

ON VĀRTTIKA 3 ON PĀṆINI-SŪTRA 6.4.24:
IN CONNECTION WITH KIRĀTĀRJUNĪYA 6. 24

Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* 6.24 runs as follows:

*dhṛtahetir apy adhṛtajihmamatiś caritair munīn adharayañ śucibhiḥ,
rajayāṃ cakāra virajāḥ sa mṛgān kam iveśate ramayituṃ na guṇāḥ* ¹.

This stanza is treated, side by side with its commentary, in Roodbergen's painstaking studies of Mallinātha's *Ghaṇṭāpatha*, commentary of the *Kirātārjunīya* ². His translation is as follows ³:

Not possessing a crooked mind although he wielded a weapon, surpassing the sages by his conduct, free from (the *guṇa* called) *rajas*-, he (Arjuna) delighted (even) the deer. (Indeed,) whom can virtue not win over?

What attracts our attention is the fact that Bhāravi uses the form *rajayāṃ cakāra* instead of the expected one *rañjayāṃ cakāra*. For, in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* ⁴, there is no rule which prescribes the elision of

1. Cf. M.P. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB (eds.), *The Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi with the Commentary (Ghaṇṭāpatha) of Mallinātha*, Bombay, 1933.

2. Cf. J.A.F. ROODBERGEN, *Mallinātha's Ghaṇṭāpatha on the Kirātārjunīya*, I-VI, Leiden, 1984.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 344.

4. P. Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, ed. in N. MĪŚRA, *The Kāśikā*, pts. I-II, Varanasi, 1986.

the penultimate *n* of the root *rañj-* “to dye/delight [mentally or sensually]” when the suffix *-i<ṇic>* forming a causal base follows immediately after it, although the former is desirable from the point of view of a metre, which is called *pramitākṣarā* ⁵. Mallinātha justifies this use of Bhāravi on the basis of *Vt.* 3 “*rañjer ṇau mṛgaramaṇe*” ⁶ without attributing it to the *metri causa*. In this paper I try to grasp the intention of Mallinātha appealing to the present *Vt.*, which exclusively depends on the interpretation of the *Vt.*

I

The *Ghaṇṭāpatha* ⁷ on 6. 24^c runs:

Virajā rajoguṇarahitaḥ so 'rjuno mṛgān rajayām cakāra ramayām āsa. 'rañjer ṇau mṛgaramaṇe nalopo vaktavyaḥ' iti nalo-paḥ. His translation ⁸ is:

Virajāḥ (means) *rajoguṇarahitāḥ* ‘free from the *guṇa* (called) *rajas*’ (sg. nom. masc.). *Saḥ* (here means) *arjunaḥ* ‘Arjuna’. *Mṛgān. Rajayām cakāra* (means) *ramayām āsa* ‘he has delighted’. Deletion of *n* (takes place) by (the statement) *rañjer ṇau mṛgaramaṇe nalopo vaktavyaḥ* ‘the statement should be made that the *n* of (the verbal base) *rañj-* is deleted in the causative, when it means “hunting deer”.’ He notes as follows ⁹:

Vt. III on P.6.4.24. For instance, *rajayati mṛgān* ‘he hunts deer’, *rañjayati pakṣiṇaḥ* ‘he hunts birds’, *rañjayati mṛgān tṛṇadānena* ‘he delights deer by feeding them grass’. See the *SK*, No. 2605 on

5. Cf. e.g. Piṅgala 6.39 “*pramitākṣarā s-j-au s-au*”, 1.4 “*va-su-dhā s*” and 1.6 “*ka-dā-sa j*”; ed. in Pt. KEDARANĀTHA, *Chandaḥśāstram of Piṅgalanāga* (rp.), Delhi, 1994. Cf. also V.S. APTE, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, pt. III, Appendix A (Sanskrit Prosody), Poona, 1959.

6. *Vt. Vārttika* in *Mbh Mahābhāṣya*, ed. in F. KIELHORN (rev. by K.V. ABHYANKAR), *The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, Poona, vol. II, 1965, vol. III, 1972.

7. Cf. M.P. DURGĀPRASĀD and K.P. PARAB, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

8. Cf. J.A.F. ROODBERGEN, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

9. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 516.

P.6.4.91. Accordingly, *rajayām cakāra mṛgān* should mean 'he has hunted deer'. Only then M. is justified in quoting the *Vt.* But the context (compare *prayataḥ + ahimsādinirataḥ*, *Kir.* 6.22) makes it clear that *rajayām cakāra mṛgān* is to be understood in the sense of 'he has delighted the deer'. Therefore the Sanskrit expression is *apāṇiniya*, and M. is wrong in quoting the *Vt.*

II

P.6.4.24 “(*aṅgānām 1) aniditām hala upadhāyāḥ (na-lopaḥ 23) *kñiti*” means: The elision takes the place of the penultimate *n* of [a verbal base] ending in a consonant among verbal bases which do not have as index the short vowel *i* on condition that [a suffix] having *k* or *ñ* as index follows immediately [after it].

Mbh on *Vt.* 3 runs as follows ¹⁰:

rañjer nau mṛgaramaṇa upasaṃkhyānam kartavyam. rajayati mṛgān. mṛgaramaṇa iti kimartham. rañjayati vastrāṇi.

The addition of the wording *rañjer nau mṛgaramaṇe* [to P.6.4.24] must be done. [And it must be construed with the latter as this: *rañjer (upadhāyā na-lopaḥ) nau mṛgaramaṇe* (the elision takes the place of the penultimate *n* of the verbal base *ranj-* in the sense that the deer delight on condition that the suffix *-i<ñic>* follows immediately after it).] [The motivation of the present addition is the phrase] *rajayati mṛgān* “he causes deer to delight, i.e., he delights deer”. For what [has the wording] “in the sense that the deer delight” [been made mention of]? [It has been made mention of in order to prevent the present elision from being applied to the root *ranj-* when this denotes the other senses just as in the phrase] *rañjayati vastrāṇi* “he causes clothes to dye, i.e., he dyes clothes”.

The *Pradīpa* ¹¹ on *Mbh* : *rajayatīti. naloṇe vṛddhau ca 'janī-jṛṣ-knasu-rañjo 'mantās ca' iti mittvād dhrasvaḥ.*

10. Cf. F. KIELHORN, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

11. Cf. B.S. BHIKAJI JOSI *et al.* (eds.), *Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya of Patañjali with The Commentary Bhāṣyapradīpa of Kaiyaṭa Upādhyāya and The Super Commentary Bhāṣyapradīpodyota of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa* (rp.), vol. III and V, Delhi, 1988, p. 301.

On *rajayati*. When the elision of *n* [occurs according to the present additional rule at the stage “*rañj-i-*”] and [, then,] the *vrddhi* vowel [*ā* takes the place of the penultimate short *a* of the verbal base *ra^oj-* according to P. 7.2.116 at the stage “*ra^oj-i-*”], the short vowel [*a* takes the place of the penultimate *ā* according to P. 6.4.92 at the stage “*rāj-i-*”] because [the root *rañj-* has the phoneme *m* as index according to [the *gaṇa-sūtra* ¹²] “*janī-jṛṣ-knasu-ranjo ’mantās ca (mitaḥ)*” (the roots *jan-*, *jṛ-*, *knas-*, *rañj-* and those which end in *am*, too, are endowed with the phoneme *m* as index).

The *Uddyota* comments: *mittvād dhrasva iti. atra mṛgaramaṇam – ākheṭa ity eke. pare tu ‘rajayām cakāra virajāḥ sa mṛgān’ iti bhāra-viprayogān mṛgaramaṇam yathāśrutam eva. ata eva bhagavatā ‘rañjayati vastrāṇi’ iti pratyudāhṛtam ity āhuḥ.*

On *mittvād dhrasvaḥ*. Some [grammarians insist]: Here [,not there in *Mbh* on *Vt.* 8 on P. 3.1.26, the compound] *mṛgaramaṇa-* [conventionally means] “*hunting*”. Others say: Because of Bhāravi’s use “*he, free from passion, has delighted deer*”, [the compound] *mṛgaramaṇa-* [denotes an etymological sense, i.e., the sense of deers’ delighting, i.e., the sense “*deer delight*” (*mṛgā ramante*) ¹³] just as it has been heard. For this very reason, by the Venerable (Patañjali) the phrase “*he causes clothes to dye, i.e., he dyes clothes*” was adduced as a counter example.

Thus we know that there are two interpretations with regard to the meaning of *mṛgaramaṇa-*.

III

Already the compound *mṛgaramaṇa-* occurs in *Mbh* on *Vt.* 8 on P. 3.1.26 precedent to P. 6.4.24. By the way, in *Vtt.* 6-11 on P. 3.1.26 prescribing the formation of a causal base, Kātyāyana lays down some peculiar uses of the causative, one of which has been already

12. Cf. G. CARDONA, *Pāṇini: His Works and Its Traditions*, vol. I, Delhi, 1988, §§ 183-201, especially p. 145.

13. Or the sense of causing deer to delight, i.e., the sense “*he causes deer to delight, i.e., he delights deer*” (*mṛgān ramayati*).

attested by Kielhorn, not in the Brahmanical literature, but in the Pāli canon *Suttanipāṭa* ¹⁴. If we express the meaning “he tells the story of *Kaṃsavadha* (The Slaying of Kaṃsa [by Kṛṣṇa])” (*kaṃsavadham ācaṣṭe*), we use the causative sentence “he causes [Kṛṣṇa] to slay Kaṃsa” (*kaṃsaṃ ghātayati*). Similarly if we express the meaning “he tells the story of the King’s coming” (*rājāgamanam ācaṣṭe*), i.e., the meaning “he tells that the King is coming” (*rājāgacchatīty ācaṣṭe*), we use the phrase “he causes the King to come” (*rājānam āgamayati*). And if we express the meaning “he tells the story of deers’ delighting [with the intention of causing a listener of his story to see deer]” (*mṛgaramaṇam ācaṣṭe*), i.e., the meaning “he tells that deer are delighting [so that the listener of his story may see deer in person]” (*mṛgā ramanta ity ācaṣṭe*), only then we use the causative sentence “he causes deer to delight” (*mṛgān ramayati*).

Vt. 8 and Mbh on it run as follows ¹⁵:

“*dr̥śyarthāyāṃ ca pravṛttau (ākhyānāt kṛtas [ñic 25] tad ācaṣṭa iti, kṛlluk prakṛtipraty āpattiḥ prakṛtivac ca kārakam [Vt. 6])*”.
dr̥śyarthāyāṃ ca pravṛttau kṛdantāṇ ṇij vaktavyas tad ācaṣṭa ity etasminn arthe. kṛlluk prakṛtipraty āpattiḥ prakṛtivac ca kārakam bhavātīti. mṛgaramaṇam ācaṣṭe mṛgān ramayatīti. dr̥śyarthāyāṃ iti kimartham. yadā hi grāme mṛgaramaṇam ācaṣṭe mṛgaramaṇam ācaṣṭa ity eva tadā bhavātīti.

And when the undertaking [of utterance by the teller of a story] has the motivation that [the listener of his story] will see [personally that which becomes the subject of the story], the suffix *-i<ñic>* in the sense “he tells that [story]” must be laid down[, as an additional rule,] after [a compound expressing any story and] ending in a primary suffix ¹⁶. [Then, just as in the case of Vt. 6,] “the primary suffix is elided by *<luk>* ¹⁷, the original verbal base is restored ¹⁸ and the action-

14. Cf. F. KIELHORN, “A Peculiar Use of the Causal in Sanskrit and Pāli”, in K.S. 2(1969), pp. 1012-1013. Cf. also D. ANDERSEN and H. SMITH (eds.), *The Sutta-Nipāta*, Oxford, 1990, No. 1142, p. 221.

15. Cf. F. KIELHORN, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-35.

16. *Mṛga-ramaṇa-* > *mṛga-ramaṇa-i-*. Cf. *kaṃsa-vadha-* > *kaṃsa-vadha-i-*.

17. *Mṛga-ramaṇa-i-* > *mṛga-ram-°-i-*. Cf. *kaṃsa-vadha-i-* > *kaṃsa-vadh-°-i-*.

18. *Mṛga-ram-°-i-* > *mṛga-ram-i-*. Cf. *kaṃsa-vadh-°-i-* > *kaṃsa-han-i-*.

participator is treated as [that of] the original verbal base ¹⁹ [followed by the causal *-i<ṇic>*].” [Therefore, if we express the meaning] “he tells the story of deers’ delighting [with the intention of causing a listener of his story to see deer]”, [we use the phrase] “he causes deer to delight”. For what is [the wording] “... has the motivation that ... see ...”? Because, when in the village he tells the story of deers’ delighting, then only [the phrase:] “he tells the story of deers’ delighting” is valid.

The *Pradīpa* ²⁰ on *Mbh*: *ḍṣyarthāyām iti. yadāraṇyastho ramamāṇān mṛgān pratipadya vyācaṣṭe etasminn avakāśa evaṃvidhā mṛgā ramanta iti, tadā pratipādyadarśanārthā pravṛttir bhavati. yadā hi grāma iti. grāme mṛgāṇām asaṃbhavān na taddarśanārthā pravṛttiḥ. ḍṣyarthāyām ity etac ca mṛgaramaṇādīviṣayam eva draṣṭavyam. rājāgamanādiṣu tu ḍṣyarthapravṛttyabhāve 'pi nīj bhavati.*

On *ḍṣyarthāyām*. When, after perceiving deer delighting, a forest-dweller says [to someone else]: “In such and such a place, such and such a kind of deer are delighting”, then his undertaking [of utterance] has as motivation causing [someone else] to see [deer, i.e.,] objects which are to be perceived. On *yadā hi grāme*. Because the deer can’t be in a village, his undertaking [of utterance] has not as motivation causing [someone else] to see them. And the present additional rule must be understood to have as sphere of application only [the compound expressing the story of] “deers’ delighting” and the like. In the case of [the compound expressing the story of] “King’s coming” and the like, on the contrary, the suffix *-i<ṇic>* is applied [according to *Vt.* 6] even if the undertaking [of utterance by a teller of the story] is free from the motivation that [a listener of the story] will see [personally that which becomes the subject of the story].

The *Uddyota* comments: *ḍṣyartheti. ik kṛṣyādibhya iti ḍṛṣiḥ sādhuḥ. ramamāṇān mṛgān iti. etena mṛgaramaṇaśabda ākheṭe rūḍha ity apāstam. pravṛttir bhavatīti. ākhyānaviṣayety arthaḥ. ity etac ceti. prayogaṇusārād iti bhāvaḥ.*

19. The first member is not only separated but also put in the accusative. *Mṛga-ram-i- > mṛgān ram-i-*. Cf. *kāṃsa-han-i- > kamsam han-i-*.

20. Cf. B.S. BHIKAJI JOSI *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

On *ḍṛṣyarthā[yām]*. The word *ḍṛṣi-*, based on Vt. 8 “*ik kṛṣyādibhyaḥ* (**dhātubhyaḥ* 1.91)” (after the root *kṛṣ-* etc., the primary suffix *-i<ik>* is introduced) [on P. 3.3.108], is correct. On *ramamāṇān mṛgān*. By this [paraphrase of the compound *mṛgaramaṇa-*], [the opinion] “the word *mṛgaramaṇa-* is conventionally used in the sense of hunting” is discarded. On *pravṛttir bhavati*. The sense is: [His undertaking of utterance] with reference to the story. On *ity etac ca*. The intention is: According to the actual use.

IV

Māgha, too, uses not *rañj-i-* but *ra°j-i-* as causal base in his *Śiṣupālavadha* 6. 9^d. The text runs:

*madhukarais apavāḍakarair iva smṛtibhuvah pathikā hariṇā iva, kalatayā vacasaḥ parivādinīsvarajitā **rajitā** vaśam āyayuh* ²¹.

Enchanted by bees with the melodiousness, surpassing the tone of a lute, of the hum, travelers fell into the power of Love, just as, charmed by huntsmen with the melodiousness, surpassing the tone of a lute, of the jingle, deer fell into the power of a pit.

Mallinātha comments: *madhukaraiti. madhukaraiḥ kartṛbhiḥ. apavāḍaṃ mṛgavañcanāya ghaṇṭādikutsitavādyam kurvantīty apavāḍakarā vyādhās tair iva pathikā hariṇā iva parivādinīsvarajitā vīṇāviśeṣadhvanijayinyā. ‘saptabhiḥ parivādinī’ ity amarah. jeh kvipituk. vacaso gītasya kalatayā mādhyeṇa karaṇena **rajitāḥ. ākrṣṭāḥ santa** ity arthaḥ. rañjer ṇyantāt karmaṇi ktaḥ. ‘**rañjer nau mṛgaramaṇe**’ iti upadhānakāralopaḥ. ihopamānamṛgasāḍṛśyād aupacārikam mṛgatvam upameyeṣu pathikeṣv astīty avirodhaḥ. smṛtibhuvah smara-sya mṛgapātacintāviśayatvān mṛgagrahaṇagartadeśasya ca vaśam āyayuh. yathā vyādhagānā**śaktyā** garte mṛgāḥ patanti tadvan madhukarahumkāra**ākṣṭāḥ** pānthāḥ smarapāravaśyam bhejur ity arthaḥ. anekaiveyam upamā.*

21. Cf. Pt.S. DĀDHĪCHA (ed.), *Śiṣupālavadha of Māgha with ‘Sarvaṃkaṣā’ Sanskrit Commentary of Mallinātha*, Varanasi, 1986, p. 144. Cf. also Piṅgala 6.30;1.8;1.7;1.3.

On [the stanza beginning with] *madhukarai[h]*. **Madhukarair** “by bees” [denotes, according to P. 1.4.55 and 2.3.18,] “[causal] agents” (*karṭṛ-*). *Apavāḍakarāḥ* “those who make a peculiar noise”²² (*apavāḍa-*), in other words, [those who] sound a small²³ musical instrument (*kutsitavāḍya-*) such as, among others, a bell, in order to entice deer away” [means] “huntsmen”(*vyādhāḥ*); [so, **apavāḍakarair iva**, i.e.,] *tair iva* [means] “just as...by them(huntsmen)”. **Pathikā hariṇā iva**: Travelers...just as... deer.... **Parivādinisvarajitā** “[with...] surpassing the tone of a lute” [means] “[with...] exceeding the tone of a specific sort of lute”. *Amara* 1.8.3^d runs: A lute with seven strings is [called] a Parivādinī²⁴. At the stage where the primary suffix -v<kvip> [denoting an agent according to P. 3.4.67] is introduced after the root *ji-* [“to surpass”; *dh.* 1.993 “*ji abhibhāve*”], the augment -t-<tuk> is [added to the short final of *ji-* according to P. 6.1.71]²⁵. **Vacasah** “of the hum/of the jingle” [means] “of the song [of bees]/of the music [of huntsmen]”(*gīṭasya*)²⁶. **Kalatayā** “with the melodiousness” [means] “with the sweetness”(*mādhuryeṇa*), [which denotes, according to P. 2.3.18,] “an instrument”(*karaṇa-*). **Rajitāḥ** “caused to delight, i.e., delighted” amounts to the meaning “having been attracted, i.e., enchanted/charmed” (*ākṛṣṭāḥ santāḥ*). After the root *ranj-* ending in the causal suffix -i<ṇic>, the past passive participial suffix -ta<kta> denoting a direct object [according to P. 3.4.70] is introduced [according to P. 3.2.102]. According to *Vt.* 3 on P. 6.4.24, the elision of the penultimate *n* [of the verbal base *ranj-* occurs]²⁷. In

22. I do not understand the meaning of *apavāḍa-* at all. But MONIER MONIER-WILLIAMS’ interpretation “a peculiar noise” and RICHARD SCHMIDT’s interpretation “*Lockton*” seem to be reasonable. Cf. V.S. APTE, *op. cit.*, pt. I.

23. I do not understand the meaning of *kutsīta-*, either. The word means “inferior” [cf. *Amara* 3.1.54] and so “inferior (in size)”, i.e., “small”(???)

24. Cf. A.A. RAMANATHAN (ed.), *Amarakośa with the Unpublished South Indian Commentaries*, Madras, pt. I 1971, pt. II 1978, pt. III 1983.

25. Normally *parivādinisvara-as ji-* > *parivādinisvara-as ji-v-* > *parivādinisvara-as-ji-v-* > *parivādinisvara-°-ji-v-* > *parivādinisvara-ji-°* > *parivādinisvara-ji-t-*.

26. Cf. *gīṭāṇ ca dvividhaṃ proktaṃ yantragātravibhāgataḥ, yantraṃ syād veṇuvīṇādi gātraṇ tu mukhaḥjaṃ matam*. This stanza is cited in R.R. KANTA DEVA (ed.), *Śabdakalpapurma*. pt. II, Varanasi, 1967, p. 329.

27. Normally *ranj-* > *ranj-i-* > *ra°j-i-* > *rāj-i-* > *raj-i-* > *raj-i-ta-* > *raj-i-i-ta-* > *raj-°-i-ta-*.

the present case the figurative deer-ness according to similarity to the deer as standard of comparison is in the travelers as object of comparison and thus there is no incompatibility. **Smṛtibhuvah** “of Love/of a pit” [means] “of the god of love” (*smarasya*)²⁸ and “of a spot set with a pit to capture deer” (*mṛgagrahaṇagartadeśasya*) because the recollection (*cintā-/smṛti-*)²⁹ that deer fell into [the pit before] is associated with the spot (*deśa-/bhū-*). **Vaśam āyayuh**: They fell into the power. [In conclusion,] the sense [of the present stanza] is: As deer fall into a pit because of the absorption in music³⁰ of huntsmen, so travelers, enchanted by the hum of bees, fell into subjection to Love. The present simile is obviously more than one.

According to the present *Vt.*, Vallabhadeva, too, justifies Māgha’s use and translates **rajitāḥ** into **hṛtāḥ** “carried away, i.e., fascinated/captivated”³¹.

V. Conclusion

The word *ramaṇa-* is a primary derivative not only of the causal base *ram-i-* but also of the root *ram-* “to delight”³². The former means “the action of causing to delight” while the latter does “the action of delighting”. Therefore the compound *mṛgaramaṇa-* denotes not only “the action of causing deer to delight” but also “the action of deers’ delighting”. In the former case, the wording *mṛgaramaṇe* is construed with *ṇau*, in other words, it specializes the meaning of the causal suffix *-i<ṇic>* and thus *Vt. 3* “*rañjer ṇau mṛgaramaṇe*” means: [The elision takes the place of the penultimate *n*] of the verbal base *ranj-* [“to dye/delight”] on condition that the causal suffix *-i<ṇic>* in

28. Cf. A.A. RAMANATHAN, *op. cit.*, pt. I, pp. 19-20.

29. Cf. *Amara* 1.8.29^a.

30. Cf. *Amara* 1.7.4^a and note 26.

31. Cf. R. CHANDRA KAK and H. SHASTRI (eds.), *Māghabhaṭṭa’s Śiṣupālavadha with the Commentary (Sandehaviṣauṣadhi) of Vallabhadeva*, Delhi, 1990 and E. HULTZSCH, *Māgha’s Śiṣupālavadha*, Leipzig, 1926. As far as the present stanza is concerned, his translation is based on Vallabhadeva’s commentary.

32. *Ram-* > *ram-yu-* > *ram-ana-* > *ram-aṇa-*. *Ram-* > *ram-i-* > *rām-i-* > *ram-i-* > *ram-i-yu-* > *ram-i-ana-* > *ram-°-ana-* > *ram-aṇa-*.

the sense of action of causing deer [, not any other living thing.] to delight follows immediately [after it]. So the phrase *rajayati mṛgān* means “he causes deer to delight”, which amounts to the implied meaning “he enchants/charms deer”. And if “he enchants deer” with the intention of enticing them away and of capturing them, the phrase will end by implying “he lures/decoys deer [into a trap]” or “he hunts deer”³³. To this connects, I think, the opinion that the word *mṛgaramaṇa-* is conventionally used in the sense of hunting.

In the latter case, the wording *mṛgaramaṇe* is construed with *rañjeh*, i.e., it specializes the meaning of the verbal base *rañj-* and thus *Vt. 3* means: [The elision takes the place of the penultimate *n*] of the verbal base *rañj-* in the sense of deers’ delighting [, neither in the sense of any other living thing’s delighting, nor in the sense of dyeing,] on condition that the causal suffix *-i<ṇic>* follows immediately [after it]. This interpretation as well as the above-mentioned one is, I think, valid³⁴. The phrase *rajayati mṛgān* means “he causes deer to delight”, which amounts to the implied meaning “he enchants/charms deer”. And if “he enchants deer” with the intention of enticing them away and capturing them, the phrase will end by implying “he lures/decoys deer [into a trap]” or “he hunts deer”.

As we have seen above in IV, Vallabhadeva puts *rajitāḥ* “caused to delight, i.e., delighted” into *hṛtāḥ* “fascinated/captivated” and Mallinātha does it into *ākṛṣṭāḥ santāḥ* “having been enchanted/charmed”. Moreover, the latter sums up the sense of the stanza 6.9 in conclusion as follows: *yathā vyādhagānāsaktyā garte mṛgāḥ patanti, tadvan madhukarahumkāṛākṛṣṭāḥ pānthāḥ smarapāravaśyaṃ bhejur ity arthaḥ* (“As deer fall into a pit because of the absorption in music of huntsmen, so travelers, enchanted by the hum of bees, fell into subjection to Love.” Such is the sense.). The expression *vyādhagānāsaktyā* corresponds to *madhukarahumkāṛākṛṣṭāḥ*. These facts reveal that neither Vallabhadeva nor Mallinātha interprets the compound *mṛgaramaṇa-* as denoting conventionally *ākheṭa-* “hunting/chase” even if the word *ramaṇa-* is a derivative of the causal base

33. Cf. G. CARDONA, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

34. Cf. P. 6.4.91 “*vā cittavirāge (ūd upadhāyāḥ 89, doṣo ṇau 90)*”, where *cittavirāge* is construed with *doṣaḥ*, not with *ṇau*.

ram-i-. If Mallinātha interpreted the compound *mṛgaramaṇa-* as denoting conventionally *ākheṭa-* “hunting/chase”, he would understand the present stanza as follows: Hunted/chased by bees by means of the melodiousness, surpassing the tone of a lute, of the hum, travelers fell into the power of Love, just as, hunted/chased by huntsmen by means of the melodiousness, surpassing the tone of a lute, of the jingle, deer fell into the power of a pit; and thus he would not translate *rajitāḥ* into °*āsaktyā* “because of the absorption in [music of huntsmen]”. And neither *hr-* nor *ā-krṣ-* nor *ā-saṅj-* primarily means “to hunt/chase”. Therefore Roodbergen is wrong in concluding that “therefore the Sanskrit expression is *apāṇinīya*, and M. is wrong in quoting the *Vt.*”.