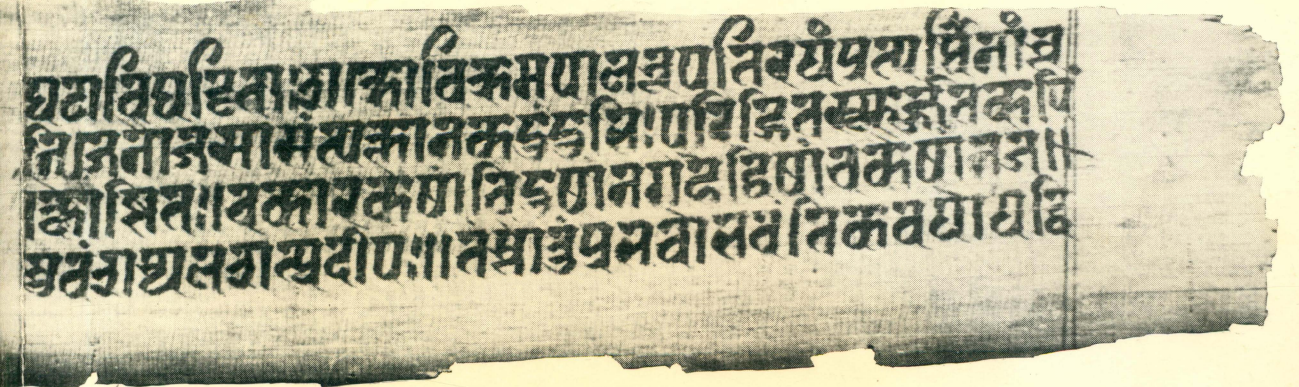


HĀLA'S SATTASĀI

STEMMA AND EDITION (GĀTHĀS 1-50),
WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

HERMAN TIEKEN



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Leiden
1983

On the cover is reproduced the third leaf (recto) of a MS of the Sattasaī at present kept in the Shri Hemachandracharya Jain Jnanamandira in Pāṭṇa in Gujarat, India. For a description of the MS, see A descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jaina Bhandars at Pattan, edited by C. D. Dalal, Vol. I, Palm-leaf MSS, Baroda, 1937, p. 178 ff. The leaf reproduced contains a part of the colophon.

HĀLA'S SATTASĀĪ

STEMMA AND EDITION (GĀTHĀS 1-50),
WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

PROEFSCHRIFT

TER VERKRIJGING VAN DE GRAAD VAN DOCTOR
IN DE LETTEREN AAN DE RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT
TE UTRECHT, OP GEZAG VAN DE RECTOR MAGNIFICUS
PROF. DR. O. J. DE JONG, VOLGENS BESLUIT VAN
HET COLLEGE VAN DECANEN IN HET OPENBAAR TE VERDEDIGEN
OP VRIJDAG 4 NOVEMBER 1983 DES NAMIDDAGS TE 2.30 UUR

door

Herman Joseph Hugo Tieken

geboren op 1 april 1952 te Lijnden

Promotor:

Prof. Dr. H. W. Bodewitz

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	VII
List of abbreviations	IX
INTRODUCTION	1
Notes to the Introduction	4
PART I	
CHAPTER 1	
1.1 Previous editions (introductory)	9
1.2 The first edition by Weber	9
1.3 The MSS edited by Weber	12
CHAPTER 2	
2.1 The three new South-Indian MSS: Ma, Ti and Tp	21
CHAPTER 3	
3.1 The stemma, its scope, method and results	29
CHAPTER 4	
4.1 The Third South-Indian recension, Jaina-recension and the Vulgata (introductory)	33
4.2 The archetype	39
4.3 The relation between the MSS Ma, Ti and Tp of the Third South-Indian recension	43
4.4 The relation between the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata	49
4.5 The relation between the MSS K, ψ , B, γ and P of the Vulgata	50
4.6 The contaminated state of the text of MS R of the Jaina-recension	56
4.7 Diagram showing the relation between the MSS of the Third South-Indian, Jaina and Vulgata-recensions	59
CHAPTER 5	
5.1 The eclectic recensions: Sādhāraṇadeva, Teliṅga and Second Teliṅga (introductory)	61
5.2 The Sādhāraṇadeva-recension (S)	62
5.3 The Teliṅga-recension (T)	67

VI

5.4 The Second Teliṅga-recension (W)	72
CHAPTER 6	
6.1 Concluding remarks	75
Notes to the stemma.	79
APPENDIX I	87
APPENDIX II	111
APPENDIX III	119

PART II

CHAPTER 1	
1.1 The nature of the text	143
1.2 The situations	144
1.3 The audience	150
1.4 The compiler	151
1.5 The language of the gāthās	152
Notes to Chapter 1	154
CHAPTER 2	
2.1 The method of reconstruction	161
2.2 The variants	173
2.3 The presentation	176
Notes to Chapter 2	178
CHAPTER 3	
3.1 Edition of Gāthās 1-50, with translations and notes	179
Index of words discussed	267
Index of grammatical points discussed	271
Bibliography	273
Nederlandse samenvatting	281
Curriculum vitae	283

Acknowledgements

It is to a large extent due to the help and encouragement received from Professor Bodewitz that I have managed to complete my doctoral dissertation on the Sattasaṭ this year, precisely one hundred years after the last part of the 'first edition' by Weber appeared. It has been a pleasure to finalize my studies under the supervision of the person who also guided my first steps into the study of Sanskrit.

I feel deeply indebted to Dr. G. Schokker who introduced me to the study of Prākṛit and who has remained ever helpful with suggestions and criticism.

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor O. von Hinüber with whom I discussed earlier versions of most of the Gāthās edited here and who kindly allowed me to profit from his extensive knowledge of Middle Indic languages.

I feel much obliged to Dr. Th. Damsteegt who read the complete final draught and gave many useful comments.

In preparation to the work on this edition I visited several manuscripts libraries in India and Nepal. A subsidy was granted to me by the Netherlands Foundation for the Advancement of Tropical Research (WOTRO) for the expenses involved during the trip. In this connection I should also like to thank Professor K.L. Janert who kindly allowed me to use his extensive library of catalogues of manuscripts collections, and the authorities of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library in Madras and of the University Manuscripts Library in Trivandrum for allowing me to photograph several manuscripts from their collections.

Finally I wish to thank my wife Ingrid. All problems arising in connection with the interpretation of the text were first discussed with her. These discussions made the work on the Sattasaṭ a real pleasure.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>ABC</u>	<u>Janert, An Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts</u>
<u>Abh.</u>	<u>Ueber das Saptaśatakam des Hāla; ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Prākritis, by Weber, AKM V 3, 1870</u>
<u>AIG</u>	<u>Wackernagel and Debrunner, Altindische Grammatik</u>
<u>AKM</u>	<u>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</u>
<u>AMg.</u>	<u>Ardha-Māgadhī</u>
<u>Apa.</u>	<u>Apabhraṃśa</u>
<u>CDIAL</u>	<u>Turner, A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages</u>
<u>CPD</u>	<u>Trenckner, A Critical Pāli Dictionary</u>
<u>DED</u>	<u>Burrow and Emeneau, A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary</u>
<u>DeśTn.</u>	<u>DeśTnāmamālā</u>
<u>Ed.</u>	<u>Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla, by Weber, AKM VII 4, 1881</u>
<u>EWA</u>	<u>Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen</u>
<u>G</u>	<u>Gaṅgādhara ('s commentary or his version of the Vulgata)</u>
<u>Guj.</u>	<u>Gujarātī</u>
<u>H.</u>	<u>Hindī</u>
<u>Hem.</u>	<u>Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākritisprachen, by Pischel</u>
<u>Ist.</u>	<u>Weber, 'Ueber Bhuvanapāla's Commentar zu Hāla's Saptaśatakam', Indische Studien 16, 1883</u>
<u>JA</u>	<u>Journal Asiatique</u>
<u>JM.</u>	<u>Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī</u>
<u>M.</u>	<u>Māhārāṣṭrī</u>
<u>Mar.</u>	<u>Marāṭhī</u>
<u>Mg.</u>	<u>Māgadhī</u>
<u>MIA</u>	<u>Middle Indo-Aryan</u>
<u>MS(S)</u>	<u>manuscript(s)</u>
<u>MW</u>	<u>Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary</u>
<u>NCC</u>	<u>Raghavan, New Catalogus Catalogorum</u>
<u>NIA</u>	<u>New Indo-Aryan</u>
<u>O</u>	<u>e.g. OGuj., Old Gujarātī</u>
<u>P.</u>	<u>Pañjābī</u>
<u>Pāiyāl.</u>	<u>Pāiyālacchī</u>

Pkt	Prākṛit
pr. m.	<u>prima manus</u>
PSM	Sheth, <u>Pāiasaddamahāṇṇavo</u>
PTSD	Rhys Davids and Stede, <u>The Pāli Text Society's Pāli-English Dictionary</u>
PW	Böhtlingk, <u>Sanskrit-Wörterbuch nebst allen Nachträgen</u>
Retr.	Weber, 'Zum Saptaśatakam des Hāla', <u>ZDMG</u> 28, 1874
S.	Sindhī
Ś	Śaurasenī
sec. m.	<u>secunda manus</u>
Si.	Sinhalēse
Skt	Sanskrit
Var.	<u>The Prākṛtaprakāśa or the Prākṛt Grammar of Vararuchi,</u> by Cowell
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u>

Corrections and additions

p.11, 11.27-32 delete. Insert: On the basis of purely external factors Weber arrived at the conclusion that of these six recensions the Vulgata was the most authentic one available (pp. L-LI).

p. 30 after 1. 26 add footnote 11^a: By definition most retentions are the more difficult readings and are therefore unlikely to be introduced secondarily in a MS for an innovation. This appears nevertheless occasionally to have happened (see, for instance, p. 52), but apparently not systematically or on a large scale. At first the retention could have come to be noted as a variant in the margin of a MS. Subsequently the possibility of choice may have arisen again, which need not always have been settled in favour of the innovation. It should be noted that the source of the secondarily introduced reading need not always have been a second MS. An alternative source could have been formed by the commentaries, which may in certain instances have preserved the original reading and, in explaining it, have turned it into an acceptable variant. These commentaries are also responsible for the introduction occasionally met with of one and the same innovation occurring independently in two different MSS (for a possible instance, see p. 45), especially where it concerns an innovation of the first type, namely a Sanskrit gloss for a typical Prākṛit word.

p.32, 11.4-7 delete: Because of this...with some other MSS. Insert: These innovations point to the conclusion that the MSS have suffered from contamination, the extent of which remains, however, difficult to gauge.

p.83, 11.4-7 delete. Insert: The word is found a second time in a context which is not likely to have been confused with the present one, namely in 741: jai vi hu diṇṇaṃdaliā, etc. (Ma duddaliā, Ti diṇṇaṃdaliā, Tp diṇṇuddaliā; Mādhavayajvamiśra: kṛtāṇḍolikā, undaliketi bālikākṛtā-viśeṣaḥ; v.l. T di(1)lidiā, T^C dilaṃdiliā, S maṃdaṃkilliā, W dulliā, X viṃdiliā; cf. dillimḍilia 'child' in Pāiyal. 58 and DeśTn. V 40).

INTRODUCTION

The present study is preparatory to a critical edition of the complete text of the Sattasaī.¹ The first edition of the Sattasaī consists of four successive publications by A. Weber issued in 1870, 1874, 1881 and 1883 respectively, the last one appearing precisely one hundred years ago. Weber used altogether eighteen MSS which he divided into six recensions. As the basis for his edition he selected the so-called Vulgata-recension, which according to him was the most authentic one. However, a closer look at the text of the Vulgata reveals many instances where its readings are obviously secondary compared to those of the other recensions. Another feature which becomes clear from Weber's edition is the great number of variants available for the text of each individual Gāthā. These variants, besides including the usual number of accidental errors, also, and more importantly, concern entirely different words, Pādas or even hemistiches. These factors call for a new edition of the text, in the course of which the question of the stemmatical relations between the MSS should be taken up anew.

The present edition thus begins with the study of the stemmatical relations (Part I). In the edition itself, of which in this first volume only a sample consisting of the first 50 Gāthās is given, it has been attempted to establish for each Gāthā a text as close to the original as was possible with the MSS available (Part II, Chapter 3).

The stemma involves ten of Weber's eighteen MSS, namely those which contain the Prākṛit text. The other eight MSS contain only a Sanskrit commentary or a Chāyā; thus they need not be considered. Consequently the stemma covers five out of Weber's six recensions, the so-called x-recension being available only through a commentary. To these ten MSS could, however, be added three so far unknown MSS from South-India. The latter three MSS contain a seventh recension of the Sattasaī, which, after Weber's Teliṅga and Second Teliṅga, will henceforth be referred to as the Third South-Indian recension.

One of the results of the stemma is the conclusion that the MSS are basically divided into two branches, a South-Indian and a North-Indian one. Furthermore it appears that all available MSS, South-Indian as well as North-Indian, ultimately go back to one single North-Indian MS which

itself is lost and will henceforth be referred to as the archetype. The text of the South-Indian branch is in many respects the most authentic one available. As to the order of the Gāthās, which differs for each recension, the most original one is found in the North-Indian branch.

The stemma should provide the basic arguments in reconstructing the text of the archetype, in respect of the order as well as of the text of the Gāthās. This does not mean that the reconstruction has become an automatic process. There appear to be several cases where it is impossible to rely solely on the stemma, for instance, in the case of variation in the forms of the words, which appear to have been considerably influenced by Sanskrit in both the branches of the MSS. The method of reconstruction and several recurrent problems encountered will be discussed in Chapter 2 of Part II.

In each case the final test applied to the text is the translation. The Sattasaī has already been translated many times and into many languages, European as well as Indian.² Of these only Weber's German translation is critical in that it is verifiable. My translation differs from Weber's in many instances often simply because it is based on a different text. Generally, however, the differences have another reason. It is to be noted that Weber relied heavily on the traditional interpretations found in the Sanskrit commentaries which in many MSS accompany the text. For the meanings of words Weber referred in particular to Hemacandra's Prākṛit grammar and the same author's Deśīnāmamālā (twelfth century A.D.) and to Dhanapāla's Pāiyalacchī (tenth century A.D.). The latter two works are Prākṛit dictionaries.³ It will appear that often the interpretations given in the Sanskrit commentaries rest on misunderstandings and have been based on faulty divisions of words or compounds, on vague associations, preconceived notions or etymological speculations. Furthermore a considerable number of rules and words included in the above-mentioned grammar and dictionaries appear to be due to their authors' or their predecessors' attempts to account for the derivation and meaning of certain words of, among other texts, the Sattasaī. These authors' methods do not differ significantly from those seen in the commentaries.⁴

One of the conclusions that may be drawn on the basis of the above is that between the time of the composition of the Gāthās of the

Sattasaī and that of the Sanskrit commentaries, Hemacandra's grammar and the two dictionaries, there must have been a certain period of relative neglect of, or unconcern with, the text; a period, moreover, long enough to lose sight of the original intention of many of the Gāthās and of the meaning of many of the words occurring in them.

The interpretations of the individual Gāthās is often difficult. They contain associations or refer to practices and ideas which are not otherwise known. Many Gāthās do not have parallels outside the text itself. A further context is provided by the text as a whole, which seems to have been compiled with the specific aim of amusing well-to-do city-dwellers and courtiers. Practically each Gāthā seems to have to be understood in this way, which occasionally may indicate a way out to arrive at a possibly correct interpretation. This broader context, provided by the text as a whole, will be discussed in Chapter 1 of Part II together with a few related problems concerning the compiler-ship of King Hāla and the choice of a Prākṛit dialect rather than Sanskrit.

At this stage I have refrained from making a complete word-index of the Gāthās edited. I have restricted myself, instead, to preparing an index of words and an index of grammatical points discussed in the Notes.

The numbers of the Gāthās refer to Weber's edition of 1881. However, when preceded by an asterisk it concerns a particular Gāthā in the part of the text edited here. In the lists in the stemma (Part I) I refer throughout to Weber's above-mentioned edition.

Notes to the Introduction

1

The text is known by various names, e.g. Gāthāsaptasatī, Saptaśataka, Gāthākośa and Sattasatī (see Sternbach, 1974: 10). My reason for opting for the last one is in the first place practical: it is the name by which the text is discussed in the most recent book on the anthology-genre, namely the one by Sternbach referred to above. More importantly, it makes immediately clear that the text concerned is written in Prākṛit.

2

For a list of translations, see Sternbach (1974: 10-11).

3

The oldest Prākṛit grammar is very likely the Prākṛitaprakāśa by Vararuci. In its original form it dealt exclusively with the so-called Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit (Nitti-Dolci, 1938: 8 *et passim*). Its main concern is to define this Prākṛit dialect vis-à-vis Sanskrit. Thus, it gives rules concerning sound changes in order to be able to derive Prākṛit from Sanskrit words, and lists of Prākṛit words, Ādeśas, which apparently do not have Sanskrit derivations. In the grammar following Vararuci's, written by Hemacandra, there is a considerable increase in rules, often drawn up to account for only one particular word. However, the greatest increase is in the number of Ādeśas (for which see the fourth Pāda). The two dictionaries seem to have been concerned with the same problem, including words which scholars at that time were as yet unable to derive from Sanskrit and as such were characteristic of Prākṛit rather than Sanskrit.

4

A case in point is the verb ṇivvara- mentioned in Hem. IV 92 as an Ādeśa for Sanskrit duḥkhaṃ muñc- 'to relieve oneself from one's grief'. The verb ṇivvara- means 'to become calm or satisfied' and is related to Sanskrit nirvṛt- in the same way as uvvara- 'to overflow' is to udvṛt-. Apparently this meaning was no longer available to Hemacandra. Consequently he relied for the meaning on the various contexts in which the verb occurred. The meaning 'to relieve oneself from one's grief' seems to

have been based directly on its occurrence in Gāthā 204 of the Sattasaī. Another good example of the way Hemacandra worked concerns the way he deals with the word omāliam, discussed in the note on Gāthā 32, which probably is merely a corruption for nomāliam (navamālikām) there.

PART I

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Previous editions (introductory)

The first edition of the Sattasaī is the one by A. Weber (see 1.2). Other noteworthy editions are the so-called Nirṇayasagar-edition (1889)¹ and the one by A. N. Upadhye (1970).² The former is an edition based on several MSS not known to Weber of the Vulgata-recension. The latter is an edition based on a single MS from Madras of the so-called Second Teliṅga-recension. Beside these there exist numerous other, mainly Indian, editions, which, however, do not bring forward any new material but are mere, more or less faithful, copies of the Nirṇayasagar³ or Weber's edition.⁴

For the present edition only Weber's manuscript material has been used. The material of the two other editions mentioned above has not been taken into account as this would only have resulted in a considerable increase in the number of variants which considering the results of the stemma will play only a marginal role in the final reconstruction of the text. The material could, however, be enlarged by three so far unknown South-Indian MSS.

In this chapter I will first give a description (in chronological order) of Weber's four publications which together constitute the 'first edition' (1.2). This is followed by descriptions of the MSS used by Weber (1.3). The latter descriptions have been kept as short as possible. For further information the literature quoted may be consulted, and especially Weber's publications. The order of the presentation of these MSS does not follow the chronology of Weber's successive publications, but is based on their contents; thus, those which contain the Prākṛit text only come first, followed by those which contain the Prākṛit text with a commentary, and finally those which contain a Sanskrit commentary or Chāyā only. Next the three new South-Indian MSS will be described (Ch. 2).

1.2 The first edition by Weber

The first edition, by A. Weber, consists of four successive publications, i.e. two text-editions proper (Abh. and Ed.) and two publications con-

taining variant readings and extracts from certain commentaries that were available at the time (Retr. and Ist.). I shall briefly describe each of Weber's publications in their chronological order.

Abh.

Weber's first publication on the subject, Ueber das Saptaśatakam des Hāla; ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des Prākṛits, AKM V 3, Leipzig, 1870 (repr. Nendeln, Lichtenstein, 1966) is based on a single MS, referred to as K. Abh. comprises a fragment of the text (1-370; one leaf containing the Gāthās 94-102 is missing) with a German translation, extracts from Kulanātha's commentary and notes by Weber. The edition is preceded by a detailed grammar of the Prākṛit of the Gāthās (pp. 30-70).

In an appendix (p. 202ff.) Weber has added in all 67 Gāthās of very similar contents, gleaned from Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarūpa (nos 1-8), from Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa (nos 9-65) and from Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa (nos 66-67).

In his edition of 1881 Weber referred to this book with the abbreviation Abh., from 'Abhandlung', which will be used here too.⁵

Retr.

The above-mentioned edition was followed by an article called 'Zum Saptaśatakam des Hāla', ZDMG 28, 1874, pp. 345-436. In this article Weber compares several MSS acquired only after he had completed the Abh. The MSS are B, P, T^a, b, c and S (text and commentary) and A and C (commentary only).⁶ The former MSS provided variants to the text established in the Abh. Furthermore, extracts from the available commentaries are given: Gaṅgādhara (A, B and C), Pītāmbara (P), Sādhāraṇadeva (S) and anonymous (T^c). Where necessary Weber adapted his earlier translations and added notes. The material from these MSS is given only for the Gāthās they have in common with Abh. Their additional material appears only in the edition of 1881 (see below).

In his edition of 1881 Weber referred to this article with the abbreviation Retr., for 'Retractatio'. This abbreviation is used here too.

Ed.

Weber's third publication on the subject is Das Saptaśatakam des Hāla,

AKM VII 4, Leipzig, 1881 (repr. Nendeln, Lichtenstein, 1966). This is the first 'complete' edition of the Sattasaṭ. However, readings, translations, extracts and certain observations of Weber, found in the earlier publications, have not been repeated here. The edition includes material from a number of MSS acquired only after the completion of the Retr., namely of ψ , γ , E, ξ , π , χ , W and V.

In the introduction Weber classifies the available MSS in altogether six recensions:

- 1) Vulgata: ψ and γ (text), K, B and P (text and commentary) and A, C, E, ξ and π (commentary only).
- 2) Jaina-recension: R (text) (and Bh (text and commentary), edited only in 1883; see below).
- 3) χ -recension: χ (commentary only).
- 4) Sādhāraṇadeva-recension: S (text and commentary).
- 5) Teliṅga-recension: T (text) and T^C (commentary only).
- 6) Second Teliṅga-recension: W (text and commentary) and V (Chāyā only).

This classification is solely based on features in the outward appearance of the MSS. Each recension appears to differ from the others, in the first place, in respect of the order of the Gāthās. In this connection the special status of the Sādhāraṇadeva and Teliṅga-recensions should be noted: in both the Gāthās have been arranged topicwise in groups, called Vrajyās and Paddhatis respectively. Furthermore, each recension is characterized by the absence or inclusion of certain Gāthās. In this connection the Second Teliṅga-recension stands out: it includes even in its longer form only 104 Gāthās.

Next Weber tries to determine which recension would represent the most original or authentic version of the Sattasaṭ (pp. XLV-LI). In doing so he proceeded from the assumption that the most original recension would be the one which includes the greatest number of Gāthās occurring in all the other recensions as well. This appears to be the Vulgata with 430 Gāthās that also occur in the other recensions.

In this work Weber has therefore edited in the first place the text of the so-called Vulgata, and in particular as it was commented upon by

Gaṅgādhara. This text was followed by the Gāthās of the other recensions or MSS not found in the Vulgata and by 44 Gāthās from several works on Alaṅkāra. These Gāthās are the same as the 67 found in Abh. (p. 202ff.), minus 23 which happened already to occur in one or more of the six recensions of the Sattasaī.

The Gāthās have been translated into German from 366 onwards. For the translations of 1-365 one is referred to Abh. and Retr. Variant readings are given below the text. The variants of those MSS, or parts of MSS, already edited in Abh. and Retr. are not given here again.⁷ Beside extracts from Gaṅgādhara's commentary occasionally extracts from the other commentaries are given as well. Where he deemed it necessary Weber has added his own notes and comments.

I shall refer to this work as Ed., which stands for Edition, the abbreviation Weber used in the publication that will be described below.

ISt.

Weber's fourth and last publication concerning the Sattasaī is 'Ueber Bhuvanapāla's Commentar zu Hāla's Saptaśatakam', Indische Studien 16, Leipzig, 1883 (repr. Hildesheim, 1973), pp. 1-204. It consists of the edition of the variants of MS Bh, compared to the text of Ed., together with extracts from Bhuvanapāla's commentary and, occasionally, Weber's own notes. The text of MS Bh is a specimen of the so-called Jaina-recension.

The abbreviation used here for this work, ISt., stands for Indische Studien.

1. 3 The MSS edited by Weber

a. MSS containing the Prākṛit text only: R, ψ, γ and T

R

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 740 (pp. 139-258).

MS or. quart. 740 contains on pp. 139-258 the text of MS γ. In 1876 this MS was compared by Weber with a MS from Bombay lent to him by G. Bühler. The variants are designated with the siglum R. The original was a paper MS of 23 folios containing the complete text (1-710), written in Jaina

Nāgarī, of the so-called Jaina-recension. It is dated Śaṃvat 1656 (1598 A.D.). The original MS was badly damaged inside.

Lit.: Verzeichniss der Sanskrit- und Prākṛit-Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, by A. Weber, Band 2, Abtheilung 1, Berlin, 1886 (ABC 20, 2), no. 1593 b; Ed. pp. XXVIII-XXIX.

ψ

Present whereabouts are unknown.

ψ is a fairly modern, but undated, paper MS of 37 folios, arranged Europeanwise. The script used is Devanāgarī. It contains the complete text (1-709) of the so-called Vulgata. It was lent to Weber by G. Bühler and apparently sent back to the latter while he was still in India.

Lit.: Ed., p. XXVIII.

γ

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 740 (pp. 139-258).

γ is a copy in the Roman script prepared by Weber in 1875 of MS Wilson 420, Oxford, Bodleian Library. This original is a fairly modern, but undated, MS, written in Devanāgarī, of 24 folios, arranged Europeanwise, with 22 lines to a page, each line containing 25 Akṣaras. It contains the complete text (1-709) of the so-called Vulgata.

Lit.: Verzeichniss...(ABC 20, 2), no. 1593 b; Ed., p. XXVIII; Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum sanscriticorum postvedicorum quotquot in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adversantur, Vol. I 2, Oxford, 1864 (ABC 238, 1, 2), p. 381^a.

T

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 555.

MS or. quart. 555 is a modern copy of 70 folios, arranged Europeanwise, written in the Telugu script, especially made for Weber, of the complete text of the Gāthās of MS no. 10283 (in the Telugu script) of the Tanjore Palace Library. Above the lines are written the variants found in the Grantha MSS no. 10285 (for 1-400) and no. 10286 (for 400-700) from the same library. These variants are referred to with the siglum T^b (Weber's T^e; I have preferred T^b in order to avoid a possible confusion with T^c. To distinguish T from T^b the former is occasionally labelled T^a). T con-

tains the complete text of the so-called Teliṅga-recension.

For Weber's use a transcript in the Roman script was made of T together with T^C (see below) by S. Goldschmidt, who also prepared a complete word-index of the text. This transcript is kept in the same library, numbered MS or. quart. 706.

Lit.: Verzeichniss...(ABC 20, 2), nos 1598 and 1600; Ed., p. XXX-XXXII; A classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore, by A. C. Burnell, London, 1880 (ABC 306), p. 174^b; Retr., p. 347.

b. MSS containing the Prākṛit text as well as a Sanskrit commentary: Bh, K, B, P, W and S.

Bh

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 743.

MS or. quart. 743, consisting of 122 pages, contains extracts made in 1881-82 by Weber from a MS sent to him by F. Kielhorn from Poona. This original is at present included in the collection of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona, as no. 245 of 1880-81. This MS, which is undated, consisting of 71 folios, with 17 lines to a page, each line having 46 to 48 Akṣaras, contains the text together with a Sanskrit commentary. The script is Jaina Nāgarī. The text is incomplete (1-600); the order of the Gāthās is that of the so-called Jaina-recension. The commentary, styled Chekōktivicārāṭṭā, is by Bhuvanapāla.⁸ Parts of the text repeated in the commentary are designated with the siglum Bh^b.

Where clear distinction is necessary the text proper is designated Bh^a.

Lit.: Verzeichniss...(ABC 20, 2), no. 1597; Ist., p. 1ff.; Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1880-81, Bombay, 1881 (ABC 273, 1), no. 245 (p. 65).

K

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 740 (pp. 1-136).

MS or. quart. 740 contains on pp. 1-136 a copy in the Roman script prepared by Weber of an original MS belonging to F. E. Hall. This original, of which the present whereabouts are unknown, consists of 48 folios with the text (1 to 6 lines) in the middle and the Sanskrit commentary (3 to 4 lines) above and below the text. Each line has 55 Akṣaras. The script

is Jaina Nāgarī. K contains only a fragment, namely of the Gāthās 1-370 (folio 17 with 94-102 is missing). The text is a specimen of the so-called Vulgata. The Sanskrit commentary is by Kulanātha.⁹

Lit.: Verzeichniss...(ABC 20, 2), 1593 a; Ed., p. XXXIII; Abh., p. 1 ff.

B

Present whereabouts are unknown.

B is a MS from Bombay. Its form and the script used are not described. It contains a fragment of the text (1-129) with a Sanskrit commentary by Gaṅgādhara (see also below, A, C and E). The text is a specimen of the so-called Vulgata. The MS was lent to Weber by G. Bühler. Weber, who erroneously considered it a copy especially made for him, entered it into the collection of the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin as MS or. quart. 557. Upon being notified of his error Weber sent it back to Bühler in Bombay. Lit.: Ed., p. XXXII; Retr., p. 346.

P

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 365.

MS or. quart. 365 is a collation of 108 pages of a fragment (1-300) of the text of the so-called Vulgata together with extracts of the Sanskrit commentary by Pīṭāmbara, prepared in 1872 by R. Pischel of no. 7219, India Office Library, London. This original consists of 63 folios of glazed paper, measuring 9 1/2 by 6 1/8 inches, rather carelessly written in the Kannaḍa script. It is undated but probably goes back to the nineteenth century. The Prākṛit text and the Sanskrit commentary are complete up to Gāthā 151 (folio 47). From Gāthā 229 (folio 59^b) there is either only the Prākṛit text of the Gāthās or only the Sanskrit translation.

Lit.: Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS in the Library of the India Office II 2, London, 1935 (ABC 164, 2, 1), no. 7219; Verzeichniss ... (ABC 20, 2), no. 1603; A descriptive Catalogue of the oriental MSS and other articles illustrative of the literature, history, statistics and antiquities of the South of India. Collected by the late Colin Mackenzie, by H. H. Wilson, Madras, 1882 (ABC 184), no. 107; Ed., pp. XXXIV-XXXV; Retr., p. 346.

S

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 742.

MS or. quart. 742, consisting of 346 pages, is a copy prepared by Weber in 1872 of no. 175^a, India Office Library, London. This original consists of 124 folios of grey paper, measuring 12 by 4 3/8 inches, having 11 lines to a page. The script is Devanāgarī. It is dated Saṃvat 1672 (1624 A.D.). S contains the complete Prākṛit text (1-700) together with the Sanskrit commentary by Sādhāraṇadeva. The text, which is called Muktāvalī and in which the Gāthās are arranged in Vrajyās, is a specimen of the so-called Sādhāraṇadeva-recension.

Lit.: Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS in the Library of the India Office II 2, London, 1935 (ABC 164, 2, 1), no. 7218; Verzeichniss ... (ABC 20, 2), no. 1596; Ed., pp. XXXVIII-XLI; Retr., p. 347.

W

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 590 (pp.1-49).

MS or. quart. 590 (pp. 1-49, pages arranged Europeanwise, 22 lines to a page, each line containing 21 Akṣaras) is a modern copy in the Telugu script, especially prepared for Weber, of no. 10287 of the Tanjore Palace Library. This original, which is written in Grantha, contains the text together with an anonymous commentary, of the so-called Second Teliṅga-recension. The first eleven Gāthās of the original were illegible.

For Weber's use of the MS or. quart. 590 a copy in the Roman script was prepared by S. Goldschmidt. The transcript is kept in the same library, numbered Ms or. quart. 707.

Lit.: Verzeichniss... (ABC 20, 2), nos 1601 and 1602; Ed., p. XLII;
A classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore, by A. C. Burnell, London, 1880 (ABC 306), p. 175^a.

c. MSS containing only a Sanskrit commentary or a Sanskrit Chāyā: A, C, E, ξ, π, χ, T^C and V.

A

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 741.

A is a copy of 207 pages in the Roman script prepared by Weber in 1872 of no. 944, India Office Library, London. This original consists of 96

folios, measuring 12 1/4 by 3 5/8 inches with 8 to 11 lines to a page. The script is Jaina Nāgarī. It contains the Sanskrit commentary by Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa (cf. B, C and E) on the text of the so-called Vulgata. Lit.: Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS in the Library of the India Office II 2, London, 1935 (ABC 164, 2, 1), no. 7220; Verzeichniss ... (ABC 20, 2), no. 1594; Ed., p. XXXII; Retr., p. 346 (where the MS is designated with the siglum G(aṅgādhara)).

C

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. fol. 1316.

C is a modern copy prepared for Weber through R. Griffith, of a MS from Benares. It contains the Sanskrit commentary by Gaṅgādhara (cf. B, A and E) on a fragment (301-600) of the Vulgata.

Lit.: Verzeichniss... (ABC 20, 2), no. 1595; Ed., p. XXXIII; Retr., p. 346.

E

London, India Office Library, Bühler 329.

E consists of 75 folios of European paper (watermark 1873), measuring 13 by 4 1/8 inches. The script is Devanāgarī. It contains the Sanskrit commentary by Gaṅgādhara Bhaṭṭa (cf. B, A and C) on the text of the so-called Vulgata.

Lit.: Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS in the Library of the India Office II 2, London, 1935 (ABC 164, 2, 1), no. 7221; Ed., p. XXXIII.

ξ

London, India Office Library, Bühler 328.

ξ consists of 32 folios, measuring 10 1/2 by 4 3/4 inches. The script is Devanāgarī. It probably belongs to the nineteenth century. It contains a fragment of an anonymous commentary on the Vulgata. The commentary is the same as the one found in MS π (see below).

Lit.: Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS in the Library of the India Office II 2, London, 1935 (ABC 164, 2, 1), no. 7222; Ed., pp. XXXV-XXXVI.

π

London, India Office Library, Bühler 326.

π is a modern copy in Devanāgarī on 137 folios of European paper (water-mark 1869) bound in book-form. The pages are written on one side only. Each page has 16 to 23 lines. At the end a date is given, viz. Saṃvat 1730 (1672 A.D.), which was copied from the original. It contains an anonymous Sanskrit commentary on the Vulgata. It is complete except for 1-20, 62-78 and 415-430. The commentary is the same as the one found in MS ξ (see above).

In the margin of the first 29 folios extracts from Gaṅgādhara's commentary (see B, A, C and E) are found, which in Ed. are designated with the siglum β (see Ed., p. XXXIII).

Lit.: Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS in the Library of the India Office II 2, London, 1935 (ABC 164, 2, 1), no. 7223; Ed., pp. XXXV-XXXVI.

X

London, India Office Library, Bühler 327.

χ consists of 75 folios. The script is Devanāgarī. It is probably not older than the nineteenth century. It contains an anonymous commentary on 133-700 of a separate recension, of which it is at the same time the only specimen.

Lit.: Catalogue of the Sanskrit and Prākṛit MSS in the Library of the India Office II 2, London, 1935 (ABC 164, 2, 1), no. 7224; Ed., pp. XXXVII-XXXVIII.

T^C

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 556.

MS or. quart. 556 is a modern copy in the Telugu script, consisting of 74 folios, arranged Europeanwise, with 21 lines to a page and 20 to 23 Akṣaras to a line. This copy is based on two originals, namely no. 10283 (written in the Telugu script) and no. 10284 (written in Grantha) belonging to the Tanjore Palace Library. T^C contains an anonymous commentary on the text of the so-called Teliṅga-recension.

Of MS or. quart. 556 a transcript was made in the Roman script, for which see above, under T.

Lit.: Verzeichniss... (ABC 20, 2), nos 1599 and 1600; Ed., pp. XLI-XLII; A classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore, by A.

C. Burnell, London, 1880 (ABC 306), p. 174^b; Retr., p. 347 (where T^c was designated with the siglum T_γ).

V

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, MS or. quart. 590 (pp. 53-62).

MS or. quart. 590 (pp. 53-62; pages arranged Europeanwise, with 22 lines to a page, each line having 21 Akṣaras) is a modern copy in the Telugu script prepared for Weber of the Telugu MS no. 10289 of the Tanjore Palace Library. The latter MS is itself a transcript of the Grantha MS no. 10288. V contains the text of a Sanskrit Chāyā to the Gāthās of the so-called Second Teliṅga-recension.

Of MS or quart. 590 (pp. 53-62) a transcript was made in the Roman script, for which see above, under W.

Lit.: Verzeichniss...(ABC 20, 2), nos 1601 and 1602; Ed., p. XLII;

A classified Index of the Sanskrit MSS in the Palace at Tanjore, by A. C. Burnell, London, 1880 (ABC 306), p. 174^b.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 The three new South-Indian MSS: Ma, Ti and Tp

The text of these three MSS forms a separate, seventh, recension of the Sattasaī. Like Weber's Teliṅga and Second Teliṅga, this recension is found only in South-Indian MSS. I have therefore decided to refer to it as the Third South-Indian recension.¹⁰ It is characterized by a distinct order of the Gāthās; see Appendix I, in which a concordance is given of the text of the Third South-Indian recension with Weber's recensions or MSS, and Appendix II, in which a concordance is given of Weber's Ed. with the Third South-Indian recension. The numbers in the following descriptions of Ma, Ti and Tp refer to Appendix I. In none of the three MSS the Gāthās are individually numbered. The text, though, is divided into Śatakas. The order of the Gāthās seems random, or, at least, the principle behind the arrangement, if any, has been left unspecified.

In Ma and Ti the text is accompanied by the commentary of a certain Mādhavayajvamiśra. Specimens will be found in the descriptions of the two MSS. A consistent feature in the commentary is the description of the Nāyikā and the specification of the poetical figure or figures present in the Gāthā, but apparently there is no system in relation to the order of the Gāthās. The commentary quotes extensively from Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa. For example, where below in the description of Ma the quotation of the 'beginning' breaks off, the commentary goes on with: uktañca bhojena: nāyikāścatasras, followed by a quotation from Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, comprising p. 612, line 19 up to p. 648, line 5 (the examples given by Bhoja are omitted). After that Bhoja is quoted on the sixteen qualities of the Nāyikā, comprising Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, p. 777, line 1 up to p. 779, line 6 (again, the examples are omitted). The commentary to this Gāthā closes with a remark on a division of Nāyikās as given in Bhoja's Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa: yacca sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇe trīmśadbhedatvakathanam ... In this case the quotations are found after the commentary proper, which otherwise usually closes mentioning the poetical figure. Generally they are found within the commentary. Moreover, the commentary frequently quotes the Kāma-sūtra, for example, in connection with Gāthā 12: uktañ hi vātsyāyanīye

daśa tu kāmasya sthānāni, etc.

Mādhavayajvamiśra is most probably the same person who wrote a commentary on the Setubandha as well as on the Arthaśāstra; see Handiqui (1976: 89-92). The MSS of these commentaries, like those of his commentary on the Sattasaī, are restricted to, or hail from, Kerala.

The Chāyā found after the Prākṛit text seems to have been added only later. It generally has the same lacunae as the text. Furthermore, where the text is lost completely, no Chāyā is found, while in some cases at least the commentary has been preserved.

Ma

Madras, Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, no. 3378.

Ma is a Devanāgarī transcript of an original palmleaf MS written in the Malayālam script. It consists of two parts of which the pages have been numbered separately: 1-11 and 1-225. The main, second, part contains the Gāthās from 11 up to and including 474 of the Third South-Indian recension. The text is accompanied by the Sanskrit commentary of Mādhavayajvamiśra.

Beginning (p. 1):

śrī, hālasaptaśatītātṭparyāṭkā
 saṅketasthānīkṛtasya śālikṣetrasya pariṇāmāt pratikṣaṇadhavalī-
 bhāvena lavanabhayād rudatīm svairiṇīm sakṛt samāśvāsayati
 kiṁ ruyasi oṇaamuhī dhavalāntesu chālicchettesu
 hariālamanḍiamuhī ṇaḍimva cchaṇavāḍiā jāā.
 kiṁ rodiṣi avanatamukhī dhavalāyamāneṣu śālikṣetreṣu
 haritālamanḍitamukhī nad(!)īva śaṇavāṭikā jātā, iti.
 oṇaamuhī avanatamukhī, sālicchettesu śālikṣetreṣu, haritālām
 manḍanam yasya taddharitālamanḍanam, tathābhūtaṁ mukhaṁ yasyāḥ
 sā tathā, jāā jātā, śaṇavāṭikā haritālamanḍitamukhī nadīva jātā,
 yathā nadī pūrvabhūmikān tyaktvā bhūmikāntaraṁ parigṛhyānyevāva-
 tiṣṭhate tadvacchāyāmāvasthān tyaktvā jhatiti puṣpitāvasthām gatām(!)
 saṅketabhūmitvānugūṇapariṇāmavatīti phalitārthaḥ, parakṛtyasva-
 p(/v?)arādhīra(lacuna)pamā

End (p. 225):

vidagdhagoṣṭhyāṁ kayościnmattakāśīnyos saundaryādinā mithassāmya-
prastāve kaścid bhujaṅgaḥ kusumavyapadeśena vaivarṇaṁ vyañjayati:
gandheṇa appaṇo mālāte ṇomāliā ṇa cukkihisi(!)
aṇṇo ko vi haāsāe māśalo parimaluggāro.
gandhena ātmano mālatyāṁ navamālikā na śokṣyati
anyaḥ ko'pi hatāśāyāḥ māśalo parimalodgāraḥ, iti.
mālāte jātau, navamālikā saptalā, ca ṇukkihii(!) na hīyate na hīnā
bhavet, māśalo māśalaḥ, parimalaścirānubandhī gandhaḥ vicitrarata-
bhedopamardasahiṣṇutvan tu dhvanyam, hatāśāyā ityatra mālatyā ity-
anuṣaṅgaḥ, veśyāsūttameyam.

In Roman characters the following particulars have been added:

Transcribed in 1920-21 from a MS of Narayanan Namburipad (sic) of
Kutalur Mana, Narerī, Tritala, Malabar Dt. Compared with the ori-
ginal MS. M. A. J., 19-4-1921.

In the margin is written: 'ac(?) 4-11-21.'

The Gāthās have not been numbered separately. The text is divided into
Śatakas. The end of each Śataka has been indicated after the commentary
on its final Gāthā. It runs as follows:

iti vādikavicūḍamaṇimahopādhyāyaśrīmanmādhavayajvamiśraviracitāyāṁ
hālasaptaśatītatparyatīkāyāṁ prathamāṁ (dvitīyāṁ, etc.) śatakaṁ
saṁpūrṇaṁ.

In the margin of the transcript the scribe kept count of the leaves
of the original which appears to have consisted of altogether 105 leaves.
The leaves themselves, however, do not seem to have been numbered, as
would appear from the fact that the counting of the scribe is consecutive
also where the order of the leaves has been considerably disturbed. This
is the case from 334 onwards. Whereas Gāthā 334 is found on p. 157,
the Gāthās 335-341 are found on pp. 187-190, 342-400 are found on pp.

161-186 (the commentary on 341 on p. 161!); 400-405 are found on pp. 157-160; 406-474 (end) on p. 190 ff. On p. 158 is found the indication of the end of the fourth Śataka, after 333 Gāthās (by counting). That this state of the text is due to the disturbance of the leaves of the original -- which were not numbered -- appears from the fact that precisely opposite the respective breaking-points in the margin a number is found indicating the end of a leaf and the beginning of a new one.

At the beginning of this main part a transcript has been added of eleven pages, the original of which must have been very badly damaged, for only part of the text could be recovered. It contains fragments of the text of Gāthās 2-10 of the Third South-Indian recension, with parts of a commentary upon them. No part of Gāthā 1 of the recension is found. According to a note it was not copied until 1923. No particulars regarding the original are given, but most likely it was the same MS which served as the basis for the main part of the transcript. Possibly copying of the beginning was postponed because of the difficulties encountered in deciphering the text.

Lit.: A triennial Catalogue of MSS collected during the Triennium 1916/17-1918/19 for the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Vol. IV 1b, Madras, 1928 (ABC 201, 4, 1b), no. 3378.

Ti

Trivandrum, University Manuscripts Library, no. 4763.

Beginning (p. 2):

śrī, hālasaptaśatītatparyatīkā

(lacuna)janasaṅkule pi tuha daṁsaṇaṇ ti(!)maggantī

raṁṇe va bhamai diṁṭhī pava(!)rāiāe aṇupiṅgā.

chā -

sundarayuvanjanasaṅkule pi tava darśanaṁ vimārgantī

araṇya iva (bhrāmyati omitted) dr̥ṣṭir varākyā anudvigneti.

raṁṇe va araṇya iva, varāiāe varākyā, aṇupiṅgā anudvignā agaṇita-parivādabhayetyarthaḥ, utsavasamājādeva(?) kāmayamānayaṇ mitho-darśanam iti prāgeva darśitaṁ, parakīyāsvadhīre(?)pragalbheyam, upamālaṅkāraḥ.

End (pp. 282-283):

daravevirorujaalāsu(!) laṁliakesāsu maṁliamchīsu
purusāirīsu kāmo piāsu saṁjāuho vasai.

This text is followed by the Chāyā and a long commentary, which on p. 283 is concluded as follows:

iti vādikavicūḍāmaṇimahopādhyāyaśrīmanmādhavayajvamiśraviracitāyāṁ
hālasaptaśatītātparyatīkāyāṁ saptamaṁ śatakaṁ saṁpūrṇam.

The title-page contains the following information (p. 1):

śrīḥ, hāla-saptaśatī-tātparyatīkā pādi(!)kavicūḍāmaṇimahopādhyāya-
śrīmanmādhavayajvamiśraviracitā. dvitīyaśatake ekanavatitamagāthāṁ
ārabhya saptaśatakāntam.

lekhakaḥ: (e)n anantakṛṣṇaśarmā

In Malayālam the following particulars have been added:

Owner of the MS: Eṭṭumānūr Kailāsapurattu Piṣāroṭi.

Copying commissioned by: the same.

Script (of the original): Malayālam.

Material: palmleaf.

Date of completion of the copy: August the 8th of 10()0
(Kolam Era, probably 1914 A.D.).

Signature of the scribe.

Date of payment of the scribe (not filled in!)

It is a Devanāgarī transcript of 283 pages of an original MS written in the Malayālam script. It contains the text of the Third South-Indian recension from 197 to the end. The text is accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary attributed to Mādhavayajvamiśra. The Gāthās have not been numbered. The text is divided into Śatakas. The conclusion of each Śataka has been indicated after the commentary to its final Gāthā: iti hālasapta-śatītātparyatīkāyāṁ dvitīyaṁ (trītiyaṁ, etc.) śatakaṁ saṁpūrṇam.

At the beginning of the MS a group of four Gāthās is found which occur again as 374-377 (see also Tp). Gāthā 279 is missing (cf. Tp). Of some Gāthās the text is missing due to lacunae in the original (577, 595, 596, 606; cf. Tp).

Lit.: Alphabetical Index of the Sanskrit MSS in the University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, Vol. I, Trivandrum, 1957 (ABC 316), no. 4763; A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum, Vol. VI, Trivandrum, 1940 (ABC 312, 6), no. 1439.

Tp

Trivandrum, University Manuscripts Library, no. 4758.

Beginning (1^v):

gaṇapaino ṇamo,

taṁ ṇamaha ekkadasaṇaṁ jo vaṇek(!)e]]avāsadiṭṭheṇa
sohai muṇā]akabaṇe(corr. into]e)ṇa via(!)dasanuggame
(rest of Gāthā lost through damage).

End (36^r):

daravevirorujua]āsu]u]iakesāsu mau]iacchṭsu
puruṣāirṭsu kāmo piāsu sajjāuho vasai.

śrī ia.

Tp is a palmleaf MS of 36 leaves measuring 14 by 2 1/4 inches, with 8 lines to a page and 50 Akṣaras to a line. The leaves have been numbered with letters. The script is Malayālam. In this MS the Gāthās have not been numbered. It contains the complete text of the Gāthās of the so-called Third South-Indian recension (1-699; 272 and 694 are missing). The text is divided into seven Śātakas. The end of each Śātika has been indicated as follows:

śrī, ia hālakai(also kavi)viraiṇṇaṁ (for °āe) sattasaṭṭaṇaṁ (for °īe)
puṭṭhamāṁ (vītaṁ, tītaṁ...chaṭṭhaṁ; for the seventh Śātika, see above)
saṁ saṁpuṇṇaṁ, śrī.

While writing the conclusion of the seventh Śataka the scribe was apparently interrupted and appears to have forgotten to complete it.

In between 196 and 197 four Gāthās are found which occur again as 374-377 (see also Ti). Furthermore, for several Gāthās lacunae have been noted (577, 595, 596, 606). The MS formerly belonged to Śrī Nārāyaṇan Govindan Nambūri, Avl., Kumāramaṅgalattu illam, Gaṅgānāśśeri.

Lit.: Alphabetical Index of the Sanskrit MSS in the University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, Vol. I, Trivandrum, 1957 (ABC 316), no. 4758;

A descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS in the Curator's Office Library, Trivandrum, Vol. VI, Trivandrum, 1940 (ABC 312, 6), no. 1437a.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 The stemma, its scope, method and results

The stemma includes only those MSS which contain the Prākṛit texts of the Gāthās, i.e. those ten MSS edited earlier by Weber described in 1. 3 (a. and b.), and the three new South-Indian MSS described in 2. As such it covers only six out of the seven now available recensions of the Sattasaṭ, the so-called χ -recension being known through a Sanskrit commentary only. The position in the stemma of the remaining eight MSS described in 1. 3 (c.), which contain only a Sanskrit commentary or a Chāyā, can be determined by comparing the order of the Gāthās with that found in the first group of MSS. On the other hand, the state of the development of the Prākṛit texts on the basis of which the commentaries and Chāyās have been written remains in most cases obscure. For instance, on the basis of a gloss niḥsarati it is difficult to determine whether the commented text actually read (original) ṇī or (secondary) ṇīsarai (see Gāthā 49).

In the study of the stemmatical relations between these thirteen MSS an important role has been played by so-called innovations. As innovations should be considered those forms and constructions which can be shown to have been secondarily introduced into the text for certain original forms and constructions (retentions) which apparently were considered unclear or corrupt, were misunderstood or had a graphical form that might give rise to confusion. Typical innovations are synonyms with an easily recognizable etymology. Examples are ṇīsarai for ṇī in 49, vilīṇo for vir(/l)āo in 290 or vīsarai for pamhusai in 355.¹¹ It should be noted that many of these innovations, apart from their prākṛitized forms, correspond literally to the glosses found in the commentaries and Chāyās which in many MSS accompany the Prākṛit text. Some seem to rest on a misunderstanding of the original text, such as mañtharaṃ tumāñ vacca in 161 for mañtharaṃ pie vacca and kīsa auṇṇāṇa me sattī (one phrase) in 384 for kīsa a, punṇāṇa me sattī (two phrases). The innovation ālimgaṇa-duhiāiṃ for *rahiāiṃ in 485 seems due to a confusion of the Jaina Nāgarī Akṣaras -ra- and -du-. Likewise, hoi dāṇa(rahiassa) in 136 seems related to original bhoadāṇa through a spelling (b)ho(y)adāṇa, with -i- for -(y)a-. On closer examination some innovations have come about

through corruptions which by a mere coincidence did not disturb the sense. An example is paḍihāsai in 15, for original paḍihāai, in which the -s- seems to have been inserted due to the influence of the following word sahīhi. Other innovations have been introduced in order to remove unfamiliar constructions from the text, e.g. in 176 for the genitives vāeriassa and raassa, constructed with bharia 'filled with', the instrumentals vāerienā and raenā have been introduced.

In all cases the secondarily introduced forms and constructions fit, or were made to fit, the metre, and, what is more important, make sense. As a result, in the transmission of the text innovations have proved to be very stable. This is generally not the case with accidental errors that have arisen through, for instance, transpositions of syllables or omissions. The results are forms and constructions which mostly do not fit the metre and do not make sense, so that at some stage they were emended or replaced by innovations.

Innovations are important in two respects. The occurrence of one and the same innovation in two MSS against a retention in the other MSS separates the two former from the latter and indicates that both go back to the same source or that the one derives from the other. As such their function is comparable to that of the so-called separative and conjunctive errors. At the same time they give an indication of the authenticity of the texts of the MSS. A text which contains an innovation against a retention in all the other MSS is less authentic, i.e. farther removed from the supposed archetype, than the latter. The text in a third MS which contains this same innovation and in addition one of its own, is still less authentic.

On the basis of the innovations it can be concluded that the text of the Third South-Indian recension is in many respects the most authentic one available. The Jaina-recension and the Vulgata are characterized by a number of innovations against retentions in the Third South-Indian recension. The text of the Jaina-recension, at least as found in MS Bh, is, in turn, more authentic than that of the Vulgata, which in addition to the innovations referred to above has a number of innovations of its own (4. 1)

It can be shown that these three recensions go back to one common source, the archetype, which developed into the Third South-Indian

recension, on the one hand, and into the Vulgata, on the other, with the Jaina-recension representing an early offshoot of the Vulgata. The archetype was a North-Indian MS, most probably written in Jaina Nāgarī. The order of its Gāthās must have been very similar to that of the present Jaina-recension and Vulgata (4. 2).

The mutual relation between the three available MSS of the Third South-Indian recension can be described fairly accurately (4. 3). They are divided into two branches, represented by Ma and by Ti and Tp respectively, of which the former seems the more conservative one. The Vulgata MSS go back to one common source which at the same time was the source of the present MS Bh of the Jaina-recension (4. 4). Among the Vulgata MSS it is possible to discern two main branches, represented by MSS K and ψ and B respectively. These two branches are found combined in a third, represented by the two South-Indian Vulgata MSS, γ and P (4. 5). MS R of the Jaina-recension probably originally was a MS derived from an immediate predecessor of Bh and subsequently was compared with, and revised with the help of, a Vulgata MS (4. 6).

The remaining three recensions, the Sādhāraṇadeva, Teliṅga and Second Teliṅga, represent eclectic traditions. Thus the Sādhāraṇadeva-recension combines readings typical of the Jaina-recension with those typical of the Vulgata (5. 2). The Teliṅga-recension, which generally agrees closely with the Third South-Indian recension, includes readings typical of the Sādhāraṇadeva-recension, the Vulgata and MS R of the Jaina-recension (5. 3). The Second Teliṅga recension is markedly different from all other known recensions in that it consists only of approximately 100 Gāthās. Its readings agree closely with the other two South-Indian recensions. Furthermore, it has readings in common with some of the other recensions. It should, however, not be ruled out that its compiler drew Gāthās from, or compared the text with, quite different sources, namely Alaṅkāraśāstras. A significantly large number of the Gāthās also occur in such works, where they serve as examples. Furthermore, the readings of some Gāthās agree more closely to those found in the Alaṅkāraśāstras than to those found in the other recensions of the Sattasaī (5. 4).

However, this does not mean that everything is entirely certain and clear. For instance, while the division of the Vulgata MSS referred to above has been based on the major pattern of the distribution of innova-

tions, it appears that practically each individual Vulgata MS shares at least a few innovations with every other Vulgata MS. Some have furthermore a few readings in common with some of the MSS of the other recensions. Because of this it is doubtful if, for instance, those retentions in ψ (and B) which separate it from the other Vulgata MSS have been regularly transmitted or have been entered into one of the sources of ψ after comparison with some other MS. Fortunately these uncertainties only seem to affect the mutual relation of the individual Vulgata MSS and not the position in the stemma of the Vulgata as a whole.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 The Third South-Indian, Jaina and Vulgata-recensions (introductory)

The Third South-Indian recension is known through three MSS (Ma, Ti and Tp), the Jaina-recension through two (Bh and R) and the Vulgata through five (K, ψ , B, γ and P). Each recension differs from the other two in the order of its Gāthās and in the inclusion or omission of certain Gāthās. In all three, however, the order of the Gāthās seems random, showing no internal organization. Each recension is furthermore distinguished from the others by a set of specific readings. From a study of these readings and in particular of the innovations, it appears that the text of the Jaina-recension together with that of the Vulgata is characterized by a certain set of innovations against retentions in the Third South-Indian recension (see under a. below); that the text of MS R of the Jaina-recension together with that of the Vulgata is characterized by another set of innovations against retentions in the text of the Third South-Indian recension together with that of MS Bh of the Jaina-recension (see under b. below); and, finally, that the text of the Vulgata is characterized by yet another set of innovations against retentions in the two other recensions (see under c. below).

These facts point to the following -- provisional -- conclusions, namely (1) that the Jaina-recension together with the Vulgata derives from the Third South-Indian recension or its source, (2) that R of the Jaina-recension together with the Vulgata derives from Bh or from its source, and (3) that the Vulgata derives from R or from its source. At this point conclusions 2 and 3 should already be modified. Below it will be shown that R contains a contaminated text, combining readings of a MS closely related to Bh with those of a Vulgata MS (4.6). In this paragraph as well as in the following the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata are considered monolithic wholes, with R either included in the former or in the latter. Conclusions 2 and 3 can consequently be telescoped into one, namely that the Vulgata derives from the Jaina-recension or from its source.

In the lists given below minor mistakes or spelling variants found

in the individual MSS are not always specified. Occasionally a 'retention' had to be reconstructed. Where this is the case first this reconstructed form is given followed by the forms actually found, between brackets.

In most instances in the three lists given below the decision as to which is the innovation and which is the retention should be clear. Nevertheless, in a number of cases an explanation seems to be required, which, however, would not infrequently involve, for instance, complete word-studies or the consideration of parallel situations. It will be obvious that a discussion of such type can hardly be taken up in the context of the stemma as it rather belongs to the edition of the text. However, as the present edition contains only the first 50 Gāthās no more than a relatively small number of instances could be discussed; in these instances a reference is given to the Gāthās concerned. Some instances, though, are taken up later in the stemma itself, in which case a reference is given to the page in question. For the remainder I have had to restrict myself to comments on those cases which could be explained by relatively short remarks. For each list these comments, where available, are brought together in one note. Otherwise I have to refer the reader to the edition of the complete text which is planned to follow.

a.

Innovations in the Jaina-recension (Bh and R) and the Vulgata (K, ψ, B, γ and P) against retentions in the Third South-Indian recension (Ma, Ti and Tp).

Where the Vulgata MSS K, B and P, and Ma and Ti of the Third South-Indian recension, which consist only of fragments, and the Jaina MS Bh, which misses the seventh Śataka, are not available, this has not been expressly mentioned, but should become clear from their absence among the MSS enumerated. I have, on the other hand, included references to the 'eclectic' Teliṅga (T), Sādhāraṇadeva (S) and Second Teliṅga-recensions (W), where these are available. For the latter three recensions, see Chapter 5. It is to be noted that T mostly follows the Third South-Indian recension.

It should furthermore be noted that the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata differ occasionally in respect of the form the innovation in a

particular instance takes. The following list, though, is in the first place meant to show that the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata form a distinct group by the mere fact that in some cases they have readings which are demonstrably not original, where the Third South-Indian recension has readings which are demonstrably original. The differences in the forms of the innovations in the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata should belong to the discussion of the relation between these two recensions.

- 15 paḍihāsai Bh, R, K (paḍihā), ψ, B, γ, P (paḍiāsahi), S against paḍihāi (cf. T) (see Part II, Gāthā 15)
- 26 suhasutta R, K, B, γ, P, S, pāsutta Bh against sahasutta (cf. ψ) (see Part II, Gāthā 26)
- 54 sari Bh, R, K, ψ, B, P, T, sarisa γ, S against siri¹²
- 105 ḍajjihisi Bh, R, K, ψ, B, γ, P, T, S against bhajjihisi
- 136 hoi dāṇarahiassa Bh, R, S, hoi kiviṇapurisassa K, ψ, γ, P against bhoadāṇarahiassa (cf. T: dāṇahoarahiassa)
- 196 phuḍḍilliyāe Bh^a, phuḍḍilliyāi Bh^b, papphulliyāe R, upphalliyāi ψ, uppuliyāi γ, upphulliyāi P, ḍaphulliyāi S against umḍaliyāe (or uddaliyāe) (cf. T: maṇḍulliyāe)¹²
- 254 oṇiddhae (oṇivvae Bh^b) vasio Bh, uṇṇae vasio R, ulindae vasio K, oladdhie vasio ψ, volimḍae vasio γ, gharālimḍae sutto T, aṇimḍae saio S against olamḍae vasiuṃ (cf. W: vasiuṃ; Ma olappie, Ti, Tp olamḍie)
- 283 ṇitthāmu Bh, R, K, T, ṇitṭhāṇu ψ, γ, S against ṇiadhāmu
- 316 suhaa Bh, R, ψ, γ, S against ahava (cf. T and K!)
- 318 pabbhaṭṭha Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, S against pamhuṭṭha (cf. T) (pamutṭha Ma, Ti and Tp)
- 335 jahā ṇa amhe (Bh: amha) musijjāmo Bh, R, ṇa jahā amhe musijjāmo K, ψ, γ, S, jaha ahme vi ṇa hu musijjāmo T against jaha ahme ṇa amusijjāmo (cf. W: ṇa amusajjāmo)
- 360 bhāruṇṇayāhiṃ R, bhāroṇaāhiṃ K, bhāroṇaāi ψ, bhāroṇaāhi γ, bhārubbharāhi T, bharoṇaāhiṃ S against bhārāharāhi (see Part II, p. 144)
- 361 amhārisṭha Bh, R, amhārisṭhi ψ, γ, T, assādisṭhiṃ S against ahmārisēṇa

- vīsarai Bh, R, S, vīsarīo ψ, γ, visumario T against pahmusdi
 370 aṇadharayaṁ taṁsavaḷaṁta Bh^a, aṇisamisataṁsavaḷaṁta Bh^b,
 aṇimisam isaṁtasavaḷaṁta R, aṇimisam ṭṣṭsi vaḷaṁta ψ, aṇimisa-
 tirichadaravalia γ, aṇimisasṭsuvvattaṇakhaḷaṁta T, aṇimisa-
 vaḷaṁta S against aṇisaṁ (vaṁka)vaḷaṁta (see below, p. 50)
 384 kīṣa auṇṇāṇa me sattṭī Bh, R, ψ, γ, S against kīṣa a puṇṇāṇa me
 sattṭī (cf. T)
 386 ṇesā gahaḷaṁghīā Bh, R (ḷaṁviā), T (ḷaṁjhiā), ṇa imā gahaḷaṁghīā
 ψ, γ, S against esā gahaḷaṁbiā
 410 visakaṁḍ(/d)ali vva muddhā (vaḍḍhaṁtṭī) Bh, R, gāmaṇidhūā visa-
 kaṁḍali bva (vaṭṭhiā) ψ, vva(ṭṭhiā) γ, gāmaṇidhiā visalaā
 vva (vaḍiā) S against gāmaṇidhūāvisalaā (vaḍḍhaṁtṭī) (cf. T)
 420 paravajjaṇaccirṭhiṁ Bh, R, ψ, γ, S (°kajja°) against paravasāṇa-
 ṇaccirṭhiṁ (cf. T)
 431 taha tassa ψ, γ, S tassa taha T against taṁtassa¹²
 437 atthakkāulavīsaṁbhaghāi ψ(°cāi), γ, S, atthakkāgaavisamḃhagāā T
 against atthakkāgaavesamḃ (bhāṇa)
 460 duṭṭha Bh, R, ψ, γ, S against dhavala (cf. T)¹²
 466 maacchi Bh, R, ψ, γ, S against maaccha (cf. T)
 483 aigarueṇa vi tammai (Bh khijjai) hīaamḃ bhareṇa gabbhassa Bh, R,
 aigarueṇa vi tammai hīae (S hīaammi) bhareṇa gabbhassa (S gavbha-
 bhāreṇa) ψ, γ, T, S against tamei hīaamḃ ahīamḃ bhaggā bhareṇa
 gabbhassa (bhaggaṁ Ma, Ti and Tp)
 485 āḷiṁgaṇaduhiāimḃ Bh, R, ψ, γ, S against āḷiṁgaṇarahiāimḃ (cf. T)
 487 me hīamḃ taṁ pi Bh, R, me haamḃ taṁ pi ψ, se haamḃ tammi γ,
 se hīamḃ taṁ pi T, S (S tammi) against ṇa sahīamḃ tīe¹²
 514 khijjiavvāimḃ Bh, R, ψ, γ, S, lajjiavvāi T against rūsiavvāi
 541 jalolle Bh, R, ψ, γ, S and Ma! against jalolla (cf. T)
 548 taggaamaṇo ψ, γ, T, S against viamḃbhamāṇo
 553 avaṇehi Bh, ṇaṁ ṇehi R, ṇa ṇehi ψ, ṇa ṇesi γ against ṇiṇṇeha
 575 maṁdira Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, S against siṁdi(/a)ra (cf. T: saṁdira)
 626 muhapuṁḍarṭa R, ψ, γ, T, S against suhmaṁtaria¹²
 680 pavāḷaamḃkuravannaḷohillao R, pavāḷaamḃkuraavannaḷohitae ψ,
 paravāḷaamḃkuravannaḷohitae γ, pavvāḷaamḃkuravannaḷohitae S
 against pavāḷaamḃkūralohie ṇiddhe (cf. T)
 ṇiddhoyadhāurāa tti kīṣa hatthe R, °dhā(t)urāe kīṣa sahatthe

ψ, γ, dhāurae vva kīsa hatthe S against ṇiddhoadhāurāe vi kīsa hatthe (cf. T)

- 692 ahilijjai paumālehaḍālivalaena kamalagovTe R, alihijjai paṁkaale halālibalaena kamalagovTe ψ, ahilijjai paṁkaale halāṭṭlavalāena kalamagovTe γ, ahilijjTai paṁkaaluhiālivalaena kalama° S
against ahilijjai kamalullehaḍālivalaehi kalamagovTe (cf. T)
711 volimto Bh, S (°tt°), volamto R, γ against bolei (cf. T)

b.

Innovations in MS R of the Jaina-recension together with the Vulgata (K, ψ, B, γ and P) against retentions in the Third South-Indian recension together with Bh of the Jaina-recension.

- 3 majjhaārammi R, K, ψ, B, γ, P, S against majjhaārāo (cf. T)
8 maṁḍaṇṭhūaṁ R, K, ψ, B, γ, P, T, S against maṁḍaṇaṁ bhūaṁ
(maṁḍaṇaābhūdaṁ Tp, maṁḍaṇabbhūyaṁ Bh (see Part II, Gāthā 8)
49 ṇṭsarai R, K, ψ, B, γ, P against ṇṭi (cf. T, S and W)
78 pailla R, painṇa K, ψ, B, γ, P against pahulla (cf. T) (pa(p)-
phulla Ti, Tp, pahall: Bh, paala S)(see below, p. 49)
96 parigaam R, ψ, B, γ, P, T, S, Ma! against pariam¹³
97 dakkhiṇa R, ψ, B, γ, P, S against dāhiṇa (cf. T)
106 ṇaṇṇesu R, K, ψ, B, γ, P, T, S and Tp! against vaṇṇesu
(vaṇṇṇasu Ti)
119 ummattā R, K, ψ, B, γ, P, S against ummaia
129 aṇuṇṭa R, K, ψ, γ, P, S suviṇto T against asuṇṭe¹³
152 pasāalohillaṁ, aigahiagarua K, ψ, γ, P, T, S (in R the relevant
hemistich is missing) against pasāalohille, aigaruagahia
156 suharasa R, K, ψ, γ, P against sarahasa (cf. T and S) (saharasa
Bh) (see below, p. 49)
163 jivijjai R, K, ψ, γ, P, T, S against valijjai Tp, Bh^a (vilajjai
Ma, Bh^b)
165 maṁgalaṁ laṁgale R (se hale), K, ψ, γ, P, S against laṁgale
maṁgalaṁ (maṁgale maṁgalaṁ Bh)
170 palotṭamta R, K, γ, P, T, S against palotṭa (cf. ψ)
176 vāeriena, °raena R, K, ψ, γ, P, S against vāeriassa, °raassa
phukkaṁto R, ψ, γ, P, °amta K, S against pūmeṁta Ma, Tp

(phūmitti Bh)

- 184 ujjua ṇāhaṃ R, ψ, γ, aṇuā ṇāhaṃ K, S (aṇuā), a ṇāhaṃ P against aṇṇamaṇāhaṃ (aṇṇamaṇāhaṃ Bh)¹³
- 188 pautthamāṇaṃ R, K, ψ, γ, P, T, S against māṇapautthaṃ (see Part II, Gāthā 31)
- 290 vilīṇo R, K, ψ, γ, T, S against vil(/r)āo
- 315 gayavaṭṭaṃ R, gaavaiaṃ K, ψ, T, S, pautthavaiaṃ γ against gaapaṭaṃ¹³
- 320 vi ṇa taḥā R, K, ψ, γ, T, S and Tp! against vi ṇa vi taḥa
- 325 aṇu(raimayaṃ, °rāāaṃ) R, K, ψ, γ, S against aṇa(rāmaṃ) (cf. T: araiṃ rameaṃti)
- 353 vi ṇa taḥā R (ṇā taḥa), K, ψ, γ, T, S against vi ṇa vi taḥa
- 368 thaṇa(k)alasu(ppellaṇa) R, T, S, thaṇaalamuha ψ, thaṇajuala-muha γ against thaṇabharu
- 526 aṇikkaṃta R, ψ, γ, S against aṇakkaṃta (cf. T: ṇakkaṃta)
- 532 khokkhā R, ψ, γ, S against p(h)upp(h)ā (cf. T and W)
- samullihai R, ψ, γ against samalliai (cf. T: samullahai ai, W: savalliai and S samulliai)
- 575 āṇaṃdia R, ψ, γ, T, S against āṇaṃdira

c.

Innovations in the Vulgata (K, ψ, B, γ and P) against retentions in the Third South-Indian and Jaina-recensions.

Of the five Vulgata MSS only ψ and γ are complete. B is only a small fragment and is generally not available below. P contains only the first three Śatakas and K the first three and more than half of the fourth. Below I have therefore made two extra categories, namely one where K is not available and another where P is not available.

- 22 litta K, γ, P and Tp (pr. m.), luppā ψ, B against tuppā (Tp sec. m.) (see Part II, Gāthā 22)
- 61 suhāveṃti K, ψ, B, γ, P, T, S and Ma! against suhāṃti (samappaṃti Bh)
- 65 aṇudiahāṃ K, ψ, B, γ, P against tā diahaṃ
- 104 samuccīṇai K, ψ, B, γ, P, S against samuccei (cf. T)

- 114 goviāṇa K, ψ, B, γ, P, S against goviāe (cf. T)¹⁴
 160 maṁtharaṁ tumaṁ vacca K, ψ, γ, P, S against maṁtharaṁ pie vacca
 (cf. T)(see Part II, the Note to Gāthā 20)
 203 vahugunaṁto jaṇo tassa K, ψ, γ, P against vahuguno vaṇṇo
 jaṇo tassa (cf. T and S)
 219 ṇa ṇaā K, ṇa gaā ψ, γ, P, S against hmi gaā Ma, Tp (pattā Bh,
 ettā R, gamiā T)
 220 veḍhaṇa K, ψ, γ, P, S against veḍhaa (cf. T)
 226 suttassa K, ψ, γ, P, S against suttāe (cf. T)

Innovations in ψ, B, γ and P where K is not available

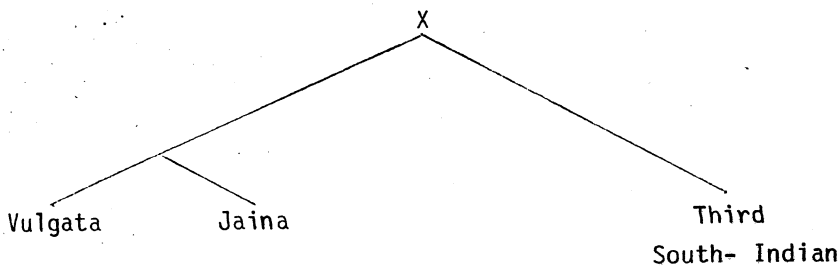
- 95 pabbhasio ψ, B, γ, pakkhasakh† P (cf. S: pabbhaṭṭho) against
 pahmusio Ma, Tp (cf. T) (pamhusai Bh, paccusio R)

Innovations in K, ψ, B and γ where P is not available

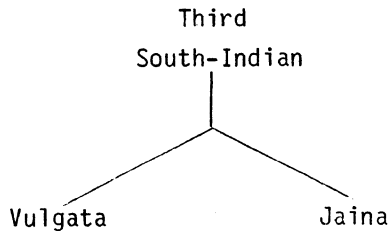
- 240 aṁdha(k)ara K, ψ, adharāa γ (cf. S: aṁdhavera) against aṁdhalaa¹⁴

4.2 The archetype

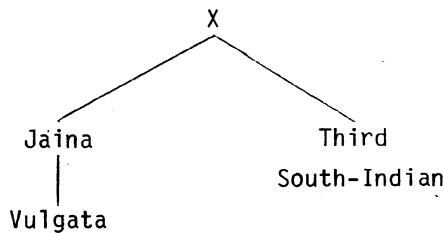
The three recensions are related in the following way:



The two other possibilities can be excluded:



because the Third South-Indian recension has innovations of its own against retentions in the Jaina-recension together with the Vulgata (see under a. below); and



because the Jaina-recension has innovations of its own against retentions in the Vulgata (see under b. below).

The two branches, represented by the Third South-Indian recension, on the one hand, and by the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata, on the other, ultimately go back to one single MS, the archetype X. Its existence is proved by certain errors common to the MSS of the Third South-Indian recension, on the one hand, and MS Bh of the Jaina-recension, on the other (see under c. below). The MS of the archetype was written in a North-Indian script, most likely a kind of Jaina Nāgarī, as appears from the 'error', found in all available MSS, anṇāvarāha for āṇāvarāha in 488.¹⁵ The supposed corruption of āṇ- into anṇ- points to a source in Jaina Nāgarī, in which the Akṣaras concerned are hardly distinguishable. Furthermore, the MSS of the Third South-Indian recension, which go back more or less directly to the MS of the archetype, have certain orthographical peculiarities which positively point to a source written in Jaina Nāgarī (see under d. below). Admittedly, this source is probably

not the same as the MS of the archetype. This would appear from the innovation pāṇḍa in Ma and Tp (and T) in Gāthā 2 (see Part II) for pāua in all the other MSS. Its form shows that it was most probably ad hoc created on the basis of a rule typical of AMg. This seems to suggest that it was introduced in North-India rather than South-India. On the other hand, the word pāṇḍa is common in other South-Indian Prākṛit texts as well, and in South-Indian MSS of Prākṛit texts, so that it may equally well have been introduced in these MSS only at a relatively late stage in South-India.

As already noted above (4.1) all three recensions have a different Gāthā-order. The order of the archetype appears to be most faithfully preserved in the branch represented by the Vulgata, on the one hand, and the Jaina-recension, on the other. In order to make this clear in Appendix III a concordance is given of the Third South-Indian recension (first column), the Vulgata (broken down in hundreds in the following seven columns) and the Jaina-recension (R; last column). It appears that the Third South-Indian recension is based on a selection from a MS the order of the Gāthās of which closely resembles that of either the Vulgata or the Jaina-recension, sometimes agreeing more with the Vulgata, sometimes with the Jaina-recension. It can be observed that the compiler *went through this MS from beginning to end picking out individual Gāthās or whole strings of them, while rejecting others.* The last Gāthā selected in this first round is 669 of the Vulgata or, alternatively, 708 of the Jaina-recension (see opposite 425). After that he went through the MS again picking out many of the Gāthās rejected first. These were apparently added following the text which resulted from the first round of selection, i.e. after 425. Occasionally, though, some of them were inserted in this first part of the text.

While the Vulgata and the Jaina-recension preserve the order of the archetype they do so only in broad outline. For it appears that in each recension large parts of the text of the archetype have come to be displaced. For instance, in the Jaina-recension (R) the sequence 131-187 of the Vulgata is found in the fourth Śataka between 337-391. A comparison with the Third South-Indian recension shows that the text of the Vulgata is original here (see opposite 135-141 and 172-176). Likewise in the Vulgata whole sequences of Gāthās have come to be displaced (see

opposite 321-2, 333-4, 355-6 and 194-5). These changes are most likely due to the disturbance of the order of the leaves of a MS.

Besides, minor changes in the order and position of the Gāthās have taken place. Note in this connection the Gāthās 188, 189, 190 and 194 of the Vulgata; from their position in the Third South-Indian recension as 69, 74, 84 and 70 respectively it appears that the Jaina-recension has preserved their original position here in the first Śataka. On the other hand, the Vulgata has preserved the original order of 332, 333 and 334, which occur as 255, 256 and 257 in the Third South-Indian recension but as 186, 110 (sic) and 287 in the Jaina-recension. It may be noted that the Vulgata has apparently suffered from considerably fewer of these minor changes in the order and position of the Gāthās vis-à-vis the archetype than the Jaina-recension.¹⁶ A clear exception is its final Śataka in which the internal order must at some stage have become disturbed considerably (see opposite 10-53). Note in this connection that the first round of selection ended with 669 of the Vulgata, i.e. still rather far removed from the end, and with 708 of the Jaina-recension, i.e. practically at the end. The latter seems more logical.¹⁷

a.

Innovations in the Third South-Indian recension (only part 197-474, for which all the three MSS, Ma, Ti and Tp, are available, has been taken into account):

476 viakkhaṇaṃ (vi āmaṃ), 669 ṇisajjai (ṇimajjai), ṇisajjāsu (cf. T) (ṇimajjihisi), 724 ukkhippei (cf. T) (utt(h)aṃghei; ucchappei Bh, utthepei R, utthaggaī S).

b.

Innovations in the Jaina-recension:

71 ṇa jaṇo piaamakaamāṇabhaṃgadukkhakkhamo savvo, 156 hiyaḍḍhiṃ, 183 cukkai, 206 taha cci(y)a, 211 hemistiches reversed, 302 va(y)agesu, 385 varisaṃ va, kappaṃ va, 460 sayalagoṭṭha, 465 pasaṇṇā, 470 atthi Bh, achi R, 505 ṇayaṇaddhabhalḷeṇa, 554 taṃ mama (maha) cc(h)ari(y)aṃ, 715 hatthe.

c.

Common errors in the MSS of the Third South-Indian recension, Ma, Ti and Tp, and MS Bh of the Jaina-recension:

49 sarīsa Ma, sirīsa Bh (cf. sisira T), for sarītra; 167 dhariṇiṃ Ma, Bh, for dharaṇiṃ; 212 aṇuhoṃtaam Ma, Bh, for aṇahoṃtaam; 292 taṇuāi(d)a (emendation!) Ti, Tp, taṇuyāiṃ Bh (cf. taṇuāi ψ and S), for taṇuāai; 300 kariṇiṃ Ti, Bh, for karaṇiṃ; 367 garu-(y)aṇa Ma, Bh, for guruṇa; 371 bbharaṃta Ma, bbharaṃtara Bh^a, for bbhaṃtara; 379 bhunṇaṃtīe Ma, bhunnaṃtī(a) Bh, for bhaṃḍaṃtīe; 428 kapphālāva Ma, kapālāva Bh, for kavvālāva; 466 pahia Ma, pasiha Bh, for pasia; 470 daḍḍhaṃ Ma, Bh^a, for daṭṭhuṃ; 487 pavvāsa Tp, Bh, for pavāsa.

Note the omission in both Ma and Bh of kiṃ in 65 peṭṭasamattapaddi kiṃ suasi.

d.

Orthographical peculiarities in the MSS of the Third South-Indian recension, Ma, Ti and Tp, which show that they ultimately derive from a MS written in Jaina Nāgarī:

- 1) -ṃt- for -ṇṇ- (in Jaina MSS -nn-): maṃtu for maṇṇu in 260 (Ti, Tp), 683 (Ma, Tp), 920 (Ti, Tp), 938 (Ma, Tp) and 941 (Ti, Tp).
- 2) -rū- for -tū- or -tū- for -rū-: 189 rūha (Ma) for tūha (cf. R and K; note Weber's hesitation regarding the reading of Bh; Ist., p. 41), 251 tūvaṃ (Ma) for rūvaṃ (sec. m.) (cf. K), 476 rūsai (Ti) for tūsai, 609 rūra (Ma) for tūra.

4.3 The relation between Ma, Ti and Tp of the Third South-Indian recension

Of these MSS Tp alone is complete (1-699). Ma contains only Gāthās 2-474 and Ti 197-699. This means that only for 197-474 all the three MSS are available.

Tp is written in the Malayālam script. Both Ma and Ti are Devanāgarī transcripts of Malayālam originals. All three MSS have orthographical peculiarities which point to an original in Grantha. Thus, one finds

-s- for -ḍ- in 257 eraso (era(ṁ)ḍo) in Ti, and -ḍ- for -s- in 70 pā(v)uḍa (pāusa) in Ma, Tp, 444 Tḍaṁ (Tsaṁ) in Ma, 445 pāuḍa in Ti, Tp, 538 pāuḍa in Ma, and 578 pā(v)uḍa in Ti and Tp. In the preceding paragraph I have shown that they also show traces of having been copied from a MS written in Jaina Nāgarī. This probably explains the occasional occurrence in Ma and Ti of the Ya-śruti which is otherwise typical of Jaina (Nāgarī) MSS. E.g. 2 pāyaḍa Ma, 5 mayulaṁti Ma, 9 ruyasi Ma and 348 taṇuāraya Ti. However, dhāyī in 130 in Ti (dhāvai in Tp), which is an innovation in this particular branch of the Third South-Indian recension (see below) for dhuai found in Ma and the North-Indian MSS, suggests that the -y- may also have been inserted in these MSS independently.

The three MSS have one common source. This conclusion is based on the following two types of evidence:

a.

The order of the Gāthās. I have shown in 4.2 above that the present recension is based on a selection from a MS which was the source of the Vulgata, on the one hand, and of the Jaina-recension, on the other. It is doubtful if this process of selection could have taken place three times independently, each time with exactly the same result.

b.

Common errors (only Gāthās 197-474, for which all the three MSS are available, are taken into account):

254 olappie Ma, olaṁbie Ti, Tp (olaṁbae), 341 tṭe vi taha (tṭe vi), 354 parunṇeṇa ajja (°eṇaṁ pi ajja), 367 avilaṁbirīe (ava°), 373 ṇihāāi (ṇihāṇāi), 395 dararuggaa (daruggaa), 407 aṇumalāṇa (°marāṇa), 409 pahṇu(/a)sai, 462 pahṇu(/a)sai (paṇhuai), 496 soṇṇa vi (soṇṇa), 524 kuviassa pāaeiṁ Ma, kuviaṁ pasāāeuiṁ Ti, kuviaṁ pasāāeuiṁ Tp (kuviaṁ ca pasāāeuiṁ), 572 qahidattho (gahiattho), 643 ujja (ujja pāmaro, unmetrical), 924 ṇa atthirammi ṇa (athirammi ṇa), 932 ehi (ei).

The relation between Ma, Ti and Tp is as follows. Tp and Ma each have innovations of their own (see under a. and b. below), whereas Ti has none.

This excludes the possibility that Tp goes back directly to Ma or vice versa. However, it leaves open the possibility that Tp as well as Ma go back directly to Ti. Tp, though, shares a number of innovations with Ti (see under c. below) and none with Ma. Ti shares one innovation with Ma, namely āsaṃsia for āsaṃghia in 707. This form āsaṃsia may, however, have been introduced independently in the two MSS. In this connection it should be noted that in the commentaries which in Ma and Ti accompany the text, āsaṃghia is glossed with āśaṃsita.¹⁸ This evidence leads to the conclusion that the first division was between Ma, on the one hand, and Ti and Tp, on the other.

a.

Tp has the following innovations (only 197-474):

240 pucchāhiṃto (cheppāhiṃto), 243 sohai (cf. T) (chajjai), 497 vārei maṃ (cf. T) (vāreha ṇaṃ), 551 uṇṇāmia (uttāṇia), 607 siae (sāhuli).

b.

Ma has the following innovation:

588 vilakkheṇa (vilaṃveṇa).

c.

Ti and Tp share the following innovations:

130 dhāyai Ti, dhāvai Tp (dhuai), 246 haliddā (haliddṬ), 312 gahiṭṭa (ghettṭa), 313 ṇikkūḍaamkola (Tp sec.m. paḍoharamkola), 325 ṇa arāmaṃ (Ma aṇaa(!)rāmaṃ) (aṇarāmaṃ), 656 loluva (lehaḍa), 843 digghohṇā (dṬhuṇhā), 848 saamḍhiāe, 849 saamḍhiāe (cf. T) (saajjhiāe), sāmala(ṃ Tp)muaṃ (sāmaṃ muhaṃ), 869 rudiṭṭa (rottṭaṃ).

The relation between Ti and Tp still needs to be determined. In this connection some significant similarities in the outward appearance of both MSS may be considered. In the first place, in both Gāthā 279 (see Appendix I) is missing. Furthermore, Ti and Tp have a number of identical

lacunae (290 (Ed. 715), 411 (626), 577 (-), 595 (-), 596 (-), 606 (863), 632 (153), 647 (269), 654 (905) and 690 (530)). The extent of the lacunae is, however, not always the same. In Tp the lacunae of 411, 595, 596 and 632 cover the complete texts of the respective Gāthās, while in Ti still one or two words have been preserved.

The Malayālam original from which Ti was copied consisted of a bundle of palmleaves containing the fragment 197-699. To this bundle was added a stray leaf with the Gāthās Ed. 492, 481, 482 and 496 together with Mādhavayajvamiśra's commentary. In Ti these same four Gāthās, with minor variants, are found again as 374-377 (373-376 by counting), embedded between Ed. 489 and Ed. 488. Ed. 489, however, occurs a second time, namely after Ed. 488. From this it would appear that this group of four Gāthās was inserted here later. In Tp, though containing the complete text (1-699), exactly the same situation is found. Thus, after 196 some space is left blank; then follow Ed. 492, 481, 482 and 496, which are followed by a blank space again, after which the text continues with 197. The same four Gāthās occur again in the fourth Śataka:

Third S-I

recension	Ma	Ti/Tp
371	<u>Ed.</u> 487	<u>Ed.</u> 487
372	488	<u>489</u>
373	489	(492)
374	(492)	481
375	481	482
376	482	(496)
377	(496)	488
378	503	<u>489</u>
		503

The addition of the stray leaf containing Ed. 492-496 before 197 is explicable only in the case of Ti, i.e. its palmleaf original. It then follows that Tp is a collation of Ti, or any of its sources, and some other MS. It remains to determine the extent of the text of this latter MS and its relation to either Ma or Ti, if any.

As has been noted above, Tp has the same lacunae as Ti, though

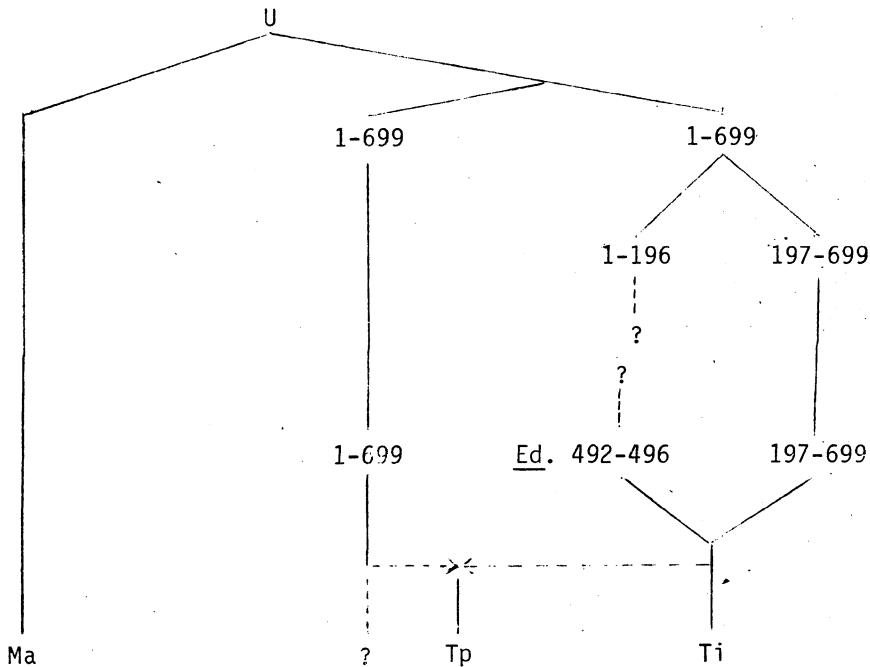
occasionally the latter has preserved a few words more of the lost text. This would either mean that in preparing Tp the second MS used beside Ti (i.e. its source) also had those same lacunae; or that the second MS, like Ti, was itself a fragment, consisting of precisely the part 1-196 broken off from Ti.

The latter assumption, that the second MS contained only the fragment 1-196, is refuted by the following instances, drawn from Gāthās 197-699, in which the scribe of Tp 'corrects' a reading in accordance with Ti: 333 Ti rakkhido, Tp (pr. m.) rakkhio, (sec. m.) rakkhido, Ti sasaṃkiru Tp (pr. m.) sasaṃkiu, (sec. m.) sasaṃkiru, 362 Ti tavijjai, Tp (pr. m.) taṇuivjai, (sec. m.) taṇuvijjai, 378 Ti aṇusikkharīe vi, Tp (pr. m.) aṇusikkharīe vi, (sec. m.) aṇusikkharīe vi. Probably in these cases the scribe started copying from the second MS and subsequently compared the text with that of Ti. On the basis of this evidence I assume the second to have been a complete MS.

The lacunae which Ti and Tp have in common were apparently also found in the second MS used by the scribe of Tp, for otherwise they would almost certainly have been filled in. In any case, the assumption that the scribe of Tp would on purpose have refrained from filling in the lacunae found in his first MS is contradicted by his behaviour regarding some smaller omissions. The latter have occasionally been filled in, either immediately or secondarily, i.e. above or below the line. E.g. 23 Ti aha sa cci (the text breaks off and is immediately followed by Mādhavayajvamiśra's commentary), Tp aha se tti vīsasimo. This instance possibly shows that the scribe made use of the commentary, which glosses the last word of the lost part of the text, saddahimo, with viśvasimaḥ; 460 Ti uva, Tp id., above the line the syllable ha (uvaha) has been added; 522 Ti suraāraṃbho (...)ṇavo, Tp suraāraṃbho uṇo(!) ṇavo; 688 Ti cāḍu(...)ṇiṇṇāṇa, Tp id., above the line the word kamma has been added. Occasionally, furthermore, the scribe of Tp made small corrections. E.g. 333 Ti raiaṃ, Tp id., corrected into ramiaṃ, 452 Ti māṇaṃ, Tp mā(:deleted)ṇāmaṃ, 873 Ti tae, Tp tīe, changed into taha (cf. T), 923 Ti bahalā, Tp bahalā, corrected into balā.

It follows that the second MS used by the scribe of Tp was a complete MS. As it apparently had the same lacunae as Ti, it may be concluded that it went back to an immediate source of the present MS Ti.

The relation between Ma, Ti and Tp may be represented in the following diagram. It should be noted that the position of Tp to the left of Ti is arbitrary; it does not imply that Tp is closer to the source of the three MSS than Ti.



The third South-Indian recension seems to have existed in relative isolation. As will be shown below the Teliṅga and Second Teliṅga-recensions have both drawn their Gāthās from, among others, this recension, but these seem basically to be instances of one-way traffic only. An exception, however, is Tp, which shows traces of having been contaminated by T. *With the latter Tp shares the following innovations:*

20 desu suhaa majjha oāsaṁ Tp, suhaa maha desu oāsaṁ T (de suhaa majjha oāsaṁ), 49 laggā (cf. Ma lakkā) (lukkā), 243 sohai (chajjai), 497 vārei maṁ (cf. ψ, γ, S) (vāreha ṇaṁ), 626 khaṇa (chaṇa), 677 rosaṇaṁ (rūsaṇaṁ).

From the fact that at least one of these innovations concerns a reading

otherwise typical of the Vulgata, namely 497 vārei maṁ, and from the fact that of the Third South-Indian recension and T, only the latter also otherwise includes readings typical of the Vulgata (see 5.3), it would follow that Tp was influenced by T, and not vice versa.

4.4 The relation between the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata

In 4. 1 and 2 I have indicated that the Vulgata derives from the same source as the Jaina-recension. The Jaina-recension, which is represented here by two MSS, Bh and R, is characterized by innovations of its own. This excludes the possibility that the Vulgata derives from any of these two MSS directly. As already said earlier MS R contains a contaminated text. The extent and nature of the contamination can only be determined after the main branches among the five Vulgata MSS have been identified, and will therefore be the subjects of 4.6 only. Below some instances will be given which purport to show that the Vulgata, if indeed not from Bh itself, derives from the same source as Bh, irrespective of the relation of R either to Bh or the Vulgata.

a.

78 paṇṇa (prakīrṇa or pratīrṇa) in K, ψ, B, γ and P. The word be explained as an emendation (i.e. innovation) for pahalla in Bh (yahalla in Bh^b). This pahalla is a clerical error for paḥulla, for which see T and compare pa(p)phulla in Ti and Tp. The development of pahalla into paṇṇa may be reconstructed as follows: pahalla → pa(y)alla → pailla (with -i- for -ya-) → paṇṇa (with -ṇṇ- for -ll-). For the intermediate form pa(y)alla, see paala in S, and for pailla, see R. Note in this connection that in Jaina Nāgarī -ll- and -ṇṇ- are practically indistinguishable, so that the confusion is easily understood. For an attempt to assign a meaning to pahalla, see Bhuvanapāla: pahallaṇḍolitaṁ (ISt., p. 51), and Hem. IV 117, where pahalla is mentioned as an Ādeśa for Sanskrit ghūrṇa-, i.e. as if it is paholla-.

b.

156. suharasa (sukharasa) in K, ψ, γ and P (cf. R). The word may be explained as an emendation (i.e. innovation) for saharasa as found in Bh, which seems to be a corruption, through the transposition of -ra- and

-ha-, of sara(b)hasa found in Ma, Tp, T and S and in the commentaries x and G (Pāṭha).

c.

In the second hemistich of 237 in ψ, γ and P the following readings are found: ψ ṇiṇṇasahīkaralaṃbiakaravalaṃdolirī, γ ṇiṇṇasahīkaraavalāmbia-
karabalaṃdolirī, P ṇiṇṇasahī(ku)kara(āvala)valaṃdo. It seems impossible to extract any suitable meaning from these compounds. In the last parts, v(/b)alaṃdolirī and (āvala)valaṃdo, however, one may possibly recognize traces of a corruption as found in Bh: siḍḍhilā sahiyaṇakaradhariya-
bhuyalayyaṃdolirī Bh^a, ° bhuyalayaṃdolirī Bh^b, for ° bhuyajuyalaṃdolirī.

d.

292 taṇu(y)āi(ṃ) in Bh and ψ (cf. S) is a corruption for original taṇuāi. From the occurrence of taṇuāi(d)a in Ti and Tp it follows that the corruption goes back to the MS of the archetype.

e.

in 370 ψ reads aṇimisam īsīsi valaṃta and γ aṇimisatirichadaravalaṃta. For aṇimisa(m), see also R (aṇimisam isam̐tasavalaṃta), T (aṇimisasīsu-
vvattapaṇkhalāṃta) and S (aṇimisavalaṃta). aṇimisa(m) seems an emendation (i.e. innovation) for the corrupted reading found in Bh^b: aṇisam isa-
taṃsavalaṃta, of which aṇisam is ascertained for the archetype through Ti and Tp, which read aṇisam vaṃkavalaṃta. Another emendation is found in Bh^a: aṇadharayaṃ, i.e. aṇavarayaṃ, Sanskrit anavaratāṃ.

f.

Other errors, mainly involving the spelling, found in Bh and the individual Vulgata MSS are: 253 muharo Bh, γ (mahuro), 337 ṇihattāe Bh^b, ψ (niyattāe Bh^a) (ṇihittāe), 125 muhatto Bh, muharttaṃ P (muhuttaṃ).

4.5 The relation between the MSS K, ψ, B, γ and P of the Vulgata

In the material collected by Weber the Vulgata is represented by five MSS. Of these only two are complete, namely ψ and γ. The other three

consist of fragments only, namely K of 1-370 (Ed. 1-365), B of 1-129 (Ed. 1-127) and P of 1-300 (Ed. 1-297).

All these five MSS seem to go back to one single source. This follows from a number of things, e.g. the innovations they have in common (see 4.1 c.) and those changes in the order of the Gāthās they have in common vis-à-vis the archetype and the Jaina-recension (see 4.2).

In order to determine the relations between the five MSS the innovations may be considered. At this stage the definition of the term innovation as given on p. 29 above may be broadened so as to include those readings typical of the Vulgata MSS against readings common to Bh (and R) of the Jaina-recension and Ma, Ti and Tp of the Third South-Indian recension. It appears then that the first division has taken place between K and ψ , each being characterized by a number of innovations against retentions in the other (see under a. and b. below). It is to be noted that K in this respect seems more conservative than ψ . These two branches seem to have been combined to form a third, represented by γ and P, which is characterized by those innovations typical of K as well as by those typical of ψ . Besides, γ and P have a number of innovations of their own (see under c. below).

MSS γ and P seem to represent a South-Indian branch of the Vulgata, both MSS hailing from South-India. In the case of P this appears directly from the fact that it is written in the Kannaḍa script. Regarding γ , which is written in Devanāgarī, Weber (Ed., p. 2) has shown that it was copied from an original written in a South-Indian script. This follows, among other things, from such orthographical peculiarities as -ms- for -ss-, and -hn- and -hm- for -nh- and -mh- respectively.

The short fragment B shares with ψ those retentions typical of the latter (with two exceptions, for which, see under g. below). Furthermore, B and ψ have a few innovations of their own (see under d. below).

From these facts it is possible to conclude that the first division took place between K and ψ . Both traditions came to be combined in a MS, which formed the basis of γ and P (the possibility that γ derives directly from the present MS P, or vice versa, can be excluded as each MS has a few innovations of its own). B would go back to an immediate predecessor of ψ . In this connection it should be mentioned that the possibility that B was copied directly from the present MS ψ may not be

ruled out, as of ψ and B only the latter has innovations of its own (e.g. kujjhai for j(h)ūrai in 38).

These conclusions are, however, of a very tentative nature. For instance, the conclusion that γ and P go back to one and the same source is contradicted by such instances where γ and P differ, the former agreeing specifically with K and the latter with ψ , and vice versa (see under e. and f. below). It has also been argued that B derives from the same source as ψ or was copied directly from the present MS ψ . On the other hand, in at least two instances B differs from ψ and agrees specifically with K, γ and P (see under g. below). These instances would seem to show that the Vulgata MSS or their respective sources were considerably influenced by each other.

Another problem is that K as well as ψ occasionally have retentions in common with Ma, Ti and Tp (and T) against innovations in Bh, R, γ and P. E.g. 316 ahava in K, Ma, Ti and Tp against suhaa in ψ together with Bh, R, γ and P, and 26 sahasutta in ψ together with Ma and Tp against suhasutta in K together with Bh, R, γ and P. These instances suggest that in K and ψ or in their respective sources authentic readings were secondarily introduced, which, in turn, casts doubt on the status of the retentions in general in these two MSS (see a. and b.).¹⁹

It seems therefore impossible to arrive at an exact definition of the stemmatical relations existing between these five MSS. The diagram on p. 56 is indeed not a stemma; it merely purports to give an idea of the grade of the authenticity of the text of each MS vis-à-vis that in the other four.

a.

ψ , B, γ and P have the following innovations against retentions in K (i.e. readings K has in common with Bh, Ma, Ti and Tp). Below, of the other MSS only R is occasionally mentioned, namely where it differs from K.

20 puṇo ψ , B, γ , P against uṇo

84 tujjha kae ψ , B, γ , P against tuha kaena

106 dīśai gose ψ , B, γ , P against gose dīśai

111 saṁlāviaṁ ψ , B, paaviaṁ γ , sallāpalaavisāṁ P against ullāviaṁ

120 māruēhi(ṁ) ψ , B, γ , P against māruēṇa (Ti, Tp; Gāthā missing

in Bh and R)

127 vi ŋiuŋo ψ, B, γ, P against a ŋiuŋo

153 phālijjam̐tammi, hiaammi ψ, γ, P against phālijjam̐tassa,
hiaassa (hemistich missing in R)

180 sāmaliḡjai ψ, γ, P against sāmaliḡ

184 maṇṇusamuppāḡa ψ, γ, P against maṇṇusamuppam̐ṇa

187 karihimi ψ, kāhimi γ, mi P against kāham̐

paḡhamuggaa ψ, γ, P against paḡhamullaa

206 kuḡḡalihiāo ψ, γ, P against tīḡ lihiāḡ K, tīḡ lihirīḡ R
(tīḡ lihiāo Ma, Tp)

tahim̐mia gae tāo ψ, tahim̐mi gae tāo γ, tammi dahmi ta etāo P
tahiś cia coriāḡ K, taha ccia coriāḡ R

209 diahāram̐bhe cuṁvaṇavaliḡ ψ, γ, diāhassam̐ram̐bhe cuṁbhaṇavaliḡ P
against vṡadiahasavilakkhalakkhie

213 rahasujjalacuṁvaṇam̐ ψ, γ, P against rahasuvvellacuṁvaṇam̐

217 ahilihia ψ, γ, P against ālihia

218 paḡhamuggaa ψ, γ, P against paḡhamullaa

219 asakkham̐ ψ, γ, P against asajjham̐

236 ghaḡiāim̐ ψ, γ, P (Sanskrit) against ghaḡiāṇa (genitive),
hiayāṇam̐ R

263 pattaaphalāṇa sarise ψ, γ, P (Sanskrit:°phalānām̐ sadr̥śe)
against pattakālasāriḡ K, pattayaphalasāricche R

293 virūo vi ψ, γ, P (Sanskrit virūpo'pi) against virūo a

b.

K, γ and P have the following innovations against retentions in ψ:

19 hiaaṡṡhiam̐ K, γ, P, B(!) against hiaacchiam̐

31 sā K, γ, P against se (B)

33 mae (instrumental) K, γ, P against mahaṁ (genitive) (B)

palīviūṇa K, P, °iūṇa γ, B(!) against palīvium̐ ψ (+palīviam̐ R)

35 kulavahuā ṇia K, γ, P against kulavahū ṇia(!) ψ, B (kulabahū
ṇiaa R)

55 sam̐k(h)in̐i K, γ, P against kam̐khiri (B)

56 teṇa tahā K, γ, P against taha teṇā (B)

123 rāḡaṇa K, γ, P against vāḡaṇa (B)

131 kahiṃ pi K, γ, P (T, S) against tahiṃ pi ψ (cf. tahiṃ va Bh, Ti, Tp, tahiṃ ca R)

205 oṇaa γ, P, oṇatta K against oatta

c.

Common innovations in γ and P:

72 vahulaṃ (vahuṃ)

76 dohaggaṃ (doggaccaṃ)

82 imea (unmetrical)

88 airikkammi vi (vairikkammi vi)

90 eāṇaṃ γ, eṇaṃ P (ettāhe)

102 parirakkhaṇekkadiṇṇa γ (cf. R), parirakkkadissa P (rakkhaṇekka-diṇṇa)

112 tti kira γ, tti tira P (tti ia)

122 dupparigejhjaṃ (-) γ, ḍuparigajjaṃ (-) P (duppariallaṃ pi) araṇṇaṃ (raṇṇaṃ)

132 kiṃ ṇu γ (cf. S), kiṃ ṇaṃ P (kiṃ tha)

137 viṇimīlia γ, viṇimīlia P (saṃmīlia)

138 ḍajjhijhii γ, ḍajjahii P (khajjihii)

151 rehai (dīśai)

177 jaha (-) ṇa taḥā γ, jaha ma ṇa taḥa P (...taḥa ṇa)

181 maulāiṃ γ, māulāiṃ P (mauāiṃ)

201 jaha(ṃ) taṃ (taḥa taṃ)

210 te aḥmaṃ γ, te aṃppāṇaṃ aṃppāṃ P (aḥmaṃ te)

262 suṃdara γ, P (Sanskrit) (vālaa)

d.

Common innovations in ψ and B:

6 suhaa (--) suhasai ψ, suhaa hasai tuha B (with suhaa coming first)

22 luppa (+ tuppa × littā)

36 saajjhiā a duggaā (saajjhiā duggaā a)

41 bharie (cf. R) (maie)

45 aipavasiesu diahesu (cf. T and S) (ṇiccapahiesu diahesu)

68 aippahāmmi (aippahāe a)

78 bhasarāli ψ , bhasarāvali B (unmetrical) (bhamarāli)

91 varā (piā)

e.

Instances where γ and P differ and γ agrees with K and P with ψ :

51 sugāmdhi γ , K¹ (cf. T^a) against suaṁdha P, ψ (cf. K²)

178 tujjha virāhe γ , K against tujjha a(j)aso P, ψ (cf. T)

200 geṇhaha γ , K (cf. S) against maṁda P, ψ (cf. Bh, R)

241 taṇuṭ vi γ , taṇuṭ vi K against taṇuṭ (-) P, ψ

274 sabbhāvaramiāiṁ γ , K against sabbhāvāṇeharamiāiṁ P, ψ (cf. Bh; Gīti-metre)

f.

Instances where γ and P differ and γ agrees with ψ and P with K:

17 ehai so upaduttho γ , ehii so vi pauttho ψ , B (cf. Bh)
against ehijjai so pauttho P, K (cf. R, Ma, Tp, S)

22 pariṁvaṇaṁ γ , ψ (cf. B, Ma, Tp, T) against pariṁviaṁ P, K
(cf. Bh, R, S)

72 chaṭṭhaṁ maggai γ , ψ (and all the other MSS) against maggai
chaṭṭhaṁ P, K

76 vimuho γ , ψ (and all the other MSS) against vimāṇo P, K

g.

Instances where B differs from ψ and agrees with K, γ and P:

19 hiaacchiaṁ ψ against hiaaṭṭhiaṁ B, K, γ , P

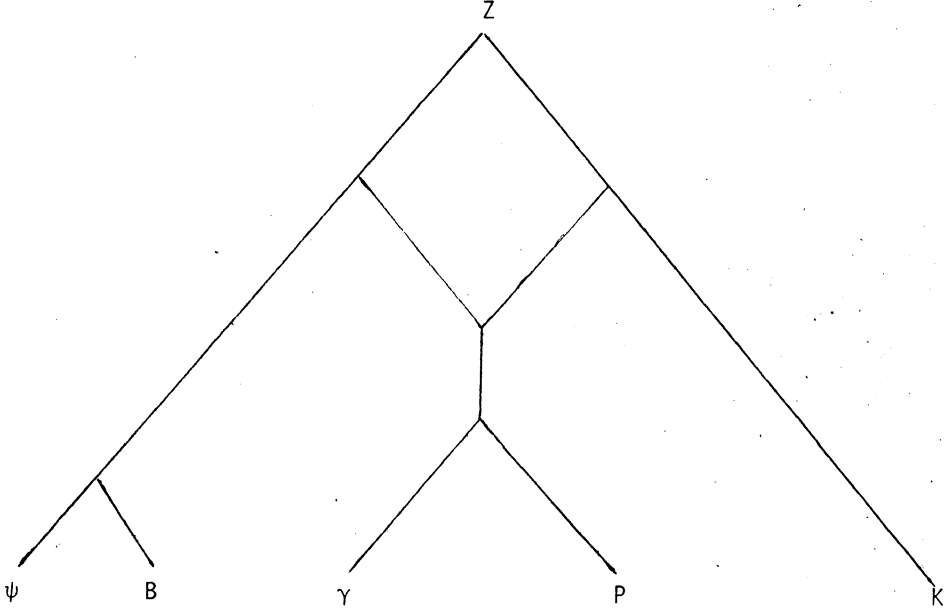
33 palṭvium ψ against palṭviṭṭa B, K, γ , P

Note furthermore:

7 vaṇiā B, vaṇiāu γ against vilaāo

46 suṇṇai K, ψ^1 , P against suvvai ψ^2 , B, γ

Diagram showing the relation between K, ψ , B, γ and P:



4.6 The contaminated state of the text of MS R of the Jaina-recension

MS R, together with MS Bh, constitutes the so-called Jaina-recension. Bh is incomplete, missing the last Śataka. The text is accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary, called *Chekoktivicāraṭīkā*, which is attributed to a certain Bhuvanapāla. It may be noted that the text quoted in the commentary (Bh^b) is occasionally slightly different from the text proper (Bh^a). MS R is complete, having altogether 710 Gāthās (but Gāthā 14 occurs a second time, namely as 386).

In the first place there is evidence which suggests that R derives from the same source as Bh (the possibility that R derives from Bh itself, or vice versa, can a priori be ruled out as each MS has innovations of its own; for Bh, see, for instance, samappaṃti in 61, and for R, see 4.1 b.). This appears from the fact that they have in common certain innovations against all the other MSS (see 4.2 b.). It also follows

from the changes in the order of the Gāthās by which they together are distinguished from the archetype together with the Vulgata (see 4.2).²⁰ Note in this connection also the following peculiar features found in the outward appearance of the two MSS. In both MSS the first half of 482 and the second half of 602 have been combined to form one Gāthā, 527 in Bh and 533 in R. The Gāthā so formed does not seem to make sense. Note also that Bhuvanapāla's commentary on it is lacking. In Bh the last two words of Gāthā 187 (Bh 387) are missing: °sāhasakāriyāe (hīaam̐ tharathareī). The same lacuna must have occurred in the original of R as would appear from the peculiar reading found: °sāhasayāe ghariṇṭhiyayaṁ tharathareī.

Above (4.1) it has been shown that Bh, R and the Vulgata are characterized by a number of innovations against retentions in the Third South-Indian recension. Furthermore it has been shown that R has a number of innovations in common with the Vulgata against retentions in the Third South-Indian recension and Bh. These latter innovations would indicate that what later developed into R, on the one hand, and into the Vulgata, on the other, initially represented one tradition, which must have split off from a MS which was also the source of the present MS Bh. At the same time, though, R has some of those innovations which are typical of ψ (and γ and P) (see under a. below) and some of those which are typical of K (and γ and P) (see under b. below) of the Vulgata MSS.

a. . .

Innovations in R and ψ, γ and P against retentions in K:

176 phukkaṁto R, ψ, γ, P against °aṁtaa K, Ma, Tp (phūmitti Bh)

cuṁvaṁto R, ψ, γ, P against °aṁtaa K, Ma, Tp (cuṁbamāṇa Bh)

183 hiyayāo R, ψ, γ, P against hīāhi K etc.

233 ṇaharaṁkā R, ψ, γ, P (Sanskrit) against dasaṇaṁkā K, Bh, Ti, Tp

b.

Innovations in R and K, γ and P against retentions in ψ:

147 sāsam̐ R, K, γ, P against sāse ψ, Bh, Ma, Tp, T

170 palotṭam̐ta R, K, γ, P (T, S) against palotṭa ψ, Bh, Ti, Tp

199 payaḍiyasiṇeha R, paaliṇeha K, paaḍiṇeha γ, paḍiṇeha P

against pāṇḍiāṇeha ψ, Bh, Ma, Tp

Thus R contains material, as does Bh, which anticipates the Vulgata as a whole (retentions with Bh) and material which represents the last stage in the development of the Jaina-recension (innovations with Bh), on the one hand, and material which represents the first and the last stages in the development of the Vulgata (innovations with all the Vulgata MSS. and with ψ and K, respectively), on the other. This state of affairs is explained by the fact that the text in R is the result of a process of contamination. For traces of this process in R, see, for instance, pattayaphalasāri(c)che in 263 which is a combination of pattapphalasāricche of Bh (and Ma, Ti, Tp and K(!)) and pattaaphalāṇa sarise of ψ, γ and P (Sanskrit). Besides, in the order of the Gāthās R has a feature typical of Bh next to one typical of the Vulgata. Thus, in R Ed. 14 occurs both as 14, as in the Vulgata (14 K, P, ξ, G, 13 B, 12 ψ, γ), and as 386, as in Bh (382). In the former instance the readings agree with the Vulgata (note chittam), in the latter with Bh (note chikkaṁ).²¹ It should be noted that the occurrence of the Gāthā in question as 16 in the Third South-Indian recension indicates that the Vulgata has preserved the more original order here.

An explanation of the contaminated state of the text in R should start from a MS closely related to Bh. This would account for the occurrence in R of the retentions it has in common with Bh. It is unlikely that these, as the more difficult forms, would have been entered in a Vulgata MS for the innovations, by definition the easier forms, typical of the latter branch. This assumption dispenses with the necessity to suppose a complete rearrangement of a Vulgata MS in order to make it follow the order of the Gāthās of the Jaina-recension. This MS was apparently thoroughly revised by comparing it to one or perhaps more Vulgata MSS. On this point there are basically two possibilities. The first one is that R was compared at least twice, first with a MS like K and next with a MS like ψ. The second possibility is that R was compared only once, namely with a MS belonging to the Vulgata branch represented by γ and P. In the latter case it must have been a MS representing that branch before it became divided into γ, on the one hand, and P, on the other, as R does not have any of the innovations common to these two MSS.

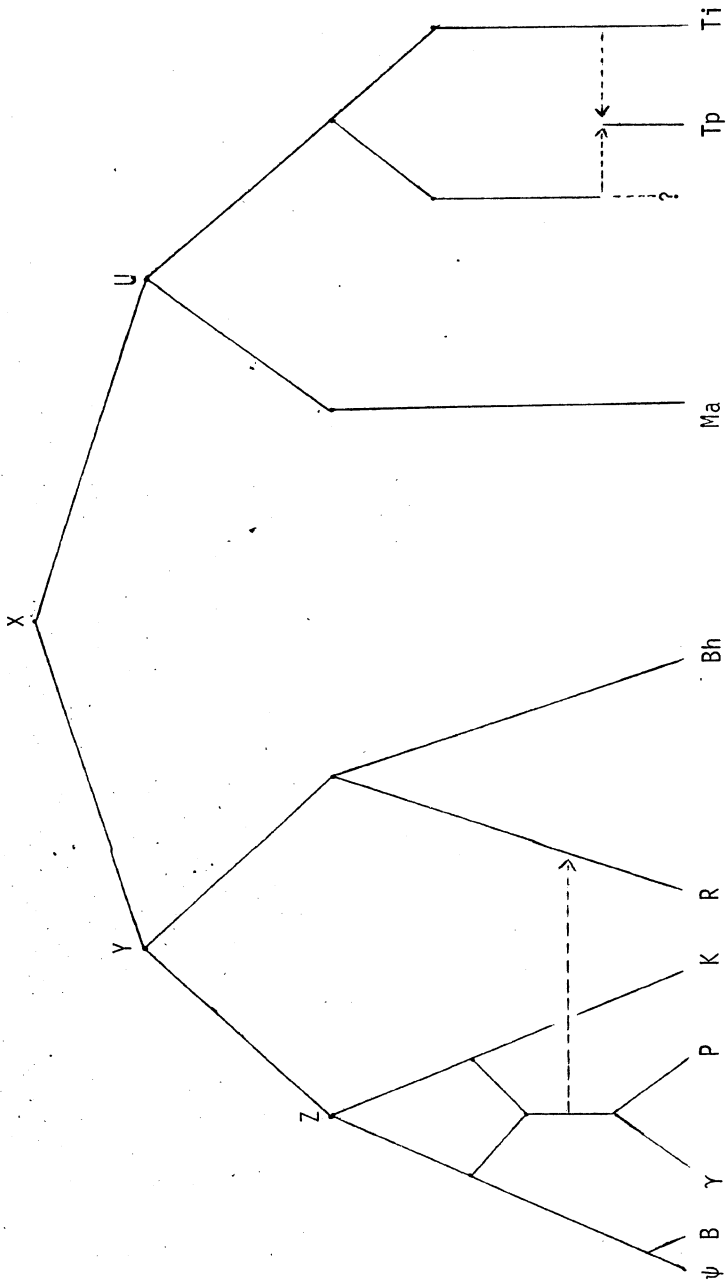


Diagram showing the relation between the MSS of the Third South-Indian, Jaina and Vulgata-recensions

CHAPTER 5

5.1 The eclectic recensions: Sādhāraṇadeva, Teliṅga and Second Teliṅga

These three recensions are eclectic in the sense that the text of each of them combines material of at least two already independently existing traditions. In the following paragraphs I shall try to ascertain which traditions were combined in each recension.

Among the three recensions the Second Teliṅga stands out as it consists of only 104 (or 102) Gāthās. Weber (Ed., p. XLII) has already suggested that it probably concerns an independent anthology here, which means that the fact that most of its Gāthās are also found in the Sattasaī would be accidental. However, as most of the Gāthās also occur in the Sattasaī it seemed interesting to try to find out from which recension or recensions of the Sattasaī they originate.

In contrast to the compilation of, for instance, the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata, the one in the Sādhāraṇadeva and Teliṅga appears to have been a very deliberate procedure. Thus, the 700 Gāthās of the Sādhāraṇadeva-recension have been arranged topicwise into altogether 60 chapters or Vrajaṣ. The extent of the Vrajaṣ varies from 74 Gāthās in the Asatī-vrajaṣ to 1 Gāthā in the Veśyā-vrajaṣ. The principle according to which the Gāthās have thus been classified varies too: in some cases it is the type of Nāyikā, as in the Virahinī-vrajaṣ, in others a specific poetical device, as in the Jāti-vrajaṣ.

The 700 Gāthās of the Teliṅga-recension are divided into seven Śatakas. They are further classified into 26 chapters, here called Paddhatis. The extent of the Paddhatis is generally not indicated in the interior of the text, but their names are mentioned, in Prākṛit, at the end of each Śataka. In two cases the Paddhati coincides with the Śataka, namely the Viraha-paddhati, which comprises the whole third Śataka, and the Praṇaya-kalaha-paddhati, which comprises the whole sixth Śataka. The other Śatakas contain each more than one Paddhati.

While the Paddhatis provide a broad division of the Gāthās according to erotic situation, poetical device, etc., within the Paddhati the Gāthās have been arranged meaningfully as well. For instance, in the

Viraha-paddhati, the whole third Śataka, several smaller groups can be distinguished. E.g. 201-213 deal with the time immediately before the actual separation. 214-223 describe the traveller; the Gāthās have been arranged according to the season: 215-217 spring, 218 summer, 219-220 rainy season and 221-222 winter. Gāthās 224-237 describe the Virahiṇī. 238-246 are, again, arranged according to the season: 238-239 spring, 240 summer and 241-246 rainy season. Gāthās 297-299 describe what the husband said to his wife on his return. In 300 after the union separation threatens again. A similar arrangement may possibly also be present in the Vrajyās of the Sādhāraṇadeva-recension, especially in the larger ones.

5.2 The Sādhāraṇadeva-recension (S)

In Weber's material this recension is represented by only one MS, namely S, dated Saṃvat 1672 (1616 A.D.), which beside the text of the Gāthās contains the Sanskrit commentary by Sādhāraṇadeva. The MS is written in Devanāgarī, but Weber (Ed., p. XLI) has suggested that it goes back to an original written in the Bengali script. This would appear from the occasional confusion between -r- and -v-, and from the exclusive occurrence of -v- in favour of -b-. He furthermore suggested that the recension itself should originate from Bengal. In support of this thesis Weber refers to the Bengali Viśvanātha (fifteenth century A.D.) who in his Sāhityadarpaṇa, verse 565, discusses a type of Kośa in terms applicable to our S-recension, for which, moreover, he mentions as an example a Muktvālī, which is the name given to the text in MS S (see Ed., p. XXXVIII).

The eclectic nature of S becomes clear from the fact that it has readings otherwise typical of the Jaina-recension (Bh and R) (see under a. below) beside those typical of the Vulgata (with or without R) (see under b. below). Furthermore, it has readings typical of practically every individual Jaina (see under c. below) and Vulgata MS (see under d. below).

In order to explain the present state of the text in MS S one has to start from a MS of the Jaina-recension. This would account for the occurrence in S of the retentions, however few, it has in common with Bh (see 4.1 b., Gāthās 49, 78 and 156). It is unlikely that these

would have entered into its text secondarily. Its dependence on a MS of the Jaina-recension becomes furthermore clear from a comparison of the texts of the respective recensions. S has 644 of its 700 Gāthās in common with the Jaina-recension (see under e. below). Subsequently S would appear to have been influenced by all the other Jaina and Vulgata MSS individually. It is, however, also possible that some of the latter MSS were, instead, influenced by the text of S. Only in a few cases can the direction of the influence be ascertained. Thus, the reading paṭ viesattho in 550 in S would indicate that S was influenced by γ, as the reading paṭ ghare ṇatthi in the latter MS can be interpreted as an 'emendation' (i.e. innovation) for paṭṇaasurāe (i.e. paṭ ṇa asurāe) in ψ. It is doubtful, though, if this conclusion may also be applied to all the other cases where S and γ agree. paviralo, for pariviralo, in 329 in both S and K would on the other hand show that K was influenced by S. It should be noted that in the Bengali script in which the source of the present MS S was written, the Akṣaras -ri- and -vi- are practically identical so that the omission of the syllable -ri- can be more easily explained in S than in K, namely as an instance of haplology.

The text of S bears clear traces of this contamination. Consider the following cases:²²

- 354 suṇṇabhamirīṇa vāhulaiāṇa + sarahasabhamirīṇa vāhulaiāṇa K (surahasa!), ψ, γ, Ma, Ti, Tp × suṇṇovāsabhamirīṇa vāhāṇa Bh, R
- 485 hīaam̐ hīaṇihīam̐ + hīaam̐ hīaṇihittam̐ Bh, R, Ma, Ti, Tp × hīaam̐ hīae ṇihīam̐ ψ, γ
- 541 paḍam̐tavāhasalilaṇivahēṇa (GṬti-metre) + paḍam̐tavāhaṇivahēṇa × Ma, Ti, Tp × vāhasalilaṇivahēṇa Bh, R, etc.
- 556 pattā ṇīam̐vappham̐sā + pattā ṇīam̐bappham̐sam̐ Ma, Ti, Tp × pattā ṇīam̐vappham̐sā ψ, γ, R, °m̐va(p?)pham̐sā Bh

S has furthermore a number of innovations exclusively in common with the Teliṅga-recension (T). There are reasons to assume that T was influenced by S, and not the other way around. This problem will be discussed in the next paragraph (5.3).

It is noteworthy that S includes practically no readings characteristic of the Third South-Indian recension. Exceptions are: 465 pasijjiri

and 616 luliakesāsu mṭliacchṭsu (order). See also 541 paḍaṃtavāhasalila-ṇivahēṇa and 556 pattā ṇiaṃvappaṃsā mentioned above. As some of these instances possibly are retentions it may be that S was, among others, also influenced by a MS of the Jaina-recension the text of which was in certain respects more authentic than that of either Bh or R.

a.

Readings in S typical of Bh and R:

9 mā ruasū, 136 hoi dāṇarahiassa, 142 dukkhasokkha, 212 acchariaṃ, 223 uvvahai vahū jaha jaha, 224 alaṃ me, 238 vikkei, 314 mauiṃ, 327 vadḍheṃti S, R, vaṭṭaṃti Bh, 393 chippai, 400 rūsaī ccia, 416 ajj(h)ā, 432 ṇa ṇiruddho, 444 mauiṃ S, R, Bh^b, muṇḍalaṃ Bh^b, 465 vahūṇa sokkhāṇa S, R, aṇṇāṇa vi suhāṇa Bh, 517 visaṃvad(/y)āṃtaṃ, 524 de dāuṃ S, je dāuṃ Bh, je dāraṃ R, 579 aṇṇaṇaṭṭsu, 583 bhāhi S, R, hohi Bh, 586 siharammi, 691 gavvio (Bh not available).

b.

Readings in S typical of the Vulgata MSS, with or without R:

S includes nearly all the innovations found in K, ψ, B, γ, P and R (against the retentions in Bh, Ma, Ti and Tp) enumerated in 4.1 b. and nearly all the innovations characteristic of the Vulgata enumerated in 4.1 c. To these may be added the following readings which S shares exclusively with ψ and γ, where K and P are not available:

409 ekko paṇḥaai thaṇo vṭo pulaei ṇahamuhāviddho, 438 atiujjuā S, aiujjuā ψ, aiajjuā γ, 466 de suaṇu, 474 visāo S, vesi(/a)ṇṭo ψ, γ, 483 tammai hiaammi (locative) (cf. T), 501 vicchāṃ, 512 ahaaṃ, 520 jo maṃ aiā(a)reṇa, 589 taṃvira, 595 addaṃsaṇo, 614 esa guṇo, 680 vaṇṇalohitae (cf. R vaṇṇalohillo), 683 mā eam vvia S, mā etti ccia ψ, mā ettiṃ bia γ.

c.

Readings in S typical of Bh:

212 so taṃ, 217 jaṃ mittāṃ vasaṇadesa(k)ālammi, 529 paṇḍo bhua-siharaṃ.

Readings in S typical of R:

196 pari(t)uṭṭhā, 586 vialā (cf. Bh viullā), 621 bhamai, parimalai, mu(m̃c)ai.

d.

Readings in S typical of the Vulgata MSS:

S shares a number of the innovations characteristic of ψ , B, γ and P (against retentions in K) enumerated in 4.5 a.:

127 vi ṇiṇḍo, 153 phālijjam̃tammi, hiaammi, 180 sāmalijjai, 187 paḍhamuggaa, 206 kuḍḍalihiāi, 213 rahasujjalacum̃vaṇaṃ, 218 paḍhamuggaa, 219 asakkhaṃ, 236 ghaḍiāiṃ.

S goes with K in 20, 84, 106, 111, 187 (a), 209, 217 and 293.

Readings in S typical of K:

185 saṃsitto, 186 sisirāi(ṃ), 214 aisocharā S, aisuira K (cira-āla), 220 diṇṇatarala, 228 suhaa jaṃ ca, 238 mammurasachahe, 285 vialu°, samatthā.

Readings in S typical of ψ :

152 aṇuṇehi, 360 oṇaāi, phalahīe (singular), 409 āviddho S, āliddho ψ , 441 vijjhā haṃ S, haṃ vijjā ψ .

Readings in S typical of γ:

15 paḍhamuggaa, 307 gaṇaṇāhi(ñ), 323 laggañ, 450 suhaa, 487 ṇa dei
siviṇe vi, 550 paṭ viesattho S, paṭ ghare ṇatthi γ, 611 va goṭṭhañ.

Readings in S typical of P:

105 kaiā vi S, karai mia P, 116 dhaṇummi ṇisaṇṇā S, dṇummi ṇisaṇṇā P,
155 ṇa āṇaṃtī.

Readings in S typical of γ and P:

122 (duppariallañ) ṇei araṇṇaṃ (cf. T), 132 kiñ ṇu S, γ, kiñ ṇaṃ P.

Readings in S typical of ψ and B:

45 aipavasiesu diahesu (cf. T).

e.

The numbers in this section are those of S (see Ed., pp. 433-449). A comparison between the Sādhāraṇadeva-recension and MS R of the Jaina-recension shows that the former includes practically all the Gāthās of the latter. Of the 56 Gāthās not occurring in R, 11 are found exclusively in S: 50 (Ed. 800), 69 (801), 105 (802), 150 (804), 223 (805), 365 (806), 404 (807), 446 (808), 681 (812), 699 (813) and 700 (814). 10 are found exclusively in the Vulgata (with χ, unless indicated): 4, 5, 71, 74, 131, 133, 313, 409 (-χ), 508 and 658; 4 in the Vulgata (with χ) and T: 447, 586, 573 and 646; 20 in the Vulgata, Ma, Ti and Tp, and T: 51, 98, 107, 172, 207, 247, 265, 275 (also W), 358 (also W), 366, 368, 471 (also W), 482, 507 (also W), 509, 514 (also W), 582, 637, 688 (also W) and 698 (all also in χ, except 688; for 582 χ is not available); 3 in the Vulgata and Ma, Ti and Tp: 263, 583 and 635 (all also in χ; for 583 χ is not available); 3 in Ma, Ti and Tp and T: 148, 444 and 501 (also in χ and W); 2 Gāthās are found exclusively in χ: 291 and 512 (?); 1 in T: 411; 1 in γ, P and T: 590; and 1 in γ and χ: 667.

A comparison of S with the Vulgata yields a practically identical

result, S sharing 636 of its 700 Gāthās with the Vulgata. Of the 64 Gāthās not found in the Vulgata, 11 are exclusively found in S (see above). 13 are found in R: 24, 26, 44, 46, 49, 82, 260 (also Ma, Ti and Tp), 266, 433 (id.), 570 (id.), 627, 688 and 691; 2 in χ: 291 and 512 (?); 6 in R and χ: 27, 213, 258, 386, 505 and 521; 4 in T (and Ma, Ti and Tp): 148 (Ma, Ti, Tp), 411, 444 (id.) and 501 (id.; also in χ and W); 14 in R and T (and Ma, Ti and Tp): 23 (Ma, Ti, Tp), 25 (id.), 45 (id.), 48 (id.), 50 (id.), 190 (id.), 321, 380 (id.), 412, 432 (id.), 497 (id.), 506 (id.), 557 (id.) and 563; 9 in R, χ and T (and Ma, Ti and Tp): 28 (Ma, Ti, Tp), 29 (id.), 149 (id.), 224 (id.), 271 (id.; also W), 524 (id.), 626 and 692; 1 in γ and χ: 667; 1 in γ, P and T: 590; Gāthā 65 occurs in all the MSS minus ψ (K and P not available), Gāthā 169 in all minus γ (K and P not available), and Gāthā 191 in all minus γ and χ (K and P not available).

Above (4.2) it has been shown that the text of the Third South-Indian recension was compiled through a process of selection from the text of the archetype. Traces of the order of the archetype, as preserved in the Vulgata, on the one hand, and in the Jaina-recension, on the other, can still clearly be seen in the Third South-Indian recension. In the same way in S occasionally sequences of Gāthās -- whether interrupted by others or not -- of the Jaina-recension or the Vulgata can be recognized, however, without a clear pattern emerging. Though, considering the thorough process of arrangement visible in S this should not be surprising.

5.3 The Teliṅga-recension (T)

In Weber's material the Teliṅga-recension is represented by several MSS. The Prākṛit text is based on a collation of three MSS, one written in the Telugu script (T^a), the other two in Grantha (Weber's T^e but here labelled T^b to avoid confusion with T^c). The text is accompanied by an anonymous commentary.

In the Teliṅga-recension the tradition of the Third South-Indian recension has been combined with those of the Sādhāraṇadeva-recension, the Vulgata and MS R of the Jaina-recension. Its dependence on the Third South-Indian recension becomes clear in the first place from the fact that T has many readings otherwise exclusively found in the latter recen-

sion (see under a. below) and in the second place from a comparison of the respective texts. It appears, among other things, that T has 101 Gāthās exclusively in common with the Third South-Indian recension (see under b. below). T agrees with the Third South-Indian recension in that it, too, has certain forms which point to an original written in Jaina Nāgarī (see under c. below).

T has a relatively large number of readings exclusively in common with S (see under d. below). Besides, it has a few readings in common with the Vulgata and with some individual Vulgata MSS (see under e. below). In this connection it should be noted that T also shares a number of readings with the Vulgata together with S (see under f. below). Finally, T shares a number of readings with R; and with R together with the Vulgata MSS and S (see under g. below). That T was influenced by these respective traditions and not the other way around would appear from the absence in either S, the Vulgata or R of any of those readings typical of T and the Third South-Indian recension. In this connection it may be noted that during my visits of manuscripts libraries in India I did not come across any North-Indian Devanāgarī MS of the Teliṅga-recension or, for that matter, of the Third South-Indian and Second Teliṅga-recensions, while in Trivandrum I was shown a South-Indian MS of the Vulgata with Gaṅgādhara's commentary. This evidence should, however, not be stretched so far as to mean that there never were MSS of the South-Indian recensions in North-India. Furthermore, the manuscripts libraries contain only the top of the iceberg of the available MSS in India.

Above (4.3) it has already been shown that Tp of the Third South-Indian recension was influenced by T.

a.

T has many of the retentions of the Third South-Indian recension against innovations found in the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata, enumerated in 4.1. Besides, it has many readings otherwise exclusively found in the Third South-Indian recension. E.g.

2 pāṇa, kaha te, 104 ciae, 127 ummatthaāi, halāo (cf. W), 154 kuṇejjāsu, 156 bahumaggaṇimmiāiṃ vesāvilaṇṇa pemmaiṃ, 175 golāṇai-kacchakuḍuṃga, 177 kalaṃbā, 204 ṇivvuijjae, addāṇa va paḍibimbaṃ (order), 250 appiaṃ, 253 dummuhao, 255 ṇivvuiāṃ, 257 haliasuā, 259 ṇaḍiṃ, 268 sahāvasaralaṃ pi thaṇajuaṃ paḍiaṃ, 284 maṇaṃ, 291 ḍim̐bham aṇulaṃ(/g)girī, 305 dukkheṇa, 335 jaggassu (Ma, Tp jaggāsu), 354 tuṇṇikkaparunṇeṇaṃ pi ajja māṇaṃsiṇimuheṇa, 358 hiaammi, 377 ṇīi, 389 uvvea(ṃ)roirīe, 390 māṇassa, 393 kiṃ tattio, 405 kamalā-haṇa jaṃ viasasi, 409 ekkaṃ passasai thaṇaṃ bīaṃ pulauggameṇa phuriamuhaṃ, 429 agghia, 441 jammaṃtarāi vi saāṃ calaṇaṃ, 497 jā maā sā maā, 516 piavirahe, 521 paṭṭajualaṃ, 523 tue, 546 vedhā(1)la, 549 maddaṇa, 559 maulaṃtacchāi, 573 ajj(h)ā, 586 vilolā, 589 kāṇṇa, 590 sikkhaṃ, 593 savvo, 598 majjhaṃ paṭ kuaṇḍa(ṃ), savattī a (hemistiches reversed), 607 ḍhakkesu, 643 darapikkakavitthagāṃdhaloheṇa, 647 samahiaṃ T (samihiaṃ Ma, sumahiaṃ Tp), 649 vipphurai, daieṇa (cf. W), 651 jāi (cf. W), 653 dīsaṃtadiṭṭhisuhao, ullāveṃtasuisuho, 658 āsāvattīe, 660 vahai, 677 pasāṇaṃ (T paṣaṇaṃ), 685 muhalo, 689 aṇṇaṃ gāmaṃ pattā, 724 ukkhippei, 747 dhavaliaṃ ti kāṇṇa, 756 aghaḍia, 779 so matthae paḍai.

b.

The numbers in this section refer to the Teliṅga-recension, for which, see Ed., pp. 450-501. Of the 700 Gāthās of the Teliṅga-recension 28 are exclusively found in this recension (221 also in χ) and 14 only here and in W (660 also in χ). Of the remaining 658 exactly 101 are otherwise only found in the Third South-Indian recension; some of these also occur in W. Of the remaining 557, 424 occur in all recensions, i.e. the Vulgata, in which χ has been included here, in the Third South-Indian recension, in R of the Jaina-recension and in S. Of the remaining 133, 35 are found in all except the Third South-Indian recension, 22 in all except R, 16 in all except S and 18 in all except the Vulgata. 3 are found only in the Third South-Indian recension and R, 3 in the Third South-Indian recension and S, 8 only in the Vulgata and R, 4 in the Vulgata and S, 8 in the Vulgata and the Third South-Indian recension; 6 only in the Vulgata, 1 in R (and χ), 6 in R and S, 1 in γ , P and S, and 1 in γ (and W).

c.

There is evidence in T which points to a source written in Jaina Nāgarī; see maṃtu for maṃṇu in 683, 938 and 941.

T^a which is written in the Telugu script shows numerous traces of having been copied from an original in Grantha. E.g. -i- for -u- in 297 haṇiim ((b)haṇium), 298 dijjai (dijjau), bhaṇiim (bhaṇium), 445 pāisa (pāusa), 454 ukkhuviiim (ukkhivium), 484 valiim (valium), 685 jāmaissa (jāmaussa), viṇei (viṇei), 759 rāmei (rāmeu); -ḍ- for -s- or -s- for -ḍ-: 70 pāuḍa (T^b pāuḍū), 538 id. (T^b pāulo), 578 id., 526 paedaṃ (paesaṃ), 392 kuḍuṃbi (kusuṃbhi), 546 kuḍuṃbha (T^b kusuṃbha) and 388 paṃsuria (paṃduria); -h- for -bh-: 4 hisiṇṭ (bhisiṇṭ), hāṇa (bhāṇa); and -g- for -bh-: 546 garillṭo (bharillṭo) and 722 garaeṇa (bharaeṇa).

d.

Readings T has exclusively in common with S:

146 avahṭri(a), 164 sukhaṃ T, sokkhaṃ S, 216 tujjha, 254 sutto T, saio S, 277 tṭe ciraṃ ruṇṇaṃ (cf. P), 297 eṇaṃ, 345 dūmesi, 350 saṃ cia, 363 sahaṇijjo, 371 kiṃ taṃ ṇa, 383 khuḥā (T^a), 419 lajjāluṇṭ vi vahū, 444 pāvai ṭsi vi T, ṭsi vi pāvai S, bhasala, 487 se hiaṃ, 514 kulavahūṇaṃ, 527 gao ccia, 531 tattha, 542 hiaammi, 546 mettṭo, 565 vaṇṇehiṃ, 573 diṭṭhīṇaṃ, 586 uppakkha T, puṃkhaṃ S (-kh-!), 647 ṇeii T, ṇaai S, 745 pasāmaṇeṇa, 756 bolaṃte.

e.

Readings T has exclusively in common with the Vulgata:

451 osarasu, 484 tṭe valium, 524 (-)vahuvalaha, 566 pikka.

Readings T has in common with some individual Vulgata MSS:

with K: 235 samaaṃ c(h)ia kiṃ vihiṇā, viṇimmiviā, 265 dese.

with γ: 643 ālehaladduaṃ.

f.

Readings T has in common with (K), ψ, γ, (P) (Vulgata) and S:

142 pariaḍḍhāṇa, 205 pāsāsaṃkṭ kāā ṇecchai, 278 sovāṇavaṃtṭe,
310 mottūṇa, 316 kiṃ teṇa siṇeho, 319 muhāhi, 361 ahmārisṭhi,
365 mammaraaṃ, 380 sappurisa, 388 samudduttaraṃta, 444 maaraṃda-
pāṇalohilla, 497 vārei maṃ (cf. Tp).

Readings T has in common with S and some of the Vulgata MSS:

S and K: 177 (kalaṃbā) jaṃ maṃ taha ṇa T, S, jam at taha ṇaṃ K,
354 māṇaṃsiṇi, 356 amha.

S and ψ and B: 45 (s)aiposiesu diahesu.

S and γ and P: 122 (dukkhāllaṃ) ṇei araṇṇaṃ.

g.

Readings T has exclusively in common with R:

243 jāṇaṃtassa vi, 268 hiae ko ṇāma, 291 pālāṃta, 297 paiṇo
turiaṃ, 543 edaṃ T^a, etaṃ T^b, eyaṃ R, 559 likka, 589 avirala,
620 ekko mao T, ekkamao R, 669 mā pahia, sejjāe.

Readings T has in common with (K), ψ, γ, (P) (Vulgata), R and S:

90 khamijjaṃti, 136 hoṃtṭ, 152 lohillaṃ, aigahiagarua, 153
paḍihāi, 163 jivijjai, 170 palotṭaṃta, 188 pautthamāṇaṃ, 198
jaṃpamāṇā, 290 viṭṭho, 320 vi ṇa tahā, 353 vi ṇa tahā (R vi ṇā
taha), 368 thaṇaalasuppellāṇa, 463 kuṇai kṭsa, 575 āṇaṃdiāli.

5.4 The Second Teliṅga-recension (W)

In Weber's material the so-called Second Teliṅga-recension is represented by two MSS, the one written in Grantha (W), the other in the Telugu script (V). The former contains the text of the Gāthās accompanied by a Sanskrit commentary; the latter contains a Sanskrit Chāyā only. The beginning of W, comprising the first ten Gāthās, was illegible.

The recension is markedly different from the other known recensions in that it contains only approximately 100 Gāthās, namely 102 in W and 104 in V. The text bears various names. In W it is called Prākṛtaśṛṅgāra-śataka and in V Prākṛtaśataka. Yet another name seems to have been current. In Upadhye's edition of this recension it bears the title Sapta-śatisāra.²³ In this latter edition the commentary, which probably is the same as the one found in W, is attributed to a certain Vema Bhūpāla. This Vema Bhūpāla has been identified with a Reddi king of that name who ruled from 1403 to 1420 at Kondavidu in Andhra (Krishnamachariar, 1970: 479; Sriramamurti, 1972: 68-69).

As already said above (5.1), Weber suggested that the Second Teliṅga-recension is possibly an independent anthology, having been compiled independently of the recensions of the Sattasaṭ. This would, among other things, appear from the fact that the compiler apparently had no intention to create a 'sevenhundred'. The best proof for the assumption that the Second Teliṅga-recension originated independently of the other known recensions of the Sattasaṭ, would be to be able to show that there was another source from which the compiler drew the Gāthās. In this connection it should be noted that a considerable number of Gāthās (17) are also among those Weber collected from the Alaṁkāraśāstras (see Abh., p. 202 ff.; collectively labelled 'A' here) (7, 15, 19, 39, 66, 68, 76, 83, 85, 87, 93, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102) and some even exclusively so (68, 93, 99, 101). In some instances the readings agree more closely to the latter. E.g. 875 aṇaddamāṇa W and A (+Sanskrit; aṇollamāṇa T), 860 dūṇā W, dūṇiā A (+Sanskrit; dūmiā T), 939 ṇimiliaaṁ W, miliaṁ A (ṇimīaṁ T), 951 kaccī a W, kattī a A (kattō T).

From whatever source or sources the compiler of the Second Teliṅga-recension drew the Gāthās, most of these also occur in the available recensions of the Sattasaṭ. A relatively large number of them otherwise

occur exclusively in the Teliṅga-recension, some of which are found in the Third South-Indian recension as well (see under a. below). The readings generally agree closely with those of the two other South-Indian recensions (see under b. below). Occasionally though it has readings typical of the other recensions (see under c. below). The text of W shows clear traces of contamination, for which consider the following examples:

33 uṇṇa viṇisasaṃto as in Ma, Tp and T(?) beside kīsa hma paraṃ-muḥīe sayañaddhe as in all the other MSS

237 sahiaasahTañapasaria as in Ti, Tp and T beside karajuala as in ψ and γ

688 vaccasu as in Ma, Ti, Tp and T beside imāṇa as in ψ, γ and S.

a.

In this section the longer form, with 104 Gāthās, of the Second Teliṅga-recension is considered (see Ed., pp. 502-508). Of the 104 Gāthās 11 are found exclusively in the Second Teliṅga-recension: 41, 67, 68, 89, 93, 94, 99, 101, 103 and 104. 14 Gāthās otherwise occur only in T: 3, 17, 19, 39, 66, 76, 81 (also in χ), 82 (also in the South-Indian Vulgata MSS γ and P), 83, 85, 87, 96, 98 and 102. It shares 7 Gāthās exclusively with T and Ma, Ti and Tp: 4, 8, 14, 29, 56, 77, 78. The remaining Gāthās are found in all the other recensions or MSS.

b.

Readings common to W and T:

33 peṭṭhaṃ, 91 pasāeṃti, 167 bhaṇa kaha ajja vi dhammia, 149 tassa saāsaṃ ghaṇaṃdhaāre tti, 335 bahula, 372 diṇṇo sīsammi saha juāṇe-hiṃ, 583 dhaṇia(ṃ) uvagūhia mae, 655 ṇavarāaratta, kaaloo, gammiasavvaria, 664 aṇumaṇṇai jaha jāraṃ, 669 attā atta ṇamajjai, 938 taṇṇāo (Ma, Tp taṇṇāi).

Readings common to W and the Third South-Indian recension:

33 uṇṇa viṇisasaṃto, 190 devaullaam, amha, 237 sahiaasahTañapa-

pasaria, 254 olaṃbae vasaiṃ, 335 ṇa amusajjāmo, 649 paripucchiā ṇa jaṃpai.

Readings common to W, T and the Third South-Indian recension:

42 dharaṃ, 127 ummattaāi, haḷāo, 499 katto khemaṃ katto, mattaovari (compare khujjaṃjao with kuvvajjao in Ma), 649 vipphurai, daieṇa, 651 jāi, 688 vaccasu.

c.

Readings in W not found in the two other South-Indian recensions:

33 kṭsa hma paraṃmuhṭe sayañaddhe K, ψ, B, γ, P, S, 85 ṇikkaiaveṇa jāṇaṃ gao si kā ṇivvuṭ tāṇaṃ Vulgata, R, S, 173 raia ψ 175 goṭṭaḍa-viaḍakuḍuṃga Vulgata, S (Gāthā missing in Bh and R), 476 ciāsaam (←viḍāamaṃ Bh, R, γ; transposition of the Akṣaras -ḍā- and -ā-, and -s- for -ḍ- (Grantha!)), ettha abhāvāe...kaha ṇu kāappā Vulgata, Jaina, S (Ma, Ti, Tp: kaha ṇu abhāvāe...ettha kāavvaṃ; Gāthā missing in T), 550 paṭ vi aṇṇatto γ, S, 554 eddahamettaṃ(/g) gāme ψ, γ, 688 imāṇa ψ, γ, S (Gāthā missing in Bh and R).

CHAPTER 6

6.1 Concluding remarks

One of the results of the above study is the conclusion that all the available MSS ultimately go back to a single MS. While the text (readings) of this MS appears in many respects to be most faithfully preserved in the Third South-Indian recension, the order of the Gāthās is in the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata. The remaining three recensions were compiled by selecting Gāthās from the former three and thus suppose their prior existence. This conclusion is of considerable importance for the history of the genre. The Sattasaī is generally considered the oldest anthology (Kośa) of the classical period (Sternbach, 1974: 10). In all later Kośas the verses are divided into sections on the basis of categories developed in the Alaṅkāraśāstras and in the Nāyikābheda-literature. A similar arrangement is also found in the Sādhāraṇadeva and Teliṅga-recensions, which, however, have been shown to be relatively late revisions of the text. However, in its original form, as represented by the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata, which is probably older than any of the other known Kośas, the order of the Gāthās appears to be random.

In these two recensions occasionally two or more Gāthās are connected by a similar content, idea or motif. Thus, Gāthā *6 and *7 refer to two different trees, the kurabaka and the aśoka, which blossom only after having been embraced and kicked by a young woman respectively. *13 and *14 describe a newly-married wife's clumsiness in the kitchen; and in *41 and *42 a woman who does not want to hurt the feelings of her husband and her neighbour respectively. However, no overall organization on the basis of content is visible. In fact, the Gāthās seem to follow each other associatively, in which the occurrence of identical words seems to have played an important role. Thus, it appears that consecutive Gāthās or larger sequences of Gāthās are linked together through the occurrence of identical words (Tieken, 1978). A similar type of concatenation has also been recognized by Bloomfield (1899: 39) in Vedic literature, while Schubring (1955) has demonstrated its existence in classical Kāvya.

Another conclusion which follows directly from the above study concerns the problem of the authenticity of the tradition which ascribes the Gāthās to individual authors. The occurrence of the names is restricted to MSS P (Vulgata) and Bh (Jaina), while a few names are also found in the beginning of MS K (Vulgata).

The earliest reference to the Sattasaṭ is probably the one found in the thirteenth verse of the introduction to Bāṇa's Harṣacarita (seventh century A.D.) (see Ed., p. XI). In so far as the names found could be identified they belong to persons living before Bāṇa. Thus, a significantly large number of names refers to kings; note those ending in -rāja, -adhipa and -senā. Some of these have been identified by Mirashi (1947) as kings of the South-Indian Śātavāhana-Āndhrabhr̥tya, Vākāṭaka and Rāṣṭrakūṭa-dynasties respectively. The latest datable name appeared to be that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Māna or Mānāṅka (420-455 A.D.). The only positively post-Bāṇa author is Vākpatirāja, if he is indeed the same as the author of the Gauḍavaho. Vākpatirāja lived between approximately 715 and 750 A.D. The name Vākpatirāja is, however, restricted to MS Bh, MS P having a different name.

On the other hand, there is no evidence for the presence of the names in any stage of the transmission of the Sattasaṭ earlier than the Vulgata. This appears from the following comparison between the names occurring in the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata.

In P the names, occurring in Sanskrit and in the genitive, are available up to the middle of the second Śataka, i.e. only as far as Pītāmbara's commentary is available (see Ed., pp. LIII-LV). The names are found after the Gāthās. In Bh practically each Gāthā is provided with a name, in Sanskrit and in the genitive (see ISt., pp. 9-16). They are found before the Gāthā (ISt., p. 17).

Whereas P and Bh generally agree on the names they differ in the attribution of a particular Gāthā to a particular author. It appears that in Bh the names have shifted one -- sometimes more than one -- Gāthā forward. This is most probably the result of connecting the name with the Gāthā which follows instead of with the one that precedes. That P and not Bh has retained the correct ascriptions becomes clear from those names which were created after some incidence described in the Gāthā. E.g. Kālasāra, 'Black antelope', found in Bh with 24 (Ed. 26)

should belong to 23 (Ed. 25).

In 4.2 I have shown that the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata go back to one source. Each is characterized by changes of its own in the order of the Gāthās. Below I will consider two instances where the flow of the text was thus interrupted.

In Bh the nickname Pavana, 'Wind', is found with 521 (Ed. 498). This name more likely belongs to 450 (Ed. 497), i.e. the Gāthā which precedes in the Vulgata, than to 520 (Ed. 627), the Gāthā which precedes in the Jaina-recension. It looks as though the names found in Bh were borrowed from a Vulgata MS. It is also possible to maintain that when the order of the archetype, which is preserved in the Vulgata here (see Appendix III, 454, 337 and 412), came to be changed in the Jaina-recension, the name which originally belonged to the preceding Gāthā was taken along with the following Gāthā to the new position in the text. This latter explanation does, however, not hold in the case of Sthirasāha, 'Strong branch', found in Bh with 99 (Ed. 168). This name should belong to 367 (Ed. 167), the Gāthā which precedes in the Vulgata, rather than to 98 (Ed. 96). From Appendix III (117) it appears that in this case it is the Vulgata in which the original order is disturbed, while it is preserved in the Jaina-recension. It follows that the names of the authors found in Bh were indeed borrowed from a MS of the Vulgata.²⁴

This also means that there is no evidence for the presence of the names in any stage of the transmission of the text prior to that of the Vulgata. This latter conclusion should, however, be treated with caution. In this connection it is to be noted that the names were, or were considered as, part of the commentary. Thus, in P they are available only as far as Pītāmbara's commentary is; in ψ and γ , which contain only the text, they are completely absent despite their final Gāthā which specifically says that the Gāthās are accompanied by the names of their authors (see Ed., Gāthā 709). Furthermore, they were not considered an essential part of the text, as appears from the fact that in K they are given only for the first few Gāthās. Therefore the absence of the names in the Third South-Indian recension, on the one hand, and in the Jaina-recension, on the other, cannot be taken as absolute proof that they were absent in the archetype as well.

If despite these uncertainties the names were indeed added to the

text only in the Vulgata, the question arises what may have motivated this addition. Above we have seen that in the Sādhāraṇadeva and Teliṅga-recensions the Gāthās are arranged topicwise, as is the case in most other texts of the genre. This revision of the original text most probably took place in an attempt to imitate those other Kośas.²⁵ Only a few of these Sanskrit Kośas are original works. Most of them are mere compilations of verses from works of different authors, in which case often with each verse the name of its author is given. The addition of the names to the Gāthās of the Sattasaṭ may be explained as the result of an attempt to copy yet another feature of the Sanskrit Kośas.

Notes to the stemma

1

The Gāthāsaptasatī of Sātavāhana. With the Commentary of Gaṅgādharaḥṭṭa,
ed. by Durgāprasād and Kāśīnātha Paṇḍurang Parab, Kāvyamālā 21, Bombay,
1889.

2

Saptaśatīsāra with Bhāvadīpikā of Vema Bhūpāla, along with the Chappāṇ-
naya-Gāhāo (text and chāyā), ed. by A. N. Upadhye, Shivaji University
Sanskrit and Prakrit Series Vol. III, Kolhapur, 1970.

3

E.g. Hindī Gāthāsaptasatī, ed. by Narmadeśvara Caturvedī, Vidyābhavana
Saṁskṛta Granthamālā 55, Benares, 1961.

4

E.g. Hindī Gāthāsaptasatī, ed. by Jagannātha Pāṭhaka, Kaśi Sanskrit
Series 192, Benares, 1969.

5

Weber's Abh. has been extensively reviewed by G. Garrez in JA., 1872,
pp. 197-202. In 1872 Weber published in ZDMG 15, pp. 735-45, a short
article called 'Ueber das Saptaśatakam des Hāla'. It mainly served
to announce the discovery of some new MSS, which were edited later in
his 'Retractatio' (see below).

6

I use here the siglum T^b for Weber's T^e in order to avoid confusion with
T^c. I use C for Weber's G as he does himself in his edition of 1881.

7

For the first 365 Gāthās of the Ed. the variants of the MSS edited
earlier in respectively the Abh. and the Retr. have to be gleaned from
these two publications themselves. This can be done only by a round-
about way, for the variants given in the Retr. refer back to the text

of the Abh., which occasionally differs from that in the Ed.

8

Bhuvanapāla is apparently otherwise called Tribhuvanapāla. Another MS containing the text of the Sattasaī accompanied by the commentary by Tribhuvanapāla is no. 76 of the Kaiser Library in Kathmandu, Nepal. The MS, consisting of 230 palmleaf folios, is written in the Old Newari script. It is at the same time the oldest datable MS of the Sattasaī, dated 341 N.S., i.e. 1221 A.D. Tribhuvanapāla is the father of a certain Ājaḍa, another commentator on the Sattasaī. A commentary by Ājaḍa is found in MS 385 of 1887-1891 in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Poona. A short description of the MS is given by Sandesara (1972). The MS was filmed by me in the summer of 1976. It consists of a bundle of altogether 48 folios not forming a consecutive text but being a collection of parts of what once was a complete MS. The text is a specimen of the Jaina-recension. After Gāthā 200 the following particulars regarding text and commentary are given:

iti mahāpi(!)ṁḍitaśrīḍāllaṇipṛthivīpālasutatribhuvanapālasununā
trividyena śrīmadājaḍena kṛtāyāṁ mahārājādhirājaśrīśātavāhana-
gāthakośasaptaśatīṭīkāyāṁ dvitīyāṁ śataṁ samāptaṁ.

As far as can be judged from Weber's edition of Bhuvanapāla's commentary, which consists mainly of extracts, Ājaḍa's commentary is merely a slightly shortened version of that of his father. A MS containing this commentary is mentioned in the Brhātṭipāṇikā (published in the Jaina-granthāvalī; see NCC V, p. 343 b). The Brhātṭipāṇikā is an old (Saṁvat 1440, i.e. 1383 A.D.) list of MSS in the possession of several Jaina Libraries of that time in Gujarat (Tripathī, 1977).

9

Kulanātha also wrote a commentary on the Setubandha. For particulars of this commentary, see Handiqui (1976: 96-99 et passim)

10

I have been able to locate five more MSS which may contain the text of

the Third South-Indian recension. It should, however, be noted that the catalogues and lists from which the references have been taken with one exception (see 1 below) do not quote the beginnings and ends of the texts. The conclusion regarding the recension to which the texts belong has therefore been solely based on the fact that in each MS the text is accompanied by a commentary which otherwise is exclusively found in connection with the Third South-Indian recension. Note that all the five MSS mentioned below are written in the Malayālam script. Compare Ma, Ti and Tp which are written or go back to a MS which was written in this script. It seems that the Third South-Indian recension has been preserved solely in Kerala!

1

MS no. 4762 in the University MSS Library, Trivandrum (see Alphabetical Index...(ABC 316), no. 4762, and A descriptive Catalogue...(ABC 321, 6), no. 1438). The MS was formerly owned by Mitran Avl., Cempakaśśeri illam, Kuḍamālūr, Eṭṭumānūr. It is a palmleaf MS of 213 leaves of 7 by 1 3/4 inches. The script is Malayālam. From the quotations of the beginning and end given in the last-mentioned catalogue it appears to contain the text of the Gāthās of the Third South-Indian recension together with Mādhavayajvamiśra's commentary, from 1 to 681. This MS was shown to me while I visited the library in Trivandrum. I was, however, not allowed to film it as it was feared that the MS, which was already very much broken, would deteriorate further.

2

MS no. 294 mentioned in the Lists of MSS collected by the Curator for Publication of Sanskrit MSS, Trivandrum, Vol. I, p. 30 (ABC, UC 32); described as Hālasaptaśatīttātparyaṭīkā by Mādhavayajva. The MS was formerly owned by Govindapisharodi from Kailasapuram (cf. Ti). The material is not specified; the script is Malayālam and it is said to contain 3650 Granthas.

3

MS no. 279 mentioned in the Lists of MSS collected by the Curator for Publication of Sanskrit MSS, Trivandrum, Vol. IV, p. 25 (ABC, UC 32);

described as Hālasaptaśatītātparyatīkā by Mādhavayajva. The MS was formerly owned by Mitran Namburi, Kumaranallur. The material is not specified; its script is Malayālam and it is said to contain 4200 Granthas. It lacks part of the beginning.

MSS 2 and 3 should at present be in the possession of the University MSS Library in Trivandrum but could not be located.

4

MS no. 4304 mentioned in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS in the Panjab University Library Vol II, Lahore, 1941 (ABC 145); described as Gāthā-saptaśatīvyākhyā tātparyadīpikā by Madhavayajvā. The material is palm-leaf, the script Malayālam. It consists of leaves 4 to 106, comprising the fourth and the fifth Śataka.

5

MS no. 4305 mentioned in the same catalogue as '4'; described as Gāthā-saptaśatīvyākhyā tātparyatīkā by Mādhavayajvā. The material is palmleaf, the script Malayālam. It consists of 79 leaves, said to contain altogether 678 Ślokas(?).

11

Theoretically it could be assumed that in each case the typical MIA form, e.g. ṇī, vir(/l)āo and pamhusai, is the innovation, secondarily introduced in order to give the text a more pronounced prākritic appearance. However, the distribution of the Sanskrit forms in question, namely ṇīsarai, vilīṇo and vīsarai respectively, coincides with that of the other categories of innovations mentioned on the same page, which suggests that they are innovations as well.

12

54 Without going any further into the problem of the variation of siri and sari I should like to note that commentator Bhuvanapāla (MS Bh) must have read siri (Sanskrit śrī) as well (see ISt., pp. 45-6).

196 For uṇḍaliāe or uddaliāe Mādhavayajvamiśra in his commentary gives the following explanation:

dramilair uddalir iti yā krīḍā vyapadiśyate soddalikā...utkuñcito-
bhayajānukāśīnayaḥ sa jaghanotkampam rabhasaikaikapādotśāraṇena ni-
vartanīyatvād uddalikāyāḥ puruṣāyitopabhogitvam iti mantavyam.

Prākṛit uṁdali or uddali seems to be connected with Tamil untal (pro-
nounce undal) 'to play hop-scotch' (for information regarding this mean-
ing, which is not found in any of the dictionaries, I am indebted to
my colleague Dr. A. Govindankutty).

431 taṁtassa stands for tāntasya, the genitive of the past participle
of tam-. Misunderstood, it was divided into taṁ tassa, which triggered
the innovations given. 460 In Bh this Gāthā is attributed to Dhavala
(ISt., p. 161). 487 vāheṇa...ṇa sahiam tīe, 'her tears did not allow
her...' 626 suhmaṁtaria, '(shade) interspersed (aṁtaria) with small
(suhma, Sanskrit sūkṣma) (patches of light)'.
13

96 pariaram in vaiveḍhapariaram is apparently a third synonym for 'fence'.
As such pariara, from parikṛ-, 'to surround', would be typical of MIA.
For the type of compound, see the note to Gāthā 4 in Part II.

129 asuṇṭe, 'without listening'. aṇuṇṭa is a nonsense-word.

184 aṇṇamaṇāham consists of anyamanas and aham.

315 gaapaṭam stands for gatapradīpām, but was misunderstood.

14

114 Read sirigoviāe, i.e. Rādhā. siri (Sanskrit śrī) is found in the MSS
of the Third South-Indian recension and in MS Bh.

240 aṁdhalaa consists of aṁdha and -laa, for which suffix see Pischel
§ 595.

15

For 488 Weber in his Ed. established the following text:

aṇṇāvarāhakuvio jaha taha kāleṇa gacchai pasāam
vesattaṇāvarāhe kuviam kaha tam pasāemi.

Ein wegen anderer Vergehen Erzürneter wird wohl mit der Zeit irgendwie wieder gut. Wie soll ich aber ihn wieder gewinnen, der darüber zürnt, weil ich ihm feindlich gesinnt sei?!

At first sight the text and translation seem in perfect order. No significant variants are available except for pesattanā(varāheṇa) in Bh^b, i.e. Sanskrit preṣyatva (but Bhuvanapāla dveṣyatva). In my opinion the text would in fact improve considerably by adopting the word pesattana and emending anṇā° (anya) into āṇā° (ājñā). Then, instead of saying that there is an offence consisting of showing one's animosity and that there are other offences, the speaker (a woman) would now distinguish gradations in offences of essentially the same order, namely between an occasional command (ājñā) and treating someone as a servant, the victim being her husband. I should like to propose the following translation:

Someone who is angered by being offended with a command always comes round again, even if it takes some time.
(But) how will I be able to pacify someone who is angered by being offended because he was treated as a servant?

16

In this connection a few peculiar omissions in the Jaina-recension should be mentioned, in each case Gāthās the contents of which may have been offensive to Jainas. Their absence shows the working of censorship. The following Gāthās are left out: 120, 121 and 598 which mention a hunter, 175, 669 and 688 which mention a dog (175 also 'killing'), 431 which mentions the felling of a tree, and 405 which mentions a Ṇava-kāvālīā. Note in this connection also the absence of 548 which contains a word which, among others, means 'getting erected' (viaṁbhamāṇo). In the Vulgata this same word was changed into taggaamaṇo.

17

It may be asked if these changes in both the Vulgata and the Jaina-recension, many of which appear to have come about by accident, do not at the same time indicate that the Gāthās were originally not numbered.

In any case they are not in the MSS of the Third South-Indian recension!

18

See also Gāthā 76 in which āsaṃsia in K, ψ , B, γ , P and S beside āsaṃghia in Bh (cf. āsaṃdhia in R).

19

The present MS ψ must have been compared with another MS, as appears from the many marginal additions. Occasionally mistakes are corrected: 419 vorasaṃvāḍiṃ (cf. T), ψ^2 vorasaṃghāḍiṃ, 461 ramiavva (cf. γ), ψ^2 ramiav-vaa. Other instances concern variants. In a number of cases these variants seem to have been drawn from a MS belonging to the K-version; e.g. 214 maṃda, ψ^2 suṇha (K), 289 tṭi paripucch°, ψ^2 tṭi ia pucch° (K); in other cases from a MS like γ : 46 suṇṇai, ψ^2 suvvai (γ , B), 369 phagguc-chaṇa, ψ^2 phaggucchava (γ , T). In some cases the source is not known: 474 ṇakkhāṇa kāmīṇṭo surae rehāiṃ vi gaṇaṃti.

20

The outward appearance of the text in Bh and R is practically the same. The MSS differ, however, on the following points. In R two Gāthās of Bh are missing: 282 and 551. Bh 140 is found in R as 109. In R, Bh 382 occurs twice, namely as 14 and as 386. Furthermore, in R, Bh 353 and 354 have accidentally come to be combined into one Gāthā: 358. In Bh the following Gāthās of R are missing: 2, 101, 144, 304, 315, 414, 416, 548 and 569 (569 in R in the margin). Note that several of these Gāthās, namely 101, 144, 304, 416 and 569, are not found in Ma, Ti and Tp either.

21

It is not clear how much importance should be attached to the addition of Ed. 552 (562 ψ , γ , 563 π , missing in Bh, Ma, Ti and Tp) in R in the margin after (?) 568 (Ed. 550: 560 ψ , γ , 561 π , 562 Bh, 446 Ma, Ti, Tp). It is, for instance, not clear if the addition is to be taken as a correction for an initial oversight on the part of the scribe, or whether we have to do with a marginal addition made by a later reader of the MS. Note that the Gāthā in question, like R 568, mentions a buffalo (mahisa).

22

The present copy of S has numerous marginal additions which indicate that it was compared with one or more other MSS. E.g. 61 samāpiāiṃ, S² samāpiāiṃ (cf. B), 50 jura, S² juvara (cf. Bh, R), 120 māruṇa (cf. K), S² māruhiṃ (cf. ψ, B, γ, P), 184 maṇṇusamuppāṇṇa (cf. K), S² maṇṇusamuppāṇa (cf. ψ, γ, P), and 441 a(g)ghissaṃ (cf. Bh, R, Ti, Tp), S² accissaṃ (cf. ψ, γ, T).

23

Saptaśatīśāra with Bhāvadīpikā of Vema Bhūpāla, along with the Chappan-naya-Gāhāo (text and chāyā), ed. by A. N. Upadhye, Shivaji University Sanskrit and Prakrit Series Vol. III, Kolhapur, 1970. The book has unfortunately not been available to me. See also Saptaśatīśāra, ed. by D. V. Sitaramaswamy (with Telugu translation), Andhra University, Waltair, 1951, mentioned in Sriramamurti (1972: 68).

24

Apparently only the names were borrowed, as the Jaina-recension as represented by Bh does not show traces of the influence of the Vulgata on its text.

25

As for the two recensions no certain dates are available, theoretically also the reverse may be assumed, namely that they themselves were the first Kośas thus arranged and that they set the standard to be followed in all subsequent Kośas. It is unlikely, though, that they did indeed exercise such an influence, considering the rarity and geographical limitations of the occurrence of the MSS containing these two recensions.

APPENDIX I

Concordance of the Third South-Indian recension with Weber's Ed. and his MSS.

The first column refers to the text of the Third South-Indian recension. The order of the Gāthās is basically that of Tp, the only complete MS of this recension, Ma breaking off after 474 and Ti beginning only with 197. Furthermore, the order of the Gāthās of the transcript Ma was considerably disturbed as a result of the confusion of the leaves of the original (see above, p. 23). The second column refers to Weber's Ed. The third column to the Jaina-recension as represented by R, the other Jaina MS, viz. Bh, missing the final Śataka. The next four columns refer to the vulgata MSS K, ψ, γ and P. The fifth Vulgata Ms, B, which contains only a very short fragment (1-129) is subsumed in the second column. MSS K and P are likewise fragments, containing 1-370 and 1-300 respectively. The eighth column refers to the χ-recension, the only MS of which, namely χ, misses the first and part of the second Śataka. The final three columns refer to the Telīṅga (T), Sādhāraṇadeva (S) and Second Telīṅga-recensions (W), respectively.

APPENDIX I

Concordance between the Third South-Indian recension and Weber's recensions.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
1)	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
2	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1	1
3	2	2	2	2	2	2		7	7	2
4	3	3	3	3	3	3		5	8	3
5	893							501		4
6	5	5	5	5	5	5		148	173	
7	6	6	6	6	6	6			233	
8	7	7	7	7	7	7		238	40	
9	8	8	8	8	8	8		442	487	
10	766	615						479	380	
11	9	9	9	9	9	9		455	488	
12	10	10	10	10	10	10		292	276	
13	11	11	11	11	11	11		590	322	
14	236	186	240	239	240	239	240	209	284	
15	12	12	12	13	13	12		313	427	
2)	16	14	14	14	12	12	14	388	203	
17	61	65	60	62	61	61		26	663	
18	15	15	15	17	16	15		653	611	
19	16	16	16	16	15	16		261	356	
20	13	13	13	14	14	13		389	139	
21	17	17	17	18	17	17		263	367	
22	19	19	19	20	19	19			489	
23	767	616						480	506	
24	624	619		634	633		643	692	13	
25	680	626		690	689		646	89	146	
26	42	45	42	43	43	43		30	600	26
27	683	627		693	692		659	565	410	

1) In Tp only; Ti begins only with 197.

2) In R a second time as 386; in Bh missing here; only found as 382.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
28	821							90		14
29	677	628		687	686		648	170	184	
1) 30	626	631		636	635		647	115	84	
31	605	629		615	614		662	369	97	
32	685	630		695	694			138	236	
33	693	638		704	702		607	423	500	
34	63	67	64	64	63	63			90	
35	769	640						424	23	
36	745	646					686	511	28	
37	774	647						222	29	
38	732	648					651	390	149	
39	499	661		377	377		377	266	47	64
40	636	681		646	645		622	671		
41	783	664						593	50	
42	676			686	685			459		
43	735	651					654	392	224	
44	796	689						136		
45	641	690		651	650		626	215	408	
46	692	637		703	701		606	124	147	
47	647	697		657	656			94	617	
48	653			663	662			186		
49	809							335	444	
50										
51	649	699		659	658			100	320	82
2) 52	651	704		661	660			184		32
53	652	701		662	661			185		
54	49	53	49	50	49	49		437	57	22
55	20	20	20	21	20	20		140	174	
56	564	613		574	574				87	
57	21	21	21	22	21	21		488	175	23
58	270	222	273	273	274	273	272	594	312	

1) Occurs a second time as 411.

2) In Ma after 55.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
59	24	24	24	25	24	24		632	530	
60	25	25	25	26	25	25		205	176	
61	117	132	120	119	122	120			60	
62	22	22	22	23	22	22		649	649	
63	26	26	26	27	26	26			324	
64	27	27	27	28	27	27		529	325	
65	28	28	28	29	28	28		173	490	
66	29	29	29	30	29	29		272	368	
67	30	30	30	31	30	30			543	
68	725	611					610		502	
69	188	31	191	190	192	198		589	326	
70	194	32	197	196	198			322	420	
71	31	33	31	32	31	32			653	
72	33	35	33	34	33	33		527	309	36
73	855							354		
74	189	36	192	191	193	199		346	410	
75	35	38	35	36	35	35		394	526	
76	36	39	36	37	36	36		404	527	
77	38	41	38	39	39	39		384	293	
78	40	43	40	41	41	41		305	437	
79	39	42	39	40	40	40			499	
80	41	44	41	42	42	42			537	
81	562	617		572	572		462	697	10	
82	828							161		
83	43	46	43	44	37	37		579	342	
84	190	47	193	192	194	200		425	343	21
85	46	50	46	47	46	46		160	336	
86	50	54	50	51	50	50		611	235	
87	53	57	53	54	53	53		39	277	
88	54	58	54	55	54	54		499	656	
89	57	61	57	58	57	57		343	429	
90	58	62		59	58	58			209	
91	59	63	58	60	59	59		395	528	
92	60	64	59	61	60	60		227	344	

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
127	700	124	112		114	112			413	
128	282	235	285	285	286	285	284	19	669	
129	110	123	113	112	115	113		440	455	
130	111	125	114	113	116	114		206	335	
131	857							356		
132	112	126	115	114	117	115		9	642	
133	118	133	121	120	123	121		497	579	
134	121		124	123	126	124			583	
135	123	136	126	125	128	126		659	613	
136	129	140	130	131	134	130	136	533	310	
137	128	141	131	130	133	131	137	217	32	
138	132		135	134	137	135	142	277	358	79
139	850							299		
140	251	200	254	254	255	254	254	29	128	
141	146	352	149	148	150	149		608	548	
142	141	347	143	143	146	144	152	234	347	
143	147	353	148	149	151	150	157	607	-	
144	149	355	151	151	153	152	159		539	
145	150	356	152	152	154	153	160	113	168	
146	155	360	156	157	158	157	165	96	607	
147	156	361	157	158	159	158	166	482	288	
148	852							317		
149	310	253	314	314	314		312	34	111	
150	159	364	160	161	162	161	169		477	90
151	160	365	161	162	163	162	170	550	201	
152	162	367	163	164	165	164	172	196	261	
153	163	368	164	165	166	165	173	562	331	
154	165	370	166	167	168	167	175		511	
155	167	372	168	169	170	169	177	448	510	42
156	164	369	165	166	167	166	174	453	578	43
157	166	371	167	168	169	168	176		491	
158										
159	186	390	189	188	190	189		693	9	
160	169	373	171	171	172	171	178	426	577	

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
161	829							171		
162	174	378	176	176	178	177	183	484	215	
163	179	380	181	181	183	182	188	634	216	
164	175		177	177	179	178	184	447	514	58
165	176	379	178	178	180	179	185		480	
166	177	154	180	179	181	180	186	273	61	
167	943							662		
168	180	381	182	182	184	183	189	420	481	
169	181	382	183	183	185	184	190	301	388	
170	182	383	184	184	186	185	191	347	425	38
171	183	384	186	185	187	187	193	172	394	
1) 172	696	388		708	705		138/696		400	
173	192	108	195	194	196	192	197	552	618	
174	193	127	196	195	197			416	456	73
2) 175	195	109	199	197	199	194	199	513	248	
176	198	147	202	200	202		202	319	435	47
177	199	148	203	201	203	202	203	340	414	
178	201	150	205	204	205	204	205	604	544	
179	202	151	206	205	206	205	206		540	
180	204	153	208	207	208	207	208	281	108	
181	206	157	210	209	210	209	210	225	451	
182	210	161	214	213	214	213	214	179	643	
183	207	158	211	210	211	210	211	111	152	
184	444	446		455	455		482	61	562	
185	938							612		56
186	223	173	228	226	227	226	227	330		
187	211	162	215	214	215	214	215	122		
188	216	166	220	219	220	219	220	567	299	
189	218	168	223	221	222	221	222	401	459	
190	219	169	224	222	223	222	223	433	31	
191	221	171	226	224	225	224	225	339	417	

1) Missing in Tp.

2) In Bh as 140.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
192	225	175	230	228	229	228	229	463	460	70
193	229	179	234	232	233	232	233		251	
194	228	178	233	231	232	231	232	436	250	
195	231	181		234	235	234	235	450	503	57
1) 196	232	182	236	235	236	235	236	492	638	
197	235	185	239	238	239	238	239	129	220	
198	240	189	244	243	244	243	244		185	
199	243	193	247	246	247	246	246	33	126	
200	246	195	250	249	250	249	249	198	253	
201	247	197	251	250	251	250	250	555	683	
202	249	206	253	252	253	252	252	477	462	35
203	486	523		497	497		540	302	381	
204	252	201	255	255	256	255	255	297	392	
205	254	203	257	257	258	257	256	405	398	48
206	914							536		
207	819							53		
208	265	217	267	268	269	268	267	17	674	
209	268	220	271	271	272	271	270	490	162	
210	271	224	274	274	275	274	273	125	136	
211	267	219	270	270	271	270	269	23	676	
212	273	226	276	276	277	276	275	211	187	
213	274	227	277	277	278	277	276	156	463	
214	276	228	278	279	280	279	277	155	249	
215	924							554		
216	460	467		471	471		495	78	597	
217	275	229	279	278	279	278	278	629	314	
218	280	233	283	283	284	283	282	543	315	
219	287	240		290	291	290	289	76	285	
220	289	277	291	292	293	292	291	646	624	
221	290	278	292	293	294	293	292	654	587	
222	291	279	293	294	295	294	293	408	120	
223	292	280	294	295	296	295	294		135	

1) Ti begins here.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
224	294	282	297	297	298	297	296		468	
225	869							397		
226	532	493		542	542		519	80	119	63
227	295	283	298	298	299	298	297		469	
228	302	245	306	306	306		304	541	316	
229	297	285	300	300	301	300	299	409	470	
230	298	242	302	302	302		300	254	651	
231	300	244	304	304	304		302	107	219	
232	304	247	308	308	308		306		286	
233	312	255	317	316	316		314	174	274	
234	313	256	318	317	317		315		465	
235	316	259	321	320	320		318	364	106	
236	849							296		
237	578	572		588	588		580	683	68	
238										
239	318	261	323	322	322		320	326	466	
240	324	267	327	328	328		326	374	67	
241	322	265		326	327		324	239	36	
242	325	268	201	329	329		327	4	631	
243	932							585		
244	328	272	334	332	334		330	337	467	
246										
247	912							532		
248	579	573					581	84	594	
249	896							505		
250	331	275	350	335	341		333	56	37	
251	326	270	329	330	330		328	295	633	
252	434	618		445	445		444	687	11	
253	931							582		
254										
255	332	286	335	336	335		334	467	472	28
256	333	110	336	337	336			154	452	75
257	334	287	337	338	337		335		473	
258	563	620		573	573			694	92	

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
259	908							525		
260	338	291	332	342	342		340	341	418	
261	340	292	342	344	344		342		114	
262	910							528		
263	341	293	343	345	345		343	197	475	
264	342	294	344	346	346		345		188	
265	359	314	363	364	364		364	372	516	
266	343	295	345	347	347		346	180	517	
267	347	300	351	352	352		351		189	
268	351	305	352	356	356		355	147	257	
269	348	301	358	353	353		352	210	295	
270	349	302	359	354	354		353	280	352	
271	354	309	355	359	359		359	571	301	
272	355	310	356	360	360		360		476	
273	360	315	364	365	365		365	375	464	
274	361	316	365	366	366		366	187	262	
275	362	317	366	367	367		367		226	
276	365	320	370	370	370		370	418	478	
277										
278	367	323		372	372		372	332	421	
1) 279	368	327		373	373		373	531	393	
280	369	344		374	374		374	468	486	
281	371	330		376	376		376	331	423	
282	373	332		379	379		378	378	396	
283	376	335		382	382		381	640	546	50
284	523	562		533	533		576	564	305	
285	377	336		383	383		382	236	357	
286	378	337		384	384		383	323	440	
287	706	392		385	385		384	620	319	
288	707	393		386	386		385		395	51
289	714	394		387			386	119	169	17
290	715	395		388			387	574	191	
291	379	396		389	387		388	406	483	65

1) Missing in Ti and Tp.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
292	380	397		390	388		389	21	666	
293	688			699	697			44	689	61
294	381	398		391	389		390	274	359	
295	383	400		393	391		392	70	95	
296	385	402		395	393		394	327	434	
297	387	404		397	395		396	51	96	
298	388	405		398	396		397	130	401	
299	389	406		399	397		398	311	360	
300	392	411		402	400		401/373	371	121	
301	393	412		403	401		402	454	267	
302	395	414		405	404		404		89	
303	203	152	207	206	207	206	207	581	595	
304	397	415		407	406		406	268	361	
305	400	418		410	409		408	37	171	80
306	404			415	414		413	67	172	
307	407			418	417		416	175	265	
308	711	504			420		419	243	65	
309	412	419		423	423		422	270	371	
310	902							516		
311	416	424		427	427		426	422	485	12
312	417	425		428	428		427	457	520	
313	689	634		700	698		611	428	598	
314	418			429	429		428	606	275	24
315	419	426		430	430		429	321	268	
316	420	427		431	431		430	586	170	
317	421	428		432	432		431		221	
318	724	429					432	357	269	
319	425	432		436	436		436	116	165	
320	431			442	442		441	578	292	
321	433	441		444	444		443	88	609	
322	565	325		575	575		463	551	297	
323	759	564						637	557	
324	554	598		564	564		454	449	498	54
325	266	218	269	269	270	269	268	18	675	

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
326	353	308	354	358	358		358	626	300	
327	566	435		576	576		464	219	403	
328	556	600		566	566		456	697	83	
329	570	440		580	580		469	696	91	
330	572	443		582	582		471	310	384	
331	571	442		581	581		470	120	693	
332	574	156		584	584		473	181		
333	575	204	315	585	585		474	673	33	
334	438	241		449	449		476	167	231	
335	439	321		450	450		477	108	217	
336	445	447		456	456		547	615	559	
337	450	458		461	461		485	577	322	
338	779	659						598	45	
339	452	444		463	463		487	519	525	71
340	451	459		462	462		486	625	323	
341	454	461		465	465		489	71	100	
342	455	462		466	466		490	2	2	
343	457	464		468	468		492	645	492	
344	461	468		472	472		496	417	493	
1) 345	462	469		473	473		497		101	
346	469	476		480	480		504		694	91
2) 347	463	470		474	474		498	478	194	
348	472	479		483	483		507	655	532	
349	474	480		485	485		508		603	
350	475	482		486	486		510	276	373	
351	935							599		
352	476	483		487	487		511		178	69
353	691	636		702	700		605	698	17	
354	477	485		488	488		512	150	181	
355	478	486		489	489		513		241	
356	531	491		541	541		518	298	385	
357	534	496		544	544		521	308	430	

1) Ed. p.198: R 470; see, however, ISt., p.162.

2) Ed. p.199: R 469; see, however, ISt., p.162.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
358	536	498		546	546		523	279	374	
359	538	500		548	548		525	427	64	
360	541	505		551	551		528	244	72	
361										
362	539	502		549	549		526	241	63	
363										
364	543	507		553	553		530	672	42	
365	479	513		490	490		535	93	208	
366	480	514		491	491		536	650	622	
367	483	515		494	494		537	656	202	
368	485	522		496	496		539	348	387	
369	782	663						675	48	
370	484	521		495	495		538	342	436	
371	487	524		498	498		541	309	439	
1) 372	488	528		499	499		542		551	
2) 373	489	529		500	500		543	624	552	
374	492	531		503	504		545	338	441	
375	481	532		492	492		546		625	
376	482	533		493	493		344	328	488	72
377	496	455		507	508				536	
378	503	537		513	513		555	213	338	
379	504	538		514	514		556		623	
380	848							278		
381	505	539		515	515		557	105	143	
382	720	540					558	414	524	
383	506	541		516	516		559	336		31
384	507	543		517	517		560		640	
385	508	546		518	518		561	99	212	
386	509	548		519	519		562		555	
387	510	549		520	520		563	584	541	

1) In Ti and Tp after 377.

2) In Ti and Tp after 371 and, a second time, after 372 (see previous note).

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	X	T	S	w(v)
1) 388	513	552		523	523		566	382	615	
389	516	556		526	526		569	285	206	
390	517	557		527	527		570	293	289	
2) 391	518			528	528		571	494	637	
392	519	558		529	529		572	540	290	
393	521	560		531	531		574	481	525	
394	525	565		535	535		578	575	519	
395	582	566		592	592		584		218	
396	585	577		595	595		587	685	75	
397	588	580		598	598		590	315	443	
398	590	585		601	600		592	169	610	
399	592	589		603	602		594	63	566	
400	593	593		604	603		595	131	144	
401	597			608	607		629		634	
402	717	389						162	190	
403	610	517		620	619		676		495	
404	609	495		619	618		674	474	494	
405	612	544		622	621		678	345	442	
406	617	591		627	626		663	642		
407	871							400		
408	618			628	627		664	189	274	
409	619	595		629	628		597 ^b		379	
410	621	602		631	630		600	52	567	
3) 411	626	631		636	635		647	115	84	
412	627	526		637	636		615	199		
413	760	574						441	497	
414	643	692		653	652		627	54	568	
415	839							240		
416	644	693		654	653		628	92		
417	654			664	663		604	38		

1) Missing in Ma.

2) In Bh as 551.

3) In Ma and Tp also as 30.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
418	645	695		655	654		644	451		
419	656			666	665		665	152		
420	658			668	667			264		
421										
422	660			670	669		599	262		
423	661			671	670		689	572		
424	664			674	673		639	407	507	37
425	669	708		679	678		688	439		15
426	244	194	248	247	248	247	247	286	348	
427										
428	747	112						373		
429	114	129	117	116	119	117		8	245	
430	130	143	133	132	135	133	140	139	649	
431	741						681	460	501	74
432										
433	410	512		421	421		420	132	142	
434	837							233		
435	405			416	415		414	66	51	
436	408			419	418		417		263	
437	792	673						72		
438	409			420	419		418	387	207	
439	422	583		433	433		433		124	
440	423	430		434	434		434		287	
441	428	434		439	439		438	117	164	
442	834							229		
443	429			440	440		439	36	107	
444	437			448	448		447	287	366	
445	549			559	559		449	83	98	
446	550	568		560	560		450	429	513	92
447	551	571		561	561		451	595		
448	553	586		563	563		453			
449	559	606		569	569		459	678	198	
1) 450	356	311	357	361	361		361/466	289	353	

1) Missing in Ma.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
451	466	473		477	477		501	644	306	
452	468	475		479	479		503	68	162	
453	497	456		508	509		551	256	41	
454	498	527		509	510		552	200	205	
455	832							214		
456	615	582		625	624		691	57	564	
457	501	535		511	511		553	203	407	
458	502	536		512	512		554	587	376	
459	522	561		532	532		575	560	303	5
460	524	563		534	534		577	627	556	
461	577	570		587	587		579		183	
462	583	567		593	593		585	159	558	40
463	586	578		596	596		588	674	406	
464	843							258		
465	589	584		599	599		591	75	571	
466	594	592		605	604			144	255	
467	595	706		606	605		596	77	572	
468	602			612	611		632	472	509	
469	607	545		617	616		672	166	211	
470	614	581		624	623		661	79	272	
471	620	596		630	629		598	666		
472	263	215	265	266	267	266	265	69	86	
473	279	232	282	282	283	282	281	65	93	
1) 474	281	234	284	284	285	284	283	60	636	
475	283	236	286	286	287	286	285	251	340	
476	847							271		
477	309	252	313	313	313		311	559	317	
478	319	262	324	323	323		321	14	679	
479	296	284	299	299	300		298	257	354	
480	335	288	338	339	338		336	431	474	44
481	358	313	362	363	363		363	370	259	
482	803							121	148	
483	366	322		371	371		371	110	141	

1) After this Gāthā Ma breaks off.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
484	440	324		451	451		478	303	232	60
485	749	328							260	
486	845							267		
487	370	329		375	375		375	333	422	
488	152	358 ^a	153	154	155	154	162	558	318	
489	154	359	154	156	157	156	164	485	177	
490	883							461		
491	598			609	608			661		
492	884							462		
493	187	391	190	189	191	191	196	402	482	
494	386	403		396	394		395	242	370	
495	567	436		577	577		465	220	67	
496	817							24		
497										
498	830							190		
499	823							106		
500	835							230		
501	301		305	305	305		303	410	471	49
502	756	519						334	432	
503	757	520							433	
504	842							255		
505	824							109		
506	86	90	85	87	86	86		192	243	
507	859							359		
508	88	93	88	89	89	89			328	
509	99	105	1ac.	100	100	100		27	665	
510	103	115	104	105	106	104		446	453	
511	120		123	125	125	123		662	582	
512	133		136	135	138	136	143	228	369	
513	143	349	145	145	148	146	154/641	207	38	
514	145	351	147	147		148	156	87	608	
515	184	385	187	186	188	188	194		330	
516										
517	196	145		198	200	195	200	123	180	

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
518	197	146	200	199	201	196	201	403	457	
519	215	165	219	218	219	218	219	643	298	
520	220	170	225	223	224	223	224	329	415	
521	226	176	231	229	230	229	230	398	391	
522	233	183	237	236	237	236	237	491	639	
523	277	230	280	280	281	280	279	349	329	
524	305	248	309	309	309		307	284	186	
525	840							252		
526	306	249	310	310	310		308	535	308	
527	170	374	172	172	173	172	179	245	612	
528	217	167	221	220	221	220	221	25	109	
529	323	266	326	327	326		325	103	140	
530	430	223		441	441		440	294	115	
531	841							253		
532	573	111		583	583		472	101	151	
533	945							633		
534	441	326		452	452		479	260	355	
535	520	559		530	530		573	496	641	
536	858							358		
537	898							510		
538	868							385		
539	941							617		
540	915							537		
541	224	174	229	227	228	227	228	41	672	
542	124	137	127	126	129	127	133	282	282	52
543	125	138	128	127	130	128	134	158	246	
544	126	139	129	128	131	129	135	638	238	
545	142	348	144	144	147	145	153	283	130	
546	957									86
547	237	187	241	240	241	240	241	411	461	59
548	258	210	261	261	262	261	260	476	158	
549	259	212	262	262	263	262	261	658	182	
550	920							546		
551	278	231	281	281	282	281	280	127	137	

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
552	921							547		
553	415	423		426	426		425	473	484	
554	427	433		438	438		437	489	163	
555	900							514		
556	465	472		476	476		500	504	270	
557	546	510		556	556		533	362	204	
558	320	263	325	324	324		322	15	670	
559										
560	545	509		555	555		532	141	199	
561	212	163	216	215	216	215	216	134	661	
562	293	281	296	296	297	296	295	383	529	
563	307	250	311	311	311		309	226	350	
564	838							237		
565	950							651		
566	872							412		
567	891							486		
568	876							432		29
569	862							365		
570	890							483		
571	255	207	258	258	259	258	257	40	127	
572	903							517		
573										
574	825							133		
575	885							464		78
576	864							367		
1) 577										
578										
579	918							544		
580	919							545		
581	930							576		
582	923							549		
583	895							503		

1) Lacuna in both Ti and Tp.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
584	909	.	.	.	.	.	.	526	.	.
585	894							502		
586	56	60	56	57	56	56		168	606	
587										
588										
589	904							520		
590	284	237	287	287	289	287	287	20	588	
591	853							351		
592	948							641		
593	350	303	360	355	355		354	618	94	33
594	576	205		586	586		475		154	
1) 595										
1) 596										
597	873							413		
598	927							569		
599	836							232		
600	79	83	78	80	79	79			596	
601	32	34	32	33	32	31		518	533	95
602	44	48	44	45	44	44			125	
603	45	49	45	46	45	45		553	682	
604	863							366		
605	47	51	47	48	47	47		201	337	
606	52	56	52	53	52	52		151	695	20
607	907							523		
608	73	77	72	74	73	73		177	240	25
609	78	82	77	79	78	78		145	390	
610	952							690		
611	84	88	83	85	84	84		376	431	
612	91	95	90	92	91	91		352	210	34
613	98	104	lac.	99	99	98		157	229	
614	916							538		
615	122	135	125	124	127	125		664	580	

1) Lacuna in both Ti and Tp.

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
616	101	113	1ac..	103	104	102		506	346	
617	109	121	110	111	112	110			18	
618	865							377		
619	106	119	107	108	109	107		164	179	
620	119	134	122	121	124	122			585	
621	131	338	134	133	136	134	141	524	534	
622	925							556		
623	137	342	139	139	142	140	148	288	234	9
624	140	346	142	142	145	143	151	325	167	
625	139	345	141	141	144	142	150	55	593	
626	144	350	146	146	149	147	155	597	629	
627	870							399		
628	161	366	162	163	164	163	171	195	264	13
629	205	155	209	208	209	208	209	250	349	
630	148	354	150	150	152	151	158	102	214	
631	946							635		
632	153	358 ^b	155	155	156	155	163	235	364	
633	173	377	175	175	177	176	182	663	581	55
634	208	159	212	211	212	211	212	224	339	
635	209	160	213	212	213	212	213	165	197	
636	937							605		
637	213	164	217	216	217	216	217	143	155	
638	222	172	227	225	226	225	226	231	347	
639	234	184	238	237	238	237	238	126	153	
640	238	188	242	241	242	241	242	699	19	
641	926							557		
642	250	199	222	253	254	253	253	12	673	
643	256	208	259	259	260	259	258	466		
644	257	209	260	260	261	260	259	363	161	
645	260	211	263	263	264	263	262	118	159	
646	917							539		
647	269	221	272	272	273	272	271	112	156	
648	262	214		265	266	265	264	324		
649	315	258	320	319	319		317	246	66	

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
650	288	276	290	291	292	291	290	676	54	
651	136	341	138	138	141	139	147	32	602	
652	48	52	48	49	48	48		191	592	18
653	786	667						204		
654	905							521		
655	23	23	23	24	23	23		163	200	10
656	299	243	303	303	303		301	677	53	
657	906							522		
658	303	246	307	307	307		305	128	138	
659	314	257	319	318	318		316	188	256	
660										
661	317	260	322	321	321		319	368	576	
662	336	289	339	340	339		337	247	351	
663	901							515		
664	382	399		392	390		391	98	160	
665	344	296	346	348	348		347	146	604	
666	384	401		394	392		393	619	311	
667	933							591		
668	699	122	111		113	111		475	281	
669	514	553		524	524		567	396	616	
670	844							259		
671	391	410		401	399		400	82		
672	374	333		380	380		379	563	304	
673	396	420		406	405		405	216	39	
674	897							509		
675	399	417		409	408		407	218	402	
676	375	334		381	381		380	610	545	
677	772	643						700	25	
678	413	421		424	424		423	182	362	
679	432	409		443	443		442	568	648	
680	949							647		
681	569	438		579	579		468	85	575	
682	453	460		464	464		488	91	372	
683	512	551		522	522		565	636	554	

Third S-I recension	Ed.	R(Bh)	K	ψ	γ	P	χ	T	S	w(v)
684	459	466		470	470		494	386	614	
685	470	477		481	481		505	104	103	84
686	473	481		484	484		509	680	195	
687	763	597							570	
688	548			558	558		448	149	698	
689	822							97		
1) 690	530	490		540	540		517	652	621	
691	493	435		504	505		548	249	375	
692	831							212		
693	587	579		597	597		589	208	378	
2) 694	390	407		400	398		399	566	307	
695	526	449		536	536			381	531	
696										
697	743	542					684	508	271	62
698	529	489		539	539		516	648	620	
699	616	590		626	625		666	153	696	

1) Lacuna in both Ti and Tp; Gāthā has been identified with the help of the commentary.

2) Missing in Tp.

Concordance of Weber's Edition (1881) with the third South-Indian recension.

Ed		Ed		Ed		Ed	
1	2	32	601	63	34	94	-
2	3	33	72	64	-	95	114
3	4	34	-	65	93	96	115
4	-	35	75	66	97	97	118
5	6	36	76	67	-	98	613
6	7	37	-	68	-	99	509
7	8	38	77	69	-	100	120
8	9	39	79	70	94	1	616
9	11	40	78	71	98	2	-
10	12	41	80	72	99	3	510
11	13	42	26	73	608	4	121
12	15	43	83	74	102	5	122
13	20	44	602	75	101	6	619
14	16	45	603	76	-	7	123
15	18	46	85	77	-	8	124
16	19	47	605	78	609	9	617
17	21	48	652	79	600	110	129
18	-	49	54	80	106	11	130
19	22	50	86	81	104	12	132
20	55	51	95	82	-	13	-
21	57	52	606	83	107	14	429
22	62	53	87	84	611	15	-
23	655	54	88	85	108	16	-
24	59	55	96	86	506	17	61
25	60	56	586	87	111	18	133
26	63	57	89	88	508	19	620
27	64	58	90	89	110	120	511
28	65	59	91	90	112	21	134
29	66	60	92	91	612	22	615
30	67	61	17	92	-	23	135
31	71	62	-	93	113	124	542

Ed	Ed	Ed	Ed
125 . 543	159 . 150	194 . 70	228 . 194
26 544	160 151	95 175	29 193
27 105	61 628	96 517	230 . -
28 137	62 152	97 518	31 195
29 136	63 153	98 176	32 196
130 430	64 156	99 177	33 522
31 621	65 154	200 -	34 639
32 138	66 157	1 178	35 197
33 512	67 155	2 179	36 14
34 -	68 117	3 303	37 547
35 -	69 160	4 180	38 640
36 651	170 527	5 629	39 -
37 623	71 -	6 181	240 198
38 -	72 -	7 183	41 -
39 625	73 633	8 634	42 -
140 624	74 162	9 635	43 199
41 142	75 164	210 182	44 426
42 545	76 165	11 187	45 -
43 513	77 166	12 561	46 200
44 626	78 -	13 637	47 201
45 514	79 163	14 -	48 -
46 141	180 168	15 519	49 202
47 143	81 169	16 188	250 642
48 630	82 170	17 528	51 140
49 144	83 171	18 189	52 204
150 145	84 515	19 190	53 116
51 -	85 -	220 520	54 205
52 488	86 159	21 191	55 571
53 632	87 493	22 638	56 643
54 489	88 69	23 186	57 644
55 146	89 74	24 541	58 548
56 147	190 84	25 192	59 549
57 -	91 -	26 521	260 645
158 . -	92 173	227 . -	261 . -
	193 . 174		

Ed		Ed		Ed		Ed	
262	648	296	479	330	-	364	-
63	472	97	229	31	250	65	276
64	-	98	230	32	255	66	483
65	208	99	656	33	256	67	278
66	325	300	231	34	257	68	279
67	211	1	501	35	480	69	280
68	209	2	228	36	662	370	287
69	647	3	658	37	-	71	281
270	58	4	232	38	260	72	-
71	210	5	524	39	-	73	282
72	-	6	526	340	261	74	672
73	212	7	563	41	263	75	676
74	213	8	-	42	264	76	283
75	217	9	477	43	266	77	285
76	214	310	149	44	665	78	286
77	523	11	-	45	125	79	291
78	551	12	233	46	-	380	292
79	473	13	234	47	267	81	294
280	218	14	659	48	269	82	664
81	474	15	649	49	270	83	295
82	128	16	235	350	593	84	666
83	475	17	661	51	268	85	296
84	590	18	239	52	-	86	494
85	-	19	478	53	326	87	297
86	-	320	558	54	271	88	298
87	219	21	-	55	272	89	299
88	650	22	241	56	450	390	694
89	220	23	529	57	-	91	671
290	221	24	240	58	481	92	300
91	222	25	242	59	265	93	301
92	223	26	251	360	273	94	-
93	562	27	245	61	274	95	302
94	224	28	244	62	275	96	673
295	227	329	-	363	-	397	304

Ed		Ed		Ed		Ed	
398 . -		432 . 679		466 . 451		500 . -	
99 675		33 321		67 -		1 457	
400 305		34 252		68 452		2 458	
1 -		35 -		69 346		3 378	
2 -		36 -		470 685		4 379	
3 -		37 444		71 -		5 381	
4 306		38 334		72 348		6 383	
5 435		39 335		73 686		7 384	
6 -		440 484		74 349		8 385	
7 307		41 534		75 350		9 386	
8 436		42 -		76 352		510 387	
9 438		43 -		77 354		11 -	
410 433		44 184		78 355		12 683	
11 -		45 336		79 365		13 388	
12 309		46 -		480 366		14 669	
13 678		47 -		81 375		15 -	
14 -		48 -		82 376		16 389	
15 553		49 -		83 367		17 390	
16 311		450 337		84 370		18 391	
17 312		51 340		85 368		19 392	
18 314		52 339		86 203		520 535	
19 315		53 682		87 371		21 393	
420 316		54 341		88 372		22 459	
21 317		55 342		89 373		23 284	
22 439		56 -		490 -		24 460	
23 440		57 343		91 -		25 394	
24 -		58 -		92 374		26 695	
25 319		59 684		93 691		27 -	
26 -		460 216		94 -		28 -	
27 554		61 344		95 -		29 698	
28 441		62 345		96 377		530 690	
29 443		63 347		97 453		31 356	
430 530		64 -		98 454		32 226	
431 . 320		465 . 556		499 . 39		533 . -	

Ed		Ed		Ed		Ed	
534 . 357		568 . -		602 . 468		636 . 40	
35 -		69 681		3 -		37 -	
36 358		570 329		4 -		38 -	
37 -		71 331		5 31		39 -	
38 359		72 330		6 -		640 -	
39 362		73 532		7 469		41 45	
540 -		74 332		8 -		42 -	
41 360		75 333		9 404		43 414	
42 -		76 594		610 403		44 416	
43 364		77 461		11 -		45 418	
44 -		78 237		12 405		46 -	
45 560		79 248		13 -		47 47	
46 557		580 -		14 470		48 -	
47 -		81 -		15 456		49 51	
48 688		82 395		16 699		650 -	
49 445		83 462		17 406		51 52	
550 446		84 -		18 408		52 53	
51 447		85 396		19 409		53 48	
52 -		86 463		620 471		54 417	
53 448		87 693		21 410		55 -	
54 324		88 397		22 -		56 419	
55 -		89 465		23 -		57 -	
56 328		590 398		24 24		58 420	
57 -		91 -		25 -		59 -	
58 -		92 399		26 411(/30)		660 422	
59 449		93 400		27 412		61 423	
560 -		94 466		28 -		62 -	
61 -		95 467		29 -		63 -	
62 81		96 -		630 -		64 424	
63 258		97 401		31 -		65 -	
64 56		98 491		32 -		66 -	
65 322		99 -		33 -		67 -	
66 327		600 -		34 -		68 -	
567 . 495		601 . -		635 . -		669 . 425	

Ed		Ed		Ed		Ed	
670 . -		704 . -		738 . -		772 . 677	
71 -		5 -		39 -		73 . -	
72 -		6 287		740 -		74 37	
73 -		7 288		41 431		75 -	
74 -		8 -		42 -		76 -	
75 -		9 -		43 697		77 -	
76 42		710 -		44 -		78 -	
77 29		11 308		45 36		79 338	
78 -		12 -		46 -		780 -	
79 -		13 -		47 428		81 -	
680 25		14 289		48 -		82 369	
81 -		15 290		49 485		83 41	
82 -		16 -		750 -		84 -	
83 27		17 402		51 -		85 -	
84 -		18 -		52 -		86 653	
85 32		19 -		53 -		87 -	
86 -		720 382		54 -		88 -	
87 -		21 -		55 -		89 -	
88 293		22 -		56 502		790 -	
89 313		23 -		57 503		91 -	
690 -		24 318		58 -		92 437	
91 353		25 68		59 323		93 -	
92 46		26 -		760 413		94 -	
93 33		27 -		61 -		95 -	
94 -		28 -		62 -		96 44	
95 -		29 -		63 687		97 -	
96 172		730 -		64 -		98 -	
97 -		31 -		65 -		99 -	
98 -		32 38		66 10		800 -	
99 668		33 -		67 23		1 -	
700 127		34 -		68 -		2 -	
1 -		35 43		69 35		3 482	
2 -		36 -		770 -		4 -	
703 . -		737 . -		771 . -		805 . - -	

Ed		Ed		Ed		Ed	
806 . -		840 . 525		874 . -		908 . 259	
7 -		41 531		75 -		9 584	
8 -		42 504		76 568		910 262	
9 49		43 464		77 -		11 -	
810 -		44 670		78 -		12 247	
11 -		45 486		79 -		13 103	
12 -		46 -		880 -		14 206	
13 -		47 476		81 -		15 540	
14 -		48 380		82 -		16 614	
15 -		49 236		83 490		17 646	
16 -		850 139		84 492		18 579	
17 496		51 -		85 575		19 580	
18 -		52 148		86 -		920 550	
19 207		53 591		87 -		21 552	
820 -		54 100		88 -		22 -	
21 28		55 73		89 -		23 582	
22 689		56 109		890 570		24 215	
23 499		57 131		91 567		25 622	
24 505		58 536		92 -		26 641	
25 574		59 507		93 5		27 598	
26 -		860 -		94 585		28 -	
27 -		61 126		95 583		29 -	
28 82		62 569		96 249		930 581	
29 161		63 604		97 674		31 253	
830 498		64 576		98 537		32 243	
31 692		65 618		99 -		33 667	
32 455		66 -		900 555		34 -	
33 -		67 -		1 663		35 351	
34 442		68 538		2 310		36 -	
35 500		69 225		3 572		37 636	
36 599		870 627		4 589		38 185	
37 434		71 407		5 654		39 -	
38 564		72 566		6 657		940 -	
839 . 415		873 . 597		907 . 607		941 . 539	

Ed	Ed	Ed	Ed
942 . -	947 . -	952 . 610	957 . 546
43 167	48 592	53 -	58 . -
44 -	49 680	54 -	59 -
45 533	950 565	55 -	960 . -
946 . 631	951 . -	956 . -	

21

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
30	.	.	.	.	.	.	626	631
31							605	629
32							685	630
33							693	638
34	63							67
35								640
36								646
37								647
38								648
39					499			661
40							636	681
41								664
42							676	
43								651
44								689
45							641	690
46							692	637
47							647	697
48							653	
49								
50								
51							649	699
52							651	704
53							652	702
54	49							53
55	20							20
56							564	613
57	21							21
58			270					222
59	24							24
60	25							25
61		117						132
62	22							22
63	26	.	.	.	.	.	.	26

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
64	27	.	.	.	.	.	.	27
65	28							28
66	29							29
67	30							30
68								611
69		188						31
70		194						32
71	31							33
72	33							35
73								
74		189						36
75	35							38
76	36							39
77	38							41
78	40							43
79	39							42
80	41							44
81						562		617
82								
83	43							46
84		190						47
85	46							50
86	50							54
87	53							57
88	54							58
89	57							61
90	58							62
91	59							63
92	60							64
93	65							69
94	70							74
95	51							55
96	55							59
97	66	.	.	.	.	.	.	70

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
98	71	.	.	.	.	.	.	75
99	72							76
100								
1	75							79
2	74							78
3								
4	81							85
5		127						142
6	80							84
7	83							87
8	85							89
9								
110	89							91
11	87							92
12	90							94
13	93							97
14	95							99
15	96							100
16			253					202
17		168						102
18	97							103
19								
120	100							106
21		104						116
22		105						117
23		107						118
24		108						120
25				345				297
26								
27								124
28			282					235
29		110						123
130		111						125
131	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
132	.	112	.	.	.	.	.	126
33		118						133
34		121						
35		123						136
36		129						140
37		128						141
38		132						
39								
140			251					200
41		146						352
42		141						347
43		147						353
44		149						355
45		150						356
46		155						360
47		156						361
48								
47				310				253
150		159						364
51		160						365
52		162						367
53		163						368
54		165						370
55		167						372
56		164						369
57		166						371
58								
59		186						390
160		169						373
61								
62		174						378
63		179						380
64		175						
165	.	176	.	.	.	.	.	379

Third S-I recension	Vulgate (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
166	.	177	.	.	.	.	.	154
67								
68		180						381
69		181						382
170		182						383
71		183						384
72							696	388
73		192						108
74		193						127
75		195						109
76		198						147
77		199						148
78			201					150
79			202					151
180			204					153
81			206					157
82			210					161
83			207					158
84					444			446
85								
86			223					173
87			211					162
88			216					166
89			218					168
190			219					169
91			221					171
92			225					175
93			229					179
94			228					178
95			231					181
96			232					182
97			235					185
98			240					189
199	.	.	243	.	.	.	.	193

Third S-I recension	1	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)						Jaina-recension (R)
200	.	.	246	.	.	.	.	195
1			247					197
2			249					206
3					486			523
4			252					201
5			254					203
6								
7								
8			265					217
9			268					220
210			271					224
11			267					219
12			273					226
13			274					227
14			276					228
15								
16					460			467
17			275					229
18			280					233
19			287					240
220			289					277
21			290					278
22			291					279
23			292					280
24			294					282
25								
26						532		493
27			295					283
28				302				245
29			297					285
230			298					242
31			300					244
32				304				247
233	.	.	.	312	.	.	.	255

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
234	.	.	.	313	.	.	.	256
35				316				259
36								
37						578		572
38								
39				318				261
240				324				267
41				322				265
42				325				268
43								
44				328				272
45				327				271
46								
47								
48						579		573
49								
250				331				275
51				326				270
52					434			618
53								
54								
55				332				286
56				333				110
57				334				287
58						563		620
59								
260				338				291
61				340				292
62								
63				341				293
64				342				294
65				359				314
66				343				295
267	.	.	.	347	.	.	.	300

Third S-I recension	1	2	3	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)				7	Jaina-recension (R)
268	.	.	.	351	.	.	.	.	305
69				348					301
270				349					302
71				354					309
72				355					310
73				360					315
74				361					316
75				362					317
76				365					320
77									
78				367					323
79				368					327
280				369					344
81				371					330
82				373					332
83				376					335
84							523		562
85				377					336
86				378					337
87									392
88									393
89									394
290									395
91				379					396
92				380					397
93								688	
94				381					398
95				383					400
96				385					402
97				387					404
98				388					405
99				389					406
300				392					411
301	.	.	.	393	.	.	.	.	412

Third S-I recension	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Jaina-recension (R)
302	.	.	.	395	.	.	.	414
3			203					152
4				397				415
5				400				418
6					404			
7					407			
8								504
9					412			419
310								
11					416			424
12					417			425
13							689	634
14					418			
15					419			426
16					420			427
17					421			428
18								429
19					425			432
320					431			
21					433			441
22						565		325
23								564
24						554		598
25			266					218
26				353				308
27						566		435
28						556		600
29						570		440
330						572		443
31						571		442
32						574		156
33						575		204
34					438			241
335	.	.	.	.	439	.	.	321

[illegible]

[illegible]

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
404	.	.	.	.	.	.	609	495
5							612	544
6							617	591
7								
8							618	
9							619	595
410							621	602
11							626	
12							627	526
13								574
14							643	692
15								
16							644	693
17							654	
18							645	695
19							656	
420							658	
21								
22							660	
23							661	
24							664	
25							669	708
26			244					194
27								
28								112
29		114						129
430		130						143
31								
32								
33					410			512
34								
35					405			
36					408			
437	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	673

[illegible]

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
472	.	.	263	.	.	.	.	215
73			279					232
74			281					234
75			283					236
76								
77				309				252
78				319				262
79			296					284
480				335				288
81				358				313
82								
83				366				322
84					440			324
85								328
86								
87				370				329
88		152						358
89		154						359
490								
91						598		
92								
93		187						391
94				386				403
95						567		436
96								
97								
98								190
99								106
500								230
1				301				
2								519
3								520
4								
505	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
506	86	.	.	.	.	.	.	90
7								
8	88							93
9	99							105
510		103						115
11		120						
12		133						
13		143						349
14		145						351
15		184						385
16								
17		196						145
18		197						146
19			215					165
520			220					170
21			226					176
22			233					183
23			277					230
24				305				248
25								
26				306				249
27		170						374
28			217					167
29				323				266
530					430			223
31								
32						573		111
33								
34					441			326
35						520		559
36								
37								
38								
539	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
540	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
41			224					174
42		124						137
43		125						138
44		126						139
45		142						348
46								
47			237					187
48			258					210
49			259					212
550								
51			278					231
52								
53					415			423
54					427			433
55								
56					465			472
57						546		510
58				320				263
59								
560						545		509
61			212					163
62			293					281
63				307				250
64								
65								
66								
67								
68								
69								
570								
71			255					207
72								
573	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
574	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
75								
76								
77								
78								
79								
580								
81								
82								
83								
84								
85								
86	56							60
87								
88								
89								
590			284					237
91								
92								
93				350				303
94						576		205
95								
96								
97								
98								
99								
600	79							83
1	32							34
2	44							48
3	45							49
4								
5	47							51
6	52							56
607	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.

Third S-I recension	Vulgata (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
608	73	.	.	.	.	.	.	77
9	78							82
610								
11	84							88
12	91							95
13	98							104
14								
15		122						135
16		101						113
17		109						121
18								
19		106						119
620		119						134
21		131						338
22								
23		137						342
24		140						346
25		139						345
26		144						350
27								
28		161						366
29			205					155
630		148						354
31								
32		153						358 ^b
33		173						377
34			208					159
35			209					160
36								
37			213					164
38			222					172
39			234					184
640			238					188
641	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	

Third S-I recension	Vulgate (Gaṅgādhara-version)							Jaina-recension (R)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
642	.	..	. 250 .	.	.	.	.	199
43			256					208
44			257					209
45			260					211
46								
47			269					221
48			262					214
49				315				258
650			288					276
51		136						341
52	48							52
53								667
54								
55	23							23
56			299					243
57								
58				303				246
59				314				257
660								
61				317				260
62				336				289
63								
64				382				399
65				344				296
66				384				401
67								
68							699	122
69						514		553
670								
71				391				410
72				374				333
73				396				420
74								
675	.	.	.	. 399 .	.	.	.	417

PART II

CHAPTER 1

1.1 The nature of the text

The Sattasaī is a compilation of 700 (saptaśata) Gāthās, or Āryā-verses, in Prākṛit. Their content is erotic, depicting, for instance, lovers' attempts to meet, various ways of sexual intercourse, unfaithfulness, lovers' quarrels and their reconciliation. The situations in the majority of the Gāthās are set in the country-side, descriptions of city and court-life being conspicuously absent.¹ The people depicted are those inhabiting the country-side such as farmers, hunters, tribals and war-leaders charged with the protection of the villages. The Gāthās are monologues, mostly spoken by, or describing, these peoples' women.² The compilation of the text is traditionally attributed to a certain king, named Hāla, to whom I shall return later. This and the fact that the Gāthās are composed in a language which, but for its Middle Indic appearance, is basically a form of Sanskrit, and in a style which is highly literary or Kāvya-like, suggests that the text was intended for a cultured audience of 'connoisseurs'. This conclusion, which is amply borne out by internal evidence, for which see below, raises the question what interest this audience could have had in a text which basically describes life and in particular love and sex in an environment so completely different from that of their own. Most scholars in fact seem to recognize in the Gāthās a kind of romantic attitude on the part of the poets and the audience towards life in the country-side. Thus, according to Weber the text was the product of 'feingebildeter, wo nicht überfeinter, Dichter aus der Stadt, die ihrerseits das Landleben, wie die Poesie der Natur, die Liebe speciell, verherrlichen' (Ed., p. X). Keith maintains that 'the prevailing tone is gentle and pleasing, describing simple loves set among simple scenes, fostered by the seasons, for even winter brings lovers together, just as a rain-storm drives them to shelter with each other' (Keith, 1928: 223). Compare, finally, Warder according to whom the life in the villages depicted in the Gāthās 'was full of hardships, but not without compensating pleasures, especially those of love' (Warder, 1974: 182). As I will show below these views are widely off the mark. For instance, the people in the villages are almost throughout depicted

as simpletons and misfits, especially where sexual matters are concerned, while the tone is in fact far from gentle, but rather superior and patronizing. In order to clarify this some of the situations found in the Gāthās will be considered more closely below. This should at the same time give a clearer picture of the circumstances, ideals and ambitions of the audience for whom the text was evidently intended.

1.2 The situations

A recurrent theme in the situations of the Gāthās is the foolishness of the people depicted. Thus, the Pulindas, tribals living in the Vindhya-mountains, mistake dark rain-clouds for elephants (116).³ Frequent references occur to the pāmara, a poor farmer.⁴ In 238 he barter his cloak for an ox because he is fooled into thinking that his wife's dark breasts, which remind him of heaps of smouldering ashes, will keep him warm during the winter. His stupidity furthermore consists of acquiring an ox when the ploughing-season is still far off. In fact his foolishness is almost proverbial. Compare Gāthā 643:

kamalaṃ muam̐ta mahuara darapikkakavitthagam̐dhaloheṇa
ālekkhalad̐d̐uam̐ pā- maro vva chiviūṇa jāṇihisi.⁵

Bee, if you abandon the lotus for the kapittha, attracted by the fragrance of their as yet half-ripe fruits, you will soon find out (your mistake) after you have touched them, like a pāmara touching a sweetmeat in a painting.

The halia or 'ploughman' is equally foolish. Compare Gāthā 360:

ajjaṃ mohaṇasud̐hiam̐ maa tti mottuṃ palāie halie
daraphud̐iaven̐tabhārā- harāhi hasiam̐ va phalah̐thi.⁶

When the ploughman ran away from his genteel wife (or mistress), who had fainted from love's extasy, thinking her dead, the cotton plants seemed to laugh with the lips of their bulky fruits slightly opened.⁷

The people depicted in the Gāthās have in common that they need to work in order to make a living, which leaves them little time and energy for love. Their women suffer accordingly. A case in point is Gāthā 324:

cikkhillakhuttahalamuha- kadḡhaṇasudhie paimmi pāsutte
appattamohaṇasuhā ghaṇasamaam pāmarṭ savai.⁸

The poor farmer's wife who failed to reach her climax
as her husband had fallen asleep exhausted from drawing
the ploughshare through the thick mud, cursed the rainy-season.⁹

On this theme several variations occur. For instance, the hunter, having married recently, discovers that he is no longer able to draw his bow, weak from making love with his wife. He has to shave the bow thinner. See, for instance, Gāthā 120:

ukhippai maṇḡalimā- rueṇa gehaṇḡaṇāhi vāhīe
sohaggadhaavaḡḡā v- va uaha dhaṇurum̐parim̐cholṭ.

Look at that! From the courtyard of the hunter's house
a whirlwind throws up a line of shavings from his bow,
which looks like a banner advertising his wife's (conjugal)
happiness.

As a result the arrows will, of course, lose much of the required force. Furthermore, love has made him weak-hearted. He comes to lack ruthlessness which is necessary in order to kill. Compare Gāthā 620:

ekkallamao dīvaa- maṭe taha lālio saṇḡhāe
piajāassa jaha dhaṇum̐ paḡiam̐ vāhassa hatthāo.¹⁰

The stag wandering alone was fondled by the deer in heat,
used as a decoy, in such a way that the hunter, who had
a loving wife himself, dropped his bow.

As a result the hunter's family is threatened by poverty and starvation.

In Gāthā 951 a trader in skins has to be sent away empty-handed as skins are no longer available in the hunter's house after his marriage.

The scars on the chest of the war-leader, contracted in performing his duty of protecting the village, make him an unfit lover as his wife cannot fall asleep on account of their roughness (see Gāthā *31). In Gāthā 687 the husband's victory in a wrestling-contest indicates his lack of interest in his wife:

āṇaṁdaṁteṇa tumāṁ paṇṇo pahaṇa paḍahasaddeṇa
malli ṇa lajjasi ṇaccasi dohagge pāḍijjāṁte.

Woman, shouldn't you be ashamed instead of dancing, as
the drum beaten to celebrate the victory of your
husband in a wrestling-contest proclaims you unhappiness.¹¹

A large number of Gāthās concern the itinerant merchant (*pahia*) and his wife. They deal invariably with the husband's absence from home, actual or imminent. This is a common theme in Indian erotic poetry. In this text these Gāthās provide yet another example of the above-mentioned theme, namely of the impossibility to combine work and love. The travels of the merchant are for him a necessary means of earning a living. He is reluctant to leave his wife (see Gāthā *25). During his travels he has to undergo numerous hardships including a ruthlessly hot climate. Furthermore he misses his wife. See, for instance, Gāthā 641:

agghāi chivai cuṁvai ṭhavei hiaammi jaṇiaromaṁco
jāakavolasāric- chiāe pahio mahūapupphāṁ.¹²

The traveller smells at the madhūka-flower, touches it,
kisses it and presses it against his heart, while all the
time his hair stands on end because of its resemblance to
his wife's cheek.

The majority of Gāthās concerned depict the fate of his wife and especially her utter unhappiness during his absence from home. Not all details need be treated here. One example (670) should suffice:

pariosasuṃdarāiṃ suraesu lahaṃti jāi sokkhāi
tāiṃ cia uṇa virāhe khāuggiṇṇāi kīraṃti.

The pleasures of love-making, which gave so much satisfaction, are during his absence turned into stale memories.

Other Gāthās deal with farmers, notably gahavais and halias. The gahavai or 'lord of the house' seems to be a member of the landed gentry.¹³ The halia or 'ploughman' is apparently a small farmer who like a share-cropper partly makes a living by hiring out his labour. Despite the obvious differences in their social positions, they are seen to exchange brides. The gahavai gives his daughter in marriage to the halia, thus placing the girl in a very difficult position as appears from, for instance, Gāthā 602:

maṇḍaṃ pi ṇa āṇai hali- aṇaṇḍaṇo iha hi ḍaḍḍhagāmaṃmi
gahavaisuā vivajjai avejjae kassa sāhāmo.

The ploughman does not understand (a thing, not) even slowly (or: does not even know what illness is). His genteel wife is dying but who can we tell, for in this wretched village there is no healer for her ills.

The gahavai's daughter is complaining in Gāthā 164:

vaṇkaṃ ko pulaijjai kassa kahijjai suhaṃ va dukkhaṃ va
keṇa samaṃ va hasijjai pāmarapāure haaggāme.¹⁴

Who is there to glance at, who is there for me to talk to about my pleasures and my griefs, who is there to have fun with, in this dreary village full of yokels?

After her marriage the halia's daughter, coming from a simple family, encounters problems in her new environment. One thing she lacks is coquetry.¹⁵ In order to attract her husband's attention she behaves rather clumsily. E.g. Gāthā 107:

golāḍaḍaṭṭhiaṁ pec- chiṁṇa gahavaisuaṁ haliasoṇḥā
 āḍhattā uttarium dukkhuttārāi paavīe.

When the farmer's daughter saw her husband, the son of the householder, standing above the sloping bank of the Godāvarī, she began to clamber upwards along a (steep and) difficult path.¹⁶

The gahavai thus marries beneath his social position, while for the halia the marriage with the gahavai's daughter means a step upwards along the social ladder.¹⁷ However, the gahavai also marries his daughter to the gāmaṇī or war-leader.¹⁸ For the gāmaṇī this marriage proves a misalliance as his wife is unable to fulfill his ambitions, which consist, among other things, of having her commit Satī at his funeral. Thus, in Gāthā 407 she, however inadvertantly, spoils this ceremony by sweating and thus extinguishing the fire. It should be noted that in the context of lyrical poetry this sweating is in itself quite legitimate:

vijjhāvijjai jalaṇo gahavaidhūāi vitthaasiho vi
 aṇumaraṇaghaṇāliṁgia- piaamasuhasijjiraṁḡe.¹⁹

The gahavai's daughter extinguishes the fire, its flames already shooting up high, as she sweated from the pleasure of embracing her dearest one at the occasion of following him in death.

In this Gāthā the gāmaṇī is not specifically mentioned. In the following Gāthā (449) he is, again at his funeral which was meant as a spectacle during which all his wives were expected to commit Satī. This time the Satī-ceremony fails because the villagers among whom he is living are unable to appreciate the ceremony, having only eyes for his favourite wife:

gāmaṇiṇo savvāsu vi piāsu aṇumaraṇagahiavesāsu
 mammaccheesu vi val- lahāi uvariṁ valai diṭṭhī.

Though all the war-leader's wives are beautifully

attired for the occasion of following their husband in his death, at the most painful moment all eyes are directed towards his favourite.²⁰

Most of the other situations are common to Indian erotic poetry in general. However, they agree with those discussed above in that they likewise deal basically with the impossibility of lovers to have a satisfying relationship. Before marriage a girl is closely watched by her parents who do not allow her to go out. She peeps through the holes in the fence at the boys passing her house but experiences considerable frustration as they do not respond. If she succeeds in attracting one boy's attention and they decide to meet, they have to do so in the fields (9) or in the dense shrubbery along the river (103). All this, however, provides hardly a romantic experience. The lovers are in fact constantly worrying about the fields which will one day be harvested or about the shrubbery which will in time become less dense. The rainy season is supposedly the ideal time of the year for meeting in secret because then the nights are really dark (249). However, the paths leading to the place of meeting are slippery and dangerous in that season (231, 445).

Married life is likewise represented as full of problems. After the marriage ceremony the girl is taken by her husband to his own house where he lives with his parents, his brothers and their wives in a joint family. This living together is dictated by economic circumstances. The woman is not supposed to entertain extravagant wishes, which would put too great a strain on the resources of her husband's family. This appears to be difficult when she is pregnant and suffers from cravings for rare and expensive things (dohada) (172). The woman is expected to restrain herself in every other respect as well, thus becoming a kulavahū.

Sex itself fails to provide real pleasure. For instance, the woman soon discovers that her husband is more quickly exhausted than she is, leaving her unsatisfied (155, 413). When she wants to continue, taking the initiative (viparītasurata), she merely annoys her husband (see *23).

A considerable number of Gāthās deal with the husband's unfaithfulness which in the first place causes great grief to his wife. She takes revenge by sulking (māna), causing, in turn, considerable frustration

to her husband, who in the end is forced to throw himself at her feet in an attempt to propitiate her.

1.3 The audience

It will be clear that the picture given of the life in the country-side is far from flattering. The text would thus most likely have been intended for people who were not themselves depicted in the Gāthās and who, intelligent and living in completely opposite, i.e. better circumstances, could afford to have an interest in the situations described.²¹ This audience must have belonged to the cultured and refined leisure-class living in the cities and towns, which brings to mind the so-called Nāgaraka as described in Kāmasūtra I 4. The audience must also have included kings, as the ideal warrior, which appears from the descriptions of the gāmanī. For, these seem to have been intended for a more successful member of the warrior-class, namely one who has no problems in having performed the proper rituals and who, furthermore, has established peace, thus having time and energy for things other than waging war, namely love and, as the existence of this text serves to show, enjoying literature.

It is evident that the text served in the first place to amuse the audience, which raises the question as to what the humour consisted of. It would seem that it was in any case based on a certain measure of contempt for the people living in the country-side.²² The main purpose of the text, though, would seem to have been that of providing an outlet for the audience's own frustrations, presumably caused by the painful but inevitable clash of their ideals and ambitions with the realities of life. The text may have acquired this function in that it projects the audience's problems onto a completely different world with different people and different customs. In this way these very problems could become objects for amusement. Whatever the precise nature of the perception of the text may have been, it contains numerous specimen of often crude humour, which is otherwise extremely rare in Indian erotic poetry. An instance of this humour may be found in Gāthā 324, quoted above (p. 145), where the farmer's exhaustion which makes him unable to satisfy his wife's desires is attributed, of all things, to his having dragged the plough through thick wet mud. Another example may be

found in Gāthā 360 (see above, p. 144) where the farmer is surrounded by slightly opened cotton-fruits which seem to refer to the state of his mistress from whom he is trying to run away.

1.4 The compiler

As already mentioned above the compilation of the Sattasaī is attributed to a certain king, called Hāla.²³ This Hāla is traditionally identified with a Sātavāhana king of that name, who is supposed to have ruled for a brief period in the beginning of the first century A.D.²⁴ Compare verse 13 of the introduction of Bāṇa's Harṣacarita, which seems to contain the earliest reference to the Sattasaī (seventh century A.D.):

avināśīnam agrāmyam akarot sātavāhanaḥ (v.l. śāli°)
viśuddhajātibhiḥ kośaṁ ratnair iva subhāṣitaiḥ.

Sātavāhana made an immortal and refined Kośa with
Subhāṣitas consisting of pure characterizations, as
if it were a treasury filled with the purest pearls.

It is commonly assumed that Bāṇa refers to the Sattasaī here. This assumption finds support in his use of the word agrāmya, which with reference to the Sattasaī acquires a double meaning, referring to the subject-matter of the text, which is village-life (grāma), on the one hand, and to the result, which is a Kośa for the cultured city-man (agrāmya), on the other.

The ascription of the compilation of the text to a Sātavāhana is supported by internal evidence. For instance, the Gāthās describe precisely the realm of this dynasty, namely the area roughly coinciding with the present state of Maharashtra. Thus, they often refer to the Vindhya-mountains (70, 115, 116, 117, etc.) and to the rivers Narmadā (549, 760) and Godāvarī (58, 103, 107).²⁵ The Sātavāhanas are indeed traditionally represented as patrons of Prākṛit literature.²⁶ It is on the other hand also possible that this tradition was in fact based on their association with the Sattasaī. In this connection it is interesting to note that several of the names of the 'authors' which in some MSS are found with

the individual Gāthās belong to kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty and their successors, the Vākātakas and subsequently the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. There are reasons to assume that the names were added to the text in a relatively late stage in its transmission (see above, p. 76 ff.). Their presence does, however, show the persistence of the traditional association of the text with Maharashtra kings.

1.5 The language of the Gāthās

The Sattasaī is generally assumed to be the earliest text showing the use of a Middle Indic or Prākṛit dialect for purely literary purposes.²⁷ This particular dialect later became known as Māhārāṣṭrī.²⁸ Initially Māhārāṣṭrī was closely connected with the erotic-lyrical genre to which the Sattasaī belongs. Thus, it is found in the dramas, in which those characters who otherwise speak Śaurasenī Prākṛit, used Māhārāṣṭrī for their verses. These verses concern mainly descriptions of nature and its effects on the characters' moods. The practice of using such Māhārāṣṭrī verses was begun by Kālidāsa. The fact that verses in Māhārāṣṭrī were absent from the earliest dramas by Aśvaghoṣa suggests that they are indeed innovations in the work of Kālidāsa.²⁹ Subsequently, however, Māhārāṣṭrī developed into just another literary language beside Sanskrit; it came to be used in epic Kāvya (e.g. Setubandha and Gauḍavaho), while the Jains used a mixture of Māhārāṣṭrī and Ardha-Māgadhī for their stories.

In this connection it may be asked what determined the use of a Prākṛit dialect for literary purposes in the first place. In the case of the Sattasaī its use is mostly taken for granted, the text having been compiled, if not composed, by a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, which for their inscriptions and coins used a Middle Indic dialect rather than Sanskrit.³⁰ However, the fact that the Sātavāhanas used a Middle Indic dialect for administrative purposes does not mean that they were ignorant of Sanskrit or that they would not have had the possibility of choice between Sanskrit and Prākṛit.³¹ Presumably they merely did not consider the use of Sanskrit for administrative purposes.³²

I would therefore like to put forward the following alternative and in many respects speculative explanation. Above it has been argued

that the Gāthās were intended for the amusement of a rich and cultured audience. The humour was at the cost of the simple and somewhat foolish people inhabiting the villages of Maharashtra. The Gāthās themselves are mainly monologues spoken by these villagers. In this connection the use of a Prākṛit dialect may well have been determined by the intention to give their words a rustic and local flavour. This explanation presupposes pride in the knowledge of Sanskrit on the part of the audience as well as of the authors.³³ The above view seems at least partly to be supported by the way Prākṛit dialects were used in the dramas, providing an indication of the character's status being lower than that of one speaking Sanskrit.

Notes to Chapter 1

1

It goes without saying that this observation is based only on the Gāthās that can positively be traced back to the MS of the archetype, i.e. those that are found in the Third South-Indian recension, on the one hand, and the Jaina-recension and/or the Vulgata, on the other. Nevertheless there is a small number of Gāthās, which can be traced back to the archetype as well, that appear to be exceptional, namely those which mention prostitutes and thus seem to describe life in the city (e.g. *21, 156 and 474). However, their number is so small that they need not affect the argument.

2

Exceptionally a Gāthā contains a dialogue, as, for instance, in 384, 676 and 950.

3

This example and the following contain instances of the so-called Bhrāntimadalaṃkāra. Other instances of this figure of speech are found in 531, 532 and 640.

4

The word pāmara literally means 'having a skin-disease (pāman)'. In Gāthā 331 the man is indeed scratching his head.

5

Pāda b as found in Ti, Tp and T. For ālekkhaladḍuam Ti and Tp have ālekkhe ujja (unmetrical); compare ālokhkaṃ ujjaya in R and ālekkhaṃ ujjua in ψ and S. Perhaps the text should read ālekkhe ujjam, in which ujjam represents Sanskrit urjām 'refreshment'.

6

The reading is based on Ma, Ti and Tp. °bhārāharāhi consists of bhāra and adhara.

7

For ajjā 'genteel woman', from Sanskrit aryā, see Thieme (1938: 99-100).
For the halia being married to a woman of a higher social position, see below.

8

sudhie as found in Ma, Ti, Tp, Bh and R.

9

Note that the rainy season is otherwise associated precisely with conjugal happiness. Yet another point in the Gāthā is the stupidity of the woman. Though she curses the rainy season it is, with the harvesting season, the only time of the year when her husband has ample work and consequently enjoys income.

10

The text is based on Ma, Ti, Tp, Bh, R and T.

11

This Gāthā is absent in the Third South-Indian recension.

12

sāricchiāe as found in Ma and Tp.

13

See Fick, 1897: 164.

14

The text is based on Ma and Tp.

15

This applies to the simple villagers in general. Note the complaint in the preceding Gāthā: vaṁkaṁ ko pulaijjai...pāmarapaure haaggāme.

16

The meaning of the Gāthā becomes clear only from a comparison with 193:

golāvisamoārac- chaleṇa appā urammi se mukko
 aṇuampāṇiddosaṃ teṇa vi sā gāḍham uvaṭṭhā.

Under the pretext of going down to the Godāvarī along a rough path she throws herself against his chest, and he embraces her tightly which seemed innocent as he did so (ostensibly) out of pity.

17

The gahavai gave his daughter in marriage to the halia to secure his labour during the ploughing and harvesting seasons, thus sacrificing his daughter's happiness for his need for labourers.

18

The gahavai and gāmaṇī, though obviously representing two different life-styles, would seem to be socially equal. In any case the gahavai will need the services of the gāmaṇī to protect his interests and where necessary to enforce his rights. To be certain of the services of the gāmaṇī the gahavai apparently has to establish a relation with him through marriage.

19

āliṅgia as found in Ma, Ti, Tp, T and S.

20

My interpretation of this Gāthā differs considerably from Weber's, according to whom it is the eyes of the gāmaṇī which even after his death were drawn to his vallabhā. On the other hand, the ceremony is a clear instance of potlatch. Note that the women are especially dressed up for the occasion (aṇumaraṇagahiavesāsu). Therefore diṭṭhī should rather refer to the eyes of the spectators. Their special interest in the vallabhā lies in the fact that when they want to ask a favour of the gāmaṇī they will usually address him through her as his favourite wife

21

With this assumption I disagree with, for instance, Warder who is of the opinion that the Gāthās were in the first place composed by the villagers, and by implication were meant for an audience consisting of villagers. Subsequently the Gāthās would have been copied and imitated by poets and scholars from the city (Warder, 1974: 182). In fact, the exclusive preoccupation seen in the Gāthās with the villagers' poverty and stupidity and with the awkward situations arising from these factors, make it hardly likely that the Gāthās were ever meant for their amusement. It should be noted that Warder on the same page writes that the Gāthās are 'songs of the villagers, in which their joys (sic) and sorrows are recorded'.

22

Compare Kosambi who in the introduction to the Subhāṣitaratnakōṣa (p. XLVIII) wrote that 'the new poetry...must have aroused amusement and that tinge of good-natured contempt for the hālīka, which we find even in the Sattasaī'. However, in my opinion Kosambi presents only a limited view of what the text is about.

23

See Gāthā *3. The word kaivacchala (kavivatsala) would indicate that Hāla is a king.

24

The name Hāla figures in the Purāṇas in the lists of the Āndhrabhr̥tya kings, for which see Pargiter (1913: 35-43). The Purāṇas call the Sātavāhanas Āndhrabhr̥tyas, referring to the time when their realm beside Maharashtra included Andhra as well (see Gairola, 1956: 161-2). The dates of Hāla are computed on the basis of the Purāṇic lists. Two Sātavāhana coins have been found bearing the name Hāla (Rama Rao, 1971: 37).

25

Other rivers mentioned are the Yamunā, the Tāpī and the Muralā, but in Gāthās which are restricted to the North-Indian (Yamunā in 671,

Tāpī in 239) or the South-Indian branch of MSS (Muralā in 876).

26

Lévi, 1902: 111-2.

27

See, for instance, Keith (1928: 30): '...the second century A.D., in which century Māhārāṣṭrī lyric began its career, made known in the anthology of Hāla'. Earlier literature in a Middle Indic language is invariably of a religious nature, either Buddhist or Jain. Occasionally these religions produced 'literary' literature as well. See, for instance, the Thera and Therī-Gāthās, from which, however, religious ideals are never completely absent. On the fusion of religious or ascetic tendencies and the erotic in the Thera and Therī-Gāthās, see Liénhard (1975).

28

The name Māhārāṣṭrī turns up only relatively late. It does not occur in the probably oldest description of the dialect in Vararuci's Prākṛta-prakāśa, but is mentioned only in chapter 12 of that grammar (Sūtra 32: śeṣaṁ māhārāṣṭrīvat), which is almost certainly a later addition (Nitti-Dolci, 1938: 19).

29

Keith (1928: 30) writes: 'Of the Prākṛits Māhārāṣṭrī held pre-eminence by its use in the dramas, whence it was introduced by Kālidāsa from lyric poetry' (by which he refers to the type of poetry as found in the Sattasaī). The influence of the Sattasaī on the works of Kālidāsa has been the subject of an extensive study by G. L. Hart III, The Poems of Ancient Tamil. Their Milieu and their Sanskrit Counterparts, Berkeley, 1975.

30

For the Sātavāhanas exclusively using Prākṛit for their official documents, see, among other, Lévi (1902: 110)

31

In this connection a legend has been preserved which seems to have an

historical basis. It is told that the Kātantra grammar of Sanskrit was composed for the benefit of a Sātavāhana king who knew only Prākṛit and had difficulties in conversing with his wife who spoke Sanskrit. Lévi (1902: 112) argues that this legend could actually refer to king Vāsiṣṭhīputra, who was married to a daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. His wife composed the only Sātavāhana inscription in Sanskrit whereas all the other inscriptions of this dynasty are exclusively in Prākṛit.

32

In any case, as pointed out by Lévi (1902: 112) the language of the Sātavāhana inscriptions is, but for its Middle Indic phonology, extremely close to Sanskrit: 'Les scribes qui rédigeaient en prākṛit les panegyriques royaux...n'avaient à faire qu'un effort insignifiant pour tourner la louange en sanscrit; ils effleurent le sanscrit de si près qu'ils semblent s'en garder plutôt que d'y prétendre.'

33

In whatever way one looks at Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit it is fundamentally a form of Sanskrit, differing from it almost only in pronunciation. Contrast Apabhraṃśa, which represents a thorough breach with Sanskrit, having an entirely different morphology. In the Sattasaī the local, i.e. Maharashtrian, element is mainly present in the vocabulary. Garrez (1872: 203-7) has shown that the Gāthās contain several words which are typical of Marāṭhī only. Some of the words collected by him appear much more widely distributed in NIA than he supposed. E.g. bhaṇa-, for the NIA derivatives of which, see Turner, CDIAL 9383. Its use in the Gāthās is, however, indeed foreign to Sanskrit. Garrez was correct on, for instance, dāve- 'to show' (CDIAL 6276) and ruṃda 'large, broad' (10781). To these words may be added saajjhia 'neighbour' (see Gāthā *39), Marāṭhī sejī 'female neighbour' and sejār 'neighbourhood' (13077); acchabhalla 'bear' (Gāthā 109; see also the note to Gāthā *4), Marāṭhī āsvaī, āsvil, āsol 'id', and Koṅkaṇī āsvel (f.) 'id' (2446); and tuppa 'ghee' (also found in AMg. + M.), Marāṭhī and Gujarātī tūp 'id' and Marāṭhī tupaṭ 'oily' (5864) (possibly a loanword from kannada; see DED 2685. Turner, loc. cit., suggests that Prākṛit tuppa goes back to RV trpra 'hasty?').

CHAPTER 2

2. 1 Method of reconstruction

In the edition (Gāthās 1-50) I have attempted to reconstruct a text as closely to the original as the available MSS allow. The arguments used in the reconstruction are basically derived from the stemma. The MSS, which ultimately go back to one single MS, the archetype, are divided into two branches, consisting of the Third South-Indian recension, on the one hand, and the Jaina and Vulgata-recensions, on the other. Another result of the stemma is the conclusion that the order of the Gāthās is most faithfully preserved in the latter two recensions. However, each of the two is characterized by certain transpositions of larger as well as smaller sequences of Gāthās of the text of the archetype. This text can only be established again by identifying these sequences and restoring them to their original positions. In doing so the Third South-Indian recension plays an important role as its text was based on a selection from that of the archetype. Traces of the order of the Gāthās of the archetype can still be clearly perceived. However, such a reconstruction can only be partly successful. For example, in the Vulgata a group of Gāthās somewhere after 433 was apparently displaced and transferred to the sixth Śataka (see the point opposite 321 in Appendix III. Note that the order in the Jaina-recension is considerably disturbed as well). It is impossible, though, to determine whether the part of the text which was displaced began immediately with 434 or only with 435. A suitable principle for dealing with such uncertainties remains to be found.

In the part of the text edited here no serious problems in reconstructing the original order of the Gāthās occur. The differences between the Jaina and Vulgata-recensions consist only of some transpositions of individual Gāthās in the Vulgata. Thus, Gāthās *31, *32, *36 and *47, which in the Jaina-recension (R) occur as 31, 32, 36 and 47, are in the Vulgata (G) found as 188, 194, 189 and 190 respectively. Their occurrence in the Third South-Indian recension as 69, 70, 74 and 84 respectively shows that their position in the Vulgata at the end of the second Śataka is the result of some independent development in that recension.

A different matter is the question which Gāthās belonged to the text

of the archetype and which represent later additions. Only those which occur in the Third South-Indian recension, on the one hand, and in the Jaina-recension and/or the Vulgata, on the other, can positively be traced back to the archetype. One way of editing the text is by first giving only the Gāthās which are clearly authentic, with the remaining Gāthās following in appendices arranged according to the position in the stemma of the MS or MSS in which the Gāthās occur. The basic text would then probably contain not more than approximately 500 Gāthās. The alternative, which I have opted for here, is to take one complete text which is close to that of the archetype as the basis, in this case a combination of the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata. This text will include Gāthās of which the authenticity is doubtful. Some of these may possibly go back to the archetype. In the part edited here altogether four Gāthās are missing in the Third South-Indian recension. It is almost certain that one of these, viz. *4, originally formed part of the text of the Third South-Indian recension and consequently of that of the archetype (see the note given there). It is equally certain that Gāthā *40 is a later addition to the text in the North-Indian branch. This follows from the occurrence of a relatively modern word, bhamāḍaṇa, which is otherwise found only in Apabhraṃśa. This argument will turn up again in connection with 77 (absent in Ma, Ti, Tp and T (and W)) which contains the Apabhraṃśa verb ṇaḍa- 'to nag', and with 92 (absent in Ma, Ti and Tp (and W); but found in T) which contains the word phalaḍiā (see Bh^a phala-dayā), a formation, like bhamāḍaṇa, typical of Apabhraṃśa. The status of the two remaining Gāthās, *18 (absent in all the South-Indian recensions) and *37 (absent in Ma, Ti and Tp (and W); but found in T), remains unclear.

As already noted earlier, for the text of each individual Gāthā often numerous variants are available. The elimination of variants, involved in reconstructing the text of the archetype, is generally settled with reference to the stemma. Thus, the text almost automatically contains that which Ma, Ti and Tp have in common with Bh and R and/or with the Vulgata MSS. Not infrequently two different, but stemmatically equivalent, variants are available. In such cases the basic argument in the elimination is that of the lectio difficilior.

Occasionally, however, matters may be more complicated. Certain pro-

blems or ambiguities of the Prākṛit text may have been solved identically in the different branches. A case in point is found in *26, with kuṇaṁti ccia...jāṇaṁtī in Ma and Tp, and R and γ. From the point of view of the stemma this reading should have been adopted in the present text. A closer look, however, shows that probably it is only an 'emendation' introduced independently in the two branches, for kuṇaṁta ccia...jāṇaṁto found in Bh. Another case in point concerns the variation between e and de or te, the personal pronoun of the third person plural and the enclitic forms of the personal pronoun of the second person singular. The variant e is usually restricted to only one or two MSS (see the note on Gāthā *15). Only once, namely in 683 is it found in practically all the MSS. However, this instance differs from the others in that the word e was misunderstood. In mā e maṇṇuṁ, e was combined with mā to form māe, the vocative of māā 'mother'. As such it apparently escaped 'emendation' into clearer de or te. It follows that in all instances e is a retention. A similar situation exists with regard to the variant i beside vi. The former occurs each time only in one or two MSS, the other MSS having vi (see the note on *17). Only in 149, in jīviasesā i, is it found in practically all the MSS but, again, presumably because it escaped 'emendation' into vi, being misunderstood as the case ending of the instrumental of jīviasesā, i.e. jīviasesāi.

Moreover, certain changes in the text may have taken place more or less unconsciously in all the branches independently. A case in point is the corruption of ruvvau (MS Bh) in Gāthā *10 into ruvvasu (Ma, Tp, R, etc.).

In all stages of the transmission the text appears to have been influenced in one way or another by Sanskrit. This is apparent in the case of variants consisting of different spellings of one and the same word. Consider the variation between deara and devara as found in, for instance, *28. Whereas Tp and ψ and B have dearo, Ma and R, K, γ, P, T and S have devaro (Bh deuro). Considering their peculiar distribution the variation must have an external cause, which then most likely is Sanskrit. This means that devaro is secondary. In any case there is no positive evidence to assume the opposite tendency here, namely that the text was given a more pronounced prākṛitic appearance, as, for instance, by eliding the medial -v-. See in this connection what has been said

above about the innovations consisting of sanskritic words against retentions consisting of typical Prākṛit words (p. 29 and the note given there). A more complicated case is that of the variants chāhiṃ (a typical MIA formation) and chāāṃ (sanskritic) found in *41. The former is restricted to ψ and B only. Following the stemma we would have to adopt chāāṃ found in Ma, Tp, Bh and other MSS. However, there are reasons to assume that chāhiṃ is original, chāāṃ having been introduced secondarily as the easier form. In this particular case another external factor, namely the influence of the indigenous grammatical tradition, may have been involved. Where there are two variants which differ only in spelling it seems justified then to adopt in the text the one which deviates most from Sanskrit, irrespective of the position in the stemma of the MS in which it is found. Thus, in *29 deṇa and rao, restricted to T, are adopted instead of teṇa and ravo found in the other MSS, and in *30 ṇikkia found in K rather than ṇikkiva in the other MSS.

The same principle is applied to such instances as bhiṣiṇṭvattammi (only in S; also in γ but in its South-Indian original -v- and -p- are hardly distinguishable; beside °pattammi) in *4, pāvaḍiassa (only Bh; beside °paḍiassa) in *11, and ṇaarahara (only K; beside °ghara) in *32. Usually the original form of the initial consonant of the second member of a compound is maintained. In these compounds the rules of internal sandhi have been applied. While the above instances are restricted to one or two MSS only this is different in the case of pautthavaiā beside pautthapaiā. The latter is found only in Ma, Ti and Tp(?). It should be noted, though, that in the Malayālam script as in most other South-Indian scripts the distinction between v and p is paleographically almost insignificant. The transcription of a word with either v or p can often only be established with reference to the etymology. Other compounds showing this internal sandhi, which can be positively traced back to the MS of the archetype, are, for instance, mahilāraṇa (Ma, Bh, R, etc.; beside °jaṇa in Tp and B) in *48, Goḷāḍa in 107 and vaṇaava (Ma, Tp, Bh; beside °dava in R, K, etc.) in 117. In all these cases we probably have to do with more or less fixed compounds inherited from Sanskrit.

In this connection the following two instances may be considered in which an initial consonant is apparently lost, namely

aṁdharahiaṁ in *32 in K (for gaṁdharahiaṁ) and iccheṇa in *33 in Tp (for kiccheṇa). In both cases, though, it concerns a free-standing word. In the Note to *15 several other words have been collected which have lost their initial consonant, but those are all either particles, enclitic forms of the personal pronoun or personal pronouns. In this respect the case of iccheṇa, which is an adverb, may be different from that of aṁdha^o, which is a substantive. Furthermore, aṁdha^o in K may well be due to a clerical error; note the context: suhāa aṁdha^o. As such it has a parallel in the text of Gāthā 193, which in K immediately precedes it. MS K reads sā āṭham uaṭṭhā (for sā (g)āḍham uaṭṭhā). In this respect the case of iccheṇa is, again, different. On the basis of the above consideration I have decided to place aṁdha^o of K in the Critical Apparatus, but to adopt iccheṇa of Tp in the text.

In what follows I will discuss several sets of variants, which occur comparatively-frequently, in which the two main branches are diametrically opposed. This is the case with, for instance, the variants diḡha and daḡha, paṭṭhī and puṭṭhī, and silāhaṇijja and salāhaṇijja, of which the former are found in the South-Indian branch and the latter in the North-Indian one. Occasionally some North-Indian MSS, however, have diḡha and paṭṭhī as well. The first two pairs concern different but equally possible developments of Sanskrit -ṛ-. The third pair concerns a difference in the colouring of the Svarabhakti vowel. If the variation is indeed a purely phonetic matter the South-Indian branch should probably be followed, as I have subsequently decided to do. The South-Indian scribes would in any case have been less influenced by the actual pronunciation in their own language of the words concerned.

Another type of variation concerns the particle u(v)a(-ha) 'look' (see, e.g. *4), which occurs as u(-ha) in Ma, Ti, Tp and T and, where available, W, and as ua(-ha) in Bh, R and the Vulgata MSS. In this connection the question arises whether in u(-ha) we have to do with an instance of the secondary insertion of the -v- or in ua(-ha) with an instance of its secondary loss. It should be noted that in the MSS of the South-Indian recensions one does at first sight not otherwise find evidence of the automatic insertion of a -v- in the combination ua (e.g. uaa (udaka), sua (śruta) and lua (*luta, beside Sanskrit lūna)). If the -v- was secondarily inserted here the etymology must have played a role.

However, for u(v)a(-ha) no etymon is or ever was available (traditionally it is glossed with paśya(-ta), which is a translation not an etymology). This seems to point to the conclusion that uva(-ha) is original and that the loss of the -v- in the North-Indian branch is the result of a secondary development.

However, the case of u(v)a(-ha) does not stand on its own. The same type of variation with exactly the same distribution of the variants can be seen in u(v)a (Sanskrit upa), rū(v)a (rūpa), dhu(v)a- 'to shake, to wash' (dhuvaṭi), su(v)a- 'to sleep' (Pāli supaṭi, Sanskrit svap(a)ti) and ru(v)a- 'to weep' (Vedic ruvaṭi). The instances of u(v)a and rū(v)a need not be specified here. Those of dhu(v)a- are the following:

130 dhuvaṭi T, dhuai Ma(!), Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, P, S (means here 'to shake' the toes of the husband to wake him up gently. Wrongly interpreted to mean 'to wash'; from there dhāyāi in Ti and dhāvai in Tp), 280 dhuvaṭi Ma, Ti, Tp, dhuai Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, T, S, 433 dhuvaṭi Ma, Ti, Tp, S, dhuai Bh, R, ψ, γ, 680 dhuvasi Ma, Tp, dhuasi ψ, γ, T, S (in R the word is missing), 767 dhuvaṭi R, T, S, dhuai Ma, Tp (remarkable reversal!). Note 532 dhuai in R, all the other MSS having dhuṇai.

The instances of su(v)a- are:

*33 suvaṭi Ma, Tp, S, suai Bh, R, K, ψ, B, γ, P, 65 suvasi Ma (-vv-), Tp, K, γ, P, S, suasi Bh, R, ψ, B, 66 suvasi Ma, Tp, Bh^a, suasi Bh^b, R, K, ψ, B, γ, P, S, 412 suvaha Ti, Tp, T, suaha Bh, R, ψ (suha in Ma, suhaa in γ, and suhaha in S), 717 suvaṭi Ma, Tp, R (-vv-), T, suai Ti(!), Bh, S, 804 suvasu S.

The instances of ru(v)a- are:

*9 ruasi (°su) all, 143 ruvasu Ti, Tp, T, ruasu Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, P, S, 147 ruvaṁti Ma, Tp, T, ruam̐ti Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, P, 307 ruvaṭi Ti, Tp, T, ruai Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, S, 334 ruvasi Ma, Ti, Tp, ruasi Bh, R, ψ, γ, S, 379 ruvaṁtī Ma, Ti, Tp, ruam̐tī Bh, R, ψ, γ, S, W (ruaṭī T), 400 ruam̐taṁ all, 503 ruvaṁtī Ma, Ti, Tp, T, ruam̐tī (°tiṁ)-Bh, R,

ψ, γ, S, 517 ruvasi Tp, ruasi Ma, Ti(!), Bh, R, ψ, γ, S, 556
 ruvaṁti Ma, Ti, Tp, T, ruvaṁti ψ, γ, S (rovaṁti Bh, R), 569 ruai
 Ti, Tp(!), Bh, R, ψ, γ, T, ruvai S, 596 ruvaṁtammi ψ, γ, 649 ruai
 Ma, Tp(!), ψ, γ, W, ruvai R, S, 784 ruai T, S, ruvai R, 837 ruvaṁtīe
 Ma, Ti, Tp(!), ruvaṁtīe T, 848 ruvai Ma, Ti, Tp, ruai T, 885 ruvasu
 Ti, Tp, T, ruvasi W, 895 rua Ti, Tp(!), T, 909 ruvasi Ti, Tp,
 ruvasu T, 915 ruvaṁti Ti, Tp, T, 941 ruāmi Ti, Tp(!), T, 960 ruasi
 W, 963 ruai W.

Contrary to u(v)a(-ha) these words have comparatively obvious derivations from Sanskrit. For the -v- in Prākṛit the corresponding Sanskrit words have either a -v- or a -p-, which may have provided the basis for the secondary insertion of the -v- in the Prākṛit words.¹ For ru(v)a- the situation is different. As already indicated above it most probably goes back to rū-, ruvati (Vedic; Sanskrit has rauti, but also ruvanti). However, in the commentaries and Chāyās on the Sattasaī it is almost invariably glossed with rud-, in conformity with Sanskrit, which uses rud- to denote 'to weep' (of human beings) and ru- to denote 'to howl' (mainly of animals).² It is significant that precisely for this word the exceptions (rua-) in the South-Indian branch are numerous. A comparison of ru(v)a- with the other words involved suggests a different approach to the problem. It is possible to argue that in the MSS of the South-Indian recensions in ua a -v-, probably suggested by a pronunciation of ua as /uwa/, was inserted unless the etymology of the word prevented it. Thus, we find dhuva-, suva-, etc., but not *uvaa (udaka). For u(v)a(-ha) there simply was no etymology to prevent the insertion of -v-. Whereas the form rua- would be expected throughout on the basis of the traditionally accepted etymology, the occasional occurrence of ruva- must be explained as an instance of a scribal lapse.

The problem of the variation between uva(-ha) and ua(-ha), etc. seems still far from definitely solved. Nevertheless some principle has to be decided upon with regard to the text to be edited. I have decided in each instance to adopt the form without the -v- (unless not available, as in, for instance, 909 and 915), thus in the main following the North-Indian branch. In doing so I adhere in a way to the principle of the lectio difficilior: for most words concerned the form without -v- is the one

deviating most from Sanskrit.

A frequent dilemma occurs in connection with the endings of the nominative and accusative neutre plural, -āi(m̐), the genitive plural, -āṇa(m̐) etc., and the instrumental plural, -ehi(m̐) etc., when found at the end of the hemistich. This position is metrically neutral so that it does not make any difference whether the text reads, for instance, -āi or -āim̐. On this point, though, there is a significant difference between Ma, Ti and Tp, on the one hand, and Weber's MSS, on the other. The former, with only a few exceptions, throughout have the endings without Anusvāra, while the latter favour those with Anusvāra. The actual situation in Weber's MSS is admittedly unclear. K, edited in the Abh., indeed largely favours the endings with Anusvāra, but this is to be expected in a MS in which the Anusvāra is inserted apparently at random and without regard for the metre (see sālaṃkāraṇaṃ in *3 and laṃḍaha in *8). In Retr. all deviations have been noted for B, P, T and S, from K, which for these MSS gives the same picture: generally the endings occur with Anusvāra. However, in Ed. Weber refrains from noting this type of variation for the MSS, or parts of MSS, edited there. Moreover, he seems rather careless on this point. Thus, in 354 he reads muheṇaṃ, against all the MSS, which have muheṇa, except possibly Bh, for which in ISt. he does not note a variant (p. 109). This may, however, also be taken as an indication of the fact that he did not note this type of variation of Bh from the text of Ed. either.

Before continuing the discussion of these endings in hemistich-final position a few remarks may be made regarding their occurrence within the Gāthā. There the variation between, for instance, -āi and -āim̐ is entirely regulated by the metre. The endings without Anusvāra are considerably more frequent than those with Anusvāra. The latter are specifically found at the end of the uneven Pādas where u—u does not occur. In this position one also finds -eṇaṃ (relatively frequently) and -esuṃ (once, in 77, a Gāthā which probably is a later addition anyhow). -esuṃ is otherwise not found. -eṇaṃ is otherwise found only once, namely in 525. -āim̐, -āṇaṃ and -ehim̐ are otherwise rare too, and a comparatively large number of these instances is found in particular before the enclitics cia, pi and va, -ehim̐ in fact only so.

While within the Gāthā the occurrence of the short and the long

endings is entirely regulated by the metre, Weber notes that his MSS are highly irregular in that they add the Anusvāra at random. They do so in particular in the case of the plural endings which end in -a and in -i. This agrees with the state in the hemistich-final position where these same MSS would often have -āim, -āṇam and -ehim, while -esum (plural, but ending in -u) and -eṇam (ending in -a, but singular) are conspicuously absent. It would follow that the presence of the Anusvāra in -āim, -āṇam and -ehim in hemistich-final position in Weber's MSS is secondary.

However, this is only part of the picture. Ma, Ti and Tp at the end of the hemistich indeed generally have the endings without Anusvāra, but exceptions occur, which are, however, usually restricted to one or two of these MSS. See, for instance, ṇaṇāim (ṇaṇāī) in Ma in *5. The addition of the Anusvāra can hardly be explained as secondary, as otherwise, i.e. within the Gāthā, it is not found at all. A more likely explanation is that the source of Ma, Ti and Tp occasionally did have -āim, -āṇam and -ehim, but that most instances have been removed in a process of normalization in favour of the endings without Anusvāra. The reason behind the preference for the endings without Anusvāra is unclear. It might be a case of extending the endings without Anusvāra which prevail within the Gāthā to the instances at the end of the hemistich. Note in this connection that in Tp the endings -e and -o, which mostly are to be scanned short, are represented by the characters ě and ō throughout, i.e. also where they are metrically long and also where the distinction does not matter, as at the end of the hemistich. A further illustration of the extent to which the MSS of the Third South-Indian recension were normalized will be given below in connection with the Ya-śruti.

Apparently the situation in the source of Ma, Ti and Tp was irregular. It is in any case no longer possible to determine whether in a particular case the archetype read, for instance, -āi or -āim. In the edition I have decided to follow the South-Indian MSS, which means that I have throughout adopted the endings without Anusvāra, except where Ma, Ti and/or Tp have an ending with Anusvāra.

As to these variants the following procedure has been adopted. First those MSS are mentioned of which the existence of a variant is beyond doubt, and then I have added between brackets those MSS of which the reading cannot be definitely ascertained, mostly R, ψ, γ and Bh, and T

and S in so far as edited in Weber's Ed. Those MSS which are not specified do not deviate from the text adopted.

A further problem concerns the opposition between y and b. Ma, Ti and Tp have both y and b, much in the same way as we are used to from the Sanskrit dictionaries. The same is the case with R, B, γ, P, T and W. For B, P and T, see Retr., p. 349. In Ed., p. 5, Weber notes that R, γ, T and W usually maintain (Sanskrit) b initially. He does not mention anything about b after Anusvāra. At least T also has b after Anusvāra. The remaining MSS, i.e. Bh, K, ψ and S have only y.

In this connection the question arises which group of MSS most faithfully represents the state of the MS of the archetype. As far as Ma, Ti and Tp is concerned, which neatly distinguish between y and b, there is evidence to suggest that the b was introduced only secondarily. A clear instance is bola- 'to pass' for vola- in, for instance, MS Bh. The past participle bolīṇa suggests that it consists of the verb lī-, in which case the first syllable is a prefix. No prefix bo- exists, while vo-, from Sanskrit vyapa- or vyava-, is relatively common. It follows that the b- in bola- is secondary. From the introduction in this word of b- for original y- it appears that its derivation was not known. It is to be noted that in Sanskrit vyap(/v)alī- does not occur with the meaning 'to pass'. It is not clear which other word the scribe had in mind when introducing the spelling bola-. One possibility is that b was introduced almost automatically for y unless the derivation of the word in question prevented it. volāia in Ma in *21 most likely is a survival of this process. Another instance is vāha 'tear' in Ma in *25. Ma, Ti and Tp otherwise have throughout bāha. The instance in *25 differs from the others in that the word was -- wrongly -- supposed to contain a pun on the words vyādha 'hunter' and bāṣpa 'tear'. This pun is recognized by all the available commentaries including the one by Mādhavayajvamiśra found in Ma. It should be noted that the idea of the pun could only have come up in a text which did not distinguish between y and b! In the South-Indian MSS a dilemma arises. Whether one reads vāha as in Ma or bāha as in Tp the pun is lost. It would seem that in Ma the dilemma was solved by leaving the text as it was.

It follows that the MS of the archetype most likely only had y. This situation has its parallels in the NIA languages. Only a few of these

languages distinguish between v and b; most have either v or b. It is a well-known fact that this phenomenon has greatly affected the transmission of Sanskrit texts, in which originally v and b were distinguished (see AIG I, § 161). It is in itself not surprising that it is precisely in the South that apparently a tradition was preserved with regard to writing v or b in particular words. This almost certainly has to do with the fact that most South-Indian languages do distinguish between v and b.

The decision to write in the text v throughout introduces yet another problem in connection with the variants. MS K, edited in the Abh., has only v. For B, P, S and T, edited in the first place in the Retr., the deviations from K in respect of this feature have been carefully noted; at least, Weber does not state explicitly that he makes an exception for the variation between b and v. The text in Ed. has only v. On page 5 Weber remarks that he does not specify the variants, unless the word in question should happen to be mentioned for other reasons. Bh, edited in ISt., seems only to have v; a few instances of b in this MS have been noted.

My procedure is the following. Where I have adopted a form with v I first mention those MSS which positively have a variant with b, and subsequently add within brackets those MSS of which the reading cannot be definitely ascertained.

As I have shown above (p. 40) the present manuscript tradition goes back to one single MS the text of which was not entirely flawless. Some errors in the MSS can be traced back to this particular MS. Where possible an emendation has been suggested. In some cases the way to emend the text is pointed out in the MSS themselves. See 292 in which the archetype seems to have read taṇuāi (cf. Bh taṇuāi and Ti and Tp taṇu-āi(d)a) which in all the other MSS was corrected into taṇuāai. In other cases the emendation could be based on peculiarities of the script of the MS of the archetype, which was Jaina Nāgarī. In yet a few other cases the emendation could be based on an informed guess, for instance, gamhihi for gamhihi of the MSS in 609 (see the note to *10). In a few cases, though, no convincing emendation seems available.

The present manuscript tradition seems to have started in a milieu of Jains. This explains the occasional occurrence in the MS of the arche-

type of a word in a form otherwise typical of AMg. An instance is piva, the particle of comparison. In such instances I felt free to adopt in the text what seems the regular M. Prākṛit form, namely via (see the note on *1).

It appears that the archetype was furthermore characterized by certain orthographical conventions typical of, and otherwise exclusively found in, Jaina MSS, e.g. the Ya-śruti, the use of i and u for ě and ǔ respectively, and the use in certain positions of the dental nasal in favour of the retroflex one. Within the transmission of a text these features seem basically interchangeable. That is to say, a Jain copying a non-Jaina MS will add, for instance, the Ya-śruti where appropriate, and, vice versa, a non-Jain copying a Jaina MS will delete the Ya-śruti. Because I wish to avoid the impression that the Sattasaī is the exclusive property of the Jains I have decided to divest the text of these orthographical features.

The Ya-śruti is regularly found in Bh and R. Its occurrence in the MS of the archetype is proved through occasional instances in Ma, which are to be explained as remnants after it had been generally removed from the text.

For ě and ǔ in a closed syllable Jaina MSS commonly write i and u respectively (see Pischel § 109). This spelling seems to show that in this position the phonemic contrast between i and ě and between u and ǔ had become less distinct. There are indications that this spelling was also found in the MS of the archetype. In the course of the transmission, however, e and o seem to have been restored in most MSS except for Bh and R. In one instance this restoration did not take place because of a misunderstanding of the derivation of the word in question. The instance is found in 782, which reads:

dūrapaṇṇaparimalaṁ sapallavaṁ muddhapupphapaṇṇaguraṇaṁ
aṇṇacchittaṁ piva vaṁ- maheṇa diṇṇaṁ mahusirīte.

It is almost certain that chittaṁ (found in all available MSS, including Ma, Ti and Tp) stands for chettaṁ (Sanskrit kṣetram), and that we should read aṇṇaṁ chi(/e)ttaṁ. The word chittaṁ, however, was misunderstood as the past participle of chiva- 'to touch', which prevented the restora-

tion of e for i. I should like to suggest to emend the instrumental vam-mahēṇa (found in all the MSS) into a genitive vammahassa:

The nymph of Spring has given her body (aṃgaṃ), of which the fragrance spreads very far, which is decorated with sprouts and which has tender flowers for its cloak, to the god of Love (vammahassa) as his abode (chi(/e)ttam).

This example concerns an instance of the writing of i for ě in a closed syllable. In Bh the writing of i for ě is also frequently found in an open syllable at the end of a word; e.g. tīi for tīě in *22. The situation in the MS of the archetype is unclear. The instance of jīviasesā i in 149, discussed above (p. 163), for which Ma and Tp have introduced jīviasaddhāe, shows a tendency on the part of the latter MSS to introduce e for i. However, it does not become clear if and to what extent i was written for ě in open syllables in the archetype.

For initial ṇ- and medial -ṇṇ- MS Bh consistently writes ṇ- and -nn- respectively, the latter combination being often written as -ṃn-. This spelling is typical of Jaina MSS. As such it might have been a feature of the MS of the archetype, too. The spelling seems to be old and to have a basis in some spoken languages (Bloch, 1934: 79). On the other hand, it is possible to discern a development within the Jaina tradition itself, the old palmleaf MSS having ṇ- also initially. It is possible that we have to do here with a locally (Gujarat?) developed convention.

The Ya-śruti, i and u for ě and ō in closed syllables and ṇ- and -nn- for ṇ- and -ṇṇ- respectively, are more or less consistent features in Bh and/or R and need not be specifically mentioned in the Critical Apparatus. An exception is made for i for ě as in tīi, which is irregular in Bh.

2.2 The variants

In general all available variants have been specified irrespective of their nature. For those of Weber's MSS I make use of his published material only. The text edited here in many cases differs considerably

from the one in Weber's Ed. Often the readings of his MSS have to be ascertained by inference, i.e. where Weber does not mention any variant on his text his MSS presumably do not deviate from it. Above I have already mentioned several types of variants for which this method does not work, as in the case of the variation between -āi and -āim at the end of the hemistich and of the variation between v and b. On the other hand, a certain number of consistent variants need not be mentioned. Some of these have already been discussed above: the Ya-śruti and the use of i and u in closed syllables for ě and ō respectively, in Bh and R, and the use of n- and -nn- in favour of ṇ- and -ṇṇ- respectively in Bh. A few others will be discussed below, which seem basically determined by the various scripts used.

One group of peculiarities concern the South-Indian MSS Ma, Ti, Tp, γ and T. It should be remembered that of these five MSS only Tp is actually written in a South-Indian script, viz. Malayālam. Ma, Ti and γ are Nāgarī transcripts and T is a Roman transcript. For the two other South-Indian MSS, P and W, Weber relied on Roman transcripts as well. In these the peculiarities mentioned below seem to have been silently corrected.

Tp throughout writes l, which is typical of South-Indian MSS (see Lüders, 1940: 548). This l was apparently also found in the source of Ma and Ti, which confuse l with i or u. For l in the source of the transcript T, see Ed., p. XXXI, note 2.

In most of the South-Indian scripts a dot or circle in the line is used to indicate the doubling of the following consonant. This sign is often confused with that for the Anusvāra, a dot or circle written above the line. This confusion is apparent in Ma, Ti, T (Ed., pp. XXX-XXXI) and γ (Ed., p. 2). In Ma and Ti this 'Anusvāra' was subsequently replaced by the homorganic nasal (see below); e.g. aṇupiṅgā (aṇuviggā).

In Ma and Ti initial i, u and l (l) are often interchanged due to the similarity of the characters in the Malayālam script.

Ma, Ti, Tp, γ and T write hn and hm throughout (in Tp hn and hm are often preceded by the dot or circle indicating doubling). This spelling is typical of South-Indian MSS in general (see Printz, 1921: 24). The spelling represents an interpretation of the Nāgarī ligatures for ṇh and mḥ, in which the nasal is indeed written within and below the h.

Note in this connection that aspirated nasals are unknown in South-India.

Regarding the variants of Bh given in ISt. the following should be observed. Weber notes that in Bh the ligature -jj- is represented in two ways, namely by the usual symbol in Jaina Nāgarī, which slightly modified is also used for -jjh-, and by a symbol which resembles the ligatures for -śv- (-śb-), -bb- or -mv-. The second ligature Weber transcribed by any of the latter combinations or by -yy-. Unfortunately Weber does not reproduce the ligature in question so that we have to guess what it actually looked like. It may have been the ligature , which, however, in the appendix on paleography in L'Inde Classique (p. 695) is classed among those for -jjh-. Alternatively, it could have been the ligature , which according to Jacobi (Kalpasūtra, p. 18, note 1) stands indeed for -jj-. To distinguish this ligature for -jj- from the other one I have transcribed it as -jjh-; thus, kuppijjha in *17 for kuppiyya of ISt., p. 35.

Weber (Ed., p. 3) notes that his MSS practically throughout write -ch- for -cch-. In ψ as well as T -śch- is found, which occasionally is very similar to -chch-. Likewise his MSS often have -khkh-, -jhjh-, -ṭhṭh- and -ḍhḍh- for -kkh- etc. The same is the case in MS K, for which see Abh., pp. 26-7. ψ and γ write -ṭhṭh- throughout. In Ed., p. 3, Weber furthermore notes that his MSS rather randomly add the Anusvāra, in particular after the case endings for the plural which end in -a and -i (see also above, p. 169). In his Ed. Weber did not specify such variants unless the word in question should already be mentioned for some other reason. On this point I had to make do with what Weber cared to mention. This type of variation is exactly known for K, through Abh., and for those parts of B, P, T and S edited in his Retr.

The majority of the MSS writes -ṁk-, -ṁc-, etc. Some, though, use in these combinations the homorganic nasal instead of the Anusvāra. This is consistently the case in Ma and Ti, both Devanāgarī transcripts. One wonders if this feature was introduced secondarily in these MSS at the time of their transcription into Devanāgarī. It is in any case significant that Tp, an original Malayālam MS, has the Anusvāra. -ṁk-, -ṁc-, etc. is also found in some of Weber's MSS, but as the exception rather than the rule. For the instances in K, see Abh., p. 20, note 2, and p. 21. Note furthermore tantatatattiṁ in *2 in ψ (but in the same Gāthā

na āṇaṁti) and dantī in *23 in T and S. I have the impression, though, that in the editions following that of MS K in Abh. Weber neglected this type of variation. For instance in *1 K reads saṁkanta. In Retr. Weber did not give any variants, which would mean that B, P, T and S has saṁkanta as well, which I have strong reasons to doubt. I follow the practice found in the majority of the MSS, writing in these combinations the Anusvāra. The relevant variants from Ma and Ti need not be specified. As far as Weber's MSS are concerned I have mentioned their variants only when they are actually available; thus, saṁkanta in *1 for K, but no variants for B, P, T and S.

2.3 The presentation

The presentation of the text is as follows. Above the text of the Gāthā its position in the various MSS is indicated. The relevant MSS are given in the order of the authenticity of their texts, i.e. Ma, Ti, Tp; Bh, R; K, ψ, B, γ, P; T; S; W, with W, which strictly speaking is probably not a recension of the Sattasaṭī, put at the end. As the order of the Gāthās in this edition is basically that of the Jaina-recension and the Vulgata, a different order in the enumeration might be expected. This would, however, result in two systems, one above and another for the Critical Apparatus below the Gāthā. For practical purposes it has been decided to use only one system. For completeness' sake also those MSS which contain only a Sanskrit commentary have been given, namely G (Gaṅgādhara; stands for A, C and E), ξ and π, and χ, which contains what seems to be a separate recension. G, ξ, π and χ are mentioned in this order after P of the Vulgata. W and V, the latter containing only a Sanskrit Chāyā to the Gāthās, are treated as a single witness: when a Gāthā is illegible or absent in W but its Chāyā is found in V, the latter is mentioned. The MSS are broken up recensionwise by semicolons.

Below the text the Critical Apparatus is found, preceded by a description of any larger lacunae. The order of the variants follows the text. A variant may concern a single word or a whole part of the text. Two dashes indicate that a following part of the text is referred to. When more than one variant is available these are given recensionwise and when an identical variant occurs in the MSS of two 'consecutive'

recensions, the variant in question is not repeated. Note in this connection that this meant that the order K, ψ , B, γ and P could not always be maintained.

The Critical Apparatus is followed by an English translation. The translation in a way had to be a compromise. I have attempted to keep as close as possible to the Prākṛit text in order to help the reader to identify the words. On the other hand, in several instances a literal translation fails to convey the intention of the Gāthā as a whole, so that recourse had to be taken to certain idiomatic expressions. In several cases even then further comment on the meaning of the Gāthā was deemed necessary, which is found in the Notes.

I have dispensed with introducing specific symbols which would indicate where the text adopted is doubtful or conjectural. Problems concerning the reconstruction are discussed in the Notes.

These same Notes are furthermore intended to clarify all other problems which may arise in connection with the text. A recurrent theme in the Notes is the discussion of the relation between the text and the indigenous grammatical tradition, with special emphasis on the grammars by Vararuci and Hemacandra, and the relation between the text and traditional lexicography, as exemplified by Dhanapāla's Pāiyalacchī and Hemacandra's Deśināmamālā.

The Gāthās of the Sattasaī have often been quoted as illustrations in Sanskrit works on poetics. The earliest work of this type in which Gāthās have been quoted is the Dhvanyāloka; e.g. Gāthā 669 on p. 20, 110 on p. 119, etc. Another work in which Gāthās from the Sattasaī occur is Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. In an appendix (Abhang) to his Abh. (p. 202 ff.) Weber collected the Prākṛit Gāthās quoted in Dhanika's commentary on the Daśarūpa, in Mammaṭa's Kāvyaṣaṣa and in Viśvanātha's Sāhityadarpaṇa. A number of these Gāthās is also found in the Sattasaī. Besides in works on poetics, Pādas or even smaller parts of Gāthās have also been quoted in Hemacandra's Prākṛit grammar. In this edition the problem of the testimonia is not taken up. I have made an exception for the quotations collected in Weber's Abhang³ and those found in Hemacandra's grammar. They are referred to immediately below the Critical Apparatus; only important variants are noted.

Notes to chapter 2

1

The -v- in dhuva- and ruva- features in the Prākṛit passives dhuvvaṃta (564) and ruvvau (*10). It is, however, unlikely that the -v- was secondarily inserted in dhuva- and ruva- on the basis of these passives. Traditional scholarship was not so much interested in relations existing between words in Prākṛit as in the relation between Prākṛit and Sanskrit.

2

It should be noted that in Pkt ru- and rud- have partly coalesced, roissam, roiavva and runna (+*rudna) most likely going back to rud-.

3

Weber refers to two editions of the Kāvyaprakāśa, viz. the Calcutta editions of 1829 (Kb) and of 1866 (Ka). None of the two was available to me. I refer to the Poona edition by R. D. Karmarkar; of the two editions of the Sāhityadarpaṇa, namely the ones of 1828 (Sb) and of 1851 by E. Roer (Sa), only the latter was available to me.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Edition of Gāthās 1-50, with translations and notes

1(1 Ma, 2 Tp; 1 Bh, R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; T; S; V)

π starts only with *21; χ only with 133. The first ten Gāthās of W were illegible.

pasuvaṇḍo rosāruṇa- paḍimāsaṁkaṁtagorimuhaaṁdaṁ
gahiagghapaṁkaṁ via saṁjhāsalilamjalim ṇamaha.

In Ma lacuna for the text; in Tp for pasuvaṇḍo...paḍimā(saṁkaṁta).
pasuvaṇḍo K, vasuvaṇḍo P -- saṁkanta K -- muyacaṁdaṁ Bh -- gehia
Tp; gahiaggha K -- paṁkayaṁ piva Bh; °kaammia ψ, °ṁmia B, °ṁ bia γ;
°kaa via T.

Bow before the moon-face of Gaurī which by her anger at
Paśupati has become the counterpart of the morning sky;
it looks like the cupped hands filled with Saṁdhyā-water,
holding a (red) Arghya-lotus.

The position of this Gāthā at the beginning of the text follows the convention that a literary work should open with a verse praising a god or goddess, or, as here, exhorting the reader to do so. (Cf. Kāvyādarśa I 14: sargabandho mahākāvyam ucyate tasya lakṣaṇam/ āśīr namaskriyā vastunirdeśo vāpi tanmukham. Note also the presence of a Nāndī at the beginning of a play.) These verses are often characterized by particularly intricate descriptions. Here Gaurī is described as being enraged at her husband Paśupati, a situation which is fully in accordance with the general content of the text. It may, incidentally, be noted that the Gāthā, in containing the word for 'moon', follows exactly the prescription given for the content of a Nāndī (see Lévi, 1963: 132).

This Gāthā, together with the following two, forms an introduction to the text. Gāthās *2 and *3 give the impression of having been composed for the occasion and have as a matter of principle to be set apart from

the other Gāthās. The same would seem to be necessary for Gāthā *1. Thus, the description of a goddess and her husband seems out of place in a text which is mainly concerned with common people such as farmers and hunters, despite the parallelism in their respective love-lives. A further argument is its form, which is that of a Stotra. It should be noted that most of the other Gāthās which have the form of a Stotra, praising either Śiva, Viṣṇu or Gaṇeśa, are in all likelihood later additions to the text, as follows from their absence in the Third South-Indian recension. See, for instance, 448 (Śiva), 151, 406 and 411 (Viṣṇu), and 403 (Gaṇeśa). In some of these, 403, 406 and 411, erotic connotations are lacking completely. However, Gāthā 455, a Stotra praising Śiva, like the one under discussion, goes back to the archetype.

My translation of the Gāthā differs considerably from Weber's. The latter scholar connects the first word of the Gāthā, pasuvaiṇo, with saṃjḥāsaliṃjalim which he takes directly as the object to ṇamaha, and arrives at the following interpretation: 'Bow before the Saṃdhyā-water in Paśupati's hands' (see Retr., p. 347). He may have been led to do so by the position of the particle of comparison, which is here, contrary to common practice, not found after the Upamāna but after a compound which describes the Upamāna. It should be noted that this is not uncommon in Pkt (see Gāthā 93: siviṇaapTeṇa va pāṇieṇa), nor in Skt (see Speyer § 430).

The -e- in Tp gehia, for gahia, is probably due to the South-Indian pronunciation of -a after certain consonants as -e. This phenomenon has been described for Malayālam by Godavarman (1935-37) and by Kunhan Raja and Ramachandra Sarma in their edition of the Prākṛtaprakāśa (p. IX). These authors restrict it to -a occurring after voiced plosives and after c-, y-, r- and l-. Indeed in the South-Indian MSS of the Sattasaī one comes across *7 lehaḍa Tp, 60 deia Ma and hypercorrect 132 davveṇa Ma and 532 gahnai Ma, Ti, Tp, T. But in these same MSS -e for -a or hypercorrect -a for -e is also found after voiceless plosives and after h-. E.g. 189 teha Ma, 412 teio Ma, 642 keṃdotṭa Ma and 183 pecchanna Ma (but in the last instance probably under the influence of the following palatal plosive; cf. 373 pacchaṃto Ti, 457 pacchai Ti); hypercorrect -a in *17 kuppajja Ma, Tp, 420 uvakkhio Ti, Tp (written upakkhio), 445 uppakkhimo Ti. After h-: 914 hero Ma (+(b)haro) and 930 hea Ma. Further-

more one comes across *39 e Ma (for (c)a), 93 aviehṇa Ma and *17 ṇu-
ṇajja Tp (probably under the influence of following -jj-). In 365 agga-
paapalliṇaṃ Ti and in 578 paḍipallio Ti, pallio for pellio may be due
to the preceding syllable pa⁰.

For via MS Bh has piva and MS ψ ia. This variation needs to be dis-
cussed. Corresponding to Skt iva the Pkt of the Sattasaṭ has commonly
(v)va, which Pischel (§ 143) explains as an apocopated form of iva, as
(t)ti of iti or pi/vi of api. Besides, but considerably less frequently
than the latter, a bisyllabic particle is found, via after vowels, in
the Sattasaṭ -- possibly accidentally -- only after -o, but, for in-
stance, in the Setubandha also after -ā and -e: Gāthā 337 parivāho via,
443 kuruṇāho via, 612 maṇoraho via, 767 pariaṇo via; cf. Setubandha V 77,
VIII 101, XII 95 (v.l.), XIV 80; after -ā in I 7, VI 71, and after -e
in I 47.

The same form is also found after Anusvāra, but has, as already
briefly indicated, several variants there: piva in the Jaina MSS Bh and
R as well as in the South-Indian MSS Ma, Ti and Tp which ultimately
derive from a Jaina Nāgarī MS. MS T, which is otherwise closely related
to the MSS Ma, Ti and Tp, usually has via. The transcripts of the South-
Indian MSS often read viva, showing a confusion between p and v, charac-
ters which are very similar in the South-Indian alphabets. The Vulgata
MSS and S usually have iva (or ia), in which case the preceding Anusvāra
is replaced by -mm (in the Vulgata MSS) or by -ṃm (in S). The instances
are the following. Note that viva of the South-Indian MSS has been silent-
ly corrected into piva:

1 paṃkaaṃ via Tp, R, K, B, γ(-ṃ bia), P, T, S; piva Bh; -mm ia ψ,
125 ṇihim via Ti, Tp, γ, P, T; piva Bh, R; -mm iva K, ψ, -ṃm iva S
(Most probably, however, the text should here be emended into
ṇihī via, the accusative ṇihim being ungrammatical)

290 duvvaṇaṃ via Ti, Tp, γ (-ṃ vio); piva Ma, Bh, R, T; -mm iva K,
ψ, -ṃm iva S,

331 vaṃḍim via T; piva Ma, Ti, Tp, Bh, R; -mm iva K, ψ, γ, S,

336 osahaṃ via T; piva Ti, Tp, Bh, R; -mm iva K, ψ, γ, -ṃm iva S,

363 daṃsaṇaṃ via T; piva Bh, R; -mm ia K, -ṃmm iva ψ, γ, -ṃm iva S,

388 lacchim via ψ, γ, S; piva Ma, Bh, R,

- 507 jaṇaṃ piva Ma, Ti, Bh, R; -mm iva ψ, -m iva γ, -ṃm iva S,
 609 duddhaṃ piva Ma, Ti, Tp, Bh, R, T; -ṃm ia ψ, -mm iva γ,
 -ṃm iva S,
 782 chittaṃ piva Ma, Ti, Tp, R, T; -mm iva S,

Of these variants iva, which is found exclusively in the Vulgata MSS and S, is almost certainly an innovation. The change of the preceding Anusvāra into -mm or -ṃm represents an attempt to preserve the metre. Before iva, which begins with a vowel, the Anusvāra may, as in Skt, have changed into -m, in which case the syllable is short. As such the phrase vaṇḍimm iva has an exact parallel in Pāli mamm iva (see CPD II, p. 331; for alternative mām iva, see Geiger § 71). The status of iva in Pāli, however, cannot be discussed here.

The MS of the archetype seems to have read via as well as piva. The former is not restricted to M. The single prevailing form in Ś. and Mg. is via. It is, furthermore, undoubtedly identical to Pāli viya. In all these dialects and languages the particle occurs after vowels and after Anusvāra.

Geiger (§ 66) suggests that Pāli viya, through metathesis, goes back to *yiva, which would be a frozen sandhi-form. He proceeds from this form *yiva in order to be able to account for the medial -y-, the origin of which, however, need not detain us here. I largely agree with Geiger's explanation but should like to add some further remarks concerning the circumstances which may have been responsible for the supposed metathesis. An indication for this may be found by comparing the other most common enclitic particles, namely (t)ti, (v)va, (c)cia and vi/pi. It should be noted that all these begin with a consonant, some after having lost their original vowel. This apparent tendency of enclitics to begin with a consonant may have been responsible for the metathesis in via.

The second particle, piva, is otherwise exclusively found in AMg. and JM. texts. It occurs only after Anusvāra; after vowels these texts have viva. According to Pischel (§ 337) viva would consist of a kind of proclitic v- plus iva. The existence of such a proclitic v- is, however, doubtful. In the same paragraph Pischel has collected several more instances of this v-, most of which, however, should be explained differ-

ently. E.g. v- in vuccai (Skt ucyate) is from vac-. Alternatively viva may be a frozen sandhi-form. It is difficult, though, to separate viva from the form via of the other dialects. Admittedly, the origin of the medial -v- presents a problem, for which I am unable to offer a satisfactory explanation. One might suppose contamination with iva, found in AMg. texts besides viva. I am in any case hesitant to connect it with Gāndhārī Dhammapada Pkt viva, about which much is still uncertain; see Brough (1962: 110-2).

The conditioning factor for the variant piva beside viva is strikingly similar to that for pi and vi. It has even been suggested by, for instance, Weber (Ed., p. 1), Goldschmidt (Setubandha, index, s.v. via) and Jacobi (Kalpāsūtra, p. 100) that it is a compound particle made up of pi/vi plus (i)va. This derivation is doubtful. Admittedly, compound enclitic particles are not entirely unknown in Pkt, which has (c)cia, from caiva, but the latter combination is already known in Skt, whereas api plus iva is not.

This derivation has earlier been dismissed by Pischel (§ 336) who, instead, suggests that the equation pi : vi may in fact have been responsible for the origin of piva from viva. A logical extension of Pischel's reasoning would be that piva is in reality but a hypercorrect form or a scholarly invention. For, an original initial v- remains v- after Anusvāra, and in this connection it does not matter whether it is a proclitic consonant, a glide or a medial -v- transposed through metathesis. Note that in the case of pi/vi the situation is reversed, the p- being the original and the v- its phonologically conditioned variant.

The fact that it is well established from the oldest AMg. texts onwards would seem to speak against this view of piva. This may, however, also be taken as an indication that these texts were subjected to *rigorous redactional interventions*. That this is indeed the case I shall try to demonstrate elsewhere.

It remains to explain the occurrence of piva in M. Pkt, in which, at least in the Sattasaṭ, viva does not occur. It should be noted that at the beginning of the present manuscript tradition of the Sattasaṭ stands a MS, or a line of MSS, written in Jaina Nāgarī, which most likely will have been written by someone well acquainted with AMg. and/or JM. It is not unlikely that at this stage piva was entered into the text for via oc-

curring after Anusvāra, either unconsciously or consciously because via disturbed the scribe's notion of correctness. AMg. piva beside viva was, if not invented, at least supported by the parallelism with pi : vi.

The case of via after vowels is slightly different. The same scribe may have compared it to AMg. viva. The absence in via of the medial -y- need not have disturbed him, its loss not being uncommon in most of the literary MIA dialects.

It should be clear that a definite conclusion regarding the status of piva in M. Pkt needs a closer study of the text-transmissions of, for instance, the Gauḍavaḥo and the Vajjālagga, in which it occurs likewise. In the Setubandha no instances of piva are found, the particle not occurring after Anusvāra.

Not all the instances of piva in the MSS need automatically go back to the MS of the archetype. This may be especially relevant in the case of Bh and R, which are Jaina MSS. It may also be relevant in connection with the MSS of the Third South-Indian recension. The case of 290, where Ti and Tp read via but Ma piva, should make us aware of the possibility that piva, but also via, may have developed into an independent variant. It may anyhow not be without significance that T, which otherwise agrees so closely with the MSS of the Third South-Indian recension, mostly reads via for piva in the latter.

Finally the evidence of the traditional grammars may be considered. It should a priori be noted that not much value should be attached to absence or presence in the grammars of a particular form of the particle, which may merely indicate that the grammarians' observations were restricted to certain texts only or to certain MSS of texts. Thus, Var. IX 16 mentions via, miva (apparently abstracted from -m̐m iva) and mmiva (from -mm iva) but does not mention piva. The latter is given in X 4 for Paisāct. Note, however, that according to Pischel (§ 336, note 6) mmiva of IX 16 is a clerical error for piva. Hem. II 182, on the other hand, mentions via and miva as well as piva and viva, but it should be added that in his Sūtras not always a clear distinction between M. and AMg. is maintained.

In the edition I have throughout adopted via, even where piva can be ascertained for the MS of the archetype. My reason for doing so is twofold: if AMg. piva is indeed a ghost-word the decision is an obvious

one; and even if it would be linguistically acceptable for AMg., its occurrence in one dialect next to via, which is so much different, is in my opinion very suspect. Its occurrence in the MS of the archetype beside via can be explained through redactional interventions.

2(2 Ma, 3 Tp; 2 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 7 T; S; 2 V)
Missing in Bh.

amaaṃ pāuakavvaṃ paḥhiuṃ souṃ ca je ṇa āṇaṃti
kāmassa taṃtatattiṃ kuṇaṃti kaha te ṇa lajjaṃti.

In Ma lacuna after kāma(ssa).

amiam R; K, ψ, B, γ; T; S -- vāyaḍa Ma, pāḍa Tp; pāiam R; pāḍa T;
pāia S -- paḥhiṃ Ma, paḥhiuṃ Tp; ψ; paḥhiduṃ T -- soduṃ P; T --
a K, ψ, va P; vi-T -- ja Ma -- ṇa jāṇaṃti Tp; R; K, B, γ, P; T; S
-- tattatattiṃ R; taṃttataṃttiṃ K, tantatatattiṃ ψ, tattaciṃtaṃ B,
tattattattiṃ γ, tattatattiṃ P; S¹, tattauttiṃ S² -- te kaha R, ψ, γ;
te kahaṃ K, B, P; te kaha S -- lajjiṃti T^b.

Those who do not know how to read and listen to
(this) nectarlike Kāvya in Prākṛit, but are solely
concerned with scholarly works (in Sanskrit) on love,
how can they not feel ashamed?

The readings adopted for, and my interpretation of, the compound in c differ from Weber's. The final member of the compound should read tattiṃ, which word Deśīn. V 20 translates with, among others, tatparatā 'being devoted'. Indeed it seems to have this meaning as well as that of 'worry, concern' (see Gāthās 51, 272, 833 and 866). Turner, CDIAL 5683, derives tattī from Skt tapti 'heat'. For the development of the meaning, note especially Si. tāta 'effort, aim' quoted there. The first member of the compound should read taṃta (tantra), which has the pregnant meaning 'scholarly work in Sanskrit' here, thus opposing pāuakavva 'literary work in Prākṛit'. The study of the latter is considered a necessary adjunct here to that of the former.

The form pāḍa (prākṛta) found in Ma, Tp and T seems an independent

variant turning up in the South-Indian MSS of Pkt texts or in Pkt texts written in South-India. See, for instance, Karpūramañjarī I 7, MSS S and U, which have a variant pāuḍa, and MS T, which has yātaya, and Candralekhā I 11 and Kaṁsavaho IV 48¹. The latter two texts were written by South-Indians, Rudradāsa and Rāma Pāṇivāda respectively. Hence pāuḍa could be an innovation in the South-Indian MSS of the Sattasaī. On the other hand this does not explain how pāuḍa could have become prevalent in the South and how the notion that it is the correct form could have arisen there. In this connection it should be noted that pāuḍa, from prākṛta, is formed after a sound-change, -ṛta → -aḍa, typical of AMg. and JM. (Pischel § 219). Its occurrence in the South-Indian MSS of the Sattasaī could then be explained with reference to the Jaina Nāgarī MS from which they ultimately derive. The word may have been introduced in this MS by its scribe who very likely was familiar with AMg. and JM. or with the sound-changes accounting for the derivation of these dialects from Skt. Furthermore, from its occurrence precisely in these South-Indian MSS of the Sattasaī it may have become known in the South as the only correct form for Skt prākṛta. However, M. Pkt usually has pāua. Also the earliest AMg. instances of the word, found in late canonical texts, which, however, are considered in any case older than the Sattasaī, read pāgaya or pāyaya, showing a sound-change similar to that in pāua. The word pāuḍa therefore most likely seems to be a learned, hypercorrect AMg. form.

It may not be without significance that pāuḍa, which is thus well known in South India, is not mentioned in any of the grammars (pāuḍa in the pratyādigāṇa in Prākṛtasarvasva II 10 is a corruption, through pāduḍa (MSS U, I, O and G), for pāhuḍa (cf. Hem. I 206)). This would indicate that the grammars did not use or know the South-Indian MSS of the Sattasaī.

After ṇa the verb jāṇa- (Skt jñā-) invariably loses its initial j-; see, for instance, 347 ṇa āṇimo. This loss is usually restricted to -j- found within a word. Apparently the phrase ṇa āṇa-, which occurs frequently, has come to be considered as one word (cf. ṇa iṭṭho in 502). All the MSS, however, except Ma and ψ, have ṇa jāṇaṁti here, which nevertheless is to be rejected as the easier reading.

3(3 Ma, 4 Tp; 2 Bh, 3 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 5 T; 8 S; 3 V)

sattasaāiṁ kaivac- chaleṇa koḍṭe majjhaārāo
hāleṇa viraiāiṁ sālaṁkāraṇa gāhāṇa.

In Ma lacuna between h(āleṇa)...rāṇa gāhāṇa.

saāiṁ K -- kaivāchaleṇa K, °vatthalēṇa ψ, kavatsaleṇa γ --
koḍṭe Ma; koḍṭa ψ, B, γ; koḍṭe S -- majjhaārammi R; ψ, B, P,
maṁjhaārammi K, majjhāārammi γ; majjhaārammi S -- sālaṇa T --
viraiāṇa Bh -- sālaṁkāraṇa K -- gāhāṇa R; K, ψ, B, P; T; S; (Bh).

From among ten millions of Gāthās full of Alaṁkāras,
sevenhundred were collected by Hāla, the patron of poets.

The ending -e in koḍṭe is to be scanned short. In most Nāgarī MSS this -ě, for lack of a separate character, is represented by -e. In some MSS, and practically throughout in B, γ and S, it is represented by -i after -ā (-āi) and -ū (-ūi) and by -a after -ī (-īa). Bh, which usually has -Te, sometimes has -Ti; see, for instance, *22 muhTi and tTi. Similarly, -āō and -īō are written as -āu and -īu respectively. -ūu for -ūō is not found in the Sattasaṭ.

i and u as graphic representations of ě and ō are also found in closed syllables (Pischel § 119). The origin of -a in, for instance, koḍṭa, is as yet unclear. It may, however, have arisen from confusion between -i- and -ya- : koḍṭe → koḍṭi → koḍṭya → koḍṭa. The recognition of this ending -a was facilitated by the fact that an ending consisting of a vowel similar to the stem-vowel, as in -īi, was apparently considered awkward. Thus, while Var. V 22 accepts the ending -a, the commentator Bhāmaha, ad Var. V 23, explicitly forbids it after ā-stems, where it would give forms like mālāa.

In the Gāthās of the Sattasaṭ the endings -e and -o occur practically only in positions where they have to be scanned short. Long -e and -o are found at the end of the hemistich, which is metrically neutral. Furthermore they are found at the end of the uneven Pādas where (υ)–υ does not occur. Otherwise they are rare: see (*22), *43, 226, 228, 322, 492, 513, 593, 599, 739, 789, 797 (ex conj.) and 810. The same is also

the case with the ablative ending -o as in -āo.

In S the endings have been normalized in favour of -a, -i and -u, which are often also found at the end of the hemistich.

For a possible derivation of the Deśī-word majjhaāra (Deśīn. VI 121: majjhammi majjhaāraṃ), see Emeneau (1968: 32-3).

4(3 Bh, 4 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 444 T; 77 S; 97 W)

Missing in Ma, Ti and Tp.

ua ṇiccalanipphaṃdā bhisinṭvattammi rehai valāā
ṇimmalamarāgaabhāṇa- pariṭṭhiā saṃkhasippi vva.

uva T; W -- nippaṃdā Bh; ṇippaṃdā T; S; ṇipaṃdā W -- bhisinā K;
hisiṇṭ T; visiṇṭ S; bisiṇṭ W -- pattammi Bh, R; K, ψ, B, P, vattami γ;
pattammi T; pattami W -- (lacuna)yā Bh; balāā R; B; T; W -- hāṇa T;
bhāṇa missing in W -- bhāyaṇuvariṭṭhiā R; pariṭṭhiā K, paḍiṭṭhiā ψ²
(ψ¹ illegible), pariṭṭhidā B; paḍiṭṭhiā W -- saṃkhasutti Bh, R; K, ψ,
B, γ, P; S; saṃkhičchippi T.

Kāvyaprakāśa, p. 30 (°sutti); Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 20 (°sutti); Pāda a
quoted in Hem. II 211.

Look! (Standing) absolutely motionless between the lotus-
leaves, the (female) heron looks like a (white) sippī, a
shell, set in (a setting of) spotless emerald!

In the Gāthā the speaker draws a second person's attention to something in his environment, composing as he does a striking comparison. As such the Gāthā has exact parallels in, for instance, 62, 63, 64 and 75. The interpretation of the Gāthā raises problems which I have been unable to solve so far. According to Weber the speaker draws attention to a quiet place where lovers can meet without being disturbed. This interpretation does not take account of the second line, which refers to something unlikely, namely a shell in a setting of precious stone, viz. emerald. Curiously, the setting is worth more than the thing set. As such the comparison in the second line seems to contain a comment on the situation

described in the first line. It may, for instance, imply that the balākā spoils the beauty of the place or that it has no right to be there. Apparently the bird is preying, standing absolutely motionless in order not to scare away the fish. It remains unclear to me, though, what precisely the speaker wishes to convey to the person addressed.

The particles ua and uaha are used to draw someone's attention to a particular object or person. They are common in the Sattasaṭ (ua in 49, 75, 120, etc. and uaha in *18, 62, 109, etc.) and in the Pkt verses in the Skt dramas (see Pischel in his translation of Hem., pp. 97-8). In the other genres, e.g. the Setubandha and the Gauḍavaho, they are absent. Usually ua and uaha are translated with paśya and paśyata respectively (see Hem. II 211 and Pischel, loc. cit.). These glosses were undoubtedly inspired by their mutual relationship which is similar to that of the imperatives vaṭṭa and vaṭṭaha. Weber suggests a derivation from the verb ūh- (Abh., p. 29, note 4, Ed., p. 4 and word-index, s.v. ūh-(2)), which is hardly tenable (see Pischel, loc. cit.). Whereas the North-Indian recensions have ua(-ha) the South-Indian recensions have invariably uva(-ha). For the reason behind the decision to follow the former here, see above, p. 167.

Var. II 38 and Hem. I 238 derive bhisinṭ 'lotus-plant' from Skt b(/v)isinṭ, which seems to consist of bisa 'lotus-stalk' followed by the (possessive?) suffix -inṭ. Skt has bisa, Pāli, Pkt and NIA bhisa (for NIA, see Turner, CDIAL 9249). The variant b(/v)isinṭ (here S and W; in *8 T and S) is due to the influence of Skt. According to Mayrhofer (EWA II, p. 433) the existence of bisa beside bhisa would indicate that we have to do here with a loanword from an indigenous Indian language.

For the reasons to adopt (bhisinṭ)vattammi, found in S (and γ), rather than °pattammi found in the other MSS, see above, p. 164.

For reha- 'to shine' (Hem. IV 100), from Skt ribh- (rebhati) 'to sing' and 'to shine', see Mayrhofer, EWA III, pp. 73-4.

For the meaning of valāā (Skt balākā; originally invariably feminine), 'small white heron', see Thieme (1975: 15-22).

The retention of the intervocalic -g- in maragaa 'emerald' in Pkt as well as Apa. (see Hem. IV 349) is unusual. This may have to do with the fact that it concerns a foreign loanword; see Mayrhofer, EWA II, pp. 557-8. A comparison with Greek (σ)μαράγδος and Tibetan mar-gad, seems

to show that the voiced -g- in Pkt is more original than the voiceless -k- in Skt marakata. The latter may be hypercorrect.

Whether the text reads saṁkhasutti in accordance with Bh, R, etc. or saṁkhasippi with T and W (for (c)chippi in T, see below), in both cases it concerns a compound of two synonyms for 'shell'. The context suggests that the compound denotes a single entity, which leads to the translation 'a suttī (or sippī), namely a saṁkha' (Karmadhāraya). As such only saṁkhasippī makes sense, consisting of saṁkha, a word for 'shell' which is already long established in Skt, and sippī which is not found in Skt and is thus typical of MIA. For instances in Pāli, see PTSD s.v. sippī and sippikā, and for Pkt, see Gāthā 62 and Setubandha, index s.v. The word sippī is a loanword from Dravidian (see DED 2089). Moreover, the compound saṁkhasippī seems to have several parallels, namely (vaṇṇag)ghaatuppa 'ghee' (see *22), vaivedha(a) 'fence' (see 96, 220, 221, 564) and acchabhalla 'bear' (see 109). Each compound consists of a word commonly known in Skt, ghṛta, vṛti and ṛkṣa, followed by a MIA synonym, namely tuppa, veḍha(a) and bhalla respectively. It would seem that the latter words were still considered new and strange and needed explanations.

It is significant that the more original reading, namely saṁkhasippī, occurs in the two South-Indian eclectic recensions T and W; this points to the conclusion that the Gāthā was drawn from a text which was closer to the archetype than that of the North-Indian branch. It is extremely likely that the Gāthā originally formed part of the Third South-Indian recension, from which it is now lost.

For chippī in T compare *9 chāli in Ma, Tp and chaṇa in Ma, Tp and T. ch- in chāli may be due to immediately following chettesu. It may, however, not be without significance that in all these cases it concerns an original ś: śāli and śaṇa, and for sippī, compare Mar. śīp or śīp.

The variants hisiṇī (for bhisiṇī) and hāṇa (bhāṇa), both found in T, seem to be due to confusion of the Grantha characters for bh and h.

5(5 Ma, 6 Tp; 4 Bh, 5 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 148 T; 173 S)
Missing in W.

tāva ccia raisamae mahilāṇaṁ vibbhamā virāaṁti

jāva ṇa kuvalaasac- chahāi maulaṁti ṇaṇāiṁ.

In Ma lacuna from the beginning upto sacchahāi.

cciaṁ K; vvīa S -- samaye B -- vimbhamāṁ K -- sacchabhāi Tp;
sachahāiṁ R; K, ψ, B, γ (°hāiṁ), P; T; S², sachāhāiṁ S² -- mayulaṁti Ma;
maulenti . ψ; eṁti S¹ -- ṇaṇāi Tp; ṇaiṇāiṁ R; (ψ, γ).

Daśarūpa, p. 79.

At their love-play women go on coquettishly flashing
their eyes until they (, the women, have their orgasm
and) close their eyes which resemble the petals of the
blue lotus.

The derivation of sacchaha 'similar to' (Pāiyāl. 74: sacchaho samāṇo,
and DeśTn. VIII 9: sacchaha...sarise) is uncertain. Those suggested by
by Bühler (Pāiyāl., index, s.v.) and Pischel (DeśTn., index, s.v.), from
*sākṣaka, and by Weber (1872: 742), from sa-chāya, are phonetically un-
satisfactory.

In the language of the Sattasaṭ the original distinction between the
verbal e (← aya) and a-stems seems in the process of becoming blurred,
in favour of the a-stems (for this tendency, see Pischel § 491). Most
often this is the case before -ṁti and -ṁta, where the metrical dis-
tinction between long e and short a is annulled. Thus, we find here
maulaṁti (from mukulayanti). Otherwise a for e is rare; see, for in-
stance, kahai (kathayati) in 59. Some MSS, and S with great regularity,
show a tendency here and there to reintroduce the distinction. See
mauleṁti in ψ and S¹, and in 59 kahei in S, which, in fact, spoils the
metre.

For the reasons to adopt ṇaṇāiṁ as found in Ma, see above, p. 169.

6(6 Ma, 7 Tp; 5 Bh, 6 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 233 S)

Missing in T and W.

ṇohaliam appaṇo kiṁ	ṇa maggase maggase kuravaassa
eaṁ khu tuha hasai suha-	a valiamuhapaṁkaṁ jāā.

In Ma lacuna upto (e)am̐ in c. Apparently the variants readings of P have been overlooked by Weber.

ṇohaliyaṃ Bh; dohaliaṃ B; ṇohaliaṃ S² (ṇohaliaṃ in Ed., p. 6 probably is a misprint.) -- ayyaṇo K -- kuruvaassa S -- eā K -- kha Ma; tu Bh; vu K, kkhu γ; vvia kkhu S -- hasai tuha suhaa Bh, R; tuha suhaa hasai K, γ, suhaa suhasai ψ, suhaa hasai tuha B -- viliyamuha Ma; valiāṇaṇa ψ, B, valiāṇa γ -- paṃkaja(lacuna) Ma.

Pāda c quoted in Hem. II 198 (eaṃ khu hasai).

Why don't you look for a 'yield of new fruits' for yourself instead of looking for a 'young woman' for the kurabaka-tree? Thus, you know, handsome man, your wife is laughing, her lotus-face turned aside.

This Gāthā and the following are closely related. The present Gāthā refers to the belief that the kurabaka-tree, a red amaranth, blossoms only after having been embraced by a young woman; in *7 reference is made to the aśoka-tree, which needs to be kicked before it blossoms. For these motifs, see, among others, Karpūramañjarī II 43. Furthermore, in the following Gāthā a pun is made on the word asoa, meaning 'aśoka-tree' as well as 'griefless'. Likewise in the Gāthā under discussion a pun is made, namely on the word ṇohaliā. According to Hem. I 170 this word goes back to Skt navaphalikā. In Skt it is restricted to the lexicons, which translate it with 'a girl with whom menstruation has recently begun' and 'a newly-married woman' (PW, s.v.). It has been analysed as a Bahuvr̥thi-compound, consisting of nava and phala, the latter having the ad hoc meaning 'menses'; see AIG II 2, § 199 dγ. The commentaries available on the Gāthā give a totally different translation, namely navaphalodgama 'a yield of fresh fruits' or 'a fresh yield of fruits' (see Abh., p. 74 for Kulanātha). The word probably is a feminine abstract noun ending in -ikā, for which type of noun, see AIG II 2, §210.

The situation underlying the first line seems to be the following. The man addressed was in search of a young woman (ṇohaliā), ostensibly for the kurabaka-tree. It is also possible that he looked for one for his own pleasure and used the kurabaka as an excuse. When his wife

found out she said he had better look for a ṇohaliā for himself. In the latter case we would have to do with the abstract noun, which evidently is used in a metaphorical, or ad hoc, sense here. As such it can have several meanings (note in this connection OMar. navhālī, quoted by Turner, CDIAL 7004, which means 'first fruit of the season' as well as 'prime of youth'). The first sentence may, for instance, contain a reference to the man's old age or even impotence. Hopefully for him the humour is of a milder kind, navaphalikā referring to 'children'. The woman says then that her husband does better to invest his energies in her than in the kurabaka-tree.

In the second line I have adopted tuha hasai suhaa of Ma, Tp and S (see also ξ: tava hasati subhaga). The order in Bh, R, K and γ, tuha suhaa, with tuha immediately preceding the vocative suhāa, appears more logical, which, however, at the same time serves as an argument to consider it as secondary. Note in this connection eyam tu (for khu) hasai tuha suhaa in Bh, which still contains traces of the reading of Ma, Tp and S.

In some of the other cases where such a broken-up sentence is found (note also tuha (c)...jāā (d) here) it appears to be due to the particular circumstances under which the words are spoken (see the note to *20). The form of the sentence in this Gāthā might then be explained by assuming that the messenger, who is laughing about the 'joke' made by the wife, is incapable of formulating a coherent sentence.

For valia 'turned (aside)' Ma reads vili(y)a. Evidently this is a scribal error or a reading mistake made by the copyist of the transcript Ma. The meaning of vilīa 'disappeared' (see 53 paccakkhaditthavilīa 'clearly disappeared') hardly makes sense here.

7(7 Ma, 8 Tp; 6 Bh, 7 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 238 T; 40 S)
Missing in W.

tāvijjanti asoe-	hi laḍahavilāṇo daiavirahammi
kiṃ sahai ko vi kassa vi	pāapahāraṃ pahuppaṃto.

In Ma lacuna upto pāapahāraṃ.

tāvijjanti K -- asohiṃ Tp; asohiṃ K -- laḍaha Tp; laṇḍaha K --

vilayāu Bh; vilaā K, viraāo ψ, vaṇiā B, vaṇiāu γ, virahāo P --
virahasmī K -- paguppanto Ma; pahuṣpaṁto Bh; pahuppatto K, pahupanto ψ,
pahupaṁto P.

Even irresistable temptresses let themselves (occasionally)
be tormented, (namely) by men who experience no grief when
separated from their mistresses. (For) why would someone
who is his own master (is the master) suffer to be kicked
by someone else?

Whereas the usual place of the finite verb is at the end of the sentence,
in this Gāthā it is found at the beginning. For similar instances, see
562, 692, 693 and 769. According to Gonda (1952: 67) this results in the
accentuation of the affirmative nature of the verb. Thus: 'contrary to
what one generally believes laḍahavilaās can be tormented'. Gāthā 817
shows that this indeed happens only rarely. Usually the laḍahavilaās
themselves are the tormentors. In fact only saints are deaf to their
seductive charmes or, as here, people who are completely indifferent
to female company: asoehi...daiavirahammi, 'people who experience no
grief...when separated from their mistresses'. Gāthā 817 reads as follows:

laḍahavilaāṇa loṇa- kaḍakkhavikkhevajaṇiasaṁtāvā
jhijjaṁti mahāsattā cittuvveaṇasahā hoṁti.

The syntax of the Gāthā is misunderstood by Weber. I should like to pro-
pose the following translation:

Tormented by the side-long glances of the irresistable
(laḍaha) vilaās one (inevitably) becomes thin. (Only)
great saints are able to bear the agitation of the mind
(such women bring about).

In the second line of the Gāthā under discussion a pun is made on the
word asoa of the first line. Aśoka-trees are believed to crave for a
kick from a young woman. Only when satisfied in this desire do they
bring forth flowers. For this motif, see Karpūramañjarī II 43. The

aśokas of the first line are strange aśokas indeed as they do not show the usual reaction to the kick (charms) of the laḍahavilaās.

In Hem. II 128 the word vilaā is mentioned as a Pkt substitute for Skt vanitā. In Pāiyā. 12 it is enumerated in a list of synonyms for 'woman', ranging from vahuā to niyaṁbiṇī. In both Gāthā *7 and 817 the women denoted by laḍahavilaā are sexually extremely attractive. Most likely they are prostitutes as they are actively seducing men (see 817). It may be asked if these two connotations, attractive and prostitute, are conveyed by either laḍaha or vilaā.

The word vilaā is relatively rare. In the Sattasaī it occurs three more times and in the Gauḍavaho only once (166 vāravilaā). It does not occur in the Setubandha. For instances in later texts, see PSM, s.v. The following discussion is restricted to the instances in the Sattasaī.

In 156 and 890 the compounds vesā- and vesavilaā occur. The meaning 'prostitute' for vilaā would lead to a redundancy; compare vesavilaā in 890 with Skt veśastrī, -yoṣit, etc., in which the final member denotes simply 'woman'. vesāvilaā may be taken as a Karmadhāraya; in theory it could also be a Dvandva or Tatpuruṣa. However, the vesāvilaās are no common prostitutes. To the purely perfunctory performance of their profession they have added a special attraction by showing some sort of personal involvement or interest. The clients are fascinated by this as appears from the following two enraptured exclamations.

156 ṇaṇḍaṁtu suraasarahasa- taṇhāpahaṇāi saalaloassa
vahumaggagimmiāiṁ vesāvilaāṇa pemmaiṁ.

Long live the affectionate feelings which the vilaās
 who are prostitutes know how to show in so many ways,
 which (alone) are able to completely satisfy the vehement
 desires for love-making everybody has!

For the connotations of the word pemmaiṁ, see the expression prema-bandhura 'a prostitute who has, or is able to convince her client she has, a real affection for him', found in Kumārapālapratibodha (ed. Alsdorf), p. 109, verse 76.

890 sacchaṁdaramaṇadaṁsaṇa- saṁvaḍḍhiagaruavammahavilāsaṁ
suviadḍhavesavilā- ramiaṁ ko vaṇṇiṁ tarai.

Who can describe making love to the skillfull vilaās of the prostitutes' quarters, during which love's joviality, which is already vehement, is further enhanced as they show they do it all spontaneously?

The only instance in which the word occurs by itself is 233. It is not clear whether the woman is a prostitute here or not. It is clear, though, that it concerns a woman who at least in her youth was very exciting, her body being compared with the temple of the god of Love. She brought the men she made love with to complete frenzy as appears from the fact that they bit her practically everywhere.

thaṇajahaṇaṇiaṁvovari dasaṇaṁkā gaavaṇṇa vilāṇaṁ
uvvasiṇaṇaṇivā- samūlavamḍha vva dṭsaṁti.

The tooth-marks on the breasts, the thighs and the buttocks of old vilaās look like the foundations of a deserted (delapidated) temple of the god of Love.

The foregoing instances show that the attractiveness of the vilaās does not depend on the presence of the adjective laḍaha. Furthermore, 156 and 890 show that the word vilaā does not by itself mean 'prostitute', though it may be used to refer to such a woman. It would seem that the word means 'woman' but with special reference to her great attractiveness and to the effect she has on men. As an English translation I have therefore adopted 'temptress'. In this connection also the derivation of the word may be considered. I would venture to suggest that it simply is the feminine of Skt vilaya 'destruction'.

In their derivation of pahuppa- 'to be (one's own) master' Weber (Ed., p. 6) as well as Jacobi (1886: 253) proceed from the past participle pahutta, which would go back to Skt prabhūta. Analogically after litta 'smeared' : lippa- 'to be smeared', a passive pahuppa- would have been formed, which has acquired an active meaning. This derivation is

questionable on two grounds. In the first place no certain instances of hutta from bhūta are known. The latter regularly becomes (b)hūa. Secondly, it assumes the existence in Pkt of deponentia of which, however, no certain instances seem to exist either (see the note to *10). Pischel (§ 286) suggests instead that pahuppa- is a denominative verb based on the abstract noun prabhutva. Admittedly the sole instance of this noun in the Sattasaī, in 91, has pahutta. However, the alternative development of -tv- to -pp- is known dialectically; see Pischel § 300. In this connection it may be interesting to note that Hemacandra, who in IV 63 mentions pahuppa- as an Ādeśa of prabhū-, specifically adds that it is used 'only when the subject or agens (Kartṛka) is a prabhu'. However, this derivation creates only a new problem, as no explanation for the origin of the past participle pahutta beside pahuppa- is available.

8(8 Ma, 9 Tp; 7 Bh, 8 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 442 T; 487 S)

Missing in W.

attā taha ramaṇijjaṃ amhaṃ gāmassa maṇḍaṇaṃ bhūaṃ
luatilavāḍisaricchaṃ sisireṇa kaam bhisinisaṇḍaṃ.

In Ma lacuna from gāmassa onwards to the end.

amha, Bh -- gomāsa Ma -- maṇḍaṇaābhūdaṃ Tp; maṇḍaṇabbhūyaṃ Bh,
maṇḍaṇībhūdaṃ R; K (°haam), ψ, B, γ, P; maṇḍaṇībhūdaṃ T; S -- lūyatila-
vāḍa Bh -- saricchaṃ K, sarisaṃ B -- bisinī T; visaṇī S -- maṇḍaṃ
K, saṇḍhaṃ γ.

Mother-in-law, the beautiful cluster of lotuses that used to be
the ornament of our (my parents') village has been treated
by the winter in such a way that it has come to look like
a harvested sesame-field!

According to Weber (Abh., p. 75) the bhisinisaṇḍaṃ and the tilavāḍī
would be places where the woman speaking used to meet her lover, an
interpretation apparently also found in the commentaries, which, however,
have not been quoted specifically by Weber. It seems unlikely, though,

that a woman would discuss such matters with her mother-in-law (attā, from Tamil attai; see Turner, CDIAL 222, and Pāiyal. 253 attā sāsū, but see also below). It is more likely that she complains in guarded terms to her mother-in-law about the behaviour of her husband, and especially about his coldness or indifference towards her, which has physically ruined her 'who used to be the ornament of her parents' village'. The misunderstanding as evinced by the commentaries and Weber may rest on the fact that fields are indeed often referred to as lovers' meeting-places (see, for instance, Gāthā *9). The gloss sahī 'friend' for attā in Pāiyal. 108 (māuyā sahī attā) and in Deśīn. I 51 (māi-piucchā-sāsū-sahīsu attā) may go back to a similar misunderstanding.

maṇḍaṇaṁ bhūaṁ has been reconstructed on the basis of Tp maṇḍaṇaā-bhūdaṁ and Bh maṇḍaṇabbhūyaṁ. A comparison with the phrase unṇaehi hoṭṭa in 83 suggests that bhūaṁ functions here as a kind of emphatic tense marker: 'which was the ornament'. maṇḍaṇThūaṁ of R etc. is probably an innovation for the uncertain form in Bh.

taha in a has been constructed with saricchaṁ in c, '(it) has been treated in such a way...that it has become like...' (cf. taha...vva in 413).

lua is the past participle of Skt lū- 'to cut'. For the short -u- in lua, see Jacobi (1898: 569), who explains it from the present stem lunāmi. Compare dhua from dhū-, dhunoti.

For bhisiṇī, 'lotus-plant', see *4.

9(10 Ma, 11 Tp; 8 Bh, 9 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 455 T; 488 S)
Missing in W.

kiṁ ruasi oṇaamuhī dhavalāāntesu sālichettesu
hariālamaṇḍiamuhī ṇaḍi vva saṇavāḍiā jāā.

kiṁ ruyasi Ma; mā ruasu Bh, R; S -- chālīcchettesu Ma, chālichettesu Tp; cettesuṁ T; sālikkhettesu S -- muhā Bh; mukhī B -- ṇaḍa Bh; in Tp the final vowel of muhī and the first syllable of ṇaḍi are illegible -- cchaṇa Ma, chaṇa Tp; cchaṇa T -- savāṭuyā Bh^a (saṇavāḍiyā Bh^b).

Why are you crying with your face bent down now that the .

rice-fields are turning white? The hemp-field (its surface decorated with yellow flowers) has become like an actress whose face is decorated with yellow paint!

The girl is crying because the rice-fields are about to be harvested after which it will be impossible for her to meet her lover there. She is comforted by her friends who point out that the hemp-field, which is in full bloom, could be used instead.

For hari(t)āla, 'yellow orpiment', used by actors as paint in dramatic performances, see MW, s.v. Unfortunately no sources are given there.

For the variant chāli (Ma, Tp) for sāli, and for chaṇa (Ma, Tp, T) for saṇa, see *4.

10(11 Ma, 12 Tp; 9 Bh, 10 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 292 T; 276 S)
Missing in W.

sahī erisa ccia gaṭ mā ruvvau taṁsavaliāmuhaaṁdaṁ
eāṇa vālavāluṁ- kitaṁtukuḍilāṇa pemmāṇa.

erisi Tp; R; K, ψ, B, γ, sa P; sārisi T; erisi S -- vviya Bh; vvīa S --
gaiṁ K, P(?) -- ruvvasu Ma, Tp; R; K (ruccasu), ψ, B (-cc-),
rua. γ, ruvasu P; ruvvasu T; ruccasu S², ruchasva S¹ -- taṁkhalīa B
-- eāṇaṁ K -- bāla Ma, Tp; R; B, γ, cāla K, P; bāla T -- bālukki
Tp; vālukvi K, vālukki ψ, vālukki B, vālukki P; vālukki T -- bhuṁtu
(for taṁtu) Bh -- kuḍilāṇaṁ K -- pemmāṇaṁ K, B, P; T; S; (R, ψ, γ).

Pāda a is quoted in Hem. II 195 (erisi, v.l. erise, ccia).

Friend, stop crying with your moon-face turned aside:
this is the course of these affectionate feelings which
'curl' (indiscriminately around everyone who is available)
like the tendrils of the young cucumber-plant.

In the case of pronominal adjectives such as erisa the feminine marker, as in Skt, generally is -ī. Pischel (§ 245) quotes jādisī,

tādisī, etc. Pāli, too, has tādisī. Berger (1955: 42) explains the development of -r- of tādrśa into -i- instead of into -a- in tādisa as an instance of assimilation to the final -ī in the feminine tādisī. The feminine marker -ā is extremely rare in these words. Pischel (*loc. cit.*) quotes only sarisayā (Nāyadh.). To this may be added Pāli kīdisā in yādisikīdisā jivikā (PTSD, p. 553^a) and Apa. erisa in erisa joḍa na jutta (Kumārapālpratibodha, p. 107, verse 66).

In the text therefore erisa of Ma and Bh is adopted, the change of the latter into erisi (Tp, R, etc.) being much more likely than that of erisi into erisa. We should, however, be aware of the possibility that erisa is a clerical mistake for erisi with -sa from the preceding word sahi.

In the Sattasaī the word taṁsa occurs twice more, namely in 148 where it denotes a certain enticing way in which the eyes move (taṁsa-valaṁtaddhatāraāloā) and in 692 where it denotes a particular position of the feet ('heels down and toes up'). In Pāiyāl. 269 it has been translated with tiriccha 'oblique(ly), slanting'. Hemacandra (I 26 and II 92) derives it explicitly from tryasra (synonymous with tryaśra) 'triangular'. A comparison with caturaśra(ka) 'a particular position of the hand, a particular posture in dancing' (from 'having or making four angles') would suggest for taṁsa a meaning 'making three angles (on (the rest of) the body)'. It would subsequently have acquired a somewhat less technical sense, like 'slanting' or 'oblique'.

vāluṁkī, 'a kind of cucumber'. Skt has masculine or neutre vāluṁka (MW, s.v.), feminine vāluṁkī being found only in the lexicons. Pāiyāl. 172 has vāluṁkaṁ and Mar. vāḷūka (quoted in Ed., p. 7). Feminine vāluṁkī is probably *ad hoc*, the speaker by mentioning this plant referring to a woman.

ruvvau is found only in Bh (Bhuvanapāla: rudyatām). The corruption of ruvvau into ruvvasu, found in the other MSS, probably rests on a confusion between the grammatical and the logical subject, the latter being a second person. In his Abh. (p. 6) Weber, to whom at the time the variant ruvvau was not available, explains ruvvasu as a deponens. In his editions this explanation turns up several times more. However, a closer look at the instances concerned shows that most if not all can one way or another be eliminated. It follows that as far as the Sattasaī

is concerned deponentia do not exist in Pkt. It should be noted that Alsdorf (1937: 61-8) after studying those verbs in Apa. earlier identified as deponentia, reached a similar conclusion regarding that language.

An obvious case is tīrae. This is not, as Weber (Abh., p. 64) assumes, a deponens but a regular passive of the verb tara-, the usage of which is comparable to that of Skt śakyate. gasijjihii in 804, likewise, is a regular passive. Gāthā 804 (only found in S) reads as follows:

vārijaṃtī ṇavako- mui tti mā putti aṃgaṇe suvasu
mā te aṃvupisāo caṃdo tti muhaṃ gasijjihii.

If someone tries to stop you, saying '(it is) full moon', you should (obey and) not sleep in the courtyard, little girl, lest your face will be swallowed (by Rāhu) who may think the (real) moon (only) a piśāca in the water (aṃvupisāo).

A different case is pijjai in 678. Gāthā 678 (only found in ψ and γ ; and in G and π) reads as follows:

pijjai kaṇṇaṃjalīhiṃ jaṇaravamiliaṃ pi tujjha saṃlāvaṃ
duddhaṃ jālasaṃmiliaṃ sā vālā rāahaṃsi vva.

As far as the first half is concerned the passive pijjai is in perfect order. An anomaly arises only in connection with the second half. One may therefore consider the possibility that the Gāthā is a patch-work verse assembled, with little regard for syntax, from two independently existing half-verses. Note in this connection the awkward repetition of the word (saṃ)miliaṃ. The fact that Hemacandra in IV 10 includes the passive stem pijja- among the Ādeśas for pā- is no independent support for Weber's (and the traditional) interpretation for pijja- in this Gāthā. The inclusion of pijja- in Hemacandra's *Sūtra* may in fact rest upon a misunderstanding of an instance like this one. Another instance of the 'deponens' pijja- quoted by Pischel (in his translation of Hem., p. 132), namely pijjanti in Śakuntala (ed. Pischel, p. 29, line 5) is in my opinion a regular passive.

gammasu in 819 should be eliminated in favour of gamesu which has become available through Ma, Ti and Tp. ruvvasu as a corruption for ruvvau is not unique. Another instance is gammasu in 715 in T, for gammau in the other MSS available. It also explains gammihi in 609, which against the evidence of all the available MSS should be emended into gammihi. A possible third instance is bhannihisi in 906, which, alternatively, is a regular passive, meaning 'you will be told'.

The case of lagga-, pahuppa-, vacca- and dhakka- (Abh., p. 64) is different yet again. The final -kka in dhakka-, 'to cover', is not from -kya but a MIA verbal suffix (see *14). lagga-, 'to cling to', and vacca-, 'to go', go back to *lagyati and *vrajyati (IV class), rather than being derived from the respective passives. lagga- can also have been based on the past participle lagga (lagna) (the origin of the voiceless cluster -cc- in vacca-, instead of expected -jj-, will be discussed elsewhere). Finally, the instance pahuppa- is, as has already been noted in *8, doubtful, the derivation still being far from certain.

11(12 Ma, 13 Tp; 10 Bh, 11 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 590 T; 322 S)
Missing in W.

pāvaḍiassa paṇo paṭṭhiṃ putte samāruhaṃtammi
diḍhamañḇudūmiāe vi hāso ghariṇṭe ṇikkaṃto.

pāvaḍiassa Ma (pāa°), Tp; R; K, ψ, B, γ, P; T; S -- paṭṭhiṃ paṇo Tp;
paṭṭhiṃ R; K (°ṭṭhṭh°), ψ, B, γ, P; T; putte paṭṭhiṃ S -- °ruhaṃtam Ma,
°ruhaṃtammi Tp -- daḍha Bh, R; K, ψ (daṭha), γ, P; S -- maṇṇa Bh^a,
manṇa Bh^b; maṇu K -- dūmiāi γ, dummiāe P; dūmiāi S -- ghāso Ma --
hariṇṭe Ma; ghariṇṭi Bh; ghariṇṭa B, γ; S -- ṇikkaṃto K.

When their son climbed on her husband's back who had
fallen at her feet, the wife could not help laughing,
even though she was tormented by a fierce anger.

For the reasons to adopt pāvaḍiassa found in Bh rather than °paḍiassa
in the other MSS, see above, p. 164.

paṭṭhī, 'back', corresponds to Skt prṣṭha. The final -ī has been explained as arising from contamination with piṭṭhī (Skt prṣṭi) 'rib' (see Andersen, Pāli Glossary, s.v.). Ma, Ti and Tp throughout have paṭṭhī, with -a- for -r-. Likewise T, except here (T also often has paṭṭha (+ prṣṭha), for which, see *35 (also W), 87 and 223). Bh varies: paṭṭhī here and in *35, 216 and 223, but puṭṭhī in 313 and piṭṭhī in 87. The other MSS generally have puṭṭhī (note, however, that S has paṭṭhī here). The -u- for -r- is due to the influence of the preceding labial. It should be noted that paṭṭhī (or puṭṭhī) is often found rhyming with pa- as well as with pu-: *11 paṇo paṭṭhiṃ putte, 35 paṭṭhiṃ palīvesi, 87 paṭṭhipulauggamo, 216 paṭṭhīe (c), pulaubbhee (d), 313 paṭṭhiṃ p(h)usasu, and 676 paṇḍarā paṭṭhī.

For drḍha Ma, Ti, Tp and T have throughout diḍha. The other MSS usually have dadha (exceptions: diḍha in *11 B, 108 K, γ, P and 276 K, S, (χ)). For the principle underlying the decision to adopt the forms of the South-Indian recensions here, namely paṭṭhī and diḍha respectively, see above, p. 165.

For diḍhamanṇudūmiāe vi, see also 74. Var. VII 8 and Hem. IV 23 mention dūme- (actually they have dūma-, but the grammars quote all verbs as a-stems irrespective of their actual conjugation) as an Ādeśa for Skt du- 'to burn, to afflict'. The verb occurs frequently in M. Pkt and also occasionally in the Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ, a relatively late AMg. text. The most common glosses found in the available commentaries and Chāyās are du-, duḥkhay-, vyathay-, today- and tāpay-. The instances of the word show that the affliction brought about is both mental and physical. For the former meaning, see, for instance, Gāthās 792 (dūmesi maṇaṃ) and 937 (dūmesi maha hīaṃ) and Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ 2, 17 (hiyamaṇadūmakāiṃ). A clear case of the latter meaning is found in Paṇhāvāgaraṇāiṃ 1,30, where the expression pahāradūmaṇa occurs in a list of mutilations, such as aṭṭhibhaṃjaṇa, nāsābheya and chaviccheyana. Note, furthermore, Setu-bandha XIII 96 (riusūladūmio). In the same text, in V 24 (aṇuamṇādūmiāṇa) and A 8 (saraviāṇādūmiāṇa), it seems to mean 'to distort, to disfigure'. It is also possible that dūmia in the latter two cases is in fact a corruption for dūsia (Skt dūṣita).

These two sets of meanings refute the derivation, first suggested by Weber (Ed., p. 8) and later elaborated upon by Schwarzschild (1962⁴:

70), of dūme- (Schwarzschild 'se désespérer') from Skt durmanas 'in low spirits'. This derivation assumes a development from 'to afflict mental pain' to 'to afflict physical pain', which is not very likely. Furthermore, formally (dummaṇa → dummiā → dūmiā → dūme-) it rests entirely on the variant dumme- occurring in some of the MSS of the Sattasaṭ. This dumme- almost certainly is an innovation, probably introduced only after the link between dūme- and durmanas was made. Instead, Turner, CDIAL 6493, suggests to derive dūme- from a non-existent *dūman 'distress', a noun based on the stem du-. However, by doing so the problem of the derivation of the verb dūme- remains unsolved.

Beside dūme- 'to afflict' Hemacandra, in IV 24, mentions a verb dūma- meaning 'to whitewash', which would as such be a variant of dūma-, for which latter verb, see Gāthā 747. dūma- 'to whitewash' may, however, well be the same verb as the one discussed above, its meaning having been arrived at ad hoc, in which its resemblance to duma- may also have played a role. The only instance of dūma- 'to whitewash' I have been able to trace back is Kalpasūtra, p. 42, where it occurs in a standard description, also occurring in Nāyādhammakāhāo 1, 1, 18, of a bed-chamber the outside walls of which are dūmiyaghaṭṭamaṭṭa. In his word-index Jacobi gives for dūmiya the gloss dhavalita. It should, however, be noted that dūmiya, which, as has been shown above, denotes, among other things, some more or less rough and painful treatment, occurs here side by side with the participles of two other verbs (ghṛṣ- and mṛj-), which denote more or less rough treatments as well.

12(14 Ma, 15 Tp; 11 Bh, 12 R; K, B, P, 13 ψ, γ, 12 G, ξ; 313 T; 472 S; 6 V)

saccaṃ jāṇai datṭhuṃ sarisammi jaṇammi jujjāe rāo
marau ṇa tumaṃ bhaṇissaṃ maraṇaṃ pi silāhaṇijjaṃ se.

In Ma lacuna between da(tṭhuṃ) and (sa)risammi.

du(tṭhuṃ) Ma; daḍḍhuṃ K -- rāoṃ K -- maraṇe tumaṃ Ma -- silāna-
ṇijjaṃ Ma; salāhaṇijjaṃ Bh, R; K, ψ, B, γ, P; T; S.

Daśarūpa, p. 29 (salā°).

I must say, she knows what looking is! Passion for a man who is one's equal is right (but not for a man like you). Let her die! I will not tell you (what she asked me to tell you). Even such a dreadful thing as death is to be welcomed by her (in this situation).

A messenger addresses her friend's lover. The girl has threatened to die if she does not meet him. For this threat, see also 178 (= 739), 588 and 604 (Pāda d in 604 reads marau ṇa bhaṇissam). However, when the messenger sees that the lover is unworthy of her friend she decides not to intervene. In her opinion the girl is better off dead than alive. saccaṃ in saccaṃ jāṇai datṭhum is evidently meant cynically here.

In the source of Ma the words marau ṇa seem to have been partly or wholly lost, as would appear from the fact that in the accompanying Chāyā these two words have been skipped. maraṇe looks like an ad hoc attempt to fill in this lacuna: 'at her death (I will tell you)'.

For silāhaṇijja, found in Ma and Tp (see also 114 Ma, Ti, Tp and T (s11°)), beside sal° of the other MSS, see Pischel § 133. For the principle underlying the decision to adopt the form found in the South-Indian recension, see above, p.165.

13(19 Ma, 20 Tp; 12 Bh, 13 R; K, P, 14 ψ, B, γ, G, 13 ξ; 389 T; 139 S) Missing in W.

raṇḍhaṇakammaṇiṇṇie mā jhūrasu rattapāḍalasuaṇḍhaṇ
muhamāruaṇ pīaṇto dhūmāi sihṭ ṇa pajjalai.

kaṇḍma Ma -- jūrasu Ma, Tp; Bh^d, R; γ, sūrasu B; jūrasu T; S --
pāḍali S -- suaṇḍhī Ma; suaṇḍhiṃ T -- pīaṇto Ma; pīaṇto B --
vijjhāi Bh; dhūmāhi P; dhūmei T -- pajjalai Ma.

There is nothing wrong with your cooking. Don't be annoyed. The only reason the fire doesn't start to burn but keeps smoking is that it wants to drink your breath which is as fragrant as the red pāṭalā-flower!

A woman, probably newly-married, is teased with her clumsiness in lighting the kitchen-fire. A woman's clumsiness in the kitchen is also the subject of the next Gāthā and of 732, 733, 734 and 735.

jhūrasu of Bh^a, K, ψ and P is preferred to jūrasu of the other MSS. Hemacandra mentions the latter verb in IV 131 as an Ādeśa for khid- 'to be annoyed' (together with visūra-, which explains the variant sūrasu in B) and in IV 134 as an Ādeśa for krudh- 'to be angry'. jhūra- is mentioned in IV 74 as an Ādeśa for smṛ- 'to remember, to think of'; it would seem that Hemacandra thus tried to account for the meaning 'to worry' (see below). Turner derives jūra- from jvar- 'to be feverishly hot' (CDIAL 5259) and jhūra- from jṛ- 'to become old' (5409). He suggests that the initial jh- of jhūra- is due to the influence of jhī- from kṣi- 'to destroy'.

It is doubtful, though, that we have here to do with two different verbs. In the MSS they occur as variants. Admittedly, jhūra- is rare. Thus, in *41 jhūra- is restricted to K, in 570 to R and in 610 to ψ. In the other instances of the word, viz. 354, 454, 695 and 822, all available MSS have jūra-. Compare the situation in the Setubandha: in XIV 1 jūrai (v.l. jhūrai), in XI 3 jūrai (v.l. kuppai) and in XI 1 cittavia (i.e. cintavia; v.l. jūravā). The latter instance seems to undermine Hemacandra's distinction between jūra- 'khid-, krudh-' and jhūra- 'smṛ-'. As already said above his classification of jhūra- as an Ādeśa for smṛ- seems an attempt to account for the meaning 'to worry', which as Setubandha XI 1 shows is equally well conveyed by jūra-. In this connection it is not without significance that jūra- does not have any NIA derivatives; see Turner, CDIAL 5259. Turner mentions only Prasun ȳorā 'to be angry', which could, however, just as well go back to jhūra-. In contrast to jūra-, jhūra- has survived in most NIA languages; see Turner, CDIAL 5409, who quotes P. jhūrṇā 'to repine', H. jhūrṇā 'to waste away, dry up'. OGuj. jhūrai 'to repent' and Guj. jhurvū 'to languish'.

I should therefore like to suggest that Pkt jūra- is in fact a mere ghost-word. However, the reasons that may have been behind the supposed change of jhūra- into jūra- remain largely unclear. It may have been due to a simple orthographical problem, the subscribed ū having blurred the distinction between the (Jaina) Nāgarī characters for jh and j.

In the commentaries on the Sattasaṭ and the Setubandha there is no evidence of any etymological speculation concerning the word, which might have resulted in a change in form. The usual glosses, khid-, krudh- and kup-, are translations rather than etymologies. For this it would seem that we have to turn to Skt which has jūr- 'to be angry, to be annoyed' (only once, namely in Bhaṭṭikāvya XI 8). This jūr- could be a loanword from Pkt, but in the light of what has been said above regarding Pkt jūra- it is more likely a loan-translation, showing that jhūra- was etymologically connected with jvar- 'to be feverishly hot'; compare jūr- with jūrṇi 'glowing fire', which according to the lexicons would also mean 'anger'.

suamdhṭ in Ma stands for suamdhim (cf. T) or for suamdhām, -ṭ, -im and -ām in the Malayālam script being hardly distinguishable.

pāḍalā, 'Stereospermum suaveolens'. For the variant pāḍalṭ in S, see also 468 (γ, T) and 621 (γ). Compare Pkt haliddṭ beside Skt haridrā in Gāthās 58 (Ma, Tp, Bh), 80 (Ma, Tp, Bh, R) and 246 (Ma, Bh, R). haliddṭ (see Var. V 24 and Hem. I 88) is ascertained for the archetype in these instances. Each time, though, a variant haliddā is available, undoubtedly introduced under the influence of Skt haridrā. The case of the variation of pāḍalā and pāḍalṭ is different. It is not possible to say with certainty that pāḍalā was secondarily introduced under the influence of Skt for pāḍalṭ as Skt has pāṭalṭ as well, even though it occurs only relatively late in that language.

14(15 Ma, 16 Tp; 382 Bh, 14 and 386 R; 14 K, P, 12 ψ, γ, 13 B, G, 14 ξ; 388 T; 203 S) Missing in W.

ghariṇṭe mahāṇasakam- malaggamasimailieṇa hattheṇa
chikkaṁ muhaṁ hasijjai caṁdāvatthaṁ gaṁṁ paiṇā.

ghariṇṭe Ma; ṇṭa R (14, 386); B, γ; S -- kāma Ma -- mailieṇaṁ K, malieṇa γ; mailieṇa S -- cchakkaṁ Ma, chittaṁ Tp; chikvaṁ R (386), chittaṁ R (14); K (chinnnaṁ), ψ, B, γ, P (ci^o); cikkaṁ T; chippaṁ S -- hisijjai γ, hasijjayi P.

The husband laughed at his wife's face which, touched

with her hand dirty with soot from working in the kitchen, had come to look like the moon.

mailia 'made dirty' is a past participle based on the adjective maila 'dirty', which is from malila (mala+ila; see Turner, CDIAL 9904). For masimailia, see also 70; masimaila in 117.

chikka is the past participle of chiva- 'to touch'. For the suffix -kka, see Schwarzschild (1958).

Hem. IV 182 mentions chiva- among the Ādeśas for sprś- 'to touch'. The derivation is uncertain. Turner, CDIAL 5055, suggests that it goes back to chup- (IE sk^uup-) contaminated with kṣip-. By way of alternative I should like to suggest that chiva- goes back to Skt kṣip- 'to throw, to strike', which became khiva- 'to throw', on the one hand, and chiva- 'to touch', on the other. The meaning 'to touch' would have developed from that of 'to strike'. For the existence in Pkt of two alternative forms going back to one Skt word, each with a different meaning, compare khana 'moment' beside chana 'festival' (from 'right moment'), which both derive from Skt kṣana (see *42).

The variant chitta shows the influence of Skt kṣipta.

15(17 Ma, 18 Tp; 13 Bh, 15 R; K, B, P, 17 ψ, 16 γ, 15 G, ξ; 653 T; 611 S) Missing in W.

kiṁ kiṁ de paḍihāai sahṭhi ii pucchiāe muddhāe
paḍhamullaadohaliṇṭ- e ṇavari daiaṁ gaā diṭṭhṭ.

In Ma lacuna from the beginning to (paḍha)mu^o.

kiṁ ki γ -- te Tp; R -- paḍibhāai Tp; paḍihāsai Bh, R; ψ, B, γ,
paḍihā K, paḍiāsahi P; paḍibhāai T; paḍihāsai S -- sahṭhiṁ R; K, γ, P;
sahṭi S -- ia Tp; Bh, R; K, ψ, B, γ, hia P; i T; ia S -- puchiyāi
Bh, pucchiāi R; γ, puchiāe K, ψ, puchiāa B; puchiāi S -- muddhāi S --
(lacuna)mullua Ma, paḍhamallaa Tp; paḍhamu(lacuna)haliṇṭe Bh^a, paḍha-
munṇaya Bh^b; paṁṭṭhamullaa K, paḍhamuggaa B, γ, paṭhamullaa P;
paḍhamullia T; paḍhamuggaa S -- dohaṇṭe R; dohaṇṭa γ; dohaliṇṭa S
-- ṇava Ma, ṇavara Tp; Bh, ṇavaraṁ R; ṇaṁvaraṁ K, ṇavara ψ, B,
ṇavaraṁ P; T; ṇavara S -- dimmi Ma; diṭṭhṭ K.

Pāda a quoted in Hem. III 80 (kiṃ kiṃ te paḍihāi).

When her friends asked the young wife who was pregnant for the very first time and experienced longings (common to pregnant women): 'whatever do you like?', her eyes fell on her husband and on nothing else!

The word dohala (Skt dohada) refers to a woman's cravings for unusual kinds of food during her pregnancy. The woman in this Gāthā, who is pregnant for the first time, apparently mistakes the nature of her cravings, thinking they are a desire for her husband.

The Skt enclitic pronoun te 'you' is found as de and occasionally after vowels as e. The instances of de and e are the following. 547 kiṃ de (S; te in all the other MSS), 609 muhaṃ de (Bh, ψ, γ, T, S; te Ma, Ti, Tp, R). In these two instances te in the South-Indian MSS, which often have -md- for -mt- (677 saṃdāva T, Ma, Tp), may be hypercorrect. Other instances are: 554 taṃ pi de vahuṃ (Ma, Tp, ψ, γ, T, S; te W; he Ti), 895 atthi de kajjaṃ (Ti, Tp, T), 896 kkhu de (Ti, Tp, T; me Ma), 946 jīe de eaṃ (Ti, Tp, T), 948 jaha de piā (T; te Bh, R, S). Instances of e are: 683 mā e maṇṇuṃ (Ma, Tp, R, T), 734 kaha e (R; de T), 737 vi e (R; de S), 908 aha e icchai (Ma, Ti, Tp; de T), 925 kaha ṇu e māṇo (Ti, Tp; de T).

The same development can be seen in the pronouns deṇa 'by him' (tena) and e 'they' (te). For deṇa, see *29 (T), 164 (Tp, T), 276 (R), 438 (S), 627 (T), 651 (T) and 905 (T). For e, see 732 chivaṃti e jālā (Ma, R; de Tp; te T, S) and 733 saṃdhei e jālā (R; te T).

de for te is the result of the lax pronunciation which goes with the often unemphatic use of the pronoun, which is especially the case with their enclitic forms. This phenomenon has been discussed by Turner (1928). As such the development of te into de has parallels in, for instance, vi (api) and dāva (tāvāt). The instances of e could be due to accidents in the transmission of the text, the original initial consonant, d- or t-, having been deleted unconsciously as it occurred between vowels. On the other hand, the loss of the initial consonant could be the result of the same phenomenon discussed above. As in the case of de there are several parallels, namely a (ca), i (vi; see *17)

ira (kira; see *36), ā (tā(t)), uṇa (puṇa) and u (tu). For e, the personal pronoun of the second person, generally a variant de is available (throughout in T and once in S) except in 683, in which case e was misunderstood (see above, p. 163). This marks de as the innovation. The nature of the innovation is in itself peculiar in that it is another typical Pkt word.

For the possible use of de, the personal pronoun of the second person singular, as a kind of particle, see *16.

paḍihāai (Tp, T) corresponds to Skt pratibhāti. paḍihāsai (prati-bhāsate) found in the other MSS is most likely originally nothing but a clerical error, the -s- having been intruded from the following word sahThi. It was retained as it did in no way disturb the original sense.

For ii of the text the available MSS read i(y)a. Var. I 14 and Hem. I 90 (see also I 42) mention this ia as a substitute for Skt iti. Its occurrence would be restricted to the beginning of a word (pādāda; Var.) or to the beginning of a sentence (vākyāda; Hem.). As such it differs from the other substitute for iti, namely (t)ti, which functions as an enclitic.

Pischel (§ 116) looks upon ia as a direct continuation of Latin ita. However, a comparison with AMg. shows that the situation is somewhat different. In AMg. one finds beside iya a form ii, which goes back directly to Skt iti. In North-Indian, and especially in Jaina MSS, the syllables -i- and -ya- are frequently interchanged, which is due to the fact that they are very similar in (the North-Indian) pronunciation. This explains iya beside ii. It should be noted that Pischel (loc. cit) leaves open another possibility, namely that ii in AMg. stands for original iya. It is very doubtful, though, if a copyist would accept such an awkward form as ii unless it was already there. Compare the case of the ending -(y)a in koḍī(y)a, for koḍī, which latter form was apparently considered awkward, discussed in *2.

The occurrence in M. Pkt, throughout, of i(y)a would only show that the MSS of most of the earlier M. Pkt texts, go back to North-Indian MSS. This is certainly the case with the MSS of the SattasaT. For the occurrence of i(y)a in such later texts as the Kaṃsavaho (see I 55) the grammars may be held responsible. In the text I have everywhere adopted ii against the unanimous evidence of the MSS in favour of ia.

Vararuci and Hemacandra make a clear distinction between ṇavara(ṁ) 'no other, nothing else' (Var. IX 7 and Hem. II 187) and ṇavari(ṁ) 'immediately after' (Var. IX 8 and Hem. II 188). Hemacandra in his own commentary on II 188 adds, however, that according to 'some' ṇavara(ṁ) and ṇavari(ṁ) are synonyms.

In the Setubandha the two meanings are neatly sorted out between the respective words. Note that once, though, in IV 78, ṇavara 'no other' has a variant ṇavari. In the MSS of the Sattasaī the situation is less regular. The words occur nine times in all (I leave out the instances in 515 and 527, where they are found only in Bh and R as variants for ṇāma and taha vi respectively of the other MSS), each time meaning 'no other, nothing else'. The majority of the MSS have ṇavara(ṁ), ṇavari(ṁ) occurring as an isolated variant: *15 ṇavari γ, *34 Bh^a, 172 ψ, γ, S, (χ), 248 S, 303 Bh^b, S, 485 R (ṇavari), Ma (ṇavarim), 614 ψ. Gāthās 875 and 953 are found only in T, which has ṇavari.

Thus in the Sattasaī ṇavara(ṁ) and ṇavari(ṁ) are merely variants of the MSS. It should be noted that the occurrence of ṇavari(ṁ) beside ṇavara(ṁ), though each time restricted to only one or two MSS, is too persistent to allow to consider the word as a mere scribal error. What we see is in fact the substitution of ṇavara(ṁ) by ṇavari(ṁ) or vice versa. As far as the Sattasaī and the Setubandha are concerned the variation is significantly restricted to the instances where the word means 'no other, nothing else'. A confusion of the two respective contexts is in fact unlikely to have taken place, ṇavari 'immediately after' apparently occurring only in the phrase ṇavari a (for instances, see Setubandha, word-index, s.v.). As a result ṇavari a was taken as one entity; see Pāiyal. 17: ṇavariya...sahasatti. In the grammars ṇavari is recognized as an independent word, meaning 'immediately after'. From these points of view ṇavara(ṁ) is more likely the innovation here than ṇavari(ṁ).

The situation may also be approached from an entirely different angle, namely by putting the question whether we have here to do with the substitution by an independently existing synonym or, alternatively, with a change or emendation of the original word. Evidence bearing on this problem, again, points to the secondary nature of ṇavara(ṁ), the independent existence of a word ṇavara being highly uncertain. Thus,

in Pkt adverbs ending in a bare -a are virtually non-existent. The supposed instances in Gāthās 113, 153 and 256 are in reality first members of a compound (ṇavara should be kept apart from such words as jaha and taha, which belong to a different category. Moreover, in jaha and taha the alternation is not between -a and -am as in ṇavara(m), but between -a and -ā).

The evidence given above points to the conclusion that originally there existed only one word, ṇavari or ṇavarim, meaning both 'immediately after' and 'no other, nothing else'. The variants ṇavara and ṇavaram may have been introduced on the basis of etymological speculation. An 'etymology behind this may have been the Skt phrase na param, which was in fact suggested by P. Goldschmidt (as quoted by Pischel § 189) as the possible source for ṇavara(m). Goldschmidt derived ṇavari(m) from another such combination, namely na pare. I should like to suggest that ṇavari(m) derives from na and vari(m), the latter an apocopated form of avari which goes back to Skt upari (see Pischel § 123; for vari, see the word varilla 'overcoat' quoted there). This ṇavari(m) may be assumed to have the following meanings: 'no higher, no further, not afterwards' out of which the meanings 'no other, nothing else' as well as 'immediately after' (from 'and ((c)a) not (long) afterwards') could have developed.

The word ṇavara(m) thus formed may, partly or wholly, have replaced ṇavari(m) in the MSS of Pkt texts. On the basis of its occurrence in these texts it was recognized as an independent word by the grammarians. This, in turn, may have had a further 'normalizing' effect on the texts. Thus, we see a highly regular situation in the MSS of the Setubandha. In the MSS of the Sattasaī ṇavari(m) occasionally appears to have escaped normalization. These instances have in the present edition been treated as retentions.

paḍhamullaa 'very first' consists of paḍhama and -ullaa. The suffix denotes not only possession but also intensity, as here (see Pischel § 595 and Schwarzschild, 1962: 518). For paḍhamullaa, see also 187 and 218. For paḍhamuggaa (prathamodgata) of B, γ and S, see ibidem, MSS ψ, γ, P and S.

16(18 Ma, 19 Tp; 14 Bh, 16 R; K, ψ , B, P, 15 γ , 16 G, ξ ; 261 T; 356 S)
Missing in W.

amaamaa gaṇasehara raṇṭmuhatilaa caṇḍa de chivasu
chikko jehi piaamo mamaṇ pi tehiṇ cia karehi.

amia K, B, P; T -- gagaṇa K, P -- seara T^b -- cchaṇḍa Ma --
he Tp; B; T -- cchivasu Ma; civasu T^a -- chitto Tp; Bh, R; K
(chinno), ψ , B, γ , P; S; cikko T -- jehiṇ Bh; K -- pio Bh^a,
pi pio Bh^b -- maṇ Ma -- tehi ccia K, tehiṇ vvi P; tehi vvīa S
-- karehiṇ K, B, P; T; S; (Bh, R, ψ , γ).

O, moon, consisting of nectar, crest-jewel of the sky,
tilaka on the face of the night, will you please touch me
with those same beams with which you touched my lover!

According to Hem. II 196 the particle de is used in addressing a person and in a friendly request, which would correspond to its occurrence before vocatives (see, for instance, *20) and before imperatives (as here) respectively (see also Dundas, 1981: 205).

It is tempting to connect this de with the enclitic form de of the personal pronoun of the second person, discussed in *15. The latter is used in this text specifically for the genitive-dative. It should be noted, though, that the enclitics te and me (Skt) are basically kinds of stem-forms unmarked for case. This explains their use, occasionally, for other cases than the genitive-dative as well. For the use of these enclitics, see AIG III § 235.

For the verb chiva- 'to touch' and the past participle chikka, see *14.

17(20 Ma, 21 Tp; 15 Bh, 17 R; K, B, γ , P, 18 ψ , 17 G, ξ ; 263 T; 367 S)
Missing in W.

ehejja so pauttho ahaaṇ kuppejja so vi aṇuṇejja
ii kassa i phalai maṇo- rahāṇa māḷā piaamammi.

ehijja so pauttho Ma, Tp; R, ehai so pauttho Bh; ehijja so pauttho K, P,

ehii so vi pauttho ψ, B, ehai so upaduttho γ; ehijja so pauttho T;
 S -- ahaṃ pi Tp -- kuppajja Ma, Tp; kupijjha Bh^a; kupejja K --
 so pi K -- aṇuṇajja Tp; aṇiṇijjha Bh^a -- ia Ma, Tp; Bh, R; K, ψ, B,
 γ, P; T; S -- kṛe vi Ma, Tp; kassa vi Bh, K, ψ, B, γ, P; T; S --
 halai Ma -- maṇomuhāga Ma -- piaamammṭ Ma.

May he come from abroad, may I be angry at him, and may
 he try to please me. (Perhaps) for some (lucky) person
 this string of wishes with regard to the dearest one is
 fulfilled.

The optative ehejja, of which no other instances are known, is peculiar
 in that it is formed on the future stem ehi- instead of, as is usual,
 on the present stem e- 'to come' (see Pischel § 529). It should be
 noted, though, that if the optative had been formed on the stem e-,
 the verb itself would have become virtually unrecognizable, completely
 disappearing in the suffix. The context definitely requires an optative.
 Therefore the future ehii in ehii so vi pauttho, found in Bh, ψ, B and
 γ (for ehai in Bh and γ, see Berger, 1955: 79, note 6), for the un-
 usual optative ehejja, is almost certainly secondary.

A different problem concerns the spelling ehijja (for ehejja; cf.
kuppejja and aṇuejja). This spelling most likely goes back to the MS
 of the archetype (see above, p. 172). However, it is not clear why
 in, for instance, Ma and Tp the -e- in this word was not restored for
 the -i-, as it supposedly was in the other optatives in this Gāthā.

For kuppajja in Ma and Tp (for kuppejja) and aṇuṇajja in Tp (for
aṇuejja), see 1.

For ii 'thus', see *15.

kassa i is based on R. For the principle underlying the decision
 to adopt this reading found in R, instead of kassa vi found in the other
 MSS, see above, p. 163. For other instances of i for vi, see *24 do i
 (T), 149 jṭvīasesā i, 255 do i (Bh, R), 304 vaṃke i (R), 534 mūḍha-
hīā i (Ma) and 904 do i (T). kṛe vi in Ma and Tp (Mādhavayajvamiśra:
kasyāścid dhanyāyās; the Chāyā in Ma has kasyāpi) seems the innovation.
 The possibility of a reverse change of kṛe into kassa is less likely
 in the present context.

The variant halai in Ma for phalai is most probably due to confusion of the Malayālam characters for ph and h which are very similar.

18(16 Bh, 18 R; K, B, γ, P, 19 ψ, 18 G, ξ; 81 S)

Missing in Ma, Ti, Tp, T and W.

duggaakuḍuṁvāa(/i)t̪t̪h̪ kaha ŋu mae dhoieṇa soḍhavvā
dasiosaram̐tasalile- ṇa uaha ruṇṇaṁ va paḍaṇa.

kuḍaṁba R; kuḍaṁva ψ, kuḍuṁba B, P, kuḍḍuṁva γ -- aṭṭh̪ Bh, R;
iṭṭh̪ K, γ, aḍdh̪ ψ, aṭṭh̪ B, iṭṭh̪ P; aṭṭh̪ S -- dhovieṇa Bh;
toieṇa P -- iti soṭṭhaccā K -- oṁsaram̐ta K -- ruṇṇaṁ K, B, tuidaṁ P;
ruṇṇaṁ S -- cca K.

'How can I, who have been washed, bear the a(/i)t̪t̪h̪ of
a poor family.' Look, it seems as if the cloth cries, water
dripping from the seam.

The meaning of kuḍuṁvāaṭṭh̪ or kuḍuṁvaiṭṭh̪ is unclear to me. The
variants seem related through the spelling °ṁvayaṭṭh̪. The commentaries
gloss aṭṭh̪ or iṭṭh̪ with kr̥ṣṭi, which Weber translated with 'pulling'.
It is not clear to me, though, what might be meant by this 'pulling of
(or by) a poor family'. It should be noted that the commentaries as-
sume that the initial plosive of kr̥ṣṭi as the second member of a com-
pound is lost. kr̥ṣṭi is then not the only possibility. iṭṭh̪ may stand
for, for instance, dr̥ṣṭi 'glance' or viṣṭi '(forced) service, drudgery',
and aṭṭh̪ for, for instance, paṭṭh̪ 'back'.

The occurrence of the ka-suffix twice in the second line alone, name-
ly in dasiā (Skt daśikā, from daśā) and in paḍaa (Skt paṭaka (L), from
paṭa) is significant. It is also possible to recognize the suffix in
kuḍuṁvāa(/i)t̪t̪h̪, which may be divided into kuṭumbaka and t̪t̪h̪ or
a(/i)t̪t̪h̪. The meaning remains, however, just as unclear as with the
possibilities mentioned above. Besides, it raises another problem,
namely what implications, if any, the occurrence three times in one
Gāthā of the ka-suffix could have here.

For dho(v)a- 'to wash' two explanations are available. Pischel § 482

suggests it is from dhu(v)a- 'to shake, to wash', which became secondarily inflected according to the I present class. Turner, CDIAL 6886, suggests, instead, that it goes back to *dhauvati, replacing dhāvati after dhauta.

For uaha 'look', see *4.

19(21 Ma, 22 Tp; 17 Bh, 19 R; K, ψ, B, γ, P, G, ξ; 498 S)
Missing in T and W.

kosamvakisalavaṇṇaa taṇṇaa uṇṇāmiehi kaṇṇehi
hiaecchiaṁ gharaṁ vac- camāṇa dhavalattaṇaṁ pāva.

kosumbha Ma, Tp; kosambi B, kosambo P (Bh, R, ψ, γ) -- kisalaa ψ, B, γ (°laya), P; S -- caṁnaya Bh^a (vaṁnaya Bh^b); vaṇṇa γ -- tanaya Bh^a (taṁnaya Bh^b); omitted in Ma -- ukvaṇṇiehi R -- kiṁnehi Bh; kaṇṇehi K, B, P; S (R, ψ, γ) -- ehiaacciaṁ Ma, hiaacchiaṁ Tp; hiyaichiyaṁ Bh, R; hiaatṭhiaṁ K (°tḥtḥ°), B, γ (°tḥtḥ°), P, hiaichiaṁ ψ; hiaatṭhiaṁ S -- vacchamāṇa Tp.

Calf, coloured like the leaf-buds of the kośāṁra-tree!
(Before) you go, with your ears pricked up, to the house
of one's heart's desire, become a (white) bull!

A man is called a 'young calf' when on his way to his mistress's house he is unable to hide his anticipatory excitement. The phrase dhavalattaṇaṁ pāva contains a pun in this connection. It means 'become a bull (dhavala)' and 'become white (dhavala)', i.e. 'try not to show your agitation'.

kosamva would correspond to Skt kośāṁra, a kind of mango-tree. For the red colour of the sprouts (ṇavapallavaṁ) of the mango-tree, see 586. kosumbha of Ma and Tp corresponds to Skt kausumbha, an adjective of kusumbha 'safflower'. The Chāyā in Ma has in fact kusumbha! A substantive kausumbha is mentioned only in the lexicons, meaning 'wild safflower' (see PW, s.v.). Then a problem arises in connection with kisala 'sprout, leaf-bud', for it is not the safflower's sprouts or leaf-buds which are red, but its flowers. The division of the com-

pound into kosuṃbha 'safflower-coloured' and kisalavanna 'coloured like a kisala' does not make sense either. Probably the word kosuṃbha is the result of contamination of kosamva and kusuṃbha, which latter plant may have been more familiar from its other instances in the text; see 145, 392 and 546.

kisala 'leaf-bud' is rare. The usual form is kisalaa. Skt kiśala is found only in the lexicons. The only other instance in Pkt is, according to PSM, found in the Kumārapālacaritra (no place), where it is evidently meant by its author Hemacandra as an exemplification of Sūtra I 269 of his own grammar, in which kisala is explained from kisalaa.

taṇṇaa 'calf' corresponds to Skt taṇṇaka, which contains the word taṇṇa (see Mayrhofer, EWA I, p. 485 and Weber, Abh., p. 79, note 2). See Pāiyāl. 235: taṇṇao vaccho.

hīaacchiaṃ in Ma and Tp probably stands for hīaecchiaṃ, showing confusion of -e- and -a- before the palatal consonant -ch- (for this phenomenon, see the note to Gāthā *1).

Hem. IV 225 mentions vacca- as an Ādeśa for vraj- 'to go'. Its derivation will be discussed elsewhere. Hemacandra mentions vacca- a second time, in IV 192, among the Ādeśas for kāñks- 'to desire'. It is not unlikely that this interpretation of vacca- was based on the occurrence of the word in the Gāthā under discussion: 'longing (vaccamāṇa) for the house desired in your heart'.

20(53 Ma, 55 Tp; 18 Bh, 20 R; K, B, γ, P, 21 ψ, 20 G, ξ; 140 T; 174 S)
Missing in W.

aliapasuttaa viṇimī- liaccha de suhaa majjha oāsaṃ
gaṇḍapariṇvaṇṇā pula- iāṃga ṇa puṇo cirāissaṃ.

alie Ma -- pasutta Ma, Tp; P; T -- °liacha R; K, °lidaccha B --
desu suhaa majjha Tp; de suhaya ahma Bh, de suhaa amha R; desu haa-
majhū K, de suhaa majjhja B, dehi me suhaa majjhja γ, desu haamajha P;
suhaa maha desu T; de suhaa majja S -- uvāsaṃ Bh; osāsaṃ B, oāsaṃ P
-- pariṇvaṇṇā Ma, pariṇvaṇṇā Tp; pariṇvaṇṇā γ; (Bh) -- aṃgaṃ Ma --
ṇo puṇo ψ, B, ṇa puṇo γ, ṇa vuṇo P -- cirāyisaṃ P.

Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 90.

(I see,) you pretend to be asleep, keeping your eyes closed.
You, handsome man! I promise you -- look! your hair
stands on end as I kiss you on the cheek! -- at a (next)
occasion I will not be late again.

The woman speaking is probably an abhisārikā meeting her lover. He feigns to be asleep in order to make clear to her that she has kept him waiting much too long.

The commentaries, and following them Weber, take de as the imperative of the verb de- 'to give' (Skt dā-) and link it to oāsaṃ, viz. de... oāsaṃ. de, however, cannot possibly be the imperative of de-, which is dehi or desu (actually found in Tp, K, P and T, and in γ respectively). Most likely we have to do here with the particle de (de suhaa) discussed in *16. The problem then is how to fit in oāsaṃ (Gaṅgādhara suggests to supply dehi: he subhaga māṃāvakāśaṃ dehīti śeṣaḥ; see Ed., p. 10). I should like to suggest to take it, despite the distance (see below), as an accusative of time to ṇa uṇo cirāissaṃ: 'during (or better: at) a (next) occasion I will not be late again'. For the accusative, which usually denotes the time during which, denoting the time at which as well, see Speyer § 54. Admittedly a locative would be more regular. It is in fact tempting to suggest that oāsaṃ is an old 'innovation', going back to the MS of the archetype, for oāse, for which, among others, the superficial resemblance of de...oāsaṃ to the idiom avakāśaṃ dā- may be held responsible.

Behind all this is the failure to recognize the intentionally interrupted sentences in the Gāthā and to appreciate its implications. The sentences are interrupted because the woman is speaking and kissing at the same time. Another clear example where the particular circumstances under which the words are spoken have left their traces on the text itself is found in Gāthā 160, which should read:

acchoḍiavatthaddhaṃ-	tapatthie maṃtharaṃ pie vacca
cimtesī thaṇabharā-	siassa majjhassa vi ṇa bhaṃgaṃ.

The woman addressed has in vain tried to prevent her lover from leaving her. She is now running after him, being in turn followed by a friend who tries to stop her. This friend addresses her, apparently panting and out of breath. This seems to be the most plausible explanation for the chaotic word-order: acchoḍiavatthaddhaṃtapatthie...pie is a locative absolute construction, interrupted by maṃtharaṃ, which is to be taken with vacca. In the second line the finite verb is standing at the beginning of the sentence, while the interrogative particle vi (Skt api) occurs practically at the end! The Gāthā should be translated as follows:

Now that your lover (pie), held back by you (acchoḍia),
has been able to draw himself free (vyasta) and finally
(adhvānte) has left (prasthita), go slowly! Are you then
not afraid (ciṃtesī...vi ṇa) that your waist, from the
burden of your heavy breasts, might break?

As in the case of the Gāthā under discussion the state of the sentence was not recognized. The text was interpreted quite differently and in the course of the transmission of the text some changes were brought about in it to suit this interpretation. The result of these changes can be seen in Weber's Ed.

The commentaries link the word majjha with immediately following oṣaṃ. It is doubtful if this still makes sense. I have, alternatively, taken it with gaṃḍapariṇvaṇā in the second line.

Skt punar, meaning 'on the other hand', becomes uṇa (occasionally uṇo) losing its initial consonant (for an explanation of this loss, see *15). When meaning 'again' the initial p- is usually retained (see puno in 375), except in the phrase ṇa uṇo (here and in 941; ṇa uṇa in 818), which apparently was looked upon as one entity, in which case the rules of internal sandhi came to be applied (compare ṇa āṇa-, for ṇa jāṇa-, discussed in *3).

The Gāthā is found inscribed on the pedestal of a basrelief, probably from the eleventh century, found near Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh (see Katare, 1952). The relief itself depicts a man lying on a couch in a kind of bower with a woman kissing his cheek. The inscription has been deciphered -- rather imperfectly as the accompanying ink-impression

shows -- by Katare as follows:

aliapasutta viṇimīṭṭhā de mūha(a)mha uvāsaṁ
gaṇḍapariumba(ṇā) pulāiaṁga ṇa uṇe cirāismam.

21(56 Ma, 57 Tp; 19 Bh, 21 R; K, B, γ, P, 22 ψ, 21 G, ξ, π; 488 T;
175 S; 23 W) π begins here.

asamattamaṇḍaṇa ccia vacca gharaṁ se sakouhallassa
volāiahalahalaas- sa putti citte ṇa laggihihi.

ciya Bh; via ψ; vvia S -- vaccha T; vavva S; gacha W -- haraṁ S;
cari W -- (lacuna se sa)kāuhallassa Ma -- bolāia Tp; volāvi(y)a
Bh, R; K, ψ, P, bolāvia γ, B; T; volāvia S; W -- halahaliassa T --
laggihihi Ma; ggilarihisi Bh^a, liggihihi Bh^b, laggihihi R; W.

Who cares if you haven't finished applying your
make-up. Go to his house while he is still eager!
Daughter, after his passion is spent you
won't stay in his mind anyhow!

For vacca-, 'to go', see *19.

For kouhalla, 'eagerness', see Pāiyal. 156 and Hem. I 117.

Hem. IV 162 mentions vola- among the Ādeśas for gām- 'to go'. The instances in the Sattasaṭ show that it means in particular 'to walk past, to disappear'. Turner, CDIAL 12167, suggests that vola- goes back to vyapacal-. Earlier Weber had suggested a derivation from vyapali- (Abh., p. 32, and, again, in Ed., p. 10). Indeed vola- has much in common with the verb lī-. Beside alliai (898, from ā-lī-) and samalliai (532) is found ahileṁti (266, from abhi-lī-), with which may be compared volei (711, 854). Beside volia (232; for vilia, from vi-lī-, see 53) is found volīṇa (57, etc.), which corresponds to Skt līna. For the prefix vo-, from Skt vyapa- or vyava-, see Schwarzschild (1965: 350-4).

For the variant bola- found in the South-Indian MSS for vola-, see above, p. 170 (volāia in Ma is an exception in this MS).

For the interpretation of volā(v)ia there seem to be two possibili-

ties. volāvia may be the past participle of the causative *vyapalāpayati (cf. vilāpayati mentioned in CDIAL 11906²). This explanation of volāvia as a causative must have been current as is shown by the variant bolāvia. It is not clear, though, why the -y-, which is otherwise always maintained in such causatives, was deleted in volāia. For that reason I have adopted volāia of Ma and Tp, which would represent *(vo)lāyita (compare *apalāyayati beside apalāyate, quoted by Turner, CDIAL 447).

For halahalaa, 'agitation' or 'passion', see Pāiyal. 246 and DeśTn. VIII 74; see also Gāthā 780.

For the possible derivation of Pkt lagga- 'to cling to', see *10.

22(61 Ma, 62 Tp; 20 Bḥ, 22 R; K, B, γ, P, 23 ψ, 22 G, ξ, π; 649 T; 619 S) Missing in W.

ārapaṇāvīotṭhaṁ aghaḍiaṇāsaṁ asaṁgaṇḍālaṁ
vaṇṇagghauppamuhī- e tīe pariṁvīaṁ bharimo.

paṇāvīotṭhaṁ Bh (°utṭhaṁ), R; K (°oṭṭhaṁ), ψ, B, γ, P; T; S --
asaṁhaa K, ψ, B, γ, asaṁghaḍida P; asaṁḍata S -- vaḍālaṁ Bh^a,
nalāḍaṁ Bh^a, ṇilāḍaṁ R; ṇidāhaṁ ψ; lalāḍaṁ S -- vaṇṇagghaa Ma, Tp;
R; K (ghia), γ (ghia), vaṇṇaragghaa ψ, vaṇṇacchia P, vaṇṇagghaa B; T; S
-- tuppā Ma, littā (sec. m. tuppā) Tp; tuppā R; littā K (lipta), γ, P,
luppā ψ, B; tuppā T; S -- muhī Bh; muhīe K, B, γ, P; T; S --
tī Bh; tīa S -- pariṁbhaṇaṁ Ma, Tp; pariṁvīaṁ Bh, pariṁvīyaṁ R;
pariṁvaṇaṁ ψ, °mbhaṇaṁ B, °mbhaṇaṁ γ; °mbhaṇaṁ T.

I still think of how I kissed her while her face was
covered with coloured tuppā or ghee: our lips
carefully pursed to keep our noses from touching and
our foreheads from meeting.

During their monthly period women smeared their faces with a kind of
coloured ghee (Gaṅgādhara: haridrāvaṇapradhānaṁ ghr̥taṁ vaṇaghr̥taṁ;
ξ and π: vaṇapradhānaṁ ghr̥taṁ kuṁkumaharidrāsādhitaṁ; Ed. p. 10),
probably to mark themselves as 'untouchables'. Contact with them during
this time was, as it still is today, prohibited, a taboo which merely

worked for men as an excitant. When nevertheless engaging in sexual activity, the men had to be careful not to get stained by the coloured ghee, which would betray their transgression (see also 529). This explains the complicated way of kissing described here. For other references to women in their period, see 191, 289, 480, 520, 529 and 530.

For the change of -m- into -v- as seen in paṇāvia (Skt pranāmita), see Brough (1962: 88-9), who has clearly shown that it is conditioned by the presence of another nasal in the word. Other instances in the Sattasaṭ are *29 ṇisāvio Ma (ṇisāmio), 83 vaṇe Ma (maṇe) (vase Tp), 111 vaṇe Ma, Bh (id.) (vase Tp), 154 vaṇe Bh (id.), 332 paṇāvesi Ma, Ti, Tp, T, W (paṇāmesi). See also vammaha (mammaha) in 327 (R) etc.

Through its occurrence in Ma and Tp, on the one hand, and in Bh, on the other, the variant vaṇṇagghaa(t)uppmuhṭe can be traced back to the MS of the archetype. It is, however, to be abandoned in favour of vaṇṇagghaa(t)uppmuhṭe found in R, ψ and P, as it gives an unmetrical text with u — u in the third Gaṇa.

For the reasons to adopt vaṇṇa(g)ghaauppa found in Bh, rather than tuppa found in the other MSS, see above, p. 164. The compound, which is also found in 520, contains two synonyms for 'ghee'. The first is a commonly known Skt word, ghṛta, which is also widely distributed in NIA (CDIAL 4501). This is followed by a regional word for 'ghee', tuppa (Pkt, Mar. and Guj.; see CDIAL 5864), which is not known from Skt. It is probably a loanword from Dravidian (see DED 2685; but Turner, loc. cit. suggests, instead, that Kannada tuppa is a loanword from Mar.). The compound occurs itself again in a compound (see also the instance in 520). Theoretically it is therefore possible to translate it as a Dvandva, 'coloured ghee and tuppa(-ghee)'. However, the resemblance of the part ghaa(t)uppa to saṃkhasippṭ (discussed in *4) is too obvious to be ignored. This suggests for vaṇṇagghaa(t)uppa the translation 'coloured tuppa, i.e. ghee'.

tuppa as occurring in vaṇṇagghaa(t)uppmuhṭe was traditionally misunderstood as meaning 'smeared with' (Bhuvanapāla: uppaṃ snigdhaṃ (IST., p. 36), Pāiyāl. 233: makkhiyaṃ tuppam, and DeśTn. V 22: siṇiddha... tuppo); from there litta (Skt lipta) in K, γ and P and luppa (+ tuppa × litta) in ψ and B. The meaning 'smeared with', however, is, among others, conveyed by tuppalia, tuppavia (529) or tuppia (Vivāgasūyaṃ

1,2,14; 1,3,13; 1,9,6: nehatuppiyagatta). For tuppālaa (tuppa plus ālaa; for the suffix, see Pischel § 595), see 289.

For pariṇvāṇ Ma, Tp, ψ, B, γ and T have pariṇv(/b)ṇaṇ. The latter would seem to be the innovation. For the use of the past participle as an action noun, see Renou § 153 c.

Hem. IV 74 includes bhara- among the Ādeśas for smṛ- 'to remember'. Pischel § 267 suggests that bhara- goes back to this smṛ-, in the following way: smarati → *mharai → *mbharai → bharai. See also Mayrhofer, EWA II, p. 482.

23(655 Ti, Tp; 21 Bh, 23 R; K, B, γ, P, 24 ψ, 23 G, ξ, π; 163 T; 200 S; 10 V)

āṇāsaāi deṇṭṭi tāha surae harisaviasiakavolā
gose vi oṇāamuhṭi aha se tti piāṇ saddahimo.

āṇā Ti; āṇāsayāiṇ R; āṇāsaāiṇ K -- daṇṭṭi Ti, Tp; detṭi K, detṭi P; dantṭi T; S -- ha (taha) Ti -- hasiaviasia γ -- gose aya Bh^a, gose ya Bh^b; gosammi P -- uṇaya Bh; oṇaha γ, oṇa P -- muhiṇ Ti -- aha sa cci (breaks off) Ti; aha sa tti Bh, aha si tti R; aha so tti K, aha sa tti ψ, B; sahasatti S -- pi(y)ā Bh, R; γ -- ṇa vṭsasimo Tp, (missing in Ti); sahihmo γ, sahiṇṇo P.

When that woman even in the morning still hangs over him
(oṇāamuhṭi) giving hundreds of instructions and (taha)
having cheeks burning with excitement during the love-play,
I do not think she is dear (to him).

Weber seems to have been quite at a loss what to do with the compound oṇāamuhṭi. In Abh., p. 81, he changed it, against the metre, into añṇāamuhṭi, 'die...nicht das Antlitz neigt' (from shame). See also Retr., p. 355 and Ed., p. 11. I think, though, that oṇāamuhṭi should not be taken as a sign of shame here. It seems, instead, to indicate the position of the woman relative to the man: she is hanging over him or even sits on him (viparīttasurata) all the while giving instructions how she wants to have it. The same situation is understood in Gāthā 299.

aha se tti should be divided into aha sã and tti. Var. VI 24 and Hem. III 87 take aha as a substitute for asau. Like the latter it is used with reference to the masculine: *32 aha saṁbhāviāmaggo, 300 aha...caṁdo, and 908 aha icchai, as well as to the feminine: 613 aha...paaī, and 717 aha suai. For the phrase aha sã, see also 57 and 318. In 418 aha so occurs. aha is Apa. in appearance; compare Apa. ehu for eṣah and eha for eṣā.

For the occurrence of se tti (Tp, R, γ, P, T) beside sa tti, see also 123 mame tti (Ma, Tp, R, T), 360 mae tti (T), 498 mahile tti (Ma, Tp) and 855 ṇa ve tti (Ti, Tp). These instances may be explained by assuming the interference of the corresponding Skt phrases; e.g. seti, mameti, etc. More likely, however, the e for a is due to the palatalizing effect of tt on a preceding a; for another instance of this phenomenon, see Pkt metta beside Skt mātra. On Pkt metta, see Mayrhofer (1955: 224) who refers to an article by Schneider (1954: 576-583) in which the latter shows the existence in the Pāli canon of a form khettīya beside Skt kṣatriya.

As such these instances may be compared to 88 se ccia (γ) beside sa ccia or to 69 pāṇiggahaṇa ccia (K, S; for gahaṇe ccia), 129 ekkag-gāma ccia (Ma, Tp, K, ψ, γ, P, T), 130 sāloa ccia (Ti, Tp (pr. m.), ψ, γ, P, T, S), 290 hīaa ccea (Ma, Ti, Tp, K, ψ, γ, S), 383 haṭṭha ccia (Ma, Ti, Tp, T, S), 612 hīaa ccia (Ma, Ti, Tp, Bh, ψ, γ) and 654 uara ccia (Ma, Ti, Tp). They may also be compared to those instances in which o before the enclitic vva is replaced by a; e.g. *29 paḍaha vva (Ma, Tp), 74 mutṭhia vva (γ, P, T) and 253 murava vva (Tp). In all these cases it concerns a short vowel of which the particular colouring may already have been less distinct than that of the corresponding long one. This may also explain the replacement of o by the more neutral vowel a in 489 ettia ccea (Ma, Ti, Tp, ψ), 619 magga ccia (Ma, Ti, Tp) and 767 sea ccia (Ma, Tp, R).

A problem arises in connection with those instances in which a before vva is replaced by e; e.g. *32 devae vva (Tp, ψ), 75 bhaṭṭhe vva (Ma), 77 sāṇusaṇe vva (ψ), 91 dāse vva (Ti, Tp), 120 paḍāe vva (Ti, Tp, T), 183 saṁke vva (Ma, Tp, T), 217 paṁcālīe vva (T), 417 jāe vva (Ti, Tp), 485 cittālihiē vva (Ma, Ti, Tp, γ, T), 496 māle vva (Ma, Ti Tp), 575 mehale vva (Ti) and 654 paohare vva (Ma, Ti, Tp). In the

following cases the e replaces an o: 253 murave vva (Ma) and 714 asarane vva (Ma; asarone vva Ti). Evidently we have to assume intermediate *murava vva and *asaraṇa vva here, of which the former is actually found in Tp (see above).

The status of these instances in the MSS is uncertain. The occurrence in 217 of paṁcālie vva in T (beside vāullaam va in the other MSS; the compound in which the word occurs is a neutre Dvandva, for which see *37) should make us aware of the possibility that the instances of -e vva for -a vva, which are mainly restricted to the South-Indian MSS, are the result of an independent development in these MSS. This would explain murave vva in 253 in Ma beside murava vva in Tp; the latter can hardly be considered an emendation of the former, the most likely emendation being muravo vva. On the other hand, instances are also found in ψ, which is not known to have any South-Indian source. In fact, the occurrence of sāṇusaene vva in ψ in 77, a Gāthā which was most probably added later to the text in the North-Indian branch, suggests that the development could also have taken place in the North-Indian MSS independently.

A difficulty arises when one tries to identify the cause or causes underlying the replacement of a before vva by e. This replacement cannot be explained with reference to the effect caused by vva, which would have a labializing effect. It is possible, though, that the e reflects a kind of hypercorrect or exaggeratedly fronted pronunciation of the a in order to prevent any labializing effect caused by following vva. In any case it cannot be explained with reference to the pronunciation found in South India of a after certain consonants as e (see *1). This would not account for the instances in ψ or for e in, for instance, jāe vva, in which it occurs after a vowel.

A second possibility is, as in the case of se tti discussed above, to assume the interference of the corresponding Skt phrases; e.g. māleva, sānuśayeneva, etc. (compare ś odaratī via (avataratīva) and rodidī via (roditīva) occurring in Bhāsa's Cārudatta in 51, 2 and 66, 6 respectively; quoted by Printz, 1921: 9). This, however, does not explain dāse vva and asarane vva which correspond to Skt dāsā iva and aśaraṇa iva respectively. It probably goes too far to assume Skt dāseva and aśaraṇeva, representing cases of 'double' sandhi (for this

phenomenon, see Renou § 41 b). If indeed in the origin of māle vva Skt is involved it would not do either to explain dāse vva (beside dāsa vva) as formed analogically after māle vva (beside māla vva) since this analogy does not exist in Skt: dāsā iva and māleṇa.

In the edition such instances as se ccia, pāṇiggahāṇa ccia, paḍaha vva and ettia ccea are considered as retentions. The reason for doing so is that, whether one starts from Pkt or Skt, the cause for emending them into sa ccia, pāṇiggahāṇe ccia, paḍaho vva and ettio ccea respectively presents itself easily. The instance uara ccia in 654 is uncertain as it is restricted to the MSS Ma, Ti and Tp which also have pacchai (for pecchai; see *1) and hīacchiaṁ (for hīaecchiaṁ; see *19).

The case of such instances as se tti is slightly different because of Skt seti. In this connection it is to be noted that most of the instances concerned are restricted to the MSS of the South-Indian recensions. An exception is se tti which is found in the MSS of the North-Indian branch as well. At the same time this case differs from the others in that se could somehow be fitted in as the pronoun se 'to him'; e.g. 'we do not believe that she (aha) who...is dear to him (se)'. Admittedly, this involves ignoring tti. This is actually done in Bh, R and γ (the latter two having se!) which for piaṁ read pi(y)ā. As such se tti could have escaped emendation more easily than the other instances given above. I feel therefore justified in taking these instances as retentions as well.

The case of māle vva etc. constitutes a problem. In the first place it is almost certain that not all instances are original or go back to the MS of the archetype. In the second place the origin of the e beside a remains unclear. My decision to adopt these instances in the text is more or less arbitrary. It is done in order to emphasize the uncertainties concerning the forms, rather than because I believe they are original. An exception is made in the case of paṁcālīe vva in 217 (for obvious reasons) and for murave vva in 253. In the latter case murava vva of Tp will be adopted, thus making allowances for the possibility that murave vva in Ma is the result of some independent development.

For daṁtī in Ti, Tp and T for deṁtī, see *1. The a in dantī in S should probably be explained from the influence of Skt dadatī. Note that MS S makes a strict distinction between a and e-stems (see *5).

24(58 Ma, 59 Tp; 22 Bh, 24 R; K, B, γ, P, 25 ψ, 24 G, ξ, π; 632 T; 530 S)
Missing in W.

piaviraho appiadaṃ- saṇaṃ ca garuāi do i dukkhāi
jTe tumaṃ kārijjasi tTe ṇamo āhiāTe.

piya ψ -- danṇaṃ (daṃsaṇaṃ) Ma -- a K, B, γ, P; T; S --
guruāi Tp; Bh; K (°āiṃ), B, P -- do vi Ma, Tp; Bh, R; K, ψ, B, γ, P;
S -- duḥkhāi Tp; dukkhāiṃ K, dukavāiṃ B, duḥkhāiṃ P; dukkhāiṃ T;
dukkhāiṃ S; (Bh, R, ψ, γ) -- jTa Ma; jTi Bh; jTa ψ, jTa B; S --
kārijjast Ma, kāriissihi Tp; kārijjai γ; kārijacasi S -- tTa Ma;
ψ, γ, tTa B; S -- (āhi missing) āTe Ma, āhijāTe Tp; K, B, γ, P,
āhijāTe ψ; āhijāTe T; S.

Being separated from what is dear and seeing what
isn't are two causes of great grief. Honour to that
noble birth which makes you bring about both!

Weber (Retr., p. 355) suggests that the man much against his liking left his dear mistress (piaviraho) to show himself in front of his wife whom he does not love (appiadaṃsaṇaṃ); see also Bhuvanapāla as quoted in ISt., p. 36. However, the causative kārijjasi shows that the man brings grief not on himself but on someone else, in case his wife. She scolds him for his good upbringing which brought him to her, his heart, though, still being with his mistress. Thus her separation continues and above that he offers to her an unpleasant sight.

For the reasons to adopt do i found in T instead of do vi found in the other MSS, see above, p. 163. For other instances of i for vi, see *17. For do (Skt dvau) used with reference to the neutre, see Pischel § 436; see also Gāthā *27.

For Pkt āhiāt (see also Pāli ābhijāti in chaḷābhijāti), beside Skt ābhijāti, see Var. I 2 and Hem. I 44. Pischel § 77 and Geiger § 24 wish to derive āhiāt and ābhijāti directly from Skt abhijāti. Geiger explains the lengthening of the initial syllable from the position of the accent. For the same accent shortening a preceding or following syllable, see also Pischel § 79 ff. However, for most of the other

instances of either lengthening or shortening of vowels explained by Pischel and Geiger from the position of the accent, another and better explanation is available. I need not go into details here as several instances will be discussed in the course of this edition (e.g. alia in *27). The lengthening of the initial syllable in āhiāt may have its origin in the use of the word in an exaggerated sense, abhijāti meaning 'high birth' and āhiāt 'very high birth. Compare the -i- in English big which in exaggerations becomes lengthened. A similar explanation may be considered for Pkt sāmiddhi beside Skt samṛddhi 'wealth' and for Pāli ānubhava beside Skt anubhava 'power'. For other words of which the forms seem to have been influenced by emotional factors, see diara and vianā discussed in *38.

In the text āhiāte of Bh and R (and Ma?) is preferred above āhijāte of the other MSS as it is the form deviating most from Skt. Compare 265 with āhiāim in R, K and ψ and āhijāim in Ma, Ti, Bh, γ, T and S. Gāthā 905 is found only in Ti, Tp and T which all have āhijāt. The case of the past participle ahīāa is strikingly different in that for this word no variant ahijāa is available (see *41 and 266)

25(59 Ma, 60 Tp; 23 Bh, 25 R; K, B, γ, P, 26 ψ, 25 G, ξ, π; 205 T; 176 S) Missing in W.

ekko vi kālasāro ṇa dei gaṃtuṃ paāhiṇavalamto
kiṃ uṇa vāhāuliam loṇajualam piaamāe.

kaṇṇasāro T^a, kaṇṇasāro T^b -- vaḍamto R; calamto ψ, B; valanto P; T; S
-- puṇa Bh -- bāhāuliam Tp; vāhāuliā K (pr. m.), °ulīa K (sec. m.)
-- jaalam Ma.

For a possible translation, see below.

Weber (Abh., pp. 81-2) translates the Gāthā as follows:

Ein Reh schon, das rechtshin flieht, lässt (den Wanderer)
nicht weiter ziehen. Wie viel mehr dies von Thränen
umflorte (Reh-)Augenpaar der Liebsten!

The first line would refer to a specific bad omen, which, however, does not seem to be otherwise known. Admittedly, I have not been able to check Śrīṅgāratilaka 4, 5 (Gieldemeister), which according to Weber would contain 'eine gewisse Analogie zum Inhalt des Verses' (Retr., p. 356). In the second line a pun would be made on the compound kālasāra, which beside 'antelope' also means 'eye' ('having a black -- kāla -- pupil -- sāra'); and vāhāuliam meaning 'troubled by a hunter' (vyādha), on the one hand, and 'troubled by tears' (bāṣpa), on the other. For this interpretation Weber relied in the first place on Kulanātha's commentary: yātrāsamaye eko'pi kṛṣṇamrgaḥ pradakṣiṇaṁ calan vyādhenānudruto'py-aśākunatvena gamanaviḥnaṁ karoti; vāṣpākulitaṁ, pakṣe vyādhākulitaṁ (Abh., p. 82). Apparently the other commentaries concur. The same interpretation is found in Mādhavayajvamiśra's commentary found in MS Ma.

However, a closer look at the vocabulary of especially the first line might suggest quite a different idea. At least two words can be positively identified as technical terms relating to boardgames, such as Indian chess, backgammon or Caturaṅga. However, in the end there remains for me a problem to combine these terms meaningfully in order to make identification possible.

Thus, kālasāra (Skt kālaśāra) is the common term for a black (kāla) piece (śāra) in the Indian boardgames. The other term is paāhiṇa (pradakṣiṇa) in paāhiṇaḥvalaṁto; it refers to the 'clockwise' movement of certain pieces (Thieme, 1962: 205).

In this connection also gam- (in gaṁtuṁ) and val- (in valaṁto) are interesting. It is possible that the pair refers to particular but opposite movements. Compare Thieme's (212-3) analysis of the terms gama and cara, occurring in Bālabbhārata II 5, 14: 'moving clockwise' and 'moving counterclockwise', or vice versa. If val- (or perhaps we should read cal- as found in ψ and B, as paleographically the distinction is almost insignificant) is indeed a technical term for a movement in a specific direction, then the addition of paāhiṇa 'clockwise' would be redundant. Alternatively, it is possible to take gam- in the meaning 'to escape', which would in any case much better suit the content of the present Gāthā:

If only one black piece, (by) making a clockwise movement,

can prevent (a piece of the other colour) to escape
(from the place it occupies), how much more (can
prevent me to leave home) the two tear-filled eyes
of my beloved.

The second line is a pun on kālasāra, which stands for Skt kālaśāra
'black piece in a boardgame' as well as for Skt kālasāra 'eye'.

The identification of the game remains uncertain. Backgammon can be
ruled out positively. In this game the clockwise movement belongs to
the white pieces. Furthermore it needs two pieces to obstruct the
movement of another piece. This seems to limit the possibilities to
either Indian chess or Caturaṅga. I would like to leave it to a
specialist to decide which of the two may have been intended.

For the occurrence of vāha in Ma, which for Skt bāṣpa usually has
bāha, see above, p. 170.

26(62 Ma, 63 Tp; 24 Bh, 26 R; K, B, γ, P, 27 ψ, 26 G, ξ, π; 324 S)
Missing in T and W.

ṇa kuṇaṁta ccia maṇṇuṁ ṇisāsu sahasuttadaraviuddhāṇaṁ
suṇṇaiavāsaparimusa- ṇaveṇaṇaṁ jai si jāṇaṁti.

kuṇaṁti Ma, Tp; R; γ, kuṇaṁto K, ψ, B, P; S -- a Ma; vvia ψ; cvia S
maṇṇuṁ Ma, Tp; māṇaṁ Bh, R; K, ψ, B, γ, P; S -- pāsutta Bh, suhasutta
R; K (suhasuhasutta), B, γ, P, sahasulta ψ; suhasutta S -- ora (dara)
Ma -- vidhāṇa Ma, vibuddhāṇaṁ Tp; viuddhāṇa Bh^a, vibuddhāṇa Bh^b,
vivuddhāṇaṁ R; K, ψ, B, γ, P; S; (R, ψ, γ) -- suṇṇāia R; suṇṇayia P --
pāsa Ma, Tp; Bh, R; K, ψ, γ, P; S -- parimasāṇa Bh^a (°musāṇa Bh^b),
parimhasāṇa R; parimūṁsāṇa K, °musa B, °maṁsāṇa γ, °mūsāṇa P --
jai vi Ma, Tp -- jāṇaṁti Ma, jāṇaṁti Tp; jāṇaṁtu ccia Bh^b
jāṇaṁti R; γ.

I would not be so furious if you only realized how much pain
is suffered by those who after having fallen asleep together
(with their husbands) wake up a little in the middle of the
night to discover that the bed beside them has been vacated.

As far as the participles kuṇāṃta (ccia) and jāṇāṃto are concerned the text is based on MS Bh. For my interpretation of the text, see below. For these two participles two sets of variants are available, namely kuṇāṃti (ccia) and jāṇāṃti† (Ma, Tp, R and γ), on the one hand, and kuṇāṃto (ccia) and jāṇāṃto, on the other. On the basis of the results of the stemma the former set would have to be adopted. Then the situation is to be understood as follows. For some unspecified reason the woman is angry at her husband. She is warned not to behave in this way or otherwise one night she will find him gone. The speaker is most probably a sympathetic friend. It is not likely that the words are spoken by the husband himself as he will hardly be aware of, or sympathetic with, the hurt feelings of deserted women as referred to here.

Weber in his editions reads kuṇāṃto (ccia) and jāṇāṃto. He analyzes the situation as follows (Abh., p. 82). This time it is woman who is speaking, to her husband. The latter is apparently in the habit of leaving the bed in order to meet his mistress. During this particular night his wife woke up a little and as it were instinctively felt if he was still lying beside her. The husband took this as a sign of mistrust and reacted angrily. To this his wife replied that he would not be angry if he knew how often she had come to grief in this way.

In my opinion each set of variants represents a different answer to the problem raised by the reading kuṇāṃta ccia...jāṇāṃto found in Bh, which consequently has been adopted. kuṇāṃta in kuṇāṃta ccia stands for kuṇāṃtā, the nominative of the feminine. For another instance of a present participle of the feminine ending in -ā, see 136, in which the MS of the archetype read hoṃtā (Ti, Tp and Bh; later changed into hoṃti†). The situation is to be understood as follows. A woman is speaking to her husband, who the night before sneaked out of the bed in order to meet his mistress. In the morning he returns home as if nothing has happened, showing no regret or shame, which infuriates his wife. With feigned ignorance the husband asks her the reason for her anger.

The text in Bh is unclear in two respects. In the first place kuṇāṃta in kuṇāṃta ccia is ambiguous as it can also be taken as a masculine, e.g. kuṇāṃto (for the type of 'sandhi' assumed here, see *23). This interpretation of kuṇāṃta may have been a real alternative, the more so because instances of the participle of the feminine ending in

-ā are extremely rare. In the second place the subject of the main clause ('I'), which is different from that of the conditional clause ('you'), is not specifically indicated by, for instance, a personal pronoun to distinguish it from that of the conditional clause. This does not mean that the presence of a personal pronoun in the main clause is obligatory (compare Gāthā 216: ṇa pattiaṃtī jai...vāhaviṃdū bhijjāntā), but in this particular case its absence combined with the ambiguity of kuṇānta is awkward.

The two sets of variants would seem to have resulted from attempts to make sense again of the unclear text of Bh. The two sets have in common that the subject of the main clause is the same as that of the conditional clause. In the one case the ambiguity of kuṇānta (ccia) was resolved in favour of kuṇānto, thus bringing it in agreement with jāṇānto. In the other case the rare feminine gender marker -ā was replaced by -ī, the more common one. Compare the fate of hoṃtā, cited above, which was changed into hoṃtī. In order to suit the new context jāṇānto was changed into jāṇāntī.

If my interpretation of the text is correct we should prefer maṇṇuṃ 'anger, fury' (Ma, Tp) to the variant māṇaṃ 'sulking' (all the other MSS), because a sulking woman will never give reasons for her behaviour. Part of māṇa is precisely the refusal to talk. The spelling maṇṭuṃ found in Ma and Tp, with -ṇt- for -ṇṇ-, a confusion which is typical of Jaina Nāgarī, is explained by the fact that the word goes back to the common North-Indian source of Ma and Tp, which, though not necessarily identical to the MS of the archetype, was at least very close to it (see above, pp. 40-1).

For the peculiar use of the present participles kuṇānta and jāṇānto found in this Gāthā, see Hem. III 180.

jai vi jāṇāntī 'even if you would know' found in Ma and Tp does not make sense. The position of si, the second person singular of as- 'to be', found in Bh, R, etc. before the word to which it belongs, viz. jāṇānto, is peculiar. It is likely that si functions as a personal pronoun here (see Alsdorf, 1935-37: 326-7). In any case in the conditional clause no finite form of the verb 'to be' seems required. Compare the following Apa. verse quoted in Hem. IV 351:

bhallā huā ju māriā bahiṇi maharā kaṃtu
lajji(/e)jjaṃtu vayaṃsiahū jai bhaggā gharu eṃtu.

It is good, sister, that my lover was killed.
For he would embarrass me in front of my friends
if he came home beaten.

For the reasons to adopt viuddhāṇa(m) found in Bh rather than vivuddhā-
ṇa(m) found in the other MSS, and vāsa found in B rather than pāsa in
the other MSS, see above, p. 164.

sahasutta is found in Ma, Tp and ψ. The remaining MSS have suhasutta,
which probably is a mere corruption: ṇisāsu sahasutta.

For viuddhāṇaṃ, with -āṇaṃ as found in Tp, see p. 169.

sunṇaia 'vacated' is from sunṇa 'empty' (śūnya). For the type of
formation, compare utṭiṇaia (from utṭṛṇa) found in 170 (read: jhaṃjhā-
vāutṭiṇaiagharavivarapaloṭṭasalliladhārāhiṃ as in T).

parimusāṇa (°masāṇa) is an action noun based on parimu(/a)sa-, from
Skt parimṛś- 'to touch, to discover'.

27(63 Ma, 64 Tp; 25 Bh, 27 R; K, B, γ, P, 28 ψ, 27 G, ξ, π; 529 T;
325 S) Missing in W.

paṇaakuviāṇa doṇha vi aliapasuttāṇa māṇaillāṇa
ṇiccalaṇiruddhaṇṭsā- sadiṇṇaṇṇāṇa ko mallo.

paṇa γ -- kuvidāṇa Tp; kuviāṇaṃ K, kuvioṇa γ -- doṇha Ma, Tp;
dohna Bh^b (dūṇha Bh^a); dorāhaṃ K, dorāha B; doṇa T -- ti Bh^a (vi Bh^b)
-- pasuttāṇaṃ K -- māṇaillāṇa Ma; māṇaillāṇaṃ K, B, māṇaijjāṇa P;
māṇaillāṇaṃ T; S; (Bh, R, ψ, γ) -- bhiṇṇaṇṇāṇa Ma; diṇṇakaṇṇāṇa K
(°ṇaṃ), γ, P, diṣṣaṇṇāṇa B; diṇṇakaṇṇāṇa S.

Daśarūpa, p. 184, Sāhityadarpaṇa, p. 81.

(I wonder) who will be the strongest of these two who,
angry though loving, pretend to be asleep, are full of
pride and lie still, listening carefully to their

suppressed breathing?

For doṇha in the MSS of the North-Indian recensions those of the South-Indian recensions have, here as well as in 162 and 627, doṇṇa; see also 878, a Gāthā found only in T. According to Pischel § 436 the genitive ending -ṇha(ṁ) is typical of M. (cf. Var. VI 59 and Hem. III 123) as well as of AMg., while -ṇṇa(ṁ) would be typical of Ś. and Mg. Here they are MSS variants and the question is which was actually found in the MS of the archetype.

doṇṇa in the South-Indian MSS may be explained as a clerical error for doṇha. Compare kaṇṇa in *25 in T^a beside kaṇṇa in T^b, or saṇṇā in 624 in Ma. Note in this connection that in Tp ḥṇ is invariably preceded by the circle which indicates the doubling of the following consonant. Alternatively, it could be a Śaurasenism. Note in this connection the occasional retention of the intervocalic -t- as -d- typical of that dialect; e.g. bhūdaṁ in *8, kuvidāṇa here and padavīte in 107 (but restricted to Tp and T). Another possible Śaurasenism in the South-Indian MSS is khu (see *39). On the other hand, it is equally possible that doṇha in the MSS of the North-Indian recensions represents an instance of the influence of AMg., of which already other possible instances have been discerned (see *1 and *2).

It is obvious that these arguments do not lead to any decision as to which form should be adopted in the text. In this connection the derivations of the endings may be discussed. Irrespective of the question whether the one is a Śaurasenism and the other an Ardha-Māgadhism, it would appear that the ending -ṇha(ṁ) is the more difficult one and should therefore be adopted.

The starting-point of the ending -ṇṇa(ṁ) may be found in, for instance, catuṇṇām, ṣaṇṇām and possibly also triṇṇām. The derivation of -ṇha(ṁ) is much less obvious. Pischel (loc. cit.) suggests that -ṇha(ṁ) in doṇha(ṁ) goes back to *dvausṇām, itself a contaminated form of *doṇaṁ and *doṣaṁ. As an alternative I should like to suggest to derive -ṇha(ṁ) from the feminine, as in catasṇām or tisṇām. It has to be assumed then that these numerals, as a special class of words, have lost their penultimate syllable. *catasṇām and *tisṇām would have developed into cauṇha(ṁ) (the -u- from cau-) and tiṇha(ṁ) respectively,

and from there the ending -ṇha(m) would have been transferred to the other numerals. Regarding the use of the feminine of the number 'two' with reference to the masculine and the neutre as well it should be noted that in Pkt with the numerals above 'one' the gender-distinction appears to have been lost; see Pischel, loc. cit. Note do i dukkhāi, with do from Skt dvau, in *24.

alia 'false' (cf. Pāli alika) corresponds to Skt alīka (see Pāiyāl. 53 and Hem. I 101). Pischel § 80 and Geiger § 23 derive ali(k)a directly from Skt alīka. They explain the shortening of the -ī- in alia from the position of the accent on the first syllable. Evidence for the workings of such an accent is slender (see *24). Obviously we have here to do with two different suffixes, -ika in ali(k)a and -īka in alīka.

māṇailla 'sulking' consists of mānaka and -illa. -ka in mānaka may be svārthe. It is also possible that mānaka means 'sulking' by itself (AIG II 2, § 362 d), in which case -illa has merely an emphatic function (compare -ullaa in paḍhamullaa, discussed in *15).

For the meaning of mallā, 'the strongest, the winner', compare H. an. 2, 505 (balin) and Trik. 3,3,405 and Med. 1,44 (balīyaṃs) (quoted in PW, s.v.).

28(64 Ma, 65 Tp; 26 Bh, 28 R; K, B, γ, P, 29 ψ, 28 G, ξ, π; 173 T; 49Q S) Missing in W.

ṇavalaapaharaṃ aṃge jahiṃ jahiṃ mahai dearo dāuṃ
romaṇcadaṃḍarāt tahiṃ tahiṃ dīṣai vahūe.

kuḷaya Bh; ṇavalai K, ψ, B, γ, P; T; S -- hāraṃ (paharaṃ) B --
jaha jahiṃ Ma -- devaro Ma; deuro Bh, devaro R; K, γ, P; T; S --
daṃḍarāt K, daṃturaiṃya γ -- vaehūe Ma.

Wherever on her body her brother-in-law takes pleasure
in beating her with a young creeper, there appears (her
defence in the form of) a line of sticks formed by the
thrill of her hairs.

The relation between a woman and her husband's younger brother (devara) is characterized by flirtatious behaviour, in which often the woman herself takes the initiative (see Gāthā 456 quoted below). Equally frequently the devara goes too far and the woman has great trouble in keeping him in check (see *38 and 59). In 456 the woman provokes the devara into beating her with a young creeper. Gāthā 456 reads as follows (text according to R):

dhāvai purao pāse- su bhamai diṭṭhīpahammi saṁṭhāi
ṇavalayajuttaa eaṁ de devara paharasu varāiṁ.

She runs in front of you, wanders on both sides
and stands in your view as you hold a young
creeper in your hands. Go ahead, devara, use it
on the poor thing!

From Gāthā 862 it would appear that such beatings were part of the love-play between husband and wife. According to Ti and Tp this Gāthā should read:

ṇavalaapaharottatthā- e taṁ kiṁ pi haliaputtīe
jaṁ ajja vi juvaijaṇo ghare ghare sikkhiṁ mahai.

What even now every young woman in every house takes
pleasure in learning, that thing the farmer's daughter
does only when she is frightened of being beaten with a
young creeper.

By provoking the devara into beating her with a young creeper she gives him all kinds of ideas. Furthermore, the way she defends herself can only encourage him to go on and take even greater liberties with her. The risen hairs on her body, which look like even so many sticks, are signs of her enjoyment of the situation. For hairs raised on a woman's body from pleasure functioning as a kind of protection, see also Gāthā 96. Compare also the Skt expression romāñcakañcuka in Sprüche 3274.

ṇavalaā is from Skt navalatā. The variant ṇavalai is from ṇavalaya, with -i- for -ya-.

Pkt pahara 'beating' corresponds to Skt prahāra; see Var. I 10 and Hem. I 68. Most likely they represent different formations from the verb prahr-, Skt prahāra being formed through Vrddhi and Pkt pahara through Guṇa. Pkt also has pahāra, for which, see *8.

maha-, mentioned in Hem. IV 192 among the Ādeśas for kāñkṣ- 'to wish', is from Skt mah- 'to rejoice, to like to'. It is constructed with an infinitive (139 and 862) as well as with an accusative (510).

For deara each time a variant devara is available. The latter seems to have been introduced secondarily under the influence of Skt devara (see above, p. 163). Here dearo in Tp, ψ and B, devaro in Ma, R, K, γ, P, T and S, and deuro in Bh, 456 devara in R, deura in Bh, 690 deara in ψ, γ and S, devara in R, 771 deara in S, devara in R, 872 dearo in Tp (Ma has only de), devaro in T, and 963 deara in W. Beside deara a form diara occurs, for which, see *38.

29(65 Ma, 66 Tp; 27 Bh, 29 R; K, B, γ, P, 30 ψ, 29 G, ξ, π; 272 T; 368 S) Missing in W.

ajja mae deṇa viṇā aṇuhūasuhāi saṁbharaṁtTe
ahiṇavamehāṇa rao ṇisāvio vajjhapaḍaha vva.

teṇa Ma, Tp; Bh, R; K, ψ, B, γ, P; S -- aṇumhūa K; aṇubhūda T --
saṁbhavaṁtTe Ma; saṁbharaṁtTe K, saṁmaraṁtTe ψ, saṁmmaraṁtTe B,
saṁraṁbhaṁtTe P -- mehāṇaṁ K, meghāṇa B -- ravo Ma, Tp; Bh, R, K,
ψ, B, γ, P; S -- ṇisāmio Tp; Bh, R; K, B, γ, P; ṇisāmio ψ;
ṇisāmio T; S -- vajja Tp; R; vajjhā K, vajja ψ, γ, P; S --
paḍahu Bh, paḍaho R; ψ, B, γ, P, paḍuho K; paḍaho T; S.

Today thinking over the pleasures I had without
him the thunder of the first rainclouds sounds
like the execution-drum.

Usually in the absence of the husband thunder produces anxiety about his timely return home. In this Gāthā the thunder produces fear of

punishment, as the comparison of it to the sound of the execution-drum suggests. Therefore deṇa viṇā is to be linked to following aṇuhāsuhāi. However, the position of deṇa viṇā after ajja mae and before aṇuhā-suhāi is ambiguous, which seems intentional.

For the reasons to adopt deṇa and rao, both found in T, rather than teṇa and ravo found in the other MSS, see above, p. 164. For other instances of deṇa, see *15.

For saṁbhara 'to remember' and for ṇisāvio beside ṇisāmio, see *22. vajjhapaḍaḥa 'execution-drum'; compare Skt vadhyapaṭaḥa and Pāli vajjhapaṭaḥabheri. The variant vajja may be due to a misreading of the Jaina Nāgarī ligature for -jjh- (𑀧𑀭𑀮) as -jj- (𑀧𑀭). As Tp has vajja, vajjha in Ma is most likely an emendation.

30(66 Ma, 67 Tp; 28 Bh, 30 R; K, B, γ, P, 31 ψ, 30 G, ε, π; 543 S)
Missing in T and W.

ṇikkia jābhTrua duddamsaṇa ṇimvakṭṭaasariccha
gāmo gāmaṇiṇaṇa tujjha kae taha vi taṇuāi.

ṇikkiva Ma, Tp; Bh, R; ψ, B, P, ṇikkava γ; ṇikkiva S -- jābhTrua P
-- ṇiddassaṇa Ma -- ṇibva Ma, ṇimba Tp; ṇimva K; (Bh, R, ψ, γ) --
kṭṭayasāriccha Bh; kṭṭasāriccha K (°iccha), ψ, B, γ, P; S -- gāmiṇi Ma;
Bh, R; K, ggamaṇi ψ; gāmiṇi S -- kujja Ma; tujjhha K -- taṇuā Ma.

Afraid of your wife you are cruel, hiding yourself
like a worm in a (bitter) neem-fruit. You are a true
war-leader! Still the whole village grows thin
because of you.

Thieme (1937: 117) has suggested that the word gāmaṇī (Skt grāmaṇī) occurring in the Sattasaṭ is used in its Vedic sense of 'leader of an army (grāma)'. This in a way unexpected sense would explain why the word is marked as 'Deśī'; see Pāṇini. 104 gāmaṇī bhoṭo ya gāmaṇī, and Deśīn. II 89: gāmapahāṇe gāmaṇigāmauḍaggāmagohagohā ya. The function of the gāmaṇī is to protect the village (gāma or, as in *33 and 630, a pallī). His heroism and constant desire for battle stand in the way

of being a good husband or lover (*33) and are a worry to his relatives (630). He is cruel, always from home, preferring a life of hardship above a life of leisure at home. The man addressed is afraid of his wife (jāābhīrua) which makes him cruel (ṇikkia), too, namely in the eyes of the women he avoids (duddamsaṇa), as he apparently finds the pleasures they promise not worth a domestic quarrel. This has given him the reputation of being like a worm in a bitter neem-fruit (see also 878). With such a gāmaṇī-like man about the village would be expected to prosper but instead its women grow thin being unable to meet him.

For the reasons to adopt ṇikkia found only in K instead of ṇikkiva found in the other MSS, see above, p. 164.

The word ṇaṇḍaṇa 'son' in gāmaṇīṇaṇḍaṇa would specifically denote 'someone belonging to the caste or profession of...'. Note Alsdorf's discussion of putra in the compound mantriputra (1950: 358-360). Beside ṇaṇḍaṇa, in this text occur (p)utta (haliautta in 84 and gāmaṇī-utta in *33) and sua (gahavaisua in 106); for the feminine are found (p)uttī, suā and dhūā.

31(68 Ma, 69 Tp; 29 Bh, 31 R; 191 K, 190 ψ, 192 γ, 198 P, 188 G, 37 ξ, π; 389 T; 326 S) Missing in B, W and χ.

neurakoḍivilaggaṃ cihuraṃ daiassa pāvaḍiassa
hīaṃ māṇapautthaṃ ummoṃti ccia kahei.

aiura γ, nevura P; nepura T -- ciuraṃ Ma; K (ciuran), ψ, γ, P; S --
daissa Bh^a, paṇo Bh^b -- pāapaḍiassa Ma, Tp; pāyalaggassa R;
pāapaḍiassa K, ψ, γ, P; T; S -- māṇapautthe Ma; paḍatthamāṇaṃ R;
pautthamāṇaṃ K, ψ, γ (paḍattha^o), P; T; S -- umoyaṃti Bh^a,
omoṃti Bh^b -- ccaya Bh^a (cciya Bh^b); via K, vvia γ; S.

Daśarūpa, p. 187 (māṇapautthaṃ!).

By freeing the hair of her husband who had fallen at her feet, from the clasp of her anklet, she indicated that pride still kept her heart far away.

For the position of this Gāthā here as 31, see above, p. 161.

māṇapautthaṃ which is found in Ma and Tp, on the one hand, and in Bh, on the other, goes back to the MS of the archetype. Bhuvanapāla (Ist., p. 40) explains it as a Bahuvrīhi-compound in which the order of its members is reversed, meaning '(the heart) from which the sulking mood has disappeared' (for instances in Skt of such compounds, see Gonda, 1968: 246). This interpretation seems to have been generally accepted as appears from the variant pautthamāṇaṃ. In my opinion, however, we should accept the compound as it stands and take it as a Tatpuruṣa, meaning '(the heart) (still) away or distant because of the sulking mood' (compare pauttha, literally '(physically) abroad', in the expression ekkaggāma ccia pauttho in 129). My interpretation agrees with the fact that the woman is silent using gestures instead of words, which is an indication that her sulking mood is not over at all.

Var. II 4 and Hem. I 186 derive Pkt cihura by a special rule from Skt cikura 'hair on the head'. Skt cikura would regularly have become ciura, which is actually found in this and the other instances in which the word occurs as a variant; see, for instance, 273 in which cihura in Ma, Ti, Tp, Bh, R, ψ, P and S and ciura in γ and T. The latter is obviously an 'emendation' for cihura which does not have a clear derivation from Skt (Skt cikhura is found only in the lexicons).

For the reasons to adopt pāvaḍiassa as found in Bh instead of oḍiassa found in the other MSS, see above, p. 164.

32(69 Ma, 70 Tp; 30 Bh, 32 R; 197 K, 196 ψ, 198 γ, 194 G, 38 ξ, π; 322 T; 420 S) Missing in B, P, W and χ.

sā tai sahatthadiṇṇaṃ ajja vi o suhaa gaṇḍharahiaṃ pi
uvvasiaṇaaraharade- vae vva ṇomāliaṃ vahai.

tue Tp; taṃ R; tui K, γ; tue T -- suhattha K -- diṇṇaa Ma; diṇṇaṃ K
-- ajjha Bh; aja K -- u Bh; re K, ψ, γ; S -- gaṇḍharahiaṃ Bh;
aṇḍharahiaṃ K -- uccasia ψ -- ghara Ma, Tp; Bh, R; ψ, ghara
missing in γ; ghara T; S -- devaa vva Ma; Bh, R; devau vau K,
devada vva γ; devaa vva T; S -- omāliyaṃ Bh, ṇomāṇiaṃ R;
(devau va) u māliaṃ K; omāliaṃ S.

Pāda d quoted in Hem. I 38 (omālayaṁ vahai).

Still she wears the navamālikā-flower, o handsome man,
you gave her personally, though it has lost all fragrance,
like a house-god (in a house) in a deserted town.

For the present position of the Gāthā as 32, see above, p. 161.

For tai, the instrumental and locative (once, in 338) of the personal pronoun of the second person singular, practically each time a variant tui is available. Its long form tae has a variant tue. The MS of the archetype seems in most cases to have had tai and tae, ascertained through its occurrence in Ma, Ti and Tp, on the one hand, and Bh and R, on the other. Admittedly Ti and Tp often have tui. (T always has tue, for which, see below. S and the Vulgata MSS vary.) tai is comparable to the nominative taṁ, tui to the other nominative tumaṁ and the genitives tuha and tujjha. These three forms, which together are much more numerous than taṁ, may have suggested the idea that tui was more correct than tai. The instances of tai and tae are the following:

*34 tai Ti, Tp, R, S, tae ψ, B, tuha Bh, tue K, γ, tu(yavva) P, tue T, tui W; 137 tae Ti, Tp, Bh, R, K, ψ, tue γ, P, T, S; 194 tai Ma, Bh, ψ, S, taṁ R, tue Tp, T, tui K, γ; 212 tai Ti, Tp, Bh, R, K, ψ, S, tuha γ, ita P, tue T; 215 tai Ti, Tp, Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, tui P, tue T, tuha S; 352 tae Bh, R, K, ψ, γ, tai S, tue T; 437 tai Ma, Ti, Tp, ψ, γ, S, tue T; 478 tae Ma, Bh, R, tue Tp, (Ti lacuna), ψ, γ, S; 667 tae ψ, tue γ, T; 700 tai Ma, Bh, K, P, tuha R, tui γ, tue T, S; 811 tai S; 826 tue T; 860 tue W (tumae T); 876 tue Ti, Tp, T, W; 912 tae Ma, tue Ti, Tp, T; 919 tai Tp (tui pr. m.), ruṇai Ti, tue T.

The occurrence of tai and tae is entirely regulated by the metre. It is possible to explain the final -i in tai as a graphical representation of -ě. However, it is uncertain if and how far the writing of i for ě was carried out in the MS of the archetype, especially for -ě in an open syllable. Alternatively, tai may have been an independent word in Pkt existing side by side with tae. Its form, with -i after short

a, became only common in Apa. For another Apa. word already occurring in Pkt, see aha discussed in *23. In fact, the occasional occurrence of the variant tae or tue (i.e. taě, tuě) for tai would betray attempts to remove this Apa. form from the text.

For an explanation of the origin of the variant aṁdharahiaṁ found in K, see above, p. 165.

For the particle o, see Var. IX 4 (o sūcanāpaścāttāpavikalpeṣu) and Hem. II 203 (o sūcanāpaścāttāpe).

Of the verb udvas- Skt has only the causative, i.e. udvāsay-, meaning 'to remove, to destroy' (cf. uvvāsia 'removed' in Gāthā 106). The participle uvvasia, from uvvasa-, seems to mean 'deserted, fallen in disuse' (from there possibly also 'dilapidated'; cf. uvvasia in 233, quoted in the note on *7); compare (late) Skt udvasa 'uninhabited, empty' (Rājatarāṅgiṇī), 'solitude' (Śatruṁjaya-Māhātmya; MW).

For the reasons to adopt hara found in K instead of ghara found in the other MSS, see above, p. 164.

For devae vva (Tp, ψ) beside devaa vva of the other MSS, see *23.

ṇomāliā corresponds according to Hem. I 170 to Skt navamālikā 'Jasminum sambac'. Var. I 7 has ṇomalliā, i.e. Skt navamallikā 'id'. The variant omāliāṁ (Bh, K, S) undoubtedly is a corruption for ṇomāliāṁ, which may be due to preceding o suhaa. As becomes clear from the quotation of part of the last Pāda of this Gāthā in I 38 Hemacandra used a MS of the Sattasaṭī which contained this corruption. His subsequent dealings with the word omāliāṁ are illustrative of his method. The context suggests that it denotes flowers offered to a deity, which, moreover, had lost their fragrance. In II 92 Hemacandra ad hoc produced a Skt word avamālya, which would be synonymous with nirmālya 'the remains of an offering (of flowers) to a deity' (I 38).

33(70 Ma, 71 Tp; 31 Bh, 33 R; 31 K, B, γ, 32 ψ, P, 31 G, ξ, π; 653 S) Missing in T and W.

paharavaṇamaggavisame	jāā iccheṇa lahai se ṇiddaṁ
gāmaṇiuttassa ure	pallī uṇa se suhaṁ suai.

papahara Ma -- viṇa (vaṇa) R -- magā P; magvā S -- kiccheṇa Ma;

Bh, R; K, ψ, B, γ, P; S -- mahai Bh^a (lahai Bh^b) -- niddhañ P --
 gomiñi Ma; gāmiñi Bh; K, γ; S -- outtasya B, P -- vallī P --
 uṇa sā K, γ, ua ṇa sā P -- suhai (suañ suai) P -- suvai Ma, Tp; S.

The war-leader's wife sleeps with difficulty, lying against
 his chest which is rough with scars from wounds of (sword-)
 strokes. His village, though, sleeps soundly.

For pahara 'stroke', see *28, and for gāmañī 'war-leader' and the use
 of the word (p)utta, see *30.

For the reasons to adopt iccheṇa found in Tp instead of kiccheṇa
 found in the other MSS, see above, p. 165.

For the reasons to adopt suai instead of suvai, see above, p. 167.

34(601 Ti, Tp; 32 Bh, 34 R; 32 K, B, γ, 33 ψ, 31 P, 32 G, ξ, π; 518 T;
 533 S; 95 W)

aha saṁbhāvia maggo suhaa tai ccea ṇavari ṇivvūḍho
 eṇhiṁ hiae aṇṇaṁ aṇṇaṁ vāāe loassa.

sabbhāvia Tp; savbhāvi(y)a Bh, R; saṁbhovia K; sabbhāvia T; sabbhāvia S;
 savbhāvia W -- tuha Bh; tue K, γ, tae ψ, B, tu(ya?) P; tue T; tui W -
 - vyea Ma; cceva R; jecca K, jevva γ, (tuya)vva P; vvea S; ccia W --
 ṇivara Ma, ṇavara Tp; Bh^b, R; K (oṇaṁ), ψ, B, γ (oṇaṁ), P; T; S; W --
 ṇivvūḍho Ma -- ihniṁ S -- iae aṇṇaṁ Ma; aṇṇaṁ hi(y)ae Bh, R; hiae
 aṇṇaṁ T^a -- second aṇṇaṁ missing in Ma -- vāāi R; K, ψ, B, γ, P; S.

Handsome man, that (old) esteemed course is no longer
 accomplished by anyone else but you. Nowadays there is
 one thing in a person's heart and another in his speech.

The '(old) esteemed course' refers to speaking the truth. The Gāthā
 is addressed to a man who accidentally addressed his wife with his
 mistress's name (gotraskhalana).

For aha, see *23; for tai, *32; and for ṇavari (Bh^a), *15.

35(71 Ma, 72 Tp; 33 Bh, 35 R; 33 K, B, γ, P, 34 ψ, 33 G, ξ, π; 527 T; 309 S; 36 W)

uṇhaṁ viṇṭsasaṁto āliṁgasi kṭsa maṁ parāhuttiṁ
hīaṁ palṭviaṁ aṇu- saeṇa paṭṭhiṁ palṭvesi.

In Ma lacuna from parā(huttiṁ) onwards.

uṇṇā viṇṭ^o Ma; uṇḥāi ṇṭsasaṁto Bh, R; K (uṇḥāiṁ), ψ, B, γ, P; T;
uṇṇāi ṇṭsasaṁto S; uṇṇa viṇṭsasaṁto W -- sa(y)añaddhe kṭsa me
parāhuttiṁ Bh^b (°hutti Bh^a), R; kṭsa mae paraṁmuhṭe saañaddhe K
(°hṭee), γ (°hṭa), P (sahaṇa°), kṭsa mahaṁ paraṁmuhṭa saañaddhe ψ, B;
kṭsa maha paraṁkkhuhṭa saañaddhe S; kṭsa hma paraṁmuhṭe sayañaddhe W --
palṭvium Bh^b (°iyam Bh^a); ψ, palṭviūṇa K, palṭviūṇa B, γ, paliliūṇam P;
palṭvia T; palṭvium S; paliyā W -- puṭṭhiṁ R; K (°ṭṭhṭ°), ψ, B, γ, P;
paṭṭhaṁ T; puṭṭhiṁ S; peṭṭhaṁ W -- palṭvesu γ; valāvesi T^a,
palāvesi T^b; peleppayasi W.

Why do you, sighing hot sighs, embrace me from behind?
(First) you burnt my heart (and now) you burn my back
with your repentance

The word aṇusaa (Skt anuśaya) 'regret, repentance' provides a pun, as etymologically it denotes 'lying close'.

For hutta 'directed towards' (Hem. II 158), see also 145 and 896 (parāhutta), 373 (aṁtohuttaṁ) and 696 (gharahuttamaṇeṇa). The derivation suggested by Weber from bhūta (Retr., p. 410; cf. Hem. II 99: hutta from bhūta) fails to convince, from the point of the meaning as well as from the fact that hutta for bhūta does not actually occur.

For paṭṭhī 'back' beside Skt prṣṭha, see *11.

uṇhaṁ viṇṭsasaṁto is based on Ma, Tp and W. uṇḥāi in the variant uṇḥāi ṇṭsasaṁto is problematic. It would through ellipsis stand for 'hot sighs'. However, such ellipsis is, as far as I know, not very common in Skt, which even tends to the opposite; note such expressions as tapas tap-. Possibly it originates from a corruption, like the one found in Ma, uṇṇā viṇṭsasaṁto, which was subsequently corrected into uṇḥāi ṇṭsasaṁto.

The available variants seem to indicate that the peculiar position in the present text of kīsa after, instead of what might be expected before, ālīṃgasi was misunderstood. kīsa was subsequently linked to palīvesi, as a result of which the word ālīṃgasi lost its proper context, and the accusative mañ made no longer any sense. ālīṃgasi was replaced by saṇṇaddhe, and the accusative mañ by a genitive; e.g. me in Bh and R (side by side with accusative parāhuttiṃ!). In this new sentence, kīsa ...palīvesi, palīviañ makes no sense. The word palīviañ, which beside in Ma, Tp and T (and W) is also found in Bh^a, is therefore most likely a retention, even though in the adopted text the absolutive palīvium (Bh^b, ψ and S) would also fit well. The second line consists of two independent sentences, namely hīaṃ palīviañ, 'my heart is already burnt (by you)', and anusaṇṇa paṭṭhiṃ palīvesi, '(now) you burn my back with your repentance.'

36(73 Ma, 74 Tp; 34 Bh, 36 R; 192 K, 191 ψ, 193 γ, 199 P, 189 G, 39 ξ, π; 346 T; 410 S) Missing in B, W and χ.

tujjhaṃgarāsesa- ṇa sāmāṭṭ taha khareṇa somālā
sā ira golātūhe ṇhāā jaṃvūkasāṇa.

tumhaṃgaaseseṇa K, tujha^o γ, P -- rāga S -- sāmila Ma -- teha Ma -- śāarena K -- somārā K, ψ, γ, saumāra P; somārā S -- suirañ Bh, R; sā kira K, ψ, γ, P; T (kila); S -- godā K, godā S -- rūhe Ma, titthe Tp; rūhe R; K, lacuna in P; tīre T -- jaṃbū Ma, Tp; K (ombū), B, P; T; S; (Bh, R, ψ, γ).

They say that that dark and (taha) soft-skinned woman bathed herself in the Godāvarṭ at the (same) bathing-place with the biting lotion of the jaṃbū-treebark left over from your bath.

For the present position of the Gāthā as 36, see above, p. 161.

jaṃvūkasā refers to the astringent juice extracted from the bark of the jaṃbū-tree. Because of its astringent nature it must have hurt the woman who is expressly said to have a tender skin (somālā). The juice

is used for a number of things, e.g. as a black dye (see Watts III, pp. 284-6). It is therefore foolish of the woman to apply it to her already dark skin (sāmalī), the more so as for women a light-coloured skin is favoured, which they try to bring about by using a lotion of turmeric (see 58, 80 and 246). The woman is apparently desperately longing to be touched by the man (cf. *16 in which the woman begs to be touched by the same moonbeams that touch her lover). The Gāthā has a counterpart in 246 in which a man is drinking the water of the river mixed with bitter turmeric used by his beloved as a bathing-lotion. In this case, too, it probably concerns a bathing-lotion floating on the water after the man's bath. In any case it is unlikely that he left it behind in some jar on the bank of the river for anybody else to use it. It would seem to appear from this Gāthā that men tried to enhance the blackness of their skins. Note in this connection the following Apa. verse found in Hem. IV 330, which indeed seems to comment favourably on the contrast of the lightness of the woman's skin and the blackness of that of the man:

ḍhollā sāmalā dhaṇ(i)a caṇpavaṇṇṭ
nāi suvaṇṇareha kasavaṭṭai diṇṇṭ.

The ḍholla is dark, his wife campaka-coloured.

It looks like a streak of gold on a (black) touch-stone!

For tūha 'bathing-place' beside Skt tīrtha (Pkt tittha), see Mayrhofer, EWA II, p. 507, and Turner, CDIAL 5903. tūha is mentioned in Hem. I 104 and II 72. The variant rūhe in Ma, R and K probably rests on a misreading of the Jaina Nāgarī symbol for tū as rū (note Weber's hesitation regarding the reading of Bh, which could be tūhe or rūhe; IST., p. 41). The variant titthe in Tp possibly is an emendation for this rūhe in the source of Tp. See also 58: rūha in R and Ma and tittha in Tp.

For the variant teha in Ma, for taha, see *1.

Other instances of ira (Ma and Tp; cf. suiram in Bh and R) beside kira are found in 499 tassa (vi?) ira in Ma (cf. Hem. II 186: tassa ira, which probably is a quotation) against tassa kira in Tp, ψ, γ, .T and W

and tasseva in R and S, and 773 ko ira in S against ko kira in R. The loss of the initial k-, which is restricted to its occurrence after vowels (contrast kallaṃ kira in *50), may be explained from the less emphatic or tense pronunciation of this particle (see also the note on *15). The variant kira would seem to have been introduced secondarily in the MSS individually or in some earlier stage in the transmission of certain branches. Pkt (k)ira corresponds to Skt kila (Var. IX 5 and Hem. II 186; the latter mentions ira as well). For the meaning 'it is reported or said', see Emeneau (1969: 43-54).

For somāla 'soft, tender', corresponding to Skt sukumāra, see Var. II 30 and Hem. I 171, 254; see also Turner, CDIAL 13448. The variant somārā, which is not taught by the Pkt grammarians, is an innovation based on Skt sukumāra.

The word golā is glossed with godāvarī 'the Godāvarī river' (Paiyal. 132 and Deśīn. II 104). The relation between this golā and Skt godāvarī is as yet unclear; see Lüders (1942: 34).

37(35 Bh, 37 R; 34 K, B, γ, P, 35 ψ, 34 G, ξ, π; 304 T; 341 S)
Missing in Ma, Ti, Tp and W.

tuha virāhe ciraāraa tissā nivaḍaṃtavāhamailēṇa
rairahasiharadhaēṇa va muheṇa chāhi ccia ṇa pattā.

tuva B -- viraye P -- vi(y)alaṃta Bh, R; nivaḍaṃta K --
bāha B; T -- maiṃleṇa K; sailēṇa S² -- ravi Bh, R -- dhavēṇa Bh^b;
dhvaēṇa K -- vva P; S -- chāi Bh; chāyi P; chāaṃ S -- cvia S.

As long as you haven't returned, slow traveller, her face
spoiled by falling tears, will not regain its natural lustre
like the chariot of the sun, a (mountain)peak or a banner,
which never enter into the shade.

Weber translates rairahasiharadhaēṇa with 'the banner on top of the chariot of the sun'. This translation does not do full justice to the word sihara (Skt śikhara). Instead I should like to suggest to analyze the compound as a Dvandva enumerating three objects which never enter

the shade, namely the chariot of the sun, a mountainpeak and a banner. For a Dvandva in the singular, see AIG II 1, §§ 68-70, which, however mentions only instances consisting of two items; but see vāyagnivipram in Mānava-Dharmaśāstra IV 48. Note in rairahasiharadhaa the significant order in the enumeration of the items, from something high in the sky to something comparatively low to the ground, which is a feature of Dvandva-compounds (AIG II 1, § 71). Another instance in the Sattasaī of this type of Dvandva is probably ālihiabhittivāulliaṁ in 217. This Gāthā reads as follows (vāulliaṁ as found in Ti and Tp):

taṁ mittam kāvvaṁ jaṁ kira vasaṇammi desaālammi
ālihiabhittivāul- liaṁ va ṇa paraṁmuhaṁ ṭhāi.

That man is to be made a friend, who is known in times of misfortune, when and where he is needed, not to stand with his face averted, like something drawn, like an (immovable) wall or like a puppet (? which cannot move away by itself).

For Pkt chāhī beside chāā (Skt chāyā), see Var. II 18, where the intrusion of the -h- is noted, and V 24, where the commentator Bhāmaha mentions chāhī as showing the substitution of the feminine gender marker -ī for -ā (cf. Hem. III 34). Hemacandra in I 129 makes an interesting observation regarding the occurrence of chāhī; when it occurs it would always mean 'shadow' or 'shade' and never 'beauty' or 'lustre' (akāntau). The few times chāhī occurs in the Setubandha it indeed means 'shade' or 'shadow' (see X 37, 47, 48, 54 and 55). In the Sattasaī it occurs four times, namely here, in *41, 49 and 136. Here and in 49 and 136 (for the instance in *41, see below) it means indeed 'shade' or 'shadow'; in the Gāthā under discussion, however, only secondarily, by way of a pun. This shows that the distinction made between Pkt chāā and chāhī is spurious. It is possible that Hemacandra overlooked this instance or that in the MS of the Sattasaī he had before him the text read chāā, as is the case in Bh (chāi, i.e. chāya) and S (chāam).

The origin of the form chāhī beside chāā (chāyā) is uncertain. Turner, CDIAL 4027, suggests that it is due to contamination of chāā with ā(b)hā or p(r)a(b)hā 'light'. Ghosal (1959: 256- 259) suggests that the -h- is

a glide. A fanciful derivation is found in Pischel § 255. Whatever its origin, the form is in any case also found in some NIA languages.

38(74 Ma, 75 Tp; 36 Bh, 38 R; 35 K, B, γ, P, 36 ψ, 35 G, ξ, π; 394 T; 526 S) Missing in W.

diarassa asuddhamāṇas- sa kulavahū ṇiaakuḍḍalihiāi
diahāṁ kahei rāmā- ṇulaggasomitticariāi.

daaraṁsa Ma, devaraassa Tp -- addhasuddhamāṇassa Ma, asuddhaamaṇassa Tp; asudda° K, ṣudda° γ -- kulabahū R; kulavahuā K, kulabahuā γ, P - ṇaṇi Ma; niya Bh; ṇia K, ψ, B, γ, P -- kuḍḍi Bh^a (°ḍḍa Bh^b); kuḍu K, P, kui B; kuḍḍu S -- lihi(y)āiṁ Bh; K (°āiṁ), B, P; lihiaāiṁ T; lihiāiṁ S; (R, ψ, γ) -- somitta Bh; saumitti K -- cariyāiṁ Bh; carīāiṁ K, carjāiṁ B, P; T; S; (R, ψ, γ).

The good wife takes all day to tell her young brother-in-law, who has improper intentions, about the adventures of Sumitrā's son; the devoted brother of Rāma, though these were drawn on the walls of their very own house.

The term kulavahū denotes a wife who by her behaviour avoids any harm or embarrassment to her husband's family. In this Gāthā she tactfully deals with her husband's younger brother, devara, who misbehaves towards her. She does not expose his behaviour to the other members of the household which would only result in a quarrel between him and her husband and finally in a rift in the family (see Gāthā 59). Instead she tells him edifying tales about the ideal devara Lakṣmaṇa. Thus she makes him understand she knows what he is up to. However, these tales were depicted on the walls of their own house, so the devara will already have been quite familiar with them. This and the fact that she takes the whole day for it should indicate to him that she is not at all averse from his company.

diara 'brother-in-law', husband's younger brother' goes back to Skt devara (see Var. I 34 and Hem. I 146). Otherwise Pkt has deara (see *28). It is possible to recognize in this diara beside deara an early instance

of the development found in Bengali, of -e- in the neighbourhood of an hiatus changing into -i-. As an example Bloch (1934: 44) quotes siult from Skt śephālikā. Turner, on the other hand, suggests that the special development found in diara goes back to the use of the word expressing a certain degree of intimacy (CDIAL 6546). The pair diara-deara has an exact parallel in vianā (64) beside veanā (e.g. *26) (both from vedanā), of which the former could then be taken to denote a 'terrible pain' against the latter which would simply denote 'pain'.

39(75 Ma, 76 Tp; 37 Bh, 39 R; 36 K, B, γ, P, 37 ψ, 85 P^b, 36 G, ξ, π; 404 T; 572 S) In P this Gāthā occurs as 36 and a second time after 85, itself numbered 85. Missing in W.

caccaraghariṇī piadaṁ- saṇā a taruṇī pautthavaiā a
asaī saajjiā dug- gaā a ṇa hu khaṁḍiaṁ sīlaṁ.

cattara Bh; K, ψ, B, cattaa γ, P^b, a P -- dassaṇā Ma; daṣaṇā P, dasaṇā P^b -- e Ma; vi S -- pautthapaiā Ma, Tp; pautthadaiyā Bh^a (°vaiyā Bh^b); °daiā K, γ, P, °taiā P^b, °paiā ψ, B; T -- e Ma; a missing in P, P^b -- saamḍhiā Tp; saajjiā R; K, ψ, B, γ (°mjiā), P, sahadhyā P; saacciā T; saajhjiā S -- duggaā e Ma; a duggāā ψ, B -- ṇa kkhū Ma, ṇa khu Tp; ṇa ya Bh, puṇa R; ṇu hu P^b -- khaṁḍia B, khaṁḍiaṁ missing in P -- sīlai Ma.

A beautiful housewife living on a busy road, a young woman whose husband is abroad, an unchaste neighbour who is poor, (who believes that) propriety is not lost?

Hem. II 12 equates caccara with Skt catvara 'crossroad' (i.e. where four roads meet). The etymology of caccara is as yet unclear. Schwarzschild (1956: 112) suggests that caccara derives from cattara (+catvara) which was contaminated with the verb car-, as in saṁcara 'road'.

I should like to suggest that Pkt (and Pāli) caccara is from *carcara 'a place where there is a constant coming and going', from there 'crossroad' (as a place where traffic accumulates). Note that in the Sattasaī caccara each time indeed in particular denotes a place where a lot of people

pass (see *47). catvara is merely a convenient Skt gloss. Its Pkt derivative, cattara, has in some MSS been entered into the text as the more familiar formation, for original caccara.

For the reasons to adopt pautthavaiā (Bh^b, S) instead of °paiā, see above, p. 164.

Pāiyā 236 mentions the word saajjha, of which saajjhiā is an extended formation, as a synonym of samosia 'living together' (sam-ā-vas-). DeśTn. VIII 10 translates saijjha (for sayajjha) with paḍivesia 'neighbour', which as a gloss is also found in most of the commentaries on the SattasaT; see, for instance, Kulanātha, quoted in Abh., p. 86, and pāḍivesa in 335 in W in the Pkt text. In this connection it should be noted that DeśTn. VIII 49 translates samosia (see above) with paḍivesi. This meaning 'neighbour' returns in the derivatives of the word in Mar.; e.g. śejT 'neighbour'. Turner, CDIAL 13077, derives saajjha from *sagṛhya which would mean 'living side by side' (cf. Vedic sakṣit 'living together or side by side').

The variant saajjiā may be due to a misreading of the Jaina NāgarT ligature for -jjh- as -jj-; see the note to *29. saamḍhiā in Tp is the Pkt form of sagandhikā 'relative' with which Mādhavayajvamiśra translates saajjhiā. See also T^c, quoted in Retr., p. 428: (ta?)sagandhika prātivesika, and V, quoted in Ed., p. 124: sa(m)gandha. For the variant saamḍhiā, for saajjhiā, see also 335 (Tp °mḍhia), 848 (Ti, Tp) and 849 (Ti, Tp, T).

In Pkt the Skt particle khalu was first shortened into khu, which is found after Anusvāra (see, for instance, *6). After vowels its pronunciation in M. Pkt was further weakened, according to the rules of internal sandhi, into hu. This development of khalu into khu and hu should probably be explained from the unstressed or unemphatic nature of the particle (see *15). Note in this connection that khalu is never found in the emphatic position at the beginning of the sentence. On the other hand, it is often found in fixed idioms, such as na hu (here, 48, 227, 279, 478, 666), mā hu (521, 607, 909; in 909 kiṃ nu khu in Ti and Tp) and taha vi hu (229, 275 (?), 470, 647, 741), of which the first is known from Skt, whereas the latter two are not. For taha vi hu a variant taha vi a (tathāpi ca) is found occasionally in the MSS of the South-Indian recensions (275 Ma, Ti, Tp, 470 T,

647 Tp; in the last instance taha vi a khu in Ma). Otherwise hu occurs freely (203, 212, 230, 242, 265, 401, 425, 498, 775, 889, 891, 896, 903, 926). For the meaning of (k)hu, see Emeneau (1969: 240-68).

For hu in the Jaina and the Vulgata MSS, Ma, Ti and Tp have throughout a variant khu (note one typical reversal, in 478, with hu in Ma, Ti and Tp, and khu in ψ and ku(?) in R and γ). khu is also occasionally found in T and, where available, in W. S often has kkhu (against the metre). khu in these MS would seem to be secondary. As such it may be an indication of the influence of Śaurasēṭī on these MSS, which dialect has either khu or kkhu but never hu (see Pischel § 94) (for other possible traces of this influence on the South-Indian MSS. see *27).

40(38 Bh, 40 R; 37 K, B, 38 ψ , γ , P, 37 G, 40 ξ , π ; 560 S)
Missing in Ma, Ti, Tp, T and W.

tālūrabhamāḍaṇakhuḍi- akasaro giriṇaṭe pūreṇa
daravuddaḍavuddaṇivvuḍ- ḍamahuaṛo hṭrai kalaṃvo.

°khuḍḍiya Bh^a, bhamāṇasaṃkhuḍia R; bhamāulakhuḍia K, ψ , B, γ , P (°khaḍia); S -- ṇaṭe K, γ , ṇaṭa ψ , ṇaṭa B, ṇaṭ P; ṇaṭa S -- daravuddaḍunibuḍḍa Bh^a, °vudduvuddunibuḍḍa Bh^b, °buḍḍabuddaṇibbuḍḍa R; °cuḍuvuḍunivuḍu K, °vuddaghuḍaṇighuḍa ψ , dakhuḍuchuuṇichuḍa B, °vuḍuvuḍuṇivvuḍu γ , °buḍubudduṇibuḍu P; °vuddhavaduḍḍaṇivuddha S -- hṭrae S -- kalaṃbo K, B, P; kaṃvo S (Bh, R, ψ , γ).

The kadamba(-flower) is dragged along the stream of the mountain-river, its filament broken by the violent movement of the whirling water; the bee (sitting on it) first sank a little, then sank and finally went under completely.

For tālūra 'whirlpool', see Pāiyal 129: tālūro āvatto, and Deśīn. V 21 (Hemacandra's own commentary): tālūro āvartaśceti kecit.

For bhamāḍaṇa 'tossing around', see Hem. III 151, IV 30 and 161, Pischel § 554 and, finally, Turner, CDIAL 9648. Bloch (1934: 224) connects the suffix -āḍ- with the nominal suffix -ḍ- which is unknown in

Pkt but characteristic of Apa. (see Alsdorf 1937: 18-9). The readings found in R (bhamāṇasaṃ(khuḍia)) and the Vulgata MSS (bhamāula(khuḍia)) seem to represent respective attempts to remove this Apa. formation, which is foreign to Pkt proper, from the text. A similar phenomenon can be seen in 92.

The fact that bhamāḍaṇa is a relatively modern formation and the fact that the Gāthā was not present in the South-Indian recensions, suggest that the Gāthā was not included in the archetype but was added to the text only in a later stage. A similar conclusion on similar grounds can be reached regarding 77 and 92 (see also above, p. 162).

In Hem. IV 116 khuḍa- is enumerated among the Ādeśas for tuḍ- 'to break'; for the participle khūḍia, see Hem. I 53. In the Sattasaī otherwise only ukkhūḍia 'broken open' occurs (331). For khūḍa-, see also Turner, CDIAL 3892.

For vudda- 'to sink' (or 'sunk' the past participle being identical to the stem), see Hem. IV 101. The verb is amply attested in NIA (see Turner, CDIAL 9272). vudda- does not occur in the Setubandha or the Gauḍavaho. The verb is, however, found in Apa. (see Hem. IV 415 and 423); nir- in nivvudda-, seems here to intensify, as in Skt nirmajj-.

kalaṃḥva 'Nauclea cadamba' corresponds to Skt kadamba (Pāiyā 255, Var. II 12 and Hem. I 30, 222). As Tamil kaṭampu shows, the -l- in Pkt is more original than the -d- in Skt (see Mayrhofer, EWA I, p. 144).

41(76 Ma, 77 Tp; 39 Bh, 41 R; 38 K, B, P, 39 ψ, γ, 38 G, 41 ξ, π;
384 T; 293 S) Missing in W.

ahiāamāṇiṇo dug- gaassa chāhiṃ paissa rakkhamṭī
ṇiavaṃdhavāṇa jhūrai ghariṇī vihaveṇa emtāṇa.

In Ma lacuna from ahiāamāṇ(iṇo) to (ghari)ṇī.

ahiāi Tp; ihiiyāa Bh^a ahiyāi Bh^b, ahiyāhi R; ahiāi ψ, B -- dugāassa P
-- chāam Tp; Bh, R; K, γ, P, chāahi ψ, chāam T; S -- payassa Bh;
piassa K, γ, P -- rakkhamṭī K -- baṃdhavāṇa Tp; B, P, vaṃdhavāṇam
K; baṃdhavāṇa T; (Bh, R, ψ, γ) -- kuppai Tp; jūrai Bh, R; ψ, γ,
kujhjai B, sūrai P; jūrai T; jūrai S -- vibhaveṇa Tp -- emtāṇa Ma;
imtāṇam Bh^a (emt^o Bh^b), R; pattāṇam K, γ (oṭṭāṇa), P, ettāṇa ψ, B;

eṃtāṇaṃ T; ettāṇa S.

Not wishing to rob her husband who was poor but had high notions of his birth, of this delusion, the house-wife was angry at her own relatives when they arrived with pomp and splendour.

I suggest to take chāhī in chāhiṃ...rakkhaṃtī in the sense of 'delusion' (i.e. about his own greatness). Compare Skt chāyā 'hallucination' in Śūsṛuta-Saṃhita 1.114, 13, 15 (PW: 'Schattenbild, Hallucination'). For the meaning given to rakkha-, compare the expression paṇaṃ...rakkhaṃto in Gāthā 122, '"protecting", i.e. "not wishing to hurt" the affection (his first wife has for him)'.

chāhiṃ is restricted to ψ and B, the other MSS having chāṃ. There are reasons to assume that chāhiṃ is actually a retention. It is in any case difficult to see why, if the text originally had chāṃ, the latter was replaced by the more difficult form chāhiṃ (no clear explanation of the form chāhī beside chāā is available; see *37). There was no necessity to do so from the point of the meaning of the word either. chāhī occurred side by side with chāā.

If chāhī is indeed original here, one has to explain what in this particular instance could have been behind its change into chāā. The fact that this change took place independently in the South as well as the North-Indian branch points to an external factor. In this connection the traditional interpretations of the word should be considered. (Unfortunately in Mādhavayaajvamiśra's commentary in MS Ma nothing specific is found in relation to chāhiṃ.) Bhuvanapāla (ISt., p. 42) apparently takes the word in the sense of 'complexion': vailakṣ(y)ena mā malinimānam āyātu iti nijabāṃdhavebhyo asūyati, 'in order to prevent (the husband) from acquiring a dark complexion from embarrassment she shows anger to her own relatives'. In S (Retr., p. 360) and in ξ and π (Ed., p. 15) the word is glossed with māhātmyam; in G (Retr., p. 360) with mahattvam. 'Greatness' can here only denote the image which the husband thinks he projects. As such the meaning of these glosses comes very near to that of 'delusion' suggested above. The gloss kīrti 'fame' for chāā found in DeśTn. III 34 may well have been based

on these, taken literally. On the other hand, these interpretations all seem to proceed from the meaning 'beauty' or 'lustre'. In *37 I have referred to Hem. I 129 where it is said that where the word chāhī occurs it invariably means 'shade' or 'shadow'. Undoubtedly this restriction was initially based on the observation of the occurrence of the word in the texts. It is not unlikely, though, that it subsequently acquired the character of a prescriptive rule. This may have been responsible for the change of chāhī into chāā in the Gāthā under discussion. In any case the rule did not prevent the substitution of chāā as the easier form, for chāhī, the more difficult one.

For jhūra- 'to be angry at' and the variant jūra-, see *13.

The variant pattāṇa(m) for em̐tāṇa rests on a misreading of the Nāgarī character e- for pa-. Regarding the variant em̐tāṇā found in Ma it should be noted that in this MS a vowel at the end of the Gāthā is occasionally lengthened; e.g. piāamammī in *17.

42(78 Ma, 79 Tp; 40 Bh, 42 R; 39 K, B, 40 ψ, γ, P, 39 G, 42 ε, π; 449 S) Missing in T and W.

sāhīṇe vi piaame patte vi chage ṇa maṇḍio appā
duggaapautthavaiaṁ saajjhiaṁ saṁṭhavaṁtTe.

sāhīṇe Ma -- pi P -- pate Ma -- cchage Ma; khage S -- duggai R;
dugāa P; ciraara S -- pautthapaiaṁ Ma, Tp -- saacchiaaṁ Ma;
sajjhiaṁ R; saajjiaṁ K, ψ, B, γ, P; saajjhiaṁ S.

Though her dearest one is at her disposal (and) the festival-day has arrived she has not adorned herself, (ostensibly) in an attempt to cheer up her neighbour who is poor and whose husband is abroad.

The woman would not adorn herself out of sympathy with her neighbour, who is poor, whose husband is still abroad and who consequently cannot afford and is not allowed to adorn herself. However, so much sympathy between neighbours is suspect. A comparison, with, for instance, 848 suggests that the woman may in fact have an affair with her neighbour's

husband and does not adorn herself because he has not yet returned home.
The Gāthā reads as follows:

ruai ruamtīe mae ohidiṇe gaṇai jhijjai ahaṁ va
piavirahe māmi saaj- jhiāe ṇeho ccia apuvvo.

She cries as I cry, she counts off the days and
grows thin like I do. Aunt, the affection of the
the neighbour (for me) during my dear one's absence
is unprecedented.

chaṇa 'festival' (see Pāiyā 248 and Hem. II 20) goes back to
Skt kṣaṇa '(right) moment', which otherwise became khaṇa, meaning
'moment'; see *14 and Turner, CDIAL 3642.

For the reasons to adopt pautthavaiaṁ as found in Bh, R, etc. in-
stead of °paiaṁ found in Ma and Tp, see above, p. 164.

For saajjhiā 'neighbour', see *39.

43(77 Ma, 78 Tp; 41 Bh, 43 R; 40 K, B, 41 ψ, γ, P, 40 G, 43 ξ, π;
305 T; 437 S) Missing in W.

tujjha vasai tti hiaaṁ imehi diṭṭho tumaṁ ti acchī
tuha virahe kisiāiṁ ti tīe aṅgāi vi piāi.

tujha K, tujjhja ψ, B, P; S -- vasahi Bh, R; vasihi S -- diṭṭho K
-- acchī Ma; achīṁ Bh, achīṁ R; γ, achīṁ K, acchīṁ B, P; T;
S;(ψ) -- kisiāanti tti Tp; kisiāanti R; kisiāi ti K, kisiāi ti ψ,
B, γ, P; kisiāi ti T; kisiāi ti S -- teṇa Bh; tīa S -- aṅgāi K --
pūāi Ma; piāi K, B, P; T; S; (Bh, R, ψ, γ).

Her heart is dear (to you) because it is your house,
her eyes because through these she looks at you, (and)
her limbs (I suppose) because they have become thin
during your absence.

The variant kisiāanti (R, Tp) is due to the spelling kisiāyaṁ ti for

kisiāiṁ ti. kisiāaṁti is interpreted as krśāyante (R). In Tp the quotative particle which was thus lost is added again: kisiāaṁti tti (cf. ξ and π: krśābhavantīti).

44(79 Ma, 80 Tp; 42 Bh, 44 R; 41 K, B, 42 ψ, γ, P, 41 G, 44 ξ, π; 557 S) Missing in T and W.

sabbhāvaṇehamaie ratte rajjijjai tti juttam iṇaṁ
aṇahiae uṇa hiaaṁ jaṁ dijjai taṁ jaṇo hasai.

sabbhāvaṇeha Ma; sabbhāva K -- bharie R; ψ, B, mahie P --
rattijjai Ma, raccijjai R; rattijjai ψ -- aṇahiae ψ -- in Ma
lacuna for hasai.

You may be full of true love (but, mind you) falling
in love with a loving man, that is (a) good (combination).
But at this people laugh, namely when the heart is given
to a man who is completely heartless.

Kulānātha (Abh., p. 87) and Bhuvanapāla (ISt., p. 42) translate the word maie with maye. maia would be an extended formation: *mayika. It may be asked, though, if maia does not go back to madita (as in ummaia, from unmadita, in 498 etc.) 'drunk' or 'full with' (from 'saturated'; cf. matta in 66). For the translation this hardly makes any difference. ṇehamaia occurs also in 450.

Weber, following the commentaries, takes sabbhāvaṇehamaie as a locative singular masculine, linking it to following ratte. Alternatively, it could be taken as a vocative of the feminine, in the same way as vahuvihavilāsarasi in 477 (not so interpreted by Weber and the commentaries). This interpretation may in fact be preferred. Note in this connection the absence of a connective particle between °maie and ratte. Furthermore, °maie as a locative linked to ratte, seems to disturb the clear parallelism between ratte rajjijjai, on the one hand, and aṇahiae uṇa hiaaṁ dijjai, on the other.

For the variant raccijjai in R, see Hem. IV 422 (23) (Apa.) and Turner, CDIAL 10583.

aṇa- in aṇahīae is a double a-privans, aṇ- + a (cf. CPD I, p. 142^b), meaning '(completely) without' (cf. Pāli anabhāva 'non-existence, annihilation'). See in this text also aṇahomīta (212), aṇarāmaam (so read; 325), aṇarasiā (555) and aṇa(horaṇa) (774). See also Hem. II 190 and Pischel in his translation of Hem., p. 92, where earlier literature on aṇa- is quoted.

45(25 Ma, 26 Tp; 43 Bh, 45 R; 42 K, B, 43 ψ, γ, P, 42 G, 45 ξ, π; 30 T; 600 S; 26 W)

āraṁbhaṁtassa dhuam̐ lacchī maraṇam̐ va hoi purisassa
tam̐ maraṇam̐ aṇāraṁbhe vi hoi lacchī uṇa ṇa hoi.

āraṁbhatassa Ma -- dhuraṁ Ma, Tp; dhuvaṁ Bh^b; dhuraṁ T; dharaṁ W --
lacchī K -- ca R -- purisassa Tp; R -- maraṇam̐ araṇāraṁbhe Ma --
hovi P -- lacchī K.

A man who shows initiative is certain of either wealth
or death. Even when he lacks all initiative (that
same) death is there but there will be no wealth.

dhuam̐ of the North-Indian branch is preferred to dhuraṁ of the South-Indian branch. dhuraṁ would go back to Skt dhurā 'yoke, burden'. It is doubtful, though, if dhurā provides a suitable object to āraṁbha- 'to undertake, to take the initiative' or if āraṁbha- is a suitable verb to dhurā (cf. Pāli vahanto...dhuraṁ; PTSD, p. 342^a). Originally dhuraṁ may well be nothing more than a corruption for dhuam̐. Note the frequent occurrence of -r- in this and the next line.

For purisa 'man', see Var. I 23 and Hem. I 111. Ma, Ti, Tp and W have in all instances purusa (purisa here in Ma is the sole exception in this MS), a form which is also occasionally found in some of the other MSS, as here in R, in 196 in R and S, and in 380 in ψ. purusa is most likely an innovation in these MSS introduced under the influence of Skt.

46(82 Ma, 83 Tp; 44 Bh, 46 R; 43 K, B, P^a, 44 ψ, 37 γ, P, 43 G, 46 ξ, π; 579 T; 342 S) In P as 37 and as 43 (P^a), in the latter case with Chāyā but without commentary. Missing in W.

virahāṇalo sahiijjai āsāvaṁdheṇa vallahajaṇassa
ekkaggāmapavāso māe maraṇaṁ visesei.

saiijjai γ -- āsāvaṁdheṇa Ma, Tp; P, P^a; T; (Bh, R, ψ, γ) --
dullaha R; vallabha K, vallaa P; P^a -- ikkagjāma Bh -- u māi Bh^a,
māmi Bh^b.

The fire of separation from a beloved person is endured
by the band of hope. (But) a man's absence from home while
he is still in the same village, mother, is worse than death.

Garrez (1872: 213) compares the first line with Śakuntala, verse 91
(ed. Böhtlingk): garuaṁ pi virahadukkhāṁ āsābandho sahābedi. For
āsāvaṁdha earlier Weber (Abh., p. 88) referred to Meghadūta 11
(ed. Hultzsch).

For the present interpretation of ekkaggāmapavāsa, see Garrez,
loc. cit. Compare ekkaggāma ccia pauttho in 129.

47(83 Ma, 84 Tp; 45 Bh, 47 R; 193 K, 192 ψ, 194 γ, 200 P, 190 G,
425 T; 343 S; 21 W) In K the commentary is also found between 43 (*46)
and 44 (*48), numbered '44'(!). Missing in B, ξ, π and χ.

ajjaṁ cea pauttho ajjaṁ cia suṇṇaāi jāāi
racchāmuḥadeulacac- carāi amhaṁ ca hiaāi.

ajja ccea Tp; ajjaṁ ceva R; ajja ccea K; T; ajjaṁ cia W -- a cia Ma,
ajja ccia Tp; ajja cia K, ajjaṁ cia P; ajja cchia T; ajjaṁ cvia S --
suṇṇaāi R; K (suttaṇaāi), ψ, γ, P (suṇṇaāi); S (suṇṇaāi); W --
jāyāi R; jāāi K, P; T; S (Bh, ψ, γ, W) -- ratthā K --
devaulacaccarāi Ma, Tp; caccaradeulāi Bh^a, deulacaccarāi Bh^b,
°caccarāi R; ψ, γ, °cattarāi K, P; devulacaccarāi T; cattaradeulāi S -
- ahma ca Ma, Tp; amhaṁ va Bh -- hiaāi K, P; T; S; (Bh, R, ψ, γ) --

racchāmuhaṃ devaullaṃ cattarāi amha ca gihaāi suṇṇāi W.

Today he went abroad and today everything has become empty: the streets, the temples, the crossroads and our hearts.

For the present position of the Gāthā as 47, see above, p. 161.

For the phrase ajjaṃ cea pauttho, see also 58.

deula (see also 109) is from devakula, with loss of the syllable -va-; see Hem. I 172. Compare rāula from rājakula, quoted by Bhāmaha, ad Var. IV 1. For deula, see also Turner, CDIAL 6524.

For caccara, see *39.

48(602 Ti, Tp; 46 Bh, 48 R; 44 K, B, γ, P, 45 ψ, 44 G, 47 ξ, π; 125 S) Missing in T and W.

akkhuḍai piā hiae aṇṇaṃ mahilāṇaṃ ramaṇtassa
diṭṭhe sarisammi guṇe sarisammi guṇe aṭṣaṇte.

ṇa kkhūḍai Tp; akhuḍai Bh^b, avaḍai R; akkhaḍai K (akkh^o), ψ, B, γ, P (akkh^o); S -- mahilāṇaṃ Tp; B -- maratassa Ti -- diṭṭhe K -- sarimmi Ti -- sarimmasammi Ti; sarise va S -- aṭṣate Ti; adṭsaṇte K, γ, P, aṭṣaṇte ψ.

A man's dear mistress inevitably comes back to his mind when enjoying other women, namely when he sees a virtue equal to hers as well as when he doesn't!

akkhuḍai has been based on Bh and on Ti and Tp (for Tp ṇa kkhūḍai, see below). akkhuḍa- seems a variant of āhuḍa- the past participle of which, āhuḍia, is mentioned in Deśīn. I 69 among the synonyms for paḍia 'fallen'. A NIA derivative is S. ākhuṇṇu 'to trip' (see Turner, CDIAL 1028: from *ākṣuṭati, or 1036: *ākhuṭati, Pkt āhuḍa- 'to fall', *ākhoṭayati, Pkt āhoḍa- 'to strike, to beat' (from 'to cause to fall')). The variant akkhaḍai shows the influence of āskhalati; cf. the gloss āskhalati given by Pīṭāmbara and Gaṅgādhara (Retr., p. 360). ṇa kkhūḍai

found in Tp seems due to the connection made with khuda- 'to break' (see *40). The Chāyā in Ti reads na truṭiti, and Mādhavayajvamiśra has khuhai (khudai?) truṭati vicchidyate (passive!), smaryata iti yāvat.

The emphasis in the first line is on the verb, which is found at the head of the sentence (see 8).

aīsaṃte, from a + dīsaṃte, shows a rule of internal sandhi (see also 224 and 388; cf. aiṭṭha in 414, 526 and 748). This seems to have to do with the relatively frequent occurrence of this combination, as a result of which it has come to be treated as one word. Compare such phrases as ṇa iṭṭha (502, v.l.) or ṇa āṇaṃti (*2), for which a similar explanation should be given.

49(603 Ti, Tp; 47 Bh, 49 R; 45 K, B, γ, P, 46 ψ, 45 G, 48 ξ, π;
533 T; 682 S) Missing in W.

ṇaipūrasacchahe jov- vaṇammi diahesu ṇiccapahiesu
aṇiattāsu a rāṭ- su puttī kiṃ daḍḍhamāṇeṇa.

sacchahe K, B, P, satthahe ψ¹; sariche T; sacchahe S -- jauvvaṇammi Ti;
jovvaemmi K -- divasesu ṇiccapahiesu R; ṇiccapahiesu diahesu K
(diahaṃsu), γ (dihaesu), P (°pahiesa), aipavasiesu diahesu ψ, B;
saiposiesu diahesu T; aipavasiesu diahesu S -- aṇiattāsu vi R; K,
γ, P; T; aṇivuttāsu vi S -- rāṭsu ψ, rattim T -- puttali T --
ḍhaḍḍha Tp; daḍḍha Bh, R; daṭṭha K, dagha ψ¹, daṭṭha ψ², diḍḍha B,
ddaṭṭha γ, lacuna P.

What use is (this) cursed sulking, little girl, when
youth (passes quickly) like the stream of a river, when
the days are constantly on the move and the nights do
not return!

For sacchahe 'similar to', see *5.

In MIA the initial d- of the Skt verbs dah- 'to burn' and da(m)ś- 'to bite' becomes ḍ-. Pāli invariably has ḍahati, Skt dāha occurs as ḍāha as well as as dāha. The past participle invariably occurs as daḍḍha. Thus either the initial plosive or the medial cluster is retroflex, but

not both at the same time (on the medial -ddh-, see below). Likewise Pāli has dasati, saṃdāsa and daṃsa, and daṭṭha and dāṭhā. In the Sattasaī one finds ḍakka 'bitten' in 237 (Ti, Tp, Bh, R, K, γ; ḍakka in ψ, P, T, S, W) and 532 (Ma, Ti, Tp, Bh, R, ψ, S; ḍakka in γ, T, S², W), daṭṭha in 636 (Ma, Tp, ψ, γ, T; ḍakka in R (Bh not available)), dāḍhā 'fang' in 402 (ψ, γ, S) and in 761 (Bh, R, T, S), and dasana 'tooth' in 522 (Ti, Tp, Bh, K, T, S, ḍahara in R, ψ, γ, P) (note that Var. II 35 explicitly mentions dasana!). In 105 ḍajjihisi is found (but bhaṃjihisi in Ma and Tp), in 321 ḍahai (ḍahai in T), in 373 ḍajjhai, in 401 ḍajjhasi (°su), in 758 ḍahiṇa, in 193 dāha (Ma, Tp, Bh, ψ, γ; dāha R, K, S), in 726 ḍahana (R; ḍahana S), and in 799 ḍahana (R). The past participle of daha- 'to burn' occurs frequently, in several cases, as here, meaning 'cursed'. Both ḍaddha and daddha are found, which are variants. Thus, the MSS of the South-Indian recensions, Ma, Ti, Tp and T, where available, have ḍaddha throughout. The other MSS have ḍaddha as well as daddha:

*49 ḍaddha Ti, Tp, P, T, S, daddha Bh, R, K, ψ, B, γ, 134 ḍaddha Bh, K, ψ, P, daddha R, γ, 149 ḍaddha Tp (lacuna in Ma), Bh, K, ψ, S, daddha R, γ, P, 229 ḍaddha Ma, Tp, Bh, K, ψ, γ (utthe, but u- probably for ḍa-), daddha R, 502 ḍaddha Ma, Ti, Tp, ψ, T, daddha Bh, R, S, 511 ḍaddha ψ, daddha S (duṭṭhu Bh, ucha R), 558 ḍaddha ψ, S, daddha R, γ, 602 ḍaddha Ma, Ti, Tp, ψ, T, S, 710 ḍaddha S, daddha γ, 714 ḍaddha Ma, Bh, T, S, daddha Tp(!), R, ψ, W, ḍaddha Ti(!), 781 ḍaddha R, daddha S.

This state of affairs partly coincides with the observation made by Hemacandra in I 217: ḍ- would be optional in daṣana and daṣta, and in dagdha and dāha, but obligatory in dahati and daṣati. Note that Var. II 35 mentions only dasana.

In the Gāthā under discussion the two branches are diametrically opposed, Ti and Tp having ḍaddha and Bh and R daddha. It is almost certain that the latter, here as well as in all its other instances, is secondary, introduced in order to remove ḍaddha from the text which with its many retroflexes must have appeared a linguistic monstrosity.

A different question concerns the origin of the initial ḍ- in MIA

daha- and ḡasa-. H. Smith, quoted by Bloch (1934: 58) suggests that the ḡ- represents a case of anticipatory assimilation to the medial -ḡḡh- and -tṭh- in the respective past participles. On the other hand, we may have to do here with early instances of the variation occasionally seen in NIA between an initial d- and ḡ-. See H. ḡtṭhnā/ḡtṭhnā (CDIAL 6518) and P. dambhnā/ḡambhnā (CDIAL 6121). As far as NIA is concerned an explanation for the variation is probably that at the beginning of a word the phonemic distinction between a d- and a ḡ- is less clear. The variation may also reflect a difference in the speech-situation, varying between quiet and uninvolved and emphatic and involved. Such a distinction seems interesting when applied to MIA daha- and ḡasa-, which both denote more or less violent or painful actions.

A second problem is the origin of the medial -ḡḡh- in ḡaddha. In fact the problem of its origin is largely ignored (not discussed by, for instance, Geiger, in § 42, 3, and Pischel, in § 222). AIG I § 236 suggests that Pāli ḡaddha is from *ḡazḡha, i.e. as if the -h in dah- belongs to the old palatal series. However, *ḡazḡha should then have become *ḡāḡha (cf. lṭḡha from *lṭzḡha). In fact, beside ḡaddha a form *ḡaddha seems to have existed. Thus, side by side with ḡāṛhnā 'to burn' and ḡāḡhā 'to blaze' or 'fire' H. has ḡadhnā 'to burn' and ḡadhānā 'to blaze furiously'. P. dambhnā (ḡa) 'to burn' (see above) supposes *ḡaddha, which after laddha : lambha, has developed a stem dambha-. In my opinion the existence of ḡaddha beside *ḡaddha should be compared to Pāli kaṭhati 'to boil' beside Skt kvath- and Pkt kutthasu 'boil!' (for Pāli kaṭhati, see von Hinüber, 1979). The fact that it concerns two semantically closely related words can hardly be accidental. Probably the cerebralization of the medial dental(s), which appears to be optional, is contextual, signifying, for instance, the speaker's fear or horror of the actions denoted by the verbs.

50(84 Ma, 85 Tp; 48 Bh, 50 R; 46 K, B, γ, P, 47 ψ, 46 G, 49 ξ, π; 160 T; 336 S) Missing in W.

kallaṃ kira kharahiao	pavasihii pio tti suvvai jaṇammi
taha vaḡḡha bhaavai piṣe	jaha se kallaṃ cia ṇa hoi.

kallim S -- khala T -- hiyau Bh -- pavasihai Bh, pavisahai R;
 pavasai K, pavasei γ, pavasehai P -- piu tti Bh -- sunṇai K, ψ¹,
 sunai P -- maṇammi Ma -- vaḍḍaha Ma; vaṭṭha K, ψ, γ, vaṭṭha P;
 vaḍḍha S -- jahi Bh^a (jaha Bh^b) -- me γ - kalaṃ Ma; kalla P;
 kallim S -- cia missing in P.

Pāda a quoted in Hem. II 186.

People say that at daybreak a lover will leave
 cold-heartedly. Venerable Night, grow so long that
 for him daybreak will never come!

For kalla 'dawn, next morning (or 'yesterday'; cf. Pāiyā. 211:
hijjo (hyas) kallaṃ), from Skt kālya or kalya, see Turner, CDIAL 3104.

For kira beside Skt kila, see *36.

Index of words discussed in the notes

aṭsaṁta	48
akkhuḍa-	48
aṇa-	44
aṇusaa	35
attā	8
alia	27
asoa	7
aha	23
āhi(j)āt	24
i (v.l. vi)	17
ia (v.l. of via)	1
ia (v.l. of ii)	15
ii (v.l. ia)	15
iccheṇa (v.l. kiccheṇa)	33
ira (v.l. kira)	36
iva (v.l. of via)	1
ua(ha)	4
-utta	33
uva(ha)	4
uvvasia	32
e (pronoun)	15
ehejja	17
o	32
omāliā	32
kalaṁva	40
kalla	50
kiccheṇa	33
kira	36
kisala	19
kuḍumvaa(/i)ttḥṭ (?)	18
kuravaa	8
kulavahū	38
kouhalla	21
kosaṁva	19

khu	39
khuḍa-	40
gāmaṇṭ	30
golā	36
ghaa(t)uppa	22
caccara	39
cattara	39
cihura	31
chaṇa	42
chāhṭ	37, 41
chikka	14
chiva-	14
jūra- (v.l. of jhūra-)	13
jhūra- (v.l. jūra-)	13
ḍaḍḍha	49
ṇa āṇa-	2
ṇa uṇo	20
-ṇaṃdaṇa	30
ṇavari(ṇ) (v.l. ṇavara(ṇ))	15
ṇavara(ṇ) (v.l. of ṇavari(ṇ))	15
ṇavalaā	28
ṇa hu	39
ṇivvuḍḍa-	40
ṇisāvia (v.l. ṇisāmia)	29
ṇomāliā	32
ṇohaliā	6
taṃsa	10
tai	32
tae	32
taṇṇaa	19
tattṭ	2
taha vi hu	39
tālūra	40
tui	32
tue	32
tuppa	22

tūha	36
daḍḍha	49
daḍha	11
dasiā	18
diara	38
diḍha.	11
dūme-	11
de (pronoun)	15
de (particle)	16
deara	28
deula	47
deṇa	15, 29
devara	28
doṇṇa(ṁ)	27
doṇha(ṁ)	27
dohala	15
dho(v)a-	18
paṭṭhī	11
paḍaa	18
paḍhamullaa	15
paṇāvia (v.l. paṇāmia)	22
parāhutta	35
paṇimusāṇa	26
pahara	28
pahuppa-	7
pāḍa (v.l. of pāua)	2
pāḍalā (°lī)	13
piva (v.l. of via)	1
puṭṭhī	11
purisa	45
purusa	45
bola- (v.l. of vola-)	21
bhamāḍaṇa	40
bhara-	22
bhisiṇī	4
maia	44

mailia	14
majjhaāra	2
maragaa	4
mallā	27
maha-	28
māṇailla	27
mā hu	39
miva (v.l. of via)	1
rakkha-	41
reha-	4
lagga-	21
laḍahavilāā	7
lua	8
vacca-	19
vajjhapaḍaha	29
vaṇṇagghaa(t)uppa	22
valāā	4
vālumkī	10
via (v.l. ia, iva, piva, miva, viva)	1
vianā	38
vilāā	7
viva (v.l. of via)	1
vuḍḍa-	40
vesāvilāā	7
vola-	21
volāia	21
saṃkhasippī	4
saṃbhara-	29
sacchaha	5
saajjiā	39
salāhaṇijja	12
sippī	4
silāhaṇijja	12
suṇṇaia	26
somāla	36
hu	39
-hutta	35

Index of grammatical points discussed

<u>a</u> → <u>e</u>	in the South-Indian MSS	1
- <u>a</u>	ending of the instrumental and genitive of feminine <u>ī</u> -stems, e.g. <u>koṭīa</u>	3
- <u>ā</u>	feminine gender-marker, e.g. <u>erisā</u>	10
	e.g. <u>kuṇāntā</u>	26
- <u>a ccia</u> → - <u>e ccia</u>	e.g. <u>se ccia</u>	23
Accusative	denoting the time <u>at which</u> , e.g. <u>oāsaṃ</u>	20
Anusvāra	added after the endings of the plural ending in - <u>i</u> and - <u>a</u> , e.g. - <u>āiṃ</u> , - <u>ehiṃ</u> and - <u>āṇaṃ</u>	p. 168 ff.
Apabhraṃśa	early Apa. forms in Pkt, e.g. <u>aha</u>	23
	e.g. <u>tai</u>	32
	Apa. features in Gāthās added later in the North-Indian branch, e.g. <u>bhamāḍaṇa</u>	40, p. 162
- <u>a tti</u> → - <u>e tti</u>	e.g. <u>se tti</u>	23
- <u>a vva</u> → - <u>e vva</u>	e.g. <u>devae vva</u>	23, 32
<u>bhūa</u>	functioning as a tense-marker, e.g. <u>maṇḍaṇaṃ bhūaṃ</u>	8
Comparison	position of the particle of comparison	1
Deponentia	non-existent in Pkt	10
Dvandva	consisting of more than two members, in the neutre singular, e.g. <u>rairahasihara-dhaa</u>	37
<u>e</u> → <u>a</u>	in the South-Indian MSS	1
- <u>e ccia</u> → - <u>a ccia</u>	e.g. <u>pāṇiggahaṇa ccia</u>	23
<u>e</u> -stems	development in Pkt to <u>a</u> -stems	5
Finite verb	position at the beginning of the sentence	7
- <u>g</u> -	retention in a foreign loan-word, e.g. <u>maragaa</u>	4
<u>ii</u> (Skt <u>iti</u>)	position of <u>ii</u> , in contrast to that of (t)ti, which is an enclitic	15
- <u>illa</u>	possible emphatic function, e.g. <u>māṇailla</u> (cf. - <u>ullaa</u>)	27

-jjh-/-jj-	confusion, e.g. <u>vajjha/vajja</u>	29
	e.g. <u>saajjhiā/saajjiā</u>	39
Karmadhāraya	'bilingual', e.g. <u>saṃkhasippī</u>	4
	e.g. (<u>vaṇṇag</u>)ghaa(t)uppa	22
-kka	verbal suffix	14
Lengthening	of initial syllable, e.g. <u>āhi(j)ā</u>	24
<u>m</u> → <u>v</u>	in the neighbourhood of other nasals	22
numbers	above 'one', loss of gender distinction	24, 27
-o ccia → -a ccia	e.g. <u>sea ccia</u>	23
-o vva → -a vva	e.g. <u>paḍaha vva</u>	23, 29
-o vva → -e vva	e.g. <u>murave vva</u>	23
Past participle	functioning as an action noun	22
Present participle	in conditional clauses	26
Sandhi	internal sandhi in compounds	p. 164
Sanskrit	influence of Skt on the spelling	p. 163
Śaurasēṭī	influence on the MSS	27, 39
Sentence	broken-up	20
<u>si</u>	functioning as a personal pronoun	26
<u>taha...sariccha</u>		8
-ullaa	emphatic, e.g. <u>paḍhamullaa</u>	15
-v-	secondary insertion or deletion in	
	-ua- (or -uva-)	p. 165 ff.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<u>AKM</u>	<u>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</u>
<u>BB</u>	<u>Bezenberger's Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen</u>
<u>BSOAS</u>	<u>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</u>
<u>IHQ</u>	<u>The Indian Historical Quarterly</u>
<u>IJJ</u>	<u>Indo-Iranian Journal</u>
<u>IL</u>	<u>Indian Linguistics</u>
<u>Ist</u>	<u>Indische Studien</u>
<u>JA</u>	<u>Journal Asiatique</u>
<u>JAOS</u>	<u>Journal of the American Oriental Society</u>
<u>JOIB</u>	<u>Journal of the Oriental Institute of Baroda</u>
<u>KZ</u>	<u>(Kuhn's) Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung</u>
<u>StII</u>	<u>Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik</u>
<u>ZDMG</u>	<u>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</u>

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Het voorliggende werk is een voorstudie tot een kritische tekstuitgave van Hāla's Sattasaī, een anthologie, daterend uit het begin van onze jaartelling, van 700 Prākṛit verzen erotisch van inhoud. De eerste editie van deze tekst, van A. Weber, dateert uit het einde van de vorige eeuw. Weber beschikte over 18 handschriften (HSS). De tekst bleek overgeleverd in zes verschillende recensies. Voor de huidige tekstuitgave wordt gebruik gemaakt van Webers materiaal, uitgebreid met drie tot nu toe onuitgegeven HSS uit Zuid-India. Deze laatste HSS bevatten de tekst van een zevende recensie.

In deel I van dit boek wordt verslag gedaan van een onderzoek naar de onderlinge afhankelijkheid van de verschillende HSS (Stemma). De belangrijkste conclusie is dat de HSS zijn onderverdeeld in een Zuid-indische en een Noordindische tak. Beide gaan uiteindelijk terug op één enkel Noordindisch HS, dat echter zelf verloren is gegaan. In de tekstuitgave wordt getracht de tekst van dit ene origineel te reconstrueren. Een andere conclusie van dit onderzoek is dat de tekst van de afzonderlijke verzen van het verloren origineel in vele opzichten het best bewaard is gebleven in de Zuidindische tak, maar de volgorde van de verzen in de Noordindische tak.

Deel II bevat een reconstructie van de tekst van de eerste 50 verzen van het bovengenoemde origineel. Hieraan vooraf gaan twee korte hoofdstukken. Het eerste hoofdstuk handelt over de vraag voor welk publiek de tekst was geschreven en/of verzameld. Gezien de superieure en patroniserende kijk die blijkt uit de verzen, op het leven op het platteland en op dat van de 'werkende klasse' moet worden aangenomen dat de tekst zich richtte tot een publiek van rijke stedelingen en hovelingen. Verder wordt gespeculeerd over de vraag waarom de dichter of dichters een Middellindisch dialect gebruikten in plaats van het 'hoofse' Sanskrit. Een mogelijk antwoord hierop is dat men zo poogde de woorden van de bewoners van het platteland, in wier mond de verzen zijn gelegd, een boers tintje te geven.

Het tweede hoofdstuk handelt over de gevolgde tekstkritische methode. Sommige principes vloeien voort uit de conclusies van het stemma. In een aantal gevallen echter werkt het stemma niet, met name daar waar

het variaties betreft in de spelling van de woorden. Op dit punt is de invloed van het Sanskrit in elk stadium van de handschriftoverlevering aantoonbaar. Dit leidt tot het principe dat in geval er twee spellingsvarianten beschikbaar zijn, die waarvan de vorm het meest afwijkt van het Sanskrit, in de tekst moet worden opgenomen, ongeacht de positie in het stemma van het HS waarin deze wordt gevonden.

In het derde hoofdstuk volgt de eigenlijke tekstuitgave (verzen 1-50), met vertaling en noten. De vertalingen wijken in vele gevallen af van die van Weber. De verschillen worden voor een groot deel bepaald door een strikt volgen van de Prākṛit tekst zelf, terwijl Weber zich juist vaak baseerde op de interpretaties zoals gevonden in de mee-overgeleverde commentaren. Deze commentaren blijken echter daartoe te onbetrouwbaar, zoals meer dan eens in dit proefschrift in de noten bij de vertalingen wordt aangetoond. In deze zelfde noten wordt verder ingegaan op, onder andere, problemen betreffende de reconstructie van de tekst, de oorsprong van de belangrijkste varianten en de betekenis van de woorden.

Curriculum vitae

Geboren op 1 april 1952 te Lijnden, behaalde de auteur van dit proefschrift in 1970 het eindexamen Gymnasium Alpha aan het Bonaventura Lyceum te Leiden. Vanaf 1970 studeerde hij Indo-iraanse talen en culturen te Leiden. In 1973 behaalde hij het kandidaatsexamen; in 1975 het doctoraalexamen met als hoofdvak Sanskrit en Middelindisch en als bijvak Tamil. Sinds 1 januari 1976 is hij werkzaam als wetenschappelijk medewerker voor het Sanskrit en het Middelindisch aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden. Naast zijn onderwijs en onderzoek houdt hij zich bezig met het vertalen van Tamil-, Sanskrit- and Prākṛitliteratuur in het Nederlands.

कस्माद्वान्नद्यरणेषुर्देतिनापटीयमायेन
हतापक्कायननिपातितानिपनसोमंख
दधनश्चक्रमंगरसंयुगादनिपतिर्वजापि
दागगदानमसंपदोतिक्रमणस्यपञ्चदो