ADDA OR THE OLDEST EXTANT DISPUTE BETWEEN JAINS AND HERETICS (SŪYAGADA 2, 6) PART TWO¹

After shaking off² Gosāla, Adda on his way to Mahāvīra is met by some Buddhist monks³ who explain to him, in an exaggerated and ridiculed way, as is easily done in such cases, their view that the intention prevails over the act,⁴ with meat consumption as an example.⁵

2, 6, 26

piṇṇāga-piṇḍī-m-avi viddhā sūle keī paejjā "purise ime" tti alāuyaṃ vâvi "kumārae" tti sa lippaī pāni-vahena amham

a: Cū: viddhuṃ; J: viddhu; – b: T: kei, – c: Cū: kumārao; L: kumāraga; – d: J: pāṇa-vaheṇa

IF SOMEONE PUTS A BALL OF OILCAKE ON A SPIT AND ROASTS IT WITH THE IDEA: THIS IS A MAN, OR A GOURD, THINKING IT TO BE A BABY, HE BECOMES FOR US SOILED/SOILS HIMSELF FOR US WITH KILLING A LIVING BEING.

d: cf. 27d

Pinnāga-pindī etc.: 'If (a savage) thrusts a spit through the side of a granary, mistaking it for a man (...)'. Thus Jacobi who, conscious of the seemingly strange notion, dedicates to it a note⁶ in which he also paraphrases the commentators.⁷ One can object that if the granaries were made of (wattle and) mud it would be hardly possible for a part of it to be taken hold of with a spit. Jacobi here refers to 19th cent. granaries in Bihār of which, however, Grierson does not mention a beehive-shaped form. There have been found granaries dating from the Kusāna era, some of which are still in use in Surkh Kotal and

Ai Khanum. As in ancient Crete, they are $\pi i \vartheta o \varsigma$ -like storage vessels (pottery) in the shape of an egg 1.50 m high and 0.5 m in diameter.⁸ This type may show Hellenistic influence, but to spear a part of it would be even more difficult.⁹ Vessels of this kind are called $kus\bar{u}la$ in Sa. and Pkt. and one wonders why Jacobi did not give $piny\bar{a}ka$ its normal meaning, all the more because khala is, besides an oil-cake, a threshing floor, ¹⁰ not a storage vessel. Moreover, Grierson (l.c. §263) mentions a combination of both words in their modern form as denoting 'oil-cake of poppy seeds'. One can imagine a part of an oil-cake on a spit, because it was edible, though Dalhana ad Suśruta 46.382 describes its use as a dry vegetable ($piny\bar{a}ka-vikrti$).¹¹ Schlingloff¹² rendered $piny\bar{a}ka$ by 'Kuchen' (cake). – For the lengthening of the final syllable in $-pind\bar{a}$ before avi see Pi §68 (end).

Alāuyam besides alābuyam: see Pi §201. Ţ II 148a ll glosses as tumbakam which otherwise occurs only with lexicographers.

2, 6, 27

ahavâvi viddhūṇa milakkhu sūle piṇṇāga-buddhīĕ naraṃ paejjā kumāragaṃ vâvi alābuyaṃ ti na lippaī pāni-vahena amham

b: T: buddhīi, V: buddhīha; - c: LJ: alāue; - d: T: lippai; J: pāṇa-°

ON THE OTHER HAND, HOWEVER, IF A NON-ARYAN PUTS A MAN ON A SPIT AND ROASTS HIM, TAKING HIM FOR AN OIL-CAKE, OR DOES THE SAME TO A CHILD HE THINKS IS A GOURD, IN OUR OPINION HE IS NOT SOILED WITH KILLING A LIVING BEING.

2, 6, 28

purisam ca viddhūṇa kumāragam vā sūlammi keī pae jāya-tee piṇṇāga-piṇḍam sai-m-āruhettā buddhāṇa tam kappai pāraṇāe

a: J: veddhūna; - c: L: pindim; J: pindī; TJ: pinnāya

IF (ca) SOMEONE PUTS A MAN OR A CHILD ON A SPIT AND ROASTS IT ON A FIRE TAKING IT FOR A LUMP OF OIL-CAKE, IT WOULD BE FIT FOR BUDDHISTS TO END THEIR VOW OF FASTING WITH.

Jāya-teye: also e.g. at Dasav 6, 33; Utt 12, 26 (see Charpentier) and Sam 50, but Sa. jāta-vedas and Pā. (Ja IV 383, 2*) jāta-veda. The entry jāya-veya in PSM for Utt 22 must be an error, but can jāya-teya be an ancient scribal error for jāya-veya?

Pinnāga-pindam etc.: jai koi a-jānanto purisam (...) gilāna-bhikkhussa chinna-bhattassa dub-bhikkhâdisu jāya-tee paitum pindîyam iti "paolitam¹³ sugandham suham khāissam"¹⁴ ti satī buddhih tasyām kalpati (Cū 429, 4ff.) – thus satī is probably equal to smṛti, whereas Ṭ II 148b 2 explains satīm as śobhanām.

Now the semantic group of *smṛti* centers on reminiscence, calling to mind (MW), also in Middle-Indo-aryan, but what is expected here is view, opinion which already induced Jambūvijaya to think of a slip of the pen for *matim*.¹⁵ The other difficulty in this line is *āruhettā*, which could barely be constructed with *maim*, but not with *saim*, for the meaning 'to mount, get on' given in PSM and AED (as in PED and CPD) is too narrow for Ardhamāgadhī as is also shown, e.g., at Viy 2, 1 sū. 50 etc., where the question is of the five great vows someone takes upon him.¹⁶ At Utt 17, 7 Jacobi translates *pāya-kambalam* (...) *āruhai* as 'uses his duster.' This meaning would approximately fit here: holding the belief/ conviction (*mai*) that it is a lump of oil-cake. *Buddhāna*: 'for Buddhas' (Jac.); *nityam ātmani gurusu ca bahu-vacanam*, *Buddhassa vi tāva kappati kim uta ye tac-chiṣyāh*? (Cū 429, 6). I have adopted Jinadāsa's alternative, Sa. *Bauddhānām*, because there was no longer a living Buddha.

 $P\bar{a}ran\bar{a}e$: the author/redactor of Suy 2, 6 here presupposes Buddhists to practice a similar fast scheme as the Jainas.

2, 6, 29

siṇāyagāṇaṃ tu duve sahasse je bhoyae niyae bhikkhuyāṇaṃ te puṇṇa-khandhaṃ su-mahaṃ jiṇittā bhavanti Āroppa mahanta sattā b: L: nitie; J: nitie bhikkhugāṇaṃ; — c: L: sumah'-ajjaṇittā; J: sumah'-ajjinittā

BUT THOSE WHO ALWAYS FEED TWO THOUSAND STAINLESS MONKS WILL GAIN A VERY GREAT DEAL OF MERIT AND BECOME GREAT BEINGS IN THE HEAVEN OF FORMLESSNESS

 $ab = 36 \ ab = 43 \ ab$

Sināyaga corresponding to Sa. snātaka, Pā. nahātaka 'having washed off all evils' (Norman 1992: 57), cf. Sn 521:

ninhāyā sabba-pāpakāni
ajjhattam bahi[d]dhā ca sabba-loke
deva-manussesu kappiyesu
kappam n'eti, tam āhu: "n[h]ātako" ti¹⁷

For Jains the *siṇāya*, 'absolved' is identical with *kevalin*, ¹⁸ cf. Ţ II 150b 11 *snātakānām bodhisattva-kalpānām bhikṣūṇām*.

Duve s.: 2000 is a rare number in Buddhist sources: Th 1024 mentions 2000 dhammā ('teachings') which the monk Ānanda obtained from other monks. At Pj I 133,8 four mahā-dīpā face 2000 minor islands, which may with PED (s.v. dvi A I b) just stand for a large number like the 4000 sāmānika gods in Rāy 15f. In this context Mbh 7, 87, 60c still speaks of a modest one thousand snātakas whom Sātyaki presented with gold niskas.

Je bhoyae: Cū 429,9 states as an example his (?) Ānanda who fed 2000 monks with their favourite meal of meat, molasses and pomegranates. ¹⁹ The name Ānanda may be a reminiscence of Gotama's congenite and long-standing personal attendant and the food offered consists only of dishes forbidden to Jain monks – the last item no doubt because of the many seeds.

Niyae: perhaps we should read niyayam \sim Sa. nityam for one cannot take it as \sim Sa. niyato because of the plural je.

Puṇṇa-khandhaṃ: cf. Pā mahā-puñña-kkhandha at SN V 400,17 also in a watery context (puññabhisanda etc.) and eulogy of open-handednes towards the Sangha but without the snātaka-image.

Āroppa: not in PSM. Pā. Āruppa 'the highest heaven of the Buddhists' (Jac.).

(Ārdraka speaks:)

2, 6, 30

a-joga-rūvam iha samjayāṇam pāvam tu pāṇāṇa pasajjha kāum a-bohie doṇha vi tam a-sāhu vayanti je vāvi paḍissuṇanti

AS TO THIS (YOUR DENIAL OF GUILT, OUR) RECLUSES CONSIDER IT ABSOLUTELY IMPROPER TO USE FORCE ON LIVING BEINGS AND THUS HARM THEM. THOUGH THOSE WHO TEACH IT AS WELL AS THOSE WHO HEAR IT MAY NOT KNOW (doing harm) IS BAD FOR BOTH.

A-joga-rūvam etc.: 'well-controlled men cannot accept (your denial of) guilt incurred by (unintentional) doing harm to living beings' (Jac.). A-joga° is explained as a-ghaṭamānakam (T II 149a 9), $-r\overline{u}va$ ifc. is used after an adj. to emphasize its meaning or almost redundantly (MW). Because of the position of pasajjha in line b I have abstained from combining it with the negation of a-joga°. In Sa. na pasahya signifies 'by no means'. I have no translation for tu, nor did Jacobi apparently. A-bohie: 'it will cause error' (Jac.).

2, 6, 31

uddham ahe yam tiriyam disāsu vinnāya lingam tasa-thāvarāṇam bhūyâbhisankāĕ dugunchamāṇe vae karejjā va; kuo v' ih'/vih' atthī

a: L: ya; – c: TV – $samk\bar{a}i$; – d: L: $v\bar{a}$; omnes: vih' atthi

ONE MAY SPEAK OR'ACT (only) IF ONE KNOWS THE NATURE OF MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE BEINGS ABOVE, BELOW AND HORIZONTALLY (i.e. on the earth) IN THE DIRECTIONS, AND ABHORS ENDANGERING LIVING BEINGS. (Only) IN THIS CASE IT IS POSSIBLE SOMEHOW (?) / (Otherwise,) WHY ARE THERE PRECEPTS?

a = 14a = 1, 5, 11c = 1, 10, 2a = 1, 14, 14a; -c: = 1, 14, 20a, cf. 2, 6, 14c = 1, 12, 17b

Bhūyâbhisankāĕ: cf. bhūyâbhisankaṇa at Ṭhā 7 sū. 585 = Viy 25, 7 sū. 227 (ed. Doshi 1978).

Iha: pravacane (Cū 431, 10), asminn evaṃ-bhūte 'nuṣṭhāne (Ṭ II 149b 8).

Atthi: as a subject $C\bar{u}$ (l.c.) supplies annānena doso n' atthi kuta etad brūmo māyā ca kucakucā (?) vā pravacane 'sti, Ṭ (l.c.) asmat-pakṣe yuṣmad-āpādito doṣaḥ. Jacobi renders the second part of the pāda d as: "he will not be guilty of any (sin)", which would rather fit as a translation of 1, 3, 4, 10 d. — My alternative version presupposes elision of the last -i of vihi which, however, is no problem.²⁰

2, 6, 32

purise tti vinnatti na evam atthi aṇ-ārie se purise tahâhu ko saṃbhavo piṇṇăga-piṇḍiyāe? vāyâvi esā buiyā a-saccā

b: VTLJ: tahā hu; - J: vāyā vi esā vuiyā

THAT IS A MAN – SUCH AN IDEA IS NOT POSSIBLE. IF A MAN SPEAKS THUS HE IS WRONG (?). WHAT DOES A LUMP OF OIL-CAKE OUTWARDLY HAVE IN COMMON (with a man)? EVEN THE VERBAL EXPRESSION HEREOF IS WRONG.

Purise (...) atthi: cf. Jacobi 1886: 66,9 where Mandiya cleft a linga of Śiva taking it for a man (Mūladeva).

Aṇ-ārie etc.: the second line "only an unworthy man can say it" (Jac.) presents some problems: the meaning of the first two words and the form of the latter two. Aṇ-āriya is not a synonym of a-sacca. Se can correspond, inter alia, to Sa. sa, tad and saced. The commentaries differ about the end of the line: se puriso bhaṇṇati (Cū 431,12), tasmād ya evaṃ vakti, so 'tyantaṃ tathâbhyupagamena hu-śabdasyâiva-kārârthatvena an-ārya evâsau yaḥ puruṣam eva khalo 'yam iti matvā hate 'pi nâsti doṣaḥ (...; Ṭ II 149b 10f.). I have followed Cū because otherwise the line has no verb, though this does occur now and then, e.g. here in vs. 42 and 55.

2, 6, 33

vāyâbhi(y)ogeṇa jam āvahejjā no tārisam vāyam udāharejjā a-ṭṭhāṇaṃ eyaṃ vayaṇaṃ guṇāṇaṃ no dikkhie būyă sûrālam eyaṃ

a: J: jayā vahejjā; – b: C: ṇa; T: °harijjā; – J: je dikkhite; omnes: surālam; Cū: sūrālam

IF ONE MIGHT BRING ABOUT SOMETHING (bad) BY MEANS OF WORDS, DO NOT UTTER SUCH WORDS. SPEECH OF THIS KIND IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH VIRTUES. AN ORDAINED RECLUSE SHOULD NOT USE SUCH IGNORANT LANGUAGE.

Guṇāṇam: a-himsakâdīnām (Cū 432, 9).

 $S\hat{u}r\bar{a}lam$: as the 7th syllabe is anceps, it is surprising that no edition prints the contracted \hat{u} though both commentaries have recognized the cpd of $su + ud\bar{a}ra$, which is paraphrased as $sth\bar{u}lam$ ($C\bar{u}$ 432,11) or susthu paristh $\bar{u}ram$ nihs $\bar{a}ram$ nirupapattikam (vacanam, T II 150a 2). For this negative meaning of $ud\bar{a}ra$ cf. $\bar{A}y\bar{a}r$ 1, 9, 1, 10 commented as duspradhrsya duhkha by $S\bar{\imath}lanka$ (T I 275b 2).

2, 6, 34

laddhe aṭṭhe aho eva tubbhe
jīvâṇubhāge su-vicintie va
puvvaṃ samuddaṃ avaraṃ ca puṭṭhe
oloie pāṇi-tale ṭhie vā

a: LJ: laddhe ah' atthe; - b: LJ: ya; - d: T: uloie; - L: pāṇitalatthie

YOU HAVE REALLY CAUGHT THE MEANING, THOUGHT OVER THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE SOULS CAREFULLY (and) REACHED THE EASTERN AND WESTERN OCEAN, SEEN IT AS IF LYING ON THE PALM OF YOUR HAND.

a: is a śloka-pāda + *tubbhe*; therefore only ten syllables; – c: cf. Thī 500 *pubba-samudde aparato ca* and RV 10, 136, 5

2, 6, 35

jivâṇubhāgaṃ su-vicintayantā āhāriyā anna-vihīĕ sohiṃ na viyāgare channa-paôvajīvī eso 'nudhammo iha samjayānam

a: C: jīvâṇubhāge; - b: C: odhārīyā; T: vihīya; J: sohī; - c: omnes: paopajīvi/ī

THINKING OVER CAREFULLY THE CONSEQUENCES OF ACTS FOR THE LIVING BEINGS ONE SHOULD PRESERVE PURITY REGARDING THE USE OF FOOD. NO ONE SHOULD GIVE EXPLANATIONS (of the Doctrine) WHO MAKES USE OF UNCLEAR WORDS (?). THIS IS THE RIGHT PRACTICE FOR OUR RECLUSES IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR FAITH.

The Cūrṇi of 2, 6, 34f. has become mixed up it seems. Yet perhaps the canonical text had already been corrupted. Therefore I have dealt with the two stanzas together here and I have tried to get along without the additions Jacobi took from the $t\bar{t}k\bar{a}$ which make the text look more intelligible than it actually is.

(2, 6, 34) (Ah'): with this particle J fills the lacuna of one mora on the authority of the Cūrṇi reading tadh' which however, is not found in our C. Aho dainya-vismayâdisu. Dainyam tāvat jahā koyi kamci dimūḍhaṃ (?) uppaheṇa aḍantam daṭṭhum bhaṇati. Aho ayam evam varāo kiliṭṭho kilissati. Evam tubbhe ummagga-paḍivannā moham kilissaha. Sāsūyêti vismaye. Ayam śobhano aho siddhânto yatrâcintitam karma-cayam na gacchati (...). Aho -śabdaḥ sarvatrânuvarttate aho vacas tena gurunā kara-tala ivâmalakam sarva-loko 'valo-kitaḥ – jnāta ity arthaḥ. (Cū 432, 14ff.)

Jīvâṇubhāge: kaścâiṣām anubhāgas tanu-sukha-priyatāḥ duḥkhôdvigitā, tat kim uktam bhavati? Evam jivânubhāgo suttio bhavati; yad uta sarva-sattvānām ātmôpamānena na kimci duḥkham udapaptad iti (Cū 433, 3f.), karma-vipāka (T II 150a 6).

Puvvam (...) puṭṭhe: not commented upon in Cū. Bhavatām yaśaḥ pūra-samudram aparam ca spaṣṭaṃ (spṛṣṭaṃ?),²¹ gatim ity arthaḥ (Ṭ II 150a 6). Did Śīlâṅka read puṭṭhaṃ?

(2, 6, 35) $\bar{A}h\bar{a}riy\bar{a}$: m.c. for $\bar{a}h\bar{a}r\bar{i}ya$, polyvalent indeclinable optative form (Pi \S 466), \bar{T} II 150a 11 $\bar{a}hrtavantah$.

Anna-vihīe: syāt-karoty anyo vidhir benâryā śodhim icchanti. Tata ucyate jahā chaṇaṇam, nâpi samcintitam karma badhyata iti Siddhântaḥ (Cū 433, 6f.), anna-vidhau śuddhim āhṛtavantaḥ svīkṛtavanto dvicatvāriṃśad-doṣa-rahitena śuddhenâhāreṇâhāraṃ kṛtavanto, na tu yathā bhavatām piśitâdy api pātra patitaṃ na doṣāyêti (Ṭ II 150a 10f.). Further, anna-vihi occurs at Samav 72, 7 and Nāyā 1, 1, 85 as the 16th of 42 kalā meaning pāka-kalā (Aup 107). This rules out Jinadāsa's interpretation.

Channa-°: channam a-prakāśam a-darśanam an-upalabdhir ity an-arthântaram, padam ceṣṭitaṃ, channa-padena upajīvana-dharmā (Cū 433, 9), mātṛ-sthānôpajīvī (!)²² san (Ṭ, 1.c.). In accordance with the present reference my rendering at Sūy 1, 4, 1, 2 should be changed. Anudhammo: anu paścād-bhāve 'nudharmas tīrthakarâcīrṇo 'yam upacaryate iti anudharmas tīrthakarânudharmiṇaḥ sādhavaḥ (Cū 434, 1), paścād-dharmo 'nudharmas tīrthakarânuṣṭhānād an-antaraṃ bhavati (Ṭ II 150a 13). Jacobi: 'maxim'.

Iha: asmin jagati pravacane vā (T l.c.).

2, 6, 36

sināyagāṇam tu duve sahasse je bhoyae niyae bhikkhuyāṇam a-samjae lohiya-pāṇi se ū niyacchaī gariha-m-ih' eva loe

b: LJ: nitie; - c: C: asamjatā; - d: J: nigacchatī garaham; T: niyacchati

BUT HE WHO ALWAYS FEEDS TWO THOUSAND STAINLESS MONKS LACKS CONTROL AND HAS BLOOD ON HIS HANDS; HE WILL INCUR BLAME ALREADY IN THIS WORLD.

ab = 29 ab

Lohiya-pāni: mosttimes found in an enumeration of invectives, e.g. 2, 2, 58 (§ 713), Nāyā 1, 18, 19 (cf. Dasā 6, 4); Vivāga 1, 3, 7. Cū 434, 4 comments as sadya-ghāti, T II 150b 12 as an-ārya. Jacobi translates "will be blamed like a man with bloody hands." Did he take u for (i)va? I would prefer to relate lohiya- $^{\circ}$ to stanza 37. – U at the end of a pāda occurs also, e.g., SūyN 32 and 61.

2, 6, 37

thūlam urabbham iha māriyāṇam uddiṭṭha-bhattam ca pagappaettā tam loṇa-telleṇa uvakkhaḍettā sa-pippalīyam pagaranti maṃsam

b: J: pakappaittā; - d: CūJ: pakarenti

HERE (among Buddhists) THEY KILL A FAT SHEEP AND PREPARE A MEAL FROM IT FOR A PARTICULAR PERSON, DRESS IT WITH SALT AND OIL AND SEASON THE MEAT WITH PEPPER.

Māriyānam: T II 151a 10 not sanskritized, but at once replaced by $vy\bar{a}p\bar{a}dya$ which in its turn is explained as $gh\bar{a}tayitv\bar{a}$. Uddiṭṭha°: SD., § 163; Dasā 6, 9f. (thus read for 6, 2 in AED). For this Jain argument against Buddhists cf. the $at\bar{\imath}tavatthu$ of Jātaka no. 246.

2, 6, 38

tam bhunjamāṇā pisiyam pabhūyam no ūvalippāmŏ vayam raeṇam icc-evam āhaṃsu aṇ-ajja-dhammā an-āriyā bālă rasesu giddhā

b: C: neva lippāmo; J: na uva-; TJ: uva°; V: ovalippāmu

"(Even) WHEN EATING THIS MEAT IN ABUNDANCE WE ARE NOT AT ALL STAINED BY EVIL" – THUS THE UNBELIEVERS SPEAK; UNWORTHY PEOPLE; FOOLS; DESIROUS OF SENSUAL ENJOYMENTS.

 $B\bar{a}la$: Jacobi connected $b\bar{a}la$ with rasesu and translated 'devoted to foolish pleasures'.

2, 6, 39

je yâvi bhunjanti taha-ppagāram sevanti te pāvam a-jāṇamāṇā maṇam na eyam kusalā karenti vāyâvi esā buiyā u micchā a: V: te yâvi; - c: T: karentī; - d: J: tu

WHOSOEVER EATS FOOD OF THIS KIND UNKNOWINGLY DOES WRONG. VIRTUOUS PEOPLE DO NOT THINK OF DOING THAT. EVEN MENTIONING IT IS WRONG.

Beside the often found quotation of Manu 5, 55²³ Śīlâṅka (Ṭ II 151b 3ff.) mentions two others here for which see at the end of this paper (hiṃsā-mūlam etc. and yo 'tti yasya etc.).

2, 6, 40

savvesi jīvāna day'-aṭṭhayāe sāvajja-dosam parivajjayantā tas-sankiņo isino Nāya-puttā uddiṭṭha-bhattam parivajjayanti

OUT OF PITY ON ALL LIVING BEINGS THE SAGES, THE DISCIPLES OF VADDHAMĀNA MAHĀVĪRA, AVOID BLAMEFUL FAULTS, ARE AFRAID OF THEM AND AVOID FOOD ESPECIALLY PREPARED FOR THEM.

2, 6, 41

bhūyâbhisankāĕ dugunchamāṇā savvesi pāṇāṇa nihāya daṇḍaṃ tamhā na bhunjanti taha-ppagāraṃ eso 'nudhammo iha samjayāṇaṃ

b: C: savvesu pānesu; J: pānānam ihâya-dandam

THEY DO NOT LIKE TO TERRIFY LIVING BEINGS, LAYING ASIDE VIOLENCE AGAINST ALL BEINGS; THEREFORE THEY DO NOT EAT FOOD OF THIS KIND. THIS IS THE RIGHT PRACTICE IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR FAITH FOR OUR RECLUSES.

b: cf. Sn 35a: sabbesu bhūtesu nidhāya daṇḍaṃ; – c: cf. 39a; – d = 35d

Nihāya: daṇḍaḥ – samupatāpas ('pain'; not in MW), taṃ nidhāya – parityajya (Ṭ II 152a 5). For the pāda b, which has a parallel at the beginning of the Rhinoceros sutta of the Suttanipāta pāli; see Norman's comment and further parallels in his translation (The Group of Discourses, p. 144f.). Note the genitive in our pāda against the locative in Pāli. – The occurrence of this parallel shows the patchwork of the present stanza, which is not surprising, as the content is pan-Indian. Anudhammo: jahā loe anurāiņo dhammo (...)²⁴ evam ihâpi; anu paścād-bhāvêti kṛtvā tīrthakara-gaṇadharehim varjitam uddeśitam, tad-anu tac-chiṣyāḥ api pariharanti, athavā aṇuḥ sūkṣma ity arthaḥ (Cū 436, 1 f.). – For anudhamma the CPD gives the meaning 'right method'; see also BHSD.

2, 6, 42

niggantha-dhammammi imam samāhim assim su-thiccā aṇ-ihe carejjā buddhe muṇi sīla-guṇôvavee accatthayam pāunai silogam

a: C: -dhammāṇa (corrected as: dhammaṇmi) imo; LJ: imā samāhī; - d: Ṭ: -atthaṃ corrected as -atthato; L: ihaccaṇaṃ; J: iccatthataṃ

(Having reached) THAT DEEP MEDITATION ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE JAINAS (as aspired to/necessary) AND HAVING ESTABLISHED ONESELF FIRMLY IN IT, ONE SHOULD PRACTISE WITH EQUANIMITY. THE ENLIGHTENED MONK WHO OBSERVES MORAL CONDUCT AS WELL AS THE FIVE MAJOR VOWS AND THE TEN RENUNCIATIONS COMES TO VERY GREAT FAME.

ab: cf. 55 ab; b: cf. 1, 14, 16

Niggantha-°: the words in brackets correspond to Śīlânka's anuprāptaḥ (T II 152a 10), without which the lines cannot be construed. The fact that imaṃ (...) su-ṭhiccā occurs at 1, 14, 15f. to which the explanation of imaṃ as pūrvôktaṃ refers (Ṭ, 1.c.) may also point to our stanza being patchwork. At any rate it seems that the words imaṃ etc. were taken from another context.

Anihe: a-māyo 'thavā nihanyata iti niho; na niho 'nihaḥ – parīṣahair a-pīḍito (Ṭ II 152a 11), cf. Pā anigha (see CPD).

Munī: kāla-traya-vedī (T II 152a 12).

 $S\bar{\imath}la^{\circ}$: taken as a *dvandva* as done by Ś $\bar{\imath}$ lânka for whom $s\bar{\imath}la$ is *krodhâdy-upaśama-rūpa*; for the *guṇas* see SD., \S 172.

Accatthayam: atyarthatām corrected as -taḥ - sarva-guṇâtiśāyinīm sarva-dvandvôparama-rūpām (Ţ II 152a 13).

(A brahmin speaks:)

2, 6, 43

sināyagāṇam tu duve sahasse je bhoyae niyae māhaṇāṇaṃ te puṇṇa-khandhe su-mah' ajjaṇittā bhavanti devā ii veya-vāo

b: LJ: ni(t)ie; - c: LJ: $khandham\ su-mah$ '-ajjinittā (L: $ajjanitt\bar{a}$)

BUT THOSE WHO ALWAYS FEED TWO THOUSAND STAIN-LESS BRAHMINS WILL EARN A GREAT DEAL OF MERIT AND BECOME GODS. THAT IS THE TEACHING OF THE VEDAS.

ab: cf. 29 ab = 36 ab

Ajjanittā: also Šūy 1, 5, 2, 35.

Veya-vāo: dāna-stutis are as old as the RV (e.g. X 117) and the donors of a dakṣiṇā are said to stand high in heaven (RV X 107, 2), but in this context I have no place referring to snātakas, to whom gifts must be made in proportion to their learning (Manu XI 2f.). Beside vedāḥ pramāṇaṃ (lokānām, Mbh 2, 262, 1a), Cū 438 quotes many Sanskrit pādas that cannot be identified and one Pkt. pāda (jaittā viule jaṇṇe); see the list of quotations below.

2, 6, 44

(Ārdraka speaks:)

siṇāyagāṇaṃ tu duve sahasse je bhoyae niyae *kulālayāṇaṃ* se gacchaī loluva-saṃpagāḍha tivvâbhitāvī naragâbhisevī b: LJ: nitie; - c: T: gacchati sampanādhe

BUT HE WHO ALWAYS FEEDS TWO THOUSAND STAINLESS MEN OF GOOD FAMILY (?) WILL AFTER HIS DEATH BECOME A DENIZEN OF HELL, FULL OF DESTRUCTIVE BEINGS, AND WILL SUFFER SHARP PAINS

Kulālayāṇaṃ: this reading is unmetrical and therefore can not be correct. The word must begin with a trochee and have four syllables. The commentaries think of kulāṭa which they take to mean 'cat' and 'brahmin'. Perhaps we have to do here with *koliya, an equivalent of Sa. kaulya 'sprung from a noble family' (MW).

Gacchai: gacchati can mean 'to die' (MW), gati 'reincarnation'.

Loluva-o: sa-pāpo lolupaḥ svābhāvikaiḥ śītôṣṇāhiḥ parasparôdīritaiḥ saṃkliṣṭâsurôdīritaiś ca duḥkhair bhūmi-gatā abhigatā lolupyante lolavijjante vā bhṛṣaṃ gāḍhaṃ tīvraṃ; evaṃ śītâdyāḥ svābhāvikāḥ parakṛtā vā tīvrânubhāvā yeṣu anu paścād-bhāve jehiṃ aṇṇe sattā duḥkhehiṃ tāvitā, te pacchā duḥkham anubhavantîty anubhāvaḥ ṇarakaḥ uktaḥ (Cū 438, 13ff.), lolupaiḥ – āmiṣa-gṛddhai rasa-sātā gauravâdy-upapannaiḥ jihvêndriya-vaśagaiḥ saṃpragāḍho – vyāpto yadivā kiṃbhūte narake yāti? Lolupaiḥ – āmiṣa-gṛdhnubhir asumadbhir vyāpto yo narakas, tasminn iti (T II 153a 5ff.).

"We will have to endure great pains in hell, being surrounded by hungry (beasts"; Jacobi). I take — sampagāḍhe as a locative and compare 1, 5, 1, 17 tahim ca te lolaṇa-sampagāḍhe gāḍham su-tattam agaṇim vayanti "and there in the place where there is constant shivering, they resort to a large burning fire" (Jacobi). Here there is a v.l. loluya. At 1, 5, 2, 6, too, we find sampagāḍha 'intolerable' (hell; Jacobi), though without loluya, used as an epitheton of hell, not of its inhabitants.

2, 6, 45

dayā-varam dhammā dugunchamāṇo vahâvahaṃ dhammā pasaṃsamāṇo egaṃ pi je bhoyayai a-sīlaṃ *niho* nisaṃ jāi kuo surehiṃ?

a: pāṭha in Cū 439, 11: dugunchamāṇo; CTV: -māṇā (but Śīl.: -māno); LJ: dugunchamāṇe; - CTV: pasaṃsamāṇā, Śīl.: praśaṃsan; LJ: pasaṃsamāṇe; - c: Cū: ku-sīlaṃ?; - d: TV: nivo; L: niho nisaṃ

gacchai anta-kāle; — J corrects nivo as nidho (...) kato [']surehim (cf. T II 153a 13), V: 'surehim

WHO SLIGHTS THE RELIGION OF COMPASSION AND HONOURS A RELIGION OF VIOLENCE; WHO FEEDS EVEN ONE MAN WITHOUT MORAL PRACTICE WILL GO DOWN (?) IN THE DARK; WHY WITH/ TO THE GODS?

d: cf. 1, 5, 1, 5 niho nisam gacchati anta-kāle

Dayā-varam: against Śīlânka's dayā-vara (Ṭ II 153a 9f.), PSM and ĀŚK prefer dayā-para as the etymology.

Niho: At our place there seems to be a lacuna in $C\bar{u}$ including the $prat\bar{\iota}ka$ of 2, 6, 46 and $\bar{\Upsilon}$ explains $nivo-nrpa\dot{h}$. Fortunately, we have a near parallel in 1, 5, 1, 5, where this word is commented nidhau gatir adhogatih (...) nyag ($C\bar{u}$ 158, 8), nyag $adhast\bar{\iota}t$ ($\bar{\Upsilon}$ I 128a 12). It is perhaps an ad hoc formation of ni + a(d)ho favoured by alliteration.

(A Vedāntin [?] speaks:)²⁶

2, 6, 46

duhao vi dhammammi samuṭṭhiyāmo assiṃ su-ṭṭhiccā taha esa-kālaṃ āyāra-sīle buie 'ha nāṇī na saṃparāyammi visesa-m-atthi

a: L: samuthiyāmo; — c: Cū: ācāra-śīlaṃ; J: [']ha; LJ: nāṇe; — J: samparāyaṃsi

BOTH OF US ADHERE ORIGINALLY TO ONE DOCTRINE, ARE FIRMLY ESTABLISHED IN IT AND WILL BE SO ALSO IN THE FUTURE. WHO IS PRACTISING THE RIGHT CONDUCT IS SAID TO BE WISE IN THIS WORLD: AS TO THE NEXT WORLD THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE (between us).

b: cf. 42b and 1, 14, 16

Āyāre-sīle: ācāra-śīlaṃ 2 tatrâcāraḥ yathā bhavatāṃ yuga-mātrântara-dṛṣṭitvam evam asmākam api (...) jñānam upadeśa ācāraḥ śīlaṃ yasya jñānasya tad idam ācāra-śīlaṃ athavā jñānam iti bhavatām api caitanyāt

an-anya ātmā (Cū 440, 10ff.), ācāra-pradhānam śīlam uktam yama-niyama-lakṣaṇam, na phalgu-kalka-kuhakā-jīvana-rūpam athânantaram jñānam ca mokṣâṅgatayâbhihitam (Ṭ II 154a 13f.). This interpretation does not seem reconcilable with the text in hand, even if one reads nāṇaṃ instead of nāṇī as was apparently done by Śīlâṅka. Beside, āyāra-sīle could express a contrast to a-sīlaṃ in vs. 45. — Jacobi's translation runs as follows: "(we believe that) virtue consists in good conduct and that knowledge (is necessary for liberation)."

2, 6, 47

a-vvatta-rūvam purisam mahantam sanāyanam a-kkhayam a-vvayam ca savvesu bhūesu vi savvao se cando va tārāhĩ samatta-rūve

c: J: so; – d: J: $cando\ vva\ (...)$ – $r\bar{u}vo$

(We believe in) AN UNMANIFEST, GREAT, ETERNAL, IMPERISHABLE AND UNCHANGING *PURUSA*. HE APPEARS WITH RESPECT TO/COMPARED WITH ALL (other) BEINGS WITHOUT EXCEPTION (vi) AS IN EVERY WAY PERFECT LIKE THE MOON COMPARED TO THE STARS.

Cando etc.: cf. Mbh cr. ed. 8, 32, 6 and esp. Anguttara Nikāya Pāli III 34, 20* Yathā pi cando (...) tāra-gaņe (...) atirocati; III 365, 10 ff. etc.

(Ārdraka speaks:)

2, 6, 48

evam na mijjanti na samsaranti na māhaṇā khattiya-vesa-pesā kīḍā ya pakkhī ya sarīsivā ya narā ya savve taha deva-logā

a: Ţ: saṃsarantī; - b: J: pessā

IF THAT WOULD BE THE CASE (beings) COULD NOT BE PERCEIVED (i.e., distinguished) NOR WANDER IN SAMSĀRA. THERE WOULD BE NEITHER BRAHMINS NOR KSATRIYAS,

VAIŚYAS OR SERVANTS, INSECTS, BIRDS OR SNAKES AND ALL WOULD BE MEN OR GODS.

Mijjanti: mriyanti (Cū 442, 1), mīyeran – paricchidyeran (Ṭ II 155b 3). For the ātmâdvaita-vāda – the doctrine of the non-difference of the soul of the Universe and the individual souls – which Śīlânka mentions here (Ṭ 155b 6) see Bollée 1977: 82 note 9.

Māhaṇā: as an example of the equality of mankind, Cū 442,6 compares the Malla-dāsī sarveṣām Mallānāṃ sāmānyā: evaṃ brāhmaṇa-sarīram api sarveṣām kṣatriya-viṭ-chūdrāṇāṃ sāmānyam.

 $Deva-log\bar{a}$: this seems to be an early instance of -loga as a plural formant in NIA languages.

2, 6, 49

loyam a-yāṇitt' iha kevaleṇam kahanti je dhammam a-jāṇamāṇā nāsanti appāṇā param ca naṭṭhā samsāra ghorammi aṇ-ora-pāre

a: VL: logam; J: ajānittiha; - b: L: kahinti; J: kahenti; - c: LJ: nāsenti

THOSE WHO TEACH A DOCTRINE WITHOUT KNOWING THE WORLD HERE BY UNLIMITED VISION (kevala-nāṇa) AND THUS ARE IGNORANT RUIN THEMSELVES AND WHEN LOST (also) OTHERS IN THIS HORRIBLE, BOUNDLESS SAMSĀRA.

Loyam: caturdaśa-rajjv-ātmakam carācaram vā lokam (Ţ II 155b 13), on which see Caillat/Kumar 1981: 20 and 54.

Param: aparān (Ţ II 156a 1). For the acc. Pl. – am in Pāli see Norman 1997: 77 (Dhp 64f.).

Aṇ-ora-pāre: cf. Dhyāna-śataka 56 in AvNH 601b 1 and, in Pāli, Milinda-pañha 319, 20. The dvandva *ora-pāra* occurs in Suttanipāta 1ff. and was discussed by Brough 1962: 202.

2, 6, 50

loyam vijāṇant' iha kevaleṇam puṇṇeṇa nāṇeṇa samāhi-juttā dhammam samattam ca kahanti je u tāranti appāna param ca tinnā a: VL: logam; - c: L: kahinti; J: kahenti; - d: LJ: tārenti

BUT THOSE WHO TEACH THE RIGHT DOCTRINE BECAUSE THEY KNOW THE WORLD HERE BY UNLIMITED VISION AND COMBINE MEDITATION WITH (this) FULL KNOWLEDGE SAVE THEMSELVES AND WHEN SAVED, (also) OTHERS

Probably due to the similarity of the *pratīkas* of vss. 49 and 50, the beginning of the latter stanza is missing in Cū. *Vijāṇant*': both commentators take this form to be a present indicative, whereas Jacobi seems to take it as a participle ('those who know') in conformity with the absolutive *a-yāṇitt*' of the previous stanza. *Puṇṇṇa*: to be taken, with Jacobi, but against both commentators, from *pūrṇa*. At least Śīlâṅka seems to have had a reading *panneṇa*: *prakarṣeṇa jānāti prajñaḥ puṇya-hetutvād vā puṇyaṃ, tena* (Ṭ II 156a 4). *Nāṇeṇa: Bauddha-matôcchedena jñānâdhāra ātma asti* 'with the exception of Buddhism the soul is the possessor of knowledge' (Ṭ II 156a 7). *Param:* cf. note on vs. 49.

2, 6, 51

je garahiyam thāṇam ihâvasanti je yâvi loe caraṇôvaveyā udāhaḍam tam tu samam maīe ahâuso vippariyāsa-m-eva

c: T omits: tu; – d: C: $\bar{a}use$

BUT THOSE WHO ASSUME HERE A PART INCURRING BLAME AND THOSE WHO IN THIS WORLD PRACTISE RIGHT CONDUCT – THAT IS CALLED THE SAME IN (your) VIEW. THEN, SIR, THIS CAN ONLY BE AN ERROR

Garahiyam th: the svarabhakti vowel between r and h should be ignored. On the other three thānā garahiyā see Thā (Lāḍnūn 1975) 3, 315. Sa. sthāna can mean 'part of an actor' (MW) and the combination with āvasati in this sense is unusual the normal meaning being 'to inhabit a place' (Vimānavatthu 653), but no doubt Jacobi is right with his rendering.

Caranôvaveya: for the renewal of the preposition see Leumann 1883: 106 and Bollée 1998 Glossary, s.v. uvaveya.

Vippariyāsa-m-eva: viparyayam evôdāhared (...) yadivā viparyāsa iti madônmatta-pralāpavad ity uktam bhavati (T II 156b 4f.). The indeclinable viparyāsam in Sa. means 'alternately' (MW) which does not fit here and thus excludes udāhaḍam as a supplement. Therefore I have taken the word as a nominative.

(An elehant ascetic speaks)

2, 6, 52

saṃvacchareṇâvi ya egam egam bāṇeṇa māreu mahā-gayaṃ tu sesāṇa jīvāṇa day'-aṭṭhayāe vāsam vayam vittī pakappayāmo

d: L: vittim

ONCE ANNUALLY WE KILL ONE BIG ELEPHANT WITH AN ARROW OUT OF PITY FOR THE OTHER LIVING BEINGS AND LIVE FOR A YEAR ON IT

Avi: api-śabdāt san-māsena (T II 156b 10). the ascription of this stanza to the hatthi-tāvasā is based – apart from the contents – on N 190 and is not canonical. In the Siddhanta this class of "ascetics" is mentioned in a standard list at Aup § 74 etc. In his CIP I (1990: 80f.) Norman discussed their identity in connection with ibbha. His cautious facit was that hatthi-tavasas were perhaps identical with the latter and possibly Buddhists, but more likely Ājīvikas (loc. cit., p. 81). I cannot see very well a reason for either of these to worship elephants.²⁷ which recluses would not do anyway, let alone eat them.²⁸ Yet before actually eating an elephant they could first have sacrificed the animal. Handiqui 1949: 377 states that at the Vedic pundarīka sacrifice an elephant was killed, but gave no reference.²⁹ "It is evident that much of the information of Jain writers in regard to Vedic rites was based on hearsay (...). Their statements are no doubt mala fide". 30 The pundarīka of which Jones³¹ says: "there is no clue as to their³² nature" in fact is a Soma sacrifice as attested by the Pañcavimśa-brāhmana 22, 18, 7 and Āpastamba ŚS 22.24.8.33 Perhaps, however, the sect in question here can be identical with the hatthivattika³⁴ and the hasti-vratas mentioned in another Buddhist text, viz. Lalit 248, 21, in the cpd. Go-vrata-mrgasiva-varāha-vānara-hasti-vrata. The Niddesa-atthakathā 271,34ff. gives us details on the elephant vow: "from today on I will follow the way of the elephants." People with this intention walk, stand, sit, lie and evacuate the way elephants do. Others when seeing elephants lift up a trunk and utterly imitate their way of going. These are the people who are under a vow regarding elephants." We would not call these men tāpasas or even religious at all. The hatthi-vattikas are the only elephantomaniacs we have found a serious description of sofar. What is said about the hatthi-tāvasas in our text is a clear case of odium theologicum, I believe, especially, because it concerns killing of an animal whose flesh is not kosher for Hindus or for Buddhists. Perhaps the text author/redactor has thought up this kind of "ascetic" as the climax of a series of abominable unbelievers.

In accordance with their vow they should in fact have been vegetarians and the author of Sūy 2, 6 will have chosen this strange sect to make Jain monks abhorrent to meat-eating unbelievers.³⁶

(Ārdraka speaks:)

2, 6, 53

saṃvacchareṇâvi ya egam egaṃ pāṇaṃ haṇantā a-niyatta-dosā sesāṇa jīvāṇa vahe na laggā siyā ya thovam gihino vi tamhā

c: thus J; TLV: vahena

IF ONE ONLY ONCE ANNUALLY KILLS A LIVING BEING AND THUS DOES NOT STOP DOING WRONG ONE IS OF COURSE NOT BURDENED WITH THE DEATH OF/GUILTY OF KILLING OTHER BEINGS, BUT (ya) THERE MAY BE LITTLE (distance/difference) FOR A MERE HOUSEHOLDER FROM SUCH A ONE/THAT (recluse)

Siyā etc.: both commentaries seem to take gihino as a plural (Cū 445,3; Ţ II 157a 8). Jacobi does not translate tamhā which seems superfluous in the sense of tasmāt kāranāt (Ṭ II 157a 10).

2, 6, 54

saṃvacchareṇâvi ya egam egaṃ pāṇaṃ haṇantā samaṇa-vvaesu āyâ-hie se purise aṇ-ajje na tārise kevalino bhavanti

b: LJ: haṇante; L: -vvate \bar{u} ; – d: J: $t\bar{a}ris\bar{a}$; L: $t\bar{a}risam$ (...) bhaṇanti (cf. $C\bar{u}$ 445, 8 ṇa $t\bar{a}risam$ dhammam himsakam kevaliņo bhaṇanti)

THOSE WHO ONLY ONCE ANNUALLY KILL A LIVING BEING (but otherwise remain) WITHIN THE BOUNDS OF THEIR VOWS AS RECLUSES ACT AGAINST THEIR OWN INTEREST AND ARE UNBELIEVERS. SUCH PEOPLE WILL NOT OBTAIN UNLIMITED VISION/BECOME *KEVALINS*

2, 6, 55

buddhassa āṇāĕ imaṃ samāhiṃ assiṃ su-ṭhiccā ti-viheṇa tāī tariuṃ samuddaṃ va mahā-bhavôghaṃ āyāṇavaṃ dhammam udāharejjā

tti bemi

c: V: °bhavovam; – d: CLJ: udāharejjāsi; AED: āyāṇavantaṃ samudāharejja

(Having reached) THAT DEEP MEDITATION (as aspired/necessary) UNDER THE DIRECTION OF A BUDDHA AND HAVING ESTABLISHED ONESELF FIRMLY IN IT IN THE THREEFOLD WAY (with thoughts, in words, by acts), SUCH A ONE AS IS ABLE TO CROSS THE GREAT OCEAN OF EXISTENCE MAY TEACH THE DOCTRINE

THUS I SAY

ab: cf. 1, 14, 16 ab; -c = 1, 6, 25c

(Having reached) translates $av\bar{a}pya$ (Ț II 158a 5). For the faulty construction of the first half of the stanza see may remark on vs. 42. Buddhassa āṇāĕ: this probably means that they were pacceya-buddhas and had not reached enlightenment on their own initiative. Samāhim: sad-dharmâvāpti-lakṣaṇaṃ (Ṭ II 158a 5). On Jain samāhi see Bronk-horst 1986: 29–38.

 $T\bar{a}\bar{\imath}$: see Bollée 1988: 61.

Āyāṇavam: ādānam — samyag-darśana-jñāna-cāritra-rūpam tad vidyate yasyâsāv ādānavān — sādhuh (T II 158a 8f.).

Udāharejjā(si): see my remark at Sūy 1, 1, 4, 13 (Bollée 1977: 130).

QUOTATIONS IN THE COMMENTARIES

a-cchedyo 'yam a-bhedyo 'yam (Cū 441, 6 ad Sūy 2, 6, 47) ajo – nityah śāśvato yo na kṣīyate ghaṭavat (Cū 441, 4f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 47)

aṭṭha-kamma-pagaḍīo siḍhila-bandhaṇa-baddhāo dhaṇita° (Cū 435, 8 ad Sūy 2, 6, 40)

a-tthite na thaveti param (Cū 447, 14f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 55)

aņ-āgato bhāsiyāṇi (Cū 447, 3 ad Sūy 2, 6, 55)

a-tuṣyāṇy a-trirātrāṇi tīrthāṇy an-abhigamya ca / a-datvā kāñcanaṃ gāś ca daridras tena jāyate // (Cū 437, 5f. and Sūy 2, 6, 42)

an-asthi-jantūnām śakata-bharam mārayitvā brāhmaṇam bhojayet (Ṭ II 154a 1 ad Sūy 2, 6, 45)

an-asthīkānām śakata-bhāram mārayitvā brāhmaṇam bhojayet (Cū 439, 6 ad Sūy 2, 6, 44)

api tasya kule jāyā-saddo (Cū 439, 10 ad Sūy 2, 6, 45)

a-vijñānôpacitam parijñānôpacitam īryā-pathikam svapnântikam cêti karmôpacayam na yāti (Ţ II 148b 4f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 28)

ātatāyinam āyātam api vedāntagam raņe / a-hatvā brahma-hato vā hatvā pāpāt pramucyate // (Cū 439, 5 ad Sūy 2, 6, 44)

ātatāyinam āyāntam api vedāntagam raņe / jighāmsantam jighāmsīyān na tena brahmahā bhavet (T II 153b 13f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 44)

āhā-kamm'-annam, bhante, bhunjamāne kim pagarenti (Cū 435, 8 ad Sūy 2, 6, 40)

kāyikaih karmaṇām dosair yāti sthāvaratām narah / vācikaih pakṣi-mrgatām mānasair antya-jātitām// (T 153b 10f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 45)

kīdā (ya) pakkhī (ya) sarīsivā (ya) (Cū 442, 7f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 48)

kecit śūnyam naṣṭāḥ (Cū 431, 1f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 30)

guņasu-tthitassa vayaņam (Cū 448, 1 ad Sūy 2, 6, 55)

grāma-kṣetra-gṛhâdīnam (Cū 436, 11 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43)

jaittā viule jaņņe (Cū 438, 3 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43)

jīvo jātis tathā dehaḥ (Cū 438, 8 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43)

jo khalu jīvam uddaveti esa khalu para-bhave tehim vā annehim vā jīvehim uddavijjati (Cū 435, 12 ad Sūy 2, 6, 41)

```
tana-kattha-gomaya-māhanassiyā samsedasidā mattissitā c'eva Cū 445,
 1f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 53)
deva-lokôpamānāni bhuñjanty apsarah striyah / vinyastāni hi punyāni
 yesām tapah phalam tatah // (Cū 446, 10f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 54)
na jātir dusyate rājan (Cū 438,9 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43)
na dukkaram vā nara-pāsa-moyanam gayassa mattassa vanammi rāyam
 / jahā u cattāvaliena(m) tantunā su-dukkaram<sup>37</sup> me padihāi moyanam
 // (Cū 446, 13 ad Sūy 2, 6, 13f.; T II 158a 1f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 54)
na vi atthi mānusānam (ĀvN 980; Cū 436, 9f.)
nimittam hetur apadeśah (Cū 431, 5f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 31)
nâinam chindanti śāstrāni (Cū 441,5 ad Sūy 2, 6, 47)
nâivâsti rāja-rājasya tat-su° (Cū 436, 12 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43)
prakrter mahāms tato 'hamkāras tasmād ganaś ca sodaśakah / tasmād
 api sodaśakāt pañcabhyah pañca bhūtāni // (Cū 440, 3f. ad Sūy 2, 6,
brāhmana eva jāyate (Cū 437,2 ad Sūy 2, 6, 42)
bhaksanīyam bhaven māmsam prāny-angatvena hetunā / odanâdivad
 ity evam kaścid āhâtitārkikah // (T II 150b 3f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 35)
mām sa bhaksayitâmutra yasya māmsam ihâdmy aham / etam-māmsasya
 māmsatvam pravadanti manīsinah // (Manu 5, 55; T II 151b 5f. ad
 Sūy 2, 6, 39)
yathâpare samkathikāh (? Cū 436, 11f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 42)
yad yad ācarate śresthah (Mbh 6, 25, 21a; Cū 436, 1 ad Sūy 2, 6, 41)
yasmāt param nâparam asti kimcit (Cū 441, 10 ad Sūy 2, 6, 47; Cū
 442, 11 ad Sūy 2, 6, 48)
yān yān kāmān brāhmanebhyo dadāti tān kāmān prajanôpabhukte (Mbh
 apocr.; Cū 438, 2f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 43)
yo 'tti yasya ca tan-māmsam ubhayoh paśyatântaram / ekasya ksanikā
 trptir anyah prānair viyujyate // (T II 151b 6 ad Sūy 2, 6, 39)
rājānam trna-tulyam eva manute Śakre 'pi nâivâdaro / vittôpārjana-
 rakṣaṇa-vyaya-kṛtāḥ prāpnoti no vedanāh / saṃsārântara-varty apîha
 labhate śam muktavan nirbhayah samtosāt puruso 'mrtatvam a-cirād
 yāyāt surêndrârcitah (T II 152b 1f.)
rutthassa kharā ditthī (Cū 430, 4 ad Sūy 2, 6, 30)
vayam sa-karmano 'rthasya (Cū 430, 5 ad Sūy 2, 6, 30)
varna-pramānake (Cū 438,8 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43)
vedāh pramānam (Mbh 12, 262, 1a; Cū 438, 1 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43)
śakyam kartum jīvatā karma pāpam (statement of Viśvamitra in Cū
 444,9 ad Sūy 2, 6, 52)
śūdram hatvā prānâyāmam japet apahasitam vā kuryāt yat-kimcid vā
```

dadyāt (T II 153b 14f.)

śṛgālo vai eṣa jāyate yaḥ sa-purīṣo dahyata (Ṭ II 153b 8 ad Sūy 2, 6, 45)

śrutvā duḥkha-paramparām atighṛṇāṃ māṃsâśināṃ dur-gatiṃ ye kurvanti śubhôdayena viratiṃ māṃsâdanasyâdarāt / sad-dīrghâyur a-dūṣitaṃ gada-rujā saṃbhāvya yāsyanti te martyeṣûdbhaṭa-bhoga-dharma-matiṣu svargâpavargeṣu ca (Ṭ II 151b 11 ad Sūy 2, 6, 39) ṣaṭ śatāni niyujyante paśūnāṃ madhyame 'hani / aśvamedhasya vacanān nyūnāni paśubhis tribhiḥ // (Cū 438, 10 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43; Ṭ II 153b 11f.)

sadyaḥ patati māṃsena lākṣayā lavaṇena ca / try-ahena śūdrī-bhavati brāhmaṇaḥ kṣīra-vikrayī // (Cū 438, 7 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43; Ṭ II 153b 8.f) sapta vyādhā daśârṇeṣu (Cū 438,7 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43) samaṃ na brāhmaṇe dāṇaṃ (Cū 437, 9 ad Sūy 2, 6, 43) sarvaṃ sarvatra sarva-kālaṃ ca (Cū 441, 7f. ad Sūy 2, 6, 47) snānâdyā deha-saṃskārāḥ (Cū 436, 7 ad Sūy 2, 6, 42) hatvā svarge mahīyati (Cū 439, 10 ad Sūy 2, 6, 45) hiṃsā-mūlam a-medhyam āṣpada-malaṃ dhyāṇasya raudrasya yad, bībhatsaṃ rudhirâvilaṃ kṛmi-gṛhaṃ durgandhi-pūyâdim / Śukrâṣṛk-prabhavaṃ nitānta-malinaṃ sadbhiḥ sadā ninditaṃ; ko bhuṅkte narakāya rākṣasa-samo māṃsaṃ tad ātma-druhaḥ? // (Ṭ II 151b 3ff. ad Sūy 2, 6, 39)

NOTES

- The first part of this article will be published in the Felicitation Volume for Munivara Shri Jambuvijayaji. Ahmedabad, 1998. For the convenience of the reader, the abbreviations used here are those adopted for my *Studien zum Sūyagaḍa I*. Wiesbaden, 1977: C = pratīkas in the Cūrṇi (1950); Ṭ = Sūy(agaḍa) text in Śīlânka's commentary II (1953); V = Vaidya's ed. (1928); L = text ed. by Tulsī and Nathmal. in: Angasuttāṇi I (Lādnūṃ 1975); J = Jambuvijaya's ed. (1978).
- ² Apahastita, T II 147b 12.
- ³ Śākya-putrīyā bhiksavaḥ (Cū 428, 1; Ṭ 1.c. 13).
- ⁴ Schlingloff 1962: 31.
- ⁵ I regret I could not use the Pāda Index and Reverse Pāda Index to Early Jain Canons (1995) by Yamazaki and Ousaka as for the present lecture the $p\bar{a}das$ have not been listed there.
- ⁶ "The commentators explain pinnāga (= pinyāka) by khala, and pindi by bhinnaka or śakala. Śīlânka gives the following explanation. During a struggle with savage men (mleccha) someone runs away and throws his cloak off on a granary. An enemy in pursuit of that man mistakes it for him and takes hold of it, together with the part of the granary. This interpretation looks absurd; but it will appear not so if we remember that granaries are beehive-shaped reservoirs made of sun-baked mud or wattle and mud; compare Grierson 1885: 17."
- ⁷ Cf. also Cū 428, 7ff.: jai koi āsanna-vero verio jo bāla-rūvāī soyati, so te vi mārei, māretum "ce-da-rūvāim pi māremi" tti vavasito, suvvanti ya kei veriyā je gabbhe vi vigintinti mahilānam, mā ete baddhamāṇā sattuņo hohinti, tattha samāvattīe

khala-pindī pallankae pottena ohāditā manda-prakāśe grhâika-dese vā so tena tivvaverâbhibhūtena "esa dārao tti kāūṇam satti kunto vā satti vā ti-sūlam vā (...).

- ⁸ Gardin 1984: 111.
- ⁹ Id., p. 125 note 13.
- PWB: 'Tenne'; pwb: 'Scheuer, Scheune zum Aufbewahren und Dreschen des Getraides' (Barn, shed for storing and threshing grain).
- ¹¹ Om Prakash 1961: 290 sub 94.
- ¹² Schlingloff 1962: 31.
- Probably belongs with paulei (429, 1) to $pra \sqrt{JVAL}$ and should be added in PSM.
- ¹⁴ Ad Pi § 525.
- Jambūvijaya 1978 in the app. Crit. of Sūy 2, 6, 28. Slips of the s/m kind are frequent, e.g. komala/kosala (Harivaṃśa, VāyuPur < MW), Timisa/Tisīsa (Alsdorf 1974: 95), mālam/sālam (Balbir 1985: 129), mukham/sukham (Mvu III 311, 2).
- Weber 1867: 293 sayam eva panca mahavvayāim ārohettā 'die fünf großen Satzungen ersteigend' (lit.: ascending the five great precepts) is obscure.
- ¹⁷ Metre adjusted after Norman 1992: 247.
- ¹⁸ Schubring, *Doctrine*, § 184.
- ¹⁹ Catasro tāsu ta (?) dvādaśasu dhūta-guņesu yuktā (?), etesim evam-guņa-jāyiyāṇaṃ abhigata° yathā tasyânando doṇṇi sahasse bhikkhuyāṇaṃ bhojāveti sa-māṃsa-guḍa-dāḍimenêṣṭena bhattena (...).
- ²⁰ See, e.g., Jacobi 1970: 90.
- ²¹ Thus Sūy-t 1917.
- ²² Read: māyā-sthān° and cf. Sūy 2, 5, 31 micchôvajīvi.
- ²³ See Bollée 1993: 25.
- Quotations of Mbh 6, 25, 21a (ācarati against here in Cū: ācarate) and another which I could not spot: deśe deśe dāruṇo (...); see the quotation list at the end of this paper.
- ²⁵ Kane 1974: 110ff.
- At Ţ II 154a 3 and 154b 4, vs. 46f. are spoken by Ekadandins, i.e. either Dandins or Ājīvikas according to Hoernle as quoted in Basham 1951: 170. The Dandins invoked not only Śiva, but also Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa. Thus at 154a 13 they are said to perform the *vratêśvarayāga* 'offering to Śiva', but at 155a 11 they practise *pancarātrôpadiṣṭa-yama-niyama* as a Vaiṣṇava sect with Sāṃkhya tenets (Schrader 1973: 126f.; Basham 1951: 169f.), as is confirmed by Śīlâṅka at 154a 5f. The Sāṃkhyas, however, carried three staves (Glasenapp 1925: 269), but by the word *caitanya-lakṣaṇâtma* (Ṭ II 154b 10) Śīlâṅka identifies the speaker of vs. 47 as a Vedāntin. Earlier, Jinadāsa had wavered between Sāṃkhyas and Vaidikas (Cū 441, 9) *etac ca sūtraṃ Sāṃkhya-Vaidikayos tulyaṃ vyākhyāyate* (441, 14).

As to this, we should be reminded of the origin of the Sāṃkhya in the *yoni* of the old Vedānta (Strauss 1925: 84). The mention of *a-vyakta puruṣa* may have favoured the ascription of vs. 47 to the Sāṃkhya. T II 154b 8 explains *puriṣa* as $j\bar{\imath}va$. As the various ascriptions of the doctrine meant here by the commentators, for which cp. also 2, 1, 25 – a passage Jacobi thinks could also belong to the Yoga school – it should be borne in mind that various scholasticisms of Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Vedānta existed side by side until a particular direction could establish itself. This direction now is for us the representative of the system in question (Strauss 1925: 127). Moreover, our commentators are Jains who might have known hardly more of these old and vague views of religious opponents than we. Thus the subject matter of vs. 46 alone does not enable us to ascribe it to a particular denomination. This vagueness and its possible grounds were already discussed by Thibaut (1890: xiv) and Strauss (1925: 228).

- Laymen will often worship Ganeśa, but I found no evidence in Hopkins' 1915: 17f. that G. is the god of the Śūdras according to Manu as stated by Gokhale 1951: 176 note 12.
- On inedible animals see e.g. Vinaya Pāli II 219; Rasvāhinī 2, 9, 18 vii and Saletore 1943: 118 note 2 with the testimony of Chinese visitors.
- The only relation between *pundarīka* and elephants I would know of is that P. is the name of the elephant guardian of the South East.
- ³⁰ Handiqui 1949: 386.
- ³¹ 1952: 224 note 8.
- ³² "Their" implies also a padma sacrifice, inter alia, at Mahāvastu II 237, 20.
- For these references I am indebted to the kindness of Dr P. Aithal, of Heidelberg.
- 34 Mahāniddesa Pāli 89, 17.
- "Ajjato paṭṭhāya hatthīhi kātabbam karissāmi" ti evam uppanna-cittā hatthīnam gamanâkāram, tiṭṭhanâkāram, nisīdanâkāram, sayanâkāram, uccāra-passāva-karanâkāram, aññe hatthī disvā soṇḍam ussāpetvā gamanâkāram ca sabbam karontī ti hatthi-vatikā. Before aññe a sentence containing eke ('some') seems to be missing. As with the cynomaniacs at Majjhima-Nikāya I 388, 7, the aim of religious endeavour of these people was to become a deva. Daniel Ingalls considers cynomaniacs etc. to be shamans manqués (Cynics and Pāśupatas: the seeking of dishonour. In: Harvard Theological Review, LV (1962), p. 296).
- Dr Paul Dundas has discussed the elephant ascetics at the conference on Jainism and the Environment held at Harvard Divinity School in July 1998 in a paper with the title "The Limits of a Jain Environment Ethic" which will appear in the Proceedings of this conference in due time.
- ³⁷ T: sadukkaram.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alsdorf, Ludwig (1974) Kleine Schriften. - Wiesbaden.

Balbir, Nalīn (1985) The monkey and the weaver-bird: Jaina versions of a pan-Indian tale, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 105(1): 119–134.

Basham, Arthur L. (1951) History and Doctrines of the Ajīvikas. - London.

Bollée, Willem B. (1977) Studien zum Sūyagada I. – Wiesbaden. – (Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts; 24).

Bollée, Willem B. (1988) *Studien zum Sūyagada* II. – Stuttgart. – (Schriftenreihe des Südasien-Instituts; 31).

Bollée, Willem B. (1993) Le Végétarisme défendu par Haribhadrasūri contre un bouddhiste et un brahmane. Wagle and Watanabe: 22–28.

Bollée, Willem B. (1998) *Bhadrabāhu, Brhatkalpaniryukti and Sanghadāsa, Brhatkalpabhāsya*. – Stuttgart. – (Beiträge zur Südasienforschung. Südasien-Institut Universität Heidelberg; 181, 1–3).

Bronkhorst, Johannes (1986) The two traditions of meditation in ancient India. – Stuttgart. – Alt-und Neu-Indische Studien 28.

Brough, John (1962) The Gāndhārī Dharmapada. – London. (London Oriental Series 7).

Caillat, Colette and Kumar, Ravi (1981) La Cosmologie Jaïna. - Paris.

Deleu, Jozef (ed.) (1978) Nāyādhammakahāo, see Schubring 1978.

Dundas, Paul (1997) The Meat at the Wedding Feasts: Kṛṣṇa, Vegetarianism and a Jain Dispute. – Toronto. – (The 1997 Roop Lal Jain Lecture). The Limits of a Jain Environmental Ethic (in press).

Gardin, Jean-Claude (1984) Die Ursprünge der Kusāṇa-Keramik, Ozols und Thewalt: 110–126.

Glasenapp, Helmuth von (1925) Der Jainismus. - Berlin.

Gokhale, B. G. (1951) Some obscure cults, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* Bombay. New Series 26(2): 174–179.

Grierson, George (1885) Bihar Peasant Life. - Calcutta.

Handiqui, Krishna K. (1949) Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture. - Sholapur.

Handiqui, Krishna K. (1965) Naisadhacarita. - Poona.

Hopkins, Edward (1915) Epic Mythology. - Straßburg.

Jacobi, Hermann (1886) Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāṣṭrī. - Leipzig.

Jacobi, Hermann (1895) Jaina Sūtras II. - Oxford. - (Sacred Books of the East xlv).

Jacobi, Hermann (1970) Kleine Schriften. - Wiesbaden.

Jones, J. J. (1952) The Mahāvastu II. - London.

Kane, Pandurang Vaman (1974) History of Dharmaśāstra II, 1. - Poona.

Linke, Elfrun (1998) Glossary of Schubring's *Doctrine of the Jainas*. in: *Bollée* I: 374–411.

Norman, Kenneth R. (1990-1996) Collected Papers I-VI. - Oxford.

Norman, Kenneth R. (1996) The Group of Discourses II. Oxford. – (Pali Text Society Translation Series; 45).

Norman, Kenneth R. (1997) *The Word of the Doctrine*. – Oxford. – (Pali Text Society Translation Series; 46).

Ozols, Jakob und Thewalt, Volker (eds.) (1984) Aus dem Osten des Alexanderreiches. – Köln.

Prakash, Om (1961) Food and Drinks in ancient India. - Delhi.

Saletore, Rajaram N. (1943) Life in the Gupta Age. - London.

Schlingloff, Dieter (1962) Die Religion des Buddhismus I. – Berlin. – (Sammlung Göschen; 174).

Schrader, Friedrich Otto (1902) Über den Stand der indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahāvīras und Buddhas. – Leipzig.

Schrader, Friedrich Otto (1973) Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Samhitā. – Adyar.

Schubring, Walther (1962) The Doctrine of the Jainas. - Delhi.

Schubring, Walther (1978) Nāyādhammakahāo ed. by J. Deleu. – Mainz. – AdWL.

Strauss, Otto (1925) Indische Philosophie. - München.

Thibaut, George (1890) The Vedānta Sūtras of Bādarāyana — Oxford. — (Sacred Books of the East xiv).

Yamazaki, Moriichi and Ousaka, Yumi (eds.) (1995) A Pāda Index and Reverse Pāda Index to Early Jain Canons. – Tokyo.

Wagle, Narendra K. and Watanabe, Fumimaro (eds.) (1993) Studies on Buddhism in Honour of Professor A. K. Warder. – Toronto. – (South Asian Studies Papers 5).

Weber, Albrecht (1867) Über ein Fragment der Bhagavatī II. – Berlin. – (Abhandlungen der königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1866).

Heidelberg Germany