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Kavva and Kāvya
Hāla's Gāhākosa and Its
Sanskrit Successors

By

Bergljot Julie Chiarucci

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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in the

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of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Robert P. Goldman, Chair

Professor Alexander von Rospatt

Professor Eugene F. Irschick

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Abstract

Kavva and *Kāvya*: Hāla's *Gāhākosa* and Its Sanskrit Successors
by
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The study begins by looking at how the compilers of later Sanskrit and Prakrit Kāvya anthologies select, interpret, and impose meaning on poetry and how, in so doing, they tie it back into their own wider cultural and ideological milieus. The dissertation then considers the early recensions of the Prakrit *Gāhākosa* (*Treasury of Gāthās*), as it was known in the centuries following its creation, or the *Sattasaī* (*Seven Hundred Poems*), as it came to be known later, an anthology of lyrical Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry commonly attributed to the Sātavāhana king Hāla, whose arrangements, themes, and concerns reveal an oftentimes different poetic universe. The study contrasts the *Gāhākosa* with the later anthologies and the Sanskrit categories on which they are based, reflecting, in particular, on the Prakrit anthology's aesthetics of surprise, its inscription of gendered voice, and its representations of naturalness and the natural world. In the second part of the dissertation the discussion of the earlier chapters is brought to bear on Tribhuvanapāla's *Chekoktivicāralīlā*, the *Gāhākosa*'s earliest extant commentary. Part II contains an edition and annotated translation of *Chekoktivicāralīlā* 1–28 based on a Kesar Library Manuscript (NGMPP C6/12, NAK acc. no. 76). The third part of the dissertation presents further materials for the study of the *Gāhākosa*.

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Abbreviations & Symbols*

Amg   Ardhamāgadhī
AmŚa   *Amaruśatakam with Śṛṅgāradīpikā of Vemabhūpāla*
BhāLePra   *Bhāvaleśaprakāśikā*, Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa's *Sattasaī* commentary
CDIAL   A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages
CheViLī   *Chekoktivicāralīlā*, Tribhuvanapāla's *Sattasaī* commentary
DED   A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary
DNM   Hemacandra's *Deśīnāmamālā*
GK   *Gāhākosa*
KāĀ   *Kāvyādarśa* of Daṇḍin
KāAl   *Kāvyālaṅkāra* of Rudraṭa
KSS   *Kathāsaritsāgara*
KuSa   *Kumārasambhava*
MaSmṛ   *Manusmṛti*
M. Pkt.   Māhārāṣṭrī Prākṛt
MaSuSa   *Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha*
MW   Monier Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary
PNM   Dhanapāla's *Pāialacchīnāmamālā*
PrāPra   Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*
PrāVyā   Hemacandra's *Prākṛtavyākaraṇa*
PSM   *Pāiasaddamahaṇṇavo, A Comprehensive Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary*
RaKa   *Rasakalikā* of Rudrabhaṭṭa
SRK   *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*
SUK   *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*
SūM   *Sūktimuktāvalī (Subhāṣitamuktāvalī/i)* of Jalhaṇa
VaJī   *Vakroktijīvita* of Kuntaka
VaLa   *Vajjālagga*

*For details see Bibliography.

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Sigla in the Critical Apparatus

G_{ED} Durgāprasād & Shastri's edition of Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa's *Bhāvaleśaprakāśikā*

G_G variants from G_{ED}'s ग

G_{GH} variants from G_{ED}'s घ

G_{KH} variants from G_{ED}'s ख

K_E Weber's 1870 edition of *Sattasaī* 1–370 in Kulanātha's text

P_{ED} Patwardhan's 1980 edition of Tribhuvanapāla's *Chekoktivicāralīlā*

P_{ED}^N Patwardhan's (1988) notes

Q NGMPP C6/12, Kesar Library acc. no. 76; an early witness to Tribhuvanapāla's *Chekoktivicāralīlā* in the Kesar Library, Nepal

T_{ED} Tieken's 1983 edition of Gāthās 1–50

W_{BH} Weber's 1883 edition of Tribhuvanapāla's *Chekoktivicāralīlā*

W_{ED} Weber's 1881 edition of the *Sattasaī*

W_K Weber's 1881 Kulanātha commentary

W_P Weber's 1881 Pītāmbara commentary

W_R Weber's 1881 R

W_{RM} Commentarial remarks from the margin of the same MS as W_R

W_S Weber's 1881 Sādhāraṇadeva commentary

Symbols & Abbreviations

ac   *ante correctionem*, written as superscript

conj   conjecture

corr   corrected

erased   an error erased by the scribe

em   emended

mg   scribal recording in the margin, written as subscript

pc   *post correctionem*, written as superscript

rest. Q_c restored on the basis of the *pratīka* in Q

rest. Q_v restored on the basis of the *mūla* in Q

Σ all sources ($Q\,P_{ED}\,W_{BH}\,T_{ED}\,K_E\,W_{ED}\,G_{ED}$)

"   an error crossed out by the scribe by means of two small parallel lines

x̰x̰x̰   uncertain reading

+   illegible *akṣara*(s)

† †   lacuna

CONTENTS

()   insertion recommended

‹›   deletion recommended

*   a character that appears in the ᴍs occasionally—maybe to mark time?

Supplementary Characters

अँ / *aṃ̆* prosodically short *aṃ*

इँ / *iṃ̆*   prosodically short *iṃ*

एँ / *ĕ*   prosodically short e

ओँ / *ŏ*   prosodically short o

Introduction

The *Gāhākosa* (*Treasury of Gāthās*), as it was known in the centuries following its creation,[1] or the *Sattasaī* (*Seven Hundred Poems*), as it came to be known later, is an anthology of lyrical Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry of the first few centuries CE commonly attributed to the Sātavāhana king Hāla.[2] The *Gāhākosa*'s verses, solitary stanzas (*muktaka*, *anibaddha*) composed in a single meter,[3] deal prominently with the topic of romantic love. By way of their themes, *dramatis personae*, poetic motifs, and indirect language, they have long been considered important precursors to classical Sanskrit Kāvya. Their influence may be seen in Kālidāsa's poetry (*ca*. fifth century), the *Amaruśataka* (*ca*. seventh century), and numerous Kāvya works.[4] In the world of medieval scholastic Sanskrit, the poetry also assumed a significant position, sparking a profusion of responses from rhetoricians and philosophers for centuries.[5]

Although the poetry of the *GK* has been relatively popular since its inception, due in part to its terse style, difficult language, and pre-classical worldview, it never received the same degree of scholastic consideration as, for instance, the Sanskrit Epics, the *Bhagavadgītā*, or Kālidāsa's Kāvya. Hart's study showing the

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[1]On the question of the original name of the anthology, see below, p. 194, fn. 5.

[2]The Sātavāhanas' reign is most often placed in the first few centuries CE. On the date of the dynasty, see below p. 193. On the attribution of the *Gāhākosa* to Hāla, see below, pp. 194ff.

[3]The stanzas are written in the moraic or *mātrā*-based *āryā* meter, which includes various subtypes such as *gīti*, *upagīti*, and *āryāgīti*.

[4]Warder (1974) and Lienhard (1984) discuss, albeit briefly, the Gāthās' relationship to classical Sanskrit Kāvya. We might also consider the anthology's influence, directly and via Sanskrit, on later works of vernacular Kāvya such as Bihāri Lāl's *Satsaī*.

[5]Beginning with Ānandavardhana (*fl. ca*. ninth century), the citation of individual stanzas to exemplify *dhvani*-based poetics became a regular practice.

Gāthās' connection to early Tamil Caṅkam Poetry and classical Sanskrit Kāvya, demonstrating how they served as something of a bridge between the two,[6] the editions and studies of Weber, Upadhye, Patwardhan, and Tieken, and Mirashi's, Dundas's, Selby's, and Bhayani's contributions have all shed a great deal of light on the anthology. Yet, much speculation still surrounds the poetry, not only in terms of its origins, date, and redactional history, but also with regard to its voice, themes, concerns, and reception.[7]

When I was first researching this dissertation, I was asked about how the poetry of the *Gāhākosa* differs from Sanskrit Kāvya. In the study I try to address this question by focusing on the following works of the medieval period: Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, the earliest extant Sanskrit *subhāṣita* collection, Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, a collection that follows the *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* by some one hundred years, and the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit *Vajjālagga*. Although it is apparent that there is continuity between the poetry of the *Gāhākosa* and that of the later collections, not only did I see differences in the ways in which certain shared topics were approached on the level of individual poems, but I also noticed differences in the overall principles, perspectives, and priorities underlying the compilations. After looking at the medieval anthologies in some detail, I focus on the poetry of the *Gāhākosa*. I consider elements of surprise, the inscription of gendered voice, and attitudes towards naturalness and nature in the collection and I offer new reasons for why it takes the form it does.

The study does not often go beyond Sanskrit and Prakrit to address the Tamil Caṅkam anthologies because I wanted to focus on a limited number of texts, though as publications such as those of Hart, Lienhard, Selby, and Vijayalakshmy have shown, there are close connections.[8] I also do not look in great detail at the *Amaruśataka* or Bhartṛhari's *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, two shorter Kāma-based collections of classical Sanskrit Kāvya.[9] Other avenues for study would be to consider

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[6]Hart (1975, pp. 252–253) argues that the *Sattasaī* and the Tamil Caṅkam poetry are refined developments of a common popular tradition in the Deccan.

[7]See Chapter Ten.

[8]See also pp. 19, 25, 72, and 75 below.

[9]These anthologies are introduced on p. 53 fn. 18, p. 54 fn. 22, and pp. 69ff.

the *Sattasaī* in relation to the Pali Canon,[10] Jain poetry (particularly Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī poetry), and other early Prakrit and Sanskrit literature that is connected to the anthology in terms of original milieu and literary themes.

The Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter One, *The Art of the Anthologizer: The Subhāṣitaratnakośa and the Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, centers on the medieval Sanskrit Kāvya anthologies of Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa. Previous studies of Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* and Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* have sought to explain artistic, aesthetic and social concerns of the poets whose stanzas are included in these anthologies. In contrast to these earlier publications, in this chapter I focus on the principles the anthologizers employ in classifying and arranging their large collections of poems. The chapter examines how Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa group poems together and demonstrates how they arrange them into short and long narrative sequences. I make the argument that the arrangements of the anthologies have a hermeneutic and interpretive value, but that they do not represent an epistemic break with the poetry itself. The poems were created in a Sanskritic world and in the anthologies of Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa they return, re-validated, to much the same Sanskritic world.

Chapter Two, *Prakrit Poetry Through the Lens of Sanskrit: The Vajjālagga*, turns to Jayavallabha's medieval anthology of Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry, a collection whose organization is similar to that of the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*. The chapter shows how Jayavallabha employs many of the same categories of the Sanskrit anthologies, and asks what it means to classify Prakrit poetry in terms of these groupings. What are Jayavallabha's goals and motivations? What is gained in organizing Prakrit poetry along Sanskritic lines? Is anything lost or overlooked when Prakrit poetry is arranged in this manner? Taken together, Chapters One and Two pave the way for a clearer understanding of what the *Gāhākosa* represents.

Chapter Three considers how, apart from the occasional grouping of stanzas, the arrangement of Gāthās in the *Sattasaī*'s early recensions stand in contrast to

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[10] *Cf.* Lienhard, 1976. See p. 202 below.

the discrete categories and narrative sequencing of the later Sanskrit and Prakrit Kāvya anthologies. While the unsystematic arrangement of verses in the *Sattasaī* can present a challenge to their interpretation, the chapter argues that such a (non-)arrangement gives us an important sense of how Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry was meant to be read and enjoyed.

Chapter Four, *Kāma as a Sphere for Female Voice in Poetry*, reevaluates how and why *Sattasaī* commentators understood the anthology to belong to the Sanskritic spheres of *kāma* and *kāmaśāstra*. The chapter questions the degree to which the emotive content and the ethos of the Gāthās conforms to śāstric conceptions of *kāma*.

Chapter Five, *Bucolic Landscapes*, explores the *Gāhākosa* poetry's attitudes towards naturalness and the natural world, and how these at times differ from the ideals set forth in *kāmaśāstra* and Sanskrit Kāvya. The chapter considers the poetry's correlation of place with sentiment, demonstrating how this can differ from later Kāvya. In particular, it looks at how the *GK* focuses on the here and now as against the Sanskrit focus on the always and everywhere, and how its figurative language mirrors the local, natural world.

Chapter Six considers female voice in the *Gāhākosa* in more detail. Whereas Chapter Four suggested that commentators may even have invoked the presence of female voice as a legitimizing factor in a *kāma* based work, Chapter Six demonstrates how such voice plays a more central and a more extensive role in the anthology. In particular, the chapter shows how female voice is used in contexts that move, as it were, beyond the sphere of *kāma* and *kāmaśāstra*.

Chapter Seven examines the appeal of the *Sattasaī* poetry for its later Sanskrit audiences. What did Sanskrit audiences make of the *Gāhākosa*'s oftentimes authoritative female speakers and characters? How did these speakers fit into the Sanskritic worldview?

Among the *Sattasaī*'s later readers, Tribhuvanapāla (*fl. ca.* eleventh century ce) is the earliest to formulate a sustained response of which considerable material survives. The second part of the dissertation comprises an annotated edition and

translation of his *Chekoktivicāralīlā* commentary to the first twenty-eight Gāthās of the *Gāhākosa*. The edition makes use of the *Chekoktivicāralīlā* recension's oldest extant manuscript, dated to Nepal Saṃvat 340/1 (1220/1 CE), located in the Kesar Library, Nepal (NGMPP C6/12, NAK acc. no. 76). Patwardhan's 1980 edition of the *Chekoktivicāralīlā* relied on later materials that contain alterations and omissions of the original text. The earlier manuscript offers improved and more accurate readings and provides access to a fuller picture of Tribhuvanapāla's work and the anthology as he knew it. As Tribhuvanapāla lived right around the time of Vidyākara, the compiler of the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*, and as he quite possibly hailed from eastern India,[11] it is intriguing to consider that he may have worked in the same environment as the compiler of the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*. The discussion of the earlier chapters should provide a better idea of what the commentator's project entailed and some of the difficulties that he would have faced in bringing an entire recension of the *Gāthākosa* into a Sanskrit literary domain. The chapter does not advocate an indiscriminate acceptance of Tribhuvanapāla's interpretations and categories, but rather a considered reflection on them.

Part Three, *Further Materials for the Study of the Gāhākosa*, returns to the *Vajjālagga* and then to the Gāhākosa's early milieu. Chapter Nine addresses the *Vajjālagga*'s redactional history, an introductory Gāthā, and the collection's relationship to the *Gāhākosa*. Chapter Ten explores the *Gāhākosa*'s historical context and the agents involved in its production. It introduces the dynasty with which the anthology is connected, what we know of the date of its compilation, and the legendary and historical identities of its compiler and poets.

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[11]See Chapter Eight, note 1, p. 170.

Part I

Kavva and *Kāvya*

Chapter 1

The Art of the Anthologizer: The *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*

A significant feature of the arrangement of poems in the Sanskrit *Subhāṣitaratna-koṣa* (*SRK*, ca. 1055–1130[1]), the Sanskrit *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (*SUK*, 1205/6), and the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit *Vajjālagga* (*VaLa*, ca. 750–1337[2]) is their organization into formal and informal categories. For the purposes of the present dissertation a formal category is a grouping that the anthologizer creates by the use of section titles. As such it is always explicit. An informal category is a grouping of adjacent verses or a grouping of formal sections not marked by section titles. An informal category may be explicitly referred to by the anthologizer somewhere in the text, or it may be implicit, that is to say, not mentioned. The present chapter looks at the utilization of these categories in the Sanskrit anthologies and shows how they replicate a larger, more far-reaching classical Sanskritic worldview.[3]

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[1]See Kosambi and Gokhale, 1957, pp. xxxi–xxxiv.

[2]See Patwardhan, 1969, pp. xviii–xxiii.

[3]For background information on the *SRK* see Kosambi and Gokhale, 1957; Thomas, 1912; Ingalls, 1965. For the *SUK* see Banerji, 1965; Knutson, 2010.

The Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa

1. Taxonomies of Classical Kāvya

Vidyākara's *SRK*, the earliest of the extant Sanskrit *subhāṣitasaṃgraha*s,[4] formally divides its poetry into sections called *vrajyā*s. The *SRK* includes fifty *vrajyā*s, comprising a total of 1739 *muktaka* (independent) single-stanza poems.[5] The *vrajyā*s are of varying length. One of the shortest, titled The Lamp, consists of just four *muktaka* stanzas. One of the longest, titled Panegyric, consists of eighty such stanzas.[6] What was a *vrajyā* for Vidyākara and his immediate readers? Most likely, Vidyākara's understanding of a *vrajyā* is akin to that of the later Sanskrit rhetorician Viśvanātha: *sajātīyānām ekatra saṃniveśaḥ* (*Sāhityadarpaṇa* 3.330), 'a gathering together in one place of [poems that have] the same essential characteristics.' Viśvanātha's emphasis on *sajātīya*, the sharing of 'essential characteristics' or 'membership in the same class,' correlates with the *SRK*'s use of *vrajyā*s to group together poems not only in terms of subject matter, but also in terms of *alaṅkāra* (poetic ornament or figure of speech), voice, and so forth. Both Viśvanātha's definition of *vrajyā* and the *SRK*'s usage evoke the idea of a genre, deriving, one might say, genre from genus (*jāti*), and it seems quite likely that Vidyākara and his immediate audience thought of a *vrajyā* as a kind of literary genre—a category characterized by similarities in style or subject matter, and possessed of a certain

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[4]Following Sternbach (1974, p. 114), 'the first genuine Sanskrit *subhāṣita-saṃgraha*.' Vidyākara compiled the *SRK* in Bengal during the Pāla period (see Ingalls, *HOS* 44, 1965). The *SRK* was first edited by Thomas as the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (T) on the basis of an early but fragmentary Nepalese *ms* (comprising 525 stanzas), and later, on the basis of two newly discovered and more complete *mss*, by Gokhale and Kosambi (*HOS* 42, 1957). The newly discovered *mss* are a Tibetan *ms* (N) and a more modern paper *ms* from Nepal (K). Gokhale and Kosambi conjecture that N represents an earlier edition of the *SRK*, and K and T a later edition made by the same compiler (*ibid*. pp. xxvi ff.). The editors also rely on the early thirteenth century *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (Rāmāvatāra Śarmā's edition, Bibliotheca Indica 1912, 1921; Lahore edition 1933; Aufrecht's transcripts and collations of Śāntipura and Serampore *mss*) and the *ca.* fifteenth c. *Prasannasāhitya* of Nandana (*ms* no. 1051 of Umeśa Miśra's personal collection). Ingalls' translation (*ibid*.) is based on the edition of Gokhale and Kosambi. In addition to his translation and notes, Ingalls provides some useful remarks on the style of poetry contained within the *SRK* in his introduction.

[5]Each poem consists of two lines, or four *pāda*s. Notably, most of the poems employ longer meters.

[6]*Vrajyā* 26, *Pradīpa*, and *vrajyā* 41, *Cāṭu*.

shared objective form whose features would be recognizable to a wide audience.

The following two poems, both from the *SRK*'s *Asatī* or Unchaste Woman *vrajyā* provide an example of how poems in a given *vrajyā* possess a shared form. The first is attributed in the *SRK* to the poetess Vidyā:[7]

teṣāṃ gopavadhūvilāsasuhṛdāṃ rādhārahaḥsākṣiṇām
  kṣemaṃ bhadra kalindarājatanayātīre latāveśmanām |
vicchinne smaratalpakalpanavidhicchedopayoge 'dhunā
  te jāne jaraṭhībhavanti vigalannīlatviṣaḥ pallavāḥ || SRK 808 ||

> O friend, farewell to the bowers
> that grow upon the Jumnā bank,
> Companions to the sporting of cowherd girls
> and witnesses of Rādhā's secret.
> Now that there is no use to cut their new fronds
> to make them into beds for love,
> I fear their greenness will have faded
> and they grown old and hard.[8]

The next poem immediately follows the above in the *HOS* edition:

sikatilatalāḥ sāndracchāyās taṭāntavilambinaḥ
  śiśiramarutāṃ līlāvāsāḥ kvaṇajjalaraṅkavaḥ |

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[7]According to Abhinavagupta in his commentary to *Dhvanyāloka* 2.6, the speaker of the verse is Kṛṣṇa (see Ingalls, 1965, p. 523).

[8]Ingalls (*ibid*. p. 253) translates the first two *pāda*s:

> 'Say, friend, if all is well still with the bowers
> that grow upon the Jumnā bank,
> Companions to the dalliance of cowherd girls
> and witnesses of Rādhā's love...' However, this is a somewhat free translation. I take *kṣemaṃ* as 'farewell,' rather than as 'say if all is well.' There is nothing in the Sanskrit that translates as 'say if.'

I follow Ingalls' translation of the last two *pāda*s.

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2 लीलावासाः]   *SRK*, लीनावासाः *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, Banerji ed. (*SUK*); *Prasannasāhityaratnākara* of Nandana (Kosambi and Gokhale's P); नीतावासाः *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*, Rāmāvatāra Śarmā ed. (Kosambi and Gokhale's S3).

avinayavatīnirvicchedasmaravyayadāyinaḥ
  kathaya murale kenāmī te kṛtā niculadrumāḥ? || SRK 809 ||[9]

> Say, O River Muralā, who made your willow trees,
> to overhang your bank with shade so deep
> and grow on sand so smooth
> to be gentle abodes of cooling breezes
> where the water birds coo
> to offer immodest women such a chance to taste
> uninterrupted love?[10]

Both poems contain an allusion to the *asatī*, a description of setting, and the use of dramatic voice. In terms of the setting we can see that it is the natural or the outside world that is portrayed as the ideal location for amorous trysts. Hence, in both poems female characters meet their beloveds on secluded, tree-covered riverbanks. The first stanza refers to the 'bowers that grow upon the Jumnā bank' (*Kalindarājatanayatīre latāveśmanām*) whose 'new fronds' (*pallavāḥ*) were made into 'beds for love,' (*smaratalpa°*), while in the second we have the Muralā River with its shade-creating 'willow trees' (*niculadrumāḥ*), which are 'charming abodes of cooling winds' (*śiśiramarutām līlāvāsāḥ*), which resound with the 'cooing of water birds,' and whose roots are covered in 'smooth sand' (*sikatilatalāḥ*). Such elements contribute to the creation of a pleasant locale for a secret rendezvous.[11] We can also see a similarity in voice between the poems. That is to say, both make use of dramatic as opposed to narrative voice as is indicated by the vocatives 'O friend' (*bhadra*) in the first poem, and 'O River Muralā' (*Murale*) in the second poem.[12]

  Vidyākara's inclusion of the following poem in the *Asatīvrajyā* shows that a *vrajyā* is not based only on the *artha* (main topic) of a verse or on its primary *rasa*

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[9]Attributed to Vidyā in the *SUK* (v. 531).

[10]I follow Ingalls' translation, except in *pāda*s b and d.

[11]Though one might say that it is the setting that is the main character in both poems and that it is not merely an *uddīpanavibhāva* or 'excitant' as the *Nāṭyaśāstra* would have it.

[12]Although the first poem is in the idiom of Kṛṣṇa *bhakti*, it nonetheless shares in the characteristics of an *Asatī* style poem.

(sentiment), but on a wider range of characteristics:

yaḥ kaumāraharaḥ sa eva ca varas tās candragarbhā niśāḥ
  pronmīlannavamālatīsurabhayas te te ca vindhyānīlāḥ |
sā caivāsmi tathāpi dhairyasuratavyāpāralīlābhṛtāṃ
  kiṃ me rodhasi vetasīvanabhuvāṃ cetaḥ samutkaṇṭhate ||[13]

> My husband is the same who took my youth
> And these the moondrenched nights we knew;
> The very breeze is blowing from the Vindhyā hills,
> Heavy with the scent of newly blossomed jasmine.
> I too am still the same;
> And yet why does my heart yearn for the reedbeds by the stream
> Which knew our happy, graceful,
> Unending bouts of love.[14]

In their discussions of this verse *alaṅkārika*s dispute whether the character speaking is indeed an *asatī*, as it is her own husband, or at least an earlier version of him, she misses. Moreover, the stanza does not evoke *śṛṅgāra* (the erotic sentiment) as an *asatī* verse normally should.[15] Yet the dramatic mode of speech, indicated by the speaker's self-referential statement (*sā caivāsmi* 'I am exactly the same,' and *kiṃ me...cetaḥ samutkaṇṭhate...* 'why does my heart yearn?'), and even more importantly the settings described, the present setting of the moon-drenched night with its jasmine scented mountain breeze, as well as the remembered thicket of reeds on the riverbank, are evocative, even typical of *asatī*-style stanzas. If we consider that a *vrajyā* is indeed based on a wider range of characteristics than only the *artha*

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[13]*SRK* 815.

[14]I follow Ingalls' translation to some extent.

[15]Thus, even if we consider that the character though not unfaithful to her husband, may nonetheless once have been an *asatī* in the sense that prior to marriage she met her husband in secret without paternal consent, the sentiment of sadness or melancholy is still misplaced for an *asatī* verse. One might compare this stanza to *Sattasaī* 112 (W 104), a verse about an *asatī* which also evokes *karuṇarasa* (the compassionate sentiment). The attribution of a poem to a female poet, in this case Śīlābhaṭṭārikā (whose name is also given as Śīlabhaṭṭārikā), is rare. One wonders whether she draws on traditions to which the commentators had less access. On later Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava interpretations of this stanza see Okita, 2012–2013.

(topic) or the *rasa* (sentiment), one can understand Vidyākara's placement of the poem within the *Asatīvrajyā*. Even if the character's status as an *asatī* is contested by other literary critics and even if the mood evoked is not *śṛṅgāra*, for the *SRK*, the poem nonetheless shares enough in the features of the *asati*-genre to warrant the classification.

It is worth noting that quite a few poems of the *SRK*'s *Dūtīvacana-*, *Asatī-*, *Māninī*, and *Dūtīkopalambhavrajyā*s are similar to poetry in the *Sattasaī* in terms of their use of female voice and their settings. Thus, for example, in the *Asatīvrajyā* we have 807, in which a female speaker says 'O neighbor woman…though I am alone I go to the river' (*he prativeśini…ekākiny api yāmi śrotas*); 810, in which a female speaker says: 'O traveler quickly be upon your way…I am a girl alone' (*pāntha svairagatiṃ vihāya jhaṭiti prasthānamārabhyatām…bālāham ekākinī*); and 818, in which a female speaker says: 'O mother, O lady of the house…I was scratched dragging the accursed parrot out of the briar patch' (*mātar, gehini…hataśukaḥ badarīnikuñja-kuhare karṣantyā…*).[16]

2. Narrative Sequencing of Consecutive Vrajyās

In addition to arranging individual poems into *vrajyā*s or distinct 'genres,' Vidyākara has also put special care into the way in which these *vrajyā*s are positioned within the anthology. Thus, a feature of the *SRK* is the arrangement of consecutive *vrajyā*s into informal narrative sequences. For example, after presenting sections titled The God of Love, Youth, and the Young Woman,[17] the *SRK* presents the following sections: The Blossoming of Love → Words of the Female Messenger → Love in Union → Evidence of Consummation → The Woman Offended → The Woman in Separation → The Man in Separation.[18] These *vrajyā*s show a linear progression from what may be termed love-in-union (*saṃbhogaśṛṅgāra*), which reaches its pinnacle in the Evidence of Consummation

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[16] Among the *SRK*'s *vrajyā*s that deal with the topic of love and female characters those that least resemble the *Sattasaī*-style poetry are perhaps Adolescence (*Vayaḥsandhi*) and Description of the Youth Heroine *Yuvativarṇana*.

[17] *SRK vrajyā*s 14–16: *Madana, Vayaḥsandhi, Yuvativarṇana*.

[18] *SRK vrajyā*s 17–25: *Anurāga, Dūtīvacana, Saṃbhoga, Samāptanidhuvanacihna, Māninī, Virahiṇī, Virahi*.

(*Samāptanidhuvanacihnavrajyā*), to love-in-separation or unhappy love (*vipralambha-śṛṅgāra*), which comes to a head in the description of suffering in The Hero in Separation (*Virahivrajyā*). It is almost as if one can follow a single set of characters through these different *vrajyā*s. Thus, in the *vrajyā* titled The Blossoming of Love[19] we hear the male character describing his beloved. It appears as though he has just fallen in love, so fervent are his emotions. But at most he receives only a glance from his beloved. In v. 465, the male character describes how just two or three of his beloved's 'loving glances' can 'quench his fever' (...*saprema prahitāḥ smarajvaramuco dvitrāḥ kaṭākṣacchaṭāḥ*) and in v. 487 his limbs are as though 'washed in the nectar of a glance' (*amṛtasiktam ivāṅgam...*)[20] In the next *vrajyā*, Words of the Female Messenger, we hear that the female character reciprocates his feelings and languishes because of him. In v. 535 the female messenger says to the male character: 'The wasting of her limbs is hidden by her loveliness and she preserves her life by constant thoughts of you...' (*lāvaṇyena pidhīyate 'ṅgatan-imā saṃdhāryate jīvitaṃ tvaddhyānaiḥ*). The phrase *saṃdhāryate jīvitaṃ tvaddhyānaiḥ*, which more literally translates as 'her life is preserved by meditating on you,' suggests an even religious devotion. In v. 545, in the same *vrajyā*, we hear the female character's pining actions described using an even more explicit religious symbolism: 'Desirous of you she has striped her brow with sandal-paste for ashes and is consecrated by the water of her tears...' (*tvadarthinī candanabhasmadigdha-lalāṭalekhāśrujalābhiṣiktā...*).[21] After being assured that the feelings of love are requited, we come to the Love in Enjoyment *vrajyā*. In this section we hear about the physical consummation of love, close embraces, and so forth (*samāliṅgaty aṅ-gair* in v. 565, etc.). In the next *vrajyā*, Evidence of Consummation, we hear about the tell-tale cosmetic and physical signs that indicate that love has recently been consummated. Many of these stanzas describe nail marks made by the beloved (*kāntanakha°* v. 612; *nakhakṣata°* v. 613) or the parrot who threatens to repeat in public what was overheard in private. In v. 622 we hear the parrot say: 'make me an offering of food if you do not want me to squawk about what you did

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[19]Ingalls (1965, pp. 178ff.) translates *Anurāga* as The Blossoming of Love, which I follow here, but the term would normally translate simply as 'passion.'

[20]This *vrajyā* could even have been titled *Dṛṣṭiḥ* or The Glance, so prominent is this element in these stanzas.

[21]Ingalls (*ibid*. p. 193), writes that in 545, 550, and also 703 and 715 the heroine's 'service of Love is likened to the religious service of a devotee.'

in private' (*prayacchāharaṃ me yadi tava rahovṛttam akhilaṃ mayā vācyaṃ noccair…*).[22] Although it is often the feelings of the woman that we hear described in this section, and she whom we see situated in a more public sphere, we also hear about the couple. In v. 619 we see the pair trying to conceal a smile before their elders (…*guruṇāṃ puro | hāsodbhedanirodhanamantharamilattāraṃ kathaṃcit sthitam*). However, the mood changes quite dramatically in the next *vrajyā*, The Woman Offended. It would appear that in some intervening period, not described, the male character has committed an offense against the female, and we hear of her anger towards him. Often, this anger is tempered by an even stronger feeling of love on the part of the female character. In v. 636, we hear her say: 'I will not speak to my cheating sweetheart again so long as my heart is not about to burst inside from silence' (*tad api na mayā saṃbhāṣyo 'sau punar dayitaḥ śaṭhaḥ | sphuṭati hṛdayaṃ maunenāntar na me yadi tatkṣaṇāt*).[23] In the next two *vrajyā*s the female and male characters have become separated from one another entirely. In the Woman in Separation, we hear of how the female character suffers in separation and we also hear her chastised for being too 'hard-hearted,' too prideful, or too much of a *māninī*. Her friend says to her in v. 702 '…even when your dearest fell before your feet you struck him with the lotus[24] from your ear. So now the moon is fiery and sandal-paste feels like sparks of flame, the nights each last a thousand years and the lotus necklace weighs you down' (…*yat pāde nipatann api priyatamaḥ karṇotpalenāhataḥ | tenendur dahanāyate malayajālepaḥ sphuliṅgāyate rātriḥ kalpaśatāyate bisalatāhāro 'pi bhārāyate ||*). In the Man in Separation we hear the male character's lament. In v. 755, a stanza close to the beginning of the *vrajyā*, we hear the quite pitiful statement: 'With sudden force my heart splits open, but it is not cut in two…' (*dalati hṛdayaṃ gāḍhodvegaṃ dvidhā na tu bhidyate…*).[25] In v. 768, his condition, though still affected by longing, seems somewhat improved and less dire: 'If the creator made me, why then did he make this doe-eyed woman? If he made her and me, then why did he make the spring?…' (*sṛṣṭā vayaṃ yadi tataḥ kim iyaṃ mṛgākṣī, seyaṃ vayaṃ yadi tataḥ kim ayaṃ vasantaḥ? |…*). The idea being that he cannot endure separation from his beloved, especially not in spring, and especially

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[22]*Amaruśataka* (Rudramadevakumāra's text).

[23]Attributed to Amaruka (*Amarukasya*). *Amaruśataka* 146 in the Kāvyamālā edition.

[24]*Utpala*: *Nymphaea caerulea* according to MW.

[25]Bhavabhūti, *Mālatīmādhava* 9.12, cited in Kosambi and Gokhale, 1957, p. 139; *Uttararāmacarita* 3.31, with variants.

not, as the poem continues, in spring in the presence of a mango tree.[26] The two *vrajyā*s that follow, The Unchaste Woman and Anger at the Messenger,[27] are not necessarily a part of this sequence, but perhaps just represent different genres.[28,29]

Another example of such informal linear sequencing within the *SRK* may be seen in the *vrajyā*s in the final section of the anthology: Detachment → Old Age → The Cremation Ground → The Hero → Praise → Mountains → Peace.[30] These *vrajyā*s show a progression that begins and ends with two different mental states and that involves a movement upward through different physical locales, implying, for instance, that peace lies away from the world and close to *svarga*, or the heavenly realm.[31]

The *SRK* also contains consecutive *vrajyā*s that make a virtue of outright polarities. Thus, we have the *Sad* (Good People) *vrajyā* immediately followed by its negation, the *Asad* (Villains) *vrajyā*.[32] As Ingalls remarks (1965, p. 342), the poetry of both sections belongs to the domain of *nīti*, the 'clipped, sententious, epigrammatic,' expressions of worldly wisdom. These two *vrajyā*s may be distinguished from much of the rest of the poetry of the *SRK* by both their general

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[26]The blossoming of the mango tree (here *cūtadruma*) in spring is particularly evocative of the sentiment of love. Compare *Sattasaī* 344 (W 143); 501 (W 543) with a twist; 571 (W 586).

[27]*Vrajyā* 25, *Asatī*, and *vrajyā* 26, *Dūtīkopālambha*, that depict unconventional or transgressive love.

[28]In the poems of the *SRK* the *asatī* is portrayed in generally benevolent terms. Even the immodest female messenger is not entirely abhorred. Her behavior often simply serves as a testament to handsomeness of the hero.

[29]In MS N, after the Anger at the Messenger *vrajyā* we have the four poems in *vrajyā* 26, The Lamp Skt. *Pradīpa*. Although at least three of its verses describe couples, the *vrajyā* could not be said to represent in its entirety the reunion of the couple described above since at least one of its poems portrays the *asatī*. The five subsequent *vrajyā*s on the five parts of the day might well be said to pertain to the topic of love, though I would not place them into the above described sequence.

[30]*SRK vrajyā*s 42–48: *Nirveda, Vārdhakya, Śmaśāna, Vīra, Praśasti, Parvata, Śānti*.

[31]A proposed explanation as to how the *vrajyā*s titled, The Hero, Praise, and Mountains, fit into this progression is given in the notes below.

[32]*Vrajyā*s 37 and 38. Despite the similarity, the *Asadvrajyā* is not to be associated directly with the *Asatīvrajyā*.

brevity in terms of meter and their directness of meaning.[33] The following provides an example:

chāyāṃ kurvanti cānyasya tāpaṃ tiṣṭhanti vātape |
phalanti ca parārthāya pādapā iva sajjanāḥ || 1229 ||

They provide shade to others
     And endure the heat of the sun
And their fruit is for the sake of others
     Thus are good people like trees.

In a few short *pāda*s or metrical feet the author conveys a clear picture the ideal. Despite the constraints of the genre, the good as well as the villains are described in these sections using a variety of imagery and ideas. Thus, within the *Sadvrajyā* we hear, in v. 1215, that the steadfast do not deviate even a step from the proper path (*…nyāyyāt pathaḥ pravicalanti padaṃ na dhīrāḥ*),[34] in v. 1219, that good men are like sugar cane: if they choose to bend they bend, while if twisted (bent) by another they break (*puṇḍrekṣukāṇḍasuhṛdo madhurāmbubhāvāḥ santaḥ svayaṃ yadi namanti namanti kāmam | āndolitās tu namanaspṛhayā pareṇa bhajyanta eva śatadhā na punar namanti ||*), in v. 1223, we hear that unlike the earth which is bounded by the sea, or the sun bounded by the sky, the unfolding of the wisdom of good men goes beyond all limits (*udanvacchinnā bhūḥ sa ca nidhir apāṃ yojanaśataṃ | sadā pānthaḥ pūṣā gaganaparimāṇaṃ kalayati | iti prāyo bhāvāḥ sphuradavidhimudrāmukulitāḥ | satāṃ prajñonmeṣaḥ punar ayam asīmā vijayate ||*),[35] and so forth. Ingalls points out (1965, p. 350) that the good qualities and characteristics portrayed in the earlier *Sadvrajyā* are often negated in the stanzas of the latter *Asadvrajyā*. Thus, in the former we hear that the good are given to speak well of others,[36] whereas in the

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[33]Much of the *SRK* possesses what Sternbach (*ibid*. p. 2) calls 'descriptive verses,' often characterized by longer meters and which tend to depict a 'single phase of emotion' or 'a single situation.' Sternbach (1974, p. 15) remarks that very few verses of the *SRK* are devoted to *nīti* or proper conduct, but these two sections contain at least some such verses.

[34]Attributed to Bhartṛhari (*Bhartṛhareḥ*); *Śatakatraya*, *Nītiśataka* 10, with variants. Vidyākara takes *dhīraḥ* 'the steadfast' as a synonym for *sat*.

[35]Attributed to Rājaśekhara (*Rājaśekharasya*).

[36]For instance, 1233: 'the good concede to the virtues of others while concealing their own,

Asadvrajyā we hear that the villain seems to find commendation of others impossible.[37] Whereas the good benefit others,[38] a villain feels empty when not causing pain (*parasaṃtāpanahetur yatrāhani na prayāti niṣpattim | antarmanā asādhur gaṇayati na tadāyuṣo madhye || 1290 ||*) and delights in those days spent afflicting others, considering them the best attainment in life (*divasāṃs tān abhinandati bahu manute teṣu janmano lābham | ye yānti duṣṭabuddheḥ paropatāpābhiyogena || 1291 ||*). In the *Asadvrajyā* we also hear about the 'cleverness' of the villain, who, according to Ingalls is not 'a mere negation,' but who 'is above all a trickster.' Thus we hear, in v. 1254, that 'the minds of villains grow most clever when the deed to be done is black…'[39] (*atimaline kartavye bhavati khalānām atīva nipuṇā dhīḥ*), and in v. 1257, that even the creator-god Brahmā (*dhātṛ*) who brought us 'ships to cross the sea,' 'lamps for the night,' and so forth has provided no means to overcome the plots of the wicked: (*…durjanacittavṛttiharaṇe dhātāpi bhagnodyamaḥ*).[40,41] Yet, even though the villain poses something of a threat in the *SRK*, in the *Asadvrajyā*, particularly by its juxtaposition with the *Sadvrajyā*, it is his shallowness and folly that is brought into resolution.[42] I would also just add to the Ingalls' observations that the two Vrajyās are part of the *SRK*'s larger organizational scheme.

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keep silent about the vices of others, are gentle and honorable in speech,' *paraguṇatattvagrahaṇaṃ svaguṇāvaraṇam, paravyasanmaunam | maduramaśaṭham ca vākyam….*

[37] For instance, 1302: 'the tongue in a villain's mouth seems…tied with strong ropes or pierced by an iron pin; that never can he speak a word of other's merit,' *baddhevātanurajjubhiḥ paraguṇān vaktuṃ na śaktā satī | jihvā lohaśalākayā khalamukhe viddheva saṃlakṣyate ||* Attributed to Śrīdharmadāsa. Ingalls' translation.

[38] 1226, 1229, 1235, 1243, 1252, etc.

[39] Ingalls' translation.

[40] *Pañcatantra, Hitopadeśa*, see also 1261 and 1270 in the *SRK* on the theme of the cleverness of villains.

[41] The *Sad* and *Asadvrajyā*s are not the only *vrajyā*s within the *SUK* to demonstrate this heightened polarity. Within the *Dīna* ('Poverty') *vrajyā*, which immediately follows these, we see a similar juxtaposition, there the poor are set side by side with the wealthy miser.

[42] The *SRK*'s real concern, as it were, is not with the rather two dimensional villain, but with time, death, and the vagaries of fate. Thus see the Detachment (*Nirveda*) and the Cremation Ground (*Śmaśāna*) *vrajyā*s.

3. An Overarching Narrative Pattern to the Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa

Beyond the smaller consecutive segments and juxtapositions described above, it is possible to discern in the arrangement of the *SRK* an informal yet overarching narrative pattern that corresponds roughly to the stages in the life of a man. This pattern is most readily apparent in the beginning and end of the anthology. The *vrajyā*s towards the beginning pertain to love, depicting its various phases and concomitant elements. One might say that this section is particularly relevant to youth, a period when a person typically becomes susceptible to 'the arrows of the god of love.'[43] The *vrajyā*s towards the end of the anthology are relevant to age and the final stages of life. Given their placement between 'youth' and 'age,' one would expect the middle *vrajyā*s of the *SRK* to map onto the middle stage of life and to a considerable degree this can be demonstrated, albeit in a somewhat piecemeal fashion.[44] The *vrajyā*s titled Fame, Greatness, and Panegyric,[45] as well as the *nīti*-style verses of the Good People and Bad People *vrajyā*s, and *vrajyā* 39, The Poor,[46] have much to do with a man's role in public life, with the arena of social standing and worldly responsibilities. The *vrajyā*s titled Allegory, Realistic Description, and Substantiation,[47] each of which is named after a particular *alaṅkāra* (poetic ornament or figure of speech), could be said to pertain to public life not only insofar as their contents are often relevant to this particular sphere, but also insofar as they provide examples of ways in which one ought to speak

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[43]I would suggest that Vidyākara intended *vrajyā*s 8–13, on the six seasons beginning with *vasanta* or spring, to be included in the love section. The same might possibly be said for *vrajyā*s 27–31, which are on the moon, darkness, and the different times of the day. It appears to have been somewhat of a convention to group poems on the seasons and different parts of the day with love poems. For instance, Śrīdharadāsa's *SUK* includes such poems in the chapter on erotic love (*śṛṅgāra*). The understanding was perhaps that such stanzas, even if not always used to portray love, are nonetheless used often enough in its depiction or evocation so as to justify being grouped with other love poems.

[44]These include *vrajyā*s 32–41: *Yaśas, Anyāpadeśa, Vāta, Jāti, Māhātmya, Sad, Asad, Dīna, Arthāntaranyāsa*, and *Cāṭu*.

[45]*Vrajyā* 32: *Yaśas*; *vrajyā* 36: *Māhātmya*, *vrajyā* 41: *Cāṭu*.

[46]*Dīnavrajyā*. Ingalls translates the *Dīna* as Poverty and Misers.

[47]*Vrajyā* 33, titled *Anyāpadeśa*, *vrajyā* 35, *Jāti*, and *vrajyā* 40, titled *Arthāntaranyāsa*. *Anyāpadeśa* refers to the practice of speaking of the desired topic in terms of something else, while *Jāti* refers to 'realistic' descriptions, and *Arthāntaranyāsa* refers to the practice of corroborating the desired topic by describing another subject or topic.

and conduct oneself in a courtly or public setting.[48] That leaves only *vrajyā* 34, The Breeze (*Vātavrajyā*), whose pertinence to worldly life or the middle stages of life remains somewhat elusive.[49] The aforementioned final *vrajyā*s of the *SRK* pertain to later stages and retirement from the world. Here we have *vrajyā*s titled Detachment, Age, The Cremation Ground, The Hero,[50] Praise,[51] Mountains,[52] and Peace.

The Peace *vrajyā*, one of the last of the *SRK*, pays tribute to *dharma* (religious or ethical merit) and acknowledges that while sensual pleasure has its time and place, ultimately it must renounced by those who would seek equanimity.

The following stanza, located close to the beginning of the *vrajyā*, presents a view of life that is centered on *dharma*:

pūrāyitvārthinām āśāṃ priyaṃ kṛtvā dviṣām api |
pāraṃ gatvā śrutaughasya dhanyā vanam upāsate || 1596 ||

> Having fulfilled the wishes of those who seek wealth,
>   Having shown kindness even to one's enemies,
> Having mastered the ocean of religious learning,
>   The fortunate reside in the forest.

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[48]There is also the matter of the poet. One might say that these middle *vrajyā*s are designed to instruct the lyricist in how to work in the public world of the court. As Ingalls (1965, p. 291) points out, 'the ability to write a good panegyric was the surest means of acquiring wealth through learning.' One might say that this middle section is relevant to the worldly success of the poet in particular and to the middle stage of his life.

[49]As Ingalls points out (*ibid*. p. 320), the main sentiment evoked in the *Vāta* stanzas is *śṛṅgāra* (the erotic). This and other seemingly unconnected parts of the *SRK* might be the result of additions made to the anthology over time that disrupted an original unity or focus. It is also possible that in incorporating this *vrajyā* Vidyākara follows some earlier tradition.

[50]*SRK vrajyā* 45, The Hero (Skt. *Vīra*), belongs to latter stages of life in so far as it is about remembering the ancient heroes and their deeds.

[51]*SRK vrajyā* 46, Praise (Skt. *Praśasti*), belongs to latter stages of life in so far as it is about remembering and upholding the deeds of the poets' own kings for posterity.

[52]The Mountains *vrajyā*, (*Parvatavrajyā*) is in line in so far as mountains are considered abodes of peace and represent a departure from the world.

As Ingalls (1965, p. 418) remarks, the stanza suggests the three traditional stages of life: *brahmacārin* (student), *gṛhastha* (householder), and *vānaprastha* (forest-dwelling renunciant). We are told how the fortunate (*dhanyāḥ*) pass each stage: a *brahmacārin* masters traditional (Vedic) learning (*pāraṃ gatvā śrutaughasya*), a *gṛhastha* supports others in society (*pūrāyitvārthinām āśām*), showing kindness even to his enemies (*priyaṃ kṛtvā dviṣām api*),[53] while the *vānaprastha* retires to a peaceful life in the forest (*vanam upāsate*). In presenting a traditional and dharmically centered view of the life stages, one in which the primary outcome at each stage is *dharma*, the stanza reiterates the sentiment of many of the final *vrajyā*s of the *SRK* and would serve as a summation of much of the anthology.

After the above *dharma*-oriented verse, Vidyākara includes, towards the end of the Peace *vrajyā*, the following stanza, a poem that focuses more on pleasure:

śiśutvaṃ tāruṇyaṃ tad anu ca dadhānāḥ pariṇatiṃ
    gatāḥ pāṃśukrīḍāṃ viṣayaparipāṭīṃ upaśamam |
lasanto 'ṅke mātuḥ kuvalayadṛśāṃ puṇyasaritāṃ
    pibanti svacchandaṃ stanam adharam ambhaḥ sukṛtinaḥ || SRK 1621 ||[54]

The fortunate have spent childhood, youth, and age
    At play in the dirt, in a spate of sensual pleasures, and in peace;
Frolicking in the lap of a mother, of lotus-eyed women and
    Holy Rivers, they freely drink of breast, of lower lip, of water.[55]

Like the earlier stanza, the above refers to the different stages of life and their ideal outcomes, yet instead of the three traditional stages whose outcome is at each stage *dharma*, the focus in this verse is on childhood, youth, and age and the idea that the ideal outcomes for the fortunate or virtuous (*sukṛtin*s) should involve enjoyment. The verse describes fortunate or virtuous people who lead happy and

[53]In the context of the *SRK* this particular statement seems most relevant to a king who might be considered as a type of *gṛhastha*.

[54]Attributed to the poet Śrīhanūman in the *SUK*, v. 2190 in the *Dhanyavīci*.

[55]'Fortunate' translates *sukṛtinaḥ*. In addition to meaning 'the fortunate ones' *sukṛtinaḥ* also carries the sense of 'people who have done well' or 'the virtuous.'

2 विषयपरिपाटीमुपशमम्]   SRK, विषयपरिपाटीरूपशमम् SUK २१९०.   **3** लसन्तो]   SRK, लुठन्तो SUK २१९०.

pleasurable lives, enjoying what is best in life. As in the previous verse, the ideal life is not characterized by victory in battle, success at court, or wealth—even though it may admittedly be upon each of these that such an existence depends. What is best, the verse suggests, is the pleasure derived from a mother's affection and the love of lotus-eyed women. However, the stanza acknowledges that while the good may enjoy sensory pleasures (*viṣaya*), such pleasures are ultimately only temporary and fleeting and in the final stages of life it is not their enjoyment that the virtuous experience, but tranquility of mind (*upaśama*).[56,57]

Whereas the previous verse focuses on the fortunate or virtuous (*sukṛtin*), the anthologizer now turns away from holy rivers (*puṇyasarit*) to confront the reader with the river of Time or Death (*kālasrotas*) and to introduce him or her to the powerful (*mahat*), who may not have lead good lives:

> *vahati nikaṭe kālasrotaḥ samastabhayāvahaṃ*
>   *divasarajanīkūlacchedaiḥ patadbhir anāratam |*
> *iha hi patatāṃ nāsty ālambo na vāpi nivartanaṃ*
>   *tad api mahatāṃ ko 'yaṃ moho yad evam anākulāḥ? || 1622 ||*

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[56]Whether such people, who go through life immersed in pleasure and then retreat to a peaceful life in the forest, actually exist is unclear. To a certain degree the stanza resembles what is called in Sanskrit *alaṅkāraśāstra* an *aprastutapraśaṃsā*, an indirect expression in which the desired subject matter is conveyed by advancing another subject matter (much like the figure of *Anyāpadeśa* or *Apadeśa*). Understood as such, when the speaker refers to the *sukṛtin*s, 'the fortunate,' the idea is that he, who is himself probably a poor courtier, does not belong to this exalted group of people but instead suffers at court. However, Vidyākara's placement of the verse in the Peace *vrajyā* suggests that he intended for it to be read as the perspective of a *vānaprastha*, a retired forest dweller, looking back on the earlier stages of life—Vidyākara may even have intended it to be read as the perspective of a *saṃnyāsin*, or ascetic, who sees even the peace of the forest dweller as temporary and fleeting. Śrīdharadāsa includes this verse in his *Dhanya* or Fortunate *vīci*, which suggests again a slightly different interpretation.

[57]In terms of the *puruṣārtha*s, or the aims of man, it is quite likely that the verse views, as it were, *artha* (wealth and possession) and *dharma* (religious or ethical merit) as roots and *kāma* (pleasure) as a fruit. Hence, the stanza would agree with the view of the *alaṅkārika* Bhojadeva that pleasure or *kāma* is the primary desire in life and the result of *dharma* and *artha*. Bhojadeva writes: 'The passions of *dharma* and *artha* are causes; in contrast, the passion of *kāma* has the character of a fruit. That is why the main passion is *kāma*' (*Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* III: 350, quoted in Malamoud 1982, p. 42).

The river of Time[58] flows close, bringing every fear,
    With rapids that wash away its banks of day and night,
For those who fall within there is no support nor turning back,
    What is this delusion of the mighty,
        That in spite of this they are so undisturbed?

Read together with the previous stanzas, the verse is best taken as a renunciant's evaluation of the complacency or delusion (*moha*) of the powerful (*mahat*) and as an exhortation to them to be ever mindful that the world of the court and the battlefield, greatness and wealth, should not be treated as ends in and of themselves but only as a means to that in life which is actually of final value.[59]

4. Scholastic Foundations

Although Vidyākara makes no explicit claim about the overarching narrative of the anthology, it seems that he founded it on both a conception of the *puruṣārtha*s and the prescriptions of the *varṇāśramadharma*. As Halbfass (2000) observes, the *puruṣārtha*s, or the aims of man, consisting of *kāma* (love or enjoyment), *artha* (success or possession), *dharma* (religious or ethical merit), and sometimes *mokṣa* (final liberation), appear in compositions of the first millennium BCE[60] and thereafter, have a pervasive presence in various branches of literature, from philosophical texts to classical Kāvya.[61] Authors writing in the sphere of *alaṅkāraśāstra*, identify

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[58] *Kāla* may equally be translated as 'death.'

[59] The next verse in the *SRK*, v. 1623, punningly suggests that it is the unrealistic clinging to possessions, and the treatment of people as possessions, that is a root of the delusion: *bhāryā me putro me dravyaṃ sakalaṃ ca bandhuvargo me | iti me me kurvantaṃ paśum iva baddhvā nayati kālaḥ ||* ' '(This is) my wife, my son, all my wealth, and my relatives'—as he thus calls out '*my*,' '*my*,' Death leads him, having bound (him) like animal to be sacrificed' (Skt. *me me*, 'my, my,' mimics the bleating of an animal).

[60] Halbfass (2000, p. 111) cites a number of early works dating to the first millennium BCE in which 'the doctrine [sic] already appears as well established and commonly known'—these include Kātyāyana's *Vārttika* (as preserved in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*), the *Gaṇapāṭha*, the *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, the Manu and Viṣṇu *Dharmaśāstra*s, and the *Mahābhārata*.

[61] On the appearance and elaboration of the doctrine in classical and later literature, Halbfass (*ibid*. p. 112) writes: 'In general, we can say that the expansion of the *puruṣārtha* doctrine was quite

the *puruṣārtha*s as the purpose of poetry, particularly of longer works of Kāvya such as *mahākāvya* or *prabandha*. Daṇḍin, in his definition of *mahākāvya*, given in the beginning of the *Kāvyādarśa*, states that it should be based on the fruit of the *caturvarga*. Similar types of statements are repeated in subsequent *alaṅkāraśāstra*.[62] Given the prevalence of the *puruṣārtha*s, that they should provide a significant basis for the organization of the *SRK* is not surprising.

The different sections of the *SRK* would seem to belong to the *trivarga* manifestation of the *puruṣārtha*s—the first three aims of man exclusive of *mokṣa*.[63] Hence, there is a correspondence between the beginning of the *SRK* and the topic of *dharma*,[64] between *vrajyā*s 8–31 and the aim of *kāma*,[65] between *vrajyā*s

far-reaching. It has its place in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇa*s and the *Māhātmya* literature, in poetry and in popular consciousness, but also in theoretical literature, particularly in poetics, where we find connections with the rasa theory and significant associations between *śṛṅgāra* and *kāma*, and in medical literature.'

[62] *itihāsakathodbhūtam itarad vā sadāśrayam | caturvargaphalāyattaṃ caturudāttanāyakam || KāĀ* 1.15; see also Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra*, 2.2.24. A rather similar practice of prefacing content with a defense of its relevance or conduciveness to some aim in life is also found in philosophical texts. Halbfass (2000, p. 116) writes: 'the underlying premise in this context is that theoretical knowledge for its own sake cannot count as a legitimate purpose or goal.' One might similarly say that in the context of Kāvya and from the perspective of *alaṅkāraśāstrin*s, the underlying premise is that poetry or artistic endeavor for its own sake does not count as a legitimate purpose or goal. In addition, one might say that for *alaṅkārika*s, poetry is the preeminent vehicle for the attainment of the goals of life. At the very least, for some *alaṅkārika*s, Kāvya exists parallel to *śāstra*, as an equally effective yet more pleasing means to their attainment. See Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, and Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa*.

[63] *Mokṣa* seems to be outside the purview of the anthology whose final sections correspond not to *mokṣa* but to *dharma*.

[64] The *SRK*'s opening *vrajyā*s—its first seven *vrajyā*s, dedicated to the Buddha, the Bodhisattvas Lokeśvara and Mañjughoṣa, Śiva, Viṣṇu, and the Sun Deity, respectively—might correspond both to the aim of *dharma* and to the practice of prefacing Sanskrit works with a dedication or dedications to the principle deity of the author or patron. On the *SRK*'s homage to the Buddha and Bodhisattvas and to the Orthodox Gods, see Ghokale and Kosambi (1957, pp. xxvii, xxxiv ff.) and Ingalls (1965, pp. 30–31).

[65] *Vrajyā*s 8–31 comprise the six *vrajyā*s dedicated to the seasons, the twelve *vrajyā*s on the different phases of love mentioned above, one *vrajyā* titled The Lamp, and the five *vrajyā*s on the five parts of the day. In the later *SUK*, poems about seasons and times of day are formally included in the section on romantic love (*Śṛṅgārapravāha*) and it stands to reason that this is likewise intended in the *SRK*. One could say that the descriptions of the seasons provide a prelude to the more

32–35 and the aim of *artha*,[66] and between *vrajyā*s 37–41: Good People, Villains, Poverty, Substantiation, and Panegyric, and those that follow—beginning with Detachment and ending with Peace—[67] and the aim of *dharma*.

At the same time that the anthology's overarching narrative evokes the *trivarga*, it also summons up the *varṇāśramadharma*, with its three prescribed stages of life: *brahmacārin* (student), *gṛhastha* (householder), and *vānaprastha* (forest dweller). Although one problem here is that a student or *brahmacārin*, though a youth or young adult at the conclusion of his studenthood, is not supposed to be a *kāmarasika*, a person inclined towards love and pleasure, nor is he supposed to be, strictly speaking, a person in pursuit of wealth. According to Malamoud (1982, pp. 51–52), for a brahman it is only at the *gṛhastha* stage that *kāma* and *artha* become relevant or even permitted.[68] If so, the arrangements of the *SRK*, so far as the brahman is concerned, correspond solely to the life stages of the householder, or *gṛhastha*, and the retired forest dweller, or *vānaprastha*. For the student or *brahmacārin*, the anthologies pertain only insofar as they function as a guide of what to expect (see Figure 1.1).[69,70]

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explicitly romantic verses, much as descriptions of the seasons do in *mahākāvya*.

[66]Although, as suggested above, the relevance of *vrajyā* 33, *Vāta* (The Breeze), is not entirely clear.

[67]Which describe retreat from life in the world and a turning to a more simple life of the spirit.

[68]Malamoud writes that *kāma* and *artha* 'are practically forbidden to a Brahman student' and to the retired forest dweller. As he writes, it is the householder 'who must learn how to combine and balance the three *puruṣārtha*s of the trivarga, since only at this stage is it dharmic to devote oneself to *artha* and *kāma*.' On other correspondences between the life stages and *puruṣārtha*s see Syrkin, 1967.

[69]A more complete foundation for the anthology's organization probably lies somewhere between the prescriptions of the *varṇāśramadharma* and the doctrine of the *puruṣārtha*s. Halbfass (2000: 113) raises the question of whether there are special relations between the *puruṣārtha*s and the particular stages of life (*āśrama*s). The author cites the *Nyāyakusumāñjali* where 'Udayana associates the variety of the aims of life with the variability of the conceptions of God.'

[70]The anthology's informal divisions into poems about love and public life are also reminiscent of the division of Old Tamil poetry into two main categories, *akam* or interior and *puṟam* or exterior. Hart (1975, p. 7) writes *akam* 'concerns all the phases of love between man and woman; that is, their subject is life viewed from inside the family,' while *puṟam* 'contains many different kinds of poems—poems of war, of kings' praise, of suppliants' requests, of mourning, ethics— all of which deal with men's interactions in society, outside the family.' Yet, what is the difference

Preeminent Aim		Life Stage
mokṣa	→	*saṃnyāsin* (ascetic)
dharma	→	***vānaprastha*** (retired forest-dweller)
dharma, *artha*, *kāma*	→	***gṛhastha*** (householder)
dharma	→	*brahmacārin* (student)

Table 1.1: The Aims of Man and the Life Stages

The Saduktikarṇāmṛta

We do not know whether the *SRK* had similar predecessors, but it served as a model for later anthologies, including Śrīdharadāsa's *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (*SUK*).[71] The *SUK* is an early thirteenth century *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*[72] that incorporates much of the same poetry and follows a classification system similar to Vidyākara's anthology. In comparison with the *SRK*, the work presents an even more tightly constructed formal arrangement of poems: its stanzas are divided into five *pravāhā*s or 'streams,' each of which is further separated into a varying number of *vīci*s or 'waves' of approximately five verses each.[73] Despite the novelty of its formal di-

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between *akam* and *puṟam* on the one hand and *kāma*, *artha*, and *dharma* on the other? Although the Old Tamil poems, based as they are on different linguistic and aesthetic sensibilities, are not really similar to the Sanskrit ones, the categories of *akam* and *puṟam* do seem somewhat comparable to the *trivarga* if not the *caturvarga*. Though whether the former pair follow a similar hierarchy is not entirely clear.

[71]Gokhale and Kosambi (1957, pp. xxi f.) point out that Śrīdharadāsa was familiar with Vidyākara's later edition of the *SRK* (represented in mss K and T) rather than the shorter and earlier edition (represented in ms N). According to the authors (*ibid*. p. xxii), the *SUK* and the *SRK* share 623 stanzas in common—over a third of the *SRK* and a quarter of the *SUK*. Based on Banerji's edition, which had not been published at the time of their writing, the overall percentage may be larger. Gokhale and Kosambi suggest that the *SRK* influenced the *Jagajjīvanavrajyā*, a collection known only in citations.

[72]Śrīdharadāsa, like his predecessor Vidyākara, hailed from what is now known as Bengal.

[73]Sternbach (1974, p. 16) identifies '476 *pravāha*-s,' which is a mistake for 476 *vīci*s. The anthology includes 476 *vīci*s that contain all in all a total of 2370 verses. As Sternbach notes this is a slightly smaller number of verses than would be present if every one of the 476 *vīci*s contained

visions, the *SUK*, compiled in Bengal some 75–150 years after the *SRK*,[74] is very much in the same tradition as the *SRK*.[75]

Within the *SUK* we find poems from the *SRK* channeled into more nuanced categories. For example, *SUK* 541 and 545 belong not only to the Unchaste Woman genre, as they do in Vidyākara's classification scheme, but they also belong, in Śrīdharadāsa's reworking, to the more nuanced Discrete Unchaste Woman sub-genre. Similarly, whereas in the *SRK* 548 and 550 are also simply part of the Un-chaste Woman *vrajyā*, in the *SUK* they belong to the anthology's Clever Unchaste Woman subgenre, and so forth (see Figure 1.2 below). Thus, if the *vrajyā*s of the *SRK* represent genres of *muktaka* poetry, the *SUK*'s *vīci*s could be said to represent its subgenres.

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a full five verses. It is likely, as he proposes, that some verses were lost from the anthology. See also Gokhale and Kosambi, 1957, pp. xxi ff.

[74]This is the same place in which Vidyākara had been previously active. Śrīdharadāsa likely worked in the court of King Lakṣmaṇa-Sena of Bengal.

[75]Knutson (2010) offers an interpretation of several of the *SUK*'s stanzas in light of Turkish invasions and conquests. I would just add that within the *SUK* these stanzas are worked into a preexisting framework.

Figure 1.2. *Vrajyā*s of the *SRK* and *Vīci*s of the *SUK*

SRK	Genre	*SUK*	Subgenre
807	*Asatīvrajyā*	531	*Asatīvīci*
809	*Asatīvrajyā*	533	*Asatīvīci*
810	*Asatīvrajyā*	541	*Guptāsatīvīci*
812	*Asatīvrajyā*	545	*Guptāsatīvīci*
815	*Asatīvrajyā*	548	*Vidagdhāsatīvīci*
818	*Asatīvrajyā*	550	*Vidagdhāsatīvīci*
829	*Asatīvrajyā*	776	*Abhisārārambhavīci*
830	*Asatīvrajyā*	783	*Abhisārikāvīci*
834	*Asatīvrajyā*	785	*Abhisārikāvīci*
835	*Asatīvrajyā*	899	*Mānināyikāvīci*[76]

Similar refinements and reworkings are seen throughout the *SUK*. For example, stanzas from the *SRK*'s *Yuvativarṇana* (Descriptions of the Youthful Heroine) *vrajyā* make up the whole of the *SUK*'s *Strīmātravīci*. Thus, Śrīdharadāsa introduces a new category for these particular stanzas, the main topic of which is, in his conception, not descriptions of youthful female characters, but views on female nature in general (see Figure 1.3).

Figure 1.3. *SRK Yuvativarṇana* Genre and *SUK Strīmātram* Subgenre

SRK   *Yuvativarṇanavrajyā*   SUK   *Strīmātravīci*


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384 ─┐
  ...  └──────┐
395 ─┐        └──→ 581
  ...  └───────────→ 582
403 ──────────────→ 583
  ...  ┌──────────→ 584
435 ─┘  ┌─────────→ 585
  ...    │
441 ─────┘
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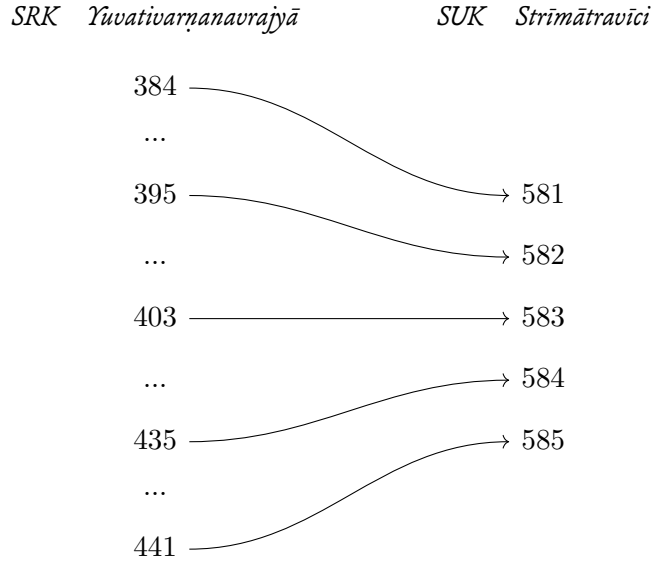
Śrīdharadāsa's more nuanced categories shed light on how he read and interpreted the poetry. In some cases he follows Vidyākara quite closely. For example, he follows the latter in placing the much discussed and controversial poem beginning *yaḥ kaumāraharaḥ*, attributed to the poetess Śīlābhaṭṭārikā, in his *Asatīvīci* just as Vidyākara had placed it in his *Asatīvrajyā*.[77] Readers curious about the meaning of the verse might have wished that he had placed it into a more illuminating category, though perhaps he could not do so because no such category existed.

Sequencing of Consecutive Vīcis Within the Saduktikarṇāmṛta

Consecutive *vīci*s within the *SUK* are often sequenced in a manner similar to that of the *vrajyā*s of the *SRK*. For instance, the first 15 *vīci*s of the *SUK*'s *Śṛṅgārapravāha* consist of the following: Adolescence → Post-adolescence → The Youthful Heroine → The Wondrous Nāyikās → The Innocent Nāyikā → The Confident Nāyikā → The Bold Nāyikā → The Newly Married Nāyikā → The Confident Newly Married Nāyikā → The Pregnant Nāyikā → The Good Wife → The Unchaste Nāyikā → Instructing the Unchaste Nāyikā → The Secretly

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[77]*SRK* 815=*SUK* 513.

Unchaste Nāyikā and The Clever Unchaste Nāyikā.[78] One might compare these to *vrajyā*s 15–25 of the *SRK*, described above.[79] Similarly, many of the *vīci*s of the fifth and final stream, The Undulating or *Uccāvaca*, pertain to the final stages of life in a manner that resembles the final *vrajyā*s of the *SRK*: Old Age → The Experienced → Regret → Detachment → Investigation → Obstacles to Peace → Partial Peace → The Compassionate → Praise of Peace → The Peace of Those Who Have Attained Their Goal → Peace, and continuing through *vīci* 73: The Cremation Ground.[80]

An Overarching Narrative

The similarity of the *SUK*'s overall narrative to that of the *SRK* is evident, to an extent, in its basic division into five *pravāha*s. Thus, like the first *vrajyā*s of the *SRK*, the first *pravāha* of the *SUK*, *Devapravāha* (The Current of the Gods), comprises religious dedications. The second *pravāha*, *Śṛṅgāra* (Erotic Love), comprises stanzas about love or pleasure. The third and fourth *pravāha*s, *Cāṭu* and *Apadeśa*, dealing with circumlocution and panegyric respectively, are similar in title and content to the *Cāṭu-* and *Anyāpadeśavrajyā*s from the middle section of the *SRK*. The *vīci*s or Waves within the fifth *pravāha*, *Uccāvaca* or Undulating, a name that applies to a particular movement of water, show considerable resemblance to the middle and final *vrajyā*s of the *SRK*. The descriptions of these *pravāha*s suggest, that like the *SRK*, much of the *SUK* follows a comprehensive narrative that can be said to correspond to the various stages in a man's life, beginning with the topic of love or enjoyment (youth=*Śṛṅgārapravāha*), continuing on to a man's obligations in the public sphere (middle age=*Cāṭu-*, *Apadeśapravāha*s), and ending with

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[78] *Vayaḥsandhi, Kiṃcidupārūḍhayauvanā, Yuvati, Nāyikādbhūta, Mugdhā, Madhyā, Pragalbhā, Navoḍhā, Visrabdhanavoḍhā, Garbhiṇī, Kulastrī, Asatī, Kulaṭopadeśa, Guptāsatī, Vidagdhāsatī.* Śrīdharadāsa follows a framework of *Nāyikābheda*. In Rudrabhaṭṭa's *nāyikābheda mugdhā, madhyā*, and *pragalbhā* are the three types of the *svīyā nāyikā*, and *navoḍha* and *viśrabdhanavoḍha* are two subtypes of the *mugdhā nāyikā*, though Śrīdharadāsa may be following another *alaṅkārika*.

[79] One difference between the sequences in the two anthologies is that in the *SUK* the progression is from love-in-union directly to unconventional love—love-in-separation is not introduced in the *SUK* until later.

[80] *Vīci*s 5.51–5.73: *Jarā, Vṛddhaḥ, Anuśayaḥ, Nirvedaḥ, Vicāraḥ, Vicikitsitam, Śamavighnaḥ, Ardhaśamaḥ, Kāruṇikaḥ, Śāntyāśaṃsā, Kṛtārthaśāntaḥ, Śāntaḥ, Niṣkramaḥ, Nispṛhaḥ, Vanagamanotsukaḥ, Tapovanam, Tapasvī, Bahuviśayaśāntiḥ, Athādhyātmavit, Bhavitavyatā, Daivam, Kālaḥ, Śmaśānam.*

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the last stages of life (=*Uccāvacapravāha*).

Anthologies that differ from those of the SRK and the SUK

There are Sanskrit anthologies of a similar period that differ from the *SRK* and the *SUK* in terms of their content, emphases, and systems of arrangement. For example, the fourteenth century (1363 CE) *Paddhati* of Śārṅgadhara contains, in addition to poetry, numerous verses on plants, animals, gardening, recipes, omens, and so forth. The aspirations of these stanzas are, as it were, more practical than literary. Most of these are verses that, as Brough (1968, p. 15) writes, 'no Indian critic would have considered to be poetry,' but they were perhaps considered useful for the pragmatic information they provided. The *SRK* and the *SUK* can again be distinguished from collections whose goals are explicitly morally didactic rather than literary.[81] We find in Govardhana's *Āryāsaptaśatī* an example of an alphabetically arranged Kāvya anthology that again differs from the *SRK* and the *SUK*.[82] Collections that are explicitly organized in terms of the *puruṣārtha*s such as the *Sūktiratnahāra*, the *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi* and the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit *Vajjālagga*, the last of which is subject of the next chapter, are closer in approach to the *SRK* and the *SUK*.[83]

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[81]Included among these latter works are collections containing almost exclusively *lokokti*s or proverbs, also called *Lokavākya*s or *Prācīnavākya*s, examples of which are the *Bṛhaspatisūtra*s, the *Cāṇakyasūtra*s, the *Laukikanyāyāñjali*, and so forth. Also included in the category of morally didactic anthologies is a work like Kṣemendra's *Cārucaryāśataka*, an anthologly comprised of maxims substantiated by examples from the epics and *purāṇa*s.

[82]The seven centuries of poems in Govardhana's *Āryāsaptaśatī* are arranged according to the first syllable of each poem. The *Āryāsaptaśatī* is of a considerably different nature from the above Sanskrit anthologies not only in terms of its arrangement, but also in that it was authored by a single individual and modeled on the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry of the *Sattasaī*. The topic dealt with is mainly that of *kāma*.

[83]If we look outside Sanskrit and Prakrit anthologies, the list of collections arranged in terms of the *puruṣārtha*s includes the Tamil collections, the *Nālaṭiyār* and the *Tirrukuṛal*.

Consequences of Systematization

The arrangement of poems in the *SRK* and the *SUK* is doubtlessly motivated not only by the desire—seen so often in the Sanskritic scholastic world—to bring order to complex material, but also by the wish to systematize it in a manner that would be ideologically meaningful within the anthologizers' own cultural milieus. Rather than alphabetize the poetry—an approach that, as mentioned above, is found in the *Āryāsaptaśatī*, or arrange the stanzas according to metrical considerations,[84] the anthologizers use a system that serves more far-reaching hermeneutic and scholastic purposes. By placing the poetry into *vrajyā*s or *vīci*s and arranging these into a larger narrative, the anthologizers embed the poetry in systems of meaning that extend beyond the given collection to the realm of scholastic and philosophical treatises and to other Kāvya works.[85]

Given their content and the way it is arranged, the *SRK* and the *SUK* might be viewed as exemplary didactic texts. Not only are these anthologies repositories of *subhāṣita*s—poems that serve as instruments of acculturation in and of themselves—but their arrangement into the scholastic units of *vrajyā*s or *vīci*s and their organization along the lines of the *trivarga* also serves to interpret and reify meaning in the poetry and to link it to the concerns of a larger scholastic world. The anthologies' use of the *puruṣārtha* scheme, in particular, brings a magnitude to the single-stanza poem that it did not possess before or that was not self-evident. A poem is no longer simply about the beloved or about a journey to a mountain peak, but it also becomes, through the lens of the *puruṣārtha*, about how one should live one's life and prepare for death. In this regard, one might disagree with Banerji's statement (1965, p. ii) that anthologies like the *SUK* deal merely 'with the commonplaces of human life and the world' and that in them there is 'no attempt to solve any problem of human life or to deal with the philosophy of mundane existence.' The *SUK* and the *SRK* do tackle such problems

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[84]Arrangement of verses according to length or number of *pāda*s is a much earlier classification scheme that is found in the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā*s of the Pali Canon. This system, however, would not be applicable to the Sanskrit anthologies, whose stanzas do not extend beyond four *pāda*s.

[85]*Kāmaśāstra* and *alaṅkāraśāstra* texts offer abundant descriptions of and classificatory schemes involving *Anurāga* (Passion), *Dūti* (The Messenger), *Virahinī* (The Woman in Separation) *Virahī* (The Man in Separation), and so on. It would be unthinkable that the genres and subgenres Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa use would be uninformed by these texts.

insofar as they attempt to guide readers towards a view of the world and of how one should live in it and insofar as they provide a cohesive ethical framework within which all the human experiences expressed in the poetry are validated.

On a smaller scale, the arrangement of poems in the *SRK* and in the *SUK* also serves as a useful hermeneutic tool. Especially for a novice reader, the topical sections, *vrajyā*s or *vīci*s, make it easier to grasp meaning in a given poem, since the reader will have an idea beforehand of what the poem ought to be about simply by referring to the heading of the section in which it appears. Moreover, the other poems within a topical section create an interpretive microenvironment by which the meaning of a given poem may be more narrowly circumscribed. Hence, the topic-wise arrangement of poems serves as a hermeneutic tool on a small scale, one that can be particularly useful in the case of the *muktaka* or single stanza poetry that these anthologies present, whose brief nature might otherwise open them up to considerable interpretive freedom.[86]

The *SRK* and the *SUK*'s hermeneutic frameworks also allow quick reference to verses on specific and familiar topics. The anthologies thus function somewhat like encyclopedias or thesauri of poetry. If one wants to find verses on 'love-in-separation' or 'flattery' one may simply turn to the appropriate section of the anthology and choose from a range of verses on these subjects.[87] It might be noted that in this sense, the anthologies bear little resemblance to literary works that were intended to be read from start to finish.[88] As demonstrated below, this is very different from the *Sattasaī* where one cannot simply look up a verse and where reading long sections of Gāthās from beginning to end is a different experience.[89]

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[86]Some of the specific interpretive challenges posed by such brevity in *Sattasaī* Gāthās that Selby (1996, pp. 83ff.) explains also apply to Sanskrit *muktaka* poetry.

[87]Some anthologies were copied with tables of contents or *gāthādvāra* lists, which would have facilitated the effort to look up verses.

[88]From this perspective, the narrative patterns of the anthologies are primarily placeholders, a way of indicating where verses on specific topics will be found.

[89]This raises the question of whether this topic-wise method of anthologizing, which appears to be somewhat labor intensive, is actually less difficult than the topic-free method of anthologizing seen in the *Sattasaī* in which it seems that effort must be made to obscure connections.

Although these topical sections can be very useful in facilitating quick access to the subject matter of the poems, a careful reader would want to remain attentive to the sections used to categorize the poetry. For one, the sectioning of individual poems into groups reflects the subjective view and learning of the anthologizer who must decide on what groups and topical sections to use, how to arrange them, and the main subject of each verse or its essential characteristics. A reader who relies on these sections as hermeneutic tools must reckon with the fact that he or she has received the anthologizer's interpretation of a poem, which may not necessarily agree with other competing interpretations.[90] It is possible that a poem found in a particular section of Vidyākara's anthology might be found in a different section of some other anthology. Even Śrīdharadāsa, who for the most part follows Vidyākara quite closely, sometimes places a given poem from the *SRK* in a different part of his own anthology.[91]

For any reader, there is also the question of the degree to which topical sections like *vrajyā*s and *vīci*s embody what is most important about the poetry. *Vrajyā*s might guide a reader to a poem's 'characteristics' or *jāti* following Viśvanātha—which in practice seems to amount to the subject of the verse, what it is ostensibly 'about'—but *jāti* was never considered, at least by *Alaṅkārika*s, to be the essence of Sanskrit poetry, a subject of debate for centuries.

While it must be admitted that the process of anthologizing constitutes in itself a significant interpretive intervention in the transmission of the poetry, it is difficult to find fault with the *SRK*'s or the *SUK*'s organization. I would argue that this is primarily because the *vrajyā*s of the *SRK* and the *pravāha*s and *vīci*s of the *SUK*, as well as the anthologies' larger narrative patterns, do not represent any great epistemic break with the poetry. For all their artificiality, one does not get the sense that the classification schemes are radically misrepresentative. In the case of the *SRK*, one might be inclined to agree with the *alaṅkārika* Viśvanātha who remarks that it is 'very pleasing' when an anthology or *kośa* is 'arranged in

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[90] A modern reader might wonder about the degree to which the anthologizer's interpretation agrees with its historical reception or the original meaning intended for it by the poet.

[91] For example, Śrīdharadāsa places the verse beginning *śiśutvaṃ tāruṇyaṃ tad anu ca dadhānāḥ pariṇatiṃ*, in the Peace *vrajyā* of the *SRK*, in a rather different section titled The Fortunate, *Dhanya*.

a series of *vrajyā*s.'[92] Even while some might view aspects of the *SRK*'s extensive categories as overly analytic—for instance its ten *vīci*s on different parts of a female character's body, beginning with the eyes and ending at the waist, might seem overly methodical[93]—it is difficult to argue that Śrīdharadāsa is completely misinterpreting the poetry.

It is true that anthologizers like Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa take their poems out of their original sources or original contexts, often copying them from longer literary works where they were no doubt imbued with a differently nuanced meaning or range of meanings. Yet, the anthologies themselves and the categories they employ are based on many of the same principles, goals, and aspirations as were those earlier works. This is not to say that differences related to time, place, and individual authorship have no bearing on classical Sanskrit, but they have relatively little bearing insofar as a goal of classical Sanskrit authors was the extension and modulation of earlier attitudes, styles, and themes rather than a break with them.[94] Thus, the poems were created in a Sanskritic world and in the anthologies of Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa they return to a Sanskritic world.[95]

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[92]*koṣaḥ ślokasamūhas tu syād anyonyānapekṣakaḥ || vrajyākrameṇa racitaḥ sa evātimanoramaḥ |* (*Sāhityadarpaṇa* VI.329–330).

[93]See Brough (1968, p. 18) on a similar sequence in the *Subhāṣitāvali*.

[94]See Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*.

[95] Though, the argument can be made that there is an increased focus on the hierarchy of the *puruṣārtha*s. In addition to the medieval anthologies introduced here, this may be also be seen, for instance, in the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* (ed. by K.V. Sarma, 1969), a selection and reordering of the poems of the *Śatakatraya* attributed to Bhartṛhari in which poems from the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* are interpreted as a means to world negation. The majority of the verses of the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* are taken from the *Vairāgyaśataka*, or *One Hundred Verses on Renunciation*, while the only verses taken from the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* are those which may renounce romantic love definitively. The *Puruṣārthopadeśa* stands in contrast to the *Śatakatraya* insofar as much of the earlier appeal of the *Śatakatraya* and its *Śṛṅgāraśataka* in particular is thought to be in the tension between the draw of worldly life on the one hand and that of renunciation on the other, a tension that the *śataka*s introduce but never fully resolve. The *Puruṣārthopadeśa* appears to resolutely answer the question of the priority of romantic love or renunciation in favor of the latter. A concise section by section account of the motivations of the *Puruṣārthopadeśa* can be found in Sarma's introduction (*ibid.* pp. xiii–xv).

Beyond the Purely Sanskritic Sphere

Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry stands at the borderline of the purely Sanskritic poetic sphere. Here the question of misrepresentation becomes more crucial. While the classical Sanskrit enterprise can claim a universal spirit, the ease with which its scholiasts were able to classify that which I will argue lies—at least partly—in a separate domain is often questionable. In the case of Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry, rhetoricians like Ānandavardhana, Abhinavagupta and Bhojadeva display laudable skill and dexterity in its interpretation—they even make plausible the argument that such poetry, rather than existing at the periphery of classical Sanskrit Kāvya, actually lies at its heart. Thus, when Ānandavardhana attempts to identify the soul of poetry as suggestion (*dhvani*), it is Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit lyric that he cites as a prime example, a choice that Abhinavagupta defends.[96] But while the study and interpretation of Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry across sociolinguistic lines proved fruitful for these Sanskrit scholiasts and was illuminating in terms of the classical understanding of both Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit and Sanskrit lyrics, efforts to classify Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit in the medieval period introduce a new set of complexities.

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[96] *Dhvanyālokalocana*: 1.4bcdef etc.

Chapter 2

Prakrit Poetry Through the Lens of Sanskrit: The *Vajjālagga*

The Vajjālagga

The *Vajjālagga*[1] (hereafter *VaLa*; the collection's date range from *ca.* 750–1337, see above p. 2, fn.2) is an anthology of Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit Gāthās[2] compiled by

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[1]The third stanza refers to the anthology as the *Jayavallaha* (Skt. *Jayavallabha*). The stanza states: 'a *vajjālagga* called the *Jayavallaha* was compiled according to a system after gathering together excellent groups of Gāthās from various poets;' *vivihakaviraïyāṇaṃ gāhāṇaṃ varakulāṇi ghettūṇa | raïyaṃ vajjālaggaṃ vihiṇā jayavallahaṃ nāma || 3 ||*; Skt. *vividhakaviracitānāṃ gāthānāṃ varakulāni gṛhitvā | racitaṃ vajjālaggaṃ vidhinā jayavallabhaṃ nāma ||* However, according to Patwardhan (1969, pp. ix f.), the title *Vajjālagga*, or a variant thereof, is given in most MSS. This is now the name under which the collection is most often referred. Notably, the verse explicitly states that Jayavallabha followed a system (*vidhiṇā*, 'according to an appropriate method') in compiling the anthology. In his commentary Ratnadeva writes *vidhinā śāstraproktaprakāreṇa*; '*vidhinā* means 'in the manner prescribed by śāstra.'

[2]The poetry is recorded in Jaina-Māhārāṣṭrī, though it was not all composed in this dialect as the presence of Gāthās it borrows from the *Sattasaï* attests.

Jayavallabha, a Jain author[3] learned in both Sanskrit and Prakrit.[4]

1. The Tivagga as a Principle of Arrangement in the Vajjālagga

The first Gāthā of the Vulgate recension states that the anthology's poetry is connected to the *tivagga*, or the three-fold aims of man: *dhamma*, *attha*, and *kāma*:

savvannuvayaṇapaṃkaya-	ṇivāsiṇiṃ paṇamiūṇa suyadeviṃ
dhammāitivaggajuyaṃ	suyaṇāṇa suhāsiyaṃ voccham || VaLa 1 ||[5]

Having bowed to the Goddess of Learning
    Residing in the lotus mouth of the Omniscient One

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[3]In the late medieval period older non-Jain works were on occasion misattributed to Jain authors, but it appears unlikely that this occurred in the case of the *VaLa*. Jayavallabha's Jain religious affiliation is indicated from the outset in the dedication—in the opening stanza of the vulgate recension—to the Omniscient One, or, Jina (see stanza below). The compiler's Jain identity is also indicated by the relegation, in both the *VaLa*'s earlier recension and in its Vulgate recension, of Gāthās on theistic gods to the section of the anthology that deals with romantic love. In the Vulgate recension these are the verses of the *Harivajjā* (*Harivrajyā*)—*vajjā* 20 in the earlier recension of the *VaLa*—and the verses of the *Kaṇhavajjā* (*Kṛṣṇavrajyā*) and *Ruddavajjā* (*Rudravrajyā*)—*vajjā*s 62 and 63 in the Vulgate recension. Were the anthologizer a theistic devotee one would expect at least some of these verses to be placed at the beginning of the anthology. Ratnadeva, the commentator, also recognizes Jayavallabha as a figure of considerable standing among Śvetāmbara Jains (see note below). After its initial compilation the *VaLa* was transmitted, via multiple recensions and manuscript copies, in Jain circles. Laber, the *VaLa*'s earliest modern editor, after describing the fame of the *Sattasaī*, writes: 'Of the *Vajjālagga* on the contrary there is no mention anywhere. Composed by a Śvetāmbara Jaina, it appears to have remained confined to this narrow circle' (Laber 1913, p. 4, cited in Patwardhan, 1969, p. xxix).

[4]In his commentary to v. 1 Ratnadeva writes that the crown jewel of the Śvetāmbaras, the poet named Jayavallabha, even though himself a master of Sanskrit, created this collection of Prakrit verses out of regard for amorous people who do not know Sanskrit; *tatra śāstrasyādau śvetāmbaraśiro-maṇir jayavallabho nāma kaviḥ saṃskṛte niṣpratibhaṃ tathā ca śṛṅgāriṇaṃ janam avalokya, ātmanā saṃskṛ-tapāraṃ gato 'pi prākṛtagāthāsaṃgraham imaṃ cakāra*. Ratnadeva's use of the concessive particle *api* implies that the commentator considered Sanskrit to have a higher status. The idea that anthologizer was indeed proficient in Sanskrit gains support both from the contents of the anthology and the way in which it is organized.

[5]Skt: *sarvajñavadanapaṅkajanivāsinīṃ praṇamya śrutadevīṃ | dharmāditrivargayutaṃ sujanānāṃ subhā-ṣitaṃ vakṣyāmi || VaLa 1 ||* Sternbach, 1974, p. 13, cites this as 4 of Laber's edition of the Vulgate recension of the *VaLa*.

I shall relate the saying(s) of moral people
   Tied to the three-fold aims of man, beginning with *dhamma*.

By referring to the *Trivarga*, the anthology places itself in much the same ideological world as the *SRK* and the *SUK*.

Similar to the *SRK*, a secondary and more formal principle of organization of the Gāthās is their grouping into *vajjā*s.[6] *VaLa* 4 describes a *vajjā* in terms of 'unitariness of topic' or *ekattha* (Skt. *ekārthaḥ*):

> *ekkatthe patthāve*   *jattha paḍhijjaṃti paüragāhāo*
> *taṃ khalu vajjālaggaṃ*   *vajja tti ya paddhaï bhaṇiyā || VaLa 4 ||*[7]

Where several Gāthās are read
   In an elaboration of one single topic
That indeed is known as a work marked by *vajjā*s[8]
   And a *vajjā* is said to be a gathering.[9]

Most of the Vulgate recension's 96 *vajjā*s, apart from those in its prologue, introduction, and epilogue, are divided into sections that can be seen to correspond to the *tivagga* or three aims of man.[10] The *vajjā*s in the first part of the anthology,

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[6] *Vajjā* is cognate with Sanskrit *vrajyā*, the name given to the *SRK*'s topical sections. Although the *VaLa*'s definition of *vajjā*, emphasizing 'unity of topic,' rather than 'essential characteristics,' suggests that the *VaLa* utilizes *vajjā*s somewhat differently than the *SRK*, its *vajjā*s function much like the *vrajyā*s of the *SRK* in that they are formal groupings of verses that share salient elements in common.

[7] Skt: *ekārthe prastāve yatra paṭhyante pracuragāthāḥ | tat khalu vrajyālagnaṃ vrajyeti ca paddhatir bhaṇitā || VaLa 4 ||*

[8] The text gives no explanation of the meaning of *lagga*, but Pischel (§12, n. 4, p. 10, citing DNM 7.17) suggests that *lagga*, Skt. *lagna*, denotes *cihna*, 'indication, mark.'

[9] Although *paddhaï* is here translated as 'gathering,' it is likely that the author of the verse intends a more specific meaning. The Sanskrit cognate, *paddhati*, is often used to describe a class of ritual manuals that gather diverse information topically, but which also provide step-by-step ritual instructions. It is probable that in the *VaLa* a *vajjā* indicates not merely a topical grouping, but one in which the Gāthās are arranged in a progression. Within the introductory *vajjā*s of the *VaLa* as well as within at least some later *vajjā*s the verses are indeed arranged in a recognizable sequence.

[10] This grouping is also evident in the *VaLa*'s earlier recension. Notably, Ratnadeva's claim

titled Good People, Bad People, Friendship, Affection,[11] and Good Conduct, are presumably meant to pertain to the *tivagga* goal of *dhamma*. *Vajjā*s 8–29, whose titles include The Steadfast, Boldness,[12] and so on, are likely meant to pertain to the goal of *attha*.[13] *Vajjā*s 30–68, in the third part of the anthology, whose titles include, The Clever, Love, Separation, Attachment to the Beloved, The Good Housewife, The Chaste Woman, and The Unchaste Woman,[14] are, in all likelihood, intended to pertain to the goal of *kāma*. *Vajjā*s 69–95, the final *vajjā*s of the Vulgate recension, appear to be on mixed topics, but many of the verses therein address reflections that come with age, the merits of past deeds, and virtues in general. I would suggest that these final verses are meant to be seen as a return to the topic of *dhamma* with which the anthology began.[15] Table 2.1 below shows the division of *vajjā*s along the lines of the *tivagga* in both the early recension of the *VaLa* and in its Vulgate recension.

(see note above) that Jayavallabha made the anthology specifically for people who were inclined towards the erotic sentiment (*śṛṅgāriṇam janam*) is surprising given the anthology's own statement that it deals with the three *puruṣārtha*s, *dhamma*, *attha*, and *kāma*, and not only with love and pleasure.

[11]*Sujaṇa*, *Dujjaṇa*, *Mitta*, *Neha*, *Nīi*. Affection (*Neha*), as most of the Gāthās in this section indicate, refers to friendly rather than romantic affection. Differently, in the early recension *Neha* is in the section of the anthology dealing with *kāma* or love.

[12]*Dhīra*; *Sāhasa*.

[13]*Vajjā*s 19–29 are on mixed topics: several of these *vajjā*s comprise examples of the poetic figure of *anyāpadeśa*, a figure in which one topic is introduced in terms of another. As in the *SRK* and the *SUK*, it is likely that all these *vajjā*s were meant to pertain to the *trivarga* category of *artha*.

[14]*Chailla* (possibly Skt. *Cheka* + *-illa*, the latter of which may denote, as Tieken suggests, the sense of intensity (see Chapter Eight, notes 210 and 360); *Pemma*; *Viraha*; *Piyāṇurāya*; *Sughariṇī*; *Saī*; *Asaī*.

[15]As in the case of the *SRK* and the *SUK*, little has been published on the narrative structure of the *VaLa*. Patwardhan (1969), who comments on this topic in his introduction, has perhaps written the most on this aspect of the anthology. He points out that Laber's and later Winternitz's (and also Sternbach, 1974) claim that two thirds of the verses of the *VaLa* belong to the topic of *kāma* is an overstatement (see Table 1 below), and offers other useful observations. My assessment of how the *vajjā*s map onto the goals of life does differ in part from that of Patwardhan (*ibid*. pp. xliv–xlvii). For example, Patwardhan assigns The Good Housewife, *Sughariṇī Vajjā*, to the category of *Dhamma*. I would suggest that this particular *vajjā* is intended to belong to the *kāma* section, as its placement in the middle of other *vajjā*s related to *kāma* would indicate.

Table 2.1. Grouping in the Earlier and Vulgate Recensions of the *VaLa* (the numbers given in the subscript refer to the *vajjā*'s placement in the anthology):

Topic or Goal	Earlier Recension of the *VaLa*	Vulgate of the *VaLa*
Kāvyapraśaṃsā	*Gāhā*$_1$, *Kavva*$_2$	*Soyāra*$_1$, *Gāhā*$_2$, *Kavva*$_3$
Dhamma(i)	*Sajjaṇa*$_3$, *Pisuṇāṇa*$_4$	*Sajjaṇa*$_4$, *Dujjaṇa*$_5$, *Mitta*$_6$, *Neha*$_7$
Attha	*Nīi*$_5$, *Dhīra*$_6$,	*Nīi*$_8$, *Dhīra*$_9$, *Sāhasa*$_{10}$, *Divva*$_{11}$, *Vihi*$_{12}$, *Dīṇa*$_{13}$, *Dāridda*$_{14}$, *Pahu*$_{15}$, *Sevaka*$_{16}$, *Suhaḍa*$_{17}$, *Dhavala*$_{18}$ *Viṃjha*$_{19}$, *Gaya*$_{20}$, *Sīha*$_{21}$, *Vāha*$_{22}$, *Hariṇa*$_{23}$, *Karaha*$_{24}$, *Mālaī*$_{25}$, *Iṃdiṃdira*$_{26}$, *Surataruvisesa*$_{27}$, *Haṃsa*$_{28}$, *Caṃda*$_{29}$
Kāma	*Saï*$_7$–*Asaï*$_8$–*Gharaṇi*$_9$–*Neha*$_{10}$, *Cheya*$_{11}$–*Jaṃtīṇa*$_{12}$–*Musala*$_{13}$, *Dhammiya*$_{14}$–*Vejja*$_{15}$–*Nimittiya*$_{16}$–*Vesā*$_{17}$, *Sevaya*$_{18}$–*Suhaḍa*$_{19}$, *Hari*$_{20}$–*Mayaṇa*$_{21}$–*Suraya*$_{22}$–*Hiyayāli*$_{23}$, *Vāha*$_{24}$, *Nayaṇa*$_{25}$, *Sihiṇa*$_{26}$, *Olaggāvi*$_{27}$, *Dūī*$_{28}$, *Dhanna*$_{29}$–*Sasaya*$_{30}$, *Paṃcama*$_{31}$–*Vioya*$_{32}$–*Pimma*$_{33}$, *Māṇa*$_{34}$–*Māṇasaṃvaraṇa*$_{35}$, *Mālaï*$_{36}$–*Bhamara*$_{37}$–*Gaya*$_{38}$–*Karahaya*$_{39}$–*Lāyaṇṇa*$_{40}$–*Bālakittī*$_{41}$, *Daïāṇurāya*$_{42}$ –*Bālasaṃthavaṇa*$_{43}$–*Bālasikkhā*$_{44}$, *Paṃthiya*$_{45}$–*Haṃsa*$_{46}$–*Ghaṇa*$_{47}$, *Vasaṃtaya*$_{48}$	*Chaïlla*$_{30}$, *Paṃcama*$_{31}$, *Nayaṇa*$_{32}$, *Thaṇa*$_{33}$, *Lāvaṇṇa*$_{34}$, *Suraya*$_{35}$, *Pemma*$_{36}$, *Māṇa*$_{37}$, *Pavasiya*$_{38}$, *Vioya*$_{32}$, *Madana*$_{21}$, *Purisullāva*$_{41}$, *Piyāṇurāya*$_{42}$, *Dūī*$_{43}$, *Olluggāviyā*$_{44}$, *Paṃthiya*$_{45}$, *Dhanna*$_{46}$, *Hiyayasaṃvaraṇa*$_{47}$, *Sughariṇī*$_{48}$, *Saï*$_{49}$, *Asaï*$_{50}$ *Joisiya*$_{51}$, *Lehaya*$_{52}$, *Vijja*$_{53}$, *Dhammiya*$_{54}$, *Musala*$_{56}$, *Jaṃtiya*$_{55}$, *Kuṭṭiṇīsikkhā*$_{58}$, *Vesā*$_{59}$, *Kiviṇa*$_{60}$, *Uḍḍa*$_{61}$, *Kaṇha*$_{62}$, *Rudda*$_{63}$, *Hiyālī*$_{64}$, *Sasaya*$_{65}$, *Vasaṃta*$_{66}$, *Gimha*$_{67}$, *Pāusa*$_{68}$
Dhamma(ii)		*Saraya*$_{69}$, *Hemaṃta*$_{70}$, *Sisira*$_{71}$, *Jarā*$_{72}$, *Mahilā*$_{73}$, *Puvvakayakamma*$_{74}$, *Thāṇa*$_{75}$, *Guṇa*$_{76}$, *Guṇaṇiṃdā*$_{77}$, *Guṇasalāhā*$_{78}$, *Purisaṇiṃdā*$_{79}$, *Kamala*$_{80}$, *Kamalaṇiṃdā*$_{81}$, *Haṃsamāṇasa*$_{82}$, *Cakkavāya*$_{83}$, *Caṃdaṇa*$_{84}$, *Vaḍa*$_{85}$, *Tāla*$_{86}$, *Palāsa*$_{87}$, *Vaḍavānala*$_{88}$, *Rayaṇāyara*$_{89}$, *Samuddaṇiṃdā*$_{90}$, *Suvaṇṇa*$_{91}$, *Āicca*$_{92}$, *Dīvaya*$_{93}$, *Piyollāva*$_{94}$, *Dosiya*$_{95}$
Epilogue		*Pajjaṃtagāhājuyala*$_{96}$

In its sequencing of *vajjā*s, the *VaLa* shows a narrative progression similar to

that of the *SRK* and the *SUK*. For example, one might compare the Vulgate recension of the *VaLa*'s *vajjā*s 32–39, in the *kāma* section of the anthology,[16] to *SRK* *vrajyā*s 15–24. See Table 2.2:[17]

Table 2.2: Correspondences Between the *Kāma* Sections of the *VaLa* and the *SRK*

Earlier Recension of *VaLa*	Vulgate of *VaLa*	*SRK*
Lāyaṇṇa$_{40}$	*Lāvaṇṇa*$_{34}$ (*Lāvaṇya*)	*Vayaḥsandhiḥ*$_{15}$, *Yuvativarṇaḥ*$_{16}$
Suraya$_{22}$	*Suraya*$_{35}$ (*Surata*)	*Sambhogaḥ*$_{19}$
Pimma$_{33}$	*Pemma*$_{36}$ (*Prema*)	*Anurāgaḥ*$_{17}$
Māṇa$_{34}$	*Māṇa*$_{37}$ (*Māna*)	*Māninī*$_{21}$
	Pavasiya$_{38}$ (*Proṣita*)	*Virahiṇī*$_{22}$, *Virahi*$_{23}$
Vioya$_{32}$	*Viraha*$_{39}$	*Virahiṇī*$_{22}$, *Virahi*$_{23}$
Madana$_{21}$	*Aṇaṃga*$_{40}$ (*Anaṅga*)	
	Purisullāva$_{41}$ (*Puruṣollāpa*)	
Daïānurāya	*Piyāṇurāya*$_{42}$ (*Priyānurāga*)	*Anurāgaḥ*$_{17}$
Dūī$_{28}$	*Dūī*$_{43}$ (*Dūtī*)	*Dūtivacanam*$_{18}$, *Dūtīkopālambhaḥ*$_{25}$
Olaggāviya$_{27}$	*Olluggāviyā*$_{44}$ (*Avarugṇā*)	
Paṃthiya$_{45}$	*Paṃthiya*$_{45}$ (*Pathika*)	*Virahiṇī*$_{22}$, *Virahi*$_{23}$

Like the *SRK* and the *SUK*, the *VaLa* also contains consecutive *vajjā*s that make a virtue of outright polarities. Hence, within the *VaLa*, the *Sajjaṇa* or Good People *vajjā* is immediately followed by a *Durjaṇa* or Bad People *vajjā*. Likewise, the *Saī* or Chaste Woman *vajjā* is immediately followed by The *Asaī* or Unchaste Woman *vajjā*; and *Guṇa* or Virtue is followed by *Guṇaṇiṃdā* or Blame of Virtue.[18] Ta-

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[16] *Vajjā*s 32–39 are titled *Nayana*, *Thaṇa*, *Lāvaṇṇa*, *Suraya*, *Pemma*, *Māṇa*, *Pavasiya*, *Viraha*.

[17] Tieken (1978, p. 112f.) shows some of the similarities between the order of topical sections in the *SRK* and topically arranged recensions of the *Sattasaī*. See the Chapter Ten, p. 215.

[18] *Guṇaṇiṃdāvajjā* is then followed by *Guṇasalāhavajjā* (Skt. *Guṇaślāghāvrajyā*), which seems to

ble 2.3 displays these polarized pairs. This aspect of the *VaLa* is similar to the *SRK*'s juxtaposition of its *Sad/Asadvrajyā*s, and to the *SUK*'s juxtaposition of *Sajjana/Durjanavīci*s and *Kulastrī/Asatīvīci*s.[19,20]

Table 2.3: Adjacent Polar Opposite *Vajjā*s

Sajjaṇa[4] Good People	*Durjaṇa*[5] Bad People
Satī[49] The Chaste Woman	*Asatī*[50] The Unchaste Woman
Guṇa[76] Virtues *Guṇasalāhā*[78] Praise of Virtues	*Guṇaṇiṃdā*[77] Blame of Virtues
Kamala[80] The Lotus	*Kamalaṇiṃdā*[81] Blame of the Lotus

The *VaLa*'s adjacent sections on opposite topics are not necessarily excluded from larger progressions within the anthology. According to Patwardhan, for instance, the *Asaī*- or Unchaste Woman *vajjā*, which immediately follows its polar opposite *Saī*- or Chaste Woman *vajjā*, belongs to what he calls 'the pornographic core' of the anthology. Patwardhan's terminology aside, it does seem to be the case that the *Asaīvajjā* is meant to be part of a larger progression in the *VaLa*. We see a similar progression within the *SUK*.[21]

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be a reiteration of *Guṇavajjā*.

[19] See *SUK* 5.35 and 36, as well as 5.37: *Sujanadurjanau*; *Kulastrī* and *Asatī* are at *SUK* 3.11 and 3.12.

[20] The *VaLa*'s, *SRK*'s, and *SUK*'s formulations involve polar opposite subjects, rather than polar opposite views on one and the same subject. However, Sternbach (1974, p. 4) observed: 'The *subhāṣita-saṃgraha-s* deal with different themes and one is often impressed by the polarity of views on the same subject and paradoxes expressed differently in the *subhāṣita-s* included in them. On the one hand we are thought to live a carefree life, on the other a life of self-control and self-abnegation.' Yet, apart from Bhartṛhari's *śataka*s, Sternbach does not give examples of individual anthologies that express polarized views on the same subject. But, see Diskalkar (1962, "*Subhāṣita*s in Inscriptions") on poets who express conflicting views for conflicting occasions.

[21] Thus *SUK* 5.11–5.15: *Kulastrīvīci*, *Asatīvīci*, *Kulaṭopadeśavīci*, *Guptāsatīvīci*, *Vidagdhāsatīvīci*, etc. A question arises as to whether the *VaLa* indeed predated the *SRK* as is assumed here. The dating of the *VaLa* to sometime between 750 and 1337 CE (see Patwardhan 1969, pp. xviii–xxiii) raises

An Apologia for Prakrit Poetry

The *VaLa* begins with an introduction that is divided into three *vajjā*s titled *Soyāra* (Skt. *Śrotṛ*), *Gāhā* (Skt. *Gāthā*), and *Kavva* (Skt. Kāvya), which respectively praise those who listen to Prakrit poetry, Prakrit Gāthās—verses in the *āryā* meter which comprise the whole of the *VaLa*, and poetry in general.[22] As Patwardhan writes, these three sections provide 'an idea about the author's views on the nature, composition, recitation, and appreciation of poetry.'[23] I would suggest that these three sections may also be read as an apologia for Prakrit poetry, one that proceeds vis-à-vis Sanskrit. Their inclusion sheds light on Jayavallabha's motivations in compiling the anthology and demonstrates a certain concern with the reception of the collection and its categories.[24]

Most of the poems in this introductory section are centered on qualities and virtues of *kavva*, Prakrit poetry. These qualities bear a striking similarity to the qualities of ideal Sanskrit Kāvya as outlined in Sanskrit *alaṅkāraśāstra*. Thus, *VaLa* 8 claims that (any) poetry that is inherently flawless (*sahāvavimala*, Skt. *svabhāvavimala*) and that has melodious syllables (*suvaṇṇasaṃghaḍiya*, Skt. *suvarṇasaṃghaṭita*)[25] becomes famous upon reception.[26] *VaLa* 10 borrows from the same literature when it refers to Prakrit poetry as possessed of poetic ornament (*sālaṃkāra*, Skt.

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the possibility that the collection predates the eleventh century *SRK*, which Sternbach calls the earliest of the extant Sanskrit *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*s. Yet it seems unlikely that the *VaLa*, which was compiled in western India and does not appear to have traveled outside of that area nor outside of Śvetāmbara Jain circles, would have influenced the *SRK*. It is, however, possible that both the *SRK* and the *VaLa* were following an earlier model.

[22] *VaLa* 6–8, 9–18, 19–31. A prologue (*VaLa* 1–5) which provides details about the anthology's name, purpose, and organizational structure—verses of which have been introduced above—precedes the introduction.

[23] *Ibid*. p. xlviii.

[24] The *VaLa* may have been one of the first Prakrit anthologies to classify and systematize its poetry.

[25] *Cf.* the śāstraic use of *saṃghaṭanā* as the combination of words or sounds.

[26] *muttāhalaṃ va kavvaṃ sahāvavimalaṃ suvaṇṇasaṃghaḍiyaṃ | soyārakaṇṇakuharammi payaḍiyaṃ pāyaḍaṃ hoi || VaLa 8 ||*; Skt: *muktāphalam iva kāvyaṃ svabhāvavimalam suvarṇasaṃghaṭitaṃ | śrotṛkarṇakuhare prapatitaṃ/prakaṭitaṃ prakaṭaṃ bhavati ||*; 'Poetry that is flawless by nature, whose sounds are melodious, becomes famous when it falls on the opening to the ear of the listener, just as a naturally flawless pearl set in gold becomes famous when displayed on the ear.'

sālaṅkāra), bearing poetic merit (*salakkhaṇa*, Skt. *salakṣaṇa*),[27] and captivating by means (of the projection and drawing forth) of various emotional states (*annannarāyarasiya*, Skt. *anyānyarāgarasita*). Similarly, *VaLa* 12 praises Prakrit poetry as possessed of good meter (*sacchaṃdiyā*, Skt. *sacchandaskā*), attractive form (*sarūvā*, Skt. *sarūpā*), poetic ornament (*sālaṃkārā*, Skt. *sālaṅkārā*), and emotive expressions (*sarasa-ullāvā*, Skt. *sarasollāpā*). *VaLa* 15 and 16 suggest that Prakrit poetry has a refined nature, a defining characteristic of Sanskrit Kāvya.

From the perspective of the *VaLa*'s medieval-era anthologizer, it is likely many of the descriptions of Prakrit poetry in the *VaLa*'s apologia evoke a set of universal qualities and norms, and in drawing on these particular qualities, the *VaLa* claims, as it were, that Prakrit poetry partakes, not just in a strictly Sanskritic poetic realm, but in an even wider poetic universe. Patwardhan (1969, p. xlix) citing *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* I.2: *nirdoṣaṃ guṇavat kāvyam alaṅkarair alaṅkṛtaṃ | rasānvitaṃ kaviḥ kurvan kīrtiṃ prītiṃś ca vindati ||*, makes a similar observation.

Yet, several Gāthās in the apologia also allude to the particular qualities of Prakrit. Thus, *VaLa* 11 and *VaLa* 14 refer respectively to the 'hidden meaning' of Prakrit poetry (*hiyayaṃ gāhāṇa*) and the difficulty of ascertaining its ultimate meaning (*paramattha*). *VaLa* 29, in comparing Sanskrit and Prakrit poetry, claims that Prakrit poetry is playful (*lalia*), delicate (*mahurakkhara*), loved by women (*juvaïjaṇavallaha*), and possessed of *śṛṅgārarasa* (*sasiṃgāra*).

The *VaLa*'s defense of the special features of Prakrit poetry focuses in particular on the aim of *kāma*. *VaLa* 2, a verse that also appears at the beginning of many recensions of the *Gāhākosa*,[28] claims that proper appreciation of Prakrit Gāthās is necessary for anyone who wishes to become erudite in matters of *kāma*:

> *amayaṃ pāiyakavvaṃ   paḍhiuṃ souṃ ca je ṇa jāṇaṃti |*
> *kāmassa tattavattiṃ   kuṇaṃti te kaha ṇa lajjaṃti? || VaLa 2 ||*[29]

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[27] Or possibly, 'in accordance with grammatical rules,' perhaps speaking to a concern that Prakrit, as compared to Sanskrit, is uninformed by rules of grammar or to a concern that Prakrit grammatical treatises are, in any case, vague.

[28] See Chapter Five below.

[29] *amṛtaṃ Prākṛtakāvyaṃ paṭhitum śrotuṃ ca ye na jānanti | kāmasya tattvavārtāṃ kurvanti te kathaṃ na lajjante ||*

> Those who do not know how to read and listen to the
> > Nectar of Prakrit poetry
> Yet who profess to have knowledge in matters of *kāma*
> > How can they not feel ashamed?

VaLa 9, the opening stanza of the *VaLa*'s *Gāhāvajjā*, states that knowledge of Gāthās is necessary for understanding the amorous speech and gestures of actual women:

> addhakkharabhaṇiyāiṃ   nūṇaṃ savilāsamuddhahasiyāiṃ |
> addhacchipecchiyāiṃ   gāhāhi viṇā na najjaṃti || VaLa 9 ||[30]

> Discrete sideglances,
> > Statements that are half-said,[31]
> Innocent and playful laughter,
> > Surely cannot be understood without Gāthās.

The assertion is that knowledge and appreciation of Prakrit poetry is instrumental and even essential for those who would like to acquire knowledge of matters related to *kāma*, the third member of the *tivagga* and the third aim of man.[32]

Rather than claim that Gāthās pertain to *kāma* because they portray female characters with accuracy or trueness to life, subsequent Gāthās take up the trope of how Prakrit poetry is similar to (ideal) women, linking the two metaphorically through a set of shared qualities.[33] The *VaLa*'s argument seems to be that if

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[30] Skt: *ardhākṣarabhaṇitāni nūnaṃ savilāsamūgdhahasitāni | ardhākṣiprekṣitāni gāthābhir vinā na jñāyante ||*

[31] The meaning of *addhakkharabhaṇiyāi* could be 'statements said with half-syllables,' referring to the omission of vowels in Prakrit, or, in a more general sense, to the commonly encountered voicing of consonants. However, at *SUK* 751, *ārdhākṣara* clearly has the sense of 'half-said,' in reference to words spoken with difficulty in a state of emotion.

[32] The order of the aims of man differs in different sources, but *kāma* is often placed last in the *trivarga*.

[33] Gāthā 10: *sālaṅkārāhi salakkhaṇāhi (vipulā caesura) annannarāyarasiyāhiṃ | gāhāhi paṇaïṇīhi ya khijjaï cittaṃ aïmīhiṃ || VaLa 10 ||*; Skt: *sālaṅkārābhiḥ salakṣaṇābhir anyānyarāgarasitābhiḥ/rasikābhiḥ | gāthābhiḥ praṇayinībhiś ca khidyate cittam anāgacchantībhiḥ ||*; 'One's mind is agitated in the absence of well-ornamented, Gāthās, possessed of poetic merit (see fn. 27 above), replete with various emotional sentiments / Just as it is agitated in the absence of loving sweethearts (who are well-

ideal women are a primary concern of *kāma*, then, in order to learn more about *kāma* one should study an art form that bears great resemblance to such women, namely, Prakrit Gāthās.[34]

The *VaLa*'s apologia is quite silent when it comes to special qualifications of Prakrit poetry in regard to *dhamma* and *attha*, the other two members of the *tivagga*. This is unfortunate, especially since the *VaLa*'s inclusion of discrete sections dedicated to these two aims is more novel and unexpected than its inclusion of sections dedicated to *kāma*.[35]

What about the fourth aim of life, *mokṣa* or final liberation? As in the *SRK* and the *SUK*, *mokṣa* is noticeably absent from Jayavallabha's collection. The anthologizer would likely have had knowledge of the doctrine of the four aims—for although the *puruṣārtha*s originally consisted of the tripartition of *dharma*, *artha*,

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ornamented, adorned with auspicious marks, who delight in various emotional sentiments).' In a series of puns (*śleśa*), the verse compares Gāthās to well-ornamented women, who bear auspicious marks and delight in emotional sentiments. Following stanzas similarly focus on how Gāthās and women are alike. *VaLa* 11 asserts that both the true meaning of Gāthās and the true feelings of women are hidden—unknowable to those lacking literary appreciation: (*aṇarasia*, Skt. *arasika*—Patwardhan, 1969, p. 272, takes *arasika* as pun, meaning both 'devoid of literary appreciation' and 'devoid of emotional excitement'). *VaLa* 12 compares Gāthās to an excellent woman (*varakāmiṇī*, Skt. *varakāmiṇī*), elucidating qualities shared between the two in a manner similar to 10, that is to say, through a series of puns; *VaLa* 13 claims that Gāthās are at once like the amorous gestures of women, the words of poets, and the inarticulate murmurings of small children; and *VaLa* 17 treats Gāthās as equally comparable to songs, the sound of lutes, and mature women (*poḍhamahilā*, Skt. *prauḍhamahilā*). *VaLa* 15 and 16 emphasize the delicate, refined, and feminine nature of Gāthās. Thus, *VaLa* 15 begins, 'the poor Gāthā weeps as it is (mis)pronounced' (*gāhā ruaï varāī sikkhijaṃtī, Skt. gāthā rudati varākī śikṣyamānā*), while 16 begins 'O Gāthā! You will be devoured or you will be rendered trivial (when poorly recited)' (*gāhe bhajjihisi tumaṃ ahavā lahuyattaṇaṃ va pāvihisi*, Skt. *gāthe! bhaṅkṣyase tvam athavā laghutvam api prāpsyasi*). Both verses inevitably personify Gāthās as women and draw on the view that they are potentially delicate, powerless, and pitiable. See Sutherland Goldman's (2000) discussion of how the grammatically feminine gender of *vāc* comes into play in the Vedic period and amongst later Sanskrit grammarians.

[34] A related idea expressed in Kāvya is that harsh subjects should be spoken of in harsh syllables and subjects considered mild or gentle generally deserve mild, gentle, or soft syllables.

[35] The verses in the following poetry section or *Kavva-vajjā* explain how the poet creates poetry —through the churning of his mind by contemplation (19), through thief-like skill (22, 23), and through past merit (24); the desired effect of poetry (25); and how poetry should be evaluated (26, 27). In the *Kavva-vajjā* only 21, 28, 29, and 30 refer to Prakrit poetry by name.

and *kāma*, by the time of the *VaLa*'s compilation *mokṣa* was well established as a fourth member.[36] However, the doctrine of the four aims or the *caturvarga* seems to have been accepted by medieval Jain *alaṅkārika*s only within the realm of Jain canonical literature. Hence, the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra refers to the four aims of man in its opening verse: 'We honor Jain scripture always, with its twelve divisions (*aṅga*s), the fruit of which is the four aims of man; [scripture] by which the world is secured on the right path.'[37]

All three anthologizers' choice to exclude *mokṣa* may also be seen in terms of a more general *alaṅkārika* view that the goal is not of immediate relevance to the sphere of life with which Kāvya is mostly concerned. This is a view that appears to have been shared by quite a few authors. Thus, Padmagupta, in his description of Ujjain in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, describes a glamorous, cosmopolitan city whose citizens pursue the three aims of life: *dharma*, *kāma*, and *artha*, [38] exclusive of *mokṣa*. Likewise, the *Bhāvaprakāśana*, in its correlation of different *rasa*s to the *puruṣārtha*s, leaves out *mokṣa*.[39,40]

While the poet Padmagupta and the author of the *Bhāvaprakāśana*, Śāradā-

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[36]On the historical priority of the *trivarga* to the *caturvarga* see Halbfass, 2000, p. 111.

[37]*caturvargaphalāṃ nityaṃ jainīṃ vācam upāsmahe | rūpair dvādaśabhir viśvaṃ yayā nyāyye dhṛtaṃ pathi || 1 ||*

[38]See *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* 1.17–20 = *dharma*; 1.21–34 = *kāma*; and 1.35–37 = *artha*.

[39]In the *Bhāvaprakāśana* the eight *rasa*s (aesthetic sentiments) are linked to the three aims of man as follows:

Rasa		*Puruṣārtha*
karuṇa	→	*dharma*
vīra, raudra	→	*artha*
śṛṅgāra, adbhūta	→	*kāma*
bhayānaka, bībhatsa, hāsya	→	Any of the 3 aims, depending on the hero

[40]In an indirect way, Jayavallabha's exclusion of *mokṣa* suggests that he and his audience saw the doctrine of the *tivagga*, and hence the poetry of the *VaLa*, as secular or *laukika*. That is to say, if *mokṣa* was indeed excluded on doctrinal or religious grounds, then the inclusion of *dhamma*, *attha*, and *kāma* would seem to indicate that for Jayavallbha and his audience these three categories carried a more general, non-doctrinal or non-religious, significance. The Sanskrit anthologizers Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa might have viewed the *trivarga* similarly. The extent to which the view of Jains and Buddhists on the *puruṣārtha*s differed from Brahminical views is a matter of considerable interest (but beyond the scope of the present dissertation).

tanaya, would place immediate value on the *trivarga* rather than on *mokṣa*, a well known proponent of the directly opposite view is Śaṅkara, whose Advaita Vedānta postulates, to quote Halbfass, 'a far-reaching devaluation of the *trivarga*' in favor of final liberation.[41] A view that is again different is found in the model set forth by Abhinavagupta and Bhaṭṭanāyaka. These authors would oppose an essential dichotomy between the *trivarga* and *mokṣa*. Under the goals of poetry they include all four aims of man—the fruit of each of which is, in their radical redefinition, the Upaniṣadic concept of *ānanda* or 'bliss': '[the purpose of poetry is] erudition in the form of the four aims of man, and bliss indeed is the primary fruit [of the four aims].' Although Hemacandra, the eleventh century Jain scholiast, reiterates this idea,[42] Jayavallabha does not follow, and perhaps did not know, this model.

At any rate, the *VaLa*'s defense of Prakrit poetry reaches its apex at *VaLa* 29—a verse close to the end of the *Kavvavajjā* and thus close to the end of the *VaLa*'s introductory section. The verse asks the triumphant, if tongue-in-cheek, question, 'in the presence of Prakrit poetry, who can bear to read Sanskrit?':

> *lalie mahurakkharae   juvaïjaṇavallahe sasiṃgāre*
> *saṃte pāiyakavve ko   sakkaï sakkayaṃ paḍhiuṃ? || VaLa 29 ||*[43]

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[41]Halbfass (2000, p. 119) writes: 'Śaṅkara's conception of liberation through knowledge alone implies a far-reaching devaluation of the *trivarga* and the modes of planning and goal-orientation which are at its core. The sphere of the *trivarga* is the realm of *saṃsāra*, of cosmic illusion, nescience, and self-alienation (*māyā* and *avidyā*). It is the domain of causality and of the network of means and ends, and of ways of thought and action guided by them; in it, an essentially instrumental and ultimately vain rationality has its habitat. The definition of man, or rather, the search for his true identity, within this context and framework, would be ultimately irrelevant; it would, according to Śaṅkara, completely miss the meaning of the self (*ātman*)…*Mokṣa*…is simply there, as the timeless presence of the *ātman*, which is the ultimate meaning of the word *puruṣa*.' Śāṅkara's antithesis between *mokṣa* and the *trivarga* has precedents, as Halbfass (*ibid*. pp. 118f.) notes, in the Upaniṣadic pair of *preyas* and *śreyas*, or the pleasant and the good (see *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* II.1).

[42]Following *Kāvyānuśāsana* I.3, Hemacandra writes: *caturvargavyutpatter iti cānanda eva pāryantikaṃ mukhyaphalam iti ||*

[43]Skt: *lalite madhurākṣare yuvatījanavallabhe saśṛṅgāre | sati prākṛtakāvye kaḥ śaknoti saṃskṛtaṃ paṭhitum? || VaLa 29 ||*

When there exists Prakrit poetry,
      Playful, composed of sweet syllables,
Loved by young women, distinguished by the romantic sentiment,
      Who could read Sanskrit?

Whereas many of the earlier Gāthās in the *VaLa*'s apologia seek to identify Prakrit poetry with Sanskrit *Kāvya*, the above Gāthā, seemingly summing up the full defense, not only claims, as it were, that Prakrit poetry shares in important features of Kāvya, but it also flippantly suggests that such poetry is superior to Sanskrit poetry. The idea seems to be that not only can Prakrit poetry do what Sanskrit poetry does, but it can do it better.

Fitting Māhārāṣṭrī Poetry into a Sanskritic World

If the *VaLa* signals an attempt to bring Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry into the Sanskritic fold, its use of the doctrine of the goals of man is an especially productive means to this end. By introducing the *tivagga* in the beginning of the anthology, and by subsequently employing it to structure Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry, the *VaLa*'s compiler gives the poetry a functionality at least some of it may have never possessed, and he demonstrates that it is conducive to those aims of life that are well established and generally recognized in the Sanskritic world. By classifying the poetry in terms of current Sanskritic literary categories, the *VaLa* demonstrates that the poetry is conformable to the prevailing system of literary criticism and appreciation, and that it therefore fits neatly into the *VaLa*'s own cultural milieu.[44]

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[44]By contrast, it is noteworthy that Vidyākara and Śrīdharadāsa in the *SRK* and the *SUK* respectively show no such compulsion to formally defend the relevance of Sanskrit poetry to the aims of man. One might say that there would have been no need for them to make a formal statement regarding the purpose of Sanskrit Kāvya because its relevance and conduciveness to the *puruṣārtha*s was already well known and self-evident. Sternbach (1974, p. 4) identifies two Sanskrit and two Tamil anthologies in which the use of the *puruṣārtha*s as a narrative framework is perhaps more explicit: the *Sūktiratnahāra*, the *Subhāṣitasudhanidhi*, the *Nālaṭiyār*, and the *Tirrukuṟaḷ*. Sternbach's observation that the division of poetry into the four categories of *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma*, and *mokṣa* is similar to the structure of Bhartṛhari's three epigrams: *nīti* (*dharma* and *artha*); *śṛṅgāra* (*kāma*); and *vairāgya* (*dharma* and *mokṣa*) is also worth noting. See also the previously mentioned *Puruṣārthopadeśa* (p. 29, fn. 95), a reworking of Bhartṛhari's stanzas.

Yet, given that Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry was composed in a different language, or at least in a different dialect, from Sanskrit poetry, and that, in origins, it has ties to a historical culture in which Prakrit rather than Sanskrit was both the popular and the officially sanctioned language, we might question the applicability of the *VaLa*'s Sanskritic categories. From a historical perspective, one cannot say with certainty that early Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poets and audiences were at all familiar or concerned with the concept of the *puruṣārtha*s or with the śāstraic categories the *VaLa*'s *vajjā*s represent. They may have had available to them a different or a more preeminent way of classifying the goals of life or 'the forms of human orientation and motivation,' to quote Halbfass, or they might, at the very least, have had simply a different valuation of these categories.[45] This is all the more likely given the linguistic, religious, and cultural diversity of the region claimed by the Sātavāhanas.[46]

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[45]In early Tamil poetry, which bears a proximity to Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit Gāthās, the interior and exterior divisions might represent another type of classification. On the further presence of different ways of classifying the goals of life in different cultures, see Halbfass (2000, p. 120) who points to Aristotle's typology of aims of life which include 'political life,' 'theoretical life,' and so on.

[46]For Gāthās of the Vulgate and *CheViLi* recension that are included in the *VaLa* see Table 9.4, p. 187

Chapter 3

The Arrangement of Non-Arrangement: Hāla's *Gāhākosa*

The earliest recensions of the *Gāhākosa* (hereafter sometimes referred to as the *GK* or as the *Sattasaī*) lack the neatly constructed classification systems of the *SRK*, the *SUK* and the *VaLa*. The Gāthās are presented in a relatively free order, one that stands in contrast to the discrete categories of later Sanskrit and Prakrit Kāvya anthologies. The comparatively unstructured arrangement of verses follows no predictable narrative pattern, nor does it gather poems into hermeneutically linked groups. One might say that whereas the Sanskritic anthology is like an elaborate canal system, guiding readers through already well-crafted channels of meaning, the *Gāhākosa*, in its earliest recensions, is like a river, meandering through an uncharted poetic landscape.

Nevertheless, in terms of its organization, the *Gāhākosa* does share in certain recognizable features of classical Sanskrit literary works. In keeping with Sanskrit literary tradition, the collection begins with an invocation to religious personages. In this case, the compiler pays tribute to the Gods Paśupati and Gaurī. This opening Gāthā is further in consonance with Sanskrit literary tradition in that it is not only an invocation to the Gods but it also, by way of its particulars, indicates the main topic of the anthology.[1] The two verses that follow in the vulgate are also typical of classical Sanskrit literary works. The first of these—absent in the *CheViLī* recension—refers, in an unadorned manner, to the pur-

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[1]On this Gāthā and Tribhuvanapāla's interpretation of it, see below p. 114, etc.

pose of the collection and its usefulness for those interested in the doctrine of *kāma* (love or pleasure), while the second is a straightforward description of the anthology and how it was created.

Occasional Informal Groupings of Gāthās

Although the Gāthās in the *CheViLī* and the vulgate recensions of the *Gāhākosa* are free of the formal and comprehensive thematic units found in the later Kāvya collections introduced above, informal pairings and larger clusterings of Gāthās along topical and thematic lines are occasionally discernible.

This type of grouping differs from what Schubring (1955) refers to as cognate collocation, a device the author identifies in the first half of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*.[2] Schubring describes the phenomenon of cognate collocation as the repetition of words in neighboring stanzas for the sake of maintaining verse order across a multiple stanza work. According to Schubring's theory, the function of these repeated words, which may be bit players in terms of the meaning of a verse, is to tie neighboring stanzas together and thereby prevent omissions and additions. Table 3.1 contains a few of Schubring's examples of cognate collocation from the beginning of the *Meghadūta* (1955, p. 334). Schubring, quite remarkably,[3] demonstrates the presence of a similar collocation in the whole of the *Pūrvamegha*.

Tieken (1978) identifies in parts of the vulgate recension of the *Gāhākosa* similar patterns of grouping Gāthās together. The patterns he observes include A:B, B:C; chiasmus; and interlockings that occur over greater distances. He draws a connection between these and the process Bloomfield (1899, p. 39) describes in certain hymns of *Atharvaveda* (thus his observations are also related to Schubring's idea of cognate collocation). Tieken suggests that these patterns could shed light on the original verse order of the anthology. A difficulty with this theory when compared with Schubring's is that the latter's identification of the phenomenon in Kālidāsa's *mahākāvya* can be verified by the narrative structure of the work.

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[2]Bloomfield (1899, p. 39) seems to have identified a similar process in certain hymns of the *Atharvaveda*.

[3]Remarkable because it had been previously unnoticed in the *Meghadūta*, even by the commentarial tradition. Schubring was perhaps inspired by Bloomfield's earlier analysis.

Word	Stanza
megha	2, 3
śliṣṭa	2, *śleṣa* 3
vṛtti	3, 4
arthin	4, 6
prakṛti	5, 6

Table 3.1: Cognate Collocation in the *Meghadūta*

Since *Gāhākosa* stanzas, unlike the *Meghadūta*, are generally not connected in terms of meaning or content, there is little way to verify the presence of a similar type of cognate collocation, yet the presence of these pairs and interlockings is compelling.[4]

The pairings and groupings pointed out here in the *GK* are somewhat different. Unlike in the *Meghadūta*, these pairings do not run through the whole of the anthology, but occur only intermittently and they are more like the groupings discussed in the previous chapters. They were most likely added at various stages in the anthology's transmission. The following table provides some instances:

Table 3.2: Pairings and Groupings of Gāthās in the *Gāhākosa*

Gāthā in the *CheViLī* Recension (Correspondence in the Vulgate Recension)	Shared Word(s)
5 (W 6), 6 (W 7)	trees (*kurubaa/kurabaa* and *asoa*)
7 (W 8), 8 (W 9)	the garden enclosure (*vāḍa*)
56 (W 54), 57 (W 55)	the captive lady (*baṃdī*)
111 (W 103), 112 (W 104)	the Mahua tree
126−128 (W 115−117)	the Vindhyā mountains

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[4]Tieken makes the also interesting proposition that these patterns reflect the original environment in which the anthology was created—a competition wherein a poet would be tasked with reciting a poem around a word or idea in the poem of a previous contestant. The complexity of *Sattasaī* Gāthās, in terms of meter, meaning, and poetic device, makes it more likely that they would have been memorized rather than created as on the spot as improvisations in such an event.

130 (W 119), 131 (W 122)	the hunter and his wife (*vāha*, *vahū*)
153 (W 206), 155 (W 208)	marking with a line (*rehā*) the days until the beloved returns
178 (W 232), 179 (W 233)	the departure of youthful age (*gaavaa*)
258–260 (W 319–321)	good people (*sujaṇa*)
264–266 (W 325, 748, 326)	the arrows of the god of love
426–428 (W 425, 427, 428)	"
434–436 (W 570, 433, 571)	nail marks
572 (W 587), 573 (W 588)	the possibility of death (*mara*) in separation
566 (W 760)	the Revā River (=)
567 (W 579)	the Narmadā River
569 (W 584)	lightning splits open the clouds, *vijjulaā kālamehassa*
570 (W 585)	*mehamahisassa vijjū*
578 (W 589), 579 (W 590)	the parrot (*sārikā*) who repeats publicly what has been said in private
580 (W 761)	the bee (*mahuara*)
581 (W 591)	(*bhamara*)
601–605 (W 436, 561, 765, 725, 564)	the rainy season
610–615 (W 434, 563, 624, 625, 681, 684)	autumn
664–666 (W 787–789)	elephants

A question arises as to what stage in the transmission of the poetry these pairings and groupings represent. In other words, whose horizon of expectations do they reflect? On the one hand, there is the possibility that some stanzas were either grouped together prior to being anthologized[5] or that their grouping was due to the original anthologizer.[6] On the other hand, some of these groupings were doubtlessly created by subsequent editors in a later process of accretion.[7]

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[5]In the vulgate recension the two *mahua* poems below are attributed to one and the same author, Māna. This attribution, if it is to be believed, suggests that the pairing predates even Hāla's anthologizing. However, in the *CheViLī* recension the poems are attributed to two different authors, Grāmaṇīkā and Mahāia. In both recensions, such attribution is rare in the case of these groupings. Most often the paired Gāthās are attributed—when there is attribution at all—to different authors.

[6]This seems especially likely in the case of pairings that occur by way of subtext (see below), for this subtle pairing is indicative of the level of involvement of an original anthologizer.

[7]Sternbach (1971, pp. 27 and 60) describes how later editors and scribes of *kathā* literature

The redactors, upon reading a Gāthā on a certain topic or involving a certain word or words, may have inserted a Gāthā on the same theme immediately afterwards. Thus, an editor or scribe reading a Gāthā on Madhūka trees or about clouds on the Vindhyā mountains may have felt quite free to add, after it, another Gāthā on a similar subject.[8]

These pairings or groupings in the *CheViLī* and Vulgate recensions of the *Sattasaī* proceed in a variety of ways: two adjacent Gāthās may be paired by shared words; a set of adjacent Gāthās may be linked through synonyms (an example is 566, W 760, and 567, W 579, which refer to the Revā and the Narmadā river respectively); groupings of three or more Gāthās may also be linked by a combination of shared words and synonyms.

A more subtle pairing occurs through subtext, when what is only implied in one Gāthā is made explicit in the one that follows. An example of this may be seen in 5 and 6 (=W 6 and 7) where 5 alludes to the practice of gratifying *vrkṣado-hada*,[9] while 6 refers to it explicitly. 7 and 8 (=W 8 and 9) are similarly linked by the color white, which is referred to explicitly in 8 but merely inferable in 7.[10]

Much like the topical sections of later Sanskrit and Prakrit anthologies, these pairings can create an interpretive framework or a microenvironment in which

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had a practice of placing new poems on similar themes immediately after an already existing poem. The author suggests that the same practice was at work in the case of *subhāṣitasaṃgraha*s (see Sternbach, 1974, pp. 7–8).

[8]The occurrence, with very few exceptions, of the same groupings in both the *CheViLī* and Vulgate recensions of the *Sattasaī*, demonstrates that these grouping occurred quite early. Mirashi (1947) points out that many of the *Sattasaī* poet names are those of Vākāṭaka kings. Perhaps it was these kings and others in their milieu that contributed these additions? However, the pairings and groupings, in both the *CheViLī* and Vulgate recensions, become more pronounced as the anthology progresses, giving the impression that the trend to group Gāthās together grew over time.

[9]*Vrkṣadohada*, a common motif in Indic Kāvya, is the longing of a tree for contact with a fertile young woman as it is about to bloom. See fn. 15, p. 151.

[10]In 7 the female speaker tells her aunt that the lotus garden looks like a field of harvested sesame plants because of the winter frost, while in 8 a speaker advises a woman not to weep at the white rice fields because the hemp gardens are now in full bloom. In addition to being linked by subtext, both Gāthās are also linked by the word *vāḍa*, 'garden enclosure.'

the meaning of an individual Gāthā is predetermined. An example is the pairing of Gāthās 111 and 112 (W 103 and 104):

*bahu**puppha**bharoṇāmia   bhūmīgaasāha suṇasu viṇṇattiṃ ||*
*golāaḍaviaḍakuḍaṃga[11]   **mahua** saṇiaṃ galijjāsu || 111 ||[12]*   W103

O Madhūka tree, bowing down with the weight of many flowers,
    You who grow in the thicket on the bank of the Godāvari river,
You whose branches reach the ground, hear my plea,
    Shed (your flowers) slowly.

*ṇippacchimāi asaī   dukkhāloāi **mahuapupphāiṃ***
cīe baṃdhussa va aṭṭhiāī[13]   ruarī samucciṇaï || 112 ||[14]   W104

The *asaī* gathers the last of the
    Madhūka flowers
Weeping as though they were a relative's bones on the
    Funeral pyre.

We see the reoccurrence, from the first to the second verse, of *mahua* and *puppha*, the Madhūka tree and its flowers. In the first Gāthā, the speaker entreats a Madhūka tree, laden with blossoms and growing on the bank of the Godāvarī River, to shed its flowers slowly. In the second, an *asaī* mourns the loss of the Madhūka tree's flowers as she gathers them from the ground. Not only is there a repetition of the same words, but there is also the reoccurrence of the same basic theme, that the falling of the tree's flowers is a sorrowful event. Further, a reader

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[11]Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

[12]*bahupuṣpabharāvanamita bhūmigataśākha śṛṇu vijñaptim | goḍātaṭavikaṭanikuñja madhūka śanaiḥ gala || 111 ||*

[13]Caesura after the fourth *gaṇa* is most natural.

[14]*niṣpaścimāni asatī duḥkhālokāni madhūkapuṣpāṇi | citāyāṃ bandhor ivāsthīni rodanaśīlā samuccinoti || 112 ||*

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who inscribes the first poem onto the second receives an idea as to why the fe-
male character hopes that the tree will shed its flowers slowly. The idea is that
she, like the female character in the second Gāthā, is also an *asaī* for whom the
blossoming tree serves as a place of rendezvous.[15] Read together, the two poems
are also bound to invoke a bit of a narrative, since in the first Gāthā we see the
female character before the Madhūka tree has shed its flowers, and in the sec-
ond we see her at a later time picking the flowers off the ground. In this con-
text it is relevant to note that in the Lakṣmīdhara recension, attested in an early
unpublished Nepalese ms, another verse appears between these two, the topic of
which is also the Madhūka tree and its flowers. It seems likely that the commen-
tator added this Gāthā, which describes the Madhūka flowers when they have
not yet fallen from the tree, himself, careful not to disturb the micro-narrative
already in place, and perhaps seeking to enrich it.[16]

Although these pairings and groupings create an interpretive environment sim-
ilar to that of the groups of poems in later Sanskritic anthologies, they differ in
a number of significant ways. When pairings or groupings occur in the *Satta-
saī* there is no formal subject heading to alert the reader to their presence before-
hand. Like a *roman-a-clef*, the reader is given a 'key' only after reading the po-
ems. Moreover, as they occur only occasionally and in an informal and unpre-
dictable manner, and as they are not arranged into an overarching narrative struc-
ture, the effect of these groupings on the overall anthology is not so great: they
do not serve to create a macro-environment that generates expectations.[17]

After the prologue, and apart from the aforementioned pairings and group-
ings, there is no neat or easily recognizable narrative or pattern to the arrange-
ment of the Gāthās.[18] In terms of its organization there is little to compare it to

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[15]Other pairings and groupings in the *Sattasaī* can be seen to operate analogously. Often the
latter poem, in particular, sheds light, as it were, on a merely latent aspect of the former.

[16]This stanza is not attested in other *Sattasaī* editions.

[17]Though, it is evident that these groupings would have had interpretive significance for San-
skrit rhetoricians who identified a similar type of interdependence by proximity in the poetic fig-
ure of *tulyayogitā*, a figure of speech that demonstrates the equal qualities of otherwise unequal
objects simply by listing them together.

[18]The arrangement of Sanskrit anthologies like the *Amaruśataka* and Bhartṛhari's *Śṛṅgāraśataka*
bear more of a resemblance to the *Sattasaī*, though these anthologies are more fixed in terms of

the later Sanskrit and Prakrit collections.[19]

The Element of Surprise

The first of the *Sattasaī* Gāthās in the main part of the anthology describes a Balāka crane sitting in stillness on a lotus leaf, 'like a conch shell on an emerald tray:'

ua ṇiccalaṇipphaṃdā   bhisiṇīpattammi rehaï balāā
nimmalamaragaabhāaṇa-   pariṭṭhiā saṃkhasutti vva || 3 ||[20]   W 4

> Look at the unshaken, unmoving crane
>> Appearing on the lotus leaf like a
> Conch shell on a
>> Spotless emerald plate.

One might wonder why this portrait of the natural world serves as the first Gāthā in an anthology largely concerned, as the prologue would tell us, with love or pleasure. The verse introduces no *dramatis personae* nor does it partake in any of the anthology's amorous themes in a direct or obvious way.[21] The reference to

their contents and overall topics.

[19]Upadhye (1949, p. 43) points out that many long Prakrit Kāvyas lack the formal divisions common in Sanskrit *kathā*, *mahākāvya* and *itihāsa*. Upadhye cites Koūhala's *Līlāvaī*, a Prakrit poem (which calls itself a *kahā*) about King Sātavāhana, Vākpati's *Gaüdavaho*, Uddyotana's *Kuvalayamālā*, the *Taraṃgalolā* (based on Pādalipta's *Taraṃgavaī*), Dhaneśvara's *Surasundarīcariya* (*ca.* 11th or 12th c.). Upadhye remarks in the case of the last that its division into *pariccheda*s is evidently superficial as it occurs arbitrarily after 250 stanzas, without regard to the subject matter. He similarly points out that the division of Apabhraṃśa works into *pariccheda*s or *sandhi*s, 'does not appear quite natural.' Upadhye suggests that later redactors introduced these divisions in imitation of Sanskrit models. Though the *Gāhākosa* is not a narrative work, it is likely that its anthologizer was influenced by this Prakrit practice.

[20]*paśya, niścalaniṣpandā bhisinīpatre rājate balākā | nirmalamarakatabhājanapratiṣṭhitā śaṅkhaśuktir iva || 3 ||* See this Gāthā in the edition for variant readings.

[21]The first ten or so *gāthā*s that follow the introductory stanzas introduce directly amorous themes and a number of prominent *dramatis personae*: the wife (*jāā*, Gāthās 5, 10); the happily

an emerald tray—striking in the context of a collection that otherwise contains little mention of such luxury items—signals a certain refinement of taste on the part of the anthologizer and it promises readers that the anthology itself will be similarly refined. One could say that the image serves as a bridge between the courtly milieu of the anthologizer and the more rustic one described in much of the poetry, introducing the idea that the refined has a counterpart in the natural world and alluding to the notion that the two are not always so different.[22]

However, Sanskrit commentators' reading of this verse suggests somewhat of a different interpretation, one that introduces an important aspect of love poetry, the trysting place (Skt. *saṃketasthāna*). According to both Tribhuvanapāla and the later commentator Gaṅgādhara, the speaker of the Gāthā suggests that the place is a good location for a romantic tryst because it is free of people, the latter of which should be deduced from the observed stillness of the *balāka* bird. Commentator's point out the recurrence of the *saṃketasthāna* in Gāthās 7 and 8, and throughout the anthology. It is often coterminous with the outside world and includes fields, gardens, and riverbank thickets.[23]

If we follow the commentators' cue, the Gāthā initiates readers into the appropriate method of approaching *Sattasaī* poetry. From the commentarial perspective, the verse, even more than most in the *Sattasaī*, ought to stump the reader. Its 'solution' makes her or him realize that a Gāthā's meaning may require a certain amount of imaginative engagement—and previous knowledge—to grasp. The Gāthā introduces the idea that the poetry implies more than what, at first

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married husband (*suhaa*, Gāthā 5); the male consort (*daïa*, Gāthā 6); the older female confidante (*attā*, Gāthā 7); the woman's female friend(s) (*sahī* 9, *sahīhi* 13); the female messenger (11); and the man who has committed a transgression (Gāthā 11).

[22]One could also surmise that the Gāthā sets the scene for the whole work. In its focus on place and its absence of human characters, the stanza evokes the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s (*ca*. 200 BCE to 200 CE) recommendation that literary works should include a description of the setting. One might say that the *Amaruśataka*'s opening verse, describing Śiva's destruction of the Triple City, also agrees with the *Nāṭyaśāstra* prescription.

[23]Dundas (1985) shows hows the *saṃketasthāna*'s treatment by various commentators reveals their creative use of information supplied in the stanzas, a familiarity with theories of suggestion and contextual interpretation, and a justifiable reliance on paraphrase. One might compare these locales to those described in the *SRK*'s *Asatīvrajyā*, some of which even adopt the same place names.

glance, it appears to signify and that relatively simple descriptions might conceal an abundance of underlying or secondary meaning.[24]

For many Sanskrit audiences the recoverable presence of an underlying, suggested meaning was the single most important and enjoyable feature of Māhā-rāṣṭrī Prakrit *Sattasaī*-style poetry. Commentaries to the *Sattasaī* often provide two interpretations. The first is simply a gloss, often a reiteration in Sanskrit of what was said in the verse, while the second spells out an entirely new and suggested meaning, or what is 'really' being said.[25] Although commentators will frequently disagree as to the precise nature of a Gāthā's suggested meaning—for instance Gaṅgādhara's *Bhāvaleśaprakāśikā*, with its somewhat steadfast focus on *kāma* and *kāmaśāstra*, is very different from Hāritāmrapītāmbara's *Gāthāsaptaśatī-prakāśikā*, which interprets the stanzas in terms of *kāma*, *dharma*, *nīti*, and *yoga*—the idea that the Gāthā may have a concealed meaning is universally accepted amongst Sanskrit audiences.[26]

Even though these commentaries were written centuries, even a millennium, after the *Sattasaī* poetry was compiled, the idea that a Gāthā will have a hidden or secondary meaning appears intrinsic to much of the poetry, and the invocation of a secondary meaning appears to have been a goal of early Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poets. That is to say, it is not merely a matter of Sanskrit *alaṅkārika*s beginning in the ninth century and onwards—with Ānandavardhana's theory of suggestion or *dhvani*—imposing a way of reading onto Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry. Rather, these authors theorized or rediscovered a way of reading the poetry that is often in consonance with what appear to be the intentions of its original authors, though a historicist might disagree with the commentators about the nature of the originally intended suggested meaning, its underlying ethos, and the speaker's identity.

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[24]Secondary meaning for Rasa-theorists is the primary meaning.

[25]Compare *Sattasaī* commentators' use of *iti bhāvaḥ* to more standard usage in commentaries on other types of Kāvya (see Tubb, 2007, pp. 23ff.).

[26]Abhinavagupta goes even further than most commentators in pointing out that one Gāthā may have multiple intended meanings, each varying with the intended audience (see *Dhvanyālokalocana* 1.4f,g). *Sattasaī* commentators, with the notable exception of Pītāmbara, tend to give only one, or sometimes two, suggested meanings.

If the above Gāthā acquaints readers with a method of reading Gāthās, the anthology's subsequent free arrangement of stanzas keeps the readers guessing about the underlying or suggested meaning of each verse. Unlike in a topically arranged anthology like the *Vajjālaggā* or the Sanskrit anthologies, there is no section heading to lead readers to an interpretation beforehand. Instead, readers are left to muse or puzzle over the verse and its suggested meaning on their own, which leads to a different kind of reading experience. To take an example, we can look at the following verse which appears in both the *VaLa* and the early recensions of the *Sattasaī*:[27]

mā ruasu oṇaamuhī	*dhavalāaṃtesu sālichettesu |*	
hariālamaṃḍiamuhī	*naḍi vva saṇavāḍiā jāā || 8 = VaLa 473 ||*[28]	W9

Please don't cry with your head lowered[29]
    While the tops of the rice fields are growing pale
The hemp garden has become like a dancer
    With a painted golden face.

A *VaLa* reader, finding this verse in the *VaLa*'s *Asaīvajjā*, will immediately be guided towards the topic of the verse and its solution. While such guidance may be helpful in guiding the reader to an understanding of the sentiment expressed in the Gāthā, it can also diminish the element of surprise and curb the reader's enjoyment in solving the verse on his or her own. By contrast, the *Gāhākosa* reader, arriving at this Gāthā, even after having read the preceding verses in the anthology, will have less idea of what to expect. Neither a subject heading nor the Gāthā's

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[27] I give the *CheViLī* reading which differs from the *VaLa* only in orthographical details such as the absence of the *ya-śruti*.

[28] Skt: *mā rodīr avanatamukhī dhavalāyamāneṣu śālikṣetreṣu | haritālamaṇḍitamukhī naṭīva śaṇavāṭikā jātā ||*

[29] Lit. 'May the woman with her head lowered please not cry.'

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1 मा रुअसु Q P_{ED}, —रुयसु W_{BH}, किं रुअसि K_{E}W_{ED}T_{ED}G_{ED}   1 ओणअमुही] Q *rest.* Q_{C}, ओअणमुखी Q   1 °छेत्तेसु] Q W_{K}W_{ED}, °छित्तेसु P_{ED}   2 °मुही] *em.*W_{ED}T_{ED}G_{ED}, °मुखी Q, °मुहा P_{ED}W_{BH}   2 नडि] Q W_{ED}T_{ED}G_{ED}, नड P_{ED}W_{BH}   2 सणवाडिआ] Q^{pc}W_{ED}T_{ED}G_{ED}, सणवाडआ Q^{ac}, सणवाडया P_{ED}

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location in an overarching narrative will urge the reader towards a specific inter-
pretation. In this situation, the audience is compelled towards a more active and
freer engagement with the poem. A practiced reader might 'solve' a verse quite
quickly, but the *Gāhakosa*'s presentation invites wider associations with previously
read poems in the anthology and even with material and ideas outside the col-
lection. If we return to the *VaLa* reader, we see that she or he is asked to view
the Gāthā in the context of the anthology's own ideological universe. The place-
ment of the verse within the *VaLa*'s *Asaīvajjā* leads readers to identify the female
character as an *asaī*—though the term does not appear in the verse itself—and
to draw comparisons between her and all the other female characters depicted
in this particular *vajjā*. The reader is likely to take into account the proximity of
this *vajjā* to the *Saīvajjā* or The Section on the Chaste Woman, which immedi-
ately precedes it, and to the much more explicit *vajjā*s 51–56 and 61, which fol-
low it. In this progression, the very idea of what an *asaī* is becomes increasingly
narrowed down and prescriptively defined.

Interconnections

The *GK*'s freedom of association and its absence of such prescriptive categories
is one of the most striking characteristics of its early recensions. It is true that
associations may be formed in the anthology on the basis of the propinquity of
one Gāthā to another. But what does one make of the depiction of an elderly
pair followed by a description of youth (instead of the reverse), the description
of a farmer followed by the portrayal of a lonely traveler, a depiction of preg-
nancy followed by the portrayal of a village chief, and so forth? These juxtaposi-
tions and concatenations differ considerably in their allusive productivity from
those of the later Sanskrit and Prakrit anthologies.

Whereas the later anthologies follow narratives that invoke the *trivarga*, that
correspond to typical stages in the life of an individual, and that would diag-
nose, for instance, the degree of female chastity as in the above example, the
Sattasaī instead portrays the lives of many different individuals existing side by
side. One effect of this latter type of anthologizing is that it allows readers a
greater interpretive freedom, in view of which one might well presume, from a

classical and medieval Sanskritic perspective and perhaps also—to a degree—from the perspective of the anthology's own original compiler, that the *Sattasaī* is a means of escape. It is an escape from the *trivarga* and from the prescriptions of the *varṇāśramadharma*. It is is a means to think of and participate in poetry without a śāstric scaffold. At the same time it also allows for greater freedom for the expression of a female voice and subjectivity. Female characters are portrayed less as prescriptively defined others for a male readership, and more as entities with subjectivities and agencies of their own.

Chapter 4

Kāma as a Sphere for Female Voice

Many Sanskrit commentators introduce the *Gāhākosa* as a work that belongs to the sphere of *kāma*. Although these scholars may show enthusiasm in identifying different figures of speech and may readily draw on diverse literature in elucidating the poetry, the only *puruṣārtha*, or aim of man, on which the *GK* is said to have a bearing is *kāma*, and it is primarily within this context that the collection is viewed as significant.[1]

This commentarial approach to the anthology is doubtlessly encouraged in part by the second Gāthā in the vulgate recension (though absent in the *CheViLī* recension), a stanza which proclaims the usefulness of Prakrit poetry for those interested in 'the doctrine of *kāma*.'[2] Remarking on this verse, the fifteenth century

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[1]Tieken's (1978, p. 113) statement sums up this commentarial viewpoint: '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 Gāthās.' For a commentator like Gaṅgādhara the limited themes for the most part pertain to *kāma*.

[2]*kāmassa tattatattiṃ*, which is glossed variously as *kāmasya tantratātparyam*, 'the purport of the system/doctrine of *kāma*,' in V and *kāmasya tattvacintām* or *tantravārtām* (*kāmasya tattvacintāṃ tantravārtāṃ vā*), 'reflection on the essence of *kāma*' or 'an account of the system/doctrine of *kāma*,' in G_ED. Weber's 1870 edition and translation of the verse: *amiaṃ pāukavvaṃ paḍhiuṃ souṃ a je ṇa jāṇaṃti | kāmassa taṃtataṃtiṃ kuṇaṃti, te kaha na lajjaṃti || 2 ||*; 'Die nicht im Stande sind, nektarartige Prākṛit-Gedichte zu lesen und zu hören (d.i. verstehen), (und doch) das Saitenspiel der Lehrbücher der Liebe (zu üben) affektiren,—wie sollen die sich nicht schämen? (d.i. die sollten sich doch schämen!).' Weber (1881) emended *taṃṭataṃtiṃ* to *tattatattiṃ*. For further discussion this and other variants see Weber (1881, pp. 2f.; 1870 p. 72) and Tieken (1983, pp. 185f.).

commentator Vemabhūpāla writes: 'Because of the intrinsic depiction (in Prakrit poetry) of the settled doctrine of *kāma*, those who do not engage in reciting this (Prakrit poetry), which is instrumental for the purpose of *kāmaśāstra*, or who do not engage in listening to it being recited by another, how could they not feel ashamed?' Vemabhūpāla adds: 'Therefore, because it invariably must be known, it (Prakrit poetry) should be accepted (in the *kāmaśāstra*).'[3] Gaṅgādhara explains the stanza as follows: 'They who do not know how to recite, at the right moment, the nectar of Prakrit poetry, nectar-like because it is delightful due to being full of the erotic sentiment, and who do not know how to listen to, i.e., understand, Prakrit poetry read by another, yet who ponder the essence of *kāma* or give information about *kāma*, how can they not feel ashamed?'[4] Sādhāraṇadeva, quoting Vāmana as an author of a *kāmaśāstra*,[5] states that recitation of Prakrit Gāthās is specified by the authors of *kāmaśāstra* themselves: 'The writers of *Kāmaśāstra* consider the means to pleasing an amorous woman to be the recitation of Gāthās that are charming and suitable to the occasion; and, thus, Vāmana (writes): 'One should recite Gāthās, which are the foremost messengers of the God of Love, in a charming way.' ' Sādhāraṇadeva continues: 'Therefore a *gāthākośa* should certainly be compiled (or memorized) by those who enjoy the fruits of *kāmaśāstra*.'[6]

Tieken (1983, p. 185) translates the Gāthā slightly differently: 'Those who do know how to read and listen to (this) nectarlike Kāvya in Prākrit, but are solely concerned with scholarly works (in Sanskrit) on love, how can they not feel ashamed?'

[3] *sarvatra kāmasiddhāntasya nirūpaṇārthād etat paṭhitum anyena pāṭhyamāne śrotuṃ vā ye na prathante teṣāṃ kāmatantratātparyakaraṇaṃ lajjāvahaṃ kathaṃ na bhavatīty abhiprayaḥ. tasmād avaśyaṃ jñātavyam ity asyopādeyatā.*

[4] *śṛṅgārarasanirbharatvenāhlādakatvād amṛtam ivāmṛtaṃ prākṛtakāvyam avasare paṭhitum parapaṭhitaṃ ca śrotuṃ boddhuṃ ye na jānanti, atha ca kāmasya tattvacintāṃ tantrāvārtāṃ vā kurvanti, te kathaṃ na lajjanta ity arthaḥ.* Gaṅgādhara also writes that the verse is either one in which Hāla sets forth his purpose in compiling the anthology or it is the statement of a clever *nāyikā* addressing a male character who lacks proficiency in regard to *kāmaśāstra*: *gāthākoṣaviracanaprayojanam āha ...kāmaśāstravyutpattividhuraṃ prati vidagdhanāyikoktir vā.* The phrase *kāmaśāstravyutpattividhuram* suggests a male character who lacks a complete knowledge of *kāmaśāstra* because he does not know Prakrit poetry.

[5] According to Weber, 1881, p. 2, Sādhāraṇdeva often quotes a *kāmaśāstra* of this Vāmana. It is not clear whether he is the same Vāmana as the author of the *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*.

[6] *kāminīrañjanārthaṃ kāmaśāstrakārāś ca samayocitalalitagāthāpāṭham eva tadupāyam āmananti, tathā ca Vāmanaḥ: gāthāḥ paṭhec ca lalitaṃ madanāgradūtīr iti; tasmāt kāmaśāstraphalopabhoktṛbhir avaśyaṃ gāthākośaḥ saṃgrāhyate,* Weber 1881, p. 2.

The commentators make it clear that for them the *kāma* in the phrase *kāmassa tattatattiṃ* is the particular type of love delineated in different ways in Sanskrit *kāmaśāstra*. This view of *kāma* becomes, for the commentators, the overarching paradigm against which the poetry is measured.[7] Before proceeding, it should be acknowledged that one underlying problem with the claim of the above stanza (W 2), and with the commentarial interpretations of it, is that much of the *Sattasaī* predates Sanskrit codification of *kāma* in the *Kāmasūtra* and its allied works. In particular, the *GK* poetry's project of using female voice to create female subjectivity strongly differentiates it from *kāmaśāstra*, the latter of which is less invested in such aspects.[8]

In the Sanskrit *kāmaśāstra*, or at least in the *kāmasūtra*, *kāma* emerges as a pursuit that exists in relation to the other aims of *artha* and *dharma*.[9] Here, though *kāma* is accepted as a normal pursuit for most, it is nonetheless deemed the inferior of the other goals of man. As Rocher (1985, p. 522) points out, the *Kāmasūtra* begins with the word *dharma*. *Dharma* is the first term it defines, followed by *artha*, and lastly, by *kāma*. After defining these pursuits, Vātysyāyana writes: 'their order of precedence is that the prior is respectively more important' (*teṣāṃ samavāye pūrvaḥ pūrvo garīyān*, *Kāmasūtra* 1.2.14).[10]

We elsewhere also see the idea that *kāma* should be subordinate to the other

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[7]One exception is Hāritāmrapītāmbara, who interprets each Gāthā in terms of *kāma*, but also in terms of *dharma*, *nīti*, and *yoga*—thus, with regard to all four *puruṣārtha*s. Tribhuvanapāla, whose text does not include W 2, is less concerned with *kāma* per se. Much of his commentary is instead focused on *alaṅkāraśāstra*. Like later commentators, he refers to the Gāthās' characters using the *nāyaka* and *nayikā* designations. This same terminology is used in the *Kāmasūtra*, but it is also the terminology of *alaṅkāraśāstra* from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* onwards. See also Dundas' (1985, pp. 37f.) introduction of Mathurānāth Śāstri's twentieth century commentary.

[8]One could say that *kāmaśāstra* teaches both men and women to view themselves objectively. On this, see Laura Desmond (2011). I would suggest that the *kāma* sections of the *SRK*, the *SUK*, and the *VaLa* are also conducive to this goal. This is addressed further below.

[9]These might also be said to co-exist with *mokṣa*. Although, as mentioned in the notes in the previous chapter, in some accounts of the *puruṣārtha*s, *kāma*, along with *dharma* and *artha*, is the antithesis of *mokṣa*; see Halbfass (2000).

[10]Rocher concludes: '...the Kāmasūtra operates within the framework of the trivarga, and...even the Kāmasūtra places kāma at a lower level than artha and considers dharma to be the highest of the three goals in life.'

pursuits in life. In particular, it seems that the arrangements of the *SRK*, the *SUK*, and the *VaLa* are in keeping with this viewpoint. For, though they include sections of stanzas on the topic of *kāma*, they begin and end with the topic of *dharma*.

The conception of *kāma* in the *Kāmasūtra* raises potential problems. These concerns and the way in which Vātsyāyana addresses them help to show some of the reasons why the goal is considered inferior.[11] Thus, in the beginning of the work there is a defense of the treatise against two main opposing views, or *pūrvapakṣa*s. The first is the idea that *kāma* is contrary to *dharma* and *artha*, and hence leads to a wide variety of undesirable results. To this Vātsyāyana replies that *kāma* is not opposed to *artha* and *dharma*, but that it is the natural fruit of the two. He further argues that while one should be aware of the well known and well documented dangers associated with *kāma*, one should not relinquish it, just as one does not refuse to sow grains just because wild animals might eat a part of them. The second opposing view raises a problem that is perhaps less serious. This is simply the idea that *kāma* does not require a *śāstra* because it occurs naturally and instinctively, even among animals. Vātsyāyana's reply is that *kāma* of humans is different from the *kāma* of animals, and that because it requires the proper means of success it requires a *śāstra*.[12]

It is a point of contrast that whereas Vātsyāyana in the third or fourth century is eager to defend the pursuit of *kāma*, the later *Sattasaī* commentators are content to show that Prakrit Gāthās do indeed pertain to the sphere of *kāma*, as one of the accepted aims of man. The commentators make no attempt to defend *kāma* in and of itself.[13] They also do not here present the idea, that we see at the end of the *Kāmasūtra*, that the purpose of *kāma* is to become a *jitendriya*, one who

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[11]*Cf.* Rocher (1985, 522f.).

[12]Malamoud's argument (1982, pp. 37ff), that to order 'the terms of the trivarga in ascending hierarchical order is to go from the most subjective to the most objective, and simultaneously from the individual to the social,' is a further way to explain the subordination of *kāma* to the other pursuits.

[13]This is the case, even though followers of certain traditions continued to level criticisms against *kāma*. Given the lower position that *kāma* seems to have held vis-a-vis the other goals of man within the theory of the *puruṣārtha*s, one wonders whether it posed a challenge for Tribhuvanapāla and others in writing on the *Sattasaī*. But it seems that by his time, *kāma* was a well-accepted aim of man, with its own army of exponents and critics.

has mastered the senses, though it likely was, in some way, a part of their world-view.[14]

Kāma, of all the *puruṣārtha*s, is also the one that perhaps falls most fully into the purview of women. Vātsyāyana writes that women should study *kāmaśāstra* even before they reach youth (*Kāmasūtra* 1.3.2), thus apparently before men, who must first go through studenthood or *brahmacarya*.[15] The author defends this prescription against a *pūrvapakṣa* that claims that women are incapable of studying *śāstra* (*yoṣitāṃ śāstragrahaṇābhāvāt*, 1.3.4). According to Rocher, the *pūrvapakṣa* believes that women are not entitled to do so or that they are intellectually incapable of it.[16] However, despite Vātsyāyana's own statement and his refutation of the *pūrvapakṣa*, the extent to which *Kāmasūtra* is equally addressed to male and female subjects bears further investigation.

The *Kāmasūtra*'s support of female subjects' participation and limited agency within the sphere of *kāma* is reflected in classical Kāvya anthologies. If we look at the *SRK* and at the *SUK*, it is primarily in the sections devoted to the topic of *kāma* that we meet with female voice and agency and with more extensive descriptions of the female form. By contrast, poems in the sections pertaining to *artha* and *dharma* are inscribed with male speakers and agency. This pattern occurs also in the *VaLa*, where we find a stronger male voice and agency in the sections dedicated to *attha* and *dhamma* and many more clearly marked female speakers and agents in the section dedicated to the topic of *kāma*. It seems likely that at least one reason that Sanskrit scholiasts adopt the view that the *Sattasaī* belongs to the sphere of *kāma* is that it too is, to a large extent, inscribed with fe-

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[14]Vātsyāyana claims that the whole purpose of *kāma* is not the indulgence of sensory pleasures or *rāga*, but to become a *jitendriya*, or one who has mastery over the senses. This particular idea seems to be refuted in the *Brahmasiddhi* of Maṇḍanamiśra. The text presents as a *pūrvapakṣa* in its opening section the idea that desire can be removed by indulging in it, a view that is subsequently rejected.

[15]From which the study of *kāmaśāstra* is perhaps initially excluded.

[16]According to Rocher (1985, pp. 525–6), Vātsyāyana's rebuttal consists mainly of the evocation of the sixty-four arts. Texts like the fifteenth c. *Raghunāthābhyudaya* of Rāmabhadrāmbā show women studying other *śāstra*s, but Vātsyāyana was perhaps unfamiliar with such enterprises. On the topic of women's education in early India see Scharfe, 2002.

male characters and speakers,[17] the presumed rationale being that when a female character speaks or is portrayed, the subject is likely going to pertain to *kāma*.

Yet, the degree to which the Gāthās of the *Sattasaī* can be relegated to the topic of *kāma*, at least as it is formulated within the *Kāmasūtra*, is worth examining. On the one hand, there are a number of Gāthās that have no direct or obvious bearing on *kāma* whatsoever. These include maxims, portrayals of village chieftains, and descriptions of natural phenomena. In the case of the latter, Tribhuvanapāla is often content to write *svabhāvokti* 'a description of a thing as it is,' though Gaṅgādhara, writing several hundred years later, will often somehow inscribe these Gāthās with a *kāma*-inspired meaning.[18] On the other hand, concerning the Gāthās that do involve amorous relations, we must ask the extent to which the sentiment described corresponds to the classical Sanskritic notion of *kāma* and to what extent it differs.

Those who interpreted Gāthās in terms of a śāstric conception of *kāma* belong to much later readerships who were possessed of a worldview that had already changed considerably from the Sātavāhana and Vākāṭaka periods. When we remove the parameters imposed by these commentators, with what are we left? To answer this we can evaluate the *Sattasaī* on the basis of internal evidence.[19]

The Exaltation of Romantic Sentiment

We do find in the *Gāhākosa* the idea that the beloved is a key to a good life. This notion is expressed in one of the anthology's last Gāthās (Q 696, =P$_{ED}$ 698, =W

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[17]Because it is often clear that the speakers and agents in the Gāthās are female, commentators are likely to identify speakers and agents as female even in the absence of markers of gender. The extent to which Pītāmbara focuses on female voice in his interpretation of the Gāthās in terms of the four *puruṣārtha*s is uncertain.

[18]See Dundas (1985, p. 37), who writes that interpretations like that of Pītāmbara, as well as 'the presence in the anthology of *gāthā*s of a clearly gnomic character, show that, although the commentators tended to view the SS as erotic, there was scope for a broader range of exegesis.'

[19]Also useful are inscriptional and numismatic evidence from the Sātavāhana and Vākāṭaka periods and other early literature.

652).[20] The stanza asks what happiness/auspiciousness exists outside one's dearly beloved:

savvāareṇa maggaha   piaṃ jaṇaṃ jaï suheṇa vo kajjaṃ |
jaṃ jassa hiaadaïaṃ   kaṃ va suhaṃ jaṃ tahiṃ ṇa tthi || 696 ||[21]   W 652

> If you want happiness/auspiciousness,
>> Make the utmost effort to seek out the beloved person,
> What happiness/auspiciousness is there,
>> Without the one who is dear to one's heart?[22]

Given its placement at the end of the anthology, the Gāthā seems intended as a summation of the collection. Its high valuation of the beloved stands in contrast to the śāstraic devaluation of *kāma* and to the corresponding hierarchy espoused in the *SRK*, the *SUK*, and the *VaLa*. As noted in Chapter One, for the *SRK* and the *SUK*, it is ultimately the individual's ability to withdraw from the spheres of *kāma* and *artha* in the last stages of life, described in the final sections of the work, that characterize a life well-lived. Likewise, within the *VaLa*, the highest value is given to *dharma*.[23] The sentiment expressed in the Gāthā might seem out of place in the sphere of *kāmaśāstra* only insofar as it awards a primacy to *kāma* that is unmatched even in the *Kāmasūtra*. Yet, given the anthology's early date and its mi-

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[20]Attributed in P_ED to the poetess Rohā, but in Q the attribution appears to be to Brahmadatta.

[21]*sarvādarena margata priyaṃ janaṃ yadi sukhena vaḥ karyam | yaṃ yasya hṛdayadayitaṃ kamiva sukhaṃ/śubhaṃ yaṃ tatra nāsti || 696 ||* On *suha* in the sense of *śubha* and *sukha* see PNM, p. 1164.

[22]The idea is perhaps that one should choose carefully. Tribhuvanapāla writes: *priyo jano me bhūyād ity āśaṅkya. kurudhvamityarthaḥ*, placing particular emphasis on the agency of the imaginary addressee. Gaṅgādhara introduces the Gāthā as follows: 'To encourage union with her (true) beloved, a female messenger speaks to a Nāyikā who has had a quarrel with her husband.' Gaṅgādhara then writes: 'Only that Nāyaka towards whom/in whom there is love is a source of happiness,' *jārasaṃgamāyotsāhayantī dūtī patyā saha kṛtakalahāṃ nāyikām āha— tathā ca yatrānurāgaḥ sa eva nāyakaḥ sukhahetur iti bhāvaḥ*.

[23]The perspective presented in the Gāthā is not expressed elsewhere in Sanskrit Kāvya either as far as I know. Although, see *VaLa* 89 which directs a somewhat similar statement seemingly towards a male addressee.

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2 कं व]   Q, नेवं P_ED, तं ण W_ED

lieu, we might inquire about the degree to which the *suhaṃ* that is attained in connection with the dearly beloved (*hiaadaïam*) can be mapped onto the later category of *kāma*.[24]

Humor and the Romantic Sentiment

If, as the above Gāthā suggests, the *GK* exalts romantic sentiment, this glorification finds a counterpoint in the *GK*'s humor. The view that love can afflict the body and the mind lies behind much of the *Gāhākosa*'s poetry, where it explains the often amusing behavior of the characters. This notion is not limited to early South Asian literature, but it is instead a theme we find expressed and remarked on elsewhere, including sixteenth century England:

> If thou remember'st not the slightest folly
> That ever love did make thee run into,
> Thou hast not lov'd.
> —*As You Like It*, Act II, scene 4, line 34

Silvius's words would apply to quite a few *Sattasaī* characters and scenes, for instance 120 (W 700),[25] 184 (W 238), and so on. *Sattasaī* poetry shows the romantic sentiment inverting, often to comedic effect, the normal day-to-day order of things. The tone of the humor is seldom harsh or mocking, but rather gentle and playful. We are invited to laugh 'with' the characters rather than 'at' them.

The role of female characters in the production of this humor has been overlooked. Often in the *GK* they are the ones who make humorous observations. They laugh and smile at each other, but also at their male counterparts, thus inverting and calling into question certain gendered hierarchies. The way in which

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[24]In particular, the idea that *suhaṃ* may be interpreted in this verse punningly as both *sukham*, happiness/pleasure, and *śubham*, auspiciousness, or even as 'the good,' has the potential to complicate such mapping. Admittedly, it must be added, it is not clear that this Gāthā, which is almost certainly a later addition as its placement at the end of the seventh *śataka*, its absence of *deśī* words, and its conventional meter would suggest, encapsulates an overarching message of the *Gāhākosa*.

[25]See Tieken's (2001, pp. 55–6) discussion of this verse.

humor modulates the romantic sentiment and its uses on the part of the anthology's female characters is addressed provisionally in Chapters Six and Seven.

While certain commentators advocate for the *Gāhākosa*'s place in the sphere of *kāmaśāstra*, the anthology's high valuation of a differently nuanced romantic sentiment, its production of an oftentimes insightful female perspective, and its frequent orientation towards an imagined female audience, are at odds with, or at least have no straightforward correspondence to, *kāmaśāstra*.[26]

Naturalness and Natural Settings

The next chapter looks at the *Gāhākosa*'s emphasis on naturalness and its regard for the natural world. This can differ considerably from the priorities of *kāmaśāstra* and from the ideals of later Kāvya. If the *Kāmasūtra* and its successors are interested in refinement and in the ability to shape one's self, one's affects, and one's desires, the *GK* is much more interested in the appreciation and celebration of naturalness, and the unadorned. The next chapter looks at the *GK*'s treatment of the natural world, and how this at times differs from the ideals set forth in *kāmaśāstra* and Sanskrit Kāvya. The chapter considers the poetry's correlation of place with sentiment, demonstrating how this can differ from later Kāvya. In particular, it looks at how the *GK* focuses on the here and now as against the Sanskrit focus on the always and everywhere, and how its figurative language mir-

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[26]I would suggest, with Warder (1974), that the *Gāhākosa*, unlike *kāmaśāstra*, has been shaped in part by female subjects. It would be interesting to compare *Gāhākosa* songs to the kinds of women's songs that are recorded and discussed in Raheja and Gold (1996). Concerning the production of the poetry of the *Gāhākosa*, *cf.* Warder's discussion of the Gāthā's origins in folk poetry (see below, p. 214, fn. 74; p. 215, fn. 75), and also the presence of a considerable number of female names amongst the poems' courtly authors (see below, p. 212). See also Dhanapāla's statement that he compiled his Prakrit lexicon, the *Pāialacchī Nāmamāla*, for his sister Sundarī (Bühler, 1879, p. 6). As for the reception of Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, *cf.* the *VaLa*'s assertion that Gāthās are loved by young women, Koūhala's statement in the beginning of the *Līlāvaī* that he composed the *kahā* at his wife's request (see below, p. 206), and also Sādhāraṇadeva's commentary introduced at the start of this chapter, that states that men should recite Prakrit Gāthās to women as a *kāma* related activity. Based on such citations, the Sanskrit literary convention that associates female characters with Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit would seem to have had a counterpart in the *lokadharma*.

rors the local, natural world.[27]

Chapter 5

The *Gāhākosa*'s Bucolic Poetry

In many *Sattasaī* Gāthās we come across small villages and a surrounding land-scape dominated by fields, rivers, and mountain wildernesses. For the most part, the stanzas portray rural villagers and rural life: the characters we meet are the consorts, wives, and daughters of farmers, hunters, and village chiefs, as well as cowherdesses and lonesome travelers. In many verses we are also given a keen sense of time and its passing. This chapter looks at the *Sattasaī*'s pastoral and temporal contents in more detail. How do these contribute to and help shape the poetry's amorous themes? To what other themes do they contribute? How does their presence differentiate the poetry of the *Sattasaī* from Sanskrit Kāvya and later conceptions of *kāma*?

Bucolic Landscapes

Locale plays a significant role in *Sattasaī* Gāthās, especially in comparison with Sanskrit Kāvya anthologies like the *Amaruśataka* and the *Śṛṅgāraśataka*, and in comparison with many sections of the *SRK* and the *SUK* .[1] In both the *Amaruśataka* and the *Śṛṅgāraśataka* we are given, in general, very little idea of where we are. Little clues, like a chain of pearls here or an emerald pin there, indicate a setting of some sumptuousness. Yet, the stanzas, which are so exquisite in their portray-

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[1]Notable exceptions in the *SRK* and the *SUK* are the subsections dedicated to the seasons and the *Asatī* subsections, in which setting also figures prominently. These subsections belong to the topic of *kāma*.

als of emotion, tend to focus on the character involved—his or her words, gestures, and expressions, to the extent that we are left with very little sense of place. This is not a fault of the poetry, and a reader looking for contextualization of such Sanskrit verses may open a number of other Sanskrit *mahākāvya*s or *nāṭaka*s to get a better idea of place. But the absence of a prominent setting is a striking feature, and it makes for a very different kind of anthology than the *Sattasaī*, where elements of the surrounding world are important at every step.

The setting that rests in the background of almost all *Sattasaī* Gāthās is that of the village or hamlet. We catch a glimpse of it not only in Gāthās 7, 17 and 81, when we hear of the young woman looking out on the rice field, a calf making its way along a path, and neighbors preparing for a festival, but it is pronounced throughout the anthology. Even in the opening stanza's description of a crane perched upon a lotus leaf, we are aware that somewhere, not far off, must be some village.[2] This is a setting that is imbued with a sense of fecundity, with a degree of poverty and simplicity, with humor, and with certain heartfelt sentiments that are difficult to map onto later Sanskrit categories.[3]

We do find, especially towards the end of the anthology, descriptions of villages that conform quite well Sanskrit theories and expectations. The following two Gāthās, which are paired together in the early recensions of the *Gāhākosa* and describe picturesque mountain villages, provide examples:

dhannā vasaṃti nīsaṃka-[4]	*mohane bahalasaddalavaīe*	
vāaṃdolaṇahallaṃta-	*veṇugahaṇe giriggāme || 677, =PEd 679 ||*[5]	W 637

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[2]*CheViLī* 3 (W 4). As noted earlier, the *Sattasaī* begins with this description of setting that is replicated throughout anthology.

[3]For other discussions of the *Sattasaī*'s village setting as an idealized locale see Weber (1881), Keith (1920), Warder (1974), and Lienhard (1984).

[4]Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

[5]*dhanyā vasanti niḥśaṅkamohane bahalaśādvalavṛtike | vātāndolanavepamānaveṇugahane girigrāme || 677 ||*

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1 °सद्दलवईए] *corr.,* °सद्दलवइए Q , °पत्तलवईए P_{ED}, °पत्तलवइम्मि W_{ED}   **2** वांदोलणहल्लंत°] Q P_{ED}, वांदोलणओणविअ° W_{ED}

Fortunate are they who live in a readily captivating
    Mountain village,
Where there are thick grassy hedges,
    And where bamboo groves whistle and sway in the breeze.

The second verse, immediately following:

papphullagharakalaṃbā [6]   *niddhoasilāalā muiamorā |*
pasaraṃtujjharakalaala-   *maṇoharā iha giriggāmā || 678, = P*$_{ED}$*680 ||* [7]   W 638

The houses are surrounded by blossoming Kadamba trees,
    There are sparkling stone platforms, peacocks [dance] happily,
And the pleasant murmur of running waterfalls,
    Here in these mountain villages.

Like the anthology's opening stanza,[8] these Gāthās introduce no *dramatis personae* or human characters. Instead the focus is on a particular locale and, at least in the case of the second stanza, a particular season. If we look at the second, the season is that of the monsoon, which is characterized elsewhere in the *Sattasaī* by the blossoming of Kadamba trees and the dancing of peacocks.[9] The rainy season also explains why the mountain streams are murmuring and why the stone benches are shining or washed clean (*nidhoa*, Skt. *nirdhauta*). In the poetry of the *Sattasaī* this is the time when couples who have long been separated are reunited, or hope to be reunited.

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    [6]Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

    [7]Skt: *vikasitagṛhakadambā nirdhautaśilātalā muditamayūrāḥ | prasarannirjharakalakalamanoharā iha girigrāmāḥ || 678 ||*

    [8]Gāthā 3 in the *CheViLī* recension (W 4).

    [9]For earlier *Sattasaī* verses on peacocks See W 560 = R 608, which describes these birds dancing at the onset of the rainy season.

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1 पप्फुल्लघरकलंबा]   Q, पुप्फुल्लघणकलंवा W$_{ED}$ 2 पसरंतुज्झरकलअलमणोहरा इह]   Q, पसरंतोज्झरमुहला उच्छाहंते W$_{ED}$

In several earlier *Sattasaī* Gāthās we see the blossoming of the Kadamba flowers (Māh. *kalaṃba* or *kaaṃba*) used to signal the onset of the monsoon and the subsequent anticipation of the traveler's return: W 177 describes a woman dismayed by the sight of Kadamba flowers; 429 (W 566) portrays a traveler who grows despondent when he smells the fragrance of these flowers; and 498 (W 711) portrays a 'fortunate' woman, who, because she had been rendered unconscious by the fragrance of these flowers, does not hear the rumbling of the monsoon clouds. We see the association of Kadamba flowers with mountain regions, as in the above Gāthā, in 38 (W 37) which portrays a Kadamba flower and a bee carried in a mountain stream (*giriṇaīĕ pūreṇa*). In this last stanza the theme of love-in-union is also prominent, as the flower and the bee form a common metaphor for the human couple. We also see these elements coming together later in classical Sanskrit Kāvya. Thus at *Meghadūta* 25 the cloud's arrival is said to cause the blossoming of Kadamba trees on Mount Nīcais,[10] where couples meet for romantic trysts:

> *nīcairākhyāṃ girim adhivases tatra viśrāmahetos*
> > *tvatsaṃparkāt pulakitam iva prauḍhapuṣpaiḥ kadambaiḥ |*
> *yaḥ paṇyastrīratiparimalodgāribhir nāgarāṇām*
> > *uddāmāni prathayati śilāveśmabhir yauvanāni || Meghadūta 25 ||*

5

Though, here in Kālidāsa's poem, it is the townsmen who are brought in rather than the villagers as in the *Sattasaī*, and the village is left out entirely.

Strikingly, the two *Sattasaī* Gāthās and Kālidāsa's poem share much in common with the *kuṟiñci* or mountain region landscape (*tiṇai*) used in the *Tolkāpiyam*'s classification of Tamil Caṅkam poetry and in the framework of the Caṅkam anthologies themselves. According to the *Tolkāpiyam*, some of the concomitant features of this particular 'landscape' are the waterfall (or mountain stream), winter or the rainy season, bamboo, and the emotional state of love-in-union. That the *Sattasaī* Gāthās should share in these elements could hardly be coincidental. There is debate about which poetry came first, which cannot be addressed here in detail, but at the very least the presence of these elements is further indication

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[10]Possibly the mountain is called Nīcaira. But see MW, *nīcais*: N. of a mountain, called also *Vāmanagiri* or *Kharva* (Megh).

of a shared aesthetic.[11]

Although the two Gāthās at first glance seem to express delight in a particular rural setting, commentators are apt to explain them somewhat differently, in a manner that is in alignment with Kālidāsa's later poem and the Caṅkam landscapes of the *Tolkāpiyam*. According to Tribhuvanapāla/Ājaḍa, the first Gāthā is spoken by an *asatī*, the implication being that people who live in these mountain villages are fortunate (*dhannā*), not simply because they live in a charming place, but because they are provided with ideal locations for secret trysts.[12] In the case of the second verse, the commentary in P$_{ED}$ identifies a similar suggested meaning, namely, that the mountain village described in the Gāthā is an excellent place for romantic assignations. The commentator writes: 'The mountain villages here, which have pleasant sights close by and where sounds of an amorous meeting will not be perceived, are eminently suitable for people who seek secret rendezvous.'[13]

The commentarial views reflect a characteristic frankness about matters pertaining to *kāma* and a preoccupation with *dhvani* or suggestion. The openness towards *kāma* is doubtlessly rooted in the status of *kāma* as a *puruṣārtha* or goal of man and in its rather scientific treatment in *kāmaśāstra*. On the other hand, the interest in *dhvani* may be traced back to Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta's

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[11]On the relationship between Tamil Caṅkam poetry and Sanskrit and Prakrit see Hart, 1975. For further cross connections between the Tamil Caṅkam categories and Prakrit and Sanskrit poetry see Lienhard, 1976.

[12]Gaṅgādhara offers a similar explanation of the Gāthā. The commentator introduces it as follows: 'An *asatī*, under the pretext of praising the mountain village, expresses to her beloved her wish to meet unrestrainedly—' (*girigrāmapraśaṃsāchalenāsatī jāraṃ prati svacchandābhisāraspṛhām āha—*). Gaṅgādhara later explains that the village provides a good place for a tryst because its many densely foliaged trees form a covering (*tathā bahalair uccataraiḥ patralaiḥ patrabahulair arthād vṛkṣair vṛtir veṣṭanaṃ yatra*). Elsewhere too in the *Sattasaī* sheltering hedges and verdant trees serve as the locale of assignation. *Nīsaṃkamohane* could mean both 'readily captivating' and 'amorous dalliance without worry.'

[13]*āsannanayanamanoharāḥ, alakṣyamāṇasītkṛtaravāḥ, saṃketārthikāmino 'nayogyā iha girigrāmā ity arthaḥ*. The idea that pleasant sights and noisy sounds make an ideal spot for a romantic tryst is doubtlessly inspired by *kāmaśāstra*. Gaṅgādhara introduces the second Gāthā as follows: The female messenger, encouraging the hero to visit the mountain villages, says they [the mountain villages] have an abundance of loveliness which is produced at the coming of the rains (*girigrāmagamanāya nāyakam utsāhayantī dūtī varṣāgamanakṛtaṃ teṣām rāmaṇīyakātiśayam āha—*).

claim that *dhvani* is the soul of poetry, and in their use of *Sattasaī* and other Mā-hārāṣṭrī Prakrit Gāthās to demonstrate its operation.

Yet, for all the commentarial focus on the locale's association with *kāma* and *dhvani*, one cannot help but wonder whether these scholiasts inadvertently down-play other roles the setting might provide, overlooking its connections to other Gāthās and other themes within the *Sattasaī*.[14] While these Gāthās may be il-luminated by references to Sanskrit *kāma-* and *alaṅkāraśāstra*—and even though they appear to be a Sanskrit-inspired response to earlier *Sattasaī* poems—at the same time, they draw on a much wider repertoire of themes involving place, na-ture, and heartfelt sentiment that cannot be easily assimilated to categories sanc-tioned by Sanskrit theories.

Earlier in the collection we find Gāthās, such as the following from the an-thology's second *śataka*, in which rustic settings bear a more complicated rela-tionship to Sanskritic categories:

mahumāsamāruāhaa-   *mahuarajhaṃkāraṇibbhare raṇṇe |*
gāi virahakkharāvaddha-[15]   *pahiamaṇamohaṇaṃ govī*[16] *|| 137 ||*[17]   W 128

> In the spring month in the forest full of the
> > Humming of the bees struck by the wind,
> The cowherdess sings,
> > Captivating the travelers with words of separation.

The stanza's amatory theme of love-in-separation is intensified not only by the

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[14]The commentarial interest in locale can be traced back to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s assignment of setting to an *uddīpanavibhāva* (excitant), a subsidiary element in poetry.

[15]Caesura after the first short of the fourth gaṇa in the second hemistich.

[16]The Gāthā's structure is remarkable for its long compounds.

[17]*madhumāsamārutāhatamadhukarajhaṅkāranirbhare 'raṇye | gāyati virahākṣarābaddhapathikamanomo-hanaṃ gopī ||*

74

gopī's song,[18] but also by the sylvan setting and the spring season. In a not altogether unconventional twist, the setting and season heighten the central figure's inner feelings, not through resemblance, but by contrast. Hence, although the forest is delightful in spring, its pleasantness serves to foreground the sadness due to the love-in-separation of the travelers who are separated from their beloveds.[19] This effect is found in several *Sattasaī* Gāthās[20] and even in amatory literature outside of an Indian context. The early twentieth century author Greg (1906, p. 93), writing about the spurned shepherd who laments in the month of June in Spenser's *The Shepherd's Calendar*, observes a similar device: '…the moods of nature are no longer represented as varying in sympathy with the passions of man, but are deliberately used to heighten an effect by contrast.'

We can see in the musician and the forest, delightful with the mantle of spring and the humming of bees, the creation of a *locus amoenus* that does not fully correspond to the categories of later Sanskrit Kāvya. Commenting on this verse, Tribhuvanapāla writes: 'The travelers, remembering their own wives uninterruptedly, are captivated by the stimulating singing (*gopīgānena uddīpanavibhāvena*) of the cowherdess, which is especially full of the syllables of separation, and which is accompanied by the charming buzzing carried on the Malaya breezes.'[21] Tribhuvanapāla does not comment further on the figure of the cowherdess musician, her juxtaposition with the travelers, or on the *raṇṇa* (Skt. *āraṇya*), perhaps because their combination is not part of a well defined amatory motif in classical

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[18]The song is accompanied by the wind and the bees. The wind as a musician is a trope found in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and Tamil poetry. A similar image is found in 602 (W 561), where a bull's striking at gnats with its horns is compared to the plucking of the strings of a lute.

[19]The traveler is often a symbol for the theme of loss and longing in the *Sattasaī*. He is often far from a home to which he longs to return.

[20]See, for instance, 498 (W 711); 499 (W 541) 501 (W 543); 571 (W 586).

[21]*Malayānilāndolanamanoharajhaṅkāriṇā viśeṣato virahākṣarabaddhena gopīgānenoddīpanavibhāvena pathikāḥ svasīmantinirantaraṃ smaranto muhyantīty arthaḥ*. In describing the *gopī*'s song as an excitant or *uddīpanavibhāva*, Tribhuvanapāla employs the terminology of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. *Vibhāva*s or 'determinants' are one of the three elements that in combination evoke *rasa*, or the transformation of a foundational emotional state into aesthetic sentiment. The *uddīpana* subtype or 'excitant determinant,' one of the two subtypes of *vibhāva*s, is an element such as the season and setting that excites a certain emotional response in a character. In this scenario the travelers are the *ālambanavibhāva*s, the objective determinants or characters upon whom the excitant determinants take effect.

Sanskrit Kāvya and *alaṅkāraśāstra*.[22]

The City as a Foil

It is perhaps not surprising that while praise is bestowed upon the village and while even the forest is presented as a pleasant place, we find, at least on occasion, the locus of the city described in altogether different terms, as in the following Gāthā:

> *khaṃdhaggiṇā vaṇesuṃ   taṇehi gāmammi rakkhio pahio*
> *naaravasio ṇadijjaï   sāṇusaeṇaṃ vva sīeṇa || 79 ||*[23]

> In the forests the traveler is protected by fire from burning logs
>   In the village he is protected by (soft) grasses
> Dwelling in the city he is distressed by the cold
>   As though it were his own regret.

Tribhuvanapāla, explaining the verse in straightforward terms, writes that the traveler, because he has no shelter in the city, is afflicted by a cold regret.[24] Elsewhere in the anthology there is little mention of cities at all and the sentiment that this is an unwelcoming place is not common. Yet, in presenting the forest and the village as more pleasant locales, the Gāthā contributes to the anthology's privileging of bucolic landscapes.[25]

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[22]The Gāthā agrees with the *Tolkāpiyam*'s landscapes wherein forest and pastureland are associated with the sentiment of love-in-separation. Though in contradistinction to the Gāthā, in the *Tolkāpiyam* pastoral occupations like that of the *gopī* are associated with the lover's quarrel.

[23]Skt: *skandhāgninā vaneṣu tṛṇair grāme rakṣitaḥ pathikaḥ | nagaroṣito viḍambyate sānuśayeneva śītena || 79 ||*

[24]*so 'yam nagare nirāśraya iti sānuśayena śītena bādhyate iti.* 'Cold regret' contrasts with the more usual 'burning regret' (*paścāttapas*).

[25]See also 176 (W 230) in which the speaker says it would be better to be born in a remote forest region, *vanuddesa*, as a stunted tree, than as generous, sensitive, and poor in the human world *māṇusammi loe.*' Though, we do find Gāthās that describe the *kuggāma*, 'wretched village,' these occur with less frequency than Gāthās that positively value the village.

These Gāthās present a view that is almost opposite to the view of Sanskrit Kāvya and *alaṅkāraśāstra* in which the city (*nagara*) is the favored locale. Daṇḍin, one of the earliest *alaṅkārikas* (*ca.* seventh century CE), asserts that Sanskrit *mahākāvya*s should begin with a description with the city and its virtues. Indeed, the description of the city forms an important, albeit little studied, component of most such poems.

Lasting Values in a Fleeting World

In the Gāthās we see the invocation of a fecund, earthly paradise, made more pronounced by its fleetingness, as in the following poem:

> naïpūrasacchahe juvvaṇammi [26]   diahesu niccapahiesu
> aṇiattāsu a rāïsu [27]   putti kiṃ daḍḍhamāṇeṇa || 47 ||[28]   W 45

> When youth is like a river
>   When the days are fleeting
> When the nights do not return
>   O daughter, what is the use of this accursed anger?

This Gāthā is paired with the following in both the *CheViLī* recension and in the vulgate recension. Its theme is also the passing of time:

> kallaṃ kira kharatiao   pavasihaï pio tti suvvaï jaṇammi
> taha vaḍḍha bhaavaï ṇise   jaha se kallaṃ cia ṇa hoi || 48 ||[29]   W 46

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[26] Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

[27] Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

[28] Skt: *nadīpūrasadṛśe yauvane divaseṣu nityapathikeṣu | anivṛttāsu ca rātriṣu putri kiṃ dagdha-mānena? || 47 ||*

[29] Skt: *kalyaṃ kila kharahṛdaya pravatsyati priya iti śrūyate jane | tathā vardhasva bhagavati niśe yathā 'sya kalyam eva na bhavati || 48 ||*

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1 दिअहेसु निच्चपहिएसु]   P_ED, अइपवसिएसुदिअहेसु W_ED   **1** खरहिअओ]   P_ED, खरतिअओ W_ED

I have heard that
> My hard-hearted beloved will depart at dawn
O Goddess Night, grow so dark that
> Day-break does not come.

A Paucity of Means—A Richness of Life

The *Sattasaī* often focuses on themes of natural abundance, verdancy, and fecundity. Yet, it is not without its portrayals of hardship and a lack of means. The following, in which commentators identify the figure of speech of *utprekṣā*,[30] provides one example:

duggaakuḍumbaaḍḍhī   kaha nu mae dhoaeṇa soḍhavvā
dasiosarantasalileṇa-   ṇa uaha ruṇṇaṃ va paḍaeṇa || 16 ||[31]   W 18

Look, with water trickling from its fringes
> The cloth seems to weep (as though thinking)
'How will I, who have been washed, endure
> Being pulled upon by the unfortunate family?'[32]

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[30]Rhetorician have varying definitions of *utprekṣā*. Daṇḍin, at *KāĀ* 2.221, defines it as the attribution of sentiency to insentient objects, and vice versa, Rudraṭa, at *KāAl* 8.36, describes it as the superimposition onto an entity of something non-existent (See Tribhuvanpāla's citations below). It is similar to pathetic fallacy.

[31]*durgatakuṭumbākṛṣṭih kathaṃ nu mayā dhautena soḍhavyā | daśāpasaratsalilena paśyata ruditam iva paṭena || 16 ||*

[32]Patwardhan (1988, p. 2) takes *dhoa* (Skt. *dhauta*) as 'washed (vigorously),' implying that washing is another hardship the cloth must endure. However, *dhoa* may be taken to mean purified, the idea may be that the cloth, having been 'purified,' is now feeling sorry that it will now have to undergo some hardship. In this manner, the cloth, being 'pure,' serves as a metaphor for a good person (*sajjana*).

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1 धोअएण]   Q, धोविएण P_{ED}W_{BH}, धोइएण W_{ED}

The stanza, serves as a reminder that among the lushness of courtyard hedges, gardens, and rice fields, the *Sattasaī*'s characters may still endure material hardships. A number of similar Gāthās demonstrate that the anthology never turns away completely from this theme.[33] Yet, even while present, it is not dominating. It does not overshadow deeper themes within the anthology of abundance, fecundity, and amorous love.[34]

Nature as a Source of Guidance

The natural world figures into the poetry not only in terms of the setting, but also in the form of an exemplar and companion. Speakers look to it for metaphors of their own condition. In 47 (W 45) the speaker, after comparing the passing of time to an ever-flowing river, advises her companion to let go of anger.[35] In 9 (W 10) a speaker who tries to console a friend, telling her 'the progress of affection can be as crooked as a tendril.'[36] In 113 (W 105) the speaker addresses her own heart, comparing it to a piece of driftwood being swept down a river. She worries that, like a piece of driftwood, her heart will soon be captured and burnt. 110 (W 102) describes a mother crow trying to save her fledglings from an overflowing river:

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[33]See 37 (W 36), 39 (W 38), 40 (W 39), 78 (W 76), 176 (W 230), 184 (W 238), 473 (W 472) etc.

[34]Though, one wonders the degree to which the traveler, a character who appears quite often in the *Sattasaī*, is evocative of this theme. The above Gāthā is preceded in the *CheViLī* and in the vulgate recension by two stanzas on the theme of traveling and separation. The juxtaposition may be because this stanza, in mirroring the heartfelt absence of beloved consort, brings to mind yet another kind of absence. On the other hand, the juxtaposition evokes the idea that the traveler's absence is motivated by the lack of means we see described in this stanza. For a Gāthā in which the theme of material hardship and the traveler appear together see 40 (W 39) and 79 (W 77).

[35]See above.

[36]See edition and translation.

tahasaṃthianiḍḍakkaṃta-[37]   *pillaparirakkhaṇikkadinnamaṇā*

agaṇiaviṇivāabhaā   *pūreṇa samaṃ vahaï kāī || 110 ||*[38]   W102

> The mother crow is carried by the current
> > Without fear of destruction
> Wholly intent on protecting
> > The young in the nest.

Here, the natural world takes center stage, where it figures, in the form of the mother crow, as an exemplar of motherhood and guardianship. The depiction in the Gāthās of the natural world, particularly this last, is evocative of the Jātaka stories of the Pāli canon, images of which are depicted on Sātavāhana-era monuments.[39] One is also reminded of Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist philosopher whose hagiographies place him in a Sātavāhana context, as a friend and adviser to a Sātavāhana King,[40] and in whose philosophy nature or *svabhāva* is a companion and teacher to the individual.[41]

If we return to the first two Gāthās at the start of the present chapter, which describe mountain villages, we can agree that they correspond well to the expectations of classical Kāvya and to certain topics of *kāmaśāstra*. Yet, as I show above, other stanzas within the *Sattasaī* invoke setting in ways that have little correspondence to such poetry and *śāstra*. Beyond the given amorous backgrounds, it is a

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[37] Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

[38] Skt: *tathāsaṃsthitanīḍotkrāntaśiśuparirakṣaṇaikadattamanāḥ | agaṇitavinipātabhayā pūreṇa samaṃ vahati kākī || 110 ||*

[39] The gate and balustrade on the *stūpa* at Sanchi were likely built during the Sātavāhana period. An inscription (on one of the top architraves of a gate?) names Ānanda, son of Vasithi, as an artisan of the Sātavāhana king Siri Sātakarṇi.

[40] See the *Līlāvaī*, and the *Suhṛllekha*.

[41] See John Clark, "On Being None With Nature: Nagarjuna and the Ecology of Emptiness," 2008.

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1 तहसंठिअणिड्डुक्कंतपिल्लपरिरक्खणिक्कदिन्नमणा]   P_{ED,} तडसंठिअणीडेक्कंतपीलुआरक्खणेक्क-दिण्णमणा W_{ED}

fondness for rural life and a closeness to the local natural world that are the salient features of these Gāthās.

Chapter 6

Female Voice Beyond *Kāma*: Humor and Pathos

The prevalence of female voice in the Gāthās of the *Sattasaī* has often been re-marked upon in passing.[1] However, this feature is so central to the anthology that it deserves greater attention. Two motifs that unambiguously establish the centrality of female voice in the *Gāhākosa* and that show the poetry moving beyond, as it were, certain Sanskritic notions of *kāma* and *kāmaśāstra* are pregnancy and childbirth. The presence of these motifs distinguishes the anthology from *kāma*-based collections of Sanskrit poetry, like the *Amaruśataka*, Bhartṛhari's *Śṛṅgāraśā-taka*, and Govardhana's *Āryāsaptaśatī*, whose stanzas stop short of this topic. The treatment of these motifs also sets the anthology apart from collections like the *SRK*, the *SUK*, and the Prakrit *VaLa*. For, although the *kāma* sections of these latter anthologies do provide limited sources of comparison, their approach to this subject differs considerably from that of the *Gāhākosa*.

Motifs of Pregnancy and Childbirth: The *Subhāṣitarat-nakośa* and the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*

The *SRK* includes, in its *Yuvativarṇanavrajyā* (Descriptions of Women *vrajyā*), the following single verse on the topic of pregnancy:

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[1]See below, p. 214, fn. 74.

ānīlacūcukaśilīmukham udgataika-
romāvalīvipulanālam idaṃ priyāyāḥ
uttuṅgasaṅgatapayodharapadmayugmaṃ
nābher adhaḥ kathayatīva mahānidhānam || 434 ||

> The *romāvalī*'s thick stem supports
>> A pair of lotuses, her high and close-set breasts[2]
> On which sit bees, the darkening nipples
>> These flowers tell of treasure
>>> Hidden in my darling's belly.[3]

The poem, brimming with natural imagery, employs male voice to describe the pregnant body in idealized and eroticized terms.[4] In comparing the body to positively marked elements of nature—lotuses and bees, the speaker creates a charming and lush portrait. The bee and the flower, a common metaphor for the human couple, add a note of eroticism, as does the term *priyā* ('dear one,' 'darling'). Even though the speaker stands at a distance from the scene, his speech conjures up a sense of intimacy and even security, both of which enhance the erotic mood. For the term *nidhāna* (treasure) both indicates that the speaker is privy to the secret of his beloved's pregnancy and suggests that the unborn child is *his* deposit, placed with the mother temporarily for safekeeping.[5]

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[2]I follow Ingalls' translation. However, *udgataikaromāvalīvipulanālam* more literally translates as: '[the pair lotuses which are] possessed of a thick stem in the form of the elevated single *romāvalī* (line of hairs on the navel).'

[3]How the metaphor of the hidden treasure works for both the object and subject of comparison is uncertain—clearly, the pregnant character's breasts reveal the secret of her pregnant state (and the treasure of the child). It is possible that the idea that lotus flowers mark a buried treasure is a poetic trope found in other literature. The *Nidhipradīpa*, a work on the art of finding hidden treasure might shed light on the symbology.

[4]Because this is the sole stanza on pregnancy in the *SRK* it would be worth looking at whether commentaries to the anthology say anything about its inclusion.

[5]For another reference to a child as a deposit, see *Abhijñānaśākuntala* 4.22, where Śākuntalā's father, choking back tears, describes daughters as 'deposits' (*nyāsa* or, in a variant, *nikṣepa*), wards placed in their fathers' care for safekeeping until marriage.

The tenth section of the *SUK*'s *Śṛṅgārapravāha*, titled *Garbhiṇī* (The Pregnant Woman), comprises five stanzas on the topic of pregnancy. As in the above *Subhāṣita-ratnakośa* poem, the verses employ male voice to portray pregnancy in an idealized and eroticized light. In the first verse of the section physical indications of pregnancy such as wanness, thinness of cheeks, lassitude, the darkening of the nipples, and the swelling of the waist are all part of the especially delightful form (*manoharākṛti*) the female character assumes:

> *āvirbhūtavipāṇḍuracchavi mukhaṃ kṣāmā kapolasthalī*
> *savyāpārapariślathe ca nayane 'nutsāhamugdhaṃ vapuḥ*
> *śyāmībhūtamukhaṃ payodharayugaṃ madhyaḥ svabhāvocchrito*
> *jātānyaiva manoharākṛtir aho garbhodaye subhruvaḥ || SUK 521 ||*[6]

> Her complexion has become pale, her cheeks are thin and
> Her eyes are relaxed in their movements
> Her body is lovely in its listlessness
> The nipples of her breasts have become dark,
> Her waist has by nature swollen
> Oh how wondrous! In pregnancy yet another delightful form
> of the Lovely-browed lady has been produced.[7]

In the next stanza, the speaker describes the happiness or auspiciousness (*maṅgalam*) his beloved radiates in her pregnancy:

> *hāridram ambaram upāntanibaddhacakram*
> *ekaṃ kulasthitivaśād dadhatī priyāsau*
> *tatkālamaṅgalasamācaraṇaprayatna-*
> *vyāsiddhakelir api maṅgalam ātanoti || SUK 522 ||*[8]

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[6] Attributed to Kālidāsanandin.

[7] *Eva* in *pāda* four emphasizes *anya*, indicating 'yet another.'

[8] Attributed as in the previous stanza to Kālidāsanandin (*Tasyaiva*).

My beloved, wearing for the honor of the family
     A single yellow sari, its ends knotted in a circle,[9]
Even though, in her effort to observe the sanctity of the occasion,
     She has set aside her games, she radiates happiness.

The speaker in the subsequent stanza tells how the reticence and barely concealed joy of his pregnant wife charm him:

mṛdāsaktā hṛdyaṃ sthagayati mukhaṃ cumbati mayi
     stanau pāṇḍuśyāmau mama karatalād ākṣipati ca
kṛte garbhālāpe viśadahasitaṃ rakṣati ruṣā
     priyā sarvākāraṃ viśati hṛdayaṃ vallabhatayā || SUK 523 ||[10]

She who has a craving for clay,
     Delightfully closes her mouth when kissing me
          And she keeps her breasts, both pale and dark, from my hands
When there is talk of the fetus she angrily guards her bright smile
     My beloved fully enters my heart by being endearing.[11]

The next poem similarly describes how the condition of pregnancy adds a particular charm to the female character:

alasamadhurā snigdhā dṛṣṭir ghanatvam upāgatā
     kisalayarucir nistāmbūlasvabhāvadharodharaḥ
trivalivalayā lekhonneyā ghaṭanta ivaikataḥ
     prakṛtisubhagā garbheṇāsau kim apy upapāditā || SUK 524 ||[12]

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[9] This seems to be the meaning of *ambaram upāntanibaddhacakram* in *pāda* a.

[10] Attributed to Karṇāṭadeva.

[11] There seems to be a deliberate contrast between the first three verbs, *sthagayati* (closes), *ākṣipati* (wards off), and *rakṣati* (guards), and the final verb *viśati* (enters), though there is no concessive particle.

[12] Attributed also to Karṇāṭadeva (*Tasyaiva*).

Her affectionate glance, sweet with lassitude, has become heavy
    Her lower lip, naturally, without betel
    Has the [red] color of a new sprout
The three folds of her stomach
    Inferred from the lines [they left there] have
        Become as though one
            This lady somehow has become naturally lovely
            By means of the fetus.

The last poem in the section is quite similar to the *SRK* verse, in that it describes, with lush imagery, the outward signs that reveal the female character's pregnancy:

pariṇataśarakāṇḍā pāṇḍurā[13] *gaṇḍabhittiḥ*
    kucakalaśamukhaśrīḥ kālimānaṃ dadhāti
vyapanatakṛśabhāvaṃ pīnatām eti madhyaṃ
    vapur atiśayagauraṃ garbham āviṣkaroti || SUK 525 ||[14]

Her cheeks are as pale as stalks of ripened sugarcane
    The tips of her jar-like breasts have become dark
Her waist has become swollen, its slenderness removed
    This body, which is very pale, reveals the fetus.

The five poems of the *SUK* are similar in voice and perspective to the *SRK* verse, employing imagery redolent of abundance and fertility. In each poem, male voiced creates an element of distance and pleasurable contemplation, facilitating the idealization of pregnancy.[15]

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[13] As published in the *SUK* (Banerji ed.). A compound is also possible: *pariṇataśarakāṇḍāpāṇḍu-rā*.

[14] Attributed to Paśupatidhara.

[15] Though pregnancy is a natural outcome of *kāma*, it is not dealt with much in *kāmaśāstra* (even conception is omitted from the *Kāmasūtra*, though it is included in later works such as the *Nāgarasarvasva* of Padmaśrī. However, for the above Sanskrit poets, the topic lends itself to the

Motifs of Pregnancy and Childbirth: The *Gāhākosa*

In contrast to the above poems, *Sattasaī* Gāthās on the subject of pregnancy adopt a female voice and bring in elements of humor and pathos. Whereas in the Sanskrit anthologies we find idealized and winsome portrayals of pregnant characters, many *Sattasaī* Gāthās on the topic revolve around the notion that this experience can be taxing on the body, painful, and otherwise problematic for women. It is a further point of contrast that the anthology includes a Gāthā about the pains of labor itself, a topic that is avoided in the *SRK* and in the *SUK*. These Gāthās contribute to the *Gāhākosa*'s project of creating female interiority and subjectivity.

In one of the first references in the *Sattasaī* to pregnancy, 13 (W 15), we see the female character beside a group of friends and her beloved. Although the Gāthā invokes an amorous sentiment, it does so in a way that differs considerably from the above poems of the Sanskrit anthologies:

kiṃ kiṃ te paḍihāsaï   sahīhi ia pucchiāi muddhāe /
paḍhamullaadohaliṇīi   ṇavara daïaṃ gaā diṭṭhī // 13 //[16]   W15

Asked by her friends, 'What do you yearn for?'
     The gaze of the innocent young woman
Who was experiencing her first pregnancy cravings
     Went only to her beloved.

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expression of sentiments that are in agreement with the sphere of *kāma*. It might be noted that a very different view on pregnancy and intrauterine existence is expressed in Śaṅkarācārya's *mokṣa*-oriented *bhāṣya* on the *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (5.9.1–2). See also the *Garbhāvakrāntisūtra*, which survives in citations and in Tibetan and Chinese translations, for a related Buddhist view.

[16]See Tribhuvanapāla's full commentary to this stanza and notes to it in Chapter Eight, pp. 129, 158, and 210.

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2 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

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1 ते] Σ, दे K_E   **1** पडिहासइ] Q P_ED W_ED G_ED, पडिहाअइ T_ED, पडिहाइ K_E   **1** सहीहिँ] Q G_ED, सहीहि P_ED T_ED W_ED, सहीहिं K_E   **1** इअ] Σ, इइ T_ED   **2** °उल्लअ°] Q T_ED K_E, °उग्गअ° P_ED W_ED G_ED   **2** दोहलिणीइ] Q^{pc}, दोहलिन° Q^{ac} erased, दोहलिणीएँ P_ED W_BH T_ED K_E, दोहलिणीअ W_ED, दोहणीए G_ED   **2** णवर] Σ, णवरि T_ED

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1 किं किं ते प्रतिभासते सखिभिरिति पृष्टाया मुग्धायाः । प्रथमोद्गतदोहलिन्याः केवलं दयितं गता दृष्टिः ॥

Like the pregnancy poems in the *SRK* and the *SUK*, this poem is infused with an amorous emotion. Although, here the object of affection is not the pregnant female character, but the male beloved. Rather than the subject who looks on, he has become the object of his dear one's glance. In his inactive role he is almost reduced to what Bharata in the *Nāṭyaśāstra* would call an *uddīpanavibhāva*. Readers are asked to identify with the female characters since the speech and actions all lie with them, and it is their words and thoughts that are expressed in the Gāthā.

Yet, in addition to the Gāthā's amorous element, it also evokes the idea that pregnancy is an inherently difficult experience. This is certainly an understanding we find in commentarial literature. Tribhuvanapāla's description of the speaker as a Svīyā, 'a lady who does not abandon [her husband] in good or bad fortune, or even in death,'[17] signals that he viewed her pregnant condition as potentially dangerous. Tribhuvanapāla also identifies her as a Mugdhā, 'an innocent lady,' a diagnosis is linked to her ignorance of the true nature of pregnancy longings. Tribhuvanapāla brings this to light when he glosses the question 'what do you desire?' with 'among solid foods, soft foods, lickable foods, and liquids,[18] which are you contemplating?' (*bhakṣyabhojyalehyapeyānāṃ madhyād iti manasy anudhyāya kiṃ kiṃ te pratibhāsata?*),[19], and also when he writes: "when what is desired in pregnancy is not given, children are born with deformities, afflicted with disease and so on. The practitioners of Āyurveda call this 'gratifying the desire of pregnant women'" (*dohadadānam antareṇa sammiśritāṅgā gadādidoṣaduṣṭā jantavo jāyata iti. antarvatnīnāṃ dohadadānam ity āyurvedavido vadanti*).[20] Tribhuvanapāla's idea is that she is a Mugdhā because she neither understands what constitutes a

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[17]See Rudraṭa's *ŚṛTi*: 1.49. Tribhuvanapāla often cites Rudraṭa's *KāAl*, and he also seems to have known a version of the *ŚṛTi*.

[18]See note 214, p. 176.

[19]Such cravings are also in consonance with the above *SUK* stanza in which the pregnant character ingests clay, recognized as a type of *dohada*. See also *Raghuvaṃśa* 3.3. Bloomfield (1920) notes that geophagy during pregnancy was practiced in India as recently as the early twentieth century.

[20]Cf. *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 3.18–21 (cited in Meulenbeld, 1999, p. 246). According to the text, *dohada*s are first felt in the fourth month of pregnancy when the principle of consciousness (*cetanādhātu*) is said to manifest in the developing fetus. The passage describes the difficulties that result from ungratified *dohada*s, and the effects that particular longings have on the child. *Suśrutasaṃhitā* 3.22–28 describes how *dohada*s are determined by fate, parallel to how former actions determine those in the present existence. See also *Carakasaṃhita* 4.15–19, cited in Meulenbeld, 1999, p. 42.

dohada, nor does she know its significance for the fetus.

Gaṅgādhara, taking a different route, also focuses on the idea pregnancy is a difficult and painful experience for the woman. He gives the following *nirvacana*, or cultural etymology, of *mugdhā*, 'innocent young woman': *mugdhāyā iti mohād garbhāyāsam apy agaṇayantyāḥ*; 'a *mugdhā* is one who, because of her ignorance, does not consider the difficulty of pregnancy.' Gaṅgādhara then explains the use of the word *paḍhama*: ' 'the first,' is used because women who have had many children, who have been afflicted by the agony of pregnancy, avoid the toil of love. But she, who has not experienced the pain of childbirth, only desires union with her beloved, this is the meaning' (*prathameti. bahuprasūtāś ca garbhakhedakhinnāḥ suratāyāsaṃ pariharanti. iyaṃ tv ananubhūtaprasūtikhedā priyasambhogam eva param abhilaṣatīti bhāvaḥ*). For Gaṅgādhara, as for Tribhuvanapāla, the recognition of pregnancy and childbirth as painful and difficult experiences is a key to understanding the Gāthā.

Whether or not these commentators fully capture the original meaning of the verse is debatable. One could alternatively propose that since pregnancy cravings are known to be very strong longings, the transference of longing to the husband demonstrates, perhaps in an even humorous manner, the strength of the female character's affections for her husband. In this scenario, the terms *muddhā* and *paḍhama* are intended, not to highlight the pregnant woman's ignorance of what *dohada*s actually constitute, or to emphasize the difficulty of pregnancy and childbirth, but rather to show that she is incapable of dissembling, of hiding her true feelings. This particular characteristic of the *muddhā* is remarked on at 171 (W 225), where her disguise or giveaway is said to be an open glance.[21] Hence, the character in this verse might know what *dohada*s are, but, because of her innocence, be simply unable to properly disguise her feelings for her husband, even in front of her friends. Such an interpretation rests not on an understanding that her condition is difficult or painful, but rather on the idea that she is very much in

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[21]At 533 (W 505) we also hear that the glance of a *muddhā* like an arrow shaft. Often, within the *Sattasaī*, it is the *muddhā*'s ignorance of romantic matters and married life that is remarked on: at 246 (W 307) the *muddhā* bursts into tears after she can no longer count the days of her beloved's absence on her fingers and toes; at 346 (W 145) she is laughed at by her friends for trying to conceal her husband's nail marks (similar is 435, W 433); at 490 (W 534) she suffers and grows pale in separation from her beloved. We also hear at 395 (W 382) that this character is envied by the first wife.

love with her husband. Yet, although such alternative explanations of the Gāthā are possible, it must be admitted that Tribhuvanapāla's and Gaṅgādhara's interpretations are in keeping with the other *Sattasaī* Gāthās in which pregnancy and giving birth are associated with a certain degree of severity and physical hardship.

The next *Sattasaī* Gāthā to reference pregnancy is 85 (W 83). As in most *Sattasaī* Gāthās, commentators understand the speaker to be female:

puṭṭavaḍiehiṁ[22] *dukkhaṃ   acchijjaï unnaehi hoūṇa*
ia ciṃtaṃtāṇa maṇe   thaṇāṇa kasaṇaṃ[23] *muhaṃ jāaṃ || 85 ||* [24]   W 83

> 'Having fallen upon the stomach,
>   The lofty become sorrowful'
> Thinking thus, the face of the two breasts
>   Grows dark.

Though the Gāthā does not mention pregnancy directly, the reference to the darkening of the nipples, a characteristic of pregnancy described also in one of the above Sanskrit stanzas, makes the context clear.[25] In contrast to the eroticized description of breasts in the Sanskrit verses, the Gāthā addresses the potential physical and emotional hardships associated with pregnancy.

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[22] *Puṭṭa* (or *poṭṭa* W_ED) is a *deśī* word which both the *CheViLī* and the *BhāLePra* gloss with *udara*.

[23] I retained Q's *kasaṇaṃ* in the verse. In the commentary Q reads *kāsaṇaṃ*, which is unmetrical.

[24] *udarapatitair duḥkhamāsyata unnatair bhūtvā | iti cintayator manye stanayoḥ kṛṣṇaṃ mukhaṃ jātam || 85 ||*

[25] The *CheViLī* and the *BhāLePra* are in agreement about the gender of the speaker and the subject of the verse. Tribhuvanapāla writes: 'It should be understood that here a certain knowledgeable woman hints at the pregnancy of a certain other woman.' Tribhuvanapāla then identifies the figure of speech as Utprekṣā, Poetic Fancy. Gaṅgādhara writes: 'Under the guise of describing the darkness of the breasts of the happily married woman who is pregnant for the first time, her friend says this to the [woman's] husband in order to encourage the continuation of his affections when the breasts have dropped even after birth' (*prathamagarbhāyāḥ subhagāyāḥ stanakālimakathanacchalena prasavānantaraṃ bhāvistanapatanottarakālam api snehānuvartanam aṅgīkārayituṃ sakhī tatkāntam āha*).

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1 पुट्ट]   Q P_ED, पोट्ट W_ED   2 कसणं]   Q W_ED, किसणं P_ED

Gāthā 132 (W 123) portrays a woman experiencing childbirth for the first time:

> *hāsāvio jaṇo sāmaliĕ   paḍhamaṃ pasūamāṇīe*
> *vallahavāeṇa alaṃ   mama tti bahuso bhaṇaṃtīe || 132 ||*[26]

People had to laugh
  When the beautiful young woman
Giving birth for the first time said again and again
  'I'm through with this husband-delirium.'[27]

The stanza use humor to suggest the physical pain and difficulty of childbirth. The Gāthā is quite different from anything in the Sanskrit anthologies or the *VaLa*, where the whole topic of labor is excluded.

That this is a well-defined topos of *Gāthā*s is evident from other examples. In 207 (W 259) pregnancy and labor are spoken of in the same breath as a fever and a vigorous dance performance:

> *māsapasūaṃ chammāsa-   gabbhiṇiṃ ikkadiahajariaṃ ca |*
> *raṃguttiṇṇaṃ ca piaṃ   puttaa kāmaṃtao hohi || 207 ||*[28]

One month after she gives birth,
  Six months after she becomes pregnant,
One day after she has a fever, and just after she leaves the stage,
  O little son, [then] you should desire your beloved.

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[26] *hāsito janaḥ śyāmayā prathamaṃ prasūyamānayā | vallabhavātena alaṃ mameti bahuśo bhaṇantyā || 132 ||*

[27] In P$_{ED}$ Tribhuvanapāla calls *vallahavāeṇa*, which he glosses with *vallabhavātena*, a *lokokti*, or 'popular expression,' but does not explain its meaning further.

[28] *Skt: māsaprasūtāṃ ṣaṇmāsagarbhiṇīm ekadivasajvaritāṃ ca raṅgottīrṇāṃ ca priyāṃ putraka kāmayamāno bhava || 207 ||*

By placing pregnancy and giving birth in categories consonant with illness and exertion, the Gāthā fits the general pattern in the *Sattasaī* of linking these experiences with physical strain and hardship.[29]

The final Gāthā on the subject, 509 (W 483), also focuses on hardship with its reference to the heaviness of the fetus:[30]

> *ṇa vi taha aïgarueṇa vi   khijjaï hiaaṃ bhareṇa gabbhassa*
> *jaha vivarīaṇihūaṇaṃ   piammi suṇhā apāvaṃtī || 509 ||*[31]

Within the *Sattasaī* we get a picture of pregnancy and childbirth that differs considerably from that of the Sanskrit anthologies. The latter use male voice to portray pregnancy in idealized and eroticized terms. The poets in these anthologies describe the state in a manner that conforms more readily to the ethos, aesthetics, and goals of later *kāmaśāstra*. By contrast, the *Sattasaī* employs female voice and female agency to show a more difficult side of the experience, depicting it often in terms of humor and pathos. In so doing, the stanzas extend beyond, as it were, Sanskritic notions of *kāma* and *kāmaśāstra*. One could even say that the *Sattasaī* stanzas explain, from a female perspective, why pregnancy and childbirth may not always be considered proper topics of *kāmaśāstra*.

Dohala or Pregnancy Cravings

In addition to the above Gāthās, there are also in the *Sattasaī* two poems that refer to pregnancy craving in the context of material hardship. 274 (W 290) depicts the

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[29]Though this Gāthā would also fit in a compendium of proverbial wisdom, it does have the poetic ornament of *tulyayogitā*. Tribhuvanapāla does not cite any *alaṅkāra* here. See Weber's 1870 and 1881 notes to this stanza. That the speaker of the verse is female may be inferred from the term of address she uses, *puttaa*, 'O little son,' which is used elsewhere in the *Sattasaī* with markers that identify a female speaker, but not with ones that would identify a male speaker.

[30]The *CheViLī* reads only: *nigadavyākhyāteyam*, '[this] is clear from merely reading it.' Gaṅgādhara introduces the verse by explaining that speaker is a woman describing, with a smile, her friend who is suffering from the weight of the fetus' (*garbhabhareṇa klāmyantīṃ sakhīṃ sakhī saparihāsam āha*).

[31]*nāpi tathātiguruṇā 'pi khidyate hṛdayaṃ bhareṇa garbhasya | yathā viparītanidhuvanaṃ priye vadhūr aprāpnuvatī || 509 ||*

pitiable state (*duggaa*[32]) of the pregnant wife:

hiaa ccea virāo   na sāhio jāṇiūṇa gharasāraṃ |
baṃdhavaduvvaaṇaṃ piva   dohalao duggaavahūe || 274 ||[33]

<div align="right">W 290</div>

Knowing the meager means of her house,
    The pregnancy longing of the poor young wife
Which was not told,[34] melted away in her heart,
    Like the harsh words of her relatives.[35]

Gāthā 473 presents *dohala* in the context of similar self-deprivation:

duggaaharammi gharinī   rakkhaṃtī āulattaṇaṃ païṇo
pucchiadohalasaddhā   puṇo vi uaaṃ cia kehaï || 473 ||[36]

<div align="right">W 472</div>

When asked again and again about her pregnancy longing,
    The wife in the poor house,
Concerned for her husband's distress,
    Answers with 'just some water.'[37]

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[32]This term, meaning 'difficult circumstance,' occurs also in 16 (W 18), 39 (W 38), 40 (W 39), and 538 (W 612), often, as in this verse, to describe to the economic situation of the family.

[33]Skt: *hṛdaya eva vilīno na kathito jñātvā gṛhasāram | bāndhavadurvacanām iva dohado durgata-vadhvā || 274 ||*

[34]'Which was not told' translates *ṇa sāhio*. Tribhuvanapāla glosses this with *kathita*. However, see the psm which equates *sāhia* with both *kathita* and *sādhita*, 'fulfilled,' the latter of which is read in W_{ED}'s π.

[35]Khoroche and Tieken translate *baṃdhavaduvvaaṇaṃ* as 'an indecent proposal made by one of her [the wife's] husband's brothers.' Weber (1870) who reads *vandhavaduvviṇammi* (K_E 292) trans-late the term with: 'dem schlectem Betragen der Verwandten.'

[36]*durgatagṛhe gṛhiṇī rakṣantī ākulatvaṃ patyuḥ | pṛṣṭadohadaśraddhā punar api udakam eva kathay-ati || 473 ||*

[37]This verse is also in the *VaLa* (*VaLa.* 457). It is one of the some 82 Gāthās the Vulgate of the *VaLa* has in common with the Vulgate of the *Sattasaī* (see Patwardhan, 1988, pp. xxvi–xxvii) and the only one in that collection that describes pregnancy.

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1 हिअअ]   Q, हिअइ P_{ED} **1** जाणिऊण]   Q W_{ED}, जाणईएँ P_{ED} **2** पुणो वि | उअं चिअ केहइ]   Q, उययं | च्चिय दोहलं कहइ *VaLa*

Both Gāthās again impart a female perspective and show the female characters heroic in their self-denial. Their stoic heroism becomes especially evident when we consider the value placed on pregnancy cravings within the broader context of early Indic literature.

Dohada is given one brief reference in one of the Sanskrit anthologies.[38] Its short treatment is probably because it readily evokes both the idea of pregnancy as a medical condition and difficult to control desire. However, the motif of the pregnancy craving (Pkt. *dohala*, Skt. *dohala* or *dohada*, Pāli *dohaḷa*) is traceable in the Pali and Jain Canons and *Bṛhatkathā*-based narrative literature. Here, the mother's craving often conveys the longing of the fetus, portending some action, good or bad, the unborn child will undertake as an adult. In this literature we see an enormous value placed on the gratification of the *dohada* and the great lengths to which husbands will go to fulfill it.[39] In the *Thusa Jātaka*, the mother of the future parricide Prince Ajāttasattu develops at the time of conception a severe longing to drink blood from the right knee of her husband, King Bimbisāra. Although the king's astrologers tell him that this longing means the son in the queen's womb will take the king's life and seize the kingdom, the good king, who has few worldly attachments apart from his son, responds by saying, 'what does it matter if my son should kill me and seize my kingdom?' He then has his knee cut open and the blood collected in a dish for the queen to drink. A similar story occurs in the *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa*, though here the *dohada* is satiated not through compassionate, self-sacrificing concession, but through a clever ruse.[40] Thus, when the mother of the future parricide Ānanda develops, while pregnant with him, a severe longing to eat her husband's entrails, the king's minister manages to gratify her longing by drawing forth in front of the queen the entrails of a hare hidden in the king's clothes, as though they were from the king's own body.[41]

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[38] *SUK* 523

[39] Bloomfield's article 'The Dohada or Craving of Pregnant Women: A Motif of Hindu Fiction (1920) is one of the earliest and perhaps still the most comprehensive accounts of *dohada* in Sanskrit narrative literature.

[40] *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa* 2.56

[41] A similar story appears in the *Kathākośa*.

We see the arising and equally expeditious fulfillment of benevolent and lofty *dohada*s. In the *Śālibhadra Carita*, the female character has a *dohada*, at 2.56, to give alms and, at 60, to entertain monks. In the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, a merchant's wife conceives of the desire to pay reverence to the gods and Jaina teachers[42] and in the *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa*, Queen Śrīkāntā conceives of the desire to give alms to the poor and vessels to those who worship the Jina.[43] In the Jain *Kathākośa*, Queen Śrutimatī has the *dohada* to worship the gods on Aṣṭāpada mountain and Queen Jayā has a desire to worship the gods and ascetics and to give gifts to the poor. Though benevolent *dohada*s are less common in Buddhist narrative literature, there are some five *Jātaka*s (159, 491, 502, 534, and 501) that attest to the recognition of and power granted such *dohada*s. In each of these stories, Queen Khemā dreams of a golden bird or deer whom she desires to preach the Buddhist *Dharma*, and feigns *dohada* that she might hear it. Queen Māyā's desire to visit the penance grove shortly before the birth of Siddhārtha and her subsequent visit as described in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* might be viewed as the arising and fulfillment of a *dohada*.

In the *Bṛhatkathā*-based literature we see the manifestation and fulfillment of *dohada*s that are not so much benevolent or malevolent, but simply fantastic. Thus, Vāsavadattā desires to hear about *vidyādhara*s, and longs to sport in the air and look down upon the earth, a *dohada* that is gratified by hearing the story of Jīmūtavāhana, and in the *Kathāsaritāgara*, Queen Alaṅkāraprabhā has a *dohada* to ride in a *puṣpavimāna*,[44] a wish gratified by means of magic.[45] As extreme and fantastic as many of these *dohada*s are, in each case we see the husband at considerable pains to gratify them.

In numerous instances in the same literature *dohada*, particularly amongst animal characters, manifests as a strong craving on the part of the mother for certain types of food. Although these desires are often for victuals that are difficult or dangerous to procure, we again see the husband try to fulfill them. In the

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[42]*Pariśiṣṭaparvan* 2.16 ff.

[43]*Samarādityasaṃkṣepa* 2.13. Queen Śrīkāntā also develops the desire for all beings to be without fear, though whether and how this was fulfilled is not explained.

[44]A flying vehicle made of flowers, or a flower-shaped flying vehicle.

[45]*Kathāsaritāgara* 35.109ff.

Supatta Jātaka (292) the wife of the Bodhisattva, who had been born as the king of crows, desires savory food from the kitchen of King Brahmadatta in Varanasi. In the *Suṃsumāra Jātaka* (208), the *Vānara Jātaka* (342), and the *Kumbhīla Jātaka* (224), a female crocodile has a longing to eat a monkey's heart. In the *Parśvanāthacarita* the wife of Prabhāvaka conceives of a *dohada* to eat the flesh of his master's pet peacock,[46] and a female parrot longs for rice from a nearby field.[47] Many other such stories exist.[48]

If we consider the way in which *dohada*s are met in all of these stories and the striving that goes into fulfilling them, the trope of the unfulfilled *dohada* in the above two Gāthās is especially poignant. Although it is true that the *Sattasaī* Gāthās do not share the same horizon of expectations as the above narrative stories, many of the latter are early enough to have been known by and to have influenced *Sattasaī* authors and audiences. The Buddhist identity of Sātavāhana queens and ministers, and the *Jātaka* scenes carved on Sātavāhana era *stūpa*s, noted in the previous chapter, suggest that the Buddhist narratives may well have exerted an influence on *Sattasaī* poets and audiences. The *Bṛhatkathā*-based literature also has ties to the Sātavāhana court, and may have existed in some form in their period. Given such connections, it is not unlikely that *Sattasaī* poets and audiences shared, at least partly, in the views of this literature and placed a similarly high value on *dohada* and its fulfillment, making the sentiment expressed in these two Gāthās all the more poignant.

Pregnancy in the Vajjālagga

The *VaLa*, for the most part, eschews stanzas on pregnancy or childbirth. The anthology's only verse on the topic of pregnancy is one it borrows from the *Sattasaī*—stanza 473, which the editor places in the *Sughariṇī* or Virtuous Housewife section. Its placement within the *VaLa* lends it a meaning that is quite different

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[46] *Parśvanāthacarita* 3.456.

[47] *Pārśvanātha* 7.275 or *Kathākośa* pp. 42ff.

[48] Robert Goldman pointed out that an ironic and fateful version of the motif is found in the seventh book of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (personal communication). At *Uttarakāṇḍa* 7.41.21–26, pregnant Sītā requests to visit the virtuous sages on the banks of the Gaṅgā. Rāma agrees but later when he learns of the gossip in the city he uses the promise to deceptively have her banished.

from the one it possesses in the *Sattasaī*.

An Extended Narrative

The first five Gāthās on pregnancy and giving birth in the *CheViLi* and the Vulgate recensions show a narrative progression. First, there is a Gāthā about a character's wish for pregnancy (Gāthā 5),[49] a portrayal of *dohala* or pregnancy craving (*gātha* 13), a description of a character's body during pregnancy (*gātha* 85), a description of giving birth (Gāthā 132), and then a reference to a female character one month after she has given birth (Gāthā 207). These Gāthās may also be listed as follows:

1. The wish for pregnancy 5 (W 6)
2. *Dohala* or pregnancy cravings 13 (W 15)
3. The character during pregnancy 85 (W83)
4. Giving birth 132 (W 123)
5. The character shortly after giving birth 207 (W 259)

Since such an ordering is unlikely to occur by chance, it would appear that the anthologizer purposefully arranged the Gāthās in this manner, as a prolonged micro-narrative amidst all the other Gāthās.

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[49]If it may be agreed that this is what is hinted at in the verse.

Chapter 7

The *Gāhākosa*'s Reception: The Appeal of the Small Scale

How do we explain the enduring positive reception of the *GK*, with its rural setting and cast of characters, and forthright treatment of subjects like pregnancy and childbirth? Why did the collection remain popular in a Sanskritic domain long after its conception? For almost one and a half millennia, long after the Sātavāhana Empire had vanished, it was read, emulated, and commented on in Sanskritic circles. While there are in the courtly Sanskrit literature that followed the *Sattasaī* positive associations with life in quiet, natural settings, away from the court and city, these associations are more often with *āśrama* hermitages or wildernesses rather than with villages.[1] When certain Sanskrit authors and rhetoricians want to identify something as crude and unrefined they might use the pejorative adjective *grāmya*, which literally means 'of the village,' 'produced in the village,' or 'villagey.' The twelfth century scholar Hemacandra (1089–1172 CE) gives the following cultural etymology of *grāma* or village: *grasati buddhyādīn iti grāmaḥ*, 'that which consumes one's intellect.'[2]

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[1] As shown above, the sentiment expressed in the *SRK* and in the *SUK* is that one ideally retires to a quiet life in the forest in the last stages of life.

[2] *Anuyogadvāra*, p. 142a, Agamodaya Samiti edition. For the irregular Pāṇinīan derivation of *grāma* from *gras* see *Uṇādisūtra* 1.142: *graser ā ca*. We see this concern in certain evaluations of the *GK* and in later Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit poetry. Bāṇa, praising Hāla in the *Harṣacarita* (*ca.* 620 CE), writes that the anthologizer made a collection of poems that was *agrāmya*, in other words, that was elegant or not of the village. Likewise, the *VaLa* includes in its introduction Gāthās that would draw a line separating such poems from connections to village life (*VaLa* 15 and 16). Both the later

Given the negative associations with the village, why then did Sanskrit authors value these descriptions of such places and their inhabitants? Why were they interested in these portrayals of village wives and daughters of ploughmen and locale chieftains, characters who seem so different from the epic heroes, Gods, Goddesses, demons, royal figures, and hermitage dwellers emulated in much Sanskritic poetry? The anthology's purported usefulness to the pursuit of *kāma*, Sanskrit literary critics' citation of the poetry for its use of charmingly crooked speech and suggestion, and Kālidāsa's and other poets' emulation of this style of poetry, surely all helped to secure its renown and ensure its place in Indian literary history. The anthology's association with the Sātavāhana king who became a celebrated cultural hero certainly also played a role. But these factors perhaps do not fully explain the appeal of this anthology with its rustic setting and cast of characters.

Small Scale

I propose that part of the *Sattasaī*'s later popularity has to do with what, in terms of its content, is its small scale. If we compare *Sattasaī* Gāthās to much Sanskrit Kāvya, one striking difference is the scale. Sanskrit poets, of both earlier and later periods, excel at writing about the heavenly and the grand. They describe great heroes and their deeds and adventures with elegance and precision. The long poems of Sanskrit (*mahākāvya*s) and many Sanskrit plays are set against expansive backdrops, covering not only all of India, but the whole world, the cosmos with its multiple heaven and hell realms, and the entire past and present. *Sattasaī* poets, by contrast, capture and express something quite different. They portray the mundane, joyful or tragic, events of everyday life. While the epics and long poems are about cosmic quests, the *Sattasaī* is about those who remain behind, people whose interests revolve around hearth and home. Thus, if what is often acknowledged as the greatest play in Sanskrit literature, The *Abhijñā-naśākuntala* or *The Recognition of Śakuntalā*, is about the celestial nymph Śakuntalā and the king Duśyanta, parents of India's first Universal Ruler, the *Sattasaī* could

remarks of Bāṇa and the later sentiments of the *VaLa* reflect a recognition of the poetry's ties to village life, and a concern with this association.

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be said to be about Śakuntalā's serving lady and childhood friends.

Surprisingly, this mundane cast of characters is described in a way that is at times congruent with and no less elegant than that of Sanskrit Kāvya. The following poem describes a female character standing guard in a rice field, or more precisely, it describes her foot:

> *ahilijjaï paṃkaale   halālicalaṇeṇa kalamagovīe*
> *keārasoaruṃbhaṇa-   taṃsaṭṭhiakomalo calaṇo || 630 ||*[3]   W 692

> The foot of the guardian of the paddy fields
>   Placed unmoving across the
> Bank of the water canal is sought by a
>   Swarm of bees greedy for lotuses.

The idea is that the bees mistake the woman's foot for a lotus, which might also grow in the rice field. Although the poet skillfully does not directly say that the character's foot resembles a lotus, but rather leaves it to the reader to infer. In classical Sanskrit Kāvya, images of lotus-hands and lotus-feet—hands and feet that resemble lotuses—though very common, are most often used to describe the hands and feet of gods, goddesses, religious teachers, and royalty.[4]

We also find, intermittently among the portrayals of village inhabitants, poems depicting the gods, goddesses and mythological events. The first such verse is the anthology's opening dedication to Paśupati and Gaurī. Quite a few others follow, including other poems about Śiva and Pārvatī, stanzas about Viṣṇu and

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[3]Skt: *abhilīyate padmalolupālivalayena kalamagopyāḥ | kedārasrotorodhanatiryaksthitaniścalaś caraṇaḥ || 630 ||*

[4]See also 401 (W 388), which compares the ploughman's daughter, who is covered in flour, to Lakṣmī emerging from the milk ocean and the travelers who are staring at her to the unblinking gods; *joyaṃti aṇimisacchā pahiā haliassa piṭṭhapaṃḍuriaṃ | dhūaṃ duddhasamudduttaraṃtalacchiṃ via gharāo || 401 ||.*

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1 पंकअले हलालिचलणेण] W_ED, पउंलेहड़ालिवलएण P_ED   **2** °सोअ°] W_ED, °सुत्त° P_ED

Lakṣmī and verses about Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā, and Kṛṣṇa's *gopī* devotees.[5] The presence of these figures in the Gāthās encourages readers to consider the mundane inhabitants of the anthology in terms of a larger cosmological picture. If these stanzas bring the anthology's mundane characters closer to the divine world, they also succeed in 'villagizing' the deities.

The Authority of Female Characters

Related to the poetry's small scale is the way in which it depicts the behavior and attitudes of its female characters. Epic heroines such as Sītā and Śakuntalā adhere to a code of conduct that conforms to standards set forth in classical brahmanical law books. These heroines, even though possessed of a divine or semidivine status,[6] do not cross the bounds or limits of propriety commensurate to their lofty births and stature. Thus they go directly from the houses of their fathers or guardians to the houses of their husbands, ties with whom are sanctioned at all times by dharmic customs and rituals. By contrast, the female characters of the *Sattasaī* are bound by a code of conduct that appears to be negotiated, not with law books and religious teachers, but with their female elders, peers, and rivals.[7] In so doing they exhibit an unusual degree of freedom, autonomy, and outspokenness. One wonders what later readers and commentators made of these female characters. Just as we can ask what made the *Sattasaī* popular, we also need to ask what made it tolerable from the perspective of a literary tradition in which female voice was less common and also more subdued, and in which the control of sexuality frequently fell under the purview of *dharmaśāstra*.

As shown in the previous chapter, we often see these characters lending support and offering friendly advice or admonishment in which natural elements

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[5]As Mirashi writes, Gāthās depicting Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā were surely added some time after the original composition. See Patwardhan (1988, pp. xii f.) for a list of Gāthās depicting religious figures in the *CheViLī* recension.

[6]This status could potentially exempt them from normal codes of conduct.

[7]See *sakhīśikṣokti*s, etc., in the commentaries.

serve as a metaphor for the character's own condition—the growth of a tendril, the ceaselessly flowing river, and so on. Their speech and negotiations are quite free of legal and formulaic religious idioms. When such idioms do appear their tone is quite different from the serious and practical attitude such phrasing often assumes in Sanskrit Kāvya. The following Gāthā in which the female character rebukes her messenger provides an example:[8]

> *jaṃ tuha kajjaṃ, taṃ cia   kajjaṃ majjha tti jaṃ sadā bhaṇasi |*
> *o dūi, saccavaaṇe,   ajja si pāraṃ gaā tassa || W 861 ||*[9]

> Your affairs are my affairs
>   Thus you always say;
> Hey messenger! Speaker of truth
>   Today indeed you have mastered that.

This verse, a compliment that is not really a compliment, hinges around the term *saccavaaṇe* and the expression *pāraṃ gaā*. *Saccavaaṇe*, meaning 'Speaker of truth,' is a vocative that recalls dharmic ideals of truthfulness. It is especially marked since it is the only long compound in a series of short words. As the speaker accuses her go-between of coming too close to the male character to whom she was simply supposed to convey a message, one can imagine that it would be a particularly difficult word for her to utter. *Pāraṃ gaā*, an expression often used to denote mastery over a worthy pursuit such as a branch of learning or a personal religious goal,[10] is similarly tongue-in-cheek and ironic. This differs from examples we see in Sanskrit Kāvya, where religious and legal idioms are used in a serious and practical way even in romantic or *kāma* oriented verse. A paradigmatic example is the *Abhijñānaśākuntala* where both the king and Śakuntala's father validate the king's union with Śakuntala by alluding to notions of *dharma*.[11]

The religious mendicant, a paternal figure and an eminent proponent of law books and religious texts, also makes an appearance in *Sattasaī* Gāthās. Yet, rather

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[8]The stanza is unique to the First Teliṅga Recension.

[9]Skt: *yat tava kāryaṃ, tad eva kāryaṃ mameti yat sadā bhaṇasi | o dūti, satyavacane, adya khalu pāraṃ gatā tasya || W 861 ||*

[10]The expression is particularly common in a Buddhist context.

[11]For example, *Abhijñānaśakuntala* 1.20 and 1.25.

than providing moral backbone or controlling the characters' endeavors, as would often be expected in the context of Sanskrit Kāvya, we see him portrayed as an antagonist, someone who might himself be subject to a (veiled) rebuke or manipulation. In the following verse, W 175 (absent in the *CheViLī* Recension), the speaker deceives a mendicant whose wandering along the riverbank has become problematic:

> bhama dhammia vīsaddho so suṇaho ajja mārio teṇa
> golāaḍaviaḍakuḍuṃga-[12] vāsiṇā dariasīheṇa || W 175 ||[13]

> Wander freely mendicant (*dharmika*)!
> Today that little village dog was killed
> By the fierce lion who lives in the thickets
> On the bank of the Godāvarī.

The speaker suggests to the mendicant that while the village is safe for him, under no circumstances should he go to the thickets on the Godāvarī River. She is, of course, concerned that he will disturb the privacy of the sheltering thickets that serve as the setting for romantic trysts.[14] The Gāthā offers a perspective that differs considerably from the model of the high classical Sanskrit Kāvya in which the religious mendicant wields considerable authority and in which an ordinary village woman would hardly try to meddle in his affairs by offering him advice, especially misleading advice.[15]

Yes, that part of kāvya seems more similar. One difference between the GK and these other genres is the female voice (it seems that in these other genres the narrators or main speakers are most often male). When there are female speakers

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[12]Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

[13]Skt: *bhrama dharmika! viśrabdha sa śunako 'dya mārito tena | godāvarītaṭavikaṭakuñjavāsinā dāruṇasiṃhena || W 175 ||* Notably, this Gāthā is the first one Ānandavardhana cites as an example of *dhvani*.

[14]Elsewhere in the *Sattasaī* such mendicants ruin the thickets by stripping them of their branches—presumably for use in a ritual context—so this may also be a worry.

[15]Other genres of Sanskrit literature such as satires and *prahāsana*s do poke fun at monastics who are thought to be either figures of fun or corrupt, and are more similar to these types of Gāthās. Although, such works are often narrated by male characters. They are perhaps more bound to śāstraic prescriptions.

they are often courtesans, rather than householders. These other genres are perhaps also more bound to śāstric rules.[16]

That the Sanskrit commentarial tradition is enthusiastic about these often outspoken female characters and quite unperturbed by the lack of male authority probably lies in two factors that the authors would have seen as merging together in the *Sattasaī*—*kāma* and the *grāma*. As pointed out above, both *kāma* as a *puruṣārtha* and the *grāma*, or village, already occupied within the Sanskritic worldview relatively minor positions. As a topos of Kāvya, the *kāma* of the *grāma* would not have been explicitly subject to the stringent rules formulated in śāstric literature. Hence, so long as the topic of the poetry was understood to be the *kāma* of villagers, Sanskrit audiences would likely be less inclined to find the degree of female authority and the disregard for certain gender norms problematic.

For these readers there was no doubt something intriguing and even refreshing in these characters whose eloquent speech and portrayals are comparable to those of Sanskrit Kāvya and therefore eminently palatable, yet who conduct themselves with an unusual degree of zeal and freedom. In addition to its bucolic settings and charming natural imagery, the *Sattasaī*'s ability to depict conduct not encountered in the heroes and heroines of courtly poetry surely contributed to its enduring popularity in Sanskrit circles.

From Palace to Bucolic Landscape

For later readers, if not those of Hāla's day as well, the *Sattasaī* also represents an escape from the palace to nature, from the sphere of refined, yet perhaps predictable ornamentation, to an equally complex world of natural beauty. Unornamented, natural beauty is celebrated in Sanskrit Kāvya, but it is often found

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[16]The *Sattasaī* is not as a whole opposed to devout religious practitioners. For instance, Gāthā 247 (W 308) the earth covered with Palāśa flowers looks like (*rehaï*, Skt. *śobhate*, literally, 'is resplendent') it were covered with the red robes of bowing Buddhist monks who have fallen at the feet of the Buddha. Though it is not the practitioners' religiosity per se that is admired, one might conclude that admiration is implied in the stanza. As noted above, several Gāthās in the collection are devoted to religious figures. The first of these is the collection's opening stanza.

confined within the boundaries of a more courtly sphere. In Kālidāsa's *Abhijñā-naśākuntalam* King Duṣyanta praises such beauty in Śakuntalā:

> *sarasijam anuviddhaṃ śaivalenāpi ramyaṃ*
> *malinam api himāṃśor lakṣma lakṣmīṃ tanoti |*
> *iyam adhikamanojñā valkalenāpi tanvī |*
> *kim iva hi madhurāṇāṃ maṇḍanaṃ nākṛtīnām || 1.18 ||*

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The lotus is lovely, even though surrounded by algae,
    The face of the moon radiates grace, even though stained,
This slender lady is surpassingly delightful, even though clad in bark garments,
    Indeed, what is not an ornament to the gentle and well-formed?

Even while the poet would praise Śakuntalā's humble appearance and her simple garb, the heroine's destiny lies at court and later the *āśrama*, the place where she is promised eventual return.[17] She hardly for a moment leaves the influence of these spheres, which are regulated by śāstric injunctions and the *puruṣārtha* scheme. It is in these worlds that the audience viewing the *nāṭaka* becomes immersed. For *Sattasaī* readers, escape to nature means leaving the concerns of these spheres behind.

The *Gāhākosa* as a Version of Pastoral?

In terms of its original milieu, one wonders whether the *Sattasaī* Gāthās were composed and compiled by courtier-poets in a distant royal residence, as an idealization of the village, similar to some conceptions of pastoral literature in Western traditions. The opening Gāthā comparing a a female crane on a lotus leaf to a conch shell on an emerald tray evokes the courtly milieu in which the *Sattasaī* was originally compiled. The stanza introduces the idea that the refined and artificial (emerald tray) has a counterpart in the rustic and natural world (lotus leaf) and

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[17]King Duṣyanta alludes to Śakuntalā's otherworldliness a few lines later: *mānuṣīṣu kathaṃ vā syād asya rūpasya saṃbhavaḥ? | na prabhātaralaṃ jyotir udeti vasudhātalāt || 1.23 ||* 'How could this form be born among mortals? The lightning flash that flickers with shimmering brilliance does not arise from the earth.'

perhaps serves as a bridge between the two. Yet, the poetry that follows in the anthology does not include many idioms of luxury and opulence. It is not meant to be bridging poetry or a study in comparisons. Rarely do we find comparisons drawn between the city and the court on the one hand and the countryside on the other. Nor are there elsewhere signals of an urbane presence. There is instead a considerable sympathy with, and affection for, the anthology's village-dwelling characters and landscapes. If we accept that the poets, male and female, were primarily courtiers of the Sātavāhana and later courts, it is to their credit that there is little within their poetry to signal a courtly, outsider presence. That the Sātavāhana court was likely quite humble, that is to say, not far removed from the village life depicted in these poems, would help to explain the poets' closeness to their subject matter.

Part II

Tribhuvanapāla's *Chekoktivicāralīlā*

Chapter 8

Background

Tribhuvanapāla is one of the earliest Sanskrit scholiasts to formulate a sustained response to the *Gāhākosa* of which substantial material survives. Presented here is an annotated edition and translation of Gāthās 1–28 with his *Chekoktivicāralīlā* commentary. The edition makes use of the recension's earliest extant manuscript, dated to Nepal Saṃvat 340/1 (1220/1 CE), located in the Kesar Library, Nepal (NGMPP C6/12, NAK acc. no. 76). Patwardhan's (1980) edition of the *Chekoktivicāralīlā* relied on later materials that contain alterations and omissions of the original text. The earlier manuscript offers improved and more accurate readings and provides access to a fuller picture of Tribhuvanapāla's work and the anthology as he knew it.

Tribhuvanapāla wrote right around the time of Vidyākara—it is even possible that the two worked in the same geographical location[1]—and his commentarial approach is doubtlessly shaped by some of the same ideologies that influenced the compiler of the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*. My understanding of Tribhuvanapāla's commentarial project is shaped by the discussion of the preceding chapters and my goal is to edit the *GK* to reflect, as far as possible, the text known to him. This text differs on occasion from that constituted by Tieken (1983) and Weber (1881), who sought to restore an urtext of the *GK*.

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[1]On Tribhuvanapāla's possible residence in eastern India, see below, note 1, p. 170. On his date, see below.

Tribhuvanapāla's Date

In his literary criticism of the *Gāhākosa* Tribhuvanapāla cites definitions of rhetorical figures from Daṇḍin's *ca.* seventh century *Kāvyādārśa*, Ānandavardhana's mid-ninth century *Sahṛdayāloka*, Rudraṭa's late ninth century *Kāvyālaṇkāra*, Kuntaka's (*fl. ca.* 975 CE) *Vakroktijīvita*,[2] and a treatise of Bhojadeva of Dhārā (*reg. ca.* 1010–1055, died after 1062 CE?). Bhojadeva, the most modern author to whom Tribhuvanapāla refers, sets the commentary's terminus post quem in the middle of the eleventh century CE. The terminus ante quem may initially be set by the final folio of Q, according to which the MS was finished in the month of Jyaiṣṭha in NS 341 (1221 CE) during the reign of King Abhayamalla (reg. 1216– 35 CE). However, we can move the terminus ante quem further back on the grounds that as Tribhuvanapāla does not mention the well known authors Mammaṭa (*fl. ca.* 1050– 1135 *ce*) and Hemacandra (*ca.* 1088–1172 *ce*), he either predated or was contemporaneous with them.[3] To conclude, a date of *ca.* 1050–1150 CE may provisionally be assigned to the author.

Commentarial Method

As we shall see below, one of Tribhuvanapāla's main goals is to discuss the Gāthās in terms of early Sanskrit *alaṅkāraśāstra*. His basic commentarial procedure is as follows:

1. *Avataranikā*, or short introduction to the Gāthā.

2. *Pratīka* and Sanskrit gloss rephrased for for syntax, usually in the *kathaṃ-bhūtinī* style.

3. Explanation of the situation and the purport of the poem.

4. Introduction of others' interpretations (*anye tu...*).

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[2]Kuntaka post-dates Ānandavardhana (*fl. ca.* 850 CE) and Krishnamoorty (1977, pp. xiv–xx, has convincingly argued that Abhinavagupta (*fl.* 975–1016 CE) paraphrases him, making Kuntaka in all likelihood an elder contemporary of Abhinavagupta.

[3]Weber (1883:6) lists 21 citations from the Prakrit grammarian Vararuci, and four possible citations from Hemacandra, noting however that neither author is identified by name, and that the attribution is moreover difficult because the grammatical citations are 'nur theilweise nachweisbar und leider ebenfalls meist im höchsten Grade corrumpirt.' However, Q shows that although the citations in the western Indian witnesses to the *CheViLī* were influenced by Hemacandra's *PrāVyā*, Tribhuvanapāla did not know this grammar.

5. Citation of relevant diverse *śāstra*.

6. Paraphrase of difficult words and grammatical citations.

7. Identification of one or more *alaṅkāra*s, followed by their definitions, usually from the *KāĀ* or the *KāAl*, when introduced for the first time.

8. Identification of the speaker or character portrayed in terms of *nāyakanāyikābheda*, followed by a śāstraic definition when introduced for the first time.

However, one or more of the above steps may be omitted from any given commentary to a Gāthā, or proceed in a different order.

Although Tribhuvanapāla post-dates Ānandavardhana, rather than adopt the latter's terminology to identify suggested themes or topics (*vastudhvani*), he instead concentrates on a particular group of *alaṅkāra*s defined mostly in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa* and Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālaṅkāra* that sought to incorporate suggested motifs. This stands in marked contrast to Vemabhūpāla (*fl. ca.* fifteenth c.), whose *Bhāvadīpikā* commentary seeks to explain a selection of some one hundred *Sattasaī* Gāthās in term of Ānandavaradhana's and Abhinavagupta's system of *dhvani*-based poetics. In comparison to successors, Tribhuvanapāla has recourse to a wider range of disciplines and resources. These include Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, the *Amarakośa*, other early grammars and lexicons which are still untraced, *Āyurvedaśāstra*, *Śakunaśāstra*, and the customs of his own time and place. He does not follow one predetermined system, or pre-made śāstric scaffold, but instead, in explaining the Gāthās, avails himself of that material which he finds useful. The variety of sources on which Tribhuvanapāla draws reflects a certain open-mindedness towards the collection that is helpful in approaching the Gāthās' original meaning.

Idiosyncrasies of Q

It is likely that the scribe of Q had a separate source for the *mūla* and for the commentary, which he then combined in Q, for it is otherwise difficult to account for the repeated small differences in the ms between the two.

In Q, as in P_{ED} and W_{BH}, the poets' and poetesses' names are affixed throughout. It is perhaps true that little credence can be given to many of these names.

In several instances they correspond to the topic of the verse, rather to an actual personage. However, quite a few correspond to the designations of historical figures.[4] In the beginning of Q the names precede the Gāthās, but, based on the presumed correspondence between the author's name and the topic of the Gāthā, by at least Gāthā 20 they are placed after the Gāthā (this discrepancy has not been emended in the following edition).

Method of Reconstruction

Gāthās

1. The edition reconstructs the *Chekoktivicāralīlā* recension of the *Gāhākosa*. The primary witnesses to this commentary are Q, P_{ED}, and W_{BH}.[5] The apparatus is positive in terms of Q and P_{ED}. W_{BH}'s numerous lacunae are not reported.

2. The readings of T_{ED}, W_{ED}, K_E, and G_{ED} are generally cited in the apparatus.[6] Variants from their apparatuses are occasionally cited.

3. The no. of the corresponding Gāthā in W_{ED} (Weber, 1881) is given in the outer margin.

Commentary

1. As with the Gāthās, the primary witnesses to Tribhuvanapāla's commentary are Q, P_{ED}, and W_{BH}. W_{BH}'s many lacunae are not reported, but the apparatus is positive in terms of Q and P_{ED}. Variants from P_{ED} and W_{BH} are reported in the apparatus as they occur in the printed text. Hence, square

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[4] The ascriptions are introduced in more detail below. See Chapter 10, p. 207.

[5] Q is described in the beginning of this chapter. P_{ED}, Patwardhan's 1980 edition of the *Chekoktivicāralīlā*, is based on two mss for the first six *śataka*s: Ahmedabad MS NO. 7118 of the L.D. Institute of Indology and B.O.R.I. MS NO. 245 of 1880–81. The edition makes use of W_{BH} and its MS, but apart from the citation of variant readings from W_{ED}, it does not give a critical apparatus. W_{BH}, Weber's 1883 edition of the *CheViLī*, is based on B.O.R.I. MS NO. 245.

[6] See 'Sigla in the Critical Apparatus' in 'Abbreviations & Symbols.'

brackets, ellipses, question marks, and exclamation points included in the citations are copied from the printed texts.

2. Commas have occasionally been added when considered useful. In such instances *sandhi* has been removed, though this has not necessarily been reported in the apparatus.

Critical Apparatus

1. The folio nos. of Q are given in the outer margin.

2. For the abbreviations and sigla used in the apparatus, see pp. v–vii.

Scribal Dialects in Q Not Reported in the Apparatus

The gemination of consonants following -*r*; *ṅ*, *ṇ*, or *n* → *ṃ* and vice versa; *ṣ* or *ś* → *s* and vice versa; changes in the placement of *daṇḍa*s. Characters used to cover parts of the palm leaf folio the scribe could not use (see folio 1v, line 2).

Dialects of P$_{ED}$ and W$_{BH}$ Not Reported in the Apparatus

When a reading from P$_{ED}$ or W$_{BH}$ is adopted, the Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī dental *n*-/-*n*- and the *ya-śruti* are omitted, without record, from text and apparatus.

छेकोक्तिविचारलीला १–२८

ॐ नमः शारदायै <div style="float:right">Q1ᵛ</div>

अपराधं न शृणुमो
न चासत्यं त्वयोदितम् ।
गोप्येति गदितं कृष्ण-
5 स्तूष्णीं तिष्ठन्पुनातु वः ॥

इह खलु श्रीसातवाहनकृते गाथाकोशे नानाकविकल्पितासु भिन्नविषयासु चाने-
कच्छेकोक्तिषु सकलकलाकोशकुशलो ऽपि न गूढस्वभावं भावमुद्रावयितुमलं, किं
8 पुनर्वयम्? । तथापि सकलसूरिसार्थप्रार्थनोपरोधेनास्माभिरस्मिन्यथाबुद्धि विवरणं
विधास्यत इति ॥

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5 ≈ *SūM* 2.14, *MaSuSa* 1929

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1 ॐ नमः शारदायै] *conj.*, + + +ः सारदायै Q, ॐ नमो जिनाय । . . . . . Pₑₔ, ॐ नमो
जिनाय । Wʙₕ **2** अपराधं→वः] Q, *omitted* Pₑₔ, अपराधं न ++ मो नेवा ऽसत्येन ++++ प्येति
+ दि ते कृष्णः । तूष्णीं तिप्यृत् (!) पुनातु वः ॥ १ ॥ Wʙₕ **4** गदितं] Q, + दि ते Wʙₕ,
गदितः *SūM*, *MaSuSa* **5** तूष्णीं] Wʙₕ, तूष्णी Q **6** नानाकविकल्पितासु] Q Pₑₔ, ना[नार्थे]
विकल्पितासु Wʙₕ **6** भिन्नविषयासु] Q Pₑₔ, भिन्न[विष]यासु Wʙₕ **6** चानेकच्छेकोक्तिषु]
Q, अनेकच्छेकोक्तिषु Pₑₔ, घनेक (?) छेकोक्तिषु Wʙₕ **7** सकलकलाकोशकुशलो॰] Q, सकलक-
लाकौशलकुशलो PₑₔWʙₕ **7** गूढस्वभावं भावमुद्रावयितुम्] Q, गूढप्रभावमुद्रावयितुम् PₑₔWʙₕ
8 किं पुनर्वयम्] Q Pₑₔ, किं पुन[र्वयं] Wʙₕ **8** सकलसूरिसार्थ॰] Q, सकलसूरिशास्त्रार्थ॰
PₑₔWʙₕ **8** ॰प्रार्थनोपरोधेनास्माभिर्] Wʙₕ, ॰प्रार्थनोपरोधेन अस्माभिर् Q Pₑₔ **8** अस्मिन्य-
थाबुद्धि] Q Pₑₔ, यथाबुद्धि Wʙₕ **8** विवरणं] PₑₔWʙₕ, विवरं Q

1

तत्रादौ सकलविघ्नवन्ध्यां प्रबन्धसिद्धिमधिगन्तुं कविरिमं नमस्कारमकार्षीत् ।

पसुवइणो रोसारुण-
    पडिमासंकंतगोरिमुहअंदं ।
गहिअग्घपंकअं पिव
    संझासलिलंजलिं णमह ॥१॥   W1

पसुवइणो पशुपतेर्महेश्वरस्य । **संझासलिलंजलिं णमह** सन्ध्यासलिलाञ्जलिं नमत
। कथंभूतम्? । **रोसारुणपडिमासंकंतगोरिमुहअंदं** कोपपाटलप्रतिबिम्बितगौरीवक्त्रे-
न्दुम् । अतश्च कीदृशम्? । **गहिअग्घपङ्कअं पिव** गृहीतार्घपङ्कजमिव । सन्ध्यावन्दन
ईर्ष्यारोषारुणत्वं गौरीमुखचन्द्रस्य ज्ञेयम् । अनेनैव वस्तुपक्षेपरूपेणेश्यार्याविप्रलम्भशृ-   Q2r
ङ्गाररसप्रायः प्रबन्धो ऽयं विधास्यत इति सूचितं भवति । उत्प्रेक्षालङ्कारः । तस्या
लक्षणम् ।

यत्र विशेषे वस्तुनि
    सत्यसदारोप्यते समं तस्य ।

वस्त्वन्तरमुपपत्त्या

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10 No author name] Q, हालस्य P_{ED}W_{BH}, शालिवाहनस्य W_PW_G   **10** तत्रादौ सकल॰] P_{ED}-
W_{BH}, तत्रादौ तावत्सकल॰ Q   **10** ॰विघ्नवन्ध्यां प्रबन्धसिद्धिम्] em., ॰विघ्नवन्ध्यां प्रबन्धसिद्धिम्
Q, ॰विघ्नप्रतिबन्धसिद्धिम् P_{ED}W_{BH}   **10** अधिगन्तुं] Q, अवगुंते भुकामः (?अधिगन्तुकामः) P_{ED},
अवनुतेभुकामः (!एव प्रणेतु॰?) W_{BH}   **10** इमं नमस्कारमकार्षीत्] Q, अयं नमस्कारमकार्षीत्
P_{ED}W_{BH}   **12** ॰मुह॰] Σ, ॰मुय॰ W_{BH}   **13** पिव] Q P_{ED}W_{BH}, विअ T_{ED}K_EG_{ED}, मिअ W_{ED}G_{KH}G_G
14 संझा॰] Σ, संज्झा॰ Q, *omitted* W_{BH}   **15** पसुवइणो] Q^{pc"}erased, पशुसुवाइणो Q^{ac}   **15**
संझा॰] P_{ED}, संज्झा॰ Q   **16** ॰गौरीवक्त्रेन्दुम्] Q, ॰अम्बिकावदनेन्दुम् P_{ED}   **17** ॰वन्दन
ईर्ष्यारोषा॰] em., ॰वन्दनेष्यार्यारोषा॰ Q, ॰वन्दनेन रोषा॰ P_{ED}   **18** वस्तुपक्षेप॰] P_{ED}, वस्तुपदीप॰
Q   **19** ॰रस॰] Q, *omitted* P_{ED}   **19** उत्प्रेक्षालङ्कारः] Q^{pc}erased, तत्प्रेक्षालङ्कारः Q^{ac}, उत्प्रेक्षा
नाम अलङ्कारः P_{ED}   **19** तस्या] Q, तस्य P_{ED}   **21** विशेषे] Q, विशिष्टे P_{ED}KāAl   **23**
वस्त्वन्तरमुपपत्त्या विज्ञेया सापरोत्प्रेक्षा] Q, (वस्त्वन्तरमुपपत्त्या उत्प्रेक्षा) सा (तु) विज्ञेया P_{ED}

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11 पशुपते रोषारुणप्रतिमासंक्रान्तगौरीमुखचन्द्रम् । गृहीतार्घपङ्कजमिव सन्ध्यासलिलाञ्जलिं नमत ॥

विज्ञेया सापरोत्प्रेक्षा ॥

इति रुद्रटः । वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारस्त्वाह ।

26 संभावनानुमानेन
 सादृश्येनोभयेन वा ।
 समुल्लिखितवाक्यार्थं
29 तामुत्प्रेक्षां प्रचक्षते ।
 इति ॥ १ ॥

2

सत्त सआइं कइवच्छलेण
32 कोडीअ मज्झआरम्मि ।
हालेण विरइआइं
सालंकाराण गाहाण ॥२॥

W₃

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24 ≈ *KāAl* 8.36: यत्र विशिष्टे वस्तुनि सत्यसदारोप्यते समं तस्य । वस्त्वन्तरमुपपत्त्या संभाव्यं सापरोत्प्रेक्षा ॥ **29** ≈ *Vajī* 3.29–31: संभावनानुमानेन सादृश्येनोभयेन वा । निर्वर्ण्यातिशयोद्रेकप्रतिपाद-नवाञ्छया ॥ २९ ॥ वाच्यवाचकसामर्थ्याक्षिप्तस्वार्थैरिवादिभिः । तदिवेति तदेवेति वादिभिर्वाचकं विना ॥ ३० ॥ समुल्लिखितवाक्यार्थव्यतिरिक्तार्थयोजनम् । उत्प्रेक्षा, (काव्यतत्त्वज्ञैरलङ्करणमुच्यते) ॥ ३.३१ ॥ **31** Caesura after the fourth *gaṇa* (*vipulā*).

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25 इति रुद्रटः] Q, *omitted* P_ED **25** वक्रोक्तिजीवितकारस्त्वाह→प्रचक्षते] Q, *omitted* P_ED **27** सादृश्येनोभयेन] *Vajī*, सदृश्येनोभयेन Q **28** समुल्लिखित॰] *Vajī*, समुल्लिखति Q **31** no author name] Q P_ED W_BH **31** ॰वच्छलेण] Q^{pc''}, ॰वच्छलेनण Q^{ac} **32** कोडीअ] Q W_ED-G_ED, कोडीएँ P_ED W_BH K_E T_ED **32** मज्झआरम्मि] Q K_E W_ED G_ED, मज्झारो P_ED W_BH T_ED **33** विरइआइं] Σ, विरइआणं W_BH **34** सालंकाराण] Σ, सालंकाराणँ G_ED, *omitted* W_BH **34** गाहाण] Q T_ED, गाहाणं P_ED K_E W_ED, गाहाणम् G_ED

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31 सप्त शतानि कविवत्सलेन कोट्या मध्ये । हालेन विरचितानि सालंकाराणां गाथानाम् ॥

आसीद्वत्सगुल्मनाम्नि देशे क्षितितलख्यातः सातवाह्नो नाम नृपस्तस्येयं **हाल** इति संज्ञा । तेन **कोडीअ मज्झआरम्मि** कोट्ट्या मध्ये **सालंकाराण गाहाण** सालंकाराणां गाथानां **सत्त सआइं विरइआइं** सप्त शतानि विरचितानि निबद्धानीति संबन्धः ।

कोटीमध्यात्सारमुद्धृतमित्यर्थः । कथंभूतेन हालेन? । **कइवच्छलेण** कविप्रियेण । यत एव स कविवत्सलो ऽत एव सत्यामपि कवित्वशक्तौ तद्ग्रन्थगाथाग्रथने प्रवृत्त इति ॥२॥

3

पोट्टिसस्स ।

उअ णिच्चलणिप्फंदा
    भिसिणीपत्तम्मि रेहइ बलाआ ।
णिम्मलमरगअभाअण-
    परिट्ठिआ संखसुत्ति व्व ॥ ३ ॥

Q_2^v

W_4

उअ पश्य । **भिसिणीपत्तम्मि** पद्मिनीपत्रे । **बलाआ रेहइ** बलाका शोभते । कीदृशी? ।

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35 आसीद्→प्रवृत्त इति] Q, सप्त शतानि कविवत्सलेन कोट्ट्याः मध्यात्सातवाहनेन विरचितानि सालंकाराणां गाथानाम् । हाल इति सातवाहनस्य कुन्तलाधिपस्य नाम । कविवत्सलत्वात्सत्यामपि शक्तौ तदीया एव गाथाः प्रख्यापिताः ॥ २ ॥ P_{ED}, हाल इति शातवाहनस्य कुंतलाधिपस्य नाम । कवि + + + + (+) प(पि?) शक्तौ तदीया एव गाथा(ः) प्रख्यापिताः W_{BH} **35** वत्सगुल्म॰] *em.*, वास्येगुल्म॰ Q   **35** देशे] Q^{pc} *erased*, दिशि Q^{ac} **36** कोडीअ] Q^{pc} *erased*, कोडीअ Q^{ac} **38** कइवच्छलेण] Q^{pc}", कइवच्छलेणण Q^{pc} **39** कविवत्सलो ऽत] Q^{pc} *erased*"$_{mg}$, काविसवत्सलोत Q^{ac} **41** पोट्टिसस्स] $Q P_{ED} W_{BH}$, हालस्स K_E, वोडिसस्स W_K, योदितस्य W_P **42** ॰णिप्फंदा] $P_{ED} T_{ED} K_E W_{ED}$, ॰णिप्फुंदा Q, णिप्पंदा $W_{BH} G_{ED}$ **43** ॰पत्तम्मि] $Q P_{ED} W_{BH} K_E G_{ED}$, ॰वत्तम्मि $T_{ED} W_{ED}$ **43** बलाआ] $P_{ED} G_{ED}$ वलाका $T_{ED} K_E W_{ED}$, *omitted* W_{BH}, बूलाआ Q   **45** परिट्ठिआ] Σ, परिट्ठिदा G_{ED} **45** ॰सुत्ति] Σ, सिप्पि T_{ED}, *omitted* W_{BH} **46** उअ→मतेनेति] Q, पश्य निश्चला निःष्पन्दा बिसिनीपत्रे शोभते बलाका निर्मलमरकतभाजनप्रतिष्ठिता शङ्खशुक्तिरिव । निश्चला पवनादिपाताभावात् । निःष्पन्दा स्वयं निष्क्रियत्वात् । कल्पितोपमालङ्कारः । P_{ED}, कल्पितोपमालङ्कारः W_{BH} **46** उअ] *rest.* Q_v, उव Q^{ac} *erased*, तव Q^{pc}

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42 पश्य निश्चलनिस्पन्दा बिसिनीपत्रे राजते बलाका । निर्मलमरकतभाजनप्रतिष्ठिता शङ्खशुक्तिरिव ॥

47 **णिच्चलणिप्फंदा** निश्चला पवनादिपतनाभावात् । निस्पन्दा स्वयं निष्क्रिया क्रिया-
रहितत्वात् । केव? । **णिम्मलमरगअभाअणपरिट्ठिआ संखसुत्ति व्व** । निर्मलमरकत-
भाजनपरिस्थिता शङ्खशुक्तिरिव । कल्पितोपमालङ्कारः । तस्या लक्षणम् ।

50 सा कल्पितोपमाख्या
    यैरुपमेयं विशेषणैर्युक्तम् ।
    तादृग्भिस्तावद्द्विः
53   स्यादुपमानं तथा यत्र ॥

वाक्यार्थोपमेयमाचार्यदण्डिनो मतेनेति ।

अन्ये त्वन्यथा गाथार्थं प्रथयन्ति । गुरुजनाकीर्णे वक्तुमक्षमस्य नायकस्य काचि-
56 त्सङ्केतं सूचयति । **उअ णिच्चलणिप्फंदे**त्यादि, अत्र किलोपवनपद्मिनीखण्डे न क-
श्चित्सञ्चरति । यदि समचरिष्यन्न निश्चला बलाकास्थास्यत्तेनावयोः संभोगयोग्यं
स्थानमिति । अत्र च पक्ष इङ्गितलक्ष्यः सूक्ष्मोपमालङ्कारः । तस्या लक्षणं ।

59 इङ्गिताकारलक्ष्यो ऽर्थः
    सौक्ष्म्यात्सूक्ष्म इति स्मृतः ॥ ३ ॥   Q₃ʳ

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53 = *KāAl* 8.13   54 = *vākyārthopamā* at *KāĀ* 2.43   60 = *KāĀ* 2.26ocd

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47 पवनादिपतनाभा- वात्] Q, पवनादिपाताभावात् P_ED   47 निष्क्रिया] *corr.*, निःक्रिया Q,
निष्क्रियत्वात् P_ED   47 क्रियारहितत्वात्] Q^{pc}_{mg}, रहितत्वात् Q^{ac}   52 तादृग्भिस्तावद्द्विः] Q,
तावद्द्विस्तादृग्भिः *KāAl*   54 दण्डिनो] *corr.*, दण्डिना Q   55 अन्ये→स्मृतः] Q, काचिज्जनाकीर्णे
वक्तुमक्षमस्य संकेतं कथयति । अत्र पद्मिनीखण्डनिकटे शून्यं वर्तते, तथा च निश्चला निःष्पन्दा
च बलाकीति इङ्गिताकार- लक्षितत्वादर्थान्तरस्य सूक्ष्मो ऽप्यत्रालङ्कारः P_ED, काचिज्जनाकीर्णे
वक्तुमक्षमस्य संकेतं कथयति, . . अर्थांतरस्य सूक्ष्मो ऽप्यत्रालङ्कारः । W_BH   56 °पद्मिनी°] P_ED,
°पद्मि° Q   57 समचरिष्यन्न] *corr.*, समचरिष्यत् न Q   57 बलाकास्थास्यत्] *corr.*, बलाका
अस्थास्यत् Q   57 तेनावयोः] Q^{pc}, तेनवलायोः Q^{ac}   58 इति] *em.*, इत्य् Q   58 पक्ष]
corr., पक्षे Q   58 °लक्ष्यः] *rest. CheViLī* 7 verse definition, °लक्षः Q   59 °लक्ष्यो] *rest. CheViLī*
7 verse definition, °लक्षो Q   60 सौक्ष्म्यात्] *corr.*, सौक्ष्मात् Q

4

हालस्स ।

62 **ताव च्चिअ रइसमए**
महिलाणं विब्भमा विराअंति ।
जाव ण कुवलअदलसच्छहाइँ
65 **मउलंति णअणाइं ॥४॥**   W5

ताव च्चिअ रइसमए तावदेव रतिसमये । **विब्भमा विराअंति** विभ्रमा मणितसीत्कृ-
तालिङ्गनचुम्बनप्रभृतयो विराजन्ते परभागमाप्नुवन्ति । **जाव ण कुवलअदलसच्छ-**
68 **हाइँ** यावन्न नीलोत्पलपलाशप्रतिमानि **णअणाइं मउलंति** नेत्राणि मुकुलीभवन्ति ।
विभ्रमाणां मध्ये नयननिमीलनानि विशेष्यन्त इत्यर्थः ।

अन्ये तु विभ्रमाः खलु विदग्धवनितानां विनापि रतिसुखानुभवं भवन्ति, न तु
71 नयनार्धनिमीलनानि । अतस्तेषां रतिगुणगणाग्रणीत्वं क्रियत इत्याहुः ।

अन्ये पुनरत्र नयननिमीलनानुमिते रतिसुखानुभवे सति विभ्रमचुम्बनालिङ्ग-
नादयो न परभागं लभन्त इत्याहुः ॥ ४ ॥

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64 Caesura after the fourth *gaṇa* (*vipulā*).

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61 हालस्स] Q, सालाहणस्स P_{ED}W_{BH}, वोडिसस्स K_E, चुल्लोहस्स W_K, त्रिलोकस्य W_P 62
च्चिअ] Σ, व्विअ K_E 63 विब्भमा] Σ, विभ्रमा K_E 64 कुवलअदलसच्छहाइँ] Q P_{ED}W_{BH},
कुवलअसच्छहाइ T_{ED}, कुवलअदलसद्ट्हाइ K_E, कुवलअदलसच्छहाइ W_{ED}, कुवलअदलसेछआइँ G_{ED}
65 मउलंति णअणाइं] P_{ED}T_{ED}K_EW_{ED}, मउलन्ति णअणाइं Q, —नयणाइं W_{BH}, मउलेन्ति णअणाइं
G_{ED}, 66 ताव च्चिअ रइसमए] *rest.* Q_V, ताव च्चिअ रइसमए Q, *omitted* P_{ED} 66
तावदेव→°भवन्ति] Q, तावदेव रतिसमये महिलानां विभ्रमा विराजन्ति, यावन्न कुवलयदलसद्-
शानि मुकुलीभवन्ति नयनानि । विभ्रमा मणितसीत्कृतादयः P_{ED} 66 मणित°] P_{ED}, मनित° Q
68 °पलाश°] *corr.*, °पलास° Q, *omitted* P_{ED} 69 °निमीलनानि] Q, °निमीलितानि P_{ED}
69 इत्यर्थः] Q, इति भावः P_{ED} 70 अन्ये→इत्याहुः] Q, अथवा नयननिमीलितेभ्यो अर्वाक्
सर्वे विभ्रमा लभ्यन्ते, इत्यर्थः P_{ED} 72 अन्ये→इति] Q, अथवा नयननिमीलितेषु जातेषु अन्ये
विभ्रमा न भवन्तिसुखनिश्रेष्टत्वादबला नाम् । क्षणं रटन्ती रुदती नृत्यन्ती चातिविह्वला । निःसहत्वं
तदा याति मुकुलीकृतलोचना P_{ED} 73 इत्याहुः] *em.*, इति Q

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62 तावदेव रतिसमये महिलानां विभ्रमा विराजन्ते । यावन्न कुवलयदलसच्छायानि मुकुलीभवन्ति
नयनानि ॥

5

74 चुल्लोवुकस्स ।

णोहलिअँ अप्पणो किं
ण मग्गसे, मग्गसे कुरवअस्स ? ।
77 **एअं खु हसइ तुह सुहअ**
वलिअमुहपंकअं जाआ ॥ ५ ॥

W6

हे **सुहअ** सुभग । **एअं खु तुह जाआ हसइ** एवं खलु तव जाया हसति । कथं ? ।

Q3[v]

80 **वलिअमुहपंकअं** साचीकृतवक्त्रपद्मं यथा । **णोहलिअँ** अपूर्वोपायनफलम् । **अप्पणो**
किं ण मग्गसे ? आत्मनः संबन्धि किमिति न प्रार्थयसे ? । **मग्गसे कुरवअस्स** मार्गसे
कुरबकस्य । अनेन तावदस्याः सुचिरागमनेनापूर्वदर्शनो वर्तस इत्यर्थः । उत्तरो ऽलङ्-
83 कारः ।

उत्तरवचनश्रवणाद्
उन्नयनं पूर्ववचनानाम् ।
86 विज्ञेय उत्तरो ऽसौ

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77 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

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74 चुल्लोवुकस्स] Q, चुल्लोडयस्स P[ED]W[BH], चुल्लोहस्स W[K], मअरंदसेणस्स W[K], मकरंदस्य W[P]
76 मग्गसे] Q[pc], *omitted* Q[ac]   **76** कुरवअस्स] *rest.* Q[C], कुर्+वअस्स Q, कुरुवयस्स P[ED],
कुरवअस्स W[ED]T[ED], –वयस्स W[BH]   **77** खु] QW[ED]T[ED], तु P[ED]W[BH]   **77** हसइ तुह सुहअ]
QP[ED]W[BH], तुह सुहअ हसइ W[ED], तुह हसइ सुहअ T[ED]   **79** सुहअ] *em.,* सुह+अ Q   **79**
हे→नायिका] Q, नवफलिकामात्मनः किं न मार्गयिसि मार्गयसे त्वं कुरवकस्य, एवं तु हसति त्वां
हे सुभग वलितमुखपङ्क जं जाया । अपूर्वोपायनफलं नवफलिका । सम्केतस्थानात्कुरुबकं गृहीत्वा
आयातः सन्कुलटायाः कुरुबकं दर्शयन्नवफलिकां याचते । न त्वं तत्र गतेति सूचनार्थम् । सापि तव
प्रथममहं गतेति वलितग्रीवं केशन्यस्तकुरुबकं दर्शितवती । अतस्तत्सखी विदिताभिप्राया गाथामिमा-
माह । लेशो ऽलङ्कारः, उत्तरं वा । नवजातकुसुमं ललना लतायाः नोहलियं (नवफलिकाम्) इच्छन्ति ।
नवफलिका स्यान्नव्ये (?) नवजातरजःस्त्रियां ॥ ५ ॥ P[ED], एतत्तु (wohl etan nu?) हसति त्वां हे
सुभग W[BH]   **79** एवं] Q[pc], एतत् Q[ac]   **79** जाया हसति] *em.,* ++++ति Q   **80** ॰मुहपंकअं]
Q[pc], ॰मुहअंकअं Q[ac]   **80** अपूर्वोपायनफलं] *em.,* अपूर्व्वोपाअनहलं Q   **81** किं ण] *rest.* Q[v],
किण्ण Q

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75 नवोपायनफलमात्मनः किं न मार्गसे मार्गसे कुरबकस्य ? । एवं खलु हसति तव सुभग वलितमुखप-
ङ्कजं जाया ॥

प्रश्नादप्युत्तरं यत्र ।

अन्ये पुनरन्यथा गाथार्थं प्रतिपादयन्ति । यथासौ नायको व्यपदेशात्कुरबककुसुमा-
नयनचिह्नेन तदुपलक्षितसङ्केतस्थानं प्रथममहं तत्र गतवांस्त्वं तु न गतासीत्यनक्ष-
रं गूढोपालम्भमभ्यधात् । तस्या च तया विदग्धवध्वा वलितास्यहासनिर्देशेन स्वके-
शविनिवेशितं कुरबककुसुमं दर्शयन्त्याहं तत्र प्रथमं गता न त्वमिति प्रत्युपालब्धवती ।

एतत्तु तयो रहस्यं मा कश्चिदन्यो जनो जानात्विति प्रच्छादयन्ती सखीदमाह **णोहलि-
अं अप्पणो किं ण मग्गस** इत्यादि । अत्र पक्षे लेशो ऽलङ्कारः ।

लेशो लेशेन निर्भिन्न-   Q4^r

वस्तुरूपनिगूहनम् ।

अत्र स्वामिन्या इङ्गितवेदिनीत्वं सखीगुणः, कर्म च प्रियोपालम्भः । तदुक्तं ।

तासां स्मृतिरुत्साहो

भक्तिश्चित्रज्ञता च वाग्मित्वं ।

प्रागल्भ्यमाननैपुण-

सकलकलाकौशलानि गुणाः ॥

दयितस्योपालम्भो

विरहाश्वासप्रसादनविनोदाः ।

प्रियतमसङ्गमशिक्षा

तत्प्रतिकर्माणि कर्मविदा ॥

स्वीया नायिका ॥ ५ ॥

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87 ≈ *KāAl* 7.93: उत्तरवचनश्रवणादुन्नयनं यत्र पूर्ववचनानाम् । क्रियते तदुत्तरं स्यात्प्रश्नादप्युत्तरं
यत्र ॥ The main difference is in *pāda* c.   **95** = *Kāvyādarśa* 2.265cd   **100** The enumeration of the
*sakhīguṇa*s and *sakhīkarma*s appear to be *āryā* verse versions of *Śṛṅgāratilaka* 2.66–67 (Pischel ed.,
2.103–4): कलाकौशलमुत्साहो भक्तिश्चित्रज्ञता स्मृतिः । माधुर्यं नर्मविज्ञानं वाग्मिता चेति तद्गुणाः ॥
विनोदो मण्डनं शिक्षोपालम्भो ऽथ प्रसादनम् । सङ्गमो विरहाश्वासः सखीकर्मेति तद्यथा ॥

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87 उत्तरं] Q^{pc}, उप्तरं Q^{ac} **89** गतवांस्त्वं] *corr.*, गतवान्त्वं Q   **90** गतासीत्यनक्षरं] *corr.*,
गतासीति अनक्षरं Q   **91** कुरबक°] *rest.* Q$_c$, कुरुवक° Q   **91** दर्शयन्त्याहम्] *corr.*, दर्शयन्त्या
अहम् Q   **93** किं ण] *rest.* Q$_v$, किण्ण Q   **93** मग्गस इत्यादि] *corr.*, मग्गसेत्यादि Q   **98**
वाग्मित्वं] *corr.*, वग्मित्वं Q   **100** °कौशलानि] *corr.*, °कोशलानि Q

6

मकरन्दस्स ।

107 ताविज्जंति असोएहिँ
 लडहविलआउ दइअविरहम्मि ।
 किं सहइ को वि कस्स वि
110 पाअपहारं पहुप्पंतो? ॥ ६ ॥   W7

असोएहिँ लडहविलआउ ताविज्जंति अशोकैर्लटभललनाः संताप्यन्ते । कदा? । **दइअ-**
विरहम्मि प्रियवियोगे । इदमेव समर्थयन्नाह । **किं सहइ को वि कस्स वि पाअपहारं?**
113 किं सहते को ऽपि कस्यापि पादप्रहारम्? । किं कुर्वन्? **पहुप्पन्तो** प्रभवन् । एते किल
दोहददानव्यपदेशेन प्रमदाभिः पादतलैस्ताप्यन्त इति । पूर्वं किल कान्तसंगतासु तासु
न च पञ्चेषुः प्रभवति स्म । संप्रति तु प्रियविरहितानां मधुविभाविताशोकसमृद्धि-   Q4^v
116 समवलोकनेन भृशं कृशाङ्गीनां मदनो मनो दुनोतीति गाथार्थः । अर्थान्तरन्यासो
ऽलङ्कारः ।

 ज्ञेयः सो ऽर्थान्तरन्यासो
119 वस्तु प्रस्तुत्य किञ्चन ।
 तत्साधनसमर्थस्य

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107 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

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106 मकरन्दस्स]   Q, मयरंदसेहरस्स P_{ED}, मयरंदसेरस्स W_{BH}, मअरंदसेणस्स K_E, अमरराअस्स
W_K, प्रवरराजस्य W_P   **107** ताविज्जंति] Q^{pc}, ताविज्जंतो Q^{ac}, ताविज्जिति K_E(Cod.)   **107**
असोएहिँ]   Q^{pc}G_{ED}K_E(Cod.), असोएइहिं Q^{ac}, असोइहिं G_G, असोएहि P_{ED}W_{ED}T_{ED}   **108**
विलआउ]   QP_{ED}W_{BH}W_{ED}, विलआओ T_{ED}, विलयाओ W_R, वणिआऔं G_{ED}, वणिआउ W_γ   **110**
पहुप्पंतो]   *corr.*, पहुपंतो Q W_ψ, पहुप्पंतो P_{ED}W_{ED}, पहुष्पंतो W_{BH}   **111** लडह°]   Q^{pc}, लडभ°
Q^{ac}   **111** अशोकैर्लटभ°]   अशोकै+ल्लटभ° Q   **111** असोएहिँ →सन्तः]   ताप्यन्ते ऽशोकैर्लटभवनिता
दयितविरहे, उद्दीपनविभावत्वादशोकस्य । किं सहते को ऽपि कस्यापि पादप्रहारं प्रपुष्यन् (?) ।
दोहददानार्थं ताभिरशोकः पादैर्हत आसीत् इति । अर्थान्तरन्यासो ऽलङ्कारः ॥ ६ ॥ P_{ED}, लटभ(!)वनि-
ताः, W_{BH}   **113** पहुप्पन्तो]   *corr.*, पहुपन्तो Q   **113** प्रभवन्]   *corr.*, प्रभवन Q   **114** ताप्यन्ते]
corr., ताम्भन्ते Q   **116** मनो]   *corr.*, मना Q   **119** वस्तु प्रस्तुत्य]   Q^{pc}_{mg}, वस्तुत्य Q^{ac}

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107 ताप्यन्ते ऽशोकैर्लटभललना दयितविरहे । किं सहते को ऽपि कस्यापि पादप्रहारं प्रभवन्? ॥ ६ ॥

न्यासो यो ऽन्यस्य वस्तुनः ॥

122 विरहिणी नायिका । तस्या लक्षणम् ।

त्यक्त्वा गतः स्वविषयाद्विषयान्तरं यां
प्राणेश्वरः प्रतनुतापकणोपगूढाम् ।
125 दुर्वारदुःखदहनप्रतिदीपिताङ्गीं
तां प्रोषितप्रियतमां प्रवदन्ति सन्तः ॥ ६ ॥

7

अत्ता तह रमणिज्जं
128 अम्हं गामस्स मंडणीभूअं ।
लुअतिलवाडिसरिच्छं
सिसिरेण कअं भिसिणिसंडं ॥ ७ ॥ W8

131 हे **अत्ता** पितृष्वसः । **तह रमणिज्जं** तथा तेन वर्णनीयेन प्रकारेण रमणीयम् । **भि-सिणिसंडं** बिसिनीषण्डम् । **लुअतिलवाडिसरिच्छं सिसिरेण कअं** शीतसमयेन लून-तिलवाटिकातुल्यं कृतम् । कथंभूतं तम्? । **अम्हं गामस्स मंडणीभूअं** अस्माकं ग्रा-मस्य मण्डनीभूतम् । संकेतायोग्यतया निष्प्रयोजनत्वात्पद्मिनीवनं लूनतिलवाटि-

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121 = *Kāvyādarśa* 2.169

125 दुर्वार॰] *corr.*, दुन्वार॰ Q   **127** No author name QW_BH, तस्सेय P_ED, अमररस्स K_E, कुमारिलस्स W_K, कुमारिलस्य W_P   **128** गामस्स] Σ, गाअस्स G_KH   **128** मंडणीभूअं] *corr.*, मंडणाभूअं Q^pc, मंडणाभू+अं Q^ac, मंडणीहूअं W_ED G_ED, मंडणब्भूयं P_ED W_BH, मंडणं भूअं T_ED   **129** लुअ॰] *rest.* Q_C, लुव॰ Q   **129** ॰वाडि॰] QW_ED T_ED G_ED, ॰वाङ॰ P_ED W_BH   **129** ॰सरिच्छं] QW_ED T_ED G_ED, ॰सरिसं P_ED, ॰संडं Σ, ॰खंडं W_ε   **131** हे→सखी च] हे अत्ता पितृष्वसः, तथा रमणीयम् अस्माकं ग्रामस्य मण्डनभूतं लूनतिलवाटसदृशं शिशिरेण कृतं बिसिनीखण्डम् । लूनतिलवाट-वत् संकेतस्थाननिरुपयोगित्वात् । संकेतभङ्गकथनम् । उपमासहोक्तिः (?) अलङ्कारः सूक्ष्मं च ॥ ७ ॥ P_ED, उपमासहोक्तिरलङ्कारः W_BH   **131** रमणीयम्] Q^pc, रमणीअं Q^ac   **132** ॰षण्डम्] *corr.*, ॰खण्डं Q   **133** मंडणी॰] *conj.*, मंडण्+॰(मंडणी॰।मंडणा॰?) Q   **134** मण्डनीभूतं] *em.*, मण्डनभूतं Q^pc P_ED, मण्डनकभूतं Q^ac   **134** पद्मिनी] *rest.* Q_C, पद्मनी Q

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127 पितृष्वसस्तथा रमणीयमस्माकं ग्रामस्य मण्डनीभूतम् । लूणतिलवाटिकासदृशं शिशिरेण कृतं बिसिनीषण्डम् ॥ ७ ॥

कयोपमीयते । इङ्गितं चात्र विवक्षितं न पद्मिनीवनं तिलवाटिकासमं संप्रति प्र-
च्छन्नकामितोपकरणमस्तीति । पूर्वत्रोपमा, उत्तरस्याख्याने तूपमासहोक्तिः, अङ्गी Q_5^r

137 पुनरिङ्गितलक्ष्यः सूक्ष्मो ऽलङ्कारः ।

इङ्गिताकारलक्ष्यो ऽर्थः

सौक्ष्म्यात्सूक्ष्म इति स्मृतः ।

140 **भिसिणी**षण्डस्य बिसिन्यां **भ** इति बस्य **भत्वे** रूपम् । **अत्ता** पितृष्वसा श्वश्रू सखी

च ॥ ७ ॥

8

कुमारस्य

143 **मा रुअसु ओणअमुही**
    धवलाअंतेसु सालिछेत्तेसु ।
    हरिआलमंडिअमुही
146 **नडि व्व सणवाडिआ जाआ ॥ ८ ॥**   W9

काचित्सखीं समाश्वासयितुमिदमाह । **मा रुअसु ओणअमुही** मा रोदीरवनतमुखी ।
क्व सति? । **धवलाअंतेसु सालिछेत्तेसु** धवलायमानेषु शालिक्षेत्रेषु । **हरिआलमंडि-**

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138 = *KāĀ* 2.260cd

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137 °लक्ष्यः] *rest.* verse definition, °लक्षः Q   **139** सौक्ष्म्यात्] *corr. CheViLī* 3 *KāĀ*, सूक्ष्म्यात्
Q   **142** कुमारस्य] Q, कुमारिल्लस्स $P_{ED}W_{BH}K_E$, No author name W_{ED} **143** मा रुअसु
QP_{ED}, —रुयसु W_{BH}, किं रुअसि $K_EW_{ED}T_{ED}G_{ED}$ **143** ओणअमुही] Q *rest.* Q_c, ओअणमुखी
Q   **144** °छेत्तेसु] QW_KW_{ED}, °छित्तेसु P_{ED} **145** °मुही] *em.*$W_{ED}T_{ED}G_{ED}$, °मुखी Q, °मुहा
$P_{ED}W_{BH}$ **146** नडि] $QW_{ED}T_{ED}G_{ED}$, नड $P_{ED}W_{BH}$ **146** सणवाडिआ] $Q^{pc}W_{ED}T_{ED}G_{ED}$,
सणवाडआ Q^{ac}, सणवाडया P_{ED} **147** काचित्→ऽलङ्कारः] मुखी (ई *unsicher*) नटी इव,
—शणवाटका W_{BH} **147** ओणअमुही] Q^{pc}, ओअणमुहीQ^{ac} **147** रोदीर्] *corr.*, रोदी Q,
रोदीः P_{ED} **148** सालिछेत्तेसु] Q, सालिछित्तेसु P_{ED} **148** धवलायमानेष] P_{ED}, धवलाअमानेषु
Q^{pc}, धवलाअमानेसुइ Q^{ac} **148** यत्] Q, *omitted* P_{ED}

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143 मा रोदीरवनतमुखी धवलायमानेषु शालिक्षेत्रेषु । हरितालमण्डितमुखी नटीव शणवाटिका
जाता ॥

149 **अमुही नडि व्व सणवाडिआ जाआ** हरितालमण्डितमुखी नटीव शणवाटिका जाता ।
एतदुक्तं भवति । ' ओषध्यः फलपाकान्ता ' इति यदि नाम परिणतिवशेन शाल-
यः शीर्यन्ते, शीर्यन्ताम् । इमानि पुष्पितानि शणवाटिकानि स्वेच्छाप्रच्छन्नरतोप-   Q5^v
152 करणानि भविष्यन्तीति । हरितालं धातुविशेषः । उपमासूक्ष्माभ्यां संकीर्णो ऽलङ्का-
रः ॥ ८ ॥

9

महेंदस्स

155 सहि एरिस च्चिअ गई
मा रुव्वउ तंसवलिअमुहअंदं ।
एआण बालवालुंकि-
158 तंतुकुडिलाण पेम्माण ॥ ९ ॥   W10

सहि सखि । **मा रुव्वउ** मा रुद्यताम् । **तंसवलिअमुहअंदं** व्यस्रवलितमुखचन्द्रम् ।

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150 = *Amarakośa* 2.4.110a; = *Manusmṛti* 1.46c: ओषध्यः फलपाकान्ताः   **157** Caesura after the first
short of the fourth *gaṇa*

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149 °मुही] *em.*, °मुखी Q, °मुहा P$_{ED}$ **149** नडि] Q, नड P$_{ED}$ **149** सणवाडिआ] Q,
सणवाडया P$_{ED}$ **149** नटीव] *em.*, नटी इ + व Q, नटा इव P$_{ED}$ **149** शणवाटिका जाता]
em., शणवाटिका जाताः Q, शणवाटका जाताः P$_{ED}$ **150** ओषध्यः] *em.*, ओषधयः Q   **150**
फलपाकान्ता] Q, फलपाकान्ताः P$_{ED}$ **151** शणवाटिकानि] Q, शणवाटकानि P$_{ED}$ **152**
स्वेच्छाप्रच्छन्नरतोपकरणानि भविष्यन्तीति] Q, । ततः स्वेच्छाप्रच्छन्नोपकरणानि च भवि-
ष्यन्ति इति   **152** हरितालं] Q, हरितालो P$_{ED}$ **154** महेंदस्स] *em.*, महेन्द्रस्स Q, महेन्द्रपालस्य
P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$, सिरिआअस्स W$_K$, अनीकस्य W$_P$ **155** एरिस] Q T$_{ED}$, एरिसि P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$W$_{ED}$ **155** च्चिअ]
Q P$_{ED}$T$_{ED}$W$_{ED}$, व्विअ W$_{BH}$K$_E$G$_{ED}$ **156** रुव्वउ] Q P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$T$_{ED}$, रुव्वसु W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$, रुच्चसु K$_E$
156 तंस°] Q^{pc}, तंसि° Q^{ac}, तिरिअ° G$_G$ **157** बालवालुंकि° Q P$_{ED}$, वालवालुंकि° W$_{BH}$T$_{ED}$W$_{ED}$,
चालवालुक्कि° W$_K$ **158** °तंतु] Σ, °भुंतु° W$_{BH}$ **158** °कुडिलाण°] Q^{pc}, °कुडिलान° Q^{ac},
कुडिलाणँ G$_{ED}$ **158** पेम्माण] Q T$_{ED}$, पिम्माण W$_{BH}$, पिम्माणं P$_{ED}$, पेम्माणं K$_E$W$_{ED}$ **159**
सहि→रूपम्] व्यस्रशब्दस्य वक्रादित्वादखरे (!अनुस्वारे) कृते रूपम् । W$_{BH}$ **159** रुद्यताम् ।
तंस°] Q, रुद्यतां । कथम्? । तंस° P$_{ED}$ **159** तंस°] Q^{pc}, तंसि° Q^{ac} **159** व्यस्र°, व्यस्र° Q^{pc},
तासु Q^{ac}

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155 सखि ईदृश्येव गतिर्मा रुद्यतां व्यस्रवलितमुखचन्द्रम् । एतेषां बालवालुङ्कितन्तुकुटिलानां प्रेम्णाम् ॥

एआण बालवालुङ्किकितंतुकुडिलाण पेम्माण एरिस च्चिअ गई एतेषां बालवालुङ्कि-
तन्तुकुटिलानां प्रेम्णामीदृश्येव गतिर्दुःखदायिनीत्यर्थः । **तंसं** इति व्यश्रशब्दस्य वक्रा-
दित्वादनुस्वारे कृते रूपम् ॥ ९ ॥

10

दुर्गस्वामिनः ।

पाअवडिअस्स पइणो
   पुट्ठिं पुत्ते समारुहंतम्मि ।
दुढमण्णुदूमिआएॅ वि
   हासो घरिणीएॅ णिक्कंतो ॥ १० ॥

हासो गृहिण्या निष्क्रान्तः । कीदृश्याः? । **दुढमण्णुदूमिआएॅ वि** दृढो यो मन्युस्तेन

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162 *Cf. PrāPra* 4.15: वक्रादिषु ॥ वक्रादिषु शब्देषु बिन्दुरागमो भवति ॥ वंकं । तंसं । . . . ॥ वक्र ।
व्यश्र । . . . इत्यादयः ॥; *PrāVyā* 1.26: वक्रादावन्तः ॥ वक्रादिषु यथादर्शनं प्रथमादेः स्वरस्य अन्त
आगमरूपोनुस्वारो भवति ॥ वंकं । तंसं । . . . वक्र । व्यस्र । . . .

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160 °कुडिलाण°] Q^{pc}, °कुडिलान° Q^{ac} erased **160** पेम्माण] Q, पिम्माणं P$_{ED}$ **160** एरिस]
Q^{pc}P$_{ED}$, एरि । स Q^{ac} erased **161** तंसं इति] Q, *omitted* P$_{ED}$ **162** वक्रादि°] *corr.*, वक्रादि°
Q **163** दुर्गस्वामिनः] QP$_{ED}$, दुर्ग्रेस्वामिनः W$_{BH}$, सिरिराअस्स K$_E$, no author name W$_{ED}$ **164**
पाअवडिअस्स] QP$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$T$_{ED}$, पाअपडिअस्स W$_{ED}$K$_E$ **164** पइणो] *rest.* Q$_C$, पुइणो Q
165 पुट्ठिं] QW$_{ED}$K$_E$G$_{ED}$, पट्ठिं P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$T$_{ED}$ **166** दुढ°] Σ, दिढ° T$_{ED}$ **166** °दूमि°] *em.*,
P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$T$_{ED}$W$_{ED}$K$_E$, °दुण्णि° G$_{ED}$, °<दू>मि° Q **166** °आएॅ] *rest.* Q$_C$P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$T$_{ED}$K$_E$G$_{ED}$, °आइ
QW$_{ED}$ **167** घरिणीएॅ] QT$_{ED}$K$_E$G$_{ED}$, घरिणीइ P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$, घरिणीअ W$_{ED}$ **167** णिक्कंतो]
Σ, णेक्कंतो G$_{ED}$ **168** निष्क्रान्तः] *em.*, निःक्रान्तः Q **168** हासो → सूक्ष्मालङ्कारः] हासो
घरिणीइ णिक्कंतो हासो गृहिन्या निष्क्रान्तः । कीदृश्याः । दढमन्नुदूमियाएॅ दृढो यो मन्युः तेन दूणायाः
पीदिताया अपि । क्व सति । पट्ठिं पुत्ते समारुहंतम्मि पृष्ठं पुत्ते समारोहति सति । पायवडियस्स पइणो
पादपतितस्य पत्युः । स किलानुनयन्नपि गोत्रस्खलनं चकार । तथाभूतस्य च तस्य पशुनिर्विशेषस्य या
पुत्रेण पृष्ठारोहणलक्षणविकृतचेष्टा सा अस्या हासहेतुः । हास्यो ऽपि हासमूलः स्फुटमुत्तममध्यमामधम-
प्रकृतिः । विकृताङ्गवेषभाषाव्यापारेभ्यः समुद्भवति ॥ खण्डिता नायिका । हासेन व्याजतो मन्दम्
इति खण्डिताकोपाङ्गम् । सूक्ष्ममलङ्कारः ॥ १० ॥ P$_{ED}$, सूक्ष्मो ऽलङ्कारः W$_{BH}$ **168** दूमिआएॅ]
em., °दूमिआएॅ Q

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164 पादपतितस्य पत्युः पृष्ठं पुत्रे समारोहति । दृढमन्युदूनाया अपि हासो गृहिण्या निष्क्रान्तः ॥

दूनायाः, पीडितायाः, अपि । क्व? । **पुट्ठिं पुत्ते समारुहंतम्मि** पृष्ठं पुत्रे समारोहति Q6^r
सति । कस्य? । **पाअवडिअस्स पइणो** पादपतितस्य पत्युः । स किलानुनयन्नपि
गोत्रस्खलनं चकार । तथाभूतस्य च तस्य पत्युः पशोर्निर्विशेषस्य यत्पृष्ठारोहणलक्षणं
विकृतं चेष्टा सा हासहेतुः ।

हास्यो ऽपि हासमूलः स्फुटमुत्तमाधममध्यमप्रकृतिः ।
विकृताङ्गवेषभाषाव्यापारेभ्यः समुद्भवति ॥

खण्डिता नायिका । ' हासो ऽन्यव्याजेन मन्द ' इति खण्डिताकोपान्तः ।   सूक्ष्मो
ऽलङ्कारः ॥ १ ० ॥

11

श्रीशातवाहनस्स ।

कचित्स्वस्वामिन्या दुरवस्थां दृष्ट्वा तद्गृहानयनाय नायकमिदमाह ॥

सच्चं जाणइ दट्ठुं
   सरिसम्मि जणम्मि जुज्जएँ राओ ।
मरउ ण तुमं भणिस्सं
   मरणं पि सलाहणिज्जं से ॥ ११ ॥ W12

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173 *Āryā* verse version of Rudrabhaṭṭa's (=Rudraṭa's) *ŚṛTi*: ३.१–२: विकृताङ्गवचःकृत्य वेषेभ्यो
जायते रसः । हास्यो ऽयं हासमूलत्वात्पात्रत्रयगतो यथा ॥   **175** Untraced.

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169 क्व] Q, क्व सति P_ED   **169** पृष्ठं पुत्रे समारोहति] P_ED, *omitted* Q   **171** पत्युः
पशोर्निर्विशेषस्य] *em.*, पशोर्निर्विशेषस्य या पुत्रेण पृष्ठारोहणलक्षणविकृतचेष्टा सा अस्या हासहेतुः
P_ED, पत्युर्निर्विशेषस्य यत्पृष्ठारोहणलक्षणं विकृतं चेष्टा सा हासहेतुः Q   **173** हास°] P_ED, °ह्रास्य
Q   **174** °भाषाव्यापा रेभ्यः] P_ED, °भाषाअयरेभ्यः Q   **175** हासो ऽन्यव्याजेन मन्द इति
खण्डिताको- पान्तः] *em.*, हासो ऽन्यव्याजेनो मन्द इति खण्डिताको- पान्तम् Q, हासेन व्याजतो
मन्दम् इति खण्डिताकोपाङ्गम् P_ED   **177** श्रीशातवाहनस्स]   Q, तस्यैव (दुर्गस्वामिनः) P_EDW_BH,
दुर्गस्वामिनः W_P   **178** नायकम्] *corr.*, नाकम् Q   **178** कचित्→आह] *omitted* P_EDW_BH
181 तुमं] Q^{pc}, तुवामं Q^{ac}

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179 सत्यं जानाति द्रष्टुं सदृशे जने युज्यते रागः । क्रियतां न त्वां भणिष्यामि मरणमपि श्लाघ्यं तस्याः
॥

126

सच्चं जाणइ दट्ठुं सत्यं जानाति द्रष्टुम् । यतः **सरिसम्मि जणम्मि जुज्जएँ राओ** सदृशे जने युज्यते रागः । रूपवान्भवान्, सापि रूपवतीत्यर्थः । **मरउ न तुमं भणिस्सं** यदि वा सा त्वामलभमाना म्रियते, म्रियताम् । न त्वां भणिष्यामि । किं कारणम्? । **मरणं** 185
पि सलाहणिज्जं से । मरणमपि श्लाघ्यं तस्याः, यत्त्वदर्थे संपद्यत इति । Q6ᵛ

अन्ये त्वन्यथा गाथार्थं योजयन्ति । सत्यं जानाति द्रष्टुं यदसौ त्वय्यनुपमरूपे
यून्यनुरक्ता । एतदुक्तं भवति, द्रष्टुमेव जानाति न पुनरिङ्गिताकारवेदिनी । यतः 188
सदृशेषु जनेषु युज्यते रागः । अनुरागकृतमत्र सादृश्यम् । रक्ते जने ऽनुरज्यते, त्वं तु
वीतराग इत्यर्थः । अतश्च म्रियतां, न त्वां भणिष्यामि । यत ईदृश्यामविवेकिन्यामुपे-
क्षा एव क्षमः । अपि च मरणमपि श्लाघ्यं तस्याः । मृतायामपि तस्यां नानुतापो 191
भविष्यतीति भावः । एतेन सा त्वद्वियोगे दशमीं दशां प्राप्तकल्पा वर्तत इति प्रति-
पादितं भवति । पर्यायोक्तिरलङ्कारः ।

इष्टमर्थमनाख्याय साक्षात्तस्यैव सिद्धये । 194
यत्प्रकारान्तराख्यानं पर्यायोक्तं तदिष्यते ॥ ११ ॥

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195 *KāĀ* 2.295

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184 रूपवान्भवान्] *conj.,* रूपवान्_भवान् Qᵖᶜ_mg, रूपवान् Qᵃᶜ, त्वं रूपवान् P_ED W_BH **184** सापि]
Q सापि॰ P_ED W_BH **185** वा] Q, च P_ED **186** सलाहणिज्जं] P_ED, सलाहणि + ˙ Q **186** यत्]
Qᵖᶜ_mg, य Qᵃᶜ **186** ॰अर्थे] Q, ॰अर्थम् P_ED W_BH **186** इति] Q, *omitted* P_ED W_BH **187** त्व्]
Q, *omitted* P_ED W_BH **187** सत्यं जानाति द्रष्टुं] Q P_ED, *omitted* W_BH **187** यदसौ त्वय्यनुपमरूपे
यून्यनुरक्ता] *corr.,* यदसौ त्वय्यनुपमरूपे यूनि अनुरक्ता P_ED, यदसरूपे चाननुपमरूपे यूनि यानुर-
क्ता Q, असौ त्वयि अनुपमरूपे यूनि अनुरक्ता W_BH **188** एतदुक्तं भवति द्रष्टुमेव जानाति]
Q P_ED, द्रष्टुमेव जानाति W_BH **188** यतः] P_ED यं ततः Q **189** सदृशेषु जनेषु] Q, सदृशे
जने P_ED **189** रक्ते] P_ED, रक्त् + Q **191** उपेक्षा एव] Q, उपेक्षापक्ष एव P_ED W_BH
191 मृतायामपि तस्यां] Q, तस्यां मृतायामपि P_ED **192** वियोगे] Q, वियोगेन P_ED **193**
पादितम्] P_ED, पादित Q **195** यत्प्रकारान्तराख्यानं] P_ED, यताकारान्तराख्यानं Qᵖᶜ_mg, य
आकारान्तराख्यानं Qᵃᶜ, यत्रा कार्यं अनाख्यातं W_BH

12

तस्यैव

१९७ रंधणकम्मणिउणिए
मा जूरसु रत्तपाडलसुअंधं ।
मुहमारुअं पिअंतो
२०० विज्झाइ सिही ण पज्जलइ ॥ १२ ॥   W₁₃

हे रंधनकम्मणिउणिए मा जूरसु हे रन्धनकर्मनिपुणिके मा खिद्यस्व । यतो **मुहमारुअं**   Q₇ʳ
पिअंतो विज्झाइ सिही वदनपवनं पिबन्निर्वाति शिखी । **ण पज्जलइ**, न दीप्यते
२०३ । कथंभूतम्? । **रत्तपाडलसुअंधं** रक्तपाटलसुगन्धम् । अयमर्थः, संधुक्षितो ह्यमपि
रक्तपाटलसुगन्धिवदनपवनपानसुखं न प्राप्य इति मत्वा पावको न दीप्यत इति ।
          अन्ये त्वधरदलदन्तव्रणवशविसूत्रितसूत्कारकर्णितायां दुर्विनयं प्रच्छादयन्ती का-
२०६ चिदिदमाहेत्याहुः । अत्र पक्षे लेशो ऽलङ्कारः ॥ १२ ॥

196 तस्यैव]   Q, no author name P_{ED}W_{BH}W_{ED}, हालस्स K_EW_KW_G   **198** जूरसु]   QW_{ED}G_{ED}, झूरसु P_{ED}W_{BH}T_{ED}K_E   **199** पिअंतो]   rest. Q_{-c}P_{ED}W_{ED}, पिवंतो Q   **200** विज्झाइ]   rest. Q_{-c}P_{ED}-W_{BH}, विज्जाइ Q, धूमाइ T_{ED}W_{ED}G_{ED}   **201** °कम्मणि°]   corr., °कम्मणे° Q   **201** जूरसु]   conj., जूरसु Q, झूरसु P_{ED}   **201** हे]   Q, omitted P_{ED}   **201** यतो]   em., यतः Q P_{ED}   **202** विज्झाइ]   Q^{pc}_{mg}, विज्झाति Q^{ac}   **202** ण पज्जलइ]   rest. Q_{-v}, ण्ण पज्जलइ Q^{pc}_{mg}, पज्जलइ Q^{ac}   **202** दीप्यते]   Q, दिप्यते इति P_{ED}   **203** अयमर्थः]   Q, omitted P_{ED}   **203** संधुक्षितो ह्यमपि]   Q, संधुक्षिते हि मयि P_{ED}   **204** °पाटलासुगन्धि°]   Q, °पाटलसुगन्ध° P_{ED}   **204** प्राप्य]   Q, संपत्स्यते P_{ED}   **204** दीप्यत]   corr., दीप्यते Q, प्रदीप्यते, P_{ED}   **205** °विसूत्रितसूत्कारकर्णितायां]   Q, °विसूचितफुत्कारमारुताया P_{ED}   **206** ऽलङ्कारः]   corr., ऽलङ्कार Q   **206** अन्ये → ऽलङ्कारः]   Q, अन्ये तु...अत्र पक्षे लेसो(ऽशो) ऽलङ्कारः W_{BH}   **206** ॥ १२ ॥]   Q, जइ सो सोहग्गणिही दिट्ठो नयणेहि ति च्चिय गलंतु । अंगाइ अपाविअसंगमाइँ ता कीस झिज्जंति? ॥ क्षेपकः ॥ १२ ॥ P_{ED}, जइ सो सोहग्गणिही दिट्ठो नयणेहि तिच्चि(?) + + + । [अ]ˋगाइ अपाविअ संगमाइ कीस झिज्जंति? ॥ गाइं, +अपावईइ, +माइं W_{BH}

197 रन्धनकर्मनिपुणिके मा खिद्यस्व रक्तपाटलसुगन्धम् । मुखमारुतं पिबन्निर्वाति शिखी न प्रज्वलति ॥

13

हालस्स

किं किं ते पडिहासइ
    सहीहिँ इअ पुच्छिआइ मुद्धाए ।
पढमुल्लअदोहलिणीइ
    णवर दइअं गआ दिट्ठी ॥ १३ ॥

209

W15

212 **मुद्धाए णवर दइअं गआ दिट्ठी** मुग्धायाः केवलं दयितं गता दृष्टिः । कथंभूतायाः? । **पढमुल्लअदोहलिणीइ** प्रथमदोहलिन्याः । पुनरपि कथंभूतायाः? । **किं किं ते प-डिहासइ इअ सहीहिँ पुच्छिआइ** भक्ष्यभोज्यलेह्यपेयानां मध्यादिति मनस्यनुसंधाय

215 किं किं ते प्रतिभासत इति पृष्टायाः दयितं गता दृष्टिरयं मे प्रतिभासत इति भावः । दोहददानमन्तरेण संमिश्रिताङ्गा गदादिदोषदुष्टा जन्तवो जायन्त इति अन्तर्वत्नी-नां दोहददानमित्यायुर्वेदविदो वदन्ति । **णवर** इति केवलार्थे निपातः । स्वीया मुग्धा

218 नायिका ॥ १३ ॥

Q7ᵛ

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210 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

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207 हालस्स]   Q, no author name P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$K$_E$, गजसिंङ्हस्य W$_P$ **208** ते] Σ, दे K$_E$ **208** पडिहासइ] Q P$_{ED}$W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$, पडिहाअइ T$_{ED}$, पडिहाइ K$_E$ **209** सहीहिँ] Q G$_{ED}$, सहीहि P$_{ED}$ T$_{ED}$W$_{ED}$, सहीहिं K$_E$ **209** इअ] Σ, इइ T$_{ED}$ **210** °उल्लअ°] Q T$_{ED}$K$_E$, °उग्गअ° P$_{ED}$W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$ **210** दोहलिणीइ] Q^{pc}, दोहलिन° Q^{ac} erased, दोहलिणीएँ P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$T$_{ED}$K$_E$, दोहलिणीअ W$_{ED}$, दोहणीए G$_{ED}$ **211** णवर] Σ, णवरि T$_{ED}$ **212** मुद्धाए→दोहलिणीइ] P$_{ED}$, *omitted* Q   **212** णवर] *rest.* Q$_{.v}$, नवरं P$_{ED}$, *omitted* Q   **213** पढमुल्लदोहलिणीइ] *rest.* Q$_{.v}$, पढमुग्गअदोहलिणीएँ P$_{ED}$, *omitted* Q   **213** प्रथमदोहलिन्याः] Q, प्रथमोद्वृतदोहदिन्याः P$_{ED}$ **214** इअ सहीहिँ पुच्छिआइ] Q^{pc}, इअ पुहीहिँ पुच्छिआइ Q^{ac}, सहीहि इअँ पुच्छिआइ P$_{ED}$ **214** अनुसंधाय] Q, अनुध्याय P$_{ED}$ **215** प्रतिभासत] P$_{ED}$, प्रतिभास + Q   **215** प्रतिभासत इति पृष्टायाः दयितं गता दृष्टिरयं मे प्रतिभासत इति भावः] Q$^{pc}_{mg}$, प्रतिभासत इति भावः Q^{ac}, प्रतिभासत इति सखिभिर्पृष्टायाः । दयितं गता दृष्टिरयं मे प्रतिभासत इति भावः P$_{ED}$ **216** संमिश्रितांगा गदादि°] Q, मम्मणगद्वदादि° P$_{ED}$ **216** जायन्त] P$_{ED}$, जायत Q   **217** अन्तर्वत्नीनां] P$_{ED}$, अन्तर्वत्तीनां Q   **217** दोहददानम्] Q, दोहददानेन (?) P$_{ED}$ **217** णवर इति] *em.*, नवरॢ इति Q, नवरमिति P$_{ED}$ **217** केवलार्थे] Q, केवलार्थो P$_{ED}$

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208 किं किं ते प्रतिभासते सखिभिरिति पृष्टायाः मुग्धायाः । प्रथमोद्वृतदोहलिन्याः केवलं दयितं गता दृष्टिः ॥

14

रुद्रसुतस्य

काचिद्विरहिणी प्राणेश्वरस्य पारंपर्यस्पर्शमपि स्पृहयन्ती शशिनमिदमाह ।

221 अमअमअ गअणसेहर
रअणीमुहतिलअ चंद दे छिवसु ।
छिक्को जेहिँ पिअअमो
224 ममं पि तेहिँ चिअ करेहिं ॥ १४ ॥   W16

हे **चंद जेहिँ करेहिं पिअअमो छिक्को, तेहिँ चिअ करेहिं ममं पि छिवसु**, यैरेव करै:
प्रिय: स्पृष्टस्तैरेव करैर्ममापि स्पृशेति । संबोधनपरंपरार्थशब्देन प्रार्थितार्थसंपत्त्यै प्र-
227 शंसां करोति । **अमअमअ गअणसेहर रअणीमुहतिलअ**, अमृतमय गगनशेखर रजनी-
मुखतिलकेति, य: किल प्रार्थ्यते स प्रशस्यते इति । **दे** इति प्रार्थनायां निपात: ।   Q8ʳ
विरहिणी नायिका । उन्मादो नाम संचारीभाव: ।

230 इष्टजनविभवनाशादभिघाताद्वातपित्तकफकोपात् ।
मनसिजमनोविकारादुन्मादो नाम संभवति ॥

219 रुद्रसुतस्य] P_EDW_BH, रुद्रस्य Q, शालिवाहनस्य W_P   **220** The *avataranikā* comes after
the verse in Q   **221** अमअमअ] Σ, अमिअमअ K_E   **222** रअणी°] Q^{pc''}, रमअणी° Q^{ac}
223 छिक्को] QT_ED, छित्तो P_EDW_EDG_ED   **223** जेहिँ पिअअमो] G_ED, जेहिँ पिअअमो Q,
जेहिं पिअमो T_EDK_EW_ED, जेहिं वि पिओ P_ED, जेहिं पिओ W_BH   **224** ममं पि] P_EDrest.Q_C,
ममपि Q^{pc''}erased, तुममं पि Q^{ac}   **224** तेहिँ चिअ] QP_EDT_EDW_ED, तेहि व्विअ K_E, तेहिँ
विअ G_ED   **224** करेहिं] Σ, करेहि T_ED   **225** हे चंद] P_ED, omitted Q   **225** जेहिँ करेहिं
पिअअमो] ≈rest.Q_V, जेहिँ चिअ करेहिं पिओ Q^{pc}erased, जेहिँ पिअ करेहिं पिओ Q^{ac}, जेहिं पि
(करेहिं) P_ED   **225** छिक्को] Q, छित्तो P_ED   **225** तेहिँ चिअ] P_EDQ_V, तेहिँ पि Q   **225** करै:]
Q, (करै:) P_ED   **226** °परंपरार्थशब्देन प्रार्थितार्थ°] Q^{pc}erased, °परंपरार्थशब्देन प्रार्थितार्थ Q^{ac}
°परंपरापदेशेन P_ED   **227** अमृतमय] P_ED, अमृतमअ Q   **227** गगन°] P_EDQ^{pc}erased, गगने
Q^{ac}   **228** य: किल] P_ED, य: किं Q   **228** प्रशस्यते] P_ED, प्रश + + Q   **229** उन्मादो नाम]
P_ED, उन्मादीनाम Q   **230** इष्ट°] P_EDQ^{pc}, इतिष्ट° Q^{ac}   **231** मनसिजमनोविकाराद्] Q,
मनसिजमानविकाराद् P_ED

221 अमृतमय गगनशेखर रजनीमुखतिलक चन्द्र प्रार्थ्ये स्पृश । स्पृष्टो यैप्रियतमं मामपि तैरेव करै: ॥

अनिमित्तरुदितहसितैः संगीतनृत्यप्रधावितोत्क्रुष्टैः ।

233 अप्रार्थ्यप्रार्थनया चोन्मादं दर्शयेत्प्राज्ञः ॥ १४ ॥

15

हालस्य

काचिद्वियोगिनीस्वचेतसि चिन्तयति ।

236 एइहइ सो पऊत्थो
अहअं कुप्पिज्ज सो वि अणुणिज्ज
इअ कस्स वि फलइ मणो-
239 रहाण माला पिअअमम्मि ॥ १५ ॥   W₁₇

एइहइ सो पउत्थो एष्यति स प्रोषितः । **अहं कुप्पिज्ज** । अहं चिरागमनदोषेण तस्मै कुप्येयम् । **सो वि अणुणिज्ज** सो ऽपि मामनुनयेत्, प्रिये क्षमस्वेदं मे दूषणमिति । **इअ**
242 **कस्स वि फलइ मणोरहाण माला पिअअमम्मि** इति कस्यापि पुण्यात्मनो मनोरथ- माला फलति निष्पद्यते, न पुनरभव्यानां मादृशीनामिति । **एइहइ** आगमिष्यति ।

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233 ≈ *NŚ* 7.84–85: इष्टजनविभवनाशादभिघाताद्वातपित्तकफकोपात् । विविधाच्चित्तविकारादुन्मा- दो नाम संभवति ॥ ८४॥ अनिमित्तरुदितहसितोपविष्टगीतप्रधावितोत्क्रुष्टैः । अन्यैश्च विकारैरकृतैरुन्मा- दं संप्रयुञ्जीत ॥ ८५॥   **238** Caesura after the fourth *gaṇa* (Vipulā) for *maṇorahāṇa*?

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232 °नृत्य°] P_ED, °मृत° Q   232 प्रधावितोत्क्रुष्टैः] Q^{pc''''}, प्र + विधावितोत्क्रुष्टैः Q   233 अप्रार्थ्यप्रार्थनया] P_ED, अप्रार्थनया Q   234 हालस्य] Q, श्रीसातवाहनस्य P_EDW_BH, no author name W_ED   235 The *avataraṇikā* comes after the verse in Q   236 एइहइ] Q, एइहिइ P_ED, एहइ W_BHG_ED, एहेज्ज T_ED, एहिज्ज K_EW_ED   237 सो पऊत्थो अहअं] QT_EDK_EW_EDG_ED, सो...अहयं W_BH, सो वि पउत्थो अहं G_ED   237 कुप्पिज्ज] QP_ED, कुपिय्य W_BH, कुप्पेज्ज T_EDK_EW_EDG_ED 237 अणुणिज्ज] Q^{pc''''}P_ED अनुनिणुणिज्ज Q^{ac}, अणुणेज्ज T_EDK_EW_EDG_ED, अणिणिय्य W_BH   238 इअ कस्स वि] Σ, इइ कस्स इ T_ED   240 एइहइ] Q^{pc} erased, पइहइ Q^{ac}, एइहिइ P_ED   240 चिरागमन°] P_ED, निरागमन° Q   241 अणुणिज्ज] P_ED, अणणिज्जQ^{pc''}, अनुणिणिज्ज Q^{ac} 241 मे दूषणम्] P_ED, ममक्ष्णणम् Q   242 मणोरहाण] Q^{pc''}erasedP_ED, मणोहराहाणQ^{ac} 242 पुण्यात्मनो] Q^{pc''}P_ED, पुण्यात्मण्णो Q^{ac}   243 मनोरथमाला] Q, मनोरथानां माला P_ED   243 निष्पद्यते] P_ED, निःपद्यते Q   243 अभव्यानां] Q, अपुण्यानां P_ED   243 एइहइ] Q^{pc}erasedP_ED, यइहइ Q^{ac}

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236 एष्यति स प्रोषितो ऽहं कुप्येयं सो ऽप्यनुनयेत् । इति कस्यापि फलति मनोरथानां माला प्रियतमे ।

चिन्ता संचारीभावः । स्वीया नायिका ॥ १५ ॥

16

श्रीधम्मिल्लस्स

दुग्गअकुडुंबअड्ढी
कह णु मए धोविएण सोढव्वा? ।
दसिओसरन्तसलिलेण
उअह रुण्णं व पडएण ॥ १६ ॥ W18

दसिओसरन्तसलिलेण दशाप्रसरत्सलिलेन । **उअह रुण्णं व पडएण** पश्यत रुदितमिव पटकेन ।   अत्र कारणमाह । **मए धोविएण** मया धौतेन । **दुग्गअकुडुंबअड्ढी कह नु सोढव्वा?** दुर्गतकुटुम्बाकृष्टिः कथं नु सोढव्येति? । यतः किल निश्च्युतसारत्वात्परस्प-रकराकर्षणं न क्षमत इति । उत्प्रेक्षालङ्कारः । तस्या लक्षणम् ।

अन्यथैव स्थिता वृत्तिश्
चेतनस्येतरस्य वा ।
अन्यथा वर्ण्यते यत्र

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248 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

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245 श्रीधम्मिल्लस्स]   Q, श्रीवर्मणस्य P_ED, श्रीवर्म्मणस्य W_BH, No author name W_ED   **246** °कुडुंब°]   *rest.* Q_c P_ED, °कुटुंब° Q G_ED, °कुडुंव° W_BH T_ED K_E, °कुडंव° W_ED   **246** अड्ढी]   P_ED, अढ्ढी Q, अ(/इ)ट्ठी T_ED, इट्ठी K_E, अट्ठी W_ED G_ED   **247** धोविएण]   *rest.* Q_c P_ED W_BH, धोअएण Q, धोइएण T_ED K_E W_ED G_ED   **250** दसिओ° → पटकेन]   Q, दसिओसरंतसलिलेण उयह रुन्नं व पडएण दशापसरत्सलिलेन पश्यत रुदितमिव पटकेन । P_ED   **250** दशाप्रसरत्]   Q^pc, दशाप्रशरत् Q^ac, दशापसरत् P_ED   **250** व]   *rest.* Q_v P_ED T_ED K_E W_ED G_ED, व्व Q   **250** रुदितम्]   Q^pc *erased*, रुदितंम् Q^ac   **251** पटकेन । अत्र]   *corr.*, पटकेना अत्र Q, पटेन । अत्र P_ED   **251** धौतेन]   P_ED, धोतेन Q   **251** °अड्ढी]   P_ED, °अढी Q   **252** कुटुम्बाकृष्टिः]   P_ED, कुटुम्बाकृष्टि Q   **252** यतः किल निश्च्युत°]   Q, धौतं किल निःस्थाम° P_ED   **253** परस्परकराकर्षणं]   Q, परस्पराकर्षणं P_ED   **253** उत्प्रेक्षालङ्कारः]   Q^pc *erased* P_ED, तत्प्रेक्षाल- ङ्कारः Q^ac   **254** अन्यथैव]   *KāĀ* P_ED, अन्यथेव Q

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246 दुर्गतकुटुम्बाकृष्टिः कथं नु मया धौतेन सोढव्या । दशावसरत्सलिलेन पश्यत रुदितमिव पटकेन ॥

₂₅₇ तामुत्प्रेक्षां प्रचक्षते ॥ १६ ॥

17

तस्यैव

कोसंबकिसलवण्णअ
₂₆₀   तण्णअ उक्कण्णुएहिँ कण्णेहिँ ।
हिअइच्छिअगेहं वच्चमाण
    धवलत्तणं पाव ॥ १७ ॥   W19

₂₆₃ हे **कोसंबकिसलवण्णअ तण्णअ** कोशाम्रकिसलयवर्णक तर्णक । **उक्कणुएहिं कण्णेहिं**
उत्कर्णिताभ्यां कर्णाभ्यामुपलक्षित । **हिअइच्छिअगेहं वच्चमाण** हृदयेप्सितगृहं व्रजन्
। **धवलत्तणं पाव** धवलत्वं प्राप्नुहि । धुरंधरो भूया इति । **कोसंबो** वृक्षविशेषः । तस्य   Q9^r
₂₆₆ पल्लवाः पाटलाः भवन्तीति । **तण्णओ** वत्सः । एतदन्वेषणानुषङ्गेणाहं प्रियगृहं

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257 ≈*KāĀ* 2.221: अन्यथैव स्थिता वृत्तिश्चेतनस्येतरस्य वा । अन्यथोत्प्रेक्ष्यते यत्र तामुत्प्रेक्षां विदुर्यथा ॥
261 Caesura after the fourth *gaṇa* (*vipulā*).

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258 तस्यैव] Q W_{BH}P_{ED}, गजस्य W_P   **259** कोसंबकिसलवण्णअ→पाव ॥ Q^{pc}_{mg}, *omitted* Q^{ac}   **259**
कोसंब॰] *rest.* Q_cP_{ED}, कोसम्ब॰ Q   **260** उक्कण्णुएहिँ] *rest.* Q_c, उक्कण्णुएहिं Q, उक्कणिएहिँ
W_R, उन्नामिएहिं P_{ED}W_{BH}T_{ED}K_EW_{ED}, उन्नामिएहिँ G_{ED}   **260** कण्णेहिँ] Σ, किनेहि W_{BH}   **261**
हिअइच्छिअगेहं] *rest.* Q_c, हिअइच्छिअं घरम् Q P_{ED}, हिअइच्छिअं — W_{BH}, हिअएच्छिअं घरं
T_{ED}, हिअत्थिअं घरं K_EW_{ED}G_{ED}   **263** हे] *conj.*, हे Q^{pc}_{mg}, *omitted* Q^{ac}   **263** ॰किसल॰]
rest. Q_vP_{ED}, ॰किसलअ॰ Q   **263** कोशाम्रकिसलय॰] Q, कोशांबकिसलय॰ P_{ED}   **263** ॰वर्णक]
P_{ED}, ॰वर्ण Q   **263** उक्कणुएहिं] *rest.* Q_v, उक्कण्णुएर्हिं Q^{pc} *erased*(x2), तक्कण्णुयहिं Q^{ac},
उन्नामिएहि P_{ED}   **264** उत्कर्णिताभ्यां] *conj.*, उत्क + ताभ्यां Q, उन्नामिताभ्यां P_{ED}   **264**
कर्णाभ्याम्] P_{ED}, कर्णाभ्यांम् Q   **264** हिअइच्छिअगेहं] *em.*, हिअअच्छिअगेहं Q, हिअइच्छि
घरं P_{ED}   **264** हृदयेप्सितगृहं] Q, हृदयेप्सितं गृहं P_{ED}   **265** प्राप्नुहि] Q^{pc}P_{ED}, प्राप्नुह Q^{ac}
  265 ॰धरो] P_{ED}Q^{pc} *erased*, ॰धेरो Q^{ac}   **265** भूया इति] Q, भूयास्त्वमिति P_{ED}   **265** कोसंबो]
conj., कोसाम्बो Q, कोशाम्बो P_{ED}   **265** वृक्षविशेषः] Q P_{ED}, धवषः(!) W_{BH}   **266** पल्लवाः
पाटलाः] P_{ED}W_{BH}, पाटलाकिशया Q^{pc}_{mg}, पाटला Q^{ac}   **266** तण्णओ] Q, तर्णको P_{ED}W_{BH}
266 अन्वेषणानुषङ्गेणाहं] *em.*, अन्वेषणानुषङ्गेणाहं Q   **266** प्रियगृहं] Q^{pc}_{mg}, *omitted* Q^{ac}

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259 कोशाम्रकिसलयवर्णक तर्णक उत्कर्णकाभ्यां कर्णाभ्याम् । हृदयेप्सितगृहं व्रजन्धवलत्वं प्राप्नुहि ॥

प्राप्नोमीत्याशीर्वाददानम् ॥ १७ ॥

18

गणस्य ।

अलिअपसुत्तअ विणिमीलिअच्छ
दे सुहअ अम्ह ओवासं ।
गंडपरिउंबणापुलइअंग
ण उणो चिराइस्सं ॥ १८ ॥

हे **सुहअ** सुभग । **अलिअपसुत्तअ विणिमीलिअच्छ** अलीकप्रसुप्त विनिमीलिताक्ष ।
दे अम्ह ओवासं । देहि अस्माकमवकाशम् । कदाचित्स्वभावशयित एव स्यादित्याह,
गण्डपरिउंबणापुलइअंग ण उणो चिराइस्सं गण्डपरिचुम्बितपुलकिताङ्ग न पुनश्चि-
रायिष्यामि । क्षम्यतामिदं मे प्रेमप्रमादस्खलितमिति । पुलकः सात्त्विको भावः ।
स्वीया प्रगल्भा च नायिका ॥ १८ ॥

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269 Caesura after the fourth *gaṇa* (*vipulā*).   **271** Caesura after the fourth *gaṇa* (*vipulā*).

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267 आशीर्वाददानम्॰] Q$^{pc''}$, आशीर्व्वादनादानम् Q^{ac} **267** एतद्→आशीर्वादनम् ॥ १७ ॥
] Q, एतदन्वेषणानुषङ्गेण (?) अहं हृदयेप्सितगृहं प्राप्ता (?) इति आशीर्वादनम् । आशीर्वदो
ऽलङ्कारः ॥ १७ ॥ P$_{ED}$, एतदन्वेषणा नुषङ्गेणाहं हृदयेप्सितगृहं प्राप्तेति आशीर्वादनम् । आशीर्वादो
ऽलङ्कारः । W$_{BH}$ **268** गणस्य] Q P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$, चंद्रस्वामिनः W$_P$ **269** विणिमीलिअच्छ] ΣQ^{pc},
विणिमीलअच्छ Q^{ac}, —यच्छ W$_{BH}$ **270** दे सुहअ अम्ह] P$_{ED}$, दे सु दे सुहअ म्ह Q, दे सुहय अह्य
W$_{BH}$, दे सुहअ मज्झ T$_{ED}$, देसु हअमज्झ K$_E$, दे सुहअ मज्झ W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$ **270** ओवासं] Q P$_{ED}$, उवासं
W$_{BH}$, ओआसं T$_{ED}$W$_K$W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$ **271** ॰परिउंबणा॰] P$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$, ॰परिउंब(।व)णा॰ Q, ॰परिउंवणा
T$_{ED}$, ॰परिउंवणा॰ K$_E$W$_{ED}$ **272** चिराइस्सं] Q$^{pc''}$, चिरारिइस्सं Q^{ac} **273** विणिमीलिअच्छ]
P$_{ED}$, विणिमी-लिअच्छि Q^{pc}, विणिमीलअच्छि Q^{ac} **273** अलीक॰] Q^{ac}P$_{ED}$, अंलीक॰ Q^{ac} **274**
दे अम्ह ओवासं] Q, दे इति प्रार्थये P$_{ED}$ **274** स्याद्] P$_{ED}$, स्यात् Q   **275** ॰परिचुम्बित॰] Q,
॰परिचुम्बना॰ P$_{ED}$ **275** पुलकिताङ्ग] P$_{ED}$, पुलकिताङ्गं Q   **276** क्षम्यतामिदं मे प्रेमप्रमादस्ख-
लित] Q, क्षम्यतां खल्विदं मे प्रमादस्खलितम् इतिP$_{ED}$ **277** स्वीया प्रगल्भा च नायिका ॥ १८
॥] *em.*, स्वीया प्रगल्भा च नायिका । वन्द्यर्थः ॥ १८ ॥ Q, स्वीयानायिका प्रगल्भा ॥ १८ ॥ P$_{ED}$

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269 अलीकप्रसुप्तक विनिमीलिताक्ष प्रार्थये देहि सुभग अस्माकमवकाशम् । गण्डपरिचुम्बनापुलकिता-
ङ्ग न पुनश्चिरायिष्यामि ॥

19

278 चन्द्रर्षेः ।

कांचिदवलोकनकुतूहलिनि कान्ते प्रसाधनकृतविलम्बामम्बा शिक्षयन्ती इदमाह ।

असमत्तमंडण च्चिअ
281   वच्च घरं से सकोउहल्लस्स ।
वोलाविअहलहलअस्स
    पुत्ति चित्ते ण लग्गिहिसि ॥ १९ ॥   W₂₁

284 **सकोउहल्लस्स** सकौतुकस्य । **असमत्तमंडण च्चिअ घरं वच्च** असमाप्तमण्डनैव गृहं व्रज । किं कारणम्? । **वोलाविअहलहलअस्स** अतिक्रान्तकौतुकोत्तरस्य । **से** तस्य । Q9ᵛ

पुत्ति चित्ते ण लग्गिहिसि पुत्रि चित्ते न लगिष्यसीति । साकाङ्क्ष एव कान्तो ऽभिग-

म्यते । न तु तस्योत्कण्ठा कुण्ठीकर्तुं युज्यत इत्यर्थः । **कोउहल्लं** कौतुकम् । **हलहलअं**
287 प्रियालोकनौत्सुक्यम् । औत्सुक्यमिह संचारी भावः ॥ १९ ॥

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282 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

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278 चन्द्रर्षेः] *conj.*, वन्द्यर्थः ॥ १८ । सकौतुकस्य ॥ Q, वज्जर्षेः (वज्रर्षेः?) P_ED, वय्यर्षे (वज्रर्षेः?) W_BH, कलिराजस्य W_P   **279 कांचिद्→आह]** P_ED, *omitted* Q   **280 °मण्डण°]** Q^pc'', °मण्डनण° Q^ac   **280 °मण्डण च्चिअ]** Q, °मण्डण च्चिअ P_ED T_ED W_ED, —°ण चिय W_BH, °मण्डण-व्विअ K_E, °मण्डणाविअ G_ED   **283 लग्गिहिसि]** Σ, लग्गिहिसि Q, —ग्गिलरिहिसि W_BH   **284 घरं वच्च]** P_ED, *omitted* Q   **285 °कौतुकोत्तरस्य]** Q, °कौतुकौत्सुक्यातिशयस्य तस्य पुत्ति P_ED   **285 से तस्य]** Q^pc, सि तस्य Q^ac, से तस्य written before सकोउहल्लस्स सकौतुकस्य P_ED   **286 चित्ते ण]** P_ED, च्चित्ते ण Q^pc_mg''(x2), च्चित्ते न्ण Q^ac   **286 लग्गिहिसि]** P_ED, लग्गिहिसि Q   **286 पुत्रि]** P_ED, पुत्ति Q   **286 लगिष्यसीति]** P_ED, लगिस्यतीति Q   **287 कौतुकं]** Q, कौतूहलम् P_ED   **287 हलहलं]** P_ED, *omitted* Q   **288 प्रियालोकनौत्सुक्यम्]** *corr.*, प्रियालोकनोत्सुक्यम् Q, प्रियावलोकनौत्सुक्यम् P_ED   **288 औत्सुक्यम्]** *corr.*, ओत्सुक्यम् Q

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280 असमाप्तमण्डनैव व्रज गृहं तस्य सकौतूहलस्य । अतिक्रान्तकौतुकोत्तरस्य पुत्रि चित्ते न लगिष्यसि ॥

20

कलिङ्गस्य ।

२९० कश्चित्कान्ताया वक्त्रेन्दुबिम्बचुम्बनं स्मरन्निदमाह ।

आअरपणामिओट्टुं
     अघडिअणासं असंगअणिडालं ।
२९३ वण्णग्घअतुप्पमुहीएँ
     तीएँ परिउंबिअं भरिमो ॥   २० ॥   W२२

वण्णग्घअतुप्पमुहीएँ तीएँ वर्णघृताक्तवक्त्रायास्तस्याः । **परिउंबिअं भरिमो** परिचु-
२९६ म्बितं स्मरामः । कथंभूतम्? । **आअरपणामिओट्टुं** आदरार्पितौष्ठं । **अघडिअणासं**
अघटितनासम् । **असंगअणिडालं** असंगतललाटम् । स्वकान्तायाश्चुम्बनकलाकौशलं
प्रकाशितं भवति । अन्ये तु साचीकृतवक्त्रेन्दुचुम्बनमिदमित्याहुः । **तुप्पं** स्निग्धम् ।

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293 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.   **298** *Cf.* DNM 5.22ab: कोउअविवाह-
सरिसवहविअसिणिद्धकुतुवेसु तुप्पो वि ।... तुप्पो कौतुकं विवाहः सर्षपो म्रक्षितः स्निग्धः कुतुपश्चेति
षडर्थः ।

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289 कलिङ्गस्य] Q P_{ED}W_{BH}, No author nameW_{ED}   **290** कान्ताया] Q, स्वकान्ताया P_{ED}
291 आअरपणामिओट्टुं] Q K_E W_{ED}G_{ED}, आअरपणामिओउट्टुं P_{ED}, —°उट्टुं W_{BH}, अपणाविओट्टुं T_{ED}
292 असंगअणिडालं] Q^{pc}T_{ED}, असंगअण्डालं Q^{ac}, असंह्अणिडालं K_E W_{ED}G_{ED}, असंगअणलाडं
P_{ED}, असंगयवडालं W_{BH}   **293** वण्णग्घअतुप्पमुहीएँ] Q, वण्णग्घअतुप्पमुहीइ P_{ED}, वण्णग्घ-
अउप्पमुहीइ W_{BH}, वण्णग्घअउप्पमुहीएँ T_{ED}, वण्णघिअलित्तमुहीएँ K_E W_{ED}, वण्णग्घिअतुप्पमुहीएँ
G_{ED}   **294** तीएँ] T_{ED}K_E W_{ED}G_{ED}, तीइ Q P_{ED}W_{BH}   **294** परिउंबिअं] Q^{pc}P_{ED}, परिउंबअं Q^{ac},
परिउंविउं W_{BH}, परिउंविअं T_{ED}K_E, परिउंवणं W_{ED}, परिउम्बणं G_{ED}   **295** वण्णग्घअतुप्पमुहीएँ
→स्मरामः ।] *conj.*, वण्णग्घअतुप्पमुहीइ तीइ वर्णघृताक्तवक्त्रायास्तस्याः । परिउंबिअं भरिमो
परिचुम्बितं स्मरामः । P_{ED}, — उप्पं स्निग्धं, — परिचुम्बितं W_{BH}, परिचुम्बितं स्मरामः । Q   **296**
आअरपणामिओट्टुं] Q, आअरपणामिओउट्टुं P_{ED}   **297** असंगअणिडालं] Q^{pc}, असंगअण्डालं Q^{ac},
असंगयणलाडं P_{ED}, °णलाडं W_{BH}   **298** साचीकृतवक्त्रेन्दु°] P_{ED}, साचीकृतवक्त्रेन्दु° Q

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291 आदरार्पितौष्ठमघटितनासमसंगतललाटम् । वर्णाघृतस्निग्धमुख्यास्तस्याः परिचुम्बनं स्मरामः ॥

येति न श्रद्धामि । कीदृशी? । **तह आणासआइँ देंती** । तथा तेनावर्णनीयेन वि-
धिनाज्ञाशतानि ददती । कदा? । **सुरए** सुरते । पुनरपि कीदृशी? । **हरिसविअ-**
सिअकओला हर्षविकसितकपोला । या निशायां निधुवनवैदग्ध्यं दर्शितवती, तां
प्रतिभेत्तुमिदमाह । सा सांप्रतं व्रीडावनतवक्त्रेन्दुबिम्बा सती सैवेयं प्रियेति न प्र-
ज्ञायत इत्यर्थः ॥ २१ ॥

22

मेघान्धकारस्य ।

काचिदन्याङ्गनागोत्रग्रहणपूर्वकमालपन्तं प्रतिभेत्तुमिदमाह ।   Q10ᵛ

> **पिअविरहो अप्पिअदंसणं च**
> **गरुआइँ दो वि दुक्खाइँ ।**
> **जीअ तुमं कारिज्जसि**
> **तीएँ णमो आहिआईए ॥ २२ ॥**   W24

तीएँ णमो आहिआईए तस्यै नमो ऽभिजात्यै । **जीअ तुमं गरुआइँ दो वि दुक्खाइँ का-**
रिज्जसि एतया त्वं गुरुणी द्वे अपि दुःखे कार्यसे । के ते? । **पिअविरहो अप्पिअदंसणं च**

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316 Caesura after the fourth *gaṇa* (Vipulā).

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309 प्रियेति] P_{ED}W_{BH}, प्रिया इति Q   **309** श्रद्धामि] Q, श्रद्धे P_{ED}W_{BH}   **309** देंती] Q,
दिंती P_{ED}   **310** विधिनाज्ञाशतानि] P_{ED}, विधिना आज्ञाशतानि Q   **311** या] Q, यैव P_{ED}W_{BH}
311 निधुवन॰] Q^{pc}", निधुवनगु॰ Q^{ac}   **312** तां प्रतिभेत्तुमिदमाह ।] Q, *omitted* P_{ED}W_{BH}
312 सा सांप्रतं] Q, सैव प्रभाते P_{ED}W_{BH}   **312** सैवेयं] Q^{pc}_{mg}"P_{ED}W_{BH}, सैवेवयंQ^{ac}   **313**
प्रज्ञायत इत्यर्थः] *conj.*, प्रज्ञायत इति Q, प्रत्यभिप्रज्ञायत इत्यर्थः P_{ED}, प्रत्यभिप्रज्ञायत इत्य W_{BH}
314 मेघान्धकारस्य] Q P_{ED}W_{BH}, ब्रह्मचारिणः W_P   **316** च] Q P_{ED}W_{BH}T_{ED}W_{ED}, अ K_E G_{ED}
317 गरुआइँ] Q P_{ED}G_{ED}, गरुआइ T_{ED}K_E W_{ED}   **317** वि] Q K_E W_{ED}G_{ED}, बि P_{ED}, इ T_{ED}
317 दुक्खाइँ] Q P_{ED}G_{ED}, दुक्खाइ T_{ED}K_E W_{ED}   **318** जीअ] Q W_{ED}, जीइ P_{ED}W_{BH}, जीए
T_{ED}K_E G_{ED}   **319** तीएँ] Σ, तीअ W_{ED}   **319** आहिआईए] P_{ED}W_{BH}T_{ED}, आहिआइए Q^{pc}",
हाआहिआइए Q^{ac}, आहिआईए K_E W_{ED}G_{ED}   **320** तिएँ णमो आहिआईए] P_{ED}, *omitted* Q   **320**
णमो ऽभिजात्यै] *corr.*, नमः अभिजात्यै Q, नमो अभिजात्यै P_{ED}   **320** जीअ] Q, जीइ P_{ED}
320 गरुआइँ] *rest.* Q_v P_{ED}, गरुआइ Q   **321** एतया] Q, यया P_{ED}   **321** गुरुणी द्वे अपि दुःखे]
P_{ED}, गुरुणि दुःखे Q^{pc}_{mg}", गुरुआई दो वि दुक्खाइँ दुःखे Q^{ac}

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316 प्रियविरहो ऽप्रियदर्शनं च गुरुणी द्वे अपि दुःखे । यया त्वं कार्यसे तस्यै नमो ऽभिजात्यै ॥

प्रियविरहो ऽप्रियदर्शनं च । इदमुक्तं भवति । अनेनैव गोत्रस्खलनेनानुमितं यथा तव
सा प्रियाहमप्रियेति, तया सह वियोगो मया सह च दर्शनमिति कष्टद्वयमसह्यं यया त्वं
कार्यसे सेयमभिजातिः कुलीनता नमस्कारमर्हतीति । अभिजातिशब्दस्य समृद्ध्यादिषु
पाठादात्वं द्रष्टव्यम् । स्वीया मध्या धीरा नायिका ।

सा धीरा वक्ति वक्रोक्त्या प्रियं कोपात्कृतागसम् ।

पर्यायोक्तिरलङ्कारः ॥ २२ ॥

23

ब्रह्मचारिणः ।

एक्को वि कालसारो
ण देइ गन्तुं पआहिणँ वलंतो ।
किं पुण वाहाउलिअं
लोअणजुगलं पिअअमाए ॥ २३ ॥   W25

एक्को वि कालसारो ण देइ गंतुं एको ऽपि कृष्णसारो न ददाति गन्तुम् । कथंभूतः? ।

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325 *PrāPra* 1.2: आ समृद्ध्यादिषु वा ॥ २ ॥ समृद्धि इत्येवमादिषु शब्देष्वादेरकारस्य आकारी भवति
वा । समिद्धी सामिद्धी । पअडं पआडं । अहिजाई आहिजाई ।... *PrāVyā* 1.44: अतः समृद्ध्यादौ वा ॥
४४ ॥ समृद्धि इत्येवमादिषु शब्देषु आदेकारस्य दीर्घो वा भवति । सामिद्धी समिद्धी ।...आहिआई
अहिआई ।...   **326** = *SṛTi* 1.41ab: सा धीरा वक्ति वक्रोक्त्या प्रियं कोपात्कृतागसम् । मध्या
रोदित्युपालम्भैरधीरा परुषं यथा ॥

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322 प्रिय॰] P_{ED}, प्रिअ॰ Q   **322** ॰विरहो ऽप्रिय॰] *corr.,* ॰विरहो अप्रिय॰ Q P_{ED}   **322**
अनेनैव→यथा तव सा प्रिया] *corr.,* अनेनैव→यथा तव सा प्रिया अहम् Q, *omitted* P_{ED}W_{BH}   **323**
तया] Q P_{ED}, एतया W_{BH}   **323** मया सह] Q W_{BH}, मम P_{ED}   **323** असह्यम्] P_{ED}W_{BH},
असहं Q   **324** समृद्ध्यादिषु] P_{ED}W_{BH}, मृद्ध्यादिषु Q   **325** आत्वं] P_{ED}W_{BH}, यत्वं Q   **326**
वक्रोक्त्या प्रियं] P_{ED}, वक्रोक्ता प्रियं Q   **328** ब्रह्मचारिणः] Q P_{ED}W_{BH}, कालसारस्य W_{P}   **329**
एक्को] Q T_{ED}K_{E}W_{ED}G_{ED}, इक्को P_{ED}-W_{BH}   **330** पआहिणँ वलंतो] Q, पआहिण वलंतो P_{ED},
पआहिणवलंतो T_{ED}G_{ED}, पआहिण चलंतो K_{E}W_{ED}   **331** पुण] Q P_{ED}W_{BH}, उण T_{ED}K_{E}W_{ED}G_{ED}
332 ॰जुगलं] Q, ॰जुअलं P_{ED}T_{ED}K_{E}W_{ED}G_{ED}   **333** एक्को→गंतुम्] *conj.,* इक्को वि कालसारो
न देइ गंतुं P_{ED}, *omitted* Q   **333** एको] Q^{pc}, एक्को Q^{ac}

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329 एको ऽपि कृष्णसारो न ददाति गन्तुं प्रदक्षिणं वलमानः । किं पुनर्बाष्पाकुलितं लोचनयुगलं
प्रियतमायाः ॥

पआहिणँ वलंतो प्रदक्षिणं गत्वा वलमानः । **किं पुण लोअणजुगलं पिअअमाए** किं पुनर्लोचनयुगलं प्रियतमायाः । सापि साचिनिरीक्षणेन प्रदक्षिणवलितकृष्णतारकत- Q₁₁ʳ या कालसारकद्वयं लोचनयुगलं प्रियतमगमनप्रतिबन्धनं विधत्ते । सर्व एव हि श- कुना दक्षिणाः, शवशिवाकालसारादिकाश्च वामा इति । कीदृशं लोचनयुगलम्? ।
वाहाउलिअं बाष्पाकुलितम् । को हि रुदन्तीं कान्तां परित्यज्य देशान्तरमवतरेत्? । मृगपक्षे तु **वाहाउलिअं** व्याधाकुलितमिति योज्यम् । स हि भीतो भयाय जायते यतः । यथायथं दर्शनशब्दश्रवणचेष्टाकीर्तनैर्भाविफलं सूचयन्त इति शाकुनशास्त्रे श्रूयते ।
अनुकूलो नायकः । आक्षेपो ऽलङ्कारः ॥ २३ ॥

24

कालसारस्य ।

कश्चित्कान्तो निशायां निर्भरशयितां दयितां दृष्ट्वान्यरमणीरतिसुखलाभलालसो वि- रह्य शय्यां गतवान् । सा पुनः प्रतिबुद्धा बद्ध्वा तदीयदुःखं स्वयं मानमवलम्ब्याव- स्थिता । अथ स निष्कृतकृत्यः प्रत्यावृत्य मिथ्याशपथैस्तां प्रत्याययितुं प्रवृत्तः । यदा

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334 पआहिणँ] Q, पआहिण P_ED **334** प्रदक्षिणं गत्वा वलमानः] Q P_ED, प्रदक्षिणं वलमानः W_BH **334** °जुगलं] Q, °जुयलं P_ED **334** किं पुनर्लोचनयुगलं प्रियतमायाः] Qᵖᶜ'', किं पुनर्लोचननयुगलं प्रियतमायाः Qᵃᶜ, किं पुणः साचिनिरीक्षणेन वलितप्रदक्षिणकृष्णतारकतया कालसा- रद्वयं लोचनयुगलं प्रियतमाया गमनप्रतिषेढं न विधत्ते P_ED **335** सापि साचिनिरीक्षणेन] em., सापि निरीक्षणेन Q, साचिनिरीक्षणेन P_ED(cited here from the previous sentence), साचि निरीक्षणेन W_BH **337** दक्षिणाः, शवशिवाकालसारादिकाश्च वामा इति । conj., दक्षिणाः । शवशिवकुम्भकारायिकाश्च वामा इति Q, दक्षिणास्वरकुम्भकरादिकाश्च P_ED **338** को हि→देशान्तरमवतरेत् । Q, omitted P_ED **339** मृगपक्षे तु वाहाउलिअं व्याधाकुलितम्] conj., मृगपक्षे तु वाहाउलिअं बाष्पाकुलितमिति Q, व्याधाकुलितमिति च P_ED **339** यतः] Q, omitted P_ED **340** यथायथं दर्शनशब्द°] Q, यतो यथातत्त्वदर्शिनम् शब्द° P_ED—this whole sentence is, in P_ED, before कीदृशं योचनयुगलम् **340** सूचयन्त] Q, सूचयन्ति P_ED **340** शाकुनशास्त्रे श्रूयते] P_ED, शाकुनशास्त्रं श्रूयते Q **342** कालसारस्य] , Q P_ED W_BH, अर्धराजस्य W_P **343** निशायां निर्भरशयितां दयितां] Q, नायिकां निशायां निर्भरशयितां P_ED **343** अन्यरमणी°] P_ED, अस्वरमणी° Q **343** °लालसो] P_ED, °लालस्ये Q **343** विरह्य शय्यां] conj., विरज्य शय्यां Q, विरहव्यग्रतां P_ED **344** प्रतिबुद्धा] Q, प्रबुद्धा P_ED **344** तदीयदुःखं स्वयं] Q, तदीयदुर्णये P_ED **344** अवलम्ब्यावस्थिता] Q, अवलम्ब्य व्यवस्थिता P_ED **345** अथ स निष्कृतकृत्यः प्रत्यावृत्य] em., अथ स तस्य ति:कृतकृत्यः प्रत्यावृत्य Qᵖᶜ_mg, अथ स तस्य निष्कृतः प्रत्यावृत्य Qᵃᶜ, अथ सत्यनिकृतकृत्यप्रवृत्या (?) P_ED

सा न कथमपि प्रत्येति तदा स एव मानमग्रहीत् । तथाभूतं च वीक्ष्य विलक्ष्या तमेव
नायकं प्रतिबोधयन्तीदमाह ।

Q11ᵛ

॒ ण कुणंतो च्चिअ माणं
॒॒ णिसासु पासुत्तदरविबुद्धाण ।
॒ सुण्णइअपासपरिमुसण-
॒॒ वेअणं जइ सि जाणंतो ॥ २४ ॥

W26

जइ णिसासु सुण्णइअपासपरिमुसणवेअणं जाणंतो सि माणं ण कुणंतो यदि निशा-
सु शून्यीकृतपार्श्वपरिमर्शवेदनां त्वमज्ञास्यस्तदा मानं नाकरिष्यः । केषाम् ? । **पासु-**
त्तदरविबुद्धाण प्रसुप्तदरविबुद्धानाम् । त्वयि गतवति शून्यशय्यापार्श्वपरिवर्तनव्यथा
मम त्वया न विज्ञातेति, दुःसहदुःखसंद्रावमाविष्करोति । **पासुत्त** इति प्रसुप्तशब्दस्य
समृद्ध्यादिषु पाठादात्वम् । इयमपि स्वीया प्रगल्भा धीरा च नायिका ॥ २४ ॥

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350 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.   **356** *Cf. PrāPra* 1.2 and *PrāVyā* 1.44, cited at
Gāthā 22.

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346 सा न] *em.*, स न Q, न P_ED   **346** वीक्ष्य विलक्ष्या] Q, वीक्ष्यलक्षतः (?) P_ED   **347**
प्रतिबोधयन्तीदमाह] Q, सा निबोधयन्ती सखेदमाह P_ED   **348** कुणंतो च्चिअ] Q, कुणंत च्चिअ
P_ED W_BH T_ED, कुणंतो चिअ W_ED, कुणंतो व्विअ W_K G_ED   **348** माणं] Q P_ED W_K W_ED G_ED, मण्णुम्
T_ED   **349** पासुत्त°] Q P_ED W_BH, सहसुत्त° T_ED, सुहसुत्त° W_K W_ED G_ED   **349** विबुद्धाण] Q,
विउद्धाण P_ED W_BH T_ED, विवुद्धाण W_K W_ED, विबुद्धाणं G_ED,   **350** °पास°] Q P_ED W_K W_ED G_ED,
°वास° T_ED   **350** °परिमुसण°] Q P_ED W_ED, °परिमसण° W_BH, °परिमूंसुण° W_K, °परिमूसण° G_ED
351 णवेअणं] Q^pc'', णवेणअणं Q^ac   **351** जाणंतो] Σ, जाणंति T_ED   **352** जाणंतो सि माणं ण
कुणंतो] *em.*, कुणंतो सि Q^pc, जाणंतो सि Q^ac, तुमं जाणांतु च्चिय P_ED   **353** नाकरिष्यः] P_ED,
अकरिष्यठ Q   **354** प्रसुप्तदरविबुद्धानाम्] Q, (प्रसुप्तेषद्विबुद्धानाम्) P_ED   **354** °परिवर्तनव्यथा
मम त्वया न विज्ञातेति] Q, °परिमर्शनव्यथां मम त्वम् अजानन् विज्ञायसे । P_ED   **355** पासुत्त
इति] P_ED, *omitted* Q

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348 नाकरिष्य एव मानं निशासु प्रसुप्तदरविबुद्धानाम् । शून्यायितपार्श्वपरिमर्शवेदनां यदि अज्ञास्यः ॥

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बुद्धराजस्य

359 पणअकुविआण दोण्ह वि
अलिअपसुत्ताण माणइत्ताण ।
णिच्चलणिरुद्धणीसास-
362 दिण्णअण्णाण को मल्लो? ॥ २५ ॥

W 27

दोण्ह वि माणइत्ताण को मल्लो द्वयोरपि दम्पत्योर्मानवतोः को मल्लः? । न कश्चि-
दपीत्यर्थः । ताभ्यामन्यो धीरो नास्तीति भावः । कथंभूतयोः? । **पणअकुविआण** प्र-
365 णयकुपितयोः । भूयः कथंभूतयोः? । **अलिअपसुत्ताण** कैतवशयितयोः । पुनरपि क-
थंभूतयोः? । **णिच्चलणिरुद्धणीसासदिण्णअण्णाण** निश्चलनिरुद्धनिःश्वासश्वसनवि-
तीर्णकर्णयोः । सुप्तस्य हि विशृङ्खला निःश्वासा निर्यान्तीति । **माणइत्ताण** माने-
368 न वित्तयोः प्रख्यातयोरित्यर्थः । अत्यर्थे वा **इत्तप्रत्ययः** । जातिरलङ्कारः ॥ २५ ॥

Q₁₂ʳ

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361 Caesura after the first short of the fourth *gaṇa*.

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358 बुद्धराजस्य] *corr.*, बुद्धाराजस्य Q, वत्सराजस्य P_{ED}W_{BH}, कुमारस्य W_P **359** पणअकुविआण]
Σ, पणअकुविआणँ G_{ED} **359** दोण्ह] Q T_{ED}W_KW_{ED}G_{ED}, दुण्ह P_{ED}W_{BH} **359** वि] Σ, ति
W_{BH} **360** माणइत्ताण] *rest.* Q_C, माणइल्लाण Q T_{ED}W_{ED}, माणइल्लाणं W_K, माणइत्ताणं P_{ED}
362 °अण्णाण] Q P_{ED}T_{ED}W_{ED}, °कण्णाण W_K, °कण्णाणँ G_{ED} **363** दोण्ह] Q, दुन्ह P_{ED} **363**
माणइत्ताण] Q, माणइत्ताणं P_{ED} **364** ताभ्यामन्यो] Q, तयोरन्यतरो P_{ED} **364** पणअ°]
rest. Q_vP_{ED}, प्रणअ° Q **365** प्रणय] P_{ED}, प्रणअ° Q **365** भूयः कथंभूतयोः?→निर्यान्ति]
Q, णिच्चलणिरुद्धणिसासदिण्णयण्णाण निश्चलनिरुद्धनिःश्वासदत्त- कर्णयोः, आलिङ्गनलालसयोः
अन्योन्यनिसर्गनिष्प्रकम्पयोः । व्यलीकनिद्राकाङ्क्षया निश्चलनिश्वासवि- तीर्णकर्णत्वम् । सुप्तस्य हि
विशृङ्खलाः स्वासा निर्यान्तीति । P_{ED} **365** कैतव°] *corr.*, केतव° Q **366** °णीसासदिण्ण°]
Q^{pc"}_{mg}", °णीसाससदिसा° Q^{ac} **368** अत्यर्थे वा **इत्तप्रत्ययः**] *em.*, अत्यर्थे वा इत्यप्रत्ययः Q,
अस्त्यर्थक इत्तप्रत्ययः P_{ED}

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359 प्रणयकुपितयोर्द्वयोरप्यलीकप्रसुप्तयोर्मानवतोः । निश्चलनिरुद्धनिःश्वासदत्तकर्णयोः को मल्लः ॥

26

कुमारिलस्य

णवलइपहरं अंगे
   जहिं जहिं महइ देअरो दाउं
रोमंचदंडराई
   तहिं तहिं दीसइ वहूए ॥ २६ ॥

णवलइपहरं जहिं जहिं अंगे दाउं देअरो महइ नवलताप्रहारं यत्र यत्राङ्गे दातुं देवरो
ऽभिलषति **तहिं तहिं** तत्र तत्र **रोमंचदंडराई दीसइ** रोमाञ्चदण्डराजिर्दृश्यते । कस्याः?
। **वहूए** वध्वाः । अनुरागसूचको रोमाञ्चः । भावो नामालङ्कारः । परकीया स्वीया
नायिका । आचार्यदण्डिनस्तु मते ' आकारलक्ष्यः सूक्ष्मो ' ज्यम् ॥ २६ ॥

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376 Cf. KāAl 7.38: यस्य विकारः प्रभवन्नप्रतिबद्धेन हेतुना येन । गमयति तदभिप्रायं तत्प्रतिबन्धं च
भावो ज्सौ ॥   *377 Cf. KaĀ* 2.260, cited in full at *Gāthā* 3.

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369 कुमारिलस्य] Q, तस्यैव (वत्सराजस्य) P$_{ED}$, तस्यैव W$_{BH}$, प्राणामस्य W$_P$ **370** णवलइ॰]
QW$_K$W$_{ED}$, कुवलय॰ P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$, णवलअ॰ T$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$ **370** अंगे] *rest.* Q$_c$P$_{ED}$T$_{ED}$W$_K$W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$, अगे
Q   **371** देअरो] QT$_{ED}$W$_{ED}$, देवरो P$_{ED}$W$_K$G$_{ED}$, देउरो W$_{BH}$,   **372** ॰राई] P$_{ED}$T$_{ED}$W$_K$W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$,
॰राइ Q   **374** णवलइपहरं→दृश्यते ।] Q, रोमंचदंडराई रोमाञ्चदण्डराजिः कुवलयप्रहारं यत्र
यत्र अङ्गे देवरो दातुमभिलाषति तत्र तत्र दृश्यते । P$_{ED}$ **374** यत्र] Q$^{pc}_{mg}$, *omitted* Q^{ac}
375 ॰राई] P$_{ED}$, ॰राइ Q   **376** अनुरागसूचको रोमाञ्चः । भावो नामाल- ङ्कारः] *corr.*,
अनुरागसूचको रोमाञ्चः । भावो नामालङ्कारः Q, बद्धानुरागसूचको ज्यं रोमाञ्चः सात्त्विको भावः ।
सूक्ष्मो नामालङ्कारः P$_{ED}$, सा चोमामा(पमा?)लङ्कारः, सूक्ष्मो नामालङ्कारः W$_{BH}$ **377** परकीया
स्वीया नायिका] *conj.*, परकीया स्त्री Q, परकीया स्वीया (?) नायिका P$_{ED}$, पक्खीयाखीया
(परकीया स्वीया?) W$_{BH}$ **377** आचार्यदण्डिनस्तु मते ' आकारलक्ष्यः सूक्ष्मो ' ज्यम्] P$_{ED}$,
चार्यदण्डिन(स्तु) मते आका(Lücke für eine akṣara)लक्षसूक्ष्मो ज्यम् W$_{BH}$, *omitted* Q

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370 नवलताप्रहारमङ्गे यत्र यत्र महति देवरो दातुम् । तत्र तत्र रोमाञ्चदण्डराजिर्दृश्यते वध्वाः ॥ २६ ॥

27

कुमारस्य

काचिद्विरहिणी स्वदुःखं सख्याः कथयति ।

अज्ज मए तेण विणा
अणुहूअसुहाइँ संभरंतीए
अहिणवमेहाण रवो
णिसामिओ वज्झपडहो व्व ॥ २७ ॥

तेण विणा अज्ज मए अहिणवमेहाण रवो णिसामिओ अद्य मया तेन प्रियतमेन विनाभिनवमेघानां रवो निशामितः, श्रुतः । कथंभूतया? । **अणुहूअसुहाइँ संभरंतीए** अनुभूतसुखानि स्मरन्त्या । कीदृशः? । **वज्झपडहो व्व** वध्यपटह इव । वध्यपटहध्व- नौ तदुपचारः, तत्संबन्धात्प्रावृट्प्रवृत्तावपि प्रियस्याप्रत्यावृत्तौ मम मरणं शरणमिति तात्पर्यार्थः । उपमालङ्कारः ॥ २७ ॥

28

हालस्य

काचित्स्वानुरागं कथयितुं नायकमिदमाह ।

णिक्किव जाआभीरुअ
दुद्दंसण णिंबईडअसरिच्छ ।

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378 कुमारस्य] Q, (कुन्तलस्य?) P_ED, कृतालस्य (कुंतलस्य) W_BH, शल्याणस्य W_P   **379** सख्याः] Q, सख्यै P_ED   **379** The *avataraṇikā* comes after the verse in Q   **380** तेण] Qᵖᶜ *erased*, तेण्णु Qᵃᶜ   **383** पडहो] Q, पडहु P_ED   **384** तेण] Qᵖᶜ *erased* P_ED, तेण्ण Qᵃᶜ   **385** विनाभिनवमेघानां] *corr.*, विना अभिनवमेघानां Q   **385** अणुहूअ°] Qᵖᶜ, अनुणुहूअ° Qᵃᶜ   **386** कीदृशः] P_ED, कीदृशो Q   **386** वज्झपडहो व्व] Q P_ED, वय्य(!)पडहु व्व W_BH   **387** वध्यपटहध्वनौ] Q, स्वनौ P_ED   **389** हालस्य Q, No author name P_ED W_BH, हरिजनस्य W_P   **392** णिंबईडअसरिच्छ] *corr.*, णिंबइडअसरिच्छ Q, निंबकीडअसरिच्छ P_ED, —कीडयसारिच्छ W_BH, णिंवकीडअसरिच्छ T_ED, निंव- कीडसारिच्छ W_K W_ED, निम्बईडसारिच्छ G_ED

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380 अद्य मया तेन विनानुभूतसुखानि संस्मरन्त्या । अभिनवमेघानां रवो निशामितो वध्यपटह इव ॥
391 निष्कृप जायाभीरुक दुर्दर्शन निम्बकीटकसदृक्ष । ग्रामो ग्रामणीनन्दन तव कृते तथापि तनूयते ॥ २८ ॥

गामो गामिणिणंदण
तुज्झ कए तह वि तणुआइ ॥ २८ ॥

₃₉₅ **हे गामिणिनंदण** हे ग्रामणीसुत । **णिक्किव** निष्कृप । निष्कृपस्त्वं यदीदृशीं दशां प्राप्तामपि मामुपेक्षसे । **जाआभिरुअ** भार्याभिरो । भार्याभिरुस्त्वं यदेवमेकतान-मनसामपि न मामनुवर्तसे । **दुदृंसण** दुर्दर्श यस्तस्यामासक्तो न कस्यापि लोच-

₃₉₈ नगोचरं गच्छसि । **निंबईडअसरिच्छ्** निम्बकीटकस्त्वं यस्तस्यामपि निकृष्टरामायां रमस इति सपत्नीदोषोद्घोषणम् । यद्यपि त्वमीदृशः, **तह वि** तथापि, **गामो तुज्झ कए** ग्रामस्त्वदर्थे **तणुआइ** तनूयते । ग्रामशब्देनात्मानं व्यपदिशति, अहं त्वद्वियोगेन

₄₀₁ क्षामावस्थां प्राप्तेति तात्पर्यार्थः । ग्रामणीः ग्रामनायकः । विशेषोक्तिरलङ्कारः ।

गुणजातिक्रियादीनां यत्तु वैकल्यदर्शनम् ।
विशेषापादनायैव सा विशेषोक्तिरिष्यते ॥

₄₀₄ अन्योढा नायिका ।

अन्योढापि हि कन्या कर्तव्यं सर्वमुद्धतं कुरुते ।
दुरवस्था दयितं तु स्वयमभियुङ्क्ते स्मरावेशात् ॥ २८ ॥

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402 ≈ *KāĀ* 2.323: गुणजातिक्रियादीनां यत्तु वैकल्यदर्शनम् । विशेषदर्शनायैव सा विशेषोक्तिरिष्यते ॥
405 ≈ *ŚṛTi* 1.58: अन्योढापि करोत्येव सर्वमुद्धतमन्यथा । दुरवस्था पुनः कान्तमभियुङ्क्ते स्वयं यथा ॥

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393 गामिणि॰] Q W_BH G_ED W_K, गामणि॰ P_ED T_ED W_ED **395** गामिणि॰] Q, गामणि॰ P_ED **395** निष्कृप ।] P_ED, *omitted* Q **395** निष्कृपस्] P_ED, निःकृपस् Q **396** अपि] Q, *omitted* P_ED **396** भार्याभिरो । भार्याभिरुस्त्वं यदेवमेकतानमनसामपि न मामनुवर्तसे मामनुवर्तसे] *corr.*, भार्याभिरो । भार्याभिरुस्त्वं यदेव मामेक- तानमनसामपि न मामनुवर्तसे Q, जायाभिरो (मां) नानुवर्तसे P_ED **397** दुदृंसण दुर्दर्श] *em.*, दुदृंसण दुर्देश Q, भद्रमण (?) दुर्दर्शनस्त्वं P_ED **398** निंबईडअसरिच्छ्] *corr.*, निंबइडअसरिच्छ Q, *omitted* P_ED **398** निम्बकीटकस्त्वं यस्तस्यामपि] *conj.*, निंबकीटकव्रेस्घं Q, निंबकीटककल्पस्त्वं P_ED W_BH **399** ॰दोषोद्घोषणम्] Q P_ED, ॰दोषाघोषणं W_BH **400** ॰अर्थे] Q, ॰अर्थ P_ED **400** व्यप॰] Q^{pc}, व्युव्प॰ Q^{ac} **400** त्वद्वियोगेन क्षामावस्थां प्राप्नोति] Q^{pc}, त्वद्वियोगेन क्षामावस्थां प्राप्नोति Q^{ac}, त्वद्वियोगदुःखेन इमामवस्थां प्राप्तेति P_ED **401** ग्रामणीः] *em.*, ग्रामणी Q, ग्रामणी॰ P_ED **401** ग्रामनायकः] Q^{pc}_{mg} P_ED, ग्रामनाकः Q^{ac} **402** ॰क्रिया॰] P_ED KāĀ, ॰क्रियो॰ Q **402** यत्तु] KāĀ P_ED, यत्तद् Q **403** विशेषापादनायैव] *em.*, विशेषणप- दार्थैव Q, विशेषदर्शनायैव KāĀ P_ED **405** सर्वमुद्धत॰] ŚṛTi सर्वमुद्धतं Q, सर्वमनुद्धतं P_ED **406** दुरवस्था दयितं] Q, दुरवस्थापि च P_ED, दुरवस्था पुनः ŚṛTi **406** ॥ २८ ॥ हरिराजस्य Q

145

Translation

ॐ Reverence to the Goddess Śāradā!

> 'We do not hear of an offense, and
>   You have told no lie,'
> May Kṛṣṇa, remaining silent
>   When this was spoken by the cowherdess,
>   Purify you.[7]

Even a person skilled in all the arts and conversant with all the lexicons cannot expound upon the meaning whose true nature is concealed in the clever sayings (*chekokti*), composed by various poets and covering diverse topics, in the collection of Gāthās created by the glorious Sātavāhana, how then shall I? Nonetheless, in acquiescence to the wishes of the group (*sārtha*) of all the learned (*sūri*), I compose a commentary to that [anthology] according to my understanding.

1

Here, in the beginning, the poet created this salutation to assure the completion of the work free of all obstacles:

> Bow to Paśupati's cupped hands offering
>   Water to the Twilight,
> Water into which the moon-like face of Gaurī has entered
>   In the form of a reflection, red with anger.
>   It is as though [the handful of water] bears a lotus offering.[8]

Pasuvaïṇo means 'of Paśupati,' 'of Maheśvara.' *Saṃjhāsalilaṃjaliṃ ṇamaha* means 'bow to the handful of water offered to the twilight.' What is it like? *Rosāruṇapaḍimāsaṃkaṃtagorimuhaaṃdaṃ*, 'it contains the moon-like face of Gaurī reflected red with anger.' And because of this, what is it like? *Gahiagghapaṃkaaṃ piva*, 'it is as

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[7]For an explanation of the verse see note 5, p. 170.

[8]I translate *gahiagghapaṃkaaṃ piva* as a separate sentence for the sake of clarity. Another possibility: 'Bow to Paśupati's offering of / Water to the Twilight / Into which the moon-like face of Gaurī has entered / In the form of a reflection, red with anger / As though it bears a lotus offering.'

though it bears a lotus offering.' It is to be understood that the redness of Gaurī's moon-like face is due to jealous anger at [Śiva's] salutation to the twilight. This allusion to the topic at hand indicates that this work will be created full of the *rasa* of love-in-separation caused by jealousy. The figure of speech is Utprekṣā or Poetic Fancy. Its definition—

> Where, onto a certain existing object
>   Another non-existent entity similar to it
> Is superimposed in a fitting manner (*upapattyā*),
>   That is also known as Utprekṣā.[9]

So says Rudraṭa. And the author of the *Vakroktijīvita* says:

> When the meaning of a sentence is informed by
>   An imaginative inference,[10]
> By resemblance (*sādṛśya*), or by means of both of these
>   They call that Utprekṣā.

2

> **Out of a myriad of**
>   **Poetically ornamented *gāthā*s**
> **Hāla, who was fond of poets,**
>   **Compiled seven hundred verses.**

In the region called Vatsagulma there was a king named Sātavāhana who was celebrated on earth. He was known as Hāla. By him *koḍīa majjhaārammi*, amongst ten million, *sālaṃkārāṇa gāhāna*, poetically ornamented Gāthās, *satta saāiṃ viraiāiṃ*, seven hundred were compiled, that is to say, collected. The meaning is that he drew the essence from out of ten million. What was he like? *Kaïvacchaleṇa*, means,

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[9]I.e., 'that is known as another variety of Utprekṣā.' See note 24, p. 171.

[10]The *Vaǰī* commentary explains *saṃbhāvanānumāna* as 'an inference of an imagined object': *saṃbhāvanānumānena saṃbhāvanayā yadanumānaṃ, saṃbhāvyamānasyārthasyohanaṃ tena*. See note 29, p. 171.

he was *fond of poets/loved by poets*.[11] Since he was fond of poets, even though he had poetic talent, he began arranging Gāthās into a compilation.

3

Poṭṭisa

> **Look! The unshaken, completely still**
>> **Female Balāka bird appears on the lotus leaf like a**
> **Bright conch shell resting on a**
>> **Spotless emerald plate.**

Ua means look. *Bhisiṇīpatammi* means on the leaf of the lotus. *Balāā rehaï* means the Balākā looks beautiful. What is it like? *Niccalaṇipphaṃdā*, it is not moving (*niścalā*) because of the absence of the occurrence of wind and so on; it is completely still (*nispandā*), it itself is devoid of movement because it is in a state without action. *Nimmalamaragaabhāaṇapariṭṭhiā saṃkhasutti vva*, [it looks] like a bright conch shell resting on a spotless emerald plate. The figure of speech is Kalpitopamā. Its definition:

> Where the subject of comparison is furnished with adjectives
>> Of such a sort [and] in such a manner,
> That they are also connected to the object of comparison.
>> This is called Kalpitopamā.

Ācārya Daṇḍin considers this to be Vākyārthopamā, 'Comparison of the Meanings of [Two] Sentences.'

But others explain the meaning of the verse differently. In a place full of elders a certain lady hints at the secret meeting spot to a Nāyaka who cannot be addressed [openly], [saying] *ua niccalaṇipphaṃdā*. There is certainly no one here in the lotus grove in the garden. If someone were wandering about, the Balākā would not remain still, therefore this place is suitable for our enjoyment. And in this case the figure of speech is the Subtle Comparison in which [the meaning] is indicated by a hint (*iṅgita*). Its definition:

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[11]*Kaïvacchaleṇa* may be understood as a pun, meaning both 'fond of poets' and 'dear to poets.' Although Tribhuvanapāla explains the term in the sense of 'fond of.'

[Where] the meaning is indicated from a hint or from an appearance,
   Due to subtlety, the figure of speech is called the Subtle.

4

Hāla

> **The gestures of**
>   **Women in love-making have some beauty,**
> **So long as their dark blue lily petal-like eyes**
>   **Do not close.**

Tāva ccia raïsamae means 'So long, in love-making.' *Vibbhamā virāaṃti* means 'gestures'—which consist of sighs, making the sound *sīt*, kissing, embracing, etc.—'are beautiful,' that is to say, attain preeminence. *Jāva ṇa kuvalaadalasacchahāiṃ ṇaaṇāiṃ maülaṃti*, that is to say, 'as long as [their] dark blue lily petal-like eyes do not close.' The meaning is that among amorous gestures, the closing of the eyes in delight is preeminent.

But others say that the gestures of clever women occur even when not experiencing the pleasure (*sukha*) of lovemaking, but not the half-closing of the eyes. Therefore, they say that their [half-closing] marks the pinnacle of all the qualities of lovemaking.

Still others say here that once their experience of the pleasure of love-making is inferred from the closing of the eyes, gestures such as kissing, embracing, and so on, are not important.

5

Cullovuka

> **Why do you not look for a gift of fruit from/for yourself?**
>   **You look for [one] from the Kurabaka tree.**
> **Thus, O fortunate one, your wife surely laughs**
>   **With her lotus face tilted to the side.**

O *suhaa* means 'O fortunate one!' *Eaṃ khu tuha jāā hasaï* means 'thus, your wife surely laughs.' How? *Valiamuhapaṃkaaṃ* means 'with the lotus of her face turned.' *Ṇohaliaṃ* means fruit in the form of an unprecedented gift. *Appaṇo kiṃ ṇa maggase?*, 'Why do you not search [for a new gift] in connection to yourself?[12] *Maggase kuravaassa* means 'you look for [the new gift] of the Kurabaka tree.' The meaning is 'by returning after such a long time you have become unrecognizable.' The figure of speech is Uttara, the Later Statement—

> Due to hearing the later statement
> One infers the prior statement
> This is known as Uttara
> And also where the reply is inferred from the question.[13]

But others explain the meaning of the verse differently. Thus, the *nāyaka*, using a pretext, [namely], by means of the convention of bringing out a Kurabaka blossom, communicated a concealed censure which could not be uttered out loud: 'Earlier, I went to the secret meeting spot that it [the blossom] indicates, but you were not there.' And, by the clever young bride's showing him the Kurabaka blossom fixed in her hair, (an act made clear) by (the speaker's) mention of a smile and a tilt of the face, she reproaches him: 'I went there earlier, not you.' But thinking, 'may no one else know this secret of theirs,' the friend, concealing [their secret], said this verse beginning with *ṇohaliaṃ appaṇo kiṃ ṇa maggase maggase*. In this case the figure of speech is Leśa, the Subtle—

> The Subtle is the concealing through subtlety
> Of a truth the reality of which is about to be disclosed.

Here, the special quality of the friend is her state of knowing the real but covert purpose of her lady and her action is the censure of the beloved. Her description—

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[12]In other words, Tribhuvanapāla understands *pāda*s a and b to have one of the following senses: 'instead of taking a gift from the tree, why not give a gift from yourself/take a gift for yourself?' The later commentaries in P$_{ED}$, in the *BhāLePra*, in K$_E$, and in W$_{ED}$'s W$_{RM}$ and ϵ offer varying interpretations and thus also Weber (1870, p. 74); Tieken (1983, pp. 191ff); Dundas (1985, p. 23); and Patwardhan (1988, pp. 1 and 130). See note 80, p. 173.

[13]On the difference between this definition and that of the *KāAl*, see note 87, 173.

Her qualities are memory, spiritedness
    Devotion, knowledge of [the other's] thoughts, eloquence
Boldness, pride, skill
    Proficiency in all the arts.
Her individual responsibilities, [described] by the expert on Actions
    Are censure of her [lady's] dear one,
Diversion, soothing, and encouragement of [her lady] in separation,
    Teaching about union with [her lady's] dearly beloved.

She (*jāyā*) is an independent Nāyikā.

6

Makaranda

Beautiful women, separated from their dear ones,
    Are tormented by Aśoka trees;
Does anyone who is strong
    Endure [without retaliation] a kick from the foot of another?

Asoehiṃ laḍahavilaāu tāvijjaṃti means beautiful women are tormented by Aśoka trees. When? *Daïavirahammi* means when they are separated from their beloveds. Corroborating this, [the speaker] says: *kiṃ sahaï ko vi kassa vi pāapahāraṃ?*, that is to say, does anyone endure the kick from the foot of another? [Anyone] doing what? *Pahuppaṃto*, being able [to retaliate]. The [meaning is] that these [Aśoka trees] are tormented by foot-kicks from women under the pretext[14] of satisfying the longing (*dohada*) of the trees.[15] And previously when they were united with their beloveds, the God of Love had no power over these women. But now, when

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[14]According to the commentator, from the Aśoka trees' perspective the women's kicks are rather cruel and done merely under the pretense of *dohadadāna*.

[15]It is a convention in Kāvya that Aśoka trees desire a kick from the foot of a young lady when they are about to blossom. Various other trees have other *dohada*s. Mallinātha provides the following list in his commentary to Meghadūta 74: *strīṇāṃ sparśāt priyaṅgur vikasati, bakulaś śīdhugaṇḍūṣasekāt / pādāghātād aśokas, tilakakurabakau vīkṣaṇāliṅganābhyāṃ // mandāro narmavākyāt, paṭumṛduhasanāc campako, vaktravātāc / cūto, gītān namerur vikasati ca, puro nartanāt karṇikāraḥ //* 'The Priyaṅgu blooms due to women's touch, the Bakula due to being sprinkled with mouthfuls of wine, the Aśoka due to a kick from the foot, the Tilaka because of glances, the Kuravaka because of an em-

they see the flowering of the Aśoka trees which is brought out in spring, the God of Love afflicts the heart of [these] women who are separated from their beloveds, and whose bodies have grown very thin—this is the meaning of the verse. The figure of speech is Arthāntaranyāsa, Corroboration:

> After putting forward one topic,
> > The introduction of another topic,
> Capable of establishing that [previous topic],
> > Is to be known as Corroboration.

The Nāyikā is a Virahiṇī, a lady separated from her beloved. Her description—

> She whose beloved,[16] abandoning her,
> > Has left his own region and gone to a different region,
> She who had concealed a small spark of sorrow.
> > Whose limbs are [now] inflamed with the
> > > Difficult to extinguish fire of affliction,
> The learned call her the Nāyikā whose dearly beloved has set out.

7

[No author name]

> **O auntie, the lotus grove,**
> > **So lovely that it had become the ornament of our village,**
> **Now because of the cold season**
> > **Is like the garden of harvested sesame.**

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brace, the Mandāra blossoms from being told jokes, the Campaka from [either] loud [or] gentle laughter, the Mango due to breath, the Nameru due to singing, and the Karṇikāra due to dancing in front of it.' *Vṛkṣāyurveda* 112–114ab presents a similar list. See Hara's (2009, pp. 236ff) discussion of *vṛkṣadohada* as an example of *coincidentia oppositorum* in ancient Hindu speculation on cosmogony.

[16]'Beloved' translates *prāṇeśvara*, 'the Lord of Her Life,' a designation that emphasizes the severity of the suffering of the Virahiṇī, The-Lady-in-Separation.

O *attā* means 'O auntie.'[17] *Taha ramaṇijjaṃ* means it is lovely in a manner to be described. *Bhisiṇisaṃdaṃ* means the lotus grove. *Luatilavāḍisariccham sisireṇa kaaṃ* means by the cold season it has been made equal to the garden of harvested sesame plants. What is that like? *Amhaṃ gāmassa maṃḍaṇībhūaṃ*, that is to say, it is the ornament of our village. The lotus grove is compared with the garden of harvested sesame plants because it is useless due to its being unsuitable for trysts. And here there is an intended hint: 'the lotus grove together with the sesame garden is now useless for secret romance.' In the first part [of the Gāthā] there is a comparison (Upamā).[18] And in the second part there is a comparison in the form of a Statement of Concomitance (Sahokti),[19] however, the principle poetic figure is the Subtle (Sūkṣma) in which [the meaning] is indicated from a hint:

> [Where] the meaning is indicated from a hint or from an appearance,
>> Due to subtlety, the figure of speech is called the Subtle.

The syllable *ba* has become *bha* in accordance with the rule: *Bha* in *bhisiṇīṣaṇḍa*. *Attā* means 'father's sister,' 'mother-in-law,' and 'friend.'

8

Kumāra

> **Please don't cry with your head lowered,**
>> **While the rice fields are growing pale**
> **The hemp garden has become like a dancer**
>> **With a golden painted face.**

A certain lady says this to reassure her friend. *Mā ruasu oṇaamuhī* means 'please do not cry with your head lowered.' When what is happening? *Dhavalāaṃtesu sālichettesu* means 'when the rice fields are growing pale.' [For] at that time *hariālamaṃḍiamuhī naḍi vva saṇavāḍiā jāā*, 'the hemp garden has become like a dancer

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[17]'O auntie' translates *pitṛvasṛ*, 'father's sister.' See note 127, p. 174.

[18]The first comparison occurs in the statement *bhisiṇisaṃdaṃ amhaṃ gāmassa maṃḍaṇībhūaṃ*, 'the lotus grove is the ornament of our village.'

[19]The second comparison, the *sahoktir upamā*, is found in the expression *luatilavāḍisariccham*, '[it] is like the field of harvested sesame.' See note 136, p. 174.

whose face is ornamented by golden pigment.' This is the meaning: 'annual plants are those that die after producing fruit'—if the pods[20] indeed burst open because they are ripe, let them burst. These blossoming hemp gardens will become a means of secret romance as desired. *Haritāla* is a type of mineral pigment.[21] This figure of speech is a combination of Comparison (Upamā) and the figure called the Subtle (Sūkṣma).

9

Mahemda

O friend please don't cry,
　　With your moon face hanging to the side,[22]
This is the very way of these affections,
　　As crooked as the curling tendrils of a new cucumber.

Sahi means 'O friend.' *Mā ruvvaü* means 'please do not cry.' *Taṃsavaliamuhaaṃdaṃ* means 'with your moon face hanging to the side.' *Eāṇa bālavāluṅkitaṃtukuḍilāṇa pemmāṇa / erisa ccia gaī* means 'this is the very way of these affections which are as crooked as the curling tendrils of a new cucumber,' which is to say, [the path of these affections] causes pain. *Taṃsa*, meaning *tryaśra*, is formed according to the rule: 'There is *anusvāra* in the list beginning with *vakra*.'

10

Durgasvāmin

When her son climbed onto the back of her
　　Husband who had fallen at her feet,
Even though afflicted with anger,
　　The housewife burst into a smile.

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[20] 'Pods' translates *śālayaḥ*.

[21] *Haritāla* was apparently used as a facial cosmetic. See note 152, p. 175.

[22] 'With your moon-face hanging to the side' translates *taṃsavaliamuhaaṃdaṃ*. See note 156, p. 175.

A smile came forth from the housewife. *Duḍhamaṇṇudūmiāĕ vi* means 'even though she is afflicted, that is to say, distressed, by an anger that is strong.' While what was happening?[23] *Puṭṭhiṃ putte samāruhaṃtammi*, 'while the child was climbing up his back.' Whose [back]? *Pāavaḍiassa païṇo*, [the back] of her husband who had fallen at her feet. It is said that he, even though trying to conciliate her, called her by the wrong name. And the [humorous] transformation signaled by 'climbing up the back of the husband,' who was, in that manner no different from a domestic animal, is the cause of [her] laughter.

> Clearly also in the comedic rasa,
>> The cause of laughter is a high, low, or middle character.[24]
> It arises from the performance of incongruent changes
>> In the limbs, dress, and speech.

She is a Khaṇḍitā Nāyikā, a lady whose beloved has committed an offense. When she smiles at another's ruse the Khaṇḍitā's anger has come to an end.[25] The figure of speech is Sūkṣma, the Subtle.

11

Śrīśātavāhana

A certain lady, seeing the unhappy condition of her mistress, says this to the Nāyaka for the sake of bringing him to her house:

> **She truly knows how to see**
>> **It is right to have passion for a similar person.**
> **Let her pass away! I will not speak to you.**[26]
>> **Even her passing is praiseworthy.**

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[23]'While what was happening?' translates *kva*. See note 169, p. 175.

[24]The translation of *prakṛti* as 'character type' is based on a somewhat close parallel in the *ŚṛTi* which reads *pātra*, 'character.'

[25]See also P_{ED}'s reading of *kopāṅgam* for *kopāntaḥ*: 'smiling at the ruse of another is a part of the anger of the Khaṇḍitā.'

[26]'I will not speak to you,' i.e., 'I will not intercede with you on her behalf.'

Saccaṃ jāṇaï daṭṭhuṃ means 'she truly knows hows to see.' Since *sarisammi jaṇammi jujjaĕ*, 'affection for a similar person is appropriate.' The meaning is, 'you, good sir, are handsome, and she is also lovely.' *Maraü na tumaṃ bhaṇissaṃ*, means, 'if she, not being able to obtain you, passes, let her pass away. I will not intercede on her behalf.' Why? *Maraṇaṃ pi salāhaṇijjaṃ se*, [because], she says, 'even her passing is praiseworthy, since it occurs for your sake.'

But others construe the meaning of the verse differently. She indeed knows how to see, since she is attached to you, an incomparably handsome youth.[27] The meaning is that she *only* knows how to *see*, she does not know nonverbal gestures and cues. Since [she thinks] affection for such a person is appropriate. Here, a similarity was brought about by fondness.[28] The meaning is that one [should] become enamored with an [equally] affectionate person, but you are devoid of affection. Therefore let her pass away, I will not speak to you. Since a stance of indifference is indeed appropriate towards this sort of indiscriminating lady. Moreover, her passing is praiseworthy. The sense is 'even when she passes there will be no regret.' It is explained that it is possible that she, through separation from you, will pass away.

The figure of speech is Indirection (Paryāyokti):

When the desired meaning is not directly spoken
    And a statement is made in another way
For the sake of bringing it (the desired meaning) about
    That is known as Paryāyokti.[29]

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[27] Following P$_{\text{ED}}$'s reading: *yad asau tvayy anupamarūpe yūni anuraktā*.

[28] A freer translation would read: 'because of her fondness for you she imagined that you felt the same way.'

[29] As the figure of Indirection or Paryāyokti is intended to apply to both of the above interpretations, for Tribhuvanapāla, the speaker's purpose in both interpretations is to bring the Nāyaka to the Nāyikā's house for reconciliation. See note 187, p. 175.

12

By the same author

> **O you who are skilled in the art of cooking**
> > **Do not be distressed—drinking in the breath from your mouth,**
> **Which has the fragrance of a red Pāṭala flower,**
> > **The fire burns out, [rather than] ignites.**

He raṃdhanakammaṇiuṇie mā jūrasu means 'O you who are skilled in the art of cooking, do not be distressed.' Since, *muhamāruaṃ piaṃto vijjhāi sihī*, 'drinking the breath from your mouth, the fire burns out.' *Ṇa pajjalaï* means 'it does not ignite.' What is it (her mouth) like? *Rattapāḍalasuaṃdhaṃ*, 'fragrant as the red Pāṭala flower.' This is the meaning: thinking, 'even though kindled, I will not obtain the happiness of drinking the breath from your mouth which is as fragrant as the red Pāṭala flower,' the fire does not ignite.

But others say that a certain lady says this concealing the misconduct of [another] lady by whom the 'sūt' sound is expelled because of the influence of the tooth-wounds on her petal-like lower lip. In this case the figure of speech is Leśa.

13

By Hāla

> **Asked by her friends, 'What do you yearn for?'**
> > **The gaze of the innocent young woman**
> **Who was experiencing her very first pregnancy cravings**
> > **Went only to her beloved.**

Muddhāĕ ṇavara daïaṃ gaā diṭṭhī means 'the glance of the innocent young woman went only to her beloved.' What is she like? *Paḍhamullaadohaliṇīĕ* means 'she is one possessed of her very first pregnancy cravings.' What else is she like? *Kiṃ kiṃ te paḍihāsaï sahīhiṃ ia pucchiāĕ* means "she was asked by her friends, 'among solid foods, soft foods, lickable foods, and liquids,[30] which are you contemplating?' "—this is the meaning. It is said that when what is desired in pregnancy is not given, children are born with deformities, afflicted with diseases, and so on, therefore the practitioners of Āyurveda teach the 'fulfilling of the pregnancy cravings of pregnant women.' *Ṇavara* is a particle in the sense of *kevala*, 'only.' The Nāyikā is Devoted and Innocent (Svīyā Mugdhā Nāyikā).

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[30] See note 214.

14

By Rudrasuta

A certain lady in separation, longing even for the indirect (*pāraṃparya*) touch of her beloved, says this to the moon:

> **O moon, you who are made of nectar**
> > **You who are the diadem of the sky**
> > > **You who are the *tilaka* on the face of the night,**
> **May you please touch me also with those very rays**
> > **By which my beloved is touched.**

He caṃda jehiṃ karehiṃ piaamo chikko, tehiṃ cia karehiṃ mamaṃ pi chivasu, 'O moon, with those moonbeams by which my beloved was caressed, with those very rays caress me also.' Through the meaning of words in an uninterrupted series of vocatives,[31] she bestows praise for the sake of obtaining what is wished for. *Amaamaa gaaṇasehara raaṇīmuhatilaa*, 'you who are made of nectar,' 'you who are the diadem of the sky,' 'you who are the *tilaka* on the face of lady night'—one who is petitioned, is praised, it is said. *De* is a particle [employed] in a petition. The Nāyikā is a Lady-in-Separation. The transitory emotion is delirium.

> Delirium arises from the loss of a beloved person or the loss of wealth,
> > From a strong blow, from a disorder of Vāta, Pitta, Kapha,
> > > [Or] from a confusion of the mind due to love (*manasijamanovikārād*).
> A learned person should show delirium,
> > Which arises from petitioning one who is not to be petitioned,[32]
> Through baseless crying and laughter [or] through [baseless]
> > Singing, dancing, running about, and calling out.

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[31]The meaning of *saṃbodhanaparaṃparārthaśabdena* is uncertain. In addition to 'through the meaning of words in a series of vocatives,' also possible is, 'through the sound and sense of an uninterrupted series of vocatives.'

[32]Perhaps, 'in petitioning that which cannot be petitioned (i.e., that which cannot respond to a petition).'

15

By Hāla

A certain lady in separation from her beloved worries to herself:

> **'He who has set out will return**
>> **I will get angry at him, he will conciliate me,'**
> **Thus someone's garland of wishes for her beloved**
>> **Comes to fruition.**

Eihaï so paüttho, 'he who has set out will return.' *Ahaaṃ kuppijja*, 'I will get angry at him for the transgression of returning after a long time. *So vi aṇuṇijja*, "he will conciliate me: 'O beloved, forgive this crime of mine.' " *Ia kassa vi phalaï manorahāṇa mālā piaamammi* 'thus some meritorious person's garland of wishes regarding their beloved comes to fruition, [that is to say, their wishes] will be brought about, but not [the wishes] of unlucky people like me.' The transitory emotion is worry. The Nāyikā is a Svīyā, a lady devoted to her beloved.

16

By Śrīdhammila

> **Look, it is as though the cloth weeps,**
>> **with water dripping from its loose edges,**
> **'How will I, who have been washed,**
>> **Endure being pulled on by the poor family?'**

Dasiosarantasalileṇa, 'with water dripping from its loose edges.' *Uaha ruṇṇaṃ vva paḍaeṇa*, 'Look the cloth seems to weep.' Here [the speaker] states the reason. *Mae dhovieṇa*, 'by me, who have been washed,' *duggaakuḍumbaaḍḍhī kaha ṇi soḍhavvā?*, 'how will the pull of the poor family be endured?' Because my strength has certainly been sapped, being pulled on in turn by their hands (will be) unbearable. The figure of speech is Utprekṣā, Poetic Fancy. Its definition—

> Where the action of a sentient being or another [entity]
>> Which is definitely established in one way
> Is described differently
>> They call that Utprekṣā.

17

By the same author

> **O you who are the color of a new mango sprout!**
>> **Little calf! You who are going**
> **With your ears alert to the house which is dear to your heart!**
>> **May you attain eminence.**

O *kosaṃbakisalavaṇṇaa taṇṇaa*, 'you who are the color of a new mango sprout! Little calf! *Ukkaṇuehiṃ kaṇṇehiṃ*, 'you who are characterized by upraised ears.' *Hiaïchi-agehaṃ vaccamāṇa*, 'going to the house which is dear to your heart.' *Dhavalattaṇaṃ pāva*, 'may you obtain eminence.' The meaning is 'may you become a leader.' Kośāmba is a type of tree. It is known to have red sprouts. *Taṇṇao* means 'calf.' In connection with the search for him, I (will) reach the house of my beloved, hence the giving of the blessing.

18

By Gaṇa

> **O you who pretend to sleep, you whose eyes are closed,**
>> **O fortunate one, make room for me,**[33]
> **You whose limbs thrill at the kiss to your cheek,**
>> **I will not be late again.**

O *suhhaa*, 'O fortunate one.' *Aliapasuttaa vinimīliaccha*, 'O you who pretend to sleep, you whose eyes are closed.' *De amha ovāsaṃ*, 'give me a place.' Wondering, 'he is indeed truly asleep?' she says, *gaṇḍapariuṃbaṇāpulaïaṃga ṇa uṇo cirāis-saṃ* 'you whose limbs thrill at the kiss to your cheek, I will not be late again.' Forgive me this mistake which was due to a carelessness of affection.[34] The thrill of hairs is an involuntary condition. The Nāyikā is Svīyā, a lady dedicated to her beloved, and Pragalbhā, a bold lady.

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[33] Also, punningly, 'give me a chance.'

[34] Or, 'due to a carelessness caused by affection.'

19

<u>By Candrarsi</u>

<u>A motherly figure says this, instructing a certain lady who is slow to put on her cosmetics and ornaments when her beloved is eager to see her—</u>

> **Though your makeup is not done,**
>> **Go to the house of that eager man.**
> **O daughter, you will not stay in the thoughts**
>> **Of one whose excitement has waned.**

Sakouhallassa means 'of him who is eager.' *Asamattamaṇḍaṇa ccia gharaṃ vacca*, 'Go to his house [though] your makeup is not done. What is the reason? *Volāviahalahalaassa* 'of him whose curiosity will for the most part be overcome (whose curiosity will wane).' *Se* means 'of him.' *Putti citte ṇa laggihisi*, 'O daughter, you will not stay in his thoughts.' It is understood that the beloved is indeed eager. But it is not proper that his longing should be dulled. *Kouhallaṃ* means 'eagerness.' *Halahalaaṃ* means 'longing to see the beloved.' Here, eagerness, *autsukya* is a transitory emotion.

20

By Bahurāga

A certain man, remembering kissing the moon-like face of his beloved, says this:

> **I remember her kiss—**
>> **Her face was covered in tinted ghee**
> **Our noses did not touch,**
>> **Our foreheads did not come in contact,**
> **[And only] her lips were eagerly offered.**

Vaṇṇaghaatuppamuhīĕ tīĕ 'of her whose face was anointed with tinted ghee.' *Pariumbiaṃ bharimo* 'I remember the kiss.' What was it like? *Āarapaṇāmiotthaṃ* 'in which her lips were eagerly offered.' *Aghaḍiaṇāsaṃ*, 'in which (our) noses did not touch.' *Asaṃgaaṇiḍālaṃ* 'in which our foreheads did not come in contact.'

His beloved's skill in the art of kissing is made clear. But others say the idea is that this is a kiss in which the moon-like face is tilted. *Tuppaṃ* means 'anointed.' *Paṇāmia*—the form *paṇāma* is taught in the sense of 'offered.' The poetic ornament is Jāti, the Life-like. The transitory emotion is *smṛti*, remembrance. That experience, which due to whatever cause, would turn to remembrance, that is *smṛti*. The Nāyikā is Svīyā, a lady devoted to her husband. Tinted ghee is used to brighten the face.

21

By Meghāndhakāra

A certain Nāyaka says this to describe the skillfulness of his beloved, who is at other times bashful, in love-sport:

> **She gives hundreds of commands during love-making**
> **Her cheeks bursting with joy**
> **Yet in the morning her head is lowered bashfully—**
> **I do not believe that she is the same beloved.**

Gose vi oṇaamuhī aha sa tti piā ṇa saddahimo 'I do not believe that (this lady) whose head is lowered in the morning is the same beloved.' What is she like? *Taha āṇāsaāiṁ deṃtī* 'in that manner—in a way that is not to be described—giving hundreds of commands. When? *Surae* 'in love-making.' Moreover, what is she like (then)? *Harisaviasiakaolā*, 'her cheeks are bursting with joy.' He says this to poke fun at the lady who shows skillfulness in love-making at night. The idea is that he does not understand how she, whose face is lowered bashfully in the morning, could be the same person as his beloved (in the night).

22

By Brahmacārin

A certain lady says this to poke fun at the man, who, in addressing [her], had used the name of another woman:

> **Separation from what is dear and**
> **Seeing that which is not dear are two great sorrows—**
> **Salutations to that nobility of birth,**
> **By which you are [nonetheless] compelled to act.**[35]

Tĭĕ ṇamo āhiāīe, 'homage to that noble birth.' *Jǐa tumaṃ garuāiṃ do vi dukkhāiṃ kāri-jjasi*, 'by which you are compelled to endure two grave sorrows.' What are these two? *Piaviraho appiadaṃsaṇaṃ ca*, 'separation from that which is dear and seeing that which is not dear.' This is the idea—'by this mistaken address alone it is inferred that just as she is dear to you I am disliked.' Being in separation from her and the sight of me—that nobility of birth, that high rank, by which you will endure these two terrible, unbearable sorrows is worthy of salutation. Because the word *abhijāti* is read in the list beginning with *samṛddhi*, the [lengthened initial] *ā*-syllable is seen. The Nāyikā is Svīyā, a lady committed to her beloved, Madhyā, innocent, and Dhīrā, self-restrained.

> 'Out of anger the Self-restrained Nāyikā speaks, with clever speech,
> To the beloved who has committed an offense.'

The poetic ornament is Paryāyokti, Subterfuge.

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[35] I.e., 'through nobility'—or 'by righteousness'—'you endure these two sorrows.'

164

23

By Kālasāra

Even a single black antelope
    Turning to the right does not allow one to go,
How much more so the dearly beloved,
    Her two [dark] eyes filled with tears.

Ekko vi kālasāro ṇa dei gaṃtuṃ 'even a single black antelope does not allow one to go.' Of what kind? *Pāhiṇaṃ valaṃto* 'turning to the right.' *Kiṃ puṇa loaṇajugalaṃ piaamāe*, how much more so the dearly beloved, with her two eyes. She also, by looking to the side, that is to say by means of her black pupils which are turned to the right, sets an obstruction in her beloved's path in the form of her two eyes which resemble two *kālasāra*s/which have two dark pupils.[36] For it is well known that all (lucky) omens move to the right, and that biers, female jackals, black antelopes, and so on [should go] to the left. What are her two eyes like? *Vāhāuliaṃ*, 'full of tears.' Who indeed would set out to another country, abandoning his weeping beloved? Now, on the part of the antelope [the description] *vāhāuliam* is also appropriate in the sense of 'distressed by the hunter.' Since he is frightened from that which strikes fear. [Omens] indicate the future accordingly by means of revelations in the form of sights, sounds and gestures—so it is revealed in the study of augury. The Nāyaka is Anukūla, sympathetic. The poetic ornament is Ākṣepa, Objection.

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[36]The pun, for Tribhuvanapāla, is that *kālasāra* means both 'having black pupils' and 'the black antelope.'

24

By Buddharāja

A certain husband, seeing his wife in a deep sleep during the night, eager for the pleasure of love with his mistress, leaves the bed, and goes out.[37] Meanwhile, the lady who has just woken up, experiencing sorrow because of his behavior, becomes disgruntled. Then he, having finished with his own affairs, tries to win her over with false oaths. When she is not conciliated at all, he [in turn] becomes sulky. Seeing him like that and feeling insulted, she says this to inform that Nāyaka:

> **You would surely not be prideful**
> **If you knew the pain of**
> **Feeling the empty place next to you**
> **When you are half asleep at night.**[38]

Jaï nisāsu suṇṇaïapāsaparimusaṇaveaṇam jāṇaṃto si māṇaṃ ṇa kuṇaṃto 'if you knew the pain of feeling the empty place next to you at night, you would not be prideful.' (The pain) of what? *Pāsuttadaravibuddhāṇa* 'of half-waking up in the middle of the night.'[39] 'When you went out, you did not know the pain I felt when turning to the empty side of the bed,' so speaking she reveals the existence of the difficult to endure pain. *Pāsutta*—there is a long *ā* as the word *prasupta* is read in the list beginning with *samṛddhi*. She is a Nāyikā who is also Svīyā, devoted to her beloved, and who is Pragalbhā, bold, and Dhīrā, self-restrained.[40]

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[37] Or, reading *virajya śayyāṃ*, 'disinterested in his marital bed, goes out' instead of 'he leaves the bed and goes out.'

[38] Or, interpreting *dara* as fear, 'when you wake up afraid at night.'

[39] See previous note.

[40] The *api* likely refers to *Svīyā*. This is the first time Tribhuvanapāla cites this combination Nāyikā types.

25

By Buddharāja

> **Of the two who are pretending to be angry,**
> **Both feigning sleep, both full of pride,**
> **Both listening motionless for the suppressed breathing of the other,**
> **Who will be the victor?**[41]

Doṇha vi māṇaittāṇa ko mallo?, 'of the couple who are both possessed of *māna* (pride), who will be the victor?' No one—this is the meaning. The idea is that out of the two of them, one is not more steadfast. What are they like? *Paṇaaku-viāṇa*, 'pretending to be angry.' What else are they like? *Aliapasuttāṇa*, 'pretending to sleep.' What more are they like? *Ṇiccalaṇiruddhaṇīsadiṇṇaaṇṇāṇa*, 'listening, without moving, for the held back breathing and sighing of the other.'[42] Since, the breathing of a person who is indeed asleep is unrestrained. *Māṇaittāṇa* means, of the two who are known, i.e., famous, because of their *māna*. Or, the -*itta* suffix functions in the sense of 'excessive.' The figure of speech is Jāti, the Life-like.

26

By Kumārila

> **Wherever on the limb the brother-in-law wishes to strike the**
> **New wife with the young flower-vine**[43]
> **In that very place a**
> **Goosebump-mark appears.**

Ṇavalaïpaharaṃ jahiṃ jahiṃ aṃge dāuṃ dearo mahaï, 'wherever on the limb the brother-in-law desires to strike with the young flower-vine,' *tahiṃ tahiṃ*, 'in that very

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[41]Or, 'Who is the fighter?,' the answer here being, 'both are.'

[42]Or, 'whose breath is held back to immobility,' is also possible. Perhaps the Gāthā alludes to something similar to Kabaddi sport.

[43]Instead of 'young flower-vine,' *ṇavalaï*, P$_{ED}$ reads *kuvalaya*, 'water-lily.' The flower-creeper is a similarly soft flower used in play.

place,' *romaṃcadaṃḍarāï dīsaï*, 'a goosebump-mark is seen.' Whose (limb)? *Vahūe*, 'the new wife's.' Horripilation is an indication of passion. The poetic ornament is Bhāva. The Nāyikā is Parakīyā, a lady who is married to someone else, and Svīyā, a lady devoted to her beloved.

27

By Kumāra

> **Today, without him,**
>   **Remembering past joys,**
> **I heard the thunder of the first rain cloud.**
>   **It sounded like the executioner's drum.**

A certain lady in separation tells her friend of her own sorrow. *Teṇa viṇā ajja mae ahiṇavamehāṇa ravo ṇisāmio*, 'without him, my dearly beloved, today, by me, the roar of the first rain cloud was perceived, i.e., heard.'[44] What was she like? *aṇuhūasuhāiṃ saṃbharaṃtīe*, 'remembering (previously) experienced joys.' What was it (the thunder) like? *Vajjhapaḍaho vva*, 'like the execution drum.'[45] The intended meaning of the sentence—through connection to the metaphor of the sound of the drum—is: 'since my beloved has not returned even though the rainy season has begun, I will die.' The figure of speech is Upamā, Comparison.

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[44]Signaling the start of the monsoon season.

[45]More precisely, 'the drum of the one who is to be executed,' or, 'the drum of the place (or time) of execution.' See note p. 178, 383.

28

By Hāla

A certain lady says this to tell a Nāyaka of her own passion:

> **O merciless one, O you who are afraid of your wife!**
> > **O you who are difficult to catch sight of,**
> > > **Like the small insect in the neem berry!**
> **O son of the village chief!**
> > **Even so (even though you are like that),**
> > > **The village grows thin because of you.**

He gāmininaṃdaṇa, 'O son of the village chief.' *Ṇikkiva* 'O merciless one.' You are merciless because even though, in this manner, I have reached the stage of death, you pay me no heed. *Jāābhīrua*, 'O you who are afraid of your wife.' You are afraid of your wife, because you do not pursue me even though I think of you with single-minded devotion. *Duddaṃsaṇa* means 'O you who are difficult to see.' Since you, who are very attached to her, do not come within sight of anyone else. *Ṇiṃbaīḍaasariccha*, 'you are the insect in the neem fruit, since you take pleasure even in the company of a such a low lady'—thus the declaration of the faults of the rival.[46] Even though you are like that, *taha vi* 'nonetheless,' *gāmo tujjha kae*, 'because of you the village,' *taṇuāi*, 'grows thin.' By the word 'village,' she implies herself—'in separation from you, I have wasted away'—this is the intended meaning of the sentence. The *grāmaṇī* is the chief of the village. The figure of speech is Viśeṣokti, the Remarkable:

> And the showing of shortcomings of qualities, classes, actions, etc.
> To bring out the special feature(s), that is indeed Viśeṣokti.

The Nāyikā is Anyodhā, married to another:[47]

> The Anyodha, is a young lady who handles all her affairs pridefully.
> Being subject to love, suffering, she approaches her beloved her-
> self.[48]

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[46] *Sapatnī* is possibly the co-wife, though Tribhuvanapāla later identifies the speaker as an Anyodhā, 'a lady married to another.'

[47] It is not clear why the character should be 'married to another.'

[48] As opposed to the Nāyaka approaching her, or, perhaps, to her reliance on a messenger.

Notes

Prologue

1 ॐ *namaḥ śāradāyai*]   In P_{ED}'s prologue the opening invocations to Śāradā and Kṛṣṇa are missing. The edition instead begins with a salutation to the Jina. Patwardhan (1988, p. 130) notes that this salutation, *oṃ namo jināya*, is followed by what appears to be a benedictory verse in the *anuṣṭubh* meter, the major portion of which is illegible in the Ahmedabad and Poona (BORI) MSS.

The invocation to Śāradā, the patron Goddess of Kashmir, is possibly an indication of Tribhuvanapāla's home. We might consider, in this connection, that two of the rhetoricians Tribhuvanapāla cites most frequently, Rudraṭa and Kuntaka, hail from this same place. However, homage to Śāradā does not fall under the exclusive purview of Kashmiris (the apparent absence of the salutation to Śāradā in all witnesses except for Q suggests that it may have been added by the scribe, though in the edition it has been retained as part of the *CheViLī*) and the often abridged form the citations of Rudraṭa's and Kuntaka's works assume in the *CheViLī* would point away from this region. Another possibility, suggested by the dedication to Kṛṣṇa in the verse, is Bengal. Given what we know of Tribhuvanapāla's floruit, based on his citations and the date of Q, it is possible that he was active at the Sena court.

5 *aparādhaṃ na śṛṇumo*]   Tribhuvanapāla's *maṅgalaśloka* is cited in Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa's 13th century *SūM* at 2.94, with attribution, together with the preceding verse at 2.93, to *kayor apy etau* ('these two are by some two [authors]'). Yet, according to the critical notes, in MSS ग and घ of the *SūM* the stanza is attributed to Tribhuvanapāla.

The verse extols Kṛṣṇa in an idiom reminiscent of the *Gāhākosa*'s own *maṅgalaśloka* (*CheViLī* 1, W 1). The Gopī, presumably Rādhā, expresses her distrust of Kṛṣṇa. Speaking to a third party, she says: 'We do not hear of any offense [that has been committed] and you have told no lie.' The implication, however, is that Kṛṣṇa quite likely has engaged in activity that could be construed as offensive. The likely presumption is that the person Rādhā addresses has used clever speech, *chekokti*, à la the *Chekoktivicāralīlā*, to avoid any such admission.

9 *sakalasūrisārthaprārthanoparodhena*]   Compare P_{ED} and W_{BH}'s: *sakalasūriśāstrārtha*prārthanoparodhena to Q's: *sakalasūrisārtha*prārthanoparodhena. The former implies that the commentary was written according to the tenets of Jain doctrine *(sūriśāstrārtha)*. The compound in P_{ED} and W_{BH} could be translated as follows: 'in accordance *(uparodhena)* with the petition *(prārthanā)* for [a commentary based on] the purposes *(artha)* of all the Jain teachings *(sūriśāstra).*' The compound is, however, infelicitous in its prolixity. Q's reading, the most sensible translation of which is: 'in accordance with the entreaty of all the groups *(sārtha)* of the learned *(sūri)*,' is more natural. Although Q's reading could also be construed as 'in accordance with the entreaty of a caravan train of Jains,' or 'in accordance with the worthy entreaty

of a Jain monk,' it is common for authors to refer to a person making the request for a new work as 'the learned,' 'the good,' and so on. See, for example, Jalhaṇa's (*fl. ca.* twelfth c. in Kashmir) *Mugdhopadeśa* 65cd: *kāruṇyāt taruṇaṃ janaṃ prati satām abhyarthanābhis tathā so 'yaṃ samprati jalhaṇena kavinā mugdhopadeśaḥ kṛtaḥ.*

1 पसुवइणो रोसारुण॰

14 *saṃjhā°*] Saṃjhā (Skt. Saṃdhyā) is the Goddess of daybreak and evening twilight.

18 *vastūpakṣepa°*] Q's reading of *va{stupa}dī{pa}°* appears to be a mistake for *vastūpakṣepa°* in an exemplar. *Vastūpakṣepa*, 'allusion to the matter at hand,' is a common technical term used in *alaṅkāraśāstra* (see, for example, *KāĀ* 1.14).

24 *sāparotprekṣā*] *Aparā*, 'also,' is used in *pāda* d of KāAl 8.36 because this is the work's third definition of Utprekṣā (see *KāAl* 8.32 and 8.34).

Rudraṭa's example of Utprekṣā at 8.37 similarly involves *saṃdhyā*: *atighanakuṅkumarāgā puraḥ patākeva dṛśyate saṃdhyā / udayataṭāntaritasya prathayaty āsannatāṃ bhānoḥ //* 'In the east the dawn appears like a deep saffron-red banner announcing the nearness of the sun concealed by the slope of the eastern mountain.'

29 *sambhāvanānumānena*] Tribhuvanapāla's citation is a condensation of *VaJī* 3.29–31. Q's reading of *samullikhati* in *pāda* c has been taken as a scribal metathesis and emended to *samullikhita°*, which better reflects the *VaJī*'s reading. The *VaJī* passage is accompanied by a detailed commentary, accepted as Kuntaka's own, that supports its phrasing. Whether Tribhuvanapāla's simpler version of this passage is his own original composition, or another's, remains unclear.

2 सत्त सआइं कइवच्छलेण

31 *kaïvacchaleṇa*] This may be understood as a pun, meaning both 'fond of poets' and 'dear to poets.' Although Tribhuvanapāla explains the term in the sense of 'fond of.'

32 *majjhaārammi*] The term combines *majjhā* + *āra* + the locative singular *-ammi* ending (or, in the variants, the ablative singular *-āo* ending). *Majjha* occurs also in W 205 (*avalaamajjhatthiaṃ*), W 362 (*majjhatthenā, majjheṇa*), and elsewhere in the sense of 'middle,' but what about *āra*? Weber (1881) includes *āra* in his index as the equivalent of *kāra*. However, *madhyakāra* does not seem to mean anything, or at least not what it should mean. Tribhuvanapāla glosses *majjhaārammi* simply with *madhye*. See also DNM IV.121: *majjhaāraṃ madhyam*. A probable solution lies in Emeneau's (1968) suggestion of *madhyacāra*, based on Turner's **madhyacāra-*, whose attested form is *madhyacārin*. Emeneau proposes that *madhyacāra* follows the same development in meaning as *X-gata-*. The meaning of *madhyacāra* and hence *majjhaāra*, though not spelled out by Emeneau, would thus be 'that whose wandering place is in the middle,' and then simply, parallel to *X-gata-*, 'among.'

The *-ammi* ending, more often reserved for Prakrit *-i* and *-u* stems (and cognate with

the Skt. locative singular pronominal *-smin*), is an accepted alternative to the more common locative *-e* ending. For more on free variation in MIA and the conditioning of variant forms see L.A. Schwarzschild (1977).

The locative here seems to carry the same meaning as an ablative. Tribhuvanapāla, who reads the *-ammi* ending, interprets it in this sense.

33 *viraïāiṃ*]   Tribhuvanapāla's gloss in Q suggests that he understands *viraïāiṃ* in the sense of selected: *koṭīmadhyāt sāram uddhṛtam ity arthaḥ*. Compare also Tribhuvanapāla's statement in Q : *yata eva sa kavivatsalāt eva satyām api kavitvaśaktau tadgranthagāthāgrathane pravṛtta iti*, 'Since he was very fond of poets, even though (or, also) being [himself] a skilled poet, he began collecting Gāthās with true poetic power for this compilation,' to P$_{ED}$'s more ambiguous reading: *yata kavivatsalatvāt satyām api śaktau tadīyā eva gāthāḥ prakhyāpitāḥ*.

35 *āsīd vatsagulmanāmni deśe*]   Q's reading of *vāsyegulmanāmni deśe* has been emended to *vatsagulmanāmni deśe*. The whole sentence, *āsīd vatsagulmanāmni deśe kṣititalakhyātaḥ sātavāhano nāma nṛpas tasyeyaṃ hāla iti saṃjñā*, which is taken to be Tribhuvanapāla's reading, is shortened and changed in P$_{ED}$ to *hāla iti sātavāhanasya kuntalādhipasya nāma*. It is possible that Tribhuvanapāla chose the designation Vatsagulma, to draw out a bucolic theme in keeping with the Kṛṣṇa *bhakti* with which he begins his commentary. P$_{ED}$'s reference to Sātavāhana as the King of Kuntalā is seen also in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāsā*.

40 W2, the well known Gāthā *amiaṃ pāuakavvaṃ*, which precedes this in the vulgate recension, is missing from the *CheViLī* recension.

3   उअ णिच्चल णिप्फंदा

43 *bhisiṇīpattammi*]   Whether Balākas and other birds actually sit on lotus leaves or whether this is a poetic imagining is not certain. On the possible identity of Balākas, see Thieme, 1975.
For *bha* in *bhisiṇī*, see below, note 140, p. 174.

45 *saṃkhasutti*]   *Sutti* (Skt. *śukti*) may be understood, not as a synonym for *saṃkha*, but as a qualifier that marks the conch as especially bright.
T$_{ED}$ reads *sippi* in place of *sutti*. Tieken (1983, p. 190, citing DED 2089, 1st edition, = DED 2035) observes that the compound is comparable to *(vaṇṇag)ghaatuppa* 'ghee' (W 520, also in 20, W 22), *vaïveḍha(a)* 'fence' (W 96, W 220, W 221, W 564) and *acchabhalla* 'bear' (W 109), each of which likewise combine a well known Sanskrit word, or derivative—*ghṛta*, *vṛta*, *ṛkṣa*—as the first member of the compound, and a MIA loan-word synonym—*tuppa*, *veḍha*, *bhalla*—as the second. He suggests that in each of these cases the first member of the compound is meant to explain the second, which was still considered new and strange.

47 *niścalā pavanādipatanābhāvāt*]   Tribhuvanapāla differentiates *niccalā* from *nipphaṃdā*. He explains the first, *niccalā*, as lack of movement due to an absence of external forces, and the second, *nipphaṃdā*, as stillness due to an absence of action on the part of the Balākā.

In this case, *pavanādipatanābhāvāt* in *niścalā pavanādipatanābhāvāt* should be understood to mean 'lack of occurrence of wind and so forth.'

54 *vākyārthopameyam ācāryadaṇḍinā mateneti*]   See *KāĀ* 2.43: *vākyārthenaiva vākyārthaḥ ko 'pi yady upamīyate / ekānekevaśabdatvāt sā vākyārthopamā dvidhā //*, '[If] the meaning of a certain sentence is compared with [the meaning of another sentence], this is Vākyārthopamā; it is two-fold according to whether the word *iva* occurs one time or more than once.'

4   ताव च्चिअ रइसमए

72 *anye punar atra*]   The difference between the three views is relatively subtle.

5   णोहलिअँ अप्पणो किं

77 *hasaï tuha suhaa*]   The short syllables and the repetition of *ha* and *s-* in *pāda* c seem to mimic the sound of laughter. See Tieken's idea about the unusual word order (1983, p. 193, adopting *tuha hasaï suhaa*).

80 *ṇohaliaṃ*]   In support of Tribhuvanapāla's gloss is the PSM's citation of *halia*, n., (=*phalia*, p. 769) as a *deśī* word meaning gift: *phalia na [de] vāyanaka, bhojana ādi kā vāṃṭā (=* वाँट*) jātā upahāra; (Thā 3,3—patra 147)*.

87 *uttara*]   The *KāAl* defines the first type of Uttara as a reply to a prior statement, the latter of which is meant to be inferred. Rudraṭa's example is as follows: *bhaṇa mānam anyathā me bhrukuṭiṃ maunaṃ vidhātum aham asahā / śaknomi tasya purataḥ sakhi na khalu parāṅmukhībhavitum // 7.94 //*, 'Teach me *māna*, O friend, otherwise I am unable to arch my eyebrows, to give the silent treatment, or, indeed, to look away in front of him.' Presumably, the speaker replies to a friend who has told her to have more *māna*, 'pridefulness.' Whereas Tribhuvanapāla's citation defines the second type of Uttara as a question whose answer is meant to be inferred, the *KāAl* defines it as a formal question and answer; Rudraṭa's example: *kiṃ svargād adhikasukhaṃ? bandhusuhṛtpaṇḍitaiḥ samaṃ lakṣmīḥ / saurājyam adurbhikṣaṃ satkāvyarasāmṛtāsvādaḥ // 7.95 //*, 'What is better than heaven? Good fortune together with family, friends, and learned people, benevolent rule, lack of want, [and] savoring the nectar of the aesthetic sentiment of good poetry.' Here there is a formal question and answer.

91 *kurabaka*]   My emendation to *kurabaka* is for the sake consistency, as this is the spelling seen a few lines earlier in the commentary.

6   ताविज्जंति असोएहिँ

108 *laḍaha°*]   DNM 7.17 equates *laḍaha* with *ramma* 'lovely.' Although the commentary to the DNM notes that according to others it means 'clever,' *vidagdha (laṭṭayalaḍahā kusumbharammesu // 17 // laḍahaṃ ramyam / laḍaho vidagdha ity anye /)*.

108 *°vilaā*] *PrāVyā* 2.128 gives *vilaā* as an alternative for *vanitā*: *vanitāyā vilayā // 128 // vanitāsab-dasya vilayā ity ādeśo vā bhavati / vilayā vaṇiā // vilayeti saṃskṛte 'pīti kecit //*, with which Tribhu-vanapāla's gloss agrees.

116 *bhṛśaṃ*] Q's reading of *bhṛśa°* was emended to *bhṛśam*. *Bhṛśa* does occur in compounds, for example, *bhṛśakṛśam* and *bhṛśakṛśatvam* occur at *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* 7.35 and 10.11 respectively, however *bhṛśaṃ kṛśāṅgīnāṃ* reflects more common usage.

7 अत्ता तह रमणिज्जं

127 *attā*] See PNM 108: *māuā sahī attā*; DED 253: *attā sāsū*. DNM I.51 equates *attā* with *mātṛ, pitṛ-vasṛ, śvaśrū*, and *sakhī*: *māipiucchāsāsūsahisu attā*, thus adding *pitṛvasṛ* to the PNM's list. Compare the Tamil term *attai* and *attaicār*: 'father's sister, mother-in-law, woman of rank or eminence' (DED 142; see also CDIAL 222).

130 *bhisiṇi*] In *Pāda* d we have *bhisiṇi* instead of *bhisiṇī* (*metri causa?*). The citation at the end of the commentary has *bhisiṇī*, which is the expected form.

136 *pūrvatropamā*] The first comparison occurs in the statement *bhisiṇisaṃḍaṃ amhaṃ gāmassa maṃḍaṇībhūaṃ*, 'the lotus grove that had become the ornament of our village.'

136 *uttarasyākhyāne tūpamāsahoktir*] The second comparison, the *sahoktir upamā*, is found in the expression *luatilavāḍisaricchaṃ*, '[it] is like the field of harvested sesame.' Tribhuvanapāla, who several times quotes Daṇḍin, possibly had his definition of Sahokti, given at *KāĀ* 2.351ab, in mind: *sahoktiḥ sahabhāvena kathanaṃ guṇakarmaṇām*; 'Sahokti is the description of qualities or actions as concomitant.'

140 *bha iti basya*] Though Tribhuvanapāla's above citation conveys the same meaning as both *PrāPra* 2.38 and *PrāVyā* 1.238, it is not formulated in exactly the same manner as either: *PrāPra* 2.38: *visinyāṃ* **bhaḥ** *// 38 // visinīsabde āder varṇasya* **bha**kāro bhavati *//* **bhisiṇī** *// strīliṅ-ganirdeśād iha na bhavati // visaṃ //*; *PrāVyā* 1.238: *bisinyāṃ* **bhaḥ** *// 238 // bisinyāṃ basya bho bha-vati //* **bhisiṇī** *// strīliṅganirdeśād iha na bhavati / bisitantupelavāṇaṃ //*

8 मा रुअसु ओणअमुही

150 *oṣadhyaḥ phalapākāntā iti*] Tribhuvanapāla cites a passage (2.4.110a) from the *Amarakośa*'s section on forests, gardens, trees, and plants. A. Loiseleur Deslongchamp (1839, p. 80) explains the meaning in a note: 'Plante annuelle qui meurt après la maturité du fruit.' Amara seems to have borrowed this passage from *Manusmṛti* 1.46c where it is located in the section on the creation of the universe. The whole verse: *udbhijjāḥ sthāvarāḥ sarve bī-jakāṇḍaprarohiṇaḥ / oṣadhyaḥ phalapākāntā bahupuṣpaphalopagāḥ //* It is more likely that Tri-bhuvanapāla cites Amara's *kośa* than *Manusmṛti*, as he several times draws citations from lexicons.

151 *śīryante*]   Tribhuvanapāla introduces some farming realia: the expression '*śīryante, śiryantām*' refers to the 'shattering' on the stem of ripened sesame capsules, descriptions of which may also be found in agricultural texts.

151 °*vāṭikāni*]   Q reads °*vāṭikāni* instead of the grammatical °*vāṭikāḥ*. It is worth considering emending to *vāṭāni*, although there is not much support for this either (MW gives as the definition of *vāṭa*, n., an enclosure of a village consisting of boundary trees, but he cites only lexicons). P_ED's °*vāṭakāni* might also be better. Is it possible that °*kṣetrāṇi* was intended?

152 °*haritāla*]   Tribhuvanapāla identifies *hariāla* with *haritāla*, for which see MW: 'n. yellow orpiment or sulphuret of arsenic' (under *haritālaka* MW has: 'painting the person, theatrical decoration,' though with attribution only to Wilson). Compare the use of lead in Roman and in eighteenth century English facial cosmetics.

9   सहि एरिस च्चिअ गई

156 *taṃsa*]   The idea in the Gāthā is probably that the character has her head tilted to the side. *Taṃsa*, which Tribhuvanapāla glosses with *tryaśra* (so also *PrāPra* 4.15, and *PrāVyā* 1.26, for both of which see testimonium; see also Weber 1870) perhaps refers to the triangular shape created between the collar bone and the side of the head when the head is tilted to one side.

169 *kva*]   Tribhuvanapāla's use of *kva* here is similar to that in his commentary to 8, line 148, *kva sati*? Both mean 'while what was happening?'

170 *gotraskhalanaṃ*]   See also 449 (W 596) which describes *gotraskhalana*: *gottakkhalaṇaṃ soūṇa pi-aame ajja tīa chaṇadiahe / vajjhamahisassa māla vva maṃḍaṇaṃ uaha paḍihāi //*

11   सच्चं जाणइ दट्ठुं

187 *anye tv anyathā*]   In Tribhuvanapāla's first explanation the speaker of the Gāthā bestows exaggerated praise on the Nāyaka. In the second she criticizes, in an exaggerated manner, the Nāyikā for becoming enamored with someone who does not return her feelings. However, since the figure of Paryāyokti, or Indirection, applies in both cases, Tribhuvanapāla's idea is that the purpose of the speaker's harsh speech is to encourage the Nāyaka's reunion with the Nāyikā.

12   रंधणकम्मणिउणिए

200 *vijjhāi*]   From *vi*+*kṣai* or *kṣā*. See **vijjhāyati* at CDIAL 11703: Pa. *vijjhāyati* 'is extinguished', Pk. *vijjhāi*, which Turner traces to the Prakrit root √**jhai*. For the common sound change of *kṣa→jha*, see von Hinüber, 2001, § 236.

205 *sūtkāra*] P_{ED}'s reading of *phutkāra* (which also occurs as *phūtkara*) is the onomatopoeic term for blowing from the mouth. Q's reading of *sūtkāra* represents the sound the character would be forced to make on account of her wounded lip.

206 *jaï so sohaggaṇihī diṭṭho nayaṇehi ti cciya galaṃtu / aṃgāi apāviyasaṃgamāiṃ tā kīsa jhijjaṃti?*] This Gāthā has been added to the commentary in P_{ED} and in W_{BH}. Given its complete absence in Q, it was probably not added by Tribhuvanapāla.

13 किं किं ते पडिहासइ

214 *bhakṣyabhojyalehyapeyānāṃ*] A reference to the four types of food. Yagi (1994) helps clarify the difference between *bhakṣya* and *bhojya*: for Kaiyaṭa (eleventh c.), who also uses this fourfold classification, *bhakṣya* denotes solid food and *bhojya* denotes that which is not 'solid food,' 'lickable food,' or 'drinkables,' but which is 'liquid food;' for Hemādri (thirteenth c.), who uses a fivefold classification that includes *cosya*, *bhakṣya* is 'that which is ingested *after having been broken into pieces by teeth*' and *bhojya* is 'that which, not being too hard, does not depend on being broken into pieces requiring excessive effort;' Madhusūdana similarly defines *bhakṣya* as food that 'is eaten *after having been repeatedly broken into pieces by the teeth*,' and *bhojya* as food that 'is swallowed *after merely having been stirred by the tongue*, such as 'rice porridge sprinkled with soup.' ' Yagi suggests that Hemādri was the first to define food from the viewpoint of how it is ingested. See also Yagi's (*ibid.*) hypothesis on how *bhakṣya* came to denote 'cakes, sweets, pastries,' in medical texts and elsewhere.

218 *G*_{ED}] In his commentary Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa gives the following *nirvacana* or cultural etymology of *mugdhā* and *prathama*: *mugdhāyā iti mohād garbhāyāsam apy aganayantyāḥ / prathameti bahuprasūtāś ca garbhakhedakhinnāḥ suratāyāsaṃ pariharanti /* Whether this is his own observation, or whether it goes back to an earlier author is not clear.

14 अमअमअ गअणसेहर

233 *iṣṭajanavibhavanāśād*] Tribhuvanapāla's citation differs from that of the *NŚ* in almost every *pāda*. Thus, whereas *NŚ* 7.84c reads *vividhāc cittavikārād*, '[Delirium arises] from a confusion of the mind which is of various types…' the *CheViLī* reads *manasijamanovikārād* '[Delirium arises] from a confusion of the mind due to love…' Whereas *NŚ* 7.85 reads *animittaruditahasitopaviṣṭagītapradhāvitotkruṣṭaiḥ / anyaiś ca vikārair akṛtair unmādaṃ samprayuñjīta //* 'Delirium should be demonstrated by means of baseless crying, laughter, sitting down, singing, running around, calling out, [and] by other transformations in which [what is usually done] is not done,' the *CheViLī* reads *animittaruditahasitaiḥ saṃgītanṛtyapradhāvitotkruṣṭaiḥ / aprārthyaprārthanayā conmādaṃ darśayet prājñaḥ //*, 'A learned person should show delirium, which arises from petitioning one who is not to be petitioned, through sudden crying and laughter [or] through, singing, dancing, running about, and calling out.'

Tribhuvanapāla does not identify the *Nāṭyaśāstra* in his citation, though the passage he quotes is clearly a version of it.

16 दुग्गअकुडुंब अड्ढी

245 *śrīdhammillassa*]   W_{BH}'s *Śrīvarmmaṇasya* and P_{ED}'s *Śrīvarmaṇasya* could be a mistake for the orthographically similar *Śrīdhammillassa* in Q.

246 *°aḍḍhī*]   Accepting that *aḍḍhī* means 'pulling,' (see Weber 1870, p. 79; Weber 1881, index p. 531), the most basic meaning is that the cloth wonders how it will survive another round of use by the family (see Patwardhan's 1988 translation).

18 कोसंबकिसलवण्णअ

272   Tieken (1983, pp. 219f.) notes that this Gāthā is inscribed on the pedestal of a *ca.* eleventh century bas-relief depicting a woman kissing the cheek of a reclining man. The sculpture, found near Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, is described in Katare, 1952.

19 असमत्तमंडण च्चिअ

278 *candrarṣeḥ*]   The attribution of the verse to Sakautuka (*sakautukasya*) in Q is a mistake, copied from the gloss in the same position on the line immediately below: ***sakouhallassa** sakautukasya*. *Vandyarthaḥ* ('for the sake of the bard'), which appears in Q at the very end of the commentary to 18, is likely a corruption of the correct attribution. Based on the attribution of the previous Gāthā in W_P, *candrasvāminaḥ*, and the attribution in P_{ED} and W_{BH}, *vajjarṣeḥ*, I conjecture *candrarṣeḥ*. Q's *vandya* (*vandyarthaḥ* at the end of the commentary to 18) could easily be a corruption of *candra*.

20 आअरपणामिओट्टुं

293 *vaṇṇagha°*]   W's π and W_ε gloss this with *varṇapradhānaṃ ghṛtaṃ kuṃkumaharidrādisādhitaṃ*, 'brightly colored ghee made of saffron, turmeric, and other ingredients.' Gaṅgādhara writes *haridrādivarṇapradhānaṃ ghṛtaṃ*, 'ghee consisting primarily of turmeric.' The commentator remarks that in certain regions it is a custom for menstruating women to put this tinted ghee on their faces to signal their physical state, *deśaviśeṣe rajasvalāmukhaṃ cihnārthaṃ varṇaghṛtena lipyata ity ācāraḥ*. However, Tribhuvanapāla treats it as a general, daily cosmetic.

21 आणासआइं देंती

306 *ghose*]   On *ghose=prabhāte*, see DNM 2.96, and Patwardhan 1969, p. 476, n. 352.

22 पिअविरहो अप्पिअदंसणं च

325 *abhijātiśabdasya*]   *Abhiyāti*, which is given as the interpretation of *āhijāi* and *ahijāi* in the commentary to *PrāVyā* 1.44, should likely be emended in that text to MS A's *abhijāti*. *Abhijāti* is also the reading in the *PrāPra* and is probably what Hemacandra intended.

24 ण कुणंतो च्चिअ माणं

348, 351 *kuṇāmto, jāṇamto*]   On the use of present participles in the sense of the conditional mood in the *GK*, see Weber, 1870, pp. 62–63 and 82; Tieken, 1983, p. 232.

25 पणअकुविआण दोण्ह वि

362 *mallo*]   The poem may allude to something similar to Kabaddi, a competitive sport that involves holding the breath.

26 णवलइ पहरं अंगे

371 *mahaï*]   See Weber 1881, p. 12 who discusses the connection to the Vedic root *mah*, 'to enjoy,' and see Tieken, 1983, p. 237. I included the *mahati* in the *chāyā*, although this usage is not seen outside Vedic.

27 अज्ज मए तेण विणा

383 *vadhyapaḍaha⁰*]   I have translated this as 'the execution drum.' More precisely, it means 'the drum for the one who is to be executed,' or, 'the drum of the place (or time) of execution.'

28 णिक्किव जाआभीरुअ

394 *taha vi*]   Tribhuvanapāla suggests that the meaning of the concessive is that even though the Nāyaka is like an insect in the *nimba* fruit, and so forth, the village, i.e., the speaker, suffers because of him. In other words, even though he is like that, she is still passionate about him.

Post-Tribhuvanapāla Commentarial Literature

The *Gāhākosa* is followed by at least nineteen Sanskrit commentaries, though some of these we know through the author's name alone. In addition to the *CheViLī* introduced above, another early commentary surviving in a Nepalese ms is that of Lakṣmīdhara. Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa's possibly sixteenth century *Bhāvaleśaprakāśika* and Haritāmrapītāmbara's *Gāthāsaptaśatīprakāśikā*, also possibly from the sixteenth century, are wo later commentaries.[49] Important as well is the fifteenth century Kondavidu king Vemabhūpāla's *Bhāvadīpikā* on the *Saptaśatīsāra*, a collection of some one hundred verses said to have been selected from the original seven centuries of the *Sattasaī*.[50]

Although the commentaries were written long after the Gāthās were composed, by authors who have their own set of parameters when it comes to explaining them,[51] their Sanskrit glosses often help in solving problems of Prakrit lexicography, morphology, and syntax. Beyond this, the way in which these writers contextualize the Gāthās—for instance who they might identify as the speaker or the imagined audience of a poem—and how they interpret a Gāthā's suggested sense, sheds considerable light on the poetry and its reception.

Sattasaī Commentators and their Dates (Select List):

Tribhuvanapāla   *fl. ca.* 1050–1150 CE
Ājaḍa son of Tribhuvanapāla (?)
Lakṣmīdhara   *fl. ca.* 12th century (?)
Vemabhūpāla   *fl. ca.* 1403–1420 CE
Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa   *fl. ca.* sixteenth century (?)
Hāritāmrapītāmbara   *fl. ca.* sixteenth century (?)

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[49] Pītāmbara may have written just after Gaṅgādhara, for Weber (1881, p. xxxv) notes that he mentions the *Bhaṭṭaṭīka* at Gāthā 123. This is possibly a reference to Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa's *Bhāvaleśaprakāśika*, though, as Weber also notes, the citation does not correspond to Gaṅgādhara's text.

[50] Vemabhūpāla also wrote a commentary on the *Amaruśataka* and treatises on music and poetry (the *Saṃgītacintāmaṇi* and the *Sāhityacintāmaṇi*). He retained the celebrated poet Vāmaṇa Bhaṭṭa, who wrote a work called *Vīranārāyaṇa* or *Vemabhūpālacarita*.

[51] Dundas (1985) and Selby (1996) draw attention to many of the commentators' motivations.

Kulanātha   unknown date (?)
Sādhāraṇadeva   unknown date (?)
Mathurānāthaśāstrī   b. 1889

Part III

Further Materials for the Study of the *Gāhākosa*

Chapter 9

The *Vajjālagga*

The *Vajjālagga*'s Antecedents

The *VaLa*'s vulgate recension[1] includes some 795 verses organized into 96 *vajjā*s (see Table 1 below). According to *VaLa* 5, an earlier version of the anthology consisted of seven centuries of poems. A metrical list appended to Ratnadeva's commentary to Gāthā 8 reveals that this earlier version had only 48 *vajjā*s. This metrical list names the 48 *vajjā*s in sequential order:[2]

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[1]Edited by Laber (Bibliotheca Indica, No. 227, Calcutta, 1944) and Patwardhan (Prakrit Text Society Series, No. 14, Ahmedabad, 1969).

[2]Patwardhan (1969, pp. 419–20) considers the list, or *gāthādvāra*, to be part of Ratnadeva's commentary, but it is possible that it was included in the original anthology, and thus the work of Jayavallabha. It would be odd for Ratnadeva to have listed 48 *vajjā*s and then go on to comment on 96 *vajjā*s, some of which have no correspondence to the original 48. It is therefore possible that he inherited the list as part of the anthology. On the other hand, it is also quite possible that Ratnadeva's commentary was originally on seven centuries of poems organized into 48 *vajjā*s to which later editors added new sections as well as new verses with commentaries until the Vulgate recension with 'the commentary of Ratnadeva' reached its present size. It is clear that the Vulgate recension of the *VaLa* is complex and not only for this reason. Thus, Patwardhan (*ibid*. pp. xiv–xv) notes that whereas mss E and I state that Ratnadeva composed the *VaLa* commentary in 1337 CE at the request of Śrīdharmacandra, a disciple of Haribhadrasūri, in ms C Ratnadeva's commentary is attributed to Dhanasāra, a Jain disciple belonging to a different school (*Gaccha*) than that of Śrīdharmacandra, and the commentary is dated to 1496 CE, some 159 years after Ratnadeva was supposed to have composed the same work. Patwardhan notes that the sequence of *vajjā*s in ms. C differs from mss I and E and that it includes some 194 new verses with commentaries. Therefore, it seems likely that C is a conflation of two commentaries. Even though this would not fully

gāhāṇaṃ₁ kavvāṇaṃ₂ sajjaṇa₃-pisuṇāṇa₄ nīi₅-dhīrāṇaṃ₆ |
saï₇-asaï₈-gharaṇi₉-nehāṇa₁₀ cheya₁₁-jaṃtīṇa₁₂-musalāṇaṃ₁₃ ||
dhammiya₁₄-vejja₁₅-nimittiya₁₆-vesāṇaṃ₁₇ sevayāṇa₁₈ suhaḍāṇaṃ₁₉ |
Hari₂₀-Mayaṇa₂₁-suraya₂₂-hiyayāliyāṇa₂₃ vāhāṇa₂₄ nayaṇāṇaṃ₂₅ ||

5 *sihiṇāṇaṃ₂₆ olaggāviyāṇa₂₇ dūīṇa₂₈ dhanna₂₉-sasayāṇaṃ₃₀ |*
paṃcama₃₁-vioya₃₂-pimmāṇa₃₃-māṇa₃₄-māṇasaṃvaraṇayāṇaṃ₃₅ ||
mālaï₃₆-bhamara₃₇-gayāṇaṃ₃₈-karahaya₃₉-lāyaṇṇa₄₀-bālakittīṇaṃ₄₁ |
8 *daïāṇurāya₄₂-bālasaṃthavaṇa₄₃-bālasikkhāṇaṃ₄₄ ||*
paṃthiya₄₅-haṃsa₄₆-ghaṇāṇaṃ₄₇ vasaṃtayāṇaṃ₄₈ ca sattasaïyammi |
evaṃ aṭṭhālīsā havaṃti vajjāu nāyavvā ||

11

It is appears as though *vajjā*s three through six of the earlier recension corresponded to the first two *puruṣārtha*s: *dharma* and *artha*. Possibly, the remaining sections all pertained to *kāma*. In the Vulgate recension several of the *vajjā*s have been reordered. Many new *vajjā*s have been added in the latter part (*vajjā*s 67–96).

Table 9.1: *Vajjā*s of the Earlier Recension and of the vulgate recension of the *VaLa*

Early Recension of *VaLa*	Vulgate of *VaLa*	No. of Gāthās (Vulgate)
	Prologue	5
	Soyāra₁ (Śrotṛ)	3
Gāhā₁	*Gāhā₂ (Gāthā)*	10
Kavva₂	*Kavva₃ (Kāvyā)*	13
Sajjaṇa₃	*Sajjaṇa₄ (Sajjana)*	17
Pisuṇa₄	*Dujjaṇa₅ (Durjana)*	16
	Mitta₆ (Mitra)	8
Neha₁₀	*Neha₇ (Sneha)*	8
Nīi₅	*Nīi₈ (Nīti)*	10
Dhīra₆	*Dhīra₉*	14
	Sāhasa₁₀	13
	Divva₁₁ (Daiva)	6
	Vihi₁₂ (Vidhi)	7

explain the change in attribution of the whole commentary, it would at least help explain it. It is possible that Ratnadeva's name was once recorded along with that of Śrīdharmacandra but was lost in the transmission of the work.

	Dīṇa[13] (*Dīna*)	5
	Dāridda[14] (*Dāridrya*)	9
	Pahu[15] (*Prabhu*)	4
Sevaka[18]	*Sevaya*[16] (*Sevaka*)	11
	Suhaḍa[17] (*Subhaṭa*)	17
	Dhavala[18]	7
	Viṃjha[19] (*Vindhya*)	4
Gaya[38]	*Gaya*[20] (*Gaja*)	10
	Sīha[21] (*Siṃha*)	4
Vāha[24]	*Vāha*[22] (*Vyādha*)	?
	Hariṇa[23]	?
Karahaya[39]	*Karaha*[24] (*Karabha*)	7
Mālaï[36]	*Mālaï*[25] (*Mālatī*)	9
Bhamara[37]	*Iṃdiṃdira*[26] (*Indindira*)	17
	Surataruvisesa[27] (*Surataruviśeṣa*)	4
Haṃsa[46]	*Haṃsa*[28]	7
	Caṃda[29] (*Candra*)	6
Cheka[11]	*Chaïlla*[30] (*Vidagdha*)	15
Paṃcama[31]	*Paṃcama*[31] (*Pañcama*)	6
Nayaṇa[25]	*Nayaṇa*[32] (*Nayana*)	10
Sihiṇa[26]	*Thaṇa*[33] (*Stana*)	12
Lāyaṇṇa[40]	*Lāvaṇṇa*[34] (*Lāvaṇya*)	6
Suraya[22]	*Suraya*[35] (*Surata*)	10
Pimma[33]	*Pemma*[36] (*Prema*)	21
Māṇa[34]	*Māṇa*[37] (*Māna*)	15
	Pavasiya[38] (*Proṣita*)	9
Vioya[32]	*Viraha*[39]	13
Madana[21]	*Aṇaṃga*[40] (*Anaṅga*)	8
	Purisullāva[41] (*Puruṣollāpa*)	5
Daïānurāya	*Piyāṇurāya*[42] (*Priyānurāga*)	10
Dūī[28]	*Dūī*[43] (*Dūtī*)	9
Olaggāviya[27]	*Olluggāviyā*[44] (*Avarugṇā*)	18
Paṃthiya[45]	*Paṃthiya*[45] (*Pathika*)	6
Dhanna[29]	*Dhanna*[46] (*Dhanya*)	4
	Hiyayasaṃvaraṇa[47] (*Hṛdayasaṃvaraṇa*)	5
Gharaṇi[9]	*Sughariṇī*[48] (*Sugṛhiṇī*)	8
Saï[7]	*Saī*[49] (*Satī*)	9
Asaï[8]	*Asaī*[50] (*Asatī*)	25

Nimittiya$_{16}$	*Joisiya*$_{51}$ (*Jyautiṣika*)	11
	Lehaya$_{52}$ (*Lekhaka*)	3
Vejja$_{15}$	*Vijja*$_{53}$ (*Vaidya*)	11
Dhammiya$_{14}$	*Dhammiya*$_{54}$ (*Dharmika*)	11
Jaṃtīṇa$_{12}$	*Jaṃtiya*$_{55}$ (*Yāntrika*)	5
Musala$_{13}$	*Musala*$_{56}$	5
Bālasaṃthavaṇa$_{43}$(?)	*Bālāsaṃvaraṇa*$_{57}$	9
	Kuṭṭiṇīsikkhā$_{58}$ (*Kuṭṭinīsikṣā*)	8
Vesā$_{17}$	*Vesā*$_{59}$ (*Veśyā*)	19
	Kiviṇa$_{60}$ (*Kṛpaṇa*)	7
	Uḍḍa$_{61}$ (*Kūpakhanaka*)	4
Hari$_{20}$	*Kaṇha*$_{62}$ (*Kṛṣṇa*)	16
	Rudda$_{63}$ (*Rudra*)	5
Hiyayāliya$_{23}$	*Hiyālī*$_{64}$ (*Hṛdayavatī*)	14
Sasaya$_{36}$	*Sasaya*$_{65}$ (*Śaśaka*)	5
Vasaṃtaya$_{48}$	*Vasaṃta*$_{66}$ (*Vasanta*)	12
	Gimha$_{67}$ (*Grīṣma*)	4
	Pāusa$_{68}$ (*Prāvṛt*)	7
	Saraya$_{69}$ (*Śarat*)	2
	Hemaṃta$_{70}$ (*Hemanta*)	1
	Sisira$_{71}$ (*Śiśira*)	3
	Jarā$_{72}$	9
	Mahilā$_{73}$	3
	Puvvakayakamma$_{74}$ (*Pūrvakṛtakarma*)	7
	Ṭhāṇa$_{75}$ (*Sthāna*)	7
	Guṇa$_{76}$	8
	Guṇaṇiṃdā$_{77}$ (*Guṇanindā*)	5
	Guṇasalāhā$_{78}$ (*Guṇaślāghā*)	4
	Purisaṇiṃdā$_{79}$ (*Puruṣanindā*)	4
	Kamala$_{80}$	5
	Kamalaṇiṃdā$_{81}$ (*Kamalanindā*)	7
	Haṃsamāṇasa$_{82}$ (*Haṃsamānasa*)	4
	Cakkavāya$_{83}$ (*Cakravāka*)	6
	Caṃdaṇa$_{84}$ (*Candana*)	5
	Vaḍa$_{85}$ (*Vaṭa*)	3
	Tāla$_{86}$	3
	Palāsa$_{87}$ (*Palāśa*)	5

Vaḍavānala[88]	2	
Rayaṇāyara[89] (*Ratnākara*)	15	
Samuddaṇiṃdā[90] (*Samudranindā*)	6	
Suvaṇṇa[91] (*Suvarṇa*)	5	
Āicca[92] (*Āditya*)	3	
Dīvaya[93] (*Dīpaka*)	5	
Piyollāva[94] (*Priyollāpa*)	8	
Dosiya[95] (*Dauṣika*)	6	
Pajjaṃtagāhājuyala[96] (*Paryantagāthāyugala*)	2	

Forty-three of the forty-eight *vajjā*s in the earlier recension of the *VaLa* directly correspond to the *vajjā*s in the Vulgate. As Patwardhan points out, at least two *vajjā*s from the earlier recension are absent in the Vulgate, namely, *bālakittī* and *ghaṇa*. The author suggests that remaining three *vajjā*s from the earlier recension have a tentative correspondence to sections in the Vulgate:[3]

Vajjā in the Earlier version of *VaLa*	Corresponding *Vajjā* in the Vulgate Recension
māṇasaṃvaraṇa →	*hiyayasaṃvaraṇa*
bālasaṃthavaṇa →	*bālāsaṃbaraṇa*
bālasikkhā →	*kuṭṭiṇīsikkhā*

Table 9.2: Correspondences Between *Vajjā*s in the Two Recensions

It is likely that many of the remaining forty-eight *vajjā*s were created through the expansion and division of *vajjā*s in the earlier recension. Some possible subdivisions are shown in the next table:

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[3]Perhaps the shortening of the vowel, from *bālā°* → *bāla,°* is due to metrical concerns in the earlier recension of the *VaLa* where these headings are given in verse form. The same shortening of the final vowel occurs with *saï* and *asaï* (ordinarily, *saī* and *asaī*) in the verse.

Vajjā in Earlier Recension of *VaLa*	Resulting *Vajjā*s in the Vulgate Recension of the *VaLa*
kavva →	*kavva, soyāra*
dhīra →	*dhīra, sāhasa, divva*
sevaka →	*sevaka, prabhu, suhaḍa*
haṃsa →	*haṃsa, haṃsamānasa*
paṃthiya →	*paṃthiya, pavasiya, purissullāva, piyollāva*

Table 9.3: Subdivisions Made in the Earlier Recension

The following twenty-one sections, all of which are placed at the end of the Vulgate recension, have little correspondence to the *vajjā*s in the earlier recension:

puvvakayakamma, ṭhāṇa, guṇa, guṇaṇimdā, guṇasalāhā, purisaṇimdā, kamala, kamalaṇimdā, cakkavāya; five sections on trees: *caṃdaṇa, vaḍa, tāla, palāsa, vaḍavānala*; and the following sections: *rayaṇāyara, samuddaṇimdā, suvaṇṇa, āicca, dīvaya, dosiya, pajjaṃtagāhājuyala*.

Gāhākosa Gāthās Included in the *Vajjālagga*

The following table is based on the list in Patwardhan's introduction (1969, pp. xxvii), to which I have added the *CheViLī* recension and the *vajjā*s in which the Gāthās occur in the *VaLa*.

Table 9.4: *Gāhākosa* Gāthās Brought Into the *Vajjālagga*

CheViLī	W_{ED}	*VaLa*	*Vajjā*
	2	2	*Soyara*
8	9	473	*Asaī*
30	194	432	*Oluggāviyā*
37	36	464	*Saī*
39	38	462	*Sughariṇī*
45	190	375	*Viraha*
47	45	354	*Māṇa*
48	46	365	*Pavasiya*
55	53	348	*Pemma*

59	57	425	*Oluggāviyā*
60	58	374	*Viraha*
61	59	465	*Saï*
72	70	643	*Gimha*
130	119	206	*Vāha*
	120	207	*Vāha*
142	197	476	*Asaï*
143	198	439	*Oluggāviyā*
147	202	453	*Hiyaya*
153	206	378	*Viraha*
155	208	377	*Viraha*
156	209	325	*Suraya*
163	217	68	*Mitta*
166	220	429	*Oluggāviyā*
182	236	347	*Pemma*
189	243	147	*Pahu*
193	247	665	*Jarā*
196	250	34	*Sajjaṇa*
198	253[4]	52	*Dujjaṇa*
200	575	633	*Vasaṃta*
216	268	312	*Thaṇa*
227	278	318	*Lāvaṇṇa*
231	282	114	*Divva*
233	284	102	*Sāhasa*
235	286	556	*Kuṭṭiṇīsikkhā*
237	178	438	*Oluggāviyā*
250	311	637	*Vasaṃta*
258	319	35	*Sajjaṇa*
311	361	406	*Piyāṇurāa*
325	371	430	*Oluggāviyā*
328	374	353	*Māṇa*
364	163	557	*Kuṭṭiṇīsikkhā*
373	173	212	*Vāha*
378	181	413	*Dūī*
396	383	195	*Gaya*
	395	308	*Thaṇa*
411	399	440	*Paṃthiya*
413	401	454	*Hiyayasaṃvaraṇa*
446	753	80	*Neha*

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[4] A typo in Patwardhan's text cites 253 as 283.

	430	390	*Anaṃgavajjā*
	432	362	*Māna*
456	455	607	*Rudda*
473	472	457	*Sughariṇī*
476	475	381	*Viraha*
495	755	251	*Iṃdiṃdira*
	548	319	*Suraya*
520	627	412	*Dūī*
534	720	280	*Chailla*
595	555	533	*Jaṃtiya*
611	563	654	*Saraya*
	598	208	*Vāha*
	669	496	*Asaī*
	671	307	*Thaṇa*
	673	140	*Daridda*
	688	61	*Dujjaṇa*
	701	658	*Sisira*
	729	648	*Pāusa*
	746	344	*Pemma*
	812	160	*Sevaya*
	815	17	*Gāhā*
	816	611	*Hiyālī*
	819	244	*Iṃdiṃdira*
	820	189	*Viṃjha*
	829	333	*Pemma*
	861	415	*Dūī*
	871	467	*Saī*
	877	491	*Asaī*
	879	494	*Asaī*
	883	282	*Chailla*
	916	616	*Hiyālī*
	935	361	*Māna*
	951	213	*Vāha*

*Vajjā*s of the *VaLa* that Contain Gāthās from the *CheViLī* recension (the numbers in parentheses refer to the *CheViLī*):

Asaī (8, 142); *Saī* (37, 61); *Sughariṇī* (39, 473); *Māna* (47, 328); *Pavasiya* (48); *Pemma* (55, 182); *Oluggāviyā* (59, 237, 30, 143, 166, 325); *Viraha* (60, 45, 153, 155, 476); *Giṃha* (72); *Vāha* (130, 373); *Kuṭṭiṇīsikkhā* (364, 235); *Dūī* (378, 520); *Hiyaya* (147); *Suraya*

(156); *Mitta* (163); *Pahu* (189); *Jarā* (193); *Sajjaṇa* (196, 258); *Thaṇa* (216); *Lāvaṇṇa* (227); *Divva* (231); *Dujjaṇa* (232); *Sāhasa* (233); *Vasaṃta* (250, 200); *Piyāṇurāa* (311); *Gaya* (396); *Paṃthiya* (411); *Hiyayasaṃvaraṇa* (413); *Rudda* (456); *Jaṃtiya* (595); *Saraya* (595); *Chaïlla* (534); *Neha* (446); *Iṃdiṃdira* (495).

Asakkaya Poetry

A notable Gāthā in the *VaLa*'s defense of Prakrit poetry is *VaLa* 7:[5]

> *sakkayaṃ asakkayaṃ pi hu*   *attho soyārasaṃgamavaseṇa*
> *appuvvarasavisesaṃ*   *jaṇei jaṃ taṃ mahacchariyaṃ || VaLa 7 ||*[6]

> (Expressed) in a Sanskritic or even in a non-Sanskritic manner
> > Meaning produces extraordinary delight
> Depending on the encounter with the listener[7]
> > This is what is remarkable.[8]

A likely interpretation of the stanza is that any sufficiently sensitive reader will experience aesthetic pleasure whether meaning is expressed in a Sanskritic mode or in a more rustic idiom like Prakrit.[9] Yet, while the Gāthā might appear to be

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[5]This Gāthā is located in the anthology's *Soyāra* or 'Listener' *vajjā*.

[6]Skt: *saṃskṛtam asaṃskṛtam api khalv arthaḥ śrotṛsaṃgamavaśena | apūrvarasaviśeṣaṃ janayati yat tan mahāścaryam || VaLa 7 ||*

[7]*Saṃgama* may mean 'encounter' as translated here (or as 'understanding'), but it may be a pluralizer: 'the crowd of listeners,' thus the compound could be translated as 'depending on the group who is listening.'

[8]Patwardhan (1969, p. 271) translates: 'Whether or not expressed through the medium of Sanskrit or Prākrit, the sense (thought, idea) (conveyed) gives rise to extraordinary delight, depending on the kind of listeners (that one gets)—this indeed is very astonishing.' In his notes Patwardhan (*ibid*. p. 419) suggests the verse be construed as follows: '*(kavvaṃ) sakkayaṃ asakkayaṃ pi hu (hou) | (tassa) attho soyārasaṃgamavaseṇa* etc.,' This particular construction would literally translate as: 'Let there be Sanskrit poetry and also non-Sanskrit poetry—the meaning (of that) produces extraordinary delight depending on the listener—this is what is remarkable. Kāvya was the topic of the previous verse?

[9]One might compare the sentiment of *VaLa* 7 to the following stanza by Kālidāsa from the prologue to the *Mālavikāgnimitra*:

> Is poetry always worthy when it's old?
> And is it worthless then because it's new?
> Reader, decide yourself if this be true:
> Fools suspend judgement, waiting to be told.

Translated by Brough (1968, p. 53).

a fairly straightforward reduction of linguistic difference, it poses a considerable challenge to certain Sanskritic norms. Most Sanskrit readers would recognize that to say something is done in an un-Sanskritic or unrefined way, or to call something *asaṃskṛta*, is a strong negative statement against it. Sanskrit literature abounds in positive valuations of the term *saṃskṛta* and negative valuations of *asaṃskṛta*. Bhartṛhari's celebrated encomium provides a reminder of the high valuation of that which is *saṃskṛta*:

> 'Bracelets do not adorn a person, nor necklaces shining like the moon, not baths, not ointments, not flowers, not jewelled coiffures. Only that speech which is refined (*saṃskṛta*) adorns a person. Mere ornaments will always fade away; the ornament of speech is the only true ornament.'[10]

Bhartṛhari's poem demonstrates the highly positive meaning of *saṃskṛta*. Yet *VaLa* 7 questions the established norms concerning the superior position of that which is *saṃskṛta* and *asaṃskṛta*.

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[10]Translated by Goldman and Goldman (2004, p. 153).

keyūrā na vibhūṣayanti puruṣaṃ hārā na candrojjvalā
na snānaṃ na vilepanaṃ na kusumaṃ nālaṅkṛtā mūrdhajāḥ |
vāṇy-ekā samalaṅkaroti puruṣaṃ yā saṃskṛtā dhāryate
kṣīyante khalu bhūṣaṇāni satataṃ vāgbhūṣaṇaṃ bhūṣaṇam ||

Chapter 10

Historical Narratives: People, Periods, and Places

The following section looks at the Gāhākosa's historical context and the agents involved in its production. It introduces the dynasty with which the anthology is connected, what we know of the date of its compilation, and the legendary and historical identities of its compiler and poets.

A Sātavāhana Document

The collection is often linked to the Sātavāhana dynasty, a line of hereditary rulers who rose to power in the area of the Godavari River valley between the Maurya and the Gupta Empires and who used Prakrit rather than Sanskrit in their inscriptions. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence points to the extension of Sātavāhana hegemony in southwestern India, including parts of the modern day states of Maharashtra, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh, from the first centuries BCE until *ca.* 225 CE.[1] The precise period, dates, succession, and geographic borders of the empire remain a matter of ongoing debate.[2]

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[1]As Falk (2009) writes, although most historians would agree with Ajay Mitra Shastri who saw the Sātavāhanas' beginnings in the first century BCE, others still hold that they had an earlier start in the second or third centuries BCE.

[2]See Falk, 2009; Shastri, 1999; Mirashi, 1981.

We do know that like most early Indian dynasties, the Sātavāhanas followed complex politico-religious practices. Whereas some Sātavāhana inscriptions indicate royal support of Vedic rites, others show queens and ministers sponsoring Buddhist and Jain institutions. In addition to supporting diverse religions, we also know that the Sātavāhana Empire, situated between Sanskritic Northern India and Dravidian southern India, comprised a heterogeneous linguistic region, and that at least one dynast circulated bilingual coins, inscribed in a Dravidian language on one side and Prakrit on the other.[3] We also know that unlike the Mauryas or the Guptas, the dynasty in their royal inscriptions referred to themselves in terms of Vedic Gotra derived matronymics.[4] Such evidence points to a culturally complex politico-religious matrix, and a dynasty that in significant respects was unlike the empires that preceded or followed.

A simple opening stanza, present in nearly all recensions of the *Sattasaī*,[5] connects the anthology with this dynasty:

> *satta saāiṃ kaïvacchaleṇa*[6]   *koḍīĕ majjhaārammi |*
> *hāleṇa viraïāiṃ   sālaṃkārāṇaṃ gāhāṇaṃ || 2 ||*[7]

W 3

Out of a myriad of
    Poetically ornamented Gāthās
Hāla, who was fond of poets/dear to poets,
    Compiled seven hundred verses.

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[3]See Nagaswamy, 1979.

[4]This practice is repeated in the Purāṇic genealogies of the Sātavāhanas, Āndhras, or Āndhrabhṛtyas, as they are also called there.

[5]Though several ᴍs attribute authorship of the Gāthā to Sātavāhana, it is likely a later addition to the anthology. Besides the simplistic style of the stanza, most agree that the original anthology contained fewer than seven hundred stanzas and that it was called the *Gāhākosa* (Skt. *Gāthākośa*), rather than the *Sattasaī*. Mirashi (1946) draws attention to Prakrit colophons that refer to the anthology as such and presumes these colophons to be quite early, predating the stanza. See also Weber, 1881, p. 377f., and Wright, 2011, who makes the intriguing proposal that the stanza refers not to the collection itself, but to an earlier collection of seven hundred Gāthās.

[6]Caesura after the fourth (*vipulā*).

[7]*sapta śatāni kavivatsalena koṭyā madhye | hālena viracitāni sālaṃkārāṇāṃ gāthānām || 2 ||*

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1 कोडीएँ] P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$K$_E$, कोडीअ Q W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$ **1** मज्झआरम्मि] Q K$_E$W$_{ED}$G$_{ED}$, मज्झारो P$_{ED}$W$_{BH}$T$_{ED}$ **2** विरइआइं] Σ, विरइआणं W$_{BH}$ **2** सालंकाराणँ] *em.*G$_{ED}$, सालंकाराण Q P$_{ED}$T$_{ED}$K$_E$W$_{ED}$

For the later tradition Hāla, Hāla Sātavāhana, Śātavāhana, and Sātavāhana, generally refer to one and the same Sātavāhana king, who is the subject of numerous stories and legends, and who is famous, not least of all, as the compiler of the *Sattasaī*.[8]

In Indian letters, authors have repeatedly associated the anthology with this legendary king. Perhaps the earliest extant reference is that of Bāṇa, a court poet of Harṣa, who refers to Sātavāhana in the opening of his *Harṣacarita* (*ca*. 620 CE). The stanza hinges on the double meaning of *kośa*, as both an anthology and a treasury:

> *avināśinam agrāmyam akarot sātavāhanaḥ |*
> *viśuddhajātibhiḥ kośaṃ ratnair iva subhāṣitaiḥ || 1.14 ||*

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[8]See further discussion of this stanza in notes 31–33, pp. 171f. Tribhuvanapāla, commenting on the verse sometime between the second half of the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century in his *CheViLī*, explains that Hāla is the personal name of Sātavāhana. In Q, the earliest witness to the *CheViLī*, Tribhuvanapāla calls Sātavāhana the king of the Vatsagulmas. See Chapter Eight, p. 116 and note 35, p. 172. In P$_{ED}$, which is based on later Western Indian MSS, Hāla is said to be the personal name of Sātavāhana, the king of Kuntala, which is a also designation he receives from Rājaśekhara (*fl. ca.* late ninth–early tenth c.) in his *Kāvyāmīmāṃsā*. The later commentator Gaṅgādhara, in his *BhāLePra*, also identifies Hāla as Śālivāhana, a variant of Sātavāhana as do the anonymous commentators in Weber's (1881) ε and R. See also Tribhuvanapāla's introduction, Chapter Eight, p. 113, in which he refers to the collection on which he comments as the *Gāthākośa* created by Sātavāhāna.

Another internal reference to Sātavāhana kingship is found in Gāthā 468 (W 467). Here a king named Sātavāhana is compared to Gaurī's husband (Paśupati). The reference is reminiscent of the *Sattasaī*'s opening benediction (see Chapter Eight, *CheViLī* 1, p. 114): *āvaṇṇāiṃ kulāiṃdo ccia jāṇaṃti uṇṇaiṃ ṇeuṃ | goriĕ hiaadaïo ahavā sālāhaṇaṇariṃdo || 468 (W 467) ||* Skt: *aparṇāni (/āpannāni) kulāni dvāv eva jānīta unnatiṃ netum | gauryā hṛdayadayito 'thavā sātavāhananarendraḥ ||* 'Only two know how to renovate temples dedicated to Aparṇā (Pārvatī)/how to help families plunged in distress, the beloved of Gaurī and King Sātavāhana.' Apart from these two stanzas, the only other ruler's name in the *Sattasaī* is Vikramāditya (Vikkamāicca) in stanza 465 (W 464), which is likely a later addition to the collection. The occasional portrayal in narrative literature of Sātavāhana and Vikramāditya as contemporaries would explain the motivation for adding the stanza to the compilation. Patwardhan (1988, p. xiii) suggests that 472 (W 471) and 603 (P$_{ED}$ Add. 3; W 726) also refer to Vikramāditya, though these Gāthās, each of which reference valor, do not mention the ruler by name.

Sātavāhana made an imperishable and refined collection
　　With inherently faultless gem-like poems,[9]
As he also made an inexhaustible treasury
　　Of the most excellent jewels, not of the village.

Uddyotanasūri (eighth c. CE), the Jain monk and poet, in his Apabhraṃśa Kāvya *Kuvalayamālā* (779 CE) includes two stanzas that mention Hāla's role as a poet and as the compiler of the *kośa*[10]:

bhaṇiivilāsavaïttaṇa-　cokkille[11] jo karei halie vi |
kavveṇa kiṃ paütthe　hāle hālāviyāre vva? ||
paṇaīhi kaïyaṇeṇa　ya bhamarehi va jassa jāyapaṇaehiṃ |
kamalāyaro vva koso　viluppamāṇo vi hu ṇa jhīṇo ||[12]

He, who is intoxicating like liquor,[13]
　　With charming speech refines even ploughmen—
What is the use of [trying to compose] poetry
　　Now that Hāla is here?

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[9]I take *jāti*, in *pāda* c, to mean 'inherent nature.' It is possible that Bāṇa intended *jāti* to mean a particular figure of speech, though, if so, it is difficult to know exactly what figure of speech he had in mind since he wrote before most extant *alaṅkāraśāstra* had been composed. In Rudraṭa's (post-Bāṇa) *KāAl*, *jāti* is a figure of speech similar to *svabhāvokti* or 'direct expression.' But from the perspective of a later *alaṅkārika* like Kuntaka, who distinguishes *svabhāvokti* from *vakrokti* (indirect expressions), *Sattasaī* poetry would contain predominantly the latter, and relatively little of the former. See also Winternitz (1920, p. 102), who translates *jāti* as 'meter(s)' (*Versmaßen*).

[10]From Upadhye's edition in the Siṅghī Jaina Granthamālā (45).

[11]Upadhye's edition adopts *collikke* (p. 3, ln. 21), from J's *vo(co)llikke*, instead of P's ‹c›*cokkille* (my deletion). Upadhye discusses *collikke* and its possible meanings in Part. 2, p. *125, adding in 'Additions and Corrections,' the possibility of *vo(bo)llike*, with reference to Marathi *bolake*, 'talkative, vocal.' Chojnacki, 2008, also expresses doubts about the reading. I give *cokkille*, as cited in Mirashi, 1946, p. 74, from C.D. Dalal's notes on p. 1 of his edition of Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. On the *-illa* ending in Prakrit see Pischel (§595) and Schwarzschild (1962, p. 518). Even if *cokkhille* is adopted, *cokkhille* is perhaps expected (see *cokkhā*, Skt. *cokṣā*, in the PNM, p. 416).

[12]Skt, following Mirashi, 1946: *bhaṇitavilāsavatītvena saṃskṛtān yaḥ karoti hālikān api | kāvyena kiṃ pravṛtte Hāle hālāvikāra iva? || praṇayibhiḥ kavijanena ca bhramarair iva yasya jātapraṇayaiḥ | kamalākara iva kośo vilupyamāno 'pi khalu na kṣīṇaḥ ||*

[13]*hālāviyāre vva*, in *pāda* c, may also be translated as, 'whose name is as though derived from the term liquor.' On *hālā* = liquor, see J's marginal gloss of *madirā* in Upadhye's edition.

Even though affectionate lovers and appreciative poets
    Plunder like greedy bees
His lotus-like *kosa*[14]
        It does not diminish.

In his *Rāmacarita*, Abhinanda (*ca.* 9th c. CE), praising his own patron, the king Hāravarṣa, similarly refers to Hāla's fame as an anthologizer:

namaḥ Śrīhāravarṣāya yena Hālād anantaram |
svakoṣaḥ kavikoṣāṇāṃ āvirbhāvāya saṃbhṛtaḥ ||[15]

Salutations to Śrīhāravarṣa
    Who following Hāla
Compiled his own anthology
    To display the treasures of poets.[16]

In addition to the above ascriptions, the anthology is tied to the Sātavāhanas by its geographical references, almost all of which are to locations in the area of the Sātavāhana's territorial domain in southwestern India, in the region of the Godāvarī river valley.[17] Upadhye and others, noting that Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit shares distinctive features in common with Mārāṭhī, have also drawn a linguistic connection to the same area, and thereby to the dynasty.[18]

As well as the above ascriptions and the geographic and linguistic evidence, the anthology is connected to the Sātavāhanas in another, significant way. The

[14]*Kosa* may also in this stanza, punningly, have the sense of 'flower bud.'

[15]Abhinanda's *Rāmacarita* as quoted in Mirashi 1946, p. 74. K.S. Ramaswami Sastri edited Chapters V, VIII, X, XII of the *Rāmacarita* in Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

[16]Uddyotanasūri may have chosen to employ the name Hāla rather than Sātavāhana as in Bāṇa's earlier passage because of its similarity to *hālika*, 'ploughmen,' and to *hālā* 'alcohol.' Abhinanda might have chosen the name because of its resemblance to that of his own patron, Hāravarṣa. See also Govardhana's (*fl. ca.* twelfth century at the court of Lakṣmaṇasena, 1179–1205 ce) reference to Hāla in his *Āryāsaptaśatī* and Dhanañjaya's (*fl. ca.* twelfth century) reference to the *kośa*. See as well Bhayani, 1993, who discusses a number of literary references to Hāla Sātavāhana.

[17]For a list of verses with geographical references in the *CheViLī* recension, see Patwardhan, 1988, p. xiii.

[18]see Upadhye, 1949, pp. 85f; Woolner, 1928, p. 5.

poetry itself, in particular its dexterity and creative impulses, presupposes a culture in which Prakrit was still a dominant language and in which Sanskritic śāstric culture had yet to take root. Sanskrit became the dominant language of the Indian subcontinent soon after the end of the Sātavāhana's reign, and though poets of the strongly Sanskritic cultures that followed continued to compose Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit Gāthās, their poetry is often quite different from that found in the *Sattasaī*. While these poets could doubtlessly read and appreciate such poetry, they usually did not recreate it except in a simplified manner. Even Kālidāsa's charming Gāthās, which he includes in his Gupta era *nāṭaka*s, are simplified versions of more complex *Sattasaī* poetry. Similarly, much of the poetry of the later Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit *Vajjālagga*, introduced below, shares more in common with the norms and ideals of Sanskrit poetry than with the images and ideals of *Sattasaī* poetry.

The anthology's early period and its place of compilation explains why it does not necessarily show agreement with general and common *śāstric* norms and prescriptions of the post-Sātavāhana period. Instead, its poetry suggests a lack of familiarity with their characteristics or details. We can see this in the way in which the stanzas are arranged as well as in the Gāthās themselves—their sentiments, interests, and the practices they describe. An example of the latter is *CheViLī* 112 (W 104), which centers on an allusion to a female character who removes the remains of the bones of her beloved from the funeral pyre. This act contravenes the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* prescriptions, according to which funeral rites should be performed by the oldest son or by another male relative.[19] This and other examples introduced in the present study suggest that the poetry lay outside the

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[19]The poem appears use the term *asaī* punningly, in the sense of both 'unchaste woman' and 'one who does not immolate herself on her husband's funeral pyre,' thus indicating a familiarity with widow immolation or *satī*, a practice that Hart (1975, pp. 116ff) suggests originated in South India.

purview of certain[20] Sanskritic śāstric norms.[21]

The Date of the Anthology

To give a date to the *Sattasaī*, scholars have availed themselves of inscriptional and numismatic evidence, early manuscripts, and accounts provided in Purāṇic and narrative literature. Purāṇic genealogies identify Hāla as the seventeenth Sātavāhana dynast with a reign of five years, or in a variant, a period of reign of just one year. According to the estimates of Pargiter, based on the available Purāṇic

[20]We might ask what to make of the anthology's Pāśupata *maṅgala* verse. The Pāśupatas as followers of the Atimārga were early precursors of those Śaivas who followed the Mantramārga, also known as Tantric Śaivism. On the identity of the Pāśupatas and their relationship to Śaivas see Sanderson, 1988, 2006, 2009, 2014 (forthcoming). Whereas the Sātavāhana royal inscriptions indicate that the dynasts were supporters of Vedic ritual in state functions, in the *Sattasaī* as in other literature they are more likely to be associated with Pāśupata and Śaiva religions. In later stories we hear of a king named Sātavāhana who often appears in a Śaivite context and as a devotee of Śiva. For example, the *Līlāvaī* has a Śaivite frame story, the characters are devoted to Śiva and Pārvatī, and a Pāśupata ascetic makes an appearance. The frame story of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is similarly Śaivite. The *Sattasaī*'s opening *maṅgala* is an invocation to Paśupati and Gaurī, attributed in many recensions to Hāla himself. In Q, Tribhuvanapāla, in his *avataraṇikā*, attributes the verse only to 'the poet': *tatrādau sakalavighnavandhyāṃ prabandhasiddhim adhigantuṃ kavir imaṃ namaskāram akārṣīt*. In P$_{ED}$ and in W$_{BH}$, however, this verse is attributed to Hāla (Hālasya P$_{ED}$, W$_{BH}$). It is thus quite probable that Tribhuvanapāla read *Hālasya* and that when he writes *kavi* in the *avataraṇikā* he refers back to the name Hāla. If he meant just any poet one might expect him to have written '*kaścit kavi*.' Weber's (1881) P and G attribute the verse to Śālivāhana (Śālivāhanasya). How do we reconcile the royal inscriptions with the textual evidence and legendary stories? Recently Sanderson, in examining inscriptional records from the second century BCE to the third century CE from widely separated sites, including Kaṇheri in Maharashtra and Bīmarān in Afghanistan, bearing names of Buddhists and Jain lay donors, has shown evidence for a popular Śaiva religiosity. See Sanderson, 2012, 'Handout from October 16th lecture at Kyoto University.' The sites of the inscriptions include Kaṇheri and Nāsik in Maharashtra and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Bhaṭṭiprolu, and Amarāvatī in Andhra Pradesh. It is possible that while the dynasts supported Vedic ritual, at least some of them, including the *Sattasaī*'s anthologizer, adopted as their personal religion a form of the more popular Pāśupata religion. The *Sattasaī* stanza, which shows Paśupati engaged in the Vedic rite of worshipping the Dawn, is not unfitting for a dynast who was himself both a devotee of Paśupati and a supporter of Vedic ritual.

[21]For a look at the anthology from a different angle, see Khoroche and Tieken, 2009, pp. 5–6; Tieken, 2001, pp. 73ff.

material, Hāla would have ruled in the first century CE.[22] Mirashi (1947), in his dating of the anthology, gives considerable weight to the Purāṇic records and Pargiter's estimate, reasoning that in a number of instances they are corroborated by inscriptional and numismatic evidence.[23] However, Keith (1956, p. 24), claiming on the basis of the early Aśvaghoṣa fragments and early Prakrit inscriptions that the weakening of consonants seen in the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit of the *Sattasaī* could not have arisen until *ca*. 200 CE, places the anthology in the third century CE.[24]

Warder (1974, pp. 183f.), taking yet a different approach,[25] works with the as-

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[22]See F. Eden Pargiter, 1913, 35-43, who relies on the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Bhāgavata*, and *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*s. On the problematic historicity of Purāṇic records see Pargiter, 1917 and Rocher, 1986, pp. 115 ff.

[23]Mirashi notes that additions were made to the anthology until as late as the eighth century.

[24]See also Weber, 1881, pp. xxiii, who suggests a similar date. Like Mirashi's argument, Keith's argument for the date of Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit is somewhat tentative. As Aśvaghoṣa's birth place most give Sāketa or Ayodhyā, modern Awadh, but Benares and Patna are sometimes mentioned in this connection. Further, according to the traditional hagiography in Chinese attributed to Kumārajīva (translated between 401 and 409 CE) Aśvaghoṣa's teacher whom he met in Central India was from the north (see Stuart H. Young, *Biography of the Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa*, *http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-AN/103180.htm, accessed May 9, 2014*). Since Aśvaghoṣa may have had little connection to Southern India (i.e. the area of the Godāvarī River valley), the Prakrits of his plays are not necessarily reliable in dating the language of the *Sattasaī*. Similarly, because Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit is not an inscriptional language, it cannot necessarily be dated on the basis of inscriptions. It is also worth considering that even if we were to accept that the weakening of consonants did not occur in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit until the third century CE, *Sattasaī* manuscripts can be unreliable in terms of linguistic evidence because they are not ancient and redactors are known to make changes in keeping with standard forms. In other words, there is a possibility that the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit that we read in the modern editions and in *Sattasaī* MSS, the earliest of which dates to about the thirteenth century, differs from that which was originally composed and recorded (see Salomon, "The Original Language of the *Karpūra-mañjarī*," 1982, pp. 119-141; Lüders, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, 1911; Steiner, *Untersuchungen zu Harṣadevas Nāgānanda und zum indischen Schauspiel*, 1997).

[25]Unlike Mirashi, Warder disregards the name Hāla in the Purāṇic genealogies and instead follows Sircar's suggestion that the name is simply a Prakritic variant of Sāta. Concerning the genealogies, Warder writes, 'The historians have probably hypostatised the name Hāla into a separate emperor, not realising that it meant the same as Sāta, then inserted him into the dynastic list at a conveniently obscure point, though they managed to give him only five years, or in a variant list only one year to reign.' Although, see also Mirashi's article in *The Journal of the Nu-*

sumption that the Sātavāhana king who anthologized the *Gāhākosa* is the same
Sātavāhana, also called Śālivāhana, Śālavāhana, etc., who is frequently associated
in narrative literature with the Buddhist Madhyamaka Nāgārjuna.[26] Warder holds
that if Nāgārjuna lived in the second century CE, it is likely that he stayed at the
court of the Sātavāhana emperor Vāsiṣṭhīputra or Puḷumāvi, and that it was this
emperor who compiled the *Gāhākosa*.[27] The argument is not entirely flawless. Even
if we accept that Nāgārjuna was indeed a contemporary of the *Sattasaī*'s antholo-
gizer, the former's dates are unresolved, ranging sometime between the first and
third centuries CE.[28] Nonetheless, it must be admitted that of all the Sātavāhana
emperors, Puḷumāvi, whose reign saw the expansion of the empire's territory and
the pursuit of major public works such as the renovation of the stupa at Amarā-
vatī, is perhaps the one most likely to lay claim to the title of cultural hero and an-

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mismatic Society of India (Vol. VII, pp. 1f.) on a copper coin of Hāla Sātavāhana. It is possible that
Hāla was simply the pen name of one of the Sātavāhana king, perhaps Vāsiṭṭhiputta Puḷumāvi.

[26]Warder points to Koūhala's *Līlāvaī*, the *Rasaratnākara*, and two Jain historical narratives—the
Purātanaprabandhasaṃgraha and the *Prabhāvakacarita*, all of which place Nāgārjuna in Sātavāhana's
court (to these may be added Nāgārjuna's *Suhṛllekha* (*Letter to a Dear Friend*) addressed to Sā-
tavāhana. Warder further refers to Bu-ston's and Tāranātha's accounts of Nāgārjuna's travels to
South India and the descriptions therein of the Madhyamaka's role in the construction of Bud-
dhist monuments, pointing out how these narratives are supported by archaeological and inscrip-
tional evidence.

[27]Shastri (1999, p. 35) dates the reign of one of two Puḷumāvis' to 91–118 CE on the basis
of a line from the *Matsyapurāṇa* (Shastri, 1999, pp. 29, 43, fn.96), giving him 27 years to reign.
However, Falk (2009) shows, on the basis of epigraphic evidence from Kanganhalli, that it is likely
that the Purāṇas mistakenly identify multiple Puḷumāvis when there was only one who reigned
for a period of 36 years.

[28]Kumārajīva (344–413 CE or 350–409 CE), as the founder of the Chinese Madhyamaka, sets
Nāgārjuna's *terminus ante quem* in the latter part of the third century (allowing some one hun-
dred years to pass). However, it is difficult to narrow Nāgārjuna's dates to a more precise pe-
riod than sometime between the first and third centuries CE. Xuánzàng's seventh century *Record
of the Western Regions* identifies the philosopher as a contemporary of Aśvaghoṣa in the first cen-
tury (see Seyfort-Ruegg, 1982). Though other records that identify Aśvaghoṣa as the twelfth pa-
triarch and Nāgārjuna as the fourteenth patriarch suggest that the two may not have been con-
temporaries. Yet Kalhaṇa's twelfth century *Rājataraṅginī* links Nāgārjuna to Kaniṣka, whose dates
are somewhere between 78 CE and the third century CE (see Seyfort-Ruegg, *ibid*). From this ad-
mittedly cursory glance we may conclude that Nāgārjuna's second century date is speculative.

thologizer.[29,30]

Antecedents

The precise century of the anthology's initial compilation notwithstanding, the *Gāthā*s speak of a much longer history. Lienhard (1975) observes that the *Sattasaī*'s poetry shares certain tropes and themes in common with the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā*s of the Pali Canon. He suggests that the poetry that we find in the *Sattasaī* is part of a longstanding and widespread tradition of lyrical poetry that goes back to the first several centuries before the common era. It is, moreover, possible that while some of the poems are a product of this earlier lyrical tradition, others date to an earlier time. Just as a later anthologizer like Vidyākara includes poetry from a period of over five centuries, the *Sattasaī*'s anthologizer may well have included poetry from a similarly long span of time.[31]

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[29]Rājaśekhara's reference to Sātavāhana as the king of the *Kuntala*s is a factor in favor of Warder's argument, for it appears likely that it was during the reign of Puḷumāvi that the Kuntala country came under Sātavāhana rule.

Puranic lists mention a Kuntala Śātakarṇi separately from both Hāla and Vāsiṭṭhīputra/Puḷumāvi, who, given his placement would have ruled after the empire had expanded to include the Kuntalas. It is perhaps this Kuntala-Sātakarṇi who is described in the *Kāmasūtra*. According to Sircar, the *Kāmasūtra* explains that Kuntala-Sātakarṇi was so named because he was born in the Kuntalas.

[30]D.R. Bhandarkar (1917) proposed a much later date for the compilation of the *Sattasaī*. On the basis of Gāthās referencing Vikramāditya (465, W 464), the weekday Tuesday (*Aṃgāraavāra*, 209, W 261), and Rādhikā and Kṛṣṇa (89, W 89), Bhandarkar suggested that the collection was compiled at the beginning of the sixth century CE. However, these verses could be explained as later additions to the anthology. It is even possible that 209 (W 261) referencing the weekday Aṃgāraavāra is much earlier than previously supposed. A Sātavāhana Nasik cave inscription by the mother of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi from around the early second century that lists the planets in the same order as they appear in the weekdays suggests that they may have been known to poets in this period (see Senart, 1905–6, *Epigraphia Indica* vol. 8, pp. 60–65; Pingree, 1963). Though the *Yavanajātaka* of Sphujidhvaja, whose Chapters 75, 77, and 79 mention the weekdays, it can no longer be adduced as early evidence of the use of the weekdays. Mak (2013) has shown that the text cannot be dated to the second century CE as Pingree had previously supposed. See also Bennedik's Ph.D. dissertation, *Die Siebenplanetenwoche in Indien*, which shows that the weekdays became popular in an inscriptional context only in the late fourth century CE. According to her, the earliest attested use is found in a Śrī Laṅkan inscription dated to 398 CE.

[31]This would mean that Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit either has a longer history than previously sup-

Later Additions

Extant *Sattasaī* recensions share some 340 *Gāthā*s in common. Most would agree that despite the name *Sattasaī*, the anthology originally contained fewer than seven hundred Gāthās. If we follow the author names appended to the poems in several MSS and commentaries, it would appear that Gāthās continued to be added to the anthology in considerable quantity until as late as the eighth century CE. Mirashi (1947) draws attention to some nine poets whose names name are known through other works, where they are often[32] associated with later Vākāṭaka and Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasties. However, we can give only so much weight to these author names as they may well be spurious. As for the Gāthās themselves, there is little doubt that stanzas about Vikramāditya or about Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa are later additions to the anthology. There are also a number of Gāthās that seem to adopt the conventions and norms of classical Sanskrit Kāvya. In a very general sense one may say that it is towards the end of the anthology that a greater number of new stanzas appear to have been added, for it is here in the last *śataka*s that more Gāthās tend to take on a character more in keeping with the expectations of classical Kāvya.[33]

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posed by Keith, or that the MSS simply do not record the earliest forms of the poems, having 'Māhārāṣṭrified' them.

[32]Mirashi (*ibid*. p. 80) names only one, Pālitta (Skt. Pādalipta), who, according to Mirashi, is associated with the court of Hāla Sātavāhana in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara (*fl. ca.* 880–920 CE). There is also, however, the *Sattasaī* poet Poṭissa, who figures in the *Līlāvaī* as Hāla Sātavāhana's minister.

[33]See Chapter Five below. It would of course be incorrect to suggest that all the Gāthās in the beginning are original and all those at the end were brought in later.

Sātavāhana Legends

Hāla Sātavāhana came to be a legendary figure in Indian letters. Was he a potter's child who became a king? An unlearned emperor who was taught Sanskrit by his minister? The relative of an infamous ruler in Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*?[34] Was he the esteemed recipient of Nāgārjuna's *Suhṛllekha*? A prolific scholar, who composed treatises on mathematics, astrology, metrics, and poetics? Although all these accounts and more are given about him in story literature, poetry, and philosophical texts, it is difficult to know which are true, or which hold at least a kernel of truth.[35]

In many of the legends we see Sātavāhana reprise the same role with which he is credited in the *Sattasaī*, as the protector of language and literary arts, and the patron of poets. Koūhala's[36] *ca.* ninth century CE[37] Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit Kahā *Līlāvaī* attests to Sātavāhana's patronage of poets when it describes him departing his capital Pratiṣṭhāna, not only in the usual company of soldiers and attendants, but also with a retinue of one hundred *kaï*s. Perhaps most notable, however, is the *Kathāsaritsāgara* story of how Sātavāhana saves the last chapter of Guṇāḍhya's Paiśācī *Bṛhatkathā* from destruction. Due to a lost bet, Guṇāḍhya composes his work in the Paiśācī language, and, because of a lack of ink, records it in his own blood.[38] When Guṇāḍhya wonders who will disseminate his work, his students

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[34]Sātavāhana Śātakarṇi or Kuntala Śātakarṇi. Was he himself this king?

[35]Sātavāhana legends are found in the *Purātanaprabandhasaṃgraha* (Jinavijaya Muni, gen. ed., Singhi Jaina Granthamala, Calcutta: Siṅghī Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1936; *Sātavāhanaprabandha*, p. 11); the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutuṅga (Jinavijaya Muni, gen. ed., Singhi Jaina Granthamala, Calcutta: Siṅghī Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1933; *Sātavāhana Prabandha*, pp. 10–11); the *Prabandhakośa* of Rājaśekhara (*Caturviṃśati-Prabandha or Prabandhakośa by Śrī Rājaśekhara Sūri*, ed. by Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia, Bombay: Harsiddhabhai Vajubhai Divetia, 1932; *Sātavāhanaprabandha*, pp. 136–142); and the *Prabhāvakacarita* (Jinavijaya Muni, gen. ed., Singhi Jaina Granthamala, Calcutta: Siṅghī Jaina Jñānapīṭha, 1940; *Pādaliptasūricaritam*, pp. 28–40). See also the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (I.6.87–167; I.8, for a good modern English translation, see Sir James Mallinson's *The Ocean of the Rivers of Story*, The Clay Sanskrit Library, New York: New York University Press, 2007).

[36]Skt. Kutūhala. On the author's name and the possibility that it was not actually Kutūhala, 'Curiosity, Interest' see Upadhye, 1949, pp. 20ff.

[37]Upadhye (1949, pp. 69ff.) places the work around 800 CE.

[38]Guṇāḍhya loses a bet over whether Śarvavarman would be able to teach King Sātavāhana Sanskrit grammar in six months. The condition of the bet was that if Śarvavarman succeeded

suggest Sātavāhana, saying, 'he appreciates literature and will promulgate your poem like the wind spreads the fragrance of a flower'[39]. Yet when King Sātavāhana first hears of Guṇāḍhya's Kāvya, he responds: 'It measures seven hundred thousand verses long, the language is Paiśācī which has no aesthetic merit, and the letters are written in blood. Shame on this demonic tale!'[40] Guṇāḍhya returns to the forest where he had been living and begins to burn his manuscript, pausing to read each page aloud before he throws it in the fire. The forest animals all gather around to listen. Sātavāhana becomes aware of his error only when he falls ill after eating a piece of dried-out meat. The hunters who brought the meat explain that it is dry because the forest creatures, listening to Guṇāḍhya's tale, have stopped eating. Curious, Sātavāhana travels to the forest where he hears Guṇāḍhya's recitation and manages to save the last chapter from destruction. To a certain degree Sātavāhana's *Kathāsaritsāgara* role as the preserver of the Paiśācī Kāvya and parallels his *Sattasaī* role as anthologizer, and preserver, of the Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit Gāthās.[41]

A Tradition of Female Agency and Perspective

In some Sātavāhana legends we see the appropriation of the *Sattasaī*'s tradition of female agency and perspective. Koūhala's *Līlāvaī* tells the story of Hāla Sātavāhana's[42] romance with and eventual marriage to the Sri Lankan princess Līlāvaī. The tale is very much in line with the *Sattasaī*'s later reception as literature

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Guṇāḍhya would give up the languages always possible among humans (I.6.47–8: *ṣaḍbhir māsais tvayā devaḥ śikṣitaś cet tato mayā saṃskṛtaṃ prākṛtaṃ tadvad deśabhāṣā ca sarvadā bhāṣātrayam idaṃ tyaktaṃ yan manuṣyeṣu saṃbhavet*). Guṇāḍhya, a *gaṇa* of Śiva, was cursed to become a human for his involvement in eavesdropping on a story told by Śiva to Pārvatī. His curse will end only when he records the story when it is told to him by the Piśāca Kanabhūti, himself actually the *yakṣa* Supratīka who had been cursed by the god Kubera, and establishes the story in the world.

[39] *KSS* I.8.10: *rasiko hi vahet kāvyaṃ puṣpāmodam ivānilaḥ*

[40] *KSS* I.8.15: *pramāṇaṃ saptalakṣāṇi paiśācaṃ nīrasam vacaḥ śonitenākṣaranyāso, dhik piśācakathāṃ imām.*

[41] The *KSS* does not mention Sātavāhana's role as the compiler of Gāthās, perhaps because they would have been considered outside its scope in terms of subject matter and style.

[42] As he is referred to at v. 868 and v. 975, though more often in the poem he is simply called Śālavāhana.

of *kāmaśāstra*, for it is centered on the preeminence of love relationships.[43] How-ever, one could say that the narrative also shares with the *Sattasaī* a certain em-phasis on female perspective and agency. For, a main concern is how the female characters themselves negotiate romantic relations in the context of kinship and friendship. The plot centers on Līlāvaī's decision not to pursue her wish to marry Sātavāhana until her cousin Mahānumati is happily reunited with her beloved, Mādhavānila. Rather than the sometimes more passive female characters of later Sanskrit Kāvya, the *Līlāvaī* shows its principal female character taking a relatively active, agentive role within the spheres romance and marriage. This type of role overlaps with that of female *Sattasaī* characters.[44]

According to Koūhala's own account, given in the beginning of the work, the poet began to compose the *kahā*[45] one autumn evening upon hearing his wife Sāvitrī's request for a story in the Prakrit language, with few *deśi* words,[46] dealing with gods and humans, and pleasing to innocent women.[47] The last part of the request is reminiscent of *VaLa* 29, in which (Māhārāṣṭrī) Prakrit poetry itself is said to be loved by young women (*juvaījaṇavallaha*). It is possible that the asso-ciation of Prakrit language with female preferences goes back to a particular and popular reception of the Gāthās of the *Sattasaī*.[48]

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[43]The story features Nāgārjuna. Although Koūhala describes Nāgārjuna as a *bhikkhu* (see v. 1016, v. 1021), he appears to be a conflation of the Madhyamaka and the Siddha Nāgārjuna. One of his main tasks as Hāla's guide and advisor is to take the despairing king to find enjoyment in Pātāla.

[44]See Chapter Seven. Upadhye (1949, pp. 67ff.) points out that the earlier *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa, who was himself an admirer of the *Gāhākosa*, follows a similar storyline.

[45]Skt. *kathā*, a term that Koūhala himself uses to describe the *Līlāvaī*.

[46]As Upadhye remarks (1949, pp. 328–9), the request for few *deśi* words is a petition for the work to employ a more artificial and literary language rather than popular and local speech ele-ments.

[47]*emeya muddhajuyaīmaṇoharaṃ pāyayāe bhāsāe | paviraladesisulakkhaṃ kahasu kahaṃ div-vamāṇusiyaṃ || Līlāvaī 41 ||* Skt: *evam eva mugdhayuvatīmanoharāṃ prākṛtayā bhāṣayā | pravi-raladeśyasulakṣyāṃ kathaya kathāṃ divyamānuṣīm ||*

[48]The idea that women liked Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit is somewhat separate from but nonetheless related to the *Nāṭyaśāstra*'s statement that in the world of the play (*nāṭyaloka*) female characters' should sing in Māhārāṣṭrī Prakrit, a practice employed in classical Kāvya.

Gāhākosa Poets

The stanza introduced above, 2 (W 3) claims that Hāla selected poems for his compilation from out of a myriad of Gāthās. One *Sattasaī* commentator, responding to this stanza, attributes the poems not to trained poets, but to the more general populace of the Sātavāhana kingdom. Raghavan quotes the following short story from a ms held in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library:[49]

> In this manner it is has been handed down by tradition †   † the Sātavāhana king, the aesthete ruler of the city of Pratiṣṭhāna, worshipped the goddess Bhāratī. Pleased, she said, 'choose a boon.'

Sātavāhana asks that the goddess might bestow on his people a talent for literary composition.[50] Bhāratī stays for two days, and, as the story continues:

> At that time everyone in his camp, from children to cowherds began to compose works of prose and poetry in Sanskrit and Prakrit. Out of the florilegium of the myriad Gāthās that they composed, seven hundred ornamented Gāthās were selected.[51]

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[49]Though Raghavan does not specify, it is clear that the commentary is to the stanza *satta saāiṃ kaïvacchaleṇa.*

[50]The ms is damaged here, however, the nature of Sātavāhana's request is evident in what happens next.

[51]

> *atra kila evam anuśrūyate (te) †   † pratiṣṭhānagahagara (nagarādhiśena) rasikena Sātavāhanena rājñā bhagavatī Bhāratī upāsitā. sā ca prasannā bhūtvā varaṃ vṛṇīṣvetyācacakṣe. sa tac chrutvā, bhagavati! madīye skandhāvāre †   † dā martyalokavāso na yukta ity avādīt. uktena rājñā tarhi vatsa mātraṃ sthātavyam iti, †   † divasadvayaṃ bhavadīye skandhāvāre sthāsyāmīty uktvā antardadhe. atas tatkaṭakavāsinaḥ ābālagopālaṃ sarve 'pi saṃskṛtaprākṛtamayaṃ gadyapadyaprāyaṃ kartum upakramire. taiḥ kṛteṣu koṭīnāṃ gāthānāṃ kadambakam āhṛtya sālāṅkārāṇāṃ gāthānāṃ saptaśatāni racitāny arthaḥ.*

The statement is made that living among mortals is not suitable for Bhāratī (*martyalokavāso na yukta ity avādīt*). Raghavan does not give a date for the manuscript, and I do not know the source of the story. Winternitz (1920, p. 102) relays a similar tale: '*Eine Sage erzhält, daß Bhāratī, die Götten die Dichtkunst, sich einst anderthalb Tage im Heerlager des Sātavāhana aufgehalten und alle Leute bis hinab zu den Elefantentreibern und Rosseknechten zum Dichten von Prākritliedchen begeistert habe...,*' though he does not give a reference. One possibility is the fourteenth century *Caturviṃśatiprabandha*. Whether there

This account of widespread poetic talent finds a parallel in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhā-bharaṇa* of Bhojadeva (*fl. ca.* 1010−1062 CE), according to which everyone in Hāla's kingdom spoke Prakrit and everyone in Sāhasāṅka's time spoke Sanskrit:

> *ke 'bhuvan nāḍhyarājasya rājye prākṛtabhāṣiṇaḥ?*
> *kāle śrīsāhasāṅkasya ke na saṃskṛtavādinaḥ?*[52]

> In the kingdom of Āḍhyarāja (Sātavāhana)
>   Who were not Prakrit speakers?
> In the time of glorious Sāhasāṅka (Vikramāditya)
>   Who were not Sanskrit speakers?[53]

Raghavan points out that Bhojadeva's passage resembles, or is based on, an earlier statement in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājaśekhara (*fl. ca.* 880−920 CE). One can see the similarities:

> *śrūyate ca kuntaleṣu sātavāhano nāma rājā, yena prākṛtabhāṣātmakam eva antaḥpura iti samānaṃ pūrveṇa. srūyate cojjayinyāṃ sāhasāṅko nāma rājā tena ca saṃskṛtabhāṣātmakam antaḥpura eveti samānaṃ pūrveṇa.*

> And it is heard that in the kingdom of Kuntala there was a king named Sātavāhana by whom [the rule was made]:[54] 'In the inner quarters only Prakrit is to be spoken.' And it is heard that in the kingdom of Ujjayinī there was a king named Sāhasāṅka by whom [the rule was made]: 'In the inner quarters only Sanskrit is to be spoken.'

Whereas Bhojadeva's remarks encompass an entire kingdom and an entire epoch, Rājaśekhara's emphasis is on the *antaḥpura*, the women's private residence, which

are earlier precedents is uncertain.

The story is notable in its suggestion that expedition and territorial expansion led to the evolution of the poetry. Insofar as it invokes the idea that the poetry was the result of the merging of previously distinct cultures it agrees with Hart's (1975) thesis.

[52]*Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* 117. As quoted in Raghavan, 1963, p. 830.

[53]Ratneśvara, the commentator, adds that Āḍhyarāja is Śālivāhana (Sātavāhana) and Sāhasāṅka is Vikramāditya (Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty).

[54]The expression *samānaṃ pūrveṇa*, 'as before,' refers to *pravartate niyamaḥ*, 'a rule was made,' in a previous sentence.

is of interest insofar as it suggests women's roles as authors of poetic compositions, a topic discussed below.[55]

In contrast to accounts like the above,[56] some of the *Sattasaī*'s first European scholars suggested that Hāla was not just an anthologizer, but also a highly involved redactor. Keith (1920, p. 224), comparing Hāla to the poet Robert Burns, writes: 'It is possible, even probable, that in its origins the *Sattasaī* was no mere anthology but a careful collection of his [Hāla's] own or refashioned by himself.'[57] Yet Pischel and later Indologists including Warder, Mirashi, and Lienhard, place more emphasis on the contributions of the individual poets whose names we find in the *CheViLī* recension, in Hāritāmrapītāmbara's text (hereafter sometimes referred to as W$_\text{P}$), and, occasionally, in Gaṅgādhara's (G$_\text{ED}$) and Kulanātha's (K$_\text{E}$) texts.[58]

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[55] It is also noteworthy how both Bhojadeva's and Rājaśekhara's statements tie poetic composition (since for these authors Prakrit and Sanskrit were the languages of poetic composition) to kingship. For these writers the idea of ubiquitous poetic composition would be the summum bonum of any golden age, the latter itself considered to be the outcome of admirable rule (see Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men*, on how poetic talent is related to the notion of ideal kingship).

[56] Tribhuvanapāla's and Gaṅgādhara's commentaries to *CheViLī* 2 (W 3) are also worth looking at. The stanza is notably absent from Vemabhūpāla's *Saptaśatīsāra*. It is likely that Vemabhūpāla omitted the stanza because of its description of the Gāthās as 'poetically ornamented' (*sālaṃkāra*), an assessment that he by and large rejects in favor of a *dhvani*-based reading. He instead prefaces his commentary with a stanza that lacks this particular description, but that is similar in its mention of Hāla.

[57] See also Peterson, 1889, pp. 76–7. Winternitz (1920, Jha transl., 1963, p. 113) writes: 'The motley contents of "seven hundred stanzas" already point to the fact that here we do not have before us the work of a single writer, but that of a compiler. On the other hand, however, the songs show such a striking unified characteristic that we can in no case consider Hāla, to whom is attributed the collection, merely a compiler of an anthology, but rather a gifted redactor, who made the selection with dexterity and skill and probably gave to the stanzas the final poetical form for the first time.'

[58] The *CheViLī* recension, which was unknown to Weber when he produced his 1881 edition, includes the name of an author for almost every Gāthā. Pischel prepared a copy of a Pītāmbara MS in 1872 that includes the first 300 stanzas, with commentary and attributions up to stanza 151. This is Weber's 1881 P. Pischel's copy is in the Staatsbibliothek Berlin (MS. or. quart. 365). According to Weber, Pischel's MS is based on a Teliṅga MS, no. 2796 of the India Office Library (see Weber, 1881, xxxiv–xxxv). In addition to Pītāmbara's text, those of Kulanātha and Gaṅgādhara (Weber's 1881 K and G) occasionally have a record of a poet's name next to a verse. See Pischel, 1900, §13,

Ascriptions in the Manuscripts

The attributions, not surprisingly, often appear quite corrupted[59] and, when compared across recensions, show certain inconsistencies.[60] However, while the poem with which the poets are paired—which precedes, or follows as the case may be, the author's name—is quite inconsistent across the recensions, the names in and of themselves are fairly unchanging, indicating that the attributions may be quite early, predating any of the recensions in which they occur.

A closer look at the ascriptions will show this relative regularity and explain some of the irregularity. The Gāthā that comes first in all of the recensions is attributed in the *CheViLī* recension, in two of its witnesses (P_{ED} and W_{BH}), to Hāla (Hālasya).[61] Pītāmbara's text similarly attributes the stanza to Śālivāhana (Śālivāhanasya). The Gāthā that comes next in the *CheViLī* recension (*satta saāiṃ kaïvacchaleṇa*) has no attribution in any of its witnesses, Q, P_{ED}, or W_{BH}, nor does it have attribution in Pītāmbara's text.[62] The third Gāthā is ascribed to Poṭṭisa (Poṭṭisassa) in Q, P_{ED}, and W_{BH}; to Yodita (Yoditasya) in W_P; and to Voḍisa

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p. 11; Lienhard, 1984, pp. 82ff.; Warder, 1974, §783.

[59]This is not surprising given that they include difficult or unusual Prakrit names.

[60]Earlier Indologists concluded that the names may be inauthentic. Winternitz (1920, Jha transl., 1963, 114, fn. 3), for instance, suggests that author names may well be a later invention, though he also notes the view of Pischel: 'In the commentaries written in later centuries, the *Sattasaī* is treated altogether as an anthology and in it we find names of writers of individual stanzas. In respect of these names, however the manuscripts differ very much from one another: most of them give names only in the beginning of the work and then stop. The commentaries of the vulgate recension give 112 names, Bhuvanapāla gives 384. In the Km. edition the names of probable authors too are given in the *gāthānukramaṇikā*. Yet in many cases the names are wanting, and often Hāla himself is mentioned as the author. In the opinion of W. [Weber] these names are quite unreliable. A different view is that of Pischel (*Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen* §13) who concludes from the names given that the *Sattasaī* presupposes a very rich Prākrit literature, in which women also had their contributions.'

[61]For the attribution in Q see above, p. 199, fn.20.

[62]However, in Kulanātha's text, the verse is attributed to Hāla (Hālassa), which we might suppose to be a mistaken attribution, borrowed from the first stanza.

(Voḍisassa) in K_E. These are clearly all transmutations of the same name. Thus, up to this point the attributions match up in the two recensions. It is with the fourth Gāthā of the *CheViLī* (*tāva ccia raïsamae*) that an error enters into the ascriptions. The stanza is ascribed to Hāla (Hālassa) in Q and P_{ED} and similarly to Sālāhaṇa (Sālahaṇassa) in W_{BH}. However, the same stanza is ascribed to Triloka (Trilokasya) in Pītāmbara and to Culla ('Cullossa') in Kulanātha (while Culloḍaa, Culloḍaassa, is said to be the author of the subsequent stanza in the *CheViLī* recension). It is because of this insertion— or loss—of the name Hāla that the ensuing ascriptions in the *ChiViLī* recension, as represented by Q , P_{ED}, and W_{BH}, differ from Pītāmbara's text by one stanza. This mismatch continues until at least *CheViLī* 92 (P), after which the names become increasing disparate.

We might try to solve the problem of which recension carries the older ascriptions for at least these first ninety-odd stanzas. The difficulty is that is relatively easy to imagine how a scribe of either recension might have made a mistake. For instance, if the *CheViLī* recension represents the earlier ascription, then we might imagine that in the copying of Pītāmbara's text the name Śālāhaṇa fell out (was omitted) from the stanza. A scribe may then have moved the name of the author of the following Gāthā back by one verse, assuming the poet's name had been placed at the end of the Gāthā instead of at the beginning. As a result, all of remaining names would be moved back by one poem. One the other hand, if Pītāmbara's ascription is the earlier one, we could propose an equally probable scenario in which a scribe of the *CheViLī* recension inserted the name Hāla next to the stanza, possibly by an eye skip from the line above since the first Gāthā is attributed to Hāla in Q and P_{ED}.[63] This could lead the remaining names to be moved forward by one stanza. Neither scenario is particularly difficult to imagine, especially since, in both cases, it is primarily just a matter of moving *daṇḍa*s used for punctuation. However, in favor of the precedence of Pītāmbara's ascription is Weber's observation (1881, p. liv fn. 5.; see also p. lvi.) that there is a correlation, in at least one instance in Pītāmbara's text, between the name, Prahatā/Prahṛtā, and the content of the verse, *pahara*. As Weber points out this could well be a case where the poet has taken—or been given—a pen name

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[63]Notably, this would indicate the precedence of Q and P_{ED} as witnesses to the recension.

based on the topic of her composition.[64] Although we can conclude that Pītāmbara's text has the better ascriptions, its variants are often less Prakritic and therefore later-looking than those of the *CheViLī* witnesses, which is to say that the names themselves are often better preserved in the *CheViLī* recension.[65]

Female Authors

Quite a few of the Gāthās of the *Sattasaī* are attributed to women poets. The following table gives the names of these authors and the verses attributed to them in the first 151 stanzas of Pītāmbara's text. Some of the names are clearly corrupt:

Stanza and Author's Name
P 42 (=W 43, *CheViLī* 42) Nādhā/Nāthā [Nādhāyāḥ/Nāthāyāḥ]
86 (=*CheViLī* 88) Prahatā/Prahṛtā [Prahatāyāḥ]
87 P (=W 89, *CheViLī* 89) 'Poṭasyā'[66]
88 P (=W 87, *CheViLī* 90) Revā [Revāyāḥ]
90 (=*CheViLī* 92) Revā [Revāyāḥ]

Table 10.1: Women Authors in Pītāmbara's text

The *CheViLī* recension, which provides attributions for almost the whole of the anthology, includes many more women's names, as the following table shows:[67]

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[64]In this case we must understand that the name Pṛthvī in the *CheViLī* recension, to which Weber did not then have access, is a misreading of Prahatā/Prahṛtā. The practice of later audiences' naming authors after the content of their compositions is also seen already in Vedic hymns. To a certain extent the same appears to have happened in the *Gāhākosa*.

[65]For instance, compare Trilokasya to Q's Cullovukassa and P$_{ED}$'s Culloḍaassa.

[66]Poṭasyā, which looks like it could be a corruption of a feminine ending, is probably an error for Poṭasya, a variant of Puṭṭisassa. See below, p. 214, Table 3.

[67]Patwardhan (1988, p. iii, fn. 10) provides a similar list for the *CheViLī* recension, but leaves out Pṛthvī, and Hastinī. Also, whereas that list attributes eighteen poems to women, a perusal of the edited text, P$_{ED}$, and Q reveals some twenty-eight such poems, as Table 2 shows. Patwardhan may have purposefully left out some poems, assuming the ascriptions to be most certainly spurious or belonging to later stanzas—for instance, stanzas that do not occur in other recensions or stanzas that occur only at the end of the *CheViLī* recension.

Stanza and Author's Name
43 Rohā (W 42)
73 Candraputtikā (W 74)
89 Pṛthvī (W 89)
91 Revatī (W 88)
92 Grāmakuttikā (W 90)
138 Grāmakuttikā (W 127)
175 Andhralakṣmī[68] (W 229)
212 Andhralakṣmī (W 274)
244 Śaśiprabhā (W 305)
245 Grāmakuttikā [pseudonym] W 306)
365 Rehā/Revā (W 164)
376 Andhralakṣmī (W 179)
441 Yeṣā/Jyeṣṭhā (W 445)
444 Andhralakṣmī (W 752)
463 Rohā (W 462)
464 Rohā (W 463)
475 Gaṇamugdhā/Guṇamugdhā (W 473)
477 Andhralakṣmī (W 476)
478 Andhralakṣmī (W 754)
536 Andhralakṣmī (W 743)
540 Rehā/Rohā (W 508)
550 Girisutā (W 517)
555 Sarasvatī (W 522)
562 Andhralakṣmī (W 550)
571 Jyeṣṭhā (W 586)
590 Jakkuraṅgi (W 620)
591 Jakkuraṅgī (W 763)
592 Hastinī (W 554)
Taraṅgamatī[69]

Table 10.2: Women Authors in the *CheViLī* Recension

Comparing Tables One and Two, one can see how the ascriptions in Pītāmbara's text and in the *CheViLī* are mismatched by one stanza as far as *CheViLī* 92 (P 89).[70]

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[68] Or Āndhralakṣmi. I follow the readings of the manuscript (Q) and P$_{ED}$.

[69] Patwardhan cites Taraṅgamatī, but I have not been able to find a verse attributed to this author.

[70] There is an exception with the *CheViLī*'s Candraputtikā. See note in the table below.

Hence, whereas *CheViLī* 43 is attributed to Rohā (Rohāyāḥ), the stanza preceding it in Pītāmbara's text is attributed to the poetess Nādhā (Nādhāyāḥ)—quite likely a variant, or corruption, of Rohā (Rohāyāḥ), and so on. It goes without saying that if Pītāmbara has the correct ascriptions, then *CheViLī* 42 was originally attributed to the woman Rohā/Nādhā/Nāthā. Although, as noted above, the situation becomes more complicated as the two recensions proceed and more errors enter, we nonetheless continue to see a certain degree of correspondence between the two recensions, as Table 3 shows:

Pītāmbara's Text	*CheViLī* Recension
P 42 Nādhāyāḥ/Nāthāyāḥ	*CheViLī* 43 (P 43) Rohāyāḥ
Vasalakasya (?)[71]	*CheViLī* 73 (P 74) Candraputṭikāyāḥ
P 86 Prahatāyāḥ/Prahṛtāyāḥ	*CheViLī* 89 (P 87) Pṛthvyāḥ
P 87 'Poṭasyā'[72]	*CheViLī* 90 (P 88) Puṭṭisassa
P 88 Revāyāḥ	*CheViLī* 91 (P 89) Revatyāḥ
P 89 Grāmakuṭasya	*CheViLī* 92 (P 90) Grāmakuṭṭikāyaḥ
P 90 Revāyāḥ	*CheViLī* 93 (P 91) No name
tasyaiva (?)[73]	*CheViLī* 138 (P 132) Grāmakuṭṭikāyāḥ

Table 10.3: Corresponding Women Author's Names in W$_p$ and the *CheViLī* Recension

These ascriptions provide some evidence that women poets contributed to the anthology. This is of interest not least of all because of the frequently made observation that the voice we hear in the poetry is predominantly female.[74] We can only speculate about the details concerning the correlation between the fictive

[71]The attribution at P 73, where we would expect to find a match to the *CheViLī*'s Candra-puṭṭikā, is to Vasalakasya.

[72]Poṭasyā is not feminine. Though Poṭasyā looks as though it might have been a corruption of a feminine ending, it is more likely a variant of Puṭṭisassa.

[73]The attribution at P 131, where we might expect to find a match to the *CheViLī*'s Grā-makuṭṭikāyā, is to *tasyaiva* (Śālikasya).

[74]See Warder, 1974, p. 189: '…it is almost always women who love in these lyrics, who experience the emotions which inspire the sensitive experience in the reader or listener to the song…' Mirashi (1981, p. 183) writes that in the poetry the 'delicate feelings of men and women are expressed not by men but by women themselves.' See also Winternitz, 1920, Jha transl. 1963, p. 124 000, who quotes A. Wilbrandt (1900) on the preponderance of female voice in the Gāthās.

voice of the poetry and the presumed gender of at least some of its authors.[75]

Three Recensions of the *Gāhākosa* Arranged into Topical Sections

Tieken (1978, p. 112f.) observes that two *Sattasaī* recensions in which the Gāthās have been organized into topical sections by later redactors, the Sādhāraṇadeva recension (S), called the *Muktāvalī* (60 *vrajyā*s), and Tieken's First Teliṅga recension (T, 23 *paddhati*s and also uses *śataka*s),[76] follow a similar tradition to that of the *SRK* in regard to the way in which their sections are ordered. Tieken notes that the three collections begin with a section of verses praising the Gods; S and the *SRK* then have a section of poems describing the seasons of the year (this is at the end of T); S and T then have sections on poetical devices; and all three have in the same order, a section on love quarrel, separation, the *satī*, and the *asatī*.

If we also consider the *VaLa*, T is similar to the *VaLa* in that its sections on seasons are at the end of the *kāma* section. Even more similar are the first *paddhati*s of a third recension of the *Sattasaī*, the *Gāthāmuktāvalī* (*GM*). This collection, which includes Skandhaka stanzas from the *Setubandha* and stanzas from other sources,[77] also shares certain section titles in common with the *SRK* and the *SUK* that we do not see in the *VaLa*.[78]

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[75]Warder (1974, p. 189) compares the *Sattasaī* Gāthās to the *Thera* and *Therīgāthā*s, suggests that they go back to a folk poetry possibly authored by women. He writes: 'it is noteworthy that, in the great majority of verses, it is women who are represented as the speakers; though we cannot say how many were authentic folk songs, which might have been composed by women, and how many were imaginatively and rhetorically cast in that form by more sophisticated poets, either men or women.'

[76]T is unusual in that it also divides the poems into *śataka*s.

[77]See Bhayani, 1993. A MS of the *GM* exists in the L.D. Institute of Indology.

[78]The titles of the *GM*'s *paddhati*'s are: *Hara, Kṛṣṇa, Sujana, Durjana, Manasvi, Rājacāṭava, Nīti, Dāna, Anyāpadeśa*—which has the following subsections: *Hasti, Gopa, Hariṇa, Śunaka, Kapi, Bhramara, Narmadā, Aśoka, Pāṭala, Prakīrṇa*—followed by the *Ṣaḍṛtuvarṇana—Vasanta, Grīṣma, Varṣā, Śarat, Hemantā,* and *Śiśira*—followed by *Sūryāstamana, Sandhyā, Timira, Candrodaya,* and *Strīrūpavarṇana. Sūryāstamana, Sandhyā, Timira, Candrodaya* include almost exclusively verses from the *Setubandha*. Bhayani believes that the *GM* is based in part on S. The author notes that the *GM* has

much in common with Weber's R recension, and hence with the *CheViLī* recension.

Concluding Remarks

When juxtaposed next to the poetic worlds of the *SRK* and the *SUK*, the Prakrit *Gāhākosa* appears distinctly different. Whereas the medieval collections extoll refinement, order, structure, a coherent moral worldview, and virtuous abstemiousness, the *Gāhākosa* appears, by comparison, natural, disordered, unstructured, unprincipled, humorous, and overwhelmingly amorous.[79] Commentators tell us that it belongs to the sphere of *kāma*, the lowest, most limited goal of man, rendering it and the pursuits it purportedly celebrates, by certain accounts, inferior.

To overcome these perceived deficiencies, the Sanskrit anthologies adopt what I argue are relatively ordered, coherent systems. As I have suggested, this move can be seen as part of the larger Sanskritic drive to give order to complex material, to catalogue and contain such material, to show its conduciveness to the goals of life, and ultimately to impose some level of control on and help shape these goals. We might speculate that this organizational drive is, in some of the more extreme forms it assumes in the medieval anthologies, motivated by a fear of loss of control. In these more extreme forms it may even, to a certain degree, reflect an inward looking vision assumed periodically in response to political exigencies.

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[79] Given the *Sattasaī*'s fame in eastern India in the medieval period, Vidyākara, the compiler of the *Subhāṣitaratnakośa*, unquestionably knew the anthology. It is likely that his collection and those that follow it were composed at least partly in response to the *Sattasaī*. On the *GK*'s fame in eastern India in the medieval period, *cf*. Govardhana's *Āryasaptaśatī*. At vs. 52, Govardhana writes that he has 'brought Prakrit language to Sanskrit, just as Baladeva carried the Yamunā river to the heavenly realm: *vāṇī prākṛtasamucitarasā balenaiva saṃskṛtaṃ nītā | nimnānurūpanīrā kalindakanyeva gaganatalam ||* The earlier Kashmiri tradition in which the Gāthās were praised as prime examples of *dhvani* would also have helped to secure the fame of the anthology.

However, the question of why the *Gāhākosa* takes the form it does, and why the Prakrit poets of the Sātavāhana era chose to compose the poetry they did, is less easy to answer. Why does the compiler eschew systematization? Why are so many Gāthās, but by no means all, expressed from the perspective of female characters? Why do they describe rustic settings? Above, I argue that the structure of the anthology contributes to the element of surprise that is intrinsic to so many of the Gāthās and to the aesthetic they celebrate. But from there we might ask why surprise is important. One answer to this may be found in the emerging narrative of the Sātavāhana Empire as an outward looking, multilingual, culturally diverse domain, engaged in active maritime trade.[80] Perhaps the empire and the poets it seems to have supported were more open to new ideas, to newly emerging horizons, and less worried about reframing and refining tradition. Another part of the answer might be found in the *Gāhākosa*'s concurrent literatures and philosophical systems.

We must pause to consider the inscription of gendered voice in the anthologies. It goes almost without saying that the Sanskrit anthologies are overwhelmingly inscribed with male voice and that they direct themselves towards a male audience. It is true that within the Sanskrit collections we occasionally hear from female speakers. They sometimes participate in symbolic power and privilege in that they are shown to have the 'capacity to look creatively, speak authoritatively, and capture and coerce the speech of others.'[81] Yet, as it is primarily within the morally ambiguous *Asatī* and *Dūtī* sections that such female characters are given a prominent voice (see also the *Māninī* and *Dūtīkopālambha*, and *Samāptanidhu-vanacihna Vrajyā*s) it is difficult to say that they wield much power within the *SRK* or the *SUK*. By contrast, within the *Gāhākosa* female voice is inscribed in a far wider range of situations and circumstances. We may look at *GK* Gāthās in the *VaLa*'s *Sajjaṇa* (196, 258), *Dujjaṇa* (232), and *Sugghaṇa*, and *Saī vajjā*s,[82] and other *GK* Gāthās that proceed in a similar manner. In addition to these straightforward ethical statements, which are conformable to the conventional morality celebrated in the medieval anthologies (some of which explicitly limit female

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[80] See Ray, 1987.

[81] Silverman, 1988, p. 31.

[82] Also included here would be the *GK* Gāthās in the *Mitta*, *Neha*, *Sāhasa*, and *Sugharriṇī vajjā*s. Unlike in the *VaLa*, within the *GK* these Gāthās are more readily inscribed with female voice.

power), the *GK* also grants female speakers the capacity to view and capture, in a creative and at times almost documentary-like manner, the lives of others. Why the authors chose to invoke female voice in this manner, what it signified for them, and what it signified for the *GK*'s later audiences bears further consideration. Warder suggested that the *Gāhākosa* goes back to a folk poetry. It would be reductive to claim that the *GK* is unmodulated Sātavāhana-era women's folk music. To a large extent the anthology and its contents have been filtered and shaped by a particular courtly male subjectivity, but I would suggest that nonetheless, it carries and has retained, perhaps purposefully, something of this character.

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