

'Verità e bellezza'
Essays in Honour of Raffaele Torella

Series Minor

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Essays in Honour of Raffaele Torella

Edited by
Francesco Sferra and Vincenzo Vergiani



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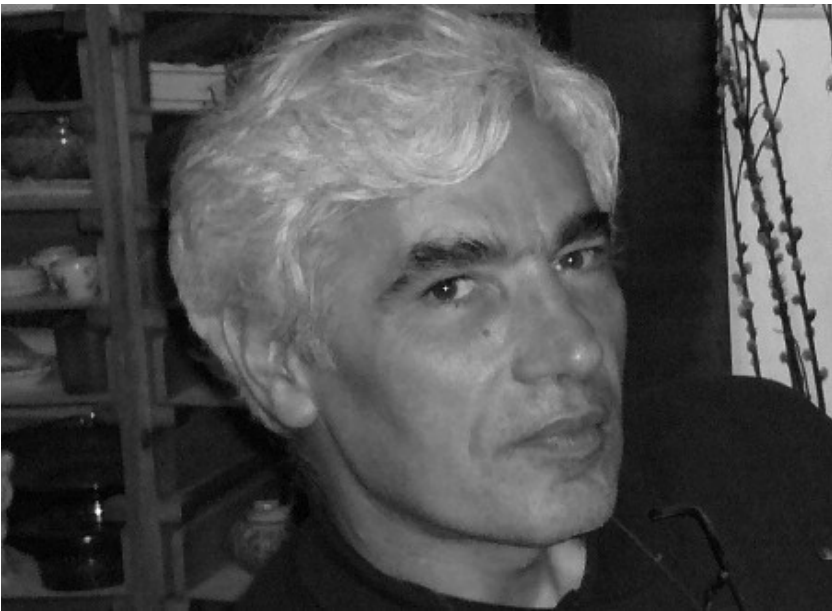
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Raffaele Torella

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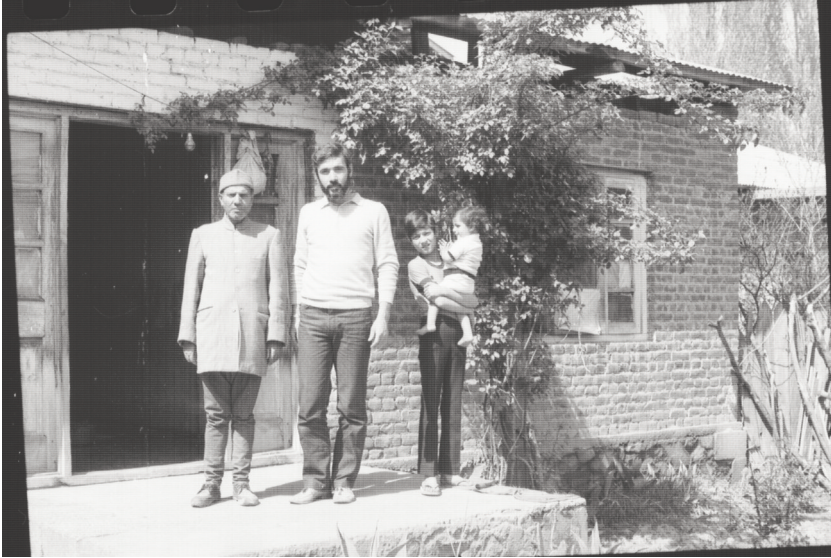
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Dinanāth Yach and Raffaele Torella in Śrīnagar in the mid-1980s



Raffaele Torella in the countryside near Bracciano with students

The Printing History of Sargas 9 to 17 of the Kumārasambhava

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(University of Bologna)

1. Introduction

Ever since the earliest printed editions of the *Kumārasambhava* comprising seventeen *sargas* were published in the second half of the 19th c., there has been an ongoing debate on the original extension of the poem. While all scholars agreed on ascribing the authorship of the first seven *sargas* to Kālidāsa, they have been divided as to the authenticity of the following ten *sargas*, which in the 19th c. were collectively (and meaningfully) named *uttara-khaṇḍa*, the ‘further section.’ However, there is a crucial difference between the status of *sarga* 8 and that of *sargas* 9 to 17. The antiquity of *sarga* 8, as well as its literary merits, have never been in question: it was quoted in works on poetics as early as Vāmana’s *Kāvyaḷamkāravytti* (8th–9th c.) and was commented upon, together with the preceding seven *sargas*, by Mallinātha (14th–15th c.). Moreover, *sarga* 8 has always been deemed as being of the same extraordinary literary value as the preceding seven *sargas*. Rather, the doubts about its genuineness stem from its depiction of the love-making of Śiva and Pārvaṭī, which, according to some, represents a deplorable violation of poetic appropriateness and a lapse of taste that cannot be reasonably imputed to a literary genius

such as Kālidāsa. The debate can be traced back to as early as Ānandavardhana (9th c.) and Mammaṭa (11th c.) and has continued up to modern times, although today the great majority of scholars take the authenticity of *sarga* 8 for granted. On the other hand, *sargas* 9 to 17 are totally unknown to the Indian literary tradition. Although the existence of extra *sargas* had been long postulated by some, who deem the *Kumārasambhava* in 7 or 8 *sargas* to be incomplete or unfinished, the *editio princeps* of *sargas* 9 to 17, published in 1866-1867, came somewhat unexpectedly. Although there is general acknowledgement that their literary merit is lower than that of the preceding eight *sargas* — to the point that many think that they were composed by a mediocre poet — several scholars argue in favour of their ascription to Kālidāsa. These scholars maintain that the love-making of Śiva and Pārvatī described in *sarga* 8 cannot be the end of the poem, and *sargas* 9 to 17 bring the narration to the exact conclusion they would expect, i.e. the final battle between the armies of the *devas* and the *asuras*, and the killing of Tāraka at the hand of Kumāra.

The present article deals with the printing history of *sargas* 9 to 17 of the *Kumārasambhava*. In the following pages, all the different editions of the text that I was able to consult, as well as all the Sanskrit commentaries on them published so far, will be scrutinised. In addition, an overview of their translations into English is provided at the end of the article.

In a (hopefully foreseeable) future, I will undertake an investigation of the manuscript transmission of these *sargas*. This was the topic I had originally planned for this article, but the study had to be delayed in view of the difficulty to obtain reproductions of the relevant manuscripts, of which there are about a dozen, kept in different collections, public and private, both in India and Europe.

2. The printing history of *sargas* 9 to 17 of the *Kumārasambhava*

A long gap of almost thirty years separates the *editio princeps* of the first seven *sargas* of the *Kumārasambhava* from that of the *uttara-khaṇḍa*. The first printed edition of the *Kumārasambhava*, limited to *sargas* 1 to 7, was published in 1838 in Berlin, with a translation into

Latin. The editor and translator was Adolf F. Stenzler,¹ who, in the Praefatio, surmised that those seven chapters were all that had survived of 22 original chapters.² The *Kumārasambhava* in 22 *sargas* has not yet appeared in print, but in 1866–1867 *sargas* 8 to 17, at that time collectively called *uttarakhaṇḍa* (‘further/latter section’),³ were published for the first time in eight consecutive issues (Nos 2 to 9) of the *Kāśīvidyāsudhānidhiḥ. The Pandit*,⁴ a journal published in Varanasi starting from those years. The edition gives the bare text of *sargas* 8 to 17, without any variant reading and with sparse annotations marking those series of two or more stanzas which form a grammatical unit (*yugmam*, *viśeṣakam*, *kulakam*). In the same issues of *The Pandit* in which the text was published and in one later issue, four articles in Sanskrit dealing with the *uttarakhaṇḍa* appeared.⁵ Three of these four articles are signed by

¹ Stenzler, Adolf Friedrich (ed. & tr.), *Kumāra sambhava: Kālidāsa carmen sanskritē et latine*. Edidit Adolphus Fridericus Stenzler. Berlin: Printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland/London: Sold by A.J. Valpy, 1838.

² Stenzler A.F., *Kumāra sambhava*, cit., p. 1: ‘[...] nunc Kumarasambhavae capita septem, quae aetatem tulerunt (nam olim viginti duo exstitisse feruntur), iis trado, quibus litterae Indicae cordi sunt atque curae.’ The ‘tradition that the poem, has not only seventeen but twenty-two Cantos’ was still held in 1874 by Shankar Pandit (Paṇḍit, Shankar P. (ed.), *The Raghuvamśa of Kālidāsa. With the Commentary of Mallinātha*. Part III. Cantos XIV–XIX. Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XIII. Bombay: Government Central Book Depôt, 1874: 16 n. 2), who strongly advocated the hypothesis that the *Raghuvamśa* had also come down to us in an incomplete form (pp. 14–18).

³ The term *uttarakhaṇḍa* is widely used to refer to *sargas* 8 to 17 in the editions published in the 19th century (see the Bibliography). It seems to have fallen into disuse in the following century.

⁴ On the masthead, the complete name of the journal is: *Kāśīvidyāsudhānidhiḥ. The Pandit. A monthly Journal, of the Benares College, devoted to Sanskrit literature*. For detailed information about the publication of *Sargas* 8 to 17 in *The Pandit* see the Bibliography, Primary Sources, under Viṭṭhalaśāstri 1866–1867. Incidentally, the *Kāśīvidyāsudhānidhi* together with the *Pratnakamranandini* ‘were the first journals published in Sanskrit in India’ (Dodson, Michael S., *Orientalism, Empire, and National Culture: India, 1770–1880*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007: 230 n. 127).

⁵ Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, ‘kumārasambhavottarakhaṇḍavarṇanam,’ *The Pandit*, Vol. I, No. 2, 1866, p. 11 (signed *kāśīstharājakyāpāṭhālaye sām̐khyasāstrācāryo viṭṭhalaśāstrī*); [without author], ‘kumārasambhavottarakhaṇḍavarṇanayitṛpaṇḍitān prati lekho ’yam,’ *The Pandit*, Vol. I, No. 5, 1866, pp. 65–66 (without signature); Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, ‘kumārasambhavottarakhaṇḍopasaṃharaṇam,’ *The Pandit*, Vol. I, No. 9,

Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, Professor of Sāṃkhya at the Government College in Varanasi (*kāśīstharājakyāpāṭhālaye sām̐khyasāstrācāryo viṭṭhalaśāstrī*). For this reason, I assume him to be the editor of the first edition of the *uttarakhaṇḍa* (hereafter: Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867), although this is nowhere explicitly declared.⁶ In the first of these four articles, we are informed that this edition was based on two manuscripts, one from Kolkata and one from Vārāṇasī, and that the latter was considered more reliable than the former.⁷ The other three articles deal primarily with the authenticity of the *uttarakhaṇḍa* and with the search for literary parallels between the *uttarakhaṇḍa* and other Sanskrit works, although the third provides some additional information about the preparation of this edition.

Further information about the two manuscripts and some details on their provenance are contained in the introduction to what seems to be the second edition of the *uttarakhaṇḍa*, which was edited by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati Bhaṭṭācārya and appeared in Kolkata just one year after the publication of Viṭṭhalaśāstrī’s edition (hereafter: Tarkavācaspati 1868).⁸ At first sight, Tarkavācaspati’s edition seems to be a replica of the previous one: it gives the

1867, pp. 128–130 (signed *viṭṭhalaśāstrī*); Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, ‘kumārasambhavottarakhaṇḍopasaṃharaṇasya śeṣaṃśāḥ,’ *The Pandit*, Vol. I, No. 10, 1867, pp. 141–142 (signed *viṭṭhalaśāstrī*).

⁶ In this respect, two articles are especially meaningful, both signed by Viṭṭhalaśāstrī: the first (Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, ‘kumārasambhavottarakhaṇḍavarṇanam,’ cit.), which appears right before the eighth *sarga*, as if it were an introduction to the edition, and the third (Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, ‘kumārasambhavottarakhaṇḍopasaṃharaṇam,’ cit.), which is placed immediately after the end of the final (i.e. seventeenth) *sarga*, as if it were the concluding chapter of the edition.

⁷ Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, ‘kumārasambhavottarakhaṇḍavarṇanam,’ cit., p. 11 lines 13–17: *tadā caikaṃ pustakaṃ kalikātānagare upalabdham aparaṃ ca vārāṇasyāṃ tayas ca vārāṇasīsthaṃ pustakavartinaḥ pāṭhā yatra śuddhāḥ santi tatra ta eva paripālanārthāḥ kalikātāpustakaṃ tu tatra saṃśayo ’śuddhir vā tatra darśanam arhati*, ‘And then one manuscript was found in Kolkata and another one in Vārāṇasī. And of the two, wherever the readings found in the manuscript from Vārāṇasī are correct, there they should be kept [as they are]; but the manuscript from Kolkata deserves to be looked at where there is a doubt or a mistake [in the former].’ In the article printed right after the final *sarga*, Viṭṭhalaśāstrī makes similar statements about the different degree of authority he attributed to the two manuscripts and depicts the manuscript from Varanasi as *atijīrṇa-*, ‘very dilapidated’ (Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, ‘kumārasambhavottarakhaṇḍopasaṃharaṇam,’ cit., p. 128 lines 1–10).

⁸ Sanskrit title page (transcription): kumārasambhavam | uttarakhaṇḍam mahākaviśrīkālīdāsaḥ — gavarṇameṇṭasaṃskṛtapāṭhaśālādhyāpaka śrītārānāthataṛkavācaspatibhaṭṭācāryeṇa saṃskṛtam — kalikātānagare śrīyutabhavana-

bare text without variant readings, and also the indications of *yugmam*, *viśeṣakam* and *kulakam* as found in Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867. A more accurate reading, however, reveals discernible differences here and there in the text.⁹ The edited text is prefaced by a 4-page *viññāpana* (‘communication’) in Sanskrit, written by Tarkavācaspati himself. Most of it deals with the authenticity of the *uttarakhaṇḍa* and gives a summary of its contents, but it also provides information on the sources of this edition. At the beginning, Tarkavācaspati writes:

Forty years ago one manuscript was brought from the Southern region by *mārcelasāheva*. When [he] passed away, that manuscript was entrusted to Paṇḍita Śrīyuta Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara.¹⁰ Then the manuscript was taken from here [i.e. from Kolkata] [to Varanasi] by the members of the Board of the *Kāśṭvidyāsudhānidhi* [i.e. *The Pandit*] and, having collated it (*saṃvādyā*) with a manuscript from their province [i.e. Varanasi], it was printed in the pages of the *Kāśṭvidyāsudhānidhi*.¹¹

candrasākamahodayasya prārthayā taddvāraiva saṃvādajñānaratnākarayantre 1926 saṃvatsare mudritam. English title page, inserted at the end of the volume (transcription): Kumāra sambhava. Uttarakhandam. By Kālidāsa. (From Canto VIII. to XVII.) Edited by Pandita Tārā Nātha Tarkavāchaspati. Professor of Grammar, Sanscrit College. At the Request of Bābu Bhuvana Chandra Vasāka. Calcutta: Printed and Published by Bābu Bhuvana Chandra Vasāka At the Sangbāda Jnānaratnākara Press. No. 32. Nimtollah Ghaut Street. 1868.

⁹ For example, in the first twenty stanzas of *sarga* 13 (Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 vs. Tarkavācaspati 1868): *āśliṣṭagātraṃ / āśliṣya gāḍham* (13.4b), *parito / harito* (13.7c), *muhūrttaṃ / muhūrttāt* (13.9c), *puro 'ta tat tvam / puro bhava tvam* (13.11a), *purah sara tvam / purahsaras tvam* (13.11c), *surātvarālokanakautukena / suratvarā* (13.12a), *nirucchanam / nirmacchanam* (13.18d). The different number of stanzas counted in the 13th *sarga* in Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 (51) and Tarkavācaspati 1868 (50) is merely due to the different interpretation of an irregular 6-*padas* stanza (13.19), which is counted as one single stanza in the latter edition (and accordingly marked as *ṣaṭpadam*), but as two separate stanzas in the former (the first four *padas* labelled as 13.19 and the last two as 13.20).

¹⁰ Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara (1820-1891) was a reputed scholar of Bengali and Sanskrit, a social reformer, and one of the leading figures of the so-called ‘Bengali renaissance’. He played prominent roles both at the College of Fort William and the Sanskrit College in Kolkata. See Bhattacharya, France, *Paṇḍit Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara (Iswarchandra Vidyasagar) (1820-1891): la tradition au service d'un humanisme moderne*. (Document downloaded in pdf format on 9 March 2019 from: <http://ceias.ehess.fr/index.php?1192>; quoted with the author’s permission).

¹¹ *itaḥ 40 catvāriṃśavarsāt pūrvvaṃ mārcelasāhevena dākṣiṇyāyadeśād ekam pustakam ahytam tasya ca lokāntaragamane tat pustakam paṇḍita śrīyuta īśvaracandra*

Several details can be gleaned from these few lines. To start with, it seems clear that Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 and Tarkavācaspati 1868 are based on the same two manuscripts, and the discrepancies in the constituted texts derive from different editorial choices. Furthermore, the Kolkata manuscript originally hailed from South India and was brought to Kolkata forty years before the *viññāpana* was written: since the date of the *viññāpana* is the same as that of the volume (*saṃvat* 1926, corresponding to 1868 CE),¹² the manuscript must have arrived in Kolkata in 1828 CE.¹³ As regards the man who brought the manuscript to Kolkata, *mārcelasāheva*, Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya assumes him to be ‘Principal J.H. Marshall.’¹⁴ Bhattacharyya’s identification is wrong, since J(ohn) H(ubert) Marshall, the famous archaeologist, was born in 1876 and died in 1958,¹⁵ therefore in 1828 he was still to be born. In all likelihood, *mārcelasāheva*, which presumably stands for ‘Marshall Saheb,’ is Captain George Turnbull Marshall (d. 1854), who had been in Kolkata since the 1820’s and had strong links with both Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara, to whom the manuscript was entrusted on *mārcelasāheva*’s death, and Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati.¹⁶ In the same article quoted above, Sivaprasad Bhattacharyya

vidyāsāgarasamīpe sthitam, tat pustakaṅ ca kāśīvidyāsudhānidhisabhāsadair ito nītvā svadeśīyapustakena saha saṃvādyā kāśīvidyāsudhānidhipatre etat mudritam āsit (Tarkavācaspati 1868: 1 lines 4–8). The gerund *saṃvādyā*, translated as ‘having collated,’ literally means ‘having made [one manuscript] converse [with the other], having compared or matched [one manuscript with the other].’

¹² At the end of the *viññāpana*, Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati writes: *kalikātā saṃvat* 1926 *saṃskṛtapāṭhaśālādhyāpaka śrītārānāthasaṃraṃaṇaḥ* (Tarkavācaspati 1868: p. 4, lines 10–11). To be sure, (Vikrama) *saṃvat* 1926 corresponds to 1869–1870 CE, but the correspondence between *saṃvat* 1926 and 1868 CE is maintained in the title pages (in Sanskrit and English respectively) of the volume (see n. 8 above).

¹³ This date is further confirmed in the *viññāpana* of a later edition of the *uttarakhaṇḍa* by Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara (see below).

¹⁴ Bhattacharyya, Sivaprasad, ‘The Authorship of the Latter Half of the Kumārasambhava,’ *Journal of the Asiatic Society. Letters*, Vol. 20, No. 2, 1954, p. 313.

¹⁵ Waldschmidt, Ernst, ‘Sir John Marshall’, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 109, 1959, pp. 16–25.

¹⁶ George Turnbull Marshall was Secretary of the College of Fort William in Kolkata from 1838 to 1852. During the 1820’s, he himself had been a student at the College, where he proved to be one of the most proficient scholars. G.T. Marshall was a good friend of Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara (1820–1891), whom he held in high esteem. In 1841, Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara was appointed the *sevistadar* at the College on Marshall’s recommendation (Das, Sisir Kumar, *Sahibs and*

asserts that ‘Pandit Taranatha Tarkavācaspati, the illustrious compiler of the dictionary known as *Vācaspatya*, had published from the Samvādajñānākara Press the *KS* in book-form in 1862, with the cantos 8 to 17 as an appendix.’¹⁷ Thus, according to him, Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati was the editor of the earliest edition of the *uttarakhaṇḍa*, which would therefore have been published four years before Viṭṭhalaśāstrī’s edition in the pages of *The Pandit* (1866–1867). Once again, Bhattacharyya’s information seems to be inaccurate: the OPACs of the major libraries and Trübner’s *Literary Record* agree that an edition of *sargas* 1 to 7 was published in 1861 by Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara (not by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati), complemented in 1862 with an appendix containing *sarga* 8, while Tarkavācaspati’s edition of the *uttarakhaṇḍa* appeared only in 1868.¹⁸ Moreover, it should not be forgotten that Tarkavācaspati, in the *vijñāpana* to his edition, writes about the Varanasi edition, which consequently precedes his own. On the contrary, he is silent about an earlier edition by himself or by Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara: there is no doubt that he would have mentioned it, if it had existed at all, all the more since he had been the pupil of Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara and that he obtained a position as Professor at the Sanskrit College through the good offices of his old teacher.¹⁹

In 1873, a new edition of the *Kumārasambhava* including the bare text of *sargas* 9 to 17 was published in Mumbai, edited by Bhau Dājī (henceforth: Bhau Dājī 1873). Unfortunately, I was unable to consult this work, but its readings are recorded in Surya-

munshis. An account of the College of Fort William. Calcutta: Orion Publications, 1978, p. 122; Kopf, David, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance. The Dynamics of Indian Modernization 1773–1835*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969, pp. 221–222, 234–235). In 1845, G.T. Marshall also recommended Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati for a teaching position at the Sanskrit College in Kolkata (Hatcher, Brian A., ‘What’s Become of the Pandit? Rethinking the History of Sanskrit Scholars in Colonial Bengal,’ *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 39, No. 3, 2005, pp. 713–714).

¹⁷ Bhattacharyya S., ‘The authorship,’ cit., p. 313.

¹⁸ *Trübner’s American and Oriental Literary Record. A Monthly Register of the most important Works published in North and South America, in India, China, and the British Colonies: with occasional Notes on German, Dutch, Danish, French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Russian Books*, Vol. 6, Nos 8, 9 (Nos 68, 69), 31 March 1871, p. 131a.

¹⁹ Bhattacharya F., *Paṇḍit Īśvaracandra Vidyāsāgara*, op. cit, pp. 40–41.

kanta's 1962 critical edition of the *Kumārasambhava* (see n. 41 below).

In 1886, twenty years after the *editio princeps*, a new edition of the *Kumārasambhava* including the *uttarakhaṇḍa* was published in Mumbai, edited by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa Parvaṇīkara and Kāśīnātha Pāṇḍuraṅga Paraba (hereafter: Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886).²⁰ Over the following seven decades, this edition was reprinted time and again by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press under the names of different editors,²¹ although with few modifications. In all the later editions, the constituted text was left unchanged: the later editors made only negligible changes to the apparatus containing the variants, sometimes to the better (emending typos), more often to the worse (adding new mistakes),²² made minor editorial addi-

²⁰ English title page (transcription): The Kumārasambhava of Kālidāsa. With The Commentary (the Sanjīvinī) of Mallinātha (1–8 Sargas) and of Sītārāma (8–17 Sargas). Edited with various readings by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa Parvaṇīkara and Kāśīnātha Pāṇḍuraṅga Paraba. Second Revised Edition. Printed and Published by the Proprietor of the Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press. Bombay. 1886. Sanskrit title page (transcription): || śrīḥ || mahākaviśrīkālidāsaviracitam kumārasambhavam | ādito 'ṣṭamasargāvadhi mallināthakṛtayāṣṭamato 'ntāvadhi sītārāmakṛtayā ca saṃjīvinīyā sametaṃ | jayapurarājaguruparvaṇīkaropanāmakabhaṭṭanārāyaṇaśarmaṇā kāśīnātha pāṇḍuraṅga paraba ity anena ca pāthāntaraiḥ saṃyojya saṃśodhitam | dvitīyaṃ saṃskaraṇam | tac ca śāke 1807 vatsare mumbayyāṃ nirṇayasāgarayantrālayādhipatinā mudritam |. On the title page this edition is designated as 'second revised edition': however, the first edition, by Kāśīnātha Pāṇḍuraṅga Paraba, was published in 1879 and included only *sargas* 1 to 8 with the commentary of Mallinātha.

²¹ The 3rd edition, edited by Parvaṇīkara and Paraba, was published in 1893. Thereafter eleven more editions followed, edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇṣīkara (from the 4th *saṃskaraṇa*, published in 1906, to the 12th *saṃskaraṇa*, published in 1935), and by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya (who edited the 13th *saṃskaraṇa*, published in 1946, and the 14th, published in 1955).

²² In the entire 9th and 10th *sargas*, the only real innovation is one single new variant recorded in Ācārya's edition (*maṇḍalake* for *maṇḍalakaiś*, 9.3d), which was unknown to the previous editions. Most of the discrepancies between the apparatuses in the editions by Paṇṣīkara and Ācārya on the one hand, and that in Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 on the other are mistakes entered by the later editors, such as *prajā tebhyah* for *prajāyante* (10.20c), *puṇyatāriṇi* for *puṇyakāriṇi* (10.36d), *devīm dhunīm* for *daiṇīm dhunīm* (10.48a), *tās tam* for *tās tām* (10.51c), and the omission of the variant *iva* in 10.53d. In one case, a mistake in Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 has been emended in the later editions (*śuśravuḥ* corrected into *śuśruvuḥ*, in the added stanza between 10.58 and 10.59, recorded in the apparatuses). In three cases, it seems that Paṇṣīkara and Ācārya deliberately 'improved' the genuine variants recorded in Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886: they have *pruṣṭah* in

tions and added supplementary sections of questionable usefulness.²³ Since its publication, this edition has served as a sort of vulgate, at least with regard to *sargas* 9 to 17: its constituted text (without variants) was reprinted by other publishers,²⁴ sometimes with the addition of new commentaries and, later, of *anvayas* and translations into Indian languages, specifically Hindi (see below). Compared to the earlier editions, Parvaṅkara & Paraba 1886 differs in some important aspects. For the first time, the text of the *uttarakhaṇḍa* is accompanied by a commentary, and the variant readings are recorded in the footnotes. As for the structure of the edition, the order in which the seventeen *sargas* are arranged is revealing: first come *sargas* 1 to 7 with the commentary by Mallinātha, then *sargas* 8 to 17 with the commentary by Sītārāma and, finally, *sarga* 8 with the commentary by Mallinātha. Presumably,

place of the original *pruṣaḥ* in 9.17b, *diṣaḥ* in place of *diṣṭaḥ* in 9.46a, and *dyusa-tsaṃsadi sādaram* for *dyusadāṃ sadi sādaram* in 10.2b.

²³ For example, Ācārya added the numbers of the Pāṇinian *sūtras* alluded to in Sītārāma's commentary, as well as question and exclamation marks to the Sanskrit text. Furthermore, both Paṅśikara and Ācārya added new subsidiary sections to their works. Paṅśikara appended a list of the incipits of all the stanzas alphabetically ordered (*kumārasambhavaślokānām mātykāvarṇakrameṇānukramaṇī*). On his part, Ācārya inserted two sections in the beginning of the volume: a concordance of similar passages in the *Kumārasambhava* and the *Śivapurāṇa* (*kumārasambhavamahāśivapurāṇayoḥ sāmyanidarśakaḥ saṃdarbhah*), which is of little use because it lacks the indication of the places where the selected passages occur in the respective works, and a list of the stanzas from Kālidāsa's works quoted in śāstric compositions (*kavikulacūḍāmaṇikālidāsakṛtīnām sarvasāstrasamṛddhatvapariṇayaḥ*). Ācārya also appended to his edition of the *Kumārasambhava* a list of the incipits of the stanzas (*kumārasambhavaślokānukramakośaḥ*), which looks the same as the one added by Paṅśikara.

²⁴ For example, the text of *sargas* 9 to 17 together with Sītārāma's commentary to *sargas* 8 to 17 was included without any modification in two 'complete' editions of the *Kumārasambhava* in 17 *sargas*. The first was edited by Viṭṭhalaśāstrī and published in 1898 in Mumbai by the Gujarati Printing Press, and later republished in Delhi in 1989 and 2005, by Nag Publishers and Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan respectively (see the Bibliography, Primary Sources). The editor, whose name does not appear in the title page but is mentioned in the Introduction (in Sanskrit) as *śāstrīsri dhuṇḍirājātmaḥaviṭṭhala°* (p. 1 lines 22–23), is probably the same Viṭṭhalaśāstrī who edited the *editio princeps* of *sargas* 9 to 17 in 1866–1867. The 1898 edition is worthy of notice in that for the first time it prints the commentary by Cāritravardhana on the first seven *sargas* of the *Kumārasambhava*, called *Śisuhitaiṣiṇī*. The other edition which 'borrows' the text of *sargas* 9 to 17 and the commentary of Sītārāma from Parvaṅkara & Paraba 1886 was published in 1912 in Chennai by Vāviḷla Rāmasvāmi Śāstrulu & Sons.

the underlying assumption is that the *Kumārasambhava* is made of two parts, a *pūrvakhaṇḍa* and an *uttarakhaṇḍa*, and that *sarga* 8 belongs to the latter, together with *sargas* 9 to 17. As regards the commentary by Sītārāma, it covers the whole *uttarakhaṇḍa* and is the earliest known commentary on *sargas* 9 to 17. Through the versified introduction, the end-of-section rubrics and, especially, the versified colophon,²⁵ the author informs us that his name was Sītārāma Kavi, that he was the son of Lakṣmaṇa Bhaṭṭa and Suhīrā, and that he composed the commentary — which he calls a *viṃṣṭi* and a *ṭikā*, and which he styles *Sanjīvanī* after the name of Mallinātha's commentary to *sargas* 1 to 8 — in the 19th century.²⁶ Last but not least, Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886 is the first edition that gives variant readings of the text of *sargas* 9 to 17. The readings of the earlier editions (Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 and Tarkavācaspati 1868) are included in this edition, either integrated in the constituted text or recorded as variant readings in the footnotes.²⁷

²⁵ Introduction in Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886: 152; colophon in Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886: 326.

²⁶ The year of composition is given in the colophon through the word-numeral system of numerical representation (Skt. *bhūtasamkhyā*) as *saṃvatsare 'nīkādrī-purāṇatulye*, 'in the year equal to "the number 9-mountains-the Purāṇas",' corresponding to 9–7–18. Since in the word-numeral system the order of magnitude of the numerals as a rule increases from left to right, the resulting number is 1879. It is not clear whether the number represents the year according to the Gregorian calendar or to the Vikrama era, in which case it would correspond to 1822–1823 CE. Kunhah Raja assumed that Sītārāma himself was the author of *sargas* 9 to 17, although it is not clear on what ground he bases his assumption: 'There is a commentary on this latter portion by Sītarama Kavi, it is likely that he himself wrote the text also for this portion' (Raja, C. Kunhan, *Kalīdasa. A Cultural Study*. Waltair: Andhra University, 1956: 189 n. 6). On the other hand, Krishnamachariar maintains that Sītārāma 'is older than Śaka 1650,' i.e. 1728 CE, on the basis of the date recorded on a manuscript of a commentary to the *Ghaṭakarpara* ascribed to him (Krishnamachariar, Madabhushi, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*. Madras: Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanams Press, 1937, p. 118 note 30). Curiously enough — and most probably by mere mistake — Viṭṭhalaśāstrī, in the introduction to the 1898 edition of the *Kumārasambhava*, dates the commentary to the 18th century 'in the Vikrama era': *ayaṃ ṭikā* [sic] *nirmātā vikramārkā-ṣṭādaśasatake kāśīpurīm* [sic] *alaṃcakāra* ([Viṭṭhalaśāstrī (ed.), *Kalīdasa's Kumārasambhava*, cit., p. 4, lines 1–2).

²⁷ Some readings have been omitted in Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886, possibly because they were deemed unimportant by the editors or just out of carelessness. For example, in the 9th *sarga* the following readings, which are found in both Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 and Tarkavācaspati 1868 (if not otherwise specified),

Moreover, six stanzas unknown to the earlier editions have been included in the constituted text,²⁸ and a good few readings that are not found in the earlier editions are recorded in the footnotes. In addition, compared to the earlier editions, some verses and stanzas have been rearranged.²⁹ It is clear that Parvaṇikara and Paraba not only included the readings found in Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 and Tarkavācaspati 1868 in their edition, but also availed themselves of other sources not taken into consideration in the two earlier editions. Unfortunately, they are totally silent about the manuscripts and printed editions they used and give no information about the provenance of the different readings.³⁰

In 1887, just one year after the Mumbai edition by Parvaṇikara and Paraba, another edition of *sargas* 8 to 17 was published in Kolkata, edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara Bhaṭṭācārya³¹ (hereafter:

are not recorded in Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886: *antarbhavacchadma*^o (9.5b), ^o*ka-mpra*^o (9.6b), ^o*śreṇidhare* (9.25a), *manobhavaḥ* (9.25d, only in Tarkavācaspati 1868), ^o*āmbarāmsaḥ* (9.38b [9.39b in Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886]), *purogena* (9.46d [9.47d]), *saraṅgam* (9.49c [9.50c]), *piḍapīḍam* (9.50a [9.51a]). Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886 does not mention that *padas* 9.37cd and 9.38ab are omitted in Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 and Tarkavācaspati 1868.

²⁸ They are: 9.37cd and 9.38ab, 11.33, 12.39, 12.49, 14.40, 16.3.

²⁹ The verses in stanzas 13.20–22 are arranged in the three editions as follows (Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886 = Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 = Tarkavācaspati 1868): 13.20ab = 13.22ab = 13.21ab, 13.20cd = 13.21cd = 13.20cd, 13.21ab = 13.20ab = 13.19ef (in Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 stanza 13.20 has only two *padas*, in Tarkavācaspati 1868 stanza 13.19 has six *padas*), 13.21cd = 13.22cd = 13.21cd, 13.22ab = 13.21ab = 13.20ab, 13.22cd = / = /, 13.23 = 13.23 = 13.22. Stanzas 16.28–37 in Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886 correspond to 16.27, 29, 28, 35, 30, 31, 32, 34, 36 in the two earlier editions. Stanzas 17.29 and 17.30 in Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886 are inverted in the two earlier editions. Stanza 17.45 in Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 and Tarkavācaspati 1868 editions is recorded in the footnotes in the edition by Parvaṇikara and Paraba, because these editors deemed it an interpolation (44–45 *ślokaṃ madhye kṣepako 'yam dṛśyate* [...], Parvaṇikara & Paraba 1886, p. 321).

³⁰ However, based on a perusal of the variants recorded in Suryakanta's 'critical edition' of the *Kumārasambhava* (see below), it seems quite probable that among Parvaṇikara and Paraba's sources there was also Bhau Dāji's edition published in Mumbai in 1873, which I was unable to consult (see n. 41 below).

³¹ Sanskrit title page (transcription): *kumārasambhavam | aṣṭamasargāvadhi-saptadaśasargaparyantam | mahākavi-śrīkalidāsa-praṇītam | vi, e, upādhidhāriṇā śrījīvānandavidyāsāgarabhāṭṭācāryeṇa viracitayāvyaḥkhyayā samalāṅkītam | caturthasamskaraṇam | kalikātānagariyāṃ sarasvatīyāntre mudritam | iṃ 1887 |*. On the title page this work is described as *caturthasamskaraṇam*, 'fourth edition': however, this is presumably the earliest edition by Vidyāsāgara to include *sargas*

Vidyāsāgara 1887). Vidyāsāgara’s edition combines the text in Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 (without variant readings) with the commentary composed by Vidyāsāgara himself. However, this edition is also clearly connected with that by Tārānātha Tarkavācaspati (1868), who, incidentally, was Vidyāsāgara’s father: the graphical similarity is apparent, and the introduction (*viññāpana*) is almost verbatim the same, except for two major differences. Firstly, the year in which *mārcelasāheva* (i.e. G.T. Marshall) brought the manuscript of the *uttarakhaṇḍa* to Kolkata from South India is now given as an absolute date, 1884 *saṃvatsare*,³² which corresponds to 1828 CE and confirms the relative date given by Tarkavācaspati in his *viññāpana* (*itaḥ 40 catvāriṃśavarṣāt pūrvaṃ*, ‘forty years ago,’ written in 1868 CE). Secondly, in the last lines of the *viññāpana*, Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara reveals that this edition, as well as the commentary composed by himself ‘for the convenience of the students,’ were prepared taking into consideration three manuscripts from Nepal that he had accessed directly.³³ Given that the text in Vidyāsāgara’s edition is exactly the same as that in Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886, it is not clear what role these three manuscripts really played for the preparation of this edition.

Before the turn of the century, in 1894, the complete *Kumārasambhava* in seventeen *sargas* was published again in Kolkata, edited by Avināśacandra Mukhopādhyāya (hereafter: Mukhopādhyāya 1894).³⁴ As far as *sargas* 9 to 17 are concerned, the text is

8 to 17, since the third edition, published in 1875, included only the first seven *sargas* with Mallinātha’s commentary.

³² Vidyāsāgara 1887: 1 line 4.

³³ *neṣāladeśāt mayā kumārasambhavasya trīṇi ādarśapustakāni adhiḡatāni teṣāṃ pāṭhāntarāṇi samyak vivicya aṣṭamasargāvadhi saptadaśasargaparyyantam chātrāṇām sukhabodhāya svaracitayā vyākhyayā samalāṅkṛtya prakāśitam* | *śrījīvānandavidyāsāgara-bhāṭṭacāryasya* (Vidyāsāgara 1887: 4 lines 3–6): ‘I have obtained three exemplars of the *Kumārasambhava* from Nepal. Having duly examined their variant readings, I have published [the text] from the 8th *sarga* to the 17th *sarga*, embellished with a commentary composed by myself for the easy understanding of the students.’

³⁴ Sanskrit title page (transcription): mahākaviśrīkālīdāsaviracitaṃ kumārasambhavam | śrīmāllināthasūriviracitayā sañjīvinīsamākhyayā vyākhyayā sametaṃ | saṃskṛtayantrapustakālayādhyakṣeṇa śrīavināśacandramukhopādhyāyena pāṭhāntarāiḥ samyojya saṃśodhitaṃ prakāśitaṃ ca | kalikātārājadhānyāṃ sarasvatīyāntre śrīkṣetramohananyāyaratnena mudritaṃ, iṃ 1894 sāla.

just a reprint of Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886, including the variant readings recorded in the footnotes, which are the same in the two editions. However, Mukhopādhyāya's edition deserves to be mentioned because it offers a new commentary on *sargas* 9 to 17, possibly the clearest and the most useful ever on this part of the work: it is called *Mohinī* and was composed by Kṣetramohana Nyāyaratna, who also acted as the printer of the volume.³⁵ Unfortunately, the volume has no introduction, and no information about the author of the commentary (or the editor) is provided.

In 1925, a new edition of the text of *sargas* 9 to 17 was published in Mumbai by Khemrāj Śrīkṣṇadās, edited by Govindaśāstrī (henceforth: Govindaśāstrī 1925). Unfortunately, I have been unable to procure a copy of this work, whose readings are however recorded in Suryakanta's 1962 'critical edition' of the *Kumārasambhava* (see n. 42 below).

All the other editions published during the first sixty years of the 20th century were based on (or copied from) Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886. Most of them have already been mentioned above: on the one hand, there are the later, 'revised' editions of Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 edited by Vāsudeva Lakṣmaṇa Śāstrī Paṇṣīkara and, even later, by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya, published over the years by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press (see n. 21 above); on the other hand, there are those works that simply copied the text of *sargas* 9 to 17 together with the Sītārāma commentary from Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 and incorporated them into editions comprising *sargas* 1 to 17 of the *Kumārasambhava* (see n. 24 above). Besides these, an edition of the *Kumārasambhava* published in 1923 in Varanasi by Jai Krishna Dass Gupta deserves mention, in that it contains a new commentary on *sargas* 9 to 17. The volume, edited by Kanakalāla Śarmā Ṭhakkura (henceforth: Ṭhakkura 1923),³⁶ gives all the 17 *sargas* with four commentaries: by Cārita-

³⁵ Kṣetramohana mentions his own name in all the end-of-section colophons, e.g.: *iti śrīkṣetramohanakṛtayā mohinīsamākhyaḥ vyākhyayā sametaḥ śrīkālīdāsakṛtau kumārasambhava mahākāvye tārakāsuravadhā nāma saptadaśaḥ sargaḥ* (Mukhopādhyāya 1894: 291). As for his role as the printer of the volume, see the title page in the previous note.

³⁶ Sanskrit title page (transcription): haridāśasaṃskṛtagranthamālāsamākhya—kāśīsaṃskṛtasīrispustakamālāyāḥ 14 kāvyavibhāge (2) dvitīyapustakam | mahākāvīśrīkālīdāsaviracitam | kumārasambhavaṃ-mahākāvyaṃ | (ādito 'ṣṭama-

vardhana (*sargas* 1 to 7), by Mallinātha (*sargas* 1 to 8), by Sītārāma (*sargas* 8 to 17), and by the editor himself, Kanakalāla Śarmā Ṭhakkura (*sargas* 9 to 17). The text of *sargas* 9 to 17, its variant readings and the commentary by Sītārāma are copied from the edition by Paṇṣīkara, without any deliberate changes but with several typos. Ṭhakkura's commentary is the earliest commentary on the *uttarakhaṇḍa* which leaves out *sarga* 8: presumably, this is revealing of a new tendency that considered *sarga* 8 as part of the *pūrvakhaṇḍa* (i.e. the section of the poem certainly to be ascribed to Kālidāsa) and, consequently, of delimiting the *uttarakhaṇḍa* to *sargas* 9 to 17.³⁷

In 1962, a critical edition of the *Kumārasambhava*, including *sargas* 9 to 17, was published in Delhi, edited by Suryakanta (henceforth: Suryakanta 1962). On the whole, the edition is based on 23 manuscripts and seven printed editions. However, only 2 manuscripts and 6 printed editions cover *sargas* 9 to 17. Four of the six printed editions have been described above: Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866-1867, Tarkavācaspati 1868,³⁸ Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886,³⁹ and

sargaparyantaṃ mallināthakṛtayā navamasargād ārabhya saptadaśasargaparyantaṃ sītārāmavikṛtayā ca sañjīvinīvyākhyayā āditaḥ saptasargaparyantaṃ cāritravarddhanakṛtayā navamasargataḥ saptadaśasargaparyantaṃ maithilāśrīki(sic!)nakalālaṭhakkurakṛtayā ca śīśuhitaiṣiṇīvyākhyayā ca sahitam | ṭhakkuropanāmakāśrīkanakalālaśarmaṇā maithilena saṃśodhitaṃ ca | tac ca kāśyāṃ — caukhambāsaṃskṛtagranthamālāprakāśaka-śrīyutaharidāsaguptātmaja śreṣṭhijayakṛṣṇadāsaguptamahāśayena svakiye 'vidyāvilāsa' nāmni yantrālaye mudrayitvā prakāśitam | san 1923.

³⁷ In support of this supposition is the fact that Ṭhakkura named his commentary *Śīśuhitaiṣiṇī* after Cāritravardhana's commentary, just as Sītārāma before him had named his commentary *Samjīvinī* after Mallinātha's. By commenting upon the *uttarakhaṇḍa*, both Sītārāma and Ṭhakkura clearly conceived their works as ideally completing those by their predecessors, but whereas Sītārāma starts his work with *sarga* 8 (even though it had already been glossed in Mallinātha's *Samjīvinī*), Ṭhakkura overlooks *sarga* 8 and starts from *sarga* 9, despite the fact that Cāritravardhana's *Śīśuhitaiṣiṇī* covers only *sargas* 1 to 7.

³⁸ Apparently Suryakanta erroneously regarded the year of publication 'samvat 1926' (printed on the bottom of the Sanskrit title page) as if it were given according to the Common Era. On the contrary, 'samvat 1926' must be regarded as a year in the Vikrama era, corresponding to 1868 in the Common Era, which is in fact the date of publication given on the English title page at the end of the volume (see n. 8 above).

³⁹ Suryakanta used a later edition, published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press in 1946. Although not stated by Suryakanta, it must be the 13th edition, edited by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya.

Vidyāsāgara 1887.⁴⁰ I was not able to consult two editions used by Suryakanta, namely that by Bhau Dāji, published in Mumbai in 1873,⁴¹ and that by Govindaśāstrī, published in Mumbai in 1925.⁴² Suryakanta's work received harsh criticism, especially concerning the edition of *sargas* 1 to 8.⁴³ Confining my judgement to *sargas* 9 to 17, Suryakanta's edition represents a substantial improvement on Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 (which also records variant readings in an apparatus) in two respects: it is based on a wider range of sources, including the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition itself, and — unlike Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 — it describes its sources in the introduction⁴⁴ marking the variant readings in the apparatus with sigla. So far it is the only edition of *sargas* 9 to 17 to adopt this procedure. In other respects, Suryakanta's edition is clearly defective and, strictly speaking, cannot be called a critical edition: for example, quite a few readings recorded in Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 (both as constituted text or variant) have been omitted, out of negligence on the part of the editor or, more probably, because of a deliberate choice — that of deciding which readings are worthy of record and which are not.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Suryakanta used a later edition published in 1890, which I was unable to identify.

⁴¹ 'Bhau Dāji: *Kumārasambhava*, edited by Bhau Dāji; offering 8 cantos with Mallinatha's commentary; and the rest bare text; published in Bombay; Śaka Saṁvat 1795; a good work on the whole' (Suryakanta 1962: xxvi). Suryakanta does not mention this edition in the list of the sources on which his edition is mainly based (Suryakanta 1962: xxvi). Thus, apparently it was not crucial for the constitution of the text of *sargas* 9 to 17.

⁴² 'Govindaśāstrī: *Kumārasambhava*, first 8 cantos with Mallinātha's comm. and the latter half bare text; Khemrāj Śrīkṛṣṇadās, Bombay, Śaka Saṁvat 1847' (Suryakanta 1962: xxvi).

⁴³ Gautam Patel harshly criticised Suryakanta for having disregarded some editions containing important commentaries (Patel, Gautam (ed.), *Mahakavī-kālidāsavīracitam kumārasambhavam. With the Commentary of Vallabhadeva*. Ranip (Ahmedabad): S.J. Shah Parijat Printery, 1986, pp. 88, 92-96). Suryakanta's edition is not even mentioned among the main editions of the *Kumārasambhava* in Lienhard's volume on *kāvya* (Lienhard, Siegfried, *A History of Classical Poetry. Sanskrit – Pali – Prakrit. A History of Indian Literature, Volume III, Fasc. 1*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984: 172 n. 52).

⁴⁴ Suryakanta 1962: xxiii–xxvi.

⁴⁵ For instance, the following fifteen readings recorded in Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886 in the first 30 stanzas of *sarga* 9 have been omitted in Suryakanta 1962: *pārāpatam* (9.1b), *āmandagatim* (9.3b), *trasan* (9.6b), *ataḥ* (9.7a), *tvadanīkṣaṇena* (9.8c), *parīkṣepavivarṇa*^a (9.15d), *khinna*^a (9.20a), *kampena* (9.20b), *salī-*

After the publication of Suryakanta's work in 1962, no new editions of the text of *sargas* 9 to 17 nor new Sanskrit commentaries on them have been published. However, three editions of the *Kumārasambhava* have appeared, in which the text and the commentary by Sītārāma, both copied from one of the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press editions, are supplemented with new analysis and interpretation of the text, such as *anvayas* (syntactical rearrangements of the text), *tippaṇṭīs* (notes), commentaries and translations in Hindi. The three editions were all published in Varanasi and are admittedly similar to each other.⁴⁶ The first, edited by Śeśarāja Sharma Regmi and published in 1987, adds to each stanza the *anvaya*, the translation (*anuvāda*) into Hindi and, occasionally, short grammatical and prosodical remarks (*tippaṇṭīs*). The second and the third — edited by Sudhākar Mālavīya and by Pradyumna Pandey, and published in 1997 and 2010 respectively — give the *anvaya* and the translation into Hindi, but no *tippaṇṭīs*.

Summing up, *sargas* 9 to 17 of the *Kumārasambhava* have been published fairly frequently over the 150 years since the publication of their *editio princeps*, in 1866–1867: I was able to locate 28 editions, quite evenly distributed over time. Most of these editions include the whole *Kumārasambhava* in 17 *sargas*. Only three editions, all among the earliest ones, contain only *sargas* 8 to 17 (the then so-called *uttarakhaṇḍa*): Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866-1867, Tarkavācaspati 1868 and Vidyāsāgara 1887. However, most of the 28 editions are reprints of previous works with minor additions: restricting the count to those works which are the result of original research, six different editions and four Sanskrit commentaries of *sargas* 9 to 17 of the *Kumārasambhava* have been published so far. The editions are: Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867, Tarkavācaspati 1868, Bhau Dājī 1873, Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886, Govindaśāstrī 1925, and Suryakanta 1962. The commentaries are those by Sītārāma (included in all the fourteen editions published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press starting from Parvaṇīkara & Paraba 1886, as well as in other editions which reproduced the *mūla* text and the commentary from

lam (9.20d), *śreṇivare* and *śreṇīkare* (9.25a), *vinīlāṅgulim* (9.26d), *ca* (9.29a), *vilakṣatām sā* and *vilakṣabhāvam* (9.30d).

⁴⁶ For the bibliographical references of the three editions, see Bibliography, Primary sources.

the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press editions), by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (in Vidyāsāgara 1887), by Kṣetramohana Nyāyaratna (in Mukhopādhyāya 1894), and by Kanakalāla Śarmā Ṭhakkura (in Ṭhakkura 1923). These lists show that much of the effort in producing new editions and composing Sanskrit commentaries on *sargas* 9 to 17 was concentrated over the thirty years following the publication of the *editio princeps* (1866 to 1894), a span during which four (out of six) editions and three (out of four) Sanskrit commentaries were published.

In line with the numbers of the editions and commentaries, three translations into English of *sargas* 9 to 17 have so far been published, all included in volumes containing not only the translation of the whole *Kumārasambhava* (in 17 *sargas*), but also those of all the major works by Kālidāsa. The earliest, anonymous (and very little known) translation of *sargas* 9 to 17 of the *Kumārasambhava* was published in Kolkata in 1901 by the Society for the Resuscitation of Indian Literature.⁴⁷ Next to this, in 1912 comes Ryder's 'translation,'⁴⁸ which cannot in fact be counted as a translation, being a synopsis of the content interspersed with the translation of a few stanzas. In more recent times, two translations have appeared, one by Devadhar, published in 1984,⁴⁹ and the other by Rajan, published in 1997.⁵⁰ Although neither of the translators declares which edition of the text their translation is based upon, this has been ascertained by scrutinising how they rendered specific passages where the constituted text differs in different editions: the translation published in Kolkata in 1901 follows the text

⁴⁷ *Kumar Shambhavam or The Birth of War-God. Translated into English. A Poem by Kalidasa*, in *Works of Kalidasa. Translated from the Original Sanskrit into English*. 1. *Shakuntala*, 2. *Vikrama-Urvashi*, 3. *Kumara-Sambhavam*, 4. *Megha-Duta*, 5. *Ritu-Samhara*, 6. *Raghu-Vamsha*. Calcutta: The Society for the Resuscitation of Indian Literature, 1901, pp. 1-138 (each translation has independent pagination).

⁴⁸ Ryder, Arthur W. (tr.), *Kalidasa. Translations of Shakuntala, and other works*. London & Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons; New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1912, pp. 172-180.

⁴⁹ Devadhar, Chintaman Ramchandra (tr.), *Works of Kālidāsa*. Edited with an exhaustive introduction, critical and explanatory notes and English translation. Vol. 2: Poetry. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984, pp. 145-265.

⁵⁰ Rajan, Chandra (tr.), *The Complete Works of Kālidāsa*. In three volumes. Volume 1. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1997, pp. 215-290.

of Tarkavācaspati 1868,⁵¹ the one by Devadhar is based on the text published in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press editions (although occasionally accepting variant readings in the constituted text),⁵² and that by Rajan follows the text published in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press editions.

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⁵¹ See the translation of 10.4a (on p. 91), where ‘water came out of the mouth of the Gods’ clearly renders *sravajjalamukhair devair*, found only in Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867 and Tarkavācaspati 1868 (all other editions have *vilakṣyamukhair devair* or *vilakṣa*^o); 13.4b (on p. 109), where ‘embracing his son warmly’ translates *āśliṣya gāḍham* (found in Tarkavācaspati 1868 but not in Viṭṭhalaśāstrī 1866–1867, which reads *āśliṣtagātram*); and especially 15.7b (on p. 120), where ‘[many commanders] were waiting there on horse-back’ clearly renders *vāhavarān adhiṣṭhitān*, which is a reading exclusive to Tarkavācaspati 1868 (all other editions have *bāhuvarān adhiṣṭhitān*, ‘[many commanders] standing with their vigorous arms’).

⁵² As in 10.2b, where Devadhar (who gives the Sanskrit text along with the English translation) prefers *dyaṣadām so ’tisādaram* to *kutsitāṅgaṃ ca sādaram*, the former recorded as a variant and the latter included in the constituted text in the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press editions.

⁵³ Some editions have title pages in both English and Sanskrit, others only in one or the other language: however, all the records in the bibliography are in English. The transcriptions of the title pages in Sanskrit (where available) can be found in the relevant notes in this article. For those editions whose title page is only in Sanskrit (Vidyāsāgara 1887, Mukhopādhyāya 1894, Thakkura 1923), a rendition of it in English has been put in the bibliography. The entries relating to the editions which I was unable to consult (Bhau Dājī 1873 and Govindaśāstrī 1925) have been included in the bibliography just for the sake of completeness: they contain only the data made available in Suryakanta 1962: xxvi.

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