

‘Adda’ or the Oldest Extant Dispute between Jains and Heretics (Sūyagaḍa 2, 6) : Part one¹

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Śilānka (Śīlācārya) introduces this lecture by 17 Nijjutti stanzas², only the first four of which occur *pratīka*-wise in Cū and are dealt with there. They commence with the *nikṣepa* of *adda*, the title of the lecture.

N 184. *nāmaṃ ṭhavaṇā addaṃ davv’-addaṃ c’eva hoi bhāv’-addaṃ |
eso khalu addassa u nikkhevo cau-viho hoi ||*

d : V : *nikkhevō cauviho*³

N 185. *udag’-addaṃ sār’-addaṃ chavi-y’-adda vas’-adda taha siles’-addaṃ |
eyaṃ davv’-addaṃ khalu bhāveṇaṃ hoi rāg’-addaṃ ||*

N 186. *ega-bhaviya ya baddhāue ya a(b)himuhie ya nāma-goe ya |
ee tiṇṇi pagārā davv’-Adde honti nāyavvā ||*

a : thus read with MSS in T; C : *bhaviya-baddhāuya*; TV : *bhaviya-baddhāue*;—b : thus read with MSS in T; TV : *abhimuhae*

N 187. *Adda-pure Adda-su(y)o nāmeṇaṃ Addao tti aṇ-agāro |
tatto samuṭṭhiyam iṇaṃ ajjhayaṇaṃ Addaijjaṃ ti ||*

N 188. *kāmaṃ duvālas’-aṅgaṃ Jiṇa-vayaṇaṃ sāsayaṃ mahābhāgaṃ |
savv’-ajjhayaṇāṭṭi tahā savv’-akkhara-saṃnivāyā ya ||*

N 189. *taha vi ya koī attho uppajjai taṃmi taṃmi samayaṃmi |
puvva-bhaṇiō aṇumao ya hoi Isibhāsiesu jahā ||*

(N 184) *Adda* (‘wet’) can be looked upon as a designation, a figural representation, from a material and from a figurative point of view : this fourfold *nikṣepa* of *adda* does exist, no doubt (*khalu*).

As is usual, the Nijjutti first nikṣepizes the title of the lecture, but for the details we mainly depend on Śīlāṅka, because for the Cuṇṇī we only have C with its many textual corruptions at our disposal.

Though I do not understand Jinadāsa’s remark here⁴, yet a hint can be drawn from him to the correct etymology of Addaya, namely one born under the asterism Ārdra, as mentioned by Pāṇini (4, 3, 28)⁵.

(N 185) “Moist” in material sense is moist with water (1), moist by nature (2), moist on the surface (3), oily (4) and sticky (5). Moist in a figurative sense is full of love-feeling.

Subsequently, Śīlāṅka gives the following examples for *davv’-adda* : mud (1), *Gmelina arborea* (?), Sochal salt and the like⁶ (2), camphor, red Aśoka⁷ etc. (3), smeared with a fatty substance (as marrow)⁸ (4) and pillars, walls etc. smeared with hard mortar⁹ (5).

(N 186) The quantity of life bound by a form of existence, the future name and the family—these are the three kinds of material *adda* one should know.

As to Śīlāṅka, *dravyārdra* pertaining to Prince Ārdraka can also be taken differently— according to Aṇuog § 491¹⁰, that is -, namely concerning a soul which immediately after returning from a heaven¹¹ is reborn in the person of Ārdraka-kumāra whose quantity of life, name, and sex are the immaterial counterpart to *dravyārdra*¹².

(N 187) In Addapura there lived a vagrant ascetic named Addaya, the son of Adda. After him, namely Addaya, this lecture got its name.

(N 188) The Jina’s word, namely the 12 *Aṅgas*, indeed is everlasting and eminent, (and) so are all their lectures and all combinations of syllables.

(N 189) Nevertheless, some truth appears this very moment as was said earlier and approved of in the *Isibhāsīyāim*.

As the stanza begins with *taha vi ya* a preceding *jai vi* is expected. Here apparently a stanza has dropped out which Śīlāṅka still had before him as he glosses the words *jai vi* by *yady api sarvam-apīdam dravyārthataḥ sāsvatam*.

Isibhāsiyesu : the 28th lecture of this text is called *Addaij' ajjhayaṇam*. Besides, the *Cuṇṇī* on *Aṇuog* § 266 as well as *Samav* 23 mention our lecture and in *Ṭ* II 136b 7 it says *tathā pūrvam-apy-asāv artho'nyam uddiśyōkto'numataś'ca bhavati Ṛṣibhāsiteṣṭtarādhyayanādiṣu yathā*. *Utt* 31, 16 mentions the 23 lectures of the *Sūyagaḍa* and *Sāntisūri* 616a 5 quotes *Āvaśyaka-saṁgrahaṇī* 36 (*ĀvNHAr* 658a 12) enumerating the titles of the *Sūy* II lectures. *Jinadāsa* only tells us the *Adda* story, but does not comment on the following *N* stanzas :

N 190. *ajj'-Addaṇa Gosāla-bhikkhu-bambha-vvaī-ti-daṇḍiṇam |*
jaha hatthi-tāvasāṇam kahiyaṁ iṇam-o tahā voccaṁ ||

b : thus read m.c. for all edd. : *bambhavaī*; - d : *Ṭ* : *vucchaṁ*

N 191. *gāme Vasanta-purāe Sāmaio gharāṇi-sahiō nikkhanto |*
bhikkhā-yariyā-ditṭhā ohāsiya bhatta vehāsaṁ ||

N 192. *saṁvega-samāvanno māi bhattaṁ caittu diya-loe |*
caiūṇam Adda-pure Adda-suyo Addao jāo ||

N 193. *pū ya doṇha dūo pucchaṇam Abhayassa paṭṭhave so vi |*
teṇāvi samma-ditṭhi tti hojja paḍimā rahammi gayā ||

N 194. *datṭhum saṁbuddho rakkhio ya āsāṇa vāhaṇa palāo |*
pavvāvanto dhario rajjaṁ na kareī, ko anno ? ||

c : thus to be corrected in *Bollee* 1995 : 136

N 195. *a-gaṇinto nikkhanto viharai paḍimāē dārigā-vario |*
su-yaraṇa-vasu-hārāo ranno kahaṇam ca devīe ||

c : thus v.l. in *Ṭ* for the metrically faulty : *suvaṇṇa-vasu* read by *VT*

N 196. *taṁ nei piyā tise pucchaṇa kahaṇam ca varaṇa-dovāre |*
jāṇāhi pāya-bimbaṁ āgamaṇam kahaṇa niggamaṇam ||

N 197. *paḍimāgaya-ssamīve sa-parīvārā a-bhikkha paḍivayaṇam |*
bhogā suyāṇa pucchaṇa suya-bādha puṇṇe ya niggamaṇam ||

N 198. *Rāyagihāgama corā rāya-bhayā-kahaṇa tesī dikkhā ya |*
Gosāla-bhikkhu-bambhī ti-daṇḍiyā tāvase[hi saha] vā(y)o ||

d : thus read m.c. against *VT* and accordingly correct *Bollée* 1995 :

N 199. *vāe parāiittā savve vi ya saraṇam abbhuvagayā te |*
Addaga-sahiyā savve Jīṇa-vīra-sagāsē nikkhantā ||

N 200.

na dukkaraṃ vā nara-pāsa-moyaṇaṃ
gayassa mattassa vaṇaṃmi rāyaṃ |
jahā u cattāvaliṇa tantuṇā
su-dukkaraṃ me paḍihāi moyāṇaṃ ||

a : thus MSS in T for : *ṇaṃ*;—c : all prints : *vattā-*

(N 190) That discussion of the monk Gosāla, the brahmin renouncer, the Tridaṇḍin, and the elephant ascetic with the venerable Addaka I shall recount just as it happened.

Tidaṇḍiṇaṃ : at T II 154 b 4 Śīlāṅka holds the speaker of Sūy 2, 6, 46 to be an *eka-daṇḍin*; see my note on that stanza.

(N 191) In the village of Vasantapura, Sāmāiya went forth into homelessness with his wife. Seen a-begging, she was solicited (by him and therefore brought herself) to refuse food and hang herself.

Vasanta-purāe : T II 137 b 1 *Magadhā-janapade Vasanta-purako grāmaḥ*. modern Basantpur, north of Purnia, Bihar (Jain 1984 : 428).

Oḥāsiya : Sa. **avabhāṣita* (Bollée 1994, s.v.).

Bhatta vehāsaṃ : T II 137 b 7 *bhakta-pratyākhyāna-pūrvakam ātmōdbandhanam akāri*. Mahāvīra disapproved of violent deaths, but made an exception for hanging in extreme circumstances (Settar 1990 : 16 and 22 where our reference, and its combination with terminal fasting, is not dealt with, however).

(N 192) Panic-stricken (and) subject to illusion (he renounced) food, (died and) was reborn in heaven. After ending that course he was reborn as Addaya, the son of Adda, in Addapura.

Māi : *ācāryasyānivedyāivasau māyāvī* (T II 137 b 9). After this stanza Śīlāṅka's word commentary is silent till N 200. From N 195-199 the *nijjutti*'s character as a teacher's aid of memory in a religion class becomes particularly clear. My rendering tries to mirror this style, but more than once cannot but be tentative.

(N 193) Affection between the two. Messenger. He put a question to Abhaya. In the idea that there might be a sudden comprehensive intuition (for Abhaya) a statue secretly travelled with this very (messenger).

Raharṃsi : iyara-divase Abhayassa dhukko. Abhaya-kumāra-sattamā pāhu daṃ uvaneī bhaṇio ya, jahā Adda-kumāro añjalim karei, teṇa pāhuḍaṃ paḍiṭṭhiyaṃ dūo ya sakkārio. Abhaya vi pariṇāmiyāe buddhīe pariṇāmeūṇa so bhava-siddhīo jo mae saddhim pīm karei. Evaṃ samkappeūṇa paḍimā kārijjai. Tam mañjūsāe choḍhum acchai. So dūe anna yāvi āpucchai. Teṇa tassa mañjūsāe (paḍimā) appiyā bhaṇio ya eso, jahā kumāro bhaṇṇai eyaṃ mañjūsam rahasse ugghādejjāsi, mā mahā - yaṇa-majjhe, jahā na koi pecchei (Cū 415, 7 sqq.). As T II passes over these details of the statue story, he already may have read and not understood *raharṃmi*.

(N 194) At (its) sight he did receive a revelation and, though guarded, he made off riding horses. Renouncing the world though held back, he did not rule. Who else (would) ?

Āsāna vāhaṇa : aśva-vāhanikayā vinirgataḥ (T II 138a 14). Cf. N 197 suyāṇa pucchāṇa.

(N 195) Disregarding (a deity's warning) he fled the world, but remained under a layman's vow. (Then) he was sought in marriage by a young woman. Streams of golden gifts. Telling the king and queen.

(N 196) It was he whom her father brought her. Question and story about the way of choosing. You must recognize him by a disk on his feet / the shape of his feet. His arrival. Story. His renouncing worldly life.

(N 197) Near the man with the layman's vow she was constantly surrounded by others. The answer. Enjoyments. A children's question. The tying up by his son and his leaving into homelessness when (the 12 years' period) had come to an end.

(N 198) At his return to Rāyagiha (his former guardians had become) dacoits out of fear of the king. Their story and renunciation. The dispute with a Gosāla and a Buddhist monk, a brahmin, a Tridaṇḍin, and an ascetic.

(N 199) After being besieged in a religious dispute all of Ārdraka's companions sought spiritual refuge with Mahāvīra and left worldly existence.

(N 200) It is not difficult to free himself from the fetters of men for a mad elephant in the jungle, Oh king, but how to free myself from a thread turned around me as on a spindle seemed very difficult to me.

Jahā : etat tu me pratibhāti duṣkaram̐ yac catatrāvalitena (!) tantunā baddhasya mama pratimocanam (T II 139 a 14). The very rare word *catta*, Sa. *cāttra* probably designates the skewer in D. Schlingloff's exemplary description of cotton manufacture in India (Schlingloff 1974 : 86).

According to Śīlāṅka, in Vasantapuraka, a place in Magadha, there lived a layman named Sāmāyika who, after hearing a sermon of his teacher Dharmaghoṣa¹³, renounced the world and so did his wife. Once he happened to see her on his alms-round and wanted her. She, however, refused and, realizing that he would pursue her in his passion, stopped taking food and eventually hang herself. Disconcerted, he too, without telling his *ācārya* stopped eating, died, and reached heaven like she had already before him. Then he was reborn as Ārdraka, son of Ārdraka, in Ārdrapura¹⁴, whereas she obtained rebirth as a Sheth's daughter in Vasantapura¹⁵.

One day Ārdraka betakes himself with an older attendant (*mahattama*)¹⁶ to King Śreṇika in order to present him as his father's bosom friend (*paramamitra*) with valuable gifts. When Ārdraka hears that Śreṇika has a worthy (*yogyā*) son, he begs his attendant to offer this Prince Abhaya presents of himself, that is Ārdraka jr. Thus is done the day after the *darbar* in the royal palace. Abhaya kindly accepts the homage (?)¹⁷. When Ārdraka is back home the return presents from the King arrive, and from Abhaya a representation (image) of the first Tīrthāṅkara, the sight of which reminds Ārdraka of his previous existences, *inter alia*, one as a deity. Not even satisfied by heavenly enjoyments, earthly ones interest him even less so that his father was worried and therefore had him guarded by 500 Rājputs. Nevertheless, at a ride on horse-back (? *aśva-vāhanikā*)¹⁸ he manages to flee and subsequently renounces the world though a deity tries to prevent him and warn him of a danger.

When he reached Vasantapura and is practicing/undertaking *kāyōtsarga* under the 11th layman's vow¹⁹, he is seen by the sheth's daughter who wants to marry him. Then the deity rains six and a half *koṭi* of gold for the girl and prevents²⁰ the king from seizing it only by letting arise snakes etc. When wooed later, she wants to be given only to that man in connection

with whom there had been a gold rain and whom she will know by a foot mark (*pāda-gatābhijñāna*). This happens to be when Ādraka, who had continued wandering returns after 12 years, is recognized and, pursued by the woman, remembers the deity's warning, yet breaks his vow by an act of fate²¹ and becomes entangled with her. After the birth of a son, Ādraka wants to go his way again while the woman begins to earn a living for herself and her son by spinning cotton (*karpāsa-kartana*). The son wraps his father up in 12 threads in order to persuade him to stay with his mother which the man then does for so many years. Subsequently, Ādraka goes to Rājagṛha. Yet on his way, he falls in with the 500 Rājputs who after Ādraka's flight had not dared return to the king and subsisted on dacoity in a jungle stronghold. Ādraka instructs them and they become monks. On their entering the capital, Gośālaka, the elephant ascetics, and the brahmins²² are defeated in a dispute which establishes the connection with the theme of the canonical text below. When Ādraka betakes himself to the king, an elephant tied up *vāri-chūḍhao* sees him and wants to be freed by Ādraka's *teya-pabhāva*, but is destroyed (*naṭṭho*, Cū *ibid.*). Ādraka then speaks N 200 where, however, the mad jungle elephant does not fit the Cū story. In T, Ādraka tells this episode to the king who asks him *katham tvad-darśanato hastī nirgalaḥ samvṛtta iti* and the reply is *mahān Bhagavataḥ prabhāvaḥ* (T II 139a 13), which also diverges from N 200.

Then follows the main text of verses in Triṣṭubh metre. In this metre the fifth syllable is in principle *anceps*, but in the Indian editions used here it is most times long²³ a fact I have not indicated just as I have left out the *ta-śruti* or substituted it by *ya*.

The first two stanzas of the canon text are spoken by Gośālaka.

2, 6, 1

purā-kaḍam, Adda, imam suṇeha :
eg'-anta-yārī samaṇe pur'āsī |
se bhikkhuṇo uvanettā aṇ-ege
āikkhai 'ṇhim puḍho vitthareṇam ||

a : thus J; TV : *suṇeha-m*;—d : *āikkhatiṇhim*, V : *āikkhaeṇhim*, J : *āikkhateṇam*

Hear, Adda, what he<mahāvīra> did long ago : at first he was a solitary monk, then he initiated many monks, and now he teaches

the *dhamma* to each of them.

Purā-kadam̐ : *sarvair apī Tīrthakaraiḥ kṛtam̐ pure-kadam̐* (Cū 417, 6),
pūrvam̐ yad anena bhavat-tīrthakṛtā kṛtam̐ (Ṭ II 139 b 8 sq.).

Suṇeha : see Pi § 503 *in fine*. In Sanskrit, the use of the indicative *pro imperativo* is restricted to the first person (Speijer 1886 : 276).

Eg’-anta-yārī : the *Ṭikā* tradition uniformly reads *meganta*^o. As an enjambment of the *a-pāda* is out of question and (*m*)e does not fit in the *b-pāda*, nor does Śīlāṅka comment on it, we may assume a scribal error analogous with the many cases in Dasav and Utt where *suṇeha me* occurs, esp. at the beginning of a lecture, like at Utt 1,1 = Dasav 8, 1 *āṇupuvvīm suṇeha me*; Utt 20, 38 where *suṇehi me* is to be read instead of Charpentier’s *muṇehi*, or Utt 35, 1 *suṇeha me egamaṇā* (thus read m.c.). This stanza portrays the Jain monk’s full responsibility for his destiny and control of his life, his original isolation and independence, which mirror the state of the soul as conceived by Jainism (Dundas 1992 : 37 with parallels), but is also the old Buddhist ideal (Suttanipāta 35 sqq.).

Aṇ-ega : *acc. masc. pl.*, as in Pāli. This form should be added in Pi § 435.

Āikkhai : also at Sūy 2, 1, 30 (*cf.* Pāli *ācikkhati*, BHS *ācikṣati*).

2, 6, 2

sā ’jīviyā paṭṭhaviyā ’thireṇam̐
sabhā-gao gaṇao bhikku-majjhe |
āikkhamāṇo bahu-janna-m-attham̐
na saṁdhayāi avareṇā puvvam̐ ||

d : TVJ : *saṁdhayāi*

This is the way of life adopted by an inconstant man : by going among (other) monks from his *gaṇa* into an assembly and teaching mass salvation he behaves differently from his past (conduct).

Ājīviyā : the use of this word by the Ājīvika Gosāla can hardly be by chance. According to Śīlāṅka, Gosāla here accuses the Jains of hypocrisy resp. renunciation of principles : “thinking ‘ordinary people do not respect a person living alone’ for opportunist reasons he (Mahāvīra) has surrounded himself with many followers”. A saying in Ṭ underpins this reproach²⁴.

Sabhā-gao etc. : 'to stand up in a crowd of men, surrounded by monks, and to teach his doctrines for the benefit of many people' (Jac.) following Ṭ II 140 a 5 *sabhāyām gataḥ—sa-deva-manuja-parṣadi vyavasthitaḥ*, this being also possible. Here as in Vinaya I 5, 12, we can still see traces of the Vedic reluctance (Āraṇyakas) to divulge secret knowledge.—*Ganao* : *gaṇaso bahuśo 'n-ekaśaḥ* (Ṭ loc. cit.), which *gaṇatas* can hardly mean. Or is *gaṇa(t)o* a copyist's error for *gaṇaso* ? This remains unclear; it was left out in Jac.'s rendering.

Bahu-janna⁰ : Pā. *bahujañña* for which PED refers to *bāhu⁰* (in one idiomatic expression only). - Cū 418, 2 *janāya hitam janyam bahu-janāya bahu-janyam tam cārtham kathayati*, Ṭ II 140 a 6 *bahu-janebhyo hitaḥ artho bahu-janyo 'rthas*.—Because of this adjective, *attham*, in my opinion, is the object of *āikkhamāṇo* and not a postposition, as Jac. seems to think; but cf. stanza 4.

Samdhayāi : metrically conditioned form for which Cū 418, 3 reads *saṃdhāyati*, Ṭ II 140 a 7 *saṃdhatte*. For *-āva-* > *-ā-* see Pi § 165.

2, 6, 3

eg'-anta-m-eva-m-aduvā vi iṅhim,
do v' anna-m-annam na samei jamhā |
puvviṃ ca iṅhim ca aṅ-āgayam vā
eg'-anta-m-eva paḍisaṃdhayāi ||

a : VT and Basham 1951 : 53 n. 3 : *evam aduvā*; J : *eva aduvā*; - read : *vij' ?* - V : *eṅhim*;—b : J : *samenti*;—d : VT and Basham l.c. : *evam paḍi⁰*.

(He should live) either in solitude or (as he does) now, because these two (modes) are mutually exclusive.

(Adda speaks :)

He combines the past with the present and the future (by living) alone.

c = Utt 12, 32 a (with *ca* instead of *vā* and the variant *puvviṃ ca pacchā ca tah'eva majjhe*)

Eg'-anta : *yadi ekānta-cāritvam śobhanam, etad evātyantam kartavyam abhaviṣyat* (Cū 418, 6, similarly Ṭ). In unpolished dialogue style, it is difficult to tell an adjective from a case form with no ending²⁵.

Vi : for *viy* ? Unclear comments. Cū *l.c.* continues : *uta manyase idam mahā-parivāra-vṛttam sādhu(m) tad idam ādāv evācaraṇīyam āsīt.*

Puvvīm : according to Pi § 103 not corresponding to Sa. *pūrvam* (though the text of Sūy 1, 3, 4, 4 reads *puvvaṁ*), but to Sa. § *pūrvīm* like *saddhim* equals Ved. *sadhrīm*. However, cf. BHS *pūrvi* m.c. for *pūrve* as an adjective.

2, 6, 4

*samecca logaṁ tasa-thāvarāṇaṁ
khemam-kare samaṇe māhaṇe vā |
āikkhamāṇo vi sahassa-majjhe
eg'-antayaṁ sārayaī tahacce ||*

a : thus J and Pi § 591 for CTV : *samicca*

A śramaṇa or brahmin who understands the living beings—the moving and non-moving ones—one who makes (his fellow beings) feel at peace and secure, truly shows himself to be a monk even when teaching amidst (a) thousand(s).

Khemam-kare : at Sūy 2, 1, 13 used of the *rāja* (Bollée 1977 : 135). *Tahacce* : other occurrences of this word, which is not found in PSM and APSŚK, seem restricted to Sūy 1, 13, 7 and 1, 15, 18. In the latter instance and in our place here Jac. rendered it by ‘(remaining in the same) mental disposition (as before)’, presumably following the cites. Cū 419, 5 and Ṭ II 141 a 7 sq. explain it by *tathārca* equalling *arcā* (which in Sa. means ‘worship’ or ‘idol’ [MW] with *leśyā* ‘mental disposition’ or *śārīra* and thus revealing their ignorance. *Tahacca* corresponds in meaning to Pā. *tathatta* and to BHS *tathātva*. The apparent development of -cc- < -tv- which Pischel (§§ 281 and 299) and Roth (1983 : 157) assumed was repeatedly shown improbable by Norman not only for absolutes but also for *caccara*²⁶. In the case of *tahacca* I think we have to do with a contamination of **tahatta* and *sacca*.

2, 6, 5

*dhammam kahantassa u n'atthi doso
khantassa dantassa jiy'-indiyassa |
bhāsāē dose ya vivajjagassa
guṇe ya bhāsāya nisevagassa ||*

a : CJ : *kahentassa*;—b : J : *jitēndassa*;—c : VTJ : *bhāsāya*

It is no offence, when a quiet and restrained man who is in control of his senses and does not use speech for negative purposes, but rather employs it positively, professes his *dharma*.

b = ĀyārN 231 a;—c : cf. Dasav 7, 56 ab

U : = Sa. *tu* in the sense of *api* according to Śīlānka.

2, 6, 6

maha-vvae pañca aṇuvvae ya
tah'eva pañcāsava saṁvare ya |
vira(y)im̐ iha-ssāmaṇiyam̐mi panne
lavāvasakkī "samaṇe" ti bemi ||

c : V : *puṇṇe* (following Śīlānka's cty. *pūrṇe*)

Who knows the five major and the five minor vows as well as the five influxes and the ways to ward them off, who knows the observances a monk in this world should keep, who pushes off (karmic) atoms, — he is a true monk. Thus I say.

d : cf. 20 d

Pañcāsava : I follow Śīlānka (*āśravān*, T II 141 b 7) and Jacobi (Cū is unclear) taking^o *āsava* as an acc. pl. m. -ā with m.c. shortened ending²⁷, as otherwise the second *ya* has no function.

Panne : T has this reading also in his text, but Śīlānka must have read *puṇṇe* in his exemplar, for he sankritizes *pūrṇe* - *kṛtsne saṁyame vidhātavye*, but mentions *prājñā* as a *pāṭha*. Jacobi translates 'blessed (life of Śramaṇas)' which would correspond to *puṇṇe* in Sa.; as to this he gives no explanation. In this way the sentence made up of the *pādas* a-c lacks a verb, which Śīlānka supplies with *prajñāpitavān* and *pratipāditavān*, resp., and Jacobi by 'he teaches'. Perhaps the commentator objected to *panne*, because *prājñā* resp. *prajñā* (thus Cū 419, 11) seems to be used only absolutely ('wise') resp. ifc. in Sa. and Pāli, though otherwise in the latter two languages an accusative of the object at deverbative nouns at least is known²⁸, if not as frequent as in Vedic²⁹.

The appearance of the *varia lectio* may have been caused by assimilation in the pronunciation of *a* and *u*.

Lavâvasakkī : see Bollée 1988 : 63 note on 1, 2, 2, 20.

2, 6, 7

*sīôdagam̃ sevau bīya-kāyam̃
āhāya-kammam̃ taha itthiyāo |
eg'-anta-cāriss' iha amha dhamme
tavassiṇo nābhisamei pāvam̃ ||*

d : J : ṇo 'hisameti

In our faith no evil (karman) arises for an ascetic who drinks unboiled water, eats seeds (or) food prepared especially for alms receivers, or enjoys women, as long as he lives alone in this world.

Āhāya-kammam̃ : this form proves the new etymology **āghāta-karman* '(food) for which killing has taken place' proposed by Jain³⁰. Such food as alms has always been forbidden to Jain and Buddhist monks in so far as the animal was killed especially for them³¹. The strict attitude concerning *ahimsā* may have accompanied the conversion of Rājputs in western India in the 7-8th cent. C. E.,³² a psychologically understandable phenomenon. Many Jains still consider themselves of Rājput origin³³.

*Eg'-anta*⁰ : cf. Basham 1951 : 115 "We have here a definite indication of lonely wanderers, not gathered in communities, living according to the ascetic rules laid down by Gosāla".

*Iha*⁰ : after the caesura, but should belong to the preceding part of the *pāda*. *Abhisamei* : *sambandham upayāti* (Ṭ II 142 a 12). In the sense of 'to come up, appear' *abhisamaiti* and *abhisameti* do not occur in Sa. and Pā., resp.

2, 6, 8

*sīôdagam̃ vā taha bīya-kāyam̃
āhāya-kammam̃ taha itthiyāo |
eyāī jāṇa - paḍisevamāṇā
agāriṇo a-ssamaṇā bhavanti ||*

c: TVJ : jāṇam̃

(Adda speaks :)

(Ascetics,) who use unboiled water or seeds, food especially prepared for alms receivers or who enjoy women—know these things ! —are laymen, not monks.

Sīōdagam etc : with regard to this the Jains originally sided with the Ājīvikas, as Sūy 1, 3, 4, 1 sqq. show.

Jāna : Ṭ II 142b 1 : *jānīhi, jāna* is found also at Āyār 1, 3, 1, 1.

2, 6, 9

biyā ya sīōdaga itthiyāo
paḍisevamāṇā samaṇā bhavanti |
agāriṇo vi samaṇā bhavantu;
sevanti ū te vi taha-ppagāram ||

a : TVJ : *siyā ya bīōdaga*;—b : thus J; TV : *bhavantu*;—d : Ṭ : *u tam vi V : ū tam pi, J : sevanti jam te vi.*

If (*ya*) those who use seeds and unboiled water, and enjoy women are monks, then also laymen must be monks as they, too, practise such a regimen.

Cū has a lacuna here : praṭīka, comment and stanza number 677 are left out. Śīlāṅka explains : *syād etad bhavadīyaṃ mataṃ yathā : te ekānta-cāriṇaḥ (...) katham te na tapasvina ity etad āsaṅkyārdraka āha : yadi bijādy-upabhogino pi śramaṇā ity evaṃ bhavatābhyupagamyate, evam tarhi (...)*. Though *siyā* is typical for Jainism, it seems to me an early copyist's error influenced by the next stanza.

U : *tu-r-avadhāraṇe* (Ṭ II 142 b 6). A restriction, however, does not fit here, rather a reason or a confirmation. *U*, therefore, may stand here for *va* = *eva*.

2, 6, 10

je yāvi bīōdaga-bhoi bhikkhū
bhikkham c' iham jāyai jīviy'-atthī |
te nāi-saṃjoga-m-avi ppahāya
kāyōvagā n' anta-karā bhavanti ||

a : C : *je yāvi sītōdagam eva* (emended as : *bīōdaga bhoi*) *bhikkhū*;—
b : C *ca iha*; TVJ *viham* (Ṭ II 142b 8 : *bhikṣām ca*);—d : J : *'ṇantakarā*

Besides, monks who use seeds and unboiled water, and seeking their sustenance in this world, go for almsfood will reincarnate (and) do not set an end (to *saṃsāra*), even though giving up the contact with / separating themselves from their relatives.

c = 21c

*Bīḍdaga*⁰ : probably read : *sīḍdaga*⁰ (cf. Cū 421, 1).

Cū 420, 14 : *koī ṇamm itthīo pariharati loka-rava-bhīto—bālo vṛddho vā—na dharmā-yogyo vā strī- varjam api sītḍdaga-bhojī nāma bhikkhū bhikṣām ca iha tāva ke jīvato dhyāna-nimittam jīvit’-atṭhatā evaṃ-prakārā. Nātīṇa saṃjogo nāti-saṃjogo pūrvāpara-saṃbandhādi, api padārthādiṣu nāti-saṃyogam iti duppajja haṇijjam. Mumukṣavo ‘pi santah kāyopakā eva bhavanti, an-antam kurvantīty an-anta-karāḥ karmaṇām saṃsārasya bhavasya duḥkhānām evēty arthaḥ.*

Bhikkham etc. : cf. Dasav 9, 1, 6 *jo vā visam khāyai jīvyi’-atṭhī*, which passage in the same metre *Śīlānka* may have had in mind when reading *vīham* (though c and v are easily interchanged of course), but he does not comment on it and in fact it makes no sense here. Jacobi, too, passes over this word. I, therefore, adopted the Cū reading.—Another hint at a possible connection with the above Dasav passage is the sg. *jāyai* required by the metre as against *jayanti*. The short plural forms—*bhoi bhikkhū* may have contributed to *jāyai*.

Kāyōvagā : cf. SN II 24, 26 *bālo kāyassa bheda kāy’ ūpago hoti*.

(Gosāla speaks :)

2, 6, 11

*imam vayam tu tumā pāu-kuvvam
pāvāiṇo garihasi savva(m) eva {
pāvāiṇo u puḍho kiṭṭayantā
sayam sayam ditṭhī karenti pāu ||*

a : C : thus corrected for originally : *evam vāi tumam*;—b : J : *garahasi*; TVJ : *savva*;—c : V : *pāvāiṇo puḍhō puḍhō kiṭṭ⁰*;—d : V : *karonti*; -J : *pāum*

But if you advance such an opinion, you categorically reproach all who profess a religious life.

(Adda speaks :)

Every single person, however, who professes a religious life, however, praises his own persuasion and makes it publicly known.

Vayam̐ : *vāi* corrected as *vayam̐* (Cū 421, 4) resp. *vācam̐* (T̐ II 143 a 6). For this reading there are therefore two, for the interpretation several possibilities, all supposing not very satisfactory presumptions, e.g. *vaim̐* requires an unfound Old Indian etymon **vāci*, the -ā- of which became -a- in a pretonic position (Pi § 413)³⁴. Furthermore, for Pā. *vacī* PED only gives Sn 472 and for the rest takes this form to be a compound form of *vaco*. *Vayam̐* could also be an accusative and equal Sa. *vacas*, also in Pā. (Gg. § 99), yet apparently in both middle Indo-Aryan canonical languages only the instr. of this word occurs, in Pā. also *vaco* ~ Amg. *vao*. Finally, the Amg. equivalent of Sa. *vrata* could be considered which, however, semantically does not fit here very well.

Pāu-kuvvam̐ : in the canonical seniors *pāu-karai* is restricted to Sūy and Utt and has for objects *dhammam̐* (Sūy 1, 2, 2, 7 and 1, 12, 19), *viṇayam̐* (Utt 1, 1) and *āyāram̐* (Utt 11, 1). Old Pāli (e.g. Sn 316 with *dhammam̐*) is no help to our problem either and the same holds true for *imam̐*, which is acc. sg. mfn. (Pi § 430).

Pāvāiṇo : 'philosophers' (Jac.); *pravādana-śīlā prāvādukāḥ* (Cū 421, 7), similarly Śīlāṅka. This word, as well as semantically in fact also the four preceding stanzas, must probably be connected with Āyār 1, 4, 2 and 3, esp. 1, 4, 2, 6, where *pāvāuyā* are addressed, and with 1, 4, 3, 2* *pāvāiyā* and Sūy 2, 2, 80 *pāvāuyā*. Schubring renders the Āyār references by 'Widerredner' and gives as their etymon JHS *prāvādika prāvāduka* resp.; cf. Pā. *pāvadati* 'to dispute'(PED). Sa. *pravādin* has a short first syllable and a slightly different meaning.

Puḍho : cf. 1, 1, 3, 13 cd *puḍho pāvāuyā savve akkhāyāro sayam̐ sayam̐*.

2, 6, 12

*te anna-m-annassa u garahamānā,
akkhanti bho ! samaṇā māhaṇā ya |
sao ya atthi a-sao ya n'atthi
garahāmō ditthim̐, na garahāmō kirici ||*

a : C : thus corrected for originally : *aṇṇamaṇṇassa tu te*; -J : *°assa vi gara⁰*;—b : J : *akkhanti u sam⁰*

Śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas, sir, criticize each other : one's own side is (right), the opponent (wrong). We only censure a wrong view, (but otherwise) we do not censure anything.

Akkhanti : *ākhyānti* (Cū 421, 11), *ācakṣate* (Ṭ II 143 a 12). Formally, Jinadāsa is right (*cf.* Pi § 492), semantically there is no difference here.

Sao etc. : “(The truth, they say,) is all on their side [...]” (Jac.). *Svam ātmīya-vacanam ity arthaḥ, tasmāt sutam śreyo 'sti nirvānam ity arthaḥ* (Cū 421, 11 sq.), *svata iti svakīye pakṣe svābhyupagame 'sti puṇyam tatkāryam ca svargāpavargādīkam asti* (Ṭ II 143 a 14 sq.). I have not found any parallels. Formally *sao* can equal *Sa. satas* as well, as is shown by 1, 13, 1 c (also *Triṣṭubh metre*) : *sao ya dhammam a-sao a-sīlam santim asantim karissāmi pāum*. - In Pā. the gen. sg. *sato* is not found apparently (PED, Gg.).

Garahāmo etc. : ‘But we blame only the wrong dictrines and not at all (those who entertain them)’ [Jac.]

Ditṭhim : at Cū 421, 14 referable particularly to the Buddhists, as to which Jinadāsa may rather have had his own times in view than the past of the text. In the d *pāda* either the object must be supplied which is hard here or one must render the second *garahāmo* by ‘to call names’ and take *kimci* as a predicative attribute of the object (which, however, is missing then also) as apparently the commentators do : *tān nanu kimca garahāmo ?* Jinadāsa asks and replies on Adda's behalf : *na, yathā tvam, pāpa-dṛṣṭiḥ mithyā-dṛṣṭiḥ mūdho mūrkhāḥ a-jānako vēti* (Cū 421, 14) and similarly Śīlānka : *na kamcid (!)³⁵ garhāmaḥ kāṇa-kunṭhōdghaṭṭanādi-prakāreṇa³⁶*. Controversies abounding in invectives during religious disputes occurred not even long ago. Thus von Glasenapp (1928 : 14) wrote about Dayānand Sarasvatī, who originally was a follower of Śāṅkara and later founded the Ārya-samāj : “Mit seiner gewaltigen Stimme suchte er bei seinen endlosen Redekämpfen die Gegner niederzuschreien und sparte auch nicht mit Schimpfworten, wenn es galt, sich ihrer zu erwehren.³⁷”

2, 6, 13

*na kimci rūveṇ' abhidhārayāmo
sa-ditṭhi-maggaṃ tu karemu pāum |*

magge ime kiṭṭiē āriehim
aṇ-uttare sap-purisehī aṇjū ||

b : J : *sam ditṭhimaggam tu karemo*

By no mans do we criticize (a person's) private qualities, but we (only) proclaim our own religious way. This way, the unexcelled (and) straight one, has been recommended by noble men, by good people.

Na kimci etc. : “We do not detract from anybody because of his personal qualities” (Jac.). Śīlāṅka explains the opening words by *na kañcana śramaṇam brāhmaṇam vā* (Ṭ II 143 b 10 sq.), cf. note on prec. stanza.

Rūveṇa : according to Cū 422, I apparently a physical quality by which one reviles a person is meant, “as when someone says to another who makes a mistake : One-eye ! Humpback ! Leper !³⁸ or reviles him as to his origin : “He is doing the work of a Caṇḍāla³⁹.” In the same way (one should not say) : “Bloody Tridaṇḍin, damned sophist !⁴⁰ What you preach here is wrong. What does the stupid Kapila think how the soul does act ?” etc⁴¹.

Further, the Buddhists, too, are being abused⁴² and their doctrine of the *skandhas* attacked. At Ṭ II 143 b 11 the gloss on *rūveṇa* is restricted to insult because of bodily parts provoking abhorrence, or caste or the (ab) use of caste marks⁴³.

Abhidhārayāmo:vācam bemi (Cū 422, 7), *garhaṇābuddhyôd-ghattayāmaḥ* (Ṭ II 143 b 11 sq.). The verb, which has a counterpart in Pāli and BHS, there means ‘to uphold, maintain’ (CPD) resp. ‘to support; assist’ (BHSD), in Sa. also ‘to resist’ (MW)⁴⁴. In our passage, however, it can hardly be anything but equivalent to *garahai*, cf. Ved. *abhibharati* ‘to lay or throw upon (as a fault or blame)’ (MW); for the semantic development cf. *jugupsati* as a desiderative of √GUP.

Magge etc. : ‘I have been told the supreme, right path by worthy, good men’ (Jac.).

Ime : nom. m. sg. (Pi § 430).

Āriyehim : *sarva-jñais tyājya-dharma-dūra-vartibhiḥ* (Ṭ II 144 a 3). According to Leumann (1921 : 40) “das Beiwort *edel* fehlt bei Mahāvira und Andezen - im Gegensatz zum Buddha, ” but Śīlāṅka apparently does relate it to Arhats and the same is the case, I would say, with Āyār 1, 2, 2, 3 *esa magge āriyehim paveie*. At SN III 4, 15 *ariyā* are equalled to *sap-purisā*.

Aṇuttare : cf. DN II 246, 6* *esa maggo ujū⁴⁵ maggo esa maggo an-uttaro.*

2, 6, 14

*uddham ahe yaṃ tiriyaṃ disāsu
tasā ya je thāvara je ya pāṇā |
bhūyābhisaṅkāḅ duguñchamāṇo
no garahaī vusimaṃ kiṃci loe ||*

a : J : *ahe ya*; -c : T : *bhūyāhisaṅkābhi*, V : *bhayāhisaṅkābhi*; TVJ : *duguñchamāṇā*

A (person) leading a monk’s life and dreading to harm (other) beings—beings that move beyond, under and horizontally in the directions and such as do not do that— by no means criticizes anything in the world.

a : cf. PiṇḍaN 363;—c = 1, 14, 20 a

Bhūyābhisaṅkāḅ : *saṅkālaye aṇṇāṇe ca* (Cū 423, 2), *bhūtaṃ—sad-bhūtaṃ tathyaṃ tatrābhisaṅkayā* (T II 144 a 8 sq.) which Śīlāṅka follows up by the right explanation.

Vusimaṃ : ‘well-controlled’ (Jac.), ‘sage’ (Caillat 1991 : 86 and 88). Mme. Caillat suggests “*vusimaṃ* could have been an old equivalent of *tīrthakṛt*, a ‘fordmaker’, or a ‘sage’”, with PSM connecting the word with Sa. *br̥sī* ‘a pad, (esp.) the seat of an ascetic’ + *-ma(nt)-*. Thus the image would be that the monk use his seat as a raft to cross *saṃsāra*. Rafts for crossing rivers have of course been employed from time immemorial⁴⁶.

kiṃci loe : *Osavva-loe tti trailokye pāsaṇḍa-loke vā* (Cū 423,3). Mme. Caillat⁴⁷ reads *kiṃci*, but translates “the *v(usimaṃ)* does not blame (anybody) in the world” perhaps thinking of *kaṃci* in 2, 6, 12.

(Gosāla speaks :)

2, 6, 15

*āgantagāre ārām’āgāre
samaṇe u bhīe na uvei vāsaṃ |
dakkhā hu santi bahave maṇussā
ūṇāirittā ya lavālavā ya ||*

a : C : *āgantāre*, TV : *āgantagāre*, J : *āgantāgāre*; -c : J : *maṇūsā*

In a hostel or hospice in a garden, however, your solicitous monk won’t stay, for there are many clever people (there), some of whom are too little communicative, others too voluble.

*Āganta*⁰ etc. : the metrically wrong traditions may have been brought in from Āyār 1, 8, 2, 3 *āgantāre ārāmāgāre*⁴⁸. Cū yields little here, but Śīlānka's comment runs *āgantukānām - kārpaṭikādīnām agāram āgantāgāram* (Ṭ II 144 b 6 sq.). My conjecture restores the metre, and the compound has a counterpart in Pā. *āgantukāgāra* (SN IV 219, 9 and V 51, 24).

Uvei vāsam : *vāsam upaiti* (Ṭ II 144 b 8). The idiom once occurs in Pāli : *tattha yo samaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā vāsam upeti* (SN IV 348, 19), but of Buddhist monks apparently *vāsam upagacchati* was used (see PTC). Ṭ obviously read *tattha* before *na*. Cf. note on vs. 16 *infra*.

Dakkhā : *nipunāḥ prabhūta-sāstra-visāradāḥ* (Ṭ II 144 b 9); strikingly, the Śākyas are not mentioned in first instance here.

Ūñāirittā : 'lower or nobler men' (Jac.). Cū 423, 6 sq. here comments *kiṃcid ūṇeṇa kecid atiriktā; jattha ūñā atiriktā vā, tattha samādhī atthi (?)* and Ṭ II 144 b 11 "*nyūnāḥ*" *svato 'vamā hīnā jāty-ādi-atiriktā vā; tābhyām parājītasya mahāmchāyābhramśa iti*⁴⁹. Against Śīlānka's interpretation can be said that the monk does not belong to this world and as such stands outside the system of upper and lower classes.

Lavālavā : 'talkative or silent men'(Jac.)⁵⁰. Our commentators' glosses run *japa-lapa vyaktāyām vāci "lapālapa" iti vīpsā bhṛśam-lapā lapālapā vā, jahā dava-davādi turitam vā gaccha gaccha vā; uktaṃ hi : "deva-devassa."* *Athāpi yaṃ evaṃ vaḍa-vaḍādi kiṃ evaṃ lavalavesi ?* (Cū 423, 7 sq.); *lapā—vācālāḥ ghoṣitāneka-tarka-vicitra-daṇḍakāḥ tathā a-lapā—mauna-vratikā niṣṭhita-yogāḥ (!) guḍikādi-yuktā vā, yad-vaśād abhidheya-ṣayā vāg eva na pravartate* (Ṭ II 144 b 12 sq.). Though the item last-mentioned is an interesting piece of information about ascetics with a vow of silence who, if they were not completely bound by it, helped themselves by a pebble or so in their mouth "So that no word by which contents can be intimated was produced"—from a silent ascetic a Jain monk would have little to fear. I would, therefore, like to agree with Jinadāsa and take *lavālava* in an intensive sense, in our passage also with metrically required *-ā*⁵¹. *Lapalapa* is not found in Sa.—nor is *lapa*, for that matter—but it does occur in Pāli⁵².

The meaning of the last line is, I believe, that the monk on the one hand can incur harm at the hands of an interlocutor who expresses himself

too briefly and thus may provoke dubiousities, and on the other hand, by being washed away from his own persuasion into heresy by a flux of arguments an adversary might come up with.

2, 6, 16

*mehāviṇo sikkhiya buddhimantā
suttehi atthehi ya nicchaya-ññā |
pucchimsu mā ñe aṇ-agāra anne
ī saṅkamāṇo na uvei tattha ||*

b : J : *nicchaya-ññū*;—c : J : *aṇagāra ege*

In the uneasy idea “some recluse or other (of those who are) wise; have finished their training; obtained insight and are well acquainted with your scriptures and their meaning might ask me questions” he does not go there.

d = 18 d

Sikkhiya : *śikṣitā aṇ-egāṇi vyākaraṇa-Sāṃkhya-Viśeṣika-Bauddhājīvika-Nyāyādīni śāstrāṇi* (Cū 423, 9), *śikṣām grāhitāḥ śikṣitāḥ* (Ṭ II 145a 1). The final syllable of *sikkhiya*, handed down as short in all editions, is metrically anceps and therefore the *lectio difficilior* here. On this basis the form would have to be taken in absolute sense though as such remarkable in the present context; cf. *thavara* in 14b, where according to the rules *thavarā* could be expected without prejudice to the metre.

Suttehi etc. : “*sūtre*” *sūtra-viṣaye viniścaya-jñāḥ tathā artha viṣaye ca niścaya-jñā yathāvasthita-sūtrārtha-vedina ity arthaḥ* (Ṭ II 145a 1f.). For the loc. *-hi-* stated by Pi § 363 to occur only in Apabhraṃśa—see Lüders 1952 : § 220 (cf. note on vs. 22). Jacobi renders as ‘(...) men, who are well versed in the sacred texts and their meaning’. Thus the monks of other denominations⁵³ apparently knew the Jain *sūtras* so well, that Mahāvīra’s disciples did not like to enter into a discussion with them (and should not do so, Sūy 1, 1, 4, 2; Āyār 2, 3, 2, 17; Uvās 58 < Schubring, § 163)⁵⁴.

Passages like these seem to corroborate Schubring’s thesis regarding the grounds for the disappearance of the Puvvas⁵⁵. In the Pāli canon, however, not only the heretical doctrines are somehow discernible (as against the Sūyagaḍa—the remainder of the Puvvas), but even the names of

the teachers are mentioned. Furthermore, it may be asked, if only by mere accident Vaddhamāna and Gotama never met.

Pucchiṃsu mā : for the aorist as prohibitive tense cf. Pāli, e.g. MN I 387, 22 *mā maṃ etaṃ pucchi*.

Ne : in Pi § 431 and Geiger / Norman § 107 only given as acc. pl. of (*e*)*ṇa* / *ena*, but Pi § 415 mentions it also as acc.sg. of the personal pronoun of the first person, though in brackets, which may mean that he had not found the form in the texts.

Na uvei : *upagacchati* (Ṭ II 145a 3); cf. note ad vs. 15 *supra*.

(Adda speaks :)

2, 6, 17

no 'kāma-kiccā na ya bāla-kiccā
rāyābhiyogēṇa kuo bha(y)eṇaṃ |
viyāgarejjā paṣiṇaṃ na vāvi
sa-kāma-kicceṇ'īha āriyāṇaṃ ||

a : thus CT; VJ : *nākāmakiccā*; - c : VT : *viyāgarejja*

He should reply to (a) question(s) or not (as the case may be), but neither do so eagerly nor rashly nor on the king's orders or because he is afraid, yet worthy people's questions he should be pleased to answer.

*No 'kāma*⁰ : notwithstanding the uniform tradition of *no 'kāma*⁰ in Cū and Ṭ which, however, omit the *avagraha*, a reading *nākāma*⁰ can be concluded from the commentaries. I have therefore kept *no*, cf. Sūy I, 1, 1, 16⁵⁶.

Kuo bhayeṇaṃ : '(nor) from fear of anybody', which Jacobi can hardly have meant in the sense of *kuo ci* like the interrogative pronoun can be used instead of the indefinite one in familiar German⁵⁷.

Viyāgarejjā : at Ṭ II 145a 12ff. several times sanskritized as *vyāgrṇīyād*. *Paṣiṇaṃ* : sg. or plur. (see Lüders 1954 : 143ff. referred to by Geiger / Norman 1994 : 71, but some reject an acc. plur. masc. *-aṃ*).

Na vāvi : Ṭ II 145a 13 : *na ca—nāiva*.

Sa-kāma-kicceṇa : sanskritized *sva-kāma-kṛtyena* (Ṭ II 145b 1), but as a pendant of *a-kāma*⁰ in the *a-pāda* I would prefer *sa*⁰.

Āriyāṇam : *āryāṇām sarva-heya-dharma-dūra-vartinām tad-upakārāya dharma-deśanām vyāgrñīyād asau* (Ṭ II 145b 2f.). This and the next stanza show that *ā.* means : fellow believers. Thereby, however, Adda recognizes Gosāla’s reproach as correct.

2, 6, 18

*gantā ca tattha aduvā a-gantā
viyāgarejjā samiy’ āsu-panne |
aṇ-āriyā dāmsaṇao parittā
ii saṅkamāṇo na uvei tattha | |*

a : VJ : *tatthā*

Whether he goes there or not, quick-witted he will give correct answers/explanations. Fearing lest they be heretics because they have turned away from the (right) belief he does not go to them.

d = 16 d

Gantā : taken by Śīlāṅka (Ṭ II 145b 4) and Jacobi to pertain to the monk’s pupils (*vineya*), who in my opinion are not meant here, at any rate not by Gosāla.

Samiy’ : ‘impartially’ (Jac.), *samatayā - sama-dṛṣṭitayā* (Ṭ II 145b 6). The latter sanskritization is impossible; formally and semantically, however, *samyak* and *samakam* would do⁵⁸. Cf. Sūy 1, 2, 2, 6 *samiyā dhammam udāhare muṇī*, Āyār 1, 7, 8, 14 *samiyā āhare muṇī* and Sūy 1, 2, 2, 8 *pānā (... samayam samihiyā* with *samiyam uvehāe* as a Cū variant and *samayam tatth’ uvehāe* in Āyār 1, 3, 3, 1.

Āsu-panne : ‘the wise man’ (Jac.), *sarva-jñā* (Ṭ II 145b 6). With the exception of Āyār 1, 7, 1, 3 (prose) I have only found references of this compound in *trīṣṭubh* metre⁵⁹. It seems to be absent in Pāli and Sa.

Parittā : ‘men have fallen (from...)’ (Jac.), *pari—samantād itāḥ—gatāḥ prabhraṣṭāḥ* (Ṭ II 145b 8). *Paritta* may be best taken as a ppp. of *pra* √RIC ‘leer werden’ [pwb] (to become empty), i.e. approximately ‘without’. This meaning is not attested in Sa. and Pāli.

2, 6, 19

*paṇṇam jahā vaṇie ūday’-atthī
āyassa heum pagarei saṅgam |*

*ta(y)-ūvame samaṇe Nāya-putte
icc eva me hoi maī viyakkā ||*

a : VJ : *uday'*;—c : V : *tayovame*; J : *tauvame*;—d : V : *viyakko*

The *śramaṇa* Nāyaputta acts just as a profit-oriented merchant procures goods for his income (and) thereby a karmic bond/dependence (from others). This is my view and opinion.

b ≠ 21 d

Right from the start Gosāla's attack was directed against Mahāvīra's alleged inconsequence : the fact that he first lived alone and then decided to go into the public eye surrounded by monks and to proclaim his teaching (vss. 1-2).

Jacobi's rendering of the first line runs : 'As a merchant desirous of gain (shows) his wares and attracts a crowd to do business (...)', which involves the assumption of a hard zeugma or a complementary verb to *pañṇam* as provided by the commentaries⁶⁰. *Prakaroti* means 'vollbringen, ausführen, bewirken, veranstalten, machen, anfertigen; s.aneignen, nehmen (*dārān ein Weib*)' (pwb) as far as concerns the meanings possible here. The doctrine, which is not expressed clearly, represents Mahāvīra's true doctrine; the asyndetically connected words *pañṇam* and *saṅgam* share the notion of binding and form a unity of contrasts—the material and the spiritual—which their chiasmic position underlines.

Pañṇam : glossed by Śīlāṅka *inter alia* as camphor, aloe, musk and amber⁶¹.

Uday'-atthī : cf. Pā. *uday'-atthika* (AṅguttaraN II 199, 20) where the Jain Śākya Vappa complains to the Buddha that he is like a merchant making every effort to sell his goods yet does not realize any profit. As a disciple Mahāvīra's he would believe himself *seyyathāpi (...)* *puriso uday'-atthiko assa paṇīyam poseyya so udayam c'eva na labheyya*. The commercial simile may be typical of the Jains and testifies to the great age of their professional activity (cf. also vs. 21).

Āyassa heum : cf. *bahu-janna-m-attham* in vs. 2.

Pagarei saṅgam : "*saṃja saṃge*" *saṃjanam saktir vā saṃgaḥ* (Cū 425, 7; *pagarei* is not glossed), *mahā-jana-saṅgam vidhatte* (Ṭ II 146a 12). See further *infra* at vs. 21.

Viyakkā : in Pāli and Sa. only masc.

Nāya-putte : see note on 2, 1, 13 (Bollée 1977 : 139) and on the Nāga tribe see Kosambi 1963 : 33.

(Adda speaks :)

2, 6, 20

*navam na kujjā, vihuṇe purāṇam
ciccāmaim tāi ya sāha evam |
eyāvayā bambha-vaya tti vuttā
tassôday' -atṭhi "samaṇe" tti bemi ||*

b : V : tāi yam āha, J : tāyati sāha; - c : Cū 426, 1 : etāvato, Ṭ : etovayā, J : ettāvayā; -TVJ : bambhava(t)i tti; - J: vutte

He does not effect new (karman) and casts off old (karman) by giving up wrong views. Therefore (sa) the saint spoke accordingly : in this respect they are called men of excellent vows. Only he who strives at this gain is a monk" thus I say.

Navam etc. : here Cū 425, 12f. quotes DasavN 383 (...) nāṇī navam na bandhai⁶².

Vihuṇe : vidhūnayati - apanayati (Ṭ II 146b 3).

Tā(y)i : apparently connected by Jinadāsa with √TR : tīrṇo vi parān tāretīti (Cū 425, 11f.). Śīlāṅka, however, glosses trāyī—Bhagavān sarvasya paritrāṇa-śīlo (...) tāyī vā mokṣam prati; aya-vaya-maya-paya-caya-t a y a - naya gatāv ity asya rūpaṃ⁶³. Jacobi ('who protects others') follows the latter, but Schubring first started from tyāginah (Schubring 1926 : 133 note 7), but later (Dasaveyālia, Isibhāsiyāim) changed his mind in favour of trāyin (see Alsdorf 1965 : 5). See further my note ad 1, 2, 2, 17 and Roth 1968 : 46ff.

Sa eva—Bhagavān eva—āha, yathā vimati-parityāgena moṣka-gamana-śīlo bhavati (Ṭ II 146b 5ff.).

Eyāvayā etc. : 'Herein is contained the vow (leading to) Brahman (i.e. Mokṣa)' (Jac.). Etāvātā samdarbhena (Ṭ II 146b 6).

Bambha-vaya : brahmaṇaḥ padam brahma-padam va brahma-vratam vā (Cū 426, 1), brahmaṇo—mokṣasya vratam brahma-vratam (Ṭ, l.c.).

Though the first explanation can also be defended - *brahma-pada* occurs in Sa. 'Brahmas Stätte' (PWB), here perhaps in the sense of 'excellent way'⁶⁴. *Pada* is used in Pāli as a synonym of *patha* (PED, s.v.)—I consider the second one more probable. The word occurs also with -*vv-*, e.g. MahānisīhaBh 1794. -Cf. also Āyār 2, 16, 2 *aṅ-anta-samaya*, for which see Bollée 1990 : 32.

Tassa etc. : 'this is the gain which a śramaṇa is desirous of. Thus I say' (Jac).

2, 6, 21

[*sam*]ārabhāte vaṇiyā bhūya-gāmaṃ
pariggahaṃ c'eva mamāyamāṇā |
te nāi-saṃjoga-m-avi ppahāya
āyassa heuṃ pagaranti saṅgaṃ ||

a : C : *samārabhante hi vaṇiyā*;—b : J : *mamāyamāṇā*;—d : V : *pagarenti*;
J : *pakarenti*

Merchants kill many living beings and even though giving up the contact with/separating themselves from their relatives they acquire property; (in doing so) they take up a (karmatic) bond merely for the sake of material gain.

c : cf. Āyār 1, 2, 5, 3 where between *pariggahaṃ* and *a-mamāyamāṇe* the metre requires a short syllable like *tu* or *ca*;—c = 10 c;—d ≠ 19 b

Ārabhāte etc. : Jacobi takes this form as a sg. and renders 'a merchant kills (...)'. On account of their business activities with many waggons, draught-animals and camels merchants kill living beings⁶⁵.

Pariggahaṃ : *du-padam*⁶⁶ *caup-padam dhanam dhanṇa-hiraṇṇa-suvaṇṇā(d)i* (Cū 426, 4, similarly Ṭ). Sustaining a family compels the laymen to strive for property.

Pagaranti saṅgaṃ : *bhṛsaṃ karenti prakarenti, saktiṃ saṅgaṃ* (thus read in stead of *saṃyam*, Cū 426, 7), *sambandham kurvanti* (Ṭ II 146 b 12). Cf. Āyār 1, 1, 7, 6 *ārambha-sattā pakarenti saṅgaṃ* '(... those are involved in sin who ...) and engaging in acts, are addicted to worldliness' (Jac.), '... der Betätigung ergeben wirken sie Verknüpfung [mit der Welt]' (Schubring 1926 : 72).

2, 6, 22

*vitt' -esiṇo mehuṇa-saṃpagādhā
te bhoyaṇ' -atthā vaṇiyā vayanti |
vayaṃ tu kāmesu ajjhovavannā
aṇ-āriyā pema-rasesu giddhā ||*

Property-minded and engaging in sexual relations these merchants say (they behave thus) to earn their living (or : wander around for pleasure). We, however, (believe that they are) given to the pleasures of the senses, not (serious) believers (and) lustful.

*Mehuṇa*⁰ : why this and *pema-rasesu giddhā* should be particularly characteristics of merchants is not clear. Does *vaṇiyā* in fact stands for (Jain) laymen ? Then the reason why these characteristics are mentioned here would become understandable for many souls are destroyed in sexual intercourse⁶⁷. Chastically as to the *a-pāda* here property and disregard for living beings are taken up once more in vs. 23 a.

Jinadāsa then admonishes those who live in that way by means of several quotations citing the first : *śisṇōdara-kṛte, Pārtha !* (426, 9f.) at Cū 86, 7f. ad Āyār 1, 2, 5, 5 introduced by *bhaṇiyam ca loge vi* and completed as follows : *prthivīm jetum icchasi / jaya śisṇodaram, Pārtha ! tatas te prthivī jitā*. The first *pāda* reminds us of Mbh (cr. ed.) 1, 164, 13 b p. j. *icchatā* and the last one of Mbh 5, 148, 4 a *tatas te prthivī-pālāh*.

Vayanti : vrajanti (Cū 426, 8), to which Śīlāṅka adds : *vadanti vā* (Ṭ II 147a 1), perhaps because Āyār 1, 1, 7, 6 *ārambhamaṇā viṇayaṃ vayanti / chandōvaṇiyā ∪ ajjhovavannā / ārambha-sattā pakarenti saṅgam*.

2, 6, 23

*ārambhagam c'eva pariggagam ca
a-viussiyā nissiya āya-dañḍā |
tesim ca se udae, jam vayāsī,
caur'-ant' aṇ-antāya duhāya, nēha ||*

They neither give up killing nor property, but stick to it. They are inconsiderate, but their gain which you mentioned (will serve) them only to endless distress in the (whole) square (world), not only here.

A-viussiyā : 'they do not abstain from (...)' (Jac.), *avosirium* (Cū 427, 1), *a-vyutsṛjya—a-parityajya* (Ṭ II 147a 4). If anywhere, it is with this rare

form that the occasional parallelism of verse numbers is remarkable, in this case 1, 1, 2, 23 *je u tattha viussanti, saṃsāraṃ te viussiyā*⁶⁸, where I should now like to translate : ‘wer damit aber aufhört, beendet für sich den Samsāra’. Cf. also Theragāthā 784 *a-vyosita*⁶⁹.

Nissiyā : for this form cf. *sikkhiya* in vs. 16.

Āya-daṇḍā : see my comment at 1, 2, 3, 9 (Bollée 1988 : 75f.).

Vayāsī : according to Pi § 516 = *avādīh*, but cf. Pāli *avacāsi* (Geiger/Norman § 165.1); *vayāsī* points to vs. 19.

Caur’-ant’ : for this notion see Schubring 1935 : § 103. Jacobi translates the second line as : ‘and their gain of which you spoke, will be the endless Circle of Births and pains manifold’. Perhaps he wanted to read : *-antā ya duhā ya*.

Nēha : Jacobi here remarks : “*Nehā* or *nedhā*. According to Śīlāṅka it is *na iha* : ‘not even here (do they find the profit they seek)’. I think it may be the Prakṛt equivalent of *anekadhā* or it could stand for *snehāḥ*, in which case the meaning would be : love’s (reward will be) pain”. *Faute de mieux* I have followed the commentator, as Jacobi did not convince me.

2, 6, 24

*ṇ’egant’-aṇ-accantiya ūdae so
vayanti te do vi guṇōdayammi |
se ūdae sâi-m-aṇanta-patte
tam ūdayam sāhae tâi nâi ||*

a : CT : *ṇeganta ṇaccantiva* thus corrected in C for original : *ṇaccantiya*
V : *neganti naccanti ya*; - TV : *odae*; J : *udaye se*;—c : VTJ : *udae*;—d : VT :
udayam, J : *uddayam*, TV : *sāhayai*, J : *sāhati*

This gain of theirs is uncertain and not without an end. They experience (these qualities, both of them, (only) in the beginning. The gain acquired through him (i.e. Mahāvīra), however, has a beginning, but no end. The saint (and) guide/*nāya* gives away his gain.

N’egant’ : *ṇ’eganti ṇ’accanti ity ādi, ekāntena bhavatīty ekāntikaḥ (...)* *ātyantikāḥ sarva-kāla-bhāvī* (T II 147a 9f.). For the seventh syllable *-a* see vs. 16 (*sikkhiya*).

Vayanti etc. : (...) *tad-vido vadanti tau ca dvāv api bhāvau vigata-guṇōdayau bhavataḥ* (T II 147a 11; similarly Cū 427, 5 f. where *guṇa* is

glossed *pagāra*). Jacobi saw that this interpretation cannot be correct, yet to read *guṇe* ‘*dayammi*, as he does, is not necessary for *guṇo*⁰ can represent *guṇā + ū⁰* or *guṇ’ ū⁰*. The *a-pāda*, too, reads *odae* for *ūdae*. *Vayanti ~ vrajanti*, as in vs. 22.

Se ūdae : put chiasmically and thus in a certain contrast with *ūdae so*.

Sāhaye etc. : ‘the saviour and sage shares his profit (with others)’ (Jac.). *Sāhaye* : *ākhyāti silāhati* (Cū 427, 7), *kathayati ślāghate vā* (Ṭ II 147a 14). As to the form, *sāhaye* (thus to be read *m.c.*) can correspond to *ślāghate* or *ślāghayati* as well as to *sādhate* or *sādhayati*. The verb last mentioned has many meanings, *inter alia*, ‘to grant, bestow, yield’ [MW] and these appeared better to me.

Tāi nāi : *ṇātīti jñātīḥ kulī* (Cū 427, 8), *jñātī jñātāḥ kṣatriyā jñātāṃ vā vastu-jātāṃ vidyate yasya sa jñātī*, *vidita- samasta-vedya ity arthaḥ* (Ṭ II 147b 2f.). Though his gloss is otherwise wrong yet Śīlāṅka makes us suppose that we might read *Nāe* and consider this to be short for *Nāyaputte*, cf. Dasav 6, 21 *na so pariggaho vutto Nāyaputteṇa tāiṇā*. Nevertheless I would prefer to take *nāe ~ Pāli nāgo ~ Sa. nāyakaḥ*, as in Suttanipāta 522 (... *vimutto*) *nāgo tādi pavuccati tathattā* ‘(... being completely released.) Such a one is rightly called “nāga”’. (Norman 1992 : 57).

2, 6, 25

a-himsayam savva-payāṇukampī
dhamme ṭhiyam kammavivega-heum }
tam āya-daṇḍehī samāyarantā
a-bohie te paḍirūvā eyam ||

He does not harm anyone, has pity and compassion for all beings, is of unshakeable faith (and) makes that his actions are judged correctly. He who puts him on a par (?) with inconsiderate people is a model of folly.

Savva-payāṇukampī : ~ī uniform reading for which, if correct, cf. Edgerton, *BHSG* 10.54; otherwise the ending might be emended *-im* though nasalisation in MSS equals lengthening of the preceding vowel.

Dhamme ṭhiyam : this expression is found also in Pāli, e.g. Sn 250, 327 etc⁷⁰. Cū 427, 11 *dasa-vidhe dhamme*⁷¹, Ṭ II 147b 9 *paramārtha-bhūte*.

*Kamma*⁰ : ‘(who) causes the truth of the Law to be known’ (Jac.).

Tam etc : 'him you would equal to those wicked men' (Jac.).

Āya-dandehī : see at 1, 2, 3, 9.

Samāyarantā : *samācaranti iti samam ācarantā samācarantā, tulyam kurvantā ity arthaḥ; samānayanto vā samānam kurvantā ity arthaḥ* (Cū 427, 13), *samācaranta—ātma-kalpaṃ kurvaṃti vaṇig-ādibhir udāharaṇaiḥ* (Ṭ II 147b 10). Sa. *samācarati* means 1. 'to act or conduct oneself towards' (loc.); 2. 'to practise, do; 3. to associate with' (instr.; MW). In Pāli only the second meaning is testified to, but at our place, only the causative of the third meaning, if at all, would make sense. A possible alternative may be a derivation from √KAR : *samākaroti* means 'to bring together, unite' (MW). That would fit exactly, though the verb seems to occur in Vedic only and not at all in Pāli. *Samāyaranta*, however, cannot be anything else but a nom. pl. and therefore, it is not clear to me, why Jacobi could separate it from *te* in the d-*pāda*.

A-bohie etc. : 'This is the outcome of your folly' (Jac.).

Quotations in the commentaries

As noticed elsewhere⁷² Mbh quotations can present readings rejected in the critical edition.

aya-vaya-maya-paya-caya-taya-ṇaya gatau (Ṭ II 146b 5 ad Sūy 2, 6, 20) = 147b 1 ad Sūy 2, 6, 24. Cf. Hemacandra 1979 : 101 (790ff.)

aśoka-vṛkṣaḥ sura-puṣpa-vṛṣṭir divya-dhvanis cāmaram āsanam ca bhāmaṇḍalam dundubhirāta-patram sat-prātihāryāṇi Jinēśvarāṇām (Cū 418, 4 ad Sūy 2, 6, 2)

ahimsā satyam a-steyam brahmacaryam a-lubdhatā (Ṭ II 142b 1 ad Sūy 2, 6, 8). Quotation of Mbh 14 App. 4. 2214.

āśyade śīghra-bhāve ca (Cū 426, 12 ad Sūy 2, 6, 22)

udaiga pakkheve (Cū 426, 2 ad Sūy 2, 6, 20)

kamu icchāyām (Cū 424, 3 ad Sūy 2, 6, 17)

citte tāyitavye (Cū 428, 6 ad Sūy 2, 6, 25)

cira-samsatṭho 'si me, Goyamā (Cū 424, 7 ad Sūy 2, 6, 17). Quotation of Viy 14, 7 [*samsitṭhe*].

chatram chātram pātram vastram yaṣṭim ca carcayati bhikṣuḥ veṣeṇa parikareṇa ca kiyatāpi vinā na bhikṣāpi (Ṭ II 139b 14f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 2)

jahim̐ jassa jam̐ vavasiyam̐ (Cū 421, 13 ad Sūy 2, 6, 12)

tvaci bhogāḥ sukham̐ mām̐se (Cū 414, 1 ad SūyN 185)

ditṭham̐ miyam̐ a-saṁdiddham̐ (Cū 419, 8 ad Sūy 2, 6, 5). Quotation of Dasav 8, 48a.

deva-devassa (Cū 423, 8 ad Sūy 2, 6, 15)

navam̐ na kujjā vihūṇe purāṇam̐ (Cū 425, 12 ad Sūy 2, 6, 20)

nāṇam̐ sikkhai nāṇam̐ guṇei nāṇeṇa kuṇai kiccāim̐ nāṇi navam̐ na bandhei etc. (Cū 425, 12 f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 20). Quotation of DasavN 383 [bandhai].

pāeṇa khīṇa-davvā (Cū 423, 14 ad Sūy 2, 6, 16)

Brahmā lūna-śīrā Harir dr̥śi sarug vyāluṭpa-śīsno Haraḥ, Sūryo 'py ullikhito 'nalo 'py akhila-bhuk Somaḥ kalaṅkāṅkitaḥ | svar-nātho 'pi visam̐sthulaḥ khalu vapuḥ-sam̐sthair upasthaiḥ kṛtaḥ, san-mārga-skhalanād bhavanti vipadaḥ prāyaḥ prabhūnām̐ api || (Ṭ II 143b 12 ff. ad Sūy 2, 6, 13)

Bhagavam̐ pañca-mahavvaya-gutto indiya-sāvudḍo ya virao ya | annesim̐ pi tam-eva ya dhammam̐ deseī gāhei || (Cū 419, 12 f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 6)

mana puvvaṅgamā [?] (Cū 428, 5 ad Sūy 2, 6, 25)

rāga-dveṣau vinirjitya kim arāṇye karisyasi ? atha no nirjitāv etau kim arāṇye karisyasi ? (Ṭ II 141a 10 f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 4)

vidyā-vinaya-sampanne brāhmaṇe < gavi hastini > (Cū 424, 2f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 16). Quotation of Mbh 6, 27, 18ab.

viṣayā vinivartante nirāhārasya dehinaḥ (Cū 426, 12 ad Sūy 2, 6, 22). Quotation of Mbh 6, 24, 59ab = 12, 197, 16ab.

śaṅke prahaṛṣa-tulā (Cū 425, 1 ad Sūy 2, 6, 18)

śīśnôdara-kṛte, Pārtha ! (Cū 426, 9 f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 22). The complete śloka is found Cū 86, 7 f. ad Āyār 1, 2, 5, 5. Cf. Mbh 3, 2, 61a)

ṣaṅja saṅge (Cū 425, 7 ad Sūy 2, 6, 19)

sukhāni dattvā sukhāni (Cū 420, 6 ad Sūy 2, 6, 7)

Annotations :

1. The abbreviations for the titles of Indian texts are those adopted for my *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa* : C = *pratīkas* in Jinadāsa's *Cūrṇi* [1950]; T = Sūy text in Śīlāṅka's commentary vol. II [1953]; V = Vaidya's ed. [1928]; J = Jambūvijaya's ed. [1978]. Cū = *Cūrṇi*, Ṭ = *Ṭikā*.

2. Minor variants are noted in Bollée 1995 : 135f.
3. This “correction” of T by Vaidya, just as his adoption of T’s reading at N 198 d, shows the correctness of Alsdorf’s remark in his Itthīparinnā paper (Alsdorf 1974 : 194 note 5).
4. *Vatthā na khiva-m-addena vaṇṇ’-addam citta-kammādisu ārdakam likhitam Ārdrānakṣatram likhitam* (Cū 413, 12sq.).
5. See Hilka 1910 : 33.
6. *Śrīparṇī-sovarcalādikam* (Ṭ II 136 a 2).
7. *Muktā-phala-raktāsokādikam* (Ṭ ibidem).
8. *Vasayōpaliptam vasārdram* (Ṭ II 136 a 3).
9. *Vajra-lepādy-upalīptam stambha-kuḍyādikam* (l.c.).
10. *Tattha negama-saṃgaha-vavahārā ti-viham saṃkham icchanti, tam jahā : ekkabhaviyam baddhāuyam abhimuha-nāma-gottam ca.*
11. The particulars of this process, which *stricto sensu* seems to contradict Buddhist conceptions, are told by Buddhaghosa with regard to the future Buddha, but will represent a common Indian idea as the Tusita-devatā who form the setting see off the reincarnated in the Nandavana. Sumaṅgalāvilāsīnī 430, 11 states that *sabba-devalokesu hi Nandavanam atthi yeva*. Thus beings enjoying their positive karman in other *devalokas* will leave these in the same way. (See Bollée, *A Note on the Birth of the Hero in ancient India* [in press]).
12. *Ekena bhavena yo jīvaḥ svargāder āgatya (...) āsannataro baddhāyuṣkaḥ (...) āsannatamo ’bhimukha-nāma-gotro yo ’nantara-samayam evādrakatvena samutpatsyate - ete ca trayo ’pi prakārā dravyādrake draṣṭavyāḥ* (Ṭ II 136 a 6sq.).
13. In another context (ĀvCū 526, 4 and in a stanza from a longer metrical quotation in the *vṛtti* I 69 a 1 on Āyār 1, 1, 7, 1*) mentioned as the teacher of Jīyasattu, Rājā of Vasantapura. I do not understand why this prince in PrPN I, p. 288 no. 15 should probably be identical with a ruler of Rāyagiha of that name in Nirayāv 4, 1, as suggested by Chandra and Mehta at no. 38. A Jīyasattu of Vasantapura is also found at ĀvCū 498, 6 and 503, 6.
14. For the formation cf., e.g., Prince Selaga of Selagapura in Nāyā 1, 5. Localisations like these naturally are of little importance for the historicity of Sūy 2, 6 as already Basham 1951 : 54 remarked.
15. Here Jinadāsa’s version diverges in that the nun is reborn in a foreign country (*meccha-visaye*) as Addaya, son of Prince Addaga and his queen Dhāriṇī, whereas

Sāmāyika returns to this world as a Sheth's daughter in Vasantapura (Cū 415, 2 sq.).

16. Cū 415, 4 sqq. only speaks of a *dūta*.
17. *Abhaya-kumāreṇāpi pariṇāmikyā buddhyā pariṇāmitam* (Ṭ 138 a 5 sq.).
18. Derivate of *aśva-vāhana* 'das Reiten zu Pferd' (Schmidt, *Nachträge*).
19. Cū 416, 7 reads *sāvaga-paḍimā* instead of *uvāsaga-* (see Schubring 1978 : § 163). Thus the layman is completely put on an equal footing with the monks. At Ṭ II 138 b 3 it reads *anyatara-pratimā-pratipannaḥ kāyōtsarga-vyavasthitah*.
20. Read *vidhṛto* instead of *vighṛto* at Ṭ II 138 b 5.
21. *Tathāvidhakarmōdayāe cāvaśyam-bhāvi-bhavitavyatā-niyogena ca*, Ṭ II 138b 13.
22. Called *dhijjāti* in Cū 417, 2; see Bollée 1977 : 112 and 1988 : 279. The word in question seems to be first a term of abuse used by brahmins for non-brahmins who returned the invective as a nickname for the former. Even brahmins who had become Buddhist monks sometimes could not abstain from their old habit as stated in Udāna 28, 11, where we hear of the brahmin *bhikkhu* Pilinda-Vaccha's custom of addressing his *confratres* by *vasala-vāda*.
23. Even if this results in an impossible form like the imperative *jāṇam* in vs. 8.
24. *Ekākī viharaml lokikaiḥ paribhūyata iti matvā loka-paṅkti-nimittam mahān parikarah kṛtaḥ* (on *loka-pa[n]kti* see Bollée 1977 : 151), *tathā cōcyate* : "chattram chāttram pātram vastram yaṣṭim ca carcayati bhikṣuḥ | veṣeṇa parikareṇa ca kīyatāpi vinā na bhikṣāpi" || (Ṭ II 139 b 13 sqq.).
25. As to this see Jacobi's remark on Utt 1, 7 and *infra* Sūy 2, 6, 6.
26. CP Norman I (1990) 12ff.
27. Cf. BHSG § 8. 94.
28. Speijer 1886 : § 52; Sen 1953 § 16.
29. Speyer 1896 : § 25.
30. R. P. Jain 1983 : 65 sqq.
31. See e.g. Alsdorf 1962 : 5 sqq.
32. See e.g. K. C. Jain 1963 : 17f.
33. Granoff 1989 : 204.
34. At the references mentioned in Pi §§ 356 and 409 *vayam* corresponds to Sa. *vayas*.
35. Yet cf. *kiñcid* at Ṭ II 143 b 10.
36. *Udghattana* must have an extended conception of 'outbreak (of violence or passion)'

- (MW), namely, 'passionate utterance, abuse', cf. *ghaṭṭate* 'to hurt with words, speak of malignantly' (MW).
37. 'At his endless duels of words he tried to shout down his opponents with his formidable voice and was profuse in invectives when it was necessary to withstand them.'
38. Cf. Āyār 2, 4, 2, 1.
39. Cf. Āyār 2, 4, 1, 8.
40. This translation of *parivrājaka* follows Seidenstücker 1920 : 125.
41. *Rūvam iti yathā loko lokam kasmimścid aparādhe ākrośati* : "Kānaḥ ! kubjaḥ ! kodhi" (Sa. *kuṣṭhī*) ! *vēti jātyā vēti* "Caṇḍāla-karma karoti." *Nāivam kimcid rūpeṇa "Tridaṇḍika duṣṭha ! Parivrājaka duṣṭha ! Idam te durdr̥ṣṭam śāsanam. Tena mūrkhakapīlena kim dr̥ṣṭam, yena kartā kṣetrajaṇaḥ ?"*
42. *He kaṣāya-kaṇṭha !* (Cū 422, 5)
43. *Jugupsitāṅgāvayavôdghaṭṭanena jātyā tal-linga-grahaṇôdghaṭṭanena vā.*
44. Following this meaning Jacobi translates Utt 2, 21 'sitting there he should brave all dangers.' He may have read similarly to Charpentier *tattha se ciṭṭhamāṇassa uvasaggābhīdhārae*, yet I do not understand his construction then. Śāntisūri reads *uvasagge bhīdhārae*, which does not solve the difficulty. Only his reading *uvasagga-bhayaṃ bhava* allows for a harmony with *ciṭṭhamāṇassa* (thus also Alsdorf in a marginal jotting in his hand copy of Charpentier). The latest *Utt* edition, the one made by Punyavijaya and Bhojak (Bombay, 1977), in the b-*pāda* has the traditional version of the European ed. - The only other reference for *abhīdhārayai* I have found seems to me just as suspect : Dasav 5, 2, 25 a monk is recommended to visit every house on his almsround and *nīyaṃ kulam aikamma ūsaḍham nābhīdhārae*, which Schubring renders by 'he should not pass by a lowly house and go only to a noble one.' As to the meaning this no doubt is correct, just as Haribhadra paraphrases the verb by *yāyāt*. Then one should either assume a meaning 'to patronize'—which in fact would reverse things—or read *abhīdhāvae*.
45. Thus read for *uju* in the PTS ed.
46. See e.g. Hornell 1920 : 174 sq.
47. 1991 : 88.
48. In the Āyār chapter containing his analysis, p. 61, Schubring expresses himself to the effect that this line starts with prose. In his hand copy, however, he later emended the text as follows : *āgant' ārāmāgāre gāme nagare vi egayā vāso.*

49. *Chāyā-bhramśa iti* 'loss of face.'
50. Similarly Basham 1951 : 53.
51. Otherwise these formations have an *-ā-* in the joint of the compound; for examples from Pāli see PED s.v. *kiccā-kiccā* and Gg. § 33; for Sa., Wackernagel 1905 : 148 (§ 61) and Debrunner 1957 : 44; and, for both, Hoffmann 1975 : 113-119.
52. Mahāniddeśa 226, 28 in the form *lapaka-lapaka*, in Vism 26, 3 also as *lapa-lapa*, used of a talkative monk.
53. Buddhists, *inter alios* (Cū 423, 12).
54. Interdictions of intercourse with heterodox people occur in Hinduism, e.g. Viṣṇupurāṇa 3, 18, 79 and 96ff.
55. See Bollée 1977 : 32.
56. The verse number parallel 1, 2, 1, 17 contains *no....na* 'not at all'.
57. See Duden, 1984 : § 579.
58. Cf. Milindapanha 82, 31ff.
59. Sūy 1, 5, 1, 2; 1, 6, 3; 1, 6, 7; 1, 6, 25; 1, 14, 4; Utt 4, 6.
60. *Ghettūṇa* (Cū 425, 7) ~ *grhītvā* (Ṭ II 146a 12).
61. *Karpūrāgaru-kastūrikāambarādikam*, Ṭ II 146a 11.
62. Cū : *bandhei*.
63. Quotation from unknown source.
64. For *brahma* in this sense see Zaehner 1969 : 214.
65. *Kraya-vikrayārtham śakaṭa-yāna-vāhanōṣṭra-maṇḍalikādibhir anuṣṭhānaiḥ* (Ṭ II 146b 9).
66. On slavery in India see, e.g., Jain 1984 : 140ff.
67. See Bollée 1977 : 30.
68. Bollée 1977 : 99.
69. Sa. *vyavasita* : *vyavasyati*.
70. See PTC s.v. *ṭhita*, p. 230b line 15 from bottom.
71. Cf. Ṭhā 10, 945 (Suttāgame I 304, 23) *dasa-viḥe samaṇa-dhamme pannatte tam jahā khantī, muttī* etc.
72. Bollée 1977 : 71 n. 80.
73. The titlepage of the 2nd vol. of my *pothi* is missing and the year of publication and serial number were not mentioned in Velankar's Jinaratnakośa.

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