The Peacock Egg: a parable of 
Mahāvīra (Nāyādhammakahāo 1,3)

Translated by Willem Bollée

Introduction

The Nāyādhammakahāo is the sixth text in the canon of the Śvetāmbara Jains. It consists of two books containing parables and sermons respectively. The parable of the Peacock Egg tells how monks ought to respect the rules that govern them. It is formulaic in style, as is much of the Śvetāmbara canon, and contains strings of stock phrases that may be found elsewhere. I have indicated in my translation where such stock descriptions are to be supplied, and the source from which they have been taken. Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, here answers a question by his disciple Goyama Suhamma, who in his turn reports to us.

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50. [97a 5] Thus indeed, Jambū, in those days, at that time, there was a city named Campā¹ — description (after Aup § 1).² Outside this city of Campā, to the north-east of it, there was a park called Subhūmi-bhāga (‘beautiful place’) rich in flowers and fruits of every season, delightful like the Nandana-wood (in Indra’s heaven), provided with a pleasantly fragrant and cool shade. Now at a place to the north of this Subhūmi-bhāga park there was a māluyā³ thicket — description (after Nāyā 1,2; cf. Aup § 3). At that place a jungle peahen⁴ laid two plump peacock eggs that were produced at the right time⁵, pale like a dumpling, not yet showing cracks, unspoilt, in size larger than a fist, and when she had laid them she sat (there) protecting, keeping and
beautiful dress. [99 a] Then the caravan leaders’ sons ascended the carriage with the courtesan Devadattā, drove right across the centre of the city of Campā to the Subhūmi-bhāga park and the Nandā lotus pond, got out of the carriage, went into the pond, plunged into the water, splashed one another, and after bathing in the company of Devadattā went out again and, betaking themselves to the pavilion on posts, entered it. After putting on all their ornaments, taking a rest and recovering on a comfortable seat they tasted, enjoyed, shared and ate the many foods (etc. as supra) and thus stayed in the company of Devadattā. After the meal they enjoyed for a while with Devadattā the many human pleasures of the senses.

53. [100a 2] When they had breakfast and lunch the caravan leaders’ sons left the pavilion on posts again holding hands with the courtesan Devadattā and stayed in the Subhūmi-bhāga park enjoying the pleasure grove beauty in the many bowers of ālis, bananas, creepers, bowers to abide in (? achna-ghara), scenic bowers, bowers for dressing up (? pasāhana-ghara) labyrinths, bowers of boughs/ Śāl tree bowers, net-like (? ) bowers and flowering bowers.

54. Then the caravan leaders’ sons proceeded to the māluyā thicket. The jungle peahen saw them coming, left the māluyā thicket scared and trembling, squawking loudly and repeatedly screaming “kekā” and standing on a branch of a tree remained looking at the caravan leaders’ sons and the māluyā thicket with steady gaze. The caravan leaders’ sons addressed each other saying: “Dear friend, as soon as this jungle peahen saw us coming, she left (…) gaze.” There must be a reason for this.” With these words they entered the māluyā thicket. There they saw two plump (etc. as above in sūtra) peacock eggs, addressed each other and said: “Dear friend, it would be very good for us to have these two jungle peacock eggs placed among the eggs of our own pure-bred fowl. The latter, then, [100 b] shall watch over and protect these eggs with their own feathers which they spread over them and we shall have two young peacocks to play with.” With these words they agreed on this point with each other; each sent for his own servants and told them thus: “Go, good people, take these eggs and place them among the eggs (…).” They did so.

The caravan leaders’ sons, after enjoying for a while the pleasure grove beauty of the Subhūmi-bhāga park in the company of the courtesan Devadattā, ascended their carriage and drove to her house in the city of Campā, entered, gave her a lavish present of money (pīḍānām) befitting her social rank, paid their respects and honored her, returned from her house each to his own house and engaged themselves once more in their own business.
frondosa flower, like a parrot's beak or the (red) half of the Gunjā berry, the Pentapets phoenicea, the feet and eyes of a pigeon, the Koīl's red eyes, like a mass of Chinese roses or vermilion — when the sun has arisen waking up the clusters of pink lotuses, when the thousand-rayed day-maker glows in his radiance.27 (It would be very good) to take this abundance of food (etc.), incense, flowers, perfume, clothes, wreaths and ornaments and to enjoy for a while (viharittae) the pleasure grove beauty of the Subhūmi-bhāga park in the company of the courtesan Devadattā." With these words they agreed on this point with each other and thereupon sent the next day, when the night (...up to) [98 b] radiance, for their servants, and told them thus: "Go, good people, cook abundantly food (etc.), take incense (...), set out for the Nandā pond in the Subhūmi-bhāga park and near that pond erect a pavilion on posts. (then) sprinkle it, cleanse it, smear it with cow-dung,28 provide it with an arrangement of fresh and fragrant cut flowers in groups of five colours,29 make it highly delightful30 with the fragrantly rising smell of burning aloe, choice kundurukka, turukka31 and incense, scent it well with fine perfumes and turn it into a fragrant bottle, so to speak, and stay waiting for each of us." (The servants...) did so.32

Thereupon the sons of caravan leaders gave further (doccam) orders and told their servants: "As quickly as possible,33 as soon as it is yoked bring a carriage which you have had dexterous people (?) yoke34 with excellent young bullocks matching each other in hoofs and tails, and the end of whose sharp horns have been cut level with each other,35 who are steered by nose ropes having thread-strings with silver bells and that are exquisitely intertwined with gold;36 they should carry garlands made of blue lotuses. The carriage should be overspread with a network of various jewels and silver and gold bells, and endowed37 with auspicious marks."38 They (i.e., the servants) for their part (vi) brought (a carriage) exactly as they were told.

After that the sons of caravan leaders bathed,39 performed a food sacrifice and expiatory rites for good luck, adorned themselves with few but very valuable ornaments, entered the carriage, went to Devadattā's house, got out of the carriage again and entered Devadattā's house.

The courtesan Devadattā saw the caravan leaders' sons approach, became glad and joyful, rose from her seat, went seven or eight steps40 to meet them and spoke as follows: "The gentlemen should say what they have come hither for." Thereupon the caravan leaders' sons spoke thus: "Dear lady, we should like to enjoy the Subhūmi-bhāga park for a while in your company." Devadattā then complied with this request of the caravan leaders' sons, bathed (etc. as above) and joined them in
covering them with her own feathers which she spread over them
(pakkha-vænam).

Now in the city of Campã there lived two sons of caravan leaders,
Jinadatta-putta and Sãgaradatta-putta. Born on the same day,⁶ they
grew up and played in the sand box together, married at the same
time, were attached to and trailed after each other, [97 b] living in
compliance with each other's wishes, fulfilling each other's heart's
desires and performing all duties that came up in each other's houses.

[98a] Then, one day, these caravan leaders' sons met, encountered
each other and sat together, and entered upon the following conversa-
tion: "Dear friend (devãnu-ppiya), whatever pleasant or unpleasant
(thing), leaving home to become a monk or travelling abroad, may fall
to our share, that we must experience together."⁷ With these words
they promised each other co-operation and continued to go about their
own business.

[98a 5] In the city of Campã there lived at that time a courtesan
Devadatta⁸ by name, rich, proud, famous, owning spacious and vast
palaces, dwellings, chariots and draught animals, possessing much
wealth, gold and silver, lending out money on interest and making
investments, and offering food and drink liberally,⁹ skillful in the
sixty-four arts,¹⁰ provided with the sixty-four good qualities of a
courtesan,¹¹ flirting in twenty-nine ways,¹² excelling in the twenty-one
sexual qualities,¹² able to serve a man in thirty-two ways,¹² having
awakened from sleep the nine senses of her body¹³ (i.e. a woman in
her prime of youth), conversant with the eighteen vernaculars,
elegantly dressed in her boudoir (?), of proper gait, mode of laugh-
ing,¹⁴ speech, behaviour, sporting, conversation; with perfectly fitting
manners,¹⁵ holding high the banner (of conceit),¹⁷ taking a thousand as
a fee,¹⁷ (a woman) whom a sunshade and various chowries had been
granted (by the king) and who moved about in a litter.¹⁸ She exercised
and held sovereign power,¹⁹ preeminence, mastery, ownership, strength
and military command over many thousands of courtesans and was
enjoying various pleasures under the great din²⁰ of repeated²¹ dancing,
singing, instrumental music, strings,²² beating of time, clapping the
hands, tûya-music, and the sounds of big (i.e., deep)²³ and clear drums.

Then, one day, these sons of caravan leaders came together after
having had breakfast²⁴ and lunch together at the proper time;²⁶ they
had purified themselves, were perfectly clean and were sitting at their
ease; they began the following conversation: "Dear friend, it would be
very good to have much food, drink, sweets and seasonings prepared
tomorrow, when²⁶ the night lets daybreak appear and the morning, pale
then, fully opens the soft (? komala) blue and pink lotus flowers, when
the sun shining intensely red like the Jonesia aśoka or the open Butea
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55. The next day, the caravan leader Sāgaradatta's son, when the night (...as above, sū 52 up to) radiance, went to his peacock egg and afraid, anxious, doubtful, divided, unclear in his thoughts 50 (asked himself) "Shall I be able to play with this peacock chick or not?" Thinking thus he threw the egg up again and again, turned it round, stirred it slightly, 50 shook it thoroughly, moved it to and fro, made it palpitate, knocked against it, bashed it and made it tick over and over again at his ear. Thereupon the peacock egg became addled. 51

Sāgaradatta, the caravan leader's son, one day [101 a] went to his egg, saw that it was addled and exclaimed: "Helas, now I shall not have a young peacock to play with." In consequence of this he became dejected 52 and despondent, placed his head between his hands, was overcome by tormenting thoughts and became pensive.

In exactly the same way, venerable monk(s), whosoever of our male or female ascetics parted with his or her hair 53 in the presence of an āyāriya and an uvaṭṭhāya, 54 left his family for the life of a religious wanderer and is afraid (...as above up to) unclear in his thoughts as to the five major vows (or) the six groups of souls 55 in the doctrine of the Jainas, he or she should in this existence be despised, reproached, blamed, censured and treated with contempt by many monks, nuns, male and female lay followers. Moreover, in the next world, 56 such people will undergo many punishments, will often have their hair pulled out, be rebuked, hit, put in irons, be tormented, suffer the death of their parents, brothers and sisters, wife, 57 sons, daughters and daughters-in-law. 57 Much poverty, misfortune, association with unpleasant people, separation from loved ones, bad luck and distress will be their share. Again and again they will err through the jungle of samsāra which has neither beginning nor end, and extends 58 in all four directions.

45. Then Jinadatta's son went to his peacock egg and, not worried about it (...as above), thinking: "It is clear/surely 59 I shall have a young peacock to play with here" he did not throw it up again and again (...as above up to) his ear and the egg, left in peace, one day broke open and out came a young peacock. Jinadatta's son saw it and, glad and joyful, he addressed the peacock-breeders and told them: "You, good people, watch over this young peacock, protect it, raise it by and by with the many things suitable for peacock breeding and teach it to dance." Thereupon the peacock-breeders promised this to Jinadatta's son, took the young peacock, went to their dwelling and raised (...as above up to) dance.

The young peacock grew up 60 with auspicious marks, signs and qualities. Its wings and mass of tail feathers 61 were full-sized, it had a hundred eyes on its many-coloured tail, a blue neck and was able to
dance. At one snapping of the fingers it could be made to make hundreds of dancing steps and kekā calls. The peacock breeders seeing the young peacock grown up (…as above up to) calls took it and brought it to Jinadatta's son. He, seeing (…up to) calls, was glad and joyful, presented them with a lavish present of money corresponding to their social rank and dismissed them. Then, at one snapping of his fingers, the young peacock danced, bowing its neck like a tail; the corners of its eyes were white, and it let its wings droop as if they were detached(?); the many eyes of its tail stood up and it uttered a hundred times its call. In the city of Campā, at squares, cross-roads, intersections, highways and paths Jinadatta's son earned (Jayam karemāne) for a long time hundreds, thousands and hundreds of thousands in goods through this young peacock.

In exactly the same way, venerable monk(s), whosoever (…as in sū. 55 up to) wanderer and is trustful, free from doubts and firm, he or she should in this existence be treated with respect, greeted, saluted, worshipped, honored, revered by many monks, nuns, (…as above) and humbly worshipped as being something excellent, auspicious, divine and sacred.

Thus you should know, Jambū, the contents of the third lecture of the Parables as told by the Venerable Ascetic Mahāvīra, the founder (sc. of the Doctrine), the Tīrthakara (…as in Nāyā 1, 1,7 up to) who has reached the placed called Siddhagai (‘Condition of Salvation’). — Thus I say.

A Note on the Translation

As the older prints mentioned in Schubring's *Lehre der Jainas* (§ 46) were not available to me for my translation, I have used the text published in the Ānandacandra-granthābdhi (Bhāvnagar, 1951) with Abhayadeva's 11th century commentary. I also adopted its sūtra numbers beginning with 50 on fol. 97a. Walther Schubring gave us a free adaptation in German, after his death, was edited from his unpublished works by J. Deleu (Wiesbaden, 1978). I further used the text critically edited by Muni Nathmal in the Anga Suttānī Series III (Lādūn 1974/ V.S. 2031). Abbreviations follow the system stated in my *Studien zum Sūyagada I* (Wiesbaden, 1977) and II (Stuttgart, 1988), hereafter BSS. I and II respectively. Nathmal's text concludes with five āryās which in the Bhāvnagar pothī belong to the commentary.

Notes

1. For the capital of ancient Anga, ca. 6 km to the West of modern Bhagalpur in Bihar, see N.L. Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India* (1927), repr. New Delhi, 1979.

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3. Māluyā, Pāli mālūvā, probably is a creeper, Bauhinia vahlii, for which see BSS. II, p. 103.

4. The pavo cristatus Linn. "Inhabits dense scrub and deciduous jungle (...) always excessively shy and alert. Slinks away through the undergrowth on its legs, and flies only when suddenly come upon (...). Eggs: 3-5, glossy pale cream or café-au-lait colour" (Sālim Ali, The book of Indian birds. 11th ed. Bombay, 1979, p. 36, no. 71).

5. Sch(ubring) renders pariṣāgaṇe by 'fast aufbruchreif' which seems to be logically impossible for freshly laid eggs, and in view of what will be done with them in the course of the story. Pariṣāyena-prasava-kāla-kramenāgate pariṣāyagate prākriyatvena ya-kāra-lopāt pariṣāgaṇe (Abh.). MW gives 'revolved, elapsed, passed (as years); finished, done' for pariṣāgata and 'to go round, elapse, last, live' for pariṣāgacchati.

6. For the bond of congeniality see the present author’s article “The Indo-European Sodalities in ancient India”, in ZDMG 131, 1 (1981), p. 187 sqq. As a literary motif it is used in India up to the present day, e.g. in S. Rushdie’s Midnight’s Children.

7. For the lectio facilius of the text read Abhayadeva’s variant samhicca or, perhaps better still, samhiccā, see G. Roth, Malli-Jnāta. Wiesbaden, 1983, p. 157.


9. Up to this point, the description is taken from Aup (apātika) § 11, see Bollée, “On royal epithets in the Aupapātikasūtra,” JOIB 27, 3-4 (1978), p. 97.

10. “These were a stock list, which included not only music, dancing and singing, but also acting (...), sorcery, archery (...), and clay modelling” (A.L. Basham, The Wonder that was India. London, 1954, p. 183). See Kāmasūtra (Bombay, 1934) 1, 3, 15 (p. 87 sq.). — Vivāgasutta, 2, describing the courtesan Kāmajayā, mentions 72 arts.

11. See Kāmasūtra 2, 2, 3 (p. 275 sq.).

12. According to the scholiast, these are also well-known from the Kāmasūtra, a glossary of which together with Yaśodhara’s commentary would be more useful and urgent than further translations, to facilitate finding such details.

13. These are, in Abhayadeva’s enumeration, the ears, eyes, nostrils, tongue, skin and mind which suptānīva yauvanena pratibodhitāni.


15. The text, which has samgaya-gaya-hasiya only, has been supplied after L, but Abhayadeva has the compound go on in a slightly different way. The scholiast (99b 1) mentions as a variant sundara-thana-jaghana-vayana-carana-nayana-lāvanna-rūva-jovvana-vilāsa-kaliyā.


18. The karnī-ratha, according to Mallinātha ad Kālidāsa, Raghuvamsa 14, 13, was a small chariot to be used by women (stṛ-yogyo?pa-rathah), and only by the wealthy, as Abhayadeva explains (99b 3).
19. The following stock phrase has been supplied after Aup § 53, but it occurs also in Kappa (see next note) and Sūy 2, 2, 55.
20. Following Jacobi’s rendering of Kappa Jinac 14 in fine. As to mahāyā see the present author’s article “Die Geschichte vom Frosch (Nāyadharmakāhā 1, 13)" in K. Watanabe (ed.), Volume in Honour of J. Deleu. Tokyo, 1990 (in preparation).
21. Jacobi, l.c. translates āhaya by ‘uninterrupted story-telling’ which I do not understand. Sa. āhanti means ‘to sound (a musical instrument; to repeat’ (MW).
22. Tanti, apparently pars pro toto. Jacobi’s translation does not exactly follow his text.
23. Or: percussion instruments (like cymbals, ghana) and drums. Jacobi takes ghana to mean ‘great.’
24. Also, e.g., Vivāga 1, 19.
25. Also, e.g., Kappa 105 and Vivāga 1, 18 and 19.
26. The following cliché has been supplied after Kappa 59. It occurs also in Nāyā 1, 1 and 1, 13, 15 (see above my paper “Die Geschichte vom Frosch”).
27. See Roth, op. cit., p. 121, note 63.
28. Hardly as a reverential adornment, as Barnett, op. cit., p. 3 thought.
29. The Jain stock list of colours consists of black, blue, red, green and white (e.g. Thānanga 5), whereas the Pāli Buddhist one contains blue (niīa), yellow, crimson, blood-red and white (odāta), e.g., MN I 509, 15 sqq. and Vinaya I 25, 32 (with phalikavanna instead of odāta). In Pāli, flowers of five colours are mentioned, e.g., Sv 140, 10 (PED).
— this and the next stock phrases also occur in Aup § 32.
30. Thus Jacobi at Kappa § 32 for uddhuyābhīrāma.
31. Kundurukka is obilanan, i.e., the aromatic gum resin of Boswellia thurifera tree (Barnett, op. cit., p. 3 note 4); turukka is also obilanan (MW) or the resin of other trees (Barnett, l.c.).
32. As in Nāyā 1, 8, 46, (ed. Roth).
33. Hereafter Nathmal may be right in supplying bho devānu-ppiya, cf. Uvās 7, 206.
34. See Hoernle’s discussion of lahu-karana-jutta-joiyam, which has a variant juttehim joiyam, in his Uvāsaga-dasāo translation, p. 134. Sa. laghī-karana means ‘lessening, diminishing’ (MW), Pāli lahum karoti ‘to be frivolous’ (PED); Roth (op. cit., § 48) renders the compound by ‘Geschicklichkeit.’
35. Same-tulye likhite-Śastrenāpanīta-bāhyya-tvakke tiksne śrīge yayos tau tathā (T 99b 8). Here the scholiast mentions another word — jambūṇayamaya-kalāva-jutta-paivisi-thhaehim — which he apparently did not consider canonical, though he comments upon it, but which is actually found in the text at Uvās 7,206 and rendered by Hoernle as ‘adorned with neck-ropes (set) with golden tassels’ (see also H.’s note 194 on this). In this way bullocks are still decorated for festive occasions, e.g., for the last day of Samkrānti/Pongal and for the Royal Ploughing ceremony in Thailand.
37. Uvavyey — Sa. upeta. Neither Pischel nor Geiger mentions such reduplication in their grammars, but see Leumann, Aup glossar, s.v., where, however, there is no reference to Hoernle’s note, op. cit., p. 136.
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38.Ṭ 99b 13 mentions another additional epithet  sūjā-ta-jugga-jutta-ujjuga-pasattha-suviraiya-nimmiyam, for which see Hoernle, l.c.

39. The following cliché has been supplied from Aup § 17.


41. The background of this striking yet frequent expression is not clear to me. The centre is the most distinguished part of the ancient Indian city.

42. Hattha-saṅgelle. For the second part of the rare compound, which Ṭ 101b 13 is explained by hastāvalamanena, see Leumann's Aup Glossar, Bühler's Pāiyalacchi Nāmamālā, vs. 221 and Jacobi's Bhavisattakahā, Glossar s.v. saṅgīlya.

43. Apparently a hapax legomenon denoting a vanaspati-viśeṣa (Ṭ, l.c.).

44. Acchaṃ tī āṣaṇaṃ (Ṭ 101b 14), c.f. Pāli acchatī (CPD) and R.N. Shriyan, A critical study of <the> Mahāpurāṇa of Puspadanta, Ahmedabad, 1969, p. 98 no. 269.

45. See G. Roth, op. cit., p. 202-220. I do not see why in our passage this should not be a bower, but a “stattliches Gebäude” (Roth, p. 202).

46. Rendered ‘Zweiglauben’ by Roth, l.c., after the scholiast’s ambiguous explanation sālāḥ sākhāḥ, athavā sālā vrksa-viśeṣāḥ (Ṭ 102a 1 sq.).

47. ‘Maßenkgehäuser’ (Roth, l.c.).

48. ‘Trembling’ is followed by two more participles: ‘upset’ and ‘running away.’


50. Āśāre: itṣat-sva-sthāna-tyājanena (Ṭ 102a 7).

51. Poccadām: a-sāram. (Ṭ 102a 10); for this rare word’s (Dravidian ?) etymology see Turner, CDIAL, no. 8395.

52. This cliché occurs also in Nāyā (L) 1, 1, 46 and resembles the one in Kappa Jinac § 92 which is used of Tisalā fearing the death of Mahāvira in her womb.

53. Mundre agārāo an-agāriyam not in the Bhāvnaigar pothi. Cf. in L1, 1, 101 and see BSS. II, p. 92.

54. For these kinds of teachers see Schubring, Doctrine, § 141.

55. Such as have earth-, water-, fire-, wind-bodies belong to the vegetable kingdom. These five do not move of their own, are thāvare, as against the sixth group — tasa — who are self-moving, such as animals and mankind. See Schubring, op. cit., § 118 and Dasav 4 (chaj-jīva-viśeṣā) and, for the form chaj-jīva-nikāya, Leumann's Aup Glossar, s.v.

56. The following cliché is also found in Sūy 2, 2, 81 where, however Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who in their sayings do not propagate ahimsā are threatened with these punishments in the future (āganu, § 80) which is more suitable.

57. As in the beginning also nuns are addressed, one would expect also pai-maraṇāni and jāmāuyya-mo.


59. Su(v)yattāe: Sa. su + vyaṭa + kām?

60. The next words of this stock phrase, viz., vinnaya-parinaya-mette ‘as soon as he had reached the years of discretion’ and jovvanaṇgam anupatte ‘having reached puberty’ I pass over as being not applicable to an animal. In fact, these and the next compounds up to pehuṇa-kalāve are used of the child Mahāvira at Kappa, §§ 51 and 52.
61. For the rare noun péhuna which Shriyan (op. cit., no 1122) classes as a pure Deśi word see also Turner’s (CDIAL 8991) connection with Sa. preksaña ‘show.’ Up to padipunna, the vedha is identical with Kappa § 9 and 51, where it becomes metrically irregular afterwards, and continues in our text adapted to a bird and metrically regular but for the last syllable of kalāve.


63. Seyāvange: probably to show its positive feelings as opposite to Sa. lohita-nayana ‘red-eyed, having eyes reddened with anger or passion’ (MW). The scholiast did not understand this and mentions svetāpāṅga only as an alternative to svedāpanna which makes no sense. Cf. Sa. sitāpāṅga ‘peacock’ (MW), a compound Dave takes to mean ‘having the orbital skin of a white colour’ (K.N. Dave, Birds in Sanskrit literature. Delhi, 1985, p. 270 sq.). — The pothī adds ginḥai after seyāvange.

64. Avayāriya-painya-pakke (or, with L. oyāriya-painṇa): avatāritau-ṣaṅrā ṇ prṭha-kṛtau prakīrṇau-vikīrṇa-picchau pakṣau yasya sa tathā, tataḥ pada-dvayasya karma-dhārayaḥ (Ṭ 102b 3).

65. Paniehim: panītaivyavahārādir hoddādībhīr (?) ity arthah (Ṭ 102b 5).

66. The following cliche which stems from Aup § 2, is also found, e.g., at Uvāsagadasāo § 187 (see Hoernle, op. cit., II p. 127).

67. Here the Bhāvāgar text reads jāva viṭṭinassā. Evaṃ khalu, Jambhū (...), whereas L continues as at Sūy 2, 2, 82 and at the end of Nāyā 1,2 which does not at all fit our story.

68. Viṇayeṇa ~ Sa. vinatena.

69. This is not true, of course. At Sūy 2, 2, 80 āigara dharmāṇam is used of the founders of the 363 philosophical schools.