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SELECTED STUDIES

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explication is given which does not appear to be the right one : "(*anta-*) often pleonastically, to be explained as a 'pars pro toto' figure, like *kammanā* "the end of the work, i.e. the whole work (cf. Engl. *sea-side*, *country-side*); *vamanā* "the border of the wood = the woods" (explained by *vana* . . .)".

p. 492: for *dvīpāntara-* see also the Prakṛt form *dībantara* "island" Setubandha 2, 32. The commentary Padadīpikā on Daṇḍin's Daśak. 4, 10 explains *pāvārataraṇam akarot* by *bhāṇḍasya dvīpāntare nayanam dvīpāntarād nayanam ityādi ca*.

p. 493: for Old-Jav. *musāntara* see also Calon Arang, 10 (Bijdr. T.L.V. 82, p. 136) which after having enumerated the overseas possessions of the Javanese empire states that these are the tributary *musāntara*; as these territories include also Palembang, Malaka, Singapore etc. etc. the term is used in an extended meaning. In the same chapter the word is used, once again, as opposed to Java : p. 136. — Cf. also Tantu Pangg. p. 58 P. where *Yaveaḍīpāntara*, followed by *Yaveaḍīpa*, is either a 'contamination' ('blending') or a 'learned by-form' of *Yaveaḍīpa* (see Pigaud, p. 130, n. 4); a third possibility — a dvandva combination : "Yava and the insular empire" — does not, in this text which deals with Java alone, seem to be deserving of consideration. p. 496: the Old-Jav. *samanāntara-* "shortly after, meanwhile", however, derives from Skt. *samanāntara-* "immediately following": see also 'Sanskrit in Indonesia', p. 73; 237. — In Javanese and Sundanese poetical works the curious word *megantara* is used for a "grey horse".

THE SANSKRIT PARTICLE API

As is well known the term 'particle' has been applied in very different ways by various grammarians, and a satisfactory definition has, as far as the ancient Indo-European languages are concerned, not yet been given.¹⁾ One of the difficulties with which scholars are confronted is, as Whitney²⁾ at the time put it, the fact that for instance in Sanskrit 'the indeclinable words (in general) are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech' than other classes of words: there often are no hard and fast lines drawn between adverbs, particles, prepositions or rather, one and the same element may fulfil more than one function. Another difficulty lies in the fact that these words not rarely are from the semantic point of view vague and indefinable. This state of affairs has in particular cases led to much ineffectual controversial discussion. One of the causes why various attempts at reaching a complete understanding of, for instance, the Indo-European particle **keue* (Skt. *ca*, Gr. *καί*, Lat. *-que*) remained unsuccessful has in my opinion been the tacit assumption that this word is an exact equivalent of our modern 'and', and that it should be regarded as a conjunction in the traditional sense of the term.³⁾

With regard to the Sanskrit element *api* it may generally speaking be said that many authors of grammars and dictionaries limited themselves to a mere arrangement of the main facts, i.e., of what they call the 'meanings' or 'uses' of the word, without entering into

¹⁾ I also refer to my review of Hartman, C. G., 1966. *Emphasizing and connecting particles in the thirteen principal upaniṣads*, Helsinki, to be published in this periodical.

²⁾ Cf. Whitney, W. D., 1924. *A Sanskrit grammar*, Leipzig, p. 403, § 1096.

³⁾ For this particle see my relative papers in Vāk, 5, Poona 1957, p. 1-73 and in Mnemosyne (Leyden) 1954, p. 177-214; 267-296.

a discussion of the interrelations between these 'meanings' and in all probability overlooking the fact that a variety of so-called different senses of a word in an ancient language is nothing else but a translational difficulty in disguise or the tacit admission of the fact that English, Dutch or German vocabularies do not contain a word which may under all circumstances be used to 'translate' a Greek or Sanskrit term. Thus Speyer,⁴ distinguishing between *api* 1 'and, too, moreover, also', 2 'even', 3 'though', observes that the particle 'has many more meanings' which however are discussed in other sections of his syntax:⁵ 'it may be an interrogative particle, strengthen an exhortation, precede an optative etc.' A similar procedure was adopted for instance by Renou.⁶ It is clear that in this way the reader is kept in the dark as to the interrelation of these uses as well as to the central or nuclear meaning of the word, i.e., to that which is common to all its contextual uses; contextual uses, it must be added, which, though being mere variants of the central meaning, too often have been regarded as different 'meanings' of the word.

Other scholars, emphasizing the fact that *api* does not only occur as a particle in the traditional sense of the term, but, especially in the Veda, also as a preposition and, not frequently it is true and likewise in the older language, as a verbal prefix, made an attempt at explaining the significance of the indeclinable word historically. Recently, the Finnish scholar C. G. Hartman,⁷ while distinguishing a prothetic, an epithetic and a concessive *api*, and in addition to these positions and uses, some special cases, arrives at the conclusion⁸ that 'some of the meanings of *api* may be difficult to explain, e.g., the semantic development from the primary signification 'upon' in the oldest language to the indefinite use and the interrogative particle in later Sanskrit'.

Now, the last part of this statement is in my opinion due to a misunderstanding which has tricked other scholars also into concluding that it is the 'addition' of *cid*, *cana*, *api* and similar elements

⁴) Speyer, J. S., 1886. *Sanskrit syntax*, Leyden, p. 331 f.

⁵) Speyer, o.c., p. 332.

⁶) Renou, L., 1930. *Grammaire sanscrite*, Paris, p. 153; 378; 412; 511; 516.

⁷) See above.

⁸) Hartman, o.c., p. 25.

to an interrogative pronoun which transmutes the latter into an indefinite pronoun.⁹) As argued at great length in another publication¹⁰ the pronominal stems IE. *k^{ue}l-* and *k^{ui-}* (Skt. *ka-*, *ci-* etc.) originally were interrogative as well as indefinite, and the latter function has in Sanskrit been preserved in combinations such as *kaścana* 'any one', *kimcid* 'somewhat, a little', *katham api* 'somehow or other etc.' From the synchronic point of view of Sanskrit it may appear as if *ka-* etc. 'are made'¹¹) indefinite when connected with these particles' – although *ka-* etc. continue to be occasionally used alone as indefinites –, historically speaking this formulation is wrong. Hartman speaks also of an 'interrogative particle (*api*) in later Sanskrit', no doubt with reference to its occurrence at the beginning of a sentence introducing a question. However, the occurrence in this position does not mean that *api* in cases such as Rām. 2, 66, 5 cr. ed. *api nādhvaśramah śighram rathenāpatatas tava* 'are you not tired with the long way, having driven quickly?' is in itself 'interrogative'¹²) or transforms an affirmative statement into a question.

Nor can we be sure that all later uses of the particle have derived from those more limited functions which it seems to fulfil in the oldest documents, because some later uses may have developed in those circles which left no traces of their existence in Vedic literature. We should not take for granted that the only source of all function of the particle in post-Vedic texts is that borne by the Vedic preposition which expresses ideas of 'near, over, annexing to, reaching to, proximity etc.' and is often translatable by 'upon'.

Before entering into an examination of the uses of *api*, the particle, it is worth while to consider its other functions. Accompanying a locative *api* makes, in the Veda, the idea of immediate nearness explicit: RV. 5, 31, 9 *ā vām atyā api karne vahantu* 'your steeds must lead (the chariot) close by the ear'.¹³) One might compare the related Gr. *ἐπί* in cases such as γ 160 *ῥοαί ἐπ' ἐσχατέρη* 'to sit by the

⁹) Thus e.g., Thumb, A., and R. Hauschild, 1959. *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, Heidelberg, II, p. 150; Monier-Williams, M., *A Sanskrit-English dictionary*, p. 240; 247, s.v. *ka-*, *katham* etc.; Stenzler, A. F., and S. Biswas, 141960. *Elementarbuch der Sanskrit-Sprache*, Berlin, p. 28.

¹⁰) *Lingua*, 4 (1955), p. 241 ff.

¹¹) A term such as 'made' is to be avoided in synchronic definitions.

¹²) Monier-Williams, o.c., p. 55, s.v. *api*.

¹³) Cf. also Delbrück, B., 1888. *Altindische Syntax*, Halle A. S., p. 447 f.

hearth'; λ 448 πᾶτις οἱ ἦν ἐπὶ μᾶζέφ 'a boy was at her breast'. However, the combination of *āpi* and *kr-* 'to do' may in Dutch be rendered by 'bijdoen' ('to add') in RV. 10, 167, 4 *bhākṣam akaram carāv āpi* '... habe ich einen Trunk bei der Grütze getan' (Geldner). RV. 2, 5, 6 (similarly, 6, 59, 9) *tve āpi*, though translated 'in deiner Hut' (Geldner) or 'in deinem Besitz' (Grassmann) is in itself no more than 'by (i.e., near, with) thee', but 7, 31, 5 *tve āpi kratūr mama* may mean 'my resourcefulness is by thee' (i.e., 'through thy help': the English *by* in solemn invocations). Some shade of meaning as 'within reach, in accordance with' seems to occur 5, 46, 7, distinguishing terrestrial goddesses from those who are *apām āpi vrāte* 'within reach of the divine order of, or behaving in accordance with the function of, the Waters'.¹⁴ Although the English phrase is 'under the protection of the gods', RV. 10, 77, 7 *devānām āpi gopīthe* is intelligible as 'within reach of'. Whitney's translation of AV. 2, 2, 3 *apsarāsv āpi gandharva āsīt* 'in among the apsaras was the gandharva' is odd, the sense obviously being 'close by the apsaras'.

The force 'of close by, closely connected with' is not rarely perceivable also when *āpi* is intimately associated with verbs, e.g., RV. 8, 47, 8 *yuṣme devā āpi śmasi* 'we are, O gods, near to you'; 1, 162, 2 *ājō ... apy eti pāthah*, not 'geht voran zu ... der Zuflucht' (Geldner), but 'approaches the domain of...'; 9, 71, 6; 10, 115, 1 (cf. Gr. ἐπιεπι); similarly, *āpi-gam-*, e.g. AV. 12, 4, 31, and also 'to join', 'to go to so as to join': 12, 2, 45; *āpi-i-* may even mean 'to approach so closely that one unites with or is lost in something else'; RV. 1, 140, 7; 3, 33, 2 (of a river which combines with another river): the idea of 'addition' (cf. also *āpi-iṣ-* 9, 69, 1); TS. 2, 2, 10, 4 'ransoming him from S. he gives (lit. 'places near': *āpi dadhāi*) him to A.': 5, 1, 10, 1 *ūrjām evāsmā āpi dadhāi* 'he confers strength upon him'; in *āpi-nah-* 'to fasten up, close' (e.g. the mouth: AV. 7, 70, 4) *āpi* emphasizes the idea of 'closely together'; hence also *āpi-ny-* 'to conceal, close'. AV. 10, 4, 26 *viṣe viṣam aprūg āpi* 'he has mixed poison with (added poison to) poison': cf. Gr. ἐπᾶρτέλεω 'to assemble upon', i.e. 'to collect' and η 120 ὄγγυη ἐπ' ὄγγυη 'one pear after another, pear on pear'.

¹⁴ For the untranslatable *vrāta-* see Renou, 1958. *Études védiques et pāṇinienes*, IV, Paris, p. 74 and the present author's *The Savayajñas*, Amsterdam Acad. 1965, p. 290.

The idea of 'addition' may also clearly refer to the process (the event) itself: RV. 1, 158, 5 (when T. tried to strike D.'s head with his sword, he smashed to pieces not only his own head (cf. Brhadd. 4, 22, left unexpressed in RV.) but 'also (*āpi*) his breast and shoulders'. Or the central idea of *āpi* may in connection with some verbs impress us as giving force and intensity to the latter: AV. 1, 7, 7 *āpi śrīṣṇāni vṛścatu* 'let Indra strike off their heads':¹⁵ cf. in Greek ἐπᾶρτέλεω 'to cut down, cut short': a process which takes place close to its object may be regarded as affecting it intensely.¹⁶

The occurrences of the Rgvedic adverb *āpi*, translated by 'dazu, ausserdem, auch' in Grassmann's Wörterbuch, are, as is often the case in this otherwise meritorious work, variously rendered in Geldner's complete German Rgveda.¹⁷ In my opinion it always conveys a more or less distinct 'add to this'. RV. 3, 38, 6 the poet, a visionary, having gone to the seats of the gods, saw (not only other superhuman beings but) also the gandharvas (*gandharvām āpi*);¹⁸ in 8, 91, 1 'a girl who went down to the water found on the road (not only other things but also) soma (*somam āpi*)' Geldner left the particle untranslated but it no doubt here again implies what is printed in the parenthesis. The author slightly emphasizes that the girl among other, and in this connection indifferent, things which may or may not have been found, found also soma. 8, 43, 7 (the god of) fire devours the plants but he does not go to ruin because he enters again ('wieder', Geldner, 'de nouveau', Renou¹⁹) the young (sprouts): not only those which he has entered before and has now devoured but also the young ones (*taruṇūr āpi*). Similarly, 10, 19, 4 and 5 (not only the cows must come home but) also the herdsman (*āpi gopāh*). As appears from the above passages that element

¹⁵ Not 'to cut open': Whitney, W. D. and C. R. Lanman, 1905. *Atharva-veda samhitiā*, Cambridge Mass., p. 8.

¹⁶ Not all combinations mentioned in the concordances – part of which may rather be explained as exhibiting the 'independent' *āpi* and the simple verb – can be discussed here.

¹⁷ Geldner, K. F., 1951. *Der Rīg-Vēda überetzt*, 3 vol., Cambridge Mass.

¹⁸ The famous commentator Sāyana incorrectly characterizes the particle as suggesting the idea of assumption, imagination (*sambhāvanāyām*); see further on. Schmidt, H. P., 1958. *Vēdisch vrata*, Hamburg, p. 73: 'auch'.

¹⁹ Renou, L., 1964. *E. V. P. XIII*, Paris, p. 71. According to the ancient Indian belief plants, which may be destroyed by fire, also contain that 'element'.

of the thought expressed by the complete utterance to which *api* announces an addition may be explicit as well as implicit. Cf. e.g., also RV. 10, 140, 10 (*utāpi*). In RV. 10, 12, 5 *api* seems to form part of a simile: 'the god Mitra is there like (also) the call of those who go (*śloko na yātām api*)'.²⁰ A translation 'also' or 'and' must be adopted in cases such as BhāgP. 10, 43, 18 *hatam. Kuvalayāpīḍam dṛṣṭvā tāu api dūrjayanu* ... 'when he had seen that K. was killed and (also) that (these) two were invincible ...'

It would appear to me that starting from a vague and general idea of 'by, near, add to this' most uses of the Sanskrit particle may be satisfactorily explained. Some examples of various contextual occurrences are to follow.

AV. 9, 5, 14 *vāso dādīvād dhiranyam api* 'he should give a garment (and) also gold'; 11, 7, 12; 12, 1, 4; Nilak. on Ganésag. 2, 29 *svayam karmāni kuryāt tān api kārayet* 'one must oneself perform actions and (also) make them perform actions'. Notice also cases such as AV. 10, 10, 33 *ṛtam ... api brahmātho tapaḥ* 'truth ... also brahma and moreover asceticism'; Somadeva, KSS. 75, 85 'this king has a favourite, this one, further (*api*), called S., has a daughter'. Sometimes, however, the translation is simply 'and' (MudgU. 1, 5 *prabṛteḥ puruṣasyāpi samutpatih*).

Although not rarely left untranslated and obviously regarded as an expletive the particle very often expresses a weak 'on the other hand' in passages such as AV. 11, 1, 33 'I place thee, O rice-dish, among the descendants of the seers; for those who do not belong to the seers, on the other hand, there is no (portion) here' (*nānārṣeyā-nām apy asty atra*). This use may be considered a contextual variant of the general idea 'it must be added'. Thus *api* may draw the hearer's attention to a change of the subject. AV. 12, 2, 4 'if the flesh-eating fire has entered this stall ... I send him far away; let him go to the fires which (existing in addition to the former, i.e., on the other hand) have their seats in the waters (*apsuśādo 'py*)'; Kāl. Māl. 1, 2 'every old poem is not good because it is old; nor (*na cāpi*) is every new poem to be condemned because it is new'. Hence also the possibility of 'inserting' some phrases such as 'on his (her, etc.) part': RV. 6, 54, 4 'who worships him, him Pūṣan does not forget (*na tam puṣāpi mṛṣyate*). Cf. e.g., also Mbh. 3, 59, 7 (*Nalaka*)

²⁰ Geldner, o.c., III, p. 139 unconvincingly proposes to alter the text.

suṣūpā dharaṇītale, Damayanty api ... nidhrayāpahrītā '(N.) went to rest (but not to sleep), D. on her part was carried off by sleep'.

According to some authorities²¹ *api* 'means' 'but' ('Gegensätze aneinanderreihend') in cases such as Manu 8, 320 'on him who steals more than ten corporal punishment (shall be inflicted), *śeṣe 'py ekāśaṅgaṇam dāpyaḥ* 'in other cases he shall be fined eleven times as much'. However, the adversative idea is implied in the context and *api* here also indicates that the statement contained in the latter part of the sentence forms an addition to that expressed in the former part. Elsewhere however the translation 'next' is decidedly to be preferred: Manu 1, 76 f. 'from space springs the wind ...; next from wind (*vāyor api*) proceeds light'.

The idea 'add to this' also impresses us as equivalent to the meaning of English 'too' in contexts such as AV. 12, 4, 39 where the brahman's cow — which is an uncommonly mighty animal — is said to radiate heat, when she goes about *goṣu gaur api*, which must mean 'as a cow, too (i.e., as merely a cow, no more than an ordinary cow) among cows'.²² The particle is clearly additive in nature in Mbh. 3, 53, 13 and similar passages: 'neither among the celestials, nor among the yakṣas (a class of divine beings), not any more than among men ... (*mānuṣeṣu api cānyeṣu*). Hence also phrases such as *api sūca api stuhī* 'sprinkle as well as praise' (the cumulative *api*: 'et en outre'²³) mentioned by Pāṇini 1, 4, 96, and the occurrence of the particle in enumerations of the type AV. 13, 4, 16 'not the second, not the third, also not the fourth is he called (*catvurtho nāpy ucyate*)'. Sometimes a translation 'likewise' is admissible: AV. 14, 2, 29 'the ... young women who are here, and likewise (*api*) the old ones.... In passages such as Somadeva, KSS. 75, 71 'the youth took such complete possession of her eyes that she did not regard her modesty which was her (only) ornament, too' (*lajjām svām apy alaṅkṛtīm api* may suggest the idea of 'her sense of shame) and add to this (the fact that this, under the given circumstances, was her 'ornament'); in Dutch 'nog wel'.

²¹ See e.g., the *Petrograd Dictionary*, I, 306.

²² *The Savayajñas*, p. 105; 371.

²³ Renou, L., 1948. *La grammaire de Pāṇini*, Paris, p. 52.

²⁴ The girl is bathing. An incorrect translation is '... did not regard her own modesty, or even ornaments' (Tawney, C. H., and N. M. Penzer, 1926. *The Ocean of story*, VI, London, p. 169).

In Bhaṭṭ. 6, 134 *pañca pañcanakhā bhakṣyā ye ... teṣāṃ naiko 'py ahaṃ kapiḥ* 'I, a monkey, am not one of these five edible animals...' the commentary explains *eko 'py* as *anyatamaḥ* 'one of more (than two)'. In fact the particle *may*, in combination with the negation, indicate that the monkey must not be regarded as an (another) addition to the number of edible animals to which he would, in the other case, belong. In Dutch: 'van die ben ik niet ook een'.

Just like the German *auch*, the Dutch *ook* etc. which 'auch sehr häufig (in Beziehung auf ein Einzelfall) angewendet wird, ohne daß das Allgemeine (or other cases of the same nature) besonders an- gegeben ist',²⁵ *api* occurs also in word groups such as RV. 8, 45, 19 *yac cid dhi te api vyathir jaganvāṃso amannahi* 'obschon wir ja des Glaubens sind, einen Fehltritt gegen dich begangen zu haben...' (Geldner). In a text such as Manu 3, 101 *ṛṇāni bhūmir udākam .../ etāny api satām gehe nocchidyante* the Petr. Dict. gives as a German equivalent 'wenigstens' which in any case is better than 'grass, a place, water ... even these never fail in the house of those who live in accordance with the dharma'.²⁶ Here again the fundamental idea is 'in addition to other things (which remain unmentioned)'. In Hitop. 19, 7 *yadi vā dhanam nāsti tadā pṛthivicasāpy atithih pūjyah* the complement is explicit: 'if one cannot spend money a guest must at least (in any case) be honoured with friendly words'. This sense of 'at least' (in Dutch 'dan tenminste') is, as far as I am able to see, only a contextual variant of 'in addition to (something else)'. This 'something else' is not considered in a passage such as Rudrakavi, Rāṣṭr. 12, 47 *Rāma cen mama dadāsi na saṅgam taṃ viyogam api yena ... dehi ...* 'O Rāma, if thou doest not give me association (with thyself), grant me then at least that (form of) separation by which ...'.

From Pān. 1, 4, 96 *api padārthe 'api* in the sense of a meaning of a substantive which is to be supplied' one should not conclude that the particle may be equivalent to *mātrā*- 'measure, quantity', *bindu-* or *stoka-* 'drop' or that *api* here is 'a separable preposition with the genitive'.²⁷ The words *sarpiṣo 'pi syāt* 'il doit y avoir un peu de

²⁵ Paul, H., 1908. *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, Halle a. S., p. 36.

²⁶ 'Even': Jha, G., 1921. *Manu-smṛti*, II, 1, Calcutta, p. 124. Bühler, G., 1886. *The laws of Manu*, Oxford, left the particle untranslated.

²⁷ Apte, V. S., 1957. *The practical Sanskrit-English dictionary*, I, Poona. p. 155, 16.

beurre fondu',²⁸ 'there may perhaps (at least) be a drop of ghee'²⁹ contain, in an elliptic construction,³⁰ the partitive genitive; there are parallels without *api*, which here – as far as the facts allow us to see – may at least originally have marked an addition to a non-expressed nominal concept to which the statement (the process) contained in the sentence not or not necessarily applies.

After a numeral *api* is translated by 'all (the)': '(es) deutet an, daß mit der angegebenen Zahl die ganze vorhandene Anzahl erschöpft sei',³¹ *trayo 'pi* 'all three of them'. Also after *sarva-* 'all' 'it emphasizes the idea of completeness'. It even occurs in cumulation with *sarva-*, a numeral and another particle: Manu 3, 135 *sarveṣv eva caturṣv api*. With regard to Mbh. 3, 70, 16 the Petr. Dict.³² hesitates between 'auf der ganzen Erde' and 'sogar ...', whereas others translate 'there is no other charioteer like you in this world' (*pṛthivyām api*). May we suppose these phrases to have originated in the contextual use of *api* in some sense like 'in addition to (each other, the preceding ones), associated one with the other', i.e. '(al-) together?', or – what seems more probable – was, here also, *api* an indication of an addition: Bhoj. 91 *kapibhir jambūphalāni sarvāny api cālītāni* 'the monkeys shook the jambū fruits (and add to that, i.e., nota bene) all of them'? Cf. e.g. Rām. 3, 11, 34, 216* ... if you should fight, there will be peace (not only that, but even) in all three worlds'.

I fail to see why that use of the particle which is somewhat inadequately called concessive³³ should be regarded as an independent 'meaning'. As the optative can by itself give utterance to a supposition etc.³⁴ sentences such as BĀU. 6, 3, 7 *api ya enam śuṣke sthānam niṣīñcet, jāyerañ chākḥāḥ* 'even if one should pour this on a dry stump (or: 'if... even on a dry stump'), branches would be produced' do not, as far as the verb is concerned, present any difficulty. Although this contextual variant of *api* gives rise to the usual

²⁸ Renou, *La grammaire de Pāṇini*, p. 52.

²⁹ Apte, l.c.

³⁰ Speyer, 1896. *Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax*, Strassburg, p. 19, § 65 n.

³¹ Petr. Dict. I, 306, 9; cf. also Speyer, *Sanskrit Syntax*, p. 225; § 298.

³² Petr. Dict. I, 307, 9.

³³ See Hartman, o.c., p. 23.

³⁴ I refer to my book *The character of the Indo-European moods*, Wiesbaden 1956, I, 58 f., for the construction, p. 62.

translation 'even', it is clear that the particle conveys essentially its normal force: (in the above example) '(not only elsewhere, but) what is more, on a dry stump'. There is moreover no reason to distinguish, with Hartman, the combination *yady api* as a special case. The translation of this group (either 'even if' or 'if') is determined by the context – or by the interpretation preferred by the reader – not by (*yady api*).³⁵ ChU. 5, 24, 4 *yady api caṅḍālāyocchīṣ-ṭam prayacchet* ... may, for instance, admit of both translations: 'if one should offer the leavings (even) to an outcast ...' This more or less emphatical use ('even') is indeed very frequent: Hitop. 1, 19 *vādhur api grasyate* 'even the moon is swallowed': among various objects which while remaining unmentioned may be swallowed is also the moon of which this fate is perhaps hardly expected. Expressions such as *muhūrtam api* 'even for a moment, only a moment, for a moment at least' are explicable from 'in addition to another brief space of time which may, or may not, have actually passed'.

Sentences such as Mbh. 1, 38, 2 *nāham mṛṣā bravīmi svairēṣu api kutah śapan* are translated 'I have never told a lie even in indifferent matters, how much less when uttering a curse'; here *api* helps to characterize *svairēṣu* as an addition which is to intensify the force of the negative utterance. Cf. also Bhaṭṭ. 6, 110 ... *bānair bhavān abyantagaḥ śrīyaḥ| api saṅkranādanasya syāt* 'you would overcome even the majesty of Indra with arrows ...'; 6, 132 *karma vyādhasyāpi vigarhitam| māṃ ghnatā bhavatākāri* 'by killing me you have done a deed which is scorned even by a hunter'. In connection with an absolute locative the translation may be 'even although' in BhāgP. 10, 42, 28 *adarśanam svāśirasah pratirūpe ca saty api* '(an evil omen is) not seeing one's own head if there is an image (in a mirror, viz. of the other part of one's body)'.

The sense '(even) though' may be explained in the same way. Manu 2, 150 *bālo 'pi vipro vyādhasya pitā bhavati* 'a brahman, even though he himself be a child, becomes the father of an aged man': a brahman is in any case his father, also in the extreme case in which he is a child. Here belongs also the construction exemplified by Manu 3, 53 *alpo 'py evam mahān vāpi* 'be it small or great' <

³⁵ Here the Finnish author relies too much on the translations of the ancient upaniṣads given by S. Radhakrishnan (*The principal upaniṣads*, London 1953).

'also if it is ...'. In other contexts the translation must be 'even': Manu 2, 79 *mahato 'py enaso ... mucyate* 'he is freed even from great sin' (not only from lesser guilt, but also ...). Pañc. Intr. *tad etiān pśyato mahad api rājyam na saukhyam āvahati* 'therefore, when I see them (my stupid sons), my realm, large though it may be, does not bring me pleasure'. One may subscribe to Apté's³⁶ statement that *api* (often translatable by 'even' or 'even if') is most frequently used to show real or imaginary opposition (*virodhe*): Kāl. Śāk. 1, 18. The use of *tathāpi* 'even thus, even so, nevertheless, yet, still' is clear, especially in contexts such as Rām. 2, 110, 3 'even if (*yady apy*) a husband be poor, yet (*tathāpi*) ...', *yady api* being 'sometimes understood'.³⁷

It is certainly not correct to hold, with Speyer,³⁸ that *api* 'when of time may be 'only, but'', because the particle does not 'express time': Mbh. 1, 139, 16 (in part of the manuscripts) *muhūrtam api* (cr. ed. *iva*) *typtiś ca bhavet* '(if I kill him my) gratification will only be momentary', this sentence being spoken after other considerations. The force of the expression may actually have been something like 'an hour, notice this additional particular'. Similarly, Kāl. Śāk. 61, 5 Ch. *ehenāpi saṁdhinā* 'nur unter einer Bedingung' (Petr. Dict.), more literally: 'only with this one (notice this addition) understanding that'.

The combination *ko 'pi* 'somebody etc.' which does not appear in pre-classical texts, is no doubt composed of the indefinite *ka-*³⁹ and *api* in its above function. The essentially correct explication furnished by Wackernagel–Debrunner⁴⁰ – 'weil *api* oft an *kaś cit* und *kaś cana* steigernd angeschlossen wurde, schien es an der Erzeugung der indefiniten Bedeutung mitbeteiligt, und so kam man darauf, es unter Weglassung von *cit* und *cana* in deren Sinn mit dem Interrogativum (read the pronoun *ka-* etc.) zu verbinden', should in my opinion be amplified, because it is a reasonable assumption that the mere pronoun (used without *cit* etc. as an indefinite) could also be followed by *api*. Sometimes some shade of meaning such as 'add to this' or 'on his (its etc.) part' is, perhaps, still perceptible: thus

³⁶ Apté, o.c., I, p. 155, 4.

³⁷ Apté, *ibidem*, 3.

³⁸ Speyer, *Sanskrit syntax*, p. 332, § 423 R.

³⁹ See above, note 10.

⁴⁰ Wackernagel, J., and A. Debrunner, Göttingen 1930, p. 571.

Mbh. 3, 65, 5, 305 *yayur* ... *navā kvāpi prapaśyanti* 'they went away, they did not (it must be added) see anywhere ...'; *kvāpi* 'somewhere', *kim api* and *ko 'py* occur in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th sentence of Bhav. Utt. 6, 11 which consists of four sentences with different subjects. In contradistinction to the ancient indefinite pronoun the group may – at least in the period in which it appears in our texts – introduce a sentence: Kāl. R. 1, 46 *kāpy abhikhyā tayor āsīd* 'some (an indescribable) beauty was (visible) in them'.

The explication of the frequent occurrence of *api* at the beginning of an interrogative sentence (*api praśne*) does not seem to present special difficulties: Kāl. Śāk. 2, 16 + *apy asti śakuntalādarśane kūtūhalam?* 'are you interested in seeing Sakuntalā?' and *ibid.* 1, 22 + *api tapo vardhate* 'does (your) austerity prosper?' The question which in itself was in all probability recognizable by a special intonation⁴¹) could be qualified by particles and nothing prevents us from assuming that a particle of the force attributed in this article to *api* could be among these. 'Passing on to (another subject) or some other modification of the general idea of 'add to this' is conceivable as an introduction to a question, especially when some questions followed each other in strings: e.g. Rām. 1, 51, 4 ff. 'O sage, was (*api*...) my mother shown to you ...?; did (*api*...) she ...?; did (*api* ...) you ...?; did (*api* ...) my mother ... etc.'; Bhav. Utt. 2, 5+. The doubt which is implicit in these questions can also be expressed in the outward form of a wish containing an optative: Manu 3, 274 *api naḥ sa kule jāyād yo no dadyāt* ... 'may such a man be born in our family who will give us ...'. The particle is not however obligatory and its function is, as argued elsewhere,⁴²) quite different from that fulfilled by the optative mood. That it is not the initial *apī* but the character of the entire utterance which causes us to adopt the above translations appears for instance from Mbh. 3, 62, 35 'my servants will try to find him; or (also) he will come of his own accord': *api vā svayam āgacchet*.⁴³) Rām. 5, 33, 25 *api jīvītatheṭ hi Rāmaḥ satyaaparākramah* 'even were his life to be

⁴¹) For tone as a characteristic of interrogative sentences see e.g., Gardiner, A. H., 1932. *The theory of speech and language*, Oxford, p. 303; De Groot, A. W., 1962. *Inleiding tot de algemene taalwetenschap*, Groningen, p. 270 f.

⁴²) *The character of the Indo-European moods*, p. 135.

⁴³) Roy, P. C., *The Mahābhārata translated*, Calcutta no date, II, p. 143 inserts 'perhaps'.

made forfeit, Rāma is essentially brave'. One might at first sight ascribe the sense 'perhaps' to *api* which occurs (in some mss.) Mbh. 3, 57, 16 *kadācid vinasēd api*; the origin of this turn of speech may however lie in 'in addition to other possibilities he might at some time or other perish'. I am not inclined to explain the expression *api kuryāt* 'he will no doubt do' (Pāṇ. 3, 3, 152) otherwise.⁴⁴)

The combination of *api* and an optative meant by Pāṇini, 3, 3, 154 and exemplified by *api śirasā girīm bhindyāt* 'it seems that he (even) will (be able to) cleave the mountain with his head' ('action qui ne se réalise pas effectivement'⁴⁵) admits of a similar explication. In *api cauro bhavet* 'there is perhaps a thief' the author expresses doubt (*api saṅkhyām*): one might perhaps compare the use of Engl. *then* in contexts such as: *then what about French, can you speak that language?*, *then* being equivalent to 'further'. It is not necessary to assume, with Apte and others, a special function of the particle. The same explication may apply to sentences expressing a supposition or possibility (*sambhāvanā*: Pāṇ. 1, 4, 96): *api stuyād viṣṇum* and to utterances expressing contempt etc. Frequently combining with *nāma*, *api* thus occurs in sentences expressing a wish, hope, probability, supposition etc.: Bhav. Utt. 2, 8 + *taḍ api nāma R. ... idam vanam alamkuryāt* 'it is then to be hoped (I would wish) that R. will adorn this forest (by his presence)'; Māl. 1, 10+; Kāl. Śāk. 1, 19+ *api nāma ... syāt* 'can she be ...?'. Although this construction may have originated in contexts in which *api* could stand for a more or less clear 'also' or 'then', it is largely stereotyped.

Occurring in sentences containing an imperative the particle marks, according to Apte,⁴⁶) 'indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes' (*anvavasarga-* or *kāma-cāranujñā*), the imperative being often softened: Bhaṭṭ. 8, 92 *api stuy api sedhāsmān*, as these words continue a series of menaces etc. the particle may here also have had a similar function, and as it obviously was not rare in utterances of this type, it may have assumed, in the course of time, the character of an essential element. One might in translating into Dutch, resort to 'dan' or 'dan maar': 'you may, then, praise me (or you may, then) drive me away!'.

⁴⁴) Cf. also Speyer, *Sanskrit syntax*, p. 264, § 343 c 5.

⁴⁵) Renou, L., *La grammaire de Pāṇini*, p. 162.

⁴⁶) Apte, o.c., I, p. 155, 13.

The general force of the particle assumed in this article explains the frequency, in certain texts, of groups such as *anyatrāpi* (e.g. MaitrU. 2, 6 *anyatrāpy uktam* 'it is said (also) elsewhere' and of combinations such as Mbh. 3, 60, 10 *na cānyad api kimcana* 'nor for anything else', as well as phrases of the type Mbh. 3, 60, 15 *tasya bhūtasya no dukkhād dukkham apy adhikam bhavel* 'may that being bear grief that is still greater than ours': *apy adhikam* 'still more'.

No useful purpose would be served by enumerating here all combinations of particles such as *u api* which RV. 8, 56, 4 clearly means 'in addition, besides' ('sheep, slaves and, besides, a woman'); Mbh. 3, 67, 19 *yadi vā ... yadi vāpi ... yadi vāpi* 'whether he is wealthy, or also (on the other hand) poor, or also unable ...'.

Although it does not appear possible to trace the historical development of the use of this particle in detail the conclusion seems warranted that the fundamental unity of its so-called senses is in, and through, a large variety of contextual uses, clearly perceptible.

ĀBHARANA

In the dictionaries the word *ābharana-* is rendered by "ornament, decoration"; Schmuck, Schmucksache". From a quotation found in a commentary on the Śakuntalā 4, st. 5, which runs as follows: *syād bhūṣaṇaṃ tv ābharāṇaṃ caturdhā parikṛtitaṃ āvedhyaṃ bandhanīyaṃ ca kṣepyaṃ āropyaṃ eva tat*, we learn that among these "ornaments" various kinds of objects are reckoned: *āvedhyaṃ bhūṣaṇaṃ*, that means *kuṇḍalādi*, "ear-rings etc.", *bandhanīyaṃ*, "ornaments that are to be tied (bound)" viz. *kusumādīkam*, "flowers and the like", *kṣepyaṃ*, by which *nūpurādīkam* is meant, "ankle-ornaments etc.", and, lastly, *āropyaṃ bhūṣaṇaṃ* which is explained by *hārādi* "strings or garlands of pearls etc."

As for the etymology of the word, it is beyond doubt that it is to be connected with *bharati* "to bear, carry, wear, keep etc.". Now *bharati* being used in connection with *valaya-* "a bracelet" (Śakuntalā st. 6, 6), with *mālā-* "a wreath, garland" (Rām. 3, 46, 16), with *vāsas-* "a garment, dress" (RV. 7, 77, 2); with *kārpāsikavāstrayugam* "a set of cotton garments" (Varāham, BS. 48, 72) etc., we might feel inclined to explain the strength of the preposition in the same way as e.g. in *ā-dadhāti* or *ā-dhatte* (cp. Manu 11, 104 *svayaṃ vā śīṣnavṛṣṇāṇāṃ utkrtyā-dhāya cāñjalau*, "himself having cut off his... and having taken them in his joined hands"; Rām. 5, 33, 2 *śīrasy añjalim ādhāya* "having laid his joined hands on his head"), or in *ā-nī* (cp. Mbh. 3, 75, 25 *pariṣvajyāṅkam ānyat*, "clasped him in his arms") and the like: it is a well known fact that the preposition *ā* sometimes "confers on the verbal form the value of the middle voice". And, in fact, some scholars have explained the meaning of the word in this way: "that which is taken up or put on, viz. ornament...trinkets".¹

On second thoughts, however, this explanation does not seem to be the correct one.

In the oldest texts the verb *ā-bharati* is found many a time, and here it does not mean "to wear, to put on", but "to bring". In the Atharvaveda-*saṃhitā* the verb is used to point out the idea of bringing. "Whence brought he the hair, whence the sinew? etc.", *kutaḥ keśān... ābharat*; "who brought the colour in the body?", *ko asmin varṇam ābharat*, is asked in a mystic hymn on the constitution of man (11, 8, 12; 16; see also 11; 17; 10, 2); 11, 1, 15 we read "bring these waters", *apa ā bharatāḥ*; often we see that heaven is brought; 11, 5, 19 Indra by brahmacharya brought heaven for the gods; cp. 14; 4, 23, 6; 8, 9, 14; 10, 8, 21; 13, 2, 39. Compare also 9, 4, 10; 13, 1, 55;

1. RHYS DAVIDS-STEDE, *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, s.v.