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A Formal Type of Arrangement in the Vulgata of the Gathasaptasati of Hala

One of the oldest subhastita-samgraha-s or kośa-s i.e. a collection of short verses which are "beautifully said", is the Gathasaptasati of Hala. In its most widely known recension it contains 698 gathâ-s in Māhārāṣṭrī Prâkrit, which are mainly erotic in content. The gathâ-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 gathâ stands by itself. In it the poet concisely depicted a single phase of emotion or a single situation within the limits of a finished form. Each single gathâ is thus self-contained and finished in form and content.

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 (vrajyâ-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 Subhâstitaratnakośa, Sûktimuktâvalî etc.)

In other collections the poems are classified into sections according to the 3 purusârtha-s (as in the Vajjâlлага by Jayavallaha). Still another way of arrangement is found in the Arthasaptasati of Govardhana in which the Ṙāyâ-verses are arranged in alphabetical order.


2. The edition referred to in the following pages is that one by A. Weber, Über das Saptasatakam des Hala, A. K. M. Band 7, no. 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 gathâ-s. I would prefer the term "love poetry". The Gangadhara-version of the Gathasaptasati also contains some gathâ-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. Danân's muktaka, Bhâmaha's and Vâmana's anibaddha


6. L. Sternbach, op. cit., p. 4 and 12.
The Gāthāsaptaśat (The Gāthāsaptaśatū) has come down to us in 6 recensions, namely the Vulgata, \( \chi \), R, S, T and W. In two of them the gāthā-s are arranged in sections: in the Sādhāraṇadeva (S) - and 1st Teliṅga (T)-recension. In the S-recension 700 gāthā-s are divided over 60 vraja-s or sections of varying length. The principle by which the gāthā-s are grouped into vraja-s is not each time the same. Some vraja-s are formed of gāthā-s that make use of a certain poetical device (utpreksā- and anyāpadeśa-vraja), others of gāthā-s in which a certain motif occurs (madhukara- or ichu-vraja.), still others of gāthā-s that belong to a certain theme (asatī-, satī-, virahinī-, māninī-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 indicated in the text, but at the end of each cento their names are given in Prākrit.

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-recension, i.e. from the bhavisyad-virahinī- (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 subhāsatarainakośa (Srkg), but possibly with even more. S, T and Srkg 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 Gāthāsaptaśatū or an altogether different kośa which contains by accident many gāthā-s of the Gāthāsaptaśatū. A. Weber, op. cit., p. XLII.
9. Some vraja-s contain only one gāthā (p. 445. regarding § 35 ff.). This is, according to A. Weber, not in conformity with the rule laid down in the Sāhityadarpana. This seems to me a strained interpretation of the relevant rule of the Sāhityadarpana (6, 308. p. 565).
10. A. Weber is therefore only partly right when he noted that in S and for that matter also in T (see below), the gāthā-s are arranged into sections according to their content.
11. According to S. Goldschmidt, as quoted by A. Weber, op. cit., p. 454, the Prākrit of the names of the paddhati-s is later than that of the gāthā-s. From this he concluded that the arrangement must have taken place after the composition of the gāthā-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 gāthā-s that make use of a specific poetical device (S: utpreksā, anyāpadesa; T: annāvæsa, ). It is also significant that in all the three collections the sections on love-quarrel (māninī or panaakalahā) 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.  

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 gāthā-s, but should be clearly distinguished from what is here called "content". While the content of a gāthā is made up by what is literally said in it, the theme is that situation at which the gāthā 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 gāthā-s. The theme is, however, not the only criterion for classification the compilers had at their disposal. For instance, it is obvious that gāthā 4 of the Vulgata, which S classified in the utpreksā-vraju (that is, on the basis of a formal feature, in casu: alamkāra) can also be brought into the asatf-vraju, 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 gāthā-s, as for instance madhukara. Probably it might have been possible to classify all the gāthā-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, alamkāra, motif etc. One may be didactic (for instance for the kaviśikā).

For us the classification can serve as a rudimentary commentary to the often highly allusive and enigmatic gāthā-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 gāthā-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 gāthā in a particular section. There seems not to have been common and traditional criteria which settled by hard and fast rule what particular gāthā-s must be assigned

it is a matter of principle to distinguish between the stage of the composition of the gāthā-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 gāthā 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-vraja, T, on the other hand, in the viraha-paddhati and not in
the section corresponding to the vasanta-vraja of S, viz. in a part of the udvanna-
na "the description of the seasons of the year" found at the end of the 7th cent. The
gāthā-s contain references to the characteristics of the spring-season: 128:
mahumāsa- "the spring"; 143: navacūpallava- "the young sprout of the mango";
396: amvāna dalam "leaf of mangos". Each of these three gāthā-s, though, taken
as a whole, deals with seperation, actual or imminent. Therefore the inclusion of
them in the vasanta-vraja 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 grīśma-vraja and T in the adaanā-paddhati. By association the
description of the sun-heat (grīśma) during the midday in the summer brings to
mind the hardship of the traveller (pahia or virahi). S classified 49 in the grīśma-
vraja, the other option within his system being the virahi-vraja. Since the com-
mentary of T on this gāthā is not preserved, I can only guess what the basis was
for him to group it in the adaanā-paddhati. Possibly T took the gāthā 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 consist-
ency, it is difficult to assess exactly the content of the gāthā-s. On the other hand
these gāthā-s must be interpreted within the framework of native explanation. One
other such traditional literary theory may be found in Tolkāppiyam, 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

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-vraja of S. (op. cit., p. 437 n.t. 2) he
exclaimed: "wie der auf einmal hier hereinschneidt!" 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 kośa-s points al-
ready to a common tradition with some fixed order, the rationale behind which
we do not perceive. This whole point should be elaborated. More kośa-s should
be taken into consideration to get an idea of the spread of this tradition and the
is, as has been lately recognized, to a high degree identical with the Sanskrit and Prākrit 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, Tolkāppiyam, also, like S and T is concerned with the classification of literature in distinct categories. Tolkāppiyam extrapolated from the corpus of Akam-poetry 5 basic themes of which we find 4 also at work in the Sanskrit and Prākrit 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 asatf, viraha and māninī or by whatever other names they are labelled with. All the many and diverse situations found in the poems themselves, Tolkāppiyam 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 gāthā-s of the Gāthāsaptāhī can be categorized according to the system of Tolkāppiyam.

According to Albrecht Weber in the other 4 recensions no order whatsoever could be distinguished in the arrangement of the gāthā-s. On page 38 of his introduction he wrote: "Während die Vulgata, R und W (for χ 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 vrajavā 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 gāthā-s, and 8 Mss. containing in all 4 commentaries, 3 of which also have the text 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.

of the gāthā-s themselves: Kulanātha's commentary with the text of the gāthā-s, up to 370; Pñāmbara's comm. with the text of the gāthā-s, up to 300; an anonymous commentary (7 and 5) complete but without the text of the gāthā-s, and the commentary of Gaṅgādhara, of which A. Weber had 5 mss. at his disposal; 2, A and E, complete and 3, B, C and 5, only fragmentary. In one of these, B, the commentary is provided with the text of the gāthā-s also from 1 up to and including 129. Since of these, the version followed by the commentator Gaṅgādhara was the most complete, Weber edited the Vulgata according to this version. For the purpose of this paper I will refer to this Gaṅgādhara-version. Since the other versions that make up the Vulgata correspond closely to this Gaṅgādhara-version in respect to the individual gāthā-s they include and the order in which they present them, it follows that what is said about this Gaṅgādhara-version is equally valid for the other that make up the Vulgata.

I think that I have found a principle of arrangement in the Vulgata: each gāthā is connected with one or more other gāthā-s by means of one or more words they have common. For instance: 468 has pādali, 469 pādala, 469 has sumdara, 470 sumdarī.

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 Gaṅgādhara-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 derivates from the same root: bhagga, bhāngura (422-423); nirakkhara, akkhar (191-192); hoṃti, anuhavai (210-211); jua, jovana (246-247); màna, mànailla (26-27) etc. Sometimes the word occurs in a compound in the one gāthā and on its own in the other: jā in 30 in jāabhīrūa and on its own in 31.

14. Weber used the term Gaṅgādhara-"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 gāthā-s to other parts of the kośa.

16. It may be mentioned that, though rarely, also synonyms are involved: kāṅkelli asoa (404-405), pahāe, gose (379-381), rakkha-, samthava- (38-39 ?).
The formal concatenation of the gathâ-s shows up in several patterns, for instance in the pattern of A:B, B:C:

30 jåâ gâmanî
31 jåâ gâmanî magga
32 magga,

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

62 uaha dara nilukka
63 uaha
64 dara nilukka

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

493 ruâviâ do
494 rovaânti

497

498 do

Sometimes the concatenation has the form of a chiasmus.

19 ghara vacca vañña
20 pariumâna
21 ghara vacca
22 pariumâna vañña

or:

308 palása
309
genaânti
310 palása
311 genaânti
312 genaânti

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

65 suasi amga
66 suasi paútthavâf
67 amga
68 chaña, soha
69 sohagga
70 honti dsânti paútthavâf
71 paññaâna
72 hoi
73 dsânta
Paññhāvat (66) is taken up again in 70 and seems to tie together the clusters 65-6-7 and 70-1-2, and panañjana in 71 and 76 (two gāthā-s not otherwise connected) the clusters 70-1-2 and 74-5-6-78. Sohagga (69), chaṇa 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 paññhāvat with that one formed by nāṇa and to overlap in this way the cluster with panañjana. 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 cintā
156 suraa
157
158
159
160 cintā

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

30 nikkiva jāabhūrva duddamāṇa niṁvakṣásāriccha
gāmo gāmaṇīṇāmāṇa tujjha kae taha vi tanuāi.
(S: upālambha-vrajaḥ; 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 paharaṇavānaṃgavisame jāk kiccheṇa lahai se ṇiddam
gāmaṇīνaṭtassaur palli unā se suhaṃ suafi.
(S: subhata-vrajaḥ; 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 saṃbhaviamaggo suhaa tue ccea ṇavara niṇvūdho
enhiṁ hiae aṇṇaṃ aṇṇaṁ vāai loassa.
(S: gotraskhalana-vrajaḥ; T: panaakalaḥa-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 uṇṭhai niśasanīto kīsa maha parammuhā saṇaddhe
hiaṃ palivium aṇusaṇa puṭṭhim palivesi.
(S: māninī-vrajaḥ; T: panaakalaḥa-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 viraha ciṭāraa tissā niṇadaṁtavāhamasleṇa
raṛraḥasiharadhāya va muheṇa chāhi ccia ṇa pattā.
(S: virahīnī-vrajaḥ; T: dūvaana-paddhati)
O! you who tarry, her face spoiled by tears falling because of your absence, has not got its lustre, as the banner on the top of the car of the sun.

17. I do not exactly know what the meaning of this simile is.
35 diarassa asuddhamanassa kulavahū ṇiaakud̐dalihīāī
diahaṁ kaheī RāmāṇulaggaSomitticariāīṁ.
(S: satf-vrajyā; T: kulavahū-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 Rāma, which
are drawn on her own walls.

36 cattaraghariṇī piadamṣapā a taruṇī paṭṭhavālā a
asaṁ saajjīā duggā a ṇa hu khaṁdīāṁ sūlaṁ.
(S: satf-vrajyā; T: adaanā-paddhati)
A housewife 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 tāḷārabhamāulakhuḍiaksesaro giriṇā ā pūreṇā
daravud̐dvud̐dāṇvinvud̐damahuaro ḫraf kalamvo.
(S: madhukara-vrajyā; 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 ahiṁmāṇino duggaassa chaīṁ paṭṭsa rakkaṁtī
ṇiavamdhavāṇa jūraf gharinī vihavēna ēmtānamā.
(S: māninī-vrajyā; T: kulavahū-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 sāṅhe vi piāme patte vi chahe ṇa maṁdio appā
duggaapatṭhavālāṁ saajjīāṁ saṁthavārintfe.
(S: asatf-vrajyā; 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 tuṣja vasai tti hiaām imehi diṭṭho tumām ti acchīṁ
tuha viraha kisīā ti tfe aṁgāi vi piāīm.
(S: dūṭī-vrajyā; T: dūvaana-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).
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41 sabbhâvanahehabharie ratte rajjijja tti juttaṁ iñam
aṇañhiae uṇa hiaam jaṁ dijjaf taṁ jaño hasaf.
(S: upâlambha-vrajaḥ; 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 ārâmbhaṁtassa dhuaṁ lacchf marañam va hoi purisassa
taṁ marañam aṇâraṁbhe vi hoi lacchf uṇa ṇa hoi.
(S: sâha-sa-vrajaḥ; T: suhâsa-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 virahânaio sahijja āsâvaṁdaṇḍa vallahajañaṇassa
ekkaggânapavâso māe marañam vīseasei.
(S: virahinha-vrajaḥ; T: panaakala-paddhati)
The fire of separation 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 pâ hiae aṇṇaṁ mahilâaṇaṁ ramamtassa
dîṭhe sarisammi guṇe sarisammi guṇe a白沙nte.
(S: jāti-vrajaḥ; 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 qualities.

45 ṇapârasacchahe jovvaṇammi aṅpavasiesu diahesu
aṇiattâsu a râfsu putti kim padaṁhânaṇa.
(S: sânti-vrajaḥ; T: panaakala-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 kallaṁ kira kharaniio pavasihaï pio tti suvvaį jaṇammi
taha vaḍḍha bhaavaaṇi ṇise jaha se kallaṁ cia ṇa hoi.
(S: bhavisyadvirahinha-vrajaḥ; 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.
horítapahíassa jáá áucchañajñadhárañarahassam
pucchañít bhamañ gharán gharéña piavirahasahiró.
(S: bhavisyadvirahinî-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.

aññamahilāpasāmgañ de devva karesu amha dafassa
purisâ ekkañtarasâ na hu dosaguñe viñaññiti.
(S: guna-vrajyâ; T: anurâa-paddhati)
He, Fate! let my lover have contact with other women; men who
concentrate their love on one cannot distinguish between fault and quality.

thoam pi na ní imá majjanhe u sarñratatalukkâ
âavabhañena châhí vi tá pahía visamasi.
(S: gríñma-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?

suhañcchaañ jañañ dullahaañ pi duráhi amha áññanta
uaàraa jara jñañ pi ñemta na kaàvaráho si.
(S: anurâga-vrajyâ; T: khamdìa-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.

àma jaro me mañdo ahava na mañdo jañassa kà tatti
suhañcchaa suhha suañdhagamundha má gamdhirîm chivasu.
(S: máninf-vrajyâ; T: khamdìa-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 jáá- and gâmani (the latter in the com-
pounds gâmani-námdana 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 for-
mally connected, other types of connection should not à priori be ruled out, one of
them being content. For instance, both 30 and 31 deal with the immoral woman (asatî)
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 gathâ-s are linked together by thematic content. A second person singular pronoun connects 30, 32, 34 and 40, in all these gathâ-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 gathâ-s, since they do occur very frequently, most of the gathâ-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 (tisâ), both referring to the woman, an asatî and a virahini respectively. 30 is also connected with 24 and with 36 by damâna. 24 lies outside the scope of this example. 36 is a gathâ 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 (suhaa in 32)\textsuperscript{18}, 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"\textsuperscript{19}. In both 28 and 31 the unfaithfulness of the wife is central. Here pahara connects two gathâ-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 hiaa. 32 is grouped by S in the gotraskhalana-vrajyâ which contains gathâ-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 mâninî.

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

\textsuperscript{18} Even if suha (31) derived from Skt. sukha, and suhaa (32) from Skt. subhaga, they have anyhow become homophonous in Prâkrit.

\textsuperscript{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 gathâ is threatened 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 māninī and of a virahinī respectively.

34 is formally connected with 31 by the 3rd p. pron. and with 38 and 49 by chāhī. 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 virahinī) and 49 the sun-burnt territory, the description of which by association brings to the mind the hardships of the wayfarer. chāhī connects these with 38 which describes either a māninī or a satī.

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 ny 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 gathā is supposed to have been addressed. 35 is not formally connected with the gathā-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 adana-paddhati (S grouped it in the satī-vraja but this makes less sense.)

36 is formally connected with 30 by daṁsana (see above under 30) with 38 by duggaa pai, gharinī and with 39 by duggaa, pātthavaf and saajī. 36 is opposite in thematic content to 38 as can be judged from their inclusion in T in the adana- and kulavaḥ-paddhati respectively. 39 is not found in T but S, grouped it rightly in the asatī-vraja, which means that in thematic content it is identical with 36 and opposite to 38.

37 is formally connected with 45 by naf and pūra. According to Gaṅgādhara 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 gathā 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 chāhī, 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 rakkhâ- and santhavâ- respectively, which are probably synonyms. As said above, 38 and 39 are opposite in thematic content. The gâthâ-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 hîaa, with 44, 46 and 47 by pia, 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 gâthâ-s in which hîaa- and pia- occur are all indeed intentionally connected by them, since these words are very common and in some cases the distance between the gâthâ-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 hîaa. The same could be said about 44-46-47 by pia. 40 consists of the words of a dûr who describes the state of the virahîn 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 anahîaa- and anârambhâ- 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 pia and hîaa 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 marana. 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 gâthâ-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 pavâsa-, with 48 by ekka and with 44 by jana-(for jana see above under 41). T grouped 43 in the Panaakalahâ-paddhati (against S: virahîn-vrajaţa). 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 gâthâ-s that pertain to the same situation or theme: i.e.
that of the unfaithfulness of the man, the subseq ent sulky mood of the woman and of her reconciliation or the advice to that end (sānti).

44 is connected with 40 by ditthā, with 41 by rama-, with 43 by jana and with 48 by mahilā, 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 gathā 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 nā 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 the bhavisyadvirahini-vraja�. Here again we have a cluster of two gathā-ś that are identical in thematic content and are above this tightly knit together in enjambment, 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 jīa, with 51 by ucchana and with 46 and 42 by hoi.

48 is connected with 43 by ekka and with 44 by anna, mahilā 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 gathā is ascribed: Aniru(d)dha "he who is not checked" 21. 48 is also

20. For other cases of enjambment 62-63-64; 160-161-162; 310-312 (with one gathā 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 gathā. Besides Aniruddha we find in Pāṭambara’s commentary Kālasāra with 25, Catalajja with 57, Prahatā with 86 and Kalaṃka with 151. Perhaps Karna 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 gathā following the one to which it belongs, e.g. Kālasāra with 24 (= ed. 26) in fact belonging to 23 (= ed. 25), Nihkopā with 387 (= ed. 187) belonging to 386 (= ed. 186) etc.. Interestingly enough Shīrasāhā with 99 (ed. 168) fits better with 367 (= ed. 167), i.e. the gathā 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 gathā. It might be equally possible that the mistake was made by Bhuvanapāla himself. Since the names are sometimes written before and sometimes after the gathā to which they belong, it might be possible that, while borrowing them from
connected with 52 and 53 by ānâ and rasa respectively. These gâthâ-ś though, fall outside the limits I have set to this example.

49 is connected with 47 by pahia, with 34 and 38 by chânt (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: grîśma-vraja; I can only guess at how T interpreted this gâthâ so as to include it in the adaanâ-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 jīta and with 51 by jana, suhauccha and jarâ. 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, suhauccha and jarâ 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 gâthâ-ś 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 gâthâ-ś 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 gâthâ-ś, 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 gâthâ-ś, for instance: ānâ, mahilâ and guna connecting two gâthâ-ś that belong to the same theme, namely 44 and 48, or pahia connecting two gâthâ-ś, 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 gâthâ 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 gâthâ, Bhuva-napâ made the mistake to think they belonged to the gâthâ they preceded. Names formed after an idea or word in the verse are also reported in other kośa-ś, namely the Thera- and Therîgâthâ. (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 Ettuttokai.
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 gathā-s and it seems as if only its content prevented it from being placed near to 45 with which it is connected by rat 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\(^{22}\), it has certainly not been common. As far as I know it is not found in any other collection in Sanskrit or Prākrit literature, but in the Vulgata recension of the Gathasaptasati. But also Gaṅgādhara 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 Gaṅgādhara (?) 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 Gathasaptasati 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 gathā-s were possibly sung or recited in the competitive environment of the sabhā of the king\(^{23}\) or the meeting-place in the village\(^{24}\).

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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 "Kavirāja" 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 gathā-s of his competitor (the birth of the content of theme) or by taking one or more words from the gathā-s of his competitor and by using them in gathā-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 gathā-s in the Gaṅgādhara-version of the Gathāsaptāṣati.
Scheme I

30 jāā gāmaṇī
damsana tujjha
31 jāā gāmaṇī magga suha pahara (28) se
32 hiaa magga suhaa tue
33 hiaa muha tissā tuha
34 muha châhī patta diara (28) nīa
35 diara (28) nīa
36 duggaa pāūthavaṅ saajjīā gharīṅī damśana
37 nāṅ , pūra
38 duggaa pai gharīṅī chāṅ nīa
39 duggaa pāūthavaṅ saajjīā patta
40 tītī hiaa pia viraha diṭṭha tuhā
41 tītī an- hiaa jaṅa ratta
42 maraṅa hoi an-
43 maraṅa pavāsa jaṅa ekka viraha saha
44 hiaa jaṅa pia ramaṇṭa diṭṭha mahīlā, guṇa, aṅṅa
45 pavāsa- nāṅ , pūra
46 hoi pavāsa hiaa jaṅa pia
47 pahia homṭa jāā pia viraha saha aūcchaṅa
48 jīṅ (52) rasa (53) ekka mahīlā, guṇa, aṅṅa
49 pahia nī chāhī
duggaa aṅā jīā jaṅa jara suhaucchaṅa
51 jaṅa, jara suhaucchaṅa