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A Formal Type of Arrangement in the Vulgata of the  
Gāthāsaptasatī of Hāla

One of the oldest subhāsita-saṃgraha-s or kośa-s i. e. a collection of short verses which are "beautifully said", is the Gāthāsaptasatī<sup>1</sup> of Hāla<sup>2</sup>.

In its most widely known recension it contains 698 gāthā-s in Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛit, which are mainly erotic in content<sup>3</sup>. The gāthā-s deal with the total love experience of men and women from their first secret meeting through marriage to old age and love gone by. Every individual gāthā stands by itself<sup>4</sup>. In it the poet concisely depicted a single phase of emotion or a single situation within the limits of a finished form. Each single gāthā is thus self-contained and finished in form and content<sup>5</sup>.

This causes a serious problem for the compiler of a kośa: what should be the governing principle for the arrangement of the individual poems within the collection? Several ways of arrangement have been used as e. g. one that groups the poems into several sections (vraja-yā-s or paddhati-s), each section containing poems that belong to a certain theme or that make use of a certain motif or poetical device, etc. (as in the Subhāsitaratnakośa, Sūktimuktāvalī etc.)

In other collections the poems are classified into sections according to the 3 puruṣārtha-s (as in the Vajjālagga by Jayavallaha). Still another way of arrangement is found in the Āryāsaptasatī of Govardhana in which the āryā-verses are arranged in alphabetical order<sup>6</sup>.

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1. The Gāthāsaptasatī is known by various names. See New Catalogus-Catalogorum Part 5, Madras, 1967, p. 342, under Gāthāsaptasatī; also V. V. Mirashi, The Original Name of the Gāthāsaptasatī, in Papers submitted to the 13th All-India Oriental Conference, XIII, 2, pp. 370-4.
  2. The edition referred to in the following pages is that one by A. Weber, Über das Saptasatakam des Hāla, A. K. M. Band 7, nr. 4 (1881).
  3. A. Weber op. cit. p. IX. Erotic is certainly not a proper designation as it covers the content of only a small number of gāthā-s. I would prefer the term "love poetry". The Gāṅgādhara-version of the Gāthāsaptasatī also contains some gāthā-s of heroic content (471, 630, 634) or some in which heroic features are prominent (31, 54, 55, 91, 118, 331, 363, 464, 515, 686, 687, and probably even more).
  4. Daṇḍin's muktaka, Bhāmaha's and Vāmana's anibaddha.
  5. Ludwik Sternbach, Subhāsita, Gnostic and Didactic Literature, Wiesb. 1974, p. 2.
  6. L. Sternbach, op. cit., p. 4 and 12.

The Gâthâsaptasatî has come down to us in 6 recensions<sup>7</sup>, namely the Vulgata,  $\chi$ , R, S, T and W<sup>8</sup>. In two of them the gâthâ-s are arranged in sections: in the Sâdhâ-  
raṇadeva (S) - and 1st Teliṅga (T)-recension. In the S-recension 700 gâthâ-s are  
divided over 60 vraja-s or sections of varying length<sup>9</sup>. The principle by which  
the gâthâ-s are grouped into vraja-s is not each time the same. Some vraja-s  
are formed of gâthâ-s that make use of a certain poetical device (utprekṣâ- and  
anyâpadeśa-vraja)<sup>10</sup>, others of gâthâ-s in which a certain motif occurs (madhu-  
kara- or ichu-vraja.), still others of gâthâ-s that belong to a certain theme (asatî-,  
satî-, virahinî-, mâninî-vraja).

The 1st Teliṅga-recension is divided into 7 centos each of which is again divided  
into several chapters or paddhati-s, except the 3rd and the 6th cento which form  
each themselves one paddhati. The exact boundaries of the paddhati-s are not indi-  
cated in the text, but at the end of each cento their names are given in Prâkrit.<sup>11</sup>  
totalling 23. In T too, the principle by which the gâthâ-s are grouped into sections  
varies. In one case it is that of poetical device (annâvaesa-paddhati), in others that  
of motif and in still others that of theme, etc.

The S-recension has 60 chapters against the 23 in T. S made many more, and  
subtler distinctions, for instance, what in T made up one section the viraha-paddhati  
(the whole 3rd cento) corresponds approximately to at least 5 vraja-s in the S-re-  
cension, i. e. from the bhaviṣyad-virahinî- (15) up to and including the rodana-vraja  
(19). But for this difference they correspond at least in parts in the order in which  
they present their sections. In this respect they seem to follow a common tradition,  
together with at least one other collection, the subhâṣitaratnakōśa (Srk), but possib-  
ly with even more. S, T and Srk begin with the praising of God which sections in S

7. A. Weber, op. cit., p. XXVII

8. It is doubtful whether W is an individual recension of the Gâthâsaptasatî or an  
altogether different kōśa which contains by accident many gâthâ-s of the Gâthâ-  
saptasatî. A. Weber, op. cit., p. XLII.

9. Some vraja-s contain only one gâthâ (p. 445. regarding § 35 ff.). This is,  
according to A. Weber, not in conformity with the rule laid down in the Sâhitya-  
darpana. This seems to me a strained interpretation of the relevant rule of the  
Sâhityadarpana (6, 308. p. 565).

10. A. Weber is therefore only partly right when he noted that in S and for that mat-  
ter also in T (see below), the gâthâ-s are arranged into sections according to  
their content.

11. According to S. Goldschmidt, as quoted by A. Weber, op. cit., p. 454, the Prâ-  
krit of the names of the paddhati-s is later than that of the gâthâ-s. From this  
he concluded that the arrangement must have taken place after the composition  
of the gâthâ-s and cannot have been the work of the poets themselves. For me

and *Srk* are immediately followed by one describing the seasons of the year, which section in *T* is put at the end (!). In *S* and *T* then sections follow which contain *gâthâ*-s that make use of a specific poetical device (*S*: *utpreksâ*, *anyâpadeśa*; *T*: *annâvaesa*). It is also significant that in all the three collections the sections on love-quarrel (*mâninī* or *panaakalaha*) are immediately followed by those on separation, also that the section on the good wife is immediately followed (or preceded) by the one on her counterpart.<sup>12</sup>

As noted above one of the criteria for classification in both *S* and *T* is the theme. The theme is probably the most pivotal concept with respect to the content of the *gâthâ*-s, but should be clearly distinguished from what is here called "content". While the content of a *gâthâ* is made up by what is literally said in it, the theme is that situation at which the *gâthâ* as a whole is purported to hint or allude; and there are only a few of such situations, in contradistinction to the literal content which is as many-sided and diverse as there are *gâthâ*-s. The theme is, however, not the only criterion for classification the compilers had at their disposal. For instance, it is obvious that *gâthâ* 4 of the *Vulgata*, which *S* classified in the *utpreksâ-vrajyâ* (that is, on the basis of a formal feature, in *casu*: *alamkâra*) can also be brought into the *asatī-vrajyâ*, on the basis of theme. Still another criterion for classification is the motif, by what is meant a word (part of the literal content!) that recurs in and plays a striking rôle in several *gâthâ*-s, as for instance *madhukara*. Probably it might have been possible to classify all the *gâthâ*-s on the basis of a relatively restricted number of either figures of speech or motifs. The compiler, however, may have had some definite motive to use different classification systems, like theme, *alamkâra*, motif etc. One may be didactic (for instance for the *kavīśikṣâ*).

For us the classification can serve as a rudimentary commentary to the often highly allusive and enigmatic *gâthâ*-s; and especially so those classificatory categories based on theme. When we want to use the classifications of both *S* and *T* for this purpose, we should be aware of their nature and the way they work out their classification systems in practice. As said above, in both *S* and *T* the *gâthâ*-s are not classified on their thematic content only, but also on the basis of formal features. Furthermore, *S* and *T* show differences in the inclusion of one and the same *gâthâ* in a particular section. There seems not to have been common and traditional criteria which settled by hard and fast rule what particular *gâthâ*-s must be assigned

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it is a matter of principle to distinguish between the stage of the composition of the *gâthâ*-s and that of their compilation in a *kośa*.

to what particular classificatory category. This variance between S and T in the inclusion of a gâthâ in a particular category seems to be due to either a difference in emphasis or choice or in interpretation. For instance, S classified 128, 143 and 396 in the vasanta-vraiyâ, T, on the other hand, in the viraha-paddhati and not in the section corresponding to the vasanta-vraiyâ of S, viz. in a part of the uduvanna-na "the description of the seasons of the year" found at the end of the 7th cento. The gâthâ-s contain references to the characteristics of the spring-season: 128: mahumâsa- "the spring"; 143: navacûapallava- "the young sprout of the mango"; 396: amvâna dalam "leaf of mangos". Each of these three gâthâ-s, though, taken as a whole, deals with separation, actual or imminent. Therefore the inclusion of them in the vasanta-vraiyâ does not exclude the inclusion in the viraha-paddhati or vice versa. In this case the differences in classification are due to a difference in emphasis or choice. A case of difference in interpretation is furnished by 49, which S grouped in the grîsma-vraiyâ and T in the adaanâ-paddhati. By association the description of the sun-heat (grîsma) during the midday in the summer brings to mind the hardship of the traveller (pahia or virahi). S classified 49 in the grîsma-vraiyâ, the other option within his system being the virahi-vraiyâ. Since the commentary of T on this gâthâ is not preserved, I can only guess what the basis was for him to group it in the adaanâ-paddhati. Possibly T took the gâthâ to contain the words with which an unfaithful woman invited a traveller inside her house. Here the difference in classification between S and T is due to a difference in interpretation, and both interpretations are mutually exclusive.

Because the traditional interpretations are often at variance and lack consistency, it is difficult to assess exactly the content of the gâthâ-s. On the other hand these gâthâ-s must be interpreted within the framework of native explanation. One other such traditional literary theory may be found in Tolkâppiyam, the oldest Tamil grammar extant, which deals very extensively, amongst others, with poetics. Its position vis à vis the Old Tamil literature, and especially the love poems (Akam) may be compared to that of S and T. In the first place, because this Akam-poetry

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12. This against A. Weber who denied that there was any system at all in the order of the sections. With regard to the stana-vraiyâ of S. (op. cit., p. 437 fnt. 2) he exclaimed: "wie der auf einmal hier hereinschneit!" and goes on with "Es liegt eben gar kein System in der Anordnung und Reihenfolge der einzelnen §§ vor." Of course I do not know what his expectations were with regard to this order. The fact that some clusters of sections show up in 3 different koṣa-s points already to a common tradition with some fixed order, the rationale behind which we do not perceive. This whole point should be elaborated. More koṣa-s should be taken into consideration to get an idea of the spread of this tradition and the

is, as has been lately recognized<sup>13</sup>, to a high degree identical with the Sanskrit and Prâkrit Muktaka-poetry, in subject matter (love), in the different types of love, in associations, in the way they build up the inner tension in the poem, etc. In the second place, Tolkâppiyam, also, like S and T is concerned with the classification of literature in distinct categories. Tolkâppiyam extrapolated from the corpus of Akam-poetry 5 basic themes of which we find 4 also at work in the Sanskrit and Prâkrit Muktaka-poetry (these 4 are reduced to 3 in the latter two, where there is no distinction made, in the theory at least, between the 2 different types of separation). These themes correspond to those which are headed by asatî, viraha and mâninî or by whatever other names they are labelled with. All the many and diverse situations found in the poems themselves, Tolkâppiyam assigned to one or another of these 5 basic themes (the hard and fast rules !). This classification was strictly followed by all the later compilers of the Old Tamil literature. It may be possible that the whole corpus of the gâthâ-s of the Gâthâsaptasatî can be categorized according to the system of Tolkâppiyam.

According to Albrecht Weber in the other 4 recensions no order whatsoever could be distinguished in the arrangement of the gâthâ-s. On page 38 of his introduction he wrote: "Während die Vulgata, R und W (for  $\chi$  see page 27 of his introduction.) den Text in einer dem Inhalt nach ungeordneten Form aufführen, liegt uns derselbe in S ebenso wie in T in bestimmte Gruppen, die hier den Namen vrajyâ führen, geordnet vor."

I think, though, that the first part of his observations (i. e. in einer dem Inhalt ...) is not valid for at least one of these 4 recensions, viz. the Vulgata. This Vulgata is a "reconstruction" by A. Weber on the basis of 2 Mss. containing the text of the gâthâ-s, and 8 Mss. containing in all 4 commentaries, 3 of which also have the text

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possibilities of variation within it. (there are also differences in the order of the sections in S, T and Srk). As a next step we should try to find out what was the idea behind this system in the order, if any. Furthermore it should be investigated whether the divisions in S and T are in some way related to any alamkāra-kāma- or other śāstra. For instance, it may be possible, I think, to find the different types of women - 12 in all of the 23 paddhati-s in T - in some śāstra or another.

13. Siegfried Lienhard, Pâlai Poems in Sanskrit and Prâkrit, in Prof. K. A. Nîlakan-ta Sâstri Felicitation Volume, Madras 1971, pp. 416-422.  
 Siegfried Lienhard, Bauern, Berge, Nacht und Winter, in E. Sluszkiewicz Com-memoration Volume, Warsaw 1974, pp. 137-142.  
 G. L. Hart, The poems of Ancient Tamil Literature, Their Milieu and Their Sanskrit Counterparts, California, 1975.

of the gâthâ-s themselves: Kulanâtha's commentary with the text of the gâthâ-s, up to 370; Pîtâmbara's comm. with the text of the gâthâ-s, up to 300; an anonymous commentary (T and S) complete but without the text of the gâthâ-s, and the commentary of Gaṅgâdhara, of which A. Weber had 5 mss. at his disposal; 2, A and E, complete and 3, B, C and β, only fragmentary. In one of these, B, the commentary is provided with the text of the gâthâ-s also from 1 up to and including 129. Since of these, the version followed by the commentator Gaṅgâdhara was the most complete, Weber edited the Vulgata according to this version. For the purpose of this paper I will refer to this Gaṅgâdhara-version<sup>14</sup>. Since the other versions that make up the Vulgata correspond closely to this Gaṅgâdhara-version in respect to the individual gâthâ-s they include and the order in which they present them, it follows that what is said about this Gaṅgâdhara-version is equally valid for the other that make up the Vulgata<sup>15</sup>.

I think that I have found a principle of arrangement in the Vulgata: each gâthâ is connected with one or more other gâthâ-s by means of one or more words they have common. For Instance: 468 has pâdali, 469 pâdala, 469 has sumdara, 470 sumdari.

In the following paragraphs will be discussed what words are involved in this arrangement, the pattern in which this formal concatenation shows up and as an example a portion of the Gaṅgâdhara-version will be treated. After that a possible rationale behind this type of arrangement will be given.

Actually all kinds of words are involved in the concatenation: nouns: magga (31-32), marana (42-43); verbs: ruasi, ruvvasu (9-10); adjectives: duggaa. (38-39); adverbs: dara (395-396); personal pronouns: tumam (611-12-13), numbers: ekka (502-503), do (24-27); interjections: aha (300-301).

Also different derivatives from the same root: bhagga, bhamgura (422-423); nirakkhara, akkhara (191-192); homti, anuhavai (210-211); jua, jovvana (246-247); mâna, mânailla (26-27) etc. Sometimes the word occurs in a compound in the one gâthâ and on its own in the other: jââ in 30 in jââbhirua and on its own in 31<sup>16</sup>.

14. Weber used the term Gaṅgâdhara-"recension". I prefer the term "version" to distinguish it from the Vulgata, which is a "recension".

15. Probably also for the R-recension which differs from the Vulgata mainly in that it has transposed whole clusters of gâthâ-s to other parts of the kośa.

16. It may be mentioned that, though rarely, also synonyms are involved: kamkelli asoa (404-405), pahâe, gose (379-381), rakkha-, samthava- (38-39?).

The formal concatenation of the gâthâ-s shows up in several patterns, for instance in the pattern of A:B, B:C :

- 30      jââ gâmaṇi  
 31      jââ gâmaṇi magga  
 32                      magga,

or in that of A:B and A:C :

- 62      uaha dara ṇilukka  
 63      uaha  
 64                      dara ṇilukka

This same pattern also occurs in clusters of more than 3 gâthâ-s.

- 493      ruâviâ      do  
 494      rovaṁti  
 .  
 497  
 498                      do

Sometimes the concatenation has the form of a chiasmus.

- 19      ghara vacca                      vaṇṇaa  
 20                      pariumvaṇa  
 21      ghara vacca  
 22                      pariumvaṇa vaṇṇa

or :

- 308      palâsa  
 309  
 310                      geṇhamṁti  
 311      palâsa  
 312                      geṇhamṁti

Also within larger groups, besides immediate connection between nearby gâthâ-s, an interlocking over greater distance is visible.

- 65      suasi aṁga  
 66      suasi              paṭṭhavaṁ  
 67                      aṁga  
 68    chaṇa, soha  
 69    sohagga  
 70      hoṁti dīsaṁti paṭṭhavaṁ  
 71                                      paṇaajana  
 72      hoi  
 73                      dīsaṁta



74	osarai	gahia	
75	oarai		
76		paṇaaajāṇa	
77			
78		gahia	
79	nhāṇa	sohagga	chāṇa
80	nhāṇa		soha

Paṭṭhavaṇṇa (66) is taken up again in 70 and seems to tie together the clusters 65-6-7 and 70-1-2, and paṇaaajāṇa in 71 and 76 (two gāthā-s not otherwise connected) the clusters 70-1-2 and 74-5-6-78 . Sohagga (69), chāṇa and soha (68) (68 and 69 are not otherwise integrated) are taken up again in 79 and 80 and seem to connect the "higher-level" cluster formed by paṭṭhavaṇṇa with that one formed by nhāṇa and to overlap in this way the cluster with paṇaaajāṇa. As can be expected there do occur gāthā-s that are not integrated in this formal way, for instance 157-8-9 in

155	suraa	cimṭa
156	suraa	
157		
158		
159		
160		cimṭa

Such gāthā-s may have been placed there on the basis of several other principles than that of concatenation by means of words. I want to avoid the term "interpolation" in this context. In the first place because the compiler of a kośa is - or can feel himself - fully in his right to deviate from his main principle of arrangement, and in the second place because I am not able to distinguish these deviations from the changes made by scribes (which are indeed interpolations!).

A concatenation by means of words can be seen in the whole of the Gaṅgādhara-version, although one may incidentally come across with gāthā-s or groups of gāthā-s that are not formally integrated. This concatenation shows up in different patterns, while also the amount of complexity of these patterns may vary.

In the following paragraph I will discuss a sample portion from the Gaṅgādhara-version, from gāthā 30 up to and including 51. I do not claim that this portion and the pattern of concatenation as found in it is representative for the whole of the version, nor that it is not. I even have the impression that the pattern in which the words that are repeated show up is extremely complex. On the other hand I think that what can be said about this portion in terms of generalizations is in a way also

applicable to the whole of the Gaṅgādhara-version and for that matter to the whole of the Vulgata.

- 30 nikkiva jāâbhîrua duddamsaṇa nimvakîdasâriccha  
gâmo gâmaṇiṇamdaṇa tujjha kae taha vi taṇuâi.

(S: upâlambha-vrajyâ; not in T )

O! you who are without pity, shy in front of women, who rarely show up and are sour like a nimba-worm ! Because you are like this, o' son of the village-head, the village is growing meagre.

- 31 paharavaṇamaggavisame jāâ kiccheṇa lahai se ṇiddam  
gâmaṇiuttassa ure pallî ṇa se suham suaf.

(S: subhata-vrajyâ; not in T)

The wife hardly gets sleep lying against the chest of the son of the village-head, which is rough with the marks of wounds made by sword-strokes. His village, though, sleeps happily.

- 32 aha sambhâviamaggo suhaa tue ccea ṇavara ṇivvûdho  
eṇhim hiae aṇṇam aṇṇam vââi loassa.

(S: gotraskhalana-vrajyâ; T: panaakalaha-paddhati)

Ah ! The respected way, o fortunate one, is taken up by no one but you. One thing now in the heart of the people, is another thing in the mouth.

- 33 uṇhâi ṇîsasamîto kîsa maha parammuhîa saṇṇaddhe  
hiaam palîvium aṇusaṇa puṭṭhim palîvesi.

(S: mâninî-vrajyâ; T: panaakalaha-paddhati)

After having burnt my heart, why are you burning my back with hot sighs, full of repentance, while I ly on my half of the bed, turned away from you ?

- 34 tuha virahe cîraâraa tissâ ṇivadamîtavâhamafleṇa  
raîrahasiharadhaena va muheṇa châhi ccia ṇa pattâ.

(S: virahinî-vrajyâ; T: dûfvaana-paddhati)

O! you who tarry, her face spoiled by tears falling because of your absence, has not got its lustre, as <sup>17</sup> the banner on the top of the car of the sun.

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17. I do not exactly know what the meaning of this simile is.

- 35 diarassa asuddhamaṇassa kulavahû ñaakuḍḍalihiâi  
diahm̃ kahei RâmânulaggaSomitticariâim̃.

(S: satî-vrajyâ; T: kulavahû-paddhati)

To her brother-in-law who has unpure thoughts, the noble wife tells during daytime of the acts of Saumitri who was attached to Râma, which are drawn on her own walls.

- 36 cattaragharinî piadam̃saṇâ a taruñî paṭṭhavaîâ a  
asaî saajjiâ duggaâ a ña hu kham̃diam̃ sflam̃.

(S: satî-vrajyâ; T: adaanâ-paddhati)

A houseswife of beautiful appearance, young, her husband abroad, a wicked neighbour-woman at hand, and above all poor, how can it be that her virtue will not be broken ?

- 37 tâlûrabhamâulakhuḍiakesaro giriñafa pûreṇa  
daravuḍḍavuḍḍanivvuḍḍamaharo hîraf̃ kalam̃vo.

(S: madhukara-vrajyâ ; not in T)

The kalamba-tree is dragged away by the stream of the mountain-river, its foliage is scattered by the rashness of the whirls, but the bee sticks to it and with it goes under, a little, deep and comes up again.

- 38 ahiâim̃âṇiṇo duggaassa châim̃ paṭssa rakkham̃t̃  
ñiavam̃dhavâṇa jûraf̃ ghariñî vihavēṇa em̃t̃âṇam̃.

(S: mâninî-vrajyâ; T: kulavahû-paddhati)

Taking the side of her husband who is poor and has false notions about what is noble, the wife scolds at her own relatives who come with riches.

- 39 sâhñe vi piaame patte vi chaṇe ña maṇḍio appâ  
duggaapaṭṭhavaîam̃ saajjam̃ sam̃thavam̃t̃e.

(S: asatî-vrajyâ; not in T)

Though her dearest lover is at hand, and the day of the festival has come she does not decorate herself lest her neighbour-woman who is poor and whose husband is abroad, gets exited.

- 40 tujjha vasai tti hiaam̃ imehi diṭṭho tumam̃ ti acchm̃  
tuha virahe kisiâi ti t̃e am̃gâi vi piâim̃.

(S: dūtî-vrajyâ; T: dūṭvaana-paddhati)

Her heart in which you live, her eyes with which she sees you, her body which has become meagre in your absence, are dear (to you).

- 41 sabbhâvaṇehabharie ratte rajjijjai tti juttam̐ iṇam̐  
aṇahiae uṇa hiaam̐ jam̐ dijjaf tam̐ jaṇo hasaf.

(S: upâlabha-vraja; not in T)

It is right that one bears love towards somebody who is capable of love himself and has a heart by nature full of love, but the people will laugh at her who gives her heart to someone who has no heart.

- 42 ârambham̐tassa dhuam̐ lacch̐ maraṇam̐ va hoi purisassa  
tam̐ maraṇam̐ aṇârambhe vi hoi lacch̐ uṇa ṇa hoi.

(S: sâhasa-vraja; T: suhâsia-paddhati)

To that man who undertakes things, riches or death are sure to come.  
To him who undertakes nothing death is sure, but riches are not.

- 43 virahâṇalo sahijjai âsâvam̐dheṇa vallahajaṇassa  
ekkaggâmapavâso mae maraṇam̐ visesei.

(S: virahinî-vraja; T: panaakalaha-paddhati)

The fire of seperation I can stand by the bond of hope, but, mother,  
when my lover is out of reach, though in the same village, that is  
even worse than death.

- 44 akkhaḍai piâ hiae aṇṇam̐ mahilâṇam̐ ramam̐tassa  
ditthe sarisammi guṇe sarisammi guṇe afsam̐te.

(S: jâti-vraja; not in T)

His dear girl will return in his heart while he enjoys himself with other  
women whether he sees or does not see equal qualitties.

- 45 ṇaipûrasacchahe jovvaṇammi afpavasiesu diahesu  
aṇiattâsu a râṇsu putti kim̐ daḍḍham̐aṇeṇa.

(S: śânti-vraja; T: panaakalaha-paddhati).

Youth is like the stream of a river, days pass, nights will not return,  
what then, daughter, is the use of this cursed pride ?

- 46 kallam̐ kira kharaniao pavasihaî pio tti suvvaḥ jaṇammi  
taha vaḍḍha bhaavaḥ ṇise jaha se kallam̐ cia ṇa hoi.

(S: bhaviṣyadvirahinî-vraja; T: suraa-paddhati)

The people know that my dear one will go away tomorrow-morning,  
cold-heartedly, therefore grow long o ! venerable night, so that  
tomorrow-morning will not come.

- 47 *homtapahiassa jââ âucchañajfadhârañarahassam*  
*pucchamñi bhamañ gharam ghareña piavirahasahirfo.*  
 (S: bhavisyadvirahinñ-vrajyâ; T: viraha-paddhati).  
 The wife of the prospective traveller goes from door to door asking  
 those who can stand the separation of their loved ones for the secret  
 to stay alive after the farewell.
- 48 *añnamahilâpasamgam de devva karesu amha dafassa*  
*purisâ ekkamñtarasâ ña hu dosagune viññamñti.*  
 (S: guna-vrajyâ; T: añurâa-paddhati)  
 He, Fate! let my lover have contact with other women; men who  
 concentrate their love on one cannot distinguish between fault and quality.
- 49 *thoamñ pi ña ñfi imâ majjanhe ua sarñratalalukkâ*  
*âavabhaena chññfi vi tâ pahia vñsamasi.*  
 (S: grñsma-vrajyâ; T: adaanâ-paddhati)  
 This shadow does not leave the body even a little bit, but clings to it,  
 out of fear for the sun-heat in the midday. Why then o! traveller, do  
 you not rest?
- 50 *suhañcchaamñ janamñ dullahamñ pi durñhi amha añemñta*  
*uañraa jara jñamñ pi nemñta ña kañvarñho si.*  
 (S: añurâga-vrajyâ; T: khamñdiâ-paddhati)  
 O! helpful fever, who brought him from far to ask after my welfare,  
 even when he was difficult to get, if you now take my life you will not  
 be a criminal.
- 51 *âma jaro me mamñdo ahava ña mamñdo janassa kâ tattñ*  
*suhañcchaa suhaa suamñdhagamñdha mã gamñdhirimñ chivasu.*  
 (S: mñninñ-vrajyâ; T: khamñdiâ-paddhati).  
 Whether my fever is slight or not, what concern is it to others.  
 You who ask after my welfare, happy one, you who smell nicely,  
 do not touch me who stink.

30 and 31 are connected by the words jââ- and gâmani (the latter in the compounds gâmani-nañdana and gâmani-utta respectively both meaning "son of the village-head"). Although in the first place I will try to show that the gâthâ-s are formally connected, other types of connection should not a priori be ruled out, one of them being content. For instance, both 30 and 31 deal with the immoral woman (asatñ)

who is represented in 30 by the women who are pining away because they cannot meet the man whom they are chasing after, in 31 either by the woman who is described as having a secret tryst with her lover, or by the woman addressed, who is advised to meet her lover by night, since then the village is fast asleep. So we may possibly assume that these two gâthâ-s are linked together by thematic content. A second person singular pronoun connects 30, 32, 34 and 40, in all these gâthâ-s referring to the man who is addressed. It is difficult to decide, though, whether or not the compiler has intended these pronominal forms to connect the respective gâthâ-s, since they do occur very frequently, most of the gâthâ-s being in the form of an address. The same can be said about all the other personal pronouns like the 3rd p. sg. pron. in 31 (se) and 34 (tissâ) both referring to the woman, an asatî and a virahinî respectively. 30 is also connected with 24 and with 36 by damśana, 24 lies outside the scope of this example. 36 is a gâthâ that alludes to the prospective unfaithfulness of the woman (asatî). Its thematic content is therefore identical with that of 30.

31 in its turn is formally connected with 32 by magga and suha (suhā in 32)<sup>18</sup>, with 34 by the 3rd p. sg. pron. (see above under 30) and with 28 by pahara. The translation of 28 is the following: "Every time the brother-in-law wants to strike the woman with a jasmine sprout on a part of her body, on that part her hair rises in delight"<sup>19</sup>. In both 28 and 31 the unfaithfulness of the wife is central. Here pahara connects two gâthâ-s that belong to the same theme. On the other hand the strokes (pahara) in 28 bring delight to the woman, those in 31 have caused deep wounds on the chest of the man.

32 is formally connected with 33 by hīa. 32 is grouped by S in the gotraskhalana-vrajyâ which contains gâthâ-s in which the man is reproached by his girl-friend or wife who is angry with him because he has addressed her with the name of another woman. The gotraskhalana of S refers to a subsituation to that theme which is labelled by māninf.

By T this gâthâ, together with 33 (S: māninf-vrajyâ), is therefore grouped in the panaakalaha-paddhati since in both a sulky woman is central. Here we may assume

18. Even if suha (31) derived from Skt. sukha, and suhā (32) from Skt. subhaga, they have anyhow become homophonous in Prākṛit.

19. Here might be involved an association furnished by Hemacandra's gloss of nava-laya "jasmine sprout" (Deśīn 4, 21) "a vrata in which the wife is beaten with a jasmine sprout when she refuses to tell the name of her husband". In some communities in India there is a taboo for women to mention the name of their husbands, which taboo in this gâthâ is treathened to be broken.

that 32 and 33 are linked together, beside by a formal element, by their thematic content also.

33 and 34 are connected by means of muha, the face of a mâninî and of a virahinî respectively.

34 is formally connected with 31 by the 3rd p. pron. and with 38 and 49 by châ(h)î. 34 and 49 describe different situations within the realm of one theme i. e. that of separation: 34 describes the state of the wife at home (the virahinî) and 49 the sun-burnt territory, the description of which by association brings to the mind the hardships of the wayfarer. châhî connects these with 38 which describes either a mâninî or a satî.

By means of patta 34 is connected with 39 which alludes to the passed unfaithfulness of the wife while her husband was away. In this respect 39 is quite different from 34 in which the woman is portrayed as passively suffering in the absence of her husband.

35 is connected with 28 by diara- (deara- in 28) and with 38 by nia(a). Both 28 and 35 make use of the description of the relation between the wife and her brother-in-law, but in 28 the wife's unfaithfulness is central, against her faithfulness in 35. On the level of thematic content 28 and 35 are opposite. Furthermore in 35 the brother-in-law is kept at a distance, in 38 her relatives or the prospective paramour to whom this gâthâ is supposed to have been addressed. 35 is not formally connected with the gâthâ-s that immediately precede or follow, still it might have been placed here because its content is opposite to that of 36, which T grouped in the adaanâ-paddhati (S grouped it in the satî-vraja but this makes less sense.)

36 is formally connected with 30 by damśana (see above under 30) with 38 by duggaa, paî,gharinî and with 39 by duggaa, paṭṭhavaî and saajjîâ. 36 is opposite in thematic content to 38 as can be judged from their inclusion in T in the adaanâ- and kulavahû-paddhati respectively. 39 is not found in T but S, grouped it rightly in the asatî-vraja, which means that in thematic content it is identical with 36 and opposite to 38.

37 is formally connected with 45 by naî and pûra. According to Gaṅgâdhara 37 deals with the expected lifelong faithfulness of the lover (the madhukara), who of course cannot meet this expectation. This could have been the reason why this gâthâ is placed between 36 and 38 which allude to an unfaithful and faithful woman respectively but with which it is not formally connected.

38 is formally connected with 34 by châhî, with 35 by nia(a) and with 36 and 39 (see above).

39 is connected with 34 by patta and with 36 and 38 (see above). 38 and 39, beside by the words already enumerated at 36, are also connected by rakkha- and sam̐thava- respectively, which are probably synonyms. As said above, 38 and 39 are opposite in thematic content. The gāthā-s 35 up to and including 39 seem also to be strung together in that they all play out the opposites faithfulness and unfaithfulness.

The connection between 40 and 30, 31 and 34 by means of the 2nd p. sg. pronoun, looks to be accidental and not relevant (see under 30). 40 is connected with 41, 44 and 46 by hīaa, with 44, 46 and 47 by pīa, with 43 and 47 by viraha, with 44 by dittha and with 41 by the use of the quotative particle '(t)ti. It can hardly be so that the gāthā-s in which hīaa- and pīa- occur are all indeed intentionally connected by them, since these words are very common and in some cases the distance between the gāthā-s is relatively great. On the other hand it might be sound to assume that 40-41 and 44-46 are indeed intended to be connected by hīaa. The same could be said about 44-46-47 by pīa. 40 consists of the words of a dūtī who describes the state of the virahinī to her husband or lover, 41 warns against a mismatched love-affair. 40 and 41 are therefore different in thematic content. (the content of 43, 44, 46 and 47 will be treated below).

41 is connected with 42 by the use of the a-privans in anahīaa- and anāram̐bha- respectively, furthermore with 44 by rama-, and with 43, 44, 46, 50 and 51 by jana. With regard to jana I may repeat what I said about the connection by pīa and hīaa at 40. It may be sound to except an intended formal connection by such a common word as jana between 43 and 44 and between 50 and 51 and to consider irrelevant that one of 41 or 46 with those.

42 is connected with 43 by marāṇa. 42 tells a man not to let the fear for death check him in his search for richness, in 43, though, a girl tells what pitiful circumstances will lead to her death, namely her husband or lover being in the same village, but not coming to her. These two gāthā-s are in a way opposite in content: a man should not be afraid of death, he should even seek it because death in action is an honoured thing, but the woman's death will be caused by circumstances which she did not long for.

43 is connected with 40 and 47 by viraha, with 47 by saha-, with 45 and 46 by pavāsa-, with 48 by ekka and with 44 by jana- (for jana see above under 41). T grouped 43 in the Paṇaakalaha-paddhati (against S: virahinī-vrajyā). Although 44 is not found in T, together with 45, it can also be grouped in that same paddhati. With 43, 44 and 45 we have a sequence of 3 gāthā-s that pertain to the same situation or theme: i. e.



that of the unfaithfulness of the man, the subsequent sulky mood of the woman and of her reconciliation or the advice to that end (sânti).

44 is connected with 40 by dittha, with 41 by rama-, with 43 by jana and with 48 by mahilâ, guna and anna (I leave out of consideration the words hīaa and pīa which occur in it and the connection made by them). 44 is a gāthā in which a woman condones the unfaithfulness of her husband. In this respect it is identical to 48.

45 is connected with 43 and 46 by pavāsa- and with 37 by naī and pūra.

46 is connected with (40), 44 and 47 by pīa, (with 41, 43, 50 and 51 by jana) (with 40, 41 and 44 by hīaa) with 43 and 45 by pavāsa and with 42 and 47 by ho-. This last word connects 46 and 47 in enjambement<sup>20</sup>. S grouped 46 and 47 in the bhaviṣyadvirahinī-vrajyâ. Here again we have a cluster of two gāthā-s that are identical in thematic content and are above this tightly knit together in enjambement, a formal feature.

47 is connected with 46 by pīa, with 40 and 43 by viraha, with 43 by saha, with 49 by pahia, with 50 by ucchana and jā, with 51 by ucchana and with 46 and 42 by hoi.

48 is connected with 43 by ekka and with 44 by anna, mahilâ and guna. In 48 a woman makes allowances for the unfaithfulness of her husband and as such is nearly identical to 44 in content, but also to a very high extent in words. It pertains to the same situation or theme as do 43, 44 and 45. Note in this connection the name of the poet to which this gāthā is ascribed: Aniru(d)dha "he who is not checked"<sup>21</sup>. 48 is also

20. For other cases of enjambement 62-63-64; 160-161-162; 310-312 (with one gāthā intervening); 543-544, 545-546 and probably more.

21. Aniruddha is not the only name for a poet formed after an idea or, as also occurs, after a word in the gāthā. Besides Aniruddha we find in Pītāmbara's commentary Kālasāra with 25, Gatalajja with 57, Prahātā with 86 and Kalamka with 151. Perhaps Karṇa with 54 belongs also here.

Also in the commentary of Bhuvanapāla, edited separately in *Indische Studien*, 16, pp. 1-201, we come across such names. However, in this commentary, in which the text follows the order of the R-recension, the names are generally found with the gāthā following the one to which it belongs, e.g. Kālasāra with 24 (= ed. 26) in fact belonging to 23 (= ed. 25), Nihkopa with 387 (= ed. 187) belonging to 386 (= ed. 186) etc.. Interestingly enough Sthirasāha with 99 (ed. 168) fits better with 367 (= ed. 167), i.e. the gāthā immediately preceding it in the Vulgata, than with 98 (= ed. 96); Pavana with 521 (= ed. 498) better with 450 (= ed. 497) than with 520 (= ed. 627) and Nīla with 414 (= ed. 396) better with ed. 395 (missing in Bhuvanapāla) than with 413 (= ed. 412).

From these 3 cases it seems as if Bhuvanapāla borrowed these names from a recension of the type of the Vulgata, where they had already shifted to the following gāthā. It might be equally possible that the mistake was made by Bhuvanapāla himself. Since the names are sometimes written before and sometimes after the gāthā to which they belong, it might be possible that, while borrowing them from

connected with 52 and 53 by jñā and rasa respectively. These gāthā-s though, fall outside the limits I have set to this example.

49 is connected with 47 by pahia, with 34 and 38 by chāhṭ (see under 34) and with 50 by nī. While in 47 the traveller is bound to go away, in 49 there are hints at the hardship that the traveller meets on his way. (S: grīśma-vrajyā; I can only guess at how T interpreted this gāthā so as to include it in the adaanā-paddhati).

In this case the formal connection is given an extra dimension in that 47 tells of the hardship a woman fears when she is left alone and 49 of the hardship that the traveller meets after he has left her.

50 is connected with 47 by ucchana and jīa and with 51 by jana, suhaūcchaa and jarā. Both 47 and 50 deal with separation; but in 47 the woman seeks a remedy to stay alive when left alone, while in 50 she begs the fever to take away her life.

While 50 and 51 have 3 words in common namely: jana, suhaūcchaa and jarā they differ in content. In 50 the woman is in a pitiful state and wants to give up life, but in 51 the woman, though feverish, is still strong enough to reject her husband.

In this sample portion one may come across with some clusters of gāthā-s that seem to be linked together by their content, for instance: 35 up to including 39, each dealing with one of the opposites unfaithfulness and faithfulness, 43, 44 and 45 probably belong to one and the same theme, as do 46 and 47, and 32 and 33. Also some gāthā-s seem to be linked together by opposition of content, like 35 and 36, 38 and 39 or 42 and 43. On the other hand it seems not possible to integrate in this way 34 with 35, 45 with 46 or 47 with 48 or 49 etc. All the gāthā-s, though, are indeed formally integrated the recurrent words yielding the following pattern as given in scheme I. Sometimes this formal connection is given an extra dimension by the content of the respective gāthā-s, for instance: anna, mahilā and guna connecting two gāthā-s that belong to the same theme, namely 44 and 48, or pahia connecting two gāthā-s, 47 and 49 each of which deals with different or complementary aspects of the theme of separation. More examples for this can be found in the discussion above.

It is sometimes difficult to decide whether a gāthā is placed where it stands on the basis of a word or on the basis of its content. For instance 46 and 47 are formally

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a Ms. of the Vulgata-type where the names were written after the gāthā, Bhuva-  
napāla made the mistake to think they belonged to the gāthā they preceded.  
Names formed after an idea or word in the verse are also reported in other  
kośa-s, namely the Thera- and Therīgāthā. (K. R. Norman, Elders' Verses I,  
London, 1969, p. XXII, section 6c, and Elders' Verses II, London, 1971, p. XXII,  
section 7c, d). It is also quite common in the Classical Tamil anthology Eṭṭuttokai.

connected by pia and ho, but also have the same thematic content. Because each of them is also connected with others that immediately surround them it seems sound to assume that they are placed there on the basis of formal features. On the other hand 37 is not formally integrated with its immediately surrounding gâthâ-s and it seems as if only its content prevented it from being placed near to 45 with which it is connected by naî and pûra.

To my knowledge the indigenous Indian literary tradition maintains a complete silence on this type of arrangement in a kośa as found in the Vulgata. This might be explained from the fact that, though it is attested in the case of a few hymns in the Atharva-Veda<sup>22</sup>, it has certainly not been common. As far as I know it is not found in any other collection in Sanskrit or Prâkrit literature, but in the Vulgata recension of the Gâthâsaptasatî. But also Gaṅgâdhara is completely silent on this formal arrangement in the kośa he was commenting upon.

Though it is dangerous to press this argumentum ex silentio too far, this might mean that he was not aware of it. Between the compilation of this kośa (?) and the commentary of Gaṅgâdhara (?) must have lain a considerable time-gap, anyhow long enough for people to have forgotten about the arrangement, or, alternatively, a considerable distance in space. Furthermore this kośa must have been credited with a high authority, since 4 commentators took up the task of writing a commentary upon it and left it practically in its integral form.

While this formal type of arrangement is attested for the Atharva-Veda, it does not necessarily follow that its application in the Vulgata of the Gâthâsaptasatî is a direct continuation of a tradition of arrangement, first attested in the Atharva-Veda. It might well be the case that in the Vulgata it made its reappearance in Indian literature, after having been in disuse for some time.

These gâthâ-s were possibly sung or recited in the competitive environment of the sabhâ of the king<sup>23</sup> or the meeting-place in the village<sup>24</sup>.

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22. Bloomfield, The Atharva Veda and the Gopâtha-Brâhmaṇa, p. 39.

23. R. Pischel, Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmanasena, Göttingen 1893, p. 5.

24. I leave out of this very hypothetical discussion the question whether this type of poetry is court-poetry or the poetry of the common folk, as some like to believe, or whatever gradations there are in between.

Here the main aim of the poet was to surpass his colleagues in expressing the same thing more beautifully to receive their approval or become the "Kavirâja" and to gain the patronage of the king. He could show his ability by varying on what he thinks is pivotal in the content of the gâthâ-s of his competitor (the birth of the content of theme) or by taking one or more words from the gâthâ-s of his competitor and by using them in gâthâ-s, different in content. (I wonder when it was decided, and by whom, who the winner was).

These two ways along which to compete in composing, could also have been means for instructing young, prospective poets in the art of poetry. The latter principle that takes the word(s) as starting point could have lain at the root of the type of arrangement of the gâthâ-s in the Gaṅgâdhara-version of the Gâthâsaptasatî.

## Scheme I

30	jââ gâmani	(also 24) damsana	tujjha
31	jââ gâmani magga suha pahara (28)	se	tue
32	hiao magga suhaa		
33	hiao muha		
34	muha	châhṭ patta	tissâ tuha
35	diara (28)	niao	
36	duggaa paṭṭhavaṭṭ saajjiâ gharinṭ	damsana	
37		ṇaṭ , pûra	
38	duggaa pai gharinṭ chât	uia	
39	duggaa paṭṭhavaṭṭ saajjiâ	patta	
40	'tti hiao pia	viraha	diṭṭha tuha
41	'tti aṇ- hiao jana	ratta	
42	marana hoi aṇ-		
43	marana pavâsa jana	ekka viraha saha	
44	hiao jana pia	ramanta	diṭṭha mahilâ, gura, aṇṇa
45	pavasa-	ṇaṭ, pûra	
46	hoi pavasa hiao jana pia		
47	pahia hoṇṭa jfa	viraha saha aṇṇa	
48	jṇâ (52)rasa (53)	ekka	
49	pahia nṭ	châhṭ	
50	aṇṭ - jfa jana	jara suhauccha	
51		jara suhauccha	

mahilâ, gura, aṇṇa

