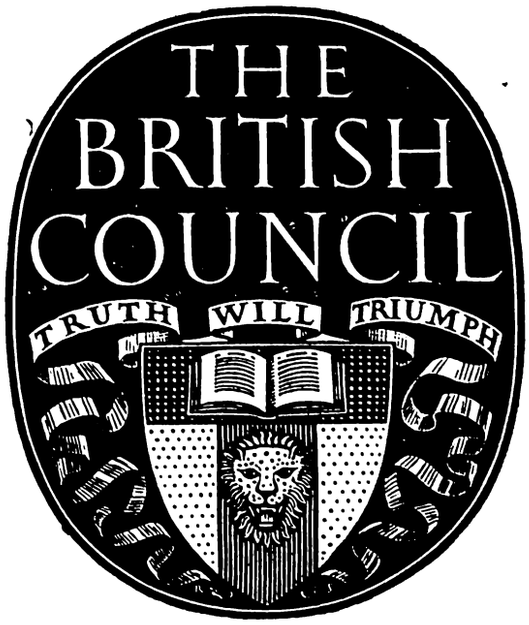


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THE GĀNDHĀRĪ DHARMAPADA

EDITED
WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY
BY

JOHN BROUGH
Professor of Sanskrit in the University of London

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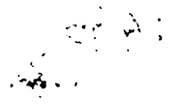
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And now they thinke of new ingredients:
And one Soule thinkes one, and another way
Another thinkes, and 'tis an even lay.

. . . . .

Wee see in Authors, too stiffe to recant,
A hundred controversies of an Ant;
And yet one watches, starves, freeses, and sweats,
To know but Catechismes and Alphabets
Of unconcerning things, matters of fact.

JOHN DONNE: *The Second Anniversary*



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Senart	Ibid. no. 4.
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AMg.	Ardha-māgadhī.
Ang.	Anguttara-nikāya.
AO	Acta Orientalia.
Ap.	Apabhraṃśa.
AvŚ.	Avadāna-śataka.
BHSG, BHSD	Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, by Franklin Edgerton. New Haven, 1953.
BS	Buddhist Sanskrit.
BSOAS, BSOS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (earlier volumes, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies).
BSU	Bibliography, no. 36.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum (Bibliography, nos. 12, 14).
CPD	Critical Pāli Dictionary, vol. I. Copenhagen, 1924–48.
D.	Dīgha-nikāya.
Dhp.	Dhammapada. (The abbreviation is reserved for the Pali text.)
DhpA.	Commentary on the Pali Dhammapada (Bibliography, no. 18).
Divy.	Divyāvadāna.
GSR	B. Karlgren, Grammata Serica Recensa. Stockholm, 1957.
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly.
It., Itiv.	Itivuttaka.
JAs.	Journal Asiatique.
Jāt.	Jātaka.
JātM.	Jātaka-mālā.
JPTS	Journal of the Pali Text Society.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Khot.	Indian loan-words in Khotanese texts.
Lv.	Lalitavistara.
M.	(Aśokan reference) Mansehra version of the Aśokan edicts.
M.	(Pali reference) Majjhima-nikāya.
MBh.	Mahā-bhārata (references to the 'Critical Edition', Poona).
Mkv.	Mahā-karmavibhanga, ed. S. Lévi. Paris, 1932.
Mv.	Mahāvastu.
Mvy.	Mahāvyutpatti.
NAWG	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen.
Netti.	Nettipakaraṇa.
Niya	Bibliography, no. 15.
P.	Pali.
P.	(with Udānavarga reference) Verse number in Pischel's edition of Chapter xxix (Bibliography, no. 25).
PTS	Pali Text Society.
PTSD	The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary.

R.	Verse number in Rockhill's translation of the Udānavarga (Bibliography, no. 28).
RE	Aśokan Rock Edict.
RV	Ṛgveda.
S.	Sanskrit.
Saṃ.	Saṃyutta-nikāya.
Śaur.	Śaurasenī.
SBAW	Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften.
Sh.	Shahbazgarhi version of the Aśokan edicts.
Sn.	Sutta-nipāta.
SnA.	Commentary on the Sutta-nipāta (Paramatthajotikā, ed. H. Smith, PTS).
T.	Verse number in Beckh's edition of the Tibetan translation of the Udānavarga (Bibliography, no. 27).
Therī.	Therīgāthā.
Thg.	Theragāthā.
Tib.–Tib. Dict.	Dge bśes chos kyi grags pas brtsams paḥi brda dag miṅ tshig gsal ba. [A Tibetan–Tibetan dictionary, by Chos-grags, with the addition of Chinese renderings.] Peking, 1957.
Toch. Spr. B.	Bibliography, no. 29.
TPS	Transactions of the Philological Society.
Udāna	(The Pali text is cited without abbreviation of title, to avoid confusion with Uv.)
Uv.	Udānavarga.
Vin.	Pali Vinaya.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

PREFACE

THE collection of Pali ethical verses entitled *Dhammapada* is one of the most widely known of early Buddhist texts. If, in contrast, the *Dharmapada* in the Gāndhārī Prakrit has won scant attention, this is not altogether due to the adventitious authority of the Pali canon which overshadowed this small remnant from the literature of another sect. There has indeed been a constantly increasing awareness of the importance of comparative studies of the Theravāda texts with those of other schools. But the dislocated portions of the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* hitherto published did not provide sufficient evidence to disclose the structure of the text as a whole; and further work was undoubtedly inhibited by the knowledge that, in addition to the 'Ms. Dutreuil de Rhins' published by Senart in 1898, another part of the same manuscript remained unpublished in Leningrad.

The opportunity of studying and editing this unpublished material was therefore most welcome; and I wish to thank the Academy of Sciences of the USSR for the co-operative spirit in which they permitted me the use of photographs of the part of the manuscript in their custodianship in Leningrad. In this matter I have an especial debt of gratitude to my colleague Professor D. S. Rice, who himself photographed the manuscript, and made for me enlargements of admirable quality.

It seemed then opportune to consider an edition which should unite in one volume the new materials and the parts of the text previously published. I am grateful to the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale who readily supplied impeccable photographs of the whole of the Paris portion of the manuscript, including the fragments not contained in Senart's facsimiles.

While the work was in progress I learnt, through the kindness of Dr. D. Schlingloff, that the Institut für Orientforschung of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin possesses a set of photographs of the manuscript. I am grateful to have had the opportunity of examining these, especially since it had by then become clear that parts of the original manuscript were still missing, and it was therefore important to ensure that no available materials might be overlooked. In fact, however, the Berlin photographs gave no additional information. They contain the same leaves which I had already obtained from Leningrad, together with reproductions from the facsimiles published by Senart in the *Journal Asiatique*.

Even with the new material, the Gāndhārī text is still incomplete. It is probable that about three-eighths of the original have been lost and there is good reason to believe that this missing part was separated from the French

and Russian portions at the time when the manuscript was discovered in 1892 (see Introduction, pp. 14–23). It may be lost beyond hope of recovery; and even if it is still in existence, no evidence has come to light to give even a first hint to suggest where it might be sought. If anyone who sees this book should perchance know of a manuscript of similar appearance to the plates printed here, he can perform a service to the cause of Buddhist scholarship by giving this information either to myself or to any university department concerned with Indian or Buddhist studies.

All of the manuscript that is known for certain to be extant is included in the present edition, giving us roughly 350 verses. Most of these are complete, or nearly so, although a small number are fragmentary. This is approximately five-sixths of the extent of the Pali *Dhammapada*. In spite of this quite modest length, however, the text is of importance in many different ways, and its mere existence is of great significance for the study of early Buddhist literature. It is now possible to discern the general structure of the whole, and a large enough portion is available to make a more profitable comparison with the Pali *Dhammapada* and the Sanskrit *Udānavarga*. We can see that the scriptures of the various schools preserved much of an earlier inheritance of scriptural verses, even although there is no means of determining how much could justifiably be ascribed to a period of 'primitive' Buddhism, if this term is understood to mean, for example, the lifetime of the founder and his near contemporaries. And on the other hand, these three texts show, simply on inspection, that no single one of them has a claim superior to the others to represent this section of a 'primitive' Buddhist canon. It has long been understood that the surviving early Buddhist literature is to a large extent secondary, and often composite. The *Dharmapadas* demonstrate this with great clarity. In order to arrive at a better understanding of the prehistory of Buddhist literature (a necessary preliminary to further investigation of the development of the religion in its earliest period) we must first try to excavate the earlier matter embedded in our texts. For this purpose, 'Arbeiten mit dem Pālikanon allein sind unfruchtbar und zwecklos'.[1] It is hardly possible to say this too emphatically.

I must immediately add that I have not attempted here to discuss—still less, to answer—all the many interesting questions which arise in this connexion. As its title indicates, the present book is in the first place an edition of the Prakrit text, where my principal concern has been to establish the reading of the text, the arrangement of the various parts, and the location of the fragments. The work of editing, however, could not have been done without constant reference to the other versions, and this comparison naturally

[1] Friedrich Weller, *Die Überlieferung des älteren buddhistischen Schrifttums*, Asia Major, v, 1928–30, p. 182.

brought into prominence many problems of exegesis. In the nature of the case, it would have been unprofitable to try to confine the discussion strictly to the Prakrit text. Since any decision here was necessarily arbitrary, it seemed best not to exclude from the Commentary a certain number of problems concerning the other versions, where these problems arose directly from verses under consideration.

Similarly, some topics of more general import which are suggested by the same comparison have been discussed in outline in the latter half of Part I of the Introduction. If readers find my conclusions here inconclusive, or if they regret that certain aspects of the subject have not been more adequately explored, I can only share their regrets. But it was scarcely possible to do more without much additional research; and to delay publication for this reason would have unfairly denied to others access to the text itself. Nevertheless, it will be obvious that there remain many problems worthy of further study.

Since for the edition it was necessary to examine in some detail the parallel versions, which have also been freely used in the Commentary, it seemed essential to give the reader as direct access as possible to these parallels. Accordingly, beside the transcription of the Prakrit text, these testimonia are given in the right-hand column. Wherever a Pali version[1] had been found, this has been printed in full, while corresponding verses from the *Udānavarga* (and occasionally from other Sanskrit texts) are noted only by a reference after the Pali verse. (For details, see p. 118.) Where a Pali parallel had not been traced, the appropriate *Udānavarga* verse, if known, has been given instead, in Sanskrit if possible, but in Tibetan in the relatively few places where the desired Sanskrit verse was not accessible in print. Regrettably, we are chastened by a hard residue of Prakrit verses for which neither Sanskrit nor Pali has as yet disclosed parallels.

This manner of presentation has been chosen for two main reasons: first, that another Middle Indian version set beside the Gāndhārī presents a more vivid linguistic picture; and second, that the *Udānavarga*, only partially published in Sanskrit, still awaits a new edition which will make full use of all the manuscript materials preserved in Berlin and Paris.[2]

But to forestall even the slightest chance of misunderstanding here, I wish

[1] A single reference does not imply that the verse in question appears only in the one place and nowhere else in the Pali canon. For parts of the manuscript previously published, additional locations for many verses are given in the articles by R. O. Franke and T. W. Rhys Davids (see Bibliography, nos. 6 and 37). In editing the new material, it seemed enough in most cases to give only a single reference for each verse, to the Pali *Dhammapada* where relevant, and otherwise to the first passage in which the verse was traced. Readers who wish to locate other occurrences of any verse will usually be able to do so with the aid of the *Pāli Tipiṭakaṁ concordance* of the Pali Text Society (in progress).

[2] While the present volume was in the press, I learnt from Dr. Franz Bernhard that he is preparing a new edition of the *Udānavarga*. This edition will be awaited with great interest by all those who are concerned with the history of early Buddhist literature.

to say explicitly and as distinctly as possible: the adoption of this method of setting out was a pragmatic decision without theoretical implications. In particular, it did not arise from a preconceived theory of the manner in which the three texts are related; it does not prejudge the answer to the problem of their relationship; and it must not lead anyone to assume that there is a special degree of kindship between our text and the Pali, still less that the Pali represents a norm from which other versions have deviated. Perhaps this last warning is superfluous, since any such theory has long been obsolete; but I am not sure that it is entirely extinct.

The analysis of the interrelationships between the texts of the early schools is of great importance for the furtherance of Buddhist studies, and many distinguished contributions have already been published. But the workers are still few in relation to the magnitude of the subject, and it would be premature to leap to conclusions. In respect of this more general problem, the chance survival of the Gāndhārī manuscript offers us a particularly favourable range of materials; yet a comparison of these has shown in numerous ways that the problems of relationship are much more intricate and subtle than might have been expected. It seemed best to set forth the data without undue delay: for others will certainly see clues which I have missed, and in due course the tangled skein may be unravelled.

Already, however, it seems most improbable that any answer in terms of simple generalizations could account adequately for the facts. There are, for example, many textual agreements between the Prakrit and the *Udānavarga*, and some of these are sufficiently striking to suggest the hypothesis that these two stand closer to each other than either does to the Pali. But this affinity appears to reside in the text of individual verses rather than in the two collections as wholes. (See also p. 29.) Even if in the future it should be possible to prove in more general terms that the more significant degree of relatedness holds between these two, there are several ways in which this might have come about, among which the following possibilities are most likely to be considered: (1) the schools to which the two texts belonged have shared a period of common development after the Pali tradition had separated off; *or* (2) all three schools have developed separately since approximately the same period, but the two which show 'relatedness' have been close enough geographically to permit reciprocal influences between their respective canonical texts; *or* (3) all three schools have developed separately without any such reciprocal influence, but the Pali version has suffered a significantly greater incidence of corruption. Many textual critics would doubtless have a predilection for (1), while others may feel, on the basis of general information, that the probabilities are rather in favour of some combination of (2) and (3). But such questions cannot be answered in such a fashion.

In a few of the instances where complete parallel verses had not been found, it has been possible to insert in the Pali column verses or portions of verses containing identical or closely similar phrases; and these may serve to illustrate the patchwork method of construction characteristic of much of this gnomic verse. In cultural conditions where the cliché, and particularly the religious cliché, was not so much tolerated as venerated, and where many existing verses could with the greatest of ease be broken into usable quarters, it is understandable that a considerable treasure-house of versified tags was ready to hand for any monk zealous to compose. Now and then a monk might be a poet, and here and there among the Dharmapada verses we have the good fortune to inherit some fragments of excellent poetry. But we should not expect to find very much. Poetry is not an easy art, and good poets are always rare. To build from other men's bricks and sanctified clichés is tolerably simple; and many a monk entirely devoid of poetic ability was readily persuaded that his verses were no worse than those of his neighbour.

The resulting vast accumulations of insipid mediocrity which piety preserves are by no means peculiar to Buddhism. It is even probable that religions in general have an inherent tendency to conserve indiscriminately the dreary and the insufferable, which, because of the virtuous intentions of their authors, are accorded no less reverence than great religious art and literature. Buddhism has its own share of great art; but we do no service to Buddhism or to its genuine art if we magnify the literary worth of a text beyond its deserts. Distinguished scholars (not themselves Buddhists) have indeed written with liberal hyperbole of the 'profound moral value' of the Pali *Dhammapada*, and have rated it among the masterpieces of Indian literature. Here I politely dissent. Those who write in this way can hardly have made any serious comparison with great literature; nor could anyone with a sense of literary values describe the whole collection in terms scarcely merited by its best parts, if he had himself lived day and night close enough to these verses for long enough to arrive at an assessment of his own disencumbered of hearsay.

This much is said only because of the reckless manner in which praise has been awarded, and to react by indiscriminate censure would be unjust. A reasonable critic will readily admit that there are many attractive things here, and that the average standard of the collections is indeed much higher than it might well have been. To confirm this it is only necessary to attempt to read the unrelieved doggerel of the *Dharma-samuccaya*,[1] which is the more instructive in that its author has frequently adapted and paraphrased

[1] *Dharma-samuccaya, compendium de la loi: Recueil des stances extraites du Saddharma-smṛty-upasthāna-sūtra,* chapters i–v, ed. Lin Li-kouang, Paris, 1946.

typical Dharmapada themes. Such a contrast does much to light up the bright merits of the older collections.

There is naturally an element of personal taste involved in a literary judgement, and I should not attempt to convince by argument those whose views on literature are quite different from my own. An analysis of the literary merits of the verses is not one of the purposes of this book. Yet the question is not irrelevant for further study: and it is mentioned here to invite the reader to consider for himself how many verses, trivial in content and poetic worth, were mechanically constructed from familiar clichés or fragments of other verses. It may be found that those which were certainly or very probably so engendered are by no means insignificant in number. Nevertheless, a view of the parallel versions shows at once the comparative rarity of instances where verses have been dismembered and rebuilt. We cannot therefore doubt that this general agreement between the three main versions shows that the majority of obvious patchwork verses must have congealed at a very early period. Since borrowing between schools, though it may have happened, is unlikely to have been extensive, the conclusion is almost certain that a fair number of these confections were already accepted as in some sense canonical before the period of the earliest schisms.

As a basis for further studies, the first requirement is a well-founded text; and although many diverse problems are discussed in this book, the edition of the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript has throughout been considered as central. For this purpose I have with gratitude made the fullest possible use of the writings of my predecessors. I am particularly indebted to the work of Senart, Lüders, O. Franke, Sten Konow, and H. W. Bailey, who had already contributed so much to the reading of the manuscript, to the placing of the fragments, and the identification of parallel verses.[1] In all these respects a major part of the work had already been done with regard to the previously published portions of the text, except that a new reading was still needed for the fragments which, although transcribed by Senart, had never been published in facsimile.

The new photographs have made it possible to re-read these fragments, and thus to make good lacunae which, taken together, represented a not inconsiderable fraction of the text. In addition, the clarity of the photography made it possible to correct earlier readings here and there, to extend the text in numerous small ways, and in a few instances to identify verses previously illegible. Many of the fragments now accessible for the first time are too small to give any sort of reading by themselves; and these provided me with a jig-

[1] The more widely known book by Barua and Mitra, on the other hand, was found to be virtually worthless to a new editor of the text. Almost all the usable information which they discovered (see below, pp. 6–7) had already been discovered before, and was available in earlier publications by other scholars.

saw-puzzle which I have tried my best to solve. Some of these tiny pieces, when located, were able to add new information, or to confirm a conjecture, while others did no more than supply missing portions to letters which were already perfectly legible without such help. Only a few pieces have yielded nothing, and have resisted all attempts to place them. There was of course no means of forecasting the value of a given fragment; but at least no further time need be spent on those which have been safely restored to their homes.

In the preparation of this book, my debt to Professor Sir Harold Bailey has been manifold. I have already mentioned his contributions to the study of the *Dharmapada* manuscript; and from his published writings I have derived much of the relevant information in connexion with many of the points discussed. But I wish also to thank him for the interest he has shown in the present work, and for the fact that he read each section as it was completed in typescript. I have had the opportunity of talking with him about many of the problems of the work, and am most grateful to him for additional information, including the identification of Pali equivalents for a number of the new verses, and for his encouragement throughout. I hope that in the final form of the book I have—at least on matters of substance—not expressed many views with which he would disagree; but naturally I accept full responsibility for all opinions put forward and for any rash or erroneous statements.

I wish also to thank other friends and colleagues who have discussed various relevant problems with me. I am especially grateful to Professor W. Simon, who has always most generously given his time to find for me relevant Tibetan and Chinese information whenever I have sought his assistance, and to consider and discuss any questions I have asked.

My final typed copy of the text was checked for accuracy by Mr. J. C. Wright, who also assisted me in several verifications, and read a proof of the whole book. I am most grateful to him for bringing to light, both in my own typing and in the proofs, errors which had escaped my own eyes, and also for his helpful comments on various points of subject-matter.

The publication of this work has been made possible only by the fact that the authorities of the School of Oriental and African Studies undertook to meet the whole cost of its production. My debt of gratitude in this respect is increased by their ready agreement to include the collotype plates of the manuscript. I wish to express my thanks for this very generous support. I am grateful to the officers of the Oxford University Press and to the Printer to the University of Oxford for the help they have given while the work was passing through the press.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

To page 49. A short inscription can now be cited as direct evidence of the use of Gāndhārī in China: see my article, *A Kharoṣṭhī inscription from China*, BSOAS xxiv, 1961, pp. 517–30.

To page 74: *tsa.* In case the brief reference to the palatalized value of the conjunct *ts* in Khotanese should be misleading, I should add that this remark was not meant to raise any doubts in this connexion, and that this value is accepted for Khotanese, where the non-palatalized [ts] is written by means of the conjunct *tc*.[1]

With regard to the Kharoṣṭhī conjunct character, the point to be emphasized is that the discussion is limited to the transcription of the graphic elements, and that Konow's argument from the phonetic value deduced for *ts* in Khotanese gives no support to the theory that the Kharoṣṭhī sign consists of *t* and *ś*. At the most, Khotanese usage might suggest the possibility that a comparable phonetic value developed in Gāndhārī. The argument would have been more relevant if the Khotanese written sign could be shown to have developed from a Brāhmī *t* compounded with *ś*; but even then, this type of argument could carry little weight against the evidence of the graphic development of the Kharoṣṭhī sign.

The statement that this Kharoṣṭhī compound sign is in certain instances 'replaced by *j* surmounted by a horizontal'[2] appears to be based on an assumption that *praśāja* (S. *praśaṃsā*) might be written for **praśatsa*. But no such form appears to have been recorded; and, so far as I know, there are no examples at all of an interchange between *ts* and *j*. The spelling *praśāja* (on which see further p. 62) cannot support Konow's inference that the group in question 'must have been more like *tś* than *ts*'. We cannot assume *a priori* that the development of *-ṃs-* in *saṃsāra* and *praśaṃsā* would be identical; and the assimilation of the second sibilant in *śaśaṇa* (S. *śāsana*) suggests on the contrary a divergent development, through a form **praśaṃśā*.

To page 97: the spelling *avidharma* for S. *abhidharma*, quoted as a loan-word in Khotanese, can also be cited from a Sanskrit manuscript: *avidharma ca sūtre ca vinaiya ca* (Bernard Pauli, *Fragments sanskrits de haute Asie*, J. As. ccxlv, 1957, p. 295, emended on p. 298 to *abhidharmaś ca*). It is at present impossible to say to what extent such features of Gāndhārī phonology may have come into Khotanese texts through Sanskrit manuscripts still retaining a proportion of Prakritic spellings. In any given case it seems equally possible that an accepted Central Asian form, which had come directly from Gāndhārī at an earlier period, might have been reflected back into a Sanskrit manuscript by a copyist.

To COMMENTARY, pp. 177 ff.

Introductory verse, *sārdhaṃvihārin*. Although translations such as 'friend' or 'companion' seem unsatisfactory in these typical contexts, I do not of course mean to assert that the term should never be so translated. The objection here is not so much that the English words may carry misleading overtones (although this may well be the case), but that they conceal a more relevant aspect of the relationship in question.

The fact that *sārdhaṃcara*, with a very similar etymological sense, is also represented in the inscriptions may be relevant in connexion with the pair of verses (Dhp. 328–9, Sn. 45–46, Uv. xiv. 13, 14, &c.) beginning:

sace labetha nipakaṃ sahāyaṃ saddhiṃcaraṃ sādhuvihāri dhīraṃ.

[1] See H. W. Bailey, ZDMG 92 (n.f. 17), 1938, pp. 588–9, where this is confirmed by the distribution of *ts* and *tc* in relation to Chinese transcriptions.

[2] Konow, *Saka studies*, pp. 11–12.

It seems probable that the word *sādhuvihāri* here has been evoked by the preceding word; and if it is original in the verse, it may have been intended as an approximate *śleṣa* suggesting *sārdhavihāri*. But the latter would itself come quite appropriately as a third term after *sahāyaṃ* and *saddhiṃcaraṃ*, while *sādhuvihāri* is not altogether convincing. It seems at least a possibility that the verse originally had a word equivalent to *sārdhavihāri*. In such a context, clearly, this could not mean 'pupil', and 'companion' would be entirely appropriate. There would indeed be nothing extravagant in the suggestion that it could have meant 'teacher' here, the relationship of 'living together' being reciprocal. A subsequent tendency of usage to apply the term more frequently to the pupil would supply a motive for its replacement in this verse by *sādhuvihāri*. The second *pāda* has been altered still more in the *Udānavarga*: *loke caraṃ sādhu hi nityam eva*. (Chakravarti, pp. 171–2; the verses are not extant in the old manuscript.)

The standard usage is clear in *Divyāvadāna* 18, 299, 489, where both the *antevāsinaḥ* and the *sārdhaṃvihāriṇaḥ* of a single senior monk are mentioned together; and in *Avadāna-śataka* ii. 139–40, where converts (*vineyāḥ*) of an elderly monk are called *sārdhaṃvihāriṇaḥ* a few lines later. (Although the term is applied to them after they had themselves become Arhants, the speakers were unaware of this fact.) In such places, where the word is used in its established technical sense, it would seem better to avoid the rendering 'companion'.

15. With the second half of the verse we may compare MBh. v. 36, 14:

yato yato nivartate tatas tato vimucyate
nivartanād dhi sarvato na vetti duḥkham aṇv api.

This is in itself quite straightforward, and offers no difficulties of interpretation; but equally, it gives no positive assistance towards a solution of the problems in the Buddhist verse.

It may be remarked that the passage in the *Mahābhārata* from which the above stanza is quoted contains a fair number of themes closely similar to those typical of the Dharmapada verses.

31. A variant form of the first half of this verse appears as the second half of MBh. xii. 208, 8:

tāsmat samāhitaṃ buddhyā mano bhūteṣu dhārayet:
nāpadhyāyen na spṛhayen nābaddhaṃ cintayed asat.

It may not be possible to discriminate sharply between the meaning of *apa-dhyai-* and *ava-dhyai-* (and *ava-* is quoted as the reading of a few manuscripts here). The sense given by the commentary quoted in the critical edition, *nāpadhyāyet, duṣṭena manasā bhūtāni na paśyet*, appears to have been suggested by the preceding line; but although this is reasonable enough in itself, an alternative interpretation similar to that proposed for the Buddhist verse seems possible, taking *asat* as the object of all three verbs: 'One should not despise evil, nor desire it, nor unrestrainedly [according to the commentaries, unprofitably] think of it.'

Although the immediate context in the *Mahābhārata* gives no assistance for the third *pāda* of the Prakrit, the confirmation of the meaning conjectured for *avijapu* is a definite gain. There is the further point that the latter is readily understandable as an adjective, but not as an optative; and from this it follows that *avaja'i* is also an adjective, although as a written form it could equally be the direct equivalent of *apadhyāyet*. It is probable, therefore, that the half-verse in the *Mahābhārata* is a Sanskrit rendering from Middle Indian, where the translator, by interpreting the first word as an optative, found himself committed to a syntactical structure which could not accommodate the following adjective. The substitution of *spṛhayet* can thus be seen as a simple and uncomplicated process, whereas the contrary transposition (from a Sanskrit

original with an optative to a Prakrit with a word equivalent to *avijāpu*) would be much less straightforward, and there would be no obvious motive for the change. We may further remark that the *Udānavarga* differs not infrequently in words and phrases from the corresponding verses in the other Buddhist texts, and that many of these differences are similar in nature and extent to those seen here between the Gāndhārī line and the Sanskrit. Granted that this does not prove a case beyond all possible doubt, and that some of these differences may result from corruption, including rephrasing in places where a word or two had been forgotten, although the sense of the verse as a whole was remembered; nevertheless, as the successive revisions in the *Udānavarga* show, this type of paraphrasing is especially characteristic of revisers who aim at a good standard of Sanskrit.

111. *dvīpa, dīpa*: cf. also *Rāṣṭrapāla-paripṛccha* 49. 12, where the two metaphors sit comfortably side by side:

tīrthaṃ ca saṃdarśaya uhyato me
dīpaṃ kuruṣvāpi mamāndhakāre.

117. For the comparison of moral or spiritual wealth with the wealth of a merchant, cf. also Divy. 555 *vaṇig iva labdhalābhaḥ*; Dhp. 123 *vāṇijo va bhayaṃ maggaṃ appasattho mahaddhano*. Although in these, as in Ārya Śūra's verse (quoted anonymously in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*, 3036, with the inferior variant *kuśalavibhavaṃ*), the term used is *vaṇik*, a *śreṣṭhin* is no less concerned with wealth, and there is nothing inherently inappropriate in the reading *śreṣṭhīva*. [See also Ivo Fišer, *The problem of the seṭṭhi in Buddhist Jātakas*, Archiv Orientální xxii, 1954, pp. 238–66. This article, however, is based almost entirely on Pali sources, and requires supplementation. Although the terms *vaṇik* and *śreṣṭhin* are not synonyms, they are not as sharply opposed as Fišer appears to suggest (ibid., p. 244). For the present, we may observe that *śreṣṭhī* in Uv. iv. 10 is translated in Tibetan by *tshoṅ dpon*; *vaṇik* is regularly *tshoṅ pa*; and *sārthavāha*, chief of a group of *vaṇijaḥ*, is *ded dpon*, the last being given by Desgodins and the Tib.-Tib. Dictionary as synonymous with *tshoṅ dpon*. (In *Mahākarmavibhanga*, ed. Lévi, for *der dpon* p. 192, line 12, and *dad dpon* p. 194, line 2, read *ded dpon*.) In Jāt. iv. 1 Mittavindaka is the son of a *seṭṭhi*; while in the corresponding story in AvŚ. i. 195, 199, and Divy. 586, 593, Maitrakanyaka's father is called both *sārthavāha* and *vaṇik*.]

In a brief note, Lüders[1] argued that the verse was so much better with *śreṣṭhī* that this must be right; and if no other evidence were available we might well incline to agree. But his further remark, 'Dazu kommt, daß *seṭṭha* eigentlich gar kein richtiges Beiwort für *dhana* ist', expresses an opinion not shared by the ancient authors of ethical verses. To the three examples already quoted (see p. 212) we may add MBh. xii. 56, 18 *ṛṣīṇām api rājendra satyam eva paraṃ dhanam*, and Uv. x. 3 (= Sn. 182) *śraddhā hi vittaṃ puruṣasya śreṣṭham*. The designation of a moral attribute as a man's 'best wealth' is in fact fairly frequent, and a standard list of seven such virtues is well known: Mvy. § 78; CPD s.v. *ariya-dhana*; cf. also verse **260**. On further consideration, therefore, the Pali form of the present verse, with *dhanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ*, appears to have a better claim to be the older.

The important point remains, however, that the Prakrit *śeṭhi* can hardly be dissociated from the Uv. reading; and if, as suggested, the Prakrit form was at first intended as a neuter, this agreement may be cited as direct evidence for a Gāndhārī element (not necessarily the present recension) in the direct ancestry of the *Udānavarga*.

[1] *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, § 231.

120. A close parallel in MBh. xii. 58. 14 upholds the Pali and Sanskrit reading *seṭṭhataṃ*, *śreṣṭhatāṃ*:

utthānenāmṛtaṃ labdham utthānenāsurā hatāḥ
utthānena mahendreṇa śraiṣṭhyaṃ prāptaṃ divīha ca.

The interpretation of the Prakrit *samidhi* remains conjectural, and of the two possibilities suggested in the commentary, the second (S. *samitiṃ*) seems intrinsically easier and rather more natural. The MBh. verse, however, is cited in its own context in a manner which suggests that it may have been a familiar saying (*bṛhaspatir abhāṣata*, and *ślokāṃś cātra nibodha me*); and the interpretation as *samithe* may be thought to win some support from the explicit mention in the second *pāda* here of the battle with the *asuras*. The first *pāda* could in the same way be taken to favour the sense of *samṛddhiṃ* (which naturally still remains difficult to justify metrically).

123. For the problem of the 'house of reeds', Professor Bailey has kindly given me the relevant information from Khotanese and Agnean translations of the phrase, which have respectively *damänu ggaysīṃgyo*,[1] and *karwāṣi waṣtt oki*.[2] In both of these the 'reeds' of the original are represented by an adjectival form, and it can therefore hardly be doubted that both translators understood the sense to be 'a house consisting of reeds'.

This is of course not decisive for the sense intended by the author of the verse; and in favour of the alternative suggested ('home of the reeds'), we may add that in this way the simile would seem much more to the point. A comparison between the army of Death and a hut built of reeds does not seem immediately apt; but the growing reeds at the water's edge, standing upright and closely packed, could very readily have suggested to the author an 'army' which he could use for such a simile. The normal behaviour of the elephant in nature is reflected by epithets such as S. *drumāri* 'enemy of trees', and Tibetan *ḥdam bu ḥjoms* 'destroyer of reeds' (Tib.–Tib. Dict. s.v., explained as *glaṅ po che*).

In the Chinese translation of the *Dīrghāgama*, the verse appears to have been understood in this way, and Waldschmidt[3] gives the rendering 'wie der Elefant, der ein Schilfdickicht zertritt'. This may perhaps have been influenced by the Indian versions, since the Taishō edition[4] does not have 'reed-thicket', but rather 'flower-thicket', 花叢. By this expression the translator doubtless intended to convey the sense of 'flowers growing closely together in a compact mass' (although later Chinese readers may have thought of another sense hardly appropriate in the Buddhist verse). But whatever the reason may have been for the replacement of reeds by flowers, the relevant point is that there is no mention of a house. Admittedly, the translation may owe more to the translator's general idea of what was appropriate in the context than to a definite analysis of the sense of the Indian text.

In the *Vinaya* of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins,[5] on the other hand, the translation 草舍 'grass-hut' ('thatched hut'), definitely sides with the Central Asian versions. In the earlier translation from the *Udānavarga*,[6] 華室 'flower-house', the house is also explicitly present, although the reeds have been transformed in the same manner as in the *Dīrghāgama*. In the revised version of the Uv., 蓮池 'lotus-pond' is doubtless a literary improvement rather than a reinterpretation of *hua shih*, but just conceivably may have been a correction influenced by a reconsideration of the Sanskrit text.

[1] E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus*, p. 279 (E. xxiii. 276); S. Konow, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, vii. 16; xi. 54.

[2] Sieg and Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste*, 258a4.

[3] *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras*, i, p. 194.

[4] Vol. i, no. 1, p. 81*b*.

[5] Taishō, vol. xxiv, no. 1448, pp. 6*b*, 30*a*, &c.

[6] Lévi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1912, p. 287.

The verse being a famous one, still further translations could doubtless be collected; and those quoted raise new problems of their own. There is, however, no unanimous tradition of interpretation here, and the possibility that *naḍāgāraṃ* meant 'reedy pond' in the original verse cannot be definitely excluded.

164. A variant form of the verse quoted from Manu occurs in MBh. xii. 269, 10, where the last phrase is given as *mātrālābheṣv anādṛtaḥ*.

To the numerous examples of verses of the Dharmapada type which are held in common by the Buddhist and Brahmanical traditions, we may add here Sn. 450, Saṃ. i. 189 (= Uv. viii. 11, Chakravarti p. 91):

subhāsitaṃ uttamam āhu santo
dhammaṃ bhaṇe nādhammaṃ taṃ dutiyaṃ
piyaṃ bhaṇe nāppiyaṃ taṃ tatiyaṃ
saccaṃ bhaṇe nālikaṃ taṃ catutthaṃ.

MBh. v. 36, 12:

avyāhṛtaṃ vyāhṛtāc chreya āhuḥ
satyaṃ vaded vyāhṛtaṃ tad dvitīyam
priyaṃ vaded vyāhṛtaṃ tat tṛtīyaṃ
dharmyaṃ vaded vyāhṛtaṃ tac caturtham.

The Uv. version, which is otherwise close to the Pali, agrees with the MBh. in *vadet*. Obviously, no conclusions can be drawn from this agreement.

233–4. Cf. also (for the simile in the Pali) MBh. ii. 55. 1 (Bombay edition):

yasya nāsti nijā prajñā kevalaṃ tu bahuśrutaḥ
na sa jānāti śāstrārthaṃ darvī sūparasān iva.

The *Dharmapada*, however, is more optimistic than this about the benefits of education, and chapter xv appears to assume that a man who is learned is for this reason a wise man. In **254**, the Prakrit seems to say in *b*, 'learning grows by means of wisdom'; but although this may be true, such a reading destroys the structure of the poetic figure in the verse. The Pali version must therefore be preferred, on rhetorical grounds: 'learning increases wisdom'. If *vaḍhadi* can have the transitive sense of S. *vardhati* (very rare except in Vedic), the Prakrit may be understood as 'learning makes (a man) grow in wisdom'. If the verb is intransitive (S. *vardhate*), *ṣuda* might be taken as instrumental or ablative, giving the alternative, 'because of learning, (a man) grows in wisdom', or (dividing *praña ya*) 'and because of learning, wisdom increases'. There seems to be no strong reason for choosing one of these interpretations rather than another; and although the argument from rhetoric is convincing for the earlier form of the verse, we have no guarantee that the Prakrit version had not been altered at the expense of the *alaṅkāra*.

250. Uv. xxix. 20 shares its first *pāda* with this verse, but diverges in the remaining three. In Pischel's edition of the chapter (p. 980, where the verse is numbered 30), it is printed *[sa]dbhir [e]va sahāsīta*. Unfortunately the accompanying photograph stops just short of the verse in question. It is therefore all the more vexatious that the editor has used square brackets not only to mark words or letters which he has supplied where the manuscript was broken, but also to indicate his own emendations in places where the manuscript was perfectly clear and unbroken. Examples of the latter can be seen in *a* 2 in the photograph, *ya*, printed on p. 977, verse 6, as *y[ā]*; and *b* 1, *śobhamānaḥ*, printed on p. 978, verse 12, as *śobhamān[ā]ḥ*.

This double employment thus deprives us of relevant information, and we cannot tell from the published text whether the manuscript was broken—in which case the scribe might as likely as not have written *eva*—or whether the scribe did in fact write *sadbhir ava*. If the latter, the agreement of such an unusual spelling (or error, if we prefer to call it so) with *sabhir ava* in the Kharoṣṭhī manuscript would not be easy to accept as an accidental coincidence.

For the present, all we can do is to note the point, and lay it aside for future reference. In itself, such a thing appears to be of very minor significance. But especially in these early manuscripts, peculiarities of spelling may later be found to have a significance which was not at first obvious, and editors must be begged not to obliterate such evidence by emendation.

262. The relationship between the forms *druprava'i* and *duppabbajjaṃ* would be more easily understood if the word could be taken as an adjective. By itself, the Prakrit verse could be interpreted in this way: 'A house (*gharaṃ*) is difficult to leave (*duṣpravrajaṃ*), difficult to enjoy, difficult to dwell in'. If the structure of the original verse had been similar to this, the Pali form, equivalent to *duṣpravrajyaṃ* in the Uv., would merely be an example of the occasional tendency of compounds with *su-* and *dus-* to appear with *-ya* instead of the regular *-a* (Pāṇini iii. 3. 126–30). In Sanskrit, examples are infrequent, and are mostly epic: *duṣprāpya-*, *durbhedya-*, for *duṣprāpa-*, *durbheda-*. (Wackernagel–Debrunner, *Altindische Grammatik*, II. 1, pp. 176, 193; II. 2, p. 801.) The agreement between the Pali *gharā* and Uv. *gṛhāḥ*, however, raises difficulties.

275. Cf. also MBh. i. 74. 2:

yaḥ samutpatitaṃ krodhaṃ nigṛhṇāti hayaṃ yathā
sa yantety ucyate sadbhir na yo raśmiṣu lambate.

277, 279. A number of similar expressions and the same general purport may be seen in MBh. xii. 57, 29, and 33:

akrodhano 'thāvyasanī mṛdudaṇḍo jitendriyaḥ
rājā bhavati bhūtānāṃ viśvāsyo himavān iva.
putrā iva pitur gehe viṣaye yasya mānavāḥ
nirbhayā vicariṣyanti sa rājā rājasattamaḥ.

329. The suggestion that the original verse might have had *-pātita-* seems to be in accord with the sense required. But it should be added that such a reading would be metrically faulty, at least by classical standards, and would for this reason be especially liable to provoke alteration. The possibility at least remains open that the current reading *-patitaṃ* is a substitute which has indeed cured the metre, but at the expense of making the grammar somewhat awkward.

INTRODUCTION

It is now more than sixty years since the first publication by Senart and Oldenburg of portions of this Prakrit recension of a Dharmapada. Since then the importance of this early manuscript has been widely recognized. Its contents are of great interest for the history of the older period of Buddhist literature, and in its form it provides invaluable material both for linguistic history and for palaeography. Its evidence has been frequently cited in all these branches of study, and important contributions have been made by many individual scholars towards the elucidation of its problems. But these contributions have been widely dispersed in learned journals, and it has been extremely difficult for anyone to obtain a clear view either of the structure of the text or of its language, unless he were prepared to consult a number of publications, for the most part accessible only in large libraries. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that, prior to the edition by H. W. Bailey in 1945, the picture must inevitably have been more or less distorted, except for those who had for themselves done much of the preliminary research which would have been required for an edition. In 1945, however, only the facsimiles published by Senart and Oldenburg were available, and Bailey's edition was therefore confined to these portions of the text. It is most gratifying that it has now become possible for the first time to publish an edition and facsimiles of all those parts of the text which are known to be extant.

This ancient birch-bark manuscript enjoys the distinction of uniqueness in several different respects. It has generally been accepted to be the oldest manuscript now extant of any Indian text. It is the only literary text known which is written in the Kharoṣṭhī script, in the north-western dialect of the Gāndhāra region, the only Buddhist text (apart from a few minute fragments quoted in inscriptions and among the Niya documents) in this language—indeed, the only Buddhist text from the earlier period which has survived in any Indian language other than Pali and Sanskrit. It may well be the only remainder of a much more extensive Buddhist literature, possibly a complete canon, belonging to one of the numerous schools of the Lesser Vehicle whose names have come down to us. But it seems unlikely that it will be possible to identify the school, unless in the future some further portion of the same canon should be discovered which might perhaps contain some clue to its owners. Our regrettably unique text is thus in many respects tantalizing. There is still enough to show the extent to which our understanding of the development of early Buddhist literature might have been affected if only further texts of this and of other lost canons had survived in the original language.

I. DISCOVERY AND PUBLICATION

Details of the discovery of the manuscript remain obscure. It seems certain that parts of it were acquired in Khotan in 1892 by MM. Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard; but it was not until five years later, in Paris, that Grenard (according to Senart), in the process of sorting the papers of the Dutreuil de Rhins expedition, came upon these pieces again, and showed them to Sylvain Lévi and Senart. By a coincidence it was also early in 1897 that another set of pieces of the same manuscript reached S. F. Oldenburg in St. Petersburg, having been acquired by N. Th. Petrovskii, Russian Consul-General in Kashgar.[1]

The manuscript was reported by Grenard to have been discovered at the Kohmārī Mazar, 21 kilometres from Khotan, in the valley of the Kara-kāsh river, and he identified the place with the ancient Gośṛnga-vihāra.[2] But the French travellers had not been in a position to make the discovery themselves. Senart raised the question as to whether 'l'indigène à qui les scruples des musulmans avaient forcé nos missionnaires de confier l'exploration de la grotte' might not have held back part of the manuscript remains which he had found. This question was of course prompted by the knowledge of M. Petrovskii's part of the manuscript; and, as we shall see, there are indeed good grounds for suspecting that more than this portion was held back. A cynic might in any case have doubted the sincerity of religious scruples which forbade the infidels access to the place, and did not hesitate to plunder it on behalf of the same infidels. From the evidence available, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the scruples in question were financial rather than religious. This of course means that we can have no confidence whatsoever in the report that the manuscript was found at the Gośṛnga-vihāra.[3] If the discoverer felt sure that the place contained nothing further vendible, he had no motive for not telling the truth. If he hoped to return another day and search for further things to sell to foreigners, he had every reason for naming the wrong place.

Whatever the real circumstances of the discovery and acquisition might have been, both portions of this almost incredible document lay unnoticed until, at almost the same time, early in 1897, each part came under the eyes of a scholar who was able to recognize its extraordinary importance.

Senart made his first announcement in May,[4] and shortly afterwards learnt

[1] But according to Senart, 'agent à Khotan'.

[2] See also M. A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pp. 185 ff.

[3] These doubts were already expressed by Stein, who examined the cave which was said to be the find-spot (distinct from, although contiguous to, the Kohmārī Mazar), and reported that there was no place in the cave where the manuscript might be thought to have lain for centuries. He was also able to question people in Khotan who still remembered the visit of Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard, but he was unable to obtain any information concerning the manuscript. (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 188.)

[4] *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, IV^{e} série, t. XXV, pp. 251 ff.

that fragments of a similar Kharoṣṭhī manuscript had been sent to St. Petersburg by M. Petrovskii. Meanwhile, Oldenburg prepared a transcription and facsimile of one leaf[1] which was published by the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg for presentation to the Eleventh International Congress of Orientalists, held in Paris in September 1897.[2] Senart likewise gave a report to the same congress on the Dutreuil de Rhins fragments.[3]

It was immediately clear that the two sets of pieces formed parts of the same manuscript. Senart, it would appear, had seen all the Russian material, perhaps in facsimile, and had discussed with Oldenburg the possibility of a joint publication. No very good reason was afterwards given for the failure of this plan. From a few remarks made by Senart it would seem that the two scholars had some disagreement, possibly quite minor, on the manner in which the material should be presented in print. They agreed therefore each to publish the part of the manuscript which was lodged in his own country. Whatever the disagreement may have been, it was obviously an amicable one. Oldenburg courteously placed the Russian material at Senart's disposal; while Senart returned the courtesy by confining his use of that material within very narrow limits, in order not to anticipate the publication intended by his Russian colleague.

In 1898 Senart published the French material in the *Journal Asiatique*,[4] together with facsimiles of the main leaves,[5] but not of the smaller fragments. He did, however, include a transcription of all the fragments of any size which he had been able to read, and was able to locate a large number of these in their correct position in the main manuscript. He had been able to verify that the beginning of the leaf which he called B, containing a number of verse-beginnings, fitted the end of one of the Russian pieces, and he was able to include in his edition the ends of the verses in question, taken from the Russian manuscript.

It appears that even at that time Oldenburg was not in very good health, and doubtless was much burdened by other duties. Whatever the reason, the Russian portions of the manuscript remained unpublished, and even the fragment of thirty lines presented to the Congress of Orientalists was so limited in circulation that it remained virtually unknown. Even scholars who were most interested in the material and discussed Senart's publication in great detail seemed for the most part to have been scarcely aware of the existence of Oldenburg's folio (although it was mentioned by Senart in his

[1] Subsequently designated by the letter O: plates I and II in the present edition.

[2] Предварительная замѣтка о буддійской рукописи написанной письменами kharoṣṭhī. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres orientales en l'honneur du XI Congrès des Orientalistes à Paris.)

[3] *Proceedings of the XIth International Congress of Orientalists*, Paris, 1897, i, pp. 1–7.

[4] For bibliographical details of this, and of other publications mentioned in the following paragraphs, see Bibliography.

[5] A, B, and C: plates V–X and XIX–XX in the present edition.

introduction). It was not until Sten Konow published[1] a new reading and discussion of Oldenburg's facsimile that these lines became generally accessible; and even then it remained difficult for an individual to obtain a sight of the facsimile itself. For the majority, the 'Prakrit Dhammapada' and the 'manuscript Dutreuil de Rhins' were in practice synonyms, and almost everything written on the subject has been based on Senart's edition, supplemented to a greater or lesser degree by the critical improvements suggested by two or three subsequent scholars.

This edition by Senart was a most remarkable and admirable achievement. It might indeed seem almost superfluous to say so; but in later years, when further study had made it possible for others to publish corrections to Senart's work in a number of important articles, there also appeared in print a quantity of indifferent writing on the subject, and many careless statements were made.[2] It must not be thought that the need for subsequent correction implies that Senart's work had anything in common with these later aberrations. It is the more necessary to say this, since the most generally available edition, that of Barua and Mitra, sometimes refers to Senart in a tone which is contemptuously patronizing, and corrects his errors in a manner appropriate to a

[1] *Acta Orientalia*, xix. 1, 1943.

[2] A single example will suffice. In the introduction to her translation of the Pali *Dhammapada* (*Minor Anthologies of the Pali Canon*, i, 1931, p. xviii), Mrs. Rhys Davids stated that in the Prakrit text the Magga-vagga was the first chapter; and that the first verse in that chapter was that beginning *uju'o namu so magu* (verse 97 in the present edition). On this insubstantial foundation further arguments were based. Now it was impossible at that time to know that the verse in question was the 18th in chapter vi: the evidence was not available. But the following facts were available to everyone. The chapter is contained in leaf A of Senart's edition; and this leaf comes at the beginning of Barua and Mitra's edition simply because it was called A, and for no other reason. Senart had, however, made it clear that there was no evidence by which he could decide the order of the leaves, and that he had (quite properly in the circumstances) arbitrarily named them A, B, and C simply for convenience of reference. From the chapter, 13 verses survive, of which A^4 contains 9 and A^3 contains 4. The latter piece also marks the end of the chapter, and gives the total of 30 verses for the chapter. It follows that A^4 precedes A^3, and that 17 verses have been lost. Barua and Mitra assumed that the missing verses were 10–26; and as a result, Mrs. Rhys Davids found her verse marked as 1 in their edition. No specialist knowledge is needed in order to see that the assumption is a wild guess. It was not necessary even to examine the facsimiles. Merely on the facts given, there was only one chance in three that the chapter was the earliest among the Paris leaves, and only 1 chance in 18 that the verse was the first in the chapter. The existence of the unpublished material in Leningrad was well known, and there could in any case be no certainty at the time that the beginning of the manuscript had been preserved at all. There was, at the best, only 1 chance in 2 that the Paris leaves contained the earliest extant chapter, and a quite incalculable chance that the earliest extant chapter might be the original first chapter. Simply on inspection, therefore, the probabilities combine into something quite formidable; and it was a bold gambler indeed who, in the face of such odds, could risk the wager that the verse in question was the first verse in the book. (If the facsimiles had been used, it was even at that time theoretically possible to determine the position of the verse within the chapter, since traces of the tails of four consecutive characters at the top of A^3 fit exactly the end of A^4, and anyone acquainted with the use of tracing-paper could have seen this fact. But since, so far as I am aware, no one else either had seen it before Filliozat, who fitted the pieces together under the same glass, it would be unfair to reproach Barua and Mitra or Mrs. Rhys Davids for failing to make the observation.)

schoolmaster reproving a careless pupil.[1] Such an attitude is altogether unjustified. If we are to do justice to the achievement we must remember that in 1897 only a very small corpus of Kharoṣṭhī writing was available for comparison, and that the manuscript presented an entirely new style of writing, differing considerably from the known epigraphical forms. Within the space of a few months Senart had not only deciphered the text, but had also identified Pali parallels for the great majority of the verses, and had fitted into place the greater number of significant fragments. Only one who has himself attempted a similar task is in a position to know how many errors may remain in the text in the fifth month of the work which the sixth will remove, how many unplaced fragments may suddenly find a secure home in the seventh. Recognizing the great importance of the manuscript, Senart unselfishly published it as soon as possible, and thus gave to others the opportunity of using the material, and of making corrections.

Two major contributions, by H. Lüders in 1899, and by R. O. Franke in 1906,[2] between them did almost everything that remained to be done, on the basis of Senart's edition and facsimiles, in respect of the readjustment of fragments and the identification of parallels. New readings were also proposed; and although progress was in general slower in the matter of palaeographic interpretation, numerous gains were made here also.

The most noteworthy single advance was made by Sten Konow who, in a short article,[3] showed that the manuscript maintained a clear and consistent distinction between *n* and *ṇ*[4] (both indiscriminately transcribed by Senart as *n*); and that *t* and *d*, although of closely similar shape, could regularly be distinguished. Senart, having missed the distributional pattern of these two, gave in his transcription *t* or *d* in accordance with the Sanskrit or Pali equivalent word. But the dialect of the manuscript, as Konow demonstrated, had a different but nevertheless regular distribution of the sounds.

Once these distinctions had been pointed out, they could hardly be disregarded. While some of the discriminations made earlier (as, for example, between *st* and *th*, or *vh* and *bh*) had affected many individual words, Konow's discoveries completely altered the appearance of the dialect.[5] Since the addition

[1] There is no reason to suppose that this was intended. Writing in a foreign language, the authors may have been entirely unaware of implications which their form of statement would convey to an English reader.

[2] See Bibliography. The notice by T. W. Rhys Davids (JRAS 1899) brought together numerous additional references from Pali texts for many of the verses identified by Senart. This article and some other early discussions were based on offprints of Senart's edition; and since these offprints, in accordance with a most reprehensible practice, had been repaginated, the references to pages do not correspond with the page numbers in the *Journal Asiatique*. The correct numbers can be restored by the addition of 192.

[3] *Festschrift Ernst Windisch*, 1914.

[4] The distinction had earlier been noted in some specific instances by Bühler (Konow, loc. cit., p. 87).

[5] For example, the word corresponding to *paṇḍito* had been transcribed by Senart as *panito*, from which it would seem that the dialect

of these points to other advances in the understanding of the script after the date of Senart's edition now left scarcely a single verse unaffected, it became highly dangerous to quote anything at all from this text as linguistic evidence, unless it could be verified in the published plates. A new edition of the text would have been most desirable, but understandably enough, Konow, who might well have undertaken it, thought it best to wait until the Russian portions of the manuscript had been published. Nevertheless, by 1920 enough was known about the Kharoṣṭhī of the manuscript to make possible a new edition of the French material which could have been much more reliable in points of transcription than Senart's. Unfortunately the editors who republished the text in 1921 were not interested in such details.

This book, by Benimadhab Barua and Sailendranath Mitra, was entitled *Prakrit Dhammapada, based upon M. Senart's Kharoṣṭhī manuscript, with text, translation, and notes.* It contained a reprinting of the text of Senart's edition, with the French annotations done into English, followed by a second section headed 'The Kharoṣṭhī Manuscript of the Dhammapada, with improved readings and readjustments'. This section covers the two leaves A and C, and it would appear that the section improving and readjusting B was never published. It would naturally not be supposed that the editors of a unique manuscript would wilfully neglect to consult published facsimiles. But whatever study Barua and Mitra might have devoted to the facsimiles, their edition was in the end entirely dominated by Senart's original transcription. In some places the facsimiles were certainly ignored: alterations inconsistent with the manuscript were proposed, and tentative suggestions were made which a glance at the manuscript would have either confirmed or disproved.[1] To a considerable extent, therefore, this new edition was 'based upon M. Senart's

agreed with Pali in preserving an intervocalic *-t-*, and that the retroflex group *-ṇḍ-* had resulted in a dental *-nn-*. The latter point was used as an argument in discussing the dialectal position of the language of the manuscript (J. Bloch, *Le Dialecte des fragments Dutreuil de Rhins*, JAs. xix, 1912, p. 332). In fact, an earlier intervocalic *-t-* was regularly represented in the dialect by *-d-*, and the group *-ṇḍ-* by *-ṇ-*; and the word in question could now be seen to be written *paṇido*.

[1] The following illustrations are selected at random (except that they have been limited to points where Senart's facsimile was very clear, and called for no particular skill in palaeography). On p. 186, after C^{r}43, 'we cannot say if there were more verses [in the chapter] after this': the end of the chapter is clearly marked. After C^{v}44, p. 238, 'Although the colophon is missing from the extant MS., we are confident that this verse formed a fitting conclusion to this chapter': the end of the chapter is again clearly marked. Between C^{v}8 and 9 (pp. 198–200) an extra verse is inserted, and it is specifically said that its omission is not the scribe's fault, but Senart's: in the manuscript the two verse-beginnings are consecutive, and there is no room for the conjectured additional verse. A36 *'utiṭhe'*, with the footnote, 'The reading in M. Senart's edition is *utiṭha*': in the manuscript also, the final syllable is *-ṭha*. In C^{r}1, 2 (where Senart has *kuśala*), the reading *kuśalo* is adopted, with the note, 'The mistake is perhaps due to the scribe': whether or not it was a mistake, the scribe certainly wrote *kuśala*. C^{r}19 *jiv(i)*, the final vowel being noted as a conjecture of the editors: the reading is correct, but conjecture was unnecessary, the vowel-stroke being plainly visible in the manuscript. C^{v}10 *vitati* (for *vikadi*): the syllable *ka* is clear, and shows no resemblance at all to *ta*.

Kharoṣṭhī manuscript' only in the indirect sense that it was based upon M. Senart's transcription of the manuscript.

These remarks must not be understood to mean that the book was without value. On the contrary, it has for many years served as a useful compendium of Senart's text for the majority who have been able to consult the original in the *Journal Asiatique* only in libraries. In addition, it brought together a great deal of parallel material from the Mahābhārata, from Rockhill's translation of the Udānavarga, and elsewhere. Much of this, it is true, had already been identified by Lüders, Franke, de la Vallée Poussin, and others; but it was useful to have it assembled in one volume. And, apart from the question of transcription, the text as readjusted was a considerable improvement upon Senart's. Many verses left unidentified by Senart were provided with Pali parallels, and many misplaced fragments were put in their correct positions.[1]

It still remains difficult to understand the attitude of editors who were content in 1921 to reproduce the transcription of 1898. It could hardly be supposed that they were entirely unaware of advances in this field, and indeed Konow's fundamental article of 1914 was included in the 'list of important texts and articles consulted'. Whether or not it was in fact consulted, the editors made no use or mention of its results, nor of any other matters of palaeography; nor was the reader given the slightest hint that the transcription being reprinted was already known to be inadequate and misleading in almost every verse.

Meanwhile those scholars chiefly interested in the manuscript preferred to postpone the preparation of an edition based upon a rereading of the

[1] Although almost all of these parallels had been identified, and almost all the readjustments already proposed, either by Lüders or by Franke, Barua and Mitra must be given the credit for having made the same discoveries independently, as their Preface shows: 'It will be seen that the plan of the chapters appearing in Part II of this instalment was worked out independently of the very valuable suggestions of R. Otto Franke in his article *Zum Manuskript Dutreuil de Rhins* contributed to the ZDMG (60), 1906, and of Sylvain Lévi in his Study of the Recensions of the Dhammapada (J. A. September–October, 1912). We have the satisfaction to note that our readjustments and identifications coincide in numerous instances with theirs.' Although the beginning of this statement seems a little vague, there can be no doubt concerning the sense of the final sentence. On p. ii of the Introduction, we read, 'At an opportune moment we chanced upon two incomplete couplets in his [Senart's] arrangement, numbered as line 1 in his plate A^2 and as line 17, or the last line, in his plate A^3. These lines, considered by him as two separate verses, appeared to us to be but integral parts of one single verse.' Similarly, on p. 187: 'It was indeed by accident that we after repeated searches chanced upon two verses in the Saṃyutta, corresponding to this verse and the next one.' (The reference is to $C^{v}1$ and 2.) The first of these discoveries was made by Lüders in 1899, the second by Franke in 1906. Since both of the relevant articles are mentioned in their bibliography, it would be rather difficult to understand these claims unless we assume that Barua and Mitra did not read the articles until the main part of their book was already in print. The striking agreement throughout with the work of their predecessors, in readjustments and identifications, may therefore be taken to result merely from the common subject-matter. And the fact that a second independent investigation was able to add hardly anything significant in these two respects is indeed a confirmation of the thoroughness of the work of Lüders and Franke.

manuscript itself until the material in Leningrad should be available. There was now also another reason for waiting a little longer, since the pen-written Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in three expeditions to Chinese Turkestan were now being published,[1] and it was desirable to compare this writing with the script of the Dharmapada manuscript. The evidence of the manuscript was used by Rapson in a detailed essay on the Kharoṣṭhī script of Chinese Turkestan,[2] by Burrow in his grammar of the language of the same documents,[3] and by Konow in his edition of the post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.[4]

Nevertheless, many earlier misconceptions persistently reappeared in print, and as late as 1943 Konow remarked[5] that his article of 1914 did not seem to have been noticed by many scholars. In spite of all that had been done by Konow and others to advance understanding, the scattered materials remained for the most part unknown: 'false readings still had currency, and no clear idea of the dialect was attained.'[6] In fact, the text had for many years been virtually unusable, except by those who had made a special study of the Kharoṣṭhī script and who were in a position to verify readings from the facsimiles in the light of the many contributions to the subject published since 1898. For the majority who were interested in the text, it was not until the publication of a new edition by H. W. Bailey[7] in 1945 that it became at all easy to obtain a good picture of the language, freed from the original errors of transcription.

II. EXTANT PARTS AND THEIR ARRANGEMENT

The present edition is based on photographs of the following pieces of the manuscript, the originals of the first three being in Leningrad and the remainder in Paris:

O, the leaf published with facsimile by Oldenburg for the International Congress in 1897. Written on one side only. Plates I and II.

M, an irregularly broken piece, also written on one side only, except for 2 verses written on the reverse in a different hand (verses 343–4). This is the leaf which, as Senart observed, fits the beginning of the Paris leaf B. Under the same glass there are preserved a number of detached fragments (some, unfortunately, upside-down) a few of which belong to the same

[1] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, edited by Boyer, Rapson, Senart, and Noble, 1920–9.

[2] Ibid. iii, pp. 295–322.

[3] *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, 1937.

[4] *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, ii, part 1, 1929.

[5] *Acta Orientalia*, xix, 1, 1943, p. 14.

[6] H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xi, 1945, p. 489.

[7] *The Khotan Dharmapada*, BSOAS xi, 1945, pp. 488–512. At that time it was not possible to obtain any material beyond the previously published facsimiles, and the edition was therefore of necessity restricted to those portions of the text, i.e. from the French material, Senart's plates of the main leaves A, B, and C, but not the fragments; and from the Russian, Oldenburg's facsimile of the leaf O.

piece. Most of the separate fragments, however, many with writing on both sides, come from a remote part of the text, two being from the end of leaf N, while the remainder are from the beginning of N, and serve to connect the latter with the end of the Paris leaf C. Every verse between C and N is in fact represented, though there are lacunae in individual verses. Plates III, IV and XVII, XVIII.

N, the largest single piece remaining intact, very well preserved, and written on both sides. Plates XI to XVI.

A, written on one side, was broken when it came into Senart's hands, and appeared in his facsimiles in four separate pieces, numbered A^1 to A^4. Lüders showed in 1899 that the end of A^3 fitted the beginning of A^2. All four pieces have now been fitted together, and it can be seen from the new photograph that they are in fact consecutive, in the order A^4, A^3, A^2, A^1. Plates VII, VIII.

B, irregularly broken at the beginning, and fitting the end of the Leningrad leaf M. Written on one side only. Plates V, VI.

C, written on both sides. Merely for purposes of reference, and fully aware that the choice was arbitrary, Senart allotted the terms *recto* and *verso* to the two sides. It is now possible to determine that the side named *verso* was written first, and the names should therefore properly be interchanged. The recto side shown in plates IX and X is thus Senart's C^{vo}, and the verso in plates XIX and XX is C^{ro}. (The reference-numbers given in the printed text after the verses have of course been retained in the form hitherto in use.)

Fragments, plates XXI to XXIV. Only two of these have writing on both sides (450 and 500, the two sides in each case being shown in adjacent positions, in plates XXII and XXIV respectively). Since all of the fragments which belong to C come from that part of the manuscript which was written on both sides, it should be added that the absence of writing on the other side in most of these fragments is only the result of the material of the manuscript, which, on being broken, easily separates into the layers of which it was constituted; and the other side is in many cases not lost, but preserved separately. This can be seen very clearly in a piece such as 490–8, plate XXIII, which fits into the blank spaces in the lower half of plate IX, while the writing on the other side is in position in the main leaf, in the upper half of plate XX.

These new photographs have not only supplied large portions of the text hitherto unpublished, but have also made it incomparably easier to read those parts published in the earlier facsimiles. No one who has seen the 1897 facsimile of O can fail to admire the great skill with which this scarcely legible document had already been interpreted; and the new photograph, beautifully

clear throughout, has made it possible to suggest only quite minor alterations to the readings given by Konow and Bailey.

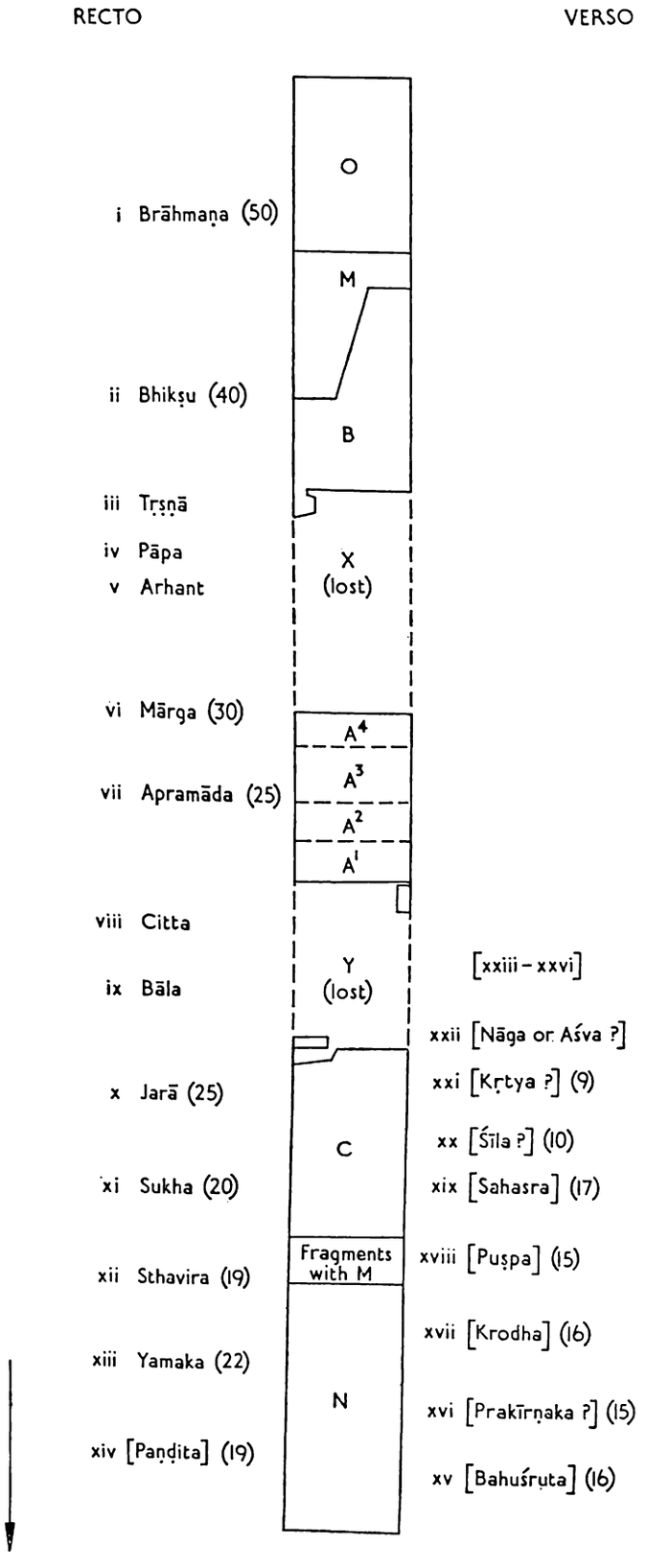
The main leaves of the Paris section are now remarkably different from the facsimiles originally published by Senart. Not only have the four parts of leaf A been fitted together, but the majority of the fragments of B and C have been fitted into place, and the new plates therefore show many portions of the text which were missing in the earlier facsimiles. For this careful restoration of the manuscript we are indebted to Professor J. Filliozat.[1] Since the pieces restored to their original positions account for most of the fragments to which Senart's edition had given separate numbers, it is no longer necessary to retain these numbers; and it will be found that any reference to these fragment-numbers in the earlier literature can be easily traced in the present edition, either through the reference number of the verse in the main leaf, or through the index.

In addition to greatly extending our knowledge of the text, the new material from Leningrad has provided an interesting piece of evidence which makes it possible to place all the main portions of the manuscript in their correct order, and also to determine with a high degree of probability the extent of the parts of the work which are still missing. While there is no means of telling whether these missing parts are still in existence, it seems very probable that they had not been lost when the manuscript was discovered in modern times. The evidence in question is an *uddāna*-verse (**223**), which gives the titles and order of the first thirteen chapters of the book:

brama i bhikhu tasiṇa i pavu
araha mageṇa ya apramadu
cita ji balu adhava jara i
suheṇa theru yama'eṇa treḍaśa.

Although the number given in such an *uddāna* does not by itself prove that the group of chapters listed in the verse was the initial group in the text, nevertheless, the introductory verse and the blank portion of the leaf preceding the *Brāhmaṇa*-chapter, the number of verses in that chapter, and the disposition of the rest of the text, all combine to show with certainty that this group of thirteen is indeed the first section of the book. In any case, the assumption of a lost group of chapters preceding this group would imply a

[1] In the course of a recent conversation, Professor Filliozat maintained that the credit for this achievement should be given to Lüders, his own contribution being only the replacement of the leaves when it became desirable to put them under fresh glass. But while no one would wish to minimize the important contribution of Lüders, this does not in any way lessen our appreciation of the skilful handling of these delicate fragments which has given us such excellent reconstructions of large parts of the manuscript.


RECTO
VERSO
O
i Brāhmaṇa (50)
M
ii Bhikṣu (40)
B
iii Tṛṣṇā
iv Pāpa
v Arhant
X
(lost)
vi Mārga (30)
A4
A3
vii Apramāda (25)
A2
A1
viii Citta
ix Bāla
Y
(lost)
[xxiii – xxvi]
xxii [Nāga or Aśva ?]
x Jarā (25)
xxi [Kṛtya ?] (9)
C
xx [Śīla ?] (10)
xi Sukha (20)
xix [Sahasra] (17)
Fragments with M
xii Sthavira (19)
xviii [Puṣpa] (15)
xvii [Krodha] (16)
xiii Yamaka (22)
N
xvi [Prakīrṇaka ?] (15)
xiv [Paṇḍita] (19)
xv [Bahuśruta] (16)

length written on one side only which would be altogether out of proportion with what could be expected in a manuscript of this nature.

When the chapters are then set out in the order given, as shown in the accompanying diagram (not drawn strictly to scale), all the surviving parts are needed, and in addition two portions, X and Y, are seen to be missing. At least as far as chapter vii, there is no writing on the reverse; and all of the parts beyond the missing piece Y contain writing on both sides. This is a familiar state of affairs, and the implications cannot be doubted: the manuscript is without question a single-strip manuscript. The present appearance of some of the parts suggests that it was of the concertina-type, though it is possible that it was originally intended to be a roll.

In theory, this fact might perhaps have been guessed from the original publication; for if any set of pieces, known to be from a single manuscript, is found to consist of portions of unequal length, some written on one side only and some on both, there is always a very high probability that these pieces have been broken from a single-strip manuscript. Books of this form, while much less usual than those consisting of separate folios, are nevertheless not at all rare in more recent times. Of the two forms, the concertina-type[1] is more frequently used, being much more convenient for the reader than the roll.

Senart, it seems, thought of the three main pieces as leaves which had been separate from the start, and applied to them the terms 'cahiers' and 'feuillets'.[2] These leaves he described as follows: 'Une fois écrits, ils étaient repliés sur eux-mêmes de façon à se présenter sous l'aspect de cahiers de 20 centimètres de long sur une hauteur de 4 centimètres et demi à 5 centimètres.' On the other hand, Filliozat, who had also handled the manuscript, described it as 'un rouleau'.[3]

It seems likely that a manuscript of birch-bark would suffer less in being used if it were rolled than it would if folded. If a roll was the original intention, it must be assumed that it was wound round a cylinder, possibly of wood, since the end of N, which would have been the innermost part, shows no signs of the tight folding which is characteristic of most paper strips which have been rolled without a centre-piece. But even if the manuscript was originally rolled, it seems certain that at a later date it was folded into the concertina-form. It seems impossible, however, to envisage a strip of this length folded into such narrow sections as the $4\frac{1}{2}$–5 cm. suggested by Senart. Sections of this

[1] See also J. Filliozat (JAs. 1958, p. 90), who uses the descriptions 'une longue feuille pliée en paravent', and 'pliée en accordéon'.

[2] There is of course no harm in continuing to use the term 'leaves' for the separate pieces, provided it is understood that they were not separate in the original state of the manuscript.

[3] *L'Inde Classique*, ii, p. 711. Oldenburg's communication of 1897 referred to the two 'rolls' of birch-bark which he had received from Petrovskii; but it is just possible that the term used (свиток) may have intended nothing more precise than 'packet' or 'parcel'.

size would for the most part contain only two lines of writing; and although as the plates show, some parts of the manuscript do indeed have breaks at about this distance apart, the more serious breaks are for the most part spaced more widely, and the appearance of the manuscript as a whole suggests that the primary folding (whether done by the original scribe or later) was rather into sections averaging about 10 cm. in depth. It is still possible that some of the subsidiary cracking is the result of careless refolding at a later time.[1]

The fact that the manuscript was of the single-strip type has important consequences for the text, since it allows us to deduce the numbering of the later extant chapters and the total number of chapters in the book, with a degree of probability that is little short of certainty. The characteristic feature of so many manuscripts of this type (writing on only one side at the beginning, and on both in the later parts) is the natural result of caution on the part of the scribe. For the sake of economy, both sides should be used; but since it would be most vexatious to reach the end of the reverse side before the text has been completed, the scribe normally takes the obvious precaution of continuing to extend his strip until he is a little beyond half-way in the text. If his judgement has been good, the blank portion of the reverse remaining at the beginning of the strip will be relatively small.

In the present manuscript the part blank on the reverse side is at first sight quite unreasonably large, and indeed amounts to rather more than half of the total length of the strip.[2] But this somewhat wasteful expenditure of birch-bark is immediately understood if we assume that the scribe judged his text-length in terms of the total number of chapters. This was admittedly rather unintelligent, since the chapters are arranged, with only slight irregularities, in descending order of magnitude.

We may therefore assert with considerable confidence that the Prakrit text, although differing very much in the arrangement of chapters and verses, agreed with the Pali to the extent of containing a total of 26 chapters; and that the scribe, mechanically taking the *uddāna* after chapter xiii as the half-way point in the text, allowed one more chapter as his margin of safety before starting to write on the reverse.

The grouping of a number such as 13 in an *uddāna* in itself suggests that the total number of chapters was very probably a multiple of the same number,[3] although naturally it cannot be taken as absolute proof. But a total of 26 chapters is in every way the most likely hypothesis here. The almost regular

[1] See also note on verses 343, 344.

[2] Although the lengths of the missing pieces X and Y cannot be determined exactly, a probable estimate for these lengths would suggest that the half-way point in the length of the strip came a little before the beginning of A.

[3] By way of contrast, the Udānavarga, with a total of 33 chapters, has *uddānas* in the Sanskrit manuscripts after the tenth and the twentieth chapters, while the Tibetan translation is divided into two groups of 12, one of 6, and one of 3 chapters.

arrangement of chapters in decreasing order of length shows that the two chapters Citta[1] and Bāla on the recto side of the missing piece Y probably contained together approximately 50 verses; and this would leave enough space, and perhaps a little to spare, for the verso of Y to bring the total number to 26 chapters. (Indeed, if the decrease in length continued, there might even have been room for a total of 27 or 28 chapters in all; but there are no positive grounds for conjecturing this.)

There remains the further possibility that a third section of the manuscript might have been lost beyond N, in which case a number of chapters might have disappeared between xiv and that which has been numbered as xv in this edition. But this is unlikely, for several reasons. As already suggested, one chapter after the central *uddāna* is an understandable place for the scribe to turn to the verso; and the end of N (see plate XIII) appears to have been carefully cut, whereas all the other pieces (and the beginning of N) have irregular edges, suggesting that they have been torn rather than cut. In addition, chapter xiv ends about an inch and a half before the edge of the bark; and the scribe has preferred to leave the space empty, and to start his new chapter[2] at the beginning of the other side. Nowhere else in the extant portions has a similar space been left between chapters, with the exception of a gap between chapters xx and xxi (plate XX), where the reason seems to have been an unusually rough piece of bark. The case is indeed not proved with complete certainty; but the hypothesis that the whole work consisted of 26 chapters, and that the end of N is the point of change to the verso, allows all the facts at present available to settle into position more easily and naturally than any alternative possibility. It has therefore not seemed an unreasonable risk to number the chapters on the verso of the manuscript as following without a break after xiv.

Division, and missing parts

If we now return to consider the manner in which the various parts of the manuscript are arranged—and here, it will be remembered, we are on entirely firm ground—it can be seen that this arrangement displays a symmetrical pattern which is much too well ordered to allow us to believe that it is due to chance. Whatever may have happened in 1892, it is certain that the manuscript was not simply divided at random between the French and Russian purchasers. We might reasonably have expected a division roughly in the

[1] A few fragments survive from this chapter (verses 135 ff.)

[2] The first two verses of this chapter, now broken from the main leaf, are contained in fragments 367–70, in plate XVIII. A narrow strip of bark remains attached to the main leaf beyond the place from which these fragments have come, which again contrasts with other edges where fragmentation has resulted directly from the tearing.

middle of the book—not that it matters much where: if the foreigner is going to buy it at all, a foot or two more or less is not going to make much difference to the price that can be extracted. Or if there are three possible clients, the book will be divided into three more or less equal parts. Instead of this, it was divided into seven parts, in a precise, calculated, methodical division of spoils, almost as if pains had been taken to ensure that one customer should have as good value for his money as another. Why the vendor should have troubled about this, I cannot guess.

First, a piece was torn from each end of the extended strip for M. Petrovskii, who thus obtained one portion written on one side (later to fall into two, O and M,[1] the thread having rotted) and one portion written on both sides—N, together with the debris of fragments resulting from the break (now under the same glass as M). Next, for MM. Dutreuil de Rhins and Grenard, a piece from each end of the remainder; B, written on one side, and C, written on both. Next, X and Y—for an unknown third purchaser?—but again, one piece single-sided, one double. Only A was now left,[2] and for some reason the French travellers were favoured with this additional piece.

Now it is quite obvious that, on the information at our disposal, we cannot unravel the problem after so many years. It is possible to imagine a number of different ways in which the symmetrical distribution might have come about; and in such a situation, conjecture is usually profitless. One point, however, can scarcely be doubted: when the manuscript was found in the nineteenth century it was entire. The two missing parts are situated in the interior of the strip, and stand in exactly the same relationship to each other as the French pieces B and C, and the Russian pieces O+M and N; and the part between them, A, still survives. Any suggestion that these parts might have been accidentally lost through the attrition of time is so improbable that it need not be considered.

If we could assume that there were only two purchasers, the distribution might in some ways be more easily understood. The seller in that case need only have gone alternately to his two clients, selling on each occasion a

[1] It may be noted that the break between these two shows much less damage than most of the other fractures. If the two parts had already separated before reaching Oldenburg, they were at least recognized by him as a unity, since his preliminary publication describes the material received from Petrovskii as consisting of two pieces in all.

[2] Even here there is something of a curiosity, since, on the most probable estimate of the lengths of the missing parts, A almost exactly bridges the distance between the mid-point of the total strip and the end of the part without writing on the reverse. But I can see no significance in the matter. It may be added, however, that the nearness of the beginning of A to the centre-point of the strip may in some way be linked with the fact that it is the only one of the six primary breaks which does not come at a chapter-division (as seen from the recto). It may be thought only a coincidence that the slanting tear between M and B should have left the chapter-marking (after line 100) almost exactly half-way in distance between the points where the tear reaches the edges. Yet the other four primary breaks are at chapter-divisions; and the fact further reinforces the conviction that the method of division was not random.

pair[1] of pieces, one from each end, until only the centre, A, remained for the final sale. In this case X and Y would have fallen to the share of Petrovskii. But we know from Oldenburg's statement that he received only two pieces (O+M, and N) from Petrovskii, and it would therefore be necessary to assume that the other two had been lost in transit. Such an accidental loss, unlikely enough in any case, becomes entirely incredible when it involves the double coincidence of the balanced position of the lost pieces in the text, and the close equivalence in size between the known Paris and Leningrad portions. The same reasons (and several additional difficulties) make it impossible to believe that, after Petrovskii had acquired the extremities, everything remaining might have gone to Dutreuil de Rhins. Since, as already said, it is equally difficult to believe that X and Y might have been lost at an earlier period in the history of the manuscript, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the division was into three parcels.

The finder of the manuscript, whether or not he was directly responsible for tearing it, is hardly likely to have retained the missing pieces as a keepsake. It is almost certain that they represent a third purchase.[2]

It is admittedly not very helpful to know that the lost parts of the manuscript almost certainly existed seventy years ago. The fragility of the birch-bark is easily seen from the showers of fragments which resulted from each tear; and the shattered condition in which the French portions reached Europe shows clearly enough, when contrasted with the extremities of the manuscript, O and N (obviously more vulnerable when the book was whole), the extent of the additional damage which must probably be attributed to the

[1] The alternative hypothesis, at first sight simpler, of an alternating succession of the sale of single pieces, beginning at either end of the strip and working steadily to the other, is excluded by the distribution of the fragments. Each break produced a number of fragments, and in each case these were gathered and put with the piece removed. Thus, the fragments between M and B, and those between C and N, went with Petrovskii's pieces; and similarly, a few fragments at the end of B and the beginning of C came to France. Against this, no fragments at all have been identified which come from the part immediately before A, and any such fragments must have kept company with X. Apart from trivial subsequent breakages, the only apparent exception to this disposal of fragments is the beginning of the *Citta*-chapter, following the end of A. Here, however, the position of the pieces and the preservation of the thread (plate XXI) together indicate that this breakage also is subsequent, and that the removal of Y left this part still attached to A in the form of a narrow tail at the right-hand side. Apart from this tail, and a few small pieces from the interior of the leaf, all the fragments which came to Senart in company with A are the result of mixture in the baggage, and belong to B and C. In notable contrast to this mixing together of the French fragments, and a similar mixing of the two sets of Russian fragments among themselves, not a single fragment from the interior of a French leaf found its way to Russia. This fact in itself proves that no significant splintering had taken place before the manuscript was divided in 1892, there being no conceivable method (other than reading) whereby fragments which had broken off earlier could have been assigned to the correct parcel of major portions.

[2] It is possible that the pieces were not sold at that time, but were merely held back in the hope that a wealthier customer might later come into the market. But the fact that they were detached before the final piece A was passed to Dutreuil de Rhins (see preceding footnote) makes this seem very unlikely.

manner of transport in the baggage of the expedition. Unless the missing parts have lain relatively undisturbed, they might well have disintegrated by now, and might have been thrown away as useless rubbish. Nevertheless, it is possible that they are still intact among the family heirlooms of a descendant of an unknown third buyer, and it is possible that they may yet be rediscovered in the future. But it would be foolish to imagine that there is very much hope.

Although it is clear that the manuscript was divided into three parcels in this manner, the reason for such a division is less obvious. The result was undoubtedly that each purchaser received approximately equivalent quantities of bark, and in each case approximately half was written on one side, and the remainder on both sides. The writing on the whole manuscript being arranged as it was, a more or less similar result could have been achieved quite mechanically if the whole length had first been folded in two, successive pairs of pieces being then removed by tearing through the double thickness. This is to some extent suggested by the fact that O+M is of approximately the same length as N with its adjoining fragments; and similarly, the total length of B is very close to that of C. But the long slanting tear between B and M would throw the second pair some 9 inches out of position; and if only a rough-and-ready division had been intended, it seems unlikely that the operator would have paused to adjust the centre fold before proceeding to remove the second pair. And in any case, the situation of most of the breaks at chapter-endings is hardly consistent with such a procedure. If it had not been for this question of chapter-endings, some such method of operation might have been a reasonably plausible hypothesis. We should then imagine that, since the centre of the whole strip was in any case fairly close to the beginning of A, the removal of the two outer pairs of pieces would have left a trunk consisting of a double-folded portion which, if divided at the fold, would result in a single-written piece (X), and one of comparable length with about half its length bearing writing on both sides. The double-written piece might then be removed (Y), leaving A as the only remnant. The implied equation of length, however, (X = Y+A), is improbable, and would seem to require chapters in X unduly short for their position in the series, or too great a length for Y, or both. It seems hardly possible, therefore, to envisage a more or less mechanical or haphazard method of procedure which would have given the type of distribution actually reached.

If it is difficult to understand why the finder should have stretched out the whole strip in order to take pieces from both ends, instead of simply opening out and removing a foot or two at a time, it is still more difficult to imagine that he would have cared at all about ensuring a balance between his customers in the matter of single and double-written pieces, even if he might have thought it only decent to give them all roughly equal shares. Nor can we

readily imagine that he would have taken into account the marks of chapter-endings.

But while these things were of no consequence to the seller, it could more easily be thought that the buyers, if each had paid an equivalent sum, might have felt it important to receive equivalent shares of the ink, and not merely equal lengths of bark. There is, however, no direct evidence at all of collusion between the purchasers. Stein, indeed, assumed almost as an axiom that the seller would have taken great care to keep each customer in ignorance of the other's existence. The axiom is admittedly not well founded. The seller must have been unusually naïve if he did not perceive the commercial advantage of raising the price by bidding one potential customer against another. But he could well have overlooked the danger that the interested customers might resist a further increase in price by combining to buy jointly. Against any such supposition must be set the fact that in 1897 neither Grenard nor Petrovskii gave any hint that they had known earlier of anything beyond their own individual share. Even although the buyers in 1892 could not possibly have known whether the manuscript was of any value at all, it seems initially absurd to think that Dutreuil de Rhins, Petrovskii, and the unknown third customer might have sat down together and carefully worked out a treaty whereby each should obtain an equitable share. It would be still more incredible if, after 1897, when the unique importance of the manuscript had been made known, anyone concerned in the purchase should have remained silent if he had any relevant information to disclose. And it might even be thought that the innocence of the Europeans involved is proved beyond doubt by the simple fact that no use was made of scissors.

Nevertheless, whoever was responsible for it, the division and distribution was not accomplished without careful prior consideration. For this the seller had no motive; and although the buyers (if there had been collusion between them) could indeed be said to have had a motive of sorts in demanding fair and equal shares, the same motive would surely have worked strongly in favour of a rather less destructive method of dismemberment. We are therefore left with the mystery. It is a pity that the *uddāna*-verse was not read and its implications seen at a time when questions could profitably have been asked of some of those who had been concerned in the transaction.

Estimated length of the complete text

In the present condition of the manuscript, the width varies for the most part between 19 and 19·5 cm., but occasionally approaches 21 cm. Allowing for some slight loss through wear, the average width in its original state may be taken as approximately 20 cm. or 8 inches. Before division, the whole strip, held together by stitching down both edges, can be estimated to have mea-

sured some 5 metres or 16 feet 6 inches in length. This estimate naturally cannot be taken as exact, but an error of 1 foot more or less is probably the maximum which could be reconciled with the number of verses contained in the missing portions.

On the basis of the parts of the text published by Senart, it was quite impossible to make any reliable estimate of the length of the complete work. From a comparison of the relative lengths of individual chapters dealing with the same topic in the various recensions, Barua and Mitra[1] calculated that the Prakrit version contained approximately 600 stanzas. This calculation was based on the assumption that the ratios of lengths of corresponding chapters would remain relatively constant between the recensions. Sylvain Lévi, apparently working on the same assumption, seems to have thought (although his statement is not entirely specific) that the Prakrit version might have been of the order of 750 verses.[2] The additional information now available not only shows that the assumption of a constant ratio in chapter-length was not justified, but also makes it possible to estimate the total length with a high degree of probability.

Two independent methods of calculation may be suggested, one based on the external data provided by the manuscript, and the other on the internal relations between the text-material of the Prakrit and that of the Pali Dhammapada. Since the two calculations converge on the same result, this result may be accepted with fair confidence, subject to a small range of error.

Since the whole of the extant text shows an arrangement of chapters in order of decreasing length, with only slight irregularities, it may reasonably be assumed that the missing chapters conformed to the same pattern. If we assign in every case to the chapters which are missing or incomplete the largest numbers of verses possible without disrupting this pattern, we arrive at a total of just over 570 verses for the whole text; and if in every case we assign the smallest possible number within the pattern, we obtain a total of just under 510 verses. Since, however, it is very improbable that all the missing chapters should have been uniformly minimum or maximum in this respect, these figures may safely be regarded as lying outside the range which need be considered. The mean figure of 540, with an error of, say, ± 10, is on this basis a very probable estimate; and anything outside the range 520 to 560 may be regarded as remotely improbable.

An alternative method of calculation is made possible by the fact that the Prakrit shares a very large number of verses with the Pali Dhammapada; and although the arrangement of this common material differs considerably in the two texts, there is now a sufficiently large section of the Prakrit available to

[1] *The Prakrit Dhammapada*, pp. xxiii–xxiv. [2] JAs. 1912, p. 222.

allow us to assess the quantitative relationships between the two with a fairly small margin of error. Of 350 Prakrit stanzas, between 225 and 230 are shared with the Dhammapada.[1] Since the latter has 423 verses in all, a similar proportion would indicate approximately 640 verses for the Prakrit, if it could be assumed that in the end all the verses of the Pali would appear in the other text. Such an assumption, however, would in itself be most unreasonable, and is in fact contradicted by the manner in which the Pali verses are represented in the extant Prakrit.

Although the two texts have in common not only a high proportion of verses, but also of chapter-subjects into which the verses are grouped, there is by no means unanimity in the allocation of a given verse to the same chapter-heading. A very large number of the verses contain several key words which make it quite understandable that different redactors should have placed them under different headings. Taking the 14 *vaggas* of the Pali which are best represented in the Prakrit text, it is found that, of the 243 stanzas contained in the Pali chapters in question, 65 are missing from the extant Prakrit; and of the 178 which are present, 131 are placed in the same subject-matter groups as in the Pali.[2] It may be assumed that this last group accounts for all those verses whose content makes their placing very probable; and the 47 which are differently allocated show by this fact that they had at least an equal probability of being placed in two different chapters. Instances are not uncommon of verses shared by the Pali, Prakrit, and the Udānavarga which are under different headings in all three; and many verses could without difficulty be considered as possible candidates for a still larger number of the given chapter-headings. The motives which led to varying allocations by different redactors were certainly not uniform; and since a choice of at least two headings, and often more, was available for such verses, and since the order of chapters in the two texts is unrelated, it would be expected that, for a

[1] The figure varies considerably from one chapter to another: in xii, 19 stanzas out of 22 are shared with the Pali Dhammapada, but in xv, only 1 out of 16. But the sample is sufficiently large to make these discrepancies negligible. Disregarding chapter divisions, sections of 50 consecutive verses show a range of between 15 and 20 verses which do not occur in the Pali Dhammapada, and a total of 120 such verses for the extant portion may therefore be taken as a reliable indication of the proportion in the whole text. Some account must be taken of partial correspondences, and the figures given make some allowance for this imprecision. It is possible therefore that 230 is slightly too high, but not by very much; and it would be difficult to bring the number below 225.

[2] This is really quite a high proportion; and although in some ways it might have been expected, it is worth pointing it out, since the attention is more readily caught by the differences than by the agreements, and at first sight it is easy to form the impression that there are more discrepancies in allocation to chapter than is the case. Before counting, I should have been prepared, on impression, to guess that rather less than half of the common stanzas were placed in the corresponding chapter by the two texts. But in fact the allocation is to the same chapter for very nearly two-thirds of the stanzas shared by the two texts. (This figure applies only to the representation of the Pali chapters in the Prakrit, on the basis of the 14 *vaggas* under discussion. The equivalent relationships of the Udānavarga to both the others, have not been investigated, and may be different.)

sufficiently large number, the verses placed differently from the Pali would be spread through the Prakrit text in a random distribution.[1]

It is immediately obvious that the distribution of these 243 Pali stanzas in the proportions given (131 in corresponding chapters: 47 in other chapters: 65 absent from extant Prakrit) can hardly be reconciled with the figure of 230 Dhammapada stanzas in 350 Prakrit unless some of the 65 were absent from the complete Prakrit text.

For sufficiently large numbers, there will be a good expectation that verses which were common to the Pali and the complete Prakrit will be distributed between large fractions such as the extant portion (E) and the lost portion (L) in numbers closely approximating to the proportion of length between E and L. From the figure of 230 Pali verses in the 350 of E, we can therefore calculate a probable number for the Pali verses represented in L, for any arbitrary length assigned to L (provided it is not too short), and from this obtain a probable figure for the proportion of a group of 243 Dhammapada stanzas which might be expected to be missing from the total Prakrit text. The subtraction of this number from 65 will then give a probable number (*a*) for the remainder of the floating verses from these 14 *vaggas* which might be expected to occur in an L of that length.

Similarly, it will be expected that the floating verses also will be distributed between E and L in a proportion closely approximating to the proportion of these lengths. For any sufficiently large value of L, therefore, a second number (*b*) can be obtained by the proportion $b:47::L:E$.

It is then a straightforward matter to ascertain by trial and error the range of values for L which brings *a* and *b* reasonably close.[2] For the total figures indicated by the estimate from chapter-lengths, the result of these calculations is:

E+L	*a*	*b*	*a*–*b*
520	19	23	−4
540	26	25	+1
560	34	28	+6

[1] There would seem to be a disturbing factor in the arrangement of the Prakrit chapter lengths, which, by providing a greater number of choices of heading towards the latter part, might be expected to lead to a greater concentration of mobile verses nearer the end. But this seems to have had a significant influence only at the extremities. Of the 47 verses in question, only one appears in the first 50 of the text, while 10 appear in the last 50 extant. In spite of this, however, the first 150 extant verses have 18, and the second 150 have 19. The lost chapters of the text certainly must account for more than 150 verses; and they consist of 3½ of the longer chapters, 2 of medium length, and 5 of the shortest. There is thus a reasonable expectation that the mobile verses will be spread sufficiently evenly through the text for the proportions in the extant and lost parts not to differ significantly from an entirely random distribution.

[2] Since in an ideally regular state of affairs *a* and *b* should in fact be equal, the reader may prefer to see the matter set out in the form of a simple, if cumbersome, linear equation:

$$\frac{47L}{350} = 65 - \frac{243}{423}\left\{423 - \frac{230}{350}(350+L)\right\}$$

which gives a value 189·1 for L, and consequently a total of 539 for E+L.

On the assumption that the missing parts of the text were sufficiently large to show a distribution of the verses shared with the Pali Dhammapada statistically similar to the extant parts, these figures indicate a total of 540 verses as the most probable.

The various stages of this calculation naturally involve possible errors, which, however, are not likely to be great. The 230 Dhammapada verses shared are spread evenly through the extant Prakrit: an average of 33 in each group of 50, with a mean deviation of 2; and the floating verses from the 14 chapters considered are distributed in the same groups of 50 (excluding the first, which is not typical) with an average of 8 to each group, and a mean deviation of 1·5.[1] As a rough check on the likely range of error involved, the above calculations were adjusted so as to assign probable maximum and minimum values to *a* and *b* in each case, consistent with the observed variations in the extant parts. The combination of minimum values for *a* with maximum values for *b* gave a result of just over 560, while maximum values for *a* with minimum values for *b* gave just under 520. Since a value for *a* smaller than the originally calculated mean would imply a smaller number than expected from the 243 verses in question in the whole Prakrit text, and a larger value for *b* would imply a greater number than expected of the floating verses from the same 243 in L, it is safe to assume that the possible errors involved in the exact proportions would be more than compensated by the assumption of outside values for *a* and *b*, shifted in opposite directions.

As a further check the same calculations were carried out on the assumption of 225 Dhammapada verses in E instead of 230,[2] and for both of these figures on the basis of only 12 *vaggas*[3] of the Dhammapada instead of 14. The mean probable total (to the nearest 10) indicated by each of these four reckonings was:

14 *vaggas*	230 verses	540
14	225	560
12	230	520
12	225	540

[1] If all the Dhammapada verses in the extant Prakrit are included in this latter count, the floating verses show an average of 12 to each group of 50, with a mean deviation of 1.

[2] See note 1 on page 20.

[3] This restricts the calculation to the 10 which have a corresponding subject-group complete in the extant Prakrit, together with Jarā (with only one verse missing) and Mārga. Although less than half of the last is preserved in the Prakrit, the extant text contains in this and other chapters verses corresponding to 11 of the 17 verses of the Pali Magga. It therefore seemed possible to include it in the count. The calculation on 14 chapters included in addition the Pali Pakiṇṇaka (where the title can in any case hardly be thought to indicate a 'subject-matter grouping'), and the Pali Niraya, which is sufficiently well represented in the extant Prakrit to make it probable that the heading was absent from the complete text. The inclusion of these two probably makes a more reliable sample to work from, not only because of the greater numbers involved, but also because in this way there is some compensation for the fact that the Prakrit had a few chapter-subjects not in the Pali (in the extant portion, chapters xv, xx, xxi), and a number of the floating verses do occur in these.

It would appear, therefore, that the internal relationships between the two texts provide very strong confirmation of the estimate based on the lengths of chapters within the Prakrit text itself (and thereby, incidentally, give additional support for the assumption that there was no further section of the manuscript lost beyond N). Since both methods of estimate independently give the same figure, 540, as the most probable (the agreement being in fact almost too good to be credible), it is perhaps desirable to say explicitly that this agreement is not to be taken as a proof that the original text did consist of precisely this number of verses. All that can be claimed is that, on the basis of the two types of available evidence, the figure of 540 is a reasonable working hypothesis for the present. At the same time, the two estimates may reasonably be thought to agree sufficiently well to make any figure less than 520 or more than 560 extremely improbable.

It would seem, therefore, that the missing set of pieces of the manuscript was slightly larger than either of the two extant sets, but not by very much. Making some allowance for a few fragmentary verses in the French portion whose other parts may have originally gone with the missing set, we may conclude that the surviving part represents very close to five-eighths of the total.

III. GENERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PALI DHAMMAPADA AND THE UDĀNAVARGA

When the verses themselves are out of reach, it is admittedly a matter of rather minor importance to know how many have been lost. But it is not entirely without interest to determine that the Prakrit recension was significantly larger than the Pali, but still much closer to it than to the Udānavarga, with nearly 1,000 verses. It is also worth observing that, in spite of the great difference in total lengths, the Prakrit and the Udānavarga are very close to each other in the number of verses which each of them shares with the Pali Dhammapada. From the proportions in the surviving Prakrit, the complete text may be assumed to have shared between 350 and 360 verses with the Dhammapada; while for the Udānavarga the corresponding figure is probably between 360 and 370.[1] It would not necessarily be expected that the verses themselves should always be the same in the two cases, even although the number is very close. But in fact a very high proportion of these verses must have been the same. Of 66 verses in the extant Prakrit for which parallels have not been traced in the Udānavarga (many having Pali parallels from texts

[1] In his translation of the Tibetan version, Rockhill identified counterparts for 307 Dhammapada verses, and I have noted just over 50 others which are not included in his tables. The figure of 360 is therefore certain as a minimum; but since I have not been directly concerned with searching for parallels to those Dhammapada verses which are missing from the extant Prakrit, it is probable that a few remain untraced. It seems unlikely, however, that the total will in the end be much more than 370.

other than the Dhammapada), there are only 6 which occur in the Dhammapada.

It is thus probable that all three texts share a common nucleus of about 330 to 340 verses. This is such a large fraction of the total Pali text that we may reasonably see in this common nucleus an indication that the three texts were built up in their separate schools by a process of rearranging and adding to a specific collection of verses inherited from an earlier period, and recognized as *dharmapadāni*. A first glance at these three different texts gives an impression of such diversity in the choice of verses, in their allocation to chapters, and in the arrangement within the chapters, that there may be an initial temptation to think that it was only at a relatively late period that the idea occurred of having a definite canonical Dharmapada collection among the Kṣudraka texts, and that each school independently gathered together likely traditional verses in order to provide such a text for their respective canons.[1] It seems improbable that, if they had been produced in this way, the three available texts of this class, differing so much in their total lengths, would have shown such close agreement in the number of verses which the Pali text shares with each of the others, or that so large a fraction as five-sixths of the shortest of them should be common to all three.

Varga-titles

In addition to this common fund of verses, the three texts show the same type of arrangement, grouping the verses in sections (*varga*, *vagga*: the term is not, however, attested in the Prakrit manuscript), for the most part according to ethical or more generally religious topics. There are in addition a few chapters whose titles do not come directly under this description, but instead are named by a characteristic, as Yamaka 'paired verses', or indeed the lack of any common feature, as Prakīrṇaka 'miscellaneous'. Others again use a non-ethical topic for ethical illustration, as Puṣpa, Aśva (or Nāga), Sahasra. All five of these are shared by the Pali and the Udānavarga; and three of these groups certainly, and the other two probably, were also included in the Prakrit. To this group the Uv. adds also Udaka.

While the titles of the first thirteen chapters of the Prakrit are given in the manuscript itself, in the *uddāna*-verse already discussed, the later chapters can be given titles only by conjecture from the contents of each, while taking into account the known titles of the Pali and Sanskrit *vargas*. There is, however, a slightly greater risk of error in such conjecture than might appear at first sight; and, as a double indication of their conjectural nature, the headings in the text from chapter xiv onwards have been enclosed in brackets, and have

[1] This is virtually the process suggested by the Chinese editor of the *Fa-chü-ching* early in the third century A.D. See below, p. 39.

been given in Sanskrit. Many of the titles which are certain are common to the Pali, the Prakrit, and the Udānavarga; but occasionally synonyms may be used, as when a chapter which certainly corresponds in all three is called Śramaṇa by the Sanskrit text, Thera by the Prakrit, and Dhammaṭṭha by the Theravāda text. Presumably sectarian rivalries lie behind such variations. Similarly, the Pali has a Buddha-vagga, but the Uv. a Tathāgata-varga. The chapter called Jarā by the Pali and Prakrit is Anitya in the Sanskrit. The Pali has a Nāga-vagga, the Uv. an Aśva-varga. This leaves us completely in doubt which title to choose for chapter xxii of the Prakrit, where the one certain surviving fragment probably comes from a chapter of similar content; and even although the identification of the verse is certain, it is still not impossible that the Prakrit text allocated it to a different rubric.

The title Prakīrṇaka has been adopted for xvi simply because it has not been possible to discern any common theme which might account for grouping these verses into one chapter;[1] and both the Pali and the Udānavarga include the same title, although with different verses in the chapter. Verses corresponding to those of the Prakrit chapter are scattered through eight different chapters in the Pali, and eleven in the Sanskrit.

There can be little doubt concerning the subjects of the remaining chapters, and, except for xxi, the titles proposed are reasonably probable. Chapter xiv would then share the title Paṇḍita with the Pali. The Uv. has almost all the verses in this chapter, but lacks a Paṇḍita-chapter, and these verses are distributed through eight other *vargas*. In xv, Bahuśruta, the title is shared with the Uv., and is missing in the Pali, which has only one verse in common (in the Atta-vagga).

Chapters xvii Krodha, xviii Puṣpa, and xix Sahasra, are virtually certain.

For xx, the title Śīla was suggested by Franke,[2] and from the content of the verses, this would seem to be almost certain. The title is missing in Pali, where the verses shared are scattered through 7 *vaggas*. The Uv. has the title, but none of the verses from this Prakrit chapter appear there under Śīla; and the verses held in common are spread over 8 other *vargas*.

The subject-matter of xxi is clear enough, but there is no similar grouping either in the Pali or the Uv. Franke described the topic as 'das Handeln', but refrained from suggesting a title. It was probably this that led Sylvain Lévi to give the chapter the title Karma. But although the Udānavarga has a Karma-varga, the topic of the Prakrit chapter is quite different. It deals, not with the retribution of acts, but with acts still to come; with taking thought for the morrow (*kṛtya* being considered in this case as an unnecessary task better avoided); or alternatively, in other verses, with real duty. Since the word itself frequently occurs, it is not an unlikely title for the chapter.

[1] From the 15 verses, 6 at least would be suitable for an Ātma-varga, and 4 for a Naraka-varga; but neither of these titles could cover the whole chapter.

[2] ZDMG 1906, p. 494.

It will be seen that the agreement with the Pali in these chapter-headings is fairly close. All of the first group of 13 Prakrit titles are represented in the Pali; while in the remainder of the extant text, Bahuśruta and Śīla, though shared with the Uv., are absent in Pali; and Kṛtya is peculiar to the Prakrit. Because of the uncertainty about some of these later chapters, and the loss of the concluding parts of the text, it is hardly worth going into too detailed a comparison of the three texts in their chapter-headings. But allowing for synonyms and uncertainties, there are probably 16 chapters which are common to all three. And if the Uv. has two further in common with the Prakrit which are missing in Pali, this is balanced by the fact that the Prakrit shares with the Pali the titles Bāla, Paṇḍita, and Arhant, which are absent from the Uv.

In brief, there are 16 headings shared by all three texts, 7 which are common to two, and 17 which are represented in one only. Since the Uv. has a total of 33 chapters against the 26 of the other two, it is not unexpected that 12 of these 17 should come from that text.

These figures are given only as a general indication of the situation, on the basis of the available information. Since there is some doubt about a few of the Prakrit titles in any case, and 4 of them are entirely missing, the complete picture for the three texts would certainly show alterations in some or all of these numbers; but there is no possibility of conjecture concerning the missing titles. Even so, it is clear enough that there was a definite stock of chapter-headings considered proper for a Dharmapada-collection; and that this common stock included the descriptive (as Yamaka) and illustrative headings (as Puṣpa). Moreover, among the 24 attested groups which are not shared by all three texts, there is only 1 further example of this type (Udaka in the Uv.), while the other 23 are all quite natural headings for ethical verses.

Possibility of a 'primitive Dharmapada'

In spite of the common fund of verses and the common list of chapter-groupings, it is quite impossible to see these three texts as derived in any simple manner from a primitive canonical Dharmapada containing (at least) these common verses grouped under these common chapter-headings. There is certainly much more involved than a gradual addition of further verses and supplementary chapters in varying extent in the different schools. We have already noted that, from 14 chapters of the Pali, a little less than two-thirds of the common verses appear under the corresponding heading in the Prakrit.[1] Although in general there is little agreement in order, occasional groups of two, three, or even more consecutive verses do appear in the same order in two or even all three texts. In some chapters (Sahasra, for example) all three

[1] See page 20, note 2.

agree fairly closely in the verses included, while in others the divergence is extreme. The Tathāgata-varga in the Uv. must be the equivalent of the Buddha-vagga in the Pali; but although both chapters by a coincidence contain the same total of 18 verses, only one of these is shared (Uv. xxi. 9 = Dhp. 181). Yet in both cases most of the remaining 17 verses are common to the two traditions, though placed elsewhere. Of those in the Pali chapter, 3 have not been traced in the Uv., but the other 14 are distributed through seven other chapters. Of those in the Uv. chapter, one occurs in the Dhammapada (xxi. 1 = Dhp. 353, under Taṇhā); and although none of the remainder are in the Dhammapada, Chakravarti identified parallels for 13 of them in other parts of the Pali canon.[1]

In these circumstances, it would be futile to attempt to reconstruct a 'primitive Dharmapada' which was the ancestor of all three texts. It may even be felt that the differences are so extreme that it is almost impossible even to believe that such a common ancestor ever existed. Nevertheless, the agreements in verses, in chapter-headings, and in the general principles of arrangement, make it also very hard to believe that these collections were put together only at a later period. If one school had, at a fairly late time, made for itself such a collection, we might perhaps imagine other schools making similar compilations, in order not to be outdone by their rivals. But it seems rather improbable that the result would have been similar to what we actually find. On the evidence of the texts themselves it is much more likely that the schools, in some manner or other, had inherited from the period before the schisms which separated them, a definite tradition of a Dharmapada-text which ought to be included in the canon, however fluctuating the contents of this text might have been, and however imprecise the concept even of a 'canon' at such an early period. The differing developments and rearrangements of the inherited material would have proceeded along similar lines to those which, in the Brahmanical schools, produced divergent but related collections of texts in the different Yajur-veda traditions.

Merely in respect of size, it is probable that the Uv. in its present form is the result of a longer continuation of the process of addition of verses and chapters than either of the other two. But when allowance is made for this, and only the common material considered, a comparison of the Pali Dhammapada, the Gāndhārī text, and the Udānavarga, has produced no evidence whatsoever that any one of these has any superior claim to represent a 'primitive Dharmapada' more faithfully than the others. Since the contrary appears to have been assumed from time to time, it is desirable to say with all emphasis that the Pali text is *not* the primitive Dharmapada. The assumption that it was would make its relationship to the other texts altogether incomprehensible.

[1] See also p. 25, on the titles Paṇḍita and Śīla.

Whether we consider the common ancestor of these versions as a definite text or merely as a rather fluid tradition of ethical verses, but already tending to be gathered into some sort of groupings in the earliest period of Buddhism, the only likely hypothesis is that the various schools have all to a greater or lesser degree modified, rearranged, and expanded a common fund of inherited materials. The divergences are much too great to have arisen in any normal type of textual transmission: so great, in fact, that it is almost tempting to conjecture that, at some point in the history of each school, one monk was found who remembered a fair number of Dharmapada-verses, but without the least idea of the chapters in which they should be placed; while another monk, who had not learned the verses, was able to recall about two-thirds of the proper chapter-titles; and that the two thereupon sat down together, invented a few additional chapter-headings of the same style, collected further verses of similar types from other scriptural sources, and thus pieced together an 'edition' for the use of their school. This is of course a caricature, but may nevertheless have some correspondence with the truth. The final differences between recensions are probably due to accident and intention in varying degrees in each case. It is much easier to remember individual verses than to retain them in a definite order, when there is no thread of narrative to keep them in the same order. Probably a fairly high proportion of the divergences are the result of nothing more than a careless oral transmission in the earlier period. There is no reason to suppose that the early monks would have devoted to a group of not very inspired gnomic verses the zealous study which enabled the Brahmans to preserve the Ṛgveda with such incredible accuracy. The surviving texts themselves strongly suggest that the various branches of the Sangha hardly started to concern themselves with the fixing and preservation of a definite scriptural canon until a time when large parts of such traditions as they had inherited had already become thoroughly disorganized. It is in the nature of the case very probable that the Dharmapada recensions we possess are in many respects the result of a definite editorial activity in each separate school, in an attempt to re-establish and fill out a text which, through faulty transmission, had become both depleted and confused, but in different ways in each case.

There are indeed a few traces of deliberate sectarian rivalry. Between the three texts, agreements in chapter-order are hardly more than might be expected by chance. But when the last three titles in the Pali, Taṇhā, Bhikkhu, and Brāhmaṇa (the two latter being also the last two in the Uv.) appear in inverse order as the first three of the Prakrit, we can hardly help thinking that this was done quite deliberately, in order to be different from a rival sect (not necessarily, of course, the Theravādins). It is not impossible, therefore, that in a few instances a verse might have been placed in a given chapter simply

because some other sect preferred to have it in another. This type of rivalry, however, probably played a small part, since one school is not likely to have made extensive comparisons with the texts of another.

But while a careless oral tradition may have started the process of divergence, the history must have been rather more complicated than this. One of the points which the Prakrit text has confirmed is the important part played by manuscript copying at a date which may be considerably earlier than has usually been supposed.[1] Although the differences in selection and arrangement of the verses are as great between the Prakrit and the Uv. as between the latter and the Pali, there is, in very many places, a closer affinity between the former pair in the text of individual verses; and in a verse such as **262**, where they agree in a four-pāda stanza against six in the Pali, it is almost certain that two pādas have been lost through a simple error of copying (homoioteleuton). This would imply a common *manuscript* ancestor in the line of transmission which brought this verse to these two texts. Against this, the two verses **319**, **320** in the Prakrit are represented by one six-pāda stanza in the Pali and Uv., while the Mahāvastu has indeed two full stanzas, but with a different half-verse additional to the Pali and Uv. version. In **80**, the Mahāvastu agrees with the Pali, while the Prakrit reading is shared with the Sanskrit version in the Divyāvadāna (with which the Uv. very probably agreed). In **68**, the Uv. and Mahāvastu agree against the Prakrit; but the Pali agrees with these two in the first half of the verse, and with the Prakrit in the second half. In the Sahasra-varga, the Pali and Mahāvastu are fairly close to each other in the ordering of the various groups of stanzas which make up this chapter. But the Pali has allowed the idea of 'victory' in Dhp. 103 (= **305**) to draw in two related stanzas on this topic (104, 105) which have no connexion with the chapter-heading. The same group of three appears together also in the Uv., but in a different chapter (xxiii. 3–5). In some instances a single verse is certainly the result of a telescoping of two by a copyist; but some of these may have occurred at a later period in the history of an individual recension.[2]

It has not been possible so far to disentangle the complicated textual relationships; but there is no possibility of explaining them at all, it would seem, if we try to exclude a very early written transmission. There seems to have been at least some conflation between versions, and in some places it is virtually certain that manuscripts were used. Further study may lead to more precision in many details, though it could hardly be expected that a whole history of textual descent could be reconstructed. At present our conclusions can only be tentative; but it seems very probable that it was only at the

[1] See in particular F. Weller, in *Asia Major*, v, 1928–30, pp. 149–82; ix, 1933, pp. 195–332, on the likelihood of pre-Pali manuscript transmission in the ancestry of Pali Sutta texts.

[2] See commentary on the verses mentioned, and also on verses **95**, **144**, **148**, **154–5**, **168**, **225**, **231**.

beginning that the ancestors of our texts owed their divergence to accidents of oral transmission. We may imagine that the 'primitive Dharmapada' (if at any time a precise text, and not merely a concept of a text, with indeterminate and shifting contents) had already disintegrated very considerably before the process was checked by the production of written 'editions' in the various schools. But it also seems very probable that intervention of manuscripts came considerably before the final period of editorial activity which resulted in the recensions which have survived. These are beyond question not merely the end-products of oral disintegration set down in writing, but, to a large extent, new texts built around the debris of the differing inheritance of verses in each school. In one case, indeed, the tradition survived (or grew up later: it is uncertain which) that this re-creation of the collection was due to a definite individual.[1] In some schools there may have been more than one such revision, and many monks may have shared in a process of gradual rebuilding. But in this activity, they were not restricted to what they remembered: manuscripts were certainly used, and not exclusively manuscripts of texts peculiar to the school using them.

Once a definitive recension had been established, however, subsequent revisions in the school recognizing that recension were probably minor. For this we have the evidence of the Udānavarga, where the manuscripts bear witness to at least two versions, and probably more. The fragments of an ancient manuscript written on wood,[2] which formed the basis of Chakravarti's edition, show a text which is in general closer to the Pali and Gāndhārī, with numerous partially Sanskritized forms remaining. The later manuscripts show revisions to improve the quality of the Sanskrit, often involving rephrasing. The Tibetan translation sometimes agrees with the old version, sometimes with a revised version, from which it may be inferred that the revisions were made in several stages. But these revisions for the most part affect only the language. Omissions and additions of verses do occur, but the text as a whole remains essentially the same Udānavarga.

Canonical status

Although the Gāndhārī text was recognized immediately as a text of exactly the same type of structure as the Pali Dhammapada, and has constantly been called a 'Prakrit Dhammapada' since its discovery, occasional protests were made.[3] The Pali Dhammapada, it was argued, is a specific section of the Canon, forming a part of the Khuddaka-nikāya of the Sutta-piṭaka; the Prakrit text—admittedly sharing the same form and much of the same material—is

[1] On the question of Dharmatrāta as the compiler of the Udānavarga, see also below, p. 39.

[2] See J. Filliozat, JAs. 1958, p. 86, plate VIII.

[3] See below, p. 33.

different from the Pali text. Therefore it cannot be canonical, and ought not to be given a canonical title. It is rather ironic that, at the time when these arguments were being put forward, the introductory line of the manuscript, which contains the title Dharmapada, had already been published in Oldenburg's facsimile of 1897; but, by an unlucky accident, this part of the facsimile was even worse than the rest, and it was quite impossible for anyone to read the word. Now that a better photograph has made it possible to read the title, the argument must be turned round. Since the manuscript calls itself by a title which is certainly canonical, we can hardly deny to the text the right to be considered as the text of that title belonging to the canon of a distinct school. There can similarly be little doubt that the Udānavarga, in spite of the fact that it carries a different name (but nevertheless still formed from a traditional title in the list of Kṣudraka texts), is the corresponding text of a third school.

We have no trustworthy information about the number of ancient Buddhist schools which recognized distinct Dharmapada collections, nor has any indication so far been found as to whether any given recension might have been recognized as authoritative by more than one school.

This is merely a particular instance of the uncertainty prevailing with regard to the canonical texts of by far the greater number of early sects known to us by name. The ancient authors who wrote on the subject were chiefly concerned to categorize the points of doctrine held by each sect; and although the real existence of almost all the schools named in the traditional accounts is confirmed by inscriptions, and later by the reports of Chinese travellers, there is available, for about two-thirds of the sects and sub-sects named, either no information at all about their sacred literature, or at best the virtually worthless information that such-and-such a sect possessed such-and-such Piṭakas or Āgamas or Nikāyas.[1] For some of the remaining schools, considerable portions of several Canons have been preserved, in the Āgamas and Vinayas translated into Chinese, and the Tibetan Vinaya, together with numbers of individual non-Mahāyāna *sūtras* and post-canonical works both in Tibetan and Chinese. The existence of these translations, and the recovery in modern times of Sanskrit Vinaya and Sūtra texts (many, but not all, belonging to the Mūla-sarvāstivādin canon), have made it possible to see, with increasing clarity as research progresses, a fact which was not at all clear in the earlier period of European studies of Buddhism: that the survival entire of only the canon of the Mahāvihāravāsin sub-sect of the Theravādins is a historical accident. Because of this completeness, but for no other reason, the Pali version has naturally and deservedly attained a position of pre-eminence in the study of pre-Mahāyāna Buddhism; but the mere accident of the partial

[1] See in particular A. Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques du Petit Véhicule*, Saigon, 1955; E. Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, i, pp. 571 ff.

or complete loss of other canonical redactions does not in itself confer any superior authority on the Pali scriptures whereby they can claim to represent primitive Buddhism more faithfully than do the texts of another school. This has been said repeatedly by earlier writers; and indeed the logic of the matter is so self-obvious that he who now writes it yet again cannot but feel in some degree apologetic for the truism.

Winternitz, although mentioning the separate existence of the Vinayas of the Mahīśāsakas, Dharmaguptas, and Mahāsānghikas, wrote the greater part of his chapter on the subject apparently on the assumption that only two Canons need be considered, 'the Pali Canon' and 'the Sanskrit Canon'.[1] This was indeed an understandable attitude in 1912, when the book was first written; but the revised edition published in 1933 in English translation, with corrections and additional notes, still contains no hint that such drastic simplification is inadequate. Similarly, the hypothesis put forward by W. E. Clark,[2] that before the Christian era there existed an eastern canon in Pali and a north-western canon in Prakrit, and that the latter was reconstituted in a Sanskrit version in the first century A.D., appears to be much too slight to serve as a basis for the interpretation of a situation which was certainly extremely complex. Although even now only a relatively small quantity of the available material has been investigated in any detail, the comparative studies which have been carried out[3] show beyond question that although the various schools in some respects agreed closely, they differed widely in others, particularly in the choice and arrangement of material within their respective canons. The amount of common ground is nevertheless impressive, and it is thus not without reason that many scholars have seen in the different transmitted collections the descendants of a single original 'primitive canon'. But we are still a long way from being able to determine with any precision the contents of a primitive canon; and it is even possible to doubt whether the texts which have up to the present been examined in detail really provide sufficient justification for the concept of a primitive canon at all. What appears certain is that numerous single items, ranging from Vinaya-rules, and individual verses and poems, to complete and extensive Sūtras, have been

[1] M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, ii, pp. 231 ff.

[2] 'Some Problems in the Criticism of the Sources for Early Buddhism', *Harvard Theological Review*, xxiii. 2, 1930, pp. 121–47. I regret I have not seen this article, and my information is taken from a summary of its conclusions given in *Bibliographie bouddhique*, ii, p. 43.

[3] For example, J. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, Paris, 1926–8; M. Hofinger, *Étude sur le Concile de Vaiśālī*, Louvain, 1946; F. Weller, *Über den Aufbau des Pāṭikasuttanta*, Asia Major, Introd. vol., 1923, pp. 620–39, and vol. v. 1, 1928, pp. 104–40; E. Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins*, 1926; *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras aus dem zentralasiatischen Sanskritkanon*, i, 1932; *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, 1950–1; and numerous other editions and articles by the same author. See also Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, i, pp. 154–210, and especially the detailed bibliographical references given on pp. 155, 169.

inherited by the sects from earlier originals, as well as much common subject matter and tradition set down ultimately in forms which are not always directly linked through a common literary source. It is true that, as Lamotte says,[1] the variations chiefly concern the form of expression and the arrangement of the material, while the doctrinal basis common to the Āgamas and the Nikāyas is remarkably uniform. But the variations in arrangement are sometimes very considerable. Doubtless a continuation of the work of patient analysis and comparison could gradually lead to much more precise knowledge than is at present possible concerning the contents of much of the 'primitive canon', and perhaps even something of its structure (though from the nature of the evidence no detailed reconstruction could be hoped for, and certainly not completeness, since there is no possibility even of guessing what or how much might have been lost in all the surviving redactions). For the present, it would seem more prudent to interpret 'primitive canon' as meaning no more than an early body of potentially canonical (i.e. authoritative) prose and verse compositions, without allowing the use of the term to suggest any implications of the fixation or codification of the texts. The accumulation of such a collection of textual material must in any case have been a gradual process, extending perhaps over centuries, and the conception of a 'primitive canon' has thus an additional imprecision in respect of time.

It need hardly be said that in any case a western term such as 'canonical', although convenient, must nevertheless be used with circumspection. If the group of texts corresponding to the Pali Khuddaka-nikāya was viewed by some schools as a separate Kṣudraka-piṭaka, either grouped with the Āgamas under the heading of Sūtra-piṭaka, or at times apparently considered as a Piṭaka in its own right, this does not necessarily indicate a fundamental difference of attitude towards these texts. And if the Sarvāstivādins did not, as a matter of general practice, include the Kṣudraka in their reckoning of the Tripiṭaka,[2] this certainly does not mean that they stigmatized these works as apocrypha. On the contrary, 'ils n'hésitent pas à y recourir comme à des autorités canoniques ou paracanoniques'.[3]

From the point of view of the comparative and historical study of the Dharmapadas which have survived in whole or in part, it is a matter of almost no significance whether a given version is to be considered as canonical or 'paracanonical'. On the other hand, it is of the greatest importance that such a study should not be biassed at the outset by a prejudice which considers one recension as canonical and the others as mere private literary exercises. Long ago R. O. Franke[4] objected strongly to the use of the title 'Dhammapada' for the Prakrit version, and argued with considerable zeal that we had no right

[1] *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, i, p. 171.
[2] Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques*, p. 135.
[3] Lamotte, *Histoire*, i, p. 166.
[4] ZDMG 1906, p. 491.

to apply to a mere 'Anthologie' the title of a definite canonical work ('ein ganz bestimmtes Werk des Kanons'). Since the Prakrit text can now be seen to carry the title Dharmapada in the manuscript, no argument is necessary; and indeed the point would now be hardly worth mentioning, but for the fact that since the date of Franke's article the term 'anthology' (in itself a perfectly reasonable description) has reappeared from time to time, with the implication that the work so described is in some sense of less than canonical status. In a single paragraph, Winternitz[1] designates in this way almost the whole range of extant texts of Dharmapada-type: 'The collection of verses which belonged to the original Canon, also served as a prototype and as a foundation for more comprehensive anthologies, which were compiled in later times, and were widely propagated in Central Asia, Tibet and China. Thus, for instance, there is a Chinese anthology with the same 26 sections (Vargas) as the Pāli Dhammapada though it has 13 additional sections. Fragments of a Sanskrit anthology have been found in Central Asia, which were at first regarded as passages from recensions of the Dharmapada, but which in reality belong to the Udāna-Varga, which is known to us from a Tibetan translation. This anthology was compiled by Dharmatrāta. . . . Another anthology was written in a Prākrit dialect.'

It is not clear whether 'the collection of verses which belonged to the original Canon' was thought by Winternitz to be identical with the Pali Dhammapada, and indeed in another context the latter also is described as an anthology.[2] But in the context of the passage quoted, the works in question are explicitly contrasted with the Pali Dhammapada and the 'Dharmapada in the Sanskrit Canon',[3] and the manner of reference to the Udānavarga makes it certain that all these 'anthologies' were considered to be something other than Dharmapadas. This was indeed a perfectly understandable prejudice at the time of writing; but now that it is possible to compare the Pali text in much greater detail with both the Prakrit and the Sanskrit, such an attitude of discrimination between the texts seems entirely out of place.

IV. OTHER DHARMAPADA TEXTS

Of other texts of a comparable type, only the Pali Dhammapada has survived intact. Equally important for comparison with the Prakrit text is the Udānavarga, complete in versions in Tibetan and Chinese, and of which

[1] *History of Indian Literature*, ii, pp. 237–8.

[2] Ibid., pp. 81, 83.

[3] Rather oddly, this expression here denotes the Dharmapada quoted in the Mahāvastu, whereas in the remainder of the chapter, works of the 'Sanskrit Canon' which are definitely attributed to a school are, as might be expected, Sarvāstivāda or Mūla-sarvāstivāda texts. It was probably the same confusion which led to the statement that both a Dharmapada and an Udānavarga were included in the canon of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins (Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 491) or the canon of the Sarvāstivādins (Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques*, p. 135).

rather less than two-thirds of the total extent has been recovered in Sanskrit from Central Asian manuscripts.[1] Apart from these two, the only other Dharmapada of which there is direct evidence from an Indian source is one from which two chapters and a few isolated stanzas are quoted in the Mahāvastu.[2] These two chapters differ from the other three versions in the arrangement of the stanzas; and it may be accepted that we have here fragments surviving from the recension of the Dharmapada belonging to the canon of the Lokottaravādin-Mahāsānghikas.

Four Dharmapada texts have been preserved in Chinese, and these were described by Sylvain Lévi in a detailed study in which he compared all the available versions of a single chapter.[3] The oldest Chinese version, the *Fa-chü-ching*[4] (A.D. 224), is a compilation from several sources, and this is explicitly stated by the author of the Chinese preface,[5] who appears to have edited and revised an earlier rendering. The work is in 39 sections, and it has long been realized that its central portion, chapters ix–xxxii and xxxiv–xxxv, correspond exactly in their titles and order to the 26 chapters of the Pali Dhammapada. Lévi, while mentioning this, also remarked: 'Le choix des vers est tout différent, comme l'étude de l'Apramāda-varga suffira à l'établir.'[6] But although there are indeed differences, it seems very much of an exaggeration to express it in this way.

The nucleus of the *Fa-chü-ching* is, on the contrary, a text which is in essentials the same as the Pali Dhammapada. This is of course no new discovery. The fact was known to the editors of the Taishō edition,[7] who gave in their footnotes the titles of the corresponding Pali chapters, and also indicated from time to time individual verses or groups of verses which were not in the Pali text. But such additional verses are very few in number in comparison with

[1] For details of publication of various portions of the Sanskrit text, see Bibliography.

[2] The Sahasra-varga is quoted by name (iii. 434–6), and is probably complete. The verses at iii. 421–3 are not specifically ascribed to the Dharmapada, but from their content they are almost certainly a Bhikṣu-varga, though possibly not complete. Individual stanzas are cited (*dharmapade, dharmapadeṣu*) at ii. 212; iii. 91, 156.

[3] *L'Apramāda-varga. Étude sur les recensions des Dharmapadas*, JAs. xx, 1912, pp. 203–94. In preparing the present edition and commentary, while naturally making use of those verses printed and translated by Lévi in this article, I have for the most part not attempted to examine the Chinese evidence. Not only was it desirable to make the Prakrit text accessible in print as soon as possible, but in any case my limited acquaintance with Chinese was scarcely an adequate qualification for a thoroughgoing comparative study. On the subject of the Chinese Dharmapada versions, however, an unusually large quantity of misinformation has accumulated in print, and it therefore seemed desirable to put forward a few general observations here.

[4] Taishō Tripiṭaka, vol. iv, no. 210.

[5] The relevant parts of the preface were translated by Lévi, loc. cit., pp. 206, 218.

[6] Ibid., p. 208.

[7] It had indeed been noted earlier by Beal, who was quoted on the point by Max Müller in the introduction to his translation of the Pali text (SBE x, pp. li–lii), but in company with a fair number of inaccuracies. It may be that, because of these, the small grain of truth was also received with scepticism, and the misleading way in which the differences between the two texts are emphasized in Lévi's statement could in part be due to a reaction against such an account.

the total extent of the 26 chapters in question; and for the most part these chapters run verse by verse parallel with the Pali, with only occasional inversions or omissions. It may be assumed that a number of the additional verses, particularly those which in a few instances come in groups at the end of individual chapters, were added by the Chinese redactor from another source available to him; but it is also possible that in some other places the Pali text has suffered a loss at some period prior to the fixing of the text by the commentary. In general, transpositions and omissions are hardly more than what might be expected in the course of any manuscript transmission; and the agreement of the two texts is all the more striking in contrast to the completely different ordering of the chapters and the verses within each chapter in the Udānavarga and in the Prakrit recension.

A detailed comparison would doubtless bring to light a number of agreements with the Pali in readings not shared with the other versions. For the present, we may note that Dhp. 26 *dhanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ va rakkhati* 'he guards it as his best wealth', is followed by the *Fa-chü-ching* (x. 6),[1] where the other versions have *śreṣṭhī*, 'he guards it as a merchant guards his wealth'. Similarly, in the first and second verses of the Pali text, *manopubbangamā dhammā manoseṭṭhā manomayā*, the reading *manomayā* is isolated, against *manojavā* of the other versions; and here the rendering 心使 ('mind-caused') can reasonably be thought to translate *manomayā*, but hardly 'swift as mind'.[2]

It is thus certain that the core of this earliest Chinese version is a text substantially the same as the Theravāda text. We naturally cannot prove that the translation was made directly from Pali, nor can we exclude the possibility that the same basic text might have been shared by another sect. If so, it would be natural to think of the Mahīśāsakas, whose Vinaya has close affinities with the Pali.[3]

The 13 chapters which are additional to the Pali text are selected partly from the Udānavarga and partly from another source (or sources). The relationship to the Uv. emerges very clearly from the first chapter of the work (Anitya), where the verses correspond as follows:[4]

[1] Lévi, loc. cit., p. 247; verse **117** of the Prakrit.

[2] See note on verse **201**. Here there might seem to be a problem; for although the reading *-javā* is guaranteed for the Uv. by the Tibetan, and its authenticity is supported by the Prakrit, the later Chinese version based on the Uv. (Taishō, vol. iv, no. 212, p. 760*b*; no. 213, p. 795*c*) has the same phrase as the earlier translation. But, as can be seen from the verses quoted by Lévi, the translator of the *Ch'u-yao-ching* made considerable use of his predecessor's work, although his own original was very differently arranged. The first few verses of the Apramāda-varga are simply lifted, with a few minor alterations, from the earlier translation; and in such instances this version can give no information about the Uv. reading. But in the other verse (*śreṣṭhī*), the translator had probably not immediately located the rendering in the *Fa-chü-ching*, and he therefore produced an independent translation based on his own text.

[3] Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, i, p. 187; and cf. also the passages quoted in Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, and Hofinger, *Étude sur le Concile de Vaiśālī*; Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques*, p. 206.

[4] The numbering of the Uv. verses is that of

Chinese i. 1	Uv. i. 1	Chinese i. 8	Uv. i. 22	Chinese i. 15	Uv. i. 36
2	3	9	23	16	ii. 15
3	10	10	27	17	i. 40
4	15	11	29	18	—
5	17	12	30	19	25
6	21	13	33	20	41
7	18	14	34	21	42

This suggests that the translator might have had a manuscript which had lost folio 2 (and perhaps 3); but the succession is otherwise so regular that only a direct textual connexion could account for it. Similarly, chapter iv (Śraddhā) is identical in verses and order with Uv. x, except that verses 12 and 13 of the latter are dropped, and 4 additional verses are added at the end.

Chapter v (Śīla) is almost the same as Uv. vi, with the interesting addition of the question-verse which is not in the present Uv. before verse 4, but does appear in Pali (Saṃ. i. 36) before the corresponding verse.

Chapter vi (Smṛti) agrees with Uv. xv, though it has dropped the serial repetitions at the end of the chapter, and has, moreover, telescoped verses 12–14 into a single stanza.

In the same way, viii (Vācā), xxxiii (Satkāra), and xxxvi (Nirvāṇa) show very close correspondence with the Uv. chapters of the same titles.

In the remaining 6 chapters, occasional verses occur which correspond to individual verses in the Indian versions. In chapter iii (whose title is Bahuśruta, not Śrāvaka), the second verse is the equivalent of **254** in the Prakrit (= Thg. 141), and the third verse appears to be a telescoped version of the two verses **246, 247**. In chapter vii, the first verse is Uv. vii. 9, but the chapter as a whole does not correspond. It would seem therefore that these chapters are taken from yet a further source; but this source has not yet been identified. The final chapter of the work (Mangala) was identified by Beal as agreeing with the Mahāmangala-sutta of the Pali Sutta-nipāta, of which it is a rather expanded version. But we need not suppose that the translator actually used a 'Sutta-nipāta'. As the preface indicates,[1] the redactor was acquainted with at least three Dharmapada recensions, to which he ascribed (in round numbers) 900, 700, and 500 verses respectively. In view of the textual agreements, we can hardly doubt that the shortest of these was the equivalent of the Pali text, and the longest a version of the Udānavarga. It is then probable that the additional chapters which do not correspond to either of these were taken from the third text, also presumably entitled Dharmapada. It was naturally tempting to conjecture that this source was the Prakrit version, and this guess was in fact put forward by P. K. Mukherjee.[2] This must,

Chakravarti's edition, except in the first three items, which are taken from Rockhill (the Sanskrit being lost).

[1] Lévi, p. 218.

[2] 'The Dhammapada and the Udānavarga', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, xi, 1935, pp. 741–60. The author goes so far as to assert that none

however, be rejected. The Bahuśruta chapter is preserved in the Prakrit, and it is certainly not the source of chapter iii of the Chinese version. The other unidentified chapters clearly do not correspond in their titles to any of the surviving Prakrit chapters, and it would imply too much of a coincidence to suppose that they should all have come from those parts of the Prakrit text which are lost. The figures given for numbers of verses are probably not to be taken too seriously; but it may be added that, when allowance is made for the missing parts of the manuscript, the total extent of the Prakrit version can hardly have exceeded 560 verses.[1]

The remaining three Chinese versions require no more than a mention in passing for our present purposes. The *Fa-chü p'i-yü ching*[2] translated between A.D. 290–306 is a selection of verses from the earlier work, together with explanatory stories, and is thus similar to a somewhat condensed Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā. This is the work which formed the basis of the English rendering by Beal.[3] The *Ch'u-yao-ching*,[4] translated in A.D. 398–9, on the other hand, is a very much more extensive work of similar type; but the basic text in this case was the *Udānavarga*. The fourth version, the *Fa-chi-yao-sung-ching*,[5] dated towards the end of the tenth century, merely collects together the verses of the preceding work, although at the same time revising the expression in many places. For fuller details of these the reader may be referred to Lévi's article on the Apramāda-varga already quoted.

In brief, then, the situation is that the Chinese versions give us only two recensions *in extenso*; a text closely similar to the Pali; and the Udānavarga; and although some of the additional chapters of the *Fa-chü-ching* may be assumed to be fragments from a third text, this is certainly not the Prakrit version. Apart from these, only one other specific mention of a definite text[6] has been noted:[7] a Chinese version contemporary with the *Fa-chü-ching* (and bearing the same title), of a Dharmapada which was translated by a man from the country of the Yüeh-chih. This translation has not survived, and there is no means of telling whether its original was one of the texts known to us, or still another recension. It is not impossible that it was the Gāndhārī text, but the rather vague indication of a Central Asian connexion is scarcely enough to support any positive belief that it was.

We have therefore direct information in the case of four texts certainly, and a fifth possibly:

(1) The Pali Dhammapada.

of the 13 extra chapters in the *Fa-chü-ching* can be traced in the Udānavarga, and gives no reasons for his theory concerning the Prakrit.

[1] See above, pp. 19 ff.

[2] Taishō, vol. iv, no. 211.

[3] *Texts from the Buddhist Canon, commonly known as Dhammapada, with accompanying narratives*, London 1878.

[4] Taishō, no. 212. [5] Taishō, no. 213.

[6] As distinct from numerous references to *dharmapada* merely as a category among scriptural texts. [7] Lévi, JAs. 1912, p. 208.

(2) The Gāndhārī Dharmapada.
(3) The Udānavarga.
(4) The Mahāsānghika Dharmapada.
(5) The text (or perhaps texts) which contributed the unidentified chapters of the *Fa-chü-ching*.

Since only 2 chapters of (4) are known, neither of which has a title in common with (5), it is possible that (5) might be the same text as (4); but there is no evidence for or against this.

The author of the preface to the *Fa-chü-ching*, in a short discussion[1] of the significance of the term Dharmapada, expressed the view that the *gāthās* of which a Dharmapada text is composed originally belonged to the Sūtras of the canon; but at a later period, the monks of the five schools each made individual collections (presumably one for each school), and arranged the verses according to subject-matter.

Since the list of five schools is constantly repeated in other connexions elsewhere,[2] the agreement of the number with the list of texts given above which have survived in whole or in part is almost certainly a mere accident. Nor is it possible to accept the suggestion that the recensions of individual schools were independent collections made from the Sūtras.[3] The statement is nevertheless valuable, since it shows that the author, early in the third century A.D., considered that different schools did possess different Dharmapadas, and there is no reason to imagine that on this point he was mistaken.

Dharmatrāta and the Udānavarga

Among the surviving texts, the Udānavarga stands apart, not only in its title, but also in the fact that its compilation is ascribed to an individual. The Chinese preface to the *Ch'u-yao-ching*[4] already knew the traditional opinion regularly held in later centuries, that the work was compiled by Dharmatrāta, who 'brought together these thousand verses,[5] and made 33 sections, called

[1] Lévi, loc. cit., p. 218.

[2] Lévi here gives: Dharmaguptakas, Sarvāstivādins, Kāśyapīyas, Mahīśāsakas, and Vatsīputrīyas. Other versions of the list replace the last named by the Mahāsānghikas (Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, i, pp. 593–4); and the five *Vinayas* extant in Chinese are ascribed to schools in the latter form of the list, with the further substitution of the Mūlasarvāstivādins for the Kāśyapīyas.

[3] See above, p. 27. It is admittedly true that very many of the verses in the Dharmapadas do occur also in other canonical works. More than half of those in the Pali recension appear elsewhere in the canon (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, ii, pp. 83–84); and the majority of those in the Prakrit text which are absent from the Pali Dhammapada do nevertheless occur in other canonical Pali texts. But the scriptures are after all full of repetitions and overlappings; and anthologies compiled independently in the different schools could hardly have contained so much material in common.

[4] Lévi, loc. cit., p. 217.

[5] Dr. P. S. Jaini has drawn my attention to the closely similar statement in Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* (ed. U. Wogihara), i, p. 12: *yathā sthavira-Dharmatrātena udānd 'anityā bata saṃskārā' ity-evam-ādikā vineyavaśāt tatra tatra sūtra uktā vargīkṛtāḥ*, &c.

Dharmapada.[1] He transcribed the episodes which gave rise to the verses, and brought them together to form a commentary called *Ch'u-yao*.' On this, Lévi comments: 'Ainsi, d'après ce témoignage fort clair, Dharmatrāta a composé une anthologie du canon à son goût, et il a composé sur cette anthologie un commentaire narratif du même type que l'Aṭṭhakathā du Jātaka [read 'Dhammapada'?] pali. À l'anthologie seule était réservée l'appellation de Dharmapada.'

A slight doubt is raised, however, by the still earlier discussion of the term *udāna* in the Mahāprajñāpāramitā-śāstra of Nāgārjuna.[2] From the description given ('starting from the *anitya*-section and ending with the *brāhmaṇa*-section'), it is almost certain that the author had in mind the *Udānavarga*; but not only does he make no mention of Dharmatrāta, but he specifically attributes the work of collecting and arranging the verses to the time of the original compilation of the canon (in accordance with the common tradition of the sects) immediately after the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha. This testimony is admittedly insufficient to disprove the later universal tradition concerning Dharmatrāta; but it is at least a warning that this tradition cannot be accepted as proof either. It is possible that Dharmatrāta's contribution was only the commentary providing the illustrative narratives to the verses of a collection made by earlier redactors of the same school (not, of course, at the Council of Rājagṛha). The later tradition could easily have arisen from this.

The point is in itself unimportant. It is quite conceivable that Dharmatrāta was editor as well as commentator of the 'anthology'. What is surely misleading is the implication, entirely out of harmony with the situation, that he was a mere dilettante, engaged in the rather trivial task of compiling 'une anthologie à son goût'. Rather, he was performing the much more serious task of fixing in a definite form a specific *Kṣudraka* text on behalf of his own school, which thenceforth was to recognize this work as its own authoritative *Udāna*, in contrast to the *Udānas* and *Dharmapadas* of other schools. In its design and contents, the work is in every respect a *Dharmapada*, and we can hardly determine whether the title of *Udāna* is here the result of a genuine confusion

[1] This statement is probably the origin of the ascription of the earlier *Fa-chü-ching* to Dharmatrāta (Max Müller, Introduction to translation of the Pali *Dhammapada*, SBE x, p. li, ultimately derived from Beal). On this basis, Barua and Mitra were ready to declare (Introduction, p. xlvi) that the original text which was the central core of the *Fa-chü-ching* was a Sarvāstivāda work, adding that it was 'written in Mixed Sanskrit'. (This last statement, however, appears to have been their own contribution.) Radhakrishnan went still further, and said (*The Dhammapada*, p. 2) that 'the Chinese attribute the work to Ārya Dharmatrāta', where from the context it seems that 'the work' means the Pali text. It would certainly have been interesting if the Chinese had in fact made such an attribution (although it would certainly have been wrong). But doubtless the idea began merely through a confusion of the prefaces of the two Chinese versions, leading—as such things tend to do—to progressively worse results.

[2] Chapter 33, quoted by Lévi, loc. cit., p. 220. The passage in question is just beyond the part of the work so far published in Lamotte's translation (*Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*).

between the two *Kṣudraka* titles in the school in question, or whether it was adopted of set intention, merely by way of rivalry with other sects. A detailed discussion would be out of place in the present context; but there are, so far as I am aware, no reasons for doubting the numerous indications that the text as thus fixed was the canonical (or paracanonical) text of the Sarvāstivādins, and may well have been recognized by some of the various sub-sects into which this school divided.

Buddhavarman

Since the first line of the Prakrit manuscript gives the name of the monk Buddhavarman, it is natural to inquire whether this person stands in the same relationship to this Dharmapada as Dharmatrāta traditionally does to the *Udānavarga*. But it seems very unlikely that this is so. 'The *Dharmapada* of Buddhavarman' would be a somewhat unusual form of expression, and although it might perhaps be thought just possible in a verse (the usage being not very different from that familiar in later colophons, *kṛtir iyaṃ* with the genitive of the author's name), it is more natural to understand that it is the manuscript which is Buddhavarman's, and that he is named as owner (and possibly copyist), rather than as author or compiler. This is confirmed by the inclusion of the respectful mention of the teacher's name. Such a mention is particularly appropriate where, as in votive inscriptions, the writer or donor is naming himself. It is not impossible that a later copyist should repeat an author's name with the original teacher's name still attached to it, but it is decidedly unlikely.

V. AFFILIATION OF THE GĀNDHĀRĪ TEXT

Although the other three known texts of the same class can be attributed to the Theravādins, the Sarvāstivādins, and the Mahāsānghikas respectively, no evidence has so far come to light to permit the identification of the school which produced the Gāndhārī text. After a very lengthy discussion, Barua and Mitra concluded that it was 'another Mahāsaṅghika work',[1] but on the previous page described it as 'a synthesis of two older texts in Mixed Sanskrit, one belonging to the Mahāsaṅghika school and another to the sarvâstivāda or Sautrāntika'. This may absolve us from any obligation to examine their arguments in detail.

Had it not been for the existence of the *Udānavarga* and the text quoted in the *Mahāvastu*, the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsānghikas would certainly have been the strongest claimants for the Gāndhārī text. Both schools are known to have been well represented in Khotan, where the manuscript was

[1] Barua and Mitra, *Prakrit Dhammapada*, p. li.

found, and there is ample evidence of the presence of both in the Gandhāra region. The Sarvāstivādins are mentioned more frequently than any other school in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the North-west,[1] and they may share with the Mahāsānghikas the distinction of having left us a tiny fragment of scripture written in Kharoṣṭhī in the Gāndhārī dialect. The Kurram casket,[2] dated in the year 20 (of the Kaniṣka era), commemorates the deposition of a relic in a Vihāra of the Sarvāstivādins, and includes in its inscription the *pratītya-samutpāda* formula. The Wardak vase,[3] of the year 51 of the same era, records the dedication of a Vihāra of the Mahāsānghikas; and the inscription makes use of a cliché descriptive of all living beings, which is very probably a direct quotation from a canonical source. Further, these two inscriptions show a decidedly closer resemblance to the handwriting of the manuscript than do the majority of the other inscriptions edited by Konow. On the other hand, although the language is essentially the same, the Dharmapada manuscript belongs, it would seem, to a distinct tradition in the matter of spelling. Among several differences, the most striking is the use of *-ǵ-*[4] in the inscriptions, representing an older intervocalic *-g-* (including sometimes $g < k$) or *-y-*, a feature shared also with the Niya documents. In this function the *Dharmapada* manuscript uses *-k-*, and reserves the character *ǵ* for an entirely different employment.[5]

This argument is of course not in itself conclusive, since a school may have changed its orthography; nor, from the other side, are the inscriptions conclusive proof that the two schools in question actually possessed at that time canonical works written in Gāndhārī. (A layman's inscription, after all, might well have translated a canonical quotation into the vernacular.) The suggestion had been made more than once[6] that the Sarvāstivādins had a canon in the north-western dialect before they turned to Sanskrit; and it must be conceded that this is not improbable. But if one school in this part of the country had such texts, so in all probability did members of other schools resident in the same area.

A given language need not have been the exclusive property of a single religious sect. It is perhaps hardly necessary to enunciate a proposition so evidently true. But frequent mentions of '*the* Sanskrit canon' and '*a* North-western Prakrit canon' may give the impression that there was only one in each language, even although individual writers using these expressions may have intended no such implication. In Sanskrit, canonical works are known of

[1] CII. ii, part 1, ed. Konow; Lamotte, *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, i, pp. 578 ff.

[2] CII. ii, part 1, p. 155, plates XXVIII–XXIX.

[3] Ibid., p. 170, plate XXXIII.

[4] Transcribed in the edition of the inscriptions as *g(r)*.

[5] See also below, pp. 62, 86, 99.

[6] Sometimes directly associating the Kurram casket with the Dharmapada (Konow, CII. ii, p. 154), without perhaps intending a definite ascription of the text to this school.

at least three, and probably four sects;[1] and there is no reason to think that Gāndhārī, if used at all for scripture, would have been more restricted.

With due caution, Lamotte says on this point: 'Sans préjuger de découvertes à venir toujours possibles, il faut reconnaître que la seule existence du *Dharmapada* Dutreuil de Rhins ne permet pas, dans l'état actuel de l'information, de conclure à l'existence d'un canon en prākrit du Nord-Ouest.'[2] And indeed a general conclusion of this nature may have the appearance of an illicit speculation. But the solid facts remain that the text is a Dharmapada; that because of its general characteristics, and not only its name, it cannot legitimately be separated from the other works of this class; that it is nevertheless a distinct specimen of this genus; and that a *Dharmapada* is in any case a relatively minor section of a canonical collection. There are no grounds for thinking that this text is, uniquely, a littérateur's anthology, constructed for his own edification or entertainment. There are tolerably good grounds for considering that the mere existence of this one text does allow the inference—indeed almost compels it—that there did exist a more extensive canonical collection of texts belonging to the same school. It seems to me very difficult to believe that a group of monks might have possessed a Dharmapada (showing, as much as do the others, a common inheritance of verses, altered and rearranged during its earlier transmission, and finally edited within a school), without at the same time possessing at least some stock of Sūtra and Vinaya works.

I should therefore not hesitate to say that the existence of this Dharmapada does imply the existence of a canon of which it formed a part. It does not necessarily follow that this inferred canon was redacted entire in Gāndhārī. The Dharmapada is to such an extent a manual of lay ethics that it would be easy to understand the production of a vernacular translation (for use in preaching, perhaps), even by a school whose principal texts were carried in some other Prakrit, or even by then in Sanskrit. But it seems unlikely that this Dharmapada should have been the only Buddhist work written down in this language; and there is at least indirect evidence that others did exist.[3]

In spite of numerous textual affinities with the Udānavarga in individual verses, the Gāndhārī text shows such distinctive differences that it is hardly possible to consider that it might have belonged to an earlier Sarvāstivāda tradition. The two chapters of the Mahāsānghika text in the *Mahāvastu*, although limited in quantity, are enough to show that this version was still

[1] Mūla-sarvāstivādin, Sarvāstivādin, and Lokottaravāda-Mahāsānghika (*Mahāvastu*) with certainty; and a fourth if, as is probable, the fragments from Bamiyan identified as Mahāsānghika (Lévi, JAs 1932, pp. 4–8) belong to a sub-sect distinct from the Lokottaravādins of Madhyadeśa. It is of course possible that still further schools may be represented by some of the Central Asian fragments whose attribution remains uncertain.

[2] *Histoire du bouddhisme indien*, i, p. 634.

[3] See below, pp. 50–54.

more distant (and in some ways closer to the Pali). An attribution to another Mahāsānghika sub-sect, therefore, hardly seems likely unless that sub-sect had already separated from the owners of the *Mahāvastu* version at a date as early as the separation of the latter from the Theravādins of the Pali.

If we exclude one very doubtful conjectural restoration,[1] only two other sectarian names have been observed in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the North-west: the Kāśyapīyas,[2] and the Dharmaguptakas.[3] This naturally need not exhaust the list of schools which might have been represented in the area in sufficient numbers at the right period. These two may, however, be thought to have a slightly greater chance of claiming our text than many others, since both are credited with the possession of a quantity of canonical texts which have actually survived,[4] and, apart from the better-known sects mentioned earlier, there are very few others of whom this can be said.[5] There is, of course, no way of knowing whether the remaining schools of the Lesser Vehicle have merely been unlucky in this respect, or whether (being in many cases relatively late secessions) they may have simply continued to use such canonical material as had already been consolidated before their respective schisms.

For the present, therefore, our conclusions can only be negative. The revision of such a text within a school, even in a fairly radical fashion, is not inconceivable; but any relationship of this sort would have left traces of affinity much closer than can be observed between any two of the known recensions. We can with reasonable confidence say that the Gāndhārī text did not belong to the schools responsible for the Pali Dhammapada, the Udānavarga, and the Mahāvastu; and unless we are prepared to dispute the attribution of any of

[1] CII ii, part 1, p. 122, where Konow suggested the possibility of a reading *Bah[uṣuti]a[ka]na* (S. *bahuśrutīyakānāṃ*). But the inscription was available only in a very unsatisfactory eye-copy, and the reading can hardly be quoted as evidence.

[2] Ibid., pp. 88, 89, and 122.

[3] Ibid., p. 113, plate XXII. Konow (following F. W. Thomas) understood *dhamaüte* (followed by a break in the stone), as the equivalent of S. *dharmayukta*. The context, however, requires the name of a school, and the interpretation proposed by Lüders is certainly right: *dhama'ute[aṇa]*, S. *dharmaguptakānām* (AO 18. 17; H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xi, 1946, p. 790. It is thus necessary to revise the statement that the Dharmaguptakas are not mentioned in any extant inscription: Bareau, *Les Sectes bouddhiques*, p. 190; Lamotte, *Histoire*, i, pp. 582, 595.) A superficial similarity with this word might tempt us to see the name of this school in the introductory verse; and if the manuscript had been blurred, it would probably have seemed reasonable to conjecture that it had been written in an *araṇya* of the Dharmaguptakas. But the photograph is clear, and the only possible reading seems to be *dharmuyaṇe*. This can scarcely be interpreted as the name of the school: the final *-e* is certain; and *-t-* (<*-tt-*) could not have been lost in the language. We could hardly risk the suggestion that the scribe had omitted it accidentally, in the first line of writing.

[4] The lesser of the two *Saṃyuktāgamas* in Chinese is attributed to the Kāśyapīyas by some commentators (P. Demiéville, in *L'Inde Classique*, ii, p. 432; Lamotte, *Histoire*, i, p. 169); and the Dharmaguptakas, in addition to their *Vinaya*, may also have contributed the *Dīrghāgama* (Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras*, i, p. 229).

[5] Almost the only certain additions to be made to the list appear to be the *Vinaya* of the Mahīśāsakas and the *Vinaya-mātṛkā* of the Haimavatas. Bareau, indeed, suggested that the last mentioned work might have been Kāśyapīya (*Les Sectes bouddhiques*, pp. 201–2).

these, this excludes the Sarvāstivādins and Lokottaravāda-Mahāsānghikas, as well as the Theravādins (and probably, in company with the last, the Mahīśāsakas).[1] Among possible claimants, the Dharmaguptakas and Kāśyapīyas must be considered as eligible, but still other possibilities cannot be ruled out.

A Mūla-sarvāstivādin criticism

An interesting episode in the writings of the Mūla-sarvāstivādins[2] shows an awareness of the existence of a Prakrit Dharmapada; and although there is no certainty that the text referred to was the present recension, we can hardly doubt that the criticism was directed against a version in Gāndhārī, or one imperfectly translated into Sanskrit from a Gāndhārī original. This curious tale concerns the last days of Ānanda, and tells how he chanced to overhear a certain monk reciting a Dharmapada-verse in the following manner (according to the Chinese versions):

> If a man were to live for a hundred years, and not see a water-heron,[3] it were better that he live only for one day, and see a water-heron.

'My son', said Ānanda, 'the Buddha did not say this. What he said was:

> If a man were to live for a hundred years, and not see the principle of coming into existence and passing away, it were better . . . (and so forth).

The monk thereupon reported the matter to his teacher, who replied, 'Ānanda is an old fool. Go on reciting as before'. On hearing once more the same faulty recitation, Ānanda realized that it was futile to attempt to convince the monk of the error, since all his seniors, to whom he might have appealed, had already entered Nirvāṇa. Being thus unable to do anything further to protect the Buddha's words from corruption, he considered that there was no reason to delay his own Nirvāṇa.

It is a pity we do not have the Sanskrit original of this story; but the main point of the criticism is established beyond any doubt by the present text, where, corresponding to Dhp. 113,

yo ca vassa-sataṃ jīve apassaṃ udaya-vyayaṃ,

[1] See also above, p. 36.

[2] *Vinaya, Kṣudraka-vastu*, Taishō, vol. xxiv, no. 1451, pp. 409–10 (translation by Przyluski, JAs 1914, iv, p. 529); *Aśokāvadāna*, in two versions, Taishō, vol. l, no. 2042, p. 115, and no. 2043, p. 154 (the former translated by Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka*, pp. 335–6); Tibetan version *Ḥdul-ba*, vol. Da, 682*b*–683*a* (Narthang) = vol. xliv, Ne, 302*a*–*b* (Pekin).

[3] In Przyluski's translation of the *Aśokāvadāna*, p. 335, 'Si un homme vivait cent ans sans voir le vieux héron des marais', the word 'vieux' is the result of a variant reading now discarded by the Taishō edition. The translations of the bird's name vary: heron, crane, snow-goose(?) egret or paddy-bird; and there is a tendency to insert the adjective 'white', which could not have been in the original. The Tibetans, with *bya kar* (so written in N.; *gar* P.) 'white bird', may have had in mind the grey duck (Tib.-Tib. Dict., *bya dkar = chuḥi bya gag*).

the Prakrit gives the reading (**317**):

ya ji vaṣa-śado jivi apaśu udaka-vaya.

The story is thus merely the vehicle of a proposed emendation of a text which was corrupt, or was at least thought to be corrupt. If the verse under criticism was at the time still in a Prakrit form, it may not have been thought by those reciting it to refer in fact to a 'water-heron'; and the Mūla-sarvāstivādin author may have been merely indulging in ridicule without adequate justification. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the verse (which might easily have been written with the spelling *udaka-vaka* in some Kharoṣṭhī manuscript)[1] had been translated carelessly into Sanskrit as *apaśyann udaka-bakam*, in which case the emendation proposed was most essential. It may be observed that the mythical setting of the story not only provides the critic with an authority for his emendation[2] (which is good enough not to need it), but also suggests that the corrupt text had gone unobserved until the one surviving authority was so old that his powers of memory might be challenged. No doubt it was felt that, if the correction had been attributed to an earlier period, the mere existence of the wrong reading in a rival school might have been difficult to explain.

The version of the same story in the Tibetan *Vinaya* is worth a separate mention, since, although itself corrupt, it suggests an artistic elaboration introduced later in the history of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda text, but still making use of a Prakrit (and probably Gāndhārī) background. The verse criticized appears as:[3]

gaṅ na lo brgya ḥtsho ba ni
ṅes par chu la bya kar bźin
chu la bya kar mthoṅ ba ltar
bdag ñid gcig buḥi ḥtsho ba dge.

This is still more appalling than the version given to the Chinese:

To live for a hundred years is certainly like a grey duck in the water; but a life lived all by oneself alone is happiness, like seeing a grey duck in the water.

We need not try to decide whether the interpretation of *ekāhaṃ* (as if the second part of the compound had been *ahaṃ* 'I') is a mistake or a further attempt at mockery; but the first half of the verse is almost certainly an attempt to improve upon the earlier version. The Sanskrit implied by the

[1] The spelling, besides being theoretically possible, is attested by Niya 637 line 2 *vyaġa* (the documents regularly having *-ġ-* in such positions, where the Dharmapada has *-k-*). The manuscript also has *udaka* 'water' (Niya *udaġa*).

[2] In the same way, some editors in the earlier centuries of classical scholarship in Europe sought support for emendations in Latin or Greek texts by the quotation of mythical readings *ex uetustis codicibus*.

[3] The text of the Narthang edition is reproduced literally. The Pekin edition shows only unimportant (and mostly inferior) spelling variations.

translation would seem to have altered *apaśyann udaka-bakam* (which must have been the source of the Chinese versions) to *avaśyam udake bakaḥ*. This seems too good to be an accidental corruption. In the language of the Dharmapada manuscript, a single consonant immediately following the negative prefix *a-* is sometimes treated as initial, sometimes as intervocalic.[1] Although in this verse the word in question appears as *apaśu*, it might at other times have had the form *avaśu*; and even if usage had recognized only *-p-* in this particular word, the phenomenon was familiar enough to make it easy for the *Vinaya* reviser to impute *-v-* to the rival text, and hence arrive at *avaśyam*.

Unfortunately, Ānanda's correction as it appears in the Tibetan translation is no longer of any use, and later generations of Tibetans must have wondered what it was all about:

gaṅ na lo brgya ḥtsho ba ni
ñes par skye daṅ ḥjig pa yin.

To live for a hundred years is undoubtedly birth and death.

Here *avaśyam*, which helps to elaborate the jest in the verse derided, has, rather sadly, intruded from there by an error of copying, and destroyed the genuine verse; and in addition—whether as a result of this, or as an independent accident—the second half of the verse has disappeared, taking with it a further short passage which was still in the text when the Chinese translations were made.

It is naturally a temptation to believe that this criticism by the Mūlasarvāstivādins was directed against the text of this Gāndhārī Dharmapada; and it may be so. Equally, it may not be.[2] We can, however, be reasonably sure of the language of the text criticized.

It is true that Gāndhārī is not the only Prakrit dialect in which *udaka* and *udaya* would have collided in this way; and since a spelling *udaya* or *udaa* in a Prakrit text in another dialect could have represented either word, such a spelling might in theory have been rendered into Sanskrit as *udaka*. But it rather stretches credulity to suppose that a translator should have chosen the more remote formal possibility in order to make nonsense of the text. The situation is entirely different if *udaka*, as a perfectly legitimate Gāndhārī spelling in the sense of S. *udaya*, already stood in the source from which the translation into Sanskrit was made. And if the text under criticism had been read in a Gāndhārī version, the origin of the Mūla-sarvāstivāda story is even easier to understand. The mere fact of the strong association of this school with the North-west might even by itself be thought sufficient corroboration.

[1] Similarly in other compound words: see p. 106.

[2] The fact that the manuscript has *muhutu* in the group of verses to which this belongs, against *ekāhaṃ* in the other versions and in the criticism, suggests the latter conclusion. But since the word could be a variant arising even within the same school (intruding from 320, where the Pali also has *muhuttaṃ*), it is not a final proof that a different recension was involved.

But as for the particular text which provoked the criticism, we have a warning against too swift a conclusion in the unexpected fact that the *Mahāvastu*, in other respects so far removed, also gives the reading *udaka-* in both halves of this verse (iii. 436. 12) in one of the two manuscripts available at this part of the work. Senart naturally preferred the reading of the other manuscript, *udaya-vyayaṃ*. But in such a context *udaka-* would be a most extraordinary corruption to have arisen accidentally. In spite of a great deal of Prakrit in the ancestry of the *Mahāvastu* remaining visible beneath the Sanskrit orthography, most of that Prakrit is certainly not Gāndhārī (although it is just possible that a few traces might be hidden among manuscript readings rejected by the editor).[1] It may therefore be that *udaka-* is after all a coincidence, however surprising. But at least it seems desirable not to rule out absolutely the possibility that the Mahāsānghika Dharmapada used by the compilers of the *Mahāvastu* had reached them in Madhyadeśa after a period of exile in Gandhāra. It would not be unexpected—rather the reverse—that sections of the same school widely separated geographically should have produced copies of a text held in common which, even if not definite translations into different regional dialects, were at least influenced in numerous ways by the differing local languages.

VI. THE GĀNDHĀRĪ LANGUAGE

This Dharmapada text is not only of considerable significance for the study of early Buddhist literature, but also forms a substantial part of the remnants of the Middle Indian dialect of the North-west, whose importance and influence was quite out of proportion to the relatively small quantity which has survived. In addition to this one literary text, we possess only inscriptions (the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra versions of the Aśokan edicts; a number of later inscriptions, mostly very short, and dated by Konow for the most part between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D.; and a few words on coin legends), and the collection of official documents from Niya and other sites in Chinese Turkestan, from the third century A.D.[2] The Dharmapada, as

[1] One naturally thinks of the 3rd plural aorist and optative forms in *-itsu, -etsu*: *-insu, -ensu*, where Senart regularly chose the latter, and Edgerton (BHSG § 32. 38 and 95) favoured the former. In a review of Edgerton's work (BSOAS xvi, 1954, pp. 358 f.), I suggested that, since the graphic alternation *t/n* was common in other situations in Nepalese manuscripts (also before *m—jatma* and *ānmā* being often enough written for *janma* and *ātmā*), the relative frequency of the spellings in the *Mahāvastu* manuscripts carried little weight, and that the forms with *n* could therefore be accepted. The argument is of course obligingly reversible, and if parts of the *Mahāvastu* had at one stage passed through a version in Gāndhārī, forms with *-ts-* in place of *-ṃs-* would certainly be expected to have come into the text at that time. But more evidence would be required than this one orthographical idiosyncrasy and the isolated *udaka* before a Gāndhārī element in the ancestry of the *Mahāvastu* could be safely asserted.

[2] A further collection of documents, also written in Kharoṣṭhī, but coming from sites north of the Takla Makan desert, and ascribed to a later period, is preserved in Berlin, but has not yet been published.

would be expected, has incorporated a number of words (though not many) taken over with the text in forms originating in the more central dialect from which it was translated.[1] But in general, all these sources show a language which is fundamentally the same, contrasting with other Middle Indian dialects. There are indeed variations, partly geographical (as already shown by the differences between the two Aśokan versions), and partly due to differences in time. Between the Dharmapada and the Niya documents, when allowance is made for the Buddhist vocabulary in the former, and a quantity of borrowed Central Asian words in the latter (and a few differences in the conventions of the orthography), the language is so similar that it would be quite artificial to treat these two sources other than as aspects of the same language.

Except for some doubts expressed in the initial period of the study of the Niya documents,[2] this view has for the most part been accepted in principle; and the language has been generally referred to as 'the North-western Prakrit'. More recently, in an article dealing with a number of problems concerning the language, the name 'Gāndhārī' was suggested by H. W. Bailey,[3] to whose writings we are indebted for numerous exemplifications of the very important part played by this form of Middle Indian language as one of the principal vehicles for the carrying of Indian civilization, and in particular Buddhism, into Central Asia, and ultimately to China. In this capacity, it almost certainly preceded Sanskrit, and doubtless continued for a considerable period as the spoken Indian language best known in Central Asia, even when Sanskrit and Brāhmī writing had displaced Gāndhārī and Kharoṣṭhī in the written Buddhist texts in use. The extent of this linguistic influence is clearly demonstrated by the stock of Indian borrowings in Khotanese, Agnean, and Kuchean, and other languages of Central Asia, where, in company with many words taken directly from Sanskrit (though often altered in appearance by local orthography and subsequent phonetic development), there are considerable numbers which show features indicating an origin in Gāndhārī.[4]

[1] For convenience we may use the expression. It is, however, quite possible that the redaction of the text in its present form took place only after the school (or branch of a school) to which it belonged was already settled in Gandhāra. If this were so, we might rather think of a process of gradual transposition of the text of individual verses, during the period of movement from a central or eastern district, rather than a single definite act of translation.

[2] For example, Senart, JAs. xix, 1912, p. 411. (*Contra*, Konow, BSOS viii, 1936, p. 603.)

[3] BSOAS xi, 1946, pp. 764–97. This convenient designation has the additional merit of emphasizing the fact that we are concerned with a specific language, with relatively small dialectical and temporal variations. The older descriptive term, carrying a vague suggestion of anonymity, may have obscured this to some extent, even if in theory it should not have done so. (Doubtless our attitude to the language and literature of France would be unaffected, in theory, even if the only term at our disposal was 'the North-western Romance language'.)

[4] On the general question, see in particular H. W. Bailey, *Gāndhārī* (loc. cit.), and *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1947, pp. 139 ff. By way of illustration, a few additional examples are cited below, in part II of this Introduction.

A recognition of this fact is important from both sides. Many Central Asian forms which, when compared with Sanskrit, seemed at first to be mere scribal vagaries, or were even described as errors, can now be seen to reflect developments attested in Gāndhārī. And from the other side, the independent survival of such forms justifies the Dharmapada manuscript in many places where otherwise we might too readily assume a blunder by the scribe. Thus, for example, in *aṇuvaṭhida* and *aṇuvaṣuda* (**137c, 137d**), Senart recognized that the vowel *-u* was clearly written in the second syllable of each word, although in both places the corresponding Pali had *an-ava-* (and *an-upa-* was in any case unsuitable in the context). He therefore did not hesitate to describe both words as mere errors. Bailey,[1] however, drew attention to the same feature in a Khotanese form *anūvatattu* (S. *anavatapta*), together with Chinese transliterations implying originals such as **anudatta* (or *ano-*) beside **anavadatta*. The spelling *aṇuva-* in the Dharmapada manuscript is thus confirmed as genuine.

A good example of a similar situation is provided by the newly published part of the text (**242**) in the word *jabodaṇa* 'golden', where the well-established S. *jāmbūnada*, P. *jambonada*, *jambunada* might have led us to suspect that the transposition of the two syllables was a mere accident in the writing. The word nevertheless is real, its existence in the language being established by the fact that it reached Sogdian in the form *čnp'wδn*, *čnpwδn*,[2] through the intermediary of Chinese 閻浮檀 *i̯äm-b'i̯ə̯u-d'ân*.[3] The same Indian form is probably the origin also of Khotanese *jābūvana*,[4] *jabuva*[5] (with *ysīra* 'gold'), and *jaṃbuña*[6] (< **jambūdanya*).

Evidence from Chinese transcriptions

An important question which can only be touched upon very briefly here is the possibility that the originals of some of the earlier translations of Buddhist works into Chinese were written in Gāndhārī. The suggestion has been made specifically with reference to the *Dīrghāgama*,[7] ascribed to the Dharmaguptakas,[8] and the indications are sufficiently strong to make it very probable that the language of this text, if not exactly the same, was at least very close to that of the Dharmapada. Since only a few *sūtras* have been examined in detail with

[1] BSOAS x, 1942, p. 913.

[2] Reichelt, *Soghdische Handschriftenreste*, i, p. 45, lines 212, 215. I am indebted to Professor Bailey for the relevant Iranian and Chinese information here.

[3] Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, 672, 1233, 148. The Archaic reconstruction of the first syllable is **di̯ɛm* (cf. also in the same series *zi̯äm* < **dzi̯ɛm*) and the initial occlusion evidently had not yet been lost in the form taken over by Sogdian.

[4] Konow, *Saka Studies* (vocabulary).

[5] Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 72.

[6] *Jātaka-stava*, 22r2.

[7] Translated in A.D. 413 by Buddhayaśas (Demiéville, *L'Inde Classique*, ii, p. 418).

[8] The ascription to the Dharmaguptakas (on which see Waldschmidt, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras*, i, p. 229) was disputed by Weller, *Asia Major*, v, 1928, p. 180.

this problem in view, further investigation would be desirable. All that is attempted here is an indication of a few points[1] where the evidence of the language of the Dharmapada should be considered in the interpretation.

On the basis of 36 transliterations (including proper names) in the 15th *sūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama*, F. Weller[2] came to the conclusion that the text from which the translation was made was not in Sanskrit; but he refrained from suggesting any positive identification of the Prakrit. The material was admit tedly too scanty; and it was of course realised that transliterated terms might be taken over ready-made from an earlier tradition of translating, and these would in consequence be useless as evidence. (There are in fact 8 such items in the list.) A few of the remainder which appeared to raise difficulties are, however, at least compatible with Gāndhārī. Against the Pali form *Gotama*, the Chinese transliteration indicated *-d-* in the second syllable; and, with some hesitation, Weller suggested that, beside the normal Prakrit *Goyama*, a dialect such as Māgadhī might have had a form *Godama*. The Dharmapada does in fact attest this.[3] More serious difficulties were raised by the form corresponding to Pali *Ajita*. Here the Chinese text has 阿由陀 *·a-i̯u-d'â*,[4] indicating an Indian original such as *Ayuda*, which was felt by Weller to be troublesome not only in the second vowel, but also in the fact that the intervocalic *-j-* should be lost, although the intervocalic dental survived. For the consonants, this is the regular situation in the language of the Dharmapada. The treatment of the vowel, which would be quite extraordinary in most of the familiar Middle Indian dialects, can be set beside a number of examples in the Dharmapada which, if not precisely parallel, at least show a similar tendency. There are numerous indications of vocalic weakening in unemphatic short syllables, particularly at the end of words, but also occasionally elsewhere.[5] The most probable explanation for the spellings observed would be the assumption that in such syllables the vowel tended towards a central or 'neutral' vowel. Thus, the common particle *di* (Skt. *iti*) is twice written *du*; and the genitive of *dukha*, appearing twice as *dukhasa*, is once written *dukhusa*. In most of the examples noted in the text, the *u*-quality in such syllables can usually be attributed at least in part to the influence of the phonetic surroundings. Even in the example closest to the transcription under discussion, *viṇavana'u* **89** (dat. sg., where normally we find *-a'i* < *-āya*), it may be thought that the initial (*bh*) of the following word has exercised this type of influence. Nevertheless, it would appear that such vowels were sufficiently neutral in quality to make an occasional spelling such as *ayuda* for *ayida* (or *a'ida*) easily

[1] For a discussion of numerous additional matters relevant to this and allied questions, see H. W. Bailey, *Gāndhārī*, BSOAS xi, 1946.

[2] *Über den Aufbau des Pāṭikasuttanta*, Asia Major, v, 1928–30, pp. 104 ff.

[3] Verses **100–5, 288**. Such a form is naturally not conclusive evidence in itself. See also Bailey, loc. cit., p. 777.

[4] Karlgren, GSR 1, 1079, (4).

[5] See also below, pp. 82-3.

understandable. Such a spelling, read aloud slowly and distinctly for the benefit of the translator, would naturally result in a rendering of the type found in the Chinese text.

A very much larger collection of transcriptions, from the 19th *sūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama*, was examined by E. Waldschmidt in connexion with an edition of fragments of a Sanskrit version of the same *sūtra* (*Mahāsamāja-sūtra*). With these two versions, the Pali (*Mahāsamaya-suttanta*) and a tenth-century Chinese translation by Fa-t'ien, from a Sanskrit original, were also available for comparison.[1] The *sūtra* contains lists of proper names of *yakṣas*, *nāgas*, *asuras*, &c., who came to the assembly, and these names were naturally given in transliteration.[2] Such a list is by its nature especially liable to corruption, and it is clear that the different versions had already diverged in many ways before the earlier Chinese translation was made. It is therefore not surprising that there are places where the underlying Indian word remains doubtful. But in spite of this, there is still a respectably large quantity of usable material.

Waldschmidt[3] drew attention to a number of agreements between this material and the language of the Dharmapada, but left the identification of the Prakrit open, since there were also some contradictions. Some of the agreements, while compatible with Gāndhārī, were admittedly not conclusive evidence: [127][4] *vaya* (*vācā*), [164] *veroyana* (*vairocana*), and others, might have come from many other dialects. On the other hand, the preservation of *tr* in [156, 157] *vemacitru*, *sucitri* (apart from the improbable hypothesis of an incipient Sanskritizing of the text) could hardly come from any other form of Middle Indian; and a form such as [170] *abrami* (*abravīt*), with *br* surviving, and *-m-* < *-v-*, is especially reminiscent of the language of the Dharmapada.

Some minor but very probable adjustments in the interpretations originally given reinforce this conclusion. For example, the character 沙 *d'â* occurs 35 times in the list; and (leaving aside two or three instances which are either probably corrupt, or have a more complicated explanation) the corresponding Sanskrit and Pali forms show in these places examples of all four stops *t*, *th*, *d*, *dh*. The transcription thus gives an initial impression of being somewhat haphazard in this respect. If, however, it is assumed that at this period a voiced stop was intended by the translator, the interpretation of this character

[1] These four, with portions of other texts which gave parallels in shorter passages, are set out conveniently for comparison in *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Sūtras*, i, pp. 149–206.

[2] Quite early in the list, the *Dīrghāgama* translator formed the impression that he was dealing with a succession of *dhāraṇīs*—a mistake which had the useful result of giving us transcriptions instead of translations of quite a number of other words in addition to the proper names.

[3] Op. cit., pp. 231 ff. See also Bailey, *Gāndhārī*, for a discussion of further words from this text.

[4] The references in square brackets are to the numbering of the words in Waldschmidt's edition, pp. 164 ff. The forms quoted with these references are reconstructions of the Indian words probably implied by the Chinese transcription.

as regularly representing an Indian *d* or *dh* results in forms which agree with the Dharmapada,[1] where the latter differs from Pali and Sanskrit. Thus, for example, besides *idana*[2] [172] (P. *dāni*, S. *idānīm*), where all three have *d*, we find *acuda* [262] (P. *accutā*), *adha* [101] (P. *atha*), *jida* [143] (P. *jitā*).[3]

An interesting point of contact is provided by the word which appears where the Pali text has *bhaddaṃ te* (p. 181), a form of polite address which the Sanskrit has here replaced by the vocative *mahāvīra*. In the Dharmapada, the form *bhadrañu* appears twice, in verse **126** corresponding to the Pali plural quasi-vocative *bhaddaṃ vo*, and in **286** apparently transformed into a nominative singular.[4] The same word, it would seem, was used as the *Dīrghāgama* form corresponding to *bhaddaṃ te*: [173–4] 跋 陀 若 *b'uât-d'â-ńźi̯ak*,[5] which may be taken to represent *bhaddaña* (or *bhadraña*).

A point which might well be thought decisive in itself is the preservation of all three Indian sibilants. Except for some sporadic appearances in Aśokan inscriptions from other parts of the country,[6] these survived as distinct sounds only in the North-west. Weller had already observed[7] that the renderings of the words corresponding to S. *Vaiśālī* and *Śākya* showed the sibilant *ś* in the Ancient Chinese reconstructed forms; but he found difficulty in the fact that the word corresponding to *śramaṇa* contradicted this regularity by appearing as 沙 門 *ṣa-muən*. Admittedly, a term so universally employed as this last was already established much earlier, and could not be cited as evidence for any specific text. But since the development *śr* > *ṣ* is regular in Gāndhārī, the hypothesis that the Chinese form was taken from the latter removes the anomaly.[8]

[1] Because of the confusion in the transcription of the Kharoṣṭhī *t* and *d*, the regularity of this correspondence could of course not be seen from Senart's edition.

[2] For the final syllable, cf. *-aṇa* as well as *-aṇi* in the *Dharmapada* (S. *-āni*, neut. pl.): see below, p. 82.

[3] The only example of the same character in the 10th-century version of the same list occurs in the rendering of S. *tuṣita*. But since the whole word is identical in the earlier version, it seems probable that this was merely taken over as an inherited version of a familiar word, and that the Indian form originally represented was a Gāndhārī *tuṣida*. It has not been possible to see complete consistency in the rendering of voiced and voiceless stops throughout Waldschmidt's examples; but in general the hypothesis of an original in a type of Gāndhārī brings the picture much closer to consistency in this respect than either Sanskrit or Pali.

[4] See also commentary on **286**.

[5] Karlgren, GSR 276, (4), 777. (Since the word occurs in the middle of a complete sentence transliterated, it could hardly be suggested that the final syllable was chosen in order to convey its Chinese meaning, 'you'.)

[6] Jules Bloch (*Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, p. 48) thought that such spellings with *ṣ* or *ś* might, outside the North-west, be due simply to the whim of the writer. They are indeed hardly constant enough to have any real foundation in the local languages. But even if some reality were granted to such distinctions at the time of Aśoka, they could hardly have continued to a very much later period.

[7] Asia Major, v, p. 108.

[8] The argument may perhaps fall short of certainty for a word such as this, since precise dating is hardly possible, and, as Weller also pointed out, the Archaic Chinese reconstruction of the *ṣa* in question is *sa* (see Karlgren, GSR 16). But quite apart from the improbability of a central Prakrit form *samaṇa* having been accessible early enough to have been written in this way, the agreement of Khotanese *ṣṣamana*, Agnean *ṣāmaṃ*, appears to make the conclusion virtually certain.

In the more numerous examples from the *Mahāsamāja-sūtra*, the regular correspondence of the three Indian sibilants with the Chinese is striking. Exceptions are so few that they are probably either corruptions or are based on readings other than those represented in the extant Sanskrit and Pali versions.[1] There are too many non-Sanskritic features in the list of transcriptions as a whole to permit the hypothesis that the treatment of the sibilants is due to a measure of Sanskritization in the original text; and the Gāndhārī distribution of the sounds is shown by *miṣa* [278] (*miśra*: the corresponding Sanskrit text has *miśrikāḥ*). In contrast to *ṣamaṇa*, this must be a rendering *ad hoc*. An interesting exception to the normal development *śr* > *ṣ* appears in *śeṭhi* [42] (S. *śreṣṭhaḥ*), a word which also retains the palatal sibilant in the Dharmapada.

There are, however, some notable disagreements also: for example, *prihivi* [179] (P. *paṭhavī*), where the Dharmapada has *pradhavi* and the borrowed form *paḍha'i*. And even within the material provided by this one *sūtra*, there are numerous problems which await solution.

Nevertheless, the points of agreement make a very strong case, and it is difficult to see how the general picture can be explained except on the hypothesis that the original of these *Dīrghāgama* transcriptions was fundamentally the same language as that of the Dharmapada. Differences such as *prihivi* against *pradhavi* are not necessarily inconsistent with this conclusion, since a number of forms surviving from earlier versions in other dialects (and even hybrid forms, as *prihivi* seems to be) are to be expected in such Buddhist texts; and similar contrasts are familiar enough between different parts of the Pali canon. There are indeed no positive grounds for believing that the two texts belonged to the canon of the same school; but the language seems to have been similar enough to allow the possibility to be left open, until further evidence comes to light.

[1] The rendering *ṣaha* [94, 97] where the Pali has *saha*, might be thought to be due to analogy with *ṣaǵa* (P. *sanga*).

PART II

PALAEOGRAPHICAL AND GRAMMATICAL

THE discussion in the paragraphs which follow has no pretensions to completeness, either as a palaeographical study, or as a linguistic analysis. A full and detailed account of the grammar of the text could indeed be judged an appropriate adjunct to the edition, but the attempt would certainly have been unduly ambitious at present, especially when much of the material is here published for the first time; and the field of Kharoṣṭhī palaeography extends far beyond any reasonable limits for this book. Nevertheless, in the course of the work of editing, a considerable quantity of material relevant to a grammatical study was inevitably accumulated; and while problems concerning individual words have in general been discussed in the Commentary, it seemed more useful to present most of this grammatical material in more systematic form here. It follows from the nature of the text, as a rendering word by word from another dialect, that our preoccupation is the sound-system of the language, and that other aspects of the grammar need in comparison very little comment.

From the time of its decipherment, there have been many scholars skilled in the reading of Kharoṣṭhī, and many have indeed contributed important observations relevant to its palaeography. But in the sense in which palaeography is understood in relation to European documents, the palaeography of Kharoṣṭhī is as yet unborn.[1] Until an adequate historical study of the script has been carried out, it is hardly possible to date the Dharmapada manuscript in a historical sequence except by general impression. On this basis, it has usually been dated in the first or second century A.D.; and a reasonable similarity to the styles of writing on the Kurram casket and the Wardak vase[2] (an impressionistic judgement which admittedly is provisional) might lead us to consider that the later date is on the whole more likely. It has even been suggested that certain linguistic features indicate a date possibly later than the Niya documents,[3] which would bring us to the end of the third century or even into the fourth. But the appearance of the handwriting certainly suggests that the manuscript is older than the documents. A more

[1] Most of the relevant materials have been collected together by C. C. Das Gupta, *The Development of the Kharoṣṭhī Script*, Calcutta, 1958, where, however, the treatment of the subject scarcely meets the requirements of a palaeographical study: see my review in BSOAS xxii, 1959, pp. 593–4.

[2] CII ii, plates XXVIII–XXIX, and XXXIII.

[3] T. Burrow, BSOS viii, 1936, pp. 428, 430, citing examples such as the regular assimilation of nasal+voiced stop in the Dharmapada where the stop frequently persists in the documents: *piṇa, daṇa* in the former, against *piṃḍa, daṃḍa* in the latter. But the spellings *budhaṇadi* (for *-ṇaṃdi*) in the introductory verse, and *vaditva* (for *vaṃditvā*) in the cover

detailed study in the future may produce reasons for revising this opinion; but for the present a date in the second century A.D. would seem to be a probable hypothesis.

The interpretation of the characters of the script naturally interacts with the grammar; but insofar as a separation is practicable, §§ 20–80 below are concerned with what is primarily linguistic, while §§ 1–19 discuss a number of points relevant to palaeography and problems concerning the interpretation of individual characters.

§ 1. The values of almost all the uncompounded characters of the script may be accepted as certain: that is to say, they are directly equivalent to the Brāhmī signs transliterated by the same roman symbol. This does not, of course, imply a phonetic equivalence; and although in many cases the pronunciation associated with a Kharoṣṭhī character was probably phonetically very similar to that represented in another dialect by the equivalent Brāhmī character, this cannot be automatically assumed. A given symbol equated with a Brāhmī stop may carry a similar value in some places, and in others may represent a related but phonetically distinct sound such as a fricative, which (so far as is known) had no counterpart in the more central Prakrits. With this reservation, we may say that the manuscript shows a set of vowel-signs corresponding to those of the Brāhmī scripts—although, with two or three doubtful exceptions, it indicates neither vowel-length nor *anusvāra* (§§ 14*a*, 20), and the *vṛddhi* diphthongs of Sanskrit are not in any case required—and a full set of consonantal signs similarly corresponding, except for *ña*, *jha*, *ṭa*, and *ṭha*. Of these four, *ṭa* (known in other Kharoṣṭhī sources) does not occur at all. The phonology of the text would lead us to expect it to appear only where an initial *ṭ* or intervocalic *-ṭṭ-* occurred in the corresponding words in other Prakrits or in Sanskrit; and there are no such words in the extant text.[1] Of the remaining three, the place of *ña* is taken by *ga* (§ 46), and that of *jha* by *ja* (§ 6); while the interpretation of the two Kharoṣṭhī signs conventionally transliterated *ṭha* and *ṭha* remains controversial (§ 18*a*, *b*), and it is not certain that either of them should be understood to correspond directly to the Brāhmī *ṭha*.

§ 2. *ka*. The manuscript shows two extreme forms: a squat, rounded character, with a single curve for the right-hand limb, and a more elongated form, with a marked kink in the right-hand limb, which thus resembles the

verse (343), both subsequent to the main text, show that such features are not reliable for dating. Either the documents have in some respects preserved an older spelling tradition, which did not necessarily reflect contemporary pronunciation, or the dialect of the Dharmapada, close to that of the documents, but not identical with it, had in this respect undergone a different development.

[1] Konow indeed suggested that the value *ṭ* should be assigned to the character usually transliterated *ṭh*, leaving *ṭh* as the equivalent of the Brāhmī *ṭh*. On this, see further, § 18*a*.

figure 3. Between these, numerous intermediate forms occur. Since this character must represent more than one sound (§§ 31, 38), it might be expected that at least the two main varieties would serve to distinguish different functions which the character had been made to serve. It has not been possible, however, to discover any agreement of this kind between form and function, and repeated examinations of the manuscript have so far failed to reveal any correlation between these forms and the distribution of any other linguistic feature (for example, nasalization, accompanying vowel-length, syllable-length, initial or intervocalic position). It would seem that the variants can be written in identical contexts; and at the best, only tendencies could be observed. In some parts of the manuscript, one might collect 22 examples written with the single curve, against 10 with the double curve, for places where, historically, a stop would be expected; while in the same part, expected fricatives might show an opposite tendency, with 6 examples of the single against 13 examples of the double curve. But in other parts of the manuscript, even these tendencies failed to appear. For the present, therefore, it seems most likely that variants of this type are for the scribe simply forms of the same character, to be used more or less at random. Although it is possible that some linguistic factor may have to some extent influenced the choice, nothing sufficiently clear-cut has been discerned to enable us to discriminate two distinct characters, and the single transcription *k* has been retained in all cases. A few other characters exhibit similar variations: *śa* (cf. § 14*a*) and *ba*, for example, are especially liable to develop a kink in the descending stroke.

§ 3. *kha*. The upper part of the character swings in a curve well above the general level of most of the characters in the line of writing. In contrast, the Niya documents show a form of the character completely contained in the line of writing. In the same published collection, however, the very distinctive handwriting of document 661 from Endere shows a *kha* very similar to that of the Dharmapada. The inscriptions are in general closer to the documents in this matter, and most of them either contain the character within the line of writing, or allow it to rise only slightly above. A few, however, have a form comparable in height to that of the Dharmapada: the Taxila copper-plate, the Takht-i-Bāhī inscription, and the Wardak vase.[1] Since these three, according to the provisional dates adopted by Konow, are ascribed respectively to 6 B.C., A.D. 19, and A.D. 179, it seems that this feature is unlikely to be of assistance in the matter of dating; but it is possible that the difference reflects regional traditions in writing.

§ 4. *gha* and *ġa*. The sign for *gha* in the older inscriptions consists of *ga* with the addition of a downward-turning hook on the right of the vertical.

[1] CII ii, plates V, XII, and XXXIII.

Usually, this hook is attached somewhere near the middle of the stem, but on occasion it might be virtually attached to the head of the character,[1] and this is the normal position in the script of the Niya documents. In the manuscript, however, the hook is normally added without lifting the pen,[2] and therefore tends to appear nearer the bottom of the vertical than in many of the older examples.[3] Beside this, a distinct character was formed from *ga* by adding a short horizontal straight line projecting to the right, more or less at a right angle, at the bottom of the stem. The result is thus similar to *gra*, and Konow therefore adopted the transcription *g(r)a* for the inscriptions. It is improbable, however, that the diacritical mark in question has any real connexion with *-r*, since all the sources which possess this sign as well as *gra* keep the two quite distinct.[4] The editors of the Niya documents used the transcription *ǵa*, and it seemed best to retain this here, since, although the character is employed for a different sound in the Dharmapada manuscript (§ 46), the graphic form is probably historically linked with the Niya *ǵa*.

In the script of the documents, the basal diacritic in *ǵa* tends to develop into a curve, which is sometimes so considerable that the resulting character presents almost exactly the appearance of *gha* in the Dharmapada. Because of this close similarity, both characters were earlier transcribed as *ǵa*.[5] The Niya *gha*, however, was safe from collision with *ǵa* because of the placing of the hook at the head, and the basal line of *ǵa* could be permitted to curve without any risk of confusion. In the Dharmapada, the two were kept distinct by maintaining the diacritical line of *ǵa* straight, or very nearly so. Usually it takes a slight upward slant, and projects a little to the left of the vertical also. Occasionally it has become detached from the main character. Although examples of *ǵa* are not very numerous in the manuscript, the distribution of the two graphic forms is sufficiently consistent linguistically to make it necessary to recognize *gha* and *ǵa* as two distinct characters: see for example *ǵ* in line 392 (< *ngh*), above *gh* in 393 (< *nkh*).

§ 5. *ya*, *śa*. In the Niya documents, the editors sometimes found difficulty in distinguishing these two characters, and Rapson (following Senart) ascribed the same potential confusion to the Dharmapada.[6] Here, however, there are few if any doubtful examples. The most constant distinguishing feature is the direction of the head-stroke, which in *ya* regularly slants

[1] For example, CII ii, plate XIII, 1.

[2] Once, in line 232, the hook has been attached by a separate stroke of the pen, after the basic character had been completed, producing a result rather similar to the *gh* in the last line of the Wardak vase inscription, CII ii, plate XXXIII.

[3] A form very similar to that of the manuscript occurs in the Zeda inscription of the year 11 of the Kaniṣka era, CII ii, plate XXVI, line 3.

[4] In *gra*, the stem normally turns to the right in a continuous curve, while the other character shows a definite angle.

[5] H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xi, 1945, pp. 489 ff.

[6] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 308.

downward from right to left, while in *śa* it is horizontal, or occasionally with a slight slant in the opposite direction to that of *ya*. This makes it necessary to re-interpret the words formerly read *aruyu*, *vikaya* as *aruśu*, *vikaśa*. (See also § 61.)

§ 6. *ja*. The character normally transcribed as *jha* in other Kharoṣṭhī writings is absent from the Dharmapada, and in words where Pali has *jh-*, *-jjh-*, the manuscript regularly shows *j* with a superscript stroke. The occasional absence of the stroke cannot be taken to mean that the scribe intended to represent a different sound in such places, and there is certainly no confusion: the diacritic never appears where the older language had an unaspirated *j*. At the same time, the distinction may have been kept alive only in the literary tradition, and forms such as *jāna* (for *dhyāna*) in Buddhist Sanskrit in Niya no. 511, and *jāna* for the same in Khotanese,[1] may suggest that *j* and *jh* did ultimately coincide in the spoken language.

It seems doubtful whether Kharoṣṭhī ever possessed a definitely distinct sign for the palatal voiced aspirate. In the Aśokan inscriptions, earlier editors accepted *jh* in the Kharoṣṭhī versions in *nijhati* RE VI, *istrijhakṣa* RE XII (M), and *anunijhapeti* RE XIII. But these readings were merely fanciful, and were due partly to the other versions, and partly to etymological considerations. In VI (Sh. 14, 15), where the passage in question is repeated in error on the stone, an accidental mark of weathering at the head of the *ja* led Hultzsch to retain *nijhati* in line 14, but in 15 he correctly read *nijati*, and similarly *istrijakṣa*, *anunijapeti*. In all these places, however, he proposed to emend back to the old reading *jh*, but gave no explanation for this procedure. Wherever the character is legible in these words, it is quite unmistakably *ja*, and bears no resemblance to the shape which has traditionally been transcribed *jha* from later Kharoṣṭhī sources. In XII M *istrijakṣa* there is a curved mark at the foot of the stem of *ja*, but this is probably an accidental break. On the other hand, the plates show a definite dot above the character in *nijati* in M line 29 and in Sh. 15; while a similar dot is probably present also in Sh. 14. In XII M *istrijakṣa* a superscript dot is also probable. In XII Sh. the surface of the stone is broken at this point, and it is impossible to say whether or not there was any mark intended above the character.

It is therefore possible that the Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī employed the same method as the Dharmapada to indicate the aspirated counterpart of *j*. For the diacritical dot which later appears in manuscripts as a superscript stroke, we

[1] Bailey, BSOAS xiii, 1949, pp. 133–4, where further examples are quoted. Other voiced aspirates of Indian words are frequently replaced in this way (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 8); also sporadically in the Dharmapada (see § 49), and in the Niya documents (Burrow, *Grammar*, § 24: although there may be some hesitation in attributing such spellings specifically to the influence of the native language of Shan-shan).

have a parallel in the Kanhiāra inscription, with a dot over *ṣ*, corresponding to the Dharmapada and Niya *ṣ̄*.[1]

The Aśokan stones, however, are so liberally flecked with marks of weathering that the apparent dots above the characters in question may be thought to be accidental. From the published plates, only the example in *nijati* RE VI M 29 is sharp enough to make accident unlikely. The choice is therefore to read either *j* (with no emendation to *jh*), on the assumption that no diacritic was written; or *j̇*, as in the Dharmapada, if the dot is accepted as part of the original carving. On the latter alternative, we might then prefer to adopt the transcription *jh* in place of *j̇*; but if so, it will be necessary to abandon the rendering (in any case an unhappy one) for the quite different character which has hitherto been represented by '*jh*' in the transcription of post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī.

§ 6*a*. It has long been recognized that the latter character is frequently employed to render a foreign *ƶ*. What has not been sufficiently observed is the fact that the implied theory, that the sign was originally intended to write an Indian *jh*, is purely speculative. While its use in the sense of *ƶ* is frequent, there are very few places where it has been thought to occur as an Indian *jh*; and these are mostly either misreadings (as in the Aśokan examples) or dubious in etymology. It is possible that the sign is not attested at all with the value of Indian *jh*; and if it was in fact ever used in this way, the instances must be so rare that they could be taken to represent an occasional aberrant orthography. On the other hand, the writing of *j* or *j̇* where other Prakrits have *jh* is established beyond question as the normal Kharoṣṭhī practice. It would seem that the facts strongly urge the more economical hypothesis: that the other character was designed specifically in order to write a voiced sibilant [z]. In this use, it appears frequently both as a rendering of a foreign *ƶ*, and in place of an earlier Indian intervocalic *s* or *dh*. In the latter case it may (at least in the earlier examples) be used for [δ], but it is probable that the two sounds coalesced as [z]. It would be desirable to avoid the implied suggestion of a connexion with the Indian palatal aspirated plosive, and to transcribe the character simply as *ƶ*.[2]

In the post-Aśokan inscriptions edited by Konow, the word corresponding

[1] CII ii, plate XXXVI; cf. § 9; and similarly *k* with dot on a coin of Polyxenos, fulfilling the same function as the later diacritical dash (quoted by H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xi, 1946, p. 796; R. B. Whitehead, *Numismatic Chronicle*, xx, 1940, pp. 19–20).

[2] The shape of the sign has been thought to be a differentiated form derived from *j*; but here we are reduced to guessing. The graphic connexion is quite possible, even if not proved, but is in any case inconclusive as evidence for the sound intended by the differentiated sign. The transcription *ƶ* has indeed been used from time to time (Lüders, BSOS viii, 1936, pp. 637 ff.; Burrow, *Translation*); but the general persistence of *jh* suggests that most writers on the subject have considered the unfamiliar *ƶ* as merely a concession to foreign words.

to S. *upādhyāya* is written as *upajaya*.[1] The same word has been seen in the Taxila copperplate of Patika[2] in the form *uvajha'a-*;[3] but the character here has more the appearance of *ja* with either a very short superscript stroke (little more than a dot), or, just possibly, the vowel sign *-e*: hence, *uvaja'e* or *uvaje'e*.[4] (For the palatalization of the vowel in the latter, cf. § 22*a*.)

Although the Pali verb *jhāpeti* 'is used *inter alia* about the cremation of the Buddha's body',[5] it seems unlikely that a sacred relic would be described as a 'Buddha-cinder', and the suggestion might not have been made if, instead of '*budhajhava*', the word had been transcribed as *budhazava*. The words which are normally used in similar contexts are *śarīra* and *dhātu*, and it is possible that the latter is intended here. This would involve a form equivalent to S. *dhātavaḥ* (though used here as an acc. plural): > **-dhātuva* > *-δā'uva* > *-zāva*; or conceivably **-dhātū* > *-zāvu*. We might then have a form reminiscent of Khot. *lovadāva*[6] (S. *lokadhātu*), beside spellings with *-dāta*, *-dhāta*.

§ 6*b*. If the seal inscription from Taxila[7] is transcribed as *mahazana-putrasa zanapriyasa*, there is perhaps less of a temptation to think of personal names as improbable as '*Mahādhyāna*' and '*Dhyānapriya*'. If the sound represented was [z] or [δ] < *dh*, there is no difficulty in supposing that the seal belonged to a merchant Dhanapriya, son of Mahādhana. Such names are familiar enough,[8] and even if in origin nicknames, they might well have been accepted as complimentary by business men who saw no reason to be ashamed of their prosperity. And, on the other side, it may seem improbable that a man who saw fit to call himself 'Dhyānapriya' would have had much need to possess a seal.

From the Niya documents, no examples have been observed of '*jh*' used in words where other Prakrits have *jh*.[9] Sanskrit *dhy* is sporadically represented by *dy* (489 *madya*), but regularly by *j*: *paribujiśatu* (*-budhya-*), *ajiṣana-*

[1] Mamāne Ḍherī, CII ii, plate XXXIV.

[2] Ibid., plate V, line 4, where Konow read *-uvañae*.

[3] Bailey, BSOAS xiii, 1949, p. 133; TPS 1956, p. 108.

[4] The context, however, remains obscure to me. The original is broken after the *'e*, and some syllables may be lost; but the interpretation of the preceding *ja* (or should we read *Patika saja?*) is difficult.

[5] Konow, op. cit., p. 148: Māṇikiāla inscription, plate XXVII.

[6] This admittedly may not be directly connected, since (as Professor Bailey has pointed out to me) such a form could have developed in Khotanese independently of Prakrit. The loss of intervocalic *t* is infrequent in Gāndhārī, but is attested before *u* in *ca'uri*, *ca'uṭha*: cf. § 33.

[7] CII ii, plate XX. 3.

[8] For example, *Divy*. 435, *Mahādhana*, whose son was named *Sudhana*; ibid. 62 *Dhanasaṃmata*, virtually a synonym of *Dhanapriya*.

[9] Rapson, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 303, while noting that the Niya '*jh*' was used with the value *z*, thought that the character itself might be a cursive development of 'the *jha* of Aśoka's edicts' (i.e. the drawing of the sign so labelled in Bühler's plate). At the same time, he was quite clear that no example had been found of the Niya '*jh*' in places where *jh* would appear in other Prakrits.

(*adhyeṣaṇā*); and, as in the inscriptions, '*jh*' represents a foreign *z*, or an Indian *s* or *dh*: *adhimatra*, *asimatra* and '*ajhimatra*'.

For the character marked with the diacritic stroke in the Dharmapada, it seemed best to retain the transcription *ja*, partly because the diacritic is not invariably written in the manuscript, and partly to avoid confusion with the traditional '*jha*'.

The same character also appears in *praśajadi* (*pra-śaṃs-*), with an assimilation comparable to that in *śaśaṇa* (*śāsana*); and in *ḍajamaṇo* (*P. ḍayhamāno*). Since in other words we find *hy* > *ś* (§ 61), the latter example suggests a value [ź]. This does not exclude the possibility that, in initial position and where representing an older double stop, the sign might still have represented a palatal plosive or affricate.

§ 7. *ña*. A similar diacritic stroke is written over the *n* which results from earlier *ndh* (§ 46). Here also the mark is sometimes omitted, but it is never written except where the earlier group was aspirated. Senart used the transcription *n(d)h*; but there is no reason to suppose that there was any implication of a plosive in the notation of the manuscript. The transcription *nh* would doubtless be a reasonable one, provided it were not thought to mean a dental nasal followed by a separate aspiration, or a devoiced nasal with breathiness, of the type of Burmese *hn*. It would be more probable in an Indian language that the sound intended was a fully voiced *n*, with a feature of breathiness running through it.

§ 8. *g̃a*. The diacritic is written only once over *ġa*, in the word *sag̃a* (S. *sangha*), and elsewhere S. *ng* and *ngh* are both represented by *ġ*.[1] The analogy of the treatment of other voiced plosives after nasals (§ 46) suggests that *ġ* should be interpreted as [ŋ]. Since it could not be assumed *a priori* that the velar series would behave exactly in the same way as the others, an interpretation as [ŋg] might seem possible, particularly as the character is formed from *g* simply by the addition of the stroke at the base. This cannot be definitely denied, since the orthography is not free from inconsistencies. But it seems more probable that, if the basal stroke were used to indicate the addition of a nasal to a plosive, the word *sangha* would have been written with *gh* plus an extra basal stroke rather than with *ġ* plus a superscript; or alternatively, with a superscript over *gh*, since in the Niya script the stroke above is used with a number of characters to indicate a conjunct nasal, and this is certainly the intention of *ṣ̃a* in the Dharmapada also (§ 9), and probably of *g̃a* (§ 10). The hypothesis which best fits the facts is that, as in the case of *ña*, the diacritic above *g̃a* also indicates a feature of aspiration, and we

[1] But not invariably in the case of *ng*: see § 46.

should therefore understand the symbol as [ŋh]. Since the use of *ǵ* in the Dharmapada is in any case quite different from that of the graphically similar sign *ǵ* in the Niya documents and the inscriptions, where a value [γ] is to be understood, there is no reason to expect that the sign transliterated *ǧ* should have the same sense in both sources.

§ 9. *ṣ̄a*. The most frequent use of the superscript line in the Niya documents appears to be the marking of an accompanying nasal.[1] Of the examples quoted from the documents, the word *tuṣ̄i* (< *tūṣṇīm*) is written in the same manner in the Dharmapada, verse **237**. Similarly *taṣ̄a* (< *tṛṣṇā*) **84**, where the same writing of the word appears on the Kurram casket.[2] See also note on verse **41**.

§ 10. *ḡa*. In two places, the manuscript shows a superscript stroke with *ga*, in verse **109** *aṭhaḡi'o* and **153** *kaḍiḡara*. The same symbol in the Niya script has the etymological value of *gna* in *naḡa* (< *nagna*) and *viḡa* (< *vighna*), and a comparable value is established contextually for *ǧa* by the two spellings of the same name, *suǧuta* and *suǵnuta*.[3] As already indicated (§ 8), it is difficult to interpret the latter symbol in the same way in the Dharmapada, and the analogy of *ña* virtually compels us to see there a mark of aspiration or spirancy. In *ḡa*, on the other hand, there is no reason for such a feature, and it seems at least probable that a nasal is intended by the diacritic. This is a somewhat untidy conclusion, but there seems to be no alternative which fits the situation better. It must be remembered that we are dealing with a system of spelling, and not with a phonetic transcription; and although the spelling shows a fair constancy throughout the manuscript, it is not free from inconsistencies. At the same time, it is probably not so inconsistent as

[1] Rapson, loc. cit., p. 320. In one instance, it appears in this function together with the regular line above *kṣ*, in the word *trikṣa*, no. 565, < *tīkṣṇa*: see Bailey, BSOAS xi, pp. 768 ff.

[2] CII ii, plate XXVIII. In the Kanhiāra inscription (ibid., plate XXXVI) the diacritic appears as a dot, in *kriṩa*, and the value of the symbol is confirmed by a parallel version in Brāhmī, where the spelling is *kṛṣṇa*. In both inscriptions, Konow thought that the diacritic might denote an aspiration or some other modification of the *ṣ* with the loss of the nasal (pp. cx, 153). But this conjecture was based only on the analogy of *ja* and *ña* in the Dharmapada, and could hardly be upheld now. Although opinions may indeed differ on details of interpretation, the Niya evidence has established beyond doubt that no single explanation can account for all the uses of the superscript diacritic.

[3] Rapson, loc. cit., p. 321. See also Bailey, loc. cit., p. 769, where the old Khotanese spelling *aṃgäśālu* (S. *agniśāla*) was quoted, and the suggestion made that the additional superscript stroke in Niya *trikṣa* might have intended some such form as **triṃkṣa*. The regular use of the anusvāra in the documents does not disprove this; and equally, the Sanskrit form does not guarantee that *naḡa* was at the time of writing pronounced [nagna]. In such a word, however, one might think of an earlier development, through [nagŋa], from which it would be a short step to the anticipation of the nasal, [naŋga]. Cf. also Hindi *nangā*, as contrasted with Nepali *nāgo* (see Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, s.v.). In the alternative spelling of the latter word, *nāṃgo*, the writing merely takes note of the nasalization of the syllable arising from the initial *n-*, and the development is different historically from that of the corresponding Hindi word.

Konow seemed prepared to accept when he suggested[1] that 'a curve above or a hook below' might be used indifferently to denote a nasal with *g*, *gh*.

§ 10*a*. While *nk* and *nkh* of the older language regularly appear as *g* and *gh* respectively, the manuscript is less constant in its notation for earlier *ng*. For this, *ǵ* is written in about half of the examples available, *ḡ* in the two words already mentioned, and in the remainder, simply *g*. In two parallel verses (**228**, **229**) we find *saǵadi* and *sagadi*; and in a single verse (**305**) both *saǵami* and *sagamu*. This is possibly to be explained in part as the result of carelessness in adding the basal diacritic stroke to indicate *ǵ*; or it may suggest that the assimilation of *ng* to [ŋŋ] was not so completely established in speech as that of *nd* to [nn] appears to have been. A provisional hypothesis might be that *ǵ* was a notation for the assimilated form [ŋŋ], *ḡ* for velar nasal plus stop [ŋg], and *g* alone where the preceding vowel might be nasalized [ṃg], the *anusvāra* being left unmarked. As the examples show, even if some such theory lay behind the different spellings, the application was somewhat haphazard. This does not necessarily mean that the scribe was altogether unaware of what he was doing, and in other matters also he seems to have used alternative notations side by side quite deliberately.[2]

§ 11. *gga*. In four words in the manuscript a flourish is added to the tail of *ga*, producing an appearance very similar to an *anusvāra* in the Niya script. This seems to be rather different from the case of *śa* and a few other characters (§ 14*a*), and it seemed worth drawing attention to the variant. The transcription *gga* has been used merely as a method of noting the difference, and is not intended as a positive assertion of the value of the character. The words in question are *akadaggadi* (**47**), *druggade'o* (**51**), *saggapa* (**213**), and *rasviggaha* (**275**). A transcription *gaṃ* would hardly be possible in any of these. If the curve is intended to mark any linguistic feature, the doubling of the consonant is at least a possibility. Or alternatively, since in the first and third examples a nasal is etymologically justified (*ṅk* > *ṅg*), and could be understood in the fourth (**raśmiṃ-graha*), the *anusvāra*-like symbol may be intended to express this (although, if considered as an *anusvāra*, it would be misplaced). This interpretation would then leave us with an implied **druṅgadi*, which could be classified with words such as Prakrit *jampai* beside *japp-* (S. *jalp-*),[3] where a nasalized form appears in place of a double stop.[4]

[1] CII ii, p. cv. The character with the 'hook below' was that here transcribed *ǵ*, but he had not seen that in the example he quoted as *sagh'a*, this was in fact the character, and not *gh* (verse **102**, line 152). The one character would thus have both diacritics together, a fact which raises considerable difficulties if both have the same function.

[2] For examples, see p. 65.

[3] Pischel § 296; Bailey, BSOAS xi, p. 769.

[4] It should be observed that the normal spelling of the word, *drugadi* (contrasting with

It might reasonably be said that a special written form was superfluous, since elsewhere in the text any *g* which is not initial represents either a Prakrit *-gg-* or *-ṅg-*, without any distinction being marked in the writing. But the recognition of a differentiated sign has some encouragement from the fact that in two of the four instances observed the next verse has the same word in a corresponding position, but written with the normal *g*: **51** *druggade'o*, **52** *dugadi'o*; **213** *saggapa*, **214** *sagapa*. It is difficult to believe that this was not deliberate; for there are numerous examples to show that the scribe of our manuscript took especial pleasure in using alternative possible spellings. This embellishment naturally shows to the best effect in a pair of successive verses, and particularly when the two spellings can be balanced one against the other in verses of parallel structure. For example: **106**, **107** *prañaya*, *praña'i*; **107**, **108** *savi*, *sarvi*, and *magu*, *mago*; **108**, **109** *cakhkṣuma*, *cakhuma*; **207**, **208** *kuvi'a*, *korvi'a*; **228**, **229** *saǵadi*, *sagadi*; **243**, **244** *viṇayadu*, *viṇi'adu*; **292**, **293** *yatha vi*, *yada vi*; and in the refrain of the first chapter, **17–49**, *tam ahu bromi bramaṇa*, *tam aho brommi brammaṇa*, and all of the six remaining possible permutations, with the addition of *brammaṇo* as an accusative in **27** for good measure.

It may be noted that a number of other characters appear from time to time with various flourishes or extra strokes. Except in the case of *gga*, these normally occur in the last character of a pāda: for example, in *sañoka* line 14, *balaṇeka* 28, *dala'itha* 137, *ṣavaka* 152, *labha* 212, *pathe* 383. It is probable that in these there is no linguistic significance, and that they merely show a reaction to the pause at the end of the pāda, which the pen, as it were, emphasizes in a few places. In the transcription, therefore, such flourishes have been disregarded.

§ 12. *vha*. Bühler took this character to be a variant for *pha*; and Senart transcribed it in the Dharmapada as *bha*, although indicating in his notes the places where it occurred. R. O. Franke[1] argued for the value *fa*, a transcription which had a much longer life than it deserved. The editors of the Niya documents, agreeing in principle with Franke, wrote *ph'a*; and Rapson[2] repeated the argument that the use of the sign in the Kharoṣṭhī

sukadi), is in any case capable of representing either [druggadi] or [druŋgadi], whereas the single consonant would have been expected to result in the spelling **drukadi* (cf. § 31). It is therefore misleading to describe the process leading to *dru-* merely as a transposition of *r*. The edition of the Niya documents shows a nasal in a comparable word, *tuṃbhikṣa-* (< *durbhikṣa-*), no. 589, where unfortunately a facsimile is not available. This instance should perhaps not be given too much weight as evidence, for, although the editors may well be right, it is easy to imagine a possible reading confusion between the syllables *tuṃ* and *dru*. In the only other occurrence of the word in the documents, no. 581, plate X, the reading *drubhikṣa* is probable (ed. *tru-*).

[1] *Pali und Sanskrit*, pp. 111–12.

[2] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, iii, p. 307.

versions of the name Gondopharnes (*guduvhara-*), representing Iranian *-farnah*, established the value of the Kharoṣṭhī sign as a voiceless spirant. But the most that can be legitimately inferred is that the sound represented by *vh* was felt to be the best equivalent available for rendering the sound in the Iranian name. In the Dharmapada, the character occurs several times in place of earlier intervocalic *bh* (§ 44), and the assumption that it represents a fricative is consistent with the general behaviour of single intervocalic consonants in the language; but there are no grounds whatever for supposing that it was unvoiced.[1] The relationship to *bh* suggests that the sound represented was probably a voiced bilabial fricative [*β*]. The graphic form appears to consist of a *va* with a diacritic (approximately of the shape of a *va* turned upside-down) attached to the right of the vertical.

No examples of this sign in initial position have so far been recorded, except for a proper name (or names) in the Niya documents, *vhurmazeva*, *vhurmaseva*, *vhuvasena*, of unidentified origin, but certainly not Indian. (If Iranian, as has been suggested, it would not necessarily follow that the source-language had initial *f*.)

The transcription *vha* was proposed by Lüders,[2] whose interpretation was accepted by Konow;[3] and the written shape together with the linguistic relationship to *bh* make this a convenient transcription to retain, provided it is made clear that this does not commit us to describing the sound as an 'aspirated *v*'. Some such thing was indeed thought to be indicated by the spelling *makavha* in the Dharmapada, a 'transfer of aspiration' being assumed (*maghavā* > **magavhā*, with the normal *-k-* in the manuscript form for earlier *-g-*); and the opposition *-v-*:*-vh-* undoubtedly does reflect *-b-*:*-bh-* of the older language to a large extent. But occasionally an older *-bh-* is represented by *-v-*; and *-vh-* instead of *-v-* may appear where there is no adjacent aspirate (in the usual sense of the term) to transfer:[4] in the Peshawar Museum inscription no. 4 (*bha*)*gavha-*;[5] and in the Māṇikiāla inscription, the interpretation proposed by Lüders, *karavha'eṇa*, equivalent to a form *kārāpakeṇa*. For these, we may assume [bha*γ*ava-, karava*γ*eṇa], where in both words the spirancy of the *γ* has spread to the neighbouring consonant,

[1] The value in the *Dharmapada* is of course not necessarily the same as in the documents, and it is possible that in the latter (excluding the divergent no. 661) the symbol was restricted to the rendering of a foreign sound, which may have been voiceless. But all the instances so far observed where the sign appears in Indian words favour an interpretation as a voiced fricative.

[2] *The Manikiala Inscription*, JRAS 1909, pp. 654 ff.

[3] CII ii, p. 149, plate XXVI, 1.

[4] The phenomenon discussed by R. L. Turner, *Transference of aspiration in European Gypsy*, BSOAS xxii, 1959, pp. 491–8, is quite distinct in nature from the examples under consideration here.

[5] CII ii, p. 128, plate XXIII, 10. The syllable *bha* (not defaced, but omitted by the sculptor) was restored by Konow, and seems almost certain. The third syllable was read *vhra*; but the stone is broken, and it is difficult to be sure from the photograph whether an *-r* was intended.

which then appears as [*β*].[1] The development of *makavha* can readily be understood in the same way, without necessarily involving an intermediate stage where *-gh-* had lost its aspiration. Cf. also *atva-kaña'i* (P. *atta-ghaññāya*) (§ 41), which allows the possibility of the development *-gh-* > [*γ*].

§ 13. *sa*. Like the Niya documents, the Dharmapada has two different forms for *s*, one of which is directly inherited from the almost universal form used in the inscriptions, the other a character more complicated in appearance, but well suited to cursive writing. The two are distinguished in the edition of the documents by the transcriptions *s* for the older form and *ś* for the more recent. In the Dharmapada, as has been frequently remarked by earlier writers, the distribution of the two is without linguistic significance, and is determined by graphic considerations: in the syllables *śa*, *śi*, *śe*, the form *ś* is used, and elsewhere, namely in *so*, *su*, *sṛ*,[2] *saṃ* (§ 14*a*), and the conjuncts *sma*, *sya*, and *sva*, the older form is retained. Exceptions are so few that, within this text, they may safely be regarded as due to the whim of the scribe. Thus *sa* instead of *śa* is written in *sarvi* line 14, and *sadi* 198; *si* for *śi* in *siha* 184, *si'a* 225, and *śavrasi* 226; and conversely *śo* in 132, 147, and *śohu* in 231. The exceptions being so rare,[3] it seemed unnecessary to mark the distinction in the transliteration of the text, and (except in the present section) both forms have been transcribed as *s*.

In the Niya documents the distribution of the two characters is somewhat different. In the genitive singular *-śa* alternates with *-sya*, and the old form *sa* never (*teste* Rapson) appears in this function at all. In other positions *s* is used more frequently in syllables where the Dharmapada scribe would have *ś*; but in *sa*/*śa* and *se*/*śe* especially, the two characters alternate in the same words sufficiently often to justify the conclusion that 'in some instances at least, the scribes . . . have written *sa* or *śa* indifferently without the slightest intention of indicating any phonetic distinction'.[4]

The emergence of the new character *śa* has been frequently discussed, but no agreement has been reached concerning its graphic origin. This is perhaps not surprising, since the two sources which possess it abundantly in a fully developed form no longer distinguish it in value from *sa*, and the

[1] Since such a feature of spirancy or 'fricativeness' has much in common with aspiration, it is possible (and in some circumstances phonologically advantageous) to redefine the latter term to include this. But in view of established usage, such a terminology runs the risk of being confusing, and should not be adopted too light-heartedly.

[2] In line 98, which is the only appearance of the vowel-sign *ṛ* in the manuscript.

[3] They are even rarer than might appear from the words quoted by Rapson (*Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, iii, p. 311), since *sadhamavinau* is to be corrected to *-sma dhamaviṇa'i*, and *anasavu* to *aṇasṛvu*; while in *sahaśena*, the first syllable is a misprint for *śa-*.

[4] Rapson, loc. cit., to which discussion the reader may be referred for a fuller account of earlier suggestions as to the form and function of the character *śa*.

interpretation of the very few possible examples outside these sources has been disputed. The principal suggestions concerning the form of the character have been that it is an *s* written above another *s*, hence originally *ssa*; or *sa* with a basal diacritic, to express a voiced sibilant [*z*]; or, with the same intention, *sra*;[1] or *sya*. The first of these is based on a single example, and since Rapson's reading *ssa* is certainly wrong in that example,[2] this interpretation of *ṣa* needs no further consideration. There has been a tendency to consider that the function of the character, whatever its graphic explanation, was to indicate the voiced sound;[3] but, so far as I can see, the available evidence is insufficient to prove this. The linguistic fact is not doubted, that single intervocalic *s* was liable to voicing; but the hypothesis that *ṣ* was specially intended as a notation for [z] can be made to fit the data only at the expense of an uneconomical number of subsidiary hypotheses. If instead we start from the assumption which already fits the data, namely, that both characters are neutral with regard to voicing, and that both can be used to write either the voiced or the voiceless sound, their attested distributions become much easier to understand.

Leaving aside two possible examples which are isolated,[4] and can therefore give no useful information, the principal evidence for the earlier history is provided by the Wardak vase inscription,[5] which was discussed in this connexion by Senart, and a group of inscribed silver objects excavated at Sirkap.[6] A detailed discussion is unnecessary in the present context, but the regular inversion of the conjunct *-y* on the Wardak vase, and the appearance on the silver objects (all of approximately the same date, but by different craftsmen) of *sa*, *sya*, and *sya*[7] with inverted *-y*, seem to make it certain that the Dharmapada and Niya *ṣa* is a direct descendant of the inverted *sya* appearing on the two silver cups from Sirkap. Conjuncts with *-y* are very rare in the earlier period, and it would seem that *-sya* was introduced as a learned

[1] This has sometimes been thought to be, in effect, the same as the preceding, since it was assumed that the diacritic was historically simply a special application of the conjunct *-r*. This is implied in Konow's transcriptions, although he discriminated the two functions by placing the diacritic '*r*' in brackets. It now seems more probable that the diacritic stroke should be entirely separated from *-r*.

[2] See Bailey, BSOAS xiii, 1950, p. 397.

[3] R. L. Turner, JRAS 1927, pp. 232–4; Konow, loc. cit., pp. 98, 166; Rapson, p. 312.

[4] Mathura Lion Capital, CII ii, plate VII, A7, in a proper name where the reading is in any case doubtful, although *s* with the subscript diacritic may be intended; and ibid., plate XXIII 9 *viharasvamaṣa* (Konow, *-svam[i]s(r)a*).

[5] Senart, JAs. iv, 1914, pp. 569 ff.; CII ii, plate XXXIII.

[6] Ibid., plate XIX, 1–5. The curious translation of the inscriptions on these, '(Gift) of Muṃjukrita, 20 staters, 1 drakhm', is due to the large number of votive inscriptions dealt with in the same volume. On objects of this type the sense must be: '(Property) of Muṃjukrita, &c.' Cf. W. B. Henning, *New Pahlavi inscriptions on silver vessels*, BSOAS xxii, 1959, pp. 132–4. On the name Muṃjukrita, see below, § 26.

[7] This character is miscopied in C. C. Das Gupta, *Development of the Kharoṣṭhī Script*, table VII, 38, where the tail is shown curving to the left. The photograph given by Konow is clear, and the final curve is to the right.

spelling for the genitive singular long after the assimilation to *-ssa*. But, as is shown by the use of the regular left-curving *sya* by the silversmith as an abbreviation for *satera*, such a symbol could be readily accepted by those who knew no Sanskrit merely as an alternative *sa*, and the use of the symbol need not in itself carry the implication of either voiced or voiceless.

In his discussion of the Wardak vase Senart came to virtually the same conclusion: that *ṣa* was, in effect, descended from a right-curving *sya* which, with the cursive obscuration of its graphic origin, and the assimilation of the consonant group in the spoken language, was subsequently able to alternate with the old *sa* even in positions not involving an etymological *sya*, *ssa*. Against this, Rapson argued that if *ṣa* had originated in this manner, it was difficult to believe that it could have coexisted in the Niya script with the normal (left-curving) *sya*, from which it is nevertheless sharply differentiated by its distribution. This argument, however, appears to assume that the two coexisted in the same scribal tradition throughout their careers. The denial of this assumption removes the difficulty; and the Niya distribution is easily comprehensible on the hypothesis that the left-curving *sya* is a much later introduction into a school of orthography which in an earlier generation (and for the same purpose) had absorbed the right-curving form whose reading-value had in the meantime become equivalent to that of the old *sa*. It should be added that Rapson's discussion was written before the inscriptions on the vessels from Sirkap had been published, and that these provide additional visual support for the derivation of *ṣa* from an old form of *sya*.

If the ancestor of *ṣa* was in fact introduced in the first place as a learned spelling for the genitive singular *-sya*, the marked predominance of *-ṣa* for this case-ending in the Niya documents needs no further explanation. It is merely a traditional spelling which continued to be taught in the schools as the correct one.

The further spread of *ṣa* at the expense of the older *sa* is then almost certainly influenced more by graphic than by linguistic considerations. Two characters which had become equivalent in value might in any case be expected to alternate on occasion; and in addition *ṣa* possessed the outstanding merit of distinctiveness for reading. Being more complex in form (although in fact easy to write), it could hardly be misread even in the most rapid handwriting—a claim which would be difficult to make on behalf of *sa*. The older character continued to hold its position wherever a vertical stem was useful (as in *so*, *su*, &c., and conjuncts). Where a stem was irrelevant the newer form encroaches in varying degrees in the practice of the Niya scribes;[1] and in precisely the same positions, namely, in the syllables *ṣa*, *ṣi*, *ṣe*, the

[1] In the initial position in the word, however, *ṣ-* is decidedly less frequent than in other positions. This leaves open the possibility that the two characters came to be considered by

orthography of the Dharmapada has adopted it throughout, with the exception of the very few instances listed at the beginning of this section.

§ 14. *Anusvāra* and *m*-conjuncts. No systematic distinction has been observed between the writing of these in the earlier period, and it has been generally accepted that a subscript *m* with a consonant (C) might represent either C*aṃ* or C*ma*, according to context. In the post-Aśokan inscriptions the *anusvāra* is normally written attached to those letters which have stems, the effect being that the stem first bends to the right, and then continues in an *m*-curve towards the left. In the case of *tma*,[1] on the other hand, the tail of the *t* reaches the centre of the *m*, both ends of which remain free. A similar form appears in *tma*, in the Dharmapada, line 273 *atmaṇam* (the word being elsewhere written *atva-*), and in *śma*, if *veśma* is correctly read in line 119 (see note on verse **67**). In *sma* (*imasma*, *vaṇasma*) the *m* is written through the vertical of the *sa*. In the Niya documents the *anusvāra* is regularly written as described above, and the conjunct *-ma* (in those examples which can be checked from the facsimiles) is distinguished from it, being written either with a separate stroke of the pen; or, if attached, it is written in the reverse direction.[2] Such a distinction being impossible where the first character has no stem, the writing of *m* below *m* appears to have been ambiguous at all periods, and may denote either *mma* or *maṃ*. Thus, in the Aśokan inscriptions, *samma-* (S. *samyak*) has been read, beside *imaṃ*, *maṃgalaṃ*; and in Sh. RE IV, instead of *kramaṃ* (S. *karma*), the reading *kramma* might be possible. Since *anusvāra* is not normally written in the Dharmapada manuscript, the transcription *mm* has been adopted throughout, although with some hesitation in *samadikrammi* (**42**) and *sammijadi* (**238–9**), where a case could be made for *-kramiṃ* and *samiṃjadi*. Elsewhere, as in *brammaṇa*, *sammaṣadi*, the reading may be accepted as established.[3]

some scribes at least as appropriate for different sounds. If so, the difference may have been conceived as one between voiced and voiceless; but this seems improbable. Although *masu* may have been more 'convenient' to write than **maṣu*, there is no fundamental difficulty involved in writing the latter, and if *ṣ* had been identified with [z] it would surely have been used. If a phonetic distinction was involved between initial and internal variants, it is likely to have been something slighter than that between voiceless and voiced. But the situation seems better explained by the assumption of a purely orthographic convention which preferred *s-* in word-initial position (in the same manner as the Greek *ς* as opposed to *σ* came to mark word-final position in writing).

[1] Ārā inscription, CII ii, plate XXXII, line 5.

[2] Rapson's table (*Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, iii, plate XIV) gives drawings only of the latter type. Clear examples of the distinct writing of *anusvāra* and *-ma* can be seen in the facsimiles of documents 511 (*prasaṃna*, beside *etasmi*, *iṃasmi*) and 721, line 4 (*saṃbaṃdha-*, beside *vismaridavo*).

[3] The reading *-mm-* was proposed by Senart in his note on B. 13 (= **56**). On etymological grounds, E. Leumann argued for *-mh-* (*Die Ligature MH in der Kharoṣṭhī-Handschrift des Dhammapada*, Album Kern, 1903), which was also accepted by Konow. In favour of *-mm-*, see the detailed discussion by H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xi, 1946, pp. 787 ff.; and xiii, 1949, pp. 128–9.

Occasionally the subscript *m* may degenerate into a short straight line, slanting downwards from right to left. This was noted by Konow in one instance[1] in the word *ayaṃ*; and line 8 in the Dharmapada shows the same thing in *bramma*. It is then probable that a similar subscript stroke should be interpreted in the same way in *gammira*, line 99, the same word appearing in line 271 with the normal subscript *m*. These examples make it likely that the stroke attached to the bottom of the vowel-mark in *mi* several times in the Wardak vase inscription[2] has the same intention, and in place of Konow's transcription *viharam(r)i* we might write *viharammi*, which would then be merely an alternative spelling for *viharaṃmi* in other inscriptions.

§ 14*a*. Possible instances of *anusvāra* have been noted in the Dharmapada only in *saṃdaṇa* (where the character is divided between 62 and 66), and *aṇuvayasaṃ*, line 70. In general, however, we seem forced to the conclusion that the writer of the manuscript did not mark *anusvāra*. In line 9 it is tempting to read *ekatvaṃ*, the final mark being very similar to a subscript *m* in the line above; and similarly *ahaṃ* in line 21 and subsequently. But the fact that the latter word alternates with *aho*, together with the writing of *hu* in line 131 (=*khu*), and the frequent appearance of *-u* in place of earlier *-aṃ* in characters where there can be no doubt, makes it probable that we should read *ahu*, and likewise *ekatvu*. Senart observed that many characters in the manuscript ended in a curve which suggested *anusvāra*, but he could find no system in the distribution of this feature; nor have subsequent investigators found any. If we are persuaded to read *maṇuśaṃṇa* in line 47, where such a spelling might not seem too bizarre, then in line 44 it would be necessary to have *śaṃrira*, and in line 5—where the verb must be singular—*paśaṃdi*. It seems therefore that Senart was right in taking this feature to be merely an occasional flourish of the handwriting, with no linguistic significance. The same feature in *ka* has already been discussed (§ 2); and in this character the analogy of the Niya script would lead us to expect the *anusvāra*, if marked at all, to appear as a curve on the other limb.

§ 15. *mru*. The character so transcribed occurs only thrice, and has previously been accepted as a variant of *mu*. It is however quite distinct in appearance, as can be seen clearly in lines 184, 185, where the normal *mu* appears immediately below the other, and can be easily understood as a cursive development of the shape recognized in the Aśokan inscriptions in *mrugo*. In this the *r*-stroke was attached to the top of the right-hand arm of the *m*; and in the manuscript the whole character has been lengthened, and turned on its side, following in this the manner of development of the

[1] Taxila vase inscription, CII ii, plate XVII. 2.

[2] Ibid., plate XXXIII.

simple *mu*. Since the words in which the sign is written, *mruya* 184, *mrucu* 188, *mruca* 195, appear elsewhere in the manuscript as *muya*, *mucu*, the forms with *-r* are presumably only spelling archaisms.

The same character is probably to be recognized in the Tor Ḍherai inscribed potsherds,[1] where instead of *dh(y)armo* it would seem better to read *dhyamro* or *dhyamru*.

§ 16. *kṣa*. The Kharoṣṭhī sign so transliterated, although not graphically a compound character, has long been recognized to appear so regularly where the corresponding Sanskrit forms have *kṣ* (§ 52) that it is convenient to retain the transcription, which has been fairly generally adopted.[2] This has the advantage not only of showing the close relationship to Sanskrit phonology here, but also of retaining a written reminder of the retroflex[3] nature of the sound. For Gāndhārī, Bailey suggested the value [ṭṣ],[4] but also drew attention to a number of instances where the group appeared as (for example) *kš* or *χš*: Sogdian *škš'pt*, beside *čχš'pt* in other sources, both for S. *śikṣāpada*. It is therefore of interest that the Dharmapada provides a few examples of the *kṣa* sign with a superscript *kha*. There was only one instance of this in the part of the text previously published (**108**, line 158, *cakhkṣuma*), and since the same word was written *cakhuma* in the following line, Senart assumed that the *kha* had been written in as a subsequent correction. It now seems more probable that a conjunct character was intended, and the mechanical transliteration *khkṣa* has been adopted. The new material gives two further instances of *cakhkṣuma* (lines 307, 309), and *rakhkṣa* (line 263, S. *vṛkṣa*); but the evidence is hardly sufficient to determine whether a distinction in sound was intended, and if so, whether this distinction was between a velar closure in a few words felt to be literary borrowings from Sanskrit, against a retroflex closure in inherited words; or only between a fricative and a stop. The latter is to some extent supported by the use of *kha* rather than *ka*, and we may provisionally assume that the compound character was intended to represent [χṣ], or something very

[1] CII ii, plate XXXV, no. 4.

[2] The character, earlier thought to be merely a variant of *cha*, was discriminated from the latter by Boyer (JAs. 1911, 1, pp. 422 ff.). The edition of the Niya documents marked the difference by adding a diacritic to the older transcription (*ch'a*); while Hultzsch (*Inscriptions of Asoka*, CII i), Konow, and Bailey have used *kṣa*.

[3] This conclusion is supported by the fact that the modern related languages maintain separately a retroflex affricate (*ṭṣ*, usually transcribed *ç*) where Sanskrit has *kṣ*.

[4] BSOAS xi, pp. 770 ff., to which the reader may be referred for a very full collection of the evidence provided by the forms in which Indian borrowed words appear in other languages. The assimilation of the point of closure to the point of release would make the development *kṣ*>*ṭṣ* a very easy one; but the auditory impression of the two may have been similar enough to foreign ears, and the argument from other languages may not be entirely conclusive. In this connexion we may note the rendering of S. *kṣ* in Tamil by *ṭc*, beside the more Brahmanical spelling which uses the Grantha conjunct of *k* with *ṣ*.

close to the Iranian *χš*. Here it is relevant to observe that the same compound can be seen in two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, in one of which it appears in the Iranian borrowed word commonly used in dating, *kṣunami* (which may thus be transcribed here as *khkṣunami* or *χṣunami*[1]), while in the same inscription the superscript sign is absent in the Indian word *dakṣina'e*.[2]

If the addition of the superscript *kh* was originally intended to express a difference from the simple character, it would seem that later the distinction was forgotten. In the Niya documents *kṣa* regularly appears with a superscript stroke, and exceptions are so few that, for most of the scribes, this stroke appears to have formed an integral part of the character. In the light of the examples discussed above it is probable that with this character the superscript stroke (which elsewhere had other functions: see §§ 6–10) represents the earlier superscript *kh*, either as a simple diacritic replacing it, or, just conceivably, as a cursive development. The Dharmapada example in line 158 already suggests a somewhat abbreviated form, with the tail of the *kh* tending towards a horizontal direction.

§ 17. *tsa*. Because of the occurrence of this symbol in words where the corresponding Pali had *-ṃsa-*, Senart conjectured for it the value *ṅsa*. But while a form such as *saṅsara* (P. *saṃsāra*) seemed at least linguistically possible, the acceptance of this value led to such curiosities as *bheṅsiti* (S. *bhetsyate*). It was early realized that the upper component of the character was quite clearly *t*, and that the occurrence of this conjunct in place of *-ṃsa-* could be explained as resulting from the release of the (dental) nasal before the sibilant: *-ns-* > *-nts-*,[3] written as *-ṃts-* in the Niya documents, but in the Dharmapada, which does not mark anusvāra, simply as *-ts-*. With regard to the sibilant, opinions have fluctuated. In general, it would seem that those who have given greater weight to palaeographical considerations have preferred *tśa*

[1] Cf. Maralbaši *χšane*, in the same word, written in Brāhmī with a special sign for Iranian *χš* (H. W. Bailey, loc. cit., p. 772, and BSOAS xii, 1948, pp. 328–9; *Asia Major*, N.S. vii, 1959, p. 15).

[2] Mamāne Ḍherī pedestal inscription, CII ii, p. 172, plate XXXIV. Konow observed the superscript mark, and thought it could 'hardly be anything else than a slip of the engraver's tool'; but it is rather a complicated piece of work to have been produced by accident. The shape is somewhat stylized, but can easily be read as *kh*. In the other example (Takht-i-Bāhī inscription), the sign was read by Konow as *mi* (ibid., p. 62, plate XII. 1, line 3); but the quite different form for *mi* immediately below, in line 4, and the closely similar *kṣ* in *pakṣe* in line 3, make it almost certain that a *kṣa* with superscript *kh* was intended. Unfortunately, the preceding characters are illegible, and the word remains uncertain. A *kh* is written above *sa* in *cukhsa* (ibid., plates V and XVI), and it is possible that this is an alternative method of writing the same sound-group.

[3] In Brāhmī script spellings such as *saṃtsāra* are attested in Khotanese. In a similar manner a fairly common English pronunciation of *-ns* (which in the structure of the language is distinct from *-nts*, and may also be phonetically distinct) is regularly interpreted by the ears of speakers from further north as *-nts*: thus, 'pence' may be heard as [pɛnts]; and the two words 'correspondence' and 'correspondents' may seem to such a listener to be identical in sound.

(Bühler, Franke, Lüders, Konow, and Bailey); while others, principally on linguistic grounds (Rapson, Burrow), have chosen the reading *tsa*.[1]

Besides the examples involving nasals, this symbol appears in words containing earlier *-ts-* and *-tsy-*: *matsari* (S. *matsarin*); *matsa* (S. *matsya*) *bhetsidi* (S. *bhetsyate*). At first sight the latter may seem to give some support to the palatal; and as a further argument, the Khotanese use of Brāhmī *ts* for a palatalized sound has been quoted: for example, *gatsa-*, written for S. *gaccha-*.[2] But within Gāndhārī *sy* > *s* is regular (in contrast to *ṣy* > *ś*; § 59), and there is thus a prima facie case for the transcription *tsa*.

Such theoretical considerations would not in themselves outweigh the palaeographic evidence; and it must be said that in many of the later examples the appearance of the lower part of the character is more similar to *śa* than to *sa*. But the resemblance is deceptive; and in almost all the sources where we can make a comparison, there is a clear graphic distinction from *śa*: in the conjunct character the right-hand limb is usually shorter, and frequently curves in to meet the left-hand vertical.[3] The Niya script shows this especially clearly; and very similar forms occur in the Dharmapada, for example, in *asatsiṭha* line 32, *patsukula* 68. Even those instances which are less sharply differentiated seldom show graphic forms which would be really characteristic of *śa*.

It seems therefore that graphically also the evidence is less favourable to *śa* than to *sa*. Although the latter subsequently shows an opening at the left of the head, a number of earlier sources show forms where the vertical commences higher, and either completely or partially encloses the head of the character.[4] The preservation of a closed form (and the disappearance of the part of the head-stroke which projected to the left of the vertical in the old *sa*) can be readily understood if the conjunct developed as a single graphic unit. It is easier to assume that a *sa* in the group has preserved an old feature than it would be to explain why a *śa* should have developed a new one restricted to this compound. Since there are thus good palaeographical grounds as well as phonological, it seems advisable to abandon the transcription *tśa*, and to write *tsa* throughout, in the inscriptions as well as the Dharmapada.

[1] I cannot explain why C. C. Das Gupta should have argued in favour of *tsa* in one place (*Development of the Kharoṣṭhī Script*, p. 124), while elsewhere in the same book maintaining that the reading should be *tśa*.

[2] Konow, AO xix, 1943, pp. 73–74; see also H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xi, 1946, p. 771; ix, p. 540.

[3] A very marked distinction can be seen in the Pājā inscription (CII ii, plate XIII). It is just possible that the engraver of the rather clumsy inscription from Mount Banj (ibid., plate XI. 2) thought that he was writing *-tśa-*; but even here, the right-hand limb, though straight, is shorter than would be expected in *śa*.

[4] In addition to Aśokan examples, see CII ii, plates I. 1 and 2; V. 1 (with both closed and half-closed examples); XIII. 1; XVI. c; XXXVI. 2.

§ 18. *sta*, *tha*, *ṭha*, *ṭ́ha*. The character transcribed as *sta* has the appearance of *tha* with the addition of a short horizontal line to the left at the top of the vertical. It was thought for some time that this form was a cursive abbreviation of a *sa* with a *t* written through the stem. But the Aśokan example shown in Bühler's table[1] which gave rise to this theory is an early misreading caused by an accidental mark of weathering on the stone, and has long since been corrected to *su*. There seem to be no examples of *sta* which would support the theory of abbreviation from a full compound. In the Dharmapada the sign was at first confused with *tha*, and was discriminated in the manuscript by Franke,[2] who, because of the shape, proposed the reading *stha*.

In the Niya script *ca* surmounted by a detached diacritic stroke appears with the value *śca*;[3] and similarly *ka* with the addition of a diacritic (in this case attached), occurring in the documents mostly, if not exclusively, in foreign words, is shown to represent *ska* (or a sound developed from an earlier *ska*) by the words *saṃḱara* and *ḱaṃdha* (S. *saṃskāra*, *skandha*) in the Kurram casket inscription.[4] These analogies suggest that in *sta* also the initial sibilant in the group was represented by a diacritic mark; and it is possible that Franke was right as far as concerns the appearance of *tha* in the group. But even if the form of the character did originally denote *stha*, it was nevertheless used at all periods of the Kharoṣṭhī script in words where Sanskrit has *sta*, and it seems likely that this value was intended, while the character conventionally transcribed as *ṭ́ha* may have been adopted (at least by some schools of writing) to represent *stha*. It may be the case that in some dialects the distinction between *st* and *sth* had ceased to be of importance, or had disappeared. This is suggested by the fact that in the inscriptions and the Niya documents the forms of the verb *sthā* almost everywhere appear with either *tha* alone, or with *sta* (and in the inscriptions, also with the sign transliterated *ṭha*, after the prefix *prati-*; thus, *pratistapita*, *pratithavita*, and *pratiṭhavita* occur, but not *pratisthapita*.) In the documents a rarely occurring form of *sta* with an additional stroke rising from the right-hand part of the horizontal has been transcribed as *stha*,[5] a value which has the support of the Sanskritic no. 511, which has *upasthita* and *sthaira* (for *sthavira*).

§ 18*a*. This problem must be considered together with the related question of the characters conventionally transcribed *ṭ́ha*, *ṭha*. These were first

[1] Table I, line 39, col. iv.

[2] ZDMG 1906.

[3] Rapson, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, iii. 320; also representing the sound-group resulting from Iranian *χč*, *χš* in borrowed words: Bailey, BSOAS xi, 774.

[4] CII ii, plates XXVIII, XXIX; Bailey, loc. cit., pp. 774, 793 ff.

[5] Rapson, loc. cit., p. 319. This would then give the reading *pratisthapita* in the Hidda inscription, CII ii, plate XXX. 2 (but this is available only in a poor eye-copy, which cannot be considered reliable); and on the inscribed potsherds from Tor Ḍherai, *sarvasthivadinaṃ*, ibid., plate XXXV, 14, 16, 17.

distinguished by Boyer,[1] who showed that *ṭha* normally appeared where Sanskrit had a retroflex group, and *ṭha* where Sanskrit had a dental. In the Aśokan inscriptions (where in any case the graphic distinction is smaller), the two continue to be transcribed indiscriminately as *ṭha*, although it has long been realized that in most places Aśokan has *ṭha*, while *ṭha* has been suggested only for *raṭhika-* (*rāṣṭrika-*) and *aṭha* (*aṣṭa*). In a re-examination of the material, Konow[2] emphasized the fact that the interpretation of both signs as aspirates depended only on characteristics of other Prakrits, which remained unproved for the North-west; and he proposed to read *ṭ* in place of *ṭh*, and *ṭh* in place of *ṭh*. This not only left out of the picture the character formerly accepted as *ṭa*, but was open to the same objection as the theory which it was to replace: if the rendering of the word for 'eight' as *aṭha* owed the aspiration to the evidence of other Prakrits, so likewise did the proposed *aṭa* (for *aṭṭa*) depend on the same evidence for the idea that the group *ṣṭ* was assimilated in Gāndhārī.

In place of this Bailey proposed to transcribe the traditional *ṭha* of the Kharoṣṭhī as *ṣṭa* (which would thus be parallel to *sta* in the dental series), leaving the *ṭha* as the Kharoṣṭhī equivalent of Brāhmī *ṭha*.[3] For *ṣṭa* he cited the word transcribed in the Niya documents as *ṣoṭhaṃga*, which appears in Agnean in a Brāhmī script as *ṣoṣtäṅk-*; and the name of the Kṣatrapa *Cāṣṭana*, written in Greek as *Τιαστανής* and in Uigur script as *čšt'ny*, but transcribed from Kharoṣṭhī as *caṭhana*.

This appears to fit the situation better than Konow's suggestion. But it must probably be accepted that the employment of these characters was not invariable in all our sources. Thus, the scribe of document 661, in *aṣṭi* 'eight', wrote *ṣ* over *ṭ*; but this does not necessarily invalidate *ṣṭ* for *ṭh* in other places. The word usually spelt *suvéṭha*, for example, is written *suvéṣta* in documents 431, 432, with *ṣ* above a dental *t*. While the accepted *sta* appears for Sanskrit *sta* both in the Dharmapada and the documents, a Sanskrit *stha* is represented in the former by *ṭha*, and sometimes *tha*, but never *sta*, but in the latter regularly by *tha* and *sta*, and *ṭha* appears only in a few words.

§ 18*b*. Whatever interpretation of *ṭha* and *ṭha* is chosen, it will not fit all the sources equally well, and there will be exceptions. Since the problem can hardly be considered as solved, it seemed best to retain for the present the traditional transcription. But, within the available sources, the exceptions would seem to be kept at a minimum if the opposition of retroflex to dental suggested by Boyer is maintained. It might then be possible to consider

[1] JAs. xvii, 1911, p. 429.
[2] AO xix, 1943, pp. 68 ff.
[3] BSOAS xiii, 1949–50, pp. 123 ff., and 398.

that in origin at least the three signs *sta*, *ṭha* and *ṭha* were intended to express [sta], [stha], and [ṣṭa] respectively. With the three symbols available, the Dharmapada orthography chose the only retroflex group to write both [ṣṭa] and [ṣṭha] (or, alternatively, the two groups were no longer distinguished in the language); while the Aśokan had used the only aspirated group to write both [stha] and [ṣṭha], and the Niya script for the most part preferred *sta* for both [sta] and [stha] and agreed with the Dharmapada in using *ṭha* for both [ṣṭa] and [ṣṭha]. If the differences in employment between the various sources are in fact to be explained in some such manner, this would not rule out developments of assimilation or other alterations in different dialects at one time or another. This is at least indicated by the use in the Buddhist Sanskrit of document 511 of *sta* with the additional diacritic for *sthaira*, *upasthita*, beside *prasaṃṭhita*; and *tiṣṭhatu*, with a conjunct containing *ṣ* written in full. Here it would seem that the lower half of the conjunct must be taken as *ṭha*, and this would exclude the otherwise tempting reinterpretation of *heṭha* as *heṣṭa*. A further difficulty in the way of reading *ṭha* as *stha* throughout may be raised by the fact that it sometimes represents *rtha* of the older language: *aṭha* (*artha*), *ca'uṭha* (*caturtha*).

The survival of the sibilant in such groups in some of the modern languages would favour the hypothesis that at least some of the Kharoṣṭhī sources intended these signs as notations for *s* or *ṣ* with a following plosive. Thus, while transcriptions from Kharoṣṭhī such as *hasta*, are in harmony with Pashai *hāst*, *hōst*, Khowar[1] *host* 'hand', the contrast in examples such as *aṭha* beside Pashai *āṣṭa*, Khowar *ošṭ*, 'eight', or Niya *jeṭha*, *kaniṭhaǵa*, beside Pashai *ǰeṣṭā*, *ǰeṣṭarā*, and *kaṇiṣṭā*, *kaṇiṣṭhā*, gives some additional encouragement for a reinterpretation of the Kharoṣṭhī *ṭh* as *ṣṭ*. On the other hand, the development of initial *sth-* in these languages to *th-* (while *st-* is preserved, with a prothetic vowel), and etymologies such as Pashai *sāṭha* 'village', < *sārtha*, do not give any positive support to a reading *sth* for Kharoṣṭhī *ṭh*. The evidence is nevertheless fairly strong that this sign regularly represents a Sanskrit dental rather than retroflex group, and within the Dharmapada this would seem to be invariable. See also note on verse **144**.

§ 19. *tra*, *dra*. The distinction between *ta* and *da* in the manuscript is almost everywhere clear (although a very few doubtful examples may remain), but the addition of *-r* blurs the difference, and it is sometimes little

[1] Examples cited from G. Morgenstierne, *Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages*, vol. iii, *The Pashai Language*, part 3, 1956, and *Sanskritic Words in Khowar*, in S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume, 1957, pp. 84–98. It is not of course suggested that either of these, rather than other Dardic languages, are the direct descendants of any specific Gāndhārī dialect represented in Kharoṣṭhī; but they must certainly be very close relatives. For further examples from these and other languages of the same group, see also Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, pp. 734 ff.

more than a matter of faith to choose between *tr* and *dr*. In effect, therefore, the reader will find that these conjuncts have regularly been transcribed according to their etymological value. This is naturally not a situation to be welcomed by anyone faced with a palaeographical problem. But in a rapidly written pen-script distinctions may be intended by the writer which are nevertheless discriminated by the reader only from their context. This is common, and is sufficiently illustrated by the assimilation in shape in many modern forms of handwriting of the letters *u* and *n*. It would nevertheless be a mistake if, in editing a modern English document, we allowed some formal criterion (which might even be valid for another contemporary hand) to force upon us the transcription '*unu*' where the writer had intended '*nun*'. In the Niya documents the editors found this type of difficulty in the uncompounded *d* and *t* also, and considered that in cursive handwriting the distinction between the two was 'often merely a matter of opinion'.[1] In the Dharmapada, where the scribe is reasonably consistent in his writing, any formal criterion which would have led to a transcription of the same word as *trihi* in one place and *drihi* in another would almost certainly have been mistaken. In the end, however, the doubtful cases are fairly few; and if no single point of difference has been observed by which *tr* and *dr* can always be distinguished, there are at least tendencies. Thus, if the head of the character is more rounded and *d*-like, the final stroke tends to compensate by slanting upwards if *tr* is intended; and conversely, if the head is more pointed and *t*-like, the tail tends to slant downwards if *dr* is required. If the head is unambiguous, the tail has more freedom. In line 121, for example, in *metra* and *druma*, it would be difficult to distinguish the heads of the characters in question as definitely *t* and *d* respectively; but the manner in which the two are completed justifies their discrimination. In the same line, in *patra*, the final stroke is drawn downwards in a manner more characteristic of *dr*; but in this instance the commencement is so definitely *t* that we need not attribute to the scribe the intention of writing *padra*.

In the allied problem of *tv* and *dv*, it is more difficult to see comparable tendencies. But in the majority of examples the etymologically expected

[1] Rapson, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 306. The problem in the documents is made more complex by the large number of scribes involved, and the published facsimiles are enough to show how troublesome this matter can be. At the same time, it is unlikely that the confusion was as great as the edition suggests, and it is probable that a re-examination would considerably reduce the uncertainty. It is not immediately clear what formal principles led to the transcription *dita* in nos. 32, 39, but *tita* in 222. But in 696, for example, if *viñati*, *bhavati*, and *vidita* are right, then *tivya* is certainly wrong, and should be corrected to *divya*. In this connexion it may be observed that the Dharmapada scribe, whose *d* is usually not difficult to distinguish from his *t*, shows a tendency to produce a more *t*-like form in the syllable *de*: see, for example, *deśida* in line 3, where the first *d* is, as it were, pulled slightly in the direction of *t* (though no one would wish to read *teśida*); and *bhudeṣu* in line 18, where *bhuteṣu* might well seem tempting.

form can be considered safe. Where the writing now appears to be ambiguous other eyes may subsequently find good reasons for dissenting, and may be able to demonstrate that the distribution of *tv* and *dv* in the manuscript is systematically different from that of Sanskrit. But for the present, it seemed that the distinction was sufficiently clear to make it unlikely that an attempt to distinguish the doubtful cases purely by written form would be justified. In line 321, for example, it might appear that *ñadva* was written; but since in most absolutives, including other instances of the same word, the scribe certainly wrote *-tva*, it seemed best to transcribe *ñatva* here also. Such a decision may be questioned, and the editor may be accused of attempting to normalize the language of the text unjustifiably. But in a manuscript where the orthography is otherwise reasonably regular, the acceptance of an occasional form such as *ñadva* seemed on balance more likely to be wrong than the admission of the possibility that the two written forms might from time to time overlap.

Vowels

§ 20. Vowel-length is not marked,[1] except possibly in one instance (*āha* **269**), nor is *anusvāra* written, except perhaps in two places (§ 14*a*). The absence of these two features from the orthography of a literary text, while in other Kharoṣṭhī sources *anusvāra* at least is frequently if not invariably written, must be taken into account in discussing such formations as the Middle Indian ablative in *-aṃ*, suggested by Alsdorf and Lüders.[2] Sufficient examples have been adduced to make it certain that *-aṃ* does from time to time appear where an ablative is expected. But those quoted from Pali are still rare enough to make it possible that they are due to a transmission through manuscripts which, like the Dharmapada, did not mark vowel-length and nasalization, or, like the Aśokan Brāhmī, did not do so consistently. It would be expected that when a text written in such a manner was rendered into a full orthography—whether at the time of translation into Pali, or subsequently—this would for the most part be done correctly, since the writer's knowledge of the language would enable him to interpret from the context. But equally it would be expected that from time to time, either

[1] It has been said more than once that the metrical nature of the Dharmapada shows that vowel-lengths were distributed as in other Prakrits. It must be recognized that such an argument is inconclusive. There is no reason to suppose that the preservation of the original metre was a matter of conscious concern to those who transmitted the text; and even if the distribution of vowel-quantities had altered considerably in the receiving dialect, this would not necessarily have been taken into account. There are some indications, however, that the metrically significant distinction between single and double consonants continued to exist (§ 28); and we should therefore hesitate to accept interpretations which imply gross metrical faults. See, for example, note on verse **120**.

[2] For references and further details, see note on verse **292**.

because his attention was wandering, or because the passage was genuinely difficult, he would misinterpret his exemplar, and write *-aṃ* where he ought to have written *-ā*. Naturally, this does not disprove the real existence of a Māgadhan ablative in *-aṃ*; but it may be desirable to leave the possibility open that the appearance of such a form in Pali may be due to purely graphic causes. Similarly, the syntactical construction of *upeta* with an accusative, as in the Pali Dhp. 280 (= **113**) *ālasiyaṃ upeto*, may be genuine; but equally it could have arisen in the same manner from an original instrumental. In the verse quoted, manuscripts have sporadically emended to *ālasiyā*, and this has been accepted by some of the editions.

§ 21. In the final position in a word, (*-i*)[1] regularly appears as *-i*, while (*-e*) may be written either *-e* or *-i*, with a definite preference for the latter. For (*-o*), *-u* and *-o* are almost equally frequent. Where a back vowel represents an earlier *-aṃ*, the writing *-o* is much less frequent, but does occasionally occur. See also § 75.

In other positions in the word, interchange of *i/e* and *u/o* appears very seldom: *jeṇadi* (*jināti*); *keca*, but more often *kica* (*kṛtya*); *aṇośe'a* (*anuśaya*), but regularly *aṇu-*; *droparamuṭho*, but regularly *dru-*. The number of such spellings may be slightly more or less than the transliterated text shows, since occasionally the reading is uncertain. Although there is usually no doubt whether the scribe intended *i* or *e*, in some places the vowel-stroke may be shorter than is normal for *i*, and yet cut through the main character enough to make the reading *i* at least as likely as *e*. Similarly, in some instances a basal triangle may be thought to result from an accidental closure produced by an *o*-stroke linking up with the frequent pen-drag at the foot of many characters. In such places, an editor's choice between *e* and *i*, and between *o* and *u*, is bound to be arbitrary to some extent. But there are enough certain instances to show that these fluctuations in spelling did occur, but in any event rarely in non-final syllables in a word.[2]

There seems to be a tendency for (*hu*) to be written *ho*: for example, *hoda* (*hutaṃ*); *baholu* (*bahulo*) and regularly *baho-*, but once *bahu-*. Here also there is more freedom in final position: *ahu*, *aho*, (*ahaṃ*); *suhu*, *suho* (*sukho*, *-aṃ*).

§ 22. Other divergences from the vowel-system of the corresponding Pali words are for the most part to be attributed to the phonetic environment

[1] Here and in the following paragraphs brackets are used to mark off grammatically corresponding Sanskrit or Pali forms, which, however, do not necessarily appear in the corresponding place in the parallel texts.

[2] From the inscriptions we may note *daṇamokho*, *danamokhe* in place of the more frequent *-mukha* (CII ii, plates XI. 2, and XXIV. 4). In both of these Konow argued in favour of reading the regular *mu*; but this is simply an arbitrary disregard for what is clearly written. Cf. also *bramoṇa* in the Dharmapada (**242**), where the Pali has *brahmunā*.

(palatalization, labialization), or to the weakness of vowels in unemphatic syllables, especially in word-final position.

In non-palatal syllables (*ā*) may appear as *o*: *ajakamo* (*ajjhagamā*), *moṇaso* (*mānaso*), *samokadu* (*samāgata-*); cf. Niya 524 *phalophala*; *sado* (*sadā*); instr. sg. *gameṣiṇo*, *cedaso*, and with the spelling *-u*, *ichadu*. Similarly for (*ă*) or (*aṃ*) in *kudayiṇo*. It is possible that the same feature is responsible for the inverse situation in spellings such as *aya* (*āyuḥ*), *tamasarṇudu* (*tamaso-*), *lake* (*loke*); but these are rare enough to leave it possible that the omission of the vowel-sign is accidental.[1]

§ 22*a*. More frequent is the marking of palatalization of vowels in the neighbourhood of a palatal consonant (although the consonant in question is not necessarily still written): *ecasari*, *precasari* (P. *accasārī*, *paccasārī*); *same-sabudha* (*samyak-sambuddha*; Khot. *samye-sabaudāya*[2]); *yed*, *paje* (*pañca*), *kici* (*kṛtyaṃ*), *katavi*, *bhayidavi* (*-tavya*; Niya here usually has *-davo*); *deśehi* (*deśayet*: for *-h-*, see § 39); *a'i* (*ayaṃ*; Aśokan *ayi*, beside *iyaṃ*); *pre'aṇadi* (*prajānāti*). Regularly, compounds with (*-carya*): *brama-yirya*, *-yiya*, *sama-'irya*, *parikirya'i*. In the last, *-k-* is written for *-y-* < (*-c-*) (§§ 32, 38); but the palatalization also appears occasionally where the corresponding Sanskrit has no palatal: *uṭhaṇe'ala-* (*utthāna-kāla-*), *radhe'aro* (*rathakāra*). These spellings clearly reflect the *y*-like quality of the glide developed between vowels in the position of intervocalic stops of the older language (the *ya-śruti* of the grammarians). It is thus possible that *parica'i* in verse **164** should be interpreted as a direct equivalent to the Pali *pariccāgā* in the corresponding verse, although a locative gives acceptable sense in the context. Comparable here are Aśokan *meñati* (RE XIII Sh.); Niya *sveya* (Burrow, *Grammar* § 6). It is possible that a few examples from other Prakrits should be brought under the same heading: *āiṇṇa* < *ājanya* (taken as a *deśī*-word by Sheth; see also note on verse **173**); *sejjā*, P. *seyyā* < *śayyā*.

§ 23. Not infrequently, an etymological (*i*, *e*) is omitted in the writing, and it is possible that a few such cases may be seen as counter-reflections of the same situation. Thus, the spelling *vayari* (*vihāri-*) may be justified to the extent that the *-y-* was felt to give sufficient expression to the palatalized vowel in the first syllable. A similar explanation might pass for *vaśpaśa*

[1] Doubtless a similar omission of the vowel-sign is to be recognized in the well-known word in Brāhmī script describing the elephant carved on the Kalsi rock, *gajatame*, i.e. *gajuttame*, or *gajottame* (P. *gajuttamo*). The word, it seems, has usually been understood as formed by the addition of the superlative suffix *-tama* directly to the noun, which is indeed grammatically possible, but in the context hardly complimentary. Normal usage suggests that such a form would convey a sense such as 'possessing in the highest degree such attributes as are characteristically and distinctively elephantine'.

[2] H. W. Bailey, *Asia Major*, N.S. ii, 1951, p. 28.

beside *viśpaśa* (*viśvāsa*); *daśaṇa* (P. *dassinaṃ*), *darśaṇo* (*dassino*); *deśada* (twice, P. *desentaṃ*); *udacha'i* (P. *udacchidā*); and comparably, in the Taxila silver scroll,[1] *pracaga* (*pratyeka*). In a different way, the retroflexion in *ṣ* may perhaps have involved a difference in quality of an accompanying (*e*) sufficient to allow us to attribute to this cause the occasional omission of the written vowel-symbol, as in *ṣahu*, if this is to be read for *ṣehu* in verse **307**; *bhavaṣu* (*bhaveṣu*); and *taṣa* (*teṣaṃ*). In the inscriptions *vaṣa* (*varṣe*) appears twice at least,[2] but is corrected by the editor to *vaṣe*.

But while such linguistic factors may possibly have operated in some places, it is more than likely that the scribe occasionally omitted the vowel sign accidentally, much in the same way as we might sometimes forget to cross a *t*. The one occurrence of *cata* (*citta*) has indeed the excuse of the initial palatal; but on fifteen other occasions the word is written *cita-*. Similarly, *sabhir ava* (*eva*) is doubtless a mere slip of the pen, and it would be artificial to suggest that the *i* in the previous syllable was sufficient written information to convey that *eva* was intended.

§ 24. In unemphatic syllables, and especially in word-final syllables, a different factor is involved, and in these we may reasonably see a tendency to vowel-weakening which is sometimes reflected in the writing.[3] An isolated example such as *paṇada*, while elsewhere *paṇida* is written, may be accidental; and one occurrence of *itha* (P. *ettha*) leaves the decision doubtful in verse **96**, where the scribe may have intended the same form by the spelling *atha*, but may equally have taken over a form with *a-* which ultimately went back to the source-dialect of the Gāndhārī translation. Against these, *vivhudananahi* (P. *vibhūti-nandi-*) seems a definite example. With *navara'i* (*ni-*) and *viṇavana'u* (*vinibandh-*) we may compare *ṇumajjai* and similar examples from other dialects (Pischel § 118), and such spellings as Khot. *paramaṇḍale* (S. *pari-*).[4] Optatives may be written without the vowel-sign in the final syllable: *jiṇa* as well as *jiṇi*, *udiṭha*, *gaccha*, *cara*, *pariyara*, *parivaya*. Some of these, if they had been isolated, might have been referred to § 23. But since in most instances the resulting spelling is identical with an imperative (although often syntactically distinct), it is possible that there was here some tendency for the two modal forms to coalesce.

To these groups a few isolated examples can be added: *bheṣida* (*bhaviṣyati*), *kirta* (*kīrti-*); and inversely, *nevi* beside *neva* (*naiva*).

[1] CII ii, plate XIV. Konow (p. 71) corrected the 'mistake' to *pracega*; but it would be better policy to retain such spelling features in the text, and to restrict editorial comment to a footnote.

[2] CII ii, plates XII and XIII. 2.

[3] For comparable phenomena in other Prakrits, cf. Pischel §§ 101 ff.; cf. R. L. Turner, *The Phonetic Weakness of Terminational Elements in Indo-Aryan*, JRAS 1927, pp. 227–39, for similar tendencies in consonantal development.

[4] Bailey, BSOAS x, 1942, p. 904.

§ 25. Divergences involving non-final back-vowels are mostly, it would seem, reflections of neighbouring syllables; but very occasionally there are instances where an unusual spelling would seem to result only from a tendency towards a 'neutral' central quality in weak positions: for example, *-i-* in *sisavudu* (*susaṃvṛtaṃ*). If *yu* is accepted as an equivalent of (*ca*), we may see in it a further sporadic spelling of this type, although *ya* and *yi* are elsewhere written. (See § 70, and note on verse **12**; possibly the frequent Aśokan *cu* should be considered in this connexion.)

Adjacent syllables with *u*, *v*, or labial consonants are involved in examples such as *bhikhu du* (twice for *di* < *iti*); *aṇuva-* (*an-ava-*);[1] and conversely, *aṇa-* is written for (*anu-*) in *aṇaparyaya*, *saṇayara*. If it had been isolated *dukhusa* (*-asya*) would be readily dismissed as a scribal error, and indeed it probably is. But since the other examples cited at least suggest that a feature of pronunciation may lie behind such a spelling, it is wiser to leave it in the text. Similarly, we might hesitate to suggest that in *sagharavośamu* the scribe 'ought' to have written *-rova-*, and that he has merely attached the vowel-stroke to the wrong character; since it is possible that the labialization affected both syllables, and the orthography may be reasonably adequate as a notation of utterance, however poor it may appear etymologically.

The same type of reflection of vocalic quality is shown in spellings such as *udhvaradha*, *utvari*; Niya *utvara-*. Similar phenomena have been familiar since the earliest days of comparative linguistics (*umlaut*), and there seems to be no good reason for the suggestion[2] that, because '*tv* is written for *t*' in these words, the *v*-sound was 'little pronounced'.[3]

In final position, the nominal case-endings *-o*, *-u*, and *-a* correlate reasonably well with the forms of the older language (see § 75); and such fluctuations as appear are probably reflections of the weakness of final syllables. Occasionally, however, phonetic environment may have played a part (e.g. *dhamu*, ibid.).

It is possible that in *phuṣamu*, *kariṣamu*, where the corresponding Pali has the singular, the writing might represent a real historical development of *-mi*; but this remains doubtful. See note on verse **333**. Beside *jivamu* and *viharamu*, Pali has the plural verb; in the Niya documents the ending *-mi* is common, and in the Dharmapada it is invariable in *bromi*. We cannot, however, deny the possibility of a tendency of *-mi* to move in the direction of *-mu*. In the sporadic spelling *bhukṣusaṃgasya* (Niya 703, missing from the index) it would be pleasant to see a trace of scribal resentment at the insatiable appetite of the monks; but doubtless the writing has no further motivation than the initial labial consonant of the word.

[1] See also pp. 50, 51.

[2] Konow, CII ii, p. cviii.

[3] Cf. also Khot. *utvaḍa*: see Bailey, *Asia Major*, N.S. vii, 1959, p. 13.

§ 26. It is probable that the same type of fluctuation in spelling should be recognized in the inscriptions on the two Sirkap silver plates,[1] which have respectively *Muṃjukritasya* and *Miṃjukritasa*. As Konow recognized, the two forms almost certainly represent the same name. But rather than see in the variation a suggestion of an un-Indian name in which 'the first vowel was probably difficult to render', it might be thought that there is no more involved than divergent views on spelling between the two silversmiths responsible. The first part of the name would then be understood as *mañju-*, in which the 'neutral' vowel of the first syllable was interpreted in spelling by one craftsman as *u*, having regard to the preceding *m*, while the other considered that *i* was more suitable in relation to the following palatal group. Similar variations in the spelling of the name *Mañjuśrī* have been cited from Khotanese:[2] *maṃjuśrī* and (with later Gāndhārī assimilation) *mañuśrī*; but also *mijāśūrī*, *majiśrrī*, *majāśrrī*, and others. Since in addition we can cite the Dharmapada form *kirta*, it is possible (though admittedly not certain) that the objects in question belonged to a man whose name in Sanskrit would have been *Mañjukīrti*.

§ 27. In addition to the normal Middle Indian developments of the type *-aya-* > *-e-* (including *nedi* **267**, against the metre), two examples have been noted which might be due to a coalescence of syllables: *asa* **169** (P. *āyasaṃ*) and *vidi* **277** (P. *vijite*)[3]. If so, the suggested emendations given in the footnotes to *ayasa* and *viyidi* may be misconceived. But the syllables might well have been accidentally dropped by the scribe, and a decision is hardly possible without further evidence. See also note on verse **343** (which is outside the main text).

Consonants

§ 28. The consonantal system, in comparison with that of the older language, shows many features similar to those familiar in other Middle Indian languages—weakening of single intervocalic stops, assimilation of consonant clusters—and these do not call for any detailed discussion here. In contrast to other dialects, especially characteristic features are the preservation of three distinct sibilants, and the retention of certain consonant groups without assimilation.

Although the orthography does not in general mark a distinction between single and double consonants,[4] the continuance of this opposition (or a corresponding one as, for example, between lax and tense articulations) is

[1] CII ii, pp. 98–99, plate XIX. 3, 4.

[2] Bailey, BSOAS x, 1942, p. 910.

[3] The apparent loss of a syllable in *va-* written for *uva-* is a rather different matter: see § 35.

[4] For *mm*, see § 14. The interpretation of the sign transcribed *gg* remains doubtful: see § 11.

shown by the fact that the representation of single intervocalic consonants in many instances shows spelling-variants, whereas for double consonants the spelling is virtually stable. Thus, while (*-y-*) may appear as *-y-*, or alif, or *-k-*, the corresponding double consonant (*-yy-*) is not subject to these variations, and except where the older unassimilated group is written in full, *-ry-*, the only possible representation would seem to be *-y-*. It may be observed that in non-initial position *-c-*, *-t-*, *-p-* invariably represent double consonants,[1] while *-g-*, *-j-*, *-b-* may be written either for a double stop or for nasal plus stop, but not for a single intervocalic stop.

§ 29. Single stops in initial position in the word regularly agree with Sanskrit. The juncture of compounds is ambiguous in this respect (§ 66); and other apparent exceptions in the transliterated text can conveniently be considered under the heading of enclisis (§§ 67 f., 72).

§ 30. In the representation of the sounds descended from the intervocalic single stops of the earlier period, the manuscript shows rather more variation than elsewhere; but it may be accepted that such variation is for the most part a matter of spelling. In general terms, most of such spellings can be readily understood on the assumption that a few of the written signs, which in other contexts continued to act as a notation for stops, were also used in intervocalic position for fricatives (§§ 31, 43, 43*a*); while a palatal frequently, and a labial occasionally, might be treated simply as a glide, and 'disappear', that is, the word is written with alif, usually between unlike vowels, where the spelling gives adequate information without the need to write *-y-* or *-v-* explicitly (§§ 32, 34). In a few words a similar glide is expressed in the spelling by *-k-* (§ 38).

From the writing it would seem that in this position the distinction between voiced and voiceless stops was lost. It is not impossible that real linguistic differences are concealed here: for example, although (*-k-*, *-g-*) both appear as *-k-*, it is quite conceivable that the symbol was written for [χ] in the one case, and for [γ] in the other. But there seems to be no way of determining this from the text itself,[2] and we may assume, at least provisionally, that

[1] A comparison with the Pali shows up a few apparent exceptions in the case of *-t-*, but these are so rare that they may be due either to variant readings, or simply to miscopying. See notes on verses **75**, **79**, **237**, **283**. In **336** the form *katu* is regular.

[2] It is, perhaps, possible that a more detailed analysis of frequency and distribution would enable us to say that one answer was at least more probable than the other. For example, (*-k-*, *-g-*, *-c-*, *-j-*) may all on occasion be written *-y-*, and in suitable contexts alif, where the glide is implicit in the spelling. But, on a rough count, alif represents (*-k-*) in 28 places, (*-g-*) in 6, (*-c-*) in 2, and (*-j-*) in 11. This may suggest that the sounds which had developed from (*-k-*, *-j-*) were decidedly more lax in articulation than the other two; but the figures may be biassed to such an extent by the distribution of the four consonants in the parent language that it remains doubtful whether such a conclusion would be justified.

the voiced and voiceless single intervocalic stops of the older language had in fact coincided by the time when the Dharmapada manuscript was written.

§ 31. In a number of the inscriptions, and in the Niya documents, both (*-k-*) and (*-g-*) are not infrequently represented by *ǵ* (§ 4), and it has been generally accepted that this character, formed from *g* by the addition of a diacritical stroke at the base, is to be understood as a notation for a fricative [*γ*]. The Kurram casket, for example, has *śoǵa* (*śoka*) and *bhaǵavada*;[1] and the writer of the verses scribbled on the outside of the Dharmapada manuscript used the sign in the same value in *sparga-ǵamiyu* (verse 344). A much less common notation appears in the Mathura Lion Capital inscription,[2] where a similar diacritic is added to the base of *k*, as in *naḵaraḵasa* (*nāgaraka-kasya*). The Dharmapada orthography, however, uniquely among Kharoṣṭhī writings known so far, uses the differentiated sign *ǵ* only in contexts involving a nasal (see § 46), and employs *k* in those positions where the other sources have *ǵ*; but in contrast to the usage of the Lion Capital, this function of the character is not marked by a diacritic. The difference, however, is only one of spelling-convention, as is shown by the additional fact of the occasional alternation between *k* and *y*, parallel to the alternation *ǵ*/*y* in the other convention (§ 38). This use of the symbol *k* is certainly not evidence of devoicing: cf. note on verse **129**.

§ 32. On the basis of individual words, a possible description of the development of (*-c-*, *-j-*) would be that these simply disappear in intervocalic position, and that in the writing the place is held by *-y-* in certain positions, particularly between like vowels. This *y* would then be comparable to the *laghu-prayatnatara-yakāra* or *ya-śruti* of the later Prakrit grammarians[3] (transcribed as *ẏ*), which may be considered as marking only the separation of syllables, presumably without glottal closure. It would seem, however, that *y* < (*-c-*) has a slightly greater tendency to persist in contexts where (*-y-*) is almost invariably represented by alif: for example, *brama-yirya* (*brahmacarya*), although *sama'irya*, *eka'iya* also occur. (See also footnote to § 30.) The instances observed are rather few, and may have no linguistic significance; but there is at least a hint here that the history of these sounds may be better represented as (*-y-*) > [*ẏ*], (*-c-*, *-j-*) > [y], with a tendency subsequently towards the identification of the two.

§ 33. The development (*-t-*, *-d-*) > *d* is almost universal in the manuscript, although there are indications of a further weakening to [*δ*] in some places

[1] CII ii, p. 155.
[2] Ibid., p. 48.
[3] Pischel § 187; W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, pp. 68–69.

(§ 43*a*). The complete disappearance of the old intervocalic dental is rare, and an apparent instance which has been frequently cited, *avha'i*, may not have been intended by the translator as a third person singular verb (see note on verse **50**). The forms *ca'uri*, *ca'uṭha*, beside *cadu-*, can be accepted as genuine in the dialect, since the Niya documents have *ca'ura* as well as *catu-*; and the use of the written symbol *t* in Khotanese as, in effect, a notation for *ya-śruti*,[1] possibly reflects a tendency towards still further weakening of the intervocalic dentals in Gāndhārī.[2] The examples in the Dharmapada, however, are rather few; and while it is indeed probable that they indicate the beginnings of a change which later was to spread much wider, it is possible that in any given instance, in a translated text, the form presented by the manuscript may have been influenced by that of the source-dialect. It may also be observed that although *udacha'i* (P. *udacchidā*) is isolated, the majority of such words, or closely related forms, are written elsewhere in the manuscript with the expected *d*:

anini'a	*ninido*
upaya	*upada*
ko'i'a	*vidu*
bahoṣukeṇa	*bahoṣuda*
praṇuyu	*nudadi*
bho-va'i	*nigiśa-vadi.*

§ 34. The regular development (*-p-*, *-b-*) > *v* hardly calls for comment, other than to remark that in certain contexts the glide may not be explicitly written, as in *supra'udhu*, *ala'uṇi*, *paḍha'i* (*pṛthivī*): cf. § 30; and that in a number of places it may interchange with *-m-* (§ 36). In both of these respects, the behaviour of the derived *v* appears to have coincided with that of *v* < (*-v-*).

§ 35. In initial position in the word (and possibly in the interior of a compound) *va-* may be written in place of *uva-* (*upa-*), the vocalic onset being, it would seem, implicit in the *v-*. Both spellings occur, however, and we need hardly consider that the phrase in verses **24**, **25** *vaśada varada* (P. *upasanto uparato*) had become metrically defective, since the spelling *uvaśadu* occurs in **180**, and other instances of *uva-* are not unduly rare. Beside *vavati* (*upapattiṃ*) in verse **44**, *uvedi* (P. *vedi*) might be thought of as in essence a reflection of the same phenomenon (or, in other terms, a misplaced attempt by the scribe to correct a tendency in his spelling habits of which he was to

[1] For example, *nāta* (S. *nāga*), *ātāśa* and *āgāśa* (S. *ākāśa*): Konow, *Saka Studies*, pp. 9, 10, 26. There would be no difficulty in interpreting *sadi* (*sāyaṃ*) in **151** as an early example of the same type of spelling.

[2] See also Bailey, BSOAS xi, 1946, pp. 783–4.

some extent aware); but it is equally possible that the word here and in verse **5** was understood to be the equivalent of S. *upaiti*. See also notes on verses **310**, **321**. It was nevertheless possible for a form with *va-* to be considered as metrically short by a scribe; and *sa-* has been added as a repair in **194** *vadhi-sakṣaya* (P. *upadhi-kkhayaṃ*).

Where, as in verse **216**, the preceding word ends in *-u*, the decision between *sukadiṣuvakaḍhadi* (equivalent to S. *-ṣūpa-*) and *sukadiṣu vakaḍhadi* (i.e. *-ṣu uva-*, with the *sandhi* resolved) is arbitrary, but unimportant.

§ 36. The alternation *m/v* is not uncommon in other Prakrits,[1] but is rare in Gāndhārī sources other than the Dharmapada. From the inscriptions Konow reports no examples at all,[2] and in the Niya documents the only instances so far observed are *gameṣati* (*gaveṣate*)—a word which is shared with other dialects: Pischel § 261 *gamesai*—and *ema*, *emu*, beside *evaṃ*.[3] The Dharmapada also has *gameṣiṇo*, but in addition shows a decided preference for *-m-* in place of *-v-* (both original and secondary) in a number of other words. In general, such words have a nasal, normally in the following syllable, although this nasal is not always explicit in the writing; and it is clear that this *-m-* has originated as an allophone of */v/* in nasalized contexts.[4] In the examples given below, the extension of nasality is indicated, by italics in the interpretations in square brackets, only so far as is relevant to the question under discussion, and this notation is not meant as an assertion that the nasalization was necessarily limited to the part of the word marked in this manner:

bhamaṇa'i	[bhāv*aṇ*ā-]	
bhametsu	[bhav*en*su]	(§ 17)
sabhamu	[saṃbhav*aṃ*]	
śramaṇa	[śrav*aṇ*aṃ]	
vadamada	[vadav*aṃ*daṃ]	(P. *vatavantaṃ*)
amuña	[av*uñ*ña]	(*apuṇya*)
pramuṇi	[prāv*uṇ*i]	(P. *pāpuṇe*)

[1] Pischel §§ 248, 250, 251, 261 (where, however, examples are not grouped in any systematic manner, and it is difficult for the reader to obtain a clear picture of the situation).

[2] CII ii, p. civ.

[3] T. Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents*, § 50; BSOS viii, 1936, p. 427. The two further words there cited should probably be deleted: '*āmekṣitā*' is almost certainly a misreading (see note on verse **271**); and the interpretation of *cimara* in 149 as equivalent to *cīvara* seems improbable, monastic rags being somewhat out of place among the items of clothing listed in the document.

[4] In contrast to the situation here, many of the words recorded by Pischel for other dialects have no reason, historically, for showing nasalization. But the two sounds are phonetically very similar, and a laxly articulated [m] would readily be interpreted as [ṽ]; e.g. Hindi *gā̃v* (*grāma*). The Dharmapada examples illustrate the tendency for nasality to spread within a word, a characteristic which has been frequently observed in modern Indo-Aryan languages.

nama	[*nāvaṃ*]	
viñamaṇi	[viññavaṇiṃ]	(P. *viññapaṇiṃ*)
amedi	[*aṃv*edi]	(*anveti*)
samajadi	[*saṃv*ajjadi]	(*saṃpadyate*: § 66*a*).

Similarly in enclitics: *atvaṇo maṇa*, *va muṇo* (P. *pana*, *puna*); and *deva mi ṇa* (P. *devā pi naṃ*), where the operative nasal is in a second enclitic.

It will be seen that the majority of these examples involve the anticipation of nasality, in this respect inverting the situation in the other Prakrits, where it would seem, such a process is exceptional. If it may be assumed that Pischel's examples are, if not exhaustive, at least a representative selection, anticipatory nasalization is rarely shown in the orthography. We may recognize it in *sumiṇa* (*suviṇa*, S. *svapna*) and *kamandha* (*kavandha*), and later in Ap. *jāma* (*yāvaṃ*). But in general the other dialects show *m* in place of *v* less frequently before than after a nasal: AMg. *maṇāma* (P. *manāpa*); or, in the absence of a historical nasal, either before or after a retroflex consonant: AMg. *cimiḍha* (S. *cipiṭa*); *viḍima* (S. *viṭapa*).[1] These two categories account for most of the examples cited by Pischel; and the few which remain are doubtless analogical extensions. (If so, such sporadic developments may not be genuine in the language, since their production would seem to require knowledge of an equivalence between *v* and *m* in other situations; but there would be nothing surprising in artificial interference in this manner by later authors or scribes.)

Examples such as *vadamada*, *vaṇamada* (P. *vatavantaṃ*, *vaṇṇavantaṃ*) are reminiscent of the problems raised by the Indo-Iranian distribution of the suffixes *-mant*, *-vant*, and other *m*/*v* alternations; and to the extent that these oppositions in the earlier period may (in part, at least) have resulted from divergence in differing phonetic contexts,[2] we may be justified in

[1] Here the relevant consideration would seem to be the greater tenseness of the speech apparatus in the retroflex process. One might say that *m* appears here in the capacity of a more tensely articulated counterpart of *v*, the feature of nasality being systematically irrelevant: in effect, the pattern of the Middle Indian word is better maintained by the continuant *m*, in spite of the incidental nasality, than by the nearest available non-nasal in the repertoire, *b*.

[2] In other terms, there is a redistribution of the allophones of /*v*/ between /*m*/ and /*v*/ (and indeed there has been some to-and-fro in this at different times in the history of the Indo-Aryan languages). The determining contexts were quite different; and the Gāndhārī change is apparently in progress at the time of our text, whereas the change behind Vedic *-mant*/*-vant* is much older than the Rigveda. (For one conjecture, see E. H. Sturtevant, *Comparative Grammar of the Hittite Language*, § 110: 'pre-IH change of *uw* and *əw* to *um*'.) Whatever may have been the prehistory of this and other pairs of suffixes with *m*/*v*, the Rigveda preserves only certain broad outlines of an older distributional pattern which had by then become blurred. Since the distributions overlap, Vedic grammar must recognize *-mant* and *-vant* as two distinct suffixes. But although this has been normal practice, occasionally the inferred Indo-European relationship between the two obtrudes, and leads to statements which (apparently) attribute a proto-Indo-European development to the Vedic language itself ('*-vant* passant à *-mant* après un phonème labial'). There is little profit in describing *kaṇvamant-*, *yavamant-* as examples of 'dissimilation', or as evidence of

seeing a parallel here. But we should not expect the Dharmapada forms with *m* to represent optional alternatives to *-vant* which have been directly inherited from the Vedic period; and such a suggestion is in any event excluded, not only by their fitting a phonological framework which contains besides quite different formations, but also by several declensional forms:

nom.	*vadava*	*śilava*	(P. *sīlavā*)
acc.	*vadamada*	*śilamada*	(*sīlavantaṃ*)
instr.		*śilavada*	(*sīlavatā*).

Although complete paradigms are not attested in the extant text, this is ample illustration. In contrast to this, words in which *-mant* was already established in the older language do not show this alternation in their paradigms: instr. sg. *hirimada*; nom. sg. *svadima*, gen. sg. *svadimado*, nom. pl. *svadimada* (S. *hrīmant-*, *smṛtimant-*). In **112** *uṭhaṇamado* (P. *-vato*) we may perhaps suspect the influence of the preceding *ṇ*; but the word may be only a literary assimilation to the following word in the verse, *svadimado*.

There are nevertheless many words where, in apparently similar phonetic contexts, *v* is still written in the manuscript. In some of these the older form may be due to an awareness of related words, as for example *jivaṇo*, beside *jiva*, *jivida*; or, in more general terms, to the survival of established spellings in a literary tradition. But from examples such as *sevamaṇa* beside *emam eva*, or *śravadiṇa* beside *śramaṇa*, *vadamada*, it seems possible that in words of the type already quoted, *m* is still to be interpreted as a notation for a [ṽ] which, although approximating to [m], had not become identical with the inherited *m*. In such circumstances, a fluctuation between *m* and *v* in the spelling would be readily understandable.

For *tv*, *sv* representing (*tm*, *sm*), see § 53.

§ 37. A contrast such as that between *kaya* (*kāya*) and *ka'eṇa* illustrates the regular treatment of (*-y-*); and in such words it would seem that *-y-* is written only as a syllable-divider. Where the glide is implicit in the succession of the two vowels, alif is written instead: *śayaṇeṇa*, but *idri'a*, *idri'eṣu* (*indriya-*); *aṇośe'a* (*anuśaya*). As this last shows, there was equally no need to write *-y-* where a secondary palatalization was noted in the spelling in an adjacent vowel (§ 22*a*). For the inflexional ending (*-āya*), *-a'i* is almost universal; and where (*-y-*) belongs to the stem, *-aya-* is the preferred spelling for (*-ăya-*). But occasionally the scribe displays the rarer option

a desire 'to avoid repetition of *v*'. This does not solve the problem, but merely creates artificially a further problem; for by such a statement we incur a strict obligation to explain why the repetition of *v* was tolerated in *aśvavant-*, *devavant-*.

for the instruction of the reader: **106**, **107** *prañaya*, *prañaʼi* (P. *paññāya*); **243**, **244** *viṇayadu*, *viṇiʼadu* (*vinaya-*).

For secondary *-y-* < (*-c-*, *-j-*), see § 32.

§ 38. Although *-k-* is written for (*-k-*, *-g-*) with fair constancy, a further weakening is to be seen in many places: *mruya*, *muya* (*mṛga*); *kaya* (*kāka*); *kṣira-vayo* (P. *-pako*); *yoʼa-*, *roʼa*, beside *yoka*, *roka*; *aśoka śoʼiṇo*. This is especially common in stem-final position—frequent therefore for the suffix (*-ka*), although not limited to it—and in the inscriptions this further weakening would seem to be limited to this position in the word.[1] In the Dharmapada this is still the most frequent position; but in addition we find: *uṭhaṇeʼala-* (*utthāna-kāla-*); *radheʼaro* (*ratha-kāro*); *aṇuʼabadi* (P. *anukampati*); *aniʼama* (*anikāma-*); *suʼaro* (*sūkaro*); *sagaraʼuḍa* (*sankāra-kūṭa*); *kiciʼali* (*kṛtya-kāle*). In contrast to stem-final position, where both (*-k-*, *-g-*) are subject to this behaviour, the additional examples, so far as has been observed, concern (*-k-*) only, and in particular (*-k-*) at the position of compound-juncture.

Conversely, *-k-* appears sporadically for (*-y-*): *udaka* (*udaya*); *dhoreka* (*dhaureya*); *yoṇeka* (see note on verse **17**); *vayaveka* (*vājapeya*); *sabaraka* (*samparāya*); also in place of secondary *-y-* in *parikirya'i* (*paricaryā-*); *babaka* (*balbaja*); *bahoṣukeṇa* (*-śrutena*); *vikadi* (*vitate*): see also §§ 31–33 and note on verse **149**.

This use of *-k-* for (*-y-*) is very rare in other Kharoṣṭhī sources, but isolated examples have been noted both early and late. The Bajaur Casket inscription has *vijaya-mitra* and *viyaka-mitra*;[2] and the Niya documents twice have

[1] Konow, CII ii, pp. xcviii, xcix: 'In a few cases *-k-* is replaced by *y*. . . . More frequently, however, the *-k-* has apparently disappeared.' (Such a statement may be misleading unless it is made clear that the discussion is strictly confined to the orthography: *-aye* and *-aʼe*, for example, are merely alternative notations, and there are no reasons for supposing that they represent two different 'forms'.)

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, xxiv. 1 ff. It has been objected that it is 'most unlikely that the same person should be referred to by two clearly different names' (A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, 1957, p. 80 n.), but the argument is erroneous. Whether the reference was to one person or to two, the two forms are merely alternative spellings of the same name. The later use of *t/d* as a spelling substitute for *-y-* led to a more embarrassing alternation *vijaya*: *vijita* in the names of the kings of Khotan (H. W. Bailey, *Asia Major*, N.S. ii, 1951, p. 8; vii, 1959, p. 16). Although the name was accorded an indigenous etymology, the compounds in which it is known are completely Indian in structure, and it is therefore not surprising that Konow's correction in Niya 661 *viḍida-siṃhasya* (ed. *aviḍida-*) met with resistance (F. W. Thomas, BSOS viii, p. 790). A learned commentator might perhaps have explained that 'Vijita-siṃha' was a 'Lion in the Kingdom', or even 'Conqueror of Lions'; but the rest of the world would take it for granted that such a king was a 'Defeated Lion', and no king is likely to have risked this. The difficulty disappears when it is realized that the form is merely a Prakritic spelling of a name which in Sanskrit would have been *vijaya-siṃha* (cf. § 37 *viṇaya-*: *viṇiʼa-*). In later times the coalescence of the two Sanskrit forms allowed the family name to enter into compounds in either sense, and beside impeccable names such as *Vijaya-sambhava* we find the meaningless Sanskritization *Vijaya-saṃgrāma* (attested by Tibetan), where the intention of the name must have been *Vijita-saṃgrāma*. The Khotanese spellings *vījatta-*, *vījītta-* (unless due to spelling-pronunciation) suggest that the scribes were aware of this.

aprameka-[1] (*aprameya*). On the other hand, the phenomenon itself is common in the documents, with the spelling *-ǵ-* (cf. § 31): *apramеǵo*, *vyaǵa* (*vyaya*); and doubtless the value [y] is to be understood in many places where *ǵ* is written as the second member of a conjunct group. Similarly, *pracaǵa* is written for (*pratyaya*) in the Kurram Casket inscription.[2]

Konow suggested[3] that such spellings pointed to 'a strongly fricative sound' for *y*; but this is to look at things upside-down. Since the alternates include alif (in effect zero) as well as *y*/*k*, the situation could hardly be due to an increase of tenseness in the utterance associated with *-y-* (which would be an unexpected reversal of the tendency of other single intervocalic consonants in the language). Rather, it reflects a further continuation of the normal tendency towards weakening in the descendants of (*-k-*, *-g-*). The written signs for these, being associated with a very lax utterance (*ya-śruti*) in certain positions, would then be readily adopted by scribes in words containing (*-y-*).[4]

§ 39. More rarely, *-h-* is written in place of alif or *-y-* as a syllable-divider.[5] We might be tempted to interpret *deśehi* **236** and *ramahi* **259** as imperative forms, which in both verses would be syntactically possible; but since the converse spelling is well attested (see following paragraph), it is more probable that these two words should be understood as an optative and a present participle respectively, in agreement with the parallel Pali version: *deśehi* written for *deśa'i* (*deśayet*: see also § 22*a*), and *ramahi* for *rama'i* (Pali version, *damayam*). In three places *hi* is written where the corresponding Pali has *ca*; and since in two of these at least the sense of P. *hi* would be inappropriate, it would seem that *hi* should be accepted here as merely an alternative spelling of the enclitic particle *i*, *yi* (*ca*: § 70). In **201**, **202**, *hi* represents P. *ce* 'if'. For *ṣeho*, *ṣevha*, *ṣebha* (*śreyas-*), see § 44.

Conversely, *h* is dropped in the spelling in *suhava'u* (*sukhāvaho*), *sabaraka'ida'i* (*samparāya-hitāya*), *vayari-*[6] (*vihārin-*), *phali'a* (P. *paligha*). It is thus possible that *jaḍa'i* in verses **1** and **2** corresponds directly to the Pali plural *jaṭāhi*, although a singular would be perfectly acceptable.

[1] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, nos. 399, 511 (the latter in Sanskrit).

[2] CII ii, p. 155.

[3] Ibid., p. cvi.

[4] As a further consequence borrowed forms appear with *k* in place of (*y*), as in Central Asian versions of the name *Maitreya* (see H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xi, pp. 779–80): Agnean *metrak*, Kuchean *maitrāk*, Sogdian *m'ytr'k* (which, beside *mytr'y*, might in itself be ambiguous: cf. Gershevitch, *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* § 960), Chinese *mjiɛ̯-lək* (implying **metraka*). These may be purely literary borrowings mechanically transcribed; but it is of course possible that even within Gāndhārī the written forms may have subsequently induced pronunciations with [k], if only as a reading-style adopted by the less literate monks for use in the recitation of sacred texts.

[5] For other dialects, cf. Pischel § 206; also *-āho*, *-īho* BHSG §§ 8. 88; 9. 100; 10. 192.

[6] See also note on introductory verse; Bailey, loc. cit., pp. 791–3.

Similarly, *parvahi'a* could be interpreted as an absolutive (**pravrājiya*), but not necessarily so: see note on verse **16**.

There are sufficiently many certain examples to establish that this interchange is not merely a graphic confusion between alif and *h*; but the graphic similarity between the two characters does on occasion lead to uncertainty in the reading. In verse **323**, where Senart read *bhoha*, it is almost certain that the scribe intended *bho'a*, but in **324**, although *dhami'o* seems probable (P. *dhammiko*), it is conceivable that Senart's reading *dhamiho* should be kept: see notes on these verses. In the manuscript there is a tendency for an *o*-stroke to run into the tail of a following *h*, and it is possible that such an *h* was sometimes written continuously without lifting the pen, that is, from below upwards: see, for example, *loha* line 77, *oha* 130, *broha'i* 379. It is thus not always easy in cursive writing to distinguish between *-oho* and *-o'a*, and in verse **294** we might hesitate between *maho'a* and *mahoho*. The latter, however, is unambiguously written in the same word in **85**.

§ 40. Among the aspirates of the older language there are, not unexpectedly, no examples of (*ch*, *jh*, *ḍh*, *ph*) as single intervocalic stops; (*-ṭh-*) > *-ḍh-* in *śaḍhu*; and the remainder, in varying frequencies, appear either as *-h-* or with spellings which indicate an intermediate stage of weakening. Within the text, no examples of *-h-* < (*-th-*) have been observed; but the Niya documents have *taha* (*tathā*); and in general there would seem to be the same tendency for the earlier voiced and voiceless stops to coincide as has been remarked in the case of the single unaspirated intervocalic stops.

In the earlier Gāndhārī sources the development to *-h-* is rather infrequent. Aśokan *lahuka*, which is shared with the other versions, may be suspected of being a borrowing; and the later inscriptions have *suha*, *muha* beside *sukha*, *mukha*. The Niya documents show some extension of this feature, which now appears in about twenty words, many of them being of frequent occurrence. It would seem therefore that the further weakening to *-h-* was a development still in progress, and it is thus probable that some at least of the examples in the Dharmapada are due to the influence of the source-dialect.

§ 41. Occasionally *-kh-* remains in the spelling, as in *likhida* in the introductory verse, and in a few places *sukha*, although *suha-* is much more frequent. For (*-gh-*), the same two spellings are attested, in *eka-khaṇo* (P. *-ghano*), beside *lahu*, *oha*, *aṇiho*. In *atva-kaña'i* (P. *atta-ghaññāya*) and *makavha* (cf. § 12), the fact that *k* is written, together with the sporadic use of *kh* for (*h*) in Niya 511 *makhi* (*mahī*),[1] suggests that we have here varying notations for sounds such as [χ, γ].

[1] Bailey, loc. cit., p. 792.

§ 42. (*-th-*, *-dh-*) are both normally represented by *-dh-*, and it is reasonable to assume that the occasional retention of *-th-*, as in *yatha* beside *yadha*, *yada* (*yathā*), is merely a survival of a historical spelling, and should not be interpreted as an indication of a difference in pronunciation. This conclusion is reinforced by the writing of *-th-* for (*-dh-*) in *kothu*, *akotheṇa*, beside the more frequent *kodha*.

In the case of (*-dh-*) the further weakening to *-h-* appears from time to time: *niha'i* (*nidhāya*), *udavahi* (P. *udabbadhī*: but here the *dh* may not be original; see note on verse **83**); *mahoru* (*madhura*). This treatment is in any case rare, and in the last quoted example at least must be ascribed to the source-dialect, the inherited form *masura* being well attested.

§ 43. The writing of *-s-* for *-dh-* < (*-dh-*, *-th-*) appears sporadically in the earlier inscriptions, and by the time of the Niya documents had become the accepted spelling in *masu* (*madhu*), while in other words we find fluctuations such as *adhi-*, *asi-*, *azi-*.[1] It has been generally recognized that this spelling indicates the development of the intervocalic stop to a [z], through the intermediate stage of [δ]. The Dharmapada has *masura-* (*madhura*), and *savrasi* (if in fact the latter is equivalent to P. *sabbadhi*: see note on **176**); and, with assimilation to a neighbouring palatal, *śiśila* (*śithila*), and *vaṇaśe'a* (P. *vanathaja*): see also note on **306**. Conversely, *prodhu* is written for *poso* (**240**).

Further examples have been quoted from Khotanese:[2] *bhāgīrasau* (*bhāgīrathi-*), *visinyau* (*vidhijña-*); *mäysilä* (*mithilā*). It is clear that (*-th-*) and (*-dh-*) share this development; but although the examples are sufficiently numerous to establish the fact, they are still rare in comparison with the spelling *dh* in the majority of words for (*-dh-*, *-th-*). It is possible therefore that the development to [z] occurred only in specific circumstances, for example, before the vowels *-i* and *-u*. Most of the examples which are well established, and repeated, would fit such a formulation; and if this were so, it would be possible to interpret occasional spellings like *mahazana* (§ 6*b*) as intending [δ].

§ 43*a*. The corresponding unaspirated stops (*-t-*, *-d-*) are almost always kept distinct from the old aspirates; but here also the inscriptions show sporadic spellings which suggest a development to a fricative. One of the oldest of the post-Aśokan inscriptions, the Swāt vase of the meridarkh Theodoros,[3] has a past participle where a subscript diacritic, similar to that in *ǵ*, is added

[1] Lüders, SBAW 1933, p. 1000; Konow, BSOS viii, 1936, p. 606; F. W. Thomas, ibid., p. 791; Bailey, BSOAS xi, pp. 776–7.

[2] Bailey, loc. cit.

[3] CII ii, plate I.

to the final character. The word in question may then be transcribed *pratiṭhaviδa.*[1] On the Bīmarān vase[2] we may likewise read *śivarakṣiδasa* and *bhaġavaδa*. The Mathura Lion Capital inscription[3] is unusual in showing this treatment virtually throughout: *praδeźe* (*pradeśe*)—although *karita*[4] appears twice—and we may assume that this inscription represents either a somewhat divergent dialect or an eccentric school of orthography.

The situation in the Dharmapada strongly suggests that the development of the earlier unaspirated dental stops to fricatives followed that of the aspirates, so to speak, one stage in arrears. In two instances it seems likely that the aspirate-character appears as a result of the aspiration spreading from a neighbouring sound in the same word: *ghadhedi* < **ghadedi* (*ghātayati*), and *ghahaṭhehi* < **gahaṭhehi* (*gṛhastha-*). In *ṣaġadhi'o* (P. *saṅgātigo*) it is possible that the translator thought of *adhika*: we might in any case suspect that *adhi-* and *adi-* (*ati-*) would tend to coalesce, the more so since even in Sanskrit the significance of the two, though for the most part distinct, is fairly close, and there is occasional overlapping, for example *adhimātra*, *atimātra*, which in practice are virtually synonymous. In verse **329** *adhivadida* may represent *adi-* < (*ati-*); and **119** *yadha* (P. *yadā*) is balanced by **293** *yada* (P. *yathā*). In addition, *dh* is written for (*-t-*, *-d-*) in the following words:

aṣamaṇadha	(*aśravaṇatā*)
kusidha	(*kusīda*)
traṇadha	(*trāṇatā*)
viśeṣadha	(*viśeṣataḥ*)
śamadhare	(*śamitṛ-*)
samidhi	(*samitiṃ*)
samadha	(*saṃpāda-*?).[5]

In these, as in the words with δ already quoted from the inscriptions (except the Lion Capital), the replacement of the normal development (*-t-*, *-d-*) > *d* appears in stem-final position, where it would seem that a further weakening of the intervocalic consonant made it possible for the writer of the Dharmapada manuscript to conceive the sound as equivalent to one which he was accustomed to write with *dh*. This equivalence clearly did not hold for the writers of those inscriptions who found it desirable to use a character

[1] Konow used the transcription *-d(r)a*, and elsewhere *-t(r)a*. It seems possible that two distinct characters should not be recognized, and the transcription δ is here adopted provisionally for both. If it should be desirable to separate the graphic forms, we might write δ and θ, recognizing that the two are both used as a notation for [δ].

[2] Ibid., plate X. 2, p. 52.

[3] Ibid., p. 48. Comparable to *praδiṭhaviδo* in this inscription, the Bajaur Casket has *praδithaviδe* (*Epigraphia Indica*, xxiv, pp. 1 ff.).

[4] Konow suggested that this should be interpreted as an absolutive: ibid., p. cviii.

[5] For the last three examples see also notes on verses **189**, **120**, and **334**. The converse situation appears in *saradi*, beside *saradhi* (*sārathi*): § 49.

formed with the diacritic stroke; but in both cases the most probable hypothesis is that the same sound [δ] was intended.

It would make a reasonably consistent picture if we suppose that the single intervocalic (*-th-*, *-dh-*) was at this stage in the language a fricative [δ], represented normally in the writing by *dh*; but that before the vowels *i* and *u*, and (less often) in the weak position of stem-final syllables, an allophone had developed which was sufficiently close to [z] to be written with *-s-* on occasion, although complete identification with the sibilant may have taken place only in a few words such as *masu* and *śiśila*. Similarly (*-t-*, *-d-*), normally written *d* [d], was doubtless in any case a very lax stop, tending towards [δ], and under conditions of further weakening could occasionally be written *dh*. This last might then continue a stage further, and coincide with the development of (*-dh-*) > [z], as is seen in Khot. *sīysā* (*Sītā*);[1] but this would appear to be very rare for original (*-t-*). In the Dharmapada the only example is *saghasa* (< *saṃkhyāta*, not *saṃskṛta*), and here the analogy of *ghadhedi* suggests the possibility that the form is due to an earlier **saṃghādha*, before the further weakening to [z] took place.

§ 43*b*. In *praverayadi* the weakened intervocalic dental appears as *-r-* (see note on verse **160**); and the same spelling replacement may perhaps be seen in initial position in *ramahi* **259**, and the converse in *ruyida* (P. *ruciraṃ*) **290**. Cf. also *akidaña* **77**, beside Khot. *atäraña* (S. *akṛtajña*). This situation could be interpreted phonetically either in terms of a continuant *r* (untrilled) as an approximation to [δ], or a single-tap *r* as a substitute for a very short intervocalic stop. The latter interpretation could be utilized to account for *śadvari* (S. *śarvarī*), Khot. *uryāna* (*udyāna*); but alternative explanations are possible. (The Khotanese spelling may reflect a Prakrit *uyyāna*, with an 'intrusive' *r* attracted by the double consonant: cf. *saryathīva*: P. *seyyathīdaṃ*. For *śadvari* see note on **256**.) See also § 64.

§ 44. For (*-bh-*) there are four possible spellings: *-bh-*, *-vh-*, *-v-*, and *-h-*. Sometimes two of these, and occasionally three, may appear as alternates in the same or closely related words, as in the following examples (where the additional items in brackets are taken from the Niya documents):

*a*bh*imardadi*	⟨*a*vh*iñanu*⟩[2]	*aviṣa'i*[3]	*ahivadaṇa*
⟨*śilapra*bha⟩	*pra*vha	⟨*śilaprava*⟩	*oh*asedi
	*vi*vh*uda*	*abhivuyu*	*añ*a-h*odi*
*la*bh*a*	*la*vh*u*		*la*h*adi*
⟨*u*bh*eya*⟩	*u*vh*a'i*		*u*h*a'i*

[1] Bailey, loc. cit., p. 777.

[2] From document 661, which diverges from the remainder of the collection in its language and writing.

[3] P. *abhisaje*; cf. also Khot. *aviṣīya* (S. *abhiṣeka*).

It seems probable, however, that these spellings reflect at the most an opposition between *-h-* and an intermediate stage of weakening, *-vh-* [*β*] (§ 12); and that *-bh-* in such words is merely a historical spelling for the latter, and *-v-* an alternative notation, or possibly a contextual variant. Some of the forms with *-h-* may be due to the source-dialect: *ahivadaṇa*, for example, is the only word in which the prefix is written thus, while *abhi-* appears a number of times both in the Dharmapada and the Niya documents. On the other hand, *lahadi* is upheld by the documents; and the evidence of the sibilant in *śuha* (*śubha*) and the conjunct in *prahodi* (*prabhavati*) is in favour of these words being genuine developments within the dialect—unless they are thought to be hybrid forms; but this seems unlikely.

Whether or not a feature which could be described as aspiration was still implicit in the symbol *vh* (cf. § 12), an alternation *vh/v* is obviously capable of representing the historical opposition of aspirated to unaspirated. It would thus seem possible to interpret *gadhavo* (**gardhabha-* < *gardabha-*), *abhivuyu* (*abhibhūya*), Khot. *avidharma* (*abhidharma*), as showing a dissimilation of two successive aspirates; but the appearance of *-v-* for (*-bh-*) in other contexts leaves the possibility open that dissimilation is not necessarily involved. It may also be noted that, except for the single instance in *avhiñanu*, the symbol *vh* does not seem to occur before the vowel *-i*. The examples, however, are hardly sufficient to establish definite contextual conditions for the alternates.

The same alternations appear in the somewhat bizarre spellings *ṣeho*, *ṣehu*, *ṣevha*, *ṣebha* (S. *śreyas-*). The occasional writing of *-h-* in place of *-y-* or alif has already been noted (§ 39), and *ṣeho* can readily be taken as a further example of the same phenomenon, differing, however, in the fact that the expected spellings **ṣeyo*, **ṣe'o* have not been recorded. It is then probable that the co-existence of two possible alternative expressions of the intervocalic glide, *ṣeho/*ṣevo*, has led to *ṣeho/ṣevha*; and once this latter alternation has been established, it is a simple matter for a scribe to produce a more 'learned' spelling *ṣebha*.

§ 45. The distribution of the dental and retroflex nasals, as Konow demonstrated,[1] shows a consistent pattern to which there are very few exceptions in the manuscript. Initially, (*n-*) remains as *n*, while single intervocalic (*-n-*, *-ṇ-*) both appear as *ṇ*. The negative *na* is thus clearly distinguished from the enclitic pronoun *ṇa* (P. *naṃ*: § 67). Where historically a double nasal is represented, whether original, as (*-nn-*) in Sanskrit, or resulting from assimilation, the retroflex group (*ṇḍ* > *ṇṇ*) remains as *ṇ*, while in general an original dental group appears as *n*:

[1] See above, p. 5.

piṇa (*piṇḍa*) *ṣaṇa* (*ṣaṇḍa*)
paṇida (*paṇḍita*); *kuṇala* (*kuṇḍala*)

but

satsana (*saṃsanna*) *nanadi* (*nandati*)
mana (*manda*) *pranodi* (*prāpnoti*).

It is only in this last category that exceptions occur, in *prakhaṇiṇo* (*praskandin-*), where the retroflex may be due to a fancied etymological connexion with *khaṇḍ-*, and in the past participles of two verbs, *dā-* and *pad-*. The former appears only once, in *adiṇa*, but the latter several times, always with *ṇ*: *paṇa-bhara*, *sabaṇo*, *sabarṇa*, *samavarṇa* (*samāpanna*); and this consistency shows that the spelling is not a scribal error. Konow tried to account for these anomalies by saying that *adiṇa* represented *adiṇṇa*, not *adinna* (which is of course no explanation, but merely a repetition of what the orthography already tells us), and that in *sabarṇo* 'an anorganic *r* has been inserted before *nn*, cerebralizing the following nasal'.[1] This would seem to be an inversion of the process. It is much more likely that the 'anorganic *r*' was written merely to emphasize the fact that the nasal was already retroflex; and this additional warning in the spelling may have been used because [ṇṇ] was felt by the writer to be unusual in a past participle.

The most probable answer would seem to be that these two participles did not exist in the dialect, and that the forms with the retroflex were therefore taken over through the translation from a dialect in which the development *-nn-* > *-ṇṇ-* occurred (cf. Pischel §§ 276, 566). This is to some extent supported by the fact that the Niya documents have only the participle in *-ta* for 'given', *dita*. The form *pa(r)ṇṇa-bhāra* (where Pali has *panna-bhāra*) is also responsible for the astonishing corruptions in *Mahāvastu* iii. 315, 316 *pūrṇṇa-bhāra*, and *Lalitavistara* 397 *prajñākāra*.[2]

§ 46. The development of nasal plus stop is virtually constant throughout the manuscript, contrasting in this matter with the Niya documents, where the same developments are indeed attested, but are more frequently disguised by the retention of historical spellings. The general pattern may be illustrated by the dental series:

(*-nt-*) > [-ṃd-]: *śadi* (*śānti*)
(*-nth-*) > [-ṃdh-]: *sadhava* (P. *santhava*; S. *saṃstava*)
(*-nd-*) > [-nn-]: *vinadi* (*vindati*)
(*-ndh-*) > [-nnh-]: *gañava* (*gandharva*).

[1] AO xix, 1943, p. 18.

[2] Quoted by Helmer Smith, *Les Deux Prosodies du vers bouddhique*, pp. 38–39 (Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund, 1949–50, i). It should be added that *-kāra* for *-bhāra*, although perhaps assisted by the interpretation of *paṇṇa-* as *prajñā*, could easily have originated from a graphic confusion of the two characters.

No separate symbol was invented to express the nasal accompanied by aspiration, and the diacritical stroke (§ 7) is not always written; but this is merely the normal fate of diacritical marks, and it would hardly be legitimate to infer that the scribe intended *gana* and *gaña* (*gandha*) to convey two different pronunciations for the word.

The labial series follows the same pattern, except that (*-mbh-*), which is in any case rare, appears as *-mm-*: *gammira* (*gambhīra*). The analogy of the dentals and the occurrence of the same conjunct in *brammaṇa* might tempt us to revert to Leumann's transcription of the conjunct as *mh* (§ 14); but the palaeographical argument and the words *brommi*, *sammaṣadi*, where no aspiration is involved, are decisive against this. As in the case of *gana*, the absence of an indication in the orthography does not in itself prove that no feature of aspiration was present in the pronunciation of a word such as *gammira*; but the examples of Central Asian borrowings quoted by Bailey[1] suggest that in Gāndhārī the aspiration in such positions was ultimately lost, or at least was weak in comparison with Sanskrit.

For the velars, the normal situation is represented by the following examples:

(*-nk-*): *sagapa* (*sankalpa*)
(*-nkh-*): *saghara* (P. *sankhāra*; S. *saṃskāra*)
(*-ng-*): *ṣaǵa* (*sanga*)
(*-ngh-*): *saǧa* (*sangha*).

For the nasal with the unaspirated voiced stop all the remaining *vargas* regularly show assimilation: *kuñaru* (*kuñjara*); *kuṇaleṣu* (*kuṇḍala-*); *nanadi* (*nandati*); *udumareṣu* (*udumbara-*). It is therefore probable that the character *ǵ*, which is used in other Kharoṣṭhī sources with the value [*γ*], and later alternating with *-y-*, is used in the Dharmapada orthography as a symbol for [ŋ] (cf. §§ 4, 31). As in the case of the dentals, the aspirated counterpart may be indicated by the superscript diacritic stroke (§ 8); but here also the diacritic is often omitted. Nor is the manuscript consistent in the use of *ǵ*; but although the latter alternates with *g* and *ḡ* for (*-ng-*) (§§ 10, 10*a*), it occurs nowhere in the extant text in situations comparable to those which it occupies in the inscriptions and the Niya documents. See also § 48.

§ 47. Similar developments are attested here and there in other dialects: Mg. *aññali* (*añjali*); Śaur. Mg. *mahanda* (*mahant-*);[2] P. *ārammaṇa* (*ālamb-*), *Channa* (*Chanda*, *Chandaka*).[3] Such forms in Pali, as Lüders suggested, were

[1] BSOAS xi, p. 788.

[2] Pischel §§ 274–5.

[3] Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, §§ 33, 166. The statement, 'In der Ostsprache wurde *nd* zu *nn* assimiliert', requires further qualification. In this form it would appear to be a *petitio principii*, and there is no reason to suppose that this assimilation was specifically Magadhan, or indeed early enough to be relevant here.

presumably taken over from a source-dialect of the Pali translation (and may possibly belong to the dialect of the 'Urkanon', though this is as yet not proved beyond possible doubt). In the Dharmapada, on the other hand, the regularity of the system excludes any such explanation; and although the inscriptions show very few traces of the changes in question,[1] there is further confirmation that the developments occurred within Gāndhārī from the Niya documents: *gaṃdavo* (*gantavya*), *chinida*, *chiṃnida* (**chindita*);[2] and from numerous borrowed words in Khotanese: *saṃduṣṭī* (*saṃtuṣṭi*), *puñaunda* (*puṇyavant-*), *vaysaṃbata* (*upasaṃpadā*);[3] *praña* (*prajñā*), *mañuśrī* (*mañjuśrī*).[4]

§ 48. In the enclitic particle *gu* (*-ṃ khu*) (§ 68) only the unaspirated stop is attested. The forms of the verb *yuj-* regularly have *-j-*, where the corresponding Pali base *yuñja-* might lead us to expect *-ñ-* (see note on verse **238**). Apart from these, the few exceptions to the developments exemplified in § 46 suggest a sporadic weakening or loss of the nasal before voiced consonants, under conditions as yet undetermined: *kummovamu*, *kubho* (*kumbha-*); *sadaṇa* (*saṃdāna*); *same-sabudha* (*samyak-sambuddha*); *jabodaṇa* (*jāmbūnada*). A similar sporadic omission of *anusvāra* in Khotanese could naturally be independent of this; but it seems likely that a direct connexion is to be recognized in instances such as *samye-sabaudāya*[5] and *jābūvana*, beside *jaṃbuña*.[6] In the manuscript *duduhi* (*dundubhi*) may be considered as less than certain in the writing; but the form without the nasal might be supported by Khot. *daudūbe'svara*, *daudavesvera*, beside the Sanskritic spelling *dundubhisvarä*.[7] (See also note on verse **235**.)

§ 49. In addition to the examples noted in § 43 of *-dh-* written for *-d-* < (*-t-*, *-d-*), which are sufficiently systematic to allow the possibility that a feature of pronunciation underlies them, there are a few instances of interchange between the written signs for the aspirated and unaspirated stops, suggesting the beginnings of the loss of this distinction in the spoken language. In some words both spellings are attested: *saradhi*, *saradi*; *dhuṇatha*, *duṇadi*; *nisedhe*, *nisedara*; *bhatsadi*, *batsadi* (§ 63); *drugadi* beside *drugha*; *yatha*, *yadha*, *yada*. Parallel with this last is *akadaggadi* (P. *akathaṃkathī*). In two consecutive verses *śoṣa'itha* and *dala'itha* appear as absolutives (*-ittā*: see § 80, and note on verses **84**, **85**). In some places, therefore, the information given by the spelling may be historically ambiguous: *sakhaca* (P. *sakkaccaṃ*; Khot. *sakacä*[8]) may reflect only the same type of scribal vacilla-

[1] CII ii, p. civ.
[2] Cf. Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents*, §§ 45, 46.
[3] Konow, *Saka Studies* (vocabulary).
[4] Bailey, BSOAS x, p. 912.
[5] Bailey, *Asia Major*, N.S. ii. 1951, p. 28.
[6] See also p. 50.
[7] Bailey, BSOAS x, p. 908.
[8] Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts*, p. 155.

tion as is seen in Niya *uthiśa* (*uddiśya*), but it is not impossible that the aspirate is inherited. If so, the form may be analogically induced by *puraskṛtya* (cf. AMg. *purekkhaḍa* beside *purekaḍa*: Pischel § 345), or, as Konow suggested, may represent an older **satskṛtya*.[1] Similarly, *aheḍa'i* may be connected with the older root *hīḍ-* rather than directly with the Pali *aheṭhayaṃ*.

§ 50. The three sibilants remain distinct, and are for the most part distributed as in Sanskrit. In the locative plural, however, *-ṣu* has been taken over in *pajaṣu*, and in feminines, as *kichaṣu*; and by a similar process of analogy the retroflex appears after secondary *e* < (*aya*) in *royeṣi*. A few differences from Sanskrit can be attributed to assimilation: *śaśaṇa* (Khot. *śśāśana*); *viśpaśa*. The source-language of the translation is probably responsible for *nisedhe*, *nisedara*; *tasiṇa* beside *taṣa* (with a corresponding doublet in Pali); *visaḍa*, if the word is to be connected with the root *śaṭ-* (see note on verse **82**); *saya* (*śayyā*), although related forms, *śayaṇa*, *śayadi*, *śe'adi*, appear as expected. The palatal is written in *śuyi* (*śuci*) in only one occurrence of the word, the normal spelling being *suyi*.

To account for the anomalous initial in *ṣaǵa* (*sanga*), which also appears in Khotanese,[2] Burrow suggested a connexion with a verbal root **sraj-*, surviving in Sanskrit only in the noun *sraj-* 'garland', and otherwise replaced by a 'dialectical variant' *saj-*.[3] It is naturally hardly possible either to prove or to disprove a conjecture based on an isolated instance such as this; and although the rare group (*śr*) may have coincided with (*śr*) > *ṣ* (§ 57), only one example of this has been observed within the dialect, in *aṇuvaṣuda*. On the information at present available, therefore, it seems more probable that in *ṣaǵa* the retroflex has been generalized from common compounds such as *niṣanga*, *niḥṣanga*, *nirviṣanga*.[4]

In *chada* (*śabda*) also we may see a *sandhi*-alternate; but since the word occurs only once, it remains uncertain whether the form is due to the specific context of the verse in question (**37**), or whether, like *ṣaǵa*, it had become the normal form of the word within the dialect. Cf. also P. *chāpa*, AMg. *chāva* (S. *śāva*); *cheppā* (S. *śepa*).[5]

§ 51. Consonant groups, insofar as they undergo assimilation, follow in general the lines of development familiar in other Middle Indian dialects.

[1] CII ii, p. cx. Cf. also P. *-khattuṃ*, AMg. *-khutto* (S. *-kṛtvaḥ*), and hybrid forms from the *Mahāvastu*, BHSD s.v. *-kṛtvā*.

[2] Bailey, BSOAS xi, p. 776.

[3] Ibid. xii, p. 650.

[4] Ibid. xiv, p. 429, quoting also Buddhist Sanskrit *avaṣaṅgaḥ* (Mvy. 5570).

[5] Pischel § 211; Geiger § 40. The account given by Pischel of these forms is hardly an explanation. The 'aspirated sibilants' involved are invented only to explain this situation, and the argument is thus in effect circular. There would seem to be still less justification for seeking an Indo-European explanation of this development in Prakrit, the alternation *ś/ch* being a commonplace feature of word-junction in Sanskrit. (RV 5. 2. 7 *śunaś cic chepam*).

Many of those groups which are attested without assimilation, or with a development different from that of other dialects, appear also elsewhere in the manuscript with the assimilated form; and it is self-evident that the latter is either due to the influence of the source-dialect, or else reflects a real assimilation in Gāndhārī, in which case the alternative is merely a spelling archaism. While it is not always possible to decide with certainty between the two alternatives, there can be little doubt that the genitive singular in *-asya*, for example, belongs to the second type, since it is written only a few times in the opening lines of the manuscript, after which the scribe has forgotten this affectation, and for the remainder of the text has settled down to write *-asa*. On the other hand, groups such as *tr*, *pr*, are reflected in the modern Dardic languages, and there is therefore a fair presumption that *payiṇadu*, *payeṣidi*, and similar forms, may have been affected by the source-dialect. In contrast, the distribution within the text suggests that the tendency to assimilation was more marked in the case of the velars: *gr* is written once only, in *gradhadi* (where the *r* may not be historically justified: see note on verse **107**); and although *akrodhu* appears twice, the assimilated form *kodha-* is frequent. Familiarity with the correspondence between *pa-* of the source-dialect and Gāndhārī *pra-* has occasionally led to the intrusion of *r* as a 'learned' spelling, as in *pruju* (*pūjya*), *prodhu* (P. *poso*), *praṇiṇa* (*pāṇinā*).

§ 52. *kṣ*. There are no examples of (*kṣ*) > *ch*, those which have been quoted from time to time being due to Senart's transcription of the two signs indiscriminately as '*ch*'. The Kharoṣṭhī character transliterated *kṣ* is the regular representation of earlier (*kṣ*), and in inherited words has been observed in no other function. (See also § 16.) A few instances of *kh* < (*kṣ*) are doubtless to be attributed to the source-dialect. The technical word (*bhikṣu*) normally appears as *bhikhu*, although the vocative plural is written *bhikṣavi*, and the related verb as *bhikṣadi*. In the Niya documents the spelling is regularly *bhikṣu*, although in document 322 the word is written twice as *bhighu*.

The occurrence of *avekṣa*, *avekṣidi* (*apekṣ-*) as well as *aveha*, *aṇavehiṇo*, suggests that the latter are also borrowed forms, with the simplification of (*kkh*) to (*kh*) > *h* after the long vowel.

§ 53. The frequency of *tv* for (*tm*) leaves no doubt that this is the regular development for the dialect of the manuscript: *atva-* is written throughout for (*ātman-*) except for one instance of the historical spelling *atmaṇa*, and one of *apaṇa-*.

Parallel to this, (*sm*) > *sv*; but in the weaker position of the declensional

ending (*-smiṁ*), except for the pronoun *asvi*, the text normally shows the assimilated form, as in *parasa* (P. *paramhi*), or the historical spelling *-sm-*, as in *vanasma* (P. *-smiṁ*).

(*śm*) remains unchanged in *veśma*; while *rasvi* may be taken to represent the Middle Indian form seen in P. *rasmi* rather than a direct descendant of S. *raśmi*.

§ 54. In the root (*spṛh-*) the development of (*sp*) coincides with that of (*sm*): *svihadi* (P. *piheti*), *sviha'o*. In (*spand-*) and (*spṛś-*), on the other hand, the *ph* characteristic of other dialects appears: *phanaṇa*, *phuṣadi*, *phaṣa'i*. It will be seen that in this matter Pali also shows a contrast, although a different one, namely, between the unaspirated and aspirated initial, *piheti*, *phusati*.

§ 55. (*sv*) appears as *sv* or *s*, both spellings being sometimes attested for the same words: *sacita* (*svacitta*), *sa'igada* (*svayaṃkṛta*), beside *sva ghari*; *saga* beside *svaga* (*svarga*). For this last, the additional verse written on the outside of the manuscript has *sparga*; but the spelling *sp* for (*sv*) does not occur within the text itself.

(*śv*) is represented by *śv* in *śaśvada*; by *śp* in *viśpaśa*, *aśpa-veka* (*aśvamedha*); and by *ś* in *avalaśa* (*abalāśva*), *bhadraśu* (*bhadrāśva*). A development parallel to the second of these also appears with the retroflex sibilant in *diṣpa*, *diṣpaṇi* (P. *disvā*, *disvāna*; S. *dṛṣṭvā*).

§ 56. (*śr*) > *ṣ* is well attested in other Gāndhārī sources also. In a few instances the historic spelling is retained: *śramaṇa*, but normally *ṣamaṇa*. In *śeṭha* (*śreṣṭha*), on the other hand, the *r* is not written, and it would seem that in this word the assimilation took place without the alteration of the sibilant, in contrast to *ṣeho*, *ṣevha* (*śreyas-*). It may be relevant to observe here that in the older language the sequence *ṣ-ṣ* is rare in comparison with *ś-ṣ*, and that the common words *viśiṣṭa*, *viśeṣa*, frequently carry a connotation of 'excellence'. Either or both of these factors may have assisted in the conservation of the palatal initial in [śeṣṭa]. This, however, can hardly be more than a conjecture. A further exception, *śotri'a* (*śrotriya*), likewise diverges in this respect from etymologically related words, which show the regular development, *ṣuda*, *ṣutva*, or occasionally the historical spelling, *śramaṇa* (*śravaṇa*), *śrudi*.

§ 57. The evidence is scarcely sufficient to establish with certainty the development of (*sr*) within the dialect. In two instances the group appears as *śr*: *viśravadeṇa* (*vi-sravant-*), *śravadiṇa* (*sravantīnām*); and once as *ṣ*, in

aṇuvaṣuda (*an-ava-sruta*). The related words *sodu* (*srotas*) and *asava* (*āsrava*), being Buddhist technical terms, may have been taken over from the source dialect; but *aṇasṛvu*—where *sṛ* is doubtless to be interpreted as [sra]—and *sahasa* (Niya *sahasra*) suggest that the retention of *s* was not foreign to the dialect. For *saṣaga* (*saṃsarga*) it is possible to conjecture an intermediate form such as **saṃsragga*; but it is equally possible that the retroflex in this word is due only to a fancied etymological connexion with *ṣaǵa* (*saṅga*) (§ 50). Since the manuscript is broken at this point, and the base of the final character is missing, there is no means of telling whether the scribe did in fact write *saṣaga* or *saṣaǵa*.

§ 58. (*rś*) > *ṣ*, in *phaṣa* (*sparśa*), *phuṣadi*; *sammaṣadi* (*-mṛśati*). In the derivatives of (*dṛś-*), on the other hand, *ṣ* appears only where Sanskrit also has *ṣ*: *diṣpa* (*dṛṣṭvā*, P. *disvā*), *diṭhi* [diṣṭi] (*dṛṣṭi*); but *daśaṇa*, *darśaṇa*.

§ 59. (*ṣy*) > *ś*. This is regular also in other Gāndhārī sources: *maṇuśa* (*manuṣya*), beside *maṇuṣa* (*mānuṣa*). In the Dharmapada, however, the future does not show this development, and where Aśokan and Niya have *-iśati*, *-iśadi*, the forms attested here all show the retention of the retroflex: *bhaviṣadi*, *śa'iṣidi*. On the other hand, the palatalization takes place in the passive *viśiśadi* (*-śiṣyate*).

A further exception may be recognized in *puṣa* (beside which the Sanskritic *puṣpa* is twice written), if we may assume that the assimilated form represents S. *puṣya*. An alternative explanation would admittedly be possible: *puṣpa* > **puṣva* > *puṣṣa*; but in the absence of other examples of (*ṣp*) in the dialect, there is no means of confirmation. In the modern languages the palatal is widely attested:[1] Waigali *pūš*, Dameli *puš*, Torwali *pašu*, Pashai *pušek* (and also *pūṣpa*); but the retroflex is retained in Kalasha *puṣik*, Gawarbati *puṣʌ*. The simpler hypothesis would thus seem to be that the North-western forms represent *puṣya* rather than *puṣpa*, and that those with the retroflex show a sporadic (presumably dialectal) assimilation of *ṣy* > *ṣṣ* without palatalization, as in the Dharmapada futures.

§ 60. The history of the groups consisting of sibilant with dental and retroflex stops is to some extent complicated by problems of interpretation of the Kharoṣṭhī signs involved; but it is virtually certain that the group (*st*) remained unassimilated, and it is very probable that the same applies to (*ṣṭ*). If the latter supposition is in fact correct, the conventional transcription *ṭh*, which has been retained in the present edition, should be replaced

[1] See also the discussion in BSOS x, p. 41 by R. L. Turner, to whom I am also indebted for information concerning the modern Dardic forms quoted.

throughout by *ṣṭ*, and instead of *diṭha* (*dṛṣṭa*), *śeṭha* (*śreṣṭha*), we should write *diṣṭa*, *śeṣṭa*. See also § 18.

§ 61. (*hy*) > *ś*. This is exemplified in *aruśu* (*āruhya*), *vikaśa* (*vigṛhya*), *nigiśa* (*nigṛhya*), and probably *samuśa* (*saṃmuhya*: see note on verse **243**). Of these, only the first was accessible in the previously published facsimiles, where the word was read *aruyu*, although Senart in a note suggested that *-śu* might be possible. Now that the other examples can be compared, the consonant can be seen to be *ś* rather than *y*. (On the graphic distinction between these, see § 5.) This is confirmed by *ḍajamaṇo* (*dahyamāna*), where *j* is doubtless to be understood as a notation for [*ź*] (cf. § 6).

§ 62. The equation of Sanskrit *jv* with Gāndhārī *dv* rests upon the single example *vikada-dvara*, where the Buddhist Sanskrit tradition has *-jvara*. It is possible, however, that this is a reinterpretation made by the translator responsible for the Sanskrit version of the phrase. The Pali in this matter is closer to the Prakrit, with *vīta-ddara*. At the same time, it should be observed that the modern languages preserve forms which point to *dval-* rather than *jval-* in the verb 'to burn': see also note on verse **35**, and R. L. Turner, *Nepali Dictionary*, s.v. *bālnu*.

§ 63. While (*dv*, *tv*) remain unchanged in the Dharmapada, with one exceptional occurrence of *p* instead of secondary *tv* in *apaṇa-* beside the regular *atvaṇa-* (*ātman-*: § 53), the Niya documents show also the development of these groups to labial stops, in words such as *badaśa* (*dvādaśa*), *capariśa* (*catvāriṃśat*).[1] The existence of these forms allows the possibility that *bhatsadi*, *batsadi* is the directly inherited verb representing (*dhvaṃsate*), and the Pali parallel text has *dhaṃs-* in both places where the word occurs. The form could however equally well have been taken over at an earlier period from a Middle Indian *bhaṃsati* < (*bhraṃśate*); and it is not impossible that the Dharmapada form is a compromise between the two verbs of almost identical meaning. The same consonant group persists in *adhvaṇa*, *udhva* (*ūrdhva*), and is assimilated in *dhaya* (*dhvaja*).

§ 64. In three instances a metathesis of consonants appears to have taken place, and one of these words, *jabodaṇa* (*jāmbūnada*), is confirmed as genuine in the dialect by evidence external to the text: see above, p. 50. This being so, it would be rash to assume that the others, *maduru* (*māruta*), *aparado* (*alpatara*), are simply scribal errors, although naturally this possibility is not thereby disproved. The sporadic occurrence of *-r-* for (*-d-*) in *praverayadi*

[1] Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents*, § 43.

(§ 43*b*), together with the fact that the two transpositions are in opposite directions, suggests that these might be scribal attempts to deduce more literary forms from colloquial versions such as **māruru*, **appararo*, rather than accidental mistakes in copying.

Compound-juncture and enclisis

§ 65. As in other Middle Indian dialects,[1] the prefix *ut-* before *y* and sibilants shows a divergent development of the resulting consonant group. The forms in question are most simply described as being those which would be expected if the prefix had been reduced to *u-*, except that syllable length is preserved by the doubling of a single consonant, or by lengthening the vowel.[2] Thus (*-ts-*) remains in *matsari*, and (*-dy*) > *-j-* in *vijadi*; but in contrast to these, *usu'a-* (*utsuka*, P. *ussuka*), *uṣivi* (*ut-śri-*), *uyaṇa* (*udyāna*, P. *uyyāna*). The form *uṭhaṇa* probably represents (*u-sthāna*), since S. *utthāna* would be expected to appear as *uthaṇa* (cf. Niya *uthida*); and in this word the reduced prefix appears also in the present stem, in *uditha* (*u-tiṣṭha-*). It is thus possible that the form *utiṣṭha* in one of the manuscripts of the Lalitavistara 397, 1, 10, is a genuine inheritance; but the evidence is hardly sufficient to permit a certain conclusion.[3]

§ 66. A single consonant at the beginning of the second member of a compound word (including *upasarga* with verb) varies between initial and intervocalic behaviour in a manner which appears to be unpredictable:

ayara (*ācāra*)	*acaraṇa*
samayare'a	*samacara*
viyiṇi (*vicinaṃ*)	*vicida'i* (*vi-cint-*)
aṇica (*anitya*)	*anini'a* (*a-nindita*)
ayokuḍu (*-guḍa*)	*lohaguḍa*
sukadi (*-gati*)	*sucarida.*

Considered syntactically, all of these examples can with equal justification be considered as single words; but from the point of view of historical phonology, those in the right-hand column show at the compound-juncture the development appropriate to word-initial position. In a repetition of

[1] Pischel § 327a; Geiger §§ 55, 57.

[2] This is not intended as an explanation of the phenomenon, but merely as a more explicit description. To say that this is 'progressive assimilation' (Geiger) is scarcely helpful.

[3] Nevertheless, categorical pronouncements have been made on the point. Even if the manuscript in question is the 'best MS.', the reading *utiṣṭha* is not for that reason necessarily right; nor is it necessarily wrong because *uttiṣṭha* might be better metrically. In general, forms such as *utapta* seem to occur in Buddhist Sanskrit only as a metrical device: Edgerton, BHSG § 2. 84, 88; H. Smith, *Les Deux Prosodies du vers bouddhique*, pp. 38–40 (Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund, 1949–50, i).

the same half-verse, *dhamacari* is written in **110**, and *dhamayari* in **328**. Formally, it might be possible to include under this head the treatment of *ut-* discussed in the preceding paragraph; for if a compound such as *ud-yāna* has open juncture, then the disappearance of the *d*, which is in effect a word-final consonant, is the regular Middle Indian development. The maintenance of syllable length in *uyyāna* could then be seen as a compromise whereby the compound remains a single syntactical word.

Comparable variations in the behaviour of compound words are familiar enough in related languages,[1] and it seems unlikely that any method of classification could be found which would provide a general explanation to permit us to forecast whether a given compound would show open or close juncture. In Pali, the feature shows itself in alternations such as *akodha-*, *akkodha-*; and while some instances may be due to arbitrary alterations in the course of scribal transmission, it is difficult to avoid the impression that composers of verses in Middle Indian languages were only too ready to see in this feature an excuse for a general licence which made it much easier for the less skilful majority to meet the requirements of their metres. We might therefore hesitate to see evidence here for the real existence of alternatives in any given word in the spoken language, except where the two types of juncture, as in the Dharmapada examples listed, produce forms which are metrically equivalent. In classical Sanskrit, it certainly seems to be the case that standard usage, at the time when the Pāṇinean grammar was compiled, was ready to accept either alternative in certain words, while in others one form was rigidly determined. It would be expected that, as in other matters of junction (Vedic as opposed to classical *sandhi*, for example), usage might vary considerably according to place and time.

A comparable pair of classes of compounds is readily recognized in Sanskrit, where retroflexion in the second member can be used as a diagnostic character: *pūrvāhṇaḥ*, but *durahnaḥ*, without option, whereas in other examples the option may be permitted: *surāpāṇam*, *surāpānam*. In spite of the struggle to reduce this complicated situation to a series of rules,[2] the junction of *upasargas* seems to have been particularly resistant to systematic formulation.

§ 66*a*. It seems probable that the curious discrepancy in the Dharmapada between the indicative *samajadi* and the participle *sabaṇo* (perhaps no longer recognized as related) is a result of this type of variation in junction.

[1] Pischel § 196.

[2] Pāṇini viii. 4. 1 ff. Many of the rules were doubtless valid, but it may be suspected that some of them are useful to the same extent as the advice given to schoolboys in elementary textbooks of Latin, that 'most names of rivers and many names of mountains are masculine'.

The appearance of *-ṇ-* in the participle suggests that this form was a literary borrowing (§ 45), and the word can be taken as a close-junction form (*sampaṇṇa-*), borrowed at a period early enough to allow for the subsequent development of (*mp*) > *b* [ṃb]. The indicative *samajadi*, on the other hand, can be accounted for as an earlier open-junction form, *saṃ-padyate*,[1] with a subsequent shift to close junction leading to the regular intervocalic development of *p* > *v*, in **sãvajjadi*. On the writing of *-m-* for *-v-* in nasalized contexts [ṽ], see § 36.

The word, however, is isolated in the text, and this explanation remains conjectural. At first sight it might be thought that the evidence of other verbs suggests a preference for close-junction forms with *sam-* where the root initial is unvoiced, and open-junction where it is voiced. But such a distribution can hardly be maintained with reference to other verbal prefixes; and words such as *kubho*, *jabodaṇa* (§ 48), where the phonology is comparable, but not the morphology, suggest that we might hesitate to classify oppositions like *sabaśu* (*sampaśyan*): *sabudha* (*saṃbuddha*) as definite illustrations of the contrast between the two types of juncture.

§ 67. A number of particles and other words which may be classed as enclitics (for convenience written separately in the transliterated text) form with the preceding word a single unit which, phonologically, is in effect a compound. Here also both types of juncture are exemplified, although the close juncture is considerably more frequent. In some of the words in question, only the latter occurs in the extant text: for example, *du* (*tu*), *di* (P. *ti*).

The enclitic pronoun of the second person singular appears in *ki di* (*kiṃ te*), in contrast to the nominative plural of the third person, *te*; and the third person singular *ṇa* (P. *naṃ*), is regularly so written, while the negative *na* always has the dental initial.

§ 68. A few enclitics show a characteristic variation in form according to the presence or absence of a final nasal (*-ṃ*) in the preceding word. Thus, the particle corresponding to Pali *kho* appears as *hu*, *ho* after a vocalic ending, and as *gu* (not *ghu*, as might have been expected: §§ 48, 49) after the (*-ṃ*) of the accusative singular: **276** *ya gu na prasahadi kudhu . . . so hu rakṣadi atvaṇa*. Similarly, the Pali *pi*, *va* after vowels are matched by *vi*, *va*; while

[1] In the Vedic language, as is well known, a compound verb is treated as one word or as two under conditions which are syntactically determined, and it may be suggested that the situation in the later languages is the result of a generalization of one or other of the two possible Vedic forms. This feature of Vedic grammar does at least give direct evidence for both types of juncture; but the reasons for the choice of one rather than the other in a given verb in the post-Vedic period remains an open question.

bi, *ba* occur where the corresponding Pali has *-ṃ pi*, *-ṃ va*.[1] It should be noted, however, that the simple converse of this last proposition does not hold; and it is hardly safe to argue that *avalaśa va* **118** must be understood as plural merely because the manuscript does not have *ba* here.[2] In approximately one-fifth of the occurrences of *va* in the text, the Pali parallel version has *-ṃ va*, and it would be difficult to force throughout an interpretation which would allow an accusative singular only where the manuscript has *ba*. The phrase *śela va* in verse **218** is exactly parallel to *rakhkṣa ba* in **217**; and in **275** a plural rendering risks the transformation of the charioteer in the simile into a circus-rider. Similarly, *vi* instead of *bi* appears in verse **237** *mana-bhaṇi vi* (*-bhāṇim pi*; P. *-bhāṇinaṃ pi*).

Rather than apply here a rule of thumb, it is probably better to recognize that, as with compounds, there was always a certain degree of fluctuation between close-junction forms, with 'internal *sandhi*', and open-junction, where both components behave as separate words. Or otherwise expressed: it is not remarkable that the non-nasalized *vi*, *va*, as the basic forms, should sometimes spread by analogy.

§ 69. It has been generally accepted that it is convenient to separate the Middle Indian descendants of Sanskrit *punar* into two lexical items, an adverb, and a connective or adversative particle.[3] For the latter, Pali normally has *pana*; but the editions occasionally give *puna* in this sense, for example, Sn. 677, 876 (noted in PTSD), and Dhp. 271 (= verse **65** of the Prakrit). Geiger ignores these, and it is of course possible that the editors may be wrong: in the three passages cited, *pana* is given as a manuscript variant. But no variant was given by Fausbøll for *puna* in Sn. 995, and there is at least a suspicion that the distribution of the two forms between the two grammatical functions may not have been as strictly determined as the grammarian's statement implies.

In the present text, the adverb as well as the particle is capable of enclitic behaviour. In contrast to **161** *na puṇu*, the close-junction form appears in **197** *uvavaja va muṇo*, where the sense must also be 'again', as well as in the unemphatic *maṇa*, *maṇo* (on *m* for *v* here, see § 36). This material is

[1] An apparent exception in **154** *ala'uṇi ba* doubtless does not represent directly a Sanskritic plural *-ūni*, but rather a Middle Indian *-ūṇiṃ*, where the nasal, from being simply a reflex in the neighbourhood of the preceding *ṇ*, has (so to speak) achieved potential consonantal status.

[2] Konow, AO xix, 1943, p. 18. On the basis of our present information, it would seem that *ba* here would have excluded the plural, whereas *va* allows the plural but does not compel it. But although the argument in itself is thus insufficient as proof, the conclusion is very probably correct in the context of this particular verse, where a plural gives a better balance with the two preceding phrases which the simile illustrates. The corresponding Pali *abalassaṃ va* might therefore be added to the examples of 'accusative plurals in *-aṃ*' collected by Lüders, *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, §§ 196–219.

[3] Pischel § 342; Geiger § 34.

admittedly scanty, but, for what the observation is worth, it may be noted that the forms with the vowel *a* in the first syllable both appear in contexts of the type where Pali would normally have *pana* (although, as already indicated, *puna* has become the vulgate reading of the Pali editions in the verse corresponding to **65** *maṇo*).[1]

§ 70. In virtue of its palatal initial, the commonest of the enclitic particles, (*ca*) 'and', is capable of an almost bewildering variety of shapes. It occurs in at least eight different forms, and possibly as many as ten: *ca*, *ci*, *ja*, *ji*, *ya*, *yi*, *i*, *hi*, and perhaps *yu*, *yo*. For *yu*, see § 25, and note on verse **12**. It is possible that *yo* in this sense might be justified under the heading of § 22, but the palatal initial raises a doubt. This form of the conjunction occurs only twice; and in verse **208**, where the reading is certain, the scribe or translator may have construed it as the relative pronoun, while in **335** it might be simply a miscopying for *ya*, or indeed a misreading of the over-conscientious editor.

The remaining forms fit without difficulty into the phonological pattern, the main features of which have been described in the preceding pages. The normal close-junction forms are regular: *ya* after vowels (§ 32), and *ja* after (*-ṃ*) (*ñc* > *j*: § 46); and beside these appears the open-junction form *ca*[2] (or, if we prefer, the older literary form reinstated). In all of these, the palatalized vowel may be noted in the orthography (§ 22*a*), giving respectively *yi*, *ji*, *ci*. The initial in *yi*, treated as a glide, may then be ignored in the writing (§ 37), or expressed by *h* (§ 39), whence the forms *i* and *hi* respectively.

As with the other enclitics, the voiced stop appears only where the preceding word ends in *-ṃ* in the Pali version; but again the converse relation does not hold: **5** *svagavaya ya*, **42** *valatra ya*, in both of which verses the Pali has *-aṃ ca*. And a certain degree of arbitrariness may be seen in **19** *drigha ci rasa ji*; or in **146**, where *ye ya* and *ye ca* occur in consecutive phrases; or in the antithesis between **207** *pava ja* and **208** *puña ca*. (In the last example, the word corresponds to Pali *ce* 'if', which—at least in writing—has coincided in its forms with the representatives of *ca*: see index.)

§ 71. In addition to the fuller form *iva* beside *va* (as also in Pali), the alternative spelling *viva* occasionally appears in the same sense. In the

[1] In the description of *pana* as 'the enclitic form of *puna*' (PTSD, and Dines Andersen, *Pali Reader*, Glossary), the term 'enclitic' is apparently used in quite a different sense, although the reader is left to guess what that sense might be.

[2] Phonologically, *ca* could equally well represent a close-junction form after a final stop of the older language: for example, *tac ca* would be expected to appear as *ta ca* (and in no alternative manner). But the text itself gives no justification for a theory that such forms were directly responsible for the survival of the initial in *ca*, *ci*.

previously published part of the text, this occurred only after singular accusatives: P. *jiṇṇam iva*, *puppham iva*. Senart[1] therefore assumed that the Prakrit versions of these, *jiṇaviva*, *puṣaviva*, showed the same change as *bhamaṇa* (*bhāvanā*)—admittedly in the contrary direction. This view has been generally accepted by subsequent writers, who have sometimes written *jiṇav iva*, *puṣav iva*.

The replacement of intervocalic *m* by *v* [ṽ] is familiar enough elsewhere in the later period of Middle Indian, and it is not inconceivable that a similar trend may have been involved here in some measure. But the situation in the present text suggests that this was, at most, an adjutant factor. In the case of the single intervocalic consonant, the contrary change of *v* > *m*, in definite phonetic contexts, is common enough (§ 36); but except for this one presumed context (final *-m* before the particle *iva*), the weakening of the labial contact resulting in the change *m* > *v* is not attested within the text in single intervocalic position, and occurs only in conjunct groups: *tm*, *sm* > *tv*, *sv* (§ 53). These facts by themselves may not entirely forbid the hypothesis; but they raise a serious doubt. And this doubt is increased by an instance in the new part of the text where the word follows a nominative plural, **256** *amara viva*. Senart's hypothesis may thus remain intact if we think that the scribe or the translator might have conceived a nominative plural masculine *amarām*. Rather than so contemn the standards of ancient scholarship, we might prefer to agree that the alternate *viva* (whatever its earlier history) was fully enfranchised by the date of our text. Accordingly, it seemed better to divide in the transcription *puṣa viva* rather than *puṣav iva*.

The theory that *viva* is a simple descendant of *-m iva* meets a more formidable objection in the isolation of this phenomenon in the text. Not only does intervocalic (*m*) remain undisturbed in the interior of words, but final *-m* is retained in the writing quite frequently: some fifty-eight times,[2] if we exclude a few possible instances which are doubtful in interpretation or broken in the manuscript. In general, wherever *-m* remains before an initial vowel, the corresponding Pali text also has *-m* (not *-ṃ*), and in most of these places this is necessary for the metre. (On the other hand, in many other words where Pali has *-m*, no final consonant is written in the Prakrit version.) Most of the instances of *viva* also have parallels in Pali with *-m iva*. From the point of view of Pali, therefore, the two groups of instances form a single homogeneous set. But in the Prakrit text the contrast between them is startling, and in the parts of the manuscript available no single exception in either group has been observed. In brief,

[1] In his note on B 41.

[2] It is true that this figure includes 36 repetitions of the one phrase, *tam aho*, *tam ahu* (*aham*); and correspondingly, 9 of the 14 instances of *viva* occur in the refrain of verses **81–90** *jiṇa viva*. But these repetitions do not seriously weaken the force of this evidence.

we have the rather odd situation that, before a word beginning with a vowel, and under certain rhythmical conditions, final *-m* (but not *-v*) may be written,[1] provided that the second word is not *iva*; and, under similar circumstances, if the second word is *iva*, *-v* may be written (but not *-m*). This hardly encourages us to see here the operation of a simple sound-change.

Among the 58 instances of *-m* mentioned above, 7 are followed by *eva*, and 6 by *ida*, giving a sample reasonably commensurate with the 14 instances of *viva*. These numbers are indeed not large, but are large enough to have been well-nigh irresistible to our scribe, whose delight is to display at each chance his repertory of spelling-alternatives.[2] Had it been legitimate within the language, he could scarcely within this compass have neglected to instruct his readers that one may write not only *jiṇaviva*, but also *jiṇamiva*; or *kayavida*, or *nicaveva*. The fact that he did none of these things is as good as proof that he was ready to consider *viva* as a word in its own right. I leave it to others to discuss the nature of the connexion between this word and P. *viya*, Pr. *via*.

§ 72. In two words the manuscript appears to present the anomaly of *y* for (*j*) in the initial position in the word: **1**, **4** *na yaca* (*na jātyā*), **198** *na yava'i* (P. *na jāpaye*). Since this is the normal intervocalic development of *j*, it would be possible to bring about phonological conformity by the interpretations *nayaca*, *nayava'i*, that is, the negative with the equivalents of S. *ājātyā* and *ājāpayet* respectively. But although the words *ājāti-* and *ā-ji-* are in themselves acceptable in sense, this solution leads to a rather awkward breach of the metre in **198**.

Alternatively, the negative particle in these phrases may be described as a proclitic, whereby normality is restored without the introduction of variant readings with *ā-*. It must of course be recognized that such a designation merely classifies, and is not in itself an explanation. The desirable procedure would be to seek a correlation between occurrences of 'proclitic *na*' and some contextual factor; but the instances are too few to allow more than a conjecture. (See also note on verse **1**.) A similar treatment of *j-* is widely attested in the other Prakrits in the verb 'to know': *jāṇāmi*, *ṇa āṇāmi*.[3] But the attrition of a formulaic phrase such as this is easily understood, and the literary examples here are certainly not comparable in this respect. It may be added that the Dharmapada preserves the initial *j-* in *na jaṇadi* (verses **43**, **243**, **282**).

[1] There is a rather greater chance that it will be so written if at least one of the words involved is a particle or a pronoun; but this is certainly not a necessary condition.

[2] See the examples quoted in § 11.

[3] Pischel §§ 170, 510.

§ 73. In the Vedic language, compounds of the type *divé-dive*, *māsí-māsi*, are protected from misinterpretation by the *pada*-text and by the preservation of the written accent. In later texts such *āmreḍita*-compounds have frequently gone unrecognized, and Pali editions regularly separate the components. The spellings in the present manuscript, *masa-mase*, *masa-masi*, *khaṇa-khaṇi*, suggest that these continued to function as compounds. It is therefore probable that the method of printing in the Pali editions is not simply a less satisfactory option, but a definite error. In Dhp. 106, 239, where the editions give *māse māse*, and *khaṇe khaṇe*, it would at least be safer to print *māse-māse*, *khaṇe-khaṇe*.

Inflexion

§ 74. The text of the individual verses corresponds for the most part so closely with the Pali that the two versions might be described more appropriately as word-for-word transpositions of their original rather than as translations in the usual sense. We cannot of course tell how well or ill these versions reflect the real languages, or to what extent contemporary critics, had there been any such able to judge unbiassed by the religious prestige of the verses, might have felt that the diction was stilted and loaded with foreign turns of phrase. We can, however, see immediately that the translation involved—whether it was done in one or more deliberate stages, or simply happened through imperceptible gradations in different lines of descent—is scarcely more than a mechanical transposition between the sound-systems of the dialects. A detailed account of the morphology of the Gāndhārī version would therefore be of little interest; but a few points nevertheless are worthy of mention.

§ 75. *a*-stems. It has been suggested that the distinction between nominative and accusative singular had already been lost at the time when the Dharmapada manuscript was written, and examples were quoted of *-o*, *-u*, and *-a* used apparently indifferently for nominative and accusative masculine and neuter.[1] But to say that in this matter 'there reigns complete confusion' is an exaggeration. Samples taken at random from the text showed the following distribution of the three spellings:

	-o	*-u*	*-a*
Nom. sg. masc.	118	98	19
Acc. sg. masc.	4	35	107
Nom. sg. neut.	6	23	71
Acc. sg. neut.	4	45	84

[1] T. Burrow, BSOS viii, 1936, pp. 428–9.

These figures suggest a very strong tendency for (*-o*) to be written as *-o* or *-u*, the choice between the two being virtually arbitrary,[1] while *-a* (i.e. the omission of the vowel-sign) is rare, appearing only in one example in twelve. On the other hand (*-aṃ*) is represented by both *-a* and *-u*, but the former is two and a half times as frequent as the latter; and if we include the very rare occurrences of *-o* for (*-aṃ*) as a variant for *-u*, the ratio of *-a* to *-u*/*-o* is roughly 2:1. It will be seen that the ratio is almost identical for the acc. sg. masc. and nom. sg. neut. (3:1), while the acc. sg. neut. has a significantly higher rate for *-u*. To determine whether this is a matter of linguistic significance would require a more thorough investigation, with rather sharper statistical tools; but the figures listed above suggest that a detailed examination of distributions of variants in spelling in these and other grammatical forms might well produce interesting results.

It is at least certain that the forms in *-o*, *-u*, *-a* are not distributed at random, as might have been expected if the scribe (or translator) had been unaware of any difference between masculine and neuter, and between nominative and accusative. But while these spellings are far from showing a state of complete confusion, the minority spellings for a given case occur sufficiently often to make it impossible to base an exegetical argument simply upon the written form in any given instance. Masculine singular nouns written with *-o* have a very good probability of being nominative; but in one instance out of forty they may be accusative. If written with *-u*, as many as one in four may turn out to be accusative.

In Dhp. 167 *hīnaṃ dhammaṃ na seveyya* Lüders[2] suggested that we should recognize an acc. plural, and quoted in support the Uv., where the phrase is rendered as *hīnān dharmān*. He considered that the Prakrit version, with *hiṇa dharma* **121**, provided further confirmation; and similarly in **127** *bhavetha kuśala dhama*, 'wo *dhama* nur die Pluralform sein kann'; to which was added in a footnote, 'die Form des Akk. Sing. ist *dhamu*'. These assertions were based on insufficient data. It is very probable that in these verses, and in many others quoted by Lüders in the same chapter, the interpretation as a plural is correct. But the Prakrit spelling *dhama*, while consistent with a plural, can also represent a singular, and cannot therefore be quoted as evidence. The figures already cited suggest that in general the acc. singular with *-a* is roughly three times as frequent as that with *-u*; and although

[1] In view of the nature of the data, it is hardly profitable to attempt to calculate the statistical significance of the slightly greater figure for *-o*. The proportions vary considerably in different parts of the text, three of the sections examined showing ratios of 11:17, 34:35, and 34:9. From this it can be seen that the scribe's practice varied from one part of the text to another. But for the text as a whole, it is a reasonable approximation to say that for any given nominative singular in (*-o*), the chances of its being written *-o* or *-u* are equal.

[2] *Beobachtungen über die Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons*, §§ 199, 200.

this word diverges, and shows *dhamu* approximately twice as often as *dhama* for this case (perhaps in part due to the *-m-*: cf. § 25), it is impossible to uphold the judgement that *dhama* can represent only the plural. There are indeed some six or seven verses in the text where *dhama* is certainly, or very probably, to be understood as an acc. plural; but in another six or seven places, it is hardly possible to doubt that the same spelling is used for an acc. singular.

§ 76. In the later period of Middle Indian, the nominative singular in *-e* is so distinctively characteristic of Māgadhī and Ardha-māgadhī that it has been customary to describe the occasional appearances of this feature in Pali as 'Māgadhisms';[1] and these may well have been taken over untranslated, if not from an 'Urkanon', at least from earlier versions of the texts. The Aśokan inscriptions, except for the Girnar and Shahbazgarhi versions, regularly have *-e* forms, and have been suspected of showing in this the influence of the Māgadhan language of the Court, in which the edicts were drafted, rather than authentic local forms.[2] Such an explanation seems reasonable for the more centrally placed versions; but it is hard to believe that the man who, for the Mansehra version, found it desirable to replace *bhelighose* by *bherighoṣe* would have allowed *-e* to remain in his text if it had been as foreign to him as *bheli-* apparently was. The post-Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions do in fact give ample evidence of nominatives in *-e* as well as *-o*, and in view of the fairly extensive phonological adaptation of the north-western versions, it seems likely that the Mansehra *-e* is a real Gāndhārī form rather than a 'Māgadhism'.

The later inscriptions, however, attest *-e* to west of the Indus, and *-o* to the east, with only sporadic exceptions.[3] It would not be unexpected that the river should mark a dialect boundary; but the curious fact that this distribution reverses the Aśokan suggests that the contrast between the two forms in Gāndhārī may have been less clear-cut than is suggested by the writing (and suggested still more categorically by the transliteration).[4]

[1] Geiger § 80. See also Lüders, op. cit., §§ 1–24.

[2] The classification of the Aśokan inscriptional dialects under the headings 'eastern' and 'western' appears to be due chiefly to extrapolation from linguistic evidence of a much later period; and the distribution of *-e/-o* could hardly be taken as defining an isogloss. On such a basis, we might be tempted to say that the whole sub-continent was 'eastern', except for the Kathiawar peninsula (Girnar) and the Peshawar district west of the Indus (Shahbazgarhi).

[3] Konow, CII ii, p. cxii.

[4] So far as we can tell from the writing, the vowel of the inflexional ending ultimately came to coincide with either the *o* or the *e* (according to period and dialect) which represent the older diphthongs. This suggests the hypothesis that at an earlier stage of Indo-Aryan, the ending might have been a vowel of mixed quality: a front rounded vowel [œ:], or a back unrounded [ɤ:]. Either of these qualities would be easily understandable as a development from a rather close central vowel [ə:], which would theoretically be expected as a *sandhi*-variant beside *-aḥ, -as*, [-əh, əs], if the phonetic differentiation of *a, ā* [ə, a:] had already taken place. If a dialect

§ 77. The Dharmapada shows a decided predominance of *-o* forms, but occasionally has *-e/-i*, corresponding to (*-aṃ*) as well as to (*-o*). In the vocative plural *bhikṣavi*, where Pali has *bhikkhave* as well as *bhikkhavo*, it seems probable that the inflexion characteristic of an earlier version has survived. In words such as *a'i* (*ayaṃ*), *kici* (*kṛtyaṃ*), *katavi* (*kartavyaṃ*), the ending may well have developed within the dialect, a similar palatalization of vowels being not infrequent in other positions in the word in comparable phonetic contexts (§ 22*a*). But in many places it would seem that we have little more than faith to guide us if we attempt to decide whether a given instance of *-e/-i* is a 'Māgadhan' survival, or a Gāndhārī palatalization, or an occasional intrusion of the Gāndhārī *-e* seen in some of the inscriptions. Thus, words such as *ye* in verse **258** (P. *yo*), *kiche* in **263** (for both masculine and neuter, P. *kiccho*, *-aṃ*), and the present participle *yuji* (**yujyaṃ*? P. *yuñjaṃ*: cf. § 48), considered in isolation, could without difficulty be allocated to any of these explanations. But the last can be grouped with a few other participles: **188** *bhaṇi* (P. *bhaṇaṃ*), **81** *viyiṇi* (P. *vicinaṃ* in Sn. 5; but probably the same original form was mistranslated elsewhere by the Pali optative *vicine*: see note on verse **244**). It is thus at least possible that such participles have survived from *-e* forms of the originals of the verses in question. Beside these, participles in *-o/-u* occur: *anusvaro*, *icho*, *apaśu*, *ḍahu*.

Other examples for *-e* are: **20** *aṇakare* (P. *anāgāro*); **11** *bramaṇi* (*brāhmaṇo*); and see also note on *brahidare*, verse **1**. Corresponding to P. *-aṃ*: *bahire* (*bāhiraṃ*); **35** *pari avare ca*; **46** *puñe ca pave ca*. Occasionally the situation is ambiguous: **55** *śuñakare praviṭhasa* (P. *suññāgāraṃ*); and conversely **68** *caradi loku* (P. *loke*). In both of these, *-e* was doubtless an accusative singular for the authors of the verses, but might well have been understood as a locative by the redactors of the existing versions which retain the form. In Sn. 9, on the other hand, the Pali locative *loke* seems to give the more likely sense, while in the corresponding Prakrit **87** (if the fragment of the manuscript is rightly restored to this place) the word has been replaced by the accusative *loku*.

§ 78. *-in* stems. In three instances in the text these appear to have been transferred to an *-i* declension: **128** *apramada-vihari'o* (P. *vihārino*); **247** *vaśama-kami'a* (*upasama-gāminaṃ*); and see also note on verse **176** *cari'u*. The additional verse written on the outside of the manuscript (344) shows the same feature in *sparga-ǵamiyu* (*svarga-gāminaḥ*). The acc. sg. *-kami'a*, which otherwise might be taken as a textual variant (*-gāmikaṃ*), is doubtless formed on the analogy of the plurals. Cf. also BHSG § 10. 63.

had still preserved an ending such as [œ:, ʊ:, or ə:] when it was first reduced to writing, there is no inherent difficulty in supposing that either of the two signs, *o* or *e*, might have been felt to be reasonably adequate notations. (For an alternative conjecture on the development of the *-o* variant in Sanskrit, see W. S. Allen, *Phonetics in Ancient India*, p. 68 n.)

§ 79. The verbal system likewise presents little which requires special comment. The inflexional forms agree for the most part with those of the corresponding Pali verses, differing only in respect of the divergent developments of the sound-systems of the two dialects. Differences which go beyond this are usually of the nature of variant readings; but here and there something more akin to translation may be involved, rather than merely textual corruption. Forms unfamiliar in the receiving dialect can be simply accepted as part of the language of literature, but may sometimes be replaced by others better known in local usage. An example of the latter process may be seen in the systematic manner in which the Prakrit text shows third person singular optatives in *-e'a* (*-eya*) corresponding both to the Pali forms in *-eyya* and to those in *-etha*: for example, in verse **11**, *prahare'a*, *muje'a*, where the same verse in Pali has *pahareyya*, *muñcetha*. Both types were presumably living formations in the dialect on which the literary Pali was based, or were at least sufficiently intelligible to be absorbed; while the constant rejection in the Gāndhārī version of the *-etha* forms implies a levelling in the verbal system in this respect.

§ 80. The absolutives in the text illustrate the contrasting situation where a greater diversity of forms in the Prakrit version has probably arisen subsequently. Corresponding to the three types *viditva*, *upajiti*, *śoṣa'itha*, the Pali has only the single form *-tvā*. The third type occurs only twice, in two consecutive verses (**84**, **85**) of the poem which in Pali forms the first section of the *Sutta-nipāta*, and it seems probable that the form has come through a version of the poem in a dialect which had *-ittā*, and that this has simply been taken over untranslated. The anomalous aspirate (§ 49) may even suggest the possibility that the translator failed to understand the syntax.

The absolutive in *-ti* is only slightly more frequent: *pramajeti* (P. *pamajjitvā*), *parivajeti*, *upajiti* (P. *uppajjitvā*), *aseva'iti*. But the form is attested within the dialect both in the Aśokan inscriptions[1] and in the Niya documents,[2] and the examples in the Dharmapada verses can thus be seen as definite translations into the dialect. Since the form in *-tva* is frequent, and was obviously generally acceptable in the literary language, it remains uncertain

[1] J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, p. 79, left undecided the problem of the history of the form, but suggested as possibilities that it might be in origin a verbal noun in *-ti* (instrumental or accusative), or a descendant of the Vedic *-tvī*. The former, however, is definitely ruled out by the Dharmapada spelling *-ti*, which implies the double consonant. If, as seems probable, the second explanation is the right one, the contrasting development in *-tvā* would suggest that the latter is to be attributed to a different dialect, either as a regional variation within Gāndhārī, or as a literary form or spelling ultimately due to a more central dialect.

[2] Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents*, § 102.

whether the relatively few occurrences of *-ti* are more or less haphazard encroachments of a form more generally in use in the spoken language, or whether this had become the preferred form for certain specific verbs. The former explanation is to some extent supported by the fact that *brahetva* and *baheti* (P. *bāhetvā*) both occur in the text.

For ease of comparison between the transliterated text and the manuscript, the verses are numbered serially, with small superscript figures referring to the manuscript lines and fragments, which are also numbered serially in the plates. (As far as verse **32**, the two sets of numbers coincide.) For the converse reference, see Concordance I. For those parts of the text previously published, the earlier references (by 'leaves' and lines of the manuscript) are given after the verses, the equivalences being:

A^1 = **128–135**	B = **44–94**
A^2 = **120–127**	C^{ro} = **301–340**
A^3 = **106–120**	C^{vo} = **140–181**
A^4 = **97–105**	O = **1–30**

Verses which cannot be proved to be consecutive in the original text are separated by a line.

In the Prakrit text, given in the left-hand column, italic letters indicate that part of the *akṣara* in question is missing, although this does not necessarily mean that the reading is doubtful. In a few places broken *akṣaras* have been allowed to stand in roman type where enough survives in the manuscript to justify confidence in the reading. Italic letters in square brackets indicate conjectural restorations of words or syllables completely lost because of the breaking of the manuscript. Such conjectures, however, have been made rather sparingly, and in most places it has seemed better merely to indicate lacunae by dots.

In the right-hand column, except where other texts are specifically indicated, simple numbers before the verses are those of the Pali *Dhammapada*, and references after the verses are to the corresponding verses of the *Udānavarga*.

DHARMAPADA

budha-varmasa ṣamaṇasa
budhaṇadi-sa*r*dhavayarisa
ida dharma-padasa postaka
dharmuyaṇe likhida araṇi.

I. BRAMMAṆA

1 na jaḍa'i na gotreṇa
na yaca bhodi bramaṇo
yo du brahetva pavaṇa
aṇu-thulaṇi sarvaśo
brahidare va pavaṇa
brammaṇo di pravucadi. (1)
O. 2

2 ki di jaḍa'i drumedha
ki di ayiṇa-śa*ḍ*i'a
adara gahaṇa kitva
bahire parimajasi. (2)
O. 3

3 yasa dha*r*mo vi'aṇe'a
same-sabudha-deśida
sakhaca ṇa namase'a
agi-hotra ba brammaṇo. (3)
O. 4

4 na yaca brammaṇo bhodi
na trevija na śotri'a
na agi-parikirya'i
udake oruhaṇeṇa va. (4)
O. 5

5 purve-nivasa yo uvedi
svaga avaya ya paśadi
atha jadi-kṣaya prato
abhiña-vosido muṇi, (5)
O. 6

6 edahi trihi vijahi
treviju bhodi brammaṇu
vijacaraṇa-sabarṇo
brammaṇo di pravucadi. (6)
O. 7

393 na jaṭāhi na gottena
na jaccā hoti brāhmaṇo.
265 yo ca sameti pāpāni
aṇuṃ-thūlāni sabbaso
samitattā hi pāpānaṃ
samaṇo ti pavuccati.
267 yo dha puññaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca
bāhetvā brahmacariyavā.
Uv. xxxiii. 11; xi. 12

394 kiṃ te jaṭāhi dummedha
kiṃ te ajina-sāṭiyā
abbhantaraṃ te gahanaṃ
bāhiraṃ parimajjasi.
xxxiii. 8, 9

392 yamhā dhammaṃ vijāneyya
sammā-sambuddha-desitaṃ
sakkaccaṃ taṃ namasseyya
aggi-huttaṃ va brāhmaṇo.
xxxiii. 77 (R. 75)

Sn. 650 na jaccā brāhmaṇo hoti.

423 pubbe-nivāsaṃ yo vedi
(Saṃ. i. 167) saggāpāyaṃ ca passati
atho jāti-kkhayaṃ patto
abhiññā-vosito muni
sabba-vosita-vosānaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 57 (R. 55)

Saṃ. i. 167 etāhi tīhi vijjāhi
tevijjo hoti brāhmaṇo
vijjācaraṇa-sampanno.
xxxiii. 58 (R. 56)

7 trihi vijahi sabarṇo
śadu kṣiṇa-puṇarbhavu
asido sarva-lokasya
brammaṇo di pravucadi. (7)
O. 8

Sn. 656*ab* tīhi vijjāhi saṃpanno
santo khīṇa-punabbhavo.
It. 97 asitaṃ sabba-lokassa.

8 taveṇa bramma-yiryeṇa
sañameṇa dameṇa ca
edeṇa brammaṇo bhodi
eda brammaña utamu. (8)
O. 9

Thg. 631; tapena brahmacariyena
Sn. 655 saññamena damena ca
etena brāhmaṇo hoti
etaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ uttamaṃ.

9 china sodu parakamu
kama praṇuyu bramaṇa
na apraha'i muṇi kama
ekatvu adhikachadi. (9)
O. 10

Saṃ. i. 49 chinda sotaṃ parakkamma
kāme panuda brāhmaṇa
nappahāya munī kāme
ekattaṃ upapajjati.

Uv. xi. 1 chindhi srotaḥ parākrāmya
kāmāṃ praṇuda brāhmaṇa
nāprahāya muniḥ kāmān
ekatvam adhigacchati.

10 china sodu parakamu
kama praṇuyu bramaṇa
sagharaṇa kṣaya ñatva
akadaño si brammaṇa. (10)
O. 11

383 chinda sotaṃ parakkamma
kāme panuda brāhmaṇa
saṅkhārānaṃ khayaṃ ñatvā
akataññu si brāhmaṇa.
xxxiii. 71 (R. 69)

11 na brammaṇasa prahare'a
nasa muje'a bramaṇi
dhi bramaṇasa hadara
tada vi dhi yo ṇa mujadi. (11)
O. 12

389 na brāhmaṇassa pahareyya
nāssa muñcetha brāhmaṇo
dhī brāhmaṇassa hantāraṃ
tato dhī y'assa muñcati.
xxxiii. 74 (R. 72)

12 madara pidara jatva
rayaṇa dvayu śotri'a
raṭha saṇayara[1] jatva
aṇiho yadi brammaṇo. (12)
O. 13

294 mātaraṃ pitaraṃ hantvā
rājāno dve ca khattiye
raṭṭhaṃ sānucaraṃ haṇtvā
anīgho yāti brāhmaṇo.
295*b* rājāno dve ca sotthiye.
xxxiii. 72 (R. 70); xxix. 24 (R. 23, P. 34)

13 rayaṇa pradhamu jatva
pariṣa ja aṇadara
doṣi sa-señaka jatva
aṇiho yadi brammaṇo. (13)
O. 14

14 yada dva'eṣu dharmeṣu
parako bhodi brammaṇo
athasa sarvi sañoka
asta=ǵachadi jaṇada. (14)
O. 15

384 yadā dvayesu dhammesu
pāragū hoti brāhmaṇo
ath' assa sabbe saṃyogā
atthaṃ-gacchanti jānato.
xxxiii. 83 (R. 80)

[1] Read *saṇu-*.

15 na bramaṇasediṇa kiji bhodi
yo na nisedhe maṇasa pri'aṇi
yado yado y=asa maṇo nivartadi
tado tado samudim aha saca. (15)
O. 16

390 †na brāhmaṇass' etad akiñci seyyo
yadā nisedho manaso piyehi
yato yato hiṃsamano nivattati
tato tato sammati-m-eva
dukkhaṃ.

Uv. xxxiii. 87 ji ltar mi sdug pa las yid ldog pa
de ḥdra bram ze rnams la cuṅ zad
med
ji lta ji ltar de yi yid ldog pa
de lta de ltar kun rdzob bden par
zad.

16 brahetva pavaṇi brammaṇo
sama'irya śramaṇo di vucadi
parvahi'a atvaṇo mala
tasa parva'ido di vucadi. (16)
O. 17

388 bāhita-pāpo ti brāhmaṇo
samacariyā samaṇo ti vuccati
pabbājayaṃ attano malaṃ
tasmā pabbajito ti vuccati.
xi. 15 (T. 16)

17 na aho brammaṇa bromi
yoṇeka-matra-sabhamu
bho-va'i namu so bhodi
sayi bhodi sakijaṇo
akijaṇa aṇadaṇa
tam aho bro mmaṇa.[1] (17)
O. 18

396 na cāhaṃ brāhmaṇaṃ brūmi
yonijaṃ matti-saṃbhavaṃ
bho-vādi nāma so hoti
sace[2] hoti sakiñcano
akiñcanaṃ anādānaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 18 (R. 17)

18 niha'i daṇa bhudeṣu
traseṣu thavareṣu ca
yo na hadi na ghadhedi
tam aho bromi bramaṇa. (18)
O. 19

405 nidhāya daṇḍaṃ bhūtesu
tasesu thāvaresu ca
yo na hanti na ghāteti
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 47 (R. 45)

19 yo du drigha ci rasa ji
aṇo-thulu śuhaśuhu
loki adiṇa na adi'adi
tam aho brommi bramaṇa. (19)
O. 20

409 yo dha dīghaṃ va rassaṃ vā
aṇuṃ-thūlaṃ subhāsubhaṃ
loke adinnaṃ nādiyati
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 29 (R. 28)

20 yo du kama prahatvaṇa
aṇakare parivaya
kama-bhoka-parikṣiṇa
tam aho bromi bramaṇa. (20)
O. 21

415 yo dha kāme pahatvāna
anāgāro paribbaje
kāma-bhava-parikkhīṇaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 46 (R. 44)

21 vari puṣkara-patre va
arage-r-iva sarṣava
yo na lipadi kamehi
tam ahu bromi brammaṇa. (21)
O. 22

401 vāri pokkhara-patte va
āragge-r-iva sāsapo
yo na lippati kāmesu
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 35 (R. 34)

[1] i.e. *bromi brammaṇa.*

[2] Sn. 620, and Dhp. A. ed. *ve.*

22 akakaśa viñamaṇi
gira saca udira'i
ya'i naviṣa'i kaji
tam ahu bromi brammaṇa. (22)
O. 23

408 akakkasaṃ viññāpāṇiṃ[1]
giraṃ saccaṃ udīraye
yāya nābhisaje kaṃci
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 20 (R. 19)

23 yasya ka'eṇa vaya'i
maṇasa nasti drukida
savrudu trihi ṭhaṇehi
tam aho bromi brammaṇa. (23)
O. 24

391 yassa kāyena vācāya
manasā natthi dukkataṃ
saṃvutaṃ tīhi ṭhānehi
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 19 (R. 18)

24 vaśada varada
mana-bhaṇi aṇudhada
artha dharma ja ḍeśedi
tam aho bromi brammaṇa. (24)
O. 25

cf. 363 yo mukha-sañño bhikkhu
manta-bhāṇī anuddhato
atthaṃ dhammaṃ ca dīpeti
madhuraṃ tassa bhāsitaṃ.
Thg. 2, 1006*ab* upasanto uparato
manta-bhāṇī anuddhato.
xxviii. 8*ab*

25 vaśada varada
mana-bhaṇi aṇudhada
utamatha aṇuprato
tam aho bromi brammaṇa. (25)
O. 26

386*cd*, 403*cd* uttamatthaṃ anuppattaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.

26 yasya rako ca doṣo ca
avija ca vira'ida
kṣiṇasavu arahada
tam ahu bromi brammaṇa. (26)
O. 27

Saṃ. i. 13, 165 yesaṃ rāgo ca doso ca
avijjā ca virājitā
khīṇāsavā arahanto.
420*cd* khīṇāsavaṃ arahantaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.

27 yasya rako ca doṣo ca
maṇu makṣu pravadido
paṇa-bhara visañutu
tam ahu bromi brammaṇo. (27)
O. 28

407*ab* yassa rāgo ca doso ca
māno makkho ca pātito
402*cd* panna-bhāraṃ visaṃyuttaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 49*bc* (R. 47)

28 ak*r*ośa vadha-baña ca
aduṭh*u* yo tidikṣadi
kṣadi-bala balaṇeka
tam ahu bromi brammaṇa. (28)
O. 29

399 akkosaṃ vadha-bandhaṃ ca
aduṭṭho yo titikkhati
khantī-balaṃ balānīkaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 21 (R. 20)

29 avirudhu virudheṣu
ata-daṇeṣu nivudu
sadaṇeṣu aṇadaṇa
tam aho bromi brammaṇa. (29)
O. 30

406 aviruddhaṃ viruddhesu
atta-daṇḍesu nibbutaṃ
sādānesu anādānaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 48 (R. 46)

[1] Sn. 632 *viññapaniṃ*.

30 yo idheva pre'aṇadi
dukhasa kṣaya atvaṇo
vipramutu visañutu
tam aho bromi brammaṇa. (30)
O. 31

402 yo dukkhassa pajānāti
idheva khayaṃ attano
panna-bhāraṃ visaṃyuttaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 30*ab* (R. 29); xxxii. 35*ab* (R. 33)

31 navaja'i navijapu
pavaka na vicida'i
sadaśam atha-daśavi
tam aho bromi bramaṇa. (31)

xxxiii. 63 sdig can rnam par mi sems śiṅ
mi bsgom smra bar mi byed par
(ḥdug nas rdul bral sems pa de)
bram ze yin par ṅas gsuṅs so.

32 asatsiṭha ghahaṭhehi
aṇakarehi y=uha'i
aṇova-sari apicha
tam aho brommi brammaṇa. (32)

404 asaṃsaṭṭhaṃ gahaṭṭhehi
anāgārehi c'ūbhayaṃ
anoka-sārim appicchaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 23 (R. 22)

33, 65
33 aradi radi ca yo hitva
sab*r*ayaṇ*o* pradisvado
sarva-bhava-parikṣiṇa
tam aho brommi brammaṇa. (33)

418*a* hitvā ratiṃ ca aratiṃ ca
Thg. 607*d* sampajāno patissato
415*cd* kāma-bhava-parikkhīṇaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 53*a* (R. 51)

64
34 yasa pure ya pacha ya
34
. i
akijaṇa aṇadaṇa
tam ahu brommi brammaṇa. (34)

421 yassa pure ca pacchā ca
majjhe ca natthi kiñcanaṃ
akiñcanaṃ anādānaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 33*ab* (R. 32)

63
35 yasa pari avare ca
para . . . . . .
35
vikada-dvara visañota
tam aho brommi brammaṇa. (35)

385 yassa pāraṃ apāraṃ vā
pārāpāraṃ na vijjati
vītaddaraṃ visaññuttaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 27*ab* (R. 26)

62, 66
36 chitvaṇa paja saṃdaṇa
. . . . . .
36
nani-bhava-parikṣiṇa
tam ahu bromi bramaṇa. (36)

413*cd* nandī-bhava-parikkhīṇaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 39*cd* (R. 37)

67
37 ruva=chada rasa gaña
phaṣa dhama ya kevala
37
praha'i na paritasadi
tam ahu brommi brammaṇa. (37)

Sn. 759*ab* rūpā saddā rasā gandhā
phassā dhammā ca kevalā

68
38 patsukula-dhara jadu
kiśa dhamaṇi-sadhada
38
jayada rukha-mulasya
tam ahu brommi bramaṇa. (38)

395 paṃsukūla-dharaṃ jantuṃ
kisaṃ dhamani-santhataṃ
ekaṃ vanasmiṃ jhāyantaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
Sn. 709*c* jhāyetha rukkha-mūlasmiṃ.
xxxiii. 64 (R. 62)

39 [69] eṇe-jaǵa kiśa vira
apahara alolubh|u [39]
apaṭha apa-kica ji
tam ahu brommi brammaṇa. (39)

Sn. 165 eṇi-janghaṃ kisaṃ dhīraṃ[1]
appāhāraṃ alolupaṃ.
M. ii. 197 . . . appaṭṭhaṃ appa-kiccaṃ.

40 [70] akrodhu aṇuvayasaṃ
viprasana aṇavila
[40] cadra ba vimali śudhu
tam ahu bromi brammaṇa. (40)

D. iii. 159 akkodhano ahosi anupāyāsa-bahulo.
413*b* vippasannaṃ anāvilaṃ
413*a* candaṃ va vimalaṃ suddhaṃ.
xxxiii. 37 (R. 36)

41 [71] . . . . . *ra dhira* (?)
. *h* . *viyi*daviṇo
[41] aṇiha ṇadaka budhu
tam ahu bromi bramaṇa. (41)

422 usabhaṃ pavaraṃ vīraṃ
mahesiṃ vijitāvinaṃ
anejaṃ nahātakaṃ buddhaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 61 (R. 59)

42 [72] chetva nadhi valatra ya
sadaṇa samadikrammi
[42] ukṣita-phali'a vira
tam aho brommi brammaṇa. (42)

398 chetvā nandhiṃ varattaṃ ca
sandānaṃ sahanukkamaṃ
ukkhitta-paḷighaṃ buddhaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 69 (R. 67)

43 [73] yasa gadi na jaṇadi
deva gañava-maṇ . .
[43] tadhakadasa budhasa
tam ahu brommi bramaṇa. (43)

420 yassa gatiṃ na jānanti
devā gandhabba-mānusā
khīṇāsavaṃ arahantaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
xxxiii. 55 (R. 53)

44 [94] yo cudi uvedi satvaṇa
vavati ca |vi [480] sa|rvaśo [44]
budhu adima-śarira
tam aho bromi bramaṇa. (44)
B. 1

419 cutiṃ yo vedi sattānaṃ
upapattiṃ ca sabbaso
asattaṃ sugataṃ buddhaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.
400*c* dantaṃ antima-sārīraṃ.
xxxiii. 59, 43*c* (R. 57, 41)

45 [95] akrodhu aṇuvayasa
vipramutu p*uṇa*rbhava
[45] budhu vada-mala dhira
tam aho bromi bramaṇa. (45)
B. 2

261*c* sa ve vanta-malo dhīro.

46 [96] yo du puñe ca pave ca
uhu ṣaǵa uvaca'i
[46] aṣaǵa viraya budhu
tam ahu bromi bramaṇa. (46)
B. 3

412 yo dha puññaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca
ubho sangaṃ upaccagā
asokaṃ virajaṃ suddhaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇāṃ.
xxxiii. 32, 25*c* (R. 31, 24)

[1] var. *vīraṃ*.

47 [97] ja'i para-kada budhu
jidavi akadaggadi
[47] pruju deva-maṇuśaṇa
tam ahu brommi bramaṇa. (47)
B. 4

48 [98] ja'i para-kada budhu
kida-kica aṇasṛvu
[48] budhu daśabaloveda
tam ahu bromi bramaṇa. (48)
B. 5

49 [99] gammira-praña medhavi
[471] margamargasa ko'i'a
[49] utamu pravara vira
tam ahu brommi bramaṇa. (49)
B. 6

50 [100] diva tavadi adicu
radi avha'i cadrimu
sanadhu kṣa[50]tri'o tavadi
ja'i tavadi bramaṇo
adha sarva aho-ratra
budhu tavadi teyasa. (50)
B. 7
(in margin) 20 20 10.

414*cd* tiṇṇo pāra-gato jhāyī
anejo akathaṃkathī.
Sn. 527*c* deva-manussehi pūjiyo so.
xxxiii. 50 (R. 48)

386*ab* jhāyiṃ virajam āsīnaṃ
kata-kiccaṃ anāsavaṃ.
xxxiii. 43*ab* (R. 41)

403 gambhīra-paññaṃ medhāviṃ
maggāmaggassa kovidaṃ
uttamatthaṃ anuppattaṃ
tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ.

422*a* usabhaṃ pavaraṃ vīraṃ.
xxxiii. 44 (R. 42)

387 divā tapati ādicco
rattim ābhāti candimā
sannaddho khattiyo tapati
jhāyī tapati brāhmaṇo
atha sabbaṃ aho-rattiṃ
buddho tapati tejasā.
xxxiii. 85, 86 (R. 82, 83)

II. BHIKHU

51 [101] ka'eṇa savrudo bhikhu
atha vaya'i[(466)] savrudo
[51] maṇeṇa savrudo bhikhu
sarva druggade'o jahi. (1)
B. 8

52 [102] ka'eṇa sañamu sadhu
sadhu vaya'i sañamu
maṇeṇa sañamu sadhu
[52] sadhu savatra sañamu
sarvatra sañado bhikhu
sarva dugadi'o jahi. (2)
B. 9

53 [103] hasta-sañadu pada-sañadu
vaya-sañadu savudidri'o
aj̄atva-[53]|rado samahido
eko saduṣido tam ahu bhikhu. (3)
B. 10

54 [104] yo muheṇa sañado bhikhu
mana-bhaṇi aṇudhado
artha dhar[54]|ma ci deśedi
masuru tasa bhaṣida. (4)
B. 11

55 [105] śuñakare praviṭhasa
śada-citasa bhikhuṇo
amaṇuṣa-radi[55]| bhodi
same dharma vivaśadu. (5)
B. 12

56 [106] yado yado sammaṣadi
kanaṇa udaka-vaya
lahadi pridi-[56]|pramoju
amudu ta vi'aṇadu. (6)
B. 13

(56*a*) [107] śuñakare praviṭhasa
śada-citasa bhikhuṇo
ama[57]|ṇuṣa-radi bhodi
same dharma vivaśadu. (5)[1]
B. 14

234 kāyena saṃvutā dhīrā
atho vācāya saṃvutā
manasā saṃvutā dhīrā
te ve suparisaṃvutā.
Itiv. 34 sabbā duggatiyo jahe.
vii. 8

361 kāyena saṃvaro sādhu
sādhu vācāya saṃvaro
manasā saṃvaro sādhu
sādhu sabbattha saṃvaro
sabbattha saṃvuto bhikkhu
sabba-dukkhā pamuccati.
vii. 7; Mv. iii. 423

362 hattha-saññato pada-saññato
vācāya saññato saññatuttamo
ajjhatta-rato samāhito
eko saṃtusito tam āhu bhikkhuṃ.
xxxii. 8; Mv. iii. 423 (*cd*)

363 yo mukha-saññato bhikkhu
manta-bhāṇī anuddhato
atthaṃ dhammaṃ ca dīpeti
madhuraṃ tassa bhāsitaṃ.
viii. 10 (xxviii. 8*b*)

373 suññāgāraṃ paviṭṭhassa
santa-cittassa bhikkhuno
amānusī ratī hoti
sammā dhammaṃ vipassato.
xxxii. 10

374 yato yato sammasati
khandhānaṃ udaya-bbayaṃ
labhati pīti-pāmojjaṃ
amataṃ taṃ vijānataṃ.
xxxii. 11

[1] Verse repeated in error by the scribe.

57 [108, 474] pajagi'eṇa turi'eṇa
na radi bhodi tadiśa
[58] *ya*|tha '*e*kaga-citasa
same dharma vivaśadu. (7)
B. 15

Thg. 398 pañcaṅgikena turiyena
na rati hoti tādisī
yathā ekagga-cittassa
sammā dhammaṃ vipassato.
xxxi. 50

58 [109] nasti jaṇa aprañasa
praña nasti ajayado
yasa jaṇa ca praña ya
[59] so hu | nirvaṇasa sadi'i. (8)
B. 16

372 natthi jhānaṃ apaññassa
paññā natthi ajjhāyato
yamhi jhānaṃ ca paññā ca
sa ve nibbāna-santike.
xxxii. 25 (T. 30, R. 28)

59 [110] tatra'i adi bhavadi
tadha prañasa bhikhuṇo
idri'a-goti saduṭhi
[60] pradimukhe i . . |*ro*. (9)
B. 17

375 tatrāyam ādi bhavati
idha paññassa bhikkhuno
indriya-guttī saṃtuṭṭhī
pātimokkhe ca saṃvaro.
xxxii. 26*cd*, 27*ab* (T. 31, 32, R. 29, 30)

60 [111] mitra bhaye'a paḍiruva
śudhayiva ata*dr*idi
[(479)] paḍisadhara-guti=sa
ayara-kuśa . . .
[112] tadu ayara-kuśalo
suhu bhikhu vihaṣisi. (10)
B. 18, 19

375*ef* mitte bhajassu kalyāṇe
suddhājīve atandite
376*abc* paṭisanthāra-vutty=assa
ācāra-kusalo siyā
tato pāmojja-bahulo
379*d* sukhaṃ bhikkhu vihāhisi.
xxxii. 7

61 [113] salavhu nadimañe'a
nañeṣa sviha'o si'a
añeṣa sviha'o bhikhu
samadhi nadhikachadi. (11)
B. 20

365 salābhaṃ nātimaññeyya
nāññesaṃ pihayaṃ care
aññesaṃ pihayaṃ bhikkhu
samādhiṃ nādhigacchati.
xiii. 8

62 [114] apa-labho du yo bhikhu
salavhu nadimañadi
ta gu deva praśajadi
śudhayivu atadrida. (12)
B. 21

366 appa-lābho pi ce bhikkhu
salābhaṃ nātimaññati
taṃ ve devā pasaṃsanti
suddhājīviṃ atanditaṃ.
xxxii. 1, 2

63 [115] kamaramu kama-radu
kamu aṇuvicida'o
kamu aṇusvaro bhikhu
[(477)] sadharma parihayadi. (13)
B. 22

64 [116] dhamaramu dhama-radu
dhamu aṇuvicida'o
dhamu aṇusvaro bhikhu
sadharma na parihayadi. (14)
B. 23

364 dhammārāmo dhamma-rato
dhammaṃ anuvicintayaṃ
dhammaṃ anussaraṃ bhikkhu
sad-dhammā na parihāyati.
xxxii. 9; Mv. iii. 422

65 [117] na śila-vada-matreṇa
baho-ṣukeṇa va maṇo
adha samadhi-labheṇa
vevita-śayaṇeṇa va (15)

271 na sīla-bbata-mattena
bāhusaccena vā puna
atha vā samādhi-lābhena
vivicca-sayanena vā

66 [118] phuṣamu nekhama-sukhu
aprudha-jaṇa-sevida
bhikhu viśpaśa mavadi
(476)
aprate asava-kṣaye. (16)
B. 24, 25

272 phusāmi nekkhamma-sukhaṃ
aputhujjana-sevitaṃ
bhikkhu vissāsa māpādi
appatto āsava-kkhayaṃ.
xxxii. 36 (R. 34); Mv. iii. 422

67 [119] na bhikhu tavada bhodi
yavada bhikṣadi para
veśma dharma samada'i
(473)
bhikhu bhodi na tavada. (17)
B. 26

266 na tena bhikkhu hoti
yāvatā bhikkhate pare
vissaṃ dhammaṃ samādāya
bhikkhu hoti na tāvatā.
xxxii. 18 (T. 19); Mv. iii. 422

68 [120] yo du baheti pavaṇa
vadava bramma-yiyava
sagha'i caradi loku
so du bhikhu du vucadi. (18)
B. 27

267 yo dha puññaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca
bāhetvā brahmacariyavā
saṃkhāya loke carati
sa ve bhikkhū ti vuccati.
xxxii. 19 (T. 20); Mv. iii. 422

69 [121] metra-vihari yo (472) bhikhu
prasanu budha-śaśaṇe
duṇadi pavaka dharma
druma-patra ba maduru. (19)
B. 28

Thg. 2, 1006*cd* dhunāti pāpake dhamme
duma-pattaṃ va māluto.
xxxii. 25 (R. 24); iv. 28*cd*; xxviii. 8*cd*

70 [122] metra-vihara yo bhikhu
prasanu budha-śaśaṇe
paḍiviju pada śada
sagharavośamu suha. (20)
B. 29

368 mettā-vihārī yo bhikkhu
pasanno buddha-sāsane
adhigacche padaṃ santaṃ
saṅkhārūpasamaṃ sukhaṃ.
xxxii. 20 (T. 22); iv. 31*cd*; Mv. iii. 421

71 [123] udaga-citu yo bhikhu
abhivuyu pri'apri'a
adhikachi pada śada
akavuruṣa-sevida. (21)
B. 30

Mv. iii. 422, 6 udagra-citto sumanā
abhibhūya priyāpriyaṃ
ibid. 1 adhigacchati padaṃ śāntaṃ
akāpuruṣa-sevitaṃ.
Thg. 649*d* akāpurisa-sevitaṃ.

72 [124] pramoja-baholu yo bhikhu
abhivuyu pri'apri'a
adhikachi pada śada
aseyaṇe moyaka. (22)
B. 31

381*a* pāmojja-bahulo bhikkhu.

Therī. 196*cd* adhigacche padaṃ santaṃ
asecanakam ojavaṃ.
Mv. iii. 421 asecanaṃ ca mocanaṃ.
Uv. xxxii. 21 asecanaka-darśanam.
[a=Uv. xxxii. 23 (T. 27) *c*]

73 [125] apramada-radu yo bhikhu
pramadi bhaya-daśima
abhavu parihaṇa'i
nivaṇaseva sadi'i. (23)
B. 32

32 appamāda-rato bhikkhu
pamāde bhaya-dassivā
abhabbo parihānāya
nibbānasseva santike.
iv. 32; vi. 7*cd*

74 [126] apramada-radu yo bhikhu
pramadi bhaya-da[*śima*]
[202] [126]
sañoya|ṇa *aṇu*-thu*la*
[475] [126]
ḍahu ag|i va gachadi. (24)
B. 33

31 appamāda-rato bhikkhu
pamāde bhaya-dassivā
saññojanaṃ aṇuṃ-thūlaṃ
ḍahaṃ aggīva gacchati.
iv. 29

75 [127] ja'i bhikhu ma yi pramati
(202)
ma de kama-guṇa bhametsu cita
ma loha-guḍa gili pramata
kani dukham ida di ḍajamaṇo. (25)
B. 34

371 jhāya bhikkhu mā ca pamādo
mā te kāma-gune bhavassu cittaṃ
mā loha-guḷaṃ gilī pamatto
mā kandi dukkham idaṃ ti ḍa-
yhamāno.
xxxi. 31 (T. 32)

76 [128] sija bhikhu ima nama
sita di lahu bheṣidi
chetva raka ji doṣa ji
tado nivaṇa eṣidi. (26)
B. 35

369 siñca bhikkhu imaṃ nāvaṃ
sittā te lahum essati
chetvā rāgaṃ ca dosaṃ ca
tato nibbānam ehisi.
xxvi. 12; Mv. iii. 421

77 [129] kodhaṇa akidaña i
drohiṇi pa*rivaja'i*
(478)
brama-yirya cara bhikhu
[465, 129]
same-sabudha-śaśaṇi. (27)
B. 36

Jāt. i. 298 kodhanā akataññu ca
pisuṇā ca vibhedikā
brahmacariyaṃ cara bhikkhu
so sukhaṃ na vihāhisi.

78 [130] paja china paje jahi
paja utvari-bhava'i
paja-ṣaǵadhi'o bhikhu
oha-tiṇo di vucadi. (28)
B. 37

370 pañca chinde pañca jahe
pañca vuttari-bhāvaye
pañca-saṅgātigo bhikkhu
ogha-tiṇṇo ti vuccati.

79 [131] savaśu nama-ruvasa
yasa nasti mama'ida
asata i na śoyadi
so hu bhikhu du vucadi. (29)
B. 38

367 sabbaso nāma-rūpasmiṃ
yassa natthi mamāyitaṃ
asatā ca na socati
sa ve bhikkhū ti vuccati.
xxxii. 17 (T. 18)

80 [132] alagido ya vi care'a dhamu
dadu śadu sañadu bramma-yari
saveṣu bhudeṣu niha'i daṇa
so bramaṇo so ṣamaṇo so bhikhu.
(30)
B. 39

142 alaṅkato ce pi samaṃ careyya
santo danto niyato brahmacārī
sabbesu bhūtesu nidhāya daṇḍaṃ
so brāhmaṇo so samaṇo sa bhikkhu.
xxxiii. 1; Mv. iii. 412; Divy. 339

81 [133] yo najakamo bhavaṣu[1] sara
*vi*yiṇi p*u*ph*a* viva . . *puraṇa*
s*o* bhikhu jahadi *o* . . .
[136a] urako jiṇa [133]viva udumareṣu. (31)
B. 40

Sn. 5 yo nājjhagamā bhavesu sāraṃ
vicinaṃ puppham iva udumbaresu
so bhikkhu jahāti ora-pāraṃ
urago jiṇṇam iva tacaṃ purāṇaṃ.
xviii. 21 (T. 20)

82 [134] yo upad*i*[*da*] *vi*ṇedi kodhu
visaḍa . . . . . .
[204]
. . . . . orupa*r*a
urako jiṇa v . . [209]ya puraṇa.
(32)
B. 41, 43

Sn. 1 yo uppatitaṃ vineti kodhaṃ
visataṃ sappavisaṃ va osadhehi
so bhikkhu jahāti ora-pāraṃ
urago jiṇṇam iva tacaṃ purāṇaṃ.
xxxii. 63

83 [135] yo maṇa udavahi aśeṣa
bisa . . . . vikaśa
so bhikhu jahadi *o* . para
urako jiṇa viva tvaya puraṇa. (33)
B. 42, 44

Sn. 4 yo mānam udabbadhī asesaṃ
2 bhisa-puppham va saroruhaṃ vigayha
so bhikkhu, &c.
xviii. 25 (T. 24)

84 [136] yo taṣa udacha'i aśeṣa
sa*r* . . . . . śoṣa'*i*tha
so bhikhu jaha . ora-para
urako jiṇa viva tvaya puraṇa. (34)
B. 43, 45

Sn. 3 yo taṇham udacchidā asesaṃ
saritaṃ sīghasaraṃ visosayitvā
so bhikkhu, &c.

85 [137] yo sarva-keleśa dala'itha
naḍa . . . . [*ma*]hoho
so . kh*u ja*hadi ora-para
urako jiṇa viva tvaya puraṇa. (35)
B. 44, 46

Sn. 4 naḷa-setuṃ va sudubbalaṃ mahogho
so bhikkhu, &c.
xxxii. 65 ff.

[1] Read *bhavesu*.

86 [138] yo ecasari[1] na precasari
sarva *'iha* (?) . . . .
so bhikhu jaha . ora-para
urako jiṇa viva tvaya puraṇa. (36)
B. 47

87 [139] yo necasari na precasari
sarvu vidadham ida di ñatva [134a] . |ku
[139] so bhikhu jahadi ora-para
urako jiṇa viva tvaya puraṇa. (37)
B. 48

88 [140] yasa aṇośe'a na sadi keyi
oru akamaṇa'i prace'a i
so bhikhu jahadi ora-para
urako jiṇa viva tvayo puraṇa. (38)
B. 49

89 [141] yasa vaṇaśe'a na sadi keyi
viṇavana'u bhava'i hedu-kapa
so bhikhu jahadi ora-para
urako jiṇa viva tvaya puraṇa. (39)
B. 48, 50

90 . . . . . .
. . [142] *tiṇa*-kadaka . *viśala*
so bhikhu jahadi ora-para
urako jiṇa viva tvaya puraṇa. (40)
(in margin) 20 20.

Sn. 8 (?) yo nāccasārī na paccasārī
sabbaṃ accagamā imaṃ papañcaṃ
so bhikkhu, &c.

Sn. 9 yo nāccasārī na paccasārī
sabbaṃ vitatham idaṃ ti ñatva loke
so bhikkhu, &c.
xxxii. 57 (R. 56)

Sn. 14 yassānusayā na santi keci
15 oraṃ āgamanāya paccayāse
so bhikkhu, &c.
xxxii. 77 (R.75)

Sn. 16 yassa vanathajā na santi keci
vinibandhāya bhavāya hetu-kappā
so bhikkhu, &c.
xxxii. 75*a* (R. 73)

Sn. 17 yo nīvaraṇe pahāya pañca
anīgho tiṇṇa-kathaṃkatho visallo
so bhikkhu, &c.
xxxii. 72 (R. 71)

[1] Read *necasari*?

III. TASIṆA

91 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . [464]*h*]oru
phalam ich[143]o va vaṇasma vaṇaru. (1)
B. 51

92 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . [144]paśadha
muto bañaṇam eva jayadi. (2)
B. 52

93 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . [145]yi
nivaṇa bhodha bhikṣavi. (3)
B. 53

94 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . [146]kṣira-vayo va madara. (4)
B. 54

95 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . [459]suheṣiṇo
yokam a'ed*i* [455]|puṇapuṇu cira'i.

96 . . . . . .
. . [462, 457]ku puruṣasa kama
ciṭhadu ci[432, 460]|*tr*aṇi tadheva|[451] loke
athatha dhira veṇe'adi chana.

96a . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . [458][*bha*]va-śa|[452]laṇa
sabrayaṇo pradisvado.

[*The remainder of the chapter is lost.*]

334 manujassa pamatta-cārino
taṇhā vaḍḍhati māluvā viya
so plavati hurāhuraṃ
phalam icchaṃ va vanasmiṃ vānaro.
iii. 4

344 yo nibbanatho vanādhimutto
vana-mutto vanam eva dhāvati
taṃ puggalam eva passatha
mutto bandhanam eva dhāvati.
xxvii. 26

283 vanaṃ chindatha mā rukkhaṃ
vanato jayatī bhayaṃ
chetvā vanaṃ ca vanathaṃ ca
nibbanā hotha bhikkhavo.
xviii. 3

284 yāvaṃ hi vanatho na chijjati
aṇu-matto pi narassa nārisu
paṭibaddha-mano va tāva so
vaccho khīra-pako va mātari.
xviii. 4; iii. 3*f*

341 saritāni sinehitāni ca
somanassāni bhavanti jantuno
te sātasitā sukhesino
te ve jāti-jarūpagā narā.
342 tasiṇāya purakkhatā pajā
parisappanti saso va bādhito
saṃyojana-sanga-sattakā
dukkham upenti punappunaṃ cirāya.
iii. 5, 6

Saṃ. i. 22 na te kāmā yāni citrāni loke
saṃkappa-rāgo purisassa kāmo
tiṭṭhanti citrāni tatheva loke
ath' ettha dhīrā vinayanti chandaṃ.
ii. 7

(351 niṭṭhangato asantāsī
vīta-taṇho anangano
acchidda bhava-sallāni
antimo 'yaṃ samussayo.)
Thg. 607*d* saṃpajāno patissato.

IV. PAVU

[*Lost*]

V. ARAHA

[*Lost*]

VI. MAGU

[*Verses 1–17 lost*]

97 [147] *u*ju'o namu so magu
abhaya namu sa diśa
radho akuyaṇo namu
dharma-trakehi sahado. (18)
A⁴1

Saṃ. i. 33 ujuko nāma so maggo
abhayā nāma sā disā
ratho akūjano nāma
dhamma-cakkehi saṃyuto.

98 [148] hiri tasa avaramu
svadi=sa parivaraṇa
dhamaha saradhi bromi
same-diṭhi-purejavu. (19)
A⁴2

hirī tassa apālambo
saty=assa parivāranaṃ
dhammāhaṃ sārathiṃ brūmi
sammā-diṭṭhi-purejavaṃ.

99 [149] yasa edadiśa yaṇa
gihi parva'idasa va
sa vi ediṇa yaṇeṇa
nivaṇaseva sadi'a. (20)
A⁴3

yassa etādisaṃ yānaṃ
itthiyā purisassa vā
sa ve etena yānena
nibbānasseva santike.

100 [150] supra'udhu pra'ujadi
imi godama-ṣavaka
yeṣa diva ya radi ca
nica budha-kada svadi. (21)
A⁴4

296 suppabuddhaṃ pabujjhanti
sadā gotama-sāvakā
yesaṃ divā ca ratto ca
niccaṃ buddha-gatā sati.
xv. 12

101 [151] supra'udhu pra'ujadi
imi godama-ṣavaka
yeṣa diva ya radi ca
nica dhama-kada svadi. (22)
A⁴5

297 suppabuddhaṃ pabujjhanti
sadā gotama-sāvakā
yesaṃ divā ca ratto ca
niccaṃ dhamma-gatā sati.
xv. 13

102 [152] supra'udhu pra'ujadi
imi godama-ṣavaka
yeṣa diva ya radi ca
nica sa*g̃*a-kada svadi. (23)
A⁴6

298 suppabuddhaṃ pabujjhanti
sadā gotama-sāvakā
yesaṃ divā ca ratto ca
niccaṃ sangha-gatā sati.
xv. 14

103 [153] supra'udhu pra'ujadi
imi godama-ṣavaka
yeṣa diva ya radi ca
nica kaya-kada svadi. (24)
A47

104 [154] supra'udhu pra'ujadi
imi godama-ṣavaka
yeṣa diva ya radi ca
ahitsa'i rado maṇo. (25)
A48

105 [155] supra'udhu pra'ujadi
imi godama-ṣavaka
yeṣa diva ya radi ca
bhamaṇa'i rado maṇo. (26)
A49

106 [156] savi saghara aṇica di
yada prañaya paśadi
tada nivinadi dukha
e[ṣo] magu viśo|dhi'a. (27)
234 449
A31

107 [157] savi saghara dukha di
yada praña'i gradhadi
tada nivinadi dukha
(235)
eṣo magu viśodhi'a. (28)
A32

108 [158] sarvi dhama aṇatva di
yada paśadi cakhkṣuma
tada nivinadi dukha
eṣo mago viśodhi'a. (29)
A33

109 [159] magaṇa aṭhagi'o śeṭho
sacaṇa ca'uri pada
viraku śeṭho dhamaṇa
praṇa-bhudaṇa cakhuma. (30)
A34

ga 20 10.
A35

299 suppabuddhaṃ pabujjhanti
sadā gotama-sāvakā
yesaṃ divā ca ratto ca
niccaṃ kāya-gatā sati.
xv. 15

300 suppabuddhaṃ pabujjhanti
sadā gotama-sāvakā
yesaṃ divā ca ratto ca
ahiṃsāya rato mano.
xv. 17

301 suppabuddhaṃ pabujjhanti
sadā gotama-sāvakā
yesaṃ divā ca ratto ca
bhāvanāya rato mano.
xv. 25

277 sabbe saṃkhārā aniccā ti
yadā paññāya passati
atha nibbindati dukkhe
esa maggo visuddhiyā.
xii. 5

278 sabbe saṃkhārā dukkhā ti
yadā paññāya passati
atha nibbindati dukkhe
esa maggo visuddhiyā.
xii. 6

279 sabbe dhammā anattā ti
yadā paññāya passati
atha nibbindati dukkhe
esa maggo visuddhiyā.
xii. 7

273 maggān' aṭṭhaṅgiko seṭṭho
saccānaṃ caturo padā
virāgo seṭṭho dhammānaṃ
dipadānaṃ ca cakkhumā.
xii. 4

VII. APRAMADU

110 [160] udiṭha na pramaje'a
dhamu sucarida cari
dhama-cari suhu śe'adi
asvi loki parasa yi. (1)
A³6

111 [161] uṭhaṇeṇa apramadeṇa
sañameṇa dameṇa ca
divu karodi medhavi
ya jara nabhimardadi. (2)
A³7

112 [162] uṭhaṇamado svadimado
suyi-kamasa niśama-cariṇo
sañadasa hi dhama-jiviṇo
apramatasa yaś=idha vaḍhadi. (3)
A³8

113 [163] uṭhaṇe-'alasa aṇuṭhehadu
yo'i bali alasi'e uvidu
satsana-sagapa-maṇo svadima
praña'i maga alasu na vinadi. (4)
A³9

114 [164] na tavada dhama-dharo
yavada baho bhaṣadi
yo du apa bi ṣutvaṇa
dhamu ka'eṇa phaṣa'i
[165] so ho dhama-dharo bhodi
yo dhamu na pramajadi. (5)
A³10, 11

115 [166] apramadu amuda-pada
pramadu mucuṇo pada
apramata na miyadi
ye pramata yadha mudu. (6)
A³12

116 [167] eda viśeṣadha ñatva
apramadasa paṇido
apramadi pramodi'a
ari'aṇa goyari rado. (7)
A³13

168 uttiṭṭhe na ppamajjeyya
dhammaṃ sucaritaṃ care
dhamma-cārī sukhaṃ seti
asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.
iv. 35

25 uṭṭhānenappamādena
saññamena damena ca
dīpaṃ kayirātha medhāvī
yam ogho nābhikīrati.
iv. 5

24 uṭṭhānavato satīmato.
suci-kammassa nisamma-kārino
saññatassa ca dhamma-jīvino
appamattassa yaso 'bhivaḍḍhati.
iv. 6

280 uṭṭhāna-kālamhi anuṭṭhahāno
yuvā balī ālasiyaṃ upeto
saṃsannasaṃkappa-mano kusīto
paññāya maggaṃ alaso na vindati.
xxxi. 32

259 na tāvatā dhamma-dharo
yāvatā bahu bhāsati
yo ca appaṃ pi sutvāna
dhammaṃ kāyena passati
sa ve dhamma-dharo hoti
yo dhammaṃ na ppamajjati.
iv. 21

21 appamādo amata-padaṃ
pamādo maccuno padaṃ
appamattā na mīyanti
ye pamattā yathā matā.
iv. 1

22 etaṃ visesato ñatvā
appamādamhi paṇḍitā
appamāde pamodanti
ariyānaṃ gocare ratā.
iv. 2

117 [168] pramada aṇuyujadi
bala drumedhiṇo jaṇa
apramada du medhavi
dhaṇa śeṭhi va rakṣadi. (8) [(468)]
A³14

26 pamādaṃ anuyuñjanti
bālā dummedhino janā
appamādaṃ ca medhāvī
dhanaṃ seṭṭhaṃ va rakkhati.
iv. 10

118 [169] apramatu pramateṣu
suteṣu baho-jagaru
avalaśa va bhadraśu
hitva yadi sumedhasu. (9)
A³15

29 appamatto pamattesu
suttesu bahu-jāgaro
abalassaṃ va sīghasso
hitvā yāti sumedhaso.
xix. 4

119 [170] pramadu apramadeṇa
yadha nudadi paṇidu
praña-prasada aruśu
aśoka śo'iṇo jaṇa
pravada-ṭho [188a]|va bhuma-ṭha
dhiru bala avekṣidi. (10)
A³16

28 pamādaṃ appamādena
yadā nudati paṇḍito
pañña-pāsādam āruyha
asoko sokiniṃ pajaṃ
pabbata-ṭṭho va bhumma-ṭṭhe
dhīro bāle avekkhati.
iv. 4

120 [171] apramadeṇa makavha
devaṇa samidhi gadu
apramada praśaṇjadi
pramadu gara[189a]|hidu sada. (11)
A³17, A²1

30 appamādena maghavā
devānaṃ seṭṭhataṃ gato
appamādaṃ pasaṃsanti
pamādo garahito sadā.
iv. 24

121 [172] [*hi*]ṇa dha*r*ma na seva'a[1]
pramadeṇa na savasi
micha-diṭhi na roy*e*'a
na si'a loka-vaḍhaṇo. (12)
A²2

167 hīnaṃ dhammaṃ na seveyya
pamādena na saṃvase
micchā-diṭṭhiṃ na seveyya
na siyā loka-vaddhano.
iv. 8

122 [173] yo du puvi pramajeti
pacha su na pramajadi
so ida loku ohasedi
abha muto va suri'u. (13)
A²3

172 yo ca pubbe pamajjitvā
pacchā so na ppamajjati
so 'maṃ lokaṃ pabhāseti
abbhā mutto va candimā.
xvi. 5

123 [174] arahadha nikhamadha
yujatha budha-śaśaṇe
dhuṇatha mucuṇo seṇa
naḍakara ba kuñaru. (14)
A²4

Thg. 256, 1147, Saṃ. 156–7 ārabhatha nikkhamatha
yuñjatha buddha-sāsane
dhunātha maccuno senaṃ
naḷāgāraṃ va kuñjaro.
iv. 37; Divy. 68, 138, &c.

[1] Read *seve'a*.

124 [175] apramata svadimada
susila bhodu bhikṣavi
susamahida-sagapa
sacita aṇurakṣadha. (15)
A²5

D. ii. 120 appamattā satimanto
susīlā hotha bhikkhavo
susamāhita-saṃkappā
sacittaṃ anurakkhatha.
iv. 36

125 [176] yo imasma dhama-viṇa'i
apramatu vihaṣidi
praha'i jadi-satsara
dukhusada karisadi. (16)
A²6

D. ii. 121, yo imasmiṃ dhamma-vinaye
Saṃ. i. 157, appamatto vihessati
Thg. 257 pahāya jāti-saṃsāraṃ
dukhass' antaṃ karissati.
Uv. iv. 38; Divy. 68, 139, &c.

126 [177] ta yu vadami bhadrañu
yavaditha samakada
apramada-rada bhodha
sadhami supravedidi. (17)
A²7

337*ab* taṃ vo vadāmi bhaddaṃ vo
yāvant' ettha samāgatā
327*a* appamāda-ratā hotha
Itiv. 78 saddhamme suppavedite.
Uv. iii. 11*ab*

127 [178] pramada parivajeti
(469)
apramada-rada sada
bhavetha kuśala dhama
yoka-kṣemasa prata'a. (18)
A²8

Therī. 8*cd* bhāvehi kusale dhamme
yoga-kkhemassa pattiyā.
(Jāt. i. 275 bhāveti)

128 [179] te kṣema-prata suhiṇo
(470)
apramada-vihar|[454]i'o
phuṣad*i* . . . . *ṇa*
. . . . . (19)
A¹1

M. iii. 187 te khema-ppattā sukhino.
Thg. 1011*d* appamāda-vihārino.
Dhp. 23*c*? phusanti dhīrā nibbānaṃ.

129 [180] apramadi pramodi'a
ma gami-radi-sabhamu
apramato hi jayadu
viśeṣa adhikachadi. (20)
A¹2

27 mā pamādaṃ anuyuñjetha
mā kāma-rati-santhavaṃ
appamatto hi jhāyanto
pappoti vipulaṃ sukhaṃ.
Jāt. i. 435 visesaṃ adhigacchati.
iv. 12; Thg. 884 (paramaṃ *for* vipulaṃ)

130 [181] apramadi pramodi'a
ma gami-radi-sabhamu
apramato hi jayadu
kṣaya dukhasa pramuṇi. (21)
A¹3

Itiv. 30, 87 khayaṃ dukkhassa pāpuṇe.

131 . . . [182] da-rada bhodha
khaṇo yu ma uvaca'i
khaṇadida hi śoyadi
nira'eṣu samapi*da*. (22)

327*a* appamāda-ratā hotha
315*def* khaṇo ve mā upaccagā
khaṇātītā hi socanti
nirayamhi samappitā.
v, 17; cf. iii. 14

132 [183] apramada-rada bhodha
sadhami supravedide
drugha udhvaradha atvaṇa
paga-sana va kuña. . (23)
A¹5

133 [184] na'i kalu pramadasa
aprati asava-kṣaye
pramata duhu amedi
siha ba mruya-madi'a. (24)
A¹6

134 [185] na'i pramada-samayu
aprati asava-kṣayi
apramato hi jayadu
pranodi paramu sukhu. (25)
A¹7

ga 20 4 1.
A¹8

327 appamāda-ratā hotha
sacittaṃ anurakkhatha
duggā uddharath' attānaṃ
paṅke sanno va kuñjaro.
iv. 27*cd* (T. 25); xxxii. 24*cd*

Uv. iv. 13 nāyaṃ pramāda-kālaḥ syād
aprāpte hy āsrava-kṣaye
pramattaṃ māra anveti
siṃhaṃ vā [*sic*] mṛga-mātṛkā.

272*d* appatto āsava-kkhayaṃ.
27*cd* appamatto hi jhāyanto
pappoti vipulaṃ sukhaṃ.
iv. 12*cd*; Thg. 884*cd* paramaṃ

VIII. CITA

135 [186, 440]diṭha-dharma-suhatha'i[435]
[431]sabaraka-'ida|'i[437] ca
. . [186]*ru*kha-pra|*ha*ṇaṇi[461]
[429]cita rakṣe|'a[186] paṇid*u*. (1)

A¹9

Mv. iii. 212 dṛṣṭa-dharme hitārthaṃ vā
saṃparāya-sukhāya vā.

36*c* cittaṃ rakkhetha medhāvī.

136 [434]phanaṇa cava|la[436] cita
drurakṣa drunivaraṇa
u . . . . . .
. . . . . (2)

33 phandanaṃ capalaṃ cittaṃ
dūrakkhaṃ dunnivārayaṃ
ujuṃ karoti medhāvī
usukāro va tejanaṃ.
xxxi. 8

137a [441]duraga*ma* eka . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

37 dūrangamaṃ eka-caraṃ
asarīraṃ guhāsayaṃ
ye cittaṃ saññamessanti
mokkhanti māra-bandhanā.
xxxi. 9; xxxiii. 67 (R. 65)

137b [442]vari'o va thale kṣit[*o*]
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

34 vārijo va thale khitto
okamokato ubbhato
pariphandat' idaṃ cittaṃ
māra-dheyyaṃ pahātave.
xxxi. 2

137c [443]aṇuvaṭhida-citasa
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

38 anavaṭṭhita-cittassa
saddhammaṃ avijānato
pariplava-pasādassa
paññā na paripūrati.
xxxi. 28

137d [444]aṇuvaṣuda-cita*sa*
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

39 anavassuta-cittassa
ananvāhata-cetaso
puñña-pāpa-pahīnassa
natthi jāgarato bhayaṃ.
xxviii. 6

138a [445]sudu . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

36 sududdasaṃ sunipuṇaṃ
yattha-kāma-nipātino
cittaṃ rakkhetha medhāvī
cittaṃ guttaṃ sukhāvahaṃ.

138b [438] kummovamu ka*ya* . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

138c [446] *sa*[*ma*]*dhi* . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

138d [447] samadhi muci . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

138e [439] [*ci*]teṇa vaji*da* . .(?)

---

[430] yo d*u* vi *pra* . . (?)

---

[433] *tayo* (?)

[*The remainder of the chapter is lost.*]

40 kumbhūpamaṃ kāyam imaṃ viditvā
nagarūpamaṃ cittam idaṃ ṭhapetvā
yodhetha māraṃ paññāvudhena
jitaṃ ca rakkhe anivesano siyā.
xxxi. 35

Uv. xxxi. 51 (?) gaṅ yid tiṅ ḥdzin la dgaḥ ba
de dag ḥdod pas rtse mi byed
gaṅ źig cuṅ zad gduṅ med paḥi
skyob pa bde bar ñal bar ḥgyur.

Uv. xxxi. 52 (?) gaṅ yid tiṅ ḥdzin la dgaḥ ba
de dag ḥdod pas rtse mi byed
gaṅ źig cuṅ zad gduṅ med paḥi
thub pa kye maḥo dgaḥ bar ḥgyur.

IX. BALA

[*Lost*]

X. JARA

139a . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . *di*
apa-matse va palare.

139b . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
poraṇaṇi *aṇu*svar*u*.

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140 *dh* . . jimi jare astu
dr*u* . . . . . *jare*
. . . . . .
. . . . . (4)
C^{v}1

141 yo vi varṣa-śada jivi
so vi mrucu-parayaṇo
na kaji pari . . . .
. . . . . (5)
C^{v}2

142 parijiṇam ida ruvu
ro'a-neḍa pravhaguṇo
bhetsidi p*u*di . . .
. . . . . (6)
C^{v}3

143 ko nu harṣo ki[*m a*]ṇano
*ta*va pa[*j*]va|lide sado
anakarasm*a* pakṣiti
pra . . . . . (7)
C^{v}4

155 acaritvā brahmacariyaṃ
aladdhā yobbane dhanaṃ
jiṇṇa-koñcā va jhāyanti
khīṇa-macche va pallale.
xvii. 3

156 acaritvā brahmacariyaṃ
aladdhā yobbane dhanaṃ
senti cāpātikhīṇā va
purānāni anutthunaṃ.
xvii. 4

Saṃ. v. 217 dhī taṃ jammī jare atthu
dubbaṇṇa-karaṇī jare
tāva manoramaṃ vimbaṃ
jarāya abhimadditaṃ.
i. 29

Saṃ. v. 217 yo pi vassa-sataṃ jīve
so pi maccu-parāyaṇo
na kiñci parivajjeti
sabbam evābhimaddati.
i. 30

148 parijiṇṇam idaṃ rūpaṃ
roga-niḍḍaṃ pabhangunaṃ
bhijjati pūti-sandeho
maraṇantaṃ hi jīvitaṃ.
i. 34

146 ko nu hāso kim ānando
niccaṃ pajjalite sati
andhakārena onaddhā
padīpaṃ na gavessatha.
i. 3

Mv. iii. 376 ko nu harṣo ko nu ānando
evaṃ prajvalite sadā
andhakārasmiṃ prakṣiptā
ālokaṃ na prakāśatha.
(*and in preceding stanza,*
pradīpaṃ na gaveṣatha).

144 [191] yam eva paḍhama radi
gabhi vasadi maṇavo
aviṭhidu [482]|so vayadi
so gachu na nivatadi. (8)
Cᵛ5

Jāt. iv. 494 yam ekarattiṃ paṭhamaṃ
gabbhe vasati mānavo
abbhuṭṭhito va sayati
sa gacchaṃ na nivattati.
i. 6

145 [192] yasa radi vivasiṇa
ayu aparado si'a
apodake [483]| va matsaṇa
ki teṣa u kumulaṇa. (9)
Cᵛ6

Jāt. vi. 26 yassa ratyā vivasane
āyuṃ appataraṃ siyā
appodake va macchānaṃ
kiṃ nu komārakaṃ tahiṃ.

Uv. i. 33 yeṣāṃ rātridivāpāye
hy āyur alpataraṃ bhavet
alpodake va matsyānāṃ
kā nu tatra ratir bhavet.

146 [193] ye vrudha ye ya dahara
ye ca maǰima-poruṣa
[402]aṇ*u*pova [*pravaya*][484]*di*
pha[499]|la paka va banaṇa. (10)
Cᵛ7

Jāt. vi. 572 ye ca vuddhā ye ca daharā
ye ca majjhima-porisā.
Uv. i. 10 (T. 8) ye ca vṛddhā ye ca daharā
ye ca madhyama-puruṣāḥ
anupūrvaṃ pravrajanti
phalaṃ pakvam iva bandhanāt.

147 [194] yadha phalaṇa pakaṇa
nice padaṇado bhayo
emu jadasa macasa
nica maraṇado bhayo. (11)
Cᵛ8

Sn. 576 phalānaṃ iva pakkānaṃ
pāto patanato bhayaṃ
evaṃ jātānaṃ maccānaṃ
niccaṃ maraṇato bhayaṃ.
i. 11 (T. 9)

148 [195] yadha nadi pravadi'a
rakṣa vahadi kulaya
emu jara ya mruca ya
aya payedi praṇiṇa. (12)
Cᵛ9

Jāt. vi. 26 yathā vārivaho pūro
vahe rukkh' ūpakūlaje
evaṃ jarāya maraṇena
vuyhante vata pāṇino.
135*cd* evaṃ jarā ca maccu ca
āyu pācenti pāṇinaṃ.
i. 15, 17*cd* (T. 13, 15)

149 [196] yadha vi tadri vikadi
ya yed eva odu opadi
apaka bhodi votavi
oharaṇaseva sadi'i, (13)
Cᵛ10

Jāt. vi. 26 yathā pi tante vitate
yaṃ yad ev'[1] ūpavīyati
appakaṃ hoti vetabbaṃ
evaṃ maccāna jīvitaṃ.
i. 13 (T. 11)

[1] Ed. *yaṃ yaṃ dev'*.

150 [197]emam eva maṇuśa*ṇa*
[*ye*] y=a*ñe* sadi praṇayo
[207]ya ya i vivasadi |radi
mara|[197]ṇaseva sadi'i. (14)
C^{v}11

Sn. 201 ye c'aññe santi pāṇayo.

151 [198]sadi eki na diśadi
pradu diṭho baho-jaṇo
pradu eki na diśadi
sadi diṭha baho-jaṇo. (15)
C^{v}12

Jāt. iv. 127 sāyaṃ eke na dissanti
pāto diṭṭhā bahujjanā
pāto eke na dissanti
sāyaṃ diṭṭhā bahujjanā.
i. 7 (T. 5)

152 [199]tatra ko viśpaśi maco
daharo si di jivid[489]|i
daha|[199]ra vi miyadi
nara nari ca ekada. (16)
C^{v}13

Jāt. vi. 26 daharā pi hi mīyanti
narā ca atha nāriyo
tattha ko vissase poso
daharo mhīti jīvite.
i. 8 (T. 6)

153 [200]ayireṇa vada'i kayu
[490, 500, 510]paḍha'i vari śa'iṣidi
[500] [200]tuchu *a*|*vaka*da-viñaṇa
niratha ba kaḍiġara. (17)
C^{v}14

41 aciraṃ vat' ayaṃ kāyo
paṭhaviṃ adhisessati
chuddho apeta-viññāṇo
niratthaṃ va kaḷingaraṃ.
i. 35

154 [201, 491]*yaṇi*[*ma*]ṇi avathaṇi
ala'uṇi ba |[511]śarada
[491] [201]*śa*gha-*varṇa*|*ṇi* śiṣaṇi
taṇi diṣpaṇi ka radi. (18)
C^{v}15

149*ab* yān' imāni apatthāni
alāpūneva sārade

155 [492]yaṇimaṇi pravhaguṇi
vikṣitaṇi diśo diśa
kavodaka|[505] [203]ṇi |aṭhiṇi
taṇi diṣpaṇi ka radi. (19)
C^{v}16

Divy. 561 imāni yāny upasthānāni
alābur iva śārade[1]
śankha-varṇāni śīrṣāṇi
tāni dṛṣṭveha kā ratiḥ.

149*cd* kāpotakāni aṭṭhīni
tāni disvāna kā rati.

Divy. 561 yānīmāny apaviddhāni
vikṣiptāni diśo daśa
kapota-varṇāny asthīni
tāni dṛṣṭveha kā ratiḥ.
i. 4

[1] MSS. *serabhe.*

156 [493] iminạ pudi-ka'eṇa
adureṇa pravhaguṇa
nicaśuha-vijiṇeṇa
jara-dhameṇa sa|[506]vaśu
nime|[203a]dha parama śodhi
yoka-kṣemu aṇutara. (20)
C^v17

Therī. 140 iminā pūti-kāyena
āturena pabhangunā

Thg. 32 nimmissaṃ paramaṃ santiṃ
yogakkhemaṃ anuttaraṃ.
i. 37

157 [205] iminạ pudi-ka'eṇa
vidvareṇa . . . .
[494] *n*icaśuha-vijiṇeṇa
jara-dhameṇa savaśu
nim|[205]edha parama śodhi
yoka-kṣemu aṇutara. (21)
C^v18

158 [206] iminạ pudi-ka'eṇa
viśravadeṇa pudiṇa
nicaśuha-vijiṇeṇa
jara-dha|[495]*m*eṇa savaśu
n*i*medha parama śodhi
yoka-kṣema |[206]aṇutara. (22)
C^v19

Uv. i. 36 kim anena śarīreṇa
sravatā pūtinā sadā
nityaṃ rogābhibhūtena
jarā-maraṇa-bhīruṇā.

159 [208] ayara jiyamaṇeṇa
ḍajamaṇeṇa nivrudi
nimedha |[496]parama śodhi
yoka-kṣemu aṇutara. (23)
C^v20

Thg. 32 ajaraṃ jīramānena
tappamānena nibbutiṃ
nimmissaṃ paramaṃ santiṃ
yogakkhemaṃ anuttaraṃ.

160 [210] jiyadi hi raya-radha sucitra
adha śarira bi jara uvedi
sada du dharma na |[497]jara *u*vedi
sado hi ṣa sabhi praveraya|[210]di. (24)
C^v21

151 jīranti ve rāja-rathā sucittā
atho sarīraṃ pi jaraṃ upeti
sataṃ ca dhammo na jaraṃ upeti
santo ha ve sabbhi pavedayanti.
i. 28

161 [211] muj*u* pur*a* muju pachadu
majadu muju bhavasa parako
sarvatra v*imuta-mo*ṇaso
[211, 448, 498] na puṇu jadi-jara uvehiṣ*i*. (25)
C^v22

348 muñca pure muñca pacchato
majjhe muñca bhavassa pāragū
sabbattha vimutta-mānaso
na punaṃ jāti-jaraṃ upehisi.
xxix. 66 (T. 60)

ga 20 4 1.

C^v23

XI. SUHA

162 [212] aroga parama labha
saduṭhi parama dhaṇa
vaśpaśa[1] parama mitra
nivaṇa paramo suha. (1)
C^{v}24

204 ārogyaparamā lābhā
saṃtuṭṭhiparamaṃ dhanaṃ
vissāsaparamā ñāti
nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ.
xxvi. 6

163 [485] . *k*itsa parama roka
[213] saghara parama duha
eda ñatva yadha-bh*u*du
nivaṇa paramo suha. (2)
C^{v}25

203 jigacchā paramā rogā
saṃkhārā paramā dukhā
etaṃ ñatvā yathā-bhūtaṃ
nibbānaṃ paramaṃ sukhaṃ.
xxvi. 7

164 [486] . tra-suha-parica[502]'i
yo *paś*i vi*v*ulu suha|
[214] *ca*yi matra-suha dhiro
sabaśu vi*v*ula suha. (3)
C^{v}26

290 mattā-sukha-pariccāgā
passe ce vipulaṃ sukhaṃ
caje mattā-sukhaṃ dhīro
saṃpassaṃ vipulaṃ sukhaṃ.
xxx. 30 (R. 32)

165 [215, 487] . *ha'i vada* |[503]jivamu
*u*s|[215]u'eṣu aṇusu'a
usu'eṣu maṇuśeṣu
viharamu aṇusu'a. (4)
C^{v}27

199 susukhaṃ vata jīvāma
ussukesu anussukā
ussukesu manussesu
viharāma anussukā.
xxx. 43

166 [216] suha'i vada jivamu
veraṇeṣu averaṇa |
[488] veraṇeṣu ma|[216]ṇuśeṣu
viharamu averaṇa. (5)
C^{v}28

197 susukhaṃ vata jīvāma
verinesu averino
verinesu manussesu
viharāma averino.
xxx. 47

167 [217] suha'i . . jivamu
kijaṇeṣu akijaṇa
kijaṇeṣu maṇu.ṣu
*vi*haramu akijaṇa. (6)
C^{v}29

168 [218] suha'i vada jivamu
yeṣa mu nasti kajaṇi[2]
kijaṇeṣu maṇuśeṣu
viharamu akijaṇa. (7)
C^{v}30

200*ab* susukhaṃ vata jīvāma
yesaṃ no natthi kiñcanaṃ.
xxx. 49*ab*, &c.

[1] Read *viśpaśa*?

[2] Read *kijaṇa*.

169 [219] na ta driḍha bañaṇam aha dhira
ya asa[1] taruva babaka va
sarata-cita maṇi-kuṇaleṣu
putreṣu dareṣu ya ya aveha. (8)
Cᵛ31

345 na taṃ daḷhaṃ bandhanam āhu dhīrā
yad āyasaṃ dārujaṃ babbajaṃ ca
sārattarattā maṇi-kuṇḍalesu
puttesu dāresu ca yā apekkhā.
ii. 5

170 [220] eda driḍha bañaṇam aha dhira
ohariṇa śiśila drupamokṣu
eda bi chitvaṇa parivrayadi
aṇavehiṇo kama-suhu praha'i. (9)
Cᵛ32

346 etaṃ daḷhaṃ bandhanam āhu dhīrā
ohārinaṃ sithilaṃ duppamuñcaṃ
etaṃ pi chetvāna paribbajanti
anapekkhino kāma-sukhaṃ pahāya.
ii. 6

171 [221] ye raka-rata aṇuvadadi sodu
sa'i-gada [*ma*]*kaḍa*'o *jala*
eda b*i* chitvaṇa parivrayadi
aṇavehiṇo kama-suha
praha'i. (10)
Cᵛ33

347 ye rāga-rattānupatanti sotaṃ
sayaṃ-kataṃ makkaṭako va jālaṃ
etaṃ pi chetvāna vajanti dhīrā
anapekkhino sabba-dukkhaṃ pahāya.

172 [222] ahivadaṇa-śilisa
nica vridhavayariṇo
catvari tasa vardhadi
ayo kirta suha bala. (11)
Cᵛ34

109 abhivādana-sīlissa
niccaṃ vaddhāpacāyino
cattāro dhammā vaḍḍhanti
āyu vaṇṇo sukhaṃ balaṃ.

173 [223, 513] drulavhu puruṣayañu
[509] *na* sa savatra [*ja*][223]*yadi*
yatra . *ja*yadi viru
ta kulu suhu modadi. (12)
Cᵛ35

193 dullabho purisājañño
na so sabbattha jāyati
yattha so jāyatī dhīro
taṃ kulaṃ sukham edhati.
xxx. 27 (T. 28); Mv. iii. 109

174 [224, 514] *s*uha śayadi muṇaya
na te thiṇa va[*śaṇ*][515]u'*a*
suha śikṣida-[224]|savasa
kici teṣa na vijadi. (13)
Cᵛ36

Netti. 146 sukhaṃ sayanti munayo
na te socanti māvidha.
Jāt. vi. 572 thīnaṃ vasaṃ na gaccheyyaṃ.

175 [225] suha darśaṇa ari'a|[516]ṇa
savaso vi sada suho
adaśaṇeṇa |[225]balaṇa
nicam eva suhi si'a. (14)
Cᵛ37

206 sādhu dassanaṃ ariyānaṃ
sannivāso sadā sukho
adassanena bālānaṃ
niccam eva sukhī siyā.
xxx. 25 (T. 26

[1] Read *ya ayasa*.

176 [517]*ba*la-saghada[1]-cari'u
drigham adhvaṇa śoyiṣu
dukhu balehi *sa*|[226]vasu
amitrehi va savrasi.
[518]. *ra du* suha-savasa
ñadihi va samakamo. (15)
Cᵛ 38, 39

177 [518]dhira hi praña i |[227]bhaye'a paṇido
dhoreka-śila vadamada ari'a
[519]. *ta*diśa sapuruṣa sumedha
bhaye'a nakṣatra-patha va cadrimu. (16)
Cᵛ39, 40

178 [519] [228]ra|dhe'aro va camasa
parikica uvahaṇa
[229] [520]ya |*ya* jahadi kamaṇa
ta ta samajadi suh*a*
sarva ca suhu |[229]ichi'a
sarva kama parica'i. (17)
Cᵛ40, 41

179 [230]*pa* . . . . . ṇeṇa
[*yo atva*]ṇa su . *icha* .
. [521]ra-saṣaga . [230][*t*]*siṭha*
so duha na parimucadi. (18)
Cᵛ42

180 [231]jaya vera prasahadi
dukhu śayadi parayidu
uvaśadu sohu śayadi
hitva jaya-paraya'a. (19)
Cᵛ43

181 [232]aṇica va*da* saghara
upada-vaya-[504]dharmiṇo
upajiti nirujadi
teṣa uvaśamo suho. (20)
Cᵛ44

[504]*ga*[ ]

207 bāla-sangata-cārī hi
dīgham addhāna socati
dukkho bālehi saṃvāso
amitteneva sabbadā
dhīro ca sukha-saṃvāso
ñātīnaṃ va samāgamo.
xxx. 26 (T. 27 and 28*cd*); cf. also xxv. 24

208 dhīraṃ ca paññaṃ ca bahussutaṃ ca
dhorayha-sīlaṃ vatavantam ariyaṃ
taṃ tādisaṃ sappurisaṃ sumedhaṃ
bhajetha nakkhatta-pathaṃ va candimā.
xxv. 25

Jāt. iv. 172 rathakāro va cammassa
parikantaṃ upāhanaṃ
yaṃ yaṃ cajati kāmānaṃ
taṃ taṃ sampajjate sukhaṃ
sabbaṃ ca sukham iccheyya
sabbe kāme pariccaje.
ii. 11, 12*ab*

291 para-dukkhūpadhānena
yo attano sukham icchati
vera-saṃsagga-saṃsaṭṭho
verā so na ppamuccati.
xxx. 2

201 jayaṃ veraṃ pasavati
dukkhaṃ seti parājito
upasanto sukhaṃ seti
hitvā jaya-parājayaṃ.
xxx. 1; AvŚ. i. 57

D. ii. 157, &c. aniccā vata saṃkhārā
uppāda-vaya-dhammino
uppajjitvā nirujjhanti
tesaṃ vūpasamo sukho.
i. 2 (T. 1)

[1] Read *saġada*?

XII. THERA

182 [78]na tavada theru bhodi
ya 'asa *pali* . . *r.*
[83]parivako vayu tasa
moha-ji[*ṇo*] | [233]*di* [*vu*]cadi. (1)

260 na tena thero hoti
yen' assa phalitaṃ siro
paripakko vayo tassa
mogha-jiṇṇo ti vuccati.
xi. 11

183 [79]yo du puñe ca pave ca
duhayasa na lipadi
[84]tam ahu thera bro|[93]mi
yasa na sadi igida. (2)

Mv. iii. 401 evaṃ puṇye ca pāpe ca
ubhayatra na lipyase.
412*ab* yo dha puññaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca
ubho saṅgaṃ upaccagā.
267*ab* yo dha puññaṃ ca pāpaṃ ca
bāhetvā brahmacariyavā.
255*d* natthi buddhānam iñjitaṃ.
Sn. 1041 kāmesu brahmacariyavā
vītataṇho sadāsato
saṃkhāya nibbuto bhikkhu
tassa no santi iñjitā.
Sn. 1042 so ubhantaṃ abhiññāya
majjhe mantā na lippati
taṃ brūmi mahāpuriso ti
so idha sibbaniṃ accagā.

184 [80]kija vi daharu bhodi
kaḍa-keśu śuśu yu'i
[85]vikada-chano ca |[92]kameṣu
bramayari pradisvadu (3)

Sn. 420 yuvā ca daharo cāsi
paṭhamuppattiyā susu.
M. i. 82, &c. daharo hoti
(prose) yuvā susu kāḷa-keso.

185 [81]so vada-doṣu medhavi
praña-śila-sama|[91]hidu
.u . . . visañuto
thero di pravucadi. (4)

263*c* sa vanta-doso medhāvī.
261 yamhi saccaṃ ca dhammo ca
ahiṃsā saññamo damo
sa ve vanta-malo dhīro
thero ti pavuccati.
(x. 7)

186 . . [82]*kar*aṇa-matreṇa
varṇa-pu|[61]ṣkalarṇa'i va
[90]sada-ruvu naru bhodi
iṣu'i matsari śaḍhu. (5)

262 na vāk-karaṇa-mattena
vaṇṇa-pokkharatāya vā
sādhu-rūpo naro hoti
issukī maccharī saṭho.
xxix. 10

187 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
[89]*sada*-ruv*u* di vucadi. (6)

263 yassa c'etaṃ samucchinnaṃ
mūlaghaccaṃ samūhataṃ
sa vantadoso medhāvī
sādhurūpo ti vuccati.
xxix. 9 (T. 10)

188 . . . . . [77]ṣamaṇo
avradu ali'a bhaṇi
icha-loha-sa[88]|mavarṇo
ṣamaṇo ki bhaviṣadi. (7)

189 . . . . [76]va pavaṇi
ta viñu śramaṇa vidu
śamadhare va pa[*va*][87]ṇi
śramaṇo di pravucadi. (8)

190 [236]baho bi ida sahida bhaṣa[75]|maṇa
na takaru bhodi naru pramatu
govo va ga'u gaṇa[86]|'u pareṣa
na bhakava ṣamañathasa bhodi.
(9)

191 [237]apa bi ida sahida bhaṣamaṇa
[(74)]dhamasa bhod*i* aṇudha*ma*cari
aṇuvad*i*'aṇu idha va horo va
so bhakava ṣamañathasa bhodi.
(10)

192 [238]anikaṣayu kaṣaya
yo vastra parihasidi
avedu dama-soraca
na so kaṣaya arahadi. (11)

193 [239]yo du vada-kaṣayu
śileṣu susamahidu
uvedu dama-soraca
so du kaṣaya arahadi. (12)

194 [240]yu[1] metra bhavayadi
apramaṇa nirovadhi
taṇu sañoyaṇo bhodi
paśadu vadhi-sakṣaya. (13)

195 [241]eka bi ya praṇa aduṭha-citu
metrayadi kuśala teṇa bhodi
sarve ya praṇa maṇasaṇu'abadi
prahona ari'a prakarodi puñu.
(14)

264 na muṇḍakena samaṇo
abbato alikaṃ bhaṇaṃ
icchā-lobha-samāpanno
samaṇo kiṃ bhavissati.
xi. 13

265 yo ca sameti pāpāni
aṇuṃ-thūlāni sabbaso
samitattā hi pāpānaṃ
samaṇo ti pavuccati.
xi. 14

19 bahuṃ pi ce sahitaṃ bhāsamāno
na takkaro hoti naro pamatto
gopo va gāvo gaṇayaṃ paresaṃ
na bhāgavā sāmañña assa hoti.
iv. 22

20 appaṃ pi ce sahitaṃ bhāsamāno
dhammassa hotī anudhammacārī
rāgaṃ ca dosaṃ ca pahāya mohaṃ
sammappajāno suvimuttacitto
anupādiyāno idha vā huraṃ vā
sa bhāgavā sāmañña assa hoti.
iv. 23

9 anikkasāvo kāsāvaṃ
yo vatthaṃ paridahessati
apeto dama-saccena
na so kāsāvam arahati.
xxix. 7

10 yo ca vanta-kasāv' assa
sīlesu susamāhito
upeto dama-saccena
sa ve kāsāvam arahadi.
xxix. 8

Ang. iv. 150 yo ca mettaṃ bhāvayati
appamānaṃ paṭissato
tanū saññojanā honti
passato upadhi-kkhayaṃ.

Ang. iv. 151 ekaṃ pi ce pāṇam aduṭṭhacitto
mettāyati kusalī tena hoti
sabbe va pāṇe manasānukampi
pahūtam ariyo pakaroti puññaṃ.
xxxi. 47

[1] Read *yo du*?

196 [242] yo[1] sata-ṣaṇa pradhavi vicirya
rayerṣayu yayamaṇaṇaparyaya
aśpa-veka puruṣa-veka same-
paśa vaya-veka niragaḍa (15)

ibid. ye satta-saṇḍaṃ paṭhaviṃ vijetvā
rājīsayo yajamānānupariyayā
assa-medhaṃ purisa-medhaṃ sammā-
pāsaṃ vājapeyyaṃ niraggaḷaṃ

197 [243] metrasa citasa subhavidasa
diṭhe va dharmi uvavaja va muṇo
kala ami naṇubhavadi sarvaśo[2]
cadri pravha tara-gaṇa va sarvi. (16)

ibid. mettassa cittassa subhāvitassa
kalam pi te nānubhavanti soḷasiṃ
canda-ppabhā tāra-gaṇā va sabbe.

198 [244] yo na hadi na ghadhedi
na jeṇadi na yava'i
mitrisa sarva-bhudeṣu
vera tasa na keṇayi. (17)

ibid. yo na hanti na ghāteti
na jināti na jāpaye
mettaṃso sabbabhūtānaṃ
veraṃ tassa na kenaci.

199 [245] yo du metreṇa citeṇa
sarva-bhuda aṇu'abadi
udhva tiya adho yavi
yo loku aṇu'abadi (18)

Jāt. ii. 61 yo ve mettena cittena
sabba-lok' ānukampati
uddhaṃ adho ca tiriyaṃ ca
appamāṇena sabbaso
appamāṇaṃ hitaṃ[3] cittaṃ
paripuṇṇaṃ subhāvitaṃ
yaṃ pamāṇa-kataṃ kammaṃ
na taṃ tatrāvasissati.

200 [246] aparitam ida cita
apramaṇa subhavida
ya pramaṇa-kida karmu
na ta tatra viśiśadi. (19)

ga 10 4 4 1.

[1] Read *ye*? [2] Surely a mistake for *ṣoḍaśa*. [3] Read *hi taṃ*?

XIII. YAMAKA

201 [247]
maṇo-puvagama dhama
maṇo-śeṭha maṇo-java
maṇasa hi praduṭheṇa
bhaṣadi[1] karodi va
tado ṇa duhu amedi
cako va vahaṇe pathi. (1)

1 mano-pubbangamā dhammā
mano-seṭṭhā mano-mayā
manasā ce paduṭṭhena
bhāsati vā karoti vā
tato naṃ dukkham anveti
cakkaṃ va vahato padaṃ.
xxxi. 23

202 [248]
maṇo-puvagama dhama
maṇo-śeṭha maṇo-java
maṇasa hi prasaneṇa
bhaṣadi va karodi va
tado ṇa suhu amedi
chaya va aṇukamiṇi. (2)

2 mano-pubbangamā dhammā
mano-seṭṭhā mano-mayā
manasā ce pasannena
bhāsati vā karoti vā
tato naṃ sukham anveti
chāyā va anapāyinī.
xxxi. 24

203 [249]
pava ma kada di śoyadi
bhuyu śoyadi drugadi gado
so śoyadi so vihañadi
diṣpa kamu kiliṭha atvaṇo. (3)

17 idha tappati pecca tappati
pāpakārī ubhayattha tappati
pāpaṃ me kataṃ ti tappati
bhiyyo tappati duggatiṃ gato.
xxviii. 34 (R. 37)

204 [250]
puña ma kida di nanadi
bhuyu nanadi sugadi gado
so nanadi so pramodadi
diṣpa kamu viśudhu atvaṇo. (4)

18 idha nandati pecca nandati
kata-puñño ubhayattha nandati
puññaṃ me kataṃ ti nandati
bhiyyo nandati suggatiṃ gato.
xxviii. 36 (R. 39)

205 [251]
idha śoyadi preca śoyadi
pava-kamu duhayatra śoyadi
so śoyadi so vihañadi
diṣpa kamu kiliṭha atvaṇo. (5)

15 idha socati pecca socati
pāpa-kārī ubhayattha socati
so socati so vihaññati
disvā kamma-kiliṭṭham attano.
xxviii. 30 (R. 33)

206 [252]
idha nanadi preca nanadi
puña-kamo duhayatra nanadi
so nanadi so pramodadi
diṣpa kamu viśudhu atvaṇo. (6)

16 idha modati pecca modati
kata-puñño ubhayattha modati
sa modati sa pamodati
disvā kamma-visuddhim attano.
xxviii. 32 (R. 35)

207 [253]
pava ja puruṣu kuya
na ṇa kuya puṇapuṇu
na tasa chana kuvi'a
dukhu pavasa ayayu. (7)

117 pāpañ ce puriso kayirā
na taṃ kayirā punappunaṃ
na tamhi chandaṃ kayirātha
dukkho pāpassa uccayo.
xxviii. 21

[1] Read *bhaṣadi va.*

208 [254] puña ca puruṣu kuya
kuya yo ṇa puṇapuṇu
athatha chana korvi'a
sukhu puñasa ucayu. (8)

118 puññañ ce puriso kayirā
kayirāth' enaṃ punappunaṃ
tamhi chandaṃ kayirātha
sukho puññassa uccayo.
xxviii. 22

209 [255] na apu mañe'a pavasa
na me ta akamiṣadi
uda-binu-nivadeṇa
uda-kubho va puyadi
puyadi balu paveṇa
stuka-stoka bi ayaro. (9)

121 māppamaññetha pāpassa
na maṃ tam āgamissati
uda-bindu-nipātena
uda-kumbho pi pūrati
pūrati bālo pāpassa
thoka-thokaṃ pi ācinaṃ.
xvii. 5

210 [256] na apu mañe'a puñasa
na me ta akamiṣadi
uda-binu-nivadeṇa
uda-kubho va puyadi
puyadi dhiru puñeṇa
stoka-stuka bi ayaru. (10)

122 māppamaññetha puññassa
na maṃ tam āgamissati
uda-bindu-nipātena
uda-kumbho pi pūrati
pūrati dhīro puññassa
thoka-thokaṃ pi ācinaṃ.
xvii. 6

211 [257] kaya-kamu vayi-kamu
maṇo-kama ca pavaka
aseva'iti drupañu
nira'eṣu vavajadi. (11)

140 (athav' assa agārāni
aggī dahati pāvako
kāyassa bhedā) duppañño
nirayaṃ so upapajjati.

212 [258] kaya-kamu vayi-kamu
maṇo-kama ca bhadaka
aseva'iti sapraño
sukadiṣu vavajadi. (12)

It. 60 (bahussuto puññakaro
appasmiṃ idha jīvite
kāyassa bhedā) sappañño
saggaṃ so upapajjati.

213 [259] asari sara-vadiṇo
sari asara-daśiṇo
te sara nadhikachadi
micha-saggapa-goyara. (13)

11 asāre sāra-matino
sāre cāsāra-dassino
te sāraṃ nādhigacchanti
micchā-saṃkappa-gocarā.
xxix. 3

214 [260] sara du saradu ñatva
asara ji asarado
te sara adhikachadi
same-sagapa-goyara. (14)

12 sāraṃ ca sārato ñatvā
asāraṃ ca asārato
te sāram adhigacchanti
sammā-saṃkappa-gocarā.
xxix. 4

215 [261] śaru yadha drugahido
hasta aṇuvikatadi
ṣamaña droparamuṭho
niraya uvakaḍhadi. (15)

311 kuso yathā duggahito
hattham evānukantati
sāmaññaṃ dupparāmaṭṭhaṃ
nirayāya upakaḍḍhati.

Uv. xi. 4 śaro yathā durgṛhīto
hastam evāpakṛntati
śrāmaṇyaṃ duṣparāmṛṣṭaṃ
narakān upakarṣati.

216 [262] śaru yadha sugahido
hasta naṇuvikatadi
ṣamaña suparamuṭho
sukadiṣu vakaḍhadi. (16)

Uv. xi. 5 śaro yathā sugṛhīto
na hastam apakṛntati[1]
śrāmaṇyaṃ suparāmṛṣṭaṃ
nirvāṇasyaiva sāntike.

217 [263] śuhaṇupaśi viharadu
idri'eṣu asavudu
bhoyaṇasa amatraño
kusidu hiṇa-viryava
ta gu prasahadi raku
vadu rakhkṣa ba drubala. (17)

7 subhānupassiṃ viharantaṃ
indriyesu asaṃvutaṃ
bhojanamhi amattaññuṃ
kusītaṃ hīna-vīriyaṃ
taṃ ve pasahati māro
vāto rukkhaṃ va dubbalaṃ.
xxix. 15

218 [264] aśuhaṇupaśi viharadu
idri'eṣu sisavudu
bhoyaṇasa ya matraño
ṣadhu aradha-viryava
ta gu na prasahadi raku
vadu śela va parvada. (18)

8 asubhānupassiṃ viharantaṃ
indriyesu susaṃvutaṃ
bhojanamhi ca mattaññuṃ
saddhaṃ āraddha-vīriyaṃ
taṃ ve na ppasahati māro
vāto selaṃ va pabbataṃ.
xxix. 16

219 [265] yadha akara druchana
vuṭhi samadibhinadi
emu arakṣida cata
raku samadibhinadi. (19)

13 yathā agāraṃ ducchannaṃ
vuṭṭhi samativijjhati
evaṃ abhāvitaṃ cittaṃ
rāgo samativijjhati.
xxxi. 11

220 [266] yadha akara suchana
vuṭhi na samadibhinadi
emu surakṣida cita
raku na samadibhinadi. (20)

14 yathā agāraṃ succhannaṃ
vuṭṭhi na samativijjhati
evaṃ subhāvitaṃ cittaṃ
rāgo na samativijjhati.
xxxi. 17

221 [267] sujivu ahiri'eṇa
kaya-śuriṇa dhakṣiṇa
prakhaṇiṇo prakabhiṇa
sagiliṭheṇa jaduṇa. (21)

244 sujīvaṃ ahirikena
kāka-sūrena dhaṃsinā
pakkhandinā pagabbhena
saṃkiliṭṭhena jīvitaṃ.
xxvii. 3

[1] var. *avākarttati.*

222 [268] hirimada du drujivu
nica śuyi-gameṣiṇo
aliṇeṇa aprakabhiṇa
śudhayiveṇa jaduṇa. (22)

223 [269] brama i bhikhu tasiṇa i pavu
araha mageṇa ya apramadu
cita ji balu adhava jara i
suheṇa theru yama'eṇa treḍaśa.

ga 20 1 1

245 hirīmatā ca dujjīvaṃ
niccaṃ suci-gavesinā
alīnen' appagabbhena
śuddhājīvena passatā.

xxvii. 4

[XIV. PAṆḌITA]

224 [270] dhama-pridi suhu śayadi
viprasaneṇa cedaso
ari'a-pravedidi dharmi
sada ramadi paṇidu. (1)

79 dhamma-pīti sukhaṃ seti
vippasannena cetasā
ariya-ppavedite dhamme
sadā ramati paṇḍito.
xxx. 16

225 [271] yatha vi rada gammiro
viprasano aṇavilo
emu dhamu ṣuṇitvaṇa
viprasidadi paṇida. (2)

82 yathā pi rahado gambhīro
vippasanno anāvilo
evaṃ dhammāni sutvāna
vippasīdanti paṇḍitā.
xvii. 11 (T. 9)

226 [272] sarvatra ya sapuruṣa vivedi
na kama-kama lavayadi dhira
suheṇa phuṭha adhava duheṇa
na ucavaya paṇida daśayadi. (3)

83 sabbattha ve sappurisā vajanti
na kāma-kāmā lapayanti santo
sukhena phuṭṭhā athavā dukhena
na uccāvacaṃ paṇḍitā dassayanti.
xxx. 52 (T. 53)

227 [273] atmaṇam eva pradhamu
pradiruvi niveśa'i
tadañi aṇuśaśe'a
na kiliśe'a paṇidu. (4)

158 attānam eva paṭhamaṃ
patirūpe nivesaye
ath' aññam anusāseyya
na kilisseyya paṇḍito.
xxiii. 6

228 [274] aṣadhehi kradavehi
phiśuṇehi vivhuda-nanahi
sakha na kari'a paṇido
saǵadi kavuruṣehi paviya. (5)

Thg. 1018 pisunena ca kodhanena ⟨ca⟩
maccharinā ca vibhūti-nandinā
sakhitaṃ na kareyya paṇḍito
pāpo kāpurisena saṃgamo.

Uv. xxv. 1 dad pa med ciṅ ḥjuṅs pa daṅ
dbyen byed phra ma can dag daṅ
mkhas pas bśes par mi bya źiṅ
sdig can mi daṅ ḥgrogs mi bya.

229 [275] ṣadhehi ya peśalehi ya
*śilava*da yi bahoṣudehi ya
sakha kuvi'a paṇido
sagadi sapuruṣehi bhadi'a. (6)

Thg. 1019 saddhena ca pesalena ca
paññavatā bahussutena ca
sakhitaṃ hi kareyya paṇḍito
bhaddo sappurisena saṃgamo.

Uv. xxv. 2 dad ldan sñan par smra ba daṅ
thos maṅ tshul khrims ldan pa daṅ
mkhas pa yis ni mdzaḥ bya źiṅ
mi mchog dag daṅ ḥgrogs par bya.

230 [276] anuśaśadi ovadadi
asabhe hi navara'i
paṇidaṇa pri'o bhodi
balaṇa bhodi apri'o. (7)

77 ovadeyyānusāseyya
asabbhā ca nivāraye
sataṃ hi so piyo hoti
asataṃ hoti appiyo.
v. 26

231 [277] nisedara pravatara
yo paśi vaji-daśaṇa
nigiśa-vadi medhavi
tadiśa paṇada bhayi
[278] tadi bhayamaṇaṇa
ṣeho bhodi na pavi'u. (8)

76 nidhīnaṃ va pavattāraṃ
yaṃ passe vajja-dassinaṃ
niggayha-vādiṃ medhāviṃ
tādisaṃ paṇḍitaṃ bhaje
tādisaṃ bhajamānassa
seyyo hoti na pāpiyo.
xxviii. 7

232 [278] ka'eṇa kuśala kitva
vaya'i kuśala baho
[279] maṇeṇa kuśala kitva
apramaṇa nirovadhi
avavaji suhi loke
paṇidu uvavajadi. (9)

It. 78 kāyena kusalaṃ katvā
vācāya kusalaṃ bahuṃ
manasā kusalaṃ katvā
appamānaṃ nirūpadhi
It. 16, 52 abyāpajjhaṃ sukhaṃ lokaṃ
paṇḍito upapajjati.
vii. 5

233 [280] yavajiva bi ya balu
paṇida payuvasadi
neva dhamu vi'aṇadi
praña hisa na vijadi. (10)

64 yāvajīvaṃ pi ce bālo
paṇḍitaṃ payirupāsati
na so dhammaṃ vijānāti
dabbī sūparasaṃ yathā.
xxv. 13, 15

234 [281] muhuta bi ya viñu
paṇada payuvasadi
so du dhamu vi'aṇadi
praña hisa tadovi'a. (11)

65 muhuttam api ce viññu
paṇḍitaṃ payirupāsati
khippaṃ dhammaṃ vijānāti
jivhā sūparasaṃ yathā.
xxv. 14, 16

235 [282] na abhaṣamaṇa jaṇadi
miṣa balehi paṇida
bhaṣamaṇa du jaṇadi
deśada amuda duduhi.[1] (12)

Ang. ii. 51 nābhāsamānaṃ jānanti
missaṃ bālehi paṇḍitaṃ
bhāsamānaṃ ca jānanti
desentaṃ amataṃ padaṃ.
xxix. 43 (P. 53, T. 47)

236 [283] deśehi joda'i dhamu
uṣivi iṣiṇa dhay*u*
subhaṣida-dhaya hi iṣayu
dhamo ha iṣiṇa dhayu. (13)

ibid. bhāsaye jotaye dhammaṃ
pagganhe isinaṃ dhajaṃ
subhāsita-dhajā isayo
dhammo hi isinaṃ dhajo.
xxix. 44 (P. 54, T. 48)

[1] Read *dunuhi*?

237 [284] poraṇam ida adura
na ida ajetaṇa iva
ninadi tuṣi-bhaveṇa
ninadi baho-bhaṇiṇo
mana-bhaṇi vi ninadi
nasti loki anini'a. (14)

227 porāṇam etam atula
n'etam ajjatanām iva
nindanti tuṇhim āsīnaṃ
nindanti bahu-bhāṇinaṃ
mita-bhāṇinaṃ pi nindanti
natthi loke anindito.
xxix. 45 (P. 55, T. 49)

238 [285] praśaja śaśvada nasti
nina nica na vijadi
tasa nina-praśajaṣu
na sammijadi paṇida. (15)

239 [286] śelu yadha eka-khaṇo
vadeṇa na sabhijadi
emu nina-praśajaṣu
na sammijadi paṇida. (16)

81 selo yathā eka-ghano
vātena na samīrati
evaṃ nindā-pasaṃsāsu
na samiñjanti paṇḍitā.
xxix. 49 (P. 59, T. 53)

240 [287] ekada ninido prodhu
ekada ji praśajidu
na i aha na i bheṣida
na yi edarahi vijadi. (17)

228 na cāhu na ca bhavissati
na c'etarahi vijjati
ekantaṃ nindito poso
ekantaṃ vā pasaṃsito.
xxix. 46 (P. 56, T. 50)

241 [288] yo nu ho viña praśajadi
aṇu'ija śuhaśuhu
achidra-vuti medhavi
praña-śila-samahida (18)

229 yañ ce viññū pasaṃsanti
anuvicca suve suve
acchidda-vuttiṃ medhāviṃ
paññā-sīla-samāhitaṃ

242 [289] nikhu jabodaṇaseva
ko ṇa ninidu arahadi
deva mi ṇa praśajadi
bramoṇa vi praśajidu. (19)

230 nekkhaṃ jambonadasseva
ko taṃ ninditum arahati
devā pi naṃ pasaṃsanti
brahmunā pi pasaṃsito.
xxix. 47, 48 (P. 57, 58, T. 52); xxii. 10*cd* (R. 11)

[XV. BAHUŚRUTA]

243 [370] ayo'a va na jaṇadi
micha-viṇayadu iva
avija'i va samu[367]|*śa*
budhaṇa va adaśaṇi. (1)

244 [369, 300] aṇuyo'a du jaṇadi
same-viṇi'ad*u* iva
[368, 300] yoṇiśa viyiṇi dhama
sevamaṇa bahoṣuda. (2)

M. iii. 262 yoniso vicine dhammaṃ.

245 [301] duha'eṇa i artheṇa
sevidavi bahoṣuda
suhiṇa uyidatheṇa
nica kicha-kadeṇa ca. (3)

246 [302] prahodi duhiṇo dokhu
avaṇedu bahoṣuda
katha'i paḍiruva'i
bhaṣamaṇa puṇa-puṇu. (4)

247 [303] suhidasa vi pramoju
jaṇayadi bahoṣuda
deśada amuda dhamu
dukha-vaśama-kami'a. (5)

Thg. 309*d* desentaṃ amataṃ padaṃ
Thg. 1238*c* desentaṃ virajaṃ dhammaṃ
Dhp. 191*d* dukkhūpasama-gāminaṃ.

248 [304] śimada[1] maha-praña
dharmakama-bahoṣuda
bhayidavi saprañeṇa
bhuyasa bhorim ichadu. (6)

Uv. xxv. 6 tshul khrims ñe bar źi ba daṅ
śes rab ches mchog ldan pa yi
gtso bo gaṅ yin de bsten na
gtso bo bas kyaṅ ches gtsor
ḥgyur.

249 [305] bahuṣuda dhama-dhara
sapraña budha-ṣavaka
śrudi-viñati akakṣu
ta bhaye'a tadhavidha. (7)

Thg. 1030 bahussutaṃ dhamma-dharaṃ
sappaññaṃ buddha-sāvakaṃ
dhamma-viññāṇaṃ ākaṅkhaṃ
taṃ bhajetha tathāvidhaṃ.
xxii. 10*ab* (R. 11)

250 [306] sabhir ava[2] samase'a
sabhi kuvi'a sadhavu
sada sadharmu aña'i
sarva-dukha pramucadi. (8)

Saṃ. i. 18, 57 sabbhir eva samāsetha
sabbhi kubbetha santhavaṃ
sataṃ saddhammaṃ aññāya
sabba-dukkhā pamuccati.

[1] Read *śilamada*. [2] Read *eva*.

307
251 yadha akara suchana
praviśi tamasarṇudu
vijamaṇa vi ruveṣu
cakhkṣuma vi na paśadi (9)

308
252 emam eva idh=ekacu
jadima vi ca yo naro
aṣutva na vi'aṇadi
dhama dhama[1] kalaṇa-pavaka.
(10)

309
253 pradiveṇa nu[2] ruvaṇi
yadha paśadi cakhkṣuma
emu ṣutva vi'aṇadi
dhama kalaṇa-pavaka. (11)

310
254 suṣuda ṣuda-vaḍhaṇa
ṣuda prañaya vaḍhadi
praña artha viśodhedi
artha śudho suhava'u. (12)

311
255 so artha-ladhu medhavi
praña-śila-samahidu
ṣuda-dhamu suyi-drakṣu
panodi paramu suhu. (13)

312
256 nica hi avi'aṇada
caradi amara viva
sadhama du vi'aṇada
aduraseva śadvari. (14)

313
257 kim añatra aṣamaṇadha
dhamaseva adaśaṇe
eva apasa jividi
vera kuyadi keṇa'i. (15)

314
258 ye śaśaṇa arahadu
ari'aṇa dhama-jiviṇo
paḍikośadi drumedho
diṭhi niṣa'i pavi'a
phalaṇi kaḍakaseva
atva-kaña'i phaladi. (16)

ga 10 4 1 1.

Uv. xxii. 3 ji ltar khyim ni legs g'yogs pa
mun pa khebs paḥi naṅ źugs na
gzugs rnams yod par gyur kyaṅ ni
mig ldan bźin du mi mthoṅ ba
de bźin ḥdi na rigs skyes paḥi
mi ni blo gros ldan gyur kyaṅ
sdig pa daṅ ni dge baḥi chos
ma thos par du śes mi ḥgyur.

mig ldan mar me yod pa yis
gzugs rnams mthoṅ ba ji lta bar
de bźin dge daṅ sdig paḥi chos
thos pas rnam par śes par ḥgyur.

Jāt. v. 493 sutvā dhammaṃ vijānanti
narā kalyāṇa-pāpakaṃ.

Thg. 141 sussūsā suta-vaḍḍhanī
sutaṃ paññāya vaḍḍhanaṃ
paññāya atthaṃ jānāti
ñāto attho sukhāvaho.

Thg. 740, 746 so atthavā so dhammaṭṭho.
Dhp. 229*d* paññā-sīla-samāhitaṃ.
Jāt. vi. 296 appamatto suci dakkho.
Thg. 884*d* pappoti paramaṃ sukhaṃ.
(Cf. also Thg. 740*b* so dakkho so vicakkhaṇo.)

Uv. xxii. 2 byis pa mi mkhas pa dag ni
ḥchi ba med pa lta bur spyod
mkhas pa dam paḥi chos dag la
mtshan moḥi nad pa bźin du
byed.

Uv. xiv. 4 anyatra śravanād asya
saddharmasyāvijānakāḥ
āyuṣy evaṃ parītte hi
vairaṃ kurvanti kenacit.

164 yo sāsanaṃ arahataṃ
ariyānaṃ dhamma-jīvinaṃ
paṭikkosati dummedho
diṭṭhiṃ nissāya pāpikaṃ
phalāni kaṭṭhakasseva
atta-ghaññāya phallati.

viii. 7

[1] Repeated in error.

[2] Read *du*.

[XVI. PRAKĪRṆAKA (?)]

315
259 ekasaṇa eka-saya
eka-'iya'i savudu
eku ramahi atvaṇa
arañi eka'o vasa. (1)

316
260 yasa ṣadha i praña ya
viya otrapi'a hiri
so ho maha-dhaṇa bhodi
moham aña baho dhaṇa. (2)

317
261 na sadi putra traṇa'i
na bho'a na vi banava
adeṇa abhiduṇasa
nasti ñadihi traṇadha. (3)

318
262 druprava'i dru'abhiramu
dru'ajavasaṇa ghara
dukhu samaṇa-savaso
dukhaṇuvadida bhava. (4)

319
263 kiche maṇuśa-pradilabhu
kicha macaṇa jivida
kiche sadhama-śramaṇa
kiche budhaṇa upaya. (5)

320
264 sukaraṇi asadhuṇi
atvaṇo ahidaṇa yi
ya du hida ji sadhu ji
ta gu parama-drukara. (6)

321
265 apaṇatha paratheṇa
na kudayiṇo hava'i
atvatha paramu ñatva
svakatha-paramu si'a. (7)

305 ekāsanaṃ eka-seyyaṃ
eko caraṃ atandito
eko damayam attānaṃ
vanante ramito siyā.
xxiii. 2

Sn. 432 atthi saddhā tato viriyaṃ
paññā ca mama vijjati.
Mv. ii. 357 so so mahā-dhano bhavati.

cf. Uv. x. 9 yo jīvaloke labhate
śraddhāṃ prajñāṃ ca paṇḍitaḥ
tad dhi tasya dhanaṃ śreṣṭhaṃ
hīnam asyetare dhanam.

288 na santi puttā tāṇāya
na pitā nāpi bandhavā
antakenādhipannassa
natthi ñātīsu tāṇatā.
i. 40

302 duppabbajjaṃ durabhiramaṃ
durāvāsā gharā dukhā
dukkho 'samāna-saṃvāso
dukkhānupatitaddhagū
tasmā na c'addhagū siyā
na ca dukkhānupatito siyā.
xi. 8

182 kiccho manussa-paṭilābho
kicchaṃ maccāna jīvitaṃ
kicchaṃ saddhamma-savaṇaṃ
kiccho buddhānaṃ uppādo.

163 sukarāni asādhūni
attano ahitāni ca
yaṃ ve hitaṃ ca sādhuṃ ca
taṃ ve parama-dukkaraṃ.
xxviii. 16

166 attadatthaṃ paratthena
bahunā pi na hāpaye
attadatthaṃ abhiññāya
sadattha-pasuto siyā.
xxiii. 9

266 [322] ayo'i yuji atvaṇa
yo'aseva ayujadu
atha hitva pri'a-gaha
svihadi arthaṇupaśiṇo. (8)

209 ayoge yuñjaṃ attānaṃ
yogasmiṃ ca ayojayaṃ
atthaṃ hitvā piya-ggāhī
pihet' attānuyoginaṃ.
v, 9

267 [323] nedi hi mahavira
sadhameṇa tadhakada
dhameṇa ne'amaṇaṇa
ka y-asu'a vi'aṇadu. (9)

Saṃ. i. 127 nayanti ve mahāvīrā
saddhammena tathāgatā
dhammena nīyamānānaṃ
kā usūyā vijānataṃ.
Uv. xxi. 8; Mv. iii. 90

268 [324] ali'a bhaṣamaṇasa
avakamadi devada
muha ji pudi'a bhodi
saga-ṭhaṇa i bhatsadi. (10)

Jāt. iii. 457 alikaṃ bhāsamānassa
apakkamanti devatā
pūtikaṃ ca mukhaṃ vāti
sagga-ṭṭhānā ca dhaṃsati.

269 [325] abhuda-vadi naraka uvedi
yo ya vi kitva na karodi āha
uvha'i ami preca sama bhavadi
nihiṇa-kama maṇuya paratri. (11)

306 abhūta-vādī nirayaṃ upeti
yo vāpi katvā na karomi cāha
ubho pi te pecca samā bhavanti
nihīna-kammā manujā parattha.
viii. 1

270 [326] catvari ṭhaṇaṇi naro pramatu
avajadi para-darovasevi
amuña-labha ani'ama-saya
nina tridi'a niraya ca'uṭha. (12)

309 cattāri ṭhānāni naro pamatto
āpajjati para-dārūpasevī
apuññā-lābhaṃ nanikāma-seyyaṃ
nindaṃ tatiyaṃ nirayaṃ catutthaṃ.
iv. 14

271 [327] na pareṣa vilomaṇi
na pareṣa kidakida
atvaṇo i samikṣe'a
samaṇi viṣamaṇi ca. (13)

50 na paresaṃ vilomāni
na paresaṃ katākataṃ
attano va avekkheyya
katāni akatāni ca.
xviii. 9

272 [328] supaśi vaja añeṣa
atvaṇo maṇa drudaśa
pareṣa eṣu vajaṇa
upuṇadi yatha busu
[329] atvaṇo maṇa chadedi
kali va kidava śaḍha. (14)

252 sudassaṃ vajjaṃ aññesaṃ
attano pana duddasaṃ
paresaṃ hi so vajjāni
opunāti yathā bhusaṃ
attano pana chādeti
kaliṃ va kitavā saṭho.
xxvii. 1

273 [330]alajidavi lajadi
lajidavi na lajadi
abhayi bhaya-darśavi
bhayi abhaya-darśaṇo
[331]michadiṭhi-samadaṇa
satva gachadi drugadi. (15)

ga 10 4 1.

316 alajjitāye lajjanti
lajjitāye na lajjare
micchādiṭṭhi-samādānā
sattā gacchanti duggatiṃ.

317 abhaye bhaya-dassino
bhaye cābhaya-dassino
micchādiṭṭhi-samādānā
sattā gacchanti duggatiṃ.

xvi. 4

[XVII. KRODHA]

274 [332] kothu jahi viprayahe'a maṇa
sañoyaṇa savi adikame'a
ta nama-ruvasa aṣajamaṇa
akijaṇa naṇuvadadi dukhu. (1)

221 kodhaṃ jahe vippajaheyya mānaṃ
saññojanaṃ sabbam atikkameyya
taṃ nāma-rūpasmiṃ asajjamānaṃ
akiñcanaṃ nānupatanti dukkhā.
xx. 1

275 [333] yo du upadida kodhu
radha bhada va dhara'i
tam aho saradi bromi
rasvi-ggaha idara jaṇa. (2)

222 yo ve uppatitaṃ kodhaṃ
rathaṃ bhantaṃ va dhāraye
tam ahaṃ sārathiṃ brūmi
rasmi-ggāho itaro jano.
xx. 22

276 [334] ya gu na prasahadi kudhu
no yasa kuradi vaśa
so hu rakṣadi atvaṇa
nineva navaciṭhadi. (3)

277 [335] akodhaṇasa vidi[1]
ṭhida-dhamasa rayiṇo
suhu puruṣu ase'a
śida-chade va sva ghari. (4)

Jāt. v. 222 akkodhanassa vijite
ṭhita-dhammassa rājino
sukhaṃ manussā āsetha
sīta-cchāyāya saṃghare.

278 [336] uṣavha viva go-saǵi
śilamadu akodhaṇo
baho ṇa payuvasadi
rayaṇa viva dhami'a. (5)

279 [337] hasti va muya-jadaṇa
śela hemavañ iva
sakaro va śravadiṇa
adico tavada-r-iva
[338] khaṇa-khaṇi tidikṣe'a
kodhu rakṣe'a atvaṇi. (6)

280 [339] jiṇa kodha akotheṇa
asadhu sadhuṇa jiṇa
jiṇa kradava daṇeṇa
saceṇa ali'a jiṇa. (7)

223 akkodhena jine kodhaṃ
asādhuṃ sādhunā jine
jine kadariyaṃ dānena
saccenālika-vādinaṃ.
xx. 19

281 [340] saca bhaṇi na kuve'a
daya apadu yayida
edehi trihi ṭhaṇehi
gacha devaṇa sadi'i. (8)

224 saccaṃ bhaṇe na kujjheyya
dajjā appasmiṃ yācito
etehi tīhi ṭhānehi
gacche devāna santike.
xx. 16

[1] Read *viyidi*?

282 [341] kudhu atha na jaṇadi
kudhu dhamu na paśadi
anu tada tamu bhodi
ya kodhu sahadi naru. (9)

Ang. iv. 96 kuddho atthaṃ na jānāti
kuddho dhammaṃ na passati
andhaṃ tamaṃ tadā hoti
yaṃ kodho sahate naraṃ.

283 [342] ma sa kodhu pramuje'a
dukhu kodhasa avaraṇa
mahoru mañati sadhu
pacha tavadi kodhaṇo. (10)

69*a* madhuvā maññatī bālo.
314*b* pacchā tapati dukkataṃ.

284 [343] nakara aṭhi-pakara
matsa-lohida-levaṇa
yatra rako ya doṣo ya
maṇo makṣo samokadu. (11)

150 aṭṭhīnaṃ nagaraṃ kataṃ
maṃsa-lohita-lepanaṃ
yatra jarā ca maccū ca
māno makkho ca ohito.

Uv. xvi. 23 nagaraṃ asth*i-prākā*raṃ
*mā*ṃsa-śoṇita-lepanaṃ
yatra rāgaś ca deṣaś (*sic*) ca
māna mrakṣaḥ pragāhati.[1]

285 [344] makṣi'a matsari bhodi
prahata bhodi gadhavo
kodhaṇo su'aro bhodi
ma sa kuju kumaraka. (12)

286 [345] suradu bhodi bhadrañu
surado suho modadi
suradasa a'i dhamu
edha paśadha tadiṇo. (13)

287 [346] soracasa phala paśa
tava kichaṣu jadiṣu
yatra edadiśo sadu
surado di na hañadi. (14)

288 [347] ki nu jatva suho śayadi
ki nu jatva na śoyadi
kisa nu eka-dhamasa
vadha royeṣi godama. (15)

Saṃ. i. 41 kiṃ su jhatvā sukhaṃ seti
kiṃ su jhatvā na socati
kissa ssu eka-dhammassa
vadhaṃ rocesi gotama.

289 [348] kodhu jatva suha śayadi
kodhu jatva na śoyadi
kodhasa viṣa-mulasa
masuragasa bramaṇa
[349] vadha ari'a praśajadi
ta ji jatva na śoyadi. (16)

Saṃ. i. 41 kodhaṃ jhatvā sukhaṃ seti
kodhaṃ jhatvā na socati
kodhassa visa-mūlassa
madhuraggassa brāhmaṇa
vadham ariyā pasaṃsanti
taṃ hi jhatvā na socati.

ga 10 4 1 1.

[1] Var. *ca bādhate.*

[XVIII. PUṢPA]

290 yatha vi ruyida puṣu
vaṇama|da agana'a
emu subhaṣi|da vaya
apha*la* . . akuvad*u*. (1)

291 yatha vi ruyida puṣu
vaṇamada sagana'a
emu subhaṣida vaya
saphala bhodi kuvadu. (2)

292 yatha vi bhamaru puṣ|pa
vaṇa-gana ahe*d*a'*i*
paridi rasam ada'i
emu gami muṇi cara. (3)

293 yada vi puṣpa-raśi|sa
kuya mala-guṇa baho
emu jadeṇa maceṇa
kata*v*i . . . . . (4)

294 p*u*ṣaṇi *y*e|va payiṇadu
vasita-maṇasa nara
sutu gamu mahoho va
a*da* . . . . . (5)

295 . . . . *pra*divada vayadi
na mali'a takar*a* canaṇa va
sadaṇa gano pradivada va'idi
sar*va* |diśa sapuruṣo pada'idi. (6)

296 . . . . . *ya vi*
. . . . . .
. . *gana-ja*[*da*]ṇa
śila-gano |ivutama. (7)

297 . . . *baṇa*-śilaṇa
apramada-|vihariṇa
samadaña-vimutaṇa
ga|di maro na vinadi. (8)

51 yathāpi ruciraṃ pupphaṃ
vaṇṇavantaṃ agandhakaṃ
evaṃ subhāsitā vācā
aphalā hoti akubbato.
xviii. 6

52 yathāpi ruciraṃ pupphaṃ
vaṇṇavantaṃ sagandhakaṃ
evaṃ subhāsitā vācā
saphalā hoti sakubbato.
xviii. 7

49 yathāpi bhamaro puppham
vaṇṇa-gandhaṃ aheṭhayaṃ
paleti rasam ādāya
evaṃ gāme muni care.
xviii. 8

53 yathāpi puppha-rāsimhā
kayirā mālā-guṇe bahū
evaṃ jātena maccena
kattabbaṃ kusalaṃ bahuṃ.
xviii. 12

47 pupphāni heva pacinantaṃ
vyāsatta-manasaṃ naraṃ
suttaṃ gāmaṃ mahogho va
maccu ādāya gacchati.
48*d* antako kurute vasaṃ.
xviii. 14

54 na puppha-gandho paṭivātam eti
na candanaṃ tagaraṃ mallikā vā
sataṃ ca gandho paṭivātam eti
sabbā disā sappuriso pavāti.
vi. 16

55 candanaṃ tagaraṃ vāpi
uppalaṃ atha vassikī
etesaṃ gandha-jātānaṃ
sīla-gandho anuttaro.
vi. 17

57 tesaṃ sampanna-sīlānaṃ
appamāda-vihārinaṃ
sammad-aññā-vimuttānaṃ
māro maggaṃ na vindati.
vi. 19

298 [363]vaṣi'a yatha puṣaṇa
[375]poraṇaṇi pra|mujadi
emu raka ji doṣa ji
[378]vipramujadha bhikṣavi. (9)

299 [362]uchina siṇeha atvaṇo
[379]kumudu śaradaka ba pra|ṇiṇa
śadi-magam eva broha'i
nivaṇa sukadeṇa deśida. (10)

300 [361]pheṇovamu kayam ida viditva
[380]mari*yi* . . . . *bhu*da'i
chetvaṇa marasa p*apa*vuṣe'aṇa[1]
a . . . . . (11)

301 . . . . . .
[381][yama-loka ji] ida sadevaka
ko dhama-pada sudeśida
kuśala puṣa viva payeṣidi. (12)
C^r_1

302 [382]budhu pradha . . . ṣidi
yama-loka ji ida sadevaka
budhu dhama-pada sudeśida
kuśala puṣa viva payiṣidi. (13)
C^r_2

303 [383]yadha sagara-'uḍasa
ujidasa maha-pathe
padumu tatra ja'e'a
suyi-gaña maṇoramu (14)
C^r_3

304 [384 419]e[*mu*] sag*h*asa-dhama'*u*
[384]aña-hodi prudhijaṇe
abhi*r*oyadi praña'i
same-sabudha-ṣavaka. (15)
C^r_4

ga 10 4 1.
C^r_5

377 vassikā viya pupphāni
maddavāni pamuñcati
evaṃ rāgaṃ ca dosaṃ ca
vippamuñcetha bhikkhavo.
xviii. 13

285 ucchinda sineham attano
kumudaṃ sāradikaṃ va pāṇinā
santi-maggam eva brūhaya
nibbānaṃ sugatena desitaṃ.
xviii. 5

46 phenūpamaṃ kāyam imaṃ viditvā
marīci-dhammaṃ abhisaṃbudhāno
chetvāna mārassa papupphakāni
adassanaṃ maccu-rājassa gacche.
xviii. 18

44 ko imaṃ paṭhaviṃ vijessati
yama-lokaṃ ca imaṃ sadevakaṃ
ko dhamma-padaṃ sudesitaṃ
kusalo puppham iva ppacessati.
xviii. 1

45 sekho paṭhaviṃ vijessati
yama-lokaṃ ca imaṃ sadevakaṃ
sekho dhamma-padaṃ sudesitaṃ
kusalo puppham iva ppacessati.
xviii. 2

58 yathā saṃkāra-dhānasmiṃ
ujjhitasmiṃ mahā-pathe
padumaṃ tattha jāyetha
suci-gandhaṃ manoramaṃ
xviii. 10

59 evaṃ saṃkāra-bhūtesu
andha-bhūte puthujjane
atirocati paññāya
sammā-sambuddha-sāvako.
xviii. 11

[1] Read *pavuṣe'aṇa*.

[XIX. SAHASRA]

305 [385] yo *sa*hasa sahasaṇi
saǵami maṇuṣa jiṇi
eka ji jiṇi atvaṇa
so ho sagamu utamu. (1)
Cr6

103 yo sahassaṃ sahassena
saṃgāme mānuse jine
ekaṃ ca jeyya attānaṃ
sa ve saṃgāmajuttamo.
xxiii. 3

306 [386] sahasa bi ya |[415]vayaṇa
[386] aṇatha-pada-sahida
eka vaya-pada ṣevha
ya ṣutva uvaśamadi. (2)
Cr7

100 sahassam api ce vācā
anattha-pada-saṃhitā
ekaṃ attha-padaṃ seyyo
yaṃ sutvā upasammati.
xxiv. 1

307 [*yo ja*] [415*a*] *va*ya-|[387]śada *bha*ṣi
aṇatha-pada-sahida
e|[414]ka vaya-*pa*[*da*] |[387]ṣehu
ya ṣutva uvaśamadi. (3)
Cr8

308 [388] . *ha*sa bi ya gadhaṇa
aṇatha-pada-sahida
eka gadha-pada ṣeho
ya ṣutva uvaśamadi. (4)
Cr9

101 sahassam api ce gāthā
anattha-pada-saṃhitā
ekaṃ gāthā-padaṃ seyyo
yaṃ sutvā upasammati.

309 [389] *yo* ja gadha-śada bhaṣi
aṇatha-pada-sahida
eka gadha-pada ṣebha
ya ṣutva uvaśamadi. (5)
Cr10

102 yo ca gāthā-sataṃ bhāse
anattha-pada-saṃhitā
ekaṃ dhamma-padaṃ seyyo
yaṃ sutvā upasammati.
xxiv. 2

310 [390] masa-masi sahasiṇa
yo ya'e'a śadeṇa ca
nevi budhi prasadasa
kala avedi ṣoḍaśa. (6)
Cr11

106*ab* māse-māse sahassena
yo yajetha sataṃ samaṃ
Mv. iii. 435 yo jayeta[1] sahasrāṇāṃ
māse-māse śataṃ śatam
na so buddhe prasādasya
kalām arghati ṣoḍaśīm.
xxiv. 26

311 [391] *ma*sa-mase sahaseṇa
yo ya'e'a śadeṇa ca
neva . . prasa . sa
kala avedi ṣoḍaśa. (7)
Cr12

Mv. ibid. (dharme)
xxiv. 27

[1] Read, naturally, *yajeta*.

312 [392] masa-masi sahasiṇa
yo ya'e'a śadeṇa ca
neva saǵi prasadasa
kala avedi ṣoḍaśa. (8)
Cr13

Mv. ibid. (sanghe)
xxiv. 28

313 [393] masa-masi sahaseṇa
yo ya'e'a śadeṇa ca
neva saghasa-dhameṣu
kala avedi ṣoḍaśa. (9)
Cr14

Mv. ibid. na so svākhyāta-dharmāṇāṃ.
cf. 70 māse-māse kusaggena
bālo bhuñjetha bhojanaṃ
na so saṃkhata-dhammānaṃ
kalaṃ agghati soḷasiṃ.
xxiv. 33

314 [394] masa-masi sahaseṇa
yo ya'e'a śadeṇa ca
. . . . . teṣu
kala avedi ṣoḍaśa. (10)
Cr15

315 [395] masa-mase sahaseṇa
yo ya'e'a śadeṇa ca
eka-paṇaṇu'abisa
kala navedi ṣoḍaśa. (11)
Cr16

xxiv. 29

316 [396] ya ja vaṣa-śada jivi
kusidhu hiṇa-viyava
muhutu jivida ṣevha
virya arahado driḍha. (12)
Cr17

112 yo ca vassa-sataṃ jīve
kusīto hīna-vīriyo
ekāhaṃ jīvitaṃ seyyo
viriyaṃ ārabhato daḷhaṃ.
xxiv. 4

317 [397] ya ji vaṣa-śado jivi
apaśu udaka-vaya
muhutu jivida ṣevha
paśado udaka-vaya. (13)
Cr18

113 yo ca vassa-sataṃ jīve
apassaṃ udaya-vyayaṃ
ekāhaṃ jīvitaṃ seyyo
passato udaya-vyayaṃ.
xxiv. 6

318 [398] ya ja vaṣa-śada jivi
apaśu dhamu utamu
mohotu (417) jivida ṣehu
paśadu dhamu utamu. (14)
Cr19

115 yo ca vassa-sataṃ jīve
apassaṃ dhammaṃ uttamaṃ
ekāhaṃ jīvitaṃ seyyo
passato dhammaṃ uttamaṃ.
xxiv. 12

319 [399] ya ja vaṣa-śada jadu
agi pariyara vaṇi
kṣireṇa sapi-teleṇa
diva-ratra atadrido (15)
Cr20

107*ab* yo ca vassa-sataṃ jantu
aggiṃ paricare vane

400
320 eka ji bhavidatvaṇa
muhuta viva puya'i
sameva puyaṇa ṣevha
ya ji vaṣa-śada hodu. (16)
Cr21

401
321 ya keja yaṭha va hoda va lake[1]
*sa*vat*sa*ra yayadi puña[*ve*]*kṣa*
sava bi ta na cadu-bhaku vedi
ahivadaṇa uju-kadeṣu ṣiho. (17)
Cr22

ga 10 4 1 1 1.
Cr23

107 ekaṃ ca bhāvitattānaṃ
muhuttaṃ api pūjaye
sā yeva pūjanā seyyo
yaṃ ce vassa-sataṃ hutaṃ.
xxiv. 17

108 yaṃ kiṃci yiṭṭhaṃ va hutaṃ va loke
saṃvaccharaṃ yajetha puññapekkho
sabbaṃ pi taṃ na catu-bhāgam eti
abhivādanā ujju-gatesu seyyo.
xxiv. 34

[1] Read *loke*.

[XX. ŚĪLA (?)]

322 [403] śilamadu suyi-drakṣo
dhama-ṭho sadhu-jivaṇo
atvaṇo karako sadu
ta jaṇo kuradi pri'u. (1)
C^r24

323 [404] ṣadhu śileṇa sabaṇo
yaśa-bho'a-samapidu
yeṇa yeṇeva vayadi
teṇa teṇeva puyidu. (2)
C^r25

324 [405] yo natva-hedu na parasa hedu
pavaṇi kamaṇi samayare'a
na *i*chi a . . [*sa*][413]midhi a*t*vaṇo
[405] so ś*ilava* paṇidu dhami'o si'a. (3)
C^r26

325 [406] sañadu sukadi yadi
drugadi yadi asañadu
ma sa viśpaśa avaja
ida vidva samu cari. (4)
C^r27

326 [407] savudu pradimukhasa
idri'eṣu ya pajaṣu
pramuṇi aṇupruviṇa
sava-sañoyaṇa-kṣaya. (5)
C^r28

327 [408] śudhasa hi sada phagu
śudhasa posadhu sada
śudhasa s*u*yi . . .
tasa samajadi vada. (6)
C^r29

328 [409] dhamu cari sucarida
. . drucarida cari
dhamayari suh*a* śedi
asvi loki parasa yi. (7)
C^r30

329 [410] aho nako va sagami
cavadhivadida śara
adivaka t*idikṣa*mi
druśilo hi baho-jaṇo. (8)
C^r31

217 sīla-dassana-sampannaṃ
dhamma-ṭṭhaṃ sacca-vādinaṃ
attano kamma kubbānaṃ
taṃ jano kurute piyaṃ.
v. 24

303 saddho sīlena sampanno
yaso-bhoga-samappito
yaṃ yaṃ padesaṃ bhajati
tattha tattheva pūjito.
x. 8

84 na atta-hetu na parassa hetu
na puttam icche na dhanaṃ na raṭṭhaṃ
na yicche adhammena samiddhim attano
sa sīlavā paññavā dhammiko siyā.

Jāt. iv. 172 iti vidvā samaṃ care.

Sn. 340*ab* saṃvuto pātimokkhasmiṃ
indriyesu ca pañcasu.
Jāt. i. 275, 278 pāpune anupubbena
sabba-sañño jana-kkhayaṃ.
iv. 30*cd*

MN. i. 39, suddhassa ve sadā phaggu
D. i. 139 suddhass' uposatho sadā
suddhassa suci-kammassa
sadā sampajjate vataṃ.
xvi. 15

169 dhammaṃ care sucaritaṃ
na taṃ duccaritaṃ care
dhammacārī sukhaṃ seti
asmiṃ loke paramhi ca.
xxx. 5; AvŚ. i. 220

320 ahaṃ nāgo va saṃgāme
cāpāto patitaṃ saraṃ
ativākyaṃ titikkhissaṃ
dussīlo hi bahujjano.
xxix. 21 (P. 31)

330 yasa acada-druśili'a[411]
malu'a va vilada vaṇi
kuya so tadha [*a*]tvaṇa
yadha ṇa viṣamu ichadi. (9)
C^r32

162 yassa accanta-dussīlyaṃ
māluvā sālam iv' otataṃ
karoti so tath' attānaṃ
yathā naṃ icchati diso.
Sn. 272 māluvā va vitatā vane.
xi. 10

331 . . [*a*]yo-kuḍu bhuta[412]
tata agi-śi|hovamo[526]
. . . . . [*bhu*]je'a[412]
raṭha-piṇa asañadu. (10)
C^r33

500*r*
ga 10.
(C^r34)

308 seyyo ayo-guḷo bhutto
tatto aggi-sikhūpamo
yaṃ ce bhuñjeyya dussīlo
raṭṭha-piṇḍaṃ asaññato.
ix. 2

[XXI. KṚTYA (?)]

332 [416] ida ja mi keca ida ji kari'a
ida kari . . . . . .
. . . . . *pa*riphanamaṇa
abhimadadi mucu-*jara* saśo'a. (1)
C^{r}35

Uv. i. 41 idaṃ kṛtaṃ me kartavyam
idaṃ kṛtvā bhaviṣyati
ity evaṃ spandano martyo[1]
jarā mṛtyuś ca mardati.

333 [418] idha vaṣa kariṣamu
idha h*e*mada-gi . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . (2)
C^{r}36

286 idha vassaṃ vasissāmi
idha hemanta-gimhisu
iti bālo vicinteti
antarāyaṃ na bujjhati.
i. 38

334 [420] ta putra-paśu-samadha
. . . . . .
sutu ga . . . . .
. . . . . (3)
C^{r}37

287 taṃ putta-pasu-sammattaṃ
byāsatta-manasaṃ naraṃ
suttaṃ gāmaṃ mahogho va
maccu ādāya gacchati.
i. 39

335 [421] puve i kica paḍijaga*re'a*
[525] no yo | [421] kici kica-kale vade'a
ta tadiśa paḍikama kica-kari
no i kica kici-'ali vade'a. (4)
C^{r}38

Jāt. iv. 166 anāgataṃ paṭikayirātha kiccaṃ
mā maṃ kiccaṃ kicca-kāle
vyadhesi
taṃ tādisaṃ paṭikatakiccakāriṃ
na taṃ kiccaṃ kicca-kāle
vyadheti.
xvi. 1

336 [422] ya puvi karaṇi'aṇi
pacha ṣa katu ichadi
athadu batsadi balu
suhadu parihayadi. (5)
C^{r}39

Thg. 225 yo pubbe kāraṇiyāni
pacchā so kātum icchati
sukhā so dhaṃsate ṭhānā
pacchā ca-m-anutappati.

337 [423] akida kuki|[523]da |[423]ṣehu
pacha tavadi drukida
kida nu sukida ṣeh*o*
ya kitva naṇutapa*di*. (6)
C^{r}40

314 akataṃ dukkataṃ seyyo
pacchā tapati dukkataṃ
kataṃ ca sukataṃ seyyo
yaṃ katvā nānutappati.
xxix. 41*ab*, 42*ab*

338 [424] [524] ya |g*u* k*u*ya ta vadi'a
[424] . . . . . 'a
akaroda bhaṣama[*ṇa*]
. . . . . (7)

Thg. 226 yaṃ hi kayirā taṃ hi vade
yaṃ na kayirā na taṃ vade
akarontaṃ bhāsamānaṃ
parijānanti paṇḍitā.

[1] MS. *-ntano martyā*.

339 467, 425 ya kica ta a . . .
. . . . . 522 *ki*yadi
unaḍaṇa prama[*taṇa*]
. . . . . .
426 asava teṣa vaḍhadi
ara te asava-kṣa[*ya*]. (8)
Cr41

340 427 yeṣa du susamaradha
nica kaya-kada sva*di*
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
428 sadaṇa sabrayaṇaṇa
taṣa kṣa*yadi* . . . (9)
Cr42, 43

[*The end of the chapter is marked, but the figure giving the number of stanzas is lost.*]

292 yaṃ hi kiccaṃ tad apaviddhaṃ
akiccaṃ pana kayirati
unnaḷānaṃ pamattānaṃ
tesaṃ vaḍḍhanti āsavā.
253*cd* āsavā tassa vaḍḍhanti
ārā so āsava-kkhayā.
iv. 19 (*the six pādas forming a single stanza*)

293 yesaṃ ca susamāraddhā
niccaṃ kāya-gatā sati
akiccaṃ te na sevanti
kicce sātacca-kārino
satānaṃ sampajānānaṃ
atthaṃ gacchanti āsavā.
iv. 20

[XXII. NĀGA, or AŚVA (?)]

341 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
450
atva-dada tada vara.

322 varam assatarā dantā
ājānīyā ca sindhavā
kuñjarā ca mahānāgā
atta-danto tato varaṃ.
xix. 7

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342 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
456
[*dade*]ṣu gachadi.

323 na hi etehi yānehi
gaccheyya agataṃ disaṃ
yath' āttanā sudantena
danto dantena gacchati.
xix. 8

[*The remainder of the chapter is lost.*]

[XXIII–XXVI]

[*Lost*]

The following verses, written in a different hand, do not belong to the text:

355

343 adikradaya ratri
devada uvasagrami
vaditva muninu pada
imi praśaña pradiprocha.

356

344 ki-śila ke-samacara
ke-guna kena karmaṇa
keh*i* darmehi sabana
ke jaṇa sparga-ǵamiyu.

Sn. 324 kiṃ-sīlo kiṃ-samācāro
kāni kammāni brūhayaṃ
naro sammā-niviṭṭh' assa
uttamatthaṃ ca pāpuṇe.

COMMENTARY

Introductory verse. 'This manuscript of the Dharmapada, belonging to the *śramaṇa* Buddhavarman, pupil of Buddhanandin, has been written in the Dharmodyāna in the forest.'

From the very imperfect facsimile published by Oldenburg, Konow thought he could see the figures 20 20 10 after *budhaṇadi sa*, and suggested that *sa* was for *saṃvatsare*, i.e., in the year 50 (AO 1943, 9). The new photograph is quite clear, and there is certainly no date given.

The name Buddhavarman is, of course, a common one, and there is therefore no reason to identify this Buddhavarman with the *śramaṃna budhavarma* who appears in the Niya documents (nos. 416, 418, 419, 655). In the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from North-West India (CII ii, ed. Konow) we meet *budhavarumasa* (p. 115), *budhorumasa* (pp. 108, 124), and *bosavarumasa* (p. 115). (For the spelling *s* for *dh* in this last, see p. 94.)

The spelling *budhaṇadi* in all probability represents Buddha-nandin. (Cf. also *dharmanadi* for Dharma-nandin, CII ii, p. 94.) For *ṇ*, see p. 106. Elsewhere in the manuscript *-nd-* is assimilated and is represented by *-n-*. The writing here (for *-ṇaṃdi*) presumably shows an older form retained in a formal proper name. In the Niya documents, no. 690, the same name is transcribed *budhanaṃti*, but this may not be trustworthy, since in many places in these documents the editors have *ti* where *di* should be read.

sardhavayarisa: Pali *saddhi(ṃ)-vihārī*, Buddhist Sanskrit *sārdhaṃ-vihārin*. The bottom of the *dh* here is broken, but *rdha* is a reasonable conjecture. In writing *dhu* the scribe has a tendency to give a horizontal or slight upward direction to the second swing to the right, and the same feature appears also in *rdha* later in the manuscript (*vardhadi*, **172**, line 222); whereas in *dha* the pen continues to slant downwards. It is of course possible that *sadhu* was written here, in which case the *-u* will represent an earlier *-aṃ*. A number of other curious spellings of this word have survived. Konow identified it in four short Kharoṣṭhī votive inscriptions from Loriyān Tangai (CII ii, pl. xxi, pp. 107 ff.), where it has the forms *sadaviyarisa* (no. 1) and *sadayarisa* (no. 3), and quoted other spellings from Brāhmī inscriptions: *sadevihārisa*, *saddhyevihārisya*, and *śraddhacaro*. This last apparently represents Sanskrit *sārdhaṃcara*, and Konow therefore suggested that the forms with *-y-* instead of *-h-* are derived from a by-form *-(vi)cārin*. But while *sārdhaṃcara* (P. *saddhiṃcara*) is known from Buddhist texts, **sārdhaṃvicārin* is unknown, and could hardly have carried the sense required. The hypothesis, however, is superfluous, in view of the comparable elision of *-h-* in the Niya documents in *syabala* beside *sihabala* (*siṃhabala*), and *vyarivala* beside *viharavala* (*vihāra-pāla*): cf. pp. 92–3; Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents*, § 28. The same feature has been preserved in the Agnean borrowed word *wyār*, 'vihāra': Sieg and Siegling, *Tocharische Grammatik*, index s.v. For *-va-* here, see p. 81. It is important to observe, however, that 'companion' is a mistranslation. Whether the original usage denoted the novice as 'living with' his teacher, or 'living with (fellow pupils)' of his teacher, the second person mentioned in such contexts is the teacher and not a fellow student. This is entirely in accordance with the regular Indian attitude towards the *guru*. The novice is designated as the *śiṣya* or *antevāsin* of his *ācārya*, and the *sārdhaṃvihārin* of his *upādhyāya*. (E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, i, p. 61, gives this relationship, but still translates as 'compagnon'.) See also Introduction, pp. 39–41.

dharmuyaṇe (S. *dharmodyāne*): the form *uyana* occurs as early as the Aśokan inscriptions (Sixth Rock Edict). See also p. 106. Alternatively to the translation given above, the word may be taken as the name of the *araṇya* in question: 'in the park (called) "Garden of Religion".'

It seems probable that this introduction is intended to be a verse; and if so, the metre would seem to be a mixture of Vaitālīya and Aupacchandasika, in which the author has allowed himself a fair degree of licence. The nature of the orthography, however, leaves too many quantities doubtful to permit a detailed metrical analysis which would be better than speculative.

1. Uv. xxxiii. 10 (R. 9) corresponds with the whole of Dhp. 393, while xxxiii. 11 (R. 10), with the same opening, agrees with the six-pāda Prakrit stanza.

jaḍa'i, sg., against *jaṭāhi*, pl., in the Pali? (See p. 92.) *yaca*, with initial *y-* for *j-* is anomalous, single initial consonants regularly remaining unchanged, except in enclitics. *na jaḍa'i . . . na yaca* is paralleled by **198** *na jeṇadi na yava'i*, P. *na jināti na jāpaye*, and we may perhaps assume that *na* has the possibility of being treated as a proclitic (perhaps reflecting a difference of emphasis in the second member of *na . . . na . . .*). If this is so, *na yaca* at the beginning of verse **4** will be a reflection of the present stanza. Because of the unusual development, Konow suggested that *yaca* might be understood as **yācya* 'having sacrificed' (?) (AO 1943, 11, 15); but this is really excluded by the other versions, and is now rendered unnecessary by **198**. (See also p. 112.)

brahidare: the break in the surface of the bark might allow us to see *ba-* here, as in *baheti* (P. *bāhetvā*) in **68**; but the shape of the upper part of the character makes *bra-* more likely, and *bra-* is in any case certain in *brahetva* (also in **16**). This makes it probable that P. *bāheti*, Buddh. S. *bāhayati*, are to be attached to *brah-*, *barh-* (H. W. Bailey, JRAS 1955, 21; D. Andersen, *Pali Reader*, Glossary s.v.). The alternative explanation of the word as a denominative from *bahi*, S. *bahis* (Edgerton, BHSD s.v.) seems intrinsically less likely, though the possibility remains open if we consider that *br-* may have been artificially introduced here to buttress the pseudo-etymology of *brāhmaṇa*, if this arose originally in a dialect which assimilated *br-* of the latter word. The initial *b-* here excludes the possibility of a causative of *vah-*, which nevertheless was probably thought of by some of the Buddhist Sanskrit writers. The Uv. has *yas tu pravāhate pāpāni* and *vāhitatvāt tu pāpānām* (quoted in *Tocharische Sprachreste*: *Sprache B*, Heft 2, p. 198 n.); xi. 12 *vāhetvā* (replaced by *prahāya* in the revised version); xi. 15 *vāhitapāpaḥ*. The Tibetan regularly renders this by *spoṅ-ba*, *spaṅs*. DhpA iii. 393 (on Dhp. 267) explains *bāhetvā* (ed. *bāhitvā*) by *panuditvā*.

The form here appears to be an agent-noun, e.g. **brāhayitṛ-*, and we have a choice of understanding either *brahida-r-eva* (with junction-consonant as in *tavada-r-iva*, verse **279**), or, more probably, *brahidare va*, with an 'old Ardha-māgadhī' nominative (cf. Pischel § 390). See also note on verse **189**, and p. 116.

2. Uv. xxxiii. 8 and 9 (the latter omitted by Rockhill), may perhaps be alternative renderings of this stanza, differing only in *thibs por ḥdug* 8, 'dwelling in darkness', *dri ma ldan* 9, 'possessing impurity'.

gahanaṃ: DhpA iv. 156 *rāgādikilesa-gahanaṃ*. See also BHSD svv. *gahana*, *grahaṇa*. (The argument from 'domal ṇ' in DhpA iii. 494 is unsatisfactory, since such a spelling could equally well be due to the manner in which a late Sinhalese scribe understood the word.)

3. The long right-hand stroke in *mo* (written separately from the rest of the character) suggests that the scribe intended *dharmo*, but inadvertently omitted the *r*-stroke.

sakhaca: see p. 100. The Tib. has *bkur ste*, implying *sat-kṛtya* for the Sanskrit. (Mvy. 1793 *satkṛtya-kārin*, *gus par byed pa*.)

4. Now that *oruhaṇeṇa* can be read, the only possible reading for the preceding word is *udake*. This is the only instance in the manuscript of *ke* with the vowel-stroke attached to the bottom

instead of the head of the character; (but in *ṇe* both positions occur in the same line in 29; and in two successive verses, **51, 52** *maṇeṇa* shows the same alternation, facs. 51 and 102). It seems likely that the reason for the unusual position here is a wrinkle in the bark which has already caused some difficulty to the pen in writing the head of the letter. The downward tendency of the vowel-stroke here is simply to avoid collision with the right-hand part of the character already written: cf. *nine*, line 334.

parikirya'i, i.e. *paricaryayā* (or rather *-āya*); see pp. 81, 91.

6, 7. *sabarṇo* (*sampanno*): see p. 98.

8. The editions of both Pali texts have *brāhmaṇaṃ* in *d*, and the word may perhaps be entrenched in the Pali tradition at this point. A case could indeed be made for it, but on the whole it seems more likely to be simply an error. (Dhp. 332 has *brahmaññatā*.) Curiously, the same oddity has been noted once in Buddhist Sanskrit, *brāhmaṇāya* (beside *śrāmaṇāya*) in Lv 245. 13, BHSD s.v. *brāhmaṇa*.

9. In *d*, the PTS edition has *nekattaṃ* for *ekattaṃ*, presumably due to a misunderstanding of *nappahāya* (i.e. *na aprahāya*) as *na prahāya*. The Sinhalese manuscripts, however, have *ekattaṃ*, and both the Prakrit and the Uv. confirm this as the correct reading.

10. In *d* the Tibetan has *sdig med gaṅ yin bram ze yin*; but this is a translation of *d* in the two verses which follow in the Uv. (corresponding to Pali *anīgho yāti brāhmaṇo*, for which see below, verse **12**), and has probably quite accidentally ousted the original ending of the verse. *gaṅ yin*—'whoever is sinless is a Brahman', suggests that the Tibetan translator had before him *yadi* instead of *yāti*. The writing *yadi* in the Prakrit text could represent either word, but we need not doubt that *yāti*, as in the Pali, is intended. If in fact the Sanskrit text had *yadi*, there would be a strong presumption that it was due to a misunderstanding of a *manuscript* Prakrit text similar to the Kharoṣṭhī.

11. Translators of the Pali text, following the suggestion of the commentator, have usually taken the verse to mean, 'One should not strike a Brahman, nor should the Brahman release (his anger) against him (the striker).' This is clumsy, and it seems better to take *brāhmaṇo* as the subject of both clauses. This also produces a sense more in keeping with the context of the Varga, which is not concerned with Brahmans as such, but with the moral qualities which can be held to justify the title of Brahman. We should therefore not expect to find here a verse which merely prescribed rules for the behaviour of others towards Brahmans. We may thus translate: 'A (true) Brahman should not strike a Brahman nor revile him.' Indeed, the commentator seems to have had this in mind, since, although taking *brāhmaṇo* as the one who has been struck, he supplied a subject to *pahareyya:—khīṇāsava-brāhmaṇo 'ham asmīti jānanto*. There is no difficulty in taking *bramaṇi* in the Prakrit as nominative: see p. 116.

While anger is naturally implied here (cf. also **283** *ma sa kodhu pramuje'a*), the sense of *muc-* in such contexts may be little more than 'uttering words': cf. Uv. viii. 8 *kalyāṇikāṃ vimuñceta* (scil. *vācam*); viii. 9 *na ca mukte pramuñcet tāṃ* (probably Sanskritized from *pamuñcetha*, without even the pronoun expressed); and see BHSD s.v. The Tibetan, however, in this verse has *skrod pa* 'expel, exile'.

The second half of the verse is also much easier if the same person is taken to be the object of both acts. The usual interpretation is that it is a sin to strike a Brahman, and a sin for the Brahman to retaliate. But in the context, the word *hantāraṃ* would inevitably evoke the idea of murder

(*brahma-hatyā*), and the traditional interpretation would thus lead to the rather curious idea that anger against the murderer of a Brahman was as bad a sin as the murder itself. If on the other hand *assa* refers back to *brāhmaṇassa*, we have merely a somewhat rhetorical expression of the view that anger against a Brahman (to have 'murder in the heart', as it were) is as bad morally as actual murder.

The edition of the Pali commentary correctly prints *y'assa*, against the misleading *yassa* of some of the editions, and the Prakrit *yo ṇa* confirms this interpretation.

12. *dvayu*: Konow (AO 1943, 12. 14) took this as *dva yu*, directly equivalent to the Pali *dve ca*, and was prepared to accept *dva* as a dual (CII ii, p. cxi). Since, however, the spelling *yu* does not appear elsewhere for *ca* (though it is not impossible: see also p. 83), it seems probable that the scribe or one of his predecessors thought he had here a form from *dvaya-*. Such a reading could not be original, since *dvayaṃ* would be not only syntactically awkward, but also unmetrical.

saṇayara: written for *saṇuyara*: see p. 83. Konow read *savayara*, but it seems certain that what was taken to be the head-stroke of a *va* is merely a natural mark on the bark. A similar assumption has been adopted here with regard to the following character; but in the latter case it is impossible to decide from the photograph, and it may be that the reading ought to be *saṇayura*.

For the Tibetan of *d*, see note on **10.**

13. *b*: *parisaṃ ca anantaraṃ*. In *c*, the implicit reference is clearly to Māra: cf. Itiv. 41 *māraṃ sasenaṃ abhibhuyya*; Uv. i. 42 *māraṃ sasainyaṃ hy abhibhūya*.

14. The Tibetan has *chos rnams kyi*, without a word for 'two'. The sense was presumably taken to be, 'when he has crossed over to the other side of the *dharmas*, i.e. of existence'. For the two *dhammas*, the Pali commentator gives *samatha-vipassanā*.

15. The Pali commentator tries to explain this verse as following directly on the preceding verse in his text (Dhp. 389, verse **11** above), thus adding unnecessary complications to an already difficult text. The modern translators have wisely neglected his suggestion that what is attractive (scil. to an irascible man) is anger. The separation of the two verses in the Prakrit shows that there was no ancient tradition that the two are to be taken together.

The Prakrit form of the verse shows such striking differences from the Pali that at least one of them must be seriously corrupt. And since the Prakrit is relatively straightforward, while the Pali version is full of improbabilities, there can be no hesitation in deciding in which text the worse corruption lies. Most of the errors, however,—perhaps all—were already fossilized in this form at the time when the Pali commentary was composed, and there is therefore no direct evidence that the Pali text was ever any better. It is desirable to be explicit about this. Transmitted texts are inevitably exposed to corruption; and it is certain, on first principles, that errors must have intruded into the Canon between the date of the redaction in Pali and the compilation of the commentaries. But corruption on the grand scale of the present verse is a rarity, and is hardly likely to be accidental. Rather, it has the appearance of a desperate attempt by a redactor to reshape a verse which he could not understand. It is thus possible, indeed probable, that the traditional text of the verse as it appears in the editions is to be accepted as the genuine *Pali* text. On this view, an editor of the Pali verse should not attempt to emend it, though he may wish to mark it as corrupt, and will, if he is wise, refrain from attempting to translate the untranslatable.

The existence of the other two versions, however, enables us to see behind the Pali, and to re-establish the pre-Pali verse with a high degree of probability. The Uv. version, unfortunately

not available in Sanskrit, is especially valuable, since it shows up the crucial difficulty from which the corruptions appear to have started. Rockhill translated the verse (84 in his numbering): 'As Brāhmanas and the like have left behind everything that is disagreeable, as my mind has consequently left behind (all passions), I have truly put an end to all pettiness.' This extraordinary rendering probably accounts for the fact that the verse was not recognized earlier as the counterpart of Dhp. 390.

The second half of the verse is easily cleared, and it is best to deal with this first. In the light of the Prakrit *y=asa* (*ca asya*) and the Tibetan *de yi* (*asya*), we can see that the absurd form *hiṃsamano* has come from an earlier *hi 'ssa mano.*

In the last line, *sammati* has been interpreted as a verb (*śāmyate*). This is in itself most improbable, no comparable instances having been noted of a sandhi-consonant after an indicative verb, either in Pali or Prakrit (Geiger § 73; Pischel § 353). The Prakrit *samudiṁ* and the Tibetan *kun rdzob bden par zad* (*saṃvṛtir eva satyam*) show immediately that *sammati* is in fact the familiar noun which is normally written *sammuti* in Pali. It should be added that the interpretation of the word as a verb may well be a modern misunderstanding. The commentator at least appears to have understood the force of *nivattati* to be supplied from the preceding line: *sakalam pi vaṭṭa-dukkhaṃ nivattati.* This explanation seems to take *sammati* as in apposition to *dukkhaṃ*, and attempts to analyse the word as *sakalaṃ vaṭṭi-*, i.e. as if it were for *saṃ-vṛtti.* It need hardly be said that such an etymology is unhelpful.

For the final phrase of the verse, we may compare Sn. 904 [the parallel was noted by Konow, but not discussed, AO 1943, 12]:

sakaṃ hi dhammaṃ paripuṇṇam āhu
aññassa dhammaṃ pana hīnam āhu
evam pi viggayha vivādiyanti
sakaṃ sakaṃ sammutim āhu saccaṃ.

'They say their own doctrine is perfect, that another's doctrine is inferior. In this fashion they quarrel and argue, and each says that his own (pragmatic) opinion is the truth.' The present verse also then reflects the opposition familiar in philosophical contexts between *saṃvṛti(-satya)* 'conventional truth', and *(paramārtha-)satya* 'ultimate truth'. The Pali *dukkhaṃ* would appear to be an attempt to adjust the sense after the beginning of the verse had gone astray.

Except for the presence of *na* in the Prakrit, the second line offers no difficulty: *nisedhe* (optative) *manaso* (abl.) *piyāni.* The Pali *piyehi* is then an alteration—virtually restoring the original sense, although clumsily—after *-e* had been misunderstood as a nominative singular, giving *nisedho*, while *manaso* was taken to be a genitive.

So far, there seems to be little room for alternative explanations. There remain serious discrepancies in the first line; and we may note here that the Tibetan has *mi sdug pa*, which indicates *apriya-*. This might suggest a possible method of explanation which would offer the chance of salvaging something of the Pali: we could conjecture that we have here originally not one but two verses, that is, a contrasting pair of the type of the Yamaka-varga, and others in the present text such as **169, 170** (Dhp. 345, 346). One of these verses would then have had a reading corresponding to *na . . . kiji bhodi*, together with *apriya-* and *satyam*, giving a sense which is preserved virtually intact by the Tibetan: 'There is nothing (of advantage) for a Brahman if he excludes (only) what is unpleasant from his mind: the more his mind turns away (from such things), the more he comes to say that *saṃvṛti* is "truth".' The twin-verse would then be represented by the Pali, *na . . . akiñci seyyo*, with *piya-* and *dukkhaṃ*: 'It is not non-anything better (i.e. not nothing better, i.e. much better) for a Brahman when he excludes what is pleasant from his mind: the more his mind turns away (from such things), the more *saṃvṛti* is indeed (seen to be) suffering.'

This is an elegant construction: but it is scarcely credible. It is given here—in the form of a *pūrvapakṣa*—lest it be said that the Pali is stigmatized without fair consideration of all possibilities of rescuing a text honoured as canonical for almost two millenia. In fact, if a twin pair had existed, the chance is remote that the separate members should survive in separate recensions, each having lost its twin. And the wildly improbable contortion required in the explication of the first line is by itself enough to put the verse beyond hope of justification in this form. The Pali commentator tried to overcome the difficulty in *na . . . akiñci* by the simple method of forgetting about one of the negatives: *appamattakaṃ* [which could only be *kiñci*] *seyyo na hoti, adhimattam eva seyyo ti attho*, a trick readily adopted by modern translators ('More than a little better for a brahman'; 'It is no slight benefit to a Brāhmin').

The CPD tried to improve this situation by translating *akiñci* as 'nothing', and the passage as 'not a nothing better, i.e. much better, the very best' (though it was mistaken in attributing this method of reaching the result to the Pali commentary); and suggested as an alternative that *akiñci*, i.e. *akiñcana*, might mean *ākiñcañña*. But this latter could lead only to the improbable statement that holy poverty was not a good thing for a Brahman. The word is quoted from no other passage in Pali, and the etymon given by the CPD, '*sa.* akiñcid', does not exist. It seems wisest to admit that the word does not exist in Pali either except as a corruption, and to abandon the attempt to translate the passage.

In such circumstances it is impossible to reach complete certainty on all points. The simplest hypothesis to account for the facts would seem to be the following. The original of the verse may be taken to be that which, in its main features at least, is preserved by the Uv., giving the sense proposed in the first rendering above (p. 181, line 6 from end). This would imply a second line of the form *yadā niṣedhen manaso 'priyāṇi*, the remainder of the verse being of the same shape as the Prakrit stanza. But because of the disappearance in sandhi of the negative prefix of *apriya-*, the line would be ambiguous in Prakrit (though not of course in Sanskrit). It is indeed probable that the ambiguity was intended, and that the verse is thus another example of the apparent paradox, a type familiar in Dhp. 97. (See also for example verse 67 in the present text, and the last paragraph of the note on that verse.) But if the point of the verbal play were once forgotten, attempts would inevitably be made to get rid of the objectionable statement that there was no benefit in turning away from what was *priya*. To achieve this, both the Pali and the Prakrit versions have inserted a negative, the former in *akiñci* for *kiñci*, the latter in *yo na* for *yadā*. But neither repair is really satisfactory. The Prakrit, it is true, gives a reasonable sense, although a rather tame one, for the first half of the verse: 'There is nothing (of advantage) for a Brahman who does not exclude what is pleasant from his mind'; but this is then quite out of keeping with the second half of the verse, unless the third line is understood to mean 'the more his mind reverts to such things', which would be a forced sense for *nivartadi* in such a context. The Pali version (presumably at this stage still having *hoti*, not *seyyo*) would have been understood to give a comparable sense: 'It is not nothing for a Brahman when he excludes what is pleasant from his mind'; and an attempt has then been made to re-articulate the second half of the verse by changing *saccaṃ* to *dukkhaṃ*. (The corrector may perhaps have been influenced by the fact that *dukkha* is the first *ariya-sacca*.) The other alterations in the Pali, *hiṃsamano* and the grammatical changes in the second line, have already been discussed in the earlier part of this note.

This hypothetical reconstruction gives a possible history for the verse, and up to the present no alternative hypothesis has suggested itself which would with equal economy account for the facts.

There remains only the word *seyyo* in the Pali version. It is of course possible that its introduction in this form was part of the general process of patching. But however one may attempt to analyse the remainder of the Pali line, the word *seyyo* remains a quite superfluous grammatical

embarrassment. It is probable therefore that the word is here only a secondary accident of corruption, resulting from an attempt to balance the optative *nisedhe* in the second clause (before the alteration to *nisedho*) by an optative *siyā* in place of *hoti* (*bhodi*). Since this would be unmetrical, it would naturally be altered to **siyyā* (for although such a form is elsewhere unknown, *-yy-* is regular in other optatives); and this would inevitably result in *seyyo*.

16. *parvahi'a* should probably not be attached directly to *pra-vraj-*, as Senart assumed in his note on A⁴3. The older manuscript of the Uv. (Chakravarti, p. 135) has for the second half of the verse:

pravāhiya ātmano malaṃ tasmāt pravrajito nirucyate,

while the more Sanskritized version has:

pravrājayitvā tu malān uktaḥ pravrajitas tv iha.

The former, together with the Prakrit, thus shows an alternative, and doubtless older, form of the pseudo-etymology (from the causative of *vah-*), while the revised version and the Pali have tried to tidy up the matter by connecting the word at least with the correct verb, *vraj-*.

The Tibetan has *bdag gi dri ma rab spaṅs pa*, which, with *bdag gi* (*ātmano*), appears to translate the older Sanskrit version; and with *spaṅs pa* both here and in *a*, reflects *vah-* in both places, while the Prakrit, with *brahetva* in *a*, has kept the two verbs apart. On the latter, see also note on verse **1**.

17. The Pali *yonijaṃ matti-sambhavaṃ* is a most curious expression. The usual sense of *yonija-* ('viviparous' as opposed to *aṇḍaja-* 'oviparous', &c.) is so well established that, in spite of the possibility of etymological justification, the word seems extremely awkward here, if not indeed comic. The usual interpretation of *matti-* as *mātṛ-* is also difficult; and although the dictionaries quote *yoni-sambhava* as a synonym of *yoni-ja*, the expression *mātṛ-sambhava* seems forced. The Prakrit would allow us to see *mātra-* as the original sense; and while *yoṇeka* is not in itself decisive (since *-k-* might be written either for original *-y-* or for a secondary *-y-* < *-j-*), it is probable that the original line was of some such form as *yoniya-matta-sambhavaṃ* (with a secondary derivative of *yoni*, e.g. *yonya-*); or, perhaps better, with a locative, *yoniyaṃ-matta-*, forming an *aluk*-compound. This would readily be rendered into Pali as *yonijaṃ*, under the influence of the more common expression. We should thus have here the same type of false 'correction' of an earlier Prakritic version as appears in the Pali spelling *gavaja* for *gavaya* (BSU § 148). As in some other places, the Pali commentary appears to have preserved a memory of an older version of the type here proposed: *nāhaṃ brāhmaṇa-yoniyaṃ nibbatta-matteneva vadāmi.*

The Tibetan, with *ma yi mṅal*, suggests *mātṛ-* rather than *mātra-* for the Sanskrit.

sace 'if' (usually printed in the editions as *sa ce*) is supported by the Prakrit *sayi* and the Tibetan *gal te*, against the variant *sa ve* in Sn. 620 and the edition of DhpA iv. 158.

19. For the anomalous *ṇ* in *adiṇa*, see p. 98.

In *c*, the Tibetan has *ḥjig rten cuṅ zad mi len de*, which appears to translate *loke na kiṃcid ādatte.*

20. *aṇakare*, nom. sg.; *parivaya*, opt.; see pp. 116, 82.

For *kama-bhoka-*, P. *kāma-bhava-*, the Tibetan has *ḥdod paḥi zag pa yoṅs zad de*, which seems to imply *kāmāsrava-parikṣīṇaṃ.*

21. *kamehi*, *kāmesu*: for other examples of interchanges between instrumental and locative in Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit, see BSU §§ 220–5, and BHSG § 7. 30.

22. *viññāpāṇiṃ* of the editions seems to be a mistake, and *viññapaniṃ* (Sn. 632, ed. Fausbøll, in the same verse) is better both metrically and morphologically. (The edition of DhpA iv. 182 has *viññāpaniṃ*.) The word is rendered by the Tibetan as *go byed* 'causing comprehension' (Jäschke s.v. *go-ba*, not *go*: the meaning suggested by Beckh, 'heilsam, zuträglich', has no justification).

In place of *saccaṃ*, the Tibetan has *yid ḥoṅ* 'pleasing', which fits the context of the verse better than 'true'. It is conceivable therefore that the Sanskrit from which this was translated had *sātyām*. Such a derivative of *sāta-* is not attested elsewhere, and it may be rash to assume it here; but the aptness of the meaning makes the conjecture tempting. (On *sāta-*, see also note on verse **186.**)

Pāda *c* ('by which he offends no one') appears to have been replaced by a different line in the Uv.: *gaṅ gis ñon moṅs mi bskyed de* 'who has not generated *kleśas*'.

24. Verse **54** gives a parallel for the whole of Dhp. 363. For *mana-*: *manta-*, see note on **237.** The Theragāthā verse corresponds to the whole of Uv. xxviii. 8: see also **69.**

25. The scribe first repeated here the preceding verse, and then corrected by deleting the third pāda, and adding *utamatha aṇuprato* above the line.

27. Uv. xxxiii. 49 corresponds to the whole of Dhp. 407.

28. The first half of the Sanskrit verse is quoted in BSU § 216 (where the verse is numbered 18):

akrośān vadhabandhāṃś ca yo praduṣṭas titikṣate.

(Read *ākrośān*—T. *gśe ba*; *yo 'praduṣṭas titikṣate*—T. *sdaṅ ba min la bzod byed de.*) This is quoted as a possible instance of an earlier *-aṃ* for an acc. pl. surviving in Pali.

In place of *kṣānti-balaṃ*, the Tibetan has *bzod paḥi brtul źugs*, which seems to imply *kṣānti-vrataṃ*.

29. For pāda *c* of the Tibetan, which does not agree with this verse, see **198***c*.

31. Rockhill translates *b* (corresponding to *a* of the Prakrit) as 'who does not speak inconsiderately', which seems improbable. The Prakrit suggests that the Sanskrit text probably had: *nāvadhyāyī nābhijalpaḥ* (*nāpi jalpaḥ* would not give a satisfactory sense) *pāpakaṃ na vicintayet*, and this may have been taken to mean, 'neither taciturn nor talkative'; or, since the two pādas probably go together, 'he should not think of evil, either meditating on it or talking about it'. But it is likely that the sense of 'speaking' (*smra ba*) is a later misunderstanding, and that the original sense of the verse was, 'he should not think of evil, either as despising it (*avajjhāyī*) or desiring it (*abhijappo*)'. The spelling *avijapu* here implies **abhi(j)jhappo*, suggesting that the word is a secondary formation from *abhi-dhyā-*. If this is so, P. *abhijappati* 'to covet', *abhijappā* (and *jappā*, Buddhist Sanskrit *jalpā*) 'desire', are to be separated from *abhijappati* 'to mutter prayers'. It is of course likely that a contamination with the latter word assisted in the loss of the aspiration, as against *abhijjhā*, *abhijjhālu*, which survived intact, although it remains possible that the spelling here is due to contamination with *ava¯a'i* only within the present verse.

The Tibetan translator appears to have understood *pāpaka-* as 'an evil man' (*sdig can*).

Pāda *c* of the Tibetan stanza does not correspond (it translates *jhāyiṃ virajam āsīnaṃ*, Dhp. 386*a*; cf. Uv. xxxiii. 43, R. 41), and the interpretation of the Prakrit remains doubtful. The word-division given seems to agree best with the remainder of the stanza: 'One should not think

on evil; the man who sees the good (*sad-dassaṃ*), who sees what is profitable (*attha-dassāviṃ*), I call a Brahman'. Pali has *attha-dassa-* as well as *attha-dassi(n)* (CPD): e.g. Jāt. vi. 260 *ye paṇḍitā atthadassā bhavanti*. Alternatively to *sad-*, we might think of *saṃdassa-*. Buddhist Sanskrit is familiar with *saṃdarśaka*, 'teaching' (adj.), and this may lead us to think of Uv. xxxiii. 45*e*, R. 43 as a possible parallel, *kun śes sbyaṅ* (var. *spyaṅ*, *spyad*) *phyir chos ston de*; Rockhill: 'who, being perfectly wise (themselves), teach the law'. If this is in fact a translation of the same phrase, *phyir* would indicate that *atha* is the particle, rather than equivalent to *artha-*. (But if so, it would probably be simply a mistake for *artha-*, since *darśāvin-* normally occurs as the second part of a compound, and the only uncompounded example quoted by Edgerton (BHSD), Mv. iii. 104. 15, at least has its object expressed.)

Still further possibilities are opened by the break in the manuscript. The thin stroke on the right at the head of the second character may be simply the beginning of the character itself, as has been assumed in the text. But it is not impossible that this stroke represents the remnant of *-e*, and if so, we should read *sadeśam*, which could represent, for example, *sa-ādeśam*, or *sv-ādeśam* ('of good instruction'; but additional interpretations could be suggested by the usages of *ā-diśati*, see BHSD).

Again, it would be possible to divide the words as *sada śamatha-daśavi*, which could be understood as *sadā śamatha-darśāvī*. This interpretation would imply an adjective based on the familiar *śamatha-vipaśyanā*, *śamatha-vidarśanā*. This compound is normally a dvandva ('tranquillity and insight', BHSD s.v. *śamatha*), but it may perhaps be an exaggeration to say that it is 'never a tatpuruṣa'.

Or, with the same word-division, *sada* could be understood as *santaṃ*.

It seemed worth while to pursue these alternative suggestions in some detail, simply as an indication of the uncertainties of interpretation which can arise from this orthography when a close parallel in Pali or Sanskrit is lacking. See also additional note in Preface.

32. For *ghahaṭhehi*, the scribe has first written *ghahaṭhe'i*, and afterwards altered the final syllable to *-hi*.

The Pali *anoka-sāri-* is well established, and need not be doubted here. The writing of *-v-* as a glide-consonant is admittedly unusual in this dialect, and we may suspect that *aṇova-* (unless a mere miscopying, or a careless writing for *aṇo'a-*) has been taken over from an earlier form of the verse in another dialect, although the same word is in fact intended. (For traces remaining in Pali of a pre-Pali *-uva* < *-uka*, see BSU §§ 91–93, 139, 147.) It is therefore unnecessary to conjecture that the Prakrit version intended here something like **an-ūpasārin-*, although this would admittedly give an acceptable sense in the context: cf. P. *an-ūpaya*, CPD. s.v.

35. The Pali *vītaddaraṃ* (and *niddaro* in Dhp. 205—the latter verse not being represented in the extant Prakrit text) has regularly been translated 'free from fear': S. *dara*, Pr. *dara* and *ḍara* (Pischel § 222), the form with the initial retroflex surviving in the modern languages. This would imply that the double consonant in *vītaddara* is a 'rhythmical lengthening' of the type recognized in *anuddayā* (for *anu-dayā*): see CPD s.v. *añjanāgiri* for further examples. If only the Pali verses are considered, there is nothing impossible in this explanation; but the remainder of the evidence raises doubts.

To take the new material first: the Prakrit *vikada-dvara* could perhaps be explained in the same fashion—a 'rhythmical' *-dd-* which has been replaced here by *-dv-* as a (mistaken) learned spelling. There are in fact two other examples in the text which are rather similar, *utvari* (78) and *udhvaradha* (132). But in both of these the reason for the *-v-* is an easily understandable umlaut carrying through from the initial *u-*. In these instances, we can be sure we have a real feature of the language, and not merely a 'learned' spelling, since the Niya document no. 420 has

the form *utvaravarṣi*. There is therefore no real support from these to uphold the suggestion that *-dvara* is an artificial spelling, and it seems more reasonable to assume that in this word *dv* represents an older form which has been assimilated in Pali *vitaddara*. But if so, the connexion with *dara* 'fear' should probably be abandoned.

Further, it should be observed that the Pali commentary does not give the meaning 'fear' in either of the verses in question. In Dhp. 205 it gives the explanation *rāga-darathānaṃ abhāvena niddaro*, and in Dhp. 385 *kilesa-darathānaṃ vigamena vītaddaraṃ*. That is, *dara* is taken to be identical in sense with *daratha*, the formal relation being exactly parallel with *dama*, *damatha* and *sama*, *samatha*. There is no uncertainty about the general sense of *daratha*: it is 'suffering, pain, distress', and may be either bodily or mental. In Jāt. v. 5, for example, *apeta-daratho* is explained as *vigata-kāya-citta-daratho*. Since fear is after all a type of mental distress, it is not impossible that even in ancient times there was some confusion here; but on the evidence of *dvara-*, it seems wiser to keep *dara*, *daratha* separate from *dara* 'fear'.

A possible etymological connexion might be seen in the Vedic *dvará-*. In RV i. 52. 3 it is said of Indra, *sá hí dvaró dvariṣu*. But except for the name (or epithet) *vṛka-dvaras-* in ii. 30. 4, the word does not appear elsewhere in the Rigveda, and the meaning is uncertain. The translations 'verschliessend', 'obstructing' (Grassmann, Monier-Williams) are based only on Sāyaṇa's guess. Geldner suggested a connexion with Avestan *dvar-* 'stürzen, rennen', and translated, 'Denn er ist unter Räubern ein Räuber (?)', explaining the epithet as 'wie ein Wolf (räuberisch) anfallend'. At the best, therefore, any explanation which would connect the two words—for example, to take *dvará-* as 'violence', and *daratha* 'suffering (resulting from violence)'—would remain purely speculative.

But whatever may be the earlier history of *-dvara*, *-ddara*, there is clear evidence that at an early period the word was understood as *jvara*. Lüders conjectured that *vītaddara* stood for *vītajvara* (BSU p. 100 n.; and see §§ 116–21 for examples of *di* < *ji*), comparing P. *daddallati*: S. *jājvalyate* (Geiger § 41). This is confirmed by Uv. xxviii. 5, corresponding to Dhp. 205, where in place of *niddaro* of the Pali version, the Tibetan has *rims nad med*, i.e. *nirjvaraḥ*. We might of course suspect that *nirjvaraḥ* was merely a copyist's error in the Uv., but the occurrence of the phrase *vigatajvaro vigatabhayo aśoko* in Mv. ii. 237. 14 justifies the acceptance of *jvara* as authentic. Moreover, the same interpretation was certainly known to the Pali tradition, since we find the commentary on Sn. 257 (identical with Dhp. 205) giving the explanation *kilesapariḷāhābhāvena niddaro*. The word *pariḷāha* is also used in the explanation of Sn. 15, where the corresponding Tibetan (Uv. xxxii. 76, R. 74) has again *rims nad* for *daratha-*.

We may thus see in *dvara* either a separate word, whose meaning was nevertheless sufficiently close to that of *jvara* to allow for the substitution of the latter (this would be the view preferred if a connexion is sought with Vedic *dvará-*), or, more probably, a genuine development of *jvara* in a dialect showing, at least sporadically, the change *j* > *d*. As is well known, this change was ultimately universalized in the Prakrit which developed into Sinhalese.

In **143**, *pa*[ ]*valide*, P. *pajjalite*, the manuscript is unfortunately broken at the crucial point. The connexion of *vidvareṇa* in **157** with *dvara* in the present verse is doubtful. See the notes on these verses.

The coincidence of *vikada-* here with *vigata-* in the passage quoted above from the Mahāvastu —where also *vīta-* would have made smoother metre—indicates that this is the earlier form in the verse, which has been metrically improved in Pali by the substitution of *vīta-*. Similarly *avakada-* in verse **153**, where the Pali has *apeta-*, and the Uv. (to avoid hiatus) has *vyapeta-*.

36. Cf. *sadaṇa* (P. *sandānaṃ*) in verse **42**; and Dhp. 370 (**78**), *pañca chinde pañca jahe*, where the commentary (Dhp. A. iv. 109) gives *pañca . . . saṃyojanāni*.

In *saṃdaṇa* (line 66), and four lines later in verse **40** (line 70), *aṇuvayasaṃ*, the character *sa* ends in a curve attached at a sharp angle which could reasonably be interpreted as an anusvāra. See Introduction, p. 71. There appear to be no other places in the manuscript where there is any likelihood of an anusvāra having been written.

37. *chada* may be understood as a sandhi-form after a preceding accusative, as in the regular Sanskrit treatment *-n ś-* > *-ñ ch-*. We can therefore either assume that this treatment has been extended to original *-m* as well as *-n*, or, more probably, accept here a case form equivalent to the Sanskrit acc. pl. masculine (**rūpān*). See also p. 101.

For the general sense, cf. Dhp. 397 *sabbasaṃyojanaṃ chetvā yo ve na paritassati.*

38. *mulasya* is clearly an attempt at a learned spelling which has gone astray, and there is no need to doubt that it has come through *mulasa*, for an earlier *mulasma*, and thus corresponds directly to the locative in the Pali version.

The Tibetan differs in *b*: *ṅo tsha śes śiṅ ḥdod mi lta* (Rockhill: 'who learns to be modest, who is without desires'). The exact Indian equivalent of this is not immediately apparent; but for the general sense we may compare Petavatthu 747 *appicchaṃ hirisampannaṃ*, or the phrase in the following verse here, *appāhāraṃ alolupaṃ.*

39. *alolubhu*: at first sight the final syllable gives the impression of *ku* rather than *bhu*. It seems probable, however, that the character, coming at the edge of a break in the manuscript, has lost a minute fragment from the top right-hand corner, and that the scribe did in fact write *bhu*. It is difficult to be entirely certain of this from the photograph; but if the assumption is wrong, and *ku* actually was written, it would be reasonable to conjecture that it was simply a miscopying of *bhu* in the exemplar.

40. *aṇuvayasaṃ*: see note on verse **36.**

41. *ṇadaka*: the initial character unfortunately comes at a rough part of the bark, and is clumsily written. There is a thickened mark bending to the left at the head of the character, which at first sight gives it the appearance of a *va*. But it seems probable that this mark is in part a natural mark on the bark, and in part a blot caused by the pen catching on the roughness. If this is so, the reading *ṇa-* seems the most likely, and has been adopted in the transcription, though with some hesitation. Apart from the pronoun *ṇa*, P. *naṃ*, which is an enclitic, there are no other words in the text with initial *ṇa-*. This, however, is not necessarily an insuperable objection. The only other word with original *sn-* which is represented is *siṇeha*, a word which regularly appears in Pali as *sineha*. For *snā-*, on the other hand, Pali has both *sinā-* and *nahā-* (*nhā-*): for a detailed discussion see BSU §§ 180–6. The development of *sn-* to *ṇ(h)-* in this dialect can hardly be excluded a priori; and it may be possible to conjecture that the retroflex was due to the fact that in the older form the *-n-* was not initial.

In the Niya documents, the forms which appear are *śāpaka*, *śātra* (511) and *śāna* (647), in which *ś* has been taken to be a method of writing *sn* (*Khar. Inscr.*, Rapson, p. 321). In both these documents, however, the words occur in Sanskritic verses, and they are thus not evidence for the inherited dialect forms. In the manuscript here, the line above the character is in the main a natural mark, but it appears to contain traces of ink, and it is possible that the scribe intended a superscript line. But it does not seem possible to read the character itself as an *s*. If, however, the superscript line was in fact intended, we could reasonably assume that it denoted aspiration, i.e. *ṇ̄adaka* for *ṇhadaka*, parallel to *bañaṇa*, *gaña* (see p. 98).

Two alternative conjectures may be put forward for consideration, though at present they appear less likely than the reading adopted:

1. A syllable might have been omitted, and we might read *aṇi⟨ha⟩ haṇadaka*—or, in keeping with the Pali *anejaṃ* in this verse, *aṇi⟨ya⟩ haṇadaka*.

2. Instead of *ṇa* we might read *ha* (though the curve to the right at the bottom of the character is rather slight for such a reading). We should in this case accept the superscript line, and take *h̄adaka* as standing for *hnadaka*, parallel to *tuṣi*, *taṣa*: see p. 63.

42. *nadhi* may represent either *naddhrī* or *naddhi*, both of which are recognized by the Sanskrit dictionaries. The *Chāgaleya Upaniṣad* (quoted by Rawson, *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, p. 219 n.) has *naddhayaḥ* 'straps' as part of the harness of a chariot. The nasalization of the Pali form is a separate development, since a nasalized form would appear here as **naññi*. The spelling *nandiṃ*, regularly adopted by Pali Dhp. editions, seems to be merely a mistake introduced into the manuscripts by the memory of *nandī-bhava-parikkhīṇaṃ* in the same chapter (Dhp. 413). In the present verse, the edition of the commentary also prints *nandiṃ*, although the explanation given, *nayhanabhāvena pavattaṃ kodhaṃ*, shows that the commentator knew the correct reading; and the editor in fact quotes *nandhiṃ* (DhpA iv. 160, n. 1) from his Burmese source (the Rangoon edition of 1903 by U Yan). Sn. 622, which is the same verse, has *nandhiṃ*, and on this evidence Fausbøll corrected the text in his editio princeps of the Dhammapada. The resurgence of the spelling *nandiṃ* in later editions therefore seems to be mere editorial perversity.

In the Tibetan, *sogs mig* remains unexplained. A possible conjecture, on the basis of the Indian versions, would be that *sogs* has arisen from the copying of a broken or smudged exemplar, and that the translator originally wrote *sgrogs* 'strap'.

If it is accepted that the writing of the subscript *m* may be ambiguous (see p. 70), we might read either *samadikramiṃ* or *samadikrammi*. The former has no very obvious syntactical explanation; and the latter, though readily understandable as an absolutive (*samatikramya*), is unmetrical. For the word, cf. Dhp. 191 *dukkhassa ca atikkamaṃ*, Uv. xxvii. 37 (T. 30) *duḥkhasya samatikramam* (quoted by Waldschmidt, NAWG 1959. 1, p. 6 n.).

The third pāda of the Sanskrit version (Uv. xxxiii. 61, T. 69, R. 67) is quoted BSU § 130: *utkṣiptaparikhaṃ buddham*, with the comment, 'Die Übersetzung ist natürlich ganz falsch; es kann nicht von dem Fortstossen eines Grabens die Rede sein, sondern nur von dem Wegschieben eines Torriegels.' It is, however, admitted that in Pali *palikhaṃ* we have 'eine falsche Palisierung' of *palighaṃ*, and there seems to be no need to invoke a confusion with *parikhā* 'ditch, trench' (BHSD s.v.). The spelling *parikha* seems well established for Buddhist Sanskrit, and it is better to consider it as an orthographic peculiarity rather than a 'mistranslation', since the original sense continued to be understood. This is confirmed by the Tibetan version of the present stanza, which has *yoṅs su gduṅ spaṅs*. (Rockhill's translation, 'has thrown off all affliction', has mistakenly seen here *gduṅ-ba* 'pain, affliction', instead of *gduṅ(-ma)* 'beam, *parigha*'.)

44. *uvedi*, *vavati*: see p. 87. The writing of initial *va-* for *uva-* does not necessarily mean the loss of a syllable, as can be seen from **24, 25** *vaśada varada*. The Prakrit verse, with *ca vi* (*cāpi*) may therefore indicate a line of nine syllables. The Sinhalese edition of 1898 of the Pali commentary (quoted by Norman, DhpA iv. 228 n.) has *uppattiñ c'eva*. This may of course be merely a coincidence: but it is possible that the Pali verse should in fact read *upapattiṃ c'eva*, and that *uppattiñ c'eva* and the current reading of the editions, *upapattiṃ ca*, are both 'corrections' to reduce the nine syllables to eight.

46. The first half of the Sanskrit verse Uv. xxxiii. 29 (equivalent to 32 in the Tibetan) is quoted in BSU § 203:

yas tu puṇyaṃ ca pāpaṃ cāpy ubhau saṅgāv upātyagāt.

In *c*, *aṣaǵa* is presumably due merely to the influence of *ṣaǵa*. This pāda seems to have been replaced by another in the Tibetan; but in xxxiii. 25 *rdul bral źiṅ źi ba mya ṅan ḥdas pa de* appears to translate *aśokaṃ virajaṃ śāntam*, which would support the Pali *asokaṃ*. (*mya ṅan las ḥdas pa* is used to translate *nirvāṇa*; but the proper name *Aśoka* is rendered by *mya ṅan med*.)

47. *akadaggadi*: see pp. 64, 100. The word *kathaṃkathā* is well established both in Pali and in Buddhist Sanskrit, and in spite of the lack of aspiration the Prakrit must be understood in the same way, rather than **agatāgati* (Senart). The corresponding Uv. stanza (quoted BSU § 103) has *niṣkathaṃkathaḥ*.

pruju: cf. also Sn. 236 *tathāgataṃ deva-manussa-pūjitaṃ*; Apadāna, i. 264 *sabbesaṃ pūjito homi*.

48. *daśabaloveda*: the scribe apparently started to write this as *daśabala'u(veda)*, but changed his mind and altered *'u* to *ve*, without however troubling to delete the vowel-mark *u*.

50. *avha'i* has naturally been taken as 3rd sg. indicative, directly equivalent to *ābhāti*. But if this is so, the form is isolated in the text. The other verbal form which Senart compared with this, *phaṣa'i*, is in fact an optative (see note on **114**). It is true that earlier intervocalic *-t-* has sporadically disappeared (*ca'uri*, *ca'uṭha*: see p. 87); but the indicative in *-di* is otherwise stable. We may therefore assume that the form here was not intended to mean *ābhāti*, but rather *ābhāya*, oblique case-form of the noun *ābhā*: 'and at night the moon by reason of its brightness'. This restores regularity to the grammar, and is adequate for the sense of the verse, since the idea of 'shines' or 'is pre-eminent' is readily carried on from the previous clause. (An alternative though less likely interpretation of *ābhāya* would be as absolutive of the verb *ā-bhā-*.)

This is not of course decisive for the original form of the verse. But it is worth noting that the Pali commentator appears to have had in front of him a different reading from the vulgate *ābhāti*. His comment is: *cando pi abbhādīhi vimutto rattim eva virocati no divā*. Here *virocati* is merely a repetition of the word already used for the sun; and the phrase *abbhādīhi vimutto* seems to indicate that he had the curious reading *abbhāti*, or chose to understand his text in this way, i.e. *abbha-* 'cloud' with *ati*; or, perhaps more probably, *abbhāya*, as a corruption of an original *ābhāya*. On the last alternative, a form *abbhāya* as ablative might well have provoked a copyist to attempt to correct the text (although in fact the Saddanīti accepted the feminine: see CPD s.v.); and in the circumstances *ābhāti* might be thought a very good scribal emendation.

53. Cf. also Divy. 203 *adhyātmarataḥ samāhito*. In Mv. iii. 423, *adhyāyarato* is surely an error of a scribe rather than of the original compilers of the work, and should be emended accordingly.

54. *mana-bhaṇi*: see note on **237**.

56. *kanaṇa*: from the photograph it is impossible to tell whether the mark above the second syllable is a superscript pen-stroke or a lenticule. The latter interpretation is adopted in the text, on the authority of Senart, who was working from the original manuscript.

57. In the Tibetan, *sil sñan yan lag lṅa pas* is a direct translation of *pañcāngikena tūryeṇa* (rather than 'by having cymbals on the five limbs'—R.).

59, 60. There is no trace of a mark of punctuation after *atadridi* in the manuscript, and it is therefore probable that the scribe understood the division of these two verses as given in the

text. This seems intrinsically superior to the division of the Pali editions, and it is supported by the fact that Uv. xxxii. 7 gives the whole stanza of six pādas widely separated from the other. The Tibetan version is complete, although a few phrases are defective in Rockhill's translation. It agrees with the Prakrit in *mthun pa* (*pratirūpa*), and in *ācāra-kuśalo* repeated in *d* and *e*, but with the Pali in *f*, *duḥkhasyāntaṃ kariṣyati*. The Pali verse-division, however, seems to have been known to the commentary (unless, as is unlikely here, the text of the latter has been adjusted), since, although these verses are discussed as part of a larger group, the comments on the separate verses within the group are carefully punctuated by the phrase *ti attho* after each. On the other hand, the translation by James Gray (Calcutta, 1887), which is based on the Burmese tradition, took the new verse as starting with *mitte bhajassu*. In a similar manner, the Uv. has gone astray (in the Sanskrit manuscript as well as in the Tibetan) in distributing the two halves of the verse corresponding to **59** between two adjacent stanzas.

All the verses of the Pali group (Dhp. 368–76) occur in the present chapter, although in a different order. The fact that the commentator treats this group as a unity might indicate that the verses, if not in origin a single poem, at least formed the subject-matter of a standard sermon. Another version of the same sermon, with quite different verses but with much of the same phraseology, appears in Sn. 337–42 (*Rāhula-sutta*).

Edgerton interpreted a number of occurrences of *gupti* in Buddhist Sanskrit (mostly equivalent to Pali *kutti*) as 'form, formation, fashion' (BHSD s.v.). In view of *paḍisadhara-guti*, closely linked with *ācāra*, it may seem desirable to subtract from Edgerton's examples *ācāra-gupti*. There is no difficulty in interpreting both these compounds in terms of Classical Sanskrit *gupti*, as 'guarded behaviour' (or, more idiomatically, 'respectable behaviour'). The possibility remains open, however, that *guti* here is simply a mistake, due to the occurrence of *idri'a-goti* in the preceding stanza.

The translation of *paṭisanthāra* as 'friendly greeting, conversation' fits reasonably well many of the Pali passages where the word is used; but it is not the sense understood here by the commentary, and renderings such as 'Let him live a life of friendship' (Radhakrishnan) are barely adequate. Andersen's version, 'let him live in charity' is nearer the mark, though perhaps only accidentally. There seems little doubt that, as its etymology indicates, the word fundamentally denoted the spreading out of gifts for mutual exchange, and in particular between host and guest. Such a ritual exchange of gifts is a familiar feature of social behaviour in many societies in different parts of the world. From this sense, it would be easy to envisage a generalization in the direction of 'polite social intercourse in accordance with etiquette'. The commentary on the present verse, however, shows that the more precise sense was not forgotten: *āmisa-paṭisanthāre ca dhamma-paṭisanthāre ca sampanna-vuttitāya paṭisanthāra-vutti assa paṭisanthārassa kārako bhaveyya*. The sense of 'friendly greeting, conversation' has not been reported from Buddhist Sanskrit, where in any case the word is rare: BHSD s.v. *pratisaṃstara*, 'distribution severally (of gifts): Mvy. 2859 = Tib. *so sor ḥged* (*ḥgyed*) *pa*, separate distribution'. The Pali commentary is confirmed by Uv. xxxii. 7, both in the rendering of the verse, *so sor bgo bśaḥ bya ba daṅ*, and in the Tibetan commentary. The latter, quoted by Rockhill (p. 175 n., but with a mistranslation of *bgo bśaḥ* as 'prescriptions' instead of 'share, distribution'), also distinguishes the two types, *dharma-pratisaṃstāra* and *āmiṣa-pratisaṃstāra* (*zaṅ zin̄*). We have thus an expression virtually synonymous with the familiar couple, *dharma-dāna*, *āmiṣa-dāna*. This shows clearly the manner in which the sense of *paṭisanthāra* developed in Buddhism: the word describes the situation where the layman makes his gift to the begging monk, while the latter gives in return his 'gift of the doctrine', presumably in the form of a short homily. In some places in Pali it is admittedly difficult to see much more in the word than 'polite conversation'; but if the same rendering is retained for such phrases as *satthā tena saddhiṃ paṭisanthāraṃ katvā*, the underlying implications should be borne in mind.

61. *sviha'o si'a*: the verb indicates an agreement with the Sanskrit version, *spṛhako bhavet*, rather than with the participle *pihayaṃ* of the Pali. In itself, however, the Prakrit form is ambiguous, and since *spṛhaka-* is a somewhat artificial formation, there is a slight bias in favour of considering the participle to be the earlier reading. For other examples of interchange of *k* and *y* in Pali, due to misunderstandings of earlier Prakritic forms (in both directions, but apparently only after *i*), see BSU §§ 88–90.

63. *kamaramu*: either *kāma-* or *karma-* would give reasonable sense in the context, but the latter has some additional support from the partial parallel cited by R. O. Franke, ZDMG 1906, 482, from Itiv. 79: *kammārāmo bhassa-rato*. This interpretation accords better with the story of the Pali commentary to Dhp. 364, and furnishes a better jingle for *dharma-*. It should be added that the manuscript is perfectly clear here, and Franke's doubts as to the reading of the second *kama* are without justification. In Mv. iii, 422, 4, 5 the manuscripts have *karma-*, which suggests a telescoping of the two verses.

65, 66. The opening here is almost an echo of Kaṭha Upaniṣad, ii. 23 *nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo, na medhayā na bahunā śrutena*, although the remainder of the passage reflects a very different attitude from that of the Buddhist verse. Such a parallel, however, at least provides confirmation (if any is required) for the traditional interpretation of the Pali *bāhusaccena*, in spite of the oddness of the form. See also p. 91.

The reading *vivicca-* which has become current in the Pali text was doubtless adopted by Fausbøll as a *lectio difficilior*, but it has really little to commend it. It is apparently unknown to the manuscripts used for the edition of the Pali commentary, which have the more natural reading *vivitta-*. The antiquity of the latter is guaranteed by the Prakrit, and it therefore seems reasonable to reject *vivicca-*. In the Mahāvastu the phrase is replaced by the virtually synonymous expression *prānta-śayyāsanena ca*, which also appears in the Pali commentary, *pantasenāsana-vāsino*; cf. Sn. 338.

phuṣamu, plural, as against the singular in Pali, may perhaps be linked with the fact that the introductory story before the verse in the Pali commentary is also in the plural. In place of this word, the Mahāvastu edition has *spṛhayaṃ*, but the manuscript readings reported are *spṛheya* and *gṛheya*. It is probable therefore that the text should be corrected to *spṛśeya*. The surviving readings could then be readily understood: *gṛheya* as a substitute giving approximately the same sense (though with scant grammatical justification), and *spṛheya* as a blend of the correct reading and the corruption. Cf. also p. 83, and note on **333**.

67. *tavada*: both the Uv. and the Mv. agree, with *tāvatā*, against the Pali, which has presumably been altered under the influence of Dhp. 260 (cf. note on **182**). The insertion of *so* before *hoti* and the Cambodian reading *bhikkhuko* (DhpA iii. 392 n.) are obviously subsequent attempts to correct the metre, and should be disregarded.

Pa. *vissaṃ* has been understood by modern interpreters to be equivalent to *viśva* (PTSD), or even *viṣvak*: 'He who adopts the whole law is a mendicant, not he who adopts only a part'; or 'he is not a mendicant simply because he adopts the whole law of the mendicant' (Radhakrishnan). The Pali commentator, however, knew nothing of this, but instead explained the word as meaning either *visamaṃ* (which could be understood as 'partial', or 'intermittent'), or *vissagandhaṃ* (Sk. *visra-*) 'smelling of raw meat', i.e. *kāyakammādikaṃ dhammaṃ* 'a dharma concerned only with bodily affairs'. This latter picturesque explanation need hardly be taken seriously, but the interpretation as *visamaṃ* may well be old, since the Mahāvastu, iii. 422 has *viṣamāṃ dharmāṃ*. The printed text of the Uv. however (JRAS 1912, 376) has *veśyāṃ dharmān*, and this at

first sight offers an attractive explanation: 'a man does not become a *bhikṣu* merely by undertaking a meretricious *dharma*' ('such as for their bellies sake, creep and intrude, and climb into the fold'); or, simply, 'an easy, accessible *dharma*'. The Tibetan hardly agrees with this, having *groṅ paḥi chos*.

Edgerton (BHSD s.v. *veśya*) thought that the sense might have been taken to be 'of the village', i.e. 'common, vulgar, *grāmya*', but suggested that *veśya* might be a false Sanskritization of MInd. (AMg.) *vesiya*, from Sk. *veṣa*, 'of garb, or external appearance (only)'. The form *veśyāṃ*, however, is simply a conjectural restoration, the manuscript being broken at this point, and the *-y-* having been added by the editor. By good fortune, part of the verse has been preserved in a bilingual Agnean fragment (Sieg and Siegling, *Tocharische Sprachreste*, I.A, p. 201, no. 360): *bhikṣur na tāvatā bhavati . . . veśmadharmāṃ samādāya*, the last phrase being translated as *waṣta-ṣiṃ wkäṃ ets[u]* 'accepting a domestic manner (of life)'. This gives a precise parallel to the Tibetan (*groṅ*, 'house' rather than 'village'), and we need not doubt that *veśma-* is established as the reading of the Uv.

The Prakrit text was formerly read as *viśpa*, and was taken to support the interpretation of *vissaṃ* as *viśvaṃ*. But the first syllable is clearly *ve*, and if the second syllable is *śpa*, it is indeed written somewhat clumsily. In the absence of other examples with which to compare it, a reading *śma* here might seem unduly speculative; but once the idea has been suggested by the Uv. reading, *śma* appears graphically more likely than *śpa*. We would then see here the narrowed, alif-like form of *ś*, such as regularly appears in *śpa*, written above a normal *ma*. The form of the character has been disguised by the double accident of the pen having been carried from the bottom of *ś* towards the beginning of the *m* (on the right), and by the lower part of the arc of the *m* having disappeared with a sliver of bark (which has also taken away the lower extremity of the following *dha*).

It would still have been possible to consider that *veśma-* was a later misunderstanding, if it had not been for the remarkable coincidence of the Pali explanation *visamaṃ* and the Mv. *viṣamāṃ*. This, coupled with the other evidence, shows beyond question that a reading with *-m-* was current at a very early date. We may also note that the group sibilant plus *m* was frequently preserved in Māgadhī, and the Jaina commentator Śīlānka states that the Sanskritic forms *akasmāt*, *asmākaṃ* were used in Magadha even by the cow-girls (Pischel § 314). It seems probable therefore that the original form of the verse, in some old Māgadhī or Ardha-māgadhī dialect, had, say, *vissaṃ dhammaṃ*, which produced an apparently absurd sense: 'A man who undertakes the whole *dharma* is not thereby a *bhikṣu*.' The preacher would then explain to his audience that by *vissa* he did not mean *viśva*, but *veśma*, so that the real sense of the verse was 'a *dharma* no better than that of living in a house', i.e. a *dharma* concerned simply with obtaining enough food to live on. Such an explanation, handed down orally, could then have given rise to the Pali and Mv. *visama*, *viṣama*, when the sense of **vesma*, **visma* was no longer remembered. The Sanskrit and the North-western Prakrit, on the other hand, were able to preserve *veśma-*, but, as in other cases also, were unable to retain the original play upon words.

68. An exact parallel to *b* in the Prakrit occurs in Pali in Jāt. v. 153, vi. 181, *vatavā brahmacariyavā* (Franke).

In the first half of the verse, Uv. agrees with the Pali (but with *prahāya* in place of *bāhetvā*). The Mv. also, with *yo ca kāmāṃ ca pāpāṃ cādhikṛtvā brahmacaryavāṃ*, although seriously corrupted, clearly goes back to the same original. In pāda *c*, on the other hand, the Pali and the Prakrit agree, against the Mv., *niḥśreṇī-bhūto saprajño*, and Uv., *viśreṇī-bhūtaś* (or *-kṛtvā*? cf. xi. 12, Chakravarti, p. 133) *carati*. This is a good illustration of the extremely complicated manner in which the various versions are interrelated.

In the writing of *du* for *di* we might be inclined to see a mere lapsus calami, were it not for the fact that the same feature reappears in a repetition of the same phrase in **79**. We may therefore assume that the writing does give some indication of the pronunciation, and that the vowel has been attracted in the direction of *u* under the influence of the surrounding syllables: see p. 83.

69. *duṇadi*: see p. 100; *maduru*: see p. 105.

70. Cf. also Therī. 182, 189 *paṭivijjhiṃ padaṃ santaṃ*. Uv. iv. 31 has *pratividhyate*, while xxxii. 20 has *adhigacchet*.

For *padaṃ*, the Tibetan has *go ḥphaṅ* 'rank, status,' while the Chinese has 句 'words, sentence'. The latter is a common sense of *pada-* in Buddhist texts, in contradistinction to the regular usage of the grammarians, for whom *pada-* is a single word as opposed to a sentence: see P. S. Jaini, BSOAS xxii. 98 ff. Both *adhi-gam-* and *prati-vyadh-* are commonly used in the sense of 'understand'; and in the translation of Uv. iv. 31 the Tibetan has *rtogs* 'understand', while for xxxii. 20 it has *thob* 'obtain'. It thus seems possible to translate the verse in two ways: either, 'He will understand the Word of Peace: "The cessation of the *saṃskāras* is happiness" '; or, 'He will arrive at the peaceful, happy state which consists of the quiescence of the *saṃskāras*.' It is of course possible that the double sense was intentional. Since the expression *padaṃ santaṃ* as a description of *nirvāṇa* is certainly to be linked with such ancient formulations as the Vedic *viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padaṃ*, it is of interest to remark that Renou has recently suggested the possibility of verbal play in the Rigveda on the two senses of *pada*, "trace" et "mot" ' (*Études sur le vocabulaire du Ṛgveda*, première série, Pondichéry, 1958, pp. 21–22).

sagharavośamu may be a reflection of the pronunciation rather than a mere error of writing: see p. 83.

72. *asecanakam*: the CPD rather inadequately renders this as 'agreeable to the taste, smell', but also quotes the traditional Sanskrit explanation from the Amarakośa, *tṛpter nāsty anto yasya darśanāt*, which is certainly correct, except for the restriction to the sense of sight, which is only secondary. The root *sek-* 'to satiate' is to be separated from *sek-* 'to sprinkle': for details, see H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xxi. 530. In the commentary to *Deśīnāmamālā*, i. 72, *āseaṇaya* is explained by *avitṛpta-darśana*. It is possible that Vedic *āsíc-* belongs here: RV ii. 37. 1 *sá pūrṇā́m vaṣṭy āsícam*, and similarly vii. 16. 11, in both of which a translation such as 'He (the god) is eager for full repletion' would fit the context well. (Geldner: 'Er wünscht voll eingeschenkt'.) We should then see in *úd vā siñcádhvam* in the second half of vii. 16. 11 a verbal play with the homophonous root.

There is no means of determining whether the Prakrit should be divided as *aseyaṇe moyaka* or *aseyaṇem oyaka*. If the latter was intended, the reading agrees in essentials with the Pali, which is certainly the older form of the line; if the former, the corruption leading to Mv. *asecanaṃ ca mocanaṃ* had already started. (One of the Mv. manuscripts has *asecanamocanaṃ*.) Among the commentary explanations of *asecanaka* (quoted CPD s.v.), note in particular *ojavanto sabhāven'eva madhuro*. We may wish to reserve judgement on the question of connecting *ojavant-* with *ojas-* 'strength'; but there is no reason to doubt that *ojavant-* is immediately connected with Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit *ojā*. Edgerton (BHSD) held that in Buddhist Sanskrit the meaning of *ojā* was simply 'food'; but from the contexts in which the word occurs it is clear that it is applied principally if not exclusively to 'food of excellent flavour'. The phrase in the present verse thus describes the *padaṃ santaṃ* as 'of sweet savour, never causing surfeit'. The Uv. *-darśanaṃ* is a poor substitution for this, the word being mechanically borrowed from a different type of context, namely, the description of the physical beauty of Buddhas and other eminent persons.

75. Uv. xxxi. 31 (JRAS 1912, 373):

ātāpī vihara tvam apramatto
[ ]*theta cittam*
mā lohaguḍāṃ gile(ḥ) pramatta(ḥ)
krandan vai narakeṣu pacyamāna(ḥ).

The first line of the verse presents little difficulty. The Pali version is probably closest to the original form. Since *pamādo* after *mā* occurs several times in Pali in positions where the metre requires – ∪ – (*mā dhammaṃ rāja pamādo* Jāt. v. 123. 27; 223. 29; vi. 94. 30, at the end of an *anuṣṭubh*: the same phrase still further distorted, Mv. iii. 454. 5 *mā rāja dharme pramādaya*), it has been generally accepted that the original phrase was a negative injunctive, with the augment retained, i.e. of the form *mā prāmadaḥ*. It is thus reasonable to assume that the line originally had the metrical form – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –, as in Dhp. 236*a*, 285*c*, 180*a*. Since this metrical shape is accepted without difficulty by Uv. xxix. 53. 54 (= 180), and probably also xvii. 5 (= 285), the rephrasing here by the Sanskrit translator may be due partly to the Vaitālīya line in an otherwise Aupacchandasika stanza, and partly to other metrical problems, if the reading *pamādo* had, as is probable, already become current. There is, however, no justification at all for actually emending the Pali text to *pāmado*, as D. Andersen did (*Pali Reader*, p. 126): there is no reason to suppose that the compilers of the Pali canon were particularly sensitive to metrical minutiae, and *mā pamādo* is thoroughly established in Pali, both in prose and in verse (Saṃ. iv. 263 *mā brāhmaṇa paṭhamaṃ jhānaṃ pamādo*, &c.). Most probably the word was thought by the Pali redactors to be simply the noun *pamādo*, with the verb left unexpressed: '(Let there be) no slackness'; since there appears to be no other likely motive for changing an earlier **pāmado*. The commentators regularly explain the phrase by *mā pamajji* (which does not prove, however, that they considered *pamādo* to be an injunctive), and this commentary-form has intruded into the text in the curious shape *mā pramādyi* in Mv. iii. 124. 18, where again **prāmado* would give better metre, and is probably closer to the original of the verse. In Jāt. iv. 111 *Udaye mā pamāda, carassu dhammaṃ*, the metrically better form would be an injunctive without augment, **pamado*.

If it were possible to read in the Prakrit version *pramadi*, this would be easily explained as a simple transfer to an *-i* aorist injunctive (*pamādi* also in Pali). It seems, however, to be certain that the scribe has here written *pramati*, a form which is difficult to explain, and which, even if correct in this version, can hardly be original. A loc. sg. *pramatte* would not be satisfactory, and a nom. sg. in *-e* here seems unlikely. Apart from this, we are driven back to very improbable analogical forms such as **pramatti* (aor. inj.), or **pramatteḥ* (opt.), or **pramat-tvī* (absolutive), of which the last is perhaps the least unlikely. The easiest solution is clearly to assume that the scribe has simply miscopied, and that he ought to have written *pramadi*.

The second line of the stanza is particularly troublesome, and it would be rash to be dogmatic about its original form. It probably became grammatically obscure quite early—though the general sense could not be misunderstood—and it may be that all of the surviving versions are the result of attempts to patch the grammar. It remains possible, however, that the Prakrit version, giving a simple construction, is reasonably close to the original.

The Pali text was earlier printed with *bhavassu*, and the commentary as *pañcavidhe ca te kāmaguṇe cittaṃ mā bhavatu* (so quoted by Childers, *P. Dict.* s.v. *bhavati*). This is full of difficulties. The second person imperative is recklessly interpreted as third person. By its position *te* should be acc. pl. of the pronoun *tat*; but to make any sense of the sentence, it must be gen. sg. of *tvaṃ*, and *kāmaguṇe* must be loc. sg. In these circumstances, it is understandable that Senart should have felt that the Prakrit provided a certain correction of the Pali—an estimate which

now seems over-optimistic. Taking *bhameṅsu* as a causative of *bhram-* (the difference in transcription is irrelevant for the interpretation), he understood the line to mean 'Let not the *kāmaguṇas* cause your mind to stray.' This, it seems, was so attractive that subsequent Pali editors have regularly printed *bhamassu*, and H. C. Norman in his edition of the commentary (1914) gave the sentence quoted above as *cittaṃ mā bhamatu*. This indeed makes it easier to interpret the sentence in the commentary; but it is a mystery why *bhamassu* should have been thought to make easier sense than *bhavassu*.

Radhakrishnan follows other editors in printing *bhamassu*, although in his translation ('Let not your thought delight in sensual pleasures') he has temporarily forgotten that James Gray's translation is based on Burmese manuscripts; and there the reading is *ramassu*. D. Andersen (*Pali Reader*, Glossary, s.v. *bhamati*) does not even mention the existence of the reading *bhavassu*. Of *bhamassu*, he says, '*imp.* 2 *sg. med.* . . . seems to be used as *imp.* 3 *sg.*'. The Prakrit version, he adds, 'seems to prove that we ought to read *kāmaguṇā bhamiṃsu* (*aor.* 3 *pl.*) or *bhamesuṃ* (*aor.* 3 *pl. caus.*)'.

The important point to make in the present context is that the Prakrit spelling *bhametsu*, while consistent with a form of *bhram-*, is not conclusive evidence for it. At the time when *bhamassu* was imported into the Pali editions, it was insufficiently realized that intervocalic *-m-* in the Prakrit frequently appears in place of an earlier *-v-* (see p. 88). A confusion between *m* and *v* is easily understandable in the Sinhalese script, and the Sinhalese manuscripts are in fact divided. (Of the two Dhp. manuscripts in the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, one has *bhavassu*, the other *bhamassu*.) The evidence is therefore impressively impartial, and neither reading can claim superiority on grounds of manuscript support only.

For the Prakrit, it seems on the whole easier to make sense if the ambiguous *-m-* is here understood as for an earlier *-v-*. From the same root, we have also *bhamaṇa'i* (*bhāvanāya*) and *sabhamu* (*saṃbhavaṃ*). The Prakrit text can thus be taken to represent *mā te kāmaguṇā bhaviṃsu cittaṃ*, 'May the *kāmaguṇas* not accrue to thee, o mind.' Cf. Mv. ii. 142. 5. *divyā me bhontu kāmaguṇā(ḥ)*.

Unfortunately most of the Sanskrit version of the line is lost. The editor filled the lacuna by [*mā kāmaguṇe prama*]*theta cittaṃ*, without giving any reasons; but since this makes questionable metre, and doubtful sense ('May your mind not be agitated in the *kāmaguṇa* (sg.)' (?)), it can probably be neglected. It would be rash to assume that *th*, coming at the break, has been read correctly. The Tibetan has *sems khyod phuṅ khrol ḥdod la dgaḥ ma byed* 'O mind, do not take pleasure in . . . *kāma*'. (The sense of *phuṅ khrol* is uncertain, but this is a problem which need not be pursued here.) It seems almost certain that *sems*, in this position in the line, is intended as a vocative; and if so, this might give support to the translation suggested for the Prakrit. It might be thought that *dgaḥ* here offers some support for the Burmese reading *ramassu*; but since the latter is much more likely to be simply altered from *bhamassu* of one of the Sinhalese manuscript traditions, this is more probably an accident.

As for the Pali, it need hardly be said that *bhamassu*, *bhavassu* could not conceivably be a 3rd person imperative. It must, as a 2nd person imperative, belong syntactically either to the vocative *bhikkhu* in the previous line, or to *cittaṃ*, if the latter is construed as a vocative. In neither case, however, does it seem possible to make sense of the verse if the word is taken simply as *bhavasva*. An interpretation which seems at least possible is to understand the word as standing for the imperative of the causative, i.e. for **bhāvessu*, with metrical shortening of the first syllable. This interpretation (as *bhāvayasva*) was suggested long ago by Weber (SBE x, Max Müller's note on Dhp. 371), but has naturally been forgotten since the editions have adopted the reading *bhamassu*. Geiger quotes no examples of 2nd person sg. imperat. mid. of causative verbs, and an unusual formation of this type might well have been a source of difficulty and corruption. This would allow the alternatives: 'O bhikkhu, do not exercise your mind in the kāmaguṇas (acc. pl.)'; or 'O mind, do not exercise yourself (*te*) in the kāmaguṇas'.

In the last line, *mā* in the Pali is unmetrical, and superfluous in sense, since the negation can be readily carried from the previous line. The word is thus clearly an interpolation to the original form of the verse; but again, this consideration does not entitle an editor to delete the word from an edition of the Pali recension. In the Prakrit, *kani* is probably to be taken as injunctive, equivalent to the Pali *kandi*; but the existence of present participles in *-i* (*bhaṇi*, *yuji*, see p. 116) leaves the possibility open of a direct agreement with the Sanskrit version, *krandan*.

77. *parivaja'i* (i.e. *parivarjayet*, or perhaps second person) seems an almost certain reconstruction of the break in the manuscript, fitting well both the sense and the remaining traces of the characters.

In the Jātaka verse, adduced by Franke as a near parallel, the feminine adjectives refer to the nature of woman, and we may assume that this is also the intention of the Prakrit verse. The sense is thus, 'One should avoid women, who are irascible, ungrateful, and malicious.'

In the Pali verse, *cara* seems unlikely, and it should probably be emended to *care*, opt. 2 sg.

78. *utvari*: see p. 83. *ṣaǵadhi'o*: see pp. 95, 101.

79. P. *asatā* is supported here by the commentary, and by the occurrence of the same pāda in Sn. 861 and 950. It seems almost certain that the manuscript here has *asata*, which could not correspond directly to the Pali. If it is not simply a mistake or a careless writing for *asada*, it would seem that the sense was taken to be 'without attachment' (*asakta-*): cf. Sn. 176 *akiñcanaṃ kāmabhave asattaṃ*.

du for *di*: see note on **68**.

80. Other versions of the stanza are:

Mv. iii. 412 *alaṅkṛto vāpi careya dharmaṃ*
kṣānto dānto niyato brahmacārī
sarvehi bhūtehi nivārya daṇḍaṃ
so brāhmaṇo so śramaṇo sa bhikṣuḥ.

Catuṣpariṣat-sūtra (ed. Waldschmidt), p. 192:

alaṅkṛtaś cāpi careta dharmaṃ
dāntaḥ śāntaḥ saṃyato brahmacārī
sarveṣu bhūteṣu nidhāya daṇḍaṃ
sa brāhmaṇaḥ sa śramaṇaḥ sa bhikṣuḥ.

Divy. 339 agrees with this last, except for *cāreta* and *brahmacāri* (which are probably misprints), and, unmetrically, *dāntendriyaḥ* for *dāntaḥ*. It is of interest to observe here that while the Pali reading in the first pāda is isolated, the Mahāvastu and the Pali are closely related in *b*, while the Prakrit is in agreement with the canonical Mūla-sarvāstivādin version.

81–90. These verses, with their common refrain (on which see further the discussion below on **86**), are preserved as a separate unit in the Pali tradition, where they form the first chapter (*Uraga-sutta*) of the *Sutta-nipāta*. While there is therefore no reason to doubt that this is in origin a separate, self-contained poem, the subject matter quite naturally led to its inclusion here. The fact that the Prakrit and the Uv. agree in using it as a sort of coda to the Bhikṣu chapter (to which, however, the Uv. adds a further two verses) may indicate that there was an early tradition which placed it at this point in the Dharmapada material. The Prakrit gives the shortest

version of the poem, the Uv. the longest. The 17 verses of the Pali show only slight differences from the Prakrit in the arrangement of the material: verses 14 and 15 are telescoped in the Prakrit into a single verse, **88**; verses 6 and 7 are not represented in the Prakrit; and for the rest, the greater extent of the Pali is due to the repetition of a single stanza, with successive substitution of single terms of a series. Thus, verses 10–13 are the same as 9, except that for *ñatvā loke* these verses have *vītalobho*, *vītarāgo*, *vītadoso*, and *vītamoho* respectively. The same process of 'serial repetition', highly esteemed as a mechanism for expanding the volume of sacred texts, is used here by the Uv. to achieve a total of 26 or 28 verses, including the six (Chakravarti's Sanskrit manuscript) or seven (Tibetan version) built out of the two, **81** and **83**, which are transferred by the Uv. to the Puṣpa chapter.

The manuscript was badly fragmented here at the time when Senart worked on it, and this accounts for the difficulties he experienced in putting these verses into order. Since then, most of the fragments in question have been carefully fitted into place under the same glass as the main leaf, and it is now clear that the section consists of 10 verses, not 11. There is therefore no need to assume, as Senart did, that the figure given in the manuscript for the total number of verses in the chapter is incorrect, since there are in fact 40 verses, if we exclude 56a from the numbering as an accidental repetition.

81. In the second pāda, in spite of the break in the manuscript, the remaining traces make the reading proposed very probable, though a doubt remains with regard to the last syllable. The spelling *pupha* is unexpected, since the word appears elsewhere (**290** ff.) as *puṣa* or *puṣpa*; but the upright stroke, with a very faint trace of a horizontal to the left, at the edge of the break, suggests the reading *-pha* for the second syllable here. Alternatively, an interpretation *pu[ṣ]e* or *pu[ṣ]i* might be graphically possible.

It would appear that the ends of the second and fourth pādas have been transposed by the scribe, as Senart suggested. Since this cannot possibly make sense, we may assume that the scribe's eye had jumped to the second *viva* in his exemplar, and that he wrote *tvaya puraṇa* at the end of the second pāda; but that he also realized his mistake immediately, and, following a time-honoured method of concealment among scribes, simply wrote in the word he had missed at the next convenient place, thus preserving the appearance of his page by avoiding the untidiness of an erasure or deletion.

On the sense of the refrain, *jahāti ora-pāraṃ*, see note on **86.**

82. *visaḍa*: the Pali editions have regularly printed *visataṃ*, but Fausbøll quoted from Burmese manuscripts the alternative spelling *visaṭaṃ*. Since the latter is supported by the Prakrit, it should certainly be restored to the text. The word apparently has caused some difficulty to translators, since Lord Chalmers omits it entirely, and Hare, though accepting the traditional sense (*vitthataṃ*) proposed by the Pali commentator (SnA i. 12), dissents from the natural syntax of the latter, and attaches the adjective to *kodhaṃ* instead of to *sappavisaṃ*. Neither translator has felt it necessary to give a note to explain these somewhat arbitrary procedures. One can only conjecture that the embarrassment arose from the feeling that a diffusion of the poison through the body would imply a knowledge of the circulation of the blood; and this knowledge, naturally, the ancient authors could not have possessed. Nevertheless, even in the absence of this knowledge, the commentator was aware that snake-venom does in fact spread through the body, and said so explicitly: *sabbaṃ kāyaṃ pharitvā ṭhitaṃ visataṃ sappavisaṃ*. In the Tibetan version *btaṅ ba* (often used to translate *samarpayati*) may indicate a variant *visṛṣṭaṃ* in the Sanskrit version; but this would in any case be a late alteration.

It must, however, be admitted that the sense of 'diffused' is a little forced here. This in itself

does not disprove the interpretation, since clearly the word was chosen by the poet primarily for the sake of its alliteration with *sappavisaṃ*; but other possibilities may be worth considering. We might, for example, see here the word *viṣaṭa-*, with a meaning such as 'painful, dread, cruel'. This has been cited only from one passage in Buddhist Sanskrit (Divy. 376. 12 *pañca-viṣaṭa-bandhanāṃ kāraṇāṃ kārayanti* 'they inflict a torture consisting of five dreadful bonds': BHSD s.v.); but it was also known in Prakrit (Sheth, Pr.-Hindi Dict., *visaḍa*, *visaḍha*). Hemacandra recognized the word, which he considered to be directly derived from S. *viṣama*, and he therefore excluded it from his *deśī*-list (commentary on *Deśīnāmamālā*, vii. 62 *viṣamavācakas tu viṣama-śabdabhavaḥ*). The etymology remains uncertain. A derivation from *viṣa-* would be semantically understandable, but remains speculative, since the suffix *-ṭa* >*-ḍa* is familiar principally from the later period of Middle Indo-Aryan (Pischel § 599); and if this were the word in the present verse, the *-s-* for *-ṣ-* would imply that the word here is not an inherited form, but is simply taken over from the dialect from which the translation was made.

It might, however, be suggested that the word which Hemacandra distinguishes from this may have its aspirate—*visaḍho*—as a later development, or even an error in the tradition. This assumption would allow the word to be attached to the root *śaṭ-*, known to the Sanskrit lexicographers in the sense of 'to be sick', and would favour the meaning *nīroga*, rejected by Hemacandra in favour of *nīrāga*. The existence of these two interpretations clearly shows a dependence on an unsatisfactory manuscript tradition; but there is no need to doubt the sense of 'sickness', and the root is in all probability in origin the same as that preserved in such words as Hindi *saṛnā* 'to decay' (see Turner, *Nepali Dict.* s.v. *saṛnu*).

This would allow us, as an alternative possible explanation of the verse, to conjecture that *visaṭaṃ* might be the present participle of a verb **vi-śaṭati* 'to cure a disease'. This is suggested with some diffidence, since the verb is not directly attested, and the meaning proposed for it implies a rather complicated (though not impossible) semantic development. But the suggestion seems worth putting forward for consideration, since in this way the verse falls into the same structural pattern as that of its neighbours:

Sn. 5 nājjhagamā sāraṃ
vicinaṃ puppham iva
Sn. 1 vineti kodhaṃ
visaṭaṃ sappavisaṃ va
Sn. 2 rāgam udacchidā
bhisa-pupphaṃ va *vigayha*
Sn. 3 taṇham udacchidā
saritaṃ va *sosayitvā*.

In each of these verses, the second line gives a word of comparison (*iva*, *va*), a word parallel with the substantive in the first line, and a participle or absolutive parallel with the verb in the first line. (On Sn. 2 and 3, see also the following notes, **83**, **84**.) The interpretation of *visaṭaṃ* as a present participle thus gives us a coherent group of stanzas built upon the same principle, and this fact may be felt to counterbalance the risk of postulating a verb only indirectly attested. The argument admittedly falls short of being conclusive, since poets are not necessarily consistent; and indeed Sn. 4, which in other respects belongs to the same group, breaks the pattern by having no participle or absolutive in the second line. On the other hand, by supplying an explicit subject in the comparison (*mahogho*), that stanza coheres more readily with the group than the verse under discussion does if *visaṭaṃ* is taken as an adjective to *sappavisaṃ*.

The break in the manuscript leaves the possibility open that the reading here was *visaḍu*.

Senart's fragment B. xv *vi sa*, which Franke suggested might be placed in this verse, to

correspond to the Pali (*sappa*)*visaṃ* (ZDMG 60. 484), is 480 in the present plates, and really belongs to verse 44.

83. *udavahi*: even before the discovery of the Prakrit version, Morris suggested (JPTS 1887, 136) that the Pali word here should be understood as *udabbahi*, from the root *vṛh-* 'to extirpate'. This seems intrinsically much better in the context than the rather questionable *ut* + *vadheti* of the Pali commentator, and we may agree with Senart that the Prakrit confirms the conjecture. Since this root appears with initial *b-* in the present dialect (see note on *brahidare*, verse 1), the form here indicates a single intervocalic consonant, *ud-abṛh-* (or *ud-ā-abṛh-*, for the metre, if the original verse had an aorist with the weak form of the root). In the Pali, the double consonant *-bb-* may either indicate *ud-abrah-*, or may be simply formed by analogy from other parts of the verb.

vikaśa: < *vigahya*, S. *vigṛhya*. On *ś* < *hy*, see p. 105. It can hardly be disputed that the sense of 'seizing' or 'plucking' the lotus-flower is intended here: such a meaning is entirely apt in the context, and *vigayha*, with a single intervocalic *-g-*, is the phonetically regular inherited form of this part of the verb in Pali. It would seem, however, that the Pali commentator was familiar only with the meaning 'to quarrel' for this verb, and with the analogical formation *viggayha*. He therefore attempts perversely to see here the root *gāh-*; and the modern translators have regularly followed him. This curious piece of pedantry—which has the effect of eliminating such poetry as the verse contains—is supported by a jejune story of boys diving into a lake to gather lotuses. This is obviously invented merely to justify the exegesis. It is probable that the meaning of *vigṛhya* survived in the tradition leading to the Udānavarga. Unfortunately, Chakravarti's Sanskrit manuscript was somewhat broken at this point; and the printed Tibetan text has:

chu skyes rtsa baḥi me tog chu gnas ltaḥi.

But it is very doubtful whether this could be original. The phrase *chu gnas* (perhaps 'water-dwelling', as an adjectival phrase with *me tog*: Rockhill's 'tank' could hardly be justified) is in itself clumsy after *chu skyes* at the beginning of the line. And since the translator has carefully given a literal rendering of all the other words (*chu skyes* for *saroruhaṃ*, *rtsa ba* for *bisa*, *me tog* for *puṣpa*), it is prima facie very likely that †*chu gnas* stands in place of the word corresponding to the Pali *vigayha*. We may therefore suggest that the translator wrote *chag nas* 'having broken'. This seems an appropriate word in the context: see further Desgodins, s.v. *chag pa*, where the following phrases are quoted: *me tog chag pa* 'bouquet de fleurs', *rgun ḥbrum chag pa* 'faisceau de raisins', *thog* (*gi*) *chag pa sdom* 'lier les gerbes'.

It must indeed be admitted that *chag nas* here produces a rather awkward piece of Tibetan syntax; and this fact, combined with the context, must have made *chu gnas* a wonderfully tempting corruption to a copyist who no longer had the Indian original before him. But the translator was sufficiently literal to render *bisa-puṣpaṃ* by *rtsa baḥi me tog* 'flower of the root' (and it seems improbable that *rtsa ba* should have shared in the metonymy by which Sanskrit used *bisa* for the lotus and not merely the stalk or the root); and one so concerned with literal precision is not likely to have omitted *vigṛhya* and then filled his line with an entirely superfluous *chu gnas*. Since the syntactical awkwardness may cast doubt on the emendation (*chag lta* might have been thought sufficient to give the sense), it should be added that *lta* here brings into comparison the whole preceding clause; and the awkwardness, such as it is, is exactly parallel to the syntax of the Indian original. Further, *nas* is by far the commonest method of translating Sanskrit absolutives in *-tvā* and *-ya*. A random collection of 64 absolutives from the Udānavarga showed 32 with *nas* (*hitvā—spaṅs nas*; *jñātvā—rig nas*; *ādāya—blaṅs nas*, &c.), while the remaining 50 per cent. accounted for several different types (*spaṅs śiṅ*; *rig pas*; *ḥjug byed pa*(*ḥi*), &c.). A similar sampling

from the Hevajra Tantra (ed. D. L. Snellgrove) produced 35 absolutives translated with *nas*, against only 13 translated otherwise.

The pattern of this group of verses obviously lends itself to corruption by the process of re-sorting the first and second lines and pairing them in different combinations. Thus, the present verse in the Prakrit combines the first line of Sn. 4 with the second line of Sn. 2. There is little point in speculating which arrangement is original. It could be argued that the Prakrit first line here, with *bṛh-*, goes better with the plucking of a flower than the Pali *chid-*; but there is nothing improbable in the latter, and it may well be supported by the Tibetan, which has *gcod*, a verb regularly used to translate *chid-*. But the same Tibetan verb would certainly not be impossible as a rendering of *bṛh-* in a suitable context. In fact, all three versions have suffered alteration in one way or another. The Prakrit has lost some verses which are in the Pali. An original verse-beginning, corresponding to that of **85** in the Prakrit, has probably been ousted from the Pali by the mechanical repetition of the same first line (with *udacchidā*) in Sn. 2 and 3. The Prakrit is restrained in writing serial repetitions into the text (though reciters may have been expected to supply them), while the Pali multiplies by this means the verse beginning *yo nāccasārī*. The Udānavarga leaves this verse single, but multiplies several others.

84, 85. *udacha'i*: see pp. 82, 87.

visosayitvā appears to be thoroughly established in the Pali manuscript tradition at this point, and there is thus no means of telling whether or not the corruption goes back as far as the original redaction of the Pali version. An editor will therefore probably wish to leave the word as it stands in an edition of the Pali text; but the structural pattern of this group of verses (see also note on **82**) allows us to re-establish for the original poem a reading equivalent to *va sosayitvā*. In view of the comparative rarity of the uncompounded verb, the corruption was virtually inevitable. A similar instance, which also illustrates the powerful attraction of a familiar compound verb, may be seen in Sn. 29. Here the Sinhalese manuscripts and the editions have preserved the correct text: *nāgo pūtilataṃ va dālayitvā*. But Fausbøll quotes also a Burmese reading *padālayitvā*. It should be added that *visosayitvā* might have been initially suspected merely on account of its form. In view of later Pali usage, it is not surprising that scribes and editors should have been quite undisturbed by this: but in the old language which underlies most of the poems in the *Sutta-nipāta*, divergences from the familiar Sanskrit distribution of absolutives in *-tvā* and *-ya* are extremely rare. In the 1149 verses of the text, there are only 40 instances of *-tvā* (or *-tvāna*) with compound verbs; 28 of these are in 7 suttas, and only 18 suttas from the 72 in the collection have any examples at all. On the other hand, simple verbs in *-tvā* and regular forms in *-ya* are extremely common throughout. In the first Vagga (suttas 1–12), the *Khaggavisāna-sutta*, with 9 compound verbs in *-tvā*, shows by this fact alone an origin different—whether in time or in place—from that of its neighbours. (There are thus good grounds for dissent from the suggestion made by Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, ii, p. 98, that all 12 poems of the Uraga-vagga might be the work of a single author.) Apart from this sutta, the remainder of the Vagga contains only one example (*virājetvā*, 139, 171).

śoṣa'itha, *dala'itha*: Lüders proposed to interpret these forms as optative middle; but while an optative is conceivable, though unlikely, in **85**, such a form would be altogether impossible in **84**. Since the two words must certainly share the same explanation, it seems necessary to understand them as absolutives: *-itvā* > *-ittā*. (For other anomalies in the matter of aspiration, see p. 100.) This would allow *śoṣa'itha* to correspond exactly to the Pali verse; and a syntactical parallel to the absolutive in the relative clause may be seen in Sn. 17, *yo nīvaraṇe pahāya pañca*.

Corresponding to *naḷa-setuṃ* the Tibetan should have *ḥdam buḥi rags* (not *rigs*, as in the printed edition), 'a dam of reeds'. Rockhill's translation, 'embankment', although wrong in this context,

indicates that his text had the reading *rags*, which is also the reading of the Pekin block-print.

86. *ecasari*: the Pali version has the negative with both verbs in all the repetitions, and Senart therefore considered the writing here to be merely a copyist's error for *necasari*, as in the following stanza. This may be so, but it would be difficult to be over-dogmatic in the absence of complete certainty as to the meaning of the line. For the present, it seems desirable to leave the possibility open that *ecasari* here might form an intentional antithesis with *necasari* in **87**. This would not of course necessarily imply that this feature belonged to the original poem.

Modern translators of the Pali have for the most part been content with renderings such as 'who neither hastes nor lags behind'. This, however, does not represent the words of the verse, but the words in which the commentator attempts to explain the verse: *yo nāccasārī ti yo nātidhāvi, na paccasārī ti na ohiyyi* 'who has not run on ahead, and has not been left behind'. To this explanation, examples are added of the two classes of faults:

	accāsarati	*paccāsarati*
(*a*)	excessive energy, leading to riotous behaviour (*uddhacca*)	excessive lassitude, leading to sloth (*kosajja*)
(*b*)	self-mortification, because of thirst for existence (*bhava-taṇhā*)	indulgence in pleasures, because of thirst for pleasures (*kāma-taṇhā*)
(*c*)	eternalism (*sassata-diṭṭhi*)	nihilism (*uccheda-diṭṭhi*)
(*d*)	bewailing the past	longing for the future
(*e*)	having a theory about origins (*pubbantānudiṭṭhi*)	having a theory about ultimate ends (*aparantānudiṭṭhi*)

(No explanation is offered for the gratuitous insertion of *-ā-* in the two verbs in the commentary: instead of *accāsarati* we might have expected simply *atisarati*.)

This is of course a mere list of paragraph headings for a sermon on the text. While *atisarati* may reasonably mean 'goes too far', *pratisarati* could yield, in comparable literal terms, only such senses as 'approaches, goes to', or 'returns': it could hardly mean 'does not go far enough'. Example (*d*) switches without warning to an entirely different etymology, the implicit suggestion being that *ati-sarati* means *atītaṃ smarati*. The other verb is then, with some violence, constrained into forming an antithesis with this; and example (*e*), while not entirely irrelevant (see below), is arranged in this way simply to make it parallel with (*d*). As exegesis this is hardly helpful, and we may well conclude that the commentator has demonstrated that he had no genuine information about the intended sense of the verse, which thus remains open to further conjecture.

Senart, on the basis of the *-e-* in the Prakrit, thought to see here *etya* and *pretya*, which, with *ā-* and *pra-*, would give a more obvious antithesis than *ati-* and *prati-*. But this left *sari* inadequately explained, and implied a violent alteration in the Pali. Parallels such as *pre'aṇadi* for *prajānāti* (see p. 81) show that the *-e-* in the Prakrit here is simply a feature within the dialect itself, of palatalization in the neighbourhood of a palatal consonant. Suggestions such as *aty-asmārī* (Neumann) seem unlikely. The interpretation as an adjective, *accasarin-* (PTSD) is an aberration, and there seems to be no reason to doubt the traditional view that both words are aorists.

Although 'lagging behind' can scarcely be accepted for *paccasārī*, the two verbs must nevertheless express an antithesis, and a simple literal rendering could be, 'who has neither gone on (to a later point on the route), nor gone back (to a point already passed)'. From this point of

view, the phrase is virtually a repetition of the refrain *jahāti orapāraṃ*, which itself is intended to be paradoxical (since the 'further shore' is commonly the whole aim of religious endeavour), but which is readily enough seen to be an early example of the pseudo-profundity so richly developed in later Mahāyāna literature (and to some extent, of course, a recrudescence, in a generalized form, of the type of primitive paradox of RV x. 129. 1 *nâsad āsīn nó sád āsīt tadânīm*). The 'higher wisdom' sees that *saṃsāra* (*ora*) and *nirvāṇa* (*pāra*) are one, and the perfected man is ultimately indifferent to both, since in effect neither exist, *paramārthataḥ*. (See, for example, Nāgārjuna, *Madhyamakakārikā*, xxv. 3; E. Frauwallner, *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus*, pp. 174 f.; G. Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, ii. p. 105: 'In the realm of relativity there is nothing to accept and nothing to abandon, no *saṃsāra* and no *nirvāṇa*'; D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra Tantra*, i, 29, 45; and the later literature *passim*.)

The idea is not indeed confined in Pali to the refrain of the *Uraga-sutta*. Verses such as Dhp. 412 and 421 could readily be understood in a similar manner; and it is difficult to see how Dhp. 385 could be understood in any other way: *yassa pāraṃ apāraṃ vā pārāpāraṃ na vijjati*. The Pali commentator, however, accomplishes precisely this feat (admittedly for sectarian reasons), and explains *pāraṃ* as the internal *āyatanas*, and *apāraṃ* as the external *āyatanas*. The commentator on the *Sutta-nipāta* was clearly embarrassed by *orapāraṃ*, and presumably recognized in it a phrase with dangerously Mahāyānist tendencies. It is to be interpreted, he says, as a term denoting the five *orambhāgiya-saññojanāni*; for *pāraṃ* means simply 'shore' (any shore, not necessarily the further shore), and these bonds are *ora* (whether 'inferior', or 'belonging to the world') and are 'the shores of the ocean of *saṃsāra*': hence they are called *orapāraṃ*. (SnA. i. 13 *so bhikkhu . . . orapārasaññitāni pañc' orambhāgiya-saññojanāni jahātī ti veditabbo, avisesena hi pāran ti tīrassa nāmaṃ, tasmā orāni ca tāni saṃsārasāgarassa pārabhūtāni cā ti katvā orapāran ti vuccati.*) (In the edition, *vuccanti*; but this is certainly wrong, and the editor in fact reports that all his Sinhalese manuscripts had *vuccati*.) Six alternative explanations are then added, among which, it is interesting to observe, the *āyatanas* reappear, but with *pāraṃ* as the external, in contradiction to the Dhammapada commentary. These difficulties continue to be felt in modern times. Lord Chalmers gives as a translation of *jahāti orapāraṃ* 'he sheds beliefs in this or after-worlds'. Miss I. B. Horner (*The Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected*, pp. 291, 292) describes both Dhp. 385 and the Uraga-sutta refrain as 'puzzling', and suggests that *ora-pāraṃ* might be taken as a *bahuvrīhi* compound (intending perhaps something like 'he abandons that which has this world (*ora*) as its goal (*pāra*) '?), and gives also a translation taking it as a *tatpuruṣa*: 'he abandons what is beyond (*pāra*) this world (*ora*)'. These are additional to the seven interpretations of the Pali commentary. It seems in fact very difficult to take *ora-pāraṃ* other than as a *dvandva*; and if we are to go so far as to see in the phrase a 'shedding of beliefs'—which is altogether foreign to the Pali commentator—there is then no need to strain the sense of *pāra* by taking it to mean 'after-worlds'. The latter is forced upon the Pali commentator only because of the difficulty, in Theravāda terms, of 'abandoning *nirvāṇa*'. It is thus not surprising that he should say: *atha vā . . . anāgāmiphale ṭhito bhikkhu jahāti orapāraṃ*; *tattha oran ti sakattabhāvo pāran ti parattabhāvo*; . . . *tathā oraṃ manussaloko pāraṃ devaloko*. This is presumably also the basis of Edgerton's translation (BHSD s.v. *ora*) of the phrase in the Uv.: 'the nearer and the farther (state of existence), substantially the present life and any future life'.

While the paradox in *orapāraṃ* is metaphysical, it is probable that the antithesis of *accasārī* and *paccasārī* carries also a verbal paradox (cf. **67, 224**). A very common meaning of *ati-sarati* is 'to transgress, to sin'; and *prati-sarati* is used in the sense of 'to pay attention to something, to occupy one's mind with it' (see BHSD s.v.: it seems probable that in this meaning there may have been some contamination in Middle Indian with the descendants of *prati-smṛ-*, as well as *śaraṇa*). Especially relevant here is *Śālistamba-sūtra*, 88–89 (quoted in *Śikṣā-samuccaya*, 227),

where it is said that one who understands the *pratītya-samutpāda*, and considers it from the point of view of unreality (*asatyataḥ*, *asārataḥ*, *śūnyataḥ*, &c.), gives no heed to theories about the past, the future, or the present: *sa na pūrvāntaṃ pratisarati, kim aham abhūvam atīte 'dhvani . . . aparāntaṃ vā punar na pratisarati . . . pratyutpannaṃ vā punar na pratisarati.* It will be recalled that the Pali commentator, as already noted above, gives almost the same idea as one of the alternative explanations of the phrase in the *Sutta-nipāta*, but attaches only *aparantānudiṭṭhi* to *paccasārī*, using *pubbantānudiṭṭhi* for *accasārī*, and naturally omitting reference to the present. The idea of *diṭṭhi* is of course not unreasonable in the context, and the commentator may also have had in mind such passages as Sn. 889 *atīsaraṃdiṭṭhi-* (Burmese manuscripts *atisāra-diṭṭhi-*), and Sn. 911 *diṭṭhisārī*. In addition, it is possible that we should also take into account such words as *paṭisāraṇiya* (later reinterpreted in Buddhist Sanskrit as *pratisaṃharaṇīya*) and *vipratisārin*.

If then the second line of **86** was the same as the Pali Sn. 8, we can give a possible interpretation for the two verses, one with *ecasari*, and the other with *necasari*: [at first sight] 'he who has sinned and is not concerned about it (or has not repented)'; [but in fact] 'he who has transcended (the world) and has not accepted it (as real)'. If this version is original, *accagamā* in the second line reinforces *accasārī* and indicates how the first line is really to be understood. If on the other hand the absence of the negative is a later alteration, then the verse contains a different verbal play, since in that case 'he has not gone beyond (*nāccasārī*) and has gone beyond (*accagamā*)'. The verse which follows, with the negative in both versions, will in either case convey: 'who has neither sinned nor paid any heed (to morality—since he is beyond good and evil)'; [but in addition the more fundamental sense] 'who has neither transcended (the world) nor regarded it', since, as the next line says, 'he knows here and now (*loke*) that all this is unreal'.

It is quite possible that those who first heard the verse appreciated the additional, if trivial, sense of 'who neither goes on to beg at the next house, nor back to the one he has just left'. If such a meaning does not so readily occur to a modern reader who tends to think in terms of 'monks', the original audience could scarcely lose sight of the fact that the subject of the poem was, in practice as well as in name, a 'beggar'.

The Tibetan version at first sight has little direct connexion either with this interpretation or with the Pali commentator: *skur pa mi ḥdebs sgro ḥdogs mi byed ciṅ*. In spite of Jäschke's and Rockhill's hesitation as to the precise sense of *sgro ḥdogs pa*, the literal sense of the line is almost certainly 'who neither denigrates nor flatters'; and Rockhill's version, 'who does not revile or exaggerate', though perhaps a little obscure to English readers, is thus reasonably close. On the compound *sgro skur*, Jäschke quotes Csoma for the sense 'exaggerated praise and blame', and Wassiljew (*Der Buddhismus*, p. 305), who gives respectively 'Vorurtheil (Anerkennung des Nichtwahren)' and 'Lästerung (Leugnung des Wahren)'. Similarly, the Tib.-Tib. Dictionary explains the compound *sgro skur bral* (which expresses concisely the exact sense of the line quoted above) as *med pa la yod par sgro btags pa bral ba daṅ yod pa la med par skur ba ḥdebs pa daṅ bral baḥo*. The two faults to be avoided are thus, in effect, 'asserting that someone (or something?) has an attribute which he (or it) lacks', and 'denying that he (or it) has an attribute which is in fact present'. The same dictionary provides as a Chinese rendering of *sgro skur* 增減 'increase and diminish', noting the phrase as a Buddhist technical term; but in the absence of a wider context, the translation is hardly enlightening for the present verse.

We might indeed conjecture that the Tibetans understood the phrase here in an ontological sense: 'who neither attributes reality (to the unreal) nor unreality (to the real)'; and this would make excellent sense with the second line, where the Indian original is rendered literally, 'considering that this whole world is unreal (*brdzun*)'. But on the whole this seems unlikely. At the

best, one might suppose that the slander in question was of the type whereby an ignorant person might slander the Tathāgata by declaring that the Tathāgata was fully enlightened, or that he preached the doctrine (as, for example, Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā, ed. E. Conze, pp. 48, 53). It seems unnecessary to strain credulity so far. Rockhill, it is true, quotes the commentary as saying on the subject of *skur ḥdebs*, 'We must not revile, not seeing that all conditions (dharma) are, by their nature, nothing.' But this could readily have been adduced from the second line of the verse.

In the Mahāvyutpatti, 7024–5, the two expressions *nātijalpet* and *nātisaret* occur side by side. The latter appears in Tibetan as *ha caṅ ḥphro bar mi bya* 'do not continue too far'. But the Chinese rendering (both in Sakaki and Wogihara) takes both words in the sense of 'speaking': 語莫多 and 語莫增. It may then be possible that we have here a hint of a connexion with the dictionary translation quoted (where 增 appears for *sgro*) on the one hand, and with the verb (*atisarati*) of the Indian original of our verse on the other. In Sakaki's edition, moreover, an alternative, or perhaps additional, meaning is offered for *nātisaret*, 語不輕浮; and here the sense of 'frivolous speech' may rather reflect the other fault, *skur ḥdebs pa*. The latter also translates *abhyākhyānam* 'slander' in Mvy. 5233, where the Chinese has 輕賤人 'slandering someone'.

These may admittedly be only accidental coincidences. But there is no reason to doubt that the two expressions, *nātijalpet* and *nātisaret*, go together as a cliché; and even if the Chinese has added the sense of 'speaking' to *atisaret* only because of the influence of its neighbour, (though Indian exegesis may lie behind this, if a Prakrit *sara-* < *svara-* was thought of), it is quite possible that a memory of the same cliché may have induced the Tibetan translator to view *atisarati* in the Uv. verse in terms of 'exaggerated speech'. This would account for *sgro ḥdogs pa*, to which its normal partner *skur ḥdebs pa* could then be added, without too closely inquiring into the adequacy of the latter as a rendering of *pratisarati*.

I am indebted to Professor W. Simon for the identification of a Chinese rendering of the verse in chapter 32 of the *Fa chi yao sung ching* (Taishō Tripiṭaka, no. 213, vol. iv, p. 797^{A24}): 不念今後世 觀世如幻夢 'Not thinking of his present or future existences, considering the world as illusory.' Here it might be thought that *nien* 念 'think of, call to mind' indicates *prati-sarati* in the sense of 'to occupy one's mind with'. It is, however, possible that the translation depends on a Middle Indian formation rather than a Sanskrit one (see also the discussion of *dīpa* in verse **111**), and that we have here the reflection of an Indian exegesis which saw here *ati* and *prati* with *smarati*, interpreted as 'to think ahead (to the future) and back (to the present)'. This is very similar to the alternative interpretation for *ora-pāraṃ* already quoted from the Pali commentary. The latter phrase is here translated as 勝彼此, literally, 'he conquers that and this'; and, as already suggested, it is probable that *nāccasārī na paccasārī* approximately repeats the sense of the refrain *jahāti orapāraṃ*. It might therefore seem tempting to suggest that the words 'this' and 'that' convey the same sense as 今世 'present existence' (*ihatra* Mvy. 2975) and 後世 'future existence' (*amutra*, *samparāya*), and are thus in accord with the interpretation of *pāra* in the original verse as 'future existence' rather than *nirvāṇa*. But in fact the compound must be taken as abbreviating 彼岸 and 此岸, the normal renderings of *pāraṃ* and *apāraṃ* respectively. No conclusions can therefore be drawn from this Chinese version as to the original sense of *pāra* in the Uraga-sutta.

88. *aṇośe'a*: a reading *aṇu-* is at first sight tempting; but this appearance is due to a fold in the bark. It is admittedly a striking coincidence that this fold should show a darkening at precisely the point at which *-u* would require the additional stroke, and from the photograph alone it would be difficult to be sure that this was not a stroke of the pen. We may, however, assume that the mark is not ink, since Senart read *-o* from the manuscript itself.

In the Tibetan version, *bag la ñal ba* is a regular translation of *anuśaya* (Jäschke and Desgodins are misleading on this expression; *bag chags*, which Jäschke gives under the same heading, normally translates *vāsanā*). Uv. xxxii. 77, agreeing with Sn. 14 is preceded by three variations of the same stanza (*mūlā akusalā samūhatāse*), with *anuśaya* replaced by *kun gźi* (*ālaya*) in 74, *nags sbyor* in 75 (cf. Sn. 16 *vanathajā*), and *rims nad* in 76 (cf. Sn. 15 *darathajā:* on the correspondence P. *daraṭha–*, S. *jvara–*, see note on verse **35**).

prace'a i: the last syllable has been read as *u*; but the fact that the final stroke of the character is horizontal (and the ink somewhat rubbed or faded) makes it probable that *i* was intended. The assumption would then be that the fold in the bark had checked the pen and prevented the continuation of the stroke to the right of the vertical. It would be difficult to see in this a direct representation of *paccayāse* (see also note on the following verse), and the most natural explanation is that *prace'a* is a normal nom. pl. replacing the archaic form in *-āse*, and that *i* (*ca*) has been added to make good the metre. (In the same way, but without metrical repair, Sn. 7 has *yassa vitakkā vidhūpitā*. Occasional Vaitālīya lines in Aupacchandasika poems are well enough known elsewhere, and this line may therefore be authentic: but it is equally possible that the original poem had here a form which should have appeared as *vidhūpitāse*.)

89. *vaṇaśe'a* may well have been influenced by *aṇośe'a* in the preceding verse; but in the light of established parallels in *śiśila*, P. *sithila*, and *masuru*, P. *madhura* (see further, p. 94), the spelling is not in itself surprising. It is certainly not an error, as Lüders at first supposed.

viṇavana'u: the writing here is clear, and it seems impossible to interpret the last syllable as *-i*. Lüders, reading *prace'a'u* in the preceding stanza where the Pali has *-āse*, was prepared to interpret the word here as equivalent to *vinibandhāse*. This could be understood as a nominative plural of the Ardha-māgadhī type in *-āo* (Pischel § 367), and although this form does not occur elsewhere in the manuscript, it could conceivably have been transferred by the translator from his source. This explanation would seem to be the most probable for *prace'a'u*, if the proposed reading *prace'a i* is not accepted. In the present stanza a nominative (with *-ŏ* for the metre) would give a possible sense; but it seems more likely that the word agrees with the Pali, and that *-a'u* instead of the normal *-a'i* for the dative—assuming that it is not simply an error in copying—merely reflects the weakness of terminal syllables. The labialization of the final vowel might be due to the following *bh* (see also p. 83 and note on **304**).

91. *vanasmiṃ* of the Pali editions is unmetrical, and the original verse doubtless had *vanasmi*.

92. *jayadi*: the suggestion that this represents *yāyati* (Senart) is impossible. The most natural explanation is to take it as *jayadi* (*dhyāyati*), with the diacritic omitted, as often elsewhere: 'Set free, he still dreams of his fetters.' The phrase would thus reflect the contrast between *nibbanatho* and *vanādhimutto* in the first pāda, and gives a verse intrinsically superior to the Pali. Literary merit is of course not necessarily conclusive as an argument for the earlier form of a verse; but the Pali phrase here, *bandhanam eva dhāvati*, is peculiarly awkward, and has the appearance of an accidental repetition from the first half of the verse. The mistake, if it is one, must nevertheless be old, since the Tibetan, with *rgyug* 'runs' in both places, shows that the Uv. agreed with the Pali. The repetition of *spaṅs*, corresponding both to *adhimutto* and *mutto* of the Pali verse, is

either a mistake of the Tibetan translator, or an indication that *adhi-* had been omitted in the Sanskrit manuscript used for the translation. (*adhi-muc-* is regularly rendered by *mos pa.*)

95. The two vowel-marks below fragment 459 belong to *tadheva loke* in 432, 451, the fit being confirmed by the natural marks on the bark. Likewise the traces above 451 fit the bottom of 455; and the top of the final *-'i* in 455 can be seen in the fragment attached by thread to 451. The three verses **95, 96, 96a,** are thus consecutive in the manuscript, though there is no guarantee that this group follows **94** without a break.

The Prakrit verse thus appears to be a conflation of the two Pali verses, which also remain as a pair in the Uv. In the context *yokam* is a reasonable replacement for the Pali *dukkham*; cf. Uv. ii. 7 *yogā hi duratikramāḥ.*

a'edi (*āyanti*): Uv. *duḥkhaṃ yānti.*

96. *ciṭhadu*: Uv., with *tiṣṭhanti*, agrees with P. in the indicative. But the imperative seems to give a better sense: 'Supposing there do exist things in the world which are attractive in this fashion, still, the wise control their desire in the matter' (*atra*—better so taken than 'ici-bas', Chakravarti); or alternatively, 'Away with such things as are attractive only in this way' (*tathaiva*, i.e. which are *saṃkalpa-rāga*).

athatha: Uv. *athātra* (ms. *athādṛ*). The meaning must be the same as in P.; but there is no trace of *-e-* written here. See p. 82.

96a. The Pali verse, containing both *-taṇho* and *bhava-sallāni*, is given merely by way of illustration, and there is no certainty that the Prakrit verse was the same even in the first three pādas. Uv. xxxii. 50 ff. has a series of verses containing the expression *groṅ gi tsher* (translated by R. 'thorns of worldliness') which may render *bhava-śalya*, but none of these verses is likely to be a direct parallel to the present stanza.

For *d*, cf. also Uv. vi. 9, *saṃprajāna-pratismṛtaḥ* (wrongly restored by Ch. as *-prati[ṣṭhi]taḥ*).

97. There are no very close resemblances between the present passage and the well-known chariot-comparison in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad, iii. 3–8, except the conclusion, *sa tu tat padam āpnoti yasmād bhūyo na jāyate.* It is, however, an interesting coincidence that the preceding verse, iii. 2, with *abhayaṃ pāraṃ*, gives a parallel for *abhayā disā* here. For other chariot-comparisons, see J. N. Rawson, The Kaṭha Upaniṣad (1934), Appendix II; to which may be added Saṃ. v. 4 ff. (cf. E. Waldschmidt, NAWG, 1955. 1, pp. 10 ff.), Jāt. vi. 252, and JātM. xxix, 55–8.

akuyaṇo was interpreted by Senart as *a-ku-jana*, 'without worthless men'. Barua and Mitra rightly followed the commentary (*na kūjati na viravati*) in reading the long vowel, *akūjano*, in the Pali text, against *akujano* of the PTS edition; but objected that Senart's interpretation was 'unidiomatic'. (What then can one say of their own incredible suggestion that the word 'can also be allowed in the sense of Pali *akuyāno*, i.e. "not a bad vehicle" '?) The PTSD, accepting *-ŭ-*, translates as 'not going crooked'; but this is very dubious. The commentator's sense of 'a chariot which does not squeak' fits excellently, and has been generally accepted. The only trouble is that it seems a singularly pointless thing to say in the context, if this is all that it means. Rawson (loc. cit.) talks of the 'silent spiritual progress' of the Buddhist teaching, which sounds well enough in modern English, but is in fact quite incongruous. The position is not much improved even if we take into account the following phrase, and suggest that the reason why the chariot does not squeak is that it has *dharma*-wheels. All the other comparisons in the two verses have the possibility of a religious interpretation in at least one of their two terms; and double meanings are certainly involved in *apālambo* and *parivāraṇaṃ*, which, as well as

being technical terms for parts of the chariot, must in the second sense indicate 'prop, support' and 'protection' respectively. It is thus reasonable to see here also a second sense. Senart's interpretation serves well, and should accordingly be reinstated in this capacity. The punning sense is thus to be seen as an echo of the phrase *akāpurisa-sevita*, which appears not only as an epithet of the goal, *nibbāna* (as in **71**, of *amataṃ padaṃ*), but also of the means thereto, for example *samādhi* (CPD). The long vowel in *akūjano* is not a serious stumbling-block; and such a *śleṣa* would presumably cause no more difficulty to poet or audience than did the constantly reiterated classical Sanskrit pun on *jaḍa, jala*. It may be added that in any case *a-ku-jana* would tend to result in *akūjana*, through the familiar process of 'rhythmical lengthening' (cf. CPD s.v. *añjanāgiri*).

trakehi: Senart brought into comparison here the expression *dhamma-takka-purejavaṃ*, which occurs as an epithet of *aññā-vimokhaṃ* in Sn. 1107, and drew attention to the fact that the present passage contains, in the verse which follows, the very similar expression *sammā-diṭṭhi-purejavaṃ*. Considering then that *samyag-dṛṣṭi* was, if not an exact synonym, at least very similar in meaning to *dharma-tarka*, he was ready to believe that the sense of *tarka* might have been original here. It would thus be a most fortunate coincidence that the substitution of the more familiar expression *dharma-cakra* should fit so neatly into the structure of the comparison, replacing a word which did not fit at all. Put in this way, the argument is of course absurd. In the Sn., on the other hand, *takka* is the word required; but the context is entirely different.

Barua and Mitra go so far as to suggest that the chariot-verses 'may be justly regarded as a later recast of the idea' of the verses in the Sutta-nipāta. This is wide of the mark. The poem in question begins (Sn. 1105) *jhāyiṃ virajam āsīnaṃ*; and the relevant verses are:

1106 (a) *pahānaṃ kāmacchandānaṃ* (b) *domanassāna c'ūbhayaṃ*
(c) *thīnassa ca panudanaṃ* (d) *kukkuccānaṃ nivāraṇaṃ*
1107 (e) *upekhāsatisaṃsuddhaṃ dhammatakkapurejavaṃ*
aññāvimokhaṃ pabrūmi (f) *avijjāya pabhedanaṃ.*
1111 *ajjhattaṃ ca bahiddhā ca vedanaṃ nābhinandato*
evaṃ satassa carato viññāṇaṃ uparujjhati.

The poem is thus clearly based on the formulae of the trance—the *jhānas*, *samāpattis*, and *vimokkhas*. (This is recognized by the commentator, though not elaborated. For a detailed treatment of the terms involved, including full references to the Pali sources, see E. Lamotte, *Le Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse de Nāgārjuna*, ii, pp. 1013, 1023 ff.) The first of the verses quoted gives the preliminaries to the first *jhāna—vivicc' eva kāmehi vivicca akusalehi dhammehi*. By the latter are meant the five *nīvaraṇas*, of which four are indicated by the phrases marked *a*, *c*, *d*, and *f* (the last, since *vicikicchā* arises from *avijjā*). The second *nīvaraṇa*, *vyāpāda*, is here replaced in *b* by *domanassa*, doubtless in part due to the fact that *abhijjhā-domanassa* is a familiar compound; but in addition the fourth *jhāna* involves the passing away of *somanassa-domanassa*. The same *jhāna* is also described as *upekhā-sati-parisuddhiṃ*, reflected here in *e*. The first word of the sutta, *jhāyiṃ*, indicates the subject-matter; and the last verse sums up the process by the slightest of hints, which are nevertheless unmistakable in their intention. The phrase *ajjhattaṃ ca bahiddhā ca* points to the formulae of the *abhibhv-āyatanas*, the first six of which begin with these, while they are transcended in the seventh (Mvy. § 71, following the *dhyānas* and *samāpattis* in 67–68 and the *vimokṣas* in 70). In *vedanaṃ nābhinandato* there is summed up the formula applicable to the second and following *samāpattis* (Lamotte, op. cit., p. 1033; M. i. 436): *so yad eva tattha hoti vedanāgataṃ saññāgataṃ sankhāragataṃ viññāṇagataṃ te dhamme aniccato dukkhato rogato . . . samanupassati*. In the second *samāpatti* the *viññāṇānañcāyatanaṃ* is attained, and in the third is transcended: hence *viññāṇaṃ uparujjhati*.

This is too much to be dismissed as an accidental coincidence, even though the terms involved are commonplace enough. The term which concerns us here, *dhamma-takka-purejavaṃ*, may therefore be expected to belong to the same complex of ideas; and in fact we find it in the formula of the first *jhāna*—*savitakkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ pītisukhaṃ*. In the same way as *vedanaṃ* in the last verse of the sutta indicates the larger formula, the first item from this list also was presumably meant to call to mind the other adjectives. Thus *dhamma-takka-purejavaṃ* means simply that the later stages of the trance are 'preceded by (or start from) the first *jhāna*'. A more literal rendering would be 'preceded by an examination of the *dharmas*'—not, surely, 'reasonings, thoughts of the Law': the *dharmas* in question are those (*vedanāgata*, &c.) mentioned in the formula quoted above from M. i. 436.

The conclusion seems certain: *dhamma-takka-* in the Sn. verse is merely a poetic licence (for the metre) for *dhamma-vitakka-*. It may well have been felt as an approximate *śleṣa* on *dhamma-cakka*; but it could hardly be the original phrase in the chariot-verses.

This leaves the Prakrit reading *trakehi* still enigmatic. The Sn. verse appears to be the only recorded occurrence of *dhamma-takka* in Pali; and while one might assume that a memory of that verse has induced the translator to write *trakehi* here, it is difficult to see why it should, especially since, as verse **201** shows, the expected form *caka* was available in the dialect.

As a possible explanation, it might be suggested that the traditional interpretation did in fact see in the chariot-verse a near-pun on *cakka*:*takka* (which would be no worse than *jaḍa*:*jala* in Sanskrit); and indeed if this were so, the Sn. verse might well have had some influence. The translator of our version may then have grasped an opportunity, not available in other dialects, to improve on his source by placing in his text a word which would in fact work as a *śleṣa*: since *traka* is not only the expected inherited form of *tarka*, but is also precisely the form which would be expected for the Greek τροχός if this were taken over. It need not of course be implied that such a borrowing from Greek was in regular use in the dialect. A wheel is after all an unlikely object for which to borrow a word from another language. But the recently discovered Greek inscription of Aśoka from Kandahar may encourage us to believe that the Greek language was sufficiently widely used in the North-west to make it quite possible for the translator to be aware of the existence of a word which he would naturally write as *traka*, and which at the same time actually had the meaning 'wheel'.

99. *gihi* can hardly be thought of as a genitive, and the suggestion that 'the genitive termination has been dropped metri causa' is unconvincing. We may rather assume that the phrase is a later substitution in this verse, being transferred as a whole from other contexts (Dhp. 74 *gihī pabbajitā ubho*) and inflected only at the end. The singular inflection and *vā* together exclude the possibility of treating the expression as a compound. A similar inflection of a phrase as a whole appears in **251** *vijamaṇa vi ruveṣu*, where *vijamaṇeṣu* might have been expected. In Buddhist Sanskrit, Lv. 37. 7 *anyatra karma sukṛtāt* seems best interpreted in the same manner (rather than the alternative explanation, BHSG § 17. 13, which involves an ablative *karmā*(*t*) subjected to shortening metri causa).

100–5. The extent of this section agrees exactly with the Pali, whereas the Uv. contrives to elaborate it still further into 18 verses (xv. 9–26): cf. note on **81–90.** It is not at first sight clear why this material should have been placed in the Mārga chapter. Franke suggested (ZDMG 1906, 495) that the compiler of the text had been reminded of these verses, with their refrain of *smṛti*, by the occurrence of the word (*svadi*) in **98.** This in itself may be thought to be a rather slender motivation; but it is worth recalling that *sammā-sati* is one of the items in the eightfold *magga*, and that another item, *sammā-diṭṭhi*, appears in company with *sati* in the verse in ques-

tion. The Uv. puts these verses under the heading Smṛti, while the Pali, which does not have a chapter on this subject, uses them to fill out its otherwise rather slender Pakiṇṇaka-vagga.

imi; Uv. *ime*, against P. *sadā*; while in the following verses, **106–8**, Uv. agrees with the Pali *atha* against *tada*.

106. *viśodhi'a*: rendered by dat. in Uv., *viśuddhaye*.

107. *gradhadi*: a connexion with *granth-* (Senart) would be phonetically satisfactory, but the meaning would be difficult. Barua and Mitra (p. 114) suggested that the word might be equated with Pali *gādhati*, and quoted in support Jāt. iii. 508 *yattha paññā na gādhati*. This seems very probable, and gives an acceptable sense: 'when through wisdom he stands firm (in the knowledge that) . . .'. For a similar 'intrusive *-r-*', cf. *pruju* < *pūjya*. It should be remarked, however, that the meaning of *gādhati* is not 'to dive', and that the Sanskrit equivalent is *gādhate*, not *gāhate*. Although the two words were naturally much confused in later times, the participle of *gāh-* (*gāḍha-*) shows that this verb is distinct from *gādhati* in origin. It is therefore profitless to attempt to derive the meanings of the latter from 'to dive'. It is of interest that the Pali commentary on the Jātaka passage quoted, *gādhaṃ patiṭṭhaṃ na labhati*, unconsciously echoes a Vedic phrase: RV v. 47. 7 *aśīmáhi gādhám utá pratiṣṭhắm*.

108. *cakhkṣuma*: on the conjunct corresponding to Sanskrit *kṣ*, see p. 72.

109. *aṭhagī'o*: on the interpretation of the superscript line in *ḡ*, see p. 63.

ca'uri: the authenticity of this form as a nom. pl. is most strikingly confirmed by the old manuscript of the Uv., which has *cature padāḥ*. On this Chakravarti wrote (p. 140) 'Lire: *catvāraḥ*', but suggested as an alternative that the word is perhaps to be read in the manuscript as *caturo*, 'le deuxième trait au-dessus de la voyelle étant effacé'. The first is of course metrically impossible; and the hypothesis of an accidental erasure is rendered superfluous—indeed, is disproved—by the Prakrit reading. See also pp. 87, 116, and Edgerton BHSG § 19. 15.

110. *udiṭha*: Konow (AO 1943, 70) saw difficulties here in the *-d-*, where Sanskrit has the double consonant, *uttiṣṭha*, and in the *-ṭh-*, where the related forms (of which several occur in the verses immediately following) have *-ṭh-*. Since in addition the initial character was very indistinct in Senart's facsimile, he suggested that we might read *adiṭha*, representing a variant corresponding to Sanskrit *ādiṣṭa-*, 'one should not be negligent about what is enjoined'. The difficulties are, however, not insuperable (see pp. 76, 106), and in the new photograph the initial character, though rubbed, is quite certain. The reading *udiṭha* must therefore be accepted as established.

111. Uv. iv. 5 has *dvīpaṃ karoti medhāvī tam ogho nābhimardati*, thus agreeing with the Prakrit in the verbs, but with the Pali in *ogho* against *jara*.

Although initial *dv-* is preserved in *dvaya-*, a dissimilation might reasonably have been expected in **dvivu*, and there is no reason to doubt that *divu* here can mean 'island'. Confirmation may be seen in the fact that the word was borrowed in the form *dīva-* into Khotanese (Konow, *Saka Studies*, p. 79, where the sense can only be 'island'). In the present verse, however, and in that corresponding to Dhp. 236, 238, the Chinese translators understood the word as 'lamp' (Lévi, JAs 1912, 240–1; for a recent discussion of the question, with citations of relevant passages, see Genjun H. Sasaki, *A Study of Abhidharma Philosophy*, Tokyo, 1958, pp. xlv, 594 ff.). This translation might indicate that the Chinese here were influenced by a Middle

Indian original; but without further evidence one could not exclude the possibility of a less Sanskritic version of the Uv. which still had here the form *dīpaṃ* instead of *dvīpaṃ*. On the other hand, in the locus classicus for this expression, the last words of the Buddha (D. ii. 100), the Sanskrit has *ātmadvīpair vihartavyam*, and the Chinese also has 'island' (Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra, ed. Waldschmidt, ii. 200). In this and similar contexts, the Pali commentators regularly understood the word in the same way. In his translation of the Dīgha-nikāya, Rhys Davids at first wrote 'lamp', but subsequently noted—with some surprise—that the commentator took it as 'island'.

The ambiguity of the Middle Indian *dīpa* (presumably already ambiguous in the pre-Pali texts) would seem to make it inevitable that the word should have been used as a *śleṣa* on occasion. A translator naturally had to choose between the two possibilities, and the Sanskrit texts regularly chose *dvīpa*. Therefore, either this was the only sense considered in such contexts, or, if a double sense was seen, that of 'island' was considered the more important. In prose, however, both senses can be brought in: *lokasya dvīpā bhaviṣyāmo lokasyālokā bhaviṣyāmo* (Abhisamayālankārāloka-vyākhyā, ed. Wogihara, p. 596). Sasaki is ready to take the rendering 'lamp' as simply a mistake, and this seems to be the general tendency since modern scholars became familiar with *dvīpa* in the Sanskrit. But the metaphor of light is so natural that it would be hardly fair to dismiss the rendering 'lamp' as a curious error and nothing more. The phrase *dīpaṃ karoti* presumably recalled the name of the former Buddha Dīpaṃkara, who is understood in Sanskrit as well as in Pali to be a 'light-bringer', not an 'island-maker'. Intrinsically the latter would seem no more forced than *tīrthaṃkara*, and indeed one could not reject out of hand the possibility that one term may have stimulated the formation of the other by way of rivalry: since if one religion were thought, even through a misunderstanding, to claim to have made the island (of salvation), the other might retort by claiming the construction of the ford leading to that island; or vice versa. The Buddha may indeed be an island (or refuge) for the world; but when the author of the Mahāvaṃsa says (iii. 2) *dīpo lokassa nibbuto*, he could hardly have meant that an island had been extinguished. The same text also puns elaborately on the two senses of *dīpa* in i. 84.

In many places the sense of 'island' is quite unambiguous, for example Sn. 1092, 1145; Thg. 412. In others, where the context does not immediately decide, it is tempting to suppose that the commentators deliberately preferred 'island' because *atta-dīpa* in the sense of 'with the *ātman* as light' may have seemed too reminiscent of the Upaniṣadic *ātman* (Bṛhadāraṇyaka, iv. 3, 6 *astamita āditye yājñavalkya candramasy astamite śānte 'gnau śāntāyāṃ vāci kiṃjyotir evāyam puruṣa iti: ātmaivāsya jyotir bhavaty ātmanaivāyaṃ jyotiṣāste*, &c.; Kaṭha Up. v. 15 *tam eva bhāntam anubhāti sarvaṃ, tasya bhāsā sarvam idaṃ vibhāti*; or even Bhagavadgītā, xiii. 33 *kṣetraṃ kṣetrī tathā kṛtsnaṃ prakāśayati.*) Nevertheless, we may suspect that for the same reason the early Buddhists who first used the expression did think of *dīpa* in terms of 'light', while they would necessarily reinterpret *ātman*. (This is possible without any implication that primitive Buddhism was 'upaniṣadic', or that it held Mrs. Rhys Davids's doctrine of *ātman* in opposition to the orthodox Buddhist theory of *anātman*.)

In the other Dharmapada passage where the Chinese has translated in terms of 'light', the context makes it certain that this was the sense primarily intended by the author of the verses (Dhp. 235–8). The literal sense is the common metaphor of a journey, and a translation with 'island' reads rather quaintly: 'You have started on your journey to Yama's presence (not, as Radhakrishnan, "arrived"—*sampayāto si yamassa santike*), there is no inn where you can pass the night (*vāso pi ca te natthi antarā*), and you have laid in no provisions for the journey (*pātheyyam pi ca te na vijjati*): therefore be sensible (*paṇḍito bhava*), get yourself an island, and press on rapidly (*khippaṃ vāyama*)'. If forced to continue walking through the night, a sensible man will

doubtless find a lamp more serviceable. It must of course be conceded that the allusion to *attadīpā viharatha* is intentional, and the commentator's suggestion that the traveller has been shipwrecked is thus not altogether perverse.

For *jara* in *d*, against *ogho* in the other versions, Senart thought of the possibility of *jharā* (which graphically would imply only the omission of the diacritic in *jāra*), with a transfer of sense from 'waterfall' to 'flood'. This was disproved by Franke, who cited Jāt. iv. 121 *dīpaṃ ca kātum icchāmi yaṃ jarā nābhikīrati*. Lévi suggested that in both places *jarā* resulted from a replacement of *ogha* by *jala*, which was then misunderstood as a Māgadhī form for *jarā*. This can also be excluded, since Sn. 1092 shows that, when the flood (*scil.* of *saṃsāra*) has arisen, it is precisely against old age and death that the island is required as a refuge: *oghe jāte mahābhaye jarā-maccu-paretānaṃ dīpaṃ pabrūhi mārisa*. Similarly in Thg. 412. Lüders (BSU § 86), while rejecting Lévi's explanation of *jarā* as an error for *jala*, thought that the similarity in sound (with *jalā* 'old age' in the 'Magadhan' form of the verses) might have had some influence in the development of the metaphor of the island in this connexion.

The Chinese versions here, in keeping with 'lamp' in the preceding clause, have 'darkness' instead of *ogho*. Lévi ingeniously suggested that, since *gha* and *ya* are so similar in the Indian writing, the translators might have read *tamo yaṃ* instead of *tam ogho*. Indeed, the phrase invites misunderstandings. An alternative would be *taṃm ogho* (since from early times a superfluous anusvāra is often written in such a position), read as *taṃ mogho*, and interpreted as *moho*, or even appearing in this form through a Prakrit version. From this, 'darkness' would be an easy step. Or again, *tamogho* might have been taken as a compound (*tamas* + *agha*), in which case 冥淵 'l'abîme des ténèbres' (Lévi) might be thought to render it very neatly. Or the idea of darkness might have been suggested by the similar verse Dhp. 236, where *niddhanta-malo* (Uv. xvi. 3 *nirdhānta-*) might have prompted someone to think of *nir-dhvānta-* — though this is probably too abstruse a pun to have been intended by the author of the verse. But of course it remains possible that the Chinese wrote 'darkness' merely because, after 'lamp', this was the logical way to conclude the stanza.

112. Since fluctuation between versions in verbal prefixes is fairly common, it is quite possible that *idha vaḍhadi* is simply a miswriting for *adhivaḍhadi*. On the other hand, *adhi-vṛdh-* is somewhat rare (though it does occur in RV vi. 38. 3; ix. 75. 1), and it seems therefore more likely that *idha* is a genuine variant in this version. For the sense compare **110** *asvi loki*; **122** *so ida loku ohasedi*. In a comparable phrase, Thg. 35 has the uncompounded verb, *yas' assa vaḍḍhati*.

The Uv. agrees with the Prakrit in having *cāriṇaḥ* and *hi*, but with the Pali in *yaśo 'bhivardhate*. In place of *suyi-kamasa*, it has *śubha-cittasya*. This last, however, appears to be a corruption of one version of the Uv., since the Tibetan has *spyod pa gtsaṅ*, rendered by Lévi as *śubha-* and *car-*, but in fact a perfectly possible translation of *śuci-karma-*.

113. *aṇuṭhehadu*, implying **an-u(t)-sthihanto*.

yo'i was taken by Senart to represent *yo ayaṃ*, comparable to *na'i* for *nāyaṃ* (**133**). Barua and Mitra were right, however, to prefer the sense of *yuvā* (though "*i* from *vā*, perhaps through an intermediate *ya*" is a silly suggestion), and the new material confirms it by *yu'i* in **184**. The form is thus the representative of P. *yuvin-*.

114. Uv. iv. 21 *dharmaṃ kāyena vai spṛśet*. The reading *passati* in the Pali is certainly an error, and is probably as old as the commentary, which has *kāyena dukkhādīni parijānanto catusacca-dhammaṃ passati*. Since this also would make better sense with 'touch', it might be suggested

that the commentary has been brought into conformity with a later corruption; but this is less probable, in view of the metrical difficulty of an indicative (whether *phusati* or *phasseti*) in the verse. In other passages in Pali the original verb has remained: Ang. iii. 356 *amataṃ dhātuṃ kāyena phusitvā*; Itiv. 46, 62 *kāyena amataṃ dhātuṃ phassayitvā nirūpadhiṃ*; Jāt. v. 251 *dhammaṃ kāyena phassayaṃ*. These latter passages confirm the interpretation of the Prakrit form here as an optative of the causative base, *phaṣa'i* < *sparṣayet*. Lüders (BSU § 234) rejected the suggestion that the original verse might have had *phassaye*, on the grounds that an indicative (*phassati*) was assured by the agreement of the Pali and the Prakrit. But there is no such agreement. The termination *-a'i* is well exemplified as optative, but would be strikingly anomalous as an indicative. It has of course been thought of as such only because of the familiarity of the Māhārāṣṭrī declension. (On the other form in *-a'i* in the present text which has been taken as an indicative, *avha'i*, see note on verse **50**.)

115. Uv. iv. 1 *ye pramattāḥ sadā mṛtāḥ*; and similarly in the Tibetan, *rtag tu ḥchi.*

116. *pramodi'a*: the Uv. agrees in having an optative singular, against the indicative plural of the Pali. But the manuscript reading accepted by Lévi, *pramadyeta*, seems incredible, and is indeed shown to be merely a corruption by the Tibetan translation, *rab dgaḥ ba*. This would indicate that the word should be emended to *pramudyeta* (since on the evidence we could hardly go as far as the classical form, *pramodeta*). The Tibetan version admittedly depends on a different recension of the Uv., and in the last pāda of this stanza agrees with the Pali and Prakrit, *ḥphags paḥi spyod yul dgaḥ ba yin*, while the Sanskrit manuscript diverges, *nityam āryaḥ svagocaram*. To this extent, the evidence of the Tibetan might be thought to be inconclusive. But it seems highly improbable that the producer of an improved recension of the Uv. should have introduced *pramadyeta* intentionally.

117. *śeṭhi*, supported by the Uv. *śreṣṭhīva*, and its Chinese translations (see p. 36), may seem at first sight more striking than the Pali *seṭṭhaṃ*; but if so, one might suspect that for this very reason the Pali here has the older reading. In fact, the argument is inconclusive, and the question remains open. Parallels can be cited for both senses: for 'best', Uv. x. 9 *tad dhi tasya dhanaṃ śreṣṭham*; and Ārya Śūra's *Subhāṣita-ratna-karaṇḍaka* v. 9 (text as yet unpublished):

puṇyam anyair ahāryatvād dhanānāṃ paramaṃ dhanam; and xxiii. 7:
śīlaṃ dhanaṃ paramam āryam ahāryam anyaiḥ; and, for the merchant, ibid. iii. 2:

yo mānuṣyaṃ kuśalavibhavaiḥ prāpya kalpair analpair
mohāt puṇyadraviṇam iha na svalpam apy ācinoti
so 'smāl lokāt param upagatas tīvram abhyeti śokaṃ
ratnadvīpād vaṇig iva gataḥ svaṃ gṛhaṃ śūnyahastaḥ.

In the Prakrit, it is conceivable that *śeṭhi* was at first intended as neuter: see p. 116.

118. Uv. xix. 4 *bhadrāśva-*. See also pp. 103, 109.

119. Uv. iv. 4 *yadā*; *śokinīṃ prajāṃ*. Cf. MBh. xii. 17, 20 (Bombay edition).

120. Uv. iv. 24 inverts the order of the two halves of the stanza. It agrees with the Pali in *śreṣṭhatāṃ*, and the Prakrit *samidhi* is thus left isolated. Lüders proposed to take the word as equivalent to *samṛddhiṃ*, but this seems altogether impossible on account of the metre. Formally, we might recognize here the locative of the Vedic *samitha-*. The sense would then be, 'went

to a meeting with the gods', that is, became one of them; or, more probably, 'entered the battle of the gods (with the demons)'. This function of Indra does in fact appear in the Pali commentator's story introducing the stanza; and from the Vedic point of view *samitha-* 'battle' is especially appropriate to Indra. Alternatively, it could be suggested that the word is written for *samidi* (for comparable anomalies in aspiration, see p. 100): 'went to the assembly (*samitiṃ*) of the gods'. This would be, in effect, simply a way of saying 'obtained rebirth among the gods', which is the substance of the Pali commentator's story.

121. Lüders was doubtless right (BSU § 200) in considering *dhammaṃ* in the Pali here to represent an original plural (as in the corresponding verse in the Uv., *hīnān dharmān*); but perhaps over-emphatic in asserting that the Prakrit forms could only be plural: see p. 114.

seveyya in the third pāda of the Pali is most probably a mechanical repetition from the first half of the verse. The Uv., with *roceta*, agrees with the Prakrit, and the same word seems to be the source of the Chinese translations. These have 不種邪見根 'qu'on ne plante pas les racines des fausses vues' (Lévi, p. 244), which suggests a misreading such as *rope-* (for *roye-*) or *rove-* (for *roce-*).

On *lokavaddhano* the Pali commentator wrote: *yo hi evaṃ karoti so lokavaddhano nāma hoti.* Such a frank confession of ignorance by a commentator as to the meaning of a word is so rare that it seems almost ungracious for a modern successor to add his own conjectures. The Tibetan renders with exact literalness, *ḥjig rten ḥphel bar mi byaḥo*, and the Chinese expands it to 'one should not increase the evil in the world'. Barua and Mitra, in a paraphrase, give 'popularity', which suggests that they took the compound as a bahuvrīhi (*loke vardhanaṃ yasya saḥ*). This seems on the whole more likely to be right than the translations which see in it a tatpuruṣa.

122. Uv. xvi. 5 *candramā.*

123. Uv. iv. 27 *naḍāgāram.* The expression 'a house of mud' in the English rendering of the Tibetan is not 'a different simile' (Barua and Mitra), but merely an oversight. The Tibetan text has, correctly, *ḥdam buḥi khyim* 'house of reeds'. In place of this, one of the Chinese versions (Lévi, p. 287) has 'lotus-pond', which seems to indicate a confusion between *nala-* and *nalina-*, *nalinī* (as also in the Sanskrit lexicon: Monier-Williams gives 'the blossom of Nelumbium Speciosum' under *nala*, but queries the validity of this sense) and between *āgāra* and *ākara* (as in *padmākara*, *kamalākara*). Lévi translates the Sanskrit as 'hutte de branchages', but does not comment. There seems to be no difficulty in the accepted sense of a 'house of reeds'. We might, however, bear in mind the possibility that the original intention of the expression might have been 'the home of the reeds', as a poetical phrase for 'pond' or 'lake' (cf. for example S. *kumudāvāsa*); since in nature it is after all a rather more frequent occurrence for an elephant to trample down the reeds at the edge of a lake. See additional note in Preface.

125. *imasma*: previously read as *imasa*, since in Senart's facsimile an overlap at the break in the manuscript concealed the *-m-*. The new photograph is clear. *dukhusa-*: see p. 83.

126. *bhadrañu*: see note on **286**, and p. 53.

127. The last three syllables of *b* and the first four of *c* have almost entirely disappeared from the new photograph, but are legible in Senart's facsimile.

The parallel adduced by Franke, Itiv. 45 *appamādaratā santā*, is not exact, since the metre here requires *sada* to be interpreted as equivalent of *sadā*. The second half of the verse is a

frequently recurring cliché: Jāt. i. 275 *bhāveti kusalaṃ dhammaṃ*, &c. (see Franke, ZDMG 1906, 480).

128. *te*: the Pali parallel quoted is not in itself conclusive evidence for this; but the reading may nevertheless be adopted with confidence, in spite of the break in the manuscript, since the only other possible reading in the context would be *ye*, and this is excluded by the slope of the vowel-stroke. (Cf. for example line 193.)

vihari'o: see p. 116.

It has not been possible to restore the end of the verse with certainty. Taken in conjunction with the second half of Dhp. 23, the three prominent marks on the upper edge of the break strongly suggest [*kṣ*]*emu 'a*. It is therefore tempting to restore [*ni*]*vaṇa yo*[*ka-kṣ*]*emu aṇutara* (cf. also **156–9**). Allowing for the fact that the two edges of the break have been pulled a little too far apart, the remaining traces of writing would be entirely consistent with such a reading, except for one difficulty: on the lower edge, immediately below the mark read as *'a*, there is a curve which has the appearance of the lower part of a *sa*. It is perhaps just possible that a hastily written *mu* might curve back in this fashion, but it would be extremely unusual for *mu* to descend so low in the line of writing. Because of this fact, it has seemed more prudent not to insert the conjecture into the text.

129. Franke compared with the first phrase Ang. iii. 329 *appamāde pamuditā*; but both the metre and the comparison of **116** make it much more probable that *pramodi'a* should be understood as an optative, as Senart suggested.

The phrase *kāma-rati* is frequent, and the form of the present verse, with *kāma-rati-santhavaṃ*, is well established in Pali, reappearing at Saṃ. i. 25, M. ii. 105, Thg. 884. Similarly, Uv. iv. 12 has:

pramādaṃ nānuyujyeta na kāma-rati-saṃstavam.

The Chinese translation also, 亦莫嗜欲樂 'ne recherchez ni désir ni plaisir' (Lévi, p. 248), strongly suggests that both words, *kāma* and *rati*, were in the source. The reading of the Prakrit text is thus isolated, and it seems therefore very improbable that Senart was right in suggesting that it was original, and that the Pali reading was the result of a mistake. In particular, the theory that *kāma-* here was due to a version in a Prakrit dialect which knew the substitution of 'tenuis for sonant' (as in *adhikachadi* in the present text) is based on a misunderstanding of this feature in the orthography (see p. 86). More probably, the Prakrit is merely a 'restoration' from an imperfect memory of the general shape of the line at some stage in an oral transmission. If so, it would seem that Senart's interpretation (*ma gami* as aorist injunctive, and *sabhamu* as *saṃbhramam*), while consistent with the writing, is less likely than an interpretation which would preserve the metrically long first syllable of *kāma-* and the meaning of *santhavaṃ*. In **17**, the same spelling *sabhamu* certainly represents *sambhavaṃ*, and in the present context this would be virtually a synonym for *santhavaṃ*. In Mv. i. 120. 9 *sambhuvaṃ* (BHSD s.v. 'association, social relations') is probably a distortion of the same word; and in that passage also it is probably a synonym-substitute rather than a graphic corruption, since, as Edgerton noted, some of the manuscripts imply the reading *saṃstuvaṃ*. If in *gami* the first syllable is metrically long, the word may be either the equivalent of the locative *grāme*, or, more probably (but without much difference in meaning) *grāmya-*, and thus compounded as in the Pali phrase. In support of this, we may note *grāmya-sukha* in Sanskrit as a euphemism for *rati*; and Pali and Jaina Prakrit *gāma-dhamma* (collocated in Pali with *methuna*, PTSD; and interpreted as meaning *maithuna* in Sūyagaḍanga, i. 2. 2, Sheth, *Prakrit-Hindi Dict.*).

132. Therī. 341 *saddhamme suppavedite*; and frequently in Pali (Franke, p. 479).
drugha: see p. 100; *udhvaradha*: see p. 83.

133. *amedi*: Senart's reading *amoti*, interpreted as *āpnoti*, was for long an embarrassment both to the palaeography and to the grammar: for the syllable which seemed to be *mo* had the vowel-stroke apparently attached to the right of the character instead of the left; and in the next verse *-pn-* has clearly developed to *-nn-* (*pranodi*). The form *pramuṇi* in **130** gives no support, since there the *-m-* is the development of a single intervocalic consonant, from a form equivalent to the Pali *pāpuṇe*. Franke, before the Uv. version was known, established the sense of the second half of the verse by the comparison of Jāt. i. 389 *vissāsā bhayam anveti sīhaṃ va miga-mātukā*. Because of this, and the difficulty raised by *pranodi*, he proposed to understand the word here as developed from *anveti*, but retained the reading *amoti*. Barua and Mitra even went so far as to dispute Senart's reading, and because of *anveti* in the Jātaka parallel conjectured that the reading might be *ameti* or *amiti*; but, for a reason unexplained, refrained from examining the published facsimile to see whether the manuscript would justify this.

The reading *amedi* is in fact certain, and is confirmed by the appearance of the same word in the new material in **201, 202** as the equivalent of Pali *anveti*. In the present instance, the syllable *me*, written somewhat cursively, is slightly disguised by the flattening of the beginning of the character; but what was thought to be an *o*-stroke in an unorthodox position is in fact the right-hand limb of the *m*, and what was taken as the beginning of the *m* is in fact the *e*-stroke.

The foolish tale invented for the Jātaka verse, of a lion in love with a deer (nicely described by Lévi as 'une histoire à dormir debout') can hardly have been imagined by the poet who first used this entirely serious and indeed striking simile. The comparison was naturally felt to be strange, and the Chinese translators cut the knot by boldly inverting the sense: 'as the lion seizes the deer'. But there is little doubt that Lévi was right in understanding the sense of the original to have been: 'comme la biche suit le lion (qui lui a pris ses petits)'. (p. 250).

134. *paramu*: Thg. 884 and Saṃ. i. 25 agree, with *paramaṃ* against *vipulaṃ* in Dhp. 27; and in M. ii. 105, as Franke noted, the manuscripts are divided. The word is missing in Lévi's Uv. manuscript, and the Tibetan version has lost the half-verse. In the Chinese versions, 大 is more likely to render *vipulaṃ* than *paramaṃ*. But in the circumstances, the point is likely to be of little use in a discussion of the relationships between the different versions.

135. The piecing together of the fragments which make up this verse has occasioned much trouble, and the nature of the fragments is such that the critical reader may well feel impelled to exercise himself with tracing-paper and scissors before he is convinced of the correctness of the reading. The following notes may be of some assistance.

There appears to be a mark rising from the lower horizontal of *ṭha*; but this is probably a pen-drag, since the vowel *-e* is normally attached to the upper horizontal: therefore *diṭha* rather than *diṭhe*.

The *-r-* in *dharma* may be thought to be simply a continuation of the piece of thread which shows below the leaf. But the original print shows clearly that the thread passes under the bark, and that the *-r-* is in fact written. The rising stroke, however, appears to be very slightly too far to the left, and it is possible therefore to argue that it might be the vowel *-e* rather than the arm of the *m*. A reading *dharme* is thus possible, though unlikely.

Neither of these points affects the sense, and for the remainder the reading seems established.

Pāda *c* was first read as *dukha-prahaṇaṇi*, bearing in mind Dhp. 331 *sabbassa dukkhassa sukhaṃ*

pahānaṃ; but this gave no likely sense to the verse as a whole, and *rukha-* seems a more probable restoration.

Fragment 437 is now attached below 436, but it was separate in Senart's numbering, and its present position in the photograph has no justification.

suhatha'i could be understood either as *sukhārthāya* or *sukhārthaṃ ca*. Again, the sense remains unaffected.

For *-'ida'i*, see p. 92.

Any attempt to supply the two missing syllables of *c* can only be speculative; but the general sense is fairly certain. Since the normal Buddhist attitude is to think highly of 'proper exertion' (*samyak-prahāṇa, sammappadhāna*) but to disparage *rūkṣa-pradhāna* (*lūha-prahāṇa*), we may reasonably assume that the same attitude is expressed here. The verse may thus be translated: 'For the sake of happiness in the present life, and for profit in future existences, excessively severe ascetic practices [are worthless]: the wise man should (instead merely) keep guard on his mind'; or alternatively, 'the wise man, [leaving aside] severe ascetic practices, should control his mind'. The remaining trace of the second syllable would be consistent with *-dha* for the one translation, e.g. a word representing Sk. *vṛthā*; or with *-tva* for the other, e.g. *hitvā*.

(The expression **lūkha-padhāna*, it would seem, does not occur in Pali.)

For other verses relevant to the association of the *paṇḍita* with two *arthas*, see note on **245**.

136. Fragment 431 fits the traces above 436, as well as those at the end of the main leaf (186). The position of this verse as the second in the chapter is thus guaranteed.

137a–d. These four verses are consecutive in the manuscript; but there is no evidence as to their precise place in the chapter.

For the spelling *aṇuva-* for *an-ava-*, see p. 83.

138a, b. The mark at the top of fragment 438 appears to be the bottom of *su* in 445. These two verses are thus in all probability successive.

The proposed identification of **138a** with Dhp. 36 admittedly rests on rather slender grounds, but the suggestion seems worth putting forward. In its favour is the fact that *sudu-* is not likely to be a very common verse-beginning, and the fact that in both cases the verse comes in the Citta-chapter. Against it is the fact that *dus-* is normally represented by *dru-*. This, however, is not universal (e.g. *dugadi'o* in **52**); and in the present instance we might in any case expect a dissimilation: *sudurdṛśaṃ* > *sudu*[*driśa*].

It would be tempting to see in fragment 429 *cita rakṣe-* the beginning of pāda *c* of the same verse. But that fragment fits well (both physically and in sense) with **135**; and there is a slight additional argument against placing it here in the fact that, after the first verse, all that has survived of this chapter is a number of verse-beginnings, indicating that when the manuscript was first broken, only a narrow strip on the right-hand edge remained attached to leaf A. It would therefore be rather unexpected to find a fragment from the centre of the page; although naturally such an argument is not in itself conclusive.

138c, d. The most that can be said of fragment 446 is that the traces would be consistent with a reading *samadhi*. The comparison with the two Uv. verses is merely a tentative suggestion, based on the fact that in these we have two consecutive verses in the Citta-chapter, containing the word *citta* (*yid*), and also the word *samādhi* (*tiṅ ḥdzin*). Rockhill translates: 'They whose minds delight in meditation find no enjoyment in desires; he who is shielded from the smallest affliction will enjoy blissful slumber'; and in verse 52; '. . . he who is troubled by no affliction whatever will find great joy'.

138e. It has not been possible to suggest either location or identification for these three fragments. The probabilities seem slightly in favour of their belonging to the present chapter; hence the suggestion that the trace of ink at the beginning of 439 may perhaps represent *ci*.

139a, b. The main leaf begins with the fourth verse of this chapter, and it is therefore uncertain whether these two are the first and second, or the second and third. It is of course virtually certain that they are themselves consecutive, as they are both in Pali and the Uv., their first halves being identical. The close relationship of the two fragments within the manuscript is emphasized by the fact that they share the same rather spidery handwriting. It would seem that the pen was not functioning too well at this place; but before **140** the scribe had cut a fresh point, and the writing is back to normal.

In both of these verses there is a striking agreement with the Sanskrit version: *apa-matse*, Uv. *alpa-matsye*, against P. *khīṇa-macche*; and *aṇusvaru*, Uv. *anusmaran*, against P. *anutthunaṃ* (said to be from *stan-*).

palare is also of interest, agreeing with Uv. *palvare*, while P. has *pallale* (cf. classical Sk. *palvala*).

142. *bhetsidi*: the future also appears in Uv., *bhetsyate*, while P. has the present, *bhijjati*. The commentary has *na cirass'eva bhijjissatī ti veditabbo*, which suggests that the present was already in the text. Since, however, futures such as *bhecchati* are sufficiently rare in Pali to invite alteration, it seems probable that the future may be the original form in this verse.

143. The new photograph shows that *harṣ-* is to be read rather than *has-*. Our text therefore agrees with the Sanskrit version against the Pali *hāso*. The Uv. also has *harṣa*, and Chakravarti suggested (pp. 1–2) that the Pali directly represents this, quoting in support the fact that the commentary renders the word by *tuṭṭhi*. One might perhaps think of *kāsaṃ* beside *kassaṃ*, *kassāmi* (< **karṣyāmi*, Geiger § 153); but on the whole it seems more likely that the P. *hāso* is simply a mistake, rather than a direct derivative. It would then be due to a misunderstanding of *hasso* (< *harṣo*) as if equivalent to *hāsyo*, which would readily be 'corrected' to *hāso*.

In *b*, *sado* agrees with the Mv. version, while Uv. has *nityaṃ prajvalite sati*. While it is tempting to think of a survival of Vedic *sadaṃ*, it is probably simply a case of *o* written for *ā*, of which there are several examples in the text: see p. 81.

The placing of fragment 512 here might at first sight be open to doubt, in view of *pa-* for the usual *pra-*, and the need for conjecturing an otherwise unexampled conjunct, *jva*. But *pa-*, though infrequent, does occur a number of times in the text (see Index); and the present stanza has an example in *pakṣiti*. And *jva* would in any case be expected to be rare. In the light of the interpretation of *dvara* in verse **35** as equivalent to *jvara*, the word written in the present verse might conceivably have been *padvalide*. In the other word, however, the Pali also has a dental (*-ddara*), while here it has *-jj-*. The probabilities are thus fairly evenly matched as between the two possible restorations. The location of the fragment is justified by the exact fit of the two lenticules in the bark with the portions on the main leaf. The probability of such a good fit occurring merely by chance is in any case extremely small; and chance can be ruled out entirely when in addition a reading appropriate to the verse emerges.

Since the meaning of *niccaṃ* is conveyed by *sado*, we would expect the Prakrit version to begin the line in a similar fashion to the Mv. text; and *tava* (*tāvat*) agrees sufficiently well with *evaṃ*. [It is indeed just possible that *eva* was written here, though *tava* appears more likely.] Cf. Uv. i. 29, which has *tathā* where the Pali has *tāva*.

pakṣiti: loc. abs., decidedly better than Mv. *prakṣiptā*, nom. pl., which is almost certainly a later alteration.

144. The last pāda of the Prakrit (Senart's fragment C. xviii) was correctly placed here by Lüders, and is not to be connected with Uv. i. 15 (Chakravarti, p. 2). The corresponding verse (i. 6, Tib. i. 4), which was lost in Chakravarti's manuscript, was later cited in full by Lüders, and discussed in relation to the Pali (BSU § 105):

yām eva prathamāṃ rātriṃ garbhe vasati mānavaḥ
aviṣṭhitaḥ sa vrajati gataś ca na nirvartate.

(The last word naturally requires emendation to *nivartate*.) The Tibetan version shows some slight variants: *dań por*, suggesting *prathamaṃ*, taken adverbially; and *źugs pa*, implying *viśati* (unless we are to emend to *bźugs pa*; but the honorific form seems improbable in the context, and the sense of 'enter' is confirmed for the Tibetan by the variant *ḥjug* in the Kanjur). The other versions however place *vasati* beyond doubt as the original. On the other point, the Pali and Prakrit are of course ambiguous; but *prathamāṃ* has some additional support from the later parallel cited by Lüders, Hitopadeśa, iv. 84:

yām eva rātriṃ prathamām upaiti
garbhe nivāsaṃ naravīra lokaḥ
tataḥprabhṛty askhalitaprayāṇaḥ
sa pratyahaṃ mṛtyusamīpam eti,

—the more so, since this is in fact taken directly from the Jātaka-mālā of Ārya Śūra, xxxii. 21. The verse is in any case a direct paraphrase of the Uv. version or its immediate ancestor (with *askhalitaprayāṇaḥ sa . . . eti* reflecting *aviṣṭhitaḥ sa vrajati*), and is quite distinct from the Pali.

In the Mahābhārata, the critical edition notes the verse as an interpolation in the Southern recension, with minor variants, but generally corrupt form (xii. 169, 11, note):

yām eva rātriṃ prathamāṃ garbho bhajati mātaraṃ
tām eva rātriṃ prasthāti maraṇāya nivartakaḥ.

Lüders was thus certainly right in diagnosing *eka-* in the Pali as a mere mistake for *eva*, and in attributing the variation in the third pāda to an accidental transposition of syllables (*sa vayati*, *va sayati*); and almost certainly right in considering the Pali version as the one which has gone most astray. At the time when he wrote, the verb was missing from the printed text of the Prakrit, and the fact that *vayadi* is now definite here, in agreement with *vrajati* in the Uv., adds further support. Cf. also Uv. i. 31 *sadā vrajanti hy anivartamānāḥ*.

Such an alteration must by its nature have taken place in a Prakritic form of the verse; and it is important to add that variants of this type directly attest the existence of a manuscript tradition. While in theory such a transposition of syllables might be imagined in a purely oral transmission, such a supposition would indeed imply an unbelievably slipshod *paramparā*. But in manuscript copying this is a common and readily understandable error.

The textual argument here has therefore more weighty consequences than might at first sight appear. For if Lüders was right—and it is hard to believe that the direction of his argument was wrong—we cannot escape the implication that the text was already being transmitted by manuscript copying, and not exclusively by oral tradition, at a date earlier than the redaction of the Pali. And this is a serious matter. Since this conclusion is opposed to current opinion (E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, i. 622, on the pre-Pali texts: 'ces textes, ou plutôt ces récitations—car il s'agit d'une publication orale et non écrite'), the evidence requires to be weighed with great care. This may serve as an excuse if the ensuing discussion, like that of the Pali commentator, appears to be somewhat long-winded ('langatmig', Lüders).

It may appear that the argument as so far presented does not lead to an absolutely firm con-

clusion, and that a reasonably good case could be argued for either alternative. The Pali may seem to us a poorer verse; but it is not necessarily wrong for this reason. Nor is there in fact much difference in intrinsic merit between *sayati* and *vayati* in the context. The two verbs may be observed side by side in Kaṭha Upaniṣad, ii. 21, where, in spite of the difference of application (to the upaniṣadic *ātman*) the poetical conceit is virtually identical:

āsīno dūraṃ vrajati śayāno yāti sarvataḥ.

And when in the following verse of the Upaniṣad we find *anavastheṣv avasthitam*, we may think it not improbable that vague memories of such upaniṣadic verses may have had some influence on the composer of the Buddhist stanza. Needless to say, we should not dare, on the basis of such intangible evidence, to alter the Buddhist text in the direction of *avasthitaḥ sa vrajati*—although this would make excellent sense: 'while (apparently) at rest, he is already on his way'. And, as we shall see, this is not far removed from the form of the line which seems most probably the common ancestor of the three versions. One might even add that the paradox in such a statement would in fact invite corruption to the more pedestrian *aviṣṭhitaḥ*, 'he travels without ceasing'.

Because of the apparent agreement of the Sanskrit and Prakrit in the first word of the line, Lüders accepted the sense of *aviṣṭhitaḥ* as original, and saw in the Pali *abbhuṭṭhito* a consequential emendation to make sense after the transposition of syllables; since '*aviṭṭhito va sayati*, "er liegt, ohne stehen zu bleiben", war natürlich vollkommen sinnlos'. But here a doubt enters: because the phrase is senseless only if we forget to translate *va*. Nor is the verb *sayati* in itself 'gänzlich unmöglich'. On the contrary, few verbs could be more natural in company with *gabbhe vasati*. If the redactor of the Pali verse had had before him the equivalent of *aviṭṭhito va sayati*, he need not have thought the phrase nonsensical. He could readily have taken it to mean, 'he lies still, *as if* not at rest'; and this is in essence the same sense as must have been intended by the corrector who introduced *abbhuṭṭhito*: 'he lies still, *as if* already up and about'. There would thus be no real gain in replacing the one word by the other. This naturally does not exclude the possibility of a change for other reasons. (The Pali dictionaries do not in fact know either *aviṭṭhita* or the verb *vitiṭṭhati*.)

It is at all events reasonable to suppose that, unless *abbhuṭṭhito* was an entirely accidental corruption, it must have been intended in some such manner. But the common meaning of the verb *abhy-ut-thā-*, both in Sanskrit and Prakrit, is more than merely 'to rise': it is 'to rise from one's seat in order to greet someone'. It may therefore have been the incongruity of this common meaning of the word which impelled the commentator to seek an explanation absurd in sense and in grammar: *abbho uṭṭhito* 'he lies like a cloud uprisen'—*karmavāyubhir īritaḥ*, of course. Apart from some such motive, it is difficult to see how an analysis like this could be other than the gross error of a beginner in the study of the language.

With regard to the Prakrit, Lüders' argument assumes that the first word of the line directly corresponds to the Sanskrit *aviṣṭhitaḥ*. This assumption, however, arises from the accident of the transcription chosen for the Kharoṣṭhī sign. But throughout the remainder of the present text, the two characters transcribed *ṭh* and *ṭh* are never confused; and *ṭh* appears only in correspondence to Sanskrit dentals. The contrast between *uditha*, *ciṭhadu* (< *-ṣṭh-*), and *uṭhaṇa-*, *dhamaṭha-* (< *-sth-*) illustrates the persistence of the different sounds represented by the two characters. (See further, pp. 76–7.) It is therefore most improbable that the spelling *aviṭhidu* should directly represent the same form as the Sanskrit word. The isolated instance of *visthita* noted from Lv. 98. 1 need hardly be taken into account. As Edgerton says (BHSD), it is 'only bad writing for Skt. *viṣṭhita*', and is rather to be compared with such common spellings in later Nepalese manuscripts as *nisphala* for *niṣphala*. We might indeed be tempted to suggest that in

aviṭhidu likewise the wrong character has for once been written; or that the compound verb has been formed anew in an earlier stage of this dialect, with the dental of the simple verb retained. But an explanation which can avoid such desperate measures seems preferable.

A comparison with the language of the Niya documents suggests a very probable explanation. In these documents also, the two characters are strictly kept apart, although their distribution is rather different. Where the present text has *ṭhaṇa-*, *ṭhida-*, *uṭhaṇa-*, the documents have *thana*, *thida* (and *uthida*). Our form *aviṭhidu* is therefore to be compared with the spelling *vithida* in the documents. On the latter, Burrow wrote (in *Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents*, pp. 120–1): 'It is remarkable that the dental *th* always appears. It must have been reintroduced from the simple verb *thiyati*. The meaning is always active in the sense of "keep away from, hold back from", not only in the causative *vithav-*, but also regularly in the simple verb *vithi-*'. The contexts in which the word occurs leave no room for doubt that this is in fact the general sense of the word, and, except for the anomalous dental, there would be no great difficulty in envisaging a semantic development starting from *viṣṭhāpayati*. The phonological abnormality, however, suggests the possibility that this is either a different derivative, or has at least been contaminated with another word. A frequent phrase in the documents is *ma iṃci vithana kartavo* (Burrow, loc. cit.: ' "There must be no keeping back, putting aside", with reference to the tax that is demanded in the letter'); and this suggests a possible starting-point.

No Sanskrit **viṣṭhāna* is recorded. There is, however, a well-established Sanskrit word of very similar shape which fits the situation exactly: *vyutthāna*. This has the required dental; and among the dictionary meanings we may note (Monier-Williams): 'opposition, contradiction, obstruction, hindering; . . . independent action, following one's own inclination'. In the context of the Niya letters, the sense of the recurring phrase need be no stronger than 'let there be no delay'; and senses such as 'arrears (of tax)' for *vithidaġa* could readily have developed from this, as well as the general sense of 'hold back, obstruct' for the verb.

The exact formal equivalent of *viṭhidu* may be seen in document 584 *eṣa vivada vithida* 'This action before the court has been delayed' (Burrow, *Transl.*, p. 122, 'This case was put off'), since one of the persons involved had in the meantime died, and another was absent in Khotan. It is therefore possible that the Dharmapada verse was understood by speakers of this dialect as, 'unobstructed, he goes on his way'. But this is a local, and almost certainly late, development of meaning, and it is unlikely that this was the original sense of the verse. The Sanskrit noun *vyutthāna* is presumably not formed directly from the verb *vy-ut-thā-*, but is rather built in opposition to *utthāna*, 'activity, exertion'; whence, in effect, *vy-utthāna* is 'counter-activity', or 'activity misdirected'. In the verse we should rather assume that *viṭhidu*, although formally comparable to *vithida* in the documents, is simply the participle of *vy-ut-thā-* 'to arise, to come into being'.

We may at this point note that the same verb in Pali, in addition to its common meaning of 'awakening from trance', also occurs in company with *gabbha*: Jāt. i. 114 *gabbha-vuṭṭhāna*; Vin. ii. 278 *gabbho vuṭṭhāsi*. (This is not—in spite of the PTS dictionary—a 'sandhi form of *uṭṭhahati*', with a '*v* prefixed for euphony': it is a further derivative of the verb, originally perhaps merely more emphatic, but tending to develop a distinct range of meanings of its own. See further BHSD s.v. *vyuttiṣṭhati*.)

In the Dharmapada stanza, therefore, the interpretation of *aviṭhidu* as equivalent to *a-vyutthitaḥ* fits both sense and orthography: 'before he is even born, he is already journeying'. This, it would seem, adequately accounts for the Prakrit version.

We have thus three different versions of the line, and not two. And the most likely hypothesis now seems to be that the form of the Prakrit is in essentials closest to the original. In Pali the expected word corresponding to *avyutthitaḥ* would have been **abbuṭṭhito*; and this, after the

transposition of syllables in the following words, could hardly escape alteration to *abbhuṭṭhito*. Indeed, the CPD notes the tendency of a word such as *abbocchinna* (< *a-vy-ava-*) to be transformed into †*abbhocchinna*, even without a motive for patching the sense.

In the Sanskrit version likewise, the change may have been equally inevitable. In view of the known strength of the Sarvāstivādins in the North-west, it would be expected that the dialect of our manuscript, or a closely related dialect, should have acted as the vehicle of transmission for some, if not the greater part, of the older Buddhist literature which was rendered into Sanskrit. And if in the present verse, the Sanskrit translator had found *avitthida* or *avisthida* in his source, it would be surprising if he had rendered it in any other fashion than by *aviṣṭhitaḥ*.

145. It is pleasant to see the rather trite comparison in this verse taken up by a poet of talent and used to better effect in an inverted form (Jātaka-mālā, xv. 5), in the description of the drying up of a lake in summer:

pratyahaṃ kṣīyate toyaṃ spardhamānam ivāyuṣā.

Another version of the basic stanza was cited by Lüders from MBh. xii. 169. 11:

rātryāṃ rātryāṃ vyatītāyām āyur alpataraṃ yadā
gādhodake matsya iva sukhaṃ vindeta kas tadā.

The variants are such that almost all that can be said with confidence is that *diva* in the Uv. is an innovation, and that *aparado* in the Prakrit must certainly mean *alpataraṃ*. This is the converse of the transposition already seen in *maduru* (*mārutaḥ*) in **69**; but it remains quite uncertain whether this is a genuine word in the language (cf. *jabodaṇa*, **242**), or an accidental transposition by the scribe (see p. 105). The same doubt may be felt with regard to *vivasiṇa*. The phrase *ratyā vivasane* is common in Pali; but there seems to be no strong reason against taking the Prakrit reading to mean *vivāsena*. Cf. also *vivasadi*, **150**.

u kumulaṇa: this seems the most probable word-division; and since the two other versions have *nu*, it may be accepted that *u* here replaces this particle. Senart, taking *ukumulaṇa* as one word, tentatively suggested *okonmūlanaṃ* 'the uprooting of their home'; but this was put forward before the fragment was identified as belonging to this verse, and can hardly fit the sense. The Pali, in agreement with the commentary (*taruṇa-bhāvo*), may be translated as 'what value is youth in the circumstances?' The reading however is probably corrupt, since the Uv. and the MBh. versions agree in the sense of 'happiness'. (In the Uv., the last three words were restored by the editor, JRAS 1912, 360, only the vowel *-i-* being legible in the manuscript; but the sense is established by the Tibetan, which has *de la dgaḥ bar bya ci yod*.) It is therefore probable that *komārakaṃ* has arisen from some such form as *komalakaṃ*: 'what is there that is pleasant in these circumstances?'. The same form may reasonably be thought to lie behind the Prakrit; but—unless the change in word-order was made without regard for metre—some further alteration has taken place, and the metre implies *kŭmūlaṇaṃ* or *kŭmullaṇaṃ*. No satisfactory explanation has suggested itself for either of these.

146. The Uv. verse, missing in Chakravarti's manuscript, was quoted in Sieg and Siegling, *Toch. Sprachreste*, Sprache B, i, pt. 2, p. 4.

For *d*, Barua and Mitra compare also Udāna, i. 10 *tālapakkaṃ va bandhanā*. Here however *phala* rather than *tala*, in agreement with the Uv., is assured by the trace of *pha* in 484.

147. The first half of the Uv. verse was quoted in *Toch. Spr.* B. i, pt. 2, p. 11: *yathā phalānāṃ pakvānāṃ nityaṃ patanato bhayam*. This would appear to justify the adoption of the Burmese

variant *patanato* in the Sn., rather than *papatanā*. Cf. also Jāt. iv. 127, vi. 28. Lüders cited also a close parallel from Rāmāyaṇa ii. 105. 17:

yathā phalānāṃ pakvānāṃ nānyatra patanād bhayam
evaṃ narasya jātasya nānyatra maraṇād bhayam.

148. Uv. i. 15, 17 (quoted *Toch. Spr.* B. i, pt. 2, p. 5):

yathā nadī pārvatīyā gacchate na nivartate
evam āyur manuṣyāṇāṃ gacchate na nivartate.
yathā daṇḍena gopālo gāḥ prāpayati gocaram
evaṃ jarā ca mṛtyuś ca āyuḥ prāpayato nṛṇām.

It therefore appears that the Prakrit version has telescoped the two verses. While the resulting stanza is not in itself impossible, the fact that the second half of both of the parent verses begins with *evam* suggests that this is merely a copyist's error, and not an intentional rearrangement of the material. The same type of accident has produced one verse from two in Pali, Dhp. 149, where both stanzas survive in Prakrit (**154, 155**) and in Sanskrit.

On Pali *pāceti* (< *pra-aj-*), see BSU § 140 (where also a variant of the second half of Uv. i. 17 is quoted:

evaṃ rogair jarā mṛtyuḥ āyuḥ prāpayate nṛṇām).

149, 150. 'As on the stretched out warp, the more that the weft is woven, the less there remains to weave, as the end of the weaving comes nearer,—so also for men, and all other living creatures, each night that passes brings them nearer to death.'

The reading of the Pali edition, *yaṃ yaṃ dev'*, led to curious renderings: 'den immer eine Gottheit webt' (*deva*)—Dutoit; 'As when the lady at her loom sits weaving all the day' (*devī*)—Cowell–Rouse. Apart from other difficulties, this overlooked the fact that *-vīyati* is passive. The necessary correction to *yaṃ yad ev'* was made by Lüders, BSU § 232, where it was also suggested that *yed* in the Prakrit text should be emended to *yad*. (This, however, is unnecessary, since this type of palatalization is well established: see p. 81.) It need hardly be said that there is no reference at all to 'spinning' (Barua and Mitra), but only to weaving.

Chavannes, *Cinq Cents Contes*, i. 331 (quoted *Toch.* B. i. 7) gives a translation of a Chinese rendering: 'La vie humaine est comparable au fil qui traverse le métier à tisser, petit à petit il en arrive à diminuer et à se terminer: c'est ainsi que jour et nuit diminue la vie'.

The Sanskrit Uv. version is not known in full, but the Tibetan translation agrees closely with **149**:

dper na thags ni brkyaṅ pa la
spun ni gaṅ daṅ gaṅ bcug paḥi
spun gyis rtiṅ la gtugs pa ltar
mi rnams srog kyaṅ de bźin no.

(Rockhill's translation of *thags* as 'spider' instead of 'warp' led to a misunderstanding of the verse as a whole, and a wrong comparison with Dhp. 347.)

tadri: formerly read as *tani*, but the correction is certain. The reading *ni* is excluded by the fact that this syllable is universally written in the manuscript with the vowel-stroke through the stem of the character, and not, as here, through the head. The tail of *dr* tends to slant downwards (in contrast to *tr*, see p. 78), and the character is slightly disguised here by the downward slant being rather more pronounced than usual—doubtless a reaction of the scribe's hand to the break in the bark immediately to the right of the character. No parallels can be cited from the manu-

script itself for the development of earlier *-ntr-*, since *mana*, P. *manta* is to be interpreted as *manda*, not *mantra* (see **237**, note). In the Niya documents, however, the transcriptions *maṃtra*, *matra*, *madra* (corresponding to S. *mantra*) give some additional support for the reading *tadri* here.

vikadi: it is possible to take the form as directly representing *vitate*, since a similar writing of *-k-* for *-t-* appears in *bahoṣukeṇa* (< *bāhuśrutena*, **65**). On the other hand, an interchange in the writing between *-y-* and *-k-* is more widely attested, and it is therefore possible that we have here a genuine variant *viyate* (*yam-*), which would of course convey the same sense as *vitate*. (See further, p. 91).

odu could in form represent either the participle *otaṃ* 'woven', or the noun *otu-*'weft'. The latter is the more likely, and is confirmed by the Tib. *spun*, in the same sense; and since *otu-* is masculine, *yad yad* should be taken as adverbial neuter.

The verbal forms are most easily understood as derived from *vap-*, and are presumably influenced in their vocalism by *odu*: thus, *opadi* < *upyate* and *votavi* < *vaptavyaṃ*. These would then be parallel in meaning but not in formation with P. *vīyati*, *vetabbaṃ*. The root *vap-* in the sense of 'weave' is quoted in the Sanskrit dictionaries, but is certainly not common. It has however survived—although almost buried—in the grammatical tradition. The Pāṇinean Dhātupāṭha, i. 1052, has *ṭuvapa bījasantāne*, but Böhtlingk notes also a variant which gives the meaning of the root as *tantu-bīja-santāne*. Similarly, the Kavikalpadruma of Vopadeva (ed. G. B. Palsule, Poona 1954, 236) gives the root the meaning *muṇḍabījoptyoḥ*; but again there is a variant *muṇḍatantu-bījoptyoḥ*. (This cannot, it is true, be a correct reading in the latter context, but its existence at least asserts the continuance of the tradition that the root can mean 'weave'.) We thus have here a *-p* enlargement of the root alongside the more familiar *-bh* form. Indeed, the close similarity between the to-and-fro of weaving and the motion of sowing broadcast makes it probable that the two senses are directly connected historically.

The Sanskrit version of the Uv. is broken in this verse, but the portion which survives, *yad yad u . . . pyate* (quoted BSU § 232) indicates *upyate* as the verb here also.

The PTS dictionary quotes *upavīyati* only from this verse, and it seems certain from the other versions that *upa-* here conceals a word meaning 'weft'. If the original language of the verse knew *vap-* 'weave', one might perhaps think of **uppa-* (< *upya-*); but without further evidence it is not possible to emend the Pali text, and the best we can do for the present is to mark †*upavīyati* as a corruption.

The Uv. agrees with the Pali in concluding the comparison within the single verse, and we are thus left without a parallel for the interpretation of *oharaṇa-*. From the context, it must denote the end of the weaving; but the precise significance and the etymology remain uncertain. The Tibetan, in *c*, has 'as the end (*rtiṅ*) of the *weft* is reached'; but this may be simply a free paraphrase of a line similar to *c* in the Pali and Prakrit.

Among the possibilities, we may think of *ava-haraṇa* (or *apa-*, or *ā-haraṇa* with *o* written for earlier *ā*: see p. 81) 'removal (of the completed cloth from the loom)'; or **ava-bharaṇa* 'conclusion' (cf. *ava-bhṛtha*, the concluding ritual bathing of Vedic ceremonies). Alternatively, the word may be a technical term of weaving, in which case *ava-haraṇa* could readily be understood as 'that which moves the threads aside', i.e., the heddle or the warp-stick; or (more probably in the present context) 'that which keeps the warp taut', i.e. the warp-beam. This last suggestion would accord well with *ohārinaṃ* 'pulling down': see **170**.

In **150**, the final syllable of *a* is broken, but *ṇa* is almost certain. In *b*, the third syllable might from the traces be either *p-* or *ñ-*; but the existence of the Pali parallel quoted (although from a rather different context) justifies the restoration given. The fact that the phrase is a cliché is sufficient to account for its parenthetic insertion here, although the syntax of the verse is thereby

rendered somewhat awkward. It may however be added that the phrase in Sn. 201, although in a different application within the verse, comes in the middle of a poem (Vijaya-sutta) on the impermanency of the body; and in the context of the present chapter on *jarā*, such a poem might well have been in the background of the compiler's mind, and might have (even subconsciously) suggested the use of the phrase here.

In *c*, the third syllable was formerly read as *a-*, and the resulting *avivasadi* interpreted as *abhivas-*. This is not impossible; but it now seems probable that *i* (= *ca*) should be read, the vowel-stroke being almost hidden by the lenticule. Although *ca* is superfluous both for metre and sense, the revised reading *vivasadi* has the support of the nearly parallel expression in 145, *vivasiṇa*.

It seems necessary to take *radi* as nominative, and *vivasadi* as passive of the causative (*vivāsyate*; or conceivably of the simplex, **vivasyate* for classical *vyuṣyate*)—'each night that is lived through'. Alternatively, if we understand *ya radi* as accusative, we may perhaps read *maṇuśa* [*vi*] in *a*, which gives easier syntax in the verse as a whole, but is graphically less likely, and implies a metrical awkwardness in *vivasadi*, which would then have to be understood as *vivasanti*. Or again—if we wish to follow the PTSD in its determined efforts to see *vas-* 'to shine' wherever possible, as s.v. *vivaseti*—we may assume here simply *yā yā vivasati rātrī* 'each night that dawns', with an analogical replacement for *vyucchati*. The expression *rātriṃ-vāsa* (BHSD) and the interpretation of the commentary on Sn. 1142 (*vivasemi rattin ti . . . rattiṃ atināmemi*) would seem to show that we cannot categorically exclude *vas-* 'to dwell'.

151. *sadi* in place of the expected **sa'i* for *sāyaṃ* may owe its *-d-* to its partner *pradu*. Possibly also the occasional disappearance of *-d-* (*bho-va'i* < *bho-vādi*; *ko'i'a* < *kovida*) may have assisted in the creation of *sadi* as a 'learned' form. Franke (ZDMG 1906, 500) conjectured that the word was a miscopying of '*rati*' (i.e. *radi* < *rātri*) from a Kharoṣṭhī exemplar. This is in itself improbable; but the existence of the form *radi* provides another possible starting-point for the production of *sadi* as an analogical formation. The Uv. version (quoted *Toch. Spr.* B. i. 4) has *sāyam* and *kālyaṃ*. See also p. 87.

The Pali verse also occurs in Jāt. vi. 28.

152. In view of the alternation of *-sma*, *-sa* in loc. and abl. forms, it is possible that *si* does in fact represent (*a*)*smi* here rather than *asi*. The Uv. agrees in the order of lines with the Prakrit version against the Pali. The first three-quarters of the verse are quoted in *Toch. Spr.* B. i. 3:

tatra ko viśvasen martyo daharo smīti jīvite:
daharāpi mriyante.

Like the Prakrit also, this is a syllable short in *c*, although it would have been easy to produce a 'better' Sanskrit version: *daharā api*. The Pali has repaired the metre by the insertion of *hi*.

ekada, if understood as equivalent to S. *ekadā*, would seem to mean 'at the same time' or 'at some time', which hardly fits the context. It may be better to take the word as equivalent to S. *ekadhā*, 'in the same manner', i.e. 'both men and women equally'. (But cf. Saṃ. i. 69.)

Senart noted that above *ca* in *d* was written a mark which he described as similar to the Devanāgarī *-i*. It seems likely, however, that this is a rather cursive *ya*, written in as a correction. If this is so, we may assume that the exemplar had *nariya*, i.e. nom. plural, as in the Pali, and that the scribe had misunderstood the final syllable of this as equivalent to *ca*.

153. *ayireṇa*: the first syllable has been covered by another portion of the bark in the process of placing the leaf under glass; but the whole word is clearly visible in Senart's facsimile.

paḍha'i vari: (*pṛthivīm upari*). The loss of intervocalic *-v-* in *paḍha'i* is unexpected. The form,

however, is unlikely to be merely a miswriting for *-vi*, since, although *v* and alif when carelessly written may be confused, the *i*-vowel stroke is always written through the head of the former and through the stem of the latter. *vari* conveys exactly the same sense as *adhi-* in the other versions.

Fragment 500 was already placed in this verse by Senart. It appears from a note attached to the fragment in the plate that Oldenburg disputed this. But the placing is certain, and if confirmation were needed, it is provided by the fact that the other side of the fragment falls into place exactly on the reverse side of the manuscript at this place, after verse **331**. Senart's reading *ruchu* naturally obscured the situation, and this word has unfortunately been the subject of much speculation. But graphically *tuchu* is quite unambiguous, and agrees admirably with the Sanskrit version *śūnyo*, against the Pali *chuddho*. Hemacandra, Deśīnāmamālā, v. 14 gives the meaning *osukka* (*avaśuṣka*) 'dried up' for Prakrit *tuccha*, and this sense may be thought to fit the present context better than 'empty', in which case the translation as *śūnyo* may be slightly off the mark. The Pali *chuddha* in this verse is discussed in BSU § 236. In a verse containing much of the same material as the present stanza, Therī. 468, the manuscripts vary between *chuddho* and *chuṭṭho*, and it would seem that the original form here must remain doubtful. The confusion of *ṭṭh* and *ddh* is a very easy one in the Sinhalese script. Since, moreover, misreadings of *ṭṭ* as *ddh* are not unknown (H. C. Norman, preface to edition of Dhammapada Commentary, p. viii, noted frequent instances of *vaṭṭati* wrongly transcribed as *vaddhati*) it is even possible that the Pali originally had *chuṭṭo*. Lüders (loc. cit.) was prepared to accept a connexion of *chuddha* with *chūḍha*, which is well established for Prakrit. The meaning given for the latter, however, is regularly *kṣipta*, i.e. 'thrown', not 'thrown away', and it may therefore be that the commentators' *apaviddha*, *chaḍḍita* as renderings of *chuddha* are no more than guesses. Such a meaning is readily adduced from comparable contexts: Sn. 200 *yadā ca so mato seti . . . apaviddho susānasmiṃ*; Manu iv. 241 *mṛtaṃ śarīram utsṛjya*; Therī. 469 *chaḍḍūna naṃ susāne.*

Unfortunately, the forms which may be involved here are embarrassingly numerous. In addition to *chuddha* and *chūḍha*, Sheth, *Prakrit-Hindi Dictionary*, gives *chuṭṭha*—all three explained as *kṣipta*; and also *chuṭṭa* in two senses, '*chuṭā huā*', and '*choṭā, laghu*'; in the latter sense also *chuḍḍa* (among the meanings of which is included, interestingly, *tuccha*). [*chutta*, 'touched', need not be considered, and is mentioned here only because the related noun *chutti* is translated as *aśauca* (Hi. *chūt*), which at first sight may seem tempting in the context, but is in fact impossible. In Buddhist Sanskrit, *chuṭṭa* 'injured' (?) is perhaps a misreading (see BHSD s.v.).]

In the present verse, the words meaning 'thrown' should probably be rejected; and as a working hypothesis it may be suggested that an earlier form of the Pali text had a word understood as 'abandoned' (i.e. a word in the ancestry of Hi. *chuṭnā*), the sense of which has been preserved by the commentary in *apaviddha* after the form had been altered. Alongside this, another tradition interpreted either the same form or a closely similar form as meaning 'insignificant, worthless' (i.e. a word in the ancestry of Hi. *choṭā*). The Prakrit version *tuchu* would then be a near-synonym of the latter. Such a development could be understood equally well in either direction: with *tuchu* as the oldest reading and 'abandoned' as the youngest, or vice versa.

Since *niratthaṃ* is ambiguous in Middle Indian, it is not in itself surprising that it appears as *nirastaṃ* in the Uv. (in which sense, however, the PTSD notes only *niratta-*; the regular aspirate appears in *apattha-*, Dhp. 149, Ct. *chaḍḍita-*), while the Pali commentary (*nirupakāraṃ*) has understood the word as *nirartha-*. But the result of this is that there is a curious compensation between the versions, the sense of the Uv. *nirastaṃ* being given by the Pali commentary to *chuddho*, while in place of the latter the Uv. *śūnyo* conveys virtually the meaning of *nirartha.*

Still more extraordinary is the fact that all four of the points wherein the Prakrit version

differs most markedly from the Pali (*vari* against *adhi-*, *śa'iṣidi* against *sessati*, *tuchu* against *chuddho*, *avakada-* against *apeta-*) are reflected in the Pali commentary (DhpA. i. 320–1):

na cirass' eva ayaṃ kāyo paṭhaviṃ adhisessati . . . paṭhaviyā upari sayissati. *chuddho ti apaviddho* apagata-*viññāṇatāya* tuccho *hutvā sessatī ti.*

Nothing comparable to this has so far been observed in other verses of the collection. The agreement is too close to be accidental, and we are therefore left to choose between two possible hypotheses: either the Prakrit represents the older verse, which has been metrically smoothed in the Pali, while the older words have survived fossilized in the traditional commentary (for we need not suppose that the authors of the commentaries we possess abstained from incorporating such traditional material as they could lay hands on); or, alternatively, the Pali verse is older, and the Prakrit has been refashioned by using the traditional commentary, with little regard for metre, either because the compiler thought that the metrically worse verse was more impressively archaic, or because he genuinely mistook the explanations of the commentary for lemmata. There is of course no implication that a commentary in Pali was known in the North-West.

154, 155. In the same way as in **148** the Prakrit has telescoped two verses, both of which have survived in the other traditions, the two verses here have been made into one in the Pali. Here also it is easier to understand the error as having taken place in the course of manuscript copying rather than in an oral tradition. The alternative theory, that 'the two Prakrit verses appear to have grown out of one verse incorporated in the Pāli Dhammapada and the Udāna-varga' (Barua and Mitra) seems most improbable, since after all the gourd must have been brought in principally for the sake of the comparison with 'skull' rather than with bones in general. In fact, the supposed agreement with the Uv. is illusory. Although it has only a single verse, this is not the same as the Pali, but corresponds exactly with the Divy. version of **155**. (The order of the two verses is inverted in the Divy.) Most of the Uv. verse is lost in Sanskrit, but *apaviddhāni* (Chakravarti, p. 1) shows an agreement with the Divy. rather than with the Prakrit.

upasthānāni in the Divy. version is certainly a corruption, and should be emended to *apāstāni* (BHSD).

alāpūneva: the traditional reading of the Pali seems inferior here. The spelling with *-p-* is probably a late pedantry (cf. also *pabbaja* for *babbaja*; see Geiger, § 39, 6, where it is described as a 'mundartliche Erscheinung'; BSU § 144 n.), and *-b-* is cited from the Burmese manuscripts (DhpA., iii. 112). Since, moreover, the commentary has *viya* (whence Fausbøll asked 'eva pro iva?'), the verse should be restored to *alābūni va.*

śarada: in spite of the broken condition of the manuscript here, the *e*-stroke would have been visible if the scribe had written *śarade.*

diṣpaṇi, corresponding to *disvāna*, presumably owes its final vowel (as suggested by Barua and Mitra) to the jingle in the verse with *taṇi.*

156. The Uv. version has only four pādas, corresponding to *abef*, and with *nigacchatha parāṃ śāntiṃ*, agrees with the Pali in *santiṃ*, and with the Prakrit in the imperative (cf. BHSG § 26, 12–13), as against the Pali future (thus, 'atteignez', not, as Chakravarti, p. 14, 'vous atteignez').

Senart interpreted the third pāda as *nityāśubha-vicīrṇena*, presumably because **vijīrṇa-* is not elsewhere attested. But on the other hand, the development of intervocalic *-c-* to *-j-* appears nowhere else in the text. Indeed, such a development is virtually unknown in Middle Indian. The sole example cited by Pischel (§ 202), on the authority of Hemacandra, i. 177, is *pisājī* for *piśāci.*

We might perhaps assume here a sporadic occurrence of a spelling comparable to that of the Niya documents in such words as *yajitaǵa* (*yāc-*, Burrow, *Grammar* § 17), although there the *j* with the diacritic, which does not occur in our manuscript, is the normal symbol. If therefore Senart's conjecture is correct for the original form of the verse, the probability would be that *vijiṇeṇa* is wrongly reconstructed from an intermediate Prakrit form with *-y-*. But if so, it would seem almost certain that in the present text the word was understood to mean *vijīrṇa-*. This would be very natural in the middle of a chapter on *jarā*; and since the standard list which forms the subject of *aśubha-bhāvanā* has eight out of nine items beginning with *vi-* (*vinīlaka*, *vipūyaka*, &c.), it might well be thought that *vijīrṇa-* formed a fitting prelude to this list. The sense would then be, 'brought to decay by reason of its constantly present impurities'.

157. *vidvareṇa*: in addition to Therī. 140, cited with the preceding verse, there is an alternate form of the Pali in Saṃ. i. 131, where the printed text has *bhindanena* in place of *āturena*. The manuscripts, however, have also the variant *bhindarena*, and both Lüders and Franke were tempted to equate this with *vidvareṇa*. Lüders cited S. *bhidura*, which has the sense which must have been intended by the Pali word, and noted the parallel root *bid-*. Since the Prakrit word did not appear in the published facsimiles, it may be that both scholars assumed that Senart had misread it. The reading, however, can hardly be doubted. The only possible alternative would be *vitvareṇa*, which seems decidedly less likely. A direct equivalence between *bhindarena* and *vidvareṇa* would involve such a host of irregularities that the suggestion can safely be forgotten. If, in fact, the two pādas are descended from the same original, then at least one of them must have suffered serious corruption. The meaning of the Prakrit word therefore remains unknown.

Two possibilities may be put forward for consideration.

(1) *vijvara-* 'permeated by fever', which would give a similar sense to *ātura* in the preceding verse. (For *dv*, cf. *vikada-dvara*, *vīta-jvara*, note on **35.**) A strong objection to this is the fact that *vijvara* is attested in Sanskrit with the opposite meaning, 'free from fever'.

(2) S. *vidrava-* or *vidrāva-* 'oozing', in which case the word would not be in apposition to *ka'eṇa*, but would give the reason for the application of the word which is lost, for example, '(repulsive) because of its oozing'; and the sense would then be comparable to the following verse. If this were, in fact, the etymology, the metathesis might be recent in the dialect; but a survival of an old by-form (cf. Avestan *dvar-* beside Sanskrit *drav-*) would not be inconceivable.

158. Cf. also Sn. 205 *vissavanto tato tato.*

160. From the commentary onwards, the second half of the Pali stanza has been badly mishandled: DhpA., iii. 123 *pavedayantī ti evaṃ santo buddhādayo sabbhi paṇḍitehi saddhiṃ kathentī ti attho*; Fausbøll, 'proborum vero pietas senectutem non subit, (sic) probi (Buddhae) certe unacum probis (hominibus) tradunt'; Radhakrishnan, 'but the virtue of the good never ages, thus the good teach to each other'. This last distressing picture of the virtuous congratulating each other on the lasting qualities of their own virtue appears to be a modern invention, and is perhaps due not so much to the commentary as to a misunderstanding of Fausbøll's Latin (*probis*, ablative, being misconstrued as a dative belonging to *tradunt*?). Fausbøll contributed his own share by the rendering 'pietas'; but it is not the 'virtue' of the good which never ages, but their doctrine. It is true that the idea of 'virtue' or 'right conduct' could hardly be excluded from the range of overtones which a complex and emotionally charged word like *dharma* might carry in a context like this. But it is not here the most important component of the meaning. This is made still more evident by the fact that Ārya Śūra (Jātaka-mālā, xxxi. 74), when he wished

to adapt the verse in a context where it was desirable to bring out the idea of 'virtue' more definitely, found it necessary to replace the last line by something completely different:

rathā nṛpāṇāṃ maṇi-hema-bhūṣaṇā
vrajanti dehāś ca jarā-virūpatām
satāṃ tu dharmaṃ na jarābhivartate
sthirānurāgā hi guṇeṣu sādhavaḥ.

It seems quite probable that the Pali commentator had the idea of 'doctrine' uppermost in his mind (*navavidha-lokuttara-dhammo*—the four stages, *sotāpatti*, &c., with their fruits, together with *nibbāna*; in effect, the Buddhist religion), but he himself started the process of obscuration by adding the word *evaṃ*. Now this is a fundamentally foolish interpretation, implying that what is taught is the substance of the first three lines of the stanza, and thereby destroying the point of the contrast. For the whole point is that, unlike the king's chariot, the doctrine does not wear out, 'because good men teach it to other good men', their disciples and successors.

All this is due simply to a refusal to admit that *sabbhi* can bear the sense of a dative. It is true that such a thing is rare, and is overlooked by the standard grammars. The usage existed, nevertheless, and was noted by Bloch from the Aśokan inscriptions (*Les Inscriptions d'Asoka*, p. 61): RE vi, K. Dh. *mahāmātehi ālopite*, M. *mahamatrehi aropite* (G. *mahāmātresu*, Sh. *mahamatrana*); RE iii, Dh. *baṃbhanasamanehi dāne* (other versions *-samanānaṃ*); Barabar, *dinā ājivikehi*. Similarly in RE xii *tehi vatavyaṃ*, where a translation in terms of an instrumental not only makes very curious sense—'they are to say that the king considers . . .', but is in fact shown to be wrong by the version Sh. *teṣaṃ vatavo*, which confirms what the context demands: 'they are to be told that the king considers. . . .'

The sense of the Dharmapada stanza was made quite explicit by the Uv. rendering:

satāṃ tu dharmo na jarām upaiti
santo hi taṃ satsu nivedayanti;

and the Tibetan confirms that it is because of the teaching that the doctrine escapes the effects of old age:

dam pa rnams kyi chos ḥdi dam pa ste
mi mchog gźan rtogs byed ciṅ rga mi ḥgyur.

(Rockhill's translation, 'the best of men . . . shall not know old age', is doctrinally impossible.) We may perhaps suspect here from *dam pa ste* that the translator misread *hi taṃ* as *hitaṃ*.

In the Prakrit version, *hi ṣa* is certainly not to be emended to *hi ta* (Chakravarti). Since the Sanskrit has *taṃ*, and since forms of the pronoun with initial *s-* in place of *t-* are known from later Prakrits (Pischel § 423), it might seem possible to understand *ṣa* as the accusative masculine of the personal pronoun. (In **336**, where the Pali has the nominative *so*, the Prakrit has *ṣa*, which could thus be thought to owe its initial to *eṣa*.) This seems very unlikely; but it is of course possible that a similar form of the verse, understood in this way, was responsible for the appearance of *taṃ* in the Sanskrit.

It is much more probable that we should recognize here the particle *sma*. There are three instances in the text where *ma sa* is probably to be interpreted as *mā sma*; and the change of the initial after *hi* is then exactly parallel to the Rigvedic *hi ṣma*. Further, since the metre here is certainly better if the fourth syllable of the line is long, it is relevant to note the constant appearance of the Rigvedic phrase as *hi ṣmā* in the Saṃhitā text. This collocation of particles would thus be the equivalent in the dialect of the common Pali *ha ve*. The particle *ve* in fact appears to be absent from the dialect, and although frequent in the corresponding Pali verses, it is always replaced in the Prakrit version by some other word. We have thus the interesting situation that

the Prakrit, from the North-west, appears to represent the survival of a common Rigvedic usage, while the Pali, from a more central region, has instead a group which is most familiar from the Brāhmaṇas, *ha vai*.

praverayadi: apart from numerals (AMg. *ekkārasa*, &c.) and derivatives of *dṛś-* (*eārisa*, &c.), both of which form special classes, the appearance of *-r-* for *-d-* is extremely rare in Middle Indian (Pischel § 245). It must, however, be accepted here. The writing of the manuscript is quite clear and unambiguous, and we could hardly suppose that *pavedayanti*, which fits the sense of the stanza perfectly, could have been replaced by a word of different etymology but almost identical shape.

161. *vimuta-moṇaso*: in spite of the break in the manuscript, the reading seems reasonably well established. For other examples of *o* written in place of *ā*, see p. 81.

164. *suha* in fragment 486 was read by Senart as *ruha*, and it is still possible that this was a correct transcription of what the scribe wrote. There can of course be no doubt that the word in the verse ought to be *suha*, and if *ruha* was written, it was merely a miscopying. It seems just possible, with some charity towards the scribe, to see the first syllable as *su*, and this transcription has accordingly been adopted, though with hesitation.

parica'i: locative (*parityāge*), while the Uv. agrees with the Pali in the ablative. But see also p. 81.

vivula-: Unfortunately in both places in the verse the head of the second character in the word is broken, and it is therefore possible that the reading should be *vi'ula*. See p. 87, § 34.

In addition to its more usual meanings, *mātrā* is widely recognized by the Sanskrit lexicographers in the sense of 'property, household goods, worldly possessions' (*paricchade*, *dhane*). We might at first suspect that this sense has been artificially extracted from Manu, vi. 57:

alābhe na viṣādī syāl lābhaś cainaṃ na harṣayet
prāṇa-yātrika-mātraḥ syān mātrā-sangād vinirgataḥ.

But such a supposition would compel a rather forced interpretation for the last phrase: 'free from attachment to what is limited (in its usefulness for spiritual welfare)'. It seems preferable to admit that the author intended to play on the two senses, and to translate, 'free from attachment to worldly possessions'. It might then be suggested that, just as the first half of the line reflects such a phrase as *bhojanamhi ca mattaññuṃ* (Dhp. 8 = **218**), so also *caje mattā-sukhaṃ* should be seen as a virtual equivalent of *mātrā-sangād vinirgataḥ*. This does not mean to suggest a direct copying of one text by the other. But so much of this didactic literature in both traditions is obviously pieced together from floating aphorisms current among the religious mendicant populations that resemblances of this sort are in general more likely to be echoes of the same prototype rather than chance coincidences. In the present instance, a recognition of an intentional play on the meanings of *mātrā* in the Buddhist stanza also would at least give some point to what is otherwise a singularly dull verse.

168. Uv. xxx. 44:

susukhaṃ bata jīvāmo yeṣāṃ no nāsti kiṃcana
mithilāyāṃ dahyamānāyāṃ na no dahyati kiṃcana.

With the same opening, and parallel to Dhp. 200, Uv. xxx. 49:

prītibhakṣā bhaviṣyāmo devā hy ābhasvarā yathā;

xxx. 50:

prītibhakṣā bhaviṣyāmo satkāyenopaniḥśritāḥ.

The first of these especially had very wide currency (parallels noted JRAS 1912, 371; Barua and Mitra, pp. 222–3). It seems very probable that a second half corresponding to one or other of these, or yet another variant, has been ousted from the Prakrit text here by the accidental recopying of the second half of **167.**

The various forms of the Mithilā-verse in MBh xii (17. 18; 171. 56; 268. 4), spoken in the singular, have in the second pāda *yasya me nāsti kiṃcana*, and thus confirm Senart's interpretation of *mu* as a genitive plural of the personal pronoun. See also BHSG § 20. 56 ff.

169. *taruva*: it seems graphically more probable that the initial is *ta* rather than *da*: cf. for example, the writing in *cita* and *dareṣu* in the same line. The existence of both *taru* and *dāru* may perhaps have been conducive to confusion. Senart considered the formation directly equivalent to the Pali *dārujaṃ* (> *dāruyaṃ* > *dāruvaṃ*). It seems simpler, however, to take it as a normal adjectival derivative (S. *dārva-*; and *dāravaṃ* in the corresponding Uv. stanza). It is of course possible that the Pali *dārujaṃ* is a false reconstruction from an earlier Prakritic form.

babaka: see p. 91. The same stanza also occurs in Jāt. ii. 140, where the edition has the spelling *pabbajaṃ*.

The Uv. agrees with the Prakrit in *saṃrakta-cittā(ḥ)*. The Pali *sāratta-rattā* is awkward to explain, and may perhaps be due simply to *rāga-rattā* two stanzas later. As Franke pointed out, the Pali in fact has *sāratta-citto* in Saṃ. iv. 73–4.

170. *śiśila*: this is the regular spelling of the word in the Niya documents also. See p. 94.

The published version of the Uv. has:

etad dṛḍhaṃ bandhanam āhur āryāḥ
samantataḥ susthiraṃ duṣpramokṣam.

It would seem therefore that it is not only modern commentators who have been troubled by the idea of a fetter which is at the same time 'firm' and 'loose'. Because of this, Lüders proposed (BSU § 82) to see in *susthiraṃ* a true reflection of the original word in the verse. In the Pali he considered *sithilaṃ* to be a replacement for the older form *saṭhilaṃ*, which would then be a mere corruption for an original such as *suṭṭhilaṃ*: '*Saṭhilaṃ* ist im Zusammenhange des Textes unverständlich und widerspricht dem Metrum, *suṭṭhilaṃ* ist in beider Hinsicht zufriedenstellend'. The argument was discussed in detail by M. A. Mehendale (*Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, xvii, 1955, pp. 66 ff.), who adduced a number of Vedic passages where *dṛḍha* and *śithila* occur together, for example, TS 3. 2. 4. 3 *dṛḍhe sthaḥ śithire samīcī māṃhasas pātam.* It is true that such instances may in fact intend a contrast between the two adjectives of a type which might be thought to be hardly relevant to the Buddhist verse. But quite apart from this, there seems no doubt that Mehendale was right in rejecting Lüders' theory. The conclusive argument is the fact that the Tibetan translation of the Uv. supports *śithilaṃ*:

ḥdod paḥi chiṅs ma gaṅ yin de lhod kyaṅ
rab tu dgrol bar dkaḥ źes ḥphags pa gsuṅ.

Lüders thought that this might be explained by the assumption that the Tibetan translator had access to an older Indian version other than the Sanskrit: 'Das *'phags-pa* in dieser wie in der vorhergehenden Strophe beweist, daß der tibetische Übersetzer die in der Sanskrit-Version neu eingeführte Lesart *āryāḥ* vor sich hatte; um so mehr überrascht es, daß er im dritten Pāda *brtan-rnams*, das Äquivalent von *dhīrāḥ*, eingefügt hat. Er kann dies Wort nur der dem Pāli zugrunde liegenden Version entnommen haben. Dann aber ist es nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß er auch *lhod* auf Grund dieser ihm bekannten Version eingesetzt hat; um es einigermaßen

verständlich zu machen, hat er ihm ein *kyaṅ* hinzugefügt, das im Original keine Entsprechung hat. Ich halte diese Erklärung für wahrscheinlicher als die Annahme, daß im Sanskrittext ein ursprüngliches, unverbindliches *śithilam* später zu *susthiram* verbessert sein sollte.'

This argument is so improbable that it was indeed bound to be received with scepticism. It is true that the Tibetan, as Lüders remarked, shows in a number of places that it depended on an older recension of the Uv. than the vulgate of the manuscripts from Turkestan. But there is no reason at all for supposing that the translator had before him anything other than the single recension he was translating. The only explanation possible in the present verse is that the revised and more Sanskritic version of the Uv. was alone responsible for the intrusion of *susthiraṃ*, partly no doubt as a metrical improvement—though in fact there is still a flaw left in the length of the final syllable of the word. The insertion of *kyaṅ* (*api*) is easily understood from the context. The argument from *brtan rnams* (*dhīrāḥ*) is, however, mistaken. This is not at all a reflection of *dhīrā* at the end of the first line of the Pali. A variant form of the third line of the stanza with *vajanti dhīrā* in place of *paribbajanti* appears not only in Dhp. 347 (cf. note on **171**), but also in the present stanza in Jāt. ii. 140, iii. 396. Cf. also *sukṛtaḥ* in a similar stanza in Mbh. xii. 169. 24:

nibandhanī rajjur eṣā yā grāme vasato ratiḥ
chittvaināṃ sukṛto yānti naināṃ chindanti duṣkṛtaḥ.

The fact, therefore, that *dhīrā* in the first line had been replaced by *āryāḥ*, as part of the process of metrical tidying, does not at all imply that the Tibetan translator knew an alternative form of this line with *dhīrā*: the translation merely shows that the version of the Uv. in question had *vrajanti dhīrāḥ* in the third line.

It seems then that we must accept *sithila-* in the verse, and make what we can of it. The traditional explanation that the fetter is (apparently) yielding and elastic, but nevertheless hard to remove, does not seem at all a happy one: but we should doubtless be in error if we were to base our criticism on the assumption that the authors of these verses at all times chose the most elegant or appropriate expression.

Since in any case the metre, not only here but elsewhere also, does not conform to the later classical standards, an alternative possibility which may be considered is that the original verse had *sithila-* compounded with the following word: 'a fetter hard to untie for those who are morally slack'. The metaphorical application of the word to moral attitude or behaviour is at least as common as the literal sense, and the other two occurrences of the word in the Pali Dhammapada are also in this sense: 312 *sithilaṃ kammaṃ*; 313 *saṭhilo hi paribbājo*. The negative *asithila* likewise commonly appears in this application (CPD *asithila-parakkama*); and the six instances of *śiśila* noted in the index to the Niya documents are all in the sense of 'careless behaviour, lack of attention to duty'.

171. The traces remaining at the break in the manuscript are consistent with the reading given. It is certain that one syllable has been omitted by the scribe, but it is not certain which. We could in fact restore the line either as ⟨*va*⟩ *jala* or *va ja*⟨*la*⟩.

In the second half of the Prakrit stanza we have a direct repetition of the second half of the preceding stanza, quite possibly as a mistake, while the Pali version shows a variant form. Franke pointed out a Pali equivalent of the present verse in Paramatthadīpanī v. 128 and Manorathapūraṇī 206 (Sinhalese ed.), where the second half agrees with the Prakrit. But the two variant forms could so easily be substituted one for the other that this could be an independent alternation in the separate traditions.

The frequent use of the verb *chid-* in connexion with *sotaṃ* has regularly been interpreted as

'cutting off the stream (of passions)'. M. A. Mehendale showed convincingly (in Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, xvii, 1955, p. 70) that the phrase was in everyday use simply in the sense of crossing a river, for example M. i. 225–6 *te tiriyaṃ gaṅgāya sotaṃ chetvā sotthinā pāraṃ agamaṃsu* 'having crossed the current of the Ganges, they safely reached the further bank'. In its metaphorical religious sense also the expression occurs in company with verbs such as *accatari* (Sn. 948); and it thus seems very probable that in origin its religious sense was virtually synonymous with that of *pāraṃ gatvā*. At the same time, it would be expected that the literal sense of 'cutting' would intrude, and a passage such as the present verse, where the 'stream' is compared to a spider's web, can only be understood if 'cutting' or 'breaking' is admitted. We may note, however, that the commentator here does see in *anupatanti* the implication *samatikkamituṃ na sakkonti*. In any case the metaphor is decidedly mixed, since those who are drifting down the river (*anupatanti*) are hardly in a position to rescue the situation either by 'cutting off the flow' (by damming it?) or by 'crossing from one bank to the other'. The verse appears to be pieced together rather carelessly from traditional materials.

The metaphor of the stream, coupled with the term *rāgaratta*, is in all probability a reminiscence of the verses in the canonical account of the discussion between the Buddha and Brahmā immediately after the enlightenment, where it is said that the way of religion is difficult, 'upstream, against the current' (*paṭisotagāmi*), and—with another abrupt shift of metaphor—that those who are inflamed with passion, and consequently in the dark, will not be able to see it (*rāgarattā na dakkhanti tamokhandhena āvuṭā*). In the adjacent verse, the Mahāvastu (iii. 314; and similarly Lalitavistara 397) explicitly describes these worldlings as 'drifting with the current': *anusrotaṃ hi vuhyanti kāmeṣu grasitā narāḥ*; though in place of this, both the Pali (Vin. Mahāvagga i. 5. 3) and the Mūla-sarvāstivādin canon have a different half-verse. (See Waldschmidt, *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, p. 114, where the parallel versions are conveniently set out.)

In the Dhammapada verse, the Pali commentator could not avoid running straight into the verb, and being thus left with *ye anupatanti* hanging loose, was forced to supply a correlative clause for which the verse gives no warrant: *te taṃ samatikkamituṃ na sakkonti*. Modern interpreters have in general thought it better to make good the missing correlative in another way: *ye rāgarattā* (*santi*, *te*) *anupatanti sotaṃ*. It is, however, possible that *ye*, as nom. plural, is a misunderstanding by the Pali translator, and that the original author intended the word as neuter singular. (On *se*, *ye* as neuter in the eastern dialects, see Pischel § 423; BSU §§ 2, 3: mostly cited as nominative, but there is no reason to doubt that the accusative, as in any other neuter word, would be identical in form with the nominative.) This would give a very much better-knit syntactical structure to the verse, which would not then require the assumption that the correlative pronoun had been omitted: *yat sroto rāgaraktā anupatanti, etac chittvā dhīrā vrajanti*.

For other comparisons with the spider, cf. MBh. xii. 187. 48:

svabhāvasiddhyā saṃsiddhān sa nityaṃ sṛjate guṇān
ūrṇanābhir yathā sraṣṭā vijñeyās tantuvad guṇāḥ;

and xii. 212. 47:

yathorṇanābhiḥ parivartamānas
tantu-kṣaye tiṣṭhati pātyamānaḥ
tathā vimuktaḥ prajahāti duḥkhaṃ
vidhvaṃsate loṣṭa ivādrim arcchan.

While these differ from the Buddhist verse in their application, they agree with it in the main point of the simile, which is that the spider is the 'self-creator' of its own thread. The commen-

tator on the second verse in the Bombay edition (219. 47) uses the expression *avidyā-vaśo jīvaḥ karma-tantu-gṛhe tiṣṭhati*; and it seems almost certain that the author of the Buddhist verse likewise had in mind the idea of 'weaving the web of *karma*', which is *svayaṃ-kṛtaṃ*. The Pali commentator gives a picture of the spider running to the centre of the web to kill and suck dry the entangled insect, and then retiring to the edge to await the next victim. But this is unlikely to be the real intention of the comparison; and the identification of unregenerate mortals with the spider merely in respect of their greedy expectation of the pleasures of the world, while doubtless apt enough in a sermon, does less than justice to the verse. (But in what follows—or so it seems—the same miserable beings appear to have been identified with the fly: for wise men cut the bonds, *etaṃ bandhanaṃ chinditvā*; that is, *jālaṃ* is taken as the object of *chetvāna* instead of *sotaṃ*, though the latter can hardly be doubted. Cf. in the present text **9**, **10**, and frequently elsewhere.)

We may be content to leave the verse here; and if so, we are compelled to admit that its imagery is miserably muddled, and that its author has simply combined unskilfully two familiar comparisons which are incompatible one with the other. There is nothing improbable in this.

An alternative explanation which might enable us to rescue the author from the charge of mere carelessness in the employment of imagery may be suggested by the fact that the word used is *jālaṃ* and not *tantuṃ*; that is, the picture is of weaving, and not, as in the Mahābhārata, spinning. This allows the possibility that the two discrepant images are linked together, by a play upon words. For just as the spider produces a 'self-made' (*sayaṃkataṃ*) web, so also the 'stream' (*sotaṃ*) of desires or *karma* is 'self-woven' (*sotaṃ* < *sva-otaṃ*) by men themselves. There are indeed some Dharmapada verses where the intention of a double sense by their authors cannot be denied. The present verse is rather a borderline case, and it may seem that *sotaṃ* is too familiar a word to have been intended as the vehicle of a *śleṣa*, and that it would require a commentary to elucidate it. On the other hand, we may reasonably assume that verses of this type were regularly used in preaching, and in such cases the accompanying sermon could have provided the necessary commentary. While therefore we could hardly maintain dogmatically that a double sense was intended here, it would perhaps be unwise to deny the possibility.

172. Lüders drew attention to another version of this in Manu ii. 121,

abhivādana-śīlasya nityaṃ vṛddhopasevinaḥ
catvāri tasya vardhanta āyuḥ prajñā (var. *vidyā*) *yaśo balam*;

and the same verse in MBh. v. 39. 60, with other slight variants:

catvāri sampravardhante kīrtir āyur yaśo balam.

vridhavayariṇo: under the syllable *vri-* there appears a mark which is probably *-u*. It would seem therefore that the scribe wrote *vri-* and then intended to alter it to *vru-*, or vice versa, but did not trouble to delete the superfluous vowel-sign. Elsewhere in the manuscript *vrudha* is unambiguous, but the present instance indicates at least some fluctuation in the representation of *ṛ* in this word. Alternatively, it might be that the subscript mark is a correction, on revision, which is slightly misplaced, and that we are meant to read *vridhuvayariṇo*. There is in any case no need for Senart's assumption of a scribal confusion between *apacāyin-* and *upacārin-*. The latter is certainly intended in the Prakrit version, even if the *u* is not written (cf. *vaśada* < *upaśānta*; see p. 87).

173. *viru*: *dhīro*. The printed Sanskrit text of the Uv., and Mv. iii. 109 both have *vīraḥ*, but the Tib. *brtan pa* indicates *dhīras* as a variant in the Uv. also, where however it could be the result of the dislocation of the last two pādas of the preceding verse (which contain *dhīra-*) to the

middle of this verse: see note on **176** below. The two words are naturally constantly confused, in view of the close resemblance of *dh* and *v* in many forms of writing at different periods.

The term *purisājañño* is well known, and is generally recognized to be a metaphorical application of a term commonly applied to horses and other animals. In theory there might seem no need to postulate anything more than a parallel development, since *ājāti-* is used simply of '(good) family', so that the word might as well be applied to men as to horses. In fact, the application to men is secondary, and to some extent may thus be compared with the usage of English 'thoroughbred'. See the detailed discussion in BHSD s.v. *ājanya*. A few additional notes may be added here. The form *ājāneya* (or *-eyya*) appears to be the normal one in non-Buddhist Sanskrit, and similar forms occur in Pali (cf. Dhp. 322, = **341** of the present text, though the relevant part of the verse is lost in the Prakrit). The Pali commentators connected the word with *jñā-*, thinking of a trained horse (which knows its master's will): PTSD s.v. *ājāniya*. The Tibetans regularly translated the word by *can śes* 'knowing everything', presumably under the influence of the same etymology. It may however be a mistake to understand this Tibetan expression as directly meaning 'an omniscient person', since the Tib.-Tib. Dictionary gives under the head of *can śes* only the meaning *rta mchog* 'excellent horse'. (The Chinese translator of the dictionary, besides rendering *rta mchog*, gives also 'omniscient person' as an additional meaning, and Jäschke quotes the two terms together s.v. *rta*.) From this it would seem that the Tibetans remained aware of the fact that the application of the term to a man was secondary.

The word occurs also in Jaina texts in both forms. Charpentier recognized it in Uttarajjhayaṇa xi. 16 *āiṇṇe*, where the commentary gives *vinītāśva*. E. J. Thomas (IHQ xiii, 1937, 501) equated this with P. *ākiṇṇa*; but such an etymology could hardly fit the sense required. The extended form of the word is to be seen in Samavāyanga 13 *purisādāṇiya*. Because of the appearance of the word, Sheth rendered it as *upādeyapuruṣa*, *āptapuruṣa*; but the parallelism with the Pali leaves no doubt that it represents the same word as *ājāniya*. There is at present no means of deciding whether this is an example of the rare dialectal depalatalization of *j* (see note on **35**), or simply a false restoration of the intervocalic consonant, through an intermediate Prakrit form *āāṇia*.

In the last pāda, the Uv., with *sukham edhate*, agrees with the Pali, and there can be no doubt that the Prakrit is a later alteration (and in the original form *sukhaṃ modati* would presumably have been unmetrical). On the sense of the verb, see P. Thieme, *Sanskrit edhate* (Indian Linguistics, Turner Jubilee volume, i, pp. 149–58), who renders the Pali line fittingly as 'that family is radiant in happiness'.

174. The sense of the first half of the stanza is adequately justified by the approximately parallel phrases in Pali: 'Sages sleep happily: they are not under the control of women.' The proposed restoration of the missing syllables is virtually certain, in view of parallels such as Sn. 1095 *na te māravasānugā*. An alternative possibility, *va[śag]uṇa* (taken as nom. pl. corresponding to a stem *vaśaṃ-gu-*) is graphically less likely, in view of the tendency of *ṇa*, particularly at the end of a pāda, to trail off into a thinner end, and to continue some distance below the line of writing.

Numerous parallels could be cited for the sentiment: Uv. xxx. 38 *sukhaṃ hi yasyeha na kiṃcanaṃ syāt* (and following verses); MBh. xii. 170. 7 *akiṃcanaḥ sukhaṃ śete*; 171. 61, note (p. 982) *sukhaṃ jīvanti munayo bhaikṣya-vṛttiṃ samāśritāḥ*; 171. 14 *sukhaṃ svapiti nirviṇṇo nirāśaś cārtha-sādhane*. The first two of these examples might appear to justify the interpretation of *kici* in *d* as *kiṃcit*; 'they have nothing', no possessions. But elsewhere this word is regularly written *kiji*; and rather than postulate an anomalous spelling here, it seems preferable to interpret *kici* as *kṛtyaṃ* (see also p. 81 on the final *-i*). The sense, 'they have no (worldly) duties', would then find a parallel in MBh. xii. 172. 13 *utpatti-nidhana-jñasya kiṃ kāryam avaśiṣyate*.

175. The Uv. version of the stanza (quoted by Pischel, p. 975) agrees with the Prakrit:

sukhaṃ darśanam āryāṇāṃ saṃvāso 'pi sadā sukham.

The Tibetan, however, has *dam pa dag daṅ ḥgrogs pa bde*, which implies a reading *satā* in place of *sadā*, 'dwelling together with a good man'. Such a reading could easily have arisen from a text similar to the Prakrit, in which the two words would be indistinguishable in form.

176. Pādas *a* and *b* are lost in the published Sanskrit fragment, but are justified for the Uv. by the Tibetan. The latter however has dislocated *ef* to the middle of the following verse (= **173** of the Prakrit), and has also inverted the order of the two halves of the remainder of the verse.

saghada: it is hardly possible to read the word in the manuscript as *saġada*; but if we assume that the word corresponds with Pali, it may either be an anomalous writing of the aspirate (see p. 100), or it may simply have arisen from a miscopying of *saġada*. It is of course possible that we have here a genuine variant in the text, since *bāla-saṃghāta-cārin-* 'going with (or living among) a collection of fools' would be perfectly intelligible; and the Pali compound is not in itself a particularly well-chosen expression, although *saṃgama*, *saṃgati* are common in similar contexts (cf. **228**, **229**).

śoyiṣu, historically 3rd pl. aorist, but perhaps to be understood, not as a 'gnomic aorist', as Senart suggested, but rather as conveying a potential sense: cf. BHSG § 32. 119 ff. for similar usages in Hybrid Sanskrit. There is no point in separating off *-u* as a particle, and then raising the artificial difficulty of a singular subject with a plural verb. *cari'u* as a nom. pl. has a parallel in *apramada-vihari'o*, **128** (where however we must understand *-ĭ'o*, while here the metre indicates *-cārīyo*). For similar transfers of *-in-* stems in Hybrid Sanskrit, see BHSG § 10. 168 ff. Rare in later Prakrit, and according to Pischel 'wohl falsche Lesart', is *-īo* (§ 405). See p. 116.

savrasi: unfortunately the break and slight displacement of the bark and the lenticule combine to obscure the lower part of the second syllable. It seems, however, likely to be *vra*, and *rva* is quite improbable. If the word corresponds in meaning to the Pali, the termination is readily explained as a development of *-dhi* (cf. P. *sabbadhi*: for *s* in place of *dh* see p. 94); but the spelling *savra-* in place of *sarva-* would be strikingly unusual. Throughout the present manuscript as well as in the Niya documents and the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the Northwest (CII, vol. ii), the word is regularly written as *sarva-*, occasionally as *sava-*, but never as *savra-*. We have indeed become accustomed to this last spelling in transcriptions of the Aśokan inscriptions. But here, unfortunately, Bühler (*Indische Paläographie*, Table I) confused the two distinct signs for *r* before and *r* after a consonant. The example in this table given as *vra* should be read *rva*. In view of the considerable weathering of the stone in the Aśokan Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, it would be difficult to speak too dogmatically; but it is certain that many, if not all, of the Aśokan instances traditionally transcribed as *savra-* should in fact be *sarva-*. If therefore the word here is to correspond to P. *sabbadhi*, it would be simpler to assume an erratic spelling with the same sort of 'intrusive' *r* as appears in *pruju* (< *pūjyo*) **47**.

Alternatively (though this would be equally isolated in the manuscript) we might see here a sporadic occurrence of the symbol *va* (i.e. *va* with a diacritic mark added at the foot of the character, which is common in the Niya documents); and we should in that case transcribe the word as *savasi*.

With either transcription, it is possible that the word was understood in the Prakrit verse not as connected with *sarva-*, but as an optative (< *saṃvaset*): 'it is miserable to live with fools—a man might as well live with his enemies'. Cf. **121** = Dhp. 167 *pamādena na saṃvase*.

The phrase *dhīro sukha-saṃvāso* has been questioned; and it is awkward enough to arouse suspicions of a corruption. The sense given by the commentator (*paṇḍitena saddhiṃ ekaṭṭhāne*

vāso sukho) is in any case dictated by context, and the analysis *sukho saṃvāso etenā ti sukha-saṃvāso* may therefore seem to be merely a grammarian's ingenuity. We should note, however, that the compound is used as a *bahuvrīhi* in Mv. ii. 357 (see BHSD). Dines Andersen was prepared to emend the text to *sukho ca dhīra-saṃvāso*; but in view of the agreement in word-order between all three versions, this is improbable. V. Lesný (JPTS 1924–7, p. 235) made the interesting suggestion that *dhīro* was due to a mechanical rendering of an older version which had *dhīre*, understood by the Pali translator as nom. sg., but in fact instr. pl., equivalent to S. *dhīraiḥ*, which does appear in the Uv. If the older text did have an instrumental plural here it seems more likely that the line was of the form *dhīrehi sukha-*, in which *-hi* was first mistaken for the particle, and replaced by *ca*. Unfortunately the break in the manuscript leaves the Prakrit reading uncertain. It seems, however, impossible to read the second word except as *du*; but the first word may have been *dhira* or *dhire*. (On the other hand *dhiru* and *dhiro* can be excluded.)

177. Quite exceptionally, the Pali text introduces this verse by the phrase *tasmā hi*, which stands outside the metre. It is probable that the Uv. had the same feature, since the Tibetan verse commences with an equivalent *de bas*, which is, however, included in the verse. Senart suggested that *hi* in the Prakrit might be a remnant of the same feature, and this is possible; although it is equally possible that the word is a simple replacement for *ca*, or even an actual representation of *ca*, as an alternative writing for *i* (see p. 110).

The Uv., with *thos maṅ*, agrees with the Pali *bahussutaṃ*, leaving the Prakrit isolated in the form of the first line of the stanza.

dhoreka, representing *dhoreya* (see p. 91), rather than the Pali *dhorayha*, to which the corresponding form would have been **dhoraśa*. The word is explained in the Pali commentary as *dhuravahana-sīlatāya dhorayha-sīlaṃ*, and this has been accepted as an etymology even in modern times, although in a slightly modified form (D. Andersen, *Pali Reader*, Glossary, and PTSD: Sanskrit **dhaurvahya*, abstract from *dhūrvaha*). No reason has so far been suggested to explain why this did not result in a Pali form **dhobbayha*. It is true that Sanskrit has the compounds *dhūr-vaha-*, *dhūr-voḍhṛ-*, and it might be suggested that the Pali form is due to a blending of **dhūrvahya-* or **dhaurvahya-* with *dhaureya-*. But this is very improbable, and it is much more likely that *dhorayha* is simply a deliberate spelling distortion intended to make the text conform with the phrase in the commentary, which was taken to be an etymology. But it is obvious that the phrase is in origin not intended as an etymology at all—even if the compiler of our existing commentary thought it was, which is by no means certain—but merely a method of explaining the sense. For the obvious way in which to explain *dhaureya* is by means of the phrase *dhuraṃ vahati*. From the Rigveda onwards, *vah-* is the verb which belongs naturally to *dhur-*; and the derivatives are given with this sense in Pāṇini iv. 4. 76 *tad vahati . . .*; 77 *dhuro yaḍḍhakau*. The formations prescribed in 77 are shown in the Kāśikā as *dhuraṃ vahati dhuryaḥ, dhaureyaḥ* (although alternatively the Kāśikā under viii. 2. 79, by the phrase *dhuri sādhur dhuryaḥ*, implicitly allows the application of iv. 4. 98 *tatra sādhuḥ*, which one might have thought to be a better heading for the Buddhist commentator to use in expounding the metaphorical sense in *dhaureya-śīla*).

Classical Sanskrit, then, has *dhurya*, *dhaureya* (as well as *dhurīya*, *dhurīṇa*); Buddhist Sanskrit is familiar with *dhaureya* (*dhaureṇa*, instr., is probably, as suggested by Edgerton, BHSD, merely an error for *dhaureyeṇa*); the Jaina Prakrit texts have *dhoreya*, *dhoriya* (*dhoreya-sīla* in Uttarajjh. 14, 35), and *dhojja*; the Buddhist Prakrit here also implies *dhoreya*; and even from Pali the form *dhoreyya* is reported by the PTSD from Milinda 288. The form *dhorayha* is thus confined to a few Pali passages, and may safely be regarded as a mere eccentricity in spelling.

Here, as in other places, it is impossible to decide whether the mistake was already in existence

in the formative period of the Pali canon, or was introduced between that time and the final redaction of the commentary; or whether it intruded at a still more recent date. As already remarked, the commentator's explanation does not necessarily imply that the word was already in his text in the corrupt form. In view of the uncertainty, an editor of the Pali text will doubtless prefer to retain the corruption in the text. The main point is that the unsatisfactory etymology should be abandoned.

178. Uv. ii. 11 *rathakāra iva carmaṇaḥ parikartunn upānaham* (but read probably *parikarttann*). The same comparison recurs in Jāt. vi. 51:

kadāhaṃ rathakāro va parikantaṃ upāhanaṃ
kāma-saṃyojane checchaṃ ye dibbe ye ca mānuse.

Chakravarti noted also an echo of some of the phrases in this verse in MBh. xii. 168. 41. 35 (now separated in the critical edition, but together in the Bombay edition, 174. 44–45), where however the *rathakāra* is not mentioned:

kiṃcid eva mamatvena yadā bhavati kalpitam
tad eva paritāpārthaṃ sarvaṃ sampadyate tadā;
yad yat tyajati kāmānāṃ tat sukhasyābhipūryate
kāmānusārī puruṣaḥ kāmān anuvinaśyati.

The last line here is reminiscent of the first line of Uv. ii. 13, which, as the metre shows, really belongs to the previous verse (as also in Jāt. iv. 172):

yāvat kāmān anusaraṃ na tṛptiṃ manaso 'dhyagāt.

While the Mbh. verse supports the reading *cajati* in the Pali, a Burmese reading *jahāti* is also reported, agreeing with the Prakrit and the Uv.

For *rathakāro*, the Pali commentary unhesitatingly gives *cammakāro*, but does not condescend to explain why the wheelwright should be engaged in making shoes. One naturally thinks of the possibility that this might be a reference to a proverbial saying (*sutor ne supra crepidam*, in effect): the more the carpenter abandons an unprofessional desire to make shoes, the better he is likely to succeed in life. For the religious man, naturally, any desire whatsoever is outside his profession. But this seems rather improbable as an explanation; for although it fits reasonably the present verse, the author of the second Jātaka verse quoted above certainly had in mind the cutting away of desires, in the manner of the shoemaker paring away the surplus leather.

In the same fashion as the Pali commentary, the Tibetan translator renders *rathakāra* in the Uv. verse as *lham mkhan* 'cobbler'. The word occurs twice in the Mahāvyutpatti, and at 3797, where it follows immediately after *carmakāra* and *mocika*, the Tibetan translation has *śiṅ rta mkhan nam lham mkhan* 'chariot-maker or cobbler'. This appears also in the Chinese in Sakaki's edition, but Wogihara (186. 127) does not give the alternative meaning. In the second occurrence, 9328, the Tibetan has only the rendering *ko lpags mkhan*, 'tanner' or 'shoemaker'; and because of this Sakaki has emended the Sanskrit entry to *carmakāraḥ*. In view of the other entry, it seems unwise to emend the text, and Wogihara (281. 127), with the Sanskrit edition, retains *rathakāraḥ*. Here, however, the Chinese version appears as 皮物 'leather goods', a translation which both editors have naturally queried. It may be that this seemingly bizarre Chinese translation has been extracted from a passage similar to the present verse, and that the intended phrase has been accidentally truncated. Apart from the verses under discussion, there appears to be no indication from any Indian source that *rathakāra* might mean 'shoemaker'.

It may be that in this context we must simply accept the *rathakāra* as a cobbler; and if so, the

expression could hardly be other than a piece of vernacular slang, which saw a jest in a pair of shoes being 'a poor man's chariot'.

At a later period of Indian literature, a poet might have been suspected of a śleṣa in *rathakāra* ('maker of desires'), in apparent paradox with *yaṃ yaṃ cajati kāmānaṃ*. This seems quite unlikely here. But there is rather more probability that a double sense was originally intended in *kāmānaṃ*; for it is otherwise not at all clear why the cobbler rather than another man should fare the better for giving up desires. We may then suggest that the author of the verse intended to say that a man attains happiness to the extent that he forsakes desires (*kāmānaṃ*), just as a cobbler in cutting out the leather for a shoe succeeds to the extent that he avoids wrong measurements (*kā-mānaṃ*). The pun will not of course work in Sanskrit.

[The opportunity may be taken here to abolish an apparent occurrence of *rathakāra-* in Divy. 165. 1, where Cowell and Neil's edition has *kutas tvam āgacchasi muktapāṇi rathakāra-meṣa iva nikṛttaśṛngaḥ*. This should be . . . *-pāṇir, atha kālameṣa iva*, 'and like a black ram whose horns have been cut off'.]

samajadi: see pp. 107–8.

179. There is no doubt about the identity of this miserably mutilated verse, after the restoration to it of the third pāda. Though the reader might not guess it from the edition of Barua and Mitra, the discovery was made by Franke.

In the first half of the verse, Senart was able to read . . . *nena yo atmano* . . ., and we can with confidence reinterpret this as . . . *ṇeṇa yo atvaṇo*. . . . Unfortunately a few crumbs have been lost since then, and all that now can be seen is the tails of two *ṇa*'s in *a*, and in *b* probably *ṇa* (not *ṇo*—and indeed the stroke is thicker than might be expected for *ṇ-*), the *-u* of *su*, and the lower ends of *'icha-*.

As rather closer parallels to the Prakrit in *d*, Franke quoted Therī. 730–1 *so dukkhā na hi muccati*; Saṃ. i. 37 *dukkhā na parimuccati*.

180. In the first pāda of this verse we have the unusual situation of the sense being simple and beyond dispute, while at the same time each of the four versions dissents from the grammar of all the others. The sense indeed is so obvious that translators of the Pali have not hesitated to render 'Conquest begets enmity' (Gray), 'Victory breeds hatred' (Max Müller = Radhakrishnan); and according to our charity we may choose between the alternative possibilities: that the rendering was intended as no more than a free paraphrase; or that it reflects a positive belief in the neuter gender of *jaya-*; or that it was a mere oversight. The Pali commentator, however, did not believe that *jayaṃ* was a neuter noun, and found a way round the trouble by interpreting it as a present participle (*jinanto*). This is still not very good. We might suppose it to mean 'while in the very act of winning the battle, a man engenders hatred', or, with a little latitude, admit Fausbøll's translation: 'victor inimicitias procreat.' (Mrs. Rhys Davids' version, 'conquering engenders hate' is impossible on any conceivable interpretation of a Pali participle, and could only be justified by reverting to the theory of the neuter noun.)

But the view that *jayaṃ* in the verse is a participle was not universally held; for at some point in the descent of the Avadāna-śataka, it was certainly understood as a noun, whose gender was accordingly corrected: *jayo vairaṃ prasavati*. This is excellent, but altogether too neat to be original.

The passage was noted by Lüders (BSU § 190) under the heading '*prasū* "*entstehen*" *mit Abl. auf -aṃ*'. The corresponding Uv. version of the pāda (xxx. i) is there quoted in the form *jayād vairaṃ prasravate*. Unless this last word is merely a misprint, the paragraph heading would indicate that Lüders presumably (for this portion of the work was left incomplete) intended to

emend the reading to *prasavate*. This may well be what the Tibetan translator had before him ('from victory, resentment arises'), although *ḥgyur* is somewhat colourless and hardly decisive for the Sanskrit reading.

On the other hand, *prasravate*, if it is a manuscript reading, would indicate that a reviser, if not the original compiler of the Uv., had doubted the capacity of *prasavate* to carry the necessary sense in Sanskrit. And such a doubt would be understandable; for if *pra-sū-* is to mean 'entstehen', we might expect to find it in the passive, *prasūyate*.

The Prakrit *prasahadi* was dismissed by Senart as a mere error. But since the other versions have by no means any noteworthy claim to superiority, it is only fair to give consideration to the possibility of such a reading. There is no difficulty in interpreting the line if we take *vera* as the subject: 'Hatred defeats the victory'—in other words, the revengeful bitterness of the defeated enemy cancels out any benefit from the victory.

Since the other three versions support *-sav-*, this rather than *-sah-* is likely to be the original form in the verse. If the Prakrit, as is possible, shows the sense of the original, *jaya(ṃ)* will be accusative, and we might assign the verb to the root *su-* in the sense of 'mastery over'; in which case *prasahadi* would simply be a substituted synonym. If on the other hand Lüders' view is accepted that *jaya(ṃ)* as an ablative is the original, then *prasavati* may be understood to mean 'proceeds from'; and doubtless Lüders had this root (or this sense of the root) in mind rather than *su-* 'to engender'.

On either hypothesis, it seems necessary to postulate a sense which is not at all familiar outside the Dhātupāṭha: for the one, i. 988 *ṣu* (*prasava*)*-aiśvaryayoḥ*, and for the other i. 987 *su gatau* (but with variants *sru*, *śru*). An unfamiliar—perhaps dialectically restricted—use of such a verb by the author of the verse might in either case be expected to give rise to textual divergences of the type which we find here between the versions.

181. Fragment 504 contains the *-r-* of *dharmiṇo*, written, as is regular in the syllable *-rmi-*, through the *i*-stroke. The mark of the end of the chapter appears after the verse on the main leaf, and the usual row of crosses on the fragment, with traces of *ga*; but the number is missing.

In *uvaśamo*, the rather square shape of the head of the initial character gives the impression that the scribe first wrote *vu-* (which would agree with the Pali *vūpasamo*, S. *vyupaśamaḥ* in this familiar stanza) and afterwards altered it to *'u*.

182. Because of the break in the manuscript, the reading in *b* remains doubtful. The first syllable is more probably *ya* than *ye*. In the second, the apparent curve to the right is probably an accident resulting from the roughness of the bark at this place, and the character might have been *'a* or *da*. Either of these would give a possible equivalent to *yad asya*, which would agree in sense with the Pali. There is no means of deciding between *palida* and *phalida*.

theru: the word was certainly still trisyllabic at the time of composition of these verses (cf. also the spelling *thaira* in the Aśokan inscriptions); and the Prakrit has repaired the metre, after the word had become disyllabic, by altering *tena* (which survives in the Pali) to *tavada*. The Uv. reflects the same repair (xi. 11): *sthero na tāvatā bhavati*, where the revised recension has become hypermetric with *sthaviro*. In the Pali the verse has been left unmetrical. Needless to say, there is no justification at all for saying that in Pali the word is 'to be scanned as *thaviro*' (Dines Andersen, glossary to Pali Reader). The reading *thero so hoti* of some of the editions is a late interpolation, and should be discarded. The inherited form remains in **183** and **185** of the Prakrit (the latter verse similarly in Pali, Dhp. 261).

184. 'Although still a boy, a mere child, a youth with black hair, provided he is free from

desires . . .': the apodosis coming in the following verse: 'he is called an elder'. This pair of stanzas thus go fittingly with the preceding pair, which start from *phalitaṃ siro*.

The common canonical cliché *susu kāḷakeso* may well have been in origin a compound, 'with hair still as black as a child's'; but the author of the present verse obviously considered it to be two separate words. The PTSD, on the authority of Buddhaghosa (who has *suṭṭhu*), goes further than merely seeing the word as a compound, and offers two incompatible translations, 'having an over-abundance of brilliant hair' (s.v. *kāḷa*), and 'very, very black' (s.v. *susu*). The dictionary proceeds to berate modern editors and lexicographers who 'see in *susu-* the Sk. *śiśu* young of an animal, cub, overlooking the semantical difficulty involved by taking it as a separate word'. It has not been possible, however, to discover what was the semantical difficulty complained of (for the authors could hardly have been ignorant of the fact that *śiśu* is used for a human child as commonly as *susu* is in Pali); and the present verse in any case shows beyond doubt that 'very very' is mere waywardness on the part of the later Pali commentator.

186. *puṣkalarṇa'i*: the character transliterated as *-rṇa-* is curious in having the curved cross-stroke in the middle of the vertical, whereas elsewhere (e.g. in *varṇa* in the same verse) *-rṇa-* is written without lifting the pen, the *r* thus coming near the bottom of the vertical. It would seem that the etymologically unjustified *r* was in this instance written as an afterthought. Uv. xxix. 10 has *varṇa-puṣkalayā na ca*.

sada-ruvu: *sādhu-rūpo*. (Uv. also *sādhu-*). Conversely, Pali has *asātaṃ sāta-rūpena* (Udāna ii. 8) against *asādhu sādhu-rūpeṇa* (Uv. v. 12); and Uv. iii. 5 and Dhp. 341 correspond directly, with *sāta-sitā*. Pali *sāta-* has been equated with Sanskrit *śāta-*, and Edgerton quotes both *sāta-* and *śāta-* for Buddhist Sanskrit, where, however, the sources are frequently unreliable in distinguishing between *ś* and *s*. The present verse argues in favour of the dental initial (unless we claim the word as a partner for *suyi*; but in the latter the dental may be due to the influence of *su-*). It is indeed probable that the meanings 'beautiful, handsome', &c., in the Sanskrit dictionaries under *śāta-* should be removed to *sāta-*. Cf. also *sanyate, sāyate*, Monier-Williams s.v. *san-*, Pāṇini vi. 4. 43. (Vedic *san-, sāti-*?)

189. We may imagine that the learned form *śramaṇa* is used here in an attempt to make the quasi-etymology from *śam-* appear less harsh. Elsewhere in the manuscript the regularly developed form *ṣamana* is used.

śamadhare va pavaṇi may be compared with *brahidare va pavaṇa* in verse **1**, which is also an etymology of the same type. It seems improbable that the formation here should be directly connected with *śamatha-*, and the parallelism with *brahidare* suggests that the aspirate here is not original (for other examples, see p. 100). If so, both words can be readily explained as nom. sg. of agent nouns in *-tṛ*, comparable to AMg. *-tāre* (Pischel § 389).

190. *ṣamañathasa*: Uv. iv. 22 *śrāmaṇyārthasya*, against Pali *sāmaññassa*, the last leaving the metre a syllable short. Similarly Uv. xiii. 9 *śrāmaṇyārtheṣv avekṣavāṃ*, where the Pali version, Thg. 229, has *sāmaññasmiṃ apekkhavā*. The Tibetan translation of the present stanza gives simply *de dag dge sbyoṅ skal ba thob ma yin* (Lévi and Beckh both give *skal pa*, while the dictionaries are unanimous for *skal ba*; Lévi's translation of the word as *artha* instead of *bhāga* is presumably an oversight), i.e. *te śramaṇa-bhāgaṃ na prāpnuvanti. śrāmaṇyārtha* is little more than a synonym of the more frequent *sāmaññā-phala*, and occurs occasionally in Pali (*sāmaññattha*).

191. *aṇudhamacari*: in spite of the break, it seems almost certain that the penultimate syllable

is *ca* : for if it had been *ya*, the other leg of that character would have been expected to be still visible.

While the four pādas of the Prakrit correspond to *abef* of the six-line Pali stanza, the Sanskrit version gives the equivalent of *abcf*. One of the Chinese translations quoted by Lévi has a six-line stanza, not corresponding exactly to the Pali, but certainly containing the equivalent of *c*, while the other Chinese version has a four-line stanza, of which the second half corresponds to *cf* of the Pali, the first half being, it seems, from quite a different stanza.

192. Uv. xxix. 7 *paridhāsyati*, and *apeta-dama-sauratyaḥ*. This compound may be optimistically explained as falling under the *āhitāgni-* class. Our text here shows *avedu* uncompounded, and we have therefore in *-soraca* the instrumental of an *-a-* stem in *-ā* (*soraccā*), which naturally presented a difficulty to the Sanskrit translator. Although this type of instrumental is well-known in Pali (Geiger § 78), it is of course rare in comparison with *-ena*; and *-saccena*, which goes less happily with *dama-*, is obviously a replacement.

Cf. MBh. xii. 18. 33:

aniṣkaṣāye kāṣāyam īhārtham iti viddhi tat
dharmadhvajānāṃ muṇḍānāṃ vṛttyartham iti me matiḥ.

193. The first pāda is short of a syllable, and we may assume a scribal omission of *si'a*, or more probably *sa* (P. *assa*, Uv. *syāt*) at the end of the pāda.

194. It seems certain that the verse ought to begin with *yo du*; and indeed, a slight clumsiness in the writing of the first syllable, transcribed as *yu*, may incline us to think that the scribe, in the haste of writing, has accidentally telescoped the graphic signs, and that the latter half of the character really was intended as *du*.

The exact Pali parallel to the common phrase in *b* appears with **232**.

195. The general sense of the stanza can hardly be doubted, and it may well be that the shakiness of the Pali text in the editions reflects nothing more than editorial vacillation. The verse is not available in the published Sanskrit. The Tibetan has:

gal te gaṅ źig srog chags ḥgaḥ laḥaṅ sdaṅ med sems
byams par byed na de yis de ni dge ba yin:
sems can thams cad la ni yid kyis brtse byas na
bsod nams phal cher ḥphags pas rab tu bsgrubs par ḥgyur.

It is at first sight tempting to see in *prahona* an equivalent of P. *pahona(ka)*. There is of course no doubt that the two words are derivatives of the same root; but a direct equivalence is excluded by the dental *-n-* in the Prakrit, which implies a derivation from a form with double consonant. Nothing can be based on the writing of *-o-* in the Prakrit, since in the manuscript *ho* is much more frequent than *hu* for earlier *hu* (see p. 80). A possible etymology would be from **prabhūmnā*, used adverbially, 'to a very great degree'; or an adjective rebuilt on the stem of the oblique cases of this word. The Tibetan *phal cher* is consistent with an adverbial interpretation of the corresponding word in the Sanskrit stanza, though naturally it does not prove this absolutely. Fragments of the Sanskrit version appear in an Agnean bilingual manuscript (*Tocharische Sprachreste*, i, p. 233, no. 424), where for this word the editors have read only *prabh*[*ū*], followed by a lacuna.

196. *yo*, with the plural noun, is probably a mere slip for *ye*, which occurs several times elsewhere in the text.

satta-saṇḍaṃ is most curiously translated by the PTSD as 'teeming with beings', as if involving *sattva*, although the passage next quoted (s.v. *saṇḍa*) puts the sense beyond doubt: Sn. 552:

rājā arahasi bhavituṃ cakkavattirathesabho
cāturanto vijitāvī jambusaṇḍassa issaro.

Here the commentator not only rendered the word correctly as *jambudīpassa*, but added that the *cakkavatti* is master of all four continents of the world, *api ca cakkavattī catunnam pi dīpānaṃ issaro hoti*. The present cliché merely adopts the alternative view that the world consists of seven continents, *sapta-dvīpā pṛthivī*.

vicirya: 'having travelled the whole earth', as a preliminary to the *aśvamedha*, gives as good sense in the context as 'having conquered', although naturally this is implied.

aśpa-veka, *puruṣa-veka*: these surprising forms cannot be directly descended from *-medha*. On the other hand, *vājapeya* would naturally appear in this dialect as *vayaveya*, and this is certainly what is intended by the spelling *vayaveka* (see p. 91). It would seem that the latter half of this has been misunderstood to mean 'sacrifice', and has then replaced *-medha* in the names of the other two sacrifices.

same-paśa also appears to be the result of a reinterpretation at the time of the translation into this dialect. The name of the sacrifice, it seems, has been understood to be 'perfect snare' or something of the sort (*samyak-pāśa*). It is true that the Pali form could theoretically represent this; but the Pali name was understood by the commentators in the same way as the Sanskrit translators took it, *śamyā-prāsa*, and this is probably a correct interpretation (see BHSD s.v.). If the Prakrit translator had taken it in the same way, the position of the two sibilants would have been reversed, and *pra* would probably have been written instead of *pa*.

197. The expression 'is not worth the sixteenth part' is so regular everywhere in this type of context that *sarvaśo* has surely intruded into the text here by a pure accident.

cadri pravha has been left uncompounded in the transcription, on the assumption that the phrase represents *cāndrī prabhā*. It might, however, be thought that the appearance of *-i-* in *candimā* (of which Middle Indian form S. *candrimā* may well be a reflection rather than the source) leaves it still possible for the expression to be considered as a compound.

198. The word corresponding to P. *mettaṃso* appears to have been interpreted by the Prakrit translator as equivalent to *maitrī asya*. See BHSD s.vv. *aṃśa* and *maitrāsatā*. In what is probably the same pāda, the word is translated in Uv. xxxiii. 48 by *brtse phan*, but without *phan* in xxxi. 41. 43 ff.

199, 200. A versification of a canonical prose cliché: e.g. Ang. v, 299:

. . . uddhaṃ adho tiriyaṃ sabbadhi sabbatthatāya sabbāvantaṃ lokaṃ mettāsahagatena cetasā vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena avereṇa abyāpajjhena pharitvā viharati, so evaṃ pajānāti: pubbe kho me idaṃ cittaṃ parittaṃ ahosi abhāvitaṃ, yaṃ kho pana kiñci pamānakataṃ kammaṃ na taṃ tatrāvasissati, na taṃ tatrāvatiṭṭhati.

The same passage, with minor variants, at Saṃ iv. 322, D. i. 251, M. ii. 207; *aparittaṃ ca me cittaṃ bhavissati, appamānaṃ subhāvitaṃ* M. ii. 262. See also Mahāvyutpatti § 69. 5.

A different Pali versification of the same material appears in Sn. 149–50 (repeated in Khuddaka-pāṭha ix. 7–8):

evam pi sabba-bhūtesu mānasaṃ bhāvaye aparimāṇaṃ,
mettaṃ ca sabba lokasmiṃ mānasaṃ bhāvaye aparimāṇaṃ
uddhaṃ adho ca tiriyaṃ ca asambādhaṃ averaṃ asapattaṃ.

Cf. also Mv. iii. 373 *maitrā-bhāvanāṃ bhāvaye apramatto, maitreṇa cittena hitānukampī.* The parallels show that in this passage *apramatto* is merely a corruption for *apramāṇāṃ.*

It seems possible that the last pāda of **200** was understood as transcribed (*viśiṣyate*—'cannot be discerned in it'); but it is also possible that it was taken in the same way as the Pali. On the latter assumption, we should transcribe *tatraviśiśadi*, and attribute the form *avi-* in place of *ava-* to the palatalizing influence of the following consonant (see p. 81).

201. Uv. xxxi. 23 (Tib. 24): *chos kyi sñon du yid ḥgro ste* can hardly be thought to render *dharmapūrvaṃgamaṃ manaḥ* (JRAS 1912, p. 375—unless, improbably, the compound is interpreted as *tatpuruṣa* instead of *bahuvrīhi*), but is a straightforward translation of *manaḥpūrvaṃgamā dharmāḥ.*

manobhavāḥ in the printed Sanskrit text (ibid., p. 373) has no authority, being merely an editorial restoration (and an unfortunate one, in evoking the idea of the god of love in this context). Pischel's manuscript (p. 974) and the Tibetan translation (*mgyogs*) assure *mano-javāḥ* for the Sanskrit, which thus agrees with the Prakrit text. The verse is quoted also in the Mahākarmavibhanga (ed. Lévi, pp. 48, 57), with *-javāḥ.* This reading obviously reflects the *kṣaṇika* nature of the dharmas, while the Pali *mano-mayā* seems almost to imply a *Vijñāna-vāda* view.

In the last pāda, it is probable that *cakkaṃ va vahato padaṃ* most nearly represents the original of the verse, scil. *vahatoḥ padam.* The Pali commentary, while remembering the sense, has been led, by the obsolescence of *vahatu-* 'draught-ox', into the very awkward explanation of *vahato* as the gen. of the present participle: *dhure yuttassa dhuraṃ vahato balivaddassa padaṃ cakkaṃ viya* (Dhp. A. i. 24). The later complications show that the verse was not readily understood. The Prakrit has produced an emendation: 'like the wheel on the cart on the road'. The Uv. has *cakraṃ vā* (an almost inevitable solecism for *va*) *vahataḥ padam* (Pischel, p. 974); but the Tibetan gives *ḥkhor los mgo bo bcad pa bźin,* 'just as the head was cut off by the wheel'. The narrative accompanying the Chinese version translated by Beal (*Texts from the Buddhist Canon,* commonly known as Dhammapada, 1878, pp. 62–63) illustrates the verse with a story of a sinner run over by a cart and killed, but curiously shows in the verse itself a reflection of the original text: 'As the chariot wheel follows him (or *it*) who draws it.' In the quotation of the verse in the Mahākarmavibhanga, Lévi prints in the text *cakraṃ vā vahataḥ padam,* but notes that his manuscripts give *vahutāpadam* and *vahatuśire* respectively, 'leçons qui semblent ramener au texte courant'. These, however, are not merely careless slips in copying, but scribal emendations of some ingenuity. In the Mkv., there follows shortly afterwards (pp. 50 ff.) the story of Maitrāyajña (Maitrakanyaka, Divy. xxxviii; Mittavindaka), who was punished by an iron wheel revolving on his head; and it is clearly this wheel which has inspired these emendations. Thus, the one scribe has brought his text to mean, 'sorrow will come upon him, or a wheel giving great suffering' (*bahu-tāpa-dam*). The other, finding *pada* out of harmony, gives us 'or let him carry a wheel on his head' (*vahatu śire*). A further development of the latter type of corruption might perhaps account for the Tibetan text, e.g. *cakreṇeva hataṃ* (or *hṛtaṃ*) *śiraḥ.*

203–6. These verses, corresponding to Dhp. 15–18, have combined the elements of the formulae rather differently. The Uv. version is available only in Tibetan, and appears to agree rather

with the Prakrit (having *bdag-ñid . . . mthoi-nas* = *diṣpa . . . atvaṇo* in all four stanzas); but with additional intermediate stanzas varying the same theme.

In **204**, *sugadi*, in place of the normal *sukadi*, is not an exception to the regular treatment of intervocalic *-g-*, but, as Dhp. 18 shows, reflects the rhyming analogical form to *duggati*, used here for the sake of the metre.

209. Rockhill cites Hitopadeśa ii. 11:

jalabindunipātena kramaśaḥ pūryate ghaṭaḥ.

The Uv. manuscripts (Chakravarti, pp. 213–14) give *stokastokaṃ pi ācīnam* (agreeing with the Pali) and *stokastoka(ṃ)kṛtair api*. The Tib. has *bsags* 'gathered'.

ayaru, ayaro appears to be *ācaraṃ* (pres. ptc.), which is somewhat colourless, 'acting little by little'.

217. Uv. xxix. 15, *śubhānudarśinaṃ nityam*; d, *hīnaṃ jāgarikāsu ca.*

218. Uv. xxix. 16, *aśubhānudarśinaṃ nityam*; d, *yuktaṃ jāgarikāsu ca*; f, *śailam iva sthiram.*

219. Uv. xxxi. 11, *samatibhindati, abhāvitaṃ cittaṃ.*

220. Uv. xxxi. 17, *na vyatibhindati, subhāvitaṃ cittaṃ.*

221, 222. Uv. xxvii. 3–4, quoted by Lévi, JAs. 1912, pp. 288 ff., and discussed there in comparison with the version interpolated in Jātakamālā xvi, after verse 1, and the Tibetan and Chinese translations. In *b*, the Tib. Uv. agrees with JātM., *dhvāṅkṣeṇāśucikarmaṇā*, while Lévi's Uv. manuscript is closer to the Pali and Prakrit, *kāka-śūreṇa dhvāṃkṣiṇā*. Pali *dhaṃsinā* is understood by the commentator as from *dhaṃs-* (*dhvaṃs-*) 'destroy'. Dines Andersen, *Pali Reader*, Glossary, s.v., suggests *dharṣin-* 'audacious, importunate', which would imply a parallel in development to Prakrit *daṃsana-* < *darśana-*, otherwise rare in Pali. The word cannot in any case represent an original with *-ṅkṣ-*: cf. *dhaṅka-*, Geiger § 62. It is reasonable to suppose that the Prakrit and Sanskrit versions intend *dhvāṅkṣin-*, merely as a replacement for *dhvāṅkṣa-* for the sake of the metre. The second crow in the line may be the result of *kāka-*, in which case *dhaṃsinā* will be thought to be the older reading; but the argument is not conclusive. Note, however, if *dhaṃsin-* is taken to mean 'importunate', that the same meaning is attributed to *dhvāṅkṣa-* by the dictionaries.

prakhaṇiṇo, with *ṇ* instead of *n* < *nd* is anomalous, and may have been influenced by *khaṇḍ-*, 'break'.

In **222**, the Sanskrit versions have *sulīnena* (Uv.), *saṃlīnena* (JātM) against *alīnena.*

224. Uv. xxii. 18*a* also gives a partial parallel for *cd*. It seems certain that in the original verse *dhamma-pīti* was intended to convey a double sense, both *-pīti* and *-prīti*. The Prakrit version has been forced to make a choice. The Pali tradition understands it as 'drinking', and the Dhp. 205, *dhamma-pīti-rasaṃ pivaṃ* shows that the interpretation is not merely perverse. But the translation 'He who drinks in the law' is hardly sufficient. The implication is, 'He whose drink is the doctrine rests happily, with a clear head (in contrast to the man who drinks *surā*, who has a disturbed night and a confused mind)'. It is possible that *pīti-* 'protection' (*śaraṇa*) is also intended: 'He who is protected by the doctrine rests secure.' *dhamme ramati* in the second half of the verse gives a further indication that the sense of *prīti-* was also in the mind of the author of the verse.

The Tibetan translation (*chos la dgaḥ byed*) shows that the Sanskrit also had *dharma-prīti* here; and even in xxviii. 5, corresponding to Dhp. 205, *chos la dgaḥ baḥi ro dag ḥthuṅ*, i.e. *dharma-prīti-rasaṃ piban.*

225. As the dictionaries rightly remark, the word *dhamma* is 'rarely neuter', and it should certainly not be neuter in Dhp. 82. Translations such as 'leges' (Fausbøll), 'laws' (Radhakrishnan) attribute an entirely impossible meaning to the word. It is true that the neuter plural occurs, and probably correctly, in Jāt. v. 221 *sataṃ ca dhammāni sukittitāni*, where however it refers to the qualities of the good. The Prakrit shows that the Pali reading here has arisen merely from an accidental transposition of syllables in copying (cf. note on **144**); and the correct shape of the phrase has been preserved also in Pali, Apadāna i. 328 *tassa dhammaṃ suṇitvāna.*

226. The verb in the first pāda of the Pali verse has caused some difficulty, and the fact that the Prakrit has a different word here confirms the initial impression that something may have gone wrong with the text. Nor is the Prakrit word immediately transparent. From the plate, the first impression may be that it should be read *viṭhedi* rather than *vivedi*: but a close examination of the original print makes it very probable that the mark to the left of the second character is not ink, but a natural mark in the substance of the bark. Further, a reading *viṭhedi* would imply an earlier form such as *viṣṭ(h)enti*, which has not suggested any plausible interpretation, and is in addition less satisfactory for the metre. The reading *vivedi* can therefore be accepted with a reasonable degree of confidence.

In the Uv. manuscript (JRAS 1912, 371) the first syllable of the verb is lost, but *vrajanti*, as restored by the editor, is confirmed by the Tibetan translation, which gives *kun tu ḥgro bar byed* for *sarvatra vrajanti*. Rockhill's translation of the line, 'the holy man forsakes everything', can have no direct connexion with the Pali, since he had not identified the Dhammapada verse in question; and the translation probably results from taking the phrase *kun tu ḥgro ba* as a unit, which does in fact occur as a synonym of *kun tu rgyu ba*. Naturally, if the persons talked of are *parivrājakas*, they have by implication 'forsaken everything'. It is indeed quite conceivable that the Indian version itself was understood in this way, and that *sarvatra vrajanti* was taken to be simply a poetic expression for *parivrajanti*, 'wander (as religious beggars)'. Such an interpretation might be thought sufficient to account for the Pali commentator's expressions *lobha-dhammaṃ vivajjetvā* and *chanda-rāgaṃ vijahanti.*

On the basis of these phrases, H. C. Norman accepted the variant *cajanti* in the Pali verse (DhpA ii. 156); but this can hardly be correct. The reading *vajanti* not only has strong manuscript support within Pali, but is established beyond question as the prior of the two by the agreement of the Uv. We can therefore drop *cajanti* from the discussion.

This is perhaps as far as we can proceed with confidence. But although the reading *vajanti* is respectably old, as may also be the interpretation suggested, the phrase remains awkward, and the variant in the Prakrit raises the possibility that *vajanti* is itself a corruption. A possible hypothesis which would account for the readings (though in the nature of the case any such suggestion remains speculative) would be that the Middle Indian form *vayanti*, which can be assumed to underlie both the Sanskrit and the Pali, was a mistake for *viyanti*; 'with respect to everything religious men stand aside'—are indifferent. The Prakrit *vivedi* would then represent a replacement of the verb *vi-i-* by the rather stronger form *vi-apa-i-* (*vyapenti*).

In the second pāda, the published Sanskrit has *santaḥ*, agreeing with the Pali; but the version translated into Tibetan must have had *dhīrāḥ* (*brtan rnams*) agreeing with the Prakrit.

227. The Tibetan version, while giving the same sense, repeats the first phrase in the second

half of the verse, and may therefore indicate that the Uv. had here an elaborated paraphrase, rather than a direct rendering of this verse as it appears in the Pali and Prakrit.

añi: accusative plural, as is required by the phrase, thus formally equivalent to Pali *aññe*. The form *aññam* is itself to be understood as in origin a plural: see Lüders, BSU § 196 ff. Although the commentary on Dhp. 158 renders the word as singular (*paraṃ*) Lüders was able to cite the Jātaka commentator (ibid. § 206) who renders *aññam anusāsati* in his verse by *aññe*. There is no reason to doubt therefore that the plural should be regularly understood as the original sense in this recurring phrase.

228. See also Sn. 663 for a similar grouping of vices: *assaddho kadariyo avadaññu macchari pesuṇiyasmiṃ anuyutto*. In **280** *kradava* again appears where the corresponding Pali has *kadariyaṃ*; and if further confirmation is needed, the Tibetan translation *ḥjuṅs pa* makes it quite certain that *kradava* corresponds in meaning with *kadarya*. The forms of the two words are in addition so similar that it would be difficult to suggest that they should be etymologically distinct. But if there is an etymological connexion, it is not one of direct equivalence. If we are to see here the survival of a different formation from the same base (for example **kadar-va-* beside *kadar-ya-*), it would hardly be possible to retain the traditional derivation of the more familiar word from *kad* + *arya-*.

229. In spite of the break in the manuscript, the first pāda can be read with certainty. In *b*, the traces are consistent with *śilavada*, which is confirmed by the Tibetan *tshul khrims ldan pa*.

230. Uv. v. 26:

avavaded ānuśāsīta cāsabhyāc ca nivārayet
asatāṃ na priyo bhavati satāṃ ca priyo bhavati tu.

It is therefore probable that in the Prakrit also *asabhe* is to be understood as abl. sg., < *asabhyā(t)*, with *hi* as a separate word, although formally *asabhehi* could be taken as an abl. plural. On *hi* as a replacement for *ca*, see p. 110.

231. The first line in the Tibetan version is:

gnas min zlog daṅ legs smra daṅ,

for which Rockhill gives, 'Having given up a house, speaking well'; but better, 'Dissuading from what is improper, and speaking (recommending) that which is good.' This then confirms the sense of the Prakrit to be *niṣeddhāraṃ pravaktāraṃ* 'one who prohibits and exhorts'. We may assume that the verb *ni-ṣidh-* had not survived in the language, and the form with the dental *-s-* is simply taken over intact from the source-language of the translation. (Similarly, the dental appears in the optative of the same verb in **15**, *nisedhe*.) On the writing of *d* for *dh*, see p. 100.

The Pali version was explained plausibly enough by the commentator as meaning that a wise man who points out one's faults should be regarded as doing a service equal to telling one where to find buried treasures; and this has generally been accepted as quite satisfactory. It seems very likely that, as in some other instances already noted (see **144**, **225**), one version is derived from the other by a process of graphic corruption rather than by intentional change in the course of an oral transmission. It is hardly to be expected that the details of the process can at this stage be re-established; and it may seem that we are at the mercy of our own literary prejudices if we attempt to judge which version is prior. Some may be ready to accept Pali 'treasures' as a touch of poetry, considering the Prakrit dry and prosaic in comparison. Others

will certainly conclude that the Prakrit has the feel of authenticity, while the Pali expression is strained, if not indeed a little absurd. It is difficult to imagine that the rhythmic effect of the two agent nouns together is not intentional; and if we take the Prakrit as the derived reading, we must in this instance be willing to concede to the Fates who control the corruption of texts a stylistic talent which they do not normally care to reveal. Cf. also Sn. 167 *akkhātāraṃ pavattāraṃ sabba-dhammāna pāraguṃ*. Ultimately, much will depend on whether future research makes it possible to decide whether, among other questions, the Uv. is entirely independent in its line of descent. If it is, then its agreement with either the Pali or the Prakrit at any given point would be virtual proof that the odd version was the one which had suffered change. But if the ancestry of the Uv. includes a version closely related to our Prakrit—and on the basis of present knowledge this seems very probable—then obviously its agreement with the Prakrit in a case like this would in itself carry little weight.

tadi in *e* is certainly a mere slip for *tadiśa*, as in the preceding pāda.

232. Uv. vii. 5 gives only the material of the first four pādas (with *kuryāt* in place of *kitva*); but in its following verse, it condenses the same sense into the first half of the verse, and in the second half gives a conclusion not much different from the import of the final two pādas of the Prakrit stanza:

iha cātha paratrāsau sukhaṃ samatigacchati

(so in the manuscript of the revised version: read *-adhigacchati* with Chakravarti's older manuscript).

There is a doubt as to whether the second word in *e* should be read *suhe* or *suhi*, since the mark to the left of the upright of the *h* seems slightly different in texture from that on the right, and may perhaps be a natural mark in the bark. It is impossible to decide with certainty from the photograph; but fortunately no question of interpretation is involved in the difference. It would seem, however, that the case-endings in this cliché require further investigation. While the CPD quotes it only in the form where all three words end in *-aṃ*, the Pali Vinaya (Mahāvagga, i. 3. 4) has *avyāpajjhaṃ sukhaṃ loke*, with which Lalitavistara 380 agrees, *avyābadhyaṃ sukhaṃ loke*. (See also Waldschmidt, *Das Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*, p. 100.) This is evidently a phrase in which the variations could have resulted from differing interpretations of pre-Pali eastern forms in *-e*, which have sometimes been taken as locative, and sometimes as accusative. In the present Prakrit version, *loke* can readily be taken as locative, and this indeed would seem to give the simplest sense to the phrase—'he attains unassailable happiness in this world', here and now. The other words however could hardly be locative (or accusative plural), and it seems therefore that the original eastern singular accusative forms in *-e* have been taken over intact here. Although the CPD appears to give preference to the form *avyāpajja*, the form with the aspirate, *-jjha*, has every claim to authenticity. There was inevitably a contamination between this word and *vyāpāda*; but its separate existence is guaranteed not only by Buddhist Sanskrit (see BHSD, *avyābadhya*, *avyābādha*), but also by the occurrence in the Jaina texts of *avvābāha*, in similar senses to the Buddhist term (see Sheth, *Prakrit-Hindi Dict.* s.v.). In Sanskrit, *avadhya* appears in a very similar context in MBh xii. 171. 52:

prāpyāvadhyaṃ brahmapuraṃ rājeva syām ahaṃ sukhī.

233, 234. In the Uv. version, 13 and 14 agree with the Pali, while 15 and 16 show a variant similar to the Prakrit, but not identical: *de la mig ni med paḥi phyir* 'since he has no eyes'. (It is improbable that *prajñā* would have been so translated.)

tadovi'a: (P. *tadūpiya-*, *tadūpikā*; see also BHSD s.v. *upaka*) 'since he has wisdom adequate

for the purpose'. The word is common in the Niya documents in the compound *aṭhovaǵa, aṭhove.*

235. The Prakrit agrees here with the Pali in opposition to the passive construction in the Uv.: *nābhāṣamāṇā jñāyante.* In the fourth pāda, both editors print *deśayanto rajaḥpadam*, thinking perhaps of the dusty path to be travelled in striving towards salvation. This is of course impossible, and the author certainly intended *deśayanto 'rajaḥ padam.* The Tibetan reasonably gives *źi baḥi go ḥphaṅ*; elsewhere also *virajaḥ* (Uv. xxi. 7), *virajaḥ padam.*

Since this stanza traditionally goes with **236** to form a pair (they are together also in Jāt. v. 509), it may be thought that the banner in the second stanza has had some influence in bringing about the introduction of a drum into the first. This is hardly likely to be original, since, in addition to the bad metre, the verb is inappropriate. But since beating 'the kettle-drum of salvation' (as the CPD pleasantly renders it) is as familiar an operation as 'flying the flag of religion', the intrusion of the drum here is understandable.

The word occurs only here in the text, and there is some doubt as to its correct form in the dialect. There can be no doubt that it represents S. *dundubhi*, and this would be expected to appear here as *dunuhi.* In the manuscript however the second syllable is certainly *du*, and the first is, so to speak, on the borderline between *du* and *nu*, and, allowing for a degree of haste in the handwriting, we should probably accept it for either, according to context, if it occurred in a common word. In addition, there is a dot in the manuscript over the second syllable, and this may well be a corrector's mark to denote a mistake in the writing. (For comparison: the word *adaśaṇa-* occurs thrice in the manuscript, 313, 367, 516, and in each place a similar mark appears over the syllable *śa.* It is reasonable to assume that these marks have been made by a corrector who would have preferred the spelling *adarśaṇa* in a literary text.) It seems very probable, therefore, that the scribe ought to have written *dunuhi*; and if so, it matters little whether we consider that he accidentally transposed the syllables (since a genuine metathesis in the spoken form, of the type seen in *jabodaṇa* **242**, is hardly likely here, where the *-n-* would represent *-nn-*) and wrote *nuduhi*, or by simple misreading of his exemplar wrote *duduhi.* The alternative supposition would be that, although the corrector preferred *dunuhi*, the form *duduhi* did exist in the dialect; in which case we should have a situation similar to that of *kumbha*, which appears in **138b** as *kumma-*, and in **209**, **210** as *kubho.* See also p. 100, § 48.

236. *deśehi*: the tail of the *h* is rather obscured at the junction of two leaves of the bark, and it may seem tempting to read *deśe'i*; but in the original print the *h* is certain. The form however is probably to be interpreted as an optative nevertheless. See also p. 92.

For *paggaṇhe*, the Uv. has the synonym *ucchrayed.* We may therefore take *uṣivi* to be *ut* + **śripet* or **śrepet*: cf. BHSG p. 234, *ucchrepaya*, &c.; Divy. 264. 18 *ucchriyitvā*, which could be a simple misreading for *ucchripitvā* (Edgerton prefers to emend to *ucchrepitvā*, *ucchrāpitvā*, *ucchrāpayitvā* or *ucchrayitvā*).

In the last pāda, the syllable *ha* is sandwiched between the *o*-stroke of the preceding syllable and the *i*-stroke of the succeeding one. It can hardly be read as *hi* unless we assume that the scribe intended these neighbouring strokes to play a double role, and this seems most improbable. The mark below these strokes is a lenticule.

For *cd*, the Uv. has *subhāṣitadhvajā nityam ṛṣayor* (read *ṛṣayo*) *dharmagauravāḥ*; but the Tib. appears to translate a text directly corresponding to the Pali and Prakrit versions.

237. The first two pādas of this verse are missing in the Uv.

This is one of the very few places in the manuscript where some doubt may be felt with regard

to the reading of *t, d*. If we read *ajedaṇa*, the word is regularly developed, and calls for no further comment. It may, however, be thought that the scribe has written *ajetaṇa*; and a comparison of other examples of *da* in the neighbourhood make this probable (though the *t*-like appearance may be partly due to the underlying lenticule). If this is the writing intended, we may assume that the double consonant implied has arisen on the analogy of *prāktana*, or is due to a blending of the two derivatives *adyatana* and *adyatva*.

mana-bhaṇi: in verses **24, 25,** and **54** the corresponding Pali has *manta-*. If any doubt still remains concerning the meaning of *manta-bhāṇi* in Pali, the appearance of *mita-* here as an equivalent should settle the question. The Pali commentators had already lost the sense of the compound, and invented an explanation for it in terms of a stock phase, *mantā vuccati paññā*. Although this *mantā* was later taken as a fem. sg., there is little doubt that the phrase originally meant it as a nom. pl.: 'the term "mantras" is used as a synonym for *prajñā*'. Modern translators seem for the most part to have accepted the sense of 'speaking wisely', although doubtless many have thought that this was a very odd meaning to develop from 'speaking *mantras*'.

Senart remarked in 1898, with reference to verse **54** of the present text, that the Prakrit reading indicated *mandabhāṇin*, and that this was decidedly more probable than the Pali reading. Lévi (JAs 1912, p. 253) drew attention to *mandaṃ* in Uv. iv. 16, where the corresponding Pali has *mantā* (Saṃ. i. 57). These identifications unfortunately escaped the attention of the PTSD, which continued to interpret the Pali word in terms of *mantra*. Lüders reverted to the question in BSU § 167, and added to the evidence Uv. viii. 10 and xxviii. 8, both with *manda-bhāṣī* (Tib. *dal bus smra*) where the corresponding verses in Pali have *manta-bhāṇī*.

In the middle of a list of qualities desirable in a bhikṣu, the Mahāvyutpatti (126. 29) has *mandabhāṣyo bhavati*; and in the Uv. version of the present stanza, although the published Sanskrit text has *alpabhāṇim*, the Tibetan has again *dal bus smras na*, showing that it was translated from a recension which had *manda-* here also.

Lüders was reluctant to accept the sense of 'speaking little', and proposed instead 'freundlich redend', which he thought fitted better with the frequent association of the word with *anuddhato*. He therefore suggested that the original might have been *mandra-* rather than *manda-*. (If so, the word cannot be a direct inheritance in the dialect here, since, on the analogy of *candra*, we should have expected *mandra* to appear here as **madra*.) The meaning suggested, however, seems a superfluous assumption, and 'speaking in moderation' is adequate in all the passages quoted. The vice which is contrasted with this, *auddhatya*, may reasonably be thought to imply noisy, rowdy behaviour; and the normal sense of *manda* would seem to be confirmed here by the variants *alpa-* and *mita-*, and by Thg. 209 *anuddhato sammitabhāṇi subbato*.

Lüders described the Pali word as 'falsch pālisiert aus **manna* = *manda* oder *mandra*'. But although *manna* is certainly the form in the dialect of the present manuscript, it seems unlikely that such a form is involved in the history of the Pali word. More probably the latter is merely the result of a misguided attempt by redactors to produce a more literary appearance in their text. It would seem that they had some awareness of the Prakritic tendency to voice the intervocalic voiceless stops of the literary language, and in attempting to combat this tendency, they occasionally overreached, and produced monstrosities such as *Yamataggi* for *Jamadagni*. (For such 'hyper-Paliisms' see Lüders, op. cit. § 122, 141.) It seems very probable, in view of such mistaken substitutions of voiceless stops, that *manta-bhāṇi* also is merely an attempt at elegance. Cf. also note on *aṇu'ija* (P. *anuvicca*), **241.**

238, 239. Two distinct verbs have been recognized, *saṃ-miñj-* 'to contract' (appearing regularly in contrast to *prasārayati* 'to extend'), and *sam-iñj-*, as in the Pali stanza here, which is to be linked with such expressions as Dhp. 255 *natthi buddhānam iñjitaṃ* (see verse **183**). For a

discussion of the question, see BHSD. Whether or not the two words are in origin distinct (for it would be possible to argue that Buddhist Sanskrit *un-miñj-*, *ni-miñj-*, neither of which is quoted for Pali by the PTSD, are later analogical formations) it is certain that the two spellings *samiñj-* and *saṃmiñj-* were frequently confused. There is thus no reason to doubt the possibility that the spelling with *-mm-* might be intended by the scribe in the Prakrit verse here, although the meaning agrees with the Pali *samiñjanti*.

Since the writing of the subscript *m* may be ambiguous (see p. 70), it would be difficult to exclude the possibility that the word should be transcribed *samiṃjadi*. This could then be compared with such forms as *yujatha* (P. *yuñjatha*), which we might accept as being written for *yuṃj-*. Such an explanation however would imply a special conservatism in the class of nasal-infix verbs with *-j-* (as against *vinadi* < *vindati*), while in other instances the regular development of *ñj* holds good (*kuñara* < *kuñjara*). It seems simpler therefore to take forms like *yujadi* and *ijadi* to represent non-infixed forms, constructed on fourth class or passive bases, *yujya-*, *ijya-*. If this is accepted, the transcription *sammijadi* would fit the situation better.

In **239**, *sabhijadi* cannot be compared directly with the Pali *samirati*, and it seems most probable that it should be interpreted as *saṃbhidyate*. This (which is unmetrical) would appear to be a reinterpretation of a form in the source-dialect of the translation such as *samijjadi* (<*samīryate*, with the normal Prakrit development *ry* > *jj*, Pischel § 284, where the present manuscript shows *ry* > *y*). Since the verb in the second half of the verse would then coincide exactly in form (*samijjadi* < *samijyate*), the stanza must certainly have been taken as a play on the sound of the two words. But whether the forms could have coincided as early as the date of composition of the verse is a question which can hardly be answered at present; and it may be that for the original author there was no more than an approximate assonance between the two verbs.

240. The Uv. gives the two halves of the verse in the same order as the Prakrit.

The spelling *prodhu*, corresponding to Pali *poso*, is probably to be interpreted as an attempt by the translator (or a later copyist) to 'restore' a more literary form. This supposition would imply that the person responsible was aware of the nature of the equivalence between his own dialect and Sanskrit in the case of such words as *masura*: *madhura*. The addition of the *-r-* is doubtless a gesture in the same direction (see also p. 102). Whether or not Pali *posa* (Geiger § 30), Buddhist Sanskrit *poṣa*, is directly connected with *puruṣa*, the form *prodhu* seems very unlikely to be a genuine inheritance in the dialect. (But see further H. W. Bailey, TPS 1960, p. 84.)

241, 242. The Uv. inserts two extra pādas, and omits *cd* of the second verse:

yaṃ tu vijñāḥ praśaṃsanti hy anuyujya śubhāśubham
praśaṃsā sā samākhyātā na tv ajñair yaḥ praśaṃsitaḥ
medhāvinaṃ vṛttayuktaṃ prājñaṃ śīleṣu saṃvṛtam
niṣkaṃ jāmbunadasyeva kas taṃ ninditum arhati.

The Tibetan gives a verse of six pādas, i.e. omitting the additional material of the Sanskrit version as well as the end of the Pali and Prakrit. In *b*, *blo la ḥphan ni ma byuṅ bas*, the word *ḥphan* seems to be unknown, and we may confidently emend it to *ḥphal* (Jäschke, *ḥphal-ga*, incision, indentation, notch; Desgodins, *ḥphal-ga* and *ḥphal-ka*; Tib.-Tib. Dict., *ḥphal-kha*, 'ri-mo', line, figure). This would give an adequate translation of *acchidra-*, showing that here, as in some other places, the Tibetan translator had before him a different recension of the Uv. from that at present available in Sanskrit. (Cf. notes on **170** and **236.**)

aṇu'ija: *anuvicca*. There has been a strong reluctance to accept the view of the commentators that *anuvicca* is from *anu-vid-*. Andersen (*Pali Reader*, Glossary, s.v.) seems to admit *anu-vid-*

as a possibility, but prefers *anu-vi-ci-* (**anuvicitya*, **anuviciya*). He rejects *anu-i-*. The CPD, on the other hand, gives first *anu-i-* (without inquiring how the recorded senses of *anveti* could fit here), and repeats *anu-vi-ci-* ('haplology of **anuvicicca*'). This seems most improbable, even if we postulate a Prakritic intermediary, **anuviyicca*. Indeed, if we are to invoke haplology at all, why not *anu-vi-vic-*; or even, quite straightforwardly, **anu-vic-*?

The Prakrit *aṇu'ija* may however encourage us to look again at the possibility of *anu-vid-*. In the Ṛgveda this verb occurs several times, in the sense of 'knowing thoroughly', virtually, 'knowing in the capacity of an expert', e.g. iv. 27. 1 *gárbhe nú sánn ánu eṣām avedam aháṃ devánāṃ jánimāni víśvā*; x. 17. 5 *pūṣémā́ áśā ánu veda sárvāḥ*; also i. 164. 18; i. 34. 2 'know well'. (*anu-vindati*—whether or not originally the same verb—is especially used in the Ṛgveda of things which are hidden, or difficult to discover: i. 6. 5, v. 11. 6, *guhā*; iv. 58. 4 *guhyamānaṃ*; vii. 76. 4, viii. 96 (85). 16 *gūḷha-*; and this may lie behind the Pali commentators' use of *pariyogāhetvā* in discussing *anuvicca*.) Within Pali, the relationship was certainly felt by the author of Sn. 530, which commences with *anuvicca*, and picks up the sense in the last line with *anuvidito*. In the present verse, it seems more to the point that the experts, *viññu*, should 'know well' that the virtuous man is virtuous, rather than that they should have to examine him and investigate the matter before they are in a position to praise him.

Since one text or the other must certainly have been altered, there appears to be no fundamental difficulty in accepting *anuvidya* as the original sense, and assigning *anuvicca* to the group of 'hyper-Paliisms' exemplified by such words as *pāceti* (*pra-aj-*), *manta* (*manda*): cf. note on **237**, and BSU § 122 ff. In the present instance, it is possible that the word may at times have been thought of as if it had been **anu-vicya*, on the analogy of *vi-vicya* 'having discerned'.

It seems difficult to deny that *acchidra-vṛtti-* was intended by the author of the verse to carry a double sense: the good man is 'of unblemished conduct', just as the golden *niṣka* 'has an unbroken circle'. In all probability, this is all that is involved. It would be possible nevertheless to read a more extended śleṣa into the stanza, although a rather insipid one: for the *niṣka*, being of gold, is a ritually pure object (*medhāvin*, as if for *medhya*), is worthy of admiration (if *paññaṃ* is read uncompounded as in the Uv. *prājñaṃ*; hence in the second sense from *panya-*; or alternatively, 'negotiable', *paṇya-*), and is full of beauty (*śīla*). Moreover, just as the man is praised by discerning persons, and even by the gods, and the deity Brahmā himself, so also the *niṣka* is praised not only by experts (*viññū*) in metalwork, but even by kings and brahmans. The reader must judge for himself how much of this (if any) was intended by the author of the verse.

On the form *jabodaṇa*, see p. 50.

243, 244. 'From lack of application, as from a false teacher, a man does not have knowledge, being deluded by ignorance, as in the times when no Buddhas appear in the world.'

'But from application, as from a proper teacher, he obtains knowledge, thoroughly investigating the Doctrine, and sitting at the feet of the learned.'

In the absence of precise parallels to these and the following verses, a number of points remain uncertain, but the main sense is clear, and much of the material can be exemplified from Pali. For the general contrast *ayo'a, aṇuyo'a*, cf. Dhp. 282 *yogā ve jāyati bhūri, ayogā bhūri-saṃkhayo*, and Kaṭha Upaniṣad iii. 5, 6:

yas tv avijñānavān bhavaty ayuktena manasā sadā
tasyendriyāṇy avaśyāni duṣṭāśvā iva sāratheḥ
yas tu vijñānavān bhavati yuktena manasā sadā
tasyendriyāṇi vaśyāni sadaśvā iva sāratheḥ.

viṇayadu: in form this could be simply *vinaya* with the suffix *-taḥ*, in which case we should translate 'as from a false discipline'; and this would harmonize well enough with *ayoga*. It seems

however slightly better in the context to understand the word as abl. sg. of the present participle of *vi-nī-*. This would in effect be equivalent in sense to *vināyaka*, 'teacher'.

samuśa (*saṃmuhya*): the last syllable is uncertain, coming at the break between the fragments; but the remaining traces are consistent with *śa*. For *śa* ≺ *hya*, see p. 105. For the sense, cf. Sn. 730 *avijjā h'ayaṃ mahāmoho*; M. ii. 219. 33 *avijjāya aññāṇā sammohā*; Jātaka-mālā xxxi. 32 *dīpaḥ śrutaṃ moha-tamaḥ-pramāthī . . . sammoha-śatru-vyathanāya śastram.*

budhaṇa va adaśaṇi: cf. **257**, where what is virtually the same fault (not listening attentively to religious instruction) is qualified as *dhamaseva adaśaṇe.*

viyiṇi: in the Pali parallel quoted, *vicine* was presumably understood as opt., and the Prakrit could in form represent this also. But a present participle is formally equally possible, and seems to fit the sense better here. Similarly, in Ang. iv. 3 *yoniso vicine dhammaṃ paññāy' atthaṃ vipassati*, a present participle seems to give rather better sense. This phrase should thus probably be added to the instances noted by Lüders (BSU §§ 228–30) of pre-Pali participles in *-e* misunderstood as optatives.

The bottom of the fragments containing these two verses fits the traces of characters at the beginning of the main leaf, thus establishing their position as the first two verses in this chapter.

245. 'The learned should be consulted in respect of both meanings: the easy, straightforward meaning, and the difficult meaning (to be reached) by exegesis.'

sevidavi (*-tavya*): cf. Jāt. iii. 306: *addhā have sevitabbā sapaññā bahussutā ye bahuṭṭhānacintino.*

nica (*nītyā*): from the photograph it seems that *-ce* has been written, and the vowel afterwards erased. It is of course possible that the erasure is accidental, and that *nice* should be read.

The reference of the verse is to the familiar Buddhist antithesis between (scriptural) statements which are *nītārtha* and those which are *neyārtha* (see BHSD svv. and E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme indien*, i. 554, for references). The former have their sense already explained (*nīta*, scilicet, by the words), and such meanings are here described as *ucitārtha*, 'ordinary, customary meanings', similar therefore (though not of course in etymology) to the *vācyārtha* 'literal meaning' of later Sanskrit linguistic theory. The latter, being *neya*, require some further *nīti*, explanation, before their real purport can be grasped.

It is possible that this verse may be to some extent inspired by the common association of the *paṇḍita* with two *arthas*: Saṃ. i. 87, Itiv. 23 (= Uv. iv. 25, 26):

appamatto ubho atthe adhigaṇhāti paṇḍito
diṭṭhe dhamme ca yo attho yo c'attho samparāyiko
Dhp. 256: *atthābhisamayā dhīro paṇḍito ti pavuccati.*

na tena hoti dhammaṭṭho yen' atthaṃ sahasā naye
yo ca atthaṃ anatthaṃ ca ubho niccheyya paṇḍito . . .
Thg. 443 (= Uv. xx. 12):

ubhinnaṃ atthaṃ carati attano ca parassa ca.

(this last without *paṇḍita*). In these, of course, *attha* is 'advantage', not 'meaning'; (with the additional sense of 'deciding a lawsuit' in Dhp. 256); but perhaps a bridge between this type of cliché on 'two *arthas*' and the present verse may be seen in Sn. 526:

dubhayāni viceyya paṇḍarāni
ajjhattaṃ bahiddhā ca suddhipañño
kaṇhāsukkaṃ upātivatto
paṇḍito tādi pavuccate tathattā.

The sense of *paṇḍarāni* in this verse however is obscure. [Since it is obviously intended as an etymology for *paṇḍita*, the reading *prahīṇāni* in the same verse in Mv. iii. 399 is certainly a corruption, in spite of Senart's preference for it, ibid. 520–1.] The commentator's explanation as *āyatana* probably is inspired merely by the classification of the *āyatanas* into internal and external.

246, 247. 'The learned have the power to take away the sorrow of the sufferer, constantly speaking with appropriate speech.' (Presumably what is meant is 'apt quotations from the scriptures'.)

'And the learned produce happiness even for the happy man, teaching as they do the immortal doctrine which leads to the assuaging of suffering'.

The *amṛta dharma* may also be intended to evoke the idea of the *asaṃskṛta dharma*, Nirvāṇa, equivalent therefore to *amataṃ padaṃ*.

248. 'A wise man who wishes still greater wisdom should frequent the company of those who are moral, very wise, and learned in the scriptural texts of the doctrine.'

dharma-āgama-bahuśrutāḥ seems the most likely sense. It would also be possible to interpret the line as *dharma-kāmā bahuśrutāḥ*, 'desirous of righteousness, and learned'; but this seems to be an epithet more appropriate for a beginner than for a *bahuśruta*.

The Tibetan verse does not correspond exactly, *bahuśruta* being omitted; but there is little doubt that it represents in essentials the same stanza.

ichadu: instr. sg.—see p. 81.

251. *tamasarṇudu*, i.e. *tamasā orṇutaṃ*: see p. 81 In *c* we might have expected *vijamaṇeṣu*.

252. Cf. for example Jāt. ii. 389 *evam eva idh'ekacco puggalo hoti tādiso*. (The Jātaka edition has *evam evaṃ*, a form of expression which it repeats with astonishing frequency. This can hardly ever be right, and ought regularly to have been emended to *evam eva*.)

The Tibetan shows a slight variant in *b*: 'although he has intelligence'.

255. *suyi-drakṣu*: the two words occur together also in **322**: *śilamadu suyi-drakṣo*, where the corresponding Pali has *sīla-dassana-sampannaṃ*. It is thus possible that *drakṣa* was thought to be connected etymologically with *dassana*, and that the writing with initial *dr-* may have been influenced by this supposition. It seems, however, very unlikely to be a real connexion. And even if no popular etymology was involved, there are sufficient examples of intrusive *-r-* in the dialect to allow us to equate the word with S. *dakṣa*. In the present verse, a translation such as 'who has heard the doctrine, who is pure and intelligent' seems hardly adequate. (The Jātaka edition, giving the corresponding phrase uncompounded, presumably took it in some such way.) In the context, it is more probable that one who has heard the doctrine has his mind thereby 'purified'—but rather in the sense of 'clarified'. This interpretation is then in keeping with the phrases in the preceding stanza, *praña artha viśodhedi*, and *artha śudho*. The compound *śuci-dakṣa* may thus be seen as virtually synonymous with the Rigvedic *pūta-dakṣa(s)*- (Renou, *Études sur le vocabulaire du Rgveda*, première série, p. 32, 'au pur vouloir'; also *śucinā kratunā* RV ii. 5. 4; *pūta-kratu*- (as proper name) viii. 68 (57). 17). While the Rigvedic expression is regularly an epithet of deities, there is no difficulty in understanding the Buddhist phrase simply as 'whose intelligence is clarified'.

256. *śadvari*: the possibility might be considered of reading this word as *śarvari*, thus corresponding exactly to the more familiar Sanskrit word. This would involve interpreting the second

character as consisting of the basic form of *r*, with the *-v* curve attached to it. Such a method of writing would however be quite isolated, and the usual form, with the *r-* written through the stem of the basic *va*, is so common that it would be rather hazardous to adopt a reading *-rva-* here; and in view of the existence (admittedly somewhat shadowy) of S. *śatvarī*, it seemed preferable to adopt the reading *śadvari* in the text. Although it is frequently difficult to discriminate *tva* and *dva* with certainty, it seems extremely unlikely that the character here was intended as *tva*. Since the established form *śarvarī* appears as early as the Rigveda, it must certainly be accepted as the earlier; and since a development *rv* > *dv* or *tv* is hardly to be considered, it may be assumed that *śatvarī*, *śadvari* is a distortion caused by a popular etymology—possibly an imagined connexion with *śad-*, as has been suggested (Monier-Williams). See also p. 96.

In the Tibetan, *nad pa* was tacitly changed to *naṅ mo* by Rockhill. Beckh altered the text to *naṅ pa*, but suggested in a note that *naṅ mo* might be the correct reading. Neither of these gives any sense in the context; and *ātura-* in the Indian versions confirms *nad pa*.

The Tibetan in its turn confirms the sense of the original (though unfortunately not the syntax): fools behave as if they were immortal; 'but the man who is learned in the doctrine acts like a sick man at night'—is constantly aware that he may not live to see another day. (One might perhaps have expected *mtshan mo* rather than *mtshan moḥi*; unless perhaps the phrase is taken to mean 'one suffering from "night-illness" '.)

The corresponding Sanskrit text is unfortunately broken (JRAS 1912, 367):

bālā ihāvijānantaś caranti hy amarā iva
vijānatāṃn tu saddharmaṃm āture . . .

Thg. 276 has:

yadā ca avijānantā iriyanty amarā viya
vijānanti ca ye dhammaṃ āturesu anāturā.

Cf. also Jāt. vi. 236 *carimha amarā viya.*

None of these are really decisive for the syntax of the Prakrit. In the Theragāthā verse, the sense has been confounded by the importation of the cliché *āturesu anāturā*, which obviously is at home in quite different contexts. There appears to be no way of construing the Prakrit which does not involve the assumption of some ellipsis; and the ambiguity of the orthography allows the possibility of *vi'aṇada* being either nominative or genitive plural, and of *śadvari* being either accusative or nominative. For the participle, the Thg. verse would support the nominative, and the Uv. the genitive. The latter, being parallel with *aduraseva*, seems the more probable, and we may interpret: 'but for those who understand the doctrine, (existence in the world) is like night (nom.) to a sick man.' Alternatively, 'but those who understand the doctrine live through (*caranti*) the night of a sick man, so to speak'.

257. In addition to showing a number of minor spelling mistakes, the Uv. manuscript used by Chakravarti is certainly defective in the absence of the word *kim*. It is perhaps just possible that the compiler omitted it, and turned the question into a statement. But the resulting sense is so inferior (the force of the third pāda being virtually destroyed) that the loss is more probably accidental, and we may assume that the Uv. originally intended the same general sense as the Prakrit: 'How else than from lack of religious instruction—life being as short as it is—can men engage in quarrels with anyone?' Another version appears in Jāt. vi. 17:

paññāya ca alābhena dhammassa ca adassanā
ko taṃ jivitaṃ āgamma veraṃ kayirātha kenaci.

Cf. also Sn. 206 *kim aññatra adassanā* 'how can this be, except as the result of ignorance?'

Uv. ii. 15 *alpake jīvite sati*; Itiv. 59 *appasmiṃ idha jīvite*; MBh. xii. 269. 5 *nedaṃ jīvitam āsādya vairaṃ kurvīta kenacit*; Vin. i. 5. 25, &c., *assavanatā dhammassa parihāyanti.*

On the form *aṣamaṇadha* (*aśravaṇatā*, here as an oblique case) see further, pp. 88, 95. The inclusion of the verse in the present chapter, as well as the general sense, make it certain that *aśravaṇa-* is the intended sense. The Tibetan translator, however, must have had before him a text with *aśramaṇa-*, which he strove to render by *dge sbyoṅ byis pa ste* 'being a foolish *śramaṇa*'. But this is certainly an accidental corruption, and need not be thought to have a connexion with the Prakrit version here. For although the appearance of *-m-* for intervocalic *-v-* is common in this dialect, the confusion between this particular pair of words was much more widespread. Doubtless the tendency to confusion was fostered by the fact that the *śramaṇa* might also be a *śrāvaka*, and started his career by being a *śrāmaṇera*. Even quite late Nepalese texts, which can hardly be suspected of North-western influences, and which do not normally confuse *m* and *v*, are happy to refer to the novice as a *śrāvaṇera*.

kuyadi appears to represent **kuryanti*, with a present stem formed on the analogy of the optative *kuryāt*. Since both the MBh. and the Jātaka versions quoted above do in fact have an optative, it might even be suspected that *kuyadi* was really intended as a plural form to the optative *kuya*.

258. *ye* is probably a mere slip of the pen for *yo*; but it is of course not impossible that it is a genuine survival of an original singular in *-e*. (See pp. 115–6.)

kaḍaka-: this agrees in form with the normal Sanskrit *kaṇṭaka*, in the recognized sense of 'bamboo'. The seventeenth century specialist dictionary of plant-names, the Śivakoṣa (ed. R. G. Harshe, Poona, 1952, verse 19) gives *kaṇṭakaḥ korake veṇau*, and the Pali commentator took the word in the same sense: *veḷu-saṃkhātassa kaṭṭhakassa* 'the k. which is normally called "bamboo"', an explanation which was obviously intended to prevent the reader from understanding the word as 'thorn'. The Uv. reshaped the line, and brought the synonym into the verse, as *kaṇṭaka-veṇur vā* (where the last word is naturally not 'or', but merely the replacement or scribal alteration which not infrequently appears for *va* when the metre will not allow *iva*). Since the meaning is thus agreed between the versions, there is a strong suspicion that the anomalous *kaṭṭhaka* in the Pali tradition is merely a miscopying for *kaṇṭaka*, possibly through the intermediate stage of *kaṇṭhaka*.

Max Müller added in a note on the verse: 'the reed either dies after it has borne fruit, or is cut down for the sake of its fruit'; and this curious alternative has since been repeated. The commentator however thought of nothing so outlandish as the harvesting of reeds for the sake of their fruit, and merely repeated the verse *phalaṃ ve kadaliṃ hanti phalaṃ veḷuṃ phalaṃ nalaṃ* (Saṃ. i. 154, and frequently; Uv. xiii. 1), expressing only the idea that the act of bearing fruit kills the banana, the bamboo, and the reed. And this idea (even though, unfortunately, inaccurate) is adequate for the purposes of a religious illustration, without further elaboration.

259. In the second pāda, the first *'i* is superimposed on *sa*, the scribe apparently having started to repeat the first word of the verse in error. It seems most probable that the word is to be interpreted as *eka-caryāya*, rather than *eka-caryo* with *ca*: cf. Dhp. 61, Sn. 821 *ekacariyaṃ daḷhaṃ kayirā*.

ramahi: it might be possible to consider this as influenced by *ram-* in the following phrase, if it could be supposed that at an earlier stage the Prakrit verse had a fourth pāda of the same shape as the Pali. But this supposition remains uncertain, since the Uv., with *gcig pu nags tshal gnas pa*, agrees with the fourth pāda of the Prakrit. It seems more probable that *ramahi* is in origin a reflection of the tendency $d > r$ in rapid speech. Even in Middle Indian, this is

normally kept out of the writing, except in the numerals and derivatives of *-dṛśa*; but the present text shows one other example in *praverayadi* (see note on **160**). A few comparable instances have been noted from Vedic texts (Bloomfield and Edgerton, *Vedic Variants*, ii. 142), including one in the initial position in the word, where, as in the present verse, the preceding word ends in a vowel: MS 4. 9. 13: 134. 5 *mayi rakṣaḥ*, where the parallel texts make it certain that the phrase was originally *mayi dakṣaḥ*. Cf. also BHSG § 2. 48 *anavarāgra*: Pali *anamatagga*, and in the Jaina texts *aṇavadagga*, *aṇavayagga*. In the Vedic mantra, once the change had been established in the text, no difficulty arises in understanding the word to be the familiar *rakṣaḥ*; and similarly here it is quite possible that the Prakrit stanza was afterwards taken to mean *ramayann ātmānam*. The Uv., however, preserved *dam-* (*gcig pus bdag ñid gdul bar bya*), and also agreed with the Pali *atandito* (*sñom las med*). See also p. 96.

It seems unlikely that *ramahi* should be understood as an imperative, and we should rather consider it as a present participle, *-ahi* being written for the more usual *-a'i* (see pp. 92, 116).

260. For similar groupings of virtues, see, for example, Uv. xix. 1 (Dhp. 144) *śraddhā, śīla, vīrya*; Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (ed. Waldschmidt, p. 126) *śraddhā, hrī, avatrāpya, vīrya, prajñā*; and frequently elsewhere.

In Mv. ii. 357, *so so* is obviously a scribal misreading, and the line should be emended to *so kho mahādhano bhavati*.

261. *bho'a*: the Uv. agrees with the Pali in *pitā*, and we might therefore consider the word here an otherwise unrecorded local expression for 'father' (**bhavaka*?). Alternatively, the verse would make excellent sense if we could accept *bhoja*, with the meaning 'dependent' (see PTSD s.v.): 'neither sons, nor servants, nor kinsmen'. The existence of this meaning, however, seems rather doubtful, and the etymology suggested by the PTSD is certainly unsatisfactory. There remains the possibility that the word represents simply *bhoga* 'enjoyment (of worldly possessions)'; in which case an adequate paraphrase might be 'neither sons nor economic prosperity'.

The Pali commentator explains *adhipannassa* by *abhibhūtassa*, and it is worth remarking that the Uv. has *abhibhūtasya* in the verse. It may thus be that this is a further example of the type of fluctuation of material between the traditional commentary and the text which has already been observed on a more extensive scale in **153** (see note on that verse).

262. *drupravaʼi*: it is possible that this should be read as *drupavaʼi*, since the curve to the right of the upright stroke of *pa* is rather slight, as if the scribe had hesitated between the two possibilities. The analogous instances of *drupañu, drupamokṣu* suggest a dissimilation in *dru-pra-* in the spoken language; but on the other hand, even in the initial position *pra-* is not always preserved: see index under *pra-* and *pa-*. In form, the word here cannot be thought to correspond directly to the Pali, since an original *-jy-* could be represented only by *-j-*. We must therefore conclude that the Prakrit text represents a variant *-pravrajaṃ* or *-pravrājaṃ*. If the latter, the possibility may be considered of interpreting it as a *ṇamul*-gerund (which would also be formally possible in the case of *abhiramaṃ*). If in fact the original verse had a rare archaism of this sort, it might well have been replaced by the more familiar absolutive, *pravrajya*, which, with a superfluous anusvāra, would account for the otherwise rather mysterious *pabbajjaṃ* in the Pali.

There seems to be little chance of reaching certainty about either the form or meaning of the original verse; but since this was unlikely to have possessed any greater poetic distinction than its undistinguished successors, the uncertainty need cause little regret. For the surviving versions, no method of interpretation has yet been suggested, it seems, which does not put a considerable strain on the language; and the most likely hypothesis is that the composer was merely

an incompetent craftsman. For the future study of the history of the collections, however, it may be of some use to set out a few observations, without striving to reach conclusions on all details of interpretation.

The Uv. agrees with the Prakrit in having a stanza of only four pādas, without any mention of a traveller (*addhagū*). It seems very probable that in this respect the Pali shows the older form, and that the other versions descend through a manuscript which had lost through homoioteleuton the words between the two occurrences of *dukkhānupatita*, the final *siyā* having previously been replaced by *bhave* (optative) or *bhava* (imperative). Since the loss of the negative resulted in a nonsensical injunction, it was then necessary to reinterpret this last word as the noun *bhavaḥ* 'existence'; and this is what appears in the Uv., where Chakravarti's older manuscript has preserved, with minor but insignificant uncertainties:

duṣpravrajyaṃ du . . .
duḥkhaṃ samānasaṃvāso duḥkhānupatitā bhavaḥ.

The revised version is given as:

duṣpravrajyaṃ durabhiramaṃ duradhyāvasitā gṛhāḥ
duḥkhā samānasaṃvāsā duḥkhāś copacitā bhavāḥ.

It would be uncharitable to suppose that the reviser thought he had a feminine noun in *saṃvāsā*. It is possible that we are meant to understand *duḥkhāḥ*; but it seems more likely that the beginning of the second half-verse is a different blunder, by a copyist, for *duḥkho samānasaṃvāso*. If so, this would support the view that the Pali should be understood as (*a*)*samāna-* (both positive and negative have at various times been tried); and the Tibetan unambiguously renders *asamāna-*:

ñes par rab byuṅ ñes dgaḥ ba
khyim ḥdug ñes rtsom byed pa dag
sdug bsṅal mñam med sten pa daṅ
yaṅ srid sdug bsṅal sogs par zad.

This is then virtually identical with the revised version, *sogs pa* translating *upacita*; but with an amusing variant in *rtsom byed pa*, showing that the translator read in his Sanskrit manuscript the corruption *adhyavasita-* (participle from *adhy-ava-so-*) which he doggedly refused to emend to the obvious *adhyāvasita-* (from *adhy-ā-vas-*), preferring instead to extract the sense of 'dwell' (*ḥdug*) as an implication from *gṛha-*.

265. *sadattha-* is rendered by the Pali commentary as *sake atthe*, which is a slight echo of *svaka-* in the Prakrit text.

266. The Uv., with *arthānuyoginām*, agrees with the Prakrit in the first member, and with the Pali in the second member of the compound.

267. *ka yasu'a* could be *kā ca asūyā*, but there is no need of *ca*, and the *y-* may be simply a hiatus-bridger.

Against *nīyamānānaṃ*, Vin. i. 43 has *nayamānānaṃ* in the same verse. Both the Uv. and Mv. have *naya-*. The Prakrit is ambiguous, since the spelling *ne'a-* might result from an earlier *nīya-*, but could also stand for *naya-*, with palatalization of the vowel in the neighbourhood of *y*.

269. *naraka*: in the plate, a very definite mark crosses the vertical of the *na*, and the reading *niraka* is tempting. There would be no difficulty in accepting this as a spelling corresponding to the Pali *nirayaṃ*; and in the four other examples in the text, *niraya* is certainly used. From

the original photograph, it seems slightly more probable that the apparent cross-stroke is a natural mark in the bark, and the reading *naraka* has therefore been adopted in the transcription, though with some hesitation.

āha: it seems very probable that we should recognize here the short subscript stroke which denotes a long vowel in the Niya documents, where, however, its use is very rare except in the writing of Sanskrit. No other instances have been observed in the present manuscript. See further, p. 79.

The Pali commentator believed that the sense of the first line should be restricted to the type of falsehood involved in slandering one's neighbour. But this is only a plagiarism from the Suttanipāta Commentary, or its ancestor; for at Sn. 661 the verse is pressed to serve in a very vicious hell-fire sermon against critics of the religious, liars ex hypothesi: *ariyupavāda-vasena alikavādino*. Less explicitly vindictive than this, the verse itself merely promises hell to the man who has 'said the thing which was not'; if in any sense more particularly than another, the man who claims to have done those things he has left undone.

In the second line, the old Uv. manuscript agrees in form with the Prakrit, *yaś cāpi kṛtvā na karoti āha*, while the revised version is completely reconstructed: *yaś cānyad apy ācaratīha karma*. The Pali (also Udāna iv. 8, Sn. 661, and elsewhere) varies in the editions between *na karomi cāha* and *na karomī ti cāha*. In his notes to the editio princeps, Fausbøll suggested that *ti* was an interpolation, and that *c-* might be the remnant of an original (*i*)*ti*, so that the intended phrase might have been *na karomiccāha* (< *ty āha*); and this is in fact reported as a Burmese reading by the edition of the commentary (DhpA iii. 477). Although this is unmetrical, it seems very probable that it should be re-established as the older Pali reading; for *na karomī ti cāha* is metrically even worse, and *na karomi cāha* is ungrammatical.

But none of the surviving versions can seriously claim to be original. Although the precise form can only be guessed, there need be no doubt that the verse started its career with a verb in a past tense. There is thus no occasion to consider *karomi* here as a 'timeless' present—and still less justification to render it as an English present; for why should a man go to hell for telling the truth? Most probable would be an aorist, *na karaṃ ti āha*; or perhaps we should spell it *n'akaraṃ*, since this aorist normally preserves its augment. After the aorist has come to be felt archaic, *karomi*, first as an explanation, and then as a replacement, leads directly to the Pali readings. In the Prakrit, the same original would be expected to appear as *n=akaru* (or *n=akaro*) *di āha*, inevitably to be misunderstood as in the Uv., *na karoti*. For the Prakrit, an imperfect **akaroṃ* < *akaravaṃ* would have given the same result. There is of course no means of deciding, in the absence of other examples, whether the Prakrit was still correctly understood when our manuscript was written, and it is possible that the transcription here should be *karo di*.

The third line was taken over mechanically by the old Uv.: *ubhāv etau* (ms. *atau*) *pretya samau bhavanti*; and the reviser, understandably unhappy about *etau bhavanti*, has replaced the offending verb by a participle. This appears as *niraktau* in the manuscript, but no very good sense suggests itself either for *nir-akta-* or *ni-rakta-* in the context, and the word is probably a miscopying for *niruktau* 'are described as, are said to be'.

In the last line, the revised version has *vihīna-dharmā*, thus obviously taking this as an entirely separate statement from the dual in the previous line. The old manuscript has preserved only the syllables *nihī*.

The Tibetan knew nothing of the alterations of the revised version, and translates throughout a text essentially the same as the old tradition of the Pali and Prakrit, except that in the last line *dman paḥi chos* translates (-)*hīna-dharmāḥ*.

270. *pramatu*: the unusual appearance of the final syllable of this word in the manuscript is due

to the fact that, instead of being written as a unit, it was first written as *ta*, the *-u* being added as an afterthought. For *tu*, the pen normally is brought round to form a small circle above the oblique descending line; but when *ta* had been written in the first place, there was barely room to do this, and the hook representing *-u* has therefore been added below the character.

271. The verse appears with a few other Dharmapada stanzas in the Niya document 510. No Prakrit, however illiterate, is likely to have been quite so bad as the published transliteration suggests; but the plate is too faint to make it possible to propose better readings with any confidence. It seems however reasonably probable that in place of

atvanam āmeč'ki tamana citāmani hu

we should read

atvano saṃmikṣi['a] samani vi[ṣa]mani [ca].

The syllables in brackets are even less certain than the rest; but enough is readable to suggest that the text in general agreed with the present manuscript, and the Uv. reading,

ātmanas tu samīkṣeta samāni viṣamāṇi ca,

and not with the Pali.

In both the Uv. and the Pali, the verse, which has nothing to do with flowers, comes in the flower-chapter. But in both these places, and also in Niya 510, it is preceded by the same flower verse (= **292** here). These two verses therefore have obviously been transmitted as a connected pair, which indicates that their placing in the Dharmapada collections is secondary.

In the third pāda of the Pali, *va* was thought by Fausbøll to stand in the sense of *eva*. But since the other versions have *i* and *tu* respectively, *va* is probably only a misreading for *ca*.

272. *eṣu*: this seems the most likely reading, and the marks which at first glance appear to indicate *i* rather than *e* are probably flaws in the bark. If, however, *i* was intended (the assumption then being that the character was completed with an almost dry pen), it would be easy to take the syllable separately from the following *ṣu*, as the equivalent either of *hi* (as in the Pali) or of *ca*.

upuṇadi: this indicates *ut-punāti* rather than **ava-punāti*. On the Pali form, Dines Andersen wrote (*Pali Reader*, Glossary): '(= avāpurati, *fr. sa.* apā-√vṛ (?) but probably confounded with √pū) to uncover, lay bare (? *opp.* chādeti) or to scatter, disperse'. This extraordinary etymology would seem to suggest that one of the very few pieces of genuine poetry in a collection of pedestrian verses has come into existence quite accidentally; and the motive for the rejection of the obvious sense of 'winnow' remains obscure. The Tibetan translation *phub ma gtor ba ji bźin du* 'like winnowing chaff', shows that the sense continued to be understood. For the Pali form we may admit a slightly unusual development (*uppu-* > *ūpu-* > *opu-*: cf. in part *jambūnada-* > *jambonada-*, Geiger § 11) in an agricultural term in everyday use. Buddhist Sanskrit shows one occurrence of the same form, *opunāpayitavya-*, Mv. iii. 178. 5 (BHSD s.v., and Grammar, p. 220). On this, Edgerton quotes the form *nakhāvapūta* (*Maitr. Saṃhitā* 2. 6. 5), which might suggest that *ava-* be accepted here; but the separation of the chaff by means of the finger-nail may well be contrasted with winnowing proper; and *ut-* also appears in *utkāra-* 'winnowing and piling up corn' (Pāṇini iii. 3. 30). The spelling *opuṇāti* in the Pali editions probably simply reflects the common confusion of *n* and *ṇ* in late Sinhalese manuscripts.

273. The metre suggests that *lajadi* is plural in *a* (*lajjanti*) and singular in *b* (*lajjati*). This is improbable, and perhaps we should emend in *b* to *lajida* (*lajjitāḥ*). The Uv. has *lajjitavye alajjitā(ḥ)*, altered to *alajjina(ḥ)* in the revised version. It is of course quite possible that *lajadi*

here is merely the translator's replacement for an *-r-* form in his source, corresponding directly to the Pali *lajjare*.

The Uv. agrees with the Prakrit in having a single stanza of six pādas. While the modern reader will naturally feel that this is an aesthetic improvement on the Pali repetition, it would be a mistake to imagine that any such consideration would have outweighed the superior religious merit of the larger number of syllables. If the Pali form is the older, as is here probable, it is safe to assume that the other version has lost two pādas by pure accident of manuscript copying.

While the older Uv. agrees with the Prakrit in *bhayadarśāvī*, the later version has *-darśino*, thus agreeing with the Pali, but presumably by entirely independent replacement of the less common by the more familiar form.

274. In place of *dukhu* at the end of the verse, the Uv. has *sangaḥ* (for *sangāḥ*). Both versions in fact appear in Pali, Saṃ. i. 23 with *dukkhā*, and i. 25 with *sangā*.

275. In Chakravarti's Uv. manuscript (revised version only), the last pāda is *raśmigrāhoyam anyathā*. The Turfan fragment quoted by Pischel (p. 970) shows the beginning of the verse and the final syllable *-naḥ*, being thus closer to the Pali and Prakrit. The Tibetan, with *ẓags ḥdegs skye bo phal pa yin*, may be assumed to translate *itaro janaḥ*, which has been taken to mean 'common, vulgar people'. Although this is a well attested sense of the epithet, it seems out of place here, and the normal sense 'other' (as taken by the Pali commentator) is adequate for the verse.

276. *kudhu*: the same spelling represents the participle *kruddha-* in **282**, and it may be thought just conceivable that the word was understood in the same way here: 'he whom an angry man does not dominate', that is, to the extent of making him angry in return. But this is very improbable, and it is simpler to assume that *kudhu* is here a spelling variant for *kodhu* rather than an error. There can of course be no doubt that the original of the verse had the noun corresponding to *krodha-*.

Like the corresponding expression in Pali, *kuradi vaśa* may be thought of as a unitary verbal phrase, in the sense of 'overpower'; and it would not be surprising if, on the analogy of *īś-*, such a phrase should assume a genitive object, as *yasa* here. On the other hand, the Pali phrase regularly has an accusative object: Dhp. 48 *atittaṃ yeva kāmesu antako kurute vasaṃ*; Jāt. iv. 172 *paññāya tittaṃ purisaṃ taṇhā na kurute vasaṃ*. It is possible therefore that what was intended here was not *yasa*, but *ya sa* (i.e. *yaṃ*, with *sa* referring back to *krodhaḥ*). This admittedly seems rather clumsy.

The phrase *kurute vasaṃ* (beside Sanskrit *vaśe kṛ-*) is itself rather curious. Andersen (*Pali Reader*, Glossary) while admitting the possibility of a noun, thought that *vasaṃ* might here be taken as an adjective agreeing with the object of the phrase. This seems very unlikely, and the occurrence of *vasaṃ vatteti* as well as *vase vatteti* (PTSD s.v. *vasa*) suggests that in this phrase *vasaṃ* may be only a mistranslation of a pre-Pali (*kurute*) *vase*, where the locative was taken to be a Māgadhan accusative. The word order in verses such as those quoted above would naturally be conducive to such a rendering. It is, however, equally possible that the phrase developed quite naturally in the spoken language, as a mingling of the two syntactic structures *vaśe kṛ-* and *vaśaṃ nī-*; and the accusative may well have been further strengthened by *vaśaṃ gam-*, which functions, so to speak, as a 'notional passive' to both of the other phrases: Jāt. ii. 114 *mā kodhassa vasaṃ gami*; vi. 572 *thīnaṃ vasaṃ na gaccheyyaṃ*. In the Uv. verses corresponding to the two Pali examples cited, the phrase is taken over intact: xviii. 15 *antakaḥ kurute vaśam*; ii. 14

prajñayā puruṣaṃ tṛptaṃ tṛṣṇā na kurute vaśam. In the latter, however, it would seem that a reviser felt uneasy about the syntax, for in the Paris manuscript used by Chakravarti the line has been remodelled: *prajñayā yo naro tṛpto na bhavasya vaśaṃ gataḥ.*

nineva: 'and no censure remains attached to him'. The interpretation of the sandhi form as *nindā* with *eva*, rather than *iva*, seems preferable; but in either case the particle is little more than a stylistic gesture here. The second half of the stanza is reflected in Saṃ. i. 238 *kodho mayi nāvatiṭṭhati*, with the phrase *sampassaṃ attham attano* in the following verse.

277. *vidi*: such a spelling could readily be understood as representing an utterance which had become (more or less) disyllabic. Since, however, the fuller form is written in the related *viyida-viṇo*, we may suspect a mere slip of the pen for *viyidi*. In the absence of further examples, there is no sure means of deciding between the two possibilities. Cf., however, *ratri* (see note on **343**).

saṃghare: The Pali commentator interprets this as *attano gehe*, and the Prakrit was presumably understood in the same way. It makes perfectly acceptable sense in the context to say that under such a king a man lives in happiness in his own house, in the cool shade. But *svaṃ-ghara-* is a curious compound; and it is perhaps possible that the composer of the verse was prepared to preserve his metre by doubling the consonant, *sa-gghare*, and that the writing *saṃ-* is merely an alternative method of giving metrical length to the syllable.

278. The same comparison of the king with the bull of the herd, but in a more extended form, follows in the Pali Jātaka after the verse quoted with **277**:

gavaṃ ce taramānānaṃ jimhaṃ gacchati puṃgavo
sabbā te jimhaṃ gacchanti nette jimhagate sati.

Similarly (since it is desirable to be explicit), if the king goes astray, so also do his subjects. Further (since after all some of the audience may still not have seen the point), it is as well to repeat the whole thing, with *ujuṃ* in place of *jimhaṃ*. The Prakrit stanza cannot be thought to be derived from a watered-down version such as this, and the comparison is differently articulated: the righteous man is free from anger, like the bull in the herd (who, unlike the modern western bull, is placid precisely because he is with his cows); and men pay honour to such a man, as if to a righteous king.

279. This verse appears to have been attracted here by the mention of the king at the end of **278**. While the comparisons are familiar, their normal application is in the sense of superiority rather than patience; but since the latter is required here, it is understandable that the elephant rather than the lion appears as *mṛga-pati*, while the other items are regular: the Himālaya being *śaila-pati*, the ocean *nadī-pati*, and the sun *tapatāṃ-pati*. Cf. also Sn. 568–9, where only pre-eminence is under discussion:

rājā mukhaṃ manussānaṃ nadīnaṃ sāgaro mukhaṃ
nakkhattānaṃ mukhaṃ cando ādicco tapatāṃ mukhaṃ.

The last two pādas had been omitted in the manuscript, and have been subsequently added between the lines, possibly, though not certainly, by the original scribe. The difference in the appearance of the writing could easily be due to nothing more than a differently cut pen.

The reading in *b* remains doubtful. Graphically, the end of the pāda could without difficulty be taken either as *-ñiva* or as *-daṇiva*. In favour of the first is the closeness of the two components (in contrast to *-daṇa* at the end of *a*) and the rising tail of the first (in contrast to most, but not all, of the other examples of *da* in the neighbourhood). Against the reading *ñi*, the chief

arguments would be the fact that the right-hand component comes as high in the line as the left-hand, and that the latter commences with a slight hook, which is rare in *ña*, but common in *ṇa*. Both these features, though unusual, do nevertheless occur in *ña* in line 170 *praña*. Both readings present grammatical difficulties. The first, being a syllable short, would allow room to insert a syllable to provide the genitive plural which seems to be required: *śela(ṇa) hemavañ iva*; but this then leaves us with an unusual development of *-ān iva* through *-aṃ *yiva*. The process, however, is familiar in Pali with *eva* (Geiger § 66; cf. also Pischel § 336), and no phonetic improbability is involved. The alternative reading, *śela hemavadaṇi va*, gives the equivalent of *haimavatāni*, which would be excellent, but for the neuter gender (sc. *śikharāṇi*?). It is also difficult to interpret this unless again we assume a miswriting for *śelaṇa*; but this would give the line an extra syllable. A similar comparison in Saṃ. i. 67,

seto himavataṃ seṭṭho ādicco aghagāminaṃ
samuddo udadhīnaṃ seṭṭho nakkhattānaṃ va candimā,

with *seto* where the Prakrit here has *śela*, is almost certainly corrupt in this phrase, since it can hardly make sense to say that 'among snowy mountains, the white one is best'.

In *śela* here, and in *śilamadu* in the preceding verse, the initial character shows a slight curve to the right which might suggest the readings *śrela* and *śrilamadu*. But a comparison of the undoubted *śr-* in *śravadiṇa* makes it likely that in these two instances *-r-* is not intended.

280. The same verse also in MBh. v. 39. 58, with *akrodhena jayet krodham*, while the Uv. has *akrodhena jayet kruddham*. It is probable that *jiṇa* is to be interpreted as an optative: see p. 82.

kradava: see note on **228**.

281. *daya*: This can hardly represent a form directly corresponding to the Pali *dajjā*, Uv. *dadyāt*. Rather than assume an irregular development of *-jj-* > *-yy-* (whether in this dialect or the source-language of the translation), it seems preferable to understand the word as for **dā-yāt*, or perhaps **deyya* (cf. Pali *deyyaṃ*, Geiger § 143; Buddhist Sanskrit *dāti*, BHSG p. 215). The first pāda of the stanza shows a similar contrast between the Prakrit *kuve'a* (*kup-*) and the Pali *kujjheyya* (*krudh-*).

gacha: optative, as *jiṇa* in the preceding stanza.

In *b*, the Pali seems unlikely to mean 'One should if asked give even a little', as some of the translators take it. The Pali commentator, slightly embarrassed by the line, quaintly explains that the bhikkhu does not actually say 'give' to the householder, but by standing at the door of the house he does in effect (*atthato*) ask for alms. He does, however, correctly understand *appasmiṃ* as, virtually, a hanging locative absolute: *appasmiṃ pi deyyadhamme vijjamāne* (*appamattakam pi dadetha*), i.e. 'One should give when asked, even if one has but little'. In comparison with this, we may take *apadu* as ablative (*alpa-taḥ*), 'One should give even from a small store'. The alternative division *apa du* (*alpaṃ tu*) would agree in sense with the modern translators, but would leave *du* as an awkward verse-filler. The published Sanskrit version is broken at this point, but the Tib. would seem to support *alpam*: *slon la chuṅ yaṅ sbyin par bya*.

283. *ma sa*: see note on **285**.

avaraṇa: while the spelling could equally well represent *āvaraṇaṃ*, it seems more likely that it should be understood here as *avāraṇaṃ*: 'miserable is the non-restraint of anger', or 'the misery resulting from anger is inescapable'.

An approximate parallel to the third pāda may be seen in Dhp. 69*a*, which appears in the editions as *madhuvā maññati bālo*. Fausbøll interpreted the first word as 'adverbial', equivalent

to a Sanskrit *madhuvat* 'quasi mel'. Max Müller drew attention to the occurrence of the same verse in Saṃ. i. 85, with *ṭhānamhi* in place of *madhuvā*. For the Dhp. verse, the PTSD apparently wished to read *madhū vā*, but gave no reason for this curious emendation. The word, however, is obviously suspect. The Burmese reading *madhū va* is quoted in the edition of the commentary, and in the commentary itself the printed text gives *madhuṃ viya madhura-rasaṃ viya*. The corresponding verse to Dhp. 69 in the Uv. (not available in Sanskrit) has *byis pa mṅar bar sems*, which suggests that the Sanskrit had *madhuraṃ*.

In the manuscript, the third syllable of the word is rather clumsily written, and at the head of the character a thick, almost straight stroke, apparently added afterwards, may give the impression that the scribe intended to emphasize that the character was *bu*, not *ru*. If this were so, we might interpret *maho bu* as equivalent to a hypothetical Pali *madhuṃ va*; and although the writing of *bu* in place of the normal *ba* would be isolated, there would be no inherent difficulty in accepting it as a possibility. But the general appearance of the character is much more like *ru*: in particular, the transverse stroke of the head is too nearly horizontal for *b-*, and the tendency for the main descending line to swing towards the left is much more characteristic of *ru* than of *bu*. It is thus more probable that the word should be read as *mahoru*, equivalent therefore to *madhuraṃ*, as in a comparable context in **289**. Since the word appears elsewhere as *masura-*, it may be assumed that the form with *-h-* for earlier *-dh-* is simply taken by the translator from his source.

At the end of the phrase, *sadhu* is naturally not to be thought of as a replacement for *bālo* in the Pali; and it may reasonably be taken in conjunction with *mahoru*: 'thinking it is sweet, and excellent'. It is, however, possible that this is written for *sadu* < *svādu*.

mañati: it seems impossible to read this as *mañadi*. One might be tempted to dismiss it as a mere slip of the pen; but the writing, although rapid (as the junction-strokes show), is perfectly clear, and has every appearance of being deliberate. It is probable that the scribe intended the word as an absolutive, which would give good sense, though less good metre. Because of this, we may assume either that the word is a misunderstanding, and replaces an earlier indicative, or that the verse in its present form is a late composition, though admittedly using inherited materials. If the word was in fact meant as an absolutive (< **manyit(v)ī*), we may compare such formations as Pali *maññita-*; Mv. i. 309. 11 *ava-manyitvā* (BHSG p. 224).

Dhp. 314 gives an approximate parallel for the final pāda: *pacchā tapati dukkataṃ*. In the light of this and other similar expressions, it might appear that the subject of *tavadi* should be the results of anger implied by the first half of the verse, in which case it would be necessary to interpret *kodhaṇo* as accusative. But although the present text normally agrees with Pali in using the passive of this verb to denote 'suffering' (*tapadi*, P. *tappati*, S. *tapyate*), it is quite possible for *pacha tavadi kodhaṇo* to mean 'the irascible man feels remorse'.

284. Here the agreement between the Prakrit and the Uv. is very close, and the divergences of the Pali in the first and third pādas are decidedly inferior. The four vices named in the second half of the verse occur together as a group also in **27** = Dhp. 407, and it would seem that *rāgo* and *doso* have been replaced in the Pali version here in order to make the stanza fit better into its chapter on old age.

285. 'The niggardly man is reborn as a bee, the violent man as a donkey, and the irascible man as a pig. Do not be angry, child.'

While the dictionaries give a rather wide range of meanings for *matsarin*, the normal and most frequent sense of the term in Buddhist texts is not 'envious, greedy, selfish', but very precisely 'stingy, niggardly'. In particular, the reference of the word is to the deadly sin of not giving

alms to the begging monk: Jātaka 535; Saṃ. i. 18; Dhp. 242 *maccheraṃ dadato malaṃ*; 262 *maccharī* = Uv. xxix. 9 (T.) *ḥjuṅs daṅ ldan*; Mahāvyutpatti 2484 *matsaraḥ, ser sna can, 慳 chien* (followed by *kadaryaḥ, ḥjuṅs po, 吝 lin*). The insect, however, is ambiguous, and may be either a fly or a bee. In the context it seems reasonable to assume that the latter is meant, and that the sinner in question will spend his future existence hoarding honey.

prahata: 'one who strikes' (*prahartṛ-*); and as a donkey he will himself in turn be beaten.

ma sa: it seems most probable that this is to be understood as *mā sma*, directly equivalent in force, and perhaps in etymology, to Pali *māssu*. Since, however, a genitive is perfectly in place with the verb *krudh-*, it is not impossible that the sense intended here was 'do not be angry with him', i.e. *mā asya*. This would in any case appear to be a verse of a Jātaka type, and the Pali Jātaka shows both constructions: iii. 229 *māssu*, but ii. 320, v. 308 *mā me kujjhi rathesabha*; iii. 22 *māssā* (var. *māssu*) *kujjhi rathesabha*. Here naturally some allowance may be made for reinterpretations and corruptions in the course of the Pali transmission.

286, 287. These two verses now follow as a sequel to the preceding, and describe in contrast the future destiny of the man who is mild and gentle. Since the first pāda is cast in the same form as the statements about the three types of sinner in the previous verse, we need not doubt that *bhadrañu* is here used as a noun. Indeed, even apart from the other verse, it is difficult to see any other way in which the statement could give any sense.

The common form of respectful address to a monk, *bhante*, beside *bhadanta* (AMg. *bhayanta*), has generally been accepted as a development of *bhadraṃ te*; but by the time of our texts the word is certainly being employed virtually as a vocative. In the same way, *bhaddaṃ vo* has clearly the effect of a vocative plural in the familiar cliché *taṃ vo vadāmi bhaddaṃ vo*, even although its grammatical origin has remained more transparent; and a rendering in these terms (Lüders, BSU § 24 'das sage ich euch, ihr Herren') is more likely to convey the force of the original than the parenthetical insertion of 'blessings on you'.

It is perhaps understandable that the Pali phrase as it occurs in Dhp. 337 should have been misconstrued by the early translators, who took *bhaddaṃ* as an adjective with *taṃ* (Max Müller, 'This salutary word I tell you'). The mistake was pointed out by Senart in 1898 in his note on the corresponding verse in the Prakrit text (**126**), although he hesitated between the two renderings 'Seigneurs!' and 'le salut sur vous!'. The latter has the support of the Pali commentary, for what that is worth: *bhaddaṃ vo ti bhaddaṃ tumhākaṃ hotu* (which is perhaps to some extent the innocent cause of the mistranslation); but it would be rash to eliminate the vocative rendering merely on this evidence. More surprising than the original error is its re-emergence as late as 1950: 'I declare to you this good (counsel)' (Radhakrishnan); and still more curious is the translation of the corresponding Uv. iii. 11 by Chakravarti, 'C'est là la bonne parole que je vous dis', since this translation is immediately followed by a reference to Senart's note.

Rockhill translated the Tibetan version as 'this salutary word I tell unto you'; but this is merely a reflection of the translations from the Pali, and the Tibetan does in fact render faithfully the etymological sense of the expression ('be happy', virtually 'greetings'):

khyed la smra yis khyed bde śog.

Once the expression *bhaddaṃ vo* has come to be felt as a vocative, virtually equivalent to *bhikkhavo*, it is only a short further step to use it as a nominative. In the present dialect, where the enclitic pronoun is *yu* in place of *vo* (**126** *ta yu vadami bhadrañu*) the resulting form could readily be thought of as if it meant *bhadra-jña-*; and such an interpretation would facilitate the use of the word as a singular noun. See also p. 53.

suho modadi: as in **173**, representing the older phrase *sukham edhati*. Cf. also Saṃ. i. 208:

satimato sadā bhaddaṃ satimā sukham edhati.

dhamu: in the context most readily understood in the same way as the frequent *dharmatā khalu* 'Now it is the normal, regular course of events that . . .'. The sense here is thus, in effect, 'this is the destiny of the meek and mild', to become a monk in a future birth (or perhaps, in view of the honorific connotation of the word, we should say 'a church-dignitary').

tadiṇo: in form ambiguous. The word-order makes it easier to take it as a vocative plural with *edha paśadha*, 'just look, your Reverences'. It could, however, equally well be a genitive singular with *suradasa*, and the very high honorific associations of the word may incline us rather to this (see BHSD s.v. *tāyin*). The latter interpretation may also receive some support from the employment in the following stanza of *edadiśo*, which doubtless carries some of the awe and respect which had become attached to *tāyin*, *tādi*.

The two stanzas may thus be rendered: 'The meek man becomes a reverend monk; the meek man rejoices in happiness; this is the inevitable destiny of the meek and mild—just look!—of the venerable one. Consider the reward of meekness, where, among such miserable reincarnations (as insect, donkey, pig), a good and holy man, just because he is meek, escapes suffering.'

288, 289. *jatva*: directly agreeing with this, the Pali in these verses has *jhatvā*, while in **12, 13**, where the Prakrit also has *jatva*, the corresponding Pali verses have *hantvā*. There is thus no reason to doubt that *jhatvā* in Pali is in fact a synonym of *hantvā*, and the suggested connexion of the word with *jhāpeti* 'to burn' (PTSD) remains questionable. The context in the present verses is decisive for the sense of 'kill': cf. also the paraphrase of the same idea in Jāt. v. 141 *kiṃ sū vadhitvā na kadāci socati . . . kodhaṃ vadhitvā*, &c. (= Mv. iii. 370). The sense was also on occasion recognized by the Pali commentators: Jāt. iv. 57 *taṃ ca jhatvāna gacchati*, where the explanation is *hantvā*; and on the present passage in Saṃ. i. 41, *vadhitvā*. On the other hand, where the word occurs together with its doublet in Jāt. ii. 262 *hantvā jhatvā vadhitvā*, the commentator, apparently insensitive to bathos, renders it by *kilametvā*.

It seems most probable that *jhatvā* is simply a dialectical archaism, and is in origin the same word as *hatvā*, although possibly reinforced by **kṣatvā* (*kṣan-*). (For Middle Indian *jh* corresponding to Sanskrit *kṣ*, see Pischel § 324. The suggestion there that *jh* represents an inherited Indo-Iranian voiced group has been frequently repeated; but the examples on which this theory is based are so few that it cannot be regarded as established, and it remains possible that the voicing in *jh* in such words was an independent development in Middle Indian.)

Although the meaning of *jhatvā* is contextually beyond dispute, the word has caused constant difficulties. In the Saṃyutta-nikāya it occurs some twenty times in the Sagātha-vagga (mostly in repetitions of the present verses); but the editor of the PTS edition has throughout preferred the obviously corrupt *chetvā* from his Burmese manuscript, and has even drawn attention in his preface to the 'surprising constancy' with which his Sinhalese manuscripts were united in upholding the 'astonishing blunder' of *jhatvā*. This edition was published as long ago as 1884, and much can be forgiven in the pioneer stages of the printing of the canon. It is, nevertheless, regrettable that, when the error had already been corrected in the Dictionary, this astonishing piece of editing should now have been embalmed in the PTS Concordance.

In Jāt. ii. 262 and DhpA iv. 162 the Burmese manuscripts also have *chetvā*, and it would seem that this was a regular Burmese scribal correction. In the latter place, the editor has chosen the right reading, but has quaintly printed *sujhatvā* as one word. The same two verses are quoted in Netti. 145, but with the spelling *jhitvā*, apparently a compromise between *jhatvā* and *jitvā*. It is possible that the spelling with *-i-* is an old one, since the translator of the Uv., who also found the

word a stumbling-block, replaced it by *hitvā*. Although the manuscripts of both Sanskrit versions are somewhat broken, the reading is justified by the Tibetan, *khro ba spaṅs nas*. The final pāda, however, *de bcom pa yis mya ṅan med*, suggests that the version translated, in spite of *hitvā* earlier in the verse, ended with *jitvā na śocati*.

290. The small projecting part on the right of fragment 366, bearing two penstrokes, does not in fact belong to the same fragment. This can be more clearly seen from the photograph of the other side (on the left of 84).

ruyida: while this is readily acceptable as a genuine form (< *rucita*-), the agreement of the Uv. with the Pali *ruciraṃ*, makes it probable that in the present context the form with *-da* has been introduced as a 'correction' by the translator or a scribe, who thought he saw in *-ira-* a vernacular pronunciation of the type exemplified by *praverayadi* (see notes on **160, 259**).

While the old Uv. in xviii. 7 (and presumably also in 6, though the manuscript is broken there) probably retained the Middle Indian grammar in *varṇavantaṃ* (Chakravarti, p. 225), the revised version in both verses gives *varṇavat syāt*.

292. *paridi*: in the Niya document no. 510, where the verse occurs together with that which follows it both in the Pali Dhp. and the Uv. (see note on **271**), the corresponding word has been read as *pajeti*, with an alternative *paleti* given in a footnote. It is impossible to recognize either of these from the published photograph, although admittedly the writing is badly rubbed, and any reading requires some degree of faith. The head of the second character in the word is, however, consistent with *r*, though hardly with *j* or *l*; and if some of the marks below this are assumed to be accidents of dirt or smudging, the word can readily be visualized as *paredi* (not in any case *-ti*). If, however, these marks were made by the pen, the most probable reading would seem to be *pacedi*, which could be interpreted as *pratyeti*. In view of the consensus of the other versions, such a reading would be a late variant. The Uv. manuscripts give *-leti* (restored by Chakravarti as *pāleti*, but just as likely to have been *paleti*) and *paraiti*.

In the first half of the verse, the Uv. has:

yathāpi bhramaraḥ puṣpād varṇa-gandhāv aheṭhayan,

where the Pali has *pupphaṃ*. This was quoted by Alsdorf, with other examples, in support of his interpretation of a few instances of *-aṃ* in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī as ablatives (BSOS viii, 1935–7, 319 ff.), both versions being understood to mean the same: 'As the bee, without injuring the colour or scent, takes the nectar and departs from the flower.' K. de Vreese (BSOAS xvii, 1955, 370), while agreeing in taking *pupphaṃ* with *paleti*, disputed the interpretation of *-aṃ* as an ablative, and preferred to see in it an example of a Middle Indian tendency to employ an accusative with intransitive verbs—not in itself a very convincing suggestion. He added, 'commonly *pupphaṃ* is joined to *aheṭhayaṃ*, which does not make sense'. It may be added that the modern translators, in taking it thus, were merely following the Pali commentator, who thought that it did make sense, as indeed we might concede that it does, in a somewhat lame fashion: *pupphaṃ ca vaṇṇaṃ ca gandhaṃ ca aheṭhento*. Meanwhile, the collection of Pali examples made by Lüders (BSU §§ 188–95, published about the time when de Vreese's article went to the printer) would seem to establish the reality of the phenomenon *-aṃ* in Pali in a number of places where an interpretation as an ablative seems essential. (This does not, however, prove the real existence of a Māgadhan ablative of this form: on the general question, see further p. 79.) The present verse is included by Lüders among his examples, with the comment 'Hier ist jedoch *pupphaṃ* mit *paleti* zu verbinden'. But in the context of the verse, 'von der Blüte davonfliegt' seems hardly better sense than the traditional interpretation, and there now seems little doubt that this verse should be subtracted from the examples of 'ablatives in *-aṃ*'.

The employment of a double accusative with a number of verbs is well known in Sanskrit syntax: Pāṇini i. 4. 51 *akathitaṃ ca*, where the commentators give, in addition to the familiar *gāṃ dogdhi payaḥ*, examples such as *pauravaṃ gāṃ bhikṣate*, and *vṛkṣam avacinoti phalāni*. An extension of this syntactic structure to other verbs with similar sense is readily understandable, and de Vreese (loc. cit.) quotes an example which he appears to have thought of as a Middle Indian aberration, but which is in fact precisely parallel to *vṛkṣam avacinoti phalāni*, namely Mv. ii. 450 *ahaṃ vāpīṃ padmāni gṛhṇiṣyāmi*. In the light of such examples, it is clear that *pupphaṃ* is not to be construed with *aheṭhayaṃ* (as the commentator and translators take it), nor yet with *paleti* (as Alsdorf, Lüders, and de Vreese), but with *ādāya*. This being so, the appearance of *puṣpād rasam ādāya* in the Uv. can be seen as merely an alternative method of expressing the same sense, and was correctly translated by Chakravarti in this way. Like so many other features in the revision of the Uv., it is in fact merely a move in the direction of better Sanskrit; for although the double accusative with *ā-dā-* is easily understood on the analogy of *ava-ci-*, the latter is specifically sanctioned by the grammarians, and *ā-dā-* is not included among the traditional examples to the sūtra *akathitaṃ ca*. A similar alternative alongside the double accusative can be seen in the passage from the Mv. referred to above, where a few lines earlier we find (ii. 449) *vāpīsu padumāni gṛhṇīṣyāmaḥ*.

294. *puṣaṇi*: the bottom of the characters being lost, it is possible that *puṣpaṇi* was written here.

yeva: only the vowel sign of the first syllable survives, and the vowel could have been *-i*. In view of the direction of the vowel-stroke, the restoration *yeva* seems the most likely, since with *y-* the *-e* stroke tends to be more nearly vertical than with the other consonants.

ada . . .: this could correspond either to *ādāya* in Dhp. 47 or to *antako* in 48, the former implying only an alteration in the word-order, the second suggesting the loss of the twin-stanza through an accident of copying. Since the variant stanza appears also in the Uv., the latter seems most probable. The traces of writing remaining in 371 seemed too slight to admit a reading into the text; but it is conceivable that, such as they are, they would be consistent with a restoration such as: *ada*[*ko k*]*u*[*ra*]*di va*[*śa*]. On the other hand, nothing which could correspond to Dhp. 47*d* appears to fit. It therefore seems very probable that verses corresponding to both Dhp. 47 and 48 were originally present, and that they have been telescoped through the common scribal error of homoioteleuton. Another example of the same mistake occurs a few verses later (see note on **296**). The fragments here have been allowed to overlap, as can be seen more clearly from the photograph of the other side (lines 86–88), and it is therefore almost certain that the ends of this verse and the preceding one are still preserved, though not at present visible.

For another variant of the same verse, see **334** = Dhp. 287. It is of interest to observe that the latter is widely separated from the flower-verses in the Pali and the Uv. also. Cf. also MBh. xii. 169, 13, 17, where the two verse-beginnings, separated in the Buddhist versions, appear together (Chakravarti, pp. 231–2):

puṣpāṇīva vicinvantam anyatragatamānasam
vṛkīvoraṇam āsādya mṛtyur ādāya gacchati
taṃ putra-paśu-sampannaṃ vyāsaktamānasaṃ naram
suptaṃ vyāghro mṛgam iva mṛtyur ādāya gacchati.

(The critical edition gives *śaṣpāṇi* for *puṣpāṇi*, and in place of *sampannaṃ* has *sammattaṃ*, but marks the latter as doubtful. Since the Dhp. verse is cited in the footnote, it seems probable that the Pali reading has influenced the editors' choice, and it is not clear from the apparatus criticus what support *sammattaṃ* had in the MBh manuscripts. On the Pali reading, see further note on **334**.)

295. The revised Uv. agrees with the Pali in the verbs *eti* in the first and third pādas, and *pravāti* (mss. *pravādi*), while the old manuscript has *pravāyate*. The second pāda, on the other hand, agrees with the Prakrit in having *candana-* as the third name, but has a replacement for *mali'a*: *na vāhnijāt tagarāc candanād vā*. The verse is also quoted in *Toch. Spr.*, B. p. 74, with *na cāhnijāt*, from the Berlin fragments.

There seems little doubt that the last word in the Prakrit stanza is a later substitution. The only interpretation which suggests itself is *pratāyate* (*tan-*), but this is hardly convincing, and it seems more probable that we have here only an accidental corruption for *prava'idi*. The initial syllable, doubtfully read as *pa*, may in fact be *pra*; but the almost horizontal mark at the foot of the character may not be a pen-stroke; and the kink in the right-hand limb is unusual in *pa* (though common in *pha*, which can hardly be intended here). No alternative reading, however, seems possible in the context. Perhaps *vi* might be read; but the writing would then be unusually ill balanced.

In spite of these doubts, the word is clearly a support for the Jagatī ending of the verse as in the old Uv. *pravāyate*. It should therefore be noted that H. C. Norman, in his edition of the Pali commentary (i. 422) quotes *pavāyati* as a Burmese and Cambodian reading. Such a form could scarcely be thought to have arisen as a secondary corruption, and it is clear that *pavāti* in the Pali editions is an example of precisely the same type of normalization of the metre as is shown in the later Uv. revision to *pravāti*. The form *pavāyati* should therefore be restored to the Pali text.

296. The connected group of four verses, Dhp. 54–57, appear together also in Uv. vi. 16–19. In the Prakrit as transcribed there are only three, and in view of the fragmentary nature of the present verse, it might at first sight be suspected that space should have been left for the missing verse. This, however, is impossible. The portions of **297** follow immediately on the same fragments, and the fragment containing the end of **295** is directly attached by the original thread, as is more clearly seen on the photograph of the other side, between lines 88 and 89. Nor could it be conjectured that the attachment of the thread was illusory in the photograph, and that a portion of the manuscript containing a verse had been lost between **295** and **296**; for this would entail not only the further assumption that the scribe had mistaken the number of verses in this chapter, but also that he had made an identical mistake in the numbering of the corresponding chapter (*Thera*) on the recto of the leaf.

The Pali stanza Dhp. 55, ending with *sīlagandho anuttaro*, is followed immediately by 56 ending in *vāti devesu uttamo*. The final pāda of the Prakrit stanza thus declares itself to be a conflation of two earlier stanzas corresponding to the two in the Pali, with a similar homoioteleuton accident to that in **294**.

297. In place of the Pali *sampanna-sīlānaṃ*, the Uv. has *viśuddha-śīlānām*. In spite of the break in the manuscript, the Prakrit here can be seen to agree with the Pali in this, the traces being consistent with [*sa*]*baṇa-*, whereas *-śudha* would not fit at all. In the last pāda, however, the Uv. agrees with the Pali. (The old manuscript is not available for this verse.)

298. The old Uv. manuscript, like the Pali and Prakrit, has the jasmine here, *varṣakī*; but this has become *varṣāsu* in the revised version, a corruption which has compelled the introduction of another flower-name in place of the adjective at the beginning of the second pāda. This appears in the Sanskrit manuscript as *vaguro*, but is transliterated in the Tibetan in the more familiar spelling *bakula-*. In this verse the Tibetan depends on a revised version, having also *dbyar ka* 'summer', corresponding to the Indian monsoon season.

299. *praṇiṇa*: although the lower part of the character has been lost, the curve of the top to the right makes it virtually certain that *pra-*, not *pa-*, was written. The *-r-* is of course in any case an intrusion.

The commentator gives no explanation of the oddity of specifying an autumn flower rather than one blossoming at another season. We may assume that an incompetent poet who saw nothing wrong in filling a hole in his verse by adding the absurd detail that the lotus is plucked 'with the hand' would naturally be incapable of perceiving the destructive effect on his verse of using 'autumnal' to stop another gap. Doubtless he thought it was a 'poetical' word.

300. After the break in the second pāda, the syllables *da'i* are certain; and enough remains of the preceding character to establish that it was not *bu*. The traces, however, suggest *bhu*; and if this was in fact written, it would seem that the aspiration has been noted in the (historically) wrong syllable, assuming that the word here did in fact correspond to the Pali *-budhāno* in its stem if not in its termination.

papavuṣe'aṇa: although only the tops of the first two characters remain, they are too nearly vertical to admit either to be *pra-*. This is presumably only an accidental dittography.

301. The phrase *yama-loka ji* was read by Senart from a fragment (C vi) which now seems to have disappeared. There is, however, no reason to doubt the words, which in any case recur in the following stanza.

302. Uv. *śaikṣaḥ*, agreeing with the Pali, suggests that there is here a prima facie case for considering *budhu* in the Prakrit stanza to be the replacement. The Buddha, on the other hand, might be thought a more appropriate 'conqueror of the world' than a mere beginner (*sekho*), just as the latter more appropriately collects and arranges the well-taught verses of the doctrine. The Buddha may be presumed to stand in no need of seeking out the verses.

304. The Uv., while agreeing with the Prakrit in the preceding stanza (*saṃkāra-kūṭa-*), here agrees with the Pali in sense: *phyag dar phuṅ*. (The Sanskrit version of the relevant phrase is missing in both Chakravarti's manuscripts.) It is thus very probable that *saghasa-dhama-* in the Prakrit is an alteration. At the same time, it is not meaningless in the context, if construed with *śavaka* at the end of the verse: 'similarly the disciples of the Buddha, who have realised the *dharma* (who are *arhants*), shine forth by reason of their wisdom, while common mortals are blind'. The word has perhaps been attracted to this verse by a memory of its use in contrast to *pṛthag-jana* in contexts such as Sn. 1038:

ye ca saṃkhāta-dhammāse ye ca sekhā puthū idha.

While the term sometimes appears in Buddhist Sanskrit as *svākhyāta-dharma-* (cf. Mv. iii. 435, cited with verse **313**, where the corresponding verse in the Uv. is also shown to have had *sv-ākhyāta-* by the Tibetan *legs par gsuṅs pa*), this is certainly the result of a confusion with the genuine *svākhyāta-* 'well taught', as an epithet of *dharma*. Pali also has *svākkhāta* in the latter sense, but this is not intended either in the present verse or in **313**; and the Prakrit form agrees with the Pali *saṃkhāta-* (> *saṃghāda-* > *saghadha-*, with *s* for *dh*: see p. 96). In both instances in the manuscript, the head of the third syllable of the word is obscured, and adventitious marks make it at first sight tempting to read *dha*; but a closer examination establishes *sa* in both places.

Although fragment 419 was still in position with the main leaf in Senart's facsimile, no information has been lost by the fact of its having become detached. The lower part of the characters had already been lost at that time; and while we may with virtual certainty assume that *gh*, not *g*,

was written (since the word must certainly be the same as that in verse **313**, line 393), the restoration of the inflexional ending remains more in doubt. Senart gave *dhamaa* in his transcription, but added in a note that the final letter could be *e* or *i*. Barua and Mitra adopted *dhamae* 'for symmetry' (whatever that may mean), and suggested that this might be understood as equivalent to Pali *dhammake* (or *dhammakā*, if the reading *-aa* were kept). Such baseless conjecture seems to call for no detailed refutation. Since in fact only the head of the alif remains visible, the graphic possibilities are not limited to *a*, *i*, *e*, and there is no reason for excluding *u* and *o* from consideration. Since from the context a nominative plural agreeing with *ṣavaka* would seem to be required, the most reasonable hypothesis would seem to be that we have here the equivalent of the AMg. nom. pl. in *-āo* (Pischel § 367; two possible examples in *-āyo* noted for Buddhist Sanskrit, BHSG § 8.82), in which case the writing here might have been *dhama'u* or *dhama'o*. Alternatively, if beside *-āyo* a more 'Māgadhan' form in **-āye* existed, either in its own right or as a compromise between *-āyo* and *-āse*, the manuscript here might have had *dhama'e* or *dhama'i*. (See also notes on **88**, **89**. The reading *prace'a i*, *prace'a'u* in **88** is also doubtful, with a slight bias in favour of *i*, which could in that context be interpreted as *ca*. It would of course be hazardous to cite a conjecture here in support of a conjectural interpretation in the earlier verse, and we must at present be content merely to indicate the possibilities, and to leave the question open until further examples can be quoted.)

306. *vayaṇa*: for this word Senart read *gaśana*, adding in a note that the appearance of the second character was indecisive, and might have been read as *ya*. He preferred *śa*, on the assumption that the word represented Pali *gāthā-*, and quoted in support *śiśila* for *sithila*. In the latter, however, the second *ś* is the result of an assimilation to the initial palatal, and except in such circumstances only the dental *s* would be a possible replacement for *dh*. In *vanaśe'a*, P. *vanathaja*, the palatal character of the earlier *-j-* has extended its influence back to give *ś* in place of *s* (the palatalization being also seen in *-e-*); though it is possible in this word that *anośe'a*, in a rhyming position in the preceding verse (88), may have been in part responsible. Lüders, without having seen the fragment, preferred *ya*, and suggested that *gayana* was a mistake for *vayana*. Now that the fragment can be seen, it is gratifying to find that Lüders's conjecture is fully substantiated. The second syllable is quite unambiguously *ya*; and for the first, the scribe had indeed written *ga* (his eye having strayed to *gadhaṇa* in the parallel verse, **308**), but then corrected it by writing *va* rather heavily over it.

In this and the following three verses, the scribe has amused himself by giving four different spellings for the one word: *ṣevha*, *ṣehu*, *ṣeho*, and *ṣebha*. See also p. 97.

307. The reading in the second pāda is slightly obscured at first sight by the fact that, at the break in the manuscript, the lower portion has been slid some distance to the left (approximately 3·5 mm. on the scale of the plate). When allowance is made for this, all the syllables are seen to be present.

310. *avedi*: this variant, beside *arh-* in the classical form of the cliché, *agghati* in the Pali, and *arghati* in the Mahāvastu, is capable of a number of interpretations. The Uv. parallel is not available in Sanskrit, but the Tibetan has *phod*, which, in the same phrase translates *arghanti* in Hevajra-tantra I. viii. 48 (ed. Snellgrove, Part II, pp. 30, 31). An alternative expression, which appears in Pali as *na catu-bhāgam eti*, is translated in **321** *na cadu-bhaku vedi*, where the last word may be only a sandhi-form resulting from *edi*, but may have been understood in this dialect as the equivalent of *upaiti*. (In the Uv. equivalent of **321**, the Tibetan again has *phod*.) It is thus possible that *avedi* is written here for *uvedi*, the *u*-quality of the initial being for the

scribe adequately indicated or implied by the on-glide to the *v*. Barua and Mitra suggested *anveti*; and since this normally appears as *amedi*, the spelling *avedi* might possibly be used for the same word. The meaning, however, seems scarcely to fit. Other formal possibilities, *apaiti*, *avaiti*, seem open to the same objection. Senart translated the word as 'ne gagne pas', and perhaps thought of *āpayati*. This would be satisfactory in form, and since Buddhist Sanskrit shows some examples of the word in a non-causative sense (BHSG p. 205), it cannot be definitely ruled out here; though it seems slightly less likely than *upaiti*.

312. *saǵi*: the diacritical stroke which distinguishes *ǵ* from *g* appears in this instance to have been added as an afterthought.

313. *saghasa-dhameṣu*: see note on **304.**

314. It seems hardly possible to conjecture what the third pāda contained. The two small traces of ink at the beginning are consistent with *neva* (as in the preceding stanzas), and this could reasonably be added to the text. For the penultimate syllable, Senart hesitated between *te* and *re*; but it is certain that *t* should be read, since an *r* is unlikely to have curved so much to the left in its descent, and would in any case have continued far enough for part to show below the break, where the original bark is intact. On the other hand, to the right of the character, a layer of bark has peeled off (as can be seen more clearly on Senart's facsimile). It is therefore possible that the original word here ended either in *-teṣu*, or *-treṣu*, or *-tveṣu*. Senart suggested, with some probability, that the verse might be compared with Uv. xxiv. 32, which, with *byams pa sems par byed pa*, might indicate a pāda containing [*metri-ci*]*teṣu*. But until the Sanskrit is available, this must remain doubtful.

It is, however, possible to exclude with certainty the proposed restoration put forward by Barua and Mitra, (*neva sabanaśil*)*eṣu* as a parallel to Mv. iii. 435. 18 *na so sampannaśīlānāṃ*. While this makes perfectly good sense, it is not the verse which belongs here. The surviving syllables of the pāda were quite as clear in Senart's facsimiles as in the new photograph; and the fact that *-leṣu* should even have been considered seems explicable only on the hypothesis of ignorance of the Kharoṣṭhī script.

316. *muhutu*: here and in the following verses the Uv., with *ñin źag*, agrees with the Mv. and Pali *ekāhaṃ*; but in the verses corresponding to **320**, the other versions agree with *muhuta*.

319, 320. *jadu*: Senart suggested that this might support a correction of the Pali to *jātu*; but *jantu* is supported by the Tibetan (*mi*), and the Prakrit spelling could represent either word. There is thus no justification for changing the Pali text here. The doubt seems to have arisen in the first place from the fact that Fausbøll's edition had *jantuṃ*. It is, however, possible that this may be an isolated manuscript error. The edition of the commentary has only *jantu*, with no variants noted, and recent editions of the text likewise give *jantu*.

While the Pali and the Uv. agree in a six-pāda stanza in place of these two verses, Mv. iii. 435 has two full stanzas, but differs completely from the Prakrit in the two pādas which are not represented in the other sources:

yo ca varṣaśataṃ jīve agniparicaraṃ caret
patrāhāro chavāvāsī karonto vividhaṃ tapaṃ.

The process of corruption is clear in the first half of the verse: *jīve* is simply imported from the group of serial repetitions which begin in the same way, and *caret* is a Sanskritization of *care*,

which is itself a very easy miscopying for *vane* in Nepalese script. In the second half-verse, *chavāvāsī* is unlikely to mean 'having a wretched dwelling' (BHSD). In company with *patrāhāro* 'living on a diet of leaves', it seems more probable that it was intended to convey 'wearing clothes of bark'—a common enough idea for forest-dwelling ascetics. (Alternatively, it might be understood as 'with only skin for clothing', i.e. 'naked'.) In either case *chavā-* will represent *chavi-*; and the fact that the other manuscript is reported as reading *chavovāsi* suggests that both readings are descended from a miscopied *chavī-vāsī*.

Barua and Mitra (Introduction, p. xxxvi) suggested that in the Prakrit and the Mv. 'the two verses seem to have been constructed out of one older verse of three lines by thrusting one extra line within its first two lines'. This, however, involves the acceptance of a very striking coincidence, that two texts, only remotely akin, should have decided to fill out in this way at exactly the same place, although in fact six-pāda stanzas are frequently accepted as they stand. A more probable hypothesis would be that the Prakrit stanza, where the sense fits well, represents the original in essentials, but that in another line of manuscript descent, in the common ancestry of the other three versions, the second half-verse had become illegible at one point; that the scribe of the ancestor of the Mahāvastu version, seeing directly from his exemplar that a half-verse had existed at this point, supplied one by his own initiative; but that the manuscripts leading to the Pali and the Uv. respectively had simply passed over the illegible portion. This hypothesis is itself not free from difficulties, and is certainly not to be taken as a definite solution of the problem; but it seemed worth setting out here, as an indication of the type of possibilities which should be investigated when the general question of the nature of the interrelationship of the versions comes to be examined in detail.

321. *puñavekṣa*: although only minute traces remain of the last syllable, these are consistent with *kṣa*, but not at all with *ha*, which the analogy of *aṇavehiṇo* might have led us to expect. The Mv. here has *puṇyaprekṣī*.

cadu-bhaku vedi: alternatively, this might have been transcribed *-bhakuv edi*, assuming that *-v-* is the representative of the *-m* of the original accusative. In other instances—admittedly few —final *-am* has not been observed to appear as *-um* (*-uv-*) before a word beginning with a vowel, but either remains, or appears simply as *-a*, or *-u*. See also pp. 110–12, on *viva*. It is of course possible that the present instance is an exception; but it seems possible that the word in the present version was understood as *vedi* < *upaiti*. See also note on **310**.

A fragment of a Kuchean bilingual of the Uv. has survived, containing from this verse *taṃ na caturbhāga*, and fragmentary portions of the immediately succeeding verses, Uv. xxv. 1, 2 = **228, 229** in the Prakrit text. (Sieg and Siegling, *Toch. Sprachreste*, Spr. B. vol. ii, pp. 196–7.)

322. *suyi-drakṣo*: see note on **255**. It is not impossible that it was the fact of this word coming to be felt archaic which led to readjustments of the verse in the Pali and the Uv. In the latter, Chakravarti's old manuscript has preserved only fragments of the second half of the verse. The revised version has:

dharmastham śīlasampannaṃ hrīmantaṃ satyavādinam
ātmanaḥ (ms. *ātmānaḥ*) *kārakaṃ santaṃ taṃ janaḥ kurute priyam.*

323. *bho'a*: Senart here read *bhoha*, and commented that the word was certain as to the consonants, but that the *h* appeared to be accompanied by a mark denoting the vowel *-u*. This he thought might possibly have been written in error by the scribe ('*yaśabhohu* pour *yaśubhoha*?'). As a transcription, however, *bhoha* is impossible, and the choice lies between *bhoho* and *bho'a*. A

closer examination establishes the latter with certainty. What Senart thought was possibly an *-u* stroke is the tail of the alif; and the fact that at first sight this tail seems to have been attached by a separate stroke of the pen is an illusion due to the rising end of the vowel-stroke in *bho-* crossing the alif.

vayadi: the Uv. agrees, with *vrajate*, against *bhajati* in the Pali. Cf. also in Pali Sn. 1143 *yaṃ yaṃ disaṃ vajati bhūripañño.*

324. With the first half of the verse, cf. Jāt. v. 147 (Franke):

na paṇḍitā attasukhassa hetu pāpāni kammāni samācaranti.

For *dhami'o*, Senart read *dhamiho*; and here the decision between *h* and alif seems less certain than in the preceding stanza. The leaf is broken just to the right of the doubtful character, which, nevertheless, appears to turn to the right at the foot of the stem. If the tail was continued farther, there would be no reading possible other than *ho*. On the other hand, it seems possible that the curve to the right went no farther, in which case it may be interpreted as a mere checking of the pen. Such a stub on the right does in fact occasionally appear sporadically in characters which normally end in a vertical or a pen-drag to the left, although it is virtually unknown in an alif. This fact supports the reading *ho*; but the general appearance of the character as a whole gives rather the impression of *'o*. The latter has therefore been adopted in the text, though without any certain conviction that it is right.

325. The Jātaka parallel to the last pāda is due to Barua and Mitra. In *c*, however, *avaja* can hardly be taken here as 'Sk. *āvadyaḥ*, low, bad, inferior' (presumably a misprint for *avadyaḥ*). Rather, it is equivalent to a Pali *āpajji*: cf. **66** *bhikhu viśpaśa mavadi*, where the last word is parallel to P. *māpādi*. It is indeed possible, since the manuscript is broken there, that in **66** also we should read *avaja* rather than *avadi*. Pali knows both forms of the aorist of *ā-pad-*.

327. Of this verse, only the final pāda appeared in Senart's facsimile, and the fragment containing the first two pādas was not recognized as belonging here. In the absence of a Pali parallel, it is not at all a matter for censure that Senart misread a few syllables, both in the fragment and at the end of the verse; but these few misreadings so completely disguised the appearance of the stanza that the identification of the Pali parallel, the correct attribution of the fragment, and the emendation of Senart's readings by Franke (who, it must be remembered, did not have a facsimile for the first three-quarters of the verse) was an outstanding achievement. The same brilliant reconstruction was, however, later made independently by Barua and Mitra, who saw fit to chide M. Senart for readings (in the fragments they had not seen) which were 'hardly satisfactory'. To demonstrate this further, they emended the last pāda, where the facsimile was available, to *(sa)da samajate vata*; but it has not been possible to follow them in this re-reading.

329. *cavadhivadida*: this was read by Senart as two words, to correspond to the Pali *cāpāto patitaṃ*, there being no very obviously better explanation to propose. He did, however, express in his note considerable doubt as to the interpretation of *cavadhi* as the equivalent of an ablative. The problem, however, does not really arise in this form. If, as seems reasonable in the context, the participle is accepted as equivalent to the Pali *patitaṃ*, then the spelling *-vadida* absolutely forbids us to take it as a separate word. The only possibility remaining is to take the whole expression as a compound qualifying the arrows: 'shot from the bow', *cāpa-adhipatita-*. Since, however, *adhi-pat-* is not altogether satisfactory, it might be suggested that the word is written here for *-adivadida*, i.e. originally representing *cāpātipatita-*. Such a form would agree

sufficiently closely with the Pali *cāpāto patitaṃ* to make it easy to consider one of the two forms as original, the other being readily derived from it by a scribal emendation. The Pali phrase is guaranteed to be at least as old as the commentary, which explains it as *dhanuto muttaṃ*; and it could be argued for as a lectio difficilior. But it is such an awkward phrase, both rhythmically and grammatically, that there is a decided bias toward considering the original form to have been more similar to the Prakrit. It seems in any case well nigh essential to assume that the original verse had a causative participle, *-pātita-*. See also p. 95.

The Uv., with *śarāṃ* (for *śarān*), suggests that this is possibly to be added to the instances collected by Lüders of Pali *-aṃ* representing an accusative plural (BSU §§ 196–219).

tidikṣami: in spite of the break, this is a certain restoration, and the present tense agrees with the Uv., while the Pali has the future. For the stock phrase, cf. MBh. xii. 269. 6 *ativādāṃs titikṣeta* (also Manu vi. 47); and for the comparison with the elephant, Āyāranga ii. 16. 2 *sarehi saṃgāma-gayaṃ va kuñjaraṃ* (cited by Barua and Mitra).

330. *va vilada*: Senart divided the words as *vavi lata*, taking the first two syllables as equivalent to *ivāpi*. This seems very improbable, although there is no intrinsic objection to the second part of the phrase, since the plant in question is certainly a creeper (*latā*). Franke drew attention to the Pali pāda which is the exact parallel to the Prakrit here, in place of which there appears another conveying roughly the same sense in the Dhp. and Uv. In Saṃ. i. 207 and Sn. 272 the phrase appears as *maluvā va vitatā vane*, and on the basis of this Franke proposed to emend the Prakrit reading to *va vitata vani*. (The same emendation was also thought of by Barua and Mitra, whose insight here was the more remarkable since, apparently, they did not have the benefit of the parallel in the Sn. to suggest the correction. It is difficult, however, to accept their interpretation of *vitata* as directly equivalent in this dialect to the Pali *otata*.)

Since the fragment in question was not at that time available in facsimile, Franke's suggested emendation was a very reasonable proposal. But the writing can now be seen to be distinct beyond any doubt, and Senart was right in reading *la*. The only question that remains therefore is the division of the words: whether to read *vavi lada* (or, virtually the same thing, *va vi lada*), or else *va vilada*. Of the former alternative it may be said that the grouping of the particles *va vi* is exceedingly awkward here; although it might be just possible to consider *vavi* as written for *viva*. The latter has been taken as a sandhi-form for *iva* which has arisen after words with final *-m*, and in the present text it is virtually confined to such a position. There is, however, one exception (*amara viva* **256**), and we can therefore hardly deny absolutely the possibility that in the present recension the phrase might have been understood as the equivalent of *iva latā*. (See also pp. 110–12.)

Nevertheless, the Pali *vitatā* makes it virtually certain that the division should be *va viladā*.

It is then of interest to observe that in Sn. 272 a reading *viṭatā* is quoted from the Burmese manuscripts by Fausbøll. This may be no more than a curious coincidence; but it suggests that we might leave the possibility open that the word might not be the participle, but a proper name of a species of *mālu*-creeper. If so, the *-ṭ-* in the Pali variant might be due to a popular etymology connecting the word with *viṭapa*; and similarly the *-l-* of the Prakrit might indicate a direct influence of *latā*. But on the whole it seems more likely that we have here only a sporadic appearance of *-l-* for intervocalic *-d-* < *-t-*: cf. Pischel § 244; H. W. Bailey, BSOAS xi. 1946, 786–7.

In the third pāda of the stanza, the photograph at first sight appears to give *tadhatvaṇa*; but the broken portion on the right has been slightly misplaced (see note on following verse), and when allowance is made for this, it is clear that there was room for the initial *a-* of *atvaṇa* to have been written separately.

331. The fragment above the break has been placed slightly too far to the left, and what at first sight seems to be the bottom of the syllable *ku* belongs in fact to *bhu*. The vowel-sign which really belongs to the *ku* can be seen below the *yo*; and the *ta* of *bhuta* appears below the head of *ḍa*. It is improbable that *bhuto* was written, unless perhaps a small part of the surface layer containing the *o*-stroke has broken off.

In the third pāda, the Uv. agrees with the Pali in the word-order. The traces remaining in the manuscript here, however, could not be read as *-śila*, and we must assume that the Prakrit text had the two words in inverted order. Since the distinctive part of the penultimate character is missing, the word might in theory have been either *bhuñe'a* or *bhuje'a*. On the analogy of *yuñj-* (see p. 100), the latter seemed slightly more probable. (In either case, the ending *-i'a* would be equally consistent with the remains of the writing.)

332. In the Uv. version, the manuscript reading must be corrected in some manner. A correction to *spandano martyo* involves the least alteration from the manuscript reading; and the nominative can be easily understood as the subject of the first statement, if the final pāda is taken as a separate sentence. A nominative plural would involve the same degree of change. Chakravarti emended to *spandanam martyam*, which then makes the whole stanza into a single sentence.

In this place, the old manuscript of the Uv. is missing, and the revised version quoted beside the Prakrit is undoubtedly a later alteration, reducing the stanza to an ordinary anuṣṭubh. The triṣṭubh form of the Prakrit is clearly the older, and a stanza directly corresponding to this must have stood in this place in the Uv. at an earlier stage; for the Tibetan translation is:

ḥdi ni bya ba byas zin don ḥdi bya
de dag byas nas bdag gis ḥdi byaḥo źes
de ltar mi ḥdi yoṅs su śom pa na
rga daṅ nad bcas ḥchi bas mṅon du bcom.

The change to the nine-syllable line from the usual seven-syllable is a very strong indication that the Sanskrit here had the longer metre; and the matter is placed beyond doubt by the renderings *yoṅs su śom*, for *pari-spand-* (for *śom pa*, the dictionaries give 'prepare, put in order, arrange', but we may doubtless assume in this context that some flurry and bustle are implied by the word), and *mṅon du bcom* for *abhi-mard-*.

In the last pāda of the Prakrit, only the tails of the characters in *jara* can be seen (Senart's facsimile, which contains a minute fraction more at this point, does in fact show the junction of the left-hand stroke in the *ja*). The restoration is, however, certain, having the support of *jarā* in the Uv. (and *rga* in the Tibetan of the other Uv. version), and also a close parallel in Uv. xv. 5 *so 'tikramej jātijarāṃ saśokām*. In place of the last word in the present verse, the Tibetan has *nad bcas*, which may imply a variant *sa-roga-*; but since the appearance of disease in such contexts is so common, it may be no more than an interpretation of the type of *śoka* implied.

Cf. also MBh xii. 169. 19 (cited by Lüders):

idaṃ kṛtam idaṃ kāryam idam anyat kṛtākṛtam
evam īhāsukhāsaktaṃ kṛtāntaḥ kurute vaśe;

and JAs 1911, i. 440.

333. *kariṣamu*: Uv. *kariṣyāmi*, against the Pali *vasissāmi*. In the ending, on the other hand, the Uv. agrees with the Pali. Senart drew attention to the fact that in **66** also the same opposition appears: *phuṣamu* beside Pali *phussāmi*; but felt that it was hardly possible to decide whether this was a genuine plural ending, or a singular 'avec une orthographie inexacte'. (In place of the

latter we should now rather say 'with an orthography reflecting an indeterminate quality in final vowels'.) There is of course no theoretical difficulty in the assumption that in these forms *-mu* represents the historic development of *-mi*, and it would be understandable that *-m-* should contribute to the tendency towards *-u*. But equally *-mu* could represent the regular development of the plural, and might in fact have been used as a substitute for the old singular. Until more examples are forthcoming, we can only agree with Senart that the question cannot be decided with certainty. See also p. 83; and cf. Alsdorf, BSOS viii, p. 323.

334. For other verses on the same pattern, see note on **294**.

samadha: it seems impossible to take this as directly equivalent to a Pali *sammattaṃ*; and *samṛddhaṃ*, proposed both by Lüders and Chakravarti, is metrically so improbable that it can be ruled out.

The Pali reading *sammattaṃ* has become firmly established in the editions, but it is textually somewhat insecure, and is certainly intrinsically very inferior in the context. The sense of mental distraction is already in the verse in the word *byāsatta-*, and this fact arouses an initial suspicion that *-sammattaṃ* is a reflection back from this. The Mahābhārata version, with *-sampannaṃ* (see note on **294**), is adequate for the sense required: death carries off even the man who has sons and cattle. It is merely weakening the force of the verse to specify that the wealthy man should also be 'intoxicated' by his prosperity, however much such highly coloured language may be in place in other contexts. Fausbøll, however, held the contrary opinion, and preferred *-sammattaṃ*, 'cui major vis inest', and this opinion has dominated the Pali editions ever since, even to the extent of persuading H. C. Norman to adopt it in his edition of the commentary, although the readings quoted by him make it very probable that the commentator had no knowledge of this variant, but was interpreting either *sampattaṃ* (i.e. *samprāptaṃ*), or, more probably, *sampannaṃ* as in the MBh version. The readings quoted are: in the pratīka and the verse, *sampattaṃ* (Burmese); *ttaṃmattaṃ* (Cambodian: there is of course no merit in this latter variant, but its existence underlines the textual uncertainty at this point). Further, the phrase is explained in the commentary as *putte ca pasū ca labhitvā* (which suggests *sampannaṃ*). Thereafter the man's thoughts on the subject are summarized: 'My sons are handsome, strong and well educated . . . my cow is a good milker', followed by the phrase, in the edition, *ti evaṃ puttehi ca pasūhi ca sammattaṃ naraṃ* 'a man intoxicated in this way by sons and cattle'. The commentator has allowed him only the one milch cow, poor man, and wealth on this scale is little enough to be 'intoxicated' by; but in this place *sammattaṃ* is entirely due to the editor, and is not in any of the sources, which, except for a Cambodian corruption, *sammassantaṃ*, are unanimous here in support of *sampattaṃ*. The Sinhalese edition is quoted as *sampannaṃ*, which may be an emendation, but in the circumstances not a bad one. (In this place, Norman was following Fausbøll, who also emended *sampattaṃ* of his manuscripts to *sammattaṃ*.) Since *-tt-* is a very easy misreading for *-nn-*, and taking into consideration also the MBh *sampannaṃ*, it would seem that there is a very strong prima facie case for *sampannaṃ* as the correct word in the Pali verse also.

The evidence of the Uv. is not at present available in full. Chakravarti (p. 15) gives *saṃmattaṃ*, but apparently as a restoration, and the reading may therefore be due only to the influence of the Pali editions. The old Uv. manuscript is missing here; but the Tibetan translator certainly did not have *sammattaṃ* in his version:

bu daṅ nor phyugs ḥbyor ba la
mi yi yid ni rnam chags pa.

Desgodins gives *ḥbyor ba* as an honorific for *thob pa*, and if we could understand it in this way, it would be consistent with *sampannaṃ*. But it seems easier to interpret *ḥbyor ba* here as 'wealth,

property' (Jäschke, *ḥbyor pa*). This would suggest a Sanskrit version with *sampatti-*, compounded with *vyāsakta-manasaṃ*.

In the Prakrit, *-dh-* could not represent an earlier *-tt-*, and it seems necessary to understand it here as a sporadic writing of the aspirated consonant for the unaspirated (see p. 100 for other examples). If the reading *sammattaṃ* were accepted as genuine, we could understand the Prakrit as equivalent to *-saṃmādaṃ*, giving virtually the same sense with a compound of different structure. But in view of the very strong support for a derivative of *saṃ-pad-*, it seems preferable on the present evidence to take it as equivalent to *saṃpādaṃ*, or *saṃpāda-* compounded with the following word. Although the participle is regularly *sabaṇa-*, *sabarṇa-*, with the expected development of *-mp-* > *-b-*, the appearance of *samajadi* for the indicative (*saṃpadyate*) gives us a comparable example for the development involved. (See p. 107, § 66 *a*.)

(Theoretically, the Prakrit spelling could represent *saṃmataṃ*, which was the word translated by Max Müller: 'praised for his children and flocks'. But this is certainly no more than an oversight, and need not be considered as an authentic variant in the Pali tradition.)

335. It is very probable that fragment 525 belongs to the beginning of the second pāda of this verse, though from the photograph it has not been possible to reach complete certainty. If the placing is correct, it may be assumed that, unlike the other versions, the Prakrit had the second and fourth pādas identical (except for minor spelling variations). We should then assume that *yo* here is written for *ya* (< *ca*), and is equivalent to *i* in the final pāda. It is perhaps just possible to consider the character as intended by the scribe to be *ya*.

Senart in fact suggested that the second pāda might begin with *no i*; but this was only on the basis of the parallelism with the fourth pāda. The Jātaka parallel was identified by Senart, and discussed by him in an appendix printed separately from the edition of the text, but in the same volume, JAs 1912, 545–8.

paḍijagare'a: only the tails of the last two characters have been preserved, and the reading *-re'a*, already conjectured by Senart, is suggested on the basis of the Uv. *pratijāgareta*. It must be admitted that the curl at the foot of the supposed *r* is very odd; but it has not been possible to visualize it as part of any other character which would fit any better. From the shape alone, one might think of *-jagade'a* (with *-d-* as a mistaken restoration of *-r-*, as a 'learned' spelling); but the character seems to be set too low in the line of writing for this to be likely.

The Pali version here is obviously seriously corrupt (and indeed it is quite probable that all three surviving versions are in some degree corrupt). The Sanskrit text is broken, and full of uncertain readings; and the Tibetan version either has an additional corruption in the fourth pāda, or else is translating a variant not preserved in any of the extant Indian versions. In these circumstances, it is hardly profitable to speculate on the original form of the stanza. Nevertheless, the general sense is clear, and is confirmed by the context in the Pali Jātaka (and is in essence repeated by the following stanza): a man ought to take thought for the morrow, lest it find him unprepared. We need not be surprised at the apparent contradiction between this verse and the attitude expressed in **332**, **333**, since any preacher of moderate ability could reconcile them with ease.

An approximate rendering of the Prakrit verse (with which the Tibetan agrees in essentials, except in the last few words) would be: 'One should beforehand look to what must be done, lest when it is time to do it the task slips by (undone). The task does not elude, at the time for doing it, the man who thus does what he ought to do in advance.'

vade'a: formerly read as *ade'a*, but the initial *v-* is certain, and agrees to this extent with the Pali *vyadhesi* and the Uv. *vahanti*, both of which must in different ways be corrupt in the remainder. We need hardly concern ourselves to explain the Pali form as connected with

vyathayati; and *vahanti* has no support from the Tibetan. The precise manner in which P. *vyadhesi* has come into being here is not clear; but it should be recorded that the Burmese manuscripts are quoted with the unaspirated *byādesi*, *byatesi*. These, however, could easily be secondary, and in themselves carry little weight. The pāda is simply a paraphrase of the familiar cliché *khaṇo vo mā upaccagā* (cf. **131**). For *ade'a* (a facsimile not being then available) Lüders suggested the interpretation *atīyāt*, and the same verb will serve as well or better with the corrected reading (*vi-ati-i-*). The Tibetan appears to have translated a reading in agreement with this: *byas paḥi dus g'yo bas daṅ po* . . . 'before the time for doing passes by'.

paḍikama: at first sight this might be taken to indicate 'doing each task as each arises'; but since the tenor of the verse is that one should do the task before it arises, it is reasonable to assume that the word here (as also the Pali *paṭikata*) is either a replacement for, or a mistake for, the word which commonly appears in Pali as *paṭikacca* or *paṭigacca*. Corresponding to this, Buddhist Sanskrit has the correctly interpreted form, *pratikṛtya* (noted by BHSD from Lalitavistara, and frequently Mahāvastu), but in addition shows on occasion *pratiyatya* (missing in BHSD), due to a misunderstanding of a Prakrit *paḍiyacca*. In the present verse, the Uv. has *pratiyatyakāriṇaṃ*; and in Uv. iv. 16 (Lévi, p. 253) *pratiyatyeva tat kuryāt*, corresponding to Saṃ. i. 57 *paṭikacceva* (var. *paṭigacceva*) *taṃ kayirā*. This rendering into Sanskrit is presumably influenced by a fancied connexion with *pratiyatta-* 'prepared' (only one instance noted, from Mv. i. 24. 13, by BHSD; but Pali *paṭiyatta-* is more frequent). For *pratikṛtya* Edgerton gives the meaning 'in advance', and the word may indeed be translated in this way without undue distortion. In many places, however, it continues to carry the connotation of 'making preparations to meet a contingency' (PTSD 'providing for the future'). The beginnings of the semantic development may be seen in Brahmanical Sanskrit in phrases such as MBh. v. 39. 41:

āyatyāṃ pratikārajñas tadātve dṛḍhaniścayaḥ,

'knowing how to take precautions for the future, and making definite decisions in the present'.

336. The Theragātha parallel (also ibid. 261) was identified by Lüders; and Franke pointed out the same verse, with a variant third pāda, in Jāt. i. 319 and DhpA (PTS edition iii. 409).

katu: this was read by Senart, together with the preceding word, as *ṣakaru*. Franke, while proposing the correction *sutu* for *suru* (see **334**), added in a footnote, 'So vielleicht auch *karu* statt des zu erwartenden *katu* (= Pāli *kātuṃ*) in C^{ro} 39^{b} verlesen?' The same proposal was made independently by Barua and Mitra, who also corrected and placed in **334** the fragment read as *suruga* by Senart; and by a curious coincidence, they also cast their footnote in the form of a question: 'Could it not be read *ṣakatu*?' Now that the facsimile is available, it can be seen that the word is indeed *katu*. It is only necessary to add that this does not correspond directly to Pali *kātuṃ*, but represents the regular development *kattuṃ* < *kartuṃ*.

athadu: this seems the most probable reading, with the ablatival formation (< *artha-taḥ*) parallel with *suhadu* in the following pāda. Since, however, a small sliver of bark has been lost (which has also beheaded the two succeeding characters), it is just possible that the reading should be *atha su* (*arthāt saḥ*). This would agree better with the shape of the Pali parallel, though without any alteration in sense. But from the general appearance, *du* seems rather more likely than *su*.

337. The Uv. has two verses here (JRAS 1912), adding after the first half *śocate duṣkṛtaṃ kṛtvā śocate durgatiṃ gataḥ*, and similarly (mutatis mutandis) after the second. In Pischel's manuscript, only the first of these presumably new creations has survived, but the loss is betrayed by a break in the numbering (52 in this version). The Tibetan has all the material, but curiously

has sorted it out again, and the additional half-verses (which from their nature seem unlikely to have been originally self-subsistent) appear now formed into a separate verse (45) immediately before the reconstituted representative of the Pali and Prakrit verse. We may note also that in the latter (46), the Tibetan translates the pādas in the order *badc*, which may of course be only a coincidence. The other facts, however, strongly suggest a descent of the Uv. through a manuscript either broken or confused at this point.

Against *akataṃ dukkataṃ seyyo* in the Pali, the Uv. has *akṛtaṃ kukṛtāc chreyaḥ*, and the verse was cited by Lüders among his examples of *-aṃ* in Pali appearing in place of an ablative (BSU § 189), on which see also p. 79.

In the third pāda, *nu* is very clearly written, and the syllable could not be transcribed as *du*. Since, however, the two characters in question can sometimes in hurried handwriting approximate very closely one to the other, we may suspect that *nu* here may be only a miscopying of *du* in an earlier manuscript.

338. Senart remarked that two lines were lost in the manuscript between those numbered C^{r} 40 and 41. The second of the missing lines can now be seen to be the first four pādas of **339**, of which Senart's 41 forms the final two pādas. Fragment 524 is firmly established as belonging to the first of the missing lines both by the traces of the initial *ya* (divided between the main leaf and the fragment) and by the fit of the traces in 523 with verse **337**. This identification then allows us to interpret the traces of the third pāda, in themselves unreadable, as consistent with a reading corresponding to the Pali. The whole verse appears also in Saṃ. i. 24, and the second half in Sn. 254.

339. Senart already saw that C^{r} 41 (line 426) might form the last two pādas of a six-pāda stanza; and this is now confirmed by the appearance of the punctuation mark at the appropriate place, below fragment 522. The latter fragment was identified by Franke (without a facsimile available) as equivalent to Dhp. 292, and correctly placed here. The Uv. agrees with the Prakrit in having a single stanza of six pādas.

kiyadi: having only the transcription of the last two syllables of the word (in the form *-yati*), Franke suggested either *kiyati* or *kariyati*. Enough can now be seen of the preceding syllable to establish *ki-*. While *kiyadi* agrees admirably with the Sanskrit *kriyate*, the metre is left defective unless we suppose the spelling to represent *kiyyadi* (< **kiryate*?). There are, however, no very strong grounds for considering that a translator of a version such as this would necessarily have been overconcerned with metrical details.

unaḍaṇa: the corresponding Pali *unnaḷa* is improbably explained by the PTSD as *ud* + *lal* 'to sport', or alternatively, according to a suggestion of Kern, as a dialect form of *unnata-*. The latter regularly replaces the word in Buddhist Sanskrit, and accordingly Edgerton was prepared to accept the one instance recorded of *unnaḍa* in Buddhist Sanskrit as 'doubtless a dialect form' of *unnata*. But although a limited number of words regularly show a retroflex in Middle Indian where Sanskrit has a dental, the appearance of *-ḍa* for the participial *-ta* is virtually unknown, except in the class of words (numerous in itself) where Sanskrit has *-ṛ-* or *-r-* in the neighbourhood. (See Pischel § 218 ff., 244.) We should therefore hesitate to accept *unnaḍa-* as a genuine representative of *unnata-*, but rather consider that the latter was used by the Buddhist Sanskrit translators merely because the real original of the Prakrit word had not survived (or at least was not sufficiently familiar).

The word being primarily a term of ethical condemnation, it is hardly to be expected that we should be able to determine a precise sense for it; but the present stanza at least suggests that the meaning accepted by the dictionaries, 'insolent, arrogant, haughty', has really missed the

vice which the author of the verse had in mind. It is true that the revised Uv., both here and in vi. 13 (where the corresponding Pali also has *unnaḷa-*), has replaced the word by *uddhata-*, which in classical Sanskrit regularly has these senses; and in both places the Tibetan has translated it by *rlom pa*, also with the meaning 'proud'. The old Uv. manuscript, however, has *unnadānaṃ* (in which presumably the dental *-d-* is a quasi-Sanskritization, halfway to *unnata-*). It is, of course, quite conceivable that the word in this verse is no more than a term of abuse, in which case 'arrogant' would fit as well as anything else. But if the statement is slightly more meaningful, we may see in the verse a chiasmus: those who neglect their duties are *pamatta*, while those who actively do evil are *unnaḷa*. The general sense indicated would thus seem to fall within the range of 'boisterous, unseemly behaviour, frivolity' or something similar. And this is at least part of the range of meaning covered by the term *auddhatya* in its specifically Buddhist usage.

It may then be suggested that the constant occurrence of the two words in company in the cliché *uddhata, unnaḷa, capala* (which, we may assume, may have originally conveyed approximately 'conceited, boisterous, and frivolous') has led to a blending of the semantic fields of the words. It may also be remarked that, while *unnata* in Classical Sanskrit scarcely has the sense of 'proud', Prakrit *uṇṇaya* regularly has this meaning; and similarly Pali *uṇṇata* (which is in fact explained by *uddhacca*, SnA 492, PTSD s.v.). The identification of an originally distinct *unnaḷa* with this developing sense of the Middle Indian descendants of *unnata* would in the circumstances be expected to assist in the transfer of the earlier sense of *unnaḷa* to its partner *uddhata*.

The etymology given for Pali *uddhacca* by the PTSD is not convincing ('substantivised ger. of ud-dharati'); and there is no need to consider that 'the BSk auddhatya shows a strange distortion'.

If the explanation of *unnaḷa* as merely a dialect form of *unnata* is rejected, a number of alternative possibilities suggest themselves. If the main lines of the above discussion can be accepted, it would seem probable that the word started its career in the Buddhist texts with such connotations as 'boisterous, unruly, playing the fool'.

In his notes to the first edition of the Dhammapada (p. 389), Fausbøll, who translated the word as 'insolens', made the tentative suggestion of *un-naḍa* 'qui baculum erigit'. There is no objection to this in form, but the meaning seems hardly possible, unless perhaps *naḍa* is to be understood *sensu obsceno*, in which case *unnaḍa* might be rendered 'lascivious'. There seems, however, to be no evidence for such a use of *naḍa*, and all that can at present be cited in its favour is the fact that *vaitasa*, with a closely related literal sense, is attested in this usage in RV x. 95. 4, 5.

Equally possible formally, and more promising semantically, would be a derivation from **un-nṛta-*, in which the stem could be analysed either as *nṛt-a-* ('dance'), or as *nṛ-ta-*. In the latter case, **unnṛta-* would in origin describe one who exhibits an excess of the heroic frenzy characteristic of the warrior, *nṛ-*. (On *nṛta-*, see H. W. Bailey, JRAS 1953, 103 ff.)

[In the Rigveda, *nṛt-* 'to dance', is already established; and dancing may be an occasion for gaiety—x. 18. 3 *nṛtaye hasāya*—and Uṣas adorns herself as a female dancer, *nṛtū*, i. 92. 4. In a similar fashion, Indra clothes himself as a dancer, vi. 29. 3; but in the same verse, his heroic might is also stressed: *dhṛṣṇur vajrī śavasā*. In other places the epithet is applied to Indra in company with words such as *ojas, śavas, ugra, ūrj-*; and while it is admittedly difficult to avoid such words in speaking of Indra, the juxtaposition often suggests that the quasi-pun between *nṛ-* and *nṛtu*, explicit in v. 33. 6, x. 29. 2, was regularly before the mind of the poet. It is of course possible that, historically, rather more than an accidental coincidence is involved: the origin of Indra's epithet may have been *nṛ-tu-* 'heroic' (comparable then in formation to **vir-tu-* underlying the Latin abstract *virtus*), which would have inevitably become tangled

with *nṛt-u-* 'dancer'; or alternatively *nṛt-* 'to dance' may itself be an extension of the root *nṛ-*, in which case the meaning would have been generalized from the antics of the war-dance. If so, v. 33. 6 *nṛmṇāni nṛtamānaḥ* is perhaps less of a play upon words than has been supposed. But this is a matter which can hardly be pursued further here.]

341, 342. Although these two fragments (and also 467 in verse **339**) were found by Senart with leaf A, they show the darker colouring of the bark characteristic of the verso of the manuscript. Since the other side of 450 contains verse **139a**, the position of verse **341** is guaranteed at least to the extent of being not more than one or two verses distant from the end of the preceding chapter, allowance being made for the marks denoting the end of the chapter after **340**.

In view of the difference in case, *-ṣu* against *dantena* (also *dāntena* in the Uv.) the identification of **342** with Dhp. 323 remains doubtful. Since the punctuation mark appearing on the fragment shows that this is a verse-ending, and since there is no place for it in the main leaf (or indeed in the earlier part of the verso), it must certainly come after the main leaf, and there is a high probability that it comes very closely after. While, therefore, it is not proved to be the immediate successor of **341**, it must at least be a close neighbour. It therefore seems as likely as not that it does in fact represent the verse equivalent to Dhp. 323.

343, 344. 'When the night had passed, a deity approached, and after saluting the feet of the sage, asked these questions: "Of what morality?—of what conduct?—of what virtues?—by what action? and endowed with what qualities?—Who are the people who go to heaven?" '

These verses are written on the back of the manuscript, in a very different style of handwriting, and have presumably been added by a later owner of the manuscript as a sort of motto or general introduction to the work as a whole. It is the sort of thing, in fact, which in a modern book might well appear on a half-title page. We should expect such a scribble to come on the outside of the book when closed, i.e. very much nearer the beginning. The fact that it occurs approximately on the reverse of verses **42** and **43** probably indicates that the book had at the time been wrongly folded.

The unmetrical *pradiprocha* in the first verse shows lack of skill in composition, and the verse must be a late piece of work, possibly even composed by the man who inscribed it on the manuscript. Its material, however, is familiar: Udāna 23; Sn. p. 17, &c.:

atha kho aññatarā *devatā atikkantāya rattiyā* . . . yena bhagavā ten' *upasankami*, upasankamitvā bhagavantaṃ abhi*vādetvā* ekamantam aṭṭhāsi.

Thg. 564–5:

paveditamhi kālamhi vehāsān *upasankamiṃ*
vanditvā satthuno pāde ekamantaṃ nisīd' ahaṃ.

The first line is a syllable short with *ratri*, P. *rattiyā*. While this may be a mere slip of the pen, it is possible that it represents a genuine development of an oblique case-form, *-iye* > *-ī*: cf. *vidi* **277**, written for *viyidi* (P. *vijite*); Niya *dharmapri* beside *dharmapriya* (Burrow, *Grammar* § 70). Pischel § 386 records for Apabhraṃśa such forms as *kittī* (*kīrtyā*), *puhavī*, *puhavi* (*pṛthivyām*). See also p. 84, § 27.

vaditva: while the language of the manuscript regularly has *n* < *nd*, the introductory verse (also outside the main text) has *budhaṇadi* (< *-nandin*). It is thus quite possible that the word here represents *vanditvā*; but equally possible that the form has been conflated with (*abhi*)*vādetvā* (see the two Pali passages quoted above).

praśaña is a noteworthy attempt at a Sanskritic form.

karmaṇa and *jaṇa* are here transcribed with *ṇa*, the character in these two instances being

more rounded than *na*. The difference, however, is not very great, and it is possible that *na* should be written in these two words also. The usage in these two verses in any case diverges on this point from that of the main work.

The second verse is naturally not to be understood as a direct representation of the Suttanipāta verse. Rather, both are independent versions of a doggerel which was in general circulation among the custodians of gnomic verse, and which turns up in several variant forms. For the last pāda, cf. Saṃ. i. 33:

kesaṃ divā ca ratto ca sadā puññaṃ pavaḍḍhati
dhammaṭṭhā sīlasampannā ke janā saggagāmino.

From the Mahābhārata, it is sufficient to cite xii. 222. 1; 269. 1:

kiṃśīlaḥ kiṃsamācāraḥ kiṃvidyaḥ kiṃparāyaṇaḥ
prāpnoti brahmaṇaḥ sthānaṃ yat paraṃ prakṛter dhruvam;

xiii. 145. 1 (Bombay edition):

kiṃśīlaḥ kiṃsamācāraḥ puruṣaḥ kaiś ca karmabhiḥ
svargaṃ samabhipadyeta sampradānena kena vā.

And similarly xiii. 144. 3:

kena śīlena vṛttena karmaṇā kīdṛśena vā
samācārair guṇair kair vā svargaṃ yāntīha mānavāḥ;

in the answer to which many stanzas end with the refrain *te narāḥ svargagāminaḥ*. In the same way, the answer to the question in the Saṃyutta verse quoted above ends with *te janā saggagāmino*.

And since this preoccupation with the attainment of heaven may, in the eyes of some modern exponents of Buddhism, appear to be no more than a rather discreditable borrowing from Hinduism, it may be salutary to conclude with a verse from Ārya Śūra (Subhāṣita-ratna-karaṇḍa 2):

mānuṣyaṃ durlabhaṃ prāpya vidyutsampātacañcalam
bhavakṣaye matiḥ kāryā bhavopakaraṇeṣu vā.

Even for the devout Buddhist, heaven was an acceptable second-best to Nirvāṇa.

CONCORDANCE I

MANUSCRIPT LINES TO VERSES

Line or fragment number	*Verse number*	*Line or fragment number*	*Verse number*	*Line or fragment number*	*Verse number*
1–56	**1–56**	95	**45**	134	**82**
57	**56*a***	96	**46**	134*a*	**87**
58	**57**	97	**47**	135	**83**
59	**58**	98	**48**	136	**84**
60	**59**	99	**49**	136*a*	**81**
61	**186**	100	**50**	137	**85**
62	**36**	101	**51**	138	**86**
63	**35**	102	**52**	139	**87**
64	**34**	103	**53**	140	**88**
65	**33**	104	**54**	141	**89**
66	**36**	105	**55**	142	**90**
67	**37**	106	**56**	143	**91**
68	**38**	107	**56*a***	144	**92**
69	**39**	108	**57**	145	**93**
70	**40**	109	**58**	146	**94**
71	**41**	110	**59**	147	**97**
72	**42**	111	**60**	148	**98**
73	**43**	112	**60**	149	**99**
74	**191**	113	**61**	150	**100**
75	**190**	114	**62**	151	**101**
76	**189**	115	**63**	152	**102**
77	**188**	116	**64**	153	**103**
78	**182**	117	**65**	154	**104**
79	**183**	118	**66**	155	**105**
80	**184**	119	**67**	156	**106**
81	**185**	120	**68**	157	**107**
82	**186**	121	**69**	158	**108**
83	**182**	122	**70**	159	**109**
84	**183**	123	**71**	160	**110**
85	**184**	124	**72**	161	**111**
86	**190**	125	**73**	162	**112**
87	**189**	126	**74**	163	**113**
88	**188**	127	**75**	164	**114**
89	**187**	128	**76**	165	**114**
90	**186**	129	**77**	166	**115**
91	**185**	130	**78**	167	**116**
92	**184**	131	**79**	168	**117**
93	**183**	132	**80**	169	**118**
94	**44**	133	**81**	170	**119**

Line or fragment number	*Verse number*	*Line or fragment number*	*Verse number*	*Line or fragment number*	*Verse number*
171	**120**	214	**164**	260	**214**
172	**121**	215	**165**	261	**215**
173	**122**	216	**166**	262	**216**
174	**123**	217	**167**	263	**217**
175	**124**	218	**168**	264	**218**
176	**125**	219	**169**	265	**219**
177	**126**	220	**170**	266	**220**
178	**127**	221	**171**	267	**221**
179	**128**	222	**172**	268	**222**
180	**129**	223	**173**	269	**223**
181	**130**	224	**174**	270	**224**
182	**131**	225	**175**	271	**225**
183	**132**	226	**176**	272	**226**
184	**133**	227	**177**	273	**227**
185	**134**	228	**178**	274	**228**
186	**135**	229	**178**	275	**229**
187	**140**	230	**179**	276	**230**
188	**141**	231	**180**	277	**231**
188*a*	**119**	232	**181**	278	**231**
189	**142**	233	**182**		**232**
189*a*	**120**	234	**106**	279	**232**
190	**143**	235	**107**	280	**233**
191	**144**	236	**190**	281	**234**
192	**145**	237	**191**	282	**235**
193	**146**	238	**192**	283	**236**
194	**147**	239	**193**	284	**237**
195	**148**	240	**194**	285	**238**
196	**149**	241	**195**	286	**239**
197	**150**	242	**196**	287	**240**
198	**151**	243	**197**	288	**241**
199	**152**	244	**198**	289	**242**
200	**153**	245	**199**	300	**244**
201	**154**	246	**200**	301	**245**
202	**74**	247	**201**	302	**246**
203	**155**	248	**202**	303	**247**
203*a*	**156**	249	**203**	304	**248**
204	**82**	250	**204**	305	**249**
205	**157**	251	**205**	306	**250**
206	**158**	252	**206**	307	**251**
207	**150**	253	**207**	308	**252**
208	**159**	254	**208**	309	**253**
209	**82**	255	**209**	310	**254**
210	**160**	256	**210**	311	**255**
211	**161**	257	**211**	312	**256**
212	**162**	258	**212**	313	**257**
213	**163**	259	**213**	314	**258**

Line or fragment number	*Verse number*	*Line or fragment number*	*Verse number*	*Line or fragment number*	*Verse number*
315	**259**	361	**300**	407	**326**
316	**260**	362	**299**	408	**327**
317	**261**	363	**298**	409	**328**
318	**262**	364	**297**	410	**329**
319	**263**	365	**296**	411	**330**
320	**264**	366	**290**	412	**331**
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[1] The printed sources unfortunately differ in many places in the numbering of the verses. In this table, the numbers are those given in the Sanskrit editions of Chakravarti, Sylvain Lévi, and de la Vallée Poussin (see Bibliography, nos. 23, 24, 26). The verses missing in Chakravarti at the beginning of chapter i are numbered according to Lüders (see Bibliography, nos. 29, 36), and those at the beginning of chapter xxix, missing in JRAS 1912, according to Pischel (Bibliography, no. 25). Where the Sanskrit is not available, the numbers, printed in italics, are those of the Tibetan edition by Beckh (Bibliography, no. 27).

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[1] References are to verse-numbers and to sections (§§) of Part II of the Introduction. The sign † marks earlier readings now rejected, a few of which have been included in the index, with cross-references to the readings in the present edition. The purpose of these entries is merely to identify forms which have appeared in print elsewhere, and which the reader may wish to verify in the plates.

aṇusvaro (anusmaran) **63, 64**; -u **139b**; § 77.
-aṇeka (anīka) **28**; § 11.
aṇo-, *see* aṇu-thula.
aṇova-sari (anoka-sārin) **32**.
aṇośe'a (anuśaya) **88**; §§ 21, 37.
ata-daṇeṣu (ātta-daṇḍa) **29**.
atadrida (atandrita) **62**; -i **60**; -o **319**.
† atimahetu, *read* atva-hedu.
† atuma [*not in text*].
atmaṇam (ātmānam) **227**; §§ 14, 53; *see* atva-.
atva- (ātman-) atvaṇa **132, 259, 266, 276, 305, 321, 330**; atmaṇam **227**; atvaṇo **16, 30, 203–6, 264, 271, 272, 299, 322, 324**; atvaṇi **279**; §§ 14, 53, 63. *See also cpds. following, and* apaṇatha.
atva-kaña'i (P. atta-ghaññāya) **258**; §§ 12, 41.
atvatha (ātmārtha) **265**.
atva-dada (ātma-dānta) **341**.
atva-hedu (ātma-hetu) **324**.
atha (P. atha, atho) **5, 51, 96, 208**; athasa (ath'assa) **14**; *see* adha.
atha (artha) **25, 265, 266, 282**; athadu **336**; -eṇa **245**; -asa **190, 191**; *see* aṭha, artha.
athatha (P. ath'ettha) **96, 208**; § 24.
atha-daśavi (artha-darśāvin) **31**.
athadu (arthataḥ) **336**.
athasa (P. ath'assa) **14**.
ada (anta) **125**.
ada[ ] (ādāya, *or* antaka) **294**.
ada'i (ādāya) **292**.
-adaṇa (ādāna) *see* aṇadaṇa, sadaṇeṣu.
adara (antara) **2**.
adaśaṇi (adarśana) **243**; -e **257**; -eṇa **175**.
adi (ādi) **59**.
adi'adi (P. ādiyati) **19**.
adikame'a (ati-kram-) **274**.
adikradaya (atikrānta-) **343**.
adicu (āditya) **50**; -o **279**.
adiṇa (P. adinna) **19**; § 45.
adida (atīta) **131**.
adima (antima) **44**.
adimañadi (atimanyate) **62**; -mañe'a **61**.
adivaka (P. ativākya) **329**.
aduṭha-citu (aduṣṭa-citta) **195**.
aduṭhu (aduṣṭa) **28**.
adura (P. atula) **237**.
adureṇa (ātura) **156**; aduraseva (-asya iva) **256**.
† ade'a, *read* vade'a.
adeṇa (P. antakena) **261**.
adha (P. atha, atho) **50, 65, 160**; *see* atha.
adhava (atha vā) **226**; *in sense* 'and' **223**.
adhi'o (adhika? P. -atigo) **78**; § 43*a*.
adhikachadi (-gacchati) **9, 61, 129**; *pl.* **213, 214**; *opt.* -kachi **71, 72**.
-adhivadida (-patita) **329**; § 43*a*.
adho (adhaḥ) **199**.
adhvaṇa (adhvānaṃ) **176**; § 63.
ana (andha) -u **282**; aña-hodi **304**.
anakarasma (andhakāra) **143**.
† anatma [*not in text*].
† anasavu, *read* aṇasṛvu.
aña-hodi (andha-bhūte) **304**; § 44.
ani'ama-saya (P. nanikāmaseyyaṃ) **270**; §§ 38, 50.
anikaṣayu (a-niṣkaṣāya) **192**.
anini'a (anindita) **237**; §§ 33, 66.
anu (andha) **282**; *see* ana.
apa (alpa) **114, 139a, 150, 191**; -u **209, 210**; *loc.* -asa **257**; apadu **281**; aparado (-tara) **145**, § 64; *and cpds. following*.
apaka (alpaka) **149**.
apa-kica (alpa-kṛtya) **39**.
apaṭha (alpārtha) **39**.
apaṇatha (ātmano 'rthaṃ) **265**; §§ 53, 63.
apadu (alpa-taḥ) **281**.
aparado (alpatara) **145**; § 64.
aparitam (aparītta) **200**.
apa-labho (alpa-lābha) **62**.
apaśu (a-paśyan) **317, 318**; § 77.
apasa (alpa-) *loc. sg.* **257**; *see* apa.
apahara (alpāhāra) **39**.
apicha (alpeccha) **32**.
apu (alpa) **209, 210**; *see* apa.
apodake (alpodaka) **145**.
aprakabhiṇa (apragalbha) **222**.
aprañasa (aprajña) **58**.
aprati (aprāpta) **133, 134**; -e **66**.
apramata (apramatta) **115, 124**; -u **118, 125**; -o **129, 130, 134**; -asa **112**.
apramada (apramāda) **73, 74, 117, 120, 126, 127, 128, 131, 132**; -u **115, 223**; -eṇa **111, 119, 120**; -i **116, 129, 130**; *loc.* -asa **116**.
apramada-vihariṇa (-vihārin-) **297**; -ri'o **128**; § 78.
apraha'i (aprahāya) **9**.
apri'a (apriya) **71, 72**; -o **230**.
aprudhajaṇa-sevida (apṛthagjana-) **66**.
aphala **290**.
abha (abhra) **122**.
abhaya **97**; -i **273**.
abhaya-darśaṇo (-darśinaḥ) **273**.
abhavu (P. abhabbo) **73**.
abhaṣamaṇa (abhāṣamāṇa) **235**.
abhi-, *see also* avi-.
abhiña (-jñā) **5**.
abhiduṇasa (P. abhituṇṇa, -nna) **261**.
abhimardadi (-mardati) **111**; -madadi **332**; § 44.
-abhiramu **262**.
abhiroyadi (-rocati) **304**.
abhivuyu (abhibhūya) **71, 72**; § 44.
abhuda-vadi (abhūta-vādin) **269**.
amaṇuṣa (amānuṣa) **55**.
amatraño (a-mātra-jña) **217**.
amara **256**.
ami (amī) **197, 269**.
amitrehi **176**.
amuña-labha (apuṇya-lābha) **270**; § 36.
amuda (amṛta) **115, 235, 247**; -u **56**.
amedi (anveti) **133, 201, 202**; § 36.
† amodi, *read* amedi.
aya, *see* ayu.
ayaca (ājāti-) [*see* § 72].
ayañu (ājanya) **173**.
ayayu (ācaya) **207**.
ayara (a-jara) **159**.
ayara (ācāra) **60**; § 66.
ayaru (ācaran) **210**; -u **209**.
ayava'i (ājāpayet) [*see* § 72].
ayasa, *see* asa.

ayiṇa-śaḍi'a (ajina-śāṭī) **2**.
ayireṇa (acireṇa) **153**.
ayiva (ājīva) **60**; -u **62**; -eṇa **222**.
ayu (āyuḥ) **145**; aya **148** (§ 22); ayo **172**.
ayujadu (P. a-yojayaṃ) **266**.
ayo, *see* ayu.
ayo'a (ayoga) **243**; -i **266**.
ayo-kuḍu (P. ayo-guḷo) **331**; § 66.
ara (ārāt) **339**.
arakṣida (-ta) **219**.
arage (āra-agra) **21**.
arañi (araṇya) **0**, **259**.
aradi (arati) **33**.
aradha-viryava (ārabdha-vīrya-vant) **218**.
aramu (ārāma) **63**, **64**.
araha (arhant-) **223**; -ada **26**; -adu **258**.
arahada (arhantaṃ) **26**.
arahadi (arhati) **192**, **193**, **242**.
arahadu (arhatāṃ) **258**.
arahado (P. ārabhato) **316**.
arahadha (P. ārabhatha) **123**.
ari'a (ārya) **177**, **195**, **224**, **289**; -aṇa **116**, **175**, **258**.
† āruḍhu, *for* udakāruḍhu, *read* udake oru-.
† aruyu, *read* aruśu.
aruśu (āruhya) **119**; §§ 5, 61.
aroga (ārogya) **162**.
-arṇudu (*written for* -orṇudu; S. ūrṇuta, orṇuta) **251**; § 22.
artha **24**, **254**, **255**; -eṇa **245**; *see* atha, aṭha.
arthaṇupaśiṇo (-anupaśyin-) **266**.
-'ala (-kāla) *see* uṭhaṇe-, kici-; § 38.
ala'uṇi (alābu-) **154**; §§ 34, 68 n.
alagido (alaṃkṛta) **80**.
alajidavi (alajjitavya) **273**.
-'alasa (P. -kālamhi) **113**; § 38.
alasi'e (ālasya-, § 20) **113**.
alasu (alasa) **113**.
-'ali (-kāle) **335**; § 38.
ali'a (alīka) **188**, **268**, **280**.
aliṇeṇa (alīna) **222**.
alolubhu (P. alolupaṃ) **39**.
ava, *written for* eva, **250**; § 23.
-ava'u (āvaha) **254**; § 39.
avakada (apagata) **153**.
avakamadi (apakrāmanti) **268**.
avaciṭhadi (avatiṣṭhate) **276**.
avaja (ā-pad-) **325**; *cf.* avadi **66**.
avaja'i (avadhyāyī) **31**.
avajadi (āpadyate) **270**.
avaṇedu (apanetum) **246**.
avathaṇi (apāsta) **154**.
avadi (P. āpādi) **66**; *see* avaja. (The reading in **66** is doubtful because of the break, and it is just possible that *avaja* should be read here also.)
avaya (apāya) **5**.
avara (apāra) -e **35**; § 77.
avaraṇa (avāraṇa) **283**.
avaramu (P. apālambo) **98**.
avare (apāraṃ) **35**; § 77.
avalaśa (abalāśva) **118**; §§ 55, 68.
avavaji (P. abyāpajjhaṃ) **232**.
avi'aṇada (a-vijānant-) **256**.
avija (avidyā) **26**; -a'i **243**.
avijāpu (*cf.* P. abhijappā?) **31**.
aviṭhidu (a-vyutthita) **144**.
avirudhu (aviruddha) **29**.
avivasadi, *read probably* vivasadi.
aviśiśadi (avaśiṣyate: *see commentary on verse* **200**).
aviṣa'i (abhi-ṣaj-) **22**; § 44.
-a[ve]kṣa (-apekṣa) **321**; *see* aveha; § 52.
avekṣidi (apekṣate) **119**; § 52.
avedi (*see note on* **310**) **310–15**.
avedu (apeta) **192**.
averaṇa (*a-vairin-) **166**.
aveha (apekṣā) **169**; *see* avekṣa; § 52.
-avehiṇo (apekṣin-) *see* aṇavehiṇo.
avradu (avrata) **188**.
avha'i (ā-bhā-) **50**; § 33.
-aśa, -u (aśva) **118**; *see* aśpaveka.
-aśuha (aśubha) **156–8**; *see* śuhaśuhu.
aśuhaṇupaśi (aśubha-) **218**.
aśeṣa **83**, **84**.
aśoka **119**.
aśpa, *see* -aśa.
aśpa-veka (aśva-medha) **196**; § 55.
aṣaǵa (asanga) **4**.
aṣajamaṇa (P. asajjamānaṃ) **274**.
aṣadhehi (aśraddha) **228**.
aṣamaṇadha (aśravaṇatā) **257**; § 43*a*.
aṣutva (a-śrutvā) **252**.
asa (asya) **182**; nasa **11**; athasa **14**; yasa (ca asya) **15**; hisa (hi asya) **233–4**; svadi-sa **98**.
asa (āyasa) **169** (*perhaps to be emended to* ayasa § 27).
asañadu (a-saṃyata) **325**, **331**.
asaṇa (āsana) **259**.
asata (asakta?) **79**.
asatsiṭha (asaṃsṛṣṭa) **32**; § 17.
asada, *read probably* asata.
asadhu (asādhu) **280**; -uṇi **264**.
asabhe (asabhya) **230**.
asara (asāra) **213**, **214**; -i **213**; -ado (-ataḥ) **214**.
asava (āsrava) **26**, **339**; -kṣaye **66**, **133**, **134**; aṇasṛvu **48**; § 57.
asavudu (asaṃvṛta) **217**.
asido (asita) **7**.
asu'a (asūyā) **267**.
-asṛvu, *see* aṇasṛvu.
asc'a (P. āsetha) **277**.
aseyaṇe (P. asecanaka) **72**.
aseva'iti (āsevayitvā) **211**, **212**; § 80.
asta-ǵachadi (astaṃ-gacchanti) **14**.
asti **23**; astu **140**; *see* nasti.
asvadima (a-smṛtimant-) **113**.
asvi (asmin) **110**, **328**; § 53.
aha (ahaṃ) **98**; *see* ahu.
aha (abhūt) **240**.
aha (āha, āhuḥ) **15**, **169**, **170**; āha **269**; *see* ahu.
-ahara (āhāra) **39**.
ahitsa'i (ahiṃsā) **104**.
ahidaṇa (ahitāni) **264**.
ahiri'eṇa (ahrīka) **221**.
ahivadaṇa (abhivādana) **172**, **321**; § 44.
ahu, aho (ahaṃ) **17** ff., **183**, **275**, **329**; aha **98**; §§ 11, 14*a*, 21.
ahu (P. āhu) **53**; *see* aha.
[ahu (abhūt) *see* aha.]
aheḍa'i (P. aheṭhayaṃ) **292**; § 49.
aho (ahaṃ) *see* ahu.
aho-ratra (P. aho-rattiṃ) **50**.
āha (*with long vowel written*) **269**; *see* aha.

i, *see* ca.
igida (P. iñjitaṃ) **183**.
icha (icchā) **188**.

ichadi (icchati) **179, 330, 336**; *opt.* ichi **324**; ichi'a **178**; *pres. ptc.* icho **91**, § 77; ichadu **248**, § 22.
itha (P. ettha) **126**; *cf.* athatha, idha.
ida (idaṃ) **0, 75, 87, 142, 190, 191, 200, 237, 325, 332**; (P. imaṃ) **122, 300–2**; *see* ima-.
-ida'i (-hitāya) **135**; § 39.
idara (itara) **275**.
idri'a (indriya) **59**; -o **53**; -eṣu **217, 218, 326**; § 37.
idha (iha) **112, 205, 206, 252, 333**; idheva **30**.
ima (imaṃ) **76**; imiṇa **156–8**; imasma **125**; § 14; imi **100–105, 343**; imaṇi **154, 155**; *see* ida.
† imasa *read* imasma.
-iya'i, *see* eka-'iya'i (-carya) **259**.
-irya, *see* sama'irya (-caryā) **16**.
iva **237, 243, 244, 279**; -aseva, **242, 256, 257, 266**; *see also* va, ba, viva.
iṣi (ṛṣi) iṣayu **236**; iṣiṇa **236**; rayerṣayu **196**.
iṣu'i (*īrṣukin-) **186**.
iha (*reading doubtful*) **86**.

u (P. nu) **145**.
ukṣita (utkṣipta) **42**.
ucayu (uccaya) **208**.
ucavaya (P. uccāvacaṃ) **226**.
uchina (P. ucchinda) **299**.
uǰidasa (P. ujjhitasmiṃ) **303**.
u[ju] **136**.
uju'o (ṛju-; *equivalent to* P. ujjuko, *not* ujuko) **97**.
uju-kadeṣu (ṛju-gata) **321**.
uṭhaṇamado (utthāna-vant-) **112**; § 36.
uṭhaṇe-'alasa (P. uṭṭhāna-kālamhi) **113**; §§ 22*a*, 38, 65.
uṭhaṇeṇa (utthāna) **111**.
-uḍasa (-kūṭa, *see* sagara-) **303**; § 38.
utama (uttama) **296**; -u **8, 49, 305, 318**.
utamatha (uttamārtha) **25**.
utvari (uttara) **78**; § 25.
uda (uda) **209, 210**.
udaka (udaka) -e **4, 145**.
udaka-vaya (udaya-vyaya) **56, 317**; § 38; p. 46.
† udakāruḍhu, *read* udake oru-.
uda-kubho (-kumbha) **209, 210**.
udaga-citu (udagra-citta) **71**.
udacha'i (P. udacchidā) **84**; §§ 23, 33.
uda-binu (uda-bindu) **209, 210**.
† udarka, *read* udake.
udavahi (P. udabbadhī) **83**; § 42.
udiṭha (P. uttiṭṭhe) **110**; §§ 24, 65.
udira'i (udīrayet) **22**.
udumareṣu (udumbara) **81**; § 46.
udhva (ūrdhva) **199**; § 63.
udhvaradha (ud-hṛ-; P. uddharatha) **132**; § 25.
unaḍaṇa (P. unnaḷa-) **339**.
upajiti (P. uppajjitvā) **181**; § 80.
upada (utpāda) **181**; upaya **263**; § 33.
upadida (utpatita) **82, 275**.
upaya (utpāda) **263**; *see* upada; § 33.
upuṇadi (utpunāti) **272**.
uyaṇe (udyāna) **0**; §§ 65, 66.
uyidatheṇa (ucita-artha) **245**.
urako (uraga) **81–90**.
[urṇudu, *see* arṇudu.]
uva-, *see also* va- (§ 35).
uvakaḍhadi (P. upakaḍḍhati) **215, 216**; § 35.
uvaca'i (upa-ati-gam-, P. upaccagā) **46, 131**.
uvadhi, *see* vadhi.
-uvamu (-upama) **138b, 300**; -o **331**.
uvarada, *see* varada.
uvavaja (upapadya) **197**.
uvavajadi (upapadyate) **232**; vavajadi **211, 212**; uvavaja **197**.
uvaśadu (upaśānta) **180**; § 35; *see* vaśada.
uvaśamadi(upaśāmyate)**306–9**.
uvaśamo (upa-) **181**; *see* vaśama, sagharavośamu.
uvasagrami (upasaṃ-kram-; P. upasaṅkami) **343**.
uvasevi (upasevin-) **270**.
uvahaṇa (upānah-) **178**.
[-uvi'a (BSk. upaka) *see* tadovi'a.]
uveda (upeta) **48, 193**; uvidu **113**.
uvedi (P. vedi) **5, 44**; *see* vedi; § 35.
uvedi (P. upeti) **160, 269**; uvehiṣi **161**; *cf.* vedi.
uvehiṣi (P. upehisi) **161**.
uvha'i (ubhaya-) **269**; uha'i **32**; § 44.
uṣavha (ṛṣabha) **278**.
uṣivi (ut-śri-) **236**; § 65.
usu'eṣu (utsuka) **165**; § 65.
-uha'i (ubhayaṃ) **32**; § 44; *see* duhaya-, uvha'i.
uhu (P. ubho) **46**.

eka **137a, 195, 305–9, 315, 320**; -u **259**; -o **53**; -i **151**.
eka'iya'i (eka-carya) **259**; § 32.
eka'o (ekaka) **259**.
eka-khaṇo (P. eka-ghana) **239**; § 41.
ekaga (ekāgra) **57**.
ekacu (ekatya) **252**.
ekatvu (-tvaṃ) **9**; § 14*a*.
ekada (P. ekadā) **152**.
ekada (ekānta) **240**.
eka-dhamasa (-dharma) **288**.
ekasaṇa (ekāsana) **259**.
eka-saya (eka-śayya) **259**.
ecasari (ati-sṛ-) **86, 87**; § 22*a*.
eṇe-jaǵa (aiṇeya-jangha) **39**.
eda (etaṃ, etad) **8, 116, 163, 170, 171**; -iṇa **15, 99**; -eṇa **8**; -ehi **281**; edahi **6**.
edadiśa (etādṛśa) **99**; -o **287**.
edarahi (etarhi) **240**.
edha (P. etha) **286**.
emam eva (evam eva) **150, 252**; § 36.
emu (evaṃ) **147, 148, 219, 220, 225, 239, 253, 290–3, 298**; § 36; eva **257**; emam eva **150, 252**.
eva (evaṃ) **257**.
eva **30, 92, 96, 99, 144, 149, 150, 175, 227, 252, 276, 299, 320, 323**; *written* ava **250**; *see* neva.
eṣidi (P. ehisi) **76**.
eṣo **106, 107, 108**; eṣu **272**.

otrapi'a (apatrāpya) **260**.
odu (otu-, *or* otaṃ) **149**.
opadi (upyate) **149**.
oyaka (?) (P. ojavaṃ) **72**.
ora-para (P. ora-pāraṃ) **81–90**.

oru (P. oraṃ) **82, 88.**
oruhaṇeṇa (avarohaṇa) **4.**
[-orṇudu, *see* tamasa-.]
ovadadi (ava-vad-) **230.**
-ovi'a (P. -ūpikā; *see* tad-) **234.**
oha (ogha) §§ 39, 41; oha-tiṇo **78**; mahoho **85, 294.**
oharaṇaseva (avaharaṇa?) **149.**
ohariṇa (P. ohārinaṃ) **170.**
ohasedi (ava-bhās-) **122**; § 44.

ka (kā) **154, 155, 267.**
ka'eṇa, *see* kaya.
kajaṇi **168**; *see* kijaṇa.
kaji (kaṃcit) **22**; (P. kiṃci) **141**; *see* kiji.
-kaña'i (P. -ghañ̃āya) **258**; §§ 12, 41.
kaḍakaseva (kaṇṭaka) **258.**
kaḍa-kesu (P. kāḷa-keso) **184.**
kaḍiğara (P. kaḷingaraṃ) **153**; § 10.
katavi (kartavya) **293**; §§ 22*a*, 77.
katu (kartuṃ) **336**; § 28 n.
katha'i (kathā) **246.**
kada (kṛta) **203**; *see* kida.
-kada (-gata) **43, 47, 48, 100–3, 340**; -eṇa **245**; -eṣu **321.**
kadaka[ ](P. kathaṃkatho) **90**; akadaggadi **47.**
kanaṇa (skandha) **56.**
kani (krand-) **75.**
kapa (kalpa) **89.**
kama (karma) **63, 211, 212, 269**; -u **63, 203–6, 211, 212**; -o **206**; -asa **112**; -aṇi **324**; *see* karma.
kama (kāma) **9, 10, 20, 75, 96, 170, 171, 178**; -ehi **21**; -aṇa **178**; -eṣu **184.**
kama-kama (P. kāma-kāmā) **226.**
kama-guṇa (kāma-) **75.**
kamaramu (karma-ārāma) **63.**
-kami'a (-gāminaṃ) **247**; § 78.
kaya (kāya) **103, 138b, 211, 212, 340**; -am **300**; -u **153**; ka'eṇa **23, 51, 52, 114, 156–8, 232**; § 37.
kaya-kada (kāya-gata) **340.**
kaya-śuriṇa (kāka-śūra) **221**; § 38.
-kara **190.**
karako (kāraka) **322.**
karaṇa (karaṇa) **186.**
karaṇi'aṇi (kāraṇīya) **336.**
kari[ ] **332.**
kari'a (kārya) **332.**
kari'a (P. kareyya) **228.**
karisadi (kariṣyati) **125**; -amu **333**; § 25.
† karu, *read* katu.
karodi **111, 201, 202, 269**; *pres. ptc.* a-karoda **338.**
karma (karma) -u **200**; -aṇa **344**; *see* kama.
kala (kalā) **197, 310–15.**
kala (kāla) -u **133**; -e **335**; *in cpds.* -'ala.
kalaṇa-pavaka (kalyāṇa-pāpakaṃ) **252, 253.**
kali (kali) **272.**
kavuruṣa (kāpuruṣa) **71**; -ehi **228.**
kavodakaṇi (P. kāpotakāni) **155.**
kaṣaya (kāṣāya) **192, 193.**
kaṣayu (kaṣāya) **192, 193.**
ki (kiṃ) **145, 184, 188, 288**; kim **143, 257**; kisa **288**; *see* kija, kijaṇa, kiji, ki-śila, ke-.
kica (kṛtya) **39, 48, 335, 339**; -i **174, 335**; keca **332** (§ 21).
kica-kari (kṛtya-kārin) **335.**
kica-kale (kṛtya-kāle) **335**; kici-'ali **335**; § 38.
kici (kṛtya) **174, 335**; §§ 22*a*, 77; *see* kica.
kici-'ali, *see* kica-kale.
kicha (kṛcchra) **263**; -e **263**, § 77; -aṣu **287**, § 50.
kicha-kadeṇa (kṛcchra-gata) **245.**
kija (kiṃ ca) **184.**
kijaṇa (*kiṃcana-) -eṣu **167, 168**; kajaṇi **168**; *see* akijaṇa.
kiji (kiṃcit) **15**; kaji **141**; keja **321.**
kitva (kṛtvā) **2, 232, 269, 337.**
kida (kṛta) **200, 204, 337**; kada **203**; -gada **171.**
kida-kica (kṛta-kṛtya) **48.**
kidakida (kṛtākṛta) **271.**
kidava (kitava) **272.**
kim, *see* ki.
kiyadi (kriyate) **339.**
kirta (kīrti) **172**; §§ 24, 26.
-kirya'i (-caryā) **4**; §§ 22*a*, 38; *see* pari-.
kiliṭha (kliṣṭa) **203, 205**; *cf.* sagiliṭha.
kiliśe'a (P. kilisseyya) **227**; *cf.* keleśa **85.**
kiśa (kṛśa) **38, 39.**
ki-śila (P. kiṃ-sīlo) **344.**
kisa (P. kissa) **288**; *see* ki.
kukida (kukṛta) **337.**
kuju (krudhya) **285.**
kuñaru (kuñjara) **123, 132**; § 46.
[kuḍa (kūṭa) *see* sagara-'uḍa.]
-kuḍu (P. -guḷo), *in* ayo-kuḍu **331**; § 66.
kuṇaleṣu (kuṇḍala) **169**; §§ 45, 46.
kudayiṇo (kadācana) **265**; § 22.
kudhu (krodha) **276**; *see* kodha.
kudhu (kruddha) **282.**
kubho (kumbha) **209, 210**; §§ 48, 66*a*; *see* kummovamu.
kumaraka (kumāraka) **285.**
kumudu **299.**
kumulaṇa **145.**
kummovamu (kumbhopama) **138b**; § 48; *see* kubho.
kuya (kuryāt) **207, 208, 293, 330, 338.**
kuyadi (*kuryanti: S. kurvanti) **257.**
kuradi (kurute) **276, 322.**
kulaya (kūla-ja) **148.**
kulu (kula) **173.**
kuvadu (kurvataḥ) **291.**
kuvi'a (S. kurvīta; *but not formally equivalent*) **207, 229, 250**; korvi'a **208**; § 11.
kuve'a (kup-) **281.**
kuśala **60, 127, 195, 232, 301, 302.**
kusidu (kusīda) **217**; kusidhu **316**; § 43*a*.
ke- (kiṃ-) *see* ke-guna, ke-samacara.
ke **344**; kehi **344**; keyi (kecit) **88, 89.**
ke-guna (kiṃ-guṇa-) **344.**
keca (kṛtya) **332**; § 21; *see* kica.
keja (P. kiṃci) **321**; *see* kiji.
keṇa'i (kenacit) **257**; keṇayi **198.**
kena **344.**
keyi (kecit) **88, 89.**
kevala **37.**
keleśa (kleśa) **85**; *cf.* kiliśe'a **227.**
kesu (kesa) **184.**
ke-samacara (P. kiṃ-samācāro) **344.**

kehi **344**.
ko **143**, **152**, **242**, **301**.
ko'i'a (kovida) **49**; § 33.
kothu (krodha) **274**; § 42; *see* kodha, akotheṇa.
kodha (krodha) **280**; -u **82**, **275**, **279**, **282**, **283**, **289**; -asa **283**, **289**; § 51; *see* kothu, kudhu.
kodhaṇa (krodhana) **77**; -o **283**, **285**; *see* a-.
korvi'a, *see* kuvi'a.
kradava (*translates* kadarya) **280**; -ehi **228**.
kṣatri'o (kṣatriya) **50**.
kṣadi-bala (kṣānti-) **28**.
kṣaya **5**, **10**, **130**, **326**; -e **66**, **133**; -i **144**; *abl.* -a **339**.
kṣayadi (kṣīyante) **340**.
kṣiṇa (kṣīṇa) **7**.
kṣiṇasavu (kṣīṇāsrava) **26**.
kṣito (kṣipta) **137b**.
kṣira (kṣīra) -eṇa **319**.
kṣira-vayo (BS. kṣīra-paka) **94**; § 38.
kṣema **128**; *see* yoka-.

khaṇa (kṣaṇa) -o **131**.
khaṇa-khaṇi (kṣaṇe-kṣaṇe) **279**; § 73.
khaṇadida (kṣaṇātīta) **131**.
-khaṇo (-ghana) **239**; § 41.

ǵa, *see* §§ 4, 31, 46.
ga'u (P. gāvo) **190**; *see* go.
gachadi (gacchati) **74**, **342**; *pl.* **273**; *opt.* gacha **281**, § 24; *pres. ptc.* gachu **144**; asta-ǵachadi **14**.
gaṇa **197**.
gaṇa'u (gaṇayan) **190**.
-gada (-ṃ-kṛta) **171**.
gadi (gati) **43**, **297**.
gadu (gata) **120**; -o **203**, **204**; *see* -kada.
gadha (gāthā) **308**, **309**; -aṇa **308**.
gadhavo (gardabha) **285**; § 44.
gaña (gandha) **37**, **303**; gana **292**, **296**; -no **295**, **296**; § 46.
-gana'a (gandhaka), *see* a-, sa-.
gañava (gandharva) **43**; § 46.
gabhi (garbha) **144**.
gama (grāma) -u **294**, **334**; -i **292**.
gami (grāmya-?) **129**, **130**.
[gami] (gāmin-) §§ 31, 78; *see* sparga-ǵamiyu.
gameṣiṇo (gaveṣin-) **222**; §§ 22, 36.
gammira (gambhīra) **49**; -o **225**; §§ 14, 46.
garahidu (garhita) **120**.
† gaśana, *read* vayaṇa.
† ǵasedi, *read* ghadhedi.
-gaha (grāha) **275**; (P. -ī) **266**.
gahaṇa **2**.
-gahido (gṛhīta) **215**, **216**.
gi[ ] (grīṣma) **333**.
gira (giraṃ) **22**.
gili (P. gilī) **75**.
gihi (gṛhin-) **99**.
gu (-ṃ khu: S. khalu) **62**, **217**, **218**, **264**, **276**, **338**; §§ 48, 68; *see* hu, ho.
guṇa **75**, **293**; -guna **344**.
guḍa (P. guḷa) **75**; ayo-kuḍu **331**; § 66.
guti (gupti) **60**; *see* goti.
guna (guṇa) **344**.
go (gauḥ) ga'u **190**; go-saǵi **278**.
goti (gupti) **59**; *see* guti.
gotreṇa **1**.
godama (gautama) **288**.
godama-ṣavaka (gautama-śrāvaka) **100–5**.
goyara (gocara) **213**, **214**; -i **116**.
govo (gopa) **190**.
go-saǵi (-sangha) **278**.
gradhadi **107**; § 51.

[ghaṇa] *see* -khaṇo.
ghadhedi (ghātayati) **18**, **198**; § 43*a*.
ghara **262**; -i **277**.
ghahaṭhehi (gṛhastha) **32**; § 43*a*.

ca (ca) **8**, **18**, **26**, **27**, *&c.*; ci **19**, **54**; ja **13**, **24**, **332**; ji **19**, **39**, **76**, **214**, *&c.*; ya **5**, **15**, **34**, **37**, **169**, *&c.*; yu (?) **12**; yo **208**, **335**; yi **75**, **93**, **110**, *&c.*; i **77**, **79**, **88**, **177**, *&c.*; hi **112**, **177**, **230**; §§ 39, 70.
ca (P. ce) **208**; ja **207**; ji **320**; ya **80**, **195**, **233**, **234**, **306**, **308**; hi **201**, **202**; §§ 39, 70.
ca'uṭha (caturtha) **270**; §§ 18*b*, 33.
ca'uri (P. caturo) **109**; § 33.
cako (cakra) **201**; *see* trakehi.
cakhkṣuma (cakṣuṣmant-) **108**, **251**, **253**; cakhuma **109**; §§ 11, 16.
cata (citta) **219**; § 23; *see* cita.
catvari (catvāri) **172**, **270**.
cadu-bhaku (catur-bhāga) **321**.
cadra (candra) **40**.
cadri **197**.
cadrimu (candramas-) **50**, **177**.
canaṇa (candana) **295**.
camasa (carman-) **178**.
cayi (tyajet) **164**.
caradi **68**, **256**; cara **77**, **292**, § 24; cari **110**, **325**, **328**; care'a **80**.
-cari (cārin-) **110**, **191**; cariṇo **112**; cari'u **176**; § 78; *see* -yari.
care'a (P. careyya) **80**.
[-carya, *see* -yirya.]
cavadhivadida (cāpādhipatita) **329**; § 43*a*.
cavala (capala) **136**.
ci, *see* ca.
ciṭhadi (tiṣṭhati) **276**; -du **96**.
cita (citta) **75**, **124**, **135**, **136**, **169**, **200**, **220**, **223**; -u **71**, **195**; -eṇa **138e** (?), **199**; -asa **55**, **57**, **137c**, **137d**, **197**; **219**, § 23.
citraṇi **96**.
cira'i (P. cirāya) **95**.
cudi (cyuti) **44**.
cedaso (cetasā) **224**; § 22.

ch- (*does not correspond to* S. kṣ-, §§ 16, 52; *for words wrongly cited with this initial, see* kṣ-).
chada (śabda) **37**; § 50.
chade (chada) **277**.
chadedi (chādayati) **272**.
chana (chanda) **96**, **207**, **208**; -o **184**.
-chana (channa) **219**, **220**, **251**.
chaya (chāyā) **202**.
† chaya, *read* kṣaya.
chitvaṇa (P. chetvāna) **36**, **170**, **171**; *cf.* chetva.
china (P. chinda) **9**, **10**; (P. chinde) **78**.
chetva (chetvā) **42**, **76**; -aṇa **300**; *cf.* chitvaṇa.

ja, *see* ca.
jā, *see* §§ 6–6*b*.
ja'i (dhyāya) **75**.
ja'i (*dhyāyin-; S. dhyānin-) **47, 48**; jā'i **50**.
ja'e'a (P. jāyetha) **303**.
-jaǵa (-jangha) **39**.
jagaru (*jaggara-; *not formally equivalent to* P. jāgaro) **118**.
jaḍa'i (jaṭā) **1, 2**; § 39.
jaṇa (jana) **117, 119, 275, 344**; -o **322**; bahojaṇo **151, 329**.
jaṇa, jāṇa (dhyāna) **58**.
jaṇada (P. jānato) **14**.
jaṇadi (jānāti) **243, 244, 282**; *pl.* **43, 235**.
jaṇayadi **247**.
jātva (P. hantvā) **12, 13**; (P. jhatvā) **288, 289**.
jada-(jāta) -eṇa **293**; -asa **147**; -aṇa **279, 296**.
jadi (jāti) **125, 161**; -iṣu **287**; *inst.* na yaca **1, 4**; § 72.
jadi-kṣaya (jāti-) **5**.
jadima (jāti-mant-) **252**.
jadu (jantu) **38, 319**; -uṇa **221, 222**.
jabodaṇaseva (jāmbūnadasya iva) **242**; §§ 48, 64, 66*a*; p. 50.
jaya (jaya) **180**.
jayadi (jāyate) **173**.
jayadi (dhyāyati) **92**; *pres. ptc.* jayadu **129**, ja- **130, 134**; jayada **38**.
jara (jarā) **111, 148, 160, 161, 223, 332**; -e **140**.
jala (jāla) **171**.
java (java) **201, 202**; pure-javu **98**.
jahadi (jahāti) **81–90, 178**; jahi (P. jahe) **51, 52, 78, 274**.
ji, *see* ca.
[ji]kitsa (jighatsā) **163**.
jiṇa (P. jine) **280**; jiṇi **305**; § 24.
jiṇa (jīrṇa) **81–90, 182**.
jidavi (jitāvin-) **47**.
jimi (jālmī) **140**.
jiyadi (jīryanti) **160**.
jiyamaṇeṇa (jīryamāṇa-) **159**.
jiva (jīva) **233**.
jivaṇo **322**; *cf.* jiviṇo.
jivamu (jīvāma) **165–8**.
jivi (jīvet) **141, 316–18**.
jiviṇo (jīvin-) **112, 258**; jivaṇo **322**.
jivida (jīvita) **263, 316–18**; -i **152, 257**.
jeṇadi (P. jināti) **198**; § 21; *caus.* na yava'i **198**; § 72.
joda'i (dyotayet) **236**.

-ña (-jña) *in* akidaña, matraño, *&c.*
ñatva (jñātvā) **10, 87, 116, 163, 214, 265**; § 19.
ñadihi (jñāti) **176, 261**.

-ṭha (-stha) **119**; -ṭho **119, 322**.
ṭhaṇa (sthāna) **268**; -ehi **23, 281**; -ṇaṇi **270**
ṭhida-dhamasa (sthita-dharma) **277**.

ḍajamaṇo (dahyamāna) **75**; -ṇeṇa **159**; § 6*b*, 61.
ḍahu (dahan) **74**; § 77.

ṇa (P. naṃ) **3, 11, 201, 202, 207, 208, 242, 278**; §§ 45, 67.
ṇadaka (snātaka) **41** [reading uncertain. See commentary, to which it should be added that, if the word is read as *ħadaka*, a closer parallel is provided by Niya 320 *gṛħeyāti*; Rapson, *Khar. Inscr.* iii, p. 321.]

ta (taṃ, tat) **56, 62, 126, 169, 173, 178, 189, 200, 209–10, 217–18, 249, 264, 274, 289, 321–2, 334–5, 338–9**; tam **17–49, 53, 183, 275**.
takara (tagara) **295**.
takaru (tat-kara) **190**.
taṇi (tāni) **154, 155**.
taṇu (tanu) **194**.
tata (tapta) **331**.
tatra **152, 200, 303**; tatra'i (tatra ayaṃ) **59**.
tada (P. tato) **11, 341**; *see* tado.
tada (tadā) **106, 107, 108, 227, 282**.
tadañi (tadā anyān) **227**.
tadi, *see* tadiśa.
tadiṇo (P. tādi-) **286**.
tadiśa (tādṛśa) **57, 177, 231, 335**; tadi **231**.
tadu, *see* tado.
tado (tataḥ) **15, 76, 201, 202**; tada, **11, 341**; tadu **60**.
tadovi'a (P. tadūpikā, -iya; BS. -upaka, -upaga) **234**.
tadri (tantra) **149**.
tadha (tathā) **59, 96, 330**.
tadhakada (tathāgata) **267**; -asa **43**.
tadhavidha (tathāvidha) **249**.
tadheva (tathaiva) **96**.
† tani, *read* tadri.
tam, *see* ta.
tamasarṇudu (tamasā ūrṇutaṃ) **251**; § 22.
tamu (tamas) **282**.
tara-gaṇa (tāra-) **197**.
taruva (P. dārujaṃ) **169**.
tava (tāvat) **143, 287**; tavada **67, 114, 182**.
tavada-r-iva (tapatāṃ) **279**.
tavadi (tapati) **50, 283, 337**.
taveṇa (tapaḥ) **8**.
taṣa, *written for* teṣa, **340**; § 23.
taṣa (tṛṣṇā) **84**; §§ 9, 50; *see* tasiṇa.
tasa (tasmāt) **16, 238**.
tasa (tasmin) **207**.
tasa (tasya) **54, 98, 172, 182, 198, 327**.
tasiṇa (tṛṣṇā) **223**; *see* taṣa; § 50.
tiṇa (tīrṇa) **90**; -o **78**.
tidikṣadi (titikṣate) **28**; -ami **329**; -e'a **279**.
tiya (tiryak) **199**.
tuchu (tuccha) **153**.
† tunati, *read* duṇadi.
turi'eṇa (tūrya) **57**.
tuṣi-bhaveṇa (tūṣṇīṃ-bhāva) **237**; § 9.
te (te) **128, 174, 213–14, 339**; § 67.
teṇa **195**; teṇa teṇeva (*of place*) **323**.
teyasa (tejas-) **50**.
teleṇa (taila) **319**.
teṣa (teṣām) **145, 174, 181, 339**; *written* taṣa **340** (§ 23).
[ ]teṣu (*broken*) **314**.
trakehi (P. cakkehi) **97**; *see* cako.
traṇa'i (trāṇa) **261**.
traṇadha (trāṇatā) **261**; § 43*a*.
traseṣu **18**.
tridi'a (tṛtīya) **270**.
trihi (tribhiḥ) **6, 7, 23, 281**.

treḍaśa (trayodaśa) **223.**
trevija (traividya) **4**; -u **6.**
tvaya (tvacaṃ) **82–90.**

thale (sthala) **137b.**
thavareṣu (sthāvara) **18.**
thiṇa (strīṇāṃ) **174.**
thula (sthūla) *see* aṇu-.
thera (sthavira) **183**; -u **182, 223**; -o **185.**

daṇa (daṇḍa) **18, 80**; -eṣu **29.**
daṇeṇa (dāna) **280.**
dada (dānta) **341**; -u **80.**
dama (dama) **192, 193**; -eṇa **8, 111.**
daya (P. dajjā) **281.**
dara (dārāḥ) **270**; -eṣu **169.**
† daruva, *read* taruva.
darmehi (dharma) **344**; *elsewhere written* dh-.
darśaṇa **175.**
darśaṇo (darśin-) **273**; daśaṇa **231**; daśiṇo **213**; §§ 23, 58.
darśavi **273**; daśavi **31.**
dala'itha (dālayitvā) **85**; §§ 11, 49, 80.
daśaṇa, *see* darśaṇo.
daśabaloveda (-upeta) **48.**
daśayadi (darśayanti) **226.**
daśavi, *see* darś-.
daśiṇo, *see* darśaṇo.
daśima (P. dassivā) **73, 74.**
dahara **146, 152**; -u **184**; -o **152.**
di (iti) **1, 6, 7,** *&c.*; **182, 185, 187,** *&c.*; § 67; *written* du **68, 79**; § 25, p. 51.
di (te) **2, 76**; de **75**; § 67.
diṭha, -o (dṛṣṭa) **151**, § 60; -e va dharmi **197**; diṭha-dhama- **135.**
diṭhi (dṛṣṭi) **98, 121, 258, 273**; § 58.
diva (divā) **50, 100–5.**
diva-ratra (divā-rātraṃ) **319.**
divu (P. dīpaṃ) **111.**
diśa (P. disā) **97, 295.**
diśadi (P. dissanti) **151.**
diśo diśa **155.**
diṣpa (dṛṣṭvā) **203–6**; diṣpaṇi **154, 155**; §§ 55, 58.
du (iti) *see* di.
du (tu) **1, 62, 244, 256**; § 67; (P. ca) **114, 117, 122, 160, 176, 193, 214** (*written* nu?), **222, 235, 340**; (P. ve) **68, 193, 234, 264, 275**; yo du (P. yo dha) **19, 20, 46, 68, 183**; *see* nu.
dukha (duḥkha) **106–8, 250**; -am **75**; -u **176, 180, 207, 262, 274, 283**; -asa **30, 130**; -usa **125**, § 25, p. 51; *see* duha, dokhu.
dukhaṇuvadida (P. dukkhānupatito) **262.**
dukha-vaśama-kami'a (P. dukkhūpasama-gāminaṃ) **247.**
dukhusada (P. dukkhass'antaṃ) **125.**
dugadi'o (durgati) **52**; § 11; *see* dru-.
duṇadi (P. dhunāti) **69**; dhuṇatha **123**; § 49.
duduhi (dundubhi) **235**; § 48.
† dubakati, *read* -du batsadi.
duragama (P. dūrangamaṃ) **137a.**
duha (duḥkha) **163, 179, 201**; -u **133**; -eṇa **226**; *see* dukha, dokhu.
duhaya (ubhaya) -ayasa **183**; -a'eṇa **245.**
duhayatra (P. ubhayattha) **205, 206.**
duhiṇo (duḥkhin-) **246.**
de (te) **75**; *see* di.
deva **43, 47, 62, 242**; -aṇa **120, 281.**
devada (-tā) **268, 343.**
deśada (P. desenta-) **235, 247**; § 23.
deśida (-ta) **3, 299**; § 19 n.
deśedi (deśayati) **24, 54**; -ehi **236** (§§ 22*a*, 39); -śada **235, 247.**
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budhavarmasa (buddhavarman) **0**.
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bhavayadi (bhāvayati) **194**; bhava'i **78**; bhavetha **127**.
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likhida (-ta) **0**; § 41.
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-vadi (vādin) **231, 269**; -iṇo **213**; *see* -va'i; § 33.

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-vayarisa (-vihārin) **0**; §§ 23, 39.
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valatra (varatrā) **42**.
vavajadi (upapadyate) **211**, **212**; *see* uva-.
vavati (upapatti) **44**; § 35.
† vavi lata, *read* va vilada.
vaśa **276**.
va[śaṇ]u'a (P. vasānuga) **174**.
vaśada (upaśānta) **24**, **25**; uvaśadu **180**; § 35.
vaśama (upaśama) **247**; -vośamu **70**; § 25.
vaśpaśa, *see* viśpaśa.
vaṣa (varṣa) **316–20**; varṣa **141**.
vaṣa (varṣāḥ) **333**.
vaṣi'a (vārṣikā) **298**.
vasadi **144**; vasa (vaset) **259**.
vasita-maṇasa (vyāsakta-manasaṃ) **294**.
vastra **192**.
vahaṇe (vahana) **201**.
vahadi **148**.
vi (P. ve) **99**; *but probably to be taken with the following*.
vi (api) **11**, **44**, **80**, **99**, **141**, **149**, **175**, **184**, **199**, **225**, **237**, **242**, **247**, **251**, **252**, **261**, **269**, **291–3**; mi **242**, § 36; *see also* bi.
vi'aṇadi (vijānāti) **233**, **234**, **252**, **253**; *opt.* -e'a **3**; *pres. ptc.* -ada **256**; -adu **56**, **267**.
vi'ula, *see* vivula.
vikada (vigata) **35**, **184**.
vikadi (P. vitate) **149**; § 38.
† vikaya, *read* vikaśa.
vikaśa (P. vigayha) **83**; §§ 5, 61.
vikṣitaṇi (vikṣipta) **155**.
vicida'i (vicintayet) **31**; § 66.
vicirya (vi-car-) **196**.
vija (vidyā) -ahi **6**, **7**.
vijacaraṇa (vidyā-) **6**.
vijadi (vidyate) **174**, **233**, **238**, **240**.
vijamaṇa (vidyamāna) **251**.
vijiṇeṇa (vijīrṇa) **156–8**.
viña, *see* viñu.
viñaṇa (vijñāna) **153**.
viñati (vijñapti) **249**.
viñamaṇi (vijñapana-) **22**; § 36.
viñu (vijña) **189**, **234**; -ña **241**.
-viṭhidu (vyutthita) a- **144**.
viṇa'i (vinaya) **125**.
viṇayadu (vinayataḥ) **243**; viṇi'adu **244**; §§ 11, 37, 38 n.
viṇavana'u (P. vinibandhāya) **89**; § 24, p. 51.
viṇi'adu, *see* viṇayadu.
viṇedi (vinayati) **82**.
vidadha (vitatha) **87**.
vidi (vijite) **277** (*perhaps to be emended to* viyidi, § 27).
viditva **300**.
vidu (viduḥ) **189**.
vidva (vidvān) **325**.
vidvareṇa **157**.
vinadi (vindati) **113**, **297**; § 46.
† vinamaṇa, *read* pariphanamaṇa.
vipramujadha (P. vippamuñcetha) **298**.
vipramutu (-mukta) **30**, **45**.
viprayahe'a (P. vippajaheyya) **274**.
viprasana (-sanna) **40**; -o **225**; -neṇa **224**.
viprasidadi (-sīdanti) **225**.
vimali **40**.
vimuta (vimukta) **161**; -aṇa **297**.
viya (vīrya) **260**; *see* virya.
viyava (vīrya-vant-) **316**; *see* virya-.
viyiṇi (P. vicinaṃ) **81**, **244**; §§ 66, 77.
viyidaviṇo (P. vijitāvinaṃ) **41**.
viyidi, *see* vidi.
[viye]ṣidi (P. vijessati) **302**.
vira (vīra) **39**, **42**, **49**, **173**.
vira'ida (virājita) **26**.
viraku (virāga) **109**.
viraya (viraja) **46**.
virudheṣu (viruddha) **29**.
virya (vīrya) **316**; viya **260**.
-viryava (vīrya-vant) **217**, **218**; -viyava **316**
vilada (P. vitata) **330**.
vilomaṇi (-āni) **271**.
viva (iva) **81–90**, **256**, **278**, **301**, **302**, **320**; § 71; *see* iva.
vivaśadu (P. vipassato) **55**, **57**.
vivasadi (vi-vas-) **150**.
vivasiṇa (P. vivasane) **145**.
vivita, *see* vevita.
vivula, -u (vipula) **164** [*read perhaps* vi'ula].
vivedi (vyapenti?) **226**.
vivhuda-nanahi (vibhūti-nandin-) **228**; §§ 24, 44.
viśala (viśalya) **90**.
viśiśadi (viśiṣyate; *or read* avi-, P. ava-) **200**; § 59.
viśudhu (viśuddha) **204**, **206**.
viśeṣa **129**.
viśeṣadha (P. -ato) **116**; § 43*a*.
viśodhi'a (viśuddhi) **106–8**.
viśodhedi (viśodhayati) **254**.
† viśpa, *read* veśma.
viśpaśa (viśvāsa) **66**, **325**; *written* vaśpaśa **162**; §§ 23, 50, 55.
viśpaśi (BS. viśvaset) **152**.
viśravadeṇa (vi-sravant-) **158**; § 57.
viṣamaṇi (viṣama) **271**.
viṣamu (viṣama) **330**.
viṣa-mulasa (-mūlasya) **289**.
viṣañutu (visaṃyukta) **27**, **30**; -o **185**; -ñota **35**.
visaḍa (P. visataṃ, visaṭaṃ) **82**; § 50.
† visara, *read* visaḍa.
vihañadi (vihanyate) **203**, **205**.
viharadu (viharantaṃ) **217–18**.
viharamu **165–8**.
vihari'o (vihārin-) **128**; § 78.
vihariṇa (vihārin-) **297**.
vihaṣidi (P. vihessati) **125**.

vihaṣisi (P. vihāhisi) **60.**
vucadi (ucyate) **16, 68, 78, 79, 182, 187.**
vuṭhi (vṛṣṭi) **219, 220.**
vuti (vṛtti) **241.**
-vuyu (-bhūya) **71, 72.**
-vuruṣa (-puruṣa) *see* kavuruṣa.
-veka, *see* aśpa-, puruṣa-, vaya-.
veṇe'adi (vinayanti) **96.**
vedi (upaiti) **321**; *see* uvedi.
vera (vaira) **179, 180, 198, 257.**
veraṇeṣu (*vairaṇa; S. vairin-) **166.**
vevita (vivikta) **65.**
veśma **67**; §§ 14, 53.
votavi (vaptavya) **149.**
† vodavi, *read* votavi.
-vośamu, *see* saghara-.
vosido (vyavasita) **5.**
† vraṇeṇa, *see* oruhaṇeṇa.
† vriḍha, *read* vridha-.
vridhavayariṇo (vṛddha-upacārin-) **172.**
vrudha (vṛddha) **146.**

śa'iṣidi (śayiṣyate) **153**; § 59.
śagha-varṇaṇi (śankha-varṇa) **154.**
śaḍi'a (śāṭī) **2.**
śaḍha (śaṭha) **272**; -u **186**; § 40.
śada (śata) **141, 307, 309, 316, 318–20**; -o **317**; -eṇa **310–315.**
śada (śānta) **55, 70–72**; -u **7, 80.**
śadi-magam (śānti-mārga) **299.**
śado (śata) **317**; *see* śada.
śadvari (śatvarī, śārvarī) **256**; § 43*b*.
śamatha (*see commentary on* **31**).
śamadhare **189**; § 43*a*.
śayaṇeṇa **65.**
śayadi (śete) **180, 224, 288–9**; **174**; śe'adi **110**; śedi **328** (*perhaps here also to be read* śe'adi, *if a character is lost or concealed at the break in the manuscript*); śa'iṣidi **153.**
śara **329**; -u **215, 216.**
śarada (śā-) **154.**
śaradaka (śā-) **299.**
† śari'a, *read* śaḍi'a.
śarira (śarīra) **44, 160.**
-śala (śalya) *see* viśala.
śalaṇa (śalyāni) **96a.**
śaśaṇa (śāsana) **258**; -e **69, 70, 123**; -i **77**; §§ 6*b*, 50.
śaśvada (śāśvata) **238**; § 55.
śikṣida (-ta) **174.**
śida-chade (śīta-) **277.**
śimada **248** (*read* śilamada).
śila (śīla) **65, 177, 185, 241, 255, 344**; -eṇa **323**; -aṇa **297**; -eṣu **193.**
śila-gano (śīla-gandha) **296.**
śilamadu, *see* śilava.
śilava (śīlavant-) **324**; *acc.* -madu **278, 322**; -mada **248**; *inst.* -vada **229**; § 36.
śilisa (*śīlin-) **172.**
śiśila (śithila) **170**; § 43.
śiṣaṇi (śīrṣāṇi) **154.**
śiha (śikhā) **331.**
śuñakare (śūnyāgāra) **55**; § 77.
śudhayiva (śuddhājīva) **60**; -u **62**; -eṇa **222.**
śudhu (śuddha) **40**; -o **254**; -asa **327.**
śuyi (śuci) **222**, § 50; *see* suyi.
-śuriṇa (śūra) **221.**
śuśu (śiśu) **184.**
śuhaṇupaśi (P. subhānupassiṃ) **217** (§ 44).
śuhaśuhu (śubhāśubha) **19, 241.**
śe'adi (śete) **110**; *see* śayadi.
śeṭha (śreṣṭha) **201, 202**; -o **109**; §§ 56, 60.
śeṭhi (śreṣṭhin-) **117.**
śedi, *see* śayadi.
śela (śaila) **218, 279**; -u **239.**
śo'a (śoka) **332.**
śo'iṇo (śokin-) **119**; § 38.
śotri'a (śrotriya) **4, 12**; § 56.
śodhi (śuddhi) **156–9.**
śoyadi (śocati) **79, 131, 203, 205, 288, 289.**
śoyiṣu (śuc-) **176.**
śoṣa'itha (śoṣayitvā) **84**; §§ 49, 80.
śramaṇa (śramaṇa) **189**; -o **16**; § 56; *see* ṣamaṇo.
śramaṇa (śravaṇa) **263**; §§ 36, 56; a-ṣamaṇadha **257**, § 43*a*.
śravadiṇa (sravantīnāṃ) **279**; § 57.
śrudi (śruti) **249**; § 56.

ṣa (P. so) **336**; *see* so.
ṣa (sma) **160**; *see* sa.
-ṣaga, *see* saṣaga.
ṣaǵa (sanga) **46**; aṣaǵa **46**; §§ 46, 50, 57.
ṣaǵadhi'o (P. sangātigo) **78**; § 43*a*.
ṣajamaṇa, *see* a-.
ṣaṇa (ṣaṇḍa) **196**; § 45.
ṣadha (śraddhā) **260.**
ṣadhu (śrāddha) **218, 323**; -ehi **229.**
ṣamaña (śrāmaṇya) **215, 216.**
ṣamañathasa (śrāmaṇya-artha) **190, 191.**
ṣamaṇo (śramaṇa) **80, 188**; -asa **0**; *see* śr-; § 56, p. 53.
ṣavaka (śrāvaka) **100–5, 249, 304**; § 11.
ṣahu (*perhaps to be read for* ṣehu, **307**) § 23.
ṣiho, *see* ṣeho.
-ṣukeṇa (-śruta) *see* baho-.
ṣuṇitvāṇa (śrutvā) **225.**
ṣutva (śrutvā) **253, 306–9**; -tvaṇa **114.**
ṣuda (śruta) **254, 255**; § 56.
ṣebha, *see* ṣeho.
ṣevha, *see* ṣeho.
ṣehu, *see* ṣeho.
ṣeho (śreyas-) **231, 308, 337**; ṣehu **307** (ṣahu? § 23), **318, 337**; ṣiho **321**; ṣevha **306, 316, 317, 320**; ṣebha **309**; §§ 39, 44, 56.
ṣoḍaśa **310–15**, (197).

sa (saḥ) **99, 173**; (sā) **97**; *see* so.
sa (sma) **283, 285, 325**; hi ṣa (hi ṣma) **160.**
-sa (asya) hisa **233–4**; svadi-sa **98**; *see* asa.
-sa (syāt, P. assa) **60.**
sa'i-gada (svayaṃ-kṛta) **171**; § 55.
sakaro (sāgara) **279.**
sakijaṇo (sakiñcana) **17.**
sakṣaya (saṃkṣaya) **194**; § 35.
sakha (sākhya) **228, 229.**
sakhaca (satkṛtya) **3**; § 49.
saǧa (sangha) **102**; saǵi **278, 312**; §§ 8, 46.
saga-ṭhaṇa (svarga-sthāna) **268**; § 55.
saǵada, *perhaps to be read for* saghada, **176.**
saǵadi (saṃgati) **228**; sagadi **229**; §§ 10*a*, 11.

sagana'a (sagandhaka) **291**.
sagapa (saṃkalpa) **113**, **124**, **214**; saggapa **213**; §§ 11, 46.
saǵami (saṃgrāma) **305**; sagami **329**; sagamu **305**; § 10*a*.
sagara-'uḍasa (saṃkāra-kūṭa) *loc.* **303**; § 38.
saǵi, *see* saǧa.
sagiliṭheṇa (saṃkliṣṭa) **221**.
saggapa, *see* sagapa.
sagha'i (saṃkhyāya) **68**.
saghada (saṃghāta; *or possibly a miscopying for* saǵada < saṃgata) **176**.
saghara (saṃskāra) **70**, **106**, **107**, **163**, **181**; -aṇa **10**; § 46.
sagharavośamu (saṃskāropaśama) **70**; § 25.
saghasa-dhama'u (saṃkhyāta-dharma: P. saṃkhāta-, *which should be read in Dhp.* 70 *for the corrupt* saṃkhata-) **304**; -eṣu **313**; § 43*a*.
saca (satya) **15**, **22**, **281**; -eṇa **280**; -aṇa **109**.
sacita (sva-citta) **124**; § 55.
† sacho, *read* drakṣo.
sañado (saṃyata) **52**, **54**; -u **53**, **80**, **325**; -asa **112**.
sañamu (saṃyama) **52**; -eṇa **8**, **111**.
sañoka (saṃyoga) **14**; § 11.
sañoyaṇa (saṃyojana) **74**, **274**, **326**; -o **194**.
saṇayara (-anucara) *written for* saṇu- **12**; § 25.
sata-ṣaṇa (sapta-ṣaṇḍa) **196**.
satva (sattva) **273**; -aṇa **44**.
satsana (saṃsanna) **113**; §§ 17, 45.
satsara (saṃsāra) **125** (§ 17).
sada (sadā) **120**, **127**, **175**, **224**, **327**; sado **143**; § 22.
sada (sāta) **186**, **187**.
sada (satāṃ) **160**, **250**; *see* sadu.
sadaṇa (*santānāṃ, S. satāṃ) **295**.
sadaṇa (smṛta) **340**.
sadaṇa (saṃdāna) **42**; saṃdaṇa **36**; §§ 14*a*, 48.
sadaṇeṣu (sādāna) **29**.
sadaśam (sad-darśa-?) **31**.
sadi (sāyam) **151**; § 33 n.
sadi (santi) **88**, **89**, **150**, **183**, **261**.
sadi'i (P. santike) **58**, **73**, **149**, **150**, **281**; -a **99**.
sadu (sant-) **287**, **322**; -o **160**; -a **160**, **250**; sadaṇa **295**; sabhi **160**, **250**.
saduṭhi (saṃtuṣṭi) **59**, **162**.
saduṣido (saṃtuṣita) **53**.
sadevaka **301**, **302**.
sado (sadā) **143**; § 22; *see* sada.
sado (santaḥ) **160**; *see* sadu.
sadhada (P. santhata) **38**.
sadhama (sad-dharma) **256**, **263**; -eṇa **267**; -i **126**, **132**.
† sadhamavinau, *read* -sma dhama-viṇa'i.
sadharma (sad-dharma) **63**, **64**; -u **250**.
sadhava (P. santhavaṃ) **250**; § 46.
sadhu (sādhu) **52**, **264**, **283**; -uṇa **280**.
sadhu-jivaṇo **322**.
sana (sanna) **132**.
sanadhu (sannaddha) **50**.
saṃdaṇa, *see* sadaṇa.
sapi (sarpiḥ) **319**.
sapuruṣa (sat-puruṣa) **177**, **226**; -o **295**; -ehi **229**.
sapraña (saprajña) **249**; -o **212**; -eṇa **248**.
saphala **291**.
sabaṇo (saṃpanna) **297**, **323**; -na **344**; sabarṇo **6**, **7**; §§ 45, 66*a*.
sabaraka (samparāya-) **135**; §§ 38, 39.
sabarṇo, *see* sabaṇo.
sabaśu (sampaśyan) **164**; § 66*a*.
sabudha, *see* same-.
sabrayaṇo (samprajāna) **33**, **96a**; -aṇaṇa **340**.
sabhamu (sambhavaṃ) **17**, **129**, **130**; § 36.
sabhi(r) (sadbhiḥ) **160**, **250**.
sabhijadi (saṃbhidyate) **239**.
sama (sama) **269**; -u **325**; -aṇi **271**.
sama'irya (P. samacariyā) **16**; §§ 22*a*, 32.
samakada (samāgata) **126**; samokadu **284**, § 22.
samakamo (samāgama) **176**.
samacara (samācāra) **344**; § 66.
samajadi (sampadyate) **178**, **327**; §§ 36, 66*a*.
samaṇa-savaso (samāna-saṃvāsa) **262**.
samaṇi (sama) **271**.
samada'i (samādāya) **67**.
samadaña (P. sammad-aññā) **297**.
samadaṇa (samādāna) **273**.
samadikrammi (sam-ati-kramya?) **42**; § 14.
samadibhinadi (sam-ati-bhind-) **219**, **220**.
samadha (saṃpāda?) **334**; § 43*a*.
samadhi (samādhi) **61**, **65**, 138c, 138d.
samapida (samarpita) **131**, **323**.
samayare'a (samācar-) **324**; § 66.
samayu **134**.
-samaradha (samārabdha) **340**.
samavarṇo (samāpanna) **188**; § 45.
samase'a (P. samāsetha) **250**.
samahida (samāhita) **124**, **241**; -u **185**, **193**, **255**; -o **53**.
samikṣe'a (samīkṣ-) **271**.
samiṃjadi (?) *see* sammijadi.
samidhi (samiti?) **120**; § 43*a*.
samidhi (samṛddhi) **324**.
samu (P. samaṃ) **325**.
samudim (saṃvṛti) **15**.
samuśa (saṃmuhya) **243**; § 61.
same (samyak) **55**, **57**, **214**.
same-diṭhi (samyag-dṛṣṭi) **98**.
same-paśa (BS. śamyā-prāsa) **196**.
sa-m-eva (P. sā yeva) **320**.
same-viṇi'ada (samyag-vinayataḥ) **244**.
same-sabudha (samyak-saṃbuddha) **3**, **77**, **304**; §§ 22*a*, 48, 66*a*.
samokadu (samāgata) **284**; § 22; *see* sama-.
sammaṣadi (sam-mṛś-) **56**; §§14, 46, 58.
sammijadi (P. samiñjanti) **238**, **239**; § 14.
-saya (-śayya) **259**, **270**; § 50.
sayi (P. sace) **17**.
sara (sāra) **81**, **213**, **214**; -i **213**; -ado **214**.
sarata (P. sāratta) **169**.
saradi, *see* saradhi.
sarado (sāra-taḥ) **214**.
saradhi (sārathi) **98**; saradi **275**; §§ 43*a*, 49.
sari (-sārī) **32**.

sar[ida] (P. saritaṃ) **84.**
sardhavayarisa (sārdhaṃ-vihārin-) **0.**
sarva **7, 33, 50, 85, 86, 178, 295; 51, 52;** -u **87;** -i **14, 108** (§ 11), **197;** -e **195;** *see* sava.
sarvatra **52, 161, 226;** *see* savatra.
sarva-dukha **250.**
sarva-bhuda **199;** -eṣu **198.**
sarvaśo **1, 44; [197];** *see* savaśu.
sarṣava (sarṣapa) **21.**
salavhu (svalābha) **61, 62.**
sava (sarva) **321, 326;** -i **106, 107, 274;** -eṣu **80;** § 11; *see* sarva.
savatra (sarvatra) **52, 173;** *see* sarvatra.
savatsara (saṃ-) **321.**
savaśu (sarvaśaḥ) **79, 156–8;** *see* sarvaśo.
savasa, -u, -o (saṃvāsa) **174–6, 262.**
savasi (P. saṃvase) **121;** *cf.* savrasi **176?**
savudidri'o (saṃvṛtendriya) **53.**
savudu (saṃvṛta) **217, 218, 259, 326;** *see* savrudu.
savrasi (P. sabbadhi? *see commentary*) **176;** § 43.
savrudu (saṃvṛta) **23;** -o **51;** *see* savudu.
saśo'a (saśokaṃ) **332.**
saṣaga (saṃsarga) **179;** § 57.
sa-señaka (-sainya) **13.**
sahadi (sahate) **282.**
sahado (saṃhata) **97.**
sahasa (sahasra) **305, 306, 308;** -aṇi **305;** -iṇa, -eṇa **310–15;** § 57.
sahida (P. sahita) **190, 191.**
sahida (saṃhita) **306–9.**
si (asmi) **152.**
si (asi) **10.**
si'a (syāt) **61, 121, 145, 175, 265, 324.**
sija (siñca) **76.**
siṇeha (sneha) **299.**
sita (sikta) **76.**
sisavudu (su-saṃvṛta) **218;** § 25.
siha (siṃha) **133.**
su-, *see also* sisavudu.
su (saḥ) **122,** (**336,** *commentary*).
su'aro (sūkara) **285;** § 38.
sukadi (sugati) **325;** -iṣu **212, 216;** §§ 11, 66; sugadi (-gg-) **204.**
sukadeṇa (sugata) **299.**
sukaraṇi (sukara) **264.**
sukida (sukṛta) **337.**
sukhu **66, 134, 208;** *see* suha; § 41.
sugadi (P. suggatiṃ) **204;** *see* sukadi.
sugahido (sugṛhīta) **216.**
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[1] Where parallels have not been traced, literal renderings into Pali of the Prakrit verse-beginnings have been included in this index, in the hope that this might subsequently assist in the identification of the verses in question. Such reconstructions have been placed in square brackets.

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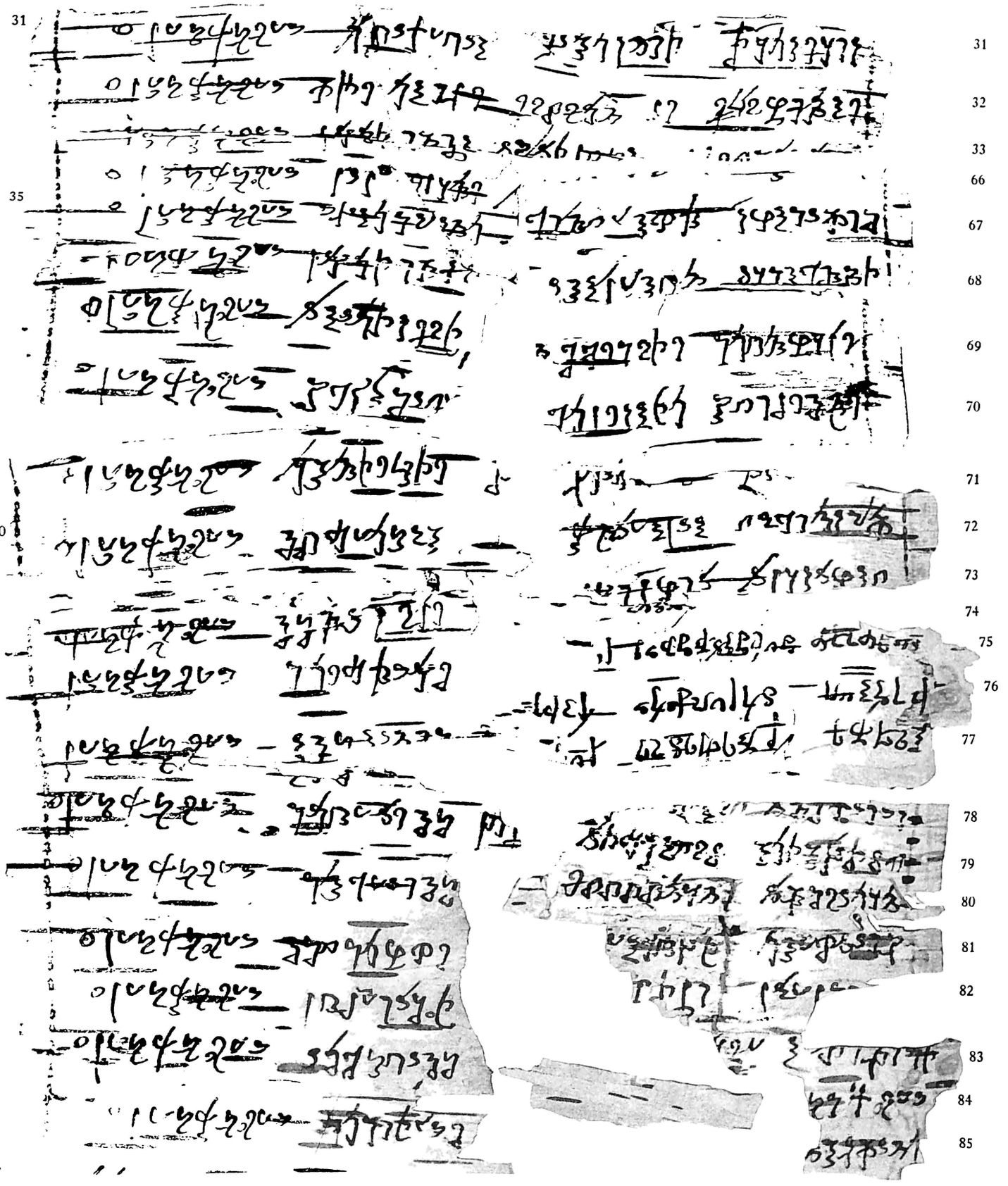
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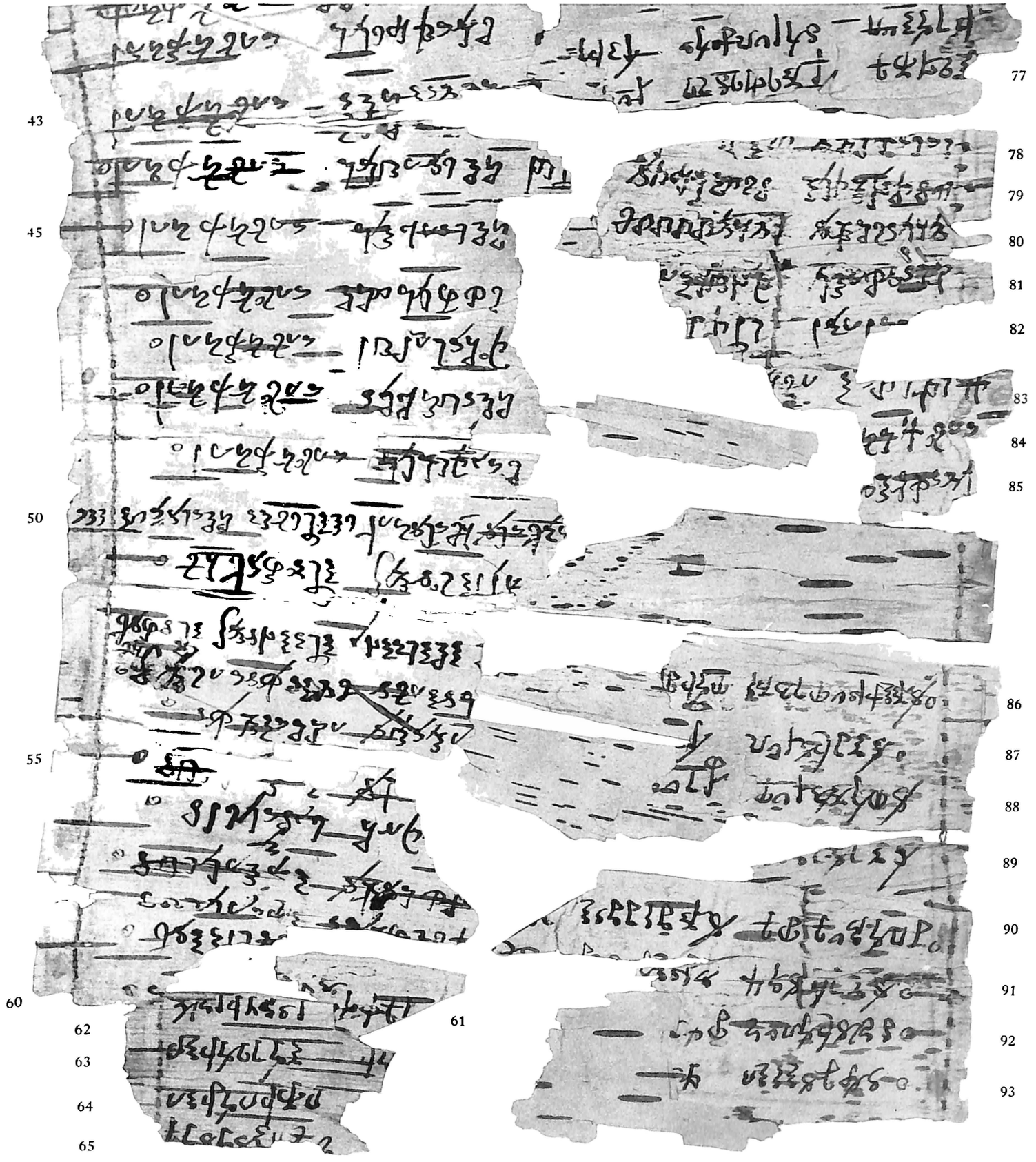
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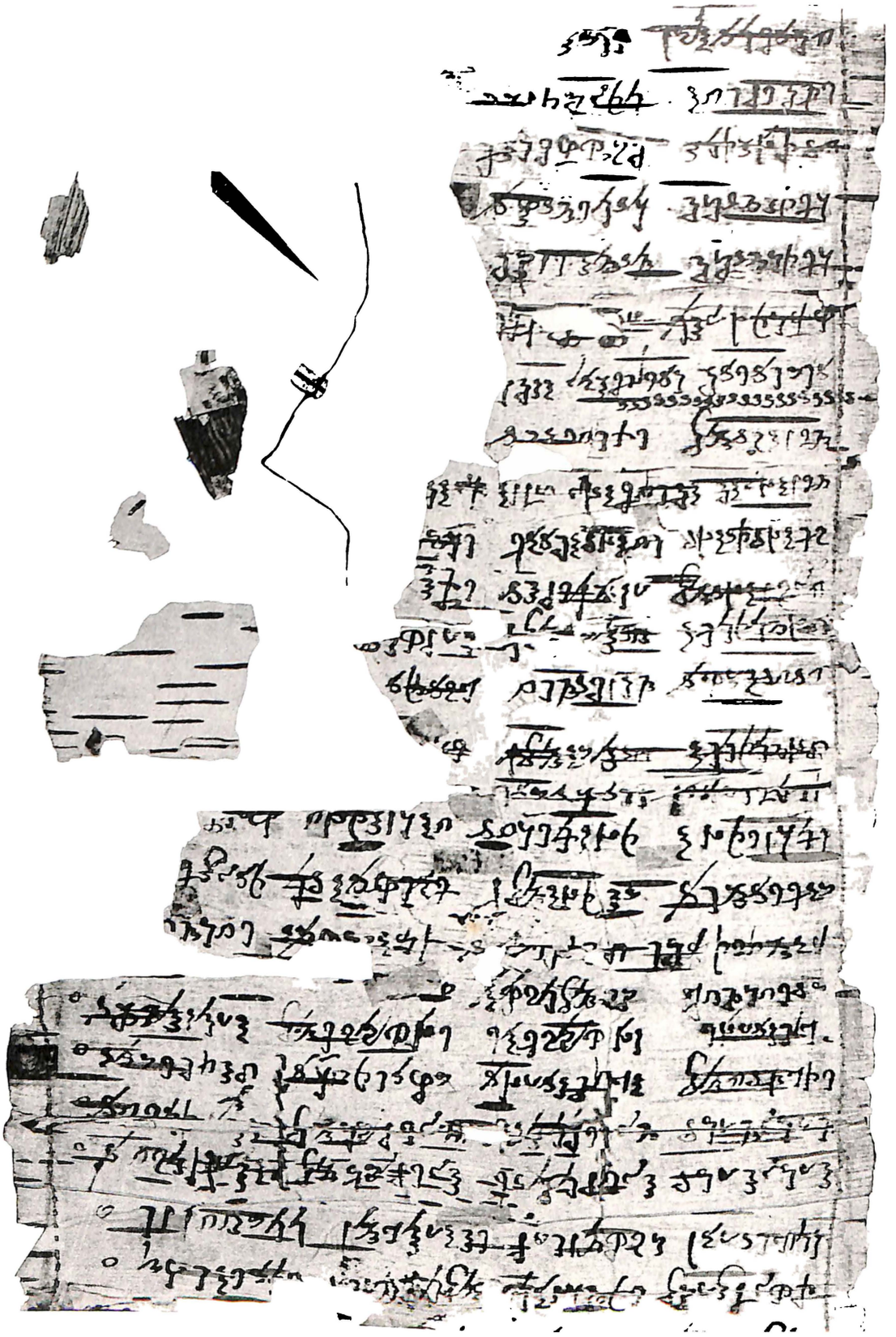


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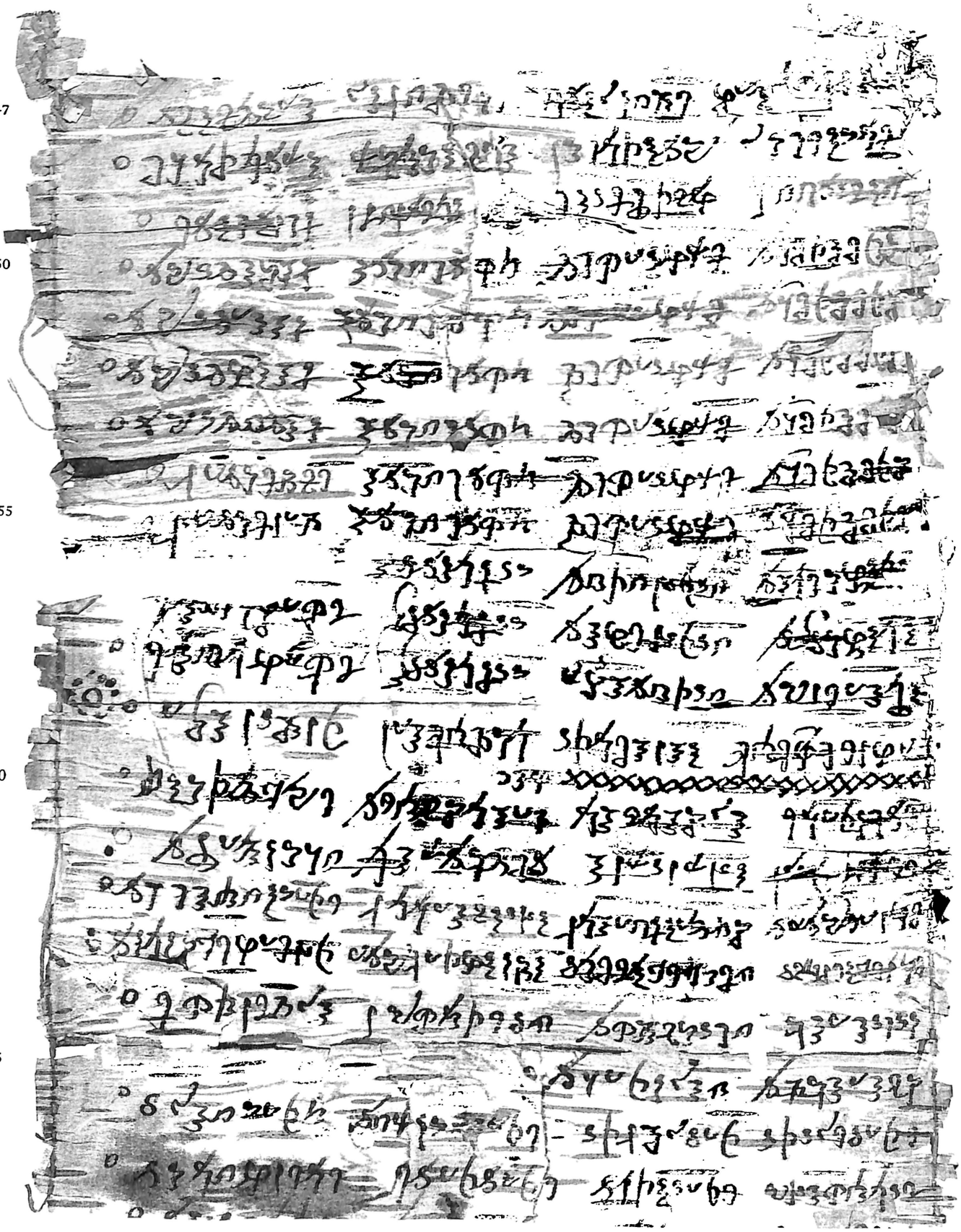
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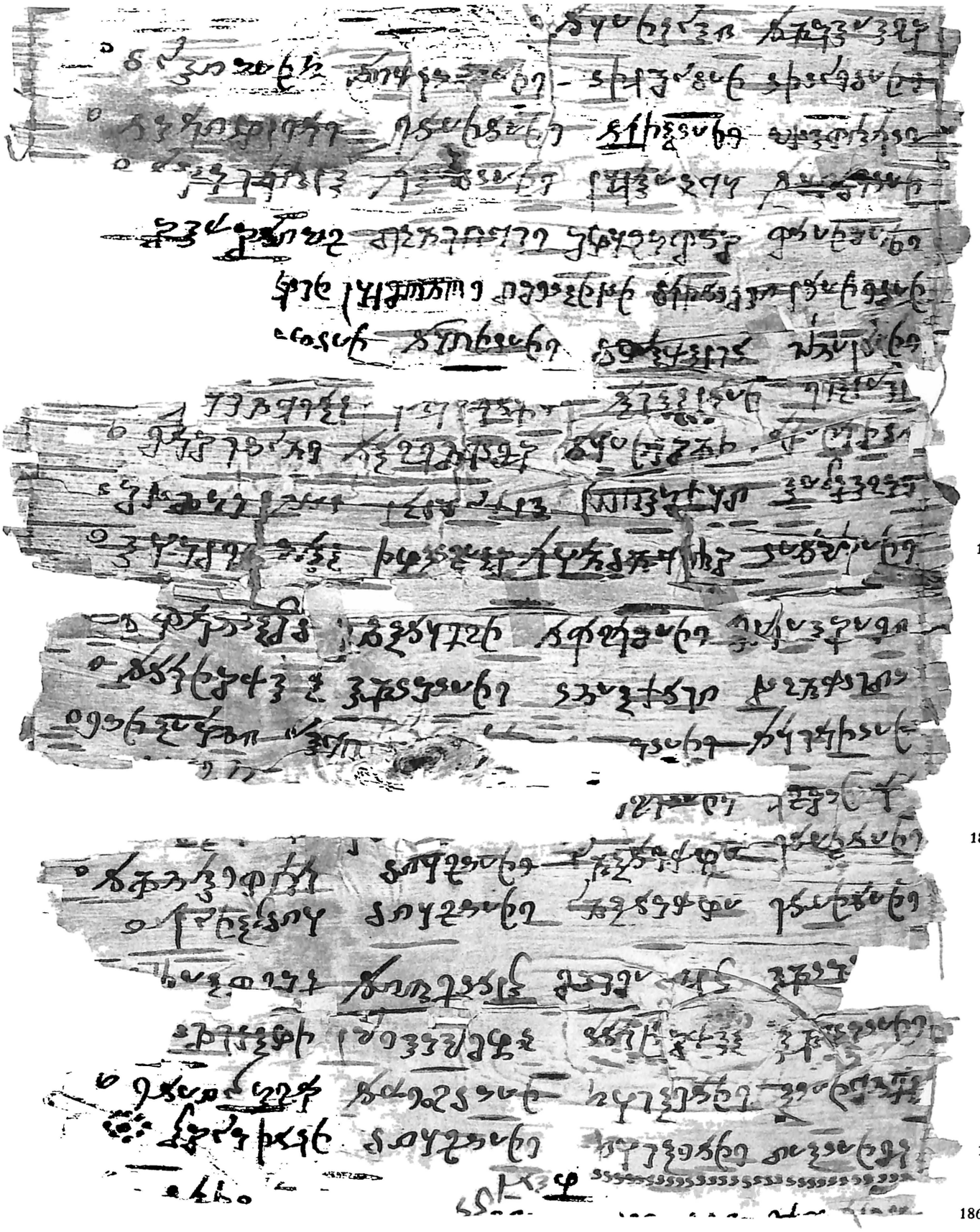
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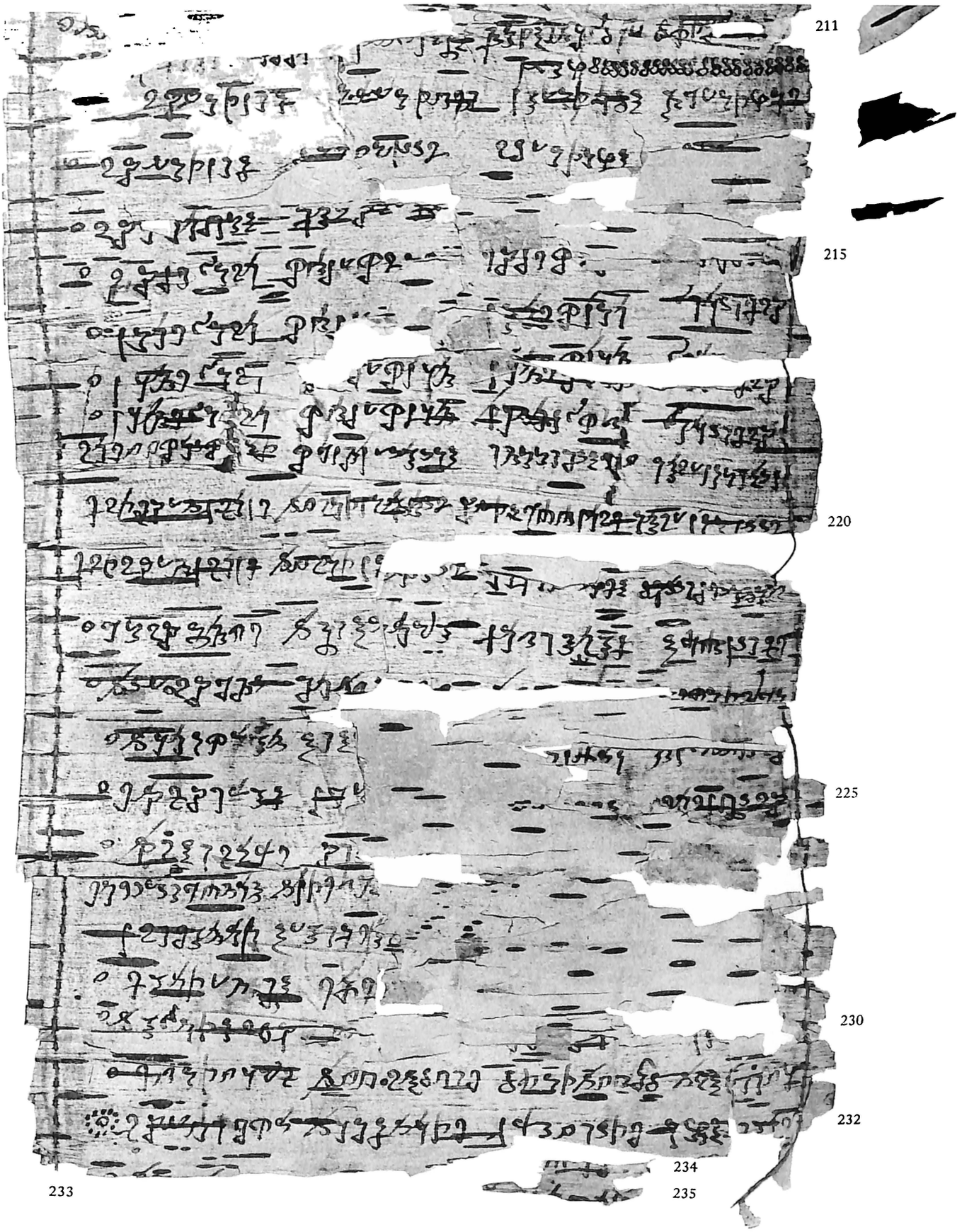
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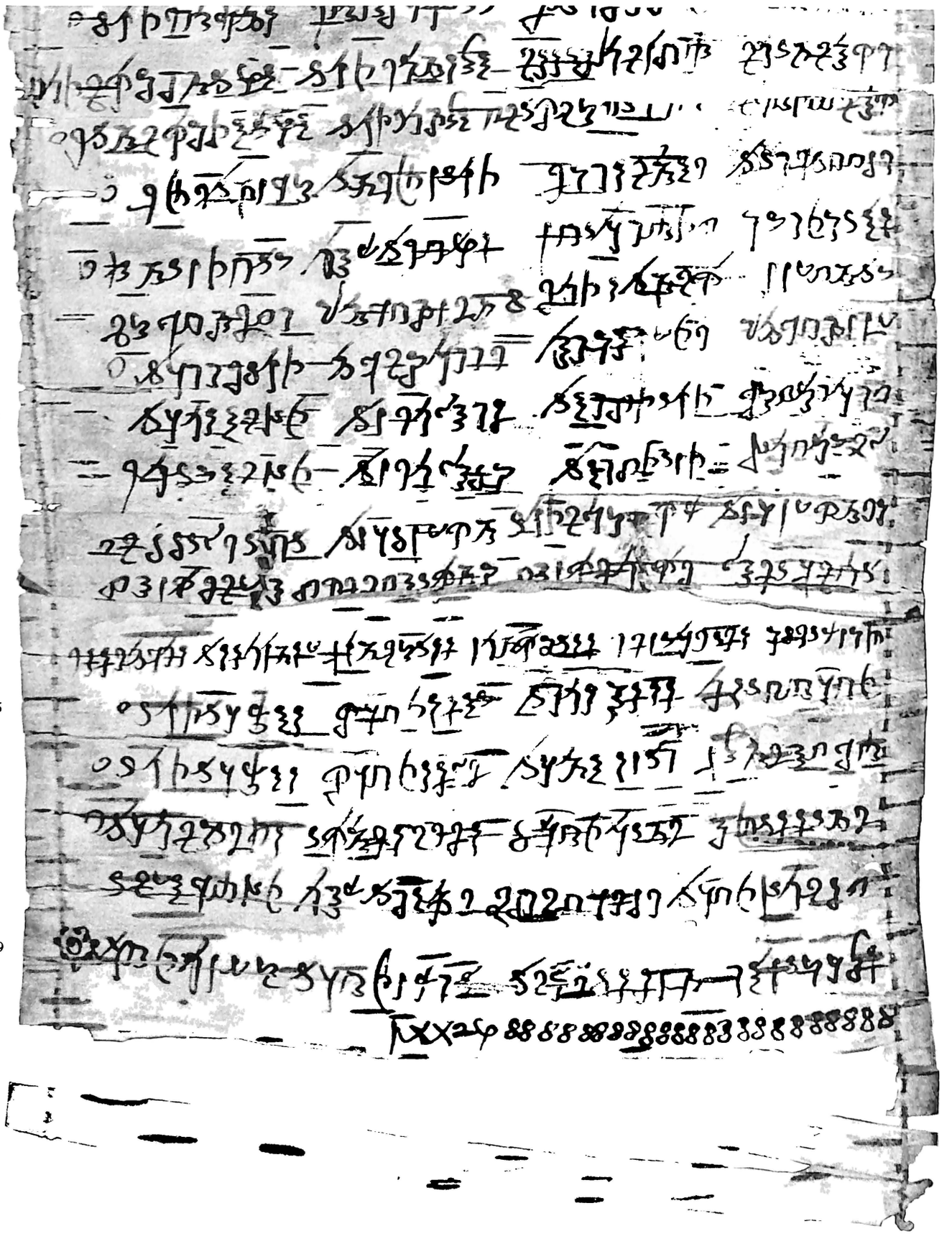
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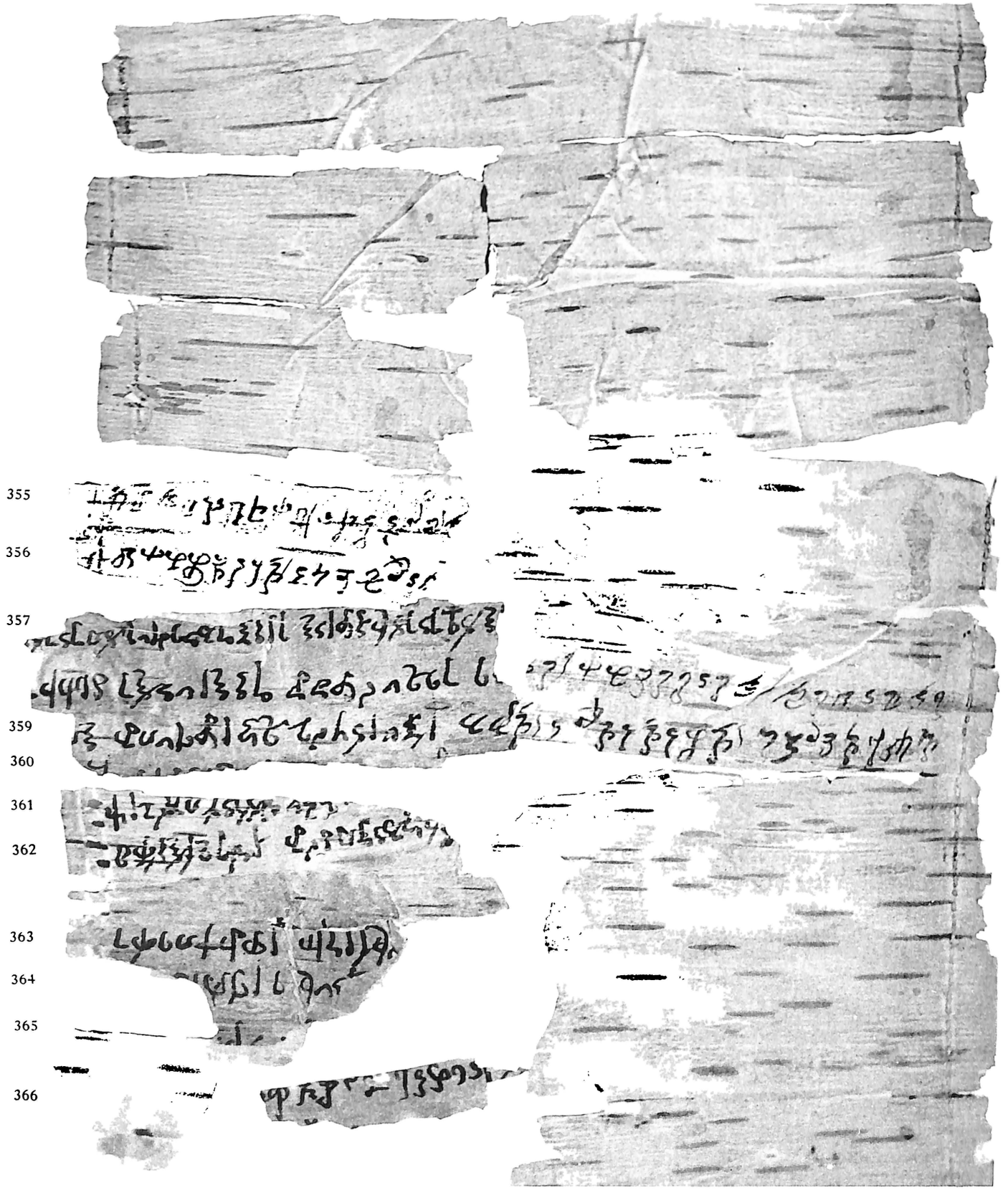


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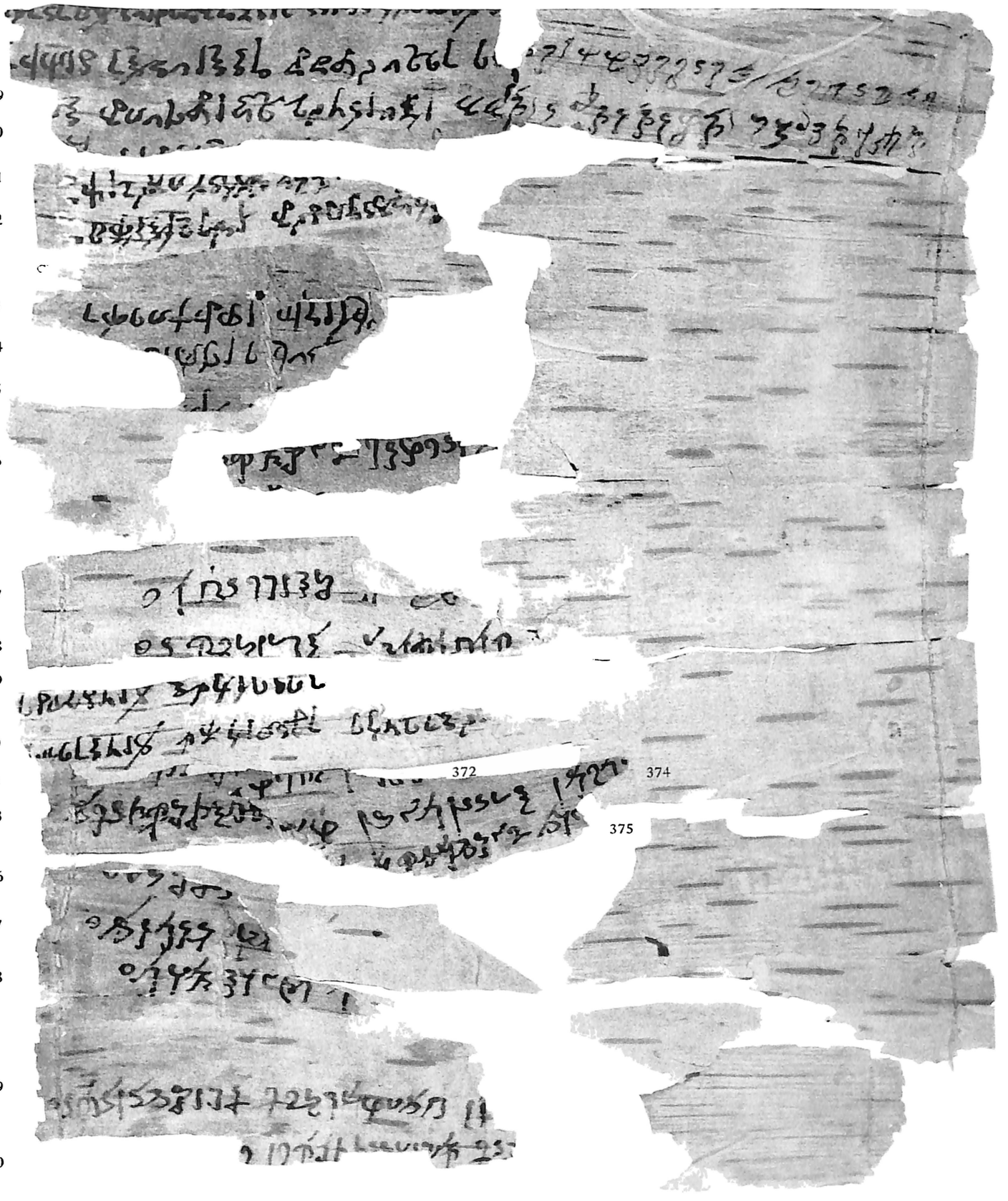
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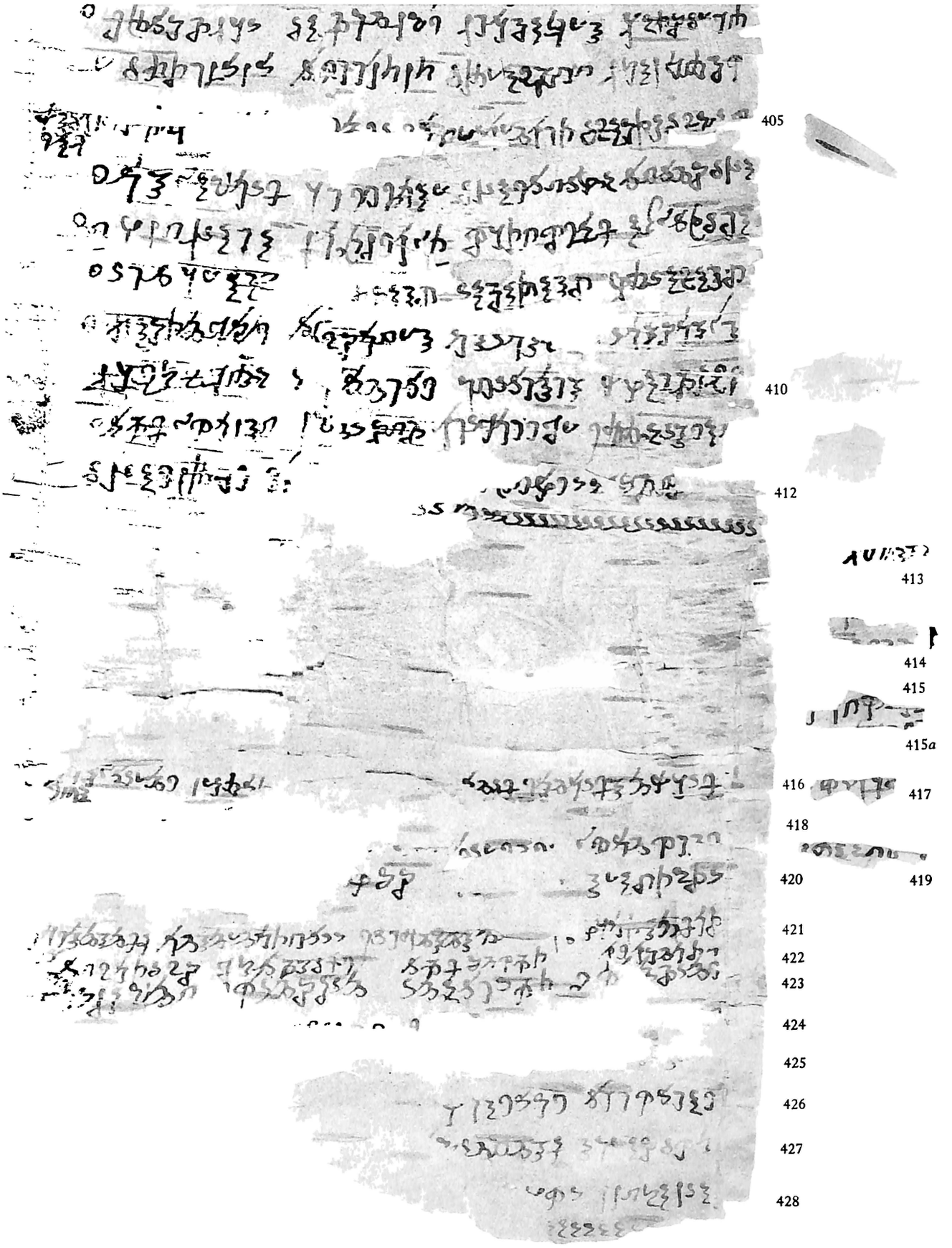
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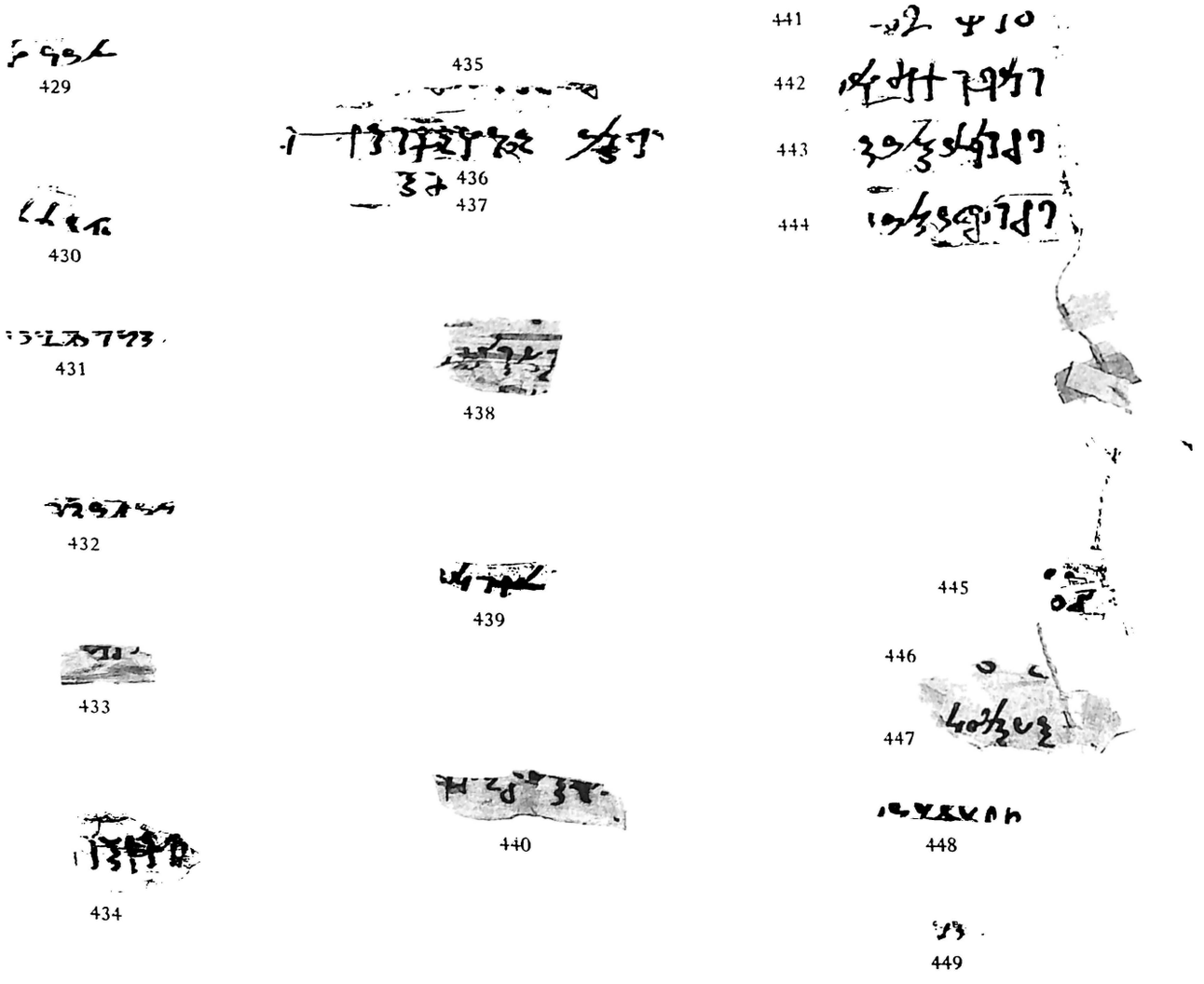
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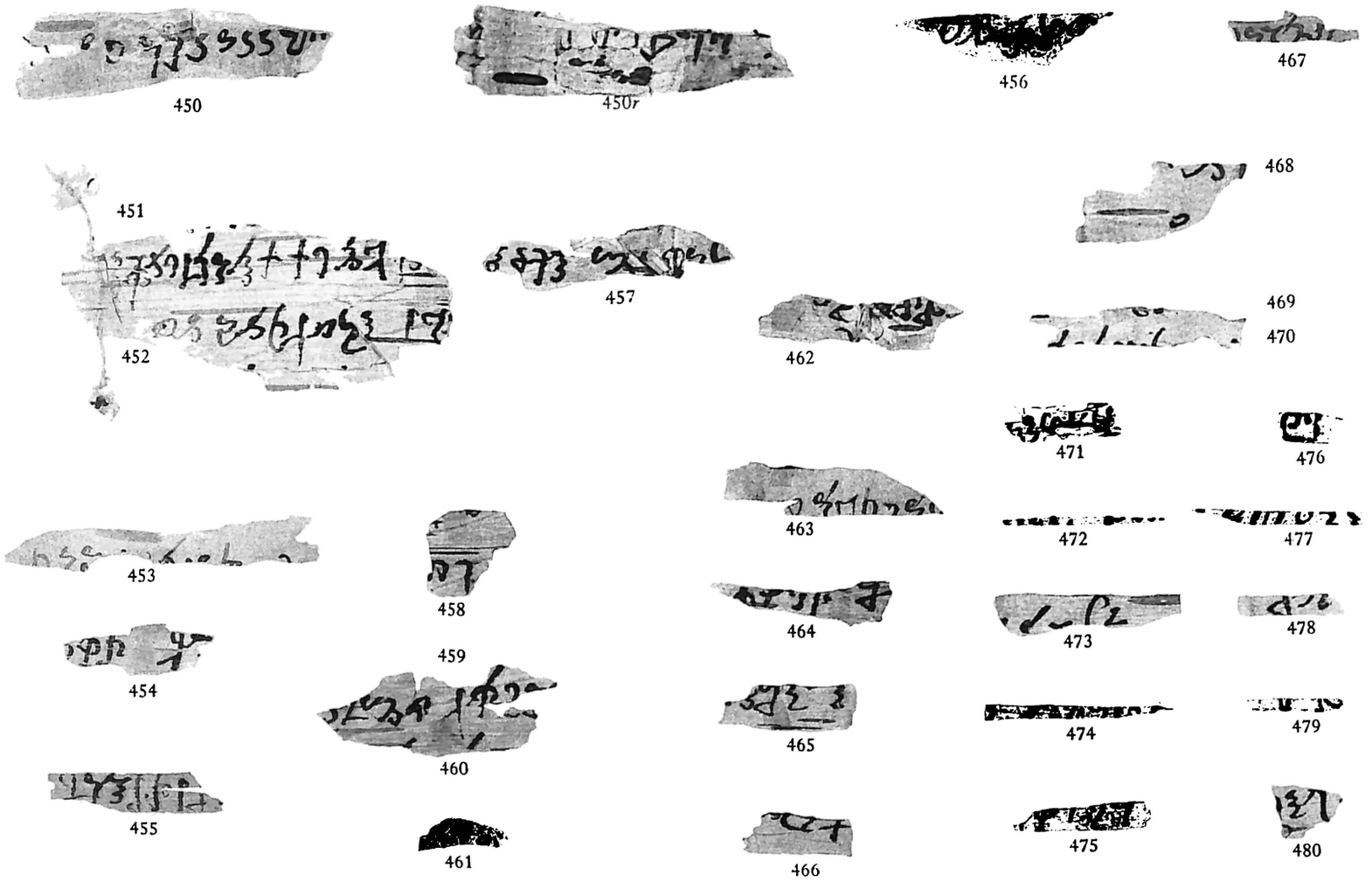
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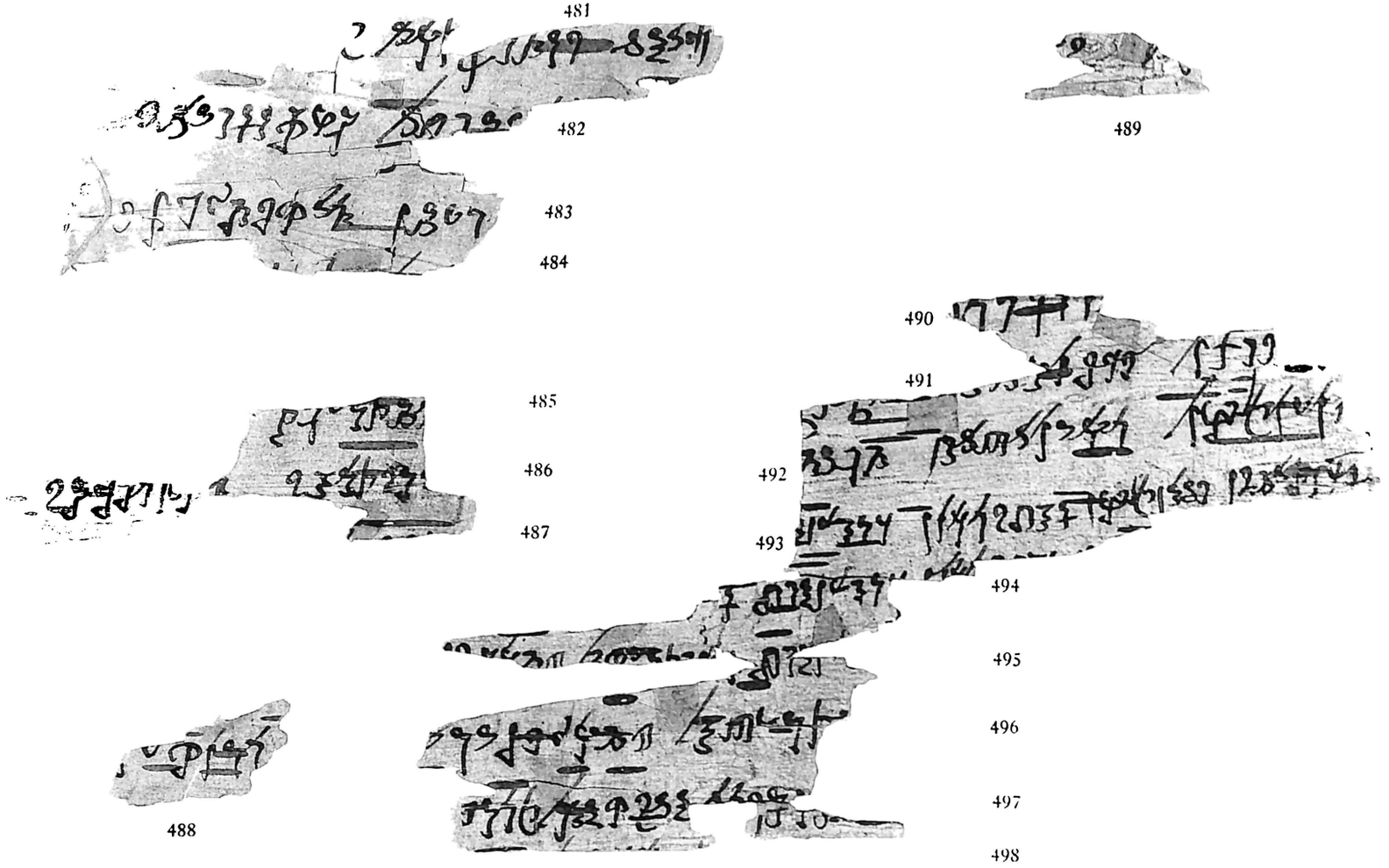
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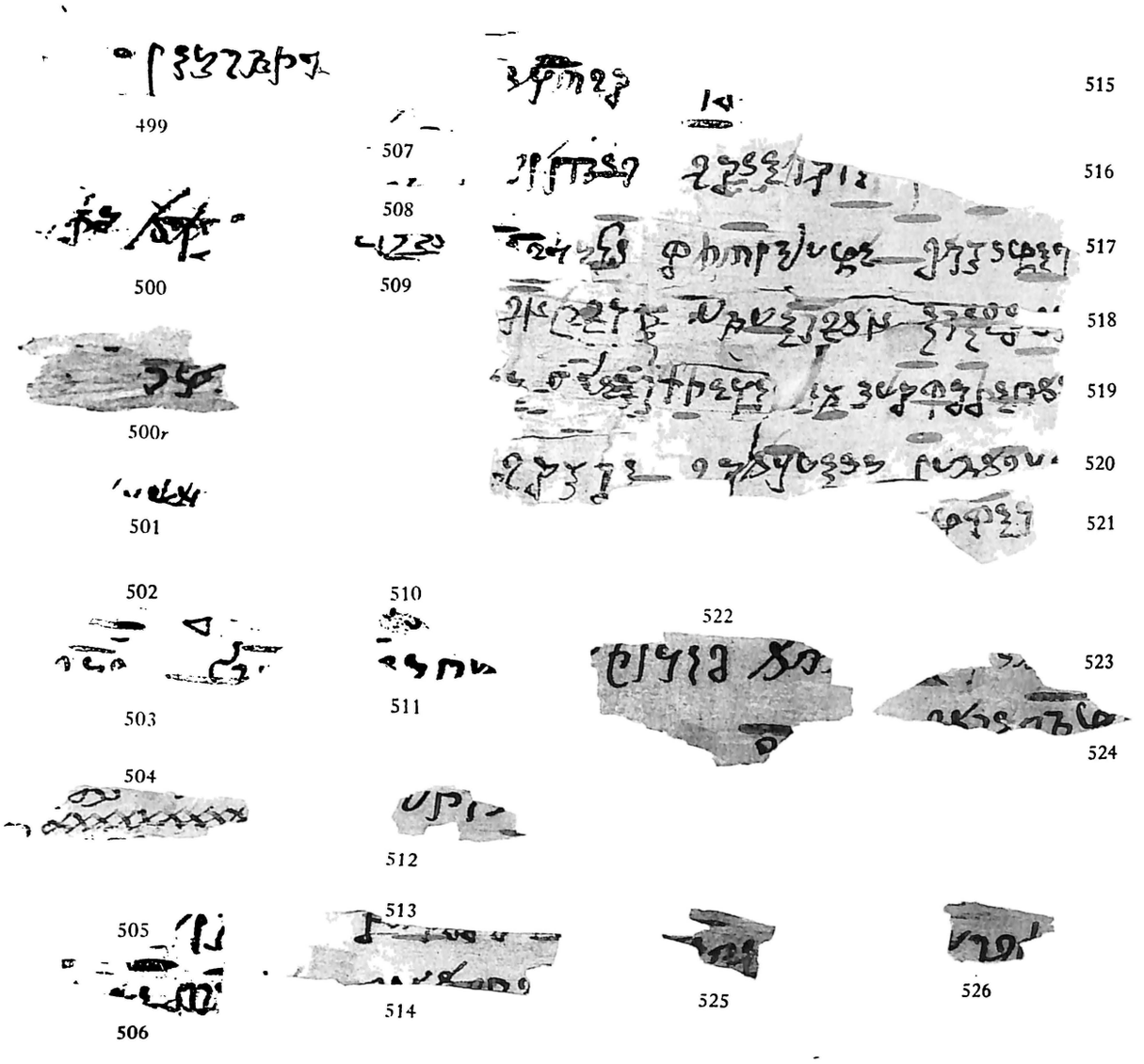
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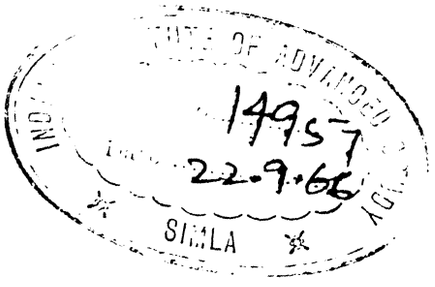
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