THE "DOUBLE OPTATIVE SUFFIX" IN PRAKRIT
ASOKA XIII (N) NA HAMNESU ~ NA HAMNEYASU

BY
COLETTE CAILLET

In several passages of the R(ock) and P(illar) E(dicts), Asoka insists on his horror of violence, slaughter and massacre, on his intention to promote non-injury and dharma. He desires that his descendants "should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made, (that), if a conquest does please they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments (ch'anti ca lahu-dandata ca rocestu), and (that) they should regard the conquest by morality (dhrama-vijayo) as the only (true) conquest."

As he expresses his good will and benevolence—"all men are my children," he defines the policy which he methodically adopts towards those who might fear him. In the Kalinga Sep(arathe) Edicts, it is emphasised how, to "the borderers outside the empire" (anitānam avijitānam) the emperor wishes to inspire confidence, to persuade them that he wants nothing but their happiness; that he will exercise all possible patience and forgiveness, that his sole desire is to see them practise the Law (dharma), as they, in fact, thank to him, have learnt to do.

As for his policy towards the "forest people" (the atavi) inside the empire, it is similarly defined in RE XIII (M-O). The king resorts to conciliation and instruction (amneti amunijapeti); he explains his own behaviour so as to convince them to change their ways (N, infra) and to conform to the commendable attitude which he defines as consisting of "non-injury of all beings, self-control, equanimity", savra-bhutanam ach'ati samyamam sumacariyam (O).

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1 RE XIII (X), cf. (P), Hultsch's translation, CII 1, p. 69-70 (as far as possible, the translations of Sh will follow Hultsch). Compare J. Bloch, 125-132; U. Schneider, 117-119.

The text of XIII is best preserved in Sh, the version which will generally be quoted here (CII 1 p. 66-68; U. Schneider, 69-80).

2 Sep. I Dh (E) [(Jg F)] save muniṣe pafū mamā (cf. Sep II Dh D, Jg E).

3 Cf. XIII (Q : S); Sep II Dh (F - G) Jg (G - H).

4 Hultsch's reading; but he adds (p. 67 n. 25): "Read "niḥapeti, which is Bühler's reading". Cf. the corresponding Manshehra niḥpayati.

But perhaps the replacement of the aspirate by the corresponding unaspirated stop is really meant in this Gandhari dialect (cf. CII p. LXXXVI).
Though the general meaning is clear, several details have remained obscure, and perhaps were so even for Asoka's contemporaries. For Sh deems it necessary to complete samacariyam with rabhasie, "in case of violence", probably to draw attention to the obligation to respect this commandment, whatever the specific circumstances.

Perhaps more discussions will be needed to elucidate what exactly is meant in the sentence XIII (N), (i) anutape pi ca prabhaye devanampriyasa vucatiteśa (ii) kiti avatrapeyu na ca hamṅeyasu.

As far as the first part is concerned, U. Schneider, who has recently summarized the interpretations proposed by various scholars, does not altogether dismiss Hultzsch's translation "And they are told of the power (to punish them) which D. (possesses) in spite of (his) repentance", though he prefers "Und bei aller Reue wird ihnen (seine) Macht verkündet" (p. 117; 142). Jules Bloch had considered all renderings unconvincing, and left prabhaye untranslated, "On leur explique que le remords en est la cause" (129 and n. 16).

As for the second part (kiti ...), almost all translators understand, like Hultzsch, "in order that they may be ashamed (of their crimes) and may not be killed" ("damit sie sich zurückhalten mögen und nicht getötet werden", U. Schneider). Thus they take hamṅeyasu as an opt. passive. So does J. Bloch in his Grammatical sketch, § 40 (?). But he translates as an opt. active, "de façon qu'ils se repentent et cessent de tuer" ("that they / do not renounce killing", 129), in accordance, as it seems, with the rest of the development: perhaps a wise decision.²

G. Fussman notices this discrepancy, considers Bloch's translation to be mistaken, grammatically impossible, in contradiction with the basic show

² From his note 16 p. 129, it is clear that Bloch categorically rejects the "grammatical", "translation", and chooses to render the general tenor of Asoka's message. As a conference interpreter puts it: what is translated is a text, not a language ("on traduit toujours un texte et non une langue"), Marianne Lederer, in Traduire; "Les idées et les mots", ed. D. Seleskovich, Études de linguistique appliquée, Nouvelle Série 24, oct.-déc. 1976 (p. 18 ff.).

This passage has been abundantly discussed. That hamṅeyasu is a passive is more or less taken for granted everywhere, though the resulting meaning is so confusing that various explanations have been attempted time after time. For a moderate assessment of the implications of XIII (N), cf. K. R. Norman, "Asoka and capital punishment", JRAI 1975, 16-24 (= CP I 200–213); n. 2, p. 16, refers to F. Edgerton's review of Bloch's book, IAOS 72 (1952), 117 (on hamṅeyasu). Remarkably, the latter adds to his critics: 'I wish I dared render 'that they (the foresters) may be ashamed, and they (the animals) may not be killed' '. ...
of power which is implicit and often explicit in the message of the almighty emperor. U. Schneider also insists on the threatening tone of Asoka's message here and elsewhere (150).

But it has just been seen that the immediate context of XIII (N), both the preceding and the following sentences, are conciliatory and persuasive, as the king invites the atavis to instruction, to reflexion and voluntary amendment (anuneti + anunij(h)apeti, XIII M). Obviously, the sovereign wishes on the one hand to inspire confidence (compare his words in Sep I and II), and, on the other hand, to obtain the voluntary, the true conversion of the jungle people to the principle which he defines (XIII (O), supra), and to the practice of dharma. In other words, he wants to make the demonstration of the dharmavijaya – a “victory” which can result only from the inner conviction of the antagonist – as in the case of the foreigners who reign far away, against whom he has never waged war, whom he does not even envisage to kill (Sep II).

Given this situation, perhaps the grammatical status of Sh hamñeyasu, Er (Ka) hamneyu needs further investigation. Could Bloch, a sensitive translator, have been guided by his subtle linguistic feeling? For it is well known that 1) the MIA passive of HAN is not always the form inherited directly from OIA HANYa(te); 2) the MIA optative of this verb shows several variants: (i) the direct reflex of OIA hanyät (Aag haniyä), (ii) the common MIA, pa hane(yya), Aag hane(jjä), (iii) the “mixed” Pa haññe, BHS hañyye (Patna Dhp), hannye (Subaśi Dhp).

The question raised in the present paper, therefore, is the following: are the Asokan optatives hamñeyasu ~ hamneyu passive forms? or could they be active, that is the exact pl. counterpart of Pa haññe? It will be clear that there can be no grammatical objection to the second solution.

Unfortunately the Greek rendering of this part of RE XII–XIII is not known. As for the Indian versions, almost all are completely damaged, except to some extent for Er where scholars decipher ha[ð]neyu. The same

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6 G. Fussman, “Pouvoir central et régions dans l'Inde ancienne: le problème de l'empire maurya”, in Annales 1982 N° 4, 621-647. It is emphasised (p. 627): “la seule traduction tenant compte de la grammaire est “afin qu'ils se repentent et ne soient plus tués” ./ En d'autres termes, les ordres du roi doivent s'appliquer partout, même chez les populations qui vivent en marge, sous peine de répression violente...”.

form can be conjectured for Ka, where ...ne... is legible. 8 The Asokan optative, whether in the (S)E or in the NW, is thus derived from a base *HAN-y-, to which the usual MIA suffix –ey– is appended. How is this HANy– to be analysed?

A passive form of HAN apparently occurs in RE I (G), though only once, in Sh: trayo va prana hāṁṇamīti, “only three animals are being killed” (CII).

But in the other versions of the same RE, the verb in use is the passive of ā–RABH, (Er Ka Jg) ālabhiyaṁti, a verb which Sh, like the other versions, uses in the preceding and following sentences (F; H), arabhīyisu (aor.), arabhīṣamīti (fut.). There is no doubt that both verbs refer to the same semantic sphere, and the reasons for Sh’s choice are not clear. 9 Whatever they may be, if hāṁṇamīti is a passive, it tallies with the Pa forms haṁṇante (Thī 451), haṁṇare (S I 76, 22*). 10

On the other hand, it will be borne in mind that the OIA present forms of HAN have rarely been directly inherited in MIA. Even in Pa the present indicative active hanti is archaic and exceptional (G 140), and has been replaced, sometimes by (–)hanā(ti), or by hana(ti) (PED, s. v. hanati). Pk has the corresponding Amg hanā(i), Amg, etc., hana(i) (Pi 499; 561; etc.).

As for the passive, though OIA HANYa(te) is continued in the Pa hāṁṇa(ti) and Pk hanijja(i), this form is not unrivalled: Vararuci 8, 45 teaches hammai; so does Hemacandra 4.24, who, for HAN and KHAN, quotes hammai hanijjai, khammai khanijjai. He adds that hammai can also be used in the active (kartary api). 11 a statement confirmed by the usage of some old Amg canonical texts. 12 In general however hammai features as a passive, of which Pi (540) mentions several occurrences in M and Amg. In the old Jaina canon, the passive base hamma(i) is common. It even appears that, in several places where the vulgar text of the canon reads hanna—the ancient versions, as quoted in the old commentaries (Cūrṇi in particular) had preserved hamma-. 13 What is more, the Tīkā, the case being, renders

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8 For OIA -ny-, MIA -nī- in the West, -nn- elsewhere, J. Bloch §§ 1f.
10 Both quoted G 122.
12 Cf. W. Schubring, Ācār, Glossar, s. v. han.
13 E. g. in Sāyagaḍa 1.11.37, the editions write vinīhannejiṇa, quoted as vinī-hammejja in the Cūrṇi (quoted in the Jaina Āgama Series ed., p. 95, n. 2). Cf. my paper in J. Ćeleu Felicitation Vol. n. 61 (in the press).
(--)hannejā with (--)hanyāt, thus as an optative active\textsuperscript{14}, built on a present base *hanya- (cf. the Sk 4th class).

Taking these various facts into consideration, it seems possible that, when attempting to adapt the old present HAN(ti) to new models, MIA, apart from hanāti, hanati, also created a present characterized by the –ya– suffix, which appears to have developed freely at the Pk stage (Pi 487f.).

The Pa grammarians themselves had pointed to the existence of such forms as vajjati vajjanti alongside with vadati vadanti (Sadd 386. 22ff.). From DA there could have existed an optional present dajjati dajjanti, mentioned as an equivalent of deti dadāti, again in Sadd 833. 7-8 (cf. 370. 9; G 143 d).

Given all the above evidence it cannot be precluded that a MIA active base hañña~ hanna~ (OIA *hanya~) did exist in old MIA,\textsuperscript{15} and that the above Asokan optatives hamneyu hamñeyasu are to be directly connected with it.

In Pk, such transfers from OIA athematic to MIA –ya– thematic bases are seen to have taken place. For RUDH, Hc 4. 218 teaches rumādhai rumībhai and ruñjhai (cf. Pi. 507; CDIAL 10779); for YUJ, Hc 4. 109 registers jumja~ jujja~ juppa~. More generally, Pi notes the extension of the –ya– suffix in Pk. Further, various NIA verbs confirm this development.\textsuperscript{16}

Nevertheless, as observed by G (143d) and D. Andersen (A Pāli Glossary, s. v. dadāti), such a present as dajjati is, in all probability, a back-formation from the old opt. (Pa) dajjā, etc. (da-d-yā~) – an easy process considering the frequent neutralisation of the semantic opposition between the optative and the indicative. It was perhaps made still easier when the opt. as in the case of dajjā, had been formed with the old (athematic) morpheme –yā~. But the latter had not altogether disappeared at the ancient stage of MIA, and, on the other hand, the MIA inherited marker –e was being variously reinforced. In particular, apart from dajjā dadeyya dade, etc., or

\textsuperscript{14} Cf. Deleu Fel. Vol. IVb.

\textsuperscript{15} Sh I (G) hamñamti (supra) could be taken as a 3rd pl. active, “(people) kill”. But the coexistence of the same stem for the passive (I G) and the active (XIII N) is not impossible, as is shown precisely by Amg hammai.

\textsuperscript{16} The Pk intr./passive present stems like ghummai, summai, etc., have been studied by L. A. Schwarzchild, JA 1952, 65-75, “Ghummira, ghulira ‘agitē, branlant’.”

For NIA, v. CDIAL 9134 bādhyate ‘is bound’. – Altern. <bādhyate Gj. bājhu< ‘to stick close to, catch hold of, fight’; 11785 *vīndhyate ‘is pierced’, Pk *vīmjhāi tr. in vīmjhā- m. ‘hunter’; Paś. lauru. wēnj~ ‘to hit’; 13408: sidhyati 2, ‘is accomplished, succeeds’, Gj sij(h)ov, ‘to be accomplished’, tr. ‘to accomplish, appease’.

\textsuperscript{81} Annals, B ORI [A. M.]
dadeyyāsi dajjāsi, Sadd mentions dajjesi (370. 3), quoting Ja VI 494. 26* (Ee dajjāsi, but v. l. -esi). G (143) and CPD note the “|Doppelbildungen" (anupa-) dajjeyya (anupa-) dajjeyāma, in the nissaggiya formula, Vin III 259. 13** 12**, (cf. ib. 36, 35). 18

CPD further observes the vitality of such formations, of which Hindi dījiye is the reflex. Several other examples are quoted in CPD (I p. 517) s. v. asnāti19: not only vajjesi (vadesi, cf. supra), but the 1. pl. paṭiki-kryemu (Ja IV 384. 13* v. l., in a jagati! ), and several 3. sg., among which, in comparatively ancient verses, pakampiye (Ja VI 295. 9* v. l., anuṣṭubh and the probably old haññe, also in a jagati, A IV 254. 17* (cf. I 214. 34* Ee hāne):

pāñam na haññe na c' adinnam ādiye20

“kill not, nor take what is not given thee” (Hare trsl.).

In fact, Pa haññe is not an exception, as BHS appears to have used comparable forms: in the 3rd–4th cent. A.D., the Subaśī Dhp (5. 18) writes (han)ny(e);21 later the Patna Dhp manuscript (203) perhaps wrote hamyye,22 in the stanza corresponding to the Pa Dhp 10. 2 (= 130)

17 Cf. also O. v. Hinüber, Überblick 440.
18 No v. 1.
19 Quoted in O. v. Hinüber, I. c., also referring to Epilegomena 29*. 1-4, where the five kinds of opt. are listed: [a) from -(i)yāt; b) from -et; c) blend of a} and b); d) blend of opt. and imper.; e) analytic opt.].
20 Not commented upon in Mp.
21 Ee quotes the (Burmese) v. l. hane, hāne (cf. vihāne, Sn 348b); hanna. – The metre preferably requires [—u—].
22 Ee prints nacādinnam, and quotes the v. l. ca dinnam, rhythmically correct, and evidently to be read c'adinnam. The stanza recurs elsewhere, also with various readings, cf. A I 214. 34* (and n. 1, by A. K. Warder); also Sn 400 and n. 2.

It will have been observed that, in most cases, the “mixed opt.” is a v. l. difficilior (not inferior).

21 According to the very careful reading of H. Nakatani; see his edition, Udānavarga de Subaśī I, Paris 1987 (Institut de Civilisation Indienne 53), p. 93. For the date of the ms., v. the introduction to the volume; ca. 300 is also proposed in H. N.’s contribution, in Documents et Archives provenant de l’Asie Centrale, ed. A. Haneda, Kyoto 1990 (Société Franco-japonaise des Études Orientales), 43.

N. P. Chakravarti, L’Udānavarga sanskrit I, Paris 1930 (Mission Pelliot en Asie Centrale), p. 58, notes the desperate state of this ms.: he would read hanyām na.


(Continued on the next page.)
na haneyya na ghātaye (d = 129 d = Sn 705d),
to Uv 5. 19 (na hanyān na ghātayet) or to Mvu 3. 387. 13* (naṅva himse), or
again to Dasaveyāliya VI 10d (na hāṇe). The corresponding Pk forms
would normally be, in the West, haṅhe, in the East hanne (cf. the Pa v. l.
hāne, also [−−−]! ).

The above evidence is conclusive: there can remain no doubt that,
grammatically at least, Asoka Er na hanṃesu, Sh na hanṃeyasu can − must −
be taken as more examples of those active “mixed optatives”, which com-
bine the two optative markers −y(ā)− and −e(ɨy)−.

If this is the case, then J. Bloch’s rendering of Asoka’s RE XIII ( N )
is almost certainly right.

The emperor evidently wishes the forest dwellers to conform to th
rules which he has set for the rest of the empire, which he tries to impress on
everyone’s mind. Constantly, in the earlier as well as in the later rescripts,
he emphasises that it is prohibited to kill, whether “here”, especially in the
royal kitchen (RE I), or generally, with regard to certain animal species (PE
5). The North-Western populations also, in Laghman and Kandahar, are
said to take heed of the interdiction.

Kandahar I appears to be particularly explicit. Therein it is proclaim-
ed, “when 10 years had passed”, that “in regard to the eating of Lord the
number of butchers. /. / All the people have forborne (from killing). And
in regard to those who caught the fishes, those people denounced (the catch-
ing). Likewise, in regard to those who were hunters, they have forborne
from hunting.”39

Naturally, the forest dwellers, wherever they are, are pressed to respect
the same laws. Hence, they are told how the emperor, who enjoys consi-

(Continued from p. 642.)

JPTS 13 (1989), 101-217 (103), the manuscript “can be dated in the second half of
the twelfth century A. D.”.

She reads haṃyyā (stanza 202 in her ed.). But it is not stated whether it is
“because / . / the MS testimony is clear, or because a parallel supports one alterna-
tive rather than another” (see p. 103). In the latter case, the parallel could be that
of Uv 5. 19.

M. Cone quotes her predecessors’ readings: Shukla hanye. G. Roth haṃyye, as
can be seen, would not be isolated.

39 “Freely translated ” by G. Ito, “A new interpretation of Asokan Aramaic inscriptions,
Cf. also Id., “Asokan inscriptions, Laghmān I and II”, Studia Iranica 8
(1979), 175-188.
derable “power”, nevertheless is smitten with “remorse” when remembering the cruelty involved in the profession of arms and in any conquest (anutape + prabhave). What an example he sets for all, including the atavi, who consequently, like all others, should be persuaded, should feel intimately bound, to abandon their usual violent way of life, in other words, “to repent and kill no more”!

Abbreviations

Languages: Amg = Ardhamāgadhī; BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; MIA = Middle Indo-Aryan; OIA = Old Indo-Aryan; Pa = Pāli; Pk = Prākrit; Sk = Sanskrit.

Edicts: Dh = Dhauli; Er = Ereragudì; Jg = Jaugāda; Ka = Kañsī; Sh = Shāhbaẓgarhī; Sep = Kalinga Separate Edicts; PE = Pillar Edicts (Arabic numerals); RE = Rock Edicts (Roman numerals).

Books:

J(ules) Bloch = Les Inscriptions d’Asoka, Paris 1950 (references to the pages; § = ib. Introduction linguistique, references to the §§).

CII = Inscriptions of Asoka, New edition by E. Hultsch, Oxford 1925 (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum I), references to the pages.

CPD = A Critical Pāli Dictionary.

Epilegomena = Epilegomena by Helmer Smith to Volume I of CPD, Copenhagen 1948.

G = W. Geiger, Pāli Literatur und Sprache, Strassburg 1916 (ClAPhA 1.7), references to the §§.


Hultsch = CII.


PED = The Pali Text Society’s Pali-English Dictionary.

Pi = Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, Strassburg 1900 (GIPhA 1.8), references to the §§.

U. S(chneider) = U. Schneider, Die Grossen Felsen-Edikte Aśokas, Wiesbaden 1978 (Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, 11).


Abbreviations of Pali texts as in CPD (cf. Epilegomena).