamji, *The Charakasamhitā of Agniveśa with the āyurveda-Dīpikā Commentary of Chakrapāṇidatta*, New Delhi, 1981).
- Daśak Daśakumāracarita (M.R. Kale, *The Daśakumāracarita of Daṇḍin*, Delhi, 1966).
- Divy Divyāvadāna (E.B. Cowell & R.A. Neil, *The Divyāvadāna*, Delhi, 1987).
- DN Dīghanikāya.
- Gaṅgavaṁśa Gaṅgavaṁśānucarita (A. Thakur, *Gaṅgavaṁśānucaritam*, Patna, 1982).
- Hit Hitopadeśa (M.R. Kāle, *The Hitopadeśa of Nārāyaṇa*, Delhi, 1967).
- Ja Jātaka.
- Kām Kāmandakīyanīṭisāra (R.R. Lala Mitra, *The Nīṭisāra by Kāmandakī*, Calcutta, 1982).
- Kāmas Kāmasūtra (D. Sāstrī, *The Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana with Yaśodhara's Jayamaṅgalā*, Varanasi, 1982).
- Kārta Kārtavīryodaya (J. Schneider, *Sukṛtidatta Pantas Kārtavīryodaya*, Swisttal-Odendorf, 1996).
- Kāśikā Kāśikāvṛtti (D.D. Shastri & K.P. Shukla, *The Kāśikāvṛtti with Haradatta's Padamañjarī & Jinendrabuddhi's Nyāsa*, pts. 1–6, Varanasi, 1965–67).
- Kathās Kathāsaritsāgara (NSP edition).
- Kir Kirātārjunīya (M.P. Durgāprasād & K.P. Parab, *The Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi with the Commentary Ghaṇṭāpatha of Mallinātha*, Bombay, 1933).
- Koṭi Koṭivīrahaṁ (in *The Kāvyaṁālā* 5, ed. P. Durgāprasāda & K.P. Parab, Varanasi, 1988).
- Kṛṣṇa Kṛṣṇakutūhala (H. Ojhā, *Kṛṣṇakutūhalaṁ*, Varanasi, 1990).
- Loka-n Lokaneyyappakaraṇa.
- Mālav Mālavikāgnimitra (R.D. Karmarkar, *Mālavikāgnimitra of Kālidāsa*, Delhi, 2002).
- Mālat Mālatīmādhava (R.G. Bhandarkar, *Mālatī-Mādhava of Bhavabhūti with the Commentary of Jagaddhara*, Poona, 1970).
- Mbh Mahābhārata (Poona Critical Edition).
- Med Medinīkośa (J. S. Hośhing, *Medinīkośa of Śrī Medinīkara*, Varanasi, 1968).
- Megha Meghadūta (M.R. Kale, *The Meghadūta of Kālidāsa*, Delhi, 1969).
- MN Majjhimanikāya,
- Mp Manorathapūraṇī.
- Nalod Nalodaya (K.K. Hariharan, *Nalodaya with the Commentary Kavīhṛdayadarpaṇa*, Delhi, 1995).
- Nemi Nemidūtam (in *The Kāvyaṁālā* 2, ed. P. Durgāprasād, K.P. Parab & V.L.S. Panshīkar, Varanasi, 1988).
- ni nidānasthāna.
- Nidd-a Niddesa-a (= *Saddhammapajjotikā*).
- P Pāṇini-sūtra.
- Pañcat Pañcatantra (M.R. Kale, *Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman*, Delhi, 1991).
- PED Pali–English Dictionary.
- Piṅgala Piṅgala's Chandaḥsūtra (Pt. Kedaranātha, *Chandaḥśāstram of Piṅgalanāga*, Delhi, 1994).
- Pj Paramatthajotikā.
- Pv Petavatthu.

śā	śārīrasthāna.
ŚārṅgP	Śārṅgadharapaddhati (P. Peterson, Śārṅgadharapaddhati, Delhi, 1987).
Sd	Saddanīti.
SK	Siddhāntakaumudī (Giridharaśarma and Ānandaśarma, Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakaumudī with Bālaṃmanoramā and Tattvabodhinī, pts 1–4, Delhi, 1977–1979).
Sp	Samantapāsādikā.
Śrīk	Śrīkaṇṭhacarita (The editor's name not mentioned, Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam of Maṅkhaka with the Sanskrit Commentary of Jonarāja, Delhi, 1983).
sū	sūtrasthāna.
Subhadrā	Subhadrādhanāñjaya (N.P. Unni & B.M. Sullivan, The Kūṭiyāṭṭam Drama Subhadrā-Dhanāñjaya with Vicāratilaka Commentary, Delhi, 2001).
Śukran	Śukranīti (B. Miśra, Śukranīti, Varanasi, 1999).
Suśr	Suśrutasaṃhitā (V.J. Trikamji & N. Rām, Suśrutasaṃhitā of Suśruta with the Nibandhasaṃgraha Commentary of Śrī Ḍalhaṇāchārya, Varanasi/Delhi, 1980).
Sv	Sumaṅgalavilāsini.
Tapatī	Tapatīsaṃvaraṇa (N.P. Unni & B.M. Sullivan, Tapatī-Saṃvaraṇam, Delhi, 1995).
Th	Theragāthā.
Thī	Therīgāthā.
Ud	Udāna.
vi	vimānasthāna.
Vik	Vikramacarita (F. Edgerton, Vikrama's Adventures, pt. 2, Delhi, 1993).
Vin	Vinayapiṭaka.
vt	vārttika (in The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, ed. F. Kielhorn & rev. K.V. Abhyankar, vol III, Poona, 1972).

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